

the superintendence of the imposition and levying of taxes, the entrance of these upon the books, the revision of the accounts kept by the treasurers and collectors, and the expenditure of the sums thus raised according to their amount and at the proper time. The functionary invested with this authority was called among them *Sáhibu-l-ashghál*. However, the office was not always exclusively held by Almohades, for in some districts of their empire one might meet with such functionaries who had never belonged to their sect, and who fulfilled, nevertheless, their duties to the satisfaction of their employers. For instance, when the Bení Abí Hafs came to power, and the events took place which led to the emigration of great numbers of the people of Andalus, there came to this country (Africa proper) many individuals of the best families in the land, some of whom had exercised similar functions in Andalus. Of this number were the Bení Sa'íd, Lords of Al-kal'ah, near Granada, who were also known by the appellative of Bení Abí-l-huseyn.⁸ On their arrival in this country they were intrusted with the same offices they had held in Andalus, filling them in turn with the principal men among the Almohades. In this manner they held the above-mentioned office, until, in the course of time, its duties were committed to clerks and Kátibs, and the office went altogether out of the hands of the Almohades. After this, the Hájb having risen in authority and importance, and his orders being obeyed in every department of the administration, the attributes and powers of the *Sáhibu-l-ashghál* were gradually obliterated; the holder of that office became subordinate to the Hájb, he was reduced to the station of a mere tax-collector, and all that power and authority which he formerly enjoyed disappeared at once. Under the present ruling dynasty of the Bení Merín⁹ the title of *Sáhibu-l-ashghál* is given to that functionary who has to verify the accounts, to enter the sums upon his books, and to put his signature to all accounts as a proof of his having revised them and their being correct; his revision, however, being subject to that of the Sultán or his Wizír.

FIG. 142, verso.—By *Shortah* we now understand the office of the Hákem, whom the people of Andalus call *Sáhibu-l-medínah*. The functions of this officer, which originated in the dynasty of the Bení 'Abbás, consisted in trying criminal offences in the first stage, issuing sentences after the trial, and seeing these executed; for those trials where more than one criminal were implicated, and where the offence could not be satisfactorily and promptly charged to one, were not of his inspection; there being some formalities to perform, to which he (the Hákem), invested as he was with almost exclusive powers, and stimulated by his friends to attend to the welfare of the people, scorned to submit. That officer, therefore, who tried criminal offences in a summary manner, and issued sentences upon them whenever the Kádí would not interfere, was the *Sáhibu-sh-shortah*. The Bení 'Abbás exalted the office, and granted considerable powers to its holder, investing with it their *maulis* and favourites, although their jurisdiction never extended over the people in general, but merely over the

⁸ It is said by Ibnu Khaldún, in another part of his work, that the Bení Sa'íd (the same family to which I have so often alluded in the course of my notes, see pp. 416, 440,) were for upwards of two centuries in possession of the office of tax-collectors in the provinces of Granada and Malaga.

⁹ The Bení Merín began to rule in Africa towards the beginning of the thirteenth century of our era.

rabble, or those who gave scandal. During the reign of the Bení Umeyyah in Andalus its power and dignity having increased, the office was divided into *Shortatu-l-kobra* (great Shortah) and *Shortatu-s-soghra* (small Shortah); the powers of the former being made to extend not only to the rabble, but to the higher classes also, and even to persons holding places under government, so much so that the *Sáhib* (holder) of the great *Shortah* could at any time visit an offence committed by any prince of the blood, his most intimate *maulis*, or his nearest relations: such were the powers and authority with which the office was gradually invested. The *Sáhib* of the small *Shortah* enjoyed no such powers, and his jurisdiction merely extended to the lower classes of the people. It was customary for the *Sáhib* of the great *Shortah* to issue his judgments from the top of a throne or seat erected for him at the gate of the Sultán's palace, round which all those who applied to him for justice sat on the spot allotted to them by the guards, not one being allowed to stir from it without previous leave from the *Sáhib*. The office moreover was usually conferred on the most noble and wealthy citizens, and became a sort of school for *Wizírs* and *Hájibs*. However, at the court of the Almohades, who were very lucky in some of their gubernative regulations, the office was not conferred on men of the higher classes indiscriminately, (as happened during the dynasty of the Bení Umeyyah;) it was given only to men professing their religious sect, and following their party, and generally to the most eminent among them; neither was the holder of the office invested with authority to issue judgments in cases wherein people holding situations under government were concerned. In our times the powers of this officer have fallen very much into disuse, the office itself has gone out of the hands of the Almohades, and passed into those of the people who raised their power upon the ruins of that dynasty. God is the inverter of night and day!

(Fo. 143).—*Kiyádatu-l-asátl* (the commandership of the fleet) was and is still one of the high offices of the state in the governments of Eastern and Western Africa. The holder of it is called *Al-meland*,¹⁰ originally a Frank word, meaning, in the language of that nation, 'the commander of the fleet.' The office existed always in Eastern and Western Africa, where it deserved particular attention from the respective sovereigns of those countries, owing to the geographical position of their dominions, placed as they are on the southern coast of the Sea of Rúm; since [it is well known that] on the southern side of this sea is the country of the Berbers, extending from Ceuta to Alexandria and Syria, while on the opposite side, to the north, are the countries of Andalus, Afranj, Sclavonia, and Greece, joining also Syria. This sea is called 'Sea of Rúm,' and 'Sea of Shám' also, after the nations who inhabit its coasts,

¹⁰ This word, which the author says is to be pronounced *بالتخيم الام* opening the mouth about the *l*, is written thus *البلند* in the text, but *البلند* is no doubt intended; it is a corruption of the Spanish *Almirant* or *Almirante*, (which passed early into French,) by the change of *r* into *l* and *t* into *d*. But is it not reasonable also to suppose that the word *Almirant* itself is a corruption of the Arabic *أمير البحر* *Amir-al-má* (the general of the sea), the title under which that officer is generally designated by the early historians of Mohammedan Spain? Ibnu Khaldún, being a late writer, might not have been aware of this.

or who live close to its shores, and who, owing to this circumstance, have always been exposed to naval incursions, and the evils dependent thereon, in a degree that no other maritime power has ever been exposed. For, as we have already stated, most of the wars which the Greeks, the Franks, and the Goths who inhabit the northern shores of the Sea of Rúm had to sustain against one another, as likewise most of the traffic in which they were engaged, were carried on by sea and in vessels, owing to which they early became expert and accomplished navigators, and kept fleets well manned and stored to wage war on their enemies or to defend their possessions. Thus, whenever any of those nations inhabiting the northern shores of the Mediterranean quarrelled with those living on the southern coast, they would send their fleets against them, (as happened in the case of the Franks against the people of Eastern Africa, and of the Goths against those of Maghreb,) conquer the country, subdue the Berbers, take the empire out of their hands, and gain possession of their principal and best populated cities, as Carthage, Subeytalah, Jelaula, Marnák, Sharshál, Tangiers, &c. On the other hand, the people of this country would also retaliate upon their enemies, as did the King of Carthage, who in ancient times made war on the King of Rome, sending numerous and well-appointed fleets, filled with men and stored with arms and provisions, to invade his dominions. This was, indeed, a common practice among the people who then inhabited the shores of Africa, and who became thereby famous in ancient history, and gained much renown.

When the Moslems achieved the conquest of Egypt, the Khalif 'Omar Ibnu-l-khattáb, who then commanded, wrote to his lieutenant, 'Amru Ibnu-l-'áss, asking him for a description of the sea. The answer sent him by 'Amru was as follows: "The sea is a great pool, which some inconsiderate people furrow, looking like worms on logs of wood."¹¹ On the receipt of this answer, the Khalif 'Omar forbade the Moslems to navigate the sea, and so it was that, as long as that Khalif lived, no Arab dared go on board a vessel unless he had his previous leave, without which requisite the transgression was severely punished, as happened in the case of *Harthamah*¹² *Ibn 'Arfajah Al-azdí*, Lord of Bajílah,¹³ who, having been sent with an expedition to 'Omán, is reported to have attacked that country by sea against his express orders. This prohibition lasted until the reign of Mu'awiyah, the first Khalif who allowed the Moslems to embark, and who sent maritime expeditions against the enemies of his empire. But the real cause [of the prohibition] was, that when the Arabs began their conquests they were entirely unaccustomed to that element, and unfit for navigation; while, on the contrary, the Romans and the Franks, through their almost continual practice, and their education in the midst of the waves, were enabled to navigate the seas, and, by dint of experience and successive enterprise, to become almost congenial to that element.

But when the empire of the Arabs was consolidated, and its forces had increased,—when

أن البحر خلق عظيم يركبه خلق ضعيف دود علي عود¹¹

عرفجة بن هرثمة¹²

سيد بجيلة¹³

all the barbarous nations who did not profess Islám became either the subjects or the slaves of the Moslems,—all those who were in possession of any art or branch of industry whatsoever hastened to communicate and impart it to them; and the Moslems, anxious to profit by the learning of the vanquished, did not remain inactive. They at first solicited the services of expert navigators, and employed foreign pilots¹⁴ in all their maritime concerns; little by little their knowledge increased; their voyages and expeditions became more frequent; they improved even the science of navigation, and became exceedingly fond of naval expeditions. To accomplish this they built every where ships and galleys,¹⁵ and, having provided them with crews and stores, they put to sea and subdued several of the infidel nations lying beyond the waters, especially those inhabiting countries nearest to this sea (the Mediterranean) or living on its shores, as Syria, Eastern and Western Africa, and Andalus. In the time of the Bení Aghlab there were already in Africa several fleets manned by Moslems. The Khalif 'Abdu-l-malek was the first who gave Hassán, son of An-no'mán, then his lieutenant in Africa, instructions to possess himself of the arsenal in Túnis, to build vessels, and to collect all kinds of maritime stores, so as to enable the Arabs to continue by sea their conquests and incursions. It was with these vessels that Sicily was conquered by Asad, son of Al-forát, the chief eunuch and commander of the armies of Ziyádatullah I., son of Ibráhím Ibn Al-aghlab. In the same manner the island of Corsica¹⁶ was taken during the reign of this monarch, and in former times Mu'awiyah, son of Khodeyj,¹⁷ had made a maritime incursion against Sicily during the Khalifate of Mu'awiyah Ibn Abí Sufyán. After this the fleets of Africa proper, under the dynasty of the 'Obeydites, and those of Andalus under that of the Bení Umeyyah, became hostile to each other, and, during the civil dissensions that divided the Moslems of these two countries, the armed fleets of both powers were continually employed backwards and forwards, visiting the ports, the shores, and the creeks, and other accessible places on the coast, with plunder and destruction.

The maritime forces of Andalus were at one time very considerable. Under 'Abdu-rahmán An-nássir the number of vessels composing the royal fleet amounted to nearly two hundred. Those of Africa proper were nearly equal in number. The commander-in-chief of the naval forces of Andalus was a certain Ibn Romáhis;¹⁸ the ports where the ships were put in to be careened or fitted with sails were Bejénah and Almeria. The fleet of the Andalusian sovereigns was generally composed of vessels from all their states, each port or city sending out a proportionate number. Each vessel was put under the command of a chief experienced in maritime affairs, and whose duty it was to direct the forces and to take care of the arms and other warlike stores, while the direction of the vessel was intrusted to the *Reis*, whose duty consisted in regulating the course of the ship, and seeing whether she was to sail or to go with oars. When the ships were all assembled together for a naval expedition, and the object and intention of the Sultán were made known, the fleet always went to a port and there cast anchor; the Sultán then manned it with his best and bravest soldiers, or with his own freedmen and clients, and the whole was put

¹⁴ The word which the author here uses for pilots is نَوَاتِيَة from the Latin *nauta*.

¹⁵ الشوانى

¹⁶ قوصرة

¹⁷ معوية بن خديج

¹⁸ ابن رماحس

under the orders of an *Admiral*, who was always one of the principal noblemen of his court. This commander, who was obeyed by the whole fleet, then presented himself before the crews, and addressed them, putting before their minds victory and spoil. During the reign of the various Mohammedan dynasties the Moslems were victorious in all the corners of this sea, and their power and supremacy increased. None of the Christian nations had the least chance with their fleets in these waters, and our countrymen accustomed the sea for the rest of their days to bear the weight of their victories. Their maritime expeditions were crowned with success, and attended with victory and plunder. In this manner they conquered many islands standing far into the sea, as Mallorca, Menorca, Iviza, Sicily, Corsica, Malta, and Crete; they even made incursions upon the shores of Genoa, Sardinia, and other maritime districts belonging to the Franks. Abú-l-kásim Ash-shi'áy, and his two sons, sailing from the port of Mahdiyyah, invaded several times the island of Genoa, and returned victorious and laden with spoils. In four hundred and five (A. D. 1014-5) Mujáhid Al-'ámirí, governor of Denia, and one of those who, during the civil war in Andalus, broke all allegiance to the Khalifate of Cordova, and declared themselves independent, effected a landing on the island of Sardinia and conquered it; and although the Christians again gained possession of it, the Moslems were not the least disheartened by the reverse, for, being the masters of most of the harbours in this sea, their fleets scoured it in all directions. Those of Sicily, especially, so much annoyed the inhabitants of the shores of the Mediterranean, and of all that country lying opposite us to the north, that they were obliged to seek refuge in distant lands, and retire with their vessels to the north-east on the shores of France, Sclavonia, and the islands of the Greek Archipelago (where the Moslem fleets never reached); for if ever a Moslem vessel came upon a Christian one in these seas, the latter was sure of meeting with the same fate as the wild animal of the woods with the lion. Most of the harbours in these seas were then filled with men and military stores, and their waters were furrowed by innumerable Moslem vessels,¹⁹ in time of peace as well as in time of war, in such manner that no Christian vessel ever dared show itself at any time. This state of things continued until the 'Obeydites and the Bení Umeyyah decayed, and their governments becoming weak and corrupt, they were seized by cowardice and imbecility, when the Christians, profiting by it, extended their hands, and laid them upon the islands of this sea, such as Sicily, Crete, Malta, and others, which they invaded and took. They then directed their forces against the coast of Syria, and took possession of a great part of it, making themselves the masters of Jerusalem, where they built a church for their worship and religion. After this the Bení Khazrún²⁰ possessed themselves of Tripoli, Kábis,

¹⁹ The word here used for vessels is *الواح* the plural of *لوح* *lauh*, which I believe to be the origin of the Spanish word *laud*. Many are the maritime terms now used in Spain which are borrowed from the Arabic: *kófas* (the masts' tops) comes from *كف* *koff*, which means 'the hollow of the hands;'; *saetia* (a boat) from *شاطية* *shátiyyah*; *xabeque* and *xabega* (a species of small craft) from *شباكة* which means 'a fishing-net,' and also a boat provided with one; *al-madia* (a raft and a ferry-boat) from *المدية* *al-ma'diyyah*, &c.

²⁰ *بنو خزررون* The Bení Khazrún were a branch of the Maghráwah, who during the fifth century of the Hijra

and Safákis, making the inhabitants of those countries pay them a tribute. Soon after this they took possession of *Mahdiyyah*, the court of the 'Obeydite Sultáns, which they conquered from the Bení Balkín Ben Zeyrí, a family who had known prosperous times in the fifth century of the Hijra.

In the meanwhile the western sides of this sea not only were well guarded against any sudden attack, and provided with numerous vessels, but there was not the least chance for the enemy in that quarter; for, during the reign of the Lamtumnite Sultáns, their fleets were commanded by the Bení Maymún, who were independent governors of Cadiz. When after this 'Abdu-l-múmen, Sultán of the Almohades, established his empire in Andalus, and took Cadiz from the Bení Maymún, these chiefs, seeing that all resistance was useless, surrendered and swore allegiance to him, continuing all the time to serve in his fleets. Their vessels, which at one time amounted to one hundred, the Almohades drew from their states on the Andalusian and African shore. But when that dynasty became stronger by extending its sway over both Andalus and Africa, the command of the fleet was made by them a post of the greatest importance, and they bestowed upon this branch of their government more care and attention than had ever been bestowed by their predecessors. The command of their fleets was therefore given to a certain Ahmed Al-sakílí (the Sicilian), who drew his origin from the tribe of Sadúikush,²¹ a branch of the great family of the Sadghiyár, inhabiting the island of Jerbah. This man had, when young, been taken prisoner by the Christians, who, having landed on the island (Jerbah), took him with others into captivity, and carried him to their country (Sicily), where he lived and grew among them. In the course of time, however, he was liberated by the governor of Sicily, who, being satisfied with his services, was exceedingly kind to him. This governor having died, and being succeeded in command by his son, Ahmed was ill used by him in a dispute, when, not considering himself safe in Sicily, he made his escape, repaired to Túnis, and presented himself to the governor. From thence he went to Morocco, where he was honourably and kindly treated by the Khalif Yúsuf Al-'asrí,²² who made him a plentiful allowance, and appointed him to the command of his fleet. No sooner did Ahmed As-sakílí see himself at the head of the Moslem fleet, than he began to undertake expeditions against the Christians, gaining over them more than one signal victory, by which means the naval power of the Moslems attained in his time, and under the dynasty of the Almohades, a degree of splendour and strength which it was never known to possess either before or afterwards.

founded a powerful, but ephemeral, empire in Eastern Africa, having been soon after dispossessed by the Christians; since according to Ibnu Khaldún in his history of the Berbers, (No. 9575, fo. 72, verso,) Roger, first King of Sicily, having dispatched in A. H. five hundred and sixteen (A. D. 1122-3) a fleet under the command of Jorge (George), son of Michael, of Antiochia, *بحري بن ميخائيل* to ravage the coast of Africa, the Christian Admiral was completely successful: he took the cities of Mahdiyyah, Safákis, Tripoli, and Súsah.

²¹ *صدغيار - سدويكش* Ibnu Khaldún says in another part of his work (No. 9575, fo. 179) that the Sadghiyár (or as there written Sadghiyán) and the Sadúikush were two branches of the tribe of Kota'mah, by whom the island of Jerbah was principally peopled.

²² Abú Ya'kúb Yúsuf, the second Sultán of the Almohades.

When Saláhu-d-dín (Saladin) Ibn Ayúb, Sultán of Egypt and Syria, stirred himself to snatch from the hands of the Christians such fortresses and cities as they had taken on the frontiers of Syria, and to cleanse Jerusalem and its buildings from the filth of the infidels, the fleets and expeditions of the idolaters increased on every side, and innumerable vessels furrowed the seas from all the ports near Jerusalem, in order to convey supplies and reinforcements to those among their countrymen who held that city. At that time the naval forces of Alexandria could by no means compete with those of the Christians, owing to the repeated victories which the latter had gained in the eastern part of this sea, their numerous forces, and the weakness of the Moslems, who had been for a long time previous in a state of decadence, and without sufficient forces to oppose their undertakings. In this conflict Saladin addressed himself to Ya'kúb Al-mansúr, Sultán of Al-maghreb, and one of the Almohades, and asked him, through his ambassador 'Abdu-l-kerím Ibn Munkadh, the assistance of his navy in order to prevent the fleets of the idolaters from taking provisions and reinforcements to their brethren in Syria. Saladin's letter, which, according to Al-'ommád Al-asfahání, in his work entitled 'the signal victories,' was the composition of the illustrious writer Al-bísání, bore these words on the outside, "May God open for the majesty of our lord the gates of happiness and security!" But Al-mansúr having observed that he was not addressed in the letter as *Amír al-múmenín* (prince of the believers), was exceedingly annoyed by it, although he kept it a secret and did not communicate his displeasure to any one; so though he treated the ambassador with justice and generosity, he dismissed him from his court without granting his demand. We have mentioned this merely to let the reader form an idea of the maritime power of the Sultáns of Maghreb at this time, and sketch what happened to them with the Christians in the eastern quarters, and how these acquired a superiority in those seas.

However, after the death of Ya'kúb Al-mansúr, and the decadence which ensued of his empire, the Galicians having made themselves the masters of almost all the kingdoms which the Moslems possessed in Andalus, the true believers were obliged to fly for shelter to those provinces situate on the sea shore. The infidels, in the course of time, conquered all the islands in the west of the Mediterranean; their power increasing on those waters, and their fleets becoming very numerous: so that the forces of the Moslems were soon on a level with those of the Christians, as became manifest during the reign of the Sultán Abú-l-hasan, King of the Zenátah, in Al-maghreb, whose fleets, whenever they put to sea and met the enemy, had to contend against an equal number of vessels. This evil went on increasing until the Mohammedan power fell gradually into decay, and the science and practice of navigation were almost forgotten, owing to the inclinations of the Sultáns of that dynasty, who, being Beydawis or Bedouins, did not much relish the sea. This contributed to interrupt the traffic and the communication with Andalus by sea, and allowed the Christians to resume their old habits, and recommence their adventurous enterprises, thus becoming again by their experience and their continual sailing the masters of the seas. The Moslems, on the contrary, became quite strangers to navigation, if we except a few of the people inhabiting the coast, who seemed still to possess some inclination to that element, and who, through the help and assistance of all kinds bestowed on them by the African powers, have hitherto been enabled to maintain the holy war by sea. In this state has the navy continued until our days,

when, through the care and attention of the different sovereigns of the present reigning dynasty, who all have considered this as one of their principal and most important duties, it is fast rising from its decay, and the wind has again sprung up favourably for the Moslems. Nay, if we are to believe a prophecy current among the people of this country, the Moslems shall recover in the end their naval superiority over the Christians, and conquer all those countries lying across the sea where their religion is predominant; this being accomplished by means of their fleets. May Allah favour the Moslems!

APPENDIX C.

An account of Al-hakem's Library and its destruction, extracted from the work of Sá'id, of Toledo.

THE volume from which the following extract is taken is a thin octavo, containing 146 pages; it is written incorrectly, and in a sort of hand approaching the *ta'lik*. The title reads thus: تعليقات من

كتاب التعريف بطبقات الامم تاليف القاضي ابي القاسم صاعد بن احمد بن صاعد الاندلسي

الطلبطي 'Hasty notes or extracts taken from the work (entitled) the book of information on the classes of nations,' by the Kádí Abu-l-kásim Sá'id Ibn Ahmed Ibn Sá'id, of Toledo. But although, immediately after the title, there follow in the MS. extracts from the work of that historian, the contents of the volume, which is written in different hands, are various. The first twenty-two pages only of the MS. are extracts from the work of Sá'id. After this come two chapters from the Korán. Then follow other extracts from Ibnu Sa'id Al-maghrebí and Abú-l-fedá; and, lastly, the volume ends with an historical work, in Turkish, entitled, if I am not mistaken, نظم التواريخ 'the necklace of the annals.'

The first part of the volume (*i. e.* the extracts from Sá'id, of Toledo,) is exceedingly interesting, being the only fragment preserved in any Library of Europe from the work of an historian who enjoys great reputation among his countrymen; a work which, were we to judge of its contents by the short extracts in this volume, must have been one of the greatest value.

Sá'id begins by giving a concise history of mankind, divided into various races or nations,—Ancient Persians, Chaldæans, Greeks, Copts, Turks, Hindús, and Chinese. He then divides mankind into nations who laboured for the attainment of science, and nations who did not do so; he counts among the former the Hindús, Persians, Chaldæans, Greeks, Romans, Egyptians, Arabs, and Hebrews, including the remainder in the number of those who did not cultivate the sciences. He then begins with a short account of each of them, and, after giving a concise history of those nations who exhibited a taste for learning, proceeds with a sketch of their improvements in the sciences, and the eminent men they produced. The account he gives of the Greeks and Romans is well worthy of attention, and, considering that it is the work of an Arabian writer, is sufficiently accurate. It is from the chapter treating of the Arabs that the following extract is taken.

The author is Sá'id Ibn Ahmed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ibn Mohammed Ibn Sá'id, Kádí of Toledo, of the

sect of Málík. He was a native of Almeria, but his family were originally from Cordova. He died, according to Ibnu Bashkúwál, quoted by Casiri (*Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.* vol. ii. p. 142, c. 2), on the 4th day of Shawwál, A. H. 462, and not as Háji Khalfah (voc. *Ta'rif*) states, in 250. I cannot imagine what made that accurate bibliographer commit such a mistake, since there can be no doubt that the work was written during the reign of Yahya Ibn Isma'íl, who filled the throne of Toledo until 469, and who appointed Sá'id to the charge of Kádí of the principal mosque in the capital of his dominions. He himself says so, and alludes in several places of his work to his being occupied in its composition in the year 460. Besides, in the note at the end of these extracts, it is also stated that Sá'id completed his work in that year.

But to return to our account of the Andalusian philosophers. Towards the middle of the third century of the Hijra, and in the days of the Amír Mohammed, Sultán of Cordova, and the fifth in the line of the Bení Umeyyah, the learned of Andalus exerted themselves in the cultivation of science, and laboured in it with assiduity, giving evident proofs of their acquisitions in all manner of learning. This continued until towards the middle of the fourth century, when the Sultán Al-hakem, son of the Sultán 'Abdu-r-rahmán An-nássir lidíni-llah, having ascended the throne, the cultivation of letters received a new impulse, and by his encouragement of all sorts of studies, by his unwonted liberality towards the learned, whom he invited to his capital from Baghdád, Cairo, and other distant countries, and, above all, by his exquisite taste for literature, which he had cultivated with success during his father's lifetime, the torch of science shone brighter than ever. Indeed, this illustrious monarch spared neither trouble nor expense to propagate learning in his states by all the means in his power. He caused all sorts of rare and curious books to be purchased by his agents in Cairo, Baghdád, Damascus, Alexandria, and other great cities in the East; and no work on ancient or modern science was discovered that was not immediately procured at any cost and sent to him. By these means he collected a richer and more extensive library than the Khalifs of the 'Abbaside dynasty ever did during the whole period of their reign, and the learned of Andalus devoted their attention to the study of the sciences contained in the books of the ancients, and, encouraged by the example of the monarch, made rapid progress in the most abstruse and exquisite learning. This lasted until the death of the Khalif Al-hakem, which happened in the month of Safar of the year three hundred and sixty-six (Oct. A. D. 976), when he was succeeded by his son, Hishám Al-muyad-billah, who was still very young. However, when the Wizír Abú 'A'mir Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Abí 'A'mir Mohammed Ibni-l-walíd Ibn Yezíd Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek Ibn 'A'mir Al-mu'áferí Al-kahttání usurped the empire, as is well known, and took the direction of public affairs entirely into his hands, he followed a different course, and in order to conciliate the favour of theologians, and other austere men who were averse to the cultivation of the philosophical sciences, commanded a search to be made in Al-hakem's library, and all works on philosophy and astronomy and other similar subjects treated by the ancients, with the exception of books on medicine and arithmetic, were by his orders removed, and either burnt in the squares of the city, or thrown into the wells and cisterns of the palace, where they were soon destroyed by the heaps of dust, stones, and other rubbish cast over them. The only books which were suffered to remain in Al-hakem's library were works treating of rhetoric, grammar, poetry, history,

medicine, law, traditions, and other sciences generally cultivated by the people of Andalus; and all others treating either of natural philosophy, astronomy, or the doctrines of the ancients, were, with the exception of a few which escaped the eyes of the searchers, destroyed for ever. This act of Al-mansúr has been attributed by the historians of the time to his desire of gaining popularity with the multitude, and thereby finding less opposition to his ambitious views, and casting a sort of stain upon the memory of the Khalif Al-hakem, whose throne he sought to usurp; for, although the study of those sciences had been forbidden by his ancestors, Al-hakem encouraged them in his dominions, and countenanced and protected all those who cultivated them. Al-mansúr, however, having publicly shown his disapprobation of these studies, all those who were found indulging in them were declared impious men by the heads of the law, so that the learned had carefully to conceal their knowledge of these matters for fear of coming into contact with the judges, and being condemned as heretics and people who wanted to introduce new practices and opinions on the received religion. Whoever, therefore, had formerly studied and taught the philosophical sciences publicly, had now to conceal his learning from his most intimate friends, for fear of being denounced; and if he still persevered in his studies he would do it with the greatest secrecy, taking care not to raise the least suspicion by his words or by his writings, which he would publicly confine to medicine, arithmetic, moral philosophy, and so forth.

This state of things lasted until the overthrow of the Bení Umeyyah dynasty, when the dominions of that powerful family fell to the share of the rebels who rose against them at the beginning of the fifth century of the Hijra, and who divided among themselves the inheritance of the Khalifs. These petty sovereigns, it is true, encouraged literature, but their efforts were principally directed towards poetry, grammar, history, and other common arts; and the proscribed sciences remained as before in complete disgrace. In the meanwhile the city of Cordova was occupied sometimes by one, sometimes by another, of these rebel princes; and the temporary masters of the capital claiming, as was natural, a supremacy over the rest of Andalus, the fire of discord was kindled, and its consuming flames spread rapidly through this country, destroying every where the monuments of the arts and the sciences. In one of these civil dissensions Cordova was invaded and sacked, the palace of the Khalifs was levelled with the ground, and the costly furniture, the rich tapestry, the splendid collection of books formed by Al-hakem, were plundered, and sold in distant countries at the lowest prices. However, most of the literary treasures which the royal library contained were scattered through this country; some were taken to Seville, some to Granada, some to Almeria and other principal cities; I myself met with many in this city (Toledo) that were saved from the general ruin, and in the number there were a few which escaped the search and destruction made in the days of Al-mansúr, and whose contents might, if detected, have brought upon them a similar fate.

With these precious relics the study of the works of the ancient philosophers revived, the learned of this country began again to graze and feed upon the pasturages of philosophy, the studious acquired little by little a taste for the natural sciences; the petty sovereigns of Andalus bestowing some encouragement upon their professors until the present day, being the year

460 of the Hijra,¹ when it may be confidently asserted, without fear of contradiction, that the above-mentioned studies are more flourishing than ever they were in this country, and more extensively cultivated than the most easy and common branches of learning. God be praised for it! Their progress, however, might be still quicker, were it not impeded by the austerity and devotion of some of our kings, who, like their predecessors, have a dislike for them; were it not that the learned of our times are year after year obliged to lay down the pen, and, grasping the sword, to repair to the defence of our frontiers attacked by the infidels, whose continual invasions they could not otherwise resist; this being the reason why the study of science is not so universal as it ought to be, and that the learned are but few.

APPENDIX D.

A narrative of the principal events attending the conquest of Spain by the Moslems, translated from the كتاب الاكتفاء في اخبار الخلفاء Kitábu-l-iktifá fí akhbári-l-kholafá, or 'the book of sufficiency on the history of the Khalifs,' by Abú Ja'far Ibn 'Abdi-l-hakk Al-khazráji Al-kortobí (Ar. MS. in the translator's collection).

THE MS. to which I allude is a folio volume of about 480 pages, written in a clear African hand, strongly resembling the old Kúfí, upon brown cotton paper. The first four leaves and the last eight are supplied by a modern hand, upon white paper, manufactured in Europe. Owing to this circumstance, it is impossible for me to fix with certainty the age of the MS., but, were I to judge from the sort of hand-writing used in it, and other signs which I shall presently specify, I should not hesitate in declaring it an autograph written at Seville towards the year five hundred and seventy of the Hijra (A. D. 1174-5). My reasons for deeming it such are as follow: 1st. The hand-writing is the same as that of many Arabic MSS. of the same period in the Escorial, which are executed in a hand peculiar to Seville, and to which Ibnu-l-khattíb frequently alludes in his history of Granada, called الحط الاشبيلي 'the Sevilian hand-writing.' 2nd. Nowhere are the words *kála-l-muwallif* ('the author says'), *kála-l-muwarrikh* ('the historian relates'), and other similar expressions, which are generally met with in transcripts of Arabic works, to be found in this. 3rd. The MS. abounds with many corrections and marginal references, which could not be the work of a transcriber, since, in most instances, the meaning would be incomplete without them.

The name of the author is nowhere stated in the MS.; for although, according to the general custom, a blank was left in the first page by the copyist who supplied the leaves, for the purpose of inserting it in gold letters, this requisite is wanting. On the other hand, Háji Khalfah, whose work is particularly deficient in the literature of the Spanish Moslems, knew not the book. But as Ibnu Sa'id, in his addition to Ibn Hazm's epistle (see p. 194 of this translation), has spoken of an historical work whose title and description answer exactly to those of the present, and which he there attributes to Abú Ja'far

¹ Sá'id survived the composition of this work only two years.

Ibn 'Abdi-l-hakk Al-khazráj Al-kortobí, we may reasonably conclude, for want of a better proof, that he was the author of the present.

The contents of the work are a very detailed and circumstantial history of the Khalifs. After a short introduction, in which the principal events in the life of the Prophet are graphically portrayed, the author proceeds to Abú Bekr, and the Khalifs, his successors. In the chapter treating on Al-walíd, under whose empire Spain was subdued, the author introduces a sort of episodical chapter, entitled "An account of the conquest of Andalus by the Moslems," the same which is here translated; he then goes on to his successor Suleymán, and the remaining Khalifs of the house of Umeyyah; after which he describes, although rapidly, the foundation of the throne of Cordova by 'Abdu-r-rahmán I., and the principal events of the reigns of his successors, until the extinction of the Umeyyah dynasty in Spain, and the breaking up of their once powerful and compact empire into sundry ephemeral and precarious principalities. He then relates in great detail the taking of Toledo by Alfonso VII., the subjection of Spain to the Almoravides, the expulsion of these by the Almohades, &c., up to the time of Abú Yúsuf Ya'kúb, surnamed Al-mansúr, who reigned from A. H. five hundred and fifty-eight to five hundred and ninety-five (A. D. 1162-98); and this he does in so elegant a style, with so much order and criticism, and apparently with such correct information, that few Arabic chronicles have passed through my hands which can compete with it in point of utility and merit. The book ends with a history of the eastern Khalifs of the house of 'Abbás, up to the reign of Al-mámún Mohammed, son of Al-muktafi bi-amri-llah, who began his reign in 560 of the Hijra.

The passage which I here translate is of no great importance in itself, as several sentences from it will be found already translated in the text, (Al-makkari having either possessed a copy of this very work, or derived his information from writers who literally transcribed this author's words;) but it is highly interesting, as giving a continuous narrative of the events attending the conquest, as they were current in the author's time, and as affording a proof that as early as the twelfth century of our era the fabulous accounts and the extraordinary events coupled by the Spanish chroniclers with the Saracen invasion were no invention of theirs, but are met with in the works of the Arabs.

An account of the conquest of Andalus.

At the time of the conquest of Africa by the Arabs, Maghreb and Andalus were in the hands of the Rúm¹ and Berbers. The former were in possession of Andalus and all the opposite coast of Africa; the latter held all the interior and the deserts. Among the Berbers there were some who listened to the voice of their preachers, and embraced Islám; others shut their ears to it, and remained in ignorance and idolatry.

There was in Tangiers a Rúmí, named Ilyán, who was *Al-mukaddam*² of Ludherik, King of Andalus, who held his court at Toledo. This monarch is the same under whose reign Andalus was invaded and subdued by the Arabs. One of the causes which is said to have contributed most efficaciously to that event is the following. There was at Toledo a palace

¹ By Rúm the African authors designate not only the Romans, the original meaning of that word, but also all those nations who held portions of the old Roman empire, and professed Christianity. See Ibnu Khaldún's History of the Berbers, No. 9575, fo. 40, *et seq.*, and the note 16 to chap. i. book iv. of this translation, where the meaning of this word is satisfactorily explained.

² The word *المقدم* *Al-mukaddam* means literally 'he who goes forward, a captain of the van, the commander of a body of troops on the enemy's frontier.' It is the origin of the Spanish word *Abocaden*, which has precisely the same meaning.

the gate of which was secured with many locks,³ for every king who ruled over that country added a lock to the gate, and none ever dared to open it; nor did any one know what it contained. The number of the locks had already reached to twenty, one for each of the kings who had governed that country when the said Ludherik ascended the throne of Andalus. He then said, "I must have the gate of this palace opened, that I may see what 'is inside;" but his counts and bishops said to him, "Do no such thing, O King! Do not 'innovate upon a custom which thy predecessors have hitherto kept most religiously." But Ludherik replied, "No, you shall not persuade me, I must have it opened, and see what 'it contains." He then caused the gate to be thrown open, but he found nothing inside save a large roll of parchment, on which were portrayed figures of turbaned men mounted on generous steeds, having swords in their hands, and spears with fluttering pennons at the end. The roll contained besides an inscription, purporting, "The men represented in this picture 'are the Arabs, the same who, whenever the locks of this palace are broken, will invade this 'island and subdue it entirely." When Ludherik saw this, he repented of what he had done, and ordered the gate to be shut.

It was then the custom among the Rúm for all the people of rank to send their daughters to the royal palace, to be brought up with the daughters of their sovereign. There they were all educated together, and taught the same accomplishments, and, when grown up, the king would marry them to the most distinguished people of his dominions, and grant them marriage portions, by which means he secured the affections of the husbands, the wives, and their children. It happened that in compliance with this usage, Ilyán,⁴ the governor of Tangiers and Ceuta, who was one of Ludherik's favourites, and one of the most powerful lords of his kingdom, sent his daughter to Toledo, where she was accordingly lodged in the king's palace. Ilyán used to visit Ludherik once a year, in the month of August, when he always brought with him presents for his master, such as hawks for the chase, and other productions of Africa. Ilyán's daughter being extremely handsome, the eye of Ludherik rested on her, and he became deeply enamoured, but, failing in persuasion, he obtained by force the gratification of his wishes. However, he afterwards repented of what he had done, and ordered that his act should be kept a secret, and that the girl should be hindered from speaking to any one, lest she should write to her father and acquaint him with what had occurred. But notwithstanding all these precautions, the girl soon contrived to acquaint her father with her situation by sending him a splendid present, and among the articles composing it a rotten egg. No sooner did Ilyán see this than he understood the message, and saw that his daughter had been dishonoured; he immediately crossed over to Andalus, and repaired to Toledo, although contrary to orders, and out of the time fixed for his presentation, it being then the month of January. When Ludherik saw Ilyán come so unexpectedly, he said to him, "O Ilyán! what ails thee, to come to me at this season of the year, in the depth of

³ In one of the old editions of the *Cronica de Don Rodrigo* (Toledo, 1549,) there is a large wood-cut which represents the Gothic monarch in front of a strong tower, the massive door of which is secured by seven ponderous padlocks. A bishop and some noblemen are at his side, entreating him not to violate the sacred precincts.

⁴ *إليان* is not pointed here, nor is it in other MSS., but I have already stated my reasons for pronouncing Ilyán, not Julian.

"winter?" and Ilyán answered, "I come to fetch my daughter, for her mother is very ill, and I fear her death, and she has expressed a strong desire to see our daughter, that she may console her in her last moments." Then Ludherik observed, "Hast thou procured us the hawks we told thee of?" "Yes, I have," answered Ilyán, "I have found thee such as thou never sawest the like of in thy life; I shall soon return with them, and bring them to thee, if God be pleased." Ilyán was all the time meaning the Arabs. He then took his daughter, and returned without loss of time to the seat of his government, where no sooner had he arrived than he went to Ifrikiyyah (Eastern Africa), and entered Cairwán, where the Amír Músa Ibn Nosseyr was residing at the time. This Músa was the son of Nosseyr, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, son of Zeyd Al-bekrí; he was born in the year nineteen of the Hijra, under the Khalifate of 'Omar Ibnu-l-khattáb, (may God show him his favours!) Músa's father had been captain of the guard to Mu'awiyah⁵ Ibn Abí Sufyán, and when that Khalif made war against 'Alí, (may God show him his favours!) he would not accompany him, and refused to take part in the expedition. "What prevented thee," said Mu'awiyah to him afterwards, "from accompanying me in this expedition against 'Alí, when my hand has never ceased pouring favours upon thee?" "It was not in my power," replied Nosseyr, "to take part in an impious act against him to whom I am more indebted than I am to thee." "And who is he?" inquired Mu'awiyah. "God Almighty, may his name be exalted!" said Músa. "What!" said the Khalif, "hast thou no gratitude for thy benefactors?" "And have I not shown it on several occasions?" replied Nosseyr. He then kept silence and went away, when Mu'awiyah remained silent and thoughtful for a while, and then said, "I implore God's pardon; may he show his favours to 'Alí!"

But, to return, Músa obtained the government of Eastern Africa in the year seventy-nine of the Hijra (beginning 19th March, A. D. 698), others say in seventy-eight, and was, therefore, the viceroy of all the Arabian conquests of Eastern and Western Africa during the Khalifate of 'Abdu-l-malek. After the death of this monarch he was confirmed in his post by his brother and successor, Al-wálid. To this Músa, Ilyán, governor of Tangiers, came to offer his services. He found him at Cairwán, told him what had happened to his daughter, and, anxious to revenge the outrage on his enemy, proposed to him to make the conquest of Andalus, an undertaking which he represented to him as being of very easy execution. He described Andalus as an extensive kingdom, filled with treasures of all kinds, whose inhabitants would make very handsome slaves, a country abounding in springs, gardens, rivers, and a land yielding every description of fruit and plants. Músa, who was endowed with much penetration and wit, and who had great experience in all the affairs of war, said to the Christian, "We doubt not that thou art telling us the truth, but we fear for the sake of the Moslems, and the dangers they may encounter. Thou wishest them to invade a country with which they are not in the least degree acquainted, and from which they are separated by an intervening sea, while thou art bound to thy king by the common ties of the idolaters, and united to thy countrymen by the same customs and the same religion. But return to thy

⁵ The name of this Khalif is sometimes written معاوية but more generally معاوية

“government, call together thy vassals and partisans, cross the Straits in person, and make an incursion into the territory of that king. When thou hast done thus, and begun hostilities, then will it be time for us to follow thy steps, if God be pleased.”

Ilyán agreed to these conditions, and prepared for his intended expedition. Músa then wrote to Al-walíd Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek, acquainting him with what Ilyán had proposed to him, and the Khalif's answer was as follows: “Let the country be first explored by light troops, that thou mayest judge of the real strength of the enemy, and be sure not to be the victim of treason.” Ilyán in the meanwhile returned to his government, called together his men, and, crossing the Straits in two vessels, landed at Jezíratu-l-khadhrá, whence he made incursions into the land, burning the houses and fields, killing, taking captives, and collecting considerable spoil; after which he and his companions returned safe to Africa, their hands filled with booty. The news of this success soon spread over every district of Africa, the result being that about three thousand Berbers, collected under the orders of Abú Zar'ah Taríf Ibn Málík Al-mu'áwí,⁶ crossed the sea, and landed on an island ever since called ‘the island of Taríf,’ from the name of their general. Like their predecessors, the Berbers with Taríf spread over the neighbouring country, making incursions, killing, and taking prisoners. They also returned safe into Africa. Ilyán then hastened to apprise Músa of this new victory, and Músa informed the Khalif of it; it is even said that the very same day on which Músa's messenger was introduced into the Khalif's presence, eleven more messengers, all bearing news of similar victories obtained by the Arabs in the various quarters of the globe, reached the court of Damascus, and that Al-walíd fell immediately on his knees and praised God. But to return.

Ilyán went a second time to Músa, and acquainted him with the success of both enterprises; he told him of what he had executed and the experiment he had tried, and he again urged him to make the conquest of Andalus. This time Músa sent for his freedman Tárik Ibn Zeyád, and gave him the command of twelve thousand men, Arabs and Berbers; he then commanded him to cross the Straits and invade Andalus, bidding Ilyán accompany also the expedition with his own troops. Before Tárik left Africa a great number of volunteers flocked under his banners; he first went to Ceuta, and, having embarked in vessels,⁷ he cast anchor close to a mountain, which received his name, and was ever since called Jebal-Tárik, ‘the mountain of Tárik.’ This event took place in the year ninety-three of the Hijra (beginning October, A.D. 711).⁸

When Tárik was about to land he found some of the Rúm posted on a commodious part of the coast where he had intended to disembark, who made some show of resistance. But Tárik, giving up that spot, sailed off from it at night and went towards another part of the coast, which he contrived to render flat by means of the oars, and by throwing over them the

⁶ البعاوي I have said elsewhere that this word was to be read thus, Al-mugháferí.

⁷ جاز في مراكب (he crossed in vessels). The sense is not complete; I believe that التجار (merchants) is wanting, as it is elsewhere stated (see p. 266) that Tárik's army was conveyed to Spain in merchant-vessels procured by Ilyán.

⁸ This date must be incorrect, since the generality of the Arabian writers, supported by the authority of the Christian chroniclers themselves, have fixed this memorable event to the year 92.

saddles of the horses, and in this way he managed to effect a landing unobserved by his enemies and before they were aware of it. He then began to make incursions into the country, and fell upon the Rúm, and collected considerable spoil, penetrating as far as Cordova, after setting fire to the vessels which had conveyed him to Spain. He said to his men, "You must either fight or die." He met an old woman who addressed him thus: "I had once a husband who was learned in divination, and who used to say that a man of thy figure and shape, having a prominent forehead, and a black spot upon his shoulder, with a mole covered with hair, would cross over to this island." Tárik then uncovered his shoulder and showed the spot and the mole to his men, who rejoiced at the good omen, and felt their courage very much strengthened by the fortunate circumstance.

When the news of Tárik's landing reached Ludherik, that monarch sallied out to meet him at the head of one hundred thousand cavalry, bringing his treasures as well as his wardrobe in waggons. The tyrant came on a litter borne by three mules placed in a row;⁹ a vaulted canopy, sprinkled with pearls, rubies, and the richest jewels, was spread over him to screen him from the rays of the sun; he was dressed in a robe made of strings of pearls, interwoven with silk, and followed by long trains of mules whose only load was ropes to pinion the arms of the captives, for he did not doubt that he would soon make every one of the Arabs his prisoner.

Before Tárik sailed for Andalus, Músa fell on his knees, and began to pray, and to shed tears, and to implore the assistance of Almighty God, and to pray most fervently for his help and interference in favour of the Moslem troops. It has been said of him that no army which he commanded ever fled before the enemy. However, Ludherik marched his army to Cordova, meaning to attack Tárik; and when he came close to him he (Ludherik) chose among his host a man of tried courage and experienced in the affairs and stratagems of war; he directed him to go under some pretence to Tárik's camp, and observe all the movements of his men, so as to be able to report to him on their numbers, looks, and general appearance. The man did as he was commanded; he approached the tents of the Moslems, and Tárik, having been informed of it, put into practice the following stratagem in order to overawe his enemies. He ordered the flesh of the slain to be cut piecemeal, and to be dressed as if it were to be served for the men's repast; Tárik's men did as they were ordered, they cut up the dead bodies and cooked the flesh in large cauldrons; and when Ludherik's messenger saw this he doubted not but that the Moslems fed upon dead bodies. However, Tárik, having caused the human flesh to be privately removed and buried during the night, had beef and mutton dressed in its stead, and, when in the morning the men were summoned to partake of their repast, Ludherik's messenger was also invited to partake of it, and he ate along with them. The repast concluded, the messenger returned to his master, and said to him, "Thy kingdom has been invaded by a nation of people who feed upon the flesh of the slain; their description is the same as that found by thee in the sealed palace; they have set fire to their vessels, and seem determined either to conquer or to perish." This news filled Ludherik and his men with utter consternation, but the contest had now become inevitable, and both armies

⁹ Rodericus Toletanus adds that the mules were white. See *De Reb. Hisp.* apud Schottum, vol. ii. p. 64.

came to an engagement on a Sunday. The Moslems sustained the fight with great courage; they charged desperately and at once upon the infidels, whom God was pleased to put to flight, for their first ranks having given way, they were closely pursued by the Moslems, dealing death among their scattered bands and making numbers of them prisoners. What became of their king, Ludherik, nobody knows; they pretend that while flying from his pursuers he contrived to hide himself among the bushes on the banks of the river, but that he came up to a marsh¹⁰ and was drowned; in corroboration of which it is said that some soldiers found one of his sandals, sprinkled with pearls and rubies, having the strings¹¹ still fixed to it, which no doubt fell off one of his feet. So precious were its materials that when, after the battle, the division of the spoil was made, it was valued at one hundred thousand dinárs. Ludherik's camp was, moreover, completely plundered, and the Moslems spread right and left over the country, gaining every where considerable spoils, of which Tárik religiously put aside the fifth for the royal coffers, distributing the remainder among all those present at the battle, by which means the hands of his men were filled, and all, without one exception, became rich.

When the people on the other side of the sea were informed of Tárik's success they flocked to him from all parts, from the East as well as from the West, and Músa dispatched immediately a messenger to the Khalif Al-walíd, informing him of the victories gained by the Moslems. Tárik, in the meanwhile, marched to Toledo, which he took; he then went to a place beyond that city, where he found in the principal church the table of Suleymán, son of Dáúd, (on whom be peace!) which was so beautiful to behold that whoever gazed at it the world vanished before his eyes. It was inlaid with precious stones of various kinds and hues, as well as with aromatic woods; it was, besides, most beautifully ornamented with several inscriptions in the Greek tongue. But this was not the only jewel which Tárik found; he seized also on one-and-twenty copies of the Torah, the Gospels, and the Psalms, as well as a copy of the book of Abraham, and another of that of Moses, (the salutation of our Lord be on them!) He found, likewise, five-and-twenty royal diadems, beautifully ornamented with jewels, one for each of the kings who had ruled over the country, since it was a custom among them for every monarch to deposit there before his death a crown of gold bearing an inscription indicative of his name, personal description, duration of his life and reign, and the children he had. He found also several books treating of the manner of using plants, minerals, and animals, advantageously for man, besides many wonderful talismans, the work of ancient philosophers, and another work on the great art,¹² and its roots and elixirs;—all

¹⁰ فصادف غدايرا فغرق فيها The word *ghadáyira* is the plural of *ghadíra*, meaning 'a tank, a receptacle for stagnant waters, a lake.' It has been preserved in the Spanish *guadayra* or *gadayra*, as it ought to be pronounced. The river Guadayra owed its name to this circumstance,—its still waters flowing through a marshy ground.

¹¹ The text says عليه الخيل The word خيل which I have translated by 'the strings of a sandal' means 'the eye-lids,' and also 'a fringe at the bottom of a gown.'

¹² الصناعة الكبرى is what the Spaniards call "Arte mayor," and is applied to that science which teaches the construction of talismans, charms, &c.

these precious objects, together with an immense quantity of rubies and other coloured gems, stored in golden and silver urns of beautiful workmanship, and ornamented with large pearls, were the fruits of Tárík's conquest.

After penetrating far into the country of the Rúm, Tárík returned to Cordova, and fixed his abode in that city. He is reported to have made war on the infidels until they came up to him like cattle, and like so many tamed beasts, and until his men were exhausted through excessive marching, and their bodies dried up through privations and fatigue, when they unanimously said to him, "Have we not conquered enough countries, that thou seemest not yet satisfied?" and Tárík burst out laughing, and said, "By Allah! were I to consult my wishes only, I would march with you until we had reached the gates of Rome, or those of Constantinople, and gained possession of those cities, with God's permission; but since you are tired and weary, you had better return."

They say that when Músa was made acquainted with these words of Tárík to his men, he began to be envious of him, and to fear lest the fame of his exploits, and of his praiseworthy conduct, should reach the ears of Al-walíd, and he should rise in favour with the Khalif, and perhaps be appointed his own superior in command: he therefore hastened to cross the sea with ten thousand horse, taking with him many illustrious Arabs, in the number of whom were several *tábi's*, (may God be favourable to them!) such as Hansh Ibn 'Abdillah As-san'ání, 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Yezíd Al-bajekí, 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Shamásah Al-misrí, Abú-l-nadhar Hayyán¹⁴ Ibn Abí Hoblah, a *maulí* of the Bení 'Abdi-d-dar; some add Jebel Ibn Hasanah and various others, to the number of twenty-five. Músa landed at Algesiras, and took the road to Cordova; he was met by Tárík, who treated him with respect and submission, but Músa, raising his staff, gave him a blow on the head, and continued marching until he reached Cordova.¹⁵ Once there, he said to Tárík, "Bring me all the spoil thou hast made, and all the treasures thou hast found," and Tárík obeyed and brought before him all he had taken, as well as the table; but this with only two feet, for the third he had previously taken away and hidden, foreseeing what would take place. Músa took possession of all these inestimable treasures without even thanking Tárík, who was the first to acquire them. As to the table, it was made of a solid piece of emerald, but, as stated before, it wanted one of the feet¹⁶ and the whole of the border, seeing which, Músa said to him, "What is the meaning of this?" and Tárík replied, "So I found it," and Músa believed him, and caused a foot of gold to be wrought and to be fixed to it instead of the one wanting: he then asked him to deliver into his hands the fifth of all the spoil taken since his arrival in Andalus, and Tárík having also complied with this demand, Músa became possessed of countless treasures. After this Músa

¹⁴ Instead of Hayyán I find in the MS. *حبان* Habbán, by the omission of one point, but I have no doubt the former was intended.

¹⁵ This passage is very remarkable, since Tárík is said to have met his master, Músa, between Cordova and Algesiras, which is contrary to the statement of all other historians, who assert that the interview took place between the former city and Toledo.

¹⁶ The text only says *خرط منها أرجلها و حواشيها* 'the feet and the borders had been detached from it;' but, by adding *احد* the meaning is complete.

left Cordova, and repaired to Toledo; he went even beyond that capital, reducing no less than eighteen principal cities, gaining much spoil, and making numbers of prisoners, after which he returned, but still persevered in making war on the infidels, and fulfilling that holy precept during his stay in Andalus, which lasted three years.

After this Músa left Andalus, taking Tárik with him, and leaving his son 'Abdu-l-'azíz¹⁷ to command in his absence. Arrived in Africa, where he made a short stay, he departed for Damascus, the court of the prince of the believers, Al-walíd, then the reigning Khalif, taking with him all the spoil of Andalus, consisting of thirty skins full of gold and silver coin, necklaces of inestimable value, pearls, rubies, topazes, and emeralds, besides costly robes of all sorts; he was followed by eleven hundred prisoners, men, women, and children, of whom four hundred were princes of the royal blood. Not far from Damascus Músa was informed how Al-walíd was seriously indisposed and not expected to live, and he received a letter from his brother and heir, Suleymán, begging him to delay his entry into Damascus until his brother was dead and himself on the throne, but, instead of complying with his request, Músa quickened his march, and arrived in Damascus with all his suite before the death of the Khalif; although, owing to the bad state of his health, Músa was unable to present to him his treasures, and Al-walíd died without appreciating as they deserved the many curiosities brought by Músa.

Músa's arrival in Africa to take possession of his government is generally fixed in the month of Jumádí-l-awal of the year seventy-nine (July or August, A. D. 698), he being then sixty years old. His landing on the coast of Andalus took place in the year ninety-three (A. D. 712). He left Africa in the year ninety-five, and arrived in Damascus in ninety-six (A. D. 714-5), after having been for sixteen years at the head of the Moslem armies of Africa and Spain. Soon after Músa's arrival Al-walíd died.

APPENDIX E.

THE MS. which forms the subject of this Appendix is likewise in my possession. It is a folio volume of about three hundred and fifty pages, written in a very loose African hand, upon coarse yellowish paper of Egyptian manufacture. The MS. bears no date, nor is the name of the copyist any where mentioned; but I learn from a note¹ at the end of the volume that the MS. from which mine professes to be a copy was executed in the year nine hundred and sixty of the Hijra (A. D. 1554); so that if this be taken into consideration, as well as the hand-writing and general appearance of

¹⁷ The MS. says his brother, and makes him the son of Nosseyr, أخاه عبد العزيز بن نصير, but I have not hesitated in correcting it as above.

وكان الفراغ من النسخة المنتسخ منها عام ستين و تسعماية¹

the MS., I cannot be very far from the mark when I suppose it to have been written in the ensuing century. (See Preface.)

The work is entitled *أحاديث الإمامة و السياسة* 'traditions of commandment and government,' or rather, 'traditional stories relating to supreme commanders and wise rulers,' and is attributed to Abú Mohammed 'Abdillāh Ibn Moslem Ibn Koteybah Ad-dinawarí, a celebrated writer of the third century of the Hijra. Its contents are a history of the Eastern Khalifs, from Abú Bekr down to the time of Hárún Ar-rashíd (A. H. 8 to 192). The work is divided into two books of nearly the same size, the first ending with the death of the Khalif Mu'awiyah Ibn Abí Sufyán; the second with that of Hárún Ar-rashíd. In the first book is introduced a detailed history of Músa, and of his conquests in Africa and Spain, together with a short account of the principal events which occurred in those countries until their separation from the Eastern empire.

Ibn Koteybah, the supposed author of this book, is well known to have written two works on Eastern history, one entitled '*Oyúnu-t-tawárikh* (fountains of history); the other, *Kitábu-l-ma'árif fí akhbári-l-'arabi wa ansábihum* (the book of information respecting the history and genealogy of the Arabs). Yet, notwithstanding this circumstance, and that his name is, as usual, written in capital letters at the beginning of the first page, I have strong reasons to suspect that the present work has been falsely attributed to him. Oriental scholars know too well what little faith can be placed in the titles and names of the authors of Oriental books, as stated by booksellers, when there is nothing else to corroborate the statement. Such is the case with the present work. Hájí Khalfah, who has preserved us the titles of many of Ibn Koteybah's works, makes not the slightest mention of this. On the other hand, Ibn Khallekán, As-sadfi, Abú-l-mahásen, all of whom wrote in great detail the life of that author, do not mention the present among his literary productions. The same might be said of Abú-l-fedá (*An. Mosl.* vol. i. p. 330-356, *et seq.*), Ibn Shihnah, and other historians, who have treated at length on his life and writings; and it is hardly credible that an historical work—the production of a writer who is justly considered as one of the most eminent ornaments of Arabian literature—should have escaped either the search of the diligent bibliographer, or the attention of his many biographers and panegyrists.

But there are other circumstances connected with the work which convince me that it was not written by Ibn Koteybah. 1st. As will be seen in the following extracts, the author, whoever he may be, repeatedly gives his information as derived from persons who were either the friends or the relations of people who assisted in the conquest of Spain; and this could not well be the case with Ibn Koteybah, whose birth took place one hundred and twenty-one years after that memorable event. 2nd. The style in which the work is written is very different from that of the *Adabu-l-kátib* (Arab. MS. in the Brit. Mus., No. 7464), the *Muntekhab fí-l-loghah* (Arab. MS., *ib.*, No. 7525), and other productions of the same author which have passed through my hands. 3rd. Nowhere in the work do the names occur of Abú Hátim As-sejestání, Suleymán Ibn Abí Bekr Al-ayadí, and other eminent theologians, who, according to Ibn Khallekán, (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 327,) were the preceptors of Ibn Koteybah, and the authors from whom he borrowed his traditions. 4th. Ibn Koteybah was a native of Baghdád, where he resided most of his life, while the author of the present work appears, from different passages,—which I omit for the sake of brevity,—to have inhabited Damascus.

But if it is easy to prove that the present work is not the production of Ibn Koteybah, it is by no means so to say who was the author of it. I have carefully examined all those passages which might lead to a discovery of the author's name, but in vain. That he was a native of the East,—perhaps of Damascus,—where he says he resided,—that he wrote shortly after the death of Hárún Ar-rashíd, which took place in 193 of the Hijra,—are the two only facts which I have been able to establish. Be this as it may, certain it is that the present work is not only valuable for its great antiquity, but