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Poetic Responses to the Crucifixion in the Early Islamic Periods

Fahd Alebdha

Department of Arabic Language, King Saud University, Riyadh, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia

Abstract: *As a means of humiliation and insult, some political figures prefer crucifixion over other punishments to diminish the physical as well as spiritual powers of their enemy. In this paper, I will shed light on the poetic reaction to such efforts by focusing on the dichotomy of sanctification versus desecration, the main grounds for the confrontation between crucifixion and poetry. Additionally, this paper explores the motifs and techniques employed by poets to restore the image of their crucified men, which had been greatly damaged by their crucifixion. Moreover, this paper seeks to gain a better understanding of how Arab poets took advantage of a group of religious concepts to promote their causes.*

Keywords: *Crucifixion; Arabic Poetry; Sanctification; Desecration; Humiliation; Grave*

Introduction

In Islam, the sanctity of the human body after death can be conceived of in many different ways. The prophet Muhammad said that "breaking the bones of one who is dead is like breaking them when he is alive." [1] This hadith emphasizes the sanctity of the dead person, which must not be violated by mutilating the corpse and humiliating the grave. [2] The burial of the dead is the only way of honoring the deceased. Anything other than that is considered a form of humiliation and desecration of the body. This conclusion can be deduced in the Quran in *surat ʿabasa* where Allah talks about the stages of man's creation: "Woe to man! How ungrateful he is! From what thing does God create him? He creates him from a droplet, He proportions him, He makes the way easy for him, then He causes him to die and be buried. When He wills, He will raise him up again."[3] Additionally, there is a prophetic saying, stating this sense clearly: "to honor the deceased is to bury him."[4] Therefore, crucifixion may be considered a humiliation of the body.[5]

The main thesis of this paper is to consider poets' responses to a ruler's attempt to desecrate a crucified person's body as a political act to eradicate both his material and immaterial existence. It focuses on what Arab poets in the early Islamic periods emphasized in confronting a ruler's desecration of the crucified. Moreover, I conceive the desecration produced by crucifixion as a distinct process of delegitimization to which the poets reacted. The motifs and images employed by poets in order to beautify the image of the crucified and restore his damaged reputation will be identified and discussed at length. My contribution in this paper lies in giving an answer to the main literary question

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regarding the vital role of poetry and its performative aspects in the early Islamic periods by tracing the poets' reactions to cases of crucifixion.

Crucifixion was not a popular means of punishment in the *Jahilī* (pre-Islamic) period. However, it was narrated that the infidels murdered Khubayb ibn ʿAday by crucifying him on a wooden stump and spearing him to death.[6] A poetic reference to the practice of crucifixion among the people in the *Jāhilia* (pre-Islamic) period is a verse by Qurad ibn Hanash al-Saridi:[7]

وَهُمْ صَلَبُوا العَبْدِيَّ فِي جِذْعِ نَخْلَةٍ فَلَا عَطَسَتْ شَيْبَانُ إِلا بِأَجْدَعَا

And they crucified al-ʿAbdi on a palm stump
So, may [God] make Shayban sneeze with a cut nose.
(On *al-ṭawīl* [the long] meter, rhymed using—ʿā)

Lack of further information about this verse renders its context very ambiguous. All we know is that al-ʿAbdi is attributed to the tribe of ʿAbd al-Qays, and that the poet called upon the noses of Shayban, the enemies of al-ʿAbdi, to be cut.[8] Beside its reference to the practice of crucifixion in the *Jāhilia* period, the importance of this verse is its depiction of the of crucifixion as a means of humiliation. A cut nose, in Arabic culture, is a metaphor for humiliation, so the poet called for the humiliation of Shayban, who cast humiliation upon al-ʿAbdi by crucifying him.[9]

Another instance of crucifixion in the *Jāhilia* period is the story of the murder and crucifixion of the famous *Ṣuʿlūk* (brigand) poet al-Shanfara, who was able to have killed ninety-nine of Banu Salaman's people. It was narrated that Banu Salaman could finally arrest him, and then murder and crucify him. The body was crucified for one whole year.[10] However, it is important to point out that al-Shanfara, according to the literary *khabar* (news), actually refused to be buried when his enemy, after he was arrested, asked him where he wished to be buried. The following verse was his answer:[11]

لا تَقْبِرُونِي إِنّ قَبْرِي مُحَرَّمٌ عليْكُمْ ولكِنْ أبْشِرِي أمَّ عَامِرِ

Do not bury me, for my grave is forbidden
to you, but O Umm ʿĀmir [hyena] [will] be delighted [to feast on my flesh and bones].
(On *al-ṭawīl* [the long] meter, rhymed using—rī)

The practice of crucifixion continued in the early Islamic period. It was said that the Prophet Muhammad murdered ʿUqba ibn Abi Muʿayṭ, and then ordered his people to be crucified. Thus, ʿUqba ibn Abi Muʿayṭ is considered the first crucified person in Islam. Additionally, his companion Khalid ibn al-Walid crucified ʿAqqa ibn Jusham al-Namri.[12]

Crucifixion, in its *political* form, was broadly employed by Umayyad officials. Among political figures whose crucifixions were politicized in the Umayyad period were ʿAbd al-Allah ibn al-Zubayr, ʿAmr ibn al-Zubayr, Yazid ibn al-Muhallab ibn Abi Sufra, Yahya ibn Zayd ibn ʿAli, and the father of Yahya, Zayd ibn ʿAli ibn al-Husayn ibn ʿAli ibn Abi Talib. [13] Sean Anthony in his book *Crucifixion and Death as Spectacle* sheds light on the practices of crucifixion in the Umayyad period. Anthony, in

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the beginning, presents the meanings of the word *ṣalb* by stating that the meaning of the word *salb* could include any or all of the following: torturing a person to death on a cross by stabbing him with a spear or shooting him with arrows, or both, then decapitating and making a public display of the corpse.[14]

Anthony also addresses the origins of Umayyad crucifixion by devoting two chapters to discuss crucifixion in the late antiquity. He concludes that the practice of crucifixion for the Umayyads was more than simply routine forms of execution handed down from the Romans and Sasanids during late Antiquity. Rather, crucifixion, once adopted by the Umayyads, was transformed by them into a powerful means of demonstrating that they were the legitimate protectors of Islam and its peoples".[15]

Anthony discusses at length the ideology, symbolism, and power of crucifixion as a political tool of Umayyad ideology and rule. He states that Umayyad crucifixion was a political act associated, in one way or another, with an aspect of religion to achieve a secular purpose. The religious aspect of Umayyad crucifixion can be observed in the Umayyads' claims of legitimacy and their reliance on propaganda to reduce or obliterate the status of their enemy before God. The power of crucifixion lays in its ability to exclude the crucified from the Muslim *umma*; it was an opportunity for the ruler or the state to express its power. Its symbolism derives from a ruler's power to determine the borders of social identity. Additionally, crucifixion is in fact a violation and denial of the crucified's sanctity by barring him from entering into the purified society.[16]

Therefore, the crucifixion and desecration of the enemy were employed by the Umayyads to eliminate their enemies physical and spiritual powers. However, since my concern in this paper is poetry, I will confine myself to a discussion of the poetic reactions to the cases of political crucified figures. However, unfortunately, I have not found any instance of an entire poem reacting to a crucifixion case—just scattered verses here and there. Let us begin my discussion with the case of Ibn al-Zubayr's crucifixion.

ʿAbd Allah ibn al-Zubayr ibn alʿAwwam was the first born in Madina after the Prophet Muhammad's emigration. He was acknowledged as caliph after the death of the Umayyad caliph Yazid ibn Muʿawiya in the year 683. Lasting for nine years, Ibn al-Zubayr's rule covered Egypt, al-Hijaz, al-Yaman, Khurasan, Iraq, and most of al-Sham. The battles between Ibn al-Zubayr and the Umayyads were massive and arduous. The Umayyads chose al-Hajjaj ibn Yusuf to undertake the elimination of ibn al-Zubayr's rule which was accomplished by murdering and crucifying Ibn al-Zubayr in Mecca in the year 692.[17]

It was said that al-Hajjaj crucified Ibn al-Zubayr upside down. However, a musky scent was emitted from Ibn al-Zubayr's body. Therefore, al-Hajjaj placed a dead dog, or dead cat with his body to overwhelm the musky scent.[18] Needless to say that, putting dead animals next to a body is to intensify its desecration. Paradoxically, the birth of Ibn al-Zubayr was associated with events implying the sacredness of Ibn al-Zubyar. First of all, he was the first born in Islam. Secondly, the Prophet Muhammad prayed for him and invoked a blessing on him. Thirdly, the Prophet performed *taḥnīk* (chewing a date and putting it in the one's mouth) upon Ibn al-Zubayr, so the first thing that entered into Ibn al-Zubayr's abdomen was the Prophet's saliva. [19] Therefore, crucifying Ibn al-Zubayr upside down and intensifying that act by putting dead animals next to him is undoubtedly an attempt by al-Hajjaj to pluck out the sanctity that Ibn al-Zubayr acquired from the very first moment of his life. In addition to insult and

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desecration, al-Hajjaj, by crucifying Ibn al-Zubayr as was described, intended to destroy the spiritual and religious power that Ibn al-Zubayr enjoyed as a sacred leader supported by Allah. Such a crucifixion "alters its [the power's] essence, causing it to lose its unique quality—a void created by the impression of the formidable and fleeting power it contains."[20]

The murder of Ibn al-Zubayr produced a number of elegiac poems by various poets. However only few verses addressed his crucifixion.[21] An infamous poet named Ibn Abi Bur said, lamenting Ibn al-Zubayr:[22]

1- أطْوَدَاً مَنِيعَاً مُشْمَخِرّاً مُمَرَّدَاً رَسَا أصْلُهُ بالأرضِ لا يَتَخَلْخَلُ/ يَتَحَلحَلُ

2- عَلَوْتُمْ بِهِ جِذْعَاً لِيُعْرَفَ إنَّما بَيَانُ الذي يَخْفَى فَلا يُتَأَمَّلُ

[He is] a mountain, immune, lofty, and tall, 1-
His origin is anchored in the earth, never varying or decomposing
2- You hoist him onto a tree trunk so that he be known, but
He is [already] known for what [you try] to conceal, so he need not be contemplated. [23]
(On *al-ṭawīl* [the long] meter, rhymed using—lū)

As we see, the poet in these two verses insists on two motifs, glory and steadfastness. Likening Ibn al-Zubayr to a great mountain conveys the idea that he (and by extension his cause) is steady, unshakable, and immortal. The image invoked by the poet is actually inspired by the character of Ibn al-Zubayr. It is said that Ibn al-Zubayr resisted and fought until the last moment of his life.[24] In the second verse, the metaphor of being firmly grounded and not decomposed or diminished implies the idea of physical and spiritual immortality, totally the opposite of what his enemy intended, namely, the obliteration of the memory of him from the memory of the populace. Additionally, the poet implies that even if he is crucified and deprived from being buried in the earth, his sole and essence remains in the earth. In the second hemistich, addressing the enemy, the poet says that you (p.) aim to defame Ibn al-Zubayr and create an insulting and humiliating image of him, but he was primarily known as the opposite of what you want. In other words, even these attempts at desecration cannot succeed in deforming such a well-known image.

One of the important figures whose life ended with crucifixion is the commander and Amir Yazid ibn al-Muhallab. Even though he was a provincial governor for the Umayyads for several years, his life ended at the hands of the Umayyads in the year 720 after he chose to contend with them for the caliphate.[25] After the murder of Ibn al-Muhallab, Maslama ibn ʿAbd al-Malik ordered his people to crucify him on a mast that had been constructed in the middle of a ship in order to stretch a sail on it. Additionally, the Umayyad prince crucified a pig next to Ibn al-Muhallab's body so that they were both hanging in the ship hawsers. When a man from the people of al-Sham saw this scene, he described it by saying that:[26]

حَتّى رَآهُ عِبادُ اللّهِ في دَقَلٍ مُنَكّسَ الرَّأسِ مَقْرُونًا بِخِنْزِيرِ

Until the worshippers of Allah saw him in Daqal
with head bent downwards and paired with a pig.

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(On *al-basīṭ* [the outspread] meter, rhymed using—rī)

The importance of this crucifixion lies in two points: the location and distinct manner of crucifixion, namely, by choosing a pig to be hanged next to Ibn al-Muhallab's body. This verse enhances the Umayyad prince's attempts at desecration. The idea that Allah's servants would see the crucified in very humiliating scene implies that they would bear witness to the humiliation and indignity that Ibn al-Muhallab brought upon himself. The engagement of the public played a vital role in the *marketing strategy* of the punishment. It conveyed the idea that the fate that the crucified faced was supported by the community, which, thereby, implied support of the authority, and by extent, recognition of its legitimacy.[27]

The most important political figure crucified in the Umayyad period was, Zayd the martyr, Zayd ibn ʿAli ibn al-Husayn ibn Abi Talib. Zayd engaged in grinding battles with the Umayyads that ended with his murder in the year 740 during the caliphate of Hisham ibn ʿAbd al-Malik.[28] It was said that the Umayyad ruler al-Hajjaj ibn Yusuf ordered his people to exhume Zayd's grave and then to crucify him in a neighborhood in al-Kufa called *al-Kunās*.[29] It was said that Zayd's body was crucified naked until the caliphate of al-Walid ibn Yazid, a period of for 50 months.[30] Also, there was very tight security around the crucified body throughout this period. Finally, al-Walid ibn Yazid ordered his people to burn Zayd's body and cast the ashes into the Euphrates River. But the Umayyads were not satisfied with what they had done to Zayd's body, so they also punished anyone who had had any connection with Zayd, even if it was a woman. It was also said that one of Zayd's female relatives was also tormented, stripped naked, murdered, and thrown out in the open air.[31]

Undoubtedly, the fate that Zayd faced was gruesome and shocking. There were several political functions for such shock punishment. First of all, it served as a communicative and marketing tool between the state and its people. In other words, shocking punishment was an opportunity to express the power and majesty of the state.[32] Secondly, it was an attempt by the state to legitimize its political rule. Historically, there was a close relationship between the use of shocking punishment and an attempt of authorities to legitimate their rule.[33] Crucifixion or shock punishment did not occur during stable political conditions, but in grinding political circumstances. We should remember that the Umayyads came to political legitimacy, not as did the ʿAlids, who were represented by Zayd ibn Ali, the heir of the caliphate and descendant of the prophet's house.[34] Therefore, they did anything they could to counter Zayd's claim to the caliphate. This quote from Sean Anthony's text is apt:

> The crucifixion and desecration of Zayd's corpse aimed to humiliate and anathematize Zayd as *imam al-ḍalāla*, a leader unto perdition. Zayd's crucifixion is the Umayyads ' attempt to demonstrate palpably God's rejection of Zayd's claims to rightful leadership of the community and God's affirmation of the Umayyads' claims—God's support (*muwāla*) had been granted to the caliph and His enmity (ʿ*adāwa*) unleashed against those who dared to transgress.[35]

The rejection of the Zayd supporters' claim was expressed as follows by the Umayyad poet Hakim ibn ʿAyyash al-Kalbi:[36]

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صَلَبْنا لكُم زيداً عَلى جِذْعِ نَخْلَةٍ وَلم أرَ مَهْدِيّاً على الجِذْعِ يُصْلَبُ

From you, we crucified Zayd on the trunk of a palm tree
For I have not seen anyone divinely guided crucified on a tree trunk.
(On *al-ṭawīl* [the long] meter, rhymed using—bū)

The poet intends to say that if Zayd was supported by God as you claim, he would not have been crucified. In other words, the sanctity that the supporters of Zayd claimed for their leader is now invalid due to his crucifixion and desecration. The poet refers here, to the claims of Zayd's supporters that he is al-Mahdi because his description was in accordance with the Prophet Muhammad's description of al-Mahdi. It is narrated that the prophet Muhammad said that: "Al-Mahdi is from the sons of al-Husayn, who fights with a sword, and is the son of a female captive".[37] In conclusion, the crucifixion of Zayd was important due to the fact that Zayd becomes an icon of an honorable man whose life ended with a gruesome crucifixion. Zayd was conjured up in later periods, especially during the Abbasid era, when a poet would address a crucifixion.

In the Abbasid era, we find several great poetic examples that address crucifixions. Let's start with the crucifixion of Jaʿfar ibn Yahya al-Barmaki, who was killed and crucified by the Abbasid caliph al Rashid. Jaʿfar (d. 803) was a close minister to al-Rashid who used to call him, my brother. As a stark image of the strength of the relationship between the two, the caliph granted Jaʿfar power over all, so that he rules as he wills, until the moment that the caliph decided to overthrow the Barmakids because of their political tyranny.[38] Shawqi Dayf comments on the political and literary role of the Barmakids by noting that everything occurred at the hands of Iranian Barmakids, so poets came to them from far and wide in order to praise them and thereby receive their many gifts and boons. As a result, the caliph al-Rashid envied them and became angered by them.[39]

Abu al-ʿAbbas al-Fadl ibn ʿAbd al-Samad al-Raqashi al-Basri (d. 815) was among the poets who took the side exclusively of the Barmakids.[40] In addition to their political tyranny, the Barmakids exercised a form of literary tyranny by which they won the hearts of talented poets to such a degree that they created their own form of loyalty. That is obvious from the verses below, written after the crucifixion of their head, Jaʿfar ibn Yahya. I interpret the crucifixion of Jaʿfar as an attempt by the caliph to wipe out all the elevated images and lofty ideals that the poets granted to Jaʿfar. In other words, the caliph aimed to destroy Jaʿfar materially by murdering him and immaterially by crucifying and desecrating him. The elegiac verses by Abu al ʿAbbas al Raqashi are as follows:

1- أمَا واللهِ لولا خَوْفُ وَاشٍ وعَينٌ للخَليفةِ لا تَنامُ
2- لَطُفْنَا حَوْلَ جِذْعِك واسْتَلَمْنا كما للنّاسِ بالحَجرِ اسْتِلامُ
3- فمَا أَبْصَرْتُ قَبْلك يا ابنَ يَحْيَى حُسامًا قدّه السَّيْفُ الحُسَام
4- على اللَّذَّاتِ والدُّنيا جميعًا ودولةِ آلِ بَرْمَكٍ السَّلامُ

So, and by God, unless I am afraid of a calumniator,-I
and an eye [a spy] that never sleeps

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2- We would have circumambulated and touched your trunk,
as people touch the [black] stone.
3- And I have never seen O Ibn Yahya,
a sword cut by the sword edge.
4- Peace be upon the pleasures, and this world, altogether,
and the state of the people of Barmak.[41]
(On *al-wāfir* [the exuberant] meter, rhymed using—mū)

Several points can be made regarding the verses above. In the first verse, the poet clearly expresses the fear that surrounds any poet who attempts to lament the Barmakids. This is actually in line with other literary narratives indicating the punishments brought by the caliph against anyone praising the Barmakids after the catastrophe.[42] The second verse is important here because the poet clearly manifests the idea of sanctity versus desecration. The poet compares the crucified to the most sacred element in Islam, the *kaʿba*, around which Muslims circumambulate, and to the holy stone, which Muslims touch in worshiping Allah. To put it differently, the poet was aware of the caliph's attempts to insult and desecrate the reputation of Jaʿfar, so he confronts that attempt by comparing Jaʿfar with the most sacred elements. Furthermore, this verse also shows the utmost and sincere loyalty and devotion of the poet toward the Barmakids in general, and to Jaʿfar in particular, which supports what we have said regarding the ability of the Barmakids to win over the literary elites. In the third verse, the poet wonders how a sword (Jaʿfar) was cut by another sword (the caliph). As far as this verse indicates the equal powers that both sides have, it also indicates the superpower of the caliph who succeeded in destroying a competing power. As for the last verse, by using the word *dawla* (state) and attributing it to the Barmakids, the poet clearly indicates the power that the Barmakids enjoyed, as we saw earlier.

The second case of crucifixion is the crucifixion of an unknown man called Batik, mentioned by the poetess ʿInān, a slave girl of the Natifi. The poetess ʿInān (d. 841) was born in al-Yamāma or in Madina, being famous in Bagdad, and died in Khurasan, or in Egypt. Although ʿ Inān was an irresponsible woman, she was considered quick-witted and the best female poet, whom master poets eagerly competed with.[43] According to Ibn Aydamur al-Mustaʿsimi, ʿInān's poem is composed of ten verses, in which she laments the crucified, trying to turn a desecrated image of the crucified into a sacred one. The verses of the poem are as follows:[44]

1- أَمَا تَرَى بَاتِكًا فِي الجوِّ مُنتصِبًا عَلى مُلمْلَمَةٍ مِنْ صِنْعَةِ الفَاسِ
2- بَيْنَ السَّمَاء وبين الأرْضِ مَنْزِلُهُ وَقَائِمًا قَاعِدًا جِسْمًا بِلَا رَاسِ
3- إِذَا السَّحَابُ مَرَّتْ أَخْلَافَ دِرَّتِهَا بَدَتْ بِهِ فَسَقَتْهُ أَوَّلَ النَّاسِ
4- تُلْقَى السِّبَاعَ حَيَارَى حَوْلَ دَوْحَتِهِ بَيْنَ الرَّجَاءِ وبين الخَوْفِ وَاليَاسِ
5- وَالطَّيْرُ وَاقِعَةٌ فِي رَأسِهِ رَسَلًا كَأَنَّهُنَّ عَلَيْهِ وَفْدَ أعْرَاسِ
6- غَنَّتْهُ رِيْحُ الصَّبَا صَوْتًا وَجَاوَبَهَا صوتُ الدبُورِ بِتَغْرِيْدٍ وَوَسْوَاسِ
7- لَو كَانَ يُطْرِيْهِ شَيْءٌ وَيُؤْنسُهُ لَكَانَ في طَرَبٍ مِنْهَا وَإِيْنَاسِ
8- وَحَوْلَهُ مِنْ سَرَاةِ الرُّومِ نَاجِمَةٌ بِهَا رُسُومِ كُلُومٍ مَا لَهَا آسِي
9- كَأَنَّهُ رَاهِبٌ فِي رَأسِ صَوْمَعَةٍ قَدْ مَدَّ كَفَّيْهِ مِنْ خَوْفٍ وَإِيْجَاسِ
10- وَهُم وُقُوفٌ بِأَيْدِيْهِمْ مَخَاصِرُهُم مِنْ بين قَسٍّ وَمِطْرَانٍ وَشَمَّاسِ

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1- Have not seen Batik standing up in the air,
on wooden planks gathered together, made by the axe?
2- His position is between the sky and the earth,
[while he is] standing up and sitting down, with a body without a head.
3- When the cloud pours copiously its rain,
it starts with him, so he is watered first in line.
4- You find predatory beasts confused around this place.
between hope, fair, and despair.
5- And [you see] groups of birds sitting on his head.
as they are wedding delegations around him.
6- The wind of *al-Ṣibā* sang him a song, and
the wind of *al-Dabūr* responded to it with tweeting and whispering.
7- If he is cheered up and happy,
he would have been enraptured and made happy by its voice.
8- And around him visibly, there are the leaders of al-Rūm,
on [their faces you see] traces of hurts, without a physician.
9- He is like a monk at the top of a cell,
stretching his hands out of fear and anxiety.
10- And there are standing, holding sticks in their hands;
are a priest, a bishop, and deacon among them.

(On *al-basīṭ* [the outspread] meter, rhymed using—sī)

The first and second verses were mentioned in *al-Wafi bi-l-Wafayat* (the Completion of the Deaths) and attributed to the poetess Sakan, the slave girl of Mahmud al-Warraq, of a long poem in which the poetess blames and yet praises the caliph al-Muʿtasim. In this poem, Sakan evokes and celebrates the crucifixion of Babak al-Khurrami and his brother, ʿAbd Allah.[45] However, the name of the crucified man mentioned in our poem is Batik, not Babak. The primary sources do not provide any information about the context of this name, or any information about the crucified. However, in my opinion, these two verses were wrongly inserted into ʿInān's poem because the first two verses were a

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reference to the headless crucifixion, exactly as confirmed by the primary sources, while in verse five, there is a reference to the presence of the crucified head.[46]

As for the third verse, the poetess conjures up the *suqyā* (the watering) motif, which is repeatedly employed in an elegiac theme as well as in an erotic prelude to symbolize life and rebirth. [47] The watering is for the purified ones, as Allah says to the believers in the holy Quran: (and sent down water from the sky to cleanse you, to remove Satan's pollution from you).[48] Thus, the watering is a blessing for the crucified, and a sign of Allah's satisfaction. This is in contradiction with the ruler's aim to desecrate the crucified's body and promote the idea of God's wrath upon the crucified because of his disobedience to the ruler. The poetess also empathizes the idea of the initiation by using the two words *badat* (start) and *awwal* (first) in order to give preference to the crucifixion over burial. The concept of initiation can also be linked to the particular blessing of the first drops of rain, as narrated in the prophetic sayings.[49] It occurs as the crucified obtains the blessing of the rain before others, an elevated and special status of the crucified's relationship with Allah.

In the fourth verse, the poetess uses the word *dawḥa*, which means linguistically the great tree, a hint of the greatness of the crucified. The predatory animals here may symbolize evil, a reference to the crucifers, who were questioning the usefulness of the crucifixion and whether they were truly able to diminish the power of the crucified or not. The crucified's power is what the crucifer aims to weaken both materially and immaterially, i.e., how to be memorized in ensuing periods. In this context, we should conjure up Roger Caillois's findings that the sacred is distinguished by two conflicting characteristics: it is scary, so it necessitates caution; and it is desirable, so it requires daring. While the sacred prevails over the profane trying to diminish it, the profane strives to weaken the power of the sacred. [50] Thus, it is that the poetess, by presenting the dichotomy of fear and hope, grants the crucified a sacred characteristic. However, we can present another reading of this verse by noting that the poetess meant real predatory animals. Instead of eating the crucified body, the animals chose to stand before him confused, between hope and fear, a sacred condition, as we have seen. This reading is reinforced in the following verse.

The birds, in the fifth verse, do not bite or eat the body, unlike what is depicted in Arabic poetry when a poet boasts over his enemy that his tribe left the bodies of the enemy warriors flesh for the raptors.[51] Here the raptors alighted on the crucified head in groups as if at a wedding, blessing and rejoicing in him. What reinforces my interpretation of this celebrational scene are the verses below. The rapters only settled on his head, not even trying to eat or bite. This depiction of the crucified supports what we have discussed about the sacredness of the crucified, which the poetess tries to grant to him. The sacred has a super power that enables him to change the nature of the creatures around him. In this context, it is appropriate to remember those birds in the (mā kāna wa-mā dār bayna man malaka wa-mā ṭār) play by ʿAmmar Jabir, that poohed on the (sacred) temples. This action by the birds, as a result, displays clearly the falsity of the sacredness of these temples, as if they were truly sacred, an insulting action cannot be allowed to happen.[52]

The celebrational scene continues in verses six and seven. The two winds *alṣabā* and *alddabūr* sing a song for the crucified. *Alṣabā* is a kind, loving, and blessing wind. On the other hand, the *alddabūr*

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wind is a hated wind because it is too hot, very stormy, and known among Arabs as a wind of affliction. Sometime, *alddabūr* becomes a very cold, stormy wind, by which Allah destroyed the people of ʿAd. Additionally, *alddabūr* is a sterile wind, not pollinating trees or fertilizing the clouds.[53] However, the poetess makes the two conflicting winds harmonious to please the crucified. *Alddabūr* which was a hated wind is now a soft gentle wind as the word *waswās* means the whispering voice of the wind.[54] It is the power of the sacred that is "incomprehensible, intractable but eminently efficacious." [55]

As for verse eight, the poetess speaks of the impact of this crucifixion on al-Rum elites (the Romans), which refers to the high status of the crucified, as well as to a crucified religion, Christianity, as emphasized in the following verse. The sacred image of the crucified reaches its peaks in the last two verses. The poetess compares the crucified to a monk in his monastery. It is the climax of the purification and sacredness of the crucified when he is compared to a monk who hasn't ever committed a sin in his life, rejecting women, and marriage, and adhering only to his monastery. These deeds grant the monk a sacred attribute and a semi-divine status. This quote from Roger Caillois's book is apt:

> [i]t is known that asceticism is indeed the road to power… each renunciation redounds to his credit in the mythical world and assures him an equal latitude in supernatural possibilities. He acquires, by the impossible and the forbidden, a *beyond* reserved for him alone and corresponding exactly to the *here* and *now* of the possible and the permitted that he had abandoned. But this exchange constitutes the most profitable of investments, for what he disdained in the profane he recovers in the sacred. The ascetic, who augments his powers to the degree that he diminishes his pleasures, transcends mankind, approaches the Gods, and rapidly becomes their peer.[56]

It is very suitable to conclude this paper with a famous and masterful poem by Muhammad ibn ʿUmar ibn Yaʿqub, known as Abu al-Hasan al-ʾAnbari, who died sometime after the year 1000. Al-ʾAnbari was a Sufi (mystic), a preacher, and poet of a little poetry, who won his fame only from the poem that we will discuss here.[57] Al-ʾAnbari composed an elegiac poem devoted to lamenting the death of the minister Abu Tahir Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn ʿAli Nasir al-Dawla, known as Ibn Baqiyya (d. 978). Ibn Baqiyya experienced harsh vicissitudes in his life, first at the service of Muʿzz al-Dawla al-Buwayhi, then when he became a minister for Bukhtayar ʿIzz al-Dawla ibn Muʿzz al-Dawla. However, the relationship between the two deteriorated, which, in turn, led the Buyid ruler to arrest him and gouge out his eyes. This incident forced Ibn Baqiyya stick to his home. Later, when ʿAdud al-Dawla came to power, he murdered Ibn Baqiyya by throwing him under the feet of elephants, and then crucifying him. Ibn Baqiyya remained crucified until the death of his crucifer, ʿAdud al-Dawla in the year 983.[58]

According to Ibn Khallikan, the reason that Bukhtayar ʿIzz al-Dawla tore out Ibn Baqiyya's eyes was because of the opinions and advice he gave to him to engage in a military confrontation with ʿAdud al-Dawla, which ultimately ended in a devastating and a humiliating defeat. [59] For this particular punishment by Bukhtayar against Ibn Baqiyya, it is as if Bukhtayar

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aims to scoop out the eyes by which Ibn Baqiyya misread the future events. As for ʿAdud al-Dawla's attitude toward Ibn Baqiyya, besides his significant role in the military confrontation between Bukhtayar and ʿAdud al-Dawla, the extreme indignation of ʿAdud al-Dawla resulted from the abusive phrases and epithets that Ibn Baqiyya, during his ministry, was using against ʿAdud al-Dawla in order to draw near Bukhtayar. [60] Therefore, choosing to throw Ibn Baqiyya under the feet of the elephants and then crucify him for years was in return for those insulting behaviors. This, in turn, emphasizes on the cultural function, so to speak, of the crucifixion punishment in the Abbasid time as a crucial means of insulting and humiliation.

Al-ʾAnbari's poem became famous due to the fact that it won early and modern critics' attention and admiration. In addition to several modern studies about this poem, ʿAbd al-Qahir al-Jurjani expresses his admiration of it by saying: how beautiful it is to reinterpret and convert the ugly aspects of crucifixion into what impresses and amazes you.[61] Furthermore, al-Safadi comments on this poem by saying that: 'for such a unique poem, it has not been said for a crucified man'.[62] However, the most important reaction to this poem, which proves its success, is that of the crucifier. It has been said that when this poem was recited in front of ʿAdud al-Dawla, he wished he was the crucified and ordered his people to bring the poet. The poet was pursued for an entire year before he was brought in front of ʿAdud al-Dawla to be questioned about the poem.[63]

Al-ʾAnbari's poem, in accordance with *Wafayat al-ʾAyan's* (the deaths of Prominent people) version, can be divided into three parts; Part One is the verses 1-11 that address the crucifixion of Ibn Baqiyya;[64] Part Two is verses 12-15 that show the crucified's conflict with the time, as well as serving as a general elegy; in Part Three, (verses 16-21), the poet expresses his sentiments toward this harsh incident and prays for the deceased. Below are selected verses of the poem:

1- عُلُوٌّ في الحَيَاةِ وفي المَمَاتِ لَحَقّ أنْتَ إحْدَى المُعْجِزَاتِ
2- كَأَنَّ النَّاسَ حَوْلَكَ حِيْنَ قَامُوا وُفُوْد نَدَاكَ أيَّامَ الصِّلاتِ
3- كَأَنَّكَ قَائِمٌ فِيْهِمْ خَطِيْبًا وَكُلُّهُمُ قِيَامٌ للصَّلاةِ
4- ولما ضَاقَ بَطْنُ الأرضِ عن أنْ يَضُمَّ عُلاك مِن بَعدِ المَماتِ
- أصَارُوا الجَوَّ قَبْرَك واسْتَنَابُوا5 عن الكفان ثوبَ السَّافِيَاتِ
6- مَدَدْتَ يَدَيْكَ نَحْوَهُمُ احْتِفَاءً كَمَدِّهِمَا إلَيْهِمْ بِالهِبَاتِ
7- رَكِبْتَ مَطِيَّةً مِنْ قَبْلُ زَيْدٌ عَلاهَا في السِّنِيْنِ المَاضِيَاتِ
8- وَتِلْكَ فَضِيْلَةٌ فِيهَا تَأَسٍّ ثُبَاعِدُ عَنْكَ تَعْيِيْرَ العُدَاةِ

1- High in life, and after death.
Indeed, it is one of the miracles.

2- When people were surrounding you,
it is like delegations of your generosity, in the time of gifts,

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3- and as if you were an orator standing up before them
and they were altogether standing up for prayer.

4- You are extending your hands toward them out of welcome
like your extension of your hands toward them with gifts.

5- When the ground beneath became
too narrow to contain your loftiness after your death,

6- they made of the open air your grave, and replaced
your shrouds with the raiment of the winds.

7- You rode a mount on which Zayd
had ridden in past years.

8- And that is a virtue, that consoles us,
and shields you from your enemy's gloating.

(On *al-wāfir* [the exuberant] meter, rhymed using—tī)

The poet echoes certain aspects of his predecessors' poems with allusions to such characteristics of the crucified as the loftiness of his position. However, the poet employs for us new techniques in his project to beatify the image of the crucified. He portrays the crucified when the people are gathering around him watching and witnessing the crucifixion as if they were waiting for his boons and gifts, and as if the crucified were an orator and the people were standing up to perform the prayer. The poet portrays the extension of the crucified's hands as if he outstretches them to give his boons to the supplicants. Additionally, the poet argues that because the grave was too narrow to contain the greatness of the deceased, the crucifers made of the open air his grave and of the winds his raiment.

The word *muʿjizāt* (miracles) is the trigger of Part One of the poem in which all the images that the poet conferred upon the crucified are of miracles. These images of the crucified depict the ideal relationship between the shepherd and the parish in which the patron is generous, raining upon his people boons and gifts, and pious, leading his people in prayer. In other words, these images emphasize the social aspect of the crucified; he was not humiliated or insulted but seen as an Imam and sponsor of all people. Therefore, the people gathering around the crucified do not witness the harsh punishment of an outcast or a leader deposed, but in fact a violent act against an ideal leader, and so by extension, these images urge the people to take revenge for their leader against those who killed and crucified him.

It is appropriate to conclude my paper with verse seven in which the poet continues recounting the crucified's miracles by conjuring up the most important political figure, Zayd ibn ʿAli ibn al-Husayn, who was crucified in the Umayyad period, as we have seen. This verse is of particular

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significance due to that fact that it shows us clearly how Zayd ibn ʿAli was remembered in early Islamic centuries. This particular evocation is a clever step by the poet because he chose a Shiʿi figure to counter a state known for their Shiʿi ideology.[65] Therefore, the enemies of the crucified are unjust and oppressive exactly as the Umayyads who oppressed and abused Zayd ibn ʿAli. Comparing Ibn Baqiyya to Zayd ibn ʿAli presents Ibn Baqiyya as the spiritual heir of the ʿAlids. In other words, the crucified Ibn Baqiyya acquired a sacred feature through a previously crucified man who holds a distinctive form of sacredness in the Muslim society.

In this context, we should bring up Paul Connerton's expression *mythic concordance*, not on the level of events or the level of persons but a combination between the two, i.e., a crucifixion event associated with a sacred figure.[66] In other words, the event of Zayd's crucifixion is now represented by Ibn Baqiyya who embodies Zayd in this ritual. This mythic concordance between the two figures would transform the crucifixion of Ibn Baqiyya into an event proving his sacredness. It is important here to note that the poet does not invoke the contexts and the circumstances explaining how Zayd was crucified; he just brings up the main point of the whole incident, which is that the crucifixion is an honorable medal for the crucified, Ibn Baqiyya.

Finally, the poet uses the expression of riding a mount as a metaphor for getting on a crucifixion stage. This expression echoes the Arab poet's journey when he leaves the ruined abodes of his beloved and rides his mount, enduring hardships and difficulties that he will face throughout the whole journey, in the hope to arrive at his final and happy destination, his patron. As such, the would-be crucified would pass by these difficult moments of crucifixion for the sake of being remembered in the Muslim community as a sacred man. In a word and to sum up, this invocation of a sacred figure would transform the significance of crucifixion as a means of humiliation and insult into a medal of pride for any person facing this fate.

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[2] The Permanent Committee of Scientific Research and the Issuing of Fatwas, *the Fatwas of the Permanent Committee of Scientific Research and the Issuing of Fatwas (the First Collection),* ed. Ahmad alDuwish, vol. 9 (Riyadh, Dar al-ʿAsima, 1996), 125.

[3] Qur'an 80:17-22 (trans. M. A. S. Abdel Haleem, Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2004).

[4] Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti, *al-durr al-muntathira fi al-ʾAhadith al-Mushtahirah,* ed. Muhammad al-Sabbagh, (Riyadh, Deanship of Libraries Affairs, King Saud University, n. d.), 74.

[5] Here it is important to be aware of two types of crucifixion; one is based on legal judgment exercised by the judge against a criminal for committing a crime such as armed robbery. The purpose of this kind of crucifixion is only deterrence. The purpose of the other is political, in the first place, the main aim of which is humiliation and desecration. My concern in this paper is crucifixion with a political purpose.

[6] Jawad ʿAli*, al-Mufassal fi Tarikh al-ʿArab qabl al-Islam*, 4th ed., vol. 10 (Beirut: Dar al-Saqi, 2001), 257.

[7] Ṣadr al-Din Abu al-Hasan al-Basri, *al-Hamasa al-Basriyya*, ed. Mukhtar al-Din Ahmad, vol. I (Beirut:ʿAlam al-Kutub, n. d.), 80.

[8] See the editor's comment of the book by Muhammad al-Saʾigh, *al-Lamha fi sharh almulha*, ed. ʾIbrahim al-Saʿidi, vol.

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I (Madinah: Deanship of Scientific Research in Islamic University of Madinah, 2004), 225-226. The verse was attributed to more than one poet. For more details, see Ibid., 225.

[9] For the metaphor of the cut nose, see Muhammad Ibn ʿAshur, *al-Taḥrir wa-l-Tanwir,* vol. 29 (Tunisia: al-Dar al-Tunissiya li-l-Nashr, 1984), 78.

[10] Mahmud Hasan Abu Naji, *al-Shanfara: Shaʿir al-Sahra al-Abi* (Algiers: Ministry of Culture, 2007), 22. for more about al-Shanfara, see Abu al-Faraj ʿAli ibn al-Husayn al-Isfahani, *Kitab al-Aghani*, ed. Ihsan ʿAbbas, Ibrahim al-Saʿafin, and Bakr ʿAbbas, 3rd ed., vol. 21(Beirut: Dar Sadr, 2008), 128–139.

[11] Al-Isfahani, *al-Aghani*, vol. 21, 130.

[12] Muhammad ibn Habib al-Baghdadi, *al-Muhabbar*, ed. Elisa Lichten Stetter (Haydaraabad: Matbaʿat al-Maʿarif al-ʿUthmaniyya, 1942), 478-479.

[13] See Ibid., 481-484. Al-Baghdadi in this book provides a long list of the people who were crucified from the early Islam period until the Abbasid period in pages. 478-490.

[14] Sean Anthony, *Crucifixion and Death as Spectacle: Umayyad Crucifixion in Its Late Antique Context* (New Haven, Conn: American Oriental Society, 2014), 6.

[15] Ibid., 64.

[16] Ibid., 40, 43-44, 51, 68.

[17] Khayr al-Din al-Zirikli, *al-Aʿlam: Qamus Tarajim li-Ashhar al-Rijal wa-l-Nisaʾ min al-ʿArab wa-l-Mustaʿrabin wa-al-Mustashriqin*, 15th ed. vol. 4 (Beirut: Dar al-ʿIlm li-l-Malaiyin, 2002), 87; Ibn ʿAsakir, *ʿAli ibn al-Hasan. Tarikh Madinat Dimashq: wa-Dhikr Fadliha wa-Tasmiyat man Hallaha min al-Amathil aw Ijtaza bi-Nawahiha min Waridiha wa-Ahliha*. ed. Muhibb al-Din Abu Saʿid ʿUmar al-ʿAmrawi, vol. 28 (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 1995), 149.

[18] Ibn ʿAsakir, *Tarikh Madinat Dimashq,* vol. 28, 229; Ahmad ibn Yahya al-Baladhuri, *Jumal min Ansab al-Ashraf,* ed. Shuhil Zakar and Riyad al-Zirikli, vol. 7 (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 1996), 131; Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Fasi, *al-ʿIqd al-Thamin fi Tarikh al-Balad al-Amin*, ed. Muhammad ʿAta, vol. 4 (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1998), 348.

[19] Ibn ʿAsakir, *Tarikh Madinat Dimashq,* vol. 28, 152.

[20] Roger Caillois, *Man and the sacred,* trans. Meyer Barash, (Illinois: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1959), 21.

[21] For elegiac poems addressed to Ibn alZubayr, see Ibn ʿAsakir, *Tarikh Madinat Dimashq*, vol. 28, 254-257.

[22] I have searched far and wide for information about this poet but found nothing.

[23] All the verses presented in this paper are numbered sequentially, which is not necessarily in accordance to their order in the *Diwan* or the primary source.

[24] *Al-Fasi, al-ʿIqd al-Thamin,* vol. 4, 348.

[25]Al-Zirikli, *al-Aʿlam*, vol. 8, 189-190.

[26] Ahmad ibn Aʿtham al-Kufi, *Kitab al-Futuh*, ed. ʿAli Shiri, vol. 8 (Beirut: Dar al-Adwaʾ, 1991), 230.

[27]Bryan H. Druzin and Anthony S. Wan, "The Theatre of Punishment: Case Studies in the Political Function of Corporal and Capital Punishment", *Washington University Global Studies Law Review,* 14:3 (2015), 364.

[28] Al-Zirikli, *al-Aʿlam*, vol. 3, 59.

[29] Ibn Aʿtham al-Kufi, *Kitab al-Futuh*, vol. 8, 293.

[30] ʿAli ibn al-Husayn al-Masʿudi, *Muruj al-Dhahab wa-Maʿadin al-Jawhar*, ed. Kamal Hasan Murʿi, vol. 3 (Beirut and Ṣayda: al-Maktaba al-ʿAsriyya, 2005), 171-172.

[31] Al-Baladhuri, *Ansab al-Ashraf*, vol. 3, 254-257.

[32] Druzin and Wan, "The Theatre of Punishment," 362, 366.

[33] Ibid., 369.

[34] Anthony, *Crucifixion and Death as Spectacle*, 40. On legitimacy of Islamic parties, see Asma Afsaruddin, *Excellence and Precedence: Medieval Islamic Discourse on Legitimate Leadership* (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

[35] Ibid., 50.

[36] Khalil ibn Aybak al-Safadi, *Kitab al-Wafi bi-l-Wafayat*, ed. Ahmad al-Arnaʾuṭ and Turki Mustafa, vol. 13 (Beirut:

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[37] Al-Sayyid Muhammad Kazim al-Qazwini, *al-Imam al-mahdi min al-mahd ila al-Zuhur,* (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-wafaʾ, 1985), 450.

[38] Al-Zirikli, *al-Aʿlam,* vol. 2, 130.

[39] Shawqi Dayf, *al-ʿAsr al-ʿAbbasi al-Awwal.* 3rd ed. (Cairo: Dar al-Maʿarif, 1966). 256.

[40] Al-Zirikli, *al-Aʿlam,* vol. 5, 150.

[41] Abu Bakr Ahmad ibn ʿAli al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, *Tarikh Baghdad wa-Dhuyuluh*, ed. Mustafa ʿAta, vol. 7 (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1996), 169

[42] See, for example, the story of the caliph al Rashid with Ibn Munadhir in al-Isfahani, *al-Aghani*, vol. 18, 145-146.

[43]Al-Zirikli, *al-Aʿlam,* vol. 5, 90.

[44] Muhammad ibn Aydamur al-Mustaʿsimi, *al-Durru al-Farid wa-Bayt al-Qasid*, ed. Kamil al-Juburi, vol. 7 (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 2015), 230.

[45] Al-Safadi, *Kitab al-Wafi bi-l-Wafayat*, vol. 15, 181-182. For more about the movement of Babak, see D. Sourdel, "Bābak", in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., ed. P. Bearman et al., 2012, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_0979.

[46] Jamal al-Din Abu al-Faraj ibn al-Jawzi, *al-Muntazim fi Tarikh al-Muluk wa-l-ʾUmam*, ed. Muhammad ʿAta and Mustafa ʿAta, vol. 11 (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1992), 77.

[47] For the motif of the watering, see Husayn Yusuf Khriwish, "Zahirat al-Suqya wa-Abʿadiha al-Dilaliyya fi al-Qasida al-ʿArabiyya," *Adab al-Rafidayn*, no. 24 (1993): 185-222.

[48] Qur'an 8:11 (trans. M. A. S. Abdel Haleem, Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2004).

[49] See the section containing the deeds of the prophet and some of his companions when it starts raining in ʿAbd Allah ibn Muhammad Abu Shayba al-ʿAbsi, *al-Musannaf*, ed. Usama ibn Ibrahim ibn Muhammad, vol. 8 (Cairo: Dar al-Faruq al-Haditha, 2007). 527-528.

[50] Caillois, *Man and the sacred,* 20-21.

[51] See, for example, al-Isfahani, *al-Aghani*, vol. 19, 146.

[52] ʿAmmar Jabir, Shawirma: *Nusus Masrahiyya*, (Damascus: Tamuz, 2011), 31. See also the essay by Jasim al-Safi about this play in ʿAlam al-Thaqafa through the following link:
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[53] ʿ Ata al-Manan and ʿUmar Hamuda, "al-Riyah fi al-Shiʿr al-ʿArabi: Dirasa Sarfiyya Lughawiyya," *Majalt Kuliyyat al-Lugha al-ʿArabiyya*, no. 2 (2008), 142-146, 150-151.

[54] Jamal al-Din Ibn Manzur, Lisan al-ʿArab. 3rd ed., vol. 6 (Beirut: Dar Sadir, 1994), 254.

[55] Caillois, *Man and the sacred,* 22.

[56] Ibid., 28-29.

[57]Al-Zirikli, *al-Aʿlam*, vol. 6, 312.

[58] Al-Zirikli, *al-Aʿlam*, vol. 7, 20; Muhammad ibn Ahmad Al-Dhahabi, *Siyar Aʿlam al-Nubalaʾ,* ed. Shuʿayb al-Arnaʾuṭ et al, 3rd ed., vol. 16 (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risalah, 1985), 220-221.

[59] Shams al-Din Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Khallikan, *Wafayat al-Aʿyan wa-Anbaʾ Abnaʾ al-Zaman*, ed. Ihsan ʿAbbas, vol. 5 (Beirut: Dar Sadr, 1994), 119.

[60] Ibid., 119.

[61] Abu Bakr ʿAbd al-Qahir al-Jurjani, *Asrar al-Balagha*, ed. Mahmud Shakir (Cairo: Matbaʿat al-Madani and Jeddah: Dar al-Madani, 1991), 346. For modern studies, see, for example, Suhayl Muhammad Khasawna, "al-Mawt bayna al-ʿAtifa wa-l-Khayal: Ibn al-Anbari Yarthi Ibn Baqiyya," *Majalat Majmaʿ al-Lugha al-ʿArabiyya bi-Dimashq*, 79, no. 4 (2004): 799-816; Muhammad al-Gharbawi, "Nazrat al-Shuʿaraʾ al-Maslubin fi al-ʿAsr al-ʿAbbasi," *Majalat Kuliyyat al-Lugha al-ʿArabiyya bi-l-Zaqaziq,* no. 24 (2004): 301-338; Ibrahim al-Zayidi, "waqafat Balaghiyya fi Marthiyyat Ibn al-Anbari li-Wazir Ibn Baqiyya: Dirasa wa-Tahlil," *Majalat al-ʿUlum al-Insaniyya wa-l-Tatbiqiyya,* no. 33 (2020):65-

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82.

[62] Salah al-Din al-Safadi, *Nakt al-Himyan fi Nukat al-ʿUmyan*, ed. Mustafa ʿAta, (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 2007), 285.

[63] Ibn ʿAsakir, *Tarikh Madinat Dimashq,* vol. 72, 173.

[64] Ibn Khallikan, *Wafayat al-Aʿyan,* vol. 5, 120-121.

[65] Al-Sayyid Salih al-Shahrastani, *Tarikh al-Niyaha ʿAla al-Imam al-Shahid al-Husayn ibn ʿAli ʿAlayhima al-Salam,* ed. Nabil ʿAlwan, vol. 2 (Qum: Muʾassasat Ansaryan li-l-Nashr wa-l-Tibaʿa, 2003), 63.

[66] Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember, Themes in the Social Sciences* (Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 43. Also, see Suzanne Stetkevych's employment of this term in her study of several Arabic poems in, Suzanne Pinckney Stetkevych, *The Poetics of Islamic Legitimacy: Myth, Gender, and Ceremony in the Classical Arabic Ode* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2002), 35-37, 82.