

also for the numerous details it gives upon events which have been treated with great brevity by the historians of most repute among the Arabs. Seen under this light, the author's account of Músa Ibn Nosseyr, of his conquests in Africa and Spain, of his arrival at Damascus, &c., is really invaluable, as by means of it, and of other passages which I shall occasionally introduce in my notes, I shall be enabled to rectify many errors that have crept into the chronology of the Spanish Arabs.

I must end this prefatory notice by stating that the following translation has been executed as literally as the simple and antiquated style in which the work is written enabled me to do; as, by doing otherwise, I might have altered the sense, and impaired the highly interesting historical evidence contained in the work.

Appointment of Músa Ibn Nosseyr.

The author says,—I was told by Yezíd Ibn Sa'íd, a *maulá* of Moslem, that the Khalif 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Merwán wishing to appoint his brother, Beshar Ibn Merwán, to the government of 'Irák, wrote to 'Abdu-l-'azíz Ibn Merwán,² then governor of Egypt, and to whose care Beshar had been intrusted owing to his extreme youth, as follows: "I have appointed thy brother Beshar to the government of Basrah; let Músa Ibn Nosseyr go along with him and be his Wizír and his counsellor. I have sent thee the military rolls of 'Irák, give them to Músa, and tell him that all responsibility shall henceforth rest on him." Accordingly Beshar left Egypt for 'Irák, where he arrived soon after, accompanied by Músa Ibn Nosseyr. No sooner had he taken possession of his government than he delivered his seal of office into the hands of Músa, and intrusted him with the entire management of affairs. In this manner Músa remained with Beshar as long as that youth held the government of Basrah.

One day a man entered the room where Beshar was, and said to him, "If thou wish, O Governor! I can procure thee a draught that will prevent thy hair from ever turning grey, but thou must first of all agree to a condition." "And what is it?" said Beshar. "Thou must pass forty days," said the man, "without either riding a horse, touching a woman, entering a bath, or getting into a passion." Beshar agreed to try the experiment, and, having promised strictly to comply with the proposed injunctions, the man came to him a second time, and presented him with the potion, which Beshar drank off at one draught. He then shut himself up in his room, avoiding all society, and shunning the company of his women and slaves, and went on so until there happened to come a messenger from the Khalif, who brought him the news of his appointment to the government of Kúfah, which he was to hold independently of that of Basrah, when Beshar's satisfaction was so complete, and his joy so extreme, that he immediately ordered horses to ride, and, regardless of the prohibition, prepared to go out of Basrah, and repair immediately to Kúfah. The man of the draught then came up to him, and entreated him, for God's sake, not to mount a horse, not to agitate himself, and not to move from where he was. But Beshar, disregarding alike his entreaties and his advice, and forgetting the instructions given him by the man, persisted in

² 'Abdu-l-'azíz, son of the Khalif Merwán, and brother of 'Abdu-l-malek, his successor in the empire, had been appointed governor of Egypt and the African conquests in his father's lifetime.

his resolution, and issued the necessary orders for his journey. When the man saw his determination, he said to him, "O Besher! take God for witness that thou bearest me "innocent of the results," and Besher promised to do so; and then he mounted his horse and took with his cavalcade the road to Kúfah. Scarcely had they marched a few miles, when Besher happening to put his hands on his beard, lo! it all peeled off, and the hairs remained stuck to his fingers, seeing which, he returned in haste to Basrah, and died soon afterwards.

'Abdu-l-malek having heard of his brother's death, sent Al-hejáj³ Ibn Yúsuf to Basrah. On his arrival in that city, Músa went to meet Al-hejáj, and said to him, "Here I am, I shall "not run away, neither will they." It must be understood that 'Abdu-l-malek had sent Al-hejáj to Basrah for the purpose of punishing Músa, with whom he was displeased, for certain offences received at his hands; but Músa, at the same time, had received a letter from Kháled Ibn Abbán,⁴ who was then at Damascus, saying, "Thy deposition is signed, and "Al-hejáj has been dispatched with orders to seize on thy person, and inflict upon thee the "most severe punishment; so away! away! off with thee, thy safety depends only upon the "fleetness of thy horse; if thou succeed in reaching 'Abdu-l-'azíz Ibn Merwán and placing "thyself under his protection, all will go well with thee, thou wilt escape from that accursed "and treacherous man, and be free from his persecutions." Músa lost no time in deliberation, he mounted his steed and fled to Damascus, where 'Abdu-l-'azíz was then residing, having just arrived from Egypt with the tribute of that country. In the meanwhile Al-hejáj wrote from 'Irák, "O Commander of the Faithful! I cannot collect the sums which Músa "engaged himself to pay every year as the taxation of this province; thy commands are "thereby disobeyed. Músa is not to be found in 'Irák. If he is there, send him to me, that "I may deal with him as he deserves, if God be pleased."

Músa's interview with 'Abdu-l-malek.

The author says,—And they relate that 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Sálím told them, on the authority of his father, who was Músa's friend, and was present at his interview with 'Abdu-l-malek, that the whole affair passed as follows. These are the words of Sálím. "Músa "enjoyed great favour with 'Abdu-l-'azíz Ibn Merwán, who had already given him so many "proofs of it that it would be too long to enumerate them. Immediately on his arrival at "Damascus, he went to see his patron, 'Abdu-l-'azíz, and acquainted him with the whole of "his tale; and Músa himself told me," continues Sálím, "that it was a most providential "favour of heaven that he should then meet 'Abdu-l-'azíz at Damascus, for he received him "with the greatest kindness, and offered to take him immediately to his brother, the Khalif " 'Abdu-l-malek, that he might hear what he had to say in his defence. Músa and his patron "then went together to the royal palace, and were immediately introduced to the presence of

³ Al-hejáj was appointed governor of 'Irák in the year seventy-five (A. D. 694). See Al-makin, *apud* Erpen. p. 63; Abú-l-fedá, *An. Mosl.* vol. i. p. 427; and D'Herb. *Bib. Or. voc. Al-hadjaj.*

⁴ The name of this individual might also be read Ibn Abbár, the last letter being formed in a manner that admits of both readings.

“ ‘Abdu-l-malek, who no sooner cast his eyes on his visitors, than he exclaimed, ‘Is that ‘Músa?’ ‘The same,’ replied he. ‘And how darest thou show thy beard here?’”⁵ said “ ‘Abdu-l-malek. ‘And why should I hide it?’ answered Músa, ‘what have I done to “displease the Commander of the Faithful?’ ‘Thou hast disobeyed my orders, and “squandered my treasures.’ ‘I did no such thing,’ replied Músa firmly, ‘my conduct has “been always that of a faithful subject, my intentions have been pure, and my actions true.’ “ ‘I swear to God,’ said the Khalif, ‘that thou shalt pay the defalcation in my revenue fifty “times over.’ Músa told me, ‘When I heard this, I was going to make an angry reply, but “ ‘Abdu-l-‘azíz made me a sign to conform myself to the sentence, however unjust, and I said, “ ‘Very well, O Commander of the Faithful! thy will must be done; and I left the room. “ ‘Abdu-l-‘azíz then came to my assistance with the sum required, and before three months “were elapsed I paid down the fifty thousand gold dinárs in which I had been fined.’”

Músa's appointment to the government of Africa.

The author continues.—They relate that when ‘Abdu-l-‘azíz Ibn Merwán returned to his government of Egypt, he took along with him Músa, who continued to grow in his good graces, and became one of his most chosen favourites. Músa remained with him until Hossán Ibn An-no‘mán, who was governor of Eastern Africa, happened to pass through Egypt on his way to Damascus to present himself to the Khalif, and tell him of his battles against the Berbers, the victories he had gained over them, and the death of their queen *Káhinah*⁶ (the sorceress), killed in battle. Hossán arrived safely at court, and there saw the Khalif, who complimented him on his good success, rewarded him munificently, loaded him with honours and distinctions, granting him the government of Barca to add to his own, and sent him back to Eastern Africa. On his return thither, Hossán passed through Misr, where he made some stay, and, leaving orders with the inhabitants to lodge and provide for a portion of his army, which came at some distance behind him, left that city. Soon after his men arrived, and when they had been paid and furnished with all necessaries they all marched to *Dhátu-l-jamájim*,⁷ where they halted. By that time ‘Abdu-l-‘azíz, the governor of Egypt, had been informed how Hossán Ibn An-no‘mán had asked his brother, the Khalif, for the government of Barca, and how the Khalif had granted it to him. He immediately dispatched a messenger to Hossán, and, arrived into his presence, spoke to him thus: “Is it “true that ‘Abdu-l-malek has appointed thee governor of Barca?” “It is,” replied

⁵ و ما تزال تعرض لحيثك

⁶ *Káhinah* كاهنة is the epithet, not the name, of a certain queen of the Berbers, who fought resolutely against the Arabs at the time of their invasion of Africa. Her name, according to Ibnu Khaldún, (*loco laudato*, fo. 67,) was Dhabbá. She is also mentioned in Al-bekrí, fo. 38; Abú-l-fedá, *An. Mosl.* vol. i. p. 306; Cardonne, *Hist. de l'Afrique*, vol. i. p. 50; and Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. i. p. 16, who mistook her for her son.

⁷ ذات الجاجم ‘The plain or the spot of the skulls’ is the name of a place between Tripoli and Alexandria. It is mentioned in Al-bekrí (Ar. MS. in my possession).

Hossán. "Well, then," said 'Abdu-l-'azíz, who had previously given the government of that province to one of his *maulis*, "thou shalt not take possession of thy office." "This is no business of mine," said Hossán, "the Khalif's mandate must needs be obeyed." Upon which 'Abdu-l-'azíz flew into a passion, and said, "Bring me thy diploma, that I may examine it, and see if what thou sayest be true." Hossán then left the room, and returning soon after with his diploma, put it into the hands of 'Abdu-l-'azíz, who, having perused it attentively, found it correct. 'Abdu-l-'azíz then turned towards Hossán, and said, "Wilt thou relinquish thy right, and resign thy office?" "Certainly not," replied Hossán, "violence only will deprive me of an office to which I was appointed by the Commander of the Faithful." "Well, then, since thou persistest in thy resolution, I shall deprive thee of both governments, and I shall name in thy stead a man who is much thy superior in talents and experience, and God will permit the Commander of the Faithful to reap soon the advantage of my nomination." Saying which, he tore to pieces the diploma, and, sending for Músa, invested him with the government of Eastern Africa. This happened on a Thursday of the month of Safar of the year 79.⁸

Músa immediately took his departure, having before caused the treasures of the army to be transported to Dhátu-l-jamájim, where the troops were already in waiting for them. When he arrived at the camp, and presented himself before the first division of the army, a sparrow was observed to come down upon him, and get into his breast. Músa immediately caught him, and, asking for a knife, cut the bird's throat, severing the jugular vein; he then, with the victim's blood, besmeared his breast over his clothes; this done, he plucked his feathers, and scattered them in the air, throwing them over his head. The operation being at an end, he was heard to exclaim, all filled with enthusiasm, "Victory! Victory! my friends. By the master of the Ka'bah! victory is ours, if such be the will of the Almighty."

Músa's address to his soldiers.

The author says,—They relate that when Músa reached Dhátu-l-jamájim, the place of meeting for the troops, the men gathered round him, when, after praising and returning due thanks to God, he addressed them in the following words: "O men! the Commander of the Faithful (may God prosper him!) thought of appointing Hossán Ibn No'mán to the command of this frontier, and making him your general. Now man among men is generally qualified by his deeds, and judged by what he does before men, not by what he does behind them. When this Hossán came to see the Amír he not only showed himself ungrateful for the favours he had received, and forgetful of past benefits, but he even went so far as to assert that the command was his own, and that he deserved it, thus effacing by his disrespectful behaviour whatever merits he might have formerly possessed. Seeing this, the Amír, who, as you well know, is brother and flesh of the Khalif, and whose experience and good judgment is sufficiently tested, has thought fit to depose the said Hossán, and name me in

⁸ The month of Safar of the year seventy-nine began to be counted on the 9th of April, A. D. 698.

“ his stead to command you in this expedition, and you may remain sure that when he made the appointment he believed his choice to be good. I am a soldier, like any of you; whenever you see me do a good deed, thank God for it, and let every one of you try to imitate it; if, on the contrary, I commit a bad action, let any one of you reprove it and show his dislike, that I may amend myself; since all men being sinners and subject to error, I might also sin myself. I have orders from the Amír (may God grant him his bounties!) to pay you three times over the arrears due to you. Take it, and may it turn to your advantage. If any one of you has a wish to express or a complaint to make, let him come forward and state it, and it shall be attended to. Praise be to God, who is the consoler and helper of his creatures; there is no power but in God the only one!”

Músa's arrival in Ifrikiyyah.

The author says,—And they relate that Músa went on marching towards Eastern Africa⁹ all the remainder of the month of Safar, all Rabi' the first, and all Rabi' the second. He set his foot in the city of Ifrikiyyah¹⁰ on Monday, five days after the beginning (the 5th) of Jumádí the first of the year 79. The first act of his administration was to seize on Sefayn Ibn Málik Al-fehrí and Abú Sáleh, and after fining each of them ten thousand dinárs, to send them in irons to 'Abdu-l-malek. The same author says, Músa arrived in Ifrikiyyah and the surrounding country, fearing lest the Moslems encamped in the city should not be able to go out of their camp, as is customary among them, at their two great annual festivities, owing to the proximity of the enemy, who surrounded them on every side. Nor was their camp a very strong or commodious one; the houses of the common people and soldiers were made of reeds, and those of the officers of the same materials, with the difference only of being of a conic form, and having a sort of cupola on the top. As to the mosque, it resembled a stable, only that it had a roof thrown over some beams, and that Hossán Ibn An-no'mán, Músa's predecessor, had caused the *kiblah* and the adjoining parts to be built of mud; but the whole building was, nevertheless, in a ruinous state.

⁹ The MS. says towards *Maghreb* (Western Africa), but it is a mistake; Músa's government was that of *Ifrikiyyah*, or Africa proper. Western Africa had not yet been entirely subdued.

¹⁰ I have said elsewhere (Note 62, book iv. chap. iii.) that the word *medínah* was formerly used to designate the capital of a district or province. Al-bekrí, Idrísí, and most of the African geographers and historians, speak of a city called *Medínah Ifrikiyyah* as being the capital of the province called Ifrikiyyah by the Arabs, and designated by the Latin historians under the various appellations of Carthaginensis, Byzacena, Marmarica, Cyrene, Zeugitana, and Africa Minor. Marmol (*Africa*, tom. ii. fo. 269,) thinks it to be the same as the *Adrumento Colonia* of Ptolemy. It was destroyed by the Arabs, and rebuilt by 'Abdullah Mahdi, the first Khalif of the Fátimites or 'Obeydites, who called it Mahdiyyah. See Abú-l-feda, *An. Mosl.* tom. ii. p. 328; Leo Africanus, *apud* Ramusium, p. 573; Marmol, *Africa*, tom. ii. fo. 269; and the Geography of Bakuwí, in the sixth vol. *des Not. et Ext.* p. 462.

Músa's address to the men on his arrival in Ifrikiyyah.

They relate that when Músa arrived in Ifrikiyyah, and saw the mountains in the neighbourhood, and the districts round them, he caused his men to be assembled in the mosque, and, mounting the pulpit, after praising God, and returning Him thanks, he addressed them thus: "O men! tell me what sort of a governor was there before me in this city. Was he a man who loved war, or one of those who are fond of peace and tranquillity? Was he generous and munificent, or mean and avaricious? Did he speak to you with affability, and salute you with a pleasing countenance, or was he one of those morose men who look as if God had tied a knot in their throats, and as if they could not utter one single word? I know well what sort of commander you want; you want one of those warriors who confide in their good fortune, who are firm and steady in their purposes, who always do more than is expected from them, who consult men of learning and experience in all their undertakings, who rely on their experience but are not blinded by their vanity, who are brave, and perhaps rash and adventurous, but never cowards; one of those men who become doubly cautious after victory, doubly brave after defeat, who always place their hopes of success on no one but God, and who constantly point out to their followers, from among the faithful, these encouraging words of their Lord, 'Success is reserved only for the pious.' Take courage, O men! for if God be on our side he will place our enemies within our reach, and lead us into their strong holds. You may safely rely upon me as your commander, for I shall seize every opportunity of leading you on to victory; and, by Allah! I will not cease making incursions into yonder high mountains, and attacking the strong passes leading into them, until God has depressed their elevated summits, reduced their strength, and granted the Moslems the victory. I shall lead you on until God Almighty makes us the masters of all or part of the territories lying beyond them, and until we have subdued the countries which his immutable decrees have already allotted us,—for He is the best of decreers."

How the conquest of Zaghwán¹¹ came to pass.

The author says,—And they relate that Músa Ibn Nosseyr made war on certain people from among the Berbers called 'Arwah,¹² who, with one of their great chiefs at their head, were continually making incursions into the countries already occupied by the Moslems. These people, who beheld with an evil eye the establishment of the Arabs so close to their territory, began to make repeated forays beyond their frontiers, and to scour night and day the land between Zaghwán and Cairwán. Against these Berbers, who were commanded by a chief of their nation named Warkattáf,¹³ Músa dispatched one of his bravest officers with a body of five hundred horsemen. The Moslems met the enemy, and, with the help of the Almighty,

¹¹ زغوان¹² عروة¹³ ورتاف

put them to flight, killing their king Warkattáf, and making ten thousand of them prisoners; these being the first Berber captives that entered Cairwán during Músa's government.

After this, Músa sent in another direction a son of his, named 'Abdullah, who also returned victorious, bringing with him one hundred thousand captives; he then dispatched to another quarter Merwán, another of his sons, who was also successful, and came back with one hundred thousand captives. Músa himself took a different road, and returned with a similar number of prisoners, so that the fifth belonging to the Khalif amounted on this occasion to sixty thousand captives. God be praised for it! Since His is the empire, and He only is the mighty conqueror of nations!

How the news of these victories reached 'Abdu-l-'azíz.

The author says,—They relate that Músa Ibn Nosseyr wrote to 'Abdu-l-'azíz Ibn Merwán, who was then at Misr, acquainting him with the victories which God had granted to his arms, and telling him how he had made so many prisoners that the fifth belonging to the Khalif amounted to thirty thousand captives, (the writer having written that number by mistake for sixty thousand.) However, when 'Abdu-l-'azíz perused the letter, he was so astonished that he sent for his secretary, and said to him, "By thy soul! read this letter unto me," and the secretary did as he was commanded, and said, "O Amír! this is impossible, it must be a mistake of the writer, return the letter that it may be corrected." And 'Abdu-l-'azíz sent back the letter to Músa, and wrote with it, "Thy letter has reached us, and we have perused its contents, but what thou sayest about the fifth of the spoil gained in the victory that God has granted thee being thirty thousand captives seems to us an exaggeration. We cannot help thinking that it must be a mistake of thy secretary; so let us hear the real amount, and let the error be corrected." On the receipt of the Amír's letter, Músa replied immediately,—"The words of the Amír (may God prosper him!) have come to our hands, as well as his suspicion that the number of captives announced may be erroneous. The Amír is right, the secretary made a blunder, for, instead of writing sixty thousand, which is the real number, without any mistake, he put down thirty thousand." And when Músa's answer reached 'Abdu-l-'azíz, and he had perused its contents, his heart was filled with joy and satisfaction, and he was greatly astonished by it.

How the Khalif 'Abdu-l-malek was displeased with Músa's appointment.

He says,—And they relate that when the Khalif 'Abdu-l-malek heard how 'Abdu-l-'azíz had deposed Hossán and appointed Músa in his stead, he not only did not approve of his brother's nomination, but was exceedingly angry on account of it, especially as the news of Músa's victory had not yet reached him. He therefore thought to himself of removing Músa, and to that effect sent orders to 'Abdu-l-'azíz, purporting, "The Commander of the Faithful has heard of thy deposing Hossán and naming Músa in his stead, and as he has

“not been made acquainted with the motives that moved thee to act so,¹⁴ he is expecting to hear from thee that on the receipt of the present order thou hast done the same with Músa, for such is the wish of the Commander of the Faithful. Thy sovereign has transmitted to thee his power, and intrusted thee with his authority, for no other purpose than to have his commands punctually executed there. Let Hossán then be restored to his office, for the Commander of the Faithful is very well disposed towards him, and wishes him to be promoted, as he thinks him a very brave, experienced, and fortunate officer.”

The answer of 'Abdu-l-'azíz to his brother 'Abdu-l-malek.

They say,—And when the letter reached 'Abdu-l-'azíz, he wrote the following answer: “I have received the letter sent me by the Commander of the Faithful treating about my removing Hossán from his government and my nominating Músa in his stead, and also conveying orders for the removal of Músa and the reinstalment of Hossán, saying, ‘that if my sovereign has transmitted me his power and intrusted me with his authority, it is in order that his commands be faithfully executed;’ but, by Allah! I feel certain that the Commander of the Faithful, dazzled by the victories which God granted to Hossán, has formed too high an opinion of him; there are men better qualified than he is for this enterprise; one of whom is Músa, whose virtues, commendable actions, and good fortune in military affairs, are sufficiently known to me. As to that saying of the Commander of the Faithful, ‘I am waiting to hear of thy having complied with our orders,’ by my life! I also am waiting and watching, and I entreat thee to have patience and wait a little longer, when something will occur that will bring on me the thanks of the Commander of the Faithful, and his praises for my good choice and honest intentions.—Fare thee well.”

'Abdu-l-'azíz acquaints his brother 'Abdu-l-malek with Músa's victories.

The author of the tradition says,—And they relate that 'Abdu-l-'azíz wrote to his brother, 'Abdu-l-malek, the following letter: “O Commander of the Faithful! thy conduct and mine in this affair of Hossán and Músa very much resembles that of the two men who laid down a wager as to who had the fleetest horse; they therefore let their horses go to a given distance, which both traversed, arriving at the end of it together, when, upon measurement, it was found that one of them had traversed a longer distance.¹⁵ Yes, if God be pleased,

¹⁴ The original says *و علم الامر الذي عزلته فيه* and he knows the reason why thou hast deposed him; but I think that the negative particle *لا* has been omitted.

¹⁵ I am not sure that I have seized the right meaning of the allusion, which reads thus in the text: *كالقهرنين ارسلنا* I presume, however, that what the author means is this, “that both Hossán and Músa would fulfil well the duties of their charge, but that Músa would surpass Hossán in the same manner as the horse, which, notwithstanding he reached the mark at the same time as his competitor in the race, had traversed a longer distance.”

“the excess this time shall be in thy favour. I have just received from Músa the letter which I enclose, that thou mayest peruse it, and praise God for it.”

'Abdu-l-malek's answer.

The author of the tradition says,—The following was the answer sent by 'Abdu-l-malek to his brother's letter: “The Commander of the Faithful has received thy letter, and understood its meaning. He has likewise penetrated the sense of the comparison thou madest of him in the affair between Hossán and Músa, and thy saying that one of the two horses certainly surpassed the other, and that the Khalif will reap the benefit of it. The Commander of the Faithful says, that thou hast at last gained thy purpose in making Músa governor, but of this he is certain, that whoever acknowledges the true God is sure of prosperity and victory at his hands, and all those who have experienced privations are glad.—Fare thee well.” After this, 'Abdu-l-'azíz sent a messenger with the Khalif's letter to Músa, that he might read and see what 'Abdu-l-malek said about him. According to Músa's own account, a messenger brought him the above letter, besides another from 'Abdu-l-'azíz himself, and when the messenger reached Músa he presented him the passage to read.

Músa's conquests in the territories of Hawárah, Zenátah, and Kotámah.¹⁶

He says,—And they relate that Músa sent 'Ayyásh Ibn Akhyal¹⁷ with one thousand horsemen against the tribes of Hawárah and Zenátah. 'Ayyásh made incursions into their territory, and killed numbers of them; he took, besides, five thousand captives, among whom was the chief of the Hawárah tribe, named Kámún.¹⁸ This Berber, together with other illustrious captives of the same tribe, Músa sent to 'Abdu-l-'azíz. Kámún, moreover, was executed near a tank close to the village of 'Okbah, which has ever since been known by the name of the sufferer, Berkah Kámún (the tank of Kámún). After this, 'Ayyásh made a second irruption into their territory, but this time they all came before him and asked for peace, and 'Ayyásh sent their principal men to Músa, who granted them terms. It happened about this time that the tribe of Kotámah sent messengers to Músa asking him for peace; this the Moslem general readily granted, taking hostages from among their best families, and appointing one of them to command the whole tribe. However, some time afterwards, the people of Kotámah killed the chief appointed by Músa, and one of the tribe wrote to Músa, “We are certainly thy slaves; one of us having killed our king, we are now without a ruler; be pleased to appoint another: I can answer thy purpose much better than the last, and supply his place.” When Músa received this message, he doubted not but that

¹⁶ هواره .: زناتة .: كتامة

¹⁷ عيَّاش بن أخيل

¹⁸ This كأمون Kámún must have been put to death before he reached his destination, perhaps too by Músa's commands; since the place here mentioned and called قرية عقبة is a town between Cairwán and Alexandria, which received its name from the defeat and death of 'Okbah taking place under its walls. See Al-bekrí, *Memálek wa-l-mesálek*, fo. 58.

the Kotámah were inclined to rebellion: he was further confirmed in his suspicions by the fact that only a few days before this event the hostages of the tribe of Zenátah had asked his leave to absent themselves for one day from the camp to attend a hunting expedition, and the permission had been granted them; but when the news reached Músa of the assassination of their chief, he doubted not but that his hostages had fled on account of it, as a preconcerted plan before their rebellion. He accordingly sent a body of cavalry in pursuit of them, and the fugitives having been all caught and brought back to his presence, he ordered that they should be immediately crucified. But they said to him, "Do not be too hasty, O Amír! in having this thy sentence carried into execution. Delay it, for fear thou shouldst find out afterwards that our fathers and relations never dreamt of rebelling. We are in thy hands, and in thy power, and no one can better than thyself ascertain if the crime be a real or supposed one. Shouldst thou put us to death, and we be innocent, thou couldst not restore us to life." These reasons prevailed; Músa suspended the sentence, and having put them in irons, made them march before him towards the territory of Kotámah, where no sooner were they arrived than the elders of the tribe, who heard of his approach, came out to him and made their excuses. Músa accepted them, and being convinced of their innocence, spared the lives of the hostages, and ordered them to be released.

Subjugation of the tribe of Senhájah.

The author says,—And they relate that the scouts came one day to Músa Ibn Nosseyr and told him how the tribe of Senhájah was unaware of them, and unprovided, and how their camels had just brought forth and could not stir. Músa, accordingly, made an invasion into their territory at the head of four thousand men of the regular army, and two thousand volunteers and Berbers, leaving behind 'Ayyásh, with two thousand horsemen, to guard the baggage and families of the Moslems at Tobnah.¹⁹ He himself went on with his army, giving the command of the van to Músa Ibn 'Iyádh²⁰ Ibn 'Okbah; the right wing to Al-mugheyráh Ibn Abí Burdah, and the left to Zor'ah Ibn Abí Mudrik; and marched until he fell unawares upon the Senhájah, and such other among the Berber tribes as were with them at the time. Músa fought with them the battles of extermination; he killed myriads of them, and made a surprising number of prisoners, since on this occasion only they amounted to one hundred thousand men, to say nothing of the camels, cows, sheep, horses, mules, grain, and articles of dress, for their numbers exceeded all computation. After this, Músa and his men returned with their prey to Cairwán;²¹ all these forays taking place within the year eighty (A. D. 699-700). And when the soldiers of distant countries inhabited by the Moslems heard of the success which God had granted to Músa's arms, and the immense spoil collected by the

¹⁹ The text says *طنبة Tanbah*, but Tobnah is no doubt intended. It is the Tubnah of Shaw (Trav. p. 141). See also *Edrisii Africa*, apud Hartmann, p. 132.

²⁰ *عياض* may be pronounced 'Ayyádh, 'Ayyádh, or 'Iyádh, according as it is pointed. I have followed the latter reading, which I believe to be the most common.

²¹ The name of this city is written thus *قروان* not *قبروان* as it is generally found in the Arabian geographers.

men under his orders, they all wished to go to Western Africa, Músa's army being soon reinforced by numbers which increased it to double its original force. After this, Al-mugheyrah had several very sharp encounters with the Senhájah, but God was pleased to permit that he should rout them every where,²² and put them to flight, the number of captives taken in this expedition amounting to sixty thousand. Al-mugheyrah then returned.

The taking of Sejúma,²³ and how it happened.

He says,—And they relate that in the year 83, Najdah Ibn Músa came and joined Músa Ibn Nosseyr with the van of the Egyptian army, upon which that general commanded his men to get themselves ready to make war against the infidel tribes. He then sent Yezíd against Sejúma and the surrounding country, and, leaving his son 'Abdullah Ibn Músa to command in his stead at Cairwán, he himself went out at the head of ten thousand Moslems. 'Iyádh Ibn 'Okbah led the van, Zor'ah Ibn Abí Mudrik Ar-ro'ayní had the command of the right wing, Al-mugheyrah Ibn Abí Burdah Al-korashí that of the left, the rear remaining under charge of Najdah Ibn Muksim Ibn Najdah.²⁴ Músa, moreover, having intrusted to his son Merwán Ibn Músa the keeping of the banners, marched until he reached a spot known by the name of *Shajaru-l-mobúk* (the tree of the kings), whence, leaving behind all the heavy baggage under the orders of 'Omar Ibn Oways²⁵ with a body of one thousand horsemen, he proceeded with the rest until he reached a river called Mulwiyah,²⁶ which he found much swollen by the rains. Not choosing to remain long on its banks, for fear the provisions of his army should be exhausted, and that if the enemy knew where he was encamped they would attack him, he looked for and found a ford,—not the ford of 'Okbah Ibn Náfi', for this he would not use,—and passed the river by it. When Músa saw himself safe on the other side, he marched against the enemy, whom he found on the alert and prepared for war. He then attacked them, and fought with them great battles near a mountain chain, to which there was no approach but through certain passes or gorges. There the armies were engaged all Thursday until night, and all Saturday until the hour of evening prayers. One of the Berber chiefs then came out before the ranks of the Moslems, and stood for some time challenging any of them to come out and fight him. None, however, came out, which being observed by Músa, he turned towards his son Merwán, and said to him, "O my son! go out

²² The author uses here an expression which is almost untranslatable, *و منحه اكتافهم* 'he granted him their shoulders,' that is, 'he granted to him to see their shoulders in the fight.'

²³ *سجومما* which I find in Ibnu Khaldún and Al-bekrí written *سقيوما* and *سقيوما* appears to be the Segeme of Marmol, *Descrip. de Afr.* vol. ii. fo. 72.

²⁴ *نجدة ابن مقسم بن نجدة* This appears to be the same individual named higher up, Najdah Ibn Músa.

²⁵ *عمر ابن اويس*

²⁶ *ملوية* is the name of an African river between Telemsán and Rabát; it was known to the Roman and Greek geographers. Strabo calls it *Μυλαχάθ*; Pliny and Mela, *Mulucha*.

“against him.” Merwán obeyed his father’s commands, he passed the banner which he bore to his brother ‘Abdu-l-‘azíz Ibn Músa, and advanced in front of the ranks. Merwán was then very young, and had scarcely attained the age of manhood, so that when the Berber saw him he laughed with scorn, and said, “Return to the camp, for I am unwilling to deprive thy old father of so comely a youth as thou art.” Merwán, however, without saying a word, attacked the infidel, who retreated and swiftly mounted his horse. Once on the saddle, the Berber rushed against his antagonist, and dealt him a furious blow with his javelin; this Merwán parried by seizing the Berber’s weapon with his hand; he then rushed on his adversary, and ran him through with his javelin. So fierce was the blow that the weapon went first through the Berber’s side and then sunk deep into the flanks of his steed, both the rider and his charger falling dead to the ground. The two armies then came to an engagement, and a most desperate battle was fought, which caused all previous battles to be forgotten: at last, God was pleased to put the infidels to flight, and grant a complete victory to the Moslems; the King of the Berbers, whose name was Kuseylah,²⁷ remaining dead on the field of battle. Innumerable maidens, inestimable by their beauty and accomplishments, and the daughters of the kings and chiefs, were on this occasion the prize of the victors. When the spoils gained in this battle were to be divided, Músa caused the daughters of the kings to stand before him, and having sent for his son Merwán, he said to him, “Come, O my son! come and choose among these maidens.” And Merwán chose among them one that was the daughter of their late king, Kuseylah, and who became afterwards the mother of two sons by Merwán,—‘Abdu-l-malek²⁸ and Músa.

About this time Zor’ah Ibn Abí Mudrik had an engagement with the Berbers, in which he had the worst, for he was defeated, and severely wounded besides in the thigh. When Músa was informed of it he caused him to be borne on the shoulders of his own men, and carried to Cairwán, fifty men relieving one another in turn every day. After this, Músa also returned to Cairwán, but not without having previously subdued the whole of that country. He then began to write to ‘Abdu-l-‘azíz, announcing to him conquest after conquest,²⁹ like the

²⁷ This chief, whom Ibnu Khaldún (*loco laudato*, fo. 49, verso,) calls كسيلة بن لرم Kuseylah Ibn Leram, and Al-bekri (fo. 59) كسيلة بن لهذم Kasilah Ibn Lahdham, is the Kuscileh of Cardonne, *Hist. de l’ Afr.* vol. i. p. 41.

²⁸ The text reads ‘فهي ام عبد الملك بن مروان بن معوية و ام موسي ابن مروان’ and she was the mother of ‘Abdu-l-malek Ibn Merwán Ibn Mu’awiyah,’ which I need not observe must be an error of the copyist.

²⁹ The text says ‘و جعل يكتب الي عبد العزيز بفتح بعد فتح مراكش’ Perhaps كالفتح is wanting, for otherwise the sense is incomplete. The city of Morocco was not built until the year four hundred and fifty-four (A. D. 1062-3), when Yúsuif Ibn Táshfín or Táshfeín, the first Sultán of the Almoravides, laid the foundation of it with his own hands, by erecting a mosque, and a castle to keep his treasures. His son, ‘Alí Ibn Yúsuif, continued the building, and surrounded it with a stone wall. It was increased by his successors, but not completed until the reign of the Sultán Abú Yúsuif Ya’kúb, the grandson of ‘Abdu-l-múmen, in the year five hundred and eighty-five (A. D. 1189-90), when it became the capital of Africa, and the residence of the Almohades. (See the *Kartás*, translated by Moura, pp. 277-300, *et passim*; Marmol, *Descrip. de Africa*, vol. ii. fo. 17, *et seq.*; Leo Africanus, *apud Ramusium*, p. 149; Gräberg, *Specchio di Marocco*, pp. 58, 228; Conde, *Hist. de la Dom.* vol. ii. pp. 384, 409, *et passim*; Ibnu Khaldún; and the African historians.) However, the author of a history of Morocco, entitled *Al-holahu-l-muwashshiyah*, (see a

conquest of Morrékosh (Morocco); his soldiers possessed themselves of innumerable captives, and all became attached to him, and fond of the country where they were. It is further said that whenever 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Merwán received, through 'Abdu-l-'azíz, news of Músa's conquests, he used to say, "Victory has rendered thee vain, O Abú-l-asbagh!"³⁰—after this he added, "but the time is not distant when they will oppose those very things which are best for them."

He says,—And Músa sent a messenger to 'Iyádh, 'Othmán, and Abú 'Obeydah, all three sons of 'Okbah, and said to them, "Go and revenge yourselves by putting to the sword the murderers of your father 'Okbah."³¹ Accordingly, 'Iyádh departed, and slew six hundred of their best and principal men. After which, Músa sent him a message telling him to stop; 'Iyádh did as he was desired; though not without exclaiming, when he received the order, "By Allah! Hadst thou left me alone, I would not have stopped as long as there was one of them remaining."

Arrival of the news of this victory to 'Abdu-l-'azíz Ibn Merwán.

The author says,—And they relate that when Músa heard of the victory gained by 'Iyádh, he immediately sent a messenger to acquaint 'Abdu-l-'azíz Ibn Merwán with it. The messenger, whose name was 'Alí Ibn Rabáh,³² marched until he arrived in Egypt, and presented himself to 'Abdu-l-'azíz, who treated him kindly, and rewarded him munificently. He then sent him with the news to 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Merwán, who, on his arrival, also rewarded him, and added to his other gifts twenty thousand pieces.³³ On the return of 'Alí Ibn Rabáh

preceding note, p. 349, and Preface,) informs us that the spot where that splendid city was built was from time immemorial known as the *فص مراكش*, 'plain of Morrékosh,' and was in the hands of the Berber tribe of Masmúdah, from whom the ground was purchased by Yúsuif. It is therefore probable that the author alludes here to some town called *Morrékosh* which stood there in Músa's time.

I ought to observe, that not having hitherto met with this word pointed as above, I have in two or three instances in this translation written the name of that town in the usual way (*Marrekash*), which I now find to be a mistake. Not only is that word pointed in my MS., but by referring to Ibnu Khaldún, the author of the *Karttás*, and the history of Africa attributed to Ibn Battúttah, I find it constantly written and pointed in the same manner; nay, Ibnu Khaldún (*loco laudato*, fo. 44, *verso*,) says that *Morrékosh* is a compound of two Berber words, meaning 'pass by quickly,' owing to the spot being infested by robbers and wild beasts. See also Ibn Khallekán, at the life of Yúsuif Ibn Táshfin (*Tyd. Ind.*, No. 854).

³⁰ Abú-l-asbagh was the surname of 'Abdu-l-'azíz. What follows is obscure: *لتهنك الغلبة ابا الاصبع ثم يقول و* عسي ان تكرهوا شيئاً و هو خير لكم I have taken upon myself to substitute لهم for لكم but even then the sentence is by no means clear.

³¹ 'Okbah Ibn Náfi' was put to death by the Berbers in A. H. 62.

³² The same individual who afterwards erected the castle called after him *Kal'ah Rabáh*, now Calatrava, in the province of la Mancha.

³³ The text merely says *و زادة في عطايه عشرين الف* 'he added to his other gifts twenty thousand,' without saying whether that number applies to gold pieces (*dinárs*) or to silver ones (*dirhems*); the latter is most probable. The omission, however, must not be attributed to the copyist, since it occurs several times in the course of this narrative, and the expression is very much used by ancient writers, such as the author of the present work.

to Egypt, 'Abdu-l-'azíz asked him, "How much did the Commander of the Faithful give thee?" "Twenty thousand pieces," replied 'Alí. 'Abdu-l-'azíz then said, "Were it not that I dislike to imitate his example, I would give thee a similar sum; however, I shall add to it ten thousand pieces,"—and he did so. As to 'Abdu-l-malek, he wrote to apprise Músa how he had granted him a pension³⁴ of two hundred pieces from his treasury, and another of one hundred for each of his sons; how he had likewise decreed that five hundred men chosen from among his freedmen and soldiers who had behaved best, or received wounds on the field of battle, should be remunerated with thirty pieces each.³⁵ He at the same time wrote to him, saying, "As to thyself, the Commander of the Faithful grants thee the one hundred thousand pieces paid by thee some time ago into his treasury as the amount of thy fine.³⁶ "Thou mayest deduct it from the Khalif's share in the spoil, and take it for thyself." When the letter of 'Abdu-l-malek reached Músa, he said, in the presence of his men, "I take you all to witness that this sum shall be spent entirely in the promotion of religion and the good of the Moslems;" and so he did, for whenever after a victory there was a number of slaves put up for sale, he used to buy all those whom he thought would willingly embrace Islám, who were of noble origin, and who looked, besides, as if they were active young men. To these he first proposed the embracing of Islám, and if, after cleansing their understanding and making them fit to receive its sublime truths, they were converted to the best of religions, and their conversion was a sincere one, he then would, by way of putting their abilities to trial, employ them. If they evinced good disposition and talents he would instantly grant them liberty, appoint them to high commands in his army, and promote them according to their merits; if, on the contrary, they showed no aptitude for their appointments, he would send them back to the common depôt of captives belonging to the army, to be again disposed of according to the general custom of drawing out the spoil by arrows.

And they say that Músa wrote to 'Abdu-l-'azíz, telling him of the wound of Abú Zar'ah Ibn Abí Mudrik, and how much he had suffered, and that, had it not been for his accident, he would have sent him as a messenger to the Khalif instead of Ibn Rabáh. In reply to this letter 'Abdu-l-'azíz sent him a provision of one hundred pieces for Abú Zar'ah, and other pensions in proportion for thirty of his best men. After this Músa returned with his army to Cairwán.

Incursions at sea, and how they came to pass.

The author says,—And they relate that Músa stayed at Cairwán the remainder of the month of Ramadhán, and all the month of Shawwál, after which he ordered the building of a dock-yard at Túnis, and declared his intention of sailing thither in person. Having accordingly put to sea, he entered the port of that city soon after. They say that when the people first

³⁴ أنه فرض بجمع ولده The verb *faradha* has here the meaning of granting or assigning a yearly pension.

³⁵ و فرض في موائيه و اهل البلد و الجزاء خمس مائة رجل ثلاثين ثلاثين

³⁶ See above, p. liv.

heard of Músa's determination they all wondered at it, and considered it a most rash undertaking, saying unto him, "Thou wilt not be able to accomplish thy purpose." And that then a man from among the Berbers, converted to Islám, whose conversion had been sincere, presented himself to him, and spoke thus: "O Amír! I am one hundred and twenty-one years old, and I remember well hearing my father say that when the Lord of Kartájénah (Carthage) thought of building his city, the people came up to him wondering, and represented to him the difficulties of the undertaking; but one of them rose, and said to him, 'O King! if thou put thy hand to this work thy wishes shall be fulfilled, for the kings, thy predecessors, left no undertaking unachieved, whatever its magnitude or difficulty might be.' And I now say unto thee what was said to the King of Carthage, put thy hand to this work, which is certainly not greater than those achieved by them, and God will help thee." When Músa heard this he was highly delighted, and wondered much at the old man's words. He immediately issued orders for the building of the dock-yard, and having heard of its being finished, he put to sea, and, after sailing twelve miles, entered it. From that moment the port of Túnis became a place of safety for ships when winds blew at sea and the waves were high. He then ordered the building of one hundred vessels, and passed in these preparations the remainder of the year eighty-four (beginning Jan. 23, A.D. 703).

About this time 'Attá Ibn Ráfi' Al-hudhelí, with the Egyptian fleet, arrived in Eastern Africa. He came, sent by 'Abdu-l-'azíz, with instructions to make a descent on the coast of Sardániyyah (Sardinia), and he entered the port of Súsah. No sooner was Músa informed of his arrival than he sent him provisions for his crew, and wrote to him, saying, "The season for navigating the sea is gone by for this year. Remain where thou art, and do not expose thyself and thy men to certain perdition. Think that the men under thy orders have fathers and sons. Wait until the fine weather returns." But 'Attá raised his head with contempt at Músa's letter, and shut his ears to his advice; he fitted his vessels, and weighing anchor, imprudently put to sea. They first came to an island called Salsalah,³⁷ which they conquered, making considerable spoil, and taking a variety of valuable things, such as gold, silver, and precious stones; but, as 'Attá and his men were returning from this expedition, a terrific storm arose at sea, all their vessels were dashed against the shores of Eastern Africa, and 'Attá and nearly all his men were drowned. When the intelligence of this disaster reached Músa, he dispatched his son 'Abdu-l-'azíz with a body of cavalry towards the shore, to see what could be saved from the wreck of 'Attá's fleet. Arrived on the spot, 'Abdu-l-'azíz found a heavy box,³⁸ which, when opened, proved to contain the share of the spoils of Yezíd Ibn Masrúf. After this, the author of the tradition says,—I one day found an old man sitting on the sea shore with a reed in his hand; I went up to him, and tried to take it, but he disputed possession with me; at last, I wrested it from him, and struck his head with it, and when the reed broke, lo! pearls, precious stones, and dinárs fell out of it.

After this Músa ordered that all the vessels and crews saved from the storm should enter

³⁷ سلسلة This must be the island of Linosa or that of Lampedusa, between Malta and the eastern coast of Africa.

³⁸ تابوت Tábut is a long and narrow box. The Spanish word *atahud*, meaning the bier where a corpse is deposited for interment, is derived from it.

the port of Túnis, and this was done as he commanded. When it was the year eighty-five (beginning Jan. 12, 704), he issued orders for all the men to prepare for sea, announcing that he himself would embark and accompany the expedition. This intelligence increased the ardour of the troops, and they all hastened to embark; the vessels were stored, and every thing got ready, and there was not a noble Arab, among those who were in Músa's army, who did not embark on this occasion, so that there only remained on shore a few men to repel a sudden attack of the enemy. However, Músa did not go on board as he had promised to do, but having given the command of these naval forces to his son 'Abdullah, he ordered him to weigh anchor immediately. Músa's intention, as it was afterwards divulged, had been to send all his best men with the fleet. Accordingly, all the soldiers known for their courage and resolution, and all the noble Arabs who were with Músa, embarked for this expedition, which, owing to this circumstance, was afterwards called "the expedition of the nobles," (*Ghazawatu-sh-shorafá.*)

However, 'Abdullah put to sea with his fleet, this being the first maritime expedition which had put off from the shores of Eastern Africa since its invasion by the Moslems. They arrived in sight of the island of Sicily,³⁹ and landed to the west of it, entering a city there in which they found so much spoil that each man on board received one hundred dinárs of gold for his share, although the Moslems were between nine hundred and one thousand in number. After this the fleet returned safe to Africa.

About this time news came to Músa of the death of his patron, 'Abdu-l-'azíz, son of Merwán, and soon after of that of the Commander of the Faithful, 'Abdu-l-malek, son of Merwán, who was succeeded in the Khalifate by his son, Al-walíd Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek, in the year eighty-six (beginning Jan. 1, 705). On receiving this intelligence, Músa sent a messenger to court to take the oath of allegiance in his name, and to acquaint the Khalif with the victory gained by his son 'Abdullah, and the spoil made by the Moslems.

In the meanwhile Zor'ah Ibn Abí Mudrik was dispatched by Músa against the Berber tribes, but he had no opportunity of coming to an engagement with them, for no sooner had he arrived in their territory, than they all came before him and sued for peace. Seeing which, Zor'ah sent the principal among them to Músa, who, taking hostages from each tribe, granted their request. Músa then gave to Ibn Akhyal the command of the fleet of Eastern Africa, with instructions to put to sea and invade some of the enemy's islands. In compliance with these orders that general passed the winter on the sea, and attacked a city called Sirakúsa, whence he returned safe in the same year (A.H. 86). Three years afterwards (A.H. 89), 'Abdullah Ibn Marrah, having arrived with a body of men from Egypt, presented himself to Músa, who gave him the command of the sea. 'Abdullah landed on the island of Sardinia, and entered its cities, where he gained so much spoil that each man's share amounted to three thousand prisoners, exclusive of the gold, silver, &c.; so that all present received abundantly.

³⁹ Nuwayrî speaks of two expeditions; one commanded by 'Abdullah Ibn Kays Al-fezárî, the other by Mohammed Ibn Idrís Al-ansárî, both of which sailed from Africa to Sicily long before the time here assigned. See a preceding note, p. 450, and Nuwayrî's History of Sicily in Gregorio's Collection, p. 2.

Expedition to Sús-al-aksá.

The author continues:—They relate that Músa Ibn Nosseyr sent his son Merwán to Sús-al-aksá, a country which was at that time under the rule of Al-audi.⁴⁰ Merwán marched with five thousand men of those inscribed on the rolls of the army. The recorder of this tradition says,—“The troops were already assembled, and the men prepared for battle, when Merwán saw the enemy waiting to receive them, with the spear in the right hand and the shield in the left, and pointing with their hands towards his men as if they were inquiring ‘How many are ye?’ However, Merwán and his men met the Marzáyah,⁴¹ and fought valiantly with them. The Marzáyah were defeated, and God granted their shoulders to the Moslems, who slaughtered among them the slaughter of extermination. This expedition to Sús was afterwards the cause of all the tribes in that country coming before Merwán, and putting themselves under his orders. The prisoners taken on this occasion amounted to forty thousand. After this Músa gave the command of the African sea to his son 'Abdullah. This general scoured the seas, made a descent on the island of Mallorca, and conquered it.”

How and when the news of these victories was brought to Al-walíd.

They relate that a servant of Al-walíd Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek told them, “I was close to the Khalif, who was performing his ablutions in a vessel of gold that was before him, when in came a messenger from Koteybah Ibn Moslem, announcing the conquest of some districts in Khorassán. I went to Al-walíd and told him of his arrival, and the Khalif commanded me to take the letter from him and read it to him; I did so, but before I had come to the end of it, in came another messenger from Músa Ibn Nosseyr with the news of the conquest of Sús-al-aksá, by his son Merwán. I told the Khalif of it, and was likewise ordered to bring in the letter and read it to him. I obeyed, and my master then praised God, and returned thanks, and went upon his knees and prayed. Scarcely, however, had I ended the letter, when another messenger, also from Músa Ibn Nosseyr, made his appearance, and having informed the Khalif of his arrival, I brought the message in as I had done with the others, and read it to Al-walíd, who praised and thanked God for it, and fell upon his knees, worshipping and praying. This being done, the Khalif turned towards me, and said, ‘Stand outside by that door, and do not let any one come in.’ There was at the time in the room a young infant, a son of Al-walíd, who was crawling on the floor, and who, while his father was absorbed in his prayers and returning thanks to the Almighty for the favours received, approached the vessel, and fell inside of it. The child being hurt by the fall, screamed out for help, but, although I saw his danger, I could not run to his assistance,

⁴⁰ الاودي may be the name of the tribe, as well as that of the king ruling in those districts.

⁴¹ فلها التقي مروان و مرزاية اقتتل الناس قتلا شديدا Thus in the text.

“ since I had been ordered to stand by the door; the prayer was a long one, and so was the prostration, and the child ceased to cry; the Khalif then raised his head, and cried out to me to come in; I entered, and took the child out of the vessel, but he was senseless.”

Taking of the castle of Ausáf.

They say,—After this the Lord of the castle of Ausáf made a foray into some district of Eastern Africa, and gained some advantage over the Moslems. This having reached the ears of Músa, he went out against him in person, but could not overtake him; upon which Músa was sadly vexed, and exclaimed, “ May God Almighty kill me if I do not kill the infidel as soon as an opportunity is offered me.” Accordingly, after some time, Músa sent for one of his men, and addressed him thus: “ I have sent for thee to give thee orders which must needs be executed; if thou fulfil them, ample shall be thy reward. Take these two parcels,⁴² and march until thou art arrived at such a spot in such a country, where thou wilt find a temple, and the Rúm worshipping in it. Approach the temple by stealth, and when night comes leave one of these parcels, and then return to me.” Músa had previously directed that in both the parcels should be placed silks, brocades, and other novelties and valuable articles from Arabia, together with a letter in the Rúmí language, purporting to be an answer to the governor, as if he had written to Músa suing him for peace, and offering in return to lead him into the country of the Rúm, and deliver into his hands their strong places. There was, besides, in the parcel a safe conduct of Músa for the governor. The commission was faithfully executed; the man travelled to the place described to him, approached the temple at night, and leaving one of the two parcels⁴³ with its contents, returned, as he had been told, with the other to the place where Músa was. When the Rúm came out of the temple and found the parcel they were very much surprised, but, not knowing whence it came, nor who had left it there, they apprised the Batrik (Patrician), who was governor of the district, of the case. The governor opened the parcel, and examined the contents, but, seeing the presents and the letter inside, he was so terrified that he immediately sent a messenger with the whole to his superior, the king of the country. The king read the letters, together with the safe conduct, and, not doubting that the governor of Ausáf was a traitor, secretly dispatched a man to the castle with orders to take the command of it and put the governor to death. The king's commands were punctually executed; the man who had made the incursion into Eastern Africa was beheaded, and Músa revenged.

⁴² خذ هذين الاذنين The word *اذن* which I have ventured to render by ‘ parcels,’ must have had in ancient times a meaning which it has not at present. *Adhen* means ‘ an ear;’ perhaps the name was also applied to some sort of travelling bags having that shape,—but this is a conjecture for which I cannot give the least authority.

⁴³ فترك احد الاذنين با فيه وانصرف مقبلا في الاذن الاخر Why the messenger should take two loads, if he was to leave only one, I cannot guess.

The conquest of the opposite land of Andalus.

In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate! The blessing of God and salutation be on our Lord and Prophet Mohammed, and on his family and companions! After this Músa sent his freedman Tárík against Tangiers and the neighbouring districts. Tárík accordingly marched thither, and took the cities and the castles of the Berbers. This being done, Tárík wrote to his master, Músa, "I have found here six vessels;" and Músa answered him, "Try to make them seven, and when the number is completed, take them to the sea shore, and fill them with men and provisions; thou wilt then look for a man acquainted with the months of the Syrians, and when the twenty-first day of the Syrian month called "Adár"⁴⁴ has come, put to sea with thy men, after imploring the favours of the Almighty. "When at sea, thou must pursue thy course until thou seest before thee a small mountain deprived of vegetation, and of a reddish hue, having on one of its sides a fountain running towards the east, and by the side of the fountain a building with an idol at the top in the shape of a bull. Thou must first break the idol to pieces, and then thou wilt look among thy men for a tall man having red hair and a white complexion, with a cast in one of his eyes"⁴⁵ and a mole on his hand; give that man the command of the van, and remain wherever thou mayest be at the time, waiting for further instructions from me, if God be pleased."

They say that when Tárík received the above orders from Músa, he answered him thus: "I have scrupulously fulfilled thy orders, but respecting the man thou didst describe to me, I can nowhere find one of his description, except in my own person." Accordingly, Tárík set out on his expedition with seventeen hundred men in the month of Rejeb of the year 92. Ludherik, being at that time engaged in making war on some enemies of his called Bashkans (Basques), had appointed one of his nobles, named Tudmír, to command and rule the kingdom in his room. When Tudmír, therefore, heard of the landing of Tárík and his followers on the coast of Andalus, he wrote immediately to Ludherik, his master, telling him to hasten to meet the enemy. This Ludherik did at the head of ninety thousand cavalry, bringing all his treasures and riches in waggons; he himself came borne on a litter placed between two mules, and having over his head a vaulted canopy richly set with pearls, rubies, and emeralds; he brought also with him ropes to tie the hands of the captives, for he doubted not but that he should take every one of the Moslems prisoners.

When Tárík heard of the arrival of Ludherik with his formidable host, he praised and exalted God; he then called together his men, and urged them to fight for religion and the cause of God, setting before them the advantages of martyrdom, and strengthening their hopes in the Almighty. He then exclaimed, "O ye men! Whither can ye fly? the sea is at your backs; the enemy in front of you: by Allah! there is no salvation for you but in courage and perseverance,—two virtues that never were defeated, and which are like two

⁴⁴ آذار *Adár* or آذار *Adhár* is the sixth month of the Chaldaic or Syro-Macedonian calendar, answering to our month of March.

⁴⁵ The Monk of Silos, Rodericus Toletanus, and most of the ancient chroniclers of Spain, call Tárík *strabo*, i. e. squinting.

“victorious armies; with them small numbers cannot but succeed, while a multitude without them is of no avail, especially to men, like those now before you, oppressed by tyranny, enervated by luxury, weakened by discord, and stained by cowardice and vanity. O ye men! imitate my example, and whatever ye see me do, do it also; if I charge, charge; if I stop, stop. Let all your movements be uniform, as if you were only one man. For my part, I intend to make for the tyrant, and shall not desist from my intention, nor deviate from my course, until I reach the spot where he is, or die in the attempt. If I should be killed, let not fear enter your hearts, or the want of a commander throw confusion into your ranks; for if once you are overpowered by terror, if the gales of victory cease to blow for you, if you turn your backs on the enemy, you may all count yourselves either slain or prisoners. If you have, therefore, any attachment to this world, do not throw away with your own hands the splendid opportunity now offering itself of gaining numberless treasures to spend them hereafter in a life of luxury and comfort, or of gaining a still greater reward,—the bright crowns of martyrdom,—for if ye do, (which God forbid!) your names will be hereafter coupled with infamy and shame, and will only be matter of derision and contempt to your friends the Moslems. Follow me, O men! I shall not stop until I reach the tyrant in the middle of his steel-clad warriors.” Having said this, Tárik charged, and his men charged also; they mixed with the infidels, and a most desperate battle ensued. Tárik kept his word, he penetrated to the spot where the tyrant was, and killed him with his own hand. Ludherik’s followers were then disheartened and dispersed, and the rout became general. After this Tárik took Ludherik’s head and sent it to his master, Músa, who dispatched one of his sons with it to the Khalif Al-walíd. Músa sent, along with his son, some of the principal inhabitants of Ifrikiyyah, and they all reached safely the court of the Khalif, who was highly delighted to hear the news of the victory, honoured and distinguished Músa’s son much, and rewarded every one of those who came with him. After this Al-walíd dismissed the messengers, who returned to Músa.

It has been said that, after the defeat of Ludherik, the Moslems found on the field of battle so many riches belonging to him or to the nobles who were with him, that the calculation of their amount was almost impossible, and that on this occasion all the Moslems were guilty of fraud and rapine, except Abú ’Abdi-r-rahmán Al-jiyalí. However, some time after this event Tárik wrote to his master, “People are coming against us from every province of this kingdom. Help! help!” No sooner did Músa receive this letter than he called together his men, and assembled a numerous army, intending to cross over to Andalus in the month of Safar of the year ninety-three (Nov. or Dec. A.D. 711). The departure was fixed for a Thursday (of the said month) at dawn of day, so that, leaving his son ’Abdullah to command in his name in Eastern Africa, as well as in Tangiers and Sús, he wrote to his son Merwán, who was occupied in the back settlements, to come and join him with his army, which he did. Thus reinforced, Músa took his departure on the appointed day, and, crossing over to Andalus, met his freedman Tárik, whose army he found reinforced by numbers of adventurers who had already joined him from all countries. He then marched until he entered, as a conqueror,⁴⁶ the mighty city of Cordova, and the towns, castles, and

⁴⁶ The word فتح ‘to open,’ means generally ‘to enter a town by force of arms;’ but as Cordova and the neighbouring