REINTERPRETING THE CONQUEST: 9TH-13TH CENTURY PORTRAYALS OF ANDALUSI HISTORY

A Dissertation
Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Cornell University
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

by
Kiley McIntosh Foster

December 2020

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Kiley McIntosh Foster, Ph. D.

Cornell University 2020

In 711 CE, a Muslim army led by Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād crossed the Strait of Gibraltar and conquered much of the Iberian Peninsula (known in Arabic as al-Andalus). Beginning in the 9th century, Muslim authors began to record stories about the conquest. As time went on, these stories were interpreted and re-interpreted by authors who used the conquest as a mirror for their contemporary concerns. In this dissertation, I take a diachronic approach to the conquest stories and examine how Muslim authors from the 9th-13th century wrote about the conquest. How did authors represent the conquest of al-Andalus, and in what ways did these representations change over time? How did these changes reflect the shifting importance of the Andalusi past? To answer these questions, I analyze four case studies: the landscape of the conquest (Jabal Ṭāriq and the Strait of Gibraltar), Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād's changing ethnicity, the story of the pre-Islamic king Ishbān, and conquest accounts' descriptions of Visigothic Christians.

I conclude that although changes in the conquest accounts occurred regularly, we can identify certain historical "turning points" during which the conquest was subjected to more intense focus by Muslim authors and historians. These periods include the 10th century, which saw the establishment of the Andalusi Umayyad caliphate, and the late 11th/early 12th century, during which the political integrity of the Islamic world was threatened by Christian advances in Iberia and the Levant. Above all, this dissertation demonstrates that the conquest remained

relevant to Muslim authors centuries after it had occurred. Rather than remaining a relic of the past, stories about the conquest were increasingly important as a way for authors to reflect on their contemporary concerns.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Kiley McIntosh Foster grew up in Morgan Hill, California. She attended the University of Oklahoma and graduated in 2015 summa cum laude and Phi Beta Kappa, with majors in Arabic and Economics and a minor in History. While at OU, she studied abroad in Oman and participated in the Arabic Flagship Program. As a graduate student in Cornell's Near Eastern Studies Department, Kiley was a Teaching Assistant for classes on premodern and modern Middle Eastern history. She also taught a First-Year Writing Seminar, "Conflict and Coexistence: Religion in the Medieval Mediterranean." In addition, she was a Graduate Teaching Assistant Fellow at Cornell's Center for Teaching Innovation, where she co-facilitated teaching workshops for other graduate students.

For my mom, Donna McIntosh

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Writing a dissertation is never an easy task; writing a dissertation during a global pandemic is even more challenging. It would not have been possible without the support and assistance of several people. First, I am profoundly grateful to my committee members for believing in me, especially Ross Brann, whose encouragement and support since my first day of graduate school made the entire thing possible. A big thank you also to my other committee members, Kim Haines-Eitzen and David Powers. Kim was the source of excellent conversations and always had some words of inspiration whenever the going was tough. David likewise was always willing to lend his aid, especially when it came to polishing (and then re-polishing!) my translations. I would also like to thank the rest of the faculty and staff at Cornell's Near Eastern Studies Department, who have helped make White Hall my second home for the last half a decade. A special thank-you to Lauren Monroe, who provided excellent advice and encouragement at a pivotal moment of my academic career. I would also like to thank the administrators of the Department of Near Eastern Studies: Chris Capalongo, Julie Graham, and Ayla Cline have all been incredible resources during my time at Cornell and have helped me in more ways than I can list. Without them, this project would not have been possible.

I am also deeply grateful for my friends and colleagues, who have encouraged me while providing invaluable feedback. I was fortunate to receive funding from the Cornell Society for the Humanities for a dissertation writing group ((Re)Considering Identities and Textualities in the Near/Middle East: From the Ancient to the Modern). The members of my writing group (Cale Staley, Kirsten Darby Smith, and Rama Alhabian) supported the development of my first chapter with exactly the right combination of reassurance and constructive feedback. They have

also been some of my closest friends throughout grad school. Cale has been on this grad school adventure with me since the beginning, and I could not have asked for a better cohort. Our many game nights and conversations throughout the years on everything from writing dissertations to growing houseplants have enriched me as a scholar, teacher, and as a person. Kirsten has welcomed me into her home on many occasions, been an excellent source of commiseration, and one of my biggest cheerleaders. Rama was always willing to provide advice and share ideas over coffee and dessert. I am also grateful to the other graduate students in Cornell's NES Department, in particular Matthew Westermayer, for his insightful comments on my work, his contagious enthusiasm, and for being a wonderful person to spend time with. Ibrahim Gemeah, whose desk was near mine in the grad student office, has also been a close friend and a joy to talk to. I would also like to express my gratitude to Patrick Naeve for his feedback on one of my chapters in particular, Randall Pippenger for his timely advice at the end of the dissertation process, and Virginia Cole and Ali Houissa for their research help throughout my graduate career. In addition, I am grateful to my coworkers at Qubit by Qubit (especially Rachel, Kiera, Gabbie, Heath, and Katie) for their encouragement during the final stretch of the process.

Finally, I would like to thank my family for their unconditional love and support. My parents, Del Foster and Donna McIntosh, always encouraged me to read and write as a child. I would not be where I am today without them. Although my mom never had the chance to see me go to grad school or to read this dissertation, her memory was with me every step of the process: it is dedicated to her. I am also endlessly grateful to my siblings (Moira, Kaden, Molly, Siena, Mateo, and Nick) for keeping me sane, and to Pamella for her encouragement. Last but not least, I would like to thank Skyler: for cooking dinner, for cracking jokes, and for always believing in me.

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INTRODUCTION

The Muslim conquest of Iberia was a topic of interest for Arabic authors writing about the history of the Iberian Peninsula, known as al-Andalus. According to most accounts of the conquest, the Muslims invaded Iberia around the year 711 CE. At the time, it was ruled by a Visigothic king named Roderic. According to the story, Roderic had raped the daughter of Julian, one of his nobles, who governed Ceuta. Julian reportedly invited the Muslims to invade in revenge. Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr, the Umayyad governor of North Africa, agreed to lend him assistance. He sent his client Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād to Iberia as the leader of an army composed of Arabs and Berbers. Ṭāriq landed at Gibraltar, defeated Roderic's army, and conquered the cities of Iberia one by one. He found numerous treasures in these cities, including a legendary object known as the Table of Solomon. Mūsā was jealous of Ṭāriq's success and discovery of the Table, and soon joined him in Iberia. Eventually, both Ṭāriq and Mūsā were recalled to the caliph at Damascus, where Mūsā attempted to claim credit for discovery of the Table of Solomon but was subsequently outsmarted by Ṭāriq. Al-Andalus was then ruled by a series of governors, who continued the conquest and strengthened Islamic rule on the Peninsula.

Although stories about the conquest follow a similar outline, they differ – often greatly – in the details. Our first Andalusi source for the conquest dates from 754, and was written in Latin. Our first Arabic source was written a century after that. Later Arabic accounts, especially those from the 12th and 13th centuries and beyond, are often elaborate and contain many stories and details related to the conquest and its key locations and figures. This is a notable departure

from our earliest accounts, which tend to be more succinct (although they adhere to the basic outline of events presented above). Clearly, material was added or changed between the 8th/9th and 13th centuries.

This discrepancy between earlier and later accounts provides an opportunity for us to study how histories of the conquest changed over the period in question. Texts reflect the social context of the time in which they were written, a concept that Gabrielle Spiegel terms the "social logic of the text."[1] The changes in accounts of the conquest mirror changing social and political environments and reflect how authors' interests and concerns shifted over the centuries. However, because Islamic histories were compilatory in nature, sources hint at the concerns of earlier centuries even as they advance their own interests. In the process, they sometimes erase or obscure previous representations of the past. Thus, we can view stories about the conquest of al-Andalus as palimpsests, documents underneath which remnants of previous texts are detectable. Framing these stories as palimpsests encourages us to think of history-writing as a process and introduces the possibility of identifying the chronological layers of the stories. For the purposes of this dissertation, identifying earlier elements of the stories is important because it allows us to pinpoint the moments at which depictions of the past changed. We are also reminded of the historical contingency of the texts at hand. As Bornstein notes, viewing texts as palimpsests "work[s] against conceptualizing the text as an ahistorical transcendent monument, or even as a transhistorical one, and instead promote[s] a view of it as historically situated both in its original creation and in its later constructions."[2] The model of the palimpsest has its limits, however; in

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[1] Gabrielle M Spiegel, *The Past as Text: The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), xviii.
[2] George Bornstein, "Introduction," *Palimpsest: Editorial Theory in the Humanities*, eds. George Bornstein and Ralph G. Williams (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993), 2.

the conquest accounts, for instance, earlier components of the story are rarely erased entirely, but are incorporated in new ways into later versions.

I use accounts of the conquest as a lens to investigate how and why 9th-13th century Muslim authors interpreted and re-interpreted the past. I ask: how did Andalusi authors represent the conquest of al-Andalus, and how did these representations reflect their understanding of al-Andalus and Andalusi history? How did accounts of the conquest change over time? Why? These questions do not seek to determine historical reality: I am interested less in the events of the conquest itself than in the dynamic ways in which they were represented and interpreted throughout the centuries. I therefore focus on why authors in certain periods portrayed the conquest in the ways that they did. What information was important to them? How did they frame stories of the conquest in ways that spoke to the social and political conditions of their lifetimes?

Modern scholars have attempted to uncover the historical kernel of truth behind the elaborate stories in the Arabic conquest accounts. Because of the literary nature of these stories, this approach often leads them to reject the possibility that the conquest accounts can be used to ask questions about what occurred during the conquest. Roger Collins, for instance, argues that the Arabic conquest accounts were invented. As a result, he attempts to write the history of the conquest of al-Andalus using mainly non-Arabic sources, particularly the *Chronicle of 754*.[3] Within the context of Islamic history as a whole, Collins's approach resembles that taken by Patricia Crone and Michael Cook in *Hagarism*, their seminal work on early Islamic history.[4] The

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[3] Roger Collins, *The Arab Conquest of Spain: 710-797* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 4, 27-28.

[4] Patricia Crone and Michael Cook, *Hagarism: The Making of the Islamic World* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

problem with this approach is that it limits the questions we can ask of the conquest accounts.

More recently, scholars have begun to move past the question of determining what actually happened to focus instead on using the sources to study the time period in which they were written, rather than the time period they purport to tell about. Scholars such as Nicola Clarke have successfully applied this approach to studies of the conquest. Clarke analyzes the topoi found in the conquest literature and examines their function in society. For instance, she argues that regardless of the historicity of the Table of Solomon (on which see chapter 3), an analysis of its historical and literary context reveals that the Table legitimated both the past and present of al-Andalus.[5] Likewise, Denise K. Filios examines the rhetorical function of the story of Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr's meeting with the caliph al-Walīd in Damascus. She compares the texts of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam and Ibn Ḥabīb and investigates literary elements such as plot, rhetoric, and perspective. She concludes that the two accounts reflect differences in communal identity between the communities that produced each account (Andalusi vs. Egyptian).[6]

While following in the footsteps of scholars such as Clarke and Filios, my approach differs because I emphasize a diachronic analysis of the conquest stories. This diachronic approach is still underutilized in Andalusi studies. Many scholars have collapsed information from sources written in different centuries into a single narrative. In doing so they ignore the ephemeral nature of certain salient details. As Ann Christys argues:

> Many of the problems of the historiography of al-Andalus have arisen through attempts to combine all the available sources without considering where and when they were written. Not surprisingly, the result is a mass of data which is contradictory and difficult to handle. In our present state of knowledge of the sources, it is too early to come to

[5] Nicola Clarke, *The Muslim Conquest of Iberia: Medieval Arabic Narratives* (London: Routledge, 2012), 96.
[6] Denise Keyes Filios, "A Good Story Well Told: Memory, Identity, and the Conquest of Iberia," *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 6, no. 2 (July 3, 2014): 127–47.

conclusions which hold true for the whole of the Islamic period in Hispania.[7] Christys's criticism is valid but remains undervalued as scholars attempt to collect as much information about the past as possible. There is therefore a tendency to rely mainly on later sources, which are much more elaborate in their descriptions of historical events.

Clarke's analysis of the story of Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād and Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr demonstrates the problem with the assumption that information found in later sources was also found in earlier works. She assumes that Ṭāriq is a Berber, which leads her to read the account of Ṭāriq outsmarting Mūsā as "a heroic tale of a wily Berber outwitting an Arab."[8] However, as we will see in chapter 2, Ṭāriq was not identified as a Berber until the 13th century. The story of Ṭāriq outsmarting Mūsā, on the other hand, circulated as early as the 10th century. Clarke's analysis of the story may be true for the 13th century, but what about previous iterations of the story, in which Ṭāriq is not yet represented as a Berber? Taking a diachronic approach to the sources reveals this inconsistency, which resulted from Clarke's assumption that Ṭāriq has always been portrayed as a Berber.[9] Ultimately, my diachronic analysis will allow me to pinpoint the moments at which key narrative elements were added to or omitted from the stories. This will enable me to identify "turning points" in the historiography of al-Andalus. By "turning points" I mean those pivotal moments in time during which understanding of the Andalusi past shifted significantly. Awareness of these turning points is important because it will enable scholars of al-Andalus to consider these fluctuations when studying Andalusi history.

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[7] Ann Christys, "The History of Ibn Ḥabīb and Ethnogenesis in Al-Andalus," in *The Construction of Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Richard Corradini, Maximilian Diesenberger, and Helmut Reimitz (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2003), 331.

[8] Clarke, *The Muslim Conquest of Iberia*, 64.

[9] As we will see in chapter 2, the assumption that Ṭāriq was a Berber is widespread in modern scholarship.

In addition to chronological change, this dissertation will engage with questions of identity, place-making, and alterity. I rely in part on approaches drawn from poststructuralism and postcolonial studies. Elizabeth Clark points out that postcolonial theory is particularly useful for premodern historians because of its focus on a "type of discourse theory ('critiques of the process of the production of knowledge about the Other')."[10] In Andalusi studies, Ross Brann and Esperanza Alfonso have applied discourse analysis to their investigations of Muslims and Jews.[11] Nadia Altschul has likewise proposed some additional applications of postcolonial approaches to study al-Andalus, especially the use of "transculturation" rather than "acculturation" to study Arabization.[12] Walter Ward has successfully applied a postcolonial approach in his study of the late antique Sinai, in which he argues that Christian monks created the image of the demonic Saracen in order to make the Sinai into Christian space by marginalizing and subjugating its nomadic populations.[13]

This dissertation is inspired in part by Ward's emphasis on the connection between alterity and place-making. Ward argues that the creation of Christian space in the Sinai was dependent upon the demonization of the "Saracens."[14] Likewise, when the Muslims conquered al-Andalus, they had to contend with the problem of how to write about the conquest in a way that demonstrated that the Muslim rulers were the rightful (and righteous) rulers of the Peninsula.

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[10] Elizabeth Clark, *History, Theory, Text: Historians and the Linguistic Turn* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 181.

[11] Ross Brann, *Power in the Portrayal: Representations of Jews and Muslims in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Islamic Spain* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2002). Esperanza Alfonso, *Islamic Culture through Jewish Eyes: Al-Andalus from the Tenth to Twelfth Century* (London; New York: Routledge, 2008).

[12] Nadia R. Altschul, "The Future of Postcolonial Approaches to Medieval Iberian Studies," *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 1, no. 1 (January 1, 2009): 5–17.

[13] Walter D Ward, *The Mirage of the Saracen: Christians and Nomads in the Sinai Peninsula in Late Antiquity* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2015).

[14] Ibid., 3-4.

One of the ways in which they accomplished this was by writing about the conquest in a manner that validated the invasion and invalidated the rule of their predecessors, the Visigoths. Although the priorities of Muslim authors shifted over time, they continued to emphasize the inevitability and righteousness of the conquest through their depiction of Iberia as an Islamic space and of the conquest as preordained. As time went on and the Islamic world faced increasing threats from Christian armies in al-Andalus and the Levant, authors asserted the preordained nature of Islamic rule in al-Andalus by vilifying Visigothic Christians as *mushrikūn* (lit. "associators"), presenting the conquest as *jihād*, and forging a deep connection between the geographic space of the Peninsula and the conquest.

Sources

In this dissertation, I rely on dozens of sources from across the Arabic-speaking Islamic world from the 9th-13th centuries (and occasionally beyond). I have also included a few sources in other languages, including Latin. Most of my sources were written by Muslim authors in al-Andalus or North Africa. The major exception to this is the *Chronicle of 754*, a Latin text written in al-Andalus by an anonymous Christian clergyman who likely had ties to the Islamic government and possibly had access to Arabic sources.[15] The author, for instance, provides Islamic *hijrī* dating in addition to the Christian calendar.[16] This source is important because it is our closest source chronologically to the conquest of al-Andalus, predating the next closest

[15] Kenneth Baxter Wolf provides an excellent and highly informative analysis of the *Chronicle of 754* in *Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1990), 23-37. He provides an English translation of the *Chronicle* in the same text, for which see pp. 91-128.
[16] Wolf also highlights some of the author's Arabic-sounding expressions as evidence of access to Arabic sources. Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers*, 24.

sources by about a century. This source provides us with access to the information about the conquest that circulated some forty-five years after the conquest had occurred. It therefore serves as a measure for some of the changes that occurred in the narrative in later centuries. The *Chronicle* also provides a window into the 8th century Christian literary/historical tradition of al-Andalus, which provides a useful counterpoint to our analyses of later texts by Muslim authors.

After the *Chronicle of 754*, our next two sources are the *Kitāb al-Taʾrīkh* of the Andalusi author Ibn Ḥabīb (d. 853) and the *Futūḥ Miṣr* of the Egyptian Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (d. 871). These are our earliest Arabic sources for the conquest. Ibn Ḥabīb's text is apocalyptic, which reflects his worldview and informs his account of the conquest.[17] In recounting the conquest, he was influenced in part by the traditions of Egyptian historical writing, which was highly influential and came to inform many Andalusi histories from the ninth century and beyond.[18] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam's text is representative of this Egyptian historiographical tradition.[19] More so than Ibn Ḥabīb, Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam's text resembles later accounts of the conquest: he is the first to record many of the legendary stories about the conquest (although the details of these stories shift over time).[20]

Towards the end of the ninth century and into the tenth, our sources become more numerous. During this period, several authors, primarily in the Islamic east, wrote comprehensive histories which included stories about the conquest of al-Andalus. These works

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[17] ʿAbd al-Malik Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb Al-Taʾrīkh*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ghanī Mistū (Beirut: al-Maktaba al-ʿAṣrīyah, 2008).

[18] M.A. Makki, "Egypt and the Origins of Arabic Spanish Historiography: A Contribution to the Study of the Earliest Sources for the History of Islamic Spain," in *The Formation of Al-Andalus*, Formation of the Classical Islamic World (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1998), 204-205.

[19] Ibid., 215-216.

[20] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *The History of the Conquest of Egypt, North Africa and Spain: Known as the Futūḥ Miṣr of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam*, ed. Charles Cutler Torrey (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1922), 204-211.

include the *Futūḥ al-Buldān* of al-Balādhurī (d. 892), the *Taʾrīkh* of al-Yaʿqūbī (d. 905), the *Taʾrīkh al-Rusūl wa al-Mulūk* of al-Ṭabarī (d. 923), and the *Murūj al-Dhahab* of al-Masʿūdī (d. 956). Although these texts cover history from most of the Islamic world including al-Andalus, they generally do not provide extensive information about the conquest of al-Andalus. Often, these 10th-century eastern texts are useful not for the information they contain, but for the information they leave out.

In addition to these tenth century eastern texts, we have one major extant source from the same century in al-Andalus, namely Ibn al-Qūṭiyya's (d. 977) *Taʾrīkh Iftitāḥ al-Andalus*.[21] Ibn al-Qūṭiyya claimed descent from the Visigoths (his name means "the son of the Gothic woman"). He was, however, an Umayyad loyalist and was greatly concerned with supporting the Umayyad caliphate in al-Andalus.[22] The main purpose of his history was to bolster Umayyad legitimacy.[23] His work has been studied extensively, especially by scholars interested in Christians in al-Andalus.[24] Ibn al-Qūṭiyya's account of the conquest is lengthier than those of his contemporaries in the Islamic east and is our most comprehensive 10th century account of the conquest.

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, we find more Andalusi and Maghribi sources on the conquest. Some of these are geographies in which information on the conquest is embedded in

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[21] Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, *Taʾrīkh Iftitāḥ al-Andalus*, ed. Ibrāhīm Al-Ibyārī (Cairo and Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-Maṣrī and Dār al-Kitāb al-Lubnānī, 1989), 34

[22] Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, *Early Islamic Spain: The History of Ibn al-Qūṭīya: A Study of the Unique Arabic Manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, with a Translation, Notes, and Comments*, trans. David James (London: Routledge, 2009), 23-24.

[23] Maribel Fierro, *ʿAbd Al-Rahman III: The First Cordoban Caliph* (Oxford, England: Oneworld, 2005), 119-120.

[24] For example, Ann Christys, *Christians in Al-Andalus: (711-1000)* (Richmond: Curzon, 2002), 158-183. Denise K. Filios, "Playing the Goth Card in Tenth-Century Córdoba: Ibn al-Qūṭīya's Family Traditions," *La Corónica: A Journal of Medieval Hispanic Languages, Literatures, and Cultures* 43, no. 2 (August 12, 2015): 57–84. Janina M. Safran, *The Second Umayyad Caliphate: The Articulation of Caliphal Legitimacy in al-Andalus* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000), 132-140.

descriptions of cities, such as al-ʿUdhrī's (d. 1085) *Tarṣīʿ al-Akhbār wa Tanwīʿ al-Ātār* and al-Bakrī's (d. 1094) *al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik*. Although these texts are useful sources for the conquest, their authors did not record the entire sequence of events. We also have al-Ḥumaydī's (d. 1095) *Jadhwat al-Muqtabis*, a biographical dictionary that is useful for our discussion of Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād in chapter 2. Finally, we have two anonymous Andalusi chronicles: the *Akhbār Majmūʿa* and *Fatḥ al-Andalus*. The *Akhbār Majmūʿa*'s date of composition is unknown and the subject of much debate. Most scholars conclude that it cannot be dated prior to the 11th century but likely contains fragments from earlier texts.[25] In the absence of new evidence, we will assume here an 11th century date of final composition, with sections dating earlier. Although the composition date of *Fatḥ al-Andalus* is also unclear, Molina dates the text to around 1102 (but no later than 1110). He reaches this conclusion based on the text's reference to Yūsuf ibn Tāshfīn (d. 1106) as the current emir and its mention of the Almoravid conquest of Valencia (1102), as well as its lack of mention of the Almoravid conquest of Saragossa (1110).[26] Both of these anonymous texts provide rich accounts of the conquest.

Unlike the earliest sources, those from the twelfth century and beyond provide extensive information about the conquest. In the 12th-13th centuries, we can rely on eastern sources such as Ibn ʿAsākir's (d. 1176) *Taʾrīkh Madīnat Dimashq*, Ibn al-Athīr's (d. 1233) *al-Kāmil fī al-Taʾrīkh*, and Ibn Khallikān's (d. 1282) *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān wa Anbāʾ Abnāʾ al-Zamān*. These

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[25] Eduardo Manzano-Moreno, "Oriental 'Topoi' in Andalusian Historical Sources," *Arabica* 39, no. 1 (1992), 43-44. For a summary of the dating debate, see For a discussion and summary of the debate, see David James's introduction to *A History of Early Al-Andalus: The Akhbār Majmūʿa: A Study of the Unique Arabic Manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, with a Translation, Notes and Comments* (Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon; New York: Routledge, 2012), 20-42. For the Arabic text, see Emilio Lafuente y Alcántara, ed., *Akhbār Majmūʿa* (Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra, 1867).

[26] Luis Molina (ed.), "Presentación" in *Fatḥ al-Andalus* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científ., Agencia Española de Cooperación Internac., 1994), XXXI-XXXIII.

authors lived during the Crusades, which dominated the political environment of the Levant from the end of the 11th century. For instance, Ibn ʿAsākir's patron, the Syrian ruler Nūr al-Dīn (d. 1174), led the offensive against the Franks. Nūr al-Dīn commissioned Ibn ʿAsākir to write both his history of Damascus and another text in support of Nūr al-Dīn's policy of *jihād*.[27] As will be seen, this interest in *jihād* was highly influential to Ibn ʿAsākir's portrayal of the conquest of al-Andalus. Similarly, Ibn al-Athīr's representation of the past was shaped by his experience fighting against the Crusaders with Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (d. 1193).[28] At some point, Ibn al-Athīr likely met the younger scholar, Ibn Khallikān, who later became the chief *qādī* (judge) of Syria under the Mamluk sultan Baybars (d. 1277).[29] The military, social, and theological context of the Crusades were also highly important to his understanding of the Andalusi past.

We also have many western sources on the conquest from the 12th century and beyond. These include Ibn al-Kardabūs's (d. 13th century) *Kitāb al-Iktifāʾ fī Akhbār al-Khulafāʾ*, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī's (d. mid-13th century) *Kitāb al-Muʿjib fī Talkhīṣ Akhbār al-Maghrib*, and Ibn al-Shabbāṭ's (d. 1282) *Kitāb Ṣilat al-Samṭ wa Simat al-Marṭ*. We know very little about Ibn al-Kardabūs, except that he lived in the latter part of the 13th century and studied for a while in Egypt.[30] Both he and Ibn al-Shabbāṭ were from the Tunisian city of Tozeur.[31] Ibn al-Shabbāṭ also moved from Tunisia to Cairo.[32] Both are important sources for the conquest; in fact, their works are bound together. Like Ibn al-Kardabūs, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī's exact date of death is

[27] N. Elisséeff, "Ibn ʿAsākir", in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., ed. P. J. Bearman et al. (Leiden: Brill, 1954-2009).
[28] F. Rosenthal, "Ibn al-Athīr", in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed.
[29] J.W. Fück, "Ibn Khallikān", in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed.
[30] Aḥmad Mujtār Al-ʿAbbādī (ed.), "Muqaddima," in ʿAbd al-Malik Ibn al-Kardabūs, *Taʾrīkh al-Andalus li-Ibn al-Kardabūs wa Waṣfuhu li-Ibn al-Shabbāṭ*, (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Islámicos, 1971), 7-9.
[31] Ibid., 7.
[32] Ibid., 15.

known. He was originally from Marrakesh, but also spent time in Fez, al-Andalus, and Egypt, where he likely completed his *Kitāb al-Muʿjib* in 1224.[33] This text is important as a source for Almohad history; it provides insight into how perceptions of the conquest shifted during the Almohad period.

In this dissertation, I focus on the 9th-13th centuries. I end my analysis in the 13th century because it includes the end of Almohad rule in al-Andalus and the subsequent loss of almost the entire Peninsula to the Christians: by the middle of the 13th century, Granada was the only independent Islamic polity left in Iberia. Although I am primarily interested in the period up to the 13th century, post 13th-century sources can provide insight into whether changes that occurred in previous texts were long-lasting. For this reason, I include Ibn ʿIdhārī's *al-Bayān al-Mughrib* (c. 1312) in my analysis of 13th century texts, although it was written in the beginning of the 14th century. Later texts are also important because they preserve information from earlier texts that have since been lost. This is the case for the work of al-Maqqarī (d. 1632), whose *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb* preserves quotations from lost segments of Ibn Ḥayyān's (d. 1076) *al-Muqtabis*.

Overview

In each chapter of this dissertation, I choose one aspect of the conquest accounts and trace its development up to the 13th century. In chapter one, I examine how the conquest accounts treated the Iberian landscape, namely Jabal Ṭāriq (the Rock of Gibraltar) and the Strait

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[33] Bárbara Boloix-Gallardo, "ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī", in *Christian-Muslim Relations 600 - 1500*, ed. David Thomas. Accessed 13 April 2020 http://dx.doi.org.proxy.library.cornell.edu/10.1163/1877-8054_cmri_COM_24718. Bárbara Boloix-Gallardo, "Kitāb al-muʿjib fī talkhīs akhbār al-Maghrib", in *Christian-Muslim Relations 600 - 1500*, ed. David Thomas. Accessed 13 April 2020 http://dx.doi.org.proxy.library.cornell.edu/10.1163/1877-8054_cmri_COM_24719

of Gibraltar. These features were inscribed and re-inscribed with meaning by Andalusi authors. Within the context of the conquest, the Strait was a liminal ("in-between") space that was neither in the Islamic world nor outside it. This made it particularly important as a location where extraordinary events could occur. For this reason, beginning in the 10th century, the Strait was depicted as the setting for Ṭāriq's dreams of the Prophet. These dream stories reinforced the legitimacy of the initial Umayyad conquest of al-Andalus while upholding the 10th century rule of the caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III. Jabal Ṭāriq, by contrast, was consistently depicted as a symbol of conquest and victory. Because it was where the Muslims reportedly landed on the eve of the conquest, it was represented as the first Islamic place in al-Andalus and became a symbol of the conquest's success. In the 12th century, the symbolic nature of the mountain was highlighted by the attempt to change its name to "Jabal al-Fatḥ" ("Conquest Mountain").

In chapter two, I examine the figure of Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād, the Muslim commander who led the initial invasion of al-Andalus. Contemporary scholars often assume that Ṭāriq was a Berber, following many later sources. However, my diachronic approach reveals that Ṭāriq was not identified as a Berber until the late 13th/early 14th century: our earliest Arabic source (9th century) identifies him as a non-Arab client, a *mawlā*. Beginning in the 11th century, his ethnicity became a subject of debate, and by 1282 CE, we find that authors have begun to identify Ṭāriq as a Berber. This occurred because of the rise of a "Berber" ethnicity (juxtaposed with "Arab" or "Persian" ethnicity) during the 13th century. I argue that the identification of Ṭāriq as a Berber in the 13th century accounts of the conquest reflected a vision of the past in which "Berbers" were important historical actors – even though the ethnic category of "Berber" did not exist until centuries later. As a *mawlā*, Ṭāriq's ambiguous background made him a mirror for the concerns of different groups over time.

In chapter three, I examine the story of a pre-Islamic Iberian king, Ishbān. Although not directly part of the story of the conquest of al-Andalus, Ishbān is nevertheless deeply connected to it because of his acquisition of the Table of Solomon (said to have belonged to King Solomon), which is later found by Ṭāriq during the conquest. As such, some Muslim historians tell the story of Ishbān in tandem with other stories about the conquest. I argue that the story was received from the Latin tradition into the Islamic tradition, where it was domesticated into a story that claimed the distant Iberian past for Islam. Prior to the 10th century, Arabic sources mentioned a figure named Ishbān but did not elaborate on his background. In the 10th century, however, the story of Ishbān was transformed and lengthened within the Islamic tradition by the addition of several other motifs. This transformation coincided with the 10th century development of an Andalusi sense of regional belonging or groupness. The development of this "identity" was predicated on the translation of the foreign Iberian past into something that was understandable within the Islamic tradition. In this case, the story of Ishbān was transformed into an Islamic story through the Islamic figure al-Khiḍr, who appears in the story to inform Ishbān that he has a great destiny. Although this major shift occurred in the 10th century, we also observe minor changes in the 11th and 12th centuries, notably the contextualization of the Ishbān story within Roman history.

The conclusions I reach in chapter four support my finding in chapter one, namely that in the 12th century the significance of the Strait of Gibraltar and Jabal Ṭāriq shifted to emphasize the importance of *jihād* and the conquest of al-Andalus. In chapter four, I examine the portrayal of Visigothic Christians in the conquest account and find that in the 11th century, authors began to depict Christians more negatively through their use of polemical descriptors such as "*mushrikūn*." Around the same time, Muslim authors increasingly began to describe the conquest

of al-Andalus as "*jihād*." These shifts occurred due to the importance of the Crusades and the "*Reconquista*" within the Islamic political and literary sphere: authors began to project their political and ideological concerns backwards onto the conquest.

Based on these case studies, I conclude that there were two major shifts in histories of the conquest of al-Andalus during the 9th-13th centuries. The first shift occurred in the 10th century with the rise of the Andalusi caliphate. At this time, interest in the conquest increased as authors sought to bolster the authority of the caliphate. The second shift occurred in the 12th century with the loss of territory in al-Andalus and the rise of the Berber dynasties in North Africa. This likewise led to renewed interest in the conquest as authors sought to reinforce the conviction that Islamic rule in al-Andalus was preordained, and to identify key historical actors who reflected their own concerns regarding group solidarity. Like Ṭāriq, who, as a *mawlā*, was a malleable figure who could be used to represent the interests of different ethnic groups, depictions of the conquest echoed contemporary concerns.

CHAPTER 1: LOCATING THE CONQUEST: IBERIAN LANDSCAPE AND THE CREATION OF AL-ANDALUS

Recent studies have shown that we can read both place and landscape as a text, "a social and cultural document which can be read in order to reveal the many layers of meaning and processes written into it and the ways in which these change through time."[1] Landscape and place, like texts, change over time and may be subjected to a wide variety of interpretations and uses. Ashcroft et al. note that place is "a palimpsest, a kind of parchment on which successive generations have inscribed and reinscribed the process of history."[2] In the process of creating a place – by naming, mapping, inhabiting – history is written and space given meaning.[3] The Muslim conquest of Iberia created another layer in the continual process of Iberian history and place-making, as Arabic names were given to local topographic features, and the conquerors built cities and used various strategies to occupy and control the land. These changes were part of the process of place-making that led to the creation of a land called al-Andalus. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the discourse that transformed Andalusi geography and landscape and resulted in the creation of Islamic al-Andalus out of Visigothic Iberia. I also ask how the portrayal of the landscape of the conquest changed over time.

Because the conquest was a pivotal moment in Andalusi history, it was continually

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[1] Yvonne Whelan, "Mapping Meanings in the Cultural Landscape," in *Senses of Place: Senses of Time*, ed. G. J. Ashworth and Brian Graham (Florence, U.K.: Routledge, 2005), 62.
[2] Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, eds., *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2006), 392.
[3] See Paul Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay: An Exploration of Landscape and History* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), xxiv.

interpreted and re-interpreted by historians and geographers. Stories about the conquest emphasize the importance of the Iberian landscape to the construction of al-Andalus as a place. Authors' portrayals of Iberian history and landscape changed frequently as historical accounts were received and rewritten, associating the landscape with different meanings over time. My focus is on the interpretation and reinterpretation of the past, and this chapter is a case study of how this phenomenon develops in the transformation of landscape. Therefore, I do not present here a comprehensive study of Andalusi landscape and geography. While I examine toponyms associated with the conquest, for instance, I do not examine every toponym found in Andalusi texts.

In this chapter, I approach the Andalusi landscape diachronically by selecting two elements of the landscape related to the conquest and examining how their meanings changed over time (see Appendix A). Specifically, I focus on the landscape of the Strait of Gibraltar. First, I examine the liminal space of the Strait, which the Muslim army had to cross over to begin the conquest of Iberia. I use "liminal" as the anthropologist Victor Turner does; he explains that "liminal entities are neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial."[4] After analyzing the Strait as a liminal space, I investigate portrayals of Jabal Ṭāriq (the Rock of Gibraltar), which is renowned as the landing place of the Muslim army. I conclude that Muslim authors' depictions of these two features shifted according to the changing social and political situation on the Iberian Peninsula. Because of its role as a doorway or passageway between al-Andalus and North Africa, the Strait was a liminal space where extraordinary things could and did occur, including dreams of the

[4] Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1969), 95.

Prophet Muḥammad. As a symbol of the preordained success of the conquest, Jabal Ṭāriq became more important in the 12th century as al-Andalus faced increasing threats from the Christian kingdoms. Since Jabal Ṭāriq ultimately became a symbol of the conquest's inevitability, its depiction as the successful landing place of the Muslim army was a triumphant resolution to the portrayal of the Strait's liminality. As new meanings and significances were superimposed upon old understandings of these toponyms, they created a landscape that was deeply indebted to the distant past even as it responded to the immediate concerns of the present.

Historiography

In *Mirage of the Saracen: Christians and Nomads in the Sinai Peninsula in Late Antiquity*, Walter Ward uses postcolonial theory to examine how Christians in late antiquity reconstituted the Sinai Peninsula as a Christian space, in the process constructing a demonized "Other" out of the nomadic Saracens.[5] Ward's approach sheds light on the importance in the premodern period of toponyms and their associated stories for giving a place new meaning.[6] However, there have been few similar studies of the Andalusi landscape and its role in the conquest accounts. In one of those studies, Janina Safran examines the Andalusi landscape depicted in two conquest chronicles, Ibn Ḥabīb's (d. 853) *Kitāb al-taʾrīkh* and the anonymous 11th century *Akhbār Majmūʿa*. She concludes that Ibn Ḥabīb's text represents the Iberian landscape of the conquest as a place of darkness and uncertainty, influenced by the contemporary

[5] Ward, *The Mirage of the Saracen*, 4-6.

[6] For instance, Ward notes that "In the Sinai, the Old Testament connections served to sacralize Sinai space as proof of ownership against a different opponent – the nomads, whose land the Sinai monks and pilgrims had intruded on… Through renaming and associating Sinai sites with Christian events, the Christians erased indigenous understandings of the land. In this way, the Sinai monks and pilgrims acted like other colonizers in the world…" Ward, *The Mirage of the Saracen*, 70.

political turmoil. A century later, the *Akhbār Majmūʿa* paints a picture of al-Andalus that emphasizes its Islamic nature, which Safran argues reflects the stability and strength of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III's 10th-century claims to power and the caliphate.[7] Elsewhere, Safran expands her story with the addition of a third text, the *Taʾrīkh iftitāḥ al-Andalus* of Ibn al-Qūṭiyya (d. 977). She argues that

> [These texts] describe the conquest routes Tariq and Musa [sic] took as a kind of encirclement of the peninsula. Each conqueror marked his progress through the capture and garrisoning of cities, his passage commemorated by the naming of natural landmarks. Thus al-Andalus itself, as described by the text, was defined and inscribed with a new history and rendered culturally significant to its Muslim inhabitants.[8]

Safran's arguments are convincing, but her analysis focuses mainly on the Umayyad period. Additionally, she focuses only on three texts and her conclusions therefore cannot be used to make a comprehensive argument about trends in Andalusi historiography. Finally, Safran adopts a macroscopic approach that ignores details about the specific geographic features mentioned in these accounts.

Thomas Glick and D. Fairchild Ruggles have also studied the Andalusi landscape. Glick examines the changing physical and ideological landscape of al-Andalus and argues that Arab historians incorporated various elements of the pre-Islamic past but without any real attempt to understand them. As an example, he points to the creation of stories to explain the Arabization of Latin toponyms.[9] Although Glick provides a generally thorough and insightful study of landscape transformation from the late antique to the early Islamic periods, his focus on finding

[7] Janina Safran, "From Alien Terrain to the Abode of Islam: Landscapes in the Conquest of al-Andalus," in *Inventing Medieval Landscapes: Senses of Place in Western Europe*, ed. John Howe and Michael Wolfe (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002), 136–49.
[8] Safran, *The Second Umayyad Caliphate,* 150.
[9] Thomas Glick, *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle: Social and Cultural Change in Medieval Spain* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1995), 49-50.

the origins of Arabic toponyms in earlier Iberian history ignores the different meanings the Iberian landscape held for Andalusis themselves.

In her study of palace gardens, Ruggles considers the physicality of the Andalusi landscape. She argues that "three of the most important dimensions of the social meaning of the constructed landscape and gardens are claiming, legitimizing, and inhabiting."[10] She also notes that the claiming of a landscape must accompany the conquest of a land. In the case of al-Andalus, Arab writers legitimized ownership of al-Andalus by demonstrating the prosperity of al-Andalus under Islam.[11] Like Ruggles, I focus on the social meaning of the landscape. I am less interested than Glick in where toponyms and other features of the landscape come from, and more interested in the changing meanings they held for the people who lived there.

Liminal spaces: the Strait of Gibraltar and the conquest of al-Andalus

According to 9th-13th century accounts, the story of the conquest begins in North Africa. The anonymous *Akhbār Majmūʿa* (c. 1100) presents a typical version. It introduces the conquest with the story of King Roderic of Iberia's rape of the daughter of Julian of Ceuta. This assault incentivizes Julian to invite Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr, the Umayyad governor of Ifrīqiya, to invade Iberia. Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād, a *mawlā* (client, pl. *mawālī*) of either Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr or the Berber tribe Ṣadif,[12] leads the invading army, which is composed mainly of Berbers and *mawālī*. Ṭāriq crosses the Strait of Gibraltar and lands on a mountain which, according to many other accounts, is named after him.[13] He successfully defeats Roderic's army at a fierce battle. The text then

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[10] D. Fairchild Ruggles, *Gardens, Landscape, and Vision in the Palaces of Islamic Spain.* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1985), 9.
[11] Ibid.
[12] *Akhbār Majmūʿa,* 6. Trans. David James, *A History of Early Al-Andalus,* 49-50.
[13] Those other accounts of the naming of Jabal Ṭāriq include, among others: Abū al-ʿAbbās

describes Ṭāriq's conquest of the Peninsula city-by-city. During these conquests, Ṭāriq finds a table said to have belonged to the biblical/qur'anic figure king Solomon (see chapter 3). He removes one of the legs of the table. Eventually, Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr becomes jealous of Ṭāriq's success and crosses into al-Andalus to join him. Both are later recalled to Damascus, where the caliph questions them about the conquest. Mūsā attempts to claim Ṭāriq's success as his own, but when he shows the caliph the Table of Solomon, he says that when he found the Table it was missing one of its legs. Ṭāriq produces the missing leg, proving that Mūsā lied to the caliph. Mūsā is imprisoned and fined heavily.[14]

This version of the conquest story introduces two important features of the landscape: the Strait of Gibraltar and Jabal Ṭāriq. Leaving discussion of Jabal Ṭāriq (the Rock of Gibraltar) for the next section, I will focus first on the Strait, which is known in Arabic as *al-majāz* ("crossing" or "passage") or *al-zuqāq* ("strait").[15] I ask: how did Andalusi Arabic authors between the 9th and 13th centuries represent the Strait's role in the conquest? How did this representation reflect their understanding of al-Andalus and Andalusi history? And in what ways did this portrayal shift over the centuries? I conclude that the Strait was a liminal space that was neither al-Andalus nor North Africa; neither part of the Islamic world nor outside it. Because of its liminal position, the Strait also came to be depicted as the location of prophetic dreams that reiterated the importance of God's role in the conquest at a time when the future of al-Andalus began to be in doubt.

Some modern scholars have argued that the Mediterranean served as an agent of

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Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Ibn ʿIdhārī al-Marrākushī, *Al-Bayān al-Mughrib fī Ikhtiṣār Akhbār Mulūk al-Andalus wa al-Maghrib*, 4 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1983), 2:6. *Fatḥ al-Andalus*, 16. Ibn al-Shabbāṭ, "Kitāb Ṣilat al-Samṭ wa Simat al-Marṭ," in *Taʾrīkh al-Andalus li-Ibn al-Kardabūs wa Waṣfuhu li-Ibn al-Shabbāṭ*, 134.

[14] *Akhbār Majmūʿa*, 4-30. Trans. David James, *A History of Early Al-Andalus*, 48-62.

[15] Arabic sources do not refer to the Strait as the "Strait of Gibraltar."

connectivity in the region.[16] For authors both before and after the rise of Islam, however, the sea was both a barrier and a roadway. Prior to the arrival of the Arabs, the Strait was known in Latin as the Gaditanian Strait. Isidore of Seville (d. 624 CE) explains that "The Gaditanian straits (i.e. the Straits of Gibraltar) are named from *Gades* (i.e. Cadiz), where the entrance of the Great Sea (i.e. the Mediterranean) first opens from the Ocean. Hence, when Hercules came to *Gades* he placed pillars there, believing that the end of the lands of the world was at that place."[17] The "pillars" refer to what were known in late antiquity as the two Pillars of Hercules, usually identified as the Rock of Gibraltar and a mountain in North Africa (on which see below). According to Isidore, the Rock (known as Calpe) separated Europe and Africa.[18] In between the Pillars, the Strait was a passageway between two great seas, the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. According to the Iberian Roman scholar Orosius (d. c. 420), however, the Strait was also the border between the continents of Europe and Africa, separating rather than connecting.[19] Similarly, our earliest Andalusi source for the conquest, the anonymous Latin *Chronicle of 754* written by an Iberian Christian clergyman, depicts the Strait as a passageway to al-Andalus. According to the text, Mūsā "[approached] this wretched land across the straits of Cadiz."[20] Here, the Strait is a passageway to al-Andalus through which the Muslims can invade.

As in the Latin tradition, the Strait was depicted in the Islamic tradition as a link between al-Andalus and North Africa. Authors throughout the centuries consistently emphasized the

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[16] Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 2000).
[17] Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, trans. Stephen A Barney (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 277. Parentheticals are the translator's.
[18] Ibid., 298.
[19] Orosius, *Seven Books of History against the Pagans*, trans. A.T. Fear (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2010), 37.
[20] "Chronicle of 754," in *Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain*, ed. and trans. Kenneth Baxter Wolf (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1990), 132.

connective role of the water, evident in the two names ascribed to the Strait in the conquest accounts: *al-majāz* ("crossing" or "passage") and *al-zuqāq* ("strait"). Some early Arabic authors, such as Ibn Ḥabīb (d. 853), allude to the Strait without naming it, as in his description of how Ṭāriq crossed to al-Andalus.[21] Contemporary authors, such as the Egyptian Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (d. 871), use *al-majāz* to refer to the Strait. He notes that "there was a ruler of *al-majāz* (which is between him and the people of al-Andalus) who was a non-Arab named Julian."[22] By the end of the 11th century, however, the Strait came to be known primarily as *al-zuqāq*: al-Ḥumaydī (d. 1095) states that "between the furthest parts of al-Maghrib and al-Andalus is a bay [*khalīj*] of the sea known as *al-zuqāq* and *al-majāz*."[23] Two centuries later, the eastern geographer al-Ḥamawī (d. 1229) includes an entry on *al-zuqāq* in his geographic encyclopedia *Muʿjam al-Buldān*. He defines it as "the crossing of the sea (*majāz al-baḥr*) between Tangiers… and Algeciras, which is on the peninsula of al-Andalus."[24] The name "*al-zuqāq*" may have been introduced around the time of the conquest, but it is more likely that it was a later development that was popularized after the Andalusi literary and geographic tradition began to flourish in the 10th and 11th centuries.[25] Although al-Ḥamawī defines *al-zuqāq* as "*majāz al-baḥr*," "*zuqāq*" can also mean a

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[21] Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-Taʾrīkh*, 143-144.
[22] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 205.
[23] al-Ḥumaydī, *Jadhwat al-Muqtabis fī Taʾrīkh ʿUlamāʾ al-Andalus*, ed. Muḥammad Bashshār ʿAwwād and Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf (Tunis: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2008), 23. A partial list of other sources that refer to the Strait as *al-zuqāq*: ʿAlī Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Madīnat Dimashq*, ed. ʿUmar ibn Gharāmah Al-ʿAmrawī, 80 vols. (Beirut and Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1995), 24:419. ʿAbd al-Malik Ibn Ṣāḥib al-Ṣalāt, *Al-Mann bi-l-Imāma*, ed. ʿAbd al-Hādī Al-Tāzī (Beirut: Dār Garb al-Islāmī, 1987), 90, 181. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī, *Kitāb al-Muʿjib fī Talkhīṣ Akhbār al-Maghrib*, ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Al-Hiwārī (Beirut: al-Maktaba al-ʿAṣrīya, 2006), 16. Ibn al-Shabbāṭ, "Kitāb Ṣilat al-Samṭ wa Simat al-Marṭ," 130. Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, 1:6.
[24] Yāqūt ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, 5 vols. (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1988), 3:144.
[25] Daniel König, *Arabic-Islamic Views of the Latin West: Tracing the Emergence of Medieval Europe*, First edition. (Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2015), 160-168.

roadway or a street.[26] Functionally, *al-majāz* and *al-zuqāq* have similar meanings, both indicating some sort of crossing or passageway/street. Both terms maintain the late antique depiction of the Strait as a connector bridging or allowing passage between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic.

However, in the Islamic tradition, as in the Latin tradition, the Strait was also a barrier separating al-Andalus from North Africa. The depiction of Strait-as-barrier is evident in descriptions of the conquest, where the sea is described as a physical obstacle to conquest. Ibn Ḥabīb notes:

> Mūsā, who was among the most knowledgeable of people with regards to astrology, wrote to Ṭāriq: 'Indeed you will reach a rock on the shore of the ocean: load your ships [and head] towards it. Ask who among your men knows the names of the months in Syriac, and when it is the eleventh day of Iyyār (which in the calendar of the foreigners is [the month of] May), cross with the blessing of God and his aid, and continue with his support and assistance until a red mountain… greets you.[27]

In Ibn Ḥabīb's representation, the Strait is a hurdle to be surmounted with God's aid, as we see in the command to cross with the "blessing of God" and his "support and assistance." This command alludes to the danger of the Strait, which poses an obstacle to the crossing.

The momentous nature of crossing the Strait is also reflected by Mūsā's command to Ṭāriq to cross on the eleventh of Iyyār. Within Islamic tradition, there is a long history of events occurring on particularly significant days, months, or years; this association adds weight to the event in question and reaffirms that it happened according to God's will.[28] For instance, the *sīra* (biography) of the Prophet Muḥammad records his birth as having occurred in the Year of the

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[26] See entry "*zuqāq"* in William Edward Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1893), 1:1238.
[27] Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-Taʾrīkh*, 143.
[28] Events occurring on significant days is one of the hallmarks of what Wansbrough refers to as *Heilsgeschichte*, salvation history. See John E Wansbrough, *The Sectarian Milieu: Content and Composition of Islamic Salvation History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978).

Elephant. This year is considered to be significant because of the expedition into Arabia by the Abyssinian king Abraha, which it places in the year 570 CE. Lawrence Conrad has identified the choice of this year as a narrative device meant to establish that Muḥammad was 40 (this number is a *topos* in Near Eastern literature) when he received his first revelation. His birth in such a potent year had the added advantage of demonstrating God's favor.[29]

Although the significance of 11 Iyyār within the context of Ibn Ḥabīb's passage is unclear, one possibility is that it might reference Constantine the Great's renaming of Byzantium as Constantinople, which occurred on 11 May in the year 330 CE.[30] Although Ibn Ḥabīb is not particularly invested in Byzantine history, he *is* very interested in the city of Constantinople. His text is highly apocalyptic, and he reports that one of its signs will be the Muslims' successful conquest of Constantinople.[31] Ibn Ḥabīb's reference to the 11th of Iyyār as the beginning of the conquest connects the histories of Constantinople and al-Andalus, both of which he later associates as sites for the events of the eschaton. This connection also highlights the auspicious nature of Ṭāriq's crossing of the Strait. Additionally, Jews and Christians are often represented as possessors of esoteric knowledge that they use to predict events or the arrival of important people, such as Muḥammad himself.[32] That these motifs (significance of dates, Jews/Christians

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[29] Lawrence I. Conrad, "Abraha and Muḥammad: Some Observations Apropos of Chronology and Literary 'Topoi' in the Early Arabic Historical Tradition," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 50, no. 2 (1987), 234.

[30] Averil Cameron, "The Reign of Constantine, a.d. 306–337," in *The Cambridge Ancient History: Volume 12: The Crisis of Empire, AD 193-337*, ed. Alan Bowman, Averil Cameron, and Peter Garnsey, 2nd ed., vol. 12, The Cambridge Ancient History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 101.

[31] Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-Taʾrīkh*, 156.

[32] Ibn Hishām's (d. 833) recension of Ibn Isḥāq's (d. 767) *al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya* in particular contains many of these motifs. Perhaps the most well-known is the story of the Syrian monk Baḥīrā, of great Christian knowledge, who was said to have recognized the young Muḥammad as a prophet because of a mark that was described in a book he had. ʿAbd al-Malik Ibn Hishām and Muḥammad Ibn Isḥāq, *The Life of Muhammad: A Translation of Ibn Isḥāq's "Sīrat Rasūl*

as holders of knowledge) appear in Ibn Ḥabīb's narration conveys to readers the momentous nature of the crossing of the Strait: because of the uncertainty and danger involved in crossing, it must only be attempted with God's blessing and help. Ṭāriq's successful crossing, despite the danger, emphasizes that the conquest of al-Andalus was divinely ordained.

Two centuries later, the sea is also represented as an obstacle in two anonymous late 11th/early 12th century texts, the *Akhbār Majmūʿa* (11th century)[33] and *Fatḥ al-Andalus* (c. 1102), both of which highlight the potential dangers involved with crossing the water. According to the *Akhbār Majmūʿa*, Mūsā writes to the caliph al-Walīd asking about invading al-Andalus in response to an invitation from Julian. Al-Walīd cautions Mūsā to first send reconnaissance parties to determine the feasibility of conquest, warning him, "do not endanger the Muslims on a sea of terror [*baḥr shadīd al-aḥwāl*]!" Mūsā reassures him that "it is not a sea: only a bay," but al-Walīd persists.[34] Mūsā appoints Ṭarīf (not to be confused with Ṭāriq), another military commander, to carry out the reconnaissance mission; it is ultimately successful and reveals no great dangers, leading to the invasion of Ṭāriq and his army. This story serves several purposes. First, it demonstrates that Mūsā correctly sought and received permission before embarking on the conquest. This was important in upholding the legitimacy of the conquest, for which the caliph's approval was necessary.[35] Second, the fear and hesitation surrounding the crossing (warranted or not) illustrate the physical nature of the Strait as an obstacle to the conquest by demonstrating that crossing it was neither easy nor without risk. As in Ibn Ḥabīb's account, the ultimate success of the crossing reaffirms that it was God's will.

Allāh," ed. and trans. Alfred Guillaume (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2006), 79-81.

[33] See discussion on the dating of the *Akhbār Majmūʿa* in the introduction to this dissertation.

[34] Trans. James, *A History of Early Al-Andalus*, 49. *Akhbār Majmūʿa*, 5-6.

[35] Clarke notes that historians sought to "demonstrate that a proper chain of command had been in operation during the conquests." Clarke, *The Muslim Conquest of Iberia*, 44.

The second text, *Fatḥ al-Andalus*, also depicts the sea as frightening. Again, according to this version, Julian solicits Mūsā's help to invade Iberia after Roderic's rape of his daughter. Mūsā informs Julian that he does not doubt his words, but, "we are afraid for the Muslims because [it is] a land we do not know, and between it and us is a sea, and between your king and us is *jāhiliyya* and [there is] agreement in religion [between you and him]."[36] Again, we find the motif of fear because of the sea. Between al-Andalus and North Africa, there is both "a sea" and "*jāhiliyya*" (lit. "ignorance"), a term that refers to the period before the emergence of Islam in the Arabian Peninsula. The parallel construction in this sentence links fear of the sea and fear of *jāhiliyya*. Mūsā also fears because Julian and Roderic are coreligionists, implying that he suspects a conspiracy between the two. Crossing the sea is, in effect, crossing into *jāhiliyya*, and Mūsā is reluctant to risk his men by encountering either. To alleviate his fear, Mūsā sends a reconnaissance party, as in the *Akhbār Majmūʿa*; the mission is successful, and the conquest can begin. Mūsā's reluctance legitimates the conquest by demonstrating that it was not an action the Muslims had to take; they did so at Julian's behest and they went into a world fraught with dangers – including the unknown space of the Strait and what lay beyond it.

The representation of the Strait as a separator or border did not disappear after these early sources. Ibn al-Kardabūs (13th century) reports the same story found in *Fatḥ al-Andalus*, reiterating the fear of *jāhiliyya* connected with crossing over the Strait.[37] In his *al-Kāmil fī al-Taʾrīkh*, Ibn al-Athīr (d. 1233) reports a story about al-Walīd that we found a century or two earlier in the *Akhbār Majmūʿa*, noting that al-Walīd was reluctant to let Mūsā risk crossing the "sea of terror."[38] Al-Andalus was often regarded as being apart or somehow different from the

[36] *Fatḥ al-Andalus*, 15.
[37] Ibn al-Kardabūs, *Taʾrīkh al-Andalus,* 45.
[38] ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Taʾrīkh*, ed. ʿUmar Tadmurī, 10 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-

rest of the Islamic world, which is one of the reasons that the depiction of the Strait as a barrier is widespread outside of the conquest accounts.[39]

As we have seen, two contradictory portrayals within the Arabic tradition – the Strait as connecting and as separating at the same time – reflect the Latin tradition of late antiquity. Both portrayals are found consistently within Andalusi sources of the 9th-13th centuries. By the beginning of the 10th century, however, we find a new development: perhaps because of its liminal role as a connector and a separator, a place that is neither North Africa nor al-Andalus, neither *dār al-islām* nor *dār al-ḥarb*, the Strait became the setting for stories about another liminal experience that occurs in the transitional space between wakefulness and sleep: dreams, specifically of the Prophet Muḥammad. Like the portrayal of the Strait as an obstacle that can only be surmounted because God has lent his blessing, stories about prophetic dreams that occurred during the crossing affirmed God's approval of, and support for, the conquest of al-Andalus.

Beginning in the 10th century, authors begin to report that during his crossing of the Strait, Ṭāriq dreamt of the Prophet. In Islamic society – as in the Near East more widely – dreams were important. In Islamic tradition, dreams are foundational because some say the Prophet received his first revelations in the form of dreams.[40] Perhaps because of this, Muslims have long understood dreams to be part of prophecy.[41] As such, dream stories reflected the

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Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 2012), 4:39.

[39] On the uniqueness of al-Andalus see Ross Brann, *Iberian Moorings* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2021); and Clarke, *The Muslim Conquest of Iberia*, especially page 81.

[40] Elizabeth Sirriyeh, *Dreams and Visions in the World of Islam: A History of Muslim Dreaming and Foreknowing* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2015), 32.

[41] Alexander D. Knysh, "Introduction," in *Dreams and Visions in Islamic Societies*, ed. Özgen Felek and Alexander D. Knysh (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2012), 2.

concerns of the Muslim community.[42]

The first author who reports the dream story is Ibn al-Qūṭiyya (d. 977). As he introduces the events of the conquest, he reports:

> Yulīyān met with Ṭāriq and incited him to come over to al-Andalus, telling him of its splendour and the weakness of its people and their lack of courage. So Ṭāriq wrote to Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr and informed him of that, whereupon Mūsā told him to invade. Ṭāriq mustered [his troops]. While he was on board sleep overcame him and whilst asleep he had a dream in which he saw the Prophet Muhammad – peace and praises be upon him. He was surrounded by his followers from Makka and Madina, who were armed with swords and bows. The Prophet passed by Ṭāriq and said, 'Go on with your venture.' And Ṭāriq slept on, dreaming of the Prophet and his Companions, until the ship reached al-Andalus. He took the dream as a good omen and told it to his men.[43]

Ibn al-Qūṭiyya's account of Ṭāriq's dream fits into a framework of dreaming found throughout Near Eastern history, including in Akkadian, Biblical, and Greek texts. In this structure, the dream story has two parts: the first part contextualizes the dream through a description of its setting and circumstances, such as the identity of the dreamer and the location. The second part describes the dream's content, then returns to the story that framed the dream.[44] In her study of dreams in Ibn Hishām's *sīra* (biography of the Prophet), Sarah Mirza notes that dream stories in early Islamic literature fit into this structural pattern of ancient Near Eastern dream-stories.[45]

In Ibn al-Qūṭiyya's text, the frame of the dream is the story of Ṭāriq's crossing of the Strait during the conquest. Ṭāriq is on board the ship that will ferry him to al-Andalus, presumably over the waterway that is now known as the Strait of Gibraltar. Physically, Ṭāriq is in a "liminal" place – neither in North Africa nor in Iberia, but somewhere in between. As a

[42] Sarah Mirza, "Dreaming the Truth in the Sīra of Ibn Hishām," in *Dreams and Visions in Islamic Societies*, 26.
[43] Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, *Early Islamic Spain,* trans. James, 52. Arabic in Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, *Taʾrīkh Iftitāḥ al-Andalus*, 34.
[44] Mirza, "Dreaming the Truth in the *Sīra* of Ibn Hishām," 18.
[45] Ibid., 18-19.

dreamer, he is also in a liminal place between sleep and wakefulness. According to anthropologist Victor Turner, "liminal entities are neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial."[46] The concept of liminality was initially used to study religious rituals, and can refer to "a period of transition after an entry point and before an exit, which usually leads one back into the society from which they entered."[47]

In Islamic tradition, liminality has been identified with the term *dihlīz*, which Ebrahim Moosa translates as "the in-between space, or passage."[48] Moosa has applied Turner's concept of liminality to the spiritual journey taken by the philosopher and mystic al-Ghazālī (d. 1111), identifying al-Ghazālī's departure from Baghdad and subsequent journey as a rite of passage. During this passage, al-Ghazālī was separated from the world and transformed "from scholar to ascetic."[49] At this time, al-Ghazālī was outside of the ordinary world and underwent an internal transformation during which he also was in a liminal state of being. In Ṭāriq's case, this transitional period allows an encounter with the Prophet that could not otherwise have occurred – a pause that allows the audience to reflect on the significance of the coming conquest.

As a liminal place, the Strait of Gibraltar is defined by its location between al-Andalus and North Africa. As noted, the Arabic terms for the Strait of Gibraltar, *al-zuqāq* and *al-majāz*, are both words associated with passing or crossing. The Strait was a transient passageway through which one passed but did not remain. In addition, as Meehan writes, liminal spaces can

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[46] Turner, *The Ritual Process,* 95.
[47] Mark W. Meehan, *Islam, Modernity, and the Liminal Space Between* (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), 42.
[48] Ebrahim Moosa, *Ghazali and the Poetics of Imagination* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 120
[49] Ibid., 125.

be threatening because they exist outside of the ordinary.[50] With regard to accounts of the conquest, Clarke argues that "there is no evidence of alarm regarding the ordinary, non-Ocean sea in any historiographical account of Ṭāriq's voyage to Iberia."[51] As we have seen, however, texts such as the *Akhbār Majmūʿa* and *Fatḥ al-Andalus* allude to the uncertain nature of the Strait by emphasizing the importance of God's blessing in crossing it. Some texts even refer to it as a "sea of terror."[52] This description reinforces the Strait's liminal position and its unknown nature within the context of the story, rather than demonstrating a true fear of the Strait held by 9th-13th century authors.

In addition to its liminal geographic location, the Strait as described in the conquest accounts exists in an ideologically liminal space between the Islamic world and the non-Islamic world. Ṭāriq's dream reflects the Strait's liminal role as a transitionary space between two places – *dār al-islām* and *dār al-ḥarb*. *Dār al-islām* refers to those lands that were part of the Islamic world. *Dār al-ḥarb* refers to non-Islamic lands where *jihād* is carried out.[53] In this respect, Ṭāriq's entry into the Strait, his time there, and his departure, can all be understood as a ritual, the domain to which Turner first applied the concept of liminality.[54] Ṭāriq enters the Strait, intending to cross it for the purposes of conquest, and he spends time in the transitional space of the water. There, he dreams of the Prophet, who reassures him that he is carrying out divinely ordained work. Ṭāriq then departs the transitional space of the Strait and prepares to carry out his duty in God's name. In Ibn al-Qūṭiyya's text, Ṭāriq's dream in the space "betwixt and between"

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[50] Meehan, *Islam, Modernity, and the Liminal Space Between*, 44.
[51] Clarke, *The Muslim Conquest of Iberia*, 77.
[52] Trans. James, *A History of Early Al-Andalus*, 49. *Akhbār Majmūʿa,* 5-6. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Taʾrīkh*, 4:39.
[53] Asma Afsaruddin, "Views of Jihad Throughout History," *Religion Compass* 1, no. 1 (2007): 167.
[54] Turner, *The Ritual Process.*

Islamic North Africa and Christian Iberia bridges the literal gap between the two, propelling the Islam of the Prophet and Companions forward to a land that was not yet Islamic. The content of the dream suggests God's approval of both the conquest itself and the military means of the conquest, because of the appearance of the Prophet's followers with weapons and the Prophet's verbal approval of Ṭāriq's mission. In that respect, the dream-story serves a similar purpose as Ibn Ḥabīb's earlier mention that the Strait could only be crossed with God's blessing: both sanctify the conquest.

Ṭāriq's dream is not mentioned in sources prior to Ibn al-Qūṭiyya. In fact, dream stories involving the Prophet did not become common until two centuries later, after the Andalusi mystic Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 1240) recorded his visionary encounters with the Prophet Muḥammad and others.[55] The appearance of this prophetic dream in the 10th century is therefore a noteworthy occurrence that can be explained in part by political changes in al-Andalus. In the year 929, the Umayyad emir ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III (d. 961) declared himself the caliph.[56] Ibn al-Qūṭiyya was a staunch supporter of the caliphate, and much of the material in his history was designed to reinforce its legitimacy.[57] For instance, Safran has argued that even Ibn al-Qūṭiyya's description of the Andalusi landscape bolsters the Umayyad claim to the peninsula, characterizing his treatment of the landscape as a "landscape of confidence" that "reinforces a sense of security and stability" with regards to the position of Islam on the peninsula.[58] As evidence, she cites the text's mention of geographic features "commemorating" Ṭāriq's passage through al-Andalus as

[55] Sirriyeh, *Dreams and Visions in the World of Islam*, 146-149.
[56] Safran, *The Second Umayyad Caliphate,* 19-20.
[57] Fierro, *ʿAbd Al-Rahman III,* 119-120. See also Safran's discussion in *The Second Umayyad Caliphate*, 132-140.
[58] Safran, *The Second Umayyad Caliphate*, 150-162.

well as its detailing of the geographic borders of al-Andalus.[59]

Ibn al-Qūṭiyya's story about Ṭāriq's prophetic dream originated in the same cultural and political milieu of 10th century al-Andalus. The appearance of the Prophet in the dream signals to the audience that the dream has special significance: the conquest of al-Andalus under the Umayyads was exceptional because the Prophet himself had given his approval. Hanaoka argues that "dreams featuring Muhammad can… legitimate the dreamer, or the content of the dream, or the place in which the dream takes place or is dreamed."[60] Similarly, Sirriyeh contends that the "effect of the Prophet's speech in [visionary conversations with the Prophet] is to lend credence to particular doctrinal viewpoints and make it difficult for religious scholars to challenge them."[61] Likewise, Ṭāriq's dream was an unassailable endorsement of Umayyad rule in al-Andalus because the Prophet gives his blessing.

In addition, the dream story expresses support for Umayyad military power: it mentions that the Prophet was accompanied by his followers who were "armed with swords and bows." The legitimacy of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III's rule rested in part on his execution of *jihād* against the Christians as well as his success in defeating disunity within the Islamic community of al-Andalus, namely the rebellion of the Banū Ḥafṣūn.[62] His success in defeating the rebels "established his credentials as a good Muslim ruler," allowing him to claim the caliphate as "the latest heir to a chain of authority going back to the Prophet."[63] The dream story's allusion to the

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[59] Ibid., 150-152.

[60] Mimi Hanaoka, *Authority and Identity in Medieval Islamic Historiography: Persian Histories from the Peripheries* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 83.

[61] Sirriyeh, *Dreams and Visions in the World of Islam*, 148-149.

[62] Safran, *The Second Umayyad Caliphate,* 21-25. See also Janina Safran, "The Command of the Faithful in Al-Andalus: A Study in the Articulation of Caliphal Legitimacy," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 30, no. 2 (1998), 187-188.

[63] Safran, "The Command of the Faithful," 188.

military conquest supports the Umayyad policy of *jihād*, with the Prophet's appearance endorsing it. His appearance to Ṭāriq on the eve of battle likewise connects the Muslim community's earliest days of fighting unbelievers with the conquest of al-Andalus, contextualizing it as part of the long struggle against the non-believers begun by Muḥammad (and continued by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III). After this dream, Ṭāriq is energized and sufficiently confident to rally the Muslim forces and lead them from the mountain towards conquest.

Although the dream story first emerged in 10th century Umayyad al-Andalus, we find variations on its content beginning in the 12th century. In the anonymous *Fatḥ al-Andalus* (c. 1102), for instance, the dream occurs when Ṭāriq lands at the base of the mountain rather than when he is on board the ship.[64] This is unusual, as in other texts the dream occurs on the water. According to *Fatḥ al-Andalus*:

> [Ṭāriq] crossed to a mountain and laid anchor [there], so it was called Jabal Ṭāriq after his name and remains so until this day. When he crossed over, he burned the ships and said to his companions: fight or die (*qātilū aw mawwitū*)! Upon his arrival at the [aforementioned] mountain, he saw the Prophet, prayers and peace be upon him, while he was sleeping. He [the Prophet] told him the good news of the conquest and commanded him to treat the Muslims courteously and to fulfill {his vow/obligation} to the *mushrikīn* (*amara bi-l-rifq bi-l-muslimīn wa al-wafāʾ {bi-l-ʿahd} li-l-mushrikīn*). Ṭāriq awoke from his sleep and his soul was strengthened. He told the good news to his companions and made ready [for conquest]. Then he went out from the mountain after he had rounded out his numbers.[65]

This dream affirms the predetermined success of the conquest. It asserts Jabal Ṭāriq as a symbol of the conquest's legitimacy because it is where Ṭāriq had a dream about the Prophet, and where the Prophet gives his blessing.

In the dream story, the Prophet commands Ṭāriq to "to fulfill {his vow/obligation} to the

[64] *Fatḥ al-Andalus*, 17.
[65] Ibid., 16-17.

mushrikīn."[66] This command likely refers to the Muslims' promise to Julian, the ruler of Ceuta, to invade Iberia in revenge for Roderic's rape of Julian's daughter. The inclusion of this command in the dream story emphasizes the legitimacy of the conquest because the Muslims were helping to right a wrong that was committed by the immoral ruler of Iberia. There is a second explanation, however: we can also interpret the Prophet's injunction to Ṭāriq to "treat the Muslims courteously and to fulfill {his vow/obligation} to the *mushrikīn*" as a reminder to abide by the rules of *jihād*. When fighting against unbelievers, Muslims are required to first offer them the opportunity to convert to Islam or to surrender and pay tribute. Only if the enemy refuses these options are the Muslims to fight against them.[67] The author's use of the term *mushrikīn* (lit. "associators") to refer to the Christians suggests this interpretation because the term has inherently polemical connotations (see chapter 4).[68] In addition, the author of *Fatḥ al-Andalus* directly refers to the conquest as *jihād* elsewhere in the text.[69]

This shift is likely due to the turbulent political situation in 12th century al-Andalus. When the caliphate fell in 1009, al-Andalus was fragmented into multiple small kingdoms,

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[66] "Vow" is bracketed as the word is not in the manuscript of *Fatḥ al-Andalus*. Rather, the editor has included it to clarify the sentence on the basis of other texts that do include "vow," as for instance: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān wa Anbāʾ Abnāʾ al-Zamān*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, 8 vols. (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1978), 5:320.

[67] Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Tibrīzī, *Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ*, ed. Muḥammad Nāṣir al-Dīn Al-Albānī, 3 vols. (Beirut and Damascus: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1979), 2:1150. Additionally, the first part of the Prophet's command in Ṭāriq's dream – that he should treat the Muslims courteously – might be a reminder that Ṭāriq should fairly divide of the spoils of battle, which were supposed to be divided between the troops and others. This is hinted at in Qur'an 8:41, which states: "And know that anything you obtain of war booty - then indeed, for Allah is one fifth of it and for the Messenger and for [his] near relatives and the orphans, the needy, and the [stranded] traveler, if you have believed in Allah and in that which We sent down to Our Servant on the day of criterion - the day when the two armies met. And Allah, over all things, is competent." Trans. Sahih International.

[68] Gerald Hawting, *The Idea of Idolatry and the Emergence of Islam: From Polemic to History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 47-48, 74.

[69] *Fatḥ al-Andalus*, 34.

known as *ṭāʾifa* kingdoms. At the same time, the Peninsula was bearing witness to an intensifying struggle for territory between the Christian and Muslim kingdoms.[70] Towards the end of the 11th century, however, al-Andalus was again reunified under the Almoravids, a North African dynasty that initially entered al-Andalus in response to a plea from the ruler of Seville for help against the Christians.[71] Importantly, Almoravid legitimacy rested in part on the implementation of *jihād*. This effort was not directed solely against non-Muslims, however, as the Almoravids also waged *jihād* against their fellow Muslims as part of an attempt to unify the Muslim community under one political entity.[72] Ultimately, the initial Almoravid forays into al-Andalus led to their takeover of the *ṭāʾifa* kingdoms.[73] The Prophet's command to abide by the rules of *jihād* as depicted in Ṭāriq's dream was therefore a timely reminder to Muslims engaged in the war against both the Christian kingdoms and other Muslim polities.

The incorporation of the Prophet's injunction into the dream story remained a feature of later texts. However, like Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, later texts most commonly report that the dream occurred while Ṭāriq was crossing the water, not after landing at the mountain. Each version includes unique elements that allow for different interpretations of the relationship between the landscape and the conquest of al-Andalus. The dream story recorded by Ibn Bashkuwāl (d. 1183), for instance, emphasizes the nature of the Strait and the water as an in-between place. His version, which is preserved in Ibn Khallikān's (d. 1282) *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, reports:

> It is said of Ṭāriq that he was sleeping on the ship during the time of crossing [lit. "time of ferrying," *waqt al-taʿdīya*], and that he saw the Prophet (prayers and peace be upon him) and the Four Caliphs (may God be pleased with them) walking upon the water.

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[70] See David J Wasserstein, *The Rise and Fall of the Party-Kings: Politics and Society in Islamic Spain 1002-1086* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1985).
[71] Amira K. Bennison, *Almoravid and Almohad Empires* (Edinburgh University Press, 2016), 42-44.
[72] Ibid., 28-29.
[73] Ibid., 42-44.

> They passed by him and the Messenger of God (prayers and peace be upon him) told him [Ṭāriq] the good news of the conquest. He commanded [Ṭāriq] to treat the Muslims courteously and to fulfill his obligation (*al-wafāʾ bi-l-ʿahd*).[74]

This version has some interesting variations, especially the new detail that it was the Prophet and the first four caliphs – instead of the Companions – who appeared in Ṭāriq's dream and that they were walking on the water. Additionally, Ibn Bashkuwāl specifies that the dream occurred while Ṭāriq was in the process of crossing the water, *waqt al-taʿdīya*. Because of this focus on Ṭāriq's presence in the boat on the waterway, this version asserts the intertwined importance of the landscape and the prophecy in the context of the conquest. Like previous texts, this time of crossing is the transitional period during which Ṭāriq and his army are preparing themselves for conquest, reflected by the Prophet's command to treat the Muslims well and abide by his "obligation." These details highlight the passage to al-Andalus as a transitional period before the commencement of the conquest of al-Andalus. Upon landing in al-Andalus, the Muslim army would exit that transitional space and enter the space of war, *dār al-ḥarb*.

Ibn al-Athīr (d. 1233) reports a story that combines elements of Ibn al-Qūṭiyya's version with what was reported in *Fatḥ al-Andalus*, but with new details that add even greater emphasis to both the divinely sanctioned nature of the conquest and the importance of *jihād*. According to Ibn al-Athīr:

> When Ṭāriq was on board [the boat] on the sea, sleep overcame him. [In his sleep] he saw the Prophet along with the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār, who were carrying swords and bows. The Prophet (prayers and peace be upon him) said to him: oh Ṭāriq, go forth with this affair. He commanded him to treat the Muslims courteously and to fulfill his obligation. Ṭāriq looked and saw the Prophet (prayers and peace be upon him) and his Companions enter al-Andalus in front of him. He woke up from his sleep full of joyful tidings and told the good news to his companions. His soul was strengthened, and he did not doubt his success.[75]

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[74] Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān,* 5:320.
[75] Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Taʾrīkh*, 4:40.

This dream narrative shares several elements with previous versions: the appearance of the Prophet, his command, and the joy that Ṭāriq felt upon waking up. Interestingly, however, this dream story also includes the detail of the Prophet and his Companions entering al-Andalus before Ṭāriq and his army. This detail emphasizes the divinely sanctioned nature of the conquest, with the Prophet literally paving the way for the Muslim army. In this version, the dream occurred during the crossing; its significance is therefore tied to the importance of the water rather than the mountain (as in the version of *Fatḥ al-Andalus*). No longer in *dār al-islām*, the Muslims are about to enter unknown enemy territory, *dār al-ḥarb*, for the purposes of waging *jihād*, as suggested by the fact that the Prophet's Companions are armed (as in Ibn al-Qūṭiyya's text). The water is a transitional space, just as the dream is transitional time: the dream occurs right before the arrival in al-Andalus and subsequent beginning of the campaign. The dream symbolizes the end of the passage of the Strait and the beginning of the incorporation of al-Andalus into *dār al-islām*.[76]

As a literary device, the Strait of Gibraltar both divides and connects. Known as *al-majāz* and *al-zuqāq*, the Strait is often depicted as a frightening place filled with unknown dangers and hiding an uncertain situation on the other side. It occupies a gray zone between *dār al-islām* and *dār al-ḥarb*. As a liminal space between the Islamic world and the Christian one, the Strait also hosts prophetic dreams that reassure the Muslims that God supports them. These dreams often underscore the importance of crossing the Strait into a land of warfare, with depictions of armed Companions and the Prophet's admonition to Ṭāriq to treat the Muslims well as uphold his "obligation" to the *mushrikīn*. The dream story initially was intended to bolster Umayyad claims

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[76] For another 13th century version of the dream story, see Ibn al-Shabbāṭ, "Kitāb Ṣilat al-Samṭ wa Simat al-Marṭ," 170.

to power in the 10th century, but was equally important as time went on and authors continued to emphasize its endorsement of the military aspects of conquest in response to the loss of political power and unity in al-Andalus.

Jabal Ṭāriq

In the previous section, I concluded that the Strait of Gibraltar is a liminal space that represents both uncertainty and passage between *dār al-islām* and *dār al-ḥarb*. The depictions of Ṭāriq's dream during his passage emphasize that God had blessed the conquest and that the Prophet had endorsed it. When Ṭāriq finally crosses the Strait, he lands at a promontory that subsequently was given his name (Jabal Ṭāriq). Building on my analysis of the Strait and its importance regarding changing ideological priorities in al-Andalus, in this section I ask: what significance(s) did Jabal Ṭāriq have for Andalusi authors of the 9th-13th centuries? In what ways did its importance change during this period? To what extent (if at all) did Muslim portrayals of Jabal Ṭāriq draw on late antique representations? I conclude that as the political stability of al-Andalus was threatened, Jabal Ṭāriq's significance as a symbol of the success of the conquest became a crucial part of its importance. Additionally, Jabal Ṭāriq/Gibraltar and the Muslims' successful arrival there can be read as a sign that the conquest was God's will and that everything was proceeding according to his plan.

When comparing the maps of pre- and post-conquest Iberia, a 21st century viewer might note the abundance of post-conquest place names that are derived from Arabic. Many of these toponyms appear in the Arabic chronicles, where they are associated with stories about their naming. Arguably the most famous natural landmark in modern-day Iberia, Gibraltar is one such toponym and has a long history. Its contemporary name is derived from the Arabic *Jabal Ṭāriq*,

or Ṭāriq's Mountain. Other toponyms that appear in Andalusi chronicles and are associated with their own legends include *Jazīrat Ṭarīf*, or Ṭarīf's Peninsula, and *Jazīrat Umm Ḥakīm*, or Umm Ḥakīm's Peninsula.[77] These names were integral to the creation of the place known as al-Andalus. As Paul Carter argues in his seminal work on Australian history *The Road to Botany Bay*, spatial history begins in a cultural place,

> *in the act of naming*. For by the act of place-naming, space is transformed symbolically into a place, that is, a space with a history. And by the same token, the namer inscribes his passage permanently on the world, making a metaphorical word-place which others may one day inhabit and by which, in the meantime, he asserts his own place in history.[78]

Thus, we can think of toponyms and their origin as part of an ongoing process in which history is continually created and re-created.[79]

In fact, the very landscape of al-Andalus was imbued with a cultural significance derived

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[77] A few selected sources which mention one or another of these toponyms, but there are many more: Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 206. *Fatḥ al-Andalus,* 16-18. Ibn al-Kardabūs, *Taʾrīkh al-Andalus*, 46.
[78] Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay*, xxiv.
[79] Ashcroft et al (eds.), *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, 392. Place-naming (and re-naming) is an integral element of the production of place. As Rose-Redwood et al. note, "the act of naming is itself a performative practice that calls forth the 'place' to which it refers by attempting to stabilize the unwieldy contradictions of sociospatial processes into the seemingly more 'managable' [*sic*] order of textual inscription" (Reuben Rose-Redwood, Derek Alderman, and Maoz Azaryahu, "Geographies of Toponymic Inscription: New Directions in Critical Place-Name Studies," *Progress in Human Geography* 34, no. 4 (August 1, 2010): 454.). The authors suggest that naming gives order and meaning to the unfamiliar. Similarly, Spurr argues that: "The very process by which one culture subordinates another begins in the act of naming and leaving unnamed, of marking on an unknown territory the lines of division and uniformity, of boundary and continuity" (David Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), 4). In the Andalusi context, renaming places such as Jabal Ṭāriq for the Roman Calpe constructed a place that made sense in the Andalusi Islamic worldview. And this place continued to "make sense," its significance changing over time as it was written and re-written to accommodate changing social and political dynamics in al-Andalus and North Africa. Examining the stories associated with toponyms in the conquest accounts contained in chronicles can therefore help us shed light on the question at stake in this chapter, namely: what cultural work did toponyms perform within the Andalusi literary tradition and Andalusi society broadly, specifically with regards to the creation of the place called al-Andalus?

from toponyms and the stories connected to them. As Reuben Rose-Redwood et al. have noted, following Donal Carbaugh and Lisa Rudnick, place names are often "associated intertextually with larger cultural narratives and stories," especially stories meant to convey lessons on morality.[80] Although Carbaugh and Rudnick investigate different discourses surrounding Blackfeet and English place names in Glacier National Park, the same phenomena of intertextuality applies to toponyms in the classical Arabic tradition, in which stories are often told with the intent of moral instruction.[81] In al-Andalus, toponyms inscribed a new Islamic history on the Iberian Peninsula by burying or replacing earlier Latin and Gothic names and associating elements of the landscape with stories from Andalusi history.

Andalusi toponyms replaced earlier non-Arabic names for geographic features. The act of renaming a place in a new language is one way in which the new controllers of a territory exert their power over the land and its people. Safran touches on the importance of naming places in her analysis of the conquest landscape. She argues that toponyms were part of a process of establishing the Muslim claim to the Peninsula: the *Akhbār Majmūʿa* "celebrates Muslim domination of the once infidel peninsula as it names, marks, and maps specific places and demonstrates how the movement of armies, the destruction and construction of fortresses, and the definition of boundaries staked a claim to the peninsula."[82] Similarly, Glick asserts that the invention of new toponyms was part and parcel of Muslim authors' attempts to find meaning in a

[80] Rose-Redwood et al., "Geographies of Toponymic Inscription," 458. Donal Carbaugh and Lisa Rudnick, "Which Place, What Story? Cultural Discourses at the Border of the Blackfeet Reservation and Glacier National Park," *Great Plains Quarterly; Lincoln* 26, no. 3 (Summer 2006), 167.
[81] See Nancy A. Khalek, *Damascus after the Muslim Conquest: Text and Image in Early Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 18-19. Tayeb El-Hibri, *Parable and politics in early Islamic history: the Rashidun caliphs* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), ix. Also see chapter 5 of Spiegel, *The Past as Text*.
[82] Safran, "From Alien Terrain to the Abode of Islam," 136-137.

new land. He argues that the assignment of toponyms to local features was part of a process

> whereby the Muslims had to, as it were, "solve the landscape" of their new home, a multi-faceted process which included Arabising Latin place-names, or replacing them with semantic calques, which in the case of interesting or important toponyms frequently involved the creation of stories to explain the meaning of the names, sometimes drawing on Latin geographical and historical traditions.[83]

Glick concludes that during this process of "solving the landscape," Muslim authors forged a new society by incorporating pieces of the ancient past.[84] Although Safran and Glick make valid and important points regarding the importance of toponyms in inscribing land with meaning and establishing a claim to it, neither author investigates the work performed by individual toponyms in conquest accounts, focusing instead on toponyms broadly.

Jabal Ṭāriq ("Ṭāriq's Mountain," Gibraltar) is the most prominent example of these toponyms in chronicles, especially among those written after the fall of the caliphate in the early 11th century. Some authors, such as Ibn Ḥabīb, allude to it without naming it.[85] Others who directly mention Jabal Ṭāriq include Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (d. 871), the anonymous author of *Fatḥ al-Andalus* (c. 1102), Ibn Bashkuwāl (d. 1183), Ibn al-Kardabūs (12th-13th century), Ibn al-Shabbāṭ (d. 1282) and Ibn ʿIdhārī al-Marrākushī (d. 1312).[86] Indeed, Jabal Ṭāriq's lasting legacy is evident in the name's longevity, as the mountain has kept the same name for well over a millennium. According to the legend of the conquest of al-Andalus, Jabal Ṭāriq was the landing point where Ṭāriq began his route through the Peninsula. Depictions of Jabal Ṭāriq in the chronicles – especially in earlier texts – often drew on traditions adopted from the late antique

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[83] Glick, *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle*, 49.
[84] Ibid., 50.
[85] Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-Taʾrīkh*, 144.
[86] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 205. Luis Molina, ed., *Fatḥ al-Andalus*, 16-17. Ibn Bashkuwāl cited by al-Maqqarī in *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, 8 vols. (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1968), 1:230-231. Ibn al-Kardabūs, *Taʾrīkh al-Andalus*, 46. Ibn al-Shabbāṭ, "Kitāb Ṣilat al-Samṭ wa Simat al-Marṭ," 134. Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Al-Bayān al-Mughrib.* 2:9.

context. Because of its significance in the tales of the conquest, however, Jabal Ṭāriq increased in importance over the course of the 9th-13th centuries as its meaning shifted to re-emphasize the fact that the conquest was divinely ordained, in the face of the military threat from the Christian kingdoms in Iberia.

Glick, following Vallvé, argues that such place names were related to local Latin toponyms, and that figures such as Ṭāriq were later created in order to explain these etymologies.[87] The island of Umm Ḥakīm (*Jazīrat Umm Ḥakīm*), for instance, was said to be named after Ṭāriq's slave. This is "a literal rendering in Arabic of the isle of Hera or Juno, whose Latin name – Insula Junonis – is perpetuated in the current place-name Isla de León."[88] For our purposes, however, the etymological origin of these names is less important than the fact that these names were associated with stories about the figures they commemorated. As we have seen, Jabal Ṭāriq refers directly to a figure who plays one of the leading roles in the narratives of the conquest of al-Andalus. It is possible that the stories about this figure are not historical – we may never know for sure whether Ṭāriq the individual ever existed, or whether he did the things he is said to have done. However, the historicity of these stories is unimportant for the questions I ask. What matters is that the audience for these stories believed them and treated them as historical narratives. Like Denise K. Filios, I read Andalusi chronicles "not as truthful narratives but as 'belief tales,' as stories meant to be believed and to construct reality for their tellers and audience."[89] Examining these stories is the key to understanding the significance of these

[87] Glick, *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle*, 49-50.
[88] Glick discussing Vallvé, *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle*, 49. Joaquín Vallvé, *Nuevas ideas sobre la conquista árabe de España: Toponimia y onomástica* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1989), 93.
[89] Denise K. Filios, "Legends of the Fall: Conde Julián in Medieval Arabic and Hispano-Latin Historiography," *Medieval Encounters* 15, no. 2/4 (December 2009): 378.

toponyms for the creation of the Andalusi landscape.

Ṭāriq is a heroic figure within the Andalusi chronicles because of his association with the conquest.[90] Despite the involvement of Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr as the governor of North Africa, it is Ṭāriq who is responsible for the invasion of Iberia, the successful defeat of Roderic, and the submission of the Iberian cities to the Muslim army. As a literary device, Mūsā's jealousy reinforces Ṭāriq's success and heroism. According to Ibn Ḥabīb, "Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr left [North Africa] desiring al-Andalus, and [to meet with] his *mawlā* Ṭāriq, in [the month of] Rajab. Mūsā had become fiercely angry with Ṭāriq, and he went out towards al-Andalus [with] ten thousand [men]. Ṭāriq met with him and appeased him, and then [Mūsā] approved of him and accepted him."[91] Mūsā's anger is depicted as being unjustified, as Ṭāriq had done nothing wrong. This negative portrayal of Mūsā is compounded by the end of the story when the caliph punishes Mūsā for attempting to take credit from Ṭāriq. Additionally, in the story it is Ṭāriq and not Mūsā who finds the Table of Solomon, a wondrous object "crowned with jewels, woven in gold, and strung with pearls and precious stones" that came to be associated with the conquest narratives in historical chronicles as early as the 9th century.[92]

In fact, Mūsā is rarely – if ever – presented positively, even though he was the governor who ordered that the conquest be carried out. This negative portrayal of Mūsā is reflected in historical sources for al-Andalus and in authors' descriptions of the Andalusi landscape. Rarely do we find any lasting imprints of Mūsā on the landscape: hidden in sources such as Ibn al-Qūṭiyya's *Taʾrīkh Iftitāḥ al-Andalus* are references to Mūsā's Harbor (*Marsā Mūsā*) and Mūsā's

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[90] Safran, *The Second Umayyad Caliphate,* 133-134.
[91] Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-Taʾrīkh*, 144.
[92] Ibid., 146.

Pass (*Fajj Mūsā*), but both of these are very rare in the conquest accounts.[93] By contrast, references to Jabal Ṭāriq are extensive in 9th-14th century texts (and beyond).[94] Indeed, Ṭāriq permeates the landscape of Andalusi chronicles in the same way that George Washington or Martin Luther King, Jr. permeates the landscape of American towns: Ṭāriq also gives his name to a spring (*ʿAyn Ṭāriq*) and a pass (*Fajj Ṭāriq*).[95]

In his *Kitāb al-taʾrīkh*, Ibn Ḥabīb utilizes Ṭāriq's heroism and encounter with the Iberian landscape to demonstrate the legitimacy of the conquest. In Ibn Ḥabīb's words (mentioned earlier and copied again here for convenience):

> Mūsā, who was among the most knowledgeable of people with regards to astrology, wrote to Ṭāriq: 'Indeed you will reach a rock on the shore of the ocean: load your ships [and head] towards it. Ask who among your men knows the names of the months in Syriac, and when it is the eleventh day of Iyyār (which in the calendar of the foreigners is [the month of] May), cross with the blessing of God and his aid, and continue with his support and assistance until a red mountain underneath which flows a spring from the east, greets you. To its side is the statue of an idol in the likeness of a bull. Break this statue and go towards a tall blond man in whose eyes is approbation (*qabal*), and whose hands are paralyzed (*bī yadayhi shalal*), and place him at the front [of your army].'[96]

This story emphasizes that God is behind the successful conquest of the Peninsula. Earlier we saw that its portrayal of the Strait (as something to be crossed only with God's aid) demonstrates God's blessing of the conquest. In addition, an individual who is very knowledgeable about such things (Mūsā) foretells one of the things that Ṭāriq will encounter upon his conquest of Iberia. Ṭāriq is told to seek out one of his men who knows Syriac. Syriac Christians and Jews who make prophecies are a literary topos in early Islamic historiography,[97] so the allusion to a Syriac-

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[93] Trans. David James, *Early Islamic Spain*, 52. Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, *Taʾrīkh Iftitāḥ al-Andalus*, 35.
[94] Among others, see: Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, 2:6. *Fatḥ al-Andalus*, 16. Ibn al-Shabbāṭ, "Kitāb Ṣilat al-Samṭ wa Simat al-Marṭ," 134.
[95] A selection of mentions: *Akhbār Majmūʿa*, 9, 14. Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, *Early Islamic Spain,* trans. James, 52. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Taʾrīkh*, 4:40-41, 43.
[96] Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-Taʾrīkh*, 143.
[97] As demonstrated by the frequency of this motif in texts such as Ibn Isḥāq's *Sīrat rasūl allāh*.

speaker in Ibn Ḥabīb's text follows in that tradition of foretelling. It turns out that Ṭāriq himself fits the description of the man described by Mūsā, and Ṭāriq's heroic reputation is bolstered by the fact that his involvement in the story represents the conquest of Iberia as divinely justified.[98]

The prophecy mentioned by Ibn Ḥabīb reflects a deep connection between the geography of al-Andalus and divine sanctification. Mūsā informs Ṭāriq that he is to head towards a rock on the coast of the ocean, and that he is to continue until he reaches a red mountain, where he will find the idol that he is to destroy. Although Ibn Ḥabīb does not state the connection explicitly, it is possible, if not highly likely, that either the rock [*ṣakhra*] or the little red mountain [*jubayl aḥmar*] (or both) refers to Gibraltar, one of the most important landmarks on the southern Iberian coast. The other feature probably refers to a promontory on the North African side of the Strait, the two mountains known in antiquity as the Pillars of Hercules. This episode demonstrates the centrality of the Andalusi landscape to Ibn Ḥabīb's conquest account. The rock and the red mountain are physical symbols of the beginning of the conquest. They bridge the liminal space of the water of the Strait, metaphorically connecting Iberia and North Africa and bringing the newly conquered al-Andalus into *dār al-islām*.

See for instance ʿAbd al-Malik Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya Li-Ibn Hishām*, ed. Muṣṭafā al-Saqqā, Ibrāhīm Al-Ibyārī, and ʿAbd al-Ḥafīẓ Shalabī, 2 vols. (Egypt: Sharikat maktaba wa maṭbaʿa Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1955), 1:516-517. In this instance, two Jewish rabbis convert to Islam because they recognize its truth. One of these men, ʿAbdullah b. Sallām, informs his aunt that Muḥammad "'is by God the brother of Moses and of the same religion, and was sent with the same [message].'" His aunt asks, "'Is he the prophet that we were expecting to be sent at this time?'" ʿAbdullah assures her that he is. He then goes to the Prophet and asks for asylum because the Jews will hate him for his conversion. When, as he predicted, the Jews are angered, ʿAbdullah tells them: "'O Jews, fear God and accept what He has sent you. For by God you truly know that [Muḥammad] is the messenger of God. You find his name and description written in your Torah.'" There are other similar instances.

[98] Nicola Clarke discusses how the conquest was depicted as justified, demonstrating that the texts provided evidence of an earthly chain of command lending authority and legitimacy to the conquest on a temporal level, and prophecy and omens showing divine sanctification: see Clarke, *The Muslim Conquest of Iberia*, 44.

In fact, Ibn Ḥabīb's text, which is our earliest extant Andalusi Arabic source, portrays the Andalusi landscape as almost welcoming the conquest – the red mountain, after all, is the location of an idol that Ṭāriq is to destroy. The presence of the idol at this location may have been inspired by the Pillars of Hercules.[99] This name – which Ibn Ḥabīb never mentions – might have made its way into the Arabic tradition in a manner that caused people to think there was an actual statue at the location. The mention of an idol's presence in pre-Islamic Iberia reinforces the notion that prior to the Muslim conquest Iberia was a land of *jāhiliyya*, of ignorance. The statue at Gibraltar recalls the idols that the Prophet Muḥammad ordered to be destroyed in the Ka'ba in Mecca.[100] Like Muḥammad, Ṭāriq sets out to destroy the idol. Modeled on the figure of Muḥammad, Ṭāriq is a symbol of both political and religious victory, purifying Iberia for the arrival of the Muslim army and Islam.

Ibn Ḥabīb's depiction of Jabal Ṭāriq as a divinely sanctioned entryway into al-Andalus parallels representations of the mountain in the earlier Latin tradition. The *Chronicle of 754*, likely written in al-Andalus by a Christian clergyman, is our earliest Latin source for the conquest of al-Andalus. According to this text, Mūsā sent Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād, leading an army of Arabs and Berbers, into al-Andalus.[101] The *Chronicle of 754* makes no further mention of Ṭāriq, but gives a significant amount of information about Mūsā and the Iberian landscape, evoking some of the references in the Arabic texts to Ṭāriq:

> While Spain was being devastated by the aforesaid forces and was greatly afflicted not only by the enemy but also by domestic fury, Musa (sic) himself, approaching this wretched land across the straits of Cádiz and pressing on to the pillars of Hercules – which reveal the entrance to the port like an index to a book or like keys in his hand revealing and unlocking the passage to Spain – entered the long plundered and godlessly

[99] Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies,* 277. See Clarke's discussion of idols and statues reportedly found in al-Andalus in *The Muslim Conquest of Iberia*, 75-76.
[100] Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya,* 2:411-412.
[101] "Chronicle of 754," 131.

invaded Spain to destroy it.[102]

As we saw earlier, in late antiquity the Pillars of Hercules were associated with the end of the world and the passageway from the Atlantic into the Mediterranean. Just as Ibn Ḥabīb's text alludes to the Pillars of Hercules without directly naming them, the *Chronicle of 754* connects these geographic features and the conquest. In this version, it is Mūsā and not Ṭāriq who enters Iberia through this ominous – indeed, almost prophetic – gateway. Whereas in the Arabic version of Ibn Ḥabīb, Ṭāriq's entrance through this gateway brings the enlightenment of Islam, the *Chronicle of 754* depicts Mūsā's entrance through the same gateway as bringing a wave of destruction. In both accounts, the monumentality of the conquest is signaled by its genesis near an important geographic feature.

Over the next several centuries, the portrayal of Jabal Ṭāriq as the beginning of the conquest was continually emphasized by Muslim authors. Likewise, the significance of its position between Europe and Africa remained essential to its importance, as in late antiquity. Ibn Ḥabīb's contemporary, the Egyptian author Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (d. 871), likewise depicts Jabal Ṭāriq as occupying the space between the Maghrib and al-Andalus. He states that "between the two coasts [al-Andalus and North Africa] there was a mountain that is today called Jabal Ṭāriq."[103] As in the Latin tradition of late antiquity, so too in the Islamic tradition Jabal Ṭāriq was associated with some degree of in-betweenness: located neither in the Maghrib nor in the foreign land of the unbelievers, for Arab authors it provided an ideal gateway to what would become a land full of marvelous wonders[104] and ripe for *jihād*.

Interestingly, 10th and early 11th century authors show a lack of interest in the legends

[102] Ibid., 132.
[103] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 205.
[104] On the wonders of al-Andalus, see Clarke, *The Muslim Conquest of Iberia*.

surrounding Jabal Ṭāriq. Andalusi authors such as Ibn al-Qūṭiyya recount the stories about Ṭāriq but without connecting him to the mountain.[105] Even in geographies, the mountain was important mainly as a marker of the southern border of the Peninsula. The eastern geographer Ibn Ḥawqal (d. 973), for instance, mentions it solely when describing the southern extent of the Peninsula.[106] Other 10th century eastern historians and geographers (such as al-Yaʿqūbī [d. 905], al-Ṭabarī [d. 923] and al-Masʿūdī [d. 956]) do not discuss Jabal Ṭāriq at all, despite mentioning other stories about the conquest.[107] Eleventh century authors are similarly disinterested: for instance, al-Bakrī (d. 1094) does not mention it in his *Kitāb al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik*.[108] Indifference to the geography of the conquest extends to Andalusi and Maghribi texts of the period as well. Ibn Ḥazm does not include stories related to Jabal Ṭāriq in at least in two of his major works: the *Jamharat Ansāb al-ʿArab* and *Rasāʾil*.[109] Neither do al-ʿUdhrī (d. 1085) nor al-Ḥumaydī (d. 1095).[110] This suggests that during the 10th and early 11th centuries, the mountain held less importance as a place with historical meaning and was instead important mainly as an indicator

[105] Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, *Taʾrīkh Iftitāḥ al-Andalus*.
[106] Muḥammad Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb Ṣurat al-Arḍ*, ed. J.H. Kramers, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1938), 1:61.
[107] Aḥmad al-Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, ed. M. Th. Houtsma, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1883), 2:341, 353; and *Kitāb al-Buldān*, ed. Muḥammad Amīn Al-Ḍināwī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah, 2002). Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh al-Ṭabarī: Taʾrīkh al-Rusūl Wa al-Mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 2nd ed., 11 vols. (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1990), 6:468, 481. Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, ed. C. Barbier De Meynard and Pavet De Courteille, 9 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1861-1917), 1:360.
[108] Abū ʿUbayd ʿAbd Allāh al-Bakrī, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik*, ed. A.P. Van Leeuwen and André Ferré, 2 vols. (Tūnis: Dār al-ʿArabīya li-l-Kitāb, 1992).
[109] ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat Ansāb al-ʿArab*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, 5th ed., 2 vols. (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1962). ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ḥazm, *Rasāʾil Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, 4 vols. (Beirut: al-Muʾassasa al-ʿArabīya li-l-Dirāsāt wa al-Nashr, 1987).
[110] Aḥmad Ibn ʿUmar al-ʿUdhrī, *Nuṣūṣ ʿan Al-Andalus min Kitāb Tarṣīʿ al-Akhbār wa Tanwīʿ al-Ātār wa al-Bustān fī Garāʾib al-Buldān wa al-Masālik ilā Jamīʿ al-Mamālik*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ahwānī (Madrid: Publicaciones del Instituto de Estudios Islámicos, 1965). Al-Ḥumaydī, *Jadhwat al-Muqtabis.*

of geographic space.

In the late 11th-early 12th centuries, authors begin to express renewed interest in the geography of the conquest, returning to some of the tales told three centuries earlier by Ibn Ḥabīb and Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam. The *Akhbār Majmūʿa* and *Fatḥ al-Andalus* both emphasize the importance of Jabal Ṭāriq to the conquest. According to the *Akhbār Majmūʿa*, Ṭāriq and his men rode ships across the water and landed at an "impregnable mountain (*jabal manīʿ*) on the coast."[111] The mountain – the text does not give its name – is significant here solely as the starting point for the conquest. As a symbol, it does not carry the same weight as it does in texts such as Ibn Ḥabīb's, which relate anecdotes that give the mountain a greater significance in the conquest story.

Likely written within a half century of the *Akhbār Majmūʿa*, *Fatḥ al-Andalus* represents Jabal Ṭāriq as a symbol of religious legitimacy. Like many other versions of the conquest account, *Fatḥ al-Andalus* reports that Ṭāriq landed at the mountain after he crossed over to al-Andalus, which is why it is named after him. We have already examined this quotation in the context of Ṭāriq's dream, but for convenience I repeat it here:

> [Ṭāriq] crossed to a mountain and laid anchor [there], so it was called Jabal Ṭāriq after his name and remains so until this day. When he crossed over, he burned the ships and said to his companions: fight or die (*qātilū aw mawwitū*)! Upon his descent to the [aforementioned] mountain, he saw the Prophet, prayers and peace be upon him, while he was sleeping. He [the Prophet] told him the good news of the conquest and commanded him to treat the Muslims courteously and to fulfill {his vow/obligation} to the *mushrikīn* (*amara bi-l-rifq bi-l-muslimīn wa al-wafāʾ {bi-l-ʿahd} li-l-mushrikīn*). Ṭāriq awoke from his sleep and his soul was strengthened. He told the good news to his companions and made ready [for conquest]. Then he went out from the mountain after he had rounded out his numbers.[112]

According to the text Ṭāriq commands his troops to "fight or die" upon landing at Jabal Ṭāriq.

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[111] *Akhbār Majmūʿa*, 6-7. Trans. David James in *A History of Early Al-Andalus,* 50.
[112] *Fatḥ al-Andalus*, 16-17.

This directive sets the tone for the conquest of al-Andalus: it is to be a glorious battle fought in God's name. The Muslims have no choice but to wage war. After relating this speech, *Fatḥ al-Andalus* depicts Jabal Ṭāriq as the location of Ṭāriq's prophetic dream. Like the command issued by Ṭāriq upon his arrival at the mountain, his dream affirms the divinely ordained nature of the conquest by drawing a parallel between the Prophet's fight against unbelievers and the conquest of al-Andalus.

According to *Fatḥ al-Andalus*, Ṭāriq's adventures on the mountain do not end here, however. Before his departure from Jabal Ṭāriq, he encounters an elderly woman whose husband is a soothsayer:

> They say that Ṭāriq encountered an elderly woman as he was making his way down the mountain. She said to him that she had a husband who was knowledgeable about predictions [of the future] (*ʿāliman bi-l-ḥadithān*), who had informed her of a commander who would cross the sea and enter their country. [One] of his characteristics is that he will have a large head. [She said] "You fit this description! And on his left shoulder there will be a birthmark with a hair in it – if there is one upon you, you must be him!" Ṭāriq lifted up his robe and there was a birthmark on his shoulder. At this good news, the joy of Ṭāriq and those of the Muslims who were with him increased.[113]

This incident is further assurance for the Muslims that the conquest of the Peninsula is preordained. It also draws a parallel between Ṭāriq and the Prophet Muḥammad, both of whom were recognized to be individuals of great consequence because of a mark on their bodies. For Muḥammad, this occurred when the monk Baḥīra recognized that he had the "seal of prophethood" between his shoulders.[114] Like Muḥammad, Ṭāriq has a mark on his shoulder. His prophet-like depiction suggests an even greater similarity than mere physical resemblance, however: both Ṭāriq and Muḥammad bring Islam to places where it had not existed previously.

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[113] Ibid., 17-18.
[114] Ibn Hishām and Ibn Isḥāq, *The Life of Muhammad*, trans. Guillaume 80. Arabic in Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya*, 1:182.

The resemblance between Ṭāriq and the Prophet reinforces the message that the conquest is a religious one.

Jabal Ṭāriq is the setting for two prophecies in *Fatḥ al-Andalus* – Ṭāriq's dream and the soothsayer's prediction. Because space becomes place when it is inscribed with meaning,[115] the occurrence of multiple significant events in one location lends substance and history to Jabal Ṭāriq as a place. In *Fatḥ al-Andalus*, the mountain is a symbol of religious legitimacy and victory. By contrast, the *Akhbār Majmūʿa* reports only that Ṭāriq landed at the mountain. The religious overtones in the description of Jabal Ṭāriq in *Fatḥ al-Andalus* are similar to those we saw earlier in Ibn Ḥabīb's depiction, in which Ṭāriq is instructed to destroy the nearby idols. In both texts, he is depicted in a manner that parallels depictions of Muḥammad.

Even in later centuries, Jabal Ṭāriq remained a symbol of ideological legitimacy, expressed in part through construction on the site. Some Arabic sources report that when Ṭāriq landed at the mountain, he built walls.[116] In the 12th century the Almohad caliph ʿAbd al-Muʾmin (d. 1163) reportedly ordered the building of a city at the location and changed the name of the mountain from Jabal Ṭāriq to Jabal al-Fatḥ ("Conquest Mountain").[117] Archaeologists have not found traces of any construction on the mountain dating from the time of the conquest, and have concluded that the first evidence of Islamic construction at Jabal Ṭāriq dates from no earlier than the 12th century.[118] Lane et al. argue that although ʿAbd al-Muʾmin likely constructed a fort at that location in the middle of the 12th century, it did not become a fortified town until the 13th

[115] Tim Cresswell, *Place: A Short Introduction* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 2 and 7.
[116] Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, 2:9.
[117] Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Taʾrīkh*, 4:39-40 and 9:289.
[118] Kevin Lane et al., "Myths, Moors and Holy War: Reassessing the History and Archaeology of Gibraltar and the Straits, Ad 711–1462," *Medieval Archaeology* 58, no. 1 (September 1, 2014), 145.

century. They conclude that the changing nature of Islamic settlement at Gibraltar reflected the shifting Christian-Muslim frontier, with the eventual establishment of the Almohad fort there mirroring the shift in the threats faced by the Islamic polity from the sea to the land.[119]

Although ʿAbd al-Muʾmin's decision to build a fort at Jabal Ṭāriq was likely driven by strategic concerns, his attempt to change the name of the mountain to Jabal al-Fatḥ was motivated by ideology. The Almohad movement was at its core a purifying movement; the central pillars of its ideology included *tawḥīd*, or monotheism, and a purifying *jihād* against both Christians and certain "corrupt" Muslims.[120] In al-Andalus, the Almohads were engaged in a continuous tug-of-war with the Christian kingdoms.[121] The encroachment of these kingdoms on Islamic territory in al-Andalus as well as the invasion of Crusaders in the eastern Islamic lands was perceived as a sign of the internal corruption of *dār al-islām*, which the Almohads had made it their mission to fight against.[122] The Almohad mission of *jihād* was an attempt to unite the Muslims against the Christians, especially during the reign of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin and his successors.[123]

Considering the importance of *jihād* to Almohad ideology, the renaming of Jabal Ṭāriq as Jabal al-Fatḥ has two ramifications for our study. First, the new name, "al-Fatḥ," hearkens back to the initial conquest of al-Andalus under the Umayyads. "Fatḥ," literally "opening," indicates both conquest in God's name as well as victory – literally opening a place for God. Recall that

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[119] Ibid., 157.
[120] Bennison, *Almoravid and Almohad Empires,* 72. See also Javier Albarrán Iruela, "'He Was a Muslim Knight Who Fought for Religion, Not for the World'. War and Religiosity in Islam: A Comparative Study between the Islamic East and West (Twelfth Century)," *Al-Masāq* 27, no. 3 (September 2, 2015), 193.
[121] Bennison, *Almoravid and Almohad Empires*, 74-78.
[122] Ibid., 79.
[123] Ibid., 87.

Fatḥ al-Andalus explicitly associates Jabal Ṭāriq with the legitimacy of the conquest by depicting it as the location of two prophecies. Similarly, Jabal al-Fatḥ identifies the mountain as the originating point for the conquest and a sign of its success. Secondly, Jabal al-Fatḥ recalls the importance of *jihād* in Almohad ideology. Like Ṭāriq, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin is said to have landed at the mountain on his arrival in al-Andalus from North Africa.[124] Jabal Ṭāriq thus was not only the setting for the initial Muslim advance into al-Andalus under Ṭāriq for the purposes of *jihād*, but also the setting for the start of a second *jihād* or *fatḥ* – the Almohads led by ʿAbd al-Muʾmin against both the Christians and the remnants of the Almoravids and local Muslim rulers. The parallel between the two conquests and the two figures involved would not have been lost to a 12th-century audience. Both conquests were undertaken in God's name and were understood to be preordained: depicting Jabal Ṭāriq as the starting point for both of them and commemorating it as Jabal al-Fatḥ implied that the success of the second conquest as inevitable as that of the first.

In the Maghrib, the new name, Jabal al-Fatḥ, gained popularity quickly, but never eclipsed "Jabal Ṭāriq." Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī (d. 1286) notes, for example, that "facing [the city of Algeciras] and to its south there is the famous Jabal al-Fatḥ from which al-Andalus was conquered. This is what people know. In books, its name is Jabal Ṭāriq."[125] This statement suggests that "Jabal al-Fatḥ" was the name that was in usage among most of the population, while "Jabal Ṭāriq" was relegated to the history books. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī (d. mid-13th century) makes a similar claim, asserting not only that Jabal Ṭāriq is also known as Jabal al-Fatḥ, but also that its tip is called Conquest Point (*ṭaraf al-fatḥ*).[126] Writing in Fez, Ibn ʿIdhārī (c.

[124] Ibn Ṣāḥib al-Ṣalāt, *Al-Mann bi-l-Imāma*, 92.
[125] ʿAlī ibn Mūsā ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī, *Kitāb al-Jughrāfīyah*, ed. Ismāʾīl ʿArabī (Beirut: Manshūrāt al-Maktab al-Tijārī li-l-Ṭibāʿa wa-al-Nashr wa al-Tawzīʿ, 1970), 139.
[126] ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī, *Kitāb al-Muʿjib*, 264.

1312) likewise seems to prioritize the new name over the old: "The first of [Ṭāriq's] conquests was Jabal al-Fatḥ, called Jabal Ṭāriq."[127] Other Maghribi authors such as Ibn al-Shabbāṭ (d. 1282) seemed to prefer Jabal Ṭāriq.[128]

The new name did not gain widespread traction outside of the Maghrib, however, despite ʿAbd al-Muʾmin's best efforts. After describing Ṭāriq's landing at the mountain and clarifying that it was called Jabal Ṭāriq because of the landing, Ibn al-Athīr, writing in the east, explains: "When ʿAbd al-Muʾmin ruled the territories he commanded the building of a city on this mountain, and he called it Jabal al-Fatḥ. This name did not stick to it and the tongue tended towards the first [*jarrat al-alsina ʿalā al-awwal*]."[129] Other eastern authors writing around the same time, such as Ibn Khallikān (d. 1282), preferred Jabal Ṭāriq.[130] Thus although the name Jabal al-Fatḥ was known outside of the Maghrib a century after ʿAbd al-Muʾmin had changed it, its usage in eastern texts was minimal.

As a symbol derived from the late antique Pillars of Hercules, Jabal Ṭāriq represented the bridging of a physical gap between al-Andalus and the rest of *dār al-islām*, as well as the inevitability of the conquest of Iberia. In the Almohad period, this symbolism was emphasized by ʿAbd al-Muʾmin's decision to change the name of the mountain to Jabal al-Fatḥ, "Conquest Mountain." The political troubles facing al-Andalus in these centuries as a result of the advance of the Christians might have contributed to a renewed focus on the sacred nature of the conquest as "opening" the land for God and for Islam. In creating such a symbol of the mountain, authors inscribed the landscape of al-Andalus with an Islamic meaning that eclipsed the pre-Islamic

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[127] Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, 2:9.
[128] Ibn al-Shabbāṭ, "Kitāb Ṣilat al-Samṭ wa Simat al-Marṭ," 134 and 168.
[129] Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Taʾrīkh*, 4:39.
[130] Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān,* 5:320.

history of the Peninsula. "Ṭāriq's Mountain" became the place from which the conquest of the Peninsula was launched and a symbol of its inevitability, while the Roman Calpe and the Pillars of Hercules were hidden beneath new layers of history that emphasized the connection between the mountain and the conquest.

In endowing the Iberian landscape with an Andalusi history, 9th-13th century authors established the Muslim rulers of Iberia as the hegemonic power in the Peninsula.[131] They wrote over the prior Roman history of the Peninsula, laying claim to the landscape of Iberia by endowing it with a history rooted in the Arabic-Islamic tradition and bracketed by veneration of a hero of conquest. By calling attention to toponyms such as Jabal Ṭāriq, Andalusi authors were consciously claiming the Iberian landscape for themselves and for the Andalusi Arabic tradition. The names that the conquerors gave local landmarks, such as Jabal Ṭāriq, were part of a process in which the Arabic tradition laid claim to the landscape of Iberia by endowing it with a history rooted in the Arabo-Islamic tradition.

Conclusion

In writing stories about the conquest of al-Andalus that emphasized the connection between conquest-era events and the physical space within and around al-Andalus, Muslim authors between the 9th and 13th centuries transformed Iberia into a place that was inscribed with Islamic meaning. This transformation was dynamic: if place is composed of layers that accumulate over time, we must consider the multiple meanings of place and the ways in which

[131] "As Whelan (2005: 62) maintains, these name changes 'act as a spatialization of memory and power, making tangible specific narratives of nationhood and reducing otherwise fluid histories into sanitized, concretized myths that anchor the projection of national identity onto physical territory.'" Rose-Redwood et al., "Geographies of Toponymic Inscription," 457.

its significance changed. In this chapter, I examined two features of the Andalusi landscape that were intimately connected with the conquest and with each other: the Strait of Gibraltar and Jabal Ṭāriq/the Rock of Gibraltar. The Strait was depicted in accounts of the conquest as a liminal space that was neither part of the Islamic world, *dār al-islām*, nor the land of war, *dār al-ḥarb*. The unknown space of the Strait and what lay beyond it and the dangers associated with it were depicted in Islamic tradition as an obstacle to be overcome with God's aid. As time went on, God's aid in surmounting this obstacle was increasingly emphasized by the depiction of prophetic dreams that occurred while the Muslims were physically in this very liminal space.

Likewise, Jabal Ṭāriq was renowned as a symbol of the conquest's success, an association that became more pronounced over time as Andalusi political power waned. Ṭāriq's landing on the mountain after spending time in the liminal space of the Strait – neither in the Islamic world nor in the foreign one – demonstrates the importance of Jabal Ṭāriq as the first foothold of Islam in al-Andalus. From the earliest years of Andalusi history-writing, the mountain's connections with the conquest-era figure of Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād illustrated Jabal Ṭāriq as a symbol of the inevitability of the conquest. As time went on and the symbolic value of the mountain intensified in response to the advances of Christian kingdoms until it became known as Jabal al-Fatḥ (Conquest Mountain) under the Almohads. As Jabal al-Fatḥ, Jabal Ṭāriq became a literal pillar of Islam at the southern tip of the Peninsula that metaphorically closed the Strait and bridged the gap between Islamic North Africa and newly Islamic al-Andalus.

CHAPTER 2: THE CHANGING MEANING OF ETHNICITY IN AL-ANDALUS: THE CASE OF ṬĀRIQ IBN ZIYĀD

The figure of Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād has a long and storied history in both premodern and modern accounts of the Muslim conquest of al-Andalus. In modern studies of the conquest, Ṭāriq is consistently pictured as the Berber commander of the troops who led the conquest of the Iberian Peninsula. Richard Hitchcock, in his recent survey of Andalusi history, introduces Ṭāriq as "the Berber convert Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād" and the client of Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr, who was the governor of Ifrīqiyā.[1] Modern historians, however, often take for granted a historical "fact" that was recognized as disputed even in premodern Arabic chronicles: Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād was not always represented as a Berber. In the early 14th century, Ibn ʿIdhārī (c. 1312) summarizes the disagreement over Ṭāriq's ancestry as follows: "His lineage was contested: most say that he was Berber from the Nafza, and that he was a *mawlā* of Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr, who captured the Berbers. Others say that he was Persian."[2] Modern scholars, however, tend to make the blanket assumption that Ṭāriq was a Berber and often use this "fact" to inform their analyses. Nicola Clarke, for instance, makes this assumption and utilizes it to build her argument about the importance of Ṭāriq's status as a *mawlā*.[3] Janina Safran and Ann Christys likewise identify Ṭāriq as a Berber, as does Amira Bennison, among others.[4] Maḥmūd Shīt Khaṭṭāb is one of the few

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[1] Richard Hitchcock, *Muslim Spain Reconsidered: From 711 to 1502* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 14.
[2] Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Al-Bayān al-Mughrib,* 2:5.
[3] Clarke, *The Muslim Conquest of Iberia,* 64.
[4] Janina M Safran, *Defining Boundaries in Al-Andalus: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Islamic Iberia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013), 1. Christys, "The History of Ibn Ḥabīb and Ethnogenesis in Al-Andalus," 325; and Amira K. Bennison, *Almoravid and Almohad Empires*,

contemporary scholars to actively investigate Ṭāriq's ethnicity, but he sorts through the primary sources to conclude simply that Ṭāriq was a Berber, without considering the historical implications of the changes his character undergoes throughout the centuries.[5]

Although few scholars have focused on the figure of Ṭāriq and his changing ethnic identification, ethnicity and religion in general have long been popular questions when it comes to academic study of al-Andalus. Early in the 20th century, Spanish scholars debated the extent to which the period of Muslim control of Iberia had affected what they saw as the innately "Roman" character of Spaniards.[6] Scholarship has long since moved beyond such essentialism, but intrigued by the ethnic, religious and linguistic diversity of medieval Iberia, scholars remain particularly interested in questions of ethnic and religious "identity." Recently, Jessica Coope

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11. Molina's entry on Ṭāriq in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. typifies 20th century attitudes towards Ṭāriq, introducing him as the "Berber commander of the Muslim troops who undertook the conquest of the Iberian Peninsula." Molina, unlike many others, does later concede that this is "according to the opinion most widely held among chroniclers." L. Molina, "Ṭāriḳ b. Ziyād", in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed.

[5] Maḥmūd Shīt Khaṭṭāb, *Qādat Fatḥ Al-Andalus* (Damascus: Dār Manār li-l-Nashr wa al-Tawzīʿ, 2003), 216-219.

[6] For a summary of this debate and the views of its main debaters, Castro and Sánchez-Albornoz, see Thomas F Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2005), 338. Castro argued that Spanish culture was a result of interaction between different religious groups, while Sánchez-Albornoz held that most elements of Spanish culture were Roman or Gothic rather than Semitic. Yuen-Gen Liang et al. note that "Sánchez-Albornoz's interpretation is thus a clear example of an approach marking Muslims as intruders, not as Iberians, whose cultural impact had been relatively insignificant." Yuen-Gen Liang et al., "Unity and Disunity across the Strait of Gibraltar," *Medieval Encounters* 19, no. 1–2 (January 1, 2013): 16. The idea that the cultural impact of the Muslims was insignificant, when taken to an extreme, can result in works such as Ignacio Olagüe's *Les Arabes n'ont jamais envahi l'Espagne* (Paris: Flammarion, 1969), in which Olagüe argues (all evidence to the contrary) that the Arabs never invaded Iberia. Instead, according to Olagüe, the peninsula faced a socio-economic crisis in the 7-8th centuries, which precipitated the rise of Arianism, which then came to have similar principles as Islam. Iberian Arians adopted parts of Islam when a wandering preacher came to Spain, resulting in the Arabization of the peninsula (but not its conquest). Olagüe claims that because of the climate, Spaniards naturally tended towards polytheism, which resulted in the eventual return of the population to its native Catholicism (with the concept of the Trinity).

published *The Most Noble of People: Religious, Ethnic and Gender Identity in Muslim Spain*, in which she argues that in al-Andalus, all three categories of identity were initially fluid but had become more solidified by the *ṭāʾifa* period.[7] Other more topical studies on various aspects of "identity" include those of Mohamed Meouak, James Monroe, and Göran Larsson on ethnicity;[8] D. Fairchild Ruggles on gender,[9] and Maribel Fierro, Ross Brann and Janina Safran, among others, on religion.[10]

In this chapter, I study the shifting claims regarding Ṭāriq's ethnicity to add to the conversation regarding ethnic "identity" in al-Andalus. As Brubaker and Cooper have suggested, however, I stay away from the nebulous concept of "identity," instead relying on "identification," which Brubaker and Cooper offer as an alternative to "identity." In contrast to "identity," "identification" requires an agent.[11] In this chapter, the agent is the author who identifies (or does not identify) Ṭāriq as a member of a particular ethnic group. We can interrogate the identification of Ṭāriq as a member of an ethnic group with regards to "groupness," the sense of solidarity within members of a group, which is internally defined vis-à-

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[7] Jessica A. Coope, *The Most Noble of People: Religious, Ethnic, and Gender Identity in Muslim Spain* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2016).

[8] Mohamed Meouak, *Ṣaqâliba, eunuques et esclaves à la conquête du pouvoir: géographie et histoire des élites politiques "marginales" dans l'Espagne umayyade* (Helsinki: Academia scientiarum Fennica: Distribution Libr. Tiedekirja, 2004). James T Monroe and Abū ʿĀmir Ibn Gharsiyah, *The Shuʿūbiyya in Al-Andalus: The Risāla of Ibn García and Five Refutations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970). Göran Larsson, *Ibn García's Shuʿūbiyya Letter: Ethnic and Theological Tensions in Medieval al-Andalus* (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

[9] D. Fairchild Ruggles, "Mothers of a Hybrid Dynasty: Race, Genealogy, and Acculturation in al-Andalus," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 34, no. 1 (March 11, 2004): 65–94.

[10] Maribel Fierro, "Religious Dissension in Al-Andalus: Ways of Exclusion and Inclusion," *Al-Qanṭara* 22, no. 2 (December 30, 2001): 463–87. Brann, *Power in the Portrayal.* Safran, *Defining Boundaries in Al-Andalus*.

[11] Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, "Beyond 'Identity,'" *Theory and Society; Dordrecht* 29, no. 1 (February 2000), 14.

vis outsiders.[12] This chapter is also inspired by some of the questions Walter Pohl asks about ethnic identification and how it reflects society:

> When and where did ethnic distinctions matter? … What were the cognitive and political strategies that made use of and created distinct ethnic identities? How diffused were clear notions of ethnic identity inside and outside the communities in question? Which criteria were most commonly used to distinguish between ethnic groups, and what forms of social cohesion did they put into the foreground?[13]

Keeping in mind both the need to depart from the concept of "identity" as well as Pohl's approach, I ask related questions regarding Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād, namely: when and where did Ṭāriq's ethnicity matter? In what ways did shifting depictions of his character reflect social and political changes in al-Andalus and the Maghrib?

This chapter will contribute to the study of ethnic "identity" in al-Andalus through an examination of Ṭāriq's shifting ethnic identification and how and why he came to be identified as a Berber in 9th-13th century chronicles. Importantly, unlike scholars such as Khaṭṭāb, I am not interested in figuring out whether Ṭāriq was "actually" a Berber or not: nor is it of concern in the context of this study whether or not he was even a historical figure.[14] Some might confuse the

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[12] Ibid., 19.
[13] Walter Pohl, "Telling the Difference: Signs of Ethnic Identity," in *Strategies of Distinction: The Construction of Ethnic Communities, 300-800*, ed. Walter Pohl and Helmut Reimitz (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 19-20.
[14] Interestingly, Ṭāriq's ethnicity is a hotly contested matter today even outside of the ivory tower. As of this writing, the Wikipedia Talk page for the entry on Ṭāriq consists primarily of a sometimes-uncivil discussion of his ethnicity, with users claiming that he is variously Berber, Arab, Persian, and even Visigoth. According to the anonymous user Adbouz, for instance, "It is necessary to wash the history from Bedouin fake. Taric (Tarik) has never been part of the Amazigh (Berber) anthroponymes and this name means absolutely nothing. In fact, he was Wisgothe prince heir, grandson of King Alaric, whose throne was usurped by an imposter. Taric was a refugee in Tamazgha (North Africa) where he trained units of agar-Berber mercenaries to reclaim his throne in Spain. There are so agar, Jews and Berbers also came to Spain in the year 711 it does not emphasize that no one had heard about neither Islam (the there was not at that time) or the Koran [sic.]." "Talk:Tariq ibn Ziyad," *Wikipedia*, accessed 16 December 2019, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Talk:Tariq_ibn_Ziyad. The extensive debate occurring on this page, which is used by Wikipedia contributors to discuss the entry in question, suggests that

diachronic approach I take here with an attempt to uncover "historical truths" by peeling back the layers that histories of al-Andalus acquired over time. Ibn ʿIdhārī (c. 1312), for instance, reports significantly more information in his 14th-century *al-Bayān al-Mughrib* than Ibn Ḥabīb (d. 853) does in his *Kitāb al-taʾrīkh*. For the purposes of this chapter, however, it is unimportant whether the information contained in either text is historically accurate. I am interested instead in how depictions of Andalusi history changed over time, and what this tells us about the social context in which they were written. Spiegel calls this the "social logic of the text," that is, how texts themselves reflect the world in which they were written.[15]

Based on a chronological examination of the sources, I argue that Ṭāriq's Berber ethnicity, a commonly accepted fact in contemporary histories of the conquest, was not popularized in Andalusi texts until around the late 13th/early 14th century, which is when we first find references to Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād "the Berber" (see Appendix B). This development in Ṭāriq's ethnicity suggests that sometime in the 13th-14th centuries, the identification of Ṭāriq as a Berber became important. Ultimately, I conclude that Ṭāriq's status as a *mawlā* made him a malleable figure whose background could be represented differently in order to respond to concerns about groupness and political ideology in the Maghrib. Ṭāriq was a mirror in which individuals and groups could reflect their own concerns and interests.

Methodology

In order to determine when Ṭāriq was first identified as a Berber, I used a methodology that relies heavily on digital tools, namely al-Maktaba al-Shāmela [sic], a searchable corpus of

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Ṭāriq's ethnicity remains an important matter of debate even in the 21st century. Just as he was in the 14th century, Ṭāriq is today a mirror in which individuals can see themselves.

[15] Spiegel, *The Past as Text,* xviii.

published Arabic texts.[16] Because this corpus contains thousands of texts, I was able to search many more sources for references to Ṭāriq than would have been possible without the aid of a computer. This allowed me to search for sources that refer to Ṭāriq as a Berber. Al-Maktaba al-Shāmela is not an exhaustive resource, however: in particular, it lacks many Andalusi historical texts. I therefore searched the Andalusi material mainly by hand, relying on both indices and manual searches of the text. I did the same with other prominent historical texts that are excluded from the Shāmela corpus, including al-Yaʿqūbī's *Taʾrīkh*.

It is difficult to make an argument *ex silencio*, and it is possible that I missed a text when investigating the figure of Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād and the ethnicities authors attributed to him. Indeed, as we will see, it is possible that the claim that Ṭāriq was a Berber originated in the 10th century in the lost work of al-Rāzī (d. 955) but was only popularized later, in the 13th century. Regardless, my argument would not change significantly: the absence or scarcity of this information prior to the 13th century in the large corpus I have surveyed suggests that even if the information was available earlier, it became significantly more important around this time.

Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād: early sources

Most accounts of Ṭāriq's role in the conquest of al-Andalus follow a standard narrative: Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr, the Umayyad governor of North Africa, is contacted by Julian, the ruler of Ceuta. Julian's daughter was raped by Roderic, the Visigothic king of Iberia, and he seeks revenge. This prompts him to offer his help to the Muslims to invade al-Andalus. Mūsā appoints Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād, generally identified in primary sources as Mūsā's *mawlā*, or client, as the

[16] https://shamela.ws/. This is a digital tool and sometimes contains errors. When I find a text in Shāmela, I therefore cross-reference the information with a physical copy to ensure accuracy of transcription and citation.

commander of the invasion force. Ṭāriq leads an army that consists mainly of Berbers across the Straits of Gibraltar, soundly defeating Roderic's forces and moving on to conquer Iberia city-by-city. In the process, Ṭāriq finds a mythical object known as the Table of Solomon. Jealous of his success and the booty Ṭāriq has acquired, Mūsā joins him in al-Andalus to continue the conquest. Mūsā and Ṭāriq are eventually recalled by the caliph to Damascus, where Mūsā attempts to claim Ṭāriq's successes as his own and is eventually discredited and shamed. However, each account is slightly different, and sometimes drastically so. It is these differences that allow us to the interpret changing importance of the story, specifically regarding the figure of Ṭāriq. As this chapter will illustrate, Ṭāriq was not identified as a Berber until the 13th century, 500 years after the conquest. How then was he portrayed?

Our closest source to the conquest chronologically is a chronicle that was written in Latin in al-Andalus in the year 754 (our first Arabic source for the conquest was written a century later). This source, known as the *Chronicle of 754*, is knowledgeable about the Islamic world and its political history. It is familiar, for instance, with the succession of caliphs as well as the Islamic *hijrī* dating system.[17] It also reports information about the conquest of Iberia, which occurred in the year 711. In this context, it mentions Ṭāriq briefly: "Mustering his forces, [Roderic] directed armies against the Arabs and the Moors sent by Musa [sic], that is against Tariq ibn Ziyad [sic] and the others, who had long been raiding the province consigned to them and simultaneously devastating many cities."[18] Because the source is so conversant in Islamic history, we reasonably may assume that the figure of Ṭāriq was well known in al-Andalus only four decades after the conquest. However, the only piece of information about Ṭāriq that we can

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[17] "Chronicle of 754," 151-156.
[18] Ibid., 131.

gather with any certainty from this text (other than his early prominence) is that he was one of the "Arabs and Moors sent by Mūsā." The author uses the word "Moor" to indicate people of North African ethnic and geographic origin, whom today we would call Berbers.[19] This corroborates what the Arabic chronicles report about Ṭāriq later, namely that he was chosen by Mūsā to lead an army composed of both Berbers and Arabs into Iberia.

In general, however, the *Chronicle* is more focused on the figure of Mūsā. According to the *Chronicle*:

> While Spain (sic) was being devastated by the aforesaid forces and was greatly afflicted not only by the enemy but also by domestic fury, Musa (sic) himself, approaching this wretched land across the straits of Cádiz and pressing on to the pillars of Hercules – which reveal the entrance to the port like an index to a book or like keys in his hand revealing and unlocking the passage to Spain (sic) – entered the long plundered and godlessly invaded Spain to destroy it.[20]

For the *Chronicle*, it is Mūsā's entrance into al-Andalus rather than Ṭāriq's that is critical. Ṭāriq himself, while important enough to be mentioned by name, is otherwise inconsequential. His ancestry is unspecified except for the fact that he was one of the "Arabs and Moors" who invaded al-Andalus; we know nothing about his relationship to Mūsā beyond Ṭāriq's status as his subordinate.

The earliest Arabic source to record Ṭāriq's role in the conquest is the *Kitāb al-taʾrīkh* of the Andalusi author ʿAbd al-Malik Ibn Ḥabīb (d. 853). Ibn Ḥabīb was an Andalusi jurist of the Mālikī school who had traveled to the east, including to Egypt, where he was educated. His writing is highly influenced by Egyptian historical traditions, some of which he cites directly.[21] Ibn Ḥabīb introduces Ṭāriq with the statement: "Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr directed his *mawlā* Ṭāriq to

[19] Ross Brann, "The Moors?" *Medieval Encounters* 15, no. 2–4 (January 1, 2009), 311.
[20] "Chronicle of 754," 132.
[21] Makki, "Egypt and the Origins of Arabic Spanish Historiography," 204-205.

Tlemcen and ordered him to make an agreement [regarding] the coasts of the sea and its harbors."[22] He then goes on to describe various prophetic statements endorsing the conquest of al-Andalus. He also mentions that Ṭāriq led the initial foray at the head of an army of both Berbers and Arabs, the former vastly outnumbering the latter.[23] In terms of its general outline, Ibn Ḥabīb's description of Ṭāriq is virtually identical to that of the *Chronicle of 754* – namely, that Ṭāriq was appointed by Mūsā to conquer al-Andalus along with a mixed force of Arabs and Berbers. In contrast to the *Chronicle*, however, Ibn Ḥabīb gives a lengthy account of Ṭāriq's involvement in the conquest, including the initial landing in Iberia and the subsequent city-by-city conquest. These stories either originated in Andalusi historiography in the century after the *Chronicle* was written, or they were part of the Egyptian historical material that was incorporated into the Andalusi tradition during Ibn Ḥabīb's generation.

There is one feature, however, which emerges in Ibn Ḥabīb's text and which is not found in the *Chronicle* a century prior. This is Ibn Ḥabīb's identification of Ṭāriq as a *mawlā*, roughly translated here as "client."[24] The term generally refers to freed slaves or converts to Islam.[25] Ibn Ḥabīb's text is our only source for the conquest written in 9th century al-Andalus, but if we look beyond the Andalusi corpus we can find similar information about Ṭāriq in 9th-century Egyptian and Eastern sources. These sources either give no information about Ṭāriq's ancestry, or (like Ibn Ḥabīb) they mention only that Ṭāriq was a *mawlā*, specifically Mūsā's *mawlā*. In his *Futūḥ Miṣr*,

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[22] Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-Taʾrīkh*, 143.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid.
[25] It should be noted that there are many different meanings for the term *mawlā*, with "client" being the most appropriate here. It can also mean patron, freeman, or kinsman, depending on context. For a discussion of these different meanings, see Dolores Oliver Pérez, "Sobre el significado de mawlà en la historia omeya de al-Andalus," *Al-Qanṭara* 22, no. 2 (December 30, 2001): 321–44.

the Egyptian author Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (d. 870) does not use the voice of the narrator to introduce Ṭāriq as a *mawlā*. Instead, Ṭāriq identifies himself as a *mawlā* when he attempts to placate Mūsā upon his arrival in al-Andalus. He tells Mūsā: "I am your *mawlā* and this conquest (*fatḥ*) is yours [belongs to you?]."[26] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam's work was known to be popular in al-Andalus a century after his death and is likely one of the paths through which Egyptian historical traditions entered the Andalusi corpus.[27] We know that the identification of Ṭāriq as a *mawlā* was already present in al-Andalus in Ibn Ḥabīb's time. Because Ibn Ḥabīb also spent time in Egypt and is known to have incorporated Egyptian traditions about al-Andalus into his work, it is possible that the identification of Ṭāriq as a *mawlā* initially came from Egypt. However, since Ibn Ḥabīb does not cite his sources (Egyptian or otherwise) in the segment of the text in which he introduces Ṭāriq, we may never be able to confirm the origin of this idea.

We do know, however, that the identification of Ṭāriq as a *mawlā* had spread beyond Egypt and al-Andalus by the end of the 9th century/first part of the 10th. In his account of the conquests, al-Balādhurī (d. 892), who likely spent most of his life in Baghdad but who traveled throughout the greater Near East,[28] mentions that Ṭāriq was a *mawlā*.[29] Al-Yaʿqūbī (d. 905), who lived mainly in Baghdad and Egypt, also records this information.[30] The great ʿAbbāsid historian al-Ṭabarī (d. 923) likewise gives Ṭāriq's status as a *mawlā* of Mūsā,[31] as does the *Murūj al-Dhahab* of the Baghdadi writer al-Masʿūdī (d. 956).[32] The late 10th and early 11th centuries saw

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[26] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 207. For a lengthier discussion of Ṭāriq's involvement in the conquest of al-Andalus, see pages 204-212.
[27] Makki, "Egypt and the Origins of Arabic Spanish Historiography," 215-216.
[28] C.H. Becker and F. Rosenthal, "al-Balādhurī", in *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed.
[29] Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. M.J. De Goeje (Leiden: Brill, 1866), 230.
[30] Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, 2:341 and 353.
[31] Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh al-Rusūl wa al-Mulūk*, 6:468, 481.
[32] Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, 1:360.

no real change in how authors identified Ṭāriq. In al-Andalus, Umayyad loyalist Ibn al-Qūṭiyya (d. 977) did not identify Ṭāriq as a *mawlā*, declining to introduce him directly at all (although the text does clarify that he is Mūsā's subordinate).[33]

All that we can glean from the very first portrayals of Ṭāriq is that he was consistently depicted as a *mawlā*. This description leaves his ethnicity ambiguous because the term generally refers in some capacity to non-Arab converts to Islam. "*Mawlā*" (pl. *mawālī*) is often translated as "client," but can also mean patron (in this context, the opposite of "client"), freedman, or kinsman.[34] The institution of patronage through which one becomes a client was known as *walāʾ*, of which there are two types. The first is the relationship of patronage that arises upon the manumission of a slave. The second is that which occurs upon the conversion of a non-Arab to Islam, forming a relationship of patronage in which the *mawlā* became part of an Arab tribe despite not being an Arab.[35] For converts in the early period of Islamic history, roughly the first hundred years or so, the formation of a relationship of *walāʾ* between a non-Arab convert and a member of an Arab tribe was integral to becoming part of Muslim society, in which tribal affiliation was extremely important.[36] By the Umayyad period, however, the term *mawālī* in both al-Andalus and the east had come to refer to those converts – like Ṭāriq – free slaves or not, who were associated with the military, and who represented an internal faction known for its staunch loyalty to the ruling Umayyads.[37] As time progressed and the rate of conversion of non-Arabs

[33] Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, *Taʾrīkh Iftitāḥ al-Andalus*, 29-36.
[34] Oliver Pérez, "Sobre el significado de mawlā," 321–44. See also Patricia Crone, *Slaves on Horses: The Evolution of the Islamic Polity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 197-200.
[35] Maribel Fierro, "Mawālī and Muwalladūn in Al-Andalus (Second/Eighth-Fourth/Tenth Centuries)," in *Patronate and Patronage in Early and Classical Islam*, ed. M. Bernards and J. Nawas, Islamic History and Civilization; v. 61. (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 199-200.
[36] Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 49-50.
[37] Elizabeth Urban, "The Early Islamic Mawālī: A Window onto Processes of Identity

increased, the institution of *walāʾ* became much less common.[38]

Even though the institution of *walāʾ* became less common as time went on, *mawālī* like Ṭāriq still played roles in the textual tradition. Patricia Crone notes that there are many "stories depicting non-Arab converts as better Muslims than their Arab counterparts."[39] At first glance, this is one of the ways that we could read the story of Ṭāriq and his eventual triumph over Mūsā. Indeed, Nicola Clarke does just this, reading Ṭāriq's story as a "pro-*mawālī* one," arguing on the basis of Mūsā's discrediting in front of the caliph that "this is a heroic tale of a wily Berber outwitting an Arab – or someone coded as such in the narrative – and receiving caliphal approbation for his defiance."[40] In addition, Clarke argues that Ṭāriq's story and depiction as a *mawlā* "fits with the Arab-Berber cultural rivalry that was a live issue in al-Andalus and North Africa for a long time, whether because of periodic influxes of newly-converted Berbers from the south, or in the language used to express contemporary factionalism and social tensions."[41] However, because Ṭāriq was not yet portrayed as a Berber in the 9th-11th centuries, it is more likely that his description as a *mawlā* in the early period served more to solidify Ṭāriq's status as an Andalusi hero than it did to comment on Arab/Berber rivalries.

The story clearly reads as one that praises (at least some) converts to Islam, but Clarke refers to Ṭāriq as a Berber and analyzes his ethnicity as part and parcel of his status as a *mawlā*.

Construction and Social Change" (Ph.D., The University of Chicago, 2012), 116-117. Ultimately Urban traces the ʿAbbāsid revolution to a new faction of *mawālī* and *aʿājam* against the Arab tribes (Urban, "The Early Islamic Mawālī," 119-120). See also Coope, *The Most Noble of People*, 59; and Clarke, *The Muslim Conquest of Iberia*, 54-55. For *mawālī* in al-Andalus specifically, see Maribel Fierro, "Los mawālī de ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I," *Al-Qanṭara* 20, no. 1 (1999), 90-91; and Oliver Pérez, "Sobre el significado de mawlà," 321–44.

[38] Fierro, "Los mawālī de Abd al-Raḥmān I," 66.

[39] Patricia Crone, *God's Rule: Government and Islam. Six Centuries of Medieval Islamic Political Thought* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 332-333.

[40] Clarke, *The Muslim Conquest of Iberia*, 64.

[41] Ibid.

We have already seen why this assumption is problematic, since taking a diachronic approach to the narratives reveals that there is more to Ṭāriq's story. Ibn Ḥabīb's early text does not tell us that Ṭāriq is a Berber – only that he is a *mawlā*. Nor was he alone among 9th-11th century authors in identifying Ṭāriq as a *mawlā* of uncertain origin, since both eastern and western authors from the period all use the same description. We therefore cannot assume that earlier authors identified him as a Berber; we only know that he was identified as a non-Arab.

Ethnicity in flux: the 11th century

Ibn Ḥabīb's assertion that Ṭāriq is a *mawlā* remains consistent throughout the 9th-10th centuries. In the 11th- early 12th centuries, however, we begin to find more specific references to Ṭāriq's ancestry: sources claim that he is Persian or that he is associated with one of the Arabian tribes. The Andalusi scholar Ibn Ḥazm (d. 1064) is the first source to claim that Ṭāriq is a *mawlā* of Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr and from the Ṣadif tribe (on which see below). We also find these claims in the anonymous 11th century text called the *Akhbār Majmūʿa*, which also reports that Ṭāriq is Persian. These developments arose in the 11th century due to the rise in importance of ethnicity in al-Andalus after the *fitna* (period of dissension, disunity and civil war) following the collapse of the Umayyad caliphate in 1009, as well as due to increased interest in the conquest of al-Andalus during the same period. Although Ṭāriq's ethnicity remained in flux in the 11th century, it was no longer entirely undefined: he was a *mawlā* of Mūsā or of the Ṣadif, or he was a member of the Ṣadif tribe (and therefore Arab) or was Persian.

Ibn Ḥazm, a pro-Umayyad Andalusi scholar who lived through the breakup of the Umayyad caliphate and the tumultuous years that followed, wrote widely in various fields including theology and history. In his *Risāla fī Jamal Futūḥ al-Islām*, one of his numerous

epistles, Ibn Ḥazm states that "the conquest occurred in the year 92 of the *hijra,* and Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād entered [al-Andalus]. It is said that he is from the Ṣadif, and it is [also] said that he was the *mawlā* of Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr."[42] We have already examined the identification of Ṭāriq as Mūsā's *mawlā*, which was the primary (and widespread) descriptor in the 9th-10th centuries. The Ṣadif identification is new, however. The tribe is barely visible in Islamic historiography, but we do find some references to it. The manuscript of the *Akhbār Majmūʿa*, as we will see, gives some diacritics, including in this case a *kasra* to indicate that the reading of the word *ṣ-d-f* should be "Ṣadif."[43] James follows this diacritic marking in his translation, as does Oliver Pérez in her discussion of Ṭāriq.[44] We also find this vowel sequence specified in Ibn Khallikān's (d. 1282) *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*.[45]

Besides the vowels contained in the word, information about the tribe is minimal. We know from Ibn Khallikān and others that the Ṣadif were a Yemeni tribe. Ibn Khallikān informs us that the Ṣadif originally came from Ḥimyar but emigrated to Egypt.[46] In his text *Jamharat Ansāb al-ʿArab*, Ibn Ḥazm mentions that they were a tribe from Hadramout.[47] Al-Ṭabarī (d. 923) also mentions an individual from Hadramout who was from the tribe.[48] Since the Ṣadif were known to have settled in Egypt, one possibility is that this attribution entered the Andalusi/Maghribi corpus via the Egyptian historical tradition.[49] However, this information

[42] Ibn Ḥazm, *Rasāʾil Ibn Ḥazm,* 2:128.
[43] See David James's discussion of the manuscript in his introduction to *A History of Early Al-Andalus,* 33-42.
[44] Trans. James, *A History of Early al-Andalus*, 49-50. Oliver Pérez, "Sobre el significado de mawlà," 336.
[45] Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān,* 3:138.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat Ansāb al-ʿArab*, 1:461.
[48] al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh al-Rusūl wa al-Mulūk*, 5:182.
[49] Makki, "Egypt and the Origins of Arabic Spanish Historiography."

appears in the 11th century, whereas the transfer of knowledge from Egypt to the west mostly occurred earlier. Thus, this is an unlikely explanation. There is very little information about the tribe attested elsewhere in the Islamic historical tradition of the 9th-13th centuries; it was hardly as well known as the Banū Kalb, for instance.

In general, genealogy was vitally important in the Islamic Near East, and an individual's worth was determined in part by his or her *nasab*, or lineage.[50] As a scholar, Ibn Ḥazm was particularly interested in genealogy: indeed, he wrote a whole book about it (the aforementioned *Jamharat*). The Umayyads relied on their Arab self-identification as part of their political ideology.[51] Ibn Ḥazm, one of their most ardent supporters, was likewise pro-Arab.[52] Because of his interest in genealogy and his pro-Arab orientation, he may very well have been the first author to record Ṭāriq's ancestry from the Ṣadif. Portraying Ṭāriq as an Arab served Ibn Ḥazm's political interests by associating such a prominent figure from Andalusi history with an Arab tribe. Connecting Ṭāriq to the Ṣadif, a Yemeni tribe with a known presence in North Africa, also enhanced his prestige by giving him a logical and direct connection to the Arabian Peninsula while augmenting the prestige of the Ṣadif by providing them with a heroic relative who was well-known in Andalusi and Maghribi chronicles.

Like Ibn Ḥazm, the *Akhbār Majmūʿa* (11th century), claims that Ṭāriq is a *mawlā* of the Ṣadif tribe. As a text, the *Akhbār Majmūʿa* is difficult to analyze because its history – including dating and authorship – is uncertain. Eduardo Manzano Moreno argues that while its

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[50] Roy Mottahedeh, *Loyalty and Leadership in Early Islamic Society* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 98. For a discussion of the significance of genealogy in early Islamic society, see Christys, "The History of Ibn Ḥabīb and Ethnogenesis in Al-Andalus," 324-325 and 337-343.
[51] Coope, *The Most Noble of People*, 26, 35.
[52] See R. Arnaldez, "Ibn Ḥazm", in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed.

composition cannot be dated before the 11th century, it likely contains fragments of earlier texts.[53] We cannot be sure of the dating for the parts of the text dealing with the conquest, but the fact that pre-11th century texts do not identify Ṭāriq's ethnicity at all suggests that an 11th century date is likely. It should be noted that there is a possibility that the information about Ṭāriq in the *Akhbār Majmūʿa* originated in the lost portions of the *Muqtabis* of Ibn Ḥayyān (d. 1076), especially given some similarities between portions of the *Akhbār Majmūʿa* and what has been preserved of the *Muqtabis*.[54] Even if this is the case, it suggests that interest in Ṭāriq's ancestry and social position was growing in the 11th century.

In one report, the *Akhbār Majmūʿa* records evidence that Ṭāriq's ancestry was a matter of dispute. It claims, as previous texts do, that Ṭāriq was Mūsā's *mawlā*. In addition, however, the *Akhbār Majmūʿa* indicates that some people thought that Ṭāriq was a *mawlā* of the Ṣadif:

> It is said that he was not [Mūsā's] client but a client of [the Banū] Ṣadif. Mūsā dispatched him with seven thousand Muslims most of them Berbers or clients – hardly an Arab among them – in the four ships which were all they had, in the year 92/710-711. The ships crossed over, repeatedly carrying [over] the infantry and cavalry, and landing them at an impregnable mountain on the coast where they disembarked.[55]

This dispute is further evidence that sometime in the 11th century Ṭāriq's ancestry and position in society became more important. Interest in his character generated multiple theories about his relationships, which had previously been undefined.

Unlike Ibn Ḥazm, who states ambiguously that Ṭāriq was said to be "from the Ṣadif," the *Akhbār Majmūʿa* claims that Ṭāriq was specifically a *mawlā* of the Ṣadif tribe. We have already examined the depiction of Ṭāriq as Mūsā's *mawlā* in the context of its origin in the 9th century or earlier, and we have also discussed the Ṣadif tribe. The identification of Ṭāriq as a *mawlā* of the

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[53] Manzano-Moreno, "Oriental 'Topoi' in Andalusian Historical Sources," 43-44.
[54] David James, "Introduction," *A History of Early al-Andalus*, 20-22.
[55] Translated by David James in ibid., 49-50. Arabic in *Akhbār Majmūʿa*, 6-7.

Ṣadif tribe, however, is a slightly different construction than that presented by Ibn Ḥazm. The differences in the construction of the phrase leave it open as to whether Ṭāriq was a *mawlā* of the Ṣadif tribe in the sense of "client," in which case he would have been non-Arab, or *mawlā* in the sense of "kinsman," in which case he would have been Arab. In her article "Sobre el significado de *mawlà* en la historia omeya de al-Andalus," Dolores Oliver Pérez suggests that in al-Andalus the term *mawlā* had different connotations surrounding ethnicity than in the east. In contrast to Patricia Crone, who investigates Persia and is adamant that a *mawlā* can never be an Arab,[56] Oliver Pérez argues that in al-Andalus, *mawlā* could and did sometimes suggest Arab ethnicity.[57] Additionally, she argues that the statement "*mawālī banū* [tribe]," as used in the *Akhbār Majmūʿa*, does not mean *mawālī* in the sense of "clients," but often means "kinsmen" or "relatives."[58]

Oliver Pérez's argument suggests that the portrayal of Ṭāriq as a *mawlā* of the Ṣadif definitively implies that he is an Arab kinsman of the tribe. Indeed, according to Oliver Pérez, the text describes Ṭāriq as "árabe de la tribu de Ṣadif."[59] In fact, however, the *Akhbār Majmūʿa* states that "*yuqāl annahu laysa bi-mawlāhu [Mūsā] wa-annahu min mawālī Ṣadif*."[60] James accurately translates this statement as "it is said that he [Ṭāriq] was not [Mūsā's] client but a client of [the Banū] Ṣadif."[61] The text of the *Akhbār Majmūʿa* simply does not give us enough evidence to conclude with certainty, as Oliver Pérez does, that it represented Ṭāriq as an Arab. The parallel construction of the text suggests that the reader should understand both "*mawlāhu*

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[56] Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 56-57.
[57] Oliver Pérez, "Sobre el significado de mawlà," 336.
[58] Ibid., 325.
[59] Ibid., 336.
[60] *Akhbār Majmūʿa,* 6.
[61] Translated by David James in *A History of Early al-Andalus*, 49-50.

[Mūsā]" and "*mawālī Ṣadif*" as referring to *mawlā/mawālī* in the sense of "client." This leaves open the possibility that Ṭāriq was not an Arab. Ultimately, the text leaves his ancestry ambiguous: he may have been a non-Arab client or an Arab kinsman of the Ṣadif.

As discussed, the *Akhbār Majmūʿa*'s exact date of composition is unknown, though it was most liked composed in the 11th century, with sections of the text originating earlier. Oliver Pérez dates the portion of the text dealing with the conquest of al-Andalus to the 9th century.[62] I am skeptical about her conclusion, since the *Akhbār Majmūʿa* traces Ṭāriq's ancestry to the Ṣadif or to Persia, a claim that is not found anywhere else prior to the 11th century.[63] Were this portion of the text to date to the 9th century, as Oliver Pérez argues, one would expect at least some discussion of Ṭāriq's ancestry to appear in other earlier sources. Given that the sources up to the 10th/11th centuries are remarkably consistent on Ṭāriq's background and leave his ethnicity ambiguous, I am unconvinced that it makes sense for this part of the text to have been composed earlier. In the absence of additional information, it makes more sense to conclude that the disagreement about Ṭāriq's ancestry contained in the *Akhbār Majmūʿa* is a late 10th/early 11th century development.

In addition to its discussion of Ṭāriq's relationship with the Ṣadif, the *Akhbār Majmūʿa* makes a second claim concerning Ṭāriq's origins that leaves open the possibility that he is Persian. According to the text, Mūsā called for "a *mawlā* of his who was one of his vanguard,

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[62] Dolores Oliver Pérez, "De Vuelta Sobre El Ajbar Maymu´a: La Historia de La Invasión y de Los Valíes," *Anaquel De Estudios Árabes*, no. 13 (2002), 132.

[63] The tracing of Ṭāriq's ancestry to Persia or to the Ṣadif only becomes widespread closer to the 13th century. See for instance the reference to the Ṣadif in Ibn al-Shabbāṭ, "Kitāb Ṣilat al-Samṭ wa Simat al-Marṭ," 131. Ibn al-Athīr also reports the tribal affiliation in Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Taʾrīkh*, 4:21. Ibn ʿIdhārī reports the affiliation with Persia in Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, 2:5.

who was called Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād. He was *fārisan hamadāniyan*."[64] James translates "*fārisan hamadāniyan*" as "a champion of Hamadān,"[65] but we can read the meaning of this line in multiple ways. "*Fāris(an)*," which James translates as "champion," can be understood as "horseman" or "knight."[66] The second word, "*hamadāni(yan)*," has two possible meanings. First, it could refer to the Yemeni Hamdān tribe.[67] This would give Ṭāriq a Yemeni Arab origin; this would be consistent with the text's other claim (as discussed above) that he was from "*mawālī Ṣadif*." If we understand "*mawālī*" here in the sense of "kinsmen" (following Oliver Pérez), we can reconcile both claims: Ṭāriq was a Yemeni Arab from the Ṣadif.

The second possibility is that "*hamadāni(yan)*" instead refers to the region of Hamadān in Persia. This would imply instead that Ṭāriq was Persian, and a *mawlā* (in the sense of "client") of either Mūsā or the Ṣadif. It is also possible that the text of the *Akhbār Majmūʿa* might have been intended to read "*fārisiyan hamadāniyan*." The addition of a *yāʾ* in the first word would change the translation to read that Ṭāriq was a "Hamadānī Persian," instead of a "knight/horseman of Hamadān." Regardless of what the initial reading was, the similarities between the word for "horseman" (*fāris*) and the word for "Persian" (*fārisī*) could explain why later authors speculated that Ṭāriq was Persian.[68]

By the 11th century Ṭāriq's ethnicity was clearly a matter of contention: claims circulated that he was a *mawlā* of ambiguous ethnicity, that he was Arab, and possibly that he was Persian. The emergence of this newly contested ancestry in the 11th century resulted from the

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[64] *Akhbār Majmūʿa*, 6. This edition of the text reads "*hamadāniyan*" rather than "*hamadhāniyan*;" I was unable to determine whether this is in the manuscript.
[65] David James, trans., *A History of Early Al-Andalus,* 49.
[66] "*Fāris*" in Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*.
[67] J. Schleifer and W. Montgomery Watt, "Hamdān", in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed.
[68] See Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, 2:5.

convergence of several historical factors, including the *fitna* in al-Andalus after the fall of the caliphate, cultural developments during the *ṭāʾifa* period, and the fall of Toledo to the Christian kingdoms in 1085. All these factors created a social environment that was ripe for the emergence of groupness and ethnic identification in al-Andalus.

Since the beginning of the Muslim presence on the Iberian Peninsula, Andalusi society had always been multiethnic. Arabs and large numbers of Berbers settled in the Peninsula after the conquest, joining the native Iberians already there. Despite this, however, in the eighth and ninth centuries the ruling Andalusi Umayyads based their legitimacy in large part on their Arabness. This was to some degree a problem because of the ethnic heterogeneity of Andalusi society. Two large groups of particular importance were Berbers and *muwalladūn*, native Iberian converts.[69] There were also many slaves from eastern Europe, who were known as *ṣaqāliba* and who mainly served in the military.[70] The Berbers and *muwalladūn* rebelled from time to time during Umayyad rule; Coope traces this in part to the "ideology of Arab superiority and privilege that the Umayyads and their Arab followers clung to."[71] In the middle of the 10th century, however, the ruling Umayyad emir ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III declared himself caliph, setting himself up in opposition to the ʿAbbāsids and the Fāṭimids. As Monroe argues, the subsequent need to legitimize the caliphate in the face of political competition corresponded to the rise of an Andalusi regional "identity" (or sense of belonging) that encompassed individuals of all ethnic backgrounds.[72]

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[69] Coope, *The Most Noble of People,* 26.
[70] Ibid., 30.
[71] Ibid., 26. See also Coope's discussion of these revolts, those of the Banū Dhū Nūn and Ibn Ḥafṣūn, on pp. 128-143 of the same text.
[72] Monroe, *The Shuʿūbiyya in Al-Andalus*, 5. In addition, see Coope, *The Most Noble of People*, 26, and König, *Arabic-Islamic Views of the Latin West,* 168.

Ethnic tensions never disappeared, however: after the fall of the caliphate in the 11th century, al-Andalus entered a period of *fitna*, or civil war. During this period, different factions based on ethnic groups struggled for political power following the vacuum left by the fall of the Umayyads. Wasserstein identifies the primary factions as the Berbers, Slavs (*ṣaqāliba*) and Andalusis, a group that included both native Andalusis and Arabs.[73] Scales likewise identifies multiple Arab factions in addition to the Berbers and the Slavs.[74] This fracturing of Andalusi politics along ethnic lines in the first part of the 11th century indicates a heightened awareness of ethnicity and an increase in individuals' identification with these ethnic groups. This awareness and self-identification is reflected in the emergence of Ṭāriq's contested ethnicity, which had been left ambiguous for several centuries prior.

In addition to the formation of political alliances along ethnic lines, the 11th century also saw the development of a literary movement in al-Andalus called the *shuʿūbiyya*, which may have contributed to the importance of Persia in Andalusi historiography (and Ṭāriq's Persian ethnicity). This movement, which first appeared in the Near East, professed the superiority of non-Arabs over Arabs.[75] Especially important in Persia, the *shuʿūbiyya* movement was literary rather than social, and confined to the textual sphere.[76] In al-Andalus, authors began writing anti-Arab epistles during the *ṭāʾifa* period, most famously the *risāla* of Ibn García.[77] During this period, al-Andalus was ruled by multiple small kingdoms (sing. *ṭāʾifa*). Rather than searching solely within Iberian history for his justification, Ibn García's letter provided legitimation for a

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[73] Wasserstein, *The Rise and Fall of the Party-Kings,* 55-60.
[74] Peter C Scales, *The Fall of the Caliphate of Córdoba: Berbers and Andalusis in Conflict* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 110, 131.
[75] Monroe, *The Shuʿūbiyya in Al-Andalus*, 1.
[76] Ibid., 2.
[77] Ibid., 11.

non-Arab *ṭāʾifa* king by drawing on Persian history and traditions of rule.[78]

However, it is important not to overstate the significance of this literary movement regarding ethnic identification in al-Andalus. The importance of Persian traditions in the *shuʿūbiyya* texts is one reason why Ṭāriq may have become associated with a Persian background, but Persian identification was important elsewhere in 11th century Andalusi society as well. Ibn Ḥazm, for instance, claimed a Persian lineage for himself.[79] Apart from the influence of the *shuʿūbiyya*, claiming Persian ancestry, with its ancient history and connections to the earliest period of Islam, was one way in which individuals could attempt to enhance their prestige. Larsson reads these claims of Persian ancestry as connected to the rise of the ʿAbbāsids and non-Arab groups in Muslim society.[80] Such claims were due to Persia's centrality in the cultural milieu of the Islamic world and Persian authors' role in the birth of the *shuʿūbiyya* movement, but were far from the only factor that led to the emergence of claims regarding Ṭāriq's Persian ethnicity.

While ethnic conflict during the *fitna* at the start of the 11th century led to increased awareness of ethnic identifiers in Andalusi society, loss of political unity and the fall of Toledo in 1085 contributed to a renewed focus in historical accounts on the initial conquest of al-Andalus. We see this heightened focus on the conquest in its shifting significance in late 11th and early 12th century historical chronicles. As we saw in chapter 1, portrayals of Jabal Ṭāriq transformed around the same time, becoming more overtly ideological by the middle of the 12th century.[81] Likewise, as we will see in chapter 4, 12th-century texts began to use polemical

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[78] Larsson, *Ibn García's Shuʿūbiyya Letter,* 201.
[79] Al-Ḥumaydī, a student of Ibn Ḥazm, records Ibn Ḥazm's supposed Persian origin in his biographical dictionary. Al-Ḥumaydī, *Jadhwat al-Muqtabis*, 449.
[80] Larsson, *Ibn García's Shuʿūbiyya Letter*, 42.
[81] For instance, the fact that Jabal Ṭāriq became alternatively known as Jabal al-Fatḥ in the 12th

vocabulary to describe the Visigoths. This renewed focus on the conquest led to an increase in Ṭāriq's importance in the conquest accounts. This increased importance led in turn to more extensive debates about his character, including his ethnicity, which was shaped by the consequences of the *fitna* at the beginning of the period. As a *mawlā*, Ṭāriq was in effect a blank slate regarding ethnicity. In addition, because there were fewer *mawālī* in al-Andalus during this later period of Andalusi history, Ṭāriq's status as a *mawlā* became less important as readers became more interested in his ethnicity.[82] We begin to see the emergence of a debate over this ethnicity, as evidenced by the claims made by Ibn Ḥazm and the *Akhbār Majmūʿa* that he was either a non-Arab *mawlā*, an Arab of the Ṣadif, or a Persian.

Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād al-Barbarī: Ṭāriq in the 13th-14th centuries

Although Ṭāriq was first represented in 8th-10th century Arabic accounts as a *mawlā* of uncertain ethnicity, by the late 11th/early 12th century we find claims that he was Persian and Mūsā's *mawlā*, or a *mawlā* of the Yemeni Ṣadif tribe, or an Arab member of that tribe. This brings us to the changing nature of Ṭāriq in the 13th-14th centuries, at which point we find authors present the additional claim that Ṭāriq was a Berber. This assertion was circulating in both the east and the west by 1282 CE: Maghribi authors of the 13th and 14th centuries who mention this include Ibn al-Shabbāṭ (d. 1282) and Ibn ʿIdhārī (d. 1312).[83] Eastern authors Ibn Khallikān (d. 1282), al-Dhahabī (d. 1352-53), and al-Ṣafadī (d. 1363) also explicitly state that Ṭāriq is a

century emphasized the importance of the conquest. Ibn Bashkuwāl cited by al-Maqqarī in *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*, 1:230-231.

[82] Coope, *The Most Noble of People*, 60.

[83] Ibn al-Shabbāṭ, "Kitāb Ṣilat al-Samṭ wa Simat al-Marṭ," 131. Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, 2:5.

Berber.[84] This new development in Ṭāriq's backstory resulted from intensified interest in the conquest period of Andalusi history as well as a chain of social and political developments in the Maghrib that resulted in the coalescence of the term "Berber" as an ethnic category.

Chronologically, Ibn Khallikān and Ibn al-Shabbāṭ are among the first authors who refer to Ṭāriq as a Berber, both in the second half of the 13th century. It is unlikely, however, that this claim was first made around that time, as it would have taken time to spread to both the west and east. Ibn Khallikān, a judge and biographer who spent much of his life in Syria and Egypt but was born in Irbil, included information about Ṭāriq in his comprehensive biography of notable figures, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān wa Anbāʾ Abnāʾ al-Zamān*.[85] According to Ibn Khallikān, Mūsā "appointed as governor of Tangier and its districts his *mawlā* Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād al-Barbarī. It is [also] said that he is from the Ṣadif."[86] He provides no citation for this information.

In contrast, Ibn al-Shabbāṭ, the first Maghribi author to make this claim, provides much more extensive information about Ṭāriq. In fact, he includes a discussion of the disagreement about his ethnicity. In his *Kitāb Ṣilat al-Samṭ wa Simat al-Marṭ,* he first introduces Ṭāriq in the context of the conquest of al-Andalus. He initially notes, "It is said that Ṭāriq was a *mawlā* of Ṣadif, and that he was a Berber from the tribe of Nafza."[87] Ibn al-Shabbāṭ is also one of the first authors to give a lengthier genealogy for Ṭāriq, referring to him as "Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād ibn ʿAbd Allāh" (more on the significance of this later).[88] He returns to the conquest later in his text, this

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[84] Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, 5:320. Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām wa Wafīyat al-Mashāhir wa al-Aʿlām*, ed. Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf, 17 vols. (Baghdad: Maṭbaʾat ʿIsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1977), 2:1118. Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī bi-l-Wafayāt*, ed. Aḥmad Al-Arnāʾūt and Tarkī Muṣṭafā, 29 vols. (Beirut: Dār Aḥīāʾ al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, 2000), 16:220.
[85] J.W. Fück, "Ibn K̲h̲allikān", in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed.
[86] Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, 5:320.
[87] Ibn al-Shabbāṭ, "Kitāb Ṣilat al-Samṭ wa Simat al-Marṭ," 131.
[88] Ibid.

time giving a much more extensive report on Ṭāriq's ethnicity. First, he cites al-Bakrī (most likely the Andalusi geographer, d. 1094) that "Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād was a Hamadānī Persian *mawlā* of Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr (*Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād hādhā mawlā Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr fārisī hamadhānī*)."[89] This phrasing (*fārisī hamadhānī*) is very similar to what we saw earlier in the *Akhbār Majmūʿa*, but with a key difference: rather than the word "*fāris*" (horseman/knight), this text uses "*fārisī*" (Persian). Thus, unlike the *Akhbār Majmūʿa*'s ambiguous wording, this phrasing definitively indicates that Ṭāriq was a Hamadānī Persian. Although Ibn al-Shabbāṭ cites al-Bakrī for this information, I was unable to find it in either of al-Bakrī's preserved texts, the *Kitāb al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik* or the *Muʿjam mā Istaʿjam*. Unless the quotation was falsely attributed to him, it originated in one of al-Bakrī's texts that have since been lost. Assuming the attribution is correct, this information strengthens the argument that the claim that Ṭāriq was Persian initially arose in the 11th century, which is also the most likely date of composition of the *Akhbār Majmūʿa*.

Ibn al-Shabbāṭ then presents previously unreported information with implications for the origin of the attribution of Ṭāriq's Berber ethnicity. As we saw, Ibn al-Shabbāṭ first mentions that Ṭāriq was a Berber, but without attributing the information to anyone. Later on, after citing al-Bakrī regarding Ṭāriq's Persian ethnicity, Ibn al-Shabbāṭ reports that "al-Rāzī said: Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād was a Berber from Nafza, and it is said that they are among the *mawālī* of the Ṣadif."[90] This is problematic because if the attribution of the quotation to al-Rāzī (d. 955) is correct, it would suggest that the ascription of a Berber ancestry to Ṭāriq actually had already appeared in the 10th century. However, if this was the case, it is odd that no other authors in the intervening three centuries (between the 10th and 13th centuries) report this information, since al-Rāzī's work

[89] Ibid., 168.
[90] Ibid.

was foundational to Andalusi historiography and he is frequently cited for other historical information.[91]

There are two different explanations for the appearance of this information in Ibn al-Shabbāṭ's 13th century text: first, we can assume that the attribution of the quotation to al-Rāzī is accurate. Second, we can assume that the quotation is falsely attributed to al-Rāzī. In the first case (assuming correct attribution), the fact remains that no one else picked it up until the 13th century. In the second case (assuming incorrect attribution), the quotation was probably attributed falsely to al-Rāzī to make it more authoritative. In either case, the question is: why did this information suddenly become so important in the 13th century?

We can pinpoint the emergence of a Berber identification for Ṭāriq to the middle of the 13th century. Interestingly, this piece of information is absent from such crucial early 13th century texts as the *al-Kāmil fī al-Taʾrīkh* of Ibn al-Athīr (d. 1233). Ibn al-Athīr's work is comprehensive, and he includes a significant amount of information about al-Andalus in comparison with other eastern authors. According to Ibn al-Athīr, Mūsā "appointed as governor of Tangier his *mawlā* Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād. It is said that he is Ṣadifī."[92] Strikingly, other than its lack of reference to Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād "al-Barbarī," the construction of this sentence is almost identical to the report given half a century later by Ibn Khallikān (see above). That Ibn al-Athīr did not include the *nisba* al-Barbarī for Ṭāriq suggests that he did not know of it, especially considering how prominent the attribution became after 1282.

Other early 13th century texts that do not mention Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād "al-Barbarī" include

[91] For a brief discussion of al-Rāzī's place in Andalusi historiography, see König, *Arabic-Islamic Views,* 163-165.
[92] Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Taʾrīkh*, 4:21. Ibn al-Athīr reiterates that Ṭāriq was Mūsā's *mawlā* elsewhere as well: see 4:35.

the *Bughyat al-Multamis fī Taʾrīkh Rijāl Ahl al-Andalus* of al-Ḍabbī (d. 1203) and the *Kitāb al-Iktifāʾ fī Akhbār al-Khulafāʾ* of the Tunisian Ibn al-Kardabūs (c. 12th-13th centuries). Al-Ḍabbī reports only that Ṭāriq is Mūsā's *mawlā*. He also gives him an alternate name in addition to Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād: Ṭāriq ibn ʿAmr.[93] Ibn al-Kardabūs likewise tells us only that Ṭāriq is Mūsā's *mawlā*, which is also much less information than we would expect.[94] The lack of information about Ṭāriq "the Berber" in early 13th century texts contrasts with the prevalence of this attribution in texts written towards the end of the century, and suggests that the theory emerged sometime in the middle of the century.

Although the claim that Ṭāriq was a Berber only emerged in the 13th century, some authors attempt to trace it back to the first few centuries of Islam (Ibn al-Shabbāṭ is the only one to cite al-Rāzī). Building on the earlier claim made by Ibn al-Shabbāṭ that his full name was "Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād ibn ʿAbd Allāh," Ibn ʿIdhārī (c. 1312) reports that Ṭāriq's genealogy was: Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Rafhū ibn Warfajūm ibn Yanzaghāsin ibn Walāṣ ibn Yaṭūfat ibn Nafzāwa (more on the significance of this later).[95] For this genealogy, he directly cites Ṣāliḥ ibn Abī Ṣāliḥ, who might refer to one of two known transmitters of hadith. The first, Ṣāliḥ ibn Abī Ṣāliḥ al-Samān, reported hadith from his father, who reported directly from Abū Hurayra, one of the Companions of the Prophet.[96] His death date is not given in the sources, but since he lived within three generations of the Prophet, he likely died sometime in the 8th century. The second transmitter with this name, Ṣāliḥ ibn Abī Ṣāliḥ al-Asadī, reported from Muḥammad ibn al-

[93] Aḥmad ibn Yahyā al-Ḍabbī, *Bughyat al-Multamis fī Taʾrīkh Rijāl Ahl al-Andalus*, ed. Ibrāhīm Al-Ibyārī (Cairo and Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-Maṣrī and Dār al-Kitāb al-Lubnānī, 1989), 27-28.
[94] Ibn al-Kardabūs, *Taʾrīkh al-Andalus*, 46.
[95] Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, 2:5.
[96] Yūsuf ibn al-Zakī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl fī Asmāʾ al-Rijāl*, ed. Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf (Beirut: Muʾasasat al-Risāla, 1988), 57-58.

Ashʿath, from ʿĀʾisha.[97] He is again within three generations of the Prophet. The attribution of the report to Ṣāliḥ ibn Abī Ṣāliḥ is almost certainly false since we do not find it reported from him in earlier sources. At some point before it was incorporated into Ibn ʿIdhārī's text, this *isnād*, or transmission chain, was appended to the report to lend it greater authenticity.

The claim that Ṭāriq was a Berber became widespread towards the end of the 13th century and beyond, but scholars did not forget previous claims. Instead, as we have seen, they offered several ideas about Ṭāriq's ancestry, sometimes giving their own opinion about which was correct and which was not. At the beginning of the 14th century, Ibn ʿIdhārī provides a brief summary of the state of the disagreement: "His lineage was contested: most say that he was a Berber from the Nafza, and that he was a *mawlā* of Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr, who captured the Berbers. Others say that he was a Persian."[98] Clearly, he was still a contested figure in the 13th century and as such was claimed by many different groups within Islamic society. Clarke places Ṭāriq's Berber ethnicity within the context of both an early Berber-Arab rivalry and of the 11th century *shuʿūbiyya* movement.[99] However, as we have seen, returning to the primary sources offers an important corrective to her argument: Ṭāriq was not definitively a Berber until the 13th century, which is several centuries after the *shuʿūbī* debate was at its fiercest in al-Andalus, and many centuries more after we find the first mention of Ṭāriq in the *Chronicle of 754* and Ibn Ḥabīb's 9th century text. In addition, the *shuʿūbiyya* movement was generally confined to the literary sphere. There must therefore be an alternate explanation as to this sudden change in Ṭāriq's ethnic identification.

In the first few centuries of Andalusi history, the word "Berber" had a negative

[97] Ibid., 59-60.
[98] Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, 2:5.
[99] Clarke, *The Muslim Conquest of Iberia*, 64.

connotation. It was not used to describe the tribal blocs of peoples that today we call "Berbers," because these tribes did not act as a united "Berber" faction. As such, 8th and 9th century Arabic authors refer to specific political factions using tribal appellations such as Zanāta and Hawwāra.[100] In contrast, the term "Berber" generally referred to North African emigrants who settled in the countryside and were considered "uncivilized."[101] In the 9th century, Ibn Ḥabīb writes that when the caliph asked Mūsā about the different peoples he had met on campaign, Mūsā responded, with regard to the Berbers: "They resemble as a people the Arabs with respect to their battle, their courage, their patience, their chivalry, and their generosity, but they are the most treacherous of people. They have no loyalty or [adherence to] covenants."[102] Ibn Ḥabīb's representation of the Berbers was not an uncommon one, and it did not disappear: according to Ibn ʿAbdūn (d. 1134), "the Berbers are people who don't hesitate to kill or wound when they are angered."[103]

The animosity felt by Andalusi authors towards Berbers deepened in the 11th century after the fall of the Umayyad caliphate. Many blamed the Berbers for the end of Umayyad rule in al-Andalus.[104] At this time, Andalusi politics fragmented along ethnic lines.[105] Individuals began to identify as "Berbers" in order to form a united faction to compete with "Arab" Andalusi elites.[106] There were Berber rulers of some of the *ṭāʾifa* kingdoms that appeared in the 11th

[100] Ramzi Rouighi, *Inventing the Berbers: History and Ideology in the Maghrib* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019), 34-35.
[101] Ibid., 39.
[102] Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-Taʾrīkh*, 152.
[103] Quoted by Bennison in *Almoravid and Almohad Empires,* 126.
[104] Rouighi, *Inventing the Berbers*, 62.
[105] See Wasserstein, *The Rise and Fall of the Party-Kings* and Peter C Scales, *The Fall of the Caliphate of Córdoba.*
[106] Rouighi, *Inventing the Berbers*, 60.

century.[107] "Berber" thus became primarily a term with ideological implications, with kinship being an important component.[108] Although a pan-Berber political agenda did not exist, an "Arab/Berber dualism" remained relevant to political ideology throughout the Almoravid and Almohad periods of Andalusi and Maghribi history.[109]

Thus a "Berber" ethnicity juxtaposed with "Arab" and "Persian" ethnicities arose in the centuries following the *ṭāʾifa* period of Andalusi history. Rouighi argues that this "Berber" ethnicity existed by the fourteenth century,[110] and we can see its emergence vis-à-vis other ethnicities in the literature and ideology of the Islamic world beginning in the 12th century. For instance, the Almohads (12th-early 13th century) believed that "the Berbers had a mission to restore the Dar al-Islam [sic] which the Arabs had failed to preserve."[111] In addition, Berbers began to write their own works incorporating themselves into Abrahamic history.[112] We also see the emergence of texts such as *Mafākhir al-Barbar* extolling the virtues of the Berbers.[113]

Ṭāriq was not merely represented as being "generically" "Berber," however: he was specifically portrayed as a member of the Nafza tribe. Tribal membership was a highly important feature of Maghribi society.[114] The importance of kinship to Berber political ideology reinforced the importance of genealogy.[115] Additionally, Berbers still thought of themselves primarily as members of a specific tribe, and only secondarily as "Berbers."[116] Because Ṭāriq was a hero, the

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[107] Wasserstein, *The Rise and Fall of the Party-Kings*, 100.
[108] Rouighi, *Inventing the Berbers*, 73, 98.
[109] Ibid., 103-104.
[110] Ibid.
[111] Bennison, *Almoravid and Almohad Empires*, 79.
[112] Ibid., 14.
[113] Rouighi, *Inventing the Berbers*, 67.
[114] Bennison, *Almoravid and Almohad Empires*, 121.
[115] Rouighi, *Inventing the Berbers*, 63.
[116] Ibid., 72.

identification of him as a Berber is clearly a pro-Berber addition to the story. Simply calling him a "Berber" would have still been ambiguous, however, since the term remained so vague within the social sphere of North Africa. But his identification as a Nafza Berber anchors him within the North African social and political landscape. Specifically, the Nafza tribe was known to authors writing in Arabic in the 10th century and was known to be spread throughout both the Maghrib and al-Andalus. Al-Ḥamawī (d. 1229) lists the Nafza along with other major Berber tribes such as the Sanhāja and the Kutāma.[117] According to al-Bakrī (d. 1094), the Nafza tribe lived close to the city of Tījis (possibly Tigisis) near Kairouan.[118] In al-Andalus, there were many members of the tribe reportedly living near Cordoba.[119]

Ṭāriq's alleged membership in the Nafza tribe was particularly significant because the mother of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I, the first Umayyad emir of al-Andalus, was said to have been a member of this tribe.[120] According to Ibn al-Abbār (d. 1260), ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I "fled in the early years of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate to the Maghrib, and he returned to the regions of Ifrīqiyā, and lived for a time among his maternal relatives of the Nafza from the Berber tribes."[121] Consequentially, the Nafza tribe may have been associated with the legacy of the Umayyads. The connection of Ṭāriq's ancestry to this tribe may have functioned to link him to the prestige of the Umayyad family – indeed, such a lineage would have made him a relative of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I. In the 12-13th century, the Almohads relied in large part on cultivating a connection

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[117] Al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, 1:368.
[118] Al-Bakrī, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik*, 2:728, 805. Also see Aḥmad al-Yaʿqūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, ed. Muḥammad Amīn Al-Ḍināwī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah, 2002), 1:190.
[119] Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Fārisī al-Iṣṭakhrī, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik*, ed. M.J. De Goeje (Leiden: Brill, 1927), 44.
[120] *Akhbār Majmūʿa*, 55. For a brief summary of the tribe in secondary literature see "Nafza", in *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed.
[121] Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Abbār, *Al-Ḥulla al-Siyarāʾ*, ed. Ḥusayn Muʾanis, 2 vols. (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1985), 1:35.

with the Umayyads to bolster their legitimacy. For example, they adopted Umayyad rituals and used Umayyad artifacts, including what was reputed to be ʿUthmān's Quran.[122] As such, there was a resurgence in their importance even though the dynasty no longer existed. Although the impetus for the representation of Ṭāriq as a Berber was likely the contemporary political climate, Ṭāriq's tribal connection to the Nafza and therefore to the Umayyads may have been influenced by this legitimizing trend within Almohad political ideology. Although our first evidence of Ṭāriq's Berber ancestry comes from both eastern and western sources around the year 1282, this information likely arose first in al-Andalus or the Maghrib. We can therefore read the representation of Ṭāriq's Berber ethnicity and membership in a tribe as a reflection of the increasing importance of Berbers in Andalusi and Maghribi society.

Additionally, it is significant that these accounts depict Ṭāriq as a Berber who is a Muslim. Ibn ʿIdhārī gives two genealogies for Ṭāriq. The first is: Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Walfū ibn Warkhajūm ibn Nabraghāsin ibn Walhāṣ ibn Baṭūfat ibn Nafzāwa.[123] The second is: Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Rafhū ibn Warfajūm ibn Yanzaghāsin ibn Walāṣ ibn Yaṭūfat ibn Nafzāwa.[124] There are also other genealogies for Ṭāriq, such as the shorter appellation Ṭāriq ibn ʿAmr.[125] All of these names imply that Ṭāriq is the son of a Muslim; in the

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[122] Amira K. Bennison, "The Almohads and the Qur'ān of ʿUthmān: The Legacy of the Umayyads of Cordoba in the Twelfth Century Maghrib," *Al-Masāq* 19, no. 2 (September 1, 2007): 131–54.
[123] Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, 1:43. It is possible (but ambiguous) that Ibn ʿIdhārī cites a certain Ibn al-Qaṭṭān for this piece of information, but the attribution to Ibn al-Qaṭṭān (d. 1231 or later) occurs significantly before this lineage is reported for Ṭāriq, so in the absence of Ibn al-Qaṭṭān's text we cannot be sure. Ibn al-Qaṭṭān refers either to a father or son, both of whom lived in the Maghrib in the 13th century. The Elder is thought to have perhaps been from Cordoba but spent most of his life in Fez; of the younger, little is known. See J.D. Latham, "Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān" in *EI2*, ed. P. Bearman et al., accessed online 13 December 2019.
[124] Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, 2:5.
[125] Al-Ḍabbī, *Bughyat al-Multamis*, 27-28. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī, *Kitāb al-Muʿjib*, 16. Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Madīnat Dimashq*, 24:418.

case of the names that Ibn ʿIdhārī reports, the implication is that Ṭāriq is also the grandson of a Muslim, ʿAbd Allāh, who likely was the first in his family to convert to Islam, since the previous names in the lineage are not Arabic (and are presumably from a Berber language).[126] If Ṭāriq was the grandson of a Muslim, then his grandfather would have been one of the first Berbers to convert to Islam. Along with Ṭāriq's righteous actions during the conquest of al-Andalus (demonstrated by Mūsā's duplicity) and his success in the "opening" (*fatḥ*) of the Peninsula for God, his lineage indicates that his family recognized the truth of Islam as soon as they were exposed to it. These factors contribute to the depiction of Ṭāriq as a righteous Muslim.

Ṭāriq was first depicted as a Berber in Arabic texts towards the end of the 13th century. This portrayal was the culmination of several centuries of political infighting and factionalism in al-Andalus and the Maghrib that resulted in the crystallization of a "Berber" ethnicity vis-à-vis "Arabs" and "Persians." The development of this ethnic category was accompanied by the identification of Ṭāriq as a Nafza Berber because, despite the development of a Berber ethnicity, "Berber" still had little concrete meaning in the political and social spheres. The identification as Ṭāriq as a Nafza Berber reflected the construction of a new image of Andalusi and Maghribi history in which "Berbers" were historical actors, and in which being "Berber" was no longer necessarily negative. In contrast, the new vision of the past that these authors asserted placed a Muslim Berber into the foundational mythology of al-Andalus through the heroic figure of Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād.

Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād or Ṭāriq ibn ʿAmr?

Ṭāriq's ethnicity was perhaps the most hotly contested aspect of his character, but his

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[126] Maḥmūd Shīt Khaṭṭāb also makes this observation in his *Qādat Fatḥ Al-Andalus*, 1:220.

name and lineage were also points of debate: he is variously called both Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād and Ṭāriq ibn ʿAmr, with the former being the most common. The earliest source we have which reports the existence of Ṭāriq is the Latin *Chronicle of 754*. According to this text, the figure is named Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād.[127] We then have a gap of about a century before we again have sources reporting about Ṭāriq, this time in Arabic. Ibn Ḥabīb, our first Arabic Andalusi author, does not give a *nasab* (lineage) for Ṭāriq at all.[128] On the other hand, his contemporary Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam records the name Ṭāriq ibn ʿAmr.[129] Interestingly, marginalia in the manuscript of Ibn ʻAbd al-Ḥakam's text adds "*wa qīl Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād*" to reflect the more common *nasab* ascribed to Ṭāriq.[130] This was added by the copyist in around the 12th century,[131] which makes sense given that both names had become common knowledge by then.

In the 9th century, Ṭāriq's *nasab* remained a point of contention, but "ibn Ziyād" was the most common form. Al-Yaʿqūbī (d. 905), like Ibn Ḥabīb, does not report a *nasab* at all.[132] Neither does al-Masʿūdī (d. 956).[133] Al-Balādhurī (d. 892) and al-Ṭabarī (d. 923), rough contemporaries of both each other as well as al-Yaʿqūbī and al-Masʿūdī, both report Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād.[134] Back in al-Andalus towards the second half of the same century, Ibn al-Qūṭiyya (d. 977) also gives Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād.[135] Although Ṭāriq's *nasab* was disputed prior to the 11th century, most authors therefore used Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād. By the next century, we find authors who

[127] "Chronicle of 754," 131.
[128] Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-Taʾrīkh*, 143.
[129] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr,* 204.
[130] Ibid., 204 n. 5.
[131] Charles Torrey dates the manuscript to the 5th century *hijrī* and notes that the marginalia are in the hand of the original copyist. Torrey, "Introduction" to Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 9-10.
[132] Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, 2:341, 353.
[133] Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, 1:360.
[134] al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, 230. Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh al-Rusūl wa al-Mulūk*, 6:468, 481.
[135] Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, *Taʾrīkh Iftitāḥ al-Andalus*, 29.

report both ibn Ziyād and ibn ʿAmr, such as al-Ḥumaydī (d. 1095), who was born in al-Andalus but emigrated to Baghdad.[136] This trend continues into the 12th century and beyond.

It is interesting that Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam is one of the few authors to report the name Ṭāriq ibn ʿAmr before it was picked up again in the 11th century. He reports a significant amount of information about the conquest of al-Andalus, so one would expect that he would also report the most common form of Ṭāriq's name. Much of the legendary information about the conquest of al-Andalus that became common knowledge in later accounts of the conquest is thought to have originated in Egyptian historiography, and Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam himself likely played an important role in this transmission.[137] As we can see from how widespread these stories became in later texts, Egyptian historiography on the conquest period was a significant source for later knowledge. When news of this figure first made its way east to Egypt and the Levant, many scholars only knew the name Ṭāriq, as suggested by the lack of any *nasab* for him in several of the late 9th/early 10th century sources. Around this time, Egyptian historiography attached the *nasab* "ibn ʿAmr" to the individual named Ṭāriq, possibly because of a *mawlā* of the caliph ʿUthmān who had the same first name.[138] The name Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād, however, circulated in Andalusi historiography since the early period of the conquest – it is quite possible, in fact, that Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād was a historical figure given the proximity of the *Chronicle of 754* to the conquest itself. Eventually this version of the name, which was known to some in the east in the end of the 9th century, such as al-Balādhurī, won out over Ṭāriq ibn ʿAmr. The traces of the latter, however, never entirely disappeared from the historiography and later authors

[136] Al-Ḥumaydī, *Jadhwat al-Muqtabis*, 23.
[137] Makki, "Egypt and the Origins of Arabic Spanish Historiography," 173–223; especially 204-206.
[138] al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh al-Rusūl wa al-Mulūk*, 6:166.

rediscovered it, often presenting it as an alternative.

In addition to the debates over his name and his ethnicity, the last point of occasional dispute regarding Ṭāriq was who he was a *mawlā* of. As we have seen, most authors over the centuries identify Ṭāriq as either Mūsā's *mawlā* or as a *mawlā* of the Ṣadif. Unusually, Ibn ʿAsākir (d. 1176) reports that he was a *mawlā* of two different people: first, the caliph al-Walīd ibn ʻAbd al-Malik, and then Mūsā.[139] I was unable to find the relationship between al-Walīd and Ṭāriq reported elsewhere in the corpus of texts I searched. It is likely that Ibn ʿAsākir mistakenly arrived at this attribution by conflating Ṭāriq with another figure associated with the conquest, Mughīth or Muʾatib al-Rūmī, who is widely reported as the caliph al-Walīd's *mawlā*.[140]

Ṭāriq was a hotly contested figure within 9th-13th century Islamic historiography. His ethnicity was the area of the greatest disagreement, but we also find alternate versions of his *nasab*, lineage, and differing accounts of who he was a *mawlā* of. These two points – his lineage from his father and who he was a *mawlā* of – were less significant points of concern than his ethnicity, at least up until the 14th century, at which point Ṭāriq had received the Berber genealogy as reported by Ibn ʿIdhārī. The report of Ṭāriq's *nasab* as "ibn ʿAmr" was a minor deviation from what otherwise became his generally accepted genealogy, as we see when Ibn ʿIdhārī begins both longer versions of his lineage as "Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād."[141] Ibn ʿAsākir's conclusion that Ṭāriq was a *mawlā* of al-Walīd was a similarly small misreporting, as it was well established by the 12th century that Ṭāriq was either a *mawlā* of Mūsā or the Ṣadif.

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[139] Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Madīnat Dimashq*, 24:418-419.
[140] The figure is reported as Muʾatib al-Rūmī in al-Ḥumaydī, *Jadhwat al-Muqtabis*, 525; and Al-Ḍabbī, *Bughyat al-Multamis*, 636. I believe, however, that this figure has been conflated with Mughīth al-Rūmī, who is reported in additional texts such as the *Akhbār Majmūʿa*, 10.
[141] Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, 1:43 and 2:5.

Conclusion

The debates surrounding the figure of Ṭāriq were made possible by early texts about the conquest such as Ibn Ḥabīb's *Kitāb al-taʾrīkh* which left Ṭāriq's ethnicity as a *mawlā* ambiguous and his personal history undefined. Political tensions in al-Andalus, the connections between ethnicity and Andalusi political ideology in the 11th century, and increased interest in the conquest, led to the rise of different claims regarding Ṭāriq's ancestry. During this period, he was affiliated with both the Arabian Ṣadif tribe and with Persia. By the end of the 13th century, the coalescence of a "Berber" ethnicity led to the additional identification of Ṭāriq as a Nafza Berber with ties to the Umayyads. Nor did the debate about Ṭāriq end in the 13th century: in the 14th and 15th centuries, we also find Ṭāriq's ancestry connected to the Layth tribe. Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1375) traces Ṭāriq's ancestry to this tribe, naming him as "Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād al-Laythī."[142] Because Ṭāriq's status as a *mawlā* meant that he held an ambiguous position in society, he remained relevant centuries after "*mawlā*" as a social and legal category ceased to be useful in al-Andalus and the Maghrib. Since his figure was ambiguous from the beginning, he was able to be identified as a member of different ethnic groups during the six centuries we have examined here, including Arabs, Persians, and Berbers. In the process, the figure of Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād became an instrument for writing at the nexus of ethnicity, history, and political ideology in the Maghrib.

[142] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad Ibn Khaldūn, *Dīwān al-Mubtadaʾ wa al-Khabar fī Taʾrīkh al-ʿArab wa al-Barbar wa man ʿāṣarahum min Dhawī al-Shaʾn al-Akbar*, ed. Khalīl Shiḥādah and Suhayl Zakkār, 8 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1996), 4:150, 239.

CHAPTER 3: CONCEPTIONS OF PRE-ISLAMIC IBERIA: THE ANDALUSI ISHBĀN STORY

In this dissertation, I take a diachronic approach to stories about the conquest of al-Andalus in order to determine how the understanding of the conquest shifted over the 9th-13th centuries. Many authors preface their accounts of the conquest of al-Andalus with a brief description of the pre-Islamic Iberian past. Because these descriptions of the pre-Islamic past are so succinct, it is instructive to examine which episodes from that pre-Islamic history ("real" or imagined) stood out to them as being particularly important, especially since they often accompanied stories about the conquest. One story about the pre-Islamic past that gained particular currency in texts about al-Andalus was the story of the pagan Iberian king Ishbān, which can be traced to the pre-Islamic period of Iberian history (before 711 CE). By tracing the evolution of this story (see Appendix C), we learn how Andalusis understood their past at different times in history. As time went on, the Arabo-Islamic tradition transformed the Ishbān story from a one-sentence reference into an elaborate story with multiple narrative motifs that connected Ishbān to the conquest, making it a particularly productive source for the literary critical approach I take in this dissertation.

The story of Ishbān differs from text to text, but the outline generally follows a similar pattern, and includes four motifs: a connection between the names "Ishbān" and "Ishbāniyya," the Table of Solomon, the sack of Jerusalem, and a visit from al-Khiḍr. This 10th century version of the story, reported in fragments of the lost work of the Andalusi scholar al-Rāzī (d. 955), contains many of the motifs found in other versions:

The first to inhabit al-Andalus after the Flood, according to the learned of its non-Arabs, were a people known as al-Andalish, with a dotted *shīn*. The country was named after them, and then it was Arabicized. They were Magians, and therefore God, may He be exalted, withheld rain from them until their springs disappeared and their rivers dried up. Most perished and those who were able to do so fled. As a result, al-Andalus was abandoned, and it remained empty for 100 years. Their king [at that time] was Ishbān b. Ṭīṭish, who attacked the Africans (*al-afāriqa*) and besieged their king in Itálica (*bi-Ṭāliqa*). He moved its marble to Seville, which was named after him,[1] and which he adopted as the capital of his kingdom. [Ishbān's] subjects became numerous, and he was elevated on the earth (*ʿalā fī al-arḍ*).

After two years of rule, [Ishbān] set out from Seville to attack Jerusalem. He destroyed it, killed 100,000 Jews, enslaved 100,000 and dispersed throughout the lands [another] 100,000. He removed Jerusalem's marble and its instruments (*ālātiha*) to al-Andalus, as well as the wonders that were acquired among the booty in al-Andalus [during the Islamic conquest], like the Table of Solomon that was found by Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād in the church at Toledo, and a few of the pearls that were found by Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr in the church at Merida, and other treasures that were among those obtained by the ruler of al-Andalus (*ṣāḥib al-Andalus*) [Ishbān] from the booty of the Temple, since he participated in its conquest with Nebuchadnezzar.

They say that al-Khiḍr came to this Ishbān while he was plowing the earth with his oxen during the days of his youth. Al-Khiḍr said to him: Oh Ishbān! Indeed, you will become greatly important; time will cause you to occupy a high rank (*sawfa yuḥẓīka zamān*), and power will exalt you (*yuʿlīka sulṭān*). Therefore, when you conquer Jerusalem, be courteous to the heirs of the Prophets. Ishbān said to al-Khiḍr: Is this not a joke, may God have mercy on you? How can this happen, as I am weak, despised, destitute and wretched?

Al-Khiḍr said: he who decreed this for you is [the same one] who ordained for your dry staff [made of dead wood] that which you see (*qadara dhalik laka man qaddara fī ʿaṣāk al-yābisa mā tarāhu*). Ishbān looked at his staff and saw that it had sprouted leaves, which surprised him. Al-Khiḍr went away, [but] these words settled in Ishbān's soul (*qarra dhalika al-kalām fī nafsihi*), and he was confident that they would come true (*wa al-thiqqa bi-kawnihi*). Ishbān left his trial [i.e. his farming days] (*taraka al-imtihān*), and he mingled with people, and befriended the greatest among them. His good fortune uplifted him, and he rose [in position] through his pursuit to become the ruler until he succeeded (*irtaqa fī ṭalab al-sulṭān ḥattā nāla ʿaẓīman*), and he reigned for 20 years. The reign of al-Ashbān[2] continued after him until 55 of their kings had ruled al-Andalus.[3]

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[1] A connection is sometimes claimed between the name "Ishbān" and "Ishbīliyya." See discussion of Isidore of Seville, below.

[2] "Ashbān" is a variant of "Ishbān" that is found in some versions and editions. I was unable to independently confirm whether the vowels are in the manuscripts, or whether they were added by the editors.

[3] Al-Rāzī cited in Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Munʾim al-Ḥimyarī, *Kitāb al-Rawḍ al-Miʿṭār fī*

In what ways did this story change over time? Why? What insights can it give us into how authors related their present to the pre-Islamic past?

Like other aspects of the conquest accounts that are examined in this dissertation, the story of Ishbān may be viewed as part of the palimpsest of Andalusi history. Layers were added over time as authors responded to contemporary concerns by re-interpreting the past. Ultimately, the layers that were added to the Ishbān story obscured its origin within the Latin literary tradition of late antique Iberia. In writing the history of pre-Islamic Iberia, authors constructed the pre-conquest past by receiving and transforming material that originated outside the Arabo-Islamic tradition.

In this chapter, I investigate the construction of the pre-Islamic Iberian past and its connection to the Islamic present. I will argue that the Ishbān story was developed in an *Islamicate* environment (meaning a society defined by a shared culture rather than a shared religion) instead of an "Islamic" one.[4] Thus, the Ishbān story responded to the concerns of several different Andalusi groups at a time when a nascent Andalusi "identity" (sense of group belonging) was developing. As this "identity" was crystallizing, Andalusi authors constructed a dialectical relationship with the foreignness of their own Iberian history.[5] They used the story of

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Khabar al-Aqṭār, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut: Maktabat Lubnān, 1975), 33-34.
[4] Marshall Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization*, 3 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 1:58.
[5] They also constructed a relationship with the rest of the Islamic world, as has been demonstrated. See Monroe, *The Shuʿūbiyya in Al-Andalus,* 5. König, *Arabic-Islamic Views of the Latin West,* 168. Jorge Elices Ocón, "El Pasado Preislámico En Al-Andalus: Fuentes Árabes, Recepción de La Antigüedad y Legitimación En Época Omeya (Ss. VIII-X)" (Madrid, Universidad Autonoma de Madrid, 2017), 91, 449-450. Fierro, *ʿAbd Al-Rahman III*, 134-135. See also especially Brann, *Iberian Moorings,* and Alexander E. Elinson, *Looking back at al-Andalus: the poetics of loss and nostalgia in medieval Arabic and Hebrew literature* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2015), as well as Emmanuelle Tixier du Mesnil, *Géographes d'Al-Andalus: de l'inventaire d'un territoire à la construction d'une mémoire* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne,

Ishbān to "domesticate" the pre-Islamic history of Iberia such that al-Andalus and pre-Islamic Iberia became one and the same entity. Through the Ishbān story, Muslim authors wrote Iberia into Islamic history by endowing al-Andalus with a past that was ambiguously pagan and foreign and yet at the same time entirely Islamic and uniquely Andalusi.

Overview/historical context

Andalusi authors' interest in the ancient Iberian past was motivated by changing concerns as the historical situation on the Peninsula shifted. Historical chronicles and geographies relate information about both the Islamic past of al-Andalus, as well as about the pre-Islamic pagan and Christian pasts of Hispania (Roman and Visigothic Iberia). Many authors who wrote about pre-Islamic Iberian history focus mainly on the Visigoths, whose rule directly preceded the Muslim conquest. Ibn Ḥazm (d. 1064), for instance, demonstrates his extensive knowledge of Visigothic history with reference to Visigoth law codes:

> Moreover the (Christians) would all agree that every book which they have (from) after that (period) is a composition of later writers from among their bishops and patriarchs, such as (those who made up) the six major councils of patriarchs and bishops and the rest of their minor councils. In addition, they have their law and various legal provisions instituted by Rakadid the king, and the Christians of al-Andalus are still practicing according to it. The rest of the Christians (elsewhere) have (their own) laws which were made for them by whomever of their bishops God chose. They have no dispute about any of this that it is just as we have stated.[6]

Like Ibn Ḥazm, Ibn al-Qūṭiyya (d. 977) expresses interest in the Visigothic past. Unlike Ibn Ḥazm, however, Ibn al-Qūṭiyya's interest is more narrative and less legal: he tells the story of his

2014), and Clarke, *The Muslim Conquest of Iberia*, especially pages 69-83.

[6] English translation from *Kitāb al-Fiṣal fī al-Milal wa-l-Ahwāʾ wa al-Niḥal* in George Willard Whyte, "Ibn Ḥazm's Controversy with the Christians a Study of a Section of His Al-Fiṣal" (M.A., McGill University (Canada), 1985), 8-9. For the Arabic, see ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal fī al-Milal*, ed. Muḥammad Ibrahīm Nāṣir and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿAmīra, 5 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1996), 2:15.

ancestor, Sārā the Goth, who reportedly traveled to Syria to meet with the caliph after the conquest of al-Andalus.[7] Other texts that include stories about the immediate Visigothic past also report narratives about the Islamic conquest of Iberia. This includes the 11th century anonymous *Akhbār Majmūʿa* as well as later texts such as Ibn ʿIdhārī's (d. 1312) *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*.

Some authors added information (factual or otherwise) about the Romans and other groups who inhabited Iberia and the religions they practiced. The anonymous *Fatḥ al-Andalus* (c. 1102), for instance, reports that on the eve of the conquest, "The entire coast [of al-Andalus] was occupied by al-Rūm, and the inland area belonged to the Berbers."[8] In *Ṭabaqāt al-Umam*, Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī (d. 1070) notes:

> The people of al-Andalus were governed by factions of various nations who took turns, one nation after the other. One of those nations was the Romans, whose agents resided in the ancient city of Taliqah, located close to Ashbiliyah [Seville]. They controlled this country for a long period until they were finally defeated by al-Qut [the Visigoths], who abolished the Roman influence and established the ancient city of Tulaytilah [Toledo] as their capital. They reigned over al-Andalus for about three hundred glorious years, until they were defeated by the Muslims, on the date already mentioned [sic].[9]

He also pays attention to religion, specifying that "the religion of the people of al-Andalus was first that of the Roman Sabians, then Christianity dominated until the Muslims' conquest on the date that we have already mentioned."[10] Ibn ʿIdhārī likewise writes that al-Andalus was at various points occupied by al-Andalish (who were reportedly Magians), al-Ishbāniyya, the Romans, and a group he calls al-Bashtraliqāt.[11]

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[7] For the English, see: Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, *Early Islamic Spain*, trans. David James, 50-51. For the Arabic, see: Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, *Taʾrīkh Iftitāḥ al-Andalus*, 30-32.
[8] *Fatḥ al-Andalus*, 12.
[9] Ṣāʿid ibn Aḥmad al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Umam//Science in the Medieval World: Book of the Categories of Nations*, trans. Semaan I. Salem and Alok Kumar (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1991), 58. For the Arabic, see Ṣāʿid ibn Aḥmad al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Umam*, ed. Husayn Muʾanis (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1998), 84.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, 2:1-2. Corriente identifies al-Bashtraliqāt as "name of a

The source of this information about the pre-Islamic past of al-Andalus comes in the form of fragments and lists like those mentioned above, especially information about groups who reportedly preceded the Visigoths as rulers of Iberia. Therefore, when authors include more elaborate stories about the past, it suggests that the story was particularly important. Scholars have already carried out significant work on these stories as they relate to Visigothic Spain on the eve of the Islamic conquest.[12] Less work, however, has been done on stories relating to the pre-Visigothic history of the Peninsula, in large part because there is only one developed story about the distant past. That is the story of Ishbān.[13]

Historiography

Fascinated by Ishbān's appearance at what seems to be the intersection of pagan, Christian and Islamic traditions, scholars have begun to focus on the meaning of the story. Examining Andalusi and Maghribi geographies, Emmanuelle Tixier-Caceres has posited that the story represents a cyclical myth of sacred history in which Iberia is reclaimed for monotheism. She asks, "Hispan est-il le héros éponyme de l'Espagne?" Ultimately, Tixier-Caceres argues that the purpose of the story in its final version is to contextualize the history of the Peninsula and to

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Christian nation that invaded Spain before the Visigoths (prob. The *Apostolici* mentioned by Isidorus)." See F. Corriente, *A Dictionary of Andalusi Arabic* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), 52.

[12] See for instance, among others, Clarke, *The Muslim Conquest of Iberia*, Filios, "Legends of the Fall," 375–90, Filios, "A Good Story Well Told," 127–47, and Roberto Marín Guzmán, "Los Tesoros Y La 'Ma'ida Sulayman' (La Mesa De Salomón) Capturados En La Conquista Árabe De España: El Problema De Las Fuentes Históricas Y La Rendición De Cuentas De Tariq Bn Ziyad Y Musa Ibn Nusayr Ante El Califa En Damasco," *Estudios de Asia y Africa* 48, no. 2(151) (2013): 449–86.

[13] For a selection of different versions of the story, see: Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Al-Bayān al-Mughrib,* 2:2. Ibn Ḥayyān quoted in al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*, 1:137-138. Al-Bakrī, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik*, 2:903-904. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Taʾrīkh*, 4:35-36. Al-ʿUdhrī, *Tarṣīʿ al-Akhbār*, 96.

lend it prestige by giving it a place in the monotheistic tradition. This function relies on the appearance in the story of Jerusalem, the Qur'anic prophet al-Khiḍr, and the Table of Solomon. These references combine to transform the story of Ishbān, a pagan, into a cyclical narrative in which Islam reclaims the Peninsula for monotheism. Ishbān stole the Table of Solomon, a symbol of "l'aura prophétique des Rois d'Israël," from the holy city of Jerusalem after murdering some of its inhabitants and imprisoning others. After the conquest of al-Andalus, when the Muslims return the Table of Solomon to the east, they bring the story full circle by returning the Table to its rightful place. In Tixier-Caceres's analysis of the story, al-Khiḍr serves as an initiator who reveals his destiny to a common man, while also trying to prevent the ills that befall the people of Jerusalem at the hands of Ishbān. In the end, Tixier-Caceres concludes that Ishbān does *not* represent the eponymous hero of Spain, "dont la seconde naissance, la seule véritablement fondatrice, coincide avec l'avènement de l'islam."[14]

From a literary standpoint, Tixier-Caceres's analysis of this final version of the story is compelling. That the story of Ishbān would be written into Islamic sacred history to narrate the triumph of Islam in Iberia has parallels elsewhere in early Islamic historiography, which has similarly narrativized history on a monumental scale. Tayeb El-Hibri has established our understanding of this process. In *Parable and Politics in Early Islamic History*, El-Hibri argues that stories about early Islamic history were not factual accounts but parables meant to be read as part of a grand narrative in which God's justice plays out on earth. These parables (Arabic sing. *mathal*) refer not to a "mere succession of facts but to the whole mystery by which God unfolds a cyclical process of a drama… through these plots… one is led to recognize the poetic progress of

[14] Emmanuelle Tixier-Caceres, "Regards Croisés Sur Hispan/Ishbân, Énigmatique Héros Éponyme de l'Espagne," *Studia Islamica*, no. 102/103 (2006), 212. See 206-214 for her analysis of the story.

divine justice through the earthly sphere."[15] The extension of such a parabolic view of history to Andalusi geographies would not be unexpected.

By contrast, Jorje Elices Ocón argues that the story of Ishbān had a more contemporary meaning: it was meant to chastise North African rulers whom the authors of the chronicles considered to be unfaithful Muslims. Ocón analyzes the story as part of a conversation about the defense of monotheism, one in which the Umayyads (as opposed to their rivals, the Fāṭimids and ʿAbbāsids) are the true defenders. In direct contrast to Tixier-Caceres, Ocón suggests that authors did in fact intend to create a direct "parallelism between the ancient kings and Emirs and Umayyad caliphs," as evidenced by the Ishbān story.[16] Although there was an important conversation between the different powers in this period, I do not regard the Ishbān story as part of this dialogue. Because the story lacks a clear ending with consequences for Ishbān's immorality, it is difficult to accept the argument that it was intended to uphold the righteousness of one group. In addition, the story portrays Ishbān in a negative light and lacks an obvious connection to the Andalusi Umayyads. If the function of the story were to legitimize the Umayyads, one would expect it to contain allusions to them, as do stories of the escape of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I to al-Andalus.[17]

Both Tixier-Caceres and Ocón assume that the story is firmly rooted in the Islamic

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[15] El-Hibri, *Parable and politics in early Islamic history*, 2. El-Hibri focuses on historiography about the early period of Islamic history, specifically the Rashidun period. Using parables as the basis for his argument, El-Hibri examines the narratives surrounding the succession crisis and the governance of the first four caliphs. He concludes that these narratives were all meant to be read as a part of a cycle of history in which the unified community failed to agree on a successor, and was thereafter fragmented, as happened to Biblical community. This fragmentation is resolved, and the community reunified (at least in the eyes of Tabari, El-Hibri's main source), with the rule of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs.
[16] Elices Ocón, "El Pasado Preislámico," 490-491.
[17] Ibid., 448-449. For more on stories about ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I and their function in the chronicles, see Safran, *The Second Umayyad Caliphate,* 130-132.

tradition. That is not to say that they believe it was free of influences from outside the Islamic tradition; indeed, when examining the story's origins, both authors cite extra-Islamic traditions.[18] Rather, Tixier-Caceres and Ocón both have in mind a monolithic "Muslim" audience, thus limiting their readings of the story to impressions that are restricted to an Islamic context. Therefore, they may miss deeper layers of the story's meanings. Additionally, both scholars analyze the story of Ishbān synchronically. Although this approach can lend valuable insight to a particular time in history, it obscures the historical contingency of the story by minimizing the importance of the changes it underwent over time.

Al-Rāzī

As we will see, the seeds of the Ishbān story – namely, that a king named Ishbān (or a phonetically similar name) was the source of the name Hispania – were transferred from the Latin tradition into the Arabic-Islamic tradition, likely via both oral and textual means. However, rather than being adopted in its original Latin form into the Islamic tradition, the Ishbān story was reformulated within the Arabic-Islamic tradition beginning in the 10th century. In fact, we can identify three major shifts in the Ishbān story between the 9th-13th centuries: (1) in the 10th century the story developed from a one-liner to a full narrative tradition; (2) in the 10th or 11th century Ishbān received a monotheistic genealogy; (3) in the early 12th century the Ishbān story was also incorporated into sacred time.

There are four main motifs in the Ishbān story: the connection between his name and that of the Peninsula, the Table of Solomon, the sack of Jerusalem, and the visit from al-Khiḍr. Of these, the origin of the name Hispania was the central motif of the story, and appeared in nearly

[18] Ocón, "El Pasado Preislámico," 126-127. Tixier-Caceres, "Regards Croisés," 209.

every version throughout the six centuries of Andalusi historiography. In the 10th century, however, al-Rāzī's version elaborated on previous narratives and expanded beyond the naming motif. This shift suggests that the story of Ishbān grew in importance around this time. The story became more elaborate in the second half of the 10th century due to increased interest in the pre-Islamic past, following the rise of an Andalusi sense of belonging in the middle of the century. Al-Rāzī's 10th century Ishbān narrative supported the legitimacy of the Umayyad caliphate and the development of an Andalusi "identity" by domesticating the Iberian past. In this new Islamic portrayal, Iberian history prefigured Islamic rule and claimed the pre-Islamic past for the Islamic present.

The story's core motif – the connection between names – entered the Arabic tradition from the Latin. The first reference to an Ishbān-like figure in Iberian history is found before in the seventh century *Etymologies* of the bishop and scholar Isidore of Seville (d. 636). According to Isidore, "The Spanish were first named Iberians, after the river Iberus (i.e. the Ebro), but afterwards they were named Spaniards (Hispanus) after Hispalus (i.e. the legendary founder of *Hispalis*, Seville)."[19] Although the figure mentioned here is named Hispalus rather than Ishbān, Isidore's reference to the figure parallels two key elements that are evident in many of the Arabic accounts of the story: the connection between the figure of Hispalus/Ishbān and the city of Seville, and the "naming motif," the role of Hispalus/Ishbān as the namesake of the Spaniards/al-Ashbān/al-Andalish.

Two centuries later, we find the first reference to this legendary figure in the Arabic tradition, in the 9th century *Kitāb al-Taʾrīkh* of the Andalusi scholar Ibn Ḥabīb, who mentions

[19] Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, 198. A closer parallel to the legend of Ishbān develops in Iberian Christian literature only *after* it had already been featured in Muslim literature for a couple of centuries. See the discussion in Tixier-Caceres, "Regards Croisés," 205.

that Roderic, the last king of the Visigoths, "was from Isfahan, and 'Isfahan' was called in al-Andalus Ishbān."[20] Ibn Ḥabīb's version conflates Ishbān with a later Visigothic king, Roderic,[21] who was prominent in accounts of the conquest of al-Andalus. Be that as it may, it is the first Arabic account to mention the figure, and it does so by maintaining a version of the naming motif found in Isidore's text. Thus in its earliest form, the Islamic Ishbān tradition, like the Latin tradition suggested by Isidore's work, is limited to discussion of the origins of the name and does not have any of the other motifs that had appeared by the time al-Rāzī wrote his work just one century later. The accounts of both Isidore and Ibn Ḥabīb are minimal and lack thematic development. It is only in the 10th century with al-Rāzī's text that we have evidence of a more developed version of the story.

Most of al-Rāzī's work has been lost to us and there is no extant copy of his history. However, several later authors rely heavily on al-Rāzī's work and preserve fragments of his texts, including al-Ḥimyarī (d. 1494). In his *Kitāb al-Rawḍ al-Miʿṭār fī Khabar al-Aqṭār*, al-Ḥimyarī cites al-Rāzī's version of the Ishbān story, provided earlier in this chapter. As we saw, like Ibn Ḥabīb, al-Rāzī mentions the motif connecting the name Ishbān to the Peninsula's history. There are a couple of notable differences between these motifs, however. While Ibn Ḥabīb connects the name "Ishbān" to Isfahan and to the figure of Roderic, al-Rāzī gives a much more elaborate explanation. In fact, he provides explanations for both the Arabic and Latin names for the Peninsula. He introduces the Ishbān story as follows: "the first to inhabit al-

[20] Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-Taʾrīkh*, 144.
[21] Daniel König argues that during this period, Arab authors writing about al-Andalus were mainly concerned with information regarding the conquest. Given that Roderic was apparently such an important figure during the conquest – given that there is even an image of him in Quṣayr ʿAmra – it is perhaps unsurprising that he was conflated with Ishbān, a figure from local mythology, details of which might not have permeated into the Islamic tradition. See König, *Arabic-Islamic Views*, 157.

Andalus after the Flood, according to the learned of its non-Arabs, were a people known as al-Andalish, with a *shīn*. The country was called after them and then it was Arabicized."[22] He subsequently notes that the king of these people was named Ishbān. Due to the phonetic similarities between the names, the inclusion of a people named "al-Andalish" (with a king named Ishbān) finds the origin of the Arabic name for Iberia – "al-Andalus" – in the pre-Islamic period of Iberian history.

At the end of the excerpt, however, al-Rāzī gives this group of people another name that explains the Arabicized version of the Latin name for the Peninsula (Ishbāniyya). Although he initially refers to Ishbān's people as "al-Andalish," in the second half of the story he calls them "al-Ashbān" (which is phonetically similar to "Ishbāniyya," Hispania). He notes that "the reign of al-Ashbān continued after him [Ishbān] until 55 of their kings had ruled al-Andalus."[23] This phrasing suggests that the people known as al-Ashbān were named after the figure of Ishbān, with the implication that these names were the source for the name "Ishbāniyya." Al-Rāzī uses the Ishbān story to explain both of Iberia's names: Ishbāniyya and al-Andalus. This is likely due to the fact that Islamic historiography from this time period was compilatory in nature: authors picked what they wanted to include in their texts.[24] It is possible that al-Rāzī's version of the story combines two versions that were in circulation around the same time: one in which this figure is associated with Seville, Jerusalem and the conquest of al-Andalus, and another in which he is associated with al-Khiḍr and subsequent kings of Hispania. In addition, al-Rāzī, like Isidore, mentions that Seville was named after Ishbān.[25] In fact, the first name that al-Rāzī

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[22] Al-Rāzī in al-Ḥimyarī, *Kitāb al-Rawḍ al-Miʿṭār*, 33-34.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Albrecht Noth, *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition: A Source-Critical Study*, 2nd ed. (Princeton, N.J.: Darwin Press, 1994), 17.
[25] Al-Rāzī in al-Ḥimyarī, *Kitāb al-Rawḍ al-Miʿṭār*, 33-34.

records for the people of Iberia, al-Andalish, is phonetically similar not just to "al-Andalus," but also to the Roman name for Seville, Hispalis, as given by Isidore. Al-Rāzī's version of the story seems to draw at least indirectly on the Latin version of the story.

However, al-Rāzī relies on several additional motifs that are completely absent from Ibn Ḥabīb's text. First, there is the Jerusalem motif: al-Rāzī relates that Ishbān "set out from Seville towards Jerusalem to conquer it after two years of his rule."[26] Upon arrival, Ishbān "destroyed it [Jerusalem], killed 100,000 Jews, enslaved 100,000 and dispersed throughout the lands [another] 100,000."[27] This motif conflates Ishbān's sack of Jerusalem with the attack of the biblical Nebuchadnezzar that resulted in the destruction of the First Temple. Second, according to al-Rāzī, this is when Ishbān took fantastic objects such as the Table of Solomon (said to have belonged to the biblical king Solomon) back to al-Andalus. These items were later recovered by the Muslims during the conquest of al-Andalus in the year 711. The appearance of the Table of Solomon in this version of the story is the second motif. Third, al-Rāzī's version of the story introduces the "al-Khiḍr motif." According to the text, al-Khiḍr appears to Ishbān and informs him that he will become great and that when he conquers Jerusalem he should "be courteous to the heirs of the Prophets."[28] As proof of his knowledge, al-Khiḍr causes his staff to sprout leaves and grow. Al-Khiḍr then disappears, leaving Ishbān to his destiny. Sometime between the middle of the ninth century and the middle of the tenth, the story of Ishbān developed from a simple mention of the figure to a complex story that relied on multiple narrative motifs.

These motifs are not found in other 10th century texts from the eastern Islamic lands that mention a figure named Ishbān. Thus, we may conclude that these motifs were added to the story

[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid.

first in the Andalusi tradition rather than in the historical tradition of the Islamic east. For instance, al-Rāzī's contemporary, the Iraqi al-Masʿūdī (d. 956), was apparently unaware of the complexities of the story. Al-Masʿūdī writes: "The ruler of al-Andalus was called Ludhrīq, a name that was common amongst the kings of al-Andalus. It was said that [the kings of al-Andalus] were from al-Ishbān, a people (*umma*) from the lineage of Japheth the son of Noah…"[29] In al-Masʿūdī's account, al-Ishbān refers to the name of a people who governed al-Andalus who came from Isfahan. They are also in some way connected to Roderic, the last Visigothic king of Iberia. Al-Masʿūdī separately notes that al-Ishbān were from Persia and that their kings were known as al-Ludhāriqa, derived from Ludhrīq (Roderic), the last king of the Visigoths before the conquest. They also bear some relation to the Khawārij of North Africa.[30]

The connections drawn by al-Masʿūdī between Roderic and Ishbān, and between Isfahan and Ishbān, parallel those drawn by Ibn Ḥabīb a century earlier. This parallel suggests that this was the prevalent (indeed, only) motif of the story in the ninth and early tenth century. We may conclude that the story, as reported by al-Rāzī in the middle of the tenth century, had developed in al-Andalus only recently, and had not had time to migrate eastwards in time for al-Masʿūdī to hear of it. Thus, the Ishbān story underwent a major expansion within the Andalusi literary-historical tradition sometime in the first half of the tenth century.

Al-Rāzī's 10th century version of the Ishbān story resulted from the consolidation of several originally independent motifs. Each of the four motifs in the story existed independently in the historical tradition before they were combined in al-Rāzī's 10th century version. The first motif is the connection between names – Ishbān/Hispania and Ishbān/Seville – which was

[29] Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, 1:359-60.
[30] Ibid., 1:369-370 and 2:280-281.

transferred from the Latin tradition into the Arabic one. The second motif, the Table of Solomon, originated in accounts of the conquest of the Peninsula in at the ninth century at the latest, well before it was tied to the Ishbān story. The third motif, the conquest of Jerusalem, is the result of a conflation of several different historical events. The fourth motif, al-Khiḍr's appearance in al-Andalus, also circulated independently before al-Rāzī's version of the story.

The Arabic "Ishbān" and the Latin "Hispan"

With regard to the name of the figure, the similarities between these early Andalusi accounts and the 7th century text of Isidore of Seville suggest that there was some mechanism of literary transfer between the Latin tradition of late antiquity and the Arabic tradition of Umayyad al-Andalus. Indeed, this communication is what we would expect, given the nature of Andalusi historiography about the pre-Islamic past of al-Andalus. Daniel König identifies three main periods in the spread of information about the Visigothic past. In phase one, roughly the 8th-10th centuries, most known information about al-Andalus had been acquired during the conquest and was related to these events. In phase two, from the 9th-11th centuries, increasing acculturation and a sense of regional belonging in al-Andalus led to the incorporation of information from Latin sources into the Andalusi textual corpus. During phase three, from the 12th-15th centuries, scholars became less interested in the Visigothic past of al-Andalus, although the Latin narrative incorporated in the previous phase was still part of the historical tradition.[31] It should be noted again that Ibn Ḥabīb's 9th century version is the only Andalusi source that identifies the legendary king in the story as the conquest-era figure Roderic, with the rest presenting Roderic and Ishbān as separate figures. If we follow König's classification of the historiography, this

[31] König, *Arabic-Islamic Views*, 150-188.

initial version of the story likely entered the Arabic-Islamic tradition during phase one, the period in which most information known about al-Andalus had been collected during the conquest, to which the figure of Roderic was closely connected.

There are many ways in which the core motif of the Ishbān story – the name – could have been transmitted from the Latin tradition to the Arabic-Islamic one. Many Muslims in al-Andalus, for instance, were at least partially the descendants of native Iberians who converted to Islam. Some of these families preserved legends about the Visigothic past.[32] As König notes, Ibn al-Qūṭiyya's tenth-century reference to his conquest-era family history shows the "possibility that families, whose ancestors had witnessed the last years of Visigothic rule, had preserved a vague memory of events preceding the invasion… this memory was submitted to the double process of becoming part of this society's past and culture, while slowly fading away if not conserved in writing."[33] It is probable that local folk narratives about the Iberian past – including, perhaps, the story of Hispalis/Ishbān – were transferred into the Arabo-Islamic cultural milieu in the same manner. There was also extensive contact between the population of al-Andalus and the Christian kingdoms in the northern part of Iberia, who retained the use of Latin. This contact occurred through trade, diplomacy, and everyday interactions of the population living in the borderlands.[34] Communication between Islamic and Christian historical

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[32] Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, for instance, may have preserved some of these legends – although "preserved and embellished" might be a better term. See Filios, "Playing the Goth Card in Tenth-Century Córdoba," 57–84. Also, the passing down of family histories once its members had converted to Islam might not have been as common as one might think, as conversion to Islam tended to start a family's history anew. See David J. Wasserstein, "Inventing Tradition and Constructing Identity: The Genealogy of 'Umar Ibn Ḥafṣūn between Christianity and Islam," *Al-Qanṭara* 23, no. 2 (December 30, 2002), 274.
[33] König, *Arabic-Islamic Views*, 161. For the story about Ibn al-Qūṭiyya's ancestor Sara the Goth, see Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, *Taʾrīkh Iftitāḥ al-Andalus*, 30-31.
[34] König, *Arabic-Islamic Views*, 157.

traditions (both oral and written) was therefore inevitable[35] and was one avenue by which the story of Ishbān may have entered the Islamic tradition.

In addition to the role of storytelling and family legends in the transmission of stories about the past, however, translation of texts from Latin to Arabic also played a role. By the eleventh century, the rate of Arabization of the Christian population was increasing, although Latin remained a language of scholarship in al-Andalus until at least the ninth or tenth century, when scholars proficient in both languages began to translate Latin works into Arabic. This translated corpus included the *Kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, a "reworked" translation of Orosius's (d. 417) *Historiae adversus paganos* which is "studded with translated excerpts taken from other Latin works."[36] These excerpts include parts of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies*, in which he mentions a figure that we can identify as a precursor to Ishbān, as we saw earlier.[37]

The *Kitāb Hurūshiyūsh* has not been preserved in its entirety, so it is impossible to know for sure whether the original translation included anything about Ishbān. Because of the text's table of contents, we do know that the seventh chapter of the *Kitāb Hurūshiyūsh* mentions Isidore of Seville.[38] Unfortunately, this section of the text has not been preserved, so we do not know whether it originally included Isidore's information about Ishbān. At the very least,

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[35] We find evidence of other exchanges between Christian and Islamic traditions throughout late antiquity. See for instance: A. Asa Eger, *The Islamic-Byzantine Frontier: Interaction and Exchange Among Muslim and Christian Communities* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2016). Nadia M El Cheikh-Saliba, *Byzantium Viewed by the Arabs* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 2004). Sidney Harrison Griffith, *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque: Christians and Muslims in the World of Islam* (Princeton, N.J.; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2010). Robert G. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It: A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish, and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam* (Princeton, N.J.: Darwin Press, 1997).

[36] König, *Arabic-Islamic Views*, 161.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid., 161-162. *Kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, ed. Mayte Penelas (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2001).

however, the inclusion of Isidore in this translation affirms that individuals in al-Andalus capable of working in both Latin and Arabic were aware of his works in the tenth century. Even if the missing section did not contain mention of Ishbān, it is likely that some of these bilingual scholars had read the section of the *Etymologies* dealing with the name of the Peninsula. As Tixier-Caceres has noted, Andalusi historians often received their information about the past from works published in antiquity: "L'historien/géographe du califat est allé puiser ces informations dans plusieurs ouvrages de l'Antiquité tardive."[39] In particular, she traces the motif of the protagonist's killing of a thousand Jews in Jerusalem to Orosius's original *Historiae*.[40] Thus there was some connection between the appearance of this story in 10th century al-Andalus and increased knowledge of information from late antiquity.

The Table of Solomon

The second motif, also mentioned early on in Islamic histories, is the Table of Solomon, a majestic table that reportedly belonged to the biblical/qur'anic king Solomon. According to al-Rāzī, the Table of Solomon arrived in al-Andalus after it was acquired by Ishbān during his conquest of Jerusalem with Nebuchadnezzar. Multiple Andalusi sources report that Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād, who led the Umayyad conquest of Iberia in 711, found the Table of Solomon when he conquered al-Andalus. As with the Ishbān story, we find the first reference to the Table of Solomon in Ibn Ḥabīb's account of the conquest of al-Andalus. He asserts that Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr (not Ṭāriq) found the Table of Solomon, covered with precious metals and rare stones, when he conquered Toledo.[41] The Egyptian author Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (d. 871), who has a similar version

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[39] Tixier-Caceres, "Regards Croisés," 209.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-Taʾrīkh*, 144.

of the conquest story in his *Futūḥ Miṣr*, reports that the Table held "gold and jewels the likes of which had never [before] been seen."[42] Because references to the Table are also found outside of the Andalusi tradition, some scholars, such as Clarke, conclude that the appearance of the Table of Solomon likely has an eastern origin rather than an Andalusi one.[43]

Regardless of its origin, however, the Table of Solomon motif initially circulated separately from the story of Ishbān. For instance, the anonymous *Akhbār Majmūʿa* (11th century) reports that Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād reached a town "called *madīnat al-māʾida*, the city of the table, which was so named because in it he found the Table (*māʾida*) of Sulaymān ibn Dāʾūd – peace be upon him – with its sides… and legs… of green emerald – three hundred and seventy-five legs."[44] This account of the Table is unrelated to the story of Ishbān, who is not mentioned in the *Akhbār Majmūʿa* at all; the existence of separate narratives about the Table of Solomon and Ishbān suggests that the Table of Solomon motif was transposed onto the Ishbān story.[45] Clarke argues that the Table of Solomon itself was the reason that the scant references to Ishbān in earlier texts turned into a story at all.[46]

Much has been written already about the origin and significance of the Table of Solomon

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[42] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 207.
[43] Ibid., 100. Clarke argues that due to the Syrian Umayyads' deep connection to Solomon, it was natural for such an object to be attached to accounts of the conquests: "Solomon was very much a part of the legitimizing language and imagery of the eighth-century Umayyads' claims to empire; it is hardly surprising that tales like the finding of the Table of Solomon should have attached themselves, or been attached, to campaigns that happened under their watch" (Clarke, *The Muslim Conquest of Iberia*, 97). With regards to the historicity of the Table, as Clarke has shown, it is not impossible that an object taken from the Jerusalem Temple did make it all the way to al-Andalus). Alternatively, some skeptical scholars argue that it was just Visigothic treasure (Clarke, *The Muslim Conquest of Iberia,* 86-89).
[44] Translated by David James, with my modifications, in *A History of Early Al-Andalus,* 54. For the Arabic text see *Akhbār Majmūʿa*, 14-15.
[45] Elices Ocón, "El Pasado Preislámico," 126.
[46] Clarke, *The Muslim Conquest of Iberia*, 88-89.

and its connection to Ishbān.[47] For Clarke, it had legal ramifications and "was also a good story, an entertaining heroes-and-villains dramatization of the real events surrounding the conquest of Iberia."[48] It was "a motif conferring symbolic and literary legitimacy, oriented both eastwards – towards the Arab-Muslim historiographical tradition and westwards – towards al-Andalus itself, and its pre-Islamic past."[49] According to Elices Ocón, the Table of Solomon represents a link between al-Andalus and the biblical past.[50] Tixier-Caceres identifies the Table of Solomon as a symbolic object at the center of a sacred myth regarding Iberia's return to monotheism.[51] Similarly, Hernández Juberías argues that it was a symbol, the possession of which meant the bearer had political power.[52] Far from being restricted to the Islamic tradition, however, the Table of Solomon motif had its origins in late antiquity, as Clarke has found.[53] Thus, the Table of Solomon motif was intimately connected to the biblical past as well as the pre-Islamic past of al-Andalus. In linking the Table of Solomon to the figure of Ishbān, authors such as al-Rāzī curated a link between al-Andalus and a monotheistic past based on the Abrahamic tradition, in addition to explaining how the Table arrived on the Iberian Peninsula.

The sack of Jerusalem

The Table of Solomon was also connected to another motif, Ishbān's sack of Jerusalem.[54]

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[47] In addition to those listed below, see Julia Hernández Juberías, *La península imaginaria: mitos y leyendas sobre al-Andalus* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1996), 226-232.
[48] Clarke, *The Muslim Conquest of Iberia*, 101.
[49] This was due to the significance of its capture as portraying the Iberian Peninsula as won in both Visigothic and Muslim terms. Ibid., 95.
[50] Elices Ocón, "El Pasado Preislámico," 310.
[51] Tixier-Caceres, "Regards Croisés," 213.
[52] Hernández Juberías, *La península imaginaria*, 232-233.
[53] Clarke, *The Muslim Conquest of Iberia*, 96-97.
[54] In her discussion of the myth of the Table of Solomon, Julia Hernández Juberías notes that this

According to al-Rāzī, the Table was among "Jerusalem's marble and its instruments [that] were transported to al-Andalus."[55] Later authors report different details on the sack of Jerusalem: for some, Ishbān's attack on Jerusalem is related to Nebuchadnezzar's prior attack. For other Muslim authors, however, the Ishbān figure is not related to the Jerusalem attack.[56] Some modern scholars searching for a connection between Ishbān and Jerusalem have hypothesized that the name Ishbān ibn Ṭīṭish is an Arabization of the name of the Roman emperor Vespasian (*Bashbashiyān*), whose son Titus besieged the city in the first century CE.[57] Hernández Juberías acknowledges a connection with the sack of Jerusalem but disagrees about the conflation of Ishbān and Vespasian, noting that they are separate figures in the accounts.[58] Clarke sees the Jerusalem element of the Ishbān story as originating in Titus's sack of Jerusalem.[59] By contrast, Tixier-Caceres argues that the Jerusalem episode is the result of confusion between the names Ilyon (Troy) and Īliyā (Jerusalem).[60]

The connection established by al-Rāzī between the conquest of Jerusalem and the seizure of the Table of Solomon clearly has roots in historical events. Like other scholars, Elices Ocón argues that Arab authors conflated information from classical sources with "oriental topoi" – the Jerusalem episode combined Islamic motifs such as al-Khiḍr with the classical story of Titus's sack of Jerusalem in 70 CE. However, he interprets the attack on Jerusalem differently. Unlike Tixier-Caceres, Elices Ocón argues that the Jerusalem episode – indeed, the entire story of

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connection entered the Spanish tradition as well, with the appearance in the *Crónica del Moro Rasis* of a king named Pedro who likewise goes to Jerusalem and leaves with booty. Hernández Juberías, *La península imaginaria*, 228-229.
[55] Al-Rāzī in al-Ḥimyarī, *Kitāb al-Rawḍ al-Miʿṭār*, 33-34.
[56] See Hernández Juberías, *La península imaginaria,* 228-229.
[57] Elices Ocón, "El Pasado Preislámico," 126-127.
[58] Hernández Juberías, *La península imaginaria*, 230.
[59] Clarke, *The Muslim Conquest of Iberia*, 88.
[60] Tixier-Caceres, "Regards Croisés," 212.

Ishbān – was meant as a response to the rival Fāṭimid dynasty. In his reading, the "descendants of the Prophets" who al-Khiḍr warns Ishbān to treat well are the defenders of the true monotheism – in this case, the (Andalusi) Umayyads as opposed to the Fāṭimids.[61] However, given the fact that Ishbān suffers no consequences for his actions, I am inclined to search for another explanation for the story's significance.

Like Hernández Juberías, I argue that Ishbān's sack of Jerusalem likely appeared at this time to explain the presence the Table of Solomon in al-Andalus.[62] As we have already seen, the Table motif predated the more extensive development of the Ishbān story. Ultimately, the story of Ishbān's sack of Jerusalem provided a historical explanation for the presence of the Table of Solomon in the Peninsula. Over time, it came to be associated with a well-known historical event, the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple by the Roman Titus Flavius.[63] This conflation makes sense, given that Ishbān reportedly killed and captured many Jews during the sack of Jerusalem; the destruction of the Second Temple by Titus left a large impression in collective memory.[64] This association would also explain why Ishbān suffered no consequences after his sack of Jerusalem: because the motif was initially part of another story.

[61] Ibid., 448-449. It should be noted here that Elices Ocón relies on the *Crónica del Moro Rasis* as his main source for this argument. This is problematic given that the *Crónica* cannot be considered a direct translation of the Arabic chronicle of al-Rāzī. Many attempts have been made to discern the similarities between the *Crónica del Moro Rasis* and the preserved Arabic excerpts from al-Rāzī's *Akhbār Mulūk al-Andalus*, but scholars remain unsure of the extent to which the *Crónica* parallels the original, and to what extent it has been elaborated on. For a discussion of various attempts, see König, *Arabic-Islamic Views*, 162-165.
[62] Hernández Juberías, *La península imaginaria,* 232-233.
[63] Ibid., 232.
[64] See Alfonso, *Islamic Culture through Jewish Eyes,* especially pp. 55-56, 83-84, and 95-96.

Al-Khiḍr

The Ishbān story was the product of a gradual process of development within the Islamic tradition, and different layers were added to the narrative over time. The first three motifs – naming, the Table of Solomon, and the sack of Jerusalem – draw on strong connections to the biblical past. These motifs confer monotheistic legitimacy on the Peninsula's pagan past by emphasizing that Iberia had unique and unusual connections to the monotheistic milieu. However, it is the fourth motif, the prophet al-Khiḍr, that makes the story inherently Islamic. Al-Khiḍr's sole function is to inform Ishbān of his future kingship and to warn him to treat the "descendants of the prophets" well when he conquers Jerusalem. How and why was the figure of al-Khiḍr attached to the Ishbān story? What is the meaning of his appearance?

Like the Table of Solomon and the sack of Jerusalem, the al-Khiḍr/al-Andalus connection first circulated independently and was later merged with the other motifs to form al-Rāzī's version of the story. Al-Khiḍr appears in the Qur'an as the unnamed companion of Moses in Sūrat al-Kahf. According to the Qur'an, Moses's unnamed companion, identified only in later traditions as al-Khiḍr,[65] had been granted special knowledge by God. Moses asks to follow him so that he can learn from this special knowledge. Al-Khiḍr agrees, but only on the condition that Moses not question his actions. Al-Khiḍr then performs a series of seemingly senseless actions: first, he makes a whole in a ship so that it sinks; then, he meets and kills a young boy; and finally, upon coming across a town that refuses to provide hospitality to the travelers, he helps to rebuild the village walls. Moses protests to al-Khiḍr, who informs him why he performed each of these actions, before parting ways: the ship was in danger of being seized by a king; the young

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[65] Hugh Talat Halman, *Where the Two Seas Meet: The Qur'ānic Story of Al-Khiḍr and Moses in Sufi Commentaries as a Model of Spiritual Guidance* (Louisville, KY: Fons Vitae, 2013), 63.

boy's parents were believers and the boy was in danger of injuring them with his disbelief; and the wall had belonged to two orphans and concealed treasure intended for them from their father.[66]

Al-Khiḍr's character is developed more extensively in other Islamic traditions, especially in the Arabic version of the Alexander romance, in which he is the faithful companion of Alexander who accompanies him on his adventures throughout the world. This association between Alexander and al-Khiḍr perhaps has its origins in the Qur'an itself, as the story of Moses and his servant directly precedes mention of a figure called Dhū al-Qarnayn.[67] Although sometimes identified as either Moses himself or a South Arabian king, in later commentaries, Dhū al-Qarnayn is often associated with Alexander the Great.[68] According to Islamic tradition, it is through his association with the Alexander legend that al-Khiḍr becomes immortal: he is said to have drunk from the Fountain of Life, which he encountered on his travels with Dhū al-Qarnayn.[69] Because of the connection between his name and the Arabic word for the color green, al-Khiḍr is often associated with phenomenon such as the ground becoming green wherever he stands.[70] This explains why al-Khiḍr makes Ishbān's staff sprout leaves.

In many versions of the Alexander legend, al-Khiḍr accompanies Dhū al-Qarnayn on

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[66] Qur'an 18:65-82.
[67] Qur'an 18:83. See also Shawkat M. Toorawa, "The Modern Literary (After)Lives of Al-Khiḍr," *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 16, no. 3 (October 1, 2014), 175.
[68] Brannon M. Wheeler, "Moses or Alexander? Early Islamic Exegesis of Qurʾān 18:60-65," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 57, no. 3 (1998), 214. See also Brannon Wheeler, "Dhū al-Qarnayn," *The Qur'an: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Oliver Leaman (London: Routledge, 2005), 182-183.
[69] Ethel Sara Wolper, "Khiḍr and the Changing Frontiers of the Medieval World," *Medieval Encounters* 17, no. 1–2 (January 1, 2011), 122-123. Qur'an 18:65. For al-Khiḍr and the Fountain of Life see David Zuwiyya, *Islamic Legends Concerning Alexander the Great: Taken from Two Medieval Arabic Manuscripts in Madrid* (Binghamton, N.Y.: Global Publications, 2001), 131-132.
[70] A.J. Wensinck, "al-K̲h̲aḍir (al-K̲h̲iḍr)," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed.

campaign in al-Andalus. This connection appears early in the historiography: in the 9th century work of the Egyptian Ibn Hishām (d. 828 or 833), al-Khiḍr and Dhū al-Qarnayn cross into al-Andalus and attack its residents (identified by Ibn Hishām as Copts, Franks, Galicians and Berbers) and try to convert them to Islam (although it is possible that Ibn Hishām identified Dhū al-Qarnayn with a South Arabian king rather than with Alexander the Great).[71] Dhū al-Qarnayn also has a reputation as a world conqueror who spread Islam during his conquests.[72] Indeed, the association of Dhū al-Qarnayn with world conquest and the expansion of Islam make it logical for him to appear in al-Andalus. At the edge of the Islamic world, al-Andalus was particularly well-suited for the setting of wondrous stories.[73] In addition, as one of the more recent additions to *dār al-islām*, al-Andalus was a convenient stage on which to perform a narrative of conquest and conversion.

Other Andalusi and Maghribi sources expand upon the association between al-Khiḍr and al-Andalus. In the 11th century, just one century after al-Rāzī recorded the first "complete" version of the story, we find an Andalusi version of the Alexander legend that links Dhū al-Qarnayn with both al-Khiḍr and al-Andalus. In this anonymous account, Dhū al-Qarnayn's campaigns in al-Andalus are a point of lengthy discussion, although al-Khiḍr himself only makes an appearance outside of al-Andalus.[74] In addition, some Andalusi geographers, such as al-Ḥimyarī (d. 1495) and al-Bakrī (d. 1094), identified Algeciras as the city in the Qur'anic story

[71] ʿAbd al-Malik Ibn Hishām, *Kitāb al-Tījān*, 2nd ed. (Sanaa: Markaz al-Dirāsāt wa al-Abhāth al-Yemeniyya, 1979), 99. Manuela Marín, "Legends on Alexander the Great in Moslem Spain," *Graeco-Arabica* 4 (1991), 74.
[72] Wheeler, "Moses or Alexander?" 213.
[73] See discussion in Clarke, *The Muslim Conquest of Iberia*, especially pp. 73-79.
[74] Zuwiyya, *Islamic Legends Concerning Alexander the Great*. For al-Khiḍr see p. 136 of English translation; for al-Andalus see beginning on p. 149.

where al-Khiḍr builds a wall.[75] These associations of legendary accounts with al-Andalus set it apart within the medieval world.[76] The stories of Ishbān and Dhū al-Qarnayn in al-Andalus were part of an attempt to anchor al-Andalus within an Islamic framework by transposing figures and stories from Islamic legends onto the physical space of al-Andalus.

In her discussion of al-Khiḍr's appearance in Levantine Crusade-era legends, Ethel Sara Wolper argues that because of his immortality, al-Khiḍr's "presence at many sites with visible pre-Islamic origins also served as a way of linking local beliefs to larger narratives about the triumph of Islam."[77] Likewise, his immortality makes his insertion into the Ishbān story logical because he existed before the arrival of Islam, so he could easily be integrated into Jewish and Christian legends.[78] The seeds of the story, the main purpose of which was to explain why the Peninsula was called Hispania, worked their way into the Islamic sphere from the Latin Christian tradition. The story was gradually reshaped from one that did not mention Islam at all to one that emphasized the uniquely Islamic nature of al-Andalus as a physical place.

The Ishbān story first developed in 10th century al-Andalus, a period of increasing acculturation that witnessed the growth of a regional sense of belonging amongst the Andalusi

[75] Tixier du Mesnil, *Géographes d'Al-Andalus,* 391-392.
[76] As Clarke notes, "Using a variety of anecdotes and motifs drawn from legend, historiography, and personal observation, eastern and western geographers created and supported an image of al-Andalus that could be considered unwelcoming at best, and hostile at worst – but which was entirely in keeping with the Peninsula's conceptual position as a territory at the edge of the world, occupying an uneasy space between the order and solidity of land-based civilization, and the chaotic danger of Ocean and of life outside its bounds… Al-Andalus was a place where stranger things could happen, and legendary heroes could be adopted into the geographical, or historical, narrative to increase the region's prestige – an where neither seemed out of place, because that was simply what was expected, and enjoyed." Clarke, *The Muslim Conquest of Iberia*, 81.
[77] Wolper, "Khiḍr and the Changing Frontiers of the Medieval World," 124.
[78] Ibid., 122-123

population.[79] I define "identity" here as a feeling of "groupness," i.e. a sense of belonging to a particular group of people defined in relationship to "outsiders."[80] In al-Andalus, groupness was evident by the 11th century at the latest, when authors began to refer to Muslim residents of al-Andalus as "*ahl al-Andalus*" ("the people of al-Andalus"), a term that previously in conquest accounts had been used only to refer to the Visigoths.[81] This sense of groupness was predicated on what it means to be a part of that group and what it means to *not* be a part of the group. As Antoine Berman observes, "The formulation and the development of a national culture of its own can and must proceed by way of translation, that is, by an intensive and deliberate relation to the foreign."[82] Similarly, Steven Weitzman notes, "To colonize a place… [is] to disambiguate it, to organize its strangeness into discrete categories, and to translate its foreignness into familiar experience."[83] Thus both the formation of a national sense of belonging and ownership over a specific place depend on the translation of the foreign into something familiar.

We can think of the story of Ishbān as such a translation. Entering the Arabic-Islamic tradition via the Iberian Latin tradition, the Ishbān story was subsequently reworked and reformulated at the very moment at which a distinctive Andalusi regional sense of belonging was developing. The development of this sense of belonging was predicated upon the formation of a relationship to the foreign, construed as either the rest of the Islamic world or as Christian Europe.[84] In this case, the foreign other is the pagan Iberian past. By inserting the prophet al-

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[79] König, *Arabic-Islamic Views*, 168. See also Ross Brann, *Iberian Moorings*, chapter 1.
[80] Brubaker and Cooper, "Beyond 'Identity,'" 19.
[81] König, *Arabic-Islamic Views*, 168.
[82] Antoine Berman, *The Experience of the Foreign: Culture and Translation in Romantic Germany* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992), 32.
[83] Steven Weitzman, "Crossing the border with Samson: Beth-Shemesh and the Bible's Geographical Imagination," in *Tel Beth-Shemesh: A Border Community in Judah,*" ed. Shlomo Bunimovitz and Tzvi Ledermen (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2016) 272.
[84] At other times, the Foreign was the rest of the Islamic world. Ross Brann identifies this Other

Khiḍr into the story of Ishbān and incorporating biblical and classical motifs, Andalusi authors domesticated the Iberian past, making it into something that was familiar and understandable within the Arabic-Islamic cultural tradition.

Ishbān and the development of an Andalusi sense of belonging

Al-Rāzī's 10th century version of the story was not the first attempt to use Ishbān to domesticate the Iberian past. As noted, Ibn Ḥabīb's 9th century version of the story anomalously gives Iberia a name that has a Persian – rather than an Iberian – origin, connecting "Ishbān" to Isfahan. This attribution shifted the origins of Iberian history outside of the Peninsula itself, placing it in Isfahan, where a cultural revolution was taking place at that very moment.[85] Just as the 10th century version of the Ishbān story made the Peninsula's pre-Islamic past familiar by incorporating Islamic and classical motifs, Ibn Ḥabīb's version domesticated the Ishbān story by painting it as part of the Islamic cultural milieu through an attachment to Persia. This attempt ultimately failed when more information about pre-Islamic Iberia (including Isidore of Seville's Ishbān narrative) came to light in the 10th century as a result of increased translation from Latin, but the Iberia-Persia connection did not disappear from Andalusi histories.[86] It is possible that

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as the rest of the Islamic world. Brann, *Iberian Moorings*, chapter 1. However, there were multiple Others at play in the definition of an Andalusi sense of belonging, including the pre-Islamic Iberian past.

[85] It is perhaps for this reason that König notes that 9th century Andalusi historians obtained their information about their past from eastern sources – because the Islamic east was regarded as a place of cultural sophistication. König, *Arabic-Islamic Views*, 160.

[86] Ibn ʿIdhārī, for instance, also makes the connection between Isfahan and Ishbān. Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib,* 2:1-3. Ibn al-Athīr separately notes that the people of al-Andalus came from Persia/Isfahan. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Taʾrīkh*, 4:35-39. Interestingly, al-Khiḍr is also sometimes said to have come from Persia. Halman, *Where the Two Seas Meet*, 98. In one of the Islamic versions of the Alexander romance, the people of al-Andalus are said to be the people of "al-Anbar" who were expelled by the king of Persia. In the index, editor Zuwiyya associates this toponym with a village on the Euphrates. Zuwiyya, *Islamic Legends Concerning Alexander the*

this connection resulted from confusion over the similarity in sound between Ishbān/Isfahan. Be that as it may, this version – uniquely among the different iterations of the Ishbān story – reports that the historical name of the Peninsula originated outside of Iberian history.

Ibn Ḥabīb's attempt to domesticate the Iberian past by linking it with Persia reflects the lack of an Andalusi "identity" in the 9th century. The development of such an "identity" in the 10th century contributed to the shift away from tracing Iberian history to Persia, as in al-Rāzī's work. The emergence of this sense of belonging resulted from 10th century political changes in the Iberian Peninsula and farther afield. During the first two centuries of Umayyad rule in Iberia, the ruler portrayed himself as an emir. But in 929, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III declared himself caliph. Because there could be only one true caliphate, this declaration was meant to be a universal one that set the Umayyads in opposition to the ʿAbbāsids in the East and the Fāṭimids in North Africa.[87] The growth of an Andalusi "identity" relied in part on Andalusi Umayyad religious and political claims of legitimacy. The Fāṭimids were the "other" against which Andalusis defined themselves.[88] As a consequence of this increased sense of regionalism and competition with the Islamic east, Andalusi scholars became increasingly interested in information about Iberian history.[89] These trends in Andalusi society led to the writing of al-Rāzī's influential book on Andalusi history, which included information about the pre-Islamic past, including the story of Ishbān.

Great, 150 and 168. Some authors also cited a Persian ancestry for the Visigoths. For an overview, see König, *Arabic-Islamic Views*, 155-156. This connection between al-Andalus and Persia would be interesting to explore further.

[87] This competition is what leads Elices Ocón to view the Ishbān story as a condemnation of the Fāṭimids. Elices Ocón, "El Pasado Preislámico," 448.

[88] For a comprehensive discussion, see Safran, *The Second Umayyad Caliphate*, especially 25-32. See also chapter one of Ross Brann, *Iberian Moorings*.

[89] König, *Arabic-Islamic Views*, 168; Clarke, *The Muslim Conquest of Iberia*, 96-97.

The effort to legitimize the Umayyad caliphate in al-Andalus and the coalescence of a regional Andalusi "identity" in the 10th century led to the development of the Ishbān story. Andalusis used the pre-Islamic past as another source of Umayyad legitimacy, and as a common past that served as a point of unification around which an Andalusi sense of group belonging could coalesce. In al-Rāzī's Ishbān story, the etymology of both "Hispania" and "al-Andalus" are traced to a native Iberian figure (rather than to Persia). This emphasizes the centrality of Iberia and Iberian history to al-Rāzī's portrayal of the past.

In addition to connecting Andalusi history to the Iberian past, however, al-Rāzī establishes the image of Iberia as a specifically *Islamic* place by describing Andalusi history in relationship to the sacred history of the wider Islamic world. His version of the story supported the development of an Andalusi sense of belonging by situating al-Andalus in the classical, biblical, and Quranic milieux. This contextualization within antiquity put al-Andalus on par with such important locales as Jerusalem and the Arabian Peninsula, providing an additional point around which Andalusi feelings of solidarity could form. As Ross Brann has argued, Andalusi identity "[occupied] an uncommon temporal space between the legendary past and the end of history."[90] By depicting al-Andalus as part of monotheist history, Muslim authors emphasized its sacrality and importance.

The Ishbān story enabled Andalusi Muslims to claim the pre-Islamic history of Iberia for themselves.[91] When later Muslim authors place Ishbān on a timeline of Iberian history, he comes

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[90] Ross Brann, *Iberian Moorings*, chapter 1.

[91] Andrew Rippin notes that "The connection of the past to the present through its written form provides the key to memory and allows for the continuity of identity. Renewal occurs through breaks in events - crises - which are then reinvigorated with memory by the renewal of fixed and significant connections to the distant past." Andrew Rippin, "Introduction," *Numen* 58, no. 2/3 (2011), 154. The connection between al-Andalus and the pre-Islamic past that is forged through the Ishbān story provides such an anchor for the establishment of an Andalusi sense of belonging

before the Romans and the Visigoths, who directly preceded the Muslims.[92] As an Islamic prophet, al-Khiḍr represents an Islamic presence in Iberia at a point well before the Peninsula was Christianized. Thus, the Islamic Ishbān story does not depict a pagan past that has since become irrelevant. Rather, the story presents a foreign past but then claims it for the Islamic tradition by inserting a Muslim prophet into the legend. By depicting the Islamic presence as predating the Christian one, the story also signals that the Islamic conquest had been preordained – the Peninsula was, and in a sense always had been, Islamic. Through his "translation" of the pagan Iberian past into an Islamic(ized) story, al-Rāzī domesticated the past and made it part of Islamic history.

Al-Rāzī's version of the story also responded to the internal concerns of an ethnically heterogeneous Andalusi population that increasingly was both Muslim and Arabicized. Over the course of the 10th century, the Andalusi Christian population became increasingly acculturated and many members converted to Islam.[93] Native-born Iberian converts were well aware of their ethnicity.[94] Prior to the 10th century, the ruling Andalusi Umayyads emphasized the importance

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that was rooted in identification with the Iberian past.

[92] Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, 2:2.

[93] In her study of the martyrs of Cordoba, Jessica Coope discusses the increasing cultural assimilation of the ninth century and argues that they are indicative of increased conversion and adoption of Arab Islamic culture. Jessica A Coope, *The Martyrs of Córdoba: Community and Family Conflict in an Age of Mass Conversion* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), xiii. Note also that increased conversion to Islam did not mean that the majority of the population had converted. Alwyn Harrison, "Behind the Curve: Bulliet and Conversion to Islam in Al-Andalus Revisited," *Al-Masāq* 24, no. 1 (April 1, 2012): 35–51.

[94] This awareness of ethnic differences had existed since at least the middle of the 8th century. As Kenneth Baxter Wolf notes with regards to the *Chronicle of 754*, the chronicler seems to focus on ethnic signifiers as the basis for identity. See Kenneth Baxter Wolf's introduction to "The Chronicle of 754," in *Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain*, 31-37. Additionally, the 11th century in particular saw conflicts in al-Andalus along ethnic lines. Wasserstein, *The Rise and Fall of the Party-Kings,* 55-60. For an in-depth discussion of these ethnic divisions, see Larsson, *Ibn García's Shuʿūbiyya Letter.*

of being Arab.[95] In order to maintain their legitimacy in the face of these demographic changes, however, the Umayyads began to represent themselves as rulers of all Muslims, not just Arab Muslims.[96] The Ishbān story became more complex around the same time (the middle of the 10th century), partly because it provided a mechanism to incorporate non-Arab Andalusi Muslims into a more inclusive representation of Islamic history: al-Andalus, too, had an Islamic prophet, who was associated with the origins of the name Hispania/Ishbāniyya. The Ishbān story placed the origins of al-Andalus into the narrative of Iberian history by endowing the Latin name for the Peninsula with an Islamic origin. Therefore, the 10th century story also allowed Iberian Muslims of Christian Iberian descent to be incorporated into the wider narrative of Islamic history.

Despite the story's domestication of the Iberian past into Islamic history, we should keep in mind that the Ishbān story was the product of an *Islamicate* society. Following Marshall Hodgson, I use the term "Islamicate" here to refer to the shared culture of the Islamic world – the "*culture,* centered on a lettered tradition, which has been historically distinctive of Islamdom the *society*, and which has been naturally shared in by both Muslims and non-Muslims who participate at all fully in the society of Islamdom." The term "Islamic," in contrast, is specifically a religious descriptor.[97] If we think of Andalusi culture as Islamicate, we can envision a cultural milieu that is created by Muslims and non-Muslims alike. This shared cultural milieu was not homogenous across all communities living in the Islamic world, nor is it to be confused with the concept of *convivencia*, the idea that Jews, Christians and Muslims created and lived in a uniquely tolerant society. A shared culture does not necessitate a tolerant one.[98]

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[95] Coope, *The Most Noble of People,* 26.
[96] Ibid.
[97] Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, 1:58. Emphasis the author's.
[98] The concept of *Convivencia* was initially promoted in the mid-20th century by Spanish historian Américo Castro. His main challenger was Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, who argued that

The Ishbān story is evidence of an Islamicate culture in part because the motif of the name – Ishbān/Ishbāniyya – is a legacy of Christian Iberia. Christian converts to Islam or Arabic-speaking Christians likely played some role in its transfer into the Arabic-Islamic tradition. The al-Khiḍr motif is an Islamic contribution (though the prophetic anointment motif is shared across Abrahamic religions), while the Jerusalem motif is found in different historical and religious traditions (Jewish, Christian, and Islamic). The Jewish presence on the Peninsula was one reason for such strong interest in Temple artifacts such as the Table of Solomon.[99] Thus the story was created in the Islamicate cultural milieu of al-Andalus, and although its chief audience was Muslim, at least some form of the story circulated among Jewish communities in al-Andalus by the middle of the 12th century (see below), and we have no reason to doubt that it also circulated within Andalusi Christian communities.[100] We can read al-Rāzī's 10th-century version of the Ishbān story as an attempt to draw together the various different strands of Andalusi Muslim society under the umbrella of a common legacy: an ancient Iberia that was pagan and yet Islamic at the same time, but that was informed by Jewish and Christian concerns.

10th/11th century chronicles and geographies

In the 11th century, the sources for Andalusi history grow much more numerous, and we find many more versions of the Ishbān story. Authors in the 11th century who report the Ishbān

conflict rather than tolerance was the defining characteristic of medieval Spain. The idea has since been debated widely. In the 21st century, scholars have begun to distance themselves entirely from the conflict/coexistence binary. For an overview of the debate, see Jonathan Ray, "Beyond Tolerance and Persecution: Reassessing Our Approach to Medieval Convivencia," *Jewish Social Studies* 11, no. 2 (2005), 1-4.

[99] Clarke, *The Muslim Conquest of Iberia*, 87.

[100] Moses ibn ʿEzra, *Kitāb al-Muḥāḍara wa al-Mudhākara*, ed. Abraham S. Halkin (Jerusalem: Mekize Nirdamim, 1975), 54 [29a]. Translated by Ross Brann in the introduction to *Iberian Moorings*.

story include Ibn Ḥayyān (d. 1076), al-ʿUdhrī (d. 1085), and al-Bakrī (d. 1094). Ibn Ḥayyān's version is similar to al-Rāzī's, while al-ʿUdhrī and al-Bakrī, whose versions are nearly identical to each other, focus on how Ishbān fit into both historical and sacred time. As geographers, they seek to explain how different groups of people fit into history; this focus reflects a move away from Ishbān's importance to Andalusi "groupness" and a move towards using his story to explain the geographic and ethnic position of al-Andalus vis-à-vis the rest of the Islamic world.

Ibn Ḥayyān, an Andalusi historian who relied heavily on al-Rāzī as a source, reports part of al-Rāzī's version of the story (Ishbān's encounter with al-Khiḍr) almost verbatim. His *Muqtabis* has not been preserved in its entirety, however, and the portion of the text dealing with the Visigothic history of al-Andalus and the Muslim conquest is missing. As with al-Rāzī, we must therefore look to later authors who preserved lost fragments of Ibn Ḥayyān's text. Citing Ibn Ḥayyān, the 17th century historian al-Maqqarī (d. 1632) reports a version of the Ishbān story that is strikingly similar to part of al-Rāzī's version. The main difference between the two texts is that Ibn Ḥayyān does not report the story of Ishbān's sack of Jerusalem and capture of the Table of Solomon; he only records the story of Ishbān's encounter with al-Khiḍr.[101] Because we must rely on what al-Maqqarī chose to record, we cannot be sure that the part of the story dealing with the sack of Jerusalem was absent from Ibn Ḥayyān's original text. In fact, the similarity in wording between Ibn Ḥayyān's account and al-Rāzī's version suggests that Ibn Ḥayyān did initially include this part in his *Muqtabis*, or if not, he at least was aware of its existence.

The only other difference between Ibn Ḥayyān's version and that of al-Rāzī is that Ibn Ḥayyān introduces the story with the statement that "the storytellers of the foreigners [*al-ʿajam*,

[101] Ibn Ḥayyān cited in al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*, 1:137-138.

here likely meaning European Christians]" related the story of Ishbān.[102] His introduction underscores the story's importance to the domestication of the Iberian past by bringing the narrative full circle: after its initial entrance into the Islamic tradition, it was reformulated and reshaped, and then, figuratively, returned to the mouths of foreigners. The story is both foreign and familiar – although Ishbān is a foreign figure, he has become part of the Arabic-Islamic tradition and his presence demonstrates the inevitability of Islam in Iberia. We see a similar attempt to seek legitimacy in the ancient past in other narratives of Islamic history. The biography of the Prophet Muḥammad, for example, records several instances in which Jews and Christians predict the coming of Muḥammad based on what reportedly was written in their holy books.[103] In both these stories and in the Ishbān narrative, non-Muslims or non-Islamic traditions legitimize the Islamic present.

The Ishbān story is also recorded by the Andalusi geographer al-ʿUdhrī (d. 1085) in his *Kitāb Tarṣīʿ al-Akhbār*. Al-ʿUdhrī situates the story in the context of his discussion of the city of Seville, specifically when he mentions the nearby ancient Roman city of Italica, which some other versions of the Ishbān story (including al-Rāzī's) also associate with Ishbān. According to al-ʿUdhrī,

> Some accounts of the ancient history [of al-Andalus] mention a story about the attack on Jerusalem. Among them:
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> In some histories of the ancients, it is mentioned that Ashbān ibn Ṭīṭish, one of the descendants of Tubal, was one of the kings of the Ashbāniyyin who was distinguished by his rule over most of the world (*khuṣṣa bi-mulk akthar al-dunyā*). He first showed up in Seville. His rule strengthened, his name spread far and wide, and he gained power in every aspect of his rule (*wa tamakkana fī kul nāḥiyyat sulṭānihi*). When he ruled every part of al-Andalus and its furthest reaches had become obedient to him, he left in ships from Seville, [heading] for Jerusalem. He plundered it and destroyed it; and he killed

[102] Ibid.
[103] In one episode, two Jewish rabbis convert to Islam because they find Muhammad's name and description in Jewish texts. Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya*, 1:516-517.

> 100,000 Jews, took 100,000 of them prisoner, and dispersed [another] 100,000 to the farthest parts of the world. He moved its marble to Seville, Merida, and Baja, and he is the owner of the Table [of Solomon] that was found in Toledo, the stone that was found in Merida, and a few jewels that were also in Merida.
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> Kings from around the world (*amlāk dāʾirat al-arḍ*) participated in the first destruction of the Temple with Nebuchadnezzar. They also participated in the destruction that [was carried out by] Caesar Vespasian. In those days, the king of Rome and al-Andalus was one [and the same]. Afterwards, kings from many different lands ruled the Temple.[104]

Like previous authors, al-ʿUdhrī mentions the Jerusalem episode and alludes to Ishbān's capture of the Table of Solomon. He does not, however, report Ishbān's encounter with al-Khiḍr. Unlike previous authors, al-ʿUdhrī hints at a genealogy for Ishbān, referring to him as "Ashbān b. Ṭīṭish of the descendants of Tubal." As we saw earlier, al-Rāzī refers to the figure as "Ishbān b. Ṭīṭish."[105] Al-ʿUdhrī is the first Andalusi author to give additional information, namely that Ishbān was also descended from Tubal, one of Noah's grandsons.

The second difference between al-ʿUdhrī and previous authors is that al-ʿUdhrī reports that Ishbān attacked Jerusalem twice – once with Nebuchadnezzar, and once with Vespasian. Al-Rāzī, by contrast, reported only that Ishbān attacked with Nebuchadnezzar. As discussed previously, some scholars have hypothesized that "Ishbān" is an Arabization of "Vespasian," whose son Titus conquered Jerusalem.[106] We have not previously seen Vespasian mentioned in these accounts, however, and it is more likely that his mention in al-ʿUdhrī's 11th century text is a result of increased knowledge and interest in Roman history. In fact, al-ʿUdhrī's version of the story is anchored in Roman history elsewhere as well, as he mentions that "the kings of Rome and al-Andalus in that time were one [and the same]."

[104] Al-ʿUdhrī, *Tarṣīʿ al-Akhbār*, 97.
[105] Al-Rāzī quoted in al-Ḥimyarī, *Kitāb al-Rawḍ al-Miʿṭār*, 33-34.
[106] Elices Ocón, "El Pasado Preislámico," 126-127. For a counterargument, see Hernández Juberías, *La península imaginaria,* 230.

Al-Bakrī, who died about a decade after al-ʿUdhrī, reports a version of the Ishbān story that is similarly anchored in both biblical genealogy and Roman history. He reports the following story about Ishbān in his *Kitāb al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik*:

> It is mentioned in some reports that Ishbān ibn Ṭīṭish, [who is] one of the descendants of Tubal ibn Japheth ibn Noah (peace be upon him), was one of the kings of al-Ishbāniyīn who was distinguished by his rule over most of the world (*khuṣṣa bi-mulk akthar al-dunyā*). His authority strengthened, he became famous, and he gained power in every aspect of his rule (*wa tamakkana fī kull nāḥiyyat sulṭānihi*). When [Ishbān] ruled [all] the regions of al-Andalus and the farthest parts of the land obeyed him, he left in ships from Seville [and headed] towards Jerusalem. He plundered and destroyed [Jerusalem], and there he killed 100,000 Jews, captured 100,000, and dispersed [another] 100,000 to [different] lands. He moved its marble to Seville, Merida, and Baja. He is the owner of the Table that was found in Toledo, the stone that was found in Merida, and a few of the jewels that were also found in Merida, according to what is mentioned. He participated in the first destruction of the Temple with Nebuchadnezzar, and he [also] participated in the destruction that was [carried out by] Caesar Vespasian and Adrian. It is said that he was from Ṭāliqa (Italica) Seville. In the 20th year of his rule, the construction of Jerusalem was finished. He was the one of the kings of the *ʿajām* [non-Arabs] who continued [their habit] of rotating among their four residences in the cities of al-Andalus: Seville, Merida, Toledo, and Cordoba. They divided their time among them.[107]

This version is more detailed than that of al-ʿUdhrī. Al-Bakrī gives Ishbān's full genealogy as "Tubal b. Japheth b. Noah." Like al-ʿUdhrī, he anchors the story in Roman history, mentioning both Vespasian and Adrian (Hadrian), who subdued the Bar Kokhba revolt in Jerusalem in the 130s CE.[108] Most of the other motifs found in this version are found in the texts of both al-Rāzī and al-ʿUdhrī: the connection between Ishbān and Seville; the attack on the Jews of Jerusalem (repeated almost verbatim) and the association with Nebuchadnezzar; and the objects looted from Jerusalem and brought to al-Andalus.

Unlike the other two authors, al-Bakrī provides additional information about Ishbān while explaining the origins of the historical names of the Iberian Peninsula. The information he

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[107] Al-Bakrī, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik*, 2:903-904.
[108] Hanan Eshel, "The Bar Kochba Revolt, 132-135," in *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, ed. Steven Katz, vol. 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 122-125.

provides is strikingly similar to the information in Isidore of Seville's text. According to al-Bakrī:

> It is said that in antiquity [the Peninsula's] name was Iberia [named] after the Ebro River, then it was called Bāṭiqa [Baetica] from the Baetis River [Guadalquivir],[109] which is the river of Cordoba. Then it was called Ishbāniyya because of a king who ruled it in antiquity, whose name was Ishbān. It is also said that it was called al-Ishbān because al-Ashbān inhabited it in the beginning of time along the course of the river and its surroundings. And [other] people say that its name is actually Ishbāriyya[110] derived from Bashīrā, which is the planet known as al-Aḥmar (Mars). After that it was called al-Andalus after the names of al-Andalīsh who inhabited it…[111]

It will be recalled that Isidore of Seville explained that "the Spanish were first named Iberians, after the river Iberus (i.e. the Ebro), but afterwards they were named Spaniards (Hispanus) after Hispalus (i.e. the legendary founder of *Hispalis*, Seville)."[112] Like Isidore, al-Bakrī mentions the Ebro/Iberia connection as well as the Ishbān/Ishbāniyya (Hispalus/Hispanus) connection. The addition of the Ebro/Iberia connection, not evident before the 11th century, suggests that by this time there was significant communication between the Arabic and Latin textual traditions, especially regarding the Ishbān story.

Both al-Bakrī and al-ʿUdhrī provide an extended genealogy for Ishbān. The genealogy – "Ishbān ibn Titus of the descendants of Tubal ibn Japheth ibn Noah," according to al-Bakrī – explains Ishbān's lineage in terms of significant figures in Abrahamic monotheism. The identification of Iberians as descendants of Noah via Japheth (and Tubal, according to al-ʿUdhrī, al-Bakrī, and later *Fatḥ al-Andalus*) is found in the classical works of late antique Christianity –

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[109] The Roman name for one of the southern provinces of Hispania was Hispania Baetica. See John Richardson, "Spain," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece and Rome*, Oxford University Press, 2010. Online.
[110] The editor notes: "Hisperia, the Roman name for Seville." Al-Bakrī, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik*, 2:890.
[111] Ibid.
[112] Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, 198.

such as Isidore's text. Isidore identifies the Iberians as the descendants of Tubal, Noah's grandson: "Now the tribes of the sons of Japheth… Tubal, from whom came the Iberians, who are also the Spaniards, although some think the Italians also sprang from him."[113]

In the Islamic tradition, the first author to give Ishbān a biblical lineage was al-Masʿūdī in his *Murūj al-dhahab*:

> Before the emergence of Islam, the ruler of Sicily and Ifrīqiyā in North Africa was called George, and the ruler of al-Andalus was called Ludhrīq, a name that was common amongst the kings of al-Andalus. It was said that [the kings of al-Andalus] were from al-Ishbān, a people (*umma*) from the lineage of Japheth the son of Noah.[114]

Al-Masʿūdī represents Ishbān as a people instead of an individual, and (like Isidore) extends this genealogy to the entire population of the Iberian Peninsula.[115] Note that this genealogy appears first in an eastern record of Ishbān rather than in one of the Andalusi texts; al-ʿUdhrī and al-Bakrī likely acquired this lineage from the work of al-Masʿūdī or another contemporary text.

This genealogy may have appeared in the Arabic tradition around this time due to increased translation from Latin into Arabic. Notably, the *Kitāb Hurūshiyūsh* (discussed earlier) also gives the Iberians a biblical genealogy. According to the text, the world is divided into three parts: Asia (descendants of Noah through Sam); Europe, including Iberia (through Japheth), and Africa (through Ham).[116] This translation of Orosius is one route by which this information could have made it into the Andalusi Islamic tradition (although other texts would have conveyed the information as well). Whether the information came directly from the *Kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, from al-Masʿūdī, or from another source, its appearance in the Andalusi Ishbān story in the 11th

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[113] Ibid., 193.
[114] Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, 1:359-60.
[115] For a discussion of al-Masʿūdī's use of these biblical genealogies, see El Cheikh-Saliba, *Byzantium Viewed by the Arabs*, 23-24.
[116] *Kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, 21.

century indicates that the Andalusi tradition was growing increasingly conversant with the Latin tradition. As geographers with particular interest in the different regions and peoples of the world, al-ʿUdhrī and al-Bakrī included this genealogy to explain how Iberians fit into sacred history.

Unlike al-Rāzī, al-ʿUdhrī and al-Bakrī connect their versions of the Ishbān story to Roman history by giving Ishbān a biblical/qur'anic genealogy. Notably, however, the figure of al-Khiḍr is absent from these two 11th century versions of the story, while both Ibn Ḥayyān and al-Rāzī include it. This suggests that either al-ʿUdhrī or al-Bakrī (or both) made a conscious choice to exclude the al-Khiḍr motif. Selecting and emploting the material which one chose to report (or not) were two of the main ways in which Muslim writers conveyed messages and themes.[117] As geographers, al-ʿUdhrī and al-Bakrī were interested in describing the different places and peoples of the world. They related the story of Ishbān in order to explain Iberian history – specifically the history of the city of Seville – and the place of the Iberian population in the grand scheme of both history and geography. Thus, rather than focusing on Ishbān's ascent to greatness, they explain how his actions created the Iberia that was encountered by the first Muslim conquerors. By adding ostensibly historical details – e.g. the fact that Ishbān conquered Jerusalem with both Nebuchadnezzar and Vespasian – these geographers embed Ishbān in sacred time, contextualizing him in terms of both biblical and Roman history.

These geographers' focus on historicizing the Ishbān story had a secondary consequence: namely, they depict pre-Islamic Iberia as a land without any connections to Islam. The absence of al-Khiḍr removes the story's main Islamic motif and emphasizes the non-Islamic setting. Whereas their predecessors use the figure of al-Khiḍr to demonstrate the Islamic nature of the

[117] Khalek, *Damascus after the Muslim Conquest,* 21.

Iberian Peninsula, for al-ʿUdhrī and al-Bakrī, Ishbān is a relic of a pagan past who desecrated Jerusalem (not once, but twice!) and killed and imprisoned its inhabitants. They focus on the barbarity of pre-Islamic, pagan Iberia. By juxtaposing the pagan past with the Islamic present, they demonstrate the significance and the legitimacy of the Muslim conquest of Iberia in 711.

The 12th century and Fatḥ al-Andalus

In the 12th century, the anonymous *Fatḥ al-Andalus* (c. 1102) reports a version of the Ishbān story that includes certain unusual historical and religious details. Although *Fatḥ al-Andalus* generally adheres to the outline of the story written by al-Rāzī, which by this point was well established in the Andalusi literary tradition, it includes some key details that are unique to this text. These include historical and religious details that contextualize the story and indicate Ishbān's position in history. Although some of these details appear in the 11th century in the texts of al-ʿUdhrī and al-Bakrī, *Fatḥ al-Andalus* provides specific dates and references to other events in sacred history.

Fatḥ al-Andalus discusses the Ishbān story in the context of the Table of Solomon and its discovery in al-Andalus. The anonymous author reports:

> Some historians say that [the Table of Solomon] was carried away from the Temple in the days of the ancients. The first to hold the throne of al-Andalus, make his residence there, and rule it was Insibān ibn Ṭūyān ibn Japheth ibn Noah (peace be upon him). [This occurred] 4,000 years after the fall of Adam (peace be upon him) and 1,700 years after the Flood. He was the first of the Greek kings [to rule] there.
>
> When the Jews called for the killing of Jesus ibn Maryam (may God bless him and grant him peace) (*wa anna al-yahūd lamā iddʿat qatala ʿIsā ibn Maryam*), Christians became angry wherever they were (*ḥamiyat al-naṣrāniyya ḥaythu kānat*), and the Christian kings wrote to each other. The king of al-Andalus was among them. In those days, the king was named Bīṭūsh, and he was [also] called Hercules. He made an oath that he would throw manure from al-Andalus into the Temple. He went forth from al-Andalus to attack, bringing [with him] a large quantity of manure. The kings of Rome and Armenia also went [with him]. They set out at the appointed time, and they all occupied the Temple,

> fighting whoever was inside it until they overcame them. Therein they killed 100,000 Jews, took 100,000 of them prisoner, and dispersed another 100,000 to the farthest parts of the Earth (*wa farraqū miʾa alf fī al-āfāq*). They divided [amongst themselves] the profit and the precious marvels that they found in the Temple. The portion of the king of al-Andalus included the Table [of Solomon] (which is the one that was found in Toledo); the portion of the king of Rome included Adam's clothing and Moses's staff (peace be upon them); the portion of the king of Armenia included the jewels of Dhū al-Qarnayn. It is also said that they were the jewels that Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr found with a few [others] in Merida, and that they were included in the share of the king of al-Andalus along with the Table [of Solomon]. Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr found them in the church in Merida, and they were emitting light. He carried them in the collection [of booty] that he brought to the caliph, al-Walīd ibn ʿAbd al-Malik, praise be to God al-Laṭīf.
>
> It is also said that Nebuchadnezzar called upon the regions of the world to attack the Temple, and the king of al-Andalus was among those he called. They launched the attack, the share [of the king] included the Table of Solomon, which he brought to al-Andalus.[118]

The description of the dispersal of the Jews of Jerusalem is nearly identical to previous versions, as is Ishbān's genealogy and the association with Nebuchadnezzar. Like other texts, it conflates different historical events into one, although there are several prominent differences. First, the spelling of Ishbān's name as Insibān in *Fatḥ al-Andalus* may be the result of a scribal error (the addition of a *nūn* and the transformation of *sīn* into *shīn*). In addition, most other texts refer to Ishbān as the "son of Titus." In *Fatḥ al-Andalus*, Ishbān/Insibān is the son of Tubal and the first king of al-Andalus, while Titus was a later king of al-Andalus who conquered Jerusalem. The Roman leader Titus did lead an attack on Jerusalem in 70 CE,[119] however, and the confusion between Titus and Ishbān is therefore not as unusual as it might seem: they are already intertwined in previous versions of the story as father and son.

Fatḥ al-Andalus also frames the Ishbān story very differently from previous texts, most of which structure the story as one in which a lowly figure ascends to greatness. In this context,

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[118] *Fatḥ al-Andalus*, 35-36.

[119] Robert Goldenberg, "The Destruction of the Jerusalem Temple: Its Meaning and Its Consequences," in *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, ed. Steven Katz, vol. 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 194-196.

the sack of Jerusalem is portrayed as a transgression against monotheism, since al-Khiḍr warns Ishbān against doing it. By contrast, *Fatḥ al-Andalus* portrays the story as a natural continuation of monotheist history. First, the sack of Jerusalem by the Christian kings is described as revenge for the crucifixion of Christ. Second, the text provides a biblical/qur'anic dating for the events: they occurred "4,000 years after the fall of Adam (peace be upon him), and 1,700 years after the Flood." This is the first text to provide a concrete date for the events of Ishbān's reign. Rather than dating the events from the *hijra*, as is more common in contemporary Islamic texts, *Fatḥ al-Andalus* dates the events from the fall of Adam and the Flood, events that were also important in Jewish and Christian history. The text's usage of this calendar situates the events in a universal history. Third, whereas previous texts mention the Table of Solomon, *Fatḥ al-Andalus* expands upon the loot said to have been brought back to al-Andalus and adds objects of great renown such as the staff of Moses, Adam's clothing and the "jewels of Dhū al-Qarnayn." The mention of these relics enhances the prestige of the Andalusi past, while their recovery by the Christian kings who invaded Jerusalem demonstrates the implied righteousness of their actions against the Jews of Jerusalem. Thus, this version of the Ishbān story is much more invested in sacred and classical history than previous versions.

The placement of this version of the Ishbān story into sacred history was due in part to political changes on the Iberian Peninsula. In the late 11th century, al-Andalus underwent a period of massive political disruption: Toledo was captured in 1085 by Alfonso VI of Castile, and in 1086, the Almoravids (*al-murābiṭūn*) entered al-Andalus and began to conquer what remained of the *ṭāʾifa* states on the Peninsula.[120] In the face of this disruption, the compiler of *Fatḥ al-Andalus* may have attempted to inscribe al-Andalus into sacred time in an effort to

[120] Hitchcock, *Muslim Spain Reconsidered,* 127, 143.

emphasize its antiquity and importance as a sacred place, despite the challenge of political decline and territorial loss.

Previous versions of the story condemn Ishbān for his sack of Jerusalem and his transgressions against the Jews. By contrast, *Fatḥ al-Andalus* depicts him as a heroic figure and presents the Jerusalem episode in a similar manner as the conquest of al-Andalus. Like Ishbān, Mūsā takes sacred treasures as booty after conquest, most notably the Table of Solomon. This connection between the two conquests is the key to the significance of *Fatḥ al-Andalus*'s version of the Ishbān story. As noted, al-Rāzī's 10th century Ishbān story claims Iberian history for the Muslims through al-Khiḍr's presence in pagan Iberia. *Fatḥ al-Andalus* also domesticates Iberian history within the Islamic tradition. In contrast to al-Rāzī, however, *Fatḥ al-Andalus* does so by contextualizing the Iberian past within monotheist history and drawing connections between Ishbān and Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr. Ancient Iberia is made foreign and yet familiar through the incorporation of these Islamic-era conquest motifs. Later texts did not keep the changes made by the author of *Fatḥ al-Andalus*, however: Ibn al-Athīr (d. 1233) and Ibn ʿIdhārī (c. 1312) follow closely al-Rāzī's text of the story.

Ishbān in Jewish and Christian texts

The story of Ishbān was transferred from the Latin tradition to the Arab-Islamic one, but also appears in later 12th and 13th century Jewish and Christian texts. The spread of the story beyond the Islamic tradition demonstrates that its heroic plot and connections with the distant past were relevant to Iberians regardless of their religion. In the 12th century, Moses ibn ʿEzra, an Andalusi Jewish poet and scholar, mentions Ishbān in his *Kitāb al-Muḥāḍara wa al-Mudhākara*. In this text, written in Judaeo-Arabic, he notes:

> Our religious community received the tradition that Zarephath is the land of the Franks and Sepharad is al-Andalus in the language of the Arabs, associated with a person called Andalusān from the period of al-Izdihāq, the ancient king; and in the Romance language, Ishfāniyya, also derived from a ruler in the Roman country prior to the Goths, whose name was Ishfān, and whose capital was Ishbīliyya (Seville), on his account was it named, among the earliest (settlers) Isfamyā.[121]

Ibn ʿEzra returns to the original story motif: Ishbān was the source of both the name Ishbāniyya for the Iberian Peninsula and the name Ishbīliyya for the city of Seville. His version of the Ishbān story shows that the story circulated within al-Andalus outside of the Muslim community. The dissemination of this story across religious communities reiterates the importance of thinking of the Ishbān story as having developed in an Islamicate environment.

Ishbān's story was also passed back into the Spanish Christian tradition: he appears in texts written in the kingdoms of Christian Iberia, such as the 14th/15th century *Crónica del Moro Rasis*. This is a Spanish translation of a 14th century Portuguese "translation" of al-Rāzī's text. However, the degree to which the *Crónica* is similar to al-Rāzī's original work is questionable: modern scholars have concluded that rather than being a direct translation, it was composed in part by the translator.[122] Like the Arabic texts, the *Crónica* introduces Ishbān (Espan) as the son of Japheth and grandson of Noah.[123] Although the seeds of the Ishbān story originated in the Latin tradition, the version found in the *Crónica del Moro Rasis* is not a direct product of that tradition: rather it is the result of the centuries of interpretation and re-interpretation that the Ishbān story underwent within the Islamic tradition.

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[121] Ibn ʿEzra, *Kitāb al-Muḥāḍara wa al-Mudhākara*, 54[29a]. Translated by Ross Brann in the introduction to *Iberian Moorings*.

[122] See Mayte Penelas, "Akhbār mulūk al-Andalus", in *Christian-Muslim Relations 600 - 1500*, ed. David Thomas. Accessed 13 April 2020. http://dx.doi.org.proxy.library.cornell.edu/10.1163/1877-8054_cmri_COM_23402.

[123] Diego Catalán and Ma. Soledad De Andres, eds., *Crónica Del Moro Rasis* (Madrid: Seminario Menéndez Pidal y Editorial Gredos, 1975), version "*Mo*," 121-122.

Conclusion

In 13th and 14th century and beyond, we continue to find allusions to the Ishbān story in North African and Andalusi texts such as the *Kitāb al-Iktifāʾ fī Akhbār al-Khulafāʾ* of Ibn al-Kardabūs (d. 1250), the *Kitāb Ṣilat al-Samṭ wa Simat al-Marṭ* of Ibn al-Shabbāṭ (d. 1282), and *al-Bayān al-Mughrib* of Ibn ʿIdhārī (d. 1312).[124] The story also made its way east: Ibn al-Athīr (d. 1233), includes a version similar to that of al-Rāzī in his *al-Kāmil fī al-Taʾrīkh*.[125] Clearly, the story remained important within the Arabic literary tradition both in North Africa and in the Islamic east, even as the political entity known as al-Andalus was decreasing in size.

In the Islamic tradition, the story of Ishbān was one of the ways in which Andalusi authors attempted to domesticate the pre-Islamic Iberian past and make it part of Islamic history. It was transformed repeatedly, as more information about the past (especially the Roman period) became available. Ultimately, multiple layers of meaning were incorporated into the story, which was both defined and interpreted by an Islamicate community. Although the seeds of the story were born in the Latin tradition of Visigothic Iberia, the story was adopted into the Islamic tradition, where it was used to construct a version of the Iberian past that rendered ancient pagan Iberia part of Islamicate al-Andalus.

Between the 9th and 13th centuries, changing political circumstances on the Iberian Peninsula triggered three primary shifts in the story. The most significant shift occurred in al-Rāzī's 10th century text, where the story of Ishbān first incorporated multiple motifs. As Berman

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[124] Ibn al-Kardabūs, *Taʾrīkh al-Andalus*, 119. Ibn al-Shabbāṭ, "Kitāb Ṣilat al-Samṭ wa Simat al-Marṭ," 139. Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, 2:2. See Appendix C for translations of the Ishbān story from each text.
[125] Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Taʾrīkh*, 35-36.

argues, national identity cannot form without the construction of a relationship with the foreign.[126] The construction of this relationship is evident in 10th century al-Andalus, when the Umayyads were struggling to define and defend their "identity" vis-à-vis the rest of the Islamic world. The development of a uniquely Andalusi sense of groupness and regional belonging depended on the community's engagement with the distant past. In "translating" (adopting) the Ishbān story into the Islamic tradition and interpreting it, Andalusi authors created a distinct relationship with the pagan and Christian Iberian past. No longer was this past foreign; instead, the Ishbān story provided a mechanism by which the Muslim community could domesticate it and claim it for themselves.

In al-Rāzī's story, al-Khiḍr was a key component: this version of the story Islamicized the history of the Peninsula by giving the previous name for al-Andalus, Hispania, an origin that was tied to a Muslim figure. No longer could the pagan past of al-Andalus be entirely separated from the Islamic present, for even the ancient name for the Peninsula, Hispania, was connected to a Muslim prophet's encounter with a pagan king. The insertion of al-Khiḍr into a story that relates the history of the name Hispania therefore emphasizes Islamic claims to the Iberian past: right down to its very name, the Iberian Peninsula was Islamic and had always been Islamic. Through this story, Andalusi Muslims were incorporated into native Iberian history, allowing them to claim the Christian and pagan Iberian past as their own.

Later 11th and 12th century authors of the Ishbān story continued to use the story to claim the pre-Islamic Iberian past for al-Andalus, but in subtly different ways. For 11th century authors, the Ishbān story demonstrated the barbarity of the pre-Islamic past, providing a justification for the Muslim presence on the Peninsula. For the 12th century compiler of *Fatḥ al-Andalus*, the

[126] Berman, *The Experience of the Foreign*, 32.

Ishbān story was part of monotheist history: it constructed a parallel between the greatness of past Iberian kings and one of the most important figures of the Islamic conquest, thereby claiming the glory of the Iberian past and connecting it to the Islamic present. For all these authors, the translation of the Ishbān story into the Arabic-Islamic tradition made the foreignness of the Iberian past into something that was recognizably Islamic. In the process, they reimagined a relationship with the Iberian past that, rather than maintaining its Otherness, wove it into the very nature of what it meant to be an Andalusi Muslim.

CHAPTER 4: PORTRAYING CHRISTIANS IN THE CONQUEST ACCOUNTS

As we have seen in the previous chapters, stories about the conquest were continually subjected to re-interpretation as authors' concerns changed. I examined portrayals of the Andalusi landscape, Ṭāriq's ethnicity, and pre-Islamic history, pinpointing when and why they changed. In this chapter, I will use this diachronic approach to examine the vocabulary associated with the Visigoths in the conquest accounts. I find that in the 12th century, authors began to portray the Visigoths in an increasingly polemical light. Namely, they began to refer to them using the term "*mushrikūn*." Around the same time, there was another shift in the stories, as authors began to connect the conquest more closely to the concept of *jihād*. This change is highlighted by one of the changes in portrayals of the landscape of al-Andalus that I examined in chapter 1: the Almohad caliph ʿAbd al-Muʾmin attempted to rename Jabal Ṭāriq "Jabal al-Fatḥ ("Conquest Mountain") in the middle of the 12th century. The shift in names is indicative of greater interest in the conquest beginning in the 12th century. It also reflects broader changes in ideology during (and after) the Crusades and what Spanish historiography would refer to as the "*Reconquista*,"[1] as authors projected their contemporary concerns and ideological priorities

[1] The term "Reconquista" refers to the conquest of al-Andalus by the Iberian Christian kingdoms. It has been recognized that this term is problematic on several accounts, but namely as a "myth" associated with 20th century Spanish nationalism or an "[expression] of historical memory that continues to influence how one approaches the Iberian past." Kenneth Baxter Wolf, "Myth, History, and the Origins of al-Andalus: A Historiographical Essay," *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 11, no. 3 (September 2, 2019), 378. See also Alejandro García-Sanjuán, "Rejecting Al-Andalus, Exalting the Reconquista: Historical Memory in Contemporary Spain," *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 10, no. 1 (January 2, 2018), 127–45. In the absence of alternatives, here I use it to refer to the period of Christian advances against the Muslims in Iberia in the 11th and 12th centuries.

backwards onto the conquest period.

Andalusi texts (9th-12th century)

Prior to the late 11th/early 12th century, Andalusi authors writing about the conquest generally used the terms *al-naṣārā, al-ʿajam* or *al-ʿilj* to describe the Visigoths.[2] By and large, these words are less polemical in nature than the words that later authors used to describe Christians. *Al-naṣārā*, which is derived from the name of the city of Nazareth, can be translated simply as "Christian."[3] In the Qur'an, the term (or its singular form, *naṣrānī*) appears parallel to the term used for Jews, *al-yahūd* (sing. *yahūdī*).[4] It is used in multiple contexts, including those that would imply either a neutral or a relatively favorable view of Christians or Christianity.[5] Arabic-speaking Christian authors in the Islamic world such as Abū Rāʾita al-Takrītī (d. c. 835) also used the term *naṣārā* to refer to their own community.[6] Therefore, Andalusi authors' use of the word to describe Iberian Christians did not carry inherently polemical connotations.

In classical Arabic, *ʿajam* could refer to either non-Arabs or foreigners, or to Persians

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[2] Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-Taʾrīkh*, 156. Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, *Taʾrīkh Iftitāḥ al-Andalus*, 31 and 33. Al-ʿUdhrī, *Tarṣīʿ al-Akhbār*, 4-5.
[3] For an accessible explanation of the term, see J.M. Fiey, "Naṣārā", in *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed.
[4] See for instance: Qur'an 3:67, 5:51, 9:30, 2:120.
[5] See for instance Qur'an 2:62, trans. Sahih International (my addition of the Arabic transliterations): "Indeed, those who believed and those who were Jews (*al-lathīna hādū*, lit. "those who were Jews") or Christians (*al-naṣārā*) or Sabeans [before Prophet Muhammad] – those [among them] who believed in Allah and the Last Day and did righteousness – will have their reward with their Lord, and no fear will there be concerning them, nor will they grieve [sic]."
[6] Abū Rāʾita al-Takrītī, "Rasāʾil Ḥabīb Bin Khidma Al-Maʿrūf Bi-Abī Rāʾita al-Takrītī al-Yaʿqūbī: Al-Risāla al-Ūlā Fī al-Thālūth al-Muqqadas," in *Defending the "People of Truth" in the Early Islamic Period: The Christian Apologies of Abu Ra'itah.*, trans. Sandra Toenies Keating (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 198.

more specifically. It could have negative connotations signifying barbarians.[7] However, in al-Andalus the term was used primarily "as an ethnic designation for the local Romance-speaking" population.[8] It could also refer to Berbers (albeit not in this case).[9] The connotation of "ʿ*ajam*" was therefore primarily linguistic and ethnic. In al-Andalus, the religious association of ʿ*ajam* with Christians would have been implicit, since the main group who spoke Romance in al-Andalus were the local Christians. In Andalusi Arabic, the remaining term, ʿ*ilj,* means "Christian" or "Christian slave."[10]

Beginning in the late 11th/early 12th century, however, authors began to use the term *mushrikūn*/*mushrikīn* to refer to the Visigoths. This is evident in two anonymous Andalusi texts, the *Akhbār Majmūʿa* (c. 11th century) and *Fatḥ al-Andalus* (c. 1102-1108). These texts begin to describe Iberian Christians using the term "*mushrikūn*" (lit. "associator," on which see below), and they portray the conquest itself as *jihād*. Their depiction of the conquest-as-*jihād* reflects a distinctively 11th/12th century view of the past, as Andalusi society began to respond to the "Reconquista." As part of this response, authors projected their contemporary ideology backwards into the past and depicted the conquest in a manner that reflected their contemporary struggle against the Iberian Christian kingdoms.

Like al-ʿUdhrī (d. 1085), the *Akhbār Majmūʿa* most frequently uses the word ʿ*ilj*, "Christian," to describe members of the Visigothic nobility, as when it refers to Julian, the ruler

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[7] See entry "ʿ*ajam"* in Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon.* O'Callaghan notes that this term denotes inferior social status. Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 15.
[8] Safran, *Defining Boundaries in al-Andalus,* 57. See also entry in Corriente, *A dictionary of Andalusi Arabic*, 345.
[9] Rouighi, *Inventing the Berbers,* 94.
[10] Corriente, *Dictionary of Andalusi Arabic*, 361.

of Ceuta, as "*ʿilj yusamma yuliyān*" ("a Christian named Julian").[11] Elsewhere however, in the context of a battle between the Muslims and Roderic's forces, the text refers to the Visigothic troops as "*al-mushrikīn*."[12] Similarly, *Fatḥ al-Andalus* uses *ʿilj*, *naṣārā*, and *ʿajam*.[13] However, in Ṭāriq's dream story, *Fatḥ al-Andalus* also states that "[the Prophet] told [Ṭāriq] the good news of the conquest and commanded him to treat the Muslims courteously and to fulfill his obligation to the polytheists (*mushrikīn*)."[14]

Derived from the root *sh-r-k*, *mushrikīn/mushrikūn* (sing. *mushrik*) literally indicates "making someone or something a partner, or associate, of someone or something else."[15] The word appears in the Qur'an, as in 98:1, which states: "Those who disbelieved among the People of the Book (*ahl al-kitāb*) and *al-mushrikīn* were not to be parted [from misbelief] until there came to them clear evidence…"[16] In the Qur'anic sense, *mushrikūn* refers generally to "a group that shared some basic concepts of monotheism… but held views that the [Qur'an] equated with, and presented – surely polemically – as polytheism and idolatry."[17] Later on, however, Muslim exegetes and historians began to explicitly identify the *mushrikūn* of the Qur'an as polytheists or idolaters (specifically those who opposed the Prophet Muḥammad); it is often translated as such even today.[18]

As in the above example, *mushrikūn* in the Qur'an are generally considered to be part of a separate category from Jews and Christians (*ahl al-kitāb*), but as Hawting argues, "the

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[11] *Akhbār Majmūʿa,* 4. Elsewhere the text uses the same term to refer to Roderic (*Akhbār Majmūʿa*, 5).
[12] Ibid., 9.
[13] *Fatḥ al-Andalus*, 23, 43, 13.
[14] Ibid., 16-17.
[15] Hawting, *The Idea of Idolatry and the Emergence of Islam,* 21.
[16] Qur'an 98:1, trans. Sahih International, with my own modifications.
[17] Hawting, *The Idea of Idolatry and the Emergence of Islam*, 54.
[18] Ibid., 48-49.

elasticity of polemic means that insults are easily transferable and one must allow for the possibility, therefore, that the material attacking opponents for their *shirk* in the [Qur'an] was not all directed against the same group."[19] Despite the Qur'an's differentiation between Christians, Jews, and *mushrikūn*, later texts often dissolved the distinction entirely. Especially in polemical texts, the term was often applied to Christians because of the connection between *shirk* (associating something with God) and Christians' belief in the Trinity.[20]

The fact that the *Akhbār Majmūʿa* and *Fatḥ al-Andalus* use *mushrikūn* to refer to Christians is therefore not unusual in itself, since polemical texts regularly made the same association; it is of note here because it is a departure from 9th-early 11th century descriptions of the conquest. The texts' use of *mushrikūn* rather than a term such as *naṣārā* or *ʿajam* suggest a more polemical view of Christians than in previous accounts. Hawting notes: "When used among monotheists the force of the accusation of idolatry is often that the opponents are no better than idolaters, that their beliefs or practices are inconsistent with monotheism… and that the opponents, therefore, have made themselves equivalent to idolaters."[21] Likewise, the word *mushrikūn* could not have been used to refer to the Iberian Christians in these conquest accounts in anything but a polemical sense.

These texts' use of polemical vocabulary to refer to Christians is not their only new features in comparison to earlier accounts. Unlike earlier sources, they both use the word "*jihād*" to describe the conquest. In the portion of the text that discusses the governors, the *Akhbār Majmūʿa* relates that one governor chose to be in al-Andalus, saying: "I like waging *jihād* and

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[19] Ibid., 47-48. On the differentiation between Christians, Jews, and *mushrikūn* in the Qur'an see also Crone, *God's Rule,* 370.
[20] Hawting, *The Idea of Idolatry and the Emergence of Islam*, 82-83.
[21] Ibid., 74.

[al-Andalus] is a place for that" (*annanī uḥibbu al-jihād wa-hiyya mawḍiʿ jihād*).[22] Likewise, *Fatḥ al-Andalus* mentions that when Mūsā returned to Syria after he was recalled by the caliph, he "grieved for the *jihād* that he missed."[23] These quotations directly refer to the conquest (which continued under the governors) as *jihād*, reinforcing the ideological foundations of the conquest of al-Andalus in a much more explicit fashion than in earlier texts, which generally do not directly refer to the conquest of al-Andalus as *jihād*. Ibn Ḥabīb, for instance, refers to the conquest as *fatḥ* (literally "opening" – conquering a place with God's help).[24] The Qur'an also uses *fatḥ* to refer to the conquest of land or victory in the name of religion.[25] By contrast, "*jihād*" means "to strive."

Although warfare is a "major theme" in the Qur'an, the word *jihād*, when it appears in the text, rarely refers to war. As Bonner notes, the "Quranic passages relating to warfare… do not seem to constitute – and most likely were not meant to constitute – a coherent doctrine in and of themselves."[26] The development of the doctrine associated with *jihād* only occurred during the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid periods (and beyond), once scholars began to write the history of the early Islamic community and develop their religious practice.[27] As jurists began to theorize the concept of *jihād*, they divided it into two main types: greater *jihād* or the internal struggle against oneself, and lesser *jihād*, which is directed externally against one's enemies.[28] They also

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[22] *Akhbār Majmūʿa*, 27-28.
[23] *Fatḥ al-Andalus*, ed. Molina, 34.
[24] Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb Al-Taʾrīkh*, 143.
[25] Qur'an 4:141.
[26] Michael Bonner, *Jihad in Islamic History: Doctrines and Practice*, English ed. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2006), 21-22.
[27] Bonner, *Jihad in Islamic History*, 22. Asma Afsaruddin, "Jihad and Martyrdom in Islamic Thought and History," in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Religion*, March 3, 2016, https://oxfordre.com/religion/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199340378.001.0001/acrefore-9780199340378-e-46.
[28] Bonner, *Jihad in Islamic History,* 2 and 13-14.

distinguished between *dār al-islām* (the abode of Islam) and *dār al-ḥarb* (the abode of war). *Jihād* was to be carried out in non-Islamic lands (*dār al-ḥarb*) until those lands became part of the Islamic polity (*dār al-islām*).[29]

Although we do not see explicit references to Andalusi conquest-as-*jihād* until the 11th century, religious factors were a component of the Islamic conquests[30] in the 7th and 8th centuries. Blakinship has even hypothesized that the expansion of the Muslim state under the Umayyads, including the conquest of al-Andalus, was driven by an imperial ideology of *jihād*.[31] However, because Islam underwent a process of development over at least the first century after Muḥammad's death, the extent to which *jihād* was a motivating factor is debatable. Donner has argued that the main "religious" factor in the conquests was instead a unifying belief in strict monotheism and the imminence of the eschaton; in fact, he argues that the earliest conquests were not carried out by a group called "Muslims" at all, but by a group called the "believers," which may have included Jews and Christians.[32] Rather than being an integral part of the initial conquests, scholars have concluded that *jihād* was most likely a later development that was first

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[29] Crone, *God's Rule*, 369-371.

[30] Donner has delineated the problems associated with both the terms "Islamic conquests" and "Arab conquests" (Fred Donner, "Talking about Islam's origins," *Bulletin of SOAS* 81, no. 1 (2018): 1-23). Because no better terminology has been proposed, however, I use "Islamic conquests" to refer to both the initial period of expansion under Muḥammad and the first four caliphs, as well as the Umayyad conquests.

[31] Khalid Yahya Blankinship makes this argument in *The End of the Jihâd State: The Reign of Hishām Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik and the Collapse of the Umayyads* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994). See Bonner, *Jihad in Islamic History*, 122, for a breakdown of the argument and counterargument.

[32] Donner, "Talking about Islam's Origins," 22 and 6-7. Also see Fred McGraw Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981), 255-256. Robert G. Hoyland, *In God's Path: The Arab Conquests and the Creation of an Islamic Empire* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2015), 228-229. Hoyland cites Islam's unifying ability rather than zeal as the "religious" factor behind the conquest. Hugh Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates* (Essex, England: Longman Group UK Limited, 1992), 7.

theorized during the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid periods.[33]

Although the idea of *jihād* developed after the conquest, it had become an active component of political ideology in al-Andalus by the 10th century: the Cordoban Umayyads presented their fight against the rebel Ibn Ḥafṣūn (d. 918), who had converted to Christianity, as *jihād*.[34] In his *urjūza* describing the fight of the caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III (d. 961) against the rebels, the poet Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih describes the rebels as *kuffār* (a term that is often translated as "infidel" and is also polemical, on which see below).[35] Considering the importance of *jihād* to Umayyad ideology in the 10th century, it is notable that the conquest is not described as such until the 11th century. Although it was initially developed by Muslim thinkers during the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid periods, it was continually revisited and revised during 1000-1500 CE in the respective centers of the Crusades and the "*Reconquista*:" Egypt and Syria, and North Africa and Iberia.[36] The increasingly ideological perspective of 11th and 12th century texts with regards to the conquest is likely due to the coalescence of *jihād* doctrine that occurred during the Crusades and the "*Reconquista*," as Muslim leaders sought to respond to the military threat posed by Christian armies in those regions.

In al-Andalus, the Christian offensive in the 11th century and subsequent rulership changes in the Islamic areas of the Peninsula resulted in an immediate shift in the portrayal of the

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[33] Asma Afsaruddin, *Striving in the Path of God: Jihad and Martyrdom in Islamic Thought*, *Striving in the Path of God* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 4-5.
[34] Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *Al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, 9 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah, 1983), 5:252. See analysis in Fierro, *ʿAbd Al-Rahman III*, 33. Safran, "The Command of the Faithful," 187-188. Safran specifically discusses the portrayal of the rebels in Ibn Ḥayyān's *Muqtabis.*
[35] For instance, see Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *Al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, 5:248 and 251. For an English translation of the poem, see James T. Monroe, "The Historical Arjūza of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, a Tenth-Century Hispano-Arabic Epic Poem," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 91, no. 1 (1971).
[36] David Cook, *Understanding Jihad* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2015), 58-59.

Muslim conquest. Pre-11th century authors such as Ibn Ḥabīb interpret the conquest as *fatḥ*; it is only in later texts such as the *Akhbār Majmūʿa* and *Fatḥ al-Andalus* that the portrayal of the conquest as *jihād* rather than *fatḥ* becomes more important, along with the usage of polemical terms to refer to Christian Visigoths. This coincides with the political disintegration of al-Andalus, which began when the Andalusi Umayyad caliphate fell in 1009. The Islamic polity subsequently fragmented into many small units, known as *ṭāʾifa* kingdoms. This disunity provided an opportunity for the Christian kings in the northern part of Iberia to move south.[37] Fernando I of Castile (r. 1035-1065) threatened the *ṭāʾifa*s of Badajoz and Seville, forcing the latter to pay him money every year for protection, a custom that became known as *parias*.[38] In 1085, Alfonso VI of Castile (r. 1072-1109) captured Toledo, which Hitchcock describes as "an event as significant in the history of the Iberian Peninsula as William of Normandy's invasion of the Islands of Britain in 1066 and victory at the battle of Hastings."[39]

In 1086, in response to the Castilian success at Toledo, the Almoravids, a tribal federation from North Africa who professed strict Islamic orthodoxy, entered al-Andalus and took over the Islamic portions of the Peninsula in order to help in the fight against the Christians.[40] The implementation of *jihād* was a central pillar of Almoravid ideology and legitimacy.[41] Although the Almoravids also ruled in North Africa, they were especially interested in carrying out *jihād* against the Christian kingdoms in al-Andalus.[42] Chevedden describes the Almoravid military efforts in response to the Castilians as a "counter-Crusade,"[43] although we

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[37] See O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, 23-24.
[38] Hitchcock, *Muslim Spain Reconsidered*, 122.
[39] Ibid., 123.
[40] Ibid., 127.
[41] Bennison, *Almoravid and Almohad Empires*, 72.
[42] O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, 30-31.
[43] Paul E. Chevedden, "The Islamic Interpretation of the Crusade: A New (Old) Paradigm for

should keep in mind that the Crusades did not begin until 1095, a decade after the Almoravids entered al-Andalus. These political events influenced the way Christians in al-Andalus were perceived: Hitchcock notes that the Almoravids regarded some Christians as a "fifth column," "[marking] the beginning of the end of the compromise situation that had been tolerated for such a long period."[44]

These developments – the decline of the Islamic polity in al-Andalus and the emergence of *jihād* as the focal point of political ideology – contributed to the changes we observe in the *Akhbār Majmūʿa* and *Fatḥ al-Andalus*. Authors projected their own political concerns backwards, portraying the conquest as *jihād* against *mushrikūn*. Importantly, however, the antipathy towards Christians that was expressed in the conquest literature of this period was largely confined to their representation in texts and did not necessarily correlate with a shift in treatment of Christians "on the ground," and under the Almoravids Christians generally maintained their status as protected peoples.[45] In his *ḥisba* manual, Ibn ʿAbdūn (d. 12th century) expresses some measure of frustration regarding lax Muslim attitudes towards Christians, declaring, for instance, that Muslims should not sell Christians garments without distinguishing signs on them.[46] As Brann writes with regards to 11th and 12th century Muslim authors' portrayal of Jews, in "times of crisis" the majority often seeks an 'Other' "upon whom the [it] may project its anxiety and hostility."[47] The tendency of Muslim authors to express their antipathy towards 12th century Christians by depicting the conquest as *jihād* reflects the increasing anxiety of

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Understanding the Crusades," *Der Islam; Berlin* 83, no. 1 (2006), 93.
[44] Richard Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 108.
[45] Bennison, *Almoravid and Almohad Empires*, 170-174.
[46] Georges Vajda, "A Propos de La Situation Des Juifs et Des Chrétiens à Séville Au Début Du XIIe Siècle," *Revue Des Études Juives* 99 (1935), 128.
[47] Ross Brann, *Power in the Portrayal*, 21.

Andalusi Muslims with regards to the political situation in al-Andalus.

Eastern texts (9th-12th century)

Andalusi texts began to refer to Iberian Christians as *mushrikūn* and to represent the conquest as *jihād* beginning in the 11th or 12th century. Eastern Arabic accounts of the conquest – those written in Egypt, Syria, and Iraq – parallel Andalusi texts regarding these shifts in representation and word choice in the early 12th century. Prior to the 11th century, eastern texts (like their Andalusi counterparts) referred to the Visigoths using terms such as *naṣārā* and *ʿajam*.[48] In the 12th century, however, we find evidence of a shift in the *Taʾrīkh Madīnat Dimashq* of the Syrian historian Ibn ʿAsākir (d. 1176). While this shift occurred in Andalusi texts in response to the "*Reconquista*," it occurred simultaneously in eastern texts in response to the Crusades; in both places, authors projected their concerns backward onto the conquest.

Like the anonymous authors of the *Akhbār Majmūʿa* and *Fatḥ al-Andalus*, Ibn ʿAsākir uses the word *jihād* and other words derived from the same root (*j-h-d*), to refer to the conquest and related events. For instance, he explains that "Mūsā stayed in al-Andalus *for the purposes of waging jihād* (*aqāma Mūsā bi-l-Andalus mujāhidan*) and collecting money and arranging matters for the remainder of the years 93-94, and part of the year 95."[49] He also mentions members of the military who had been with Mūsā in al-Andalus and who had engaged with him in "[waging] *jihād* [against] the enemies (*jihād al-ʿadūw*)."[50] Ibn ʿAsākir's use of *jihād* and *mujāhid* to describe the reason why Mūsā was in al-Andalus indicate that he viewed the conquest of al-

[48] See for instance: al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh al-Rusūl wa al-Mulūk,* 6:468. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 205.
[49] Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Madīnat Dimashq*, 24:420.
[50] Ibid.

Andalus to be part of the struggle against the unbelievers fought in God's name. For him, the ideological aspect of the conquest of al-Andalus as it related to the dichotomy of belief/unbelief was of key importance.

When describing the inhabitants of al-Andalus, Ibn ʿAsākir utilizes terms with varying religious and political significances. On the one hand, he uses "*al-rūm*" in reference to the Visigoths, describing Roderic as "the king of the Rūm in al-Andalus."[51] This term (sing. *rūmī*, pl. *rūm*) is broad and that may refer to Christians as well as to Romans and/or Byzantines (or Greeks).[52] Here, it is likely used either in the generic sense of either "Christian," or "Roman." Unlike some of his predecessors who rely on other ethnic signifiers such as *ʿajam*, Ibn ʿAsākir uses the more ambiguous term "*ʿadūw*" to refer to the Visigoths.[53] "*ʿAdūw*" literally means "enemy," irrespective of religion. Ibn ʿAsākir uses this to refer to the inhabitants of al-Andalus multiple times, despite his otherwise ideological depiction of the conquest and the long textual tradition of describing the Iberians in religious terms. One reason for his departure from the vocabulary favored by previous authors may be his geographic distance from al-Andalus. As a result, he likely relied on a different selection of sources about the conquest than earlier Andalusi texts.

Elsewhere, however, Ibn ʿAsākir uses words connected to *jihād* and the vocabulary of religious difference. According to the text, one of Mūsā's soldiers gives him some advice as the armies are conquering the cities of al-Andalus. In this context, the soldier mentions that Mūsā

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[51] Ibid., 24:419.
[52] Paul E. Chevedden, "The View of the Crusades from Rome and Damascus: The Geo-Strategic and Historical Perspectives of Pope Urban II and ʿAlī Ibn Ṭāhir al-Sulamī," *Oriens* 39, no. 2 (2011), 298 n. 111. For an additional breakdown of the term, see El Cheikh-Saliba, *Byzantium Viewed by the Arabs*, 22.
[53] Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Madīnat Dimashq*, 24:419-420.

had already "tread on the lands of the *mushrikīn* (*taṭāʾ min arḍ al-mushrikīn*)" and that God had made him "the most remote of the Muslims remaining in *jihād* (*jaʿluka abaʿd al-muslimīn atharan fī-l-jihād*)."[54] The absence of this anecdote in previous sources on the conquest suggests that Ibn ʿAsākir relied on a different source base for his text than *Fatḥ al-Andalus*, written earlier in the century 11th century. Be that as it may, Ibn ʿAsākir still uses "*jihād*" and "*mushrikīn*" in this passage to refer to the conquest of al-Andalus and its Visigothic inhabitants.

Ibn ʿAsākir's portrayal of the conquest of al-Andalus was strongly influenced by the Crusades, just as the "*Reconquista*" affected Andalusi accounts. Like the Christian success in Iberia, the Crusades in the Levant triggered an almost immediate reaction in Islamic scholarship. In 1095, Pope Urban II (d. 1099) called for a crusade to the Holy Land. He compared this effort to the ongoing endeavors of the Christian kings against the Muslims in Iberia.[55] Although disorganized and unprepared, the Crusaders conquest of Jerusalem in 1099 sent shockwaves throughout the Muslim community.[56] This catastrophic event occasioned an almost immediate response in the Islamic world, which struggled to mount a military effort against the Crusaders in large part due to internal disunity and political fragmentation.[57] In the literary realm, scholars struggled to come to terms with and understand what had happened.

One of the first Muslim scholars to write about the Crusades and analyze them was al-Sulamī (d. 1105/6), a Syrian jurist writing half a decade after the Crusader conquest of Jerusalem. He viewed the Crusades as a Christian *jihād*.[58] According to al-Sulamī, the Crusades

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[54] Ibid., 61:221.
[55] Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2017), 24-25, 28.
[56] Ibid., 64.
[57] Christopher Tyerman, The Crusades: A Very Short Introduction (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 23.
[58] Chevedden, "The Islamic Interpretation of the Crusades," 94.

were part of a unified Christian effort against the Muslim world that was taking place in three locations: Iberia, Sicily, and the Levant.[59] His argument that there was a connection between the Crusades and the "*Reconquista*" demonstrates that Christian efforts against the Muslims in al-Andalus also affected eastern texts, including Ibn ʿAsākir's. Additionally, al-Sulamī claimed that the Crusades were God's punishment of the Muslim community because Muslims had failed to fulfill their religious duties, one of which was *jihād*.[60] He called for a righteous Muslim sovereign to lead an effort against the Crusaders by uniting rulers in Syria, Egypt, and bordering regions.[61] Although al-Sulamī's ideas did not gain widespread traction in the Islamic east,[62] his writings demonstrate the effect the Crusades had on Islamic scholarship, particularly the development of the idea of *jihād*. It is unknown whether Ibn ʿAsākir knew of al-Sulamī or his writing on *jihād*, although Mourad and Lindsay argue that he certainly did.[63] Regardless, Ibn ʿAsākir's patron, Nūr al-Dīn Zangī (d. 1174), the ruler of Syria, commissioned him to write a "manual on jihad [sic] for use in preaching and propaganda."[64] The revival of *jihād* and Sunni Islam were central pillars of Nūr al-Dīn's political ideology, and Ibn ʿAsākir wrote and preached in support of it.[65] One of his texts, *Forty Hadiths*, "transforms Muhammad into a jihad [sic] advocate and casts Islam as a religion that emphasizes the duty to wage jihad above all others."[66]

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[59] Ibid., 95.
[60] Bonner, *Jihad in Islamic History*, 139. Chevedden, "The View of the Crusades from Rome and Damascus," 292.
[61] Chevedden, "The View of the Crusades from Rome and Damascus," 295.
[62] Ibid., 299-300.
[63] Suleiman Mourad and James Lindsay, *The Intensification and Reorientation of Sunni Jihad Ideology in the Crusader Period Ibn ʿAsākir of Damascus (1105-1176) and His Age, with an Edition and Translation of Ibn ʿAsākir's The Forty Hadiths for Inciting Jihad*, Islamic History and Civilization (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 44.
[64] Ibid., ix.
[65] Ibid., 50-53.
[66] Ibid., 57.

In light of these scholarly and political endeavors in support of Nūr al-Dīn, it is unsurprising that Ibn ʿAsākir's views on *jihād* informed his reading of the conquest of al-Andalus.

Andalusi and Eastern texts after the 12th century

In the 11th and 12th centuries, authors of histories of al-Andalus responded to the Crusades and the "*Reconquista*" in part by reflecting their contemporary concerns regarding *jihād* backwards onto stories about the conquest. In the 13th century and beyond, authors generally continued this trend, whether they were writing in al-Andalus or the Levant. When referring to the Visigoths of the conquest era, Ibn al-Kardabūs (d. 1250), ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī (d. mid-13th century), and Ibn ʿIdhārī (c. 1312), among others, continued to use polemical words such as *mushrikūn* ("associators")[67] and *kuffār* (unbelievers or infidels),[68] while interspersing them with other terms such as *ʿajam* (non-Arab or Romance-speaker),[69] *ʿilj* (Christian),[70] and *rūm* (Byzantine/Roman).[71] The variety of vocabulary evident in these texts suggests that by the middle of the 13th century, the words used to describe Christians in the conquest accounts had become effectively interchangeable.

Authors also continued to use the word *jihād* and other words derived from the root *j-h-d* to describe the actions undertaken by Muslims in al-Andalus. Ibn al-Kardabūs (d. 1250), for

[67] Ibn al-Kardabūs, *Taʾrīkh al-Andalus*, 48. Ibn al-Abbār, *Al-Ḥulla al-Siyarāʾ*, 2:333. Ibn al-Shabbāṭ, "Kitāb Ṣilat al-Samṭ wa Simat al-Marṭ," 135. Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Al-Bayān al-Mughrib,* 1:43.
[68] Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, 2:4.
[69] Ibn al-Kardabūs, *Taʾrīkh al-Andalus*, 50. Ibn al-Shabbāṭ, "Kitāb Ṣilat al-Samṭ wa Simat al-Marṭ," 135.
[70] Ibn al-Abbār, *Al-Ḥulla al-Siyarāʾ*, 2:334. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī, *Kitāb Al-Muʿjib*, 16. Ibn al-Shabbāṭ, "Kitāb Ṣilat al-Samṭ wa Simat al-Marṭ," 133. Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, 2:4.
[71] Ibn al-Kardabūs, *Taʾrīkh al-Andalus*, 42. Ibn al-Abbār, *Al-Ḥulla al-Siyarāʾ*, 2:333. al-Marrākushī, *Kitāb Al-Muʿjib*, 16. Ibn al-Shabbāṭ, "Kitāb Ṣilat al-Samṭ wa Simat al-Marṭ," 132-133. Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, 2:7.

instance, states that Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād, who led the initial conquest of al-Andalus, "stayed [there for] three years, raiding and waging *jihād* [*yujāhid*] against the infidels."[72] ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī (d. mid-13th century) mentions the "*jihād* against the enemies" in al-Andalus. He presents almost verbatim Ibn ʿAsākir's report about Mūsā's activities in al-Andalus from the previous century: "Mūsā stayed in al-Andalus *for the purposes of waging jihād* (*aqāma Mūsā bi-al-Andalus mujāhidan*) and collecting money and arranging matters for the remainder of the years 93-94, and some months of the year 95."[73] Ibn al-Shabbāṭ (d. 1282) records that when Julian offered to ferry Ṭāriq and his troops to al-Andalus, "Ṭāriq desired this, and hurried to him, and summoned people to wage *jihād* with him (*wa-nadaba al-nās ilā al-jihād maʿhu*)."[74] These authors all read the conquest of al-Andalus as *jihād*, explicitly noting that this divinely-sanctioned undertaking was the reason that Mūsā and Ṭāriq were in al-Andalus.

Among later texts, two stand out: those of Ibn al-Athīr (d. 1233) and Ibn Khallikān (d. 1282). Ibn al-Athīr, who was born in Mosul but spent the later part of his life in Aleppo, is the author of one of the most prominent – and comprehensive – historical chronicles of the 13th century, *al-Kāmil fī al-Taʾrīkh*. He has extensive knowledge of pre-Islamic Iberian history, listing the Visigothic kings and the length of each of their reigns.[75] According to König, Ibn al-Athīr's "chapter on the Muslim invasion of al-Andalus probably contains the most complete account of Visigothic history found in an Arabic-Islamic source of the pre-modern age."[76]

Although his account was written in the 13th century, Ibn al-Athīr's choice of words to describe the Visigoths is reminiscent of the less polemical vocabulary used in 9th-10th century

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72 Ibn al-Kardabūs, *Taʾrīkh al-Andalus*, 50.
73 al-Marrākushī, *Kitāb al-Muʿjib*, 17-18.
74 Ibn al-Shabbāṭ, "Kitāb Ṣilat al-Samṭ wa Simat al-Marṭ," 134.
75 Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Taʾrīkh*, 4:37-38.
76 König, *Arabic-Islamic Views of the Latin West*, 170.

sources. For instance, he refers to the kings of al-Andalus as "*mulūk ʿajam al-Andalus*," the "kings of the non-Arabs (or "Romance-speakers") of al-Andalus."[77] In addition to the generic "*ʿajam*," Ibn al-Athīr describes the Visigoths as *al-qūṭ*, an ethnic term that means "Goths." For instance, he describes Roderic as "*rajul min al-qūṭ*," "a man from the Goths."[78] Ibn al-Athīr also refers to the Visigoths as *al-naṣārā*, a term used by both Christian and Muslim authors to describe Christians at least since the 9th century. He writes that "the Christians [*al-naṣārā*] called al-Andalus ʾAshbāniyya.'"[79]

In one exceptional instance, however, Ibn al-Athīr describes the Visigoths as "*kuffār*."[80] This term implies unbelief and is sometimes translated as "infidels."[81] In the Qur'an, it is used to refer to different groups of individuals, including possibly to Jews and Christians (although this is unclear).[82] This word can be considered polemical because it explicitly identifies the subject as one who is not a Muslim, and who is therefore in the wrong due to disbelief. It is notable, however, that Ibn al-Athīr uses this term only once in his section on the conquest of al-Andalus. He instead relies mainly on ethnic signifiers, namely *qūṭ*, Visigoths.[83] Additionally, he does not refer to the conquest of al-Andalus as *jihād*; nor does he use words derived from *j-h-d* to describe the actions of Mūsā and Ṭāriq. These two aspects of Ibn al-Athīr's work – lack of polemical words related to religion to describe the Visigoths, and absence of words related to *jihād* – are notable, since many of his contemporaries do use these words, often extensively.

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[77] Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Taʾrīkh*, 4:35. Other instances in which Ibn al-Athīr refers to the Visigoths as *al-ʿajam* include 4:36.
[78] Ibid., 4:38.
[79] Ibid., 4:35.
[80] Ibid., 4:42.
[81] Hawting, *The Idea of Idolatry and the Emergence of Islam*, 49.
[82] Ibid., 47.
[83] See additional instances of Ibn al-Athīr's usage of "*qūṭ*" in *al-Kāmil fī al-Taʾrīkh*, 4:36, 4:37-38, 4:43.

One might think that Ibn al-Athīr largely used less polemical vocabulary because he relied on earlier sources to compose his history. In fact, in writing his history, Ibn al-Athīr informs us that he relies on Andalusi sources, but he does not specify exactly which sources he uses,[84] leaving open the possibility that he did use earlier sources. However, he incorporates information that was not available in the 9th-10th centuries: for instance, he is very well versed in the succession of Visigothic kings of Iberia.[85] This information entered the Arabic tradition only after increasing rates of Arabization in the late 10th-11th century.[86] Ibn al-Athīr likely relied on sources that were integrated into the Arabic corpus of material at a later date.

Instead of looking to his sources for an answer to Ibn al-Athīr's less polemical word choice, we should investigate instead his interests as an author. He demonstrates extensive knowledge of the Visigoths, including a list of their kings and how long each one ruled for.[87] Along with this information, he demonstrates a broad knowledge of the peoples of Europe, using different terms to describe Visigoths, Franks, Romans, and Basques.[88] Ibn al-Athīr clearly understands that Europe was the home of multiple groups of people. Because he recognizes the multiplicity of Europe's inhabitants and has extensive knowledge of them, he uses more specific vocabulary to describe them. This precision leads him away from the use of polemical terms such as "*mushrikūn*," which is more ambiguous than ethnic descriptions because of its usage to refer to many different groups of non-Muslims.

Another thirteenth century author whose writing on the conquest of al-Andalus stands out

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[84] König, *Arabic-Islamic Views of the Latin West*, 170, 172. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Taʾrīkh*, 4:35.
[85] Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Taʾrīkh*, 4:37-38.
[86] König, *Arabic-Islamic Views of the Latin West*, 185.
[87] Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Taʾrīkh*, 4:38.
[88] For the Romans (*al-rūm*), see specifically ibid., 4:37. For the Basques (*al-bashqans*), 4:38. For the Franks (*al-firinj*), 4:38.

is Ibn Khallikān (d. 1282), who was born in Iraq but spent much of his life in Syria. In fact, he is known to have met Ibn al-Athīr.[89] However, the differences between the two authors' accounts of the conquest of al-Andalus are striking. While Ibn al-Athīr focuses on Visigothic ethnicity rather than religion and does not mention *jihād* or related words, Ibn Khallikān directly describes the conquest of al-Andalus as *jihād*. According to Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān wa Anbāʾ Abnāʾ al-Zamān*, Ṭāriq gave the following speech to his troops before battling the Visigoths in al-Andalus:

> [Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād] urged the Muslims to wage *jihād* and to desire martyrdom [*al-shahāda*]. Then he said: Oh, you people, where is there escape, for the sea is behind you and the enemies are before you? By God, you have nothing but [your] courage [*ṣidq*] and perseverance [*ṣabr*]. Know that you are more alone than orphans in the banquet of depravity, and you met an innumerable enemy with their armies and weapons, and their bountiful nourishment. You have no burden except for your swords, and no nourishment except for what you extract from the hands of your enemies…[90]

Ṭāriq's speech is notable because he states that he and his army were in al-Andalus for the purpose of waging *jihād*. In Ibn Khallikān's version of Ṭāriq's speech, Ṭāriq himself – one of the heroes of the conquest – exhorts his troops to wage *jihād*. Additionally, Ṭāriq encourages his soldiers to martyr themselves. The concept of martyrdom (*shahāda*) is closely connected to *jihād*; martyrs "are those who die while fighting for the faith."[91] They are rewarded with forgiveness of their sins and immediate entrance to Paradise.[92] The speech also bears similarities to a speech recorded in the *sīra* (the Prophet's biography), given by ʿAbd Allāh ibn Rawāḥa before his martyrdom at the battle of Muʾta: "We are not fighting the enemy with numbers, or strength or multitude, but we are confronting them with this religion with which God has

[89] J.W. Fück, "Ibn Khallikān", in *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed.
[90] Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, 5:321.
[91] Bonner, *Jihad in Islamic History*, 75.
[92] Ibid.

honored us. So come on! Both prospects are fine: victory or martyrdom."[93] The depiction of Ṭāriq's encouragement of his soldiers' desire for martyrdom reinforces the sacred nature of the conquest of al-Andalus through *jihād* in a manner evocative of the earliest days of the Muslim community.

Ibn Khallikān's version of Ṭāriq's speech was intended for a 13th century audience in Syria, Egypt, and Iraq, where Muslims were engaged in regular conflict with the Crusaders.[94] Warfare – specifically framed in religious terms – was important. We can thus infer that Ṭāriq's motivational speech was intended to encourage and give heart to an audience engaged in regular warfare. Indeed, the text of Ṭāriq's speech contains few specific references to al-Andalus. One can easily imagine the speech having relevance in a different context, that of the Crusades. In fact, the sultan Baybars, who appointed Ibn Khallikān as the chief judge of Damascus,[95] was active in campaigns against the Crusaders in Syria while Ibn Khallikān was working on his text. As we can see from this example, stories of the conquest of al-Andalus provided a useful canvas for 13th century authors on which to paint their concerns about the Crusades. Ṭāriq's encouragement of his soldiers with regards to *jihād* and martyrdom could easily be transposed onto the battlefields of the Crusader Levant and made relevant to Ibn Khallikān's desire to motivate the Islamic community against the Crusaders.

Thirteenth century texts generally continued the trends we saw in 12th century texts: authors depicted the conquest of al-Andalus as a religiously motivated fight against unbelievers, using polemical vocabulary to describe the Visigoths and referring to the conquest as *jihād*.

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[93] Ibn Hishām, *The Life of Muhammad,* trans. Alfred Guillaume, 533. Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya*, 2:375.
[94] Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, 268-269.
[95] Fück, "Ibn Khallikān", in *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed.

These changes occurred in the 12th century in response to the threat of the Crusades and the *Reconquista*, and their influence on the ideology of *jihād*. Thirteenth century authors shared many of these same concerns, but their accounts of the conquest of al-Andalus were also affected by authors' own interests, as we have seen in the works of Ibn al-Athīr and Ibn Khallikān. Ibn al-Athīr was exacting and meticulous in his approach to conquest history, influencing his use of specific ethnonyms rather than religious terms. Ibn Khallikān, by contrast, was influenced by the Crusader environment of 13th century Damascus and included in his account of the conquest a speech given by Ṭāriq encouraging his warriors to *jihād* and martyrdom. Stories about the conquest of al-Andalus provided a way for authors to convey messages about their own concerns.

Conclusion

In summary, the idea of *jihād* became particularly important in both the Islamic west and east during the late 11th and early 12th centuries. Earlier authors writing about the conquest do not seem to have been as interested in conquest-as-*jihād* as they were in documenting the marvels of al-Andalus and the booty acquired there.[96] Although not a new idea, the concept of *jihād* began to appear more directly in accounts of the conquest of al-Andalus in the 11th and 12th centuries because of the loss of territory to Christian armies. The impacts of this loss, which occurred on two fronts (Iberia and the Levant), was reflected in both eastern and western texts. Conquest accounts from the period mirrored this loss of territory by projecting authors' concerns about *jihād* in their lifetimes back onto the earliest period of Andalusi history. By the 13th century,

[96] König notes that booty was one of the major recurrent themes found in the early conquest accounts. König, *Arabic-Islamic Views of the Latin West,* 156-157.

these trends towards depiction of the conquest as *jihād* and Christians as *mushrikūn* had become commonplace in Islamic texts, and extended beyond portrayals of the conquest of al-Andalus: El Cheikh-Saliba notes that around the same time (13th century), texts also began to describe the Byzantines as “polytheists” (*mushrikūn*).[97] In al-Andalus, the portrayal of the Visigoths as *mushrikūn* emphasized the righteousness – even sacredness – of the conquest of al-Andalus, at a time when the security of the Islamic lands was very much in doubt.

[97] El Cheikh-Saliba, *Byzantium Viewed by the Arabs,* 27-32.

CONCLUSION

Throughout this dissertation, I have taken a diachronic approach to Andalusi historiography and examined changes in the conquest accounts from roughly the 9th-13th centuries. In the premodern Islamic world, as today, people found different meanings in history. In response to new social and political conditions, authors' concerns shifted and so did their portrayal of history. We have seen this reflected in stories about the conquest of al-Andalus from the 9th-13th centuries. Although the general outline of the conquest story was consistent, the details were not. In this dissertation, I analyzed four case studies to shed light on the ways in which the Andalusi past was interpreted and re-interpreted during this period. In chapter one, I examined the landscape of the conquest, specifically the Straits of Gibraltar, over which the invading Muslim army had to cross, and the Rock of Gibraltar, where the army is said to have first landed. I looked for key turning points in the representation of the relationship between the Andalusi landscape and the conquest of al-Andalus. The second chapter applied this approach to ethnicity through an analysis of Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād, the commander who led the troops during the initial conquest of al-Andalus. The third chapter examined the relevance of the pre-Islamic Iberian past through changes that occurred in the story of Ishbān, the legendary pagan king of Iberia. In the fourth chapter, I analyzed the vocabulary used to describe Iberian Christians in the conquest accounts, which culminated in the identification of the conquest as *jihād* and of Christians as *mushrikūn*.

In each of these case studies, the portrayal of the Iberian conquest changed regularly. Sometimes these changes were the result of the incorporation of new information into the Islamic

corpus, as when authors began to contextualize the Ishbān story in Roman history. At other times, these changes were prompted by internal tensions within segments of Muslim society, such as the case of Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād's fluctuating ethnicity. Changes could also be induced by anxieties occasioned by an outside threat, as we see in the shift towards the depiction of the conquest as *jihād* in the 12th century, as reflected in the words used to describe Christians, and in stories about the landscape of the conquest. Conquest accounts from the 12th and 13th centuries mirrored the loss of Islamic territory in Iberia and the Levant by projecting contemporary concerns about *jihād* backwards onto the earliest period of Andalusi history.

With respect to the larger historical picture, I suggest that there were certain "turning points" in how authors regarded and wrote about the conquest of al-Andalus. The 10th century and late 11th/early 12th century were crucial periods during which the representation of the conquest changed. First, during the 10th century, al-Andalus was established as a caliphate and Andalusis began to feel a sense of regional belonging. The emergence of the caliphate and sense of Andalusi belonging correlated with the development of the Ishbān story and the appearance of Ṭāriq's dreams of the Prophet during his crossing to Gibraltar. These shifts occurred as authors sought to bolster the legitimacy of the Andalusi Umayyad caliphate with stories that demonstrated its antiquity and inevitability. Second, in the early 11th century, the Umayyad caliphate in al-Andalus fragmented into many small *ṭāʾifa* kingdoms. Over the next hundred years or so, al-Andalus lost significant territory to the Christian kings, while the Crusaders began to pose a threat to the Levant. During this time, we find that additional shifts occurred in each of the topics we examined. In the 11th century, the Ishbān story began to incorporate elements of biblical/qur'anic genealogy. Authors also began to identify Ṭāriq with different ethnic groups, including Persian (the contention that he was a Berber appeared only in the 13th/14th centuries).

Additionally, they expressed a renewed interest in the geography of the conquest, especially the Rock of Gibraltar (Jabal Ṭāriq). We saw in chapter 1, for instance, that in the middle of the 12th century the caliph ʿAbd al-Muʾmin attempted to rename Jabal Ṭāriq "Jabal al-Fatḥ ("Conquest Mountain"). Upon investigation, however, we established that this change was representative of a widespread 12th-century interest in the relationship of the conquest to the concept of *jihād*. The linkage between the conquest and *jihād* correlated with the development of an increasingly polemical portrayal of the Visigoths, as we saw in chapter 4.

These were not the only changes in the way that Andalusi history was represented from the 9th-13th centuries. In fact, there are also several ways in which this diachronic study of the conquest could be expanded. For instance, it is possible that the key moments of change that I have identified (namely the 10th and late 11th/early 12th centuries) were also reflected in stories about other significant events in Andalusi history. Of interest here might be accounts of the arrival of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I as well as the stories surrounding the establishment of the Umayyad caliphate under ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III. Future studies of the sort undertaken in this dissertation would enable us to establish whether changes in these stories coincided with changes in the representation of the conquest. It would also be interesting to observe whether patterns of change in Islamic historical writing bear similarities to those within medieval European Latin or Hebrew texts. I focused here on the 9th-13th centuries, but it would also be instructive to expand this analysis into the 14th-17th centuries, or to include texts in languages other than Arabic. For instance, what did Ottoman historians think about the conquest of al-Andalus? What about Spanish historians, especially those in the late 15th and early 16th centuries (after the fall of Granada)? Indeed, this sort of diachronic study could be extended into the modern period as well. How did 19th century European scholars view the conquest? How did the representation of

the conquest change with the rise of Spanish Nationalism in the 20th century?

Scholars must be cautious when examining primary sources that give information about the distant past. The changes over time that I highlighted demonstrate that historical texts are always influenced by the contexts in which they were written. Because of the ways in which contemporary concerns affected the representation of the past – as with the use of the word *mushrikūn* to describe the Visigoths – a literary-critical approach to the sources allows us to investigate "the production of history as a specifically discursive phenomenon," as Spiegel calls for.[1] Information that seems to have originated in an early period might instead be a later representation of the past. As in the case of Ṭāriq's ethnicity, assumptions about the date on which textual elements were introduced can lead to faulty conclusions about historical events. Likewise, the varying depictions of Jabal Ṭāriq and the Strait of Gibraltar demonstrate that taking into account the differences that occurred over time can lend insight to social changes.

This dissertation also demonstrates the continuing relevance of the distant past to Andalusi authors. As George Orwell wrote in *1984*, "all history was a palimpsest, scraped clean and re-inscribed exactly as often as was necessary."[2] Stories about the conquest of al-Andalus were inscribed and re-inscribed with meaning by authors who found in it an ideal mirror to reflect their own concerns. Thus, rather than being a relic of the far-off past, the conquest of al-Andalus remained relevant even as al-Andalus itself shrunk to a shadow of its former self.

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[1] Spiegel, *The Past as Text*, xv.
[2] George Orwell, *1984* (Boston, New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1977), chapter 4, Kindle edition.

APPENDIX A

Jabal Ṭāriq and the Strait of Gibraltar in selected 9th-13th century texts[1]

	al-zuqāq	*al-majāz*	Ṭāriq's dream	Jabal Ṭāriq	Jabal al-Fatḥ
Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (d. 871)[2]		x		x	
Ibn al-Qūṭiyya (d. 977)[3]			x		
al-Ḥumaydī (d. 1095)[4]	x	x			
Fatḥ al-Andalus (c. 1102)[5]			x	x	
Ibn Ṣāḥib al-Ṣalāt (d. c. 1198)[6]	x			x	x
al-Ḥamawī (d. 1229)[7]	x	x		x	
Ibn al-Athīr (d. 1233)[8]		x	x	x	x
Ibn al-Kardabūs (13th century)[9]				x	
ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī (d. mid-13th cen.)[10]	x	x		x	x

[1] This chart is not exhaustive and covers only the texts mentioned in this chapter of the dissertation.
[2] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 205.
[3] Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, *Early Islamic Spain,* trans. David James, 52. Arabic in Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, *Taʾrīkh Iftitāḥ al-Andalus*, 34.
[4] Al-Ḥumaydī, *Jadhwat al-Muqtabis*, 23.
[5] *Fatḥ al-Andalus*, 16-17.
[6] Ibn Ṣāḥib al-Ṣalāt, *Al-Mann bi-l-Imāma*, 90, 92, 181.
[7] Al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, 3:144, 1:262.
[8] Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Taʾrīkh*, 7:616 and 10:134, 4:40, 4:39-40 and 9:289.
[9] Ibn al-Kardabūs, *Taʾrīkh al-Andalus*, 46.
[10] ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī, *Kitāb Al-Muʿjib*, 16, 123.

Ibn al-Shabbāṭ (d. 1282)[11]	x		x	x	
Ibn Khallikān (d. 1282)[12]	x		x	x	
Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī (d. 1286)[13]	x			x	x
Ibn ʿIdhārī al-Marrākushī (d. 1312)[14]	x	x		x	x

[11] Ibn al-Shabbāṭ, "Kitāb Ṣilat al-Samṭ wa Simat al-Marṭ," 134, 170, 130.
[12] Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, 5:320 (dream story, citing Ibn Bashkuwāl), 5:326.
[13] Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī, *Kitāb al-Jughrāfīyah*, 57, 139.
[14] Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, 1:6. Here Ibn ʿIdhārī notes that between al-Andalus and North Africa is "*al-majāz al-ʿaẓam* ("the major *majāz*) that is called *baḥr al-zuqāq* ("the sea of *al-zuqāq*)." For discussion of Gibraltar, see 2:9.

APPENDIX B

Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād in 8th-14th century texts

	Ṭāriq "ibn Ziyād"	Ṭāriq "ibn ʿAmr"	*Mawlā*	Ṣadif connection (either Ṣadifī or *mawlā* of)	Persian	Berber
Chronicle of 754[1]	x					
Ibn Ḥabīb (d. 853)[2]*			x			
Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (d. 870)[3]		x	x			
al-Balādhurī (d. 892)[4]	x		x			
al-Yaʿqūbī (d. 905)[5]*			x			
al-Ṭabarī (d. 923)[6]	x		x			
al-Masʿūdī (d. 956)[7]	x		x			
Ibn al-Qūṭiyya (d. 977)[8]	x					
Ibn Ḥazm (d. 1064)[9]	x		x	x		

[1] "Chronicle of 754," ed. and trans. Kenneth Baxter Wolf, 131.
[2] Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-Taʾrīkh*, 143.
[3] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 204, 207.
[4] al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, 230.
[5] al-Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, 2:341 and 353.
[6] al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh al-Rusūl wa al-Mulūk*, 6:468, 481.
[7] Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, 1:360.
[8] Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, *Taʾrīkh Iftitāḥ al-Andalus*, 29.
[9] Ibn Ḥazm, *Rasāʾil Ibn Ḥazm Al-Andalusī*, 2:128.

al-Ḥumaydī (d. 1095)[10]	x	x	x			
Akhbār Majmūʿa (11th century)[11]	x		x	x	x	
Fatḥ al-Andalus (c. 1102)[12]	x		x			
Ibn ʿAsākir (d.1176)[13]	x	x	x	x		
al-Ḍabbī (d. 1203)[14]	x	x	x			
Ibn al-Kardabūs (c. 12th-13th cen.)[15]*			x			
Ibn al-Athīr (d. 1233)[16]	x		x	x		
Ibn al-Abbār (d. 1260)[17]	x		x			
ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī (d. mid-13th cen.)[18]	x	x	x			
Ibn al-Shabbāṭ (d. 1282)[19]	x		x	x	x	x
Ibn Khallikān (d. 1282)[20]	x		x	x		x
Ibn ʿIdhārī (d. 1312)[21]	x		x		x	x

[10] Al-Ḥumaydī, *Jadhwat al-Muqtabis*, 23-24.
[11] *Akhbār Majmūʿa*, 6-7.
[12] *Fatḥ al-Andalus*, 16.
[13] Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Madīnat Dimashq*, 24:418.
[14] al-Ḍabbī, *Bughyat al-Multamis*, 27-28.
[15] Ibn al-Kardabūs, *Taʾrīkh al-Andalus*, 46.
[16] Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Taʾrīkh*, 4:21 and 4:35.
[17] Ibn al-Abbār, *Al-Ḥulla al-Siyarāʾ*, 1:144, 1:275, 2:333.
[18] ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī, *Kitāb Al-Muʿjib*, 16-17.
[19] Ibn al-Shabbāṭ, “Kitāb Ṣilat al-Samṭ wa Simat al-Marṭ,” 131, 168.
[20] Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, 5:320.
[21] Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, 1:43, 2:5.

al-Dhahabī (d. 1352-53)[22]	x		x	x		x
al-Ṣafadī (d. 1363)[23]	x		x			x

*Authors who are not listed as giving either "Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād" or "Ṭāriq ibn ʿAmr" give no *nasab* at all, referring to him simply as "Ṭāriq." See footnotes in chapter 2 for citations.

[22] al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, 2:774 and 2:1118.
[23] al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī Bi-l-Wafayāt*, 16:220.

APPENDIX C

Author and text	Translation (my own unless noted otherwise)
Isidore of Seville (d. 624), *Etymologies*	The Spanish were first named Iberians, after the river Iberus (i.e. the Ebro), but afterwards they were named Spaniards (Hispanus) after Hispalus (i.e. the legendary founder of *Hispalis*, Seville).[1]
Ibn Ḥabīb (d. 853), *Kitāb al-Taʾrīkh*	Ludhrīq [Roderic] was from Isfahan, and 'Isfahan' was called in al-Andalus 'Ishbān.' They were the Visigoths, the kings of the non-Arabs of al-Andalus (*mulūk ʿajam al-Andalus*).[2]
Al-Rāzī (d. 955)	The first to inhabit al-Andalus after the Flood, according to the learned of its non-Arabs, were a people known as al-Andalish, with a dotted *shīn*. The country was named after them, and then it was Arabicized. They were Magians, and therefore God, may He be exalted, withheld rain from them until their springs disappeared and their rivers dried up. Most perished and those who were able to do so fled. As a result, al-Andalus was abandoned, and it remained empty for 100 years. Their king [at that time] was Ishbān b. Ṭīṭish, who attacked the Africans (*al-afāriqa*) and besieged their king in Itálica (*bi-Ṭāliqa*). He moved its marble to Seville, which was named after him, and which he adopted as the capital of his kingdom. [Ishbān's] subjects became numerous, and he was elevated on the earth (*ʿalā fī al-arḍ*). After two years of rule, [Ishbān] set out from Seville to attack Jerusalem. He destroyed it, killed 100,000 Jews, enslaved 100,000 and dispersed throughout the lands [another] 100,000. He removed Jerusalem's marble and its instruments (*ālātiha*) to al-Andalus, as well as the wonders that were acquired among the booty in al-Andalus [during the Islamic conquest], like the Table of Solomon that was found by Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād in the church at Toledo, and a few of the pearls that were found by Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr in the church at Merida, and other treasures that were among those obtained by the ruler of al-Andalus (*ṣāḥib al-Andalus*) [Ishbān] from the booty of the Temple, since he participated in its conquest with Nebuchadnezzar. They say that al-Khiḍr came to this Ishbān while he was plowing the earth with his oxen during the days of his youth. Al-Khiḍr said to him: Oh Ishbān! Indeed, you will become greatly important; time will cause you to occupy a high rank (*sawfa yuḥẓīka zamān*), and power will exalt you (*yuʿlīka sulṭān*). Therefore, when you conquer Jerusalem, be

[1] Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies,* 198. Translated by Stephen A Barney. Parenthetical is the editor's addition.
[2] Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-Taʾrīkh*, 144.

	courteous to the heirs of the Prophets. Ishbān said to al-Khiḍr: Is this not a joke, may God have mercy on you? How can this happen, as I am weak, despised, destitute and wretched? Al-Khiḍr said: he who decreed this for you is [the same one] who ordained for your dry staff [made of dead wood] that which you see (*qadara dhalik laka man qaddara fī ʿaṣāk al-yābisa mā tarāhu*). Ishbān looked at his staff and saw that it had sprouted leaves, which surprised him. Al-Khiḍr went away, [but] these words settled in Ishbān's soul (*qarra dhalika al-kalām fī nafsihi*), and he was confident that they would come true (*wa al-thiqqa bi-kawnihi*). Ishbān left his trial [i.e. his farming days] (*taraka al-imtihān*), and he mingled with people, and befriended the greatest among them. His good fortune uplifted him, and he rose [in position] through his pursuit to become the ruler until he succeeded (*irtaqa fī ṭalab al-sulṭān ḥattā nāla ʿaẓīman*), and he reigned for 20 years. The reign of al-Ashbān continued after him until 55 of their kings had ruled al-Andalus.[3]
Al-Masʿūdī (d. 956), *Murūj al-Dhahab*	Before the emergence of Islam, the ruler of Sicily and Ifrīqiya in North Africa was called George, and the ruler of al-Andalus was called Ludhrīq, a name that was common amongst the kings of al-Andalus. It was said that [the kings of al-Andalus] were from al-Ishbān, a people (*umma*) from the lineage of Japheth the son of Noah…[4] Maymūn ibn ʿAbd al-Wahb ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Rasm al-Fārisī, a follower of the Ibāḍī madhhab, founded the Kharijite madhhab in [al-Andalus]. It is said that they [the Khawārij?] come from the remainder of al-Ishbān [who] inhabited those homes. They fought wars with al-Tālibīyyin. We have already mentioned in the previous part of this book the disagreements that people have about al-Ishbān, and those that say they were from Persia, from the region of Isfahan…[5] It was said that al-Ludhāriqa – the kings of al-Andalus from al-Ishbān – were the first to entertain themselves with falconry and hunting [with falcons]…[6]
Ibn Ḥayyān (d. 1076), *al-Muqtabis*	The storytellers of the *ʿajam* mention that al-Khiḍr (peace be upon him) came to Ishbān during the days of his youth, while he was plowing with his ox. Al-Khiḍr said to him: O Ishbān! Indeed, you will become greatly important; time will cause you to occupy a high rank (*sawfa yuḥẓīka zamān*), and power will exalt you (*yuʿlīka sulṭān*). And

[3] Al-Rāzī cited in al-Ḥimyarī, *Kitāb al-Rawḍ al-Miʿṭār*, 33-34.
[4] Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, 1:359-60.
[5] Ibid., 1:369-370.
[6] Ibid., 2:280-281.

	when you conquer Jerusalem, be courteous to the descendants of the prophets. Ishbān said: Are you joking, may God have mercy on you? How can this happen to me, as I am [of] inferior [status] (*ḍaʿīf*), [of] humble [means], wretched and destitute, and there is no one like me who attains power? [Al-Khiḍr] said: he who decreed this for you is [the same one] who ordained for your dry staff [made of dead wood] that which you see (*qadara dhalik fīk man qaddara fī ʿaṣāk al-yābisa mā tarāhu*). Ishbān looked at his staff, and it had sprouted leaves, and he was surprised when he saw this sign (*āya*). Al-Khiḍr went away, [but] the words went to [Ishbān's] heart and a confidence that it would occur settled in his soul. He left his trial [i.e. his farming days] (*taraka al-imtihān*) at once, and he mingled with people, and befriended those who were the strongest among them. His good fortune lifted him up, he rose [in position] through his pursuit to become the ruler until he succeeded. It was what it was. Then what happened to those before him [also] happened to [Ishbān] (i.e. death), and the length of his rule was twenty years. The rule of the Ishbāniyyin continued after him, until 55 of their kings had ruled al-Andalus.[7]
al-ʿUdhrī (d. 1085), *Kitāb Tarṣīʿ al-Akhbār*	Some accounts of the ancient history [of al-Andalus] mention a story about the attack on Jerusalem. Among them: In some histories of the ancients, it is mentioned that Ashbān ibn Ṭīṭish, one of the descendants of Tubal, was one of the kings of the Ashbāniyyin who was distinguished by his rule over most of the world (*khuṣṣa bi-mulk akthar al-dunya*). He first showed up in Seville. His rule strengthened, his name spread far and wide, and he gained power in every aspect of his rule (*wa tamakkana fī kul nāḥiyyat sulṭānihi*). When he ruled every part of al-Andalus and its furthest reaches had become obedient to him, he left in ships from Seville, [heading] for Jerusalem. He plundered it and destroyed it; and he killed 100,000 Jews, took 100,000 of them prisoner, and dispersed [another] 100,000 to the farthest parts of the world. He moved its marble to Seville, Merida, and Baja, and he is the owner of the Table [of Solomon] that was found in Toledo, the stone that was found in Merida, and a few jewels that were also in Merida. Kings from around the world (*amlāk dāʾirat al-arḍ*) participated in the first destruction of the Temple with Nebuchadnezzar. They also participated in the destruction that [was carried out by] Caesar Vespasian. In those days, the king of Rome and al-Andalus was one [and the same]. Afterwards, kings from many different lands ruled the Temple.[8]
Al-Bakrī (d. 1094),	It is mentioned in some reports that Ishbān ibn Ṭīṭish, [who is] one of

[7] Ibn Ḥayyān cited in Al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ Al-Ṭīb*, 1:137-138.
[8] Al-ʿUdhrī, *Tarṣīʿ al-Akhbār*, 97.

Kitāb al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik	the descendants of Tubal ibn Japheth ibn Noah (peace be upon him), was one of the kings of al-Ishbāniyīn who was distinguished by his rule over most of the world (*khuṣṣa bi-mulk akthar al-dunyā*). His authority strengthened, he became famous, and he gained power in every aspect of his rule (*wa tamakkana fī kull nāḥiyyat sulṭānihi*). When [Ishbān] ruled [all] the regions of al-Andalus and the farthest parts of the land obeyed him, he left in ships from Seville [and headed] towards Jerusalem. He plundered and destroyed [Jerusalem], and there he killed 100,000 Jews, captured 100,000, and dispersed [another] 100,000 to [different] lands. He moved its marble to Seville, Merida, and Baja. He is the owner of the Table that was found in Toledo, the stone that was found in Merida, and a few of the jewels that were also found in Merida, according to what is mentioned. He participated in the first destruction of the Temple with Nebuchadnezzar, and he [also] participated in the destruction that was [carried out by] Caesar Vespasian and Adrian. It is said that he was from Ṭāliqa (Italica) Seville. In the 20th year of his rule, the construction of Jerusalem was finished. He was the one of the kings of the *ʿajām* [non-Arabs] who continued [their habit] of rotating among their four residences in the cities of al-Andalus: Seville, Merida, Toledo, and Cordoba. They divided their time among them.[9]
Anonymous, *Fatḥ al-Andalus* (c. 1102)	Some historians say that [the Table of Solomon] was carried away from the Temple in the days of the ancients. The first to hold the throne of al-Andalus, make his residence there, and rule it was Insibān ibn Ṭūyān ibn Japheth ibn Noah (peace be upon him). [This occurred] 4,000 years after the fall of Adam (peace be upon him) and 1,700 years after the Flood. He was the first of the Greek kings [to rule] there. When the Jews called for the killing of Jesus ibn Maryam (may God bless him and grant him peace) (wa anna al-yahūd lamā iddʿat qatala ʿIsā ibn Maryam), Christians became angry wherever they were (ḥamiyat al-naṣrāniyya ḥaythu kānat), and the Christian kings wrote to each other. The king of al-Andalus was among them. In those days, the king was named Bīṭūsh, and he was [also] called Hercules. He made an oath that he would throw manure from al-Andalus into the Temple. He went forth from al-Andalus to attack, bringing [with him] a large quantity of manure. The kings of Rome and Armenia also went [with him]. They set out at the appointed time, and they all occupied the Temple, fighting whoever was inside it until they overcame them. Therein they killed 100,000 Jews, took 100,000 of them prisoner, and dispersed another 100,000 to the farthest parts of the Earth (wa farraqū miʾa alf fī al-āfāq). They divided [amongst themselves] the profit and the precious marvels that they found in the Temple. The portion of the

[9] Al-Bakrī, *Kitāb Al-Masālik Wa al-Mamālik*, 2:903-904.

	king of al-Andalus included the Table [of Solomon] (which is the one that was found in Toledo); the portion of the king of Rome included Adam's clothing and Moses's staff (peace be upon them); the portion of the king of Armenia included the jewels of Dhū al-Qarnayn. It is also said that they were the jewels that Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr found with a few [others] in Merida, and that they were included in the share of the king of al-Andalus along with the Table [of Solomon]. Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr found them in the church in Merida, and they were emitting light. He carried them in the collection [of booty] that he brought to the caliph, al-Walīd ibn ʿAbd al-Malik, praise be to God al-Laṭīf. It is also said that Nebuchadnezzar called upon the regions of the world to attack the Temple, and the king of al-Andalus was among those he called. They launched the attack, the share [of the king] included the Table of Solomon, which he brought to al-Andalus.[10]
Moses ibn ʿEzra (d. c. 1135-1140), *Kitāb al-Muḥāḍara wa al-Mudhākara*	Our religious community received the tradition that Zarephath is the land of the Franks and Sepharad is al-Andalus in the language of the Arabs, associated with a person called Andalusān from the period of al-Izdihāq, the ancient king; and in the Romance language, Ishfāniyya, also derived from a ruler in the Roman country prior to the Goths, whose name was Ishfān, and whose capital was Ishbīliyya (Seville), on his account was it named, among the earliest (settlers) Isfamyā.[11]
Ibn al-Athīr (d. 1233), *al-Kāmil fī al-Taʾrīkh*	In this year [92], Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād, the *mawla* of Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr, invaded al-Andalus with 12,000 [men]. He met [in battle] with the king of al-Andalus, whose name was Adhrīnūq [Roderic]. He was initially from the people of Isfahan, who are the kings of the *ʿajam* (non-Arabs) of al-Andalus… They say that the first to inhabit al-Andalus was a people known as al-Andalish, with a *shīn*; the country is named after them. Then it was later Arabicized with a *sīn*. The Christians call al-Andalus "Ashbāniyya," after the name of a man who became strong (*ṣuliba*) there, called Ashbānish. It is said [that it was named this] after the name of a king who lived there in ancient times whose name was Ishbān ibn Ṭīṭas, and this was its name according to Ptolemy. It is [also] said that [al-Andalus] was named after Andalas ibn Japheth ibn Noah, who was the first to live there, and that the first to inhabit al-Andalus after the Flood were a people known as "al-Andalas." They lived there and they took turns ruling it for a very long time. They were Magians, and God kept rain from them [i.e. caused a drought]. He

[10] *Fatḥ al-Andalus*, 35-36.

[11] Moses ibn ʿEzra, *Kitāb al-Muḥāḍara wa al-Mudhākara*, 54 [29a]. Translated by Ross Brann in the introduction to *Iberian Moorings*.

	continued to withhold it from them, so most of them perished and those who were able to flee did so. Al-Andalus remained unoccupied for 100 years [after this], then God sent the Africans (*al-afāriqa*) to inhabit it. A people from among [the Africans] who venerated the king of Ifrīqiya entered al-Andalus, leaving behind the drought that had prevailed in their lands and that continued to cause their people to perish. A ruler of theirs brought them in ships and they anchored off the Peninsula of Cadiz. They saw al-Andalus [and that] its lands were fertile, and that her rivers flowed. They [decided] to make their residence there. They appointed over themselves kings who had held their command, and they followed the same religion as their predecessors. The ruins of their capital city, Italica, are situated near Seville, which they built and lived in. They lived [there] for a period that exceeded 150 years. Eleven of their kings ruled there. Then God sent against them the non-Arabs of Rome, whose king was Ishbān ibn Ṭīṭas. He attacked them and tore them apart and slayed them. He besieged them in Italica, where they had fortified themselves. He built upon them [that location] Ishbāniyya, which is Seville (*Ishbīliyya*), and took it as his capital. His population increased, and he became strong and powerful. He attacked the Temple [in Jerusalem], plundering what was in it and killing 100,000 [people] within it. He moved the marble from it to Seville and other [places]. He also took as booty the Table of Sulayman ibn Daūd (peace be upon him), which was the [same] one Ṭāriq took from Toledo when he conquered it; as well as some of the gold and [precious] stones that he found in Merida. Al-Khiḍr appeared to this Ishbān when he was plowing the earth. He said to him: O Ishbān! You will be fortunate, rule [as king] and become elevated [i.e. to nobility]. When you rule Jerusalem, treat the descendants of the prophets courteously. [Ishbān] said: Are you joking with me? How can someone like me attain power? [Al-Khiḍr] responded: He who made your staff do that which you see [happen to it] will also make this happen for you. Ishbān looked, and his staff had sprouted leaves! He was frightened at this, and al-Khiḍr left him. [But] Ishbān had confidence in what [al-Khiḍr] had said, so he mingled with the people and he rose [in position] until he ruled a great kingdom. His reign was 20 years, and the reign of the Ishbāniyyin after him lasted until 55 of their kings had ruled.[12]

[12] Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Taʾrīkh*, 4:35-36.

Ibn al-Kardabūs (d. 1250), *Kitāb al-Iktifāʾ fī Akhbār al-Khulafāʾ*	This Table [the Table of Solomon] was in the treasury until al-Qarṭar ruled the peninsula of al-Andalus. When Nebuchadnezzar conquered the Temple, he took with him the Table and other things from among the odd treasures [there].[13]
Ibn al-Shabbāṭ (d. 1282), *Kitāb Ṣilat al-Samṭ wa Simat al-Marṭ*	Seville was named after Ishbān ibn Ṭīṭish, of the lineage of Ṭūbal. He was one of the kings of the Ishbāniyyin and was distinguished by his rule over most of the world (*khuṣṣa bi-mulk akthar al-dunya*). His first appearance was in Seville. His rule became great, he became famous, and he gained power from every aspect of his rule (*wa tamakkana min kul nāḥiyyat sulṭānihi*). When he ruled all of the regions of al-Andalus, and its furthest reaches had become obedient to him, he left from Seville in ships [sailing] to Jerusalem. He plundered it and destroyed it, and killed 100,000 Jews, took 100,000 [of them] prisoner,[14] and dispersed throughout the lands [another] 100,000. He moved its marble to Seville, Merida, and Baja. He is the owner of the Table [of Solomon], and the [precious] stones that were found in Merida, and a few of the jewels that were also in Merida. Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Rāzī said this.[15]
Ibn ʿIdhārī (c. 1312), *Al-Bayān al-Mughrib*	Then Ishbān appeared in Seville. He was [of] inferior [status] (*ḍaʿīf*) and was a plowman. Al-Khiḍr (peace be upon him) appeared to him [one day] while he was plowing. He said [to Ishbān]: "When you conquer Jerusalem, treat the children of the prophets well!" Ishbān said to him: "How can this be, as I am [of] inferior [status] (*ḍaʿīf*) and not a member of the king's family?" Al-Khiḍr said to him: "he who preordained this for you is he who enabled for your staff that which it is able to do (*yuqdar dhalik man qaddara fī ʿaṣāk mā qaddara*)!" When Ishbān looked at his staff, it had sprouted leaves, and he was afraid. Al-Khiḍr disappeared. This [these words] established themselves in Ishbān's soul. He went out and won over people until his name was elevated. Word of him spread, and he gained power over al-Andalus. He left in ships for Jerusalem and plundered and destroyed it. There, he killed 100,000 Jews and sold [i.e. as slaves] 100,000 of them. He moved [Jerusalem's] marble to al-Andalus. His rule was about 20 years, and he attacked Jerusalem in the second year of his kingship. And it is said that Ishbān's name was Isfahan because he was born

[13] Ibn al-Kardabūs, *Taʾrīkh al-Andalus*, 52.
[14] The edited text reads "*wa sabaʿmiʾa alf*." It is unclear whether this is also what is written in the manuscript. Regardless of when the error was introduced, I believe it is meant to say: "*wa sabā miʾa alf*," as in previous texts.
[15] Ibn al-Shabbāṭ in Ibn al-Kardabūs, *Taʾrīkh al-Andalus*, 139.

	there and was named after it, but God knows best. The number of their kings was 55.[16]

[16] Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, 2:2.

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