tomb of his Queen Saljuqah Khatun at Basrah Gate in Baghdad.\textsuperscript{20}
The libraries of Basrah, Mosul and Mashhad Abu Hanifah contained magnificent collections and were opened to the public. Yaqt collected materials for three years for his dictionary 
\textit{Mu'jam al-Buldan} from the libraries of Marv and Khwarizm until 1220 he had to flee at the approach of the Mongol hordes under Chingiz Khan, who destroyed the city and burnt these libraries.\textsuperscript{21}

Besides the royal libraries at Baghdad and public Buwayhid Sultan’s libraries at Shiraz and elsewhere, there were thousands of private collections in the Abbasid empire, of the caliphs and their wazirs like those of Yahya al-Barmaki (d. 805 A.C.), Ibn al-Zayyat (d. 847 A.C.), al-Fath ibn Khaqan (d. 861 A.C.), al-Qasim ibn ‘Ubayd Allah (d. 903), al-Khunduri (d. 1063 A.C.), Ibn Hubrahah (d. 1149 A.C.) and Ibn al-‘Alqami (d. 1258 A.C.). Their biographical details given by contemporary and later historians and geographers became testimony to the fact that these personal collections possessed many rare manuscripts and were well-staffed including scribes and calligraphists to copy rare and valuable works and artists to illuminate and illustrate them with drawings and miniatures. Among the scholars, who had rich collections, that of the blind poet and philosopher Abu ‘Amr ibn al-‘Ala Ma’arri (d. 770 A.C.) was very rich but this he himself destroyed when he set himself aside from worldly pleasures. Sufyan al-Thawri, Waqidi and Isam’i had their private libraries. ‘Amr ibn Bahr al-Jahiz (d. 868 A.C.), a great literary personality of his days, was in the habit of going through all books cover to cover in his collection and visited regularly shops for more and more rare works.

\section*{FOOTNOTES}

4. AbduS Subbuhs, p. 3
8. cf. Rasa'il Shibli, p. 32
CHAPTER II

FATIMID LIBRARY

Egypt with its proud city and port Alexandria was conquered by the 'Arab Muslims in 642 A.D. Alexandria capitulated on favourable terms and remained the North African centre of Hellenic studies in philosophy, medicine and mathematics. It was only during the time of the Umayyad Caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz (718-20) that its university moved to Antioch from where its influence spread to 'Iraq and Persia and Muslim culture developed at Cairo (al Qahira), the newly built city of the Fatimids.

When the 'Abbasid power was decaying in the East and Umayyad authority was re-established in Spain, the Fatimids rose to power in North Africa. Their general Jawhar conquered Egypt for the Fatimid Caliph Mu'izz and founded Cairo. The Muslim culture and civilization reached its Zenith during the time of al-'Aziz (975-96). son of Mu'izz who founded a big library called Khaza'in al-Qsar consisting of forty rooms. There were 1600 books and booklets of which 600,000 were books and dealt with theology, grammar, dictionary, tradition, history, geography, astronomy, chemistry. Of these 6,000 books were on mathematics and astronomy alone. There were thirty copies of the Kitab al-'Ayn of Khalil b. Ahmad including a copy in original, twelve copies of the Ta'rikh Tabari and 2,000 copies of the Qur'an copied by famous calligraphists. There were two Kurrabs of the earth (globes) one made of silver at a cost of 3,000 dinars and another of brass made by Batimus. The Library was open for the teachers, scholars and students of Cairo. Its collection was transferred to the Public Library of Daru'l 'Ilm founded by Hakim in 395/1004. Jamri Azhar was founded by the caliph Mu'izz (1358-65/968-75). During the time of 'Aziz the al-Azhar Mosque Library contained 200,000 books.

Al-Ḥākim son of 'Azīz established his library at Cairo in 395/1004 attached to the Hall of learning (Daru'l 'Ilm or Daru'l Ḥikmah) which imparted free education and supported teachers, scholars and students with endowments. It contained 600,000 volumes or at least 100,000 the minimum out of which 2,400 were the illuminated copies of the Qur'an and 18,000 books on ancient learning. The rest of the collections dealt with jurisprudence, grammar, rhetoric, history, biography, astronomy and chemistry. There were several copies of some books. Thus there were more than twenty copies of the Ta'rikh Tabari including one copy written by Tabari himself, more than thirty copies of Khalil's Kitāb al-'Ayn including one copy in the original and 100 copies of al-Jami' al-Jamahirī bi 'ibn Daridah. They were kept on the shelves of almiraams under lock and key. At the entrance of each row a list of books was hung. Besides these there were a large number of books in the library of al-Azhar Madrasah.

The Fatimid royal library was specially enriched during the time of al-Ḥākim, son of 'Aţīz, who established Daru'l 'Ilm or Daru'l Ḥikmah (House of Wisdom or Science) near Western Palace (Bāb al-Tabābīn) on the 8th Jumada 11 395/25th March 1004 and shifted the library to this institution which was a combination of library, academy and auditorium. Agents were sent abroad to collect rare books for this institution. According to Maqrīzī, a renowned historian of Egypt, it contained 1,600,000 volumes dealing with various subjects, Qur'an, astronomy, grammar, lexicography, medicine, science, literature and exquisite calligraphy. According to Aṣimah b. Murtīdī, Qādī Abū Yūsuf was allowed by Ḥākim to take away many rare books according to his choice from al-Ḥākim's library. Administrative staff and teachers were appointed, students were given endowments and supplied with books and inks. Even members of the public were allowed to use the library. The moderate annual budget amounted to 275 dinars. Some details given by Maqrīzī are furnished below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Librarians' salary</td>
<td>48 dinars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Servants' salary</td>
<td>15 dinars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paper for the copyists</td>
<td>90 dinars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paper, ink and pens</td>
<td>12 dinars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbadani matting</td>
<td>10 dinars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>12 dinars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repair of the curtains</td>
<td>1 dinar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repair of torn and damaged books</td>
<td>12 dinars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Felt curtains for winter use</td>
<td>5 dinars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpets for winter use</td>
<td>4 dinars</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

42
Due to political instability the rich collection of the Fatimid library suffered a great disaster and in 1068 A.C. 25 camel loads of books of this library were sold for only 100,000 dinars by Wāzīr Abū'1Faraj to pay his soldiers. A few months after this incident the rest of it was plundered and destroyed by the Turkish soldiers when the Caliph Mustansir was defeated and the soldiers entered the palace. Many books were thrown into the Nile or burnt to ashes. Fine leather bindings of other books were torn and used in making shoes. The torn Manuscripts were collected in a place which became known as Talal al-Kutub (Hill of the books) and covered by sand in the course of time. Books were again collected by the later Fatimid rulers and by the time Šalāh al-Dīn Ayyūbī entered Cairo Victorious in 567/1171 there were a few lakhs of volumes in the Fatimid Imperial Library of which he gave 120,000 copies to his learned Minister Qādī al-Faḍil who preserved them in his library attached to Madrasah Fādilīyah.7

There were also private collections among which mention may be made of two Jewish libraries and those of an ʿArab Prince and an Egyptian physician. In the 11th century the Fatimid Prince, Maḥmūd al-Dawlah ibn Fatīk, a great collector and scribe, built up a good library and passed most of his time in reading and writing without attending much to his family, who, on his death, threw many of his books in anger into a large water basin damaging a considerable number of them. The library attached to Fādilīyah Madrasah was rich and was among those highly spoken of by historians and geographers like Ibn al-Athīr and Maqdisī etc. The collection of the poet-physician al-Muʿarrif who wrote a commentary on Aristotle in 1139 A.C. was also very rich and contained thousands of volumes on various subjects with copious notes, the contents and the name of al-Muʿarrif. Of the personal collections one of the most important one was the Mahmūdīyah Library of Cairo founded by Jāmāʿuddīn Maḥmūd b. ʿAlī a courtier of Sulṭān Malik Zāḥīr Barqūq. It contained about 4,000 books most of which were written by famous authors and calligraphers. The personal collection of Qādī Burhānuddīn ibn Jāmāʿah was also transferred to it after his death. Up to the 9th Century of the Hijī era the Mahmūdīyah Library was in flourishing condition. On the conquest of Egypt by Ottōman Sultan Sālim I a greater portion of its collection was transferred to Constantinople. Some books were lost and among others fifty-eight were in the Khaḍīvīyah Library at Cairo and six are in the Bankipur

Khuda Bakhsh Library and one in the Library of ʿAlīgarh Muslim University. Al-Azhar University Library only survived the ravages of the time and its rich collection still reminds one of the glorious days and the love of learning and literature of the Fatimids.

To collect books in libraries attached to mosques and madrasahs and to make them available to scholars and students had been the main concern of the founders of the medieval Muslim libraries. Volga Pinto while writing about Muslim libraries observes, “The princes took great care concerning the buildings which were to serve as public libraries. Some of them, like those of ʿAlīgarh, Cordoba and Cairo were placed in separate structures, with many rooms for different use; galleries with shelves in which books were kept, rooms where the visitors could read and study, rooms set apart for those in charge of making copies of manuscripts, rooms which served as literary assemblies, and even in some cases, rooms for musical entertainment, etc. All rooms were richly and comfortably fitted; on the floors were carpets and mats, where the readers in oriental fashion squatted, reading and even writing, holding the sheet of paper or parchment adroitly in the palm of the left hand. The windows and doors were covered with curtains, the chief entrance door having a specially heavy curtain to prevent the cold air from entering”..

The library of ʿAḍud al-Dawlah at ʿAlīgarh has been very minutely described by Yāqūt in the following words:

“The library consists of one long vaulted room, annexed to which are store rooms. The prince had made along the large rooms and the store chambers, scaffoldings about the height of a man, three yards wide, of decorated wood which have shelves from top to bottom; the books are arranged on the shelves and for every branch of learning there are separate scaffoldings. There are also catalogues in which all the titles of the books are entered. I also saw the ventilation chamber, to which the water is carried by pipes which surround it on every side in circulation”. Commenting on Yāqūt’s observation Volga Pinto remarks that such arrangement of ventilation led to books being infested by vermin.8 While describing the library of Mustansiriyyah College Le Strange observes that the library was arranged in such a manner that any person could have easy access to any book he liked. It was only possible because there was good arrangement of open shelves system.
In the absence of the printing press and the more modern devices of photo-duplicating machines the scribe was an ubiquitous and he contributed largely to the development of the art of calligraphy. All these libraries briefly mentioned above had a number of scribes on the permanent staff. To publish their works some important authors also engaged scribes. Their services were also required at flourishing book shops.

Some of these copyists were scholars and calligraphers of eminence like Ibn Nadim, the author of al-Fihrist. Ibn Sa’d (d. 844), the famous biographer and Yāqūt (d. 1128), the historian and biographer. Yāqūt ibn Adi al-Naṣrānī (d. 974) copied about a hundred pages daily and produced two copies of the commentary of Ṭabarī on the Holy Qur’ān in eight volumes, each volume of more than a thousand pages. Abu Bakr al-Daqqāq (d. 1095) made seven copies of al-Jami‘l-Ṣahīḥ of Muslim which was spread over in two volumes in a year.

Before the introduction of paper the cost of a book was very high because of the costly papyrus and parchment used as writing materials. After the introduction of paper in the 8th century books became cheaper than before although they still remained costly because of the human labour and skill involved in publishing this in the absence of the printing press.

Special care was taken for the protection of these costly books using chemicals and having durable bindings. Binding developed into a real art in the hands of the Muslims. Precious books were bound in embossed leather and fragrant wood or thin wooden sheets covered with leather, some inlaid with gold and silver enhancing the face value of the book.

Besides the copyists and binders there were translators and librarians in the staff of the library. Scholarly persons, mostly authors, were employed as librarians of famous libraries. From the data found in the bibliographical dictionaries, it is apparent that most of the scholars served in one or other capacity in libraries as recorded by Gurgis Awad.

Some of the rich collection of the Muslim libraries were, however, destroyed by the Muslims themselves because of the conflict of ideas among Muslim sects, others by invaders, specially Mongols while private collections were destroyed by the owners themselves as Abū Ḥāfṣ Umar ibn ‘Alī known as Ibn al-Mulaqīn (d. 1401) who wrote 300 books, burnt his own collection before his death and Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī also burnt his own collection. Caliph al-Ma‘mūn’s library disappeared after his death for reasons not mentioned by historians. In 1059 the library of Sabur ibn Ardṣhir was burnt partly during the great fire in Baghdaḍ set by Sulṭān Tughra Beg, other books were looted and still others were carried off by ‘Amid al-Mulk al-Khundūrī. The library of Mustansiriyyah college was destroyed by the Mongols in 1258. While Chingiz Khan and Hulagu burnt libraries and used manuscripts for fuels, Timūr collected books during his conquests and built up libraries in his capital at Samarqand.

It was only after conversion to Islam that the Mongols took interest in literary activities and built up libraries. The ‘Uthmānī Turks established libraries in the cities they ruled. İstanbul thus had fifteen libraries and Constantinople has a rich collection of manuscripts. The National library of Egypt surpassed all the rest of the Muslim libraries in the Middle East.

FOOTNOTES

7. The Zij prepared during the time of Ma‘mun was very much improved by the famous astronomer ‘Ali bin Yunus Shāsī in the observatory of Hakim.
8. Lane-Poole, pp. 149, 193; Muhammad Zahir, Islāmi Khūtah Khān. Delhi, 1961, p. 186.
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CHAPTER III

HISPANO

Collection of Books: The building up of libraries in Muslim Spain began by importing books from the East. As the soldiers landed in Spain, scholars and travellers followed them carrying books along with other valuable products of the East. In the early 8th century the Muslim population of Spain was augmented by a large scale emigration of Syrians and Berbers as well as by the conversion of the serfs and slaves. For the neo-Muslims books on religion and theology and Arabic Grammar had to be imported from the East and were copied to inculcate them in the knowledge of their new religion through the medium of Arabic. During the course of writing the biographical works of men of arts and science ‘Arab authors casually mention the import of such books which were among the important articles brought from the East. Among the books on grammar mention may be made of the Kitab al-Kisai which was brought by the grammarian Judi b. ‘Uthman of Mawrur (d. 198/813-4), tutor of the Umayyad prince. The books on jurisprudence of the Maliki schools were introduced into Spain by Abu Zayd b. Din (d. 201/816-7). The collection of poems composed by Habib b. Awa read under the direction of the writer and brought to Spain by Ibn al-Muthanna (d. 273/886-7) tutor of ‘Abd al-Rahman II and his sons Muhammad and ‘Umar. Arabic dictionaries and Arabic works on tradition and poetry were also brought by ‘Abd al-Salma al-Khushani (d. 286/899) of Cordova. The Kitab al-Yun, an Arabic dictionary, was carried from the East by Qasim ibn Thabit of Saragossa. Books on lexicography, poetry and history were brought by Muhammad b. ‘Abd Allah al-Ghazvi b. Qays al-Ghazvi (died at Tangier about 295/907-8). The books written by ‘Ali Muhammad ‘Abd Allah b. Muslim Ibn Qutaybah and those of ‘Amr b. Bahr were introduced by Ahmad b. Muhammad ibn Harun of Baghdad. Many books dealing with the prophetic traditions written by oriental writers including that of Ibn Shaybah were introduced into Spain by Baqi b. Makhlad of Cordova (d. 276/890).10

The followers of Maliki School who were patronized by Umayyad rulers, specially Hisham I, did not encourage the import of books dealing with the theological and philosophical ideas other than their own. Still such books were also carried from the East by certain scholars. ‘Abd Allah b. Muhammad b. Qasim ibn Hilal of Cordova (d. 272/885-6) brought books dealing with the philosophical ideas of Abu Sulayman Da‘ud b. Sulayman. Al-Farabi says that these books became the cause of the spread of the philosophy of Da‘ud among the people of Spain. Some other books of heretical nature were brought from Iraq by Ayyub b. Sulayman (d. 326/938) a descendant of Julian (Ilyan).12

With the spread of education among the masses, the demand for books increased more and more throughout Muslim Spain especially at Cordova. To meet the pressing demand, the books brought by the highly educated sections of the people were not sufficient. The trade in books, therefore, became very profitable. Like arms, war horses and ornaments for brides, books being exempt from the import duties, the merchant began to take interest in the procurement of books all the more. Among such early travellers and merchants mention may be made of the names of the scholar traveller, Abu Bakr al-Dinizawi (d. 349/960), Abu ‘Umar b. Yabqi al-Judhami (d. 378/988-9), a merchant of Cordova and Muhammad b. ‘Ubayd b. Ayyub (d. 317/929), an artisan of Cordova who manufactured dibaj (brocades).16

There were also travellers and merchants who built up their own libraries by collecting new and rare books in the East. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Habib of Granada, Hashim b. Khalid of Elvira (d. 298/910-11) and Mawhah b. ‘Abd al-Qadir of Bajah were notable among them. Mawhah collected a large number of rare works in the East and died in Egypt while returning to Spain. His books were, however, brought to Spain by his family members.19

There were also proprietors and teachers of schools who imported books and preserved them in mosques and some private houses to distribute them among students. For example, Harun b. Sabia (d. 238/852-3) of Cordova collected a large number of books in the house of Ahmad b. Khalid.20
The princes being lovers of art and literature joined with the intelligentsia of Spain in collecting books and importing rare and valuable works from the East. Foremost among them were Abu Sulayman Dahhān (d. after 200/815) and Ibn al-Ahmar al-Hashimi (d. 358/969), who brought books especially on religion. On his return from a long journey through Egypt, Iraq and India, Ibn al-Ahmar served in the royal library of the Umayyads and wrote a biographical history of ‘Abd al-Rahman III. Thus the mutual efforts of the travellers, merchants and princes and above all the intelligentsia of the country many libraries grew up in Spain.

The Royal Library of the Umayyads: The first library of importance and value in Europe was the royal library of the Umayyads in Cordova. The neo-Muslims’ desire for acquiring knowledge gave fresh impetus to the general predilection of the ‘Arabs for reading. In the beginning the movement was slow but it reached its peak with the advent of Hakam II. Himself a litterateur and poet of no mean order, the founder of the Umayyad dynasty, ‘Abd al-Rahman I, held periodical literary discourses to which famous men of letters were invited. Among the literary figures of his time mention may be made of Abu al-Mutahhashsha, the poet, Shaykh Ghazi b. Qays, a great theologian and linguist, and Shaykh Abu Musa Hawari, a famous legist. ‘Abd al-Rahman’s son Hisham I was fond of Arabic poetry and was himself a poet. ‘Amr b. ‘Abi Ghaffar was the famous poet of his court. Among the learned men, whom Hisham patronized, were ‘Isa b. Dinar, ‘Abd al-Malik bin Habib, Yahya b. Yaya, Sa’id b. Hasan and Ibn Abu Hind. Hakam I was also a poet and lover of music and he liked to be surrounded by poets, theologians and litterateurs. Being lovers of learning they established madrasas and added to the collection of the royal library. The Amir’s and Khalifas, specially ‘Abd al-Rahman II and Hakam II, were interested in the collection of books. Their agents travelled through the Eastern towns to collect new and rare books. ‘Abbas ibn Nasih, the agent of ‘Abd al-Rahman II ransacked the bookshops of Mesopotamia to buy Arabic translations of Persian and Greek works on science. The Umayyad library of Cordova became one of the best libraries of the Muslim world during the time of ‘Abd al-Rahman II and it was added to and strengthened by ‘Abd al-Rahman III. The Dioscorides written in golden letters and decorated with beautiful miniature paintings was the first Greek work of importance which was received as a present

from the Byzantine emperor, Constantine, by ‘Abd al-Rahman the Great. Greek-knowing scholars not being easily available in Spain, the Umayyad Khalifah had to invite Nicolas from Constantinople to translate it into Arabic. The two princes, al-Hakam and Muhammad, receiving good education under the tuturship of native and foreign teachers were not contented with the rich collection of their father ‘Abd al-Rahman III and built up their own private libraries. Muhammad and ‘Abd al-Rahman died. Hakam united the collections with his own and employed a large staff to reorganize the library and to add more to its collection. The famous grammarian of Jaen al-Rabahi (d. 358/869) who taught Arabic literature at Cordova to many nobles and princes including Mughirah, a brother of Hakam II, the literate and lexicographer of Cordova, Muhammad b. abi al-Husayn al-Fihri of Cordova, and another Arabic scholar Muhammad b. Ma’tmar of Jaen were among the famous scholars employed by Hakam II for collection and correction of manuscripts and for copying rare books in his library. Rare and valuable books, old and new, were bought and copied for Hakam II at Alexandria, Cairo, Bagdad and Damascus. Among other famous copyists were Abu fadil b. Harun of Sicily (d. 379/989-90), Yusuf al-Balluti, ‘Abbas b. ‘Amr of Sicily and Dafar of Bagdad. Female calligraphists also worked in the library of Hakam II. Labna (d. 394/1004 A.C.), secretary to Hakam II and Fatimah (d. 437/1036-7), daughter of Hakam’s other secretary Abu Yahya al-Shabullari were known for their beautiful handwriting. The chief librarian of Hakam’s library was a high ranking eunuch, Talid, according to whom there were 4,000 volumes of books in his royal library. The list of books recording only the names of the authors and titles of the books consisted of 44 volumes of 50 folios each.

Hakam II spent lavishly on the collection of manuscripts. His agents ransacked bookshops and libraries of Baghdad, Damascus, Cairo, Alexandria and other places. Foreign scholars were also employed to collect books for him. Among them mention may be made of the names of Ibn Saban of Egypt, Ibn Ya’qub al-Kindi of Baghdad and Muhammad ibn Farjan. In order to obtain the first copy of the Kitab al-Aghani, a history of Arab poets and minstrels, composed by Abu’l Faraj al-Aghani, an Umayyad historian and poet of al-Iraq, al-Hakam sent to the author a thousand dinars. Abu’l Faraj was glad to comply with the order together with a work on the genealogy of the
Umayyads.
Hakam also got books written for his library. Many books were
dedicated to him. Among such books was a booklet on the calendar,
the Kitab Awqat al-Sanat composed by Abu’l-Hasan ‘Arib b Sa’id
died towards 370/980-1) of Cordova in 961 A.C. and edited and
translated into Latin by Dozy under the title Calendrier de Cordove de
l’année 961 in 1873 A.C. The calendar was composed on the model of
the Latin Calendar and in the addition of the local Christian Festivals
the writer was helped by the bishop Recemundo known as Rabi ben
Zeid. The author, who was the secretary to al-Hakam II and perhaps
to his father ‘Abd al-Rahman III also, wrote some more books, one
on astronomy called the Kitab Tafsil al-Azman wa masalih al-Abdan
and dedicated it to al-Hakam II and two others the Kitab al-Anwa
(Calendar) and Surat Yabda’ (Simulacro), which have been exploited
fully by ibn al-‘Awwam. The fourth work that the author had taken
up was the compendium of Tabari, the continuation of the famous
chronicle of al-Tabari (d. 310/922-3) and the addition to it of the
history of North Africa and Spain. A part of that book has come
down to us. This contains important information about the court
and the courtiers of ‘Abd al-Rahman III.44 Ibn Mufarraj of Fontauerae
(Cordova) travelled in the East and built up a good library. He wrote
many books and dedicated them to Hakam II.45 Muhammad b. Harth
b. Asad al-Khushani of Qayrawan dedicated him more than a
thousand books and booklets, one of which was the Ta’rikh Qudat al-
Qurtubah.46 Among other authors who dedicated their works to him
were Mutarrif b. ‘Isa (d. 377-987/8) of Granada who wrote a history
of Elvira,47 Ibn Faraj of Jaen who composed poems,48 Muhammad
Yusuf of Guadalajara who wrote a geography of Africa.49 Ibn al-
Safar was employed to collect poems referring to the Umayyads of
Syria and Spain.50 ‘Arab biographers casually refer to the names of
copyists and writers of books preserved in the royal library of Hakam
II.51

Hakam being a studious scholar went through the important works
preserved in his library and made copious notes on the fly leaves
which became a source of valuable information for later scholars.
Among such books was one, dated 359/970, with a note stating that it
was copied for Hakam II which has been recently discovered in Fez by
Levi-Provençal.52

Contemporary ‘Arab scholars have highly spoken of the library of
Hakam II, its huge collection and its rare and valuable books. This
was, according to them, the biggest collection that a royal library ever
possessed in the Medieval world.53 The spacious original library
building failed to accommodate the newly received books. In spite of
the employment of a large number of persons, it took six months to
remove the rich collection of the library to a new building.54

Al-Mansur followed Hakam II and patronized scholars. Among the
books dedicated to him were al-Fusus written by Sa’id of Baghdad (d.
410-7/1019-1021) who received 5,000 dinars as a gift from Mansur55
and an illustrated book written by Hasan ibn abi ‘Abdah.56 Abu al-
Walid ibn Ma’mar a great historian and paleographer was employed
to correct and collate the manuscripts preserved in the library of
Mansur and his successors and was entrusted with the work of writing
the family history of Banu ‘Amir. Later on Mansur being influenced by
the ‘Ulama was responsible for the burning of a large number of
philosophical works in al-Hakam’s library.57 A grim picture of this
incident is drawn by Sa’id of Toledo.58 Describing the pitiful
condition of the Cordovans and the penless situation of the
Government, Dozy says that “to obtain a little money Wadih - was
even obliged to sell the greater part of Hakam’s library.”59 In
the beginning of the 11th century during the civil war, the royal library
was destroyed and the private libraries of Cordova were plundered.
These books of the royal library were sold in the markets of Cordova,
Toledo, Seville, Almeria and other cities.60 Still Cordova continued to
be one of the important centres of the arts and science as long as it
remained in the hands of the Muslims.

Private Libraries in Cordova:— Kings and princes were, however, not
only persons who collected books and built up libraries but people at
large also took part in this cultural activity and collected books,
sometimes by spending even beyond their means. Among the private
libraries of Cordova, the library of Ibn Futays was ranked as the
biggest. A very beautiful big library building was constructed by him.
It was built in such an ingenious way that all the book-shelves could
be seen from one point. Abu ‘Abd Allah al-Hadrami (d. 396/1005-6),
a learned scholar of Cordova, was employed as librarian as also were
six copyists on fixed salaries. The librarian also performed, in
addition, the function of an Imam (rector) in the family mosques of
Ibn Futays.\textsuperscript{61} The valuable collection of this library was put to auction by his grandsons in the family mosque at Cordova during the civil war.

Even in those hard days it could fetch 40,000 Qasimi dinars.\textsuperscript{62} The offer of such a huge amount of money even in the days of the intercne wars indicates the love of books and also importance and popularity of the book market and of the private library of Ibn Futays. Another equally important library and, according to Ibn Abbar, only second to Hakam's library in Cordova was the personal library of Abu al-Walid ibn al-Mawsul (d. 433/1041-2) a great sage of Cordova. He was so fond of reading and writing that he recognised the calligraphy of different copyists and on examining them he was able to name the copyists as well. He was interested in collecting rare and selected books among which were the poetical works from the hands of Abu Ali al-Qali of Baghdad and works of many other great scribes and calligraphists. After the death of al-Mawsul when his books were sold by his family members they fetched a handsome price, some of the rare books being sold at the rate of eight pages a mithqal (dinar).\textsuperscript{63} Fatim, a slave of Mansur, recovered a large number of these books after the destruction of the royal library of the Umayyads and built up his own big library of valuable books which were sold at his death.\textsuperscript{64} Qasim b. Sa'dan (d. 347/958-9) a great calligrapher and scholar of Rayyuh (Archidona), had a fine private library. Just before his death he made it \textit{waqf} for the use of students and scholars under the supervision of Muhammad b. abi Dulaym.\textsuperscript{65} Abu 'Ali al-Ghassani had also an important collection of rare books on various subjects.\textsuperscript{66} There were many other scholars who had their personal collections also but did not lend books to others. Al-Juhani of Cordova (d. 395/1004-5) was so much fond of preserving books that he lent them only to those he trusted most.\textsuperscript{67} It is recorded that there were some others who were forced to dispose of their books for their maintenance. Yahya b. Malika b. 'Ayidh (d. 375/985-6) of Tortosa, a teacher in the Cordova Mosque, travelled in the East for 22 years and wrote a large number of books, was one of them.\textsuperscript{68} Even a poor school teacher like Muhammad b. Hazm of Cordova could afford to build up his private collection of valuable books. It is interesting to note that though he was very poorly clad and people were averse to mixing with him socially yet his rich private library attracted many distinguished personalities. This poor but a great scholar died in 282/895-6 while returning from his pilgrimage to Makkah.\textsuperscript{69} Among other important library owners the names of Ibn al-Sabuni (d. 423/1032),\textsuperscript{70} Abu Bakr b. Dhakwan (d. 435/1043-4),\textsuperscript{71} Ibn 'Awn al-Ma'afiri (d. 512-3/1118-9),\textsuperscript{72} and Ibn Mukhtar (d. 535/1140-1)\textsuperscript{73} may be mentioned. Ibn Bard of Ecija who lived in Cordova visited the East and brought back 18 (camel) loads of books on various subjects.\textsuperscript{74}

\textbf{Public Libraries:}-- There were several public and mosque libraries in Spain. Ribera contradicts the statement of Casiri which is repeated by later scholars that there had been 70 public libraries in Cordova during the time of Hakam II.\textsuperscript{75} According to Ribera there were some mosques in Cordova which had libraries for the use of students otherwise there were all private collections and there was no public library even during the time of Hakam II. From the customs of the common use of mosques and their belongings it is evident that those of mosque libraries to which Ribera refers were not only by students but also by teachers and worshippers and many others who wanted to use any particular book available in any mosque. Therefore, even if we suppose that there had been no public libraries distinct from the mosque libraries it will be a negation of fact to say that there were no public libraries in Cordova. The mosque libraries were in practice the public libraries. Besides these type of libraries, there were some houses where books were kept for distribution among students to which reference had been made previously.

\textbf{Muslim Women Scholars:}-- Ricardo de Beri complains against the lack of culture and education in English women of his days while women of Spain were very much cultured and civilized.\textsuperscript{76} Labna, Fatimah, 'Ayishah, Radiyah and Khadijah were among the foremost scholars of Spain. On the strength of their education and knowledge Labna and Fatimah held high posts in the court and library of Hakam II. Fatimah, in spite of her old age, wrote books in an elegant and sure hand. While young, she had ransacked the bookshops of Cairo, Damascus and Baghdad in search of rare manuscripts. 'Ayishah (d. 400/1009-10) who came of a rich family was a very distinguished poetess of her time and devoted her life to learning. She had a good collection of important and rare manuscripts in her private library.\textsuperscript{77} Radiyah (d. about 423/1032) was the wife of Labib, a noble of the Umayyad court of Cordova. She had also collected a sufficient number of books which later passed on to the hands of Abu
Muhammad b. Khazraj. Ja'far's daughter Khadijah had a library which was inherited by her daughter from Ibn Asad. Women scholars of poor society devoted their life to copying important and valuable books. Ibn al-Fayyad, a historian, says that 170 women were engaged in copying the Qur'an in Kufic character in the eastern suburb of Cordova alone. 'Ay'ishah, daughter of Ahmad, wrote the Qur'an in a very beautiful hand.

Non-Muslim Libraries: The majority of the Christians living in Muslim Spain adopted manners and customs of the 'Arabs and learnt Arabic and being Arabized became known as Musta'rib (Sp. Mozarabs). Adoption of 'Arab manners and customs was not liked by Alvero of Cordova who complained bitterly against them. He wrote in his book Indiculus Luminus that the young Mozarabs who knew only Arabic built up important libraries of Arabic manuscripts. The Jews did not lag behind the Mozarabs in collecting Arabic books in their private libraries as well as in their synagogues and schools. The leading part was taken by Hasdai b. Shaprut, the court physician of Hakam II. Another Jew, famed for his learning, was Yusuf ibn Isma'il, the minister of Badis b. Habbus of Granada, who had a large collection of Arabic books in his library.

The Cordova Book Market: Collection of books had become a fairly common national hobby in Muslim Spain and social duty in Cordova. As the drawing room is furnished in these days with valuable and beautiful furniture etc. the house of a nobleman in Cordova was furnished with valuable and rare books written in elegant hands and beautifully bound. The historian Ibn Sa'id heard his father saying that Cordova had been the principal city of book markets because its inhabitants were very much fond of building up the library. He had seen persons without proper education collecting books so that they might claim distinction for their rare manuscripts beautifully written by renowned copyists. Regarding this there is a famous story related by Maqqari. Al-Hadrami a traveller-scholar, visited the book market of Cordova one day and found in a bookshop a work in which he was greatly interested. He tried to purchase it but he could not do so because its price was forced up much higher by another bibliophile. This customer offered an exorbitant price for the book not so much because he wanted to read it but because he wanted to fill a gap on his bookshelf which had several books of similar binding and ornamentation. This testifies to the Cordovans' love of forming libraries and the keen competition among the buyers of books in the busy market of Cordova. Learned professors, students, skilled copyists and book-sellers flocked from everywhere to Cordova which had become the intellectual centre of the West in the tenth century. Its streets were lined on both sides with long rows of bookshops. The Cordova market had become so famous for the sale of books that sellers and buyers flocked to it from every part of Spain for during the time of Hakam II it had been converted into a great mart of books from every clime and for every taste. Even after the destruction of its royal and private libraries, Cordova, according to Averroes, still possessed in the twelfth century more books than any other city of Spain. While making a comparative study of the importance of Cordova and Seville, Ibn Rushd remarks interestingly that on the death of a learned man in Seville his books were sent to Cordova for sale and also that on the death of a musician in Cordova his instruments were put on sale in Seville.

The fame of the Alansus Muslims in the transcription and binding of books made the Muslim scholars in the East specially Maqdisi to record their achievements. It is stated seventy to eighty thousand volumes of books were copied approximately each year in Cordova along. Ibn Abu al-Fawaris of Cordova copied the Qur'an in a large number by completing two copies a month. The Qur'an copied in the East also passed to Spain and was preserved in mosques. Thus it is known that a quarter of the Qur'an written by the famous Calligraphist Ibn Muqlah was preserved in the mosque of Seville. Caliph 'Uthman's Qur'an was preserved in the Cordova Mosque. It was extant, according to Ibn Bashkuwal, in the mosque until 552/1157 but later was carried by the Muwahhidin to Morocco where it was found preserved in the royal library of Tilimsan in 737/1239. Later it was taken to Portugal and subsequently passed on to a merchant of Fez in 745/1344-5. But according to another version it was burnt along with other copies of the Qur'an of the Cordova Mosque by the Christians when they occupied the city during the time of Ibn Hamdun. Recent information is of its preservation in Istanbul discussed elsewhere by the present writer.

Provincial Libraries: Till the tenth century provincial libraries did not rise much to importance, though literary activities continued in those places also while Cordova remained the centre of culture and civilization. After the fall of this city the centre of civilization shifted.
elsewhere and petty dynasties vied each other.

Seville and Badajoz.– Among the Muluk al-Tawa’if, the ‘Abbadids of Seville had an important royal library. Seville did not stand in comparison to Cordova in the matter of having rich and valuable libraries and bookshops but it was decidedly better in that regard than any other town of Spain. Ibn al-Khatib of Granada mentions frequently the books written in Seville which distinguished it from the rest of Spain. Ibn al-Abbar speaks of the street lined on both sides by bookshops, in one of which he came upon a rare copy of Ibn Muzayn, a short history of Razi. Ibn Sarah al-Bakri, a poet of Santaren, earned his livelihood by copying books in Seville. The copyist Abu Zayd al-Judhami of Seville is known to have settled himself at Cordova.

Among the great bibliophiles of Seville were Sharaf al-Dawlah, son of the ‘Abbadid ruler al-Mu’tamid, Ibn al-Ahdab (d. 437/1045-6), Abu Bakr ibn al’Arabi, Muhammad ibn Khayr and Ibn Marwan al-Baji. The valuable collection of the library of Muhammad ibn Khayr was sold after his death and Abu Marwan endowed his own library to the Qadi of the mosque of Seville, Ibn al-Hajjaj al-Lakhmi (d. 601/1204-5).

Abu Muzaffar b. al-Aftas of Badajoz had such a valuable and comprehensive library from which he collected all the requisite materials for the compilation of his famous book al-Muzaffriyah an encyclopaedic work in fifty volumes dealing with the art of war, politics, history, fables and other branches of the sciences and the arts.

Northern Towns.– Among the important towns of the North, Toledo and Saragossa were in the possession of the Muslims for long. The Gothic capital, Toledo, was still an important town during the time of the Umayyads. During the civil war the library of Hakam II was plundered and books were sold in the markets of Toledo to which the European students flocked for the study of Oriental arts and sciences. The Banu Dhu al-Nun rulers of Toledo had their own royal library. Books of many private libraries found their way there. Among the private libraries the rich collection of Ibn Maymun which was saved from fire when it broke out in the markets of Toledo, and those of

Abu ‘Amir ibn Ibrahim (d. 523/1129) and Abu Muhammad ibn al-Hilali (d. 458/1066) were important. Among other libraries were those of the calligraphists, Ibn al-Shaykh (d. 440/1048-9), Ibn al-Khattar (d. 438/1046-7), Ibn Hatim al-Tamimi (d. 469/1076-7) and Abu al-Walid ibn al-Hanshi who had imported many important works from the East to enrich his collection.

Saragossa being the farthest limit of the Muslim possession in the North-East of Spain had always been the battle-ground for the two rival communities, the Muslims and the Christians. Muslim scholars had always to migrate from there to the South. In spite of the horrible scenes of war, the Banu Hud rulers of Saragossa did patronize learned men, especially philosophers. Geometricians like al-Muqtadir and physicians like Ibn Buklaris the author of al-Mustayn, a famous work of materia medica dedicated to al-Mustayn, flourished in Saragossa.

Ibn Sandur b. Mantil (d. before 500/1106-7) was another important bibliophile of Saragossa. Finally when it was conquered by Alfonso I, these collectors of books migrated from Saragossa and Calatayud to the South. Ibn Mattuhi and Ibn Saghir the famous book-seller and the bibliophile of Saragossa migrated to Valencia.

Eastern Towns.– The emigrant scholars and book-sellers from Saragossa, Calatayud and other cities of Aragon took refuge in Valencia. Among such refugees were Ibn Mattuhi and Ibn al-Saghir, whose son Ahmad was honoured by the appointment as a librarian in the royal library of the Muwahhidin who have been mentioned above and also Ibn Sidray (d. 548/1153-4) the book-seller of Calatayud.

Among the famous bibliophiles of Valencia were ‘Abd Allah al-Marrawshi (d. 487/1094) two-thirds of whose books i.e., 143 loads were transported to the palace of Ibn Dinun, the king of Valencia, ‘Ali b. Hudhayl (d. 564/1168-9) who inherited a big library from his step-father, Abu Da’ud al-Maqqari, Ibn ‘Ayshun al-Ma’afiri (d. 547/1178-9) who collected a large number of books and constructed a mosque in his name near the Alcantara Gate of Valencia. Many of the book-sellers of Valencia migrated to other towns of the Levant. Ibn S’adat of Murcia (d. 566/1170-1) whose ancestors were of Valencia flourished in Jativa and inherited a very rich library. The
botanist Ibn al-Rumia of Jativa who was a follower of Ibn Hazm of Cordova spent lavishly on the collection of rare books for his library.\textsuperscript{118} Ibn al-Faras of Granada (d. 567/1171-2) gave up his political activities which he had at Cordova and Valencia and settled down at Murcia. He dedicated his life to literary activities and made a very excellent collection of manuscripts.\textsuperscript{119}

Almeria was another seat of culture in the East. Abu Ja'far b. `Abbas, prime minister of Zuhayr of Almeria, was an excellent calligraphist and possessed great riches of which he spent 5,00,000 mithqals (Ja'fari gold dinar) on the purchase of books, sometimes paying three times the usual price for them. Thus he built up a grand library containing 4,00,000 volumes of books, besides innumerable papers and leaflets.\textsuperscript{120} The Qadi of Almeria, `Abd al-Haq ibn `Atiyah, was a great book-collector.\textsuperscript{121} Maymun ibn Yasin (d. 530/1135-6) a Berber of the Sanhajah tribe of Almeria was a famous book-seller\textsuperscript{122} and Nasr of Almeria a renowned scribe.\textsuperscript{123}

Malaga also produced men of arts and science. Ibn Mufassal of Malaga made seventy copies of the Qur'an and wrote many other works.\textsuperscript{124} Ibn Lope had a famous collection of books which he made over to the chief mosque of Malaga.\textsuperscript{125} Ibn Madrak al-Ghassani,\textsuperscript{126} and `Uthman ibn Mandur\textsuperscript{127} were famous calligraphists and book-sellers. `Isa of Ronda had built up a good collection of books by importing them from the East but he subsequently lost them.\textsuperscript{128} Muhammad ibn al-Hakim al-Lakhmi of Ronda organically hailed from Seville had built up a valuable collection of books.\textsuperscript{129}

The Nasrid kingdom of Granada became the refuge of the Muslims who had emigrated from other Muslim zones which were gradually reconquered by the Christians of the North. As a result, the number of book-sellers and bibliophiles increased considerably in Granada and it was a remarkable fact that the refugees possessed much more literary treasures than the natives of Granada. The Nasrid rulers of Granada patronized scholars and showed interest in building up library. The royal library possessed rare and valuable manuscripts dealing with numerous subjects. There were private libraries, among which those of the great artist Ibn Farsun,\textsuperscript{130} Abu'l Qasim al-Qalbi, the teacher of Ibn al-Khatib\textsuperscript{131} and Abu `Abd `Allah Ataraz\textsuperscript{132} were important and held large numbers of rare manuscripts. Al-Zubaydi, a

famous scholar of Jaen, settled at Granada and built up a good library specially by himself writing and copying books. His library was plundered by the Esquilina.\textsuperscript{133} Ibn Sarah of Santaren\textsuperscript{134} and Aben Sofer\textsuperscript{135} were famous calligraphists and Ibn Ballis of Granada a great book-seller.\textsuperscript{136}

Poets, historians, jurists, geographers, astronomers, botanists, chemists and calligraphists enjoyed the confidence of the Nasrid rulers and were on intimate terms with them. Among the favourite subjects with the Spanish `Arabs were poetry, fictions, lexigraphy, history, philosophy, jurisprudence, law of contracts, hisbah rules and regulations of municipality and markets, geography, cartography, astronomy, mathematics, botany and chemistry on which they had written widely and had also collected books on these exhaustively in their libraries.

\textit{Destruction of Arabic Manuscripts:--} From the above mentioned accounts it is clear how Arabic learning was widely spread and profusely infused in Muslim Spain leading to the growth of many libraries in the chief cities such as Cordova, Toledo, Seville and Granada. Gradually with the loss of political power and the fall of Muslim cities into Christian hands, the Muslims receded more and more to the South till they took refuge in Granada. But with the fall of their last stronghold, Granada, also their life and property, infact, everything they possessed, their language, literature and culture were all left at the mercy of the victorious Christians who did not prove as tolerant towards their Muslim subjects as the Muslims had been to the Christians and the Jews. The victorious Christians went against the terms of the capitulation of Granada\textsuperscript{137} and persecuted their Muslim subjects called the Moriscos because they spoke and wrote Arabic and professed Islam a religion other than the State religion of Christianity. Muslims' schools were closed, libraries were burnt down and repressive laws were passed to compel them to renounce the Arabic language. `Arab manners and customs and most of the Moriscos were ultimately forced to accept Christianity. But when the persuasion and force failed to convert some to Christianity, they were violently expelled from the country.

These Christians, however, had not been so very intolerant when the Muslims had been in power as they had become after the Muslims surrendered Granada. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, schools
and universities had been founded by the Christians in important towns to translate Arabic books into Latin and to impart Arabic-Latin education. The names of the Arabic-Latin schools of Toledo and Seville, and of the universities of Palencia, Salamanca and Lerida may be mentioned in this connection. Many works on science, arts and philosophy, were translated from Arabic into Latin and Romance. Towards the close of the fifteenth century, all patronage to Arabic language and literature was withdrawn and within eight years after the fall of Granada a regime of coercion and torture began in violation of the terms of capitulation. The collections in the Muslim libraries of Granada, except works dealing with philosophy, medicine and history, were taken to the plaza of Bibarrambla and burnt at the order of El Cardinal Ximenes de Cisneros, the priest-in-charge of the conversion of Muslims to Christianity, in 1499 A.C. “He wished,” says Nicholson “to annihilate the record of seven centuries of Muhammadan culture in a single day.”

A contemporary journalist who did not know Arabic and had himself not lost any book as a result of the fire puts the figure of the Arabic works destroyed at 2,000,000 (two millions). According to Ribera, who wrote a biography of Cardinal Ximenes, the number of Arabic manuscripts consumed was one million and five thousand. The impartial view of the journalist mentioned above has been contradicted by another biographer of Ximenes, Simonet, by observing that Muslims were uncivilized and their libraries did not possess such a large number of books. This is simply a negation of the fact. In spite of his partiality, even Ribera admits that the Muslims of Spain were very highly civilized, even more than their brethren in the East, and that their libraries at Granada were rich enough to have possessed two million books.

After the fall of Granada neither were Arabic books imported nor written within the country; rather, the old collection of Arabic manuscripts when and wherever found were destroyed. In spite of the losses caused by time, humidity and the corrosive nature of the materials utilized for writing purposes, a large number of the books in their collection would have been extant today had they not been set on fire and destroyed by the Christians, or buried and hidden under rocks by the Moriscos themselves or alternatively taken out of the country by the latter at the time of their expulsion.

There is not much point in recording the losses of books caused in transit or books exported to foreign countries because one was unavoidable and another brought foreign goods of equal value. Still for the satisfaction of the critics they are mentioned below. In importing books from the East, the entire collection of Abu Musa al-Hawwari who worked as Qadi at Ecija during the time of ‘Abd al-Rahman II, Abu Yahya of Cordova (d. 385/995) and Ibn Hawt Allah of Onda (d. 612/1215-6) were lost in transit.

The export of books was much less in value than that of their import. ‘Atiyah b. Sa’id (d. about 408/1017-8) a bibliophile of Spain carried many camel loads of books to the East. The biographer al-humaydi distributed his collections among the learned men of the East and Abu Bakr b. Yasir (d. 563/1167-8) of Jaen, one of the students and traditionists of the East. A considerable number of books were exported to North Africa. In the beginning of the eleventh century, many scholars of Spain went to Fez and settled there. The students of Morocco studying in Spain on their return journey carried a large number of books from Spain. Yasaltan b. Da’ud of Aghmat (d. 372/982-3) and Muhammad b. ‘Abd al-Haq of Tilimsan (d. 625/1228) studied in Spain and carried books to their country. Ibn Maljum (d. 535/1140-1) of Morocco was another student who studied in Spain and built up a very excellent library which was sold by his son for 4,000 dinars. Keeping in view the necessity of conserving the books to foreign countries was not at all a loss to Spain. The migration of scholars along with their valuable collections, some being irreplaceable, is a matter really to be taken into consideration especially so when the expelled Moriscos carried to North Africa and the East important and rare works like those of the philosopher Ibn ‘Arabi, grammarian Ibn Malik, politician Abu Bakr of Tortosa, theologian Ibn Farru of Jativa, poet Ibn Khaja of Alcira, Ibn Khaqan and others.

Another loss which was actually more serious in nature was that caused by the burning of philosophical works in Muslim Spain. Philosophers holding other than Maliki ideas were not tolerated, they were maltreated and their books were burnt unofficially. Ibn Masarra (883-931) was tortured and the philosophical works of the library of Ibn Kulayb was burnt at the instigation of Maliki theologians. This intolerance was, however, not approved by the
State and the culprits were taken to task. Hakam II patronized the philosophers of all schools but Hajib al Mansur the Prime Minister of Hisham II, was overpowered by the theologians and had to destroy a section of Hakam’s library containing works on philosophy. Books of heretical contents and doubtful nature were searched for in the markets and libraries and were burnt by the orthodox Malikis. The library of Ibn Hazm met the same fate. After the arrival of the Murabitun the practice of burning philosophical works and books of heretical contents including scholastic theology became more and more common and was often carried out with the sanction of the state. Abu Ishaq b. Tashufin sacked many libraries like that of Abu Bakr b. Abi Laylah, a great scholar of Murcia (d. 566/1170-1) and carried the books to Morocco. The Muwahhidun who believed in scholastic and philosophical ideas in the beginning ordered the collection of the theological works of Maliki sect and carried them to Fez where they were burnt. The works of Muhammad Abu Bakr (d. 599/1202-3) were burnt at the order of the Sultan (about 580/1184-5). This enraged the Andalusian Muslims who began to call the Mawahhidun heretics. In order to appease them the Mawahhidun went against the philosophers Averroes and Ibn Tufayl and others, whom they had patronized so long, and persecuted them and destroyed their books by setting fire. The collection of scientific works of Abu al-Hajaj al-Marini of Seville suffered at the hands of the Muwhahhidin.

The Muwahhidun employed Spanish calligraphists in their library in Morocco. The librarian of their royal library was also a Spanish Abu al-Abbas b. Asawira of Valencia.

In spite of all these casual losses, specially of the philosophic and scholastic works enumerated shortly above, there had been a large stock of books at Granada in the fifteenth century both in the royal library and in other private libraries. These huge collections of Arabic manuscripts in the possession of Moriscos living in Valencia, Aragon and other parts of Spain, suffered losses at the hands of the Christians. Among the books destroyed at Bibarrambla there were manuscripts elegantly written and beautifully decorated with many plates and book-clasps of silver and gold encrusted with pearls of the value of more than 10,000 ducats according to an account of Padre Alcolea. Even after this, the destruction of their Arabic manuscripts continued. This practice of burning Arabic works was later legalised by passing laws. In 1511 A.C. Dona Juana passed an order for the burning of Arabic books on religion. Accordingly Moriscos were ordered to present their Arabic manuscripts for the examination and scrutiny of their contents. The books on Islamic laws and religion were thus separated from the others and burnt. Since then the Santo oficio began to take drastic steps against those who yet retained Arabic manuscripts on the Qur’an, Hadith and Fiqah and such books were also collected and burnt. Even at the risk of their lives the Moriscos tried to hide such books and ultimately, at the time of their final expulsion, they had to leave behind some of these books in their houses as reported by Fray Marcos de Guadalajara. There is preserved an Arabic manuscript of a grammer in the university library of Valencia with the note, “I, Jamie Ferrando, found this book in a village, Lagaur, after the Moors had climbed up the hill (for safety), in the house of Mil-Leni de Guastest, the chief of the Moors, and as it is written in Arabic letters I have not met a man who could read it. I am afraid it may be a copy of the Qur’an of Muhammad.”

In August 1584, the alcalde of Altea compelled the nephew of Junca, an alfajqui of the Moriscos, to deposit a sack full of the copies of the Qur’an with the Santo Oficio. Even after the expulsion of the Moriscos burning of Arabic manuscripts continued in full swing and in course of time the burning of Arabic manuscripts became an annual festival. This was celebrated until quite recently in memory of the Bibarrambla bonfire mentioned above as a plan of contempt for Islam and its teaching.

Considering that the preservation of Arabic books was pernicious and injurious to the Christian religion and their society, the bishop burnt them and from time to time the Christian kings passed orders for their destruction but sometimes gave them away as presents to neighbouring Muslim kings. Sancho IV entered into friendly relations with the Banu Marins and presented them three loads of important books. Ribera says, “But the books which they (Muslims) left unburnt and were preserved in the hands of Christians, Jews and Moriscos, we lost, sometimes by giving as presents as it happened during the time of Sancho IV and at other times by burning them, thus we have not been less unscrupulous than the Muslims themselves, whose example, in this respect, we merely imitated”. In making such a statement, he has failed to remain impartial and tried to defend the Christians against the stain on their record which they had incurred in
the opinion of scholars.

**Conclusion:** From the historians and biographers's accounts of libraries, inadequate though they are, the following facts may be deduced for the information of persons interested in library of science.

That the Medieval Muslims were well aware of the needs of library and accordingly had library buildings constructed providing rooms for stacks, copyists, binders, cataloguers and librarians, readers and lecturers in such a way that the whole library was visible from one central point.

That in Muslim Spain there were private and public libraries in the building which men and women, masters and slaves, kings and people, scholars and laymen all worked alike indicating the high standard of literacy and culture in Muslim Spain.

That these books arranged on the shelves subjectwise with a catalogue for the ready reference by scholars and students.

That new and original works were written, valuable Greek and Latin works were translated into Arabic and rare and important Arabic books were transcribed by expert calligraphists for the wide circulation of new ideas and discoveries. In the absence of the printing machine, the scribes rendered their services for the wide spread of knowledge. In spite of the fact that transcription was a very costly affair, books were freely bought and sold in the book markets of Spain.

That special care was taken to preserve those costly books by binding them in embossed leather and fragrant wood. Their value was increased further by inlaying them with gold and silver lettering and ornamentation.

The persons of great learning and culture were employed to run the administration of the libraries.

That due to the conflict of ideas among different Muslim sects a considerable number of books were destroyed by Muslims themselves but still there were million of books in the libraries of Granada when it was surrendered to the Christians who rejoiced in burning valuable collections of Muslim libraries.

**II - ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS IN MODERN SPANISH LIBRARIES**

During the period of about 800 years of Muslim rule in Spain the material and cultural improvements that the Muslims made were substantial and far-reaching. They carried literary treasures from the East to Spain, translated Greek and Latin works into Arabic, wrote new and important books, transcribed rare and valuable manuscripts and preserved them in private and public libraries. Those works dealt with various subjects like poetry, philosophy, fiction, lexicography, history, jurisprudence, law of contracts, hisbah (rules and regulations of municipalities and markets), geography, astronomy, mathematics, botany and chemistry.

The political and religious rivalry which prevailed between Christians and Muslims did not, however affect their cultural contact. With every fresh reconquest of the Muslim territory in Spain, the Christians acquired new treasures in the shape of books whose study was encouraged by the Christian kings. There were more commentaries than translations of Greek originals in the libraries of Muslim Spain which gradually came into the hands of the Christians.

In Cordova the Arabic school of translation was started by ‘Abd al-Rahman II and many Greek scientific and philosphical works were translated into Arabic while others were imported from the East. The Christians were not mere spectators but they also copied the Muslims in their cultural activity. Schools and universities were founded in important towns to translate Arabic books into Latin and to impart ‘Arabic-Latin education to Christian youths. The Arabic-Latin schools of Toledo and Seville and the universities of Palencia, Salamanca and Lerida grew to importance. Raimundo, the Archbishop of Toledo (1125-52 A.C.), started a school of translation at Toledo which played a great part in transmitting the Eastern learning to the West. Another Arabic-Latin school was opened at Seville by Alfonse X in 1215. Much later another university was founded at Lerida by Jaime II in 1300. All these institutions served to
impair Arabic learning and translate Arabic works on various subjects into Latin and the Romance languages. Just as systematic translations had once brought home the ancient science of the Greeks to the ‘Arabs, so now the medieval West, by the very same method of translation, acquired knowledge of the sciences of the ‘Arabs.

Due to the conflict of ideas among the different Muslim sects a considerable number of books had been destroyed by the Muslims themselves but still there were millions of books in the libraries of Granada when it was surrendered to the Christians who rejoiced in burning valuable collections of the Muslim libraries. Towards the close of the fifteenth century all patronage to Arabic language and literature was withdrawn by the Christians and within eight years after the fall of Granada a regime of coercion and torture began in violation of the terms of capitulation. About two million Arabic manuscripts were destroyed by fire in the plaza of Bibarrambla (Granada) at the order of El Cardinal Jimínez de Cisneros, the priest-in-charge of the conversion of Muslims to Christianity, in 1499 A.C. This vandalism and further destruction of Arabic manuscripts have made them extremely scarce in Spain; later on, however, some Christian noble minds realised the importance of this form of the national treasure and began to preserve it in different libraries such as the Escorial Library and the National Library of Madrid.

The Escorial Library:- The famous library of the Escorial is housed in the Escorial the foundation stone of which was laid by Philip II in commemoration of his victory over France and as a reparations of the destruction of the Convent St. Lawrence at Quentin in France. The work was started under the supervision of two architects, Juan Bautista de Toledo and Juan de Herrera, in April 1563. It was completed in September 1584. Around the monastery a small city grew up. It has become the summer residence for the people of Madrid. Philip II opened the library of the Escorial in 1575 A.C. with 4,000 volumes of his own private collection. Since then private collections of the clergy, chiefs and scholars were added to this library assisting it to develop gradually. During the time of Philip III, the collection was augmented considerably, particularly by the addition of 4,000 Arabic manuscripts of the library of Muley Zidan, the Muslim ruler of Morocco.

While the Spaniards and the North Africans were at war towards the last quarter of the fifteenth century, two vessels carrying 3,980 Arabic manuscripts belonging to Muley Zidan were captured by Pedro de Lara near Zale at a short distance from the port of Mamora. After negotiating with the Spanish King, Muley Zidan agreed to offer a big quantity of gold and silver and to free the Christian prisoners of war on condition that the books would be returned to him. But before the actual exchange of books took place and indemnities given, Muley Zidan’s nephew, Muley ‘Abd Allah, rebelled and the former became entangled in civil war and Philip ordered the restoration and preservation of these manuscripts in the monastery of St. Lawrence. Speaking about this negotiation, Ribera says that when Muley Zidan negotiated with the Spanish King for the return of the books, the Inquisitor General was consulted. He advised the Spanish king to retain the manuscripts relating to Muslim religion as security for the good conduct of the Emperor of Morocco and to return to him books only on astrology, medicine, mathematics, history and such other subjects. The Council of State, however, considered the opinion of the Inquisitor being too much generous, resolved to burn all of them although there were a few members who opined that only books dealing with religion should be destroyed. The Marques of Velada, however, intervened and advised the Monarch to preserve this unique collection of Arabic manuscripts in safe custody and this counsel was accepted by the king.

Philip III was requested to deposit the banned Arabic manuscripts then lying with a servant of Juan Idiaquez and others, in the Monastery along with the other Arabic manuscripts in the Escorial Library. Francisco de Guarmendi after scrutinizing the title and contents of the manuscripts submitted a report to the Emperor saying that about 2,000 manuscripts were copies of the Qur’an and its commentators and 2,000 manuscripts were on various other subjects including philosophy, mathematics and medicine, and suggested to him that the prohibited manuscripts should be kept separately. In 1621, the Emperor, Philip III, ordered Guarmendi to put them on shelves in the Royal Library of the Escorial and informed Juan Peralta, the rector of San Lorenzo, accordingly and prohibited him from mixing up the lot of banned manuscripts with others without an order from the Emperor.
In 1651, Muley Muhammad, son of Muley Zidan, sent a delegation with the Chief Fr. Pedro de Alcantara, the guardian of the convent of Franciscanos descalzos of Morocco, to Philip IV to persuade the Emperor to return the collection of manuscripts. This time also the members of the Council of State and the Inquisition were divided in their opinion. Many were of the opinion that the copies of the Qur’an should be burnt and the rest might be returned, while some others were of the opinion that except the copies of the Qur’an and Hadith the manuscripts might be returned and a few absolute in minority were of the opinion that the whole lot might be returned to the ruler of Morocco. However, the negotiation failed and the books were not returned.6

Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Muslim Emperors of Morocco negotiated for the return of the books but the Christian rulers neither returned the books nor made any use of these valuable sources of Muslim cultural history of the West. Half of these books, which were left uncared for, were ravaged by a disastrous fire in 1671 A.C. This year the library caught fire and more than 3,000 volumes including 2,000 Arabic manuscripts were consumed. During the napoleonic invasion and the peninsular war of resistance when the library was removed to Madrid a large number of works were lost. Between 1820 and 1823, further losses to the rich collection of the library occurred. In spite of all these losses, the Escurial library is, however, today one of the finest libraries in the world and possesses a total number of 44,742 volumes, 40,000 being printed books, 2,000 Arabic manuscripts, 2,090 manuscripts in Latin and Spanish languages, 580 Greek manuscripts and 72 Hebrew manuscripts.7 The Kitab Akriyat al-Sufun8 of Abu’l Qasim Khalaf b. Afras, The Kitab al-Nafaq of ‘Umar b. Rashiq and the Kitab Munafa’ al-Hayyan of ‘Ali b. Muhammad b. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz (d. 762/1360-1) are among the important unpublished manuscripts of the library. The first book deals with the hiring of boats, the second with the marriage contract and the responsibilities of the husband for the maintenance of his wife and the third with the history of animals, birds and other creatures illustrated by miniature paintings. The catalogue of Arabic manuscripts was prepared in Latin by Caširi and published in two volumes in 1760-70 A.C. A more scientific catalogue was prepared later in French by Hartwig Derenbourg and Levi Provencal in three volumes. A further catalogue of 448 Arabic manuscripts, preserved in

the Escurial Library, was prepared by D. Nemesio Morata and published in Al-Andalus, II, pp. 87-182.

The main hall of the library is spacious with beautifully painted murals. The ceiling was painted in fresco by the famous Spanish artist Tibaldi. Some articles of interest along with books written elegantly in golden letters are kept here on exhibition. There are seven glass show-cases in the middle of the hall and in the second of these there are exhibited a copy of Bible translated in Hebrew in the fifteenth century, a copy of the Qur’an belonging to Muley Zidan the above mentioned sixteenth century Arabic manuscript dealing with the history of animals and also several other Arabic and Persian manuscripts. They are all beautifully written in golden letters. These books which are on exhibition can only be consulted by scholars, with special permission from the authorities of Madrid.

Besides the monastery, the Prince’s lodge (Casita del Principe) is a building in the Escurial which is worth seeing. The University of the Escurial, though a private organization, is renowned for its Faculty of Law. The school of the Escurial, known as Seminario, is functioning from the time of Philip II and teaches theology, philosophy and the liberal arts.

Libraries in Madrid:- The Medieval City of Cordova has lost its previous importance and the cultural activities shifted from there to Madrid originally founded by the ‘Arabs under the name ‘Marjit’. In Madrid there are several libraries and institutions which are known for the collection of Arabic manuscripts, the National Library of Madrid9 being the most important of them all.

In the beginning of the seventeenth century the Royal Library of Spain was known as Library of the ‘Reina Madre’. It contained numerous important books and manuscripts and was housed in the tower of the Alcazar. Philip V added valuable collections of books written in foreign languages which were brought from France. The Royal Library containing 8,000 books was for the first time opened to the public on the 1st March 1712. A few months later, the personal collection of the Archbishop of Valencia was added to it. Later on the Royal Museum containing coins and mathematical instruments was also attached to it. P. Robinet was appointed as the
first director and Gabriel Alvarez de Toledo as the first librarian. During the period of the French domination under Napoleon, the library suffered greatly and books were used for making cartridges and within ten years 1809-1819, the books were removed twice, first from the royal palace to the convent of the Trinity and again from there to the palace of Almirantazgo.

In 1836, it was declared as the National Library of Madrid and two years later rules and regulations were framed for the preservation of its books. Works of objectionable nature including those of the Moors and the Moriscos were placed in one room and were not issued to the readers without the permission of the Pope.

The site of the National Library and Museum building was selected in Paseo de Recoletos and the foundation-stone was laid on the 21st April, 1866. It took twenty-six years to complete this grand building. The library containing 500,000 volumes including 9,000 rare books and manuscripts was transferred to this building in 1894 A.C. After 1,900 the private collection of Pascual de Gayangos was added to this. Catalogues of manuscripts and books were prepared under the supervision of Marcelino Menendez Pelayo.

In the annual exhibitions rare books, important manuscripts and curious articles were displayed to attract the people. In such exhibitions, particularly those of the Historical Exhibition of America (Jan., 1891), the works of Don Quijote (1902), the third century anniversary of the death of Cervantes (23rd April, 1914) and the fourth century anniversary of the birth of the great Portuguese epic poet, Luis de Gamoens (13th December, 1924) are important and famous. The art of the exhibition of books has reached such a height that the exhibitions impart considerable cultural educations among the people in a very striking manner. The December, 1955, exhibition of books at the National Library was arranged in such a way that it illustrated a gradual process of the development of Latin calligraphy, introduction and development of paper manufacture and printing and binding of book II.

In April, 1918, the sections archives, library and archeology were re-organised and given new impetus. In 1930, a large number of books in foreign language were added to the already rich collection of the library with the idea of making it one of the most famous libraries of the world. The library suffered from ravages of civil war in 1936-1939.

Among the important sections of the Library are of Lope de Vega, Cervantes, Goya and of the manuscripts and rare books section. There are more than 30,000 rare books among which is also a copy of the Dioscorides copied by Anvers Juan Latio in 1555. This is a Greek work on plants and medicines, a copy of which had been received first in Spain by ‘Abd al-Rahman III of Cordova as a present from Constantine the Greek Emperor of Byzantium.

The printing press was introduced into Spain for the first time by A. Juan Gensfleisch known as Gutenberg and the first book was printed in Spain between 1436 and 1438. However, incunabula printed before 1457 are neither dated nor do they bear the names of their printers and publishers. The earliest dated incunabula is Johnnes de (Balbi, Giovanni), Catholicone Maguntiae (J. Gutenberg) dated 1460, in 373 folios.

Many old works of engraving, lithography, etc., are preserved in a section of the Fine Arts. They are not so important from the artistic point of view as from the historical point of view. There are about 200,000 engraved works and 10,000 original pictures and drawings representing the styles of different artists of various periods. These pictures drawn by natives as well as foreigners illuminate all stages of the lives of picturesque figures such as warriors and literary personages.

Out of about 25,000 volumes in the manuscript section 500 are autographs of foreign as well as of native scholars. The catalogue of Arabic manuscripts was prepared by F. Guillen Robles at Madrid in 1889. Some more important Arabic manuscripts have been added later. Among the important unpublished Arabic manuscripts held by the library are:-

Ibn abi Zamanin’s (d. 1007-8 A.C.) the Muntakhab al-Akhkh on judicial edicts — folio 108, maghribi letter. Another incomplete manuscript of the same work in 28 folios is also there — maghribi letter.

Abu’l Qasim Salmun al-Qinini’s al-‘Iqd al-Munazzam lil Hukkam fima
yajra bayn Aydihim min al-Wa tha’iq wa’l Ahkam also a collection of judicial laws.

There are also various documents of the Moriscos.

Among the works written by Christian authors in the tenth and eleventh centuries are:

Morales de San Gregorio el Magno, A Visigothic letter of the Year 945, folios 502 written on parchment and calf skin — with Visigothic miniature paintings.

Etimologias of San Isidora, tenth century, folios, 163, written on parchment with coloured geometrical figures.

The degrees of a religious council, collected by the Abbot Superino, tenth century, folios 345, written on parchment with miniatures of Byzantine styles.

Fuero Juzgo, The Year 1058, folios 186, written on pergamen with epigraphs and marginal decorations in red and blue of Mozarab style.

The Commentaries of the Apocalypse of San Juan by San Beato of Liebana, copied by Facundus in 1047, possessed by the King Fernando and Queen Sanchez, folios 316, written on calf skin with more than 100 miniatures of the Mozarabs.

The Sacred Bible of Avilab written in Italian Carolingian small letters towards the end of the eleventh century and in French in the beginning of the twelfth century.

Among rare and curious bindings are one of the eighteenth century in red velvet with the royal shield embroidered with gold and silk on both sides of the binding and another mudejar with lining in velvet ornamented with gold lace, initials of the Catholic kings, crowns and brooches of Moorish enamel and engraved silver cover with the figure of San Miguel.

There are four other libraries in Madrid which are known for the collection of Arabic manuscripts and books and study of Hispano-

Arab culture in Spain. The Library of the Institute of Miguel Asin Madrid (School of Arabic Studies) and that of the Royal Academy of History are the foremost among them. Besides having a large number of published Arabic works, they possess some rare and important manuscripts especially on contracts and sale-deeds. Among the other rare manuscripts the Miguel Asin Institute possesses a copy of the collection of the risalat of Ibn Hazm of Cordova (11th century), al-Sifr al-Thani min al-Watha’iq wa al-Masa’il al-Majmu’ah of ‘Abd Allah b. Futah of Alpuente (Valencia) and al-Maqṣad al-Mahmud fi Talkhis al-Uqd of Abu al-Hasan of Algeciras. An incomplete manuscript of al-Mugna’ fi IIm al-Shuwrul of Ahmad ibn Mughith of Toledo (d. 459/1067) on contracts is preserved among other rare works under the title al-Watha’iq Musta’mal copied by Sulayman Muhammad b. al-Khazanji in the Gayangos collection of Arabic manuscripts at the Academy of History. The Egyptian Institute of Madrid and the Hispano-Arab Institute of Madrid are the other two institutions which have been established with the idea of conducting researches in Hispano-Arab culture. Their libraries also have valuable collections. The first Director of the Hispano-Arab Institute was the learned Arabic scholar, Don Emilio Gari Gomez. The University of Madrid has a chair of Arabic but its library was poor as far as Arabic books and manuscripts are concerned as observed by me during my study, 1953-56 A.C.

Libraries in Granada:— The Library of the University of Granada is constituted of five sections each attached with their faculties and one general section. The University library is preparing a catalogue of the manuscripts and books printed in the 16th and 17th centuries for which this library is particularly known. The general section of the library also contains the names of the Arabic manuscripts and books preserved in the library of the School of Arabic studies in Granada, which was established in 1933, jointly with Miguel Asin Institute of Arabic Studies at Madrid. The Director of this School of Arabic Studies at Granada in 1955 was Luis Seco de Lucena Paredes. The purpose of this institute is to contribute to the investigation of the Hispano-Muslim Culture and to teach modern Spanish culture to the Muslim students of North Africa. The collection of the library is rich but there are very few Arabic manuscripts worth mentioning.

Libraries in Barcelona:—The Central Library of Barcelona was
originally founded to serve the purpose of the Institute of Catalan Study established in 1907. It has 1,676 manuscripts mostly in Catalan, 15,061 maps and engravings, stamps, letters and musical instruments. It is important for the study of history and language of Catalonia. There are other two important libraries, the University Library and Historical Archives of the city known as Municipal Institute of History, Barcelona (founded in 1917). This Institute has a library containing 70,000 books and documents. It has many original historical paintings and graphic documents. It possesses sufficient materials for the reconstruction of the social and economic history of Catalonia specially Barcelona from 1249, when Jaime I introduces the custom of maintaining town registers, onwards.

Libraries in other Spanish Towns:— The five other important cities of Cordova, Seville, Toledo, Saragossa and Valencia were also visited by the writer of the present paper to see the Muslim remains and to study the documents preserved in the libraries of those towns. They have very few Arabic manuscripts; even the University Library of Seville does not possess a good collection of Arabic manuscripts. There are a few rare Arabic manuscripts in the Cathedral of Toledo, but most of them have already been published.

The Arabic manuscripts preserved in the above-mentioned libraries of Spain contain rich data on the social and cultural history of Muslim Spain. It requires to be sifted, re-arranged and analysed to present a complete picture of that side of Hispano-Arab history. The results of such researches made in Hispano-Muslim culture are often published in Al-Andalus, Madrid-Granada, the Boletin de la Real Academia de Ciencias, Bellas Letras y Nobles Artes de Cordoba, Cordova, and the Magazine of the Egyptian Institute, Madrid.

قال الشيخ الإمام أبو عمر الله
محفظة عبد الله بن محمد بن
البركات الطيار للعرف باب
بكونه تجربة الله

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For the detailed study of the subject see the works of Abū Bakr ibn Khayr (Bibliotheca arabica-espagnana edition) and Ribera, Diversitaciones, I, p. 188-217.

8 Ribera, Diversitaciones, p. 68.
9 Ribera, Diversitaciones, p. 68.
11 Ibid., n. 889, pp. 294-300.
12 Id., n. 1132, pp. 316-7.
13 Al-Maqurī, Andalucía, p. 1, Leyden, 1855-64, p. 495.
14 Al-Farādi, n. 1150, p. 227.
15 Al-Farādi, n. 201, p. 18.
17 Al-Dabbī, n. 341, p. 189.
18 Al-Farādi, n. 453, p. 181.
19 Al-Farādi, n. 201, pp. 58-59.
20 Id., n. 184, p. 35.
21 Id., n. 90, p. 336.
23 Al-Farādi, II, n. 1534, p. 38.
25 Al-Farādi, II, n. 1528, pp. 31-2.
26 Ibn AbīRār, Tukahib, n. 86, pp. 31-2.
27 Al-Dabbī, n. 271; ibid, Al-Farādi, no. 1287.
29 Ibn AbīRār, Tukahib, p. 106; Ibn al-Qutaybah, Iftīā al-Andalus, p. 36.
30 Ibn al-Qutaybah, p. 34.
31 Ibid., p. 35.
32 Ibid., p. 35.
33 Ibn AbīRār, Tukahib, n. 102, The Maghārib al-Aḥbāb al-Andalus, pp. 32, 34.
34 Ibn AbīRār, Tukahib, n. 109, pp. 59.
38 Al-Farādi, I, n. 1290, p. 364.
39 Ibn AbīRār, Tukahib, I, n. 162, pp. 105-6; al-Dabbī, n. 94.
41 Ribera, Diversitaciones, I, p. 565.
42 Ibid., n. 184, p. 86; Maquorí, Andalucía, II, n. 76.
43 Ribera, Diversitaciones, I, p. 112.
45 Al-Farādi, II, n. 1413, p. 633-4; ibid, Al-Dabbī, Tukahib, I, n. 204, p. 71.
48 dynasties in Spain, I, Appendix, p. XL.
49 Published in twenty one parts in the Hijri History of the Arabs, London, 1904, p. 404.
51 Maquorí, Andalucía, I, p. 605.
52 Al-Farādi, II, n. 1399, p. 404.
53 Ibn Bakkuwī, II, n. 1233, p. 653.
54 Al-Dabbī, n. 331.
55 Maquorí, Andalucía, I, n. 112.
56 Al-Dabbī, n. 883.
58 Cf. Hipocracia, XVIII, 1934, pp. 198-200; Levi-Provenzal, La Civilización, p. 87 n. 21.
59 The royal library of Egypt contained during the time of al-Aziz (994 A.C.) only 200,000 books half that of the library of Cordova. Cf. Maquorí, I, p. 408.
60 The royal library of the Abbasids is said to have contained valuable collections but the figure is not known. The library of Mamlukmuyassar college contained 80,000 books in 1223 A.C.
64 Maquorí, Andalucía, I, 126.
65 Cf. Levi-Provenzal, La Civilización, p. 88 n. 12.
66 Spanish Islam, p. 218.
67 Gauyez, I, pp. XXL-XLII.
68 Ibn Bakkuwī, in the Masadda, pp. 87.
70 Ibn AbīRār, Tukahib, no. 427, p. 122.
71 Maquorí, Andalucía, II, n. 57.
72 Al-Farādi, I, n. 1070, p. 299.
73 Ribera, Diversitaciones, I, 206.
74 Ibn Bakkuwī, I, n. 553, pp. 242-4.
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