

“ for it ; when the governors of provinces and the generals of armies declared  
“ themselves independent and rose every where in their governments, taking  
“ the title of *Molúku-t-tawdyif*<sup>10</sup> (Kings of small estates), and when confusion  
“ and disorder were at their highest pitch. These petty sovereigns, of whom  
“ some read the *khotbah*<sup>11</sup> for the Khalifs of the house of Merwán—in whose  
“ hands no power whatsoever remained—while others proclaimed the Abbasside  
“ Sultáns, and acknowledged their Imám, all began to exercise the powers and  
“ to use the appendages of royalty, assuming even the titles and names of  
“ former Khalifs, and imitating in every thing the bearing and splendour of  
“ the most powerful sovereigns,—a thing which they were enabled to accomplish  
“ from the great resources of the countries over which they ruled,—for although  
“ Andalus was divided into sundry petty kingdoms, yet such was the fertility  
“ of the land, and the amount of taxes collected from it, that the chief of a  
“ limited state could at times display at his court a greater magnificence than  
“ the ruler of extensive dominions. However, the greatest among them did  
“ not hesitate to assume, as I have already observed, the names and titles of  
“ the most famous Eastern Khalifs ; for instance, Ibnu Rashík Al-kairwání<sup>12</sup> says  
“ that 'Abbád Ibn Mohammed Ibn 'Abbád took the surname of Al-mu'atadhed,  
“ and imitated in all things the mode of life and bearing of the Abbasside Khalif  
“ Al-mu'atadhed-billah ;<sup>13</sup> his son, Mohammed Ibn 'Abbád, was styled Al-  
“ mu'atamed ; both reigned in Seville, to which kingdom they in process of  
“ time added Cordova and other extensive territories in the southern and western  
“ parts of Andalus, as will hereafter be shown.

“ As long as the dynasty of Umeyyah occupied the throne of Cordova, the  
“ successors of 'Abdu-r-rahmán contrived to inspire their subjects with love of  
“ their persons, mixed with reverential awe ; this they accomplished by sur-  
“ rounding their courts with splendour, by displaying the greatest magnificence  
“ whenever they appeared in public, and by employing other means which I have  
“ already hinted at, and deem it not necessary to repeat : they continued thus until  
“ the times of the civil war, when, having lost the affections of the people, their  
“ subjects began to look with an evil eye at their prodigal expense, and the extra-  
“ vagant pomp with which they surrounded their persons. Then came the Bení  
“ Hamúd,<sup>14</sup> the descendants of Idrís, of the progeny of 'Alí Ibn Abí Tálíb, who,  
“ having snatched the Khalifate from the hands of the Bení Merwán, ruled for some  
“ time over the greatest part of Andalus. These princes showed also great osten-  
“ tation, and, assuming the same titles that the Abbasside Khalifs had borne, they  
“ followed their steps in every thing concerning the arrangement of their courts  
“ and persons ; for instance, whenever a *munshid*<sup>15</sup> wanted to extemporize some

“ verses in praise of his sovereign, or any subject wished to address him on  
 “ particular business, the poet or the petitioner was introduced to the presence of  
 “ the Khalif, who sat behind a curtain and spoke without showing himself, the *Hájib*  
 “ or curtain-drawer standing all the time by his side to communicate to the party  
 “ the words or intentions of the Khalif. So when Ibnu Mokéná Al-lishbóní  
 “ (from Lisbon), the poet, appeared in presence of the Hájib of Idrís Ibn Yahya  
 “ Al-hamúdí, who was proclaimed Khalif at Malaga,<sup>16</sup> to recite that *kassidah* of his  
 “ which is so well known and rhymes in *min*, when he came to that part which  
 “ runs thus—

‘ The countenance of Idrís, son of Yahya, son of ’Alí, son of Hamúd, prince  
 ‘ of the believers, is like a rising sun ; it dazzles the eyes of those who look  
 ‘ at it—

‘ Let us see it, let us seize the rays of yonder light, for it is the light of the  
 ‘ master of the worlds ’—<sup>17</sup>

“ the Sultán himself drew the curtain which concealed him, and said to the  
 “ poet—‘ Look, then,’ and showed great affability to Ibn Mokéná, and rewarded  
 “ him very handsomely.

“ But when, through the civil war, the country was broken up into sundry petty  
 “ sovereignties, the new monarchs followed quite a different line of politics ; for,  
 “ wishing to become popular, they treated their subjects with greater familiarity,  
 “ and had a more frequent intercourse with all classes of society ; they often  
 “ reviewed their troops, and visited their provinces ; they invited to their presence  
 “ the doctors and poets, and wished to be held from the beginning of their reign as  
 “ the patrons of science and literature : but even this contributed to the depression  
 “ of the royal authority, which thus became every day less dreaded ; besides, the  
 “ arms of the Moslems being employed during the long civil wars against one  
 “ another, the inhabitants of the different provinces began to look on each other  
 “ with an evil eye ; the ties by which they were united became loose, and a number  
 “ of independent states were formed, the government of which passed from father to  
 “ son, in the same manner as the empire of Cordova had been transmitted to  
 “ the sons and heirs of the Khalifs. Thus separated from each other, the Moslems  
 “ began to consider themselves as members of different nations, and it became  
 “ every day more difficult for them to unite in the common cause ; and owing  
 “ to their divisions, and to their mutual enmity, as well as to the sordid interest and  
 “ extravagant ambition of some of their kings, the Christians were enabled to attack  
 “ them in detail, and subdue them one after the other. However, by the arrival of  
 “ the Bení ’Abdu-l-múmen all those little states were again blended into one, and  
 “ the whole of Andalus acknowledged their sway, and continued for many years to

“ be ruled by their successors, until, civil war breaking out again, Ibn Húd,  
“ surnamed Al-mutawákel,<sup>18</sup> revolted, and finding the people of Andalus ill-dis-  
“ posed against the Almohades, and anxious to shake off their yoke, he easily made  
“ himself master of the country. Ibn Húd, however, followed the policy of his  
“ predecessors (the kings of the small states); he even surpassed them in folly and  
“ ignorance of the rules of good government, for he used to walk about the streets  
“ and markets, conversing and laughing with the lowest people, asking them  
“ questions, and doing acts unsuitable to his high station, and which no subject  
“ ever saw a Sultán do before, so much so that it was said, not without foun-  
“ dation, that he looked more like a performer of legerdemain than a king. Fools,  
“ and the ignorant vulgar seemed, it is true, to gaze with astonishment and  
“ pleasure at this familiarity, but as the poet has said—

‘ These are things to make the fools laugh, but the consequences of which  
‘ prudent people are taught to fear.’<sup>19</sup>

“ These symptoms went on increasing until populous cities and extensive dis-  
“ tricts became the prey of the Christians, and whole kingdoms were snatched  
“ from the hands of the Moslems. Another very aggravating circumstance added  
“ its weight to the general calamity, namely, the facility with which the power  
“ changed hands. Whoever has read attentively what we have just said<sup>20</sup> about  
“ the mode of attaining and using the royal power in Andalus, must be convinced  
“ that nothing was so easy, especially in latter times, as to arrive at it. The process  
“ is this: whenever a knight is known to surpass his countrymen in courage,  
“ generosity, or any of those qualities which make a man dear to the vulgar, the  
“ people cling to him, follow his party, and soon after proclaim him their king,  
“ without paying the least regard to his ascendancy, or stopping to consider  
“ whether he is of royal blood or not. The new king then transmits the state as  
“ an inheritance to his son or nearest relative, and thus a new dynasty is formed. I  
“ may, in proof of this, quote a case which has just taken place among us: a  
“ certain captain<sup>21</sup> made himself famous by his exploits, and the victories he won  
“ over the enemy, as likewise by his generous and liberal disposition towards  
“ the citizens and the army; all of a sudden his friends and partisans resolved  
“ to raise him to the throne, and regardless of their own safety, as well as that  
“ of their families, friends, and clients residing at court, and whose lives were  
“ by their imprudence put in great jeopardy, they rose in a castle, and pro-  
“ claimed him king; and they never ceased toiling, calling people to their ranks,  
“ and fighting their opponents, until their object was accomplished, and their  
“ friend solidly established on his throne. Now Eastern people are more cautious  
“ about altering the succession, and changing the reigning dynasty; they will on

“ the contrary avoid it by all possible means, and do their best to leave the power  
 “ in the hands of the reigning family, rather than let discord and civil dissen-  
 “ sions sap the foundations of the state, and introduce dissolution and corruption  
 “ into the social body.

“ Among us the change of dynasty is a thing of frequent occurrence, and the  
 “ present ruler of Andalus, Ibnu-l-ahmar, is another instance of what I have  
 “ advanced. He was a good soldier, and had been very successful in some ex-  
 “ peditions against the Christians, whose territories he was continually invading,  
 “ sallying out at the head of his followers from a castle called *Hisn-Arjónah*  
 “ (Arjona),<sup>22</sup> where he generally resided. Being a shrewd man, and versed in all  
 “ the stratagems of war, he seldom went out on an expedition without returning  
 “ victorious, and laden with plunder, owing to which he amassed great riches, and  
 “ the number of his partisans and followers was considerably increased. At last,  
 “ being prompted by ambition to aspire to the royal power, he at first caused his  
 “ troops to proclaim him king ; then sallying out of his stronghold he got  
 “ possession of Cordova, marched against Seville, took it, and killed its king  
 “ Al-báji.<sup>23</sup> After this he subdued Jaen, the strongest and most important city  
 “ in all Andalus, owing to its walls and the position it occupies, conquered likewise  
 “ Malaga, Granada, and their districts, and assumed the title of *Amíru-l-moslemín*  
 “ (Prince of the Moslems) ; and at the moment I write he is obeyed all over Andalus,  
 “ and every one looks to him for advice and protection.”<sup>24</sup>

The preceding has been transcribed from Ibnu Sa'id's work, where the subject is treated at length : we shall now extract from him and from Ibnu Khaldún some particulars concerning the charges or public offices which composed the government of the different dynasties in Andalus.

Wizír.

The charge of Wizír during the times of the Bení Umeyyah was common to several functionaries, to whose deliberation and inspection the chief of the state submitted the affairs of the government. The historian Ibnu Khaldún, who in his book of *the subject and attribute* has defined the functions of these and other officers of the court of the Khalifs, says that the title of Wizír, under the Sultáns of Cordova, was given to certain functionaries in whose hands rested the management of public affairs, and each of whom had under his care one branch of the administration ; for instance, the financial department, the foreign relations, the administration of justice and redress of injuries, and, lastly, the care of the frontiers and the provision and equipment of the troops stationed on them, would each constitute a separate and independent office under the special care of a Wizír. These functionaries enjoyed besides the right of sitting in the audience-room with the Khalif, and it was from among them that he chose his Náyib, called in the East

chief, or grand, Wizír, but who in Andalus was designated by the name of Hájb. These dignities were moreover conferred on certain noble families, until at last they became almost like an inheritance; <sup>25</sup> so that notwithstanding the governors and generals, who shared among themselves the dominions of the Khalifs, soon began to assume the signs of royalty, they still considered the titles of Wizír and Hájb as a very honourable distinction, and styled themselves Hájibs of the Bení Umeyyah, as if they were merely governing their states in their name. <sup>26</sup> Some even thought that no title could be more honourable, for we see them continually designated under that appellation either by poets singing their praises, or by historians relating their actions.

The appellation of Wizír was therefore given to all those who sat in council with, or were admitted into the privacy of, the sovereign; so that the Wizír, who to the right of sitting in council united the duties of the administration (in any particular branch), was distinguished by the title of *Dhú-l-wizárateyn*, that is, the holder of the two offices; and he had therefore to unite to the general accomplishments in literature which were required from the other functionaries a profound knowledge of the science of government.

The office of Kátib or secretary was of two kinds: the most important was called Kátib. *Kitábatu-r-rasdyil* (the office of the correspondence), the chief of which had under his care the direction of the correspondence of the Sultán with his allies or enemies, as likewise the drawing up of orders from the sovereign, and other documents for the inspection of the subjects: this office was also the most important, and that which required the greatest abilities in its holder, for he had to write (as it were) in the eyes and hearts of the people. The second was called *Kitábatu-dh-dhimám* (office of protection), and corresponded exactly to that of the *Kátibu-l-jihbadheh* <sup>27</sup> in the East: the person intrusted with this office had, as its name sufficiently indicates, to attend to the protection and security of the Christians and Jews; and it may be said without exaggeration, that so long as this office subsisted in Andalus and in the Maghreb no Christian or Jew ever needed the protection and assistance of the great and powerful. <sup>28</sup> Both these functionaries were called Kátibs, a title in which they gloried, and which they considered as the most honourable which they could receive; so that whoever wanted to honour or praise them never failed while addressing them, either verbally or in writing, to call them Kátibs; besides, the Andalusians showed always the greatest respect for all individuals entitled to that denomination, and never by any means forgot to do so when they addressed one of them; for had any one by mistake or otherwise omitted this, or suppressed any other of their honorific titles, neither the rank, riches, nor high station of the

offender would have prevented him and his friends from being ill-treated in words or action.

Sáhibu-l-ashghál.

No public office whatever equalled that of the *Sáhibu-l-ashghál*, or collector of taxes, in authority and importance, and the person who was at the head of it<sup>29</sup> was considered more powerful and influential than a *Wizír*; he had more followers, and could count a greater number of friends; the emoluments attached to his place were also more considerable, all necks bowed before him, all hands were stretched out to him, and he kept the provinces in awe by means of his overseers and informers. Yet with all this, and though this was a most desirable appointment—one which gave so much influence and importance to its holder, and in which considerable riches might be amassed in a very short time—it was a dangerous one, and full of hazards and cares. But this does not belong to our subject, as it depends upon the changes of fortune, and the character of the Sultán.

Kádí.

The charge of Kádí was always reputed in Andalus as the most honourable of all, not only on account of his spiritual jurisdiction, all religious affairs being exclusively intrusted to his care, but also owing to the great independence and power which that office gave to its holders; for, as we have observed elsewhere, if a Kádí summoned the Khalif to his presence, the latter would immediately obey the summons,—at least such appear to have been the prerogatives annexed to that office during the reign of the Bení Umeyyah, and such of the sovereigns of the petty dynasties as followed their system of government. The title of Kádí ought in strictness to be applied to those only who exercised the functions of judges in a city or large town; if the place was small he was called Hákim. The Kádí-l-kodá (or chief Kádí) was also called *Kádíu-l-jamá'h*.

Sáhibu-sh-shartah.

The office of the *Sáhibu-sh-shartah*<sup>30</sup> was the same as it is in our days, and its functions nearly similar to those now attached to that post in Africa. The vulgar called him *Sáhibu-l-medínah* (city magistrate), and *Sáhibu-l-leyl* (night magistrate). The functions of this office were at one time of a most formidable description, for if he were at all in favour with the Sultán, and had his confidence, he could sentence to death any one he pleased, and have the sentence executed without any previous leave from the sovereign. However, this appears to have been but of rare occurrence; neither was the appointment much used, being only to be met with in great capitals, and at the court of the Sultán. Abú Zeyd Ibn Khaldún treats at length of the functions of this officer,<sup>31</sup> which seem to have consisted in the detection and punishment of crimes against morality—such as adultery, the drinking of intoxicating liquors, and so forth. Other civil offences fell also under his jurisdiction. In former times, however, this office could not exist without the express consent

of the Kádí, by whose sufferance only it continued, and whose authority was much more respected, at the same time that it stood on more legal grounds.

The office of the Mohtesib<sup>32</sup> was generally conferred in Andalus on men of Mohtesib. probity, experience, and learning, and who belonged to the class of the Kádís. The duties of this officer consisted in riding, early in the morning, through the market, followed by his guards, one of whom carried a pair of scales in his hand, to weigh the bread; for in Andalus the weight and price of bread was at all times fixed by the authorities; so, for instance, a loaf of a certain weight would sell for the fourth of a dirhem, and another of half its size for the eighth of a dirhem. These measures, moreover, produced so good an effect, that whoever wanted provisions for his daily consumption might send to market a little boy or a simple girl, with directions to buy whatever he wanted, and yet be perfectly satisfied that no imposition was practised upon him, and that every article had its proper weight. The sale of meat was likewise subjected to the same rule, it being enjoined to every butcher to have over his stall a label, with an inscription marking the price fixed by the authorities of the town. So neither bakers nor butchers dared to sell their articles for a higher price, nor cheat in the weight; for were the Mohtesib to entertain the least suspicion about one of them, he would soon put him to the test by sending a boy or girl to buy some bread or meat from him, and if, when weighed, it was found to be in the least deficient, he would punish the infractor, and fine him heavily; this for the first time, for if he were to be found in fault again, the magistrate would sentence him to be publicly flogged, and exposed in the market-place for the salutary warning of all the rest of the dealers, after which he would banish him the city. The office of the Mohtesib was further made to extend to all articles of sale, and those who filled it had to learn certain practices or rules before being fit to obtain it; in the same manner as a Faquih would among us study the decisions of the law before he would be considered fit to fill the situation of a Kádí.<sup>33</sup>

As to the night-watch, whom we call in the West *Tawáfu-l-leyl*, and who in the East are called *As'hab-arbá'*,<sup>34</sup> they were generally designated in Andalus under the name of *Ad-dárabún* (gate-keepers), on account of certain interior gates which most of the cities in that country had, and which it was the duty of those guards to shut every evening after the prayer of *'atemah*, thereby preventing any communication between the various quarters of the city during the night. Every one of these gates had its watchman, who, besides being well armed, was provided with a dark lantern, and had with him a dog to warn him by his bark if any noise was heard. "All these precautions," adds Ibnu Sa'id, "are indispensable in the large cities of Andalus, owing to the great number of thieves and vagabonds who either

Ad-dárabún, or night-watch.

“ disturb the public tranquillity at night by their brawls and clamours, or commit  
“ the most daring robberies ; for it is by no means an uncommon thing in our  
“ times to hear of a gang of robbers assembling at night, attacking a strong house,  
“ penetrating into it, plundering it of whatever property they find, and murdering  
“ all its inmates for fear they should offer any resistance, or assist the next day in  
“ their discovery and apprehension. It is therefore a thing of frequent occurrence  
“ in Andalus to hear people say,—‘ Last night robbers broke into the house of such  
“ a one, or such a one was found murdered in his bed.’” It is true, observes our  
author, that crimes of this kind are not equally common all over Andalus, and  
are generally confined to large cities, and, even there, they are more or less frequent  
according to the severity or indifference shown by the authorities ; but in general  
it must be owned that although the greatest rigour has been at times employed  
against robbers, so much as to inflict capital punishment for stealing a bunch of  
grapes out of a vineyard, and that the sword of justice has dropped with their  
blood, Andalus has never been quite free from that scourge. A very entertaining  
anecdote is told of a famous highwayman, called *Al-báziyu-l-ash'ab* (the Grey-hawk),  
who lived in the time of Al-mu'atamed, King of Seville. He was renowned for his  
dexterity and courage, and soon became the scourge of the country ; for at the  
head of a small band of chosen followers he began to scour the fields, surprising  
the inhabitants in their farms and villages, and depriving them of their valuables.  
Long did he baffle the search of justice, and escape from every troop sent for his  
apprehension ; but, at last, he fell one day into the hands of the king's officers, and  
the event being reported to Al-mu'atamed, he was sentenced to be crucified by the  
side of a much-frequented path, in the midst of the very district which had been the  
principal theatre of his depredations. The sentence having been duly carried into  
execution, the poor man was hanging miserably stretched on the cross, when, behold !  
his wife and daughters came up, and began to sob and wail around him, exclaiming,  
in the midst of their tears, “ Our doom is signed, and our deaths are certain ; who  
“ shall provide for us when thou art no more ?” They were thus lamenting over  
their misfortune when a peasant happened to pass by, riding on a mule, and having  
before him something like a large bundle of clothes or goods.—“ Friend,” said the  
robber on the cross to the passenger, “ take pity on me, and, since thou seest me  
“ in this condition, grant me a last favour, which will prove beneficial to thee too.”  
“ And what is it, pray ?” said the peasant. “ Go to yonder well,” replied the  
robber, “ and thou shalt find at the bottom one hundred dinárs in a purse, which,  
“ as I was closely pursued by the constables, I threw therein ; if thou succeed in  
“ getting them out, half shall be thy reward ; the remaining half thou must  
“ give to my wife and daughters here, that they may support themselves for a

“ while after my death. Go, hasten to the spot, and do not be afraid ; my wife will assist thee in thy descent by holding a rope, and my daughters will take care of thy mule.” The peasant consented, upon the offered conditions, and bent his steps towards the well ; there he tied a rope round his waist, and, assisted by the woman, began to let himself down, but no sooner had he reached the bottom than the robber’s wife cut the rope, and the poor wretch was left in the water struggling and screaming, while his deceiver, as may easily be imagined, hastened to the spot where his mule was, seized on whatever property he carried, and quickly disappeared with her daughters. The poor man, in the meanwhile, finding the depth of the well, and that he had not the means of getting out, began to cry out as loud as he could, in hopes of calling the attention of some passenger ; and the hollow of the well rang with his cries of “ help ! help ! ” It was summer time, and the weather very hot, so that many travellers approached the well to draw water for themselves and their beasts ; but the moment one of them came near to it, and heard the voice of the poor peasant inside, he ran away from it in great fright and consternation, not knowing what caused the pitiful lamentations and wailings that issued from the water. For many a long hour did the unhappy man remain in this miserable plight, until some of the passengers having acquainted each other with the circumstance, they came to the resolution of returning to the spot, and ascertaining the cause of the strange noises they had heard. Hastening back to the well, they soon discovered the peasant lying at the bottom of it, who, by means of a rope thrown him, was speedily extricated from the dangerous situation in which he lay. Being asked how he had come by his misfortune, he told them that he had been deceived, and pointing to the highwayman on the cross, “ Yonder knave,” said he, “ was the cause of it, in order to give his wife and daughters an opportunity to plunder me.” However, the adventure soon became known in Seville, whither the peasant directed his course, and being reported to Al-mu’atamed, he was surprised to hear of the robber’s cunning and impudence ; and wishing to see him, and interrogate him on the subject, he commanded that Grey-hawk should be made to appear in his presence. Agreeably to his orders, the robber was let down from the cross, and brought before the King, who addressed him thus : “ Tell me, O Grey-hawk ! how couldst thou be guilty of such a crime as that now imputed to thee, and that too, being, as it were, under the clutch of death ? ” “ O King ! ” replied the robber, “ if thou knewest how strongly nature impels me to the perpetration of such acts, and how great is the pleasure I enjoy while I commit them, I have no doubt but that thou wouldst relinquish the royal power, and embrace my profession.” Al-mu’atamed could not help smiling when he heard this ; he then said, after some time, “ O Grey-hawk ! were I to set thee at liberty,

“ and treat thee kindly,—were I to act generously towards thee, and allow thee a pension for thy maintenance and that of thy family,—tell me, wouldst thou repent of thy misdeeds, and forsake thy criminal practices ? ” “ If repentance,” said Grey-hawk, “ is to be my only way to salvation, I do not hesitate to accept life under such conditions.” Upon which, Al-mu’atamed, having previously made him swear to keep his engagement, liberated him, and gave him the command of a resolute band for the prosecution and detection of thieves in a particular quarter of the city. But to return.

These appear to have been the principal offices during the reign of the Bení Umeyyah and those of the petty sovereigns who usurped the power after them ; there are still some civil as well as military appointments which we have passed in silence for brevity’s sake, such as the Wálí, or governor of a province, the *Káyidu-l-asátil* (admiral of the fleet<sup>35</sup>), and others. In general, the Sultáns of the house of Merwán were distinguished for their care in naming to these offices the individuals most fit for their several duties, as also for having vied with each other in distinguishing and honouring the learned, raising them in rank or command, and admitting them to their privacy and favour : they were never known to appoint an undeserving Wizír nor a Kádí, nor to grant a seat in their council-room but to those who had given ample proofs of sagacity and learning. They always showed the greatest respect for the opinions of the learned, as is well known in the case of Al-hakem, who, persuaded by some strict theologians who were averse to wine, commanded that all the vines in his dominions should be rooted up, although, on the suggestion of some of his favourites, who represented to him that he could not prevent wine being made in other countries, and introduced into Andalus, he relaxed in severity, and the order was never carried into execution.<sup>36</sup> They never appointed any to the charge of Muftí, or to the examination of witnesses, but men of great learning and experience, and well read in the Korán, and in the decisions of the law. They were also to be rich, or at least to be possessed of a decent income, lest their poverty should induce them to covet the property of others, and sell justice to the pleaders. Ash-shakandí, from whom the foregoing details are borrowed, relates an anecdote which we shall transcribe here, as illustrative of what we have advanced. “ Al-hakem, surnamed *Ar-rabadhí*<sup>37</sup> (he of the suburb), wishing once to appoint one of the most distinguished theologians of Cordova to the special charge of receiving the declarations of witnesses, consulted with Yahya Ibn Yahya,<sup>38</sup> ‘Abdu-l-málik,<sup>39</sup> and other doctors, upon the propriety of his nomination, and asked them to give him their opinion on the person of his choice. The doctors then

“ said in reply,—‘ O Prince of the believers ! the individual thou hast chosen is  
“ no doubt an able and very worthy man, but he is exceedingly poor, and  
“ whoever has not an independent fortune to live upon ought by no means to  
“ be intrusted with the decisions of the law, and be made the judge between  
“ the Moslems ; especially if thou wishest him to derive utility and profit from  
“ his office, and yet to be just and impartial in his judgments when he has  
“ to decide between the executors<sup>40</sup> of a will and the heirs appointed in it.’  
“ On hearing this Al-hakem kept silence, and did not seem inclined to accept of  
“ their remonstrances ; on the contrary, he appeared to be angry and disappointed  
“ at seeing the doctors oppose his will. The counsellors then left the room, and  
“ Al-hakem remained thoughtful, until his son ’Abdu-r-rahmán, who succeeded  
“ him in the empire, happening to come in, and seeing sorrow and anger on his  
“ countenance, inquired the cause of it. ‘ What ails thee, O father ! who has  
“ displeased thee ?’ ‘ Hast thou not seen,’ said Al-hakem, ‘ those whom I  
“ extolled and raised above all others, and whom I have distinguished so far as  
“ to consult them on matters which neither concerned them, nor affected them  
“ in the least, wishing us to turn our faces from our intention, and shutting  
“ upon us the gates of intercession ?’—and then he told his son what had  
“ occurred. ‘ O, father !’ replied ’Abdu-r-rahmán, ‘ thou art the dispenser of  
“ justice, and thy uprightness exceeds that of any other Sultán on the earth ;  
“ in appointing and distinguishing the men of whom thou now complainest,  
“ thy object was, no doubt, not to raise and extol them, but to honour science  
“ through their means ; so I see no remedy for it unless thou removest them  
“ from their situations, and take away their dignities and honours to confer  
“ them on ignorant people.’ ‘ Certainly not,’ said Al-hakem, ‘ that I will  
“ never do.’ ‘ Well, then,’ continued his son, ‘ be just with them, and since  
“ science and virtue have no other language, leave them in their offices, that  
“ they may enjoy the pleasures of this world, and afterwards participate in the  
“ blessings of the other.’ ‘ Thou art right, son !’ interrupted Al-hakem. ‘ As  
“ to the objection raised by them,’ continued ’Abdu-r-rahmán, ‘ respecting  
“ the scantiness of his means, and his liability to be corrupted, the remedy rests  
“ in thy hands, and thou mayest stop their mouths by a single act of thy wonted  
“ generosity.’ ‘ And what is that ?’ replied Al-hakem. ‘ Give to thy protégé,’  
“ answered ’Abdu-r-rahmán, ‘ from thy treasury, a sufficient sum to enable him to  
“ fill his station with honour ; this will remove all the scruples of thy advisers,  
“ and will, besides being an action in which none of thy predecessors surpassed  
“ thee, raise thee highly in the estimation of thy subjects.’ ‘ Well said,’ ex-  
“ claimed Al-hakem, his countenance suddenly brightening with joy and satis-

“faction; ‘come to me, I see that generosity is natural to thee; and that the poet was right who said—

‘The sons of kings are generous and magnificent lords; the smallest among them is greater than the greatest of his subjects.’<sup>41</sup>

“After this, Al-hakem ordered 'Abdu-l-málik Ibn Habíb into his presence, and asked him how much he thought would be sufficient for the support of a functionary in that situation; and when the sum was fixed by 'Abdu-l-málik, the Khalif issued an order on his treasury for the amount; and not only was the allowance paid regularly out of the royal coffers as long as the judge lived, but he himself rose high in the estimation and favour of his sovereign, who gave him a horse out of his own stables, and conferred on him all sorts of honours and distinctions. And this was certainly a noble and generous action, the merits of which cannot be concealed, nor its memory be obliterated by time. Thus provided with means sufficient to resist the temptations of bribery, and having sufficient piety and virtue to avoid the committing of acts offensive to God, and the requisite learning to guide him through the maze of legal decisions, and to inspire him with equitable sentences in all trials and judgments, the new functionary fulfilled his duties in the most steady and upright manner, and his legal decisions became so many oracles among those of his profession.”

In the first years of the conquest the Moslems of Andalus were subject to the payment of those legal taxes designated in the *Sunnah*, and which every Moslem is bound to contribute. This, joined to certain customs paid by the Jews and Christians, was more than sufficient to meet the expenses of the court and carry on the government, but in latter times the splendour assumed by the Sultáns of the family of Merwán, their prodigality towards the learned, and the numerous armies they were obliged to keep constantly on foot, made it necessary for them to impose new tributes on their Moslem subjects, although every exaction of the kind is expressly forbidden by the text of the law. The amount of taxes thus collected in the time of the Sultáns of the house of Umeyyah has been differently estimated by various writers. The geographer Ibnu Haukal says that under 'Abdu-r-rahmán I. they amounted only to 300,000 dinárs, a sum which was collected from the principal cities according to their trade and the wealth of their inhabitants, each contributing a fixed quota towards the making up of the total sum. The contributions thus levied were divided into three equal portions: one-third was spent in the maintenance of the army; another went to pay the salaries of civil officers and judges, and to defray all the expenses of the administration; while the remainder was deposited in the coffers of the Khalif



Taxes.

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to meet cases of emergency, sudden invasions of the enemy, and so forth. But, in our opinion, this statement is not correct; Ibnu Haukal can only speak of the legal tax called *zakah*,<sup>42</sup> and not of all the other contributions, or else they were enormously increased under the reign of his successors, for we are told that under 'Abdu-r-rahmán *al-ausatt*<sup>43</sup> the sums levied amounted to one million of dinárs every year, and that under his father's administration they were computed at seven hundred thousand, which makes more than double the sum stated by that geographer. Moreover, the revenues of Andalus must have increased in a still greater proportion under his grandson 'Abdu-r-rahmán III., since, in the words of Ibn Khallekán, Ibnu Bashkúwál, and other historians, they are said to have amounted to five millions four hundred and eighty thousand dinárs,<sup>44</sup> without including in that sum either the duties raised on all articles of sale, or the contribution called *al-mostkhaláss*,<sup>45</sup> which amounted to seven hundred and sixty-five thousand dinárs. But of this more will be said when we come to the reign of 'Abdu-r-rahmán An-nássir.



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## B O O K I I.

## CHAP. I.

Religion—Orthodox sects—That of Málík Ibn Ans—When introduced—Faquírs—Costume of the Andalusians—Their weapons and equipments in time of war—Their eminent qualities—Their similarity to the Greeks—Their skill as workmen—They teach the Africans the useful arts of life.

It now behoves us to say something on the manners and customs of the inhabitants of Andalus; their piety, their aptitude for the sciences, their courage, their generosity, their wit, and a thousand eminent qualities by which they have become famous among the nations. We shall begin with their attachment to the internal dogmas as well as the exterior practices of religion. This may be said, in a certain measure, to have been more or less strong according to time and circumstances, and to have been determined by the religious habits and the conduct of the head of the state himself. However, it must be owned that, with a few exceptions, the precepts of religion were always held in the greatest awe and veneration, and all innovations or heretical practices abhorred and looked upon with contempt. Indeed, the disapprobation of the people in matters of this kind was so strong, that we are told by the historians of the time that it would have been a dangerous thing for any theologian, whatever might have been his birth or authority, to show the least deviation from the true spirit of religion; and that had a favourite or a relation of the Khalif been guilty of any heretical practice, and had the Sultán countenanced him in it, or not shown in some way his censure, the mob would have soon penetrated into his strong palace, and, in spite of his body-guard, seized on their victim, torn him to pieces, or expelled him from the city. This was of frequent occurrence during the reign of the Bení Umeyyah, as also the pelting of judges and governors whenever the inhabitants thought that proper justice was not given to them in their trials, or that they were despotically treated by their rulers.

Orthodox  
sects.

In former times the Andalusians, like the inhabitants of Syria, followed the

sect of Al-auzá'ei,<sup>1</sup> but during the reign of Al-hakem, son of Hishám, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ad-dákhel, the third Sultán of the family of Merwán in Andalus, some learned doctors began to utter legal decisions in conformity with the opinions of Málík Ibn Ans and the people of Medína, whose doctrines soon became known and spread all over Andalus and Africa; the change being in a great measure brought on by Al-hakem's conviction and firmness. There are various opinions entertained as to the reasons which induced the Sultán to make that innovation; the most current being that several Andalusian doctors happening to go to Medína, and having become acquainted with the Imám Málík, then residing in that city, and having heard from his own mouth the exposition of his sublime doctrines, were deeply impressed with their truth, and on their return to Andalus began to spread and preach them every where, expatiating in praise of their master, boasting of his virtues, his influence, his wide-spread fame, and the high estimation in which he was held by all classes of the people. This having reached the ears of Al-hakem, he held several conferences with them, and the result was that, being convinced of the purity and advantages of their doctrines, he issued immediate orders for the establishment of the sect of Málík Ibn Ans throughout his dominions.

Sect of Málík  
Ibn Ans.

Others assert that the Imám Málík having once interrogated an Andalusian doctor, whom he happened to meet at Medína, as to the habits and mode of life of the sovereigns of the house of Merwán, was very much surprised and gratified to hear that Al-hakem led a most exemplary and irreproachable life, offering a contrast to the conduct of the 'Abbasside Khalifs, and especially of Abú Ja'far Al-mansúr, who, as is well known and may be read in the history of the time, was then persecuting the descendants and partisans of 'Alí, casting them into prison, and subjecting them to all manner of ill treatment, for which reason Málík never failed to censure his proceedings: hearing, therefore, of the praiseworthy conduct of Al-hakem Ibn Hishám, he is said to have exclaimed in rapture, "God grant that he may be one of ours," or words to that purport.<sup>2</sup> This wish having been communicated to the Sultán by the doctor in whose presence it was expressed, they say that Al-hakem, who was already informed of the great reputation which his virtues and sanctity had gained him, decided immediately upon adopting the sect of Málík and forsaking that of Al-auzá'ei. Among the Andalusian doctors who contributed most efficaciously to bring about this change, either by their words or by their writings, are counted 'Abdu-l-málík Ibn Habíb, Yahya Ibn Yahya Al-leythí, and Zeyád Al-lakhmí; but of this more will be said hereafter.<sup>3</sup>

When introduced.

We find that in Andalus, as in the East, faquirs might be found in great

Faquirs.

numbers ; they wore their general dress called *darwázah*,<sup>4</sup> but so tattered and torn that it almost fell to pieces. There, as in the East, they were well acquainted with all the arts and tricks of their profession, and knew how to give the face the appearance of extreme hunger, in order to beg in the streets and market-places ; indeed their filthiness and impudence seem to have been beyond description. However, we are inclined to believe that they never were so numerous as in the East, nor did they obtain in Andalus the same success which they had there, for Ibnu Sa'íd tells us that it was a general rule among his countrymen not to encourage idleness by bestowing alms on people capable of gaining their livelihood by labour, and that if an Andalusian happened to meet a strong and healthy man under such a disguise, he would, instead of giving him alms, abuse him, and, by denouncing him to the magistrates, have him cast into prison ; this is the reason why beggars were at all times scarce in Andalus,—those, however, always excepted, who, through some corporeal defect, could not earn their living. However, the judgment that we have passed on the faquirs of Andalus must be applied to the generality, not to all, for there were among them men who, moved by sentiments of piety and devotion, left the world and its vanities, and either retired to convents to pass the remainder of their lives among brethren of the same community, or, putting on the *darwázah* and grasping the staff of the faquir, went through the country begging a scanty pittance, and moving the faithful to compassion by their wretched and revolting appearance. The following anecdote, which we extract from the celebrated work by Ar-rá'íi, entitled “the book of luminous introduction to the knowledge of those qualities which a faquir ought to have,”<sup>5</sup> will convey some idea of their customs and habits. “It happened once,” says that author, “that the Sheríf Abú-l-ma'álí, “son of Abú-l-kásim Al-húseyñ, Kádí-l-kodá of Granada,<sup>6</sup> and commentator of “the *Al-khazrajíyeh*, and the *Makssúrah*<sup>7</sup> of Házem, a man not only illustrious by “his birth,—for both his father and mother were descendants of Hasan, and “consequently of the family of the Prophet,—but by his virtues and eminent “qualities, renounced at once all his dignities and employments, and gave himself “up entirely to devotion and abstinence. Being a man of profound learning and “great piety, of amiable disposition and courteous manners, he won the esteem of “every one of his fellow-citizens, and became the object towards which the fingers of “the people of this world and of the world to come were universally pointing. He “had a brother whose name was Abú-l-'abbás Ahmed, Kádí of a town in the eastern “districts of Andalus, but who was then residing in Granada ; with him Abú-l- “ma'álí dwelt, but he would never eat any thing in his house because he was in “the employment of the Sultán : he would, whenever he felt hungry, go to his “brother, and say to him, ‘Brother, I am hungry, give me a dirhem that I may buy

“ food,’ and he used to go to market, and procure such provisions as he most  
“ wanted. In this way he lived for several years, persevering in his resolution,  
“ and depriving himself of every one of the comforts which the world bestows,  
“ until one day he bent his steps towards a convent in the outskirts of Granada,  
“ called *Záwiyatu-l-mahrúk* (the convent of the burnt),<sup>8</sup> and addressing himself  
“ to its inmates, whose superior at the time was Abú Ja’far Ahmed Al-mahdúd, he  
“ said to them, ‘ My friends ! I had a lamp to light myself with, and I have lost it,  
“ so that I cannot see at all ;’ and the superior replied to him, ‘ O Sheríf ! I cannot  
“ answer thee, but the first man who happens to come here shall do it to thy  
“ satisfaction.’ Few minutes had elapsed before one of the many holy men who  
“ used to visit the convent made his appearance, and sat himself by the side of  
“ Abú Ja’far, who addressed him thus,—‘ Brother, this Sheríf has just now put a  
“ question to our community, and I have told him that the first man who should  
“ enter here would answer it for him ; so hear what he has got to say, and reply  
“ to him.’ Abú-l-ma’álí then repeated his words,—‘ I had a lamp to light myself  
“ with, and I have lost it, so that I cannot see at all :’ the stranger then said,  
“ ‘ Well, that only shows a breach of discipline, thou must tell me more :’ then  
“ Abú-l-ma’álí said, ‘ I do not remember any fault I have committed, unless it be  
“ that when so and so incurred the displeasure of the Sultán, and concealed himself  
“ for fear of the approaching chastisement, I passed one day by his house, and he  
“ called me through the wicket of his door, and begged me to pray to God in his  
“ behalf, and I said to him—repeat such and such a prayer,—meaning one which  
“ contains all the illustrious names of the Almighty God, and which is well known  
“ to be an efficacious remedy against all calamities present and to come ; a prayer  
“ which is recorded by Al-búní in his *Al-muntekhab*,<sup>9</sup> and has repeatedly produced  
“ the most miraculous effects, and was communicated to me by my brother Ahmed  
“ Ash-sheríf, who had it from one of his disciples.’ When the faquir heard this,  
“ he said, ‘ And when this took place hadst thou permission to admonish him ?’  
“ ‘ No,’ answered Abú-l-ma’álí. ‘ Well then,’ said the faquir, ‘ it is of no use  
“ asking for thy lamp, thou shalt never recover it, and the light shall never be  
“ restored to thee, for thou hast committed a breach of the rules which every  
“ faquir ought to observe.’ And so it happened ; for some time after this  
“ Abú-l-ma’álí returned to the world, and, putting an end to his austerity and  
“ abstinence, accepted the office of Kádí which was offered to him, and served  
“ kings, ate at their tables, and accepted their presents. This anecdote is well  
“ known all over Granada, as well as Abú-l-ma’álí’s apostacy. We humbly  
“ beseech God not to make us one of the number of those who are banished from  
“ his grace and favours !”

Costume of  
the Andalu-  
sians.

“ The inhabitants of Andalus,” says Ibnu Sa’id, “ dress somewhat differently from their Moslem brethren of Asia. They have left off the turban, especially in the eastern provinces; in the western, however, it is still used by people of rank and wealth, or those holding situations under government. Thou wilt never see in Cordova or in Seville a Kádí or a Faquih without his turban; in Valencia, Murcia, and other provinces of the east of Spain, on the contrary, it is quite common to see men of the highest rank walk about the streets with bare heads; as to the lower classes, they never use the turban. I recollect once seeing in Murcia one of the most distinguished and respected Ulemas of the city appear before the Sultán who then reigned in those districts; he wore nothing on his head, and his white hair, shining bright among his black locks, had the most ludicrous appearance. Military officers, soldiers, and men of the inferior classes, have likewise left it off, even in the western provinces. Ibn Húd,<sup>10</sup> formerly King of Saragossa, and who in our days reduced to obedience the greatest part of Andalus, never used a turban; I accompanied him in most of his military expeditions, and always saw him without it. I might say the same of Ibnu-l-ahmar, who is the present ruler of this country.

“ The cloak called *taylasdn*<sup>11</sup> is used by all classes of the people, men of rank as well as plebeians, so that thou wilt never see an Andalusian go out into the street without having his cloak on, the only difference being that Sheikhs and other people of distinction throw their hood over their heads, whilst common people never do so. Woollen caps are generally used as a substitute for turbans; the colours most worn are either red or green; yellow is reserved for the Jews, who, on no occasion, are allowed to use any other. The hair is cut short, only Kádís and Ulemas wear it long; but instead of letting it hang over their shoulders, as is the fashion in the East, they wear it loose underneath the left ear.

“ Even the people who use turbans follow a fashion of their own, and seem entirely to disregard the multifarious shapes used by people of rank and distinction in other Moslem states; so if an eastern Arab happens to come among them, wearing a turban in the Syrian or Hejází fashion,—and large high things they are, looking like towers,—they will show great astonishment, and appear much struck with the novelty; but instead of admiring its shape and structure, they will burst out laughing, and jest at the expense of the wearer, for in general the Andalusians are very slow in adopting the fashions of other nations, and neither admire nor like any thing but their own. They are also the cleanest people on earth in what regards their person, dress, beds, and in the interior of their houses; indeed, they carry cleanliness to such an extreme that it is not

“ an uncommon thing for a man of the lower classes to spend his last dirhem in  
 “ soap instead of buying food for his daily consumption, and thus go without  
 “ his dinner rather than appear in public with dirty clothes.

Sultáns, military officers, and even the common soldiers, followed the fashions Their weapons  
and equipment  
in time of war.  
 of the infidels ; in time of war, especially, they wore a dress very similar to  
 that of the Christians, their neighbours. They used likewise the same weapons,  
 and, like them, were clad in mail, over which they threw a short scarlet tunic,  
 in the Christian fashion. They fought on horseback with shield and spear,  
 but knew not how to use either the mace or the bow of the Arabs ; instead of  
 which they adopted the cross-bow of the Franks, and used it in sieges, or in  
 marches, to defend the infantry from the attacks of cavalry, for without that  
 requisite they would certainly be defeated. However, we are informed by Ibnu-  
 l-khattíb that under the Merínite Sultáns, who reigned at Granada, the Anda-  
 lusian troops were again clad and armed in the real Arabic fashion ; instead  
 of the heavy steel helmet and thick breast-plate of their ancestors, they then  
 wore a slender head-piece, and a thin but well-tempered cuirass ; instead of  
 the huge spear with a broad end in the Christian fashion, they took the long  
 and slender reed of the Arabs, and they substituted for the clumsy and ill-shaped  
 Christian saddle the more military-looking and more convenient horse furniture  
 of the inhabitants of Arabia.<sup>12</sup>

The character of the Andalusian Arabs has been thus described by Ibnu Ghálib Their eminent  
qualities.  
 in his *Kitáb forjati-l-anfus* (the book of contentment of the soul), a work to  
 which we have more than once referred in the course of our narrative. “ The  
 “ Andalusians,” says he, “ are Arabs by descent, in pride, in the haughtiness of  
 “ their temper, the elevation of their minds, the goodness of their heart, and  
 “ the purity of their intentions ; they resemble them in their abhorrence of every  
 “ thing that is cruel or oppressive, in their inability to endure subjection or  
 “ contempt, and in the liberal expenditure of whatever they possess. They are  
 “ Indians in their love of learning, as well as in their assiduous cultivation of  
 “ science, their firm adherence to its principles, and the scrupulous attention  
 “ with which they transmit down to their posterity its invaluable secrets. They  
 “ are like the people of Baghdád in cleanliness of person and beauty of form,  
 “ elegance of manners, in mildness of disposition, subtilty of mind, power of  
 “ thought, extent of memory, and universality of talent. They are Turks in  
 “ their aptitude for war, their deep acquaintance with every one of its stratagems,  
 “ and their skilful preparation of the weapons and machines used in it, as well  
 “ as their extreme care and foresight in all matters concerning it. They have  
 “ been further compared with the Chinese (by an Andalusian author named

“ Ibnu Hazm) for the delicacy of their work and the subtilty of their manufactures, “ and their dexterity in imitating all sorts of figures. And, lastly, it is generally “ asserted that they are of all nations that which most resembles the Greeks “ in their knowledge of the physical and natural sciences, their ability in discovering “ waters hidden in the bowels of the earth, and bringing them to the surface ; their “ acquaintance with the various species of trees and plants, and their several “ fruits, and their industry in the pruning and grafting of trees, the arrangement “ and distribution of gardens, the treatment of plants and flowers, and all and “ every one of the branches of agriculture : indeed, so great is their proficiency “ in this science that it has almost become proverbial, and some eminent “ writers among them have composed works which are generally approved of “ and consulted in the East and in the West. Such is the treatise on agriculture “ by Ibn Bassál,<sup>13</sup> an Andalusian, which is in the hands of every farmer, and “ the merits of which have been sufficiently appreciated by all those who have “ followed its valuable instructions. The Andalusians, moreover, are the most “ patient of men, and the fittest to endure fatigue ; they are thereby well qualified “ for labour of every description ; they likewise show great inclination for war, “ and have on all occasions proved to be active, brave, and intelligent soldiers.”

Various authors have dwelt at large on the great similarity existing between the Andalusian Moslems and the Greeks, but it is easily accounted for by the circumstance that the Greeks for a long time inhabited Andalus, and the Moslems became thereby the inheritors of all their knowledge in the sciences.

Ibnu Ghálib continues, “ We may enumerate among the eminent qualifications “ of the inhabitants of Andalus that of having been the inventors of the species “ of verse called *al-muwashahah*,<sup>14</sup> which has not only been approved of by Eastern “ critics, but adopted and used by their poets, and made the theme of public “ literary competitions. As to their poems in the common kinds of metre, and “ their works in prose, nobody who has read them will deny that they stand high “ in the scale of merit.

Skill of their  
workmen.

“ The skill of their workmen in all kinds of handicraft has been sufficiently “ acknowledged by travellers from the East, and other Mohammedan countries, “ who have lived among them ; many are the articles now manufactured in “ Andalus which are in high repute, and form the staple of considerable trade “ with Moslems and Christians : Africa may be said to have derived its present “ wealth and importance, and its extent of commerce, from Andalusians settling “ in it. For when God Almighty was pleased to send down on their country “ the last disastrous civil war, thousands of its inhabitants of all classes and “ professions sought a refuge on these<sup>15</sup> shores, and spread over *Maghrebu-l-aksá*

Their simi-  
larity to the  
Greeks.

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