



## The Influence of Various Ethnic Groups on the Formation of the Military Organisation in the Umayyad State in al-Andalus<sup>1</sup>

Endülüs Emevî Devleti'nde Askerî Teşkilatın Oluşumunda Farklı Etnik Grupların Etkisi

Yaşar Emrah KOŞDAŞ<sup>2</sup> , Nebi GÜMÜŞ<sup>3</sup> 

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**Abstract:** This study analyses the contributions of diverse ethnic groups to the military structure of the Umayyad State in al-Andalus, and how these groups participated in the state's security strategies. This research employs qualitative research methods, historical document analysis, and ethnographic techniques to investigate the influence of different ethnic groups on the formation of the military organisation. In the initial phases of the state's formation, Arabs occupied pivotal roles within the military structure. However, following rebellions, they were dismissed and replaced by loyal groups, including the Mawālī and Sakālibe. Similarly, the Muwallads and Berbers also played a notable role in the military, but they rebelled during periods of weak governance. The findings indicate that these rebellions triggered restructurings within the state's military organisation and that ethnic diversity played a critical role in shaping security strategies. Consequently, while certain ethnic groups came to prominence during specific periods, those groups whose trustworthiness was undermined by rebellion were eliminated by the state. This resulted in the formation of new organisational structures based on the principles of trust and loyalty.

**Keywords:** Islamic History, Al-Andalus, Military Organisation, Ethnic Groups, Rebellions.

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**Öz:** Bu çalışma, Endülüs Emevî Devleti'nin askerî yapısındaki çeşitli etnik grupların katkılarını ve bu grupların devletin güvenlik stratejilerinde nasıl rol oynadığını incelemektedir. Nitel araştırma yöntemleri, tarihi belge analizi ve etnografik teknikler kullanılarak hazırlanan bu araştırma, farklı etnik grupların askerî teşkilatın oluşumuna hangi açılardan etki ettikleri problemi üzerine odaklanmaktadır. Devletin kuruluş sürecinde Araplar, askerî teşkilatta merkezi roller üstlenmiş, ancak isyanlar sonucunda tasfiye edilerek yerlerine Mevālī ve Sakālibe gibi sadık gruplar getirilmiştir. Benzer şekilde, Muvalledler ve Berberiler de ordu içinde önemli roller üstlenmiş, fakat zayıf yönetimler döneminde isyan etmişlerdir. Bulgular, bu isyanların devletin askerî yapısındaki yeniden yapılandırılmaları tetiklediğini ve etnik çeşitliliğin güvenlik stratejilerinin belirlenmesinde kritik bir rol oynadığını göstermektedir. Sonuç olarak, bazı dönemlerde belirli etnik gruplar öne çıkarken, isyan etmelerinden güven unsurunun zedeleyen gruplar devlet tarafından tasfiye edilmişlerdir. Bunun sonucunda, güven ve sadakat ilkesi esas alınarak yeni bir teşkilatlanmaya gidildiği görülmüştür.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** İslam Tarihi, Endülüs, Askerî Teşkilat, Etnik Gruplar, İsyenlar.

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<sup>2</sup> Dr. Arş. Gör., Yaşar Emrah Koşdaş, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan Üniversitesi, [yasaremrah.kosdas@erdogan.edu.tr](mailto:yasaremrah.kosdas@erdogan.edu.tr).

<sup>3</sup> Prof. Dr., Nebi Gümüş, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan Üniversitesi, [nebi.gumus@erdogan.edu.tr](mailto:nebi.gumus@erdogan.edu.tr).

## 1. Introduction

The Umayyad Caliphate of al-Andalus ruled the Iberian Peninsula from the 8th to the 11th century and housed a diverse array of ethnic groups. The military organisation of this state was one of the most complex structures of its time. The Umayyads employed people of different ethnic backgrounds in military and administrative positions, thus ensuring both internal and external security of the state. This article aims to examine the manner in which various ethnic elements within the military organisation of the Umayyad Caliphate of al-Andalus were employed to maintain state security. Following the conquest of al-Andalus, the Arabs settled in the region, assuming a pivotal role in the state's military and administrative structure. The Arabs, known as Baladī due to their entry with the conquest of al-Andalus, consisted of aristocrats who played a significant role during the period of governors and the takeover of power by Abd al-Rahman I. The Arabs, who settled in al-Andalus in two tribes, Kalbī and Qaysī, exhibited the highest level of tribal solidarity, especially in the early periods. The Mawālī groups, who also entered al-Andalus during the conquest and governors' period, held significant positions in political, administrative, and military fields due to their loyalty to the Umayyad family, particularly during the reign of Abd al-Rahman I. The Sakālibe, who were mostly European slaves, became indispensable elements of the military organisation during the reigns of Abd al-Rahman III and Caliph al-Hakam. A century after the conquest, the Muwallads, who were local converts to Islam, were serving in military and administrative roles, particularly in frontier regions. The Berbers, who settled in al-Andalus from the conquest period, also gained a significant place in the state's military power.

A significant corpus of scholarship has been devoted to the examination of ethnic elements in al-Andalus, with particular attention paid to the Arab world and Spain, which has a profound historical legacy of al-Andalus. In Arabic literature, Abdul Macid Munāvir al-Mecālī's work, entitled *Ceys al-Andalusī*, provides an elucidating account of the Andalusian military organisation, which was based on a historical system. This work provides significant data contributing to an understanding of the historical background of the military structure within the general history of al-Andalus, and also touches on the ethnic elements employed in the army. However, the issue of the continuous employment of these ethnic elements within the military structure remains a topic that requires further investigation.

Another significant study in Arabic literature on this topic is *Nizam al-Asker bi'l-Andalus* by Muhammed Hanāwī. This work also examines the military historical background within the broader context of al-Andalus, encompassing ethnic groups within a system.

In Spanish, Beshir Radhi's *El Ejército en la Época del Califato de al-Andalus* also provides systematic information on the military organisational system in al-Andalus. This study offers a systematic approach to the historical background of the formation process of the army and thoroughly examines the impact of this structure. However, it does not sufficiently address the transformation and change of military units or the principle of trust and loyalty within the military structure.

Although these studies make a significant contribution to their respective fields, further in-depth analysis is required, particularly with regard to the evolution and transformation of ethnic elements within the military organisation. This article seeks to address this gap in the literature by undertaking a detailed examination of the process of change in ethnic elements and their relationship with the principles of trust and loyalty. Through this examination, the article will elucidate how the balance between rebellion and loyalty was maintained within the formation of the military organisation and how these principles played a crucial role in ensuring the security of the state.

The principal data sources employed in this study are the principal sources on the history, culture, and civilisation of al-Andalus. In order to ascertain the tribal affiliations, relationships and origins of the aforementioned ethnic groups, the author has drawn upon Ibn Hazm's *Cemhere al-Ensābi al-Arab* as a principal source of information. Furthermore, the source of Ibn al-Abbār, *Hulletu's-siyerā* represent key sources that have significantly enhanced our comprehension of the roles these ethnic groups played within the military structure.

Ibn İdhārî, *Kitāb al-bayān al-mughrib fî akhbār al-Andalus wa-al-Maghrib* is a comprehensive source that addresses the history of al-Andalus and the Maghreb in great detail. This source provides significant insights into a range of political events, military movements, rebellions, and the influence of ethnic groups on the state structure, particularly from the Umayyad period onwards in al-Andalus. Ibn İdhārî provides a comprehensive account of the military and political developments in al-Andalus, elucidating the roles of Arabs, Berbers, Mawālî, and Sakālibe in great detail.

This study draws upon Ibn İdhārî's source to present information on the relocation and power struggles of ethnic groups within the military organisation in al-Andalus. In particular, the details about the Muwallad rebellions, the roles of Berbers within the army, and the importance of the Sakālibe soldiers are based on information obtained from Ibn İdhārî's source. Moreover, the source constitutes a significant source of information regarding the military structure during the reigns of Abd al-Rahman III and al-Manşūr Ibn Abi Amir.

One of the most significant sources on the history of al-Andalus is *al-Muqtabas*, a comprehensive chronicle authored by Ibn Hayyān that elucidates the political and social structure of the Umayyad state in al-Andalus. In examining both political events and the social structure, Ibn Hayyān provides a detailed analysis of the role of ethnic groups and their interactions within the state. The extant sections of this source encompass the concluding years of Abd al-Rahman II (822-852), the majority of his son Muḥammad's reign (852-886), the tenure of Amir Abd Allah (888-912), the initial three decades of Abd al-Rahman III's rule (912-942) and Hakam II's years from 970-974. Each section that has reached the present day has been subjected to meticulous study and brought to the attention of the scholarly community by Arab and Spanish scholars alike.

In this study, Ibn Hayyān's source *al-Muqtabas* has been consulted in order to present significant information on a number of topics, including the Muwallad revolts, the roles of the Sakālibe in the palace and military organisation, the influence of the Berbers in al-Andalus, and the revolts of the Arab aristocrats.

Ibn Abd al-Hakam's source, *Futūh Ifrīqiya wa-l-Maghrib wa-l-Andalus*, is also a primary source of significant value in this historical field. It provides detailed information on the military forces of Berbers and Arabs during the conquest of al-Andalus, as well as their subsequent settlement in al-Andalus. The numerical superiority of the Berbers in the conquest and their subsequent settlement patterns in al-Andalus are based on Ibn Abd al-Hakam's source. The roles of Berbers in the military organisation and the processes they experienced after the conquest are among the important pieces of information obtained from this source.

This study examines the role of ethnic elements in the military organisation of the Umayyad Caliphate of al-Andalus and their impact on documents and primary sources, as well as ethnographic and document analysis techniques. In this context, historical events and processes were examined using historical methods, the social and cultural structures of ethnic groups were evaluated using ethnographic methods, and historical documents, chronicles, and academic literature were systematically analysed using document analysis techniques. Furthermore, the impact of military and administrative changes across different historical periods was evaluated through the use of comparative analysis methods. The objective of this qualitative research approach is to provide a comprehensive analysis of the contributions of ethnic diversity to the military organisation of the Umayyad Caliphate of al-Andalus and its evolution throughout historical processes.

## 2. Arabs

The initial incursion of Arab forces into al-Andalus was spearheaded by Ṭāriq ibn Ziyad in 711. However, the number of Arabs in Ṭāriq's army was relatively modest. The number of Arab soldiers in the 12,000-strong army is reported to have ranged between 300 and 2,000, with sources citing figures as high as 800. The significant influx of Arabs into al-Andalus occurred with the army of Mūsa ibn Nuşayr, who entered al-Andalus a year after Ṭāriq ibn Ziyad. Subsequent migrations contributed to a notable increase in the

Arab population.<sup>4</sup> The Arabs in al-Andalus were divided into two main tribal groups: the Baladī Arabs and the Shamī Arabs. The Baladī Arabs settled in al-Andalus during the period of conquest, while the Shamī Arabs arrived in 123/740 during the era of governors appointed to suppress the Berber rebellion. The Baladī groups consisted of Yemenī and Qaysī tribes, while all the Shamī groups had a Qaysī tribal identity. Nevertheless, the number of Qaysīs who entered al-Andalus with Mūsa ibn Nuşayr was less than the Yemenīs.<sup>5</sup>

Following the conquest of al-Andalus, the Yemenī tribes who settled there established themselves in cities such as Saragossa, Córdoba, and Sevilla (اشبيلية) in northern and central al-Andalus.<sup>6</sup> The Yemenīs gained greater power, influence, wealth, and population than the Adnanī/Qaysī tribes.<sup>7</sup> The Yemenī al-Azd tribe was known in al-Andalus as al-Jammul-Ghafir (جم الغفير), meaning a large and populous tribe.<sup>8</sup> The Judhām tribe settled in Şezūne/Sedona (شدونة), Algeciras, Tudmīr, and Seville the Lakhm tribe in Seville, Medina-Sidonia, and Algeciras; the Banū Hubayb and Banū Qatin tribes in Jabra, Calatrava, and Guadalajar.<sup>9</sup> The Tujibis, who were engaged in numerous military conflicts with Christians in northern al-Andalus, inhabited Saragossa and Calatrava<sup>10</sup> The Banū Ghafik tribe settled in Seville, Medina-Sidonia, Toledo, Elvira and Saragossa. The Anşār and Khazraj tribes settled in the eastern and western regions of al-Andalus and Toledo; the Hamdanis in the vicinity of Granada; the Awsis in Granada, Seville, and the eastern regions; and the Hadramis in Badajoz (بطليوس), Córdoba, Seville and Granada.<sup>11</sup>

The Adnanī and Qaysī groups were primarily located in the southern region of al-Andalus.<sup>12</sup> The tribes of Adnanī/Qaysī lineage, namely the Quraysh, Kinana, and Mudar, settled in the city of Toledo and its surrounding areas, where they amassed significant wealth. The Hawazin tribe settled in Valencia and Seville, the Rabi'a tribe in Guadix,<sup>13</sup> the Banū Zuhra tribe in Baja and Badajoz, and the Banū Tamim tribe in Seville and Talavera.<sup>14</sup> In 123/740, the Shamī Qaysī soldiers, led by Balj ibn Bishr and invited to al-Andalus by the governor of the time, Ibn Qatan, to suppress the Berber revolt, later rebelled themselves, claiming that the promises made to them were not fulfilled. They deposed Ibn Qatan and appointed their commander Balj as governor. The political instability that followed in al-Andalus was only resolved when Abu'l-Khattar Husam b. Dirar al-Kalbi was appointed as the new governor, arriving from Syria. In order to restore order, the insurgent Shamī Qaysī were relocated from the vicinity of the capital, Córdoba. The soldiers were distributed according to the hierarchy within their respective tribes: the Syrian troops were stationed in Elvira, those from Jordan in Rayya, those from Palestine in Jazirat al-Khadra, those from Homs in Seville, those from Qinnasrin in Jaén, and the troops from Egypt in Baja and Tudmir.<sup>15</sup>

The Baladī Arabs, who entered al-Andalus with the conquest, and the Shamī soldiers who came later, settled in various parts of the peninsula and maintained their presence for generations.<sup>16</sup> Following the conclusion of the conquest period, further migrations from Arab tribes to al-Andalus were observed

<sup>4</sup> Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Idhārī al-Marrākushī, *Kitāb al-bayān al-mughrib fī akhbār al-Andalus wa-al-Maghrib* (Beyrūt: Dāru's-Sekāfe, 1983), 2/14; Maqqarī, Shihābuddin Ahmed b. Muḥammad, *Nafh al-tib min ghuṣn al-Andalus al-raṭīb* (Beyrūt: Dāru Sādir, 1988), 1/233.

<sup>5</sup> Maqqarī, *Nafh*, 1/292; 38; Hussein Monis, *Fecr al-Andalus* (Ciddah: Dār al-Suudī, 1985), 169, 355, 356.

<sup>6</sup> Monis, *Fecr*, 355.

<sup>7</sup> Maqqarī, *Nafh*, 1/294.

<sup>8</sup> Maqqarī, *Nafh*, 1/294.

<sup>9</sup> Ibn Hazm, Abū Muḥammad Ali b. Aḥmad b. Saīd, *Cemhere al-Ensābi al-Arab* (Beyrūt: Dāru'l-Kutūbi'l-İlmī, 1983), 420; Monis, *Fecr*, 372, 373; Ibn Hazm, *Cemhere*, 341; Abdul Macid Munāvir al-Mecālī, *Ceys al-Andalusī* (Urdun: Külliyyāt ed-Dirāsāt al-Ulyā, 1995). 240

<sup>10</sup> Ibn Hazm, *Cemhere*, 430.

<sup>11</sup> Maqqarī, *Nafh*, 1/294-298

<sup>12</sup> Monis, *Fecr*, 355.

<sup>13</sup> Maqqarī, *Nafh*, 1/291.

<sup>14</sup> Ibn Hazm, *Cemhere*, 132, 129.

<sup>15</sup> Ibn al-Kūtiyya, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Umar, *Tārīhu iftitāhi al-Andalus*, Critical ed. Muḥammad Enis Tabb'a (Beyrūt: Messeset al-Maarif, 1994). 44; Ibn Idhārī, *Kitāb al-bayān al-mughrib*, 2/33; Ibn al-Abbār, Abū 'Abd Allah Muḥammad b. 'Abdillah b. Abī Bekr al-Qudā'ī, *Hulletu's-siyerā* (Kāhīrah: Dār al-Maarif, 1985), 61; Monis, *Fecr*, 370, 371.

<sup>16</sup> Maqqarī, *Nafh*, 1/290; Monis, *Fecr*, 375.

during the reigns of Abd al-Rahman I and his son Hishām.<sup>17</sup> However, in comparison to the influx of migrants during the conquest period, the number of migrants during this period was relatively low and did not reach a level that would significantly alter the general structure. These tribes settled in areas where their kinsmen had already settled, as well as in the vicinity of the capital, Córdoba.<sup>18</sup>

The tribes that settled in al-Andalus augmented their population by intermarrying with local Christian women. It can be demonstrated that the military units that entered al-Andalus did not bring their families with them. Even when they married women from other ethnic groups, they retained their tribal identity and did not lose their cultural characteristics.<sup>19</sup>

These tribes that settled in al-Andalus during and after the conquest retained their presence in the regions under the Amir or caliph. While exercising independent authority over the territories allotted to them by the state, they participated in military campaigns and served within the military organisation. The administrative structure, designated the military iqta system, was established upon the arrival of Shamī soldiers in al-Andalus. The iqta system is the allocation of ownership, operational, or usage rights of state-owned lands to certain individuals. Two distinct types of iqta were established in al-Andalus: military and civil. The first instance of a civil iqta was initiated by Samh ibn Mālik, who was responsible for the distribution of land. In these types of iqtas, landowners were permitted to utilise the lands without assuming any military obligations. The military iqta commenced in 740 with the settlement of Shamī soldiers in specific regions with the objective of suppressing the Berber rebellion. Following the rebellion, the soldiers were distributed to various regions and granted ownership and shares of the produce of the lands they were settled on. The lands were confiscated from the non-Muslim population and subsequently allocated to the Shamī soldiers. In return for their military services, the Shamī soldiers were remunerated by the divan, granted tax exemptions, and placed within a hierarchical order. This new system had the effect of reducing the influence of local military forces, but also led to internal conflicts. Consequently, the regular army was unable to be utilised as intended during the period of governors. However, it became an important factor in the operation of the Umayyad military organisation in al-Andalus. The iqta system continued until the period of Caliph Hishām II (976-1009-1010-1013), who ruled with the title of hajib. Following the establishment of the Murtaziq units, this administrative structure lost its importance.<sup>20</sup>

As previously stated, during the conquest and governors' periods, Arab tribes that entered al-Andalus settled in various regions, remaining loyal to the Amir or caliph by paying taxes and providing soldiers for the army during times of war. After the governors' period, the establishment of the state by Abd al-Rahman I was marked by the insurrectionary tendencies of the Arab aristocrats, whose rebellions threatened the authority of the state. Consequently, these groups were separated from the administrative centre. Positions of military and administrative significance, such as commanderships, chamberlainships, and vizierates, were allocated to individuals from the mawālī and ṣaqāliba classes. This transition became most evident after the reign of Abd al-Rahman I. Once the state had been established, Arab aristocrats who had been appointed to military and administrative roles began to leverage their newfound power in an attempt to seize control of the state. The revolts led by figures such as Abdul Ghaffar b. Ḥamīd al-Yahsūbī, the governor of Niebla<sup>21</sup> 'Amr b. Talut, the governor of Baja, and Haywah ibn Malamis, a notable figure in Seville, exemplify the significant influence of Arab aristocrats in the early administrative sphere.<sup>22</sup> Furthermore, Arab aristocrats such as Sulaiman ibn Yaqqan, who ruled over the regions including Barcelona and Girona, and Hussein b. Yahyā in Saragossa, also participated in various

<sup>17</sup> Monis posits that the Arab tribes that entered Andalusia during the reign of Hishām al-Rabadī I were branches of the Benū Tūjib tribe. They initially settled in the eastern coastal area and subsequently relocated to Barcelona, where they established a settlement: Monis, *Fecr*, 371.

<sup>18</sup> Monis, *Fecr*, 368.

<sup>19</sup> Monis, *Fecr*, 368.

<sup>20</sup> Ibrahim Kadir Boutchich, *Eser al-İqta* (Rabat: Menşūrātī Ukāz, 1992), 69, 70, 92.

<sup>21</sup> Seyd Raḥmān, *The Story of Islamic Spain* (Delhi: Goodword, 2003), 63.

<sup>22</sup> *Akhbār majmū'a*, 98, 99.

rebellious activities, which occupied the state both politically and militarily for extended periods.<sup>23</sup> The revolts of Arab aristocrats such as Sa'īd al-Yaḥṣubī al-Matarī<sup>24</sup> and Abū Sabbāḥ<sup>25</sup> had placed the Amir in a challenging position with regard to recruiting soldiers for the army. In addition to these rebellions, the uprising of Mughīra b. Walīd, the nephew of Abd al-Rahman I, further strained the state's administrative and military capacities.<sup>26</sup> Consequently, Abd al-Rahman I, having found no one to trust in these key areas, decided to replace the Arab aristocrats with mawālī and ṣaqāliba soldiers in military and administrative roles. As will be detailed in subsequent sections, the rebellions of this period led to a significant shift in military policies. The system established by Abd al-Rahman I endured until the reign of Abd al-Rahman III.<sup>27</sup>

An examination of the bureaucrats in military and administrative roles after the rebellions during the reign of Abd al-Rahman I reveals this shift. Following the Arab revolts, he formed an army composed of Berbers and ṣaqāliba to suppress the uprisings. This central army, numbering around 40,000, was established during his reign.<sup>28</sup> The divan, where military and administrative matters were discussed and resolved, consisted of individuals linked to the Umayyad dynasty by walā' contracts. Notable figures within the chamberlain's office, including Tammām b. 'Alqama, Yusuf b. Buht, 'Abd al-Karīm b. Mihrān, and Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Mughīth, were affiliated with the mawālī. Manṣūr Fattah was a member of the Sakālibe<sup>29</sup>. Furthermore, the army commanders Tammām b. 'Alqama, Abdul Mālīk b. Amr, and Tha'laba ibn Amr ibn Ubayd were all selected from the mawālī class<sup>30</sup>

As illustrated, the military organisation initially composed of Arab aristocrats during the reign of Abd al-Rahman I was subsequently replaced by mawālī, ṣaqāliba, and Berbers. The primary reason for this paradigm shift was the series of rebellions initiated by the Arab aristocrats.

### 3. Mawālī

The term Mawla, which translates as "helper," "protector," and "owner," is employed in the dictionary to refer to non-Arab Muslims who were captured in war and subsequently converted to Islam of their own will.<sup>31</sup> In terms of legal status, the issue of Mawālī, which is considered to be analogous to that of slaves, has been addressed in two distinct ways. The first category is that of Mawla al-Itq, which refers to

<sup>23</sup> Hugh Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal a Political History of al-Andalus* (Harlow: Longman, 1996), 37; Yaşar Emrah Koşdaş, *Kureyş Şahini – I. Abdurrahman Dönemi Endülüs Tarihi* (Ankara: Fecr Yayınları, 202), 42-46.

<sup>24</sup> *Akhbār majmū'a*, 96.

<sup>25</sup> Ibn Idhārī, *Kitāb al-bayān*, 2/53, 54.

<sup>26</sup> In the wake of these events, 'Abd al-Rahmān was profoundly affected. Upon the death of Mughīra, one of his servants found him sitting in a corner of his room, visibly distressed. When asked about the cause of his sadness, he replied, "I am astonished by these people. Despite providing them refuge and sharing the blessings Allah has bestowed upon us, ensuring their security, they become arrogant and begin to contend with us." As a consequence of their actions, Allah has punished them for their ingratitude and has made us vigilant and superior against them. We now find ourselves in a situation where we doubt their innocence, and they doubt our goodwill. They expect us to change our course, while we hope they will correct their behaviour. Maqqarī, *Naft*, 3/47

<sup>27</sup> The principal motivation behind the Yemeni revolts during the rule of Abd al-Rahman I was the aspiration to assume control of the central government. During the Umayyad rule of Damascus over al-Andalus, a series of political and economic imbalances emerged as a result of the Berber rebellions and the conflicts between the Kaysi and Kalbi dynasties. These issues resulted in an agreement among the most powerful tribal leaders of the time, whereby the Kaysis would rule for a period, followed by the Kalbis. However, Yusuf ibn Abd al-Rahman al-Fihri, who was supported by the Kaysis, assumed the governorship but failed to transfer it to the Kalbis as had been agreed (Imāmuddīn, S. Muḥammad, *Endülüs Siyasi Tarihi* (Ankara: Rehber, 1990), 71-72). Upon Abd al-Rahman I's arrival, the Yemeni tribes sought to rectify this perceived injustice and assume leadership for themselves by supporting him (Abdul Macid Na'ni, *Tārīkh al-dawlah al-Umawiyah fi al-Andalus* (Beyrūt: Dār Nahdati'l-Arabi, 1986), 157; Eduardo Manzano Moreno, "The Settlement and Organisation of the Syrian Junds in al-Andalus", *The Formation of al-Andalus - History and Society* (British: Ashgate Publishing, 1998), 100). Following their support for Abd al-Rahman in establishing the state, the tribes made bold claims, stating, "Now the emirate is ours and for our children." (Ibn Kūtiyya, *Tārīhu iftitāhi al-Andalus*, 90). However, Abd al-Rahman's governance style and the administrative and military positions he granted them were insufficient to satisfy their ambitions, prompting them to initiate rebellious movements to take control of the leadership completely. For a more detailed examination of the pertinent subject matter, the reader is directed to Koşdaş, *Kureyş Şahini*, 27-52.

<sup>28</sup> Ekhlas Mohammad al-Eidi, "The Sakālibe at Bani Umayyad Palaces" *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 7/6 (2017), 12

<sup>29</sup> Ibn Idhārī, *Kitāb al-bayān*, 2/48; Maqqarī, *Naft*, 3/4.

<sup>30</sup> Nürettin Āl-i Ali, *Endülüs Tarihi* (İstanbul: Ensar, 2010), 101.

<sup>31</sup> Manzoor, *Lisān*, 15/408.

individuals who were enslaved as war captives and subsequently freed. However, the number of such slaves in al-Andalus is relatively low. In these lands, the term Mawālī is used to refer to free individuals who have accepted Islam through an Arab or Arab tribe and are considered to be their Mawālī.<sup>32</sup> Alternatively, it can be used to describe those who enter the protection of a powerful Arab tribe by making a walā contract, thereby seeking to gain a foothold in the tribal-based social structure.<sup>33</sup>

During the period of conquest, Mawālī groups began to enter al-Andalus. A portion of the military contingent under the direction of Mūsa ibn Nuşayr was comprised of Mawālī soldiers.<sup>34</sup> Mugith al-Rūmī, the grandfather of Abd al-Karim ibn Abd al-Wāhid ibn Mughith, who served as a vizier during the reign of Abd al-Rahman II, was a commander in the army of Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād during the conquest period and achieved numerous significant military victories<sup>35</sup>. In al-Andalus, the forebears of the Tujibi, who settled in Saragossa and Calatayud, were also among those who accompanied Mūsa ibn Nuşayr.<sup>36</sup> During the period of governors, approximately 2,000 Mawālī were among the 10,000 Shamī soldiers who came to al-Andalus. Ḥassān b. Mālik, one of the Mawālī of the Banū Ibn 'Abda, a group of Mawālī officials who served in military and administrative capacities throughout the period of the state from its establishment to its collapse, was among those who came to al-Andalus with the Shamī soldiers.<sup>37</sup> 'Alqama, the grandfather of Tammām ibn Amir al-Saqafi, who served as a vizier during the reigns of Amir Muḥammad, Amir Mundhir and Amir Abd Allah, was another Mawla who came to al-Andalus with the Shamī soldiers.<sup>38</sup>

It should be noted that the Mawālī class is not exclusive to the Arabs. Mawālī groups were also present in the Berber tribes that entered al-Andalus in the early periods. The Banū Wansus, Banū Zajjal, and Banū Hali, such as the Berber tribes, are among the most prominent Berber families from the Umayyad Mawālī who entered al-Andalus with the conquest.<sup>39</sup> They achieved notable successes in both the political and military realms during both the Amirate and Caliphate periods.

Following the conquest and the period of governors, a considerable number of Mawālī population entered al-Andalus. The reasons for these groups to come to al-Andalus can be attributed to the pressure and violence policies applied by the 'Abbasids to the Umayyad family in the east. Subsequently, they perceived al-Andalus as a land of refuge and prosperity, and thus migrated to the region, where they lived their lives in the status of Mawālī, maintaining ties with the Umayyads in the east. Over time, the Arab and Berber tribes in al-Andalus began to perceive the walā bond among them as transcending the bond of kinship and brotherhood.<sup>40</sup>

In addition to the Mawālī, who were freed after being war captives in al-Andalus and those who accepted Islam through an Arab leader or tribe and became part of the Mawālī class, there were also those who entered the protection of a powerful Arab leader or tribe through agreements and alliances based on walā in pre-Islamic Arab societies. One of the most illustrative examples of this class is Banū Qasi, who ruled in the north of al-Andalus prior to the Islamic conquest. However, following the loss of their lands as a

<sup>32</sup> Hussein Monis states that among those who entered the peninsula with Mūsa b. Nuşayr, there were Mawālī groups from the Mawla'i-Itāka class. The expression 'Mawālī al-Mūsa' in the sources suggests that these groups were the captives captured in battle during the conquests under the command of Mūsa b. Nuşayr, and that they were later liberated: Monis, *Fecr*, 404. At the same time, the Umayyad Mawālī who came to Andalusia from Damascus were also known by the name of the caliph under whose rule they became Muslims. 2. 'Abd al-Karim b. 'Abd al-Wahid b. Mūḡis, who was appointed as a vizier during the reign of 'Abd al-Rahman, was the mawla of al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Mālik: Ibn al-Abbār, *Hulle*, 1/135.

<sup>33</sup> The most important example for this type of Mawālī is Benū Qāsī, who went to Damascus after the conquest and became Muslims by the hand of the caliph of the period, Walid b. 'Abd al-Mālik, and were given iqta.

<sup>34</sup> Abū 'Umar Muḥammad Ibn Abd al-Hakam, *Futūh Ifrīqiya wa-l-Maghrib wa-l-Andalus* (Lubnān, s.n. 1964). 76.

<sup>35</sup> Ibn Abd al-Hakam *Futūh Ifrīqiya*, 23; Ibn al-Abbār, *Hulle*, 1/135.

<sup>36</sup> Ibn Hazm, *Cemhere*, 429, 430.

<sup>37</sup> Ibn al-Abbār, *Hulle*, 1/246.

<sup>38</sup> Ibn al-Abbār, *Hulle*, 1/143, 144; Ibn Hayyān, Abū Marwān Hayyān b. Khalaf b. Husayn b. Hayyān b. Muḥammad, *al-Muqtabes*, Critical ed. Muḥammad Ali Makkī (Beyrūt: Dāru al-Kitāb, 1973), 184.

<sup>39</sup> Monis, *Fecr*, 398, 410; Khalil Ibrāhīm al-Sāmerrāi, *Tārīkh al-'Arab wa-ḥadāratuhum fi al-Andalus* (Lubnān: Dāru'l-Kitābī'l-Cedid, 2008), 98.

<sup>40</sup> Monis, *Fecr*, 399.

consequence of the conquest, they proceeded directly to Damascus and converted to Islam at the hands of the then caliph Walid ibn Abd al-Mālik, thereby entering into his walā. Subsequently, other Visigothic-origin groups, including Banū Barun, Banū Ghumas, Banū Gharsiya, Banū Carlo, and Banū Martin, also joined the Umayyad Mawālī class in al-Andalus through the walā system by their own volition.<sup>41</sup> The term “Istan'a” is used to describe this system, which is derived from the verb “Istena' (اصطنع)” in the dictionary, meaning “to favour, to help”.<sup>42</sup> The aforementioned groups were included in the Umayyad Mawālī class in al-Andalus, which was designated as Andalusian Mawālī.<sup>43</sup> These groups were primarily engaged in military service to the state in exchange for the iqta lands allocated to them in the border regions. However, during periods of weakened political authority, they rebelled and sought to rule independently in their regions.<sup>44</sup>

There was a distinct hierarchy among the Mawālī groups, which played a pivotal role in the administration and military structure of al-Andalus. In the early periods, the eastern Umayyad Mawālī who settled in al-Andalus, such as Banū Shuhayd, Banū Abū 'Abda, Banū Abdurrauf, Banū Ḥudayr, Banū Futtai and Banū Mughith were regarded as more esteemed within the state than other Mawālī groups who had attained Mawālī status through arrangements such as hīlf or cār (جائر), which enabled them to enhance their status, prestige and security. During the reign of Amir Abd Allah, the Shamī Mawālī were accorded a higher status than the Baladī Mawālī. During this period, officials were predominantly appointed from the Shamī Umayyad Mawālī to positions such as hajib, vizier, and army commander, and the divan was constituted with bureaucrats from the Shamī Umayyad Mawālī.<sup>45</sup>

During the Amirate and Caliphate periods, the influence of Mawālī bureaucrats in the administrative, military, and social institutions of al-Andalus began to be felt with the reign of Abd al-Rahman I. Following the political power-grabbing attempts of the free Arab aristocrats holding positions in the governorship and vizierate during his reign, Abd al-Rahman I's trust in the Arabs decreased. Consequently, prominent figures within the Mawālī community, renowned for their fidelity to the Umayyads, were incorporated into the military apparatus. During this period, Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Ghanim<sup>46</sup> and Thalabah ibn Ubayd al-Judhāmi<sup>47</sup>, who served in the military organisation, belonged to important Mawālī families. The influence of the Mawālī in the military organisation continued to increase in subsequent periods. During the reign of Abd al-Rahman II, Yahya ibn Abd Allah ibn Khalid<sup>48</sup> and Hashim ibn Abdulaziz were notable Mawālī commanders. During the reign of Amir Abd Allah, Mawālī commander 'Abdul Vahhab ibn Abdurrauf,<sup>49</sup> renowned for his struggles against the Muwallad rebel Amr

<sup>41</sup> Monis, *Fecr*, 404, 411.

<sup>42</sup> In this case, there is no need for the existence of non-Arab elements. Andalusia is similar to the covenants of Hīlf, Jār and Muwālat made between the Arabs before Islam. In this case, the fact that a person belonging to the Arab race is bound to another Arab tribe, leader or commander who is different and powerful to him, and that he enters into a walā contract with him makes that person a mawālī in relation to the person under his wilā'ah. This is not a law like the law of the groups who were enslaved when they were slaves, as in the case of Mawla al-Itaqa, or who were enslaved because they were captured in war, but were later freed and enslaved. Monis, *Fecr*, 407.

<sup>43</sup> Monis, *Fecr*, 409.

<sup>44</sup> During the reign of Amir Muḥammad, Benū Qasī, who had joined the Mawālī class after the conquest, instigated significant rebellions in order to consolidate his influence in the region. In 264, Amir Muḥammad led a summer expedition to Benblune with his son Munzir and the vizier commander Muḥammad b. Jahwar from Mawālī. The army proceeded through the cities of Saragossa and Tudela, plundering agricultural crops and defeating Mūsa al-Qasī, who had rebelled in this region. Ibn Hayyān, *al-Muqtabes*, Critical ed. Muḥammad Ali Makkī, 385. A year later, in 265, he led another expedition to Saragossa and other areas under Benu Qasī control, inflicting further damage on the rebels. Ibn Hayyān, *al-Muqtabes*, Critical ed. Muḥammad Ali Makkī, 392.

<sup>45</sup> Ibn Hayyān, *al-Muqtabes*, Critical ed. Muḥammad Ali Makkī, 196; Muḥammad Abd Allah Inan, *Devlet al-Islam fi al-Andalus* (Kāhīrah, Maktabat al-Hanji, 1969), 1/348; Monis, *Fecr*, 409.

<sup>46</sup> Ibn Hayyān, Abū Marwān Hayyān b. Khalaf b. Husayn b. Hayyān b. Muḥammad, *al-Muqtabes*, Critical ed. Muḥammad Ali Makkī (Kāhīrah, Lecne, 1994), 268.

<sup>47</sup> Ibn Hayyān, *al-Muqtabes*, Critical ed. Muḥammad Ali Makkī, 406, 407.

<sup>48</sup> Ibn al-Athir, Abū al-Hasan Izz al-Dīn Ali b. Muḥammad, *al-Kāmil fi't-tarih* (Beyrūt: Dār al-Sdir, 1982), 5/470; Abdul Vahhab b. Muḥammad al-Nuvayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fi funūn al-adab* (Kāhīrah: Dār al-Kitab, 1992), 23/376.

<sup>49</sup> Abdul Vahhab b. Abdurrauf is from the Mawālī of Umayya (Ibn al-Abbār, *Hulle*, 1/137; Ibn Kütiyya, *Tārihu iftitāhi al-Andalus*, 113-114).



ibn Hāfşūn, was a prominent figure.<sup>50</sup> The northern rebellion of the Visigothic Banū Qasi family, led by Mūsa ibn Mūsa ibn Qasi, was brought to an end by the appointment of Abd Allah ibn Kulayb from the loyal and reliable Mawālī Ibn Kulayb family as governor of the region.<sup>51</sup>

The military influence of the Mawālī persisted throughout the caliphate period. Upon the assumption of power by Abd al-Rahman III, Mūsa ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥudayr, a member of the Mawālī community, was appointed to oversee both private and general affairs<sup>52</sup>. Moreover, Vizier al-Kaid Ahmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abi 'Abda achieved notable military victories during the northern summer campaigns during the reign of Abd al-Rahman III.<sup>53</sup> During the reign of his son Caliph al-Hakam, the establishment of armies comprising Mawālī soldiers was undertaken with the objective of maintaining authority both within al-Andalus and in the North African territories that had been conquered during his father's reign.<sup>54</sup> During the early periods of Caliph Hishām II, who ruled with the title of hajib, the influence of the Mawālī in military campaigns continued.<sup>55</sup>

The Umayyad Mawālī played an indispensable role in the naval organisation as well as in the land forces. In response to the Norman attacks on al-Andalus during the reign of Abd al-Rahman II, a large army commanded by Mawālī Hajib al-Amr Isa ibn Shuhayd, along with Abd Allah ibn Kulayb and Mūsa ibn Qasi, was mobilised to counter the Norman raids.<sup>56</sup> During the reign of Amir Muḥammad, the task of dispatching vessels constructed in the city of Córdoba to the Atlantic Ocean with the objective of maintaining order was entrusted to 'Abdul Vahhab ibn al-Waqi ibn Mughūth, a member of the Mawālī.<sup>57</sup>

As in the military organisation, the Mawālī also held significant positions in administrative fields. During the reign of Amir Abd Allah, individuals such as Bara ibn Mālik al-Qurayshi, 'Abbas ibn Abdulaziz al-Qurayshi, Šā'id ibn Muḥammad ibn Sulaym, and Abd al-Mālik ibn Abd Allah ibn Umayya were Mawālī in the state's divan.<sup>58</sup> The Mawālī were renowned for their intellectual abilities, administrative expertise, and modesty. Upon the creation of the position of Sahib al-Madina<sup>59</sup> by Abd al-Rahman II, Mawālī Muḥammad ibn Sulaym was appointed to this position based on the recommendation of state officials and his known qualities.<sup>60</sup> Hafs ibn Basil, a member of the Mawālī Ibn Basil family, served as Sahib al-Madina in Córdoba during the reign of Amir Mundhir.<sup>61</sup> During Mundhir's reign, Abd al-Mālik ibn Abd Allah ibn Umayya Banū Shuhayd from the Mawālī family held the position of katib (scribe), while his brother Abdurrahman attained the rank of hajib, the highest rank after the amir or caliph.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Ibn Idhārī, *Kitāb al-bayān*, 2/133; Inan, *Devlet al-Islam*, 1/323, 324. Abdul Vahhab's father, Abdurrauf, also served as a vizier during the reign of Abdal-Rahman II. His grandfather, Abdussalam, held the position of Amir in the city of Elvira during the reign of Abdal-Rahman I and subsequently became a vizier during the reign of Muḥammad. He was of the Mawālī tribe, which had served the Mawālī of Benū Umayyah for generations (Ibn al-Abbār, *Hulle*, 1/241).

<sup>51</sup> Inan, *Devlet al-Islam*, 1/260; Ibn Kūtiyya, *Tārīhu iftitāhi al-Andalus*, 110; Ahmad b. 'Umar al-'Uzri, *Nusūs ani'l-Andalus* (Kāhīrah: Menşūrāti al-Ma'hadī al-dirāsāti al-Islamī, 1992), 29; Abd al-Rahman b. Muḥammad Ibn Khaldun, *Kitāb al-Ibar wa Diwan al-Mubtada wa al-Khabar fi Ayyam al-Arab wa al-Acam wa al-Berber wa Man Asarahum min Dhawi al-Sultan al-Akbar* (Beyrūt: Dār al-Fikr, 1988), 4/165.

<sup>52</sup> Ibn Hayyān, *al-Muqtabes*, Critical ed. Muḥammad Ali Makkī, 196; Ibn Idhārī, *Kitāb al-bayān*, 2/158.

<sup>53</sup> Ibn Idhārī, *Kitāb al-bayān*, 2/169, 170.

<sup>54</sup> Ibn Hayyān, Abū Marwān Hayyān b. Khalaf b. Husayn b. Hayyān b. Muḥammad, *al-Muqtabes fi ahbāri bilādi al-Andalus*, Critical ed. Salahaddī al-Hawwārī (Beyrūt: Mektebat al-Asrī, 2006), 80.

<sup>55</sup> Ibn Idhārī, *Kitāb al-bayān*, 3/5.

<sup>56</sup> Ibn Kūtiyya, *Tārīhu iftitāhi al-Andalus*, 85; Ibn Idhārī, *Kitāb al-bayān*, 2/85, 86; Ibn al-Abbār, *Hulle*, 1/237, 238.

<sup>57</sup> Ibn Hayyān, *al-Muqtabes*, Critical ed. Muḥammad Ali Makkī, 398, 399, 410; Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kāmil*, 7/334; Ibn Idhārī, *Kitāb al-bayān*, 2/104.

<sup>58</sup> Ibn Hayyān, *al-Muqtabes*, Critical ed. Melchor Antuna (Paris, s.n. 1937), 5; Ibn Idhārī, *Kitāb al-bayān*, 2/151.

<sup>59</sup> Duties of the Sahib al-Madinah: 1: He acts as a guardian when the Amir goes on a campaign. 2: He gathers soldiers for jihad 3: He takes allegiance for the Amir. 4: Appoints a judge (Ramazan Abd al-Ḥalīm "Sahib al-Madina fi al-Andalus Hilali Asr al-Umayyad (422-138/756-1031)", *Macallat Adab ve Ulum al-Insani* 88/2 (2019), 863-866, 872.

<sup>60</sup> Ibn Kūtiyya, *Tārīhu iftitāhi al-Andalus*, 113, 114.

<sup>61</sup> Ibn Kūtiyya, *Tārīhu iftitāhi al-Andalus*, 132.

<sup>62</sup> Ibn Kūtiyya, *Tārīhu iftitāhi al-Andalus*, 132. At the same time, the following narration will contribute to the understanding of the administrative and military success of the Mawālī in Andalusia at the highest level: I have never seen two men in Andalusia like 'Abd al-Rahman b. Umayya b. Shuheyd and Isa b. Shuheyd who served the Umayyad State so sincerely and wholeheartedly. Kudur Vehrani. "al-Dawr al-Siyasi wa al-Idari li Mawālī Bani Umayya fi al-Andalus." *Hiwar al-Mutawassit* 12/1 (2021), 117.

During the reign of Abd al-Rahman II, Haris ibn Abi Sad, renowned for his erudition among the Mawālī, served in the shurta organisation.<sup>63</sup> During this period, Abu Abd Allah Muḥammad ibn Khalid, a faqīh (Islamic jurist) from the Mawālī who had studied with scholars such as Ibn Qasim, Eshhab, and Ibn Nafi from Egypt and Medina, was appointed to the shurta organisation.<sup>64</sup> During the reign of Abd al-Rahman III, Qasim ibn Walid al-Kalbī served in the shurta organisation, and during the reign of his son Caliph al-Hakam, Mawālī Muḥammad ibn Jahwar also served in the shurta organisation.<sup>65</sup>

The position of the Mawālī in the Umayyad state of al-Andalus was clearly delineated throughout the period of the state's rule. The Mawālī groups occupied a significant position in both the political and military realms, as evidenced by the aforementioned examples. Furthermore, they played a pivotal role in the accession of Amirs or caliphs. Upon assuming power, Amir Muḥammad deposed Prince Abd Allah, the son of Tarub, who had claimed his right to the throne with the support of the Mawālī.<sup>66</sup> The influence of the Mawālī within the state subsequently caused concern among the Arab aristocrats, who were regarded as embodying the pinnacle of tribal spirit. In particular, during the tenure of Amir Abd Allah, the rebellions of Arab aristocrats, which commenced in Elvira and Seville and subsequently spread to all southern regions of al-Andalus, resulted in the political separation of these areas from authority. As evidenced by the presence of Mawālī bureaucrats in administrative roles, the influence of the Mawālī during this period extended to other state institutions, as it had in military areas.

#### 4. Berbers

The initial incursion of the Berbers into the Iberian Peninsula was conducted by a military force of approximately twelve thousand troops, led by Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād. The army was predominantly composed of Berber soldiers, and in 92/711, they achieved a significant victory by defeating the Visigoth King Roderick. A review of the composition of the army reveals that the number of Berber soldiers greatly exceeded that of Arab soldiers. According to various sources, the number of Arab soldiers in this twelve-thousand-strong army is stated as three hundred, eight hundred, or two thousand. The data indicate that the army that conquered al-Andalus was predominantly Berber in composition.<sup>67</sup>

Similarly to the Arabs, the Berbers settled in various regions of the peninsula, where they ruled under the Amir or caliph. Furthermore, they dispatched military personnel to the army during military campaigns. From the early periods, the Banū Wansus and Banū Hali from the Zenata tribe were among the most populous Berber tribes in al-Andalus.<sup>68</sup> During the reign of Abd al-Rahman II, Suleiman ibn Wansus, who served in the accounting organisation from the Berber Miknasa lineage, settled in the Merida region after the conquest and established dominance there.<sup>69</sup> Furthermore, during this period, the Berber commander Ferj ibn Massara from the Berber Masmuda tribe, his grandfather Salim ibn Waramal, entered al-Andalus with Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād and established the city of Madinat Salim<sup>70</sup>. Mūsa ibn Zī al-Nun, a member of the Banū Zī al-Nun tribe, ruled over the Sugr al-Awsat and northern regions. He was also a member of the Berber Hawwara tribe. His grandfather, Ismail ibn Samh, also participated in the conquest of al-Andalus and settled in the city of Shantabariya (شنتابرية), where he established a dominant presence.<sup>71</sup>

It can be observed that throughout the Umayyad state of al-Andalus, there is a significant presence of Berber populations across the entire peninsula. The cities of Murūr (مورور)<sup>72</sup> Takurna, Isteje and Şezūne.<sup>73</sup> In

<sup>63</sup> Ibn Hayyān, *al-Muqtabes*, Critical ed. Muḥammad Ali Makkī, 80, 99.

<sup>64</sup> Ibn Hayyān, *al-Muqtabes*, Critical ed. Muḥammad Ali Makkī, 81.

<sup>65</sup> Ibn Hayyān, *al-Muqtabes*, Critical ed. Muḥammad Ali Makkī, 907; Ibn Idhārī, *Kitāb al-bayān*, 2/135.

<sup>66</sup> Ibn Hayyān, *al-Muqtabes*, Critical ed. Muḥammad Ali Makkī, 104, 107, 108; Inan, *Devlet al-Islam*, 1/289, 289.

<sup>67</sup> *Akhbār majmū'a*, 97; Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kāmil*, 4/562.

<sup>68</sup> Monis, *Fecr*, 390.

<sup>69</sup> Ibn Hazm, *Cemhere*, 499; Ibn al-Abbār, *Hulle*, 1/161; Inan, *Devlet al-Islam*, 1/313.

<sup>70</sup> Ibn Hazm, *Cemhere*, 499-501; Yāsin Cassim Dervish – Hossein Jabbar, *Dirasat fi Tarikh al-Mudun al-Andalusi* (Dimeşq: Temuz, 2022), 195.

<sup>71</sup> Ibn Hazm, *Cemhere*, 499-501; Dervish – Jabbar, *Dirasat*, 195.

<sup>72</sup> Ibn al-Kūtiyya, *Tārīhu iftitāhi al-Andalus*, 87; Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kāmil*, 5/494.

<sup>73</sup> Ibn Hazm, *Cemhere*, 500-502; Ibn al-Kūtiyya, *Tārīhu iftitāhi al-Andalus*, 87.

the south, Galicia, Asturias, and Half-Durub in the north<sup>74</sup> were among the cities with a high Berber population. Following the conquest, the Berber commander Monise, who entered al-Andalus, was settled in the northern city of Gijón by Mūsa ibn Nuşayr and engaged in numerous conflicts with the neighbouring Christians. However, upon his rebellion, he was eliminated by the army dispatched from the centre, thereby creating a significant security gap in the region. This security gap resulted in the loss of numerous important northern cities to Christian control until the time of Abd al-Rahman I.<sup>75</sup> In the western regions, the cities of Merida,<sup>76</sup> Colomera, Lijdaniyya (الجدانية)<sup>77</sup> Valencia in the east<sup>78</sup> Talavera, Toledo<sup>79</sup> and Guadalajara<sup>80</sup> in central al-Andalus<sup>81</sup> became important centres of Berber settlement after the conquest.<sup>82</sup>

In addition to the Berbers who entered al-Andalus with the conquest, groups referred to as Tangiers in the sources also joined the peninsula during the reign of Abd al-Rahman III. The Tangier Berbers, who took on the task of maintaining control in North Africa during the reign of Abd al-Rahman III, also participated in military campaigns in al-Andalus. From the era of governors to the fall of the Umayyad state of al-Andalus, the influence of the Berbers on the military organisation was consistently evident. The proximity of the Iberian Peninsula to North Africa facilitated natural Berber migrations to al-Andalus between 756 and 929. Following the conquest, the wealth amassed by the soldiers who entered the peninsula with Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād and Mūsa ibn Nuşayr became known in North Africa, prompting a significant influx of Berbers to al-Andalus<sup>83</sup> This demonstrates that the Berbers in North Africa were aware of the material wealth of al-Andalus and considered it a destination from which they could benefit.

The Berbers occupied significant military roles in the regions they settled throughout the Umayyad state of al-Andalus. From the time of Abd al-Rahman I, the Berbers became a significant military force within the organisation. Following the Arab aristocrats' revolts, the Berbers filled the gap in the military organisation.<sup>84</sup> Additionally, the Tangier Berbers became a significant force in the military organisation. Historical sources indicate that the Tangier Berbers were first involved in the army during the reign of Amir Abd Allah in the campaign against the rebel 'Amr Ibn Ḥafşūn. Nevertheless, under the command of Mawālī commander 'Abbas ibn Ahmad ibn Abi 'Abda, the Tangier Berbers who were engaged in the campaign against the rebel Muwallad Ibn Huzayl switched sides and joined Ibn Huzayl. In a similar fashion, the Tangier Berbers serving under the command of Mawālī commander Ahmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abi 'Abda joined the ranks of Ibn Ḥafşūn.<sup>85</sup>

The Tangier Berbers enjoyed their most prominent period during the caliphate period. This was during the reigns of Abd al-Rahman III and al-Hakam I, as well as during the early periods of the caliphate of Hishām II. During this period, the state was ruled by the *hajib* title of Abū Amir al-Manşūr. The Tangier Berbers were the most important elements of the military organisation during this period. During the reign of Abd al-Rahman III, the declaration of the caliphate led to the Idrisids in North Africa joining the

<sup>74</sup> Akhbār majmū'a, 43; Maqqarī, *Naḥḥ*, 1/276. The north-western regions were one of the first Berber settlements after the conquest. The main reason why the Berbers who came with the conquest settled in these regions was that the region had similar characteristics to their homeland in Africa. However, after the great Berber revolt in 123/740 during the period of the governors, the northern regions were no longer under Muslim rule and the Berber population was no longer there. For detailed information see Monis, *Fecr*, 381-390; Koşdaş, *Endülüs'ün fethi ve valiler döneminde Berberiler* (İstanbul: Okur, 2020), 115-121.

<sup>75</sup> Pisto, Gonzales - Enrico Gonzales, "Sawrat al-Barbar fi Shimali Ifriqiya wa In'ikasıtiha 'ala al-Andalus", *al-Andalus Qurun min al-Takallub wa al-Ataat*, (Riyadh: Maktabat al-Mālik Abdulaziz al-Amma, 1996) 1/437-453; Monis, *Fecr*, 105-106.

<sup>76</sup> Akhbār majmū'a, 47; Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kāmil*, 5/259; Ibn Idhārī, *Kitāb al-bayān*, 2/41.

<sup>77</sup> Ibn Hazm, *Cemhere*, 500, 501,

<sup>78</sup> Ahmad b. Abi Ya'qub Ibn Wadih al-Katib Ya'qubi, *Kitāb al-Buldān* (Beyrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyya), 195.

<sup>79</sup> Ya'qubi, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, 194.

<sup>80</sup> Monis, *Fecr*, 384.

<sup>81</sup> Ibn Idhārī, *Kitāb al-bayān*, 2/60.

<sup>82</sup> For detailed information on the settlements of the Berbers, see. Koşdaş, *Berberiler*, 105-132.

<sup>83</sup> Maqqarī, *Naḥḥ*, 1/259.

<sup>84</sup> Ibn Şā'id al-Andalusī, Ali b. Mūsa, *al-Mugrib fi Hule'l-Magrib* (Egypt: Dāru al-Maarif, 1964), 1/60; Koşdaş, *Berberiler*, 105-107.

<sup>85</sup> Ibn Idhārī, *Kitāb al-bayān*, 2/147, 148.

ranks of Caliph Abd al-Rahman III under the leadership of Ibn Afiya. This opposition to the Fatimid caliph in the east strengthened the position of the Tangier Berbers in the military.<sup>86</sup>

During the reign of Abd al-Rahman III, the Tangiers participated in military campaigns. Following the suppression of rebellions, they were settled in cities and regions to maintain security. In the military campaign led by Abd al-Rahman III against Rayya, Algeciras, and Carmona, the Tangier Berbers were settled in a newly constructed fortress named *Ḥiṣn Akut*.<sup>87</sup> Furthermore, following the suppression of the rebellion in the city of Merida under the leadership of one of his most important commanders, Ahmad ibn Ilyās, approximately one thousand Tangier soldiers were settled there.<sup>88</sup>

During the reign of Caliph al-Hakam, the power and influence of the Tangier soldiers increased significantly. Like his father Abd al-Rahman III, Caliph al-Hakam supported the Tangier Berbers who had pledged allegiance to the Córdoba administration against the Shia Fatimid caliph in North Africa, establishing authority in the region with these soldiers. During this period, the Tangier soldiers continued to maintain their presence within the military organisation in the Iberian Peninsula. Following the reign of Caliph al-Hakam, the period of Abū Amir al-Manşūr saw the Berbers become an indispensable element of the military organisation. However, cultural differences and the rough manners exhibited by the Tangier Berbers led to their being hated by the local elite of Córdoba.<sup>89</sup> During the internal conflicts of the final period of al-Andalus, the Berber soldiers were sometimes prominent figures and sometimes played a more passive role, depending on the ruling caliph.<sup>90</sup>

## 5. Slaves (Sakālibe, Abid, and Mamluks)

In the military organisation of the Umayyad State of al-Andalus, two categories of slave soldiers were employed. The first of these were the slaves of European origin living in al-Andalus, known as Sakālibe, Saqlabi, or Sakaliba, which is the Arabic equivalent of the words for “slave, abd, or raqīq.” The term Sakālibe is equivalent to the names used by the Slavs themselves, namely “Slaveninu” in their ancestral language, “Sklabeno” in Greek, “Esclave” in French,<sup>91</sup> and “Slave” in English. This name was used until the 7th century, after which the word “sklavos” began to be used to mean “slave”.<sup>92</sup> It can be reasonably deduced from Islamic historical sources that European slaves were derived from Slavs, Bulgarians, and Caucasians. The initial settlement of these slaves was around the Don and Volga rivers. They subsequently migrated to the interior of present-day Europe.<sup>93</sup> While residing in Europe, they were captured by certain Germanic tribes and subsequently purchased by the Andalusians. Among these slaves were individuals of various nationalities, including Cilician, German, French, and Italian. The Andalusians referred to them as Sakālibe.<sup>94</sup> Subsequently, this designation was employed to encompass all Christian slaves.<sup>95</sup>

The entry of European Sakālibe into al-Andalus occurred through a number of different avenues, including slave traders, the enslavement of captives taken in wars, and as gifts. In particular, in the northern Christian kingdoms, young captives captured during military campaigns were enslaved and assigned to palace or military service.<sup>96</sup> It is notable that these captives were frequently children who had

<sup>86</sup> Ibn Idhārī, *Kitāb al-bayān*, 2/219; Ibn Hayyān, *al-Muqtebes*, Critical ed. Pedro Chalmeta, 261, 312-314; Maqqarī, *Naḥḥ*, 1/397.

<sup>87</sup> Ibn Idhārī, *Kitāb al-bayān*, 2/164, 165; Ibn Hayyān, *al-Muqtebes*, Critical ed. Pedro Chalmeta, 87, 88.

<sup>88</sup> Ibn Hayyān, *al-Muqtebes*, Critical ed. Pedro Chalmeta, 239-241.

<sup>89</sup> Ibn Hayyān, *al-Muqtebes*, Critical ed. Salahaddī al-Hawwārī, 146-151.

<sup>90</sup> Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kāmil*, 8/680; Ibn Idhārī, *Kitāb al-bayān*, 3/50.

<sup>91</sup> Ibrahim Kadir Boutchich, *Mabāhis fi tarihi'l-ictimāi li'l-Maghrib wa'l-Andalus* (Beyrūt: Dāru al-Tabīa 1997), 45.

<sup>92</sup> Abd Allah Suleiman al-Mezrou, “Nüfūz al-Sakāliba fi al-Andalus fi Asri al-Imārat”, *al-Andalus Qurūn mine't-Tekallubāt wa'l-Atāat*, (Riyadh: Matbaatu Mektebi Abdulaziz, 1996), 92; Boutchich, *Mabāhis*, 45.

<sup>93</sup> Shihāb al-Din Abi Abd Allah Yaqt b. Abd Allah Yaqt al-Hamawī, *Mu'cam al-Buldān* (Beyrūt: Dāru Sādir, 1977), 2/272; Mezrou, “Nüfūz al-Sakāliba”, 92.

<sup>94</sup> Inan, *Devlet al-Islam*, 1/249, 250; Mezrou, “Nüfūz al-Sakāliba”, 92, 93.

<sup>95</sup> Abū al-Qasim Muḥammad b. Ali al-Nasibi Ibn Hawqal, *Kitāb Surat al-Ard* (Beyrūt: Dār al-Maktabat al-Hayat, 1996), 106; Inan, *Devlet al-Islam*, 1/249, 250.

<sup>96</sup> Maqdisī identifies three types of surgical procedures for castration. The first, a particularly dangerous operation, involved the removal of both the testicles and the penis. This procedure resulted in the deaths of numerous captured prisoners. Complications during the operation were numerous, including the retraction of one or two testicles into the abdomen. In the event of such a

been left in churches.<sup>97</sup> These slaves were initially castrated and then employed in the palace and the service of the Amir, caliph, and palace notables. This group, designated as the Fityan, was divided into two subgroups. Those who had undergone castration and were engaged in palace chores were designated as "Hisyan", while those who performed administrative duties and served Arabs were known as "Fuhul".<sup>98</sup> Additionally, they were instructed in the Arabic language, customs, and traditions. As they were unable to communicate in Arabic, they were also referred to as "Hars".<sup>99</sup> The Sakālibe, with their education, developed in the fields of science and literature and rose to significant positions in political and military fields.<sup>100</sup>

The other military unit composed of slaves in al-Andalus was the African-origin group known as Sudan al-Abid, Abid, or Mamluks, who were of North African descent.<sup>101</sup> In addition, it is documented that the Hamsiyun, a military unit that participated in ceremonial events during the reign of Hakam II, constituted a slave class. While Mahmud Urfe posits that the designation 'Hamsiyun' was derived from their status as small groups,<sup>102</sup> Abdulmecid Munawir proposes that they were African slaves captured in wars and designated as such due to their classification as war booty, derived from the term 'Hums'.<sup>103</sup> The units designated as Hamsiyun are frequently referenced in conjunction with the term "abid" (slave) in the extant sources. Furthermore, during the reigns of Abd al-Rahman III and al-Hakam II, the government of Córdoba undertook a series of military campaigns in North Africa, with the objective of neutralising the threat posed by the Fatimids. These campaigns resulted in the defeat of Berber groups that had aligned themselves with the Fatimids. The earliest evidence of the Hamsiyun unit's inclusion in the military organisation is also thought to date back to this period. The term 'Abid' is understood to refer to slaves of Maghribi origin. This lends support to Munawir's view that the Hamsiyun were prisoners captured as booty during the Maghribi campaigns of Abd al-Rahman III and Hakam, enslaved and referred to as 'abid', and named 'Abid al-Hamsiyun' due to being obtained from the 'hums'. They were subsequently incorporated into the military organisation.

The Sakālibe held significant roles within the military hierarchy. During the reign of Abd al-Rahman I, the gap created by the rebellion of the Arab aristocrats was filled with Sakālibe soldiers.<sup>104</sup> During the reign of al-Hakam ibn Hishām, two thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry Sakālibe soldiers were assigned as palace guards.<sup>105</sup> During the reign of Abd al-Rahman II, the Sakālibe commander Abū al-Futuh Nasr, renowned for his robust character, assumed a pivotal role both within and beyond the palace. This commander, who had previously fought against the Normans, converted to Islam during the reign of Amir al-Hakam and subsequently became one of the Amir's most prominent advisors. His influence increased further still during the reign of Abd al-Rahman II, and he attained a level of authority

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situation, it was noted that the removal of the left testicle would not eliminate the individual's sexual desires. However, if the right testicle ascended, it was observed that the individual would develop facial hair and exhibit characteristics such as lighter skin and blue eyes. The other method was to 'cut off the penis and testicles at once (Shamsuddin Muḥammad Ahmad al-Maqdisī, *Ahsan al-Taqasim fi Ma'rifat al-Aqalim*, Critical ed. Muḥammad Amin Sawi (Beyrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyya, 2003), 194). The responsibility for these individuals' castration was also borne by the slave traders. They were brought from France and Jalikiyya and subsequently sent to the east (Ibn Hawqal, *Kitab Surat al-Ard*, 106). Maqdisī states that they were first castrated in Andalusia and then sent eastwards to Egypt (al-Maqdisī, *Ahsan al-Taqasim*, 242). The castration operation was performed in known locations in Europe. Hanawi, a contemporary scholar, conducted an analysis of this issue, referencing anecdotes about the priests' prohibition of human slavery. He further noted that the castration was carried out in Agobard, located in the northern kingdom of Lyon, France, a region known for its Jewish slave traders (Muḥammad Hanāwī, *Nizam al-Asker bi'l-Andalus* (Rabat: Dāru Abi Rikrāk, 2003), 34).

<sup>97</sup> Maqqarī, *Naft*, 1/384, 385; al-Maqdisī, *Ahsan al-Taqasim*, 194.

<sup>98</sup> Hussein Monis, *Meālimu Tarihi al-Maghrib ve'l-Andalus (Kāhīrah: Dāru al-Rashād, 2004)*, 307.

<sup>99</sup> Ibn Hayyān, *al-Muqtebes*, Critical ed. Muḥammad Ali Makkī, 322; Ibn Hawqal, *Kitab Surat al-Ard*, 106; Inan, *Devlet al-Islam*, 1/249, 250.

<sup>100</sup> Inan, *Devlet al-Islam*, 1/243, 244; Mezrou, "Nüfüz al-Sakāliba", 94.

<sup>101</sup> Ibn Hayyān, *al-Muqtebes*, Critical ed. Hevvari, 33, 35; Maqqarī, *Naft*, 1/388.

<sup>102</sup> Mahmud Urfe, "Tanzimāt al-Ceys al-Umawī bi-l-Andalus fī al-'Ahd al-Khilāfah al-Hakam al-Mustansir," *Majallat 'Arabiyyah li-l-'Ulūm al-Insāniyyah* 30/8 (Kuwait: 1988), 147, 148.

<sup>103</sup> Munāvir, *Ceys*, 80.

<sup>104</sup> Ekhlās, "The Sakālibe at Bani Umayyad Palaces", 123.

<sup>105</sup> *Akhbār majmū'a*, 125.

equivalent to that of the viziers, with responsibility for the Amir's private affairs.<sup>106</sup> Another prominent Sakālibe commander, Abdun al-Fetā, achieved a decisive victory against the Muwallad rebel Amr ibn Ḥafṣūn.<sup>107</sup> The military force dispatched to quell the insurrection in Toledo was predominantly composed of Sakālibe troops.<sup>108</sup>

With the assumption of power by Abd al-Rahman III, the influence of the Sakālibe in the military organisation increased significantly. At the time of Abd al-Rahman III's ascension to the throne, numerous regions of al-Andalus were exercising independent rule, largely unaccountable to central authority. In the south, Ibn Ḥafṣūn, and in the north, the Muwallad iqta lords, led by the Banū Qasi, engaged in numerous rebellions, declaring their independence during the reigns of Mundhir, Muḥammad, and Abd Allah before Abd al-Rahman III. Therefore, upon assuming power, Abd al-Rahman III first sought to re-establish political authority by fighting these rebel groups. During his reign, the iqta system, one of the most significant components of the military apparatus, was rendered inoperable due to the insurrections of tribal leaders. Consequently, the state was unable to recruit soldiers from the iqta regions when planning a campaign. In response to this situation, Abd al-Rahman III established military units comprising slaves who were completely loyal to him and fought the rebels. Initially, the rebels were targeted in the stronghold city of Bobastro, which was used as a headquarters by the rebel Amr ibn Ḥafṣūn. Here, the son of Ibn Ḥafṣūn, Suleiman, was present. The army initially secured the capture of one of the most formidable fortresses, Mint Rubi. Subsequently, the units comprising Sakālibe soldiers inflicted a significant setback upon the rebels in Bobastro.<sup>109</sup> Subsequently, in the western regions of al-Andalus, particularly in Badajoz, the rebels led by Abd al-Rahman ibn Abd Allah ibn Marwān al-Jillīqī were neutralised by the Sakālibe units. The cities and regions that had been liberated from the rebels and connected to the central authority were settled with Sakālibe soldiers in order to prevent them from becoming rebellion hubs again.<sup>110</sup> During this period, the authority in North Africa was further strengthened with the deployment of Sakālibe soldiers.<sup>111</sup> In the Battle of the Alhandega (Battle of Simancas / معركة الخندق), which resulted in a significant defeat for the Muslims during the reign of Abd al-Rahman III, a Sakālibe commander named Najda was appointed as the head of the army. The sources indicate that the reason for the defeat was the Arab soldiers withdrawing from the battlefield in reaction to the appointment of a Sakālibe commander for such a significant campaign.<sup>112</sup> During this period, Sakālibe soldiers were also deployed against the Berbers who rebelled within the peninsula. Upon assuming power, Abd al-Rahman III dispatched an army of Sakālibe soldiers, led by the Mawālī 'Abbas ibn Abdulaziz al-Qurayshi and Ahmad ibn Abi 'Abda, to suppress the Berbers who rebelled. The Berbers were driven out of the Baranis Mountain and Kerkī regions.<sup>113</sup>

During the reign of Abd al-Rahman III, the Sakālibe soldiers retained a significant role. Caliph al-Hakam, upon assuming power from his father, placed particular emphasis on the military system to maintain the political authority established during his father's tenure, both within the Iberian Peninsula and in the Maghreb region. To counter the Shia Fatimid threat in North Africa, he called upon his commander Sahib al-Sakālibe Muḥammad ibn Qasim ibn Tumlas and ordered the formation of a unit with Sakālibe to launch an expedition to Ceuta. Upon reaching the region, the army joined forces with the army commanded by Abd Allah ibn Ramahas, responsible for security in the Maghreb under the Córdoba administration. This resulted in a significant blow to the Shia Fatimid threat in the region.<sup>114</sup>

<sup>106</sup> Ibn Hayyān, *al-Muqtebes*, Critical ed. Muḥammad Ali Makkī, 8.

<sup>107</sup> Ibn Idhārī, *Kitāb al-bayān*, 2/115; Abdul Macid Na'ni, *Tārīkh al-dawlah al-Umawīyah fī al-Andalus*, 285.

<sup>108</sup> Ibn Hayyān, *al-Muqtebes*, Critical ed. Pedro Chalmeta, 281-283; Ibn Idhārī, *Kitāb al-bayān*, 2/202, 203. The term "Ḥaṣem/حشم" in the source of Ibn Idhārī and Ibn Hayyān refers to the military group with the status of slaves. It is stated in the sources that this word refers to the slave class of soldiers (Munāvir, *Ceys*, 83).

<sup>109</sup> Ibn Hayyān, *al-Muqtebes*, Critical ed. Pedro Chalmeta, 204; Ibn Idhārī, *Kitāb al-bayān*, 2/192.

<sup>110</sup> Ibn Hayyān, *al-Muqtebes*, Critical ed. Pedro Chalmeta, 247; Ibn Idhārī, *Kitāb al-bayān*, 2/199.

<sup>111</sup> Ibn Idhārī, *Kitāb al-bayān*, 2/223.

<sup>112</sup> Imāmuddīn, *Siyasi Tarihi*, 171-173.

<sup>113</sup> Ibn Hayyān, *al-Muqtebes*, Critical ed. Pedro Chalmeta, 53, 54; Ibn Idhārī, *Kitāb al-bayān*, 2/159.

<sup>114</sup> Ibn Hayyān, *al-Muqtebes*, Critical ed. Salahaddi al-Hawwārī, 57, 59.

During the reign of Hishām II, Abū Amir al-Manşūr, who had gained political power and influence, he proceeded to eliminate the Sakālibe, who had previously held significant military influence under the previous regimes.<sup>115</sup> In lieu of the aforementioned forces, he proceeded to assemble an army of North African provenance, the remuneration for which was provided by the state.<sup>116</sup> Due to the prevailing instability in the Maghreb, he formed an alliance with Zīrī b. Menād's sons, Zāwī, Jalāl, and Maqsīn, who belonged to the Berber Banū Zīrī tribe that had migrated to al-Andalus. He employed them within the state apparatus and assigned them various military ranks.<sup>117</sup> This victory contributed to the growing influence of Berbers within the state. In addition to these groups, Manşūr also brought Berbers from the Zenata tribe residing in the Fez region to al-Andalus and employed them within the military organisation. He selected army commanders from Berber tribes such as the Sinhaja, Maghrawa, Banū Yafran, Banū Barzal, and Miknasa.<sup>118</sup> During this period, the influence of the Arabs in the army was also significantly reduced.<sup>119</sup> In addition to the 3,000 mounted troops registered in the state's divan, approximately 2,000 North African soldiers were employed within the military organisation.<sup>120</sup> These soldiers served as soldiers<sup>121</sup> and engineering corps<sup>122</sup> and were also employed as messengers in the barid organisation. They were tasked with facilitating communication within the military organisation.<sup>123</sup>

Given that the Sakālibe were in a state of servitude, it was not feasible for them to rebel with the intention of seizing power. This was one of the primary reasons for the Amirate's trust in them. Following Abd al-Rahman I, the revolts of the Yemenī and Kalbī tribes resulted in the dismissal of Arab aristocrats from the army, creating a significant gap in the military organisation. During the reign of Abd al-Rahman I, the gap was filled by the Berbers, and in the later period, the slave soldiers were also supported in line with the political events that developed.<sup>124</sup> This situation led to a significant change in the military system, but the new army successfully carried out tasks such as conquest, suppressing revolts, and maintaining security. During the reigns of Caliph Abd al-Rahman III and his son al-Hakam, the Sakālibe slave, who were well-educated, managed to gain significant influence and power both in the administrative and military organisations.

## 6. Muwallads

The term Muwallad, derived from the Arabic root "vallede," refers to non-Arab individuals born outside the lands ruled by the Arabs, later brought to these lands and raised according to Arab culture, customs, and traditions.<sup>125</sup> The term Muwallad is defined as the generation born from the marriages of Muslims who came to the peninsula during the conquest and the period of governors with local Christians, as well as the children of locals who converted to Islam immediately after the conquest.<sup>126</sup> Additionally, those who adopted Arab culture but did not convert to Islam were referred to as "Musta'reb."<sup>127</sup>

<sup>115</sup> Lisan ad-Din Ibn al-Khatib, *A'māl al-a'lām fi men büyi'a kable al-ihtilām min mulūki al-Islam*, Critical ed. Levi Provençal (Lubnān: Dāru al-Maqshūfa, 1906), 102; Idhārī, *Kitāb al-bayān*, 2/264.

<sup>116</sup> Idhārī, *Kitāb al-bayān*, 2/284.

<sup>117</sup> Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kāmil*, 9/32, 33.

<sup>118</sup> Maqqarī, *Naft*, 1/397.

<sup>119</sup> Ibn Khaldun, *Kitāb al-Ibar*, 4/319.

<sup>120</sup> Ibn al-Khatib, *A'māl*, 102.

<sup>121</sup> Sudanese soldiers in the army of 'Abd al-Rahman I: At the same time, 'Abd al-Rahman strengthened his army by recruiting slaves, Persians and Mawālīs. He both bought the owned slaves in Andalusia and recruited them into his army, and he also brought Sudanese from the Maghrib region, who were of the slave class (referred to as Mamālik, to Andalusia and recruited them into his army (Ahmad Fikrī, *Qurtuba fi Asr al-Islami wa Hadaratihā* (Mısır: Müessesese al-Sebab, 1394), 32; Khalil İbrāhīm al-Sāmerrāi, *Tārīkh al-'Arab wa-hadāratuhum fi al-Andalus* (Lubnān: Dāru'l-Kitāb'l-Cedit, 2008), 109.

<sup>122</sup> Nassira Titāh, "Nizam al-Barid fi ahdi devleti'l-Umeyye bi'l-Endelüs", *Mecelletü Turās* 3/9 (2021), 295-297.

<sup>123</sup> Ibn al-Khatib, *A'māl*, 102.

<sup>124</sup> Ekhlās, "The Sakālibe at Bani Umayyad Palaces", 123.

<sup>125</sup> Manzoor, *Lisān*, 3/469.

<sup>126</sup> There is some disagreement about the literal meaning of the name Muwallad. Some scholars argue that Muwallad refers to the offspring of Muslim men who marry Christian women, while others argue that they are the children of the local population who became Muslim after the conquest. For detailed information on the debates on this issue, see Mehmet Özdemir, *Endülüs'te*

During periods of strong central authority, the Muwallads were responsible for protecting the borders and sending soldiers to the army in the iqta lands that had been allotted to them. Conversely, in times of weakened authority, they engaged in rebellion activities. For example, the descendants of Banū Qasi conducted numerous campaigns with the objective of strengthening Islamic rule in cities such as Galicia (جلالقة), Ushbuna, Sartaniyya, Ulubbe, and Qala.<sup>128</sup> Nevertheless, in periods of weakened central authority, they declared independence in these regions.<sup>129</sup> This situation demonstrates that the deficiencies in the military organisation have significantly undermined the authority of the political establishment.

The occurrence of rebellion movements and internal conflicts among families responsible for maintaining security resulted in a state of instability in the region. During periods of weak central authority, such as the reigns of Mundhir, Muḥammad, and Abd Allah, the lack of control over the frontier regions led to attacks on Muslim cities by Christian forces. During this period, the northern cities of Pamplona and Tudela were attacked, and the Christian king Shance ibn Gharsiya ibn Venga captured Tudela in SAGR al-Ala.<sup>130</sup>

During the reign of Abd al-Rahman III, the campaigns to re-establish central authority significantly reduced the impact of these rebellions. With the stabilisation of authority, the iqta system became operational once more. Subsequently, the frontier regions were populated by Muwallad families, including the Tujibis, Banū Zī al-Nun, Banū Zarwāl, Banū Ghazvan, Banū Tavīl, and Banū Razzin. These families were granted lands as iqta.<sup>131</sup>

The uprisings carried out by the Muwallads, which were directed against political authority and which sought to claim a role in governance, indicate that this group perceived governance as their right since the conquest process. Their view of periods of weak political authority as opportunities supports this. When examining their Islamic identity, it is evident that some rebels subsequently apostatised. In 286/899, Ibn Ḥafṣūn, along with his family, returned to Christianity. However, this move caused some Muwallad groups to abandon him. He then attempted to attract other rebel groups and northern kings like Alfonso to his side.<sup>132</sup> This situation demonstrates that the Muwallad groups lacked a unified structure. While some groups ostensibly converted to Islam, others retained a Muslim identity but believed they were more deserving of governance than the Arabs.

## 7. Conclusion

This article has conducted a comprehensive examination of the various ethnic elements involved in the military organisation of the Umayyad Caliphate of al-Andalus and their contributions to the state's military structure. The findings obtained at the end of the study reveal the dynamic structure of the state's military organisation and the importance of its ethnic diversity.

The Arabs who settled in the region with the conquest of al-Andalus played a central role in the military and administrative structure. Subsequently, the Baladī and Shamī Arabs settled in various parts of al-Andalus after the conquest period, occupying important positions in both military and civil fields. These

*Muvelladun Hareketleri* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 1989), 180-320 / 80-88; Yuliya Radoslavova Miteva, "Identidades fronterizas en el contexto andalusí: los muladies." *Cuadernos Medievales* (2018), 7-17.

<sup>127</sup> Yasmine Beale-Rivaya, "The History and Evolution of the Term 'Mozarab'", *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum IV* (2010), 52. The Spanish word for Musta'reb, Mozarab, has also been used in some studies to describe the Christian exiles who settled in the north of the Iberian Peninsula in the lands of Christian kings after their Islamic conquest. González Ruiz, Ramón, "El Nacimiento Del Mundo Mozárabe Toledano (711-807) Un Ensayo De Historia Comparada." *Antigüedad y Cristianismo Monografías Históricas Sobre La Antigüedad Tardía*, (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia 2013), 67-68.

<sup>128</sup> Ibn Hayyān, *al-Muqtebes*, Critical ed. Muḥammad Ali Makkī, 304; Ibn Idhārī, *Kitāb al-bayān*, 2/85; Nuvayrī, 1992, 23/382; Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kāmil*, 7/ 80; Maqqarī, *Naḥḥ*, 1/350.

<sup>129</sup> Ibn Hayyān, *al-Muqtebes*, Critical ed. Muḥammad Ali Makkī, 32; Ibn Hayyān *al-Muqtebes*, Critical ed. Pedro Chalmeta, 9; Ibn Idhārī, *Kitāb al-bayān*, 2/100; Inan, *Devlet al-Islam*, 1/339-343.

<sup>130</sup> Ibn Hayyān, *al-Muqtebes*, Critical ed. Muḥammad Ali Makkī, 124.

<sup>131</sup> Ibn Hayyān *al-Muqtebes*, Critical ed. Muḥammad Ali Makkī 438.

<sup>132</sup> Ibn Idhārī, *Kitāb al-bayān*, 2/139; Inan, *Devlet al-Islam*, 2/139.



groups gained significant influence in the early periods of the state and played a crucial role in the state's security policies. For instance, the Arabs who came to al-Andalus with Mūsa ibn Nuşayr initially exhibited the highest level of tribal solidarity and took on administrative roles in various cities. However, the revolts carried out by Arab aristocrats based on tribal solidarity led to security and loyalty issues, and thus, the Arabs were gradually purged. They were replaced by reliable and loyal groups such as the Mawālī and Sakālibe soldiers.

Mawālī groups were distinguished by their fidelity and allegiance to the Arabs. They played a pivotal role in both military and administrative services. Over time, the position of the Mawālī within the state increased, and new arrangements were made in the military organisation due to their influence. In particular, during the reign of Abd al-Rahman I, the loyalty of the Mawālī groups to the state led to their employment in critical military and administrative roles. For example, during the reign of Abd al-Rahman I, Mawālī such as Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Ghanim and Thalabah ibn Ubayd al-Judhāmi held important positions in the military organisation. However, over time, the influence of the Mawālī in the military organisation also diminished, and they were replaced by new reliable groups.

The Sakālibe, or European slaves, became indispensable elements of the military organisation, particularly during the reigns of Abd al-Rahman III and Caliph al-Hakam. Their absolute loyalty to the state and lack of rebellious tendencies made them superior to other groups. The Sakālibe, through their education and loyalty, gained a significant place in the state's security and defence strategies. To illustrate, the Sakālibe commander Abdun al-Fetā successfully conducted military operations against the Muwallad rebel Amr ibn Ḥafşūn. Nevertheless, during the tenure of Abū Amir al-Manşūr, the Sakālibe were also subjected to a purge with the objective of weakening existing power centres. In their place, Berber slaves imported from Africa were placed in their positions.

The Muwallads, who were local converts to Islam, were particularly prominent in military roles in frontier regions. They engaged in rebellion activities during periods of weak political authority but made significant contributions to the state's military power during periods of strong authority. For example, the Banū Qasi family conducted important campaigns against Christian kingdoms in frontier regions but declared independence and rebelled during periods of weakened authority. The rebellions of the Muwallads posed a challenge to the state's security and defence strategies, leading to restructuring processes.

The Berbers, who played an important role in the conquest of al-Andalus, settled in the region from the conquest period onwards and gained a significant place in the state's military power. During the period of Abū Amir al-Manşūr, the Berbers came to the forefront with new arrangements in the military organisation. The Berbers played a pivotal role in the formulation of the state's security policies and the maintenance of its military power.

This study elucidates the contribution of ethnic diversity within the military organisation of the Umayyad State in al-Andalus to the state's security and defence policies, as well as the manner in which these policies evolved over time. To illustrate, the decline in confidence in a particular group following rebellions resulted in modifications to the military structure, with the state replacing them with groups it deemed more reliable. The process, which commenced with the dismissal of Arab aristocrats, witnessed the incorporation of the Mawālī and Sakālibe into the military. However, by the time of Abū Amir al-Manşūr, these groups were also supplanted by Berbers of North African provenance. In this process, the loyalty and reliability of the ethnic groups employed within the military played a significant role. The loss of trust caused by rebellions created a need to establish a new military structure with reliable groups. Consequently, the erosion of trust following the rebellions led to changes in the military system, and the military organisation, which formed the foundation of the state's security and defence strategies, was restructured based on the principles of trust and loyalty.

While this study has examined the influence of various ethnic groups on the formation of the military organisation in the Umayyad State in al-Andalus, a more comprehensive understanding could be gained by conducting a detailed investigation into the impact of these ethnic groups on social and cultural life. A

comparative study examining the roles of the Muwallads, Sakālibe, and Berber groups not only in the military but also in economic, social, and cultural spheres could provide a broader perspective on the findings of this research. Such a study could analyse the influence of the military structure on the state's general governance policies and assess the role of different ethnic groups in governance.

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