

The *Jihād* of the Caliphs and the First Battles of Islam: Memory, Legitimization and Holy War, from Cordoba to Tinmal

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Abstract

This paper analyzes how the memorialization and commemoration of early conflicts in Islamic history influenced the performance and legitimization of jihād, especially on the part of caliphs who ruled in the Islamic West. Jihād is defined here as an ideology, a discursive tool that appealed to accepted and shared sacred elements; created a framework for the justification of specific actions on the part of the caliphs; and generated new authority. The paper also discusses the importance of the maghāzī and futūḥ, as well as its later impact, reception, reinvention, and re-contextualization. The focus of this study, however, is the key role that military expeditions during the founding period of Islam played in the conceptualization of jihād, which turned primitive episodes of war into legitimizing elements by utilizing the image of ideal behavior enjoyed by Muḥammad and the rāshidūn within the Umma. This study considers the Cordoban Umayyad caliphate and the Almohad movement, two periods during which al-Andalus was ruled directly by a caliph. By considering both chronological and geographical contexts, the paper analyzes the commemoration of the first battles of Islam, wherein both caliphates in the Islamic West presented themselves as a renewal of the early “golden age” of Islam. A comparison between the caliphates illuminates their similarities and differences.

In the year 840/1411 Ibn Nuḥās died near Damieta while defending the town of al-Ṭīnah against a crusader attack. Thereby, he died as a martyr in the fulfillment of the *jihād*. Previously, he had written on the merits of the *jihād* in his work *Mashāri‘ al-ashwāq ilā maṣāri‘ al-‘ushshāq*, which from chapter 32 on included a brief but interesting history of *jihād*.² The bulk of the text is composed of the Prophet’s campaigns, the *maghāzī*,³ followed

1. This work was supported by the European Research Council under the European Union’s Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007- 2013) / ERC grant agreement n° 323316. PI: Mercedes García-Arenal. I would like to thank Maribel Fierro and Patrice Cressier for inviting me to participate in this volume. A first version of this paper was presented at the conference *Les Califats de l’Occident Islamique I. Formuler, Représenter et Légitimer le Califat*, 6th November 2015, Casa de Velázquez (Madrid).

2. Ibn Nuḥās, *Mashāri‘ al-ashwāq ilā maṣāri‘ al-‘ushshāq* (Beirut, 2002), 840 and ff.

3. The term *maghāzī*, apparently from the times of al-Wāqidi’s *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* (3rd/9th century), if not earlier,



by the battles and conquests of the first caliphs, the *rāshidūn*, as well as of a summary of the most important Islamic victories. Following a traditional narrative that can be found in books devoted to the Prophet's expeditions⁴ and still widely disseminated in the Islamic world today, Ibn Nuḥās describes (prior to discussing the expeditions) how God did not allow the Muslims to fight against the infidels until the *hijra*. That is to say, the *jihād* did not begin until Muḥammad's arrival in Medina. Ibn Nuḥās then organizes the Prophet's battles into two sections: firstly, those that Muḥammad conducted himself and, secondly, the expeditions that he dispatched but did not participate in.⁵ Although the author emphasizes that the *jihād* would not end until Judgment Day and that it was a duty of all Muslims of every age, the outline of this chapter seems to show that the most important fight was the one carried out by the Prophet against the infidels and hypocrites of his time, while the rest were mere derivations of it. That is to say, the *maghāzī* represented the true and pure spirit of *jihād*. Following these sections, and also of great interest, were the conquests of the "rightly guided" caliphs.

The memory of the battles of the Prophet and the *rāshidūn* caliphs is also reflected in al-Shaybānī's (d. 189/805) theory of the "four swords," according to which God had given the Prophet four swords to use in his fight against the infidels: the first was brandished by Muḥammad himself and used against the polytheists; the second was used by Abū Bakr against the apostates; the third was raised by 'Umar against the People of the Book; and the fourth was used by 'Alī to fight against the rebels.⁶ In this sense, Shams al-Dīn al-Sarakhsī (d. 490/1090), one of the great jurists of the classical period, claimed that the actions related

referred to the Prophet's expeditions, and thus not only battles, of the Medina period. The first of the stories in al-Wāqidī concerns the departure of 30 men led by Hamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who in 1/623 intercepted a caravan of Qurayshis heading from Mecca to Syria along the coastal route. The last story in the text concerns an expedition conducted by Usāma b. Zayd along with 3,000 men toward Syria in 11/623, right after the Prophet's death. See al-Wāqidī, *The Life of Muḥammad. Al-Wāqidī's Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, ed. R. Faizer (London/New York, 2011); J. Horowitz, *The Earliest Biographies of the Prophet and their Authors* (Princeton, 2002; ed. orig. 1927); R. Paret, *Die Legendäre Maghazi-Literatur* (Tubinga, 1930); J. Schacht, "On Mūsā b. 'Uqba's Kitāb al-Maghāzī," *Acta Orientalia* 21 (1953), 288-300; J. Jones, "The Chronology of the Maghāzī-A Textual Survey," in Uri Rubin (ed.), *The Life of Muḥammad* (Aldershot, 1998, 1st ed. 1957), 193-228; M. Hinds, "Maghāzī and sira in early Islamic scholarship," in T. Fahd (ed.), *La vie du prophète Mahomet* (Paris, 1983), 57-66; M. Hinds, "al-Maghāzī," *EL*, vol. 5, Leiden, 1986, 1161-1164; Ḥ. Mujīb al-Masrī, *Ghazawāt al-Rasūl Bayn Shu'arā' al-Shu'ūb al-Islāmiyyah: Dirāsah fī al-Adab al-Islāmī al-Muqāran* (Cairo, 2000); M. Hammīdullāh, *The Battlefields of the Prophet Muhammad, with Maps, Illustrations and Sketches: A Continuation to Muslim Military History* (New Delhi, 2003), and Ma'mar ibn Rāshid, *The expeditions. An Early Biography of Muḥammad*, ed. and transl. Sean W. Anthony (New York/London, 2014), xv-xix.

4. Ḥāmid Aḥmad al-Ṭāhir, *Ghazawāt al-Rasūl* (Cairo, 2010), 7 and 26 ff.

5. The second category is known as the *sarāyā* (sing. *sariyah*). M. S. Tantāwī, *Al-Sarāyā al-Ḥarbiyyah fī al-ʿAhd al-Nabawī* (Cairo, 1990), 21. Like many other biographers of the Prophet, Ibn Ishāq distinguishes the campaigns conducted in person by Muḥammad from the *sarāyā*, but, in narrating them, omits the distinction and follows a strictly chronological order. Ibn Ishāq/Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat Rasūl Allāh*, trans. A. Guillaume (Oxford, 1955), 659-660.

6. M. Khaddūrī, *War and Peace in the Law of Islām* (Baltimore/London, 1955, 1st ed. 1949), 74; A. Morabia, *Le Ğihād dans l'Islam médiéval. Le « combat sacré » des origines au xii^e siècle* (Paris, 1993), 303 and 502 n. 66, and R. Booney, *Jihad. From Qur'an to bin Laden* (New York, 2004), 53.

to the *jihād* of the four orthodox caliphs served as a precedent, or as legal justification.⁷ The jurist ‘Alī Ibn Ṭāhir al-Sulamī (d. 499-500/1106) also recounted the memory of the first caliphs’ victories in an attempt to revitalize the *jihād* he had carried out after the First Crusade with his treatise on holy war.⁸ Just as the *rāshidūn* had done, contemporary rulers had to lead the *jihād* against the infidels.

Therefore we can see the fundamental relationship between the idea of *jihād* and the memory of the first battles of Islam. The resignification and recontextualization of the expeditions of the Prophet and the first caliphs’ memory, along with the symbolic capital that these expeditions carried, played a key role in the conceptualization and theorization of *jihād*, which turned the earliest episodes of war into legitimizing elements due to the image of an ideal behavior enjoyed by Muḥammad and the *rāshidūn* within the *Umma*, or, in other words, what Tarif Khalidi calls “social ideality.”⁹

Let me briefly explain what I mean by “memory” of the first expeditions of Islam.¹⁰ In the first place, it is important to take into account the position that the early Islamic times, that is, the time of the Prophet and the *rāshidūn* caliphs,¹¹ occupy in the collective imagination. This period is understood as an exemplary “golden age” that must be constantly emulated and referred to. The Prophet and his life experience, followed by the orthodox caliphs, carry a symbolic capital¹² and an absolute charisma.¹³ Whenever the memory of this period

7. T. Osman, *The Jurisprudence of Sarakhsī with Particular Reference to War and Peace: A Comparative Study in Islamic Law*, PhD thesis, University of Exeter, 1993, 108 and ff., and Booney, *Jihad*, 75.

8. E. Sivan, “La genèse de la Contre-Croisade: Un traité damasquin du début du XI^e siècle,” *Journal Asiatique* 254 (1966), 197-224 and N. Christies, *The Book of the Jihād of ‘Alī ibn Ṭāhir al-Sulamī (d. 1106): Text, Translation and Commentary* (Aldershot, 2015).

9. T. Khalidi, *Images of Muhammad. Narratives of the Prophet in Islam Across the Centuries* (New York, 2009), viii.

10. For an overview of “memory studies,” see M. Tamm, “Beyond History and Memory: New Perspectives in Memory Studies,” *History Compass* 11/6 (2013), 458-473.

11. Quoting El-Hibri: “the age of the rashidun is more a form of religious representation than one of actual historical fact.” T. El-Hibri, *Parable and Politics in Early Islamic History: The Rashidun Caliphs* (New York, 2010), 4. The concept of “*rāshidūn* caliphs” was an Abbasid-era development and I will use it in that sense, since this idea was also consolidated in tenth century al-Andalus with the arrival of works such as al-Ṭabarī’s *Ta’rīkh* and Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ’s history. For example, in Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih’s *al-‘Iqd al-‘Farīd* the four *rāshidūn* (Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, ‘Uthmān and ‘Alī) are included to support the idea that the Umayyads succeeded them. A. Al-Azmeh, “Muslim History, Reflections on Periodisation and Categorisation,” *The Medieval History Journal* 19/1-2 (1998), 195-231; A. Borrut, *Entre mémoire et pouvoir: L’espace syrien sous les derniers Omeyyades et les premiers Abbassides (72–193/692–809)* (Leiden, 2011); A. Borrut, “Vanishing Syria: Periodization and Power in Early Islam,” *Der Islam* 91/1 (2014), 37-68; A. Afsaruddin, *The First Muslims: History and Memory* (Oxford, 2008), 57; I. Toral-Niehoff, “History in *Adab* Context: ‘The Book on Caliphal Histories’ by Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih (246/860-328/940),” *Journal of Abbasid Studies* 2 (2015), 61-85.

12. P. Bourdieu, *El sentido práctico* (Madrid, 2008), 179-193.

13. M. Weber, *Sociología del poder. Los tipos de dominación* (Madrid, 2007); M. Weber, *Sociología de la religión* (Madrid, 2012); D. Barnes, “Charisma and Religious Leadership: An Historical Analysis,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 17 (1978), 1-18; B. Turner, *Weber and Islam* (London, 1978); J. Post, “Charisma,” in R. Landes (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Millennialism and Millennial Movements* (New York, 2000), 118-125; P. Rieff, *Charisma: The Gift of Grace and How it Has Been Taken Away from Us* (New York, 2007); K. Jansen and M.

is voiced, it produces an appropriation and reproduction of this symbolic capital along with the charisma and social authority that it confers. In fact, through this memorialization, throughout the resignification and recontextualization, in this case of the expeditions of the Prophet and the memory of the first caliphs, the aforementioned charismatic authority is reactivated. As a consequence, new obligations are simultaneously generated and demanded while evoking the sacred symbols of shared culture and memory and associating them with images that have, again, an enormous symbolic capital. Accordingly, as Sean Anthony says, “*maghāzī* are also sites of sacred memory,” events and stories of sacred history that left their mark on the collective memory of the community of believers.¹⁴ Thus, these early expeditions of Islam are part of the cultural memory of the *Umma*, where we understand “cultural memory” as Jan Assman defined it: as “that body of reusable texts, images, and rituals specific to each society in each epoch, whose ‘cultivation’ serves to stabilize and convey that society’s self-image.”¹⁵

In order to better comprehend this phenomenon of “memorialization,” I will draw on the idea of “commemoration” as a dynamic process in which stories and reports from the past are recovered, re-narrated, and recontextualized in a given present in order to serve future aims. These narratives, and the beliefs and values they contain, can create cohesion within the group that performs the commemoration while simultaneously conflicting with the collective myths and narratives of other groups. Consequently, collective memorialization is not neutral since it is always linked to issues of identity and power.¹⁶ Therefore, by studying the commemoration of the first battles of Islam through repeated mention and narration, we will carry out an exercise in “mnemohistory.” Coined again by Assmann, this term “is concerned not with the past as such, but only with the past as it is remembered. It surveys the story-lines of tradition, the webs of intertextuality, the diachronic continuities and discontinuities of reading the past.”¹⁷ Thus, the interest is not only the factuality of the *maghāzī* and *futūh*, but their later impact, reception, reinvention, and recontextualization.

Rubin, “Introduction” in K. Jansen and M. Rubin (eds.), *Charisma and Religious Authority. Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Preaching 1200-1500* (Turnhout, 2010), 1-16.

14. Ma‘mar ibn Rāshid, *The expeditions*, xviii. For the idea of “sites of memory,” P. Nora, *Les lieux de mémoire* (Paris, 1984).

15. J. Assmann, “Collective Memory and Cultural Identity,” *New German Critique* 65 (1995), 125-133. See also J. Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory* (Stanford, California, 2006); J. Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination* (Cambridge, 2011).

16. For more on this concept of “commemoration” see, for example, D. Tilles and J. Richardson, “Poland and the Holocaust. A New Law Exposes the Problematic Nature of Holocaust Remembrance,” *History Today* 68/5 (2018) Published online: <https://www.historytoday.com/daniel-tilles-and-john-richardson/poland-and-holocaust>

17. J. Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian: The Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997), 54. As Marek Tamm says, one of the earliest examples of “mnemohistory” in medieval studies is G. Duby, *Le dimanche de Bouvines* (Paris, 1973). Tamm, “Beyond History and Memory,” 458-473. See also M. Tamm, “History as Cultural Memory: Mnemohistory and the Construction of Estonian Nation,” *Journal of Baltic Studies* 39 (2008), 499-516.

This paper will analyze, then, using several different cases as examples, the process by which memorialization, the commemoration of the first battles of Islam, becomes an important element for the performance and legitimization of *jihād*.¹⁸ *Jihād* is here understood as an ideology, a discursive tool that appeals to accepted and shared sacred elements; creates a framework that provides justification for specific actions; and generates powerful doses of authority. Therefore, holy war should be understood, rather than as a concrete action, as a flexible performance setting, centered on a discourse of struggle against the enemies of God. It has a concrete language, can be adapted to different contexts, and is used by a variety of actors in order to legitimize their actions.¹⁹

Regarding the choice of geographical and chronological context, I will focus on the Cordoban Umayyad caliphate as well as on the Almohad movement, two cases in which al-Andalus was ruled directly by a caliph. Additionally, I consider this framework suitable for the analysis of the commemoration of the first battles of Islam, since both caliphates presented themselves as a recommencement of the early days of Islam, that is, as a return to that “golden age,” by referring to the eschatological times of its appearance—the year 300 in the case of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III and 500 in Ibn Tūmart’s—or the idea that Cordoba was the new Medina and Tinmal the destiny of a new Hijra,²⁰ issues to which I will return later. Thereby, we can also establish a comparison between the two cases.

The Umayyad Caliphate of Cordoba

In Umayyad al-Andalus, the frontier of the Islamic world for eight centuries, *jihād* and the memory of the first battles of Islam maintained an intense relationship. The chronicles portrayed the Umayyad sovereign, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III (d. 350/961) in particular,²¹ as a

18. For the use of memory within the discourse of *jihād* see, for example, A. Anooshahr, *The Ghazi Sultans and the Frontiers of Islam. A comparative study of the late medieval and early modern periods* (London-New York, 2009); B. Shoshan, *The Arabic Historical Tradition and the Early Islamic Conquests. Folklore, Tribal Lore, Holy War* (London, 2016), and M. Cook, *Ancient Religions, Modern Politics: The Islamic Case in Comparative Perspective* (Princeton, 2014), 215 ff.

19. For a similar approach see, for example, A. Krasner Balbale, “Jihād as a Means of Political legitimation in Thirteenth-century Sharq al-Andalus,” in A. Bennison (ed.), *The Articulation of Power in Medieval Iberia and the Maghrib* (Oxford, 2014), 87-105.

20. See, for example, M. Fierro, “The Movable Minbar in Cordoba: How the Umayyads of al-Andalus Claimed the Inheritance of the Prophet,” *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 33 (2007), 149-168; M. Fierro, *Abderramán III y el califato omeya de Córdoba* (Guipuzcoa, 2011), 28 ff; M. Fierro, “Le mahdi Ibn Tūmart et al-Andalus: l’élaboration de la légitimité almohade,” in Mercedes García-Arenal (coord.), *Mahdisme et Millénarisme en Islam* (Aix-en-Provence, 2001), 107-124.

21. C. Picard, “Regards croisés sur l’élaboration du jihad entre Orient et Occident musulman (VIII^e-XII^e siècle). Perspectives et réflexions sur une origine commune,” in D. Baloup and Ph. Josserand (eds.), *Regards croisés sur la guerre sainte : guerre, idéologie et religion dans l’espace méditerranéen latin (XI^e-XIII^e siècle)* (Toulouse, 2006), 33-66. G. Martínez-Gros, *L’idéologie omeyyade: La construction de la légitimité du califat de Cordoue (X^e-XI^e siècles)* (Madrid, 1992); J. Safran, *The Second Umayyad Caliphate: The Articulation of Caliphal Legitimacy in al-Andalus* (Cambridge MA, 2000), and Fierro, *Abderramán III*.

warrior-ruler, as a “ghāzī-caliph”²² who personally led the expeditions, as the Prophet had on numerous occasions. It was the caliph who incarnated holy war.

The idea that one of the duties of the ruler was to defend Islam and the fight against the enemies of God was fully developed in al-Andalus. In a fragment praising ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III in the *Muqtabis*, Ibn Ḥayyān (d. 469/1076) says that he was following in the footsteps of the *rāshidūn* caliphs, “fighting and defending Allāh with the sword of God, making the truth triumph over the false.”²³ This position as defender of Islam and its community, claimed and exercised by the Cordoban caliph, granted him a high level of legitimacy. In fact, it was one of the main reasons that justified the *auctoritas* that he possessed. Supposedly, it was explained by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III himself at the time of the execution of the culprits of the defeat of Simancas/al-Khandaq in 327/939,²⁴ when he addressed the prisoners: “Look at these poor people—pointing to the populace that was watching them—have they given us authority (*maqāda*), becoming our submissive servants, but for us to defend and protect them?”²⁵ In addition, the term translated here as “authority,” *maqāda*, has a direct relationship with the military context, that is, the direction of an army, as they are derived from the same root, as in, for example, the word *qā'id*.²⁶ Therefore, the leadership that the community had given to the caliph was closely linked to his capacity and duty to lead the war. The campaigns launched by the Cordoban state served for the defense of the realm, like many of those carried out by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III in response to different Christian threats. The effort was to consolidate the border or even to expand territory, as with the fortification of Medinaceli in 334/946 or, perhaps, Almanzor’s expeditions. But these efforts also had a strong discursive component directed towards their internal audience: they were a legitimating instrument of extraordinary scope that was renewed year after year with each new campaign. They strengthened the hand of the ruler, particularly when he led the armies in person. Therefore, holy war cannot be considered, in the Cordoban caliphate, as simply a reactive element to external pressures;²⁷ it must also be thought of as a highly significant political asset.

Thus, it is not surprising that ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III exploited this image as soon as he ascended to power, a moment of *fitna* in which Cordoban authority was under siege and

22. The term “ghazi-caliph” was first used by C.E. Bosworth in the introduction to the 30th volume of the English translation of the history of al-Ṭabarī, and referred to the warlike activity of the Abbasid caliphs, particularly of Hārūn al-Rashīd. Al-Ṭabarī, *The History of al-Ṭabarī vol. 30: The ‘Abbāsīd Caliphate in Equilibrium: The Caliphates of Mūsā al-Hādī and Hārūn al-Rashīd A.D. 785-809/A.H. 169-193*, trans. C. E. Bosworth (Albany, 1989), xvii. See also M. Bonner, *Aristocratic Violence and Holy War. Studies in the Jihad and the Arab-Byzantine Frontier* (New Haven, 1996), 99 ff.

23. Ibn Ḥayyān, *Al-Muqtabas V* (Rabat, 1979), 22.

24. On this battle P. Chalmeta, “Simancas y Alhandega,” *Hispania* 133 (1976), 359-444; J. P. Molénat, “Shant Maankash,” *EI²*, vol. 9 (Leiden, 1997), 304, and T. Zadeh, “From Drops of Blood: Charisma and Political Legitimacy in the Translation of the ‘Uthmānic Codex of al-Andalus,” *Journal of Arabic Literature* 39 (2008), 321-346.

25. Ibn Ḥayyān, *Al-Muqtabas V*, 446.

26. R. Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes* (Leiden, 1881), vol. II, 424-425.

27. P. Chalmeta, “Las campañas califales en al-Andalus,” in *Castrum 3. Guerre, fortification et habitat dans le Monde Méditerranéen au Moyen Age* (Madrid-Roma, 1988), 33-42.

in which it was necessary to utilize all available legitimating tools: he would be presented as a ghazi-ruler, a sultan who personally led the armies against their enemies.²⁸ The chronicles, creators, and bearers of ideology underlined again and again the military events of each year, thus configuring an image of a state that consistently took action against its adversaries.

In Ibn Ḥayyān's work, in the chapters devoted to the period of caliphal Cordoba, the term *jihād* is mostly associated with the caliph's capacity for leading the holy war. The term is connected not only to propagandistic passages that concern the person of the sovereign, such as letters encouraging the fight against infidels and heretics, but also to circumstances like the departure of volunteers to "the fight in the path of God." It is used as a means of dramatizing an exceptional moment of fighting against the enemies of Islam, in a kind of account that is different from a mere military speech.²⁹

For instance, in the anonymous chronicle on 'Abd al-Raḥmān III the word *jihād* refers to the expeditions and encounters of the caliph against the Christian kingdoms. It occurs in a passage narrating the sovereign's decision to go out himself on a campaign and send letters ordering the recruitment of troops to fight the enemies of God and inciting them to participate in the *jihād*.³⁰ In these sources, the caliphal expeditions follow a narrative model very similar to that used for the Prophet's *maghāzī*. In the Simancas campaign, for instance, Ibn Ḥayyān, following Ibn Fuṭays' *Kitāb al-Faṭḥ*, recounts how 'Abd al-Raḥmān III led the Umayyad army against the enemies of God to teach them that the word of Allāh is the truth,³¹ thus calling to mind Muḥammad's actions against the infidels. The battle, which ended in defeat for the caliphal troops, became known in Arab sources as *al-Khandaq*, the trench, probably alluding to the famous siege of Medina by the Arab pagans during the times of the Prophet.

We might consider it as a two-way discourse: on the one hand, the Cordoba caliph's actions during war were related to those of the Prophet; on the other hand, no completely covert criticism was being made by remembering that members of his family were defeated that day in the presence of the messenger of God.³² But this is not the only example of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III's use of the memory of the Prophet's activity as a military leader, that is, in commemorating the *maghāzī*. In the campaign of Osma (322/934), the caliph used the flag

28. M. Fierro, "Abd al-Rahman III frente al califato fatimí y al reino astur-leonés: campañas militares y procesos de legitimación político-religiosa," in *Rudesindus. San Rosendo. Su tiempo y legado. Congreso Internacional Mondoñedo, Santo Tirso y Celanova 27-30 junio, 2007* (Santiago de Compostela, 2009), 30-50; E. Manzano Moreno, *Conquistadores, emires y califas. Los omeyas y la formación de al-Andalus* (Barcelona, 2011), 354 and ff.

29. Picard, "Regards croisés sur l'élaboration du jihad," 33-66.

30. C. de la Puente, "El Ūihād en el Califato Omeya de al-Andalus y su culminación bajo Hišām II," in Fernando Valdés (coord.), *La Península Ibérica y el Mediterráneo en los siglos XI y XII. Almanzor y los terrores del Milenio* (Aguilar de Campoo, 1999), 23-38.

31. Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muqtabas V*, 438-439.

32. M. Fierro, "The Battle of the Ditch (al-Khandaq) of the Cordoban Caliph 'Abd al-Raḥmān III," in A. Ahmed, B. Sadeghi and M. Bonner (eds.), *The Islamic Scholarly Tradition. Studies in History, Law, and Thought in Honor of Professor Michael Allan Cook* (Leiden/Boston, 2011), 107-130.

known as “the Eagle,” which called to mind one formerly used by Muḥammad in the battles of Badr and Khaybar.³³ Also Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih (d. 328/940), on occasion of a Cordoban victory over the Count of Barcelona (324/935-6), composed a poem in which he compared that action to the battles of Badr and Ḥunayn.³⁴

Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih also compared the campaigns of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III with Badr and Ḥunayn in the *urjūza* devoted to the caliph in the *Kitāb al-masjada al-thāniya fī al-khulafā’ wa al-tawārīkh wa ayyāmihim*, one of the books in his *Al-‘Iqd al-Farīd*.³⁵ The *urjūza* is a long poem in which a constant parallelism is created between the Umayyad ruler and the Prophet. The choice of Badr and Ḥunayn was not unintentional and speaks to the importance of both battles for the development of the Islamic idea of holy war, as well as for the very history of the Umayyad dynasty.

Badr, as the most commemorated battle in the history of Islam, is endowed with more symbolic capital and prestige than any other such episode, at least in terms of religiosity and sacredness. The participants in the clash are typically held up as the most exceptional among the Muslims after the *rāshidūn* and ten of the Prophet’s companions, whose entrance to paradise had already been guaranteed.³⁶ Thus, according to the *urjūza*, the fighters who followed the Cordoban caliph were new “Badrites.” The text recontextualizes the meaning of the battle, and thus guarantees salvation to these fighters. On the other hand, an important element of the Qur’ānic doctrine of holy war is contained in *Sūra 8 (al-Anfāl)*, and exegetes hold the chapter to have been revealed following the battle of Badr, to which, they argue, the chapter refers.³⁷

The battle of Ḥunayn, also led by the Prophet, is of great importance as well since it is one of the only battles that is directly named in the Qur’ān (Q. 9: 25). God participated in the event through His angels, as He had at Badr, and a huge spoil was obtained. Additionally, Abū Sufyān, ancestor of the Umayyads, having now converted to Islam, participated in the expedition, and, in fact, together with the Prophet, was one of the few who endured the attack of the pagans.³⁸ The battle is thus one of the most important in “Umayyad memory,” since the positive role of Abū Sufyān in Ḥunayn is undeniable. It is also worth remembering that Abū Sufyān, both as a pagan and enemy of the Prophet, was often used by the enemies of the Umayyads, for example the Fatimids, to attack the Cordoban dynasty.³⁹ Moreover, in order to give more

33. Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muqtabas V*, p. 334; Ibn Ishāq/Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat Rasūl Allāh*, 289 ff, 510 ff; al-Wāqidī, *The Life of Muḥammad*, 322.

34. Fierro, “The Battle of the Ditch (al-Khandaq),” 107-130. Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muqtabas V*, 380.

35. J. Monroe, “The Historical Arjuza of Ibn ‘Abd , a Tenth-century Hispano-Arabic Epic Poem,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 91 (1971), 67-95; Toral-Niehoff, “History in *Adab* Context,” 61-85.

36. See, for example, Afsaruddin, *The First Muslims*, 57 ff.

37. Ibn Ishāq/Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat Rasūl Allāh*, 321 ff.; al-Wāqidī, *The Life of Muḥammad*, 66 ff. See, for example, Bonner, *Jihad*, 62-63.

38. Ibn Ishāq/Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat Rasūl Allāh*, 566 ff.; al-Wāqidī, *The Life of Muḥammad*, 435 ff.

39. See, for example, al-Qāḍī al-Nu‘mān, *Founding the Fatimid State: The Rise of an Early Islamic Empire. An Annotated English Translation al-Qāḍī al-Nu‘mān’s Iftitāh al-Da‘wa*, trans. H. Haji (London, 2006), 140 ff.

importance to the remembrance of the battle of Badr by the Umayyads, Abū Sufyān did not fight that day against the Prophet.⁴⁰

In the *ʿIqd al-Farīd*, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih goes even further with the comparison between ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III and Muḥammad, trying to prove that Cordoba’s mosque was a renewal of Medina’s, thereby linking the new Umayyad capital with the Prophet’s city.⁴¹ In the same sense, as Maribel Fierro has shown, Mundhir b. Saʿīd al-Ballūṭī (d. 355/966), the Cordoban *qādī*, encouraged the adoption of the *nisba* al-Anṣārī among the Andalusī Muslims without a tribal Arabic filiation. These Andalusīs became the new Prophet *anṣār*, “helpers,” and Cordoba the “new Medina” that had to be defended.⁴²

The practice of mixing Umayyad family memory with the commemoration of outstanding battles and the ideology of *jihād*, as in the case of Abū Sufyān, was a recurrent tool in Umayyad-era texts. A further example occurs in an interesting poem by Muḥammad Ibn Shukhayṣ, in which the poet remembers the battle of Marj Rāhiṭ. The context was the declaration of obedience by the Banū Khazar to al-Ḥakam II in the war against the Fatimids in 360/971.⁴³ Both dynasties considered the conflict between them,⁴⁴ as holy.⁴⁵ The battle of Marj Rāhiṭ, in 64/684, pitted the Banū Kalb, supporters of the Umayyad caliph of Damascus, Marwān I, against the Banū Qays. The latter were supporters of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, who had proclaimed himself caliph and who had previously supported the proto-Shiʿī rebellion of al-Ḥusayn.⁴⁶ Ibn al-Zubayr was remembered, especially in narratives transmitted by pro-Umayyad circles,⁴⁷ as the prototype of an anti-caliph. Following his defeat, according to these accounts, his body faced the same fate as that of apostates: decapitation and crucifixion.⁴⁸

40. Ibn Ishāq/Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat Rasūl Allāh*, 289 ff.; al-Wāqidī, *The Life of Muḥammad*, 11 ff.

41. Fierro, *Abderramán III*, 28.

42. Fierro, *Abderramán III*, 29.

43. On al-Ḥakam II see Martínez-Gros, *L'idéologie omeyyade*; J. Vallvé, *El Califato de Córdoba* (Madrid, 1992); D. Wasserstein, *The Caliphate in the West. An Islamic Political Institution in the Iberian Peninsula* (Oxford, 1993); Safran, *The Second Umayyad Caliphate*; Manzano Moreno, *Conquistadores, emires y califas*.

44. On the Umayyad intervention in the Maghreb see, for example, J. Vallvé, “La intervención omeya en el norte de África,” *Cuadernos de la Biblioteca Española de Tetuán* 4 (1967), 6-37; Safran, *The Second Umayyad Caliphate*, 25 ff.

45. Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muqtabas VII. Al-Muqtabas fī ajbār balad al-Andalus*, ed. al-Ḥaḡḡī (Beirut, 1965), 55.

46. Al-Ṭabarī, *The History of al-Ṭabarī vol. 20: The Collapse of Sufyānid Authority and the Coming of the Marwānids. The Caliphates of Muʿāwiyah II and Marwān I and the Beginning of the Caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik A.D.683–685/A.H. 64–66*, trans. G. R. Hawting (Albany, 1989), 54-69; G. R. Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam: The Umayyad Caliphate AD 661–750* (London and New York, 2000), 46 ff.; H. Kennedy, *The Armies of the Caliphs: Military and Society in the Early Islamic State* (London, 2001), 31-32.

47. Antoine Borrut (see for example Borrut, “Vanishing Syria,” 37-68; Shoshan, *The Arabic Historical Tradition*, 171 ff.) has shown that, in addition to al-Andalus, there was a “competing historiography” in the tenth-century East that made Umayyad memory very much alive and that also made an uninterrupted chain of succession between Damascus and Cordoba, even prophesying a return of the Arab dynasty to the Mashreq, an idea with which the Cordoban Umayyads flirted. See, for example, Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muqtabas V*, 306-307.

48. Kennedy, *The Armies of the Caliphs*, 92-98.

The texts are very specific in drawing a clear parallel between Marj Rāhiṭ and its recontextualization: the Banū Khazar were the new Banū Kalb, the original supporters of Marwān I. Al-Ḥakam II thus appears as the latter's successor, confronting the allies of the apostate anti-caliph, represented by the Fatimid ruler, whose words and deeds acted against the religion of the Prophet. Just as Ibn al-Zubayr had been defeated, the Ismā'īlī imām—as predicted indirectly by the poem—would be too.

Indeed, the memory of the battle of Marj Rāhiṭ was widely used in Umayyad memory production circles. Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, for example, compared the confrontation with one that had taken place between 'Abd al-Raḥmān I (d. 172/788) and Yūsuf al-Fihri (d. 138/756) when the former entered al-Andalus. Both contests took place on the day of 'Īd al-Aḍḥā, and in both events, members of the same families fought against each other: 'Abd al-Raḥmān I, as a descendant of the caliph Marwān, and Yūsuf al-Fihri, the descendant of al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. al-Qays al-Fihri, one of Ibn al-Zubayr's commanders.⁴⁹

The battle of Marj Rāhiṭ also appears in Ibn 'Idhārī's *Bayān*, where it is compared with one of the victories of Almanzor.⁵⁰ He, Ibn Abī 'Āmir al-Manṣūr (d. 392/1002), known in Christian sources as Almanzor, is, doubtlessly, the best representation of the figure of the warrior-ruler in caliphal Cordoba.⁵¹ As *ḥājib* of the caliph Hishām II, he conducted more than fifty expeditions against Christian territories, including one to Santiago de Compostela.⁵² He is said to have been buried in his combat clothing.

In contrast with the period of the Umayyad caliph al-Ḥakam II, who did not directly lead any campaign,⁵³ Almanzor incarnated the figure of the military commander. He symbolized the spirit of *jihād*, which he used as a basis for his legitimacy.⁵⁴ He also justified his government in front of his subjects by becoming the standard-bearer of the holy war and the defender of orthodoxy. The historian al-Ḥumaydī (d. 488/1095) says that he did not reside in Cordoba because he was concerned with *jihād*, leading razzias against the

49. Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, *Ta'rīkh iftitāḥ al-Andalus (Historia de la conquista de España de Abenalcotia el Cordobés)*, ed. and trans. Julián Ribera (Madrid, 1926), 26-27. See also Safran, *The Second Umayyad Caliphate*, 131.

50. Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib fī akhbār al-Andalus wa al-Maghrib*, eds. G. S. Colin and É. Lévi-Provençal (Beirut, 2009 [1948-1951]), vol. II, 298.

51. L. Molina, "Las campañas de Almanzor," *al-Qanṭara* 2 (1981), 204-264; L. Bariani, *Almanzor* (Madrid, 2003); P. Sénac, *Al-Mansur, le fléau de l'an mil* (Paris, 2006), and A. Echevarría, *Almanzor: un califa en la sombra* (Madrid, 2011).

52. Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, vol. II, 294; *Dhikr bilād al-Andalus*, ed. and trans. L. Molina (Madrid, 1983), vol. I, 194; M. Fernández Rodríguez, "La expedición de Almanzor a Santiago de Compostela," *Cuadernos de Historia de España* 43-44 (1966), 345-363; R. Pinto de Azevedo, "A expedição de Almançor a Santiago de Compostela em 997, e a de piratas normandos à Galiza em 1015-1016," *Revista Portuguesa de História* 14 (1974), 73-93; M. I. Pérez de Tudela, "Guerra, violencia y terror: La destrucción de Santiago de Compostela por Almanzor hace mil años," *En la España medieval* 21 (1988), 9-28; C. de la Puente, "La campaña de Santiago de Compostela (387/997): ḡihād y legitimación de poder," *Qurtuba* 6 (2001), 7-21.

53. Nonetheless, the sources depict him as an active and victorious caliph in the battle. Thus, according to the *Muqtabis*, in the victory of Ghālib b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān in the year 360/971 against the Normans, it was because of the grace of al-Ḥakam II that they obtained the triumph and it was his zeal to defend Islam that had led his followers to the fight. Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muqtabas VII*, 37.

54. Picard, "Regards croisés sur l'élaboration du jihad," 33-66.

Christians to such a degree that he would go out to pray on a holy day and instead of returning to his palace would set out to war.⁵⁵

The propaganda machine boosted the imagery of Almanzor as a “ghāzī-ruler,” and *mujāhid*; in these accounts of his role, the memory of the first battles of Islam would grow in importance. For example, in the poem written by Ibn Darrāj honouring Almanzor and his sons, ‘Abd al-Mālik and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, after the expedition against Compostela,⁵⁶ the campaign (in which, according to the panegyrist, the true religion had defeated infidelity) is compared to the Muslim victory at the battle of Ḥunayn, an expedition led personally by the Prophet and which resulted, much like the Compostela campaign, in substantial booty.⁵⁷ Moreover, as the Prophet resisted the pagans in Ḥunayn with only a few warriors, now Almanzor and his sons were defending the *Umma* alone.

In this discursive process of enthronement of the Cordoban *ḥājib* as a *mujāhid*, the historiographical-biographical texts also played an important role. Two works stand as examples in this regard: the *Kitāb al-ma’āthir al-‘āmiriyya fī siyar al-Manṣūr Muḥammad b. Abī ‘Āmir wa-ghazawātihi wa-awqātihā* of Ibn ‘Aṣim al-Thaqafī (d. 450/1058 or before 461/1069)⁵⁸ and the *Ghazawāt al-Manṣūr b. Abī ‘Āmir* of Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064).⁵⁹ Each of the two texts is modelled after the works of the Prophet’s *maghāzī/ghazawāt*.⁶⁰ Thus, for example, each follows the pattern—evident in Ibn Darrāj’s association of Compostela with Ḥunayn—of comparing Almanzor’s actions with those of the Prophet, thus using Muḥammad’s symbolic capital and memory in his (Almanzor’s) effort to legitimize himself.

The Expansion of the Almohad Movement: Ibn Ḥubaysh’s *Kitāb al-Ghazawāt*

Following the collapse of the Umayyad caliphate of Cordoba,⁶¹ it is not until the arrival of the Almohads that we will see a caliph once again ruling directly over the whole of al-Andalus, in this case unified with the Maghreb. The North African dynasty copied many of the legitimation elements of the Umayyads, presenting themselves on some occasions as their successors.⁶² The use of *jihād* and of the commemoration of the first battles of Islam were among these discursive tools.

55. Al-Ḥumaydī, *Jaḍwat al-muqtabis fī ta’rīkh ‘ulamā’ al-Andalus*, ed. al-Abyārī (Beirut, 1989), n° 121.

56. M. A. Makki, *Dīwān Ibn Darrāj* (Beirut, 1970), 314-320. See also M. La Chica, *Almanzor en los poemas de Ibn Darray* (Zaragoza, 1979).

57. Ibn Ishāq/Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat Rasūl Allāh*, 566 ff.; al-Wāqidī, *The Life of Muḥammad*, 435 ff. See also Ḥāmid Aḥmad al-Ṭāhir, *Ghazawāt*, 474 ff.

58. *Historia de los Autores y Transmisores Andalusíes*, vol. VI, 77.

59. *Historia de los Autores y Transmisores Andalusíes*, vol. VI, 79 ff. As is very well known, Ibn Ḥazm was a passionate defender of the Umayyad caliphate. For more information, see C. Adang, M. Fierro and S. Schmidtke (eds.), *Ibn Ḥazm of Cordoba: The Life and Works of a Controversial Thinker* (Leiden, 2013). Ibn Ḥazm also wrote a *Sīra* of the Prophet. M. Jarrar, *Die Prophetenbiographie im islamischen Spanien* (Frankfurt, 1989), 169-173.

60. See footnote 3.

61. P. Scales, *The Fall of the Caliphate of Cordoba: Berbers and Andalusis in Conflict* (Leiden, 1993).

62. See, for example, Zadeh, “From Drops of Blood,” 321-346; A. Bennison, “The Almohads and the Qur’an of ‘Uthman: The Legacy of the Umayyads of Cordoba in Twelfth-century Maghrib,” *Al-Masaq: Islam and the Medieval Mediterranean* 19/2 (2007), 131-154.

Indeed, if ever there was a moment in which the relationship between *jihād* and the memory of early Islam and its battles was more evident in al-Andalus, it was during the Almohad period. As we will see, two key elements of Almohad discourse were the allusion to the beginnings of Islam, viewed during this period as a model to return to, and a strong reliance on *jihād* as a source of legitimation and justification. It was the memory of the Prophet's expeditions and the first caliphs that connected both elements.

The first of these two elements, the Almohad reform project,⁶³ was established in the beginnings of the sixth/twelfth century by Muḥammad Ibn Tūmart in his role as the "restorer" of the original purity of Islam. Almohad discourse made frequent reference to the hadith that claimed: "Islam began as something strange and it will return as strange as it began, so glad tidings for the strangers!"⁶⁴ Ibn Tūmart and his followers, the true believers, were identified with strangers, *ghurabā'*, in a world of religious decadence.⁶⁵ The "perversion" of religion was most apparent in two forms of intoxication (*sakratāni*): ignorance, that is, forgetfulness of religious knowledge, and love of the worldly life, which implies forgetfulness of the eternal life and neglect of *jihād*. The fight against this supposed period of corruption would become one of the objectives of the Almohad project, which consequently strived to remove the two sources of "intoxication."

To this end, Ibn Tūmart appeared as a *mahdī*,⁶⁶ or saviour, and an *imām ma'ṣūm*, impeccable and infallible in his religious knowledge, someone who wanted to break with the immediate past and return to the first moments of Muḥammad's community by reverting to the model of moral puritanism and military activism represented by the Prophet and the *rāshidūn* caliphs.⁶⁷ Ibn Tūmart's own history was narrated with a rhetorical construction that linked his vital experience with that of the Prophet's career. Thus, for example, he began his mission as a religious reformer in a cave, *al-Ghār al-muqaddas*, a reference to the cavern in Mount Hira where the Prophet used to retire and where he encountered Gabriel for the first time, thus starting the revelation of the Qur'ān.⁶⁸ Similarly, Ibn Tūmart's flight

63. A. Bennison, *The Almoravid and Almohad Empires* (Edinburgh, 2016).

64. Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* (Beirut, 1987), n.º 270.

65. M. Fierro, "Doctrina y práctica jurídicas bajo los almohades" in P. Cressier, M. Fierro and L. Molina (eds.), *Los almohades: problemas y perspectivas* (Madrid, 2005), vol. II, 895-935. For more information about the figure of the *ghurabā'* see M. Fierro, "Spiritual Alienation and Political Activism: The *Ghuraba* in al-Andalus During the Sixth/twelfth Century," *Arabica* 47/1 (2000), 230-260. M. Ghouirgate, *L'ordre almohade (1120-1269) : une nouvelle lecture anthropologique* (Toulouse, 2014), 231 ff.

66. M. Fierro, "Doctrinas y movimientos de tipo mesiánico en al-Andalus," in J. I. de la Iglesia Duarte, *IX Semana de Estudios Medievales. Milenarismos y milenaristas en la Europa Medieval* (Logroño, 1999), 159-175. Fierro, "Le mahdī Ibn Tūmart," 107-124.

67. Fierro, "Le mahdī Ibn Tūmart," 107-124. L. Bombrun, "Les Mémoires d'al-Baydaq. L'écriture de l'histoire à l'époque almohade," in A. Nef and É. Voguet (eds.), *La légitimation du pouvoir au Maghreb médiéval : de l'orientalisation à l'émancipation politique* (Madrid, 2011), 93-108.

68. J. P. van Staëvel, "La caverne, refuge de « l'ami de Dieu » : une forme particulière de l'eremitisme au temps des almorávides et des almohades (Magreb extrême, XI^e-XIII^e siècles)," *Cuadernos de Madīnat al-Zahrā'* 7 (2010), 311-325.

to Tinmal was remembered as akin to the Hijra of Muḥammad and his first followers.⁶⁹ This process can be also observed in the fact that the Almohads neglected their duty to make a pilgrimage to Mecca, considering that they had their own sanctuary in Tinmal, where Ibn Tūmart was buried.⁷⁰

In this context, devotion to the direct study of the revealed sources, the Qurʾān and the *Sunna*, was undoubtedly, from a doctrinal point of view, one of the Almohads' main objectives. The founder of the Almohad movement made his own recension of Mālik's *Muwattaʿ*⁷¹ and a summary of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.⁷¹ Under the caliphate of al-Manṣūr the study and teaching of al-Bukhārī and Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, as well as the composition of hadith works, like the so-called *Arbaʿūn*, the "forty" hadiths, spread.⁷² ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī reports that, in the course of a discussion between the caliph al-Manṣūr and the Maliki jurist, Abū Bakr b. al-Jadd, about the reasons for diversity in scholarly opinion (*ikhṭilāf*), the caliph replied that, on the one hand, there was only the Qurʾān and the Prophet's tradition, specifically Abū Dāwud's *Sunan*, and, on the other, the sword, that is, *jihād*.⁷³

The second of the elements that we have pointed out, *jihād*, turns out to have been fundamental. It was proclaimed from the very beginning against the Almoravids,⁷⁴ denying their condition as true believers.⁷⁵ The Almohads used the doctrine of *takfīr*,⁷⁶ classifying

69. A. Huici Miranda, "La leyenda y la historia en los orígenes del imperio almohade," *Al-Andalus* 14 (1949), 139-176. The sources that transmit his biographical data were written chiefly as a means of legitimizing the Almohad empire. M. Fierro, "El *Mahdī* Ibn Tūmart: más allá de la biografía oficial," in M. A. Manzano and R. El Hour (eds.), *Política, sociedad e identidades en el Occidente islámico (siglos XI-XIV)* (Salamanca, 2016), 73-97. As ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī points out, he also traced his lineage back to the Prophet. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī, *Kitāb al-Muʿjib fī Talkhīṣ Akhbār al-Maghrib*, trans. Ambrosio Huici (Tetouan, 1955), 146-147. ʿAbd al-Muʿmin, the first Almohad caliph, also did something similar when he included Quraysh, Prophet Muḥammad's tribe, in the *qaysī* genealogy that was attributed to him. M. Fierro, "Las genealogías de ʿAbd al-Muʿmin, primer califa almohade," *Al-Qanṭara* 24/1 (2003), 77-107.

70. P. Buresi, "Les cultes rendus à la tombe du Mahdi Ibn Tūmart à Tinmâl," *Comptes Rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* 152/1 (2008), 391-438. Ghouirgate, *L'Ordre almohade*, 416 ff.

71. D. Urvoy, "Les écrits de Ibn Tumart," in *Le Maroc médiéval. Un empire de l'Afrique à l'Espagne* (Paris, 2014), 274-280.

72. M. Fierro, "Revolución y tradición: algunos aspectos del mundo del saber en al-Ándalus durante las épocas almorávide y almohade," in M. L. Ávila and M. Fierro (eds.), *Biografías almohades*, vol. II (Madrid-Granada, 2000), 131-165.

73. M. Fierro, "The Legal Policies of the Almohad Caliphs and Ibn Rushd's *Bidāyat al-Mujtahid*," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 10/3 (1999), 226-248.

74. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade. Fragment du "Iegajo" 1919 du fons arabe de l'Escorial* (Paris, 1928), 3.

75. M. Fierro, "La religión" in M. J. Viguera (ed.), *Los reinos de taifas. Al-Andalus en el siglo XI*, vol. VIII/1, *Historia de España Menéndez Pidal* (Madrid, 1994), 399-496. A. Huici Miranda, *Historia política del Imperio almohade* (Tetouan, 1957), vol. I, pp. 32-38. See also D. Serrano, "¿Por qué llamaron los almohades antropomorfistas a los almorávides?" in P. Cressier, M. Fierro and L. Molina (eds.), *Los almohades*, vol. II, 815-852.

76. C. Adang, H. Ansari, M. Fierro and S. Schmidtke (eds.), *Accusations of Unbelief in Islam: A Diachronic Perspective on Takfīr* (Leiden, 2016).

believers as infidels, just as the Khārijis had done before them.⁷⁷ *Jihād* was to be conducted against all those who did not accept the Almohad vision of Islam, which they considered the only true one. After fleeing to Tinmal (the new *hijra*), they became the new *muhājirūn*, emigrants who had escaped from a corrupt society and now had to bring it to an end by means of *jihād*.⁷⁸ The effort was thus conceived of as a holy war against the Almoravid state, which they thought of as unjust and illicit. In this sense, *jihād* was intertwined with *ḥisba*, the notion of “commanding right and forbidding wrong.”⁷⁹

The *jihād* was soon extended to the Christians,⁸⁰ especially after the Ifrīqiya campaign had been carried out by ‘Abd al-Mu’min in the year 552-553/1158. That same year, the caliph directly confronted a Christian power, that of the Normans, by taking Mahdiyya. Two years later, in 554-555/1160, ‘Abd al-Mu’min crossed the Strait of Gibraltar announcing, during the festival of the Sacrifice, the next *jihād* against the Christians.⁸¹ This is how the figure of the “ghāzī-caliph” reappeared, something the Almohad state devoted great care to, through, for instance, carefully planned parades.⁸²

Official propaganda also emphasized this notion to the point that, for example, letters announcing victories over the infidels (*kutub al-fath*) were sent to the capitals of the empire in the names of the caliphs and publicly read in the most important mosques.⁸³ Works on

77. Booney, *Jihad*, 56. Apparently, the Almoravids may have qualified the Almohads as Khārijis. A. Kadhim, *Estudio crítico, traducción y análisis de la obra Nazm al-Yuman de Ibn al-Qattan*, Tesis Doctoral, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 1991, vol. II, 10-13. The Fatimids also used this discourse to authorize violence against other Muslims, although in their sources only the *takfir* is implicit. The terms *kāfirūn* or *kuffār* are only recalled to refer to the infidels that opposed Abraham, Moses, or Muḥammad, but, according to the various descriptions of *kufir* behavior, one can deduce an analogy between the infidels who deny God and those Muslims who deny the *ahl al-Bayt* and the Ismaelite doctrines. See D. de Smet, “*Kufr et takfir dans l’ismaélisme fatimide: Le Kitāb Tanbīh al-hādī de Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī*,” in C. Adang, M. Fierro, H. Ansari and S. Schmidtke (eds.), *Accusations of Unbelief in Islam*, 82-102. Also the Cordoban Umayyads called some of their Muslim enemies *kuffār*. See, for example, Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muqtabas V*, 234.

78. The Khārijis also viewed themselves as *muhājirūn*. Booney, *Jihad*, 56.

79. M. García-Arenal, *Messianism and Puritanical Reform. Mahdīs of the Muslim West* (Leiden, 2006), 157-192. M. Cook, *Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong in Islamic Thought* (Cambridge, 2001), 390, 478, 496 and 511.

80. M. H. M. al-Qarqūṭī, *Jihād al-muwaḥḥidīn fī bilād al-Andalus, 541-629 H/1146-1233 M* (Argel, 2005); S. M. A. al-Raqab, *Shi‘r al-jihād fī ‘aṣr al-muwaḥḥidīn* (Amman, 1984). See also P. Buresi, “La réaction idéologique almoravide et almohade à l’expansion occidentale dans la péninsule Ibérique (fin xi^e-mi xiii^e siècles),” in *L’expansion occidentale (xi^e-xv^e siècles) Formes et conséquences XXXIIIe Congrès de la S.H.M.E.S.* (Paris, 2003), 229-241, and M. Fierro, “La palabra y la espada: posturas frente al «otro» en la época almohade” in M. A. Carmona and C. Estepa (coords.), *La Península Ibérica en tiempos de Las Navas de Tolosa* (Madrid, 2014), 53-77.

81. Fierro, “La palabra y la espada,” 53-77.

82. M. Marín, “El califa almohade: una presencia activa y benéfica,” in P. Cressier, M. Fierro and L. Molina (eds.), *Los almohades*, vol. II, 451-476; M. Fierro, “Algunas reflexiones sobre el poder itinerante almohade,” *E-Spania. Revue Interdisciplinaire d’Études Hispaniques Médiévales et Modernes* (8 December 2009), available online at <http://e-spania.revues.org/18653#bodyftn9>, n. 9. (accessed 29 May 2016), and Ghourigate, *L’Ordre almohade*, 311 ff.

83. C. Mohamed, “Notions de guerre et de paix à l’époque almohade,” in P. Cressier and V. Salvatierra (eds.), *Las Navas de Tolosa (1212-2012): miradas cruzadas* (Jaén, 2014), 53-68. For the importance of the concept of *fath* as holy war in the Almohad context, see A. García Sanjuán, “La noción de *fath* en las fuentes árabes andalusíes y magrebíes (siglos VIII al XIII),” in C. de Ayala, P. Henriot and S. Palacios (eds.), *Orígenes y desarrollo de la*

jihād were also composed at the express request of the Almohad authorities, as in the case of Ibn al-Munāṣif (d. 620/1223), the *qāḍī* of Valencia and Murcia. In the introduction to this work, commissioned by the governor of Valencia, who was none other than the youngest son of the caliph ‘Abd al-Mu’min, the author explained why he had composed it: to fulfill the noblest of duties and express the best way to subordinate oneself to God, namely through *jihād* against Allāh’s enemies.⁸⁴

But although Ibn Tūmart never confronted the Christians, since the scope of his action never extended beyond the Atlas, later Almohad rulers tried to highlight the fact that the founder of the Unitarian movement also included in its doctrine the idea of repelling the followers of Jesus through the use of armed force.⁸⁵ Ibn al-Qaṭṭān,⁸⁶ for instance, offers numerous examples of alleged discourses of the *mahdī* filled with allusions to the Christians, as well as Qur’ān verses referring to those who, according to the chronicler, were recited by the founder of the Almohad movement.⁸⁷ In fact, under the second caliph, Abū Ya‘qūb Yūsuf, a specific chapter on *jihād* was added to the *Kitāb* attributed to Ibn Tūmart.⁸⁸

Therefore, it is along these two major lines of the Almohad project, the alleged return to the origins of Islam and the revitalization of *jihād*, where one must situate the reproduction of the memory of the first battles of Islam as a shared element of both pillars.

One of the best examples is Ibn Ḥubaysh’s *Kitāb al-Ghazawāt*. Ibn Ḥubaysh, born in Almería in 540/1111, was a *faqīh*, *qāḍī*, *khaṭīb*: traditionist, genealogist, and lexicographer. Having studied in Cordoba with scholars like Abū Bakr Ibn al-‘Arabī, he became a renowned expert in the field of hadith. He witnessed the Christian conquest of Almería in 542/1147 and, in 556/1161, established himself in Murcia, where he took up the post of judge under the Almohad government. He died in 584/1188.⁸⁹ Allegedly, the same day he was appointed judge, the Almohad caliph Abū Ya‘qūb Yūsuf asked him to write the *Kitāb al-Ghazawāt*, as is stated in the prologue of the work.⁹⁰ The work deals with the wars and conquests that took place under the government of the three first caliphs of Islam, namely Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, and ‘Uthmān. For its composition, Ibn Ḥubaysh used eastern sources like Ibn Ishāq’s *Sīra*, al-Wāqidī’s *Kitāb al-Ridda*, al-Ṭabarī’s *Kitāb al-Ta’rikh*, Sayf b. ‘Umar’s *Kitāb al-Ridda wa*

guerra santa en la Península Ibérica (Madrid, 2016), 31-50, especially 42-50. See also F. Donner, “Arabic *fath* as ‘Conquest’ and its Origin in Islamic Tradition,” *Al-‘Uṣūr al-Wuṣṭā* 24 (2016), 1-14.

84. Mohamed, “Notions de guerre et de paix,” 53-68.

85. For more information about *jihād* against Christians and about the ideology promoted by the Almohads towards the followers of Christ, see J. Albarrán, “De la conversión y expulsión al mercenariado: la ideología en torno a los cristianos en las crónicas almohades,” in M. A. Carmona and C. Estepa (coords.), *La Península Ibérica*, 79-91.

86. Kadhim, *Nazm al-Yuman de Ibn al-Qattan*, vol. II, 52-56.

87. Q. 3:149, 9:123, 33:1 and 33:48.

88. Huici Miranda, *Historia política*, 95-100.

89. A. Carmona, “El saber y el poder: cuarenta biografías de ulemas levantinos de época de Ibn Mardaniš,” in M. L. Ávila and M. Fierro (eds.), *Biografías almohades*, vol. II, 57-130 and A. Rodríguez Figueroa, “Abū l-Qāsim Ibn Ḥubayš,” in *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, vol. III (Almería, 2004), 472-476.

90. D. M. Dunlop, “The Spanish Historian Ibn Hubaysh,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 73/4 (1941), 359-362 and Ibn Ḥubaysh, *Kitāb al-Ghazawāt* (Cairo, 1983), vol. I, 1.

al-futūḥ, and a *Kitāb futūḥ al-Shām*, of which he reports having seen several copies, each attributed to a different author, but which were in fact copies of al-Azdī's *Kitāb*.⁹¹

The production, implications, and readings of Ibn Ḥubaysh's *Kitāb al-Ghazawāt* must be understood in the context of the Almohad movement and what it sought. Just as Ibn Tūmart's biography had been constructed similarly to that of the Prophet or the fictitious genealogy that the first Almohad caliph, 'Abd al-Mu'min, invented for himself,⁹² Ibn Ḥubaysh's work joins a discursive tradition that looks at the past from the present moment⁹³ and seeks to legitimize itself through the production and reproduction of the memory of early Islamic times and the symbolic capital that this historical period contained. It is therefore a link within the social process of construction and the re-reading of history that was started by the Almohads themselves, in which they attempted to connect directly with the origins of Islam and present themselves as its restorers, thereby commemorating this sacred memory.

Ibn Ḥubaysh's *Kitāb al-Ghazawāt* also played an important role in regards to the Almohad *jihād* ideology, which prevailed especially during the government of Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf, a great promoter of the holy war against the Christians of the Iberian Peninsula. Not only did Abū Ya'qūb die in the midst of a battle at Santarem, but he was also the caliph who added the section on *jihād* to Ibn Tūmart's *Kitāb* and who ordered Ibn Ṭufayl to compose a poem inciting a holy war.⁹⁴ Ibn Ḥubaysh's work thus acted as a pious exhortation encouraging believers to follow the example of the first Muslims and their victories along the path of God and *jihād*.

Moreover, this function would not belong exclusively to the *futūḥ*.⁹⁵ The traditionalist and historian al-Kalā'ī (d. 634/1236), a disciple of Ibn Ḥubaysh, authored his *Kitāb al-iktifā'*

91. S. Mourad, "On Early Islamic Historiography: Abū Ismā'īl al-Azdī and his *Futūḥ al-Shām*," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 120/4 (2000), 577-593 and E. Landau Tasserou, "New data on an old manuscript: An Andalusian version of the work entitled *Futūḥ al-Shām*," *Al-Qanṭara* 21 (2000), 361-380. On the *futūḥ* work by al-Azdī see L. Conrad, "Al-Azdī's History of the Arab Conquests in Bilad al-Sham: Some Historiographical Observations," in *Proceedings of the Second Symposium on the History of Bilad al-Sham During the Early Islamic Period up to 40 AH/640 AD* (Amman, 1987), vol. I, 28-62; Mourad, "On Early Islamic Historiography," 577-593; A. Mazar, "The *Kitāb futūḥ al-Shām* of al-Qudamī as a Case Study for the Transmission of Traditions About the Conquest of Syria," *Der Islam* 84 (2007), 17-45; J. Scheiner, "Writing the History of the *Futūḥ*: the *Futūḥ* Works by al-Azdī, Ibn Aṭṭham and al-Wāqidi," in *The Lineaments of Islam* (Leiden, 2012), 151-176. Suleiman Mourad's paper also includes information about its transmission in al-Andalus. On other *futūḥ* works see R. Paret, "The Legendary *Futūḥ* Literature," in Fred M. Donner (ed.), *The Expansion of the Early Islamic State* (Aldershot, 2008), 163-175; Y. Dehghani, "Historical Writing in Baghdad: The Case of the *Futūḥ al-Shām* Ascribed to al-Wāqidi (d. 207/822)," in J. Scheiner and D. Janos (eds.), *The Place to Go: Contexts of Learning in Baghdad, 750-1000 C.E.* (Princeton, 2014), 587-599; Shoshan, *The Arabic Historical Tradition*.

92. Fierro, "Las genealogías de 'Abd al-Mu'min," 77-107. For the genealogies invented by Ibn Tūmart and 'Abd al-Mu'min see Lévi-Provençal, *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, 30-32.

93. T. Asad, "The Idea of an Anthropology of Islam," in *Occasional Papers Series* (Washington, 1986), 1-22.

94. E. García Gómez, "Una qaṣīda política inédita de Ibn Ṭufayl," *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos* 1 (1953), 21-28. For other poets that wrote about the *jihād* see T. Garulo, "La poesía de al-Andalus en época almohade" in *Música y poesía. El Legado andalusí* (Barcelona, 1995), 149-160.

95. For brief notes on the production of works about the Prophet and the first caliphs of the Almohad period, see Jarrar, *Die Prophetenbiographie*, 265 ff.

fi maghāzī al-muṣṭafā wa al-thalātha al-khulafā,⁹⁶ a work describing the battles of the Prophet and the first three caliphs, which was based on Ibn Ḥubaysh's text, among others.⁹⁷ Apart from being the secretary of the Almohad governor of Valencia, he was closely linked to *jihād* tendencies, whereby his work acted as a stimulus by reviving the memory of the first battles of Islam. Having participated in many campaigns, he died on Dhū l-ḥijja 19th, 643/August 13th, 1237 in the battle of Anisha, north of Valencia, during which he accused fleeing soldiers of, in his words, fleeing from paradise.⁹⁸

When we consider reformation in this sense, it is not difficult to find examples within the Almohad context that connect the *jihād* phenomenon with the idea of restoring the purity of early Islam. The repeated return to the direct study of primary Islamic sources is evidenced within the context of war. For example, 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī relates an episode which describes how, while preparing an expedition against the Christians in 574-5/1179, the caliph Abū Ya'qūb, the patron—it must be noted—of Ibn Ḥubaysh's work, ordered the 'ulamā' to dictate the available traditions on *jihād* to the Almohads which they then copied onto wooden tables and learned by heart. The spirit of warlike religiousness described by the chronicler was such that one of these scholars, Abū al-Qamar, ordered that his tables be kept so that he could be buried with them.⁹⁹

These same ideas can also be associated with a copy of 'Uthmān's Qur'ān that was used on the battlefield. Four chroniclers reported that the Almohad caliphs carried a copy of the Qur'ān in military parades and in war expeditions, yet only three of them specified that it was a copy of the Qur'ān of the third of the *rāshidūn* caliphs, 'Uthmān.¹⁰⁰ Along with this codex, they also carried another Qur'ān that had been copied by hand by the *mahdī* Ibn Tūmart, thus linking the caliphs who carried these copies with the origin of the Almohad movement; their possession of this symbolic capital, which was associated with the memory of the early caliphs, granted them a high degree of legitimization. According to 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī, 'Uthmān's Qur'ān had belonged to the Umayyads;¹⁰¹ it was the copy that, according to some traditions, 'Abd al-Raḥmān III himself carried into battle and that the Umayyad used to commemorate the times of the *rāshidūn*.¹⁰²

96. Al-Kalā'ī, *Kitāb al-iktifā' fi maghāzī al-muṣṭafā wa al-thalātha al-khulafā* (Beirut, 2000).

97. Landau-Tasserou, "On the Reconstruction of Lost Sources," 45-91.

98. A. Carmona, "Ibn Sālim al-Kalā'ī," in *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, vol. V (Almería, 2007), 205-211.

99. 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī, *Kitāb al-Mu'jib*, 208.

100. Ibn Ṣāḥib al-Ṣalāt, *Al-Mann bil-Imāma*, trans. Ambrosio Huici (Valencia, 1969), 178. Ibn Abī Zar', *Rawd al-Qirṭās*, trans. Ambrosio Huici (Valencia, 1964), vol. II, 433. Ibn 'Idhārī al-Marrākushī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib fi ikhtiṣār akhbār muluk al-Andalus wa al-Maghrib*, trans. Ambrosio Huici, Almohad part, vol. I (Tetouan, 1953), 63. 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī, *Kitāb al-Mu'jib*, 206-207.

101. Most likely brought by 'Abd al-Mu'min from Cordoba.

102. According to these traditions, this exemplar of the Qur'ān, copied by hand by 'Uthmān himself, would be the same one the caliph was praying with when he was assassinated, as evidenced by the blood stains that could be visible in its pages. Zadeh, "From Drops of Blood," 321-346. See also A. D. Lamare, "Le *muṣḥaf* de la mosquée de Cordoue et son mobilier mécanique," *Journal asiatique* 230 (1938), 551-575; Bennison, "The Almohads and the Qur'an of 'Uthman," 131-154, P. Buresi, "Une relique almohade: l'utilisation du Coran (attribué a 'Uṭmān b. 'Affān) de la Grande Mosquée de Cordoue," *Oriente Moderno* 88/2 (2008), 297-309 and P. Buresi, "D'une Péninsule

Another episode that directly reminds us of the first battles of Islam, specifically the Prophet's campaigns against the Meccans (something which further strengthens the possible context of production that I propose for Ibn Ḥubaysh's work), is narrated by Ibn Abī Zar^c, and is no doubt based on the memory of the battle of Badr, and in particular the appearance of angels¹⁰³ during the fighting.¹⁰⁴ The episode describes how, prior to the Alarcos battle, the Almohad caliph al-Manṣūr had a dream in which a knight, described as an angel, riding a white horse and carrying a green standard, announced the imminent victory of the Unitarian leader by the grace of God.¹⁰⁵ Interestingly, Ibn 'Abd Rabbih's *urjūza* also says that 'Abd al-Raḥmān III's armies were preceded by angels, like those of the Prophet at Badr and Ḥunayn.¹⁰⁶

Let's return to Ibn Ḥubaysh: If we keep in mind the ideas we have set forth about the Almohad movement, its continued desire to restore the past, and its commitment to *jihād*, the reading that I propose for his introduction to his *Kitāb al-Ghazawāt* appears to be fully coherent. Indeed, Ibn Ḥubaysh expresses that, having been commissioned by the Almohad caliph Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf to compose it, he will set out to describe the battles and conquests that took place during the stable and peaceful times of the first three caliphs: Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān.¹⁰⁷ Ibn Ḥubaysh also points out that the *baraka* associated with the caliphs and linked to the Prophet's campaigns, was "destructive of the enduring foundations of polytheism"¹⁰⁸ and, at the same time, fundamental for the consolidation of *tawḥīd* and the pillars of Islam.¹⁰⁹

According to his introduction, it is certainly reasonable to argue that Ibn Ḥubaysh establishes a parallelism between nascent Islam and his own times, just as Ibn 'Abd Rabbih had done with 'Abd al-Raḥmān's campaigns and the *maghāzī*. The Prophet thus equates Ibn Tūmart—an idea that was already being circulated, as we have seen—and the *rāshidūn* parallel the first Almohad caliphs. By focusing on the caliphs rather than on the Prophet, Ibn Ḥubaysh aims to legitimize the institutionalization and the routinization—in the Weberian sense—of Almohad authority. The Almohad rulers are presented as the embodiment and continuation of Ibn Tūmart's charismatic domination and of the rupturist movement he led, perhaps echoing what possibly occurred after the Prophet's death. The Almohad caliphs are responsible for continuing the *mahdī*'s work, just as the *rāshidūn* were responsible

à l'autre: Cordoue, 'Uṭmān (644-656) et les Arabes à l'époque almohade (xii^e-xiii^e siècle)," *Al-Qanṭara* 31/1 (2010), 7-29. Ghouirgate, *L'Ordre almohade*, 337 ff.

103. Within Islam, angels appearing in a dream represent divine assistance, ennoblement of the dreamer and his fate as a martyr. P. Lory, *Le rêve et ses interprétations en Islam* (Paris, 2003), 145-149. See also G. H. A. Juynboll, "Fighting Angels. Reply to Waugh's «Jealous Angels»," *Ohio Journal of Religious Studies* 2 (1974), 85-87.

104. An example of this is the following hadith transmitted by al-Bukhārī: "The Prophet, to whom Allāh may give His grace and peace, said on the day of Badr: There is Jibrīl grabbing the head of his horse and equipped for war." Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (Granada, 2008), 380.

105. Ibn Abī Zar^c, *Rawd al-Qirtās*, vol. II, 438.

106. Monroe, "The Historical Arjuza," 67-95.

107. Ibn Ḥubaysh, *Kitāb al-Ghazawāt*, vol. I, 1.

108. *Al-hādīma limā istiṭā' min mabānī al-shirk*.

109. Ibn Ḥubaysh, *Kitāb al-Ghazawāt*, vol. I, 1.

for continuing the Prophet's, and therefore the prophetic *baraka* (or Ibn Tūmart's, if we focus on the parallelism we have established) was associated with them. Moreover, the *Rāshidūn* caliphs had acted just as the Almohad caliphs were now trying to act in their role as restorers of that alleged golden past.¹¹⁰ With their battles and conquests, which the *jihād* conducted first against the apostates¹¹¹ and later against the infidels, they were undermining polytheism and strengthening the *tawhīd* and the pillars of Islam. In this context, we must not forget how essential the insistence on radical divine unity (*tawhīd*) was to Almohad thought,¹¹² as seen, of course, in the adoption of the name *al-muwaḥḥidūn*.¹¹³ *Tawhīd* was conceived of as the key element of Revelation. The Almohads were thus fulfilling the mandate of God (*Amr Allāh*)¹¹⁴ just as the Prophet and the first caliphs had done, and it was acknowledged as such, for instance, in one of the Unitary rulers' titles: *al-qā'im bi-amr Allāh*.¹¹⁵ In fact, the chronicles often show the conversion to *tawhīd* of entire populations, either infidels or Muslims, after being conquered by the Almohads.¹¹⁶

The occurrence of the term, *tawhīd*, in the introduction of Ibn Ḥubaysh's work in connection with the first campaigns of Islam cannot be due to chance. As had occurred during the times of the *rāshidūn*, the war on the infidels was a fundamental part of the attempt to restore the purity of the first period of Islam, a process which would result in a period of stability similar to the one supposedly enjoyed by Muslims under the government of the first caliphs. This is how both caliphates, the *Rāshidūn* and Almohads, are presented: as the restorers of order for the *Umma*, in contrast to the disorder that was represented by the period of the *Ridda* and the government of the Almoravid hypocrites, and the establishers of *tawhīd*.

Neither is it by chance that the expression, "let God extend the overflowing of their lights,"¹¹⁷ was used for the Almohad caliphs and their legacy. According to Almohad thought, the knowledge (*ʿilm*) created by God revealed itself inside the believer as a lamp. As a *mahdī*, Ibn Tūmart believed that his mission was to again reveal the light that had dimmed

110. Equating caliphs (and even emirs) to the *rāshidūn* is not new. It had already been done, for instance, by Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih in his *Kitāb al-masjada al-thaniya fī l-khulafāʾ wa al-tawārīkh wa-ayyāmihim* of his *al-ʿIqd al-farīd*. Toral-Niehoff, "History in *Adab* Context," 61-85.

111. One of the chapters of Ibn al-Munāshif's work defined the notion of *jihād* as war against the apostates. We can also detect here a clear parallelism between the *ridda*, the apostasy wars that took place after the Prophet's death, and the war that the Almohads declared on the Almoravids, whom they considered to be hypocrites and false Muslims.

112. R. Brunschvig, "Sur la doctrine du Mahdī Ibn Tūmart," *Arabica* 2 (1955), 137-149 and M. Fletcher, "The Almohad *Tawhīd*: Theology Which Relies on Logic," *Numen* 38 (1991), 110-127.

113. According to some sources, the original name of the movement may have been that of *al-Muʾminūn*, "the believers," thus indicating that the remaining Muslims had lost the path of Allah, *sabīl Allāh*, and had to be led back to the right track. Fierro, "Revolución y tradición," 131-165.

114. E. Fricaud, "Origine de l'utilisation privilégiée du terme de *amr* chez les Muʾminides almohades," *Al-Qanṭara* 23/1 (2002), 93-122.

115. L. Jones, "The Preaching of the Almohads: Loyalty and Resistance Across the Strait of Gibraltar," *Medieval Encounters* 19 (2013), 71-101.

116. Albarrán, "De la conversión y expulsión al mercenariado," 79-91.

117. *Madda Allāh fī ifāḍat anwārihim*. Ibn Ḥubaysh, *Kitāb al-Ghazawāt*, vol. I, 2.

after the Prophet's death.¹¹⁸ Just as the Prophet had been identified with the notion of *nūr muḥammadī*,¹¹⁹ Ibn Tūmart is clearly identified with the principle of "illumination" in the appellative *Asafu*, apparently meaning in Berber "light" or "lamp," a nickname which some of his disciples called him by during his youth. Such an identification may also be extended to 'Abd al-Mu'min, "the lamp of the Almohads," *sirāj al-muwaḥḥidīn*.¹²⁰

The association of the Almohad caliphs, especially the first ones, with the *Rāshidūn* caliphs may also be noted in other testimonies like the inscription on the axis of the Almohad lamp kept at the Qarawiyyin of Fez, made between 598-609/1202-1213 which identified Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr as the son of the *rāshidūn* caliphs;¹²¹ or in documents such as the letter sent from Ifrīqiya by 'Abd al-Raḥmān, son of the Almohad caliph al-Nāṣir, to the authorities of Pisa, Girardo Visconti, in April 1202. At the beginning of the letter, where he includes various Almohad titularies, he refers to the *Rāshidūn* imam caliphs, as well as the imam caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh, prince of the believers and son of the immaculate imam caliphs (*ṭāhirīn*).¹²²

Therefore, the restoration of true Islam and *jihād*, as pillars of the Almohad project, are legitimized in this work through the commemoration of the *Rāshidūn* caliphs' *futūḥ* and the symbolic capital they carried. They are justified by the remembrance of the origins they wish to return to, which had been established by Ibn Ḥubaysh as a mirror-image of his own time. However, memory involves not simply remembrance, but also selective forgetting. And omissions often reveal the anxieties of a given discourse. Since we have already explained the absence of the Prophet, it is more relevant to shed light upon what had happened—and was still happening for the Almohads—after the death of the founder, be he the Prophet or the *mahdī*.

But another absence is worth noting: that of the fourth of the *Rāshidūn* caliphs, 'Alī. This omission may have to do with what a given discourse suggests about the government of the figure being discussed. According to Donner's classification,¹²³ the narrative on 'Alī more closely resembles a narrative of *fitna*, that is, civil war or conflict within the Islamic

118. M. Brett, "The Lamp of the Almohads: Illumination as a Political Idea in Twelfth-century Morocco" in Brett, M. (ed.), *Ibn Khaldun and the Medieval Maghrib* (Aldershot, 1999), 1-27, and García-Arenal, *Messianism and Puritanical Reform*, 182-184.

119. U. Rubin, "Pre-Existence and Light: Aspects of the Concept of Nūr Muḥammad," *Israel Oriental Studies* 5 (1975), 62-117.

120. Kadhim, *Nazm al-Yuman de Ibn al-Qattan*, vol. II, 40. García-Arenal, *Messianism and Puritanical Reform*, 182-184.

121. *Le Maroc médiéval*, 334. Linda Jones, in her interesting paper on Almohad sermons, refers to the form of address, "son of the *rāshidīn* caliphs" (here for caliph al-Nāṣir), in a *khuṭba* transmitted by 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī. Jones, "The Preaching of the Almohads," 71-101.

122. M. Amari, *Diplomi arabi dell' archivio fiorentino* (Florence, 1864-1869), vol. I, 65-71; A. al-Tazi, *al-Tarikh al-diblumasi li al-maghrib* (Rabat, 1987), vol. VI, 202-205; A. Azzawi, *Nouvelles lettres almohades* (Kenitra, 1995), 226-228 and P. Buresi, "Les documents arabes et latins échangés entre Pise et l'Empire almohade en 596-598/1200-1202: la chancellerie au cœur des relations diplomatiques," in A. Regourd (dir.), *Documents et manuscrits arabes* (Paris, 2012), 21-96.

123. F. Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins. The Beginnings of Islamic Historical Writing* (Princeton, 1998), 184 ff.

community, a discourse which is more closely related to the struggle for the leadership of the *Umma*. However, the discourse of the Almohad movement was not one of internal struggle between two Islamic models, but of a return to the pure form of Islam to face external enemies. Therefore, it was not the discourse of *fitna* that was of interest, but that of *ridda* and *futūḥ*, the discourse of war against apostasy and infidelity. Besides, the caliphate of ‘Alī and the *fitna* represent the end of stability and unity in the *Umma* and, therefore, of that alleged golden period that the Almohads wished to restore.

Additionally, ‘Alī did not fit well in the discourse that the Unitarians had constructed and even inscribed in the line of the Damascus and Cordoba Umayyads through symbolic acts such as designating Cordoba as the capital of al-Andalus in 557-8/1162 or restoring the dynasty’s emblematic color to white rather than using black like the Abbasids, who had legitimized the Almoravids.¹²⁴ In this sense, this re-elaboration of the classical historiographic periodization in regard to the *Rāshidūn* caliphs, imposed especially by the Abbasids, reminds us of certain pro-Umayyad testimonies studied by Antoine Borrut that also “forgot” ‘Alī and that had now perhaps been restored by the first Almohad caliphs, especially through the Andalusī historiographical memory.¹²⁵ In fact, in the pro-Almohad chronicle, *Nazm al-jumān*, one can see how ‘Abd al-Mu’min’s caliphate is legitimized. He is described as the “lord of the conquests” through a prophecy which was supposedly included in Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih’s pro-Umayyad work, *al-‘Iqd al-farīd*.¹²⁶ That is to say, there is apparently a search for Umayyad sources to support and justify the Almohad project.

The Dusk of Almohad Power: Ibn al-Qaṭṭān’s *Ghazawāt*

Ibn Ḥubaysh’s work was written in a moment when the Almohad movement was expanding rapidly and reaching its climax. As the caliphate extended its power, conquests were made one after another both in the Maghreb and in al-Andalus. Consequently, the commemoration of the conquests of the first caliphs as well as the expansion of Islam in what was considered a golden period fit perfectly within the discourse that the Almohads were trying to promote. However, the recourse to the memory of early Islam and its recontextualization also became rhetorical tools in moments of crisis and decadence, when the message was no longer that of expansion, but rather of recovering the initial impulse of Islam.

In 625/1228, al-Ma’mūn, who had proclaimed himself caliph in al-Andalus in 624/1227, and upon entering Marrakech, renounced the doctrinal core of “Almohadism.”¹²⁷ He abjured not only central Almohad doctrines, but also the figure of Ibn Tūmart himself, noting that Jesus was the only *mahdī*. Among other things, he ordered the removal of Ibn Tūmart’s

124. Fierro, “The Legal Policies of the Almohad Caliphs,” 226-248, and P. Cressier and P. Marinetto Sánchez, “Les chapiteaux islamiques de la péninsule Ibérique et du Maroc de la renaissance émirale aux Almohades,” in *L’acanthé dans la sculpture architecturale de l’Antiquité à la Renaissance* (Paris, 1993), 211-246.

125. Borrut, “Vanishing Syria,” 37-68.

126. Kadhīm, *Nazm al-Yuman de Ibn al-Qaṭṭan*, vol. II, 167.

127. Ibn Abī Zar‘, *Rawd al-Qirṭās*, vol. II, pp. 487-488. Ibn ‘Idhārī al-Marrākushī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, Almohad part, vol. I, 318-319.

name from the *khuṭba* and also from coins. This doctrinal change clearly reflects the crisis the Almohad power was experiencing.¹²⁸ The caliphs that succeeded al-Ma'mūn tried to recover the splendor of the *tawhīd* movement, but it was already too late.

Among those who devoted considerable effort to the cause, at least in framing Almohad discourse, was the new caliph, al-Murtaḍā (r. 646-665/1248-1266).¹²⁹ Appointed during his provincial rule in Sale, he stood out, according to the sources, for his intelligence, piety, and modesty.¹³⁰ The onset of his reign coincided with the Merinid seizure of Taza, which clearly indicates the degree of unrest the government he headed was experiencing. Although he led numerous campaigns in an effort to re-activate the image of the ghāzī-caliph and thus prevent Almohad collapse, almost all of them failed. Likewise, the chronicles show how, from the very beginning of his reign, he tried to model his rule on the practices of previous Almohad caliphs. Immediately after his acknowledgment as caliph, he began to put into practice the *ḥisba*¹³¹ and, when he arrived to Marrakech from Sale, Almohad notables received him in full, beautifully adorned dress as well as horses, drums, flags, and regular soldiers.¹³² On Ramaḍān 1st 649/November 17th 1251 he went to Tinmal to visit and honor Ibn Tūmart's sepulchre and receive his *baraka* by kissing and touching his remains.¹³³ The new caliph also ordered the immediate punishment of anyone that raised doubts about the doctrine of infallibility of the founder of the Almohads.¹³⁴ In this sense, before each expedition, he visited the *mahdī*'s tomb in the custom of his forefathers and applied their standards to it.¹³⁵ He also marched to combat in the same formation his predecessors had, and carried the famous *afraǧ*, a linen rim that isolated the ruler's tent from the rest of the encampment.¹³⁶

Sources also portray him as a literate ruler and poet. He liked to read books attentively and also compose them. He asked the *faqīh* Abū Muḥammad Ibn al-Qaṭṭān to compose several books for him, paying him in great positions and significant goods. These works were, according to Ibn 'Idhārī: the *Naẓm al-jumān*, the *Kitāb shifā' al-ghilal fī akhbār al-anbiyā' wa al-rusul*, the *Kitāb al-iḥkām li-bayān ayātihi*, the *Kitāb al-munājāt* and the *Kitāb al-masmū'āt*.¹³⁷ In this list, however, another work commissioned by al-Murtaḍā to Ibn al-Qaṭṭān is missing: the *Kitāb al-Rawḍāt al-bahiya al-wasīma fī ghazawāt al-nabawiyya al-karīma*.

128. Huici Miranda, *Historia política*, vol. II, 476-7.

129. Huici Miranda, *Historia política*, vol. II, 541 ff.

130. Ibn 'Idhārī al-Marrākushī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, Almohad part, vol. II, 198.

131. *Fa-min ḥaynihi nahā wa amara*

132. Ibn 'Idhārī al-Marrākushī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, Almohad part, vol. II, 200.

133. Ibn 'Idhārī al-Marrākushī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, Almohad part, vol. II, 219.

134. Ibn 'Idhārī al-Marrākushī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, Almohad part, vol. II, 309-311 and Jones, "The Preaching of the Almohads," 71-101.

135. Ibn 'Idhārī al-Marrākushī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, Almohad part, vol. II, 218 and 239.

136. Ibn 'Idhārī al-Marrākushī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, Almohad part, vol. II, 221-222. Ghouirgate, *L'ordre almohade*, 314 ff.

137. Ibn 'Idhārī al-Marrākushī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, Almohad part, vol. II, 309-311.

Little is known about Ibn al-Qaṭṭān, who was probably born in Fez or Marrakech around the year 579-580/1185.¹³⁸ Son of Abū al-Ḥasan Ibn al-Qaṭṭān (d. 628/1231) and known for his work as a historian, most notably as the author of the *Nazm al-jumān*, it seems obvious that he was raised according to the principles of the Almohad movement and that he inherited from his father his belief in these doctrines. The latter served as one of the *ṭalaba* for the caliphs al-Manṣūr, al-Nāṣir, and al-Mustanṣir and became a principal apologist of the regime through such works as the *Risāla fī al-Imāma al-Kubrā*, whose main objective was to legitimize the Almohad empire.¹³⁹ Abū Muḥammad followed in his father's footsteps and entered the service of the caliph al-Murtaḍā, for whom, as we have seen, he composed many works. The *Nazm al-jumān*, his most famous work, evinces his enthusiasm for the Almohad movement. Apparently, it was a huge encyclopedia on the geography and history of the entire Maghreb, although the manuscript in which it is preserved only comprises a very short time span of the years 500-533 of the Hegira (1107-1138).¹⁴⁰

Of key interest is another of the works that al-Murtaḍā ordered Ibn al-Qaṭṭān to write and that, as already mentioned, Ibn ʿIdhārī did not include in his list, which was perhaps the reason why it has gone unnoticed by researchers. The *Kitāb al-Rawḍāt al-bahiya al-wasīma fī ghazawāt al-nabawiyya al-karīma* is a *maghāzī* work which still remains unpublished; a manuscript of the work is housed in the Qarawiyyin library in Fez.¹⁴¹ At the beginning of the manuscript, it is said that al-Murtaḍā ordered him to compile and write the work¹⁴² and at the end that it was finished in the month of Dhū al-Ḥijja of the year 662 (September-October 1264),¹⁴³ just before the end of al-Murtaḍā's government in 665/1266. Likewise, in a note added later in the margin of one of the first pages, it is said that the manuscript entered the Qarawiyyin library in the month of Rajab of 1009 (January-February 1601) during the regency of the sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr.¹⁴⁴

Just as we saw in Ibn Nuḥās' treatise on *jihād*, Ibn al-Qaṭṭān divided his work into two unusual parts in *maghāzī* books: the first is dedicated to the expeditions directly conducted by the Prophet,¹⁴⁵ whereas the second deals with those that Muḥammad sent, but did not

138. A. Rodríguez Figueroa, "Ibn al-Qaṭṭān, Abū Muḥammad," in *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, vol. IV (Almería, 2006), 398-403.

139. A. Rodríguez Figueroa, "Ibn al-Qaṭṭān, Abū l-Ḥasan," in *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, vol. IV (Almería, 2006), 390-398.

140. Kadhim, *Nazm al-Yuman de Ibn al-Qattan* and M. Fletcher, "The *Nazm al-Juman* as a Source for Almohad History," in *Actes du 1^{er} Congrès d'histoire et de la civilisation du Maghreb* (Tunis, 1979), 193-200.

141. Mss. 296. My dissertation (*La memoria de las primeras batallas del islam y el yihad en el Occidente islámico. Ss. XII-XIII*, directed by Carlos de Ayala and Mercedes García-Arenal) will include a study of this work and of this manuscript. For a paleographical edition of the introduction see J. Albarrán, "Memoria y *yihad* en el ocaso del poder almohade: el *Kitāb al-Rawḍāt al-bahiya al-wasīma fī gazawāt al-nabawiyya al-karīma*," *Al-Qanṭara* 38/2 (2017), 387-406.

142. We follow the numbering of the manuscript. Mss. Qarawiyyin 296, f. 3.

143. Mss. Qarawiyyin 296, f. 252.

144. Mss. Qarawiyyin 296, f. 3.

145. Mss. Qarawiyyin 296, ff. 11-173.

participate in.¹⁴⁶ Ibn al-Qaṭṭān announces that he will mainly follow Ibn Ishāq, but will also attend to discrepancies with other authors, like al-Wāqidī.¹⁴⁷

The text must be understood and read within the framework of the revitalization project of the Almohad movement that al-Murtaḍā started without success. Ibn al-Qaṭṭān's text emphasizes the link between *jihād* and the first battles of Islam and, as in Ibn Ḥubaysh's work, that between the *Rāshidūn* caliphs and the early Almohad rulers. It also creates a clear link between the Prophet and Ibn Tūmart,¹⁴⁸ and, ultimately, between the latter and al-Murtaḍā in his efforts to recover Almohad doctrine and tradition. The author, commissioned by the caliph, commemorates the difficult beginnings of the Almohad movement as well as the fight of the *mahdī* and his followers against their enemies through the recontextualization of the arduous beginnings of Islam and of the encounters of the Prophet and his companions with the pagans.

In his introduction, Ibn al-Qaṭṭān states that God sent the Prophet guidance and "true religion" in order to reveal it.¹⁴⁹ Curiously enough, in the *Naẓm al-jumān* he also speaks in these terms in regard to Ibn Tūmart's role.¹⁵⁰ That is to say, the mission of the *mahdī* is likened to Muḥammad's. He then introduces a series of images of fighting, war, and *jihād*, with direct allusions not only to infidels in a general manner, but also to Christians: the Prophet was sent to "raise the sun of faith over the infidels and vanquish its enemies, in order to destroy the source of infidelity, its lighthouses and its temples, and to wipe out and break their crosses."¹⁵¹ Likewise, as in Ibn Ḥubaysh's introduction, the metaphor of the "lights" is shown again, on this occasion to illustrate the triumph of faith and of the Prophet. Looking back at the *Naẓm al-jumān*, one notes how the *mahdī* is represented as the carrier of light against injustice.¹⁵²

In the *Kitāb al-Rawḍāt*, God had promised victory to the Prophet and fulfilled his word by giving him triumphs in his expeditions until he could establish his religion and punish the hypocrites, a term used by the *mahdī* and the Almohads to qualify the Almoravids in their practice of *takfīr*, as we have seen. Muḥammad's objective was to lead *jihād* until his religion prevailed over the world, since salvation was achieved by testifying that there was no other god than God.¹⁵³ This claim in the introduction of the *Kitāb al-Rawḍāt* takes us back to the *Naẓm al-jumān*, to a passage in which Ibn al-Qaṭṭān mentions the duty to fight against the infidels already pointed out by Ibn Tūmart by using the verse Q. 9:123, as well

146. Mss. Qarawiyyin 296, ff. 173-252.

147. Mss. Qarawiyyin 296, ff. 11.

148. The comparison Muḥammad /Ibn Tūmart is constant in the *Naẓm al-jumān*. Kadhim, *Nazm al-Yuman de Ibn al-Qattan*, vol. II, 76 ff. It also appears in another Almohad sources such as al-Baydhaq, *Kitāb Akhbār al-Mahdī Ibn Tūmart*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥamid Hajjiyāt (Argel, 1975). See also Bombrun, "Les Mémoires d'al-Baydaq," 93-108; Fierro, "El Mahdī Ibn Tūmart," 73-97.

149. Mss. Qarawiyyin 296, f. 4.

150. Kadhim, *Nazm al-Yuman de Ibn al-Qattan*, vol. II, 76 ff.

151. Mss. Qarawiyyin 296, f. 4.

152. Kadhim, *Nazm al-Yuman de Ibn al-Qattan*, vol. II, 107.

153. Mss. Qarawiyyin 296, f. 5.

as a hadith according to which the Prophet said: “It has been ordered to fight against the people until they say ‘There is no other god than God.’”¹⁵⁴ The use of this hadith in both Ibn al-Qaṭṭān’s works emphasizes again the parallelism Muḥammad/Ibn Tūmart.

Moreover, in the *Kitāb al-Rawḍāt* Ibn al-Qaṭṭān establishes a chronology for the beginning of the Prophet’s *jihād*. In citing a narrative of Abū ‘Ubayd (d. 224/838) he says that *jihād* was forbidden before the Hijra and that until that moment Allāh had ordered the predication of Islam without fighting. However, that prohibition was lifted after the emigration to Medina, where the permission to fight the polytheists was obtained until there remained no more *fitna*.¹⁵⁵ That is to say, he is following the traditional outline of the evolution of *jihād*.¹⁵⁶ During the first period, that of the beginning of revelation in Mecca, the Muslims were forbidden to participate in battle, according to the interpretation of several Qur’ānic verses (Q. 5:13; 23:96; 73:10; 88:22). The second one, as seen in Ibn al-Qaṭṭān’s work, begins after the Hijra, when Muḥammad received the authorization to fight.

What is interesting is that the outline articulated around the Hijra can also be seen in the case of the Almohad movement and their own “Hijra” to Tinmal. After this flight, the companions of the *mahdī*, just like those of Muḥammad, are also called *muhājirūn*, a theme that also occurs in the *Nazm al-jumān*.¹⁵⁷ Thus, from this point of view, both emigrations not only meant a change in space, but also a shift in relations with the enemies of Muḥammad/Ibn Tūmart. In this sense, the Hijra signifies the entry into a state of war and demonstrates the necessity of carrying out *jihād*.¹⁵⁸

Therefore, through the *Kitāb al-Rawḍāt* (and other works with which the *Nazm al-jumān* dialogued) the caliph al-Murtaḍā and Ibn al-Qaṭṭān created a rhetorical framework that commemorated, by employing the memory of the Prophet’s *jihād*, the beginnings of the Almohad movement as well as the figure of the *mahdī* Ibn Tūmart, in order to discursively legitimize their attempted recovery of their doctrine, legacy, and glory during times of decadence and crisis for the Almohad caliphate, a project that would eventually fail. Although the Almohad empire did not obtain the revitalization that al-Murtaḍā was after and in the end disappeared, one must not underestimate the effort, especially on an intellectual level, that this ruler made in his attempts to return the Almohad movement to the space it had occupied decades prior.

154. Kadhim, *Nazm al-Yuman de Ibn al-Qattan*, vol. II, 54-55. Muslim, *Saḥīḥ Muslim*, Book of the Faith, chapter 9, n° 31.

155. Mss. Qarawiyin 296, ff. 9-10.

156. R. Firestone, *Jihād. The Origin of Holy War in Islam* (Oxford, 1999), 47 ff., and García Sanjuán, “Bases doctrinales y jurídicas del ḡihād,” 243-277.

157. Kadhim, *Nazm al-Yuman de Ibn al-Qattan*, vol. II, 29.

158. P. Crone, “The First-century Concept of Hiḡra,” *Arabica* 61 (1994), 352-387; M. Ebsstein, “The Connection Between *Hijra* and *Jihād* in Classical Islam,” *Jamā‘a* 15 (2005-2006), 53-85; I. Lindstedt, “*Muhājirūn* as a Name for the First/Seventh-century Muslims,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 74/1 (2015), 67-73.

Concluding Remarks

Throughout this study we have seen how the Islamic discursive tradition¹⁵⁹ (in this case around *jihād*) is dominated by the memory of the Prophet and of early Islamic times, and vice-versa, how this memory has been limited and molded by this discursive tradition. The remembrance of the first battles of Islam and their recontextualization has proven to be a fundamental tool for the conceptualization and legitimization of *jihād*. The most important war was the one carried out by the Prophet against the infidels and hypocrites of his time, and after it the conquests of the *rāshidūn* took place. All other *jihads* within Islamic history are simply derivations of the initial one. Ergo, the *maghāzī* and *futūḥ* represented the true and pure spirit of *jihād*. Theories like that of al-Shaybānī's "four swords" further underpinned this reality. The first expeditions of Islam functioned as a "social ideality" in times when *jihād* had to be conceptualized and justified.

During the period of the Cordoban caliphate, the ruler's consolidation of power and authority was sought through the figure of the "ghāzī-caliph," a figure that in turn was legitimized through the commemoration of the first expeditions of Islam in a dynamic process whereby these battles were recovered, re-narrated and recontextualized. However, except in the case of Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, there does not seem to be a systematic program of memorialization of *maghāzī* and *futūḥ*: no one wrote, for example, a work on these topics. Rather, together with other legitimation tools such as the recourse to the own memory of the Umayyad dynasty, they were used as punctual discursive mechanisms.

On the other hand, in a project like that of the Almohads, which attempted to restore the alleged purity of the times of the Prophet and the *rāshidūn* and which had a marked emphasis on *jihād*, the commemoration of *maghāzī* and *futūḥ* became the perfect link between holy war and the origins of Islam. The recontextualization of the Prophet and the first caliphs' charisma and the symbolic capital they had acquired due to the establishment of contemporaneous parallelisms, became the perfect legitimization tool. In this case, we do find a systematic program of remembrance with which the Almohad rulers, through the commission of *maghāzī* and *futūḥ* works, legitimized their actions. In this exercise of "mnemohistory" we have seen how, in different contexts, the Unitarian caliphs reformulated and appropriated the first battles of Islam as sites of sacred memory, to shape Ibn Tūmart as a new Muḥammad and themselves as the new *rāshidūn*, thus unifying a revival of Islam and their ideology of *jihād*.

159. Asad, "The Idea of an Anthropology," 1-22.

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