

Loyalty and Affiliation of the Andalusian Elites towards *Mulūk Al-Ṭawā'if* during the 11th Century/Fifth AH


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11th century Islamic rule in the Iberian Peninsula (*al-Andalus*) witnessed political and military disintegration caused by its division into twenty-two Arab and Berber states. However, there was still cultural, intellectual, and scientific prosperity, prompting scholars and historians to examine the cultural prosperity of the Islamic states in *al-Andalus*, the domination of Christians in these states as well as the conflict between the Islamic states. This research clarifies the loyalty of Andalusian elites to the 11th century Muslim rulers in the Iberian Peninsula. It delves into the political positions and ambitions of these elites, particularly those of famous poets and jurists since many scholars concentrate on how the political weakness of the Iberian Muslim rulers impacted the cultural contributions of poets and jurists without examining how it impacted their political ambitions and loyalty to these rulers during this century. The methodology of this study is historically centred which analyses several primary sources in the 11th century, thus providing arguments to fill gaps in the existing literature.

Key Words: Jurists, Poets, *al-Andalus*, loyalty, *Mulūk Al-Ṭawā'if*

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INTRODUCTION

In the first two decades of the 11th 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 11th century, the Umayyad Caliphate

in the Iberian Peninsula (*al-Andalus*) collapsed. Consequently, *al-Andalus* was divided into twenty-two Arab and Berber states, among which were: Sevilla (*Ishbīliya*) under the rule of Banī ‘Abbād, Cordoba (*Qurṭubah*) under Banī Jahwar, Granada (*Girnāṭa*) under Banī Zirī, Badajoz (*Baṭalyaws*) under Banī al-Aftas, Toledo (*Ṭulayṭilah*) under Banī Thī Anūn, Zaragoza (*Saraqusṭa*) under Banī Hūd and Valencia (*Falansyah*) 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 had lost their legitimacy. However, The era of *Mūlūk al-Ṭawā’if* witnessed cultural, intellectual, and scientific prosperity, because the Andalusian rulers sponsored and interested in scientific and cultural aspects of society (Palencia 1955, 78). Consequently, many scientists excelled in various sciences, including Ibn Ṣā’id al-Andalusī (d. 462 AH/1070) from Toledo, who specialised in astronomy, religions, and history (Al-Ḥatāmlah 2000, 98). In addition, in this era, eminent jurists included poets, such as Abū al-Walīd al-Bājī (d. 476 AH/1084), Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456 AH/1064), Abū Ḥafṣ al-Hawzanī (d. 460 AH/1068), and Ibn ‘Abd al-Bir (d. 463 AH/1071).

Accordingly, this research delves into the political positions and ambitions of jurists and poets to analyse their loyalty to *Mūlūk al-Ṭawā’if* during the eleventh century. The aim of this investigation is to clarify the impact of the weakness of *Mūlūk al-Ṭawā’if* on the loyalty of the Andalusian elites towards the latter, as well as the ambitions of these elites during this period.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Many scholars and historians concentrate on cultural prosperity in *al-Andalus*. For example, in his article, Ṣalāḥ Jarār discusses the scientific and literary contributions of ‘Abbās b. Firnās (d. 273 AH/887). Jarār (1990) urges that Ibn Firnās wrote certain poems to praise particular Umayyad emirs in Andalus to obtain financial gains. Anwar Chejne (1982), 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.

Additionally, these scholars examine the impact of the political



weakness of *Mulūk al-Ṭawāʾif* on Andalusian literature. For example, Khawlah Misi (2015) and Laylá Jughām (2009), discuss the weakness of Islamic rule in *al-Andalus* and the fall of the Andalusian cities during the 11th century, which resulted in the increase in poems of lament, which described the loss of the Andalusian cities, such as Toledo and Valencia. In addition, in her master thesis, the scholar Rasmāʾ ʿAbd al-Rahmān (2011) discusses the impact of the political conditions of *al-Andalus* in the 11th century on the style of Andalusian poetry. She affirms that these circumstances contributed to the development of poems of lament in *al-Andalus* during this century.

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Other scholars look at various aspects of *al-Andalus* during the 11th century. Karīmah Naqāz (2017) and al-Shaykh bū qarbah list the poems that described Andalusian architecture in the 11th century. In his book, Muḥammad Saʿīd (2020) discusses the status of Andalusian poets, such as Ibn Zaydūn (d. 463 AH/1071) and Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Malik (d. 426 AH/1035), who became ministers among the 11th century Andalusian rulers. In addition, Saʿīd examines the poetry of al-Muʿtamid b. ʿAbbād (461–484 AH/1069–1091) to his father al-Muʿtaḍid (434–461 AH/1042–1069) after his failure to annex Malaga to Sevilla. Henry Peres (1983) studies various topics of 11th century Andalusian poetry, such as nature, animals, promiscuity, wine, praise, sports, marriage, masculinity, asceticism and mysticism.

THE ANDALUSIAN CULTURAL COMMUNITY
AND THE WEAKNESS OF *MULŪK AL-ṬAWĀʾIF*

In the last year of the 10th century, the King of Navara, Garcia Sanchez II (384–390 AH/994–1000), died, and his son, Sanchez III (390–426 AH/1000–1035), ascended the throne of Navara (Ibn Kardabūs 1971). The latter was married to Elvira (d. 458 AH/1066), the sister of the King of Castile, Garcia Sanchez (408–420 AH/1017–1029). The latter was assassinated in 420 AH/1029 in the Church of the Crown of Leon during his marriage ceremony to Dona Sancha (ʿAnān 1997). Consequently, Sanchez III became the King of Navara and Castile. Sanchez III appointed his son Fernando I (420–457 AH/1029–1065) as the King of Castile. Furthermore, Sanchez III

[162] 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. Therefore, it can be noted that the Christian kingdoms united under the rule of one king, Fernando I, whereas at that time, there were twenty-two Islamic states of the southern Iberian Peninsula.

Fernando I exploited the division of Islamic rule into twenty two states in the south of the Peninsula by attacking and capturing many Andalusian states. In 448 AH/1057, he captured the city of Vizeu from Banū al-Afṭas in Badajoz, and killed many of its inhabitants (‘Anān 1997). 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 Dānis in the west of *al-Andalus* (Bleye 1963).

Before these attacks, a few intellectual elites appeared and warned of the division of *al-Andalus* into several states, because they thought that this situation would encourage the Iberian Christians, who had united under the rule of one king, to capture 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 Iberian Islamic rule (Al-Ḥatāmlah 2000). He was a minister for the ruler of Granada, Bādīs b. Ḥabūs (429–465 AH/1038–1073), before becoming the minister for the ruler of Sevilla, Abū ‘Amr ‘Abbād al-Mu‘taḍid (434–461 AH/1042–1069). Al-Bazlyānī was aware of the danger of the situation of Islamic rule in *al-Andalus*, as a result of which, al-Mu‘taḍid had him killed. In addition, the Muslim inhabitants in *al-Andalus* supported and preferred certain Andalusian rulers (Ibn ‘Abbūd 1983, 27), out of fear that some of these rulers harboured wishes to maintain the political status quo. Some of these rulers relied on cruelty and violence against any attempt by political, cultural, and public elites to change the situation (Al-Kaḥlūt 2010). However, the intellectual elites in the Iberian Peninsula were divided into two parties. The first party included a few jurists, who



were from different parts of *al-Andalus* (Al-Kaḥlūt 2010). They were against the Andalusian rulers' acts that weakened the prestige of Islamic rule in the Iberian Peninsula and put it at risk of collapse. This political situation affected the cultural activities, lives and careers of these jurists, and some exploited their careers and cultural capabilities, such as teaching, poems, the 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 unite under one strong and efficient ruler (Al-Ḥatāmlah 2000). It can be argued that some of these jurists abandoned 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 members of the first party were Abū al-Walīd al-Bāji, Ibn Ḥazm, Abū Ḥafṣ al-Hūzanī, Abū al-Walīd al-Waqshī (d. 488 AH/1095), and Ibn 'Abd al-Bir (Al-Maqqarī 1843; Ibn 'Abbūd 1983).

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The other party included those poets who did not care about the division of Islamic rule in the Iberian Peninsula into twenty-two states. They continued to practise their cultural activities in their favour instead of focusing on the fate of Islamic rule due to security and financial reasons as well as their political ambitions and positions.

THE JURISTS' POLITICAL EFFORTS AND LOYALTY

Abū al-Walīd al-Bāji was from Beja (*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 (Adang, Fierro, and Schmidtke 2012, 5). In addition, Ibn 'Abd al-Bir was from Cordoba under the rule of Banū Jahwar. In the fourth decade of the 11th 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, probably because he probably believed Banū al-Afṭas to be the most efficient ruler for the southern Iberian Peninsula (Ibn Khallikān 1972). By taking control of the judiciary, he most likely thought this position would urge the inhabitants of Badajoz and other Andalusian states to unite un-

der the rule of Banū al-Afṭas through issuing *fatwā* (legal opinion). Thus, he left his interests represented in the teaching of the *Qurʾān*, *al-Ḥadīth*, and jurisprudence, areas in which he was a scholar (Abū ‘Abbās 2020).

[164] In 463 AH/1071, Ibn ‘Abd al-Bir visited Xativa (*Shāṭaba*), which had been part of Valencia under the rule of Banū ‘Aāmir, to try to convince the state to come under the rule of Banū al-Afṭas. However, Ibn ‘Abd al-Bir failed in this matter. He then died and was buried in Xativa (Ibn Khallikān 1972).

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 jurist in *al-Ḥadīth* (the Prophet Muḥammad’s statements) in the Iberian Peninsula (Ibn Khallikān 1972).

This contradicts the claim of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥajī (2014, 375) that there were disagreements between Ibn ‘Abd al-Bir and al-Bājī. Al-Ḥajī has referred to disagreements between al-Bājī and Ibn ‘Abd al-Bir due to the latter’s following of al-Zāhiri doctrine. Al-Ḥajī’s claim was based on a non-contemporary source, Ibn ‘Umayrah, who died in 599 AH/1203 (Ibn ‘Umayrah 1967, 71).

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 13 years, from 425 to 438 AH/1034 to 1048 (Al-Shantarīnī 1979). 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 following his return due to the political situation in *al-Andalus*.

‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥajī (2014, 375) argues that al-Bājī commenced his efforts in 477 AH/1084 after the ruler of Badajoz, al-Mutawakil b. al-Afṭas (437–487 AH/1045–1094), requested him given that the King of Castile, Alfonso VI (457–503 AH/1065–1109), had attacked many states in *al-Andalus*, including Badajoz; the latter had also requested a large tribute. This may be refuted by arguing that in 477 AH/1084, Alfonso VI mobilised his army to besiege Toledo, which was his primary aim (Ibn Kardabūs 1971).



Abū al-Walid al-Bājī, during his movement to eastern, western, northern and southern *al-Andalus*, adapted the teaching profession as a mean to invite Muslim students to unite in the cities in which he taught (‘Abbās 1971). Many of his students were poets, and they described this effort in their poems (Al-Maqqarī 1968). Al-Bājī was a famous poet in the 11th 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 join the movement of 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-Qur’ān* 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 (Al-Shantarīnī 1979).

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Many historians, such as ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥajī (2014) and Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh ‘Anān (1997), believe that after the Viking conquest of Barbastro (*Barbashtar*) in 456 AH/1064, during which many Muslims were killed in Barbastro, which had been part of Zaragoza state under the rule of Banū Hūd, the movements of jurists among the most prominent Andalusian rulers and their inhabitants to encourage them to unite under one ruler increased (Al-Ḥajī 2014, 367, 390; ‘Anān 1997, 374–379). Al-Ḥajī (2014) and ‘Anān (1997) were probably referring to the poets Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Asāl 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 (Ibn Al-Khaṭīb 1956, 2:231). These two poets did not join Abū al-Walid al-Bājī, Ibn Ḥazm, Abū Ḥafṣ al-Hūzanī, and Ibn ‘Abd al-Bir in their movements to ask the Iberian Muslim rulers to unite and stop plotting against one other that pre-dated the fall of Barbastro. 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 and applied the Islamic principle that Muslims should help each other.

The fall of Barbastro did not increase the movements of Abū al-Walid al-Bājī, Ibn Ḥazm, Abū Ḥafṣ al-Hawzanī, and Ibn ‘Abd al-Bir to request the Andalusian rulers to unite. It is possible they realised

that their summons for unity before the fall of Barbastro had not achieved any result. Consequently, the scholar of al-Ḥadīth, Abū Ḥafṣ al-Hawzanī, critiqued Abū ‘Amr ‘Abbād al-Mu‘taḍid, the ruler of Sevilla (‘Abbās 1971).

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Al-Hawzanī wrote poetry expressing the negligence of al-Mu‘taḍid in recapturing Barbastro from the Vikings (Mīsī 2015). Consequently, this criticism angered al-Mu‘taḍid, who killed al-Hawzanī in 460 AH/1068 (Al-Quḍā‘ī 1985, 2:41). The latter used poetry instead of *al-Ḥadīth* for his criticism of al-Mu‘taḍid, because he believed that 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 (Al-Quḍā‘ī 1985, 2:41). 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 burned the former’s books in Sevilla. This act caused *al-Andalus* to lose approximately 400 intellectual works that had been created by Ibn Ḥazm (Halverson 2010). 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 (Al-Ḥamādah 2011, 77).

Some scholars believe that al-Mu‘taḍid burned Ibn Ḥazm’s books because the latter was a follower of the al-Zāhirī doctrine, which was at odds with all al-Mālikī jurists in *al-Andalus* (Gleave 2012, 169). Consequently, al-Mālikī jurists in Sevilla incited al-Mu‘taḍid against Ibn Ḥazm, who was present there in this period (Al-Ḥamādah 2011, 77). 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 most efficient al-Mālikī jurists in the Iberian Peninsula (Al-Thahabī 1998, 1:56). Ibn Ḥazm met al-Bājī on 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) (Al-Maqqarī 1968, 2:67). It is possible that their meeting was of a cultural nature or to discuss the fate of Islamic rule on the Iberian Peninsula.



The prime reason which led al-Mu‘taḍid to burn Ibn Ḥazm’s book is that Ibn Ḥazm’s origins were in Cordoba, and he had combatted the attempts of Banū ‘Abbād to annex Cordoba. Banū ‘Abbād claimed that they found Hishām al-Mu‘ayyad, a missing 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, 2:97).

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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 (‘Anān 1997, 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 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 (Casewit and Böwering 2015, 3; ‘Anān 1997, 48). It can therefore be 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* (Al-Shantarīnī 1979).

With regard to the efforts of al-Bāji in recapturing Barbastro, he met Abū Ḥafṣ al-Hawzanī in Zaragoza in 1064 to encourage the Muslims to fight to recover Barbastro (‘Aayād 1965, 4:825; Dayf 1989, 379). 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 (Pau and Ramirez 2004, 160).

After the recapture of Barbastro, Abū al-Walid al-Bāji stayed for a while in Zaragoza (‘Anān 1997, 282). It is possible that the ruler of Zaragoza, al-Muqtadir Aḥmad b. Hūd, requested al-Bāji to stay in

Zaragoza due to the latter's efforts in recapturing Barbastro. In addition, al-Bājī probably believed that Banū Hūd was the most qualified to rule *al-Andalus* since in the seventh decade of the 11th century, the ruler of Zaragoza, al-Muqtadir Aḥmad b. Hūd, annexed Denia (*Dānyah*) state in the east of *al-Andalus* that had been established in 404 AH/1014 by al-Mujāhid al-‘Aāmiri. In addition, Zaragoza had not been attacked by Fernando I nor his son Alfonso VI, the kings of Castile (Ibn Khaldūn 1999, 4:354; Luis Corral 1998, 155–156). Consequently, Abū al-Walīd al-Waqshī left his native city Toledo for Dānyah (Al-Quḍā‘ī 1994, 1:136). It can be assured that al-Waqshī believed that al-Muqtadir b. Hūd would be the most efficient ruler (Badī‘ 2006, 370). He had been considered the best astronomer under the rule of Banū Hūd (‘Abbās 1971). In addition, it can be assumed that the ruler of Zaragoza al-Muqtadir Aḥmad b. Hūd earned legitimacy, because al-Bājī was the leading Mālīkī jurist of the period of *Mūlūk Al-Ṭawā’if* (Jenkins 2011, 131).

THE POETS' AMBITIONS AND LOYALTY

Poetry was one type of literature that flourished in *al-Andalus* in the 11th century, during which the status of Andalusian poets reached a climax within Andalusian society and among political authorities. Some Andalusian rulers were famous poets, such as the rulers of Almeria, al-Mu‘taṣim b. Ṣumādīḥ (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-Ramikiyah (d. 487 AH/1095), who was also a famous poet.

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 maintain their political positions. For example, before he was appointed a minister in Cordoba by Banū Jahwar, Ibn Zaydūn had mourned the collapse of the Umayyad Caliphate in *al-Andalus* (Palencia 1955, 80.). It is possible he realised that the division of *al-Andalus* into many states following the fall of the Umayyad Caliphate would subject Islamic rule in the Iberian Peninsula to potential collapse. However, he wrote poems to praise Banū Jahwar, who also had



appointed him an ambassador to negotiate with certain Andalusian rulers ('Anān 1997, 26; Palencia 1955, 84). 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 (Menocal, Scheindlin, and Sells 2000). 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 (Palencia 1955, 82). However, he was able to flee to Sevilla and become the minister of al-Mu'taḍid in 466 AH/1054 (al-Zarkalī 2002, 158). Ibn Zaydūn did not dare to discuss with al-Mu'taḍid the latter's plots against the Andalusian rulers. He probably feared being killed like Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Bazlyānī had been, on the orders of al-Mu'taḍid. Consequently, Ibn Zaydūn praised the plots of al-Mu'taḍid against the Andalusian rulers (Palencia 1955, 85), justifying them for the purpose of unifying Islamic rule in *al-Andalus*.

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Another example worth citing is that of the poet Abū Bakr b. 'Amār (d. 477 AH/1085), who had been a minister of al-Mu'tamid b. 'Abbād. Abū Bakr b. 'Amār used his poetic skills for his own personal interests. At the beginning of his life, he was poor, so he relied on poetry to earn money from rich people in *al-Andalus* (Ecker 2004, 56). He then used his poetic prowess in spinning to retain his position and friendship with al-Mu'tamid, who was interested in spinning poetry ('Anān 1997, 68). In addition, due to the political ambitions of Abū Bakr b. 'Amār, he did not use his ingenuity of poetry to urge the Andalusian rulers to unite under one ruler, rather aiming to rule a spot of *al-Andalus* (Al-Ḥatāmlah 2000, 497). He succeeded in convincing al-Mu'tamid to prepare a campaign for Murcia (*Mursiyah*) in south-eastern *al-Andalus*, which resulted in the annexation of Murcia to Seville. He then ruled Murcia and announced its independence from Seville (Palencia 1955, 92). Consequently, al-Mu'tamid killed him in 477 AH/1085 (Crompton 2006, 168).

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

[170] from Granada. He criticised the internal political situation of his state, Granada, through poetry focusing on the ruler of Granada, Bādīs b. Ḥabūs, because the latter had appointed a Jewish minister, Yūsif b. Nigrālah (d. 458 AH/1066). Bādīs b. Ḥabūs had appointed Yūsif b. Nigrālah due to the efforts of his father, the minister, Ismā'īl b. Nigrālah (d. 447 AH/1055), who had 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, 56). 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 a minister in Granada, which resulted in apparent 'gloating' over the Muslims of Granada (Balqīn 1955, 54). These words led the inhabitants of Granada to kill this particular minister and many Jews in Granada. Consequently, Bādīs b. Ḥabūs jailed Abū Ishāq al-Albīrī (Balqīn 1955, 54), who died in prison. It can be assumed that this poet expressed his loyalty to his country by rejecting the appointment of Jews as ministers in his nation.

Some poets exhibited no loyalty, because their primary aim was to receive financial gains from the Andalusian rulers. They did not therefore, care about the status of Islamic rule on the Iberian Peninsula. In fact, 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), one of the poets of al-Mu'tamid b. 'Abbād, praised the ruler very much. After the Battle of Sagrjas, Ibn Ḥamīdis described Mu'tamid b. 'Abbād as a protector of Islam and Islamic rule on the Iberian Peninsula (Ibn Khallikān 1972, 3:214–215). This *Dīwān* of poetry was probably used as a tool 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 from al-Maghrib. Consequently, he was financially rewarded by Mu'tamid (al-Zarkalī 2002, 274). Ibn Ḥamīdis left *al-Andalus* for North Africa after al-Mu'tamid was deposed in 484 AH/1091. There, he praised rulers of North Africa, particularly Banū Zīrī in *Ifriqiya* to receive financial gains (al-Zarkalī 2002, 274).



Some poets, including Abū ‘Alī Idrīs b. al-Yamān (d. 470 AH/1077), preceded Ibn Ḥamīdis and praised certain Andalusian rulers, benefitting 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 (Farūkh 1985, 623). Al-Ma’mūn was in constant conflict with al-Andalusian states and was in a state of submission to Fernando I (‘Anān 1997, 383–384.). Abū ‘Alī Idrīs b. al-Yamān also 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 by praising the ruler of Almeria, al-Mu‘taṣim b. Ṣumādīh, and the ruler of Zaragoza, al-Muqtadir b. Hūd (Cortes Garcia 2009, 46–48).

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Additionally, there was Ibn Abbār al-Khūlānī (d. 433 AH/1042), who praised Banū ‘Abbād, and justified al-Mu‘taḍid’s plots against the Andalusian rulers for the purpose of unifying Islamic rule in *al-Andalus* (Ibn Khallikān 1972, 1:142). It can therefore be concluded that these poets contributed to the continuation of the weakness of the Andalusian rulers. In addition, it can be assumed that some of these poets were mercenaries while others feared for their lives from the oppression of the rulers.

Another example is that of the mercenary poet, Ibn al-Bunī (d. 490 AH/1097). He satirised al-Murābiṭūn following the deposition of the Andalusian rulers in the last decade of the 11th century (Maḥmūd 2011, 17). Ibn al-Bunī was brilliant in the spinning poetry that had been a favourite among the Andalusian rulers, particularly al-Mu‘tamid. It can be deduced that Ibn al-Bunī benefitted from these Andalusian rulers financially.

CONCLUSION

In the 11th century, there was prosperity across all fields in *al-Andalus* except for the political arena. Fernando I and his successors exploited this situation and imposed their domination on many of the Andalusian states. Consequently, the loyalty of jurists was to the strongest Andalusian ruler, whereas the loyalty of poets depended on their personal interests.

Further research related to this region and period could be under-

taken in the future. For example, studies of the attempts of *Mülük al-Ṭawā'if* to legitimise his rule during the 11th century are virtually non-existent, and therefore, warrant further investigation.

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