

covered the earth, he addressed them in the following words: "What do you think, friends, has happened to me? I have been injured and ill-treated by the Amír; but the affront is not one that falls only on me, it comprises you all as my friends and relatives." He then told them his adventure with Abú-l-khattár; upon which his friends replied, "If thou declare unto us what kind of revenge it is thy intention to take, we will see whether we can participate in thy designs, or not."—"By Allah!" said As-samíl, "my vengeance shall not be satisfied with any thing short of taking the command from the hands of this Arab: in order to accomplish which, I intend to quit Cordova secretly this very night, and betake myself where I can expect help and security; for I see at present no other way of carrying my plans into execution. Whither do ye think I had better go? To whom shall I apply for aid?"—"Go wherever thou likest," said his friends, "provided it be not to the dwelling of Abú 'Attá Al-kaysí; for he is incapable of lending thee any assistance, and will never do any thing that may turn to thy advantage." This Abú 'Attá was an Arabian chief, who enjoyed great authority and power in the city of Ezija, the place of his residence: he was a great enemy of As-samíl, and his rival in every thing. All those present at this interview assented to this advice, except Abú Bekr Ibn Tofayl Al-'abadí, who, although still a youth, enjoyed great consideration and respect in the tribe: he alone refused to give his opinion, and kept silence; which being observed by As-samíl, he addressed him thus:—"Why dost thou not speak, O Ibn Tofayl? What is thy advice?"—"I have only one thing to say," replied the youth, "which is, that if thou do not go to see Abú 'Attá, and persist in thy enmity to him, this our conspiracy will certainly not succeed, and we shall all of us meet with our death. If, on the contrary, thou go to see him, I am sure he will forget what has passed between you; he will be moved by love to thee and his tribe, and he will do any thing thou wishest him to do."—"Well said!" replied As-samíl; "thine is the best advice, and I will certainly act upon it." He accordingly left Cordova that very night, and repaired to Ezija, where he visited Abú 'Attá, who, being a generous and forgiving man, immediately tendered him such aid to his cause as he could bestow. From Ezija As-samíl went to Múrúr (Moror),<sup>26</sup> the place of residence of Thuábah [Ibn Salámah] Ibn Yezíd<sup>27</sup> Al-jodhámí, one of the principal chiefs of the Yemení Arabs, who, having also received certain injuries at the hands of Abú-l-khattár, readily consented to assist As-samíl in his undertaking, and agreed, when called upon, to take the field with the Bení Modhar. Having therefore fixed upon Shídhúnah (Sidonia) as the place of their meeting, the rebels mustered their forces, and marched against Abú-l-khattár, whom they defeated with great slaughter on the banks of the Wáda-Leke,<sup>28</sup> Is defeated and taken prisoner.

taking him prisoner. They say that when As-samíl and Thuábah saw that governor in their power, their first intention was to put him to death; but they delayed his execution, and took him in irons to Cordova, where he was confined to a strong tower in the walls. All this happened in the month of Rejeb of the year 127 (April or May, A. D. 745), two years after Abú-l-khattár had taken possession of the government of Andalus.

Liberated by  
his friends.

Abú-l-khattár, however, did not remain long in confinement, having soon after succeeded in making his escape, with the assistance of his friends. Abú-l-khattár's liberation happened thus: A friend of his, named 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Hossán Al-kelbí,<sup>29</sup> came to Cordova one night, accompanied by thirty horsemen and a small body of infantry, all men of tried courage, and in whose experience and fidelity he could trust. Having made a sudden attack upon the tower where Abú-l-khattár was detained, they massacred the guards, and liberated the deposed governor, who retired with them to the western provinces.

No sooner did the news of Abú-l-khattár's liberation, and his readiness to assert his rights, spread over the country, than he was joined by the Yemení Arabs, who from all sides flocked under his banners; and he was thus enabled to resume the offensive, and march upon Cordova. Thuábah in the mean time was not inactive. Having assembled his forces, he went out to meet him in company with As-samíl. The two hosts were in presence of each other, and ready to commence the engagement, when an Arab of the tribe of Modhar rose by night (and placing himself within hearing of Abú-l-khattár's followers), began crying out at the top of his voice,—“ O “ Arabs of Yemen! why expose yourselves to the fortunes of war? and why try “ to avert the fate which awaits Abú-l-khattár? Has he not been already in our “ power, and at our discretion? Nay, had we chosen to put him to death, we “ might easily have accomplished it; but we had pity on him, and we spared his “ life. The governor appointed by us belongs also to your tribe. Why do you “ not think of your situation? If Thuábah belonged to any other tribe but your “ own, you might have an excuse in your rising; but as it is, you have none. And “ do not imagine that these sentiments are uttered through a wish on our part to “ conciliate you, or through fear of your spears; it is only our love of peace, and “ our anxiety to stop the effusion of blood, and to promote the welfare of the people “ of this country in general, which dictate them.” These words had the desired effect. They were listened to with attention by the followers of Abú-l-khattár, who said, “ By Allah! that man is right.” And accordingly they marched away that very night, and on the morning of the next day they were some miles from the field of battle.<sup>30</sup>

Ibnu Bashkúwál says that when the Modharites and their chiefs had agreed upon

giving the command to Thuábah, they wrote to 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Habíb, Wáli of Cairwán, apprising him of their choice, and requesting him to confirm the election; which he did immediately. This happened towards the end of the month of Rejeb of the year 127 (April, A. D. 745), when the country was in some manner pacified, all the power being concentrated in the hands of Thuábah, or rather of As-samíl, who was his second in command. Thuábah governed Andalus for a year or so, after which time he died.<sup>31</sup> In the work of Ibnu-l-faradhí, however, the government of Thuábah is said to have lasted two years.

Thuábah's nomination confirmed by the Wáli of Africa.

The same writer (Abú-l-walíd Ibnu-l-faradhí) describes Abú-l-khattár as a noble and high-minded man; only that, being descended from a tribe of Yemen, he showed too great a partiality to the people of his kindred, and was ill-disposed towards the Bení Modhar. He affronted the tribe of Kays: this being the cause of the rising of their chief, As-samíl, who deposed him, and appointed in his room Thuábah Ibn Salámah, as elsewhere related. Ibnu-l-faradhí adds, that the two factions continued after this to wage war against one another; that Abú-l-khattár was deposed four years and nine months<sup>32</sup> after his taking possession of the government, in the year 128 (beginning Oct. 2, A. D. 745), and that he was at last put to death by As-samíl, and replaced by Thuábah Ibn Salámah in the government of Andalus. But to return.

Ibnu Khaldún says, "About this time civil war raged in Africa, and the empire of the Bení Umeyyah began to decay in the East. The Khalifs of that dynasty were assailed by rebels in every distant province, and the power and importance of the wearers of the black colours ('Abbásides) waxed every day greater. In the mean time the people of Andalus were left to themselves, and without a ruler. At first the administration was carried on in the name of 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Kethír;<sup>33</sup> but afterwards the army decided upon dividing the empire between the two rival factions, the Bení Modhar and the Arabs of Yemen, in such a manner that each party should govern the country for one year, when they would resign the command into the hands of the other. The Bení Modhar, who were to be the first, appointed, in the year 129, as their commander, Yúsuf Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Al-fehrí, who accordingly governed the country for one year, taking up his residence at Cordova. But when, after the expiration of that year, the Yemenís sought to be put in possession of the government, according to the agreement entered into with the opposite party, Yúsuf, accompanied by As-samíl Ibn Hátim and the tribe of Kays, and all the other tribes issued from the stock of Modhar, made one night a sudden attack upon Shekudah, a village close to Cordova,<sup>34</sup> where the Yemenís had taken up their abode, and massacred the greater part of them. Abú-l-khattár then took the field, but he

“ was met by As-samíl, who routed him and put him to death in the year 129 “ (beginning Sept. 21, A. D. 746).” So far Ibnu Khaldún.

Battle of She-  
kundah.

Ibnu Hayyán relates these events differently: he says, “ When Abú-l-khattár “ heard of his [Yúsuf’s] appointment, he put his Yemenís into requisition; and all “ answered his call, this being the cause of the celebrated battle of Shekundah, “ fought between the Bení Modhar and the Arabs of Yemen. They say that “ there never was, either in the East or the West, a more bloody and contested “ battle than that of Shekundah, nor one in which greater feats of arms were “ performed by the warriors on both sides, who fought until the edges of their “ swords were softened by the blows, when each man seized his adversary by the “ hair, and fought with his hands until they fell down exhausted and tired of “ dealing and receiving blows. However, it appears that As-samíl, having upon “ a certain day received intelligence that his enemies were not upon their guard, “ called together all the tradespeople and shopkeepers<sup>35</sup> of Cordova, and, putting “ himself at their head, resolved to make a sudden attack upon the Yemenís. “ Having selected four hundred of the most determined and bravest among them, “ armed with knives, sticks, and such other weapons as they could procure,—a “ few only being provided with either spears or swords,—he led them against the “ Yemenís, who, being unprepared for the attack, were seized with a sudden panic, “ and fled in every direction before the people of Cordova, without returning their “ blows, or attempting even to parry those dealt to them.<sup>36</sup> They were hotly “ pursued by the enemy, who made great slaughter in their ranks. So great was “ the loss which the Yemenís sustained on this memorable occasion, that but few “ of their number outlived the bloody encounter. Abu-l-khattár, among others, “ fled the field of battle, and took refuge in a neighbouring mill, where he remained “ for some time concealed under the mill-stone:<sup>37</sup> he was, however, detected “ and brought to the presence of As-samíl, who had him immediately beheaded.” The above is borrowed from the work of Ibnu Hayyán.

Death of Abu-  
l-khattár.

The grandsons  
of Wittiza.

The historians of Andalus have recounted at length some transactions in which the grandsons of King Wittiza were concerned, during the administration of Abú-l-khattár. After the death of Almond, who was the eldest son of that monarch, and who, as related,<sup>38</sup> left a daughter called Sára, and two sons in tender age, Artabásh seized the states of his nephews, and appropriated them to himself. This happened at the beginning of the Khalifate of Hishám Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek. When Sára, the Goth, saw herself and brothers thus deprived of their father's inheritance, she laid a complaint before Abú-l-khattár; but seeing that justice was not speedily done to her, she determined upon repairing to the East in person, and getting redress from the Khalif. Accordingly, having fitted out a good vessel, and provided

it with the necessary stores for the voyage, she embarked at Seville with her two brothers, and set sail for Syria. Having landed at 'Askalún (Ascalon), a sea-port on the shores of that country, Sára proceeded to Damascus, where the Khalif Hishám Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek held his court. After informing that Sultán of her case, she implored justice against her uncle, and begged him to issue orders to Abú-l-khattár to re-instate her and her brothers in all the lands belonging to their father, as contained in the capitulation entered into with Tárik, and confirmed by his predecessor, the Khalif Al-walíd. Hishám was much pleased with Sára, whose courage and determination he greatly admired: he treated her kindly, and admitted her to his privacy; and when she expressed her wish to depart, gave her a letter for Hondhahah Ibn Sefwán Al-kelbí, his governor of Eastern Africa, intrusting him with the redress of the injury she had sustained at the hands of her uncle Artabásh, and bidding him to have restored to her and her brothers all those states which, in conformity with the laws of succession, might belong to them as their father's inheritance. Hondhahah did as he was commanded: he gave Sára a letter for his lieutenant in Andalus (Abú-l-khattár), who, on receipt of it, put her and her brothers in full possession of all their rights.

According to other authorities, before Sára quitted Syria, Hishám gave her in marriage to a noble Arab, named 'Isa Ibn Ibráhím, who dwelt with her at Damascus for some time, but who, on the return of Sára to Andalus, accompanied her to that country, where he soon after recovered from her uncle Artabásh the possession of all her states, through which he was enabled to live in great affluence and comfort. 'Isa had by her two sons, one named Ibráhím, the other Is'hák, both of whom held offices of trust at Seville, the place of their residence, and were very much esteemed and respected on account of their descent on the mother's side from the Gothic kings of Andalus.

They relate likewise, that whilst Sára was staying at the court of Hishám, she met in one of her visits to that Khalif his grandson 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mu'áwiyah, the same who in after-time became the master of Andalus, and that to this circumstance she owed the great favour which she always enjoyed with that monarch; for when 'Abdu-r-rahmán had conquered the whole of Andalus, Sára hastened to Cordova to compliment him on his good success, and she failed not to recall herself to his memory, and recommend herself to his good graces as a Christian living in his dominions. 'Abdu-r-rahmán then recollected her, and granted her the privilege of entering at all hours the royal palace whenever she went to Cordova. In this manner he continued bestowing on her new honours and distinctions, going so far as to grant her leave to visit his harem and see his wives and daughters without their veils on. After the death of her husband, who died the same year in

which 'Abdu-r-rahmán arrived in Andalus (A.H. 138), Sára married 'Abdu-rahmán Ibn 'Omayr Ibn Sa'íd.

Liberality of  
Artabásh.

Many truly royal acts have been recorded of this princess, as well as of her father Almond, and of her uncle Artabásh, living, as they did, under the Arabian Amírs, who at that time governed Andalus. The following anecdote, related by the theologian Mohammed Ibn 'Omar Ibn Lebbánah,<sup>39</sup> is one: "Ten of the principal Arab chieftains, amongst whom were As-samíl, Ibnu-t-tofayl,<sup>40</sup> Abú 'Abdah, and other noble Syrians, came once to visit Artabásh, who received them with the greatest attention, and caused them to sit down on the cushions surrounding his hall. Soon after, a pious man named Maymún,<sup>41</sup> the progenitor of the Bení Hazm, and who, though a Syrian too, did not associate much with them, on account of his very pious and abstemious habits, entered the room; and no sooner did Artabásh see him than he got up to receive him (this being an honour which he had not done to the rest of his guests), and bidding him ascend a gilded couch upon which he was reclining, made him a sign to sit in his own place. This favour, however, Maymún most obstinately refused, and, notwithstanding the entreaties of Artabásh, he sat himself on the floor; seeing which, the prince did the same, and sat alongside of Maymún, turning his face towards him, and his back to the company. 'O Artabásh,' inquired Maymún in amazement, 'what makes thee treat me in this way?' Artabásh then said, 'hast thou not heard<sup>42</sup> that we came to this country as enemies? and therefore never thought that our residence would be a long one; we were not in any way prepared to stay, and had not a large stock of provisions with us. After we are dead, thou mayest tell our *maulis* how we despaired of ever returning to our native places.' Maymún then replied, 'God has given thee plenty of fortune's gifts, and I wish thee to let me have one of thy farms, that I may cultivate the land with my own hands, and make over the produce of it to thee, after deducting the sum required for my maintenance.'—'I will with great pleasure,' answered Artabásh; 'but, instead of a farm in which thou wilt have only a small interest, I shall give thee the entire possession of it.' He then sent for the chief of his household, and addressed him thus: 'Thou shalt deliver into the hands of Maymún our farm so and so, on the banks of the river Shús,<sup>43</sup> with all the slaves, beasts, and cattle appertaining to it; and thou shalt besides put him in possession of our estate in Jaen.' These orders being readily complied with, Maymún became the owner of extensive property, in which he was succeeded by his son. To them owes its name a fortress in that territory called Kal'ah-Hazm." The authors who have recorded this anecdote add, "that no sooner had Maymún, after returning due thanks for so signal a favour, taken leave of

“ Artabásh, and retired, than As-samíl, who had witnessed with envy Maymún’s  
 “ reception, could no longer brook his indignation, and, rising from his seat,  
 “ addressed him thus: ‘ I cannot help thinking thou must be out of thy senses ; for  
 “ when I, who am the chief of the Arabs in this country, and my friends here who  
 “ stand next to me in dignity, enter thy house, thou receivest us with no more  
 “ distinction than thy common visitors ; and when this beggar Maymún comes  
 “ into thy presence, thou payest him unwonted honours and attention.’ To which  
 “ Artabásh replied, ‘ O Abú Jaushan ! we have repeatedly been told by the people  
 “ of thy faith, that men of learning and virtue ought to be honoured in this world ;  
 “ why then dost thou find fault with me for what I have done ? As to thyself,  
 “ (may God Almighty prosper thee !) thou hast already sufficient honour, since  
 “ men regard thee on account of thy dignity and thy power, whilst this poor man  
 “ has no one else to protect and favour him but God. We have been told of  
 “ a saying of the Messiah, (peace be on Him !) who said once to his people, ‘ He  
 “ who has been honoured in this world by other men being made subservient to  
 “ him, his honour agrees with his nature, as if he swallowed a stone.’ As-samíl was  
 “ an illiterate man, and hence the allusion made by Artabásh in his reply. After  
 “ this, As-samíl’s friends spoke to him thus: ‘ Enough of this ; let us drop the  
 “ unprofitable question, and proceed to business by stating the object of our visit.’  
 “ They then told Artabásh, ‘ We want precisely the same thing thou hast granted  
 “ this man ; and since thou hast been so generous with one so low, we are curious  
 “ to see how thou wilt deal with us who are the principal men of the land.’—‘ You  
 “ are right,’ answered Artabásh ; ‘ he was only a subject, whilst you all are princes  
 “ and lords ; you will not therefore like to receive from me but what is great and  
 “ handsome : I give you one hundred farms, to be equally divided among you, ten  
 “ to each.’ He then sent for the chief of his household, and having issued the  
 “ necessary orders in writing, As-samíl and his friends were immediately put in  
 “ possession of their respective estates, which were the best possessed by Artabásh.”  
 But to resume the thread of our narrative.

Thuábah was succeeded by Yúsuf Ibn ‘Abdi-r-rahmán Ibn Habíb Ibn Abí  
 ‘Obeydah Ibn ‘Okbah Ibn Náfi’ Al-fehrí, who was the descendant of [‘Okbah]  
 the governor of Eastern Africa, and the founder of Cairwán, he of the praise-  
 worthy deeds and glorious conquests, whose memory shall for ever live, the  
 stock of a family which obtained no small share of power both in Africa and  
 in Andalus. According to the historian Ar-rází, Yúsuf Al-fehrí was born in the

Yúsuf Al-fehrí  
 is appointed  
 by the army.

his son Yúsuf, having quarrelled with him, fled to Andalus, wherein he settled and obtained command. The same writer (Ar-rází) relates, that on the day on which Yúsuf took possession of the government he was fifty-seven years of age, and that he was elected to that office by the army and the people, after the death of Thuábah, and when the country had been four months without a ruler. He owed his appointment to the suggestions of As-samíl, who recommended him on account of his being a Korayshite; which circumstance, that chief thought, might lead, if not to the entire reconciliation of the rival tribes, at least to a suspension of hostilities. So it happened: both parties put down their arms, and acknowledged the authority of Yúsuf, who was thereby enabled to carry on the government for a period of nine years and nine months.<sup>44</sup>

Ibnu Hayyán relates that Yúsuf's appointment took place in the month of Rabi'-l-akhar of the year 129 (Dec. 746, or Jan. 747); that he ruled as master in Andalus without acknowledging any superior, since his nomination did not in any way emanate from the Khalif, but merely from the troops.

Yúsuf's government was by no means a tranquil one, as he had to contend with several chiefs, who on various occasions took the field against him, and aimed at depriving him both of life and power. He was however successful, and vanquished all his enemies, until he himself was overpowered and put to death by 'Abdu-rahmán Ad-dákhel, of the royal family of Umeyyah, as we shall presently relate.

Several chiefs resist his authority.

Among the chiefs who disputed with Yúsuf the government of Andalus, Ibnu Hayyán counts 'Abdu-rahmán Ibn 'Alkamah Al-lakhmí, governor of Narbonne, a fortress on the frontiers of the land of the Franks, whose undaunted courage, great corporal strength, and splendid feats of arms, became proverbial in Andalus, and won him the surname of *Al-fárisu-l-andalus* (the Knight of Andalus). This 'Abdu-rahmán had, on a former occasion, assisted the sons of 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Kattan in their revolt against Balj Ibn Beshr, and it was he who dealt this chief the blow from which he died a few days after the battle. However, as 'Abdu-rahmán was preparing to attack Yúsuf, he was treacherously put to death by his own men, who hastened to convey his head to his enemy.

He defeats them in succession.

'Orwah Ibnu-l-walíd was the next chieftain who took up arms against Yúsuf. Assisted by the Christians and others, he raised the standard of revolt in the city of Beja, whence he marched upon Seville, which place he also reduced. His forces increasing by the arrival of numerous adventurers, who from all parts of the country flocked under his banners, Yúsuf marched in person against him, and put him to death.

'A'mir Al-'abdári<sup>45</sup> rose likewise at Algesiras, but without better success. Yúsuf marched against him, and made him lay down his arms on condition that he should

reside at Cordova. After which, however, he had him beheaded, in the year 138 (beginning June 15, 755), as will be related hereafter.

'Amru Ibn Yezíd Al-azrak<sup>46</sup> is another of the Arabian chiefs who revolted against Yúsuf. Some say that he was the first who resisted his authority, and that he rose at Seville, but was vanquished and put to death.

Besides the above rebellions, Yúsuf had to quell that of Al-habáb<sup>47</sup> Az-zahrí, an Arabian chieftain, who, on hearing of the victories which the Bení 'Abbás had obtained in the East over their enemies of the house of Umeyyah, appeared in arms against Yúsuf, and proclaimed the Khalifs of the house of 'Abbás as sovereigns of Andalus. Having collected a numerous host, he laid siege to Saragossa, where As-samíl commanded in Yúsuf's name. That chief defended himself for a while, but, seeing he could not hold much longer, sent to Yúsuf for aid. This, however, Yúsuf would not grant, as he was angry with As-samíl at the time, and wished for his destruction. At last the tribe of Kays ran to the assistance of their chief, and, having compelled Al-habáb to raise the siege, extricated As-samíl from his dangerous position. Al-habáb then returned, and gained possession of Saragossa; but, some time after, Yúsuf marched in person against him and put him to death.

Yúsuf was the last governor of Andalus; for, in the year 138 (beginning June 15, 755), 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mu'áwiyah, a scion of the illustrious house of Umeyyah, which had been in possession of the Khalifate for a period of nearly ninety years, arrived in Andalus, where, with the assistance of the numerous partisans and adherents of his family, he was enabled to contend successfully against him, and to found a durable empire for his posterity. But, as it is our intention to relate in detail the events which led to this mighty revolution, we need not further allude to them here, and will now give the chronology of the Governors of Andalus.

Tárik was the first governor of Andalus; then came Músa Ibn Nosseyr: neither of them, however, fixed his residence in that country. Then came 'Abdu-l-'azíz, son of Músa, who held his court at Seville, where he was murdered. After him Ayúb Ibn Habíb Al-lakhmí, who transferred the seat of the government to Cordova. After him all the Governors or Sultáns of Andalus held their court at that city, or at Az-zahrá, as is well known and we shall hereafter relate, until the dynasty of the Bení Merwán was finally overthrown. Then came Al-horr Ibn 'Abdi-rahmán Ath-thakefí; then As-samh Ibn Málík Al-khaulání; then 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn 'Abdillah Al-gháfekí; then 'Anbasah Ibn Sohaym Al-kelbí; then 'Ozrah Ibn 'Abdillah Al-fehrí; then Yahya Ibn Salmah Al-kelbí; then 'Othmán Ibn Abí Nes'ah Al-khath'amí; then Mohammed Ibn 'Abdillah Al-ashja'í; then 'Abdu-malek Ibn Kattan Al-fehrí; then Balj Ibn Beshr Ibn 'Iyádh Al-kusheyrí; then Tha'lebah Ibn Salámah Al-jodhámí; then Thuábah Ibn Salámah Al-jodhámí; then

Chronology of  
the governors  
of Andalus.

Yúsuf Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán Al-fehrí. These are the governors who ruled over Andalus without transmitting the command as an inheritance to their posterity, or assuming any other title but that of Amír (Governor). They swayed the country for a period of forty-six years, two months and six days, counting from the day on which Roderic the Goth, King of Andalus, was defeated and killed, that is to say, on Sunday, the 5th of Shawwál of the year 92 (July 26, A. D. 711), to that on which the Governor Yúsuf Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán was defeated, and his rival, 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mu'áwiyah, of the royal house of Umeyyah, gained possession of the empire, and made his triumphant entry into Cordova, namely, on the day of *'idu-l-adháhi* (festivity of the victims), or the tenth of Dhí-l-hajjah of the year 138 (May 15, A. D. 756).

All these Amírs (Governors) were appointed either by the Governors of Africa, of which Andalus was then a dependency, or by the Khalifs of the house of Merwán (the Bení Umeyyah), who ruled in the East, and were the sole Imáms of the Moslems, until the civil war was kindled, and their mighty dynasty, which had lasted for a period of one thousand months, was overthrown by the Bení 'Abbás, who succeeded them in the empire, and scattered them like dust before the wind.

In course of time, however, Andalus shook off the yoke of the Bení 'Abbás; for 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mu'áwiyah Ibn Hishám Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek Ibn Merwán, after surmounting all manner of dangers, wrested that country from them, and made it the seat of a powerful empire for himself and his sons, collecting round him the relics of his family, and surrounding himself with the freedmen and adherents of his ancestors: in short, the whole of Andalus submitted to him, and, after his death, to his posterity, who held the supreme power there for a long space of time; God Almighty being pleased to grant him victory over his enemies, the Bení 'Abbás, who, wishing to regain possession of Andalus, and to extirpate all the members of the rival house, frequently sent armies to invade that country, or instigated the chiefs of the Arabian tribes there to take up arms against 'Abdu-r-rahmán, and to proclaim the supremacy of their own family. But all their attempts proved unsuccessful; for that Sultán defeated one after the other all those who were in arms against him, and put numbers of them to the sword, principally during the Khalifate of Abú Ja'far Al-mansúr, as we shall relate more at large when we come to treat of the establishment of the house of Umeyyah in Andalus.

We have now given in the preceding pages the cream of the information to be found in the work of Ibnu Khaldún, as collected or compiled from various historical sources. As for ourselves, we have added, when required, such information as we deemed sufficient [to illustrate this narrative], or pointed out to the reader the contradictions occurring in the works of ancient historians. All this we have done

with the greatest possible brevity ; since, had it been our wish to expatiate at any length on the deeds of the conquest, and the exploits of the Moslems, we might have filled a whole volume or more with the subject. We must also inform our readers that the above extracts on the history of Andalus, from its conquest by Tárík Ibn Zeyád to the arrival of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, are chiefly taken from the works of Ibnu Hayyán and Ibnu Khaldún, two celebrated historians, who had access to the best sources of information : the former author especially, who, in his two historical works, the *Matín* and the *Muktabis*, preserved almost every tradition current in his time on the events here recorded, mentions a long poem, which an Andalusian writer, named Yahya Ibn Hakem Al-ghazzál, wrote in the species of metre called *rejáz*, wherein he describes most minutely the causes of the invasion of Andalus ; the chief battles therein fought between the Moslems and the Goths ; and lastly, the number and the names of the Amírs who administered the affairs of that country until the arrival of 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mu'áwiyah ;—" a work," observes Ibnu Hayyán, " exceedingly instructive and useful, and which may be " found in the hands of most people."

We shall now proceed, with the help of God, to relate the events which led to the establishment of the family of Merwán or Bení Umeyyah in Andalus.

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## BOOK VI.

## CHAP. I.

Overthrow of the dynasty of Umeyyah—Death of Merwán, their last Khalif—'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mu'áwiyah takes to flight—Is pursued by the emissaries of As-seffáh—Arrives in Eastern Africa—Evades the search of the governor—Wanders through the country—Sends his freedman Bedr to Andalus—A party is formed in his favour—The conspirators communicate their plans to As-samíl—Answer made by that chieftain—The tribes of Modhar and Rabi'ah refuse to join them—'Abdu-rahmán's party is daily strengthened—He embarks for Andalus—Lands at Almuñecar—Preparations of Yúsuf—Desertions in his camp—'Abdu-r-rahmán marches to Cordova—Gains the battle of Musárah—Enters the capital—Starts in pursuit of Yúsuf—Obliges him to capitulate.

Overthrow of  
the dynasty of  
Umeyyah.

DURING the Khalifate of Merwán Ibn Mohammed Al-ja'dí, the last Khalif of the house of Umeyyah in the East, Abú-l-'abbás 'Abdullah, surnamed As-seffáh (the shedder of blood), rose in arms against him, and was proclaimed at Kúfah. After many sanguinary encounters, in which the armies of Merwán were invariably defeated, As-seffáh took Damascus, the capital. Having subsequently sent his own brother Sáleh in pursuit of Merwán, who had taken refuge in Egypt, that Sultán was overtaken at Buseyr, and put to death in the month of Jumáda-l-akhar of the year 132 (February or March, A. D. 750). Thus was the mighty dynasty of the Bení Merwán overthrown. There is no power or strength but in God!

Death of  
Merwán.

Every where the unfortunate members of the proscribed family were seized, and put to death without mercy; and few escaped the search made by the emissaries of As-seffáh in every province of the empire. A youth named 'Abdu-r-rahmán, who was the son of Mu'áwiyah, and the grandson of the Khalif Hishám Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek, was almost the only prince of that house who, after great dangers, succeeded in escaping the vengeance of the Bení 'Abbás. His adventures are thus related by the historian Ibnu Hayyán in his *Muktabis*:

“ When the empire of the Bení Umeyyah was overthrown in the East, and the

“ search for the individuals of that family commenced, 'Abdu-r-rahmán was one  
 “ of those who fled, to escape the vengeance of the Bení 'Abbás : he never ceased  
 “ marching with his family and his son until he halted at a village on the banks  
 “ of the Euphrates, in the neighbourhood of which was a thick forest,<sup>1</sup> where he  
 “ hoped to conceal himself from the spies of Abú Moslemah<sup>2</sup> until he could find  
 “ an opportunity of passing to Africa. The following account of his adventures  
 “ whilst flying from his enemies has been handed down to us as related by 'Abdu-r-  
 “ rahmán himself: ‘ As I was on a certain day sitting under cover of my tent, to  
 “ shelter myself from the rain, which fell heavily, and watching my eldest son  
 “ Suleymán, then about four years old, who was playing in front of it, I saw him  
 “ suddenly enter the door, crying violently ; and, soon after, he ran towards me, and  
 “ clung to my bosom for protection. Not knowing what he meant, I pushed him  
 “ away ; but the child clung still more to me, as one seized with violent fear, and  
 “ began uttering such exclamations as children are wont to utter when they are  
 “ frightened. I then left the tent, that I might see what caused his fear ; when lo !  
 “ I saw the whole village in confusion, and the inhabitants running to and fro  
 “ in great consternation. I went a little further on, and saw the black banners  
 “ [of the 'Abbásides] fluttering in the wind. At sight of these a younger brother  
 “ of mine, who had also rushed out of the tent, and was with me at the time,  
 “ began to fly at the top of his speed, saying, ‘ Away ! away with thee, O brother !  
 “ for yonder black banners are the banners of the sons of 'Abbás.’ Hearing this,  
 “ I hastily grasped some dinárs which I had just at hand, and fled precipitately out  
 “ of the village with my child and my younger brother, taking care to apprise my  
 “ sisters of my departure, and of the road we intended to take ; and bidding them  
 “ join us at a spot which I named, together with my freedman Bedr, who was the  
 “ bearer of my message. In this manner we escaped from our pursuers, and halted  
 “ at a spot some distance from the village. Scarcely had we left our tent when it  
 “ was surrounded by a body of cavalry, who scrupulously searched every corner  
 “ of it ; but finding no one inside, they withdrew, and soon after left the village.  
 “ In the mean time Bedr joined us, bringing with him a man well acquainted with  
 “ the course of the Euphrates and its banks, to act as our guide, whom I directed  
 “ to purchase for us horses and the articles requisite for our journey. It  
 “ happened, however, that this man was a spy of our enemies, who wished only  
 “ to entrap us ; for scarcely had we been a few minutes under his guidance, when  
 “ we again saw the horsemen in full pursuit of us. We then used our greatest  
 “ speed, and God permitted that we should reach before them the banks of the  
 “ Euphrates, into which we threw ourselves, the horsemen arriving almost im-  
 “ mediately after. When our pursuers saw this, they began to cry out to us,

'Abdu-r-  
 rahmán Ibn  
 Mu'áwiyah  
 takes to flight.

Is pursued by  
 the emissaries  
 of As-seffáh.

“ ‘ Return hither, no harm shall be done unto you ;’ but I, without listening to  
 “ their treacherous words, dashed into the midst of the current, and my companions  
 “ did the same. I being an excellent swimmer, took charge of my son, whilst my  
 “ servant Bedr helped my younger brother. When in the middle of the stream,  
 “ my brother felt his strength fail him, and he was seized with the fear of death.  
 “ Seeing his danger, I returned to him to give him courage, and induce him to  
 “ exert himself; but, as I approached, I saw him make for the bank, no doubt  
 “ deceived by the treacherous words of our enemies, and believing that his life  
 “ would be spared. I then cried to him, ‘ O brother! come to me, come to me!’  
 “ but he would not listen to my advice; for the promise that his life would be  
 “ spared, and the fear of being drowned, made him hasten to the shore. I, more-  
 “ over, succeeded in crossing the Euphrates. One of my pursuers seemed at one  
 “ time inclined to leap into the river, and swim across in pursuit of me; but his  
 “ comrades dissuaded him from the undertaking, and he left me alone. No sooner  
 “ had I set my feet on shore, than I began anxiously to look about for my brother,  
 “ whom I saw in the hands of the soldiers, and whom I expected every moment to  
 “ see put to death. I was not mistaken; for the traitors, having dragged their  
 “ victim to a spot not far from the river, beheaded him immediately, and leaving  
 “ the trunk on the spot, marched triumphantly away with the head. My brother  
 “ was then thirteen years old.

“ ‘ The sight of this catastrophe struck me with horror; I was seized with violent  
 “ fears for my life, and began to run with all my speed; my feet scarcely touched  
 “ the ground; I flew rather than ran. In this way I took refuge in a thick forest,  
 “ and hid myself amongst the trees, until the pursuit ceased; I then left my place  
 “ of concealment, and fled the country, taking the route to the west, until I reached  
 “ Eastern Africa,’ ” &c.

Arrives in  
 Eastern Africa.

Ibnu Hayyán continues. “ After the above adventure, ‘Abdu-r-rahmán fled the  
 “ country with the utmost speed he could use, and marched until he arrived in  
 “ Eastern Africa, whither his own sister, Ummu-l-asbagh, and his two freedmen,  
 “ Bedr and Sálím, had preceded him, provided with money for their sustenance,  
 “ and jewels. Other relatives or partisans of the proscribed family of Umeyyah  
 “ had likewise taken refuge in the same province, where ‘Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn  
 “ Habíb Al-fehrí<sup>3</sup> was then governing in the Khalif’s name. It happened, however,  
 “ that this governor was on terms of intimacy with a Jewish astrologer and sooth-  
 “ sayer, who had once been a servant of Moslemah Ibn ‘Abdi-l-malek, one of the  
 “ Bení Umeyyah, but was now attached to the Bení ‘Abbás. This man having upon  
 “ a certain occasion found Ibn Habíb alone, spoke to him thus: ‘ A Korayshite  
 “ youth, of the family of Merwán, descended from kings, shall in time become

“ a great conqueror; he shall found in Andalus an empire for him and his posterity; his name is 'Abdu-r-rahmán, and he wears two long curls.' When the governor heard this, he procured two locks of hair answering exactly the description of those which the Jew meant, and sent them to his officers, trusting that they would thereby be enabled to discover the object of his search. So it happened; for soon after 'Abdu-r-rahmán's arrival in Eastern Africa, he was recognised by one of the officers, and brought to the presence of Ibn Habíb, who, seeing the two locks of hair on his head, sent for the Jew, and spoke to him thus: 'By thy life! this is the very youth mentioned in thy prophecy; he must die.' The Jew then said, 'If thou kill him, he is not the person intended; if, on the contrary, thou spare his life, he must conquer and reign:' upon which he let him go. However, several of the Bení Umeyyah had taken refuge in Eastern Africa, trusting that the governor Ibn Habíb, who was an adherent of their family, would allow them to live in peace in those remote regions; but, contrary to their expectations, he persecuted them, and obliged them to leave the country. Two sons of Al-walíd Ibn Yezíd, who had taken refuge in his territory, he caused to be seized under some false pretence, and put to death. He also confiscated the property of Isma'íl Ibn Abán Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz Ibn Merwán, another of the Bení Umeyyah, and married a sister of his against his will and express injunctions. After this he tried to seize the person of 'Abdu-r-rahmán; but having received timely intelligence, this prince hid himself, and succeeded in reaching a place of safety.” So far Ibnu Hayyán.

Evades the search of the governor.

Other accounts state, that when 'Abdu-r-rahmán left Palestine for Africa, he had with him besides Bedr, who had been a freed slave of his father, three other servants whose names were Abú Shafa', 'Amru, and Yezíd; that he stopped at Maghílah, where he was hospitably entertained by a Berber chief named Abú Korrah Wánesús, who secreted him some time at his house. Here it was that his freedman Bedr overtook him, bringing with him the jewels and gold sent by his sister Ummu-l-asbagh. One day, as 'Abdu-r-rahmán was in the tent of this chief, the emissaries of Ibn Habíb, the governor, suddenly made their appearance, and searched all the corners of it; but the Berber's wife, named Tekfah, hid him under her clothes, and by this means concealed 'Abdu-r-rahmán from the eyes of his pursuers. It is further related, that 'Abdu-r-rahmán never forgot the signal service he received on this occasion; for, when he became King of Andalus, he invited Wánesús and his wife to Cordova, and treated them kindly, admitting them to his privacy, and conferring on them all sorts of honours and distinctions. He gave Tekfah leave to visit his palace at all hours, and enter his harem whenever she

Wanders through the country.

chose; and more than one anecdote has been handed down to us to show the great favour she always enjoyed with the prince.<sup>4</sup>

The historian Ibn 'Abdi-l-hakem relates that 'Abdu-r-rahmán passed five years in concealment in the town of Barkah; at the end of which time he quitted that place, and travelled through the country until he arrived at Tihart, a city of Central Maghreb, where he placed himself under the protection of a tribe called the Bení Rustam, who were then the lords of that country. Thence he visited the encampments of various Berber tribes, and at last fixed his quarters not far from the sea, in the territory of a tribe called Zenátah. It was from this place that 'Abdu-r-rahmán first cast a wistful eye upon Andalus, and dispatched his freedman Bedr with messages to the numerous clients and adherents of his family who were in that country.

Sends his freedman Bedr to Andalus.

At that time the number of *maulis* or adherents to the family of Merwán, inscribed on the rolls of the Andalusian army, was very considerable, amounting to between four and five hundred, all men of tried courage, and who had many followers devoted to them. Their chiefs on this occasion were Abú 'Othmán 'Obeydullah Ibn 'Othmán and 'Abdullah Ibn Kháled, both of whom had formerly been *maulis* of the Khalif 'Othmán, and had on their arrival in Andalus been intrusted with the keeping of the banners of the Bení Umeyyah, and had also been invested with the command of the Syrian Arabs who had settled in the territory of Elvira. To this Abú 'Othmán, Bedr the freedman brought letters from his master, in which 'Abdu-r-rahmán enumerated the benefits conferred by his ancestors of the house of Umeyyah on Abú 'Othmán, and reminded him of the obligation under which the latter now lay to serve their cause: he further acquainted him with his own legitimate rights to the empire, which he said it was his intention to assert, as the only surviving heir by true lineal descent from his grandfather Hishám, in whose hands the Khalifate had been vested. He concluded by asking him to rise in his support, with such among the adherents of the house of Umeyyah and others as he could trust; stating, that if he could only procure him the means of entering Andalus, he was sure of success; after which he would not fail to reward him and his friends as they deserved, and bestow on them all manner of honours and distinctions. He then gave him directions as to the best means to be employed to gain their object. He was to seek the assistance of those among his friends in whom he could trust, and who might aid him in his revolt: he was to take advantage of the mortal feuds and dissensions then existing between the Arabian tribes of Yemen and the sons of Modhar, who, from long-existing hereditary wrongs, hated each other most heartily, and were sure readily to embrace any cause in opposition to that of their adversaries.

A party is formed in his favour.

Abú 'Othmán immediately agreed to what was requested of him, stimulated, no doubt, by the prospect of his own personal advantage. When Bedr arrived with this message, 'Othmán was preparing to march to Saragossa, in the *Thagher*, to the relief of the governor As-samíl Ibn Hátim, who had been besieged there by a rebellious chieftain named Az-zohrí; for Yúsuf Ibn 'Abdi-r-rahmán, then supreme governor of Andalus, having received intelligence of As-samíl's dangerous situation, had directed him to hasten to his aid with the disposable forces of his district; and in compliance with this order 'Othmán was about to march to Saragossà, when 'Abdu-r-rahmán's secret message was delivered to him: he nevertheless undertook his march. Whilst therefore 'Othmán was going to Saragossa with his troops, he one day sent for his son-in-law 'Abdullah Ibn Kháled, who accompanied the expedition, and addressed him thus: "Methinks, O Ibn Kháled! that were we  
 "to apprise As-samíl of the news brought us by Bedr, we might learn what he  
 "thinks about it, and ascertain at the same time whether we can reckon upon him  
 "or not: should he not agree to take part with us, As-samíl, I am persuaded, will  
 "never divulge our secret, as I know him to be a man of honour and principle."  
 "That may be," answered 'Abdullah; "but were we to do as thou proposest,  
 "we could not be sure of success: for although on the one hand his envy of the  
 "Sultán Yúsuf, and the high post he occupies, might perhaps induce As-samíl to  
 "embrace the cause of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, it is likely on the other hand that the fear  
 "of losing under the new sovereign all the power and influence he now enjoys,  
 "will prevent him from joining in the undertaking." To which Abú 'Othmán  
 replied, "We may easily remove that obstacle by flattering his ambition, and  
 "deceiving him with promises of riches and advancement. We will tell him that  
 "'Abdu-r-rahmán, in coming to this country, has no other object in view than  
 "to obtain security for his person, and claim the fifth of the spoil due to his  
 "grandfather Hishám, and live on its produce." To this proposal 'Abdullah  
 agreed; and accordingly the two chieftains, before taking leave of As-samíl to  
 return to their respective districts, took him into a private room, and there disclosed  
 all their plans to him.

The conspirators communicate their plans to As-samíl.

It happened as Abú 'Othmán had foretold. No sooner had he explained his views to As-samíl than that chieftain began to utter complaints against the governor Yúsuf for not hastening to his relief when he was attacked by Al-hobáb Az-zohrí in the neighbourhood of Saragossa, and leaving him to fight single-handed against the superior forces of his enemy. At last he said to them, "You may rely on me  
 "for the furtherance of your plans; write to the youth, and tell him to cross over  
 "to us: when I have heard of his landing, I will go to Yúsuf and advise him  
 "to do him honour, admit him to his intimacy, and give him one of his daughters

Answer made by that chieftain.

“in marriage. If he follow my advice, your object is gained; if he refuse, we shall strike his bald head with our swords, and take the command of this country from him, to give it to your friend.” This being agreed upon, the two chieftains heartily thanked As-samíl for his proffered assistance, and after kissing his hand they separated, and retired, each to his destination; As-samíl to Toledo, of which city he had been made governor by Yúsuf, who no longer wished to retain him in the command of the *Thagher* (Aragon); Abú 'Othmán and his son-in-law 'Abdullah Ibn Kháled, to their abode in the town of Elvira. At this place many were already in the secret; for [before starting for Saragossa] Abú 'Othmán and 'Abdullah had spoken to the officers of the Syrian army quartered in that town, as well as to other Arabs of distinction, and to all those friends in whom they could trust, and communicated to them their plans respecting the son of Mu'áwiyah ('Abdu-r-rahmán). The affair was soon divulged, and talked of among the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns, spreading like fire among brush-wood; the conspirators being not a little assisted in their plans by the circumstance that the year in which this came to pass was one of great scarcity, as the whole of Andalus had been visited by a most dreadful famine, which lasted for a long time.

However, there are not wanting authors who relate this affair differently. They certainly say that As-samíl, at first, agreed to the propositions of the conspirators, and consented to assist them in their undertaking to give the empire to 'Abdu-rahmán, but that after they had left him he thought more seriously on the subject, and repented of what he had promised; that he accordingly went to them, and said, “I have weighed attentively all the chances of the undertaking which you wish me to share with you, and I find that the youth you recommend belongs to a family, one individual of which is enough to set all this island on fire, and that perchance you and I may perish in the conflagration.<sup>5</sup> Besides, our present ruler [Yúsuf] is a man over whose mind I exercise great influence, and on whom I lean for support; and I do not intend to have him changed for any other. By Allah! I say more; if on reaching your tents you still persevere in your plans, and continue gaining over partisans to the cause of that youth, I shall be compelled to oppose you for my own sake. I therefore give you to understand that my sword shall be the first unsheathed against 'Abdu-r-rahmán. I wish you success.” The conspirators then said to him, “Thy advice is our own, and we think as thou dost.” After which they left him, the better to persuade him that 'Abdu-r-rahmán's object in coming to Andalus was not to make himself master of the country.

The tribes of Modhar and Rabi'ah refuse to join them.

They returned to Elvira, where they laboured, though in vain, to gain over to their cause the chiefs of the Arabian tribes of Modhar and Rabi'ah. After this they applied a second time to the Yemenís, and began adroitly to feed their

animosity and hatred to the Bení Modhar. They found them a set of men in whose breasts raged the most violent passions, and who, in order to revenge the injuries received, were ready to embrace any cause, however desperate. Having easily persuaded them to join in the undertaking, they concerted together the means of carrying their project into execution. Profiting by the absence of the Sultán Yúsuf,<sup>6</sup> who was then in the *Thagher* (Aragon), and by that of As-samíl, who was, likewise, far off, they commenced their operations. Their first care was to procure a vessel to send back Bedr: having bought one, they dispatched in her eleven of their men, with instructions to land near 'Abdu-r-rahmán's residence, and acquaint him with their readiness to uphold his pretensions, and declare for him the moment he should land in Andalus. In the mean time Abú 'Othmán and his friends, with whom Bedr had left his master's signet-ring, made ample use of it, sealing the numerous letters and proclamations which they addressed to their friends and the people of Andalus in 'Abdu-r-rahmán's name. In this manner the partisans of that prince increased, and the conspiracy spread wide through the country. However, the emissaries, in whose number was a distinguished officer named Temám Ibn 'Alkamah, arrived safely at their destination, and landed near Maghílah, in the country of the Berbers. They found 'Abdu-r-rahmán, who, since the departure of his freedman Bedr, had been in a state of great anxiety, and who was now expecting him every moment, praying fervently on the sea shore. Bedr was the first man to leap on shore, and to announce to his master the success of his expedition: he was quickly followed by Temám Ibn 'Alkamah, who, in the name of his friends, confirmed the good news brought by Bedr. "What is thy name?" said 'Abdu-r-rahmán to him. "Temám."—"And what thy surname?"—"Abú Ghálib" (the father of the victorious).—"God is great!" exclaimed 'Abdu-r-rahmán; "may his name be exalted! for, if that be the case, we shall, through the power and interposition of the Almighty, conquer that land of yours, and reign over it." 'Abdu-r-rahmán could never forget that Temám had been the first man to bring him the good tidings; for when he had vanquished all his enemies, and was firmly seated on the throne of Andalus, he appointed him his Hájib, which office he held until the death of his sovereign. But to return.

'Abdu-r-rahmán's party is daily strengthened.

'Abdu-r-rahmán hastened on board; but whilst he was doing so, there came to the shore a troop of Berbers, who made demonstrations of opposing his embarkation. 'Abdu-r-rahmán then took up some dinárs,<sup>7</sup> which Temám had brought with him for the purpose, and gave them to be divided among them; upon which they all seemed satisfied, and he was allowed to embark: but before the vessel could quit the shore, there came another party of Berbers, who, not having shared in the former gift, were determined to oppose his departure. One of them clung to the

He embarks for Andalus.

Lands at  
Almuñecar.

cable of camel's hair which still retained the vessel to the shore; but one of the party, whose name was Shákir, laying hands on his sword, struck off the hand of the Berber, which fell instantly, severed from his body. Soon after, a favourable wind sprung up, which impelled the vessel on her course, and they landed safely on the coast of Elvira, near a sea-port town called Al-munékab (Almuñecar), in the month of Rabi'l-akhar of the year 138, according to Ibnu Hayyán, or in the three first days of Rabi'l-awal, according to other authorities. Immediately on his landing, 'Abdu-r-rahmán was met on the shore by the two chiefs of the conspiracy, Abú 'Othmán and his son-in-law Abú Kháled, who conducted him to a town called Torosh (Torrox), where Abú 'Othmán was residing at the time.

According to other accounts, 'Abdu-r-rahmán landed at the hour of 'asr [shortly before sunset]; and the news of his disembarkation being speedily divulged among his partisans, 'Abdullah and Abú 'Othmán met him on the shore with great show of consideration and respect. He then said his afternoon prayers with them, and rode on to Torrox, where he made some stay: he was here met by the principal *maulis* of his family and some Arabs, who took the oath of allegiance to him. However, no sooner was the news of 'Abdu-r-rahmán's disembarkation made known through the country, than the people who were in the secret flocked to him from all parts. The first man who arrived was Yúsuf Ibn Bokht, who was the chief of the Bení Umeyyah: next came Jodarán Ibn 'Amru Al-mad'hájí, who inhabited Malaga, and who, in after-time, was appointed Kádí to the army; and Abú 'Abdah Hossán Ibn Málík Al-kelbí, whom 'Abdu-r-rahmán named to the office of Wizír. In this way the party waxed stronger day by day, and even moment by moment; and people flocked to his banners from every part of the country; God being pleased to grant all His support to 'Abdu-r-rahmán's cause, until that prince was enabled to gain possession of the capital, Cordova, within seven months, counting from the day of his landing on the coast of Almuñecar.

Preparations of  
Yúsuf.

Whilst these events were passing, Yúsuf Al-fehrí, the governor of Andalus, was in the *Thagher* (Aragon),<sup>s</sup> carrying on war against some chiefs who refused to acknowledge his authority. He was, however, completely successful, defeating and taking prisoners the leaders of the insurrection. These were Al-hobáb Az-zohrí, who, as related, had risen in the neighbourhood of Saragossa, and 'A'mir Al-'abdarí, another chieftain who had likewise risen in arms against him. Having got rid of his enemies in that quarter, Yúsuf hastened towards Toledo. Whilst he was encamped at Wáda-r-ramal (Guadarrama), near that city, he ordered the execution of his prisoners, though he had solemnly promised to spare their lives, and caused 'A'mir Al-'abdarí and his son to be beheaded. Yúsuf is said to have done this at the instigation of As-samíl.

They relate that as Yúsuf was entering his tent, after witnessing the execution of his prisoners, a messenger arrived at full speed from his son 'Abdu-r-rahmán, whom he had left in command of Cordova during his absence, bearing news "how a youth, named 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mu'áwiyah, had lately landed on the shores occupied by the Syrian settlers, and had been immediately proclaimed by the adherents and partisans of the family of Merwán, who had flocked to him from all parts." When the news spread through Yúsuf's camp, his men, who had already disapproved the execution of 'A'mir and his son,—who belonged to the illustrious tribe of Koraysh, and who, as above related, had been put to death, notwithstanding his solemn promise to the contrary,—began openly to murmur, and many decided upon deserting his banners that very night, and joining the troops of the invader. Accordingly, in the depth of night, the chiefs having called together their men, left the camp unperceived, the Almighty sending down a heavy rain, as if to cover the sound of their footsteps, and thereby disconcert the plans of Yúsuf. When morning dawned, Yúsuf found himself deserted by all except his own personal friends and slaves, and the tribe of Kays, who remained faithful to As-samíl and his followers: seeing which, Yúsuf marched immediately to Toledo. Arrived there, he asked As-samíl for his advice in their perilous situation. "My advice," said As-samíl to him, "is that we march immediately upon 'Abdu-r-rahmán, so as not to give him time to strengthen himself; for I strongly suspect that the Yemení Arabs will go over to him, owing to the hatred they openly bear to us, the Bení Modhar." Yúsuf then answered, "I agree with thee, O As-samíl! as to the expediency of what thou proposest; but thou seemest to have forgotten that we have been deserted by most of our own followers, and have at present no forces to march against the invader. We are, besides, without either money or provisions; we have to march through a sterile and deserted country, in which hunger must be our lot. I propose going first to Cordova, where we may get re-inforcements, and wait there for further news; perhaps the danger is not so great, nor the rising so formidable, as it has been represented." To which As-samíl replied, "Believe me, O Yúsuf, mine is the best advice upon this occasion: thou mayest act contrary to it; but, if thou dost, thou wilt in time discover thy error, and suffer from it." Yúsuf, however, would not listen to As-samíl, and marched to Cordova.

'Abdu-r-rahmán in the mean while was not inactive. After passing some time at Elvira, where he soon found himself at the head of seven hundred horsemen, of the best Arabian tribes, or of the *maulis* of his family, he left that city, and repaired to the district of Rayyah, where his forces were considerably increased, both the governor ('Isa Ibn Musáwid) and the inhabitants hastening to take the

Desertions in  
his camp.

'Abdu-r-  
rahmán  
marches to  
Cordova.

oath of allegiance, and proclaim him their sovereign. Thence he went to Shidúnah, where the governor, 'Itáb Ibn 'Alkamah Al-lakhmí, did the same; then to Modrúr;<sup>9</sup> and from the latter place to Seville, where he was met by the chief of the Yemení Arabs, Abú-s-sabáh Ibn Yahya Al-yahssobí. 'Abdu-r-rahmán then summoned his friends to a council; and having heard their advice, it was unanimously resolved to march upon Cordova, the seat of the government. They say that as they were halting at Toshínah (Tocina) on their way to that capital, it occurred to them that they had neither banner nor colours by which they might be guided on the field of battle. A long spear was immediately produced, and it was proposed that a turban should be placed on the top of it; but as in order to effect this it was necessary to incline the head of the spear, which was supposed by some to be of extremely bad omen, the following expedient was devised: the spear was placed erect between two olive-trees standing close together; a man was then directed to ascend one of the trees, from the top of which he was enabled to fasten the turban to the spear, without lowering it in the least. They relate also that some time previous to this event, a learned man named Forkád, who was gifted with the science of divination, happening to pass by the spot where the two olive-trees stood, said, pointing to them, "Between yonder two trees a banner shall be erected for a prince, before whom no other banner shall ever wave victorious." The prophecy was fulfilled; for with this same banner did 'Abdu-rahmán and his son Hishám vanquish their enemies wherever they met them, as we shall have more than one opportunity to relate hereafter. They say that this banner was held in such veneration and respect by the first sovereigns of that family [Bení Umeyyah], that whenever the turban by long use decayed, it was not removed, but a new one was placed over it. In this manner was the banner of the Bení Umeyyah preserved until the days of the Sultán 'Abdu-r-rahmán, son of Al-hakem, son of Hishám, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ad-dákhel,—others say till the days of his son Mohammed,—when the turban upon the spear being decayed, the Wizírs of that monarch met together in council to deliberate upon its renewal. Seeing nothing else under the decayed turban but a few rags twisted round the spear, and not knowing that these had been long an object of veneration, they issued orders for their removal. The whole was consequently removed, and thrown away, and a fresh turban placed in its stead. It happened that Jehwar Ibn Yúsuf Ibn Bokht, then the chief Wizír, and president of the council, but who was absent during the deliberation, arrived in Cordova the day after the mischief was done. Having inquired into the case, he gave his brother Wizírs a most severe reprimand for their ignorance and their hasty decision: he said to them, "Since you have through your imprudence caused the loss of the good omen attached to

“ that banner, it is but just that you should consult with the elders of our nation “ as to the best means of repairing the mischief done : go, and tell them your case.” The Wizírs went, and the rags were carefully looked for ; but they could nowhere be found. When the Sultán was made acquainted with the loss, he was much grieved ; and as his armies, always victorious, met after that event with severe defeats, it was thought at the time that these disasters were chiefly to be attributed to the loss of the banner. “ From that time,” remarks the judicious historian Ibnu Hayyán, “ the empire of the Bení Umeyyah began visibly to decline.” It is generally asserted that the man who ascended the olive-tree for the purpose of crowning the spear was 'Abdullah Ibn Kháled, one of the *marúlis* of the Bení Umeyyah established in Andalus, whose father, Kháled, had likewise crowned the banner of Merwán Ibn Al-hakem, the grandfather of 'Abdu-r-rahmán I., when, after the overthrow of the dynasty of the Bení Harb, he was joined by the Bení Umeyyah and the Bení Kelb, to make war against Adh-dhahhák Ibn Kays Al-fehrí, who was afterwards defeated and put to death at the battle of Merj-Ráhitt. They say also that the keeping of this banner was first intrusted to Abú Suleymán Dáúd Al-ansárí, in whose posterity the charge remained until the days of the Amír Mohammed, son of 'Abdu-r-rahmán II., when, as related, it was irretrievably lost.

But to resume the thread of our interrupted narrative. On the approach of 'Abdu-r-rahmán to Cordova, Yúsuf went out to meet him. There had been a famine in Andalus for six consecutive years, so that the people were greatly debilitated from want of food. Since their departure from Seville, the common soldiers in 'Abdu-r-rahmán's host had subsisted merely upon the herbs and plants which they found on the road, the officers and rich men not faring much better. It was then spring-time, and the year in which this happened was ever afterwards called '*ámu-l-khalaf*,<sup>10</sup> i. e. ' the year after the famine.' The Guadalquivir too was considerably swollen, and in some districts had overflowed its banks. Yúsuf then marched from Cordova, and 'Abdu-r-rahmán came down from Seville, until they met each other at a place where the Guadalquivir separated the two hosts. Thence 'Abdu-r-rahmán continued his march up to Cordova, following the right bank of the river, which being perceived by Yúsuf, this governor retraced his steps, and returned to his capital by the opposite bank, watching at the same time all the movements of his adversary. In this manner both armies proceeded until Yúsuf pitched his tents in the plain of Musárah,<sup>11</sup> west of Cordova, where 'Abdu-r-rahmán also encamped in front of him. Negotiations then commenced, and messengers crossed from one camp to the other, with a view to

adjust a peace between the belligerents. Yúsuf had given orders to slaughter some sheep, and make a display of their flesh, meaning it, no doubt, as an insult to the son of Mu'áwiyah, whose followers, as we have already observed, were almost starved for want of food. 'Abdu-r-rahmán, however, made every preparation for the coming contest: he caused his men to keep in readiness with their arms, and he himself passed all night awake, to see that his orders were punctually executed.

Gains the  
battle of  
Musárah.

They relate that Yúsuf was the first who made proposals of peace to 'Abdu-r-rahmán, who feigned to accept of them, and thus gained two days, the last of which was the day of 'Arefah of the year 138 (May 14, A. D. 756). Under this belief, 'Abdu-r-rahmán's men passed the night preceding the 'festival of the victims;' but 'Abdu-r-rahmán thought differently in his heart from what he affected in public, and he consequently took every measure to ensure the success of the approaching contest: he also gave orders that Kháled Ibn Zeyd, Yúsuf's secretary, who was at the time in his camp, whither he had been sent with a message from his master, should be kept a prisoner. "If we are defeated," he added, "let him be put to death; if we vanquish, spare his life." So that Kháled kept saying the night before the battle, "There is nothing I wish for more ardently at this moment than to see the troops of my master put to flight by those of 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ad-dákhel."

When the morning of the day of the victims dawned, 'Abdu-r-rahmán, at the head of his cavalry, made a sudden attack upon the camp of his rival. They say that 'Abdu-r-rahmán was that day mounted on a beautiful steed; upon which some of the Yemení Arabs said to each other, "Look at our youthful general; he is mounted on a swift-footed animal, the better to fly from the field of battle. Who can assure us that he will not turn back at the first onset, and leave us to fight the battle ourselves?" 'Abdu-r-rahmán having been informed of this by one of his *maulis*, rode up to Abú-s-sabáh, the chief of the Yemení Arabs, who was mounted on a grey mule called *Kaukab* (lightning), and addressed him thus: "O Abú-s-sabáh! this horse of mine is in the habit of rearing under me, so that it is very difficult for me to keep my saddle. I wish to make an exchange with thee; give me that excellent and quiet mule of thine, and take my spirited horse." Abú-s-sabáh did as he was desired by 'Abdu-r-rahmán, who by this act dissipated the suspicions of his followers. They relate likewise that some time previous to the general engagement 'Abdu-r-rahmán rode before the ranks, and asked his men, "What day is this?"—"Thursday, the day of 'Arefah," answered they. "Well, then, mark my words," replied 'Abdu-r-rahmán, "To-morrow is

“ Friday, and the ‘ festival of the victims ’ [May 15, A. D. 756]; the contending “ parties are the Bení Umeyyah on one side, the Bení Fehr on the other; opposed “ to each other are the sons of Kays and the tribes of Yemen; let this day be a “ brother of that of Merj-Ráhitt,<sup>12</sup> which it so much resembles in every respect.” These words failed not to inspire courage into the followers of ‘Abdu-r-rahmán; for it brought to their mind the battle of Merj-Ráhitt, between Merwán Ibn Al-hakem, ‘Abdu-r-rahmán’s grandfather, and Adh-dhahhák Ibn Kays Al-fehrí, which, as is well known, was likewise fought on a Friday, and on the ‘ day of the victims;’ the victory remaining to Merwán, who put to death Adh-dhahhák and seventy thousand men of the tribe of Kays, and others allied to it. It is even said that there was a still closer coincidence. At the battle of Merj-Ráhitt there were only three men of the tribe of Kays serving under the orders of Merwán; namely, ‘Abdullah Ibn Masádah Al-fezárí, Ibn Hobeyrah Al-moháribí, and Sáleh Al-ghinawwí: at the battle of Musárah there were likewise only three men of the tribe of Kays serving under ‘Abdu-r-rahmán; namely, Jábir Ibnu-l-’ala Ibn Sheháb and Al-hossayn Ibnu-d-dajen, both belonging to the tribe of ‘Okayl, and Helál Ibnu-t-tofayl Al-’abdarí.<sup>13</sup> After some hard fighting on both sides, victory declared for ‘Abdu-r-rahmán. Yúsuf was the first to give way; As-samíl and his followers valiantly kept their ground until all hopes of recovering the day were gone. They say that when As-samíl saw that his men were losing courage, he spurred on a grey mule which he rode, and plunged into the middle of the enemy’s ranks, with a view of coming, if possible, to close combat with ‘Abdu-r-rahmán. As he was approaching the spot where that prince fought, Abú ‘Attá came up to him and said, “ O Abú Jaushan! thou hadst “ better spare thyself for another occasion; this is an ominous day, and every thing “ must needs go wrong for us. Mark the coincidence: to-day is Friday, and so was “ the day of Merj-Ráhitt; the warriors on both sides are the same; Umeyyah and “ the sons of Yemen against the tribes of Fehr, Kays, and Kelb. By Allah! I “ believe in truth that this day will turn out as unlucky for us as the day of “ Merj-Ráhitt.”—“ O Abú ‘Attá!” answered As-samíl, “ thou art an eminent “ man, and thy learning is, no doubt, great; but on this occasion despondency “ preys on thy mind, and thy reason is clouded by fear:” saying which he rushed forward, whilst Abú ‘Attá turned bridle and fled. As-samíl, however, was defeated, and his followers put to flight.

Such is the account of this memorable battle as it has been handed down by historians. ‘Abdu-r-rahmán Ad-dákhel obtained a most complete victory, and the field was strewn with the bodies of the enemy. Among the prisoners of the day was ‘Abdu-r-rahmán, one of Yúsuf’s sons, and other distinguished individuals. As-samíl

and Yúsuf contrived to escape: the former retired to a village called Shoudhar (Xodar), in the district of Jaen; the latter, to Merida. They relate that immediately after this defeat Abú-s-sabáh, the chief of the Arabs of Yemen, addressed his followers in these words: "O men, let our victory this day be complete; we have annihilated the party of Yúsuf and As-samíl; let us put to death this beardless youth, I mean the son of Mu'áwiyah, our present commander. If we do, the empire is ours, and we may then appoint one of ourselves to the command of this country, and be for ever rid of the Bení Modhar." Thus spoke Abú-s-sabáh, but not one of those who heard him made reply; on the contrary, his words were reported to 'Abdu-r-rahmán, who kept them in his heart, until a year afterwards, seeing a favourable opportunity, he seized him, and had him executed.

Enters the capital.

After Yúsuf's defeat, 'Abdu-r-rahmán marched his victorious army to Cordova, which city he entered after remaining for three days encamped outside, that he might allow the family of Yúsuf time to quit the palace.<sup>14</sup> He also showed his generosity and clemency by pardoning all those who had taken up arms against him. After spending a few days in the capital, 'Abdu-r-rahmán received intelligence how the partisans of Yúsuf and As-samíl, after collecting the relics of their army in the neighbourhood of Granada, were again preparing to attack him, and he therefore resolved to go out in pursuit of them. Before his departure, however, he appointed Abú 'Othmán, who, as before related, was the principal instrument of his success, to be governor of Cordova in his absence, and gave him Umeyyah Ibn Zeyyád to act as his secretary. This Umeyyah had formerly held the same office under Yúsuf; but, being a *mauli* of the Bení Umeyyah, 'Abdu-r-rahmán granted him his pardon, and confirmed him in his appointment. These arrangements being taken, 'Abdu-r-rahmán started in pursuit of the enemy, though not without leaving behind him a considerable body of troops to guard the capital in his absence. It happened, however, that as he was marching to overtake Yúsuf, that general manœuvred so well as to place himself between 'Abdu-r-rahmán and Cordova, whence, by dint of forced marches, he suddenly appeared before that capital, which he entered without resistance, as well as the palace of the governor, Abú 'Othmán, who, with the garrison, threw himself hastily into the tower of the great mosque. He was there besieged by Yúsuf, who offered him security for himself and his followers, if he would surrender. Abú 'Othmán refused, and maintained himself until a peace was concluded between his master and Yúsuf in the month of Safar of the year 139 (July, A. D. 756). The treaty, which included also Yúsuf's late Wizír, As-samíl, stipulated that the two chieftains should be left in the undisturbed possession of whatever property they might have at the time; that Yúsuf should

Starts in pursuit of Yúsuf.

Obliges him to capitulate.

reside in Cordova, where the palace of Al-horr was assigned to him as a dwelling ; but that he should be obliged to present himself before 'Abdu-r-rahmán once every day. To insure the fulfilment of these conditions, Yúsuf was to give as hostages his sons Abú-l-aswad Mohammed and 'Abdu-r-rahmán, the latter of whom, as before related, was made prisoner at the battle of Musárah. This treaty being ratified and peace concluded, both armies returned to Cordova.



JUNTA DE ANDALUCIA

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

## CHAPTER II.

'Abdu-r-rahmán invites the Bení Umeyyah to settle in Andalus—Names of those who left the East—Rebellion of Yúsuf—His defeat and death—As-samíl poisoned by 'Abdu-r-rahmán's order—Ibn Mughíth invades Andalus—Is defeated and put to death—Rebellion of the Yemenites—Heroic act of 'Abdu-l-malek—Conspiracy against 'Abdu-r-rahmán discovered—Execution of his nephew Al-mugheyrah—'Abdu-r-rahmán prepares to invade Syria—Rebellion of the Fátemí—of Hayyát Ibn Mulábis—of Al-huseyn Ibn Yahya, governor of Saragossa—of Hasan Ibn 'Abdi-l-'azíz—'Abdu-r-rahmán takes Berbers into his pay—Success of the Christians—Charlemagne asks for peace—Building of the Rissáfah—of the great mosque—Character of 'Abdu-r-rahmán—His liberality—His wit and eloquence—His ingratitude towards Bedr, Abú 'Othmán, Kháled, and Temám—Hájibs of 'Abdu-r-rahmán—Councillors—Kátibs—Kádís—Death of 'Abdu-r-rahmán.

IN the preceding Book we gave a rapid sketch of the victories of the Moslems and their conquest of Andalus, and of the power which they wielded in that country until the arrival of 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ad-dákhel, the sovereign under whose sway the consolidation of the Mohammedan empire was achieved, and the preponderance of the Yemenite faction [over the Bení Modhar] fully established, as we shall hereafter relate, if God be pleased.

Ibn Hazm and others describe the dynasty of the Bení Umeyyah of Andalus as the most powerful and glorious of the Mohammedan dynasties; the most afflicting to the enemies of God, and that which gained most renown; since, as it will be shown in the course of this narrative, none other surpassed it in the number and importance of its victories.

We have given elsewhere a detailed account of the adventures of 'Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mu'áwiyah, of his wanderings through Africa, and of the many dangers to which he was exposed before he could land in Andalus, and establish therein the supremacy of his family; but for the sake of information, and in order to throw more light over this our narrative, we shall here condense the facts already recorded.

According to Ibnu Khaldún and other historians, the dynasty of the Bení

Umeyyah of Andalus originated thus: In the year 132 of the Hijra (beginning August 19, A. D. 749), the Bení 'Abbás overpowered the Bení Umeyyah, and gained possession of the Khalifate. After 'Abdullah Ibn 'Alí, the uncle of As-seffáh, had put to death Merwán Ibn Mohammed Ibn Merwán Ibn Al-hakem, the last Khalif of that dynasty, the sons of Umeyyah were every where pursued for slaughter, and both the surface and the bowels of the earth were scrupulously searched for them. Among those who fled [to escape from their enemies] was 'Abdu-r-rahmán, son of Mu'áwiyah, son of Hishám, son of 'Abdu-l-malek, son of Merwán, for whom the partisans and friends of the Bení Umeyyah were preparing an empire in the West, as they saw in him certain signs indicative of his success, which had been prognosticated by his uncle, Moslemah Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek. 'Abdu-r-rahmán himself, who had heard from the lips of Moslemah that he would be the avenger of his family, having upon one occasion entered the presence of his grandfather Hishám, found his uncle, Moslemah Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek, sitting in the room with him. 'Abdu-r-rahmán being then an infant, Hishám gave orders that he should be taken out of the room. But Moslemah interfered, and, pressing the child to his bosom, said to his brother, "Let him stay, O Commander of the Faithful! and be kind to him; for he will become in time the avenger of the Bení Umeyyah,<sup>1</sup> and the restorer of their empire."—"From that time," said 'Abdu-r-rahmán (from whom this anecdote is borrowed), "my grandfather always treated me with the greatest kindness and distinction." Encouraged by these prognostics, with which he never failed to acquaint his friends, 'Abdu-r-rahmán fled to the West, and took up his abode among the Nefezah, a Berber tribe of Tripoli, to whom his mother Ráha belonged. However, Ibn Habíb hearing of his being there, he removed to Maghílah; others say to Mekenésah (Mequinez); others, to a district inhabited by Berbers of the tribe of Zenátah, who treated him kindly, and among whom he was secure. Thence 'Abdu-r-rahmán went to Melílah (Melilla). It was from this place that he sent over to Andalus his freedman Bedr, to stir the adherents of his family to revolt against Yúsuf Al-fehrí, the governor who held the command of that country.

No sooner was 'Abdu-r-rahmán firmly seated on the throne, than he dispatched emissaries to Syria, Egypt, and other Mohammedan countries, with instructions to find out the surviving members of his family, and invite them to settle in his dominions. Accordingly several individuals, or adherents, of the proscribed race of Umeyyah, who had hitherto lain concealed from the spies of Al-mansúr [Abú Ja'far], hastened to obey his summons, and arrived in Andalus, where 'Abdu-r-rahmán received them with every mark of attention and respect. As the names of all those who entered Andalus on this occasion have been preserved by many

<sup>1</sup>Abdu-r-rahmán invites the Bení Umeyyah to settle in Andalus.

diligent historians, we shall extract from their works such passages as are calculated to throw light on this interesting subject.

“During the reign of this Sultán,” says one, “numbers of illustrious Moslems quitted the land of their fathers, and settled in Andalus. Several of the Bení Merwán too, encouraged by the success of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, flocked to him from the East. A contemporary writer has said, ‘When Ad-dákhel saw himself firmly seated on the throne, he bestirred himself to collect around him the relics of his family, and, having dispatched emissaries for that purpose, succeeded in bringing to Cordova several of the relatives and adherents of his family. God Almighty was pleased to assist him in the undertaking, and to permit that he should extend over them the hand of protection.’”

Alluding to this, the historian Al-hijári has said, “'Abdu-r-rahmán was in the habit of saying to his courtiers, ‘Among the many favours bestowed on us by the Almighty, the greatest, after making us the master of this empire, is his allowing us to collect in this country our kindred and relatives, and enabling us to give them a share in this empire, which we hold through his interference. There is no power or strength but in God! His is the empire!’”

In this manner there came to Andalus a brother of 'Abdu-r-rahmán, named Al-walíd Ibn Mu'áwiyah; two sons of the Khalif Hishám Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek; a cousin of his named 'Abdu-s-sellám Ibn Yezíd Ibn Hishám; and two nephews, Al-mugheyráh Ibn Al-walíd and 'Obeydullah<sup>2</sup> Ibn Abán Ibn Mu'áwiyah. There came, besides, 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn 'Omar, Abú Suleymán Foteys Ibn Suleymán, 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn Bashár, Habíb Ibn 'Abdi-l-malek, and many others, to all of whom he gave pensions and lands, as well as command in his armies, and government in the provinces, by which means his empire was strengthened, and he was enabled to subdue all his enemies.

Among the above-named individuals, 'Abdu-l-malek Ibn 'Omar was the one who contributed most powerfully to the consolidation of 'Abdu-r-rahmán's power. He was the son of 'Omar, and the grandson of the Khalif Merwán Ibn Al-hakem. His father 'Omar had, when young, been intrusted to the care of his own brother 'Abdu-l-'azíz, governor of Egypt, where he resided until his death. When the bearers of the black colours ('Abbássides) appeared in Syria, 'Abdu-l-malek, who was residing in that country, fled to Egypt; but not considering himself secure there, he took his departure, accompanied by ten men<sup>3</sup> of his own family, and arrived in Andalus, where he found his relative 'Abdu-r-rahmán already seated on the throne. This was in the year 140 (beginning May 24, A. D. 757). 'Abdu-r-rahmán honoured and distinguished him greatly: knowing that he had filled offices of trust under the Khalifs of his family, he gave him the government of Seville, and

Names of those  
who left the  
East.

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