

ever after known as *Balátt Mugheyth*⁹ (the palace of Mugheyth). The authors who follow the former opinion allude, no doubt, to his first journey to Damascus, whither he is known to have repaired soon after his taking Cordova. But it is an ascertained fact that he afterwards returned to Andalus, with a message from Al-walíd to Músa, whom he had orders to bring back, and whom he accompanied to Damascus. Nor can there be any doubt that he visited Andalus a third time,¹⁰ since he or a son of his became, as we have observed elsewhere, the stock of that noble and distinguished family the Bení Mugheyth, who multiplied themselves in Cordova, and who became the centre of wealth, dignities, and power in that city, their importance and consideration reaching the highest pitch. One of his descendants, named 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mugheyth, was appointed Hájb by 'Abdu-r-rahmán, first Sultan of Cordova. But to return.

Returns to
Andalus.

We have already stated that Al-hijárí, in his *Mas'hab*, says that Mugheyth was a witty poet, and that a whole volume might be filled with his verses; in proof of which he quotes one which he is reported to have uttered extempore, addressing himself to Músa and Tárik, when they took away his captive from him:

“ I served you both with zeal, and yet you behaved ungratefully to me ;

“ The East and the West shall henceforth see me your bitterest enemy.”¹¹

As a further proof of Mugheyth's eloquence and readiness of speech, Al-hijárí cites the following answer which he once made to Músa. This general, after reprimanding him before a crowd of people, said to him, “ Hold thy tongue, O Mugheyth ! ” — “ I shall,” replied he, “ for my tongue is full of joints, and I can easily fold it “ until I come to the presence of our master, Al-walíd, son of 'Abdu-l-malek.”

Ayúb Ibn Habíb.—Another of the illustrious individuals who entered Andalus with Músa Ibn Nosseyr was (Abú) Ayúb Ibn Habíb Al-lakhmí. He was a nephew of that conqueror, being born of one of his sisters. He was present at all the principal engagements, and distinguished himself very much by his courage and skill. He was governor of Andalus for some time after the murder of 'Abdu-l-'azíz, son of Músa, whom he succeeded in his office. But, as it is our intention to treat of him when we come to speak of the governors of Andalus, we shall proceed with our narrative.

Ayúb Ibn
Habíb.

'*Abdu-l-jabbár Ibn Abí Salmah Al-korashí Az-zahrí*.—This individual entered Andalus with Músa Ibn Nosseyr, who gave him the command of the left wing of his army. He settled first at Beja, and afterwards at Badajoz. He was the father of a numerous progeny, known as the Bení Zahrá, who inhabited Seville, whither they removed soon after the conquest. To this family belonged the Kádí Abú-l-hasan Az-zahrí, Abú Bekr Ibn Kheyr, and others.

'Abdu-l-jabbár
Ibn Abí Sal-
mah.

'*Abdullah Ibn Sa'id*.—We cannot pass over in silence 'Abdullah, the ancestor of

'Abdullah Ibn
Sa'id.

the Bení Sa'íd, who, like the above-mentioned individuals, arrived in Andalus with Músa Ibn Nosseyr. His entire name was Abú Mohammed 'Abdullah Al-'ansí; he was the son of Sa'íd, son of 'Ammár, son of Yásir,¹² (may God be favourable to him!) one of the companions of the Prophet. Ibnu Hayyán, in his *Muktabis*, says that 'Abdullah was the general of the Yemení Arabs of the Damascus division, under Yúsuf Al-fehrí, and that when 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mu'áwiyah landed in Andalus, this 'Abdullah was sent by him to oppose his progress. This commission 'Abdullah gladly accepted; for there existed a mortal feud between his own family and that of Umeyyah, owing to his father 'Ammár, who had been a partisan of 'Alí, having been killed at the battle of Sefayn, whilst fighting under the banners of 'Alí Ibn Abí Tálib, against the troops of Mu'awiyah. This 'Abdullah Ibn Sa'íd was the ancestor of the Bení Sa'íd, Lords of Kal'ah Yahssob (Alcalá la Real), many princes, governors, generals, poets, and writers, such as the author of the *Mugh'rib*, and many others, of whom we shall treat at length in the course of this narrative.

Habíb Ibn Abí
'Obeydah.

*Habíb Ibn Abí 'Obeydah Ibn 'Okbah Ibn Náfi' Al-fehrí.*¹³—This individual entered Andalus in the suite of Músa Ibn Nosseyr, whom he assisted in his conquests. He was the grandson of 'Okbah Ibn Náfi', and one of the officers to whom the execution of 'Abdu-l-'azíz Ibn Músa was intrusted by the Khalif Suleymán. His son, 'Abdu-r-rahmán, whom he brought with him to Andalus, was the father of Yúsuf Al-fehrí, who governed that country for a considerable length of time, until 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ad-dákhel, the first of the Bení Umeyyah, deprived him of power and life.

Haywah Ibn
Mulábis.

Haywah Ibn Mulábis Al-hadhramí.—According to Ibnu Bashkúwál this individual entered Andalus in the suite of Músa. Ibnu Hayyán, however, postpones his arrival¹⁴ to the year 123 (beginning Nov. 25, A. D. 740), when a considerable number of Syrians, under the command of Balj Ibn Beshr, crossed over from Africa and settled in Andalus, as we shall relate hereafter. He appears to have been the chief of the Arabian tribes of the division of Hems (Emessa), who took up their abode at Seville. He rose in arms against 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mu'áwiyah, but was defeated.

'Othmán Ibn
Abí 'Abdah.

'Othmán Ibn Abí 'Abdah Al-korashí is another of the illustrious Moslems who accompanied Músa Ibn Nosseyr to the conquest of Andalus. He was present at the taking of Orihuela from Theodomir the Goth, who, as above related, defended his states valiantly, and obtained favourable terms by means of an ingenious stratagem which he devised.¹⁵ 'Othmán, afterwards governor of Andalus, was killed in the year 112 (beginning March 25, A. D. 730).

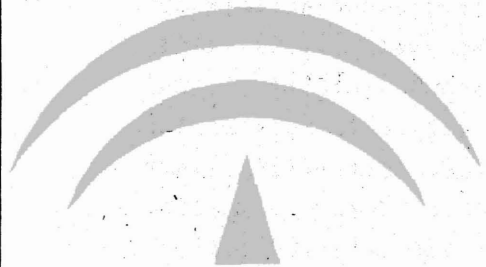
Abú-s-sabáh
Al-yahssobí.

Abú-s-sabáh Ibn Yahya Al-yahssobí.—He came to Andalus either in Músa's suite, or with Balj Ibn Beshr. Some writers follow the former opinion; the

greater number, however, hold the latter. Be this as it may, it is certain that Abú-s-sabáh was the chief of the Yeméní Arabs in Andalus when 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mu'áwiyah invaded that country. He revolted against that Sultán, who took him prisoner and had him executed in the year 139 (beginning Jan. 4, A. D. 756).

*Abú Zor'ah Ibn Rúh Ash-shámí*¹⁶ is counted likewise by Ibnu-l-abbár in the number of the illustrious Arabs who invaded Andalus with Músa Ibn Nosseyr. He was an eminent theologian, and preserved many traditional sayings respecting the life of the Prophet Mohammed, which he held from his *as'háb* (companions), and which were afterwards collected into a body by his son Moslemah Ibn Zor'ah.

Zeyád Ibn An-nábigah At-temímí.—He was one of the principal Arabian officers who witnessed the conquest of Andalus, having crossed the straits in the suite of Músa Ibn Nosseyr. He was at the head of the conspiracy by which 'Abdu-l-'azíz, son of Músa, lost his life at Seville, and was likewise one of those who repaired to Damascus with the head of the unfortunate governor. After this he appears never to have revisited Spain.



JUNTA DE ANDALUCIA

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

CHAPTER III.

Arabian tribes settling in Andalus—'ADNA'N.—Bení Hášhim.—Bení Umeyyah.—Makhzúm.—Fehr.—Ke-nánah.—Hudheyl.—Teym.—Dhobbah.—Kays 'Aylán.—Thakíf.—Rabí'ah.—Ayád.—КАНТА'N.—Arabs of Yemen.—Hostile to the Bení Modhar.—Azd.—Ansár.—Khazrej.—Aus.—Gháfek.—Hamdán.—Mad'haj.—Tayy.—Morád.—'Ans.—Barrah.—'A'milah.—Khaulán.—Ma'áfer.—Lakhm.—Jodhám.—Kindah.—Tojib.—Khatha'm.—The sons of Himyar.—Dhú-ro'ayn.—Dhú-assbah.—Yahssob.—Hawázen.—Kodhá'ah.—Huseyn.—Kelb.—Hadhra-maut.—Salmán.

Arabian tribes
settling in An-
dalus.

KNOW, O reader! that when the island of Andalus had been finally subdued by the Moslems, and the whole of its provinces reduced under the laws of Islám,—when the news of the mighty conquest had spread over the countries inhabited by the Moslems,—great numbers of the population of Syria and other distant regions felt a strong desire to visit Andalus, and take up their abode in it. Accordingly, many individuals of the best and most illustrious among the Arabian tribes left the tents of their fathers and settled in Andalus, thereby becoming the stock of the many noble families whose luminous traces are visible throughout the annals of that country.

As several Andalusian writers have left works wherein the names and genealogy of all those Arabian tribes, branches of which settled in Andalus, are given in detail, we might be spared the trouble of repeating here any portion of their writings; but this being an interesting topic, and one which, if well treated, may prove of some assistance to the readers of this our work, we have deemed it opportune to record the names of the principal Arabian tribes which sent settlers to Andalus, either at the time of the conquest, or at a subsequent period; for which end we have borrowed our information from the most approved sources.

'ADNA'N.

Bení Hášhim.

The great stock of 'Adnán, from which issued the Bení Khandáf, and from these the Bení Koraysh, and from these latter the Bení Hášhim, sent numerous families to Andalus, where they might be found under various denominations. Ibn Ghálib,¹ in his *Forjatu-l-anfus*, tells us that families descended from the noble stock of Hášhim, of the tribe of Koraysh, were very numerous in Andalus. He adds, that they all descended from Idrís, son of 'Abdullah, son of Hasan, son of

Huseyn, son of 'Alí Ibn Abí Tálíb, from whom sprung also the Bení Hamúd, who ruled for a while over Andalus after the overthrow of the Bení Umeyyah dynasty.

As to the last-mentioned family (Bení Umeyyah), we need scarcely say that it ^{Bení Umeyyah.} gave several Khalifs to Andalus, whither they went to settle in great numbers. According to Ibnu Sa'íd, they were still known in his days under the patronymic of *Korashí*; for, although they at first called themselves *Umawí*, from their progenitor Umeyyah, they afterwards changed their patronymic into that of *Korashí*, from Koraysh, the lateral branch of their parent stock. And this they did because they saw that the people had taken a dislike to them, and would never forget the conduct of their ancestors towards Huseyn, the son of 'Alí Ibn Abí Tálíb.² (May God show his favours to both!).

There was another family in Andalus who pretended to draw their origin from Umeyyah, son of 'Abdu-sh-shems: we mean the Bení Zohrah,³ who settled at Seville, where they rose to power and distinction.

As to the Bení Makhzúm, they might be found in large numbers all over Andalus. ^{Makhzúm.} To this tribe belonged the poet Al-makhzúmí, the blind, who obtained so great a celebrity by his writings. He was a native of Hisn Al-mudowwar (Almodovar). Members of the same tribe were the illustrious Wizír and elegant writer in prose as well as in verse, Abú Bekr Ibn Zeydún (Al-makhzúmí), and his son, Abú-l-walíd Ibn Zeydún (Al-makhzúmí), who gained still greater renown by his writings, and filled the post of Wizír to Al-mu'tadhedh Ibn 'Abbád, Sultán of Seville.

Ibn Ghálib informs us that there were individuals in Andalus who took the patronymic *Jamahí*, from Jamah; and many also who took that of *Dári*, from 'Abdu-d-dár. He adds, that there were likewise several families with the patronymic *Fehrí*, ^{Fehr.} from Mohárib, son of Fehr; all of whom belonged to that branch of the tribe of Koraysh which genealogists have designated under the appellative *Bení Koraysh Adh-dhawáhir*.⁴ To this tribe (Fehr) belonged 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Kattan, governor of Andalus, from whom descended the Bení Al-kásim,⁵ princes renowned in history, and the Bení Al-jadd, a family of eminent doctors and theologians. From the same stock (Mohárib, son of Fehr,) issued Yúsuf Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Al-fehrí, governor of Andalus, in whose time 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ad-dákhel took possession of that country, and founded therein a powerful and extensive empire for the race of Umeyyah. This Yúsuf was of the posterity of 'Okbah Ibn Náfi' Al-fehrí, the celebrated conqueror of Africa. Ibn Hazm⁶ adds, that individuals of the tribe of Fehr might be found in great numbers in various districts of Andalus, in possession of wealth and importance.

As to families taking their patronymics from the uncles (collateral branches) of ^{Kenánah.} Kenánah, the same writer (Ibn Ghálib) informs us that they were very numerous in

Andalus, chiefly about Toledo and the districts adjoining that city. In their number were the Bení Al-waksh, of the tribe of Kenánah, a family which produced in all ages men of the greatest merit and eminence, as the Kádí Abú-l-walíd (Al-wakshí), the Wizír Abú Ja'far (Al-wakshí), and the learned theologian Huseyn Ibn Jobeyr (Al-wakshí), the author of the travels known by his name, and of whom mention has been made under the head of his native place.⁷

Hudheyl. The sons of Hudheyl, son of Mid'rakah,⁸ son of Elyás, son of An-nadhr, fixed their domicile in the vicinity of Orihuela, in the country of Tudmír (Theodomir), and took the patronymic *Hudhell*. Teym. Ibn Ghálib informs us that the sons of Teym, son of Morrah, son of Odd, son of Tábikhah, son of Elyás, son of Modhar, were very numerous in Andalus, and that Abú-t-táhir, the author of the *Makamát Al-lazúmiyyah*,⁹ was one of them.

Dhobbah. As to the sons of Dhobbah, son of Odd, son of Tábikhah, who were a branch of the Bení Khandáf, and were issued from the great stock of the Bení 'Adnán, they were not very numerous in Andalus. Kays 'Aylán. Not so the sons of Kays 'Aylán, son of Elyás, son of Modhar, of the great stock of the Bení 'Adnán; for, according to Ibn Ghálib, they might be found in considerable numbers all over Andalus, being known under patronymic surnames taken from the collateral branches of their parent stock. Some, for instance, took the patronymic *Solamí*, from Solaym, son of Mansúr, son of 'Ikrimah, son of Hafssah, son of Kays 'Aylán. One of them was the celebrated theologian 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Habíb (As-solamí), the companion and disciple of Málik Ibn Ans. (May God be favourable to him!) Another was the Kádí Abú Hafss Ibn 'Omar (As-solamí), who held the office of Kádí-l-kodá at Cordova. Others might be found under the patronymic *Hawázení*, which they took from Hawázen, son of Mansúr, son of 'Ikrimah, son of Hafssah, son of Kays. These, Ibn Ghálib informs us, were chiefly to be met with in the neighbourhood of Seville and the adjoining districts. Others, again, took their patronymic surname from Bekr, son of Hawázen, &c. They were mostly domiciled in a town three miles from the city of Valencia, in the eastern part of Andalus, although they might also be found in considerable numbers about Seville and other principal cities.

Originally from the same stock (Kays 'Aylán) were the Bení Hazm, who must not be confounded with another family of the same name, to which the celebrated traditionist Abú Mohammed Ibn Hazm Adh-dháherí belonged; for these were originally from Persia.

Others took the patronymic *Sa'dí* from Sa'd, son of Bekr, son of Hawázen. In this number were the Bení Júda,¹⁰ who fixed themselves chiefly about Granada, where, Ibn Ghálib says, they obtained the command (of their tribe). Others took

that of *Kelábi*, from Keláb, son of Rabi'ah, son of 'A'mir, son of Sa'ssa'h, son of Mu'áwiyah, son of Bekr, son of Hawázen, &c.; others that of *Kusheyri*, from Kusheyr, son of Ka'b, son of Rabi'ah, son of 'A'mir, son of Sa'ssa'h, &c. Individuals of this family, to which belonged Balj Ibn Beshr (Al-kusheyri), governor of Andalus under the Khalifate, might be found in great numbers about Granada.

The Bení Rashík are another family issued from the stock of Kays 'Aylán, which settled in Andalus, where they were known under various patronymics; some taking that of *Fezári*, from Fezárah, son of Dhobiyán, son of Yaghídh,¹¹ son of Reyth, son of Ghattfán, son of Sa'd, son of Kays 'Aylán. Others took the patronymic *Ashja'i* from Ashja', son of Reyth, son of Ghattfán, &c. Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah (Al-ashja'i), governor of Andalus, was one of their number.

Several families might also be found, which took the patronymic *Thakefi*, from Thakíf. Thakíf; but this is a point much contested among writers on genealogy; some making them a branch of the tribe of Kays, and therefore the sons of Thakíf, son of Kays, son of Munabbih, son of Bekr, son of Hawázen; whilst others assert that all those individuals living in Andalus, who used the patronymic Ath-thakefi, took it from Al-horr Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ath-thakefi, governor of Andalus, who belonged to a tribe from the remnants of Thamúd.¹² The above-mentioned are the families issued from the tribe of Kays 'Aylán, and other branches of the great tribe of Modhar, which settled in Andalus.

As to the sons of Rabi'ah, son of Nezá, some called themselves *Asedi*, after Rabi'ah. Ased, son of Rabi'ah, son of Nezá; others *Moháribi*, from Mohárib, son of 'Amru, son of Wádígah, son of Bukeyr, son of Kossay, son of Du'mma, son of Jedílah, son of Ased, son of Rabi'ah. Ibn Ghálib tells us that the former settled in the neighbourhood of Guadix, and peopled a district to the north of that city to which they gave their name; the latter settled at Granada, where they became the stock of the Bení 'Attayah, one of the principal families of that city. Among the descendants of Ased, however, those are considered most noble who draw their origin from Jozaymah,¹³ son of Mid'rakah, son of Elyás, son of Modhar.

Some again took the patronymic *An-namarí*, from An-namar, son of Kássett, son of Hinb, son of Akssa, son of Du'mma, son of Jedílah, son of Ased. Of this number were the Bení 'Abdi-l-barr, one of whom was the celebrated traditionist Abú 'Omar Ibn 'Abdi-l-barr (An-namarí). Others, like the Bení Hamdín, a distinguished family of Cordova, took that of *Tagh'lobi*, from Tagh'lob, son of Wáyil, son of Kássett, son of Hinb.

There were also many families in Andalus who assumed the patronymic *Bekri*, from Bekr, son of Wáyil. Of these number was the family of the *Bekrián*

(Bekrítes), Lords of Onóba and the island of Saltis, one of whom was the famous historian and geographer, Abú 'Obeyd (Al-bekrí). The preceding are, to our knowledge, the branches of the tribe of Rabi'ah which settled in Andalus.

Ayád.

Respecting the tribe of Ayád,¹⁴ son of Nezár, whom others make the son of Ma'dd,—although the former opinion is the most correct,—many were the families residing in Andalus who drew their origin from it and took the patronymic '*Ayádl*. In their number were the Bení Zohr, distinguished citizens of Seville,¹⁵ and many other families which we do not mention for fear of protracting the present narrative to too great a length.

The above are the tribes of the great family or stock of 'Adnán, which had branches or families in various parts of Andalus, all being the descendants in a straight line, and without admixture of any other lineage, from Isma'il, (on whom be peace!).

KAHTTÁN.

As to the other great stock, the sons of Kahttán, genealogists are divided as to their origin. Some make them also the sons of Isma'il; others the sons of Húd. Al-bokhári inclines to the former opinion; other writers hold the latter. Be this as it may, it is evident that the sons of Kahttán, also called *Yemeniún* (Arabs of Yemen), settled in great numbers in Andalus, whither they carried the same hereditary hatred, and the same animosity, towards the sons of Modhar, and the other tribes of the line of 'Adnán, which characterized them so well in the East. Indeed, though inhabiting a country but partially subdued, and where the unrelenting enemy of God was continually attacking them, the tribes descended from the two rival stocks prosecuted as fiercely as ever their own private and inveterate feuds, by which the state was shaken to its foundations, and placed more than once upon the very brink of perdition,¹⁶ as we shall presently see in the course of this narrative.

Arabs of
Yemen.

Hostile to the
Bení Modhar.

The Bení Kahttán, however, were more numerous in Andalus than their adversaries, and always obtained a greater share of power and influence in the country. They would undoubtedly in the end have gained possession of Andalus, had not the race of Umeyyah held so long the supreme power in the East, and had not the Korayshites at a subsequent period agreed to give the command over the two parties to a member of that house ('Abdu-r-rahmán Ad-dákhel). Even after this monarch had subjected the whole of Andalus to his sway, the western provinces of the empire were still cut up and divided into districts, inhabited by tribes, clans, and families,¹⁷ who, in case of need, clung to each other for protection, and who, in times of rebellion or civil discords, were sure to stand one by another. This state of things lasted until the days of Al-mansúr Ibn Abí 'A'mir, who, as is well known, usurped the supreme power. Being a shrewed politician, his first care after his

accession was to remedy this evil by appointing to the command of the troops generals from various countries and tribes. So, for instance, the general of an army would have under his orders a portion of each tribe, and a captain would seldom command soldiers of his own tribe: by these means the wound was cauterized, civil dissensions were somewhat allayed, and peace, if not friendship, was established between the Arabian tribes inhabiting the western districts, although they not unfrequently broke out in other parts of Andalus where the same precautions had not been taken.

According to Ibn Hazm the whole of the tribes of Yemen are descended from Jodhám, son of Kahlán, or of Himyar, son of Yashjab, son of Ya'rob, son of Kahttán, son of 'A'bir, son of Shálekh, son of Arfakhshad, son of Sám, son of Núh. According to other authorities they are the sons of Kahttán, son of Al-hemeysa', son of Yoktán, son of Thábit,¹⁸ son of Isma'il. Others again make them the sons of Kahttán, son of Húd, son of 'Abdullah, (son of Húd, son of 'Abdullah,) son of Rabáh, son of Háru, son of 'A'd, son of 'Amúss, son of Arem, son of Sám; but, as the various disputes and controversies to which the genealogy of these tribes has given rise among writers on that science are well known, we need not mention them here.

Some of the tribes issued from this great stock (Kahttán), and domiciled in Andalus, drew their origin from Kahlán, son of Sebá, son of Yashjab, son of Ya'rob, son of Kahttán, and took the patronymic *Kahláni* after his name. Others took it from Azd, son of Al-ghauth, son of Thábit, son of Málik, son of Zeyd, ^{Azd.} son of Kahlán. The members of this tribe were very numerous in Andalus, as Mohammed Ibn Hání Al-albíri (Al-azdí), the famous poet, who belonged to the Bení Muhlib,¹⁹ and Ahmed Ibn Ahmed (Al-azdí), an eminent historian. Others, like the Bení Mázin, son of Azd, took the patronymic *Ghosáni*, from Ghosán, the name of a watering-place close to their habitation. To the latter-mentioned family belonged the Bení Al-kali'aí, who, according to Ibn Ghálib, were distinguished citizens of Granada, the greater part of whom, however, fixed their quarters at Sálehah, a town on the road between Malaga and that city.

Others, again, took the patronymic *Ansári*,²⁰ which they derived from the col- ^{Ansár.} lateral branches of those two tribes which assisted the Prophet when he took refuge in Medína. These were to be found in great numbers all over Andalus, a fact which suggested to Ibnu Sa'id the following observation: "It is really wonderful that no traces of this lineage should be found now-a-days in Medína, when it is notorious that they abound in most great cities in Andalus. I was told once by a man who, while at Medína, made every inquiry about individuals belonging to those families, that he was only referred to one old man of the

"lineage of Khazrej, and to one old woman of Aus." Ibn Ghálib likewise bears testimony to the great number of individuals of these two tribes who settled in Andalus, where they became the progenitors of as many families scattered over the eastern and western districts of that extensive country; and, above all, at Toledo and in the neighbourhood.

Khazrej.

The patronymic *Khazrejí*, therefore, was taken by various of these families. In their number were the sons of Sa'ad, son of 'Obádah, one of whom was Abú Bekr 'Obádah Ibn 'Abdillah Ibn Máí-s-samá (Al-khazrejí). The Bení Al-ahmar, Sultáns of Granada, in whose days the whole of Andalus became the prey of the enemy of God, (as we shall hereafter relate,) belonged also to that family, and took the patronymic *Khazrejí*. To one of the sovereigns of this dynasty Lisánu-d-dín Ibnu-l-khattíb was Wizír.

Aus.

Gháfek.

Others were the descendants of Aus, brother of Khazrej, and formed their patronymic *Ausí* after his name; others took it from Gháfek, son of Ma'dd, son of 'Adnán, son of Hazzán, son of Al-azd. However, instead of Ma'dd, some say his brother, 'Akk,²¹ son of 'Adnán, although the genealogists following the latter opinion are decidedly in the wrong. Ibn Ghálib informs us that most of the districts about Segura were denominated after the tribe of Gháfek, which settled in that country, and that to this family belonged 'Abdu-r-rahmán Al-gháfekí, the governor of Andalus, as well as the famous poet Abú 'Abdillah Ibn Abí-l-khissál Ash-shekúrí (Al-gháfekí).

Hamdán.

Among the descendants of Kahlán, some took the patronymic *Hamdání*, from Hamdán, who was the son of Málik, son of Zeyd, son of Aushalah, son of Al-khiyár, son of Málik, son of Zeyd, son of Kahlán. Their domicile was at a town still known by their name, seven miles from Granada (Hamdán).²² The Bení Dhaha, governors of Granada, belonged to this family.

Mad'haj.

Another branch of the descendants of Kahlán took their patronymics from Mad'haj, the name of a hill of a reddish colour in Yemen, or, according to others, that of the mother of Málik, son of Watta, son of Odad, son of Zeyd, son of Kahlán. Of this number were the Bení Serráj,²³ distinguished citizens of Cordova; and the Bení Tayy, who had their domicile to the south of Murcia, and took the patronymic *Táyí*.

Morád.

Others, again, took the patronymic of *Morádí*, from Morád, son of Málik, son of Odad;²⁴ to them belonged the castle of Morád (Morente?), which stood on the road between Cordova and Seville, and which, according to Ibn Ghálib, took its name from them. Many were the individuals of this family who took the above-mentioned patronymic.

'Ans.

Others were the descendants of 'Ans, son of Málik, son of Odad, and denominated

themselves *'Anst*, after him. We may count among them the Bení Sa'id, authors of the historical work entitled *Al-mugh'rib*, and lords of a certain castle in the province of Granada, known by their name *Kala'h Bení Sa'id* (the castle of the Bení Sa'id). Some of the *Mad'hajís*, however, might be found, who took the patronymic *Zeydí*, from Zeyd, who, according to Ibn Ghálib, was better known under the name of Ibn Sa'd, son of Al-'ashírah, son of Málík, son of Odad.

There is still another branch of the tribe of Kahlán, who took the patronymic *Barri*, after Barraha, son of Odad, son of Zeyd, son of Kahlán. Of this number Barraha were the Bení Al-muntaser, learned theologians of Granada. It is thus stated by Ibn Ghálib, who adds, that a portion of them took the patronymic *'A'milí*, from 'A'milah, a woman of the tribe of Kodhá'ah, who was the mother of Hárith, son of 'Oda, son of Al-hárith, son of Morrah, son of Odad; such were the Bení As-sammák, Kádís of Granada. This point, however, is far from being settled, since there are not wanting genealogists who make 'A'milah a man, and the son of Sebá, son of 'A'milah. Yashjab, son of Ya'rob, son of Kahtán; while others, who make 'A'milah also a man, say that he was the son of Kodhá'ah.

Many were also the families sprung from the above stock who assumed the patronymic *Khaulání*, from Khaulán, son of 'Amru, son of Al-hárith, son of Morrah. Khaulán. The castle of Khaulán, between Seville and Algesiras,²⁵ took its name from them: to this number belonged the Bení 'Abdi-s-salám, principal citizens of Granada. Others took the patronymic *Ma'áferí*,²⁶ from Ma'áfer, son of Ya'áfer, son of Málík, Ma'áfer. son of Al-hárith, son of Morrah, like Al-mansúr Ibn Abí 'A'mir Al-ma'áferí, ruler of Andalus, and many more that we might mention. Others, again, took that of *Lakhmí* (Al-lakhmí), from Lakhm, son of 'Amru, son of 'Oda, son of Al-hárith, son Lakhm. of Morrah, like Músa Ibn Nosseyr, the conqueror of Andalus, and Rabáh Al-lakhmí, and the Bení 'Abbád, Sultáns of Seville, and many more, who were all the descendants in a straight line from An-no'mán, son of Al-mundhir, King of Hírah. The Bení Al-bájí, who shone at Seville, and the Bení Wáfíd, also powerful citizens of that place, may likewise be counted among the families which used in Andalus the patronymic *Lakhmí*.

Others took it from Jodhám; as, for instance, Thuábah Ibn Salámah (Al-jodhámí), governor of Andalus; the Bení Húd, who were kings of Eastern Andalus, and the ancestors of Al-mutawakkel Ibn Húd, who became the absolute rulers of that country after the Al-muwáhhedún (Almohades); and lastly the Bení Mardánish, who were also lords of certain districts in the east of Andalus. Ibn Ghálib asserts, that a portion of the Bení Jodhám settled about Kala'h Rabáh (Calatrava), and that the name of Jodhám was 'A'mir, and the name of Lakhm, Málík, and that both were the sons of 'Oda.

Kindah. Others among the descendants of Kahlán took the patronymic *Kindh*, from Kindah, who is better known by the name of Thaur, son of 'Afir, son of 'Oda, son of Morrah, son of Odad; to this number belonged Yúsuf Ibn Hárún Ar-ramadí (Al-kindí) the poet: others, again, took that of *Tojibi*, from Tojeyb, the wife of Ashras, son of As-sekún, son of Ashras, son of Kindah; and lastly, there were not wanting in Andalus families issued from that principal stock (Kahlán) that derived their patronymic *Khatha'mí* from Khatha'm, son of Anmár, son of Arásh, son of 'Amru, son of Al-ghauth, son of Thábit, son of Málík, son of Zeyd, son of Kahlán. We might quote, among others, the family from which 'Othmán Ibn Abí Nesa'h (Al-khatha'mí), the governor of Andalus, was issued; however, on this point genealogists do not generally agree, for some make Anmár the son of Nadhr, son of Ma'dd, son of 'Adnán.

Kindah.

Tojib.

Khatha'm.

The preceding are all the branches of the principal stock of Kahlán which settled at various times in Andalus. We shall now proceed to enumerate those of Himyar.

The sons of
Himyar.
Dhú-ro'ayn.

Himyar was the son of Sebá, son of Yashjab, son of Ya'rob, son of Kahtán. Among his descendants some took the patronymic of *Ro'ayní*, from Dhú-ro'ayn, who, according to Ibn Ghálib, was the son of 'Amru, son of Himyar; but whom others make the son of Sahl, son of 'Amru, son of Kays, son of Mu'áwiyah, son of Josham, son of 'Abdu-sh-shems, son of Wáyil, son of Al-ghauth, son of Kattan, son of 'Oreyb, son of Zohayr, son of Aymen, son of Al-hemaysa', son of Himyar. Al-házemí,²⁷ in his genealogical treatise, pretends that Dhú-ro'ayn was the appellation of 'Ozeym, son of Zeyd, son of Sahl, &c. Be this as it may, there can be no doubt that there were many Arabs in Andalus who took the patronymic *Ro'ayní*; of this number was Abú 'Abdillah Ibnu-l-khayyátt (Ar-ro'ayní), the blind man, who was a celebrated poet.

Dhú-assbah.

Others took the patronymic *Assbahí*, from Dhú-assbah or Assbah, who, according to Ibn Hazm, was the son of Málík, son of Zeyd, one of the sons of Sebá the younger, son of Zeyd, son of Sahl, son of 'Amru, son of Kays, &c.; but who, in the opinion of Al-házemí, was the son of Kahlán. To this family is supposed to have belonged the famous Imám Málík Ibn Ans. However, there can be no doubt that the *Assbahíún* are descended from Himyar. Numbers of them were established at Cordova, where they enjoyed great consideration, and held high situations.

Yahssob.

Others took the patronymic *Yahssobí*, from Yahssob, who, in the opinion of Ibn Hazm, was the brother of Dhú-assbah. They might be found in great numbers about the castle of the Bení Sa'id, which is well known in the history of Andalus as the castle of Yasshob. Others, that of *Hawázení*, from Hawázen, son of 'Auf, son of 'Abdu-sh-shems, son of Wáyil, son of Al-ghauth: their domicile, according

Hawázen.

to Ibn Ghálib, was to the east of Seville, and in that city, where they held high appointments.

Others, *Kodhá'í*, from Kodhá'ah, son of Málik, son of Himyar, whom some make ^{Kodhá'ah.} the son of Ma'dd, son of 'Adnán, although the genealogists who follow the latter opinion are very few. Some of the Bení Kodhá'ah took also the patronymic of *Mahrí*, from Mahrah; such as the Wizír Abú Bekr Ibn 'Ammár (Al-mahrí), who usurped the kingdom of Murcia. Mahrah was the son of Jeydán, son of 'Amru, son of Al-háf, son of Kodhá'ah.

Others took that of *Huseyní*, from Huseyn, son of Namar, son of Wabrah, son of ^{Huseyn.} Tha'leb, son of Halwán, son of 'Amrán, son of Al-háf, son of Kodhá'ah. Others, *Tenúkhí*, from Tenúkh, who, according to Ibn Málik, was the son of Málik, son of Fehr, son of Namar, son of Wabrah, son of Tha'leb, who, as Al-házemí says, was the same as Málik, son of Fehr, son of Fahm, son of Kaymullah, son of Ased, son of Wabrah. Others, *Belawí*, from Belí, son of 'Amru, son of Al-háf, son of Kodhá'ah; as, for instance, the *Belayun* of Seville. Others, *Johení*, from Joheynah, son of Aswad, son of Aslam, son of 'Amru, son of Al-háf, son of Kodhá'ah. These might be found in great numbers about Cordova.

From Kelb, son of Wabrah, son of Tha'leb, son of Halwán, many families in ^{Kelb.} Andalus took the patronymic *Kelbí*. We might point out the Bení 'Obádah, of whom the Bení Jehwar, Wizírs and Kings of Cordova, formed part. Others, *'Odhrí*, from 'Odhrah, the wife of Sa'íd, son of Aswad, son of Aslam, son of 'Amru, son of Al-háf, son of Kodhá'ah; as, for example, the Bení 'Odhrah, who were chief men of Algesiras. There were, again, in Andalus families with the patronymic *Hadhramí*, ^{Hadhra-maut.} from Hadhra-maut; these abounded most in Murcia, Granada, Seville, Badajoz, and Cordova. Ibn Ghálib asserts also that they were in great numbers in Andalus, and observes that great difference of opinion existed in his time among genealogists as to the ancestors of Hadhra-maut, whom some made the son of Kahttán, and others the son of Kays, son of Mu'áwiyah, son of Josham, son of 'Abdu-sh-shems, son of Wáyil, son of Al-ghauth, son of Jeydán, son of Kattan, son of Al-'oreyb, son of Al-'araz, son of the daughter of the son of Aymen, son of Al-hemeysa', son of Himyar. Of the latter opinion is the celebrated genealogist Al-házemí.

There were also individuals in Andalus who took the patronymic *Salmání*. ^{Of Salmán.} Of this number was the Wizír Lisánu-d-dín Ibnu-l-khattíb, as we shall have further occasion to show in the course of the present work.

CHAPTER IV.

'Abdu-l-'azíz left as governor of Andalus—Marries Roderic's widow—Is put to death—Succeeded by Ayúb—Al-horr—As-samh appointed—Is killed in battle—Succeeded by 'Abdu-r-rahmán Al-gháfekí—Appointment of 'Anbasah—Rising of Pelayo—Death of 'Anbasah—'Odhra is appointed by the army—Replaced by Yahya Ibn Salmah—Arrival of Hodheyfah—'Okbah appointed by the Wáli of Africa—Invades the country of the Franks—Is succeeded by 'Abdu-l-malek.

'Abdu-l-'azíz
left as gover-
nor of Andalus.

In the absence of Músa, who, as before related, left Andalus in the month of Dhí-l-hajjah of the year 95 (Aug. or Sept. A. D. 714), his son, 'Abdu-l-'azíz, remained as governor of the country. 'Abdu-l-'azíz collected together the scattered forces of the Moslems, fortified the frontiers, and greatly contributed to the consolidation of the Mohammedan power, and to the extension of the limits of the conquest, by subduing several important fortresses and cities which had hitherto escaped the eyes of his father and Tárík.¹ His administration was in every respect that of an upright and wise prince. It was unfortunately of very short duration, the army having revolted against him, and put him to death towards the close of the year 97 of the Hijra² (beginning Sept. 4, A. D. 715), in the second year of his administration.

It is generally believed that the assassins of 'Abdu-l-'azíz had received instructions to that effect from the Khalif Suleymán, the same Sultán who, as has been related elsewhere, had behaved so unjustly towards his father, Músa. They say that Suleymán was instigated to this act of cruelty by some of his courtiers representing 'Abdu-l-'azíz as a bad Moslem and a rebellious subject. Among the various charges brought against him, one was his having married the widow of King Roderic, who was called by the Arabs *Umm -'A'ssem*.³ This woman had at the time of the conquest obtained from the Moslems security both in her person and property on condition of paying a certain tribute; she was, therefore, living unmolested in the free use of her religion, and enjoying a considerable fortune, of which she was possessed, when 'Abdu-l-'azíz became deeply enamoured of her charms, and married her. 'Abdu-l-'azíz always showed the greatest attachment to this woman; he went, they say, so far as to reside with her in a church at Seville,⁴ an act by which he raised the

Marries Roderic's widow.

indignation of every true believer. One day his wife said to him, "Why do not thy subjects bow down in thy presence, as the Goths used to do before my late husband, King Roderic?"—"Because," replied 'Abdu-l-'azíz, "such practices are contrary to our religion." Umm-'A'ssem, not being satisfied with this answer, renewed her entreaties, and 'Abdu-l-'azíz, who doted upon her, fearing lest the want of such ceremony, and the apparent want of respect on the part of his people, should diminish her attachment to him, caused a small door to be opened in front of the room where he generally sat to give audience, so that any Moslem entering his presence was compelled to bend himself in order to pass through it. He then made his wife believe that this was a mark of deference to him, and she seemed satisfied. This circumstance being rumoured abroad, and talked of among the soldiers, became, together with the suggestions of the agents of Suleymán, the cause of the death of 'Abdu-l-'azíz (may God forgive him!). 'Abdu-l-'azíz was a brave and experienced officer; he displayed great abilities as a general, and during his government many important cities were subdued by the Moslems. He was murdered, as above stated, in the last days of Dhí-l-hajjah of the year 97, after a government of two years.⁵ They say that when the head of 'Abdu-l-'azíz was brought to Damascus, the Khalif Suleymán summoned to his presence Músa Ibn Nosseyr, and showed it to him. "Dost thou know whose head that is?" said Suleymán to the wretched father. "Yes, I do," answered Músa, "it is the head of a man who fasted and said his prayers. May the curses of Allah fall on it if his assassin was a better man than he!"⁶

'Abdu-l-'azíz was succeeded in the government of the country by Ayúb Ibn Habíb Al-lakhmí, the son of Músa's sister. Ibnu Hayyán says that Ayúb was chosen by the army to command in Andalus, and that he was the first governor who resolved upon transferring the seat of the government from Seville to Cordova, and who held his court at the latter city, although other historians attribute this decision to his successor, Al-horr. Ayúb's administration lasted six months,⁷ when he was succeeded by Al-horr. "From this moment," says Ibnu Khaldún, "Andalus was governed by a succession of Amírs, sometimes appointed by the Khalifs of the East, and sometimes by the viceroys of Africa, who held their court at Cairwán. Under their rule the Arabs made incessant war upon the *Káfirs* (infidels); they took the city of Barcelona in the eastern part of Andalus, as well as the fortresses of *Kashtélah*⁸ (Castile) and those of Narbonne, subduing all the intermediate flat country towards the north-west. The Gothic nations were nearly exterminated; the Galicians, and such among the Barbarians as had escaped destruction on former occasions, were compelled to fly for refuge to the mountains of Castile and Narbonne, and to strengthen themselves in the gorges and other spots strong by

“ nature. This, however, proved of no avail to them ; for the Moslems, crossing
 “ those natural barriers which, on the side of Barcelona, separate Andalus from
 “ the continent, descended into the plains beyond them, and made incursions into
 “ the land of the Franks, the *Káfirs* becoming every where the prey of the impetuous
 “ waves of Islám. Unluckily discord and civil war broke out at times among the
 “ conquerors themselves : the consequence was that eighty years had scarcely
 “ elapsed since the conquest, when the Franks, profiting by the dissensions of the
 “ Moslems, snatched from their hands Barcelona and several other cities belonging
 “ to those distant regions. God is great ! He gives the empire to whomsoever He
 “ pleases ! ”

But to return to our narrative. When Mohammed Ibn Yezíd, who governed Africa in Suleymán's name, heard of the death of 'Abdu-l-'azíz, son of Músa, he immediately sent to Andalus Al-horr Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Ibn 'Othmán Ath-thakefí, who divested Ayúb of the command, and administered the affairs of the Moslems for two years and eight months, until he himself was replaced by As-samh Ibn Málik Al-khaulání, who was appointed by the Khalif 'Omar, son of 'Abdu-l-'azíz. According to the historian Ar-rází, Al-horr arrived in Andalus in the month of Dhí-l-hajjah of the year 98 (July or August, A. D. 717), bringing in his suite four hundred men of the principal Arabian families of Africa, who became in after-time the stock of all the nobility of Andalus. Ibnu Bashkúwál says also that the duration of his government was two years and eight months,⁹ and that it came immediately after the insurrection of Ayúb Ibn Habíb Al-lakhmí.

Al-horr.

As-samh appointed by the Khalif.

Al-horr was succeeded in the government of Andalus by As-samh Ibn Málik Al-khaulání, who, according to Ibnu Hayyán and Ibnu Khaldún, was nominated to that post by the Khalif 'Omar Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz. The first-mentioned writer says that the appointment of As-samh took place in the month of Ramadhán, A. H. 100,¹⁰ (April or May, A. D. 718); the latter says only that he came at the commencement of the second century of the Hijra. However, it was he who caused the bridge at Cordova to be rebuilt, after obtaining permission of the Khalif to that effect, as we have related elsewhere.¹¹ He also brought instructions from the Khalif to collect for him the fifth of the spoil taken from those Christian provinces which had not yet acknowledged the authority of Islám,¹² and to write a description of the cities, mountains, rivers, and seas in that country ; and this 'Omar caused to be done and sent to him, that he might the better gain a knowledge of the countries conquered by the Moslems, and estimate their resources, for he intended to make them evacuate Andalus, dreading the dangers to which they might be exposed in a distant country, away from their brethren in religion, and from the people speaking their language. “ Would to God,” exclaims Ibnu Hayyán, “ that As-samh had lived

“ long enough to complete the task intrusted to his care ; for, in their transactions
 “ with the infidels, the Moslems of this country are fast working their own per-
 “ dition, unless God Almighty, by his infinite mercy, be pleased to rescue them.”¹³

After an administration of two years and eight months, As-samh died a martyr for the faith in the country of the Franks. Ibnu Hayyán relates, that, having invaded the land of the infidels, he was surrounded by their forces, who poured on him on all sides, and that not one Moslem escaped that disastrous affair, which was well known in Andalus as ‘ the battle of Balátt,’¹⁴ and the spot itself as *Baláttu-sh-shohadá* (‘ the pavement of the martyrs’). He says also, that it was a common opinion in his days, that on the very spot where so many Moslems fell, the voice of an invisible muezzin was daily heard announcing the hours of prayer. According to Ibnu Bashkúwál and Ibnu Khaldún, As-samh was slain on the day of Taru-wiyah, A. H. 102.¹⁵

Is killed in battle.

After the massacre of As-samh and his army, the Moslems of Andalus chose for their commander ‘Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn ‘Abdillah Al-gháfekí, who is counted by Ibnu Bashkúwál in the number of those *tábi*'s who entered Andalus with Músa Ibn Nosseyr. ‘Abdu-r-rahmán is further said to have preserved traditions from ‘Abdullah, son of ‘Omar Ibnu-l-khattáb.

Is succeeded by ‘Abdu-r-rahmán Al-gháfekí.

Ibnu Khaldún tells us that this ‘Abdu-r-rahmán governed Andalus until the arrival of ‘Anbasah Ibn Sohaym Al-kelbí, whom Yezíd Ibn Abí Moslem, then Wáli of Eastern Africa, appointed to be his successor. Ibnu Bashkúwál states that this took place in the year 110 (beginning April 15, A. D. 728), that ‘Abdu-r-rahmán owed his nomination to ‘Obeydah Ibn ‘Abdi-r-rahmán Alkaysí, Wáli of Eastern Africa, and that he fell a martyr in an encounter with the Christians of Andalus in the year 115. So far Ibnu Bashkúwál, whose statement is in contradiction with what we have related elsewhere ; namely, that immediately after the death of As-samh in 102, ‘Abdu-r-rahmán succeeded him : for how could this be, when Ibnu Bashkúwál asserts that he was appointed in the year 110 ? Which of these two accounts is the correct one, God only knows. This difficulty, however, may easily be surmounted by supposing ‘Abdu-r-rahmán to have been governor of Andalus on two different occasions, as we find it stated by Al-hijárí. The following words, which we read in Ibnu Hayyán, may also be of use in clearing the obscurity :—
 “ When ‘Abdu-r-rahmán came to Andalus, in Safar, 113 (April or May, A. D. 731), for the second time, he was appointed by Ibnu-l-hajáb, Wáli of Eastern Africa. He immediately made war upon the Franks, with whom he had some sharp encounters, until his army was destroyed and he himself fell a martyr for the faith in the month of Ramadhán, 114 (October, A. D. 732), at the spot known as the pavement of the martyrs (*Baláttu-sh-shohadá*).”

Appointment
of 'Anbasah
Ibn Sohaym
Al-kelbí.

Be this as it may, 'Abdu-r-rahmán Al-gháfekí is described by Al-homaydí as a man of great courage and considerable abilities, honest in his proceedings, and impartial in his judgments: he attended in person to the distribution of the spoils taken from the enemy, which he caused always to be made with the greatest equality and fairness in his own presence. On this occasion 'Abdu-r-rahmán's administration did not last long; since he was soon after replaced by 'Anbasah Ibn Sohaym Al-kelbí, who was appointed by the governor of Africa, Yezíd Ibn Abí Moslem. According to Ibnu Hayyán, 'Anbasah was appointed to the government of Andalus in Safar, A.H. 103 (August, A.D. 721), by Yezíd Ibn Abí Moslem, the secretary of Al-hejáj, then governor of Eastern Africa. Ibnu Bashkúwál says that he introduced order into the administration, and made war on the Franks in person, and that he died in the month of Sha'bán, A.H. 107 (December, A.D. 725, or Jan. 726), after a government of four years and four months,—others say eight months. Ibnu Khaldún, who makes his government last four years and four months, says that he died a martyr in an expedition into the land of the Franks.

Rising of Pe-
layo.

“ During 'Anbasah's administration,” says Ibnu Hayyán, “ a despicable barbarian, whose name was Beláy (Pelayo), rose in the land of Galicia, and, having reproached his countrymen for their ignominious dependence and their cowardly flight, began to stir them up to revenge the past injuries, and to expel the Moslems from the land of their fathers. From that moment the Christians of Andalus began to resist the attacks of the Moslems on such districts as had remained in their possession, and to defend their wives and daughters; for until then they had not shown the least inclination to do either. The commencement of the rebellion happened thus: there remained no city, town, or village in Galicia but what was in the hands of the Moslems, with the exception of a steep mountain on which this Pelayo took refuge with a handful of men: there his followers went on dying through hunger until he saw their numbers reduced to about thirty men and ten women, having no other food for support than the honey which they gathered in the crevices of the rock which they themselves inhabited, like so many bees. However, Pelayo and his men fortified themselves by degrees in the passes of the mountain until the Moslems were made acquainted with their preparations; but, perceiving how few they were, they heeded not the advice conveyed to them, and allowed them to gather strength, saying, ‘What are thirty¹⁶ barbarians, perched upon a rock?—they must inevitably die.’” Would to God that the Moslems had then extinguished at once the sparkles of a fire that was destined to consume the whole dominions of Islám in those parts; for, as Ibnu Sa'íd has judiciously observed, “ the contempt in which the Moslems of those days held that mountain and the few wretched beings

“ who took refuge upon it, proved in after-time the chief cause of the numerous conquests which the posterity of that same Pelayo were enabled to make in the territory of the Moslems,—conquests,” adds that excellent historian, “ which have so much increased of late years, that the enemy of God has reduced many populous cities; and, that at the moment I write, the magnificent city of Cordova, the splendid capital of the Mohammedan empire of Andalus, the court of the Khalifs of the illustrious house of Umeyyah, has fallen into the hands of the infidels. May God annihilate them!”

Ibnu Sa’id was right; the forces of Pelayo went on increasing until he openly raised the standard of revolt: he was succeeded by Alfonso, the progenitor of all the Christian kings known by his name. This Alfonso resisted likewise the authority of the Moslems, against whom he carried on incessant war; his power and importance, as well as his states, increasing soon in such a ratio as not to be easily obscured. But of this more will be said in the course of our narrative.

Some writers have asserted that ‘Anbasah died a natural death as he was marching to attack the Franks, whilst others pretend that he was killed¹⁷ in an engagement with them. Be this as it may, Ibnu Hayyán and Al-hijári say that after the death of this governor, which, as before stated, happened in Sha’bán, 107 (Dec. A. D. 725 or Jan. 726), the people of Andalus elected ‘Odhráh¹⁸ Ibn ‘Abdillah Al-fehrí. ‘Odhráh is not counted by Ibnu Bashkúwál among the governors of Andalus; but both Al-hijári and Ibnu Hayyán, who include him in their number, describe him as one of the most distinguished Arabs who attended the conquest of Andalus,—a man of great probity and courage, and whose posterity might still be met with in their days at Guadix, in the kingdom of Granada. A son of this ‘Odhráh, whose name was Hishám, made himself at a subsequent period the master of Toledo, the citadel of Andalus.¹⁹ Ibnu Sa’id includes him likewise in the number of the governors of Andalus, and says that he held his court in Cordova.

However, ‘Odhráh seems only to have administered the government of the country until the arrival of Yahya Ibn Salmah Al-kelbí, who, according to Ibnu Bashkúwál, and the above-mentioned writers, was appointed by Beshr Ibn Sefwán Al-kelbí, Wáli of Africa, at the solicitation of the Andalusians, who, on the death of ‘Anbasah, sent to ask him for a new governor. Yahya landed in Andalus towards the end of the year 107; some authors add in the month of Shawwál. He ruled Andalus for a period of eighteen months, some say two years and a half, during which time he led no army in person against the infidels. Ibnu Hayyán’s narrative agrees on this point with that of Ibnu Bashkúwál. Cordova seems to have been the place of residence of Yahya. Ibnu Khaldún, who includes him in his list of Andalusian governors; repeats this statement, and adds that

Death of ‘Anbasah.

‘Odhráh Ibn ‘Abdillah is appointed by the army.

Is replaced by Yahya Ibn Salmah.

Yahya was the first governor of Andalus appointed by the Wális of Africa, who, from that time, always provided the governors of that country. The same writer [Ibnu Khaldún] agrees in making the duration of Yahya's rule two years and a half.²⁰

'Othmán Ibn Abí Nesah Al-khath'amí,²¹ whom others call Al-lakhmí, was the next governor of Andalus. According to Ibnu Bashkúwál and Ibnu Khaldún, 'Othmán was appointed to that post by 'Obeydah Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán As-solamí, Wáli of Eastern Africa, in the month of Sha'bán, A. H. 110 (Nov. or Dec. A. D. 728). The new governor fixed his residence at Cordova. He was, however, deposed five months afterwards, and replaced by Hodheyfah Ibn Al-ahwass Al-kaysí, who, according to Ibnu Bashkúwál, was also nominated by the same Wáli of Africa, 'Obeydah.

Arrival of
Hodheyfah.

Hodheyfah arrived in Andalus in the month of Rabi'l-awal, A. H. 110 (June or July, A. D. 728); he was almost immediately removed, some authors making the duration of his government only one year. However, historians do not agree as to the period of his administration; some supposing that it preceded that of 'Othmán, others that it came afterwards.²²

Hodheyfah was succeeded by Al-haytham Ibn 'Obeyd Al-kelebí,²³ who, according to Ibnu Bashkúwál, was appointed by 'Obeydah Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán, the Wáli of Africa, and arrived in Andalus in the month of Moharram, A. H. 111 (April, A. D. 729). Ibnu Khaldún says that he invaded the country of Makunshah,²⁴ and reduced it to the sway of Islám. Al-haytham died in the year 113 (beginning 14th March, A. D. 731), after a government of two years and some days, which other historians make two years and four months.²⁵ This governor also held his court at Cordova.

He was succeeded by Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Al-ashja'í, whom the people of Andalus appointed to command them.²⁶ Ibnu Bashkúwál, from whom the preceding statement is borrowed, describes him as a virtuous and upright man. He administered the affairs of the Moslems and presided over their prayers for the short period of two months, after which time he appointed to the government of the country 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn 'Abdillah Al-gháfekí, the same Amír who had performed those duties on a former occasion, and whose administration has already been noticed by us. This time 'Abdu-r-rahmán was appointed by 'Obeydullah Ibnu-l-hajáb, Wáli of Africa, of which country Andalus was a dependency. 'Abdu-r-rahmán remained in the government until he was slain in battle with the Franks, as before related, in the year 116, or, according to other authorities, in the year 115,²⁷ after an administration of one year and eight months, though there is a tradition making it two years and six months. Ibnu Bashkúwál says that the

expedition in which 'Abdu-r-rahmán fell was known in Andalus as *Ghazwatu-l-balátt* (the expedition of *Balátt*); but the same has been said elsewhere of As-samh. 'Abdu-r-rahmán held his court at Cordova.

According to Ibnu Khaldún, who puts the death of 'Abdu-r-rahmán in the year 114, this governor must have been absent from Andalus when he was nominated; for the words of that historian run as follow: "After this, 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn 'Abdillah Al-gháfekí was appointed to the government of Andalus by 'Obeydullah 'Ibnu-l-hajáb, Wáli of Eastern Africa. He arrived in Andalus in the year 113, and made war upon the Franks, with whom he had several encounters; but in the month of Ramadhán of the year 114 (Oct. A. D. 732), his army was cut to pieces at a spot called *Baláttu-sh-shohadá* (the pavement of the martyrs), he himself being in the number of the slain. This disastrous battle is well known among the people of Andalus as the battle of *Balátt*. 'Abdu-r-rahmán had governed the country one year and eight months." But to return.

After 'Abdu-r-rahmán's death, 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Kattan Al-fehrí, whom Al-hijári includes in his list of Andalusian governors, obtained the command. 'Abdu-l-malek is considered by the said author (Al-hijári) as the stock whence the family of the Bení Al-kásim, Lords of Al-bont (Puente), and the Bení Al-jadd, one of the principal families of Seville, are issued. 'Abdu-l-malek is likewise mentioned by Ibnu Bashkúwál, who says that he was appointed to the government of Andalus in the month of Ramadhán, A. H. 114 (Oct. or Nov. A. D. 732), and that his administration lasted two years,²⁸ although there are not wanting authors, as Al-wákedí, who make four years the duration of his government; but those who do so have, no doubt, been led into error by the circumstance of 'Abdu-l-malek's governing the country twice; since, as we shall presently show, he ruled over Andalus before and after 'Okbah. He conducted various expeditions into the territory of the Basques, one especially in 115, from which he returned victorious, and loaded with spoil. He is, however, described by several writers as a man of cruel propensities, and excessive rigour in his judgments; owing to which he was ignominiously deposed in the month of Ramadhán, 116 (Oct. or Nov. A. D. 734), and replaced by 'Okbah Ibnu-l-hejáj As-selúli, who came to Andalus by the appointment of 'Obeydullah Ibnu-l-hajáb, the Wáli of Africa. The new governor was a man of great justice and irreproachable conduct, virtues which made him the idol of the Moslems. During the five years of his administration he made many successful inroads into the country of the Franks, and hunted down the infidels in every direction, taking their cities and castles by force of arms, until the Moslem settlements reached as far as Narbonne, and their advanced posts²⁹ and military stations were established on the banks of the Rodanoh (Rhône). He had previously, in the year 111 (beginning April 4, A. D. 729),

'Okbah appointed by the Wáli of Africa.

Invades the country of the Franks.

converted the city of Narbonne into a sort of citadel, from which the Moslems might sally out and scour the neighbouring country, for which purpose he stored it with arms and provisions; and many were the expeditions which he himself led into the country of the Franks. But whilst intent upon extending his conquests, 'Okbah lost no opportunity of spreading the religion of Islám; for, whenever he took prisoners, he never would order their execution without previously inviting them to embrace the only true religion, and setting before their eyes the gross errors and impositions of their creed; and this plan answered so well, that thousands of infidels were converted at his hands.

Is succeeded
by 'Abdu-l-
malek.

'Okbah arrived in Andalus in the year 117, others say in the year before. He was succeeded by 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Kattan, for the second time, although the manner in which this was effected is differently stated. Ibnu Khaldún says, "In the year 121 'Abdu-l-malek rose against 'Okbah, deposed him from his government, and put him to death, or, according to others, expelled him from the country." Ibnu Bashkúwál's statement is, that 'Abdu-l-malek revolted against 'Okbah, seized his person, and deprived him of the command of Andalus; but he says that it was not clear whether he had him secretly put to death, or whether he merely banished him the country.³⁰ Both authors, however, agree in saying that this happened in the year 121 (beginning Dec. 17, A. D. 738), and that the usurper retained the command during the remainder of that year and the two following, 122 and 123, until Balj came from Africa with the Syrian troops, and, having subdued Andalus, made 'Abdu-l-malek his prisoner, and had him crucified in the month of Dhí-l-ka'dah of the year 123. 'Okbah held his court at Cordova.

Ar-rázi's account differs considerably from the preceding. He says, "In the month of Safar of the year 123 (Dec. A. D. 740, or Ján. 741), during the Khalífate of Hishám, son of 'Abdu-l-malek, the people of Andalus revolted against 'Okbah, and appointed in his stead 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Kattan, for the second time. 'Okbah had governed Andalus for a period of six years and four months; he died at Carcassonne³¹ in the same month (Safar, A. H. 123)." However, we find that both Ibnu Khaldún and Ibnu Bashkúwál give him only five years' government. Be this as it may, certain it is that 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Kattan usurped the power in Andalus, and ruled as master over that country until the arrival of Balj Ibn Beshr, who, escaping from the defeat of the Syrian army by the Berbers, at a place in Africa called Mulwiyah, took refuge in Andalus with the remainder of the Syrian troops; some say in the year 123, others in 124. Balj made war upon 'Abdu-l-malek, whom he defeated and took prisoner, putting him to death in the month of Dhí-l-ka'dah, 123 (Sept. or Oct. A. D. 741), ten months after his usurpation of the power. They say that Balj caused his adversary, Ibn Kattan, to be crucified in a

field outside of Cordova, on the opposite bank of the river, and close to the head of the bridge, after causing a hog to be placed at his right hand, and a dog at his left. In that state did the body of the unfortunate 'Abdu-l-malek remain for a considerable time, until some of his friends and clients stole his mangled remains one night, and buried them. The spot where this lamentable execution took place was long after known as *Masslab Ibn Kattan*, 'the place of crucifixion of Ibn Kattan.' A few years after this event, the government of Andalus having devolved on his cousin, Yúsuf Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Al-fehrí, Umeyyah, the son of the executed governor, applied to him for permission to build a mosque on the spot; and, having obtained it, he erected a handsome temple, which was called *Mesjid Umeyyah* (the mosque of Umeyyah), after the name of its founder; and thus did the spot lose its former name. They say that when 'Abdu-l-malek was executed he was nearly ninety years old; but of this more will be said when we come to treat about Balj.



JUNTA DE ANDALUCIA

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

CHAPTER V.

General rising of the Berbers in Africa—Kolthúm is sent against them—Is defeated and replaced by Hondhalah—The Berbers of Andalus rise against the Arabs—They defeat 'Abdu-l-malek—The Syrians under Balj come to his assistance—They revolt against him—They take him prisoner—Put him to death—The sons of 'Abdu-l-malek march against Balj—Balj is killed in the engagement—The Syrians appoint Tha'lebah—Their wars with the Berbers—Arrival of Abú-l-khattár—Is defeated, and taken prisoner—Makes his escape—Thuábah's nomination confirmed by the Wáli of Africa—Battle of Shekudah—Death of Abú-l-khattár—The grandsons of Wittiza—Yusúf Al-fehrí is appointed by the army—Several chiefs resist his authority—He defeats them in succession—Chronology of the governors of Andalus.

General rising
of the Berbers
in Africa.

WE have alluded elsewhere to the rising of the Berbers, both in Andalus¹ and in Africa, where they had frequently cut to pieces the forces dispatched against them. About this time, especially, elated at their past success, they aimed at taking the empire from the hands of the Arabs. Thus it occurred: when the Khalif Hishám Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek, who succeeded his brother Yezíd Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek in the year 105 of the Hijra (beginning June 9, A. D. 723), received intelligence of the revolt of the Berbers in *Maghribu-l-akssá* (Western Africa) and in Andalus, and how they had shaken off the yoke of the Arabs, and denied all obedience to him, resisting the authority of his officers, and committing all sorts of excesses and depredations throughout the country, he was greatly displeased, and decreed the immediate removal of 'Obeydullah Ibnu-l-hajáb, then governor of Africa. This done, he appointed to succeed him Kolthúm Ibn 'Iyádh Al-kusheyrí, who left Syria with a considerable army to make war upon the rebels.

Kolthúm
is sent
against them.

With these forces, which, added to the African garrisons, amounted to no less than seventy thousand men, Kolthúm took the field, and marched against the chief of the insurrection, named Meysarah, a Berber, who had assumed the name and authority of the Khalif in Africa. When the two armies met, the Moslems were defeated with great loss; and their general, Kolthúm, being wounded, was on the point of falling into the hands of his enemies. He, however, contrived to make his escape,² and shut himself up in the castle of Ceuta. Among the Arabs who

took refuge in that fortress was a nephew of Kolthúm, named Balj Ibn Beshr Al-kusheyrí.

When the news of this disaster reached Syria, Hishám was mightily displeased. Is defeated; and replaced by Hondhalah. Wishing to wash out the injury which the Moslems had sustained, he dispatched another army under the command of Hondhalah Ibn Sefwán Al-kelbí, who, immediately after his arrival, attacked the Berbers, and defeated them in several bloody encounters. But in the interval between the defeat of the Arabs and the arrival of Hondhalah, Balj and his uncle Kolthúm, with the relics of the Syrian army,³ were closely besieged in Ceuta by the Berbers. So effectually was the city surrounded, and so vigorous were the attacks of the enemy, that the besieged began to feel the scarcity of provisions, and were reduced to the greatest extremity. In this conflict they sent to implore the assistance of their brethren, the Moslems of Andalus; but 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Kattan, who was then governor of that country, fearing lest, if he extricated them from their dangerous position, they might afterwards disturb him, refused to grant them any assistance. However, the news of their danger having become known throughout Andalus, there were not wanting some generous and pious men who flew to their relief, or who sent them stores and provisions. Zeyyád Ibn 'Amru Al-lakhmí,⁴ among others, freighted two vessels loaded with provisions, by means of which he actually saved them from starvation. But no sooner was 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Kattan apprised of this act of disobedience to his orders, than he caused Zeyyád to be immediately arrested and brought to his presence, when, after reproaching him with his disobedience, he had him punished with seven hundred lashes. Nor did Ibn Kattan's vengeance end here: some time after, under the pretence that he was trying to form in the army a party against him, he ordered Zeyyád to be first deprived of his sight, and then beheaded and crucified, having at his left hand a dog.

It so happened about this time that the Berbers of Andalus, having heard of the victories which their brethren of Africa had gained over the Arabs, shook off all allegiance to the Moslems of Andalus,⁵ and imitated in every respect the example of their countrymen. Having elected a chief of their own, they fought several battles with the troops of 'Abdu-l-malek, whom they defeated on more than one occasion. The Berbers of Andalus rise against the Arabs. When Ibn Kattan saw this, he began to fear lest the Berbers should entirely overpower his forces, and get possession of the country. They defeat 'Abdu-l-malek. Perceiving therefore that the rebels, proud of the victories gained over his arms, intended to march against him and besiege his capital, Cordova, he bethought himself of calling to his aid Balj Ibn Beshr and the Syrian adventurers who followed his banners; thinking that they would gladly embrace any opportunity to revenge their past defeats on the Berbers of Andalus. He accordingly wrote to Balj,

inviting him to come over, and promising great rewards to him and his troops in case they should succeed in reducing the Berbers. When Balj received Ibn Kattan's letters, his uncle Kolthúm was just dead; so that, seeing no hope of promotion or advantage in Africa, and being moreover unable to extricate himself from his perilous position, that chief readily accepted the offer made to him, and crossed over to Andalus. On the arrival of his Syrian auxiliaries, Ibn Kattan failed not to receive them with the greatest courtesy, making them extensive grants of land, and conferring on them many other favours. It was, however, previously agreed between the two parties, that as soon as their united forces had exterminated the Berbers, Balj and his Syrians should return to Africa; in security for which they were to give 'Abdu-l-malek a certain number of hostages. These conditions being mutually agreed upon, the Syrians were divided into two corps, the command of which was given by 'Abdu-l-malek to his two sons, Kattan and Umeyyah, who marched immediately against the Berbers, who by that time had collected together considerable forces. The two armies met soon afterwards, when, after a most desperate and well contested battle, the wheel of fortune turned against the Berbers, and they were defeated, notwithstanding their forces were so numerous as to render it impossible for any but Allah, their Creator, to estimate their amount. The Arabs pursued them with great slaughter through the provinces of Andalus, until their fugitive remains reached the extreme frontiers of the Mussulman empire, or succeeded in hiding themselves from the eyes of the Syrian hawks.

The Syrians under Balj come to his assistance.

In the mean while Balj and his followers were elated with success; their nostrils swelled with pride; their hands were filled with spoils; their strength and importance waxed greater; their ambition was kindled; they broke the agreements they had entered into, and forgot the conditions they had signed; and when Ibn Kattan, agreeably to their engagements, requested them to leave Andalus, they refused to do so, making all sorts of excuses to put off their departure. At last, throwing off the mask of dissimulation, they began to complain bitterly of the injuries received at the hands of Ibn Kattan, when, being besieged in Ceuta, he not only would not give them any assistance, but had besides sentenced and put to death, as related elsewhere, an Arab, who, in violation of his orders, had sent them provisions and stores: they declared themselves in open rebellion, deposed Ibn Kattan, and appointed in his stead their general, Balj Ibn Beshr. The new governor was therefore acknowledged throughout the country; the troops, even those of Ibn Kattan, having declared in his favour. After this, Balj was advised by his followers to put Ibn Kattan to death;⁶ but this he would not do, in consequence of which the people of Yemen showed their discontent, and said to him: "Thou wishest to spare " Ibn Kattan because he belongs to the tribe of Modhar, and is therefore one of thy

They revolt against him.

They take him prisoner.

“ kindred. By Allah! unless thou deliver him immediately into our hands, we
 “ swear not to obey thy commands.” Hearing which, and seeing his men de-
 termined to have their revenge, Balj ordered the deposed governor into his presence,
 and delivered him into the hands of the infuriated soldiery. The author whose
 narrative we transcribe says, that 'Abdu-l-malek was a tall and muscular old man,
 resembling a young ostrich; he was then ninety years of age.⁷ When young, he
 had been present at the famous battle of Al-hárrah,⁸ fought between the Syrians
 and the people of Medínah. While the executioners were binding his hands,
 one of them addressed him thus: “ We have thee at last; thou didst once
 “ escape from our swords at the battle of Al-hárrah; after which thou doomedst
 “ us to eat dogs and the skins of animals, and didst refuse us all supplies, that we
 “ might all die in Ceuta from hunger and thirst; but thou art now in our hands,
 “ and revenge must have its course.” 'Abdu-l-malek was instantly beheaded, and Put him to death.
 crucified in the manner above described.

By the death of 'Abdu-l-malek, the government of Andalus devolved on Balj The sons of 'Abdu-l-malek march against Balj.
 the Syrian, as above mentioned; but he had soon to contend against Kattan and
 Umeyyah, the two sons of the deceased, who, assisted by the tribe of Fehr, and
 by all the discontented, and many others who took offence at the execution of the
 late governor, advanced towards Cordova at the head of a considerable army.
 Balj went out to meet them, and gave them battle; but although fortune proved
 favourable to his arms, and the Fehrtes were defeated, he himself was mortally
 wounded, and died soon after the action, in the year 124, one year or so after his
 usurpation of the power. The particulars of this engagement are thus described by
 a trustworthy historian:—“ When Kattan and Umeyyah, the two sons of 'Abdu-l-
 “ malek, heard of their father's execution, they fled from Cordova, and, having
 “ collected together some forces, swore to revenge their father's blood. They
 “ were soon joined not only by all the Arabian tribes which had settled⁹ in Andalus
 “ previous to the arrival of the Syrians, and who were envious at their success,
 “ but by the Berbers themselves, who from all parts of the country now flocked
 “ under their standard. Among the former was 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Habíb Ibn
 “ Abí 'Obeydah Ibn 'Okbah Ibn Náfi' Al-fehrí,¹⁰ one of the generals of the army,
 “ who had hitherto followed the party of Balj; but who, seeing the barbarous
 “ retaliation committed on his cousin 'Abdu-l-malek, deserted the banners of that
 “ chief, and passed over to the enemy with a considerable body of troops. Their
 “ ranks were further increased by the arrival of 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn 'Alkamah
 “ Al-lakhmí, governor of Narbonne, the bravest knight in Andalus, who likewise
 “ embraced their party: the combined forces of the rebels, amounting to upwards
 “ of one hundred thousand men, then marched to besiege Balj in Cordova. The

“ Syrian general, being an experienced and valiant warrior, was not taken un-
 “ awares: he went out to meet them at the head of twelve thousand cavalry,
 “ without including in this number a large body of his own slaves, which he had
 “ formed into a division, and various tribes of the Beladí¹¹ Arabs, who were
 “ ranged under his banners. When the two armies met, the Syrians fought with
 “ desperate valour, performing feats of arms the like of which never before were
 “ witnessed. In the midst of the engagement, however, Ibn 'Alkamah thus
 “ addressed his followers: ‘ Show me where Balj is, that I may look for him,
 “ transfix him with this my spear, or, by Allah! die at his hands.’ Upon which one
 “ of his borderers¹² pointed out to him the spot where Balj was, and Ibn 'Alkamah
 “ made a desperate charge at the head of his own men. The Syrian knights,
 “ unable to withstand the shock, gave way, and a passage was thus opened which
 “ enabled Ibn 'Alkamah to penetrate into the middle of their ranks. Having
 “ reached the spot where Balj fought, he wounded him twice with his spear, and
 “ threw him off his saddle. Notwithstanding this mishap the Syrians fought so
 “ well, that after some time the Beladí Arabs were completely routed and took to
 “ flight, being closely pursued by the Syrians, who made great slaughter among
 “ them, and took many prisoners; victory thus remaining to those who had lost
 “ their general in the action.”¹³ This battle, and the death of Balj, who, as we have
 already observed, died of his wounds two days after,¹⁴ happened in the month of
 Shawwál, A. H. 124 (Sept. A. D. 742), eleven months¹⁵ after his coming into power.
 Like his predecessors, Balj held his court at Cordova.

Balj is killed
 in the engage-
 ment.

The Syrians
 appoint
 Tha'lebah.

After the death of their general, the Syrians appointed to succeed him Tha'lebah
 Ibn Salámah Al-'ámelí, by others called Al-jodhámí;¹⁶ but before we proceed any
 further, we think it important to observe that the Arabs who entered Andalus with
 Balj were known by the name of *Shámiín* (people of Shám or Syria), to distinguish
 them from those who were already in that country, and came at the time of the
 conquest or soon after it: these were called *Beladíín*. But to return; after
 the death of Balj, as related, Tha'lebah Ibn Salámah Al-'ámelí was appointed by the
 Syrians to govern the country, in virtue of a provision received from the Khalif
 Hishám to that effect. Tha'lebah ruled the country with great moderation and
 justice. Ibnu Khaldún says “ that he governed it for a period of two years,
 “ although his authority was not acknowledged for more than ten months;” his
 partiality for the Yemení Arabs having become the cause of the desertion of the
 tribe of Fehr, and of the civil wars which ensued. It happened thus: soon
 after the appointment of Tha'lebah, the first Andalusian settlers from among the
 Arabs and the Berbers resolved upon revenging the outrages they had received at
 the hands of the Syrians, and accordingly made war upon Tha'lebah, whom they

Their wars
 with the
 Berbers.

besieged in Merida, where he had taken refuge. When the rebels saw Tha'lebah shut up within the walls of that city, they were greatly rejoiced, and doubted not of the victory: they thought that their enemy could not escape them, and would ere long be obliged to give himself up for want of provisions. In this security, and trusting in their numbers, the besiegers were scattered over the plain before Merida, without the least order or vigilance. They even began to make preparations for the solemnization of an approaching festival;¹⁷ which being observed by Tha'lebah, he chose the moment when they were most careless, and at sunrise of the day in which they were to celebrate their festival, he made a sally at the head of his garrison, and succeeded in routing them completely, killing great numbers of them; besides taking one thousand prisoners, with all their families¹⁸ and children. He then returned to Cordova, where no less than ten thousand captives, or perhaps more, taken by the different divisions of his army after the defeat before the walls of Merida, were brought to him from various parts of the country. Tha'lebah then encamped outside of Cordova with his troops. It was on a Thursday; and on the following day, after prayers, it was his intention to put the whole of his ten thousand prisoners to the sword. Friday came on, and every one present expected to see the massacre of the prisoners commence; when, lo! the Khalif's banner fluttered in the distance, and, soon after, Abú-l-khattár Husám Ibn Dhirár Al-kebí, who came to take possession of the government, made his appearance.

Ibnu Khaldún says that this Abú-l-khattár came to Andalus by the appointment of Hondhalah Ibn Sefwán, Wáli of Africa, with instructions to re-establish public order, and appease the troubles excited by the contending parties. He sailed from the port of Túnis in the month of Moharram of the year 125 (Nov. A. D. 742). Ibnu Hayyán has words to the same effect, and adds that the reigning Khalif at the time was Al-walíd Ibn Yezíd Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek Ibn Merwán: he places the arrival of Abú-l-khattár in Cordova in Rejeb, 125 (May, 743), after Tha'lebah had governed the country for ten months.

Arrival of
Abú-l-khattár.

"No sooner," continues Ibnu Khaldún, "did Abú-l-khattár land in Andalus than all parties hastened to put down their arms. Tha'lebah himself, Ibn Abí Nes'ah,¹⁹ and the two sons of 'Abdu-l-malek, went out to meet him, and swore allegiance. Abú-l-khattár treated them all kindly; and Tha'lebah, the late governor, returned to the East, where he attached himself to Merwán Ibn Mohammed, whom he followed in most of his campaigns."²⁰

Abú-l-khattár is generally described as a brave and generous man, and endowed with much prudence and great talents for administration. Finding that the settlers from Syria were very numerous in Andalus, and that Cordova could no longer hold them, he scattered them over the country, and gave them lands to

settle in. He gave Elvira and the surrounding country to the people of Damascus, who, finding it resemble their native country, called it *Shám* (Damascus): the people of Hems (Emessa) he caused to settle at Seville, which received also the name of *Hems*. Jayyen (Jaen) was given up to the people of Kenesrín, and called also by that name, *Kenesrín*; the people of Al-urdán had as their share Rayah and Malaga, both of which they named *Al-urdán*; Shídhúnah, or by others named Sherish (Xerez); fell to the lot of the people of Palestine, and was therefore called *Filistín*. The Egyptians had Tudmír, which, in imitation of the other settlers, they called *Misr*; ²¹ and lastly, the people of Wásit received Cabra and the neighbouring districts as their share.

According to Ibnu Hayyán, Abú-l-khattár was an excellent poet: he also evinced great talents for administration, and his government at first was just and mild, though he afterwards showed some inclination to favour the Yemení Arabs in their feuds against the Modharites, and affronted the tribe of Kays, which is a branch of the latter; the consequence of which was that civil war ²² broke out afresh, and raged with more violence than ever. The cause of the war is thus related by the historians: Abú-l-khattár had always shown himself partial to the Arabs of Yemen. One day a man belonging to his own tribe had an altercation with a man of the tribe of Kenánah, and although the case was clearly proved against the Yemení, who was a cousin of Abú-l-khattár, the governor, swayed by love for his own people, ²³ decided in favour of his cousin. The Kenání then went to see As-samíl Ibn Hátim Ibn Shamr Al-kelábí, surnamed Abú-l-jaushan, and told him of Abú-l-khattár's injustice. Now this As-samíl was one of the principal chiefs ²⁴ of the Bení Modhar; he hated tyranny and oppression, and could not suppress his indignation when he heard of the outrage inflicted on one of his own people, whose rights he was always the first to defend and support. He goes immediately to see Abú-l-khattár, and reproaches him with his conduct in language not very moderate; upon which Abú-l-khattár answers with abuse: As-samíl replies, and things go so far that Abú-l-khattár orders his guards to seize him, raise him from his seat, and put him out of the room. ²⁵ They relate that in the scuffle As-samíl received some blows in the nape of his neck, by which his turban was thrown on one side; and that as he was going out of the Amír's palace a man who was standing at the door said to him, "O Abú-l-jaushan, what is the matter with thy turban? By Allah! "it is all on one side."—"Thou art right, man," said As-samíl, "but I trust "my people will soon put it right for me." Saying which, he immediately retired to his dwelling, and sent for his friends and clients, who came to him in haste as soon as they heard of the occurrence. When they were all assembled, As-samíl begged them to stay with him; and when the shades of night had