Hatred and Loathing in al-Andalus

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The scholar of emotions, William M. Reddy, notes that "any enduring political regimes must establish as an essential element a normative order for emotions" (129). In this article I explore how Andalusi scholars such as Abū ʿUmar Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (active in the court of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III) and Ibn Gharsiya (active in the Taifa of Denia) develop a discourse of hate that hinges on historical and social narratives in order to champion non-Arab Andalusi culture and identity and how that discourse evokes the ire of Andalusi defenders of Arabness. These Andalusi texts serve as testimonies to the way in which the *Shuʿūbiyya* discourses inherited from the Muslim East provided a framework for the expression of anger and hostility for Andalusi Arab and non-Arab intellectuals alike from the time of the caliphate to the reign of the Almohads. Ibn Gharsiya's arguments reflect those found in earlier *Shuʿūbiyya* writings of the East, transmitted already in al-Andalus by Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, and that, as D.B. Macdonald points out, deprecated the dynastic, political, religious characters as well as the desert origins of the Arabs.[1] Persian *Shuʿūbī*s defended their language, while "in Spain, on the other hand, the *Shuʿūbiyya* accepted the whole Arabic civilization, prided itself on its command of Arabic, (*al-ʿarabīya*) and on its Islamic orthodoxy, but rejected the claims to superiority of the Arab race" (Macdonald). In al-Andalus the *Shuʿūbiyya* debate is expressed through the denigration of the histories, languages, behaviors, and intelligence of the other.

Ibn Gharsiya, whom Maribel Fierro describes as "a slave who worked for Mujāhid of Denia and his son ʿAlī" (2008, 49), claims to speak on behalf of Andalusi non-Arabs or *mawālī* —"Lo, we, the company of *mawālī* (نحن معشر موالى), we give friendship only to those who show friendship for our greatness" (28; 378).[2] His detractors accuse him of advocating for the *Shuʿūbiyya,* a term that had been used by earlier Andalusi intellectuals such as Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (860-940 CE), but that originated in the Eastern/Persian context of the Abbasid courts, where it was used some two centuries before by *mawālī* who had achieved the ranks of the courtly "caliphal bureaucracy" (Crone and Wensinck). The *Shuʿūbiyya* debates that arose in this Persian milieu provided a precedent and a model of normalized hostility and vituperation in service of an Arabized ruling class. Abbasid scholars such as Ibn Qutayba (d. 889) penned literary treatises that sought to create an idealized Arab identity based on an imagined pre-Islamic past and that attacked the *Shuʿūbiyya* who argued instead that being Muslim did not (necessarily) mean being Arab and who advocated for the glories of their non-Arab (Persian) civilization and culture.[3] The Andalusi texts penned by

[1] Macdonald notes that Muhammad is cited in the Qur'an (surah 49, verse 13) as saying there is no difference between (non-Arab) nations (*shuʿūba*) and (Arab) tribes (the *qabāʾil*) and there should be no "prideful vying with one another in ancestors and tribes" ("Shuʿūbīya"); nevertheless, Goldziher notes that the Umayyads did institutionalize Arab-non-Arab differences within their administration. This would include the imposition of the *jizya* or tax that Christians and Jews living in Umayyad territories were required to pay.

[2] Throughout this paper I cite the English translation of James T. Monroe, and, when citing the Arabic, the modern edition of ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn. On the various meanings of *mawālī* and *mawlā*, see Crone and Wensinck. On the *mawālī* and their shifting status as reflected in chronicles, see Dolores Oliver Pérez (333).

[3] Crone and Wensinck argue that while the *shuʿūbiyya* movement was strictly literary in the East, in al-Andalus it did result in armed rebellion against the Umayyads, citing Ibn Ḥayyān: "here for once the rebels took action as *mawālī*, explicitly invoking the cause of the non-Arab Muslims under the leadership of men such as ʿUmar b.

Ibn Gharsiya and subsequent scholars were composed beginning in the decades after the fall of the Caliphate of Cordoba and span the following century and a half. Ibn Gharsiya's treatise continued to be read and to stimulate responses into the last years of Almohad rule in the Peninsula.[4] The first *Shuʿūbiyya* texts which served as models for these Andalusi texts were composed in the Abbasid court in what Marshall Hodgson calls the "Middle Period" of Islamic history during which, "problems that we have seen as distinctive of the Islamicate culture as such—the problems of political legitimation, of aesthetic creativity, of transcendence and immanence in religious understanding, of the social role of natural science and philosophy—these become fully focused" (3; book 3). These themes are central in several Andalusi *Shuʿūbiyya* texts and become pretexts for expressions of anger and insult.

The problem of political legitimation was central in the Taifa of Denia where Ibn Gharsiya composed and presumably read his treatise (Bruce 2022). In his *risāla*, Ibn Gharsiya praises the ruler in whose court he worked, the Taifa king of Denia, ʿAlī Ibn Mujāhid (d. 1081), by proxy of his son Muʿizz al-Daula (Bruce 2022, 84). Ibn Gharsiya describes him as a "lord of Sassanian authority and of spiritual excellence" (28), adopting the discourse of the Eastern *Shuʿūbiyya* directly (making the Andalusi ruler one of Sassanian authority). The Taifa of Denia was founded by ʿAlī's father, Mujāhid ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿĀmirī (d. 1044/5), a *ṣaqlabī* (often translated as Slav, but which could also refer to Muslim Basques or Northern Europeans living in al-Andalus).[5] Göran Larsson believes Ibn Gharsiya was of Basque origins based on his surname, al-Bashkunsī (124). Mujāhid served as regional governor of Denia during al-Mansūr's (d. 1002) time as chamberlain/ *ḥājib* of the Umayyad Caliphate in Cordoba and that of his son 'Abd al-Raḥmān (Sanchuelo) before assuming power in 1015 during the *fitna* or civil wars following the fall of the Caliphate. Mujāhid, in addition to being a *ṣaqlabī*, was a *mawlā* who had served as a general to al-Mansūr in Cordoba before assuming power in Denia in 1015 (Bruce 2022, 76).[6] Mujahid's son, ʿAlī Ibn Mujāhid, was held as a diplomatic captive in Sardinia for several years and when he returned he had Pisan manners and claimed to be a Christian. Travis Bruce argues that he maintained a certain

Ḥafṣūn." They note that they referred to themselves as *muwalladin* in al-Andalus (Crone and Wensinck). Ibn Gharsiya similarly refers to himself and his group as *mawālī*. See also Goldziher and Gibb.

[4] These works include Ibn Gharsiya's *risāla* and the four refutations translated by James T. Monroe. These were penned over some 150 years. The refutations include: one by a scholar presumably from Valencia, Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad ibn al-Dūdīn al-Balansī (d. 1084); one by Abū al-Ṭaiyib (d. 1099), an Andalusi scholar from Kairouan who taught in Eastern Iberia; and one by Abū Yaḥyā Ibn Masʿada (d. 1180s), an Almohad court official. One refutation is anonymous (Monroe 15-17). Ibn Gharsiya's treatise is included in MS 538 (fol. 26r-29r) housed at the Escorial Library, which also contains 4 of the refutations (Monroe 15; Larsson 5). Larsson also notes that Ibn Gharsiya's *risāla* is included in MS coll. Gayangos at the Real Academia de la Historia, no. 12, fols. 120-. The latter is included within Ibn Bassām's *al-Dhakhīra* (5). Other Andalusi *Shuʿūbiyya* texts are known: Ibn Hūd of Zaragoza commissioned a refutation of Ibn Gharsiya's *risāla* by his secretary Jazzār al-Ṣaraqusṭī (Bruce 2022, 84); Monroe and Fierro point out that during the reign of Hishām II in Cordoba Ḥabīb al-Ṣaqlabī composed a now lost treatise entitled *Clear and Convincing Proofs Against Those Who Deny the Excellences of the* Ṣaqāliba (Monroe 8; Fierro 2008, 49). Ibn Ḥayyān identified another Ibn Gharsiya, a *qāḍī* in Cordoba acquainted with and praised by Ibn Ḥazm, who held *Shuʿūbī* opinions, although no surviving treatise by this author is known to exist (Fierro 2008, 48).

[5] According to De la Granja *ṣaqāliba* was first used to designate people from between the Caspian Sea and the Adriatic who were taken captive by Germanic and Scandinavian people, but it was later used to refer to slaves "de cualquier país cristiano que procediesen, y que empleaban en el palacio califal" (8). Bruce notes that Mujāhid was "was quite aware of his servile origins and the precariousness of his claims to legitimate power" (2022, 76).

[6] Bruce has explored in detail how Mujāhid and his son created and maintained a successful commercial Mediterranean kingdom based first on piracy and then on maritime trade (2013, 13-21). Peter Scales notes that Mujāhid, as an 'Amirid *fatā* or slave, was involved in the politics of Cordoba during the *fitna* (107, 132).

cultural "ambidextrousness" even as he fashioned himself as a Muslim ruler (Bruce 2022, 76-78).[7] 'Ali, whose court had some renown for welcoming foreigners as well as a reputation of "poorly spoken Arabic," nevertheless made Denia into a center for "literary, intellectual, and religious figures whose presence legitimized his claim to authority" (Bruce 2022, 82; 2017).[8] This was the court in which Ibn Gharsiya composed his *risāla* and in which well-known intellectuals such as Ibn Ḥazm (d. 1064) and Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr (d. 1071) spent time. Both Ibn Ḥazm and Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr engaged in literary debates on religion and composed works echoing those of Abbasid scholars that discussed the history, lineage, and merits of the Arabs (Soravia 26-28; Scales 160; Marín; Lucas; Webb and Bowen Savant xvi-xviii).[9] These scholars provide a bridge between the literary culture of the caliphal court in Cordoba and that of the Taifa of Denia. Their presence in Mujāhid's court provides evidence of the survival of Umayyad courtly norms and expectations around debate, insults, and the expression of anger over cultural and identitarian politics in Cordoba which are at the heart of these *Shuʿūbiyya* texts. Ibn Ḥazm and Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr penned treatises on literary themes and poetry (compendiums of anecdotes and sayings) such as *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah* and *Bahjat al-majālis wa-uns al-mujālis* (García Gómez; Lucas). The latter *adab* treatises or *risālāt* are dedicated to anecdotes and wisdom designed to help round out the education of the learned courtly scholar: one of the first and best known of such treatises in al-Andalus is the *ʿIqd al-farīd* of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, a scholar of the court of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III in Cordoba, in which we find important sections on the *Shuʿūbiyya* debates.

Zouhair Ghazzal has investigated the connection between the political rule of the caliphate and the function that historical and other texts of *adab*, such as Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih's *ʿIqd al-farīd*, had in shaping and communicating a "normative order of emotions" for the Umayyad court, in which anger had a key role. Ghazzal presents several citations and exemplary stories from Abbasid authors such as al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Qutaybah to support his argument. While Abbasid representations of the Umayyads were varied, Ghazzal argues they did admire the founder of the Umayyad dynasty Muʿāwiya (d. 680), and his court, particularly the system of "court manners" and its emotional regime that shaped and maintained Umayyad hegemony: "The hegemonic group which ascended to power because of a strong 'group feeling' was more concerned in keeping its own cohesiveness intact than in working out a vertical policy of integration and assimilation for other groups" (Ghazzal 223). Ibn Qutaybah includes a story concerning Muʿāwiya who is depicted as having used the notion of anger and forbearance or *ḥilm* to redefine the qualities that legitimized caliphal power (223).[10] Ibn Qutaybah, well-known author of a counter *Shu'ubiyya* text, relates that

[7] 'Ali's mother was a Christian, possibly Italian (Bruce 2022, 78). He maintained commercial and familiar relations with the counts of Barcelona and possibly León, as well as diplomatic contacts with the Muslim rulers of Egypt and al-Andalus. He also maintained trade networks with Pisa (Bruce 2022, 77)

[8] See also Urvoy 96-103; De la Granja 19-21.

[9] Peter Webb and Sarah Bowen Savant identify some pro-Arab Abbasid intellectuals who were, "Specialists of Arabic poetry, genealogy, and history such as al-Aṣmaʿī (d. 213/828), Abū ʿUbaydah (d. 210/825), and Ibn al-Kalbī (d. 204/819) [who] began the process of creating a sense of pan-Arabian, pre-Islamic Arab identity, and repackaged a vast lore from pre-Islamic times into an imagined origin story about the Arabs" (xii).

[10] "The *ḥalim* had to neutralize his opponent's anger and contain his own anger as well, showing signs of anger in front of an opponent was bad behavior and a sign of weakness" (Ghazzal 225). Barbara Rosenwien points out, "In *adab* literature (the poetry and prose of courtly, polite society), anger was more clearly a political concern" (6). Ghazzal notes: "The available literature shows that many of Muʿāwiya's interlocutors—and the majority were political opponents whom he summoned to his palace in order to "listen to them"—scourged him with insulting remarks and opinions about his past and present (his pagan past 'till the last moment' and his 'betrayal' to ʿAlī in particular). Muʿāwiya would sit down, listen carefully to his interlocutor(s), show no anger at all (at least he seldom did)" and when the person was leaving he would ask them if they needed anything (Ghazzal 224).

Muʿāwiya attributes to his niece, daughter of the former Rashidun caliph Uthman, a statement about anger and forebearance at the heart of caliphal power:

> My brother's [ʿUthmān's] daughter: people gave us [their] obedience (*ṭāʿa*) and we gave them security (*amān*) and we showed them forebearance (*ḥilm*) with anger beneath (*ḥuluman taḥtahu ghaḍab*), and they showed us obedience with grudge (*ḥiqd*) beneath, and every human being [keeps] his sword while he checks on the place of his supporters (*anṣār*). If we break our commitment to them, they will do the same. (*Kitāb ʿUyān al-Akhbār* qtd in Ghazzal 223)

This passage underscores anger, checked by forebearance, as a central element in the "normative order of emotions" of Umayyad power as embodied by the caliph. In turn, the subjugated, as part of the caliphate, are offered security by the caliph, but the expectation is that they offer obedience in return. As caliph, Muʿāwiya's realms encompassed Byzantine Palestine and Syria to the west and Persia and Armenia to the east, presumably the lands of the people obedient people depicted here as under the caliph's protection. Ibn Qutaybah's explanation of the emotional regime of Muʿāwiya's court and its importance to ruling relates to the arguments that Andalusi pro-Arab intellectuals adopt.

Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih cites Ibn Qutaybah in the final section of *ʿIqd al-farīd* which is devoted to "Lineage and the Virtues of the Arabs." The latter includes a listing of Arab tribes, notable figures, and anecdotes about them within which he includes a subsection on the *Shuʿūbiyya*. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih begins this part by citing the Qur'an and other authorities to stress the importance of having knowledge of lineage: "In the Hadith is the saying, 'Learn of lineage that which makes you know your descent'" (227). He then tells of the sons of Noah, claiming the Arabs, Persians, and Byzantines descend from a common ancestor, Shem (227). He discusses and includes anecdotes relating to the Quraysh, the tribe of the Prophet, as well as those of his companions. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih then includes a lengthy selection from the work of Ibn Qutaybah in which the latter offers against the *Shuʿūbiyya* claim of equality the idea that the Arabs are superior because of their inherent nobility, based in turn on the idea that Hagar, the progenitor of the Arabs, was superior to Sarah, progenitor of non-Arabs (302-303).[11] Just as Abbasid intellectuals like Ibn Qutaybah had done in the eighth and ninth centuries, Andalusi intellectuals like Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih and Ibn Garsiyya, as discussed below, construct a non-Arab identity by claiming affinity to civilizations—Persian and then Roman or Byzantine—that the Muslims conquered. The pro-Arab scholars that respond, like Ibn Qutaybah, construct an Arab identity "by claiming lineage (real or perhaps imagined) to Arabian tribes" with "elite, conqueror status," an identity that distinguished them "from subject populations" (Webb and Bowen Savant xii).[12] The responses to *Shuʿūbiyya* treatises

[11] Ignacio Sánchez points out that until 1998 scholars of the *Shuʿūbiyya* such as Goldziher and Gibb relied on Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih's account of Ibn Qutayba's *Kitāb al-ʿArab aw al-Radd ʿalā l-shuʿūbiyya* (233). Sánchez calls for a reevaluation of the *Shuʿūbiyya* now that Maḥmūd Khāliṣ and Kurd ʿAlī's modern editions of this important treatise are available (233). In light of the complete work, Sánchez argues that Ibn Qutayba "claims that Arabs and *mawālī* have the same rights, with the obvious exception of the Quraysh" (239), and that the pro-Umayyad egalitarianism advocated by the *Shuʿūbiyya* was one of the movements' central problems in Abbasid Baghdad (240). For Sánchez, Ibn Qutayba sought to distinguish the *Khurāsānids* from the *Shuʿūbīs* and disassociate them from anti-Abbasid groups during the reign of al-Maʿmūn (240-41). However, he notes that Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih read the work as "a polemic against the Arabs" (242).

[12] According to the fourteenth-century Tunisian historian Ibn Khaldun, power formation by a dominant group was defined by "'group feeling' (*ʿaṣabiyya*) according to which the dominant group assumes political power by force,

like Ibn Gharsiya's can be read as examples of intellectuals opting for the discourse of Arab power, in which anger and insults feature prominently as mechanisms designed to render other non-Arab "group feelings subservient," adopted centuries before by the Abbasids and then transmitted by scholars such as Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih in the Caliphate of Cordoba.

Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih includes the arguments of the *Shuʿūbiyya* found in Ibn Qutaybah's *Excellence of the Arabs*, offered in the first person: "we don't deny the existence of difference and disparity between people . . . or those who are noble and those who lack nobility. But we maintain that disparity between them is not based on their forefathers and descent" (303). Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih ends this section by saying that Ibn Qutaybah contradicted himself and used faulty logic, for he ends the *Excellence of the Arabs* by asserting that all people are born from mother and father, come from the earth and will return to it in death and that the latter "is their highest lineage by which rational people are deterred from self-glorification, pride and boasting of forefathers," seemingly emphasizing the equality of all people (305). Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih's work shows that these arguments from the Persian East circulated in the caliphal court of Cordoba.[13] Scholars from Cordoba who had spent time in the caliphal court such as Ibn Ḥazm and Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr who came to Denia, where Ibn Gharsiya composed his work, offer the possibility of direct transfer of these ideas—not from Persia, but from Cordoba.[14]

Bloodlines and conquest

Ibn Ḥazm, in fact, claimed to have a Persian ancestor who became a client of the Umayyads before the conquest of al-Andalus, which, according to Fierro, allowed the family a more prestigious position *vis-à-vis* the other *mawālī* in al-Andalus (2009, 187). Ibn Gharsiya claims not just Persian, but also Roman/Byzantine *(Rūm*) ancestors.[15] He argues for the glories of the Mediterranean civilization before the arrival of the Arabs, framing the Arab conquest of Byzantine Syria as an act of generosity on the part of the non-Arabs rather than military subjugation: "the Byzantine sons of the blond al-Aṣfar . . . generously accorded you room within Syria" (26; 276). Ibn Gharsiya's treatise celebrates his non-Arab identity by recounting the glories of his perceived ancestors—the Persians, Byzantines, and Andalusi non-Arabs, "the company of *mawālī*" among which he counts

imposes itself as the ruling dynasty, and then renders other group feelings subservient" (Ghazzal 204-205). Peter Scales notes that this communal sentiment led to the *fitna* and suggests that the *Shuʿūbiyya* texts of the eleventh- and twelfth-century may be an outgrowth of earlier tenth-century *ʿaṣabiyya* (157).

[13] The adoption of *Shuʿūbiyya* discourse in the Umayyad Caliphate of Cordoba is not surprising. Pro-Arab authors of the Abbasid Caliphate such as al-Jāḥiẓ and ibn Qutayba had identified *Shuʿūbiyya* with pro-Umayyad sympathies (Sánchez 240). Fierro notes that claiming to be of Persian descent, as Ibn Gharsiya and others, such as Ibn Ḥazm did, was advantageous in the Umayyad courts, because it allowed them to claim they were clients who had converted before the arrival to al-Andalus. Ibn Gharsiya's adoption of the discourse suggests that Denia was a pro-Umayyad Taifa.

[14] Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr studied with the scholar al-Dānī in Denia and later went to the taifal court of Lisbon (Scott). Bruce notes that "From the beginning of the fitna, the Sharq al-Andalus had been one of the principal destinations for courtiers fleeing the civil unrest in post-caliphal Cordova. . . . Denia's success in attracting former members of the caliphal administration, secretaries, scholars, and other intellectuals contributed directly to the court's political legitimacy" (2018, 152).

[15] On the meaning of *Rūm*, see Cheick and Bosworth, who note the term appears in the Qur'an in reference to the Byzantines. Ibn Qutaybah also uses the term in the *Excellence of the Arabs*, where Webb and Savant Bowen translate it as Roman (179). Given Ibn Garsiyya's identity as a Basque and the prevalence of the Romans on the Peninsula, I think Monroe's choice of translating the term as both Roman and Byzantine in this work makes sense.

himself and ʿAlī (28; 278). He mentions the stereotypical characteristics of these peoples, including their nature as warriors and civilization builders. These traits he contrasts with perceived negative traits of the Arabs, namely that their ancestors were desert-dwellers and herders who ate lizards and kept company with "ladies endowed with earrings" (25; 274). He ends his treatise by extolling ʿAlī, who like Ibn Gharsiya, was not considered Arab, but also by discussing Islam and the message of the prophet Muhammad as the great equalizer of Arabs and non-Arabs.

Specific historical and mythical examples of past civilizations feature prominently in Ibn Gharsiya's *Shuʿūbiyya* arguments and serve as examples in support of racializing claims. Ibn Gharsiya's treatise and its refutations show that scholars on both sides of the argument (Arab and non-Arab) held a common racial logic as part of an inherited legacy of the intellectual culture of the Umayyad Caliphate. For example, Ibn Gharsiya's claim to be a descendant of Chosroes and Caeser is woven in with statements about being blond and light skinned. He responds to those that he perceives as having insulted him:

> Am I to suppose that you have maligned or despised this respected non-Arab nation, without realizing they are blond, the fair-complexioned ones? They are not Arabs, possessors of mangy camels. They are skilled archers, descendants of Chosroes (أكاسرة), of glorious ancestry, brave, heroic: not herders of sheep or cows. Their nobles were removed by their concern armor and supple spears from the pasturing of camels, and by seeking for greatness, from the milking of goats, a proud people who were descendants of Caeser (قياصرة) and who wore helmets and coats of mail. (24; 272)

Ibn Gharsiya depicts his ancestors as noble warriors descended on the one hand from the legendary Persian emperor Chosroes, depicted in histories and epics such as the *Shahnameh* as the most skilled of archers.[16] Subsequent pro-Arab Andalusi authors recast this history of Greek and Persian patrimony not as one of splendor but of conquest. Ibn Masʿada turns this argument against Ibn Gharsiya, depicting Ibn Gharsiya, Mujāhid, and all non-Arabs as de facto subservient to Arabs, "slave of the Worshipers of idols," and later mentioning Caeser and Chosroes: "these princes of yours, descendants of Chosroes, and chiefs descended from Caeser are nothing indeed but royal foot messengers . . . barbarians belonging to Nebuchadnezzar" (44; 300). Here Ibn Masʿada operates under the assumption that the biblical king Nebuchadnezzar (II) of Babylon was Arab.

Ibn Gharsiya also claims to be descended from blond Romans and Byzantines, both of whom used the title of Caeser. He describes himself as: "Of Roman origin (أرومة رُومِيّة) and blond, Byzantine lineage (وجُرثومة أصفريّة), fostered by the possessors of inner virtue, lineal glory, and greatness among the blond ones, they did not pasture sheep" (24; 272). Here he speaks of ancestors and makes claims about his appearance and bloodlines, relating phenotypes to the historical figures he invokes. This connection between visual features and skin tone is reinforced when he claims to also descend from the mythological founding racial father of the eastern Mediterranean peoples conquered by the Arabs, al-Aṣfar (26; 276). While in medieval Arabic, this name was used to refer to the Byzantines and non-Arabs of the eastern Mediterranean (Goldziher), its literal meaning is the yellow one, and Ibn Gharsiya and his opponents also infer that it describes a blond-blue eyed

[16] The fact that eastern authors such as al-Ṭabarī also relates claims to be descended from Chosores and Caeser to Umayyad court culture suggests that this is a commonplace by the time Ibn Gharsiya evokes it here: "It was reported by the historian al-Ṭabarī that Muʿāwiya's main political foe, Ali, said of him: 'You remember Khusro and Caeser and their sharpness [*daha-'-ahuma-*]? And now you've got Muʿāwiya!'" (al-Ṭabarī, *Tarikh al-Umam wal-Maluk* qtd. in Ghazzal 223).

"race" of people, i.e. the non-Arabs.[17] Ibn Gharsiya picks an eponymous ancestor—here anchoring his "race" in the physical features of light hair and skin and light-colored eyes.

The appearance of the non-Arabs (blond) is noted by critics, who stress that these past civilizations were vile and unclean and conquered by the Arabs. Ibn Masʿada tells Ibn Gharsiya that he has "a genealogy lying between dirt and the pig, and a claimed descent between Rome (رومة) and the river of the Blond ones (الصّفر)" (45; 301).[18] Here the term for "the Blond ones" are from the same root as the color blond/yellow, *al-ṣafr*, for their supposed ancestor. Abū al-Ṭaiyib counters Ibn Gharsiya's claims, arguing that the Arabs conquered both the Persians and the Byzantines: "they broke the power of your Chosroes and straitened your Caesers" (76; 340). "They . . . obliterated the traces of your empire, purified the Holy Land of your unclean ones and the mosque of al-ʿAqsa of your filthy ones" (76; 340). Abū al-Ṭaiyib launches into a list of places conquered by the Arabs, beginning in the Persian east, including Sasan and Khurāsān, then moving to the Mediterranean, where he says they chased the non-Arabs "into the burrow of the stinking Byzantine land (اجحروكم رومِيَة) and the foul-smelling Constantinople" (78; 342). Then he moves into the Maghreb, mentioning the early Umayyad conquests: "Next the Arabs turned westward laying waste the land so that of the non-Arabs they left not even one single mutterer of a foreign tongue or any upstart heretic; nor did they suffer one single sedentary or nomadic Berber (برابر) to endure. They then moved forward, traversing the land and sailing across the sea until their Tāriq smote you in this region" (78; 343). He lists conquerors such as ʿAd, Thamud, the Amalekites and the Pharoahs, all of whom he claims as "pure-blooded Arabs" (العرب العاربة) (79; 344). Abū al-Ṭaiyib's claims that Tāriq ibn Ziyad was a champion of the Arabs may seem perplexing since according to modern scholarship he was a *mawlā* Berber native of the Maghrib at the time of the Conquest (Clark 6, 36). This may reflect, as Zoltán Szombathy notes, that several Berber geneaologists had developed genealogies that located them within the branches of Arab genealogies (20-21), incorporating their family lines into the Arab tribal genealogies included in works such as those penned by Ibn Ḥazm (*Jamharat ansāb al-ʿara*), Ibn al-Barr (*al-Istīʿāb fī asmāʾ al-aṣḥāb*), and Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (Book 10 of *ʿIqd al-farīd*) (Molina 665-6; Lucas; Brockelman). Abū al-Ṭaiyib's refutation is a testimony to the ways in which the earlier caliphal expression of *Shuʿūbiyya* discontent and hate were adapted to the needs of subsequent political regimes such as the Almohads. The latter, a political movement headed by Zanāta Berbers, "had adopted a Qaysī genealogy," i.e. an Arab genealogy (Fierro 2024). Adopting this Arab genealogy served as a mechanism of legitimating their political regime in a post-caliphal Islamicate world (as characterized be Hodgson) and provides a motive for Abū al-Ṭaiyib's rejection of Ibn Gharsiya's *Shuʿūbiyya* stance.

All these scholars, *Shuʿūbiyya* or not, attack the genealogies and the feats of the ancestors of the other. Their insistence on genealogy is characteristic of medieval Arabic racial logic, which, as Rachel Schine has noted, is expressed in a series of terms, including *shuʿūb*, the root of *Shuʿūbiyya* which Ibn Gharsiya's refuters use repeatedly in the insults they launch at him:

[17] Goldziher notes that the Arabs called the Greeks "Banu al-Aṣfar." According to al-Ṭabarī, the Banu al-Aṣfar are the descendents of the "red one," i.e. Esau, whereas in the *ḥadīth* the kingdoms of the *Mulūk Bani 'l-Aṣfar* are those having their capital in Constantinople. Fierro notes that the term means yellow and could have originally been related to Yemeni warrior practices of dying themselves yellow (2024). She also notes that al-Aṣfar was a name taken by Almohad Berbers in the Maghrib: "The Almohad chief Ibn Wajjān, called al-Aṣfar (d. 625/1228), was a Hintātī Berber who rebelled against the Almohad rulers, the Zanāta Berbers who had adopted a Qaysī genealogy" (2024).

[18] He further accuses ʿAlī and Mujāhid of having "forged genealogies, in response to Ibn Gharsiya's praise of Mujāhid: "Perchance you mean al-Muwaffaq, he of the forged genealogy, the *ḥājib* of al-Ẓāhir, and the slave of the Yemenite tribe of Maʿāfir, the non-Arab (عجم) of Denia and of the fisherman of Denia" (34-35; 288).

> The concept of "race" in the early Islamic world is bounded not by a single word, but emerges from a matrix of terms such as *ʿirq* (one's root), *nasab* (one's lineage) *ʿunṣur* (one's stock or tribe), and *shuʿūb* (one's people), all of which indicate what scholars of race refer to as a "lineage-essentialist" understanding of how human heredity and groupings work. (Schine)

All of these terms are deployed in the Andalusi *Shuʿūbiyya* texts and the lineage-essentialism that Schine describes are, as we see in the above examples, central to the arguments these scholars make. Despite Muhammad's assertion of the equality of all Muslims, both Arab and non-Arab, the preislamic belief "that people carry their ancestors' core biobehavioral material from generation to generation in the form of both lineage and legacy (*ḥasab*)" (Schine), survived in medieval Islam and is evident in these Andalusi *Shuʿūbiyya* texts. In fact, Ibn Gharsiya and his detractors adopt the racial logic and even the examples used by earlier scholars to the Andalusi context, in which it was not Persians and Byzantines seeking legitimization, but *mawālī* Muslim Europeans—Basques, *ṣaqāliba*, Berbers, and other Iberians. Szombathy argues that, "the increasing importance attached to matters of descent, mainly for political ends especially to distinguish Arabs from assimilated *mawālī*," served particularly "to create order in increasingly fluid and unstable social setting" (7). Mujāhid and ʿAlī's Taifa court and the subsequent Almoravid and Almohad courts in al-Andalus where later refutations of Ibn Gharsiya's treatise were composed were also such unstable social and political settings.

Ignorance, learning, and language

The focus on genealogy for claims concerning physical and moral character and of descent and affiliation with past civilizations (and accusations against the claims of others) are also pretext for arguments that these authors make concerning the civilizational accomplishments that these scholars can claim as their own, among which are claims of creating just forms of political rule. In fact, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih dedicates several pages to the "beliefs of the *Shuʿūbiyya*" which includes the idea that "[t]he Arabs have not had a king who united their majority" (299):

> All non-Arab nations in all countries of the world have had kings who have united them, cities that have brought them together, laws that they have believed in, a philosophy they have produced, and wonderful inventions of tools and manufacturers, like the making of silk brocade which is the most wonderful craft, the playing of chess, which is the most honored game. . . . [and] the philosophy of the Greeks on the person of the Creator, on law, on the astrolabe by which our computations are made, and the sciences of distances, the orbits of celestial bodies, and the science of the eclipse are known. (299).

Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, channeling the *Shuʿūbiyya*, praises the political unification of the non-Arab rulers, who, much like Abd al-Raḥmān III, were civic minded, expanding urban centers and supporting learning, namely research in philosophy and the sciences, as well as technical innovation in manufacturing and fostering a quality of life that allowed for games such as chess (298). The *Shuʿūbiyya* whose voice Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih quotes in this section, accuse the Arabs of never having "any product of manufacture, nor any trace of philosophy except for the poetry they

had" (299), although pointing out that the non-Arabs had just as important a poetic tradition, "for the Greeks have wonderful poems with meter and prosody" (299).

These arguments survived the caliphate, and we find them in the treatises of Ibn Gharsiya and his detractors. Ibn Gharsiya defends the development of the sciences, logic and philosophy among the non-Arabs: "the non-Arabs are wise, mighty in knowledge, endowed with insight into natural philosophy and into the sciences of exact logic," naming also astronomy, music, arithmetic and geometry as well as "analytics and poetics, ability in the sciences of religious ordinances and natural laws, skill in the fields of holy and physical laws" (27; 276). This he juxtaposes to the Arabs' mastery of "the description of towering camels. . . . [and] shameful things such as the deeds of Nā'ila and Isāf" (27; 276). This critique of Arab poetics is perhaps not surprising given that, unlike several well-known Taifa emirs such as al-Muʿtamid, 'Alī's father and founder of the Taifa of Denia, did not favor poetry (Rubiera Mata). In addition, insulting the subject matter of pre-Islamic Bedouin poetry counters a central argument of the pro-Arab defenders.[19]

Pro-Arab Andalusi intellectuals followed in the footsteps of Abbasid intellectuals such as Ibn Qutaybah in privileging poetry as the best of all the sciences and arts, and as definitive of Arabic cultural accomplishments.[20] Ibn Masʿada, for example, grounds his response to Ibn Gharsiya in literary and philological knowledge, stressing both mastery of the language and the preeminence of Arabic love poetry (precisely what Ibn Gharsiya insults) as virtues of the Arabs and its lack as what renders the non-Arabs like Ibn Gharsiya as inferior: "The elegiac love prelude in poetry as well as the embellishment of the commencement of odes with amatory language was acknowledged to be their [the Arabs] . . . they became famous for love and heartbreak . . . the wept over abandoned encampments and bewailed ruins" (52-53; 308-309). He vindicates poetics and techniques such as *waṣf* (وصف) that Ibn Gharsiya disparages. He further states that Arabic poetry was used to transmit civilizational knowledge, namely history: "it was by means of their rhymes, not their narrations, by their knowledge, not their fits of passion, that the Arabs established the origin of the tribes, traced back lineages, and pronounced names" (56-57; 313). Abū al-Ṭaiyib picks up this topic and attacks the languages of Ibn Gharsiya and the non-Arabs. He claims that non-Arabs do not need music, the "science of melodies," "because their languages are impoverished and their faculties dulled" and they lack "measured poetry" and "dignified discourse" (86; 352). In contrast, Abū al-Ṭaiyib claims that the Arabs have a language that is "ample in its explanations, crystal clear in its allusions" and from which they produce prose and poetry of many types (86-87; 352).

Abū al-Ṭaiyib, like Ibn Masʿada, views the Arabic language as the ultimate index of learning and cultural capital and highlights it as a gift the Arabs shared with their non-Arab subjects. He rhetorically asks Ibn Gharsiya if the Arabs had not only accommodated the non-Arabs into their lineages, but also given them a better, "purer" language to speak: "you began to contend with them for superiority … to discuss with them in their very own language" (76; 340). He equates the fact that the *mawālī* like Ibn Gharsiya adopted Arabic with the fact that the Arabs "adopted" the *mawālī*, or rather provided them with a way to socially assimilate via the client system: "Do they not rear you among them as sons? Do they not adopt you when you are born abroad and bring

[19] On the art of *waṣf* or description, one of the genres of pre-Islamic Arab poetry, here defamed by Ibn Gharsiya, see Motoyoshi Sumi. The latter notes that a legendary poetic contest between the famous pre-Islamic poets Imru' al-Qays (d. 500) and ʿAlqamah al-Faḥl centered around the composition of *qaṣīda*s on the subject of the description of their she camel and horses (25-28). This seems to be what Ibn Gharsiya is alluding to. Motoyoshi Sumi notes that an anecdote about this poetic contest was related by Ibn Qutaybah in *Kitāb al-Shiʿr wa al-Shuʿarā'* (26).

[20] Webb and Bowen Savant note that Ibn Qutaybah, like most Arab writers, "considered poetry, as the 'archive of the Arabs' (*dīwān al-ʿArab*), the most truthful and most bountiful source of Arab knowledge" (xxi).

you up among them? . . . Did they not endow you with a pure language after your foreign babble?" (76).

Despite Ibn Gharsiya's obvious command of literary, learned Arabic, Ibn Masʿada claims Ibn Gharsiya and the *Shuʿūbiyya* have "unchaste, tavern Arabic" (57). Ibn Masʿada similarly disparages the "faulty" Arabic of the *Shuʿūbiyya* in the first part of the refutation, "You muttered in the Arabic language, yet you wearied of the Arab's wisdom; you uttered their war cry, imitated their poems, and brayed among their asses" (32; 286). He asks, "Did you and your ancestors, O base one . . . ever have a language to speak . . . or a grammar in your tongue for us to record, or a babble in your previous condition to inflect and decline?" (33; 286). Both Ibn Masʿada and Abū al-Ṭaiyib depict Arabic as a gift given by the Arabs to their subject populations and as necessary for higher thought. Ibn Masʿada also compares it to what he characterizes as the non-Arab languages, asking Ibn Gharsiya: "Did you not perfect your intelligence after having spoken in your defective tongue and foreign babble" (32; 285). He further relates the languages to the alleged ancestors of the non-Arabs that these authors debate: "[Y]ou conferred with the Arabs in the tongue of Hāmān (هامان) and argued with them in the stammering of Yīḥā'īl (ييحاءيل) and Rūmān (رومان)" (33; 286). Here he relates Ibn Gharsiya's ancestors to various ancient non-Arab peoples such as Egyptians or Persians (Hāmān in the Qur'an being a favorite of the pharoah, or Haman in Babylon from the Book of Esther), ancient Christians (Yīḥā'īl) and Romans/Byzantines (descendants of the eponymous Rūmān).

The Arabic language is consistently described in these texts as perfect and pure, as the vehicle of science, poetry, and divine revelation, whereas the language of the non-Arabs is described as faulty, babbling, broken, and even the "braying of asses" (32; 285). Despite the fact that these pro-Arab authors (echoing the critique that Ibn Ḥayyān leveled at Mujāhid's court) depict Ibn Gharsiya's Arabic as foreign and faulty, Ibn Gharsiya composed his treatise in learned Arabic (*fuṣḥā*) using rhymed prose (*sajʿ*) and displays an advanced, learned knowledge of the language and awareness of Arabic intellectual and literary history.

The raw and the cooked

In addition to genealogy, learning, and language, these authors also single out food and foodways as subjects of invective. The culinary habits and techniques, as well as what constituted food are collapsed into the larger debates about history and race. Ibn ʿAbd Rabihh relates some pro-Arab arguments that include discounting non-Arabs for not being masters of lofty intellectual fields such as philosophy and theology, and claiming rather that they work menial jobs, such as food service, realized in their capacity as servants to Arab rulers.[21] Similarly, Ibn Masʿada debases Ibn Gharsiya by lumping him in with the other non-Arab *mawālī* who served as laborers, including those doing agricultural labor under Muslim rule: "And who are then entrusted to the herding of little sheep . . . if not the hired laborers and the non-Arabs, herders of pig and keepers of slaughterhouses, diggers of ditches, fertilizers of trees and not of camels" (43; 298). Ibn Masʿada highlights the particularly dirty jobs of the non-Arabs, including swineherding and jobs bringing

[21] Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, in the arguments in favor of Arabs, also cites old traditions, according to which non-Arabs could not eat with Arabs and could only be present at a meal if they were servers (306). That commensality is invoked as as a source of tension between Arabs and non-Arabs would have been a fraught topic in the court of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III whom Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih served as a courtier and whose court featured both Jewish and Christian physicians, scholars and representatives.

them in contact with offal and excrement. Ibn Masʿada vindicates the Arabs by stressing they eat meats that come from animals that non-Arabs care for, herd, and slaughter. The latter do the work, while the Arabs get to enjoy it. Ibn Masʿada's text supports David Freidenreich's assertion (149) that the relatively lax Sunni dietary laws, which allowed Muslims to eat food prepared by Christians and Jews, served an important social function, namely reinforcing the superiority of the Muslims *vis-a-vis* the other so called Scripturists (Freidenreich's term for Jews and Christians) (149). The fact that Ibn Masʿada describes the non-Arabs as sheep herders and keepers of slaughterhouses also underscores this idea.

Ibn Gharsiya, defending the imagined foodways of his ancestors, does not address the idea of food service or agricultural labor, but focuses instead on the types of food they ate. He states that not one of his ancestors:

> in quenching his thirst drank of the milk of milch camels; nay, their drink was wine (النَّبيذ), and their food roasted meat (الحَنيذ), not the mouthful of colocynth seeds in the deserts or the eggs of lizards (مُكون) taken from their nests. Not one of them filled himself with the disreputable tail fat of lizards (ولا مهنم مَن ا حشتى بمذموم الكُشى) not even among the Ethiopians is there any child or adult who nourished himself with reptiles (26; 275).[22]

He boasts of the fact that his ancestors drank wine and he contrasts camel milk, seeds and lizard eggs with wine and roasted meats to highlight the nobility of the Byzantines/Romans, his alleged ancestors, in contrast to the humble origins of the Bedouin, who scavenged for food in the desert, drinking camel milk and eating seeds and lizard eggs.

Ibn Masʿada defends the eating of lizards, depicting it as one of the hardships of being a Bedouin who must drive camels through the desert instead of living in cities as did Ibn Gharsiya's ancestors. "They were contented with eating pieces of entrails and filling themselves with the tail fat of lizards instead of applying themselves to the contents of cooking pots. . . . or circular ovens" (54).[23] For Ibn Masʿada, the Arabs ate lizards' tail fat because they were nomads and not living in cities or houses with pots and stoves. Ibn Masʿada exults this diet over that of what he characterizes as the gluttonous Byzantines: "The Arabs devote their characters to the service of what is pure and essential, preserving thereby a niggardliness with regard to the self along with their poverty. They were not like the entrenched gluttons, the eaters of mussels" (54).

Ibn Masʿada insults Ibn Gharsiya's ancestors by claiming that they not only were herders, but also consumed unclean foods like mussels and carrion, engaging in reprehensible behavior. Ibn Masʿada further accuses the non-Arabs of drinking blood. He brings up the non-Arabs' supposed consumption of carrion, in his response to Ibn Gharsiya's claims:

> whereas now you vaunt yourself against them claiming to possess wine (النَّبيذ), fine white bread, and roast kid. Why do you not boast of the animal gored to death and of the one not legally slaughtered, of the eating of carrion after it has become bloated? As for the roast kids, lambs, and large heaping bowls . . . after the slaughter their flesh belongs to us. (51; 308-309)

[22] Hārūn (the editor of the Arabic edition) includes a note clarifying that مُكون is the plural of مكن and that this is بيض الضب "the eggs of the spiny-tailed lizard" native to the Middle East (275).

[23] Whether a lizard is *ḥarām* or not is debated. The Prophet is said (as related in Bukhari 5138) to have not personally liked lizard but did not say it is *ḥarām* (Sutriyono 26). Some jurists say that it is a reptile and so it is *ḥarām*.

According to Ibn Masʿada, non-Arabs ate animals not properly slaughtered (not ḥalāl) such as animals that have been hunted/gored, as well as the putrid flesh of already dead animals. The fact that Ibn Masʿada specifies that the non-Arabs ate meat that was not legally slaughtered, and associates it with other categories of *ḥarām* meat, that of carrion and that gored, stresses that he considered their foodways impure.[24] Beyond simply violating the rules of *ḥarām*, Ibn Masʿada accuses non-Arabs of drinking blood out of what sounds like anger: "So where are the builders of citadels and raisers of flocks, nay, those protected from bloodshed who drink blood shed in crime" (42-43; 298). The Qur'an (16.115, 6.145, 2.173, 5.3) prohibits consuming blood, carrion and pork, so the mere act of drinking blood would be considered impure (Freidenreich 132-133). The fact that Ibn Masʿada further qualifies it as blood shed in crime adds to the sense of defilement and insinuates that the non-Arabs cannot control their emotions and have barbaric customs. This is echoed by Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad ibn al-Dūdīn al-Balansī in his refutation of Ibn Gharsiya. Al-Balansī tells Ibn Gharsiya, "your kinsmen are those base in appearance . . . they are blond of moustache and wont to lap up blood; they drank urine, ate carrion, and dwelt in female quarters of the home" (69; 330). Al-Balansī reproaches Ibn Gharsiya: "You reproached the Arabs for nourishing themselves with serpents (الحيات), and yet you nourish yourself with blood and carrion" (71; 332).

In addition to attacking Arabs for consuming reptiles, Ibn Gharsiya also backhandedly accuses them of not being good warriors and not spending their time in battle (as non-Arabs do), instead spending time, "addicted to pure wine" (معاقرة الخمر) "taking pleasure in wine and flute" with slave girls (25; 274), evoking the wine parties exalted in both Abbasid and Umayyad poetry. Ibn Masʿada responds to Ibn Gharsiya's insults, defending the Arab's sensibilities and claiming they refined wine-making and preferred "pure" wines:

> As for . . . our addiction to wine, it was we who chose the pure, unmixed wines, tasting the choicest and best of them (بالنَّبيذ السَّ مذى). It was we who first began to describe (تالعرب وصف) them in the pre-Islamic age and to offer the sharpness of their sweet odor and fragrant smell to the guests of the breeze, whereas from you came the planter of the vine stocks as well as their grafter, the trimmer of their bark and vine, the harrower of their valley bottom, and their presser. . . . You tread on them with your feet for us; you mix them with water before the arrival of the appointed time when they should be drunk . . . Thus the milking is ours, whereas the procuring is yours. (51-52; 308)

Ibn Masʿada evokes the stock metaphors of Arabic wine poetry (*khamriyyāt*), including the "sweet odor," "fragrant smell" and "breeze" when invoking his ancestors' ability to describe wine. Elsewhere he alludes to the Baghdadi poet Abū Nuwās (45; 300), who popularized such poetry. *Khamriyyāt* was cultivated by Andalusi poets such as Ibn al-Abbār (d. 1260), Al-Muʿtamid of Seville (d. 1091) and Ibn al-Labbana (d. 1113).[25] The images of *khamriyyāt* were often combined in Andalusi poetry with those of the *nawriyyāt* (flower poetry), describing the *majlis al-ʿuns* or wine party in a garden setting whose pleasures accented those of the wine (Bencheikh), just as Ibn

[24] While meat of animals caught by Muslims, Christians or Jews in the hunt was permitted, that hunted by idolaters and other peoples not "of the book" was forbidden. Friedenreich notes that the case of a joint Muslim-Magian hunt became common in legal texts, and used as an *exemplum* of what was permitted and what forbidden, although such joint hunts almost certainly never occurred (152-153).

[25] According to Rubiera Mata, al-Mujāhid protected philologists and prose writers, but did not care for poets, suggesting this is why the poet Ibn al-Lubbana, although from Denia, had to seek patrons in other Taifas, such as Almeria, Seville and Mallorca.

Masʿada's prose description does here. In contrast to the artistic skills of the Arab poets, he described the skills of the non-Arabs as being physical labor in the service of the Arabs. He also reveals knowledge of viticulture, from the cultivation of the grapes to the production of the wine, including the *vendimia*. While Ibn Masʿada's attacks of Ibn Gharsiya and the non-Arabs' foodways are the most detailed of the Andalsui *Shuʿūbiyya* works, most of the authors do address non-Arab foodways. Abū al-Ṭaiyib ends his refutation by telling Ibn Gharsiya to repent, noting that his subordination merits being beheaded, and wishes that he choke on his own spit, and that his throat "become obstructed with [his] own wine" (92; 359).

The quite detailed vituperation of both Arabs and non-Arabs' foods and foodways follows the pattern of linguistic, religious and genealogical insults in these texts. For Ibn Gharsiya, before the coming of Islam the non-Arabs possessed worthy civilizations with pure blood lines and foodways, while for Abū al-Ṭaiyib, Ibn Masʿada, and the other pro-Arab writers who wrote refutations, the native languages, customs and bloodlines of the alleged ancestors of Ibn Gharsiya and the *mawālī* are impure, compared to the purity of the speech, genealogies and foodways of the Arabs. The rehearsal of these arguments in intellectual debates show the continuation of the rhetoric of the earlier Umayyad and Abbasid caliphal literary cultures. This rhetoric is adopted by Taifa and Almohad intellectuals to rationalize and defend their place in the Islamic world—expressing and performing both the anger and forbearance that was thought to characterize legitimate rule. These authors reach into the pre-Islamic and caliphal past for examples to support their arguments. They mix facts and descriptions about past civilizations to stress the differences between Muslims living in the same place and time, namely eleventh- and twelfth-century al-Andalus. Their polemics are a reminder that despite the religious ideals concerning the equalizing effect of religious conversion and a shared language (*fuṣḥā*) and culture (arguably all authors command a shared Islamic sense of history and of dietary restrictions), social differences can be articulated as the inherited legacy of the ancient past—even parts of the past such as wine-drinking and lizard eating that theoretically should have been rejected. Even if Islam offered the *mawālī* a theoretical mode of assimilation into Arab society, not all those who identified as Arabs or as *mawālī* accepted the presumed equality of all Muslims, and, at least in al-Andalus we see that the identity and community of the Iberian *mawālī* were constructed upon complex notions of ancient Arab, Persian, Byzantine and Slavic bloodlines, customs, and achievements and that these served as a place where anger could be formulaically channeled and expressed.

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