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Shu'ubiyya Thoughts of Muwallads in Andalusia: The Causes and Contexts

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Abstract

Muwallads (native neo-Muslims) were one of the groups that played an important role in political and social changes during the reign of the Umayyads of Andalusia. By conversion to Islam, they called for equal rights with the Arab minority. However, political exclusion, poverty, and economic pressure, social and racial discrimination applied against them by the Arab Umayyad rulers provided the context of their rebellion. Initially, most Muwallads began military struggle against the reign to obtain their rights. The conditions almost changed by the beginning of the third Abul Al-Rahman's governance (imprinted, 912-961 AD), and the peaceful politics as well as ethnic and religious tolerance of Abdul Nasser, the Umayyad caliph and his son, the second sentence (imprinted; 961-972 AD) made opportunities for Muwallads to participate in political and social structures of Andalusia society. However, in the meantime, some of them emphasizing their ethnic identity did cultural and intellectual activities in the form of praising and advocating talent and ability of non- Arab against Arabs' racial prejudice and racial superiority. In addition, gradually, with the weakness of the Umayyad rule in Andalusia and the formation of independent states, the defensive mode changed into offensive and explicit denial of the Arab's race by the Muwallads that culminated in the Shu'ubiyya treatise of Ibn Garasiah.

Using an analytical approach, this article is intended, first, to examine the causes and context of the formation of Shu'ubiyya thoughts in Andalusia and then to survey the method and quality of writing treatises and writings of Shu'ubiyya at the end of Umayyad rule.

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Introduction

According to what has been narrated by researchers¹ in definition of Shu'ubiyya movement, Shu'ubiyyas were a group who believed that there is not any difference between various races and nations in confrontation with racial discrimination of Umayyads and some other fanatic Arab groups. Moreover, they believed no tribe is superior to other. Their basic argument was based on verse 13 of Hajarat Surah in which God states: "O mankind! We have created you from a male and female, we turned you up in nations and tribes that you may know each other, in truth, the noblest of you in the sight of Allah are the most pious of you; no doubt, God's wisdom is aware."² However, Shu'ubiyya movement should be known as a uniform movement, because generally their call has followed three steps in the early centuries of Islam. The first step; was the equality between Arab and non-Arab that was accompanied with Islamic teachings and reasons and emerged in the form of a literary movement. Secondly, those who believed in the superiority of Arab over non-Arab and they could be active by the rise of the Abbasids. The third stage, the hostility with Arab descent so that they can make doubt on their historic role, and make fun of Arab's values and beliefs, and in contrast, glorify non-Arabic civilization and science and its values and properties; and revive non-Arab culture.³

Although Shu'ubiyya movement first appeared in the East, especially in Iraq and Iran, its effects were spread to other Muslim lands. Perhaps, the most important land after the Iraq was Andalusia that was located in the West of Arabic - Islamic government and had unity and consensus with Iraq in this regard. The importance of this territory is because it is located in the neighborhood of the Arabic lands and it has been the confluence of many different and conflicting cultural and religious streams.⁴

Subject of Shu'ubiyya and Shu'ubiyya movement in Andalusia was contested for the first time in the late nineteenth century. In the twelfth conference of east scholars held in Rome in 1899 AD, German East scholar, Goldziher⁵ raised a debate as "Shu'ubiyya movement for Muslims of Andalusia" that was published in "German association of

¹ Momtahn, Hossein Ali, Shaoubieh movement, 194; Zeyf, Shoughi, history of Arabic literature, Asrolabbasi, 74.

² «يا ايها الناس انا خلقناكم من ذكر و انثى و جعلناكم شعوبا و قبائل لتعارفوا، ان اكرمكم عندالله اتقيكم، ان الله عليم خبير» -

³ Momtahn, hossein Ali, the same place, Zonun Taha, Studies in the Andalusia culture and its history, 134

⁴ Zonun Taha, ibid,

⁵ Ignaz Goldziher

East”¹ journal. He has briefly named ethnic minorities who played an important role in igniting Shu'ubiyya movement. Goldziher has devoted most of his content to famous treatise of Shu'ubiyya written by Ahmad ibn Garcia and reflections of the responses, against it.² Later, Professor James Monroe³ translated and published this treatise in a book entitled Shu'ubiyya movement in Andalusia.⁴ Among Arab contemporary scholars, Abdul Wahid Zenun Taha, has talked about the “Shu’ubiyya movement in Andalusia and Arabs dealing with it” in collection of articles of “Studies in Andalusia civilization and history”. In the article, the author has tried to represent a summary of Shu'ubiyya movement among muwallads. Nevertheless, not only has he not mentioned the reasons of formation of Shu'ubiyya thoughts in Andalusia, but also he has favored Arabic element with a biased approach to confront with muwallads. He has allocated most of his discussions to the rejections of Arab researchers written on the Ibn Garcia treatise.⁵

In addition, in 2003, Swedish researcher, Goran Larsson, published a book entitled *Ibn Garcia; Shu'ubiyya Treatise, Racial and Religious Tensions in Medieval Andalusia*. The subject of Ibn Garcia’s Shu'ubiyya treatise is that the author tried to review the racial – religious tensions of Andalusia according to this treatise. In this book, Larsson has mentioned the third Abdul Rahman’s attempts to attract non-Arabic and local elements in the society structure and political authority and has known this action as an appropriate opportunity for muwallads to show their talent and competencies to Arabs. Despite this fact, the main attempt of the author is to analyze and examine the Ibn Garcia’s treatise according to the racial – religious tensions in Andalusia and the rate of being influenced by the treatises of east Shu'ubiyya. Moreover, he has neglected the groups that played a role in development of Shu'ubiyya thoughts and other reasons of its formation such as political exclusion, poverty, economic pressure, and social discrimination. In addition, he has not mentioned anything about Shu'ubiyya’s works such as Ibn Gutiah and Habib Saqaliba’s treatise that were written before Ibn Garcia’s treatise.

To comprehend the reasons of formation of Shu’ubiyya movement in Andalusia correctly, at first, the ethnic and racial composition of society should be reviewed in the time of rule of the Umayyads.

¹ I. Goldziher, Die su ubigga unter den muhammedanem in spanien, zeitchrit der deutschen morgenlandischen gesellschaft, vol.53,1899, pp.601-620.

² Abdol salam Haroun, 265/1

³ J. T. monroe

⁴ The shu’ubiyya in AL- Andalus

⁵ Zenun, Taha, Studies in Andalusia civilization and history, 171-173

Ethnic and racial composition of Andalusia

The typical characteristic of Andalusia society was racial and ethnic diversity of its inhabitants with each other. In addition to Arabs and Berbers of North Africa who entered to Andalusia as a military force at the time of conquest and after it, most of the population was made up of local residents. Because of mixture of Arabs with the indigenous people and policy of Islam promoted by the rulers of the Umayyad, many local residents converted to Islam after the conquest of Andalusia to achieve status and privileges equal to Arabs, who became famous as Musalama or Mosalemah (neo-Muslims). Mosalemahs' children were referred to as the so-called Muwallads.¹ Gradually, number of this group increased so much that they formed a considerable population of Andalusia's residents, particularly in the third century AH. They were members of average or low classes of society and were often handling agricultural or industrial occupations. In addition, they were more residents of margins of cities or rural areas.² However, some of the residents were local but they did not convert to Islam and kept their Christianity religion. Arabs called this group as non-Arab because of their speaking with the local language. Gradually, due to the spread of Arabism and social relations between the Arabs and the natives of Andalusia, a significant number of non-Arabs accepted Arabic language, culture, and customs of Muslims. This group was referred to as Mustarib³ in Andalusia society. During the third and fourth AH centuries, non-Arabs population in Andalusia decreased due to conversion to Islam or immigration to Christian residence of North.⁴ In addition to these races, another group that played a significant role in development of Shu'ubiyya thoughts in Andalusia was Saqaliba that their number increased during the reign of Abdul Nasser (912-962 AD) and his son, Hokm (962-972 AD).⁵

The presence of these various and diverse social elements in the community of Andalusia caused ethnic-racial stresses. What exacerbated these racial competitions were discriminatory policies and practices of the Arabs and rulers of the Umayyad against indigenous peoples, especially Muwallads that constituted the majority population of Andalusia. By conversion to Islam, Muwallads demanded equal rights with Arabs.

¹ Muwallads

² Zenon Taha, same, 135

³ Mustarib.

⁴ Hichcock, 21—22.

⁵ Mokhtar. Ebadi, 8; for more information, refer to the rest of this article

Nevertheless, discrimination imposed by the Arab rulers hindered social, economic, and political progress. The conditions were followed by harsh reaction of local Muslims in the form of the armed struggle at the beginning and then, in the form of Shu'ubiyya activities against Arabs, to obtain their lost rights.

Formation grounds

Regarding the formation reasons of Shu'ubiyya thoughts in Andalusia, four fundamental reasons can be mentioned as the following:

1-Political and administrative exclusion

Accessing to higher government positions such as head of the military brought many benefits, which were often for the Arab elders and nobles. By joining the Umayyad, having a lot of courage to suppress the opposition of the reign, some of Muwallads from prominent families and individuals of significant called for the promotion and tenure of commanding. Among these people, Musa Ibn Musa¹ from the Muwallad Banu Qasi's² family, Umar Ibn Hafsun³, and Abdolrahman Jalighi⁴ can be mentioned. However, racial prejudice, jealousy, envy of Arab leaders towards Muwallads and offensive behavior with them prevented this issue and it prepared the ground for their resentment and rebellion against the Umayyads and Arabs. Another example featured in this regard is story of Ghomes Ibn Antinan that took over the position of the scribe of Amir Mohammad (imprinted; 852-639 AD) after conversion to Islam and his place was improved in the reign of the Umayyad.⁵ Gradually some prominent government figures such as Hashim Ibn Abdulaziz, the chamberlain of royal court were jealous of his position and rank. Hashim tried to reduce his position and dignity for the Umayyad emir and for this purpose; he recited a letter attributed to the Abbasid caliphs in invective to Umayyad rule for Amir Mohammad. The content of letter is as "in the court of Umayyad of Andalusia, there is lack of qualified men and hence a position of the scribe of ruler is given to a

¹ The most famous person in the family Banu Qasi in Sarqasteh in north-eastern of Andalusia, that was appointed to the rulers of the city Tudela (Tudela) by Abd al-Rahman II in his time (imprinted; 206-238Q) (See, excuse, 29-30, Ibn Hazm, 502- 503)

² Banu Qasi

³ The most famous and most powerful rebellious Muwallad during the three Umayyad Amirs, Amir Mohammad (carved; 272-282), Amir Monzer (275-273Q) and Amir Abdullah (300-275Q) he made turmoil in southern region of Andalusia and agitated against the rule (See, Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, 155; Ibn Uzair, 2 / 104-106).

⁴ Rebel leader of Mauwallads in Maredeh in northwest of Cordova, capital of Umayyad rule (see, Ibn Hayan, 3 / 54-53; Ibn Uzair, 2/102).

⁵ Ibn Qutiah, 96

Christian”.¹ These actions led to the removal of Ghomes bin Antinan from the position of scribe of the ruler. Racial prejudice about his presence in court was so strong that even after his death, to seize his property and belongings, Hashim summoned some jurists to announce to the Umayyad emir that Ghomes died on practicing Christianity.²

2-Social - racial discrimination

Arabs always considered their social status superior than Mawali (non- Arabs) and considered less respect in society for them and treated them as slaves. Arabs were unwilling to be near them in the society, and eat with them at one table, or they even knew praying behind a Mawali to be an abomination.³ Even with the conversion of Muwallads to Islam, there was mindset with racial discrimination about them. They always looked to them with inferiority and called them Alhojna⁴ (mean and ignoble) and addressed them as the children of slaves.

This sense of humiliation and racial prejudice towards Muwallads was not only in society but also was visible in the upper levels of the military and judiciary. As Omar Ibn Hafsun, the leader of Muwallads of southern Andalusia, after joining the Umayyad armies, ran away because of Arab leaders that addressed him like a dog, mean and ignoble. Among other unhappy Muwallads, he recounted his social and racial hatred against Arabs and their ruling very well as “for a long time, yoke of bondage, and servitude of Sultan has been bothering you. While the Arabs contempt on you with oppress and behave with you like slaves. I am going to re-establish justice and make you free from the shackles of slavery.”⁵ Another example in this regard was the judge Muwallad Aslam Ibn Abdolaziz who was assigned to the position of the head judge at the time of the third Abdurrahman. Many of Arab leaders saw the position as a belonging to themselves; therefore, they taunted Aslam and insulted him because of being from a non-Arab race. They even did not take part in his congregational Prayer. Finally, the racial prejudices made the Umayyad rule to depose Aslam Ibn Abdulaziz.⁶

¹ Ibid, id

² Ibid

³ Otvan, 151

⁴ id, 152; Muhammad Isa al-Hariri, 30-31.

⁵ Ibn Ghutiah, 105

⁶ Khoshani, 215

3-Poverty and economic pressure

Deprivation and lack of access to economic resources was one of the cases that natives of Andalusia always objected about it, because Arabs brought not only political and social positions, but also major economic resources to their monopoly. The tradition of racial discrimination and making life miserable for the people of the dhimma (non-Muslim citizens of an Islamic state) that already was precedent in the East of the Islamic world had also a similar situation in Andalusia. At the same time with conquering Andalusia, Arabs seized most fertile lands. Even when Damascus troops entered Andalusia years later, because of not having any properties, government considered privileges such as the right of permanent use of one third of private lands products belonging to local residents of Andalusia.²⁹ Arabs' seizure of estates and the fertile lands gradually made them big landowners, and this caused discontent and rebellion of the native inhabitants of Andalusia.³⁰

In addition to agricultural land monopoly, heavy tribute by Umayyad rule also added to the discontent and poverty of native of Andalusia. Andalusia tax system like other Islamic lands was developed based on religious beliefs. In this economic system, Muslims paid just zakat or tithe of their products, but Muwallads (neo-Muslims) were obliged to pay the tax known as the "Tabl"³¹ in addition to the tithe, despite conversion to Islam. Catching the tax (drums) was a clear discrimination against them because their tax was equal with the tribute of dhimmi Christians.³² Abuse of the tax system was easily possible by the Arab rulers. There are evidences and examples of heavy taxation of Muwallads that led to their rebellion against the Umayyad rulers. For example, the Muwallads' rebellion in the region of "Rabaz" outskirts of Cordoba can be noted that in the year 804 AD, they rebelled against the first Amirhokm to protest the heavy tribute and taxes by him (imprinted 798-821 AD).³³

Even, there are other evidences in the references that in some parts of Andalusia, many of Muwallads abandoned their houses and farms in order to escape from heavy taxes of Arab rulers. Therefore, because of the fragile economic conditions of Muwallads due to land acquisition and imposition of heavy taxes and tributes by Arabs and the

²⁹ Ibn qutiah, 44; Zenon Taha, same place

³⁰ - A Muwallad poet named Alabaly referred to wealth and pride of the Arabs in his poem and ridiculed by rage. (See Ibn Hayyan, 63/3).

³¹ - Tabl tax was taken from Muwallads based on the areas of agricultural lands and it was equal with tribute (see; The Legacy of Muslims, vol , 1.p.119)

³² Ibed

³³ Ibn Khatib, 15. Khalid Sufi, 135

Umayyad rulers, Umar Ibn Hafsun, the leader of Muwallad rebellion, used them in his speech for agitation and revolt of other Muwallads against the sovereignty.³⁴

4. Emphasis on ethnic and racial identity

Although by conversion to Islam, Muwallads were affected by Arabic language and culture gradually, it did not cause them not to adhere to their traditions and not to keep the names and titles of their Goths. Interest and insistence of some of the famous family of Muwallads in society of Andalusia to maintain their previous nationality is well evident in their names and titles.³⁵ As examples of these families, Banu Qasi and Banu Shabrit, chief leader of Muwallads Sagharali and Banu Anjelino and Banu Savriko in Ashbilieh were famous among the citizens because of keeping their local names, customs, and traditions.³⁶

Commitment and prejudice towards ethnic-racial identity was evident mainly in areas where the muwallads and dhimmi made up population and were concentrated there. Some of these areas were Zaragza in northeastern Andalusia, Toledo,³⁷ and Merdia³⁸ in the central areas that their citizens were always famous for insurgency and trying to have independence from the Arabs. Among the Muwallads of these regions, it seems that two groups of poets and some of judges were more effective than other groups in intriguing Shu'ubiyya thoughts and retrieving national identity.

Poets always had an effective role in encouraging the public and restoring national identity. A look at the poems of Shu'ubiyya poets in the east of the Islam world, especially Iraq and Iran confirm this subject.³⁹ Among Muwallads, poets played an essential role in expressing the Arabs' disadvantages and denial of their primacy and adherence to national identity. They were often active in some areas of Andalusia where the majority of population was made of Muwallads and dhimma people. Among these cities, Toledo can be mentioned. In Hakam ibn Hisham's time, (imprinted; 797-821 AD), residents of the city rebelled against Umayyad ruler with the leading and stimulation of a poet called Gherbib Toledo (death, 822 AD). In his poems, he mentioned greatness and ethnical-racial superiority and the history of people of Toledo

³⁴ Ibn Ozari, 114/2, Ibn Hayyan, Tahghigh Maki, 393.

³⁵ For more information, see Ibn Hayyan, 83/3-85; Znun Taha, Studies in the Andalusian Culture and its History, 134.

³⁶ Ibn Hayyan, same. Ibn Zonun, *ibid*.

³⁷ Toledo

³⁸ Merdia

³⁹ For more information see Zahieh Qadureh, 27-72; Motava, 40-75; Rahim Alazavi, 41-68

in facing with Arab rulers and called them mean. Therefore, he was very respectable for people of city and they memorized his poems.⁴⁰ In his poems, by underestimating the power and status of the Umayyad ruler, Gherbib tried to ridicule Arab's pride that knew themselves as owners of Andalusia land.⁴¹ The effect of his poems on motivating Toledo people against Umayyad ruling and Arabs was so much that until his death in 822 AD, Hakam Ibn Hesham could not dominate this city completely.⁴² In the period of the Amir Abullah (imprinted; 888, 912 AD), ethnic-racial conflicts between Arabs and Muwallads culminated in the village of Elvira⁴³, so that poets of each party tried to tell racial superiorities and insult the opposite party. Meanwhile, one of the Muwallads' poets named Abdurrahman Ibn Muhammad, called a "Al- Abli", attributed to the village of "Ablah"⁴⁴ mentioned racial and ethical superiorities of Muwallads in some poems and represented his hatred and racial prejudice against Arabs very well, moreover, he gave the good news of their defeat and destruction.⁴⁵ In addition to poets, some judges and Muwallad religious scholars were known for mentioning the defects of Arabs. It seems that from the third century AH, some of them came to Iraq for traveling with the Shu'ubiyya theories of East based on social equality between Arabs and non-Arabs. Among them, Mohammad Ibn Soleiman Ibn Talid Maaferi (909 AD) can be named. His ancestor, Talid, was one of the lords of Moafer Arabs. He travelled to Iraq for a while, and he got familiar with the school of Mu'tazilism and ideas of Shu'ubiyya there. After returning to Andalusia, he took over the position of judge of "Vashqha".⁴⁶ Due to being origin of the powerful family such as Banu Qasi and Bsnuvaltavil, there were anti-Arabs trends and prejudices toward Muwallads in this city. Mohammad Ibn Suleiman defended demands and ideals of Muwallads in addition to the tenure of judge. As Ibn Farzi narrated, "he had a great prejudice in supporting them".⁴⁷

Another judge of the Vashghe city was Abdullah Ibn Hassan (849 AD) known as Ibn Sandi. For a while, he travelled to Africa and then Iraq to hear hadith. After returning,

⁴⁰ See Zabbi, 580/2, Omar Faroukh 97/4

⁴¹ Zabbi, same place, Umar Farokh, ibid

⁴² Ibn Gutiah, 65; Saameraiee, 295

⁴³ Al-Bireh (Elvira) is one of the very large villages of Andalusia that armies of the Arab and the lord, Rahman ibn Mu'awiya settled there. It Has abundant streams and gardens. It is located in East of Cordova. (Homayran, 28)

⁴⁴ Name of one of the rural areas of Elvira, Ibn Hayyan, 63/3

⁴⁵ For more information about the content of these poems, see Ibn Hayyan, 63/3- 64- 65

⁴⁶ - Vashqh: one of the major cities of region of Saghar Ala in the North East of Cordoba. (Ozara, 36).

⁴⁷ Ibid

he was appointed to the position of judge of this city by the third Abdurrahman (912-962 AD). He was also famous for supporting Muwallads and mentioning Arabs' defects and opposition with them.⁴⁸

In Ashbilieh⁴⁹ village, one of the Muwallad religious scholars, named Abdullah Ibn Umar, handled the position of judgment. He was a member of Banu Angelino's⁵⁰ family that was one of the famous Muwallad families in Ashbilieh. He was skilled in rhetoric and oratory ability and he taunted Arab and mentioned superiority of Muwallads in verbal disputes and debates.⁵¹

Writing the Shu'ubiyya's treatise

At the beginning of the caliphate of Abdul Rahaman Nasser (imprinted; 912-962 AD), a new era started in the history of Umayyads' ruling. Umayyad caliph well understood that unilateral and biased policy of previous kings in favor of the Arabs led to the formation of riots and racial strife between them and native elements. Therefore, by adopting a balanced policy and with the aim of creating peace and balance in society, he tried to use native elements, particularly Muwallads, in official and military systems, and prove more participation and attraction for them in social structure. To achieve this aim, he decreased the authority of Arab nobles and landowners significantly, and paid special attention to Muwallads.⁵²

Nasser Abdul Rahman's tolerance policy in dealing with non-Arab elements led many Muwallads to find the opportunity to participate at the top levels of society.⁵³ So that some of them achieved government positions such as Chief Justice of Cordova, which was exclusively in the hands of Arabs before.⁵⁴

After Abdul Rahman III, his son, Hokm al-Mustansir (imprinted; 928 -912 AD) not only continued his father's policy in this regard, but also, he made a scientific leap with the support of scientists and scholars, and promotion and collection of books on different aspects of science. In addition, he provided the conditions for the flourishing of diverse theological and philosophical views and comments in the community, so

⁴⁸ id, 232

⁴⁹ Sevil

⁵⁰ Banu Angelino

⁵¹ Ibn Gharzi, 216/2

⁵² Marin- Guzman, "the End of the Revolt of Umar ibn Hafsun in Al-Andolus" p.1357. ; Goran larsson . 30; J.t. Monroe, p.5

⁵³ In this period many rebellious Muwallads that had been subdued by Abdul Nasser, achieved a high military level by attracting in system of government. For example, Khalifa Ahmad ibn Badr can be named that was military commander. See Ibn Hayyan, 33.3.

⁵⁴ See Khoshna, 212-221

that Andalusia got familiar with some ideas of Mu'tazila and Shu'ubiyya of East based on equality between nations and races due to the translation of philosophical and theological books.⁵⁵

Abdul Rahman Nasser and the second Hokm's actions for indigenous people and non-Arabs to participate in the administrative-political system of Andalusia provided conditions for expressing ideas and writing Shu'ubiyya treatises and dealing with pride and excellence of Arabs. In addition, this issue was done by some of the Muwallads and Saqaliba that had a good position in the government.

History of triumph of Andalusia

Author of this work is Abu-Bakr Mohammad Ibn Omar (977 AD), narrator and jurist and historian of the fourth century AH. His descent went back to Sarah, daughter of Gheitasheh, king of the Goths, and that is why he was known as Ibn al-Qūṭiyya. He achieved such a status in the second Hokm's government that some positions such as judgment and president of the Police of Cordova were entrusted to him.⁵⁶

This book includes the conquest of Andalusia by the Arabs and the formation of rule of the Umayyads until the events during the reign of Abdul Nasser (carved; 912- 962 AD). In this work, national and Shu'ubiyya trends of Ibn Qūṭiyya can be evidently observed. He had shown national trend and boast of being a Prince by offering praising of Goth kings.⁵⁷ Even sometimes, he used fairy tales and folk stories such as killing prisoners of Andalusia on the orders of Tariq bin Ziyad, cooking, and eating their flesh to intimidate indigenous people,⁵⁸ to show, probably unintentionally, his national prejudice. In the news about Artabas⁵⁹, he has paid attention to a lot jealousy of Abdul Rahman about his property and estates and has shown ambition of the Umayyad emir to usurp the property and land.⁶⁰ He has also named him as a generous and respected person who has the intelligence and talent. In contrast, he has mentioned Arab leaders as people in need who came to Artabas's royal court and expected his forgiveness.⁶¹

⁵⁵ Angel Palnsia, 330; Omar Farrukh, 4/194; j. t. monree, p. 7

⁵⁶ Imamuddin, p. 32; J. T. Monroe, p.6.

⁵⁷ History of triumph of Andalusia, 29-30

⁵⁸ id. 35

⁵⁹ One of the four sons of Ghebtshah, Goth king (Ibn Qūṭiyya, 27).

⁶⁰ id, 58

⁶¹ Id, 59

In this regard, Ibn Qūṭīyya has ridiculed low awareness and knowledge of Samil Ibn Khatam, the leader of north tribes of Arabs in contrast with Artabas's wisdom and moral character and his great knowledge of the Christian faith.⁶² It is noteworthy that in this book, he gives news of a dream that has been clearly interpreted as the abolition of Islam in Andalusia and the Christian dominance over the territory.⁶³

At the news of the Hakam Ibn Hisham (carved; 797-821 AD), he has referred to the event of Hofreh⁶⁴ in Toledo and has shown bloodthirsty and ruthless face of the Umayyad emir by representing exaggerated statistics on the number killed natives and Muwallads, so that innocence of Toledo Muwallads comes to mind.⁶⁵

Even in his book, Ibn al-Qūṭīyya has complimented some of Muwallads rebels. He has introduced Abdurrahman Jaliqi, a Muwallad rebel at the time of Amir Monzer (carved, 886-888 AD) and Amir Abdullah (carved; 888- 928 AD) as a brave and resilient people. In addition, he has introduced Sadoun Sarnabaqy, his ally, with the title of everlasting happiness.⁶⁶

Memorization and the transcendence in denial of virtues of Saqaliba

This book can be known as the first text of Shu'ubiyya in Andalusia that has been written specifically in this regard.⁶⁷ Its author was Habib, one of the Saqalibas in the court of Hisham Al-Moayad, (imprinted; 976-1008 AD). Saqalibas⁶⁸ were one of the most important groups that played a significant role in expansion of Shu'ubiyya in Andalusia. Many of them joined the Umayyad court at a young age and they grew up with an Islamic training to be used for the court affairs and tasks in army.⁶⁹

Although the first of the Umayyad rulers who resorted to hiring Saqaliba in the army was Hakam ibn Hisham (carved; 797-821 AD)⁷⁰, during the reign of Abdul Nasser (death, 961 AD), he provided their areas of influence and power by vast employing and using them in military affairs and the court.⁷¹ So that some of their elders and

⁶² ibid

⁶³ id, 85

⁶⁴ Repression and massacre of rebel leaders of Muwallads in year 181 AH in the city of Toledo by Hakam ibn Hisham Amir. (For more information on this event, see: Ibn Uzair, 2/71; Ibn al-Qūṭīyya, 65.)

⁶⁵ Ibn Qūṭīyya, 66

⁶⁶ ibid, 101

⁶⁷ Abdolsalam Haroun, 265/1

⁶⁸ In Arabic books, residents of different towns of Bulgarians and East Europe, which often their lands were in the middle of the Qazvin Sea to the Sea of Adryaty, the term Saqaliba is applied. (See, Ibn Hvql, 1/110; freedom of worship, 8).

⁶⁹ Mokhtar Ebadi, 11

⁷⁰ A note about Andalusia, 127/1, Mokhtar Ebadi, the same place

⁷¹ Ibn Ozari 232/2, A note about Andalusia 163/1

chiefs took important positions in the court and the army, for example, Aflah, in charge of stable, Torfah, the chief of kitchen, Najadah, troop commander, and Fata Kabir, the chief of court of the caliphate.⁷²

In addition to administrative and political positions, some Saqalibas were famous in terms of literature and rhetoric. Among them, Habib Saqaliba, during the reign of Hisham al- Moayad (imprinted; 976-1008 AD), was known not only in academia, but also with writing the book "Memorization and the Transcendence in Denial of Virtues of Saqaliba" in virtues of his fellow men, to reveal the Shu'ubiyya thoughts.⁷³

The origin of this book is missing, but Ibn Bassam has seen and studied it. He mentions that this book includes some of the poems and news related to some of Saqaliba Elders such as Fata Kabir, Meysour, and Kajm Alvasif.⁷⁴ However, unfortunately, Ibn Bassam has avoided mentioning the available poems in the book by telling the statement of "And their poems are out of our condition and not collected".⁷⁵ Some Arab scholars believe that Ibn Bassam's bias toward Arab element is the reason of his ignorance to mention the lyrics and hence it is considered outside the framework of classical Arabic literature.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, some European authors such as Julian Ribera⁷⁷ believe that his neglect is due to Ibn Bassam's ignorance of the style of the poems, because Saqaliba spoke with romance accent and prevalence of this native dialect in the community of Andalusia and Arabic and as well as its combination with a poetic style and technique created mowashahs⁷⁸ in Arabic literature. This type of poetic rimes was just for native Andalusian and Arabs were unfamiliar with it.⁷⁹ In endorsement of Ribera's views, in another place of his book, when it came to muwashahs, Ibn Bassam said, "the rimes of muwashahs lyrics are outside the popular Arabic poetry rhyme and rhythm."⁸⁰ As the name implies, the author just wants to defend Saqaliba and to note their strengths and virtues in the face of those who deny their superiority that is, without the intention to humiliate the Arab race. Perhaps this is

⁷² Mokhtar Ebadi, 11, 12

⁷³ Abdolsalam Haroun, 265/1, Mokhtar Ebadi, 14. Zonun Taha, the same, 138

⁷⁴ A collection of goodnesses of island people, 34/1

⁷⁵ *ibid*, Zenun Taha, id, 138

⁷⁶, Mokhtar Ebadi, 16. Zenun Taha, *ibid* 139

⁷⁷ Ribera.

⁷⁸ - it is a new technique in Arabic literature emerged in Andalusia and is against the rules of most popular poems in rhyme and rime and its writing style and order are according to the provisions of the bits in the composition and structure that has different types. See Hanna Fakhvry, 805.

⁷⁹ Angel Palnsya, *ibid.*, M. Ebadi, 16-15.

⁸⁰ " (اوزان هذه الوشحات خارجه عن غرض هذا الديوان إذ اكثر ما على غير اعاريض اشعار العرب» (ذخيره ، 22/2 « -

due to strong government authority and Arabic elements at that point in time.⁸¹ Nevertheless, gradually, with the weakness of the Umayyad rule in Andalusia and the formation of independent states, the defensive mode changed into offensive mode and explicit denial and humiliation of the Arab race by Saqaliba that culminated in treatise of Ibn Garcia.

Treatise of Ibn Garcia

Due to the weakness of the government since the beginning of the 5th century AH, Umayyad gradually independent emirates of non-Arab elements in particular Saqaliba were formed in some regions of Andalusia. For example, the Emirate of Mujahid Ameri (400-436Q) in the city Danyh in Andalusia can be noted.⁸² He was one of the followers of Mansour Bin Abi Amer (death, 1001 AD), who, after the death of his master, went to the city Danyh to rebuild defenses and strengthen the navy and dominated there.⁸³ Mujahid al-Amiri Emirate period is important in the sense that in his court, a favorable environment was provided for activities of Shu'ubiyya.

Abu Amer ibn Garcia, author of the treatise, was Beshkans Christians in the North East of Andalusia who was captured as a child and he grew up under the protection and supervision of Mujahid al-Amiri. After his conversion to Islam, he gained high status and position in the court of the Mujahid and he took over the position of his scribe.⁸⁴ In this period, he wrote a treatise about excellence and grace of non-Arab rather than Arabs that is mentioned as the most important text of Shu'ubiyya in Andalusia.⁸⁵

As Abullsalam Haroun stated, Ibn Garcia wrote his treatise during lifetime of Mujahid Ameri, between the years 1015 to 1415 AD.⁸⁶ The treatise writing coincided with the decline of Umayyad rule and the rise of the non-Arabic governments of feudal in Andalusia. These conditions provided additional impetus for Ibn Garcia for the development of the treatise and declaration of Arab inability to establish community-based social justice.⁸⁷

⁸¹ Zonun Taha, lessons, 139

⁸² Andalusia city on the East side of the beach from Blensiah (ruby Hamwi, 2/434).

⁸³ Ibn Khatib, 288

⁸⁴ Abdol salam, Haroun, 256-257

⁸⁵ Id,258

⁸⁶ ibid

⁸⁷ Larsson, p .2.

It seems that Ibn Garcia's treatise was influenced by Shu'ubiyya thoughts in the east of the Islamic world and particularly Iran. This subject is evident in mentioning the names of some of Iran's kings such as Ardeshir Babakan, Anushirwan and their method of governance in the treatise.⁸⁸ He not only has pointed out the scope and grandeur of the empire of Anushirwan and Ardashir, but also has praised their lifestyle in luxurious palaces and with noble traditions. While, he ridiculed and insulted the social lifestyle of Arabs and knew it limited to the desert, camel, wine, and brutality.⁸⁹ In addition to comparisons between lifestyle of the Arabs and non-Arabs, on the grounds of race, color and even religious knowledge, he considered non-Arabs superior to the ignorant Arabs. He believes that the race of Non-Arabs reaches to Sareh, the free wife of Prophet Ibrahim, while Hajar, his other wife that is the servant of Sareh, was mother of Arabs. As a result, according to this view, Arabs are children of bondwoman and slaves of non-Arabs.⁹⁰ Ibn Garcia knows white face of Banu al'asfar (Romans) superior to blackness and redness of Arabs' skins.⁹¹ He even has honored his Christian background against the Arabs in pre-Islamic idolatry.⁹² He has paid attention to knowledge of non-Arabs against ignorance of Arabs and has known all scientific developments and civilization as the product of their ingenuity and he does not consider any place for Arabs in this area.⁹³ Although, in terms of content, most subjects in the treatise of Ibn Garcia on the superiority of non-Arab over Arab were written in the writings of the East Shu'ubiyya in the second and third century AH, there are two main differences. First, unlike the treatise of Shu'ubiyya in the East, Ibn Garcia's treatise has a highly technical and literary prose with abundant use of religious, historical, and social terms and expressions. In contrast, the East Shu'ubiyya texts have polemical color and they often have been expressed humorously and with the ideas of ridiculing.⁹⁴

Secondly, Shu'ubiyya thoughts, in Ibn Garcia's ideas, is never in the meaning of denial of Islam and prescription of atheism and heterodoxy, because he is proud of the messenger of Islam and he insists on his religion and his demanding of Islam in order

⁸⁸ Abdol salam, Haroun, 276

⁸⁹ Id, 274-275

⁹⁰ Id. 272

⁹¹ ibid

⁹² Id, 276

⁹³ Id, 277

⁹⁴ Id, 276. Larsson, p, 158

not to be accused of heterodoxy.⁹⁵ However, in contrast, in treatises of the East Shu'ubiyya, especially Iran, atheistic and heterodoxy thoughts are seen abundantly. For example, the lyrics of Bashar ibn Burd, Shu'ubiyya poet and thinker in the Abbasid period can be noted.⁹⁶

Conclusion

After the conquest of Andalusia by Arab conquerors and the establishment of Umayyad rule, the process of conversion to Islam began among the natives of the region. By conversion to the new religion, the native neo-Muslims (Muwallads) demanded benefiting from rights and privileges equal with Arabs.

However, the politics of the Umayyad rulers and Arab nobility was quite unlike their desire and motivation. Actions and discrimination against Arab rulers in the political, economic, social bases as well as ethnic and racial prejudice created the rebellion and objection grounds among Muwallads to regain their lost rights, so that these conditions gradually took racial and Shu'ubiyya shape and color.

Unlike the Persians in the East of the Islamic world, Andalusia Muwallads did not write many treatises and writings in the context of Shu'ubiyya. This is due to the governance structure and weak participation of Muwallads in political and social arenas. However, view of some Arab researchers⁹⁷ that knew Shu'ubiyya in the Andalusian limited to Ibn Garcia's treatise does not seem accurate, because in the racial conflict with the Arabs, some Muwallads such as Alabasi, the poet, and judges of Vashqh defended their own national and ethnic ideals. This defensive mode was enhanced at the time of Abdurrahman Nasser reign (imprinted, 912-962 AD) and his son, the second Hokm (imprinted, 962-972 AD) that provided an opportunity for Muwallads to be present in social and political structures. In addition, it was evident in works of some people such as Ibn Qūṭiyya and Habib Saqaliba. Gradually, with the weakness of the Umayyad government and formation of non-Arab states, especially Saqaliba in some parts of Andalusia, Muwallads' Shu'ubiyya thoughts changed from defense mode to attack, satire and expression of defects of the Arab, so that it was culminated in treatise of Ibn Garcia.

⁹⁵ Abdolsalam Haroun, 287

⁹⁶ For more information about the Shu'ubiyya poet and other poets of the Abbasid period See Atwan, 42.

⁹⁷ Shoughi, Zeif, 479

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