

fortresses in its neighbourhood. They say that most of the Moslems were on this occasion guilty of much excess, defrauding their comrades of their share in the spoil by hiding what they took themselves; the only man who behaved well was Abú 'Abdi-r-rahmán Al-jiyakí. After this Músa marched through the country, doing nothing else on his route but subduing cities and towns right and left, until he came to the city of the Kings of Toledo, where he found a palace called *Beytu-l-molúk* (the mansion of the kings), so named from the circumstance of twenty-four gold diadems, one for each of the kings who had reigned over Andalus, being found in it. Each diadem had an inscription bearing the name of the king to whom it had belonged, and stating the number of children the king had left, the days of his birth, accession to the throne, and death; for it was a custom among the Gothic sovereigns of Andalus that the diadem worn by each of them during his life should, after his death, be deposited in that mansion. Besides these treasures Músa found in the same palace a table, on which was the name of Suleymán, son of Dáúd, (on whom be peace!) and another table of onyx. When Músa saw these things, he immediately placed them under the custody of trustees⁴⁷ appointed by him, and concealed them from the eyes of his followers, since such was the value of these and other precious objects found at the time of the invasion of Andalus by the Moslems, that there was not a single man in the army who could, even approximatively, fix a value on them; and as to the silver, the gold, the silks, the brocades, and other articles of apparel or furniture, no man, however learned, could ever arrive at a computation.

Al-walíd meditates the removal of Músa.

They relate that when the Khalif Al-walíd Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek heard of Músa's departure for Andalus, and was informed of the nature and extent of that country, suspicion entered his mind that Músa might make himself independent, and resist his authority. In this belief he was confirmed by the opinion of his courtiers, as well as by the delay experienced in receiving news from Andalus, since Músa, occupied as he was in the subjugation of the country and the entire reduction of the enemy, had no leisure to write to acquaint him with his progress. Al-walíd's fears grew so strong at last, that one day, being at the mosque, he commanded the Kádí, after prayers, to implore the Almighty that he would defeat Músa's ambitious projects. However, it happened that immediately after his victorious entrance into Toledo, Músa dispatched 'Alí Ibn Rabáh with another messenger to the Khalif, to inform him of the conquest. Ibn Rabáh and his companion marched until they arrived at Damascus, which city they entered in the afternoon. It being then prayer time, they went to the mosque to pray with the other Moslems. When the service was over the Kádí began, as usual, to invoke the interference of the Almighty against Músa, hearing which, Ibn Rabáh rose, and exclaimed, "O ye men! pray to God for Músa, instead of praying against him, for, by Allah!

country had already been subdued by Mugheyth, it is probable that *fataha* does not imply here that Músa reduced that city.

⁴⁷ الامناء the plural of الامين *al-amin*, 'an inspector, a trustee;' whence the Spanish word *alamin* (which has the same meaning) is derived.

“ he has neither forgotten the obedience he owes to his sovereign, nor forsaken the interests of the people; on the contrary, he remains faithful to his sovereign, he respects and defends the property and the families of the Moslems, and he wages unrelenting war on the infidels. What I tell you is true, for I have been an eye-witness of it, and I arrive this very moment from his side, and I bring you news of fresh victories which God has been pleased to grant him, together with an immense booty for the Commander of the Faithful. I come to tell you of the great advantages and rich spoils which both the Commander of the Faithful and the Moslems have gained from his conquests, and to relate to you events that will rejoice you, and also fill the heart of your Khalif with contentment.”

'Alí Ibn Rabáh is introduced to the presence of Al-walíd.

They say that when Al-walíd heard of the arrival of a messenger from Músa, and what he had said to the people congregated in the mosque, he immediately sent for him and had him admitted to his presence. “ What is the news?” said the Khalif to 'Alí. “ That which the Commander of the Faithful likes most,” replied the messenger. “ Where is Músa,” said Al-walíd. “ I left him in Andalus,” answered 'Alí, “ highly favoured by the Almighty, who has granted him victories and triumphs greater than which no man ever gained before him; indeed, so important are his conquests that they exceed the bounds of description. He sends me to thee with some of the principal men of his army, in order that we may be the bearers of this good news.” He then gave the letter to the Khalif, who had no sooner perused it than he prostrated himself to return thanks to the Almighty; he then raised his head, when a second messenger arrived with intelligence of another victory, and, on the Khalif returning thanks as before, he was again obliged to prostrate himself by the arrival of a third messenger, announcing another victory; “ so much so,” says the person from whom I hold this narrative, “ that I thought the Khalif would never end with his prostrations.”

What Músa found in the palace of Toledo where the table was.

They say that Hám Ibn 'Iyádh told them, on the authority of a learned doctor who accompanied Músa to the conquest of Andalus, and was present at the opening of the palace wherein the table was found which people said had belonged to Suleymán Ibn Dáúd,—“ It was a building with twenty-four locks, one for each of the kings who had reigned in Andalus, each king imitating in this respect the conduct of his predecessor. However, when it came to be the turn of Ludherik the Goth, in whose reign God opened Andalus to the Moslems, that monarch, who was a very daring man, went up to the house and said, ‘ By the Messiah! I can no longer restrain my curiosity. I will ascertain what this building contains before I die. I will have the padlocks removed, and will enter it myself.’ And when the bishops, the priests, and the great men of his kingdom heard of his determination, they assembled together, and went up to him and said, ‘ O King! what is thy object in having this palace opened?’ and Ludherik answered, ‘ My object

“ is to see what it contains; I am devoured by curiosity, and have sworn by the Messiah
 “ not to be tormented by it any longer. I will certainly go in before I die.’ And the
 “ priests replied, ‘ May God prosper thee! It is neither safe nor convenient to go against
 “ the customs established by thy honourable ancestors, the kings of this country, or to
 “ infringe the laws promulgated by them; desist therefore from thy rash determination,
 “ imitate their conduct, and add thy padlock to the door, as thy fathers and predecessors,
 “ who had better reasons than either thou or we to dread the mystery contained in this
 “ palace, have done. Let not thy passion lead thee to commit an act which thy ancestors
 “ considered as most dangerous to themselves.’ But Ludherik exclaimed, ‘ No, by the faith
 “ of the Messiah! you shall not dissuade me. The palace must and shall be opened.’ Then
 “ the priests, making a last effort, said to him, ‘ Give us, O King! thy estimation of the sums
 “ of money and jewels thou thinkest this palace contains; name even as many as thy fancy
 “ can represent, and we shall collect them among us, and bring them to thee without fail,
 “ rather than thou shouldst thus innovate and violate a custom which our kings, thy prede-
 “ cessors, kept as sacred, since they, who knew well what they did, commanded that none
 “ should after them presume to investigate the mystery.’ However, disregarding their
 “ advice, Ludherik had the door opened, and when he went in he only found paintings
 “ representing Arabian warriors, and an inscription bearing—‘ Whenever this palace shall
 “ be opened, those whose description, manners, and dress, are so and so, will invade this
 “ country and subdue it entirely;’ and so it was, for in that very year the Arabs invaded
 “ Andalus.”

On the spoils which God granted to Músa and his followers.

They relate, on the authority of Al-leyth Ibn Sa’id, that during Músa’s stay in Andalus, some of his men having picketed their horses to the walls of a church, went inside and began looking about them; when, lo! they saw sheets of gold and silver behind the palace of the Rúm.⁴⁸ They relate also, on the authority of a man who accompanied Músa in all his expeditions in Andalus, that he once saw two men carrying away a carpet all woven with gold, silver, pearls, and rubies, which they had stolen from a church, but, finding it too heavy, he saw them lay down their burden, and, taking an axe, divide it in twain, when they took one half and went away, leaving the other half on the ground. “ I saw also,” says the same individual, “ several men passing right and left close to the remaining half “ without paying the least attention to it, their hands being filled and their minds occupied “ at the time with more valuable objects.”

And they relate that a soldier once came up to Músa and said to him, “ Send with me “ some of the men, that I may guide them to a spot where I know there is a hoard;” and Músa sent some men along with him, and one of those who were present at the discovery

⁴⁸ فإذا بصحائف الذهب والنضة خلف بلاط الروم Thus the text; but the meaning is obscure: perhaps words are wanting. The word *saháyif*, plural of *sahífah*, means ‘ a sheet of iron, copper, or any other metal.’ *Balát* means ‘ a pavement,’ especially a mosaic one. It is also used by some ancient writers as a translation of the Latin *palatium*.

said, on his return, that their guide had told them on their arrival on the spot, "Here! knock here!" and they did so, when lo! a shower of emeralds and rubies, the like of which no human eyes ever saw before, came down upon them. So great a quantity was there of these precious stones that they were astounded with marvelling, and one of them said to the others, "Let us send for the Amír Músa, that he may see the treasure with his own eyes, for otherwise he will never credit our account." They accordingly sent for Músa, who came immediately, and, gazing at the hoard, was struck with utter astonishment at its magnitude and value.

Another individual who saw the carpet represents it as being worked with two broad stripes of gold, ornamented with threads of pearls, rubies, and emeralds. He says that the men who found it were two Berbers, and that, being unable to carry it away, they left it where it was, and returned with a hatchet and cut it in twain, and took as much as they could carry, and left the remainder behind; all owing to their being intent upon things of greater value.

Al-leyth adds, "I was told that a man who accompanied 'Attá Ibn Ráfi' and other generals, in their expeditions in the West, once found a treasure which he was criminal enough to conceal from his comrades, putting it in a purse which he wore (suspended) between his chest and his shoulder blade, and that being soon after attacked by death, he did nothing else but repeat, 'The purse! the purse!' And I was told by Ibn Abí Leyla At-tojibí, who held it from Hamíd, who repeated it on the authority of his father, that it was not an unfrequent thing for those who accompanied Músa's expeditions to meet with horses which, on their hoofs being examined, proved to have been shod with gold and silver nails."

Músa's letter to the Khalif, apprising him of the conquest of Andalus.

Músa wrote to Al-walíd, "O Commander of the Faithful! these are not like conquests, they are more like the meeting of the nations on the last day of judgment;" and they relate, on the authority of 'Abdu-l-hamíd, son of Hamíd, who held it from his father, that he said, "There came to the conquest of Andalus a woman who traded in perfumes, and when she left this country she was the mistress of five hundred slaves;⁴⁹ as to what she took away of gold, silver, jewels, and vases, no idea can be formed of it." The same person told me, "O master Rajá! there once came to this country (Andalus) an old man who inhabited Medínah, and he began to tell us about Andalus and about Músa's invasion, and we said to him, 'How didst thou learn all that;' and he answered, 'I was one of Músa's prisoners and slaves; and, by Allah! what I shall presently relate to you is certain. Músa Ibn Nosseyr bought me for a handful of baked pepper;'—and we said to him, 'How camest thou hither;' and the man answered, 'I will tell you. My father was one of the principal people in Andalus, and had great wealth, so that when he was informed of Músa's arrival

⁴⁹ Five hundred 'heads' says the text. The Spaniards to this day count in the same way. *Res*, from رأس, is by them applied to a head of cattle.

“ he collected together all his treasures, consisting of gold, silver, and jewels in great quantities, besides many other precious articles, and concealed them in a spot which I well know, and I now come to take these treasures, if it be God’s pleasure that they should be mine.’
 “ ‘ How many years is it since thou left that country.’ ‘ Seventy,’ he said. ‘ Is that true?’
 “ inquired we. ‘ Quite true,’ he said; after which he left us, and we never afterwards heard
 “ what became of him.”

Músa makes war on the Bashkans (Basques) and Afranj (Franks).

The author of the tradition says,—And they relate that Músa left Toledo with the troops to make war against the infidels, and that he conquered cities and towns until the whole of Andalus submitted to him. Indeed, so far did he push his conquests, that the principal inhabitants of Galicia came up to him to sue him for peace, which he granted. After this Músa invaded the country of the Basques and made war against them, until they all came to him in flocks, as if they were beasts of burden. He then took the route of the country of the Franks, until he reached Saragossa, a city one month or forty days’ march from Cordova. And they relate that ‘Abdullah Ibn Mugheyrah Ibn Abí Bordah said to them, “ I was in the number of those who accompanied Músa to the conquest of Andalus, and I was with him when we arrived in sight of Saragossa, which was, with the exception of some slight incursions in the districts beyond it, the farthest limit of our conquests under him. Upon one occasion we came up to a city on the seashore which had four gates:” he says, “ and while we were besieging it, behold! ‘Ayyásh Ibn Akhial, who was *Sáhibu-sh-shortah* to Músa, came up to him and said, ‘ General! we have divided the army into four bodies, one for each of the gates of the city. But there remains still the farthest gate, with a buttress to it, and I have no men to send against it.’ Músa answered, ‘ Do not heed that gate, I shall take charge of it myself, and see what is to be done.’ He then turned to me and said, ‘ What stock of provisions hast thou with thee?’ ‘ Only one sack,’ answered I. ‘ What!’ said Músa, ‘ dost thou really mean to say that thou hast no more than one sack? I am surprised to hear it; for if thou, who art one of the wealthiest men in the army, hast only one, what will the others have?’ He then said, ‘ O my God! Permit that the enemy come out of that gate, or increase the numbers of my men;’ and Músa’s prayer was granted, for soon after the enemy sallied out of that gate, and Músa sent in pursuit of them his son Merwán, who overtook them, and spread death among them, and entered the city by that very gate. His men collected considerable spoil, not only from what they found on the slain, but from what they took inside the city.”

He says,—And they relate that Ja’far Ibnu-l-ashtar said, “ I was in the number of those who invaded Andalus with Músa, and we came to a large fortress, which we besieged for upwards of twenty days without being able to reduce it, upon which he (Músa) grew impatient, and ordered a crier to call together the men, and we received orders to be ready at dawn of day, every man at his place, with his weapons and baggage. We all thought that the general had received intelligence of the arrival of some body of the enemy, and that he wished to retreat. However, on the next morning we turned out as we were

“ordered, and then Músa came in person, and, after praising God, said to us, ‘O men! I have come among you, and in front of the ranks, that you may see what I do, and do like me. I shall exalt God, and then charge; do therefore as I do.’ Hearing which, the men said to each other, ‘God be praised! our general has certainly lost his wits, since he orders us to attack stone walls.’ However, Músa placed himself in front of the host, so that he might be seen by all his men, and, raising his hands to heaven, began to pray, and to implore the mercy of the Almighty, and to weep, he remaining long in the same position, while we were all standing looking at him, and getting ready to attack the enemy. At last Músa finished his prayers, and so did the men; he charged, and we all did the same, directing our steps towards one of the sides of the fortress that we were investing. Some of the garrison then came out to meet us, but in a moment our horsemen gave the war-cry, charged them, and, by the help of God, the town was ours. We entered it early in the morning, and made a large booty in prisoners, jewels, and numberless treasures.

The author says,—And I was told by a freed slave girl of ‘Abdullah Ibn Músa, who was a trustworthy and honest woman, “Músa besieged the town where my family resided, which was a very strong fortress, placed opposite to another fortified town in the neighbourhood. Músa and his men remained for some time besieging us, but without being able to penetrate into the town, owing to the strength and thickness of the walls. He had with him his family and his sons, for he never went on an expedition without taking them with him, persuaded as he was that by so doing he would gain for them the rewards of the Almighty. However, the garrison made a sally and fought desperately with the Moslems, victory hanging long uncertain, until at last God was pleased to grant it to his people, and the town was taken. Seeing this, the people of the other town surrendered, and thus did Músa become the master of both towns in one day. On the next day Músa came up to a third town, the garrison of which also sallied out against him, and fought so bravely with his men that part of them gave way. Músa then ordered his tent to be pitched, and his women and daughters to be placed in it without their veils. When the army saw this, scabbards without number were thrown away by the soldiers, who resolved not to sheath their swords until the enemy was vanquished; the Moslems were inspired with fresh vigour; the fight was renewed with increased fury, and kept up with equal determination on both sides, until God was pleased to bestow his favours on Músa and make his army victorious, the town falling soon afterwards into the hands of his men.”

‘Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Sálím says, “I accompanied Músa in all his expeditions, and never did I see a banner fly from him, or a troop under his orders turn back, until the moment of his death.”

Ibn Dhahan says, “When Músa arrived in Andalus, one of the bishops of that country said to him, ‘O Músa! we find thee mentioned in the books of the prophecies; for they tell us of an illustrious prince answering exactly thy description who is to come to this country. He is to be both a fisherman and a hunter, and be provided with two nets, one to imprison the beasts of the land, the other to catch the fishes of the sea; and such art thou, since thou hast warriors both on the land and on the sea.’ When Músa heard this, he was astonished and highly pleased.”

The author says,—And 'Abdu-l-hamíd Ibn Hamíd said, on the authority of his father, that when Músa penetrated into the enemy's territory, and went beyond Saragossa, his men began to murmur, and said to him, "Whither dost thou take us? We have gone far enough; we are satisfied with the spoil we have collected." To which Músa answered, "Did 'Okbah Ibn Náfi' or 'Abdullah ever stop in the career of their conquests?" It must be remarked that, on his entering Eastern Africa, Músa had been heard to say, alluding to his predecessors in command, 'Okbah Ibn Náfi' and 'Abdullah, "that they had certainly exposed themselves to imminent peril, by penetrating so far into countries where they had to meet enemies right and left, in front and at the back, especially as they had not with them a man in whom they could trust as a faithful and experienced guide." So that when he was heard to express the above sentiments, Hansh As-san'ání, who was a *tábi*, and one of the most virtuous men in the army, came out of the ranks, and taking Músa's horse by the bridle, thus addressed his general: "O Amír! I have heard thee say, that upon one occasion 'Okbah Ibn Náfi', whom I knew, had exposed himself and men to certain ruin by not having a sure guide to take him through the enemy's country. It shall not be so with thee, for I will be thy guide, I will conduct thee wherever thou wishest to go, be it to go out of this world, or in search of conquests still more splendid and more fraught with danger than those which God has already granted thee. But I must not conceal from thee that I have heard from the mouth of the men what thou never didst hear; they have filled their hands with plunder, and now they wish for rest." The author continues,—When Músa heard Hansh speak thus he burst out laughing, and said, "May God direct thee, O Hansh! and make many Moslems like thee;" after which he ordered his men to march and return into Andalus, not without exclaiming first, "By Allah! had the men chosen to follow me, I would have led them to the very walls of Rome, and God would, I have no doubt, have granted us the victory."⁵⁰

Músa quits Andalus.

The author of the tradition says,—And they relate that 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Sálim, who was in Andalus with Músa, told them "Músa stayed in Andalus the remainder of that year (93), and some months of the year 94; in the meanwhile letters had reached Al-walíd, purporting, 'These are, O Commander of the Faithful! not like conquests; they are like the meeting of mankind on the day of judgment.' Músa then began his march, taking along with him the sons of the Gothic kings, and the sons of the Frankish kings, and an immense booty, consisting of gold diadems, and the famous table, and the rich vases of gold and silver, and many thousands of male and female slaves, and jewels beyond computation, and all sorts of novelties. On this occasion the principal officers of the army also left Andalus and accompanied Músa."

⁵⁰ See a similar adventure told of Tárik. Appendix D., p. xlix.

Description of the stupendous table.

The author of the tradition continues,—They say that this inestimable jewel was a dining table,⁵¹ but without any feet to stand upon; its materials were pure gold and silver mixed, the colour yellow and white. It was ornamented with three rows of inestimable jewels, one of large pearls, another of rubies, and a third of emeralds. “Nothing,” says he, “could be conceived more rich or beautiful.”⁵²

Arrival of Músa in Eastern Africa.

He says,—And they relate that Yezíd Ibn Sa’íd Ibn Moslem, who was a *mauli*, told them how Músa, on his arrival at Jezírah Al-khadhrá, ordered some waggons to be made, and thirty waggons were accordingly built, in which he stored the jewels, the gold, the silver, the silks and brocades, and the rest of the spoil of Andalus. In this way he reached Eastern Africa, where he stayed the remainder of the year 94. After this he left that country, and having previously appointed his son ‘Abdullah⁵³ Ibn Músa to command in his place over Eastern Africa, Tangiers, and Sús, he took the road of Egypt. Músa was followed by his son Merwán, and by his son ‘Abdu-l-‘ala, and by his son ‘Abdu-l-malek, and by one hundred of the principal officers of his army, men belonging to the noble stock of Koraysh, or to the Ansaris, and to others among the most illustrious by birth or adoption of the Arabian tribes, such as ‘Iyádh Ibn ‘Okbah, Abú ‘Obeydah, ‘Abdu-l-jabbár Ibn Abí Salmah Ibn ‘Abdi-rahmán Ibn ‘Oúf, Al-mugheyrah Ibn Abí Bordah, Zor’ah Ibn Abí Mudrik, Suleymán Ibn Bahr, and others from among the nobles. He had also with him one hundred men from the most illustrious Berber tribes, such as the Bení Kuseylah, the Bení Yasdar,⁵⁴ besides many sons of the Berber kings, and the King of Sús-al-aksá, Marzáyah,⁵⁵ and the Lord of the Castle of Ausáf, and the King of Mallorca and Menorca, and twenty kings from the islands of Rúm, and one hundred princes from Andalus, Afranj, Cordova, and other countries. Músa took also with him innumerable samples of all the natural productions of Andalus, such as hawks, mules, horses, slaves, fruits, and every description of novelties. “Músa,” adds the recorder of the tradition, “came astonishing the inhabitants of the countries through which he passed with the immense treasures he carried, treasures the like of which no hearer ever heard of before, and no beholder ever saw before his eyes.”

⁵¹ كانت مايدة خوان

⁵² I have suppressed here some uninteresting details.

⁵³ The text reads ‘Abdu-l-malek, but as this is a contradiction to what follows, I have not hesitated in substituting ‘Abdullah.

⁵⁴ بني يصدر

⁵⁵ من دابة—instead of which I believe مرزاية is meant. See above, p. lxxviii.

Arrival of Músa in Egypt.

The author says,—And they relate that Yezíd Ibn Sa'íd Ibn Moslem told them that on Músa's arrival in Egypt the Khalif Al-walíd, who had been previously informed of his approach, wrote to Kowah Ibn Sharík,⁵⁶ who, on the demise of Ibn Refá'h,⁵⁷ had been appointed to the command of the Egyptian army, to sally out from Misr to meet Músa. In compliance with this order Kowah went out, and made haste, and met Músa when about to mount his horse, and went to him, and gave him the *salam*. Músa then said to him, "Who art thou? cousin!" upon which Kowah, making a profound bow, said, "I am one who loves thee, and wishes thee prosperity." Kowah and his escort joined Músa. They all journeyed together until they came to the Minyeh (pleasure-house) of 'Omar Ibn Merwán, where they pitched their tents. Ibn Refá'h then spoke to Músa about the sum of money which he had extorted from Sufyán Ibn Malek Al-fehri⁵⁸—this being after the death of Sufyán; and Músa said, "Thine is the money," and he gave immediate orders that ten thousand gold dinárs should be given over to the sons of Sufyán Ibn Malek.

Músa stayed three days in Misr, during which time he was visited by all the principal inhabitants of the town, and there remained not a Sherif in the place who did not come to him to do him honour, and who returned not loaded with his presents. He made likewise plentiful gifts to the sons and relatives of 'Abdu-l-'azíz Ibn Merwán, his ancient benefactor; so that they all came up to him from every part of Egypt, and Músa showed great affability to them all.

From Egypt Músa proceeded to Filisteyn (Palestine), where he was met by the tribe of Rúh, son of Zaná',⁵⁹ among whom he pitched his tents; and I have heard people say that they entertained Músa and his suite most splendidly, slaughtering for their repasts no less than fifty camels. After staying for some time among these people, Músa took his departure, leaving with them some of his people, and his young children; and after remunerating the generous hospitality of the Bení Rúh, son of Zaná', with male and female slaves, and many other things, the produce of his conquests.

Arrival of Músa at the court of Al-walíd.

They relate that Mohammed Ibn Suleymán, and others from among the principal inhabitants of Misr, told them that when Músa arrived in Syria Al-walíd was suffering from the indisposition which soon after caused his death, and that Suleymán, who was the presumptive heir to the throne, hearing of his approach to Damascus, dispatched a messenger to

⁵⁶ The name of this individual is not distinctly written in my MS. It may be read alike قرة—قرة or قرة ابن شريك

⁵⁷ ابن رفاعة

⁵⁸ No doubt while he was in Egypt serving under 'Abdu-l-'azíz.

⁵⁹ ال روح بن زنباع

him, enjoining him to proceed by slow marches, so as to arrive after Al-walíd's death, which was expected to take place every moment. When the message reached Músa, and he read the contents of the letter sent him by Suleymán, he is said to have exclaimed—"God forbid that I should be guilty of such a crime! By Allah! I shall neither delay my march, nor stay on the road; on the contrary, it is my intention to proceed at the usual speed: if I arrive before the death of my sovereign, I need not dread his brother's vengeance; if he should die before my arrival, I leave my destiny in the hands of God." He then dismissed Suleymán's messenger, who failed not to threaten him with his master's resentment for not complying with his wishes, and to represent to him the awful revenge he would take for the offence, should he succeed soon to the throne, and get Músa into his power. However, when Al-walíd heard of Músa's arrival, and how he had disregarded the propositions made to him by Suleymán's wish, he wrote commanding him to make haste and appear immediately at court; so that even if he had wished to conciliate things, there remained no evasion, and he could not but comply with the order of his sovereign: he therefore quickened his march and entered Damascus before the death of Al-walíd, and in time enough to present him with the rich spoils of Andalus, the curiosities, the pearls, the rubies, the emeralds, the male and female slaves, the table of the prophet Suleymán, son of Dáúd, (to whom may God be propitious!) and another table made of mother-of-pearl of different hues, and the royal diadems of gold. All these treasures Al-walíd kept for himself, and having caused the table to be taken to pieces, ordered that the costly materials of which it was formed, such as the rows of jewels in which it was encircled, and the mother-of-pearl, should be deposited in his treasury, and that the remainder should be sent to Mekka, where it was placed in the holy temple; disposing also in the same manner of other precious things. Soon after this Al-walíd died.

Músa's arrival at the court of Al-walíd.

The author says,—And they relate that when Músa presented himself before Al-walíd, he was sitting in the *minbar*, it being that day a Friday. Músa had previously issued orders to the men of his suite to array every one of the captives he had brought with him, and to give to each of them a gold diadem, and the robes once worn by the owners of the diadems. He told them to dress thirty of the finest men in royal robes and royal crowns; he also gave directions respecting the Berber princes, and the kings of the islands of Rúm, and the sons of the kings of Al-ishbán (Hispania), all of whom were to be splendidly arrayed in the costumes of their respective countries, and to wear gold diadems on their heads. The prisoners were thus to be introduced into the great mosque, where Al-walíd was sitting at the time: he ordered also that all the treasures collected in Andalus, the jewels, the pearls, the rubies, the emeralds, the mother-of-pearl, the splendid carpets, the robes of gold and silver tissue, sprinkled with pearls, rubies, and emeralds, should be brought in and placed also before Al-walíd. These orders being complied with, Músa made his entrance into the mosque, followed by thirty youths belonging to the royal family of the Franks, magnificently arrayed in robes of gold tissue, and wearing royal crowns upon their heads. When Músa entered, Al-walíd was preaching to the men from the top of the *minbar*; for although he was very

weak and sickly, having been very much reduced by disease, and suffering great agony, he had nevertheless mustered all his strength for the occasion, and prepared to receive in due pomp Músa and his companions. When Al-walíd saw them come in such admirable order he seemed struck with astonishment; a loud murmur was also heard among the men, and voices saying, "Here comes Músa, the son of Nosseyr; here comes Músa:"—and Músa then came forward, and advanced majestically toward the *minbar*; and having saluted Al-walíd, remained standing where he was with the princes with the royal crowns, drawn up in two lines, half to the right side of the *minbar*, and the other half to the left. Al-walíd then began to praise God, and to give him thanks for the favours and victories he had been pleased to grant the Moslems; he then delivered a speech, the like of which no human ears ever listened to, and protracted it until the hour of prayers was at hand: he then said his prayers along with the men, and the service finished, he sat down, and bade Músa approach his person; and taking his own dress off, put it on him three times in succession, and gave him besides fifty thousand dinárs, and granted pensions for all his sons, as well as for five hundred of his *maulis*. After this Músa gave orders for the rest of the suite and the prisoners to make their appearance; and presently in came the kings of the Berbers, and the kings of the Rúm, and the kings of Al-ishbán, and the kings of the Franks; then followed all the Moslems whom Músa had brought with him from Africa, most of whom belonged to the tribe of Koraysh, and other illustrious families, who were most magnificently attired for the occasion. Al-walíd then distributed among them pensions, honours, and distinctions. Forty days after Músa's interview with Al-walíd, this Khalif died, and was succeeded by his brother Suleymán.

Suleymán's accession to the throne, and his conduct towards Músa.

They relate that 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Sálím told them that the first thing Suleymán did on his coming to power was to send for Músa and make him appear in his presence, when he bitterly abused him and reproached him for his past conduct. They say that he told him among other things—"Thou hast run against my will, and disobeyed my orders, and, by Allah! I will cut off thy resources, scatter thy friends, and seize upon thy treasures; I will deprive thee of all the honours conferred upon thee by the sons of Abú Sufyán and the sons of Merwán, those whose benefits thou hast repaid with ingratitude, betraying the hopes they placed on thee." And Músa answered, "By Allah! O Commander of the Faithful! do not charge me with the faults of others; I was always faithful to the Khalifs of thy family, as well as to thy predecessors in command; I showed myself on every occasion the grateful servant of those who protected me and extolled me: as to thy saying, O Commander of the Faithful! that thou wilt cut off my resources, scatter my friends, and seize upon my treasures, that rests in the hands of the Almighty God, who is the arbiter of men's fortunes, and can take away whenever he pleases the favours he bestows on his creatures. In Him I trust, O Commander of the Faithful! for He is the refuge of those who are accused of crimes which they never committed, and who are threatened with chastisement which they do not deserve." Suleymán then ordered Músa to be exposed to the sun, and his commands were immediately executed: he was left standing under a broiling sun; and as he was subject to asthma, the excessive heat, together with the fatigue

of many hours' standing, brought on his complaint more fiercely than ever, and he was on the point of being suffocated several times, remaining in that state until 'Omar Ibn 'Abdi-l-'aziz, whom Suleymán had sent out to see that his orders respecting Músa were punctually executed, came upon the spot, and found him in a swoon. 'Omar is known to have said some time after this,—“ I declare I never passed a worse day in all my life; I never was so sadly afflicted as that day when I saw the old warrior, on whom God had been pleased to bestow so many favours, after so many battles fought for the cause of God and true religion, and so many victories won, lie in that miserable plight. I went straight to Suleymán, and when he saw me he said, ‘What is the meaning of this, O Abú Hafṣ?’⁶⁰ “ I really think that thou also wishest to deny me obedience.”—'Omar says, “ I thought the opportunity a favourable one, and said to him, O Commander of the Faithful! Músa is an infirm old man, he is subject to an asthma, and, by Allah! thou wilt be the cause of his death; I have come to implore thy pardon for him: consider that the old warrior has fought long and bravely for the cause of God and religion, and that he has been the means of gaining the many victories by which the Moslems have become rich.”—'Omar added, “ and whoever prevents me from speaking as I do in his favour, I deny him all allegiance, and I shall hate him for it.”—'Omar says, “ I was fearful lest I should have gone too far, and that we should get into a dispute, and he should feel hungry;⁶¹ so when I heard him say what he afterwards said to me, I praised God, (may His name be praised!) and I became certain that He had inspired him with generous sentiments, and that he began to feel repentant of what he had done; and so it was, for all of a sudden he exclaimed—‘ Who will be security for Músa's future behaviour, if I pardon him?’ Then Yezíd Ibn Muhlib, who was an intimate friend of Músa, and was present at this interview, rose and said, ‘ I will be his security, O Commander of the Faithful!’—‘ Well, then, I take thy security for Músa, and thou shalt not be treated harshly on account of him.’” Yezíd then went up to Músa with a horse belonging to his son⁶² Mokhlid, and made him ride it, and took him away. Some days after this Yezíd contrived to adjust matters between Suleymán and Músa, and the former set him entirely free, on condition of his paying a fine of three millions of dinárs.⁶³

The number of Músa's maulis.

They relate, on the authority of an inhabitant of Basrah, that an Arab, living in that city, told them—“ The night of the day in which Músa was released by the interference of Yezíd,

⁶⁰ 'Omar Ibn 'Abdi-l-'aziz, who succeeded his cousin Suleymán in the Khalifate, took the name of Abú Hafṣ from one of his sons. See Abú-l-fedá, *An. Mosl.* vol. ii. p. 94.

⁶¹ The Khalif Suleymán was a second Heliogabalus. According to Al-makín, p. 75, he could eat one hundred pounds weight of food every day, and his courtiers never dared approach him before his meals.

⁶² *وقدم إليه دابة ابنه مخلد* It is probable that instead of *مخلد ابنه* as in the text, *أبيه مهلب* 'his father Muhlib' is to be read; but as Yezíd might, for aught I know, have had a son called Mokhlid, I have suffered it to remain.

⁶³ *حتى اقتدي منه بثلاثة الاف الف دينار* Lower down (p. lxxxvii) the amount of Músa's fine is stated at four millions and thirty thousand dinárs.

“ as they were sitting up late engaged in conversation, the latter asked him, ‘ O Abú ’Abdi-r-rahmán! how many *maulis* and adherents hast thou?’ ‘ Many,’ replied Músa. ‘ Will their number amount to one thousand?’ ‘ Yes,’ retorted Músa, ‘ and thousands of thousands too; they are beyond calculation, for I shall certainly leave behind more *maulis* than any other man ever did.’ ‘ And how is it,’ said Yezíd, ‘ if what thou tellest me be true, that thou gavest up so brilliant a position? Why didst thou not remain in the seat of thy power and the abode of thy glory? why didst thou not send by means of messengers that which thou didst bring in person? Hadst thou done so, we should have been satisfied with thy presents, and overlooked thy disobedience, and thy affairs would not have come to the evil plight in which they now are.’ ‘ By Allah!’ replied Músa, ‘ had my intention been such, you would never have seen a single thing of the many treasures you have received from Andalus, never until the last day of judgment; but I swear to God, that it never entered my mind to deny obedience to the Khalif, and desert the cause of the people.’” The author of this tradition adds,—That when Yezíd took leave of Músa to go home, the latter made a sign to the company and exclaimed, “ By Allah! had I had Abú Kháled’s⁶⁴ good sense, I should not be reduced to this condition.”

[I have omitted the translation of a chapter entitled “ The wonderful things which Músa saw in the West,” because, though very interesting in itself, it contains no historical information].

Suleymán questions Músa about Maghreb.

The author says,—And they relate, on the authority of Mohammed⁶⁵ Ibn Suleymán, that Suleymán Ibn ’Abdi-l-malek said once to Músa, “ Whom didst thou appoint to command in thy name in Andalus?” “ My son ’Abdu-l-’azíz,” said Músa. “ And who is thy lieutenant in Africa proper, Tangiers, and Sús?” inquired Suleymán. “ My son ’Abdullah,” answered Músa. “ Thou seemest to me to entertain a very favourable idea of thy sons, since thou didst appoint them to such trusts,” replied Suleymán. The same individual above mentioned, Mohammed Ibn Suleymán, says that Músa answered Suleymán in these words: “ O prince of the believers! who is there in thy dominions who can boast of having sons more accomplished than mine? My son Merwán brought Ludherik, the King of Andalus, captive; my son ’Abdullah brought the Kings of Mallorca, Menorca, Sicily, and Sardinia; my son Merwán brought the King of Sús-al-aksá; and they shared between them the cities and the countries, bringing innumerable captives. Who can after this boast of better sons, O prince of the believers!”—upon which Suleymán appeared angry, and said to Músa, “ Dost thou really mean to say that the prince of the believers has no advantage over thee on this account?” “ The case of the prince of the believers,” said Músa, “ is above all others; every thing is subordinate to him, and all are to obey his power and authority.”

⁶⁴ Abú Kháled was Yezíd’s surname.

⁶⁵ This Mohammed Ibn Suleymán seems to have been one of the sons of that Khalif, for I find in the *Kitábu-l-khamís*, by Diyárbekrí, that Suleymán left a son of that name.

Various other opinions current upon Suleymán's treatment of Músa.

They say,—When Suleymán succeeded his brother Al-walíd in the Khalifate, he was greatly incensed against Al-hejáj and against Músa, towards whom he had conceived great enmity, for things which it would be too long for us to relate here; he had, therefore, sworn their execution whenever he should get them into his hands. One day, accordingly, Suleymán sent for his brother 'Omar Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz, and said to him, "I shall have Músa crucified to-morrow;"—upon which 'Omar immediately sent for Músa, and when in his presence said to him, "O son of Nosseyr! I love thee for four things. First, I love thee on account of thy praiseworthy actions in the cause of God and religion, and thy brilliant exploits against his enemies. Secondly, I love thee because thou art a Moslem, and followest strictly the precepts of our Prophet, (may God's blessing and salutation be on him!) Thirdly, I love thee because of the affection and esteem thou hast always shown for 'Iyádh Ibn 'Okbah, knowing the regard I entertained for him. ('Iyádh was a very honest and religious man.) Fourthly, I love thee because of the great favour thou didst always enjoy with my father 'Abdu-l-'azíz, and the many benefits he conferred upon thee, and I now wish to follow his example, and add a new favour to the sum of his favours. Owing to the above-mentioned reasons I come to tell thee how I have this very moment heard the prince of the believers say that he intended to have thee crucified to-morrow, and I now come to warn thee of thy danger, that thou mayest consult thy safety, since it is incumbent upon thee to do so." And Músa said to him, "I have already done so, and my determination is taken; I place myself entirely in thy hands." And 'Omar replied, "Very well, if pardon is to be obtained for thee, it shall be at my hands; those whom I love may safely rely on me." Músa then retired and went home; he washed and perfumed himself, and sat quietly waiting for his execution, for he doubted not but that he would be crucified in the course of that day. It was then summer time, and the heat was intense; presently, when noon came, and the sun was at the highest, he walked Suleymán's officers and took him to the Khalif's presence. Músa was a very aged and corpulent man; he was subject to an asthma which troubled him much. Arrived in the presence of the Khalif, Músa stood humbly before him, when Suleymán began to rail at him and upbraid him. Músa then said, "By Allah! O prince of the believers! is this my desert? Is this the reward of a man who, like myself, has been so meritorious in the service of God, and who has, through his exertions, been the cause of pouring boundless wealth on the Moslems,—of a man who has so faithfully and honourably served thy ancestors?" And Suleymán said to him, "Thou liest! may God kill me if I do not put thee to death, and cause thee to be crucified." After many sayings on both sides, Músa exclaimed, "By Allah! those who are underneath the earth are dearer to me than those who are upon it." "Whom dost thou mean?" replied Suleymán in a violent rage. "I mean," said Músa, "thy brothers Merwán, 'Abdu-l-malek, and Al-walíd, and thy uncle 'Abdu-l-'azíz." Hearing this, Suleymán was on the point of bursting with rage; he then repeated again, "May God kill me if I do not put thee to death!" And Músa said, "My destiny is in the hands of God. I expect no mercy at the hands of the prince of

“the believers. But if God has decreed that I should live, all his anger is to no purpose.” “Wretch!” said Suleymán, and he gave orders for Músa’s exposure; and Músa was exposed to a scorching sun until his blood was heated and his strength exhausted. Some time afterwards Suleymán turned towards ’Omar Ibn ’Abdi-l-’azíz, and said to him, “O ’Omar! I shall not be satisfied unless thou go out and see that my orders are faithfully executed.” And ’Omar seized the opportunity and went out, as I have elsewhere related, for he afterwards said to the person from whom I hold this narrative, “I was unwilling to draw on myself the ill-will of the Arabian tribes, who were all, to a man, the friends of Músa, by not interfering warmly in his favour;” so, when ’Omar returned, he said to the Khalif, “Forgive him, O prince of the believers! He is a weak old man, exhausted by fatigue and the asthma under which he is suffering; and if he remain longer in that state I expect to find him dead when I return.” These words made some impression upon Suleymán, who, turning towards the counsellors who were sitting with him, said, “Whoever will take this [order] shall deliver Músa from his present situation, upon the surrender of all these treasures.” Then Yezíd Ibn Muhlib rose from his seat and said, “I will, O Commander of the Faithful!” “Take it, then,” said Suleymán; “I grant thee his life; but mind, I do not intend to remit the punishment of his two sons, Merwán and ’Abdu-l-’ala.”⁶⁶ Yezíd then went out with the Khalif’s order, and, having released Músa, made him mount his own horse, and took him to his house, where he treated him kindly, and administered to him such remedies as he stood in need of. He then said to him, “Thou art free on these conditions, but leave the rest in my hands, and I shall satisfy the Commander of the Faithful as to his decree respecting thee and thy two sons; give me thy instructions, and I will be the bearer of thy answer.” And Músa said to him, “Since thou art the principal manager in this business, and hast offered thyself a security for me, I shall in no manner interfere in thy arrangements with the prince of the believers; had any one but thee taken in hand this affair, I would willingly have died, and surrendered my soul to God, rather than give up to him one single *dirhem* of my money; but since matters stand thus, I am ready to abide by thy agreement.” He then turned towards his two sons who were in the room and said to them, “My sons, prepare to suffer, and may God help you and your father;” and they answered, “We shall.”

On the morning of the next day Yezíd went to the palace and told Suleymán how Músa had agreed to abide by his sentence. Músa was then ordered to the presence of the Khalif, and when admitted said to him, “Did I not tell thee that unless the Almighty decreed it, thou wouldst never accomplish my execution;” upon which Suleymán said to him, “Thyself and thy two sons are in my power until the sentence issued against thee be fully accomplished, and the whole of thy fine delivered into the hands of my treasurers.”—And Músa said to him, “May thy will be done, O Commander of the Faithful! only grant me four things, and thine are all my riches.” “And what are they?” exclaimed Suleymán.

⁶⁶ These two sons of Músa, who were with him at Damascus, could only be Merwán, who was afterwards killed in battle in Spain, and ’Abdu-l-’ala; for his two other sons, ’Abdullah and ’Abdu-l-’azíz, had been intrusted by their father,—the former with the government of Africa, the latter with that of Spain. Neither is it easy to guess why Suleymán should be offended with them.

“ Firstly, not to remove my son 'Abdullah from his government of Eastern Africa and the adjacent countries for a space of two years to come; secondly, not to remove my son 'Abdu-l-'azíz from the government of Andalus; thirdly, that all the plunder taken from the infidels by my two sons shall not be confiscated, but given to me; and to deliver into my hands the person and the property of my *mauli* Tárik: upon these conditions I am prepared to abide by thy sentence, and to deliver into thy hands all my treasures.” Suleymán then replied,—“ As to thy request that I should suffer thy sons, 'Abdullah and 'Abdu-l-'azíz, to remain in command of their respective governments for two years, I grant it; as to my delivering into thy hands thy freedman Tárik, in order that thou mayest freely dispose of his person and property, that I cannot accede to, for it would be a sad reward for a man who has behaved so honestly towards the Commander of the Faithful. No! Thou shalt not punish him, neither shall I make thee the master of his treasures.” Músa then paid down the sums asked by Suleymán; and, having received a written discharge, was suffered to go whither he pleased.

The following is a transcript of the sentence issued against Músa.

This is the sentence imposed by the servant of God, Suleymán, Commander of the Faithful, on Músa, the son of Nosseyr; namely:—“ That the said Músa shall pay into the hands of Suleymán, or of his collectors, the sum of four millions and thirty thousand gold dinárs, of good weight. The Commander of the Faithful has already received one hundred thousand dinárs on account of the above sum; but, as the remainder is still unpaid, the Commander of the Faithful grants Músa a term during which a messenger shall be dispatched to Andalus to procure the said sum from his son 'Abdu-l-'azíz: the messenger will present the order to 'Abdu-l-'azíz, and wait one month for its fulfilment; at the expiration of which time, without waiting one day more, he is to return with or without the money, and go to Africa, and do the same with his son 'Abdullah. Músa shall not consider as part of the payment of that fine the sums which he may have collected in his various governments since Suleymán's accession to the throne, whether proceeding from the capitation-tax paid by the infidels, or from the ransom of cities threatened with the sword, or from any spoil gained on the field of battle; since all those sums the Commander of the Faithful considers as his own, and takes possession of them. And when the said Músa has paid down the sums of money specified in this letter, and for the final payment of which the Commander of the Faithful grants him a month's time, as above stated, the said Músa shall be held free, as well as his sons, relations, and *maulis*; they shall in nowise be molested, nor fined, nor disturbed, but shall, on the contrary, be allowed to settle and reside where they best like. Whatever governments Músa and his sons by delegation may hold at the arrival of the messenger sent by the Commander of the Faithful, there shall be no alteration made in them. The Commander of the Faithful shall not interfere in any manner whatsoever between Músa Ibn Nosseyr and his relations and *maulis*, and no complaint from the same against Músa shall be listened to; but neither the person of his freedman Tárik, nor any article of his property, shall be delivered up to Músa.

“Witnesses:—Ayúb, son of the Commander of the Faithful; Dáúd, son of the Commander of the Faithful; ‘Abd . . . ,⁶⁷ son of ‘Abdu-l-‘azíz, son of Al-walíd; Sa‘íd Ibn Kháled; ‘Ya‘ish Ibn Selámah; Kháled Ibnu-r-riyán; ‘Omar Ibn ‘Abdillah; Yahya Ibn Sa‘íd; Al-‘abbás Ibnu-l-walíd; Hishám Ibn ‘Abdi-l-malek; ‘Ammar Ibn Zeyád; ‘Abdu-l-‘azíz Ibn ‘Abdillah; ‘Abdullah Ibn Sa‘íd. Written by Ja‘far Ibn ‘Othmán in Jumáda of the year 97.”⁶⁸

When Músa had complied with this sentence, and the amount of his fine had been paid into the royal coffers, for which end Yezíd Ibnu-l-muhlib gave him one hundred thousand dinárs, Suleymán gave orders that neither Músa, nor his sons, nor his security, should be in the least degree molested. In return for his present Músa gave Yezíd a sandal⁶⁹ embroidered with pearls, which, when valued, proved to be worth three hundred thousand dinárs. And they say that Yezíd asked Músa one day, “Dost thou know why I said to the Commander of the Faithful that I would stand security for thee?” and Músa answered, “No, I do not.” “I did it,” replied Yezíd, “fearing lest some one else should come forward who was not bound to thee by the same obligations.”

[Here follows a chapter entitled “How Músa became a favourite with Yezíd Ibn Muhlib,” which I have altogether omitted, as well as three more,—giving an account of the death of ‘Abdu-l-‘azíz, son of Músa;—the series of the Mohammedan governors of Spain;—and the establishment of the dynasty of the Bení Umeyyah;—which will find a place in the second volume of this work.]

The questions which Suleymán put to Músa on his doings and his conquests.

They say that Suleymán upon a certain occasion asked Músa the following questions. “What made thee so bold whilst attacking the enemy of God?” “Reliance on his power, and prayers for his help, O Commander of the Faithful!” answered Músa. “Didst thou fortify thyself in castles, or surround thy encampments with trenches?” “I did nothing of the sort,” replied Músa. “What then?” inquired Suleymán. “I always fixed my tents in the plains, that I might judge better of the courage or cowardice of my men; I never had any fortification but that of the sword, no other help but that of the Almighty, whom I never ceased to beg and implore to grant me the victory.” “Whom among the Arabian tribes, serving under thy orders, didst thou deem the bravest soldiers?” said Suleymán. “The Arabs of Himyar,” answered Músa. “And what horses the fleetest and the best?” “The bays.” “And tell me what nations didst thou conquer—who among thy enemies were the most formidable in battle?” “That is more than I can say, O Commander of the Faithful! for I had to contend against innumerable nations, all of whom were brave on the field.” “Tell me about the Greeks,” retorted Suleymán. “The Greeks,” said Músa, “are lions within their castles, eagles on their horses, women in their ships; if they see an

⁶⁷ There is a blank in the text; probably ‘Abdu-l-malek is intended, for I find further down in the work that Suleymán had a second-cousin thus named.

⁶⁸ It is not said whether this month of Jumáda is the first or the second of the Mohammedan calendar. The time thus varies from the 13th of December, A.D. 715, to the 10th of February, 716.

⁶⁹ Roderic’s sandal found on the field of battle?

“opportunity they immediately seize it, but if the day turns against them they are goats in ascending their mountains, and so swift-footed in their flight that they scarcely see the land they tread.” “Tell me about the Berbers.” “The Berbers, O Commander of the Faithful! are of all foreign nations the people who resemble most the Arabs in impetuosity, corporal strength, endurance, military science, generosity, only that they are, O Commander of the Faithful! the most treacherous people on earth.” “And what sayest thou of the people of Ishbán (Hispania)?” “They are luxurious and dissolute lords, but knights who do not turn their faces from the enemy.” “And the Franks?” “The Franks, O Commander of the Faithful! have numbers, resources, strength, and valour.” Then Músa added, “Among the nations just described there are men of honour and probity, there are also traitors and knaves; some were for peace, others for war; some we subdued, to others we granted terms; some observed faithfully the treaties, some violated them; but we met them all, each man according to his temper.” “But tell me,” replied Suleymán, “of thy battles with them,—was thy army ever defeated by them?” “Never, O Commander of the Faithful! Never did a banner turn away from me, nor a troop under my orders show their backs to the enemy; as long as I commanded the Moslems were never defeated, never from the moment I entered upon my fortieth year until the present moment, being upon my eightieth.” Hearing which Suleymán smiled scornfully, and observed, “Where is then the banner thou borest on the day of Merj-Ráhitt, under Adh-dhahhák Ibn Kays?”⁷⁰ “That was the banner of Zubeyr, and we are now talking of those of the Bení Merwán,” replied Músa. “Thou art right, O man!” said Suleymán, greatly astonished at Músa’s quick answer.

* * * * *

Ibn Riyán asserts that Músa continued thus enjoying the favour of the Khalif until the year 98 came, when Suleymán, having decided upon making a pilgrimage to Mekka, ordered that Músa should be one of his suite; but upon its being represented to him that he was a weak old man, and could not bear the fatigue of the journey, he commanded that a pregnant camel should be prepared for him, and that he should be provided besides with one of his own * * * * and a suitable stock for the journey; and Músa, accordingly, accompanied Suleymán to Mekka.

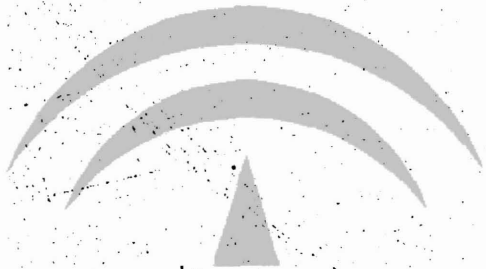
The author says,—I was told by an inhabitant of Medína that Músa said, on a certain day, to a trustworthy man, who told him of it himself,—“Before two days there shall die in this town a man whose fame has filled the East and the West.” We all thought, says the author of the tradition, that he meant the Khalif; but on the morning of the second day, as we were saying our prayers in the mosque of the Messenger of God, (may the benediction and salutation of the Lord attend him!) we heard the people say, “Músa, the son of Nosseyr, is

⁷⁰ مرج راحط Merj-Ráhitt is the name of a place in Syria, the field of a celebrated battle fought (A. H. 64) between Merwán Ibn Al-hakem, of the family of Umeyyah, and the partisans of Zubeyr, commanded by Dhahhák Ibn Kays, who perished in the action. I have collated the whole of this account with the MS. of Ibn Habíb in the Bodl. Lib., and found it, like many other passages in this fragment, word for word. Ibn Habíb being a writer of the ninth century, the great antiquity of this work is at once established.

dead." He was soon after buried, and Suleymán said the customary prayer over his body.

* * * * *

Músa entered Western Africa in the month of Jumáda the first of the year seventy-nine (September, A.D. 698), being then sixty years old. He remained in Eastern Africa sixteen years. He left that country for the East in the year ninety-five (A.D. 713). He died, as we have already stated, in the year 98. His son 'Abdullah governed after him Eastern Africa, Tangiers, and the province of Sús, for two years, until he was deposed at the end of the year 99. His son 'Abdu-l-'azíz was killed in the month of Dhí-l-hajjah of the same year. May God pour his mercies upon them both! The benediction of the Lord and salutation be on our Prophet Mohammed and those of his family!



JUNTA DE ANDALUCIA

P.C. Monumental de la Alhambra y Generalife
CONSEJERÍA DE CULTURA

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF THE

PRINCIPAL EVENTS RECORDED IN THIS TRANSLATION OR IN THE NOTES.

The dates of those marked with an asterisk are doubtful.

	A. H.	A. D.
Músa is appointed to the government of Africa on a Thursday of the month of Safar	79	{ April 18, or 25, or May 2, 9, or 16, 698.
— arrives in Africa from Egypt on Monday the 24th of Jumáda I.	79	{ August 7, 698.
— undertakes an expedition to Zaghwán	80	{ beginning March 8, 699, ending February 24, 700.
— makes war against the tribes of Hawárah, Zenátah, and Kotámah		
— subdues the Senhájah		
— receives reinforcements from Egypt	83	{ beginning Feb. 3, 702, ending January 22, 703.
— takes Sejúma	84	{ beginning January 23, 703.
— stays at Cairwán the months of Ramadhán and Shawwál	84	{ September and October, 703.
— orders the building of a dock-yard at Túnis—fits out a fleet of one hundred sail	84	{ January 13, 704.
Arrival of 'Attá Ibn Ráfi' with the Egyptian fleet	85	{ beginning Jan. 13, 704, ending December 31, 704.
Expedition to the island of Salsalah—wreck of the fleet		
'Abdullah, son of Músa, makes a descent on the coast of Sicily	86	{ beginning Jan. 1, 705, ending December 21, 705.
Ibn Akhyál lands on the coast of Syracuse, and plunders that city		
'Abdullah Ibn Marrah invades and ravages the island of Sardinia	89	{ beginning November 30, 707, ending November 18, 708.
Expedition to Sús-al-aksá		
'Abdullah, son of Músa, conquers the island of Mallorca		
Taking of Ausáf	90	{ October or November, 709.
Tárik is dispatched against Tangiers		
* Ilyán lands in Spain	90	