

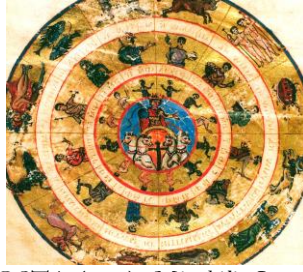


The impact of the political situation in the Islamic states in *al-Andalus* on some Andalusian intellectual elites during the fifth AH/ the eleventh century
L'impacte de la situació política dels estats islàmics d'*al-Andalus* en algunes elits intel·lectuals andaluses durant el segle V de l'Hègira/segle XI
El impacto de la situación política de los estados islámicos de *al-Andalus* en algunas élites intelectuales andaluzas durante el siglo V de la Hégira/siglo XI
O impacto da situação política nos estados islâmicos em *al-Andalus* em algumas elites intelectuais andaluzes durante o século V AH / XI

Meshal ALENEZI¹

Abstract: In the last decades of the eleventh century, the Muslims in the West (*al-Gharb*) lost Toledo in the middle of the Iberian Peninsula in 477 AH /1085, and the Muslims in the Near East (*al-Mashriq*) lost Jerusalem (*al-Qudis*) in 492 AH /1099. This was due to the division of *al-Mashriq* into several states: besides the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate (132-655 AH /750-1258), there were other states, such as Saljūk state (428-590 AH/1037-1194) and Fāṭimīd state (296-567 AH / 909-1171). This situation was like the political situation in the Iberian Peninsula (*al-Andalus*), which divided the region into twenty-two states in the first half of the eleventh century. Consequently, many scholars and historians have concentrated on the reaction of the Islamic political and military authorities to the fall of Toledo and Jerusalem. In addition, they have discussed the efforts of the intellectual elites in improving the above-mentioned political circumstances in the Near East and *al-Andalus* after the fall of these cities. However, they have not paid attention to the impact of the division of *al-Andalus* into twenty-two states and its internal consequences as well as their submission to the Iberian Catholic rule on the Andalusian intellectual elites' activities. Consequently, this research analyses the impact of this event on the activities and status of the Andalusian intellectual elites among the Andalusian rulers. It also compares the status of the Andalusian intellectual elites who were against the acts of Andalusian political authorities and those who supported them. In addition, it illustrates the relations between the elites especially who were against the Muslim rulers in *al-Andalus*.

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Keywords: Poets – Jurists – *Al-Ṭawāʾif* – Unification – Christian Kingdoms.

Resumen: En las últimas décadas del siglo XI, los musulmanes de Occidente (*al-Gharb*) perdieron Toledo en el medio de la Península Ibérica en 477 AH/1085, y los musulmanes de Oriente Próximo (*al-Mashriq*) perdieron Jerusalén (*al-Qudīs*) en 492 AH/1099. Esto se debió a la división de *al-Mashriq* en varios estados: además del Califato ‘Abbāsīd (132-655 AH/750-1258), había otros estados, como el estado de Saljūk (428-590 AH/1037-1194) y Fāṭimīd estado (296-567 AH / 909-1171). Esta era la situación política en la Península Ibérica (*al-Andalus*), que dividió la región en veintidós estados en la primera mitad del siglo XI. En consecuencia, muchos estudiosos e historiadores se han concentrado en la reacción de las autoridades políticas y militares islámicas ante la caída de Toledo y Jerusalén. Además, han discutido los esfuerzos de las élites intelectuales por mejorar las citadas circunstancias políticas en Oriente Próximo y *al-Andalus* tras la caída de estas ciudades. Sin embargo, no han prestado atención al impacto de la división de *al-Andalus* en veintidós estados y sus consecuencias internas, así como su sumisión al dominio católico ibérico en las actividades de las élites intelectuales andaluzas. En consecuencia, esta investigación analiza el impacto de este evento en las actividades y el estatus de las élites intelectuales andaluzas entre los gobernantes andaluces. También compara la situación de las élites intelectuales andaluzas que se opusieron a los actos de las autoridades políticas andaluzas y de quienes las apoyaron. Además, ilustra las relaciones entre las élites, especialmente las que estaban en contra de los gobernantes musulmanes en *al-Andalus*.

Palabras-clave: Poetas – Juristas – *Al-Ṭawāʾif* – Unificación – Reinos Cristianos.

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Introduction

In the first two decades of the eleventh century, the Umayyad Caliphate in *al-Andalus* weakened due to internal fighting for rule, which resulted in a state of chaos. The weakness of the last Umayyad caliphs gave the rulers of the Andalusian provinces the opportunity to secede. In the third decade of the eleventh century, the Umayyad Caliphate collapsed. Consequently, *al-Andalus* was divided into twenty-Islamic states. Among these states were:



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Sevilla under the rule of Banū ‘Abbād, Cordoba under Banū Jahwar, Granada under Banū Zīrī, Badajoz under Banū al-Afṭas, Toledo under Banū Thī al-Anūn, Zaragoza under Banū Hūd and Valencia under Banū ‘Amir. This era was called the era of *al-Ṭawā’if*, and it was marked by the rulers conspiring against each other.

However, the era of *al-Ṭawā’if* witnessed cultural, intellectual and scientific prosperity because the Andalusian rulers were sponsored and interested in the scientific and cultural aspects.² 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.³ In addition, 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).

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).

I. Literature Review

The scholars and historians discuss the different aspects of tenth and eleventh centuries Andalusian poetry. 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.⁴ 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

² Angel Gonzalez Palencia, *Tārikh al-Fikr al-Andalusī*, ed. Ḥusain Mu’nis (al-Qāhirah: Maktabat al-Thaqāfah al-Dīniyah, 1955), 78.

³ Muḥammad al-Ḥatāmlah, *al-Andalus: Tārikh wa Ḥadārah wa Miḥnah* (‘Ammān: Maṭābi‘ al-Dustūr al-Tijāriyah, 2000), 98.

⁴ Ṣalāḥ Jarār, “Shi‘r ‘Abbās b. Firnās,” in *Majalat Majma‘ al-Lughah al-‘Arabīyah al-Ardunīyah* 14, no. 39(1990): 155-178.



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contributions discuss the weakness of , Khawlah Mīsī and Laylá Jughām In their articles, ⁵ 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.⁶ 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.⁷ 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.⁸ In his book, Muḥammad Sa'īd discusses the fate and status of Andalusian poets, such as Ibn Zaydūn and Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Malik (d. 426 AH /1035), who became ministers among the eleventh century Andalusian rulers. In addition, Sa'īd examines the poetry of al-Mu'tamid b. 'Abbād to his father al-Mu'taḍid after his failure to annex Malaga to Sevilla.⁹

Henry Peres studies various topics of eleventh century Andalusian poetry, such as nature, animals, promiscuity, wine, praise, sports, marriage, masculinity, asceticism, and mysticism.¹⁰ However, these scholars have not concentrated on the impact of the division of al-Andalus into twenty-two states and their submission to the Iberian Catholic rule on the activities and status of Andalusian intellectual elites particularly jurists who were poets.

⁵ Anwar Chejne, *Ibn Ḥazm* (Chicago: Kazi Publications, 1982).

⁶ Khawlah Mīsī, "Adab al-Istiṣrākh wa al-Istinjād fī al-Andalus," in *Majalat Jil al-Dirāsāt al-Adabiyah wa al-Fikriyah*, no.9 (2015): 93-103; Laylá Jughām, "Rithā' al-Mudun bayn Ṣuqūṭ al-Andalus wa Aḥdāth al-Thuluthā' al-Aswad," in *Majalat Kulliyat al-Ādāb in Jām'at Muḥammad Khīḍr*, no.4(2009):1-28.

⁷ Rasmā' 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *al-Zaman fī al-Shi'r al-Andaulsī fī 'Aṣr al-Ṭawā'if* (Riyāḍ: Jām'at al-Imām Muḥammad b. Sa'ūd, 2011).

⁸ Karīmah Naqāz, "Binā' al-Qaṣīdah al-Shi'riyah fī 'Aṣr al-Ṭawā'if," *Majalat Faṣl al-Khiṭāb in Jām'at Ibn Khaldūn* 6, no. 4 (2017): 201-212.

⁹ Muḥammad Sa'īd, *Sirāj al-Andalus* (al-Qāhirah: Dār al-Qalam al-'Arabī, 2020).

¹⁰ Henry Peres, *Esplendor de Al-Andalus: la Poesia andaluza en Arabe classico en el siglo XI* (Madrid: Hiperion, 1983).



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II. The Political and Historical Background to the Emergence of the Opposition Intellectual Elites

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.¹¹ 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.¹²

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. These states had reached a stage of weakness.

Fernando I exploited the situation in the south of the Peninsula, and he attacked the Andalusian territories. In 448 AH /1057, he captured the city of Vizeu from Banū al-Afṭas in Badajoz, and he killed many of its inhabitants.¹³ 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.¹⁴

¹¹ Ibn Kardabūs, *Tārīkh al-Andalus wa wasfihī li Ibn Shabāṭ*, ed. Aḥmad ‘Abādī (Madrid: Ma‘had al-Dirāsāt al-Islāmiyah, 1971), 75.

¹² Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh ‘Anān, *Dawlat al-Islām fī al-Andalus, Duwal al-Ṭawāif* (Al-Qāhirah: al-Khanjī, 1997), 337.

¹³ ‘Anān, *Dawlat al-Islām fī al-Andalus, Duwal al-Ṭawāif*, 383.

¹⁴ Pedro Aguado Bleye, *Manual de Historia de Espana* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1963), 1: 489.



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Before these attacks, some intellectual elites appeared and warned of the division of al-Andalus into several states because they realised that this situation would encourage the Iberian Christians, who had united under the rule of one king, to attack the Andalusian states. The weak point of these elites was that they had not been supported and directed by the political elites particularly, ministers. Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Bazlyānī (d. 445 AH /1054), was the lone minister who warned about the political situation of the Iberian Islamic rule.¹⁵

The latter was a minister of the ruler of Granada Bādīs b. Ḥabūs (429-465 AH/1038-1073) then he had become the minister of the ruler of Sevilla Abū ‘Amr ‘Abbād al-Mu‘taḍid (1042-1069/ 434-461 AH). Al-Bazlyānī was aware of the danger of the situation of Islamic rule in al-Andalus. In addition, the Muslim inhabitants in al-Andalus supported and preferred some Andalusian rulers.¹⁶ This is because that these inhabitants feared some of these rulers, who had desired to keep this political situation. Some of these rulers relied on cruelty and violence against any attempt by the Muslim inhabitants to change this situation.¹⁷

III. Andalusian Intellectual Elites against the Andalusian Rulers

The intellectual elites in the Iberian Peninsula divided into two parties regarding the political situation in the eleventh century. The first party included some jurists who were poets. The members of this party were from different parts of al-Andalus.¹⁸ They were against the Andalusian rulers' acts that weakened the prestige of the Islamic rule in the Iberian Peninsula and put it at risk of collapse. This political situation affected the cultural activities, life, and careers of these jurists.

¹⁵ Muḥammad al-Ḥatāmlah, *al-Andalus: Tārīkh wa Ḥaḍārah wa Miḥnah*, 928.

¹⁶ Muḥammad ibn ‘Abbūd, *al-Tārīkh al-Siyāsī wa al-Ijtīmā‘ī li Ashbbīyah fi ‘abd Al-Ṭawā’if* (Tiṭwān: Maṭābi‘ al-Shuwaykh, 1983), 27.

¹⁷ Yūsif Shaḥdah al-Kaḥlūt, *Al-Akblāq al-Islāmiyah fi al-Shi‘r al-Andalusī fi ‘Aṣr Mulūk Al-Ṭawā’if* (Ghazah: al-Jāmi‘ah al-Islāmiyah, 2010), 33.

¹⁸ Muḥammad ibn ‘Abbūd, *al-Tārīkh al-Siyāsī wa al-Ijtīmā‘ī li Ashbbīyah fi ‘abd Al-Ṭawā’if*, 27.



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Some of these members exploited their careers and cultural capabilities, such as teaching, poems, judiciary, and their expertise in *al-amr bi al-Ma'rūf wa al-Nahy 'an al-Munkar* (enjoining what is right and forbidding what is wrong) to urge these rulers to untie and stop plots against each other.¹⁹ It can be urged that some of these jurists left some of their interests particularly, historiography and the teaching of Islamic law for the public due to their movements to convince the Andalusian rulers to unite.

The other party included some poets who had not been affected because they did not care about the acts of the Iberian Muslim rulers, particularly the plots against each other, which resulted in the weakness of the Islamic rule in the Iberian Peninsula. They continued practicing their cultural activities in their favor instead of the fate of Islamic rule due to security and financial reasons as well as their political ambitions and positions.

The members of the first party were Abū al-Walīd al-Bājī, Ibn Ḥazm, Abū Ḥafṣ al-Hūzanī, Abū al-Walīd al-Waqshī (d. 488 AH/1095) and Ibn 'Abd al-Bir. A few years after the beginning of the era of *al-Ṭawā'if*, some of them visited the most prominent Andalusian rulers.²⁰ Some of these jurists asked these rulers to stop plotting among each other because they believed these acts would exhaust their military abilities.²¹ The jurists also believed that these acts would result in the fall of their native cities and other Andalusian cities to the Christian kings in the north of the Peninsula easily.

They also requested that they unite with each other under one strong and efficient ruler because they wanted to protect all Andalusian states. They realized that the division of al-Andalus into many rulers would make them reckless and indifferent about the fate of other Andalusian cities that were outside the scope of their rule.²² It can be deduced that these

¹⁹ Muḥammad al-Ḥatāmlah, *al-Andalus: Tārīkh wa Ḥadārah wa Miḥnah*, 928.

²⁰ Aḥmad al-Maqqarī, *History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain, Extracted from the Naṣḥ al-ṭīb min al-Ghuṣn-al-Andalus-al-Raṭīb wa Tārīkh Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb*, ed. and trans. Pascual de Gayangos (London: Oriental Translation Fund, 1843), 2: 67, 77; Muḥammad ibn 'Abbūd, *al-Tārīkh al-Siyāsī wa al-Ijtimā'ī li Ashbiyah fi 'abd Al-Ṭawā'if*, 27.

²¹ Ibn Basām, *al-Thakhrab fi Maḥāsin abl al-Jazīrah* (Tūnis: Dar al-'Arabiyah ll-Kitāb, 1979), 2: 63.

²² *Ibid.*, 2: 63.



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jurists were not fanatics for their origins and affiliations which belonged to some Andalusian cities that became states where they wanted their states, and other Andalusian states, to be ruled under one strong Muslim ruler, even if the latter was not from their city. It can be therefore elicited the reason which led these jurists to visit the most prominent Andalusian rulers.

Abū al-Walīd al-Bājī was from Bājah, which was part of Badajoz under the rule of Banū al-Afṭas, and Abū Ḥafṣ al-Hawzanī was from Sevilla under the rule of Banū ‘Abbād.²³ In addition, Ibn ‘Abd al-Bir was from Cordoba under the rule of Banū Jahwar. In the fourth decade of the eleventh century, 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-Afṭas the most efficient ruler for the southern Iberian Peninsula.²⁴ 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-Afṭas 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.²⁵

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.²⁶

Ibn ‘Abd al-Bir was the leader of these jurists in improving the status of Islamic rule in the Iberian Peninsula because these jurists, including al-Bājī, considered him the most learned

²³ Camilla Adang, Maribel Fierro, and Sabine Schmidtke, *Ibn Ḥazm of Cordoba: The Life and Works of Controversial Thinker* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 5.

²⁴ Ibn Khalkān, *Wafayāt al-A’yān* (Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyah, 1972), 7: 67.

²⁵ Bilāl Abū ‘Abbās, *Modern Hadith Studies: Continuing Debates and New Approaches* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020), 121.

²⁶ Ibn Khalkān, *Wafayāt al-A’yān*, 2: 71.



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jurist in al-Ḥadīth (the Prophet Muḥammad's statements) in the Iberian Peninsula.²⁷ So, we can argue against 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥajī when he claimed that there were disagreements between Ibn 'Abd al-Bir and al-Bājī.²⁸ Al-Ḥajī has referred to disagreements between al-Bājī and Ibn 'Abd al-Bir due to the latter's following of al-Zāhirī doctrine. Al-Ḥajī's claim is based on a non-contemporary source, Ibn 'Umayrah, who died in 599 AH /1203.²⁹

With regard to Abū al-Walīd al-Bājī, he directed his efforts in improving the status of Islamic rule in the Iberian Peninsula after he returned from his scientific trip from al-Mashriq which lasted for thirteen years, from 425 to 438 AH /1034 to 1048.³⁰ It can be assumed that al-Bājī did not write down and teach the explanations of jurisprudence that he had learned from the jurists of al-Mashriq after his return due to the political situation in al-Andalus.

'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥajī argues that al-Bājī commenced his efforts in 477 AH /1084 after the ruler of Badajoz, al-Mutawakil b. al-Aftas (437-487 AH/1045-1094), requested him because Alfonso VI attacked many states in al-Andalus, including Badajoz; the latter also requested a large tribute.³¹ This may be refuted by arguing that in 477 AH/1084, Alfonso VI mobilised his army to besiege Toledo, which was his primary aim.³²

Abū al-Walīd al-Bājī, during his movement to eastern, western, northern, and southern al-Andalus, he adapted the teaching profession to invite the Muslim students to unite in the cities in which he taught.³³ Many of his students were poets, and they described this effort

²⁷ *Wafiyāt al-A'yān*, 7: 66.

²⁸ 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥajī, *al-Tārikh al-Andalusī min al-Faiḥ ḥtā Ṣuqūṭ Girnāṭah* (Damascus: Dār al-Qalam, 2014), 375.

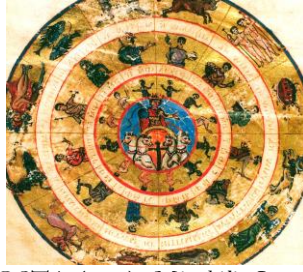
²⁹ Ibn 'Umayrah, *Baghyat al-Multamis fī Tārikh Rijal Abl al-Andalus* (al-Qāhirah: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1967), 71.

³⁰ Ibn Basām, *al-Thakbīrah fī Maḥāsin abl al-Jazīrah*, 2: 63.

³¹ al-Ḥajī, *al-Tārikh al-Andalusī min al-Faiḥ ḥtā Ṣuqūṭ Girnāṭah*, 364.

³² Ibn Kardabūs, *Tārikh al-Andalus wa wasfihī li Ibn Shabāṭ*, 78-80.

³³ Iḥsān 'Abbās, *Tārikh al-Adab al-Andalusī* ('Amān: Dār al-Thaqāfah, 1971), 30.



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in their poems.³⁴ Al-Bājī was a famous poet in the eleventh century. He used poetry in different ways, including to praise some of the jurists and judges whom he visited in al-Mashriq, to grieve his sons who died and to invite Muslims to asceticism. However, he did not utilise poetry to invite the rulers in al-Andalus to unite. He was strict with them; he used clues from *al-Qurʿān* and the statements of the Prophet Muḥammad (al-Ḥadīth) to warn these rulers about plots, advising them to unite. Consequently, most rulers respected and welcomed him.³⁵

Many historians, such as ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥajī, Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh ʿAnān and Aḥmad Mukhtār ʿAbādī believe that 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, the movements of these jurists among the most prominent Andalusian rulers and their inhabitants to encourage them to unite had been increased.³⁶

Al-Ḥajī, ʿAnān, and ʿAbādī probably meant the poets Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAsāl from Toledo (d. 487 AH /1094) and Abū Ishāq al-Albīrī (d. 459 AH /1067) from Granada who wrote poems to encourage the Muslims of al-Andalus and their rulers to unify to recapture Barbastro.³⁷ These two poets did not join with Abū al-Walīd al-Bājī, Ibn Ḥazm, Abū Ḥafṣ al-Hūzanī, and Ibn ʿAbd al-Bir in their movements that had been before the fall of Barbastro to ask the Iberian Muslim rulers to unite and stop plots against each other. However, it can be considered that these two poets were Islamicists because they interacted with the fall of an Andalusian city to which they did not belong. They applied the Islamic principle that Muslims should help each other.

³⁴ Aḥmad Al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥu al-ṭīb min al-Ghuṣn-al-Andalusī-al-Raṭīb*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Bayrūt: Dār Ṣādir, 1968), 2: 77

³⁵ Ibn Basām, *al-Thakbīrah fī Maḥāsīn ahl al-Jazīrah*, 2: 63.

³⁶ Al-Ḥajī, *al-Tārikh al-Andalusī min al-Fath ḥtā Suqūṭ Gīrnāṭab*, 367, 390; Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh ʿAnān, *Dawlat al-Islām fī al-Andalus, Dīwal al-Ṭawāʾif*, 374-379; The Viking attack of Barbastro was an external danger to the Islamic rule of the Iberian Peninsula.

³⁷ Muḥammad ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl al-ʿAlam*, ed. Levi Provencal (Bayrūt: Dār al-Makshūf, 1956), 2: 231.



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The fall of Barbastro did not increase the movements of Abū al-Walīd al-Bājī, Ibn Ḥazm, Abū Ḥafṣ al-Hawzanī, and Ibn ‘Abd al-Bir between the Andalusian rulers to request them to unite. It is possible that they realised that their summons for unity that had been before the fall of Barbastro did not achieve any result. Consequently, the scholar of al-Ḥadīth, Abū Ḥafṣ al-Hawzanī critiqued Abū ‘Amr ‘Abbād al-Mu‘taḍid, the ruler of Sevilla.³⁸

Al-Hawzanī wrote some poetry which expressed the negligence of al-Mu‘taḍid in recapturing Barbastro from the Vikings.³⁹ Consequently, this criticism angered al-Mu‘taḍid who killed al-Hawzanī in 460 AH /1068.⁴⁰ The latter used poetry instead of al-Ḥadīth for his criticism of al-Mu‘taḍid because he believed that the poetry would affect al-Mu‘taḍid, who was interested in literature, particularly poetry. Al-Hawzanī’s poems to al-Mu‘taḍid, including touching words about the great incidents against Muslims, did not provoke the jealousy of the Muslim ruler.⁴¹ Thus, Sevilla lost its most important scholar in al-Ḥadīth.

After the fall of Barbastro, Ibn Ḥazm did not use poetry against al-Mu‘taḍid because Ibn Ḥazm died in 456 AH /1064. However, he used poetry against al-Mu‘taḍid after the latter destroyed the former’s house and burned his books. Ibn Ḥazm 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.⁴²

Some scholars believe al-Mu‘taḍid 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‘taḍid against Ibn

³⁸ Iḥsān ‘Abbās, *Tārīkh al-Adab al-Andalusī*, 177-180.

³⁹ Khawlah Mīsī, “Adab al-Istiṣrākh wa al-Istinjād fī al-Andalus,” in *Majalat Jīl al-Dirāsāt al-Adabiyah wa al-Fikriyah*, no.9 (2015): 95.

⁴⁰ Ibn al-Ābār Al-Quḍā‘ī, *Al-Ḥulat al-Sīyarā*, ed. Ḥusayn Mu’nis (al-Qāhirah: Dār al-Ma‘ārif, 1985), 2: 41.

⁴¹ Al-Quḍā‘ī, *Al-Ḥulat al-Sīyarā*, 2: 41.

⁴² Ḥumṣī Farḥān al-Ḥamādah, *al-Imām Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī* (al-Riqqah: Itihād al-Kutāb al-‘Arab, 2011), 77.



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Ḥazm.⁴³ This may be refuted by arguing that there was a relationship of respect and admiration between Abū al-Walīd al-Bājī and Ibn Ḥazm, in which the latter said that Abū al-Walīd al-Bājī was one of the efficient al-Mālikī jurists in the Iberian Peninsula.⁴⁴ Ibn Ḥazm met al-Bājī in Mallorca Island on the eastern coast of the Iberian Peninsula that had been ruled by the Muslim ruler of Dānyah state, ‘Alī Iqbāl al-Dūlah (436-468 AH/1044-1075).⁴⁵ It is possible that their meeting was culturally or to discuss the fate of the Islamic rule in the Iberian Peninsula.

The prime reason which led al-Mu‘taḍid to burn Ibn Ḥazm’s book is the following. Ibn Ḥazm’s origins were in Cordoba, and he combatted the attempts of Banū ‘Abbād to annex Cordoba. 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.⁴⁶

Ibn Ḥazm was not convinced of the efficiency of Banū ‘Abbād, especially al-Mu‘taḍid’s rule of al-Andalus in a unified manner, 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.⁴⁷ 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

⁴³ Ibid., 77.

⁴⁴ Shams al-Dīn al-Thahabī, *Tathkirat al-Ḥufāz* (Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyah, 1998), 1: 56.

⁴⁵ Aḥmad Al-Maqqarī, *Najḥ al-ṭīb min al-Ghuṣn-al-Andalusī-al-Raṭīb*, 2: 67.

⁴⁶ Ibn Ḥazm, *Nuqaṭ al-‘Arūs*, ed. Iḥsān ‘Abbās (Bayrūt: al-Mu‘assah al-‘Arabiyyah ll-Dirāsāt wa al-Nashr, 1987), 2: 97.

⁴⁷ ‘Anān, *Dawlat al-Islām fī al-Andalus, Duwal al-Ṭawāif*, 48; al-Ḥatāmlah, *al-Andalus: Tāriḫ wa Ḥaḍārah wa Miḥnah*, 493.



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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.⁴⁸

It can be, therefore, deduced that the plots of al-Mu‘taḍid were a vital obstacle, which hindered the efforts of the 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.⁴⁹

Ibn ‘ Abd al-Bir was also a poet, but he did not use poetry to criticise the Andalusian rulers, including al-Mu‘taḍid after the fall of Barbastro.⁵⁰ He probably believed the critical poetry would not sharpen the Andalusian rulers’s ardor to recapture Barbastro. It is also possible that he feared criticism from some Andalusian rulers because he may have believed they had the ability to assassinate him. An example could be mentioned to support this view is the following. al-Mu‘taḍid killed al-Hawzanī after four years of the latter’s critique for the former. Al-Hawzanī criticised al-Mu‘taḍid after the fall of Barbastro in 1064. Al-Mu‘taḍid killed al-Hawzanī in 1068.

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.⁵¹ Consequently, they mobilised 6,000 fighters under the leadership of the ruler of Zaragoza, al-Muqtadir Aḥmad b. Hūd (441-475 AH/1049-1082), who succeeded in recapturing Barbastro in 457 AH / 1065.⁵² It can be deduced that the situation of the Islamic rule in al-Andalus led al-Bājī and al-Hawzanī to be interested in the military experience more than cultural aspects. They believed that Andalusian cities were at risk of falling.

⁴⁸ ‘Anān, *Dawlat al-Islām fī al-Andalus, Duwal al-Ṭawāif*, 48.

⁴⁹ Ibn Basām, *al-Thakḥīrah fī Maḥāsīn abl al-Jazīrah*, 2: 11-12.

⁵⁰ Al-Qāḍī ‘Aayāḍ, *Tartīb al-Madārik*, ed. Aḥmad Maḥmūd (Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-‘lmiyah, 1965), 4: 809.

⁵¹ ‘Aayāḍ, *Tartīb al-Madārik*, 4: 825; Shawqī Ḍayf, *‘Aṣr al-Duwal wa al-Imārāt-al-Andalus* (al-Qāhirah: Dār al-Ma‘ārif, 1989), 379.

⁵² Ann Pau and Sancho Ramirez, *Rey de Aragon (1064-1094) y rey de Navarra* (Gijon: Ediciones Trea, 2004), 160.



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After the recapture of Barbastro, Abū al-Walīd al-Bājī stayed for a while in Zaragoza.⁵³ It is possible that the ruler of Zaragoza, al-Muqtadir Aḥmad b. Hūd requested al-Bājī to stay in Zaragoza due to the latter's efforts in recapturing Barbastro. 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-‘Aāmirī. In addition, Zaragoza had not been attacked by Fernando I and then his son Alfonso VI the kings of Castile.⁵⁴ Consequently, Abū al-Walīd al-Waqshī left his native city Toledo for Dānyah.⁵⁵ It can be assured that al-Waqshī believed that al-Muqtadir b. Hūd would be the most efficient ruler.

Abū al-Walīd al-Waqshī gave less effort in inviting the Andalusian rulers to unite due to his concentration on different sciences; he was a scholar of grammar, languages, poetry, rhetoric, logic, astronomy, and jurisprudence.⁵⁶ Consequently, he had been considered the best astronomer in al-Andalus.⁵⁷

All the above-mentioned jurists, except Abū al-Walīd al-Waqshī, died before the capture of Toledo by Alfonso VI in 1085. Consequently, after the fall of Toledo, some Muslim rulers in al-Andalus regretted not responding the jurists' callings to unite and not conspire against each other. These rulers lost their legitimacy in the eyes of the Andalusian inhabitants. The latter felt the gravity of the situation after the fall of Toledo.⁵⁸

Hence, some of these rulers, particularly the ruler of Sevilla, al-Mu‘tamid b. ‘Abbād (461-484 AH/1069-1091), the ruler of Granada, ‘Abd Allāh b. Balqīn (465-483 AH/1073-1090),

⁵³ ‘Anān, *Dawlat al-Islām fī al-Andalus, Duwal al-Ṭawā’if*, 282.

⁵⁴ Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-‘ibar* (al-Qāhirah: Dār al-Kitāb al-Maṣrī, 1999), 4:354.

⁵⁵ Ibn al-Ābār Al-Quḍā‘ī, *al-Takmilah fī Kitāb al-Ṣilah*, ed. ‘Abd al-Salām al-Harāsh (Damascus: Dār al-Fīkr, 1994), 1: 136.

⁵⁶ Imīl Badī‘ Ḥaddād, *Mansū‘at ‘ulūm al-Lughab al-‘Arabīyah* (Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-‘ilmiyah, 2006), 370.

⁵⁷ Iḥsān ‘Abbās, *Tārikh al-Adab al-Andalusī*, 49.

⁵⁸ Yūsif Shaḥdah al-Kahlūt, *Al-Akhlāq al-Islāmiyah fī al-Shi‘r al-Andalusī fī ‘Aṣr Mulūk Al-Ṭawā’if*, 33.



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and the ruler of Badajoz al-Mutawakil b. al-Afṭas, decided to unite and request a military intervention from Yūsif b. Tāshfīn, the emir of al-Murābiṭūn in al-Maghrib, to stop the expansion of Alfonso in the Andalusian territories.⁵⁹ 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. 1086), who was killed in this battle.

This jurist did not join with Ibn 'Abd al-Bir and al-Bājī to invite the Muslim rulers in the Iberian Peninsula to unite because he probably believed that they would not respond to the invitation. In addition, 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 Muḥammad heralded their victory.⁶⁰

IV. The Andalusian Intellectual Elites Pros the Andalusian Rulers

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. Some Andalusian rulers were famous poets, such as the rulers of Almeria, al-Mu'taṣim b. Ṣumādih (443-484 AH/1051-1091) and al-Mu'tamid b. 'Abbād. The latter used his ingenuity of poetry to describe his social life, including his love for his wife I'timād al-Ramīkiyah (d. 487 AH /1095), who was also a famous poet. However, al-Mu'tamid did not use his ingenuity to motivate the Andalusian rulers to unite against the kings of Castile.

The poets who became ministers in Andalusian states, did not employ their ingenuity of poetry to urge the Andalusian rulers to stop the plots and to unite under one ruler because these poets wanted to keep their political positions. For example, before appointing him a

⁵⁹ Ibn 'Athārī, *al-Bayān al-Maghrib fī Akhbār al-Andalus wa al-Maghrib*, ed. Georges Séraphin Colin (Bayrūt: Dār al-Thaqāfah, 1983), 4: 114.

⁶⁰ Al-Ḥimayrī, *al-Rawḍ al-Mi'tār fī Khabar al-Aqtār*, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās (Bayrūt: Dār al-sirāj, 1980), 292.



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minister in Cordoba by Banū Jahwar, Ibn Zaydūn had been sad for the collapse of the Umayyad Caliphate in al-Andalus.⁶¹ It is possible that he realised that the division of al-Andalus into many states after the fall of the Umayyad Caliphate would expose the Islamic rule in the Iberian Peninsula to collapse. However, he wrote poems to praise Banū Jahwar, who also had appointed him an ambassador to negotiate with some Andalusian rulers.⁶²

In addition, Ibn Zaydūn employed his poetic prowess to express his love for Walādah b. al-Mustakfī (d. 483 AH /1091), a daughter of the Umayyad Caliph in al-Andalus, al-Mustakfī bi Allāh (415-416 AH/ 1024-1025). This political position as well as the romantic relationship with Walādah b. al-Mustakfī increased haters and envious people against Ibn Zaydūn. For example, the minister, Ibn ‘Abdūs (d. unknown) who loved Walādah, had incited Banū Jahwar against Ibn Zaydūn. The latter was, therefore, jailed in Cordoba.⁶³

However, he could flee to Sevilla and become the minister of al-Mu‘taḍid in 466 AH /1054.⁶⁴ Ibn Zaydūn did not dare to talk with al-Mu‘taḍid about the latter’s plots against the Andalusian rulers. He probably feared the killing as what happened with Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Bazlyānī who had been killed by al-Mu‘taḍid. Consequently, Ibn Zaydūn praised the plots of al-Mu‘taḍid against the Andalusian rulers.⁶⁵ He also justified al-Mu‘taḍid’s plots against the Andalusian rulers for the purpose of unifying Islamic rule in al-Andalus.

Another example was the poet Abū Bakr b. ‘Amār, who had been a minister of al-Mu‘tamid b. ‘Abbād. Abū Bakr b. ‘Amār used his poetic prowess for his own personal interests. At the beginning of his life, he was poor, so he relied on the poetry to earn money from the rich people in al-Andalus.⁶⁶ He then used his poetic prowess in spinning to keep his position and his friendship with al-Mu‘tamid, who was interested in the spinning

⁶¹ Angel Gonzalez Palencia, *Tārikh al-Fikr al-Andalusī*, 80.

⁶² ‘Anān, *Dawlat al-Islām fī al-Andalus, Duwal al-Ṭawāif*, 26; Angel Gonzalez Palencia, *Tārikh al-Fikr al-Andalusī*, 84.

⁶³ Angel Gonzalez Palencia, *Tārikh al-Fikr al-Andalusī*, 82.

⁶⁴ Khayr al-Dīn al-Zarkalī, *al-A‘lām* (Bayrūt: Dār al-‘Alam, 2002), 158.

⁶⁵ Angel Gonzalez Palencia, *Tārikh al-Fikr al-Andalusī*, 85.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 85, 90.



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poetry.⁶⁷ In addition, due to the political ambition of Abū Bakr b. ‘Amār, he did not use his ingenuity of poetry to urge the Andalusian rulers to unite under one ruler. He aimed to rule a spot of al-Andalus.⁶⁸ He succeeded in convincing al-Mu‘tamid to prepare a campaign to Murcia in the south-east of al-Andalus, which resulted in the annexation of Murcia to Seville. He then ruled Murcia and announced its independence from Seville.⁶⁹ Consequently, al-Mu‘tamid killed him in 477 AH /1085.

With regard to the poets who did not hold any political position in the palace of the Andalusian rulers, there was Abū Ishāq al-Albīrī (d. 459 AH /1067). The latter was from Granada, he did not criticise the plots of the ruler of Granada, Bādīs b. Ḥabūs against some Andalusian rulers. However, he criticised the internal political situation of his city, Granada, where he wrote poetry that criticised Bādīs b. Ḥabūs 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.⁷⁰

In his poems, Abū Ishāq 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.⁷¹ These words led the inhabitants of Granada to kill this minister and many Jews of Granada. Consequently, Bādīs b. Ḥabūs jailed Abū Ishāq al-Albīrī.⁷² It can be assumed that al-Albīrī did this because

⁶⁷ ‘Anān, *Dawlat al-Islām fī al-Andalus, Duwal al-Ṭawāif*, 68.

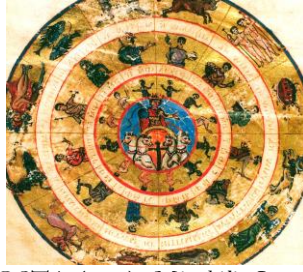
⁶⁸ Al-Ḥatāmlah, *al-Andalus: Tārikh wa Ḥadārah wa Miḥnah*, 497.

⁶⁹ Angel Gonzalez Palencia, *Tārikh al-Fikr al-Andalusī*, 92.

⁷⁰ Norman Stillman, *The Jews of Arab Lands: A History and Source Book* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1979), 56.

⁷¹ ‘Abd Allāh b. Balqīn, *Muthakarāt ‘Abd Allāh ākhir Mulūk Banī Zīrī in Girnāṭah*, ed. Levi Provencal (al-Qāhirah: Dār al-Ma‘ārif, 1955), 54.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 54.



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he probably wanted to get this position. It appears that the Jews were monopolizing the positions in Granada.

Some poets did not want to be ministers for these Andalusian rulers because their primary aim was to earn the financial obtains from these rulers. They did not therefore care about the status of the Islamic rule in the Iberian Peninsula. Some Andalusian rulers depended on them 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, Ibn Ḥamīdis described Mu‘tamid b. ‘Abbād as a protector of Islam and Islamic rule in the Iberian Peninsula.⁷³ 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-Murābiṭūn among the Muslim inhabitants of al-Andalus. Consequently, he obtained money from Mu‘tamid.⁷⁴

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 *Ifrīqiya* to get financial obtains.⁷⁵

Some poets, including Abū ‘Alī Idrīs b. al-Yamān (d. 470 AH/ 1077), preceded Ibn Ḥamīdis and praised some Andalusian rulers and benefitted from some of them financially. Abū ‘Alī Idrīs b. al-Yamān praised the ruler of Toledo, al-Ma‘mūn (d. 1077), although the latter had many weaknesses.⁷⁶ Al-Ma‘mūn was in constant conflict with al-Andalusian states and was in a state of submission to Fernando I.⁷⁷ Furthermore, Abū ‘Alī Idrīs b. al-

⁷³ Ibn Khalkān, *Wafayāt al-A‘yān*, 3: 214-215.

⁷⁴ Khayr al-Dīn al-Zarkalī, *al-A‘lām* (Bayrūt: Dār al-‘Alam, 2002), 274.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ ‘Umar Farūkh, *Tārīkh al-Adab al-‘Arabī: al-Adab fī al-Magrib wa al-Andalus* (Bayrūt: Dār al-‘Alam, 1985), 623.

⁷⁷ ‘Anān, *Dawlat al-Islām fī al-Andalus, Duwal al-Ṭawāif*, 383-384.



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Yamān praised the ruler of Sevilla, al-Mu‘taḍid . The poet Ibn al-Ḥadād al-Andalusī (d. 480 AH/1087) followed in Abū‘ Alī Idrīs b. al-Yamān’s footsteps. Al-Andalusī praised the ruler of Almeria, al-Mu‘taṣim b. Ṣumādiḥ, and the ruler of Zaragoza, al-Muqtadir b. Hūd.⁷⁸

Additionally, there was Ibn Abbār al-Khulānī (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.⁷⁹ It can be, therefore, concluded that these poets contributed to the continuation of this political situation. However, it cannot be considered that all these poets were mercenaries because they had followed their economic interests. It is possible that the Andalusian rulers forced some of these poets to make their poems for praise.

Example of the mercenary poets, such as Ibn Ḥamīdis, who left for North Africa and praised its rulers after the deposing of *al-Ṭawā’if*. Ibn al-Bunī (d. 490 AH/1097) was also one of the mercenary poets. He satirised al-Murābiṭūn following the deposing of the Andalusian rulers in the last decade of the eleventh century.⁸⁰ Ibn al-Bunī was a brilliant in the spinning poetry that had been favored for the Andalusian rulers, particularly al-Mu‘tamid. It can be deduced that Ibn al-Bunī benefited from these Andalusian rulers financially.

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. Consequently, some Andalusian poets, who had religious awareness, made great attempts to improve this situation, as they were concerned with the

⁷⁸ Manuela Cortes Garcia, *La musica en la Zaragoza islamica* (Zaragoza: Instituto Estudios Islamicos y del Oriente Proximo, 2009), 46-48.

⁷⁹ Ibn Khalkān, *Wafayāt al-A’yān*, 1:142.

⁸⁰ Muḥammad Shākir Maḥmūd, “Spinning in poetry of ibn al-Buny al-Andalusian Died in the Fifth Century of migration,” *Mustanṣiriyah Journal of Arts* 35, no. 55 (2011): 17.



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fate of Islamic rule. They put their lives at risk, left scientific interests, and exploited their cultural capabilities during their attempts to improve the political situation of the Islamic rule. There were respectful relations between these poets. However, other Andalusian poets made the political situation in al-Andalus worse due to security and financial reasons as well as their political ambitions and positions.

Further research relating to this region and period could be undertaken in the future. Studies of the efforts of the Andalusian rulers to distract the Andalusian inhabitants from this political situation are virtually non-existent.

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