

The Berber Revolts in al-Andalus from The Advent of Islam Until The Fall of The Umayyads

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Abstract

In the timeline of the Islamic era in Al-Andalus, there was a long glorified and esteemed history of multi-ethnicity and multi-religious population who lived under Muslim rule. In this society, the most dominant and often acting as the higher-up was visibly the Arabs. Among all the ethnic groups in this society, there was a group named the Berbers, who were often credited as the cause of various rebellions in Islamic Spanish studies and painted the Andalusian history with numerous events. It created the image of the Berbers as a rebellious community and led to other stereotypes. Therefore, this paper discusses a new overview of the Berbers, specifically the Andalusian Berbers, regarding their involvement and roles in many of the rebellions that happened there. It focuses on impactful events where the Berbers directly acted as the rebels and as part of the mercenaries under other people's leadership. The objective is to give a more accurate interpretation of their involvement in those events without getting caught up in absolute stereotypical views of Berbers. In getting all the information about the events and the descriptions of the Berbers' involvement, this article generally used library research and a content-analysis approach based on primary and secondary sources on Islamic Spanish history. It is within the limitation of this study, however, that it only focuses on the events between the advent of the Muslims in 711 and the collapse of the Umayyad caliphate in 1031.

Keywords: Berber, Al-Andalus, Revolts, Umayyads, Arabs.

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Introduction

Al-Andalus was a part of the Iberian Peninsula – today Spain and Portugal – ruled by the Muslims in the medieval era of Spain. The glorified Islamic rule was established and maintained in the place for centuries. This era was famously known for the splendour feature of its multi-ethnicity and multi-religious population. Most claimed it to be a harmonious co-existence in which people lived peacefully. However, just like any other civilisation, it must also not be denied that parts of the timeline were full of turmoil and commotion. Generally, the population who lived under Islamic rule there can be identified as Arabs, Berbers, Muwallads, Christians, Jews, and others. While the most dominant one acting as the rulers and higher-up society was

visibly the Arabs, there was another key player who painted the Andalusian history with various events and episodes, which was the Berbers. They were often credited in various Islamic Spanish studies as the cause of various revolts and rebellions in the area.

Firstly, who are the Berbers? In general, Berbers were a specific ethnic group who were the native people of North Africa. There were various speculations on the origins of this ethnic group, who called themselves Amazigh or Imazighen. But, the most undeniable fact was their identity as indigenous people of North Africa who converted to Islam and later emerged as founders of several dynasties in the history of Maghrib and Al-Andalus (Stepanova, 2018). Coming from North Africa, the Berbers started dominating the Iberian Peninsula during the invasion of Tariq ibn Ziyad in 711. It was under the approval of the Umayyad Caliph of Damascus and the instruction of the North African governor, Musa ibn Nusayr, the Berber general Tariq ibn Ziyad led the Muslim army invading al-Andalus. This army, consisting of 7,000 to 12,000 warriors and mostly Berbers, came with Tariq from Ceuta in Maghrib (Morocco) to the western part of the Iberian Peninsula. After the successful invasion, these Berbers, together with a group of Arabs and later joined by the army led by Musa ibn Nusayr, settled down in al-Andalus (Stepanova, 2018).

Even though the Berbers did not hold as important a position and influence as the Arabs, who were the core of the Islamic rule there, the Berbers' existence and demographics were still very significant in narrating the historical account of the peninsula. The attention paid to Andalusian Berbers was much less significant than that paid to North African Berbers, especially in the old Arabic literary traditions. However, from the few literatures that could be found and from past studies, both these North African and Andalusian Berber faced the identical drawback: stereotyping. Nicola Clarke, in her study entitled "“They are the most treacherous of people’: Religious difference in Arabic accounts of three early medieval Berber revolts”, has depicted the many vicious stereotypes faced by the Berbers. Not only were they perceived and branded as rebels, but the Berbers were also described as barbarians, hardly Muslims, uncivilised, antagonists, and more generalised hostile terms (Clarke, 2013). The trend could be seen in much of the surviving literature, which also influenced modern society's views of the medieval Berbers' population. In her study, Clarke quoted numerous works with statements that depict or imply this hostile representation of the Berbers. For instance, according to Al-Hamdani, he said that Berbers comprised nine-tenths of the world's violent characters (Clarke, 2013).

However, these terms were not baseless accusations, as Berbers were genuinely tangled in many incidents and significant events in North Africa and al-Andalus. Nonetheless, it was still somewhat problematic for all the Berbers to be generalised as such without taking into justification the incidents that involved them.

Therefore, in taking the distinction between the North African and Andalusian Berbers, this paper examines a new overview of the Berbers in al-Andalus regarding their roles and functions in many of the episodes of rebellions that happened there. It focused on impactful events in which the Berbers directly acted as the rebels and as part of the mercenaries under other people's leadership. The objective is to give a more accurate interpretation of their involvement in those events without getting caught up in absolute stereotypical views of Berbers. It is within the limitation of this study, however, that the article only focuses on the

events between the advent of the Muslims in 711 and the collapse of the Umayyad caliphate in 1031.

The Berber Revolts

Historically, one of the earliest portrayals of the Berbers as rebels in literature can be seen from a record by Ibn Habib, an Umayyad historian of a dialogue between two significant figures during the conquest period of the Iberian Peninsula. Taking place at the palace of the Umayyad reign, the caliph Sulayman b. Abd Al-Malik asked the general in charge of the conquest, including the patron of Tariq ibn Ziyad, Musa ibn Nusayr regarding the Berbers. His following answer illustrated the image of Berbers of that time, in which he said: “They are the non-Arabs who most resemble the Arabs (*hum ashbah al-‘ajam bi-al-‘arab*) [in their] bravery, steadfastness, endurance and horsemanship, except that they are the most treacherous of people (*al-nās*) – they [have] no [care for] loyalty, nor for pacts” (Ibn Habib, ca 820-853/1991).

Hence, to determine the cause of such a hostile description, this paper will study and examine the many Berber revolts in al-Andalus, where these rebellions will be split into two categories. For the first part, the study emphasized the revolts and insurgencies that Andalusian Berbers have been directly involved with or were the primary triggers of the events. Meanwhile, the second part focuses on rebellions that the Berbers were involved in but only acted as mercenaries under other groups’ leadership. Both are equally important for the study as all those events impact the image of the Berbers.

Accordingly, for the very first Berber rebellion, it is only proper to highlight the significant event that happened in the 8th century involving North African and Andalusian Berbers. It was called ‘The Berber Revolt’, signifying the event to be the most prominent and referred to when talking about Berber rebellions. One of the sources was the writing of Ibn al-Qutiyyah, who deliberately explained the great revolt. However, he focused more on the relationship between the governors and the Syrians than the Berbers. Summarily, this revolt broke out in Tangiers, led by a Berber named Maysara, and spread widely even to al-Andalus. During that time, North Africa and al-Andalus were under the rule of Hisham ibn Abd al-Malik, the Umayyad caliph responsible for appointing the governors in these regions. After seeing how the rebels killed and overthrew his assigned governors, the caliph Hisham appointed Kulthum ibn Iyad al-Qaysi to put down the Berbers and brought together more than 30,000 men to Ifriqiyya (North Africa). The fights between these Syrian-dominated contingents and the rebels continued in the regions. After some time, the struggle shifted to al-Andalus between Balj ibn Bishr al-Qushayri (Kulthum’s nephew) and Andalusian self-appointed governors. The revolts were eventually suppressed, and the conflicts receded when the Syrian groups were escorted out of Al-Andalus (Ibn al-Qutiyyah, ca. 895-977/2009). This Berber Revolt consisted of several battles, the Battle of the Nobles (740 CE) and the Battle of Bakhdura/Bagdoura (741 CE), that highlighted the fights between the African Berbers and the Umayyad (Jamsari et al., 2017).

As mentioned earlier, this Berber Revolt was among the most prominent ones and frequently discussed in many scholarly works, but unfortunately, other than to be one of the causes of the revolt, the role and involvement of the Berbers in al-Andalus were often downplayed in the eyes of the majority. Thus, to find and discuss the extensive role of the

Andalusian Berbers, much information can be found in the magnum opus work by Reinhart Dozy, *Spanish Islam: A History of the Moslems in Spain*. According to him, the Berber rebellions in Spain were induced by jealousy and hatred towards their Arab counterparts due to the unfair treatment by the governors. Most spoils and bounty were given to the Arabs, whose general contributions were no better than the Berbers. Even the settlements given to the tribes were unfairly distributed, where the Arabs took the more fertile ones. Hence, when the Andalusian Berbers heard of the suppression of the Berbers in Africa and their rebellions, they began their fight against the Arabs led by one of the four principal Berber chieftains named Monusa (Dozy, 1861/1913). Influenced by the Kharijite Berbers from North Africa who encouraged them to fight against the oppressors, the rebellions by these Andalusian Berbers were described by Dozy (1861/1913) as:

An insurrection, which like that in Africa was partly religious and partly political, broke out in Galicia, and spread through all the North, with the exception of Zaragoza—the only northern district in which the Arabs were in a majority. Everywhere the Arabs were routed and expelled; the expeditions sent by 'Abd al-Malik against the insurgents were defeated one after the other. The Berbers of Galicia, Merida, Coria, Talavera and other places then combined, elected an Imam as a leader, and formed their army into three divisions, one of which was to besiege Toledo, another to attack Cordova, and the third to proceed to Algeciras, with the object of seizing the fleet in the roadstead, crossing the Straits, exterminating the Syrians in Ceuta, and bringing back to Spain a multitude of Berbers from Africa. (p. 140)

The rebellions were so alarming that Abd al-Malik al-Fihri had to ask for help from Balj, the leader of Syrian remnants who had successfully suppressed the rebellion in Andalusia. Nonetheless, it led to another conflict between this Andalusian governor and the Syrian army (Dozy, 1861/1913).

Consequently, even though the Berber revolts in North Africa and al-Andalus had their basis and reasonings, the severity of these events shaped the public's views towards Berbers. It gave the stereotypical image of Berbers as rebellious tribes constantly fighting against their master, the Arabs. Even in the work by Dozy (1861/1913), the author used several antagonistic terms such as semi-barbarians, narrowminded, treacherous and tyrannical to describe the Berbers in a few different situations. It shows how a few surviving pieces of literature depicted Berbers and set a new viewpoint of them. However, not to justify the revolts nor the actions, these stereotypical views are indeed unfair as there were more in-depth reasons why they did the rebellions. For example, in the earlier case, the revolt happened due to the unfair treatment of the people where the Berbers tended to be treated as 'second class citizens' (Barry, 2018), the unequal distribution of the bounties and land, ethnic division and the classification of the people (Marin-Guzman, 1991).

There were also cases of unreasonable taxes, where non-Arab Muslims like the Berbers had to pay a high amount of tax (*jizyah*) like the non-Muslims (Greek, 2019). All these reasons must be considered while discussing the Berbers' rebellions. Nonetheless, this major Berber

revolt set the first standard of the historical account of this tribe in the chronicle of Islamic rule in al-Andalus.

Furthermore, one might assume that the rebellions were always clannish in nature and triggered by racial inequalities, which is valid for most cases. Nevertheless, there were other reasons, such as religious factors. Thus, alongside the Berber tribes, this paper intends to find any sole figure or prominent Berber name that induced the rebellious image of the society. Yet, only a limited number of Berber figures were identified as the initiators of rebellions—for example, Shaqya ibn Abd al-Wahid and Yahya ibn Yahya. As related to the religious factor, the movement by Shaqya ibn al-Wahid was said to be more related to Shi'ism in nature compared to the earlier Berber revolt, which Kharijite influenced (Coope, 2017). Shaqya ibn al-Wahid was a *mu'allim* or a teacher from the Berber tribe, Miknasa, located in the district of Shantabariyya (Clarke, 2013). He claimed to be Ali and Fatima's descendant (the prophet's daughter). Coincidentally, his mother's name was Fatima, leading to many Berbers believing him to be the prophet's descendant. As such, his movement quickly spread in the Berber-dominated settlements, starting from Guadiana and Tagus. Then, Shaqya and his followers gained control of a few cities: Sontebria, Merida, Coria, and Medellin. This movement happened during the rule of the first Umayyad emir, Abd al-Rahman I, who attempted to attack Shaqya but failed every time Shaqya retreated to the mountains. After six years, the emir asked for help to defeat Shaqya from another most powerful Berber chief at the time. However, while marching towards the Berber revolt, another significant rebellion broke out in the West, forcing Abd al-Rahman to retreat to Cordova. Shaqya was able to survive, but after ten years of rebellion, he was tragically assassinated by two of his followers. His death finally marked the end of this revolt (Dozy, 1861/1913).

Finally, the last rebellion highlighted in this part would be the Berber uprising during the Umayyad Caliphate's collapse in al-Andalus. The Umayyad Caliphate started to crumble at the beginning of the 11th century, during the power struggle between the Umayyad heirs and the descendants of the Amirid Dynasty who came into power during the time of Ibn Abi Amir, known as Almanzor. It was also in this period when there was a surge increase of 'new Berbers' in the peninsula from North Africa as they were imported to be the army of Amirid rulers under the rule of Almanzor (Barry, 2008). In short, the direct revolt by the Berbers happened after one of the Umayyad princes, Muhammad ibn Hisham, also known as Caliph al-Mahdi came into power amid the struggle between the Umayyad and Abd al-Rahman Sanchuelo, Almanzor's son and successor. Unfortunately, this new caliph was incompetent and unpopular, attracting much opposition from the Berbers. The new caliph dismissed thousands of enslaved people, did not allow the Berber troops to bear arms, and prevented some Berber leaders from coming to the area and many others. Thus, the Berbers supported another Umayyad prince, Sulayman, to fight against al-Mahdi (Barry, 2008).

The Berbers were directly involved in the Battle of Cantich in 1009 CE at Cordova, together with Sulayman ibn al-Hakam to attack Caliph Muhammad II al-Mahdi. The battle ended with the defeat of the caliph with around 10,000 casualties. The Berbers were directly involved in the Battle of Cantich in 1009 CE at Cordova, together with Sulayman ibn al-Hakam to attack Caliph Muhammad II al-Mahdi. The battle ended with the defeat of the caliph with around 10,000 casualties. After that, the Cordovan people, whom the Berbers influenced,

proclaimed Sulayman the new caliph (Jamsari et al., 2017). But this terror did not end there, as it was only the start of the fitna period in al-Andalus, where the region was in absolute chaos and a turbulent situation. Relating to the Berber Revolt, in those years, the Berbers have done many terrific things for the people of the peninsula. For example, in the middle of the civil wars and internal strife, the Berbers besieged the city of Cordova and destroyed the royal city named Madinat al-Zahra. A massacre happened in the royal city, which was then followed by the killings of the Cordovan people. The food was scarce, people were terrified, and the whole city was in a devastating situation. The Berbers did not stop here, as the fate faced by Cordova then fell into other cities besieged by these Africans (Dozy, 1861/1913).

All in all, this turbulent period led to the collapse of the Umayyad Caliphate in al-Andalus. It turned to a new era of the Taifa period (Petty kingdoms), in which most of the cities were controlled by Berbers. Undeniably, all these terrifying acts by the Berbers horrified the people, and these might be the ones that truly shaped the old traditional view of Berbers as barbarians, uncivilised, and cruel. It is rather unfortunate that the generalisation of the hostility of Andalusian Berbers happened partly due to these events because the Berbers involved in it were all the North African tribes. They differed from the 'old' Berbers who had already assimilated into al-Andalus's harmonious and unified culture.

In short, from the first Berber Revolt in al-Andalus in the 8th century to the one that contributed to the collapse of the Umayyad Caliphate, several significant Berber uprisings happened due to many different motives and methods. From unequal treatment to religious motives and politics, we must objectively consider the reasons behind these rebellions to understand why they happened and the after-effects. Nonetheless, many of these events have changed the trajectory of Islamic Spain's history, showing how important it is to discuss the role and presence of the Berbers' society back then in a more academic narrative.

Berbers a Part of Mercenaries

In this part, the study will focus on specific events in which the Berber tribes had been involved but only as mercenaries. Though the Berbers did not directly initiate the rebellions as in the previous part, it is still equally important to be studied because all these turbulent episodes might have shaped the rebellious image of the Berbers even more, although most of the time, they were just used as mercenaries by other people. For example, as previously discussed, when Berbers became the army working for the Amirrid Dynasty, which later became the cause of the Fitna period and the fall of the caliphate, the impact was so huge that it set the negative perception of the Berbers. From a literature aspect, there was a saying from a prominent historian, Ibn Hayyan, that "Berbers are on the point of placing the peninsula in a deadly peril by the end of the century that will pass shortly, unless God can save Islam" (Scales, 1994, p. 13). It shows the significant consequence of the Berber revolts in the era, either as the leading projector or even merely as mercenaries.

Nevertheless, interestingly, in a particular timeline in Islamic Spain's history, there was a trend for the rulers or officials to hire Berbers as part of their army. Even the emirs and caliphs of al-Andalus practised this tradition as well. For example, Abd al-Rahman I imported a vast number of Berbers from North Africa to be a part of his 40,000-standing army, helping him

consolidate his power (Dozy, 1861/1913). A few other Umayyad rules also did the same after him. In fact, during the time of Abd al-Rahman III, his army was dominated by Berber militia who previously granted many lands, a 'landed subclass comprised of military expatriates', which strongly supported the emir and helped him in legitimising his goal to claim the caliphate. Their roles in the military continued to be significant under the rule of al-Hakam II (Okoreeh, 2016). Most of these Berbers were skilled horsemen perfectly suitable and ideal for the military post on the peninsula (Anderson, 2015). However, it is a wonder why most of these official army Berbers were usually imported from North Africa rather than locally recruited. It might be because most local Berbers were involved in rebellions or hired by other rebel groups, as discussed next.

First and foremost, the early uprising that involved the Berbers as the rebels' mercenaries was during the war between Abd al-Rahman I and Seville Arab leaders. In Seville, the one in power was Abu Sabbah, who initially gave his allegiance to the Umayyad prince. Still, after Yusuf al-Fihri was defeated, he planned to get rid of Abd al-Rahman and took his power for his tribe, Qahtanid Arab. Nevertheless, Abd al-Rahman heard of this plan and directly killed Abu Sabbah. The Berbers got involved when Abu Sabbah's nephews wanted to get revenge and attacked Abd al-Rahman. They used the Berbers as part of their mercenaries, and this was known by Abd al-Rahman when he heard the Berber language spoken among them. Hence, he used this to his advantage when he asked his Berber clients to make a new deal with those Berbers which he said that if these mercenaries continued to support the Qahtanid Arabs (Abu Sabbah's tribe), there would be no place for the Berbers under Abd al-Rahman's rule (Ibn al-Qutiyyah, ca. 895-977/2009). Hence, on the day of the battle, known as the Battle of Bembezar, the Berbers switched their loyalty to the Umayyad Prince and tricked the other party into giving all their horses to the Berbers, leading to their defeat. The rebels led by Abu Sabbah's nephews, Abd al-Ghaffar and his troops suffered a considerable loss, illustrated by the horrified number of almost 30,000 corpses on the battleground (Jamsari et al., 2017). The event highlighted the Berbers' role in the war, which caused the defeat of the Seville Arab leaders and helped the Umayyad to gain their win. The loyalty switch in this incident has also often been discussed in the literature. It was not rare as there were other events where Berbers changed their loyalty to the point that they were called a group with no loyalty and gratitude among their virtues. However, in other cases, this switch usually happened among the new Berbers instead of the former ones, like during the outbreak between the Umayyad and Amirrid dynasties (Dozy, 1861/1913).

Furthermore, in Seville, an extended episode of rebellion against the emir Abdallah was constructed by two Arab families, Bani Hajjaj and Bani Khaldun. As this article will only focus on the Berbers' involvement, it will only discuss the latter case where the Berbers had become the tools of the revolt initiated by Kurayb, the chief of the Bani Khaldun. According to Dozy (1861/1913), this figure was a treacherous leader against the monarchy, so he tried to influence others to join his cause of rebellions. Nonetheless, he failed to do so, especially with his bad reputation among the people of Seville. Hence, he changed his strategy and used the Berbers to stir chaos in the province. According to another source, this issue was more on the social tension between the Arab tribes and the *muwalladun* (the Visigothic new converts) in the area where Kurayb at that time wanted to stir trouble with the latter using certain Berber tribes and

supporting their unlawful activities as bandits against the *muwalladun*. Therefore, the *muwallads* asked for the emir Abd Allah's help to restore peace (Marin-Guzman, 1993). Apart from these chronological events between the rebels and the emir, both sources mentioned how Kurayb further used the Berbers as a tool for trouble. For instance, Kurayb influenced and encouraged certain Berber tribes to siege the *muwalladun*'s lands to get a considerable booty of rewards. These suggestions turned out to be a grave situation where the Berbers did not just attack the lands but further sacked the whole city of Tablada and massacred the civilians there. It was aligned with Kurayb's plan to cause a significant rebellion there. The society was ruined, and many people were impoverished during that period (Marin-Guzman, 1993). Unfortunately, this was not the end of the rebellion. Many more things happened, especially when Kurayb's tribe, the Banu Khaldun and another powerful Arab family, Bani Hajjaj, combined their strength to rebel against the emir Abd Allah.

Moreover, another rebellious movement happened during the reign of Abd Allah. However, this time, it was more towards a religious movement that spread among the Berbers of al-Andalus in that period. The purpose is to promote jihad and to fight the holy war against the Christians. It was different from the other revolts, which were mainly to fight against the ruler. This movement was initiated by an Umayyad prince, a descendant of Emir Hisham I named Ibn al-Qitt Ibn Hisham Ibn Muawiyah al-Qurayshi (Coope, 2017). He was also supported by an ascetic, Abu Ali al-Sarraj, who acted as his publicist to promote him among the Berber community by claiming Ibn al-Qitt to be the Mahdi (Clarke, 2013). This rebellion episode was relatively short but still significant as it advocated the jihad message. Ibn al-Qitt went to the extent of trying to engage in a war against the Christians to capture a city named Zamora. In 901, Ibn al-Qitt constructed a vast army consisting of 60,000 people who dominantly were the Berbers. However, once Ibn al-Qitt started to attack the city, his Berber followers suddenly betrayed him by escaping the war scene. They deserted Ibn al-Qitt alone to face the enemy. Consequently, Ibn al-Qitt lost the war horribly, and his head was decapitated and left hanging on the Zamora's gate (Barry, 2008). This whole event gave another representation to the Berber tribes, as they were part of the enormous army under Ibn Al-Qitt.

There were other instances where the Berbers acted as mercenaries under other rebels. For example, they once combined their strength to help Ibn Hafsun, one of the most notorious rebels in the history of al-Andalus, that lasted for several decades. Ibn Hafsun was a *muwallad*, but the Berbers supported him from the early stage due to his message and the causes of the rebellion. However, Ibn Hafsun later committed a terrible act in which he was apostate from Islam and this very infidelity caused him to lose all the support that he had gained before, including from the Berbers (Marin-Guzman, 1994). Other than Ibn Hafsun, another controversial figure that Berber was tangled in was the founder of the Amirrid Dynasty, Ibn Abi Amir or Almanzor, who eventually caused the collapse of the Umayyad Caliphate through the power struggle between his family and the ruling Umayyad family. This event has been mentioned in the first part of this study, but their involvement in the struggle caused severe harm to the Berber identity in al-Andalus. Overall, for this second part, the common perception of all these different Berber's involvements in various events as mercenaries can be understood clearly by the sum up by one author, Alvin Okoreeh (2016), in his work; "The Berber Identity: A Double Helix of Islam and War," saying that:

Whether it was through military exploits, religious fanaticism, or playing a role in the validation of the caliph, the DNA of the Berbers made them catalysts in the volatile, evolving landscape of Muslim Spain and undoubtedly the most influential ethno-religious group on the Iberian Peninsula. (p.8)

Conclusion

To conclude, this paper has examined most Berber rebellions in al-Andalus by giving a new overview of their roles and impacts in each event. Throughout history, the Berbers have been painted with many kinds of stereotypes, particularly as barbarians and unruly and rebellious tribes. However, it is deemed that these kinds of generalisations are harmful because there were always reasons and justifications behind the rebellions. Hence, to interpret these events without complying with the stereotypes, the study has divided the overview into two parts: the rebellions that the Andalusian Berbers were directly involved with and which the Berbers acted as mercenaries under other groups' leadership. Overall, we can see how this generalisation is relatively unfair, especially in the second part, where the Berbers were only used as tools by other groups. However, the Berbers must face the implications of each of the rebellions that portrayed their tainted image throughout the study of Islamic Spain.

Nevertheless, there is still so much that we can learn about the Berbers, as the scope area of this ethnic group is still huge in number. In the future, it is hoped that more attention could be given to the genuine nature of the relationship of the various ethnic groups in this multicultural society, not just for the harmonious part but also the turmoil, so that society today could learn the lesson and reflect on them. Primarily among these smaller ethnic groups and their culture, for example, the 'Berberization' of Andalusian culture could also be interesting to study. Overall, it is hoped that this article has given a new dimension and perspective to learn about these Berbers and their roles as among the key players who painted Andalusian history with various events and episodes.

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