

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ
فَسَالَ الْقَفِيهَ الرَّاهِدَ أَبُو إِشْهَاقٍ
عَسَاكَ إِخْرَجِيهِمْ مِنْ مَشْعُرِي الْإِسْرَائِيلِيِّ رَحِمَهُ
اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ

Abū Ishāq's ode against the Jews and the
massacre of 1066 CE in Granada

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Cover image: Dīwān of Abū Ishāq al-Ilbīrī, Ms. Esc. 404, f.10v

Note on transcription, names and words

1. The transcription system used in this thesis is that used by Leiden University, as stated here: <http://www.hum.leidenuniv.nl/middenoosten/handleiding-formulier/transcriptie-arabisch.html>.

2. The transcription of several names in this thesis differs from the norm, but they are either transcribed corresponding to the Arabic in the original sources or they match the transcription used in the Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition (and are then adapted according to the transcription system used in this thesis).

These names include:

- Ḥasdāy ibn Shaprūt

- Abū al-Faḍl Ḥasdāy ibn Ḥasdāy

- Ismāʿīl

- Marīnids

3. Arabic words like *wazīr* are explained after their first usage and written in italics throughout. This does not include English terms derived from Arabic words, such as dhimmitude.

4. Unknown authors or authors, of whom is not known when they died, have (d.unknown) behind their name.

5. Dates are given according to the Christian calendar, unless referring directly to their usage in Arabic sources, then the Islamic date is given.

Introduction

"In the remainder of the cities of the Franks they have three days in the year that are well known, when the bishops say to the common folk: "The Jews have stolen your religion and yet the Jews live with you in your own land". Whereupon the common folk and the people of the town rush out together in search of Jews, and when they find one they kill him. Then they pillage any house that they can."
Aḥmad ibn Idrīs al-Qarāfī (d.1285 CE)¹

The level of tolerance towards other religions in Islamic countries nowadays is often incomparable with Western democracies. When we look at the Middle Ages, however, we see another picture. Although al-Qarāfī's claim is blatantly polemical, the essence of his message, that Jews lived much more comfortably in Islamic territories than in Christian lands, especially in al-Andalus, remains undisputed by most modern scholars.

Al-Andalus, the name of the territories in current-day Spain and Portugal when they were under Muslim rule between the 8th and 15th century, was presented as a safe haven for all religions by 19th-century scholars. Muslims, Jews and Christians all lived peacefully together. A special word was given to this utopia: the *Convivencia*.

Most modern scholars no longer believe in such a thing, but it cannot be denied that the Jews enjoyed more safety and a better legal status in the Muslim lands than under Christianity. Large-scale violence against non-Muslims was a rare thing in Islamic lands, especially in al-Andalus. This is the reason why the massacre of the Jews in Granada in 1066 CE was such a noticeable occurrence.

¹ David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 200.

The moment we try to go beyond this simplest of descriptions, however, we find ourselves with a problem. What exactly did happen at this place at this point in time? What caused this terrible event and who were involved?

A lot of modern sources refer to Abū Ishāq al-Ilbīrī (d.1067 CE), at one point a jurist, scholar and poet in Granada, and the ode that he wrote against the Jews after his banishment, when talking about this subject. They disagree, however, on how and if he was actually involved in the massacre. The sources that do point to him as the cause of the massacre do not provide us with clear explanations why they do so. Sources that do not see the ode as the sole cause of the massacre, on the other hand, have a hard time explaining its existence and place in history. In short, the historical value and authenticity of Abū Ishāq's ode is anything but clear.

This leaves us with the question of this thesis: How does Abū Ishāq's ode fit in to the story of the massacre of the Jews in Granada in 1066 CE?

This thesis is dedicated to try and answer this question through a literature study. The first chapter presents an overview of the sources, both historical and modern, that discuss the events of the massacre. How do Abū Ishāq and his poem feature here and what is said of the massacre, regarding causes?

The second chapter will focus on the effect of poetry and the connection between poetry and violence. Are the effects of Abū Ishāq's poem unique or are there other examples to be found and if so, did they produce the same (claimed) consequences?

The third and fourth chapters are dedicated to a discussion and examination of the sources and their authors. The third chapter focuses on the early sources, where Abū Ishāq and his ode do not appear and what the reasons for this might be.

The fourth chapter takes the exact opposite direction and concentrates on the later sources that do mention Abū Ishāq. What happened in the 14th century that his poem is suddenly talked about (again)?

Chapter 1: A historiographical overview:

The pogrom in Granada in 1066 CE was an extraordinary event. Not only is it the first example of large-scale violence aimed against a particular religious minority group on this scale in al-Andalus since its foundation in 711 CE, it is also the first example of a major pogrom in the whole of Europe. This chapter focuses on the portrayal of the events in the historical and modern sources and how Abū Ishāq al-Ilbīrī and his ode feature in them.

The status of Jews in al-Andalus

The status of Jews and other non-Muslim communities in al-Andalus followed that of similar groups elsewhere in the Muslim Empire. As usual after the Muslims conquered an area, the non-Muslim religious communities, not yet minorities in the sense of numbers in this early period, received the status of *ahl al-dhimma* or People of the Pact of protection. In the beginning, this status applied only to non-Muslims who were People of the Book, *ahl al-kitāb*, meaning a religion with a holy book recognized by the Qu'rān, like Jews, Christians, Sabians and Zoroastrians. This custom dates back to the Constitution of Medina, Muhammad's charter that ensured freedom of religion for certain religious groups.²

There were big differences between different ruling dynasties with regard to the treatment of *dhimmi*s, or protected people, such as the harsh Almohad regime versus the lenient Berber *Taifa* rulers.³ The status of non-Muslims, however, remained basically unchanged during the Muslim rule of al-Andalus. Only the Almohads (and to a lesser degree the Almoravids) actively persecuted the Jews and Christians under their rule in the 12th and 13th centuries.⁴ Dhimmitude involved the paying of the *jizya*, a poll-tax, which was based on a clear text in the Qur'ān: "Fight those who do not believe in Allah or in the Last Day and who do not consider unlawful what Allah and His Messenger have made unlawful and who do not adopt the religion of truth from those who were given the Scripture - [fight] until they give the *jizya* willingly while they are

² Bernard Lewis, *Jews of Islam*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984) 20-22.

³ Hispanicized as *reyes de taifas*, it comes from the Arabic *Mulūk al-Ṭawā'if*, meaning Kings of the territorial divisions. See M.Morony and D.J.Wasserstein, "Mulūk al-Ṭawā'if," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill Online, 2016), accessed 2 May 2016, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/muluk-al-tawaif-COM_0794.

⁴ M.Shatzmiller, "al-Muwahhidūn," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill Online, 2016), accessed 31 May 2016, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-muwahhidun-COM_0824.

humbled".⁵ The payment of the *jizya* ensured that non-Muslims could continue to live and practice their religion in peace, as long as they abided by the conditions of the *dhimma*. These conditions differed, but often involved distinctive clothing or badges, prohibition against the construction of new religious buildings and limitations on public worship for example.⁶ In accordance with several passages on other religions in the Qur'ān, they were not forced to convert to Islam.⁷

Although sources on this topic disagree on the actual level of harassment the Jews received, ranging from an interfaith utopia in al-Andalus to domination and legal persecution under the guise of the *dhimma* pact,⁸ most sources agree on their protected status as citizens in the Muslim state, especially in al-Andalus.⁹ Second class citizens, but citizens nonetheless. As stated before, al-Andalus was a particularly good place for the Jews to live, especially compared to the Christian lands. Despite the rules and regulations imposed upon them by the *dhimma*-contract, most ruling dynasties in al-Andalus were rather lenient. Many of the discriminating rules, such as the prohibition against Muslim use of a non-Muslim doctor,¹⁰ were not even enforced most of the time.

Unlike Christianity, Islam has no particular issues with Judaism. On the contrary, they share many resemblances, like strict monotheism, a legal system based on a divine law and dietary restrictions.¹¹ The only time real problems arose, especially during the time of the lenient *Taifa* states in the 11th century, was when the rules and conditions of the *dhimma* were not met by well-known *dhimmīs* or entire non-Muslim communities. An especially sensitive issue was a Jew, or any non-Muslim for that matter, obtaining a high position in the government and this was often complained about. A saying attributed to 'Umar I (r.634-644 CE) states: "Do not appoint

⁵ Qur'ān, *Surat at-Tawbah* (9:29), www.quran.com/9.

⁶ Cl.Cahen, "Dhimma," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill Online, 2016), accessed 1 August 2016, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/dhimma-SIM_1823.

⁷ Qur'ān, *Surat al-Baqarah* (2:256) "There shall be no compulsion in religion", www.quran.com/2; *Surat al-Kāfirūn* (109:6) "For you is your religion, and for me is my religion", www.quran.com/109.

⁸ Bat Ye'or, *The Dhimmī: Jews and Christians under Islam* (Rutherford: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 1985), 48.

⁹ See Mark Cohen, *Under Crescent and Cross: The Jews in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), xv-xxi or Olivia Remie Constable, ed., *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Sources* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), xxv-xxvii, for a discussion of these contradictory perspectives.

¹⁰ S.D.Goitein, *Jews and Arabs, their contact through the ages* (New York: Schocken Books, 1955), 70.

¹¹ Bernard Lewis, *Semites and anti-Semites* (New York: Norton, 1986), 117-121.

Jews and Christians to public office because in their religion they are people of bribes. But [in Islam] bribes are not lawful".¹² Nevertheless employing non-Muslims was often done for practical reasons; because they were skilfull employees, most often when it came to tax collection from the non-Muslim communities. They also had no ties to the Muslim community they governed and they could therefore do all that the ruler asked of them.

The setting of the massacre in Granada

The employment of Jews in government service and especially the consequent perceived disadvantage amongst the Muslim population may, however, have been the reason behind the massacre that took place in Granada. Other reasons that played a role were the political unrest in the region and the enfranchisement of the Berber population.

Who were the protagonists in the events and how did they interact? At the time of the massacre, Joseph/Yūsuf ibn al-Naghrīlla¹³ was *wazīr* or vizier to the Berber ruler of the city, Bādīs ibn Ḥabbūs (r.1038-73 CE). Bādīs's great-uncle Zāwī ibn Zīri (r.1013-1019 CE) had declared the region of Elvira independent from Cordoba in 1013 CE, before handing over to his nephew Ḥabbūs ibn Māksan (r.1019-1038 CE) and returning to the Maghrib. Ḥabbūs then began building the new capital of the region, Granada, which was finished after his death by his son Bādīs. The rule of the Zīrīd dynasty reached its zenith under Bādīs, who became the de facto leader of the Berber population in al-Andalus. His Andalusian subjects, however, had been very unreceptive of the Berbers since the foundation of their rule. His father Ḥabbūs, trying to avoid an impression of favoritism for one group over the other, had appointed the Jewish *kātib* or secretary, Samuel/Ismā'īl ibn al-Naghrīlla (d.1056 CE), as *wazīr* rather than an Andalusian or a Berber.¹⁴ Ismā'īl had come into government service in Granada after fleeing Cordoba in 1013 when the Umayyad Caliphate fell.¹⁵ When Bādīs ascended to the throne, he had to deal with rivals and hostility from both the Andalusians and some Berbers, leading him to lean on Ismā'īl even more than his father. It is even said that Ismā'īl was the only one who could convince Bādīs not to

¹² Lewis, *Jews of Islam*, 29.

¹³ Several forms of this *laqab* or nickname have survived in both Arabic and Hebrew sources. I will use this form based on its actual usage in historical sources (Ibn Bassām and Ibn Ḥazm).

¹⁴ Amin Tibi, "Zīrīds," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill Online, 2016), accessed 14 June. http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/zirids-SIM_8170.

¹⁵ María Rosa Menocal, introduction to *The Literature of Al-Andalus*, ed. María Rosa Menocal, Raymond P. Scheindlin and Michael Sells, *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 3.

slaughter the entire Arab population of Granada, who sympathized with his enemy, the Arab ruler of Seville, al-Mu‘taḍid ibn ‘Abbād (r.1042-1069 CE).¹⁶ This is not an unrealistic story, as Bādīs was known for his violent nature and cruelty.

Bādīs' various sons and grandsons played a role at court as contenders to the throne.

When Ismā‘īl died, his son Yūsuf took over his position. They were not the first Jews to hold this office (see for example Ḥasdāy ibn Shaprūt, *wazīr* in Cordoba in the 10th century,¹⁷ and Abū al-Faḍl Ḥasdāy ibn Ḥasdāy, *wazīr* in Saragossa in the 11th century¹⁸), but they were the most well-known. For reasons we shall be examining closely, the Muslims of Granada rose up against the Jews, ten years into Yūsuf's reign as *wazīr*, and killed all or most of them, depending on which sources are used.¹⁹

The many layers of the massacre

Since there are many different accounts of this event, it is difficult to ascertain what happened exactly and more importantly, why. What caused this horrible event and who was responsible? What follows is a chronological description of the source material regarding the massacre, starting in the 11th century CE and ending with the modern sources on the subject, focusing especially on the role that may or may not have been played by Abū Ishāq al-Ilbīrī and his ode.²⁰

Overview of historical sources

The first source and the only 11th-century work we encounter, is *al-Tibyān ‘an al-hāditha al-kā’ina bi-dawlat banī zīrī fī gharnāṭa*. The *Tibyān* as it is known, is a memoir of the last Zīrīd ruler of Granada, al-Muzaffar Abū Muhammad ‘Abd Allāh ibn Buluqqīn ibn Bādīs ibn Ḥabbūs ibn Māksan ibn Zīrī ibn Manād, known as ‘Abd Allāh ibn Buluqqīn (r.1073-1090 CE). It was

¹⁶ Tibi, "Zīrīds," *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*.

¹⁷ Ṣā‘id ibn Aḥmad al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt al-umam*, ed. by Ḥusayn Mu‘nis (Cairo: Dār Al-Ma‘ārif, 1998), 110-111, where he is known as Ḥasdāy ibn Ishāq.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 112.

¹⁹ One Jewish account by Isaac al-Fāsī, known 11th-century Algerian Rabbi, notes the forced sale of property by Jews of Granada, indicating that not all Jews were killed. See Norman Roth, *Jews, Visigoths and Muslims in Medieval Spain: Cooperation and Conflict* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 108.

²⁰ More information on Abū Ishāq and his work will follow in chapters 2 and 3.

written by himself in exile, after having been deposed in 1090 CE,²¹ and it can reasonably be dated to 1094/1095 CE, given his concluding references to events from the year 1094 CE.²²

The *Tibyān* gives us a detailed account of the reign of the two Jewish *wazīrs*. ‘Abd Allāh describes the rise to power of Ismā‘īl or Abū Ibrāhīm²³ and his service to ‘Abd Allāh’s grandfather Bādīs in a mostly respectful manner. He also explains why Bādīs chose a *dhimmī* as his *wazīr*, which was for practical reasons: He was neither an Andalusian nor a Berber, both of which could not be trusted with such power. Bādīs also needed someone to collect taxes for him from his subjects in order to have enough money to maintain his position. Since most of the subjects in Granada and the tax-collectors were Jews,²⁴ Abū Ibrāhīm would serve this purpose well.²⁵ He also gives examples of the good counsel that Abū Ibrāhīm gave his grandfather and praises his diplomatic skills. ‘Abd Allāh is, however, quick to point out that "Abū Ibrāhīm was not accorded any power over Muslims in any issue whether right or wrong".²⁶ The editor of the text claims ‘Abd Allāh added this remark in defense of Bādīs’s decision to appoint a Jew to the office of *wazīr*, against the accusations of several *faqīhs* or jurists, including Abū Ishāq.²⁷

There is, however, nothing in the *Tibyān* to suggest that ‘Abd Allāh was aware of Abū Ishāq and his work. He continues with his account on Abū Ibrāhīm and how Bādīs was reluctant to appoint Yūsuf (‘Abd Allāh only refers to Yūsuf as “the Jew” or “the swine”, like other sources, which tend to treat Ismā‘īl with more respect than Yūsuf) in his father’s place after the latter’s death. Yūsuf, however, insinuated himself into the position and gave good advice to Bādīs and his son Buluqqīn (d.1064 CE), until a number of courtiers, realizing how much influence he had, decided to discredit the Jewish *wazīr* in the eyes of Buluqqīn. After Yūsuf and Buluqqīn’s relationship

²¹ E.Lévi-Provençal, "‘Abd Allāh b. Buluggīn," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill Online, 2016), accessed 7 April 2016, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/abd-allah-b-buluggin-SIM_0042.

²² ‘Abd Allāh ibn Buluqqīn, *The Tibyān: Memoirs of ‘Abd Allāh B. Buluggīn, Last Zīrid Amīr of Granada*, ed. Amin T. Tibi (Leiden: Brill, 1986), 8-9.

²³ *Kunya* or patronym of Ismā‘īl in Arabic sources; to the Jews, he was known as Samuel ha-Nagid (the leader).

²⁴ This statement supports the high number of deaths in the massacre, as stated by numerous sources to be as high as 4000 or more. Wasserstein deemed this an unrealistically high number of Jews for a European city at this time, but Granada was known, however, to have been a home for Jews since its foundation, hence the name *Gharnāta al-Yahūd* or Granada of the Jews. This could possibly explain the unusual number of Jewish residents. See David Wasserstein, "Jewish Élites in al-Andalus," in *The Jews of Medieval Islam: Community, Society, and Identity: Proceedings of an International Conference Held by the Institute of Jewish Studies, University College London, 1992*, ed. by Daniel H. Frank (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 101-110.

²⁵ ‘Abd Allāh ibn Buluqqīn, *The Tibyān*, 56.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 56.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 206 n.117.

had deteriorated to the point of mutual assassination plans, ‘Abd Allāh recounts how Yūsuf poisoned Buluqqīn before the latter had a chance to kill Yūsuf. Although Bādīs did not blame Yūsuf for his son’s death, their relationship deteriorated, also under influence of others, forcing Yūsuf to seek alliances elsewhere. First he tried to ally with Māksan (d.1086 CE), Bādīs’s other son, but when that did not work out he sought to ally himself with Ibn Ṣumādīḥ (r.1052-1091 CE) of Almeria, inviting him to take control of Granada. When he announced this at a night of drinking, however, one of the slaves present wondered if that meant that Bādīs was dead. When he did not receive a clear affirmative, the slave ran into the street shouting that Bādīs had been betrayed and that Ibn Ṣumādīḥ was about to enter the city. This caused a mob to form which could not be calmed down even by Bādīs himself. Yūsuf then fled into the palace, but he was run down by the populace and killed. They then turned on every Jew in the city and took their possessions on Saturday, 10 Ṣafar 459 AH.²⁸

As mentioned before, ‘Abd Allāh’s account shows no indication of knowledge about Abū Ishāq and his ode. Yūsuf’s own actions such as killing Buluqqīn and collaborating with Ibn Ṣumādīḥ are stated as the cause of the massacre.

Unfortunately, various other important 11th-century sources end before this event, like Ibn Hayyān’s (d.1076 CE) account, preserved in Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Bassām al-Shantarīnī’s (d.1147 CE) *al-Dhakhīra fī maḥāsīn ahl al-jazīra*, known as the *Dhakhīra*, which ends in 1064 CE. Ibn Ḥazm (d.1064 CE), a known source on Yūsuf’s father Ismā‘īl, dies before the massacre.

The *Dhakhīra* is a literary anthology of al-Andalus of the 11th century, written at the beginning of the 12th century.²⁹ In the first chapter that mentions Ismā‘īl as the patron of the poet al-Munfatīl (d. unknown), that Ibn Bassām discusses here, we find the name of the Jewish wazīr, Ibn al-Naghīrīllā, contrary to ‘Abd Allāh’s account, which only uses nicknames.³⁰ The next chapter is titled: “A chapter summarizing what is known of the murder of that Jew”,³¹ and it discusses the massacre specifically. In this chapter, which has a more negative tone than the previous chapter

²⁸ Ibid., 60-75. 10 Ṣafar 459 AH corresponds to 30 December 1066 CE and is one of only two dates given in the entire manuscript of the *Tibyān*.

²⁹ Ch.Pellat, "Ibn Bassām," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill Online, 2016), accessed 7 April 2016, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/ibn-bassam-SIM_3110.

³⁰ ‘Alī ibn Bassām al-Shantarīnī, *al-Dhakhīra fī maḥāsīn ahl al-jazīra*, ed. Iḥsān ‘Abbās (Beirut: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1978), 2-1:761.

³¹ Ibid., 2-1:766-769.

regarding the Jewish *wazīrs*, Ibn Bassām refers to Yūsuf only as “the Jew”. Moreover, Ibn Bassām confuses Ismā‘īl and Yūsuf, making it seem as if Ismā‘īl continued to serve Bādīs until 1066 CE when he was killed and his young son Yūsuf was able to flee to Africa. This indicates that the *Tibyān* was not available to him as a source.

Ibn Bassām also has more and different issues with Ibn al-Naghrīlla than ‘Abd Allāh: he does not accuse him of the death of Buluqqīn, but he mentions the conspiracy with Ibn Ṣumādīḥ and the authority that Ibn al-Naghrīlla held over Muslims. He accuses him of writing a blasphemous essay against Islam³² and being an unbeliever (“he turned away from the path of God”³³). In contrast with the *Tibyān*, where Yūsuf consults with his Jewish advisors over every decision, Ibn Bassām claims that Yūsuf/Isma‘īl was not even trusted by his own people. He states: “The Jews, with their abhorred religion, did not have regard for him and they did not entrust him with secret matters”³⁴ and “the Jews sensed calamity in his name, and they complained about his oppressive rule”.³⁵ Like ‘Abd Allāh, Ibn Bassām does not mention Abū Ishāq and his ode, but describes the uprising after a failed conspiracy. The mob found Yūsuf hiding in the coal repository and killed him, after which they slaughtered more than 4000 Jews. According to Ibn Bassām, this achieved “the reinstatement of the abasement of the Jews”.³⁶ This indicates that Ibn Bassām believed that the Jews of Granada had become too arrogant and needed to be put back in their place which the massacre accomplished.

A Hebrew text, the *Sefer ha-qabbalah*, written decades later by Ibrāhīm ibn Dā’ūd (known as Abraham ibn Daud in Hebrew, d.1180 CE), gives a much shorter report on the two *wazīrs* and the massacre, but strangely enough also lays the blame on Yūsuf. Yūsuf, known as Rabbi Joseph ha-Levi the Nagid in this text, succeeds his father, who is described in very positive terms as a great scholar and highly cultured person. Yūsuf, however, did not possess his father’s humility and “grew haughty - to his destruction.”³⁷ Ibrāhīm ibn Dā’ūd then recounts how Yūsuf and the

³² Subject of the *Radd ‘alā ibn al-naghrīlla al-yahūdī* of Ibn Ḥazm; his refutation of the anti-Islamic claims made by Ibn al-Naghrīlla. It was, however, never proven that the Jewish vizier actually wrote such a piece and many question its existence.

³³ Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhīra*, 2-1:766-767.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 2-1:766

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 2-1:766.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 2-1:769.

³⁷ Abraham ibn Daud, *Sefer ha-qabbalah*, ed. and trans. Gerson D. Cohen (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1967), 76.

rest of the Jewish community, but also any visitors the Jews may have had, were killed by the Berbers on the Sabbath day, the 9th of Tevet [4]827.³⁸

This account corroborates that it was Yūsuf's personal doing, his arrogance and haughty behavior, that led to his downfall and the massacre of the Jewish inhabitants of the city on the date mentioned before. Abū Ishāq and his ode are not mentioned by this author either.

There is also another 12th-century Hebrew text that mentions the massacre, the *Kitāb al-Muḥāḍara wa'l-mudhākara* of Mūsā ibn 'Azra (known as Moses ibn Ezra, d.1135-1140 CE), but he offers no information on the causes.³⁹

One source from the 13th century that mentions this event is the biographical anthology of Arabic poets *al-Mughrib fi ḥulā al-maghrib* of Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī (d.1286 CE). It resembles Ibn Bassām's text, in that it confuses Ismā'īl and his son and their fates, and it mentions that Ibn al-Nagrīlla held controversial views of Islam, saying he mocked the Qur'ān. Ibn Sa'īd ends his account with the killing of the Jews and the plundering of their houses by the Berbers who ruled Granada, but who did it against the king's wishes.⁴⁰ Ibn Sa'īd writes: "He was killed by the Ṣanhāja, rulers of the state, without an order of the king".⁴¹ The cause is thus laid with Yūsuf's disrespect of Islam and no other causes for the pogrom are given.

In the 14th century we find two extensive accounts of the massacre and one short one, which, however, gives a different account from what we have encountered so far. Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Idhārī al-Marrākushī (d. after 1313 CE), wrote his historical account *al-Bayān al-mughrib fi akhbār mulūk al-andalus wa'l-maghrib* in 1312-1313 CE.⁴² He speaks negatively of both Ismā'īl and Yūsuf, whose lack of humility he especially emphasizes.⁴³ 'Abd Allāh ibn Buluqqīn's claim that Yūsuf killed his father with poison returns in this account and Yūsuf's downfall is once again attributed to his conspiracy with Ibn Ṣumādiḥ of Almeria. Yūsuf

³⁸ 30 December 1066 CE, Abraham ibn Daud, *Sefer ha-qabbalah*, 71-76.

³⁹ Moses ibn Ezra, *Kitāb al-Muḥāḍara wa'l-mudhākara*, ed. and trans. Montserrat Abumalham Mas (Madrid: Consejo Superior De Investigaciones Científicas, 1985), 1:72-73.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 2:114-115.

⁴¹ Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Mūsā ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī, *al-Mughrib fi ḥulā al-maghrib*, ed. Shawqī Ḍayf (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1955), 2:114.

⁴² J.Bosch-Vilá, "Ibn 'Idhārī," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill Online, 2016), accessed 12 April 2016, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/ibn-idhari-SIM_3210.

⁴³ Muḥammad Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste, 1930), 3:264: "He did not know the submissiveness of the dhimma and the impurity of the Jews".

is killed by a mob of Berbers after hiding in a coal repository, as in Ibn Bassām's story. The difference here, however, is that the account describes how he also tried to use the coals to disguise his face, which was unsuccessful. A detail is added about the conditions of his death as well: After having been killed, he is crucified at the gate of the city. As in the other accounts, Ibn 'Idhārī writes that an unspecified large number of Jews were killed on the same day and their houses were plundered in the year 459.⁴⁴ Also Ibn 'Idhārī does not mention Abū Ishāq's ode.

In the late 14th century Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Sa'īd ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Sa'īd ibn 'Alī ibn Aḥmad al-Salmānī, known as Lisān al-Dīn ibn al-Khaṭīb (d.1375 CE), was *wazīr* of Granada when he wrote several works on the history of the city and al-Andalus.⁴⁵ His account of the massacre is included in his *A'māl al-a'lām fī man būyi'a qabla al-iḥtilām min mulūk al-islām* and it resembles Ibn 'Idhārī's text greatly. In Ibn al-Khaṭīb's words, Yūsuf was very powerful in Granada and indeed poisoned Buluqqīn, who tried to oppose him by discrediting him in Bādīs's eyes. According to Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Yūsuf's influence grew until a sickness came over his power and he tried to conspire with Ibn Ṣumādīḥ of Almeria, seemingly agreeing with Ibrāhīm ibn Dā'ūd here that Yūsuf became a bad person later on and disagreeing with 'Abd Allāh ibn Buluqqīn's assessment that the Jewish *wazīr* was bad from the start. Ibn al-Khaṭīb's version is part of a topos, where rulers experience a number of good years and then several bad ones. We see this for example when we look at the rule of 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān (r.644-655 CE), whose rule is traditionally divided into six good years and then, after the loss of the Prophet's seal, six bad years.⁴⁶

Ibn al-Khaṭīb then introduced, as the first known author, the ode of Abū Ishāq in his discussion of the massacre. Ibn al-Khaṭīb obviously regarded Abū Ishāq very positively, referring to him as pious and a master. He then quotes the ode, which is also mentioned in his history of Granada, *al-Iḥāṭa fī akhbār gharnāṭa*.⁴⁷ He concludes his account with the consequences of the ode, which differ slightly from the other accounts. Here the mob, consisting not only of Ṣanhāja Berbers but

⁴⁴ Ibid., 264-266.

⁴⁵ J.Bosch-Vilá, "Ibn al-Khaṭīb," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill Online, 2016), accessed 12 April, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/ibn-al-khatib-SIM_3252.

⁴⁶ G.Levi Della Vida and R.G.Khoury, "'Uthmān b. 'Affān," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill Online, 2016), accessed 1 August 2016, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/uthman-b-affan-COM_1315.

⁴⁷ Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāṭa fī akhbār gharnāṭa*, ed. Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh 'Inān (Cairo: Dār Al-Ma'ārif, 1956), 1:447-448 .

also of other Muslims, is first assured of Bādīs's consent before acting upon their rage. The rest of the events, however, unfolds in a likewise manner with Yūsuf hiding in the coals and attempting to disguise himself with the coals, as we also see in Ibn 'Idhārī's account, before being found, beaten to death and crucified at the city gate as Ibn 'Idhārī also states. Thousands of Jews died on the same day in the year 469 or 465 AH according to Ibn al-Khaṭīb.⁴⁸

A contemporary and at one point teacher of Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Marzūq al-'Aḥsī al-Tilimsānī or simply Ibn Marzūq (d.1379), wrote about Abū Ishāq in his work *Al-Musnad al-ṣaḥīḥ al-ḥasan fī ma'āthir maḥāsīn mawlānā abī al-ḥasan*, known as the *Musnad*. He starts his account by praising his former ruler, the Marīnid sultan Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī (r.1331-1351 CE), whom he served as *kātib* from 1337 to 1351 CE,⁴⁹ for never having employed a *dhimmī* in his government as others had done in the East and also in the Maghrib and al-Andalus in the past. He continues to say that Abū Ishāq wrote an ode inciting the people to kill Yūsuf "as is well known". He then quotes the entire ode and gives it as the reason for why the Berbers rose up against the Jews and massacred them. Ibn Marzūq gives an oddly specific number of casualties, namely 1000 men and 951 women, but also quotes a certain al-Sālimī who mentioned that 4000 people were killed and also some Muslims who lived amongst the Jews. He ends his account with the addition that the ode of Abū Ishāq was often recited to the sultan Abū al-Ḥasan, who enjoyed it a lot and asked to have it presented on several occasions.⁵⁰

If we take Ibn Marzūq's claims seriously, it indicates that the ode, although not mentioned before this century, was widely known by Muslims and not only in al-Andalus, but apparently in the Maghrib as well. This is the first account that indicates the ode as the sole reason for the massacre.

⁴⁸ Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Kitāb A'māl al-a'lām fī-man būyi'a qabla al-iḥtilām min mulūk al-islām: al-qism al-thānī fī akhbār al-jazīra al-andalusiyya*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal (Rabat: Éditions Félix Moncho, 1934), 264-267.

⁴⁹ M.Hadj-Sadok, "Ibn Marzūq," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill Online, 2016), accessed 12 April 2016, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/ibn-marzuk-SIM_3287.

⁵⁰ Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Marzūq, *Al-Musnad al-ṣaḥīḥ al-ḥasan fī ma'āthir maḥāsīn mawlānā abī al-ḥasan*, ed. María Jesús Viguera Molins and Maḥmūd Abū 'Ayyād (Algiers: Al-Shārika Al-Waṭaniyya, 1981), 378-381.

Modern sources

Although Abū Ishāq and his *dīwān* are mentioned throughout subsequent centuries in various works,⁵¹ no known sources mention his ode until the 17th-century work *Nafḥ al-ṭīb* by al-Maqqarī (d.1632 CE), who quotes Ibn al-Khaṭīb's account on the massacre and the first ten lines of the ode.⁵² The massacre is also sporadically mentioned, but only in clear copies of earlier mentioned sources, such as Solomon ibn Verga's copy of Ibrāhīm ibn Dā'ūd's account in his early 16th-century work *Shevet Yehudah*.⁵³ After al-Maqqarī the sources are silent again on the events and the ode, until Dozy's *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne pendant le Moyen Age*, where it is discussed again in the late 19th century. He found the ode in a manuscript of Ibn al-Khaṭīb's *Iḥāṭa* and followed Ibn al-Khaṭīb's commentary on it to mean that the ode caused the massacre in Granada.⁵⁴

At the end of the century, Brockelmann includes Abū Ishāq in his *Geschichte von Arabische Literatur (GAL)*. He describes several sources, including Abū Ishāq's *dīwān*, of which a manuscript is known that was written in 676 AH/1277 CE, which is almost a century before Ibn al-Khaṭīb and Ibn Marzūq's mentions of the role of the poet and his ode in the massacre. Brockelmann points out that an ode Abū Ishāq wrote to Bādīs, in order to antagonize him against a Jewish secretary, resulted in the pogrom. He mentions Ibn al-Khaṭīb's *A'māl al-a'lām* as his source for the role of the ode, giving the same possible (but mistaken) years for the massacre, namely 465 and 469 AH.⁵⁵ It is unclear, however, if Brockelmann knew that the ode was included in the manuscript he described.

In the 20th century, several works focus on the massacre in Granada, but these are very divided on its causes. There are (1) studies that merely mention the massacre without discussing its

⁵¹ See Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā al-Ḍabbī, *Kitāb Bughyat al-multamis fī tārikh rijāl ahl al-andalus*, Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana, vol. 3, ed. Francisco Codera and Julián Ribera (Madrid: Matriti, 1884-1885), 210; Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Abbār, *al-Takmila li-kitāb al-ṣila*, ed. 'Izzat al-'Aṭṭār al-Husayni (Cairo: Maktabat Al-Khanjī, 1956), 136-137; Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Zubayr, *Ṣilat al-ṣila: dhayl li-al-ṣila al-bashkuwāliyya fī tarājīm a'lām al-andalus: al-qism al-akhīr minhu*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal (Rabat: Economique, 1937), 78-79, all biographical dictionaries from the 13th century.

⁵² Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb min ghuṣn al-andalus al-rāṭib*, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1968), 4:322.

⁵³ Solomon ibn Verga, *Das Buch Schevet Jehuda*, ed. Meir Wiener (Hannover: C.Rümpler, 1856), 6, accessed 27 May 2016, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=njp.32101016830018>.

⁵⁴ R.P.A. Dozy, *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de L'Espagne pendant le Moyen Age* (Leiden: Brill, 1881), 284-289 and LXI-LXVIII.

⁵⁵ Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur, VIII* (Leiden: Brill, 1943), 480.

causes, (2) other works discuss the ode but deny it any specific role in the events, (3) still others that discuss causes, but do not mention the ode, (4) studies that present a monocausal explanation, presenting the ode as the reason for the massacre and finally (5) studies that give various causes, including the ode.

An example of the first category is Brann, who does not discuss its significance and merely glances over it, mentioning it only when he compares it to other works on literary matters (for example the use of the same swear words in both the *Tibyān* and Abū Ishāq's ode).⁵⁶ The Encyclopaedia of Islam article on Granada also does not even attempt a discussion of the causes and mentions nothing but the massacre itself⁵⁷.

Handler's work is an example of the second category. He dismisses the ode as a cause, stating that it is unlikely that Berbers would be affected by a poem written by an Arab.⁵⁸

Part of the third category is Kennedy, who does not mention the ode at all and focuses instead on other causes, like Yūsuf's alleged plot with Ibn Ṣumādih.⁵⁹

Regarding the fourth category, almost none of the sources has accepted the ode as the sole cause since Brockelmann's entry, with the exception of Pérès⁶⁰ and Nykl⁶¹ in their books on poetry in al-Andalus. Since Pérès only used Dozy and Ibn al-Khaṭīb as his sources, this is to be expected. Nykl, however, also mentions other possible causes and criticizes Dozy's understanding of Abū Ishāq, but still agrees with him on the consequences of the ode. Nykl obviously used multiple sources, as many of the details in his story come from Ibn al-Khaṭīb (the poisoning of Buluqqīn and the ode of Abū Ishāq for example), but he also uses information that we have not seen before. This includes the date, which Nykl refers to as the 9th of Ṣafar (unlike 'Abd Allāh's use of the 10th of Ṣafar, a more likely date), but he also calls 'Abd Allāh the son of Bādīs. These details indicate that he was either mistaken or that he made use of some very inaccurate sources.

⁵⁶ Ross Brann, *Power in the Portrayal: Representations of Jews and Muslims in Eleventh- and Twelfth Century Islamic Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 97 and 108.

⁵⁷ A.Huici Miranda and H.Terrasse, "Gharnāṭa," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill Online, 2016), accessed 21 May 2016, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/gharnata-COM_0230.

⁵⁸ Andrew Handler, *The Zirids of Granada* (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1974), 66.

⁵⁹ Hugh Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of Al-Andalus* (London: Longman, 1996), 145.

⁶⁰ Henri Pérès, *La Poésie Andalouse en Arabe Classique Au XIe Siècle* (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1953), 272-273.

⁶¹ A.R.Nykl, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry and Its Relations with the Old Provençal Troubadours* (Baltimore: J.H. Furst Company, 1946), 197.

Most modern sources, however, are part of the fifth category and include some sort of discussion of Abū Ishāq's ode in their analysis and attribute differing degrees of importance to it. Many of the sources, such as Roth⁶², Lewis⁶³ and Garcia Gomez⁶⁴, who edited Abū Ishāq's *dīwān*, deem it (highly) unlikely that this ode was the only or even main cause, since it is not mentioned in Jewish accounts or in the early Arabic sources. They do, however, consider it a factor, but they do not explain how they come to such a conclusion. There are also sources, like Cohen, which appear to be plain contradictory and refer to 'Abd Allāh's account and Yūsuf's betrayal, but also to the role of Abū Ishāq's ode.⁶⁵

Most modern sources that focus on this time period seem to follow Ibn al-Khaṭīb's version of the massacre or at least take it into account, judging by their discussion of the ode.

It seems at this point that Abū Ishāq was definitely not the sole cause of the massacre of the Jews in Granada in 1066 CE. Is it likely that his ode contributed to an already agitated community reaching its breaking point? Or is it more logical on the other hand, that it had no effect at all, considering Abū Ishāq, an Arab poet, was probably not very popular with his intended audience, the less cultured Berbers? A closer look at our poet, the source material that mentions him, and the effect of poetry in general will perhaps provide some more answers on the question into the role that the ode played in the massacre in the following chapters.

⁶² Roth, *Jews, Visigoths and Muslims*, 107.

⁶³ Bernard Lewis, *Islam in History: Ideas, Men and Events in the Middle East* (London: Alcovoe Press, 1973), 163.

⁶⁴ Ibrāhīm ibn Mas'ūd Abū Ishāq al-Ilbīrī, *Un Alfaqūi Español: Texto árabe de "Diwan" Abū Ishāq De Elvira*, ed. Emilio García Gómez (Madrid: Consejo Superior De Investigaciones Científicas, 1944), 30.

⁶⁵ Mark Cohen, *Under Crescent and Cross*, 165-166.

Chapter 2: Poetry as propaganda and Abū Ishāq's ode

As seen in the previous chapter, the role of Abū Ishāq al-Ilbīrī and his ode in the massacre is anything but clear. Based on the earlier sources, we might think the ode had no influence at all, while later sources refer to the ode as the immediate and only cause of the massacre. In this chapter we will examine whether it is to be expected that a poem, or poetry in general, could have the kind of social-political effect that later authors ascribe to Abū Ishāq's ode. Is it even likely that a poem causes such an event? Is this a one-off in history or are there other examples of poems causing violent popular outbreaks? Why would Abū Ishāq have chosen a poem to motivate the inhabitants of Granada to rise up against the Jews?

The effects of poetry

Poetry has from its first appearance been understood as a highly volatile instrument to influence public sentiments. To a certain extent this is still true in the Middle East, as the arrest and conviction of a former Miss Turkey, who posted a supposedly damaging poem online, in Turkey earlier this year makes clear.⁶⁶ Beyond the political realm, however, poetry can be observed to operate on different levels.

The earliest known treatise on poetry by Aristotle, his *Poetics*, reflects on the effect of poetry and art in general (including music and drama) and highlights its main function: *catharsis*. The term has come to be understood as the purging or purification of emotions. Since Aristotle did not explain his use of this word (at least not in his surviving works), we can only guess if this was indeed the goal of art according to him.⁶⁷ In any case, Aristotle attributed great importance and influence to poetry when it came to affecting people and their daily lives.

Known as the "supreme ornament of Arab culture", poetry has always played an important role in the Arab world, even before the coming of Islam. In fact, poems from the *Jāhiliyya*, the time before Islam, most notably the *Mu'allaqāt*, are still celebrated. As there was poetry, before there was even an alphabet, it is rooted in the oral. Added to that is the fact that early poetry was not about creativity with the content, but that it was all about creative expression of things the

⁶⁶ Nicole Morley, "Miss Turkey beauty queen given suspended sentence for insulting Turkish president", *Metro*, 31 May 2016, <http://metro.co.uk/2016/05/31/miss-turkey-beauty-queen-given-suspended-jail-sentence-for-insulting-turkish-president-5916353>.

⁶⁷ Aristotle, *Poetics*, trans. Richard Janko (Indianapolis/Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, 1987), xvi.

audience already knew. The manner of saying most influenced poetic engagement of the audience, leading to an especially strong bond between Arabic poetry and emotions.⁶⁸ According to the renowned scholar Ibn Qutayba (d.889 CE): "Poetry is the mine of knowledge of the Arabs, the book of their wisdom, the archive of their history, the reservoir of their epic days, the wall that defends their exploits, the impassable trench that preserves their glories, the reliable witness for the day of conflict".⁶⁹ Saying that poetry can be influential, is therefore an understatement.

Because poetry was deemed so important, poets in al-Andalus, like elsewhere in the Muslim world, played an important role in society. They impacted public debate and opinion, as well as social actions with their work. This has been the case since before the advent of Islam, when poetry was used to define one's tribe against the others.⁷⁰ With the establishment of the Islamic state, the focus of the poet shifted to the new cultural centres, often at court. Through their role as provider of news and events, the poet played a role in spinning public opinion. The poet's dependency on patrons, however, resulted on the one hand in panegyrics written for the patron and his entourage, and, on the other in satires written about enemies of the patron.

While Abū Ishāq did write some panegyrics when he was working in the service of Ibn Tawba (see chapter 3), most of his poetry was not written for a patron. Little is known of his life,⁷¹ but we do know that most of his poetry, including his ode against the Jews, was written in exile, after he was banished from Granada and there is nothing to suggest that he had a patron at this time.

Poetry leading to violence

While Abū Ishāq's ode seems an extraordinary and unique piece of vitriol, there have been other examples of art and in particular poetry that have led to violence. Both examples given here date back to the 8th century CE and took place during the 'Abbāsīd revolution.

⁶⁸ Ibn al-Mu'tazz et al., "Shi'r," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill Online, 2016), accessed 15 June 2016, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/shir-COM_1058.

⁶⁹ Geert Jan van Gelder, *Een Arabische tuin* (Amsterdam: Bulaaq, 2000), 26.

⁷⁰ M.M.Badawi, "Abbasid poetry and its antecedents," in *'Abbāsīd Belles-lettres*, ed. Julia Ashtiany et al., *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 149.

⁷¹ E.García Gómez, "Abū Ishāq al-Ilbīrī," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill Online, 2016), accessed 30 April 2016, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/abu-ishak-al-ilbiri-SIM_0208.

The first is an event barely mentioned by the famous historian al-Ṭabarī (d.923 CE) in his history,⁷² but deemed more important by other historians such as al-Ya‘qūbī (d. after 905 CE). He describes a massacre near the river of Abū Fuṭrus (Arabic corruption of the Roman fort and town of Antipatris, located in Jund Filasṭīn⁷³) in the year 750 CE, where ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Alī (d.764 CE), uncle of the first ‘Abbāsīd caliph Abū al-‘Abbās al-Saffāḥ (r.750-754 CE), murdered 80 members⁷⁴ of the Banū Umayya. This happened after the poet Abū Muḥammad al-‘Abdī (d. unknown) recited a verse which incited the ‘Abbāsīds:

اما الدعاة الى الجنان فهاشم و بنو امية من كلاب النار

Those that call to heaven are the Hāshimites, and the Umayyads are the dogs of hell.

This caused ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Alī to recall the death of Ḥusayn and other ‘Alīds, whereupon he gave the signal to start the massacre.⁷⁵

Al-Ya‘qūbī, however, is the only source not only to mention the poet al-‘Abdī in connection to the massacre, but to mention him at all. Other sources, like al-Balādhurī (d.892 CE), attribute this role in the massacre to another poet, Sudayf ibn Maymūn (d.764 CE),⁷⁶ but sometimes the unknown Shibl ibn ‘Abd Allāh (d. unknown) is mentioned, by Ibn al-Ahtīr (d.1233 CE) for example.⁷⁷ When this is the case, another poem entirely is recited:

اصبح الملك ثابت الاساس
بالصدور المقدمين قديمة
يا امير المطهرين من الذ
م
و يا راس منتهى كل راس
بالبهاليل من بنى العباس
والرؤوس القماقم الرواس

⁷² Muḥammad ibn Gharīr al-Ṭabarī, *Annals of the Prophets and Kings*, ed. M.J. de Goeje (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 10:51.

⁷³ M.Sharon, "Nahr Abī Fuṭrus," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill Online, 2016), accessed 30 April 2016, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/nahr-abi-futrus-SIM_5758.

⁷⁴ Numbers vary between 70 and 90. Al-Ṭabarī mentions 72, Ibn al-Athīr in his *al-Kāmil fi'l-Ta'rikh* goes up to 90, the anonymous *Akhbār Majmū'a* gives 73 according to Moscati in his 1950 article on the massacre, but most authors, like al-Ya‘qūbī and Ibn Qutayba say 80.

⁷⁵ Aḥmad ibn Abī Ya‘qūb ibn Ja‘far al-Ya‘qūbī, *Tārīkh al-ya‘qūbī*, ed. Khalīl ‘Umrān al-Manṣūr (Beirut: Dār Al-Kutub Al-‘Ilmiyya, 1999), 248. My translation.

⁷⁶ Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf* (Beirut/Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1978), 3:162-163.

⁷⁷ ‘Izz al-Dīn ibn al-Athīr, *Kitāb al-Kāmil fi'l-tārīkh*, ed. Carl Johan Tornberg (Leiden: Brill, 1870), 5:329-330. Accessed 29 April 2016. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.b4769371>

كم اناس رجوك بعد اياس	انت مهدي هاشم وهداها
واقطعن كل رقلة وعراس	لا تقيلن عبد شمس عثارا
بدار الهوان والاتعاس	انزلوها بحيث انزلها
وبهم منكم كحز المواس	خوفهم اظهر التودد منهم
عنك بالسيف شأفة الارجاس	اقصهم ايها الخليفة واحسم
وقتيل بجانب المهراس	واذكرن مصرع الحسين وزيد
رهن قبر في غربة وتناسي	والامام الذي بحران امسى
قربهم من نمارق وكراسي	فلقد ساءني وساء سوائي
اود من حبائل الافلاس ⁷⁸	نعم كلب الهراش مولاك لولا

The kingdom has achieved a firm foundation through magnanimous lords of Banū al-‘Abbās, these leaders who have long been in front, as chiefs and generous guides.

O commander of those who are pure of blame, o chief who is the highest of all chiefs,

You are the rightly guided of the Hāshimites and their guide; that men have hoped in you after despair.

Do not stop the Umayyads from their fall, but cut off every tree and plant.

Take them down such as has taken them down: in the home of disgrace and ruin.

Their fear leads them to show affection, but be to them as a cut of razors.

Remove them from you Caliph, and with the sword cut off of you the root of filth.

Remember the killing of Ḥusayn and Zayd, killed in battle near the Mihrās

and the imam that rests in Ḥarrān has the security of a tomb in exile and oblivion.

I suffer and others suffer like me, seeing their nearness to the cushions and seats.

What a wonderful barking dog would your freedman be, if not to provide the traps of poverty.

⁷⁸ ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, ed. Aḥmad al-Shinqīṭī (Cairo: Maṭba‘at al-Taḡaddum, 1905), 4:92-93. My translation. Fragments of the poem can also be found in al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 3:162; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kitāb al-Kāmil fi’l-ta’rīkh*, 5:329-330; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, *Kitāb al-‘Iqd al-farīd*, ed. Barakāt Yūsuf Habbūd (Beirut: Sharikat Dār al-‘Arqam ibn Abī al-‘Arqam, 1999), 4:457.

This poem has the same consequences as the other poem by the poet al-‘Abdī, namely the death of all the Umayyads present.

Sudayf ibn Maymūn, however, is always the poet involved in the other example of poetry leading to violence. One of the few Umayyads not killed in the massacre at Nahr Abī Fuṭrus is Sulaymān ibn Hishām (d. after 747 CE), who is a strong Umayyad contender for the caliphate with all the other Umayyads now out of the way. During an audience with the new caliph Abū al-‘Abbās, Sudayf ibn Maymūn, a very vocal opponent of the Umayyads⁷⁹ recites several verses, reminding the caliph of the past deeds of the Umayyads, such as the murders of Ḥusayn and the ‘Alīds. The following verses are usually cited:⁸⁰

لا يغرنك ما ترى من رجال ان تحت الضلوع داء دويا
فضع السيف و ارفع السوط حتى لا ترى فوق ظهرها امويا⁸¹

*Do not be deceived by what you see in some men, since under the ribs there is a serious illness.
Use the sword, take the whip, until you see no more Umayyads on the face of the earth.*

The result is the immediate execution of Sulaymān ibn Hishām.

On both occasions, the Umayyads are not killed because of actions happening at that moment, which cause them to be killed as a form of punishment, but because the ‘Abbāsids feel duty-bound by memories of the Banū Umayya’s past actions, of which the poem reminds them. The violence is portrayed as a direct result of the reciting of the poems. There are, however, many different versions of these events. The versions mentioned above coincide in general terms, but there is hardly an element that all the sources agree upon. They debate the place (Nahr Abī Fuṭrus, al-Hīra, Ḥijāz), the instigator/killer (‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Alī, Abū al-‘Abbās al-Ṣaffāh, Dāwūd ibn ‘Alī, Sulaymān ibn ‘Alī), the number of deaths (70-90) and the poet (Sudayf ibn Maymūn, Shibl ibn ‘Abd Allāh, Abū Muḥammad al-‘Abdī) and his verses/poem, if any are

⁷⁹ Taieb El Acheche, "Sudayf b. Maymūn," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill Online, 2016), accessed 30 April 2016, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl:2048/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/sudayf-b-maymun-SIM_7118.

⁸⁰ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, 3:162; ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muslim ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb al-shi‘r wa-l-shu‘arā’*, ed. M.J. de Goeje (Leiden: Brill, 1904), 480; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kitāb al-Kāmil fi’l-tārīkh*, 5:329-330.

⁸¹ Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb al-Shi‘r*, 480. My translation.

mentioned. Al-Ṭabarī's history and Ibn Qutayba's *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*⁸² for example make no mention of a poem or poet at all. This is strange, since al-Ṭabarī tends to have very detailed accounts and Ibn Qutayba is obviously aware of a poet being present, having mentioned him in his other work.⁸³

As in the case of Abū Ishāq, however, the gist of the story, namely that a poem is associated with a massacre, has survived. Although the diversity of the sources makes it unlikely that the events happened in the way they are described, these examples do indicate that these are plausible stories for the audience of the works they feature in. The connection between poetry and violence is therefore less unusual than it appears to be at first sight, at least in the history of Arabic poetry.

There are, however, more recent examples available, of which we know for certain that the violence was related to anti-Jewish writings.

At the end of the 15th century Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Karīm al-Maghīlī (d.1503-1506 CE), a *faqīh* from Tlemcen, wrote a treatise called the *Risāla fī aḥkām ahl al-dhimma*, in which he stated that the Jewish community of Tuwāt in the Algerian Sahara had broken their pact by not paying the *jizya* in the right and humiliating way and by breaking Islamic laws such as associating with Muslims and having a synagogue. According to al-Maghīlī, this meant that they no longer deserved protection. Although many opposed his views, he managed to get enough support to cause a mob to form, which destroyed the synagogue and was spurred on by al-Maghīlī's reward of seven *mithqāl* or gold coins for every Jew killed.⁸⁴ The surviving Jews got their revenge on al-Maghīlī, however, by killing his son and forcing him to flee the region.⁸⁵

More recently, during the time of the Dreyfus Affair at the end of the 19th century, anti-Jewish pogroms took place in French Algeria. These events were inspired by the new mayor of Algiers, Max Régis, leader of the Anti-Jewish League of Algiers and founder of the popular anti-Jewish

⁸² 'Abd Allāh ibn Muslim ibn Qutayba, *al-Ma'ārif* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 2003), 209-210.

⁸³ See notes 74 and 80.

⁸⁴ J.O.Hunwick, "al-Maghīlī," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill Online, 2016), accessed 12 June 2016, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-maghili-SIM_4763.

⁸⁵ Roman Loimeier, *Muslim Societies in Africa: A Historical Anthropology* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), 112.

newspaper *L'Antijuif d'Alger*. He had called upon his followers to "water the tree of our liberties with Jewish blood".⁸⁶

Although neither of these more recent examples are related to poetry, they are examples of the power of colorful words spurring public mass anti-Semitic violence. In a Muslim society such as al-Andalus, where poetry and expression through words were highly regarded and a big part of the public consciousness, it is therefore entirely plausible that a poem could cause such violence against specific groups.

Andalusian poetry and Abū Ishāq al-Ilbīrī's ode against the Jews

In order to understand how Abū Ishāq's ode fits into the Arabic literary landscape of al-Andalus, we will present a short overview.

For the first centuries after the conquest of al-Andalus, imitation of Baghdādī poets was a necessity for Andalusian poets. During the high point of the Caliphate in Baghdād in the 9th century, literature and culture blossomed, but in al-Andalus, where a new state was trying to rise above its tribal beginnings, there were no first-rate poets yet to be found. After the political decline of the eastern Caliphate set in from the 10th century on, Cordoba, however, became the new cultural centre. Experimentation of every poetic form took place although the best poetry at this time (that has survived) was official court poetry in the form of *qaṣīdas* or formal odes. Although a form of political propaganda, it was not used to violent ends, only to legitimize the new Caliphate by expressing the official point of view and to support it and create solidarity. When the *wazīr* al-Manṣūr (d.1002 CE) became the de facto leader of al-Andalus towards the end of the 10th century, a new urban, more creative and more personal poetry emerged. Poetry continued to flourish, even after the collapse of the Caliphate in 1031 CE and was cultivated at every Taifa court.⁸⁷

The contribution of al-Andalus to Arabic poetry are two new forms of strophic poetry, which appear in this century: the *muwashshaḥ* and the *zajal*.⁸⁸ These forms ended up rivaling the *qaṣīda* as expressions of high literature. Abū Ishāq, however, sticks to the classical form of the *qaṣīda*,

⁸⁶ George L. Mosse, *Toward the Final Solution: A History of European Racism* (New York: Fertig, 1978), 160.

⁸⁷ James T. Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic poetry: A student anthology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 5-33.

⁸⁸ The *muwashshaḥ* had been around since the 9th century, but was considered subliterate until the 11th century.

an ever popular poetry form, in order to get his point across. In a century, where the themes of poetry revolved around nature, walking in gardens and picking up stars, he wrote a uniquely malicious politically themed ode in addition to his ascetic poetry, which was already unusual for an Andalusian poet at this point in time. Not aimed at the cultural elite, as was usual for a *qaṣīda*, but at the Ṣanhāja Berber soldiers, who were not known for their understanding of poetic subtleties, it is clear that this ode is written to be understood by them. It is very straightforward, using no obscure words or complicated meters. It is written in the *mutaqārib* meter, described by García Gómez as "sounding like a military march",⁸⁹ perhaps also used to appeal more to the Berber soldiers. It was also a preferred meter at times when non-Arabs performed poetry to make it easier for them, like the poetry specifically made to be sung by foreign slave girls during Umayyad rule.⁹⁰ This indicates it was meant to be understood by as many people as possible, including the uncultured classes.

As to the content, it provides clear images that non-Jewish inhabitants of al-Andalus would take issue with. Abū Ishāq lists all the wrong-doings the Jews commit (in his eyes) and all the ways in which the Muslims suffer from these: In verse 6 he laments the fact that many noble Muslims must demean themselves before "a vile monkey from among the polytheists",⁹¹ a sentiment repeated in verse 12, when he claims Jews look down on noble Muslims and that they are arrogant towards pious men. There are several mentions of the difference in wealth between Muslims and Jews: In verse 28 Abū Ishāq speaks of the Jews' lavish life and in verse 29 he states that the Jews wear expensive clothing while Muslims wear their cast-offs. The Jews eat much more food than Muslims, who eat no more than a dirham's worth according to verse 31. Abū Ishāq claims in verse 34 that the Jews slaughter animals in the Muslims' marketplace and the Muslims eat their non-kosher leftovers and in verses 35 and 36 that Yūsuf's palace is covered in marble, while at the same time he does nothing to help Muslims who are less wealthy.

Abū Ishāq also presents things the Jews do that they should not, including: He calls the Jews arrogant, insolent and proud in verse 4. The Jews should not be in the important position of collecting taxes from Muslims according to verse 10 and they should not sit with

⁸⁹ Abū Ishāq al-Ilbīrī, *Un Alfaquí Español*, 39.

⁹⁰ Badawi, "Abbasid poetry and its antecedents," *Abbāsīd Belles-lettres*, 152.

⁹¹ See appendix, verse 6. My translation.

important Muslims or ride with the king according to verse 13. Meddling in political affairs and taking over Granada is something the Jews are also guilty of in verse 26 and 27. Their religious rituals are not as concealed as they should be, according to verse 33.

Although the ode is directed at the Berbers in verse 1, Abū Ishāq dedicates a large part of the ode to addressing Bādīs and asking him why he chose a Jew as his *wazīr* and how he can ignore all the reasons against doing so, as we see in verse 14 to 25. This part, however, criticizes the ruler heavily and it is therefore unlikely that he actually intended Bādīs to be influenced by his ode. Other verses also support this, like verse 2, where he tells the Berbers that their leader has made a mistake and that the Jews enjoy this, and in verse 7 where he claims that the Jews had nothing to do with their position in Granada, but that they were helped by Bādīs. It is possible that Abū Ishāq wanted to create a rift between Bādīs and the Berbers, making it easier for the Berbers to go against their leader's wishes and attack the Jews.

Abū Ishāq's ode is thus an attack on the Jews of Granada in general, on their position vis-à-vis the Muslim inhabitants, their socio-economic privileged position and not a personal attack on the *wazīr* Yūsuf. Abū Ishāq does not mention Yūsuf by name and speaks little of him personally, only from verse 35 to 40 is a "he" mentioned and once Abū Ishāq speaks of "their monkey"⁹². It is unlikely that he blames the Jew for his banishment, as nothing is said of Yūsuf's power in Granada, only that he has too much wealth and that he mocks Islam, stated in verse 35 to 39. He goes on to say that his people, the Jews, are just as much to blame and should not be pardoned in verse 40.

Several sources⁹³ state that the motive for his ode must have been revenge, as the story goes that Abū Ishāq was banished because Yūsuf advised Bādīs to do so. This is not made clear by the ode, however, and one of Abū Ishāq's other poems contradicts this:

وقد أهلا به وبزائريه	ألا حيّ العقاب وقاطنيه
وأتسني فما استوحشت فيه	حللت به فنفس ما بنفسي

⁹² See appendix, verse 35. My translation.

⁹³ See for example Dozy, *Recherches*, 1: 285.

وكم ذئب يجاوره ولاكن	رأيت الذئب أسلم من فقيه
ولم أجزع لفقد اخ لأنني	رأيت المرء يؤتى من أخيه
وأياسني من الأيام أنني	رأيت الوجه يزهد في الوجيه
فأثرت البعاد على التداني	لأنني لم اجد من اصطفيه ⁹⁴

Go and salute al-‘Uqāb⁹⁵ and its residents, and welcome them and their visitors.

I settled down there and it relieved me and put me at ease, and I did not feel lonely there.

And there is many a wolf close to it, yet I deem the wolf safer than the jurist.

I feel no regret for the loss of a brother, for I have seen that a man is ruined by his brother.

What has made me give up all hope of days is that I think honour forsakes the honourable.

I prefer the isolation to moral decline for no person engenders my friendship.

As Abū Ishāq himself was a *faqīh* before his banishment and he refers to being betrayed by a brother, it is much more likely that he blames a Muslim co-worker for his exile rather than the Jews or Yūsuf himself, for which there is no evidence to be found, other than the speculation of modern sources.

At the end of his ode, Abū Ishāq describes in detail what should be done according to him, including slaughtering the Jews and taking their property and wealth in verse 39 to 41, but only because they have broken the pact according to verse 43. He thereby makes it very clear that this is not about anti-Semitism, but that according to the Arab jurist, the Jews have broken the law (their pact with the Muslims) and have consequently lost their right to protection (*dhimma*). They are thus outlawed, which automatically means fighting them and taking their possessions with violence. He ends his ode by insisting that the Berbers cannot be held accountable for whatever they do to the Jews and that God is on their side, insisting that they will only be blamed if they do nothing in verse 42 to 47⁹⁶.

⁹⁴ Abū Ishāq, *Un Alfaquí Español*, poem 19. My translation.

⁹⁵ When Abū Ishāq was banished, he went to live at a monastery called Rābiṭat al-‘Uqāb near Elvira. See Abū Ishāq, *Un Alfaquí Español*, 29.

⁹⁶ Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic poetry*, 206-213.

Every part of Abū Ishāq's ode, its form, its words, its content, indicates a clear intent: this ode has a purpose. It is not written for entertainment, but as a propaganda tool, a way of inciting people into action.

It is unlikely that Abū Ishāq was familiar with the 8th-century poems quoted above, yet his intentions are strikingly similar. As the 8th-century poets aimed to arouse the 'Abbāsids against the Umayyads, Abū Ishāq wanted to provoke the Berbers. Abū Ishāq used his poem to inform the Berbers of the situation and how they could change it. Whether or not this ode actually caused the violence remains to be seen, but it is obvious that the intent was present.

Chapter 3: Abū Ishāq's obscurity in the early sources

We will now take a closer look at our poet Abū Ishāq and his work. We will pay special attention to his ode against the Jews, examining possible explanations why the earliest sources discussing the massacre of Granada do not mention Abū Ishāq or his ode. Can the reasons for this omission be found in information on his life or perhaps in the lives and works of the authors of the sources? Why was he not mentioned before the 14th century?

Abū Ishāq

Not much is known about Abū Ishāq. His full name is Ibrāhīm ibn Mas'ūd ibn Sa'īd⁹⁷ al-Tujībī. This indicates he was part of the Banū Tujīb, a noble Arab tribe originally from Yemen, established in Saragossa since the Arab conquest of al-Andalus according to Ibn al-Ḥazm.⁹⁸ This tribe ruled Saragossa in the 9th and 10th century under Umayyad rule, and ruled the Taifa of Saragossa from 1018 to 1039 CE.⁹⁹ His *nisba*, or name indicating his origin, is al-Ilbīrī, which indicates he was born in Ilbīra or Elvira, a town near Granada. His *kunya* is Abū Ishāq. Occasionally his *nisba* is al-Gharnāṭī¹⁰⁰ after his residence in Granada. Several biographers, like al-Ḍabbī (d.1203 CE) and Ibn al-Abbār (d.1260 CE), mention Abū Ishāq, but they say very little about him. Especially al-Ḍabbī, who only dedicates one sentence to him,¹⁰¹ cannot be considered a very useful source, even though he is known as one of Abū Ishāq's biographers.¹⁰² Ibn al-Zubayr (d.1308 CE) only refers to him in his entries on others as Abū Ishāq being their student or teacher,¹⁰³ and Ibn al-Abbār and Abū'l-Faḍl 'Iyād (d.1149 CE) have entries on Abū Ishāq, but they contain few details about his life and works.

Although we do not know at what age Abū Ishāq died, we do know from his own words that he became sixty years old, passing the number that represents old age and the final phase of life according to Arab poets:

⁹⁷ Ibn al-Abbār differs from the other sources and gives Sa'īd instead of Sa'īd, see Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Takmila*, 136.

⁹⁸ 'Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī, *Jamharat ansāb al-'arab*, ed. E.Lévi-Provençal (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1948), 404.

⁹⁹ P.Guichard, "Tudjīb," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill Online, 2016), accessed 10 May 2016, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/tudjib-COM_1242.

¹⁰⁰ Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭīb*, 4:317.

¹⁰¹ Al-Ḍabbī, *Kitāb Bughyat al-multamis*, 210.

¹⁰² Abū Ishāq, *Un Alfaqū Español*, 31.

¹⁰³ See notes 122, 133, 134 and 135.

أفي الستين اهجع في مقيلي وحادي الموت يوقظ للرواح¹⁰⁴

In my sixties I become calm in my resting place and death incites a spurring of my soul.

The importance of this age is also seen in the works of other Andalusian poets. See for example Ibn Khafaja's poetry:

فقد وقيتها ستين حولا وندتني ورائي هل امام¹⁰⁵

I have already completed sixty years, who yell after me: Is there anything ahead?

Abū Ishāq mentions this age several times.¹⁰⁶ Another indication that he reached a mature age are the references in his work to his contemporaries dying.¹⁰⁷

Abū Ishāq was a disciple of Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Zamanīn, the famous *qāḍī* or judge of Ilbīra (d.1008 CE).¹⁰⁸ He also studied his works.¹⁰⁹ Since Abū Ishāq would have already been rather advanced in his education when he would have started lessons from such a prominent scholar, we can conclude that he was born no later than the beginning of the last decade of the tenth century. As he died shortly after the pogrom, at the end of 459 AH¹¹⁰ or 460 AH¹¹¹/1067 CE, we can assume he was at least 70 years old at the time of the pogrom.

He moved to Granada after 1010 CE (but before 1038 CE), when Ilbīra was sacked by the Berbers and a new city was established at the place that was sometimes called *Gharnāṭa al-Yahūd*, a village where, until this time, mostly Jews lived.¹¹² The new town kept the name *Gharnāṭa* and as there is no information on the fate of the Jewish community that already lived there, we can assume the Jewish inhabitants continued to live there after this time.¹¹³ This theory

¹⁰⁴ Abū Ishāq, *Un Alfaquí Español*, poem 6, verse 7. My translation.

¹⁰⁵ Al-Faḥḥ ibn Muḥammad ibn Khāqān, *Qalā'id al-'iqyān* (Cairo: Matba'at al-Taqaḍḍum al-'Ilmiyya, 1903), 242. My translation.

¹⁰⁶ Abū Ishāq, *Un Alfaquí Español*, poem 6, verse 7; poem 9, verse 1; poem 21, verse 20.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., poem 8, verse 10; poem 10, verse 13; poem 27, verse 1.

¹⁰⁸ Teresa Garulo, "Abū Ishāq al-Ilbīrī," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE* (Brill Online, 2016), accessed 10 May 2016, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/abu-ishaq-al-ilbiri-SIM_0177.

¹⁰⁹ al-Qāḍī 'Iyād, *Tartīb al-madārik wa-taqrīb al-masālik li-ma'rifat a'lām madhhab mālik*, 4 vols. in 2, ed. Aḥmad Bakīr Maḥmūd (Beirut: Maktabat al-Ḥayāh, 1967), 2:828.

¹¹⁰ Dozy, *Recherches*, 1:LXII.

¹¹¹ Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Takmila*, 137.

¹¹² Huici Miranda and Terrasse, "Gharnāṭa," *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*.

¹¹³ See note 24.

is also supported by Abū Ishāq's ode, in which he states that the Jews lived in every part of the city when he arrived in Granada.¹¹⁴ We know from his poetry that Abū Ishāq witnessed the sack of Ibbīra.¹¹⁵ It is likely that he got married after moving to Granada, as he mentions a wife in one of his poems.¹¹⁶ We know that he then became *kātib* to the *qādī* of Granada, Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Tawba,¹¹⁷ but this man was appointed by Bādīs ibn Ḥabbūs, who started his reign in June 1038 CE,¹¹⁸ so there is a gap in our knowledge of the intervening years. Abū Ishāq himself also speaks of his work for Ibn Tawba in one of his poems, in which he tells us of a mission the two of them undertook to Almeria or al-Mariyya as it was known then. For unknown reasons, they went there to meet with Aḥmad ibn ‘Abbās (d.1038 CE),¹¹⁹ *wazīr* to Almeria's ruler Zuhayr ‘Amīd al-Dawla al-Ṣaqlabī (r.1028-1038 CE). Since this ruler was (presumably¹²⁰) killed by Granadan troops in battle at the order of Bādīs in August 1038 CE and Ibn ‘Abbās was afterwards executed after being captured at the same battle,¹²¹ we can determine that Abū Ishāq started working for Ibn Tawba between June and August of 1038 CE. According to Ibn Zubayr, Ibn Tawba died after the year 450 AH¹²², meaning 1058 or 1059 CE, and Abū Ishāq dedicated at least one panegyric poem in his honor¹²³, perhaps two¹²⁴.

Some time after this he was banished from Granada for an unknown reason. Most modern sources, such as Dozy and al-Ziriklī,¹²⁵ state that it was because of Yūsuf, who advised Bādīs to do so after Abū Ishāq made very vocal complaints about the Jews and how they were not behaving as they should.¹²⁶ This knowledge seems to originate in Ibn al-Khatīb's work though, who claimed that Bādīs had exiled Abū Ishāq after Yūsuf brought false allegations on the Arab

¹¹⁴ See appendix, verse 27.

¹¹⁵ Abū Ishāq, *Un Alfaquí Español*, poem 20.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., poem 21.

¹¹⁷ Ibn al-Zubayr, *Ṣilat al-ṣila*, 78.

¹¹⁸ Tibi, "Zīrids," *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*.

¹¹⁹ Abū Ishāq, *Un Alfaquí Español*, poem 32.

¹²⁰ Amin Tibi, "Zuhayr," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill Online, 2016), accessed 21 May 2016, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl:2048/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/zuhayr-SIM_8200. Zuhayr vanished in the battle between Almerian and Granadan troops and never turned up dead or alive according to ‘Abd Allāh ibn Buluqqīn's *Tibyān*.

¹²¹ ‘Abd Allāh ibn Buluqqīn, *The Tibyān*, 59; Ibn Ḥayyān *apud* Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhīra*, 2-1:663.

¹²² Ibn Zubayr, *Ṣilat al-ṣila*, 79.

¹²³ Abū Ishāq, *Un Alfaquí Español*, poem 22.

¹²⁴ Ibid., poem 28.

¹²⁵ Khayr al-Dīn ibn Maḥmūd al-Ziriklī, *al-A‘lām: qāmūs tarājīm li-ashhar al-rijāl wa-al-nisā’ min al-‘arab wa-al-musta‘ribīn wa-al-mustashriqīn* (Beirut: Dār al-‘Ilm li-al-Malāyīn, 1979), 1:73-74.

¹²⁶ See chapter 2.

jurist,¹²⁷ and cannot be found anywhere else. As seen before in Abū Ishāq's own work, however, he seems to have suffered his fate thanks to one of his close Muslim colleagues.¹²⁸ After retiring to a monastery near Ilbīra, his ascetic tendencies were stimulated to such a point that he is consistently called *al-zāhid*, the ascetic, in every reference. Al-Ḍabbī even refers to him as "expert of many verses regarding censure in the world"¹²⁹ and according to his own poetry, he was very much concerned with the salvation of the soul.¹³⁰

He is known to have had disciples whom he taught the works of Ibn Abī Zamanīn and also his own poetry, during the time he worked as a *kātib* for the *qādī*. Among them were his nephew, the son of his sister, Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn Hishām al-Qaysī (d. unknown),¹³¹ and "the two of Alhendín" or "the two of Ilbīra",¹³² Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Wāḥid ibn ‘Īsa (d.1110 CE)¹³³ and Abu Ḥaḥṣ ‘Umar ibn Jalaf,¹³⁴ called Ibn Qaballāl (d.1107 CE).¹³⁵ Ibn al-Khaṭīb also mentions that Abū Ishāq was one of the teachers of ‘Abd Allāh ibn Faraj ibn Ghazlūn al-Yaḥṣī, known as Ibn al-‘Assāl (d.1094 CE).¹³⁶ His disciples transmitted his poems, although as far as we can tell from the preserved sources on him and his work, they transmitted only the ascetic poems and not his ode against the Jews.¹³⁷ Since Abū Ishāq died shortly after the massacre, however, it is possible that he did not have time to teach it to his students.

It is very difficult to date Abū Ishāq's poetry, as he rarely refers to events or specific people in his poetry. The many mentions of age, however, indicate that a lot of his work was written at the end of his life, after his exile from Granada.¹³⁸

¹²⁷ Dozy, *Recherches*, 1:LV-LVI.

¹²⁸ See chapter 2.

¹²⁹ Al-Ḍabbī, *Kitāb Bughyat al-multamis*, 210. My translation.

¹³⁰ See for example Abū Ishāq, *Un Alfaquí Español*, poem 8.

¹³¹ Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Abbār, *Kitāb al-Takmila li-kitāb al-ṣila*, Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana, Vol. 6, ed. Francisco Codera (Madrid: Matriti, 1889), 558.

¹³² Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Takmila*, 136.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 136; Ibn Zubayr, *Ṣilat al-ṣila*, 24; Khalaf ibn ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Bashkuwāl, *Kitāb al-Ṣila fī tārikh a’immat al-andalus wa-‘ulamā’ihim wa-muḥaddithihim wa-fuqahā’ihim wa-udabā’ihim*, Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana, vol. 1-2, ed. Francisco Codera (Madrid: Matriti, 1882), 377.

¹³⁴ Ibn Zubayr, *Ṣilat al-ṣila*, 61; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Kitāb al-Ṣila*, 396; Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Takmila*, 136.

¹³⁵ Ibn Zubayr, *Ṣilat al-ṣila*, 61.

¹³⁶ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāṭa*, 1:463.

¹³⁷ Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Takmila*, 136-137; Ibn al-Abbār, *Kitāb al-Takmila*, 558; Ibn Khayr, Muḥammad, *Index Librorum De Diversis Scientiarum Ordinibus*, Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana, vol. 9, ed. Francisco Codera and Julián Ribera (Saragossa: Caesaraugustae, 1894), 418.

¹³⁸ See notes 106 and 107.

His *dīwān*, or collection of poetry, consists of 35 poems and most have an ascetic theme. Ten of his poems are not exclusively ascetic in nature: he wrote two elegies, one dedicated to the ruins of Ilbīra and the other one motivated by the death of his wife,¹³⁹ two panegyrics,¹⁴⁰ five occasional poems,¹⁴¹ written when Abū Ishāq felt the need to comment on something specific, like someone wearing clothing that was too ostentatious,¹⁴² again pointing to his ascetic nature and strict views. Most of these poems are only a few verses long, but they are important with regard to information about his life. Last but not least we have his ode against the Jews.¹⁴³

Manuscript of Abū Ishāq's *dīwān*:

Abū Ishāq's ode against the Jews stands out amongst his poems and it is not discussed by his students. It is also not mentioned in historical sources until several centuries after Abū Ishāq's death. This makes one wonder whether the ode was actually written by Abū Ishāq. We will therefore take a look at his *dīwān* to examine the authenticity of Abū Ishāq's ode and to check its authorship.

The manuscript of Abū Ishāq's *dīwān* is part of the Spanish El Escorial Collection of Arabic manuscripts. Escorial 404 consists of 6 different parts, Abū Ishāq's *dīwān* is part 2, consisting of 23 folios, starting at folio 10. Esc. 404 consists of 86 folios in total, written in Maghribī script.¹⁴⁴ The different parts of the manuscript are not all written in the same hand and not all written at the same time,¹⁴⁵ although only one copyist is mentioned in the colophon, namely Ḥakam ibn Yūsuf ibn 'Alī ibn Ḥakam al-Balansī.¹⁴⁶ The first part, a poem written about the prophet and his companions by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Abī'l-Khiṣāl al-Ghāfiqī in the early 12th century, was copied in 1267 CE/666 AH. Part 4, a chapter on the words and stories of Abraham by an unknown author, is the only other part copied by the same person, but it is dated in May 1278 CE/Dhū 'l-Hijja 676 AH like all the other parts besides the first.¹⁴⁷

¹³⁹ Abū Ishāq, *Un Alfaquí Español*, poem 20; 21.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., poem 22; 28.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., poem 16; 29; 30; 31; 32.

¹⁴² Ibid., poem 16.

¹⁴³ Ibid., poem 25.

¹⁴⁴ Hartwig Derenbourg and E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Manuscrits Arabes De L'Escorial*, (Paris: Leroux, 1884), 1: 268.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 266-268.

¹⁴⁶ Abū Ishāq, *Un Alfaquí Español*, 171.

¹⁴⁷ Derenbourg and Lévi-Provençal, *Les Manuscrits Arabes*, 1:266-268.

This manuscript was produced in Minūrqa¹⁴⁸ (present-day Minorca, one of the Balearic islands), during a time when the island was virtually autonomous (between 1231 and 1287 CE) and became renowned as a place with a flourishing and sophisticated literary culture.¹⁴⁹ Since none of the authors of the works in the manuscript were still alive at this point (bar perhaps the anonymous/unknown ones), having died between two centuries (Abū Ishāq) and several decades earlier (‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Yakhlaftan al-Fāzāzī, whose work makes up parts 5 and 6, died in 1230 CE¹⁵⁰), we can assume this manuscript is an act of preservation of works from the Maghrib and al-Andalus, perhaps destined for the famous extensive library of the ruler of the island, Abū ‘Uthmān Sa‘īd ibn Ḥakam (r.1231-1282 CE).¹⁵¹

Since there were more than two centuries between 1066 CE, the year we assume the ode was composed by Abū Ishāq and 1278 CE, the year this manuscript was produced, we cannot be sure that the ode has always been part of Abū Ishāq’s *dīwān*. It is, however, highly unlikely that it was added at this stage, since most later sources mention it and it is doubtful that they all had access to this one manuscript or that this one manuscript gave rise to a text tradition spread from the Iberian Peninsula to North-Africa. There is also nothing to suggest that there were anti-Jewish sentiments in Minūrqa at the time, as the only interreligious problem was the Reconquista, which led exiled Muslims to Minūrqa, but this had nothing to do with Jews.

Until positive historical evidence proves that the ode should not be traced to Abū Ishāq, and taking into account the historical context that makes its historicity plausible, we will thus assume that the ode against the Jews was written by Abū Ishāq and that it was originally part of his *dīwān*. It also makes us conclude that the reason Abū Ishāq’s ode was not mentioned by the earlier sources was not because the ode was invented at a later date and only attributed to Abū Ishāq, along with its consequences. The possibility remains that the ode was added to his *dīwān* in the centuries between Abū Ishāq’s death and the making of the preserved copy, although it seems unlikely to have been attributed to him in this case, as Abū Ishāq was not known for other anti-Jewish writings.

¹⁴⁸ Abū Ishāq, *Un Alfaquí Español*, 171.

¹⁴⁹ S.Soucek, "Minūrqa," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill Online, 2016), accessed 21 May 2016, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl:2048/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/minurka-SIM_5205.

¹⁵⁰ G.S.Colin, "Fāzāz," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill Online, 2016), accessed 21 May 2016, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl:2048/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/fazaz-SIM_2342.

¹⁵¹ Soucek, "Minūrqa," *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*.

Early sources until the 14th century

If the reason for excluding Abū Ishāq's ode from the earliest historians' accounts cannot be explained by the non-existence of the ode, we have to find other reasons for the absence of the poem in pre-14th-century sources. We will now take a closer look at the authors of the early sources until the 14th century that discuss the massacre, but ignore Abū Ishāq's role in the unfolding of the events, and possibly find reasons for his exclusion from the accounts.

After the Caliphate ended in 1031 and the Taifa states arose from its remnants, al-Andalus was at constant war. When the Berber rulers of the Taifas were not trying to conquer each other's lands, then they were being threatened by the Reconquista, which became an organized and ongoing effort at this point because of the breakdown of the Caliphate. These developments influenced the authors of our sources, who often held high political offices, and very likely also influenced their version of events. Especially the first, and only contemporary source, the *Tibyān*, was written by someone personally affected by the massacre and the events leading up to it. 'Abd Allāh ibn Buluqqīn was the grandson of Bādīs ibn Ḥabbūs and his heir after the death of Buluqqīn, known as Sayf al-Dawla, Bādīs's son and 'Abd Allāh's father. Although no conclusive evidence against Yūsuf as the murderer of Buluqqīn can be found in the historical sources, Bādīs does not even seem to have held Yūsuf accountable for his son's death, and some sources even suggest a natural death,¹⁵² 'Abd Allāh maintains that Yūsuf is guilty of his Buluqqīn's death. The plot with Ibn Ṣumādīḥ is 'Abd Allāh's only other significant issue with Yūsuf, besides the murder of 'Abd Allāh's father. This is unlike the other authors, who have many more problems with the Jewish *wazīr* and usually do not even mention the death of Buluqqīn. 'Abd Allāh, however, clearly has other objectives besides merely recounting history. As exiled ruler of Granada since the invasion of the Almoravids or al-Murābiṭūn in 1090 CE, he is busy justifying his grandfather's decisions at every turn and thereby justifying his own right to the throne in the hope of a transfer of power in his own advantage. This is likely also the reason why he downplays Yūsuf and the power he had. He emphasizes that neither of the Jews, Ismā'īl or Yūsuf,

¹⁵² See Ibn al-Ḥasan al-Nubāhī, *Tārīkh quḍāt al-andalus, kitāb al-marqaba al-'ulyā fīman yastahiqqu al-qaḍā' wa'l-fuṭyā*, ed. E.Lévi-Provençal (Cairo: Dār al-Kātib al-Miṣri, 1948), 92, who claims Buluqqīn died of an illness in Málaga.

was able to accuse Muslims or had authority over them in any way,¹⁵³ trying to invalidate the numerous charges that Bādīs, as well as his father Ḥabbūs, had given the Jews power over Muslims. Besides acknowledging his grandfather's love of wine and debauchery, which he could have easily blamed on Yūsuf also, considering other sources do so, ‘Abd Allāh only speaks positively of his predecessor. Perhaps this is then the reason that he does not speak of Abū Ishāq's ode, as Bādīs was criticized in it for doing something that ‘Abd Allāh was busy putting straight and justifying in his work. Including this ode in his account would only harm his objective of justifying what Bādīs did and painting a better picture of the rule of his own dynasty, especially in the face of accusations for his bad decisions of appointing Jewish wazīrs.

Ibn Bassām al-Shantarīnī devoted two chapters of his only surviving work, the *Dhakhīra*, to the Jewish *wazīrs*. Unlike ‘Abd Allāh ibn Buluqqīn, however, he has many more issues with Yūsuf, several of them religious in nature, like Yūsuf's alleged atheism and his transgressions against Islam.¹⁵⁴ Whereas ‘Abd Allāh defended his grandfather's use of the Jews in important positions, which was tolerated or impossible to prevent in more places than just Granada during the rule of the *Mulūk al-Ṭawā’if* in the 11th century, Ibn Bassām is much more critical of the religious violations. This is probably related to the fact that he lived under the new rule of the Almoravids, which was a period of religious purity and strict orthodoxy. Although he describes the events in a matter-of-fact way, he expresses excitement at the end of his account, when he talks of the destruction and the returning of the Jews to their rightful place. In this way, his recounting becomes more of a history lesson, a warning not to let something like this happen again. It is clear Ibn Bassām saw the Jews as a danger, a problem that was still current in his time and he felt that it needed to be dealt with.

Besides the orthodox rule he lived under, it is also possible that Ibn Bassām was influenced by his own dealings with other religions, as he was driven out of his native town as a child when Santarem was conquered by the Christians in 1092-93 CE. Although not Jews, this could have affected his opinions of non-Muslims. He is also known to have worked for patrons who also appear in his works, so the objectivity of his work is possibly also compromised by other people's opinions. None of this conclusively explains, however, why Abū Ishāq and his ode do

¹⁵³ ‘Abd Allāh ibn Buluqqīn, *The Tibyān*, 60.

¹⁵⁴ Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhīra*, 2-1:766.

not appear in his account of the massacre. The *Tibyān* does not appear to be a known source to Ibn Bassām considering he confuses Ismāʿīl and Yūsuf, so that does not clarify it. He does not usually describe who his sources are, so it is likely that his anonymous source was someone not familiar with Abū Ishāq's ode. This is strange, however, when his work is supposed to be quite famous later on and his views would definitely have been approved of at this time.

Ibrāhīm ibn Dā'ūd's work, the *Sefer ha-qaballah*, is one of the very few Jewish sources we have on the massacre of the Jews in Granada. The other known sources either speak of the consequences alone¹⁵⁵ or copy Ibn Dā'ūd, like Solomon ibn Verga did.¹⁵⁶ The only other seemingly original Jewish source that mentions it was written several decades earlier than Ibrāhīm ibn Dā'ūd's work, namely the *Kitāb al-Muḥāḍara wa'l-mudhākara* of Mūsā ibn 'Azra. This work on Andalusian Jewish poets included information on the Ibn al-Naghrillās, as both Ismāʿīl and Yūsuf were poets besides their official duties. It, however, barely speaks of the massacre, not naming any causes and only stating that Yūsuf died with the Jewish community of Granada on the Sabbath, the 9th of Tevet in the year 4827.¹⁵⁷ Several sources claim he cited the wrong date,¹⁵⁸ yet the date corresponds to Ibrāhīm ibn Dā'ūd's date and is accepted as a possible equivalent of the 10th of Ṣafar 459 AH, the date given by 'Abd Allāh ibn Buluqqīn. It is therefore possible that Mūsā ibn 'Azra's work is the source for every Jewish source on the massacre itself (or at least the Jewish source used, as later sources contain more information, perhaps obtained from Arabic sources). As he was alive during the massacre, having been born a few years before in Granada¹⁵⁹ (which is more evidence to support that not every Jew was killed, besides Isaac al-Fāṣī's account), we can consider him a reliable source. We can then assume that the Jewish community was not aware of Abū Ishāq's ode. However, this neither negates its existence nor its influence, as there may have been other sources available at that time that no longer exist. As Mūsā ibn 'Azra does not discuss any causes, it is hard to determine if he was aware of the ode or not and what his sources were.

¹⁵⁵ See note 19.

¹⁵⁶ See chapter 1.

¹⁵⁷ Moses ibn Ezra, *Kitāb al-Muḥāḍara wa'l-mudhākara*, 1:72-73.

¹⁵⁸ Both Roth's *Jews, Visigoths and Muslims* and the 1985 Spanish translation of the *Kitāb al-Muḥāḍara* cite that he gave the 20th of December as the date of the massacre, which is a wrong conversion.

¹⁵⁹ "Ibn Ezra, Moses ben Jacob," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2007), 673-675, accessed 28 May 2016, <http://go.galegroup.com/ps/i.do?id=GALE%7CCX2587509400&v=2.1&u=leiden&it=r&p=GVRL&sw=w&asid=7e6751a8f00307a7f7160009aa2add01>.

The *Sefer ha-qaballah* is the only Jewish source (besides copies of its account) to speak of the causes of the massacre. This work, written more than a hundred years after the actual event,¹⁶⁰ blames Yūsuf, indicating that its sources are possibly the *Dhakhīra* or the *Tibyān*. Unknown to the author, however, is the ode of Abū Ishāq, which is strange as it would have alleviated some of the blame onto Bādīs, but also onto Abū Ishāq himself, as he would have been the direct cause of the massacre. For Ibrāhīm ibn Dā'ūd to proclaim that the Jews were murdered because Yūsuf was too arrogant and caused his own destruction,¹⁶¹ indicates that the Jewish community had not been made aware of the ode in the decades between the *Kitāb al-Muḥāḍara* and the *Sefer ha-qaballah* and that he can only cite what he has learned about the causes of the massacre from Arabic sources on the events.

Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī, born to a noble family near Granada, was already famous in his youth for working on his family's historical work, the *Kitāb al-Mughrib fī ḥulā' l-maghrib*, and finishing in 1243 CE what his great-grandfather had initiated over a century earlier. It is a history from the conquest of al-Andalus until the mid-13th century, but the part about the massacre in Granada was likely already written before Ibn Sa'īd started on the work, although it is possible he expanded upon it. This can be concluded from the fact that when his grandfather and his great-uncle started on the work in the mid-12th century, they continued on from the year 1135 CE. Everything before that had been described by Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥijārī at the suggestion of Ibn Sa'īd's great-grandfather, 'Abd al-Malik ibn Sa'īd.¹⁶² The account of the massacre was first written around the same time as Ibn Bassām's *Dhakhīra* then, and exhibits the same antagonistic views of the Jewish *wazīr* and the same problems with his treatment of Islam as was typical for the time. Like Ibn Bassām, it may have focused on Yūsuf as the culprit because of their orthodox anti-Jewish views, not wanting to focus on the Muslims that gave power to the Jewish *wazīrs*, which is what Abū Ishāq's ode does.¹⁶³

¹⁶⁰ Resianne Fontaine, "Ibn Daud, Abraham ben David Halevi," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2007), 662-665, accessed 28 May 2016, <http://go.galegroup.com/ps/i.do?id=GALE%7CCX2587509400&v=2.1&u=leiden&it=r&p=GVRL&sw=w&asid=7e6751a8f00307a7f7160009aa2add01>.

¹⁶¹ Abraham ibn Daud, *Sefer ha-qabbalah*, 76.

¹⁶² Ch. Pellat, "Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill Online, 2016), accessed 29 May 2016, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/ibn-said-al-maghribi-SIM_3351.

¹⁶³ See chapter 2 for an analysis of Abū Ishāq's criticism in his ode, including his critique on the ruler.

Unfortunately we know very little about Ibn ʿIdhārī al-Marrakūshi. Besides his name, we know that he lived in Fez when it was the capital of the Marīnid empire. Here he worked as a qāḍī¹⁶⁴. Likely influenced by the developments in the field of historiography at this place and time, he wrote his history of the Maghrib and al-Andalus up until the elimination of the al-Muwahḥidūn or Almohad dynasty from Marrakesh in 1269 CE, the *Bayān al-Mughrib*, and his work remains one of the foremost historical sources for this area. His account of the massacre sounds very much like the *Tibyān*, including the story of Buluqqīn’s murder and how Yūsuf convinced Bādīs of the guilt of people close to Buluqqīn, whereupon they were executed. He also recounts how the Berbers heard of Yūsuf’s plot with Ibn Ṣumādīḥ, pursued him and murdered him in the palace.¹⁶⁵ His account, however, is generally less detailed, except for the fact that Yūsuf hid in a coal repository and tried to disguise his face by blackening it with the coals.¹⁶⁶ This detail appears in Ibn ʿIdhārī’s account for the first time, perhaps copied from another unknown source. If the *Tibyān* was his source for most of his account, that would explain the absence of Abū Ishāq. It is strange, however, that he does not mention him anyway, as according to Ibn Marzūq, who wrote his account several decades later in the same region under Marīnid control, Abū Ishāq and his poetry were widely known, especially his ode against the Jews. As we do not know anything else on Ibn ʿIdhārī, it is hard to say what may have prevented him from mentioning Abū Ishāq, besides not using sources that speak of him.

So far it seems that the Jewish community was unaware of the existence of the ode, which we can assume was actually written by Abū Ishāq in the 11th century, although we cannot be certain of its role in the events. Arabic sources seem to ignore it, either for personal, political, religious reasons or all of the above. There is still the possibility though that they were unaware that it existed until this time, but the information we have on Abū Ishāq’s life and the manuscript of his *dīwān* does not support this, since the ode was included in it. Therefore we need to look at the later sources that do mention it first and see how they portray not only the ode, but also the history of the ode and possibly how they came by it.

¹⁶⁴ Bosch-Vilá, "Ibn ʿIdhārī," *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*.

¹⁶⁵ Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, 3:264-266.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 266.

Chapter 4: What happened in the 14th century?

The first time Abū Ishāq is associated in the historical sources with the massacre of the Jews of Granada is in the 14th century, approximately three centuries after the actual event. He and his ode are mentioned suddenly by two very distinctive personalities, who knew many ups and downs in their political and personal lives and were a great influence on each other as well. Can their mentioning of Abū Ishāq perhaps be explained by their positions in life at the time when they wrote their accounts of the massacre or did they have information that had not been available before this time? What happened in the 14th century to cause this shift in the telling of this story? Why was Abū Ishāq suddenly mentioned in this century? In this chapter we will look at these two authors that mention Abū Ishāq's ode against the Jews in relation to the massacre in Granada and how their lives may have affected their accounts.

Political background of the 14th century

Since the Caliphate had fallen at the beginning of the 11th century, the Taifa states had risen up with Berber, Slavic or local Muslim rulers. However, it took less than a century for these small states to be conquered at the end of the 11th century by the Almoravids, a Berber dynasty from the Maghrib. The Taifa rulers had asked these Berbers for help against the Christians, who had begun an organized and continuous conquering effort against the Muslims. Al-Andalus had already started to diminish by this stage, Toledo for example had been captured in 1085 CE.¹⁶⁷ Internal struggles and a war on two fronts, in the Maghrib against the Almohads and in al-Andalus against the Christians, caused the Almoravids to be overtaken by the Almohads, who considered them unfit to rule, about a century later.¹⁶⁸ Almohad rule, even more brutal and orthodox than Almoravid rule, however, did not last long either. They had to give up al-Andalus to the Christians in 1228 CE.¹⁶⁹ The Reconquista had undeniably been kept going during this time, strengthened by an alliance formed between the different Christian factions who, until now,

¹⁶⁷ E.Lévi-Provençal and J.P.Molénat, "Ṭulayṭula," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill Online, 2016), accessed 31 May 2016. http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/tulaytula-COM_1249.

¹⁶⁸ H.T.Norris and P.Chalmers, "al-Murābiṭūn," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill Online, 2016), accessed 31 May 2016, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-murabitun-COM_0798.

¹⁶⁹ Shatzmiller, "al-Muwaḥḥidūn," *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*.

had been distracted by their struggles against each other.¹⁷⁰ The Almohads, like the Almoravids before them, were also more interested in defending their territories in the Maghrib. City after city was captured until nothing was left but the newly formed Emirate of Granada, a vassal state of Castile under the rule of the Banū Naṣr. They, however, retained their leadership for over two and a half centuries until the Reconquista was finally completed by the conquest of Granada in 1492 CE¹⁷¹ and Islamic rule in al-Andalus ended after almost 800 years. It was during this last period, when Muslims were slowly being forced out of their last territories in Europe, that Abū Ishāq's ode suddenly appears in the sources.

Ibn al-Khaṭīb

Lisān al-Dīn ibn al-Khaṭīb was born in Loja, a town that was part of the Emirate of Granada, in 1313 CE. The family soon moved to Granada, however, when his father entered the service of sultan Abū al-Walīd Ismā'īl (r.1314-1325 CE) and Ibn al-Khaṭīb received an extensive education there. This enabled him to write on many subjects and he ended up with over 60 works in his name.¹⁷² An accomplished scholar in many fields, not only history, but also medicine, he was one of the first to postulate the idea of contagion and the spreading of disease in his *Muqni'at al-sā'il 'an al-maraḍ al-hā'il* ("The compelling theory regarding the terrible disease") after witnessing the Black Plague devastate Granada in 1348-49 CE.¹⁷³ He had become a *kātib* to sultan Yūsuf I (r.1333-1354 CE) several years earlier and then took on the job of *wazīr* in 1349 CE. He thereby replaced the previous *wazīr* who had died of the plague. He stayed on during the first tenure of the next sultan, Yūsuf's son Muḥammad V (r.1354-1359 and 1362-1391 CE). This was a period of peace with both the Christian rulers of Aragon and Castile and the Marīnids,¹⁷⁴ who had taken over the rule of the western Maghrib from the Almohad dynasty.¹⁷⁵ When this peace ended, the sultan was ousted and Ibn al-Khaṭīb was imprisoned. He only got free because

¹⁷⁰ Hugh Kennedy, "Reconquista," in *The Oxford Companion to Military History* (Oxford University Press, 2004), accessed 31 May 2016, <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780198606963.001.0001/acref-9780198606963-e-1055?rsk=bdIRCF&result=3>.

¹⁷¹ J.D.Latham and A.Fernández-Puertas, "Naṣrids," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill Online, 2016), accessed 31 May 2016, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/nasrids-COM_0855.

¹⁷² Bosch-Vilá, "Ibn al-Khaṭīb" *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*.

¹⁷³ W.B.Ober and N.Aloush. "The Plague at Granada, 1348-1349: Ibn Al-Khatib and Ideas of Contagion," in *Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine*, 58-4 (1982): 418-424.

¹⁷⁴ M.Shatzmiller, "Marīnids," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill Online, 2016), accessed 13 June 2016, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/marinids-SIM_4966.

¹⁷⁵ Latham and Fernández-Puertas, "Naṣrids." *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*.

of the intervention of his friend and teacher Ibn Marzūq,¹⁷⁶ who held a powerful position at the court of sultan Abū Sālim (r.1359-1361 CE) in the Maghrib at the time. After this he was allowed to go into exile in the Maghrib with the deposed monarch. After Muḥammad V took back his throne in 1362 CE, Ibn al-Khaṭīb also took up his previous position.¹⁷⁷ It was during this second tenure as *wazīr* that he wrote his history of Granada, *al-Iḥāṭa fī ta' rīkh Gharnāṭa*, between 1366 and 1369 CE or shortly thereafter at the latest.¹⁷⁸ It did not take long for his luck to change again though, when intrigues by opponents at court, such as the *qāḍī* al-Nubāhī (or al-Bunnāhī, d. after 1389-1390 CE) and Ibn Zamrak (d. after 1393 CE), forced him to escape persecution and flee to Tlemcen in 1371-72 CE. Here the Marīnid ruler at the time, Abū Fāris 'Abd al-'Azīz (r.1365-1372 CE), allowed him to stay and he lived there safely during the reign of his successor Abū Zayyān Muḥammad al-Sa'īd (r.1372-1374 CE) as well, even though Muḥammad V demanded he be sent to Granada for a trial.

The accusations against Ibn al-Khaṭīb consisted amongst others of heresy. This was for example based on his medical works in which he went against specific sayings of the Prophet as mentioned in the Ḥadīth.¹⁷⁹ The next Marīnid ruler, Abū'l-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Abī Sālim, was less kind than his predecessors and cast Ibn al-Khaṭīb into prison. His opponents, like Sulaymān ibn Dāwūd, an important functionary in the Marīnid court, and Ibn Zamrak, who had taken over Ibn al-Khaṭīb's job as *wazīr* in Granada, worked together to get him trialed in a private court, likely believing him to be a dangerous heretic. Most sources, however, condemn Ibn Zamrak's actions against Ibn al-Khaṭīb as intrigue fueled by jealousy, a not unrealistic story, considering Ibn Zamrak succeeded Ibn al-Khaṭīb as *wazīr* when Ibn al-Khaṭīb was forced to flee.¹⁸⁰ A clear sentence, however, could not be reached and Ibn al-Khaṭīb was murdered in prison in 1375 CE.

Ibn al-Khaṭīb's accounts of the massacre

As we can see from his life, Ibn al-Khaṭīb was unlikely to have been an objective reporter of important historical figures, as he held important and influential positions. He probably

¹⁷⁶ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, however, does not attribute his release to the help of Ibn Marzūq, perhaps because he was unaware of it. See Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāṭa*, 2:27.

¹⁷⁷ Bosch-Vilá, "Ibn al-Khaṭīb," *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*.

¹⁷⁸ J. Lirola Delgado et al., "Ibn al-Jaṭīb, Lisān al-Dīn," in *Biblioteca De Al-Andalus. Vol. 3: De Ibn Al-Dabbāg a Ibn Kurz*, ed. by Jorge Lirola Delgado and Jose Miguel Puerta Vilchez (Almería: Fundación Ibn Tufayl De Estudios Árabes, 2004), 673.

¹⁷⁹ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, 4:56:680.

¹⁸⁰ Bosch-Vilá, "Ibn al-Khaṭīb," *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*.

interacted with a number of the people he described and some of them were his enemies. Moreover, his views of other religions were undoubtedly influenced by his high position at court, which made him a close observer of the struggles of the Emirate of Granada against the Christian rulers.

Ibn al-Khaṭīb wrote about Abū Ishāq on several occasions in two of his most important works. Not only did he include information on him in his history of Granada, but also in his later work, the *Kitāb A 'māl al-a 'lām fī-man būyi 'a qabl al-iḥtilām min mulūk al-Islām*. This was one of the last works he composed, between 1372 and 1374 CE, when he was living in exile in Fez. He had changed his mind in the meantime about many of the things he had written in the *Iḥāṭa*. It is also possible that he was able to write more freely while in exile. This applied for example to his relationship with al-Nubāhī, which was presented as one of friendship and collaboration in the *Iḥāṭa*, but had become one of hostility by the time he wrote the *A 'māl al-a 'lām* a few years later.¹⁸¹ This supports the view that he was heavily influenced by his own experiences and viewpoints in his history writing.

Ibn al-Khaṭīb cites several sources in his account and we can reconstruct some others that he used. Some information cannot be connected to any known source. Taking them together Ibn al-Khaṭīb offers a unique account of the massacre in which Abū Ishāq's ode has gained a prominent role.

In the *Iḥāṭa* he provides us with information on Abū Ishāq, such as his name, profession and teacher Ibn Abī Zamanīn. He then discusses Abū Ishāq's reasons for writing the ode and what the ode caused, namely the massacre. This is followed by one of Abū Ishāq's ascetic poems and then the ode against the Jews. After this Ibn al-Khaṭīb states why he believes Yūsuf deserved what happened to him and that he was familiar with Ibn Ḥazm's refutation against Yūsuf's claims about Islam (although most sources attribute these probably fictional claims to Ismā'īl¹⁸²). He ends his account with Abū Ishāq's date of death.

¹⁸¹ A.Carmona, "al-Nubāhī (or, more probably, al-Bunnāhī)," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill Online, 2016), accessed 5 June 2016, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/al-nubahi-or-more-probably-al-bunnahi-SIM_8859.

¹⁸² See for example Brann, *Power in the Portrayal*, 54-90; see also note 32.

In the *A 'māl al-a 'lām*, he first recounts Ibn 'Idhārī's version of the events. His own account contains the antagonistic relationship between Yūsuf and Buluqqin, followed by the latter's death. Yūsuf, however, throws suspicion onto others and his influence over Bādīs continues to grow. Ibn al-Khaṭīb recounts Yūsuf's plot with Ibn Ṣumādīḥ and the known ode by Abū Ishāq, who spoke out against the Jews. Ibn al-Khaṭīb then cites 43 of the 47 verses of the ode, after which he ends with the consequences: a mob of Berbers formed that killed the Jews.

Analysis of Ibn al-Khaṭīb's accounts and their sources

Ibn al-Khaṭīb's account in the *Iḥāṭa* is much shorter and less detailed than when he writes of the events in the *A 'māl al-a 'lām*. However, on some details, his account in the *Iḥāṭa* is more accurate than that of the *A 'māl al-a 'lām*, indicating that he received inaccurate information in the meantime that he chose to use in his second version of these historical events. The date of the massacre for example is Saturday the 10th of Safar 459 AH in the *Iḥāṭa*, which matches other sources like the *Tibyān* and the *Sefer ha-Qaballah*. In the *A 'māl al-a 'lām*, however, he chose to provide both 469 AH and 465 AH as possible years in which the massacre had taken place. These dates do not appear in any other source. This is made all the more strange by the fact that Ibn al-Khaṭīb cites Ibn 'Idhārī's account of the events before his own version in the *A 'māl al-a 'lām*. Here Ibn al-Khaṭīb uses the year 459 AH, like he did in his earlier work. On other occasions, Ibn al-Khaṭīb seems to have made use of unidentified sources. Some information in the *A 'māl al-a 'lām*, however, such as Yūsuf disguising his face with coal dust, is clearly taken from Ibn 'Idhārī's work though. Although the death of Buluqqīn ibn Bādīs returns here, it is unlikely that Ibn al-Khaṭīb used the *Tibyān*, where this scene appears as well, as a source. After all, other information in Ibn al-Khaṭīb's accounts does not match the *Tibyān*'s account. Ibn al-Khaṭīb only mentions one source in his account in the *Iḥāṭa*, a certain al-Sālimī. Al-Sālimī claimed that 4000 Jews died in the massacre, however, Ibn al-Khaṭīb does not clarify who this al-Sālimī is or if other information can also be attributed to this source. I was not able to identify al-Sālimī.

Ibn al-Khaṭīb's *Iḥāṭa* is the oldest source to present the ode as the cause of the massacre. The known copy of Abū Ishāq's *dīwān* was made approximately a century earlier in 1278 CE, but as far as we can tell, however, the *Iḥāṭa* is the oldest work by another author in which Abū Ishāq's ode against the Jews appears and where it is connected to and given as the main reason for the

massacre of 1066 CE. As such, we have to wonder where this ode and also its attributed significance suddenly comes from. Ibn al-Khaṭīb provides a clear correlation in his account between the ode and the massacre:

فكانت هذه القصيدة سبب استيصال شافتهم¹⁸³

This ode is the cause of their extermination.

It is possible that Ibn al-Khaṭīb knew of the ode, because he gained access to the manuscript of Abū Ishāq's *dīwān*, while Ibn 'Idhārī did not. This, however, does not explain where he gets his information on the relation between the ode and the massacre which he claims existed. Ibn al-Khaṭīb probably became aware of Ibn 'Idhārī's version of events after he wrote his *Iḥāṭa* and he might have tried to combine it along with his own knowledge and other sources he recently discovered, while disregarding sources he relied on earlier (such as the unknown al-Sālimī), to make the account in the *A'māl al-a'lām*.

Contrary to the *A'māl al-a'lām*, which only mentions Abū Ishāq in the context of the massacre, the *Iḥāṭa* makes note of him several times. He also appears when Ibn al-Khaṭīb discusses the people Abū Ishāq came into contact with, like his teacher Ibn Abī Zamanīn¹⁸⁴ or his pupil Ibn al-'Assal.¹⁸⁵ Ibn al-Khaṭīb also discusses his other works, such as his religious poems, which were well known among leaders of funeral processions, muezzins and preachers, who apparently knew many of them by heart.¹⁸⁶ He also gives an example of one of these poems, which is poem 19 in Abū Ishāq's *dīwān*.¹⁸⁷ This information, however, is not entirely new to us, as we know from earlier works, such as the *Takmila* of Ibn al-Abbār and the *Ṣilat al-Ṣila* of Ibn Zubayr, both 13th-century works, that his religious poetry was definitely being transmitted. Ibn al-Khaṭīb, however, makes Abū Ishāq out to be more famous than he appears in the other works. It is of course a possibility though that Abū Ishāq's prominence changed over time and that he and his work actually became more famous in the 14th century.

¹⁸³ Dozy, *Recherches*, 1:LXII. My translation.

¹⁸⁴ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāṭa*, 3:173.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 3:463.

¹⁸⁶ Dozy, *Recherches*, 1:LVI.

¹⁸⁷ Abū Ishāq, *Un Alfaquí Español*, poem 19.

It is, however, possible that Ibn al-Khaṭīb rewrote history here, giving this ode a significance it did not actually have in order to reassert the dominance of Muslims over non-Muslims in a time where this dominance was severely challenged.

It is highly unlikely that Ibn al-Khaṭīb himself did this, if we are to believe Ibn Marzūq's story, however. It is possible though that someone made up the story behind Abū Ishāq's ode at an earlier time, between the copying of the *dīwān* and Ibn Marzūq's time at the court of the Marīnid sultan Abū al-Ḥasan, where he claimed the ode was recited. To understand this better, let us now turn to Ibn Marzūq's account.

Ibn Marzūq

Shams al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Marzūq was born in Tlemcen in 1310 or 1311 CE to a family known to have produced several important political, religious and literary figures. Ibn Marzūq, however, is without a doubt the most well-known of the family. He lived a turbulent life, like his friend Ibn al-Khaṭīb. He travelled extensively with his father since the age of two (or seven depending on the source) and spent time in Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, Hebron, Alexandria and Cairo. He was made *kātib* by sultan Abū al-Ḥasan in Tlemcen in his late twenties. In his service he was sent on diplomatic missions, for example to retrieve the sultan's son who had been taken prisoner by the Christians of Castile.¹⁸⁸ After the sultan had been deposed, Ibn Marzūq was imprisoned in a *muṭbaq* or underground dungeon, but he was later allowed to go into exile in Granada. Here he became the *khaṭīb* or spokesperson of the al-Ḥamrā' mosque.¹⁸⁹ Perhaps this is also the place where he became teacher to notable figures such as Ibn Zamrak and Ibn al-Khaṭīb,¹⁹⁰ whom he met at the battle of Salado in 1340 CE.¹⁹¹ Ibn al-Khaṭīb refers to him as his master in the *Iḥāta*.¹⁹² He was called to Fez in 1353 CE after four years in exile by the new sultan, however, after a failed diplomatic mission, he was put in a *muṭbaq* again, to be released six months later because he almost died in prison. After the death of the sultan, he helped his friend Abū Sālim get to power. After the latter was murdered, Ibn Marzūq's enemies at court made sure he was imprisoned once more, this time for a period of two years. After his release he

¹⁸⁸ Hadj-Sadok, "Ibn Marzūq," *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ A. Peláez Rovira, "Ibn Marzūq, Abū ‘Abd Allāh," in *Biblioteca De Al-Andalus. Vol. 4: De Ibn Al-Labbāna a Ibn al-Ruyūlī*, ed. by Jorge Lirola Delgado (Almería: Fundación Ibn Tufayl De Estudios Árabes, 2006), 128.

¹⁹¹ Lirola Delgado et al., "Ibn al-Jaṭīb," *Biblioteca De Al-Andalus*, 3:649.

¹⁹² Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāta*, 3:45.

fled to Tunis, where he was made *khaṭīb*. Again he was removed from office, namely after the assassination of the sultan. He went to Cairo, where the sultan appointed him as *qāḍī*, *khaṭīb* and teacher at several mosques. It is here he lived out the rest of his life peacefully until he died in 1379 CE. Unfortunately, not many of his works remain today and they mostly exist as very rare manuscripts. His few known works, however, are held in high regard and cover a multitude of subjects, including history, law and poetry.¹⁹³

Analysis of Ibn Marzūq's account and its sources

He finished his *Musnad* in early 1371 CE and the oldest surviving copy was made in Tlemcen the same year, while Ibn Marzūq was living in Egypt.¹⁹⁴ The fast spreading of his works also indicates the high esteem that Ibn Marzūq's work was held in. It appears that he started writing the work when he fell out of grace in Tunis and when sultan Abū Fāris, son of Abū'l-Ḥasan and the same sultan that had just granted Ibn al-Khaṭīb asylum, had just conquered Tlemcen. It is therefore quite possibly written to appease Abū Fāris and perhaps make him extend his favour to Ibn Marzūq, as the work details the virtues of the sultan's father. It seems, however, that Ibn Marzūq changed his mind or that his hard work did not pay off, because he went to Egypt instead. This is where he finished the *Musnad*.

Unlike Ibn al-Khaṭīb, whose works are both historical in nature and contain biographies of important people in al-Andalus (*Iḥāta*) or descriptions of important events in Muslim Spain among several other areas (*A'māl al-a'lām*), Ibn al-Marzūq wrote his *Musnad* with a whole different purpose. We do not find a description of the massacre as an important event in the *Musnad*. It is merely used as an example of what can happen when *dhimmīs* are employed in the government as treasurers or secretaries, like many works written at this time in Cairo do.¹⁹⁵

Ibn Marzūq's account of the massacre starts by praising his former ruler, because he did not employ *dhimmīs*, something others in the Maghrib and al-Andalus had done in the past and some were still doing in the East. According to him, it is well-known what Abū Ishāq wrote and what happened because of it:

¹⁹³ Hadj-Sadok, "Ibn Marzūq," *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*.

¹⁹⁴ Peláez Rovira, "Ibn Marzūq", *Biblioteca De Al-Andalus*, 4:134.

¹⁹⁵ See for example M. Perlmann, "Notes on Anti-Christian Propaganda in the Mamlūk Empire," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 10.4 (1942): 843-861.

وقد اشتهر ما صدر عن الزاهد الامام ابي اسحاق ابراهيم بن مسعود الالبيري نفع الله به ، في التحريض على قتل يوسف بن اسماعيل بن يوسف اليهودي لعنه الله¹⁹⁶

Famous is what was made by the ascetic and Imam Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Mas‘ūd al-Ilbīrī, may God help him, in which is the incitement to kill Yūsuf ibn Ismā‘īl ibn Yūsuf the Jew, may God curse him.

After this he recounts the entire ode. Like Ibn al-Khaṭīb, he then distinctly relates the killing of the Jews by the Ṣanhāja with the ode.

ولما بلغت هذه الكلمة لسنهاجة ، ثاروا عليهم ، فقتلوه¹⁹⁷

When these words reached the Sanhāja, they rose up against them, and killed them.

Ibn Marzūq is remarkably specific about the number of deaths, 1000 men and 951 women, but also discusses al-Sālimī's account that 4000 Jews were killed. Ibn Marzūq, however, adds to al-Sālimī's account that Muslims who lived amongst Jews were killed as well, which Ibn al-Khaṭīb does not say. He then states that he mentions this ode specifically, because it was often recited to the sultan by the *faqīh* Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Muḥaymin, and Abū al-Ḥasan loved it very much and often asked for it to be repeated.¹⁹⁸

Unfortunately, Ibn Marzūq does not give us many details in his account, which makes it very difficult to discuss his sources. The only source mentioned, as in Ibn al-Khaṭīb's *Iḥāṭa*, is the unknown al-Sālimī. This indicates that Ibn Marzūq and Ibn al-Khaṭīb shared at least some of their sources. Most of the other information that he gives (calling Abū Ishāq an imam, the specific death toll he mentions, the killing of Muslims who lived with Jews) does not match any other known source. This makes it more likely that there were other accounts available at the time, perhaps also including Abū Ishāq's ode and/or mentioning the relation between the ode and the massacre.

¹⁹⁶ Ibn Marzūq, *Al-Musnad*, 378. My translation.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 381. My translation.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 378-381.

It is very unlikely that Ibn Marzūq made up this whole story just to be able to praise Abū al-Ḥasan, so this could mean that the ode and its consequences were actually known at this point in time. It is possible, however, that he made up the part about it being known and recited at the court of sultan Abū al-Ḥasan. Many anti-*dhimmī* texts had been written in the Mamlūk Sultanate of Egypt in the decades before his arrival¹⁹⁹. Although these texts mostly focused on the Christians, perhaps Ibn Marzūq felt motivated by the general anti-*dhimmī* atmosphere and added this element to his story when he was finishing his *Musnad* in Cairo.

Although both the *Iḥāṭa* and the *Musnad* were written around the same time, its authors were in very different places, so it is unlikely that they influenced each other while writing it. Ibn Marzūq being motivated by his stay in Cairo, does therefore not explain why Ibn al-Khaṭīb suddenly writes of Abū Ishāq and his ode.

Given Ibn al-Khaṭīb's former position, being the wazīr of Granada, the same position Yūsuf had held, it is likely that he was affected by this story and that he would write about it in his historical account. This, however, does not explain the appearance of Abū Ishāq.

Ibn al-Khaṭīb could have found a source of the ode we are not familiar with at some earlier point in time, when he was still able to share it with his friend Ibn Marzūq. It could also have been Ibn Marzūq who had been alerted to its existence and showed it to his student Ibn al-Khaṭīb. It is also possible that either of them made up the story and shared it with the other. Both down on their luck at the time of writing their last works, they could then have been motivated to write down this story in which the Muslims triumph. This is especially a possibility for Ibn Marzūq, who could easily have been influenced by Egyptian anti-*dhimmī* literature. It does not explain Ibn al-Khaṭīb's mention of Abū Ishāq's ode in his *Iḥāṭa* though, since this work was made at a time when Ibn al-Khaṭīb was wazir of Granada, making this theory unlikely.

We unfortunately have no way of knowing what exactly transpired. As mentioned before it even remains a possibility that neither of them made up the story surrounding the ode, but that it was

¹⁹⁹ Tamer el-Leithy, "Sufis, Copts, and the Politics of Piety: Moral Regulation in 14th-century Upper Egypt" in *The Development of Sufism in Mamlūk Egypt*, ed. Adam Sabra and Richard McGregor (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 2006), 76.

nevertheless an invention by someone else wanting to change history in the favour of the Muslims. Although this person is unknown, his story has survived and could have been circulating in the Maghrib, where both authors spent time before writing their works. This would also explain Ibn Marzūq's claim that the ode was famous. It could, however, not have been circulating for a long time, as Ibn ʿIdhāri, who lived in the Maghrib, and Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī, who travelled and lived there at times, do not mention it in their 13th-century/early 14th-century works.

Ibn Marzūq's version of the story does not seem to be known by many modern sources, but Ibn al-Khaṭīb's account remains the source that influences all subsequent medieval accounts and most modern discussions.

Conclusion:

The significance of Abū Ishāq's ode regarding the massacre of the Jews in Granada in 1066 CE is still unclear. We can assume that the ode was written by Abū Ishāq himself in the 11th century as a response to the power of Yūsuf ibn al-Naghrīlla, the Jewish *wazīr* of Granada. The possibility that the ode was added later, however, remains. This is because the only surviving manuscript containing the ode was produced over two centuries after the events. Another reason is that the ode is unlike any other poem attributed to Abū Ishāq. His students also do not seem to have transmitted this ode, but it is possible that the works in which they did have not survived.

The fact is that the story surrounding Abū Ishāq's ode does not appear in the sources until three centuries after the massacre. Other causes, however, were mentioned from the start, although their reliability is questionable, for example the mentioning of Yūsuf's arrogance. Jews with a lot of influence in high governmental positions were known to have been a problem in the eyes of Muslims throughout history. Even though poems can clearly affect the emotions and lead to violence, it seems more plausible at this stage that the problem got out of hand and that an angry community resorted to violence to solve it. In that case, the ode would have been nothing more than an igniter.

It is possible, however, that some of the early sources had motives for ignoring the ode and its significance, like 'Abd Allāh ibn Buluqqīn, who wished to justify his family's right to rule instead of his grandfather's decision to appoint Jewish *wazīrs*. There is too much of a pattern though, to explain away all these sources as biased and unwilling to discuss the ode. It is also possible that the early works simply did not have access to this information, which might have been the case for the Jewish accounts. Ibrāhīm ibn Dā'ūd for example blames his fellow Jew, an unlikely scenario if he had been aware of the ode.

Ibn al-Khaṭīb and Ibn Marzūq, however, possibly also had certain motives for including the ode in their works. As there may have been earlier sources that also mentioned the ode and its connection to the massacre, but that have not survived, we cannot be certain that the ode appeared in the sources in the 14th century. As there is much overlap in the sources, but also new material that appears in the later sources, such as the unknown al-Sālimī that both Ibn al-Khaṭīb

and Ibn Marzūq refer to, we can be certain that there was other information available on the massacre at this time.

Many earlier modern sources, such as Dozy, do not question the ode and its connection to the massacre. Questions are raised in more recent sources, but as the ode is usually not a focus point for the work that refers to it, the questions remain unanswered.

We can conclude that all sources, whether they include the ode or not, are likely to have been influenced by other factors and cannot be used to justify calling this story historical fact or denying it. Nothing can be ruled out conclusively though, as too many gaps in our knowledge cannot be filled in without additional source material, but the evidence at this time points to Abū Ishāq's ode playing a small role in the massacre at best.

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Appendix: Abu Ishaq's ode against the Jews

1	الاقل لصنهاجة اجمعين	بدور الزمان واسد العرين
2	لقد زل سيدكم زلة	تقر بها اعين الشامتين
3	تخير كاتبه كافرا	ولو شاء كان من المؤمنين
4	فعر اليهود به وانتخوا	وتاهوا، وكانوا من الارذلين
5	ونالوا مناهم وحازوا المدى	فحان الحلاك وما يشعرون
6	فكم مسلم فاضل قانت	لارذل قرد من المشركين
7	وما كان ذلك من سعيهم	ولكن منا يقوم المعين
8	فهلا اقتدى فيهم بالاولى	من القادة الخيرة المنقين
9	وانزلهم حيث يستاهلون	وردهم اسفل السافلين
10	فطافوا لدينا باخراجهم	عليهم صغار وذل وهون
11	وقموا المزابل عن خرقة	ملونة لدثار الدفين
12	ولم يستخفوا باعلامنا	ولم يستطيلوا على الصالحين
13	ولا جالسوهم وهم هجنة	ولا راكبوهم مع الاقربين
14	ا باديس، انت امروء حاذق	تصيب بظنك نفس اليقين
15	فكيف خفي عنك ما يعبثون	وفي الارض تضرب منها القرون
16	وكيف تحب فراخ الزنا	وقد بغضوك الى العالمين
17	وكيف يتم لك المرتقى	اذا كنت تبني وهم يهدمون
18	وكيف استنمت الى فاسق	وقارنته وهو بئس القرين
19	وقد انزل الله في وحيه	يحذر عن صحبة الفاسقين
20	فلا تتخذ منهم خادما	ونذرهم الى لعنة اللاعنين
21	فقد ضخت الارض من فسقهم	وكادت تميد بنا اجمعين
22	تامل بعينك اقطارها	تجدهم كلابا بها خاسئين
23	وكيف انفردت بتقريبهم	وهم في البلاد من المبعدين
24	على انك الملك المرتضى	سليل الملوك من الماجدين

كما انت من جلة السابقين	25	وان لك سبق بين الورى
فكنت اراهم بها عابئين	26	واني حلتت بغرناطة
فمنهم بكل مكان لعين	27	وقد قسموها واعمالها
وهم يخضمون وهم يقضمون	28	وهم يقبضون جبا ياتها
وانتم لاوضعها لابسون	29	وهم يلبسون رفيع الكسا
وكيف يكون امينا خوون	30	وهم امانكم على سرکم،
فيقص ويدنون اذ ياكلون	31	وياكل غيرهم درهما
فما يمنعون وما ينكرون	32	و قد ناهضوكم الى ربكم
فما تسمعون ولا تبصرون	33	وقد لابسوكم باسماهم
وانتم لاطريفهم اكلون	34	وهم يذبجون باسواقنا
واجرى اليها نمير العيون	35	ورخم قردهم داره
ونحن على بابہ قائمون	36	وصارت حوائجنا عنده
فانا الى ربنا راجعون	37	ويضحك منا ومن ديننا
كما لك كنت من الصادقين	38	ولو قلت في ماله انه
وضح به فهو كبش سمين	39	فبادر الى ذبحه قرية
فقد كنزوا كل علق ثمين	40	ولا ترفع الضغط عن رهطه
فانت احق بما يجمعون	41	وفرق عراهم وخذ مالهم
بل الغدر في تركهم يعبثون	42	ولا تحسبن قتلحم غدرة
فكيف تلام على الناكثين	43	فقد نكتوا عهدنا عندهم،
ونحن خمول وهم ظاهرون	44	وكيف تكون لهم ذمة
كانا اسانا وهم محسنون	45	ونحن الاذلة من بينهم
فانت رهين بما يفعلون	46	فلا ترض فينا بافعالهم
فحزب الاله هم المفلحون ²⁰⁰	47	وراقب الالهك في حزبه

²⁰⁰ James T. Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry: A Student Anthology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 206-213.