Attempts of Mūlūk Al-Ṭawā'if to legitimise their Rule during the Fifth AH/ the Eleventh Century

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Intentos de Mūlūk Al-Ṭawā'if de legitimar su gobierno durante el siglo V de la Hégira (Siglo XI)

محاولات ملوك الطوائف لإضفاء الشرعية على حكمهم في القرن الخامس الهجري / الحادي عشر الميلادي

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Abstract

In the first decades of the Eleventh Century, the balance of power had changed in the Iberian Peninsula (al-Andalus). The Christians united under one king, whereas the Muslims divided into various states. The Christians launched many campaigns against the Islamic states in the Peninsula, and they captured some of them and imposed a tribute against the other. Many scholars and historians have described the cultural prosperity of the Islamic states in al-Andalus. They have also discussed the role of the rulers of these states in this prosperity. In addition, they have examined the cultural contributions of the poets and jurists. Moreover, these scholars and historians have recited the domination of Christians on these states as well as the conflict between the Islamic states. Consequently, this research has linked the cultural prosperity of these Islamic states with the conflict between each other. It has illustrated how the Muslim rulers employed the cultural prosperity and the conflict between each other to district the attention of their inhabitants from the Christian domination and their weakness.

Keywords: al-Andalus; Mūlūk Al-Tawā'if; Legitimacy; Culture; Policy

Resumen

En las primeras décadas del siglo XI, el equilibrio de poder había cambiado en la Península Ibérica (al-Andalus). Los cristianos se unieron bajo un rey, mientras que los musulmanes se dividieron en varios estados. Los cristianos lanzaron muchas campañas contra los estados islámicos en la Península, y conquistaron a algunos de ellos e impusieron un tributo contra el otro. Muchos estudiosos e historiadores han descrito la prosperidad cultural de los estados islámicos en al-Andalus. También han discutido el papel de los gobernantes de estos estados en esta prosperidad. Además, han examinado las aportaciones culturales de los poetas y juristas. Además, estos eruditos e historiadores han relatado la dominación de los cristianos en estos estados, así como el conflicto entre los estados islámicos. En consecuencia, esta investigación ha relacionado la prosperidad cultural de estos estados islámicos con el conflicto entre ellos. Ha ilustrado cómo los gobernantes musulmanes utilizaron la prosperidad cultural y el conflicto entre ellos para distraer la atención de sus habitantes de la dominación cristiana y su debilidad.

Palabras clave: al-Andalus; Mūlūk Al-Ṭawā'if; Legitimidad; Cultura; Política

الملخص

في العقود الأولى من القرن الحادي عشر ميلادي، تغيرت موازين القوى في شبه الجزيرة الأيبيرية. حيث اتحد المسيحيون تحت ملك واحد، بينما انقسم المسلمون إلى عدة دول. ونتيجة لهذا الوضع، شن المسيحيون عدة حملات عسكرية ضد هذه الدول في شبه الجزيرة الايبيرية، واحتلوا بعضها وفرضوا الجزية على بعض الأخر.

وصف العديد من الباحثين والمؤرخين الازدهار الثقافي للدول الإسلامية في شبه الجزيرة الايبيرية. كما ناقشوا دور حكام هذه الدول في هذا الازدهار. وبالإضافة إلى ذلك، قاموا بعرض المساهمات الثقافية للشعراء والفقهاء. علاوة على ذلك، فإن هؤلاء الباحثين والمؤرخين تحدثوا عن هيمنة المسيحيين على هذه الدول وكذلك الصراع بين الدول الإسلامية في شبه الجزيرة الايبيرية.

وبالتالي، فإن هذا البحث يربط بين الازدهار الثقافي لهذه الدول الإسلامية وصراعاتهم ومؤامراتهم بين بعضهم. كما يوضح كيف وظف هؤلاء الحكام المسلمون الازدهار الثقافي والصراع بين بعضهم البعض لتشتيت انتباه سكانهم عن ضعفهم وعن الهيمنة المسيحية.

الكلمات الرئيسية: الاندلس، ملوك الطوائف، الشرعية، الثقافة، السياسة

1. INTRODUCTION

In the third decade of the eleventh century, the Umayyad Caliphate in the Iberian Peninsula (al-Andalus) collapsed. Consequently, al-Andalus was divided into twenty-two Arab and Berber states. Among these states were: Sevilla under the rule of Banī 'Abbād, Cordoba under Banī Jahwar, Granada under Banī Zīrī, Badajoz under Banī al-Afṭas, Toledo under Banī Thī Anūn, Zaragoza under Banī Hūd and Valencia under Banī 'Amir. This era was called the era of Mūlūk al-Ṭawā'if. These states had reached a stage of weakness against the Christians in the Peninsula, and they lost their Legitimacy.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The scholars and historians discuss the cultural prosperity in al-Andalus during the Fifth AH/ the Eleventh Century. However, they have not explained the efforts of Mūlūk al-Ṭawā'if to legitimise their rule via the cultural elites. For example, in his article, Ṣalāḥ Jarār discusses scientific and literary contributions of 'Abbās b. Firnās (d. 273 AH /887). Jarār urges that Ibn Firnās wrote some poems to praise some Umayyad emirs in Andalus to obtain some financial gains (Ṣalāḥ, 1990, pp. 155-178). Anwar Chejne, in his book entitled, Ibn Ḥazm, concentrates on the scientific aspects of Ibn Ḥazm's life. Chejne discusses Ibn Ḥazm's education, teachers, and his scientific and literary contributions (Chejne, 1982).

Khawlah Mīsī and Laylá Jughām, discuss the weakness of the Islamic rule in al-Andalus and the fall of the Andalusian cities during the eleventh century, which resulted in the increasing of poems of lament (Mīsī, 2015, pp. 93-103; Jughām, 2009, pp. 1-28). They mention that there were many poems of lament, which described the loss of the Andalusian cities, such as Toledo and Valencia. In addition, in her master thesis, the scholar Rasmā' 'Abd al-Raḥmān discusses the impact of the conditions of al-Andalus in eleventh century on the style of the Andalusian poetry ('Abd al-Raḥmān, 2011). She affirms that these circumstances developed poems of lament in al-Andalus in this century.

Other scholars, such as Karīmah Naqāz and al-Shaykh bū qarbah, discuss the poetry which describes Andalusian architecture in eleventh century (Naqāz, 2017, pp. 201-212). In his book, Muḥammad Saʿīd discusses the status of Andalusian poets, such as Ibn Zaydūn and Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Malik (d. 426 AH /1035), who became ministers among the eleventh century Andalusian rulers. In addition, Saʿīd examines the poetry of al-Muʿtamid b. ʿAbbād to his father al-Muʿtaḍid after his failure to annex Malaga to Sevilla (Saʿīd, 2020). Henry Peres studies various topics of eleventh century Andalusian poetry, such as nature, animals, promiscuity, wine, praise, sports, marriage, masculinity, asceticism and mysticism (Peres, 1983).

2. LEGITIMACY OF MŪLŪK AL-TAWĀ'IF

In the last year of the tenth century, the King of Navara, Garcia Sanchez II (994–1000/ 384- 390 AH), died, and his son Sanchez III (1000–1035/ 390- 426 AH) ascended the throne of Navara (Ibn Kardabūs, 1971, p. 75). The latter was married to Elvira (d. 1066/458 AH), the sister of the King of Castile, Garcia Sanchez (1017–1029/ 408- 420 AH). The latter was assassinated in 420 AH /1029 in the church of the Crown of Leon during his marriage ceremony to Dona Sancha ('Anān, 1997). Consequently, Sanchez III became the King of Navara and Castile. Sanchez III appointed his son Fernando I (1029–1056/ 420-448 AH) as the King of Castile. Furthermore, Sanchez III conquered the Crown of Leon and annexed it to his crown. In 426 AH /1035, Sanchez III died, and his son Fernando I inherited the three kingdoms in the north. It can be, therefore, noted that the Christian kingdoms united under the rule of one king, Fernando I, whereas, at that time, there was twenty-two Islamic states of the southern Iberian Peninsula

Fernando I exploited the division of the Islamic rule into twenty two states in the south of the Peninsula, and he attacked and captured many Andalusian states. In 448 AH /1057, he captured the city of Vizeu from Banū al-Aftas in Badajoz, and he killed many of its inhabitants ('Anān, 1997, p. 383). In addition, between 454 AH and 456 AH /1062 and 1064, Fernando I attacked the states of Toledo and Sevilla, but he did not seize any towns from them. However, in 456 AH/1064, he captured the city of Coimbra from Banū Dānīs in the west of al-Andalus (Aguado, 1963, p. 489).

Consequently, Mūlūk al-Ṭawā'if worked to legitimise their Rule in the eyes of their inhabitants via the cultural and political efforts Instead of uniting and cooperating to counter attacks of Fernando I.

3. THE CULTURAL EFFORTS OF MŪLŪK AL-TAWĀ'IF

The era of Mūlūk al-Ṭawā'if witnessed cultural, intellectual and scientific prosperity because the Andalusian rulers were sponsored and interested in the scientific and cultural aspects (González, 1955, p. 78). Consequently, many scientists excelled in various sciences, including Ibn Ṣā'id al-Andalusī (d. 462 AH /1070) from Toledo, who was a specialized in astronomy, religions, and history (al-Ḥatāmlah, 2000, p. 98).

Poetry one of the literatures that flourished in al-Andalus in eleventh century, and the status of Andalusian poets reached a climax in Andalusian society and political authorities. There were many famous poets in al-Andalus, such as Abū Bakr b. 'Amār (d. 477 AH /1085) and Ibn Zaydūn (d. 463 AH /1071). They became minister in Sevilla.

Additionally, in this era, poetry and jurisprudence were linked to each other. Eminent jurists were poets, including Abū al-Walīd al-Bājī (d. 476 AH /1084), Ibn

Ḥazm (d. 456 AH /1064) and Abū Ḥafṣ al-Hawzanī (d. 460 AH /1068), and Ibn '**Abd** al-Bir (d. 463 AH /1071).

Some Andalusian rulers were famous poets, such as the rulers of Almeria, al-Muʿtaṣim b. Ṣumādiḥ (443-484 AH/1051–1091) and the rulers of Sevilla Abū ʿ**Amr** ʿ**Abbād** al-Muʿtaḍid (1042–1069/ 434- 461 AH) and then his son al-Muʿtaṃid b. ʿ**Abbād** (461-484 AH/1069–1091). Some of them used their ingenuity of poetry to distract their inhabitants from their weakness. One example could be mentioned to support this view is that al-Muʿtaṃid b. ʿ**Abbād** used his ingenuity of poetry to describe his social life, including his love for his wife Iʿtimād al-Ramīkiyah (d. 487 AH/1095). Before that al-Muʿtaḍid was a brilliant in the spinning poetry, and he had brought the spinning poets, such as Ibn al-Bunī (d. 490 AH/1097) (Maḥmūd, 2011, p. 17), to distract his inhabitants from the weakness of his state.

Additionally, some Andalusian rulers depended on the poets to legitimise their fragile rule and to hide their flaws. The role of these poets was to praise these Andalusian rulers whether they were right or wrong. For example, Ibn Ḥamīdis (d. 527 AH/ 1133), who was one of the poets of al-Mu'tamid b. 'Abbād, praised the latter very much. After the Battle of Sagrajas in in 479 AH / 1086, Ibn Ḥamīdis described Mu'tamid b. 'Abbād as a protector of Islam and Islamic rule in the Iberian Peninsula ('Abd Raḥmān, 1972, pp. 214-215). This Dīwān of poetry was probably to legitimise the rule of al-Mu'tamid in the eyes of the Muslim inhabitants of al-Andalus after the rise in popularity of al-Murābitūn among the Muslim inhabitants of al-Andalus. Consequently, he obtained money from Mu'tamid (al-Zarkalī, 2002, p. 274). Ibn Ḥamīdis left al-Andalus for North Africa after al-Mu'tamid was deposed in 484 AH /1091. There, he praised some rulers of North Africa, particularly Banū Zīrī in Ifrīqya to get financial obtains (al-Zarkalī, 2002, p. 274).

Some poets, including Abū ʿAlī Idrīs b. al-Yamān (d. 470 AH/ 1077), preceded Ibn Ḥamīdis and praised some Andalusian rulers and benefitted from some of them financially. Abū ʿAlī Idrīs b. al-Yamān praised the ruler of Toledo, al-Maʾmūn (d. 1077), although the latter had many weaknesses (Farūkh, 1985, p. 623). Al-Maʾmūn was in constant conflict with al-Andalusian states and was in a state of submission to Fernando I (ʿAnān, 1997, pp. 383-384). Furthermore, Abū ʿAlī Idrīs b. al-Yamān praised the ruler of Sevilla, al-Muʿtaḍid . The poet Ibn al-Ḥadād al-Andalusī (d. 480 AH/1087) followed in AbūʿAlī Idrīs b. al-Yamānʾs footsteps. Al-Andalusī praised the ruler of Almeria, al-Muʿtaṣim b. Ṣumādiḥ, and the ruler of Zaragoza, al-Muqtadir b. Hūd (Cortés, 2009, pp. 46-48).

Additionally, there was Ibn Abbār al-Khūlānī (d. 433 AH/ 1042) who praised Banū '**Abbād**, and he justified al-Mu'taḍid's plots against the Andalusian rulers for the purpose of unifying Islamic rule in al-Andalus ('Abd al-Raḥmān, 1972, v. 1, p. 142). Ibn Zaydūn also praised the plots of al-Mu'taḍid against the Andalusian rulers (González, 1955, p. 85). He also justified al-Mu'taḍid's plots against the Andalusian rulers for the purpose of unifying Islamic rule in al-Andalus.

With regard to the poets who criticised Mūlūk al-Ṭawā'if, there was Abū Isḥāq al-Albīrī (d. 459 AH /1067). The latter was from Granada. he criticised the internal political situation of his city, Granada, where he wrote poetry that criticised the ruler of Granada, Bādīs b. Ḥabūs(429- 465 AH/1038–1073) because the latter appointed a Jewish minister, Yūsif b. Nigrālah (d. 458 AH /1066). Bādīs b. Ḥabūs appointed Yūsif b. Nigrālah a minister in Granada due to the efforts of his father, the minister, Ismā'īl b. Nigrālah (d. 447 AH/ 1055), who participated in appointing Bādīs as the ruler of Granada after the death of Bādīs' father, Habūs b. Māksin (410- 429 AH/1019-1038) the second ruler of Granada (Stillman, 1979, p. 56). In his poems, Abū Isḥāq al-Albīrī expressed that the master of Ṣinhājah, a Berber tribe to which Bādīs b. Ḥabūs belonged, committed a sin when he appointed an infidel as a minister in Granada, which resulted in gloating over the Muslims of Granada (Balqīn, 1955, p. 54). These words led the inhabitants of Granada to kill this minister and many Jews of Granada. Consequently, Bādīs b. Ḥabūs jailed Abū Isḥāq al-Albīrī (Balqīn, 1955, p. 54). The latter died in the prison.

Additionally, after the Viking conquest of Barbastro in 456 AH /1064, killing many Muslims in Barbastro which had been part of Zaragoza state under the rule of Banū Hūd, Al-Hawzanī wrote some poetry which expressed the negligence of al-Muʿtaḍid in recapturing Barbastro from the Vikings (Mīsī, 2015, p. 95). Consequently, this criticism angered al-Muʿtaḍid who killed al-Hawzanī in 460 AH /1068 (Al-Quḍāʿī, 1985, p. 41). The latter used poetry instead of al-Ḥadīth for his criticism of al- Muʿtaḍid because he believed that the poetry would affect al-Muʿtaḍid, who was interested in literature, particularly poetry. Al-Hawzanīʾs poems to al-Muʿtaḍid, including touching words about the great incidents against Muslims, did not provoke the jealousy of the Muslim ruler (Al-Quḍāʿī, 1985, p. 41). Thus, Sevilla lost its most important scholar in al-Ḥadīth.

4. THE POLITICAL EFFORTS OF MŪLŪK AL-TAWĀ'IF

The era of al-Ṭawā'if was marked by the rulers conspiring against each other. Mūlūk al-Ṭawā'if made themselves enemies of each other because they were equal forces between each other. They might have believed that the victories they achieved against each other increased their legitimacy and power in the eyes of their inhabitants. These rulers desired to keep this political situation. Some of these rulers relied on cruelty and violence against any attempt by political, cultural, and public elites to change this situation (Al-Kahlūt, 2010, p. 33).

Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Bazlyānī (d. 445 AH /1054), was the lone minister who warned about the political situation of the Iberian Islamic rule (Al-Ḥatāmlah, 2000, p. 928). The latter was a minister of the ruler of Granada Bādīs b. Ḥabūs then he had become the minister of the ruler of Sevilla al-Muʿtaḍid. Al-Bazlyānī was aware of the danger of the situation of Islamic rule in al-Andalus. Al-Muʿtaḍid killed al-

Bazlyānī. However, there were some attempts to change this political situation. One example could be mentioned to support this view is that Banū 'Abbād claimed that they found Hishām al-Mu'ayyad, a disappeared Umayyad Caliph in 424 AH /1033, when the inhabitants of Cordoba thought that he had disappeared in 403 AH /1013. Banū 'Abbād wanted to appoint him as a fictitious caliph of Sevilla and Cordoba, so they could control him (Al-Andalusī, 1987, p. 97). Ibn Ḥazm combatted this attempt due to Ibn Ḥazm's origins were in Cordoba.

Additionally, Ibn Hazm hated Banū 'Abbād, especially al-Mu'taḍid's rule because of his plots against the Andalusian rulers, particularly the Andalusian Berber rulers as well as al-Mu'taḍid's weakness against the Christian kings ('Anān, 1997, p. 493). An example to support this view is that al-Mu'taḍid made great efforts and sent a lot of money to annex the western and southern states of al-Andalus to Sevilla, and he created many plots to annex Granada, which was under the rule of Banū Zīrī belonging to the Ṣinhājah, a Berber tribe. At the same time, he was so weak against Fernando I, the King of Castile, Navara and Leon, that al-Mu'taḍid was subject to him, paid him tribute and promised him all his demands ('Anān, 1997, p. 48). It can be, therefore, deduced that the plots of al-Mu'taḍid were a vital obstacle, which hindered the efforts of some elites particularly jurists from uniting al-Andalus under one ruler. According to Ibn Bassām al-Shantarīnī (d. 541 AH /1147), a contemporary historian of this era, al-Mu'taḍid was a source of strife and disintegration among the Muslims of al-Andalus (Al-Shantarīnī, 1979, pp. 11-12).

Consequently, al-Mu'tadid burnt Ibn Hazm's books and destroyed his house. The latter used poetry against al-Mu'tadid. Ibn Hazm expressed in his poems that burning his books would not stop him from telling the truth because the contents of his books were preserved in his chest (Al-Ḥamādah, 2011, p. 77). Hence, it can be refuted the view of some scholars who believe that al-Mu'tadid destroyed the house of Ibn Ḥazm and burned his books because Ibn Ḥazm was a follower of al-Zāhirī doctrine, which was at odds with all al-Mālikī jurists in al-Andalus. Consequently, al-Mālikī jurists incited al-Mu'tadid against Ibn Ḥazm (Al-Ḥamādah, 2011, p. 77).

To legitimise this political situation in al-Andalus, some Andalusian rulers had hosted some jurists who agreed with their efforts to conspire against other Andalusian rulers and annex their states. One example could be mentioned to support this view is that Abū al-Walīd al-Bājī stayed for a while in Zaragoza (ʿAnān, 1997, p. 282). It is possible that the ruler of Zaragoza, al-Muqtadir Aḥmad b. Hūd (441- 475 AH/1049–1082) requested al-Bājī to stay in Zaragoza due to the latter's efforts in recapturing Barbastro. With regard to the efforts of al-Bājī in recapturing Barbastro, he met Abū Ḥafṣ al-Hawzanī in Zaragoza in 1064 to encourage the Muslims to fight to recover Barbastro (ʿAayād, 1965, v. 4, p. 825). Consequently, they mobilised 6,000 fighters under the leadership of the ruler of Zaragoza, al-Muqtadir Aḥmad b. Hūd, who succeeded in recapturing Barbastro in 457 AH / 1065 (Pau and Ramírez, 2004, p. 160).

In addition, al-Bājī probably believed that Banū Hūd was most qualified to rule al-Andalus. One supporting example that Banū Hūd was most qualified to rule al-Andalus is the following: in the seventh decade of the eleventh century, the ruler of Zaragoza al-Muqtadir Aḥmad b. Hūd annexed Dānyah state in the east of al-Andalus that had been established in 404 AH /1014 by al-Mujāhid al-ʿAāmirī. In addition, Zaragoza had not been attacked by Fernando I and then his son Alfonso VI (1077-1109/ 469-502 AH) the kings of Castile (Ibn Khaldūn, 1999, v. 4, p. 354). Consequently, Abū al-Walīd al-Waqshī left his native city Toledo for Dānyah (Al-Quḍāʿī, 1994, v. 1, p. 136). It can be assured that al-Waqshī believed that al-Muqtadir b. Hūd would be the most efficient ruler. , Abū al-Walīd al-Waqshī was a scholar of grammar, languages, poetry, rhetoric, logic, astronomy, and jurisprudence (Ḥaddād, 2006, p. 370). Consequently, he had been considered the best astronomer in al-Andalus (Abbās, 1971, p. 49).

Additionally, before that Ibn 'Abd al-Bir began to move from the east to the west of the Andalusian territories to ask the most prominent Muslim rulers to unite with each other under one ruler. Consequently, he remained in Badajoz and took over the judiciary because he probably believed Banū al-Aftas the most efficient ruler for the southern Iberian Peninsula ('Abd al-Raḥmān, 1972, v. 7, p. 67). He took over the judiciary because he probably believed this position would urge the inhabitants of Badajoz and other Andalusian states to unite under the rule of Banū al-Aftas through issuing fatwā (legal opinion). Thus, he left his interests represented in teaching of Qur'ān, al-Ḥadīth, and jurisprudence where he was a scholar of these sciences (Abū 'Abbās, 2020, p. 121).

In 463 AH /1071, Ibn 'Abd al-Bir visited Xativa, which had been part of Valencia under the rule of Banū 'Āmir to ask them to unite with Banū al-Afṭas. However, Ibn' Abd al-Bir failed in this matter. He then died and was buried in Xativa ('Abd al-Raḥmān, 1972, v. 2, p. 71).

Mūlūk al-Tawā'if did not feel the danger of this political situation until the fall of Toledo in 477 AH /1085 by Alfonso VI (Al-Kahlūt, 2010, p. 33). Hence, some of these rulers, particularly the ruler of Sevilla, al-Mu'tamid b. 'Abbād , the ruler of Granada, 'Abd Allāh b. Balqīn (465- 483 AH/1073–1090), and the ruler of Badajoz al-Mutawakil b. al-Afṭas (437- 487 AH/1045–1094) , decided to unite and request a military intervention from Yūsif b. Tāshfīn, the emir of al-Murābitūn in al-Maghrib, to stop the expansion of Alfonso in the Andalusian territoriesb (Al-Marākshī, 1983, v. 4, p. 114). Consequently, Yūsif b. Tāshfīn, al-Mu'tamid b. 'Abbād, 'Abd Allāh b. Balqīn and al-Mutawakil b. al-Afṭas defeated Alfonso VI in the Battle of Sagrajas in 479 AH / 1086. This battle witnessed the participation of the jurist of Cordoba, Ibn Rumaylah (d. 479 AH/ 1086), who was killed in this battle. This jurist did not interfere to change the political situation in al-Andalus. It is possible that he feared the anger of the ruler of Sevilla, al-Mu'tamid b. 'Abbād after his father, al-Mu'taḍid, killed Abū Ḥafṣ al-Hawzanī in 1068. Cordoba came under the rule of Banū 'Abbād

during the reign of al-Mu'tamid. However, this jurist invited the Muslims of Cordoba to fight in the Battle of Sagrajas. Before the day of this battle, he dreamed that the Prophet Muhammad heralded their victory (Muhammad, 1980, P. 292).

5. CONCLUSION

In the eleventh century, there was prosperity in all fields in al-Andalus except for the political situation. The southern part of the Iberian Peninsula (al-Andalus) was ruled by twenty-two Muslim rulers. The Christian king Fernando I and then his successors in the northern part of the Iberian Peninsula exploited this situation and imposed their domination on many of these states. Consequently, some Andalusian rulers made attempts to improve their view in the eyes of their inhabitants. They employed their ingenuity of poetry to distract the attention of their inhabitants from their weakness. In addition, they depended on the poets to improve their views in the eyes of their inhabitants via laudatory poems. Some Andalusian rulers preferred the political situation reliant on conspiracies and fighting between each to expand their states. They believed that this situation would raise their prestige in the eyes of their inhabitants. To legitimise this political situation, some Andalusian rulers invited and hosted some jurists who agreed with this political situation.

Further research relating to this region and period could be undertaken in the future. Studies of the efforts of poets to immortalise the military achievements of al-Murābiṭūn are virtually non-existent.

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