Early Islamic Spain

This book is the first published English-language translation of the significant *History of Islamic Spain* by Ibn al-Qūṭiya (d. Cordova 367 / 977). Including extensive notes and comments, a genealogical table and relevant maps, the text is preceded by a study of the author and his work, and is the only serious examination of the unique manuscript since Pascual de Gayangos’ edition in 1868.

Ibn al-Qūṭiya’s work is one of the significant and earliest histories of Muslim Spain and an important source for scholars. Although like most Muslims of al-Andalus in this period, Ibn al-Qūṭiya was of European origin, he was a loyal servant of the Iberian Umayyads, and taught Arabic, traditions (*ḥadīth*) and history in the Great Mosque of Cordova. Written at the height of the Umayyad Caliphate of Muslim Spain and Portugal (*al-Andalus*), the *History* describes the first 250 years of Muslim rule in the peninsula. The text, first fully translated into Spanish in 1926, deals with all aspects of life, and includes accounts of Christians, Jews and Muslim converts. Aside from the intrigues of the ruling classes, it also speaks of the lives of lesser inhabitants: servants, minor officials, poets, judges, concubines and physicians.

This book will be of great interest to scholars and students of the history of Spain and Portugal, Islamic history, and Mediaeval European history.

**David James** was Special Lecturer in Arabic Studies at University College Dublin, where he also taught a course on Islamic Spain. He is the author of *Manuscripts of the Holy Qur’ān from the Mamlūk Era* and has lived and worked in Andalucia for the last ten years.
This series studies the Middle East through the twin foci of its diverse cultures and civilisations. Comprising original monographs as well as scholarly surveys, it covers topics in the fields of Middle Eastern literature, archaeology, law, history, philosophy, science, folklore, art, architecture and language. While there is a plurality of views, the series presents serious scholarship in a lucid and stimulating fashion.

Previously published by Curzon

The Origins of Islamic Law
The Qur’an, the Muwatta’ and Madinan Amal
Yasin Dutton

A Jewish Archive from Old Cairo
The history of Cambridge University’s Genizah Collection
Stefan Reif

The Formative Period of Twelver Shi’ism
Hadith as discourse between Qum and Baghdad
Andrew J. Newman

Qur’an Translation
Discourse, texture and exegesis
Hussein Abdul-Raof

Christians in Al-Andalus 711–1000
Ann Rosemary Christys

Folklore and Folklife in the United Arab Emirates
Sayyid Hamid Hurriez

The Formation of Hanbalism
Piety into power
Nimrod Hurvitz

Arabic Literature
An overview
Pierre Cachia

Structure and Meaning in Medieval Arabic and Persian Lyric Poetry
Orient pearls
Julie Scott Meisami

Muslims and Christians in Norman Sicily
Arabic-Speakers and the end of Islam
Alexander Metcalfe

Modern Arab Historiography
Historical discourse and the nation-state
Youssef Choueiri

The Philosophical Poetics of Alfarabi, Avicenna and Averroes
The Aristotelian reception
Salim Kemal
Published by Routledge

The Epistemology of Ibn Khaldun
Zaid Ahmad

The Hanbali School of Law and Ibn Taymiyyah
Conflict or conciliation
Abdul Hakim I Al-Matroudi

Arabic Rhetoric
A pragmatic analysis
Hussein Abdul-Raof

Arab Representations of the Occident
East-West encounters in Arabic fiction
Rasheed El-Enany

God and Humans in Islamic Thought
Abd al-Jabbar, Ibn Sina and al-Ghazali
Maha Elkaisy-Friemuth

Original Islam
Malik and the madhhab of Madina
Yasin Dutton

Al-Ghazali and the Qur’an
One book, many meanings
Martin Whittingham

Birth of The Prophet Muhammad
Devotional piety in Sunni Islam
Marion Holmes Katz

Space and Muslim Urban Life
At the limits of the Labyrinth of Fez
Simon O’Meara

Islam Science
The intellectual career of Nizam al-Din al-Nizaburi
Robert G. Morrison

Ibn’Arabi – Time and Cosmology
Mohamed Haj Yousef

The Status of Women in Islamic Law and Society
Annotated translation of al-Т‘ahir al-_HASHD‘s Imra’tunâ fi ’I-shar‘a wa ’I-mujtama‘, with an introduction
Ronak Husni and Daniel L. Newman

Islam and the Baha’i Faith
A comparative study of Muhammad ‘Abduh and ‘Abdul-Baha ‘Abbas
Oliver Scharbrodt

Comte de Gobineau and Orientalism
Selected eastern writings
Translated by Daniel O’Donoghue
Edited by Geoffrey Nash

Early Islamic Spain
The History of Ibn al-Qutiya
David James
Early Islamic Spain
The *History* of Ibn al-Qūṭīya

A study of the unique Arabic manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, with a translation, notes and comments

David James
Contents

Acknowledgments ix
List of maps and illustrations xiii
Explanatory note xvii

Introduction: The History of the History 1

Translation: The History of Ibn al-Qūṭiya (d. 367/977) 47

1 Ṭāriq ibn Zīyād invades al-Andalus 49

2 Al-Andalus under the Governors of the Damascus Caliphate (92–136/711–756) 59

3 The Arrival of ʿAbd al-Rahmān ibn Muʿāwīya and his Reign as Emir (138–172/756–788) 67

4 The Reign of the Emir Hishām (172–180/788–796) 82

5 The Reign of the Emir al-Ḥakam (180–206/796–822) 86

6 The Reign of the Emir ʿAbd al-Rahmān II (796–238/822–852) 97

7 The Reign of the Emir Muḥammad (238–273/852–886) 109

8 The Reign of the Emir al-Mundhir (273–275/886–888) 130
viii Early Islamic Spain

9 The Reign of the Emir ʿAbdallāh (275–300/888–912) 133

10 The Reign of the Emir/Caliph ʿAbdal-Rahmān III (300–350/912–961) 140

Appendices 143

Appendix i: The location of the symbol hāʾ in the text of the History 143

Appendix ii: The Banū ʿl-Quṭiya, circa. 107–429/725–1037 and other descendants of Sāra al-Qūṭiya 145

Appendix iii: The firāsh, carpet-of-office or throne-of-office (?) for officials of the Umayyad Emirate 147

Appendix iv: Al-Musḥaf alladhi yunsab ilā ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān, the copy of the Qurʾān of ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān in the Great Mosque of Cordova 148

Appendix v: The location of Ṣakhrat Jawdharish, west of Bobastro 150

Appendix vi: The identity of Abū ʿl-Faḍl ibn Muḥammad . . . al-Wazzān 151

Bibliography 154

Index 165
Acknowledgments

My first encounter with the History of Ibn al-Qūṭīya was as a young teacher in Omdurman in the mid-1960s when I bought the 1957 Beirut version of the text edited by ʻAbdallāh Anīs al-Ṭabbā’ in a Khartoum bookshop. Although I did not realise at the time, it was the beginning of a life-long interest in Islamic Spain. When I became Special Lecturer in Arabic Studies at University College, Dublin, some years later, the Department of Mediaeval History asked me if I would be interested in offering a course on Islamic Spain; a course that I later adapted for the students of Arabic in the Department of Semitic Languages, later re-named Near Eastern Studies. I then read the History of Ibn al-Qūṭīya with the final year students as a set book.

As there was no English translation of the text at the time, the idea of producing one was always in my mind. But I did not get down to the task until several years ago, after going to live in Ronda in 1997 and being inspired by living in a town which for centuries had been part of al-Andalus.

At the time, I was not aware of J.M. Nichols’s unpublished 1975 English translation of the text. Nichols's translation was a doctoral thesis for the University of North Carolina and was based on al-Ṭabbā”s 1957 edition, and that of Gayangos/Ribera, 1868/1926. Although accessible it was never formally published. It is a perfectly good piece of work, with an excellent introduction, and I have referred to it on numerous occasions in the preparation of my own version. Since the edition of al-Ṭabbā’ there has been another one, by Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī, published in Cairo and Beirut in 1982, which gives some new suggestions for the readings of certain parts of the text. But I have used all the printed editions from that of Cherbonneau, 1853–1856 onwards, and compared them with the unique manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

After the 1868 edition of the entire text published in Madrid by Gayangos, later editors seemed to have referred only to that, or the copy made by the Spanish nineteenth-century scholar, Eduardo Saavedra, now in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, rather than the original manuscript in Paris. All the twentieth-century editions contain certain errors due to mis-readings of the Paris text, and some parts of that text have been accidentally omitted. Furthermore, none of the editors mentions the unusual way in which the text
of the Paris manuscript is presented by the scribe. I have dealt with this in the 
Introduction, but it is something that will, I think, bear further investigation. 
Several of the editors and most scholars who have worked from these printed 
editions mention an orthographic peculiarity, which has elicited considerable 
discussion, but does not, in fact, exist in the Paris manuscript.

In addition to Nichols’s translation, and probably even more helpful for 
the background of the author and his life and times, has been the excellent 

The text of the History is one of the earliest accounts of the Emirate of 
Cordova, composed by a scholar of Visigothic descent. His view is not impar-
tial: he was a loyal servant of the Umayyad emirs. But he does give a picture 
of al-Andalus that embraces more than just the activities of the Muslim 
ruling classes, discussing the Iberian coverts (Muwallads), and mentioning 
events involving both the Christians and Jews who lived in al-Andalus.

His sources are mentioned only in part but he was the recipient of much 
oral, and probably written, information. The text was delivered in the form of 
‘lectures’ to several generations of students, perhaps from notes, though he 
was renowned for quoting from copious memory. Whether he ever ‘wrote up’ 
the notes and records as a book is not clear. Although his name appears on 
the text, it may be the work of a student. Moreover, the sole surviving text in 
Paris was probably not the only version in circulation. Several later medi-
aeval authors quote Ibn al-Qūṭīya at considerable length, and much of this 
quoted material appears in the surviving text either in abbreviated form, or 
not at all.

No one however, quotes the text by the name we now know it, the Ta’rīkh 
iftīṭāḥ al-Andalus, ‘The History of the Conquest of al-Andalus’, and it is not 
clear whether later Muslim authors refer to a written version, notes of stu-
dents, or the memories of his listeners, passed on in later years. We shall 
probably never know. We are lucky even to have the text as it exists: a unique 
survival of the ruin of ‘al-Andalus’ – Islamic Spain and Portugal. So many 
texts were lost in the civil wars that followed the collapse of the Umayyad 
Caliphate of Cordova, the Christian conquest of al-Andalus, and the massive 
destruction and neglect of the written heritage after 1492. The outstanding 
and distinguished efforts of generations of Spanish scholars to re-discover 
their lost heritage has more than made up for the neglect, and to a lesser 
extent the loss, of so much material. I acknowledge my own debt to all those 
who have written about Ibn al-Qūṭīya and the history of al-Andalus in the 
second/eighth, third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries.

In preparing this text, the introduction and notes, I have been greatly 
helped by Geoffrey Roper, from whom I have regularly requested information 
both verbal and written. I give him my grateful thanks for all his help; and for 
reading the Introduction and offering some useful suggestions. My thanks, 
also, for the regular and generous hospitality offered by both Geoffrey and 
his wife Daphne on my visits to London. I would also like to thank my 
son Murad, for the benefit of his outstanding computer expertise, which on
several occasions has saved this text from disappearing into the oblivion of cyberspace.

I thank also Professor Joaquin Vallvé Bermejo for answering my questions about the location of Bobastro, François Déroche and Marie-Geneviève Guesdon for answering some technical queries about the Paris manuscript, Raymond Mercier for information about the eclipse of 218/833 and Professor David King who answered some other questions relating to the text. Also to Séamus Gaffney for his comments on horses and horsemanship as mentioned in the text.

My thanks go to Ian Netton, general editor of the series of which this work is part; to Joe Whitting of Routledge for his helpful advice when I first approached him with my proposal for the book; and to Suzanne Chilestone of Routledge for her editorial assistance and advice.

Finally my thanks to Barbara and her family, without whose generosity, I could not have completed this work which was begun in Ronda and continued in Cordova, Paris, London and Eastbourne.

David James
Ronda – *Runda al-Mahrūsa*, 2008
Maps and illustrations

1 The Peninsula in Visigothic times and the probable routes of Tāriq and Mūsa 48
2 The Emirate of Cordova and its provinces 66
3 Cordova in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries 96
4 The area of the campaigns against Ibn Ḥafṣūn and the citadel of Bobastro 132
Frontispiece: the final pages of text, containing part of the anecdote concerning Bazīʿa the concubine and singer, and the colophon of the manuscript, giving the name of the work as Taʾrīkh Ibn al-Qūṭiya, the History of Ibn al-Qūṭiya. Black mujawhar or mabsūṭ script with a red triple-dot motif at the end of some lines on European papers of circa 1350–1450, Granada or Morocco. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, MS Arabe 1867, folios 49 verso–50 recto. (Reproduced with permission of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.)
Explanatory Note

Place names appear in both their Arabic and Spanish forms when first mentioned in the text, thus: Urjudhūna [Archidona]. From then on, only the Spanish form is given. If there is a commonly used Anglicised form, i.e. Cordova, Saragossa, Seville, I have used this. But when referring to modern Spanish provinces, I have used the Spanish form, i.e. Sevilla.

Dates are normally given in their Hijri form followed by the Common Era (CE) date: 367/977, unless they have no specifically Islamic relevance.
Introduction

The History of the *History*

The manuscript

There is only one manuscript copy of the *History*, MS 1867 in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris whose only reliable title is that given by the anonymous scribe in his colophon *Taʾrīkh Ibn al-Qūṭīya*, ‘The History of Ibn al-Qūṭīya’. All other versions are derived from that unique manuscript. These are: MS 996 Leiden; MS 987 Munich; MS 4996 Madrid; MS *Taʾrīkh* 2837, Cairo.¹ In the most serious study of the *History* published so far, María Isabel Fierro comes to this conclusion. After examining all the evidence, she convincingly dismisses all editions of the text which, until the publication of her study of Ibn al-Qūṭīya and his *History* in 1989, were thought to be based – somehow – on variants of the text that have disappeared. Thus, the un-dated Cairo edition of ʿAbd al-Muṭʿāl al-Kutubī (*al-Tawfīq Press*) is only a reprint of the 1889 Paris partial edition of Houdas, while the ‘editor’ is actually the bookseller.² Similarly, the partial edition published in 1952 by Muḥammad ibn ʿAẓẓūz, supposedly based on another ‘lost’ manuscript, is, according to Fierro’s findings, also based on Houdas’s edition of the Paris manuscript.³

The only ‘hard’ evidence for the existence of a second copy of Ibn al-Qūṭīya’s work has always been the rumour – repeated by almost all scholars who have studied the *History* – of one which Cherbonneau is said to have found in Constantine in Algeria and used for his partial translations published in Paris in 1853 and 1856.⁴ However, when we come to look at what Cherbonneau actually wrote in the *Journal Asiatique* of 1853, the Constantine manuscript disappears like a mirage of the Saharan desert. Cherbonneau says that he worked *only* on the Paris manuscript, MS Arabe 706, located in those days of the Second Empire at the re-named Bibliothèque Impériale.⁵ In his article he does, it is true, refer to a manuscript in Constantine. He says that Sidi Hamouda ben El ferkoun has a copy of the grammatical work *Kitāb taṣārīf al-af′āl* of Ibn al-Qūṭīya in his fine collection of manuscripts.⁶ But there is no mention of another copy of the *History*.⁷ The first person to mention that Cherbonneau used a copy of the *History* that he had found in Constantine seems to have been Houdas in a footnote to his 1889 partial edition. This has been repeated ever since.⁸
2 Early Islamic Spain

Codicology

The covers

The manuscript was rebound in 1976, so the covers are modern. The original binding still exists in the Bibliothèque Nationale, though its precise date is unclear. It is an Islamic half-binding covered with European marbled papers. A notice which was probably attached to the original binding has been pasted inside the current front cover and gives a seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century catalogue number 764, and a short Latin description. The author is called ‘Ibn El Kautir’, corrected to ‘Kouthyia. On the same notice is a note mentioning Reinaud and Invasions des Sarrazins en France, page 6, which is a reference to the manuscript in Reinaud’s book.

The paper

The paper is a thick, laid, polished European variety, cream in colour, though some folios have been stained a brownish-pink. There are chain-lines 5.05 cm apart and three separate watermarks are visible:

1. A three-humped mountain symbol with a base line, cut at the corners at angles of 45° within a circle. The circle may have been surmounted by a cross, though only a short vertical stroke is visible. This is the commonest of all watermarks. Briquet notes many, but fewer than ten with the symbol enclosed within a circle. The earliest is from Navarre, dated 1391 (11.851) and the latest from Damme, dated 1469 (11.897); other examples come from Genoa. Valls i Subirà notes two similar marks from Catalonia: Olot, dated 1328 (1686) and Vic, dated 1356 (1688).


The bi-folios are in gatherings (quires) of five, each including one bi-folium of the stained paper, and there are ten gatherings, folios 1–50. Each folio measures 25.5 × 20 cm. The stitching is modern, but the original holes made by the needle can still be seen and the sewing seems to have been at eight stations (sewing points).

The script

Folio 1 recto has a note in a maghribī hand mentioning the work of Ibn al-Qūṭiya but not the Akhbār majmū‘a [fī fatḥ ʾal-Andalus], which is
bound along with it. There are some scrawled lines and an illegible calligraphic signature; only the name ‘Hasan’ seems clear. At the top of the folio is a charm addressed to the King of the Cockroaches: Yā Kabakīj! to keep away paper-eating insects. On the verso side are several lines of unidentified verse, written in a rough maghribī hand.

Folio 2 recto contains the words, Ta‘rīkh iftitāh al-Andalus li-Ibn al-Qūṭīya, ‘The History of the Conquest of al-Andalus by Ibn al-Qūṭīya’, inscribed in a large bold maghribī hand. This is in two lines with four decorative motives – triple-circles with central dots. There is also a note mentioning the transfer of the manuscript to a new owner; Intaqalaʾ l-milk Abīʾl-Fadl: ‘Ownership transferred to Abūʾl-Fadl’, and the red stamp of the Bibliothèque Royale and the number 706 together with another, 7(23?), which has been crossed out.

The text commences on folio 2 verso with the basmalah and words in praise of the Prophet and his Companions. Directly underneath the text begins with the words Akhbaranā Abū Bakr Muhammad ibn ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in two lines in a calligraphic style with red decorative motifs.

Unlike most mediaeval Arabic texts, whatever their subject matter, these opening lines come directly to the point. Most authors begin with a passage in praise of God and the Prophet, his Companions, etc., followed by the formula, wa-baʾd fa-qāla / yaqūl . . . (‘Then [the author] said / says . . .’), followed by an explanation of how he came to write the work, culminating with the expression fa-sammaytuhu . . ., ‘I called it . . .’. None of this is present here. Furthermore, unlike most Arabic histories, the text is not divided up into years and reigns, introduced by an appropriate heading. There are only very occasional ‘headings’, which introduce a following passage rather than being part of it. But these are not differentiated from the other ‘key words’ (see next section) by being in a space to themselves, as occurs in some other manuscripts. In fact the only way in which the text conforms to what later became well established norms – apart from the opening basmalah – is by giving a colophon on folio 50 recto which states: Intahā ta‘rīkh Ibn al-Qūṭīya, al-ḥamdulillāh wahdahu: ‘The History of Ibn al-Qūṭīya is finished. Thanks be to God alone’, which is also written in a calligraphic style with decorative motifs, like the beginning of the text. Often, but by no means always, a colophon may include the name of the scribe and the date of copying; rarely is the place of completion given. Here we have only the title.

The folios have been numbered more than once, but the official BN numbering is the one written in ink, and is the one I have used here, throughout. The edition of Gayangos/Ribera does not give the folio numbers of the manuscript. There, the Arabic text is numbered pages 1–117, and the Spanish translation pages 1–101.

The Ta‘rīkh Ibn al-Qūṭīya is followed by the text of the Akhbār majmūʿa, which terminates on folio 118 recto. There is a purchase note in two lines of maghribī, stating: ‘This book was legally purchased by meanest slave of God and the least of his slaves Abūʾl-Fadl ibn Muh . . . al-Wazzān/al-Wazzānī (?). . . . The name has been erased with a wet finger, but it is the same
Abū’l-Fadl that we find at the beginning of the manuscript. Folio 118 verso has the first lines of several poems, together with the names of the poets: Zāhī, ’Alqama, Ṭarfa. . . .

The text area measures 19 × 13 cm, with interlinear spacing of 1.02 cm. There are no impressed guidelines on the paper and there are no catch-words in the lower inside margins, by which scribes kept track of the order of the text. The script is an excellent maghribī book-hand, mujawhar or possibly mabsūt written with a fine pen, probably metal. The vowels are written with the same pen, with the vowel signs fathā and kasra signs at an angle of 45°, rather than being written horizontally, as is often the case in manuscripts from North Africa. Another pen was used to write the ‘key words’ and ‘significant words’, of which there are many in the text. These are written in a large black maghribī hand, twice the size of the script used for the main text. When writing the main text, the scribe left spaces for the words in the larger script to be inserted. In several instances at the beginning of the text, some of these spaces have not been filled in, leaving a small number of blanks in the text.

**Key words and significant words**

‘Key words’ mark the beginning of anecdotes and general historical information. ‘Significant words’ draw attention to important people mentioned in an anecdote or piece of information. These are all written using a larger pen. On some folios there are several key words, which mark the beginnings of short pieces of information, while on others there are none, or very few, because the anecdote/information was quite long; as in the story of Ṭālūt’s appearance before al-Ḥakam, or the Viking invasion, or the story of Hāmid and Qawmis. These contain no keywords after the opening ones, though the anecdote may include some some ‘significant words’ in the form of proper names. Obviously a student taking down the original relation would not have had time to change pens – and inkwells if he was using several colours – every few minutes. He would simply have drawn a line over the inicial words of each anecdote or piece of information. Then, when another copy was made the words could be written with a bigger pen, or in a different coloured ink.

In the accompanying translation I have separated all these passages that begin with a ‘key word’ – marking the beginning of an anecdote, or relation – with an interlinear asterisk.

**Corrections and Lacunae**

At several points in the text corrections have been added in the margins, each one bearing the expression saḥḥ, correct. At one point a line has been missed out and written in the margin with the expression saḥḥ aslan, ‘correct as in the original’. These carefully written corrections seem to have been made by the
scribe. There are tiny ‘angle’ signs at the points in the text where these corrections should go, and where the expression sahh is also written. There is only one marginal note, a later comment in a different hand, on the lines recited by ‘Amr ibn ‘Abdallâh after being forced to swear an oath on a copy of the Qur‘ân.13

There are 12 blank spaces between folios 2 verso and 9 recto apparently distributed at random. The reason for this – it seems to me – is that the scribe originally planned to insert the key/significant words in three colours, black, red and blue, as in the Akhbâr majmû’a text, but red and blue inks were not available so he only used black and left blank the spaces where he planned to use red and blue later. Then, shortly afterwards he decided to use only black but did not get round to filling in the blanks that he had left. It is not a question of his not being able to read the text he was copying; even without the words we can even guess, in most cases, what they would have been.

The use alkh, ‘etc.’

The presence of the abbreviation alkh (meaning ilâ âkhirihi ‘to the end’, or ‘etc.’, ‘and-so-on’) has been referred to by several scholars. Gayangos inserts the expression into his edition of the text at 11 points. Al-Ṭabbâ’ notes its use on a few occasions but makes no comment. Al-Abyârî, notes its use nine times in his edition.

The purpose of this expression has been explained in different – and conflicting – ways. Al-Abyârî, believed the expression marked parts of the text which the student/transmitter of Ibn al-Qûṭîya took from the Fath al-Andalus of ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Ḥabîb (d. 238/852) and the works of Muḥammad al-Râzî and his son Aḥmad (d. 344/955) to compare the different versions. Chalmêta believed that its use marked points in the text where the author did not wish to repeat information that was already known. According to Chalmêta, as an akhbârî, Ibn al-Qûṭîya was only interested in unrecorded information. Fierro pointed out that he did in fact record information that was already known in his day, and came up with her own more complex explanations.14 All of these theories are based on the Gayangos/Ribera edition of the text.

However, the expression alkh does not appear in the Paris manuscript – anywhere. Nor does it appear in Gayangos/Saaavedra’s copy of the Paris manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid – anywhere. What appears in both is the letter hâ’ and as this appears at several of the points (though not all) where Gayangos/Ribera and al-Abyârî say alkh appears, I can only presume that hâ’ substituted for alkh (even though in most instances hâ’ has been left out altogether). But alkh does not have the same meaning as hâ’.

Alkh can only mean et cetera: in other words, that there is more information but the writer does not choose to give it. Hâ’, on the other hand has several meanings. It is the standard abbreviation for the word intahâ, ‘to be finished’. It is employed, in this capacity, to indicate one of the following: the
end of a passage; a paragraph mark; a text divider. It can also mean that what preceeds the symbol has been abbreviated. This is often indicated by ḥāʾ alif (intahā ikhtisār).

But ḥāʾ does not mean the same as the symbol alkh, and the use of alkh in all the printed editions of the *History* is an error. Ḥāʾ has been used more than 30 times in the text and has more than one function.

It is well known in calligraphy and was often placed at the end of an aphorism, verse, exclamation, or similar. In the text of the *History* we find it similarly used after several phrases that act as introductions to anecdotes or sections of the text: *min akhbār al-Ṣumayl, ‘An anecdote about al-Ṣumayl’*, for example. It also occurs immediately before several verses of poetry where the author says: *fa-inshāda: . . ., (‘so he recited . . .’), or something similar. These may not indicate the end of the anecdote, but may serve a decorative function. Sometimes it also occurs after the end of the verse. It is also used in the *Akhbār majmūʿa* in ways similar to those found in the *History*, including the purely decorative.

But its main use in the text seems to be to show where an anecdote, or piece of information ends. Most of these passages begin with a ‘key word’ in the larger hand and then continue, normally without any other ‘key words’ in the text until we reach the end of the piece which terminates with ḥāʾ. On the few occasions where there appears be no key word, the key word may be the previous one indicated, though to my understanding, there does not appear to be a connection.

In most instances, the symbol clearly marks the end of something: but of what, is the question. There are several options. It could indicate the end of a quotation or summarised quotation from an earlier author like Ibn Ḥabīb, most of whose works are lost; or Muḥammad al-Rāzī, none of whose works still exist. Ibn Ḥabīb died in 238/852 so anything written after the reign of ṬAbd al-Rahmān II, who died in the same year, must be from al-Rāzī or some other historian. As the work of both scholars is known only through quotations in the works of later authors it is difficult to know whether any of these passages, ending in ḥāʾ, are from the works of either historian. But if some are from Ibn Ḥabīb why are they not attributed to him? The author had already mentioned Ibn Ḥabīb’s *Fāṭḥ al-Andalus* in the first few pages of the text, so why did he not quote him at these later points?

Were they sections added in by the student/transmitter as al-Abyārī, suggests? But if the work was written down after the death of Ibn al-Qūṭīya in 367/977, by then it was standard practice to name quoted sources. Another explanation may be that the symbol marks the end of parts of the relation that have been summarised or shortened by the transmitter. This would help to explain why we have much longer quotations from Ibn al-Qūṭīya in the works of later historians, which do not appear in the *History*.

But even if the explanation is correct, the question remains: when was this done? What stage does the received text represent in the transmission of the *History*? The Paris manuscript can not have been copied before 700/1300. Did
the copyist make the summaries? Or was he copying an already summarised text? Were there other versions in existence based on notes made by those who attended Ibn al-Qūṭiya’s sessions of akhbār? Well, frankly, it is impossible to know. But on the basis of general scribal, and I emphasise scribal, practice, it seems – to me at least – that the symbol ḥāʾ indicates the end of a passage that has been quoted from someone other than Ibn al-Qūṭiya, whether the source is given or not. For example, the anecdote about the body in the basket begins with the key words: Wa-min akhbār ʿAbd al-Rahmān ibn al-Ḥakam . . . annahu, ‘An anecdote about ʿAbd al-Rahmān ibn al-Ḥakam is that he . . . ’ (folio 29 verso = 84,l.15). The anecdote is then given and finishes with ḥāʾlintahā (finished) placed after the last word, al-raʾy (folio 30 recto = 85,l.15).

It was normal scribal practice from the time of Ibn Ḥayyān to that of al-Maqqarī for quotations in a text to end with the symbol ḥāʾ and to begin with the name of person being quoted: Qāla al-Rażī, etc., . . . It is true that not all scribes used the symbol, but when several quotations come in succession, as in the case in parts of Ibn Ḥayyān’s al-Muqtabis, it was not always necessary to mark the end of a quotation, since another quotation followed immediately.

The text of the History is exceptional because the source of a quotation is almost never given. We only know of the beginnings of a new section in the text, which may be a quotation, by the fact that the scribe has used key words to indicate the beginning of a new piece of information, or an anecdote, and where a quotation is given – I suggest – he finishes with the symbol ḥāʾ. If the anecdote ‘The body in the Basket’ was not quoted from some other source, why does it end in the symbol ḥāʾ? Why do all anecdotes and pieces of information not end in ḥāʾ? Why some and not others? Furthermore, how did the scribe know when to use the symbol, if no source is named at the beginning of the anecdote? This can only be because the symbol was present in the text he was copying and should, logically, originate with information imparted by the author – or possibly a later editor, though one would suppose that later interpolations would quote the source. Therefore, it seems more likely that the anecdotes and information marked by ḥāʾ go back to the time of Ibn al-Qūṭiya’s initial relation. The explanation may be that these passages are all material that was not supplied to Ibn al-Qūṭiya by the four informants whom he mentions at the beginning of the History, only one of whom, Ibn Lubāba, does he quote by name in the text. As Ibn Lubāba’s information, and by extension that supplied by the other three named informants, does not end in ḥāʾ, it may mean that all those sections which do end in ḥāʾ represent material obtained from other oral or written sources. It also means that this fact was indicated by Ibn al-Qūṭiya to his circle of listeners.

The anecdotes and pieces of information marked in the text are shown in the Appendices. They include several instances where the use of ḥāʾ at the end of a heading is probably only decorative.
The origin of the Paris manuscript

The above codicological information, together with what we can glean from the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century catalogues of the Bibliothèque Royale can tell us a little more about the manuscript’s history. First of all, this is not a run-of-the-mill copy. Both texts in the manuscript are the work of a scribe who, despite his occasional lapses, was a consummate professional. His hand never falters, and the text is very well – even beautifully – copied out. The coloured bi-folios were placed within the gatherings to give maximum decorative effect, even though the final one is ochre-coloured, indicating that the scribe had run out of pink paper. We cannot tell whether this manuscript was copied by a professional scribe as a paid commission, or copied by someone for his own personal use. The quality of the script and the coloured paper inserts suggests the former. But some connoisseurs wrote in very fine hands. A scholar is also more likely to have left the text incomplete than a scribe working for a customer, who would presumably have told the scribe to fill in the blank spaces. The lack of catchwords may also indicate an ‘amateur’. Professional scribes usually inserted the initial word of the following recto folio in the lower left hand corner of the preceding verso folio. Folios were rarely numbered so this was an easy way to put the quires back together, in sequence, if they were taken apart for some reason before being sewn. An amateur might not bother with this system. We have to remember, however, that catchwords seem not to have been used in *Maghribī (Andalusī/North African)* manuscripts before the second half of the eighth/nineteenth century. This also has some bearing on the possible date of the Paris manuscript.

The date of the paper *circa* 1350–1450 means that the manuscript could have been copied in North Africa or Granada. But it was probably acquired by the Bibliothèque Royale through agents in the Levant, rather than North Africa.

It is not mentioned in the first handwritten catalogue or inventory of Arabic manuscripts prepared by the Syrian Buṭrūs al-Ḥalabī (Pierre Diyab/Dipy), dated 1677. It occurs for the first time in another handwritten catalogue, prepared apparently by the Abbé Renaudot in 1718. According to a nineteenth-century note by Reinaud in the catalogue, this was a copy of an earlier Latin catalogue of 1682. The manuscript of the *History* is numbered 764 (2) and the title and the name of the author are given in very fine Arabic script with a brief description in Latin beneath. But only the work of Ibn al-Qūṭīya is mentioned – not the *Akhbār majmūʿa*. A French translation of all the entries follows the Latin catalogue, in the same hand, and is identical – except that the manuscripts with numbers in parenthesis – 764 (2), 764 (3), etc. – are not included, so the Ibn al-Qūṭīya manuscript is not listed in the French section.

This would appear to suggest that the manuscript was acquired between 1677 and 1682 – where it was acquired is not known. Some 987 manuscripts
are listed in the copy of the 1682 catalogue, although the records show, apparently, that only 833 Arabic manuscripts were in the Bibliothèque Royale by the latter date. It was during the reign of Louis XIV (1661–1715) that the royal collection acquired its first substantial bounty of Arabic manuscripts, when the able First Minister of the monarch and instigator of a policy of close relations with the Ottoman Empire, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, pressured the Bibliothèque Royale to acquire the collection of Oriental manuscripts that had belonged to the magistrate and scholar Gilbert Gaulpin (1585–1665). This added 233 Arabic manuscripts to the library. In 1668, the manuscripts of Cardinal Mazarin were obtained, adding another 164. Together with those already in the collection, the number of Arabic manuscripts had jumped from a mere handful in 1667 to more than 400 in 1668. This was followed by a period of feverish activity in the Levant by agents working for the Colbert and the Bibliothèque Royale. A Monsieur Wansleb or Wansleben sent 395 Arabic manuscripts to Paris between 1671 and 1675. Another 38 were acquired from the East around the same time. Most of these manuscripts, perhaps all, were mentioned in the 1677 catalogue of Dipy. Together with those already in the collection, altogether 987 manuscripts are listed. The cataloguing activity seems to have been too much for the Syrian because two scholars, Barthélemy d’Herbelot and the Abbé Renaudot, were appointed to work with him, and the first catalogue was printed in 1690.22

As the History was first allocated acquisition number 706, it would seem to have been among works collected in the Levant between 1671 and 1675, despite its not being mentioned in the catalogue of 1677 and despite its being of Granadan or North African origin.

Although some scholars assumed it would relatively easy to collect Arabic manuscripts in Spain, they were quickly disillusioned. Virtually everything had been destroyed by the early decades of the sixteenth century, and what had been hidden from the Inquisition were copies of the Qur’an and religious works. Nor was it easy to purchase manuscripts in North Africa. The sixteenth-century Flemish Humanist and Arabist Nicolas Clenardus travelled to Fez in 1540 in search of manuscripts, but met with suspicion and hostility and was not able to acquire what he wanted. A generation later, the Frenchman Etienne Hubert had more success and was able to bring some Arabic manuscripts to Paris.23

In the seventeenth century North Africa may have seemed a promising spot for the collection of Arabic manuscripts, but the activities of the Barbary Corsairs made it extremely unsafe. Many thousands of Europeans were carried off into slavery from ships captured on the high seas or by slaving expeditions which went as far as Newfoundland. The second half of the seventeenth century was particularly dangerous for European travellers, so manuscript-buying activities in Morocco or Algiers would have been impossible.24 According to de Slane, manuscripts from North Africa in the Bibliothèque Nationale were acquired mainly after 1832, so it seems more likely that the History was acquired in the Levant rather than in North Africa.25
The text

The received text

Is the received text, in the form of the Paris manuscript, the fullest edition? Was there another longer version, and is the existing version perhaps only an abridgement? These questions have been considered by all historians who have studied Ibn al-Qūṭīya’s work; most recently and exhaustively by Fierro in 1989 who concluded: ‘I think the lack of a substantial corpus of quotations outside of the History, seems to indicate that the version of this work known in al-Andalus would correspond to the one which has come down to us.’

As the Paris manuscript is – for the moment – unique, the only way that this point could be determined is by examining quotations attributed to Ibn al-Qūṭīya in the works of contemporary and later Muslim historians and biographers who dealt with the history of al-Andalus before 326/938, the date of the final events mentioned in the History. It has been apparent since Dozy first looked into this matter that both contemporary and later historians quoted Ibn al-Qūṭīya as their source. Some of the quotations relate to events mentioned in the History and contain similar or identical lines but some are longer than the relevant passages in the received text. Other ‘quotations’ do not appear there at all, though Ibn al-Qūṭīya is given as the source.

Passages in later works which give Ibn al-Qūṭīya as their source, and do not appear in the History, could be explained by the many years he spent as a teacher and relater of akhbār. He was a transmitter of historical and biographical anecdotes, but his fund of such information must have outstripped that contained in the History, given its relative shortness and the relatively long life of the transmitter. Apart from what had been transmitted to him by his teachers or relatives, there were also events and personalities from the years after the last datable events of the text in 326/938 and Ibn al-Qūṭīya’s death in 367/977. We know nothing of the latter – if indeed he ever related any.

But there are also passages in some historical works which appear to be from the History, because they are virtually identical, and which are given without attribution. Here, we have to bear in mind that there may have been a third common source for both passages. Ibn Abī’l-Fayyāḍ who died in 459/1066 was apparently aware of the History through a passage from it quoted by Ibn al-Shabbātī in the Ta’rīkh al-Andalus of Ibn al-Kardabūs, but does not mention Ibn al-Qūṭīya, perhaps because there was another source. Some pages in the Escorial which have been identified as part of the Kitāb al-’ībar of Ibn Abī’l-Fayyāḍ, contain passages that seem to be quotations from the History, though again Ibn al-Qūṭīya is not quoted as the source. Some authors did not quote sources, though historical authenticity normally required that a source be mentioned. This was the main difference between ta’rīkh, ‘history’, and akhbār, ‘anecdote’. But the main problem in attributing the Kitāb al-’ībar passages to Ibn al-Qūṭīya is that they are longer and more detailed than the corresponding ones in the History.
However, the question of passages that quote Ibn al-Qūṭīya, but are considerably longer than the relevant part of the History are best illustrated by those found in the al-Muqtabis of Ibn Ḥāyyān, four large fragments of which are now known.30 They deal with the reigns of al-Ḥakam I, Ṭābih al-Ḥāmīn II, Muḥammad I Ḥabdallāh and Ṭābih al-Ḥāmīn III, and contain many quotations attributed to Ibn al-Qūṭīya, which we shall examine shortly.

Ibn Ḥāyyān’s purpose in composing the al-Muqtabis was to give an account of the history of al-Andalus according to what earlier historians had said – regardless of whether they were mu’arrikhūn or akhbāris. The work is not written in Ibn Hayyān’s own style, but simply reproduces the words of his predecessors by quoting directly from their works: ‘In his book on poets and men-of-letters, Ibn al-Faraḍī said . . . ’ But if there was no written work, then he says: ‘Ahmad ibn Khālid said . . . ’, without mentioning any title.31

The quotations from Ibn al-Qūṭīya can be divided into two groups: those that do not refer to events mentioned in the History and those that do. Some of the former are anecdotes about personalities like the chief judge of al-Ḥakam, Muḥammad ibn Bashīr, which could well have been part of Ibn al-Qūṭīya’s general fund of anecdotes on religious men and important figures of the past, and which were transmitted orally and were never written down in a formal historical work.

Others deal with historical events, such as the short quotation giving the date of the oath of allegiance (bay’a) to the Emir Ḥabdallāh mentioned in Antuña’s edition:32

Then after the emir al-Mundhir ibn Muḥammad, the emir Ḥabdallāh ibn Muḥammad ruled. The oath of allegiance was taken to him in Cordova on Tuesday the 13th of Safr, 275/27 June 888.33

This is a simple statement of fact, giving an exact date – quite a rare occurrence in the History – and it is difficult to imagine that this information was not part of a longer passage referring to Ḥabdallāh’s accession. But the History does not give the allegiance nor accession date of any Umayyad emir, so it is possible that this passage was never part of its text and formed part of a general fund of anecdotes.

The passages quoted by Ibn Ḥāyyān which give Ibn al-Qūṭīya as their source are longer and differ in detail from those in the History – though not in every single instance. I have selected three to give an idea of the difference in content between the quotation and the relevant passage in the History.

**Abdallāh’s appointment and removal of Aḥmad ibn al-Barā` as Governor of Saragossa**

Ibn al-Qūṭīya relates these events in the History as follows:

Now, when al-Mundhir was emir, he appointed Aḥmad ibn al-Barā` ibn
Ma'lik al-Qurashi Governor of Saragossa and the Upper March in opposition to the Banū Qasī. His position strengthened and he gathered a large army. When 'Abdallāh became emir, al-Barā', Ahmād's father was a minister in the chamber of ministers. Something was said to 'Abdallāh about the minister which annoyed him, and worried him: it was something he had said in the chamber, which all the ministers heard.

At that time Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Tujībī, called Abū Yaḥyā – who was the ancestor of the Tujībīs – had known the emir since he was a boy. The emir 'Abdallāh wrote to him and commanded him that if he could assassinate Ahmād ibn al-Barā', he should do it. Secretly the emir sent him a diploma of appointment over Saragossa and the surrounding area. He informed his father, 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz of that and made him a minister. Then the two of them arranged matters to achieve what they wanted. They bribed Ahmād’s guards (a’wān) to kill him. When the news of his death came, 'Abdallāh dismissed Ahmād’s father from his post. Thus the Tujībīs controlled Saragossa: from then to our time.34

Ibn Hayyān gives Ibn al-Qūṭiyya as his source for exactly the same events, but his quotation is much longer. The Arabic text of the account in the History has 139 words; while the al-Muqtabis has 200, so more detail (here emboldened) is given. This is not purely rhetorical, and cannot simply be regarded as a ‘padded-out’ version of Ibn al-Qūṭiyya’s text by some later transmitter.

The emir al-Mundhir ibn Muḥammad appointed Ahmād ibn al-Barā’ ibn Ma'lik al-Qurashi over Saragossa and its March in opposition to the rebellious Banū Qasī in the Upper March. His brother, the emir 'Abdallāh confirmed Ahmād ibn al-Barā’ in his control of the March. He gathered a large army and his position strengthened. His father, al-Barā’ ibn Ma'lik was appointed as a minister in Córdova with the other ministers in the chamber of ministers. He talked too much and something he said was conveyed to the emir 'Abdallāh which he did not like. He said it in the chambers and all his fellow ministers heard it. The emir turned against him and began to suspect his son, the governor of the March.

Abū Yaḥyā Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Tujībī al-Saraquṣṭī, the ancestor of those Tujībīs [now] in control of the March, alternating between rebellion and obedience, had known the emir 'Abdallāh since he was a child in the time of his father Muḥammad. He had a great reputation and well-established leadership in the city. The emir 'Abdallāh wrote to him secretly and commanded him to assassinate Ahmād ibn al-Barā’. He promised him the governorship of the city after him, and sent him a diploma of appointment over Saragossa and its territories. Abū Yaḥyā told his father about that and he joined him. They did something that caused Ahmād ibn al-Barā’'s death. They conspired with some of his servants (ghilmān) whom they knew were against him, and they killed
him. Abū Yahyā Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān governed Saragossa in his place. The news reached the emir ʿAbdallāh so he dismissed al-Barāʾ ibn Mālik and exiled him. Then he confirmed Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān over what he controlled.35

Obviously Ibn Ḥayyān’s account is not the one contained in the received text of the History, being longer and giving some additional information. The account in the History reads like an abridged version.

This is not an isolated occurrence: quotations attributed to Ibn al-Qūṭīya contain more information than appears in the History, even when the text is little more than a list of names.

The judges of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II

The History states as follows:

Among those who were judges was Saʿīd ibn Muḥammad ibn Bashīr. He found him taking the place of his late father, and so confirmed him in office. There was also Muḥammad ibn Sharāḥīl al-Maʿārifī, who was the ancestor of the Banū Sharāḥīl and after whom is named the mosque and the wall in Cordova. Plus: Abū ʿUmar ibn Bashīr, Faraj ibn Kanāna al-Shadhūnī and Yahyā ibn Muʿammar al-Ḥānī [al-Ilhānī] al-Ishbīlī – though ʿAbd al-Raḥmān dismissed the latter and replaced him with Yahyā ibn Yahyā. He appointed al-Iswār ibn Ἰqba al-Jayyānī, and after him the ancestor of the Banū [Abī] Ṣafwān al-Qurashī. But he dismissed him because of something said by a woman that he did not condemn. She said, ‘Son of caliphs! Look after me as God has looked after you!’ He didn’t condemn her for that, and it was brought to the emir’s attention by Mūsā ibn Ḥudayr, the chief treasurer who said, ‘Someone who speaks in your name will be your associate in power.’ That was the cause of his removal from office. He was followed by Abī Ṣaḥīb al-Maṣṣūḥ, the ancestor of the Banū Ziyād- then Yaḥyā al-Ishbīlī again; then Yukḥāmir ibn ʿUthmān al-Jayyānī but he begged to be released from the post, so the emir did so and appointed his brother Muʿādhd instead. Then Saʿīd ibn Sulaymān al-Ghāfiqī al-Ballūṭī became judge after him.36

Ibn Ḥayyān quotes Ibn al-Qūṭīya as follows:

The emir ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥakam found as judge of his father, the emir al-Ḥakam, Saʿīd ibn Muḥammad ibn Bashīr al-Maʿārifī, the ancestor of Banū Sharāḥīl, those after whom the mosque and the wall are named, in the Western Quarter. Then came al-Faraj ibn Kanāna al-Kanānī al-Shadhūnī; then Yahyā ibn Muʿammar al-Ilhānī [al-Ilhānī] al-Ishbīlī. Then he dismissed him to appoint the faqīh Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā instead of him. Then came al-Iswār ibn Ἰqba al-Jayyānī; then Ibrāhīm ibn al-ʿAbbās...
al-Marwānī, ancestor of the Banū Abī Ṣafwān, those notable Qurayshids of Cordova. Then he dismissed him – they claimed – because of something said by a woman in a lawsuit at a session of his, which he didn’t deny. That was; she said to him: ‘Son of caliphs! Look after me as God has looked after you.’ He didn’t condemn her for that and it was brought to the emir’s attention by Mūsā ibn Ḥudayr, the chief treasurer. He sent him a note in which he said: The emir should not allow someone to share his authority by being addressed as he has been addressed, and be lauded as he is lauded. That was the reason for his dismissal. Now, it is said that the woman was inveigled to say what she said. But the emir dismissed him rapidly. Then after him he appointed Ahmād ibn Zīyād, the ancestor of the Banū Zīyād, those Ruknīyān. Then he dismissed him and re-appointed Yahyā ibn Muʿammār; then Yūkhrīmir ibn ʿUṭmān al-Jayyānī, but he asked permission to resign so he granted it and appointed his brother Muʿādh ibn ʿUṭmān. Then came Saʿīd ibn Sulaymān al-Ghafiqī al-Ballūṭī [the last of] his judges, and [the number of judges in his time was ten] men.37

Again we can see differences of detail, some not very important, between the quotation and the received text of the History. But one section in the History definitely seems to have been ‘doctored’. The name of the judge who was so foolish as to allow his name to be associated with the ruling family – even though he was of Umayyad descent – has been removed, and the account shortened. Was this done so as not to risk offending ‘those notable Qurayshids of Cordova’? But once again, the text of the History reads like a summary of the passage quoted by Ibn Ḥayyān.

The arrival of the Vikings in 320/844

In this case – by contrast – the passage quoted in the History is the fuller of the two, stating:

ʿAbd al-Rahmān built the Great Mosque of Seville. He also built the walls of that city, because of the seizure of Seville by the Majūs when they invaded, during his reign, in the year 230/844. The inhabitants panicked and fled the city for Carmona and the hills nearby. None of the inhabitants of western al-Andalus attempted to resist the invaders, so volunteers were recruited from among the people of Cordova and its neighbouring provinces. Accompanied by some ministers they set off, together with volunteers recruited from the marches who had assembled after the invaders had occupied the far western seaboard and the area around al-Ushbūnī [Lisbon] in their first invasion.

The ministers and their men established their camp at Carmona, but were not able to attack the enemy, because of their ferocity, until the volunteers of the Marches arrived led by Mūsā ibn Qasī, who had been implored by ʿAbd al-Rahmān II to help. He reminded him of his client
status with the former caliph al-Walid ibn `Abd al-Malik, and his ances-
tor’s acceptance of Islam at his hands. So Mūsā softened in his attitude, and came with a large army, which he kept separate from the ministers’ men and the other troops of the marches, after he had arrived at Carmona, and encamped next to them. Then those from the marches asked the ministers about the movements of the enemy. They told them that they went out of Seville every day in detachments, some towards Fīrisḥ [Constantina], and Fuente de Cantos, others towards Córdova and Morón. So they inquired after a place in which to ambush them near Seville and the village of Kintush Muʾāfīr, [Quirtas de Moafer], south of Seville was suggested.

The troops descended at the dead of night and hid themselves there. In the village was an ancient church and they sent a look-out up to its highest point with wood for a beacon fire. At dawn a group of the enemy, some sixteen thousand men, appeared, some going in the direction of Morón. When they got near the village the watchman signalled. The troops waited until the enemy had gone some distance, then they cut off their retreat, and put them all to the sword.

The ministers and their men entered Seville and found the governor besieged in the citadel. He came out to meet them, and the inhabitants returned. In addition to the group that was killed, another had gone towards Fuente de Cantos, another towards Córdova and yet another towards Banī l-Layth, [Benilaiz]. But when those of the enemy who were in the city became aware of the approach of the cavalry and the army, and the destruction of the group making for Morón, they fled to their boats and went up the river towards al-Zaʾwaḥ, [Azaguac] and met up with their compatriots. They embarked, and set off downstream, with the troops shouting insults at them and firing stones and animal bones. When they were some distance below Seville, the enemy called out to the troops, ‘If you want to ransom the hostages we have, stop firing!’ So they stopped and most of the hostages among their prisoners were ransomed. The enemy did not want gold or silver: rather food and clothing. Thus they departed from Seville and made for Nakūr, [Nuqūr] where they captured the ancestor of the Banū Ibn Sāliḥ.

He was ransomed by `Abd al-Rahmān II, which is the reason for the influence that the Umayyads have with the Banū [Ibn] Sāliḥ. They devastated the coasts on both sides of the Mediterranean, until they reached Byzantine territory. On that expedition they reached Alexandria. The voyage took fourteen years.
Seville occurred; and they sacked it for a number of days. No one in the West was able to resist them. The emir ‘Abd al-Rahmān asked for volunteers in Cordova, his capital, to fight them: and from the nearby provinces and marches. Many contingents arrived. The emirs of the Upper March were led by Mūsā ibn Qasī who was in revolt against the Sultan, but who had been implored by the emir ‘Abd al-Rahmān and reminded of the clienthood of his ancestors to his own – al-Walīd ibn ‘Abd al-Malik – and his ancestor’s acceptance of Islam at his hands. So he came with a great band of troops and they went with the rest to Seville. The ministers went with a large group of people to Carmona, avoiding any encounter with the Majūs because of their ferocity and numbers. Then they became enflamed and went out to meet them and God gave them a great victory in which many were killed. Ibn Qasī kept apart with the group of his men, encamped away from the others. When they were defeated the cursed ones stopped attacking the coast and ceased fighting. They kept the captives they had, but allowed their ransom, making the transaction easy, because they did not want gold or silver, but food and clothing. So the people were able to recue the majority of those in their hands. Then they left and withdrew towards North Africa.

At this time the emir ‘Abd al-Rahmān built the wall of the the city of Seville and fortified it. He repaired the damage done by the Majūs to its Great Mosque and other mosques, and repaired the destruction.39

Here, it is Ibn Ḥayyān who seems to be summarising Ibn al-Qūṭīya’s account. Although some of the wording is identical, the account in the History is much fuller. Perhaps the event, although dramatic and destructive, was not of much interest to Ibn Ḥayyān, who was more concerned with the internal activities of al-Andalus. He writes page after page on the machinations that led to the restoration of central authority in Seville, but only a few lines on the Viking invasion, which brought death and destruction to the city.40 Ibn al-Qūṭīya, however, with strong links to Seville, would have had more concern about what happened because his own family must have been involved, and he would have heard some personal memories, related by his relatives and teachers. This account is one of the longest and most detailed in the History. If the received text, taken as a whole, is a truncated version of the original History, then the editor who summarised the text was obviously interested in retaining this account in its entirety.

Where do Ibn Ḥayyān’s accounts originate? Obviously not in the received text of the History. Although Ibn Ḥayyān quotes Ibn al-Qūṭīya at considerable length, he does not refer to any written work by him. It was his custom to do so if such a work existed, and he refers to many works that have disappeared. He also tells us, whenever it is appropriate, that the work he consulted was in the hand of the author.

His source may have been an oral one. After all, Ibn al-Qūṭīya quotes
events that occurred one or two centuries before his time, on the basis of oral authority alone. However, as more and more history was being committed to paper – or parchment – in the fifth/eleventh century, it seems likely that Ibn Hayyân had access to some written material. Perhaps these were notes he had collected from former pupils of Ibn al-Qūṭīya – like his nephew ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Sulaymān – or their descendants. He also quotes information from some of Ibn al-Qūṭīya’s teachers, like Aḥmad ibn Khālid, Aslam ibn ‘Umar and Ibn Lubāba; though citing no written work by any of them.

Although he worked within the constraints of mediaeval tradition, Ibn Hayyân was close to the modern concept of a historian and researcher and he paid great attention to the collection of sources, without which the al-Muqtabis could not have existed. So, either Ibn Ḥayyân was not aware of any copy of the History or, if he was, the oral or written transmission he had at his disposal was fuller. But as he always refers to his written sources, it would be surprising for him not to mention the existence of the History, if he knew of it. This would seem to indicate that no copy was known to him, and what he had – at most – was only a batch of notes.

Throughout the Islamic world in the fourth/tenth century, books were circulated/published by a complicated and cumbersome process. The author dictated his text – from memory, or by reading it – and his words were written down by his circle of students. The text was read back to him by any student who wished to and then the writer was licensed to relate the text himself. The student in turn could then dictate the text to his own students, or whoever wished to obtain a copy. Alternatively a scholar could copy out the text and read it back to the author or one of his licensees and have it authenticated. To transmit the text of a work could involve many sessions, depending on the length of the work and the number of times a listener was able to attend the circle. At the end of the day there could be several versions of a text in existence: from the author’s draft (musawwada) through fair copies (sing. mubayyada), incomplete versions, (nāqis) unauthenticated versions, without the author’s certified authority (ijāza) and fully authenticated ones with an ijāza. After that there could be abridgements (sing. khīlāṣa), commentaries (sing. sharḥ) and even supplements (sing. dhayl) in the case of historical works, bringing them up to date. Works could even be expanded by the original author at a later date, as may have happened to Ibn al-Faraḍī’s Taʾrīkh ‘ulamāʾ al-Andalus. So, when we have a single isolated copy, such as the received text of the History, undated, unsigned by the copyist, whose title has never been mentioned, we cannot know where this version comes in the history of the transmission of the text.

Thus, we cannot say definitely that no longer version existed. There is even support for this within the History. At one point in the text, the author promises to deal with the revolt by the people of Toledo against Mūḥammad I [in 239/853], but this is not mentioned in the Paris manuscript. This is perhaps the strongest piece of internal evidence that there could have been another longer version. We lack conclusive proof at present, though the most
recently published part of the *al-Muqtabis* furnishes enough information to allow this question to be taken seriously once more.

The passages in the received text which end in the symbol ʰāʾ, which I have suggested means that the preceding anecdote is summarised, do not include the three above anecdotes, though two of them seem to be summaries by Ibn Ḥayyān of earlier accounts by Ibn al-Qūṭiya. This can only mean that the received text is a version that was summarised by someone after Ibn Ḥayyān wrote the *al-Muqtabis*.

### b Earlier versions of the received text

The Paris manuscript was copied from an earlier version that had suffered some textual corruption by the time it was copied. It contains grammatical errors for which Ibn al-Qūṭiya as a grammarian cannot be held responsible. One occurs in the first few lines where the text refers to the author’s informants and adds: َrahima’llah ʿan jamʿihim min shuyukhim. There appear to be too many prepositions, and no editor has come up with a satisfactory version of what may have been initially related. This is not the only instance of mistakes: the text is sprinkled with them. However no handwritten text can be entirely free from scribal error, no matter how meticulous the copyist.

More telling are the names which are evidently mis-readings by the copyist. ُṢufīyān ibn ʿAbd Rabbihī is written ʿMahrān’ ibn ʿAbd Rabbihī; Ḥudayr is written ʿJudayr’. But most important is the location, ‘the rock of Jawdḥāris’ to the west of Bobastro’, mentioned in the account of Ibn Ḥafsūn’s rebellion: *History.*

*Jawdḥāris* must be the place mentioned twice by Ibn Ḥayyān, near Álora north-west of Malaga, which is written slightly differently in each case: َF.rdhālish and َF.rdhāris. It is clear how this name has been transformed: ُfaʾ with sublinear point = ḫim; ُrāʾ = َdhāl. The letters s and l are always interchangeable in the Romance languages and dialects of the peninsula: so َF.rdhālish/ َF.rdhāris has become first َJ.rdālish/ َJ.rdḥāris, and then *Jawdḥāris*. In his examination of the literary and topographical evidence for the exact location of Bobastro, Vallvé also refers to َQardḥāris, one of several fortresses belonging to Ibn Ḥafsūn. But it seems likely that َFardālish, َQardāris and Jawdḥāris, are all the same place.

Leaving aside the question of which place is being referred to, let us address the question of what Ibn al-Qūṭiya actually said when he dictated his text. Of course we can only guess. But he almost certainly said *Fardḥālish* – or perhaps *Fardḥāris*, or even *Qardḥāris* – which the listener wrote down, and not *Jawdḥāris*. The change from ُfaʾ to ḫim, etc., can only have occurred in the course of copying. Unless of course, Ibn al-Qūṭiya misread his own notes – assuming that he had some to misread. It is only a small point but it is evidence that the received text dates from after the death of Ibn al-Qūṭiya in 367/977, when the possibility of correcting the mistake had gone.
Furthermore there must have been at least one – and probably more – intervening copies, which included this mistake.\(^46\)

It seems probable that there were several versions of the text in existence from the mid-fourth/tenth century onwards, of which the Paris version is only one – but the only surviving one; and that there never was a definitive version, as such. There were after all, fifteen different recensions of the *Muwaṭṭa’* of Ibn Mālik and several of these circulated in al-Andalus. This would explain why there are significant differences between the received text of Ibn al-Qūṭīya’s *History* and what later historians quote as his words.

**Modern editions of the text**

The Paris manuscript was first referred to by a European historian in 1765 when Cardonne published a three-volume work on Muslim Spain and North Africa, *Histoire de l’Afrique et de l’Espagne sous la domination des Arabes*. Denis Dominique Cardonne (1720–1783) was librarian to King Louis XV (1715–1774) as well as interpreter in oriental languages. As librarian he had access to the Arabic manuscripts in the royal collection, which he used to compose his *Histoire*. At that time the manuscript was attributed to ‘Ebn-el-Kautir’, but fortunately Cardonne gave the manuscript a number, MS 706 – otherwise we might have had another mystery on our hands. The work is not given a title in the list of works used: Cardonne only says: *de redactis in Arabum potestatem Hispanis*.\(^47\)

According to Cherbonneau it was Joseph Reinaud who first identified the author correctly. Reinaud had used the manuscript for his study of the early mediaeval Arab settlements in southern France, published in 1836.\(^48\)

Cherbonneau published the text and translation under the title *Fotouh Elandalus Lilimoslimin, Conquête de l’Espagne par les Musulmans*, which sounds more like a librarian’s description than a title. The manuscript bears the title on folio 2 recto: *Ta’rīkh iftitāḥ al-Andalus li-Ibn al-Qūṭīya* and again on the initial folio in the form of an owner’s note, so why Cherbonneau should have been mistaken is not clear. The manuscript is bound with the *Akhbār majmū’a* whose title is given on folio 51 recto as *Akhbār majmū’a fī iftitāḥ al-Andalus*, and on the final folio as *Akhbār majmū’a bi-fath al-Andalus*, so I can only conclude that Cherbonneau somehow confused the various titles.\(^49\)

The first printed – partial – edition of the text by Cherbonneau was published in two volumes of the *Journal Asiatique* in 1853 and 1856. The first volume contains the reign of al-Ḥakam I, and the second contains the text from the beginning to the end of the reign of Hishām I. Place names, doubtful names and poems are given in Arabic throughout. Cherbonneau appended several pages of useful notes, which seem to have been missed by some later editors and translators.\(^50\)

The second edition, also partial, was that of Houdas published in Paris in 1889. His edition covers the period from the beginning to the end of the reign
of Hishâm, exactly the same as Cherbonneau in his 1856 edition. He uses the *maghrībi* forms of the letters *fāʿ* and *qāf* and ignores the expression *hāʾ/alkh*, though he does note the blank spaces. Houdas gives the correct title and offers a suggestion as to why Cherbonneau gave a different one, though in this he was mistaken. (See note 8 above.)

The third is the celebrated work of Ribera, which appeared in Madrid in 1926, together with a Spanish translation. The edition was, in fact, prepared for publication by three outstanding Spanish scholars of Arabic and Islamic Spain, Gayangos, Codera and Saavedra, in 1868 and was available in a printed version from that date. It was this that Ribera reproduced and translated in 1926, making a number of corrections and additions to the text. However, he omits some parts of the Paris manuscript, either by accident, or because they had been missed in the manuscript in the handwritten copy made by Gayangos in Paris, later re-copied and now in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, MS 4996.

The Madrid copy is undated. On the opening page under the title is an inscription in Arabic which says that the manuscript was (re-)copied by Eduardo Saavedra from the copy of the manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, made by Pascual de Gayangos. No date is given for either act of copying, but obviously both occurred before 1868. The manuscript is on 33 folios of white octavo. Saavedra copied competently, in a naskhi hand, with the ‘key words’ and ‘significant words’ in red, written slightly larger than the main text. Either this copy or that of Gayangos was used to prepare the printed edition: something that took no little time. Ribera gives an account of this in the introduction to his translation of the text, saying that it proceeded slowly and laboriously; the typesetters of Arabic lacked the necessary expertise, and the continual attention of the editor – Gayangos – was required. The work was finally completed with assistance of Saavedra and Codera, who were friends and disciples of the *Maestro Arabista*. It was presumably the latter who decided that the symbol *hāʾ*, which occurs in the Madrid manuscript in most of the places where it is found in the Paris original, should be indicated in the printed text by the symbol *alkh*, although this appears nowhere in the Paris manuscript; nor in Saavedra’s copy – nor presumably, in Gayangos’s own. All we can ask is: why so?

Gayangos produced his translations without the aid of the great nineteenth century dictionaries of Lane and Dozy, and with far fewer printed editions of related texts to help him. For his translation of al-Maqqarī’s vast *Nafḥ al-ṭib* he relied on seven manuscript copies of the text. For example, that in the British Museum – now Library – is a twelfth/eighteenth century Ottoman version, closely written in a minute, compact script, and not at all easy to find one’s way around, even with help of a printed edition. By any standard, Gayangos was a formidable scholar of Arabic. We can only assume that he was not entirely familiar with scribal usage and understood *hāʾ* and *alkh* to be the same thing. But it remains a mystery, as yet unresolved. In any event, the text was printed in
1868 by the Rivandaneyra Press, Madrid, and was available with an index, in 231 pages.\textsuperscript{57}

Published in the same volume were two related texts: part of the Kitāb al-imāma waʾl-sīyāsa of [Pseudo-] Ibn Qutayba and part of the Akhbār fāṭh al-Andalus of al-Wāzir al-Ghassānī.\textsuperscript{58}

In 1957 'Abdallāh Anīs al-Ṭabbā, a former student of Emilio García Gómez, at the Lebanese National Library, published a nicely printed edition, together with the two texts mentioned above, in a single volume, in Beirut.\textsuperscript{59} Al-Ṭabbā made numerous reinterpretations of the Gayangos/Ribera reading of the text, which he duly noted in his edition. The text is preceded by an essay by the editor which consists of an overview of the conquest and subsequent events, a large part of which is devoted to discussing the views of the Egyptian scholar of Islamic Spain, Muhammad 'Abdallāh ʾInān.\textsuperscript{60} He mentions no earlier editions of the text other than that of Ribera, and usually refers in his footnotes only to the copy of the Paris manuscript in Madrid, though in his introduction he states that he consulted ‘the original’. By this I take him to mean the Madrid copy because he cannot have examined the original manuscript at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

In 1982 another edition appeared, the work of the Egyptian scholar Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī, which was published simultaneously in Cairo and Beirut.\textsuperscript{61} The editor was aware of the editions of Houdas and Gayangos/Ribera, and does refer to the Cairo reprint of the Houdas edition produced by the al-Tawfīq Press. But he makes no mention of the editions of Cherbonneau and al-Ṭabbā. He was obviously aware of the existence of the Paris manuscript but he is mistaken about a number of points and seems to have missed out several words and sentences, as well as the parts of the manuscript not included by Gayangos/Ribera. Al-Abyārī, in fact, seems to have used only the Gayangos/Ribera printed edition of the Arabic text, offering what is in effect, a reinterpretation, based on his own long career in the editing of manuscripts. The text is preceded by an introduction in which the editor addresses some important points relating to the manuscript, the author and the text. He believed that the copyist, a student of the author, wrote up the text and included parts of the works of Ibn Ḥabīb and al-Rāzī and that the quotations from the former are marked in the text by the expression alkh.

\textbf{Translations}

Cherbonneau translated the two sections that he published into French in 1853 and 1856. In 1889 Houdas produced another French translation of part of the text, from the beginning up to the reign of al-Ḥakam I, covering the same part of the text as Cherbonneau, rather than continuing the text where the latter had stopped.

There were two other translations of the text. Dozy printed the part dealing with the Viking invasion as a supplement to his \textit{Recherches} in 1881. In 1924 Fagnan published a translation of the text, but without an edition of
the Arabic text, from where Cherbonneau and Houdas had stopped. It is accompanied by a number of useful notes.62

In 1926 Ribera produced the best known and the first complete translation of the text, in Spanish. This, together with Arabic edition which accompanied it, has been used by most later scholars who have studied the history of second/eighth and particularly third/ninth century al-Andalus.

In 1975, J.M. Nichols, a graduate student at the University of North Carolina (Chapel Hill), translated the edition of al-Ṭabba ‘, deferring frequently to that of Ribera, and presented it with notes and an introduction, as a doctoral thesis. Although this competent, fully annotated translation was never published as a book, it has been available as a microfilm print-out since 1975.63

**The historian**

**His ancestry**

Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, called Ibn al-Qūṭīya, died in Cordoba in 367/977 and was buried there in the resting place of the illustrious, the Cemetery of al-Quraysh, though he was not a descendant of the Prophet. He was not even an Arab. As his nisba indicates, he came from Visigothic stock on one side, while his progenitor on the other was a client of the Umayyad caliph of Damascus, Hishām ibn ʿAbd al-Malik (105–125/724–743).

Ibn al-Qūṭīya was born, reportedly, in Cordova, though we do not know when: probably during the first decade of the fourth/tenth century. He had a long life, but there is no evidence that he lived to an exceptionally great age. His age at the moment of his death however, is almost the only thing we do not know about him, as his life, ancestry and descendants, are well documented.

He was a descendant of the last legitimate Visigoth king, Witiza, (Ghūṭīsha): through Sarah the Goth (Ṣāra al-Qūṭīya) who was the daughter of Almund (Almund), one of the three sons of Witiza. Ardabast (Arṭābāš/Artābash) and Rōmulu (Aquila-Waqla-Rumulu) being the other two.64 This is according to Ibn al-Qūṭīya’s own account: History, 49. There was another tradition recorded by Ibn Khallikān in the Wafayāt, partly on the authority of Ibn ʿAfīf, a pupil of Ibn al-Qūṭīya, asserting that Witiza’s sons were Oppas (Wahba) and Sisiberto (Sayyidal/Sisibira), who died in battle with Roderik (Lūdhariq) at the Guadalete in 92/711, and that Sāra was the daughter of Oppas, not Almund.65 Ibn al-Qūṭīya’s version is the one that is now accepted as the correct one, though the final years of the Visigoth kingdom are shrouded in mystery and confusion. It is unlikely that we shall ever know the real course of events and the relationships of the people involved on the Visigoth side.66

When Sāra went to Damascus to protest against the actions of her uncle Arṭābāš in seizing her property, the Umayyad caliph Hishām arranged her
marriage to one of his clients (mawlā, pl. mawālī), ḤĀsā bin Muzāḥīm. He is described as barbar by al-Qaḍī ‘Iyād, which normally meant ‘Berber’, though it is said to have also meant Iranian in Umayyad times.67 Whatever the truth, he was evidently not an Arab. He accompanied Sāra when she returned to Seville and there secured her properties. This was at the beginning of Hishām’s reign, around 107–108/725–726.

ḤĀsā and Sāra had two sons, Ibrāhīm and Ishāq, and it was from Ibrāhīm – the original Ibn al-Qūṭiyya – that Muḥammad ibn ’Umar, the author of the History was ultimately descended. ’Abd al-ʿAzīz, Ibrāhīm’s son was the author’s grandfather.

The Banū’l-Qūṭiyya therefore came from Seville originally, though the branch to which Ibn al-Qūṭiyya belonged may also have been established in Cordova for some time, when, according to historians, he was born there, although his father ’Umar called also Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, was judge of Seville until 301/913 and judge of Écija from 301–302/914. Presumably his mother spent her period of confinement in Cordova. Ibn al-Qūṭiyya must have spent his childhood in Seville. His nephew ’Abd al-Malik appears to have been brought up there, which would mean that his brother Sulaymān ibn ’Umar, probably spent his life there.

Apart from his relations of partial Visigoth ancestry, descended from Sāra’s other son by Isā ibn Muzāḥīm, Ishāq ibn ḤĀsā (Ibn al-Qūṭiyya’s great-uncle) there were other extended family members related to him through Sāra’s second Arab husband. Soon after the death of ḤĀsā in 136/753 she married ’Umayr ibn Saʿīd al-Lakhmī, a marriage supported by the Syrian Umayyad ’Abd al-Rahmān I, then recently arrived in al-Andalus to be proclaimed emir by his supporters. ’Umayr belonged to a well known Arab tribe, the Banū Lakhm, so his descendants through his son Ḥābrb – Ibn al-Qūṭiyya’s ‘step-cousins’ – were of Arab ancestry.

Ibn al-Qūṭiyya was probably born around 277–282/890–895, as one of his main informants Ibn al-Ṭanjiyya, died in 300/912. He was born into a family of Umayyad clients, who had been in al-Andalus for four generations. It is important to remember that it is in this capacity that he speaks throughout the text of the History: not as a latter-day Visigoth, nor as an Arab, but as a loyal client of the ruling dynasty of al-Andalus. His life coincided with the height of Muslim military power and cultural superiority in the peninsula: the reigns of ’Abd al-Rahmān III (300–350/912–961) and his son al-Ḥakam II 350–366/961–976.

Ibn al-Qūṭiyya was fully aware of his Visigothic ancestry. Unlike many other inhabitants of al-Andalus his ancestors had made no attempt to shed their origins by inventing bogus Arab pedigrees, though given the fact that the story of Sāra was apparently so well-known, it would have been difficult to conceal the family’s origin.

Why was he known as Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, the ‘son’ of the Gothic woman? There is no indication that he was particularly proud of his Visigothic connections: being an Umayyad client was what mattered to him. There is no reason to
think that the name meant that the family may have remained Christian for some considerable time after the Conquest, as has been suggested.  It was unusual for a Muslim man or family to be known by the nisba of a female ancestor. However there are other examples. One of those who supplied him with information for the *History* was Muḥammad ibn Zakariyā’, *Ibn al-Ṭanjiyya al-Ishbīlī* – ‘the son of the woman from Tangiers’.

But let us remember that by the birth of Ibn al-Quṭṭīya the family had used the nisba for nearly two centuries; so the question is why Ibrāḥīm, the son of ‘Īsā ibn Muzāḥim and Sāra al-Quṭṭīya was called *Ibn al-Quṭṭīya* and not ‘Ibn Muzāḥim’? There are a number of possible explanations.

It could happen if the female ancestor was a particularly powerful and dominant one. This certainly seems to have been the case with Sāra. Another reason could be to identify the sons of a father who had more than one wife. In the *History*, prince ’Abdallāh ibn ’Abd al-Rahmān II was called *Ibn Ṭarūb* after his mother by the palace eunuchs and king-makers, to distinguish him from his half-brother Muḥammad in the machinations over the succession to the throne in 238/852: *History*, 113, 114. It could also occur when a wife remarried. After the death of ‘Īsā ibn Muzāḥim, Sāra married an Arab immigrant ‘Umayr ibn Sa’īd al-Lakhmī with whom she had several children. Ibrāḥīm was her son not ’Umayr’s and this could have led to him being called *Ibn al-Quṭṭīya*, to distinguish him from his half-brothers, particularly as his own father was dead. These identifications were casual yet practical during the lifetime of the person concerned. Only in a very small number of cases did the appellation continue to be used for subsequent generations.

Some Spanish writers of the late-nineteenth and the twentieth centuries saw Ibn al-Quṭṭīya’s concern in the *History* with the affairs of Iberian Muslims as evidence of his own ‘nationalistic’ feelings, of ‘Spanish blood running in his veins’. In their view Ibn al-Quṭṭīya bore his name because of his pride in his pre-Muslim ancestry. But he only mentions the revolts among the Iberian Muslim converts, the *Muwallads*, to condemn them. His account of Ūmar ibn Ḥafsūn the powerful *Muwallad* rebel of Málaga who controlled a large area of central southern Andalusia is long and detailed, and not unsympathetic in parts. But his comment on the severe – though not permanent – defeat inflicted by the Umayyad army on Ibn Ḥafsūn near Peñá and Estepa shows where his true sympathies lie: ‘And so victory went to the God-fearing’: *History*, 137. The use of the nisba al-Quṭṭīya is therefore no indication of the author’s political sympathies or archaistic interests. It was a fact of birth.

*His life and work*

Ibn al-Quṭṭīya lived in Cordova most of his life, though part of it was spent in Seville, where he had strong family ties. His father was judge of Seville and was appointed judge of the province (kūra) of Écija by ’Abd al-Rahmān III in 301–302/914. He studied under scholars of Cordova and Seville, becoming an
authority, (according to some, the leading authority) on Arabic grammar. He was acknowledged as such, and had several outstanding pupils who became well known in several different walks of life and praised his knowledge and teaching. Grammar was not his only interest. He also taught juisprudence (fiqh), tradition (hadith) and related (or transmitted) anecdotes (akhbār), though in the first two disciplines he was considered to be deficient.

Akhbār differed from taʾrīkh in not being tied to a chain (ısnaḍ) of authorities. This seems to be why Ibn al-Qūṭiya rarely quotes his oral sources, mentions almost no written sources, and gives very few dates. According to Chalmeta akhbārīs were only interested in transmitting anecdotes that were hitherto unrecorded, even partial ones and Ibn al-Qūṭiya, in Chalmeta’s opinion, was one of the worst example of an akhbārī, transmitting and transforming the relation as it suited him. This condemnation seems unduly harsh.

If the criticism of his methods of teaching tradition and jurisprudence by Ibn al-Faraḍī extended also to his transmission of anecdotal history, it must have been for this reason, although Ibn al-Faraḍī only refers to his deficiencies in the two former disciplines. In any case, Ibn Ḥayyān, one of the best historians of the emiral and caliphal periods of Andalusī history, has no hesitation in quoting Ibn al-Qūṭiya as one of his sources on numerous occasions in the al-Muqtabis. He is also happy to quote other akhbārīs who were teachers of Ibn al-Qūṭiya, like Ibn Lubāba, Ahmad ibn Khālid and Aslam ibn ‘Umar although these latter left no written works of history – as far as we know – and none is mentioned by Ibn Ḥayyān. Some of Ibn al-Qūṭiya’s teachers did produce written works, however. Qāsim ibn Aṣbagh is credited with a book on genealogies.

Like many scholars, Ibn al-Qūṭiya composed poetry in his early years, some of which survives. He was wealthy enough to own some property outside of Cordova, though it is unlikely that this was an inheritance from his Visigothic ancestors. The royal estates allotted to them by caliphal decree in the time of al-Walīd seem to have vanished by the mid-fourth/tenth century. He married at least once and had a family. His son followed his father, taking up a career as a scholar, and studying in his father’s circle of students. His nephew did the same and was also a student of his illustrious uncle. To posterity he bequeathed a number of written works. The Taṣārīf al-afʿāl, ‘Conjugation of Verbs’ and the Maqsūr waʾl-mamdūd, ‘Endings in alif maqsūra and alif maddā’, are both on grammar. He wrote others but they have not survived. He also taught the works of others: Ibn al-Faraḍī attended the sessions in which he relayed the al-Kāmil of [Muḥammad ibn Yazīd] al-Mubarraz, on the authority of Saʿīd ibn Jābir.

He may have been Ṣāḥib al-shurṭa (police chief) of Cordova at some stage according to al-Ḥumaydī (d. 488/1095). He may also have been among those present at the oath of allegiance to Hishām II in 366/976 – the year before his death. The Taʾrīkh iftitāḥ al-Andalus, ‘The History of the Conquest of
al-Andalus’, is the title of the work by which he has become known in the West from the eighteenth century onwards. But this title is not mentioned by any of his biographers. His pupil Ibn al-Faraḍ (351–403/962–1013) does not mention it in his Tarīkh ‘ulamā‘ al-Andalus. He only talks of Ibn al-Qūṭīya’s interest in the anecdotal history of al-Andalus, which he taught from memory. Ibn Ḥayyān who died in 469/1076 quotes Ibn al-Qūṭīya on several occasions, and at length, in the al-Muqtabis. But he mentions no written work. The first scholar to say that he actually composed a history of al-Andalus is al-Qāḍī ‘Iyād (d. 544/1149), in his Tarīḥ al-madārik: ‘He composed an excellent work on its history’, (lauh wasnīf Ṭà’rīkhīhā hasan).76 In his Mu‘jam al-udābā‘, Yāqūt al-Hamawī (574–626/1179–1229) is the first to mention a History (lauh sharḥ Adab al-kātib wa-Ta’rīkh al-Andalus wa-ghayra dhālik).77 It is not clear however, whether Yāqūt thought this Ta’rīkh al-Andalus was the title or whether he simply meant ‘a history of al-Andalus’.

Ibn al-Faraḍī was a master of biographical writing and is considered one of the founders – if not the founder – of the genre by which much historical information was passed on. He was born in Cordova in 351/962 and studied under Ibn al-Qūṭīya, among others. Ibn Ḥayyān lists several works by him on the poets and literary figures of al-Andalus, which have not survived. But his work on jurists and traditionists has survived – happily – in a so-far unique manuscript in Tunis, discovered in 1887. The Tarīkh ‘ulamā‘ al-Andalus, ‘The History of the Learned Men of al-Andalus’, is a biographical dictionary that contains the earliest account of Ibn al-Qūṭīya:

Muḥammad ibn ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Isā ibn Muzāḥim, a client of ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz called Ibn al-Qūṭīya was from Cordova, although his origins were in Seville. His kunya was Abū Bakr.

In Seville he studied under the following: Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdallāh al-Qūn [d. 307/919],78 Ḥasan ibn ‘Abdallāh al-Zubayrī / al-Zubaydī [d. 318/930], Sa‘īd ibn Jābir [d. 325/936], ‘Alī ibn Abī Shayba [d. 325/936] and Sayyid Abīth al-Zāhīd [d. 325/936].79

In Cordova he studied under Ṭāhir ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz [d. 304/916], Ibn Abī ‘l-Walīd al-A’raj of Shadhāma [d. 309/921], Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Mughīth [?], Muḥammad ibn ‘Umar ibn Lubāba [d. 314/926], ‘Umar ibn Ḥāfṣ ibn Abī Tammām [d. 316/928], Aslām ibn ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz [d. 317 or 319/929 or 931], Aḥmad ibn Khālid [d. 322/933], Muḥammad ibn Miswār [d. 325/936], Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Ayman [d. 330/942], ‘Abdallāh ibn Yūnus [d. 330/942], Aḥmad ibn Bishr al-Aghbas [d. 327/938], Qāṣīm ibn Aṣbāgh [d. 340/951], and others of similar ilk.80

He was a scholar of grammar, learned (ḥāfīzan) in language, foremost among the scholars of his time, unequalled and unsurpassed. He was the author of a number of excellent works in this field including: Kitāb taṣārīf al-af ‘āl and Kitāb al-maqṣūd wa’l-mamduḍ, and others.

He was learned in the anecdotes of al-Andalus, dictating accounts of
the lives of its rulers, the circumstances of its jurisprudents and poets. All this he dictated from memory (wa-kāna ḥāfīzan li-akhbār al-Andalus muliyan bi-riwāyat siyar umarāʾiḥā wa-ḥwāl fiqahāʾ iḥā wa-shuʾ arāʾiḥā, yulī dhālikā min zahr qalb).

It was works on language that were read before him and taken down from him. He was not accurate in relating tradition and jurisprudence. He lacked the resources. What was heard from him in those areas was only the interpretation (ʿalāʾl-maʾnā) not the letter (lāʾ al-lafz). Much of what was studied under him had no verifiable authority.

He lived many years, so generation after generation studied under him. His teaching was transmitted by numerous shaykhs and elders who became judges, acted as advisers, and administered the affairs of royalty and others. I used to attend him when I was studying Arabic to hear the al-Kāmil of Muhammad ibn Yazīd al-Mubarrad, which he taught on the authority of Saʿīd ibn Jaʿbir. I attended several sessions. But he died – may God have mercy on him – before we finished it. His death occurred on a Tuesday at the end of the month, 27th Rabīʿ al-Awwal in the year 367 [11 March 977]. He was buried on Wednesday during the afternoon prayer in the Cemetery of Quraysh. Abū Jaʿfar ibn ʿAwn officiated, as he had been requested.

Thanks to al-Khushanī we know of two other teachers: Murra ibn Daysam and Hāshim ibn Razīn. Their death-dates are not given. Al-Zubaydī mentions a further teacher from Seville: ʿUfayr ibn Maṣūd. All later historians and biographers who describe the life of Ibn al-Qūṭiya take al-Faradī’s authoritative account as their starting point. Some writers add a little more to our knowledge.

After following the account of Ibn al-Faradī in his Wafayāt al-aʾyān, Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1281) says:

. . . He met many shaykhs and elders of his era, with whom he studied (akhadhaʾ anhum). Most of what he transmitted is their information.

Abū ʿAlī al-Qālī (d.356/965) when he came to al-Andalus [in 330/942], met him and praised him highly, so that when al-Hakam ibn al-Nāṣir li-dīn-illāh ʿAbd al-Rahmān (350–366/961–976), the ruler of al-Andalus at that time, asked him: ‘Who is the finest scholar of language of those you have met?’ He answered: ‘Muḥammad ibn al-Qūṭiya.’ In addition to these qualities he was also a man of piety and devotion. He composed excellent poetry, well expressed, whose meaning was clear, with good beginnings and endings; though he abandoned this activity altogether.

The writer and poet Abū Bakr Yahyā ibn Hudhayl al-Tamīmī related that when he was going out one day to an estate he owned at the foot of the mount of Cordova, one of the loveliest and most agreeable spots on earth, he met Abū Bakr ibn al-Qūṭiya coming from there, where he also had an
estate. He said: ‘When he saw me he stopped by me and expressed his pleasure at meeting me. So I improvised the following verse, to amuse him:

Where are you coming from, O peerless one*
who is the sun for whom the world’s a sphere?

Then he smiled and promptly answered:

From a spot whose solitude pleases the hermit*
Where rascals can hide, if they transgress.84

I could not but kiss his hand, for he was my master, whom I honoured and revered.

Ibn Khallikân follows this with a biography of Sâra al-Qûṭîya, based on the work of Ibn al-‘Afîf.

Ibn al-Qûṭîya’s formal verse is praised by Yaqît in the Majma’ al-udabā’ and in the Maṭmah al-anfūs of al-Faṭḥ ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿUbaydallâh al-Qaysî (d. 529/1134 or 535/1140). They quote some couplets celebrating the beauty of nature, a style for which Andalusî poets of the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries became famous. These must have been written before Ibn al-Qûṭîya ceased to compose poetry. Yaqût says:

. . . At the beginning of his career he composed poetry, reaching the limits of mastery and excellence in his opening and closing verses, in his choice of graceful expressions and noble meanings. But he gave it up and turned to introspection and solitude.

He adds that it was while Ibn al-Qûṭîya was returning from one of these periods of solitary introspection on his estate near Cordova (munfaridan fiḥā ‘an al-nās) that Ibn Hudhayl met him, and inspired his improvised couplet quoted above.85

When Ibn al-Faraḍî says that Ibn al-Qûṭîya dictated his anecdotes of Andalusî history from memory, it is not clear whether he speaks with admiration or opprobrium. In any event he was merely stating a fact. He spoke as a historian himself, but he was not aware of any written version of the History of Ibn al-Qûṭîya, so far as we know. He only mentions attending classes in Arabic language with Ibn al-Qûṭîya, but he must have known of his role as a relater of akhkhâr. Nevertheless, it is only when he talks of his former teacher’s classes in Tradition and jurisprudence, that he mentions his inaccuracy and lack of authority.

In his biographical entry Ibn al-Faraḍî makes no mention of the Ta’rikh iftitâh al-Andalus. Had Ibn al-Qûṭîya produced such a work one might reliably assume that he would have done so; and that he would probably have used it, had it existed, when compiling his own Ta’rikh ‘ulamâ’ al-Andalus.
The quotations attributed to Ibn al-Qūṭiya in his work are not from the received text History and must come from another source: either a longer version, or his general fund of anecdotal material.

The editor

The first words of the History are: Akhbaranā Abū Bakr Muḥammad . . . Ibn al-Qūṭiya qāla: – (Abū Bakr Muḥammad . . . Ibn al-Qūṭiya told us; he said: . . .). This clearly indicates that we are hearing the relation at second-hand and that the pronoun ‘us’ means the circle (ḥalqa) of students seated around the author. Otherwise the text would have begun immediately with: qāla al-mu’allif, qāla Abū Bakr Muḥammad . . . or just qāla, as all texts copied from an author’s holograph normally commence. The term akhbāranīnā is rarely used in relaying information in Arabic manuscripts, though here its use is obviously appropriate as Ibn al-Qūṭiya was a relater of akhbār.

Was the text related in its entirety as a work in its own right by Ibn al-Qūṭiya, or did some one, the ‘editor’, decide to ‘publish’ his notes as a book after Ibn al-Qūṭiya’s death? It has even been suggested that the name of Ibn al-Qūṭiya was simply attached to the text by some later editor because he had read that Ibn al-Qūṭiya produced a work on the history of al-Andalus.86 This speculation seems unlikely. The work begins with his name, and finishes with the words, written in the same hand as the rest of the text: ‘The History of Ibn al-Qūṭiya is ended’. This would seem to indicate that it was a recognised text, transmitted in the traditional oral manner, during the author’s lifetime. The problem, as we have seen, is that there is no evidence for its written existence during the author’s lifetime.

However, Fierro remarks that although Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ’s biographical entry for Ibn al-Qūṭiya follows that of Ibn al-Faradī, it contains one important edition – lahu tašānif fī taʾrīkhīhā, ‘He produced works on its history [of al-Andalus]’. There is evidence that there was a later recension of Ibn al-Faradī’s Taʾrīkh ‘ulama’ al-Andalus which contained some additions, including, perhaps, the phrase given in Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ.87 He gives another quotation from al-Faradī relating to Ibn al-Qūṭiya which does not occur in the printed editions of his Taʾrīkh ‘ulama’ al-Andalus: ‘He led a simple life; aseetic in his dress and piety. It is said he used to cheat in his ḥadīths.’88

We have to consider the possibility – indeed probability – of the text having been written down only after the author’s death. It may have been written up from notes taken down by a student over several sessions of akhbār. It may have been compiled from the notes of more than one student. It may have been based on notes of the author. Although al-Faradī says he recited his akhbār from memory, he only knew the author at the end of his career after he had been teaching for many years, so this does not discount the possibility of his having had notes, at some stage. As the text is short, it could have been committed from memory. Muslim scholars were famous for prodigious feats in this regard. But if there was a much longer version, as the passages quoted
by Ibn Ḥayyān suggest, there may well have been something in written form, dating from after 367/977.

Traditionally, a text written-up or copied after the death of an author had to receive the approval of a licensed transmitter of the text; someone who had the ijāza of the author. If the text of the History was originally longer than the received text how could this be given? The question would not arise if the work was a summary, because the person making the summary would then become an author in his own right. But summaries were normally given another title, or at least the original title would be preceded by the word khilāsa (summary). This is not the case here.

Among the author’s pupils there are two scholars who could well have acted as editors. The first is his son ῾Umar; the second his nephew ῾Abd al-Malik, both of whom were also known as Ibn al-Qūṭiya.

Their biographies are given by Ibn Bashkuwāl:

῾Umar ibn Muḥammad ibn ῾Abd al-῾Azīz known as Ibn al-Qūṭiya. He was from Cordova. His kunya was Abū Ḥafṣ. He taught on the authority of his father and others. Abū Bakr ibn al-Ghurrāb al-Baṭalyawsī studied tradition with him, and said that he was a man-of-letters and a poet.

῾Abd al-Malik ibn Sulaymān ibn ῾Umar ibn ῾Abd al-῾Azīz al-Umawī. He was from Seville. His kunya was Abū’l-Walīd and he was known as Ibn al-Qūṭiya. He was active in the fields of jurisprudence, Arabic and mathematics; adept at drawing up documents, perceptive in recognising their defects; a transmitter of historical anecdotes (akhbār); learned in literature. His transmissions (riwāyatuhu) in these fields were extensive, and his teachers from Cordova and Seville were many. He transmitted on the authority of his uncle Abū Bakr, Ibn al-Sālim al-Qāḍī, Ābān ibn al-Sarrāj, and their ilk. Ibn Khazraj mentions him and says that he died in 429/1037 at the age of seventy-five years. He heard his first lecture in 356/966 in Cordova.

῾Abd al-Malik (351–429/962–1037) sounds exactly the kind of person to have turned his uncle’s transmitted anecdotes – oral or in note form – into an edition. He had all the qualifications necessary to do so, plus his family connection, which would have given him access to his uncle’s papers. If he attended his first lecture in 356/966, he would have been only four years old, so he could hardly have attended his uncle’s erudite sessions at that age. But he would have been fifteen when Ibn al-Qūṭiya died in 367/977, and could have been his student from the age of ten. He may well have known Ibn al-Faraḍī who, according to his own testimony, attended the final teaching sessions of Ibn al-Qūṭiya’s exposition of the al-Kamil of al-Mubarrad, in 367/977. By a coincidence they were both born in the same year, 351/962, and were fifteen years old when Ibn al-Qūṭiya died.

Fierro makes an important objection to the idea that a relative of the
author may have been the editor. Where the text of the History mentions Ḣsā ibn Muzāḥim and his marriage to Sārā al-Qūṭiya it says: wa-hūwa jadd al-Qūṭiya. ‘He was the ancestor of the [Banū] al-Qūṭiya.’ She believes this to be an interpolation by the editor. Ibn al-Qūṭiya, she reasons, would have related something like wa-hūwa jaddi, ‘He was my ancestor’; and if the editor was a relative he would have written something similar. However, if it is not an interpolation, why should the author not have said, ‘He was the ancestor of the [Banū] al-Qūṭiya’? He was speaking in the context of several families of Seville who were descended from the two husbands of Sārā al-Qūṭiya, Ḣsā ibn Muzāḥim and Ḥmār ibn Ṣaʿīd al-Lakhmī, through the latter’s grandson Ḥabīb who was jadd Banī Sayyid, jadd Banī Ḥajjāj, etc.

When the teacher had said, ‘He was my ancestor’, a student noting down his words, even if he was part of the same family, might have changed them to the form in which they have come down to us. Most texts normally refer to the author in the third person when the work is being transmitted: ‘The author said . . . , or the author says . . . (qāla / yaqūl), not ‘I (the author) said/say . . . (qultu / aqūl)’. As the editor transmitted the text anonymously – perhaps it was a joint effort – it would have been out of keeping for him to have asserted his own existence by writing ‘my/our ancestor’ if he had not already identified himself as the transmitter, summariser, etc. Finally, the fact that the text is deficient at exactly that point, suggests that there was some hesitation on the part of the transmitter, as to what he should write, and that may date from the time the text was being transcribed from the words of the author during a session (majlis). Other parts of the text however seem to be several recensions removed from that time.

The date of the History

Dates in the History

The History has very few dates. Many of the events mentioned can only be dated by reference to other works. The last date given records the fall of the Banū Qasī in Aragón and their replacement by the Tujībids: ‘In the year 312/924–925 the Banū Qasī surrendered and were removed from the Upper Marches. Control of the area went to Abū Yahyā Muḥammad ibn Ḥabd al-Raḥmān al-Tujībī and his sons. The Banū Qasī became part of the royal army’: History, 140.

The last dates are the capture of Saragossa from the Tujībids, the capture of Bobastro and the surrender of the Banū Ḥafṣīn and to Toledo: ‘After that Ibn Marwān [al-Jillīqī] revolted; then Toledo and then Saragossa. But all who resisted him [‘Abd al-Raḥmān III] were overcome.’ The last dateable event, the capture of Saragossa, occurred in 326/937.

Why does the text stop at that point? Ibn al-Qūṭiya lived for another 40 years and he was probably in his late thirties in 326/937. According to Chalmeta it was because Ibn al-Qūṭiya was an akhbarī (a relater of
anecdotes), not a muʾarrīkh (historian); that is, he only related what he had been told, not what he knew.

Discounting the final anecdote about the slave girl Baziʿa the text ends with the re-establishment of Umayyad authority in Badajoz in 318/930, Toledo in 320/932 and Saragossa in 326/937. The Lower, Middle and Upper Marches were under central control once more. The recapture of those cities marked the ultimate triumph of Umayyad authority. Much of the History deals with the challenge to central authority in the Marches and within al-Andalus itself. But with the arrival of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, those challenges were finally defeated. Between 326/937 and the death of Ibn al-Qūṭṭiya in 367/977 during the reign of Hisham II (366–399/976–1009), al-Andalus enjoyed supremacy outside its borders and stability within them. For a client of the Umayyads it would have been logical to finish on a high note: Umayyad triumph, final and for ever. Even if the received text dates from after the collapse of the Umayyad Caliphate in al-Andalus, that collapse would not necessarily have been regarded as permanent.

The date of the received text

There are a number of clues or pointers in the text that shed some light on the question of the date. None is absolutely conclusive.

Because the formula raḍiʿAllahʿanhu appears after the name of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, the received text must date from after his death in 350/961. That is, if it is not the addition of a person who later edited or transmitted the text after the death of Ibn al-Qūṭṭiya. The conventional formulae that appear after the deceased masters of the author, however – rahimahuʿAllāh – were added by the author. If there was no expanded edition of Ibn al-Faraḍī’s Taʿrīkh-ʿulamāʾ al-Andalus, in which ‘works on history’ by Ibn al-Qūṭṭiya were mentioned, then we can assume that the History must date from after Ibn al-Faraḍī’s death in 403/1013.

At several points in the text the author, or editor, refers to events whose repercussions continued to his own time, or structures that survived until his own time: ilāyawminahādhā, ‘until our day’. In some cases it is possible to fix a date after which the expression would no longer be valid.

After the Revolt of the Arrabal in 202/817 the inhabitants of this quarter of Cordova were expelled. A group made their way to Alexandria, but were forced to leave after disturbances in the city. The text of the History says, ‘They chose the island of Iqrīṭish [Crete], where they stay, until this day.’ An Andalusī dynasty was founded in Crete by Abū Ḥafs ʿUmar al-Ballūṭī which lasted until 350/961. If this statement was made by the author, that must have occurred between 350/961 and the date of the arrival of the news of the end of Andalusī rule in Crete: 352/963 at the latest.

The emir al-Mundhir (273–276/886–888) ‘appointed ʾĀḥmad ibn al-Barāʾ ibn Malik al-Qurashī governor of Saragossa and the Upper March in opposition to the Banū Qasī. . . At that time Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-
Tujibi, called Abū Yahyā – who was the ancestor of the Tujibids – had been on good terms with the emir since he was a boy. The emir ʿAbdallāh wrote to him and commanded him to assassinate Ahmad ibn al-Barāʾ... Thus the Tujibids controlled Saragossa: from then to our time min yawm ʿiddī ilā waqtihim hādhā.’

The Tujibids controlled Saragossa until they were replaced by the Banū Hūd around 430–431/1039. Thus they were still in power at the time of Ibn al-Qūṭiya’s death in 367/977. If the final words were added by the transmitter/editor rather than the author, they cannot be much later than 431/1039. This would seem to give us the last possible date for the completion of the received text.

There is, however, the question of the ‘Qurʾān of ʿUthmān’, which has some bearing on the date of the received text. This venerated copy, whose origins are shrouded in mystery, was believed by many to be associated with caliph ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān (23–35/664–656), either because it was one of the ‘master-copies’ of the text sent by ʿUthmān to several major cities of the Islamic provinces, Makka, Basra, Kufa and Damascus, or because it had his blood stains on some of the leaves. This manuscript was housed in the Great Mosque and was the pride of the citizens of Cordova. Nevertheless, they agreed to its removal by the sons of the Almohad ruler ʿAbd al-Muʿmin II in 552/1157, who presented it to their father as a gift. The manuscript was treated with reverence bordering on adulation by ʿAbd al-Muʿmin, who had a sumptuous casket made to receive it and a special mechanical lectern to display it in the Great Mosque of Marrakesh. Its later extraordinary history has been documented. It went, finally, to the bottom of the Mediterranean, when the ship carrying it to Morocco from Tunis sank in 750/1349–1350. Almost nothing is known about the manuscript before the sixth/twelfth century, other than that it was said to have belonged to the Umayyads of Cordova and to have circulated among them.

The only earlier reference to the existence of this manuscript appears to be the account in the History, 110, where we are told that the judge, ʿAmr ibn ʿAbdallāh, was made to swear an oath of his innocence in an embezzlement charge, on the Qurʾān attributed to ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān, ‘The copy of the Qurʾān attributed to ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān. If correct, this would mean that the Qurʾān was in Cordova – perhaps in the hands of the ruling family, rather than in the Great Mosque – around 263/876. But the lack of independent corroborative evidence may mean that this reference to ‘the copy of the Qurʾān of ʿUthmān’ – as opposed to simply ‘a copy of the Qurʾān’ – is a later interpolation.

Al-Khushanī relates the same story, but in his version there is no mention of the ‘Qurʾān of ʿUthmān’ being brought to the judge; only a copy of the Qurʾān, which the eunuch carried in his sleeve. Sleeves were a convenient way to transport items, so he was not necessarily hiding the manuscript. But this implies something of modest proportions, not a large manuscript,
which copies of the Qurʾān attributed to ʿUthmān seem to have been. If the Qurʾān of ʿUthmān had been the one used for the oath, one would have thought that this fact would have been important enough for al-Khushanī to mention it. So was the story of this revered manuscript added to the text by a later editor, not for reasons of deliberate falsehood, but simply because he thought that for so shocking an occasion – the possible impeachment of the chief judge of Cordova – nothing less than the Qurʾān of ʿUthmān would have to be used?

Unfortunately we do not know when the famous manuscript came to Cordova. The History is – as far as we know – the only text to mention it before the sixth/twelfth century, though it may have been in Cordova in the previous century if, as later historians say, it circulated among the Umayyads before being placed in the treasury of the Great Mosque of Cordova.

If it did not arrive in Cordova until sometime in the fifth/eleventh century, it is evidence that the received text dates from after the time of its arrival, – or more likely, that the reference to the Qurʾān of ʿUthmān must be an interpolation which was inserted after that date. Even if the latter is true, it would mean that the text was still being added to after the death of the author.

The sources of the history

At the beginning of the text the author quotes his sources. These consist of four scholars and two written works. In the course of the text some other oral sources are mentioned, but no other written sources are given. There is no evidence of his use of any other written sources though that does not discount their existence. But there is evidence of oral sources other than those mentioned.

The oral sources

- Muḥammad ibn Saʿīd ibn Muḥamad al-Murādī is so far unknown in biographical literature. Fierro suggests that he may have been from Cabra, as Murādī was a common name there, but he was possibly from Seville.93
- Muhammad ibn Zakarīyāʾ ibn [Yaḥyā ibn Shamūs ibn ʿUmar al-Dākhill] called Ibn al-Ṭanṭīya al-Iṣḥīlī (d. 300 (912)) was from Seville. His ancestor ʿUmar ‘the Immigrant’ came with Balj and was among the members of the jund (military contingent) of Homs who were settled in Seville. He was a pupil of ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Ḥabīb (d. 238/852) and a man of letters and akhbārī. He probably supplied information on Seville from family traditions or from Ibn Ḥabīb through his father. His father Zakarīyāʾ called Ibn al-Ṭanṭīya was one of the last transmitters to know Ibn Ḥabīb. He is mentioned by AbūʿAbdallāh ibn ʿIṭtāb. He died in Seville in 300/912. He had another son ʿAbdallāh, who was mentioned by al-Rāzī.94
- Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Ayman (d. 330/942). He was a
descendant of a client of al-Ḥakam I or Hishām I. He spent many years in the East and studied in Makka, Kufa, Baghdad and Cairo as well as Quairouan. Upon his return to al-Andalus, he had many pupils. He was a well known Malikī jurist and traditionist of Cordoba, who introduced many oriental works into al-Andalus. He transmitted much information on the judges of al-Andalus. He may have supplied information on al-Ḥakam and Hishām. He was born in 252/866.

- **Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar ibn Lubāba** (d. 314/926). He was a famous jurist of Cordoba, descended from a client of Abu ʿUthmaʿn ʿUbaydallah ibn ʿUthmaʿn, who has a major role in the History because of help he gave to ʿAbd al-Rahmān ibn Muʿawīya in his attempt to install himself on the throne of al-Andalus after 138/756. His son was killed by Hishām I, and family fortunes appear to have declined thereafter. He seems to have had considerable knowledge of the history of al-Andalus, and was a transmitter of akhbār. He was quoted on several occasions by Ibn Ḥayyān in the al-Muqtabīs. Unlike other informants, several anecdotes are attributed to him by Ibn al-Quṭīya, giving the impression that he was the latter’s main informant.

- **Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad ibn Bazī ibn Waddāh** (199 or 202–286/7/814 or 817–900), may not have been an original source, if Ibn al-Quṭīya was born around 277–282/890–895. He was a teacher and ‘reformist’ scholar who was born in Cordova and a pupil of Muḥammad ibn Ayman. He was mentioned several times by Ibn Ḥayyān in the al-Muqtabīs. He is mentioned as the relayer of two anecdotes in the History concerning al-Ḥakam I. The first of these is also related by al-Khushanī in his Qudāt Qurṭuba and the author – or authors – of the Akhbār majmūʿa. Al-Khushanī also relates an anecdote about Muḥammad ibn Bashīr chief judge of Cordova during the reign al-Hakam I which he gives on the authority of Ibn al-Qūṭiya. This is not contained in the History and must belong to that larger fund of anecdotes which Ibn al-Qūṭiya related. The latter’s sources are given as Ibn Lubāba and Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Qūn. The second was another of Ibn al-Qūṭiya’s teachers in Seville. This suggests that he may have supplied information on other aspects of the History. His family came from Beja and there are several references in the History to Beja during the time of ʿAbd al-Rahmān I, for which Ibn al-Qūn might have been his source.

In fact, any or all of his acknowledged teachers could have been informants for the History. Another two, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn Ḥabīb ibn ʿUmayr, are quoted as sources by Ibn Ḥayyān in the al-Muqtabīs, together with Ibn Lubāba.

- **ʿAlḥād ibn Maslama** [ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn Ḥabīb ibn ʿUmayr] was a member of the Banū Maslama, not the Banū Ḥajjāj, though both families were from Seville. He was a distant relative of Ibn al-Qūṭiya and is mentioned as a source for some information on Ibn Ḥafsūn. After ʿAbd al-Rahmān ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥajjāj was murdered by his brother
Muhammad in 301/913. Ahmad ibn Maslama was briefly ruler of Seville for four months. Ibn al-Qūṭiya’s father ‘Umar was judge of Seville during Ibn Maslama’s period of rule.

- 'Abdallāh b. Mu‘ammad al-Nadīm called al-Yamāma relates some information on two of the sons of Muḥammad I, ʿUthmān and Ibrāhīm.

Other information is introduced anonymously by the use of expressions like: fa-qāla ba’d al-nās, yuqāl, qālū (‘Some say’, ‘it is said’, etc.). According to Chalmeta these devices are typical of the akhbār genre, that is to say, anecdotes given without a rāwī (transmitter).

One surprising omission in the History is any reference to Ibn al-Qūṭiya’s father ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, also called Ibn al-Qūṭiya. His father came from Seville, and was not only judge there for a time, but a leading figure in the politics of the city. According to Ibn Ḥayyān he played a major role in the restoration of central authority to the city in 301/913. He knew several of the participants mentioned in the History, like Ahmad ibn Maslama, the sons of Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥajjāj, Badr the chief minister of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, and even the youthful emir himself, who rewarded him for his help by making him judge of Écija in 301/914. The crisis that resulted in the voluntary surrender of Ibn Maslama lasted four months, in the course of which ʿUmar and his family were threatened with death by the notables of Seville.

During the crisis Ibn Ḥafṣūn came to Seville, where ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz probably met him. Perhaps the quote regarding Ibn Ḥafṣūn attributed to Ahmad ibn Maslama History, 121, came via ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, not to mention other things that occurred in the second half of the third/ninth century, for which no source is given.

The restoration of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III’s rule in Seville comes within the period covered by the History. Badajoz was taken from the descendants of Ibn Marwān al-Jilliqī in 318/930. Toledo was recovered in 320/932 and Saragossa in 326/937. But of Seville, which returned to the fold in 301/913, and the role of his father, there is not a word.

The written sources

Only two are given: the Tarīkh faṭḥ al-Andalus of ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Ḥabīb (174–238/790–852) and the urjūza of Tammām ibn ʿAlqama (187–283/803–886). In the Paris manuscript, folio 4 recto, these are referred to as two separate works, as the word wa, ‘and’, is written between the two. The Fath al-Andalus was thus not a prose version of Tammām ibn ʿAlqama’s urjūza, as several scholars have asserted.

A Universal History by ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Ḥabīb has survived, which includes a history of al-Andalus to the year 275/888–889. The manuscript of Ibn Ḥabīb’s work in the Bodleian Library, Oxford was examined by Dozy, who scathingly dismissed it. But according to Makki, who re-examined the text, the work does not give a true picture of Ibn Ḥabīb’s contribution to the
history of al-Andalus. His work was referred to not only by Ibn al-Qūṭīya, but by al-Ghassānī, al-Malikī, Ibn al-Faraḍī and al-Ḥumaydī. There are also references in the Crónica del Moro Rasis and the Crónica de Don Prudencio de Sandoval, bishop of Pamplona. But none of these quotations occurs in the Bodleian manuscript. This, according to Makki’s analysis of the text, is because the Oxford manuscript consists only of notes made by his pupil Ibn Abī’l-Riqa῾ and some later additions by Yūsuf ibn Yaḥyā al-Maghāmī (d. 288/900).

The urjuza of Tammām ibn ῾Alqama has not survived but we know that it dealt with events up to the time of ῾Abdal Rahmān II (206–238/822–852). It is described in the Hulā al-siyāra of Ibn al-Abbar.

Tammām was married to the daughter of the Christian count (Qawmis) of al-Andalus. Fierro suggests that she may have been a descendant of Arṭabās, among whose descendants was Abū Saʿīd al-Qawmis, and that he may have collected anecdotes from his wife.

We have no way of knowing whether Ibn al-Qūṭīya obtained more information from these two works, as he does not cite them anywhere else. As he was not in the habit of giving his sources for most of the events he related, one may ask why he cited these written sources at the point where he did?

The citation follows the first section dealing with the role of the Visigoths who collaborated with the invaders; their ability to secure their own estates through the acquisition of caliphal documents and the help given to Šāra al-Qūṭīya by the Umayyad caliph al-Walīd. This may be explained by the lack, or more probably loss, of a family tradition regarding those early events. This seems to be supported by the fact that although the fate and fortune of the three sons of Witiza depended on their possession of the sijill given to them by al-Walīd, Ibn al-Qūṭīya was not able to give the full text. He mentions only one stipulation about the respect they were to be accorded. Yet we know from Ibn al-Qūṭīya himself that some families still had ancient documents in their hands two-and-a-half centuries after the conquest.

If this vital document of the Banū l-Qūṭīya had disappeared by the mid-fourth/tenth century – along with their vast estates, the šafāyā’l-mulāk – what remained of any family traditions, written or oral on the events of the second/eighth century? Probably something, but not much, if Ibn al-Qūṭīya’s scanty account is anything to go by.

We do still have the two lively accounts of Arṭabās: one telling of his generosity towards the proud but penniless Arab chieftains who came seeking relief; the other citing his downfall and reconciliation with ῾Abd al-Rahmān I. However, Ibn al-Qūṭīya does not cite these as part of family tradition. When he first mentions the existence of these anecdotes: History, 50, that he proposes to relate he says: they have been transmitted to us by the learned ones (rawiyānā ῾an al-ʿulamā’). In the case of the second anecdote, he says that it was told him by Ibn Lubāba who related it on the authority of his teachers (ḥakā Ibn Lubāba . . . ῾amman adrakahu min al-shuyūkh: History, 76).

Here we should mention Ribera’s theory that these accounts are part of a
corpus of popular legends, some of which had been versified. This at least was part of his thesis as he attempted to prove the existence of a fourth/tenth century tradition of popular poetry, like the later *Poema de Mio Cid*, but in the Romance dialect, and actually adapted some of the anecdotes given by Ibn al-Qūṭīya into verse to try and prove his point. Among these, he thought, were the Arṭabās stories.  

**The plan and purpose of the History**

The *History* is not just a collection of random anecdotes. It is true that several are in the wrong chronological order. The eclipse of 218/833 which caused consternation in Cordova happened before the first Viking invasion of 230/844. In the text it is mentioned after the invasion. The final anecdote in the text about the slave girl Bāzī’a actually took place in the reign of Muhammad I. It is also true that some seem trivial at first glance. The first thing we learn about the pious ruler Hīshām I is his irritation at having his cloak ripped by a dog.

But there is a plan to the *History* and on the whole events occur in chronological order. The text begins with the invasion of 92/711 and can be divided into two themes. The first is the relation of what we might call ‘folktales’: the violation of Julian’s daughter by Roderik; Julian’s revenge; Tāriq’s dream; his cunning ruse to terrify the enemy; the fabulous temple of Toledo; the wagon-train of Visigoth captives in golden girdles marching east to Damascus. None of these events carries any historical weight, apart from, possibly, the story of the temple. The second theme is the role of Ibn al-Qūṭīya’s forebears in the conquest. Given the importance of memory in Islamic scholarship, and the significance of genealogy in Arab society, we can assume that Ibn al-Qūṭīya’s links to the Visigothic past were genuine, particularly as most descendants of converts wanted to deny their pre-Islamic past and concoct an ‘Arab’ ancestor.

Ibn al-Qūṭīya’s mention of his ancestors, his relation of anecdotes about Arṭabās – not a direct ancestor – and his occasional mention of Christians and their descendants who held important positions in al-Andalus, like his contemporaries the Christian judge Ḥāfṣ ibn Albar and the secretary Sa’d ibn Qawmis, represents a stage in an increasingly important phenomenon. Chrysitis suggests that each story in the *History* involving a person of Christian origin, and each mention of the role of a Christian in the society of al-Andalus alludes to a coming-to-terms with the Muslim conquest on the part of Christians. Nevertheless the attitude of Christians in al-Andalus, in so far as we know about it, was not uniform. Some were eager to integrate; others kept themselves aloof in monasteries; and there was a steady trickle of emigration by Christians from al-Andalus to the northern Christian kingdoms.

But certainly by the mid-fourth/tenth century, Christians and Jews in al-Andalus were becoming integrated into Islamic society: in some cases they
were able enough to occupy governmental posts – as the story of Qawmis ibn Antūnīyān shows. But they were never on an equal footing with Muslims, whether Arabs, Berbers or converts – as the opposition to Qawmis by the Arab and Berbers shows: *History*, 115–116.

Whatever our interpretation of these anecdotes, Ibn al-Qūṭiyā was first and foremost a Muslim, and secondly a client of the Umayyads, and presumably he would have preferred conversion of Christians and Jews to any other status.

The issuing of treaties/capitulation agreements like the one given to the sons of Witiza is echoed elsewhere by the Treaty of Theodimir [Tudmīr] and in the *History* by the surrender of Cassius/Casio (ancestor of the Banū Qastī) and his conversion before the Umayyad caliph of Damascus. These are also related to the idea of integration, but this time, it is the integration of the Muwallads. By the end of the fourth/tenth century Muslim converts and their descendants formed the majority of Muslims in al-Andalus. Acceptance of their position in al-Andalus by the Arab elite had become an issue, as it had in other parts of the Muslim world. All of the treaties and trips to meet the caliph may have been later inventions, but they tied the descendants of their recipients into the history of al-Andalus and helped to legitimise their position.116

During the reigns of ʿAbd al-Rahmān III (300–350/912–961) and al-Ḥakam II (350–366/961–976), that is, during the lifetime of Ibn al-Qūṭiyā, the power of the Arab aristocracy was steadily curtailed in favour of the Muwallads, from whom a new bureaucratic and military elite was drawn. This was accompanied by an interest in, and patronage of, scholarship, science and learning, particularly by al-Ḥakam II.117

It was during this period that *Andalusī* history began to be seriously collected and edited. In this the al-Rāzī family played an important role. Muhammad ibn Mūsā al-Rāzī who came from the East in 250/864, became an advisor to the emir Muhammad I and wrote several historical works. His son Ahmad, called al-Tāʾrīkhī, ‘the Historian’ (d. 344/955), and his grandson ʿĪsā, both produced histories. The work of ʿĪsā is believed to have continued to the time of Hishām II (366–399/976–1009 and 400–403/1010–1013). Both were contemporaries of Ibn al-Qūṭiyā.118

The second part of the *History* deals with the period down to 139/756, when al-Andalus was ruled by governors appointed by the caliph or his governor in Iṭrīqīya. The most important event to occur in this section is the settlement of the Arab jūnds, or military contingents, which arrived under Balj ibn Bishr and were settled in different regions at the expense of the Christians and Jews. Many of their descendants are mentioned in the *History* and they played a major if turbulent role in the later history of al-Andalus.

The Berbers arrived in infinitely greater numbers, and friction between Arabs and Berbers led to the outbreak of several serious revolts, one of which is mentioned as affecting mainly North Africa. The main Berber revolt in al-Andalus under Shaqyā al-Mīknāsī which began in 122/740 and lasted several years, is not mentioned.
The next section deals with the arrival of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I in al-Andalus, in 137/755 after the overthrow of the Umayyad Caliphate of Damascus. It explains how he was able to gain power with the help of the Umayyad clients of al-Andalus and the assistance of the Mudarid Arab tribes, who supported him against the ruling Qaysid faction of Arab tribes.

The final part of the History relates the story of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān’s successors down to the early years of the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III after 300/912. This was a dangerous time for the Andalusī Umayyads, who were beset by internal and external enemies. The most effective of the former was the rebel and apostate, ʿUmar ibn Ḥafṣūn, who established himself in the area north of Málaga. Throughout the reign of the emir ʿAbdallāh (275–300/888–912) he gained in strength, though tactical and political mistakes had weakened his position by the time of his death in 305/917. His sons continued in rebellion but were unable to resist the armies of Cordova and eventually surrendered to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III in 316/928. This was followed by the consolidation of Umayyad power throughout al-Andalus, so their story finishes on a note of triumph.

Oddly, the dramatic climax is followed by an entirely irrelevant anecdote, which is totally out of its historical context. Perhaps this more than anything else has given the impression that the History is a disparate collection of unrelated anecdotes. This is very far from the truth. There is more to the text than the mere relation of akhābār.

While the text is undoubtedly akhābār, the relation of anecdotes, it cannot be regarded as mere story-telling. Not at least when akhābār were related in the surroundings of the mosque to a circle of students, by men whose lives were otherwise devoted to the study of religious sciences: tradition, jurisprudence and grammar when it was required for better understanding of the Qurʾān and Sunna. Akhābār initially meant traditions which could be traced back to the Prophet, while āthār meant those that could be traced back to his companions. So the relaying of anecdotes, even when they dealt with decidedly worldly matters like politics and intrigues over succession, often had a moral purpose.

Not a few of Ibn al-Qūṭiya’s students went on to become important men whose advice and opinions the emirs and caliphs sought out. He was certainly aware of this and the anecdotes he related, which were later written down to become the History, often have an important moral lesson to give. Although he was a dedicated supporter of the Umayyads and spoke first and foremost as an Umayyad client, this did not mean recommending blind obedience and uncritical support by the judiciary, advisors palace servants, soldiers, etc. In many anecdotes dissent is noted and by implication, praised, even though it could have fatal consequences for the dissenting official.

In her analysis of this question Fierro has given several examples and it is not necessary to repeat them here. They all illustrate the point that although the author spoke as a confirmed client of the Umayyads who regarded the
troublesome rebels – Arabs, Berbers or Iberian Muslims – as enemies of his masters, and therefore of Islam, he supported and praised opposition based on genuine religious conviction. He encouraged loyalty to the regime, but ridiculed Arab notions of superiority.

Ibn al-Qūṭiya wants to show that the power of the Umayyads is divinely given, but can only be maintained if they govern with justice. For this they need the help of faithful counsellors, and the awarding of important posts to men of impeccable conduct. This is the overall theme of the final part of the History and many of the anecdotes are related to illustrate it. It is this which can be said to be the purpose of the History, whoever may have finally assembled the text as it now stands, and whenever, or wherever that occurred.

**Notes**

1 Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Catalogue des Manuscrits Arabes 1883–1895, MS 1867 (706; 764 (2)). Among the remainder only the Madrid manuscript is important: Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Catálogo de las manuscritos árabes, 1889, MS CXX, currently MS 4996.

2 Chalmeta in his survey of the editions and translations of the History suggested that the al-Tawfīq ‘edition’ may have been based on the ‘copy’ of Sīd Hāmūda: Chalmeta (1973) 38.


4 Ibn El-Kouthyia/Cherbonneau (1853), (1856).

5 Ibn El-Kouthyia/Cherbonneau (1853) 458: Ce fut en 1845 dont M. de Slane signala à mon attention le Fotouh elandalous, dont il n’existe qu’un exemplaire en Europe.

6 Ibn El-Kouthyia/Cherbonneau (1853) 459: on lui doit plusieurs ouvrages remarquables sur la lexicographie. C’est le premier grammarien qui ait songé à rédiger un traité de conjugation arabe Kitāb taṣārif al-af’āl. Then below at 459, note 1 referring to this grammatical work of Ibn al-Qūṭiya he says: Sīd Hamouda ben Elferkoun de Constantine possède, dans sa riche collection de manuscrits un exemplaire très-ancien de cet ouvrage. The 1856 volume makes no mention of any copy of the History, and at that time Cherbonneau was living in Constantine where he taught Arabic. The library did contain important historical works on al-Andalus. Part of the al-Muqtabis of Ibn Hayyān was found in the Library of Sīd Hāmūda in Constantine by Fagnan and published by Antuña in 1937.

7 The ‘manuscript from Istanbul which has since disappeared’, mentioned by Chrystis (2002) 164, is an error. She refers to the supposed manuscript from Constantine, not Constantinople (Istanbul).

8 Referring to the Paris manuscript he says: . . . il porte le titre de Iftitah non Fatouh que lui donne Cherbonneau, probablement il pris ce dernier mot sur l’exemplaire que possédait Sīd Hayyān ben Elferkoun de Constantine, copie dont je n’ai pu avoir communication: Ibn Elqouthiya/Houdas (1889) 217, note 1.

9 Briquet (1968); Valls i Subirà (1970).


11 See Appendix vi for a possible identification.

12 Folios 23 recto–24 recto, begins with wa-kānār; folios 27 recto–28 recto, begins wa-‘Abd al-Rahmān; folios 35 verso – 36 verso, begins with fa-ḥaddatha. All of these are ‘keywords’ copied in large black script.

13 Folio 30 recto.

Towards the end of the manuscript hā’ is also written a few times as an open circle containing a dot.

_Hā_: end, termination, paragraph mark, textual divider, abbreviation; _al kh_ et cetera, abbreviation; also hā’, marginal note, gloss, abbreviation, Gacek (2001) 146, 4, 147. For a clear example of some of the uses of hā’ in a _maghrībi_ manuscript dated 524/1124: see Moritz (1905) ii, pl. 177.

Al-Abyārī suggests that it was the anonymous scribe and student who inserted the reference in the text to Ibn Ḥabīb’s _Fāṣī al-Andalus_: Ibn-Akutya (1982) 22.

Appendix i.


MS arabe 4484, _Catalogue des manuscrits arabes de la Bibliothèque du Roi_.

Paris (1883–1895) ii, for a detailed account of the early collecting activities of the Bibliothèque Royale. Also, Roman (1990) 80–90.


The years of Sultan Ismāʾīl (1082–1139/1672–1727) of Morocco were among the worst: Brooks (1693); Lane-Poole (1890).

Paris (1883–1895) ii.

Fierro (1989) 492.

Dozy (1847–1851) 40.

The passage quoted by Ibn Abī’l-Fayyād, from the _Ṭārīkh al-Andalus_ of Ibn al-Kardabūs, is virtually identical in parts, though quoted without reference to Ibn al-Qūṭīya, and states how the sons of Witīza went over to Ṭāriq in return for getting back their estates, how this was confirmed by Mūsā and how they received a diploma, which stipulated that they were to rise for no one who entered their presence, nor for any one leaving it. The next two paragraphs are similar to lines from Ibn al-Qūṭīya. One quotes part of Ṭāriq’s dream as he crossed over to al-Andalus, which occurs in the _History_. The second refers to the descendants of the sons of Witīza and says: ‘Among their descendants was the secretary (al-kāṭīb) Abū Sa’d al-Qawmīs, the ancestor of the _Banū Qawmis_, and the female ancestor (jīdā) of the _Banū ʿl-Qūṭīya_.’ In the _History_, Abū Sa’d is mentioned as descendant of Artabās, though not as al-kāṭīb, and Ḥafṣ ibn Albar as a descendant of Rumulū, and although Sāra is mentioned she is not called the ancestor of the _Banū ʿl-Qūṭīya_; this distinction goes to ʿĪsā ibn Muzāḥīm: Ibn al-Kardabūs (1971) 179–180; Ibn-Akutya (1982) 30, 31, 34.


Edited by M. Antuña, Paris (1937); by M. A. Makki, Cairo (1971); by P. Chalmeta, Madrid (1979). Part ii has been reproduced in facsimile.


According to Fierro, all the quotations from Ibn al-Qūṭīya in the part of the _al-Muqtabis_ published by Antuña in 1937 can be found in the _History_, with the exception of this one. However, these quotations are by no means identical to the received text of the _History_, so what Fierro means, if I understand her correctly, is that Ibn Ḥayyān’s quotations simply refer to events also mentioned in the _History_: Fierro (1989) 491.

Ibn Ḥayyān (1937) 3.


Ibn Ḥayyān (1937) 86.


Ibn Ḥayyān (1971) 179.
40 Ibn Hayyān (1979) 70–81.
45 Vallvé (1965) 157. He suggests that it is the Cerro de la Caldera, south-east of the Sierra del Rey: note 49.
47 Cardonne (1765) i, xxii.
49 It is given again on the final folio: . . . akhbār fath al-Andalus . . . But on the opening folio, 50 verso, it is called Akhbār majmū’a fi ‘iftītāh al-Andalus . . . Thus we do not really know the correct title of the Akhbār majmū’a.
50 Ibn El-Kouthyia/Cherbonneau (1853) 458–474; (1856) 426–482, notes. 77–82.
51 Ibn Alqouthiya/Houdas (1889) 219–280.
52 Ibn al-Quṭṭiya (1868); Derenbourg (1904) 18.
53 The manuscript has been re-numbered several times. In the original catalogue of Guillén Robles Madrid (1889) it is CXX, G.g. (Ganyangos) 142, and now 4996. Fierro (1989) 485 refers to it as ‘MS 120’, but it can only be located in the Biblioteca Nacional under the latter number, 4996.
54 Abenalcotía/Ribera (1926) viii.
56 Although Gayangos does not give the press number of the manuscript, he does give its date, thanks to which it can be identified as MS Add. 7334, dated 1163/1750, copied (as he says), from an early version dated 1038/1629.
57 When Derenbourg published his Notes Critiques on the Arabic manuscript in the Biblioteca National, Madrid in 1904, it was the published (1868) edition of MS 4996 that he consulted: Derenbourg (1904) 18.
58 Abenalcotía/Ribera (1926). Al-Wazīr al-Ghassānī was Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, who was sent on a mission to Spain by Sultan Ismā’īl of Morocco in 1102/1690–1691 to ransom prisoners. He wrote an account, the Riḥlat al-wazīr fī ‘iftīkāk al-asīr, in which he used the Akhbār fath al-Andalus: EI 2nd ii, 1,021–1,022.
63 Nichols (1975). In 1940 a translation into Urdu was published by J. Rahman, Allahabad. There is also a fairly recent Persian translation. But whether this or the former is based on the Paris manuscript or one of the Arabic editions I am unable to say, as I have not been able to track down a copy of either translation.
64 I have retained the Arabic forms of these and other Visigoth names, since there
numerous variants in English and Spanish, the original spellings are unclear and even the names of some characters are uncertain.


Min al-mawālī al-barbar nasaba baytuhum ilā umm jadd Abī hum wa-hīya ibnlat malik al-Andalus qabla dukhūl al-Islām ilayhā. ‘They were Berber clients whose family was related to the mother of their grandfather; the daughter of the king of al-Andalus before the arrival of Islam’. Qādī ‘Īyād adds this information to his entry on Ibn al-Qūṭīya, which he says came from Ibn al-Ḥāriṣīt [al-Khushanī], though it is not mentioned in the latter’s Qudāt Qurtuba nor his Akhbār al-fuqahā‘ wa-l-muhaddithīn. Fierro gives a much more detailed quotation, although her source, she says, is the Beirut 1968–1972 edition: ḥuwa [Īsā ibn Muzāhīm] min al-mawālī l-barbar yantasibu ilā umm jadd Abī-hi Ibrāhīmīm wa-hīya bnt wa-lad malik al-Andalus qabla dukhūl al-Islām According to the editors of the Akhbār al-fuqahā’, Madrid (1992), Avila and Molina ‘barbar aparece referido a un personaje de origen persa: see Fierro (1989) 502, note 82 (private communication).

But when we remember that ‘Abd al-Rahmān I of al-Andalus, was born in Syria to a Berber mother of the Nafza tribe, it is not out of the question that ‘Īsā ibn Muzāhīm was of Berber descent too.

Chrisstis (2002) 181. The children of Sārā and ‘Īsā ibn Muzāhīm were Muslims and became known as the Banī ‘l-Qūṭīya. Sārā’s father and uncles did remain Christian for a some time. Ḥaṣī ibn Albar, a descendant of Sārā’s uncle Rumulu, was a Christian and a contemporary of Ibn al-Qūṭīya. But their descendants were not the Banī ‘l-Qūṭīya. According to a recent work by the Malian scholar from Timbuctu, Ismael Diadié: one of the last surviving descendants of the Visigoths of Toledo, ‘Alī ibn Ziyād al-Qūṭī, left that city in 1468 and made his way to Morocco, and settled in Gumbu in modern Mali. He brought with him manuscripts in Arabic, Spanish and Hebrew and collected more in the course of his life, leaving a substantial library to his heirs. This remarkable library was dispersed at the end of the fourteenth century, to prevent the French colonial authorities from getting their hands on it. It was reassembled by Diadié and installed in a new building in Timbuktu, funded by the Regional Government – Junta – of Andalucia, in 2003. Many of the books contain annotations by ‘Alī ibn Ziyād al-Qūṭī, stating when and where he acquired the manuscript. Thanks to these, Diadié has been able to reconstruct something of the life and travels of ‘el ultimo visigodo’, who was presumably a descendant of Sārā’s uncle Rumulu: Diadié and Pimentel (2004) 91–128. Al-Manūnī also mentions a 12th/18th-century Moroccan scribe from Fez, apparently of Visigothic descent: Ahmad al-‘Abbās ibn Mahdi al-Andalusī thumma al-Fāsī al-Qūwaytī, ‘the little Goth’, who made a copy of al-Sijillma‘ī’s Fath al-khalīl al-samād in 1794; al-Manūnī (1971) no. 296.

Ibn al-Abbar (1953) i, nos. 883, 892.

Ibn al-Abbar (1926) xxiv.

Chalmes (1973) 40; Chrystis (2002) 165.

The Taṣārīf al-af‘āl has been edited (Ibn Al-Qutiyya, 1894).

According to Yaqūt he produced a commentary on the Adab al-kātib. But on which one – if this is correct – is unknown as there are five works with this name, written by authors who lived before the death of Ibn al-Qūṭīya: Yaqūt (1993) vi, 2,593; Ibn-Akutya (1982), 17–18.
74 Al-Humaydî (1953) no. 927. The author composed his work, the *Jadhwat al-Muqtabis* in Baghdad from inadequate material. He included another biography of Ibn al-Qūṭīya, no. 111.

75 Ávila (1980); Chrystis (2002) 162.

76 Qâdî ‘Iyâd (no date) iv, 554.

77 Yâqût (1993) vi, 2593.

78 His name is given in various forms as al-Qūn, al-Qūq and al-Qūt. He was Muhâammad ibn ’Abdallâh ibn al-Qūq al-Khawlânî al-Bâjî – of Beja according to al-Maqqarî (1968) ii, no.160.


80 Marîn (1988): nos 648, 805; no information for Ibn Mughîth; for Ibn Lubaiba *History*, 78 note 6; then nos, 948, 248, 116, 1,330; for Ibn Ayman note 95 below; then nos, 853, 104, 1,046 and 1,048.

81 He may have been born around 277–282/890–895 as one of his declared informants, *Ibn alTanîya*, died in 300/912 and one of his teachers in Cordova, Tâhir ibn ’Abd al’Azîz, died in 304/916. Ibn al-Faradî and his own nephew ’Abd al-Malik, both of whom were his students, were fifteen years old when Ibn al-Qūṭîya died, probably in his late seventies, or early eighties. If Ibn al-Qūṭîya was roughly the same age in 304/916 he would have been born around 287/900. If however, he lived into his eighties he would have been born around 277/890.

82 Ibn al-Faradî (1954) ii, no. 1,318.


84 Ibn Khallikân (1968–1972), iv, no. 750. *Fataka*, means to assassinate without warning; fāṭik, pl. futtāḵ, assassin. It is used in this sense in connection with the murder of Ahmad ibn al-Bara’ quoted above. But as the poet spoke on a lighter note it must mean, over-indulgent, voluptuary, see Dozy, *vivre voluptueusment, l’opposé de nasaka* (to be a hermit, ascetic). Chrystis suggests that the anecdote which sums up the personality of Ibn al-Qūṭîya may be a later interpolation, perhaps from a model chosen by Ibn Khallikân: Lane Bk. i, pt 6, 2,332–2333; Dozy ii, 240; Chrystis (2002) 163.

85 See also al-Maqqari (1968) iii, 73–74, 171; iv, 25, but no new information is given.


88 Qâdî ‘Iyâd (no date) iv, 555.

89 Ibn Khallikân says that the work of Ibn al-‘Afîf al-Ta’rîkhî on the famous men of al-Andalus was explained and written down (*basatahu wa nanaqahu*) by Abû Bakr al-Hasan ibn Muhammad called al-Qubbâshî, who had *memorised his work*: Ibn Khallikân (1968–1972) iv, 371; Nichols (1975) xxiv.

90 Ibn Bashkuwâl (1955) i, nos 852, 769.

91 Lévi-Provençal i, 172.

92 When Ibn Ḥâyyân quoted these events on the authority of Ibn al-Qūṭîya, he did not include the final expression, ‘from then to our time’, which could suggest that the Tujbîds no longer controlled Saragossa when he wrote in the fifth/eleventh century. Unfortunately this is not so because he does use it when quoting Ibn al-Qūṭîya on the establishment of an *Andalusî* dynasty on Crete, long after it had disappeared: Ibn Ḥâyyân (1999) 107 recto.

93 Fierro (1989) 495.


98 Fierro (1990) no. 60.

99 al-Khushanî (1952) 58.

100 al-Maqqari (1968) ii, no. 160.
102 Guichard (1976) 190, note. 32 quoting Lévi-Provençal ii, 12–13. So he was evidently not the nephew of Ibrāhīm ibn Hajjāj. The people of Seville chose him as ruler.
106 MS 127; Makki (1998).
109 There was also an Urjūza fī fath al-Andalus by Yahya ibn al-Ḥakam al-Bakrī called al-ghazāl (d. 250/864) which has not survived: EI 2nd ii, 1,038.
110 Al-Maqqarī mentions another work by Ibn Ḥabīb, the Akhbār mulūk al-Andalus but Ibn al-Qūṭiya – or perhaps a later interpolator – who saw the work, says that he refers to one dealing with the conquest of al-Andalus, not a history of its rulers: al- Maqqarī (1968) ii, 118; also see Ibn-Akutya (1982) 23–26.
111 Ribera speculated whether Tammām had collected anecdotes about Sārā al-Qūṭiya through his wife: see Guichard (1976) 191.
112 See History, 50, for his extract from al-Walīd’s document to the three brothers. On page 60 he mentions that the family of ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Ghāfiqī who was governor of al-Andalus in 112–114/730–732, had his diploma of appointment in their possession in the mid-fourth/tenth century: Fierro (1989) 501–502; Chrystis (2002) 166.
113 See Fierro (1989) 500, note 73 for this complex and controversial issue.
114 Nichols (1975) xxxi–xliii.
117 Monroe (1970) 7; Nichols (1975) x.
118 None of their works has survived, but some are extensively quoted in the al-Muqtabis of Ibn Hayyān. See also Lévi-Provençal iii, 504; Pellat (1962) 118–125.
119 See also Nichols (1975) xliii–xlvi.
Translation

The *History* of Ibn al-Qūṭīya
The Peninsula in Visigothic times and the probable routes of Ṭāriq and Mūsa
1  Ṭāriq ibn Zīyād invades al-Andalus

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful
God bless and save our lord Muḥammad and his Companions

Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, known as Ibn al-Qūṭiya, ‘the son of the Gothic woman’ informed us. Several learned men, including Shaykh Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar ibn Lubāba, Muḥammad ibn Saʿīd ibn Muḥammad al-Murādī, Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Ayman and Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyāʾ ibn al-Ṭanṭīya al-Ishbīlī, have told us, according to all their masters:

* The last king of the Goths in the land of al-Andalus was Ghīṭīsha-[Witiza]-who died leaving three sons. Almund – [Almund] was the eldest, Rumulu – [Aquila/Waqla/Rómul] the next, then Arṭabās [Ardabast]. All were very young when their father died so their mother became regent in Ṭūḷayṭula [Toledo]. But Lūḍhārīq, [Roderik], their father’s army commander, and his supporters in the army, rebelled and seized Qurṭuba [Cordova].

* When Ṭāriq ibn Zīyād entered al-Andalus, in the time of the caliph al-Walīd ibn ʿAbd al-Malik [86–96/705–715], Lūḍhārīq wrote to the sons of Ghīṭīsha, who had grown up and could ride, calling on them to help him, so together they would be united against the enemy. They marshalled their forces, advanced and camped at Shaqunda [Secunda] as they did not trust Lūḍhārīq enough to enter Cordova. He went to meet them and together they went to confront Ṭāriq. But when the two sides came close, Almund and his brothers decided to betray Lūḍhārīq. That very night they sent a messenger to Ṭāriq, saying that Lūḍhārīq was no better than one of their father’s dogs, a mere client. They sought safe conduct if they came over to him the next morning, saying that he should confirm their possession of their father’s estates, which numbered some three thousand in al-Andalus. These were afterwards known as ‘the royal territories’ (ṣafayāʾ-mlūk). Thus, the next
morning they went over to Tāriq with their supporters, and that clinched the victory.6

* 

When they met Tāriq they asked, ‘Are you the commander (amīr) in charge, or is there another commander over you?’ To which he replied, ‘There is a commander over me, and another one over him!’ He gave them leave to contact Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr . . . [in North Africa to confirm what he had agreed with them. They asked Tāriq to write to Mūsā about what had happened between them and him, and the promise he had given them: which Tāriq did.

They set off to meet Mūsā and met him on the way to al-Andalus7 . . . near Berber territory, where they presented Tāriq’s letter announcing their submission and what he had authorised in return.8 Mūsā directed them to the caliph al-Walīd ibn ʿAbd al-Malik where al-Walīd confirmed Tāriq’s promise and gave each of them a document to that effect. The documents stipulated that: they shall never have to rise to anyone who approaches them, nor to anyone who takes leave of them.9

* 

They returned to al-Andalus, and their situation remained as had been agreed until the death of Almund when his daughter, Sāra [Sarah] al-Qūṭāya, and his two young sons inherited his property. One was later Bishop of Ishbīliyya [Seville] and the other, ʿAbbās [Oppas], died in Jīliqiyya [Galicia].10 Then Arṭabās seized their lands and added them to his own. This occurred at the beginning of the rule of Hishām ibn ʿAbd al-Malik as caliph [105–125/724–743]. So Sāra made ready a ship at Seville, where her father had preferred to live because he owned a thousand estates in the western part of al-Andalus. Arṭabās had an equal number in the middle of al-Andalus, and chose to live in Cordova, where Abū Saʿīd al-Qawmīs, is one of his descendants.11 Rumulu owned his estates in the east so he preferred Toledo, where Ḥafs ibn Albar [Alvar – Alvaro], the Christian judge (qāḍī al-ʿajam), is among his descendants.12 As we hope to relate soon, according to the learned, Arṭabās showed good judgement with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muʿāwīya and the Syrians who came with the Umayyads and Arabs to al-Andalus.

* 

Sāra and her two young brothers sailed to Syria, where they landed at Ashqalūn [Ascalon]. They continued overland until they arrived at the seat of Hishām ibn ʿAbd al-Malik, where Sāra related her story, recalled the agreement given to her father by the caliph al-Walīd and complained of the injustice of her uncle Arṭabās. Hishām had her brought into his presence. It was there that she saw with him the young ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muʿāwīya.13 Years later in al-Andalus he would remind her of that and whenever she visited Cordova he would give her leave to enter the palace and visit the royal family.14 So, on her behalf Hishām wrote a letter to Ḫanzala ibn Ṣafwān
al-Kalbi, governor (‘āmil) of the province of Ifrīqiya, instructing him to carry out the agreement of al-Walid . . . and to order his governor in al-Andalus, Hūsām ibn Ḍurār – that is Abū’l-Khaṭṭāb al-Kalbi – to effect it.¹⁵

That being done, the caliph Hishām arranged a marriage for her with ʿĪsā ibn Muzāḥim who accompanied her to al-Andalus where he recovered her properties. Now, he was the ancestor of the [Banū] al-Qūṭiya, and the father of two sons, Ibrāhīm and Ishāq. He died in 136/755, the year ʿAbd al-Rahmān ibn Muʿāwīya, [ʿAbd al-Rahmān I (138–172/756–788)], arrived in al-Andalus. Then two rivals competed for her hand: Ḥaywa ibn Malāmis al-Madhḥijī and ʿUmayr ibn Saʿīd al-Lakhmī [but Thaʿlabā ibn ʿUbayd al-Judhamī supported ʿUmayr for ʿAbd al-Rahmān] so he arranged a marriage for her with ʿUmayr.¹⁶ She gave birth to Ḥabīb ibn ʿUmayr. ʿUmayr was the progenitor of several families of Seville: the Banū Sayyid, Banū Ḥajjāj, Banū Maslama, Banū Ḥajz al-Jurz.¹⁷ These are are the noble descendants of ʿUmayr in Seville. He had children by other women, but the nobility of these families was not as illustrious. This information is found in the book of ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Ḥabīb, Fath al-Andalus ['The Conquest of al-Andalus'], and in the urjūza [poem, in rajz metre], of Tammām ibn ʿAlqama al-Wazīr, and even more.¹⁸

* The confrontation between Ṭāriq and Lūdharīq occurred at the Wādī Lakuh [Río Guadalete] in the province of Shadūna [Sidona, Medina-Sidonia] and God defeated Lūdharīq.¹⁹ Weighed down with weapons he threw himself in the river and was never found.²⁰

* It is related that the kings of the Goths had a temple (bayt) in Toledo wherein was an ark (tābūt) in which were kept the Four Gospels upon which they took the sacred oath. They exalted this temple and kept it closed. When one of their kings died they inscribed his name on it.²¹ Now, when Lūdharīq became king he took the crown and placed it on his head, which was something not approved of according to Christianity. Then he opened the temple and the ark, although this was forbidden by Christianity. Inside the ark he found pictures of Arabs with bows on their shoulders and turbans on their heads.²² On the wooden base was written: If this temple be opened and these pictures taken out, then al-Andalus will be invaded by the people shown in the pictures and conquered by them!

* Ṭāriq entered al-Andalus in Ramadān, 92/June 711.

* The invasion happened because a merchant of the Christians (ʿajam), called Yuliyan [Julian], used to travel between al-Andalus and the Land of the Berbers. At that time Ṭanja [Tangiers] . . . was Christian . . .²³ And there, in
North Africa, he used to acquire fine horses and birds of prey for Lūdharīq. Now, the wife of Yulīyān died, leaving him with a beautiful daughter. Lūdharīq ordered him to go to North Africa but Yulīyān excused himself owing to the death of his wife, saying that he had no one to whom he could entrust his daughter. So Lūdharīq told him to bring her to the palace. When Lūdharīq saw her he took a fancy to her and seduced her. When her father returned, she told him. So he said to Lūdharīq, ‘I have left behind in Africa, horses and hawks, the like of which you have never seen.’ Then Lūdharīq let him return and gave him money. Yulīyān met with Tāriq and incited him to come over to al-Andalus, telling him of its splendour and the weakness of its people and their lack of courage. So Tāriq wrote to Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr and informed him of that, whereupon Mūsā told him to invade. Tāriq mustered [his troops]. While he was on board sleep overcame him and whilst asleep he had a dream in which he saw the Prophet Muḥammad – peace and praises be upon him. He was surrounded by his followers from Makka and Madīna who were armed with swords and bows. The Prophet passed by Tāriq and said, ‘Go on with your venture.’ And Tāriq slept on, dreaming of the Prophet and his Companions, until the ship reached al-Andalus. He took the dream as a good omen and told it to his men.

* 

When he reached the shore of al-Andalus one of the first places he took was Qartājanna [probably Carteya] in the province (kūra) of al-Jazīra [Algeciras]. He ordered his men to kill some prisoners and cut up their bodies, which he then had cooked in pots. He gave the order for the remaining prisoners to be released. The released prisoners told all they met what had happened. Thus, God filled their hearts with terror. Tāriq advanced until he met Lūdharīq, and events turned out as we have previously related. He continued his advance to Istiija, [Écija], and to Cordova; then on to Toledo; then on to the pass called Faḥ Taḥrīq [Tāriq’s Pass], by which he entered Galicia and he cut through Galicia until he reached Uṣṭurqa, [Astorga].

* 

Now, when Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr learned how easy the conquest had been he grew jealous of Tāriq because of that. He crossed over with a vast army . . . [intending to meet up with him]. When he arrived off the coast he ignored the place where Tāriq had landed and [disembarked] at the spot known later as Marsa Mūsā [Mūsā’s Harbour]. He did not follow Tāriq’s route but went along the coast of Shadhūna. This took place a year after Tāriq had arrived. He advanced to Shadhūna; then advanced on Séville, which he conquered. He went on from Séville to Laqant [Fuente de Cantos]; then to the pass called Faḥ Mūsā [Mūsā’s Pass] before Fuente de Cantos to Mārida [Mérida].

* 

Some scholars (ahl al-ʿilm) say that the people of Mérida negotiated so Mūsā
did not take over by force. He advanced further and entered Galicia by the pass which bears his name. He cut through from where he had entered, and met up with Ṭāriq at Astorga.

* 

At that moment came the order from the caliph al-Walīd ibn ʿAbd al-Malik telling them to withdraw, which they did, after Mūsā and Ṭāriq had fallen out.

* 

Mūsā reinforced the fortress of al-Andalus and left his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in charge, whom he established in Seville, leaving with him Ḥabīb ibn Abī ʿUbayda ibn ʿUqba ibn ʿAbd al-Fihrī. Then ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz undertook the capture of the remaining towns of al-Andalus.

* 

Then Mūsā set off for Syria, accompanied by four hundred Christian prisoners of noble birth wearing golden crowns and belts. But as he grew near to Damascus the caliph al-Walīd went down with the illness from which he subsequently died. His successor-in-waiting, Sulaymān, told him, ‘Halt where you are. Enter when my time comes: my brother is about to die.’ But Mūsā answered the messenger with the sternness becoming a conquerer, and grateful for the favour done him by al-Walīd, ‘Never, by God! I shall proceed: but if fate decrees that my benefactor die before I arrive, then I shall do as he [Sulaymān] wishes.’ [But he entered before the death of al-Walīd.]

* 

When Sulaymān [96–99/715–717] took control, he had Mūsā imprisoned, imposing a fine on him, while giving orders to five of the leading Arabs in al-Andalus to assassinate his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. These included Ḥabīb ibn Abī ʿUbayda and Ziyād ibn al-Nābigha al-Tamīmī. They went to carry it out . . . One morning he [ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz] went to the mosque and stood in front of the mihrāb where he recited the sura al-Fātiha, the opening chapter of the Qurʾān and the sura called al-Wāqiʿa lvi [‘The Event’]. Then the people drew their swords and set about him all at once. They cut off his head and sent it to Sulaymān. This took place [in Rajab 97/March 716] in the Mosque of Rubīna, over looking the plain of Seville, as ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was then living in the church of [Santa] Rufina. He had married a Visigothic woman called Umm ʿĀṣim, and lived with her in the church close to the mosque, built nearby, in which he was murdered. Until recently his blood stains could be seen there.

* 

After receiving the head Sulaymān sent for Mūsā and showed him it in a metal basin (tisht). Mūsā cried, ‘By God! You killed him while he was fasting and praying!’ Of the many things that happened during Sulaymān’s reign, all
that was remembered was what he did to Mūsā. His [Mūsā’s] murder took place in the year 98/716–717.

Notes and comments

1 True headings (’anāwín) in the Paris manuscript are rare, and hardly differ from ‘key words’ in the format of the manuscript. But for clarity and readability I have divided the text in to easily identifiable sections: the Invasion; the years of the governors appointed by the caliphs of Damascus; the arrival of ’Abd al-Rahmān ibn Mu’āwīya and the reigns of his descendents etc. However original ‘headings’ – if such they can be called – in the manuscript I have marked with an asterisk: Concerning Artabās* Otherwise, I have tried to keep the format of the text as close to the original as possible.

2 Akhbaranā: he informed us. The verb akhbara: to inform, here has to do with the relaying of akhbār. Dozy i, 347 gives šāḥib al-khabar, and akhhrārī, some one who informs the sovereign of toutes les nouvelles; Lane, Bki, pt. 2, 695; 697 says akhbara, to inform, acquaint with; akhhrārī, historian. This is different to the normal incipit of the vast majority of Arabic manuscripts, which commence: qāla followed by the name of the author (qāla al-mu‘allif) or just qāla. The relayer or transmitter of the words of Ibn al-Qūṭiya was part of the circle (halqaḥ) of students and scholars who would have been seated around Ibn al-Qūṭiya, listening and taking notes. Most scholars in the past have assumed that what we read in the existing text is a copy of an original oral relation taken down in Cordova, probably several times removed from that original relation. Only Sezgin (1967–1984), i, 364 says that it indicates a copy from a written transmission: Chalmeta (1973).

3 Simonet gives the names of the three sons as follows: Olemundo, Aquila/Rômulo and Ardashasto: (1897–1903) 12, note 6. He believed the r.m.l.h. of the text to be a copyst’s error for ajīla or achila, Aquila. Al-Maqqarī gives the names as Almundu, Rumulu and Artabāsh. It seems probable that Romulus, Rômulo/Rumulu is an Arab copyst’s distortion of Aquilal/Aqīlal/Waqla. The Arabic letters wāw and rā’ are easily confused and once the single dot above the maghribī form of the letter qāf was omitted, it would soon be mistaken for the letter mim, as neither non-Arab name would necessarily be familiar to a copyst, and w.q.l.h. could easily become r.m.l.h. after one or two copyings. There is little information on the ‘three sons’ of Witiza; if sons they were. Artabās/Ardastono may have been Ardo, the last Visigothic ruler of Septimania (713–720 CE). Aquila/Aguila/Aqīla may be the ruler who controlled part of the north-east of the peninsula (c. 711–714 CE): Collins (2004) 138–139.

4 The peninsula was divided into five provinces under the Visigoths; from west to east: Gallaecia-Astura, Lusitana; Carthaginensis, Baetica; Tarraconensis: Menéndez Pidal (2001) iii, map, 110.

5 EI 2nd ix, 255. A small town near Cordova on the left bank of the Gualdalquivir.

6 The exact location of the battle is unknown.

7 This passage is not in the Paris manuscript, but appears in Abenalcotia/Ribera (1926). Gaps where ‘significant words’ have been left out are indicated thus: . . .

8 The origin of the Arabic name for the Iberian Peninsula has been the subject of much debate, and will probably never be resolved. It was initially supposed to be derived from the name of the Germanic Vandal tribes who occupied the southern part of the peninsula for twenty years in the fifth century before being forced out to North Africa by the Visigoths. One of the more recent attempts to explain the name makes out a well-argued case for al-Andalus being a distortion of the Gothic term landahlauts: land lot, inherited residence: Halm (1998) 49. But equally
strongly, Vallvé argues for its origin to lie in the name for Plato’s Lost Continent, Atlantis: Vallvé (1983); a suggestion debunked by Halm (1998) 43.

Although Ibn al-Qūṭiya does not give the complete text of the document (ṣijill) given to the sons of Witiza, he does included this important proviso or concession, which implies that he had some information about its contents, though this could have been imagined or invented. Nevertheless, the author’s reference to the ṣijill of the ’Abd al-Rahmān al-Ghāfiqi family indicates that such documents sometimes remained in the possession of descendants for many years: History, 60; Fierro (1989) 501. Who stood up for whom was always an important part of mediaeval protocol. In the account of Artābā’s meeting with the Syrian chiefs, the text, page 76, appears to indicate that when the Syrians arrived Artābās was seated on a chair and bade the Syrians sit on chairs around him. But when Maymūn ‘the Saintly’ enters a little later, Artābās – a shrewd politician – makes a point of standing to receive him.

Simonet (1897–1903) 11, Oppas or Oppa: once et l’évêque de Witiza, and métropolitain de Seville, un frère ou fils de Witiza, fuir la capitale et se réfuger en Galice, according to Lévi-Provençal i, 7, 66.

Dozy ii, 428 gives qawmas, comte; but qawmis is the more common transliteration of the Arabic. Christians in al-Andalus were organised in communities headed by an official, qawmis, Latin comes, who was also a Christian: Lévi-Provençal iii, 218–219. The first qawmis according to Ibn al-Qūṭiya was Artābās, who was appointed by ’Abd al-Rahmān I: History, 76.

Each Christian community had a judge. The judge mentioned here is known to history from a unique source. He was Ḥaṣ ibn Albar al-Qūṭī, the author of an Arabic translation from Latin of the Psalter with a verse introduction (urjīza), once located in the Escorial Library. A copy of this work survives in the Ambrosian Library (Hammer-Purgstall (1839), no. 86). The original is dated 989 CE – no Hijrī date is given – indicating that the author was the contemporary of Ibn al-Qūṭiya referred to in the History. Dunlop (1954) 149, offers the speculation that the ‘Albar’ ancestor mentioned could have been Álvaro of Cordova, the leader of the Mozarab community who died in 861 CE. If so he would have been the grandfather of Ḥaṣ, with Ibn Albar being a patronymic like Ibn al-Qūṭiya. Like Ḥaṣ al- Qūṭī, Álvaro of Cordova was also descended from Rumlu (Aquila/ Romulo). See also Ḥaṣ le Goth/Urvoy (1994).

’Abd al-Rahmān ibn Mu’āwwiya was born in 113/731, the son of Mu’āwwiya ibn Hishām. He escaped the massacre of the Umayyads at the hands of the ‘Abbāsids and fled to Palestine, Egypt ʾIrīqīya and finally Tāhurt, Tiaret, where he took refuge with his mother’s relatives among the Nafza tribe of Berbers: EI 2nd i, 81–82.

Al-qaṣr, Spanish alcázar, the palace. The first palace of the Umayyads in Cordova was the dār al-ʾimāra. This was the former palace of the Visigothic governors of Baetica, where the court/administrative services were also housed. It was replaced by the Bāb al-sudda palace complex (see note!) which stood where the Episcopal Palace stands today. The Alcázar de los Reyes Católicos stands on the site of the former Visigothic palace. Some decorative fragments from the Visigothic building survive in the Museo Arqueológico of Cordova: Cruz Hernández (1998) 74–75.

The exact boundaries of the Muslim province of ʾIrīqīya remain unclear but it was centered on modern Tunisia, eastern Algeria and western Libya. According to Sahnūn ibn Saʾīd (d. 240/854–855) it stretched from ‘Tripoli to Tubbah’. It consisted of the former Roman provinces of Afrīca Proconsularis and Byzasena and parts of Numidia Cirtensis, Numidia Militana, Maurītania Sitifensis and Tripolitania: EI 2nd iii, 1,047–1,050; Talbot (1985) 176–177.

Tha’lab ibn ʾUbayd al-Judhāmī enjoyed some influence with ’Abd al-Rahmān. It was he who later denounced Abū l-Šabbāḥ al-Yaḥṣubī, to the emir, when the latter
– allegedly – suggested a coup against him: History, 72 Haywa ibn Malāmīs was an important figure in the contingent (jund) of troops from Homs. He later took part in the revolt of 154–156/771–773 by the contingents of Homs and Egypt. Abd al-Rahmān defeated the rebels at Bembezār and Haywa was killed: Anon/ Lafuente y Alcántara (1867) 91; Manzano Moreno (1998) 98, note 35. Hajj is not given in the Paris manuscript: Fierro (1990) nos 1–5, note 4.

The exact site of the battle is unknown, and the river mentioned here has been identified with both the Rio Guadalete and the Rio Barbate. According to Lévi-Provençal, the word lakuh is no more than a transcription of the Spanish word lago, lake, probably the Laguna de la Janda, east of Vejer de la Frontera, where the battle is thought to have been fought: Lévi-Provençal iii, 475. But it did not become the official rite/doctrine of al-Andalus until the time of Abd al-Rahmān III: Fierro (1989) 24. For the Ta‘rikh of Ibn Ḥabīb: see Intro. 36–37. Tammān (188–272/3/803–886) was the descendant of the person with same name who aided Abd al-Rahmān ibn Mu‘āwīya: History, 69. The urjūza is mentioned as a separate work. In the Paris manuscript, folio 4 recto, between the reference to the Fath al-Andalus and the urjūza of Tammān there is the word wā (and). Although the urjūza does not survive there is a description of it in the al-Hull al-siyarā of Ibn al-Abbār: Fierro (1989) 498–499.

The exact site of the battle is unknown, and the river mentioned here has been identified with both the Rio Guadalete and the Rio Barbate. According to Lévi-Provençal, the word lakuh is no more than a transcription of the Spanish word lago, lake, probably the Laguna de la Janda, east of Vejer de la Frontera, where the battle is thought to have been fought: Lévi-Provençal i, 21, notes 1, 2. For an alternative itinerary see Vallvé (1989).

Şilāḥ, weapon or weapons: Lane, Bk i, pt. ii, 427; but it could be assumed here to mean armour, mail.

According to [Psuedo-] Ibn Qutayba’s Fath al-Andalus the temple (bayt) was closed with twenty-four locks, each one given by a king of the Visigoths. Roderik/Lūdharrīq insisted on opening the temple, instead of adding another lock. Inside was the altar (ma‘īda) of Sulaymān (King Solomon) and the picture mentioned by Ibn al-Qūṭṭā. This altar was reputedly found by Ṭāriq and his removal of one of the legs was supposedly the source of the quarrel between the two commanders, though Ibn al-Qūṭṭā makes no mention of this. In reality the treasury of the Visigothic monarchs was removed before the arrival of the Muslim armies and hidden. In 1858 part of the cache was discovered by a Spanish couple taking shelter on a stormy night near the Monastery of María de Sóbraces at Guarrazar near Toledo. Some of the find was broken up and disappeared, part was recovered and some turned up later in France. The latter was returned to Spain after negotiations between the Franco and Vichy regimes during World War II, and is today in the Museo Arqueológico, Madrid, forming part of the largest known group of Visigothic jewellery. There were other discoveries around the same time. Among the objects unearthed were several votive crowns, all of which had the name of the monarch in letters suspended from their bases. Perhaps there is a distant memory of this in Ibn al-Qūṭṭā’s mention of each king’s name being inscribed on the Toledan ‘temple’ after his death. This is presumably what Ibn al-Kardabūs refers to when he says there were 25 crowns in the cathedral of Toledo decorated with pearl and precious stones, and each bearing the name of its former owner: [Psuedo-] Ibn Qutayba (1957) 144–145; Ibn al-Kardabūs (1986) 64.

This source of this legend is to be found among the early Egyptian accounts of the Conquest of the peninsula. Nevertheless, during the 4th/10th century, when the text of the History was both related and transmitted in its written form, there was an abundance of figurative decoration on everyday objects: pottery, caskets made of wood and ivory, textiles, etc. in Cordova and elsewhere in al-Andalus. There were also manuscripts, scientific and literary with paintings, though none has survived. The earliest illustrated Andalusīl Maghrībī manuscript dates from the seventh/thirteenth century (Ceuta 621/1224). Christian churches in Cordova
probably had painted frescoes which may have included Biblical scenes: Ettinghausen (1962) 130; Torres Balbas (1982 (iv)).

23 The status of Tangiers in 711 CE is unknown, but it appears to have been in Byzantine hands until 705–710 CE. The town – the Ancient Tinigis – was subject to the Byzantine exarch of Septem, Safta, Ceuta, which was in Byzantine hands in 687 CE and may still have been so until 705–710 CE. ‘Julian the Merchant’, Yuḥyān, may have been the exarch: some have suggested that Ṭāriq used Julian the Merchant’s ships to invade the peninsula: EI 2nd i, 493; x, 184. This is dismissed however, together with almost all the accounts of outraged fathers, defiled maidens, youthful treachery, etc. surrounding the conquest of 92–94/711–712, by Collins in his analysis of the Muslim invasion. According to the same author it is probable that the Muslim invaders were accompanied by their own sea transport, since by then Muslims had already attacked and invaded several Mediterranean islands: Collins (2004), 129, 138–139.

24 In al-Abýrī’s edition he makes the first reference to the use of the expression alkh, ‘etc.’ at this point, which he refers to at nine more points. But the expression is the Paris manuscript on folio 5 recto is ḥā, ‘finished’, and is located a few lines earlier: Ibn-Akutya (1982), 34, line 10.

25 Carteya, Ancient Carteia, in the Bay of Gibraltar, west of Gibraltar. The text says Qartājana, Cartagena, in Murcia, but most scholars regard this as a an error. See Vallvé (1967) for an alternative opinion.

26 This account can be traced to Egyptian sources on the conquest and almost certainly did not happen in reality. For Egyptian accounts of the conquest of the Iberian Peninsula, see Makki (1998) 173–233, especially 174–176.

27 This has been identified with the Puerto de Somosierra, but its precise location remains unclear: Hernández Giménez (1962) 267–297. See Santiago Simón (1998) for a discussion of the possible routes taken by Ṭāriq and Mūsā, based on information given in all known sources. According to Santiago Simón’s reading of these, Ṭāriq’s route was Wādī Lakuh – Medina-Sidonia – Morón – Carmona – Seville – Écija – Cordova – Toledo. Mūsā’s route led him through Algeciras – Niebla – Beja – Mérida – the Viso Pass – Toledo. The two commanders met – supposedly – at the village Almaraz near Toledo.

28 Seville became the capital of al-Andalus, until al-Ḥurr ibn Ṭāb al-Raḥmān al-Thaqafī (governed 97–100/716–719) moved the capital to the then insignificant town of Cordova.

29 For the situation of the Christians of al-Andalus immediately following the conquest and subsequent centuries, see de Epalza (1998). Laqant may – or may not – be Fuente de Cantos, north west of Seville: Dozy (1881) ii, 260, note 3; Anon/Lafuente y Alcántara (1867) 253.

30 For a discussion of the different types of pacts and capitulation terms between the invaders and the native inhabitants, see Viguera y Molins (1998) 37.

31 A descendant of the famous Conqueror of North Africa, Ṭubba ibn Nāfī’ al-Fihrī (d. 63/683). He was one of the assassins of Ṭāb al-‘Azīz ibn Mūsā: History, 53. His grandson was one of the best known governors of al-Andalus, Yūsuf ibn Ṭāb al-Raḥmān ibn Habīb al-Fihrī (129–138/746–756): Fierro (1990) no. 47.

32 This colourful but improbable procession can be traced to Egyptian sources of the Conquest.

33 This sentence is added in the margin of the Paris manuscript, apparently by the scribe. The script is the same as that of the other additions and, like those, it has the expression sahh, ‘correct’ next to it.

34 Ṭāb al-‘Azīz established himself in Seville in a church dedicated by the sister of S Isidore (c. 560–636 CE) to the martyrs SS Rufina and Justa, later amalgamated with the convent of La Trinidad: Calvert (1907) 6.

35 Egilona was the name of the widow of Roderik according to Spanish sources;
accordi ng to Arab sources her name was Aylū: Simonet (1897–1903) 145; Lévi-Provençal i, 33.

36 Marble stains easily and the stains are difficult to remove, so there may have been some truth in this statement. More likely, it was a colourful legend. A similar story concocted for tourists is associated with the Alhambra of Granada where stains on the marble floor of the Hall of the Abencerrages, off the Court of the Lions are said to be those of the thirty murdered members of the Banū Sarrāj, killed, some say, by Muḥammad X. In fact there is no truth in the story: EI 2nd xii, 399; Irwin (2005), 79–80.
For several years the people could not agree upon a governor [for al-Andalus] until the Berbers there appointed Ayyūb ibn Ḥabīb al-Lakhmī [97/716] to rule them. Ḥabīb was the nephew of Mūsā on his sister’s side. This Ayyūb has descendants near Binna, Peña in the province of Rayya, [Málaga].

Then, Sulaymān appointed as governor (wālī) of Ifrīqiya ʿAbdallāh ibn Yazīd, a client of the Arab tribe of Qays, after his anger against Mūsā and his dismissal of him as governor of Ifrīqiya and North Africa. In turn ʿAbdallāh appointed al-Hurr ibn ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Thaqafī [97–100/716–719] governor (wālī) of al-Andalus; for in those days al-Andalus had no separate governor, but one chosen by the governor of Ifrīqiya.


ʿUmar charged al-Samḥ with evacuating the Muslims who had settled in al-Andalus because he feared for their safety should they be overrun by the enemy. However, al-Samḥ wrote and reassured him of the strength of the Muslims of al-Andalus, the many towns they occupied and the prominence of their fortresses. Then ʿUmar sent his client Jābir to collect the caliphal dues, which amounted to one-fifth of the revenue. Jābir took up residence in Cordova [near . . . the] graveyard and prayer hall in the Arrabal suburb. But he received news of ʿUmar’s death and stopped collecting the money and built the bridge over the river at Cordova, opposite the garden.


However, 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Abdallāh claimed that his ancestor, 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Ghāfiqī was not appointed by the governor of Ifrīqiyya, but by the caliph Yazīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik [101–105/720–724], and that his family have the royal decree of appointment. Their residence is at Marīyānāt al-Ghāfiqīn [Mairena in the Aljarafe (al-Sharaf) de Sevilla].

* *

Then . . . Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik became caliph [105–125/724–734] and appointed 'Ubaydallāh ibn al-Habḥāb, a client of the tribe of Salūl ibn Qays, governor of Ifrīqiyya. He, in turn, appointed 'Uqba ibn al-Ḥājajā al-Salūrī [116–123/734–741] governor of al-Andalus. That was in the year 110/728–729. He had hardly been appointed when the Berber revolt in Tangiers broke out against 'Ubaydallāh [in 122/740]. They were joined by Maysara, called 'The Ruffian', a water-seller in the market of Qayrawān [Quairouan]. He and his supporters killed the governor, 'Umar ibn 'Abdallāh al-Murādī. When the news of the revolt in Tangiers reached al-Andalus, a revolt broke out there against 'Uqba, and he was overthrown. The instigator of the revolt was the former governor, 'Abd al-Malik al-Fihrī, who again took over [to 123/741]. He did not repudiate allegiance to the caliph and al-Andalus submitted to him.

Then the caliph Hishām removed ['Ubaydallāh ibn] al-Habḥāb from Ifrīqiyya and the hinterland of North Africa and appointed Kultūm ibn 'Iyād al-Qaysī and ordered him to go and put down the Berbers. His successor – should he be killed – was to be his nephew Balj ibn Bishr al-Qushayrī. Should Balj be killed his place would be taken by Tha‘labā ibn Salāma al-‘Āmilī.

* *

So Kultūm set off for Ifrīqiyya with 30,000 men. There were 10,000 . . . [clients] of the Umayyads and 20,000 men from other Arab tribes. . . .

* *

They had heard rumours of the collapse of their [Umayyad] rule and the takeover by the 'Abbāsids [132/750]. But they heard that the writ of the latter would not extend beyond the river Zāb. They assumed this meant the Zāb of Egypt, but it was the Zāb of Ifrīqiyya. 'Abbāsid power never went beyond Tubna in North Africa. Kulṭūm had been ordered to bring North Africa to heel and he did so to the best of his ability. But the Berbers again revolted and joined forces with Ḫumayd al-Zanāṭī and Maysara the Ruffian, afore mentioned. The two sides met at a place called Nafḍūra and a great battle ensued in which Kultūm and 10,000 men perished, while another 10,000 –
including a contingent of Syrians – fled to Ifrīqīya where they remained until the time of Yazīd ibn Khāṭim al-Muhlab, governor of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr [136–158/754–755]. He got them to give their allegiance and added to them the Arab contingent of Khurasan which had come with him. To this day they are there.

Now, Balj and 10,000 men found themselves cut off, so they made for Tangiers, called ‘The Fertile’. There were 2,000 clients and 8,000 Arab tribesmen. Then the Arabs [Berbers] began to besiege him and fight with him. So Balj contacted ʿAbd al-Malik al-Fihrī and told him what had happened to his uncle, Kulṭūm and begged him to send ships by which he could cross over. ʿAbd al-Malik asked the opinion of his advisors. They said to him, ‘If this Syrian comes to you, he will get rid of you!’ So, he did not answer.

When Balj despaired of hearing from him, he built rafts and seized some ships, together with whatever weapons and equipment they contained, and set off. By this means they arrived in al-Andalus.

* When ʿAbd al-Malik al-Fihrī learned of his arrival in al-Andalus he mobilised his troops and found Balj near to Algeciras. A great battle ensued in which ʿAbd al-Malik was defeated. ʿAbd al-Malik resumed the attack, but Balj chased him all the way to Cordova and defeated him 18 times, finally capturing him in the last skirmish. He had him crucified at the head of the bridge where the Great Mosque is located. Then he entered Cordova.

* At that time Arbūna [Narbonne] was governed by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAlqama al-Lakhmī in the name of ʿAbd al-Malik. When he heard what had happened to ʿAbd al-Malik he resolved to take revenge. He gathered his troops at the frontier, and he was supported by many Arabs and Berbers in al-Andalus. He advanced, seeking revenge for the blood of ʿAbd al-Malik, while Balj left Cordova with 10,000 Umayyads and Syrians to confront ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and his 40,000. A battle ensued at a village called ... Aqwāh Burtūrah [Agua Portora], in the province of Walba [Huelva]. By evening ʿAbd al-Raḥmān had lost 10,000 men and Balj 1,000.

* Then ʿAbd al-Raḥmān cried, ‘Point out their Balj!’ He was an expert shot with the bow. He was pointed out to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. So he fired into the air and the arrow went through the sleeve of Balj’s chain mail into his body and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān cried, ‘I have hit their Balj!’ Fighting ceased but Balj died the next day [124/742].

* Thaʿlabā al-ʿĀmilī assumed control of Cordova and the Syrian and Umayyad troops while ʿAbd al-Raḥmān retired to the frontier.
The Arabs and Berbers of al-Andalus continued the struggle against the newcomers, seeking vengeance for the death of ‛Abd al-Malik al-Fihrī. To the Syrians they said, ‘Our country is too small – even for us: so get out!’

Fighting continued in the barren hills south of Cordova.

Now, when the caliph Hishām ibn ʿAbd al-Malik learned of the disaster which had befallen Kulthūm and the chaos into which North Africa and al-Andalus had been plunged, he sought the advice of his brother al-ʾAbbās ibn al-Walīd, who had replaced his brother Maslama as adviser thereafter. He replied, ‘Commander of the Faithful, the only suitable end is what was suitable at its commencement. Turn away and reconsider the Qaḥṭānids.’ So he accepted that advice. It coincided with the arrival of some verses sent from North Africa to the caliph by Abūʾl-Khaṭṭār [al-Ḥusayn ibn .Dirār] al-Kalbī:

>You made, O Banū Marwān, our blood return to Qays.
If you do not act justly, in God there is an Equitable Judge.

As if you had not witnessed Marj Rāḥīt,
or did not know who had obtained the victory.

We preserved you in the heat of battle with our breasts,
when you had neither horses which could run, nor men.

When you saw that the blaze of battle was extinguished;
and when food and drink were more agreeable to you, than was,

you ignored us, as if we had no strife,
and you, as far as I know, did nothing.

Do not be worried if war bites once again,
and the sandaled foot slips on the stair,

and if the bond of union and strength wears out:
for may not the cord [twist] and maybe break?

After the caliph had received these verses he appointed Ḥanzala ibn Ṣafwān al-Kalbī governor of Ifrīqiyah and told him to make his cousin Abūʾl-Khaṭṭār [al-Kalbī] governor of al-Andalus [125–127/743–745] and set off, taking with him the decree of his appointment by Ḥanzala, together with 30 men. This was the second arrival of the Syrians. His banner (liwâ’) was on a spear in a leather case. When he got to Wādi Shūsh [Rio Guadajoz], he refreshed
himself and attached the spearhead with the banner to a shaft, advancing though the Pass of al- Mā‘ida to where fighting raged between the Umayads and Syrians on one side and the Berbers and earlier Arab settlers on the other. Both sides saw the banner, stopped fighting and hastened to approach him. Abū-l-Khaṭṭār said, ‘Will you listen and obey?’ To which they all replied, ‘We shall!’ He continued, ‘This is my decree of appointment over you, given by my cousin Ḥanẓala on the authority of the Commander of the Faithful.’ The Berbers and settlers said, ‘We swear allegiance, but there is no room here for these Syrians – get rid of them!’ He said, ‘Come to Cordova and rest awhile. Your demands will be met. I have an idea which benefit you all, God willing.’

They entered Cordova and he put Tha‘labā ibn Salāmah al-ʿĀmilī, Al-Waqqās ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Kinānī and ʿUthmān Abū Nisʿa al-Khathʻamī in the charge of those who would escort them out of al-Andalus. He said to them, ‘It is clear to the Commander of the Faithful, and to his governor Ḥanẓala, that you are the cause of the chaos in al-Andalus.’ So they left and went back to Tangiers.

Then he considered in which provinces to settle the Syrians, dispersing them from Cordova. He sent the Arabs of Damascus to Ilbīra [Elvira]; those of Jordan to Málaga; those of Palestine to Shadhūnā; those of Homs to Seville; those of Qinnisrīn to Jayyān [Jaén]; those of Egypt to Bājah [Beja] and Tudmīr [Murcia]. The costs of this settlement were borne by the non-Muslim subjects. The Arab settlers and Berbers, on the other hand retained their gains and did not have to give anything up.

Notes and comments
1 Founder of the Banū Ayyūb, Fierro (1990) no. 6; 43. Rayya, or Rayyu, was roughly the area of modern Province of Málaga. The name is derived from the Latin Regio, i.e. Malacitana regio: El 2nd viii, 473–474.
2 In the early years of Islam, converts had to affiliate themselves with an Arab tribe as mawālī, singular mawla, translated as ‘clients’. These clients were loyal to their adopted tribes who undertook to protect them, though clients were not considered to be Arabs. Ibn al-Quṭṭāya was descended from a client of ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (99–101/717–720).
3 The Banū Makhzūm became an important Arab family group in al-Andalus: Fierro (1990) no. 35.
5 Khums: a fifth part of the share of any booty, to which the state was legally entitled.
6 Arrabal is the Spanish form of the Arabic al-rabad (district or quarter of a town). This referred to the part of Cordova that lay south of the Guadalquivir: Lévi-Provençal i, fig. 11.
7 It was al-Samḥ ibn Maṭlīk (governed 100–102/719–721) who actually restored the bridge over the Guadalquivir, which was in ruins after having been damaged in an earlier flood. This was the only access to Cordova on the southern side until the beginning of the twenty-first century. Al-Samḥ also restored the city wall on the west side of Cordova which needed repair. These were the only recorded public works in al-Andalus before the arrival of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muʿāwīya. The
words I translate here as ‘opposite the garden’ have been read variously: as fi-mā yuqābīl al-khazzān (Ibn Elqouthiya/Houdas (1889) 265); and as khazzān or kharāb by all other editors. By the word khazzān from khazana to store, lay up, verbal forms II, VIII ‘to dam’, we can understand ‘a pool’ or ‘cistern’ where water was collected, while kharāb means ‘ruins’. But it may be a textual corruption for fi-mā yuqābīl al-jinān, ‘opposite the gardens’ (of the palace), since in the southern wall of the palace was a gate called the Bāb al-jinān, the ‘Garden Gate’. In 2003 the bridge underwent a massive programme of restoration and repair, removing later additions and trying to return the structure to something like its original state. The same project, undertaken by the Junta de Andalucia (Regional Government of Andalucia), included the restoration of the area around the Puerta del Puente between the Mezqita/Cathedral and the bridge and the Torre de la Calahorra at the southern end of the bridge. The Umayyad Bab al-qaṭṭara, ‘Bridge Gate’ was replaced by the Renaissance Puerta del Puente, built by Hernán Ruiz (d. 1547), who also changed the minaret of the Great Mosque into a bell-tower. The project, begun in 2003, also included the rebuilding of the southern wall of Cordova: Nichols (1975) 29; Cresswell (1979) ii, 138; EI 2nd v, 509–512; Action Plan 2003–2008 (no date).

8 Ḥudhayfa ruled for a while in 110/728, before rather than after ‘Uthmān; EI 2nd i, 493.


11 This is an error, but understandable because al-Andalus had three different governors in that year.

12 EI 2nd i, 1,173–1,187

13 The Zab referred to here is not a river but a very fertile, well-watered area – pl. zāibān – in the Algerian Sahara. The rivers called the Greater and Lesser Zab are tributaries on the left bank of the Tigris. It was on the Greater Zab that the last Umayyad caliph, Marwān II, was defeated by the ‘Abbāsids: EI 2nd xi, 364–366.

14 The ancient Thubunaec, now in modern north-eastern Algeria near Barika, EI 2nd x, 580; Ibn El-Kouthyia/Cherbonneau (1853) 480, note 13.

15 An error. It must have been the Berbers who besieged them. The number of men who landed in al-Andalus and came with Balj is later given as 10,000 so it must have included the 8,000 Arabs who came with him to North Africa.

16 Balj came to al-Andalus with the support of Yūsuf, in returning for helping to put down the Berber revolt. An embarkation of 10,000 men plus several thousand horses (cavalry would normally have at least two mounts per man) and probably camp-followers was a huge undertaking and it could only have been done in an organised manner with proper transport over several days: Lévi-Provençal i, 44–47. But once again, we must bear in mind that the figures may not be correct, and that the actual number of men was, in fact, much lower.

17 Narbonne was captured by the Muslims under al-Samḥ al-Khawlaṃ in 102/722 and remained under their control until 142/759; Sherwānī (1955) 39–41, 98–99.

18 Agua Portora was probably on the road to Cordova in the neighbourhood of Agua Dulce according to Láfuente y Alcántara. Lévi-Provençal says it was somewhat north of Cordova. The text says min iqīlūm Walba, ‘the region of Huelva’, but this is wrong if Agua Portora was near Cordova. Ribera reads Wāba Huebo, Anon/Láfuente y Alcántara (1867) 234; Abencucotía/Ribera (1926) 12; Levi-Provençal i, 4.

19 The numbers of troops and casualties given in accounts of this type were always exaggerated by the winning side and their partisans.
The first group of Arabs to arrive in the peninsula were given the name baladīyūn, ‘natives’, while the Syrians who arrived with Balj were known as shāmīyūn, Syrians: Lévi-Provençal i, 83, note 2.

‘Ayba: a leather bag.

There are numerous illustrations of flags and banners, carried by Muslim troops in the – admittedly much later – thirteenth-century Galician manuscript Las Cantigas de Santa María in the Escorial Library. But it would appear, from this description, that Abū’l-Khaṭṭār’s banner was not a flag, but a pennant (‘uqda) or streamer, such as we see depicted in the illustrations of the seventh/thirteenth century Maqāmāt al-Harrī in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. The Pass of al-Mā’ida is probably the Questa de Visos, south of Cordova: Ettinghausen (1962) 118; Martín (2002) 66–67.

For the settlement of these contingents, see Manzano Moreno (1998).

Ahl al-dhimma min al-ʿajam, the non-Muslim population. Christians and Jews were allowed under Islam to practise their faith and enjoy a protected status in return for paying a tax.
The Emirate of Cordova and its provinces
3 The Arrival of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muʿāwīya and his Reign as Emir (138–172/756–778)

During his rule as governor, Abūʾl-Khaṭṭār showed his prejudice against the North Arabian tribes of Muḍar, so they conspired against him and advanced on Cordova. He was unprepared but gathered his men and went out to confront them at Secunda.

The Mudar tribes were led by al-Šumayl ibn Ḥātim al-Kilābī. Abūʾl-Khaṭṭār was defeated and fled, seeking refuge in a mill at a place called Munyat Naṣr. He was dragged out from under the millstone and brought to al-Šumayl, who immediately cut off his head.

Then the rebels chose Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥabīb ibn Abī ʿUbayda ibn ʿUqba ibn Nāfī al-Fihrī and appointed him as governor [129–138/746–756]. His rule lasted several years during which al-Šumayl was his minister (wāzīr) and dominated matters. He was prejudiced against the South Arabian Qaḥṭān tribes which greatly gladdened the hearts of his followers.

The arrival [in 136/754] of Badr, a client of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muʿāwīya – may God be merciful to him – came as a complete surprise to the Qaḥṭānīds.

Badr came with a message from his master who was in hiding with the Banū Wānsūs in North Africa, who were clients of ʿAbd alʿ-ʿAzīz ibn Marwān. They approached AbūʿUṭhmān, who was the leader of the Umayyad clients at that time, and sought his advice at the village of Turrush [Torrox] where he lived. AbūʿUṭhmān sent for his son-in-law Abdallāh ibn Khālid and talked to him about Badr’s message. Now, at that time Yūsuf al-Fihrī was about to launch an attack against the Christians of the North. The two said to Badr, ‘Wait until this campaign is over. While it is going on we shall meet our companions. Yūsuf has called the clients of the Umayyads ‘our clients’, and favoured them.’ The two of them took part in the campaign.
They met together with Abūʾl-Šabbāḥ al-Yaḥṣūbī, who was the leader of the South Arabian Yemenite tribes in the western part of al-Andalus and lived in the village of Mūra [Mora] in the Aljarafe de Sevilla. They met other Arab leaders too, some of whom opposed the idea of supporting ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, while others were in favour, until the campaign came to an end and they dispersed.

Then they told Abū ʿAbda Ḥassān ibn Mālik to approach Abūʾl-Šabbāḥ, who lived with him in Seville, and recall the favour shown to him by the caliph Hishām ibn ʿAbd al-Malik [105–125/724–743]. Abūʾl-Šabbāḥ responded favourably. Then they approached ʿAlqama ibn Ghīyāth al-Lakhmī and Abū ʿAlāqa al-Judhāmī – the ancestor of the Banū Ziyād of Shadhūna, who were the leaders of the Syrians settled in Shadhūna. They responded favourably. So they approached the Qahṭānid elders in Elvira and Jaén, like the ancestor of the Banū Adḥā of the Hamadān Arabs, and the ancestors of the Banū Ḥassān and the Banū ʿUmar, Ghassānid Arabs who were masters of Wāḍī Āsh [Guadix]; and Maysara and Qahṭaba, Ṭāyyid Arabs of Jaén.

They also approached al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Dajn al-ʿUqaylī, because of his hatred of al-Šumayl. He was the only one among the Muḍarid Arabs who took the side of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, because the others supported Yūṣuf al-Fihrī, for the sake of his minister al-Šumayl, and because of their collective opposition to the Qahṭānids.

When all this had been done, they went to Badr and said, ‘Go and tell your master we agree.’

But when Badr came back with their message, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān said, ‘I am uneasy about going to al-Andalus, unless one of them accompanies me.’ So Badr returned with his answer to them. At that time Yūṣuf al-Fihrī was organising an attack against Saraqūst [Saragossa] where ʿĀmir al-Qurashī al-ʿĀmirī had rebelled. The Bāb al-ʿĀmirī [the ʿĀmirī Gate] of that city is named after him. Now, Abū ʿUthmān and his son-in-law ʿAbdallāh had come to Cordova to see Yūṣuf off on his campaign and they began to get cold feet about their conspiracy.

So they asked al-Šumayl for a secret meeting at which they recalled the favour shown to him and his children by the Umayyads of Damascus. They said, ‘Look, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muʿāwīya is in North Africa, hiding out and afraid for his life. He has sent a message to us asking for safe conduct here and begs you to recall what you know and well remember.’ ‘Yes, willingly,’ he said. ‘We will oblige Yūṣuf to betroth his daughter to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and give him a post in his government: otherwise we shall cleave in his bald pate!’

They left him with that to think about and went to meet their companions
among the clients of Cordova, like Yūsuf ibn Bukht, Umayyah ibn Yazīd and others who gave their support. Then they went to say farewell to al-Ṣumayl, who said, ‘Well, I have thought about your proposal and I have realised that ’Abd al-Raḥmān is from a line of people, who, if one of them pissed in this country, we would all drown in his piss! But – God has chosen you to carry out his bidding, so I will keep secret what you have confided in me.’ He swore to do so.

They left and were joined in the plot by Tammām ibn ’Alqama, whose name they took as a good omen. They went off with him and came to Abu Ṣumayl, who said, ‘Well, I have thought about your proposal and I have realised that ’Abd al-Raḥmān is from a line of people, who, if one of them pissed in this country, we would all drown in his piss! But – God has chosen you to carry out his bidding, so I will keep secret what you have confided in me.’ He swore to do so.

After they had crossed to North Africa they met with ’Abd al-Raḥmān who asked Badr, ‘Who are these?’ He replied, ‘This is your client Tammām, and this is your client Abu Ṣumayl.’ Tammām punned, ‘It’s fulfilled!’ Abu Ṣumayl’s punned in turn, ‘God willing, we’ll ravage the land!’ So they returned by boat and landed at Al-Munakkab [Almuñeçar], where Abu Ṣumayl and ’Abdallāh met them. They brought them to Ilfuntīn, the home of ’Abdallāh, which was on their way; then to Torrox in Elvira province, the home of Abū Ṣumayl. The head of the Arabs of Rayya province was Jīdār ibn ’Amr al-Qaysī, the ancestor of the Banū ’Aqīl, whom they contacted and informed of the arrival of ’Abd al-Raḥmān. He replied, ‘Bring him to the prayer hall of Urjudhūna [Archidona] the day we break the Fast of Ramadān, and you will see what I shall do, God willing.’ So they came. When the preacher (khatib) appeared, Jīdār rose and said: ‘Denounce Yūsuf al-Fihrī and pray for ’Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥāwiya ibn Hishām, because he is our prince and the son of our prince!’ So the preacher asked, ‘People of Rayya – What do you say!?’ ‘We agree with you!’ they retorted. So he prayed for ’Abd al-Raḥmān and they all swore allegiance to him after the prayers were over.

At that time Archidona was the seat of power (qā’ida) in the province of Rayya. Jīdār invited ’Abd al-Raḥmān to stay with him. The news of ’Abd al-Raḥmān’s arrival reached the Banū ’Ilyās, also with a great host. Many had joined him before he met the men of Shadhūna, including Syrians and original Arab settlers.
month of Shawwāl [138/March 756] where everyone else in western al-Andalus swore allegiance. Eventually he had the support of all the Arabs.

* 

Yūsuf heard the news while he was returning from his expedition, having captured the rebel, al-ʿĀmirī. He made for Seville and camped and the fort of Nība [Niba]. When ʿAbd al-Rahmān learned of this he set out at once for Cordova. They were on opposite sides of the Rio Guadalquivir in that month of Ādhār [March]. When Yūsuf saw ʿAbd al-Rahmān’s determination to get to Cordova, he turned about and made for there.

ʿAbd al-Rahmān camped at the village of Bila Nība of the Bahrīyīn [Villa Nueva] of the Banū Bahr, in the district of Ṭushshāna [Tocina], in the province of Seville. Now, some of the elders said, ‘A lord without his own banner is a big mistake.’ So they resolved to give him one. A lance was requested from among the troops from which a banner could be unfurled. The only ones that they could find were that of Abu ʿAl-Sabbaḥ and Abu ʿĀkrama Jaʿfar ibn Yazīd, the ancestor of the Banū Salīm of Shadhūna. One of them was used and the banner attached in the village, where Farqad al-Saraqustū, the ‘Saint (ābid) of al-Andalus’, blessed it that very day. The Banū Bahr are a branch of the Lakhmid Arabs.

ʿAbd al-Rahmān asked, ‘What day is it today?’ ‘Thursday,’ said someone, ‘and the Day of the Pilgrimage to ʿArafaḥ.’ ‘Arafaḥ is today!’ he exclaimed, ‘then tomorrow is the Feast of the Sacrifice (Īd al-adḥā) – and Friday to boot! I hope my affair with al-Fihrī will turn out the same as the day of the Battle of Marj Raḥīt! Because the Battle of Marj Raḥīt was between Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam and al-Ḍaḥḥāk ibn Qays al-Fihrī, the commander of Abdallāh ibn Zubayr, and it fell on a Friday which was the Day of the Sacrifice. Things went against al-Fihrī. 70,000 men of Qays and their Qahṭān id tribes were killed. The emir ʿAbd al-Rahmān ibn al-Ḥakam – [ʿAbd al-Rahmān II (206–238/822–852)] – composed some verses on this theme, including:

Qays did not thrive, nor was any supporter strong after the Battle of Marj Rahīt when they dispersed.

* 

Then ʿAbd al-Rahmān ordered his men to march by night, to be at the gates of Cordova by the next morning, saying, ‘If the infantry accompany us they will surely straggle behind us, so let every one of you take one of them with you on your horse’s rump.’ Then his eye lit upon a youth (ghulām). ‘Who are you, young fellow?’ he asked. ‘Ṣābiq the son of Mālik the son of Yazīd,’ he replied. ‘Aha! said “ʿAbd al-Rahmān Ṣābiq” means we will win the race: “Mālik” means we will be king; and “Yazīd”, we will prosper! Give me your hand: you will be my saddle-mate.’ His descendants who live in Murun [Morón], are known as the ‘Sons of Ṣābiq the Saddle-Mate’ (Banū Ṣābiq
They are Barānis Berbers, and one of their number was Ābu Marwān al-Ḍarīf.

Thus they travelled by night, and arrived at Bāʾish [Bayax] the next morning. Meanwhile Yūṣuf had gone on and entered the palace at dawn. When the yellow light of early morning appeared Ābd al-Raḥmān moved on the offensive. With him were the Arabs of Elvira and those of Jaén. The river was treacherous because of the current and the two armies met at the ford below the waterwheel (nāʿūra). The first of Ābd al-Raḥmān’s men to plunge into the water was Āṣim al-Uryān, who was the ancestor of the Banū Āṣim. Then the entire army – cavalry and infantry – followed him until they reached the opposite bank. But Yūṣuf did not tremble. For an hour the battle raged at Al-Musārah [Almozara], [the esplanade west of the Bāb al-qantarah, the Bridge Gate] until Yūṣuf was beaten and could not return to the palace. Ābd al-Raḥmān advanced and took it, whereupon he went into its kitchens and most of those with him ate.

Then Yūṣuf’s wife and two daughters approached and said: ‘Be good to us dear friend, as God has been good to you!’ ‘And so I shall,’ he replied. ‘Now, call the prayer leader!’ At that time the prayer leader (ṣāḥib al-ṣalāh) was the ancestor of the Banū Salma – the grain merchants (harraʾīyūn) – who was a client of Yūṣuf. He told him to take the women to his home and Ābd al-Raḥmān slept that night in the palace. Yūṣuf’s daughter presented him with a slave girl called Hulal, who became the mother of his son Hishaṭm.

Then they advanced, en masse, from the palace gate but Maysara and Qaḥṭaba, the Ṭāyyid Arabs lagged behind, crossed the river and went to the home of al-Ṣumayl in Secunda, which they sacked, while al-Ṣumayl watched from the mountains overlooking Shubulār. They discovered a casket containing 10,000 silver dinars, which made al-Ṣumayl say aloud as he watched, the verse:

My money is with the Ṭāyyid, only as a deposit,
and one day deposits must be returned.

*  

Then Ābd al-Raḥmān went that same day to the Great Mosque of Cordova and said the Friday prayers with the inhabitants, preaching a sermon in which he promised them that all would be well.

*  

Meanwhile Yūṣuf seized Gharnatā [Granada]. Ābd al-Raḥmān went after him and laid siege to the town until Yūṣuf surrendered with a promise of safe conduct. Now, while the siege was in progress, Yūṣuf’s son was in Mérida, and when he heard what had befallen to his father he made for Cordova and captured the palace in Ābd al-Raḥmān’s absence. As soon as the latter heard that he set off back.
When Yūsuf’s son learned of his approach he fled to Toledo. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān sent for ʿĀmir ibn ʿAlī who was a man of authority and high rank among the Qaḥṭānīds – and the ancestor of the Banū Fahd of Rusāfā.39 He made ʿĀmir his deputy and entrusted the palace to his care. He returned to continue the siege, which ended as related. Then Yūsuf reneged and fled to Toledo, where his own men killed him. Thus ʿAbd al-Raḥmān gained control.

He made ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿUqba governor of the land between Narbonne and Turtūsha [Tortosa], and gave control of Toledo to a descendant of Saʿd ibn ʿUbaḍa al-Anṣārī who lived there.40

Now, it was brought to his ears that Abūl-Ṣabbāḥ had said to Thaʿlabā ibn ʿUbayd when Yūsuf was defeated and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān gained control, ‘Thaʿlabā, what do you think about the idea of two victories in one go?’ ‘What do you mean?’ replied the other. ‘Well, said Abūl-Ṣabbāḥ, ‘We have got rid of Yūsuf, so let us get rid of the other one,’ – meaning ʿAbd al-Raḥmān – ‘and then al-Andalus will be in the hands of the Qaḥṭānīd Arabs.’ When ʿAbd al-Raḥmān heard that, he sought Thaʿlabā and made him swear an oath of loyalty, and then Thaʿlabā told him what had happened. So, a year later, he had Abūl-Ṣabbāḥ killed by a trick.

Abūl-Ṣabbāḥ had been leader of the Arabs in the west of al-Andalus, as previously related. In Lablāḥ [Niebla] his nephew ʿAbd al-Ghaflār was in control, and at Beja were two other nephews, ʿAmr ibn Tālūt and Kulthūm ibn Yaḥṣub. These nephews were enraged at what had befallen their uncle and set off to attack Cordova, while ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was away on the northern frontier. As soon as he heard this ʿAbd al-Raḥmān hurried back and encamped at Rusāfāh, where his minister (wazīr) ʿUrayfah was at that time. Then Shuhayd his sworn deputy arrived from the palace and said, ‘If you came to the palace you could rest the night there.’ But he answered, ‘Shuhayd, what is the good of a night’s rest? If we do not deal with what we have to now, we shall only have to face it in the morning!’41

So, he set off and came upon the enemy encamped at Wādī Amnīs/Amanbīs, [Rio Bembézar].42 They were at the village of Bansh [Viñas], in the quarter called al-Rakānīyūn, popularly known as al-Rakākīnāh. As evening fell ʿAbd al-Raḥmān rode out with some of his trusted clients and entourage, accompanied by some soldiers. They heard the Berber tongue being spoken in the enemy ranks. So ʿAbd al-Raḥmān summoned his Berber clients – the Banū l-Khalī and Banū Wānsūs – and said, ‘Talk to your countrymen. Warn them that if the Qaḥṭānīd Arabs take over and our rule is overthrown, there will be no place for them.’

So when night fell the Berbers approached their compatriots and spoke to them, receiving a favourable reply and a promise to desert their army. The
next morning they said to the Arabs, ‘We do not like the idea of fighting unless we can be mounted. Let us mount up and the Arabs can go on foot.’ So the Arabs let the Berbers mount up while they went on foot. Then the Berbers went over to Ḥabd al-Rahmān and Ḥabd al-Ghaffār suffered the defeat in which he and thirty thousand of his men perished, [in the year 157–158/744]. The trench where their heads were collected, behind the Rio Bembézar, is known to this day. So Ḥabd al-Rahmān went off victorious.

*  

But after that there was a great uprising in Saragossa by Muṭarrīf ibn al-A’rābī and others after him. Some one claiming descent from ḤAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib [35–40/565–661] – may God have mercy upon him – also revolted in al-Hawwārīyīn [Alorines], near Jaén. But Ḥabd al-Rahmān defeated them all.

*  

It happened that the ḤAbbāsid caliph, al-Manṣūr [136–258/754–775] sent a message to al-ḤAlī ibn al-Mughīth al-Judhāmī of Beja in the west of al-Andalus where he was leader. This included a diploma of appointment as governor and a banner. The message said: Can you oppose Ḥabd al-Rahmān? If not I shall send someone to help you.

*  

So al-ḤAlī rose up and summoned people to support him. A great multitude followed him and most of the population tried to overthrow Ḥabd al-Rahmān. When he heard this, Ḥabd al-Rahmān left Cordova and sought refuge in the fort of Qarmūnā [Carmona], with his trusted clients and their friends (khāṣṣatuhum). Al-ḤAlī descended on Carmona and besieged it for close on two months. But as the siege dragged on most of his men began to melt away: some deserted, others went foraging for food. When Ḥabd al-Rahmān saw the breaking up of the enemy troops, he called together 700 of his bravest men and ordered that a fire be lit; which was done so at the gate called the Bāb Ishbīlīya [the Seville Gate]. Then he ordered them to throw their scabbards on the fire, and each man taking his sword by the hilt rushed out of the gate and battle began. And God caused the collapse of al-ḤAlī and his men, who fled.

Al-ḤAlī was killed in the battle; his head was cut off and preserved in salt and camphor and put in a bag (safat), together with diploma and the banner. It was given to a man from Cordova who was making the Pilgrimage to Makka and he was ordered to leave it there. Now, it so happened that al-Manṣūr was making the Pilgrimage that year, so the man hung the bag on the door of his pavilion. When it was brought to al-Manṣūr, he looked at it and said, ‘We caused the poor wretch to be killed,’ adding, ‘Thank God there is an ocean between us and such an enemy!’
There was no further attempt before the death of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, – may God have mercy upon him.44

At the beginning of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān’s sojourn in al-Andalus he met the famous jurist (faqīh) of Damascus, Muʿāwīya ibn Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥadramī whom he sent back for his two sisters in Syria with some money.45 When he approached them they said to him, ‘The journey is not worth the upset. We are safe, thank God, enjoy the favour of people and consider that we are well off.’ So he left them and went away.

Now it happened that Yahyā ibn Yazīd al-Tujībī, the judge (qāḍī) appointed over the Syrians in Spain by the caliph Hishām ibn ʿAbd al-Malik [105–125/724–743] – may God have mercy on them both – died.46 So ʿAbd al-Raḥmān appointed [Muʿāwīya ibn Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥadramī]. He was retained by Hishām [ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (172–180/788–796)] and lived for another year. Yahyā was the ancestor of the Tujībids of Cordova who have occupied important posts in the service of the state.47

During the time of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, al-Ghāzī ibn Qays (d. 197/812) brought to al-Andalus a copy of the book by Mālik ibn Anas – may God have mercy upon him – called al-Muwatta’ ['The Footprint'], according to the recension of Nāfīʿ ibn Abī Naʿīm.48 He was regularly honoured with gifts that were brought to his house. Also during his rule, came Abū Mūsā al-Hawwārī, the ‘Scholar (ʿālim) of al-Andalus’, who had added his knowledge of the ancient Arabs to his religious knowledge.49 The journeys of these two from the East to al-Andalus occurred after the arrival of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.

Shaykh Ibn Lubāba has related [as follows ]*: ‘We were informed by al-ʿUtbī that whenever Abū Mūsā entered Cordova from his village in the area of Móron, where he lived, none of the city’s religious shaykhs – neither Ṭṣā ibn Dīnār (d. 212/827), nor Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā (d.234/848), nor Saʿd [Saʿīd ] ibn Ḥassān (d. 236/850) – may God have mercy upon them – would issue a fatwā [legal ruling] until he had left.’50

The ‘Bard (shāʿir) of al-Andalus’ at this time, Abūʾl-Makhshī, wrote a poem in praise of Sulaymān, the son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān in which it was believed he had slandered Hishām, Sulaymān’s brother, because there was bad blood between the two brothers.51 A furious partisan of Hishām blinded the poet. But he composed some good verses on the matter, went to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and recited them before him. The latter was moved, and examined the case
and called for 2,000 dinars, which he gave him, thereby doubling the blood money given for a bodily injury. The verses began like this:

My muse was subject to attack.*
What God decrees will come to pass.
She saw one blind and sightless*
only able to walk the Earth with a stick.
She was humble, but spoke*
so ardently that I am sorely tried.
So, my heart is festering from her words*
there is no affliction like blindness.

These lines were recited by 'Abbās ibn Nāšīh to al-Hasan ibn Hāni', who said:
‘These verses are what other poets aspire to – but it eludes them.’

*  

Now when Hishām ascended the throne – may God have mercy upon him – he sent for the poet, as he was distressed by what had happened [because of him], and gave the poet double the blood money.

*  

Abū’l-Makhshī composed some other verses – they say they were his last:

My muse’s weak efforts*
sustain a man like me who used to sustain her.
When she remembers what happened between us*
she weeps and beseeches fate to reverse what can’t be changed.

*  

Concerning Arṭābās:* ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ordered the confiscation of his estates.

*  

It was because one day, while they were on campaign together he saw his estates, and all the gifts that were presented to him from those estates whenever they halted, and that excited his greed, so he seized them. Arṭābās sought refuge with his nephews until he could bear it no more. So he came to Cordova and approached the chamberlain (ḥājib) Ibn Bukht, saying, ‘Grant me an audience with the emir [‘Abd al-Raḥmān] God preserve him, for I have come to say goodbye.’ So the chamberlain arranged that and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān had him brought into his presence. When he saw his ragged appearance he said, ‘Arṭābās, what has brought you to this!?’ He replied, ‘You have brought me to this, because you have taken my estates and broken the pledge of your ancestors to me – without any justification to do that to me!’ ‘Abd al-Raḥmān retorted, ‘And this farewell you wish to make: what is that
about? I expect you plan to go to Rûma [Rome].’ Artābās replied, ‘No, but I have heard that you intend to go to Damascus.’ Abd al-Rahmān said, ‘And who would let me, after I was forced out of there by the sword!!?’ So Artābās said, ‘The position you are now in, do you want to hand it down to your son, or do you intend to deny him what has been given to you?’ ‘No, by God, said ‘Abd al-Rahmān, all I want is to consolidate it; for me and for my son.’ So Artābās said, ‘Well – consider this matter and act upon it!’

Then he informed him of some of the things that people disapproved about him and made them clear to him. ‘Abd al-Rahmān was happy with this information and thanked him. He ordered that 20 of his estates be given back to him and gave him new clothes and gifts, appointing him to the post of qawmīs [al-qīmāsa, Latin comes, count], of whom he was the first in al-Andalus.

* And related* Shaykh Ibn Lubāba – may God bless him – according to his shaykhs, that Artābās was one of the most astute men of his time. One day some ten Syrians came to him, including Abū ’Uthmān, ’Abdallāh, his son-in-law, Abū ’Abda, Yāsuf ibn Bukht and al-Šumayl. They greeted him and sat on chairs around his chair. After they had taken their places and greeted one another, Maymūn ‘the Saintly’ (al-’ābid) came in. He was the ancestor of the Banū Hazm al-bawwābīn and one of the Syrian clients. Now, when Artābās saw him enter, he stood up, took his hand and led him to his own chair, which was inlaid with gold and silver. But the righteous man refused it, saying, ‘It is not permitted to us,’ and sat on the floor. Artābās sat there with him and said, ‘Why has someone such as you come to one such as me?’ Maymūn answered, ‘We came to this land thinking that our stay would be short. We did not prepare for a long stay. Then occurred the troubles of our masters in the East – we never imagined we would never return to our places there. Now, God has been generous to you, so I ask you to give me one of your estates. I shall work it with my own hands and give you your share and take my share.’

But Artābās said, ‘No, certainly not! I would not be happy with a shared estate.’ He summoned one of his administrators (sing. wakił) and said to him: ‘Give him al-Mujashshir at Guadajoz, together with its cows, goats and serfs. Give him the castle (qal’a) at Jaén called the Castle of Hazm . . .’ Maymūn thanked him and rose to his feet, and Artābās returned to his chair.

Then al-Šumayl spoke up, saying, ‘Artābās, why do you throw away your father’s legacy? I, the lord of the Arabs in al-Andalus, come here, with my companions, who are the heads of the clients here, and you have shown us no more honour than giving us somewhere to sit! This beggar arrives and you cannot do enough for him!’ But Artābās replied, ‘Listen Abū Jawshan, the people of your faith tell us that good manners are unknown to you. If you had ever been educated, you would not object to an act of charity towards a
righteous person!’ For al-Ṣumayl was an illiterate, ignorant of reading and writing. ‘Truly God has honoured you – you have status and power. I only honoured that man for the sake of God Most High! The Messiah – peace and praises be upon Him – has told us: *Whoever of God’s servants has been honoured by Him, should honour all his fellow men.*** Al-Ṣumayl had to eat his words, and the others said, ‘Enough of this! Consider what we have come for. Our needs and those of the one you have just gratified are the same!’ Arṭābās replied, ‘You are kings, so only abundance will make you happy.’ He granted them 100 estates, giving ten to each. Abū ʿUthmān received Torrox; ʿAbdallāh, his son-in-law got *Ilfuntīn* [Frontil] and al-Ṣumayl received an olive grove in *al-Mudawwar* [Almodóvar del Rio].

**Concerning al-Ṣumayl**: One day al-Ṣumayl passed by a teacher (*muaʿddib*) instructing children to read the Qur’ān. He was reciting the verse: *And such days – (good and bad) – We deal out among men, in turns* (Āl ʿImrān iii, 140). Al-Ṣumayl interjected, ‘Surely it says, *among the Arabs.*’ ‘*Among men,*’ replied the man. ‘Is that what the verse says?’ queried al-Ṣumayl. ‘Yes,’ replied the man, ‘that is how it is.’ Al-Ṣumayl said, ‘Then, by God, it means we are associated with serfs, scum and scoundrels!’

*On one occasion al-Ṣumayl left ʿAbd al-Raḥmān’s presence after he had reproached him. He left with his hat (*qalansū* in instructing children to read the Qur’ān) askew and met a man at the palace gate who said to him, ‘Straighten your hat!’ Al-Ṣumayl retorted, ‘It has the men who will straighten it for me!’*

**Notes and comments**

1 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I ibn Muʿāwīya ibn Ḥishām ibn ʿAbd al-Malik, born Syria, 113/731, emir of al-Andalus from 138/756 until his death in Cordova in 172/788: EI. 2nd i. 81–82.
2 See *History* 126, note 16. The *Munjat Naṣr* was the estate of Abūʾl-Fath Naṣr, mayordomo of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II (206–238/822–852), which obviously did not belong to him at this time. But the events must have occurred at the spot which Naṣr later acquired: Lévi-Provençal iii, 380.
3 See *History* 53, note 31, for Ḥabīb ibn Abī ʿUbayda ibn ʿUqba.
4 EI 2nd i, 81–82.
5 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān’s mother, Rāḥ, was a Beber of the *Nafza* tribe, which is one reason why he undertook the extraordinary and, for him, risky journey from Syria to Morocco. For a reconstruction of his route see Cruz Hernández (1998), 65–66. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Marwān was the son of the caliph Marwān I (64–65/684–685) and the father of ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (99–100/717–720). He died while governor of Egypt in 85/704: EI 2nd i, 158. This Berber tribe mentioned here, the *Banū Wānsūs*, may already have had members in al-Andalus. It became prominent there after giving its help to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I. A member of the Banū Wānsūs, Sulaymān, became a minister of the emir ʿAbdallāh: *History* 133; Fierro (1990) no. 38.
6 Abū ʿUthmān ʿUbaydallāh ibn ʿUthmān played a major role in the establishment of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I in al-Andalus. He gets a fuller account in the *Akhbār*
Early Islamic Spain

Majmū‘a: Anon/Lafuente y Alcántara (1867) 72–73, 74. A client of Abū ‘Uthmān was the ancestor of Ibn Lubāba, the teacher of Ibn al-Qūṭiya and one of his main sources for the History: Molina (1989) 76. The place name Torroxbur, Turrush and its derivatives, Tolex, Torres, Torrecilla, Ṭirrījīya, describe locations that had Visigothic – or Roman – fortifications: Acίen Almansa (1995) 30.

7 Abdallāh ibn Khālid had several important descendants who appear later in the History. According to García Gómez it was one of these, Dīankūr (d.w.n.k.y.r.) or Dofieguero, who caused Ibn Ḥaǧšūn to rebel against the Umayyads: García Gómez (1954).

8 The founder of the Banū Yāḥṣūb: Fierro (1990) no. 49.

9 Abū ‘Abdā was founder of the Banū Abī ‘Abda and one of the Syrians who went to meet Artabās. His descendant was the general, Ahmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī ‘Abda, who defeated Ibn Ḥaǧšūn and the rebels of Tūdmīr/Murcia: History 76, 135; Fierro (1990) no. 50.

10 Abū Ḍalāqa was the founder of the Banū Abī Ḍalāqa al-Judhāmī and one of the Syrians who met with Artabas: Fierro (1990) no. 71; 66. Ziyād ibn ‘Amr al-Judhāmī was a Syrian chief of Shadhūna and founder of Banū Ziyād of Shadhūna: Fierro (1990) no. 8. A descendant of Ziyād was Mūsā ibn Ziyād al-Judhāmī, who was a judge during the reign of Abdallāh (275–300/888–912): History 76, 133.

11 Ibn al-Qūṭiya does not mention the names of these ancestors of the Banū Adhāh, Banū Ḥussān and Banū ‘Umar who helped ‘Abd al-Raḥmān I: Fierro (1990) nos. 9–11.

12 In 137/754–755 ‘Āmir and Ḥabāb al-Zuhrī, who were Kalbid Arabs, besieged Saragossa. In 138/755 Yūsuf and ʿAl-Ṣumayl overcame and ejected them and took them prisoner: Souto (2001), 118.

13 Yūsuf ibn Bukht al-Ŷārisi and Umayya ibn Yazīd were Umayyad clients. Their descendants in the Banū Bukht and the Banū Umayya ibn Yazīd occupied posts in the administration of al-Andalus under the Umayyads: Fierro (1990) nos. 51–52. The former went with the Syrians to visit Artabās: History 76.

14 Meaning that the Umayyads were a race of giants: men of great power.

15 Founder of the Banū Tammām: Fierro (1990) no.54. See note 17 below for the meaning of Tammām.


17 Iftarā‘a, meaning to lay waste and tamma (Tammām) meaning to be fulfilled, complete.

18 Iffintīn or Alfuntīn/Alfuntayn was probably Fronti, north of Loja, though it no longer exists.


20 The day of ’Īd al-fitr, the feast day that celebrates the end of the fast of the month of Raḥmān.

21 Meaning that he was an Umayyad and a direct descendant of the former ruling dynasty of Damascus.

22 The town of Archidona is located in a most spectacular spot, on the side of a huge cirque or corrie. Impressive Islamic fortifications remain. These were built in the third/ninth century and restored in Nasrid times by Muḥammad V (755–760/1,354–1,359; 763–793/1,362–1,391). The appearance of the mountain today can hardly have changed since ‘Abd al-Raḥmān’s visit, apart from, perhaps, more tree coverage. Within the double wall of the fortress is a mosque which dates from the third/ninth century, and is the oldest surviving mosque in the modern province of Málaga. It became the Church of La Virgén de Gracia, after the Castillian conquest of the city in 1462. This mosque may have been the site of the prayer hall
where ʾAbd al-Rahmān was proclaimed. However, the prayer hall was probably further down the slope of the mountain, where the modern town now stands: El 2nd x, 873; Acien Almansa (1995) 41; López Guzmán (2002) 799–802. 23 They were Berber clients of the Ummayad caliph Yazīd ibn ʾAbd al-Malik (101–105/720–724); Fierro (1990) no. 39. 24 Fierro (1990) no. 13. 25 Fierro (1990) no. 40. 26 Fierro (1990) no. 14 and note 14, where he is said by Ibu Hayyan (1973) note 7, to be a descendant of a client of the Umayyad caliph Sulaymān (96–99/715–717). Some youthful members of this family were involved in a theft of tax money after the death of ʾAbd al-Rahmān II (206–238/822–852): History 123. Other members are Muhammad ibn al-Salīm, civil governor of Cordova in the time of ʾAbd al-Rahmān II: History 103; and Saʾīd ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Salīm, market inspector (ṣāḥib al-sīq, Sp. zabazoque and almotacén –al-muhtasib) and minister of Abdallāh (275/300/888–912): History 133, and Saʾīd ibn al-Mundhir called Ibn al-Salīm, who fought against the Banū Ḥafsūn in the time of ʾAbd al-Rahmān III (300–360/912–961): History 140. 27 Farqad ibn ʾAwān (or ʾAwf) al-ʿAdwānī who died in the reign of Hishām (172–180/788–796): al-Dabbi (1997) no. 1,290. 28 It actually took place on 1st Muharram 65/18 August 684 on the plain of Marj Rāḥit, near Damascus. Marwān, the victor, was supported by the Kalbids and ʿAbdallāh by the Qaysids. The day of the Sacrifice, ʾĪd al-aḍḥā, Greater Bayram, falls on the 10th Dhulʿ-Ḥijja: El 2nd vi, 544–545. 29 Meaning that they all took a rider on their horses’ croup (ridāf). Radīf means: ‘one who rides behind another on the back of the same beast’: Lane Bk. i, pt. 3, 1,068. 30 Fierro (1990) no. 15. 31 This was the nearest crossing point to Cordova, lying near a hamlet of Roman (?) origin. Alternative spellings are given by the authors of the Fath al-Andalus: Babash, Yabash, and the Akhbar majmūʿa: Babash: see Ocaña Jiménez (1998) 272, note 38. 32 He was evidently one of the Arabs of Jaén. According to Fierro he was probably a client of ʾAbd al-Rahmān al-Thaqafī, governor of Kufa during the reign of the Umayyad caliph Muʿāwīya (41–60/661–680): Fierro (1990) no. 16. 33 The al-Miṣāra area lay west of the Roman bridge, between the Roman city wall and the river bank. Although the events related here would have been hard on the men, they would have been even harder on the horses who had to carry twice their normal weight, with perhaps some baggage over terrain, in the dark, ford a difficult river, and then take part in a furious battle. But this is by no means improbable given that mediaeval men were smaller, and horses harder, than their modern counterparts. The stamina of such hardy breeds of the semi-desert steppes, like the Turkoman horse is legendary. Well into the twentieth century the latter were capable of being ridden on raids of 200 km into enemy territory. Even in the nineteenth century a European cavalry horse should have been able to carry a soldier weighing up to 15 stones (90 kg), saddle, equipment and even some armour in the case of heavy cavalry, over rough terrain all day: Lévi-Provençal i, 162; iii, fig. 12; Dodwell (1987) 39. 34 The Paris manuscript folio 11 recto, says: harrā́́īḥ (grain merchants) not qarrā́́n or qurrā́́n (Qurʾān reciters), which appears in most printed editions; harrā́i, grain merchant, hurī́, granary: Dozy ii, 756; Fierro (1990) no. 17. See also History 94, note 26 on the Banū Bassām. 35 The area of Shuballār/Shabulār lay east of the Roman bridge, between the Roman city wall and the river bank. The name is derived from Latin: Sabularia (Spanish arenal – ‘quicksand’), according to Lévi-Provençal. By the fourth/tenth century this area lay within the commercial district of Cordova. The only mountains
nearby are the southern slopes of the Sierra Morena, where the caliphal palace of Madīnat al-zahrā‘ was later built. If the story of al-Ṣumayl’s poetic threat is true, he must have seen the events from the opposite bank of the river: Lévi-Provençal iii, 370, note 1 and fig 12.

36 Al-Andalus had a silver dirham and a gold dinār, plus a mithqāl for everyday transactions. According to a table for the years 457–460/1065–1067 given by Abū’l-Aṣbagh ibn Sahl (d. 486/1093) in his Dīwān al-aḥkām al-kubrā the purchasing power of this coinage was: a black slave = 160 mithqāls; a slave = 28 mithqāls; a horse = 24 mithqāls; a house in Cordova = 160 mithqāls; a garden in Cordova = 240 mithqāls: Lévi-Provençal iii, 116, note 2.

37 At this time there was no mosque as such. Yūsuf al-Fihrī (governed 129–138/746–756) is said to have taken over half of the church called San Vicente, for the use of the Muslims. This stood on the spot where the first mosque was eventually built by ’Abd al-Rahmān I in 169/784–785. See History 84, note 6. San Vicente was one of several churches in Cordova: San Félix and San Acisclo were two others. ’Abd al-Rahmān’s speech in the mosque can be seen as one of the first examples of his generally conciliatory attempts to secure his always rather precarious position: El 2nd v, 509–512; Cruz Hernández (1998) 67.

38 Mérida was considered to be of great strategic importance and was, initially at least, always entrusted to a son of the governor or emir.

39 ʿAmir was the chief of the Qaṭṭānids: Fierro (1990) no. 18. The Banū Fahd al-Rusāfīyīn were from Rusāfah. A Fransican Hermitage was built at Rusāfah in the fifteenth century and called Arrizafa, but in the 2nd/8th century it was a palace, named after the summer residence of the Damascus caliph Hishām, built in 110/728 between Palmyra and the Euphrates. While the original Rusāfa was a palace out in the Syrian Desert, the Andalusian version was close by Cordova. It was built on the site of a Roman villa, which may have been still standing, in part at least: Cruz Hernández (1998), 75.

40 ’Abd al-Rahmān ibn ʿAlqama was the governor of Narbonne according to Lévi-Provençal i, 47. For Sa’d ibn ʿUbāda, see Fierro (1990) no. 82.

41 The ancestor of the Banū Shuhayd, although Ibn al-Qūṭiya does not say so. The family provided several outstanding officials of Umayyad al-Andalus. They were probably not Arabs, nor Muwallads (neo-Muslims) and may have been Berbers or Europeans of some kind: Fierro (1990) no. 55 and note 59.

42 Ribera suggests the Río Bembézar, which is north-west of Cordova and today the location of a dam, the Embalse de Bembézar. Houdas says manbastir; Al-Ṭabbā‘ gives amanbīs, and al-Aḥyārī ammīs and amanbīs: Abencalcatia/Ribera (1926) 24.

43 The bag was delivered to Quairouan by a merchant whose business took him there, according to Lévi-Provençal i, 111.

44 In fact there were more attempts to overthrow him during the rest of his reign.

45 Muʿāwiya’s mission was also encourage other members of the Umayyad family and their clients to come to the Iberian Peninsula. Those who did so came to form an aristocracy which Muslim writers referred to as the Qurayshid nobility: Lévi-Provençal i, 106–107.

46 Al-Khushanī (1952) no. 64.

47 Fierro (1990) no. 19. The term khidma used in the text meant civil or military service to which the Tujibid family supplied many members: Dozy i, 354–355.

48 Al-Ghāzī/Ghāzī ibn Qays was initially a follower of al-Awzā‘ī’s teaching, introduced to al-Andalus by one of his disciples Sa’āda al-Shāmī (d. 192/807) and continued to have adherents after the introduction of Mālik’s teachings. The Muwatta’ is the first great compilation of Islamic Law, the work of Mālik ibn Anas ibn Abī ʿAmir al-Aḥbahā‘, judge of Madina (d. 179/795–796). The Muwatta’ is the earliest surviving book of Islamic law. But Mālik did not transmit a definitive edition and the various recensions (riwāyas) differ in many places. Fifteen are
known but only two survive in their entirety. In al-Andalus five rīwāyas were studied in the third/ninth–fourth/tenth centuries. The school of law based on the work of Mālik was eventually adopted throughout western Islam, including al-Andalus: EI 2nd vi, 262–265; Idris (1998) 3–4.

Al-Humaydī gives two anecdotes about Abū Mūsā in his Ṭabaqāt: al-Ḥumaydī (1953) 275, 284, 291, 302.

Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-'Utbī (d. 254 or 255/868–69) was a leading conservative scholar and author of a manual called al-Mustakharja, or al-'Utbīya. He was an opponent of Muhammad ibn Waḍḍāḥ and Baqī’ ibn Makḥlād, who advocated more freedom of thought in intellectual matters: EI 2nd x, 245; Monès (1998) 14. For ʻĪsā ibn Dīnār, see EI 2nd iv, 87. The famous faqīḥ Yahyā ibn Yahyā al-Laythī was of Berber origin and a member of the Banū Abī Ṭūsā. They were clients of the Banū Layth. Abū 'Uthmān Saʿīd ibn ʻAssān was a faqīḥ and traditionist of Córdova. He studied under the disciples of Mālik at Madina and returned to Córdova in 204/819–20: EI 2nd xi, 248–249; Marín (1985) 291–320; Fierro (1990) no. 56; al-Khushanī (1992) no. 434; al-Dabbī (1997) no. 796.

Abū'l-Makhsīh, ʻĂṣīm ibn Zayd ibn Yaḥyā was born in Guadajoz and died around 180/796. The verses quoted are the beginning of a long qaṣīda. See Terès (1961) 229–244.

'Abbās ibn Nāṣih was a poet and judge of Algeciras. Ibn al-Faraḍī (1954) i, no. 881. Al-Ḥasan ibn Ḥānī was the famous eastern poet called Abū Nuwās, to whom 'Abbās ibn Nāṣih was said to have recited the lines mentioned. See Terès (1961) 239.

The title ḥājib for chamberlain, chief minister was peculiar to al-Andalus. In the East wazīr was the title of the chief minister of the ʻAbbāsid caliphs: Lévi-Provençal iii, 18–22.

See History 67, 68.

The founder of the Banū Ḥazm al-bawwābūn: Fierro (1990) no. 20; and note 20 where she refers to Ḥafṣ ibn Maymūn and Wahballāh ibn Maymūn as possible descendants of Maymūn, but who according to the Akhbār majmūa were Masmūda Berbers, while Maymūn appears to have been a Syrian: Anon/Lafuente y Alcántara (1867) 104, 105.

Pious Muslims would try to avoid the use of objects and vessels made of precious metals, preferring simple earthenware to gold or silver bowls and plates. For this reason, Maymūn declined to sit on the chair inlaid with gold and silver.

By which he meant the overthrow of the Umayyad dynasty of Damascus.

The text says al-mhsh (?) Al-Abyarī gives al-mujashshir. Al-Khushanī mentions a majshar, in case dealt with by the judge, 'Amr ibn 'Abdallāh. According to Dozy and Asín Palacios, quoted by Imamuddin, majshar means a substantial farmhouse (Spanish cortijo), and was derived from the late Latin word massaria: al-Khushanī (1952) 102; Imamuddin (1965) 79; Ibn-Akutya (1982) 59.

Almodóvar del Río, 25 km west of Córdova on the river Guadalquivir.

This attitude of superiority by most Arabs towards Muslims of non-Arab origin had a lot to do with the overthrow of the Umayyad dynasty of Damascus by the ʻAbbāsids who moved the capital of the caliphate to Baghdad, where non-Arab Muslims, especially Iranians, began to play a much greater role in political and religious matters. It also gave rise to the anti-Arab Šhuṭḥiya movement, which found enthusiastic support in the peninsula among the Iberian converts to Islam: Monroe (1970) 1–21.
On the day that Hishaˈm – may God have mercy upon him – was leaving the funeral of Thaˈlabab ibn ˈUbayd at the well-known cemetery of Quraysh in Cordova to go to Thaˈlababˈs house, a dog rushed out of a neighbouring house and sank its teeth into his cloak – a double cloak of Marwī cloth – and ripped it. 2 ‘Let the governor (āmil) of Cordova fine the owner of that house a dirham for having a dog in a place frequented by Muslims!’ cried Hishaˈm. But as he left the house Hishaˈm revoked the fine saying, ‘We have distressed the owner of the house more than the damage to our cloak has distressed us.’

It is told that when Hishaˈm ascended the throne he sent a message to al-Ḍabbī [ʿAbd al-Wāḥid ibn Ishāq al-Munajjim], the astrologer of Algeciras, in which he said, ‘When you heard of my elevation to the throne, I have no doubt that you have seen my future so I beg you by the Almighty to tell me what appeared.’ 3 Al-Ḍabbī replied, ‘I beg you by the Almighty to excuse me from doing that.’ Which he did. But a few days later the astrologer made known the prediction and some one told the emir. So he sent for the astrologer and said, ‘If I want to know, of course it is not because I believe it: I just want to hear it; and if what you say should distress me, truly I shall forgive you and enrich you and give you a robe of honour and reward you as I have rewarded you when you told me something that pleased me.’

So he told him, ‘You have but six or seven years left.’ Then the emir bowed his head in silence for an hour. Finally he looked up and said, ‘Well, al-Ḍabbī, if they are spent in worshiping the Almighty, it is little import to me.’ He gave him a robe of honour and rewarded him and gave him leave to return to his home. 4 Then the emir – may God have mercy upon him – turned away from worldly things and began to think of higher ones.

Hishaˈm governed his subjects as well as any ruler could: with kindness, justice and humility. He visited the sick; he attended funerals; he reduced taxes; he gave alms and was modest in his dress and the sort of mount he rode.
After he had reigned for a year, the great faqih of al-Andalus, Ziyad ibn ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Lakhmī, the ancestor of the Banū Ziyād of Cordova, travelled to the East. When he came to Madina he met Mālik ibn Anas, God have mercy upon him, who asked him about Hishām. When he told him of Hishām’s conduct and his excellent behaviour, Mālik exclaimed, ‘May God adorn our Heavenly Paradise with such a one as this!’

* Hishām built the Great Mosque of Cordova and the bridge across the Rio Guadalquivir.

* During his reign ‘Abd al-Wāḥid ibn Mughīth conquered Narbonne and with his share of the booty Hishām built the bridge and the mosque.

* When the Tujibid, Yaḥyā ibn Yazīd the judge, died in Cordova, ‘Abd al-Rahmān, sought the counsel of his two sons and advisors, Hishām and Sulaymān, about whom he should appoint as judge in his place. They said, ‘Next to Almodóvar del Rio, just down from Cordova, we know of a shaykh of the Syrians who is a man of virtue and righteousness and great goodness. His name is Mus’ab ibn ‘Imrān al-Ḥamdānī.’ The ministers of ‘Abd al-Rahmān confirmed that what they said was true. He was sent for and when ‘Abd al-Rahmān had him in his presence, he told him why he had sent for him. But the Shaykh was silent. Now, ‘Abd al-Rahmān could not tolerate anyone disobeying him so he flew into a violent rage. He seized his own long moustache and twisted it – always a sign of his imminent anger and fury. But God dispelled it, and the shaykh said, ‘Yes – but may God’s curse and wrath be on your advisers!’ That coincided with the arrival of Mu‘āwīya ibn Šāliḥ from a mission on which ‘Abd al-Rahmān had sent him, as related earlier, so he appointed him judge. Mu‘āwīya was judge until the time of Hishām, when he died.

* Then Hishām sent for Mus’ab and had him brought to his presence. He addressed him as follows, ‘Listen to what I say! By Ğod, Who has no equal, agree to what I ask you or I shall be so angry that justice and kindness will be gone as long as I live. The behaviour which you so hated in my father, God has given me power over. He will shower you with blessings in order to obtain justice for the sake of the Muslims. Even if you put a saw on my head I will not oppose you.’ So Mus’ab agreed.

This coincided with return of Muhammad ibn Bashīr al-Ma’ārifī al-Bājjī from the Pilgrimage to Makka, and Mus’ab asked him to be his secretary (kātib). He was his secretary until Mus’ab died, when Muhammad ibn Bashīr became judge, in the reign of al-Ḥakam, Hishām’s successor.
Once Hishām passed by [Saʿīd] ibn Abī Hind, whom Mālik ibn Anas called the ‘Sage (ḥakīm) of al-Andalus’. He arose and greeted Hishām, who said, ‘Mālik has clothed you in a magnificent robe’ [meaning Mālik has taught you well].

Notes and comments

1 Abūʾl-Walīd Hishām I ibn Ṭabīb al-Rahmān I, born 139/757, emir 172/788 until his death, 3 ʿṢafar 180/17 April 796. According to Ibn al-Athīr and Ibn ʿIdhārī, at the time of Ṭabīb al-Rahmān’s death, in 172/788, Hishām was governor of Mérida: EI 2nd ii, 493; Fagnan (1898) i, 76–77; Fagnan (1901–1904) ii, 63.

2 Banīqa māshīḥ marwā: a piece inserted, or perhaps the hem, of a doubled cloak of Marwā stuff. Banīqa is explained by al-Abyārī as zīq, hem. Lane says: ‘the gore [insert] of a shirt’. Māshīḥ, probably a double or reinforced cloak or mantle. Marwā: literally ‘of Merv’, the town now in modern Turkestan. According to al-Maqqarī, Zīrīya, the arbiter of fashion in the time of Ṭabīb al-Rahmān II (206–238/832–852), recommended the wearing of coarse garments of Merv at the end of summer, which Serjeant suggests must describe a type of material, rather than something from the town in Central Asia: Lane Bk. i, pt. 1, 259–260; Ibn-Akutya (1982) 61, note 1; Serjeant (1972) 167.


4 Wa-kasāhu, ‘then he clothed him’, but we can take this to mean the presentation of a robe de luxe, robe of honour (khilʿa), which in later years would have borne inscriptions made in the royal tiraz factory established by Ṭabīb al-Rahmān II, and would quite probably have been made there too: Von Falsach and Keblow Bernsted (1993) 17.

5 Al-Dabbī says that Zīyād ibn Ṭabīb al-Rahmān ibn Zīyād al-Lakhmī called Shabaṭūn, – faqīh ahl al-Andalus – (d. 199 or 204/814 or 819) was the first to bring the doctrine – fiqh – of Mālik to al-Andalus, before which time they had followed the doctrine of al-Awzāʿī (d. 157/774). Shabaṭūn had been a pupil of Ibn Qāsim (d. 191/817) who had been a pupil of Mālik, whose collected fatwas form the basis of the Mudawwana al-kubrā of Saḥḥūn ibn Saʿīd (240/854–855). The Banū Zīyād of Cordova were from Málaga. But there were three Banū Zīyād families in al-Andalus and the relations between them are still not clear. Fierro also suggests that Muʿāwīya ibn Zīyād al-Lakhmī – a judge of al-Mundhir (273–275/886–888) dismissed by Ṭabīb al-Rahmān II (275–300/888–912) – was from the Cordovan family: History 130, 133; Al-Dabbī (1997) no. 751; Fierro (1990) nos. 8, 21, 29.

6 It seems odd that Ibn al-Qūṭiya should have made this error. Ṭabīb al-Rahmān I acquired – by purchase or confiscation – the church of San Vicente, which had remained in the control of the Christian ecclesiastical authorities and built the first mosque on the site between 169/786 and 170/787. It was 73.50 m wide × 36.80 m deep and had a courtyard 73.50 m × 60 m. Gómez Moreno doubted this, believing that the length of time supposedly taken to be too short, despite there being no minaret, as Ṭabīb al-Rahmān II took 16 years to do much less. But the Arab historians quoted by Cresswell are insistent: in 168/784–785 the church was purchased; in 169/785–786 the mosque was begun; in 170/786–787 the work was completed. Ocaña Jiménez suggested that the story of the division of the church and its purchase for a huge amount was a later legend designed to show the magnanimity of Ṭabīb al-Rahmān towards the Christians. See History 80, note 37. Excavations in the first half of the twentieth century by the cathedral architect,
F. Hernández, between 1931 and 1936, uncovered the remains of a church under the western side of ʿAbd al-Rahmān’s mosque, some of which can be seen today through an opening left in the cathedral floor. The small size of this building appeared to confirm Ocaña Jiménez’s ideas, as division between Christians and Muslims would have given each community an area too inadequate for prayers. Hishām added a minaret in 177/793–794, built an ablution hall and made some interior changes. Although the minaret was rebuilt in the sixteenth century, a depiction of the earlier minaret occurs on a metal weight of circa 1492, now in the Museo Arqueológico, Cordova (inventory no. 7.591). Ibn al-Qūṭiya is correct with regard to the bridge, which Hishām ordered repaired. This had been damaged by a severe flood during the time of his father: Lévi-Provençal i, 147; Ibn ʿIdhārī (1951) ii, 230; Cresswell (1979) ii, 138–139, 140, 153, 155, fig. 147; Ocaña Jiménez (1998), 269 and note 29; 271, note 32. For a detailed plan of the mosque and all the extensions and additions: see Ewert (1995), figs. 4–5.

7 ʿAbd al-Wāhid was a member of the Banū Mughīth. His son ʿAbd al-Karīm was chamberlain of al-Ḥakam (180–206/796–822): History 86. Hishām launched a campaign against Narbonne and Gerona in 177/793: Lévi-Provençal i, 145; Fierro (1990) no. 57.

8 Al-Muṣʿab ibn ʿImrān ibn Shafīʿ al-Ḥamdānī: al-Khusanī (1952), no. 84.


10 ‘Put a saw (minšār) on my head’ refers to a method of execution, by being sawn in half from the head downwards. For an illustration of this in a Spanish (Catalan) painting, circa 1100 CE, showing the martyrdom of Santa Julita,: see Ainaud (1962), pl. 3. This barbaric method of execution was used in Morocco as late as the reign of Sultan Ismāʿīl (1082–1139/1672–1727): Milton (2004) 178.

11 Fierro (1990) no. 58. Ibn al-Qūṭiya actually gives more information on Muḥammad ibn Bashīr than Fierro quotes: History 83, 86, 91–92. There is also mention in the History, page 97, of Abū ʿUmar ibn Bashīr, a judge during the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II (206–238/822–52). Kāṭīb means ‘clerk’, but ‘secretary’ is probably a better term in the case of the clerk of a judge, minister or other official, where the clerk would have to do more than just work as a copyist.
Anecdotes concerning al-Ḥakam ibn Hishām:* Al-Ḥakam, – may God have mercy upon him – the son of Hishām, succeeded him. He treated his subjects well. He was careful in his choice of governors and officials. He believed in the righteous ways of doing things, and he prosecuted the Holy War regularly. At the beginning of his reign he appointed the finest and most just judge of al-Andalus, Muḥammad ibn Bashīr.2 In his youth Muḥammad had been secretary to al-ʿAbbās ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Marwānī, at Beja. He served under Hishām for a while, then journeyed to the East. He made the Pilgrimage and studied for a while under Maʿlik ibn Anas, then returned. Muṣʿab al-Ḥamdānī asked him to be his secretary when he was chief judge (qādī al-jund) in Cordova.3 He remained as Muṣʿab’s secretary until the latter died. The ministers recommended that he succeed Muṣʿab as and he served until he died. His son Saʿīd was appointed after him.4 He was also an excellent judge.

During all of al-Ḥakam’s reign his affairs were in the hands of his chamberlain, ʿAbd al-Karīm ibn Mughīth, a person of great intelligence and wisdom.

Al-Ḥakam was involved in three great conflicts.5 One of them was that of Toledo where the people were haughty, malevolent, and disdainful of his governors in a way that none of his other subjects were. Among the people of Toledo was Ghirbīb [ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Thaqafī] al-Ṭulayṭulī the Poet, a clever and cunning man, to whose opinion the citizens paid heed.6 While Ghirbīb was alive, al-Ḥakam did not try to bring them to heel. After his death al-Ḥakam summoned ʿAmrūs called the Muwallad the ‘neo-Muslim’ from Washqāh [Huesca], who was the ancestor of the Banū ʿAmrūs al-saydīyīn.7 He conferred distinction on him, elevated him, and then when he had his confidence, he told him what he planned to do to the people of Toledo. He said, ‘My only hope of overcoming them is through you.’ This was because the people of Toledo supported him because of the faction to which he belonged. So ʿAmrūs agreed to that, and al-Ḥakam made him governor of Toledo. Then he wrote to the people of Toledo to trick them, saying:
‘I have selected one of your people and your kind from among our clients who will administer our province.’ He outlined to ‘Amrūs something of what he hoped he would achieve among them. For example, he said, ‘The people of Toledo will get on with you, and treat you as one of them, if you tell them in secret that they are preferred by you to the ruling Umayyad family and anyone else; and that you hate all others.’ Tell them: I have seen one evil cause of friction between you and the Sultan’s governors – the billeting of troops (al-ḥasham) among you and your wives and children. So, I propose to build a fort (gaṣba) in an outlying part of the city where the troops can be quartered. They will be isolated from you and you will be relieved of their mischief.”

But the citizens answered that the fort should be in the centre, not in an outlying area. They chose the hill, which is known as Jabal ‘Amrūs [The Hill of ‘Amrūs] to this very day.9

A palace (qaṣr) was built from the rubble excavated from a pit within the walls. Now, when he had gone there and garrisoned it, he informed al-Ḥakam of that. Al-Ḥakam ordered some of his generals (quwwād) on the Marches to announce an attack by a large force of the enemy, and to call for troops from the military contingents and volunteers.10 Many people of Cordova and elsewhere volunteered. Al-Ḥakam sent his son ‘Abd al-Rahmān, who was only 14 years old, and three of his ministers on the expedition. Al-Ḥakam had already written a letter which he gave to one of his palace servants (khalīfa) and told him to give it to his ministers when they reached Toledo.11

The army had encamped at a spot called al-Jayyārīn [the lime kilns] when the news arrived that the enemy had rereated. So ‘Amrūs announced to the people of Toledo, ‘I must go out to see the prince – God preserve him – and you must do likewise.’ They went out together and came to the prince who ordered that they should be brought to his presence. Whereupon he expressed a point of view so amiable that they were won over. At that time ‘Amrūs and the ministers conferred in secret. The letter was produced and read. In it they were told to advise the people of Toledo to summon the prince to the city, which would be a great honour for them and they could get to know him better. However, the prince should show reticence about entering Toledo until he had received their invitation. When he was invited, a feast (ṣānī’) should be prepared for the citizens in the palace where they would be feted, given fine clothes and treated well. Now, in al-Ḥakam’s instructions to ‘Amrūs when the fort was being built, was the order that it should have two entrances. People asked why, and prevaricated, but finally agreed.

The people invited the prince. At first he refused, but then accepted the invitation and entered the city and went to the headquarters. He ordered that the banquet be prepared for the next day and that the leading Toledans, from both town and country should attend. So they came and were told to enter by a designated door, while their mounts were led away to await them at the other door when they came out. But inside executioners (ṣayyāfūn) awaited them, swords ready, on the edge of the pit. All who entered were decapitated,
some 5,300 and more. Prince ʿAbd al-Raḥmān witnessed all of this and acquired a nervous twitch of the eye until the day he died.12

*  

It is said that a physician (ḥakīm) of Toledo passed by the second gate, but did not see anyone exiting as the day lengthened. So he said to those around the first door, ‘Companions! Where are our companions who went in this morning?’ ‘Coming out of the other door’, they replied. ‘But I have met no one coming out!’ cried the physician. Then he raised his eyes and saw the reek of blood in the air. ‘People of Toledo!’ he shouted, ‘they are putting you to the sword! That is blood-reek in the air – not kitchen-smoke!’ His cry caused people to take flight and saved those who were still alive.

They remained subservient throughout al-Ḥakam’s reign and that of his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II. But after the latter’s death, they broke out in revolt, as we hope to relate at the appropriate point.13

*  

In Algeciras the Dissenters made their appearance.14 Their doctrines were similar to those of the Dissenters (al-ḥawārij) who revolted against the caliphs ʿAlī ibn Abī ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya [41–60/661–680] – may God be good to them – and to those who came after them. ʿAbbās ibn Nāṣīḥ sent some verses to al-Ḥakam urging him to act against them and inciting him to oppose their innovations.15 Included were the following lines:

Catch the young camel which they are training for their revolt*  
before it arrives here as a grown one.

Al-Ḥakam retorted, ‘By God, we shall do it!’ He went out at the head of his troops to Algeciras and encamped at its gate, putting most of its inhabitants to the sword.16

*  

Then there occurred the insurrection (ḥādīthat al-hayj) in Cordova, which happened because a group of the city’s notables opposed some things that alarmed them and they wanted to overthrow al-Ḥakam. They approached a nephew of his, known as Ibn al-Shammaṣ, who was a son of al-Mundhir ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muʿāwiya.17 They became deeply involved and wanted to enthrone him and depose al-Ḥakam.  
He appeared to agree and asked them, ‘Tell me who supports you in this?’ They promised to tell him at an agreed time. Then Ibn al-Shammaṣ went alone to al-Ḥakam and informed him of the plot. But he replied, ‘By God! You want to turn me against the leading men of my country! You had better have proof, or you will die!’ So Ibn al-Shammaṣ said, ‘Send me one of your trusted men on such-and-such a night.’ Al-Ḥakam sent his servant (fatā) Bizint, and his secretary Ibn al-Khaddā’, who was the ancestor of the
Banū l-Khaddā, and he put them in a spot where they could hear what would take place between him and the plotters. They arrived and discussed the matter. But he said, ‘Who agrees with you in this?’ ‘So-and-so and so-and-so . . . ’ they replied. At the same time the secretary was writing the names down, seated behind a curtain. But they mentioned so many people, that the secretary got the wind up, thinking he would be named, so he caused the reed pen to scratch loudly on the parchment. Then uproar broke out among the plotters, ‘What have you done!’ they cried, ‘You enemy of God!’

Those who left at once and fled, escaped; but those who delayed were arrested. Among those who fled was the famous theologian ʾĪsā ibn Dīnār, and Yahyā ibn Yahyā, and others. But six leading figures were arrested. Among them Yahyā ibn Naṣr [Muḍar] al-Yaḥṣubī, from Secunda, Mūsā ibn Sālim al-Khwālanī and his son, were crucified.

Because of that the inhabitants of the Arrabal suburb (al-Rabad) of Cordova broke out in revolt [in 202/817], declaring war on al-Ḥakam. Fighting continued between them and the military contingents until the rebels were outnumbered and called out that they would submit. But some of the ministers declared that their surrender should be rejected, while others said it should be accepted. Al-Ḥakam said, ‘Well, there are bad ones and good ones among them,’ and took the point of view of the ministers who wanted to spare them.

He granted permission for their departure from Cordova and they left for North Africa where they settled. A large group of them, some 15,000, separated and made for Alexandria by sea.

During the early reign of al-Rashīd [Hārūn al-Rashīd (170–193/786–809)] they seized Alexandria and savagely attacked its inhabitants, putting many to the sword. The cause of this was that a butcher hit one of the Cordovan Muslims in the face with a piece of tripe. They all took grave offence and killed many of the inhabitants. When al-Rashīd heard of this he sent Harthamah ibn Ayman [A’yan, (d. 200/816)] the chief minister (al-ḥājib) against them, to restore order. The city was ransomed for a vast sum. They were allowed to choose where they wanted to go – any province of Egypt or any island in the Mediterranean. They chose the island of Iqrīṭish [Crete], where they stay, until this day.

Some praiseworthy actions of al-Ḥakam* – may God have mercy on him: All of al-Andalus submitted to al-Ḥakam – all except the Banū Qasī on the Upper Marches, who continued their opposition. The emir composed some verses about that, which his son ʿAbd al-Rahmān recited, and which include:

Take my weapon, for I have given it up to peaceful rest:*
But never to an opponent!

* Al-Ḥakam also had a number of battles and glorious encounters in Galicia. Now, among those involved in the Arrabal uprising was Tālūt ibn ʿAbd
al-Jabbar al-Ma‘arifī, who transmitted the works of Mālik ibn Anas and his peers among scholars. When fighting broke out he fled from his home in the city, near the mosque and the pit (hufrā), both named after him, and sought refuge with a Jew for a year, until matters quietened down and the tumult was over.²⁵ He had a friendly link with the minister Abū Bassām – the ancestor of the Banū Bassām grain merchants, so when he had stayed a long while with the Jew he approached Abū Bassām one day, in between the two evening prayers.²⁶ ‘Where have you been?!’ said the minister. ‘Staying with one of the Jews,’ he replied.²⁷

Abū Bassām reassured him and gave him lodging. He said, ‘The emir – may God preserve him – regrets what he did.’ So he spent the night there and the next morning Abū Bassām went to al-Ḥakam’s palace, after leaving a guard with Tālūt. When he came into al-Ḥakam’s presence he said, ‘How would you like a nice fat sheep today, which has been in a pen for a year?’ He replied. ‘Meat from caged animals is indigestible: wild game is lighter and sweeter.’ But Abū Bassām said, ‘That is not what I mean – I have got Tālūt with me!’ ‘Where did you capture him?’ asked al-Ḥakam. ‘He came to me because of the favours I have done him,’ said Abū Bassām.

So the emir ordered him to be brought into his presence, and to be seated before him. The old man was brought in, in a state of great alarm. When he was in front of him, al-Ḥakam said, ‘Now Tālūt, tell me: if your father and your son owned this palace, would they have treated you with more charity and honour than I? Have you ever asked for anything, for yourself or for some one else, without my hastening to do it? Did I not come quickly to see you, several times, when you were sick? When your wife died did I not come to you and walk in her funeral procession from the Arrabal; and then escort you back to your home, walking with you? So what happened to you? For what reason could you only be happy to see my blood spilt, my womenfolk defiled and my wife dishonoured?!’

Tālūt replied, ‘At this moment, I can do nothing better than admit that all that is true. I disagreed with you. God incited me against you. You have gained nothing from all you have done for me.’ Al-Ḥakam considered this reply, then he said, ‘By God! I searched for you, thinking that there was no torture on Earth I would not apply if I had you before me. But I tell you, that He for Whom you hated me causes me to forgive you. So: go safely in God’s protection. I will not stop doing well by you and will consider you as I did before, as long as I live, God willing! If only what happened had never occurred!’ Tālūt replied, ‘It would have been better for you, had it not.’

Then the emir asked him, ‘Where did Abū Bassām capture you?’ ‘No, never!’ replied Tālūt. ‘He did not: I gave myself up to him. I went to him because there was a bond between us.’

‘So where have you been all this year?’ asked al-Ḥakam. ‘With one of the Jews,’ he replied.

Al-Ḥakam turned to his minister. ‘Abū Bassām,’ he said, ‘a Jew could
appreciate Tālūt’s faith and learning. He risked his life, his family’s life and what he had, and what his children had to go against me, while you wanted to push me into what I have now repented of! Get out! I never want to see your face again!’ Then he ordered the removal of his ministerial carpet-of-office (firāsh) and dismissal from his service. From that day to this, his descendants have suffered ruin and decline. Tālūt continued to be honoured and protected as the emir had decreed until he died. Al-Ḥakam attended his funeral.

* Following this, al-Ḥakam suffered an illness that afflicted him for seven years, at the end of which he died, contrite and repenting what he had done. The illness made him become very pious and he used to spend his nights reading the Qur’ān until his death.

* Judayr [Hudayr], ancestor of the Banū Hudayr, was a gate-keeper (bowwāb) at the Bāb al-sudda [the Barrage Gate] palace in Cordova at the time of the Arrabal uprising and charged with bringing those who had surrendered to the Al-Duwayrah prison. Al-Ḥakam summoned him to his presence and said, ‘After dark, take out the leaders of the trouble and order their execution and have the corpses crucified.’ Hudayr replied, ‘Truly My Lord, I would hate for us to be one day in one of the Halls of Heaven, you whining to me, and I to you over what we have done! That would benefit neither you nor me.’ But al-Ḥakam abused him and insisted that he carry out the orders. Hudayr refused, so al-Ḥakam removed him from his post. Then he ordered his colleague Ibn Nadir the gate-keeper, to take his place and the death sentence was carried out. From that day the fortunes of the Banū Nadir prospered while those of the Banū Nadir declined until the line was extinguished.

* It is related that Muḥammad ibn Waḍḍāḥ – may God have mercy on him – used to tell two anecdotes about al-Ḥakam. One concerned Muḥammad ibn Bashīr, and the other related to foretelling the future. When he finished relating them, he used to say, ‘If only for these two stories, al-Ḥakam deserves to be in Paradise!’

[The first anecdote is as follows:] A certain person of distinction (ba’d al-khāṣṣā) related that a favourite concubine of al-Ḥakam said that one night he left her bed, and she thought the worst, as women do, when they are overcome by jealousy. ‘I followed him,’ she said, ‘but found him prostrating himself and praying.’ When he came back to me, I told him what I had been thinking, what I did, and that I found him praying. He said to me, ‘I entrusted Muḥammad ibn Bashīr with the post of chief judge. I was happy with that and I trusted him. I was confident that he would deal justly with people’s cases and misdeeds. I was happy – until this evening, when I learnt that he is seriously ill and will die. I was worried and upset, so I got up [tonight] and
asked God to send me some one else to replace him, in whom I can trust and appoint as judge after him.’

The second anecdote is this: One day al-Ḥakam – may God have mercy on him – rode out for pleasure. He dismounted wanting to rest, and he sat down, then lay back and sighed. He looked towards a valley and said, ‘On the Day of Judgement the Dissenters (khawārij) will come – I can almost see them now pouring out of this valley, killing people and enslaving children. I hope there will be an “al-Ḥakam” alive to be victorious and defend Islam.’

Notes

2 Muḥammad ibn Bashīr ibn Sharāḥīl al-Maʿārifī al-Khushanī (1952) no. 21.
3 Qādī al-jund ‘judge of the contingents’ was the title of the chief judge of Cordova and al-Andalus until the time of Muḥammad I (238–273/852–886), when the title was changed to Qādī al-jamā’a, ‘judge of the community’, who was directly responsible to the emir: Lévi-Provençal iii, 117–118. EI 2nd iv, 374.
4 Al-Khushanī (1952) no. 22.
5 Apart from the three mentioned in this part of the text, al-Ḥakam also captured Calahora and reached Santander in 181/797.
7 The neo-Muslims, or Muwallads, Spanish Mualadies, of whom ‘Amrūs was one, were converts to Islam who came to comprise the largest element of the population in al-Andalus by the end of the fourth/tenth century. Huesca lies some 70 km north of Saragossa: EI 2nd ii, 159–160; Lévi-Provençal i, 73–77, notes 155–59; Fierro (1990), no. 22.
8 Fierro (1990) no. 34.
9 This citadel was begun in 176/792 and later destroyed; but was rebuilt in 223/838 by Wālīd, brother of ‘Abd al-Rahmān II. It was rebuilt again by ‘Abd al-Rahmān III in 320/932 after he recaptured the city following a revolt. It is probably this recapture that Ibn al-Qūṭiya mentions in the History 140: Cresswell (1979) ii, 206. See Menéndez Pidal (1996) 227, fig. 93 for a map of Toledo.
10 The Marches, around 740 CE, consisted of three fronts or frontiers between al-Andalus and the non-Muslim northern part of the peninsula: the Lower March: Mērida – Coria – León – Lugo; the Middle March: Toledo – Guadalajara – Medinaceli – Soria – Pamplona; the Upper March: Tudela – Zaragoza – Huesca – Barbastro – Gerona. The latter remained more-or-less intact until the beginning of the 7th/13th century. The ‘troops of the military contingents’ means those who came with Balj and were settled by Abū’l-Khaṭṭār in various places: History 63; Cruz Hernández (1998) 80–81.
11 A khalīfa, plural khulafā’, was an upper-ranking freed slave who worked in the royal palace. A lower-ranking freed slave was a mawlā, plural mawālī. A ghalām, plural ghilmān, was a slave of the ruler, while a fatā, plural fiyān, was an upper ranking slave. A khusṭ, plural khisyān, was a eunuch, though other varieties of slaves may also have been castrated, and the terms fatā and khusṭ appear to be
interchangeable. The *fatā al-kabīr* was the chief eunuch or mayordomo. Fictitious Arab genealogies were often concocted for palace servants. They were frequently ‘Slavs’, *saqālība*, singular *saqālib*, which meant not only people of real Slav – Balkan, south Russian – origin, but any European, whether Galician, Calabrian, Lombard, Frank, etc.: Lévi-Provençal ii, 122–130.

12 The date of the massacre of *Waǧāt al-hufra*, ‘The Day of the Fosse/Trench’, is disputed. It took place in 181/797–798 or 191/806–807. 'Abd al-Rahmān II was born in Toledo in 176/792 while his father, al-Ḥakam, was governor of the city. He was fourteen when the events related occurred, which would seem to indicate that 191/806–807 is correct. This is the date given by Ibn al-Athīr: El 2nd x, 605; Fagnan (1924) 196, note 4.

13 Although Ibn al-Qūṭīya expresses his intention to refer to the revolt of Toledo in the reign of Muḥammad I (238–273/852–886), this is not mentioned in the text. Muḥammad defeated the Toledans at the Guazalets in 239/853. If it is an omission, then it is an indication that the received text is not the complete version: *Introduction* 17; El 2nd x, 850.

14 The Dissenters or Kharijites were an extremist sect, who assassinated the fourth caliph, 'Afl ibn Abi Ṭalib in 40/661. They believed, among other things, that even a caliph could be deposed, and even assassinated.

15 'Abbās ibn Nāṣih was the judge of Algeciras, who was also a poet. See note ?.

16 Ibn al-Qūṭīya is the only historian to mention the existence of the Kharijite sect in Algeciras: Nichols (1975) 111, note 166.

17 Al-Mundhir was the third of 'Abd al-Rahmān I’s ten sons: Lévi-Provençal i, the table opposite p. 396.

18 The name could be Birnat (Bernardo) or Bizint (Vicente). Fierro suggests that Ibn al-Khaddā’ may have been in league with the plotters and this is why later he made so much noise; to make them stop because he feared that his name would be mentioned: Fierro (1990) no. 23.

19 *Fa-sama wa bīl-qalam fa’il-raqq*. In the third/ninth century there was, of course, no paper, only vellum (*raqq*) in the West. Paper had been introduced into the eastern Islamic World in the second half of the second/eighth century, but does not seem to have reached al-Andalus until the fourth/tenth century. Vellum continued to be used for all religious material until the sixth/twelfth century. In the third/ninth century the pen used by Ibn al-Khaddā’ would have been a reed. Metal pens were not used in the Maghreb until later. Ibn Zarqūn (Abū’ll-Husayn ibn Zarqūn *al-Faqīḥ*) quotes a poem improvised in Ceuta in the seventh/thirteenth century in praise of a gilded metal pen: Bloom (2001) 87; Al-Manṣūrī (1991) 32–33.

20 Lévi-Provençal i, 148, 163.

21 For the story of this revolt and the involvement of the *fuqahā’*, see Lévi-Provençal i, 160–173; Monèns (1998) 7–8.

22 The events actually took place several years after the death of Hārūn al-Rashīd (170–193/786–809).

23 A dynasty was founded in Crete, lasting until 350/961, by Abū Ḥafs 'Umar al-Ballūfī. This information must, therefore, have been supplied before that date: Lévi-Provençal i, 172. See Imamuddin (1961) Appendix A, 208–223 for a full account of Cordovan Muslim rule in Crete.

24 Four members of the troublesome *Banū Qaṣī* are mentioned in the *History*: Muṣā ibn Qaṣī (d. 205/820) 100; Muṣā ibn Muṣā (d. 248/862) 124; Lope ibn Muṣā, (d. ca. 258/872) 124–125; Muḥammad ibn Lope (d. 276/890) 129, note 60. The ancestor of the *Banū Qaṣī*, who was possibly called Cassius/Casio, was from an old Visigothic family who converted to Islam in the time of the Umayyad caliph al-Walīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik (86–96/705–715). The widow of Muṣā ibn Qaṣī married Íñigo Aristo (d. 852) of Pamplona and his great-granddaughter Íñiga married the emir 'Abdallāh, grandfather of 'Abd al-Rahmān III around 290/903:
see Lévi-Provençal i, opposite p. 388 for the genealogy of the Banū Qasī and the descendants of Íñigo Aristo: Fierro (1990) no. 30 and note 28.

For the Jews of al-Andalus before 961 CE, see Lévi-Provençal iii, 226–232.


Ibn al-Qūṭiya is one of the few Muslim authors to give information on the Jews of the peninsula during the periods of the Umayyad Emirate and Caliphate of al-Andalus.

Appendix iii.


Bāb al-sudda, Spanish Azuda. The ‘Barrage Gate’, or the ‘Gate of the Dam’, was the main gate that led into the royal palace, the al-qasr (Spanish alcázar) of Cordova on the south. But the name Bāb al-sudda was used for the entire complex of royal residences as well as administrative buildings, according to Ibn Hayyān. This is the first instance of its use in the History. The other gates were: west (or south), the Bāb al-jīmān; east, the Bāb al-jāmī; north, Bāb Qurīya – a postern gate; south Bāb al-wādī; also the Bāb al-sīnāʾa, which led into the workshop area: Lévi-Provençal i, 261, note 2; ii, 131 fig. 12; Menédez Pidal (1996); 180, note 76 and 232, fig. 99; Torres Balbas (1982 (iii)), 75–81); 1996; 592. See García Gómez (1965), 362–363 for the Duwayra prison.


Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn Bazī ibn Waddāḥ (199 or 202–286–7/814 or 817–900) was a teacher and ‘reformist’ scholar who was born in Cordova. For his attempts to oppose the sterile juridical manuals of his contemporaries, see Monès (1998) 14, 16–17. His grandfather, who was called Bazī, was a slave. The text of his manumission document has been preserved. Another member of his family, the Banū Bazī, was ‘Abdallāh ibn Ḥārith: History, 116; Fierro (1990), no. 60, note 66; Marín (1988) no. 1.352.

Cordova in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries
Then ʿAbd al-Rahmān the son of al-Ḥakam – may God be good to them – ascended the throne. He lived a meretricious life, and under his regime, men of religious learning, men of letters and poets, were held in esteem. His subjects thought well of him. He undertook several campaigns, sometimes solely in command, at other times accompanied by his generals. He held Yahyā ibn Yaḥyā in the highest regard and revered him more than a dutiful son would revere a loving father. He never appointed anyone judge without asking his opinion. Among those who were judges was Saʿīd ibn Muḥammad ibn Bashīr. He found him taking the place of his late father, and so confirmed him in office. There was also Muḥammad ibn Sharāḥil al-Maʿārifī, who was the ancestor of the Banū Sharāḥil and after whom is named the mosque and the wall. Plus: Abu ᾿Umar ibn Bashīr, Faraj ibn Kanāna al-Shadhūnī and Yahyā ibn Muʿammar [ibn ʿImrān] al-Lāḥānī al-Ishbīlī, – though ʿAbd al-Rahmān dismissed the latter and replaced him with Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā. He appointed al-Iswār [al-Aswār] ibn ʿUqba [ibn Ḥassān] al-Jayyānī and after him the ancestor of the Banū ʿAbī Ṣafwān al-Qurashī. But he dismissed him because of something said by a woman that he did not condemn. She said, ‘Son of caliphs! Look after me as God has looked after you!’ He did not condemn her for that, and it was brought to the emir’s attention by Mūsā ibn Ḥudayr, the chief treasurer (al-khāzin al-akbar), who said, ‘Someone who speaks in your name will be your associate in power.’ That was the cause of his removal from office. He was followed by Ahmād ibn Zīyād (d. 205/820–821) – ancestor of the Banū Zīyād – then Yaḥyā [ibn Muʿammar ibn ʿImrān al-Lāḥānī] al-Ishbīlī, again; then Yuhāmīr ibn ʿUthmān al-Jayyānī but he asked permission to resign, so he granted it and appointed his brother Muʿādh. Then Saʿīd ibn Sulaymān al-Ghāfiqī al-Ballūṭī became judge after him.

* 

Among the literati (ahl al-adab), the one who had the closest relationship with ʿAbd al-Rahmān II was ʿUbaydallāh ibn Qarllumān ibn Baḍr, ‘The Immigrant’ (al-dākhil). One day Ziryāb [Abūʾl-Hasan ʿAlī ibn Nāfī] sang the following lines of al-ʿAbbās ibn al-Aḥnaf, in ʿUbaydallāh’s company:
Said Zalūm, namesake of darkness*
Why do I see you as slim as a palm,
O you who shoot at my heart – aim well:* you know the arrow’s target.

But ’Abd al-Rahmān said, ‘The first verse is not connected [to the second]! There should be another one between them to make sense’. So ’Ubaydallāh improvised:

Said Zalūm, namesake of darkness*
Why do I see you as slim as a palm?
I answered her, with tears dripping like pearls*
on a string,
O you who shoot at my heart – aim well:* you know the arrow’s target.

That pleased the emir and he rewarded ’Ubaydallāh with presents and a robe of honour.

* 

Now, ’Abd al-Rahmān ibn al-Shamir was close to him too, because of their friendship when the emir was a child.10

* 

It was said that one day he came into ’Abd al-Rahmān’s presence after he had become ruler and Ibn al-Shamir had become close to him. He was wearing an Iraqi gown and an Iraqi mantle.11 The emir joked, ‘Ibn al-Shamir, have you put the Iraqi over the Iraqi? Where’s the little cloak you used to wear when you came to me while I was a boy?’ He replied, ‘I made a saddle cloth and head cover with eye holes from it for your grey donkey!’ As a boy, ’Abd al-Rahmān only rode a donkey, as he had an elder brother who hoped to become emir.12

* 

We have been told that ’Abd al-Rahmān had a nocturnal emission in the city of Wādī al-Hijjārah [Guadalajara], while on a campaign [in 225/839–840]. He went to perform the ablutions for prayers, which being done, and while the servant (wasīf) was drying his head, he called for Ibn al-Shamir and recited the following verse:

From Cordova, in the night came*
a nocturnal traveller, without the knower knowing it.

So he answered with a verse:
Welcome to the one* who comes in the dark of night!

This excited ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, and he was overcome with the desire to be with one of his favourite concubines, so he turned his command of the army over to his son ʿAḥkam and returned to Cordova.

*  

Ibn al-Shamir composed [a qaṣīda bāwīya – a poem rhyming in bāʾ] representing the words of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān during the return journey]:

When the morning sun comes up*  
it recalls Ṭarūb:  
a girl of such beauty*  
you could think her a wonderful gazelle.  
And I am the son of the two Hishāms of Gālib*  
I start wars and I end them.14

*  

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II was the first to organise the visits of ministers to the palace and to give an opinion, which prevails until today. He had ministers, the like of whom no rulers had before or since. This was after ʿAbd al-Karīm ibn Mughīth was chamberlain and secretary, as previously mentioned. Among these men were: ʿĪsā ibn Shuhayd, Yūsuf ibn Bukht, ʿAbdallāh ibn Umayyah ibn Yazīd and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Rustām.

*  

Now, when ʿAbd al-Karīm died in the early days of the emir’s reign, the ministers vied with one another to take the place of chamberlain, each insisting that only he should be appointed. This exasperated him, so he resolved not to appoint any of them. He ordered that lots should be drawn (biʿl-iqrāʾ) by the treasurers to decide on one of them. At that time these were: Mūsā ibn Ḥudayr, chief treasurer, (shaykh al-khuṭṭān) Ibn Baṣīl, called al-ghammāz,16 ʿṬair ibn ʿAbī Hārūn and Mahrān [Sufyān] ibn ʿAbd Raḥbihi, who was a Berber, without reputation, but who had known the emir while he was a boy. Sufyān was drawn and remained chamberlain for several years.17 After his death ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ghānim succeeded him.18 When he died the post was divided between ʿĪsā ibn Shuhayd and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Rustām, as we have related. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān died and ʿĪsā alone continued in the post, until the death of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, and ʿĪsā served his successor Muḥammad for around two years.  

. . . He [the emir ʿAbd al-Raḥmān] ordered that the Great Mosque of Cordova be enlarged, which was done, apart from a small part which was completed in the reign of Muḥammad.19
‘Abd al-Rahmān built the Great Mosque of Seville. He also built the walls of that city, because of the seizure of Seville by the Majūs [the pagan Vikings] when they invaded, during his reign, in the year 230/844. The inhabitants panicked and fled the city for Carmona and the hills nearby. None of the inhabitants of western al-Andalus attempted to resist the invaders, so volunteers were recruited from among the people of Cordova and its neighbouring provinces. Accompanied by some ministers they set off, together with volunteers recruited from the Marches who had assembled after the invaders had occupied the far western seaboard and the area around al-Ushbūna [Lisbon], in their first invasion.

The ministers and their men established their camp at Carmona, but were not able to attack the enemy, because of their ferocious bravery, until the volunteers of the Marches arrived led by Mūsā ibn Qasī, who had been implored by ‘Abd al-Rahmān II to help. He reminded him of his client status with the former caliph al-Walīd ibn ‘Abd al-Malik [86–96/705–715], and his ancestor’s acceptance of Islam at his hands. So Mūsā softened in his attitude, and came with a large army, which he kept separate from the ministers’ men and the other troops of the Marches, after he had arrived at Carmona, and encamped next to them. Then those from the Marches asked the ministers about the movements of the enemy. They told them that they went out of Seville every day in raiding parties (sarāyā, singular sarīya), some towards Firīsh [Constantina], and Fuente de Cantos, others towards Cordova and Mórón. So they inquired after a place in which to ambush them near Seville and the village of Kintush Mu ’āfir [Quirtas de Moafer], south of Seville was suggested.

The troops descended at the dead of night and hid themselves there. In the village was an ancient church and they sent a look-out up to its highest point with wood for a beacon fire. At dawn a party of the enemy, some sixteen thousand men appeared, some going in the direction of Mórón. When they got near the village the watchman signalled. The troops waited until the enemy had gone some distance, then they cut off their retreat, and put them all to the sword.

The ministers and their men entered Seville and found the governor besieged in the citadel. He came out to meet them, and the inhabitants returned. In addition to the group that was killed, another had gone towards Fuente de Cantos, another towards Cordova and yet another towards Bani’l-Layth [Benilaiz]. But when those of the enemy who were in the city became aware of the approach of the cavalry and the army, and the destruction of the group making for Mórón, they fled to their boats and went up the river towards the fort of al-Za‘wāq, and met up with their compatriots. They embarked, and set off downstream, with the troops shouting insults at them and firing stones and animal bones (?). When they were some distance below Seville, the enemy called out to the troops, ‘If you want to ransom the hostages we have, stop firing!’ So they stopped and most of the hostages among their prisoners were ransomed. The enemy did not want gold or silver: rather food and clothing.
Thus they departed from Seville and made for Nākūr [Nuqūr] [in North Africa] where they captured the ancestor of the Banū Ibn Sālīh.\(^{29}\) He was ransomed by ῎Abd al-Rahmān II, which is the reason for the influence that the Umayyads have with the Banū [Ibn] Sālīh. They devastated the coasts on both sides of the Mediterranean, until they reached Byzantine territory. On that expedition they reached Alexandria. The voyage took 14 years.\(^{30}\)

The ministers advised the building of a wall around Seville, and the emir entrusted that to ῎Abdallāh ibn Sinān, from among the Syrian clients, who had been close to him while he was a boy, and after becoming ruler he had elevated him. He made the Pilgrimage to Makka, but his return coincided with the invasion and he was chosen to build the wall around Seville. His name is inscribed on the gateways of the city.\(^{31}\)

During the reign of ῎Abd al-Rahmān II there was a terrifying darkening-over of the sun.\(^{32}\) People gathered together in the Great Mosque of Cordova where the judge Yahyā ibn Mu‘ammar led them in prayer. Never before or since, until our time, was a special prayer said against the darkening-over of the sun.

After the building of the Great Mosque of Seville was complete, Abd al-Rahmān II had a dream in which he entered the building, to find the Prophet Muḥammad – peace and praises be upon him – lying in the prayer-niche, dead, and wrapped in a shroud. The dream caused him to awake in distress, so he asked those who interpreted dreams for an explanation. They told him, ‘This is where his Faith will die.’ Immediately after that the capture of the city by the Vikings occurred.

And related,\(^*\) more than one of the elders of Seville how the Vikings set their arrows on fire and aimed them at the roof of the Great Mosque.\(^{33}\) Whatever ignited fell to the ground, and the marks of those arrows can be seen in the roof until this day. When they failed to burn the mosque, they piled wood and straw mats (ḥuşur) in one of the aisles and tried to get the fire to reach the ceiling.\(^{34}\) Then a youth came from the direction of the prayer-niche and forced them out of the mosque, and held them off for three days until the attack on them took place. According to the Vikings, he was a young man of great physical beauty.\(^{35}\)

The emir made preparations to avoid a reoccurrence. He ordered the establishment of a shipyard (dār šinā ‘a) in Seville and the construction of ships. He got together sailors from the coasts of al-Andalus and enlisted them and paid
them well. He made ready engines (catapults, ālāt) and naphtha. So when the Vikings came again [in the year 244/858], in the time of the emir Muhammad, they were confronted at the mouth of the river of Seville and defeated, with some of their ships being burnt before they made off.

Towards the end of al-Ḥakam’s reign – may God have mercy on him – trouble was fomented in the vicinity of Móron by a man called Qa’nab, after whom the uprising was named. He caused trouble between the Arabs and the clients, between the Butr and the Barānīs Berbers, until an uprising broke out, which was suppressed by God’s intervention at the beginning of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II’s reign. Qa’nab fled to Mérida and the neighbouring area and caused trouble between the Berbers and neo-Muslims, in which, with God’s intervention, he was killed.

This spread to the valley of the Tāju [Tagus], south of Mérida and its neighbourhood, where Maḥmūd ibn ʿAbd al-Jabbār and a sister of his called Jamlah joined in the disturbance. Jamlah was in favour of submission and surrendered, but Maḥmūd continued his opposition and insurrection until, with God’s intervention, he died.

Ziryāb came to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II after having been an intimate of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Amīn [193–198/809–813]. His successor, Al-Maʾmūn [198–201/813–833] reproached Ziryāb for certain things and after al-Amīn had been killed, Ziryāb fled to al-Andalus and there became the favourite of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II. He was welcomed because of his knowledge of literature, his anecdotes, and his musical ability.

One of the things told of him: Once he sang in a way so pleasing to the emir that he said, ‘Tell the treasurers to give him 30,000 dinars!’ So the dispatch master (ṣāḥib al-rasāʾil) came with the order to the treasurers, who were the men previously mentioned in relation to the appointment of the chamberlain by drawing lots – apart from Sufyān, who had gone to that post. The treasurers looked at one another for a while, then Mūsā ibn Ḥudayr, who was chief treasurer, said to the others, ‘Well, speak up!’ His companions replied, ‘Whatever you say – we agree!’ So Mūsā said to the dispatch master, ‘Although we are the treasurers of the emir – may God preserve him – we are also treasurers of the Muslim community, collecting their money and spending it in their interest. Never will we carry out this order! None of us wants to see written in his record on the Day of Judgement: 30,000 taken from the money of the Muslim community and given to a singer for the way he sang! Let the emir pay him from his own purse!’
The official went back to the palace servant (khalifā) who had issued the draft (sākk) and told him, ‘The treasurers deny payment.’ So the palace servant went to the emir and told him the same. Ziryāb said, ‘What kind of obedience is this?!’ But ‘Abd al-Rahmān replied, ‘This is true obedience, and I shall make them ministers because of it. They are right in what they say.’ Then he ordered that Ziryāb be paid from his own purse.

One of the things told about ‘Abd al-Rahmān:* So many complaints were made against successive civil governors (wulāt al-madīna) of Cordova that he swore that he would never appoint another person from among the inhabitants of the capital.43 He searched for some one suitable among his clients who were inhabitants of the provinces. One, Muḥammad ibn Sālim was brought to his notice, who – it was said – had made the Pilgrimage, and was a clever but modest man. So he sent for him and appointed him.

On the first day after his appointment, while riding to the palace, some one told him, ‘A dead body has been found in a straw basket in the al-Qasābābīn [Street or Quarter of the Butchers].44 ‘Let us be taken to it!’ He replied. Now, when it was before him, he ordered that the body be exposed on the quay (rasfīf), in case a passer-by might recognise the dead man.45 Then he ordered that the basket be brought to him, and upon seeing that it was a new one, said, ‘Let all in the straw trade (ḥassārūn) be brought to me – merchants and workers alike!’

When they were before him, he took the leaders aside and said, ‘Are baskets and panniers all alike; or can you tell the work of individual makers apart?’ They said, ‘Yes, of course, you can tell them apart: and you can tell the work of those in the provinces from those of Cordova.’46

So he commanded that the basket be brought to them, and they told him, ‘This is the work of so-and-so, who is in the group waiting here.’ Muḥammad ordered that the man be brought to him, which was done. He showed him the basket and he said, ‘Yes, this basket was bought from me yesterday by a servant (fatā) in royal uniform; and he described him. Then the police and vendors said, ‘This is the description of one of the al-akhras “the dumb ones” [those who do not speak Arabic] who lives at Rusāfāt!’47 They went off to search for him. Some of the clothes of the murdered man were found in his possession.

Now, when ‘Abd al-Rahmān heard this, he ordered that Muḥammad be made a minister as well as civil governor; and when he entered the chamber of ministers (bayt al-wuzara’) all paid attention to his opinion.

Notes and comments
2 Yāhya ibn Yahyā exercised a strong influence on ‘Abd al-Rahmān II until he died in 234/849: Lévi-Provençal i, 275–276.
3 Fierro (1990) no. 27. ‘The mosque and the wall [of Cordova]. Darb, Spanish adarve, usually means a street. In al-Andalus it meant the area behind the battlements of a
defensive wall, and perhaps a lane along the base of the wall. See Dozy i, 429: l’espace qui règne dans le haut des murailles. . . .

4 Abū ’Umar was another son of Muhammad ibn Bashīr, presumably. For Al-Faraj ibn Kanāna ibn Nizār al-Kanānī and Yahyā ibn Mu’ammar ibn ‘Imrān al-Lāhānī, see al-Khushanī (1952) nos. 23, 28. In his translation of al-Khushanī, Historia de los Jueces de Córdoba, Ribera gives the judge’s name as al- Ḥānī: al-Joxani/Ribera (1914) 124.

5 The word Abī of Banū [Abī] Șafwān al-Qurashī is written in the margin of the Paris manuscript, folio 25 verso, in the hand of the scribe. Al-Aywār/Iswār is Abū ’Uqba al-Iswār ibn ’Uqba ibn Ḥassān al-Nāṣrī al-Jayyānī. Ibn al-Qūṭīya does not give the name of his successor, but according to al-Khushanī he was Ibrāhīm ibn al-Abbās ibn ’Īsā ibn al-Walīd ibn ’Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān al-Qurashī, and as his name indicates an Umayyad, descended from the fifth Umayyad caliph (64–86/685–705), which is why the woman called him: Son [descendant] of caliph: al-Khushanī (1952) nos. 29, 31; Fierro (1990), no. 28.

6 The implication being that the judge, who allowed himself to be addressed as a member of the Umayyad caliphal family, could pose a potential threat to the legitimacy of the emir.

7 ʿĀḥmad ibn Ziyād ibn ’Abd al-Rahmān was the son Ziyād ibn’Abd al-Rahmān al-Lakhmī called Shabatān: al-Khushanī (1952) no. 37. See History 84, note 5. Fierro comments on the difficulty of establishing who belonged to the Banū Ziyād. The two brother judges, Yūkhāmīr and Mu’ādhd ibn ’Uthmān ibn Hassān al-Shā’bānī, were members of the Banū ’Uthmān al-Jayyānī: al-Khushanī (1952) nos: 32, 34; Fierro (1990) nos. 29, 61.

8 Abū Khālid Saʿīd ibn Sulaymān ibn Ḥābīb al-Ghāfiqī. He was from the Banū Ḥushayb. Other members mentioned by Ibn al-Qūṭīya are Sulaymān ibn Aswād: and Saʿīd ibn Sulaymān: History 130, 109; al-Khushanī (1952) no. 36; Fierro (1990) no. 62.

9 Note 41 below.

10 Ibn al-Shamir came from Cordova or Huesca: Terés (1959).

11 Thawb, gown; ghaflāra, mantle or head-dress, hat. Yāqūt, quoted by Serjeant, says Basra in North Africa was famous for making the ghaflāra. In the next sentence but one in the text of the History there is mentioned a ghafayra, short cloak or mantle: Serjeant (1972) 188, 202.

12 Out of respect and deference to the position of his older brother presumably, although ’Abd al-Rahmān seems to have been the eldest of al-Ḥakam’s sons: Lévi-Provençal i, table opposite p. 396. The text is corrupt at this point.


14 Ṭarūb, see Lévi-Provençal i, 267, 275–278; ii, 121; iii, 376.

15 Ṣāṭī ibn Shuḥayd was named chamberlain 218/833.

16 Ghammāz, according to Lane, means ‘one who blames others’. Apart from Ibn Basīl several other members of the Banū Basīl are mentioned in the History: Yūṣuf ibn Basīl 114; Ḥamdūn ibn Basīl 1, 118; Ḥaṣ ibn Basīl 130; Marwān ibn ’Ubayd-dallāh ibn Basīl 134: Lane Bk. i, pt. vi, 2,294; Fierro (1990) 58 and notes 69–70.

17 Founder of the Banū ’Abd Rabbīḥī. His name has been given as both Mahrān and Sufyān, but the latter seems to be correct. According to the Muqtabis of Ibn Ḥayyān his nisba was al-Maṣmūdī. He was from Bayyāna (Baena), south-east of Córdova. One of the people mentioned as a suitable replacement for Qawmis ibn Antūnīyān. Muḥammad ibn Sufyān may have been a relative: History 99, 115; Ibn Ḥayyān (1971), note 111; Fierro (1990) no. 64 and note 73.

son Muhammad was the civil governor who provoked Ibn Hāfṣūn: 121; Fierro (1990) note 75.

19 According to Ibn 'Idhārī, quoted by Cresswell, the work was finished in 234/848. Ibn al-Athīr says his death in 238/852 prevented him from completing the decoration and adding some inscriptions. When al-Hakam II (350–366/961–974) made his elaborate additions to the Great Mosque, the outlay was considerable and the inhabitants of Córdoba are said by Ibn 'Idhārī to have protested. But the emir informed them that the expenses had been entirely covered by the legal fifth of captured booty allotted to the state; as his predecessor 'Abd al-Rāhmān II had done in his day. Cruz Hernández makes an interesting point. The Great Mosque, even at its maximum moment of extent during the time of al-Mansūr, Ibn Abī 'Āmir (de facto ruler 368–392/978–1002) could never have contained all the adult male Muslim population of Córdoba, who in any case were not obliged to attend the Friday prayers. The increased size of the mosque – according to the same author – rather indicates the increase in the population of court bureaucracy: Cresswell (1979) ii, 140–141; Cruz Hernández (1998) 74.

20 The Great Mosque of Seville founded by 'Abd al-Rāhmān II is the current church of el Salvador (Iglesia del Salvador). It was formerly called the Jāmiʿ Ibn 'Adabba. The oratory was completed in 214/829–830 and the foundation inscription survives in the Museo Arqueológico of Seville. According to this, the mosque was built by al-Qāḍī 'Umar ibn 'Adabba at the command of 'Abd al-Rāhmān II. There is another dedicatory inscription signed by the calligrapher/designer: kataba 'Abd al-Barr ibn Hārūn, now in the Museo Arqueológico, Seville, which seems to be the one mentioned by Ibn Ṣāhib ibn-Ṣalāt, and quoted by Lévi-Provençal. The building was excavated at the beginning of the present century. Until the construction of the Almohad mosque, the current cathedral, the Jāmiʿ Ibn 'Adabba was the main mosque of the city: Lévi-Provençal (1931); 28 bis, 43, appendice 198 pl. xi; Torres Balbas (1982 (ii)); Morales Martínez (1995) 47.

21 Majūs was a term applied to those non-Muslims who came from areas where there was no acknowledged ecclesiastical authority and who had been accorded a second class protection pact. The term Majūs traditionally meant ‘fire-worshippers’ and was applied to the followers of Zoroaster: de Epalza (1998) 153; Jeffery (1938) 259–260.

22 The origin of these Viking raiders is unknown. Both Ireland and Denmark have been suggested. Both journeys were well within the capabilities of Viking seaman-ship. The size of the invading force was substantial, and the speed and mobility of their ships formidable. Some idea of the size of the force can be gauged from a similar raid which took place in 837 CE when a Viking force sailed up the rivers Liffey and Boyne on the east coast of Ireland. This consisted of 60 ships with around 3,000 men. The ships could carry between 30 and 50 men each. The text of the History, page 100, mentions the Umayyad attack on part of the disembarked Viking force, said to number 16,000 men. If this is correct such a number would have required 160 ships and probably twice as many for the entire force. If this seems exaggerated – and it probably is – we should nevertheless recall that the Norse–English fleet of Haralad Harada which invaded eastern England from Orkney in 1066 CE came in 100 ships, and that the Norman invasion fleet in the same year consisted of 400 ships carrying men and horses, plus supply vessels. However, the Norwegian and Norman ships had less distance to travel than the Viking invasion fleet of 230/844: Allen 1960; Lewis (1982) 93; Miles (2005) 196, 234.

23 Upon his conversion to Islam, Cassius/Casio (?) the Visigothic noble who was the ancestor of the Banū Qasî became a client of the caliph al-Walîd (86–96/705–715). According to Ibn Ḥāzîm (384–456/994–1064) he travelled to Syria and became
a Muslim before al-Walid, which is why he always took the side of the Mudarid Arabs: EI 2nd iv, 712–713.

24 According to Lévi-Provençal (1938) no. 129, Firish was north-west of Cordova. There was marble quarry there and an iron mine. It has been identified with modern Constanta.

25 The word for ‘party’ in this description is yad, which is used several times and must mean the same as jumâ ’a (group, formation).

26 This place must have been associated with the the Arab tribe the Banu Layth. See History 81, note 50.

27 According to Dozy, Ibn Hayyan says that this place, which he calls Raghwân, was a castle up river from Seville. But Fagnan says it should be identified with Alcalâ de Guadaira near Seville Dozy (1881) ii, 261; note 2; Fagnan (1924) 211, note 1.


29 Saâlîh ibn Mansûr (d. 250/864). According to Dozy and Lévi-Provençal the attack took place in 244/858 and the hostages were ransomed by Muhammad I (238–273/852–886), Dozy (1881) ii, 282; Lévi-Provençal i, 248; Fierro (1990) no. 31.

30 Of course the voyage of the Viking raiders across the Mediterranean and back could not have taken 14 years. They appeared again 14 years later in 244/858, when they were defeated by the navy established by ʿAbd al-Raḥmân II. Ibn al-Qūṭiya implies that the Vikings who came in 244/858 were the same as those of 230/844–presumably on their way back to wherever they had come from. The second Viking group probably had little connection with the earlier one.

31 Wa-ismuḥu ālā abwābiha, ‘and his name is on its gateways’. This means that commemorative lapidary inscriptions were carved from slabs of stone, probably white marble, and inserted into the gateways, above keystones of each arch. No trace of these remains. But there is an inscription on a column shaft from the time of ʿAbd al-Raḥmân II, in the Museo Arqueológico, Seville, which commemorates the building of the main mosque of the city. It also has the name of calligrapher who designed the inscription, see note 20 above, who may have been responsible for the inscriptions on the gates of Seville.

32 Kasâfât al-shams . . . kusîšan muʿr iban . . . ‘. . . there was a terrifying darkening-over of the sun.’ This must have been a total eclipse, to have caused such panic. There were two such events during the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmân II. The first occurred on 27 Shaʿbân 218/17 September 833, and the second on 28 Jumâdâ II 225/5 May 840: Oppolzer (1887) 196. Both of these took place before the first Viking invasion of 230/844. In the text the eclipse is mentioned after the invasion. But because it occurred during the period when Yahyâ ibn Muʿammad al-Lahání al-Ishbîlî was judge of Cordova, it must be that of 218/833, since Yahyâ was dismissed in the early years of ʿAbd al-Raḥmân’s reign. Al-Khushanhî confirms this and says that the prayer began during the morning of 27 Shaʿbân 218. According to the al-Muṭṭabîs of Ibn Ḥayyân there are two conflicting accounts of this event. Al-Râzî related that the prayer was said by Yahyâ in the mosque of Abû ʿUthmân in the Arrabal. Ahmab ibn Khâlid, one of Ibn al-Qūṭîya’s masters, says that it took place in the Great Mosque: al-Khushanî (1952) 70–75; Ibn Ḥayyân (1999) 178 verso.

33 Who were these informants? Ibn al-Qūṭîya does not say, but as he may well have spent his childhood in Seville, where his father was judge until 300/913 and as he had family connections there, he would have had the occasion to hear stories of the Viking attack on the city, which was still almost within living memory at the beginning of the fourth/tenth century. Some of his teachers were from Seville, and one at least, Muhammad ibn ʿAbdallâh ibn al-Qûn, is mentioned as a relater of akhbâr: History 94, note 33. Among the informants he mentions at the beginning
During the Umayyad Caliphate of al-Andalus, the head of the chancery was Abd al-Rahmān ibn al-Ṭanjīya also from Seville. He was a man of letters (adḥīb) and historian (akhbārī), and presumably knowledgeable on the events of 230/844. Ibn Ḥayyān quotes the historian al-Rāzī, who mentions a book on the Viking invasion: Fī’l-fath ’alā ’l-Majūs: Ibn Ḥayyān (1999) 186 verso. See Introduction, 34.

34 Ḥuṣūr, singular ḥaṣīr, mats, made of straw by a ḥaṣṣār, which would have been found in abundance in the mosque to cover the floor for ritual prayers. According to Serjeant, al-Maqqarī, quoting Ibn Saʿīd (d. 673/1274), says Murcia was famous for the production of reed (or straw) mats, ḥuṣūr: Dozy i, 295; Serjeant (1972) 174.

35 Fāṭā, ḥadath . . . bi-jamāl tāmm, ‘a youth . . . of great physical beauty’. This is probably a legend of local origin in Seville indicating that the invaders were repulsed by an angel. Perhaps the story has its basis in information given by Viking prisoners. Some Vikings remained in al-Andalus after having been captured in 230/844 and converted to Islam. See History 127, note 41.

36 Įsta’adda bi’l-ālāt wa’l-naft: ‘He made ready catapults and naptha’. It is not stated where these war engines were located. They could have been at the mouth, or along the banks, of the Guadalquivir. They may have been sea-born. Naptha was the famous incendiary, ‘Greek Fire’, which was particularly effective against wooden sailing ships.

37 Other precautions would certainly have included the building of coastal fortifications in the form of watch towers. Similar precautions were taken by the Christian kingdoms in the north-west of the peninsula. At Catoira in Galicia are two square fortified towers which were built — originally with five others — on the mouth of the Ulla on the Ria de Arousa by Alfonso III (866–910 CE) of Asturias, with the object of protecting Santiago de Compostella from attack by raiders from the Atlantic — whether Muslim or Viking. For a detailed account of Christian and Muslim attempts to repel the Vikings in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries, see Morales Romero (2004) 127–147.

38 The Butr and Barānis were the two main Berber groupings. According to al-Īstākhri’s Masālik wa’l-mamālik: ‘The Berbers like the Arabs divided themselves into two opposing groups: al-Butr, comprising the Luwātā, Nafṣa, Maydūma, Zanāta; the Barānis comprising the Kutāma, the Ṣinḥāja and Maṣmūda’; B.G.A. i, 44. For the areas of Berber settlement in al-Andalus, see Lévi-Provençal i, 71–89; Lévi-Provençal (1932) 18–39; Cruz Hernández (1998) 77.

39 ’Abd al-Rahmān besieged Mērida in 213/828 and 214/829, and finally conquered it in 218/833. In 220/835 he ordered ’Abdallāh ibn Kulaib ibn Tha’labā to build a citadel, which still exists. Its founding inscription is one of the earliest surviving lapidary inscriptions from al-Andalus: Lévi-Provençal (1931) 50–53, pl. xi.

40 They were probably of neo-Muslim origin. Mahmūd became an ally of Alfonso II, but had second thoughts and was captured and killed by Alfonso in 225/840. His sister Jamla became a Christian and married a Galician nobleman: Dozy 1881; EI 2nd 139; Lévi-Provençal i, 208–210.

41 Abū’l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Nāfi’ called Zirīyāb (d. 238/852) came to al-Andalus from Iraq in 207/822. He was musician and general arbiter of fashion in Cordova. According to Ibn Ḥayyān there was a book about him called Kitāb aḥkām Zirīyāb: EI 2nd xi, 516–517; Lévi-Provençal i, 269–272; Ibn Ḥayyān (1999) 148 recto.

42 During the Umayyad Caliphate of al-Andalus, the head of the chancery was called sāḥib al-ruzā’i: Lévi-Provençal iii, 24.

43 For sāḥib al-madīna, known later in Spanish as the zalmedina, I have used ‘civil governor’, rather than ‘magistrate’. Dozy gives magistrat chargé du gouvernement civile d’une ville, though his source is a seventh/thirteenth century one. Glick says ‘town prefect’. The sāḥib al-madīna occupied the same position in al-Andalus as the comes civitatis in Roman and Visigothic Spain: Dozy i, 1819; Glick (1979); Vallvé (1998) 389.
Shayra: a straw basket made by a hasṣār, someone who made mats, see note 34 above, baskets, panniers, etc. from straw. The word shayra is derived from the Spanish/Portuguese word seralceira, meaning a large two-handled basket: Dozy i, 810. According to Pezzi however, quoting the Vocabulista Castellano Arabigo (1798–1808) of de la Torre shayra (ša’ira, from ś-y-r or ś-w-r, panera para guardar pan) may have an Arabic origin: Pezzi (1989) 469 and 629.

Fagnan, referring to Ibn ῾Idhari, says that the street (chausée) where the corpse was exposed was probably near to the gate of the Royal Palace: Fagnan (1924): 215, note 1. The word used in the text rasīf (Spanish Arrecife) meant the area between the palace wall and the river: Lévi-Provençal i, fig. 7; Torres Balbas (1982 (iii)) 75.

Although mediaeval artisans and artists rarely signed their work, as this informative passage shows it was not difficult for craftsmen to identify each other’s work. Each trade was located in a specific street or area, as is still the case in many Middle Eastern and Asian towns and cities. Artisans would have been familiar with each other’s work and it would not have been difficult to tell apart the work of individual master craftsmen, their apprentices and – as the passage makes clear – country and urban workmanship.

Akhras, dumb. This name was applied to foreigners who did not speak Arabic. In particular it referred to the royal palace guard al-khurs, who were Christian mercenaries employed by al-Hakam. One of the reasons for the revolt of the Arrabal (History p 88) was the insolent attitude of these guards: Vallvé (1998) 394.
7 The Reign of the Emir Muḥammad
(238–273/852–886)\(^1\)

Some praiseworthy actions of the Emir Muḥammad:* Then reigned the emir Muḥammad – may God have mercy on him. He was one of the quiet and tranquil people, slow to move and reluctant to punish. He treated with deference his leading scholars, clients and soldiers, and was careful in his choice of provincial governors; until he appointed Hāshim [Abū Khālid Hāshim ibn 'Abd al-‘Azīz] as chamberlain, and all that was upset.\(^2\) He gave up the system appointing venerable elderly men and instead chose young ones and divided what money they made from their position between them and himself. Governors were known as ‘partners’ (munāfiṣūn), and things went to rack and ruin, as we shall relate.

* He confirmed Saʿīd ibn Sulaymān [al-Ghāfiqī al-Ballūṭī] as judge at Cordova, until his death. After him he appointed Muḥammad ibn Zīyād, who was a righteous, honourable man, similar to his predecessor.\(^3\) But he asked to be released from the post and went on the Pilgrimage. He died in Egypt before he was able to undertake it. He was succeeded by ʿAmr ibn ʿAbdallāh, called al-qubaʿa, who was a highly intelligent and sensible man, who had been judge of Écija.\(^4\) [His grandfather had been a freedman of some one from there.] However, he was dismissed due to an incident that occurred at one of his sessions. What happened was that a man called al-Qusbī had been sent on a mission by ʿAbd al-Rahmān II to the king of the Franks [Charles the Bald (840–877 CE)], and to the Byzantine emperor.\(^5\) He died leaving some 3,000 silver dinars and several orphans. The judge was charged with looking after the money and administering it. But, after being brought and given over to him, the money disappeared. Abū ʿAmr, the son of the judge, was accused of embezzling it, with the help of the clerk. Poets composed verses on this event, among them Muʿmin ibn Saʿīd whose lines included:\(^6\)

> By my life! ʿAmr has been shamed by Abū ʿAmr.*
> Some one like Abū ʿAmr descrediting his father.
> ʿAmr glowed with his own light*
> but Abū ʿAmr overshadowed him like the darkening of the full moon.
When the emir Muḥammad heard of this he was concerned and irritated by what had happened to the orphan’s money, because of the relationship between him and their father, and his own father ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, before him. So he summoned the scholars (ahl al-ʿilm) and asked their advice. They all advised that the judge should take an oath, with the exception of Baqīy ibn Makhlad (202–276/817–889) who said, ‘Now, this will give the Jews and Christians malicious joy, to see us making our judge swear an oath! He who is the guardian of our women’s propriety, our endowments and orphans. I suggest to the emir – may God make him righteous – that he make good the loss from the public treasury (bayt al-māl).’

So he accepted that opinion and ordered removal of the judge. In his place he appointed Sulaymān ibn Aswad al-Ballūṭī, the cousin of Saʿīd ibn Sulaymān.8

*  
The emir sent Aydūn, the palace servant (khalīfa), to Amr and asked him to take an oath secretly in his home, on the copy of the Qurʾān said to be in the hand of the caliph ʿUthmān [23–35/644–656] – may God be good to him.9 After the servant had left, an elder came to him and ʿAmr recited the following verse:

You wake afraid and you sleep afraid*  
Champ the bit and do nothing to them!

The elder said, ‘What does that mean?’ He replied, ‘This eunuch (fatā) came to me and made me take an oath on the Qurʾān of ʿUthmān. By God I told the truth when I swore by the oath!’ Then the emir compensated the orphans.

*  
He sent ʿAmr as judge over Saragossa. He remained there for some years until he wrote to the emir asking for the restitution of his property to his family and son, and the estates he had left behind. He was ordered to return to Cordova, where Sulaymān was dismissed and he was made chief judge (qāḍī al-jamāʿa). He was the first in Cordova to be appointed, as he was not from the military contingents (al-jund), though he was related to such men. Previously, such judges had been chosen from among the Arab military contingents. [The judges of Cordova used to be called qāḍī al-jund.] He remained judge until the death of emir Muḥammad. [Then he died and Sulaymān ibn al-Aswad was reappointed.]10

*  
Now, Abd al-Raḥmān II extended the Great Mosque of Cordova, as we have related, but there remained a small part which was finished under Muḥammad.11 He went there personally when it was completed and prayed in it. Qawmis [count Ibn Antūnīyān] composed a poem which included the lines:
By my life! The Imam has given humbly.*
A Great Mosque has dawned for the world and the Faith.

*  

The emir Muḥammad confirmed Ḥisā ibn Shuhayd as chamberlain. The elders of al-Andalus did not differ in their opinion that no one served the Umayyads of al-Andalus more nobly and with more devotion. True, Ḥabd al-Karīm ibn Mughīth, former chamberlain and secretary had these qualities, but he used to accept gifts and rewards for doing what was sought of him. Ḥisā ibn Shuhayd did nothing like that: he paid no attention to those who sought his favour unless it was to honour them.

*  

For example,* Ḥabd al-Wāḥid al-Iskandarānī arrived in al-Andalus. He wished to be considered a clever person, and sought riches. He approached Ḥisā with his request, while he was chamberlain of Ḥabd al-Rahmān II. When he learnt of his intention, he told him, ‘Forget wealth: do not mention it. You already have more than enough literary learning.’ Then he introduced him to Ḥabd al-Rahmān II, and favoured him until he became an intimate companion (nadīm). Ḥisā continued to help him until he became a minister and civil governor of Cordova.

*  

Before Ḥisā became chamberlain, during the reign of Ḥabd al-Rahmān II, while he was an ordinary minister, he was sent to Seville to get the inhabitants to volunteer for the Holy War. The emirs especially entrusted ministers with recruiting volunteers. Now, it happened that his departure coincided with the illness of his secretary, and was reluctant to appoint another person from Cordova to accompany him on the campaign for fear of annoying his secretary. So when he got to Seville he met with some inhabitants and said, ‘Recommend a young man who can be my secretary as I have left my regular one in Cordova, sick.’ So they recommended a young man called Muḥammad ibn Mūsā from Kanīšat al-mā [literally ‘The Church on the Water’], who was of an Arab family, the Banū Mūsā, descended from Ghāfiq. The Banū Ḥabd al-Rahmān al-Ghāfiqi whose ancestor had been the governor of al-Andalus [112–114/730–732] claim descent from them and say that they [Banū Mūsā] are their clients.  

He took Mūsā as his secretary, and upon examining him, was pleased with what he found: he had achieved what he wanted. When he had no need of him any more in Seville he released him, with presents and a robe of honour. But the secretary said to him, ‘I expect more than this. I would like to remain in your service.’ So he accompanied him to Cordova, and the first post he was given was to be in charge of the public treasury (khizānat al-māl). Then he was given guardianship (wakāla) of prince Muḥammad and achieved an elevated status with him. When Muḥammad became ruler, he made Mūsā a
minister, and his brother Mu‘ammar a close companion. The latter was Abū 'Abdallāh ibn Mu‘ammar, called *al-yamāma*, who was a well known man of letters (*adīb*).

Now, when Mūsā became a minister, he summoned the descendants of 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Ghāfiqī who possessed great wealth, from Mairena in the Aljarafe de Sevilla, and said, ‘Now, you claim the title of *emir*: well if that were true and we knew it to be so, we would not deny it: so come and join us and consider us family. If we are your clients, as you claim, then we are your kinfolk, and if we are Arabs, then we are your cousins.’ The descendants of 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Ghāfiqī responded favourably and thanked him and became family, and they intermarried one with another. So from that day on all pretensions ceased.

Tārūb, the mother of prince 'Abdallāh, had great influence with 'Abd al-Rahmān II, and persuaded him to make 'Abdallāh his successor, using the women of the palace, eunuchs (*fityān*) and servants (*khadam*), members of Quraysh and royal freedmen (*mawāl*) to achieve that. Now, Naṣr [Abū’l-Fath Naṣr, the chief eunuch, (*al-fatā al-kabīr*)] disliked prince Muḥammad and favoured 'Abdallāh, Tārūb’s son, but towards the end of his life 'Abd al-Rahmān favoured his son Muḥammad. That infuriated Naṣr and he wanted to murder his sovereign, so that 'Abdallāh would be emir and Muḥammad would be killed. He sent for [Yūnus ibn Aḥmad] al-Harrānī, the physician (*tabīb*) and said to him, ‘What do you think about the correctness of my view?’ He replied, ‘I shall be pleased to help you achieve it, if I am able.’ ‘Then take these 1,000 *dinars*,’ he said, ‘and make the *king-killer* (*bushūn al-mulūk*).’ The physician was not able to disobey, so he took the money and made the poison. But he spoke to Fakhr and told her of the matter, and warned her to be careful about what the emir might drink.

Naṣr told the emir to fast, in preparation for taking medicine, and showed it to him. He would have died from it the following day. But the emir ordered Naṣr to drink it, which he did. Then he hurried to his home and sent for al-Ḥarrānī and told him what had happened. The physician instructed him to drink goat’s milk. It was brought to him rapidly but he died anyway.

Now, when 'Abd al-Rahmān II died suddenly, the senior eunuchs (*akābir al-fitīyān*) learned of his death and concealed the fact until the palace gates were closed and the early night prayers were called. Then all the senior and lesser eunuchs (*fitīyān*) were ordered to gather in the *Dār al-kāmil*. The chief eunuchs then informed them, ‘Comrades – something has happened. It affects the lesser ones among you as much as the important ones. May God console you for the death of our lord!’ At once they began to lament. But the
senior eunuchs cried, ‘Enough! There will be time to weep soon. Let us take care of our own concerns – and those of the Muslim community before our own! When that is done, we can weep! Whom shall we support?’

They all cried, with one voice, ‘Our lord, the son of our lady and benefactress, and patron!’ But one of them, a palace servant (fatā min al-khulafā’) called Abū’l-Mufarrij, who had undertaken the Pilgrimage, an honourable man, asked, ‘Are you all of this opinion?’ ‘Yes!’ they cried. ‘Well, I am with you. I am grateful for the favour the noble lady has shown towards me over yourselves. But if this matter goes ahead, it will be the finish of our influence in al-Andalus! Not one of us will be able to walk along the street, or pass a gathering, without people saying, God curse these officials! They were in control of our affairs: yet they appointed the worst man they knew, and ignored the best man they knew! You all know ’Abdallaḥ and his associates. Truly, if he gets any control of your affairs, and those of the Muslim community, he will surely make unfavourable changes for you and for the people; and God will ask why; and why you permitted it to happen?’

Now, this made a deep impression on them, so they said, ‘Whom do you support, then?’ He answered, ‘The chaste and righteous Muḥammad.’ But they said, ‘Yes, he has these qualities, but he is a total skinflint!’ To which he replied, ‘How can he be generous to the eunuchs? Only when he is in charge and controls the state funds will he be generous!’ So they said, ‘We agree with you.’

He asked for a copy of the Qurʾān to be brought, and asked them to swear an oath upon it. Now, there were two eunuchs (khusṭān) – Sa’dūn and Qāsim – who had been totally against Muhammad because of their liking for Ṭarūb. Sa’dūn said to the gathering, ‘If you are all resolved on this, throw yourselves before him and beg of him: pardon the fault of our comrade!’ This they promised to do.

Now, Muḥammad had a young daughter of whom his father was fond and used to ask for her. So Sa’dūn the eunuch (fatā) left the palace by the Bāb al-jinān [Garden Gate] taking with him the keys of the Bridge Gate, which was opened to him. At that time ’Abdallaḥ was carousing in his palace which was close by the Bridge Gate, opened for him [Sa’dūn].

Sa’dūn found Muḥammad in the bath-house and asked permission to enter, which was given. Muḥammad came out of the bath and said, ‘What brings you here Sa’dūn?’ To which he replied, ‘[I have come to confirm you as ruler with our consent. Your father – may God have mercy on him – is dead! Here is his ring. ’Muḥammad replied, ‘Sa’dūn’ – show regard for me for fear of God! Do not let your enmity reach the point of bloodshed! Leave me! The world is wide open to me.’ But Sa’dūn swore sincerely that he came with the full consent of the eunuchs, and that all were well disposed towards him; and that he had got their oath of allegiance to Muḥammad as emir (wilāyat al-khilāfā) and their support, upon the Qurʾān. ‘I would not have come,’ he explained, ‘without securing the agreement of my comrades to send me, so that I could dispel any anger you may have felt towards me previously.’
Muḥammad replied, ‘God has already forgiven you,’ and Saʿdūn submitted to him.

Then Muḥammad said, ‘Give me time to consider this. I will send for my guardian Muḥammad ibn Mūsā’ – who was mentioned earlier.26 He summoned him and told him the news. But his guardian said, ‘It is risky and dangerous! How can you pass the door of Ṭarūb’s son, with all of his retainers and servants there in attendance?’ ‘Then what do you suggest?’ asked Muḥammad. The agent replied, ‘Let us contact Yūsuf ibn Basīl and get his retainers.’ There were around three hundred of them. So the guardian went and gave him Muḥammad’s message. But Yūsuf said, ‘Abū Ḥabd al-Malik: look, this is awkward. We can only act in the name of the one who is in command of the palace!’

The guardian returned to Muḥammad and informed him, saying, ‘Well, nothing ventured, nothing gained! Mount up and rely on God’s help.’ So he rode, disguised as a woman, with Saʿdūn in front of him, and his guardian walking at his stirrup. As they passed by Ḥabdallāh’s palace there was music and dancing in progress, and Muḥammad recited:

Enjoy what you are about!* What we are about will benefit us more!

At that moment, a group of Ḥabdallāh’s retainers who were drinking in the guardroom (ghurfa ʾalā bāb al-dār), heard activity outside, so one of them opened the door and saw the party passing by, and called out, ‘Who are these people?!’ But Saʿdūn reprimanded him, so he closed the door. The man and his companions assumed that it was Muḥammad’s daughter.

They continued on to the royal palace and as they passed through the Bridge Gate on their way, and the lock had been removed. Muḥammad said to his guardian, ‘Stay here until I send some one to help you secure it.’ They continued on. But when they reached the vestibule of the Garden Gate, the gatekeeper [ʿAbd al-Raʾūf] Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām, came out and said to Saʿdūn, ‘I see someone disguised as the princess who usually passes through here. By God! No one passes through here unless I know them!’ But Saʿdūn exclaimed, ‘Outrageous! Would you expose this woman?!’ The gatekeeper retorted, ‘I do not know who “this woman” is!’ He ordered the emir to uncover himself. So Muḥammad uncovered his face and said, ‘Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām: Show regard for me, for fear of God! I have come because of the death of my father – God rest him!’ The gatekeeper answered, ‘This maybe so, but by Great God! – you cannot pass until I know whether your father is alive or dead!’ So the eunuch said to him, ‘Go in and see!’

The gatekeeper closed the gate on Muḥammad and left him in the vestibule, while he went in with Saʿdūn the eunuch (khalīfa) and saw with his own eyes that Ḥabd al-Rahmān II was dead, and he wept and said a prayer and came out. He kissed Muḥammad’s hand and said, ‘Go in: may God reward you, and the Muslim community through you!’
Muḥammad went in, and that very night the oath of allegiance was made to him. He summoned the ministers, palace servants, notables of Quraysh and clients.

* 

The next morning made his agent, Muḥammad ibn Mūsā, a minister, as well as ʿAbd al-Raʾuf ibn ʿAbd al-Salām – who was the ancestor of the Banū ʿAbd al-Raʾuf.27

The gatekeeper, Ibn ᾿Abd al-Salām, had fled for his life, fearing that he would be punished. But when the emir learned of that he ordered that he should be reassured. He rewarded him and gave him a robe of honour because of his actions that night. ‘Would that all the servants (khādam) were as loyal as he,’ he said.

He confirmed the ministers who had served his father in their posts and appointed ʿAbdallāh ibn Umayyah ibn Yazīd as his secretary, which he was for around two years. Then an illness afflicted him for several years which made it impossible for him to travel on horseback. So the emir appointed Qawmis ibn Antunīyān al-Naṣrānī to assist ʿAbdallāh during those years.28

When ʿAbdallāh died the emir declared, ‘If only [the] count were a Muslim I would appoint him secretary to replace ʿAbdallāh!’ When the count heard that, he announced his conversion to Islam, and the emir made him secretary.29 Now, the count, in addition to his eloquence in Arabic and his administrative ability, had a keen brain: but he was against Hāshim [ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz], the minister and general, until the latter was infuriated.

* 

The commander (al-qāʾid), Ibn Abī ʿAbda, related that he was sitting with Hāshim one day when Muḥammad ibn al-Kawthar came into his presence – he was one of the great orators (bulaghāʾ, sing. balīgh) of al-Andalus – and remarked, ‘Abū ʿAbdallāh, you know, it is one of the most extraordinary things, that one like you – a person of wealth, lineage and rank – has no position at court, while the head of the chancery (sāḥib al-qalam al-ʿalā) of the Umayyad regime, and holder of the supreme secretariat (al-kitābat al-ʿuzmāʾ) is the count, the Christian Ibn Antunīyān, who has abandoned his religion for that of God Most High.’30

This disturbed Hāshim, and he left and went home. He wrote to the emir saying, ‘Would it not be extraordinary if the ṬAbbāṣid caliphs in the East learn that the Umayyads in the West have appointed to the post of supreme secretary, and highest civil official, the Christian count, the son of Antonian, son of Juliana, the Christian woman?! Would that I knew what stops you from appointing the best person: one who would bring credit to the royal service: one who should have it by the lustre of his heritage. I am more worthy – as is Hāmid al-Zajjālī,31 or Ibn Murīn, or Muḥammad ibn Sufyān, or one of the commanders of the contingents (rījāl al-ajnād) – Adḥā ibn ʿAbd al-Laṭīf in Elvira,32 or Ibn Abī Furayʿāḥ and Abū Jawshan in Rayy, or Ibn
Asyad in Secunda, or Ḥajjāj ibn ʿUmar in Seville These are the descendants of the beneficiaries of the Umayyad caliphs, from whom the royal service would benefit, rather than than benefiting from it. Choose whom you will for these are all suitable.

Now, when Mūḥammad read the letter, he said to Ayduṅ [the eunuch], ‘Find out if Ḥāmid al-Zajjālī is present.’ Ayduṅ found that he was and the emir said, ‘Let us go to Rusāfa and tell Ḥāmid to be at Bāḥ al-jabal [the Mountain Gate] of Rusāfa in the morning.’ So it was done.

Muḥammad left at dawn and descended from his horse at Rusāfa to rest until he made his morning prayers. The cavalry escort was in the charge of Ḥāshim as Muḥammad had ordered him to accompany the cavalcade. He waited at the Mountain Gate for the emir, and as he did so, his gaze fell on Ḥāmid, who was a friend. So he told a servant (wasīf), ‘Go over to Abū Marwān and say that your master asks what has brought him here?’ Ḥāmid replied, ‘I have been ordered to be at the villa this morning.’

Then Muḥammad came out and turned towards the mountain, saying, ‘Let Ḥāmid be summoned!’ He came forward and greeted the emir, and joined the procession. ‘You have been recommended to me by many letters, the number of which surprise me. Tell me: do you know anything about the work of a secretary? [He said: I have studied writing. I served my father as secretary.’ The emir asked, ‘Who were the secretaries of the Prophet – peace and praises be upon him – and of his successors?’ He told him and the emir was pleased.] Then he said to Ḥāmid, ‘Return tomorrow. I have appointed you my secretary.’

To Ayduṅ he said, ‘Send with him someone who will install him in the chancery’ (bayt al-kitāba). Then he summoned Ḥāshim and said, ‘We have decided to put the post of secretary back on the right path; so we have appointed Ḥāmid.’ He replied jokingly, ‘Together with the handsome qualities he brings.’ But the emir retorted, ‘Even though he is ugly, with a snub nose!’ Ḥāshim replied, ‘My Lord! He is most worthy.’

Then the emir went to Rusāfa and ordered that a letter be sent to Ḥāmid commanding him to write to ʿAbdallāh ibn Ḥārith, commander of the [Upper] March (ṣāḥib al-thaghr), with firmness and resolve, telling him to beware of the Baṇī Qasī, who were in rebellion in that area. Ḥāshim began the letter to Ḥāmid, You have been given a challenge, which will examine your patience and your ability to handle the position you have been given. Ride home and get together with those who can help you.

Ḥāmid went off and summoned those who were known for writing a good dispatch. He had several who were close friends and he told them what he had been ordered to do and charged them with composing a letter as if each one was the person issuing the order. This they did. Then he collected the copies and selected one of them. The next day he went to the palace and presented the letter, which met with approval, and he was awarded a minister’s carpet-of-office.

On this matter, Muʾmin ibn Saʿīd composed some verses:
Which of Ḥāmid’s affairs was not strung like a string of pearls?

Most of Muḥammad’s ministers were of outstanding intellect and honour; like ʿAbdallāh ibn Umrayya, his father’s minister and secretary; Walīd ibn Ghānim; Umrayyah ibn ʿĪsā ibn Shuhayd. But towering above all was Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Iṣbīlī. The emir used to alternate Umrayya and Walīd as civil governor of Cordova because he knew their honourable qualities. They would never exact punishments in the capital, nor deal with major matters there, except according to the Law of God.

* It was said:* Umrayya was told that Hāshim had made a claim against a man in a house next to his. This was refuted, so he imprisoned the man in his own house. Umrayya entered the ministerial offices and declared to his companions [including Hāshim], ‘I have heard that some one has denied a neighbour entry to his own house and is keeping him prisoner. By God! If I find that this is true I will surely ride to the house, attack who is in it and destroy it!’ Hāshim trembled on his carpet-of-office, when he heard this, and summoned his servant (waṣīf) saying, ‘Fly and release the man imprisoned!’

* It happened that a religious scholar fled from the governor of one of the provinces and came to Cordova. The governor wrote to the emir urging him to act against the man saying, ‘He formented trouble among the troops (hashd) and I think it is only right that he should be sent to prison.’ So the emir ordered Umrayya to sentence him. But Umrayya said to the palace servant (khalīfa) who brought the command, ‘No, By God! I will never send a religious man to prison! The story is that the man fled from a tyrant, well known for his evil-doing. If he had any positive features, a man such as this would not have fled!’ So the emir ordered that a letter be sent to the governor, reprimanding him for what he had done and compelling him to reinstate the man.

* Umrayya deputised for the emir when he went off on the campaign. He left one of his sons in the palace, and this young man had an arrogant guardian. People complained to Umrayya about him, and Umrayya told the prince to reprimand him, and make him stop his arrogant behaviour. But the prince did not do that. So when the complaints against the man multiplied Umrayya sent for the guardian and told him. The prince sent one of his servants (fatū) to Umrayya who said, ‘The prince says: By God! If you do not leave my guardian alone, I shall come down with my men and shackle you!’ Umrayya laughed out loud. At that time, if any one were to be seen laughing in the city, he would have been laughing about this matter – apart from another occasion, which we shall not mention. He said to the messenger, ‘By God! – and there is no
god but He! Since he has left the court (sanh) where his father put him, I am surely going to throw him in the Duwayrah prison in manacles and he can stay there until his father returns, or the order comes to release him!35 Send me the two gatekeepers.’ Then he ordered them to carry out what he had commanded. He continued to reprimand the guardian until he behaved.

* 

The famine of 260/873–874 occurred while Walīd was civil governor of Cordova.36 It was a year when not a seed was sown, nor harvested. Muhammad summoned Walīd to his presence and asked him, ‘What do you think we should do about the tithe?’ To which he replied, ‘The tithe can only be collected on crops and harvest, but your subjects have neither grown nor harvested anything. Use your granaries and private money this year, and perhaps God will reward us next year.’ But the emir persisted, so Walīd exclaimed, ‘No, By God! I will not claim a single seed!’

News of this spread among the citizens, and what had occurred. Then Ḥamdūn ibn Basīl, called al-ashhab, ‘Grey Head’ – who was an oppressive, unjust man – spoke up. He solicited the post of civil governor guaranteeing the collection of the tithe, going far as to tear the veils off women, lash people’s backs, and hang them. People fled to take refuge in God, praised be He. So God caused him to be killed by surprise: caused him to die because of His anger. Now when the news reached Muḥammad, together with what the people had suffered at Ḥamdūn’s hands, he summoned Walīd to his presence and begged his forgiveness, and asked him to take over as civil governor again, to put right what his predecessor, the dead man, had done wrong. But he said, ‘No; I have become replaceable by one such as Ḥamdūn or his like. No, by God! I will never serve again as civil governor! So Muḥammad appointed someone else.

* 

Towards the end of Muḥammad’s reign trouble broke out. The first to rise up against him, west of Cordova, was ’Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Marwān [ibn Yūnus] called al-Jilliqī, ‘the Galician’. He was a former soldier, from the west of al-Andalus, and a neo-Muslim.38

Also in the west there was another uprising by a neo-Muslim called Sa’dūn [ibn Fath] al-Surunbāqī, who was much admired by the other neo-Muslims, who used to say of him, ‘He is surely al-surūr al-bāqī, ‘Eternal Happiness’39

Now Ibn Marwān was unrivalled in intelligence, cunning and foresight, which he put to making trouble. He met up with al-Surunbāqī and they allied themselves with the polytheists (al-shirk, Christians), causing huge disturbances throughout [the domain of] Islam, which would take long to relate. They operated in the deserted areas of the Marches between [the domain of] Islam and the Christians.

*
The heir to the throne, prince al-Mundhir, led an expedition against him, accompanied by Hāshim, commander of the army (qāʿid al-jaysh). When they got near to the enemy they went headlong against them over rough terrain. But al-Mundhir was defeated and Hāshim taken prisoner. Some 50 of the finest men, Arabs and clients, were killed. Hāshim was taken by the insurgents to Alfūnsh [Alfonso III (866–910) of Asturias] who ransomed him for 150,000 dinars.\(^40\)

Then Ibn Marwān’s fame was such that he became leader of the neo-Muslims in the west, with al-Surunbāqī as his subordinate. After the royal army retreated, he launched an attack with a great host, reaching the province of Seville and penetrating deep inside. He captured the fortress of Tālūta [Tablada], with its garrison.\(^41\) He advanced and attacked the province of Niebla and entered Ushkūmaba [Osconoba] where he established himself on a mountain called Munt Shāqir [Monte Sacro], and devasted the mountains of the west.\(^42\)

Now, when the emir had become sorely tired of Ibn Marwān, he sent an intermediary (amīn) to him, who said, ‘Listen! We are tired of you and you of us, so make known your plans.’ He replied, ‘My plan is to have al-Basharnal [San Cristobal] to build it up, extend it and populate it. I will pay allegiance, but will make no tribute nor abeyance, nor will you make any prohibitions.’ This place, al-Basharnal, is opposite Batalyaws [Badajoz], with the river (Wādī Āna [Guadiana]) between.\(^43\) It was agreed that Badajoz should be fortified as far as the river, to protect the party (ḥizb) of Islam, according to the conditions.

Ibn Marwān continued his allegiance until the time that Hāshim wanted to take revenge against him. Hāshim said to the emir Muḥammad, ‘Ibn Marwān only had the advantage over us when he and his followers were on horseback, travelling from place to place. Now he lives in a town of houses and palaces, surrounded by orchards. Let us go and attack him! Truly, I beg God to help us overcome him! Let prince ‘Abdallāh come with me because Ibn Marwān was fond of him when he stayed in Cordova.’

So they made for Seville, and then Niebla. But when Ibn Marwān heard the news he realised, thanks to his intelligence and cleverness, what was going on. He wrote to the emir saying: I have heard that Hāshim is on his way west. I have no doubt that he is intent on revenge, now that I am staying in a secure fort. Well, by God! if he comes past Niebla, I will put Badajoz to the torch! Then I will return to my previous tactics with you.

When Muhammad read his letter he ordered the prince to turn back, and Hāshim to turn back, from the route. So they returned.

*\(^44\)\n
In the province of Rayya ʿUmar ibn Ḥafṣūn revolted at Bubashtir [Bobastro]. His father was a covert to Islam from among the non-Muslim community of
al-Andalus. The reason for his revolt was that one of the Banū Khālid called Dīankīr who was the governor of Rayya province caught him in some wicked business which he had begun, and beat him with a whip. He went across the Straits of Gibraltar to Tāhart [Tiaret], and stayed with a tailor who was originally from Rayya, and worked for him. One day while sitting at work in the tailor’s shop an elder entered with a garment which he had torn. The tailor rose and got him a chair, on which the man sat. He heard Ibn Ḥafṣūn talking, but did not recognise him working for the tailor. He said to the tailor, ‘Who is this?’ ‘A young man (ghulām) from among my neighbours, from Rayya,’ he answered, ‘who has come to work for me.’ So the elder looked at Ibn Ḥafṣūn and asked him, ‘When were you last in Rayya?’ ‘Some 40 days ago,’ he answered. ‘Do you know the mountain of Bobastro?’ questioned the elder. ‘That is where I come from, at its foot,’ said Ibn Ḥafṣūn. ‘Is there trouble there?’ asked the man. ‘No,’ he replied. The man said, ‘There will be’ (?). Then he asked, ‘Do you know someone from those parts called ʿUmar ibn Ḥafṣūn?’ At this Ibn Ḥafṣūn became alarmed. The man looked at him closely and recognised him, as Ibn Ḥafṣūn had a broken front tooth. ‘Poor fellow!’ he cried, ‘You are fighting poverty with a needle! Go back to your country! You will defeat the Umayyads! They will meet ruin at your hands, and you will establish a great domain!’ But Ibn Ḥafṣūn jumped up at once, fearing that people would start talking about this, and he would be seized by the Banū Abī ʿl-Yaqzān who were lords of Tiaret – and appointees of the Umayyads. He took a couple of loaves from the baker, put them in the sleeve of his gown and left.

He went back to al-Andalus, but not to his father, who was angry with him. Instead he went to his uncle Muẓāhir, and told him what the elder had said to him. ‘It could be so,’ replied his uncle. So he gathered from his youthful cohorts some 40 men and they went to the mountain of Bobastro and seized it.

Then Lubb [Lope] ibn Mandarīl began his revolt in the mountain near Algeciras, together with another man called Ibn Abī ʿl-Shuʿara. But Hāshim went to them and pardoned them, and Ibn Ḥafṣūn too. He brought them to Cordova and enrolled them in the royal army.

That year Ibn Ḥafṣūn took part in a raid across the Marches with Hāshim, meeting the enemy at a place called Funt Furb [Font Forbo]. A great battle ensued in which Ibn Ḥafṣūn acquitted himself very well. Thus, he came to the attention of certain elders of the Marches, who sought him out, and having been told where he was, approached him, saying, ‘Go back to your fortress which you surrendered. Only death should make you give it up! You can control a large part of al-Andalus and fight the government of Cordova on its own doorstep.’

In the course of the campaign Ibn Ḥafṣūn came to know Tarīf, known as al-Walīfān . . . (?), who at that time was a servant of Marwān ibn Jahwar. Ibn Ḥafṣūn withdrew from the campaign. At that time the civil governor of the capital was Muḥammad ibn Walīd ibn Ghānim, called al-burʿānī, who was
estranged from Hāshim. He used to make objection to everything, to cause
trouble for Hāshim among his associates and supporters. Ibn Ḥafsūn went
from one battle to another but the civil governor ordered the officials in charge
of the granaries (harraʿi, plural harraʿiyūn) to give him the worst supplies,
because he was an associate of Hāshim.

Ahmad ibn Maslamah\textsuperscript{50} related that Ibn Ḥafsūn told him, ‘I took some
bread made from the grain and went to Ibn Ghānim the civil governor of the
city and said, ‘For God’s sake! Can anyone live on this?’ But he retorted,
‘Who are you? You demon!’ So I went off and met with Hāshim who was
going towards the royal palace and informed him what had occurred. ‘People
do not know you,’ he replied. ‘Tell them who you are!’ ‘So,’ he continued,
‘I went to my cohorts and told them all of this. Then I left Cordova that very
day and went to my uncle Muzāhir and told him what had been said by this
one and that.’

* Now, when Ibn Ḥafsūn had surrendered Bobastro, Hāshim commanded the
building of a post (dār) on the summit of the mountain, where he had
installed the \textit{arīf} al-Ṭujbī.\textsuperscript{51} Ibn Ḥafsūn’s uncle amassed a group of young
men and added them to his nephew’s men and together they forced al-Ṭujbī
off the mountain. He took captive al-Ṭujbī’s concubine, who was known as
al-Ṭujbīya (‘Ṭujbī’s Woman’) and who later became the mother of his son,
Abū Sulaymān.

Now, Ibn Ḥafsūn’s power grew, and everyday became more dangerous,
until he controlled all the territory from Algeciras to Tudmīr. Al-Ṭujbī,
after his expulsion, fortified himself on the Rock of Jawdhārish [Ardales],
west of Bobastro, and continued trying to force Ibn Ḥafsūn off the mountain
of Bobastro, until he – Ibn Ḥafsūn – expelled him and appointed someone
else in his place.\textsuperscript{52}

* Let us return to learn more about Umayya ibn Shuhayd:* for example, his visit
one day to the quarters where hostages were confined (dār al-rahāʿin), which
was near the Bridge Gate in Cordova.\textsuperscript{53} The young hostages of the \textit{Banū Qasī}
were reciting aloud the heroic odes of Anṭarāḥ.\textsuperscript{54} Ibn Shuhayd said to one of
the guards, ‘Bring their teacher (muʿaddib) to me!’

When he had seated himself on the carpet-of-office of the civil governor of
the city, the teacher was brought in and Ibn Shuhayd remarked, ‘If it was not
for the fact that I am going to excuse you for your ignorance, I would punish
you severely! You have gone to demons who have sorely grieved the emirs
and taught them poetry, which will give them an insight into real courage! Stop
doing it! Teach them only poems like the drinking songs of al-Ḥasan ibn
Ḥāniʿ and similar humorous verses.\textsuperscript{55}
It is also told of him that one day, on his way to the royal palace, he passed by the jurist (faqīḥ) al-ʿAraj ibn Maṭrūḥ, who was prayer-leader (ṣāḥib al-ṣalāh) that day. When Ibn Shuhayd greeted him, he responded with contempt. When Ibn Shuhayd was told of this, he bided his time until the harvest and hay-cutting season arrived. Then he said to the tithe collector (ʿāmil al-ʿushūr), ‘Tell the people of such-and-such a village to attack Ibn Maṭrūḥ’s barn if he has gathered the harvest. Then let the collectors go to Cordova and demand the tithe from him.’

They did so and then brought him before Ibn Shuhayd when he couldn’t pay. Ibn Maṭrūḥ came, calling the tithe-collectors ‘Prophet-killers’ [meaning Jews] all the way. When he arrived at the chamber (ghurfa) of the civil governor, Ibn Shuhayd, the latter brought him close and said,

‘Abū ʿAbdallāh; truly if it weren’t for this “tyrant” before you, and his like, who have punished evil-doers and aggressors, you would have had your cloak stolen off your back on the way to the mosque – no matter that it is close by! You can see now that your neighbours in the countryside have no respect for your knowledge, your lineage – nor for your prayers on behalf of the believers. Most people are ready to do evil: only him whom God helps is ready to do good. Through me and those like me, God protects you and those like you!

Then the old man realised how what had befallen him had come about. So he exclaimed, ‘I beg God’s pardon – praised be He! – and I beg yours!’ ‘May God accept your contrition,’ he replied. Then he told the tithe collector that not a seed should be exacted from him, and he replaced all that he had lost.

*Some actions of the emir Muhammad:* Among the noble deeds of the emir Muhammad were his attacks across the Marches. A man who was a hat merchant (qallaṣ) in Cordova, called Ibn al-Baqir said to him one day while on campaign, ‘Emir, Lo! God Most Blessed and Most High, has told us Those who were told, a great host has mustered against you: it frightened them. But this only added to their faith and they affirmed: “God is sufficient for us and an Excellent Guardian is He!” So they returned with the Grace of God and a great Bounty, having suffered no harm as they followed the pleasure of God . . .’, and continued to the end of the verse (Āl Ḥmraʿ iii, 173–174).56

So the emir retorted, ‘God have mercy on you, old man! Truly, you have not contradicted what I think [about your wisdom]: but he who does not obey has no right to an opinion. I cannot prosecute the Holy War single-handed.’ Then al-ʿUtbī, the faqīḥ, exclaimed, ‘Truly I see great authority in what he has said. So ask God to send you inspiration today.’

They left him and Muḥammad went and sought the help of God, praised be He, that day and that night. So God enlightened him in a dream, showing him the best method of attack and combat.
When morning broke he summoned the people of the Marches and said, ‘If you are grateful to the [Umayyad] emirs – may God be good to them – for the benefits given you: and if you want me to reward you, then free me from this enemy! Form an army and drive them from the valley. Because, truly, suicide by falling on my sword, is preferable to me than that it should be said, The enemy shouted at him from a mountain top, so he fled!’

Now, prince al-Mundhir was loved by the common people, due to the good reputation he had among them, so they said to him, ‘No, by God we shan’t face the enemy directly: but order the commander of the host (ṣāḥib al-ḥashm) to postpone concealing the army and let the commanders of the military contingents (umarā’ al-ajnād) do the same, so that they go before us. This was done and a great battle ensued. At midday God granted victory to the Muslim side. The others were defeated and were forced from the pass, and the surrounding area.

By the time the moment came for afternoon prayers, 30,000 heads were collected at the entrance to the emir’s tent, and the muezzin ascended the pile and made the call to prayer.

* There occurred* certain events at the beginning of Muḥammad’s reign. There were some young men from the Banū l-Salīm living in the province of Shadihīnā, and when the news of the death of ῖAbd al-Rahmān II reached them, they got drunk in the company of others like them, and went out and attacked the tax collector (āmil) of the town in his residence (dār al-imāra), and stole some of the tax money (jibāya). Then the elders and the more sensible members of the family, after hearing the news, went to the young men and recovered the money, which they restored to the official. But when the emir Muḥammad heard of this he sent men to arrest them and they were thrown in prison for 20 years or thereabouts.

Now, when they had spent many years incarcerated, they made friends with the gaolers (ahl al-ḥabs) who set fire to the prison during the night and they escaped. They were hunted down, and found in a village of the province of al-Qanbāntīya [the Campiña de Córdoba]. The one who took them was Muḥammad ibn Naṣr, commander of the host. He took them to Hāshim who put them all to the sword, save the prisoners of the Banū l-Salīm. When they were brought to the royal palace, the emir Muḥammad commanded that they be executed.

* ῖUbaydallāh ibn ῖAbd al-῾Azīz, the brother of Hāshim, revolted against Muḥammad, supported by his followers, at Jabal Turrush [the Mount of Torrox], in the province of Elvira. The minister Muḥammad ibn Umayya, was dispatched against them, and was ordered by the emir to execute them all. But the minister wrote back, begging to be excused from executing Hāshim’s brother. So Aydūn, the eunuch was dispatched and he carried out
the execution, bringing back the head, which was hung on the gate of the royal palace.

At that time Ḥāshim was away leading the troops in the Marches. When he received the news and the people of the army came to him he exclaimed, ‘Did I not deserve – considering my sincerity in advising him and supporting him – that he would pardon the failing of my brother. By God! – I will never advise him again!’ This was communicated to the emir Muḥammad, but he did not react.

Let us return to the rest of the story of Mūsā ibn Mūsā.*59 He mobilised his men, but he was confronted by Irzāq ibn Munṭūl, the ruler (sāḥib) of Guadalajara and the Marches, and who was a loyal subject of the emirs of Cordova, and the handsomest of men. When Mūsā approached, Irzāq came out to fight against him, so Mūsā said to him, ‘Irzāq, I have not come here to fight you, but to take you as my son-in-law. I have a beautiful daughter; there is none more beautiful in al-Andalus, and I do not wish to marry her to anyone except the handsomest man of al-Andalus – and that is you!’

Irzāq accepted that proposal and the marriage was agreed, then Mūsā returned to his territory on the Marches, and sent Irzāq his bride. But when the emir Muḥammad heard of this, it caused him great agitation, and he knew he would lose control of the Lower March, as had occurred with the Middle March. He sent an intermediary to determine the loyalty of Irzāq, and what he was doing. When the man arrived Irzāq said, ‘My loyalty or rebellion will be known soon.’

After the marriage was consummated, Irzāq left with a small group of his followers. He did not travel openly, and no one who knew him saw him, until he arrived at the Garden Gate of the royal palace. Then a clamour arose in the palace and the eunuchs (al-ifiant) ran to the emir to tell him. He ordered that Irzāq be brought to him, and he upbraided him for his marriage to the daughter of his enemy. Then Irzāq explained the situation to the emir, saying, ‘How could it harm you if your friend (walī) married the daughter of your enemy? If, through this marriage I can get Mūsā to swear loyalty to you, I will do it: if not I will be among those who fight against him as your loyal subjects.’ So Muḥammad entertained him for several days, and bestowed gifts and robes of honour upon him. Then he departed.

Now, when Mūsā got to hear of this he mobilised his men and descended on Guadalajara and besieged Irzāq in his citadel overlooking the river, where he stayed with his head on the bosom of his bride, while his people ran hither and thither among the vineyards and orchards. They were attacked by Mūsā and his men, and forced into the river.

The woman was proud of her father, and awakened Irzāq, saying, ‘Look at what that lion is doing!’ ‘You seem to be prouder of your father than you are of me!’ cried Irzāq. ‘Do you think him braver than I? In no manner!’ Then he took up his coat of mail and threw it on; and went out and engaged Mūsā in combat.
Now, Irzāq could throw the lance with unerring aim. He hit him with an unexpected blow. Mūsā knew he was done for and he retreated, but died before he had reached Tuṭila [Tudela].

His son Lope ibn Mūsā assumed command, and that continued until 312/924, the twelfth year of the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad [300–350/912–961] – may God be good to him – when he removed them from the Marches and [Abū] Yahyā ibn (sic) Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Tujībī took control of the area.60 Their story will be told at the appropriate spot – God willing.61

Notes and comments

2 Fierro (1990) no. 44. Ḥāshim was descended from a client of ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān (23–35/644–651). He settled in Loja and died in 273/886. His descendants are mentioned in the History: ʿUbaydallāh, his brother, 123; Muṣṭarīf ibn Abī ʿl-Rabīʿ, his son-in-law, 130; Ahmad, his son, 133. His family and the Banū Khālid became related. Ḥāshim played a dominant role during the reign of Muḥammad I (238–273/852–866), but he was executed by al-Mundhir, Muḥammad’s successor:

Lévi-Provençal i, 270, note 1; 187, 306.
3 Muḥammad ibn Ziyād ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān: al-Khushanī (1952) no. 35.
4 ʿAmr ibn Abdallāh ibn Layth. For the meaning of gubaʿa, -casque, alouette huspée and gabaʿa – bonnet pointu: see Dozy below. But according to Ibn al-Farāḍī, he was called this because he was short and dumpy (daḥdāḥ, qaṣīr). ʿAmr ibn ʿAbdallāh was not an Arab, and Muḥammad was the first emir to appoint a non-Arab as chief judge. He was descended from a freed slave (muʿtaq) – perhaps his grandfather Labīb, who had been manumitted by the person from Ėcija – and a daughter of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I. He died in 273/886: Dozy ii, 303; Wehr, 272; al-Khushanī (1952) no. 38; Ibn al-Faraḍī (1954) i, no. 938; Fierro (1990) no. 72 and note 118; Marin (1988) no. 970.
5 Fierro (1990) no. 73; 67. In 847 CE ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and Charles the Bald concluded a non-aggression treaty. Lévi-Provençal thought that the mission of al-Qusbī was to do with this treaty: Lévi-Provençal i, 212.
6 The poem appears again with an additional verse in al-Khushanī (1952) 121. This event occurred in 263/876–877.
7 Baqīʿ ibn Makhład was a jurist who travelled to the East and returned with methods of interpretation, similar to those espoused by Muḥammad ibn WāḍḌāḥ: see 94, n. 32 which were regarded with suspicion by most jurists of Cordova, but he was protected from charges of heresy by Muḥammad I: Monès (1998) 17–19; Idris (1998) 9. He was descended from a client who was a woman from Jaén: Lévi-Provençal i, 288–289; Marin (1988) no. 315.
8 Sulaymān ibn Aswād ibn Yaʿṣīḥ al-Ghāfīqī: Al-Khushanī (1952) no. 39. Did Baqīʿ recommend dismissal or did Muḥammad decide to do this? The text is unclear. Once dismissed why was it necessary for ʿAmr to swear an oath of his innocence? 9 Appendix iv.
10 These two sentences in the Paris manuscript, folio 31 recto, given here in parenthesis, are not in any printed edition.
11 In 241/855–856 Muḥammad added 25 Qurʾānic inscriptions to the mosque, almost half of which came from Al ʿImrān iii, and more decoration. Cresswell says he restored some of the inscriptions and improved the decoration. He added a new frame and decoration, also dated 241/855–865 to the Puerta San Esteban. He also
built the *maqṣūra*, which was finished 250/864–865. There is another account, which says that Muhammad had to overhaul the entire building because it had been put up too hurriedly by his father. His successor al-Mundhir built a treasury in 273–275/866–888 and restored part of the roof. ‘Abdallāh added a sābāt (arcade) which connected the *maqṣūra* to the royal palace, probably through the *Puerta San Miguel*. The latter must have been in the form of a bridge, as occurred later at the mosque of *Madīnat al-zahrā‘*; Lévi-Provençal (1931), 1, pl. 1; Cresswell (1979) ii, 140–141, 206; Torres Balbas ((1982) (ii)); Dodd and Khairallah (1981) ii, 215.

12 He became a general of Abd al-Rahmān II, fighting against the Franks and the Vikings in the invasion of 230/844: Lévi-Provençal i, 206, 212, 223.

13 When established in Cordova the *Banū Mūsā* became known as the *Banū l-Wazīr*, as Muḥammad ibn Mūsā became the *wīzīr* (minister) of Muḥammad I (238–273/852–886) after helping him to ascend the throne: *History* 115; Fierro (1990) no. 41 and note 33.

14 See note 13 above.


16 ‘Aḥlāl-Fath Naṣr was the son of a Christian convert from Carmona and exercised much influence at court: Lévi-Provençal i, 223, 224, 225, 229, 262, 265, 275, 276, 277; iii, 133.

17 He was a native of Ḥarrān [Harran] in Syria and had only recently arrived in Cordova. The murder attempt occurred in 236/850: Lévi-Provençal i, 277; iii, 507.

18 In the text the word given is *bushūn*. Although al-Abīyārī queries this, it seems to be correct. Nichols suggests that it is from the Latin *potio-onis*, (potion) the origin of the Spanish *ponzoño*. In his dictionary Lewis gives *potio-onis: in particular, any poisonous draught*: Lewis (1879) i, 408; Corominas (1954) iii, 848; Nichols (1975) 171, note 246; Ibn-Akutiya (1982) 91, note 2.

19 Fakhर: Lévi-Provençal i, 267, 277.


21 The *Dār al-kāmil* was one of the pavilions/apartments of the *Bāb al-sudda* palace, and probably the principal one. It was later called the *Majlis al-kāmil* and retained this name until 353/964. It was here that ‘Abd al-Rahmān III was proclaimed emir in 300/912. The implication of the conversation between Muḥammad and Sa’dūn is that Muhammad thought that eunuch was trying to trick him into declaring himself heir before his father was dead: Lévi-Provençal ii, 132.

22 Lévi-Provençal iii, fig 12.

23 His ring or his seal (*khata*tan), probably one and the same. This was the supreme symbol of office. The seal/signet ring inscription was often repeated on banners and *tiraz* fabrics: Lévi-Provençal iii, 15.

24 This section in parenthesis is given in the margin of the Paris manuscript folio 33 verso, in the hand of the scribe. It is not given in Abenalcotía/Ribera (1926), but does occur in the Madrid manuscript, MS 4496, folio 22 recto.

25 ‘Accession to the caliphate’, though there was no Umayyad Caliphate in Spain yet. The term *khilāfa* not *imār* is used because the text was related/written down after ‘Abd al-Rahmān III was proclaimed caliph in 316/929. *Khalīfa* is used for *amīr* at several points in the text.

26 Wakīl seems to have several meanings. According to Dozy ii, 838, it was someone who looked after the monarch’s finances, but from the context of the text it also meant, tutor, guardian and agent or *aide* assistant.

27 Fierro (1990), no. 32. [‘Abd al-Ra’ūf] Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām was the conscientious *bawwāb* at the royal palace on the night of Muḥammad’s accession: *History* 114.
28 Although Qawmis was later removed from office, the emirs always had both Christian and Jewish servants and officials: Lévi-Provençal i, 290–291.

29 For the Christians of al-Andalus, see Lévi-Provençal iii, 214–226; Chrysitis (2002).


31 Founder of the Banū Ḥāmīd al-Zajjālī. They were a Berber family. Ḥāmīd’s brother ’Abdallāh was secretary and minister to ʿAbdallāh (275–300/888–912): History 133, Fierro (1990) no. 66; Ibn Ḥayyān (1971) 171, note 136.


33 A member of the Banū Ḥajjāj of Seville. He was descended from Ḥābīb ibn ʿUmayr the son of Sāra al-Qūṭiya and her second Arab husband. Other family members in the History are Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥaṭṭāj 115, 136, 137; Muḥammad ibn Ḥaṭṭāj 137 and ʿAbd al-Rāḥmān ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥaṭṭāj 137: Fierro (1990) no. 3.

34 Al-sath, ‘court’, but actually a terrace or flat roof (Spanish azotea). Ribera says the prince was confined to un departamento, ‘a suite of rooms’. It is mentioned again in the History as the place where Ibn Ḥaṭṭāj’s nephew, who was held hostage by ʿAbdallāh, was executed: History 137. According to Dozy azotea means: solar de casa, suelo de ladrillos, ‘a floor of bricks’: Dozy ii, 651; Abenalcotia/Ribera (1926) 71.

35 ‘I am surely going to throw him in the Duwayra prison’ . . . fī kalbayn, yakūn bi-himā ḡattā . . . Nichols says ‘with two dogs for company.’ But kalbayn must mean two manacles, because kalbīkalbayn can mean a metal hook, strap or leather thong. Fagnan says avec des chaînes aux pieds: Lane Bk. i, pt 7, 2,626; Fagnan (1924) 229; Nichols (1975) 193; Calero and Martínez (1995) 210. Alternatively, it may be a textual corruption for kabī plural kabūl: leg iron, shackle, fetter from the verb kabala: Wehr, 812.

36 For this famine, and another some years earlier, see Lévi-Provençal i, 285.

37 Al-ʿushr, plural ʿushūr, was a tax on land and produce. Scholars differed on when and why it should be levied: EI 2nd x, 917–919.

38 ʿAbd al-Rāḥmān ibn Marwān al-Jilliqi was from a neo-Muslim family of north Portugal, which was established in Mérida. His father Marwān ibn Yūnus had been governor of Mérida under ʿAbd al-Rāḥmān II. He revolted in 254/868 and eventually maintained his independence from Cordova. All the emirs down to ʿAbdallāh were compelled to acknowledge his independent domain around Badajoz. He had two sons, Muḥammad and Marwān. A descendant, Ibn Marwān is mentioned in the History page 140, as a rebel in the time of ʿAbd al-Rāḥmān III (300–350/912–961), who must have been the grandson of ʿAbd al-Rāḥmān al-Jilliqi: Lévi-Provençal i, 295–299; Imamuddin (1961) 74; Nichols (1975) 197, note 277; Fierro (1990) no. 67 and notes 79–80.

39 Saʿdūn ibn Fath al-Surūnbāqī was also active in the area south of Badajoz, as well as Coimbra and Santarem until he was captured by Alfonso III of Asturias and executed: Lévi-Provençal i, 297, 311; Nichols (1975) 197, note 278.

40 Hāshim was a prisoner of Alfonso III for two years, 262–264/876–878; Lévi-Provençal i, 297.

41 The attack on Tablada was in 276/889 at the instigation of Kurayb ibn Khaldaʿn of Seville. It was south of Seville on the Guadalquivir and had been attacked by the Vikings forty-five years earlier. The survivors of the Vikings who were defeated there surrendered and became Muslims, settling in the Lower Guadalquivir area and devoting themselves to dairy farming, especially cheese production: Lévi-Provençal i, 224.
Nichols dates this to 271/884. Fangan quoting Ibn Ḥidārī suggests that Muṭṭ Shāqiṣ may be synonymous with Muṭṭu Shāliṣ, a fortress to the south of Badajoz. It was occupied briefly by Ḥāshim ibn ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz in his disastrous campaign against the neo-Muslim rebels, but when he was wounded, surrounded and captured by al-Surunbāqī he was imprisoned there: Fagnan (1924) 232, note 1; ʻInān (1962) i, 305–306; Nichols (1975) 199, note 281.

Al-Basharnaul/Busharnul: Fagnan suggests that this was probably San Cristobal which is opposite Badajoz on the other side of the Rio Guadiana. Richard Ford, author of the earliest and best guides to Spain, describes this location as ‘the fortified height of San Cristobal, which commands a fine view of Badajoz’. According to al-Bakrī, Badajoz was built by ʻAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jillīqī after he had sworn allegiance to Muhammad I, who sent him – at his request – masons to erect a mosque and baths: Ford (1855), 466, 468; Fagnan (1924) 232 and note 2; Al-Hajji (1968) 121–123.

ʻUmar ibn Ḥaṣṣūn ibn ʻUmar ibn Jaʻfar al-Islāmī, d. 305/918. His great-grandfather, Jaʻfar, was the convert. Bobastro was the ‘capital’ of Ibn Ḥaṣṣūn, and the most important of the fortress towns (ummahāt al-ḥuṣūn) controlled by him. The location of Bobastro is uncertain. It has been identified for many years with a site in the Mesas de Villaverde, north of the town of Ardales above the dramatic gorge called El Chorro, but this has been challenged in a well argued case by Vallvè, which puts Bobastro near Colmenar, east of Malaga. Ibn Ḥaṣṣūn is said to have been born near Ronda in Málaga – if the identification of ‘Auta with the village of Parauta is correct. But Vallvè thinks ‘Auta is to be identified with Cortijo de Auta, north of the village of Riógordo which lies to the east of Malaga in the Axaqā (al-Sharqīyat) region. He quotes a fifteenth-century Spanish source for the identification of Bobastro with Postuero. For Ibn Ḥaṣṣūn, see EI 2nd x, 823–825; Lévi-Provençal i, 300; Fierro (1990) no. 68 and (1998). For Bobastro, Bubashtr/ Bubashtr, see EI 2nd Supplement xii, 152–153; Vallvè (1965); Acién Almasna (1981) 63–72; Fierro (1998) 303.

In modern Algeria: EI 2nd x, 90–91.


This took place in 269–270/883. Funt Furb, where Ibn Ḥaṣṣūn distinguished himself, may be Pancorbo between Burgos and Vitoria: Nichols (1975) 207, note 288. For an account of the campaign, see Lévi-Provençal i, 326.

Although this is clearly written in the manuscript, it seems to be a textual corruption, something that has become distorted in the course of several transmissions.

The Banū Maslama were an Arab family of Seville, descended from Ḥabīb ibn ʻUmayr (Appendix ii). Ahmad ibn Maslama [ibn ʻAbd al-Wahhāb ibn Ḥabīb ibn ʻUmayr] was the ruler of Seville when ʻAbd al-Raḥmān III (300–350/912–961) restored his authority over the city in 301/913. He was also a distant relative of Ibn al-Qūfīya, whose father ʻUmār played a major role in the negotiations between Ibn Maslama and Badr, ʻAbd al-Raḥmān III’s chief minister: Lévi-Provençal ii, 12–13; Guichard (1976) 190, note 32; Ibn Ḥayyān (1979) 70/43–81/53; Corriente and Viguera (1981) 63/43–72/53 (see Ibn Ḥayyān, section 2, in Bibliography).
To ensure the loyalty of powerful regional families, hostages were taken and kept in Cordova, at the dār al-raḥāʾin (the hostages’ quarters), which was near, or next to (muḫāwira) the Bridge Gate. According to Ibn Hayyān it was still at the same location during the time of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III: Ibn Hayyān (1965) 186. The fact that these young men were being given lessons indicates that hostages were fairly well looked after. There are numerous instances in the History of hostages being kept in Cordova. Sometimes these unfortunates paid the ultimate penalty where their relatives revolted, page 137. The policy of taking hostages by consent or intimidation to ensure good behaviour was widespread in mediaeval times and was not confined to the Muslim world. In some remote areas the practice continued into the twentieth century. Freya Stark mentions giving alms to tribal hostages held by the local ruler at Mukalla in the Hadhramaut in 1935. Two from each tribe guaranteed security ‘from border to border’: Stark (1953) 63, 66.

The sixth-century Arab poet ʿAntāra ibn Shaddād whose heroic exploits are celebrated in the Sīrat ʿAntar: El 2nd i, 521–522.

The famous libertine poet of Baghdad better known as Abū Nuwās (130?–198?/747?–813?): EI 2nd i, 143–144.

Ibn Bāqīr was a qallās, plural qallāsīn, a maker of galansuwas, hats, usually pointed.

The word ʿāmil means ‘governor’, but it seems more likely that ‘tax collector’ is what is intended here, even though the money was stolen from the dār al-imāra, which appears to have had a military and civil function. The term ʿāmil is used earlier in the text, page 122, with the specific meaning of tax/tithe collector and as the stolen money was tax revenue (jībāya), tax collector seems the most appropriate translation: Lévi-Provençal iii, 34–35, 40, 338.

Qanbanīya, Campiña is probably an Arabic variant of campaña. Dozy ii, 408 gives two other ways of spelling the word which he identifies as Campaña de Cordoue. The area lies south-west of Cordova and was a province, see Lévi-Provençal iii, fig. 11.

According to Lévi-Provençal, the account which follows is apocryphal. Mūsā ibn Mūsā was killed by the governor of Guadalajara, Ibn Salīm, who is called Iruzq ibn Muntīl in the History: Lévi-Provençal i, 154–155, 214–218, 312–316.

Mūsā ibn Mūsā had four sons: Lubb (Lope) died shortly after his father; Muṭṭārīf rebelled in Tudela in 258/871; Furtūn declared himself ruler of Tudela; Ismāʿīl was able to survive for many years with aid of his nephew, Muḥammad ibn Lope. It was to recover Saragossa from Muhammad ibn Lope in 269–270/883 that Ibn Ḥaʃūn saw action in support of the government of Cordova: Lévi-Provençal i, 324–329.

Muḥammad I gained the aid of the Tuḥbids, the powerful Arab family of Aragón, in his attempt to control the Banū Qasī. The dynasty was established by Abdallāh ibn al-Muhājīr. But ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Abd al-ʿAzīz al-Tuḥbī was the effective founder. His son, Abū Yahyā Muḥammad al-Anqar or al-Awr, took control of Saragossa in 276/889–890 and was confirmed as ruler by ‘Abd a-Raḥmān III in 312/924: EI 2nd x, 582–584; Lévi-Provençal i, 328–329, 388–389; Fierro (1990) no. 33.
Then al-Mundhir ibn Muhammad – may God have mercy upon him – came to the throne. He was a man of intelligence and generosity, who held in honour the wise and righteous ones, and employed anyone who had a measure of learning and cultivation. He removed Sulaymān ibn Aswad al-Ballūṭī from the post of judge, and appointed Abū [ ... ‘Amir ibn] Mu‘āwīya ibn Ziyād al-Lakhmī, who was endowed with righteousness and excellence. He retained the ministers of his father, and reappointed Tammām ibn ‘Alqama and Muḥammad ibn Jahwar, who had been obscured. He proposed to pardon Hāshim for the misdemeanors he had committed against him, and appoint him chamberlain. But then he heard things that renewed his bad opinion of Hāshim, and killed him, as is well known.

Muḥammad ibn Jahwar was one of the severest assessors of judicial claims brought before him. But Hāshim disposed of him by a trick. He bribed one, ‘Umar, the servant (khādīm) of the ministers, who poisoned the drink that Muḥammad asked to be brought to him, and he died. Hāshim attended his funeral and remarked at his grave-side, ‘Ah, many a knotty problem has been solved by death!’ It was known that Muḥammad ibn Jahwar had exclaimed as he died, ‘Ah, many a deed did I plan, which I will never see done!’

Then al-Mundhir attacked Ibn Ḥafṣūn resolutely. He would have succeeded, had not death surprised him while he was besieging Ibn Ḥafṣūn. His brother and successor, ’Abdallāh, was with him in the army at that time. So he gathered the royal household, members of the Quraysh family, clients and troops of the military contingents who were there, and he was proclaimed ruler.

Just before al-Mundhir’s death, as he was preparing to return, he ordered Abū ‘Urwa and Ḥaṣib ibn Bāṣīl, civil governor of Cordova, to take Hāshim’s kinsfolk from the prison, together with Hāshim’s secretary, Sa‘īd ibn Sulaymān, and Muṭarrīf ibn Abī ’l-Rabī’, his son-in-law, and crucify them on posts. He wanted to see them thus, on the day he planned to enter Cordova. But when death overtook him, and ’Abdallāh became emir, he wrote to Abū ‘Urwa telling him to release them, and bring them to the royal palace and keep them there until he arrived. So they had good fortune, at the moment when they were expecting disaster!
It is said* Maysūr, a eunuch of al-Mundhir, poisoned the bandage that was placed on the wound after he had been cupped, to escape punishment for some misdemeanour, which would have been carried out on return to Cordova. When the blood surged, it welled forth and it was necessary to stop it [with the bandage]. So unexpectedly, al-Mundhir died.7

Notes and comments

3 Al-banīs, plural banā’is, cup: Dozy i, 118.
4 Nichols’s translation is awkward and does not make good sense. His suggestion is that the dying man referred to ‘delicious syrop’ (Spanish robb) – the poisoned draught – Yā rubb ṣanī’. But this would seem to be rubba ṣanī’ in ‘Many a banquet’, or probably here, ‘Many a deed . . .’. Fagnan read the words of Muḥammad ibn Jahwar differently from Nichols and his translation is probably the right one: Que de choses j’ai arrangées dont je ne verai pas (la fin): Lane iii, Bk. i, 104 and iv; Bk. i, 1754; Fagnan (1924) 242; Nichols (1975) 226.
5 Perhaps Saʿīd ibn Sulaymān ibn Jūdī: Fagnan (1924) 242, note 3.
6 The text of the manuscript says b.b.sh.t.r., which seems to be (bi-) bubashtir, ‘(at) Bobastro’, but Al-Ṭabbā’ reads battrīhi, ‘stopped it’, which seems to fit better with the word darūra (necessity) that immediately precedes it: Ibn al-Qūṭīya (1957) 120, note 3.
7 In the opinion of Lévi-Provençal the murder was instigated by Ṭādallaḥ, his brother, and he suggests that Ibn al-Qūṭīya implies as much. While Ṭādallaḥ may well have been responsible, it is hard to see this in the account, which would have been related to his listeners, and could still have been considered seditious during the time of Ṭādallaḥ’s grandson and reigning emir, Ṭabd al-Rahmān III. Later his supposed implication was supported by the scholar Ibn Ḥazm (384–456/994–1064), Lévi-Provençal i, 332–333.
The area of the campaigns against Ibn Ḥafsūn and the citadel of Bobastro
Then ʿAbdallāh ibn Muḥammad came to the throne. The situation regarding Ibn Ḥaṣūn became grave, which aroused all the people of al-Andalus. ʿAbdallāh dismissed Abū [ . . . ʿĀmir ibn] Muʿāwīya as judge and replaced him with al-Naḍar ibn Salāma; then he dismissed him and appointed Mūsā ibn Zīyād al-Judhāmī al-Shadhūnī. Then he dismissed Mūsā and re-appointed al-Naḍar. He dismissed al-Naḍar and made him a minister, and summoned his brother Muḥammad from Qabra [Cabra] – which was their place of origin – and appointed him. Muḥammad acted fairly and was one of the most favourably remembered among the righteous judges. He died, and the emir appointed al-Ḥabīb ibn Zīyād, who was his judge until ʿAbdallāh’s death.

ʿAbdallāh summoned Saʿīd ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Salīm, whom he had known well in his youth at Shadhūna, and made him market inspector (ṣāḥib al-suq), which he was for 30 days. Then the emir made him a minister; and then chamberlain. For 15 years he was de facto ruler, but ʿAbdallāh dismissed him and he faded into obscurity for the last ten years before ʿAbdallāh died.

He dismissed Tammām ibn ʿAlqama as minister and ʿAbd al-Rahmān ibn Umayya ibn ʿĪsā ibn Shuḥayd as chamberlain. He was known as Duhaym. Al-Mundhir had appointed him chamberlain after Hāshim, but ʿAbdallāh imposed fines on the protégés of al-Mundhir.

As the situation regarding Ibn Ḥaṣūn became grave, ʿAbdallāh appointed several men as commanders of the army. Among them were Aḥmad ibn Hāshim and Mūsā ibn al-ʿĀṣī. But they were not adequate.

He asked Sulaymān [ibn Muḥammad] ibn Wānsūs to become a minister, and he said to ʿAbd al-Malik ibn ʿAbdallāh ibn Umayya ibn Yazīd – who was his minister and secretary, ‘It all depends on you. I cannot find anyone to get rid of this enemy other than you.’ He made him commander of the army. Then he asked ʿAbdallāh ibn Muḥammad al-Zajjālī to become a minister and also appointed him his secretary. Ibn Umayya conducted the war against Ibn Ḥaṣūn, and occupied himself with it, until prince Muṭārrīf killed him and his son in Seville. Then Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī ʿAbda became commander. He was at that time a minister and civil governor of Cordova.
The reason why prince Muṭarrif killed Ibn Umayyah, was that Muṭarrif was ill-disposed towards his father and proposed to overthrow him. But he said, ‘I can never do that as long as Ibn Umayyah is alive and on his side.’ ʿAbdallāh warned him against that, saying, ‘I tolerated your killing of Muhammad, your brother, because he was in rebellion. But by God! if you attempt anything against Ibn Umayyah, I will surely kill you!’ He also warned Ibn Umayya against him, because he suspected Muṭarrif’s secret designs. He said to Ibn Umayya, ‘Never let him meet with you in [his] pavilion (al-surādiq), and only see him on horse back!’

Now, Muṭarrif and Ibn Umayya set out for the provinces of Seville and Shadhīna. When they arrived at Seville, Muṭarrif contacted the people, saying, ‘You know the enmity of Ibn Umayya towards you: he treated you shamefully when he was in control of you before. Well, he is doing the same thing even now, exhorting the emir – God preserve him – against you! If I rid you of him, come over to me.’

Seville at that time was well fortified. Its governor, Kurayb ibn [ʿUthmān] ibn Khalīdūn, and Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥajjāj, agreed to support him, so Muṭarrif killed Ibn Umayya and sent his head to them. The murder took place in his pavilion.

So they came out in support of Muṭarrif, who thanked them, ordering them to prepare to accompany him to Shadhīna, where they would join up with the Banū ʿAbd al-Malik. He would then execute his plan to depose his father.

Now, when the news of Ibn Umayya’s death reached the emir, it worried him, and it showed him the bad intentions of Muṭarrif towards him. He wrote to the people of Seville and Shadhīna warning them about Muṭarrif, and ordering them not to support him. So the Banū ʿAbd al-Malik rejected him, and Ibn Ḥajjāj and Ibn Khalīdūn wanted to break up his army – though Ibn Daysam al-Iṣbīlī rebuked them and argued against them. Then Muṭarrif knew his hopes were impossible to achieve. Therefore he wrote to his father asking for safe conduct, which he gave him.

But when he arrived in Cordova and went to his home in the Madīna [al-ʾatīqa, the old quarter], the ministers and leading men received grave news, including the fact that Shaykh Ibn Lubāba, Abū Ṣāliḥ, Ibn al-Ṣaffār, ʿUbaydallāh ibn Yahyā, and other important and distinguished Muslims had gone to Muṭarrif, saluting him and congratulating him on his arrival from his journey, and the safe conduct granted by his father. After they had left, Muṭarrif said to his secretary, Marwān ibn ʿUbaydallāh ibn Basīl, ‘Well, if you feel a little hungry, I will definitely satisfy you with a fry-up of the meat of these fat beasts destined for slaughter, the like of which you have never tasted!’ But the secretary told that to ʿUbaydallāh ibn Yahyā, who was the prince’s guardian/tutor (wasīṭ) and responsible for looking after him. ʿUbaydallāh met with his companions, and informed them what Muṭarrif had said. So they resolved to get rid of him, justifying that on the grounds of heretical beliefs (al-zandaqah) attributed to him.
They approached the chamberlain, [Sa’īd ibn Muḥammad] Ibn al-Salīm and said, ‘We have decided to leave our homes out of fear of Muṭṭarīf, and his request that we acknowledge him as emir and depose his father. If you protect us we will do it, otherwise we will leave. We have knowledge for which we will be honoured wherever we go.’ So the chamberlain told that to ‘Abdallāh, the prince’s father, who dispatched ‘Ubaydallāh ibn Muḥammad [ibn Abī ʿĀmir], the commander of the cavalry (ṣahīb al-ḥayl) and ‘Abdallāh [ibn Muhammad] ibn Muḍār, the civil governor. Muṭṭarīf held them off for two days, but on the third he was taken. Ibn Muḍār took him away, while ‘Ubaydallāh remained in control of Muṭṭarīf’s house. He was brought to the chamber of ministers, taken in and his arrival announced. ‘Why have you brought him?’ exclaimed the chamberlain. ‘Take him back to his house, execute him, and bury him!’ Which was done.

*  
The leadership of the army went to Āḥmad ibn Abī ʿAbda after the death of Ibn Umayya. Muṭṭarīf had murdered his own brother Muḥammad in the royal palace, after numerous well known incidents that passed between them. For which God exacted punishment, as Muhammad was a good man, and truer in his faith. Ibn Abī ʿAbda undertook the fight against Ibn Ḥaṣūn and other rebels in al-Andalus, summoning the bravest men from every town and enrolling them in the true cause. A squadron (ʿudā) of 300 cavalry was assembled around him, the like of which was never assembled in al-Andalus before or since. He continued to wrest from Ibn Ḥaṣūn his power and what advantage he had gained, until he carried the battle to the gate of his stronghold. The emir ‘Abdallāh was strengthened by his action, so that military expeditions (ṣawāʾif) set off from Cordova to all parts of al-Andalus each summer, and he collected many taxes each year.

For example, his expedition against Daysam:* [ibn Ishāq, ruler of Tudmīr]: He had increased his army by adding foot soldiers, and brave men of the Marches, and by the purchase of slaves until they numbered 5,000 cavalry, not counting foot soldiers. When the royal army approached Daysam, and were about two days’ march away, Ibn Abī ʿAbda wrote to him demanding payment of the taxes due, as he had not paid for several years. When Daysam read the letter, he made light of it and showed his lack of concern, but he asked his companions for their advice. ‘Grant us permission and we shall bring him to you,’ some said. Others said, ‘When he is encamped we will take a look at his army to see how big it is; for we have heard that it is small.’

They saw it, and scoffed at its size, and were eager to confront it. But next morning they set off, and found that he had struck camp and was waiting with 300 men, swords bared. They attacked the host of Daysam resolutely, and within an hour had vanquished 1,600 of the enemy in the camp to which they had descended.

Then the commander advanced until he reached the river, and ordered one of his lieutenants (ʿarif pl. ʿurafā) to call out to them. ‘People of Tudmīr! Is
Daysam with you?’ ‘Yes,’ they returned, ‘he is listening.’ Then he continued, ‘Here is the message of the commander – God preserve him: You dog! You son-of-a-bitch! We offered you peace, but you only wanted to fight, and now you are responsible for these stinking corpses having lost their souls! By the head of the emir! if you do not do what we have ordered you to do, we will surely begin to change this prosperity into ruin. There will not be a town left in Tudmîr!’

Daysam called out, ‘I submit! I submit!’ and that evening he brought the money he owed, and then he [Ibn Abî ´Abda] left.

It is related that Ibrâhîm ibn Ḥajjâj allied himself with Ibn Ḥafṣûn, revoked his allegiance to the emir and refused to pay taxes. Then Ibn Ḥafṣûn paid him a visit in Carmona, some two years after their alliance, and Ibn Ḥajjâj had sent him the support of his cavalry, which he used at Elvira, Tudmîr and Jaén. In the third year, when Ibn Ḥafṣûn met him, he said to him, ‘Let me have your cavalry and your good fighters. Send them with the “noble Arab” [meaning Fujayl ibn Abî Muslim al-Shadhûnî, who was the commander of Ibn Ḥajjâj’s cavalry]. I am determined to confront Ibn Abî ´Abda at the start of my territory and trap him. Then we will sack Cordova the following day.’

But Fujayl, who was a man of good sense and courage, said to Ibn Ḥafṣûn, ‘Listen, Abû Ḥafṣ, do not under-estimate the numbers of Ibn Abî ´Abda: they are few but have the strength of many. If all the people of al-Andalus gathered against them, they would not be able to defeat them!’ But he replied, ‘Lord of the Arabs! He does not frighten me; nor his numbers, nor who is with him. I have 1,600 brave men; Ibn Mastanaḥ has 500; perhaps there are 500 with you. If we combine all of these we shall devour them!’ But Fujayl replied, ‘He may check, or even defeat you. What makes you eager? I know who his companions are – and so do you!’

But Ibn Ḥajjâj gave him his cavalry and took them to Bobastro. He had sent out scouts to watch Ibn Abî ´Abda and these reported that he had crossed the Wâdî Shannîl [the Rio Genil] and that he was in the area near Peña and Istiba [Estepa]. So Ibn Ḥafṣûn set off and found him encamped. The commander advanced and so did Ibn Ḥafṣûn and inflicted a defeat on him in which he lost 543 of his men, whose heads were collected. The camp was looted. Ibn Ḥafṣûn’s men were safe, and not one man was lost.

Then Ibn Ḥafṣûn and Fujayl went back to their camp. When they were together, Ibn Ḥafṣûn was so excited he was incapable of command. In his camp he had only horses and no men. So he sent to Bobastro and his other forts nearby, requesting the despatch of men, and some 15,000 arrived. He was greatly pleased with the large number, and they mounted up to set off.

Fujayl approached him and Ibn Ḥafṣûn said to him, ‘In the name of God!, Lord of the Arabs! Let us go!’ Answered Fujayl, ‘To where?’ ‘To attack Ibn Abî ´Abda!’ he replied, ‘Abû Ḥafṣ,’ said Fajîl, ‘attempting two victories in one day would be defying God, and abusing His bounty! You have already struck
Ibn Abī-Abda a blow, which will make him cringe with shame for the next ten years! So that you can do it again, be on your guard; save your strength!’

‘But we outnumber him!’ cried Ibn Ḥafṣūn, ‘we shall take him by surprise, with his men. It will be a lot if he even mounts his horse to escape!’ So Fujayl arose and called for his weapons, but he exclaimed, ‘By God! I accept no responsibility for this folly!’

They set off and met up with the enemy. The afternoon prayers had been called and prayed, and food had been set out for Ibn Abī-Abda to eat with his men. A spear appeared on the horizon and al-Rūṭī ‘Abd al-Wāḥid straightened up and saw it. Now he was a man of good sense and courage. ‘Comrades,’ he said, ‘we are being attacked! I can see Ibn Ḥafṣūn coming with his cavalry and foot soldiers.’

They seized their weapons and mounted up. Then some said to the others, ‘Throw away the lances and rely on your swords.’ So they did so. Then they inflicted total defeat on Ibn Ḥafṣūn and his men and overran his camp. Some 1,500 of his troops were killed. And so, victory went to the God-fearing.

* 

Now, Ibn Ḥafṣūn had given up a nephew as hostage in Cordova after his first truce, and Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥajjāj had given up his son called ‘Abd al-Rāhmān. So when the news of the battle reached the city next day, the emir went to the court [(satḥ) of the palace] and ordered that the hostages be brought out and executed. Ibn Ḥafṣūn’s nephew was the first to die. Then Badr [ibn Aḥmad] who was awaiting the emir with a group of servants (wasīf pl. wuṣafā’) said, ‘My lord: Ibn Ḥafṣūn’s nephew has been executed. If we also kill the son of Ibn Ḥajjāj that will unite the two of them against you until they die. There is hope that Ibn Ḥajjāj will return to obedience, while there is no hope that Ibn Ḥafṣūn will ever do so.’ The emir called his ministers and asked their opinion. They applauded the view of Badr.

After they had left, Badr suggested that Ibn Ḥajjāj should be well treated and his son returned to him, saying that it would ensure his obedience and his return to the fold. He conferred in secret with al-Tujībī, the treasurer about this, and al-Tujībī wrote to the Emir supporting Badr’s view, saying that it would ensure Ibn Ḥajjāj’s return. So the son was released, and acknowledged as ruler of Seville. His brother Muhāmmad was acknowledged as ruler of Caramona.

The son was turned over to al-Tujībī who took him to Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥajjāj, his father. Then aid and co-operation between Ibn Ḥafṣūn and Ibrāhīm came to an end, though the exchange of letters and gifts continued. Matters remained thus between them until Ibrāhīm died. His allegiance to the emir was regularised and he sent his taxes and gifts. The position of the inhabitants of Cordova improved because of the opening of the road from Seville: and by the opening up of all of the road to the West there was access to the granaries.
Because of his suggestion Badr was made a minister and adviser.20

Now, when al-Mundhir was emir, he appointed Aḥmad ibn al-Barāʾ ibn Mālik al-Qurashi21 governor of Saragossa and the Upper March in opposition to the Banū Qasī.22 His position strengthened and he gathered a large army. When ʿAbdallāh became emir, al-Barāʾ, Aḥmad’s father, was a minister in the chamber of ministers [al-bayt – bayt/dār al-wuzaraʾ]. Something was said to ʿAbdallāh about the minister which annoyed him, and worried him: it was something he had said in the chamber, which all the ministers heard.

At that time Mūḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Rahmān ibn Tujīb, called Abū Yahyā – who was the ancestor of the Tujībīds – had been on good terms with the emir since he was a boy, The emir ʿAbdallāh wrote to him and commanded him that if he could assassinate Aḥmad ibn al-Barāʾ, he should do it. Secretly the emir sent a diploma of appointment over Saragossa and the surrounding area to Mūḥammad. He informed his father, ʿAbd al-Rahmān ibn ʿAbdalʿ-ʿAzīz of that and made him a minister. The two of them arranged matters to achieve what they wanted. They bribed Aḥmad’s guards (a ṭawān) to kill him. When the news of his death came, ʿAbdallāh dismissed his [Aḥmad’s] father from the ministry. Thus the Tujībīds controlled Saragossa: from then to our time.23

Muḥammad ibn Lope [ibn Qasī] encircled al-Tujībī in Saragossa for 18 years, until he was assassinated by a baker (farrān, from furn – baking oven) who hit him with a javelin-shot in the orchards outside the gate of the city, and killed him [in 285/898].24

Notes and comments

1 Abū Mūḥammad ʿAbdallāh ibn Mūḥammad I, brother of the latter, born 229/844, emir 275/888 until his death. 1 Rabīʿ I 300/16 October 912.
2 Al-Naḍar ibn Saḥāma ibn Walīd al-Kilābī. Mūṣā ibn Muḥammad ibn Zīyād al-Judhāmī. The ancestor of Mūṣā ibn Zīyād al-Judhāmī of Shadhūna was Zīyād ibn ʿAmr, one of the Syrian chiefs who aided ʿAbd al-Rahmān I: al-Khuṣḥanī (1952), nos. 41–42; Fierro (1990) nos. 69 and 8; History, 68.
3 Al-Khuṣḥanī (1952) no. 43.
4 Al-Haḥīb ibn Muḥammad ibn Zīyād al-Lakhmī: al-Khuṣḥanī (1952) no. 44.
5 Levi-Provençal i, 336.
6 Al-Dabbī (1997) no. 775.
7 Muḥammad (d. 891) was the eldest son of ʿAbdallāh. His murder was authorised by his father: Levi-Provençal i, 334 and the dynastic table opposite p. 396.
8 Basic security precautions, but ultimately neglected by the victim.
9 Kurayb ibn ʿUthmān ibn Khalīd and his brother Khalīd were members of one of the leading Arab families of Seville. They sided with Ibrāhīm ibn Hajjāj in a struggle with the neo-Muslims for control of the area, begun in 276/899. Ibrāhīm ibn Hajjāj established himself as ruler of Seville and in 286/899 murdered Kurayb.

10 They may have been descended from ῾Abd al-Malik ibn ῾Umar al-Marwāni, governor of Seville in the time of ῾Abd al-Raḥmān I (138–172/756–788), Fierro (1990) nos. 40, 45.

11 Ibn al-Ṣaffār may have been an ancestor of Abū’l-Qasīm ibn al-Ṣaffār, the astronomer, mathematician and author of a work on the astrolabe, mentioned by al-Maqqarī. Yahyā was the son of Yahyā ibn Yahyā al-Laythī who died in 298/911 aged 82: al-Maqqarī (1968) no.161; Marín (1988) no. 896.

12 See History 134.

13 ῾Uqda, normally meant a pennon or pennant carried by officer (nāzīr) in charge of a small formation of troops: Lévi-Provençal iii, 78.

14 Daysam ibn Ishaq was the ruler of Murcia and Lorca: Lévi-Provençal i, 340.

15 Ibrāhīm was related by marriage to Ibn Ḥafṣūn. They remained in alliance until 289/902, Nichols (1975) 243, note 333.

16 Saʿīd ibn Wafīd ibn Mastana was a neo-Muslim leader who controlled the area between Cordova and Jaén and had strong links with Ibn Ḥafṣūn: Lévi-Provençal i, 339.

17 Estepa is a small town 20 km east of Osuna, in the province of Sevilla on the river Genil.

18 Ibn Abī ῾Abda inflicted this defeat on Ibn Ḥafṣūn in the year 289/902: Lévi-Provençal i, 378. Ibn Ḥafṣūn had earlier suffered a major defeat at the hands of ῾Abdallāh at the Battle of Poley/Aguilar in Rabī’ I 278/July 891.

19 Sujjila lahu ʿalā ʿIshbīliya: He was recognised as his father’s heir-apparent with a written diploma. When Ibrāhīm died in 298/910–911 ῾Abd al-Raḥmān succeeded his father as ruler of Seville, and his brother Muḥammad became ruler of Carmona: Levi-Provençal ii, 368.

20 ῾Abdallāh abolished the post of chamberlain and gave its functions to Badr ibn Āḥmad, though without the title: Lévi-Provençal i, 336–337.

21 Fierro (1990) no. 70, 60.

22 Lévi-Provençal i, 388.

23 The Tūjibīds controlled Saragossa until they were replaced by the Banū Ḥud around 430/1039.

24 Lévi-Provençal i, 389.
10 The Reign of the Emir ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III (300–350/912–961)\(^1\)

The situation of the Banū Qasī declined due to severe pressure on them from Sancho [Sānju] of Banbalūna [Pamplona] until the time of the [emir, then] caliph, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad – may God have mercy on him.\(^2\) He was favoured by good fortune. He never encountered anything that he could not surmount. All the rebels of al-Andalus joined the royal army and he made major campaigns against Galicia, by which God subdued the enemy, and destroyed many of them.

* In the year 312/924–925 the Banū Qasī surrendered and were removed from the Upper March. Control of the area went to Abū Yaḥyā Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Tujībī and his sons. The Banū Qasī became part of the royal army.\(^3\)

* Ibn Ḥaḍṣūn died [in 305/917] at the beginning of his reign [Abd al-Raḥmān III], after he had become friends [with the emir] and sworn allegiance.\(^4\) His son Jaʿfar succeeded him and rebelled until God destroyed him.\(^5\) His brother, [Abū] Sulaymān, succeeded him and was even more violent in his rebellion. He fought on with courage until God destroyed him by a fall from his horse in battle.\(^6\) His head and corpse were brought to Cordova and crucified at the palace gate. He was succeeded by his brother Ḥaḍṣ, who also rebelled. So ʿAbd al-Raḥmān personally campaigned against him. He besieged him and left commanders there whom he changed periodically. The last one in charge was Saʿīd ibn al-Mundhir, called Ibn al-Salīm.\(^7\) He wore Ḥaḍṣ down with the siege, until he promised allegiance, and wrote asking for safe conduct and that the minister Ḥaḍīd ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥudayr be sent down to him so he could surrender to him, as Ḥaḍṣ did not trust Ibn al-Salīm. So he [Ḥaḍīd] went and took his surrender [in 316/928] and brought him to Cordova.\(^8\) Then the emir went to Bobastro and destroyed it and built a fort (qaṣba) next to the site.

After that he fought against Ibn Marwān [al-Jillīqi]; then against Toledo and then Saragossa. And all who resisted him were overcome.\(^9\)
Then related,* ᵉ Abdallāh ibn Muʾammal al-Nadīm called al-yamāma, the following: We were together with ᵉ Uthmān (d. 298/910–911) the son of the emir Muḥammad and a group of writers and poets in Cordova on Yawm [al-] ᵉ Ansāra (the Day of Pentecost), when his brother Ibrāhīm (d. 298/910–911) entered.¹⁰ He was older than ᵉ Uthmān, who rose and kissed his hand and bade him be seated. The rest of us did the same.

Then Ibrāhīm said, ‘Brother, I was looking for some one to talk to today, in the city, but I could not find anyone. It was mentioned that everyone is here with you. So I came, hoping to talk to you and the others.’ ᵉ Uthmān offered him something to eat, but he said, ‘I ate before coming.’ So ᵉ Uthmān turned to the curtained-off area and said to his slave girl Baziʾaḥ, called the Imām, who was famous in her day for her singing, and told her to sing, saying, ‘My brother, my lord and my elder, has honoured me with his presence today, so give us the best you can.’ Then she burst out singing with the words:

> It delights my heart to see your visitors*
> Having he who loves you near, augments my pleasure.

But ᵉ Uthmān knitted his brows at this, and great disapproval showed in his face. After we had left, he went to her with a whip in his hand and said, ‘When my brother enters you sing: It delights my heart to see your visitors; by God! Undoubtedly you are in love with him!’ So he punished her.

Now, when the news of this reached us, said ᵉ Abdallāh ibn Muʾammal, we said, ‘Well, there is no point in bringing up the matter; it is over and done with.’ He continued: I was with ᵉ Uthmān on a similar occasion, as we were on many days, when his brother Ibrāhīm entered, and he rose and bade him be seated. Then he said what he had said earlier to Baziʾaḥ and she burst out singing:

> When I see the face of the bird, I say*  
> The crow of dissent and division is not welcome.

Ibrāhīm sat up and said, ‘Brother can something like this be sung when I come in?’ ᵉ Uthmān arose and said, ‘My lord, this hour I shall give her 500 lashes!’ He called for a whip. Now on that occasion, Abū Sahl al-Iskandarānī was present and he was the nicest, wittiest of men and quickest in responding. He said to Ibrāhīm, ‘For God’s sake and your own! Do not let this poor woman be beaten twice because of you! She was punished a few days ago for singing: It delights my heart to see your visitors. If she stoned you to death, she could be forgiven!’

Ibrāhīm said to ᵉ Uthmān, ‘Brother, I see to what lengths your jealousy towards me has reached. By God! I shall never come to your home again after this!’ And he left.

The History of Ibn al-Qūṭiya is finished
Thanks be to God alone.
Notes and comments

1 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdallāh, grandson of the emir ʿAbdallāh, born 22 Ramaḍān 277/7 January 891, emir from 1 Rabiʿ I 300/16 October 912 until he revived the Umayyad Caliphate and proclaimed himself caliph in 316/929. The text gives only a brief account of his reign down to 326/927, EI 2nd i, 83–84.

2 Sancho Garcés I (d. 926 CE) was the Basque king who exerted continual pressure on the declining Banū Qasī dynasty: Levi-Provençal i, 323–333, 392 and the dynastic table opposite p. 388. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān became emir in 300/912 and caliph in 317/929. The text actually says: ‘until ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ascended to the caliphate (khilāfa)’, although the events referred to occurred before 317/929. But because the text was written down after 317/929 the words caliph, caliphate are often used instead of emir, emirate.

3 Sāru min hashmihi wa-jundihi. Lévi-Provençal outlines what happened to the Banū Qasī after 324/912: Lévi-Provençal ii, 30–31.

4 Ibn Ḥaḥṣūn converted to Christianity in 286/899 and was buried at Bobastro. After the fortress was captured by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III his body was exhumed and exposed in Cordova: Lévi-Provençal ii, 15–16.

5 Jaʿfar also converted to Christianity, although the other three sons of Ibn Ḥaḥṣūn remained Muslims: Lévi-Provençal ii, 18.

6 He was captured and executed in 314/913: Lévi-Provençal ii, 19.

7 Lévi-Provençal ii, 13, 20, 26.

8 Ḥaḥṣ finished his days in the service of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III: Lévi-Provençal ii, 20.

9 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān recovered control of Badajoz from the descendants of Ibn Marwān al-Jilliq in 318/930. Toledo was recovered in 320/932 and Saragossa in 326/937, though Muḥammad ibn Ḥāshim al-Tujibī was allowed to remain in control: Lévi-Provençal ii, 24–32, 54; EI 2nd x, 582–584.

10 Both brothers died in the same year: Fagnan (1901–1904) ii, 242, 246. ʿId al-ʾansara, Whitsuntide, Pentecost (Christianity), or Shabouth (Judaism).
Appendices

Appendix i  The symbol ḥā’ appears at the end of each of the following anecdotes and statements in the text of the History. Page and line numbers are from Ibn Akutya (1982).

1 ‘The reasons for Ṭāriq’s invasion in 92/711’, beginning wa-kāna sabah dukhūlıhi . . . (folio 4 verso = 23, l. 13) and ending ‘inda qudūmihi (folio 4 verso = 34, l. 5).
2 Al-Walīd’s intention to withdraw from al-Andalus, beginning thumma atāhum ’ahd al-Walīd . . . (folio 5 verso = 36, l. 1) and ending ikhṭilāf (folio 5 verso = 36, l. 2).
3 ‘Sulaymān’s appointment of Governors of Ḥifrīya’, beginning thumma inna Sulaymān ibn ’Abd al-Malik wallā . . . (folio 6 verso = 37, l. 12), and ending al-Maghrib (folio 6 verso = 37, l. 14).
4 ‘The claim of the Banū ’Abd al-Raḥma’n ibn ’Abdallāh al-Ghāfqi’, beginning wa-zā’ama . . . but without a key word at that point (folio 7 recto = 39, l. 4) and ending Ishbīlīya (folio 7 recto = 39, l. 4).
5 ‘Archidona’, beginning wa-kānat Urjudhūna . . . (folio 12 recto = 48, l. 1) and ending Rayya (folio 12 recto = 48, l. 1).
6 ‘’Abd al-Raḥmān and the Banū Lakhm’, beginning wa-waqa’a khabaruhu ’alā Yūsuf . . . (12 recto = 48, l. 10) and ending Lakhm (12 verso = 49, l. 6).
7 ‘The Battle of Marj Rāḥit’, beginning wa-kānat al-wāqi’a but with no key word at that point (12 verso = 49, l. 10) and ending wa-qabā’ilihim (12 verso = 49, l. 13).
8 ‘’Abd al-Raḥmān’s capture of Cordova’, beginning thumma amara ’Abd al-Raḥmān . . . (folio 12 verso = 49, l. 16) and ending ra’a (13 verso = 5, l. 7).
9 ‘The treachery of al-Ṣabbāḥ’, beginning, thumma ruﬁ’a ilayhi anna . . . (folio 14 recto = l. 6), and ending makyada (folio 14 recto = 52, l. 11).
10 ‘Abūl-Makhshī’s praise of Sulaymān ibn ’Abd al-Raḥmān’, beginning wa-kāna Abūl-Makhshī (folio 16 recto = 56, l. 16) and ending before the verse beginning khad’at umma . . . (folio 16 recto = 57, l. 3). The symbol here is in the form of a half-circle with a central dot.
11 ‘Hishām’s remorse’, beginning fa-lamma sāra al-anm (folio 16 recto = 57, l. 10) and ending muḍā qaṣa (folio 16 verso = 57, l. 11).

12 More verses by Abū l-Makhshī beginning wa-li-Abū l-Makhshī . . . (folio 16 verso = 57, l. 12) and ending qālahu (folio 16 verso = 57, l. 12). The symbol here is in the form of a half-circle with a central dot.

13 After each of the two lines of verse ending mā lā yaqūluha (folio 16 verso = 57, l. 14).

14 After the heading to the anecdote Min akhba r al-Sūmayl (folio 18 recto = 60, l. 12). Its use is decorative here. The anecdote ends wa-laraḍīl (folio 18 verso = 60, l. 17).

15 ‘Hishām and al-D. abbī’, beginning wa-hukiya anna . . . (folio 18 verso = 61, l. 10) and ending rāhimuhu Allāh (folio 18 verso = 62, l. 1).

16/17 ‘Hishām and Abu Hind’, beginning wa-marra Hishām . . . (folio 19 verso = 73, l. 18) and ending jamīlan (folio 19 verso = 63, l. 19). The letter ha‘referred to here may have been used decoratively after the key words mentioning thumma waliya al-Hakam... rāhimuhu Allāh (folio 19 verso = 64, l. 2) which comes immediately after the previous line. It is difficult to separate the two.

18 ‘The Rebellion of the Arrabal’, beginning thumma hadathat bi-Qurtuba ḥādithat al-hayj . . . (folio 22 recto = 68, l. 4) and ending hādhā (folio 22 verso = 69, l. 17).

19 After the heading Masākhīr al-Ḥakam rāhimahu Allāh (folio 22 verso = 70, l. 2). Its use is decorative here.

20 Some verses of Ibn al-Shamir beginning wa-li-Ibn al-Shamir . . . (folio 26 recto = 77 l. 13) and ending fīhā folio 26 recto [this line does not appear in Ibn-Akutya (1982). It should follow on from 77, l. 13].

21 ‘The Body in the Basket’, beginning wa-min akhba r ʿAbd al-Rahmān ibn al-Ḥakam . . . annahu (folio 29 verso = 84, l. 15) and ending al-raʿy (folio 30 recto = 85, l. 15).

22 After the heading Masākhīr Muḥammad rāhimu Allāh, (30 recto = 86, l. 1). Its use is decorative here.

23 ‘The appointment of Saʿīd ibn Sulaymān’, beginning wa-amdā Saʿīd ibn Sulaymān . . . (folio 30 verso = 86, l. 9) and ending Muʿmin ibn Saʿīd (folio 30 verso = 87, l. 5).

24 ‘The Judge swears an oath’, beginning wa-baʿatha ilayhi Aydīn . . . (folio 31 recto = 87, l. 15), and ending fa-anshada . . . (folio 31 recto = 87, l. 17).

25 ‘The extensions to the Mosque of Cordova’, beginning wa-kāna ʿAbd al-Rahmān . . . (folio 31 verso = 88, l. 13) and ending Qawmis (folio 31 verso = 88, l. 15).

26 ‘Muḥammad’s seizure of the throne’ beginning fa-lamma tawaffā ʿAbd al-Rahmān . . . (folio 33 recto = 91, l. 16) and ending anshada Muḥammad . . . (folio 34 verso = 94, l. 6).

27 ‘Ḥāmid al-Zajjālī’s appointment as secretary’ beginning fa-haddathā al-qāʿid . . . (folio 34 recto = 96, l. 3) and ending Saʿīd (folio 36 verso = 98, l. 5).
28 ‘The Ministers of Muḥammad’, which begins without a key word (folio 36 verso = 98, l. 7) and ends al-ḥaq (folio 36 verso = 98, l. 12).
29 ‘Ibn Shuhayd and the Hostages’, beginning thumma narji’ ilā akhbār Umayya . . . (folio 40 recto = 106, l. 2) and ending al-hazl (folio 40 verso = 106, l. 8).
30 ‘Mūsā ibn Mūsā and Irṣāq’, beginning [fa-li]narji’ ilā mā baqā min khabar Mūsā ibn Mūsā (folio 42 recto = 111, l. 1) and ending in shā’ Allāh [ta’alā] (folio 43 recto = 112, l. 16).
31 ‘The Treachery of Muṭarrīf’, beginning wa-kāna sabāb . . . (folio 44 verso = 116, l. 8) and ending fa-kāna dhāli‘a (folio 45 verso = 118, l. 8).
32 ‘Ibn Abī ’Abdā and Ibn Ḥafṣūn’, beginning wa-min akhbāri‘i anna . . . (folio 46 verso = 119, l. 20) and ending lī’l-muttaqīyīn (folio 47 verso = 122, l. 8).
33 The anecdote about Bazī’a beginning ḥakā ‘Abdallāh ibn Mu’ammal al-Nadīm . . . (folio 49 recto = 125, l. 14) and ending wajh (folio 49 verso = 126, l. 12). There is no other key word in the anecdote which finishes wa-kharaja (folio 50 recto = 127, l. 8) and is followed by the letter hā’. The two verses of poetry included are preceded by half-circles with dots in their centres.

Appendix ii The Banū Ḥūṭiyya, circa. 107–429/725–1037 and other descendants of Sāra al-Qūṭiyya (i–ix, all known as Ibn al-Qūṭiyya)

81/700. (See chart on following page)
‘Umayr ibn Sa‘d al-Lakhmî (m. circa 137/756)

Sāra al-Qūṭiya

‘Isā ibn Muzāḥīm (d. 136/755)

Fulâna

Ibrâhîm (i)
(b. Seville)

Ishâq (ii)
(b. Seville)

Habīb (b. Seville)

Fulâna

B. Hajjâj

B. Maslama

B. Jurz

Banû Sayyid

184/800

‘Abd al-Wahhâb

‘Abd al-‘Azîz (iii)
(b. Seville
circa 236/850?)

‘Umar (iv)
(b. Seville
circa 261/875? d. post-302/914)

‘Umar
Fulâna

Maslama
Fulâna

Hajjâj
Fulâna

Fa. Ibrâhîm Fa. Maslama
(ruler Seville,
d. 298/910–911)

Ahmad
(ruler Seville
301/913)

Fulâna

Muḥammad (v)
(b. Cordova
circa 287/900? d. 367/977)

Sulaymân (vi)
Fulâna

‘Abd al-Rahmân
(ruler Seville,
d. 301/913)

Muhammad
(ruler Carmona,
d. 302/915)

Bakr? (vii) ‘Umar (viii)

391/1000

‘Abd al-Malik (ix)
(d. 429/1037)
Appendix iii  The firāsh, carpet-of-office or throne-of-office for officials of the Umayyad Emirate?

I am translating firāsh as ‘carpet-of-office’, though it is not certain whether it was a carpet or a padded mat. Firāsh, which in modern Arabic means a bed on legs or a mattress, had several meanings in the mediaeval Islamic world. In both East and West it meant a sleeping mat or mattress. However, it also meant a throne: firāsh and farash had that meaning under the Umayyads of Damascus and the ’Abbāsids. It does not seem to mean that here, though it is not impossible, and certainly there is important visual evidence in this respect. Ribera translates firāsh as tapiz, ‘carpet, tapestry’, and Nichols follows him in this. The word firāsh is used on four occasions in the History:

- *amara bi-rafa* firāshihi. [Al-Hakam] ordered the confiscation (taking-up) of his [Abū Bassām’s] firāsh.’ (91);
- *wa-umira bi-firāsh lil-wuzāra*. ‘He [Hāmid al-Zajjālī] was awarded a ministerial firāsh [by Muhammad I].’ (116);
- Fa-dakhala Umayya bayt al-wuzāra fa-qāla li-aṣhabīhi ... fa-ur’ida Hāshim ἢ firāshihi wa-da’ā bi-waṣīfī ... ‘Umayya entered the Ministerial Chambers and declared to his companions ... Hashim trembled on his firāsh, and called to his servant. ...’ (117);
- Fa-lamma nazala ’alā firāsh al-madīna, wa atāhu al-mu’addib, fa-qāla lahu ... ‘When he [Īsā ibn Shuhayd] had sat down on the firāsh of the [ṣāhib] al-madīna, civil governor, the teacher came to him and he said to him ...’ (121).

It also appears in the al-Muqtabis of Ibn Ḥayyān when Badr is rewarded for his advice to ‘Abdallāh on the hostages, *wa-amara fa-wuḍ’ a [bi-wad’?] lahu firāsh al-shurā ma’al-wuzarā* ‘He [’Abdallāh] gave the command, and a firāsh of an adviser was put down for him among the ministers’. A firāsh was something rolled out or folded out on the ground, or in the case of officials probably placed on a dais. Al-Khusanī tells us that during Ramadan Sa’īd ibn Ḥassān, a notable faqīh of Cordova (d. 236/850) used to tell his wife to fold or roll up (tawa) the firāsh because he would sleep on his prayer mat. When telling the story of Tālūt, quoting Ibn al-Qūṭīya, Ibn Ḥayyān uses the same verb in the al-Muqtabis but the apparently with the meaning ‘to roll out’ rather than ‘to roll up’. He says that al-Hakam rewarded Tālūt and ordered that a carpet of honour be laid for him in the ministerial chambers: *amara bi-tawfīr irażiqi wa-tayy firāsh karamatihi bi-bayt wuzarā’ihi*. Makki and Corriente translate this passage: ordenó dar a Talut una generosa pensión, y le extendió el tapiz de sus honores (the carpet of honour) entre el divan de sus visires.

The firāsh – whatever form it had – was clearly an important item. Its bestowal and removal was a matter of considerable significance in the protocol of the Umayyad government of al-Andalus. It was an important symbol
of office and is specifically mentioned by Ibn Khaldun when describing the bayt al-wuzaraʾ (chamber of ministers), established by the Umayads of al-Andalus: wa-juʿila lahum bayt, yajlisu ʿalā furush munaḏdana lahum, ‘a Chamber was established for them in which they sat on furush, set out in order for them’ (naḏdada which Lane gives as ‘to arrange or put together in regular order’). Having said this, we have to consider some visual evidence. Among the several ivory pyxides made in the following fourth/tenth century during the Umayyad Caliphate is one, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (368–1880), which was made in 359/969–970 for Ziyād ibn Aflah, prefect of police (sāhib al-shurṭa) in Cordova. Here the central figure, who is assumed to be the prefect himself, sits on a four-legged throne, with two attendants flanking him. Could this be a depiction of a firāsh? In which case firāsh would have to be understood as ‘throne of office’. The argument against this is that the normal word for a throne was usually sarīr. Furthermore the reference in al-Khushanī to Saʿīd ibn Hassān implies that the firāsh – of 100 years previously, at least – was larger than the throne shown on the pyxis of Ziyād ibn Aflah. You could not sleep comfortably on a piece of furniture of that size. The rather unsatisfactory conclusion is that a firāsh was probably not a carpet or rug; more likely an envelope of decorated fabric, filled with feathers or something similar: in short, a kind of mattress, which was probably placed on a four-legged dais in the third/ninth century. By the following century the dais may have become a high-backed throne. Abenalcotía/Ribera (1926) 79; Lévi-Provençal iii, 415; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi (Cairo 1940) ii, 79; Sourdel (1960); Nichols (1975) 211; Sadan (1976) 26–27; al-Khushanī (1992) no. 433; Ibn Ḥayyān (1999) 111 recto, 131 recto; Makki and Corriente (2001) 77; Ibn Khaldūn (2001) 273; Von Folsach and Meyer (2005) 2, 2 cat. No. 12, 319. For Makki and Corriente (2001), please refer to Ibn Ḥayyān, section 2, in Bibliography.

Appendix iv Al-muşḥaf alladhī yunsab ilā ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān, the copy of the Qurʾān of ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān in the Great Mosque of Cordova

Al-muşḥaf alladhī yunsab ilā ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān; ‘. . . the copy of the Qurʾān attributed to the hand of ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān’. By the sixth/twelfth century the ’Qurʾān of ʿUthmān’ had become the pride of the citizens of Cordova and was the subject of some investigation by several mediaeval Muslim scholars, though in the final analysis, its origin remained uncertain. According to al-Idrīsī (d. 560/1165), it contained four folios which came from the Qurʾān, which ’Uthmān was reading when he was assassinated and bore traces of his blood. Ibn Bashkuwāl (d.578/1183) related that it was one of the four copies of the Holy Text sent by ’Uthmān to Makka, Kufa, Basra and Damascus, and probably that of the latter city. This was contradicted by Abūl-Qāsim [al-Qāsim ibn Yūsuf ?] al-Tujībī of Ceuta, who said that he had
seen the Damascus copy with his own eyes in 657/1259. [This date does not tally if al-Qāṣīm al-Tujibi lived 670–730/1271–1329.]

He further stated that the manuscript of Makka was still in that city in the Qubbat al-yahūdiyya. He suggested that it might be the copy that had been sent to Basra or Kufa. Ibn Marzūq (711–781/1311–1379) remarks that in any event, ʿUthmān did not copy any of the four manuscripts. According to a note written on the cover of an early Qurʾān copy found in Madīna, he formed a committee of four scribes to carry out the tasks. He says that the script of the Madīna and Cordova copies differed. Ibn Jubayr (d. 614/1217) said that the manuscript of Makka lacked many folios and had been copied by Zayd ibn Thābit—one of the committee—18 years after the death of the Prophet in 11/632.

The nineteenth-century historian Al-Salāwi says that the Cordovan manuscript passed from hand to hand within the Umayyad family and the people of al-Andalus and that it remained in al-Andalus until the time of the Almohads. It was taken by ʿAbū Yaʿqūb and ʿAbū Saʿīd, the two sons of the Almohad ruler ʿAbū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Muʿmin II ibn ʿAlī (524–558/1130–1163) in Shawwāl 552/November 1157 and placed in the Great Mosque of Marrakesh. Its later history was given in considerable detail by al-Maqqarī and al-Salāwī. It was lost at sea off Tunis in a storm when the ship carrying it sank in 750/1349–1350 on its way back to Merinid Morocco.

The events related in the History concerning the Qurʾān of ʿUthmān occurred in 263/876–877. This is apparently the earliest mention of the manuscript’s existence in al-Andalus. Copies of the Qurʾān attributed to the hands of ʿUthmān, ʿAlī, Husayn and Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī, and the various Companions of the Prophet, were—and are—almost as common as fragments of the ‘True Cross’, so it need not surprise us that one appeared in Cordova in the early years of Umayyad rule. We have little idea of the format of the manuscript or the script employed, only that it was written, according to one account, in a script that differed from the copy in Madīna, which was in a script used in the Yemen. The surviving ‘relic copies’ are all in hands later than the time of the Orthodox Caliphs, and vary in size and number of volumes. Although it is most unlikely that the Cordovan copy dated from the time of the Orthodox Caliphs, it could conceivably have been a late first/seventh–early second/eighth century copy. According to al-Salāwī, however, the Qurʾān of ʿUqba ibn Nāfiʿ (al-Muṣḥaf al-ʿUqbānī) was copied in Quairouan from the (same?) Muṣḥaf al-ʿUthmānī, which if true, would date its existence in the Maghreb to circa 670–683 CE. In 1155/1742 the Muṣḥaf al-ʿUqbānī was sent with 22 other Qurʾāns to Makkah as a gift of Sultan ʿAbdallāh III (1141–1171/1729–1757) of Morocco.

According to al-Idrīsī, Ibn Bashkuwāl and al-Maqqarī, in the twelfth century the Muṣḥaf al-ʿUthmānī was kept in the treasury of the Great Mosque of Cordova, in one of the five chambers to the right of the miḥrāb of al-Ḥakam II. Each Friday it was brought by two officials of the Mosque, preceded by a third and placed on the lectern (kursī). After prayers it was
returned to the treasury. Whether it was kept in the Mosque during the time of the emir Muhammad, or in the Palace is unknown. According to Ibn ’Idhārī, the first treasury (makhnān/bayt al-māl) of the mosque was built during the time of al-Mundhir (273–275/886–888), some ten years after the first mention of the manuscript, possibly to house – among other things – the Qur’ān. Its main purpose was to guard money generated by endowments. This was demolished when the mosque was extended by al-Ḥakam II.

The story of ῞Amr ibn ’Abdallāh’s oath on the Qur’ān of ῾Uthmān is also recounted by al-Khushanī, where the judge was made to swear on a Qur’ān small enough to fit in the sleeve of the messenger (fatū min ašhāb al-rasā’il) who came to him. In this account the manuscript is not called ‘the Qur’ān of ῾Uthmān’. We have to bear in mind that al-Khushanī’s account may be the correct one, since if the Qur’ān of ῾Uthmān had been used, it seems surprising that he would not have mentioned this, and his description of the manuscript is quite specific. So it may be that a later editor or interpolator of the text inserted this reference to the Qur’ān of ῾Uthmān after this treasured relic appeared in Cordova on the assumption that for so serious a matter – the impeachment of the chief judge – nothing less than the Qur’ān of ῾Uthmān would have been used. But the earliest reference to the manuscript’s existence in Cordova seems to be in the sixth/twelfth century by al-Idrīsī. If al-Salāwī is to be taken at his word, the manuscript was in the hands of the Umayyad family before that date; but how soon before we do not know. This raises the possibility that the text of the History was still being added to two centuries after the death of Ibn al-Quṭīya: Fagnan (1901–1904) ii, 246; al-Maqqārī (1968) i, 605–615; al-Ṣalāwī (1954) ii, 127–30; al-Idrīsī (1970–1984) v; 564, 577; Broadhurst (1952) 201, 279; al-Khushanī (1952) 122–123; Shafaat 2005. See also Introduction, 33–34.

Appendix v The location of Ṣakhrat Jawdharīsh, west of Bobastro

This identity of the ‘rock of Jawdharīsh’ (fully vocalised in the Paris manuscript, folio 40 recto, but unvocalised in Abenalcoitia/Ribera 1926) to the west of Bobastro should give a clue as to the location of the site of Bobastro. Jawdharīsh must be the place mentioned twice by Ibn Ḥayyān, near Álora, which is written slightly differently in each case: F.rdhālish and F.rdhārish. In the Paris manuscript the ḵāʾ with sublinear point = ḿīn; rāʾ = dhāl. The letters s and l are always interchangeable in the Romance languages and dialects of the peninsula: so F.rdhālish, in the course of time and copyists’ mis-readings, has become Jawdharīsh.

In his examination of the literary and topographical evidence for the exact location of Bobastro Vallvé refers to Qardhārish as one of several fortresses belonging to Ibn Ḥaṣūn. The others are Najarish (unidentified) and Uliyas (Olias) and Shant Bītar (Santopitar). He identifies it with Cerro de la Caldera, south-east of the Sierra del Rey. But is seems likely that F.ardālish, Qardārish,
 Appenices  151

Jawdhārish all refer to the same place and that is [F]Ardales. Moreover, Ardales lies west of the (probably) true site of Bobastro near Riogordo.

Dozy also identifies Jawdhārish with Ardales, because Ardales, he notes, was formerly written ‘Hardeles’. His reasoning is slightly different to mine, but it should be remembered that an initial letter f often changed to an h as mediaeval Spanish underwent various changes: fijo–hijo; façer–haçer. Finally Ibn Ḥayyān says that Badr in his campaign of 307/919–920 against Ibn Hāfsūn went from Álora to Qasr Bunayra, Casarbonela, to S.kur (?) and F rdhālish. This route would have taken him west of Álora to Ardales, which strategically makes sense if he wanted to destroy Ibn Hāfsūn’s outlying fortresses to the west of Bobastro – or south if it was located at the site in the Mesas de la Villaverde.

Even if Vallvé is correct in his relocation of Bobastro near Riogordo, the Mesas de la Villaverde site was an important one, on a natural mountain fortress, with a large rock-cut Mozarabic church. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III would have wanted to neutralize it. It may be the place mentioned in the Anales Palatinos, as Agwa Māra (Agua Amarga?) In 317/929 ‘Abdal-Raḥmān also destroyed the Castillo de Turón, 5 km west of Ardales, Dozy (1881) 3rd i, 320; Vallvé (1965) 157, note 49; Ibn Ḥayyān (1979, 100/153; 119/184; Corriente and Viguera (1981) 100/123; 118/142; López Guzmán (2002) 780–782; 805–807; 808–810; 846–847; and personal communication from J. Vallvé concerning the identification of the Mesas de la Villaverde site.

Appendix vi  The identity of Abū’l-Faḍl ibn Muḥ(ammad) . . . al-Wazzān

There is a possibility, albeit a slender one, that Abū’l-Faḍl ibn Muḥ(ammad) . . . al-Wazzān (al-Wazzānī) may be the famous Moroccan scholar al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Alḥmad al-Wazzān al-Fāši, better known to history as ‘Leo Africanus’. The damaged part of the inscription on folio 118 recto needs to be properly examined under ultra-violet light, to confirm or refute this. I merely offer the suggestion here that it is a task worth doing, if only to discount the possibility. The first inscription on folio 2 recto reads: Intaqala’l-milk Abū’l-Faḍl al-faqīr: ‘Ownership transferred to the wretched Abū’l-Faḍl’. The second is much fuller and states: Al-ḥamdulillāh, malaka hādhā’l-kitāb bi’l-shirā al-ṣaḥīḥ ‘ubayd Allāh wa-aqall ‘abīdihi Abū’l-Faḍl ibn Muḥammad ibn . . . (?) . . . al-Wazzān / al-Wazzānī (?) . . . ghafara lahu wa-li-wālidayhi wa-li-jamī’ al-muslimīn, wa-ṣallā Allāh ‘alā sayyidinā Muḥammad wa-‘alā ālihi wa-ṣuḥbīhi wa-sallam tasliman This book was legally purchased by meanest slave of God and the least of his slaves Abū’l-Faḍl ibn Muḥ . . . (?) . . . al-Wazzān / al-Wazzānī (?). . . Forgive him and his parents, and all Muslims. God bless our Lord Muḥammad, his Family and Companions, and grant them peace.’

Al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Alḥmad al-Wazzān al-Gharnāṭi al-Fāši was born in Granada in the final decade of the ninth/fifteenth century, after
the fall of the city to the Christian rulers of a finally united Spain. We know little of his life apart from what he tells us in his *magnum opus*, the *Libro de la Cosmographia* [sic] *et Geographia de Afhrica*. His family emigrated to Fez, where he was brought up. He travelled with his uncle in Africa as a young man and visited Constantinople, Beirut and Baghdad in 1507–1508 CE. He states that he was also in Egypt, Iran and even further East (so he claimed).

He became a roving ambassador for the Waṭṭāṣid ruler Muhammad II called *al-Burtuqlī*, Sultan of Fez (875–931/1470–1525), a position that took him to Constantinople again and to Egypt, during the Ottoman invasion of 922/1517. While returning to Tunis from Egypt, he fell into the hands of Spanish pirates, who eventually gave him as a gift to Pope Leo X (1513–1521 CE) in 1518 CE. He became a Christian and took the name Giovanni Leone de Medici, after his patron Pope Leo, but evidently preferred an Arabic version of the name calling himself, ‘Yuḥannā al-Asad al-Gharnāṭī’.

During the years he spent in Italy al-Ḥasan/Giovanni Leone/Yuḥannā wrote several works in Italian, including one on history. His most important book was his *Libro de la Cosmographia* [sic] *et Geographia de Afhrica*. He wrote the manuscript in Italian in 1526 and it was later printed in Venice in 1554 under a new title *Descrittione della Africa*, after being edited by Giovanni Battista Ramusio. But in addition there was a grammar of Arabic, including a treatise on metrics, a collection of biographies of famous men – Muslims, Christians and Jews –, a work on Malikite Law and a work on Islamic history, *La brevita de la croniche mucamettani*, evidently a summary or epitome. Some of these have survived, but the history is unfortunately lost. All must have been composed with little assistance from any original sources, since there were few Arabic manuscripts in the Papal Library at this stage.

Al-Ḥasan stayed in Rome until it was sacked by troops of Carlos V, the Holy Roman Emperor, in 1527, and seems to have left shortly afterwards, never to be heard of again. There is some fairly reliable evidence that he went to Tunis and died there in *circa* 1550 CE. But some place him back in Morocco, dying there in 944/1537. Wherever he went in North Africa he would have resumed his Muslim name al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Wazzān al-Gharnāṭi al-Fāṣi. But if he was the purchaser and owner of the *Tārīḫ Ibn al-Qūṭīya*, why did he make yet another change to his name? Why did he call himself ‘Abū’l-Ḥaṣan ibn Muḥammad’ instead of ‘al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad’? The explanation is presumably that he married – or perhaps remarried – after his escape, and his first-born son was called ‘al-Ḥaḍl’. Thus in accordance with Arab tradition he would have been called by the *kunya* ‘Abū’l-Ḥaḍl ‘(the father of al-Ḥaḍl). He would still have retained his name ‘al-Ḥasan’ but have been more commonly called by his *kunya* ‘Abū’l-Ḥaḍl’ instead of, or equally as much as ‘al-Ḥasan’.

The translator of the Spanish version of the *Descrittione della Africa* of 1940, came to a similar conclusion when he identified al-Ḥasan with an ‘Abū’l-Qāsim ibn Aḥmad ibn Ziyād al-Andalusī al-Gharnāṭī’, who died in Fez in 944/1537. It is unlikely that this identification is correct however:
al-Ḥasan would not have dropped his father’s name and introduced that of an earlier ancestor, his great-grandfather, because Arab names normally include only two ancestors, not a third, which would have been the case here if ‘Ziyād’ had been his great-grandfather.

There is one important point that we have to consider. The inscriptions in the Tarikh Ibn al-Quṭiya are not in the hand of al-Ḥasan as it appears in his signatures in two Arabic manuscripts that he examined in Rome while still a captive. We could account for this by assuming that, if the owner was in fact Al-Ḥasan/Leo, his hand must have changed and matured with the passage of time. He wrote his name in the two Arabic manuscripts in Rome around 1518 and left Italy around 1527. So the inscription in The Bibliothèque Nationale must date from a decade and perhaps even more than a decade later: Descripción 1952 sección 6(2), no. 5, viii and xiii: Masonen (2002); Davis (2008) figs. 1 and 3.
Editions of Arabic texts are given under their author, followed by the editor: e.g. 


Editions of Arabic texts with accompanying translations are given under author in the form used by the translator, followed by the name of the editor/translator: e.g. 


Translation of Arabic texts only are given under the name of the translator: e.g. 


Manuscripts

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

MS arabe 1867 [764], Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ṭabarib Muhāmmad ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz called Ibn al-Qūṭīya, Taʾrīkh iftitāḥ al-Andalus, fols 2–50.

MS arabe 1867 [764], Anon. Akhbār majmūʿa fī fath al-Andalus, fols 51–118. Bound with the previous work.


MS arabe 4485, [Abbé Renandot], Catalogus manuscriptorum arabicum, 1718. A copy of the catalogue of 1682.

Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid


Editions of the Arabic text

1 Complete

Abenalcotía/Ribera (1926)  J. Ribera, Historia de la conquista de España de Abenalcotía el Cordobés [the printed text of 1868 with a Spanish translation]. Colección de obras arábigas de historia y geografía que publica la Real Academia de la Historia ii, Madrid.


2 Partial


Translations only

1 Complete


2 Partial


Secondary sources


Ainaud (1962)  J. Ainaud, Spanish Frescoes of the Romanesque Period, UNESCO.


156 Bibliography

Anon/Lafuente y Alcántara (1867) E. Lafuente y Alcántara, *Ajbār maḥmū‘a (Colección de tradiciones)* [with a Spanish translation], Colección de obras árabigas de historia y geografía que publica la Real Academia de la Historia, i, Madrid.


Calvert (1907) A.F. Calvert, *Seville: An Historical and Descriptive Account of 'The Pearl of Andalucia'* , Edinburgh.


Chalmeta (1973) P. Chalmeta, Una historia discontinua e intemporal (*jabar*), *Hispania* xxxiii, Madrid, 23–75.


Descripción (1952) [Leo Africano] *Descripción de África y de los cosas notables que en ella se encuentran por Juan León Africano*, Tangiers 1952 (First edition, Tetuan, 1940).


EI 2nd Encyclopaedia of Islam (ongoing), Leiden.


Hafs le Goth/Urvoy (1994) Ḥafs ibn Albār, M-T Urvoy, Le Psautier Mozarabe de Hafs le Goth, Toulouse.


Hammer-Purgstall (1839) J. Hammer-Purgstall, Catalogo dei codici arabi, persi e turchi della Biblioteca ambrosiana, Milan.


Ibn Ḥayyān (al-Muqtabis)

1 Editions of the text


2 Translations of Ibn Ḥayyān

Bibliography


Ibn 'Idhārī (1951) Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Marrākushi (eds. G.S. Colin and É. Lévi-Provençal), Kitāb al-bayyān a-mughrīb, i–ii Leiden.


Imamuddin (1961) S.M. Imamuddin, A Political History of Muslim Spain, Dacca.


Jeffery (1938) A. Jeffery, The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur‘an, Oriental Institute, Baroda.


Lane-Poole (1890) S. Lane-Poole, The Barbary Corsairs (with additions by J.D. Kelley), London.


Lévi-Provençal (1937) É. Lévi-Provençal, Muhammad ibn 'Abdal-Mu‘min
160 Bibliography


Madrid (1889) F. Guillén Robles, Catalògo de los Manuscritos Árabes existentes en la Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.


Moritz (1905) B. Moritz, Arabic Palaeography, Publications of the Khedival Library xvi, Cairo.


Oppolzer (1887) T. Von Oppolzer, Canon de Finsterniss . . . mit 160 Tafeln, Vienna.

Paris (1883–1895) W. Baron MacGuckin de Slane, Catalogue des manuscrits arabes, Bibliothèque Nationale (France).


Pellat (1962) Ch. Pellat, The origin and development of historiography in Muslim Spain, in Historians of the Middle East (eds. B. Lewis and P.M. Holt), London, 118–125.


Bibliography


Simonet (1897–1903) F.J. Simonet, Historia de los mozárabes en España, Madrid.


Terés (1961) E. Terés, El poeta Abū-l-Majṣī y Hassana al-Tamīmīyya, Al-Andalus; Revista de las Escuelas de Estudios Árabes de Madrid y Granada xxvi, 229–244.

Torres Balbas (1982 (i)) L. Torres Balbas, La primitiva mezquita mayor de Sevilla Crónica arqueológica de la España Musulmana xix (xi, 1946, 1), Obras Dispersas iii, Madrid, 197–212.


Index

'Abbās / Wahba, Oppas / Oppa 22, 50, 55 n.10
'Abbās, al-, 'Abdallāh al-Marwānī 86 'Abd al-Malik ibn Sulaymān
'Abbās, al-, ibn al-Ahnaf 97 'Abd al-Malik ibn Umar al-Marwānī
'Abbās ibn Nāṣīh 88, 93 n.15 'Abd al-Malik ibn Haḍī 62
'Abū Bakr 62 'Abdallāh ibn 62 'Abdallāh ibn al-Marwānī
'Abdallāh ibn Hamīr 62 'Abdallāh ibn Hārūn 94 n.32, 116
'Abdallāh ibn Khālid 67, 76, 78 n.7, 128 n.45
'Abdallāh ibn Kulaib ibn Thālabān 107 n.40
'Abdallāh ibn Mu‘amīl al-Nādīm 126 n.15, 143
'Abdallāh ibn Muḥammad I 11, 12–13, 113, 133–8, 139 n.20
'Abdallāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Muṭṭar 135
'Abdallāh ibn Muḥammad al-Zajjālī 133
'Abdallāh ibn Sinān 101
'Abdallāh ibn Umayyā ibn Yazīd 99, 115, 116, 117–18
'Abdallāh ibn Yazīd 59
'Abdallāh ibn Yūnus 26
'Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Marwān 67, 77 n.5
'Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Mūṣā ibn Nuṣayr 53
'Abd al-Barr ibn Hārūn 105 n.20
'Abd al-Hamīd 104 n.18
'Abd al-Karīm ibn Mughīth 85, 86, 99 n.7, 111
'Abd al-Malik ibn ‘Abdallāh ibn Umayyā ibn Yazīd 133, 134
'Abd al-Malik ibn Abī l-Riqa’, Yusuf al-Maghamī 37
'Abd al-Malik ibn Umar al-Marwānī 139 n.10
'Abd al-Malik ibn Qatṭ al-Fihrijī 60, 61
'Abd al-Malik ibn Sulaymān ibn ‘Umar 139 n.10
'Abd al-Malik ibn ‘Azīz al-Umawī ibn al-Qāṭīya 17, 30, 45 n.81, appendix ii
'Abd al-Mu‘min II 33, appendix iv
'Abd al-Rahmān I 50–1, 68–77
'Abd al-Rahmān II 97–103, 104 n.12, 112, 113, 114, 123
'Abd al-Rahmān III 140, 142 n.2
'Abd al-Rahmān ibn ‘Abdallāh al-Ghāfiqī 60; descendants of 60, 112
'Abd al-Rahmān ibn ‘Abd al-'Azīz al-Tujibī 129 n.61
'Abd al-Rahmān ibn ‘Alqama al-Lakhmī 61, 80 n.40
'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Ghānim 99, 104 n.18
'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥajjāj 35, 127 n.33, 137, 139 n.19
'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Marwān ibn Yūnus al-Jīlīqī 31, 118–19, 127 n.38, 128 n.43
'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Rustam 99
'Abd al-Rahmān ibn al-Shamīr 98, 99, 104 n.10, 126 n.20, 144 n.20
'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Umayyā ibn ‘Isā ibn Shuhayd Duhaym 133
'Abd al-Rahmān ibn ‘Uqba 72
'Abd al-Wāḥid al-İskandarānī 111
'Abd al-Wāḥib ibn Mughīth 83, 85 n.7
Abū . . . ‘Amīr ibn Mu‘āwīya ibn Ziyād al-Lakhmī 130
Abū ‘Abdā Ḥassān ibn Mālik 68, 76, 78 n.9
Abū ‘Abdallāh ibn Ḥittāb 34
Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn Baṣīr ibn Waqdāh 35, 81 n.50, 91, 94 n.32, 125 n.7
Abū ‘Akrāma, Ja‘far ibn Yazīd 70
Abū ‘Alā‘a al-Judhāmī 68, 78 n.10
Abū ‘Alī al-Qāfī 27
Index

Bibliothèque Royale 3, 8, 9, 42 n.22
Bīla Nība, Villa Nueva 70
Bīna, Pēna 59
Bishr ibn Șafwān 59
Bizint/Birnat, Bernado/Vicente 88
Bobastro, Bubasṭir/Bubasṭru 18, 120, 121, 128 n.44, 136, 140, appendix v; location 128 n.44; Vallery’s researches 128 n.44; Postuero 128 n.44
Briquet, C.M. 2
Bushuṣ 112, 126 n.18
Byzantine emperor 109

Cabra, Qabra 34, 133
Calahorā 92 n.5
Campiña de Córdoba, al-Qambarīya 123, 129 n.58
Cardonne, D.D. 19; Histoire de l’Afrique et de Espagne etc. 19
Carmona, Qarmūna 14–16, 57 n.27, 73; Būb Ishīḥiyya 73
Carteya, Ancient Carteia 52, 57 n.25
Castle qal’a of Hazm at Jaén 76
Catoira, Galicia 107 n.37
Ceuta, Sābita 57 n.23, 93 n.19
Chalmeta, P. 5, 25, 31, 36, 41 n.2
Charles the Bald 109
Cherbonneau, J.A. 1; partial editions/translations 1853, 1856 19, 21
Chero, El near Ardales 128 n.44
Christians in al-Andalus 38, 39, 55 ns.11, 12, 57 n.29, 65 n.24, 110, 126 n.29
Chrysis, A. 38, 41 n.7, 45 n.84
Clenardus, N. 9
client, mawla; pl. mawālī 63 n.2
Codera, F. 20
Coimbra, Qulamrīya 127
Colbert, J.-B. 9
Collins, R. 57 n.23
Constantina, Firish 100, 106 n.24
Constantine, Algeria 1; library of ʿAlī Hamou da ben El ferkoun 1, 41 n.6
Cordova, Qurṭuba 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 49, 50, 52, 56 n.22, 57 n.27, 59, 61, 63, 68, 70, 73, 74, 75, 77 n.1, 103 n.3, 110, 119, 122, 136, 137, 140, 142 n.4; Bāb al-qaṭara 63 n.7, 113, 114; Bāb al-ṣudda 94 n.3, 114; Bridge 63 n.7; cemetery of al-Quraysh 22, 27, 82; chamber of civil governor; dār al-raḥāʾ in 121, 129 n.53; Duwayra prison 91, 118, 127 n.35; madina 134; al-Muṣāra 71, 79 n.33; Puerta del Puente 63 n.7; Shabulār 71, 79 n.35 Cordova, Būb al-ṣudda palace 55 n.14, 94 n.30; Būb al-jinān 113, 94 n.30; dār al-kāmil 63 n.7, 112, 126 n.21; dārībayt al-wuzūraʾ 103, 117
Cordova, great mosque 33, 35, 71, 84 n.6, 99, 101, 105 n.19, 110, 125 n.11, appendix iv; maqṣūra 125 n.11; San Vicente 80 n.30
Cordova ḥāḍithat al-hayj 32, 88–9
Cresswell, K.A.C. 84 n.6, 105 n.19, 125 n.11
Crete, Iqrīṣīth 32, 89, 93 n.23
Cronica de Don Prudencio 36, 45 n.107
Cronica del Moro Rasis 36

Ḍabbī, al-ʿAbd al-Wāḥid ibn Īshāq al-Munajjīm 82; Urjażī faʾīlʾal-nūjūm 84 n.3
Ḍāhḥāk, al-, ibn Qays al-Fihri 70
Damascus 22, 33, 39, 53, 63, 80 n.39, appendix iii dārb 97, 103 n.3
Daysam ibn Īshāq 135–6
Denmark 105 n.22
De Slane 9
Derenbourg, L. 43 n.57
Dereguero 78 n.7, 120, 128 n.51, appendix v
Diānī, I. 44 n.68
dīnār 80 n.36
dirham 80 n.36
Dipy/Diyab, P. 8; Catalogue de manuscrits arabes de la Bibliothèque du Roi 8
Dozy, R.P.A. 10, 21, 36, 81 n.58, 106 ns.27, 29, 107 ns.40, 43, 126 n.26, 127 n.34, 128 n.51, appendix v
Diānī, Doñe guero 78 n.7, 120, 128 n.45

Écija, Istījja 36, 52, 57 n.27
Eclipse of 218/833 101, 106 n.32
Egypt accounts 56 n.22
Escorial, the 10
Estepa, Istība 136, 139 n.17

Fagnan, E. 41 n.6, 108 n.45, 127 ns.35, 42, 131 n.4; partial translation of 1924 21
Fajj Tāriq Tāriq’s Pass 52
Fajj Mūsā, Mūsā’s Pass 53
Fakhr 112
famine of 260/873–874 118
Faraj, al-, ibn Kanāna ibn Nizār al-Kanānī 97, 104 n.4
Index

Ibn Abi 'l-Shu'arā` 120
Ibn Abī'l-Walid al-Araj 26, 44 n.80
Ibn al-'Aflī, Abū 'Umar Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn al-'Aflī al-Ta'rīkhī 22; Kitāb al-iḥtīfāl fi ta'rīkh dīlām al-rījāl 28, 43 n.65, 45 n.89
Ibn al-Faḍlī, 'Abdallāh ibn Muhammad ibn Yūsuf; Tā'ākhbar 'ulamā` al-Andalus 26, 27, 28
Ibn Asyad 115
Ibn Bashkuwāl, Abū 'l-Qāsim Khalaf 30, appendix iv; Kitāb al-ṣila 43 n.65
Ibn Bāqīr 122
Ibn Başāl al-ghammāz 99, 104 n.16
Ibn Bukht, Yusuf ibn Bukht 68, 75, 78 n.13, 99
Ibn Daysam al-Ishbīlī 134
Ibn Hayyān, Abū Marwān Ḥayyān ibn Khalaf 11–18; al-Muqtabis fi akhkhār ahl al-Andalus 7, 41 n.6, 45 n.92, 46 n.118, 106 ns.32, 33
Ibn 'Idhārī, Ahmad ibn Muhammad; Kitāb al-bayān al-mughirīb 84 n.6
Ibn al-Kardabūs, Abū Marwān 'Abd al-Malik ibn Abī'l-Qāsim 36 n.21; Tā'ākhbar al-Andalus 10, 42 n.28
Ibn al-Khaddā` 88–9, 93 n.18
Ibn Khallikān, Ahmad ibn Muhammad 45 ns 84, 89; Wafayāt al-dāyān 27, 43 n.65
Ibn al-Qātīya, Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn 'Umar; ancestry 22–4, appendix ii; teachers of 26–7; his life and work 24–8; Kitāb tāsrīf al-afāl 26; Maqṣūr wa l-mamādīd 26; Tā'īrīkh Ibn al-Qātīya l-Tā'ākhbar al-Andalus 25–6; dates in 31–2; earlier versions of 18–19; editions of 19–21; editor of 29–31; received text of 10–18; translations of 21–2; sources 34–7; written 36–7; oral 34–6
Ibn Śāhib al-Ṣalāt 105 n.20
Ibn al-Saffār 134, 139 n.11
Ibn al-Salīm, Sa'd ibn Muhammad ibn al-Salīm 79 n.26, 133, 135
Ibn al-Salīm, Sa'd ibn al-Mundhir ibn al-Salīm 79 n.26, 140
Ibn al-Shammās 88
Ibn al-Shabbāt 10
Ibn Marwān al-Jilīqi 140, 142 n.9
Ibn Mastana, Sa'd ibn Walīd 136, 139 n.16
Ibn Murūn 115
Ibn Nādir 91
Ibn Zarqūn, Abū 'l-Ḥusayn ibn Zarqūn 93 n.19
Ibrāhīm ibn al-'Abbas al-Marwānī 13
Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥajjāj 134, 136, 137, 138 n.9, 139 n.15
Ibrāhīm ibn 'Isā ibn Muzāḥīm Ibn al-Qātīya 24, appendix ii
Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad I 141, 142 n.10
Ifrīqiya 51, 55 n.13, 59, 60, 61, 62
iḥāzat 17
Ilbīra, Elvira 63, 68, 69, 71, 115, 127 n.32, 136
Ilfuntūn, Frontūl 69, 78 n.18
Iṅgā 93 n.24
Iṅgā Aristo 93 n.24
Inān, M. 'A. 21, 43 n.60
Ireland 105 n.22
Irzāq ibn Muntīl 124, 129 n.59
'Isā ibn Ahmad ibn Muḥammad al-Rāzī 39, 46 n.118
'Isā ibn Dīnār 74, 81 n.50, 89
'Isā ibn Muzāḥīm 22, 23, 24, 43 n.67, 51, appendix ii
'Isā ibn Shuhayd 99, 111
Ishaq ibn Ḥasāmah ibn Muzāḥīm Ibn al-Qātīya 23, 51, appendix 2
Ismā`il II 42 n.24
Ismā`il ibn 'Abdallāh 59
Ismā`il ibn Mūsā 129 n.60
Ja`ēn, Jayyān 63, 68, 71, 73, 76
Ja`far ibn 'Umar ibn Ḥaṣān 140, 142 n.5
Jamall bint `Abd al-Jabbār 102, 107 n.40
Jawdharīsh, Hardales, Ardales 121, appendix v
Jews in al-Andalus 110
Jibāyā 123
Jordan, al-Urdun 63
Julian, Yuliyān 51–2, 57 n.23
Julian's daughter 52, 57 n.23
jund, pl. ajnād 39

kalb, kalbayan 127 n.35
khādīm, pl. khadāms 130
khalīfah, pl. khulafā` 92 n.11
khātam, seal-ring 113, 126 n.23
Khwārījī, al- 88, 92, 93 n.14
khāzin al-akbar/shaykh al-khuzzān 97, 99
khīma 80 n.47
khilāṣa 17
khīzānat al-māl 111
khums 63 n.5
Khušhānī, al-, Abū `Abdallāh
INDEX

Muḥammad ibn ʾUmar ibn Lubāba 35, 49, 74, 76, 134
Muḥammad ibn Walīd ibn Ghānim ibn ʾAbd al-Rahmān al-burqānī 120
Muḥammad ibn Yazīd al-Mubarrad; al-Kāmil 27, 30
Muḥammad ibn Zakaṭīyāʾ ibn Yahyā ibn Shāmūs ibn ʾUmar Ibn al-Ṭanṭīya al-Ishbīlī 34, 49
Muḥammad ibn Ziyād 109
muṣāḥshīr, al- 76, 81 n.58
Muṣʿab, al-, ibn ʾImrān ibn Shafʿī al-Ḥamdānī 83, 86
musalla 59, 69, 78 n.22
Muṭṭarrīf ibn ʿAbdallāh 133–5
Muṭṭarrīf ibn Abī ʾl-Rabīʿ 130
Muṭṭarrīf ibn Abī-arabī 73
Muṭṭarrīf ibn Mūsā 129 n.60
Muʿīn ibn Saʿīd 109
Mundhir, al-, ibn ʾAbd al-Rahmān 88, 93 n.17
Mundhir, al-, ibn Muḥammad 119, 123, 130–1, 133
Munt Shaṭṭāʾī (?), Monte Sacro (?) 119, 127 n.42
Munṣar Naṣr 67, 77 n.2
Mūrī, Mora 68
Mūsā ibn al-ʿAṣī 133
Mūsā ibn Hudayr 97, 99, 102
Mūsā ibn Muḥammad ibn Ziyād al-Judhāmī 138 n.2
Mūsā ibn Mūsā 93 n.24, 124; his daughter 24
Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr 50, 52–4, 57 n.27
Mūsā ibn Qaṣī 100
Mūsā ibn Sālim al-Khawlānī 89
Mūsā ibn Ziyād al-Judhāmī al-Shadhūnī 133
musawwada 17
nuwadda 92 n.7
Muzāhīr, uncle of ʾUmar ibn Ḥafṣūn 120, 121
Naḍār, al-, ibn Salāma 133
Naṣr, Abū ʾl-ʾFatḥ Naṣr 112, 126 n.16
Naṣfūra 60
Nāfīʿ ibn Abī Naʿīm 74
Nākūr Nuqūr 101, 106 n.28
naptha 102, 107 n.36
nāqiṣ 17
Narbonne Urbīnā 61, 64 n.17, 72, 80 n.40, 83, 85 n.7
Nība, Nība 70
Nichols, J.M.; translation of 1975 22
Niebla, Labla 72, 119
North Africa 50, 52, 59, 60, 62, 67, 68, 69, 89, 101
Ocaña Jiménez, M. 84 n.6
Oscenoba, Ushkūnuba 119
Palestine, Filastīn 63
Pamplona, Banballūna 140
Parauta 128 n.44
Pentecost, yawm al- 101, 106 n.28
Persian and Urdu translations 43 n.63
Poley/Aguilar, Bulāy 139 n.18
qāḍī al-ʿajam, chief Christian judge 50, 55 n.12
qāḍī al-jund 92 n.3, 110
qāḍī al-jumāʿa 92 n.3
Qādī, al-, ʿTyād, ʿTyād ibn Mūsā; Tarīḥ al-madārīk 29, 43 n.67
Qaḥṭānīs 62, 68, 70, 72
qāʾid al-jaysh 119
qalam 89, 93 n.19
Qaʿnab 102
Qanbānīya, al-, the Campiña de Córdoba 123
qarrāʾ iqurrah ṣ pl.-īn 79 n.34
Qurtājanna, Cartagena 52, 57 n.25
Qasī, Cassius/Casiao 39, 93 n.24, 94
Qāsim 113
Qāsim ibn Aṣbāgh 25, 26
Qaṣṣābhīn, al- 103
Qawmis / Qāmis 11, 37, 76; Qawmis ibn Antuṇiyān al-Nasrānī ibn Yūḥyāna al-Nasrānīya 110, 115, 126 n.28
Qinnisrīn 63
Qairuwan, Qayrawān 60
Quirtas de Moafer, Quairouan, Qayrawa Quairouan, Qasr/Quaрак Quarrīs / Quaʾrīs 11, 37, 76; Qawmis ibn Antuṇiyān al-Nasrānī ibn Yūḥyāna al-Nasrānīya 110, 115, 126 n.28
Quīnīsirīn 63
Quairouan, Qayrawān 60
Quīrta ṣ de Moafer, Kīntūsh Muʿāfīr 100
Quʾān of ʿUthmān ibn ʾAffān 110, appendix iv
Quʾān, copy of 113, appendix iv
Quʾrānsh 14, 80 n.45, 112, 115, 130
Rāḥ 77 n.5
raqq 69, 93 n.19
rasīf 103
Ravyalu 59, 63 n.1, 69, 119, 120, 128 n.45
Reinaud, JT. 8, 19; Invasions des Sarrazins en France 2, 43 n.48
Renaudot, Abbé 8; Catalogus manuscriptorum arabis 42 n.21
Ribera, J. 37; translation of 1926 22
Rivandaneyra Press, Madrid 20
Rome Rūmā 76
Index 173

Rumulu, Romulus/Rómulo or Ajíal

Waqla, Aquila/Aguila/Chilca 22, 49, 54 n.3
Rúrū, al-, ‘Abd al-Wāhid 137

Sābiq ibn Mālik ibn Yazīd 70
ṣāhib al-hashm 123
ṣāhib al-khay 135
ṣāhib al-madīna 107 n.43
ṣāhib al-qalam al-dā’ 115
ṣāhib al-rasā’il 71, 102, 107 n.42
ṣāhib al-salāh 122
ṣāhib al-shurta 25
Ṣāhib al-thaghr 116
Sa’īd ibn Ḥassān 74, 81 n.50
Sa’īd ibn ‘Ubaida al-Anṣārī 72
Sa’dūn 113–14
Sa’dīn ibn Fath al-Surunbāqf 118, 117 n.39
Sa’īd ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Salām 133
Sa’īd ibn ʿAbī Hind 84
Sa’īd ibn Jābir 26
Sa’īd ibn Muḥammad ibn Bāshīr 86, 98
Sa’īd ibn Sulaymān al-Jūdī 131 n.5
Sa’īd ibn Sulaymān, ʿAbī Khālid, ibn Ḥabīb al-Ghāfiqī al-Ballūṭf 97, 109, 110
Saavedra, E. 20
ṣafṣat 73
ṣafāya’l-mulūk 37, 49
Ṣāliḥ ibn Muṣāfir 106 n.29
Ṣamh, al-, ibn Mālik al-Khawlānī 59, 63 n.7
San Cristobal, al-Busharna/l/Basharbl 119, 128 n.43
Sancho I 140, 142 n.2
Santander 92 n.5
Santarem, Shantarūn 127 n.39
ṣaqālibī pl. ṣaqāliba 92 n.11
Ṣāra, Sarah, al-Qūṭiya 22–3, 50–1, 30–1
Saragossa, Saragusty 68, 73, 110, 129
ns.60, 61, 138; Ḍīb al-ʿĀmirī 68
Sa’sa’ al-Shāmī 80 n.48
ṣath 118, 127 n.34
Ṣayyid Abīḥī al-Zāhīd al-Murādī 26
Ṣayyīda/Sisibeta, Sisiberto 22
Secunda, Shaqundy 49, 67, 73, 89, 116
settlement of the Syrians 63
Seville, Ishbiliyya 26, 50, 51, 52, 53, 68, 118, 134; dār al-sināa‘a 101; kanīsats al-mā‘a 111; mosque of Rubīnah/church of Santa Rufina 53, 57 n.34; walls 100
Seville, great mosque / jami‘ Ibn ʿAdábbas 100, 101, 105 n.20
Sezgin, F. 54 n.2
Shadiyya Sidonia 52, 63, 68, 69, 70, 78
n.10, 123, 133, 134, 138 n.2
Shaqqā al-Miknāsī 39
sharh 17
shayra 103, 108 n.44
Shū‘ibyya movement 81 n.60
Shuhayd 72
sijill 55 n.9, 60, 139 n.19
Simonet, F.J. 54 n.3
Sufyān/Mahrān ibn ‘Abd Rabbihī 99, 104 n.17
Sulaymān, Umayyad Caliph 53, 59
Sulaymān ibn ‘Abd al-Rahmān I 74, 83
Sulaymān ibn Aswad al-Ballūṭī 110, 130
Sulaymān ibn Muḥammad ibn Wānsūs 133
Sulaymān ibn ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-ʿAzīz
Ibn al-Qūṭiya 23, appendix ii
Šumayl, al-, ʿAbī Jawshan, ibn Ḥātim al-Kilābī 67, 68, 69, 77
Ṭabbā’, al-, ‘Abdallāh Anīs 5, 22; edition of 1957 21
Tablada, Tablāta, Talyāta 119, 127 n.41
Tagus/Río Tajo, Tāju 102
Tāhir ibn ‘Abd al-ʿAzīz 26
Tāhir ibn ʿAbī Ḥārin 99
Tālūt ibn ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-Maʿārifī 89–91
Tammām ibn Ḍaqqāma al-Wāzīr 37;
Urjūza 36, 37
Tangiers, Ṭanja 51, 57 n.23, 60, 61, 63
Ṭārīf al-Walāfīn . . .? 120, 128 n.49
Ṭārīkh 10, 25
Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād 49, 50, 51, 52, 53
Ṭārub 99, 112, 113
Ṭawfīqī, al-, Press 1
Ṭaba ibn Salāma al-ʿĀmilī 60, 62, 82
Ṭaba ibn ʿUbayd al-Judhāmī 51, 55 n.16
Thubna / Tuba, Ancient Thubnae 60
Tiaret, Tāhīr 120
Tocina Tushshānā 70
Toledo, Ṭulayytula 49, 50, 52, 72, 88; Jabal ʿArarūs 87; al-Jiyāırūn 87; temple 51, 56 n.21; wā qa’at al-ḥufra 87–8, 93 n.12
Torrox Turrush 68, 77 n.6
Tortosa Turtusha 72
Treaty of Theodimur/Tudmīr 39
Tudela, Ṭuṭīlā 124
Tudmīr, Murcia 135
Tupībīya, al- 121
"Ubaydallāh ibn ’Abd al-’Azīz 123
"Ubaydallāh ibn al-Ḥabhāb 60
"Ubaydallāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī ’Āmīr 135
"Ubaydallāh ibn Qarlamūn ibn Badr al-dākhil 97–8
"Ubaydallāh ibn Yaḥyā 134
"Umar ibn ’Adabāb 105 n.20
"Umar ibn ’Abdallāh al-Murādī 60
"Umar ibn ’Abd al-’Azīz, Umayyad Caliph 59
"Umar ibn ’Abd al-’Azīz ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Qāṭī‘a 36, appendix ii
"Umar ibn Ḥafs ibn Abī Tammām 26
"Umar ibn Ḥafsūn, Abū Ḥafs Umar ibn Ḥafsūn 119–21, 130, 136–7
"Umayya ibn Ḥisā ibn Shuhayd 117–8, 121–2
"Umayya ibn Yazīd 69, 78 n.13
"Umayr ibn Sa‘īd al-Lakhmī 23, 51, appendix ii
Umīn ‘Āsim./Aylū, Egilona 53, 57 n.35
’Uqba ibn al-Hajjāj al-Salūlī 60
’Uqba ibn Nāfī‘ al-Fihrī 57 n.31
’uqda 135, 139 n.13
‘Urayfa 72
‘ushr, pl ‘ushūr 127 n.37, 118
‘Uṭbi, al-, Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn ‘Abd al-’Azīz al-‘Uṭbi 74, 81 n.50
‘Uthmān ibn Abī Nis‘a al-Khath‘amī 60, 63
‘Uthmān ibn Muḥammad I 141, 142 n.10
Valls i Subirà, O. 2
Vallvé Bermejo, J. 42 n.45, 54 n.8, 56 n.19, 57 n.25, 128 n.44, appendix v
Vandals 54 n.2
Vikings, Majūs 105 n.22; other meaning 105 n.21; invasion of 230/844 100–1; 244/858 101–2
Wahballāh ibn Maymūn 81 n.5
wakāla 111
wakīf 126 n.26
wālī pl. wulā 59; wulāt al-madīnā 103
wasīf pl. wuṣufa 137
wasīḥ 134
Walīd I, al-, Umayyad Caliph 25, 37, 46 n.112, 49, 50, 53, 105 n.23
Walīd, al-, ibn Ghānim 117
Walīd, al-, ibn al-Ḥakam 92 n.9
Wansleeb/en 9
Waqqās, al-, ibn ’Abd al-’Azīz al-Kinānī 63
Wazīr, al-, al-Ghassānī, Abū ’Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn ’Abd al-Wahhāb 43 n.58; Rīḥlat al-wazīr fi iftikāk al-asīr 43 n.58
yad, group, formation 106 n.25
Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥakam al-Bakrī al-ghazā 146 n.109; Urjūza fi fath al-Andalus 46 n.109
Yaḥyā ibn Mu‘āmmar al-Lāhānī/ al-Ilhānī al-İshbīlī 97, 101
Yaḥyā ibn Muḍar al-Yahṣubī 89
Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā al-Laythī 74, 81 n.50, 89, 97, 103 n.2
Yaḥyā ibn Yaẓīd al-Tujībī 74
Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī 26, 44 n.73; Mu‘jam al-udabā‘ 26, 28
Yazīd II, Umayyad Caliph 60, 69
Yazīd ibn Khāṭim al-Muhlab 61
Yukhāmīr ibn ’Uthmān ibn Hassān al-Sha’bānī al-Jayyānī 97, 104 n.7
Yūliyān, Julian 51–2; his daughter 52
Yūsuf ibn ’Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fihrī 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72; his daughters 71
Yūsuf ibn Basīl 114
Yūsuf ibn Bukht 68, 75, 76, 78 n.13, 99
Zāb, River Zab 60, 64 n.13
Zā‘wāq, al-, Azaguac/Alcalá de Guadaira (?) 100, 106 n.27
Zīryāb, Abū l-Ḥasan ’Alī ibn Nāfī‘ 102–3, 107 n.41
Zīyād ibn ’Abd al-Raḥmān al-Lakhmī Shabaṭān 83, 84 n.5
Zīyād ibn ’Amr al-Judhāmī 68, 78 n.10
Zīyād ibn al-Nābigha al-Tamīmī 53