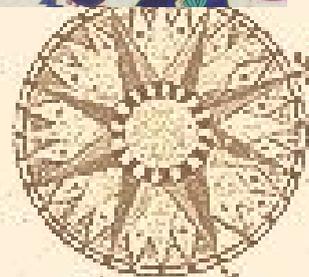
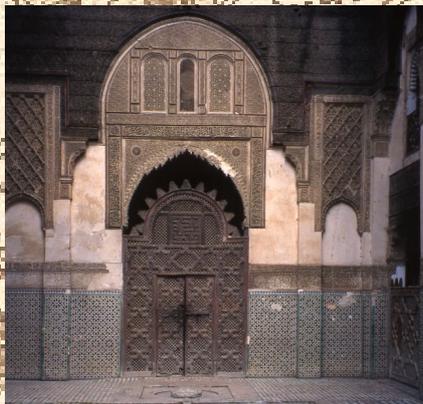


# Political Legitimacy in the Islamic West

Workshop at Magdalene College, University of Cambridge  
13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> September 2011



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## Workshop Programme

Tuesday 13<sup>th</sup> September

9.30-9.45      **Registration**

9.45-10      **Welcome**                      *Dr. Amira Bennison, University of Cambridge*

10-11      **Keynote address**              *Prof. Maya Shatzmiller, University of Western Ontario*

“The ‘Quest for Empire’ in the 14th century Islamic West: Economic Foundations of Political Legitimacy and the Debate over Islamic Economic Performance”

11-11.30      **Break & refreshments**

11.30-1      **Session 1**

“The Genealogical Legitimization of the Nasrid Dynasty: the alleged Anṣārī origins of the Banū Naṣr,” *Dr. Barbara Boloix-Gallardo, Washington University in St. Louis*

“The Nasrid Sultanate: A New Religious Order?” *Dr. Cynthia Robinson, Cornell University & Dr. Amalia Zomeño, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid*

1-2      **Lunch**

2-3.30      **Session 2**

“Drums, Banners & *Baraka*: Signs and Symbols of Authority during the First Century of Marinid Rule, 1250-1350,” *Dr. Amira Bennison, University of Cambridge*

“The ‘Azafids of Ceuta and the Transition from Almohad to Marinid”, *Dr. James Brown, University of Cambridge*

3.30-4      **Break & refreshments**

4-5.30      **Session 3**

“Ransom and Refuge on the Iberian Frontier 1085-1350,” *Dr. Camilo Gomez-Rivas, The American University in Cairo*

“Between Kings and Caliphs: Religion, Authority and Allegiance in Thirteenth Century *Sharq al-Andalus*,” *Abigail Krasner Balbale, Harvard University*

7.30      **Speakers' dinner**

## Wednesday 14<sup>th</sup> September

### 9.30-11      **Session 4**

“Honoring the Prophet’s Family: A Comparison of Approaches to Political Legitimacy between Abū-l-Ḥaṣan ‘Alī al-Marīnī and Aḥmad al-Mansūr al-Sa‘dī,”  
*Dr. Stephen Cory, Cleveland State University*

“Court Etiquette and Cuisine as Forms of Power in Morocco under the Sa‘dis and ‘Alawis (16th-19th centuries),” *Prof. Mohamed El Mansour, Muhammad V University*

### 11-11.30      **Break & refreshments**

### 11.30-1      **Session 5**

“Nomadic Populations and the Challenge to Political Legitimacy: Three Cases from the Medieval Islamic West,” *Dr. Russell Hopley, Bowdoin College*

“The Many Faces of Ibn Khaldūn: Critic, Counselor or Collaborator?,” *Dr. Allen Fromhertz, Georgia State University*

### 1-2      **Lunch**

### 2-3.30      **Session 6**

“The King in the Islamic West as represented in Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s *Al-Ishāra ilā adab al-wizāra*,” *Carlos Serrano Contreras, University of Granada*

“Lisān al-Dīn b. al-Khaṭīb: a Quintessential Local Historian of the Islamic West,”  
*Arshad Hadjirin, University of Cambridge*

### 3.30-4      **Closing remarks**

## Abstracts

### **“The Genealogical Legitimization of the Nasrid Dynasty: the alleged Anṣārī origins of the Banū Naṣr”**

*Dr. Barbara Boloix-Gallardo, Washington University in St. Louis*

The family origins of the Nasrid dynasty, who ruled the Kingdom of Granada from the XIII to the XV century, have always constituted an intriguing but unresolved issue. Having attained the control of al-Andalus by military force, the Banū Naṣr could not claim distinguished ancestors from whom they inherited the political power and, therefore, has to create a new lineage for themselves. One of the Nasrids' most urgent needs was to legitimate officially their authority to their subjects and the other political leaders of the era.

Among the several measures adopted by the Banū Naṣr to justify politically and religiously their right to govern was the creation of a prestigious genealogical ascendance. According to some Arabic textual –mainly chronicles– and epigraphic sources, the Nasrids claimed to be descendants of Sa'd b. 'Ubāda b. Dulaym b. Ḥāritha (d. 14/635), an outstanding figure from the city of Medina (Arabian peninsula) who belonged to the tribe of Khazradj and was, consequently, a member of the Anṣār (the tribal group who supported the prophet Muhammad in his Hegira to this town from Mecca and was among the first converted people to Islam).

The Banū Naṣr saw in this figure the perfect ancestor: not only he had belonged to the closest environment of Muhammad but his tribal denomination, Anṣār, came from the same linguistic root (the verb *naṣara*) than their eponymous forefather, Naṣr. However, it seems impossible to prove the veracity of this genealogy. When tracing the chronological and topographical development of the different family branches descending from Sa'd b. 'Ubāda, from the Muslim East to al-Andalus, we can confirm the lack of several links in the genealogical chain which allegedly connected the Banū Naṣr with the Anṣāris. Textual references to members of this tribe gradually become scarcer in the Arabic biographical repertoires from the XI century onwards.

Throughout this proposed paper, I will exhaustively analyze not only when and how the Nasrids started spreading their Anṣārī origin, but also the importance given by this dynasty to their genealogy and how it shaped, reinforced, and influenced their political and religious power. I will also offer the detailed trajectory of the different branches derived from Sa'd b. 'Ubāda and his son Qays until the times of the Banū Naṣr, making use of charts with family trees, in order to show the impossibility to reconstruct a complete genealogical chain and, therefore, the lack of veracity of this invented family origin, which effectively legitimated the Nasrid dynasty.

### **“The Nasrid Sultanate: A New Religious Order?”**

*Dr. Cynthia Robinson, Cornell University & Dr. Amalia Zomeño, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid*

The Nasrid Sultanate has been repeatedly and unanimously qualified by its historians as staunchly Mālikī. It is thus somewhat surprising that scholarship concerning the Nasrids lacks any sort of sustained examination of their religious life. In an effort to redress this omission, art historian Cynthia Robinson and philologist Amalia Zomeño are undertaking a collaborative project that will address Nasrid religious life from a multi- and an inter-disciplinary perspective. For the Cambridge symposium, we wish to focus on the importance of state-sponsored religious expression – which, as recent scholarship has demonstrated, frequently went hand-in-hand with an expertise in *fiqh* in the Islamic West – to the establishment of Nasrid political legitimacy, both vis-à-vis other powerful Muslim political entities in the Mediterranean basin, such as the

Marinids, and vis-à-vis Christian powers, both peninsular and foreign.

As is well known, one of the most ostentatious public gestures made by the Sultan Muḥammad V upon his return to the throne following his exile from Granada in 1359 was the hosting, in December 1362, of a lavish mawlid celebration, chronicled by Ibn al-Khaṭīb in his *Nufāda al-jiryab* and analyzed by Emilio García Gómez in a seminal publication entitled *Foco de antigua luz sobre la Alhambra. Desde un texto de Ibn ak-Khatib en 1362* (Madrid, 1988). Indeed, these festivities could be described as a carefully calculated bid for political legitimacy, one that permitted the Nasrid Sultan, with his sovereignty newly restored, to address multiple audiences on a single occasion. These included members of the royal family; members of the Prophet's family referred to as “*banū Fawāṭim*” (“the lineage of the two Fatimas”); nobles; subjects at large; allies; members of Sufi confraternities; foreign dignitaries and even Christian merchants. The Sufi roots of such festivities are well known, and the Nasrid Sultan's calculations were undoubtedly, at least in part, by his knowledge of the economic and spiritual power garnered by such Sufi confraternities as that of the Banū Sīdī Būna, famously invited to give demonstrations of *dhikr* for the occasion and thus to imbue it with their particular *baraka*. And this would hardly be the first gesture on the part of Nasrid rulers dictated by similar concerns: studies by philologist and historian of philosophy José Miguel Puerta Vilchez, a controversial article published in *al-Qantara* in 2001 by art historian Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, and several articles by Robinson have argued for the central role played by *tasawwuf* in the conception and interpretation of such Nasrid cultural manifestations as poetry, linguistic theory, architecture and its ornament. Likewise, historians Bárbara Bolloix-Gallardo and Maribel Fierro have established the key importance of such concepts as the charismatic *wālī* (holy man; “friend of God”) and genealogies linking the Nasrid ruling class to the Ansar (companions of the Prophet) to the formation of Nasrid dynastic identity, while the late María Jesús Rubiera Mata recently demonstrated that, for a time, the Sultanate even aspired to the status of Caliphate.

Much, though, remains to be explored concerning the Nasrid Sultanate's selective deployment of specific religious concepts (and rejection of others – its conflicted and, as yet, insufficiently explained attitude toward Sufism is a case in point) in order to address the distinct publics enumerated above. For this presentation, we propose to undertake a close re-reading of Ibn al-Khaṭīb's narration of these festivities as a first step toward the identification and explication of such strategies. We will also bring to bear supplementary material inspired by our particular disciplinary expertise, and would hope to use the occasion of the symposium to engage in comparative discussions with the rest of the scholars present.

### **“Drums, Banners & *Baraka*: Signs and Symbols of Authority during the First Century of Marinid Rule, 1250-1350”**

*Dr. Amira Bennison, University of Cambridge*

This paper will explore the ways in which the Marinid sultans expressed their authority to their subjects, especially those outside their capital city, Fes, during the first century of Marinid rule. The construction of *madrāsas* in Fes and the palatine city of Dār al-Bayḍā' (Fes al-Jadīd) was an important mark of Marinid authority in urban space and a designation of their seat of power (*dār al-imāra*). However, as a dynasty of Zanata tribal origin which ruled over a large rural tribal population, the Banū Marīn also needed to express their power and authority in the countryside and in provincial towns. The construction of Biniya outside Algeciras and Manšūra outside Tlemsen, along with *qaṣabāt* in Taza, Meknes and other towns created an important physical network of Marinid bases but a vital mechanism for stamping Marinid authority on the intervening countryside was military progresses between these nodes, as well as the battles and sieges which were the objectives of many additional military progresses.

As Dakhliya and Moudden have already noted for later dynasties, the *ḥaraka* or *maḥalla* was an indispensable tool of government which physically manifested the power of the ruler and in so

doing also enhanced his authority and legitimacy. This was achieved through the passage of armed tribesmen and military units who offered local auxiliaries the opportunity to join up but also exercised summary punishment on the recalcitrant by destroying crops and taking livestock to impose obedience. The royal, as opposed to purely tribal, character of such troop movements was signalled by the use of items symbolising royalty such as tents, drums, and banners. This kind of peripatetism also enabled the ruler to be seen and, in the Marinid case, to project an image of himself as a warrior and a pious Muslim, a bearer of, or at least a focus for, *baraka*.

Using sources such as the *Dhakīra al-Saniyya*, the *Rawḍ al-Qirṭās* and the *Kitāb al-ʿIbar*, I shall trace the image of the early Banū Marīn *amīrs* and sultans and the signs of royal they deployed in their military progresses across the countryside of the Maghrib and in al-Andalus. Many of these sources are panegyric and indulge in a back projection of monarchical attributes and intentions from the fourteenth century to the early decades of the dynasty. The image of the monarch presented is thus a mature notion of Marinid kingship which presents a stylised view of the sultan's image in rural environments which does not coincide exactly with the historical reality. However, it is an image that the Marinids sought to live up to in order to legitimise their rule in the countryside where it was frequently as contested as in urban circles.

Of particular interest to me is the way in which the Banū Marīn managed the transition from tribal leaders to Islamic monarchs outside the city which entailed the adoption of various accoutrements of rule familiar to the rural population such drums and banners which both the Almoravids and Almohads had also deployed. Banners in particular (*rāyāt*, *bunūd*) seem to have been foregrounded as a symbol of monarchical power due to their potential and actual usage in jihād campaigns (*ghazwāt*) in al-Andalus which transformed tribal military force into Islamic power. Another final dimension of the Marinid assertion of monarchical status I shall consider was their (contested) claim to *baraka* and their manifestations of piety and deference to jurists (*fuqahā'*) and mystics (*ṣūlahā'*) in military/rural contexts as well as in the better-studied urban environment.

### **“The ‘Azafids of Ceuta and the Transition from Almohad to Marinid”**

*Dr. James Brown, University of Cambridge*

Discussions of the Marinid dynasty and its legitimising strategies naturally focus in some way on how they were shaped by, appropriated and partly reformulated pre-existing institutions and practices as a “successor dynasty” to the Almohads. One element of this process was the adoption and promotion of the festival of *mawlid al-nabī* (birth of the Prophet), the public celebration of which became an integral part of Morocco's religious and political life during Marinid rule, and also spread throughout the Maghrib and al-Andalus. It is well-known that such public *mawlid* celebrations were first introduced to the Maghrib by the ‘Azafids of Ceuta. However, little attempt has been made to relate the circumstances and nature of these origins to understanding how and why the celebration was taken up by the Marinids and other dynasties. This paper will therefore examine ‘Azafid rule in Ceuta in order firstly to understand the significance of the origins of the public *mawlid* more clearly; and secondly, to understand more generally the role of the ‘Azafids and Ceuta during the early phase of transition from Almohad to Marinid rule.

### **“Ransom and Refuge on the Iberian Frontier 1085-1350”**

*Dr. Camilo Gomez-Rivas, The American University in Cairo*

This paper explores the notion of affording refuge as correlative to the expectation of providing aid to victims of the violence of the Christian-Muslim frontier in Iberia, 1085-1350. The “long” twelfth century of 1085-1248 had witnessed the fall of most of the major Muslim urban centers of

the Iberian Peninsula and the solidification of the Muslim-Christian frontier in the social imagination of the communities of the western Mediterranean.

In the Arabic textual sources, the emergence of the frontier as a major factor in the mobilization of political will and legitimation can be seen in the articulation of an ideology of jihad, as well as in the growing awareness of the fate of those affected by frontier violence and the change of legal regime that its movement implied. This concern, as evidenced by the juristic discourse, forms the focal point of this paper. Of special interest is the tension, revealed by the sources, between the requirements of religio-political ideologies, the practical needs of sovereigns, and the rights of individuals as envisioned by Muslim jurists.

This paper focuses on these developments, as seen through the legal sources of the Almoravid, Almohad, and Marinid periods, and argues that the emergence and movement of the frontier created a set of shared social expectations for the provision of assistance to coreligionists affected by frontier violence, a practice most clearly visible in the ransoming of captives, but that, I argue, extended beyond the ransoming of prisoners and included affording refuge to individuals fleeing from frontier violence and conquering regimes. While the discourse on these expectations and obligations was framed in religio-legal terms, emphasizing and privileging religious identity over cultural and ethnic, I also argue that the need to accommodate religious minorities remained an important concern.

This paper is part of a book length project on the reception of displaced populations in Iberia and the Maghrib 1050-1650. I am currently working on an article on the 1085-1150 period, but, for the paper for the workshop, I would like to extend the research and analysis into the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, namely exploring how Almohads and Marinids affected the development of the juristic discourse regarding the reception of refugees and those affected by frontier violence, especially in light of the legitimating needs of their respective dynastic ideologies.

### **“Between Kings and Caliphs: Religion, Authority and Allegiance in Thirteenth Century *Sharq al-Andalus*”**

*Abigail Krasner Balbale, Harvard University*

In the period between the fall of the Almoravids and the Christian conquest, a dizzying array of rulers sought power in *Sharq al-Andalus*. This region, a thick band of fertile Mediterranean coastline from Alicante up through Valencia, was the last Islamic territory won by the Almohads and the last Almohad territory to fall to the Christians. Its subjects were famous for their rebelliousness, and its rulers for their fierce independence. Each ruler who gained power launched a campaign to legitimate his rule – minting coins with new legends, building palaces, mosques and fortresses, and sponsoring poets and scholars. Several explicitly pledged allegiance to greater Islamic powers, from the Almohads to the Abbasids and the Ḥafṣids. Many also built complex webs of military and economic alliances with their Christian neighbors.

This paper focuses on three rival claimants to power in the first half of the thirteenth century, each of whom used a substantially different approach to gain and maintain power. The Almohad wālī Abū Zayd followed the political system of the Almohads, even claiming the caliphate for himself, but was also vassal to both Aragon and Castile. Muḥammad ibn Hūd, Almohad governor and descendant of the powerful Taifa family, received official recognition from Abbasid caliph as ruler of *Sharq al-Andalus*, and also made alliances with Castile against his Muslim rivals. Zayyān ibn Mardānīsh ruled in the name of the Ḥafṣids and fought against his rivals with the help of their fleets. *Sharq al-Andalus* was divided among these competitors, whose conflict is often credited with the eventual Christian conquest of the area.

But alongside this teleological vision of Muslim fragmentation and decline, the rivalry of these three rulers provides insight into the broader questions of religion, authority and allegiance

in the thirteenth-century Mediterranean. Studying the multiple local rulers who emerged in this time of great flux reveals how notions of political power evolved as the institution of the caliphate changed. Each ruler articulated his authority according to his own understanding of righteous rule. Coins, poetry, architecture and legal and diplomatic sources reflect the theological and philosophical underpinnings of each ruler's conception of power, as well as the practical limitations they faced.

Comparing these rich sources illuminates the varied Islamic political traditions from which the rulers drew. It reveals the differing understandings of political and religious authority that accompanied the fragmentation of Sharq al-Andalus. Examining the rivalries among these rulers provides two important correctives to the conventional narrative of thirteenth-century Andalusī history. First, the conflict with these rulers' co-religionist rivals was supported through alliance with Christians, indicating the primacy of the struggle over righteous Islamic rule above ideas of holy war. Second, even as the institution of the caliphate was in decline, these rulers' adaptations of wide-ranging Islamic traditions demonstrate a dynamic and flexible system of power, which would continue long after the loss of Sharq al-Andalus. Indeed, it was this model of fluid political culture and close alliances with Christian neighbors that Ibn al-Aḥmar used to found the long-lived Nasrid dynasty.

### **“Honoring the Prophet’s Family: A Comparison of Approaches to Political Legitimacy between Abū-l-Ḥaṣan ‘Alī al-Marīnī and Aḥmad al-Mansūr al-Sa’dī”**

*Dr. Stephen Cory, Cleveland State University*

Although the founding dynasty of Morocco, the Idrisids, traced its lineage to the Prophet Muhammad, by the tenth century, political leadership within the country was increasingly being held by Berbers. This trend resulted in the establishment of three Berber dynasties over Morocco: the Almoravids (1062-1147 CE), Almohads (1130-1269 CE), and Marinids (1217-1465 CE). By the late fourteenth century, Berber leadership over the Maghreb seemed to be so common place that Ibn Khaldun would question whether even the Idrisid dynasty should be viewed as a truly sharifian state. Concluding that Berber rule over Morocco was the natural state of affairs, Ibn Khaldun wrote “if they (the Awraba Berbers) rendered the oath of allegiance to Idris, his rule over them cannot be considered Arab rule, because the Berbers were in charge of it, and there were not many Arabs in it.” By the beginning of the Marinid dynasty, rulers were openly asserting their Berber identity and Berber languages were regularly being spoken in the sultans' courts.

Yet something changed within Morocco between the fourteenth and the sixteenth centuries, with the result that, by the end of the sixteenth century, sharifian descent had become a requirement for Moroccan political leadership. This change was connected with the rise of sharifism (belief that the descendents of Muhammad should lead the Muslim community). How did this transformation take place and to what degree did it affect the manner in which Moroccan sultans justified their political authority over the *umma*? To answer this question, my paper will examine the political propaganda of the Marinid sultan Abu al-Hasan ‘Ali (r. 1331-1348 CE) and that of the Sa’di sultan Ahmad al-Mansur al-Dhahabi (r. 1578-1603 CE), comparing and contrasting their approaches towards legitimizing their reigns. These sultans have been selected because of the survival of panegyric chronicles written by court historians for both of their regimes. These works include *Al Musnad* by Ibn Marzuq (for Abu al-Hasan ‘Ali), *Al-Muntaqa al-maqsūr* by Ibn al-Qadi (for Ahmad al-Mansur) and *Manāhil al-safā* by al-Fishtali (for Ahmad al-Mansur). I will also consult more general historical chronicles, such as those written by Ibn Khaldun, Ibn Abi Zar and Ibn al-Aḥmar (for Abu al-Hasan ‘Ali) and al-Ifrani (for Ahmad al-Mansur).

Similarities and differences between the political propaganda used by the two sultans will then be considered in light of their differing historical circumstances, particularly regarding the

relative power of sharifian movements within the country during their respective times. To what degree were holy lineage and the sultan's treatment of the *shurafa'* factors in legitimizing their regimes? If not lineage, upon what did they base their political legitimacy? How did they justify their aggressive military campaigns carried out against other Muslim states? Did the concepts of sharifism or claims to unify the Muslim *umma* play a role in legitimizing these campaigns? My aim will be to determine whether Moroccan governments led the way in promoting the rise of sharifism in the country or whether they mostly responded to popular religious pressure when they supported the sharifian movement.

### **“Court Etiquette and Cuisine as Forms of Power in Morocco under the Sa’dis and ‘Alawis (16th-19th centuries)”**

*Prof. Mohamed El Mansour, Muhammad V University*

According to Ibn Khaldun ruling dynasties become more concerned with ostentatious ceremonial and sophisticated court etiquette during their ageing stage as a means to perpetuate their power and delay the inevitable downfall. In fact one might argue that the display of power, under its different manifestations, has always been used by power holders to further their political legitimacy and strengthen their authority.

Looking at the modern history of Morocco from the 16<sup>th</sup> century, we notice that the new sharifian dynasties which ruled the country during this period have been concerned at all times, not just at their end of their rule, with the symbols of power and the signs of magnificence as means to impress their subjects and enhance their political legitimacy. For the Sa’dis and ‘Alawis whose origins lay in the desert fringes of Morocco, the overriding obsession was to assimilate the refined manners of urban society in Fes and gain recognition as worthy successors to the Marinids whose long reign and Andalusian connections resulted in an unprecedented accumulation of sophisticated court etiquette. For these sharifian, but still “bedouin”, dynasties the acquisition of refined ways of behaving, eating and receiving guests became an important means to gain legitimacy and recognition by the urban elites.

The present contribution will look at the usage of court etiquette, royal household management and culinary traditions under the Moroccan sharifian dynasties as ways to enhance their political power and underline their leading role of “norm givers” in society.

### **“Nomadic Populations and the Challenge to Political Legitimacy: Three Cases from the Medieval Islamic West”**

*Dr. Russell Hopley, Bowdoin College*

The problem of nomadic populations is one that arose with increasing frequency in the lands of the Islamic west during the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. The paper I propose to give at the workshop ‘Political Legitimacy in the Islamic West’ will focus on the responses of three important dynasties of the medieval Maghrib to the dilemmas posed by nomadic populations dwelling in their midst. These dynasties included the Almoravids in al-Andalus in the twelfth century, the Almohads in the Maghrib al-Aqṣā in the thirteenth century, and the Hafsids in Ifrīqīya in the fourteenth century.

Relying on a series of *fatwās* from the early twelfth century, I shall examine the difficulties involved in integrating the Almoravids, veiled Berber nomads from the western Sahara, into Andalusian society. Such problems derived from the Almoravids’ controversial insistence on wearing the veil during communal prayers in the cathedral mosque of Córdoba, their practice of poaching livestock and contributing part of the wealth acquired therein to the *bayt māl al-muslimīn*, and, finally, the rise of criminal gangs in early twelfth-century Seville that donned Almoravid dress in order to cloak their identity.

As for the Almohads, I shall rely on correspondence from the *diwān al-rasā'il* of the thirteenth century to explain precisely why the Almohads chose to resettle the troublesome Hilālī Bedouin tribes from the region of Tamasna to the Tadla plain north of Marrakesh. The effect this resettlement had on the Berber inhabitants of the Tadla plain will be examined, as will the role that such resettlements played in the Arabization of the Maghrib al-Aqsa in the thirteenth century, a process that has yet to be adequately elucidated. By way of comparison, my paper will also consider the response of the Ḥafṣids, heirs to Almohad rule in Ifrīqīya, to the frequently destructive presence of the Hilālī Bedouins, the Banū Sulaym in particular, in the Tunisian hinterland. The doctrinal basis for the Ḥafṣids' call for *jihād* to be waged against the disruptive Bedouins shall come in for particular scrutiny.

My goal in each of these examples shall be to shed light on the challenges these nomadic populations posed to the political legitimacy of the three dynasties mentioned above. I intend to conclude my presentation by suggesting, paradoxically perhaps, that the presence of unruly nomads in the medieval Islamic west, and the effort to contain them, served an important role in each dynasty's attempt to gain political legitimacy in the eyes of the Muslim community.

### **“The Many Faces of Ibn Khaldūn: Critic, Counsellor or Collaborator?”**

*Dr. Allen Fromhertz, Georgia State University*

The purpose of this paper will be to examine Ibn Khaldun's personal experience in the Nasrid and, to a lesser extent, Marinid courts. Shifting between his *Ta'rif* and his *Muqadimmah*, his autobiography and his introduction to history, this paper will examine Ibn Khaldun's complex, if hopeful, description of the future of Islam in al-Andalus from a Maghrebi point of view. Through a detailed study of his poetry and panegyric, the paper will explore how Ibn Khaldun participates in royal ceremonies and practices in Granada that affirm his position as a trusted counsellor and advisor. At the same time, the paper will analyse how these rituals provide space for Ibn Khaldun to play a double or even triple game – assuring himself of allies and friends in North Africa and keeping his family there until he is absolutely certain of his political position at court. By contrasting Ibn Khaldun's personal, lived experience with his famous explanations of court ritual and practice, this paper will show how Ibn Khaldun survived when a game of mirrors shattered and turned into a game of daggers.

### **“The King in the Islamic West as represented in Ibn al-Khaṭīb's *Al-Iṣhāra ilā adab al-wizāra*”**

*Carlos Serrano Contreras, University of Granada*

The purpose of this paper is to explore the image and the description of the King portrayed by the Nasrid vizier Ibn al-Jaṭīb (713-776/ 1313-1374) in his treatise *al-Iṣhāra ilā adab al-wizāra* (“The indication to the instruction of the vizierate”).

His extensive experience of nearly 30 years in charge of the government and the Nasrid chancery under the emirs Abū l-Ḥaṣṣān Yūsuf I and Muḥammad V al-Ganī Billāh, along with his marked contribution to the politics of the Islamic West throughout the late Middle Ages, make this multifaceted writer a highly interesting object of study that could help elucidate the political conception of the Arab Muslim World in the post-classical era.

Through Ibn al-Jaṭīb we can appreciate almost the entire diplomatic activity carried out during the 14th century by the Nasrid Kingdom of Granada with its Christian neighbours of the Iberian Peninsula as well as with the Islamic Kingdoms of North Africa. In many ways, he was one of the main figures that made possible the golden age of the Nasrid Kingdom of Granada which took place during the second part of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

Among the numerous writings of Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Jaṭīb, only two of his works devoted exclusively to political theorization are preserved till this day, *al-Iṣhāra ilā adab al-wizāra* and the

*Maqāma fī l-siyāsa*. In the one that we are focusing on in this research paper, *al-Iṣāra ilā adab al-wizāra*, Ibn al-Jaṭīb expresses through literary fiction a series of recommendations and exhortations for the vizier to follow in order to function successfully and to avoid the dangers threatening someone occupying such an important position within the Kingdom. The brief treatise, included in Ibn al-Jaṭīb's anthology titled *Rayḥānat al-kuttāb wa-naʿyat al-muntāb*, could be considered a treatise of government due to its political content. However, taking into account its formal structure it could also be classified as a late Andalusī *maqāma*.

Our aim in the present paper is to analyze the image of the King that underlies the exhortations of the Nasrid politician in his work *al-Iṣāra ilā adab al-wizāra* and to compare it with the one described in the introductory fiction to the treatise. Some of the questions worth asking are: Is it possible to establish some parallelism between the portrait of the King in the narration and Ibn al-Jaṭīb's emir Muḥammad V? Could the king described in the introduction of the treatise be the model that Ibn al-Jaṭīb proposes, as opposed to the king perceived through his advice which is probably the one closer to reality?

### **“Lisān al-Dīn b. al-Khaṭīb: a Quintessential Local Historian of the Islamic West”**

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The proposed paper will assess the role of Ibn al-Khaṭīb (713-76 AH/1313-74 CE) as a local historian through an analysis of aspects of his work *al-Iḥāṭa fī akhbār Gharnāṭa*. This is to be placed in the context of his political career that spanned several decades across various parts of the Islamic west. The ensuing discussions will bring out the intricate relationship that existed between the ruling dynasties of Gharnāṭa and its aspiring scholarly classes. The dynamics of this relationship can, in some measure, address the question as to how political legitimacy was reflected in the historical literature of the fourteenth century.

Born in the provincial town of Lausha (Loja), Ibn al-Khaṭīb was introduced to courtly life in Gharnāṭa at a relatively young age. Working, initially, in the shadows of the luminaries of his age he steadily rose to prominence by taking up the positions of *kātib al-inshāʾ* and *wazīr*, and, thereafter, assuming the grand title of *dhū al-wizāratain*. The advantages of courtly life and political office, not only accorded him the privilege of drafting official communiqués, which required the use of rhymed prose (*saǰʿ*) and rhetoric, but it also provided him with opportunities to travel in the region that acquainted him with the diversity of conditions and peoples. While this exposure helped him garner the material for many of his works and to develop a unique literary style, his presence at the chancery gave him unbounded access to all types of information, which he put to good use in his writings that cover a vast range.

Among the works of Ibn al-Khaṭīb, the *Iḥāṭa* is by far the most exhaustive. It consists of two parts, the first, an introductory summary, in several chapters, of what pertains to Gharnāṭa, and, the second, a compendium of biographical notices of a large number of people ranging from ‘kings and princes’ and ‘viziers and poets’ to ‘knights and historians’ and ‘sūfis and faqīrs’. As a work of local history, the *Iḥāṭa* projects the *akhbār* (affairs) of Gharnāṭa, primarily, through an analysis of the individual. As for aspects of state and society, they only emerge through the narrative of the individual. However, it can be seen that Ibn al-Khaṭīb gives the ruling dynasties of Gharnāṭa a place of prominence, as they were made out to represent the very foundation of states, their presence, also, being seen as a sign of stability and prosperity. Thus, in his *Iḥāṭa*, Ibn al-Khaṭīb can be seen to return to an earlier model of *tabaqāt*, even though he incorporates many of the significant developments of the intervening period.

The court intrigues that led Ibn al-Khaṭīb to flee Gharnāṭa and Tilimsān, and the plots that saw to his imprisonment and murder in Fās were symptomatic of the nature of relationship that existed between the political dynasties of the region and those members of the scholarly classes who aspired for power and prestige. Our analyses, in the proposed paper, of these issues in greater detail can generate further discussion into the question of political legitimacy in the

Islamic west.