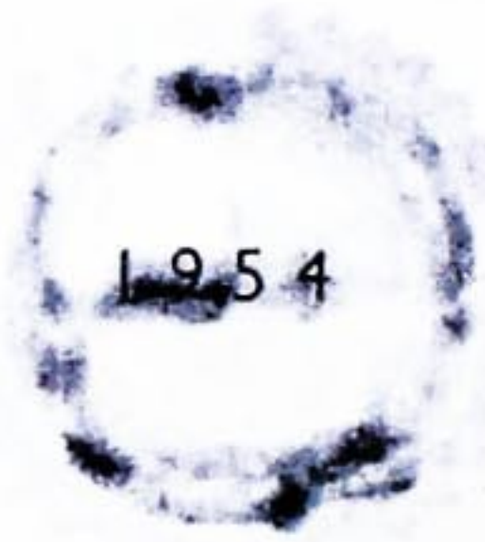

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PREFACE

EVER since the beginning of my studies of Arabic, I have been interested in the life story of 'Abdurrahman Ibn-Mu'awiya, the first Umayyad ruler of Spain.

I was first attracted by the romantic adventures through which the prince passed in his youth, and which by forming his character made of him one of the great statesmen of the eighth century. Yet an interest that started in a rather romantic vein has ended with sincere admiration for this contemporary of Charlemagne and Mansur.

Dozy, Saavedra and Coppee have treated this subject already, but no one has made a proper biography of this European ruler who controlled the destinies of Spain throughout thirtytwo critical years. Dozy is moreover inclined to interpret 'Abdurrahman as an oriental despot and to consider any non-Christian as a renegade. I feel he should rather have compared 'Abdurrahman's reign with that of Charlemagne, and Spanish Islam with contemporary European Christianity.

For this reason, and in order to appreciate the significant position of 'Abdurrahman in history, it is necessary to study the environment from which he came, and to disentangle the wretched quarrels which beset Spain in the decades before and immediately after the Arab conquest of that country. This study justifies the first four chapters of this work.

It has been necessary to search through endless Spanish and Arabic bibliography to discover the fundamental trends of Hispano-Arabic life during the eighth century, and in many cases to reconstruct it by analogy with subsequent centuries. I am not pretending that the latter is the best method, but where I have used it, it was the only one. In any case where 'Abdurrahman himself made a direct contribution to this life, he is clearly given the credit.

It would have been easy in many cases to give free rein to romantic elements like 'Abdurrahman's relations with Princess Sara, for instance. However, this book is a history and not a novel, and as

the Arabs do not care to talk about their private lives, I have respected their prejudices in this matter. Indeed, in most instances I have tried to take the Arab point of view, because the European, especially in the attitude toward Charlemagne, is overabundant.

I admit I have sat on the two stools of pedantry and vulgarity. Therefore, I hope that some more gifted writer may some day extract the novelistic elements from this story and make it as popular as it deserves to be. He will find herein practically everything that it is possible to extract from both Arabic and European sources. In fact, I quite realize that the story is overcharged with detail ; but so is all history.

T. B. IRVING

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CHAPTER ONE

COURSE OF EMPIRE

WHEN the Arabs first burst the bonds of their desert, few men dreamed that one day they would reach Spain. It was remarkable that they had defeated the emperor of Byzantium, Heraclius; and later when they killed the Persian, Yazdagird III, it seemed even more portentous.

Then the Arabs literally spilled out of Arabia to gnaw at the remnants of the great seventh-century empires. In 635, Damascus was taken; the next year Jerusalem fell; and in 642 'Amr Ibn-al-'As seized Alexandria and thereby controlled Egypt. Mile by mile the nomads swept on their long procession across northern Africa, while the rulers of Spain remained oblivious to their approaching doom.

* * *

DURING this period of activity, the newly created Islamic world was being ruled by the so-called Orthodox Caliphs from their seat in Madina. Yet their authority was being slowly undermined by the more "practical and realistic" Quraysh, the original ruling clan of Mecca who had entered Islam as very late and grudging converts.

The Quraysh were anxious to regain their former political ascendancy which Muhammad had destroyed, especially since their field of activity would now be extended much further than the confines of the Hijaz. Their "realism" viewed Islam not as a religion, but as a political movement that would give them control of the civilized world.

Thus in 661, Mu'awiyah, the head of the Umayyad branch of the Quraysh, defeated the last orthodox caliph 'Ali at Marj Rahit. 'Ali, first cousin of Muhammad on his father's side, was a Fihrite from the outskirts of Mecca. Mu'awiyah proclaimed himself the first Umayyad caliph, and removed the capital of the still expanding empire to Damascus in Syria, whence he could exercise control more easily.

During his reign, which lasted until the year 680, the conquest

of Asia and Africa continued. In North Africa, the Arabs were creeping closer and closer to Morocco and Spain. Qayrawan was founded in 670 as a base of operations and administrative centre for that Far West of the Arab empire. Soon the region would gain its autonomy from the Amir of Egypt and be recognized as a province in its own right. Throughout this new province, the nomadic Arabs were fusing with the nomadic Berbers. and gathering fresh strength for their leap across the Straits into Spain forty years later.

* * *

AT THIS same time, Persian and 'Abbasid dissent was festering within the new Umayyad caliphate. The Persians objected to their status of a conquered people, while the 'Abbasids, a rival Quraysh family, wanted a greater share of public office. This situstion was further complicated by inter-tribal quarrels such as the rivalry between Mudarites and Kalbites, and the 'Alid question which arose when Mu'awiyah won his position by doing away with the Prophet's son-in-law 'Ali. The latter's sons remained as Muhammad's only direct heirs, and future pretenders to the caliphate would be careful to claim descent from them.

This new rivalry culminated in the Battle of the Zab on August 15, 750, when Marwan II, the last Umayyad caliph, lost his throne. Then the 'Abbasids decided to exterminate the whole Umayyad clan in a series of massacres. The most horrible was the Banquet of Jaffa, where over seventy Umayyad princes were butchered in cold blood. Not even the bones of the dead were left in peace, only those of the pious caliph 'Umar being spared desecration. The policy won the first 'Abbasid caliph, Abu-al-'Abbas, the title of as-Saffah or the "Blood-Shedder," and his grim black banners spelled terror to any Umayyad.

Saffah lasted until 754, when his brother Mansur succeeded him, reigning until 775. The most famous of the line was that character whom we all have met in the *Arabian Nights*, Harun ar-Rashid or Aaron the Orthodox, who ruled from 786 till 819.

* * *

HOWEVER, there was one scion of the Umayyad house who managed to escape extermination : 'Abdurrahman, nephew of Caliph Marwan II and grandson of Caliph Hisham.

'Abdurrahman was but a boy when he was driven from Syria, but he was old enough to know what he wanted, and determined to persevere until he had attained it. The lad was to spend five harrowing years trudging the wastes of Arabia and Africa from the Euphrates to the Straits of Gibraltar. He would remember Damascus as a great metropolis, and, dreaming of its glory, would raise a fresh capital, Cordoba, as the European metropolis of its day. Thither he would transplant the fruits of Syria as a nostalgic memory of his homeland.

Flame-haired 'Abdurrahman was only twenty-one years of age when he set himself before the restless masses of Spain and led them from lawlessness to orderly social life. As Nicholson says, he was young, ambitious, and full of confidence in his destiny." In fact, he was a political genius of the first order, equal to Ocatavian Augustus or the younger Pitt in both youth and attainment.

NOTES

1. The height of the Umayyads was under the caliph 'Abd-al-Malik, who ruled from 685 until 705. The last Umayyad caliphs were the following: Hisham, 724-745; his nephew Walid II, 743-744; his cous in Ibrahim, during 744 only; his brother Yazid III, during the same year; and his second cousin Marwan II, from 744 till 750. 'Abdurrahman never figured because he was too young before the 'Abbasid revolt.

CHAPTER TWO

VISIGOTHIC SPAIN

IN 409, the Germanic folkwanderings brought the Alani, Swabians, and Vandals into Spain. Subsequently the Visigoths or West Goths, after they had sacked Rome in 414, entered Spain as Roman auxiliaries. In 476, with the fall of Rome, they became independent.

These West Goths were Arian Christians, belonging to an early form of Unitarianism which had been preached amongst them by Bishop Ulfilas. This led to a long period of contention between the dissenting invaders and the Catholic hierarchy of Spain. In 587, King Recared was finally forced to become a Catholic "with all his court" in order to save his throne. Two years later, Arianism was officially "abolished" throughout Spain.

However, like many a *mariage de convenance*, this alliance of church and state did not go more than skin deep, and it had a deleterious effect upon Visigothic morals. Seventh-century Spain was shot through with apparent piety and obvious corruption. This is evidenced by almost all Christian authorities on the period.[1]

* * *

THE triumphant church held many councils and formulated repressive injunctions against the Jews in particular, wishing thereby to see all Spain *gleichgeschaltet*. "Gothic Spain, with its manifold councils, its ecclesiastical intolerance, and its bitter persecutions of the Jews, is the anticipation of the Spain of the Ferdinands and the Philips."[2] In 613, all Jews were enjoined to be baptized or suffer confiscation of their property and banishment, a sentence similar to the one pronounced against them in 1492. If they would not be "converted," they were apportioned out in *encomiendas* to Christian overlords. Only the aged were allowed to retain their faith; young Jews henceforth were to marry only Christian slaves so that their children would have at least one Christian parent.

The kings upheld the church in these measures, and added some

of their own. King Egica condemned the Jews to slavery, confiscated their property, and took their children from them. In 616, King Sisebert, a so-called "learned" king, perscuted the Jews actively. The Fourth Council of Toledo, realizing that arbitrary conversion fell short of its aim, decreed that the children of non-conforming Jews should be forcibly separated from their parents. The Sixth Council even insisted that each new king should take an oath upon his coronation to persecute the Jews all over again.

This frequent tightening of the laws shows that the Jews still remained numerous and an object of envy. In 694, they planned a mass revolt with the help of Berbers from across the Straits, many of whom were of their faith.[3] This attempted revolt led to even worse persecution.

It is thus certain that the Spanish Jews were seriously disaffected, and their attitude of dissent hastened the downfall of the Visigothic kingdom. In the words of the poet Southey: "They are said to have betrayed many towns to the Moors; and it would be strange indeed if they had not, by every means in their power, assisted in overthrowing a government under which they were miserably oppressed."[4]

* * *

THERE was also dissent between throne and the nobles, and the throne and the people. Taxes were high, and, as in pre-revolutionary France, nobles and clergy were exempt. Commerce and industry suffered, and agriculture was carried on only because the serfs were tied to the soil and had nowhere else to go.

Finally, the second-last king, Witiza, was deposed in a nobles' revolt, and Spain was left seething with discontent. Witiza's sons or partisans fled to Africa, and from there tried to foment trouble. In this they imitated those Jewish victims of ecclesiastical persecution who had dealt with their Berber co-religionists.

Their plan was evidently to engage the Arabs, who were then spreading to the Atlantic, as mercenaries. The latter, however, had just had their appetites whetted by the conquest of the Balearic Islands, and in 675, during the reign of King Wamba, had already attempted an invasion of Spain which the Visigothic fleet had repulsed. Just before Witiza's death they had also attacked Ceuta, the largest city on

the Moroccan coast; but they had been obliged to fall back upon Tangier, which they had taken in the year 707.

* * *

THERE is also the story that the last king, Roderick, had quarrelled with the legendary Count Julian or Urban, the Byzantine governor of Ceuta.[5] This quarrel was over the supposed seduction of the count's daughter Florinda, who had been placed at court to be educated.[6] Alfonso the Wise says: "It was the custom at that time to rear lads and maidens who were children of high officials in the king's court; and there was then among the maidens of the king's chamber a daughter of Count Julian, who was very beautiful besides."

Roderick became inflamed with passion for her, after he had seen her bathing in the Tagus.[7] Florinda at first tried to warn her father of their disgrace by letter; but when that was intercepted, she managed to get the idea across by having a page smuggle a rotten egg to him. Even if this is an apocryphal story, it is rather pretty in its details. Perhaps it is best commented in the delightful ballad:

Florinda lost her flower,
The King was soon repentant,
But Spain lay in a thrall
Because of Roderick's lust.
If you should make enquiries
Which was the more to blame,
The men will say the "Cava,"
The women claim King Roderick.[8]

Julian proceeded to the Visigothic court, disguising his feelings sufficiently to rescue his daughter without incident. Roderick even asked him for some African falcons. and in a broad hint as to what was to come, Julian told the king:

"The next time I return to Spain, I promise to bring you some hawks the like of which your Majesty has never seen!"

Then, to quote Alfonso the Wise once more, "in the midst of winter, he crossed the sea and went to Ceuta, where he left his wife and wealth, and spoke with the Moors."

NOTES

1. Book VI, Chapter XIX; see also Gibbon's *Decline* (Chapter LI); Ballesteros I. 497-98; M. Pidal: *Rodrigo*, I. 15 ff.; and M. Pelayo: *Hist. Heterodoxos*, II. 207 ff.

2. Hodgkin, Thomas: *Charles the Great.*

3. One wonders how many of these Berber Jews were in the invading Arab armies twenty years later. And were the Jews of Spain in any way connected with the vestiges of Phoenician and Carthaginian colonization? Compare Gauthier's conclusions regarding the same situation in North Africa in his *Siecles obscurs du Maghreb*. Notice also how the all-Jewish city of Lucena opened its gates to the fellew-Semitic conquerors in 711. Also Hadrian's transportation of fifty thousand Jewish families from Palestine to Spain after the revolt in 122-125. *Espana Sggrada* (XIII. 358) indicates that not only Jews lived in Spain during the seventh century, but also pagans!

4. *Roderick*, p. 276, note.

5. Julian's name is variously given as Julian, Olban, Urban and Ulyan; while b. Qut. states that he was a merchant who used to visit Spain frequently. Cf. also *Akh. M.*, p. 150, n. 1. Julian's territory may have been so reduced that he had to support himself in business like a modern honorary consul, or collect tolls on traffic across the Straits. Whether legend or history, Julian's name was still preserved in landmarks around Ceuta as late as the eleventh century. M. Pidal in his introduction to *Rodrigo* gives a full discussion of the legend. See alse b. Idh. II. 7-8; Saavedra: *Invasion*, pp. 45 ff; Lafuente: *Hist. Esp.*, I. 539-541: Ballesteros, I. 499-500; and Gibbon, loc. cit.

All the Arab chronicles are insistent upon the figure of Julian, and as we have no reason to doubt their motives in making up such a story, I think it should be accepted in principle. Those who have questioned the matter are only puzzled that Julian should have turned renegade. Nevertheless, I do not accept the story as a factual statement of the motives for the invasion, but as an example of the disaffection which some Spanish nobles felt towards Roderick.

6. Florinda was a name invented by the balladeers, while "Cava" comes from the Arabic *qahba* "whore, harlot," as if Roderick's friends thereby wished to throw most of the blame upon the woman.

7. Or in the Guadalquivir, if it were at his ducal court in Cordoba. Roderick had been Duke of Boetica before his revolt.

8. Duran: *Romancero*; I. 401, No. 586.

Chapter Three

THE LAND BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR

How the Moors passed over to Spain three times, and the third time, King Roderick was lost.—*Alfonso the Wise.*

COUNT JULIAN returned to Spain with his hawks in the year 709. He landed at Algeciras[1] with a few Arabs and Berbers, having come to terms with Musa Ibn-Nusayr, the governor of North Africa, that same year. Both men wanted to discover how the land lay in the Iberian peninsula, Julian's interest being the state of its defences, and the Arab's whether an invasion would be worth the trouble.

Their landing was accomplished directly and aroused no suspicions on Roderick's part, probably since so few men took part in it, or bacause Julian was in the habit of crossing the Straits. Caliph Walid, not understanding how narrow the passage was at this point, had cautioned Musa against risking his troops at sea.[2] Shortly afterwards, this expedition retired to Africa.

Then, in July 710, one of Musa's Arab or Berber clients called Abu-Zura's Tarif landed with four hundred footsoldiers and a hundred cavalry at Tarifa, which was named for him. Although the four ships he came in were provided by Julian, Tarif was really scouting for the cautious Musa. The troops ravaged the countryside around the Straits, taking considerable booty in the form of young women and valuables. Then they also withdrew to Morocco.

Next year, on April 30 to be pricise, Gen. Tariq Ibn-Ziyad ianded at Gibraltar.[3] Tariq brought over seven thousand men, most of them Berbers, since we read of only three hundred Arabs. Their ships were the same four which Count Julian had furnished the previous year, and to ferry over this larger army they made repeated trips across the Straits. It was a task force whose objective was to establish a bridgehead for a much larger invasion the next year, and to confirm Tarif's observations upon the weak condition of Spain's politics and defences.

The first squadron seized the Rock of Gibraltar, for the men

were few and did not want to withdraw as Tarif had done. During this landing, King Roderick was busy in the North quelling a Basque revolt near Pamplona.

When the invaders had consolidated their position, they took Algeciras and Carteya, a town which has since disappeared. Ibn-al-Qutiyyah says that during this preliminary campaign, Tariq ordered several prisoners who had died of wounds cut up and stewed in the presence of their live fellows ; then he let the latter loose to spread this news in order to terrorize their future opponents. In this manner, they were able to demoralize their enemy from new bases from which they could advance into Spain itself.

Soon afterwards about five thousand persons flocked to Tariq's army, most of them being Jews and Visigoths who were discontented with Roderick's rule. Julian also lent his assistance in reconnoitering, and from this source the Arabs enlisted several Spanish intelligence officers. For a while Roderick's son or nephew Bencius managed to hold the invaders at arm's length, and then Julian's scouts informed them that the king himself was advancing southward with an enormous army.

* * *

WHEN Roderick had heard of danger, he summoned all his vassals to meet him in his ducal capital of Cordoba. Among these were many of Witiza's partisans, and their inculsion in his forces was to prove the Visigoth's eventual undoing. With this army mustered, Roderick counted some 25,000 or 100,000 men, depending upon the various estimates, and overwhelming number compared with Tariq's combined strength of from only twelve to seventeen thousand.

The two opposing forces swung into action on Sunday, July 18, 711, at the Janda Lagoon by the mouth of the Barbate River. This lies near Cape Trafalgar, where another empire's fate was to be sealed centuries later, and thus the clash might be termed the First Battle of Trafalgar. Before the conflict, Tariq addressed his troops as follows :

" My men, whither can you flee ? Behind you lies the sea and before you the foe. You possess only your courage and constancy, for you are present in this country poorer than orphans before a greedy guardian's table. It will be easy to turn this table on him if you will but risk death for one instant ! "

At the critical moment, Witiza's brother, the Bishop Oppas. helped secure the victory for the invaders by deserting to Tariq with the right wing which he commanded. Oppas was followed in this manoeuvre by Sisibert, who was either another brother or a dissident Gothic noble leading Roderick's other wing. Thus the king's overwhelming strength dwindled to a mere nothing when he least expected it.[4]

Tariq speedily cut the Spaniards off, and panic seized the rest of Roderick's forces. Many were slaughtered. Some say that Roderick was slain too, but others claim he fled northwestward with a few followers, losing in a saltmarsh his white horse with its ruby-and-emerald adorned saddle and his cloth-of-gold cloak trimmed with pearls and rubies. He was pursued as far as Portugal, after trying to raise another army near Merida.

Tariq then marched to Ecija, where the fugitives and townsfolk gave battle in the nearby plains. In this fight the Arabs record that the " polytheists " were able to kill and wound many Muslims in an obstinate battle before Ecija yielded to them. Tariq pitched his camp four miles from the town on the Genil River banks near a spring called Tariq's spring by Arab writers. Then the conquering army betook itself towards Cordoba.

* * *

AT CORDOBA, Tariq encountered stout resistance on the part of Bencius. Roderick, being Duke of Boetica before becoming king, had placed the defences of his ducal capital in good order. In fact, both Seville and Cordoba were strong and important cities, and much better defended than Toledo, the regal capital. After a delay here, Tariq sent a column south towards Malaga, another east to Murcia, and still another southeastwards towards Elvira, as the capital of the Granada region was then called.

Then following Julian's advice, he left a force of seven hundred men before Corboba to besiege it, and marched northward with the bulk of his troops to take Toledo, the " Imperial City." Smaller detachments were also sent to settle with the smaller towns.[5] All this movement saw Seville bypassed, for at that time it was by far the largest and best-defended city in Spain, and retained much of the glory that it had enjoyed in the time of St. Isidor.

Archidona, the capital of the Regio district between Granada and Malaga, was taken when the captors found it had already been abandoned by its defenders. Then Elvira fell, and was entrusted to a mixed Jewish and Muslim garrison, the Jews of that city being armed for the purpose.

Cordoba was finally seized by Mughith the Greek, who was a direct client of the Caliph Walid and not of Musa. After undergoing a two-month siege, the anxious Jews inside of the city grew tired of waiting for their Visigothic masters to give up. They told a shepherd on the south bank of the Guadalquivir to inform the Arabs that there were only four hundred soldiers within the city walls. The shepherd also led them to a breach in the walls, which Mughith entered during a rainstorm.

Mughith found no resistance, for all the nobility had abandoned the commoners and Jews to their fate. Even the governor had taken to his heels; but he was pursued and captured alive by the victors. A pretty story relates that the governor's daughter tried to poison the Greek when the latter attempted to seduce her, whereupon Mughith was led to exclaim :

> "Cordoba would never have fallen if the father had guarded the city with the same spirit as his daughter watched out for her honour!"

* * *

AFTER the sack of Cordoba, all of Mughith's seven hundred men became a cavalry regiment because of their booty in horses.

Orihuela in Murcia was taken after routing Count Theodomir's men and slaying many of them. Theodomir dressed his women as a Women's Army Corps for lack of men, and so discouraged the Arabs. Later on he came to terms with Musa's son 'Abd-al-'Aziz, and was left in control of the region. In fact, for years afterwards this part of the country was called Tadmir from this Visigothic count. He ruled until 743, when a Count Athanagild succeeded him. When 'Abdurrahman arrived in Spain, his country was absorbed into Spanish territory as a province.

Toledo was also handed over by its discontented Jews. This surrender was quite orderly and provided the Arabs with fresh arms and horses. Bishop Oppas was placed in charge of the government, and

the Jews were given important posts in the new administration. The city's treasury was confiscated, although the fleeing churchmen were able to make off with their most precious belongings : St. James' tooth and St. Peter's sandal. The primate of Spain fled to Rome. It was here in Toledo that Tariq acquired amarvellous and legendary table which would be a later source of contention between him and Musa.

After organizing the administration of the Visigothic capital, Tariq continued as far as Alcala and Guadalajara, proceeding in a round-about way in order to spy out the country. He crossed the Sierra de Guadarrama by the Buitrago pass and pursued the Goths as far as Astorga in the approaches to Asturias. Then by springtime he re-turned to Toledo. Throughout this parade, the Jews, serfs, and im-poverished classes generally welcomed the Arabs, the divided state of the country helped the conquests.

Witiza's son Achila, who had wished to be king after Roderick's defeat, was not restored to the throne but granted a thousand villages in eastern Spain to maintain him. He went to live happily on his estates, for his income allowed him great luxury. In fact, all the Witizans did very well : Oppas had become the first Arab governor of Toledo ; Achila's younger brother Artabast became the Christian count of Cordoba, which title he transmitted to his descendent Abu-Sa'id ; while another brother Almund remained in Seville as count, being allotted his thousand villages in southwestern Spain. When he died, Artabast seized this property from his niece Sara and her two brothers, as we shall see.

* * *

RODERICK still menaced Toledo from the west, so that Tariq felt obliged to send to Musa for reinforcement. Thus in June 712, the eighty-year-old governor of North Africa crossed over to Spain with an army of eighteen thousand men. This army had a higher per-centage of Arabs, chiefly from Yaman, although it includad some Ber-bers, Syrians and Copts.

Musa first of all attacked Carmona and Seville, which were still untaken, in order to demonstrate that Tariq's conquest had been in-complete. Musa was spurred on by jealousy of his lieutenant, just as Velasquez of Cuba would try to hamper Cortes' conquest of Mexico.

Seville was the richest, best built, and, except for Cadiz, the oldest city in the country. Toledo was then capital, but Seville was the centre of learning and still retained memories of its Roman days.

However, Seville proved harder to take than Musa had fancied, and he besieged it for a year before it surrendered. Meanwhile he took Medina Sidonia and Carmona. The latter was well-defended, some Christian partisans of Julian entered it as if they were fleeing from Musa and then delivered the city to him by night.

Musa then advanced upon the Visigothic nucleus of resistance to the north of Seville around Merida, whither Roderick is supposed to have fled. Musa fought two bloody battles in its environs, and then placed it under a year's siege like Seville. At this point there is some confusion in the narratives, for accounts vary as to which city fell on June 1, 713. Seville was taken by storm by Musa's son 'Abd-al-'Aziz, and as a consequence its terms of capitulation were rather severe. Dozy, however, says this was Morida.[6]

When Merida fell, its citizens lost no personal property ; only church property was confiscated. There is an interesting tale which relates that the town surrendered without a battle after parleying with Musa, who was a very old man with a long white beard. When the envoys came back with their report after the first interview, he had dyed his hair and beard with henna, and surprised them with its reddishbrown appearance. Then when they returned for the third and final parley, he looked like a middle-aged man with a black and well-trimmed beard. This was too much for their superstitious fears, and they hastened to capitulate.

* * *

MUSA then proceeded northeastward and caught up with Tariq near Toledo. Tariq had come down the Tagus toward Talavera to meet his superior, hoping to make up with him by this gesture, since he had been warned that Musa was jealous of him. However, the old governor lashed Tariq about the head and confiscated his booty, including the table.

"What induced you," he exclaimed, "to rush blindly through this country against my express orders? Your mission was only to raid and then withdraw!"

After his public whipping, Tariq was put in chains as an additional humiliation. Musa excused himself later and made up with

Tariq, realizing that the latter had been really in the right ; but the injustice of his punishment rankled in Tariq's bosom long after.

* * *

FOLLOWING the quarrel, a rising of the Christians occured in Seville. Musa sent his son 'Abd-al-'Aziz south, and the movement was put down mercilessly. Soon Niebla and Beja likewise fell to 'Abd-al-'Aziz.

Musa himself proceeded northwestward to the Sierra de Francia in the presentday province of Valiadolid, where Roderick had taken up a stand.[7] In this operation, he joined forces with Tariq, for peril had forced them to cooperate. Tradition tells us that they defeated Roderick definitively near the village of Segoyuela in that same mountain range in the year 713. We can consider this the *coup de grace* to organized Visigothic resistance, if it had not already ceased. Roderick is popularly supposed to have been buried at Vizeu in Portugal.

Musa left directly from Segoyuela for Toledo, which had risen following his departure for the west. When he re-entered that city, he proclaimed the conquest of the new province in the name of Caliph Walid. Then he visited Zaragoza, proceeding via Guadalajara. This campaign in the east of the country included Barcelona, Gerona, and, according to Nuwayri, even Narbonne, where Musa collected "seven silver idols" from the Christians.[8] Returning from the Frankish frontier, he took Valencia and invaded Murcia.

In some places, the Goths welcomed him ; in others, they tried to resist. Count Fortunio of Tarazona and Borja was one of the Gothic nobles who came over to Islam ; his descendents were the Banu Qazi, who still retained their extensive territories along the right bank of the Ebro a century and a half later.

Musa and Tariq next went after what is now Old Castile, and toured the Cantabrian region of Aragon, Leon and Asturias as far as Galicia. They met with more active resistance in these regions, and had to establish military colonies in Astorga and Amaya, which they sacked. Many cities which had not yet been captured saw that the military situation was hopeles, and capitulated on generous terms. In this manner many of their institutions and *fueros* were conserved almost intact.

* * *

THE Christian power now had to retire to the north of the peninsula, to the caves of the Peak of Europe in Asturias. Within these fastenesses, the legendary Visigothic leader Palagius or Pelayo fought the Battle of Covadonga in 718, some say with only thirty men. Pelayo may have already been an insurgent to Witiza who continued his independent attitude towards the Arabs. This is supposed to have led to a general withdrawal of the Arabs from the northwest, where some Berber troops had been installed, notably in Gijon.[9]

Similarly Ainsa in the Pyrenees, some forty miles northeast of Huesca, was recaptured by Count Garci-Jimenez. The town became the capital of the Sobrarbe or Boltana region, and formed part of that Basque resistance which even Charlemagne was to encounter. Mention is also made of an Inigo Arista in Navarre.

Despite these movements, it is nevertheless quite certain that organized Christian power had been crushed and would only dare rise again after some centuries. Most of the population of Spain remained settled as it had been at the moment of the Conquest, for this had been too swift to permit mass migration—if the middle and lower classes really wanted it. Unfortunately, when the Christians returned after their dark night, they had learned nothing about humility or tolerance. On the other hand, the Arabs demonstrated their essential tolerance of the "People of the Book": "Do not abuse those whom they call upon besides God," says the Qur'an,[10] "lest In exceeding the limit they should abuse God out of ignorance."

* * *

AFTER the Conquest, the Christians did not immediately adopt Arab customs, but retained their Romance tongue and enjoyed complete independence with their own churches, laws, courts, judges, bishops and counts.[11] The Islamic authority insisted only upon the right to approve bishops call and episcopal assemblies, a right which had been excercised by the Visigoths, and which was invoked by later and more Catholic sovereigns of Spain.

The southern Christians who laid down their arms were left in possession of their real estate but had to pay the *jizyah* or polltax. In the north, they kept their orchards and tillable fields on which they paid *kharaj*, but surrendered their other wealth to the state, following Muhammad's treatment of the Khyber Jews. Musa divided

up the lands of the Visigothic fugitives, but reserved a fifth or *khams* for the Islamic state, as well as a fifth of all captives and booty.

Serfs who did not become Muslims or did not flee stayed on to cultivate the soil. If any Christians subsequently became Muslims, they were absolved from the *jizyah* but not the *kharaj*; in fact, very secularly-minded governments discouraged conversion because it affected the tax receipts.

Yet it was the Jews who were really helped by the invasion: they became free men again, and actively aided the Arabs in governing Spain and restoring the country to high cultural level. Sachar says flatly that "for the Jewish population of Spain, the coming of the invaders was a godsend."[12] It was only with the more intransigent Moorish rulers who arrived three or four centuries later that the Christians, Jews and some Muslims would begin to suffer persecution—and even they were never burned at the stake."[13]

Thus Spain became *al Andalus*, a name which had been left there by the Vandals. Today this name has diminished in importance, and now applies only to the southern portion of the country, the last part which the Arabs vacated when they had to leave Spain eight centuries later.

NOTES

1. *Al-Jazirah* or "the island" in Arabic.
2. b. Ath. II. 444.
3. According to some sources like *Akhbar Majmu'a*, Tariq was a Persian from Hamadan; but to most he was a Berber freedman of Musa's. Gibraltar had no recorded name at that time, but since it has been called *Jabal Tariq* or "Tariq's Mountain," of which the modern Gibraltar is a corruption.

4. Dozy has reckoned that up to half of the army consisted of serfs who were ill-content with their lot and would stand to lose nothing by a change of masters. These and the Witizans welcomed the Arabs either as liberators or as allies.

5. b. Ath. IV. 446.

6. b. Ath. IV. 447 says that Seville was taken by storm. See also b. Idh. II. 17.

7. Consult Saavedra's account for this.

8. b. Ath. IV. 448, and b. Idh. II. 14.

9. Cf. Altamira in the Camb. Med. Hist. II. 182 and the story of Munuza a few pages herebelow.

10. Sura VI, verse 109.

11. *Esp. Sag.* X. 271-72 gives the capitulations of Coimbra.

12. *History of the Jews*, p. 169.

13. These Moors were called the Murabits and Muwahhads (Almoravides and Almohades respectively in Spanish).

CHAPTER FOUR

DESERT FEUDS

They ruled . . . but did not last,
Since when they fell from favour
Their realm and lives were forfeit.

—Old Spanish Ballad.

IN THE autumn of 713, while Musa was campaigning in Asturias and preparing to invade Galicia, Caliph Walid recalled him to Damascus. This order resulted from a series of complaints made by disgruntled partisans who were able to bring their superior to heel because he had been in trouble with the public purse during the period of civil service in 'Iraq and Egypt.

Musa came south and established his capital at Seville, so as to leave the country with some semblance of the government. He chose this city because it had a good river port close to Africa, and might be developed into an administrative centre. He named his son 'Abd-al-'Aziz as lieutenant in Spain during his absence, appointed his younger son 'Abd-al-Malik as the same in Morocco, while still another son called 'Abdullah was placed in charge of Algeria and Tunis.

Then he marched back to Damascus with four hundred richly attired Visigothic and Frankish nobles, a thousand maidens, countless slaves, and much booty. Amongst the latter he carried Tariq's famous table, about which we shall hear more later. Tariq, Mughith and Julian accompanied him.

Musa tried to seize Mughith's most important prisoner, the governor of Cordoba; but Mughith, who was not Musa's but the caliph's client, swore that if he were not given charge of him, he would strike off his captive's head. Both leaders remained adamant and so the Greek carried out his grisly threat. The remaining prisoners were received as honoured guests in Damascus, in order to win them over to the Arab cause.

Before the procession arrived at the caliphal capital, Walid's brother and heir Suleyman tried to stop Musa at Tiberias. Walid was on his deathbed, and Suleyman wanted this triumph to grace his own accession to the empire. But Musa refused Suleyman's request, for he had become so overweaning that he could claim neither clients nor patrons.[1]

Hence in February 715, Musa entered Damascus and was received by Walid, who had not yet died. In the courtyard of the great Ummayyad Mosque, the captives and booty, including Tariq's table, were presented to the Caliph. Before Musa had secured this piece of furniture, Tariq managed to remove one leg from it; and at this moment the latter, in a dramatic flourish, produced the missing article in order to prove who had won it.

Musa had earned so many enemies by this time, that his disgrace was inevitable. He left the audience a broken man, after the Caliph himself had heard the angry denunciations of his underlings. When Suleyman succeeded his brother soon after, he inflicted even greater humiliation upon the proud conqueror: he decreed that Musa should lose all his property and titles and be executed.

Court influence saved his life, but he was nevertheless punished physically by exposure to the summer sun, which indeed nearly killed him because he was subject to asthma. The conqueror of Spain died a beggar in the Hijaz after the crowning humiliation of being handed the decapitated head of his son 'Abd-al-'Aziz.

Suleyman ordered all the other Arab nobles of Musa's entourage to return to Spain and administer their newly won estates for the benefit of the Islamic realm. Julian was specially honoured, and he returned with them.[2]

* * *

MEANWHILE Musa had left his son, 'Abd-al-'Aziz as the first Amir of the new province. 'Abd-al-'Aziz campaigned in Portugal, and is credited with taking the cities of Pamplona, Malaga and Granada. In Murcia he was opposed by Count Theodomir of Orihuela; there he found he had stretched his communications; and because Theodomir's fellow-Goths had retired to the northwest, both made a pact which left the Count in control of the region around Orihuela, Llicante, Mula and Lorca. The Christian religion was to be respected throughout

the county, and only a light tribute was exacted. For years Murcia was known as "Tadmir" in Arabic, in memory of this count.

Then 'Abd-al-'Aziz made the mistake of marrying King Roderick's widow Egilona. The ex-queen is supposed to have persuaded her new husband to wear a crown like her first spouse, and to make the door of his audience chamber so low that people would have to bow upon entering it. She constructed the entrance of her private chapel after the same fashion, so that even the Muslim governor had to bow towards a Christian altar. These tales may be a fiction of his enemies, but it is quite certain that 'Abd-al-'Aziz lived in such splendour that his proud companions became resentful.

When Caliph Suleyman heard these rumours in Damascus, he ordered 'Abd-al-'Aziz assassinated. This was carried out in 716, when the governor was reading the first part of Sura LVI in the mosque: "When the great event comes to pass . . . humbling, exalting."

The unfortunate Amir's head was embalmed and sent back East, where Suleyman had it displayed as a crowning mortification for his father Musa. However, Musa's party remained strong in Spain, and the army elected his nephew Ayyub Ibn-Habib as governor to replace his son. A new governor of North Africa, who was his immediate superior, then refused to confirm Ayyub's election, and thus he ruled for only a few months, when he was replaced by al-Hurr Ibn-'Abdur-rahman the Thaqafite.[3]

The Arabs soon followed up Musa's idea of crossing the Pyrenees. Hurr accomplished this in 717 and 719, and was the first Arab general who officially entered France. He could not take advantage of his advance because an uprising occurred among his followers in Spain. Thus began the chronic disorders that would plague good government for several decades.

Hurr brought four hundred young Arab nobles to the peninsula in order to build up a governing class. As there is no record of their wives accompanying them, they must have followed the Arab custom of marrying the women of the country. However, Hurr finally could not handle the unruly nobles, and, after a period of three years in office, he was replaced by as-Samh Ibn-Malik. Caliph

'Umar II made Samh's appointment independent of Qayrawan, in order to bring the new province under the closer supervision of Damascus.

* * *

SAMH was a Yamanite of the Khawlan tribe. He was a pious person whom the caliph chose because he felt that by his example he would impose better manners upon the unruly Spanish Arabs.

Samh pursued the Asturian rebels and continued Hurr's campaign in southern France, taking Narbonne in 720. This he made into an army base, because it lay on the Mediterranean and could be easily provisioned from the sea in case of siege. Thus he intended to make secure the conquest of the Languedoc coast of Septimania. This extension of Spanish influence was not strange, for the territory had belonged to the Visigoths, and the eastern end of the Pyrenees has long been a disputed march.

In may 721, Samh attacked Toulouse but failed to take it, since Duke Eudes of Aquitania proved too strong for him. Samh was pierced in the throat during the battle, and the Muslims lost a great warrior. This meant they were to face eventual defeat in France, for no strong general except Ghafiqi succeeded him.

Samh had been as fine an administrator as a general. He had set about reorganizing the government, and possibly was responsible for moving the capital from Seville to Cordoba in the year 719. He took the first Arab census of Spain, straightened out the new province's finances, and revised the system of taxation. To give the army a real interest in defending the country, he assigned lands to his soldiers, challenging thereby the original conquerors whom he threatened to dispossess if they remained hostile to his government. Caliph 'Umar settled this dispute by giving everybody fresh lands.

Samh took his census by races, nationalities, and creeds upon the caliph s orders, for Musa's survey had proven to be very hasty. He also made a general geographic and economic survey of the peninsula in a sort of forerunner of the Doomsday Book. Many bridges were built or repaired, including the old Roman one at Cordoba. A great mosque was constructed in Zaragoza, which was rising as a bastion against invasion from the northeast frontier.

* * *

SAMH had an ephemeral successor, 'Abdurrahman Ibn-'Abdullah the Ghafiqi, who will return to the scene shortly. Then a few months after Ghafiqi's selection, the viceroy of North Africa appointed 'Anbasah Ibn-Sahim, a Kalbite, as his successor.[4] 'Anbasah fought the Spanish Christians and the Franks, advancing as far as Carcassonne. He doubled the Christians' taxes, although Caliph Hisham ordered the next governor to reimburse them. The Basques killed him during an expedition through the Pyrenees.

Yahya Ibn-Salmah the Kalbite, Hadhifah Ibn-al-Ahwas,[5] and Haytham Ibn-'Ubayd were the next three governors. In the year 729, under Haytham, Lyons, Macon and Chalons-sur-Saone were taken. Beaune and Autun were sacked by the Berbers, who left much hatred behind them in France. Finally Muhammad Ibn-'Abdullah the Ashja'i succeeded Haytham briefly.

* * *

THEN Ghafiqi was reappointed governor and proved conciliatory to all factions. He toured the country and pancified it, building up a dependable army in the process.

During Ghafiqi's or Haytham's administration, a picturesque figure appeared in the person of 'Uthman Ibn-Abi-Nis'ah. Evidence indicates that he was a Berber, and Ibn-al-Athir says that he was also governor of Spain for five months.[6] The usual name assigned him by European histories is "Munuza," which is probably a mistranscription of his patronymic Abi- or Abu-Nis'ah, changing the "Bunuza" to "Munuza." He is said to have governed Asturias and Leon from Gijon, and later the Cerdagne region on the northeastern march.

Ibn-Abi-Nis'ah's importance lies in his ability for intrigue, and in his expediency in achieving good relations with his Christian neighbours. He married Lampegie of Aquitaine, thus effecting an alliance with Duke Eudes, his father-in-law. Evidently both of them sought independence of Frank and Arab, for Munuza soon felt strong enough to rise against Ghafiqi. Menendez Pidal relates[7] that he had also tried to marry Pelayo's sister and failing this had sent Pelayo himself to Cordoba as a hostage! The latter escaped custody and returned north to defeat Munuza at Covadonga under the amirate of 'Anbasah (721-723).[8]

Ghafiqi started out beyond the Pyrenees to squelch this intrigue. Munuza was slain, although some say that he died in Qayrawan. His wife Lampegie was taken prisoner and sent to Damascus, where she married a son of Caliph Hisham and thus became an aunt by marriage of our hero 'Abdurrahman.

This expedition crossed the Pyrenees via the western passes of Bigoral and Bearn. Ghafiqi defeated Munuza's father-in-law Eudes on the Garonne, fired Bordeaux, and finally reached the plain between Poitiers and Tours at the junction of the Clain and the Vienne. However, he had dangerously overextended his lines, and as a result Charles Martel was able to meet and defeat him.

This engagement is known as the Battle of Tours in Europe and by the Arabs as *Balat ash-Shuhada'* or the "Pavement of the Martyrs." It was fought exactly one hundred years after the Prophet's death, in the year 732, and marked an end of Arab expansion in the West. Ghafiqi was killed in the course of the ten-day struggle, and his death was a real calamity to the Arabs; with their best general gone they relapsed once more into their feuds.

* * *

'ABDUL-MALIK IBN QATAN, a Medinese Fihrite, was the new governor who replaced Ghafiqi. He brought along with him instructions to wipe out the defeat in France. However, all he achieved was the strengthening of the other front up the Rhone Valley, where the Arabs, in league with the Marseillais, remained a grave threat to the Franks. In 734 they took Avignon, and in 743 they managed to sack Lyon.

In 734, however, 'Uqbah Ibn-Hajjaj the Saluli replaced Ibn-Qatan as governor, and remained in his post for five years. In order to secure his northeastern frontier, he refortified Narbonne. Charles Martel scorched the earth of southern France to defeat him, and razed many cities like Nimes, Beziers and Agde. This and the Albigensian Crusade did much to ruin Languedoc and establish Ile de France as the dominant region of France.

A Berber revolt had meanwhile spread from Africa to Spain, and 'Abd-al-Malik was able to depose and kill 'Uqbah during these disorders. Thus civil war once more overtook the Arab conquerors

before they could become glutted with victory. No one as conciliatory as Ghafiqi appeared, and every city had its factions.

These feuds were chiefly between the North Arabians or Mudarites and the Yamanites or Kalbites. The Mudarites were Sunnites or orthodox Muslims ; the Berbers showed their dissent from both by becoming Kharijites or nonconformists.

All this was a foreboding of the coming quarrel between the Umayyads and 'Abbasids of the Eastern empire, and gives one the desire to see the outcome. The Berbers had done the major part of actual combat in the fight for Spain, and had received next to no reward for their pains. Their lands lay in Extremadura, Galicia, Leon, Asturias and other arid regions, while the Arabs stayed in Andalusia and the sunny South.

Unfortunately, a serious famine overtook these Berber colonies, especially in Castile. Thus they were driven to emigrate, and indirectly paved the way to the reconquest of this part of Spain by the Christians. Then the Great Berber Revolt of 734 till 742 broke out in Tangier, spreading east to Qayrawan and north to Spain. This stifled the maintenance of order throughout the western part of the caliphate and cut Spain off completely. In 741, Caliph Hisham sent 27,000 Syrians under the command of a general named Kulthum to quell the uprising. They were torn to pieces and the remnant ended up at Ceuta starving, ragged, and very much the worse for wear.

At first 'Abd-al-Malik, the governor of Spain, turned a deaf ear to their pleas for passage across the Straits. Then he had to bring them over from Ceuta to help against his own Berbers, who were threatening his hold upon the country. However, he insisted on their returning to Africa after a year's time, and giving him hostages as pledges of their word.

They came over under Kulthum's nephew Balj Ibn-Bishr, and in such rags that they had to be clothed before they could fight. Because they seemed such beggars, 'Abd-al-Malik neglected to pay them so that they revolted against the Fihrite. On September 20, 741, they crucified him between a pig and a dog, and installed Balj as governor of Spain.

This led to civil war between the Syrians and 'Abd-al-Malik's Fihrite followers.[9] Balj was killed in turn and his Syrians elected a

Yamanite, Tha'laba Ibn-Sallamah, as a fresh governor. The native Muslims went over to 'Abd-al-Malik's sons, while the Berbers remained on the sidelines ready to profit from any misstep by either party. Spanish affairs were in a very serious state indeed.

* * *

FINALLY the governor of Qayrawan intervened to name Husam Abu-al-Khattar Ibn-Dirar, a Kalbite from Yaman, as a new governor. He entered Cordoba in May 743 with instructions to repacify the country. This he accomplished by granting the Syrians lands away from the capital and plenty of serfs so they could busy themselves with agriculture. Count Artabast is supposed to have suggested this treatment, and so we can infer that the Witizans were still important and trusted. Caliph Hisham also instructed Abu-al-Khattar to restore Princess Sara's property to her rather than to this same Artabast.[10]

Abu-al-Khattar was so conciliatory that even Tha'laba whom he replaced lived on good terms with him. The Syrians were allotted their villages and received the Christians' taxes which otherwise would have gone to the state. Thus they became a leisured military class subject to service in the *jund* or army, and they may thus have set the example for the later hidalgos who were too proud to work for a living.[11]

These soldiers came from various localities in their homeland, and they settled down in their same groups. The following is a list of the Andalusian towns which they were allotted : those of Damascus lived in Elvira or Granada ; those from Hims or Emessa went to Seville and Niebla ; the men of Qinnasrin or Chalcis settled in Jaen ; the Palestinians received Medina Sidonia and Algeciras ; the regiment from the Jordan valley were given the Rayyah (or Regio) district of Malaga and Archidona ; the Egyptians were sent to Merida, Lisbon and Beja in the west, and to part of Murcia ; and the Persians were granted Jerez, which they are popularly supposed to have named for their home town of Shiraz and whither they brought their wine, our modern sherry.

Abu-al-Khattar was eventually killed in an uprising in Cordoba, when he lapsed from his conciliatory attitude. Thawabah Ibn-Sallamah

the Judhamite then governed for some sixteen months without incident.

* * *

THEN Yusuf Ibn-'Abdurrahman, a Fihrite descendent of 'Uqbah, the original conqueror of North Africa took over. He was assigned this post upon the suggestion of as-Sumayl Ibn-Hatim Abu-Jawshan a North Arab noble who had come to Spain with Balj. Sumayl had fallen out with Abu-al-Khattar, and, following the latter's death, he proposed Yusuf for the post since he did not feel that he himself possessed the prestige necessary to control Spain alone.

It is said that " Yusuf held the command, but Sumayl exercised it."[12] The pair ruled ruthlessly for ten years, putting down any form of opposition to themselves. Yusuf was in his fifties, of good family, but somewhat of a mediocrity, a combination of qualities which is often necessary to hold a disputable post. He was also a close relative of Ibn-Habib, that governor of North Africa who would nearly kill our hero 'Abdurrahman.

In 750 there occurred a great drought, and the remaining Berbers in northern Spain abandoned their holdings and returned to Africa. Communications were also ruined because of the death of many mail couriers. The Arabs had to withdraw their authority to the south of a line stretching from Coimbra in Portugal through Coria, Toledo, Guadalajara and Tudela to Pamplona by the Pyrenees. The Chris tians now held Asturias, Santander, Burgos, and parts of Leon and Galicia under Pelayo's son-in-law, Duke Alfonso of Cantabria ; between them and the Arabs lay a No-Man's-Land.

Thus there was grave danger that Islamic Spain might go the way of Visigothic Spain and fall before internal and external dissension. The office of governor had been alternating between two factions, was filled by pretorian elections, and remained subject to revocation from either Qayrawan or Damascus.

This led to all the perils that divided authority entails : feuds and intrigues, administrative disorganization, and lack of continuous policy. There had been some twentythree governors during this period.[13] What was needed was a capable leader who could

organize Spain on a sound political basis and rule the peninsula as a country rather than as a conquered province.

This leader would be fortyfive years in arriving, counting from the time when Tariq first set foot on the mountain that still bears his name.

NOTES

1. b. Idh. II. 18-19 ; b. Ath. IV. 448-49 : and b. Abb. p.32.

2. Julian remained a Christian, and so did his son Peter ; but his grandson 'Abdullah became a Muslim, as can be learned from his name. When Julian's descendent Ayyub died in 937, he was much respected for his ancestry.

3. b. Idh. II. 24 confirms that Ayyub was the next governor, succeeding his cousin 'Abd-al-'Aziz, and that it was he who removed the capital to Cordoba. However on the next page he says that Hurr did the same Ayyub is the traditional founder of Calatayud—*Qal'at Ayyub* in Arabic. See Lafuente II. 27 for his character.

4. *Akh. M.* gives his patronymic as Sahim ; b. Ath. V. 375 as Shuhyam and again as Suhaym. This is all a matter of pointing the Arabic letters.

5. b. Ath. V. 374 gives Hudayfah Ibn-Abras or -Akhras.

6. Cf. Rosseeuw II. 90 ; b. Ath. V. 374 ; Dozy : *Hist. musulmanes* I. 161; and Ruckler : *Harun . . . and Charles*, p. 6.

7. *Rodrigo* I. 23-24. This is not impossible, for Muslims may take up to four wives legally.

8. Masdeu XII. 57-58. But see p. 17, where it appears that this battle occurred somewhat earlier.

9. One of his sons Qatan fled to Merida and later to Narbonne, while another called Umayyah held out in Zaragoza. Still another named Hisham is spoken of in passing.

10. b. Ath. V. 204-05.

11. Dozy : *Recherches* I. 86-89.

12. b. Idh. II. 37. The Arabic is : *Kana li-Yusuf al-ism wa-li-s-Sumayl al-rism.*

13. A list is given in Gonzalez Palencia : *Hist. musulmanes* pp. 9-10, and in Gayangos' edition of Maqqari, vol. II, appendix p. xxi. Notice also Lafuente in *Akh. M.* pp. 220-42. b. Idh. II. 22-41, and b. Ath. V. 353 & 373-76.

Chapter Five

THE CALIPH'S GRANDSON ESCAPES

THE leader who was to unite Spain was born a Syrian, and he was to suffer much before he saw his new land. But he was capable, for although fate threw seemingly insuperable obstacles in his path, she had also endowed him with more than ordinary intelligence and promise, and favoured him in his physical features.

His body was lithe, well-proportioned and strong enough to undergo countless hardships. His head was fashioned like that of a king or a poet, and his blue eyes looked out keenly over high cheekbones, which were made even more prominent by the presence of a large mole on one of them. His reddish hair shone like burnished copper and curled down his temples in twin curls.

'Abdurrahman, as they named him, was born near Damascus on March 14, 731,[1] the son of the Umayyad prince Mu'awiyah and of a Berber woman called Raha, who came from Saba in Morocco. Because the lad gave early signs of brilliance, he seemed a likely successor to the caliphal throne, and therefore his paternal grandfather, Caliph Hisham, underwrote the boy's education when his father, a young and brave army officer, left him an orphan at the age of ten.

Then in the summer of the year 750, news came that 'Abdurrahman's uncle Marwan II had been assassinated in Egypt, and that the rebel 'Abbasids were determined to wipe every last Umayyad from the face of the earth. There was a great stir in Syria in the wake of these tidings.

'Abdurrahman has been enjoying a life of comparative ease with his family in the peaceful village of Zaytun in the provinceof Aleppo, but with his other relatives he was now forced to make a hasty move. He would soon discover that the 'Abbasids were not only cruel, but also cunning and relentless, and that only expediency would save his life.

* * *

AFTER their first burst of terrorism, the 'Abbasid rebels proclaimed an amnesty to any Umayyad prince who would present himself in the

Palestinian port of Jaffa by a certain date. However, 'Abdurrahman and his elder brother Yahya preferred to see if this were a snare before offering themselves up to their foes. The lads had become suspicious when a former client of their house who was now in the pay of the 'Abbasids took it upon himself to warn them specifically against going to Palestine.

When they learned that over seventy of their kinsmen had lost their lives in the infamous Banquet of Jaffa, the brothers decided it was high time to set off for an estate which they owned on the left bank of the upper Euphrates.

Yahya was killed on the way, and young 'Abdurrahman, who escaped a like fate by the happy circumstance of being absent while hunting up some game, was left to face the world as the head of the family. At twenty years of age, he found himself charged with protecting a young brother, two sisters, and a four-year-old son called Suleyman. Of Suleyman's mother, we know nothing.

* * *

WE FOLLOW the family to their hiding place in the little 'Iraqi village, and find that their caution is well taken but not sufficient, for once more the Abbasids have caught up with them.

'Abdurrahman has been suffering from an inflammation of the eyes at this time, and has shut himself up in a darkened room to seek relief. Suddenly he is roused to activity when his wailing son Suleyman bursts into the chamber.

The youngster has been out playing in the street, and has caught sight of those same black banners as appeared when his uncle Yahya was killed! He clings to his father in terror, scarcely able to describe what he has seen. When 'Abdurrahman understands the cause af his fright, he brushes Suleyman aside and dashed out of the house to investigate. It is too true; the horsemen are in the village!

The members of the family who have come to the door now realize that they are being hunted down in dead earnest. 'Abdurrahman, with all the vigour which we shall observe throughout his career, takes his young thirteen-year-old brother by the hand, entrusts little Suleyman to his sisters and the good mercies of the 'Abbasid soldiery, and claps some coins into his purse. He begs his sisters to send his Greek-born freedman, Badr Abu-al-Kasr, to a

rendezvous he names, and then sets out to hide in the woods near the village.

There Badr joins the brothers ; but he returns to the village once more in order to procure better provisions and mounts for their impending flight. While Badr is off on this mission, an eavesdropping slave informs the enemy concerning their whereabouts. Suddenly the boys hear the clatter of hoofs on the way to their lair, and they are forced to flee towards the Euphrates.

At that point the river is wide enough to offer them refuge, but still formed a challenge to their endurance. We can imagine the two lads, terrified as they stand hesitating on the shore, but even more terrified at the sound of the horsemen coming ever closer. They tug at their clothes in their haste to strip them off, but can. not remove them entirely before diving in.

As 'Abdurrahman pulls off his shirt, he displays another black mole on his back, which his uncle Maslamah had seen and mentioned as a favourable omen to his grandfather Hisham. 'Abdurrahman is wiry and a good sportsman, and we can easily picture his lithe young body as he splashes out into the water ; while his brother follows timidly, urged on only by his fear.

Even so, horsemen reach the bank with their black pirate-like banners while the boys are still close to shore. They wave to the lads, shouting : " Return ! We mean no harm."

'Abdurrahman remembers how false their promises had been at Jaffa, and he ignores their cries. However, his brother is tiring at this point, the current is beginning to drag him downstream, and the opposite bank seems ever so far away. He decides to trust their offer of pardon, and tells 'Abdurrahman so. In vain the latter urges him that this is worthless, and the youngster returns to the spot whence he set forth.

There the sodiers seize him eagerly. The elder brother has the unhappy satisfaction of seeing his worst suspicions confirmed, for they behead him on the spot. The naked body is left lying at the scene, while the soldiery carry of the head as a trophy.[2]

Fortified by this example, 'Abdurrahman continues to the opposite shore and escapes. Only one soldiers has been daring enough to strip and follow him ; but even he soon gives up the long swim and turns back to his companions.

* * *

AFTER this fresh escape from the 'Abbasids, 'Abdurrahman returned to southern Syria, where many Umayyad adherents were still eager to help a prince of the blood royal. Then he took up residence for a while with the Bedouin of the desert, sharing their milk and barley porridge.

Finally he passed on into Palestine, on his way to Africa, for he had learned that 'Abbasid authority was still weak in those regions, and he might be safe there. Besides, since his mother Raha was a Berber, he would have relatives in distant Morocco.

In Palestine he was rejoined by Badr, who would accompany him everywhere he went from now on. His sisters also sent a freedman of their own called Salim, with a purse full of money and jewels to speed him on his way. Salim was to go along as a guide, for he had already made the journey to Spain, and knew the tricks and ways of travelling.[3]

'Abdurrahman and his companions pursued their way to Egypt, but found no refuge there, since the 'Abbasids were reaching down to the Nile, and because 'Abdurrahman's Berber blood made his description an easy matter. It would be wiser to proceed even further west : there 'Abdurrahman might find his maternal uncles, who would be duty bound to grant him hospitality. Moreover, Salim, who had passed through those parts on his journey to Spain, fascinated the boy with his tales of adventure.

NOTES

1. Some say he was born in Damascus in the year 113 of the Hegira, or 734 of the Christians. Saavedra gives the date as March 14, 731, which seems to be more accurate, judging by the prince's maturity of manner. However, this could also have been brought out by his sufferings. He was later to receive the sobriquet of " ad-Dakhil " or " the Enterer, Newcomer," because he was destined to enter and conquer Spain for himself.

2. All this is told very dramatically and in the first person in b. Ath. V. 377.

3. Ibn-Hayyan says that he met these two freedmen and his sister Umm-al-Asbagh in North Africa. It is also related that three more followers joined him somewhere along the route: Abu-Saafa', 'Amru, and Yazid. Accounts are hazy as to how they all managed to catch up with him, and they are never mentioned later on. Nevertheless the boy was not left helpless on his journey. See also Note 1, Chapter VII.

Chapter Six

FIVE YEARS OF EXILE

'ABDURRAHMAN entered North Africa proper by way of Barca, where he hoped to gain the protection of the province, 'Abdurrahman Ibn-Habib the Fihrite, who had been a client of the Umayyad house. However, he remained in hiding for some time, as long as five years some sources relate, since the 'Abbasid spies were still on his trail. Nor would his perils cease during the next few years by leaving the 'Abbasid sphere of influence. Yet it was these trials which would harden the young prince against fear and danger.

He narrowly escaped being killed by the very governor whose protection he sought. Ibn-Habib had not recognized the 'Abbasid authority ; but nonetheless he did not want an Umayyad to challenge his position in North Africa. On this occasion, 'Abdurrahman escaped death with the aid of a Jewish fortune-teller who had served his uncle Maslamah in Damascus and knew the hopes that had been placed in the prince.

This Jew had once described 'Abdurrahman to Ibn-Habib, and unintentionally suggested him as a possible rival of the Fihrite ; but when he saw that he had placed the young Umayyad in danger, he felt sorry for the young man and told ibn-Habib :

> " If you kill this lad, then he is obviously not the person who is fated to overthrow you, and you will thereby commit a grave injustice. On the other hand, if you are destined to be overthrown, nothing you can do will save you."

And so when the governor heard these words, he let 'Abdurrahman live.

* * *

NEVERTHELESS, Ibn-Habib did behead two of 'Abdurrahman's cousins who were sons of the Caliph Walid II. These young men were playboys, and while in their cups one night they had let drop a few incautious remarks which incurred the governor's rancour.

When this happened, the rest of the Umayyad clan in Qayrawan and North Africa decided to disperse lest they face a fresh massacre.

Convinced of his friendless and penniless situation, 'Abdurrahman started wandering westward once more to those Berber tribes whence his mother Raha had set forth long years before.

The prince would be years on his journey, until finally he would make his way to the Miknasah tribe, where he was welcomed because of his misfortunes, his friendliness, and his noble bearing.[1] Altamira says that he dreamed of setting up a kingdom among these nomads, but could gain no support because, though he was half Berber himself, the tribesmen did not accept him as a full equal. Perhaps this experience would teach him, as Augustus had been taught in Rome, that he should not deal in resounding and dangerous titles, but content himself rather with actual power.

Thus when he discovered he was not fully welcome with the Miknasah, 'Abdurrahman set out for the Nafsa tribe from where his mother had come and where some uncles still lived.[2]

* * *

SOON, however, the young exile was to be concerned with disquieting and yet consoling news from across the Straits of Gibraltar. Spain, he learned, was prey to an uprising against its governor, Yusuf the Fihrite. Yusuf, we remember, was a North Arab, and related to the governor of Qayrawan who had alrerdy molested our hero. In 746, he had been confirmed as governor of al-Andalus by Caliph Marwan II, and although this made him a direct client of the Umayyads, he was now taking advantage of the political situation to assert his independence.

To understand this discontent, we need to be reminded that throughout all of Arab history, the Yamanites or descendents of Qahtan (the Joktan of the Old Testament) have carried on a feud with the North Arabs or Mudarites who are descended from Ishmael. Yusuf had been the governor to remain longest in power in Spain, chiefly because his lieutenant Sumayl was heartless towards any sort of opposition. Their tyranny had provoked such rancour, and many Spanish Arabs were only waiting for the chance to declare in favour of a strong leader.

'Abdurrahman's appetite was further whetted by Salim's stories of the conquest he had witnessed forty years before. Like most youths, the twenty-four-year-old prince was attracted by tales of

dangers and brave deeds, especially when he could picture himself as the hero of some such stirring episode.

As for romance, he could dream of a Spanish Gothic princess who had come to his grandfather's court when he was but a lad of twelve. When Sara's father Almund died, her uncle Artabast had seized his lands as possessions of the Visigothic royal house. The princess, a girl of eighteen, decided to appeal the action, and journeyed the full length of the Mediterranean in a ship she chartered herself. In Damascus she so impressed Caliph Hisham with her ability that he granted her suit.

Sara was six years older than 'Abdurrahman, but he remembered her as a vivacious and intelligent girl with keen blue eyes matching his own, and fine golden hair. She had come to Damascus accompanied by her two younger brothers, Matrubal and Oppas, and 'Abdurrahman had played with them in the gardens of the Rusafah palace near Damascus. Unfortunately we never hear any more about either of these boys, in Syria or in Spain. It was Princess Sara who was the outstanding figure in the family, and it was she who had given 'Abdurrahman details about, the estates similar to hers which his grandfather Hisham had assigned to him in Spain.

Then shortly after winning her suit, she had married a young Arab noble by the name of 'Isa Ibn-Mazahim, who had gone back to Spain with her. The young Umayyad wondered where Sara and her husband would be now.

* * *

YET more important an element in the Spanish situation, and one which bade 'Abdurrahman seriously consider a landing in Spain, was the disaffection of the Syrian troops whom Hisham had sent to quell the great Berber Revolt of 734-742.

About one-third of these troops had crossed over into Spain under Balj the Qushayrite, and eventually taken Cordoba. Then they had been driven away from the capital in their turn, and granted various towns and villages in southern Andalusia, right where it would be easiest to make contact with them. They were not happy with their neglected position, and, being Umayyad clients, were still more unhappy under Fihrite rule. A descendent of Mu'awiyah would appeal to them as their natural leader!

Nor were conditions stabilized because of the schism between the 'Abbasids and the Umayyads in the East. There was much talk of the need for a "legitimate" government, and this seemed a golden opportunity to the rather hot-headed young man who had to suffer so intensely because of both 'Abbasid and Fihrite. He wanted rest, but he realized that rest could be found only through peace, and that peace could be found only by dictating it in his own favour. It was a challenge to this tall, vigorous youth of twenty-four ; he could see a beautiful career looming up and beckoning him on. He could see it best of all when he listened to Salim's stories of the Arab conquest forty years before.

Unfortunately, Salim had been gloomy of late, perhaps because he did not like life among the Berbers, or because he could not take orders from a younger man. 'Abdurrahman felt he was unreliable, and would soon carry out his threat of returning to Syria. For Salim was destined never to return to Spain, and thus he missed sharing in a second triumphal entry to that land.

Meanwhile, 'Abdurrahman had been approached to lead his faction. It buoyed him up, for otherwise he would never be able to bring his latent organizing ability to bear upon that quarrelling society, and thus give peace to the last corner of the earth where he might still find a refuge. Moreover, he felt he was entitled at least to those revenues which his grandfather, in preparation for his future services to caliphate, had allotted him as part of the holdings of the royal house in Spain. Al-Andalus beckoned him on.

NOTES

1. Ibn-Hayyan says that he went first to the Maghila tribe with Abu-Qurra Wanasus, but I doubt this since other sources state that the Maghila lived near Fez in Morocco, and this was the region where he ended up while waiting to cross over into Spain. b. Idh. II. 42 indicates he went to the Nafza first. But see below.

2. Some say that this was located at Ceuta, but Saavedra states that the Nafza lived rather in Sabra, which lies in the presentday plain of Sabra about sixty miles upstream from the mouth of the Muluya River in Morocco. Ibn-Khaldun says that the Nafza were from Tripoli, but this possibly was a later migration.

Chapter Seven

THE INTRUDER

How 'Abdurrahman passed over into Spain and became master of the whole Kingdom.—Altonso the Wise.

'ABDURRAHMAN'S first gesture from Morocco was to send Badr across the Straits. His mission was to negotiate with the Damascus regiment which had settled in Elvira and the Qinnasrin regiment of Jaen, for both consisted of soldiers who were Umayyad clients and should sympathize with a fellow exile. The leaders of the first regiment were 'Ubayd-Ullah Abu-'Uthman and 'Abdullah Ibn-Khalid, while the second was commanded by Yusuf Ibn-Bukht the Persian.

Badr carried a carefully-phrased letter describing his master's many vicissitudes and explaining that since 'Abdurrahman was Caliph Hisham's grandson, he should be their natural choice as leader, above all in Spain where his grandfather had allotted him revenues. The letter stated that the governor of North Africa, Ibn-Habib, had been terrorizing 'Abdurrahman, and thus they all had accounts to settle with the Fihrites. If they would recognize him as their overlord, he would grant them the highest honours and display the utmost energy in dealing with their common foe.

* * *

'ABDURRAHMAN then transferred from the Nafza to the Mughilah Berbers, in order to be near the Moroccan coast in case he had to move quickly.[1] The Nafza had been clients of the Umayyad caliph 'Abd-al-'Aziz, and they lived near the mouth of the Xelif River. Moreover, Ibn-Habib of Qayrawan was still hounding the young prince, and although the Nafza chief Abu-Qurra Wanasus wanted to protect him, he had to flee once more, this time to Tahart.

Tahart was then the capital of the Zanatah Berbers, and formed their stronghold under the Banu-Rustam clan. The Zanatah were the most famous of the Berber tribes of that day, and although they were nonconformist Kharijites in religion and just as independent in their politics,[2] they nonetheless welcomed the fugitive.

As Tahart is opposite Almunecar, it was more probably 'Abdurrahman's point of departure for Spain than Ceuta, which is given by many histories. The city itself was where Taodamt now stands, although later it was moved to the site of Tiaret. This is not on the sea, but within easy reach of it, so that the prince could travel thither whenever he needed to consult with Badr. In fact, their final place of consultation is given as Ghazah.

For some months 'Abdurrahman received no news from Badr, and he became worried. They say that Tahart is such a cloudy place that nothing is more welcome there than a glimpse of the sun; and this cloudiness may have added to the prince's gloom. However, the sun finally appeared: when Badr brought his news, he felt so elated that he jumped from the ship into the sea and swam to inform his master all the sooner. The freedman had been more successful than either of them had dared to hope!

Badr had first of all gone to the castle of Torrox to meet 'Ubayd-Ullah, and had won him over, as well as lesser officers of the Damascus division, Tammam Abu-Ghalib Ibn-'Alqamah and Wahib-Ibn-Zahir. Tammam had now come over to Africa to offer 'Abdurrahman the sovereignty of Spain, and was disembarking from the ship which the Damascenes had bought for the purpose. The conversation between them is interesting.

'Adurrahman first of all asked Tammam his name.

"Tammam [or the Perfecter]," he replied.

"And your nickname?"

"Abu-Ghalib [Father of the Conqueror]."

"'Tis a good omen; we shall conquer with it!"[3]

After further conference, all the Syrians conceded that though their uprising would be a difficult enterprise, it was worth the gamble. 'Abdurrahman thereupon named Tammam his prime minister, a post which he held until his death, when he was succeeded by Yusuf Ibn-Bukht. The latter especially was more than willing to favour the Invader, for above all other considerations he was an Umayyad by patronage, and in Arab society these relationships form the summit of the code of honour.

* * *

'ABDURRAHMAN then heard of Badr's adventures.

His servant had gone as far north as Zaragoza to consult with Yusuf the Fihrite's lieutenant Sumayl, who was besieging that city where some Yamanite rebels had declared in favour of the 'Abbasids. Sumayl happened to be out of sorts with Yusuf, who had been slow in sending reinforcements; and since he had once been an Umayyad client, he listened with apparent sympathy. After receiving Badr and the Syrians, he sent them off with gifts, promising to think the matter over.

On their way back south, the Syrians had met Yusuf himself on the banks of the Guadalimar near Cestulo, finally getting ready to assist against the Zaragozan rebels. He urgently needed all the men he could muster, and so he tried to buy the Syrians over with the present of a thousand gold pieces. They told the Fihrite nothing of their plans with 'Abdurrahman, took his money, and begged for enough time to reap their barley, which was imperative in view of recent bad crops.

This encounter thus turned out to be a splendid means of procuring some ready money. They distributed one quarter of the sum amongst their adherents, and kept the rest to purchase the ship on which they were to bring 'Abdurrahman from Morocco.

When the prince heard their story, he was only too glad to welcome them. The Syrians had also achieved some success, so they said, in winning over a few Yamanites who likewise hated the North Arab Yusuf. The latter had been cruel with their leaders, and the South Arabs promised to come over in a body as soon as they dared express themselves openly.

* * *

MEANWHILE Yusuf was on his way north towards Toledo to fight Amir Ibn-'Amru and his son. He finally took the insurgents prisoner at Zaragoza, and started back south. Sumayl had promised to support 'Abdurrahman; but now he changed face, offering the Intruder merely a safe berth in Spain and Yusuf's daughter in marriage.

Thus, in September 755, as Yusuf was resting on his way back to Cordoba, a letter from his wife Umm-'Uthman informed him that 'Abdurrahman had landed in Spain and was organizing his clients in the region of Granada.[4] Sumayl confirmed the news, but made light of it. However, his wife wrote again that the Intruder was

gaining many adherents and had already defeated the governor of Elvira in a skirmish when the latter had tried to capture his person.

At this juncture, the better part of his troops deserted Yusuf. They used the pretext that since the autumn rains had already started, they did not want to fight on during the winter, but they were really discontented because Yusuf, upon Sumayl's suggestion, had just done to death many of their Quraysh leaders.

Yusuf hastened south with what troops were left. The Yamanites then deserted *en masse* while the few who remained grumbled at the prospect of a winter campaign in the Sierra Nevada.

The threat to his security now appeared so serious that Yusuf prepared to defend his capital, and despatched two sons, one of whom was called 'Abdurrahman and the other Qasim, to recruit reinforcements in Zaragoza and Tadmir. The governor himself and Sumayl marched to levy troops in Merida and Toledo, where the Fihrites had their greatest following. Everybody now knew that it would be a fight for the mastery of Spain, and all parties were anxious to see the end of winter.

NOTES

1. Near Melilla, says Ibn-Khaldun ; and near Fez according to Codera, p. 259. Ibn-Hayyan says that there Badr caught up with his master, bringing his sisters' money and jewels. Ibn-Habib had the place searched, but Wanasus' wife Takfat hid 'Abdurrahman under a pile of dirty laundry.

2. In 761, the Banu-Rustam were to declare their independence and control the whole middle Maghrib.

3. Maq. II. 21 & 34 ; and *Akh. M.* p. ٧٠

4. b. Idh. II. 45 says it was his son who informed him.

Chapter Eight

FIRST ADVANCES

LET us now turn our attention to 'Abdurrahman's arrival in Spain. We have already remarked how the Newcomer's Syrian followers bought him a ship, installed Tammam as its captain, and manned it with a crew of eleven. Thus the Umayyad prince was afforded a means of transportation befitting his rank and dignity.

Before they left the African port of Ghazah, a quit-fee was paid the Berbers among whom 'Abdurrahman had been living. However, one unfortunate creature had clung to the ship after he had missed his share, and a sailor clipped off his hand with a sword when he refused to let go of the sheets. The passage was stormy, and the voyagers were glad to see Spain loom up to the north of them after several days at sea.

* * *

THEY first sighted land near Motril, a little to the east of Almunecar, the port where they set foot on shore. 'Abdurrahman greeted his new homeland on September 15, 755, on the coast between Malaga and Almeria. He was met at Almunecar by the two ranking Syrian officers, 'Ubayd-Ullah and Ibn-Khalid.[1]

They offered 'Abdurrahman their homage on the spot. Then they brought him some wine, but he refused it, saying: "I want to keep my head clear now, not befuddle it." [2]

The Newcomer was installed for his first night in Spain in the castle of Fontin near Loja. This belonged to 'Ubayd-Ullah's grandson 'Abdullah. His hosts also offerred him as a token of extreme hospitality, a beautiful young slavegirl for a sleeping companion; but he merely looked at her and replied: "I will not indulge in any distractions of the sight nor the heart until Spain is within my grasp." With these words, he gave her back to her owners.

Next day the Syrians transferred their new overlord to Abu-'Uthman's fortress village of Torrox, which lay between Iznejar and Loja. From that vantage point 'Abdurrahman was able to meet most

of the Umayyad and Yamanite chieftains of the region within a very few days. About twenty thousand men from the surrounding country-side joined his forces. The twenty-six-year-old prince was acclaimed enthusiastically everywhere he went, and the governor of Elvira was easily routed when he tried to repulse him.

Ibn-'Idhari[3] tells us that during this breathing spell, Yusuf Ibn-Bukht went to interest the Jordan regiment of Malaga in the venture, while 'Abdullah Ibn-Khalid set out for the men of Hims who lived in Seville, and Tammam was assigned to the Palestinians in Medina Sidonia and Algeciras. As a rusult of their efforts, more recruits arrived, both from these quarters, and from many others.

* * *

MEANWHILE, Sumayl and Yusuf opened negotiations to buy off 'Abdurrahman, for their handicap now seemed too great. Yusuf at first called upon the Umayyads to surrender, and they replied that the pretender only wanted permission to settle down in Spain. This answer encouraged Yusuf to send an embassy of three consisting of a friend of Sumayl called 'Ubayd, a Spanish convert named Khalid Ibn-Zayd,[4] and 'Isa, who was both an Umayyad client and Yusuf's chief paymaster.

The delegation was authorized to offer the Intruder a home in Cordoba, the right to Caliph Hisham's Spanish estates, the hand of Yusuf's daughter, and immediate gifts such as are offered a wealthy prince : a rich costume, two slaves two horses, two mules, and five hundred gold pieces ; plus a costume, a horse and a hundred gold pieces for Badr. A message also cautioned him against trusting the Yamanites, and offered him the governorship of Elvira and Malaga, precisely that region .which would later become the final Moorish kingdom of Granada.

'Abdurrahman was aftar a bigger prize than a life of ease and the hand of a woman, but the possibility that he might become a wealthy landowner attracted his clients nevertheless : a bird in the hand was worth two in the bush. So the negotiations went on, and it almost seemed as if his followers might force him to accept.

Suddenly the upstart Khalid, in an attack of vanity, exclaimed to old 'Ubayd-Ullah that the Arab could not write as elegant a letter as he, a mere Spaniard ! This was sufficient for the proud though unlettered

Syrian to give up any idea he might have entertained of dealing with Yusuf and Sumayl.

"I shall write nothing," he roared, "either good or bad, you son of a dog!"

The Newcomer had taken one more step towards control of his new kingdom.

NOTES

1. Some sources assert that 'Ubayd-Ullah had gone to Africa with Tammam. Since Tammam was in charge of the ship, and inferior to the old Syrian in rank, I doubt this.
2. Maq. II. 29.
3. II. 46.
4. b. Idh. calls him Khalid Ibn-Yazid.

Chapter Nine

ROMANCE AND VICTORY

THE winter was so severe that both sides bided their time instead of taking to the field. 'Aburrahman's only sparring consisted in detaching what Yamamites he could from Yusuf, a task by no means difficult. He also succeeded in attracting some Berbers and Qaysites, even though Sumayl was from the latter tribe.

Then he started out in March of 756 with his Umayyad clients and the Yamanites from Jaen and Granada. They hoped to gather in more adherents along their line of march, as well as to pick up those who were already pledged to their cause in Malaga, Sidonia, Moron and Seville.

Archidona, which was then the capital of the Regio or Malaga district, and where the Mudarite regiment from the Jordan valley had settled, opened its gates to the Newcomer. Its governor Jidar proclaimed 'Abdurrahman Amir of Spain instead of Yusuf in a public ceremony, for these Palestinians had learned to hate the Fihrite for his arbitrary conduct. At this place four hundred Berber clients of the House of Umayyah also descended from the picturesque fortress city of Ronda to join his forces.

When 'Abdurrahman reached Medina Sidonia, he encountered more Yamanite partisans; and by the time he reached the great metropolis of Seville, where the Hims regiment awaited him, the whole city was ready to acclaim him with open arms. The leading Arab of this city was Abu-as-Sabbah Ibn-Yahya, a Yahsubi of the Yakib tribe. He and the other Yamanite chieftains detained the Newcomer for some two months while they recruited more followers for him.

It was also in Seville that 'Abdurrahman renewed his acquaintance with Countess Sara, and became more ardent an admirer of her than ever before.

* * *

AS WE recall, 'Abdurrahman had met this Gothic princess in the

year 745 or 746 while he was a lad at his grandfather's court in Damascus. During the governorship of Abu-al-Khattar, Sara had chartered a ship and sailed from Seville to Ascalon ; from there she had continued on to Demascus by land, where the Caliph Hisham had welcomed her warmly. After winning her case and marrying 'Isa Ibn-Mazahim, she had returned with her husband to take up residence in Seville. The pair had two sons, Ibrahim and Ishaq, but their father had died just as 'Abdurrahman arrived in Spain.[1]

Sara was a queenly woman ; in fact, her strength of personality made all her descendents pride themselves in her blood, and those who spoke Arabic used "*Ibn-al-Quivvah*" or "Son of the Gothic Woman" as an unprecedented non-Arab surname. She was the ancestress of a numerous progeny, both Christian and Muslim, who lived not only in Seville, but also around Nieble and in southern Portugal. Even the glorious namesake of our hero, 'Abdurrahman III, would be proud that his mother, a Christian by the name of Mary, was a descendent of this princess. And so finally 'Abdurrahman's and Sara's blood would become united !

Perhaps even at this time, Sara formed designs upon the young conqueror's heart. However, any romance seems to have been completely respectable, and shortly after 'Abdurrahman's arrival in Seville, she married another Muslim Arab called 'Abdurrahman Ibn-'Umar Ibn-Sa'id. They had a son called Jilbeh, who was the ancestor of Sara's other descendents, the Banu-Sa'id.

What interests us is the likelihood that the Intruder was able to win over the Yamanites of the Seville region through Sara's influence and energy. This accomplishment will explain why Sara was so well received when 'Abdurrahman was established in Cordoba : she always enjoyed free access to the new sovereign's palace and could enter his private quarters, a privilege rarely granted a man, let alone a woman. Takfat, the wife of his Berber benefactor Wanasus, was the only other woman we know of who enjoyed this privilege.

* * *

Soon 'Abdurrahman learned that Yusuf the Fihrite had marched out of Cordoba towards Toledo, where he hoped to raise an army from his adherents around that city. The Newcomer ordered his own troops out of Seville along the south bank of the Guadalquivir, planning to take

the capital by surprise before the Fihrite could get help from his sympathizers.

History records that it was a colourful pageant when the Newcomer passed his troops in their first formal review at Villanueva del Rio[2] to the east of Seville on the banks of the great river. During this ceremony, Abu-as-Sabbah improvised the famous white banner of the Spanish Umayyads by tying a turban to a lancehead, in order to distinguish the insurgent forces from those of Yusuf. 'Abdullah Ibn-Khalid then climbed an olive tree and slung the banner between it and its neighbour to wave in the breeze.

Akhbar Majmua[3] places much emphasis upon this flag, claiming that it ensured the Spanish Umayyads a prosperous dynasty. It was kept until the time of either 'Abdurrahman II or his son Muhammad when it was lost. Spanish-Arab historians date the decline of the Umayyad power in Spain from that time, although under 'Abdurrahman III its glory was revived.

* * *

THEN the Umayyad army learned that Yusuf was not marching north at all, but advancing along the opposite bank of the Guadalquivir to take the Intruder by surprise. 'Abdurrahman hastened north-eastward to meet him, or to enter the capital himself if it were undefended.

The sparring started. As soon as Yusuf learned that his rival was on the move, he hurried back to the defence of Cordoba; while 'Abdurrahman tried to give the impression that he was not headed in that direction at all, but only out recruiting. At one moment the two forces lay on opposite banks of the river, and the Newcomer tried to mislead his enemy by the old dodge of leaving his campfires burning while his troops marched off under cover of darkness.

However, Yusuf was just as wary, and followed his foe from his own side of the river. They caught sight of each other again near the Rio Bembozar or Nevalo. The Guadalquivir was in flood at this time, and here they waited, trying to effect a meeting. Meanwhile some 3,500 Yamanite and Umayyad Cordobans slipped out of the city into 'Abdurrahman's camp across the river under cover of darkness.

* * *

AT LAST on May 13, the waters of the river started to subside. At this time they were near the plain of Musara to the east of Cordoba.[4] The insurgents held a council of war to decide whether or not to try swimming or fording the stream in order to engage the enemy then and there.

For as a result of a six-year famine, it had been impossible to purchase many supplies, and the troops had been reduced to living off green peas. Consequently they were rather short-tempered. However, the Feast of Sacrifices (Id-i-Qurban, or 'Id-al-Azha) was approaching, and many livestock merchants had begun to circulate through the countryside with their wares; and thus the food shortage in the camp was eased to some extent.

The Feast of Sacrifices is the celebration which occurs when the pilgrims in Mecca commence to slaughter their sacrificial animals in preparation for the ascent of Mt. Arafat. This occurs on the tenth day of the month Dhu-al-Hijjah, and is observed as a feast throughout the Islamic world much as Christmas is with the Christians. It had been on this date that Mu'awiyah, the first Umayyad caliph, had defeated 'Ali and thus established his dynasty. Now on Dhu-al-Hijjah 10 of the year 158 of the Hegira (May 15, 756), the Umayyad would once more meet the Fihrite; and to 'Abdurrahman it seemed an auspicous date to give battle.

The young prince at first attempted to parley, but Yusuf flaunted the good provisions of his camp before the Umayyads, hoping to entice them to desert. Therefore 'Abdurrahman posted close watch and finally decided to give battle. The insurgent forces crossed over the Noria ford while the flood waters were still high and lighted by the last quarter of the moon. Then they drew up for battle.

* * *

THERE was no further parleying; both armies met at Musara. 'Abdurrahman was determined to repeat his ancestor's feat at Marj Rahat, and he made a speech to his assembled troops, telling them that this was their last chance to opt for peace.

"Tomorrow is Friday," he began, "and the Feast of Sacrifices. The opposing forces are the Umayyads on one hand, and the Fihrites on the other; the sons of Qays arrayed against the tribes of Yaman. Let this day be the same as that of Marj Rahat!"

The young captain paraded on a splendid charger before his men just prior to the battle. A rumour ran through the ranks that he was going to use it as a means of escape in case the fighting took an ill turn. This tale reached the Newcomer's ears, so he called out and asked : " Isn't there a quiet mule in the army which I might ride ? I cannot use my bow on this horse."

An old greying mule called Kawkab or " Star " was found for him by Abu-as-Sabbah, and he changed over to it. " Star " could be easily seen because of its light colour, and this reassured his followers.

'Abdurrahman also gave orders that Yusuf's Spanish secretary Khalid Ibn-Zayad should be killed if they lost, but pardoned if they won. Khalid was later exchanged for 'Ubayd-Ullah after victory was complete, for the old Syrian happened to be taken prisoner shortly after the seizure of Cordoba.

* * *

WHEN 'Abdurrahman had made this speech and given these last orders, the Umayyad troops swung into action. Yusuf became very concerned when he finally saw all the Yamanites and Syrians drawn up in battle array, for he had not yet received the reinforcements which his sons were to bring him.

It was mainly a cavalry engagement, and at first seemed as if it would be a long-drawn-out affair. When 'Abdurrahman noticed this, he ordered his Syrian partisans to dismount and fight in the centre around his person, while he placed the Yamanites on his right wing and Berbers on his left. 'Ubayd-Ullah carried his standard, thus acting as his chief of staff.

Yusuf placed his best cavalry, the Mudarites, on his left in order to challenge the Yamanites ; his infantry occupied the centre ; while the rest of his rather motley forces faced 'Abdurrahman's Berbers. When 'Abdurrahman realized this was the weak point, he set his Africans upon it and thus routed Yusuf's right wing. The resolute Sumayl quickly saw that all would soon be lost, and so he tried to capture the Newcomer's person, but without success. Yusuf then succumbed to panic and fled towards Cordoba ; but found he could not reach the city because the road was blocked. The Mudarite

cavalry surrendered when they saw the death of their commanding officer.

This battle of Musara on May 15, 756 assured 'Abdurrahman's rule in Spain.

* * *

IMMEDIATELY his troops started to pillage the enemy camp of its valuables, and above all of its food. They were happy to find not only provisions, but also a meal ready for the victors, who in this case were themselves. Sumayl witnessed the pillage of his house from the summit of a nearby hill, and is said to have cursed the looters.[5] Then he fled east to Jodar near Jaen. Yusuf finally extricated himself and took refuge in the other direction, fleeing first to Merida, and then wheeling northward towards his friends around Toledo.[6]

The Umayyad army advanced directly to the gates of Cordoba, whither 'Abdurrahman hastened as soon as he learned there was danger of disorder. The conquering forces were wild with victory and preparing to loot palaces of the city. It was with strange misgivings that the Newcomer raced after them, wondering if triumph were going to slip out of his hand.

NOTES

1. Abraham was the great-grandfather of the historian of the conquest, Ibn-al-Qutiyyah, who died in 978.

2. Or Villanueva de Brenes.

3. p. ٨٠

4. Musarah, Musharah or Mosara. The variant spellings indicate this was probably a Spanish placename transcribed into Arabic. Maq. locates it west of Cordoba. Cf. Dozy : *Hist. musulmanes*, I. 169.

5. According to b. Qut. and b. Abb. p. 50.

6. b. Idh. II. 49 says he went to Elvira, but this was more probably during his later campaigning.

Chapter Ten

LORD OF ANDALUSIA

THERE was some trouble after the Battle of Musara, since the Yamanites became annoyed when they were not allowed to sack Cordoba. Abu-as-Sabbah took the opportunity to suggest to them that they kill the "beardless youth" so that the Sevillian could assume command of Spain for himself.

However, Abu-as-Sabbah was disappointed. Although the Newcomer professed indifference to the plot when he was warned of it, he decided to make a thorough investigation. Tha'labah, a Judhamite noble from Medina Sidnoia, had been the one to inform the prince of his danger, and 'Abdurrahman questioned him under oath to make sure that he was telling that truth. Then he appointed the chief conspirator governor of his old bailiwick, Seville, and allowed him to remain as such for a year or so in order to allay his suspicions.

Yet ten year later when Abu-as-Sabbah aroused further suspicions and failed to explain why he had caused a fracas, he was killed by 'Abdurrahman's palace guard. This was in the course of the Toledan revolt, of which more later ; by that time most of 'Abdurrahman's followers had forgotten the original motive of their animosity.[1]

This incident will serve to show how resolute the Intruder could be when necessary. Too many of these Arabs possessed little political sense and they needed to be kept in line with a firm hand. The Newcomer was generally careful to cover up his motives so as not to appear vengeful when he had to eliminate possible rivals, and thus keep on friendly terms with the rest of his nobles.

* * *

'ABDURRAHMAN advanced directly upon Cordoba from Musara, coming up in a forced march to stop the looting that was in progress. Cordoba surrendered upon his arrival. The conqueror marched to the governor's palace, where he ordered all pillage stop-

ped and took over Yusuf's household for protection. This was a difficult chore, and he accomplished it only by throwing open the Fihrite's wardrobe to his followers, who claimed they were in rags. Meanwhile the ladies of the household, Yusuf's wife Umm-'Uthman and her two daughters, besieged him, pleading: "O cousin, treat us as God has treated you, generously!"

'Abdurraham sent for the head of the mosque, who would have sufficient authority to see they were not further molested. He also told them they could return for three consecutive days and gather up the rest of their belongings.

As the ladies were leaving his custody for the safety of the mosque, the Intruder handed them back some jeweis which his men had stolen from them. Since he himself was going to sleep that first night in the palace, one of Yusuf's daughters gave him a young slavegirl of hers named Hulal to share his bed. Nine months later, on February 26, 757, she became the mother of Hisham, 'Abdurrahman's heir.[2]

Conde[3] romanticizes upon this episode, saying that Hisham's mother was a Berber called Howara whom 'Abdurrahman had met in Africa, and whom he loved dearly. *Akhbar Majmu'a*[4] says that 'Abdurrahman had also been given two slavegirls and had bought one more, plus some male slaves; so that when he left Cordoba to campaign further, he already possessed a household which was left behind under the protection of Abu-'Uthman.

Then since it was Friday, 'Abdurrahman, as the Imam or spiritual leader of his new subjects, presided at a service of prayer and thanksgiving in the chief mosque of Cordoba. From the pulpit, the new sovereign proclaimed himself ruler, solemnly promising to show justice towards all classes, creeds and races. In various messages addressed to the provincial towns, he reiterated these promises.

The new ruler then installed 'Ubayd-Ullah Abu-'Uthman as governor of the capital, and set out to clean up the remmants of his foes. His namesake 'Abdurrahman Ibn-Nu'aym of the Banu-Quda'a was appointed chief of police, since the Banu-Quda'a were a branch of the Kalbites and therefore loyal to the Umayyads. He likewise had to contend with the Yamanites, who wanted to wreak personal vengeance upon Yusuf's immediate family and wring as much booty from them as possible. This movement was squelched when

Tha'labah revealed Abu-as-Sabbah's plot to 'Abdurrahman; but it was to plague the prince in years to come.

* * *

MEANWHILE, Yusuf had gone on to Toledo with his defeat rankling him. Sumayl was in Jaen, from which city he forced 'Abdurrahman's new governor of Elvira to take the defensive. As both defeated leaders still possessed an efficient spy system, they learned that 'Abdurrahman was going to leave only a small garrison under 'Ubayd-Ullah in Cordoba. Yusuf, therefore, ordered his son 'Abdurrahman Abu-Zayd[5] to march on Cordoba with the troops he had finally managed to raise in Zaragoza. He was told to take a side route, and seize the capital as soon as the Umayyad left it.

Abu-Zayd advanced upon Cordoba from the northeast through the Sierra de Guadarrama via the valley of Navafria. He managed to surprise the new governor, and 'Ubayd-Ullah had to flee to the mosque, from where he surrendered Cordoba to the insurgents. In contrast to the Newcomer's moderation, they sacked the city.

For his share of the booty, Abu-Zayd took two of 'Abdurrahman's slavegirls for his own pleasure. The name of one girl was Kaltham, but the other's is unknown. A third escaped to her former owners, who protected her since she was already pregnant; later she bore the prince's daughter 'A'isha. We do not learn what happened to Hulal, but presumably she was with 'Abdurrahman in the field.

As Abu-Zayd was retiring northward towards Toledo, his followers asked him why he had treated 'Abdurrahman's household worse than the prince had treated Abu-Zayd's mother and sisters. They reproached him for his ingratitude, and as a result the young officer erected a tent a mile north of Cordoba and left the girls there with all their possessions. However, Abu 'Uthman was retained as prisoner.

In the meantime, 'Abdurrahman was returning posthaste, and in his turn re-entered Cordoba. To his disappointment, he found that his foe had fled the city and he would have to continue the chase elsewhere. He discovered his womenfolk in their tent, but since Abu-Zayd had evidently abused them, he never forgave the young Fihrite the insult. In fact, he gave both of the girls away to two followers who had no wives.

Then 'Abdurrahman followed Yusuf and Sumyal to Almunecar, the little port where he had first set foot on Spanish soil. His opponents had manoeuvred themselves to that point either because they felt they could cut off the Intruder's retreat to Africa there, or, else in case of defeat, cross over themselves to their relatives south of the Mediterranean.

Their hopes were dashed, for the Newcomer won another victory over them, and forced Yusuf to retreat to the district around Granada. With this, Sumayl saw that further resistance was futile, and, following his advice, Yusuf relinquished his power and title to the Umayyad. This formality was accomplished at Armilla near modern Granada in July of 756.[6]

* * *

THE terms were generous. Yusuf was to retain his personal property and estates, but hand over his sons 'Abdurrahman Abu-Zayd and Muhammad Abu-al-Aswad as hostages. Sumayl was enrolled as an officer on 'Abdurrahman's pay list; in fact, the Newcomer was rather favourably impressed by Sumayl, who formed quite a constrast to the indecisive Yusuf. But both of them were enjoined to live in their homes in Cordoba, where they could be watched. Finally, 'Ubayd-Ullah was exchanged for the Spanish convert Khalid.

Yusuf and Sumayl accompanied the new Amir on his second formal entry into Cordoba. All three rode splendid mules, Yusuf to the conqueror's right and Sumayl to his left. Upon this occasion, 'Abdurrahman published a general amnesty which he kept scrupulously. Many Arabs attempted to curry favour with him by heaping abuse upon Yusuf and starting lawsuits against him, but the Newcomer would have nothing to do with any claims that were not strictly just.

Thus only a few months after landing in his new homeland and six years from the time that the 'Abbasids had turned upon the Umayyads, 'Abdurrahman emerged as a ruler in his own right. He had already shown that energy, vigour, and administrative ability

which were to carry him through more than three troubled decades of Spanish history.

NOTES

1. See end of chapter XIII.

2. Maq. I. 216.

3. I. 168. Compare Gayangos in his Maq. (II. 424), where he gives the form Hawara as quoted by al-Humaydi (which I have been unable to consult). I suspect that Hulal was a Hawara Berber, hence the alternate name.

4. p. 92.

5. *Akh. M.*, loc. cit , says that he died at Musara ; but evidently he had not yet been killed.

6. *Akh. M.* says it was in 757 or 759, but this is probably mistaken.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

ORGANIZING ARAB SPAIN

> Spain resembles Syria in her pure air, Yaman for her temperate climate, India for her drugs and perfumes, Persia for her great revenues, China for her metals, and precious stones, the Hadramawt for her coasts and harbours, and Greece for the wisdom of her sages.
>
> —Paraphrasing Abu-'Ubayd-Ullah the Spaniard (as quoted in Maqqari, I. 82).

NOW that this country lay within his grasp, 'Abdurrahman had to settle down to organize it on a stable basis and show whether he would be the founder of a state, or merely the twentyfourth in a line of turbulent governors.

He assumed the powers of civil governor, but did not challenge the 'Abbasid caliphs of the East in their religious claims. It is said that Yusuf, like Musa's son 'Abd al-'Aziz, had begun to call himself king, but 'Abdurrahman never wished to assume this dignity.

More than once in 'Abdurrahman's long reign of thirtytwo years, it seemed that Spain might slip from his grasp : the jealous Arab aristocracy was eternally restive under a personal ruler, remembering the old republican virtues of nomadic Arabia, and a sort of Fronde, rebellious to any sort of social discipline, sprang up from the remnants of turbulence to plague the new ruler. His acknowledged subjects scarcely bothered him ; only his would-be equals who shared his Arab blood. The Newcomer tried to placate them with offices and honours, but they were a constant thorn in his flesh; only with difficulty did he bring Spain "the most precious of gifts . . . unity."[1]

When his Spanish son Hisham was born one year after 'Abdurrahman had established his government, the father celebrated the event with largess and merriment. Hulal had had a dangerous time in labour, and her husband is said to have hastened back from Merida in time for the birth.[2]

The prince then thought of the rest of his family. He sent forth an invitation to all his relatives, clients and partisans who were still

alive, to come to Spain. He wanted them to help him in his administration, and to form a loyal core upon which he could rely. Among those who arrived was his eldest boy, Suleyman whom we last saw crying in the village on the banks of the Euphrates. Suleyman arrived in 764, when he was still in his teens ; his aunts had refused to undertake the long journey the full length of the Mediterranean.[3]

Administrative problems forced the Newcomer to build up a standing army which he could move around the country at will. The nucleus was originally those Syrian regiments that had placed him in power ; but gradually the bulk of his forces became Berber mercenaries whom he paid well and in some cases freed from slavery for the purpose. They were thus loyal to his own person, as was his private Negro bodyguard. To the end of better defence of the capital, he also strengthened the castle in Cordoba.[4]

His army eventually suggested another problem ; either the Moors or the Christians might some day take Spain from the Arabs. In fact, Spain fell first to the Berbers and then to the Northerners. And with the fanatical Moroccans rose the opposing spectre of Christian fanaticism ; there seems to be an affinity of religious fervour between these twin peoples of the western Mediterranean, whatever creed they may profess.

All these elements were so explosive that they necessitated an extraordinary amount of energy and tact in their handling, especially if one were to maintain a strict sense of justice. 'Abdurrahman's mastery of his political medium was to prove exquisite. The Umayyad state ushered in a new era for Spain and marked a complete social revolution for the peninsula.

* * *

THE Arab conquest of 711 had wiped out the privileges of the Visigothic nobility and the HispanoRoman clergy, and thus levelled the social structure. It removed the previous heavy burden of unscientific taxation and substituted the fresher imports of the eastern Islamic Empire, polltax and landtax. These, like modern income and property levies, were laid upon the backs of those most able to pay them.

The Jews and Christians paid *jizyah* or polltax, which varied from twelve to twentyfour or fortyeight dirhems a year, depending upon the individual's ability to pay. All women and children, the aged and destitute, monastics and chronic invalids, were exempt from this

tax. This corresponded to the Muslims' obligation of lending military service.

As for the landtax, it never strangled agriculture as it had under the Visigoths, for it was calculated according to the yield of the soil. In fact, the Spanish Christians were better off now, for they could sell their property, which the feudal Visigothic set-up forbade them.

The cities received charters confirming their zealously guarded *fueros* or bylaws, which only the Hapsburgs and Bourbons would cancel eight to ten centuries later. These rights also applied to Christian communities within larger municipalities. Only the estates of those nobles and clergymen who had fled the country were seized ; these were distribu ted amongst the Arabs, with a fifth (the *khums*) being retained for the use of the state. This "*quinto del rey*" would reappear during the Spanish conquest of America.

'Abdurrahman realized that the peace of his realm depended closely upon his tolerance of his non-Muslim subjects. He already foresaw plenty of trouble with his unruly Arab nobles, and the Amir could never have controlled Spain if he had antagonized the Christians or Jews. Moreover, such a course would have been contrary to his tolerant nature.

He therefore confirmed the Christians in their previous liberties, and guaranteed them against being molested so long as they paid their taxes. As another instance of his broadminded treatment, he granted them permission to rebuild their ruined churches at the time that he purchased the Christian half of the cathedral-mosque of Cordoba.[5]

Those Spaniards who spoke Arabic but were of native stock were called *Musta'rabs* in Arabic or *Mozarabes* in Spanish, a term meaning "would-be Arabs." They were governed by their own bylaws which varied from locality to locality, depending upon the individual municipal charter. Some towns had counts of their own, like Count Servando of Cordoba, Toddo of Coimbra, and Theodomir of Orihuela ; to these the Christian population was subject, and they in turn were responsible before the sovereign for their people's taxes and conduct. Muslim judges tried Christians only in offences against Islam itself and in capital crimes.

The only exception I have discovered to this rule on the part of 'Abdurrahman was with Count Athanagild of Tadmir and with Witiza's son Ardabast, who owned considerable property inherited from the former royal estates. After his experience with wealthy Arabs, 'Abdurrahman decided it was dangerous to the security of his government to leave so much land and power in the hands of any single man. With Ardabast his motive could also have been that of repaying this uncle of Sara's the similar trick which he had played on his niece.

However, Ardabast seems to have held 'Abdurrahman little grudge for this, because he later took the trouble to inform his sovereign of some discontent which threatened among the Arabs. The Newcomer in his turn restored the Christian some of his holdings and his title of count.

* * *

AS FOR the Jews, the best description of their position is to be found in Hume's *Spanish People*:[6] "Side by side with the new rulers lived the Christians and Jews in peace. The latter, rich with commerce and industry, were content to let the memory of their oppression by the priest-ridden Goths sleep, now that the prime authors of it had disappeared. Learned in all the arts and sciences, cultured and tolerant, they were treated by the Moors with marked respect, and multiplied exceedingly all over Spain; and, like the Christian Spaniards under Moorish rule—who were called Mozarabes—had cause to thank their new masters for an era of prosperity such as they had never known before."

This does not apply particularly to 'Abdurrahman's own treatment of the children of Israel, but it differed in no essentials from that of previous or subsequent Arab rulers, except that the Newcomer's establishment of order throughout his realm enhanced the conditions of commercial and social prosperity referred to. The Jews' principal occupation under the Umayyad monarchy was silk and slave trading with both Europe and Asia, and as manufacturers and writers. By the next century, the synagogue of Cordoba had attained an outstanding reputation in the Jewish world.[7]

'Abdurrahman dreamed of founding a united kingdom of Christians, Jews and Muslims, and he favoured intermarriage among the three groups. Mixed marriages became quite common, and led to a

great crossing of the races, until Spain became a fairly homogeneous country.[8] It is worth remarking that Princess Sara's descendents were of both religions, and that no pattern can be traced to explain this freedom. If many Spaniards appeared Arab in origin, it was because they used their patronymics ; but their fathers had come as troops unaccompanied by wives.

Lord Acton has said that the surest test of freedom is the amount of security enjoyed by minorities. This may well account for the stability of the monarchy throughout not only 'Abdurrahman's own reign, but also during those of his successors. 'Abdurrahman saw only one minor Christian revolt, in Beja in southern Portugal, and this was instigated by an Arab chieftain.

Of course, one could mention the Asturian movement here, but at this time it was passing through a period of consolidation under Count Freula, who in fact paid tribute to Cordoba. It was more of a border phenomenon, and as such had nothing immediate to do with the rest of Spain. Nevertheless, history was to show that tolerance in this instance was a most serious defect of Arab policy ; the Muslim Spaniards were later to pay grimly for not wiping out this incipient menace.

* * *

BY THIS time, there was also a considerable native Muslim class : slaves and serfs who had embraced Islam in order to gain their freedom ; nobles anxious to retain title to their lands ; Christians who were convinced that this foreign conquest had been a revelation from God ; and Goths who remembered their Arian background and preferred the familiar monotheism of Islam to the Christian trinity, once clerical pressure was removed.

The oppressed classes had been so long used to exploitation that they did not really care much who their rulers were, provided too great a toll in taxes and human misery was not exacted. They were in large part descendents of the Iberians enslaved by the Romans,[9] and Islam offered a distinct step forward from their previous social condition, since it has definite recommendations as to the humane treatment of slaves.

Whereas they had been treated as mere tools or beasts of burden, they were now considered human beings and could hope for

freedom, either upon their conversion to Islam or when they had earned enough money to pay off their purchase price. No wonder this class soon gave Islam a strong and fanatic body of converts. These Muslims were called *Biladiyun* or "natives" by the Arabs, because they belonged to the *bilad* or country itself and were not immigrants.

The nobles who became Muslim had a variety of reasons for their change : they were skeptical carry-overs from Roman paganism ; incredulous Hispano-Romans who could not swallow complicated Christian dogma ; hidden Visigothic Arians who enjoyed the familiar Unitarianism of Islam ;[10] or just plain "practical" people who looked to the worldly advantage of retaining their estates.[11] Christianity had become a powerless creed one could either love or leave, instead of a fierce temporal weapon in the hands of a fanatical clergy. Many left it, for they had never been allowed to love it ; it is useless for Christian apologists to assert that Islam attracted converts only on the basis of self-interest, for it had intellectual and sentimental motives that were quite as appealing as those of Christianity.

* * *

UNDER 'Abdurrahman's steady hand, Spain gradually became repopulated. The villages were repeopled as soon as the serfs realized they were no longer at such a disadvantage in their struggle for existence. The devastation had been caused not only by previous Visigothic and Arab misrule, but also because a series of famines had upset the national economy. Only the northwestern nobles remained aloof ; in the south, Christians and Arabs lived on the excellent terms exemplified by 'Abdurrahman's friendship with Visigothic royal house.

Spain soon was the most populous, cultured and industrious land of all Europe, and remained so for centuries The Arabs made it their second home, and their civilization flourished there as it blossomed in no other place outside of Baghdad. The Arabs were constantly stimulated by the Romans' achievements in Spain, just as they had admired and imitated the works of the Romans, Greeks and Persians in the Near East.

Thus Cordoba became a centre of learning and splendour such as Europe had not seen since Rome. Rarely has Spain been more

wisely governed : untrammeled by feudalism, she gave Europe a foretaste of the Renaissance and the modern spirit ; only to fall back into the middle ages precisely when the rest of continent would free itself from the same influence.

It is difficult indeed not to admire Umayyad Spain when an historian like Shultens says that Roman rule in Spain was " brutal . . . the Iberians were treated little better than cattle"[12] and another, that the change from Visigothic to Arab sovereignty was a godsend for the Jews. The glory of Cordoba still lives on in song and story as a sad memory of a once golden age in human history.

NOTES

1. Rosseeuw II. 184.

2. b. Abb. p. 372.

3. Maq. II 37. On II. 23 may be found a poem which 'Abdurrahman wrote his sister on this occasion.

4. b. Ath. V. 379.

5. A very interesting account of the treatment of the Christians by the first Amirs is given by Mariana in Book VII, Chapter XV, although the passage is an attempt to excuse the Cordoban martyrs.

6. pp. 77-78.

7. Cf. Amador de los Rios, I. 124-26.

8. Cf. Ribera : *Estudio . . . Abencuzman.* pp. 6-9.

9. Cf. Rostovtzeff : *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire,* pp. 199 & 305.

10. Theodisclus the Greek, who succeeded Isidore as archbishop of Seville after the latter's death in 636, was accused of heresy and finally emigrated to Africa, where he became a Muslim after declaring that he did not believe in the divinity of Christ.

11. Cf. M. Pelayo : *Hist. heterodoxos* III. 15-16 & 413-14 ; and Dozy : *Recherches* I. 18-19 for a list of these types.

12. *Camb. Anc. Hist.* VIII. 324.

CHAPTER TWELVE

YUSUF STARTS THE FRONDE

AFTER his experiences in organizing and conducting a successful offensive, 'Abdurrahman had become surer of himself, and his tall and sinewy figure inspired increasing respect among his followers. The skill he possessed in falconry and hunting had been carried over into his military tactics, and although his cheekbones showed up all the more prominent due to the constant strain, his blue eyes remained as keen and his reddish hair as flamboyant as ever. Abu-as-Sabbah had taunted him with being a "beardless youth" when he had urged revolt, and so perhaps now 'Abdurrahman started growing the scanty beard which historians record.

In the peace that ensued, the new sovereign turned his attention to the development of his country, introducing better methods of irrigation and patronizing new agricultural products. He also encouraged manufacturing processes, like that of Cordoban leather. He founded mosques in provincial towns like Elvira and Algeciras, and fortified Cordoba, Zaragoza and Granada.

However, peace was short-lived. Yusuf the Fihrite had been allowed to keep his wealth, and after two years of idle life in Cordoba, he yielded to the prodding of his Fihrite and Mudarite clients to revolt against 'Abdurrahman. His supporters lived around Toledo, Merida and Fuente de Cantos to the northwest of Seville,[1] among those Arabs who had arrived in Spain before the Syrian regiments.

'Abdurrahman had shown Yusuf every favour, and so it was in a foolish turn of mind that Yusuf began to plot against the new Amir. He allowed himself to be led on by his would-be advisers because he had never overcome his chagrin at being bested by this Intruder who had stolen Spain from under his nose. It would have been better, Yusuf reflected reluctantly, to have shifted his allegiance to the new 'Abbasids in the East ; at least they might have confirmed him in power.

The Arab nobles who supported Yusuf were fanatically jealous

of their liberties, and while 'Abdurrahman never wanted to liquidate them as a class, they would never brook any central authority. Indeed, there is much kinship between the Arab nomad-like freedom and modern Spanish individualism.[2] Fortunately for 'Abdurrahman, however, the more dangerous but sagacious Sumayl remained loyal to him.

* * *

THUS in the year 758, Yusuf the Fihrite took up arms once more, sallied forth from Cordoba, and seized Merida by surprise, while his son Qasim took charge of a detachment of rebels in Fuente de Cantos.[3] Soon the old rebel had some twenty thousand men under him. He was planning to re-enter Cordoba, and one body of his troops was posted at only a day's journey from the capital.

We have mentioned that Sumayl was still in the Amir's entourage ; but at this point his son escaped to the rebels and thereby implicated the father. When 'Abdurrahman seized Sumayl for purposes of security, the latter protested his innocence, declaring that he was not responsible for his son's or his friends' actions. Nevertheless he was cast into prison with Yusuf's two other sons. Sumayl was ultimately strangled after the revolt dragged on ; one morning he was found as if he had died while in his cups.[4]

Yusuf had always been a vacillating character, and now that he was deprived of good advice, he changed his strategy to menace Seville from Fuente de Cantos.[5] 'Abdurrahman advanced down the Guadalquivir as far as Almodevar del Rio to challenge him. Meanwhile, the governor of Seville, 'Abd al Malik Ibn-'Umar the "Marwani," was on the alert.

Ibn-'Umar was one of 'Abdurrahman's cousins who had landed in Spain the previous year with his two sons, Umayyah and 'Abdullah. The sovereign had immediately entrusted him with the administration of Seville, while his son 'Abdullah was appointed prefect of nearby Moron.[6] Ibn-'Umar was fanatically loyal to his famous cousin and to the Umayyad cause. He is said to have disagreed with 'Abdurrahman only once : when he insisted that the Amir suppress the *khutbah* or invocation for the 'Abbasid caliph in the Friday public prayer. He threatened suicide if he did not gain his end, and finally at his insistence 'Abdurrahman did suppress it.

'Abd-al-Malik quickly took to the field at the head of the Hims regiment of Seville, placing his other son Umayyah in command of a part of these forces.[7] They were lucky enough to rout Yusuf and kill ten thousand of his men. The fugitive general was chased off in the direction of Toledo.

During this campaign, it is related that Umayyah began to flinch. Ibn-'Umar thereupon exclaimed to his son :

"If you think you are saving your life by acting in such a manner, you are only losing it !"

With that, he ordered Umayyah executed for showing fear in the face of the foe.

* * *

STILL at large, Yusuf fled towards his kinsmen around Toledo. There the old Fihrite was betrayed by one of his companions called 'Abdullah Ibn-'Amru the Ansari. 'Abdullah recognized the old general, who was fleeing in disguise, and remarked to one of his friends :

" It would be a service to everybody to rid the world of him and him of the world ! "

Then to purchase his own pardon, he killed Yusuf and surrendered the rebel's head to the local authorities, who forwarded it to Cordoba. However, 'Abdullah did not save his own neck thereby, for 'Abdurrahman had him executed as a possible future traitor, following the rule that one can profit from treason but never from its perpetrator.

Yusu'f head was nailed to one of the city gates of the capital,[8] where it was soon joined by that of his son 'Abdurrahman Abu-Zayd, whom the Amir had been holding as a hostage. The Umayyad had held a grudge against the younger Fihrite ever since the latter's ungentlemanly treatment of his womenfolk following the sack of Cordoba.[9]

Yusuf's youngest son Muhammad Abu-al-Aswad was spared because he was only a boy. Instead he was condemned to life imprisonment. At this time Muhammad was only six or seven years old, if he were twentyseven when he escaped twenty years

later. 'Abduarahman might have saved himself future grief if he had denied mercy in this instance as well.

The third son Qasim continued the fight, and even held Medina Sidonia and Seville for a while. Tammam finally defeated him and brought him back to the capital, where he joined his brother in prison. Badr was appointed their jailor. Later it seems that they were transferred to Toledo.

It was in 759 and during these troubled times that Narbonne was lost to the Franks.

* * *

NEXT year the Fihrites of Toledo headed by Hisham Ibn-'Arwah, one of Yusuf's many relatives, rose up against 'Abdurrahman. Hisham was quickly put down, giving up his son Aflakh as a hostage to guarantee his good conduct. The same year Mu'awiyah Ibn-Salih the Lakhmid, who had been named judge of Cordoba the previous year, rose up in Seville. He too was defeated and put to death.

Two years later, in 762, Hisham and his followers rose up again, indifferent to Aflakh's life. Thus the Umayyad prince had the unfortunate son's head catapulted into the walls of Toledo to remind the father that this time retribution would be relentless. The rebels had seized the Alcazar of Toledo, which has been famous and infamous in similar sieges. There they freed Yusuf s son Qasim and killed its governor.

So Badr and Tammam invested the imperial city on the Tagus with strong forces.[10] This operation threatened to be long-drawn-out, for the insurgents had gathered ten thousand men. 'Abdurrahman was so incensed at this turn of events that he refused to raise the siege during the winter as was the custom, but left his two generals sitting before the city for the whole season. Even then the affair dragged on indefinitely, till Tammam urged the Amir to make a treaty with Hisham by which they would all return to the *status quo ante*. This settlement was consummated in 764.

In this episode, we can glimpse both 'Abdurrahman's relentlessness and his spirit of conciliation. When it was over, he could once more dedicate himself to the tasks of peace. He is said to have been occupied at this period in the construction or reconstruction of the Alcazar of Cordoba.[11]

NOTES

1. This is called Laqant in Arabic, and therefore has been sometimes mistaken for Alicante on the south east coast.

2. Cf. Hume and Unamuno for the latter, especially in Unamuno's *Enasyos* (IV. 65 ff.).

3. *Akh. M.* p. 96.

4. Cf. Maq. II. 24; and b. Ath. V. 381-82.

5. According to b. Abb. p. 43.

6. Cf. b. Abb. pp. 42 ff.

7. b. Ath. V. 581.

8. Maq. says to a bridge (II. 23).

9. *Akh. M.* p. 100, and p. 63.

10. Cf. b. Idh. II. 55.

11. *Estoria de Espana*, Sect. 596.

Chapter Thirteen

THE 'ABBASIDS INTERVENE

IT WAS well that 'Abdurrahman happened to have an army ready, for an even greater threat was now looming south and east across the sea. The new 'Abbasid emperor Abu-Ja'far al-Mansur had founded Baghdad in 762, and was aspiring towards even greater glory. He and his famous grandson Harun ar-Rashid were both contemporaries of Charlemagne, and at this time the 'Abbasid empire was approaching its zenith.

Now from Baghdad, Mansur ordered his governor of North Africa to conquer Spain for him. This governor was called al-'Ala' Ibn-al-Mughith the Judhamite, and was a relative of Yusuf, the Fihrite. He thus had personal reasons for wanting to avenge his family's loss of Spain.

Mansur offered Ibn-Mughith all the reinforcements he would need to carry out his campaign, and in 763 appointed him "Governor of al-Andalus" as if Spain were still an 'Abbasid province. He also fomented trouble within the peninsula itself, for Ibn-al-Qutiyyah mentions that the nobles and the Egyptian regiment of Beja were included in the uprising.

Ibn-Mughith landed on the coast of Andalusia with a large army and proceeded northward towards Beja, in what is now southern Portugal.[1] There he proclaimed 'Abdurrahman a schismatic in religion and a usurper in politics. By appealing to religious motives, he won many surperstitious people over to his black 'Abbasid banner. However, they were more of a hindrance to his movements, since they would not submit to military discipline.

More important from the military point of view were his fellow Fihrites. These included Hisham Ibn-'Arwah of Toledo, who was able to proceed south and join forces with the invaders. This fact demonstrates further the degree of intelligence that existed between the 'Abbasids and the Spanish discontents.

* * *

AT FIRST the sovereign sent Badr against the rebels. However, with

his reinforcements, Ibn-Mughith surprised 'Abdurrahman himself at Carmona and placed the Amir under siege in that city. After two months in this trap, the prince broke through the ring with seven hundred of his followers who burned their scabbards and sallied forth brandishing their naked swords.

'Abdurrahman, with his usual daring, first of all lighted a bonfire in the main square of Carmona. Then he summoned his men and roused them with the following words :

> " We have to defend the bread we trudged from Syria to secure ! What's the use of scabbards when it's a matter of life and death ?"

Throwing his own scabbard into the flames, the Amir placed himself at the head of his men and sallied forth from the city. Resistance melted before him, and he soon met and defeated the invaders near Badaioz on the Guadiana below Merida.

Ibn-al-Qutiyyah says that Ibn-Mughith's followers were falling off by this time in any case ; but the victory at Badajoz was won chiefly thanks to 'Abdurrahman's efficient cavalry. Ibn-Mughith was killed on the field by chance, while Hisham Ibn-'Arwah fled. The surviving Yamanite rebels were slaughtered by the thousands, for the Umayyad Amir was resolved to teach them a grim lesson. Seven thousand heads were gathered on the battlefield, and it was from this sordid collection that 'Abdurrahman secured Ibn-Mughith's to send to Mansur.[2]

Still Hisham remained in the field. He had managed to flee south from Badajoz and take Medina Sidonia. There he was soon besieged, and once more had to flee. In this new flight, he fell into the hands of the monarch's cousin 'Abd-al-Malik Ibn-'Umar, and was put to death.[3]

Ibn-'Umar had shown himself exceedingly brave throughout this campaign also, urging his men on with utter disregard to his personal safety. 'Abdurrahman greeted him warmly when the uprising was over, appointing his cousin a minister of state.[4] 'Abdurrahman's eldest son Suleyman also helped his father in this emergency, having arrived in Spain a couple of years before.[5]

* * *

ANOTHER dramatic though somewhat gruesome story is that 'Abdur-

rahman had Ibn-Mughith's and his leading captains' heads cut off and embalmed in salt and camphor. Each was labelled with a tag tied to its ear and wrapped in a black 'Abbasid campaign flag. 'Abdurrahman also enclosed an account of the defeat at Badajoz and Mansur's diploma appointing Ibn-Mughith governor of Spain. The bundle was then packed in a sack and entrusted to a Cordobese merchant who was making the pilgrimage to Mecca. The latter secretly tossed the heads into the Qayrawan and Meccan marketplaces.

It is said that Ibn-Mughith's own head was rolled like a football onto Mansur's carpet while the caliph was holding his court during his pilgrimage to Mecca. Mansur unwrapped the grisly package to find the following message :

THUS 'ABDURRAHMAN IBN-MU'AWIYAH
IBN-UMAYYAH PUNISHES RASH PERSONS
LIKE AL-'ALA' IBN-MUGHITH
THE GOVERNOR OF QAYRAWAN !

As soon as it dawned upon Mansur that his invasion of Spain had failed so completely, he exclaimed :

" This man is the very devil indeed ! Praise be to God who placed the sea between us and such a foe !"

Henceforth the 'Abbasid caliph throroughly respected his Umayyad contemporary, and never openly interfered in Spanish affairs. It was Mansur who dubbed 'Abdurrahman the " Falcon of the Quraysh" as a token of his admiration. Spain was thus the first Arab country to achieve *de facto* independence of the central authority of Islam and of the 'Abbasid caliphate.[6]

* * *

ACCORDING to Ibn-al-Athir,[7] it was after this revolt that 'Abdurrahman decided to raise a standing army of Berbers. He also contemplated an invasion of Syria to teach Mansur a lesson,[8] entrusting the building of a fleet to Tammam, whom he named his *Amir-al-Bahr*, or admiral. Tammam thus became the first European to bear this new title.

This fleet was to have been an armada to wrest Syria from the 'Abbasids. Strategically this was the best policy for 'Abdurrahman to

adopt against the Eastern empire. Distractions at home kept him from using his navy for this purpose, which is proof in itself of the effectiveness of French and 'Abbasid diplomacy. However, when the Slav landed at Tortosa shortly after, it revealed how necessary it had been to prepare some maritime power as a coastguard at least.

Saavedra believes that the Umayyad prince was essentially homesick for Syria. One good reason that he never assumed the title of caliph was that he, as an eighth-century Muslim, felt that he did not deserve it until the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina were in his possession ; and this was his constant desire. According to his plans, his son Suleyman was to have remained as regent during his father's absence.

Nevertheless, 'Abdurrahman was destined never to recover his family's dominions in the East. In the first place, Toledo remained a focus of sedition in the heart of Spain itself. Badr and Tammam finally obliged it to surrender after promising the populace an amnesty.

The chiefs of the revolt then found themselves without support, and were taken prisoner. A barber, a tailor, and a basket-maker met them on the road to Cordoba, and they were shaven and shorn, dressed in sacks, mounted in baskets which were woven around their bodies like straight-jackets, and then paraded through the capital on donkeys.

After the procession, 'Abdurrahman had them executed as a warning to other restless elements, and to eliminate the worst discontents. Only one Toledan leader remained at large : Yusuf's son Qasim had managed to flee the city and he plagued Spain with revolt for several more years.

* * *

OTHER minor disturbances followed. 'Abdullah Ibn-Khirashah rebelled in Jaen and marched on Cordoba. He was defeated en route and then pardoned.[9]

One year later a Yamanite called Sa'id the Matari from Nie'bla, who had made common cause with Ibn-Mughith, rashly decided to revolt Sa'id made his decision during a drunken fit, and then withdrew to Seville to raise the standard of revolt when he knew he had been found out. He was slain, and his uprising was as shortlived as Ibn-Khirashah's.

In 767, Badr passed up the Ebro valley on his way to subdue the Basque frontier district of Alava, which had become restive.[10]

A fate similar to 'Abdullah's and Sa'id's overtook Abu-as-Sabbah. He had been relieved of his post as prefect of Seville when Ibn-'Umar came to Spain ; and when he manifested his discontent openly at the time of the Toledan revolt, he was killed by the Amir's palace guard during a parley. His four hundred horsemen disbanded quietly when they learned of their leader's end.

Several stories were circulated about the manner of his death, but it is certain that Abu-as-Sabbah was a dangerous man and better out of the way. It is said that 'Abdullah Ibn-Khalid was retired to his estates afterwards when he chose to differ with 'Abdurrahman over the prince's treatment of the Sevillian.

There is another report that in 773 'Abdurrahman stopped the invocation for the 'Abbasid caliph during the Friday public prayer because he felt that Mansur's action in stirring up these revolts had been too high-handed. I am inclined to accept this date because his cousin Ibn-'Umar had brought the matter up shortly before. Other sources say that this action was not taken until two years before his death. Buckler's assertion[11] that it was stopped as early as 757 is quite erroneous.

NOTES

1. Maq. I. 214 ; and *Akh. M.* p. 101.
2. b. Ath. V. 440.
3. *Akh. M.* p. 104 says that Hisham fled to Toledo, where Badr and Tammam besieged him. This probably refers to the previous incident.
4. b. Abb. p. 43. It is somewhat uncertain after which battle Ibn-'Umar became a minister of state, and when his daughter's hand was called for, but I think the latter was subsequent because Sulayman was still in favour. See Chapter XIV, Note 11.
5. b. Idh. II. 32.
6. This story can be found in b. Qut. p. 53 ; Maq. I. 215 & II. 24 ; *Akh. M.* p. 103 ; b. Idh. II. 54-55 ; and b. Ath V. 440.
7. VI. 5.
8. Cf. Codera : *Discurso . . . primer siglo*, p. 26.
9. b. Ath. V. 450.
10. b. Idh. II. 56.
11. p. 14.

Chapter Fourteen

MORE CIVIL WAR

SOME TIME after 'Abdurrahman defeated Ibn-Mughith,[1] a fresh invasion of Spain occurred under a young and renowned warrior from Niebla. He was a cousin of Abu-as-Sabbah named 'Abd-al-Ghafir Ibn-Hamid the Yahsabi.[2] As a Yahsabi, he was a Yamanite interested in avenging his cousin's death, which he hoped to accomplish with the help of followers in the Niebla and Seville districts. Thus when he rose up, most of the Yamanites of Andalusia and southern Portugal joined him.

After recruiting Berber cavalry in Africa, 'Abd-al-Ghafir invaded southern Spain. From there he proceeded northward to the mountain fastness of Ronda, whence he intended to raid Andalusia. His fame spread rapidly, and many discontents flocked to his banners in that fortress town.

At first Asad Ibn-'Abdurrahman, the prefect of Elvira, put 'Abd-al-Ghafir to flight while the latter was engaged on one of his forays. Yet he continued raiding for upwards of six years as he lay waiting for reinforcements from Africa. Spain was not destined to enjoy peace for some years to come.

* * *

THE succeeding period is very confused in all the histories.[3] It seems that the Berbers from eastern and central Spain were called into action during the years from 768 till 777 by a fanatical schoolmaster named Shaqya 'Abdullah Ibn-Muhammad.[4] Shaqya's mother's name was Fatimah, and he used this jumping-off place to claim descent from Fatimah, the Prophet's daughter. In reality, he was a Berber of the Miknasah tribe, whose family had settled in the Alcarria district north and east of Cuenca.[5] His fellow tribesmen and the Hawari tribe from the vicinity of Jaen joined him ; and they all took to the mountains to lead the semi-religious life typical of many Berbers.

This secondary movement became very dangerous to national security, since the rebels appealed to the religious sentiments of a fanatical part of the population. 'Abdurrahman despatched Badr

against them, and he forced Shaqya to change over to another stronghold called Castro de Santover or Santabria, a little further down the Tagus at the confluence of the Guadiela.

When Badr could accomplish nothing, 'Ubayd-Ullah took command, but was routed under queer circumstances and fell into disgrace. No direct proof of disloyalty was forthcoming, and, after a period of disfavour, 'Ubayd-Ullah was restored to office. Meanwhile 'Abdurrahman himself had taken the field, leaving Badr this time in control of Cordoba.

A further centre of resistance developed in the region between Merida, Medellin and Coria, to the northeast of Beja where 'Abd-al-Ghafir had already roused the populace. Thus, unrest dominated the region between the Tagus and the Guadiana. *Akhbar Majmu'a*[6] says that Shaqya had seized this region when he first revolted against the governor of Merida, Salim Abu-Za'bal.

* * *

THIS account is confused because there seems to have been a widespread movement amongst the Berbers in several outlying districts. It is also uncertain what role was played by 'Abd-al-Ghafir and his Berbers and what by Shaqya the "marabout." I am inclined to feel that the former was located in the region running from Ronda through Seville and Niebla to Beja ; whereas the latter roamed the rugged area south of the Tagus which includes the Sierra de Guadalupe, the Mountains of Toledo, and the Serrania de Cuenca. These Berbers, as Fatimids, may also have been jealous of the 'Abbasids' Shi'ite leanings and thus did not cooperate very closely with them.

The reinforcements that 'Abd-al-Ghafir was expecting finally arrived in 776, under the command of 'Abdurrahman Ibn-Habib the "Slav."[7] But they arrived too late, and the diversion thus planned became connected with the Charlemagne episode which follows. Fortunately, the prefect of Tortosa was able to disperse this invasion, while 'Abdurrahman's Mediterranean fleet swept down from Tarragona and burnt the Slav's vessels.

'Abd-al-Ghafir finally started out with his combined forces upon a triumphal march through western Andalusia. Fortunately, his parade was cut short near Seville, and he was forced to take up a stand at San Juan de Alfarache or Fuente de Cantos.[8] In this skirmish, the

rebel managed to wound 'Abdurrahman's cousin 'Abd-al-Malik Ibn-'Umar quite seriously. Heartened by this incident, 'Abd-al-Ghafir wheeled about and entered Seville.

As the insurgent forces were engaged in pillaging the city, Ibn-'Umar's cavalry arrived under the command of one of his lieutenants, surprised the looters, and forced them to abandon the metropolis. This time 'Abd-al-Ghafir withdrew northward to Cazalla, where he stopped and was able to menace Cordoba itself.

* * *

THE rebellion was now assuming serious proportions. Here 'Ubayd-Ullah seems to have become further implicated, for 'Abdurrahman had his nephew Wajih beheaded for joining the rebels. 'Abdurrahman took to the field himself, and decided to buy off the Berbers first so as to leave the dissident nobles without their best source of soldiers.

The monarch's plan was successful. When the Berbers began to desert, 'Abdurrahman managed to meet 'Abd-al-Ghafir on the River Bembezar not far from the northwestern outskirts of Cordoba. At this juncture, the remaining Berbers deserted their Arab allies in a body, and thirty thousand Yamanites were killed.[9] Ibn-al-Qutiyyah says that 'Abd-al Ghafir himself was killed in this battle ; but *Akhbar Majmu'a* and Ibn-'Idhari both state that he managed to escape to the East.[10]

Abu-Qurrah Wanasus and his wife Takfat, with whom 'Abdurrahman had stayed while a young man in North Africa, helped attract the Berbers. They spoke to the tribesmen in their own dialect so that their Arab allies would not understand the proceedings ; they explained that their half-Berber sovereign was all who stood between them and the volatile Arabs, and that their own downfall would not be long delayed after his. On the other hand, they said, the Amir would pardon anyone who was willing to lay down his arms within a certain date.

Next day the Berbers begged the Arabs for their horses, alleging they could fight better as cavalry. With these mounts they made their get-away to the opposite camp, just when 'Abd-al-Ghafir needed them most.

We have noticed that Ibn 'Umar had already engaged the rebels. The Amir was really coming to his cousin's relief at the River Bembe-

zar, after he had learned that the latter had been wounded. 'Abdurrahman was indeed so impressed with 'Abd-al Malik's fine tactics that he asked him for his daughter's hand for his third son Hisham.[11]

Shaqya the Berber was assassinated in the year 777 or 779 by two of his own companions, Abu-Ma'an Dawid Ibn-Hilal and Kinanah Ibn-Sa'id the Aswad, who had been promised the governorship of the Berber district in payment for this service. Thus after nine years of war, the country was once more pacified.

* * *

THEN 'Abdurrahman, who had been worrying about the effect of these troubles upon his country, set about developing a highly-trained army from amongst those Berbers who had heeded him. As is the practice of France and Spain to-day, 'Abdurrahman also sent recruiting officers over to Africa to enlist mercenary troops whose first loyalty would lie with their paymaster. Many of these Berbers were doubly loyal to 'Abdurrahman, for he bought them as slaves and freed them for this service.

Ibn-Hayyan states that there were eventually forty thousand of these troops, although some sources raise this figure to 100,000. The Amir also had a personal bodyguard of blacks, for one of the slaves he pardoned in the revolt was made an officer in this special force.[12]

In order to guard the Spanish coasts, his new admiral Tammam was told to hasten the construction of his fleet. During the Slav's invasion, they were to find that this was a well-needed precaution.

Then with his defences secure, 'Abdurrahman turned towards developing his country on a peacetime basis. This partly explains why during the disturbances which followed, he did not take to the field until he felt his presence was absolutely necessary. Instead, he was now embellishing his cities with public buildings. He earmarked a considerable sum towards building a mosque in Algeciras, and provided Cordoba with a better aqueduct so that it could withstand siege and drought.

NOTES

1. In 768 in Seville, according to Maq. ; in 773 according to b. Idh. II. 57.

2. *Akh. M.* and b. Idh. call him 'Abd-al-Ghafir, while b. Ath. uses 'Abd-al-Ghaffar. I shall hold to the former throughout.

3. Conde did the most to create this confusion. Cf. Lafuente II. 64. where he confuses Shaqya and 'Abd-al-Ghafir.

4. b. Ath. V. 463 calls him Shaqna Ibn-'Abd-al-Wahid, mispointing the " y."

5. b. Idh. II. 56 and b. Ath. loc. cit.

6. p. 107.

7. For this individual, see the following chapter.

8. b. Idh. II. 53.

9. This may have been when Ibn-'Umar had his son Umayyah executed for setting a bad example by fleeing ; cf. p. 64.

10. pp. 108-09 and II. 57, respectively.

11. b. Ath. VI. 5. See also Note 4, Chapter XIII.

12. *Akk. M.* p. 109.

Chapter Fifteen

GOVERNMENT AND TRADE

The ever-abiding, the good works, are better with your Lord in reward and better in expectation.

—*Qur'an, xviii. 46.*

They lack our faith, but we lack their works.

—*Cardinal Ximenez.*

Faith without works is dead.

—*James ii. 20.*

THE GOVERNMENT of Umayyad Spain consisted first of all of the Amir, who was an absolute ruler, assisted by a *hajib* or prime minister; the various *wazirs* or ministers aided by their *katibs* or secretaries; and a *majlis* or council of state composed of members of the nobility, religious leaders, and high palace officials. Later the latter would turn into the Senate of Cordoba, which abolished the caliphate and declared an aristocratic republic.

'Abdurrahman's first prime minister was Tammam, and his second, the Persian Yusuf Ibn-Bukht, both friends from his first campaign. The third was 'Abd-al-Karim Ibn-Mahran; the fourth, 'Abd-al-Hamid Ibn-Mughith who was a son of the first conqueror of Cordoba; and his fifth and last, his eunuch Mansur. The *wazirs* were generally *shaykhs* or leaders of his partisans. Among 'Abdurrahman's first *wazirs* figured 'Ubayd-Ullah Abu-'Uthman, 'Abdullah Ibn-Khalid, Yusuf Ibn-Bukht (who later became prime minister), and Hasan Ibn-Malik.[1]

To assist the ministers, there were diwans or ministries which handled departments like the Army, Finance, and the Interior.[2] Another and more important *diwan* was composed of the notables who gathered to swear allegiance to a new head of state; it included the royal princes, chief justices, dignitaries, officials and courtiers.

For civil administration, the country was divided into provinces, each under a *wali* who acted as a combined civil and military governor. Lesser cities had prefects or *qa'ids*.

There had been four provinces in Spain—Cordoba, Toledo, Merida, and Zaragoza; but 'Abdurrahman divided the country into

six : Cordoba itself, which included most of what is now called Andalusia ; Toledo, which embraced the Tagus valley from the Serrania of Cuenca west to the present Portuguese border and north to the unstable No-Man's-Land in the Duero valley ; Merida, which included Spanish Extremadura and Portugal to the Duero ; Murcia, which the Amir had annexed from its Visigothic count Athanggild at the start of his reign ; Valencia, which like Murcia roughly conformed to its present boundaries ; and Zaragoza, or the northeastern March of Aragon and Catalonia.

Previously Narbonne had been the capital of another Narbonese province, but that was now lost. Seville seems at one time to have reached provincial status, but was then subordinate to Cordoba. Galicia was theoretically under Merida, Asturias under Toledo, and the Basque regions under the control of Zaragoza. However, on these Christian marches there were also military governors, as Munuza had been stationed at Gijon.[3]

The regular army of Spain was organized in *junds* according to the Arab tribal set-up. These Arab groups had been established on land grants, as were the Berbers, although the latter were assigned poorer regions.

After 'Abd-al-Ghafir's defeat, 'Abdurrahman modified his militia by raising a standing army of Berber cavalry. They were mainly mounted on mules, since horses were scarce and mules were considered steadier for battle. Later on, slaves and Christian mercenaries were enlisted, and so long as they remained well-fed and well-paid they were no menace ; but with latter-day decadence they emerged as a distinct pretorian problem.

On the frontiers and seacoasts, there were military establishments called *ribats*,[4] which were governed by semi-religious fighting orders much like the Templars or Knights of Calatrava. Their leaders were called *qa'ids* too, whence the Spanish derived their name *alcaide* for the warden of a castle or prison.[5]

We have already mentioned the plans 'Abdurrahman traced for a strong navy under his prime minister and admiral Tammam.[6] The chief naval base was at Almeria, where shipbuilding was also carried on. Tarragona and Seville were other bases, while Tortosa possessed yards which utilized the durable pinewood which came down the

Ebro. The ships were patterned after Byzantine models, which were the strongest afloat at that time. In 'Abdurrahman III's days, the Spanish navy was the most powerful on the Mediterranean.

Justice was theoretically administered by the chief of state, who was the Amir himself. He handled as many complaints as was convenient, but in practice most cases were referred to *qadis* in the cities and to *hakims* in the villages. The Umayyad princes preferred to appoint wealthy men as judges so that they would be less easily corrupted.

'Abdurrahman carried out a judicial reform and named the *qadi* of the Cordoba court as chief justice over the whole country ; his title was *qadi-al-qudah* or " judge of judges." We are given *five* of these magistrates' names : Yahya Ibn-Yazid, Mu'awiyah Ibn-Salih, 'Abdurrahman Ibn-Tarif, 'Umar Ibn-Sharahil, and as-Sa'b Ibn-'Imran.

Cordoba also had a special judge called the *sahib al-madinah* or "master of the city "who was a magistrate for the prompt despatch of clearly criminal cases and matters pertaining to graft and corruption. He lived alongside the royal palace where he could be easily reached, and give audience every day. To enforce fair trade practices in the markets, there was a *sahib as-suq* plus a *muhtasib* or inspector of weights and measures.[7] These could also stop gambling and other immoral practices.

The government also supported an efficient mail service, and maintained a sound system of coinage and weights. We still use some Hispano-Arabic measures : a grain of barley, for instance, was the smallest unit, while four were equal to one carob seed or "carat."[8]

Coins were minted in gold, silver and copper ; a dinar had 4.25 grams of gold, a silver dirhem 2.7, while a copper coin was called a *fals*. When the rest of Europe was short of cash, Spain had plenty of coins. 'Abdurrahman, in keeping with his political theory, never changed the inscriptions to assume caliphal honours. Coins also gave the Arabs another outlet for their instinct for design, and they became intensely interested in numismatics. Even early English coins imitated Arabic models.

* * *

THE commerce of Arab Spain was carried on with the rest of Europe, across the Straits with Africa, and thence with Asia. It was

handled both by land and sea, Seville and Barcelona being the chief ports. Others were Tarragona, Tortosa, Almeria, Algeciras, Cadiz and Huelva. The Jews, then as always, were the great traders, and at one time had as many as a thousand ships engaged in the Mediterranean trade. The Arabs were no mean merchants in their own right; commercial terms like " magazine " meaning storehouse are evidence of this

This movement of population was not restricted solely to commerce and official business, however, but included what we would now call tourist travel. Every Muslim land saw a movement of the faithful towards Mecca, and every city had its mosque ready to receive visitors. Travel was relatively cheap, and curiosity easily satisfied.

Another factor contributing to commercial success was the good will between the Spanish Umayyads and Byzantium, which afforded a broader market than Spain had enjoyed in many a year.[9] In fact, commerce had to be good in order to support such a prosperous state as evolved under Umayyad rule: the revenues were far in excess of what any purely agircultural economy would have furnished.

Spanish exports consisted of oil, wine, lumber, marble, silk, pepper, cotton, antimony, and many other products whose excellence made their Spanish origin a hallmark throughout the Mediterranean world. The figs of Malaga were so famed that they were exported as far east as India and China.

Franks and Jews traded Slavs and Germans who had been taken prisoner on the eastern frontier of the Frankish territories. Thus " Slav " and " slave " became as interchangeable a term in Spanish Arabic as in most European languages. They made young boys into eunuchs at Verdun, the European centre of this specialized industry. The slaves were driven from France to Spain in great herds like cattle. When they reached their destination, the men were purchased as servants or labourers, the women as household help or concubines, and the eunuchs as harem attendants. Many women were also imported from Galicia for their blond appearance attracted Arab gentlemen.

Slaves were also traded from out the Adriatic; where raiders roamed the Dalmatian coast. These captives too were Slavs, and

their merchants chiefly Venetian Christians. This trade flourished especially during the next century. The slaves were passed along to the Christian cities of southern Italy, from there to Sicily and Tunis, and thence finally to Spain.

Through these various processes, Arab Spain became more Caucasian in blood than is generally realized. However, slaves and women were also traded from the East, and brought by pirates from both the northern and southern shores of the Mediterranean. It was always blond women, whether Slavs, Germans or Galicians, who were *in special demand.*[10]

'Abdurrahman did not patronize these markets much, for he was more interested in military ends, and for them preferred Berbers. It was his grandson Hakam who built up a Slavic army.

* * *

ARAB workmen excelled in the minor arts, which because Islam discouraged painting and sculpture, composed the chief field left open to them outside of architecture. This was therefore the field wherein the Spanish Muslim most influenced his Christian fellow, for here the way was open to that sincerest form of flattery, imitation. Both workmanship and workmen were borrowed. Even when Islam became prescribed in the sixteenth century, *mudejar* workmen were used not only in Spain but also in the Spanish overseas colonies, as many Latin American churches bear witness.

As the artisans gained in skill and prestige, they eleborated their style, first from the square Kufic to the lighter arabesque, then from paper to stone and metalwork, and finally to all the graceful flights which we associate with oriental art and which give Spanish decoration its peculiar charm.

Yet the first and most essential of all the arts is that of weaving. It had flourished in Spain under the Romans, and Umayyad Cordoba counted 15,000 weavers. Wool was brought from the northern regions around Soria and Segovia, or in winter from the shepherds' temporary quarters in the Sierra Nevada. Spanish merino became famous, and later on much of it was exported to France and Flanders.

Silk goods were manufactured not only in the capital, but also in Almeria and Malaga along the Mediterranean coast. In the latter place,

a special type of brocade was made. The culture of the silkworm was also introduced, and it flourished around Jaen, Granada, Valencia and Seville ; the last city remained famous on into Christian times for its fine silks. Carpets were manufactured in Chinchilla, southeast of Albacete, and in Cuenca.

In carpentry, much of the terminology of the modern Spanish trade is borrowed from the Arabic. Highly ornamented chests and boxes were made of wood and metal and adorned with inlays. Ships and boats were also built in Almeria and Tortosa, where 'Abdurrahman had established his naval yards.

The influence of Cordoban leathergoods all over Europe is attested by such borrowings as " cordwain " in English and " *cordonnier* " in French. Cordoba became a symbol of fine leatherwork, much as Morocco is today, whither the Moriscos transplanted the art after their expulsion from Spain only four centuries ago. Shoes and other articles were manufactured, but the supreme art was that of bookbinding, especially of copies of the Qur'an.

Ceramics was another high art. Pottery-making was concentrated in Paterna near Valencia, in Calatayud, and in Malaga. Moorish lustre pottery is as fine as any work done by the Chinese ; and it was on the island of Majorca that this art was brought to its perfection, as we remember still in the Italian derivative " majolica." Mosaics and tiles, although known under the Roman empire, were perfected by the potters of Arab Spain. Here too, as with the basic word " *azulejos*," the vocabulary is largely Arabic today.[11] Glass was made in Almeria and Cordoba.

Paper was an Arab import to European civilization. It was first manufactured from esparto grass and rags during the eleventh century in the city of Jativa near Valencia. It was a new and significant industry for Europe which would free scholars from their dependence upon parchment and the dangers of palimpsests, as well as provide an easily standardized sheet for the later printing presses.

The Arab Spaniards also excelled in metalwork, especially in the manufacture of brass, iron and steel. The Carthaginians, fellow Semites to the Arabs, had exploited the mines of Spain, and through all of Roman times Spanish swords had been sought in trade. Under

the Arabs, Toledan blades were fashioned after the manner of Damascus, and were just as famous for their temper and ornamentation as the Syrian product. Within seventy years after 'Abdurrahman's death, the Toledo sword factory was developing an international reputation.

Goldsmiths were also skilful, in both the manufacture of jewellery and of precious stones. The first two waterclocks made in Europe were the product of Abu-al-Qasim Ibn-'Abdurrahman az-Zarqal of Toledo. Chests and doors were often fitted with metal de orations, as well as being hammered in the whole piece.

* * *

IN MINING, Arab Spain followed the mining tradition of Phoenician and Roman Spain. She produced gold from the region of the River Darro, near the mouth of the Tagus, and near Lorida by the Ebro; Maqqari also says there was some found around Malaga. More was mined in Galicia, although this was not in Arab hands. Silver came from the mountains of Alhama near Linares, and from the region of Cordoba.

Iron was mined near Calatayud, and Spanish steel was much sought after, above all once it had been made into swords. Copper was found in the same mines by the Rio Tinto northeast of Huelva from where it comes today. Tin came from Portugal and the Pyrenees. Lead was mined near Almeria, Cartagena, and Linares near Jaen. Quicksilver was already being produced in Almaden to the north of Cordoba, out of cinnaber, which is known in Spanish by the Arabic name of *azogue*. Salt mas not mined, however, but dried from seawater along the south coast.

* * *

THE Arabs turned Spain into a garden, and fixed Andalusia's fame as a land of agricultural and horticultural delights. They were especially competent in market gardening.

Rice, sugar and cotton are still known throughout Europe in different variations of their Arabic names.[12] Sugar grew luxuriantly around Valencia, and wine was produced near Malaga and by the Persians who had settled in Jerez. Silks and cereals were grown on the Vega of Granada and in Murcia. The figs and olive oil of Seville

were in demand because they kept for a long time without spoiling. Seville also exported a crimson dye from the kermes insect which lives in oak bark. All sorts of nuts and aromatic woods were likewise cultivated in Spain.

'Abdurrahman initiated the propagation of the datepalm from cuttings rather than from seeds, which had been the previous method. However, dates never became a staple crop in Spain because the climate is too mild. 'Abdurrahman also imported the peach, the safari pomegranate, and the orange tree.

The Amir was passionately fond of flowers, paying handsomely for seeds and cuttings of Eastern plants which he could grow in his palace gardens. He thus had constant reminders of his homeland about him, and encouraged his friends to take samples to their estates and thus spread their cultivation throughout Spain and Portugal.

The Arabs have always been fond of animals, and although they did not bring their beloved camel any further than Africa, they did import fleet horses. Horse-raising became a highly developed industry, for the animals took readily to the seasonal migration which the shifting Spanish climate necessitates.

But the Arabs' greatest blessing to Spanish agriculture was an efficient system of irrigation. They had seen the methods used in Mesopotamia and Egypt, and from the latter country especially copied the system of floodgates, waterwheels and pumps. They installed these works along river plains like the Vega of Granada or in the marshes around Valencia, reclaiming land that had fallen into disuse. Murcia profited the most perhaps from their ingenuity. 'Abdurrahman had the Guadalquivir embanked to control its flow of water.

The Valencian watercourt still sits twice a week to render decisions concerning the communal use of water. Its grimmest sentence is to cut off an offender's water supply, for that is equivalent to capital punishment. This court is significant because most of its legal terminology is still Arabic.

* * *

TO SUM up this chapter on Hispano-Arabic civilization, it is merely necessary to quote Cardinal Ximenez, who persecuted the Spanish Muslims in later days: "They lack our faith, but we lack their works."

NOTES

1. b. Idh. II. 50.

2. The name *diwan* survives in the Sp. *aduana* and the Fr. *douane*, which in this instance is applied to the Customs department.

3. They were not *walis* but *qa'ids*. Perhaps the Spanish term *adelantado* has a semantic relationship to the latter, although it is also transliterated as "*alcaide*."

4. *Rapita* in Spanish. Its root is the same from which the name *al-Murabit* (Sp. *Almoravid*) was taken, since this religious order first originated in the *Ribats* of Morocco The city of Rabat is one such centre.

5. See above for the term *qa'id*. Sp. *alcazar* is from Ar. *al-qasr*, a word which the Arabs borrowed in turn from La *castrum*. Entwistle (pp. 130-31) gives a list of war terms borrowed from the Arabic.

6. The title of *Amir al-Bahr* ("commander of the sea") was applied to the minister or Chief Lord of the Admiralty; while *qa'id* (see above) was the commanding officer of an individual ship. This transference of land terms to the sea is also seen in the Eng. "forecastle."

7. The former, which means literally "master of the market," gives us the Leonese form *zavazoke*; the latter the modern Sp. *almotacen*.

8. Cf. Entwistle p. 131 for others.

9. Smith & Karpinski give a description of these extensive operations in Chapter VII of their book.

10. Ribera: *Esiudio . . . Abencuzman*, pp. 10-15; and Sanches Albornoz: *Espana y el Islam*, pp. 87 ff.

11. *Azulejo* does not come, as is commonly believed, from the Arabic word for blue, but from *az-zulayj* meaning a "burnished pebble."

12. Cotton may have been originally introduced by the Phoenicians. It was to be varied with types brought back from America.

Chapter Sixteen

DISTRACTIONS FROM EUROPE

IN THE midst of these labours in favour of civilization, 'Abdurrahman's desire for peace was to be frustrated.

By the year 774, revolt was brewing on the Pyrenees frontier amongst the same class of noble frondeurs as had troubled him elsewhere. The ensuing affair is more confused than the previous, but it seems possible to disentangle the following points from it :

* * *

IN THE first place, although this movement culminated in Charlemagne's invasion of Spain, it was actually a veiled intervention on the part of the 'Abbasid emperor Mansur and his son Mahdi.[1]

Ever since Ibn-Mughith's and 'Abd-al-Ghafir's sea invasions had failed, the eastern caliphs had been searching for a means of eliminating their Umayyad rival in the West. Now they thought they had found the answer to their problem by enlisting the help of 'Abdurrahman's only serious European rival, Charles the Great ; they reckoned that the French king would have sufficient military strength to defeat the Umayyad on land.

Moreover, before the Arabs ever appeared in Europe, the Franks had already been fighting the Visigoths of Spain and southern France, and a campaign by Charlemagne would be merely continuing an earlier territorial dispute. Indeed, in 752 Charles' father, Pepin the Short, had swept down upon Muslim-held France, and by 755, when he sent an embassy off to Mansur in Baghdad, only Narbonne was left in Spanish hands. The Franks besieged this city for four years, and it was finally lost in 759, right at the beginning of 'Abdurrahman's reign, when the Umayyad was too preoccupied in Spain proper to deal with the frontier.

It is worth noting for future reference that upon the capture of Narbonne, most Muslims were put to the sword regardless of their age or sex. Nevertheless, enough were left to give Pepin and Charles an idea of how the Yamanite feud might be exploited to the disadvantage of the Umayyads.

Buckler's book *Harun u'l-Rashid and Charles the Great* is an attempt to prove that the 'Abbasid emperors appointed Charles their viceregent in the West in order to checkmate 'Abdurrahman. I am inclined to accept Buckler's reasoning, provided his thesis is antedated a few years.

These were not the first relations between 'Abbasids and Carolingians : in 755 Pepin had sent an embassy to Mansur which returned with 'Abbasid envoys in three years time ;[2] while in 768, the year of Charles' own accession, an embassy of Muslims had waited upon the Frankish king while he was warring in Aquitania. This latter mission came via Marseille, and although it may have been from Spain, it is more probable that it was Pepin's group returning from the East.

* * *

GRANTED, therefore, that the Franks and 'Abbasids were in agreement upon those political aims, Mansur nonetheless realized that in order to have his scheme adopted wholeheartedly within Spain itself, any such plans must be explained to Spanish discontents by an Arab and not a Frank. For this task, he chose a son-in-law of Yusuf the Fihrite called 'Abdurrahman Ibn-Habib. He was an arch-eremy of the Umayyads who had already been chosen to assist 'Abd-al-Ghafir, but had not arrived in time for that earlier revolt.

Ibn-Habib appears to have been a soldier of fortune who bore the nickname of *as-Saqlabi* or "the Slav," by which name we shall refer to him henceforth. He had been called this not because he was of Slavic race, but since his tall slender figure, fair hair, clear skin,[3] and blue eyes gave him a resemblance to the slaves who were bought on the Spanish and North African markets in those days.

The Slav first arrived from Africa with a secret commission from the Eastern caliph for the prefect of Barcelona, Suleyman Ibn-Yaqzan al-A'rabi.[4] I feel that Suleyman was approached first because Barcelona is a seaport in contact with the rest of the Mediterranean. Later on, Husayn Ibn-Yahya, the governor[5] of Zaragoza, was brought into the conspiracy. The triumvirate divided their respective jobs into Husayn's command north of the Ebro, and the Slav's to the south, while Suleyman was to get into contact with Charlemagne in France.

* * *

WITH the 'Abbasid promises in mind, Charles accepted the invitation of the rebel Arabs from Catalonia and Aragon when their envoy

Suleyman appeared in 777 at the Diet of Pader born which Charles was holding in order to superintend the baptism of the Saxons. The French king had just finished his war with the Saxons and chased their king Wittekind to Denmark ; now he was in a mood to look southward beyond Aquitania. His ecclesiastical assistants in the Christianization of the humbled Germans were likewise eager to repeat their ceremonies in Spain.[6] However, Charles himself was more probably interested in impressing his brother monarch in Baghdad ; " there is no crusading motive present, " says Buckler, "nor was any attributed to it prior to 840."[7]

For the cross for which they fought in the eighth and ninth centuries was really a large St. Andrew's cross, one of whose bars ran from Aix to Baghdad, while the other extended from Constantinople to Cordoba. The Mediterranean world was thus divided into four rival camps, two Christian and two Muslim, and their rivalries cut across religion, so that alliance was a mere matter of geography. France and Byzantium, the Middle East and Spain, were arranged like four boxers each in one corner of a ring, and each alternating as seconds to the man in the opposite corner while the latter attacked one or other of his neighbours.[8]

Thus to prepare himself to invade Spain, Charles made a treaty with Suleyman.[9] In this agreement, the latter recognized the Frank as his overlord representing the 'Abbsaid power in the East, while Charlemagne engaged himself to enter Spain with a large force to challenge 'Abdurrahman's authority. Husayn, as before stated, was to lead those rebels who were north of the Ebro, while the Slav was to enlist Berber support in Murcia.

* * *

MEANWHILE, the event broke prematurely in Spain when Husayn proclaimed that he was switching his allegiance from the Umayyads to the 'Abbasids, whether directly or through Charlemagne not being clear.[10] His timing was bad, because, according to Ibn-'Idhari, 'Abdurrahman was able to rush northward and besiege him. After winning back the allegiance of the Zaragozans, the Amir returned to Cordoba.

I am inclined to helieve that a slip-up developed in the rebels' plans at this point, either through imperfect organization or more probably through rivalry. The Slav had enjoyed some intelligence with 'Abd-al-Ghafir, but had likewise failed to arrive in time to bring any effective assistance. My suspicion is that Husayn was able

to convince 'Abdurrahman that this had been Suleyman's and the Slav's idea ; otherwise it seems incredible that the Amir would have left him as governor of Zaragoza, as he clearly was three years later.

Events at this point are again confused. 'Abdurrahman had sent his general Tha'labah north as military commander, but Tha'labah was defeated and despatched as a prisoner to Charlemagne. He would thus be the captured general " Abu-Thaur " reported by the Frankish chroniclers, and some credence must be placed in a detail which is reported independently by both sources.[11] However, it is not clear which rebel force took Tha'labah prisoner, and I would therefore assume it was Suleyman or that, if Husayn had captured him, it was before the Amir came north in person.

Then the seditious movement suffered a further setback with the Slav's iil-timed landing at Tortosa.[12] This ties in with the Baligant episode of the *Chanson de Roland* for the epic speaks of a supporting movement which came to the relief of Zaragoza from Africa and landed upon the Spanish coast at approximately the same spot.

The Slav's mistiming helped 'Abdurrahman to destory the mission to Tadmir. Just as Husayn preferred Umayyad to Frank, and gave in to the former when he saw himself hard-pressed, even so was the Slav jealous of accepting help from Husayn or orders from Charles. Thus he failed to tie in his movements with his confederates', as he had failed with 'Abd-al-Ghafir.[13] His ten ships were burnt upon his arrival, and though Husayn had asked him to come to his assistance, the Slav took instead to the hill country around Valencia and Murcia, where he had first planned to go.

* * *

THUS before Charlemagne could muster his forces to cross the Pyrenees, the Slav and Husayn were eliminated as military factors.

Ibn al-Athir says that the Slav came one year and was killed the next, although Ibn-'Idhari[14] claims that he was still fighting in the year 779 in the rugged parts of Tadmir. A Berber loyal to the Cordobese monarch finally managed to gain his confidence and slay him ; and for this he received a reward of a thousand dinars. Badr was also active in this southeastern campaign.

In the northeast, 'Abdurrahman's loyal minister 'Abd-al-Malik Ibn-'Umar was despatched to take control of the situation after

Th'labah was defeated. It seems likely that Husayn had informed the Amir of Charlemagne's prospective invasion, and so Ibn-'Umar was appointed military commander of Zaragoza to watch Huasyn and place the province's defences on a sound basis. We shall later see what connection he had with the legendary figure of Marsile.

'Abd-al-Malik proceeded cautiously. With the aid of the people of Huesca, Lerida and Tudela, he attacked the remaining rebels of the region, and prepared to repulse Charlemagne. Huasyn himself was not heard of again for three or four years, and seems to have been temporarily eliminated from the conflict and intrigue.

This elimination of the Slav and Husayn left Suleyman, who was still on his mission in Germany or France, with only the prefect of Huesca and Count Galindo of Cerdagne as his on-the-spot allies. Apparently the conspiracy had proven abortive.

Yet it turned out that this disaffection was only the beginning of worse trouble upon the northeastern frontier. It was just as well that the Spanish sovereign had received warning to mobilize an army in that quarter. For the calm that caused was only the lull before the storm.

NOTES

1. Mansur reigned from 754 till 775 ; Mahdi from 775 till 785 ; Hadi from 785 till 786 ; and Harun from 786 till 819.

2. Reinaud (p. 192) and Buckler (p. 19). According to Eginhard (Sect. 16), Charlemagne "with Aaron, the King of the Persians, who ruled over all the East, with the exception of India, . . . entertained so harmonious a friendship that the Persian King valued his favour before the friendship of all the kings and princes in the world, and held that it alone deserved to be cultivated with presents and titles."

However, the Monk of St. Gall states that : " the envoys of the Persians . . . explained the reason of their journey to the Bishops of Campania and Tuscany, of Emilia and Liguria, of Burgundy and Gaul, and to the abbots and counts of these regions ; but by all they were either deceitfully handled or else actually driven off ; so that a whole year had gone before, weary and footsore with their long journey, they reached Aix and Charles." (Sect. 8).

3. *I.e.*, he did not have to follow the Arab custom of shaving or using a depilatory to get rid of his body hair. Cf. b. Ath. VI. 36. Note also how Marsile's strikingly blond son Jurlafeu stands out in the *Chanson de Roland* ; ceuld he have had any connection with the Slav ?

4. b. Ath. loc. cit.

5. Viardot I. 119 calls them both "alcaides," but I prefer the title *wali* for Husayn and *qa'id* for Suleyman (see p. 78) to show that the latter was inferior in rank. Zaragoza was the provincial capital in those days. Husayn was a Khazraji of the Medinese Ansarites, who were anti-Umayyad from the time of the Caliph Yazid.

Another element is injected by some historians: that the conspiracy was joined by Yusuf the Fihrite's youngest son Muhammad Abu-al-Aswad. However, this youngster would be only in his teens at this time, and escaped later on in 781 or 784. This error may have arisen because the Slav was his brother-in-law, and Abu-al-Aswad was also blue-eyed. In this matter, I reluctantly part company with Dozy (cf *Hist. musulmans* I. 240-42), who admits himself on p. 241 that he can find no role for Abu-al-Aswad in this revolt. See also b. Idh II. 58 and Maq. II. 35.

6. For those who prefer pious explanations, the cause of Charles' decision was only indirectly the Spanish Arab envoy: the real envoy came from God Himself in the person of the apostle St. James. The pseudo-Turpin says that the Spanish-Hebrew saint appeared to the Frankish king one night while the latter was contemplating the Milky Way, which by some folk is called St. James' Road. He told the king that he was buried in Spain at the end of this trail, and that Charles was to seize the grave from the power of the Saracens. After the apostle had made three successive appearances, the Frank remained convinced and set forth upon his mission.

7. pp. 12-13.

8. Cf. Reinaud: *Invasions*, pp. 87-88; and Buckler, pp. 7-10.

9. Eginhard: *Annales des rois*, III. 20, says that this was Ibn-al-A'rabi, while an "Abu-Thaur" is also spoken of. (Cf. later on, p. 107). The Monk of Silos calls him "Hibinnexalabi," the governor of the Zaragozan "kingdom" for 'Abdurrahman, the "great king of the Moors." (*Esp. Sag.* XVII. 280). Reinaud says it was either Suleyman or his son Matruh (p. 94, n. 3).

Suleyman presented Charlemagne with "Abu-Thaur," who was probably 'Abdurrahman's first commanding general Tha'labah.

10. Some say he proclaimed himself caliph, but this assumption is ridiculous: it is reading latter history into eighth-century Spanish events. b. Idh. II. 58 says this was in 771 first of all; while Lafuente II. 75 says that a "Husayn the Abdarite" had been previously put down by 'Abd-al-Malik Ibn-'Umar. This may explain how 'Abdurrahman is reported as having pacified Zaragoza once already.

11. *Akh. M.* p. 113; and Eginhard: *Annales*, III. 20.

12. Cf. *Akh. M.* pp. 100-01; b. Ath. VI. 56; and b. Idh. II. 58.

13. See Dozy: *Hist. musulmans* I. 242 about this possible difference of opinion.

14. Loc. cit.

Chapter Seventeen

THE SONG OF ROLAND, ARAB VERSION

IN THE spring of 778,[1] Charles the Great invaded Spain with immense equipment. At that time, the Frankish king was thirtysix years old, and would only become Emperor of Rome twentytwo years later. Thus while he may have worn a beard, it would not be the patriarchal white one of the epic.

Charlemagne crossed Gascony and entered Spain through the pass of San Juan de Pie de Puerto ; while another of his divisions commanded by his uncle Bernard passed to the east of the Pyrenees along the Mediterranean corridor and took Gerona and Barcelona.[2] Soon the French king had Christian Pamplona and perhaps Tudela in his hands. So far as we know, Zaragoza, Tortosa, and possibly Tudela were the only cities on the Ebro which the French monarch reached, let alone occupied.

Suleyman, the prefect of Barcelona, had carried on the negotiations with the Franks, while Husayn had stayed on as governor of Zaragoza. Charles was now approaching " the white city surrounded by emeralds set in gold," whose governor was supposed to yield to him. Now for some reason, the latter refused to give up the city. *Akhbar Majmu'a* states that the Zaragozans themselves decided to defend themselves, as they did during the Napoleonic wars against later French invaders. At any rate, the great invasion of Spain was stopped dead in its tracks.

What had happened to upset the French king's calculations ? Let us attempt to extricate the historical from the legendary material, while respecting the poetic inspiration and utilizing Arabic sources of history as far as possible.

* * *

AT THE time of Charles' entry, the Spanish monarch, 'Abdurrahman, was distracted in the south, for in 778 a Berber called 'Abbas, possibly instigated by the Slav, rose up with a great number of his tribesmen. He was finally defeated and killed by Tammam ; which would explain why the latter was not in the struggle in the northeast. Similarly,

Badr routed and killed Ibrahim Ibn-Shajarah the Bernesi, who had revolted in Moron.

In Cordoba itself, one of the prince's friends called Selami attacked the guard at one of the city gates during a drunken brawl. Al-'Abdi, 'Abdurrahman's chief of police, managed to hush the matter up at first, but the culprit was full of remorse from having acted in such a rash manner and fled in fear of punishment. He escaped to the region of Toledo, where he continued his insurrection in earnest. Finally he was defeated in single combat.

However, with two of his best generals busy with these distractions, 'Abdurrahman had sent another trusty supporter, 'Abd-al-Malik Ibn-'Umar, to handle the northeastern situation. If conjecture is right, Ibn-'Umar was thus the historical Marsile of the Roland legend. Lafuente says[3] that Marsile is a corruption of "Ibn-Umar," which in Arabic means "son of 'Umar" or Omar. This gives us "Omaris filius" in Latin, which became shortened to "Marfilius" and eventually through a misreading of the "f" as a long "s," into Marsilius or Marsile. There may be a small grain of truth in this assertion.

What interests us in particular is that Ibn-'Umar had meanwhile won over the Zaragozans, holding Husayn either as a friend or as a prisoner. He then sent word south to his cousin that the situation was under control.

* * *

AT THIS point, order is almost inextricable from chaos. Let us examine some of the personages briefly, to see if any of them can be identified as historical characters.

In the first place, since 'Abdurrahman himself did not appear in the historical picture, we can assume that the Umayyad is only one of the shadowy offstage characters of the *Chanson*. Another character called Malprime is a son of Baligant the "caliph" who fights heroically and later on commands the whole Saracen army. This could possibly have been 'Abdurrahman's son Suleyman, who was now in his early thirties and had already campaigned for his father. Gamalfrain was the caliphs other general, and Valdebrun the admiral who received Ganelon's promise ; neither can be identified. The warrior priest Turpin likewise kills " King " Corsablis of Berbery, which would indicate that 'Abdurrahman's standing army was involved.

The *Chanson* figure of Baligant is represented as a "Babylonian" patriarch with a white beard that matches Charlemagne's. In the *Romancero*,[4] he is an admiral with a gigantic son called Fierabras, the Ferragus of the French epic. Since Baligant came from Africa to the relief of Zaragoza, this looks more like the Slav. The Pseudo-Turpin also reveals that "Marsile and his brother Baligant . . . were *sent to Spain* by the Amir of Persian Babylon."[5] Another interesting point is that Baligant repaid Charlemagne Ganelon's compliment of advising the Frankish monarch to become a Muslim.

* * *

WE HAVE left Charlemagne before Zaragoza, expecting its inhabitants to make common cause with him. However, they prepared to defend their homes instead. Wherein do we explain this change of attitude ?

In the first place, we must remember that those in control of the Ebro valley were Muslim Arabs, whether Umayyad or 'Abbasid in sympathy, or Yamanite or Ishmaelite by blood. Let us therefore put ourselves in their place, and try to imagine how they viewed this invasion of their territory. Under these circumstances, it was easy for Ibn-'Umar the fanatic to prevail upon the religious feelings of the Arabs and turn them from their traitorous tendencies ; for, besides resenting the northern foreigners as even the 'Abbasid emperor knew they would, these Spanish Muslims became enraged when they realized that Charles was killing those who opposed his campaign "without becoming a Christian." Therefore Husayn and later Suleyman came over to 'Abdurrahman's side.

Boissonnade tries to discount this campaign of forced conversion as referring to the crusading fervour noted in subsequent French invasions of Spain. It would take much less than this to turn the Spanish Arabs, who whether traitor or not were in control of the Ebro valley, against the Franks. I think this campaign is reported with a fair degree of accuracy, once allowance is made for exhuberant details like the idol-mashing ; Arabic sources confirm that Charles devastated the territory he passed through and enslaved much of the population. Moreover, it differed in few particulars from his conduct in the Saxon war.[6]

The Muslims called the Franks " woman-worshippers and polytheists," and considered them somewhat effeminate for these religious

beliefs. Therefore it was difficult to convince them that European Christianity was superior to Islam. The net result of this campaign was merely that the whole Ebro valley rose up against the Franks, and Charlemagne was obliged to retire to Pamplona. The Franks would have to conquer the Arabs by force in order to Christianize them.

Yet the Muslims were not alone in this anti-French attitude: the Basques and other Spaniards joined them. In the Spanish cycle of poems about Alfonse II's supposed nephew Bernardo del Carpio, Charles appears as the foriegn invader against whom both Christian and Muslim Spaniard arose. In this Spanish version of the invasion, Charlemagne was defeated upon his entry *into* Spain, when Bernard captured and squezed Roland to death![7] This episode really refers to year 797 when Alfonso the Chaste called upon Charles for help, and his own nobles locked him up in a monastery until he promised not to allow any further foreign intervention in purely Spanish quarreis.

* * *

THE rebel envoy Suleyman seems to have repeated his treachery at this point, for once the Spaniards gained the upper hand, he was caught dealing with them. Therefore Charles seized him; although some sources claim that he delivered himself up to the Frank in order to demonstrate his innocence. Probably the wretch had a bad conscience all around by this time, and did not care where he went. Husayn was meanwhile apparently on 'Abdurrhman's side.

When Suleyman became Charles' prisoner, his sons Matruh[9] and 'Ayshun turned actively against the invader. Ibn-al-Athir[10] mentions them specifically as the instigators of the Basque attack at Roncesvalles, where they rescued their father and brought him back to Zaragoza. The Spanish *romancero* likewise sings of a Fierabras who was thus taken prisoner, although it is his daughter Floripes who saves him.[11]

Meanwhile in Pamplona, Charles received further disquieting news of unrest at home: Wittekind the Saxon leader had returned to Germany and was menancing Cologne. The Frankish king must march posthaste from the Ebro to the Rhine, whether he wanted to stay in Spain or not.[12]

So he razed the walls of Christian Pamplona and pillaged the city. Pamplona was a stronghold of the Basques, and Charles had never

felt certain of these mountaineers' allegiance. By thus antagonizing them, he handed them a clear motive for joining with Matruh and 'Ayshun at Roncesvalles. The French then start to withdraw through the Pyrenees on their "dolorous rout," after spending seven months in Spain, not the seven years boasted of in the epic.[13] On August 15, 778,[14] in the Pyrenees where the mountains are high, the crags black and the gorges awesome, they proceed in a gloomy sadness.

The Basques, vengeful for the treatment of Pamplona and incited by Suleyman's sons, have based themselves upon the heights between the peaks of Altabizkar and Ibaneta.[15] They dare not attack Charles' main force, but intend to discomfit him, gain some booty, free Suleyman, and discourage the French from returning to Spain.

The Frankish army has meanwhile been forced to string out in a seemingly endless train; those at the front cannot see those at the rear. Tkeir king is heading the van, and the baggage—full of potential plunder—strings out behind in a slow column. Here Suleyman will be travelling as a prisoner. It is the logical point of attack.

> Suddenly the Basques plunge down, rolling giant stones ahead of them. A cry went up midst the mountains.....On the peak of Ibaneta a noise re-echoes . . . It is the dull murmur of an approaching army . . . 'What are these Northerners doing in our mountains; why are they troubling those who still have strength and a horse?"

In these words from their stirring *Altabizcar Cantua* the Basques commemorate their victory over the French.[16]

The battle is wonderful and moving! The assailants inflict terrible losses upon the French, both in men and equipment. Eggihard, the provost of the royal table, is killed; Anzelm, a count of the royal palace, falls; and here we read that Roland, Lord Prefect of the Breton March, dies.

* * *

THE legend names Roland as head of the rearguard whose horn Oliphant[17] summons Charles from thirty leagues away. The effort is so great that blood streams from the hero's forehead and mouth. Yet Roland has strength enough left to cut off Marsile's right hand and the head of the latter's son Jurlafeu.

In the midst of this melee, Suleyman's sons free their father. They all then return to Zaragoza, where they come to terms with 'Abdurrahman once more.

Meanwhile darkness has fallen ; the mists have risen, and only death and silence remain in the valley. The red sun hangs low, and finally it sets in the west.

The Franks who survive Roncesvalles withdraw from Spain under a pall of gloom which is broken only by their tearful joy at the sight of Gascony and "sweet France." There Ganelon the traitor is handed over to be abused by the kitchen help and led off in chains like a circus bear.

In the year 810, Louis the Debonair or Pious remembered his father's bad luck and saved himself from a similar fate by forcing the Basque women and children to accompany his army in his retreat through the same pass. Both his expedition and the date are obscure, however, and this incident may instead refer to Louis' siege of Huesca in 797.

Thus, so far as we can reconstruct it, went the "famous battle of Roncesvalles, of which so much is sung and so little is known."[18] Throughout the rest of Europe this story is known through the *Song of Roland*, because in that epic the perfect of the Breton March becomes the chief character. Whether or not the campaign had been great in a military sense, it gripped the fancy of Europe for centuries to come.

* * *

'ABDURRAHMAN had meanwhile been preoccupied by the consequence of the Slav's revolt in Tadmir. When southern Spain was pacified and he learned that matters were going well for the Spaniards in the northeast, he went to Zaragoza himself to follow up those successes. The unruly Basques were now on his side for a time, and he forced the Count of Cerdagne to become his vassal. Nevertheless, Ibn-'Umar, the self-effacing henchman whom we must thank for this success, received so little historical credit that in the midst of an efflorescence of legendary figures, he is considered almost non-existent.

Subsequently the Amir concluded a treaty with Charles by which each monarch agreed to respect the other's sphere of influence.

Arab history says that Charlemagne offered 'Abdurrahman the hand of one of his daughters.[19] This would be no exceptional occurrence for those times : Charles himself had many women, and Muslims may take up to four wives. However, although the Frank pressed his daughter upon the Umayyad, the latter declined the honour because an injury to his groin had incapacitated him for marriage.

'Abdurrahman had thus shown that he could stand up not only against his 'Abbasid foes, but also face their Frankish allies. Probably like Usamah Ibn-Munqidh, he had many an occasion, to utter : "May God's curse be on the Frank!" Carless Davies[20] considers that "at Roncesvalles Charles experienced the first check of his career;" while Thorndike states that his inability to subdue the Norsemen and the Arabs hastened the decline of his empire.[21]

More important for us than all this, the peace that followed gave Spain the chance to continue the cultural advance which the Umayyad princes had traced for her. Let us now turn to observe this process.

NOTES

1. Saavedra and Codero both say it was in 779, however.

2. Cf Eginhard, pp. 29-31 ; and Masdeu, XII. 72 ff.

3. Cf. Viardot I. 118, n. 1 ; and Lafuente II. 58, n. 3 & III 104. Codero (*Discurso . . . primer siglo*, p. 58) is against this theory and favours Suleyman as the original Marsile. However, Codero does not attempt to explain any further since he is not interested in the problem.

Yet Husayn or Suleyman might have had some connection with the Marsile of the Roland legend too, being interchanged with Ibn-'Umar. Marsile is called *l'algalifes* in the *Chanson*, but this is a projection into the ninth century by the poet. The caliph, his uncle, is called the "Lord of Carthage, Alferne, Garmelia and Ethiopia." This latter extension seems to be a muddling of the Slav's treatment with Mansur and or the Fihrite governor of North Africa.

At least it is historically correct that Suleyman solicited precisely the same as the poetic Marsile in 777, when he rose against 'Abdurrahman and crossed the Pyrenees for help.

4. Duran, II. 229, Romance No. 1253.

5. p. 41. Italics are mine. The Latin is: *Marsirus [scilicet] et Belipandus frater eius qui erant ab Aminirando Babylonis de Perside ad Hispaniam missi*

6. Cf. Carless Davis: *Charlemagne* p. 93 for the similar campaign of conversion against the Saxons. I still consider that Charlemagne's prime interest was political, however.

7. Cf. Alfonso X: *Estoria de Espana*, Sect. 649-55 (ed. M. Pidal); Duran: *Romancero*, I. 417-30 (Romances No. 619-55—especially Nos. 619, 623, 638, 639. and 653); Masdeu, XII, 81-83 (excellent criticism); and M. Pelayo: *Obras de Lope*, p. xci. ff.

8. Cf. Rosseeuw II. 206 for a discussion of this matter.

9. Or Mutarraf.

10. VI. 8.

11. Cf. Ballesteros II. 20: Codera, p. 25; and Duran, vol II, romances 1234-35.

12. Buckler (p. 12, n. 2) says that the Saxon war was not connected with Charlemagne's withdrawal. This point does not interefere with his action in the least.

13. Gui de Bourgogne increases this time to 27 years; and at one place converte 100,000 Arabs to Christianity!

14. The *Chanson* confirms that it was during the summer; of Paris: *Romania*, 1873, p. 146. Flores: *Esp. Sag.*, XVII; 211, gives 777 as the date; but this is not reliable, since 'Abdurrahman enters Spain in 754 according to XXIII. 402, and in 756 by X. 244. See also Note 1 of this chapter.

15. Pseudo-Turpin, Chapter XXII: "*De passione Totholandi et morte Marsiri at fuga Beligandi.*"

On pp. 16-17 we have mentioned how in 724 Garcia Ximenez had made himself independent in that part of northern Aragon which is called the Sobrarbe, with the town of Ainsa as his capital. Another of these independent Christian counts was Inigo Arista of Navarre, who might have been one of those Basques who led a faction against both Charlemagne and the Arabs.

16. This was composed in the eighteenth century by Garay de Monglave of Bayonne. It is not as fantastic as the medieval versions of the battle, for it is based upon independent Basque tradition.

17. *I.e.*, made from an elephant's tusk.

18. Hume, p. 79. See also Ballesteros II. 19-24.

19. Maq. I. 213; and Reinaud, p. 98. The latter says that he thinks this was 'Abdurrahman IiI, who asked a daughter of Charles the Bald.

20. *Charlemagne*, p. 115.

21. *History of Medieval Europe*, p. 212.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

CORDOBA, THE BRIDE OF ANDALUS

CORDOBA lies about three hundred and twenty feet above sea-level, on the north bank of the Guadalquivir, the "Great River" of Andalusia.[1] She is an old Iberian town, famous even in the time of the Phoenicians. Some say that she received her name from these Semites, and that Cordoba means the "Good City" in Phoenician-Hebrew;[2] although the general opinion is that the name is Iberian. She was important under the Romans too, being one of the chief towns of their province of Boetica. The Hispano-Roman Martial celebrated her in his verse,[3] and the Arabs loved her as the "Bride of al-Andalus."

Few cities in the world have fostered so many illustrious men over so long a period of time; and almost all were men of letters. Coadoba gave Rome the two Senecas and Lucan; the Arab city produced a galaxy that included such famous names as Ibn-Masarrah, Ibn-Rushd (or Averroes as he is known in the Western tongues), Maimonides, and Ibn-Hazm, the sweet poet of woman's delights; while modern Cordoba gave birth to Juan de Mena, Gongora, and the Duke of Rivas. In the new world she has bequeathed her name to cities in Mexico and the Argentine.

It was to the enlarging and beautifying of this city that 'Abdurrahman was to bend his most enduring efforts. By now he was no longer the Newcomer, but the shrewd and aging ruler. He was still lean and tall, and retained his falcon-like nose and one of his sharp blue eyes—the other had been lost in battle.

In religion, 'Abdurrahman was punctilious but not over-devout. He kept the Islamic command of abstinence from alcohol, and was always ready to lead the Muslim community in public prayer; for he remembered the Quranic precept that "prayer keeps one away from indecency and evil."[4] Yet although the ruler insisted upon dignity at all times, his manner of life was never luxurious; that would creep into the dynasty with his descendents.

* * *

CORDOBA had become a motley city by now, as motley as her contemporaries Constantinople and Baghdad or as any cosmopolitan centre today. Indeed she was the only cosmopolitan city of western Europe during that period of history. An Arab poet, Abu-Yahya Ibn-Abi-Ya'qub, once said that the Cordobese was like a camel: it complains when you load it, when you lighten its burden, and when you load it up again; you could never satisfy either of them.

Thus 'Abdurrahman would try to forge a nation out of Arabians, Franks and Slavs, Syrians, Berbers and Greeks, Negroes, Hispano-Romans and Goths; and out of aristocrats and slaves, artisans and peasants, merchants and lawyers, students and doctors. One could hear in her streets the Christian bell, the Jewish trumpet, and the Muslim call-to-prayer. Her markets displayed goods from every quarter of the globe and to meet every taste.

The Amir now set about embellishing his capital. He took the Damascus of his youth as a model, and implanted Syrian forms upon the romanesque remains he found in the peninsula.

First of all, he assured the city an adequate supply of water from the mountains through a new aqueduct whose building he himself superintended. The city had seven gates, either named after the city toward which they led, or the trade that was carried on in their vicinity. 'Abdurrahman rebuilt these, added public monuments, opened parks, constructed mosques, endowed hospitals and schools, and surrounded the whole with a stout wall. He also carried on extensive repairs on the old Roman bridge across the Guadalquivir, whose sixteen arches Samh had already rebuilt.

Cordoba was the first city of modern Europe to have street lighting and to see a revival of public baths, for the Islamic faith makes cleanliness not merely a pious wish but also a religious duty. Her streets were paved in the year 850 upon the order of the Intruder's namesake and great-grandson 'Abdurrahman II.

Continuing with 'Abdurrahman I's own contributions, he enlarged the castle, and then had his Rusafah pleasure palace laid out with many gardens to remind him of his grandfather Hisham's gardens near Damascus. The Rusafah had its own water supply, and there the prince planted the fruits he had known in Syria. This was 'Abdurrahman's private dwelling, for the state residence remained the

Alcazar of Cordoba. The gardens and the name are now preserved in the convent of San Francisco de la Arrisafa.

* * *

THE Intruder's greatest glory was the Great Mosque. When the Arabs captured Cordoba at the beginning of the century, they had extended the eastern practice of appropriating half of the main cathedral for their own worship. This building had originally been a Roman temple dedicaced to the god Janus, just as the Sevillian cathedral originally had heard the praises of that Carthaginian Venus called Salambo and her consort Adonis. Thus the Cordoban place of worship had passed through many hands, and in the seventh century it was dedicated to St. Vincent.

Now that the Muslim population of the capital was growing, 'Abdurrahman decided to enlarge and beautify the edifice. He entered into negotiations to buy the Christian half from the Christian community for 100,000 gold pieces.[5] This purchase was effected in the year 785, and the price enabled the Christians to build another handsome church. The Amir used every civility throughout the negotiations with the leaders; besides the cash, they received the privileges of repairing their old places of worship, constructing others, and ringing their church bells whenever they wished.

In the year 786, the prince started work on the new mosque. The original plan was traced by 'Abdurrahman's own hand, and his concept remained the basic idea although the building was enlarged even more later on. It was to prove one of the architectural wonders of the world. His prime minister Mansur helped with the details, especially from the financial angle. The cost in 'Abdurrahman's own time was about 100,000 gold *doblas* or 80,000 dinars.

The mosque gives one the effect of a forest of pillars "where the eye is lost amid the marvels," to quote Victor Hugo. The style is an improvement upon Roman and Visigothic models on the one hand, and Byzantine and Persian on the other. The graceful lines are achieved in part by the use of the double or superimposed arch.

The edifice is quadrangular in shape, with a low roof supported by a myriad of slender pillars, many of which were later removed by the Christians. The size is 360 times 270 feet, and the building covers some four acres of ground. The effect attempted is that of a forest of

stately columns supporting the roof in a series of arches, which in turn sustain a second series of arches. This gives a remarkably graceful lift to the whole, and is a type of construction that is well suited to the hot climate of the Guadalquivir valley. The arches are round rather than pointed, probably due to romanesque influence.[6]

By the time that it had received all the various additions, the mosque had nineteen arcades running from east to west, and thirty from north to south There were twentyone doors and 1,293 porfyry and jasper columns with gilt capitals. Most of the pillars were from Cabra to the south of Cordoba, although many were booty which Hisham would bring back from Narbonne when he had to fight Charlemagne once more. It is often pointed out that these columns were taken from churches and public edifices built by the Romans and Visigoths ; but this re-use of old buildings was much in vogue in those days, as witness the cathedral which Charlemagne was constructing contemporaneously at Aix.

The mosaic on the present facade was sent by the Emperor Leo of Constantinople in the year 965, along with a Greek workman to superintend its installation. The pulpit, set on a marble base, was constructed of ivory and precious woods, inlaid with stones and held together with nails of gold. Within the pulpit was preserved one of 'Uthman's copies of the Qur'an, in a case of gold tissue set with rubies and pearls, all enclosed in a bag of silk. A thousand lamps hung from the ceiling. The Mihrab or prayer-niche, which takes the place of the altar or choir of a Christian church, led the eyes of the worshippers towards Mecca through the forest of columns. Outside, a minaret called the faithful to prayer ; this was enlarged by 'Abdur-rahman II's son Muhammad.

The *Patio de los Naranjos* or "Orangetree Court" is one of the most charming features of this fascinating edifice. A fountain played in its middle, and the trees were arranged in such a way as to continue the harmony of the interior columns out into the open air, leading the soul out into the expanse of God's world, or conversely from the out-of-doors in for meditation. Unfortunately, some of the entrances have since been blocked up and thus some of the original effect has been lost.

The Great Mosque was a rival to those of Mecca, Jerusalem, and

especially that of Damascus, which 'Abdurrahman remembered from his youth. It was a centre of pilgrimage for western Islam, and this idea still lingers on in the Spanish expression meaning to "wander from pillar to post"—*ir de la zeca a la meca*; for the Arabic name was *az-Zaqqa*.[7]

In 1258, following the conquest of Cordoba by the Castilians, Fernando III transformed it into a cathedral, but it is still popularly called *la Mezquita* to this day. In 1523 Bishop Alfonso Manrique of Cordoba petitioned the emperor Charles V to be permitted to make some alterations, including the building of a choir in the centre. This work was finished by 1526 when the emperor visited Cordoba, and it took the form of a Bothio church transplanted into the midst of the previous structure. Charles was furious when he saw the result, and exclaimed:

> "I did not know you wanted to touch the ancient portion: you have ruined something irreplaceable to give me something that I can find anywhere!"[8]

* * *

PEOPLE came from great distances not only to see the Mosque, but also to visit the city, just as nowadays they go to marvel at Paris or New York. In the tenth century, the German nun Hrotsvitha heard of the city in her distant convent of Gandersheim, and spoke of "Cordoba, the jewel of the world!"

There were finally over 200,000 houses in the city, along with six hundred mosques and schools, nine hundred public baths, fifty hospitals, and countless mills for light and heavy industry. There were many villas and suburban estates outside the walls, especially up towards the cooler mountains, in the manner of ancient Rome or of modern Philadelphia and New York. Closer in, there were truck gardens to supply the markets with food. The aqueducts were continually improved, and the bridges kept in repair.

Other places in Spain and Europe came to rival Cordoba, and when she decayed, Seville regained her old place as the first city of the peninsula; but in her heyday the public buildings and court of Cordoba were the most impressive of Europe. One embassy from the Greek emperor Constantine, the son of Leo, was so dumbfounded by all the pomp and circumstance that the ambassador could find no

words with which to greet the reigning sovereign, 'Abdurrahman III. Quoting an older writer, Lane-Poole says :[9]

> " To her [Cordoba] belong all the beauty and the ornaments that delight the eye or dazzle the sight Her long line of Sultans form her crown of glory ; her necklace is strung with the pearls which her poets have gathered from the ocean of language ; her dress is of the banners of learning, well knit together by her men of science ; and the masters of every art and industry are the hem of her garments."

You could walk through her streets for ten miles in one direction at night, and always have the light of lamps to guide your way. Seven hundred years later this would still be an innovation in London or Paris, as would paved streets. Like Christopher Wren, 'Abdurrahman could well have said, after his labours in building this gem among cities : "SI MONUMENTUM REQUIRIS, CIRCUMSPICE." The Medicis of Florence would be the first princes to rival the Umayyads in Europe, and perhaps we must go to America, to Chichenltza, to find a metropolis as interesting and as contemporary.

Cordoba reached her greatest glory under 'Abdurrahman III and with Mansur in the ninth century. In 1013 she was pillaged by the Berbers, when the Umayyad dynasty was in its decline. She revived to give birth to some great men, and then once more declined after the conquest of he city in 1236 by Fernando of Castile. Cordoba at one time dropped to less than fifty thousand inhabitants, but recently she has risen again to about 100,000. However, the old days will never return to their full glory.

NOTES

1. The Spaniards borrowed their word from the Arabic, since " Great River " seems commonplace in one's own tongue, but impressive in another language ; witness our own overuse of " Rio Grande."

2. "Qereth Tobah."

3. Book XII, Poem lxiii.

4. Sura XXIX, v. 45.

5. b. Idh. II. 60.

6. Cf. Fletcher : *Hist. architecture*, p. 843. There is a good description of this building in O'Shea, pp. 114-17 ; Rivoira : *Moslem architecture*, pp. 355-71 (for the technical aspect) ; Calvert : *Moorish remains* (excellent illustrations, plus a plan of the mosque) ; and Madrazo ; Chapters II & III. The worship is described in von Schack : *Poesie und Kunst*.

7. This in turn is derived from Sekos, a Greek term for the inner sanctum of an Egyptian temple. Cf. Ballesteros II. 18 about whether or not 'Abdurrahman made this a centre of pilgrimage.

8. Cf. Stoddard : *Spanish cities*, pp. 104-05 for ths impression of this Christian desecration of an Islamic place of worship.

9. p. 129.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

UMAYYAD CULTURE

THE Spaniard, whether Christian, Muslim or Jew, has always been a cultured man. Maqqari enumerates his qualities; hospitality, courage, haughtiness, loyalty, fairplay, forgiveness, generosity; all attributes which read well in a description of the presentday Spaniard. Let us therefore observe how this was borne out in Hispano-Arabic life.

Arab Spain was the epitome of refinement and courtesy. While the rest of Europe lived in stables and slept on straw, the Andalusian had all the delicious luxuries known to Syria, Persia and Byzantium: patios and fountains; balconies carved in wood and stone; arabesques traced on stucco and metal; frail columns and ornate chandeliers; furniture made of precious woods inlaid with even more precious mother-of-pearl, ivory, gold, silver, lapis lazuli or rock crystal; exquisite and priceless mosaics; jewellery and filigree; marble baths with hot and cold running water; libraries and schools. Perhaps it was through these Spanish Arabs and their passion for cleanliness and comfort that we derive our similar mania today.[1]

* * *

ARCHITECTURE is the field where the Spanish Arabs are best known throughout the European world. The Alhambra, although it was not constructed until long after 'Abdurrahman's day, is still a byword for exquisite building; while the foundations of the Mosque of Cordoba were laid by the great Amir himself.

The most impressive monuments which the Arabs found in the peninsula were not Visigothic but Roman, and these they adapted to their fancy: temples, theatres, bridges, arches.[2] In Syria and Egypt they had seen Roman monuments also, but in Spain the Arabs developed a lightness that started the arches springing skyward in more graceful lines. Here the initial impulse towards Gothic forms may be sensed.

The arch took a horseshoe, double-layered, and interlocking form, as well as the pointed shape which reminds us of a primitive Gothic.

The "Cordoban" column was a modified and ornate form of the Corinthian. The cupola and arabesque were other Arab contributions to peninsular building. Greek architects were imported, and they brought Byzantine and Persian styles and methods

The typical mosque was built around a rectangular patio where the worshippers gathered. A decorated *mihrab* facing towards Mecca was the chief focus of attention. The minaret was a simple tower from where the *mu'adhdhin* called the faithful to worship ; in some ways it influenced the construction of the church steeple.

The Andalusian house was built for coolness and privacy, and was composed of rooms opening onto a roofed but open corridor flanking a patio containing a luxuriant garden with a fountain in its centre. The home was entered by a massive and beautifully worked door, while the windows were made of lattice or gratings in intricately conceived designs. The flat roof served as a terrace where the family could catch a breeze in the evening.

* * *

ISLAM condemns the use of paintings and sculpture, and so the Muslim artist sought other medium of expression. Perhaps the most celebrated was calligraphy or ornamental writing, out of which grew the arabesque motif. This was traced on paper, leather, stone, tile, stucco, and metal, and was even worked into textiles, mosque lamps, and sword hilts.

Textiles themselves were also elaborate ; while Spanish Arab pottery rivalled the Chinese for its fineness. Woodwork and carpentry were most exquisitely finished. In fact, *mudejar* workmen excelled in all the minor arts, and their influence comes down clear to the present day.[3] Another outlet for handicraft was chess and playing cards ; Spain played a leading role in transmitting these games to Europe.[4]

'Abdurrahman had several slaves who sang in Arabic at his court in Cordoba.[5] Arab music can best be described as one-dimensional, with variations in its rhythms like the changes which run through many of Albeniz' transcriptions of Spanish folk music. A more recent manifestation may be found in the *cante jondo*. This effect can also be noticed in the chanting of the Qur'an.

However, Spanish Arab music demonstrates even better the fruitful consequences of two cultures stimulating one another ; the Iberic combined with the Arab genius to father a new type of music which the troubadours were to carry throughout western Europe.[6] The greatest Spanish Arab contribution was not only in imitative development but also in the invention of the *muwashshah* and the *zajal*.

Much influence also arrived from Persia and Byzantium ; Ziryab, the Persian singer who arrived from Baghdad in 'Abdurrahman II's time, added a fifth string to the lyre. Other instruments were the zither, rebec, lute, simple harp, drum, kettledrum, guitar, and tambourine ; many of these names are derived from the Arabic.

* * *

OF ALL the Islamic sciences, mathematics with its three branches of algebra, algorism and trigonometry was pre-eminent. However, geography and astronomy, medicine and pharmacy were other prominent fields of study. Linguistic science was developed from the study of Quranic grammar,[7] even the rabbis re-established their reading of the Hebrew Old Testament upon Arabic models. The study of religious traditions also favoured to some extent historical research.

The name algebra is a direct transcription of *al-jabr* meaning "the setting " of a number in place just as one " sets " a broken bone. The "*x*" of algebra is the word *shay* meaning "thing" ; in medieval Spanish the sibilant " sh " was expressed by the letter *x*, which became a convenient mathematical symbol.[8]

Euclidean geometry had begun to be studied in Baghdad at the time of the 'Abbasids. In the year 760, the Greek emperor Constantine V sent Mansur a copy of Euclid in Greek which Harun had translated into Arabic towards the end of that same century. The term " sine " is a direct translation of *jaib* meaning " bosom." The tangent is another concept developed by the Arabs.

The term " zero " is an Italian rendering of the word *safr* meaning " cypher " (which itself is another varient of the same Arabic word). The zero itself was invented by the Hindus of the sixth century, passed by them to the Arabs, and by the latter to Europe.[9]

Geography provoked the Arabs' curiosity largely because the pilgrimage to Mecca made them travel from the four corners of the earth to one central spot where they could compare notes and

exchange experiences. And because travel had a religious basis, it was cheap ; those who wanted to go on a shoestring found that every mosque along the way was a sort of " youth hostel " where they could put up for the night.

There was thereore a great interchange of scholars, many Easterners coming to Spain and many Spaniards travelling East. Al-Idrisi from Ceuta compiled this accumulated knowledge during the eleventh century for the Norman kings of Sicily. An interesting appreciation of Arab geography is Nansen's estimate :

> The Arab geographers have a special gift for collecting concrete information about countries and conditions, about people's habits and customs, and in this they may serve as models ; on the other hand sober criticism is not their strong side, and they had a pronounced taste for the marvelous.[10]

Anyone who has read Sindbad will agree with this last statement, although it required many centuries to cure Europeans of the same taste.

We still recall Arab contributions to astronomy when we use the terms nadir and zenith, or star names like Aldebaran and Betalgeuse.[11] Zoology and botany were studied, so that many of our present pharmaceutical terms are merely a latinized form of the Arabic, chemistry was not as much alchemy as the romanticists would have us believe ; alcohol was as much an Arab product as was the elixir.[12]

In medicine, the Arabs kept the knowledge of Dioscorides and Galen alive during the European middle ages. They were also interested in experimental medicine and anatomy. The great doctor Razi was the outstanding name in this field, and his fame spread in Europe through his Spanish contacts. The first modern European hospitals were set up in Arab Spain.[13]

There was little philosophy as yet in Spain, but it was rising under the 'Abbasids in Baghdad, who patronized the translation of the ancient masters from the Greek and Syriac. It would pass over to the West in the tenth century under 'Abdurrahman III.[14] The Spanish school of philosophy would assume marked importance, for through Muslim Spain medieval Europe heard about Aristotle years before the overworked date of 1453. Not only scholastics like

Thomas Aquinas received instruction via Spanish sources (even if they chose to refute what they learned), but also freer thinkers like Peter Abelard, Duns Scotus, Roger Bacon, William Ockham, and Benedict Spinoza would glean ideas that would reveal the first pulsations of the modern spirit. This we shall discuss in the following chapter.

* * *

ALTHOUGH there was no free system of public education as we know it today, scholarship and learning were encouraged in Umayyad Spain. The chief stimulus given by 'Abdurrahman I and his successors was first in founding and endowing mosques which could be used for educational purposes; and, secondly, by encouraging learned men whether native of foreign. 'Abdurrahman did not interest himself in this so much as did his son Hisham I; but nevertheless he laid the stable social foundations necessary for cultured life.

Primary education was based upon the Qur'an and the study of its grammar. There was generally a school in every mosque where lower-class children received free instruction in the Three R's. Almost every child received this, for being able to read the Qur'an gave its owner a mark of distinction. Some masters taught for nothing but generally they accepted a fee from each student, as in todays' private schools. Writing was taught with ink on polished wood, which could afterwards be rubbed off with a damp cloth.

Secondary instruction was mainly private, and therefore its standards varied from school to school. While there was no standard curriculum, it was definitely higher learning and limited only by the intelligence and means of the student concerned. The programme consisted generally of grammar and writing, the memorizing of folklore, history and religious traditions in both prose and poetry, judicial and simple medical practice, and mathematics and astronomy.[15] The student received a diploma or *ijazah* at the end of his studies stating that he was qualified to teach his subject, the first use of the same in modern Europe.

The first university or academy was founded by Caliph Hakam II, who reigned two centuries later. It was an informal institution consisting of a body of professors who had been attracted from the Orient by the prince's fame as a sage, and they were supported by the public purse.[16] Despite its informality, Cordoba and later Toledo became a favourite centre of graduate study for western Europe.

The Cordoba Law School became world famous. One celebrated lawyer was an intensely black Negress who was versed in the Hadith or religious traditions. She had immigrated to Spain from the East, and married a prominent Arab in the Spanish capital.

Bookshops in those days were few, but book-copying and book-binding were already flourishlng trades, especially to furnish attractive copies of the Quran. The great impetus would come later on under 'Abdurrahman's successors, with the manufacture of paper.

Owing to the schools which he set up in the cities of his realm, 'Abdurrahman was a worthy contemporary of the 'Abbasid Ma'mun and of Charlemagne, who were both famed for the cultural renascence they favoured in their empires. All three brought scholars from afar to enrich their national life, and established their schools in the religious centres of their respective countries.

As a result, Arab education spread rapidly throughont Spain. This is witnessed by the prodigious expansion of the written and spoken language, even among people with little or no Arab blood. To speak Arabic was a very desirable social accomplishment ; by the time that 'Abdurrahman entered Spain, Spanish Muslim converts like Khalid Ibn-Zayd were so well versed in the tongue that an old Bedouin like 'Ubayd-Ullah could be put to shame. In the middle of the next century, Bishop Alvaro of Cordoba was to complain that his flock would not speak the Romance tongue except grudgingly. Finally so many Christians spoke only Arabic that the Bible had to be translated into that language. It must be confessed on the other hand that many persons with Arab names reciprocated in the use of the Romance dialect too.

* * *

'ABDURRAHMAN'S responsibility for the development of letters in Spain started with his support of literary men who arrived as refugees from the Eastern empire. All Arabs are fond of poetry, and the highest nobles, contrary to the similar class in the states of medieval Europe, were eager to read and write. They vied with one another in the elegance of their style, choosing as their favourite forms the epic, epigramme, verse, epistles, and history.[17]

The most famous Spanish poet of the later eighth century was Abu-al-Makhshi. At one time, he composed some verses in praise of

'Abdurrahman's eldest son Suleyman but a fanatical partisan of the latter's half-brother Hisham blinded him. Then, like Milton, he composed a poem on blindness for which the Amir rewarded him with a thousand dinars, twice the legal amount for losing both eyes. Later when Hisham succeeded his father on the throne, he recompensed Abu-al-Makhshi in turn, since he held no grudge against the poet and felt sorry that he had indirectly been the cause of such a wrong.[18]

In the marketplace, the oriental storyteller was making his appearance, weaving story-patterns like the *Arabian Nights* or *Kalilah and Dimnah*. From them would develop the emboxed story which passed into the rest of Europe as the fables of Reynard and the tales of Boccaccio and Chaucer. Its popularity declined only when the printing press furnished a means of remembering a narrative without having to string it along on a mnemonic device such as the character of one personage. Although the picaresque novel continued this method, the modern novel has since developed into a more subtle art form.

'Abdurrahman himself was learned, accomplished, and very fond of poetry. This is shown by the following lines which are attributed to him; in them he reveals how the homesickness he felt for his birthplace was shared by a lone palm in his Rusafah gardens :

MEMORIES OF SYRIA

O palm, thou art a stranger in the West,
Far from thy Orient home, like me unblest.
Weep! But thou canst not. Dumb, dejected tree,
Thou art not made to sympathize with me.
Ah, thou wouldst weep, if thou hadst tears to pour,
For thy companions on Euphrates' shore;
But yonder tall groves thou rememberest not,
As I, in hating foes, have my old friends forgot.[19]

One can note in Spanish-Arab poetry like this a tender, romantic feeling towards nature and love. Nansen observes that "their literature reveals an intellectual refinement, which, with the dark Middle Ages of Europe as a background, has an almost dazzling effect."[20]

Women held a fairly high place in Arab Spain; many were schoolteachers and lawyers, and in one ward of Cordoba 170 were Quranic

copyists.[21] Thus they had a good chance to become elevated in the poetic mind. Sensitivity to the beauties of nature was to become most apparent in Ibn-Hazm and Ibn-Quzman two centuries later, when the development reached its peak in the *zajal* and the *muwashshah*.[22]

Some critics have tried to show how this was a forerunner of the troubadours and minnesingers, jumping clear across the Pyrenees to the rest of Europe. In *Aucassin and Nicolette* we discover how Aucassin's (*i.e.*, al-Qasim's) *yeux vairs* gave Nicolette the haunting feeling that another race had beautiful people whom she could love. *Floire and Blanchefleur* is another romance of this same cycle.

If one notices the extreme sensuality of Eastern poetry, the eclipse of Latin literature, and the barbarism of early Germanic verse, it becomes quite evident that some change occurred in poetry in medieval Spain. The peninsula had a long poetic tradition which began with Seneca and Martial, and both Arabic and Castilian are naturally poetic languages where it is almost impossible to avoid a rhyme. This development originated in the union of Arab elegance with Latin and Germanic form, a process we have observed at work in the field of music.[23]

NOTES

1. The following words show what contributions the Spanish Arabs made to our present sense of luxury: mohair (from *mukhayyah*), alcove (from *al-qubbah* meaning "dome"), mattress (from *matrah*), sofa (from *suffah* meaning "pad"), sherbet (from *sharbah* meaning a "drink").

2. There were few Visigothic churches in a romanesque style—cf. M. Pidal: *Hist. Espana*, pp. 459-608; Rivoira pp. 240 ff.; Contreras: *Del arte arabe*, p. 32; and Trend: *Spain*, pp. 26-28.

3. Cf. Calvert's beautiful plates for this.

4. "Checkmate" means "the shah is dead" in Persian; the Spanish word for cards "*naipes*" is the Ar. *na'ib* meaning "lieutenant, representative" from the root *nʒb* "supply, fill the place of." The name of chess comes to us via the Fr *cehecs* from the Sp. *al-jedrez*, the Ar. *aiksir* and

ultimately the Gk. *Xerion*. Playing cards made their way from Persia and China.

5. Ribera : *Music*, p. 99

6. The term is variously derived from either the Ar. *darabu* " to beat, strum " or *tarraba* " to sing " (root : *taraba* " Have an emotion "). The full problem is as yet unsettled.

7. de Boer, pp. 34 ff.

8. See Smith & Karpinski : *Hindu-Arabic numerals*.

9. It was also invented independently by the Mayas of Central America at an even earlier date

10. *In northern mists*, II. 195.

11. " Nadir " is the Ar. *nadir*, or " [place] whence one *sees* [the zenith] ; " zenith " is *samt* [*ar ra's*] or the place " above the head." Aldebaran is *ad-Dabaran* or " the Follower," since this star which is Taurus' eye follows the Pleiades in their nightly journey across the sky. Betelgeuse is a misreading of *Yad al-Jawza'* or " hand of Orion."

For the Arabic contributions to star names, one can consult Allen's *Star names and their meanings*, provided that his version of Arabic is not accepted literally. (*E.g.*, on p. 51, he leans over backword with the hyper-correction of " Al Sa'd al-Malik " for " Sadalmelik.")

12. Some Arabic pharmaceutical terms are : antimony—*al-ithmid* ; benzine—*liban Jawa* " incense of Java " (whence also benzoin) ; and alkali—*al-qali* " potash " Cf. Hopkins : *Alchemy, child of Greek philosophy*.

13. Cf. Max Meyerhof's article on the subject in the *Legacy of Islam*, pp. 311-55.

14. Cf. de Boer, p. 153. Consult Haskins (pp. 113 ff.) for the introduction of Arab science to Europe, especially to England.

15. Maq. gives the curriculum as : ethics, metaphysics, grammar and rhetoric, language, calligraphy, and memory work.

16. Cf. Ribera : *Ensenanza*, pp. 17-19.

17. Lee Altamira, I. 284.

18 b. Qut. gives the full text of his poem on blindness on pp. 35-36.

19. This is quoted in Nicholson's *Literary History*, p. 416. A Spanish version is to be found in the Espana-Calpe encyclopedia under the heading " Abderrahman," and was done by Fernandez Gonzalez. The Arabic is to be found n b. Abb. p. 34 (ed. Dozy) and Maq. II. 57. This poem is sometimes

attributed to his cousin 'Abd-al-Malik Ihn-'Umar, and shows much hatred of the 'Abbasids, which Nicholson eliminated. More verses attributed to 'Abdurrahman can be found in *Akh. M.* pp. 118-19 ; and b. Abb. loc. cit.

20. *In northern mists* II. 195. See also Garcia Gomez : *Poemas arabigo-andaluces.*

21. Cf. Sanchez Albornoz : *Espsna y el Islam*, especially pp. 108 ff.

22. M. Pidal : *Poesia arabe y poesia europea ;* and Nykl : *L'Influence arabe-andalouse sar les troubadoure.*

23. On pp. xvi-xvii of Hague's English version of Ribera's *Music* there occurs an excellent chronological table of much of the above information.

CHAPTER TWENTY

CULTURAL POSTSCRIPT

WHEN the seat of Islamic culture was to shift from Baghdad to Cordoba because of the advent of rather fanatical clericalists in the East and the relative freedom of Spanish society under the Umayyads and their immediate successors, the writings of Aristotle, which had been salvaged from the wreck of Hellenistic civilization, would accompany it, and with them there was to arrive a new and very modern spirit. This in many ways was the real fountainhead of the European renaissance.

The Arabs' greatness lay in their ability to assimilate the best intellectual features of whatever peoples they met. They seized the mathematical and medical knowledge of ancient Greece which the Romans had overlooked or scorned and which the Christians had rejected almost completely, and patiently set to work to adapt this heritage to their own life. From India they imported those essentials to modern thought, the "Arabic" numerals and algebra, without which modern man would never have been able to improve upon the Greeks. From as far afield as China they gathered industrial processes such as silk culture and paper making and transplanted them to Europe. In Spain itself, they assimilated and improved upon the ruins of Roman and Visigothic civilization, especially in architecture and poetry.

Finally by the tenth century, the Arabs in Spain had been able to develop an outlook in which science had ceased to be mere lore and was applied to the arts and crafts of everyday life. Here in the midst of the European middle ages we find one European people who typify the scientific attitude and industrial life for which we pride ourselves today.

Unlike the Greeks, they did not disdain laboratory research and patient experimentation ; and in medicine, mechanics, and the arts, they seem as if by instinct to have bent science to the immediate service of humanity instead of preserving it as a strange museum

piece. Thus while the Carolingian revival of learning has received more acclaim, the less celebrated Spanish Umayyad continuance of learning was more lasting in its effects, both upon Europe and upon Asia.

It was from the Spanish Arabs and their pupils like Roger Bacon, Michael Scott, William Ockham and Peter Abelard, that Europe received the spirit which has enabled man to dominate the world and utilize it to his own ends. It is worthwhile to point out that those thinkers were not exclusively Muslim; many Jews were included among their number, especially in the medical profession. For some reason, the Spanish Christian did not figure so prominently.[1] And most remarkable of all, these investigators communicated to Europe that intellectual curiosity and restlessness which is so characteristic of the free mind of today.

* * *

FOR although the Arabs were deeply indebted to Aristotle and to Aristotelian view of the universe, they were also impregnated with neo-Platonism, which they had picked up from the Nestorian Christians. Plato is full of Pythagorean theory, especially a fascination for the mystical power of numbers, so that although to them Aristotle was "the Philosopher," the Arabs managed to give his doctrines a platonic tinge that would have disconcerted the Stagyrite.

It is also well to remember that this philosophical stirring was commencing in Baghdad under 'Abdurrahman's arch foes Mansur and Mahdi. For the latter, despite their anti-Umayyad politics, were enlightened despots and inclined to the Mu'tazilites or Free-Thinkers of their day. Not only Greek philosophy was being translated into Arabic, under their auspices, but also much Hindu. It was at this period that Ibn-al-Muqaffa' rendered the enlarged *Panchatantra* that passes in the Arab world under the title of *Kalilah wa-Dimnah* and in the West as *Bidpai's Fables*.

These various works were soon current in Spain, and in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Bishop Raymond of Toledo and Alfonso the Wise would patronize their translation into Castilian. *Calila e Digna* was in fact one of the first prose monuments in that rising Romance tongue. We should also remember all the numerous and often unknown editors, commentators, and translators who

worked not only into the Arabic and Spanish, but also from the Greek, Syriac, Sanskrit. and Pahlavi, and into Hebrew and Latin. It was these medieval research workers who provided pre-Renaissance Europe with much of its fare for thought.

Thus when the first truly modern universities would grow up in the rest of Europe, even though they might not be aware of their intellectual heritage, it is nonetheless certain that they had their forerunners in the Nizamiyyah university and the Bayt-al-Hikmah of Baghdad and in the Academy of Cordoba. Hispano-Arabic medicine and philosophy would pass through the French schools at Montpellier, Narbonne and Perpignan, as well as directly by way of those scholars who did their graduate work in Cordoba and Toledo. These transmitters were not all Frenchmen or Spaniards, but counted German, Jews, Scots and Englishmen as well amongst them.

The new universities would thus break up the medieval "whole view" of the little world of western Europe which had really maintained European man's mind in a dogmatic straitjacket, and release his pent-up energies and longings for a rebirth of humanistic culture.

* * *

I AM not making a brief that all this development was due to 'Abdurrahman I; yet if he had not established a stable government in Spain during the eighth century, it would have been an impossible achievement. It seems to have been providential that the Falcon Prince should have stabilized Spain's government so that the most westerly country of Europe should become a receptacle for those values which the Europe of his day had either forgotten or despised.

NOTES

1. Cf. Haskins (pp. 113 ff.); Hitti; and Draper: *Intellectual Development*, for the introduction of Arab science to Europe. Also Singer (loc. cit.) for the atmosphere of Toledo at the height of its intellectual glory.

Chapter Twenty-one

FINAL CAMPAIGNS

A COUPLE of years after Charlemagne's rout in the north, Husayn Ibn-Yahya, who was still governor of Zaragoza, had Suleyman, the former prefect of Barcelona, assassinated in order to ingratiate himself with 'Abdurrahman. Husayn had managad to convince the Umayyad that he was on his side, while Suleyman's family remained under suspicion. I imagine that this was a Vichy type of complication in the ranks of the would-be traitors, and that the family of Suleyman lost out against the intrigues of the Darlan Husayn.

Suleyman had been liberated by his sons at Roncesvalles, we remember; and had since made his peace with the Amir and settled down in Zaragoza.[1] *Akhbar Majmu'a*[2] relates that Suleyman's son 'Ayshun had gone to Narbonne subsequently but returned now to Zaragoza to avenge his father's death. Reinaud[3] likewise says that out of the Roncesvalles campaign, many Spanish Christians and even renegade Muslims had settled down around Narbonne. 'Ayshun was evidently one of them, and may thereby account for one of the renegade characters in the *Chanson*.

'Abdurrahman was in or near Zaragoza at this time, because he ordered 'Ayshun taken prisoner as a renegade and troublemaker. 'Ayshun then tried to stab the Amir, and failing in this, he killed a slave instead. For this act of violence, he was executed.

* * *

YET forgetting how generously he had been treated by 'Abdurrahman after his treason, Husayn proclaimed himself 'Abbasid Amir of Spain the following year, under the suzerainty of the caliph of Baghdad.[4] It is not clear what part the 'Abbasid emperor Mahdi was playing in this episode, but he was evidently creating fresh trouble. He was also passing over his former appointee Charles to seek one in Spain itself.

This move determined the Amir to show no further patience but to finish off the whole movement for good and all. 'Abdurrahman was so incensed at those manoeuvres that he exploded in wrath at the rebels who never seemed to learn:

"Spare me your silly excuses," he told them when he once more had them in his power and they began to wheedle, "while you are not following your duty. Learn to obey and act like other people; stop being so disobedient and rebellious. You can see what happened to others like you! God is never unjust to those who worship Him."

His first move was to send his lieutenant Ghalib at the head of a large force to invest Zaragoza. Then he himself marched against the rebellious city with a large army reinforced with thirtysix engines of war, and attacked it repeatedly. Resistance was strong, and 'Abdur-rahman found he had to leave Ghalib besieging the city and return to Cordoba to attend to affairs of state.

* * *

THE principal reason for the monarch's return to the south was to check more unrest which was threatening in that quarter. One of these attempted revolts is interesting because of the despatch with which it was put down:

Husayn Ibn-'Abd-al-'Aziz ar-Rumahis the Kinanite had been a captain in the bodyguard of the last Umayyad caliph, Marwan II. In 779 he revolted in Algeciras, of which city he was prefect.[5] This outbreak threatened to embroil the south of Spain and cut 'Abdur-rahman's communications with Africa, especially since it occurred amongst his own clients. Therefore the Amir resolved upon prompt action.

The revolt broke out on a Monday; by Friday 'Abdurrahman had been informed of the situation; on Saturday he set out to quell it; and on Wednesday Rumahis was surprised by the arrival of the Amir in person. He had never dreamed that justice would catch up with him so promptly, and when the alarm sounded, he was enjoying his bath in a leisurely fashion.

Arabs have the custom of removing their excess bodyhair,[6] and Rumahis was covered with a depilatory which he suddenly had to scrape off. Then he jumped into the water for a rinse, wrapped a wet blanket around himself, and beat a hasty retreat to the docks. There he embarked upon a small ship[7] and escaped to Africa, from where he made his way to the East and took refuge at the 'Abbasid court.

'Abdurrahman found that all the loyal Umayyads of Algeciras were locked up in Rumahis' jail. This incident would show that 'Abbasid intrigue was still active all over Spain, although it must have been very undercover.

* * *

AFTER the Algeciras affairs, 'Abdurrahman returned to Cordoba, where he awaited the news from Ghalib that the northeastern rebels were in a mood to surrender. The siege had dragged on for two years, and the city finally had to be stormed with the war engines.

When the offer of surrender finally came through, the monarch hastened northward and entered the city in person. Ibn-'Idhari says that the storming was a hideous victory, for the Amir was now ruthless after sparing the city punishment in its previous revolt. Husayn and one of his accomplices named Rizq were executed and their heads impaled as a warning. Suleyman's other son Matruth is said to have fled to Narbonne either at this time or previously.

During the surrender ceremony, one of the Umayyad's courtiers presumed to congratulate him. Since the man had not taken part in the siege, 'Abdurrahman bade him show more respect for those who had had to endure the privations of the campaign. Then the Amir took pains to congratulate publicly one of his cavalrymen who had distinguished himself by dismounting to engage the enemy on foot.

"Most men cannot dismount to fight," the prince exclaimed, "but we do. The real warrior fights on foot!"[9]

The man was named al-Qa'qa' Ibn-Zunayn, and he came from Regio, the district around Archidona and Malaga. 'Abdurrahman gave him a thousand dinars as a reward, and Qa'qa' rose so in favour with his sovereign that he eventually became prefect of Malaga. Later on he showed ingratitude by rebelling; but 'Abdurrahman remembered his bravery at Zaragoza, and though he disposed him from the governorship, Qa'qa' remained a judge in the public service.

The Zaragozans were expelled from their city for a time, but then they were allowed to return. 'Ali Ibn-Hamzah was appointed the new provincial governor.

Then 'Abdurrahman made a tour of inspection throughout all of the recently ravaged northeastern Frontier. He visited Calahorra,

Pamplona, Gerona, Barcelona, Tortosa, and possibly Viguera. This was in the year 780 or 781. After this survey, the Amir returned to rest in his Rusafah gardens.

* * *

WITHIN the year, the Fihrites revolted again, this time right in Andalusia. Muhammad Abu-al-Aswad, Yusuf's younest son, had been imprisoned ever since his father's revolt in 763 in one of the towers of Cordoba. Now he sought revenge. *Akhbar Majmu'a* says that Abu-al-Aswad was twentyseven years old when he escaped, in 785 according to Saavedra and Ibn-'Idhari,[10] but in 781 according to other sources.

Abu-al-Aswad managed to escape by pretending to be blind and thereby eluding his guards one day while out swimming. He proceeded northward to Toledo, where he gathered together a band of followers from amongst his fellow Fihrites and also some Yamanites. Then he marched southward again towards Jaen, in the Guadalquivir valley above Cordoba.[11]

We are told that Abu-al-Aswad was an affable person, and soon commanded six thousand man who were well equipped to fight. These included his brother Qasim and 'Abd-al-Ghafir's famous aide Hafila. The combined forces proceeded to engage in Guerrilla warfare in those same mountains which the Berbers had infested during their revolt several years before.

'Abdurrahman marched at the head of his cavalry against them; but he was able to defeat them only on the banks of the Guadalimar northeast of Jaen on September 24 of the year 784.[12] In this battle he slew four thousand men. Suleyman who had been appointed prefect of Jaen, helped his father during this campaign.

Following the Battle of the Guadalimar, Abu-al-Aswad fled via the pass of Calatrava to Coria, which lies north of the Tagus and west of Toledo. 'Abdurrahman's horsemen dispersed his followers and burned his dwelling, tracking the Fihrite to earth like a wild beast. Two years later the former handsome youth was reduced to living in the woods like an animal, and was last seen squalid and naked, begging for the odd amenities from passersby.

Tradition seems to be agreed upon his sad end, for even his enemies conceded that he was very attractive and much to be pitied for

his misfortunes. it is not quite certain what fate finally overtook him, but there is a story that he died in Requena to the north of the Tagus in the province of Toledo in 786, as Ibn-al-Abbar puts it, " like a hungry wolf."[13]

The same author says that his brother Qasim was left in the field, and that after 'Abdurrahman tracked him down, he submitted and was taken to Cordoba, where he was treated well. Ibn-al-Athir[14] claims however that Qasim, though he outlived his brother, was finally killed on the warpath.

After this campaign, 'Abdurrahman toured the province of Merida and the district which is now Portugal. Conde also says, although he does not quote any source, that 'Abdurrahman passed through Santarem, Lisbon, Oporto, and other towns where he left instructions for the building of mosques and schools and designated the revenues which were to be set aside for the purpose.[15] Next, the Amir undertook a survey of the Christian frontier, including the cities of Astorga, Zamora and Avila. Finally he reached Toledo, where his son 'Abdullah was waiting to receive him.

It was during these distractions that 'Abdurrabman lost Gerona on the French frontier to the Franks. The exact date is 785.[16]

* * *

AS AN example of the prince's tolerance even of the 'Abbasids, some sources record that it was only in 786, a couple of years before his death, that he stopped the invocation for the caliph from the *khutbah* of the Friday public prayer.[17] He likewise started building the Great Mosque in that same year, spending several hours a day supervising the construction. His son Hisham completed the work ten years after his father's death.

Another remarkable feature of 'Abdurrahman's reign was how little trouble he had with the Christians, either internally or on the Asturian border.

Pelayo had died in 737, and his successor, Alfonso I the Duke of Cantabria, died in 756, the year the Intruder had come to Spain. During most of the Amir's reign, Alfonso's son Fruela I was busy consolidating his duchy. He established himself in Leon, Oporto, Salamanca, Segovia and Zamora, although he paid tribute to 'Abdur-

rahman for some of these lands. At this time, the Arabs called Castile either by the transcription "Kastiala" or by the direct translation *al-Qala'* ("the castles"). As we have mentioned immediately above, 'Abdurrahman visited Astorga, Zamora, Avila and Oporto himself.

Fruela was succeeded by his son Alfonso, but a cousin named Aureleo replaced the latter soon afterwards in 774. Then Silus, Alfonso I's son-in-law, ruled until 783 as the consort of his queen Adisonda. At that time, a bastard of Alfonso I called Mauregato was installed on the throne, and he is supposed to have gained this position with 'Abdurrahman's support.

* * *

CONDE here has the prince undertake a third tour, this time to Tadmir where he dealt with some more Fihrites. All these uprisings, whether on the part of the Berbers, the Arab nobles, or the peoples on his frontiers, had kept 'Abdurrahman busy throughout most of his reign. Yet finally, to quote Buckler,[18] after a quarter of a century's struggle, 'Abdu'l-Rahman completed his conquest of Spain, except Asturias and Galicia."

NOTES

1. b. Qut. p. 32 says the one assessinated was Suleyman's son Mutarraf or Matruh.

2. p. 114.

3. pp. 87-98.

4. Perhaps this has some further bearing upon Baligant's landing at the mouth of the Ebro in the Roland story. Cf. also the Slav's previous landing at Tortosa in 776.

5. The Arabic term here is *imam*.

6. This is one reason they called 'Abdurrahman Ibn-Habib the "Slav:" because he did not have to shave his bodyhair.

7. b. Idh. II. 58 gives it as a roawboat "qarib."

3. II. 59.

9. *Akh. M.*, p. 119.

10. II. 59 again. I think this confirms that he could have had no connection with the invasion of Charlemagne. See Chapter XVI, Note 5.

11. Cf. b. Abb. pp. 56-57 ; and Codera : *Primer sigol*, p. 65.

12. b. Abb. p. 57.

13. idem.

14. VI. 52.

15. I. 209.

16. Cf. Bellesteros II. 17.

17. I consider however he did this as early as 773, after all the nuisance of Ibn-Mughith's invasion. See p. 71.

18. p. 14.

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

THE AMIR'S LAST YEARS AND DEATH

CLEAR to the end of his reign, 'Abdurrahman was on the move.

His secret service had decided, as with a modern head of state, that he should not risk himself too much in public, and although he felt it his duty to attend funerals, for instance, he delegated this obligation to his pious son Hisham. When he appeared on state occasions, he was accompanied by a guard of one hundred horsemen, and his very dependence upon this escort may have caused him to admire Hisham all the more, for his son carried on the traditions of his father's younger days by freely roaming the streets of Cordoba amongst all classes of the citizenry.

However, the aging 'Abdurrahman could console himself with the thought of the great city he had built up, and the long period he had been able to maintain himself in power. He had achieved firm control of his army, and had less need to rely upon his volatile nobles. By this time his force of forty thousand Berbers had been increased to one hundred thousand.

By his largesse he likewise had won to his side the great heterogeneous mixture which composed his people. His usual gifts consisted of money, clothes, and other articles. Nevertheless, 'Abdurrahman remained especially fond of his own countrymen, the Syrians; he was ever ready to welcome anyone who, like himself, had been forced by the 'Abbasid terror to take refuge in Spain.

Although his life may have appeared more sheltered, the royal palace was always open to his subjects, and the Amir received complaints and dispensed justice in person. If he were at dinner, his guest was invited to sit down with him at table. His imposing bearing enabled the prince to inspire instant respect upon all comers. He was alert in conversation, poetic in his speech, polite in dealing with people, deferential to good manners, attentive to advice, and firm once he had reached a decision.

Once while the prince was passing a mule laden with a cap rebel, he tapped the animal on the head and remarked :

"O mule, what a load of treachery and rebellion you carrying ! "

The seditious officer replied : "O horse, how you are with mercy and pardon ! " ; and he thereby won his reprieve.

Yet 'Abdurraham could be stern upon occasion. When he f out that his old supporter 'Ubayd-Ullah had been implicated i 773 uprising, but had no certain proof of his guilt, he merely dro his friendship ; but after ignoring him completely for some whil restored 'Ubayd-Ullah to favour in view of his past services. occurred despite the fact that the old Arab had induced not onl own nephew to revolt in Elvira, but also incited one of 'Abdur man's nephews to lay claim to the throne.

That same year even Badr had become importunate and banished to a frontier town. Badr lived in Elvira according to al-Khatib, and may have been mixed up in the revolt just mentio but the cause of his disgrace is not very clear. However, by 77 was recalled after frequent protestations of humility and repent

" I followed you across the sea and the desert," he plea " and won you a kingdom ; but yet the 'Abbasids could not trea any worse than you have done !"[1]

* * *

We wonder how much the old monarch had changed in phy appearance from his fresh complexion and slender lithe bod youth. Age had not stoutened his body ; in fact, his figure ha tained its wiriness because of his countless tours of inspection endless campaigning. But now he was much surer of his movem and had acquired that poise which comes with the absolute pow life and death which is still not wielded ruthlessly.

'Abdurrahman had grown a moustache and also a scenty b but he had lost one of his eyes in an unnamed battle. Stra enough, although he was extremely fond of flowers, he was defi as to sense of smell. He always wore white, including his tu (which marked him as an upper-class Arab), for white was the co of the Sunnite Umayyads as opposed to the black of the Sh

'Abbasids. Moreover, never having been to Mecca, he could not use the Hajji green.

His palace lay southwest of the city by the river, where the bishop's palace and prison of modern Cordoba now stand. His harem was under the control of a Negress who had been born in Medina. We know the name of only one wife, Hisham's mother Hulal. Although she was originally a slavegirl, she is mentioned as 'Abdurrahman's consort. Some people complained that Hulal was responsible for 'Abdurrahman's choice of her son as his heir.

* * *

ABOUT the time of 'Abd-al-Ghafir's revolt in the previous decade, 'Abdurrahman had started to prefer his first Spanish son, Hisham, to Suleyman, his firstborn of all, as his heir. Once he asked the two boys if they could spot some verses : Hisham answered immediately, and gave their context and meaning ; whereas Suleyman told some friends afterwards that all he needed to do in order to curry favour with his father was to learn some poetry. This flippancy did not make him look any more serious in his father's eyes.

Besides being pious and scholarly, Hisham was interested in people and became a keen observer of them. When Suleyman was made prefect of Jaen, Hisham uncovered some questionable dealings of his brother and reported them to his father, not because he was jealous of his brother, or a tattler, but because he felt his father should have knowledge of the feelings of certain disaffected tribesmen. Hisham also developed the faculty of controlling the more volatile and fanatical elements of the population, who, once the nobles' fronde was overcome, threatened to become the next source of national dissension.

Hisham could be chosen as heir because the law of primogeniture does not prevail among the Arabs as it did not among the Visigoths ; and the Amir had decided that his two elder sons were not as fitted to rule. He made his choice after observing the company his sons kept and what visitors they received. He finally remarked :

"Hisham meets with wise men, whereas Suleyman and 'Abdullah rejoice in the company of fools."[2]

Nevertheless, his second son 'Abdullah was rewarded with the

governorship of the province of Cordoba, while his eldest received Toledo.

'Abdurrahman's sons were faithful during his lifetime, but some other members of his family whom he had rescued from exile conspired against him. These included his nephew Mughira, whom he had to execute in 784 for revolting with Hudhayl, Sumayl's son. This incident bro' e 'Abdurrahman's heart, for he felt that he must banish his own brother Walid, who had the misfortune to be Mughira's father, to Africa as a measure of public safety. The Amir was very fond of this brother, and in his tearful farewell he was led to observe :

" When at the risk of my life, I aimed at the throne, I thought as much about my kinsfolk as of myself! After the All-Powerful granted me Spain, His greatest favour was to let me have my family near me !"[3]

Then the prince remembered the Quranic verses : " You cannot guide those you love."[4]

Walid was allowed to go into exile accompanied by the rest of his family, but it is said that 'Abdurrahman felt so disheartened by the episode that he abandoned the Rusafah gardens to live again in his old palace in Cordoba. Then it was that the Umayyad prince started to devote most of his time to superintending the work on the Great Mosque.

* * *

IN THE year 787, 'Abdurrahman solemnly proclaimed Hisham as *wali al-huda* or his lieutenant-in-command before a gathering of the notables of the realm. This meeting was attended by the governors of the six provinces, including his elder sons Suleyman and 'Abdullah. The young heir's name was then joined to that of his father's at the Friday invocation.

There is a tradition that the two heads of the realm now went upon a tour of inspection of the province of Merida, which was Hisham's province. Some even claim that 'Abdurrahman died in that city. However, Ibn-al-Athir and Ibn-'Idhari both state that the aged prince passed away peaceably in Cordoba on Rabi' II the 24th, 171, or on September 30, 788.

His son, 'Abdullah the " Valencian," pronounced the funeral

oration over his body in the absence of the heir apparent, who was still acting as governor of Merida. Hisham was proclaimed Amir of Spain in the latter city, and he proceeded to Cordoba to take up his new duties. He reached the post in six days' time.[5]

If 'Abdurrahman were born in 731, he was thus fiftynine years old at the time of his death. He had reigned over Spain for thirty-two years, or for thirtythree years and three months according to Islamic chronology. He left behind him eleven sons and nine daughters.[6]

It is said that the great Amir was buried in the gardens of his beloved palace in Cordoba, although now no one is quite certain where lie his bones.[7]

NOTES

1. Maq. II. 29.
2. op. cit. I. 216. I have added 'Abdullah's name to the quotation.
3. idem, II. 32.
4. Sura XXVIII, verse 56.
5. b. Ath. VI. 78.
6. Besides his heir Hisham and the two elder sons Suleyman and 'Abdullah, 'Abdurrahman had eight more sons: Mu'awiyah, Muhammad, Umayyah, Muslamah, Sa'id, al-Khayr, Ayub and al- Mundhir. Of his daughters, the name of only one comes down to us: 'A'isha.
7. *Esp. Sag.* X. 244 [Jimenez de Rada: *Historia Arabum*. Chapter XVIII].

CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

'ABDURRAHMAN'S POSTERITY

'ABDURRAHMAN left a dynasty that ruled Spain for two hundred and fifty years, at which time a medieval Mussolini usurped the sovereign power for his own ends. Such a record is no mean feat in any monarchy, and especially in an age when a stable dynasty was the supreme test of statehood.

His first successor was his son Hisham I, who was known in medieval European chronicles as "Yssem," and to his own people as the *Radi* or Pleasing.[1] Hisham had been born early in the year 757, and his reign lasted from 787 until 796. He had married his cousin "Kathra," the daughter of his father's loyal governor of Seville, 'Abd-al-Malik Ibn-'Umar, and thus may have been Marsile's son-in-law.

As a sovereign, Hisham proved just, mild, and generous. He was popular, and had the custom of going around the streets unguarded, making the people's cares his own.

In the beginning of his reign, Hisham acted with vigour and despatch. His first problem was to put down a rebellion by Suleyman and 'Abdullah, his two elder brothers, who were governors of the provinces of Cordoba and Toledo. He showed his father's magnanimity when he pardoned them both for this first offence.[2]

During his reign, Yahya Ibn-Yahya, a Malikite Berber who was to die in 849, started a clerical movement such as has often plagued Spain. The Spanish Muslim converts were very fanatical, and under Yahya's influence they joined hands with the Berbers, for both sides of the Straits of Gibraltar seem to have an intense religious streak. Hisham, who was of a religious temperament himself, favoured this group, so that it gathered strength under him and had an important effect upon his son's reign.

Another political problem was how to deal with Matruh, the son of Suleyman al-A'rabi, who had once more aroused Aragon and Catalonia. The monarch took to the field in person, captured Zaragoza, Gerona and Barcelona, and killed Matruh. He even sent a punitive

expedition into southern France to teach Charlemagne, who was once more menacing the Spanish frontier, to leave him alone.

This expedition occurred in the year 793, and the booty gained on it was applied to the national treasury and on public works such as the completion of the Great Mosque. Seeliger in the *Cambridge Medieval History* says that he also made an alliance with the Saxons and Avars on Charlemagne's eastern frontier. Hisham likewise undertook several campaigns into Galicia. Many provincial cities were embellished with new buildings.

* * *

HISHAM'S son Hakam I ruled next from 796 till 822. His uncles Suleyman and 'Abdullah rose up again to dispute the kingdom with him, but the former had to flee to Tangiers, while the latter settled down in Toledo or Valencia.

In the second year of his reign, the governor of Barcelona entered into relations with Charlemagne once more. According to Reinaud, even 'Abdullah and Alfonso of Asturias joined him in revolt.[3] In this campaign, Charlemagne's son Louis besieged Huesca. 'Abdullah went to Aix at this time, and is said to have accompanied Louis to Huesca.[4]

Hakam was a good sport and a high liver. He fell out with the *faqihs* or religious jurists dominated by Yahya, who insisted upon Church and State being identified. When they found out that Yahya's ideas had no influence upon their sovereign, his followers instigated an uprising of the Rabad suburb of Cordoba during the fast of Ramadan in the year 814. Hakam acted with despatch and exiled the rebels, who were mostly Spanish converts to Islam. Strangely, these European exiles reached Egypt, from where they effected the conquest of the island of Crete for Islam.

Hakam likewise effected the famous Massacre of the Ditch in Toledo to finish off the seditious nobility of that province. This smacks of the Banquet of Jaffa, although through their treachery Charlemagne had finally been enabled to take Barcelona in the year 801 or 802 and thus establish the Catalan March within Spain itself. Even Tortosa was taken by the Franks in 811, but the next year Hakam made a fresh treaty of alliance with the French emperor, and re-established order in the northeast.[5]

We thus observe that Hakam was energetic and even ruthless when necessary. However, like his grandfather, he knew when and where to stay his hand ; in the Rabad uprising he slew the insurgents but spared the *faqih* ringleaders, whom he felt had been sufficiently intimidated by losing their following. He did not want to antagonize them further, for, like all rulers, he was wary of having too hostile a clergy.

During his reign, the same six cities and perhaps Seville retained the rank of provincial capitals, while there were eight other cities of lesser standing, three hundred towns, and countless villages in Umayyad Spain.

* * *

THE next monarch was the Intruder's namesake, 'Abdurrahman II. He reigned from 822 until 852, and his rule is known as the "Period of the Four Favourites." These were : Tarub, his consort ; the *faqih* or cleric, Yahya Ibn-Yahya ; a eunuch named Nasr, who was his prime minister ; and Ziryab, a singer who had arrived from Baghdad and become a sort of Beau Brummel.

Ziryab introduced many Eastern comforts into Spain, and invented, among other things, a fifth string to the lyre. He was also a writer of sorts and became 'Abdurrahman's *chef de protocol*. He was an epicurean who still had sense enough not to offend anybody high or low, polished or rough.[6] He was a culinary expert who introduced many new dishes, started the use of crystal tableware, and even changed the style in Spanish coiffures.

During this reign, the Malikites became the dominant sect and the clerics regained the ascendent. Musa II of the Visigothic Banu-Qazi, held Zaragoza, Huesca and Tudela as an autonomous kingdom. 'Abdurrahman II was neither superstitious like his grandfather Hisham, affable like his father, nor energetic like his great-grandfather. He loved luxury, and beautified Cordoba with this end in view.

During the latter part of his reign, the Normans made many raids upon the Atlantic and Mediterranean coasts of Spain, including what is now Portugal. The most important of these raids occurred in the year 844. Most of them were concentrated on the Atlantic, going up the Tagus by Lisbon, or the Guadalquivir by Seville. Since the raiders did not resemble the European or Asiatic Christians whom the Arabs

already knew, and as they were probably still pagans, they were called *Majus* or Magians, which is the Arabic term applid to the fire-worshippers of Persia. Their raids were so serious that Bernard I of Castile joined forces with the Arabs in order to repel them.

'Abdurrahman II was also troubled by civil disturbances, but he was able to dispel them. The Emperor Theophilus of Constantinople likewise sought an alliance with him against the 'Abbasids.[7] In fact, cooperation between the Muslims and Christians was now so cordial that Bishop Alvaro of Cordoba complained that his flock preferred Arab to Latin poetry, and were taking Arabic literature as their model of elegance.

Yet this was the period of Flora and Eulogius, the Cordoban "martyrs." These fanatic Christians publicly reviled Muhammad in order to seek capital punishment for blasphemy against Islam. They thought they would stem the popularity of Arabic culture in this way and thus deliberately broke the gentlemen's truce of mutual tolerance. Their actions were condemned by the episcopal council which met in Seville to consider the situation which had been created.

As for Abdurrahman's material contributions to Spanish civilization, he paved the streets of Cordoba, the first instance of a modern European city with this improvement, and enlarged and repaired the waterworks for the still growing metropolis. The Great Mosque was enlarged by adding eleven naves to the south and seven transepts, plus a second Mihrab. The columns were also gilded, the masonry thoroughly overhauled, and the doors and walls redecorated.

* * *

MUHAMMAD II who followed 'Abdurrahman II from 852 till 886 was a poor sovereign dispute his long reign. He was quite anti-Christian, and thus made a contrast to the tolerance of his ancestors. Eulogius had become metropolitan of Toledo, and their personalities clashed. Towards the end of his reign, 'Umar Ibn-Hafsun, a Visigothic count who lived in Bobastro near Ronda, almost cost Muhammad his throne.[8]

Cordoba was damaged by an earthquake and a period of decadence set in which was only stopped by the third monarch with

the name of 'Abdurrahman. Superstitious people attributed t decline to the lose of the founder's white banner.[9]

* * *

THE greatest descendent of the Newcomer was his third namesa 'Abdurrahman the "Magnificent," who reigned from 919 till 9 His sobriquet of al-Nasir was well-earned, for his annual revenu amounted to over $ 25,000,000, an income which he could nev have collected from a purely agricultural country. For instanc because of his well-organized economy, he was able to build a ne aqueduct in the short period of fourteen months.

In the year 929, he proclaimed himself Caliph and Command of the Faithful. The Fatimids of Tunis had already assumed th caliphal honour in 909, and 'Abdurrahman felt that he had mo legitimacy to the title.

In his tolerance, 'Abdurrahman III was more like an enlightene despot of the eighteenth century of modern Europe than an orient ruler. He welded Spain into a single nation capable of splend achievement, and thus fulfilled his great ancestor's vision. Tent century Spain was a literate nation, as contrasted with the rest Europe. This was when the Arab race finally fused with the nati and intermarriage was commonplace. This caliph's own mothe was a Christian noblewoman by the name of Mary and descende from the great Princess Sara.

His successor Hakam II (961-976) was a typical scholar princ Hakam founded a great library of four hundred thousand volume and also subsidized the Academy of Cordoba, to whom men so famou as Peter Abelard and Michael Scott came for graduate study.

* * *

MUHAMMAD IBN-ABI-AMIR, who is better known by his nick name of Mansur, headed the government from 976 until 100 Through a programme of unscrupulous ambition, he finished o Umayyad leadership in Spain. Mansur was a medieval dictato parasitic upon the monarchy in much the same fashion as Mussoli clung to the House of Savoy. Although he undertook many militar campaigns, they were hollow victories because he left the successio problematic by keeping the caliph a spoiled cretin in his palace.

As a brighter token, this was the time when the poet Ibn-Hazm

flourished (994-1064). Ibn-Hazm was a Spanish Muslim of European stock. He is best known in Arabic literature for his prose work, the *Book on Religions and Sects*, while his *Dove's Necklace* is the famous and lovely forerunner of the woman-centred poetry of the minnesingers.

Hisham II (976-1009) was the imbecile caliph who had been used to further Mansur's ends. When the latter died in 1002, it was soon apparent that Hisham was incapable of governing. The Spanish Umayyad line was finished.

And so in the year 1031, after a series of public misfortunes, Cordoba was proclaimed a republic by its Senate, which had had to assume the powers of government. The caliphate was abolished, just as three decades ago the Turkish parliament declared a republic and abolished the Ottoman Caliphate.

Yet if the empire founded by 'Abdurrahman I had survived for more than two centuries and a half after his death, it was due in no small measure to the daring and vision of that exiled prince who came from Syria. He it was who laid the foundations for the unheard-of prosperity and culture of Islamic Spain.

NOTES

1. His full name was Hisham Abu-al-Walid Ibn-'Abdurrahman.

2. 'Abdullah settled down later in Valencia, and was hence called the "Valencian." Although I lack proof, I am of the opinion that 'Abdullah was born during his father's travels in Berbery; this would explain how he was the second son and not mentioned in Syria. He is supposed to have visited Charlemagne at Aix towards the end of the century. See b. Abb. p. 59.

3 *Invasions* p. 109. Since both events occurred in Charlemagne's long reign, this is probably how the Carpio legend got mixed up with the Roland story.

4. Buckler, pp. 18-20.

5. These incidents can be followed in Buckler, pp. 23 & 38-40.

6. Cf. Ribera : *Music*, Chapter IX.

7. Al-Mu'tasim, the eighth of the line, ruled in Baghdad from 833 till 842.

8. Cf. Nicholson, p. 410.

9. See Chapter II, Note 6.

Chapter Twenty-four

FALCON OF THE QURAYSH

WHENEVER a revolution occurs in society, it is necessary for someone to use a firm hand to stabilize the consequent unrest. The test of whether the hand is that of a tyrant or a statesman lies in whether his methods of establishing order are wanton and sadistic, or creative and comprehensive; and whether the political structure he builds up endures with a minimum of social cleavage.

'Abdurrahman's school had been that of adversity, and in it he received a degree in moderation. In triumph he was magnanimous, merciful and tolerant; although when the occasion warranted, he knew how to be severe and even harsh. Yet his punishments never passed the bounds of decency or came close to sadism. His policy was to attract the discontented to his person by appointing them to office whenever they showed the least sign of reconciliation.

"It is certain that this prince, forced to conquer his kingdom and obliged to resist continually renewed attacks, could not always respect his subjects' fortunes and lives; but he was naturally gentle, a friend of arts and letters, and it is due to his great qualities that one must credit the rise of Moorish civilization in Spain."[1]

In private affairs, 'Abdurrahman was very kind. His family life has been described in a previous chapter. He was also a sportsman and fond of hunting, especially in his younger days. As we have seen in the chapter on culture, he was eloquent and somewhat of a poet himself.

He also had a great flare for the dramatic, as witnessed by his prompt action in case of peril. It was a useful faculty in those days when news travelled by word of mouth. Perhaps his most dramatic gesture was his manner of informing Mansur of the failure of the 'Abbasid invasion of Spain, by having its leaders' heads rolled on to the carpet at the caliph's own feet.

When we read of the clemency and justness of the Spanish prince, we realize it all the more when we compare him with the

'Abbasid cutthroats from whom he had fled in the East, or with the barbarous penalties inflicted by that renowned restorer of European culture, Charles the Great. In a contemporary account we read that the latter monarch, after quelling a conspiracy, had "the plotters . . . some of them blinded and some of them maimed, and all subsequently transported into exile."[2] This is offered as a small sample of contemporary manners, and more and worse could be cited.

'Abdurrahman shared none of this lust for blood. The Spanish prince had learned his lesson in humanity when he escaped from the Blood-Shedder, and it was brought home to him every time he remembered the horrible fate that had overtaken most of his family in Syria.

This memory developed a stoic quality in his nature. In 778, while he was attending the funeral of Habib Ibn-'Abd-al-Malik, who had been governor of Toledo, he noticed that his son Hisham was rather depressed at the ceremony, following his religious turn of mind. So 'Abdusrahman said :

> "It is not right to be overcome by sadness, Hisham. Rise up and go with me to accompany the mortal remains of one of the best of our race!"

'Abdurrahman was also modest, and contented himself with the simple title of "Descendent of the Caliphs"[3] rather than the more pretentious *Amir al-Mu'minin* or "Commander of the Faithful." Yet it is probable that the Spanish Umayyad hoped to reconquer the East one day and thus become caliph in his own right. He certainly had sufficient provocation on the part of the 'Abbasids to declare war upon or break off relations with them.

Because of his modesty and sense of fairplay, Archbishop Roderick of Toledo called him the "Just" :[4] while Mansur, the 'Abbasid caliph with whom he did most of his sparring, dubbed him *Saqr Quraysh* or "Falcon of the Quraysh."[5] This nickname was in recognition of 'Abdurrahman's eternal vigilance, and it is as "Falcon of the Quraysh" that he is popularly known in the Arab chronicles. The rest of Mansur's comment is worth noting ;

> "Solitary, without any other support than his statesmanship and perseverance, ['Abdurrahman] has found his way over deserts and

seas and been able to humble his foes, found cities, raise his armies, kill his rebels, secure his frontiers against the attacks of the Christians, establish a great empire, and unite under his rule a huge country that seemed divided into factions. No man before him ever performed such deeds ! "[6]

The 'Abbasid emperor always maintained a healthy respect for his Umayyad rival, dissent as he was.

So did the Arab nobles, who learned to feel the forces of his policy. 'Abdurrahman proved a wise administrator, profiting from the education his grandfather Hisham had given him in Syria. And to secure Spain from the nobles' fronde, he used much the same tactics as would be used by the sixteenth and seventeenth-century kings of Europe who had to contend with this same problem. As Martin Hume has said in his *Spanish People* :[7]

" The Sultan Abd-er-Rahman was one of the Heaven-sent rulers of men. Prompt, yet cautious in council and in war, unscrupulous, overbearing and proud, he was as ready to wreak terrible vengeance as he was politic to forgive when it suited him. Berber and Yamanite alike acknowledged that at last they had found their master . . . He ruled until his death, in 788, with the tempered severity, wisdom, and justice which made his dominion the best organized in Europe, and his capital the most splendid in the world."

Thus 'Abdurrahman as an historical personage can quite fittingly be compared with both his contemporaries, Charlemagne and Mansur, whom he defeated both in the field of battle and in diplomacy. Yet both the Frank and 'Abbasid had inherited their kingdoms, whereas the Spaniard had to hew his out of the raw material of chaos.

Power politics in those days as now was more a matter of sparring for position than a struggle over moral principles. When we analyze this rivalry, we discover that 'Abdurrahman was equally successful against both the 'Abbasid and the Carolingian ; his only important reverses were the loss of Narbonne right at the beginning of his reign when he could scarcely be held responsible, and of Gerona towards the end.

Indeed, " *Abderrahman magnus Rex Maurorem* " as the Monk of Silos calls him,[8] at all times showed that historical longing and urge

for accomplishment which is the sign of true statesmanship. From that amorphous tendency which has always plagued Spain as a nation, he transformed the country into a modern state in the midst of medievalism. Cordoba became a cosmopolitan centre rivalling Constantinople and Baghdad, and was worlds ahead of Paris, Aix or Rome. The historian Ulick Burke tells us :

> " When the great Amir died, in 788, the kingdom of Cordova was already one of the most powerful, and certainly the most enlightened Commonwealth in Europe."[9]

We thus find that eighth-century Spain possessed all the factors apparent in sixteenth-century Europe during the latter's growth out of feudalism : an absolute monarchy compelling the respect of a landed nobility, the rise of great towns and of a prosperous middle class, the play of power politics, and the development of commerce and refinement. The Umayyads of Spain founded a kingdom which proved to be secure for several centuries, and whose glory continued even when thas dynasty was extinct. The Hapsburgs allowed a greater opportunity to slip out of their fingers within a very few decades, and their expulsion of the Jewish and Arab middle class which had started to flourish under 'Abdurrahman was only one of the ways in which their policy ran counter to the great Umayyad's leadership.

To sum up in the quaint words of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, we find that 'Abdurrahman's " statesmanlike cunning and restless energy, which with all his determination and strength of character yet for the most part never degenerated into the often so useless cruelty and blind revengefulness of the Arabs." In plainer terms, 'Abdurrahman was the most cultured and civilized of Europe's rulers during the eighth century, notwithstanding the great Charles himself.

FINIS

NOTES

1. Reinaud, p. 98.
2. Eginhard, Scction 20
3. *I.e.*, Amir or prince of the blood royal.

4. "*Adahil*" is the word; but this could be "ad-Dakhil" or "the Newcomer," with the "kh" becoming softened and the definite article assimilated regularly to the initial "d." The form is sometimes given as "*adalid*," which results in further complications.

5. The Quraysh were the ruling clan of Mecca, for which see Chapter II. b. Idh. gives the variant form *Saqr bani-Umayyah* "Falcon of the Umayyads." However, if Mansur had planted the question to show he did not mean himself, he would have used the term Quraysh, which would include both of them. The term describes 'Abdurrahman excellently, and this is why I have adapted it to "Falcon of Spain."

6. This has been paraphrased, but the original comment can be found in *Akh. M.*, pp. 118-19; b. Idh. II. 61-62; and Maq. I. 213-15.

7. pp. 79-82.

8. *Esp. Sag.* XVII. 280.

9. p. 131.

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The following is a list of the abbreviations used in the notes for the major bibliographical works :

Akh. M.	*Akhbar Majmu'a* [anonymous]
b. Abb.	Ibn-al-Abbar : *Al-hullah as-siyara*
b. Ath.	Ibn-al-Athir : *Al-kamil fi at-ta'rikh*
b. Idh.	Ibn-'Idhari : *Al-Bayan al-Mughrib*
b. Qut.	Ibn-al-Qutiyyah : *Ta'rikh aftah al-Andalus*
Camb. Anc. Hist.	*Cambridge Ancient History*
Camb. Med. Hist.	*Cambridge Medieval History*
Esp. Sag.	Flores, Enrique : *Espane Sagrada*
M. Pelayo	Menendez y Pelayo (work will be cited)
M. Pidal	Menendez Pidal (work will be cited)
Maq.	al-Maqqari : *Analectes* (ed. Dozy) (If Gayangos' Version, this will be pointed out)

I. PRIME SOURCES

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