

The Muslim Reply: Jihād and Resistance

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1 The Fragmentation of al-Andalus*

The beginning of the *fitna* in the year 1009, with the fall of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Sanchuelo, meant the gradual division of the Andalusi territory into local political powers, where the different main cities were becoming the respective capitals of the so-called “*taifa* kingdoms.”¹ The definitive abolition of the Umayyad caliphate of Córdoba with the deposition of Hishām III al-Mu‘tadd on 30 November 1031 only consolidated this situation of dismemberment of al-Andalus.² With the disappearance of the central authority and the emergence in its place of peripheral powers, Andalusi hegemony in the Iberian Peninsula ceased, and with it the military initiative of the Muslims passed to the Christian kingdoms, especially from the decade of 1040 onwards.³

At that time, disputes such as that between Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. Hūd (d. 1047), *amīr* of Zaragoza, and Yaḥyā b. Ismā‘īl b. Dhī l-Nūn (d. 1074–1075), *amīr* of Toledo, allowed the Christians to take advantage of internal Andalusi conflicts.⁴ For example, around 1043–1045, and due to a previous aggression by the Toledan ruler, Sulaymān b. Hūd delivered a series of gifts to Ferdinand I of León and Castile (d. 1065) to obtain his help in the conflict he had with Toledo. In return, the Christian king devastated the frontier of Toledo.⁵ In retaliation, Yaḥyā b. Dhī l-Nūn incited García Sánchez III of Pamplona (d. 1054) to attack

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1 On the political history of the *taifa* period see, e.g., P. Guichard and B. Soravia, *Los reinos de taifas. Fragmentación política y esplendor cultural*, Málaga: Editorial Sarriá, 2006; B. Sarr (ed.), *Ṭawā’if: Historia y arqueología de los reinos de taifas (siglo XI)*, Granada: Alhulia, 2018; M.J. Viguera, *Los reinos de taifas y las invasiones magrebíes*, Madrid: Mapfre, 1992; D. Wasserstein, *The rise and fall of the party-kings. Politics and society in Islamic Spain 1002–1086*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985.

2 Guichard, *Al-Andalus frente a la conquista cristiana: los musulmanes de Valencia*, Valencia: Universidad de Valencia, 2001, 56–59; Guichard and Soravia, *Los reinos de taifas*, 21–40.

3 F. García Fitz, *La guerra contra el islam peninsular en la edad media*, Madrid: Síntesis, 2019, 55–63.

4 A. Turk, *El Reino de Zaragoza en el siglo XI de Cristo (v de la Hégira)*, Madrid: Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos, 1978, 70–73.

5 Ibn ‘Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib fi akhbār al-Andalus wa-l-Maghrib* III, ed. G.S. Colin and É. Lévi-Provençal, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1948–1951, 279–280; Ibn al-Kardabūs,

the Upper Frontier, an enterprise that ended with the Christian conquest of Calahorra (1045).⁶ Similarly, in western Iberia the clashes between the taifas of Seville and Badajoz led, in 1057–1058, to Ferdinand I's conquest of Lamego and Viseo, a trend that concluded with the capture of Coimbra in 1064.⁷

Thus, this period that extended from the *fitna* to the entry of the Almoravids into al-Andalus was characterized more by the struggles among the different taifas and their strategic alliance with, if not submission to, the Christian kingdoms than by leadership of *jihād* against the enemies of God.⁸ Actions against the infidels were largely defensive, ending on many occasions with the payment of tribute as a means to stop the Christian attacks, a situation that consolidated the regime of *parias* (tribute). For example, in 1063 Ferdinand I launched an expedition of devastation to Andalusian territory that ended with his troops at the gates of Santarém. To put an end to this aggression, Muḥammad b. Maslama b. al-Aḥṣas of Badajoz (d. 1067) agreed to pay him 5,000 dinars per year.⁹

This situation of weakness due to fragmentation would be reflected in the later chronicles of the twelfth and especially the thirteenth centuries, which undoubtedly presented the centralized perspective of the Almoravid and Almohad North African empires. Ibn al-Kardabūs, for example, says:

In this way the name of the caliphate was extinguished in the Peninsula, the destructive reverses of fortune turned and the state of the rulers and the ruled was spoiled, every unknown and vile being was raised, the factions revolted, and in every place fire was kindled; then the enemy manifested itself in frequent appearances, especially on the frontiers."¹⁰

In this fragment we see how the loss of the borders was one of the signs of this new postcaliphal age. This perception was undoubtedly linked to the inability to lead the *jihad* against the Christians. As Ibn 'Idhārī states about some of the taifa rulers, quoting Ibn Ḥayyān, they did not fulfill the duty of holy war against the enemies (*ḥaqq jihād 'aduww*) nor that of the defense of the borders.¹¹ In the same vein, Ibn Bassām records an *urjūza* of Abū Ṭālib 'Abd al-Jabbār

Kitāb al-Iktifā' fī akhbār al-khulafā', ed. A.M. al-'Abbādī, Madrid: Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos, 1971, 68–69.

6 Ibn 'Idhārī, *Bayān* 111, 220, 281; Ibn al-Kardabūs, *Iktifā'*, 74–76.

7 García Fitz, *La guerra contra el islam peninsular*, 58.

8 Wasserstein, *The rise and fall*, 116.

9 Ibn 'Idhārī, *Bayān* 111, 238.

10 Ibn al-Kardabūs, *Iktifā'*, 68.

11 Ibn 'Idhārī, *Bayān* 111, 174.

(d. 1106–1107) in which the taifa kings were condemned because they “did not take care of the frontier or the jihad” and “aided a band of cross-worshippers.”¹² Following this depiction of the period, on occasion the sources also point out that the inhabitants of al-Andalus were not renowned for their warrior experience. For example, in 1065 a Christian army attacked Valencia and defeated the multitude of Andalusis who went out to confront them, who are described as inexperienced in martial matters.¹³

2 Discourses and Attitudes of Precariousness and Resistance

This loss of hegemony and the advance of the Christian kingdoms made the Andalusis feel a need to examine the reasons for their setbacks, and fostered a feeling of precariousness regarding the Islamic presence in the Iberian Peninsula. The reaction was a reaffirmation of Islam and an alleged return to orthodoxy, in addition to the writing of numerous controversial texts. This response, elaborated mostly by jurists, understood that the taifa kings were guilty for bringing about the humiliation of Islam. Furthermore, as a result of the growing weakness towards Christians and the political and ethnic diversity of the taifas, a feeling of alienation developed in the land. Ibn ‘Abbād of Seville said that in al-Andalus they were “strangers [*ghurabā*] between the dark sea and some odious enemies.”¹⁴

Additionally, in their writings Muslim authors began to accept as inevitable a process for which no solution was to be found: it seemed that the loss of al-Andalus that was prophesied in certain traditions was going to come true. Some of these prophecies had been circulating since the eighth century and now, from the eleventh century onwards, they reappeared in works of

12 Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhīra fī maḥāsīn ahl al-jazīra* 1, ed. I. ‘Abbās, Beirut: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1979, 943; H. Kassis, “Muslim revival in Spain in the fifth/eleventh century. Causes and ramifications,” in *Der Islam* 67, no. 1 (1990), 78–110.

13 Ibn ‘Idhārī, *Bayān* III, 252–253.

14 Kassis, “Roots of conflict: Aspects of Christian-Muslim confrontation in eleventh-century Spain,” in R.J. Bikhazi and M. Gervers (eds.), *Conversion and continuity: Indigenous Christian communities in Islamic lands, eighth to eighteenth centuries*, Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1990, 151–160; M. Fierro, “El islam andalusí del siglo V/XI ante el judaísmo y el cristianismo,” in H. Santiago-Otero (ed.), *Diálogo filosófico-religioso entre cristianismo, judaísmo e islamismo durante la Edad Media en la Península Ibérica: Actes du Colloque international de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, 23–26 juin 1991, organisé par la Société Internationale pour l’Étude de la Philosophie Médiévale*, Turnhout: Brepols, 1994, 53–97.

eschatological literature.¹⁵ We clearly perceive a growing fear of apostasy in this period. In a well-known text the scholar al-Bājī (d. 1081) expressed anxiety at the possibility that his sons could convert to Christianity.¹⁶

There was also a spread of anti-Christian polemics, and al-Bājī once again offers a good example. He wrote a response to a letter allegedly written by a French monk inviting the taifa king of Zaragoza to convert. More than a real epistolary exchange, it was a controversial text following the model of the *Risālat al-Kindī*, which was known in the Iberian Peninsula and could have influenced al-Bājī.¹⁷ In his text the Andalusī scholar focused, among other things, on refuting the doctrines of the incarnation and the crucifixion, using, for example, the Islamic argument of *taḥrīf*, the falsification of the Scriptures.¹⁸

Moreover, this period began to see a greater discursive hostility towards the *dhimmis* (Christians and Jews living under Islamic rule), who began to be seen as a fifth column of the Christian advance. For example, throughout his work Ibn Ḥazm (d. 1064) shows open hostility to *ahl al-Kitāb* (the people of the Book, Christians and Jews) and the possibility of making agreements with them. For the Córdoba scholar, God would have abrogated all treaties (*abṭala -llāh kull 'ahd*), imposing on the polytheists only the options of conversion or war, in addition to payment of the *jizya* and submission.¹⁹ This opinion on negotiation with the infidels, closely linked to the notion of expansion of Islam and therefore of jihad, and very much connected to Ibn Ḥazm's lived experience in which different Islamic rulers of al-Andalus made agreements with Christian powers and submitted to the system of *parias*, can be found throughout the work of the Córdoba scholar.

Concern for a severe enforcement of the rules of the *dhimma*, a matter closely related to the above, is also important for Ibn Ḥazm. He argues that one should not accept the *jizya* if there is any insult towards the Prophet or

15 Fierro, "Cosmovisión (religión y cultura) en el Islam andalusí (siglos VIII–XIII)," in J.I. de la Iglesia (ed.), *Cristiandad e Islam en la Edad Media hispana: XVIII Semana de Estudios Medievales, Nájera, del 30 de julio al 3 de agosto de 2007*, Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2008, 31–80.

16 Kassis, "Roots of conflict," 151–160.

17 A. Turki, "La lettre du 'Moine de France' à al-Muqtadir Billah, roi de Saragosse, et la réponse d'al-Bayī, le faqih andalou," in *Al-Andalus* 31 (1966), 73–153.

18 Fierro, "El islam andalusí del siglo V/XI," 53–97. For more about the Islamic idea of the crucifixion of Jesus see, e.g., T. Lawson, "The crucifixion of Jesus in the Qur'an and Qur'anic commentary: A historical survey (Part 1)," in *Bulletin of the Henry Martyn Institute of Islamic Studies* 10, no. 2 (1991), 34–62.

19 Ibn Ḥazm, *Kitāb al-Muḥallā bi-l-āthār* v, ed. A.G.S. al-Bandārī, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 2003, 361–363, 413.

Islam,²⁰ and proposes a definition of submission (*al-ṣaghār*) very much connected to his context: he understands that it means accepting the rule of Islam, not showing unbelief, and not transgressing the Islamic religion. It also includes the ideas of not harming Muslims, of Muslims not serving infidels, and of not placing unbelievers in charge of any matter of power.²¹

This growing hostility toward the *dhimmis* is also clearly shown in the work of al-Ṭurṭūshī (d. 1126), who insists that Jews and Christians should not hold positions of authority over Muslims, specifically criticizing the taifa kings and the Fatimids, advocating that there should be no church or synagogue in Muslim territory.²² Al-Ṭurṭūshī, following the example of the Prophet, also criticized the presence of infidels in Muslim armies.²³

Related to these questions are the criticisms launched, for example, by Ibn Ḥazm against Bādīs b. Ḥabūs (d. 1073), Zīrid king of Granada, for appointing the Jew Ibn Naghrīla as vizier.²⁴ Ibn al-Kardabūs describes clearly the idea, widespread among certain Andalusī sectors, that this excessive share of power acquired by the *dhimmis* was one of the causes of the loss of al-Andalus.²⁵ In 1066 riots against the Jews took place in Granada, and the poet and scholar Abū Ishāq al-Ilbīrī (d. 1067–1068) incited the Berbers to attack the Jewish vizier and his followers; he justified their murder by saying that they had violated the covenant of the *dhimma* since they did not maintain the required situation of humiliation.²⁶

Linked also to these questions and to the new situation of warlike confrontation and retreat, the “reconquering” speeches made by Christians and

20 Ibn Ḥazm, *Muḥallā* v, 375.

21 Ibn Ḥazm, *Muḥallā* v, 414. See also Turk, *El Reino de Zaragoza en el siglo XI*, 221–251.

22 al-Ṭurṭūshī, *Sirāj al-mulūk*, ed. J. al-Bayātī, London: Riad el-Rayyes Books, 1990, 542.

23 al-Ṭurṭūshī, *Sirāj al-mulūk*, 546.

24 C. Adang, “Ibn Hazm de Córdoba sobre los judíos en la sociedad islámica,” in *Foro Hispánico* 7 (1994), 15–23; Adang, *Islam frente a judaísmo. La polémica de Ibn Hazm de Córdoba*, Madrid: Aben Ezra Ediciones, 1994; Wasserstein, “Ibn Ḥazm and al-Andalus,” in C. Adang et al. (eds.), *Ibn Ḥazm of Córdoba: The life and works of a controversial thinker*, Leiden: Brill, 2013, 69–85.

25 Ibn al-Kardabūs, *Iktifā*, 78.

26 See, e.g., A. García Sanjuán, “Violencia contra los judíos: el pogromo de Granada del año 459 H./ 1066,” in M. Fierro (ed.), *De muerte violenta: política, religión y violencia en al-Andalus*, Madrid: CSIC, 2004, 167–206; Fierro, “A Muslim land without Jews or Christians: Almohad policies regarding the ‘protected people,’” in M. Tischler and A. Fidora (eds.), *Christlicher Norden—Muslimischer Süden. Ansprüche und Wirklichkeiten von Christen, Juden und Muslimen auf der Iberischen Halbinsel im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter*, Münster: Aschendorff, 2011, 231–247.

collected by Islamic sources are well known.²⁷ It seems that Andalusí authors were aware of the ideology of Christian “reconquest,” and that, possibly because of this “feeling of precariousness” due to the *fitna* and the Christian advance, they reflected it in their texts with great intensity, perhaps even more than the Christian sources themselves. Ibn ʿIdhārī’s *Bayān* includes a particularly interesting speech in the context of a Toledan embassy to Ferdinand I. Ferdinand, after presenting economic demands to the taifa of Toledo, received the reply that the Muslim kingdom did not have the capacity to raise that money, but that even if they had had it, they would have called in the Berbers (Almoravids) to wipe out the Christians. The Castilian king then pronounced a serious threat, recalling that the Iberian Peninsula was originally Christian:

We repay you the sufferings that were procured to us by those of your people who came against us before, and we only ask for our country, which you took from us [*ghalabtumū-nā*] formerly, at the beginning of your power, and you inhabited it at the time it was provided for you; now we have defeated you by your wickedness. Emigrate, then, to your shore [on the other side of the Strait] and leave us our country!²⁸

Together with these discourses of a certainly pessimistic and precarious nature, however, the Andalusis also elaborated other responses to the new situation they were living in. Contrary to what has traditionally been stated, and as Alejandro García Sanjuán has shown, al-Andalus developed an important sense of collective identity and attachment to the land. This awareness is manifested through notions such as that of *jamāʿat al-Andalus* (the community of al-Andalus), used for example by Ibn Ḥazm in his epistle in praise of al-Andalus. The Córdoba author adds other expressions such as *baladu-nā bi-l-Andalus* (our country, al-Andalus) and *Andalusi-nā hādhihi* (this our al-Andalus).²⁹

27 On this issue see E. Lapiedra, “Reconquista cristiana y pérdida de al-Andalus en las fuentes árabes: dos discursos complementarios,” in *eHumanista/IVITRA* 13 (2018), 296–314.

28 Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān* III, 282.

29 García Sanjuán, “Territorio y formas de identidad colectiva en al-Andalus (siglos VIII–XV),” in *Minervae Baeticae. Boletín de la Real Academia Sevillana de Buenas Letras* 43 (2015), 123–144. See also García Sanjuán, “El significado geográfico del topónimo al-Andalus en las fuentes árabes,” in *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 33, no. 1 (2003), 3–36; M. Wilk, “In praise of al—Andalus. Andalusí identity in Ibn Hazm’s and al—Shaqundi’s treatises,” in *Imago Temporis, Medium Aevum* 4 (2010), 141–173; E. Tixier du Mesnil, *Géographes d’al-Andalus. De l’inventaire d’un territoire à la construction d’une mémoire*, Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2014. Poetry was a genre widely used to express this awareness of collective identity: see T. Garulo, “La nostalgia de al-Andalus, génesis de un tema literario,” in *Qurtuba* 3 (1998), 47–63; A.E. Elinson, *Looking back at al-Andalus. The poetics of loss and*

This text, entitled *Risāla fī faḍl al-Andalus wa-rījālī-hi* (Treatise on the excellence of al-Andalus and its people) was a genuine work on “the merits of al-Andalus,” and so it was also known as *Faḍā’il* [the excellencies, plural] *al-Andalus*. It highlights Andalusī cultural superiority within the general framework of the history of Islam, thus creating an idealized genealogy and a space to be claimed.³⁰ Undoubtedly, the production of this type of work should be linked to a form of resistance and memory against the threat of territorial regression experienced from the eleventh century onwards, just as happened in the Holy Land due to the Crusades, with *Faḍā’il al-Quds* (the excellencies of Jerusalem).³¹

3 Evidence of Jihad in the Taifa Period

There is further evidence showing that, despite the unfavorable context, the leading of jihad continued to be an effective ideological instrument put in place at certain occasions by different taifa powers, not only to confront the Christian advance but also as an instrument of domination.³²

To begin with, several taifa leaders stood out for their bravery, their martial skills, and the security they provided to their subjects, which gave them important authority over them. For example, Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Birzālī (d. 1042–1043), of the Berber Banū Birzāl of Carmona,³³ is described as brave, energetic, and a fearsome horseman (*fāris*), who gained the recognition of towns such as Écija, Osuna, and Almodóvar del Río through the protection he provided.³⁴ Likewise,

nostalgia in medieval Arabic and Hebrew literature, Leiden: Brill, 2009; B. Foulon, “Paysage et nostalgie dans la poésie andalouse,” in B. Foulon (ed.), *L’écriture de la nostalgie dans la littérature arabe*, Paris: L’Harmattan, 2013, 137–161.

30 J.M. Puerta Vilchez, “La idealización de al-Andalus por los andalusíes,” in A. González Alcantud (ed.), *Paradigma Alhambra. Variación del mito de al-Andalus. Aportaciones a un debate germinal*, Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2017, 53–106.

31 See I. Hasson, “Muslim literature in praise of Jerusalem: Faḍā’il Bayt al-Maqdis,” in L.I. Levine (ed.), *The Jerusalem cathedral: Studies in the history, archaeology, geography and ethnography of the Land of Israel*, Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi Institute, 1981, 168–184; A. Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic worship. Holy places, ceremonies, pilgrimage*, Leiden: Brill, 1995, 6–22; S.A. Mourad, “The symbolism of Jerusalem in early Islam,” in T. Mayer and S.A. Mourad (eds.), *Jerusalem: idea and reality*, New York: Routledge, 2008, 86–102; O. Latiff, *The cutting edge of the poet’s sword. Muslim poetic responses to the Crusade*, Leiden: Brill, 2017, 30–39.

32 On this issue see J. Albarrán, *Ejércitos benditos. Yihad y memoria en al-Andalus (siglos X–XIII)*, Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2020, 149–156.

33 H. Roger Idris, “Les birzalides de Carmona,” in *Al-Andalus* 30 (1965), 49–62.

34 *Crónica anónima de los reyes de taifas*, trans. F. Maíllo Salgado, Madrid: Akal, 1991, 63.

the Aftasid al-Mutawakkil ‘alā Allāh (d. 1094)³⁵ distinguished himself for his “extraordinary bravery and perfect horsemanship (*furūsiyya*),” as well as for not refraining from campaigning (*kāna lā yughibbu al-ghazw*).³⁶ Moreover, we know of other emirs who launched expeditions against the Christians, such as Ismā‘īl b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abbād of Seville in 1033–1034,³⁷ although on returning to his capital he was defeated by a coalition of Ibn al-Aftas and Christian troops.

The taifa of Denia and its ruler Mujāhid al-‘Āmirī (d. 1045), who was governor of Tortosa when the *fitna* began and perhaps for this reason was used to fighting at sea against the infidel, stand out in this regard. He is known for leading a so-called “maritime jihad,”³⁸ a tool he used to legitimize himself: he even briefly conquered Sardinia in 1015, an adventure that ended with the intervention of Genoa and Pisa.³⁹ As Ibn ‘Idhārī reports, he also “seized the Balearic Islands, dominated them, and defended them from the polytheists [*taghallaba ‘alay-hā wa ḥamā-hā min al-mushrikīn*].”⁴⁰ His secretary Ibn Burd al-Aṣghar (d. 1053–1054) wrote for him what is known as the *Epistle of the sword and the pen*, the first text in al-Andalus to suggest a debate between arms and letters. It ends with the reconciliation of the sword and the pen which, together, sing the virtues of Mujāhid of Denia in both arts, tools that served him for consolidating his power.⁴¹

He [Mujāhid of Denia] has put us both on the same level in his days of war and peace, and with you [the pen] he has gone beyond peace, and with me [the sword] beyond violence, and he did not dispense with you

35 Roger Idris, “Les aftasides de Badajoz,” in *Al-Andalus* 30 (1965), 277–290.

36 ‘Abd al-Wāhid al-Marrākushī, *Kitāb al-Mu‘jib fī talkhīṣ akhbār al-Maghrib*, ed. J.‘I. al-Manṣūr, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2005, 56.

37 Ibn ‘Idhārī, *Bayān* III, 203; see Lirola, *Al-Mu‘tamid y los Abadíes*, Almería: Fundación Ibn Tufayl de Estudios Árabes, 2011, 41–52.

38 Guichard and Soravia, *Los reinos de taifas*, 58–61; T. Bruce, “Piracy as statecraft: The Mediterranean policies of the fifth/eleventh-century taifa of Denia,” in *Al-Masāq* 22, no. 3 (2010), 235–248; Bruce, *La taifa de Denia et la Méditerranée au XI^e siècle*, Paris: Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail—CNRS, 2013, 90–144, 149–160; C. Picard, *Sea of the caliphs: The Mediterranean in the medieval Islamic world*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018, 152–155. On this taifa kingdom see also M.J. Rubiera, *La taifa de Denia*, Alicante: Instituto de Estudios Juan Gil Albert, 1985.

39 Ibn ‘Idhārī, *Bayān* III, 116.

40 Ibn ‘Idhārī, *Bayān* III, 155.

41 Garulo, *La literatura árabe de al-Andalus durante el siglo XI*, Madrid: Hipérion, 1998, 145–146.

[the pen] until he had achieved his desire, and he did not dispense with me [the sword] until he reconciled his love.⁴²

However, if any dynasty stood out for the leadership of holy war in the taifa period, and for the political revenue obtained from the figure of the ruler-*ghāzī*, it was the Banū Hūd of Zaragoza.⁴³ Its military role is already emphasized in the accounts of the origin of the dynasty. Ibn 'Idhārī, following Ibn Ḥayyān, states that Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. Hūd al-Musta'in (d. 1047) "was, at the time of the united community of al-Andalus, one of the great ones of the army on the Upper Frontier."⁴⁴ When the *fitna* came he seized Lleida and its dependencies (1031), and later Zaragoza (1039).⁴⁵ It seems that the prestige he enjoyed as military chief, emphasized by the sources, helped him when it came time to gain an independent dominion. His would therefore be one of those frontier lineages that earned large doses of legitimacy through the struggle on the borders against the infidel and that emerged as autonomous powers after the disintegration of the caliphate.⁴⁶

Thus, from the first moment, the memory of this taifa dynasty would be linked to the fight against the infidels and the defense of the frontiers.⁴⁷ For example, Ibn 'Idhārī says about Aḥmad b. Sulaymān b. Hūd al-Muqtadir (d. 1081) that "he waged many wars against Christians [*hurūb kathīra ma'a l-rūm*]."⁴⁸ One of those confrontations, in 1063, was the famous battle of Graus, a locality that was one of the Zaragozan vanguards against Aragon.⁴⁹ For this reason King Ramiro I (d. 1063) tried to conquer it, an action to which al-Muqtadir replied, according to Ibn al-Kardabūs, by proposing a pitched battle. The Hūdīd troops ended up defeating the Aragonese army and killing the Christian king.⁵⁰ According to a legendary account in al-Ṭurṭūshī's *Sirāj al-mulūk*, the triumph

42 F. de la Granja, "Dos epístolas de Aḥmad ibn Burd al-Aṣḡar," in *Al-Andalus* 25 (1960), 383–418.

43 Guichard and Soravia, *Los reinos de taifas*, 81–85.

44 Ibn 'Idhārī, *Bayān* III, 221.

45 Turk, *El Reino de Zaragoza en el siglo XI*, 70.

46 See Albarrán, *Ejércitos benditos*, 102–106.

47 Ibn al-Kardabūs, *Iktifā'*, 68–69.

48 Ibn 'Idhārī, *Bayān* III, 224.

49 Turk, *El Reino de Zaragoza en el siglo XI*, 82–83; C. Laliena, *La formación del estado feudal. Aragón y Navarra en la época de Pedro I*, Huesca: Instituto de Estudios Altoaragoneses, 1996, 81.

50 Ibn al-Kardabūs, *Iktifā'*, 74. It is known, however, that this contest was fought on three sides and that the Hūdīds were supported by Castilian troops. On this battle see C. Laliena and P. Sénac, 1064, *Barbastro. Guerre sainte et djihād en Espagne*, Paris: Gallimard, 2018, 87–90.

was achieved thanks to Sa'dāda, a veteran frontier warrior who infiltrated the enemy camp and managed to assassinate the Aragonese king.⁵¹ These kinds of narrations highlighted the importance of the border, and its imaginary, in the taifa period.

Likewise, in the late 1060s al-Muqtadir led a number of victorious expeditions through Aragonese territory which earned him several panegyric poems about his warrior activities.⁵² His fame and prestige as a leader of jihad led the Zīrid 'Abdallāh to claim that, after he seized Denia from Ibn Mujāhid in 1075–1076,⁵³ he lost his “nature” (literally, “it became corrupted”) due to the ambition that led him to expand his domains at the expense of other Muslims, thus ceasing to wage holy war against the Christians “as he used to do before.”⁵⁴ That is, the sources—certainly one as close in time as 'Abdallāh's *Tibyān*—project the idea that al-Muqtadir's intrinsic nature was to fight against the enemies of God.

Aḥmad al-Musta'in II (d. 1110), one of the last Hūdid kings of Zaragoza, also used jihad to legitimize himself. After the inhabitants of Zaragoza had renewed their oath of allegiance to him and his son, whom he named heir, he decided to lead an expedition toward Christian territory, perhaps as a political action justifying these decisions. After conquering the suburb of Arnedo and provoking the destruction of infidel domains wherever he went, on his return to his territory he was surprised by a host of Christian cavalry and killed, “God granting him martyrdom” as a ruler-*ghāzī*.⁵⁵

4 Barbastro

If there is one famous action of jihad in the taifa period that conferred prestige and authority on the Banū Hūd, it was the recovery of Barbastro. In this context of advance of the Christian kingdoms after the decomposition of the Umayyad caliphate, in 1063 Pope Alexander II preached holy war against Barbastro,⁵⁶ a Muslim town that was under the rule of Yūsuf b. Sulaymān b. Hūd al-Muẓaffar

51 Al-Ṭurtūshī, *Sirāj al-mulūk*, 510–511.

52 Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhira* 1–11, 691–729.

53 Ibn 'Idhārī, *Bayān* III, 228.

54 'Abdallāh, *Mudhakkirāt al-amīr 'Abdallāh, ākhir mulūk Banī Zīrī bi-Gharnāṭa* (469–483), *al-musammā bi-Kitāb al-tibyān*, ed. É. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1955, 78.

55 Ibn 'Idhārī, *Bayān* IV, 53; Ibn al-Kardabūs, *Iktifā'*, 117. See also J.M. Lacarra, “La conquista de Zaragoza por Alfonso I,” in *Al-Andalus* 12, no. 1 (1947), 65–96; Guichard and Soravia, *Los reinos de taifas*, 152.

56 For this reason this campaign is often referred to as a “proto-crusade.” On this debate see Laliena and Sénac, 1064, *Barbastro*, 80–85.

(d. 1079), *qā'id* of Lleida. Troops from different regions answered the pope's call, including Franks, Normans, Burgundians, Aragonese, and men from the county of Urgell. It is possible that the Norman baron Robert Crespin, among others, participated in the enterprise.⁵⁷ According to Ibn Ḥayyān, the Christian army was led by "the captain of the cavalry of Rome" (*qā'id khayl Rūma*).⁵⁸ Ibn 'Idhārī speaks of *al-ardāmāniyūn*,⁵⁹ a term that has been translated as "Normans." The city was conquered in August 1064 after forty days of siege.⁶⁰

Certain details of the siege are known thanks to the reports of several contemporary Muslim chroniclers, among them Ibn Ḥayyān, whose text is collected by both Ibn Bassām and Ibn 'Idhārī.⁶¹ After the siege began the aggressors seized the suburb, entering it with more than 5,000 knights, and with them came unbelief (*dakhala al-kufra*).⁶² The defenders then entrenched themselves in the city, although soon thirst began to be a serious problem, so that they had to plead for surrender, which was accepted by the Christian army. Resistance, however, was maintained in the citadel (*bi-madīnati-him al-dākhila*) for a few days, although finally the defenders surrendered as well. It seems that the lack of water was caused by a traitor who showed the Christians where the canal which supplied the city was located, so the besiegers proceeded to block it. Finally, and although the version transmitted by Ibn Bassām disagrees with that of Ibn 'Idhārī on how this drastic situation was reached, the population of the city was massacred. Barbastro came under the rule of King Sancho Ramírez of Aragon (d. 1094), who handed it over to his brother-in-law Ermengol III of Urgell (d. 1065).⁶³

57 The source that provides the most information on the Normans who participated in the attack on Barbastro is Amato di Montecassino, *Storia dei Normanni*, ed. V. de Bartholomæis, Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1935, 13–15. See also D.M. Bouquet, "Chronica de Saint-Maxentii," in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France* 11 (1904), 216–221; Wace, *Roman de Rou*, trans. G.S. Burgess, *The history of the Norman people: Wace's "Roman de Rou"*, Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004, 164.

58 Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhira* III-1, 179–190.

59 Ibn 'Idhārī, *Bayān* III, 224.

60 Laliena and Sénac, 1064, *Barbastro*, 98–106.

61 Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhira* III-1, 179–190; Ibn 'Idhārī, *Bayān* III, 225–227. See also R. Álvarez Masalias and S. Cingolani (eds.), *Gestes dels comtes de Barcelona i reis d'Aragó. Gesta comitum Barchinone et regum Aragonie*, Santa Coloma de Queralt: Obrador Edèndum-Publicacions URV, 2012, 86.

62 Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhira* III-1, 179–190.

63 A. Ubieto, *Historia de Aragón. La formación territorial*, Saragossa: Anubar, 1981, 53–67; A. Ferreiro, "The siege of Barbastro, 1064–1065: a reassessment," in *Journal of Medieval History* 9 (1983), 129–144.

The loss of Barbastro provoked strong feelings of fragility in the Andalusī world. For Ibn Ḥayyān it was “the hardest of the misfortunes [that have] befallen this peninsula,”⁶⁴ as well as an unparalleled campaign by his enemies: “the Christians had not done anything like this before in the country of the Muslims.”⁶⁵ To increase the feeling of misfortune and loss, in the account collected by Ibn Bassām Ibn Ḥayyān began with a laudatory description of the city: it was a place where Islam had flourished in the first conquests (*futūḥ*) of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr and had proved impregnable to enemy attacks ever since, having served for the defense of the frontier for 363 years, from the time of the conquest of al-Andalus (*mundhu awwal ‘ahd al-futūḥ al-islāmīyya bi-jazīrat al-Andalus*). The faith was thus rooted and the Quran was studied there. No wonder that when the herald arrived in Córdoba with the bad news of the fall of such a bastion of Islam, the entire Andalusī territory trembled (*zalzalāt al-arḍ al-andalusīyya*).⁶⁶ Likewise, numerous scholars such as Abū Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Barr, Abū Ḥafṣ al-Hawzanī, and Ibn al-Ghassāl responded to the fall of Barbastro with epistles in which they echoed the disaster and called for holy war to defend al-Andalus.

This adverse situation instigated the largest jihad campaign launched in the taifa period, with the aim of reconquering the city. Al-Muẓaffar of Lleida asked for help from all the Andalusī leaders, and obtained it from King al-Mu‘taḍid of Seville (d. 1069), who sent five hundred knights,⁶⁷ but above all from his brother al-Muqtadir of Zaragoza (d. 1082), who used the occasion to present himself as the ruler-*ghāzī* who would expel the infidels from Andalusī territory.⁶⁸ In April 1065 holy war was proclaimed throughout al-Andalus, and “the spirits of the people of Islam were inflamed,” with countless warriors flocking to Barbastro, among them heroes of al-Andalus (*abṭāl al-Andalus*).⁶⁹ In that same month the city was recovered.

Shortly before, aiming to reconquer the town, Abū Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Barr al-Namarī (d. 1065–1066)⁷⁰ composed an epistle to appeal for holy war. A secretary of al-Mu‘taḍid b. ‘Abbād of Seville and of ‘Alī b. Mujaḥid of Denia,⁷¹ he wrote this letter on behalf of the inhabitants of Barbastro, asking

64 Ibn ‘Idhārī, *Bayān* III, 224.

65 Ibn ‘Idhārī, *Bayān* III, 225.

66 Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra* III-1, 179–190.

67 Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra* III-1, 190.

68 Laliena and Sénac, 1064, *Barbastro*, 113–119.

69 Ibn ‘Idhārī, *Bayān* III, 227; Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra* III-1, 190.

70 Garulo, *La literatura árabe de al-Andalus*, 141–146.

71 Also working for al-Mu‘taḍid was Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Hawzanī (d. 1067), who wrote a letter to the Sevillian king asking him to carry out a

the rest of the population of al-Andalus for their help in fighting the infidels. Abū Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Barr’s epistle is preserved in the *Dhakhīra* of Ibn Bassām,⁷² and the title given to it by this compiler is already a good clue to the intention of the text: “Mention of jihad and a summons to the multitudes of the country.”⁷³ Attributing its content to the inhabitants of Barbastro,⁷⁴ the epistle begins with a religious introduction about Islam as an exordium with which to ask for help from their coreligionists, and then goes on to describe the situation of the city and how it fell into the hands of the infidels. The drama with which the events of the Christian conquest of the city are narrated seeks to move the audience—the Andalusis as a whole—and prepare them for the aim of the text: their mobilization for holy war. The polytheists imposed the worst punishments on them day and night, indulging in pillaging and dishonoring Muslim wives and daughters. This dramatic narration also carries an accusation against the rest of the believers: in spite of the massacre perpetrated at Barbastro, no one immediately came to the aid of their brothers in religion: “their ears were deaf to the cries of the young men, to the lamentations of the women, to the weeping of the children.” This harsh criticism was just another discursive device to thrill and shake the Andalusī community, since the counterattack on Barbastro was immediate.

According to the epistle, the result of the Christian attack was the triumph of unbelief, exemplified in the text by widespread images such as tyranny, crosses, the sound of bells, pigs, and demons. This aim is further emphasized by invoking the dishonor of women as well as the destruction of Islamic artifacts such as Qurans and mosques. And, once again, the accusation of lack of solidarity among Muslims is highlighted, placing the accent on the supposedly weakest sectors of Islamic society: children, women and the elderly, all of them treated like animals by the infidels. To this end, Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr quotes two Quranic verses that refer to events that announce the end times, thus giving an eschatological and apocalyptic reading to the defeat: “each of them will be

jihad to recover Barbastro. Al-Mu’taḍid replied that he had already taken action: Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra* 11-1, 81–94. See M. Marín, “Crusaders in the Muslim west: the view of Arab writers,” in *The Maghreb Review* 17 (1992), 95–102; Laliena and Sénac, 1064, *Barbastro*, 114. Al-Hawzanī also composed several poems related to holy war: Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra* 11-1, 89–93.

72 Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra* 111-1, 173–179. Partial translation in Marín, “Crusaders in the Muslim west,” 95–102; Garulo, *La literatura árabe de al-Andalus*, 141–145. See also Laliena and Sénac, 1064, *Barbastro*, 113–114, and Lapiedra, “Reconquista cristiana y pérdida de al-Andalus,” 296–314.

73 *Dhikr al-jihād wa-istinḥār kawāff al-bilād*.

74 *Kataba-hā ‘alā alsināti ahl Barbashtru*.

absorbed in concerns of their own on that Day" (Q 80: 37) and "on the Day you see it, every nursing mother will think no more of her baby, every pregnant female will miscarry, you will think people are drunk when they are not, so severe will be God's torment" (Q 22: 2).⁷⁵ However, after the abominable signs of the Last Day, the true religion will rise and triumph, and so it would do in Barbastro.

Having triggered the hearts of the Andalusis in the face of misfortune, and shaken their pride with accusations of a lack of solidarity, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr makes a direct exhortation to jihad. He begins by saying that God calls Muslims to holy war in several verses of the Quran, passages too well known, he states, to enumerate them. Thus he reminds the audience that fighting the infidel is a duty emanating directly from God. Further, it is a merit that grants rewards to those who perform it but also punishments to those who do not. Therefore he asks the epistle's audience to respond to the call. On the other hand he points to the sins of the Muslims as the cause of the defeat, turning it into a divine punishment, and stresses the importance of unity to achieve victory: the situation of disintegration and *fitna* is what has brought about the infidels' victory. Although this idea was widespread among scholars, it seems that in this case the author is referring directly to the need for the Andalusis to unite under a single command to reconquer Barbastro, something that finally happened thanks to the leadership of al-Muqtadir.

The *risāla* ends with an interesting perspective on what the loss of Barbastro meant in the conscience of the Andalusis and the urgency that existed to recover the city: "if the marginal regions are taken from us, it is not impossible that the same will happen to the center." Thus, if there is no mobilization for holy war, the fall of Barbastro and the borders will be only the beginning of the total disappearance of al-Andalus. Therefore "the time has come for the blind to look, the lazy to act, the sleepers to awake, and the cowards to be brave."

Ibn 'Abd al-Barr's epistle has much in common with the exhortations to holy war written after the loss of Jerusalem to the Crusaders in 1099, another episode that shook the Islamic community.⁷⁶ That sense of defeat and loss, coupled with the helplessness of seeing how limited was the response of Muslim authorities against the crusaders, is well exemplified by the case of

75 English trans. M.A.S. Abdel Haleem, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

76 On this issue see, e.g., Albarrán, *El sueño de al-Quds. Los musulmanes ante la conquista cruzada de Jerusalén (1099–1187)*, Madrid: La Ergástula, 2017, 64–78, where there is abundant bibliography.

the poet al-Abīwardī (d. 1113),⁷⁷ who, like Abū Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Barr, resorted to the metaphor of those who remain asleep in the face of disaster.⁷⁸ Likewise, the Damascene ‘Alī ibn Ṭāhir al-Sulamī (d. 1106),⁷⁹ in his *Kitāb al-jihād*, the first treatise on “holy war” written after the arrival of the Western armies to Palestine, included a clear appeal to fight against the crusaders. Like the *risāla* on Barbastro, the text had a certain aura of providentialism: the Christian attacks were a divine punishment meant to bring believers back to the right path.⁸⁰

According to the sources, the key to the Islamic triumph in recovering Barbastro was the arrival of 6,000 archers (perhaps crossbowmen): they caused the Christians to hide behind the walls, soon fatigued in their defense due to the constant rain of projectiles.⁸¹ With almost no losses—just 50 Muslims for whom Allāh had prescribed martyrdom (*kataba Allāh shahādātu-hum*)⁸²—the Hūdīd al-Muqtadir stood as a victorious new *mujāhid* amidst all this rhetoric of holy war and fighting for the true religion. Of course, he proceeded to purify the city from the abomination of polytheism (*ghasalū-hā min rijs al-shirk*).⁸³ According to Ibn al-Kardabūs, God, through that action, had brought the Muslims back to life, at least temporarily.⁸⁴ Al-Muqtadir thus became an instrument of God, a commander of jihad for the (momentary) salvation of al-Andalus.

With this victory the ruler of Zaragoza obtained high doses of legitimacy and authority before his subjects, his brother al-Muẓaffar, and the other taifa kings of al-Andalus, of whom he had proclaimed himself leader by calling for holy war in the whole Andalusī territory. The fame of his triumph spread throughout the Peninsula, as Ibn ‘Idhārī reports.⁸⁵ In fact, it was after the recovery of Barbastro that he took the caliphal *laqab* al-Muqtadir bi-llāh and annexed the territories of Lleida, Tortosa, and Denia. He also began to build the Aljafería, a palace with which he intended to display all his power.⁸⁶ Moreover, this image

77 H. Dajani-Shakeel, “Jihad in twelfth-century Arabic poetry,” in *Muslim World* 66 (1976), 96–113.

78 F. Gabrieli, *Arab historians of the Crusades*, Suffolk: The Chaucer Press, 1969, 12.

79 On this scholar see al-Sulamī, *Kitāb al-jihād*, 4–5.

80 al-Sulamī, *Kitāb al-jihād*, 206.

81 Ibn ‘Idhārī, *Bayān* III, 227–229.

82 Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra* III-1, 190.

83 Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra* III-1, 190. Ibn ‘Idhārī, *Bayān* III, 227–229.

84 Ibn al-Kardabūs, *Iktifā’*, 73.

85 Ibn ‘Idhārī, *Bayān* III, 228; Ibn Simāk, *Al-Ḥulal al-mawshīyya*, ed. ‘A.Q. Zamāma, Casablanca: Dār al-Rashād al-Ḥadītha, 1979, 76.

86 Guichard and Soravia, *Los reinos de taifas*, 83, 93; C. Robinson, *In praise of song. The making of courtly culture in al-Andalus and Provence, 1005–1134 A.D.*, Leiden: Brill, 2002.

of the Banū Hūd as leaders of jihad and defenders of the borders against the infidel allowed them, initially, to avoid Almoravid intervention.⁸⁷ In letters and embassies sent to the North African emir they affirmed that “we [the Hūdids] are between you and the [Christian] enemy like a wall, so that their damages do not reach you, and prevent you from being wounded.”⁸⁸

5 The Fall of Toledo and the End of the Taifa Kingdoms

Twenty years after the recovery of Barbastro, however, a new cataclysm shook the Andalusis. Al-Qādir b. Dhī l-Nūn, the last emir of the Banū Dhī l-Nūn dynasty, who had ruled in Toledo since 1035, surrendered the city in 1085 to King Alfonso VI after a new episode of aggressions and alliances between Christian and Muslim rulers.⁸⁹ This event caused the displacement of the border to the river Tagus, and a substantial emigration of the Andalusi population from numerous towns to the south.

The loss of the old Visigothic capital was a severe blow to al-Andalus, and accelerated the arrival of the Almoravids in the Iberian Peninsula. The taifa kings of Seville, Badajoz, and Granada asked the Almoravid emir for help against Alfonso VI, a request that was answered with the Almoravid victory over the Christian troops in the battle of Zallāqa on 23 October 1086.⁹⁰ Four

87 On the Christian advance see Guichard and Soravia, *Los reinos de taifas*, 130, 151–154. The Aragonese army even attacked Zaragoza in 1101 in the framework of a crusade proclaimed by Pope Paschal II, and took over towns such as Monzón (1089), Huesca (1096), Barbastro (1100), and Ejea (1105).

88 Ibn Simāk, *al-Ḥulal*, 74. See also A. Huici Miranda, “Los Banu Hud de Zaragoza, Alfonso I el Batallador y los almorávides (nuevas aportaciones),” in *Estudios de Edad Media de la Corona de Aragón*, Saragossa: CSIC, 1962, 7–38.

89 Ibn ‘Idhārī, *Bayān* III, 238–239; *Historia Silense*, ed. J. Pérez de Urbel and A.G. González Ruiz-Zorrilla, Madrid: CSIC, 1959, 190–194; Jiménez de Rada, *Historia de Rebus Hispaniae sive Historia Gothica* VI, ed. J. Fernández Valverde, Turnhout: Brepols, 1987, chap. 11; *Historia Roderici*, ed. E. Falque, “Historia Roderici vel Gesta Roderici Campidocti,” in *Chronica Hispana saeculi XII*, Turnhout: Brepols, 1990, 56; D. Lomax, *La Reconquista*, Barcelona: Crítica, 1984, 88; B.F. Reilly, *El Reino de León y Castilla bajo el rey Alfonso VI (1065–1109)*, Toledo: Instituto Provincial de Investigaciones y Estudios Toledanos, 1989, 183–206; García Fitz, *Castilla y León frente al islam. Estrategias de expansión y tácticas militares (siglos XI–XIII)*, Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 2001, 120, 269; A. Bennison, *The Almoravid and Almohad empires*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016, 40–48.

90 Huici Miranda, “Los almorávides y la batalla de Zallaca,” in *Hespéris* 40 (1953), 17–76; Huici Miranda, *Las grandes batallas de la Reconquista*, Madrid: CSIC, 1956, 44–77; Reilly, *El Reino de León y Castilla*, 204; V. Lagardère, *Le vendredi de Zallaqa, 23 octobre 1086*, Paris: L’Harmattan, 1989; García Fitz, *Castilla y León frente al islam*.

years later the Berber dynasty decided to conquer al-Andalus and put an end to the fragmented taifa kingdoms.

In 1088 a new military expedition was organized from the other side of the Strait of Gibraltar, in response to the settlement of an important Castilian garrison near Murcia, specifically in Aledo. The Almoravid emir Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn wrote letters to the taifa kings asking them to meet him there in order to wage holy war.⁹¹ The campaign was a failure, however, due to the existing differences and disagreements among the Andalusī rulers, as narrated by ‘Abdallāh.⁹² The Almoravid emir felt abandoned in his pursuit of jihad, which granted him a perfect pretext for conquering al-Andalus.⁹³ Moreover, in the face of the Almoravid threat, some kings such as al-Mu‘tamid asked Alfonso VI for help, which further consolidated the discourse of justification for eradicating the taifas.⁹⁴

After summoning an assembly of ‘ulamā’, Yūsuf obtained a *fatwā* authorizing him to overthrow the Andalusī kings. In al-Andalus numerous texts, such as those of Ibn Ḥazm and other caliphal legitimists, reflected shared anxieties.⁹⁵ With this breeding ground added to Christian pressure from the north, it is not surprising that many saw the Almoravids as true saviors.⁹⁶ On 8 September 1090 the Zīrid king of Granada surrendered his city to the North African emir.⁹⁷ Málaga, Tarifa, Córdoba, and, within a few months, almost

91 ‘Abdallāh, *Mudhakkirāt al-amīr ‘Abdallāh*, 108; Ibn Abī Zar‘, *Kitāb al-Anīs al-muṭrib bi-rawḍ al-qirṭās fī akhbār mulūk al-Maghrib wa-ta’rikh madīnat Fās*, Rabat: Dār al-Manṣūr, 1972, 152; Ibn Simāk, *Ḥulal*, 68–69: “The emir of the Muslims wrote to the kings of al-Andalus, inviting them to go with him to holy war [yastad‘ī-hum lil-jihād ma‘ā-hu] and summoning them to the castle of Aledo.” Lagardère, *Les Almoravides jusqu’au règne de Yusuf B. Tasfin*, 1039–1106, Paris: L’Harmattan, 1989, 121–126.

92 “However, everything turned out to be useless and the Muslims could not take advantage of any favorable opportunity because of the disagreement they were in by divine will”: ‘Abdallāh, *Mudhakkirāt*, 109.

93 “He was annoyed with the emirs of al-Andalus because none of them came to the siege of Aledo”: Ibn Abī Zar‘, *Anīs*, 153. Lagardère, “Évolution de la notion de djihad à l’époque almoravide (1039–1147),” in *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 161 (1998), 3–16.

94 Ibn Abī Zar‘, *Anīs*, 155.

95 A. Turki, *Théologiens et juristes de l’Espagne musulmane. Aspects polémiques*, Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1982, 69–99; G. Martinez-Gros, “L’écriture et la umma: la *Risala fī fadl al-Andalus* d’Ibn Hazm,” in *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 21 (1985), 99–113; F. Clément, *Pouvoir et légitimité en Espagne musulmane à l’époque des taifas (V^e–XI^e siècle). L’imam fictif*, Paris: L’Harmattan, 1997, 63–66, 88. On the political role of scholars in the taifa period see M. Benaboud, “El papel político y social de los ‘ulamā’ en al-Andalus durante el periodo de los taifas,” in *Cuadernos de Historia del Islam* 11 (1984), 7–52.

96 al-Qāḍī ‘Iyād, *Tartīb al-madārik wa-taqrīb al-masālik bi-ma’rifat a’lām madhhab Mālik* 111–IV, Rabat: Wizārat al-Awqāf, 1983, 808.

97 ‘Abdallāh, *Mudhakkirāt*, 151–154.

the entire Andalusí territory including Seville (which offered a little more resistance)⁹⁸ followed this path. Only the rulers of Badajoz and Zaragoza avoided, for the moment, being absorbed by the Berber power.⁹⁹

The Almoravids conquered Zaragoza only after its ruler made a pact with the Christians. ʿImād al-Dawla, the Hūdid leader, had dealt with them in 1110, and soon afterward the Almoravids took over their territories,¹⁰⁰ following the advice of the *fuqahāʾ*: “the divine law [*al-sharʿ*] calls you to take over their country, because they are in peace and friendship with the Christians [*musālimīn lil-rūm*].”¹⁰¹ The Banū Hūd were no longer in a position to defend the Islamic territory from the enemies of God, which was why they had remained independent, and therefore they could not lead the jihad. However, it was not the first time that the Zaragozaan kings had dealt with the infidels: they had previously paid tributes, and the case of the Cid is well known. It is most likely that until then the North Africans were not in a position to annex such a large territory, which they probably also considered useful as a buffer state.¹⁰² After the victory against the Castilians at Uclés (1108),¹⁰³ the situation had changed and they decided to take the step of controlling all of al-Andalus.

Some years earlier a similar episode had taken place in Badajoz. Al-Mutawakkil, the last Aḡṣid king, had managed to maintain good relations with the Almoravids, even providing them with help in men and supplies for their fight against the infidels. But the insecurity of his position led him to negotiate with Alfonso VI, from whom he requested protection in exchange for the cession of Santarém, Lisbon, and Sintra. His subjects then demanded the intervention of the Almoravids, who took possession of Badajoz at the beginning of 1094 with the pretext of the alliance of its taifa ruler with the infidel king.¹⁰⁴

98 ʿAbdallāh, *Mudhakkirāt*, 168–171; Guichard, *Al-Andalus frente a la conquista cristiana*, 64.

99 The Balearic Islands also remained independent. There, a Pisan-Genoese fleet had taken the island of Ibiza in 1114–1115, subsequently heading for Mallorca. The emir of the region, Nāṣir al-Dawla, then asked ʿAlī b. Yūsuf for help in launching a holy war expedition to aid the Muslims. The latter agreed, but when the relief army arrived the Pisan-Genoese hosts had already taken the city and fled with the booty. Nevertheless, the Almoravids took possession of the island and populated the capital with their fighters: Ibn al-Kardabūs, *Iktifāʾ*, 122–126.

100 Guichard and Soravia, *Los reinos de taifas*, 151–154.

101 Ibn Simāk, *Ḥulal*, 98.

102 Guichard and Soravia, *Los reinos de taifas*, 151–154.

103 On this battle see, e.g., Huici Miranda, *Las grandes batallas*, 103–117; J.E. Slaughter, “De nuevo sobre la batalla de Uclés,” in *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 9 (1974–1975), 393–404.

104 Guichard and Soravia, *Los reinos de taifas*, 149.

6 Notions and Performance of Jihad in the Taifa Period

In the eleventh century, the works of Māliki law predominant in the Umayyad caliphate of Córdoba were still in force and continued to enunciate a jihad of a collective nature, led by the imam.¹⁰⁵ Authors from other legal schools, such as the Zāhiri Ibn Ḥazm,¹⁰⁶ also favored jihad as a collective duty, which would encompass the episodes analyzed in the previous sections of this chapter:

Jihad is an obligation for Muslims. If there is anyone who attacks the enemies, who makes expeditions to their lands, and who protects the borders of the Muslims, then the rest are exempted from such an obligation. Otherwise, they are not. God states: “So go out, no matter whether you are lightly or heavily armed, and struggle in God’s way with your possessions and your persons: this is better for you, if you only knew (Q 9: 41).”¹⁰⁷

Nevertheless, in his various works the Córdoba shows a tendency to revitalize the holy war.¹⁰⁸ To begin with, in his *Kitāb al-muḥallā*, although he conceptualizes jihad as a collective duty, he emphasizes that in the event that no one goes out on expedition or defends the borders—as was happening in the taifa context—no believer is excused from fulfilling that obligation.¹⁰⁹ He also underlines the idea of the impossibility, or the tremendous complexity, of refusing the emir’s order to perform holy war: “whomever the emir orders to carry out jihad to the abode of war, he is obliged to do it unless he has a definite excuse.”¹¹⁰

Moreover, the memory of the Prophet’s battles allows Ibn Ḥazm to deepen his idea of a holy war with few limits.¹¹¹ Recalling what happened against the Banū Qurayza and the order given there by Muḥammad, the Córdoba scholar claims that all conquered men may be executed, thus rejecting all the hadiths

105 Albarrán, *Ejércitos benditos*, 200.

106 On Ibn Ḥazm’s perception of jihad see Arnaldez, “La guerre sainte selon Ibn Hazm de Cordoue,” in *Études d’orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire de Lévi-Provençal* 11, Paris: Masionneuve et Larose, 1962, 445–459.

107 Ibn Ḥazm, *Muḥallā* v, 341.

108 Arnaldez, “La guerre sainte,” 445–459; C. Melchert, “The Hanbali law of jihad,” in *The Maghreb Review* 29, nos. 1–4 (2004), 22–31; N. Badawi, “Jihad jurisprudence in al-Andalus: a case study of the Zāhiri Ibn Ḥazm,” in *Yearbook of Islamic and Middle Eastern Law* 19, no. 1 (2018), 10–37.

109 Ibn Ḥazm, *Muḥallā* v, 341.

110 Ibn Ḥazm, *Muḥallā* v, 341.

111 Albarrán, *Ejércitos benditos*, 245–265.

which, for example, make exceptions for people such as monks. Only women and children should be spared.¹¹² According to him, Q 9: 5 reinforces his argument: "And when the inviolable months have passed, then kill the polytheists wherever you find them and capture them and besiege them and sit and wait for them at every place of ambush. But if they should repent, establish prayer, and give *zakāt*, let them [go] on their way. Indeed, God is forgiving and merciful."

It seems that the obligation of performing jihad outweighs the character of the one who leads it. He does not have to be a good Muslim, so long as he does not order any act that is against divine law. In fact he can be a dissolute leader, a usurper, or a tyrant so long as he conducts holy war on behalf of Muslims, since spreading Islam is a pious deed and a kindness to the infidels who are Islamized.¹¹³ Similarly, his view of the performance of *ribāṭ* (moving to frontier areas to carry out military activity combine with ascetic practices) shows his desire for strengthening the defense of the frontier: Ibn Ḥazm states that this practice is very positive, but only in the *thaghr* (the frontier). Carrying out *ribāṭ* where there is no border with the infidel, he says, is a reprehensible innovation.¹¹⁴

At the same time, works such as those by Abū Ishāq al-Fazārī and ‘Abdallāh Ibn al-Mubārak, which had circulated in al-Andalus since the middle of the ninth century,¹¹⁵ considered jihad to be an individual duty and encouraged believers to take on the obligation of holy war for themselves, to become volunteers. These texts held jihad to be a salvific merit, stressed the importance of right intention (*niyya*) in carrying out the fight against the infidel, and linked holy war to ascetic practices such as fasting.¹¹⁶

While these notions of an individualized jihad circulated, in the early twelfth century certain statements of what might be called a "jihad of resistance" appeared that may have been active in the previous decades as well. For example, the Almoravid Emir ‘Alī b. Yūsuf asked Ibn Rushd al-Jadd (d. 1126), an

112 Ibn Ḥazm, *Muḥallā* v, 347–352.

113 Ibn Ḥazm, *Muḥallā* v, 352; M. Asín Palacios, *Abenházam de Córdoba y su historia crítica de las ideas religiosas* v, Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1928–1932, 47–48.

114 Ibn Ḥazm, *Muḥallā* v, 423.

115 Al-Fazārī's book was transmitted in the taifa period by the traditionist Ibn Bannūsh al-Tamīmī (d. 1024), by Ibn al-Ḥadhdhā' (d. 1074), and by Ibn al-Šaffār al-Anṣārī al-Qurṭubī (d. 1138). That of Ibn al-Mubārak, meanwhile, was transmitted by Abū al-Qāsim al-Fihri (d. 1014), by Ibn ‘Attāb (d. 1069), and by Abū Muḥammad b. ‘Attāb (d. 1126); see HATA database (*Historia de los Autores y Transmisores Andalusíes*) http://kohepocu.cchs.csic.es/hata_kohepocu.

116 Albarrán, *Ejércitos benditos*, 106–112.

important Māliki jurist who was close to the Almoravids and the grandfather of Averroes, whether it was preferable at that time for Andalusis and Maghribis to go on pilgrimage or to wage holy war. The scholar replied that in that particular context of threat to the *umma*, jihad was more important.¹¹⁷ This idea fits with his commentary on the *Mudawwana*, where he asserted that while the pilgrimage could be postponed, holy war, having become an individual duty in periods of danger, should be fulfilled immediately.¹¹⁸ This notion of fighting the infidel as an ascetic and meritorious action, comparable to other pious acts such as pilgrimage, also appeared in Ibn al-Mubārak's work.¹¹⁹ Likewise, the jurist, traditionist, and ascetic Abū 'Alī al-Ṣadafī (d. 1120), who was *qāḍī* of Murcia, preached holy war as an individual duty at the battle of Cutanda (1120).¹²⁰ According to Ibn al-Abbār, al-Ṣadafī and thirty other *fuqahā'* fought as volunteers and died as martyrs in that great Almoravid defeat against the troops of Alfonso of Aragon.¹²¹

This presence of volunteers in the Andalusī armies can also be seen in the taifa period. Aḥmad b. Muḡhīth al-Ṭulayṭulī's (d. 1067) *al-Muqni' fi 'ilm al-shurūt* is a notarial formulary that establishes a pious endowment for collecting arms and horses for holy war (*fi sabīl Allāh*), as well as swords with which to fight in the path of God (*li-yuqātil bi-hi fi sabīl Allāh*).¹²² These *awqāf* (pious endowments) usually had as beneficiaries those volunteers of jihad who could not afford equipment. Similarly, the Toledan scholar Aḥmad b. Khalaf al-Anṣārī (d. 1029–1030) established in a *ḥubs* (foundation) a share of the proceeds

117 Ibn Rushd al-Jadd, *Fatāwā Ibn Rushd* 11, ed. M.Ṭ. al-Ṭalīlī, Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1987, 1021–1027. The view is also shared by some Sufis such as Ibn al-'Arīf (d. 1141). Ibn Rushd al-Jadd argued that, in addition, the pilgrimage had lost its mandatory nature for Andalusis and Maghribis because in their circumstances they were unable to perform it, and even understood it as being counterproductive: J. Hendrickson, "Prohibiting the pilgrimage: Politics and fiction in Mālikī fatwās," in *Islamic Law and Society* 23 (2016), 161–238.

118 Ibn Rushd al-Jadd, *al-Muqaddimāt li-awā'il kitāb al-Mudawwana* 1, ed. M. al-Ḥājī, Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1988, 381–383. Abū Bakr b. al-'Arabī (d. 1148) shares the same opinion in his commentary on the *Muwaṭṭa'*: Ibn al-'Arabī, *al-Masālik fi sharḥ Muwaṭṭa'* *Mālik* v, ed. M.b.H. al-Sulaymī, Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2007, 13.

119 Ibn al-Mubārak, *Kitāb al-Jihād*, ed. N. Hammād, Beirut: Dār al-Nūr, 1971, 35; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'* viii, ed. Sh. al-Arna'ūt, Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risāla, 1981–1988, 364–365.

120 Guichard, *Al-Andalus frente a la conquista cristiana*, 97–99.

121 Lagardère, "Évolution de la notion de djihad," 3–16; de la Puente, "Vivre et mourir pour Dieu: oeuvre et héritage d'Abū 'Alī al-Sadafī (m. 514/1120)," in *Studia Islamica* 88 (1998), 77–102.

122 Ibn Muḡhīth, *al-Muqni' fi 'ilm al-shurūt*, ed. F.J. Aguirre Sábada, Madrid: CSIC, 1994, 325.

of his dovecote on the condition that it be used to purchase horses to fight the infidels.¹²³

The sources also specify the presence of men of religion who were linked to activities of holy war,¹²⁴ although in smaller numbers than under the Umayyad caliphate.¹²⁵ There might have been fewer jihad actions led by taifa rulers, so that *‘ulamā’* would have fewer opportunities to fight against the infidel unless they went to the frontier or to conflict zones on their own. Only two of the warrior-scholars of the taifa context participated in significant expeditions: Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Wasīm (d. 1020), a jurist from Toledo, was part of the *ghazwa* (raid) on Makkāda (Maqueda), near his home town, together with Muḥammad b. Tammām.¹²⁶ Mūsā b. Qāsim b. Khiḍr, also a Toledan, was wounded in the *ghazwa* known as Faḥṣ Madīna in 1051–1052.¹²⁷

In contrast, other men of religion who participated in the fight against the infidel in the taifa period seem to have frequented the frontier developing their martial activities, probably settling temporarily in fortified places, participating in defensive actions, or joining small expeditions. Of the Toledan Ibn Hishām al-Tamīmī, for example, it is reported that he was a brave horseman (*kāna fāris^{an} shajā^{‘an}*) who was martyred in 1028.¹²⁸ The Egyptian Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Hāshim al-Maqqarī al-Miṣrī traveled to al-Andalus, specifically to Zaragoza on the Upper Frontier, to be a *mujāhid* there for several months in 1029. He eventually returned to Egypt, where he died in 1053.¹²⁹ He was born in 979–980, so he was about 50 years old when he undertook his journey. It is quite striking that at that age he should decide to travel to the other end of the Mediterranean to participate in the defense of Islam for several months. He could be one of those cases of believers who did not want to die without having performed jihad, this being understood as a duty that every good Muslim should carry out at least once and as an element of prestige.¹³⁰ In the same area, the Córdoba Ubayd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Mālik (d. 1068) settled in a

123 A.M. Carballeira, *Legados píos y fundaciones familiares en al-Andalus* (siglos IV/X–VI/XII), Madrid: CSIC, 2002, 150 ff.; García Sanjuán, “Frontera, ḡihād y legados piadosos en al-Andalus (s. X–XV),” in III *Estudios de frontera: convivencia, defensa y comunicación en la frontera*, Jaén: Diputación Provincial de Jaén, 2000, 317–330.

124 Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Kitāb al-Šila*, ed. ‘A. ‘Umar, Cairo: al-Sharika al-Dawliyya lil-Ṭibā’a, 2014, nos. 30, 40, 144, 186, 334, 484, 607, 677, 1005, 1054, 1270, 1343, 1420, 1435, 1439.

125 Albarrán, *Ejércitos benditos*, 114–121.

126 Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Šila*, no. 40.

127 Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Šila*, no. 1343.

128 Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Šila*, no. 1435.

129 Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Šila*, no. 186.

130 Albarrán, *Ejércitos benditos*, 118; D. Talmon-Heller, “Muslim martyrdom and quest for martyrdom in the crusading period,” in *Al-Masāq* 14, no. 2 (2002), 131–139.

ḥiṣn (fortress) in the region of Muel, where he performed ascetic practices and was also a *mujāhid*.¹³¹

Of all these *‘ulamā’* we know for certain that those who died martyrs had an active martial attitude,¹³² for instance Sa‘īd b. Muḥammad al-Ma‘āfirī al-Lughawī, who died as a martyr sometime after 1009,¹³³ or the Toledan ‘Abdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Khalaf al-Ma‘āfirī, who was martyred in 1051–1052,¹³⁴ probably in the same *ghazwa* known as Faḥṣ Madīna in which Mūsā b. Qāsim b. Khidr fought.¹³⁵ On the other hand, some of these biographies show a clear warlike continuity: that is, these scholars’ contribution to the fight against the infidel was not limited to isolated participation in one expedition. For example, of the Córdoba ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Mālik it is specified that he was a *mujāhid* throughout all the time that he spent in the *ḥiṣn* of Muel.¹³⁶

As for the geographical distribution of these scholars’ participation in holy war, the region of Toledo, the Middle *thaghr*, was one of the epicenters. Several residents of the city (*ahl Ṭulayṭula*) appear as *mujāhidūn*.¹³⁷ Second in number was the Zaragoza area, the Upper Frontier, where the Egyptian Ibn Hāshim al-Maqqarī was one of the arrivals. These border areas were doubtless two of the regions most punished by Christian attacks in the taifa period, a situation that would conclude with the capture of Toledo in 1085 and that of Zaragoza in 1118.

The performance of *ribāṭ* is another phenomenon directly linked to the participation of volunteers, among them scholars, in holy war and the defense of Islamic territory. It seems that this reality, which combined ascetic and warlike activities, was considerably active in the taifa period. In fact, the Andalusī geographer al-Bakrī (d. 1094) depicted the Iberian Peninsula in the mid-eleventh century as *dār al-jihād wa mawṭin ribāṭ* (abode of jihad and *ribāṭ*).¹³⁸

Thus, in the Middle *thaghr* we find several *murābiṭūn* such as Abū al-Muṭarrif (d. 1016), who performed *ribāṭ* in Madrid and was a disciple of Ibn Abī Zamanīn, author of *Kitāb qudwat al-ghāzī*, a work on the merits of the

131 Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Šila*, no. 677.

132 Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Šila*, nos. 144, 334, 484, 607, 1270, 1303, 1435.

133 Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Šila*, no. 484.

134 Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Šila*, no. 607.

135 Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Šila*, no. 1343.

136 Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Šila*, no. 677.

137 Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Šila*, nos. 40, 584, 607, 1439. Marín, “Familias de ulemas en Toledo,” in M. Marín and J. Zanón (eds.), *Estudios onomástico-biográficos de al-Andalus* v, Madrid: CSIC, 1992, 229–271.

138 Al-Bakrī, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik* II, ed. A.P. van Leeuwen and A. Ferré, Carthage: al-Mu‘assasa al-Waṭaniyya lil-Tarjama wa-l-Taḥqīq wa-l-Dirāsāt, 1992, 898.

fighter;¹³⁹ and Hishām b. Sulaymān (d. 1029),¹⁴⁰ a *murābiṭ* in Alamín and also a pupil of Ibn Abī Zamanīn. It seems that, according to an inquiry addressed to the jurists Ibn ‘Attāb (d. 1069) and Ibn Qaṭṭān (d. 1068), there were lands constituted in pious endowments for the benefit of this *ḥiṣn* of Alamín, and possibly of others in the region of Toledo.¹⁴¹ The Toledan Ibn Maymūn (d. 1010) also performed *ribāṭ* at this fortification.¹⁴²

Other scholars appear in Ibn Bashkuwāl’s biographical dictionary performing *ribāṭ* between the caliphal and taifa periods. Aḥmad b. Hishām b. Umayya b. Bukayr al-Umawī (d. 1007), the Córdoba expert on the Quran, for example, performed much *ribāṭ* on the frontier.¹⁴³ Sa‘īd b. Muḥammad b. Sayyid Abīhi b. Mas‘ūd al-Umawī al-Baladī also assiduously practiced *ribāṭ* and jihad on the borders (*kāna kathīr al-ribāṭ wa al-jihād fī al-thughūr*).¹⁴⁴ Likewise, in the *ḥiṣn* of Walmush—now known as the castle of Olmos next to El Viso de San Juan, north of the present-day province of Toledo and therefore in the Middle Frontier—‘Abdallāh b. Sa‘īd b. Abī ‘Awn (d. 1040–1041) retired in order to make *ribāṭ* in Ramadan.¹⁴⁵

It should be recalled that in his *Kitāb al-muḥallā*, Ibn Ḥazm stipulated that performing *ribāṭ* where there was no border, even if one had existed in the past, was a reprehensible innovation.¹⁴⁶ Bearing in mind that the Córdoba scholar wrote this work in the mid-eleventh century, and that the examples we have seen of *ribāṭ* did take place in the *thughūr*, what was Ibn Ḥazm referring to?

We know of the existence of several places of *ribāṭ* that were not located on the land borders but in what might be called a maritime border. One of them is Arrifana, in the present municipality of Aljezur, in the Portuguese Algarve. In this *ribāṭ*, which recalls the caliphate’s *rābiṭa* of Guardamar with its small rooms

139 Ibn Abī Zamanīn, *Kitāb Qudwat al-ghāzī*, ed. ‘Ā.Ḥ. al-Sulaymānī, Mecca: Umm al-Qurā, 1986–1987; M. Arcas Campoy, “Teoría jurídica de la guerra santa: el *Kitāb Qidwat al-Gāzī* de Ibn Abī Zamanīn,” in *Al-Andalus-Magreb* 1 (1993), 51–65.

140 Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Šila*, no. 1439. See C. Martínez Salvador, “El ribāṭ en al-Andalus. Enclaves militares y centros de transmisión mística (siglos IX–XI d. C.),” in F. Franco-Sánchez (ed.), *La rābiṭa en el islam: estudios interdisciplinares*, Sant Carles de la Ràpita: Ayuntamiento de Sant Carles de la Ràpita—Universidad de Alicante, 2004, 49–58.

141 Marín, “Documentos jurídicos y fortificaciones,” in *Actas del Primer Congreso internacional Fortificaciones en al-Andalus*, Algeciras: Fundación Municipal de Cultura “José Luis Cano,” 1998, 79–87; Carballeira, Legados píos, 140 ff.; García Sanjuán, “Frontera, ḡihād y legados piadosos,” 317–330.

142 Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Šila*, no. 37.

143 Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Šila*, no. 20.

144 Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Šila*, no. 475.

145 Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Šila*, no. 597.

146 Ibn Ḥazm, *Muḥallā* v, 423.

serving as oratories by the sea,¹⁴⁷ inscriptions have been found dating from the eleventh century, particularly a tombstone of Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd al-Malik from 1069.¹⁴⁸ Abū al-Walid al-Bājī also died in a place of *ribāt* located on the coast, in this case in Almería.¹⁴⁹ Though they might have served for maritime surveillance, it is more likely that these places were sites of spiritual and pietistic retreat. For this reason the archaeological remains preserved at these locations include numerous prayer rooms, as can be seen in the *ribāt* of Arrifana. Ibn Ḥazm could have been criticizing these practices of pietistic retreat and *ribāt* away from the frontiers. However, without excluding this option, he might also have been exhorting his coreligionists to defend the borders of al-Andalus at a time when these were increasingly threatened by Christians.

7 Final Remarks

The territorial fragmentation of al-Andalus during the taifa period was considered a time of political regression, a era in which the Andalusi powers found themselves at war with each other or subjugated by the Christian kingdoms, a situation of which the system of *parias* is the best echo. In this context, the war initiative shifted to the Christian kingdoms: of the almost fifty expeditions between Christians and Muslims recorded in the period between the dissolution of the caliphate and the arrival of the Almoravids (1031–1085), forty were Christian offensives.¹⁵⁰ The Islamic powers were limited, therefore, to withstanding these attacks, either militarily or through the payment of tribute. In fact, the general perception of this period in the sources is that of a constant threat on the frontiers due to the Muslims’ inability to lead jihad.

This situation led to the emergence in al-Andalus of a rhetoric of resistance that can be observed through various elements: the development of a “feeling of precariousness” of the Muslim presence in the Iberian Peninsula;

147 See R. Azuar, *El ribāt califal: excavaciones e investigaciones (1984–1992)*, Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2004.

148 Another tombstone certifies the continuity of its occupation until at least 1148: R.V. Gomes and M.V. Gomes (eds.), *Ribāt da Arrifana: Cultura material e espiritualidade*, Aljezur: Camara Municipal de Aljezur, 2007; Barceló, Gomes, and Gomes, “Lápides islâmicas da necrópole do Ribāt da Arrifana (Aljezur),” in *O Arqueólogo Português* 3 (2013), 305–323; Gomes and Gomes, “The Arrifana ribāt (Algarve). The study of the necropolis,” in *Fundation Max van Berchem Bulletin* 28 (2014), 5–6.

149 Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila*, no. 457.

150 Suñé, *Guerra, ejército y fiscalidad en al-Andalus (ss. VIII–XIII)*, Madrid: La Ergástula, 2020, 53.

a reaffirmation of Islam and an alleged return to orthodoxy; the writing of numerous controversial texts; a greater discursive hostility towards the *dhim-mis*; and the development of a marked feeling of collective identity and attachment to the land.

There is some further evidence leading us to think that, despite the unfavorable context, performing jihad continued to be an effective ideological instrument that was set in motion at certain times by the various taifa regimes. A good example is the taifa of Denia and its ruler, Mujāhid al-ʿĀmirī, who stood out for his leading of a maritime jihad. However, the dynasty best known for performing holy war in the taifa period was the Banū Hūd of Zaragoza. Under the leadership of al-Muqtadir the largest jihad campaign of this period was launched, one of the few occasions on which territory was recovered from the Christians: the reconquest of Barbastro in 1065.

Nevertheless, this was an isolated event within the general dynamics of the period, a trend that was confirmed in 1085 with the fall of Toledo. The taifa kings were forced to ask for help from the Almoravids, who in 1086 defeated Alfonso VI in the battle of Zallāqa. Two years later the North African emir began to annex the taifa kingdoms, alleging that not only did they not fulfill the duty of holy war, but they also were making treaties with the infidel, a pejorative rhetoric about this period that the chronicles would repeat over and over again.

In addition to the specific actions of jihad mentioned in this chapter, and beyond the negative discourses that later Arabic chronicles would develop about this period, it is possible to trace, through legal sources or biographical dictionaries, the existence and circulation of certain notions of jihad of an individualized nature. These were active, for example, through the participation of *ʿulamāʾ* in martial activities, showing that the ideology of holy war was still alive in al-Andalus in this century of political fragmentation.

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