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JUNTA DE ANDALUCIA

THE HISTORY  
OF THE  
MOHAMMEDAN DYNASTIES  
IN SPAIN:  
FROM THE TEXT OF AL-MALKARI.  
TRANSLATED BY  
PASCUAL DE CAYANGOS  
AND ILLUSTRATED WITH CRITICAL NOTES  
ON THE HISTORY OF SPAIN.  
IN TWO VOLUMES.  
VOL. II.

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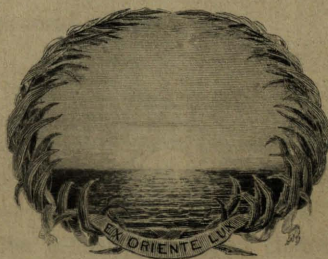
ILLUSTRATED WITH CRITICAL NOTES ON THE HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY, AND ANTIQUITIES OF SPAIN,

BY PASCUAL DE GAYANGOS,

MEMBER OF THE ORIENTAL TRANSLATION COMMITTEE, AND LATE PROFESSOR OF ARABIC IN THE  
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P.C. Monumental de la Alhambra y Generalife  
CONSEJERÍA DE CULTURA

HISTORY  
OF  
THE MOHAMMEDAN DYNASTIES IN SPAIN.

B O O K V.

CHAP. I.

*As'háb* (companions)—*Tábi's* (followers)—Al-muneydhir—Hansh—Ibn Rabáh—'Abdullah Ibn Yezíd—Hayyán—Al-mugheyrah—Hayát Ibn Rejá—'Iyádh Ibn 'Okbah—Spoils found at the time of the conquest—Misappropriated by the conquerors—Zoreyk—Zeyd Ibn Kássed—Abú Zor'ah—Mohammed Ibn Aus—'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Shamásah—Bekr Ibn Sawádah—'Abdullah Ibnu-l-mugheyrah—Mansúr Ibn Khozámah—Abú-l-hasan Ibn 'Othmán.

HAVING in the preceding Book given a short account of the conquest of Andalus by the Moslems, we propose saying a few words in the present about those illustrious Moslems who came in the suite of Músa Ibn Nosseyr, and by whose undaunted valour and fervent piety that mighty deed was achieved. And first we shall speak about the *as'háb*<sup>1</sup> (companions) and *tábi's* (followers of the companions) of the Prophet (may God favour and preserve him!) who are supposed either to have visited Andalus or to have settled in that country at the time of its invasion by the Moslems.

It is doubtful whether any of the *as'háb* (companions) of our holy Prophet were ever in Andalus. Indeed, there are not wanting Eastern writers who even deny that any of the *tábi's* ever set foot in that country. Andalusian authors, on the contrary, positively assert that one of the lesser *as'háb* resided for some time among them, and also that a considerable number of the *tábi's* entered with Músa Ibn Nosseyr at the time of the conquest, and settled in various parts of Andalus. Ibn Habíb,<sup>2</sup> for instance, assures us, that Al-muneydhir, one of the lesser *as'háb*, resided in Andalus. The same writer, who counts Músa Ibn Nosseyr himself in the number of the *tábi's*, gives the names of three other *tábi's*,—'Alí Ibn Rabáh Al-lakhmí, Hayát Ibn Rejá At-temímí, and Hansh Ibn 'Abdillah As-san'ání, all of whom are said to have left Syria in company with Músa Ibn Nosseyr, when he went to take possession of his government of Eastern Africa, and to have followed that

*As'háb* (companions).

general to the conquest of Andalus. Other writers substitute for Músa a theologian named Abú 'Abdi-r-rahmán 'Abdullah Ibn Yezíd Al-jobelí<sup>3</sup> Al-ansárí. Others again make their number amount to five by adding Hayyán Ibn Abí Hoblah,<sup>4</sup> a *mauli* (member by incorporation) of the Bení 'Abdi-d-dár,<sup>5</sup> who, they say, was originally attached to the settling army of Misr, and was afterwards dispatched to Africa by the Khalif 'Omar Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz, together with other learned theologians, that they might instruct the natives of that country in the duties of the Mohammedan religion, which they had embraced.

*Tábi's* (followers).

Besides the before-mentioned *tábi's*, the historian Ibnu Sa'íd gives the names of 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn 'Abdillah Al-gháfekí, a *mauli* of the tribe of Koraysh, who was governor of Andalus from the year 110 to 115; Mohammed Ibn Aus Ibn Thákib<sup>6</sup> Al-ansárí; Zeyd Ibn Kásed As-sekseki; Al-mugheyrah Ibn Abí Burdah Al-Kenání; 'Abdullah Ibn Al-mugheyrah Al-Kenání; 'Abdu-l-jabbár Ibn Abí Salmah Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ibn 'Auf; Mansúr Ibn Abí Khozaymah, and 'Ala Ibn 'Othmán Ibn Khattáb.

Ibnu Bashkúwál, as well as Al-hijárí in his *Mas'hab*, makes their number amount to eighteen; other writers to twenty. As to the particular place of their residence whilst they inhabited Andalus, very little is known with certainty; as those writers who have preserved us their names and patronymics content themselves with telling us that they entered Andalus at the time of the invasion, and resided for some time in that country; but of this more will be said when we come to treat separately of each of these holy men.

Al-muneydhir.

The first in rank among the illustrious Moslems who were present at the conquest of Andalus was undoubtedly Al-muneydhir, who is reported to have been both the companion and the counsellor of the Prophet (God favour and preserve him!). Ibnu-l-abbár in his *Tekmilah*<sup>7</sup> speaks of this Al-muneydhir, whom he calls Al-ifríkí (the African), and whom he counts in the number of the *as'háb* or companions of our holy Prophet. He says, also, that Al-muneydhir inhabited Africa proper until the time of the conquest of Andalus, when he entered that country in the suite of Músa Ibn Nosseyr. This latter fact he asserts on the authority of Mohammed Ar-rusháttí (from Rosetta), who held it from the illustrious theologian and traditionist 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Habíb; but it must also be stated that he (Ibnu-l-abbár) could adduce no other proof in favour of his proposition than the accounts of the two authors above mentioned. He adds, that Abú 'Abdi-r-rahmán Al-jobelí delivered traditions which he held from the mouth of this Al-muneydhir. Great obscurity hangs, likewise, over the places of birth and residence of this illustrious individual. Ibnu-l-abbár thinks that he was either born in Eastern Africa, or had resided most of his life in that country. Of the same opinion is Ibn 'Abdi-l-barr,<sup>8</sup> who in his *Isti'áb*, or

biography of the companions of the Prophet, calls him Al-muneydhir Al-ifríkí. Others entertain a contrary opinion, and make him a native of Yemen; whether from Mad'haj, or some other district, is not stated. Of this opinion is the historian Al-hijárí, who likewise asserts the fact of his having entered Andalus in the suite of Músa Ibn Nosseyr. Ibnu Bashkúwál, quoting the historian Ar-rází, says that he was named Al-muneydhir, that is, the little counsellor, because he was one of the youngest companions of the Prophet, and that Ibn 'Abdi-l-barr had preserved a traditional saying (which we hope is a true one) coming in a direct line from this Al-muneydhir, who held it from the very mouth of the Prophet. The same fact is recorded by Abú 'Alí Ibn As-saken in his work on the companions, as well as by Ibn Náfi' in his biographical dictionary of the companions, and by Al-bokhárí in his larger historical work. We shall quote the words of the last-mentioned writer. "Abú Al-muneydhir, the companion of the Messenger of God (may He favour and preserve him!), lived in Africa proper. He delivered many traditional sayings which he held from the Prophet himself, and of which the following is one: "Whoever is content to have Allah for his master, Islám for a religion, and Mohammed for a prophet, I will be a warrant to him that I will lead him by the hand into Paradise." Such are the words of Al-bokhárí, who, it must be remarked, calls him *Abú Al-muneydhir* instead of Al-muneydhir. The person, however, from whom Al-bokhárí held this tradition could quote no other preserved by that illustrious individual. Lastly, Abú Ja'far Ibn Rashíd, who not only preserved this tradition, but has mentioned its author in his work entitled *Masnadu-s-sihábah* (traditional sayings preserved by the companions of the Prophet), calls him *Al-mundhir*, and gives him the patronymic *Al-yemení*; although he does not state of what part of Yemen he was a native or a resident.

*Hansh As-san'ání.*—Ibnu Bashkúwál, quoting Ibn Wadhdháh,<sup>9</sup> says that *Hansh* was Hansh. only a by-name, and that the real name of this *tábi* was Huseyn Ibn 'Abdillah, and his appellative "Abú 'Alí;" others say "Abú Rashideyn." "Hansh," continues Ibnu Bashkúwál, "was born in Syria, and, according to Abú Sa'id Ibn Yúnas<sup>10</sup> in his biography of eminent Moslems natives of Africa, Egypt, or Andalus, at a town called San'á; he followed the fortunes of 'Alí Ibn Abí Tálíb, to whose party he was addicted; fought in Africa under Ruwayki' Ibn Thábit, and, lastly, entered Andalus with Músa Ibn Nosseyr." He is likewise counted in the number of those Arabs who assisted the son of Zubeyr in his rebellion against the Khalif 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Merwán; for, after the murder of 'Alí, whose friend and partisan he was, he retired into Egypt and joined the insurgents; thence he went to Arabia and fought under the banners of Ibn Zubeyr, until he was taken prisoner and brought before that Sultán, who caused him to be cast into a dungeon and loaded

with irons: he at last obtained his pardon and was set at liberty. Hansh passes likewise for the first man who ever filled the office of tax-collector in Africa. He died in that country, or, according to others, at Saragossa, in the year 100. Ibn Habíb, who mentions this *tábi'* in the number of those who entered Andalus with Músa Ibn Nosseyr, asserts that he was the same man who, on the discovery of Cordova from the top of the mountain-pass called *Feju-l-meydah*<sup>11</sup> (the pass of the table), began to call the soldiers to prayer, although it was not then prayer-time: being asked by his companions why he summoned them at so unseasonable an hour, he answered, "Because prayers to the Almighty shall be heard in yonder plain until " the hour of the last judgment has arrived." Time, however, has shown that this good man's prophecy was not to be fulfilled, although this tradition has been handed down by a considerable number of writers. God only knows whether it rests on a solid foundation or not. It is mentioned by Ibn 'Asákir, who, in his history of the companions of the Prophet, has treated extensively of this Hansh. The same writer (Ibn 'Asákir) agrees in making Hansh a native of San'á, a small town of Syria, which, he observes, is not to be confounded with the large city of that name in Yemen. Ibnu-l-faradhí says that he inhabited Saragossa, where he laid the foundations<sup>12</sup> of the great mosque; that he died in that city and was buried close to the gate of the Jews in the western part of the city;<sup>13</sup> and that the people of Saragossa were in the habit of saying that "the honour of preserving among them " the mortal remains of Hansh was sufficient for them:" to which may be added what Ibnu Bashkúwál says of this individual, namely, that he arranged the *kiblah* of the mosque of Elvira, and took also the level of that of the great mosque at Cordova, which we have fully described elsewhere as one of the wonders of the world.

Others pretend that as Hansh is not quoted by Syrian traditionists, but only by people who inhabited Cairo, this would imply that he lived in Egypt, not in the former country. Be this as it may, it appears certain that Hansh preserved traditions from the mouth of 'Abdullah son of 'Abbás, the uncle of the Prophet: the following is one. Hansh had a sword with a gold hilt to it: he happened once to meet 'Abdullah, who, seeing him with it, said to him, "If thou wishest to be acceptable " to thy Lord, let the hilt of thy sword be made of iron, and of no other material;" which advice Hansh instantly followed. They say that when 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Merwán invaded Africa with Mu'áwiyah Ibn Khodeyj in the year 50, he lodged at the house of Hansh, who repeated to him the above words of 'Abdullah Ibn 'Abbás, and that 'Abdu-l-malek was so pleased, that when after the rebellion of Ibn Zubeyr, Hansh fell into his hands, as we have elsewhere related, he remembered him and granted his complete pardon. Ibn 'Asákir calls him simply Hansh,

without stating, like Ibn Wadhah and the rest of the authors we have quoted, that his name was Huseyn, and that Hansh was a by-name. He may be right for aught we know, but God only is all-knowing!

Ibn Yúnas has preserved us some account of the habits and mode of life of this illustrious *tábi*, which he held in a straight line from him: he says that "Whenever Hansh, after partaking of his evening meal and finishing his daily occupation, wished to say his nightly prayers, he used to light his lamp, and place a Korán by the side of his couch, and a tub of water to perform his ablutions. He would then rise to say his prayers in the middle of the night; and if he felt himself overcome by sleep, he would sniff up water in order to rouse himself. If in reciting from his Korán he made any mistake, he would take up the book, and refer to the passage: lastly, if a beggar came up to him and asked him for food, he would not cease calling to his servants to give him what he wanted until he saw that he was satisfied."

*Abú Abdillah* [*'Alí*] *Ibn Rabáh Al-lakhmí*.—Of this *tábi*, Ibn Yúnas in his history Ibn Rabáh. of Egypt says that he was born in the year 15 of the Hijra (beginning Feb. 20, A. D. 733), better known as the year of Yarmúk;<sup>14</sup> that he was blind of one eye, which he lost at the naval battle of Dhátu-s-sawári,<sup>15</sup> wherein he fought under the orders of 'Abdullah Ibn Sa'íd in the year 34 of the Hijra, and that at a subsequent period he joined in the insurrection of the tribes of Yemen, who had settled in Egypt, against the Khalif 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Merwán. After this, Ibn Rabáh became a great favourite with 'Abdu-l-'azíz Ibn Merwán, so that when Ummu-l-baneyn, daughter of that prince, was to be married to 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Merwán, it was he who was charged by the father to conduct the bride to the bridegroom's dwelling.<sup>16</sup> However, 'Abdu-l-'azíz being in the sequel displeased with him, he was banished the capital and ordered to join the army of Africa, where he remained until the time of the invasion of Andalus, when Músa took him into his suite. It is generally admitted that Ibn Rabáh died in the first-mentioned country in the year 114 (beginning March 2, A. D. 732), or thereabouts. Ibnu Bashkúwál, citing Ibn Mu'ayn, says that the Egyptians used to pronounce the name of this *tábi* 'Ala or 'Alí, with a *fataha* on the *'ayn*; whilst the people of 'Irák always called him 'Ola, making his name a noun of the form *fo'la*; and that in confirmation of the above opinion they (the Egyptians) were in the habit of quoting the following words of his son Músa: "If any one call me Músa, son of 'Ola, making this word a diminutive of 'Ala, I shall not consider that he alludes to me."

*Abú 'Abdi-r-rahmán 'Abdullah Ibn Yezíd Al-ma'áferi Al-jobelí*.—Ibnu Bashkúwál, 'Abdullah Ibn Yezíd. treating of this *tábi*, says that he held traditions from Abú Ayúb Al-ansári and 'Abdullah Ibn 'Amru, both companions of the Prophet, and that he himself was

mentioned by several eminent traditionists, who cited him as their authority. Ibn Yúnas says that he died in Eastern Africa close upon the year 100 of the Hijra (beginning August 2, A. D. 718), and that he was a virtuous and benevolent man. There are, however, some Andalusian writers, chiefly those who were natives of Cordova, who assert that Abú 'Abdi-r-rahmán Al-jobelí died and was buried in that city, and that his tomb, which might be seen in the western quarter of Cordova, was very much visited, and held in great veneration by the people. Which of these two accounts is the true one, God only knows!

Hayyán.

*Hayyán Ibn Abí Hoblah.*—Of this *tábi'*, Ibnu Bashkúwál says that he was a *mauli* (member by incorporation) of the illustrious tribe of Koraysh; and that his surname was Abú-n-nadhar. Of the same opinion is Abú-l-'arab Mohammed Ibn Temím,<sup>17</sup> who, in his history of Eastern Africa, states that he had heard Farát Ibn Mohammed say that when the Khalif 'Omar Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz decided upon sending to Africa some men of known piety and learning to instruct the Berbers in the duties of the Mohammedan religion, Hayyán was one of the ten theologians chosen for that mission. Hayyán used to record traditions handed down to him by 'Amru Ibnu-l-'áss, 'Abdullah Ibn 'Abbás, and Ibn 'Omar, (may God be propitious to them all!). According to some writers, Hayyán died in Africa in the year 122 (beginning 6th Dec. A. D. 739); according to others, in 125 (beginning 3rd Nov. A. D. 740). Not one of the above-mentioned writers says a word about the residence of this *tábi'* in Andalus; but Ibnu-l-faradhí relates that Hayyán went to that country with Músa Ibn Nosseyr, whom he accompanied in all his expeditions until he arrived at a fortress called *Karkashúnah* (Carcassonne), where he died. "I was told," continues that historian, "by Abú Mohammed Ath-theghrí, that Carcassonne is a city distant five-and-twenty miles<sup>18</sup> from Barcelona, "and that when the Moslems conquered it, they found a magnificent church, called "by the Christians Santa Maria, wherein were seven pillars of massive silver; so "beautifully wrought, that no human eye ever saw the like of them; so huge were "their dimensions, that a man could hardly encompass one within his arms "extended."

Al-mugheyrah.

*Al-mugheyrah Ibn Abí Burdah Nashítt Ibn Kendánah Al-'adhri.*—We have no other account of this *tábi'* than that preserved by Al-hijárí in his great historical work, namely, that he held traditions from the mouth of Abú Horeyrah (may God be favourable to him!), and that he himself was cited by Málik Ibn Ans in his great collection of traditions entitled *Mowattá'*. Al-mugheyrah is likewise slightly mentioned by Al-bokhárí in his larger work.<sup>19</sup> Ibnu Bashkúwál says that he invaded Andalus with Músa Ibn Nosseyr, although it would appear that that general dismissed him from his army.

*Hayát Ibn Rejá At-temíml.*—According to Ibn Habíb, this *tábi'* entered Andalus in the suite of Músa Ibn Nosseyr. The statement is corroborated by Ibnu Bashkúwál in a compilation of his entitled "Admonition and explanation respecting those among the *tábi's* who entered Andalus,"<sup>20</sup> as well as by Ibnu-l-abbár, who professes to derive his information from one Abú-l-khattáb Ibn Wájib, who held it from the mouth of that *tábi'* himself. It must, however, be observed, that he (Ibnu-l-abbár) calls him Rejá Ibn Hayát, a name totally different from that given him by Ibn Habíb. Which of the two was his true name, God only knows!

*'Iyádh Ibn 'Okbah Al-fehrí.*<sup>21</sup>—He was one of the *tábi's* most renowned for virtue and sanctity of life. He is counted by Ibn Habíb among those pious and honest Moslems, four in number, who in the partition of the spoil made at the time of the conquest of Andalus were righteous with the men, and took no more than their own legitimate share of the plunder. As the above tradition, which Ibn Habíb held from Ibn Rabi'ah, has been preserved by the historian Ibnu Bashkúwál, we shall transcribe it at length. "I was told," says Ibn Habíb, "by Ibn Rabi'ah, 'All the people who came to the conquest of this country (Andalus) were guilty of rapine and injustice towards their comrades, by abstracting some portion of the spoil, and not sharing it with them. Four men only, who belonged to the illustrious class of the *tábi's*, are exempt from this charge: Hansh As-san'ání, Abú 'Abdi-r-rahmán Al-jobelí, Ibn Shamásah, and 'Iyádh Ibn 'Okbah.'"

We have treated elsewhere of the immense spoil found by the Moslems in some of the cities of Andalus, but chiefly in Toledo, Cordova, Seville, and Merida, which, as before mentioned, had been at different epochs the places of residence of the Gothic kings; but, since we have touched upon this subject, we cannot pass over in silence the accounts of some trustworthy men who were present at the conquest, or who lived very near the time, and whose words have been preserved and handed down to posterity through a continuous chain of doctors. Al-leyth Ibn Sa'íd,<sup>22</sup> after enumerating the rich spoil of every description, and the large masses of gold and silver, which fell to the lot of some of the Arabs who accompanied Tárik and Músa to Andalus, says that it was a common thing for the lowest men in the army to find at the plunder of a city splendid robes embroidered with gold flowers, magnificent gold chains of exquisite workmanship, and long strings of matchless pearls, rubies, and emeralds. We have also read in an historical work that the plunder found by Tárik at the taking of Toledo, whether in money or jewels, was beyond calculation, and baffled all description. It is asserted that there were found among other precious objects one hundred and seventy diadems of the purest red gold, set in pearls, rubies, and every other sort of precious stone, one thousand swords for the king's own use, several measures<sup>23</sup> full of pearls, rubies, and other gems, besides

Hayát Ibn Rejá.

'Iyádh Ibn 'Okbah.

Spoils found at the time of the conquest.

an immense number of massive gold and silver vases. So great were in many instances the eagerness for plunder and the ignorance of some of the conquerors, especially the Berbers, that whenever two or more warriors of this latter nation fell at the same time upon an article of plunder which they could not conveniently divide, they hesitated not to cut it in pieces and share it among themselves, whatever its materials or workmanship might be. In illustration of this, it is related that at the taking of Toledo, two Berbers found a most splendid carpet; it was interwoven with gold worked in stripes, and was, besides, ornamented with chain-work of the purest gold. The ground of the carpet, moreover, was sprinkled with pearls, rubies, emeralds, and every description of costly gem. They at first carried it for a while between them; but, finding it too heavy, they soon put it down, when one of them went to fetch a hatchet, and cut the carpet in two, one taking away the one half, and the other the remainder. All this, moreover, they effected quite unperceived, as their comrades, who were very numerous upon that occasion, were busy in plundering another quarter of the city.

Misappropriated by the conquerors.

The same author before mentioned, and another named Yahya Ibn Sa'd, say something about the extortions and rapine of some of the officers and soldiers engaged in the conquest of Andalus. They relate that a party of men, having collected together several valuable objects which they had concealed from their comrades, seized on some vessels, and set sail, to return to their homes. Scarcely however had they lost sight of the land, when they were assailed by a most terrific storm of wind, and they heard a voice which said, "O my God, drown them all!" The culprits then took to their Koráns and began to pray, but it proved of no avail to them; for the storm continuing with unabated fury, the ships were dashed one against another, and every soul on board drowned. It is not ascertained who the sufferers on this occasion were; for the people of Egypt, on whom the calamity is said to have fallen, deny the fact altogether; and as to the Andalusians, they say that it was the conquerors of Sardinia who met with so signal a chastisement from the Almighty. God only is all-knowing!

Zoreyk.

*Zoreyk Ibn Hakím.*—This is another of the *tábi's* who entered Andalus in the suite of Músa Ibn Nosseyr. It is so related by Abú-l-hasan Ibn An-na'mah, on the authority of the Abú-l-motref 'Abdu-r-rahmán [Ibn] Yúsuf Ibn Ar-rafá Al-kortobí, in whose handwriting he read the statement. According, however, to the Háfedh Abú 'Abdillah Al-kodhá'í, Zoreyk is not mentioned either by Ibnu-l-faradhí, or by other writers who have given the names of the *tábi's* who entered Andalus at the time of the conquest.

Zeyd Ibn Kássed.

*Zeyd Ibn Kássed As-sekseki*<sup>24</sup> is likewise counted by Ibnu-l-abbár among the *tábi's* who invaded Andalus, and were present at the conquest. He was originally

from Misr, and preserved traditions delivered by 'Amru Ibnu-l-'áss. He himself has been cited by several doctors, in the number of whom are 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Zeyyád Ibn An'am Al-ifríkí and Ya'kúb Ibn Sufyán: the latter attributes to him one of the traditional stories contained in the collection formed by Al-homaydí.

*Abú Zor'ah Ibn Rúh Ash-shámí.*—This individual is also counted by the Kádí <sup>Abú Zor'ah.</sup> Muhájir Ibn Theofil in the number of the *tábi's*. He left a son, named Moslemah Ibn Zor'ah, who cited him as his authority in several traditional sayings which he preserved.

*Mohammed Ibn Aus Ibn Thábit Al-ansárl.*—According to Ibnu-l-abbár, who read <sup>Mohammed Ibn Aus.</sup> it in the handwriting of Ibn Hobeys, this individual was also a *tábi*, and held traditions from the mouth of Abú Horeyrah, one of the companions of the Prophet. Al-homaydí speaks of him in these terms: "Mohammed Ibn Aus was an honest and religious man, remarkable for his talents and his theological learning. He commanded the Moslem fleet in the year 93 (beginning Oct. 18th, A. D. 711), and was present at the conquest of Western Africa and Andalus by Músa Ibn 'Nosseyr." Abú Sa'íd Ibn Yúnas, in his history of Egypt, corroborates the above statement, and gives besides the names of all those doctors who held traditions from him; as Al-háarith Ibn Yezíd and Mohammed Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ibn Thaubán. Another writer, 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn 'Abdi-l-hakem, who is also the author of a history of Egypt, says that Mohammed Ibn Aus was on the sea of Túnis in the year 102 (beginning July 11th, A. D. 720), and that when Yezíd Ibn Abí Moslem, governor of Eastern Africa, was put to death, he was appointed by the army to succeed him. This happened during the Khalifate of Yezíd Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek Ibn Merwán. Mohammed Ibn Aus is moreover reported to have held the government of that country until the arrival of Beshar Ibn Sefwán Al-kelebí, who, leaving his brother Handhalah to govern Egypt in his absence, took into his own hands the government of the Mohammedan provinces of Eastern Africa.

*Abú 'Amru 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Shamásah Ibn Dháb Al-fehrí.*—This *tábi'* held <sup>'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Shamásah.</sup> traditions from Abú Dharr, or, according to other accounts, from Abú Nadhrah, who held them from Abú Dharr: he held them also from 'Ayeshah, the widow of the Prophet, from 'Amru Ibnu-l-'áss, his son 'Abdullah, Zeyd Ibn Thábit, Abú Nadhrah Al-ghaffárl, 'Okbah Ibn 'A'mir Al-johaní, 'Auf Ibn Málík Al-ashja'í, Mu'áwiyah Ibn Khodeyj, Moslemah Ibn Mokhlid, and Abú Raham. The above information is borrowed from Ibn Yúnas in his history of Egypt, as well as from Ibnu Bashkúwál, who, quoting Al-homaydí and Ibnu-l-abbár, counts him in the number of the *tábi's* who entered Andalus. Ibn Yúnas adds, that the last doctor who, in Egypt, received traditions from this *tábi'*, was Harmalah Ibn 'Amrán.

*Bekr Ibn Sawádah Ibn Themámah Al-jodhámí.*—He was surnamed Abú-th- <sup>Bekr Ibn Sawádah.</sup>

themámah, and was the grandson of a companion of the Prophet. He himself was a *tábi'* and an eminent theologian. He preserved traditions delivered by several of the companions of the Prophet; as 'Abdullah Ibn 'Amru Ibni-l-'áss, Kays Ibn Sa'd, Ibn 'Obádah, Sahl Ibn Sa'd As-sá'dí, Sufyán Ibn Wahb Al-khaulání, Hossán Ibn Samh As-sadáyí, and Hiyyán. However, the name of the last-mentioned individual, who is said to have been one of the companions of the Prophet (may God favour and preserve him!), and to have been present at the taking of Misr, is differently given by Ad-darkattání, who writes it *Hiyyán*; while Ibn Yúnas is of opinion that it should be written *Hibán* or *Habán*. Be this as it may, certain it is that this Bekr preserved traditions from several of the *as'háb* (companions of the Prophet), as Abú Núr Al-fahemí, Abú 'Omeerah Al-mázeni; and, among the *tábi's* (followers), As-sa'id Ibnu-l-musíb, 'Orwah Ibnu-z-zubeyr, Rabi'ah Ibn Kays Al-hamekí, Abú 'Abdi-r-rahmán Al-jobelí, Zeyd Ibn Na'im Al-hadhramí, Sufyán Ibn Hání Al-jeyshání, Sa'id Ibn Semar As-sebáyí, &c.

There are various opinions respecting the country where this *tábi'* lived and died. Ibn Yúnas is of opinion that he died in Eastern Africa during the Khalifate of Hishám Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek. Other writers assert that he was drowned in the straits, in crossing over to Andalus, in the year 128 of the Hijra (beginning Oct. 2, A. D. 745). Abú Bekr 'Abdullah Ibn Mohammed Al-kayrwání Al-málekí, in his history entitled *Riyádh-u-n-nofús* (the bowers of the mind), says, that Abú-themámah was one of the ten theologians sent to Africa by the Khalif 'Omar Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz, for the purpose of teaching the Berbers the duties of the Mohammedan religion. Al-homaydí counts him in the number of the *tábi's* who entered Andalus; Ibnu-l-faradhí, however, does not.

'Abdullah  
Ibnu-l-  
mugheyrah.

'*Abdullah Ibnu-l-mugheyrah Al-kenání*.—This individual, who was bound by oath to the tribe of 'Abdu-d-dár, is mentioned by Abú Mohammed Al-assílí (from Arsilla) among the *tábi's* who entered Andalus at the time of its conquest by the Moslems; at least, such is the statement given by Ibnu Bashkúwál in his work entitled 'Admonition and Explanation,' &c., as derived from the above-mentioned author. Ibnu-l-abbár, however, declares that he never met with his name among those of the *tábi's* who settled in Andalus; and Abú Sa'id Ibn Yúnas counts him in the number of those who visited Eastern Africa, not Andalus. He adds, that he held traditions from Sufyán Ibn Wahb Al-khaulání.

Besides the above-mentioned individuals, the historians of Andalus have preserved to us the names of three persons who lived in more modern times, but who, having lived to an extraordinary age, are supposed to have been on intimate terms with the *tábi's*, and to have conversed with them. But in this, as in many other things, we are inclined to think that the writers of that country have been led away by their

patriotism. Ibnu-l-abbár, for instance, does not hesitate to count among the Andalusian *tábi's* one 'Abdullah, who showed himself in Andalus in very late times, and who is said to have lived to a most unusual age, since he pretended to have conversed with some of the *tábi's*. Ibnu-l-abbár adds, that according to a written statement of Al-kaysí, which he had in his possession, the pretended *tábi'* communicated traditions to Abú Mohammed Ased Al-johaní.

The same observation may be applied to Ibnu Bashkúwál, who counts in the number of the *tábi's* a black man named Mansúr Ibn Khozámah,<sup>25</sup> who lived in Cordova towards the year 330 (beginning Sept. 25, A. D. 941). That writer pretends to have read in a collection of allegations formed by the Sheikh Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn 'A'yed the following statement of facts: "Among the men remarkable for their longevity who are known to have resided in this country (Andalus), I may count Mansúr Ibn Khozámah, who arrived among us in the year 330; so I find it asserted by Al-hakem Al-mustanser-billah, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán An-násir, Sultán of Cordova, who in one of his works, which, written in his own hand, is preserved in the library (of this city), has the following words,—'I received instruction from a black man from Súdán, who came to Cordova in the year 329 (beginning 5th Oct. A. D. 740), and who styled himself Mansúr, son of Khozámah, the freedman of Mohammed, the Lord's messenger. He himself told me that he had lived in the time of the Khalif 'Othmán Ibn 'Affán, had been with 'Ayeshah on the 'day of the camel;' <sup>26</sup> had also been present at the battle of Sefayn; and, lastly, that his father Khozámah had been a liberated slave of the Prophet. Mansúr left Andalus the ensuing year, 330, and returned to Africa.'"

But all this statement has no foundation whatever, as the illustrious traditionist Ibn Hajar clearly proves in one of his works: (may God forgive him for writing upon this subject what I am going to transcribe!). "All this account of Ibn Khozámah is an absurdity, and a tissue of lies from beginning to end. Of the same stamp seems to be a tradition which I find recorded in the writings of Andalusian authors, purporting that Abú-l-hasan Ibn 'Othmán Ibn Khattáb, better known by the surname of Abú-d-donyá, had lived to an extraordinary age, so as to have been a friend of 'Alí Ibn Abí Tálib, as likewise of the most illustrious among the companions of the Prophet, of all of whom he used to converse with the people, describing their figure, manners, and countenance; that he also saw 'Ayeshah, the widow of the Prophet; and, lastly, that he arrived in Cordova under the Khalifate of An-násir, and conversed with Al-hakem Al-mustanser-billah, then the appointed heir to the throne, which he occupied after the death of his father; that in one of these conversations he met with Abú Bekr

Mansúr Ibn  
Khozámah.

Abú-l-hasan  
Ibn 'Othmán.

“ Ibnu-l-kúttiyyah, who questioned him about the battles of 'Alí, and wrote down “ the information given by him on the subject.”

This ridiculous and wholly unauthorized tradition may be read in the writings of Ibnu Bashkúwál and other Andalusian writers ; some of whom, as Temím Ibn Mohammed At-temímí, have gone so far as to declare that when they met him he was three hundred and fifty years of age, and that they were informed that his death took place in his native city in the year 320 (beginning Jan. 12, A. D. 932).

But other writers deserving of greater credit, and endowed with more sound criticism, have not hesitated to assert that the pretended *tábi*' was nothing else than a liar and an impostor. The same judgment, we apprehend, is to be passed upon the black man who forms the subject of the preceding article : he was decidedly an impostor ; and if we have done so much as to put his name among those of the honourable and illustrious followers of the companions of the Prophet, it has been merely in order to shed greater light upon this interesting subject, and to show our readers how cautious they must be in the perusal of those works by Eastern or Western writers which treat exclusively of this matter, as they are well known to abound with involuntary errors and inaccuracies like the above-mentioned. May the Almighty God keep us from listening to untruths respecting his revelations or the history of our Prophet Mohammed and his honourable companions !

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



JUNTA DE ANDALUCIA

## CHAPTER II.

Tárik—The sons of Wittiza—Mugheyth Ar-rúmi—His adventure with a Gothic princess—Goes to the East—Returns to Andalus, and settles therein—Ayúb Ibn Habíb—'Abdu-l-jabbár Ibn Abí Salmah—'Abdullah Ibn Sa'id—Habíb Ibn Abí 'Obeydah—Haywah Ibn Mulábis—'Othmán Ibn Abí 'Abdah—'Abú-s-sabáh Al-yahssobí—Abú Zor'ah Ash-shámí—Zeyád Ibn An-nábighah.

BESIDES the illustrious individuals named in the preceding chapter, who, the Tárik. Andalusian writers assert, entered their country at the time of Músa's invasion, but with regard to most of whom strong doubts and objections have been raised by the writers of this country (the East), there were many others who, though not belonging to either of the two above distinguished classes, the *as'hábs* (companions) and the *tábi's* (followers), were, nevertheless, illustrious by their birth, renowned for their exploits against the infidels, or remarkable for their piety and learning, and who became the fathers of a numerous progeny, the heirs of their virtues and talents. Enough has been said elsewhere respecting Músa Ibn Nosseyr and his freedman Tárik, who were the two principal instruments by which God Almighty was pleased to achieve the conquest of so mighty a kingdom as that of Andalus, to make it unnecessary that we should here return to the subject. But before we proceed to mention some of the chiefs who assisted in the conquest, we must here transcribe some verses which the author of the *Mas'hab*, and Ibn Alyasa' in his *Mu'arríb*,<sup>1</sup> quote as having been spoken extempore by Tárik when addressing his followers, soon after his landing on the coast of Andalus. Ibnu Sa'id, who transcribes them also in his great historical compilation, observes that he introduces them not on account of their elegance or the wit they contain, but on account of their appropriateness, and as coming from so eminent a man, who was the chief instrument of the conquest of Andalus. They are as follows :

- “ We rode a caulked ship (prepared) for our crossing ; yet Allah had well  
 “ nigh bought  
 “ Our lives, property, and families at the price of a Paradise.

“ It is true there was nothing we so ardently desired ;

“ As it was of no importance to us how we lost our lives, when we were to  
“ obtain (by it) so desirable a prize.”<sup>2</sup>

The sons of  
Wittiza.

As to the sons of Ghittíshah (Wittiza), whose treason, as before mentioned, was one of the principal causes of the conquest, we are told that, wishing to have the treaty entered into with Tárik confirmed, they appeared before this general and addressed him thus : “ Art thou, O Tárik ! an independent prince, or dost thou acknowledge “ a lord ? ” To which Tárik answered, “ I am subject to an Amír, who himself “ obeys the orders of a supreme commander.” Hearing which, the Barbarians asked Tárik’s permission to repair to Africa, and have an interview with Músa Ibn Nosseyr, that he might confirm the treaty made with them ; to which effect they begged from him a letter explaining the whole of the affair, as well as the conditions agreed upon at the time of the invasion. Tárik did as he was desired, and the princes accordingly crossed over to Africa. They found Músa in Western Barbary, preparing for his expedition into Andalus. Having been made acquainted with the nature of their request, Músa examined and weighed each of the propositions made to them by Tárik, as well as the services they had rendered to the cause of the Moslems ; but, unwilling to take upon himself to decide in their case, he sent them to the Khalif Al-walíd Ibn ‘Abdi-l-malek, then the Commander of the Faithful, holding his court at Damascus in Syria, with a letter informing him of the purport of Tárik’s message, and of the illustrious birth and good services of the petitioners. Al-walíd received the Gothic princes with great kindness, and granted them many favours. He began by ratifying the treaty entered into with Tárik, and gave each of them a deed under his own signature, whereby he secured to them, their sons and posterity, the possession of all the lands specified in their agreement with Tárik. The same document provided against any spoliation on the part of the Arabian settlers. This being obtained, the Barbarian princes returned to Andalus, where, immediately after their arrival, they were put in possession of all the estates of their father, which they divided equally among themselves. Almand, who was the eldest, had for his share one thousand farms in the west of Andalus, and, in order to superintend them, took up his abode in Seville. Al-artebásh, who was the second, had an equal number of estates in the centre of Andalus, for which reason he took up his residence at Cordova ; while the third and youngest of all<sup>3</sup> had his thousand farms in the eastern parts of Andalus, and the districts of the *Thagher*,<sup>4</sup> for which reason he established himself at Toledo. In this manner the three brothers enjoyed the undisturbed possession of their respective estates in the very heart of the Mohammedan dominions, until the eldest, Almand, died, leaving behind him one daughter

named Sára, but who is better known under the appellation of *Al-kúttiyyah* (the Gothic princess), and two sons in tender age. But, to return to the subject we have in hand :

*Mugheyth Ar-rúmi*, the conqueror of Cordova.—Al-hijári and Ibnu Hayyán call <sup>Mugheyth.</sup> him *Mugheyth*<sup>5</sup> *Ar-rúmi* (the Greek) ; but the former writer adds, that he was not, properly speaking, a Greek, and that his genealogy was as follows : *Mugheyth*, son of *Al-háarith*, son of *Al-howayrith*, son of *Jeblah Al-ghosáni*, son of *Al-ayham*. When still a boy, he was taken prisoner in an inroad which the Moslems made into the country of *Rúm* (Greece), and, at the partition of the spoil, fell to the lot of 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Merwán, who had him educated together with his own son *Al-walíd*, and, when arrived at the age of manhood, liberated him and gave him a command in the armies of Africa. Thence he crossed over to Andalus at the orders of *Tárik*, who sent him forward against Cordova, which city he took in the manner related in the fourth book of this work. After this, *Mugheyth* quarrelled with *Tárik*, and also with *Músa*, *Tárik*'s master. He then accompanied them in their journey to Damascus, and returned victorious to Cordova, where he settled and became the head and founder of the noble family well known in Andalus as the sons of *Mugheyth*, one of whom was 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn *Mugheyth*, who afterwards filled the office of *Hájib* to 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn *Mu'áwiyah*, first Sultán of Andalus.

The author of the *Mas'hab* places the taking of Cordova in the month of *Shawwál* of the year 92 (Aug. A. D. 711). He says also that the church, whither the governor and the garrison betook themselves after the taking of the city, held out for three months, and was not taken till *Moharram* of the year 93 (Oct. or Nov. A. D. 711). No account is there given of the year of *Mugheyth*'s birth, or that of his death. *Al-hijári* says that he was brought up and educated with the sons of 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Merwán at Damascus ; that he was taught the Arabic language, in which he soon became so accomplished a scholar, says *Al-hijári*, that " he composed both in " prose and in verse as much as would fill this work, were I to attempt to transcribe " it." He was likewise trained to horsemanship and all manner of military exercises, and acquired so great a reputation by his courage and skill, that he was appointed to command the army destined against Cordova, and became ever after celebrated by his prudence and deep acquaintance with all the stratagems of war. We have related elsewhere how *Mugheyth* gained possession of that city, and made the prince who commanded in it his prisoner, this being the only Andalusian prince who fell at the time into the hands of the Moslems ; some having made their peace by becoming the subjects of the Arabs, whilst others insured their safety by fleeing to Galicia.<sup>6</sup>

His adventure  
with a Gothic  
princess.

The historian Al-hijári tells a very curious anecdote of a daughter of this captive prince. He says that when the Christian, with all his family, was brought to the presence of Mugheyth, this general saw amidst the women of his harem one who shone among them like the full moon among the stars. She was the daughter of the Christian; and Mugheyth at first sight became so deeply enamoured of her charms, that he instantly made advances to his fair captive. These she most obstinately refused; upon which Mugheyth gave her in charge to one of his followers, instructing him to threaten her with immediate punishment unless she complied with his wishes within a given time. At last the damsel feigned to give way, and, having prepared a poisoned robe,<sup>7</sup> granted Mugheyth the desired appointment. God, however, permitted that Mugheyth should in time be informed of her determination by one of her servants, and he therefore declined the meeting. They say that when Mugheyth was thus warned of the impending danger, he praised God for his providential escape, and exclaimed, "By Allah! had this maiden's soul been within the body of her father, Cordova would not have been taken by night."

It is likewise related, that when the Khalif Suleymán, son of 'Abdu-l-malek, had summoned to his presence Músa Ibn Nosseyr and Tárik Ibn Zeyád, and heard the answer of the latter to the charges brought against him by his master, he punished the former by depriving him of all his riches, and resolved upon restoring Tárik to the command of the Andalusian army. Before, however, carrying into effect this determination, Suleymán consulted Mugheyth, and asked him what he thought of Tárik's administration whilst in Andalus. "His administration was such," answered Mugheyth, "that had he ordered the Moslems to turn themselves to any other point than the *kiblah* in their prayers, I really think that they would have obeyed his commands without considering that they were infringing the laws of our holy Prophet, and committing an impious act." Such was the impression which these crafty words produced upon the mind of Suleymán, that he instantly changed his purpose, and refused to give Tárik the promised government.<sup>8</sup> They say that as Tárik met Mugheyth some days after this occurrence, he said to him, "I wish, O Mugheyth! thou hadst described me to the Khalif as a man whose authority was resisted, instead of saying that the people of Andalus were so obedient to me."—"I wish," replied Mugheyth, "thou hadst left me my captive; I should then have left Andalus to thee;" alluding to Tárik's attempt to seize on Mugheyth's royal captive, the governor of Cordova, as elsewhere related.

Goes to Da-  
mascus.

According to some writers Mugheyth settled at Damascus, and remained there till he died. According to other authorities he returned to Andalus, and fixed his residence in Cordova, taking for his dwelling a magnificent building, which was