

“ and Africa proper, settling wherever they found comfort or employment.
 “ Labourers and country people took to the same occupations which they had
 “ left in Andalus,—they formed intimacy with the inhabitants, assisted them in
 “ their agricultural labours, discovered springs, and made them available for the
 “ irrigation of their fields, planted trees, introduced water-mills,¹⁶ and other
 “ useful inventions ; and, in short, they taught the African farmers many things
 “ they had never heard of, and showed them the use of excellent practices
 “ whereof they were completely ignorant. Through their means the countries
 “ where they fixed their residence became at once prosperous and rich, and
 “ the inhabitants saw their wealth increase rapidly, as well as their comforts and
 “ enjoyments.

“ The inhabitants of cities being for the most part well educated people, and
 “ being versed in all the branches of learning and polite literature, soon made
 “ themselves conspicuous and known at court, or in the chief towns where
 “ they settled. They filled posts of distinction in the state, and were appointed
 “ to the charges of Wizírs, Kátibs, governors of provinces and districts, tax
 “ collectors, and other offices under government, so that there was no district
 “ in Africa wherein some of the principal authorities were not Andalusians.

“ But it was in the class of operatives and workmen in all sorts of handicrafts
 “ that Africa derived the most advantage from the tides of emigration setting towards
 “ its shores. It is well known that before the arrival of the Andalusians many
 “ of the trades which are now in a flourishing state were hardly known in Africa,
 “ and that in activity and dexterity the emigrants ranked far above the native
 “ workmen. So, for instance, if they undertook the building of an edifice they
 “ completed it in the shortest possible time, and finished every thing so beautifully,
 “ and with such a perfection of design, that they won the hearts and affections
 “ of their employers, and their reputation grew immense among the people ;
 “ these being notorious facts, which none but the ignorant or the ill-intentioned
 “ could deny.”

They teach the
 Africans the
 useful arts of
 life.

Such are Ibnu Ghálib's expressions, transcribed literally from Ibnu Sa'id's work, where they may be found, with other curious information on the subject. The latter author himself, making as it were a comment on Ibnu Ghálib's words, and recording some of the good qualities which the Andalusians were known to possess, adds as follows : “ God Almighty knows it is not my intention to flatter my countrymen,
 “ but merely to state the truth, following those impartial writers who are neither
 “ carried away by the love of their country, nor diverted from truth through envy
 “ or malevolence ; my motto shall be, ‘ the path of truth is the surest path to
 “ follow.’¹⁷ Perhaps some of my readers, in perusing the account I have just

“ given, in the words of Ibnu Ghálib, of the revolution created by the Andalusian
“ emigration in the trade and agriculture of Africa, will say to themselves,—this
“ author was undoubtedly partial towards his countrymen, and he exaggerated
“ their merits; but let them plunge into his book, let them weigh every one of
“ his expressions, and compare his narrative with those of other writers, and they
“ will soon feel convinced that he spoke the truth, and they will, if necessary,
“ quote his words without fear.

‘ When they directed their looks towards Leylah, and saw the beauty of
‘ her face, they were confirmed in their belief, and

‘ They exclaimed, We have still fallen short in our praises of thee.’¹⁸

“ I cannot deny,” continues Ibnu Sa’id, “ for the sake of truth and justice, that
“ Morocco is the Baghdád of the West; it is the largest city on this coast, as
“ likewise that which abounds most in public works, splendid buildings, palaces, and
“ gardens. Yet it is a known fact that the capital of Al-maghreb was never so
“ flourishing as under the reign of the Bení ’Abdi-l-múmen, who took thither
“ workmen and operatives from all parts of their Andalusian dominions. This is
“ notorious, and needs no confirmation: the same might be said of the city of
“ Túnis, in Africa proper, to which in my times the prosperity and splendour of
“ Morocco may be said to have migrated, owing to the present Sultán, Abú
“ Zakariyyá Yahya Ibn Abi Mohammed Ibn Abi Hafs,¹⁹ having fixed his court
“ in it. This prince has erected buildings, constructed palaces, and planted
“ gardens and vineyards in the Andalusian fashion: all his architects are natives
“ of this country, as likewise most of his masons, carpenters, bricklayers, painters,
“ and gardeners. The plans were either designed by Andalusians or copied from
“ buildings in their country; and although the Sultán himself is a very good judge
“ in these matters, and has an exquisite taste, yet it is well known that the
“ mosques, palaces, and gardens erected by him, and so much admired by the
“ Africans, are mere copies of similar buildings in our country. So, as far as
“ this goes, it is clearly demonstrated that Ibnu Ghálib told the truth.”

CHAPTER II.

Character of the Andalusians—Their hospitality—Their courage in battle—Their haughtiness of temper—Devotion to their friends—Their justice—Forgiveness—Generosity.

THE qualities of the Andalusians are as brilliant and manifest as the beauties of the country they inhabit are shining and conspicuous. The same author that we have mentioned elsewhere (Ibnu Ghálib) affirms, on the authority of Ptolemy, that, owing to the influence exercised by the planet Venus, the people of Andalus are endowed with a lively imagination, elegance of manners, exquisite taste in food, clothing, and whatever concerns their persons, cleanliness, and love of pleasure and music. Mercury imparts to them inclination to economy and orderly habits, ardour in the acquisition of learning, love of philosophy and the natural sciences, justice and impartiality in their judgments.

Ibnu Ghálib goes on detailing the qualities which are assigned to the Andalusians on account of the influence exercised over them by Vulcan, Saturn, and Jupiter; but in this the author was wrong, since it is well known that only the fourth and fifth climates pass over Andalus, the sixth passing close to its northern shores, and the seventh by the islands of the Majús. The Sun is the planet of the fourth climate, Venus of the fifth, Mercury of the sixth, and the Moon of the seventh; as to the second and third, they are in no way connected with Andalus.

We shall now enumerate some of their brilliant qualities, which we shall illustrate by examples, that they may be more deeply impressed on the minds of our readers. The Andalusians were justly renowned for their hospitality towards strangers, and their histories abound in acts which rank them far above the other Moslems in the exercise of that virtue. It is said of the Khalif 'Abdu-r-rahmán III. that on the arrival of Zaryáb, the musician,¹ at Cordova, he not only rode forth himself to receive and welcome him, but entertained him for several months in his own palace, and made him considerable presents; an action which is praiseworthy enough in an equal, but which in a superior, and a Sultán so powerful and

dreaded as 'Abdu-r-rahmán, who was the first of his family to assume the titles of Khalif and "Prince of the faithful," and whose court shone as bright as the dazzling rays of the summer sun, surpasses all encomium.

The geographer Al-bekrí, in his description of Africa, mentions another instance of remarkable hospitality on the part of the same Sultán. Having heard that Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Abí 'Isa, *Kádi-l-jemá'h* (or supreme judge) at Fez, intended to cross over from Ceuta, the place of his residence, to Andalus, in order to engage in some military expeditions against the Christians, he ordered that he should be written to in his name, pressing him to come, and apprising him that he was not to lodge any where during his travels but in houses belonging to the Sultán. Accordingly, between Algesiras, the place of his landing, and *Balát Hamíd*,² a place in the furthest frontier, where the army was then encamping, palaces were built by 'Abdu-r-rahmán's orders, in which Mohammed was duly received and lodged. The expenses of the erection of the palaces, thirty in number (one for each day or station), being one thousand mithcals each.

"The Andalusians," says Ibnu Sa'íd, "are both economical and orderly in their habits; they are very careful of whatever property they possess, a circumstance which has induced some authors to stigmatize them as misers.

"In illustration of this I shall here relate an adventure which occurred to me whilst in Andalus. I was once travelling with my father in one of the eastern provinces when we were caught in a storm of rain and wind. It was then winter, and the cold was intense; the clouds poured down upon us more water than the Nile itself has in its bed. Lightning crossed our sight, thunder roared over our heads, we were wet through and perishing with cold, so that we determined upon directing our steps to a neighbouring village, and asking hospitality from the first inhabitant we should meet. It must be observed that both my father and I were at that time under the jealous vigilance³ of the Sultán, and unprovided with sufficient means to take any other determination. We therefore went to a house and knocked at the door; the owner, a respectable old man, whom we had never seen before, soon opened it and admitted us into his house; he received us with great kindness, and said soon afterwards, 'If you have any money to give me I will buy charcoal and light a fire, that you may dry your clothes and warm yourselves; I will also go to market and get such provisions as you may want, and my people will dress them for you.' We did what we were desired,—we gave him money to make his purchases, and he soon came back and lighted a very good fire. While we were warming ourselves at it, in came a young lad, apparently a son of our host, who, approaching the fire, began to warm himself, but no sooner

“ did the father perceive it than he came up to his son, gave him a beating, and sent him away from it. ‘What dost thou beat this boy for?’ said my father to our host. ‘I beat him,’ replied the old man, ‘that he may accustom himself from childhood to cold and privation, and be thereby enabled to earn his subsistence and provide for himself after I am dead.’ When it was time to go to bed the old man said to the youth, ‘Give that thick cloak⁴ of yours to this young man,’ pointing to me, ‘that he may add it to his covering and sleep more comfortably,’ and he did as desired. When I awoke in the morning I observed that the youth was also awake and holding in his hands one of the corners of his cloak. I afterwards communicated this observation to my father, who said to me, ‘Do not wonder at it, for this is a thing that happens every day, and it is in the character of the Andalusians to show the greatest hospitality and benevolence towards their guests, at the same time that they use excessive precautions concerning their property. So, for instance, this man gave thee his cloak, in doing which he preferred thy comfort to his own, but, at the same time, seeing thee a stranger, and not knowing whether thou wert an honest man or a thief, prudence dictated to him not to go to sleep without holding the cloak in his hand, lest thou shouldst run away with it in the morning while he was asleep,—thus spoiling by his mean conduct all the merits of his generous action.’” The preceding anecdote is copied from Ibnu Sa’id in his *Al-mugh’rab*.

The Andalusians have always been renowned for their intrepidity and courage, ^{Courage.} and their history is full of acts of bravery and heroism scarcely to be equalled by any other nation. It is related of the Amír Abú ‘Abdillah Ibn Mardanih⁵ that whenever he came to close quarters with the infidels he used, regardless of his life, to dash into the thickest of the *mêlée*, where he performed such prodigies of valour that his very enemies remained motionless with astonishment: on one of these occasions, while he was charging the thick squadrons of the Christians, and dispersing them like dust right and left, he was heard to exclaim—

“ When I plunge into the close ranks of the enemy, it matters not to me whether I find my death in the midst of them or elsewhere.”⁶

On another occasion, having been attacked by superior forces, he required all his courage and ability to extricate himself from his dangerous position. The Christians closed on all sides upon him, but instead of losing courage he animated his followers, and making a most desperate charge against the enemy, penetrated into their ranks, unhorsed and killed their most valiant knights, and succeeded in disengaging himself, after performing such feats of arms that he himself was astonished. Then turning round to one of his favourite captains, an experienced

old warrior who had seen many a battle, and was well versed in all the chances of war,—“What thinkest thou of all this?” said he. “My opinion,” answered the veteran, “is, that had the Sultán witnessed the extraordinary feats of arms that thou hast just been performing, he would unquestionably have increased the pension already allotted to thee from his treasury, and raised thee in honour and command; but on the other hand I doubt whether he would not have been angry to see thee expose thy life in the manner thou hast done, for it becomes not the general of an army to hazard his life more than is necessary, lest by so doing he should cause the destruction of his whole army.” “Well, that may be so,” replied Ibn Mardanísh, “but man dies not twice; and if I am killed, others may save their lives by my death.”⁷

Another famous warrior, whose name was the Káid Abú 'Abdillah Ibn Kadús, is also much spoken of by the Andalusian historians. They say that he made himself so conspicuous by his courage and his prowess against the enemy, as well as by the forays he made into their territory, that his name was well known to the meanest soldiers in the Christian camp, and that the single mention of it was sufficient to cast terror into the heart of the stoutest knight. In confirmation whereof an anecdote is told of a Christian warrior, who once approached a brook in order to give his steed water; when the animal pranced, reared, and would not come near it. “What ails thee?” said the soldier, addressing his horse, “hast thou seen Ibn Kadús in the water?”⁸ And this was no doubt a great distinction, tending to prove the great estimation and awe in which the warrior was held by the Christians, owing to the brilliant feats of arms he was seen to perform on every occasion.

The same author from whom we have borrowed the preceding anecdote mentions another very curious one, which he says he had from a trustworthy friend and eye-witness. Ibn Kadús once left the frontiers of the Moslem dominions at the head of a small but chosen band of resolute followers, in order to make a foray into the enemy's territory. However, he soon fell in with a considerable body of the Christian troops, by which he was surrounded, and placed in imminent danger of being made prisoner. But Ibn Kadús being a brave and experienced warrior, and knowing that he could rely on the courage and devotion of his handful of men, instead of being frightened at the superior numbers of the enemy, rose in his stirrups, said a few words of encouragement to his soldiers, and, putting himself at their head, plunged into the close ranks of the enemy, which he scattered and dispersed right and left; thereby opening himself a passage, and disengaging his small force without the loss of a single man. He then began to retire in good order towards his camp, being closely followed by the Christians, but as he was retreating

and fighting, one of his men who had remained considerably behind was unhorsed, and his steed ran away. The soldier then implored the assistance of his captain, who hastening back to him said—"Wait a moment, and defend thyself on foot "till I get thee a horse;"—saying which, he rode to the nearest Christian horseman, threw him down at the very first onset, took his steed, and gave it to his dismounted soldier, who was thereby enabled to join the main body. Many similar feats of arms are recorded of this valiant captain.

Haríz Ibn 'Okkâshah,⁹ of the posterity of 'Okkâshah Ibn Mahíss, the companion of the Prophet, is also counted among the bravest warriors that Andalus ever produced. He was a man of colossal size and enormous strength, and few were the warriors whom his arm reached in the heat of battle who ever escaped with their lives. It once happened that Adfonsh¹⁰ (Alfonso), one of the infidel kings of Andalus, at the head of considerable forces invaded the territories in which Haríz commanded, and began, as was the custom in similar expeditions, to burn the fields, to destroy the farm-houses, cut down the trees, and commit all sorts of ravages. No sooner was Haríz acquainted with the invasion than he dispatched a messenger to Alfonso, with a letter conceived in the following terms:—"Desist "from thy work of destruction, and spare misery and calamity to the creatures "of the Almighty, for if it be decreed by Him that this country shall be thine, "there is no need for thee to waste and destroy the land of thy future dominions; "while, on the contrary, if it be written that thou shalt not conquer it, this country "shall never be thine, even if thou hadst ten times the number of troops now "under thy command." On the receipt of this letter Alfonso ordered his host to halt and abstain from further ravages; he, moreover, feeling a great curiosity to see a warrior of whom he had heard so much, sent him a messenger, requesting him to come to his camp, and offering to give as hostages for the security of his person a certain number of noblemen¹¹ of his suite. Haríz consented, and the necessary arrangements having been made, he set out for the camp of the Christian monarch. On his arrival at *Medínatu-l-baydhá*,¹² which is the same as *Kal'at-Rabáh* (Calatrava), west of Toledo, Haríz rode through the streets of that city, and being a very handsome man, of gigantic size, mounted on a powerful war-horse, and completely cased in steel, the eyes of the people were fixed on him, for he was really a beautiful sight to contemplate. The inhabitants of the places through which he passed all came out to look at him, and gazed with astonishment at the immense size of his body, the muscular strength of his limbs, the beauty and polish of his armour and weapons, and his majestic and warlike demeanour; they moreover told each other tales of his martial exploits and invincible courage. On his reaching the King's tents, which were not far distant, all the principal noblemen

went out to meet him, welcomed and greeted him, and received him with the greatest courtesy and distinction. When Haríz was about to dismount he planted his spear in the earth so deeply and with so much force that the King, who was present, felt fully convinced, by that act alone, of all the extent of his gallantry and strength, while all the bystanders were seized with irrepressible fear, and the countenances of his bravest knights appeared darkened with the terror which they in vain tried to conceal. There happened to be near the camp a large enclosure,¹³ wherein the King and his knights exercised in manly sports; to this spot Alfonso led Haríz, and invited him to take a part in the tournament for which preparations had already been made, and which was on the point of beginning. "No," said Haríz, "the true knight never measures his sword but with those who equal him in strength, and as I maintain that there is nobody among you capable of drawing out this my spear which I have fixed in the ground, I shall not accept thy invitation; but if there be any one among you who believes he can do it, let him mount and try, and if he succeed I am ready to encounter him, one or ten." No sooner had Haríz uttered this challenge, than most of the knights then present mounted their horses, and began to try their strength, but not one amongst them succeeded in pulling out the spear fixed by Haríz; in vain did they redouble their exertions and repeat the trial several times, the spear moved not an inch from the spot where it had been planted by Haríz. Alfonso was not a little astonished and grieved to see his knights so unsuccessful, but at last he was compelled to say to Haríz, "Thou art right, O warrior! let us see how thou dost it;" upon which, Haríz, leaping on his horse, galloped to the spot, and with the slightest motion of his hand tore up his spear, the whole being done with the greatest ease and elegance. All the bystanders remained dumb with admiration when they saw the performance of Haríz, and the King himself bade him approach, spoke to him graciously, and treated him with great regard and distinction.

This Haríz was likewise an excellent poet, as may be gathered from the following verses, which he wrote to the Kátib Abú-l-motref Ibnu-l-muthanna, secretary to Ibnu Dhí-l-nún, King of Toledo. As Abú-l-motref was once travelling from Cordova to Toledo, he happened to pass by the castle of Haríz,¹⁴ which stands on the road between those two cities; Abú-l-motref lodged at a house outside the walls, and soon after his arrival sent a message to Haríz, asking him for some wine. The message was in verse, and thus conceived:

"O incomparable man! O phoenix of the age! O new moon among the nobles!

"Alas! wine is wanting, and has become as scarce as the ointment of the balsam tree."¹⁵

And Haríz sent him down some, with the following answer, in the same metre and rhyme :

“ O inestimable pearl ! O thou, the first among the illustrious men of past times !

“ We have received thy verses resembling a garden refreshed by the gales of eloquence,

“ And we send thee wine as sweet and well-flavoured as thy character and disposition are mild.”¹⁶

When Al-muktadir-billah Ibn Húd, Sultán of Andalus, sallied from Saragossa to the frontiers to oppose the son of Radmir, the great Christian king, who at the head of considerable forces had invaded his territory, there happened to be in his host a Moslem of the name of Sa'dárah who performed a feat of arms well worthy of record. Both armies, which were equally numerous and well appointed, met in an extensive plain in the neighbourhood of Huesca ; the battle was engaged with great fury on both sides, and maintained with equal animosity during the whole day, until towards evening the cavalry of the Moslems began to give way. When Al-muktadir saw this, he ordered into his presence a borderer named Sa'dárah, a man of tried courage, and equally renowned for his exploits and his experience in the affairs of war. “ What thinkest thou,” said Al-muktadir to Sa'dárah, “ will be the result of this day ?” Sa'dárah cast his experienced eye over the plain, and, shaking his head, significantly answered, “ To tell thee truth, O Prince ! yonder signs bode no good ;” and pointing towards the dense iron-clad masses of the Christian cavalry dispersing the light horsemen of Al-muktadir, he added, “ Unless yonder iron wall be broken by some unforeseen accident, the day will be against us.” “ Thou art right,” replied Al-muktadir, “ things look rather cloudy ; but what dost thou propose to do ?” Sa'dárah meditated an instant, and said, “ Among the white tents that cover the declivity of that hill I can easily perceive in the centre that of the son of Radmir towering above the rest ; if thou grant me permission I will go there in disguise and kill the tyrant with my own hand.” “ Well said,” replied Al-muktadir ; “ if thou succeed, the favours of thy master shall be lavished on thee ; if thou fail, the rewards of the Almighty will be thy recompense.” Sa'dárah then goes to his tent, puts on a dress similar to those used by Christian knights, arms himself with weapons like theirs, and, mounting his steed, plunges into the thickest of the *mêlée*. Being well acquainted with the language and customs of the Christians, he had no difficulty, after opening himself a passage through their thronged ranks, to penetrate into their camp. He then goes to the King's tent, and having entered it, he sees the son of Radmir sitting upon a throne, completely cased in steel, so that the eyes were the only visible

part of his body. He then watches for some time his opportunity, and, pouncing upon the Christian, with a small dagger wounds him in the eye through one of the apertures in the vizor, and kills him. He then leaves the tent, and begins to cry out at the top of his voice, "The King is killed! The King is killed!"¹⁷ and the news spreading like fire through the enemy's camp, panic and consternation seize the Christian warriors; they give way in every direction, and the victory remains in the hands of the Moslems, who never ceased slaughtering until their arms were tired, and their swords shivered from dealing blows.

The princes of the family of Húd who reigned at Saragossa in the fifth century of the Hijra being continually at war, not only with the Christians who surrounded them on every side, but with their brethren among the Moslems during the long and bloody civil wars which ravaged that country, had naturally numerous armies in the best order and military discipline, and generals to command them, who, from their indomitable courage and superior tactics, cast terror into the hearts of the infidels. There were also warriors of tried courage, and unparalleled dexterity in the handling of weapons, who in single combat with the Christian knights never failed to gain the victory over their adversaries. We shall relate here an anecdote which, like the preceding, we borrow from the writings of 'Alí Ibn 'Abdi-rahmán Ibn Hudheyl, of Granada. "Al-musta'in Ibn Húd, King of Saragossa, made upon " a certain occasion a successful invasion into the enemy's territory. As he was " returning to his capital laden with plunder, and driving before him his prisoners " and cattle, he saw from a distance a strong body of Christian cavalry waiting " in a favourable position, on the road by which he had to pass, to attack " him. When Al-musta'in came closer to them, he ordered the captives and " cattle to his rear-guard, formed his men in line of battle, and patiently waited " till the Christians should make their attack. The two armies were thus in " deadly silence waiting for the signal to engage in battle, when a Christian knight " of gigantic stature, clad in bright steel, and mounted upon a powerful black " horse, made his appearance in front of the ranks, and challenged the Moslem " warriors to single combat. Presently a Moslem comes out to him, but, after a " few blows dealt and parried on both sides, the servant of God is unhorsed and " killed by his antagonist, the worshipper of the crucified; seeing which, the infidels " gave a shout of joy, and the faithful were afflicted and silent. Elated with " success, the Christian knight rode his horse in front of the ranks, and exclaimed, " 'Come on if ye dare, and if one be not sufficient, come three to one, I will fight " you all.' These words filled the hearts of the Moslems with rage, but none came " out to fight with the Christian, who, proud of his victory, was cantering his horse " in front of the two armies, while the air resounded with the deafening shouts of his

“ companions. In this extremity, Al-musta’in, whose heart was deeply afflicted to see the shame falling upon his men, rode up to a captain of his, a man inured to battle from his childhood, and who had the reputation of being as brave as he was dexterous in the wielding of arms. His name was Abú-l-walíd Ibn Kayjún : to him Al-musta’in went in his distress, and told him thus,—‘ O Abú-l-walíd ! hast thou seen the arrogance of that Christian dog, and the insults he is heaping upon the Moslems?’ ‘I have,’ replied Al-walíd, ‘but if my master grant me permission to go out against him, I shall soon bring down his pride.’ ‘Thou hast it,’ said Al-musta’in, ‘and by Allah ! if thou bring me his head, my gratitude for the service will know no bounds.’ Having previously announced to the Christian that a Moslem champion would immediately appear, Abú-l-walíd retired for a moment into his tent ; he put on a cotton shirt, and mounting on a milk-white steed of his, which in swiftness far outstripped the winds, he rode out without any other weapons than a scimitar by his side, and a long whip with a noose and an iron ball at the end in his right hand. When the Christian knight saw his antagonist so whimsically arrayed,—‘ What,’ said he, struck with amazement, ‘when a Christian challenges the Moslems is there not in the whole army any warrior to be sent against him but this groom with his whip?’ upon which he burst out laughing, and gave other evident signs of the contempt in which he held Abú-l-walíd. However, they rushed furiously against one another ; the Christian, rising on his stirrups, aimed a dreadful blow at the head of Abú-l-walíd ; he avoided it by suddenly wheeling round his docile steed, and, turning as quick as lightning upon his adversary, struck him with his whip, entangled his neck in the noose, and, dragging him from his saddle, stretched him upon the ground. He then dismounted, and, drawing his scimitar, dispatched the adventurous knight, whose gory head he threw at the feet of Al-musta’in.”

We need not expatiate any longer on the courage, the endurance, the discipline, and other military virtues, of the Andalusian soldiers : suffice it to say, that so great were their ardour in the pursuit, and their intrepidity in battle, that they became almost proverbial in the East, where, according to Ibnu Sa’íd, an Andalusian warrior was synonymous with a brave man. It is true that, exposed as their country was for so many centuries to the furious attacks of innumerable Christian nations, dwelling within and out of its limits, the Moslems of Andalus found ample opportunities to display and nurture in that vast field of battle their warlike inclinations, to evince their ardent zeal for the propagation of Islám, and to show at all times their eagerness to share in the rewards promised by God to the warriors who fall in battle with the infidels. What nation, we ask, among those that acknowledge the sublime truths contained in the Korán, showed a greater zeal

for religion, more readiness to uphold its tenets, and a greater alacrity to run to arms and win the crown of martyrdom? What people on the face of the earth maintained a longer, fiercer, and deadlier struggle than the Andalusians, who for a period of several centuries had to defend foot by foot the land inherited from their fathers, to irrigate with their blood every inch of ground conquered from the infidels, and to oppose their stout breasts to the overwhelming forces and innumerable swarms of the Christian nations, quickly succeeding each other, and pressing onwards like the furious billows of a tempestuous sea? And when at last they bowed down their necks before the irresistible laws of fate, is there any one who can blame them for it? No! the impenetrable decrees of the Almighty must needs be executed on his creatures. God is great! God is great! There is no God but him, the merciful, the compassionate!

Haughtiness
of temper.

No nation on earth is so proud as the Andalusians, nor more unwilling to bear tyranny, oppression, or contempt: indeed their disobedience to their rulers, and their want of respect and submission to their superiors, have become almost proverbial. In illustration of what we advance we shall quote a few anecdotes. It is related of Shajá', a freedman of Al-musta'in Ibn Húd, king of Saragossa, that he once went upon an embassy from his master to Alfonso, the Christian king. Having arrived at *Medinah Sélím* (Medina Celi), where the infidel was then holding his court, he was soon afterwards introduced to the presence of the Christian monarch, whom he found sitting on a throne of great elevation raised on the very tomb of Al-mansúr, and having his wife by his side leaning on him. After hearing his message, Alfonso said to him, "O Shajá'! I am the king of the Moslems, and the conqueror of their country: dost thou not see me sitting on the very tomb of the bravest and most powerful among their kings?" When Shajá' heard these expressions so injurious to his countrymen, he could not restrain his passion, and he said very spiritedly, "If he whose remains lie under that marble were alive, and thou sitting so close to him, thou wouldst not say with impunity things offensive to him, neither wouldst thou occupy long the place thou now art in." "Alfonso caught the allusion," says Shajá', "and flew into a most violent passion; he rose from his seat, intending no doubt to strike me, but his wife interfered and said to him, 'This man is right; why should not honour and glory reside in his countrymen as they do in thee?'"

Another act is recorded of the Háfedh of Andalus, the Imám of the learned, the chief of authors, the pearl of the poets, and the phoenix of his age, Abú Mohammed 'Abdullah Ibn Ibráhím As-sanhájí Al-hijári,¹⁸ the author of the *Al-mas'hab* (chatterer). He once called upon business at the castle of 'Abdu-l-málik Ibn Sa'id,¹⁹ the ancestor of 'Alí Ibn Músa, the author of the *Al-mugh'rab*, a work which we have

often quoted in the course of this narrative. Having alighted at the gate, he knocked and asked for admission, but the sentry, who saw him arrayed in the Beydawí dress, not knowing who he was, refused to let him in. After some parley held with the guards at the gate, which was all of no avail, Abú Mohammed addressed one of them and said, "If thou do not let me go in, at least acquaint the governor with my presence, and inquire whether it is his pleasure to see me." "What!" said the soldier, bursting out laughing, "thou see the governor! dost thou think that our Lord has nothing else to do but to admit thee to his presence?" Abú Mohammed then retired a little apart, and, taking a reed-pen and an ink-stand which he always wore suspended at his girdle, he wrote on a piece of paper the following verses:

"The illustrious governor of this castle never dismisses from his 'door the people of rank and merit.

"There is now standing on the threshold a man from Silves, with an ode which begins thus—

"'I have been possessed with an idea to sing thy praises, and to record thy beneficent actions.'²⁰

"If, after this, my Lord thinks that he ought to deprive himself of the sight of one of his countrymen, and of the pleasure of listening to an ode of this description, he may, for he knows best what to do, and it is not for me to upbraid him." He then ordered one of his pages to take his letter to the governor, and waited outside for the result. When the Káid 'Abdu-l-málik had perused the contents of the letter, he wondered at it, and said immediately, "A man from Silves, with an ode beginning thus,—who can it be? unless it be the Wizír 'Ammár who has risen from the dead, I know of nobody else answering the description,—let him come in." Abú Mohammed was then introduced into the presence of the governor, who was sitting with some friends; he entered the room, but instead of bowing to the Káid, or addressing the company, he stood motionless at the door; seeing which, the people who were present took him for a rude and ill-bred man; they turned their backs upon him, and affected the greatest coolness and indifference: at last, seeing that he still remained in the same position, one of the company said to him, "What ails thee, O stranger? why dost thou not enter this room in the manner poets and all well-bred people do, and salute the governor as is the custom?" "I shall neither bow to the Káid," replied Abú Mohammed, "nor pay any attention to you, till I have made you all as angry and out of humour as you made me by keeping me waiting so long at the gate of this castle, and till you tell me who among you is the most favoured by the governor, in order that I may in future, by courting him and gaining his favours, be sure of not receiving

“ more outrages at his door.” “ What ! ” exclaimed the governor, “ dost thou mean to charge us with the faults of the stupid ? Dost thou intend to revenge on us the errors of other people ? ” “ No, God forbid ! ” replied Abú Mohammed, “ I am, on the contrary, willing to forgive for thy sake the failings of others.”

When Ayúb Ibn Matrúh revolted against 'Abdullah Ibn Balkín Ibn Habús, king of Granada,²¹ in the fifth century of the Hijra, and the seas of civil war swelled and rose high in those districts, it happened that among those thrown by its waves against the shore Ayúb was one. The case being reported to Yúsef Ibn Táshfín, he was deprived of command and sentenced to death, with many others among the rebels. When the executioner came to strangle him, his friends and all those who were present, and who knew the great regard which Ibn Táshfín entertained for him, begged him to say something in his favour, that it might be reported to the Prince and obtain his pardon ; but Ayúb being a man of great courage and determination, and exceedingly proud, would not consent to it ; he put his head within the noose, and, persisting in keeping it there notwithstanding the entreaties of the bystanders to induce him to take it out and pronounce a word of repentance, he soon met with his death,—may God forgive him !

It is related that the Wizír Al-walíd Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ibn Ghánim²² was on terms of intimate friendship with another brother Wizír, named Háshim Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz ;²³ both exercised the same functions to the Sultán of Cordova, Mohammed, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán Al-amáwí, of the family of Merwán, and had on several occasions evinced their mutual love and affection, till Al-walíd gave that proof of attachment to his friend which forms the subject of this anecdote. When God Almighty permitted that the Wizír Háshim should incur the displeasure of the Sultán, and should be sent by him to prison, there happened to be at the palace a council meeting, at which Al-walíd was present in his capacity of Wizír. The conversation having turned on the disgraced functionary and the misdeeds imputed to him, the Sultán Mohammed, then addressing the assembly, spoke very slightly of him, and accused him of frivolity and inconstancy, as well as of obstinacy and too great a reliance on his own opinions. No one among those present undertook the defence of the accused Wizír but Al-walíd, who, rising from his couch, said, “ O Prince ! may the Almighty favour and prosper thee ! Were I allowed to speak one word in behalf of my friend, I should say that it is not in the power of a mortal to contend against fortune, or to escape the immutable decrees of fate. Háshim did all he could, he consulted with the greatest care his friends and advisers, and he fulfilled all the duties of a brave and experienced general ; but if success did not attend his banners, it is no fault of his, for victory does not always depend upon the general ; it is well known that he was betrayed by those

Devotion to
their friends.

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“ in whom he trusted, and deserted by those who stood near him, while he
 “ himself never moved from the spot intrusted to his care, and never abandoned
 “ the field of battle till the defeat and dispersion became general ; instead of shame-
 “ fully turning his back to the enemy, he fought to the last like a brave man ;
 “ and God has certainly rewarded him for his virtues, for if his master the Sultán
 “ has deprived him of his honours and dignities, he still possesses the esteem of his
 “ friends, who see nothing in his last conduct which is deserving of reproach.
 “ Besides, if he did not die on the spot intrusted to his custody, or in the midst of
 “ the enemy’s ranks, it was because he thought that it would be a nobler action to
 “ spare himself, and that a life spent in the service of his Lord was better than an
 “ unprofitable death. I have no doubt but that he has been slandered and calum-
 “ niated by people who were envious of him, and who looked with an evil eye upon
 “ the favours lavished on him by his sovereign.” Mohammed was not a little
 surprised to hear this speech of Al-walíd ; he complimented him upon the strength
 of his attachment to his friend, and his anger against Háshim being in a great
 measure removed, he some time afterwards gave orders for his liberation.

Were we here to record the brilliant acts of justice which are told of the various Justice.
 Sultáns who reigned over Andalus, we should insensibly protract our present
 narrative to an interminable length. However, as the distribution of justice with
 an even hand is among the brightest qualifications of a sovereign, and one which
 many of the Andalusians possessed in a superior degree, we shall here select a few
 of the most striking anecdotes. As Al-mansúr Ibn Abí 'A'mir was once sitting in
 the audience-room of his palace, in came a man of the lower classes, and addressed
 him in the following terms : “ O defender of truth ! O dispenser of justice ! I have a
 “ complaint to make against a servant of thy household ; there he is, standing
 “ at thy side ;” and he pointed to one of Al-mansúr’s chief eunuchs, who,
 being a favourite servant of the Hájib, exercised besides the functions of shield-
 bearer²⁴ near his person. “ I have,” continued the man, “ summoned him several
 “ times to appear before the magistrate, but in vain ; he has never come at the
 “ appointed hour, I am tired of suing him, and I thought I should never get any
 “ redress unless I came to thee.” Al-mansúr then said to the man, “ Dost thou
 “ really mean to say that thou hast a complaint to make against 'Abdu-r-rahmán
 “ Ibn Foteys ?²⁵ Is it he whom thou accusest of thus disobeying the rules of justice ?”
 “ The same,” replied the man. “ I should have thought,” said Al-mansúr, frowning,
 “ that 'Abdu-r-rahmán would have been the last person in my household to commit
 “ such a crime. Let us then hear thy grievance.” The man then stated that
 he had entered into a contract with 'Abdu-r-rahmán, by which both parties were
 bound towards each other to the fulfilment of certain conditions, and that 'Abdu-r-

rahmán had of late without any sufficient reason refused to observe it. Al-mansúr then said, "There is no servant in my household that I love more than him, (darting on the Slavonian a look by which he was almost annihilated,) but, by Allah! justice must be done. Pass thy shield to thy neighbour, and come down before me, that I may send thee where thou mayest meet thy accuser, and be either extolled or depressed by truth." Then addressing his *Sáhibu-sh-shartah*, intrusted with the execution of his private orders,—“Take that wretch, that criminal man, by the hand, and lead him together with his accuser before the magistrate, that he may investigate the case, and impose on him the punishment he deserves; and mark well, let the sentence, whether it be imprisonment or fine, be as rigorous as possible.” The Sáhib did as he was ordered; he took both the parties before the magistrate, and shortly afterwards the complainant appeared again before Al-mansúr, and said he had got redress, and thanked him for having obtained justice through his means. “Well,” said Al-mansúr, “begone; justice has been done thee, and thou art revenged; it is now for me to get redress for my injury, and to chastise the crimes committed by the people of my household.” Upon which he ordered that the Slavonian should be exposed to all sorts of humiliation and ill treatment, and he was at last dismissed from his service.

On another occasion there happened to be a lawsuit between his chief eunuch Al-búrakí and a western merchant; they had disagreed in some money matters, and the merchant brought the case before a tribunal. However, the eunuch being at the head of Al-mansúr's household, having the entire management of his house and harem, and possessing the confidence and favour of his master, was, as may well be supposed, a very influential person in the state, and the magistrate pronounced a decision in his favour. The merchant then appealed; but the magistrate, thinking that a man of high rank, and holding such an important situation as Al-búrakí did, could not be guilty of the breach of faith imputed to him, dismissed the appeal. The merchant, however, was not disheartened, and he resolved upon having justice, come what might. As Al-mansúr was on a Friday riding to the mosque, the merchant placed himself before his horse, and implored his justice against Al-búrakí. Al-mansúr immediately ordered one of his escort to ride back to his palace, take the eunuch into custody, and conduct him again before the magistrate, to whom he sent a message enjoining him to look again into the case. The suit was tried, the eunuch convicted, and the merchant redressed. Al-mansúr, moreover, was so much incensed against the culprit, that, after depriving him of all the favours he had previously lavished on him, he dismissed him from his service, and exiled him from Cordova.

The following act of justice is also recorded of Al-mu'atasseem Ibn Samádeh,

king of Almería.²⁶ When that prince began to build the famous palace which, after his name, was called *As-samádehiyah*, the architects, not finding room enough to execute their plans, seized on some houses and fields adjoining the palace, and united them to the main building. There happened to be among the pieces of ground thus appropriated by the builders a small orchard belonging to a good old man, who more than any other resented and opposed the spoliation, on the plea that the piece of ground did not belong to him, but was the property of an orphan of whom he was the guardian. As Al-mua'tassem was one day inspecting his building, seated in his garden by the side of an artificial rivulet,²⁷ which was made to wind through it, his eyes fell on something floating on the surface of the water, and which, when taken up by his orders, proved to be a hollow reed, stopped with wax at both ends. When the wax was removed, Al-mu'atasseem found inside a scroll of paper, in which the following words were written. "O thou! whoever thou mayest be, into whose hands this scroll may happen to fall, remember those words of the Almighty, 'This my brother has ninety-nine ewes, and I have only one, and he said to me,—Do intrust her to my care,—which I did, but his words proved false, and he deceived me; there is no God but God!' "²⁸ Thou art a king on whom God has lavished his favours, making thee wealthy and powerful on earth, and yet, far from being satisfied, thy ambition prompts thee to covet the property of others; and to add to thy spacious gardens a piece of ground belonging to an orphan, thereby committing an unlawful act, depriving a defenceless girl of all means of subsistence, and taking advantage of thy power, and the importance of thy situation, to do what is unjust. We shall to-morrow appear in the presence of Him who never dismisses the wretched without aid or consolation, nor the offended without redress, and then beware of the consequences!" No sooner had Al-mu'atasseem perused the paper than his eyes were bathed in tears, and his heart was possessed with fear at the terrible consequences which this inconsiderate act of his servants might bring on him in future life; he immediately commanded that all the workmen employed in the building of his palace should appear in his presence, and when they were all assembled he interrogated them as to what the anonymous paper stated, bidding them to expose the case, and to tell nothing but the truth. The masons then owned the fact, but alleged as an excuse, that the piece of land occupied by the old man's garden being absolutely necessary for the finishing of the palace, the chief architect had deemed it indispensable to seize on the orphan's property, although unjustly and contrary to the law. Upon which Al-mu'atasseem, violently incensed, exclaimed, "By Allah! sins of this description are much graver in the eyes of the Creator than they are in those of his creatures. Let the orchard be immediately restored to its owner."

And so it was done, although it materially injured the front of his palace, which thus remained incomplete.

We have read somewhere that some of the principal and most learned citizens of Almeria happening to pass shortly after this adventure by the palace of Al-mu'atasseem, one of them said to the others, pointing to the spot where the orphan's garden stood, spoiling the look of the building, "By Allah! that orchard makes the palace look as if it were a blind man."—"Thou art right," answered one of the company, "but in the eyes of the Almighty that spot constitutes its greatest ornament." It is also related of Al-mu'atasseem that whenever he cast his eyes on it, he used to say "I feel as if that empty spot in front of my palace was finer than all the rest which is already finished." However, in the course of time the old man was prevailed upon to give up his ground; for Ibn Arkám,²⁹ who was Al-mu'atasseem's Wizír, never ceased importuning the old guardian, and tempting the orphan, till they consented to sell their property for the price which they themselves fixed on it; the Sultán being thereby enabled to complete the building of his famous palace, after performing such a signal act of justice as ensured him the love and esteem of his subjects, and the future rewards of his Lord.

Nor was Al-mu'atasseem famous only for such acts of justice as that which we have just recorded; he was also renowned for his benevolence and his forgiving temper. It happened once that An-nahelí Al-bathaliósi, a poet, to whom he had been a very munificent and generous Lord, all of a sudden left his court, and repaired to that of Al-mu'atameed Ibn 'Abbád, king of Seville, where, regardless of past favours, and showing the greatest ingratitude towards his former benefactor, he began to praise the Sevillian monarch, who was not then on very good terms with Al-mu'atasseem. In one of his poetical compositions he introduced the following verse:

"Ibnu 'Abbád has every where routed and exterminated the Berbers; Ibnu Ma'n has extirpated the fowls of the villages."³⁰

However, it happened some time afterwards that An-nahelí, forgetful of what he had said, returned to Almeria; and no sooner did Al-mu'atasseem hear of his arrival than he invited him to an evening repast. An-nahelí went accordingly to the palace, where a numerous company was already assembled, and the tables spread, but they contained no other victuals than a profusion of fowls dressed in various ways. Astonished at what he saw, the poet could not help asking if there was no other food to be procured in Almeria but fowls; when the Sultán, rising from his couch, said,—"Yes, but we wished to make thee pass for a liar, when thou didst say that Ibnu Ma'n had extirpated the fowls of the villages." Upon which, An-nahelí, trying to exculpate himself, said, "God has given thee abundance of means,

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“ and any one in thy rank of life would have done the same ; but thy wrath ought
 “ rather to be directed against him who heard my expressions and repeated them
 “ to thee.”

Al-mu'atasseem answered nothing, and An-nahelí left the room ; but thinking that he had incurred the wrath of the Sultán, he feared for his life, and on his return home he hastily made a few preparations, and left Almeria that same night:

However, some time afterwards An-nahelí repented, and wishing to return to Almeria he addressed to Ibnu Ma'n the following verses :

“ Ibnu Samádeh receives graciously those who deserted him ; he pardons
 “ crimes which the world after him will not pardon.
 “ Almeria is a paradise, where every thing which Adam found may be
 “ procured.”³¹

On the receipt of these verses Al-mu'atasseem gave him leave to return, and was kind and benevolent towards him.

Generosity is a virtue in which the Andalusians will not be found deficient by those who peruse their history. It is related of the Amír Al-mundhir,³² son of the Sultán 'Abdu-r-rahmán, that a slave-merchant once presented him with a beautiful girl, named Tarab, who among other accomplishments possessed that of a sweet voice, and great proficiency in music. No sooner had the eyes of Al-mundhir contemplated her charms, and his ears listened to the ravishing melody of her songs, than he lost his heart, and became deeply enamoured of his slave. Having revolved in his mind how he should reward the merchant, he called one of his confidential servants, and said to him, “ What dost thou think we ought to give this man in return for his invaluable present, for this girl of incomparable beauty ? ”—“ O master ! ” answered the servant, “ methinks the best way would be to have her valued, and send him the amount in money.”—“ Well said,” replied Al-mundhir. A merchant was accordingly consulted on the subject, and five hundred gold dinárs was the price set upon her. When the servant returned to acquaint his master with the valuation, Al-mundhir said, “ Is that the proper reward of a man who has presented us with a girl whose beauty has already captivated our heart, and whose charms have won our affection ? Are we only to send him the sum thou hast mentioned, a sum which he would undoubtedly have received had he sold her to a Jewish merchant ? ”—“ Certainly,” replied the servant, “ but these merchants are an avaricious and miserly set, and every thing appears inconsiderable in their eyes.”—“ Never heed that,” said Al-mundhir, “ we are liberal and bounteous, and ought not to stand upon trifles when we intend to show our generosity ; take him one thousand dinárs, and give him our thanks for

“ having given us the preference in making so valuable a gift, and tell him besides that the girl he sent us occupies a place in our heart.”

Ya'kúb Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán, a brother of the above-mentioned Al-mundhir, and belonging also to the royal family of the Bení Umeyyah, was on a certain occasion praised by a poet, whom he caused to be rewarded with a very large sum of money. On the return of a similar occasion the same poet came again to him, with a poetical composition also in his praise—when one of Ya'kúb's servants remarked, “ This importunate fellow fancies no doubt that we owe him something, and he comes to be paid.” To which the Amír replied, “ Let him come ; that only proves that the first visit he paid us was to him an agreeable one, and that he thinks well of us ; I would not consent, for all the riches in this world, that he should alter the favourable opinion he has conceived of us.” Upon which he gave orders for the admission of the poet, whom he treated kindly, and after hearing his verses rewarded him with the same sum as before.

We shall not at present say any more on the brilliant qualities of the Andalusians, but shall occasionally return to the subject when we come to the history of their Sultáns, Generals, Wizírs, Kádís, Poets, and other eminent men.



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