PART IV

THE ARABS IN EUROPE: SPAIN AND SICILY

CHAPTER XXXIV

CONQUEST OF SPAIN

THE Moslem campaign in the Iberian Peninsula, the south-western gate of Europe, was, as noted before, the last and most dramatic of the major military operations undertaken by the Arabs. It marked the height of the African-European expansion of the Moslems, just as the conquest of Turkestan marked the apogee of the Asiatic-Egyptian expansion.

In its swiftness of execution and completeness of success this expedition into Spain holds a unique place in medieval military annals. The first reconnaissance was made in July 710, when, with four hundred foot and one hundred horse, all Berbers, Ṭarīf,[1] a client of Mūsa ibn-Nuṣayr, the celebrated governor of North Africa under the Umayyads, landed on the tiny peninsula which is almost the southernmost tip of the European continent. This peninsula, now Tarifa, has since borne his name, Jazīrat (isle of) Ṭarīf.[2] Mūsa, who had held the governorship since about 700, had driven the Byzantines for ever from the territory west of Carthage and had gradually pushed his conquests to the Atlantic, thus acquiring for Islam a *point d'appui* for the invasion of Europe. Encouraged by Ṭarīf's success and by the dynastic trouble in the Visigothic kingdom of Spain and actuated more by the desire for booty than for conquest, Mūsa dispatched in 711 his Berber freedman Ṭāriq ibn-Ziyād into Spain with 7000 men, most of whom were Berbers. Ṭāriq landed near the mighty rock which has since immortalized his name, Jabal (mount of) Ṭāriq (Gibraltar).[3] The ships, so the tradition states, were provided by a certain semi-legendary

[1] Whether he was Arab or Berber is uncertain. Cf. Maqqari (Leyden), vol. i, p. 159; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p. 117; ibn-'Idhāri, ed. Dozy, vol. ii, p. 6; tr. Fagnan, vol. ii, p. 7; *Akhbār Majmū'ah fi Fatḥ al-Andalus*, ed. Lafuente y Alcántara (Madrid, 1867), p. 6 (text) = p. 20 (tr.).

[2] Mentioned by al-Idrīsi, *Dhikr al-Andalus* (extracts from *Nuzhat al-Mushtāq*), ed. and tr. Don Josef A. Conde (Madrid, 1799), pp. 11, 35, 44.

[3] Idrīsi, p. 36.

Julian,[1] count of Ceuta,[2] where the strait is only thirteen miles wide.

With his forces supplemented, Ṭār'q, at the head of 12,000 men, was met on July 19, 711, by the armies of King Roderick at the mouth of the Barbate River[3] on the shore of the lagoon of the Janda.[4] Roderick had deposed his predecessor, the son of Witiza, and usurped the throne.[5] Though numbering 25,000 men the Visigothic army was utterly routed owing to the treachery of the king's political enemies, headed by Bishop Oppas, a brother of Witiza. What became of Roderick himself remains a mystery. The usual version in both Spanish and Arabic chronicles is that he simply disappeared.

After this decisive victory the march of the Moslems through Spain almost amounted to a promenade. Only towns dominated by Visigothic knighthood offered effective resistance. Ṭāriq, with the bulk of the army, headed by way of Ecija towards Toledo, the capital, sending detachments against neighbouring towns. The strongly fortified Seville in the south was avoided. One column seized Archidona, which struck no blow. Another captured Elvira, which stood close to the spot where Granada now stands and proved an easy prey. A third, consisting of cavalry under Mughīth al-Rūmi (the Roman, Greek), attacked Cordova. After holding out for two months this future capital of the Moslems was delivered to the besiegers through the treachery of a shepherd, we are told, who pointed out a breach in the wall.[6]

[1] Ar. Ulyān, Balādhuri, p. 230 = Hitti, p. 365; Yulyān in *Akhbār*, vol. i, p. 4; ibn-'Idhāri, vol. ii, p. 6; Maqqari, vol. i, p. 159; ibn-'Abd-al-Ḥakam, ed. Torrey, p. 206; Yūbyān in ibn-al-Athīr, vol. iv, p. 444. According to the reconstruction of Francisco Codera, *Estudios críticos de historia árabe española*, ser. 2 (Saragossa, 1903), p. 47, his real name was Urban or Olban. The story of the violation of his beautiful daughter Florinda by Roderick, which is usually offered in explanation of Julian's co-operation with the Arabs, is purely legendary. In fact the entire story of the conquest has been richly embellished by both Spanish and Arab chroniclers.

[2] Sp., from Ar. Sabtah, originally from L. Septem (seven), its full name being ad Septem Fratres. The city crowned the ancient Abyla, one of the range "Septem Fratres" (seven brothers). Idrīsi, p. 12.

[3] This small river is now called Salado. The Arabs called it Wādi Bakkah (Lakkah), corrupted into Guadalbeca and therefore confused with Guadalete. Cf. Stanley Lane-Poole, with the collaboration of Arthur Gilman, *The Moors in Spain* (New York, 1911), pp. 14, 23.

[4] Referred to in Arabic chronicles simply as al-Buhayrah (the lake).

[5] Roderick = Ar. Ludhrīq, Lazrīq, Rudhrīq; Witiza = Ghayṭasah, Ghīṭishah, etc. Maqqari, vol. i, pp. 160, 161; ibn-'Abd-al-Ḥakam, p. 206; ibn-'Idhāri, vol. ii, p. 8; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p. 117; *Akhbār*, p. 8; Mas'ūdi, vol. i, p. 359.

[6] Ibn-'Idhāri, vol. ii, pp. 10-11; *Akhbār*, p. 10. Cf. Maqqari, vol. i, pp. 164-5.


Coruña
Compostela
GALICIA
ASTURIAS
CANTABRIA
Bayonne
GASCONY
Toulouse
Narbonne
Leon
Burgos
NAVARRE
Pyrenees
ARAGON
CATALONIA
Lerida
Barcelona
Braga
Valladolid
CASTILE
Saragossa
Oporto
Douro R.
Zamora
S. Estevan de Gormaz
Tarragona
Alhama dos Baños
Salamanca
Sierra de Guadarrama
Medinaceli
Calatayud
Ebro R.
Tortosa
ESTREMADURA
Madrid
Alcala de Henares
Balearic Islands
Castellon
Tagus R.
Toledo
Santa Maria
Valencia
Lisbon
Merida
Guadiana R.
Alcuba
Jucar R.
Jativa
Badajos
Almaden del Sal (Jebel Al Hamin)
Sierra Morena
Cordova
Al-Zahra
Al Zahirah
Jaen
Orihuela
Alicante
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Baja
Alhama
Murcia
Carthagena
Seville
Guadalquivir
Ecija
Granada
ALGARVE
Archidona
Sierra Nevada
ALPUXARRAS
Almeria
Xeres
Medina Sidonia
Cadiz
Malaga
Algeciras
Gibraltar
Tarifa
Ceuta
AFRICA
The
IBERIAN PENINSULA
In the Ninth Century
Illustrating Moslem Occupation
English Miles
0
50
100
200

Malaga offered no resistance. At Ecija the fiercest battle of the campaign was fought, ending favourably for the invaders. Toledo, the Visigoths' capital, was betrayed by certain Jewish residents. Thus did Ṭāriq, who in the spring of 711 had started as leader of a raid, become by the end of the summer the master of half of Spain. He had destroyed a whole kingdom.

Mūsa crosses the strait

Jealous of the unexpected and phenomenal success of his lieutenant, Mūsa, with 10,000[1] troops, all Arabians and Syrian Arabs, rushed to Spain in June 712. For his objective he chose those towns and strongholds avoided by Ṭāriq, e.g. Medina Sidonia and Carmona. Seville, the largest city and the intellectual centre of Spain and once its Roman capital, held out under siege until the end of June 713. But the most obstinate resistance was met at Mérida. After a year's beleaguerment, however, this city was taken by storm on June 1, 713.[2]

It was in or near Toledo that Mūsa met Ṭāriq. Here, we are told, he whipped his subordinate and put him in chains for refusing to obey orders to halt in the early stage of the campaign.[3] But the conquest went on. Soon Saragossa (Cæsarea Augusta, Cæsaraugusta) in the north was reached and the Moslem troops advanced into the highlands of Aragon, Leon, the Asturias and Galicia. In the autumn of the same year the Caliph al-Walīd in distant Damascus recalled Mūsa, charging him with the same offence for which Mūsa had disciplined his Berber subordinate—acting independently of his superior. As governor of Ifrīqiyah, Mūsa had none but the caliph for his superior

A triumphal procession

Leaving his second son, 'Abd-al-'Azīz, in command of the newly acquired territory, Mūsa slowly made his way overland toward Syria. On his march he was accompanied by his officers, four hundred Visigothic princes, wearing crowns and girdled with gold belts, and followed by an endless retinue of slaves and prisoners of war loaded with enormous treasures of booty.[4] The

[1] Ṭabari, vol. ii, p. 1253. Other sources make the number 18,000.

[2] Ibn-'Idhāri, vol. ii, pp. 15-16; ibn al-Athir, vol. iv, p 447; Maqqari, vol. i, pp. 170-71. Cf. ibn-al-Qūṭiyah, *Ta'rikh Iftitāḥ al-Andalus* (Madrid, 1868), pp. 9-10; tr. Julián Ribera as *Historia de la conquista de España* (Madrid, 1926), pp. 6-7; tr. O. Houdas as "Histoire de la conquête de l'Andalousie" in *Recueil de textes et de traductions*, etc. (Paris, 1889), vol. i, p. 226.

[3] Ibn-'Abd-al-Ḥakam, p. 210; ibn-'Idhāri, vol. ii, pp. 17-18.

[4] Ibn-'Idhāri, vol. ii, pp. 21-2; ibn-'Abd-al-Ḥakam, pp. 210-11; ibn-al-Qūṭiyah, p. 10; pseudo ibn-Qutaybah, *Qiṣṣat Fatḥ al-Andalus* (taken from *al-Imāmah wa-al-Siyāsah* and issued as supplement to ibn-al-Qūṭiyah), pp. 138, 140 *seq.* See above, p 235.

triumphal passage of this princely train through northern Africa from west to east forms a favourite theme with Arab historians. Its description brings to mind the picture of the ancient victorious marches of Roman generals. The news of the impressive procession travelled to Damascus faster than the procession itself. On reaching Tiberias Mūsa found orders awaiting him from Sulaymān, brother and heir of the sick al-Walīd, to delay his advent to the capital. The caliph-to-be hoped thereby to have the arrival grace his accession to the throne.[1]

In February 715 Mūsa entered Damascus with his Visigothic princes bedecked in their jewellery and was evidently received with favour by al-Walīd. The official reception, held with great dignity and pomp in the courtyard of the magnificent Umayyad Mosque, is one of the high-water marks in the history of triumphant Islam. For the first time hundreds of Western royalty and thousands of European captives were seen offering homage to the commander of the believers. Mūsa presented the caliph, among other trophies, with the superb table (*mā'idah*) whose workmanship legend assigns to genii in the service of King Solomon. From Jerusalem this unique piece of art, legend asserts, was carried away by the Romans into their capital, whence it was later taken by the Goths. Each Gothic king vied with the preceding one in decorating this table with precious stones. The treasure was kept in the cathedral at Toledo and was captured by Ṭāriq, probably from the bishop who was fleeing with it from the capital. Ṭāriq, so the story goes, had secreted one of its legs when Mūsa seized the table from him in Toledo, and now in the presence of the caliph dramatically produced the missing part as proof of his own exploit.[2]

The same fate which befell many another successful Arab general awaited Mūsa. Al-Walīd's successor subjected him to abject humiliation. Besides disciplining him by making him stand until exhausted in the sun, he confiscated his property and deprived him of all authority. The last we hear of the aged con-

[1] Cf. 'Abd-al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushi, *al-Mu'jib fi Talkhīṣ Akhbār al-Maghrib*, 2nd ed., R. Dozy (Leyden, 1881), p. 8; tr. E. Fagnan as *Histoire des Almohades* (Algiers, 1893), p. 10.

[2] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. iii, pp. 26-7; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. iv, pp. 448-9; Maqqari, vol. i, pp. 167, 172; ibn-'Abd-al-Ḥakam, p. 211; *Nabdhah min Akhbār Fath al-Andalus* (ext. *al-Risālah al-Sharīfiyah ila al-Aqṭār al-Andalusīyah* and published as a supplement to ibn-al-Qūṭīyah, Madrid, 1868), pp. 193, 213. See *Arabian Nights*, no. 272.

queror of Africa and Spain is as a beggar in a remote village of al-Ḥijāz, Wādi al-Qura.[1]

The conquest explained

Spain was now a province of the caliphate. The Arabic name it assumed was al-Andalus.[2] Mūsa's immediate successors had only small territories in the north and east of the peninsula to conquer and comparatively few revolts to quell. Within the short space of seven years the conquest of the peninsula, one of the fairest and largest provinces of medieval Europe, was effected. The conquerors were there to stay—for centuries at least.

The reasons for this seemingly unprecedented triumph are not hard to discern even from the above sketchy account. In the first place, the line of national cleavage between the Visigoths (West Goths) who entered Spain in the early part of the fifth century as Teutonic barbarians and the Spanish-Roman population was not yet entirely obliterated. The Goths had to struggle for a long time to displace their predecessors, the Suevi and Vandals, who were likewise invading Germanic hordes. The Visigoths ruled as absolute, often despotic, monarchs. They clung to the Arian form of Christianity until one of them, Recared, in 587 accepted Catholicism, the religion of the natives. As Catholics the people had hated the rule of the heretical Goths. The natives included a considerable class of serfs and slaves, who were naturally dissatisfied with their hard lot. That this enslaved class should have contributed its share to the success of the invasion and cooperated with the invaders is not surprising. Then there was the Jewish element in the population which was estranged from the bulk of the nation through active persecution by the Gothic royalty. Attempts at their forced conversion were consummated by a royal decree issued in 612 enjoining all Jews to be baptized under penalty of banishment and confiscation of property. That explains why several of the conquered towns were left in charge of Jews as the Moslem invaders marched through Spain.

We should, moreover, remember that political disagreements among the royalty and nobility of the Goths themselves, coupled with internal strife, had undermined the state. Toward the end of the sixth century the Gothic nobles had grown into territorial lords. The Moslem invasion coincided with the accession to the

[1] Maqqari, vol. i, p. 180 Cf. Ibn-Khallikān, vol iii, p 27.

[2] Etymologically this word is connected with the name of the Vandals, who had occupied the land before the Arabs.

throne of a usurper from among the nobility who was readily betrayed by the kinsmen of his deposed predecessor. On the conquest of Toledo, Achila, the deposed son of Witiza, who had naïvely cherished the notion that the Arabs were fighting his battle for him, contented himself with the recovery of his estates in Toledo. Here he continued to live in great pomp. His uncle, Bishop Oppas, was installed over the metropolitan see of the capital. As for Julian, the part he played in the conquest was greatly exaggerated.

The fall of Saragossa removed one of the last barriers between Spain and France. But there remained the Pyrenees. Mūsa never crossed them, though certain Arab chroniclers credit him with the feat and with having even entertained the hope of traversing "the land of the Franks" and joining hands through Constantinople with the caliph in Damascus.[1] Though wild and fantastic, the dream of fighting their way through Europe may have flashed through the brains of the Arab invaders, whose knowledge of the geography of Europe could not have been great. In reality it was Mūsa's third successor, al-Ḥurr ibn-'Abd-al-Raḥmān al-Thaqafi,[2] who, in 717 or 718, was the first to cross the range.

Lured by the rich treasures of the convents and churches of France and encouraged by the internal dissension between the chief officers of the Merovingian court and the dukes of Aquitaine (L. Aquitania), al-Ḥurr started the raids which were continued by his successor al-Samḥ ibn-Mālik al-Khawlāni. In 720, under the Caliph 'Umar II, al-Samḥ seized Septimania, which was a dependency of the defunct Visigothic kingdom, and captured Narbonne (Ar. Arbūnah), which was converted later into a huge citadel with an arsenal and depôts for provisions and arms. But his attempt in the following year at Toulouse, the seat of Duke Eudes of Aquitaine, resulted in failure, thanks to the effective resistance offered. Here al-Samḥ "suffered martyrdom",[3] i.e. fell in battle against non-Moslems. The first great victory by a Germanic prince over Moslems had been won. The subsequent movements of the Arabs beyond the Pyrenees were not successful.

[1] Maqqari, vol. i, p. 175; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, pp. 117-18.
[2] Ibn-'Idhāri, vol. ii, pp. 24-5; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. v, p. 373.
[3] Al-Ḍabbi, *Bughyat al-Multamis fi Ta'rikh Rijal al-Andalus*, ed. Francisco Codera and Julián Ribera (Madrid, 1884-5), p. 303.

The battle of Tours

The last and greatest expedition northward was led by 'Abd-al-Raḥmān ibn-'Abdullāh al-Ghāfiqi, successor of al-Samḥ as amīr over Spain. 'Abd-al-Raḥmān advanced through the western Pyrenees, which he crossed in the early spring of 732. Having vanquished Duke Eudes on the banks of the Garonne, he stormed Bordeaux, setting its churches on fire. After burning a basilica outside the walls of Poitiers he pushed northward to the vicinity of Tours. As the resting-place of the body of St. Martin, the apostle of the Gauls, Tours was a sort of religious capital for Gaul. Its votive offerings undoubtedly presented the chief attraction to the invaders.[1]

Here, between Tours and Poitiers, at the junction of the Clain and the Vienne, 'Abd-al-Raḥmān was met by Charles Martel, mayor of the palace at the Merovingian court, whose aid Eudes had besought. Charles, as the surname Martel (the hammer) which he later won signifies, was valiant and bold. He had subdued many enemies and obliged Eudes, who exercised independent authority in Aquitaine, to acknowledge the nominal sovereignty of the northern Franks. Though not king in name Charles, an illegitimate son of Pepin of Heristal, was king in fact.

For seven days the Arab army under 'Abd-al-Raḥmān and the Frankish forces under Charles, mostly foot soldiers clad in wolfskins and wearing long matted hair hanging down over their shoulders, stood facing one another anxiously awaiting the moment of joining battle. Light skirmishes dragged on. At last, on an October Saturday of 732, the Arab leader took the initiative in the attack. The Frankish warriors, who in the heat of the fight had formed a hollow square, stood shoulder to shoulder, firm as a wall, inflexible as a block of ice—in the words of a Western historian.[2] The light cavalry of the enemy failed against them. Without giving way they hewed down with their swords all attackers. Among the victims was 'Abd-al-Raḥmān himself. Darkness at last separated the combatants. At the dawn of day the stillness of the hostile camp caused Charles to suspect a ruse. Spies were sent out to ascertain the facts. Under cover of night the Arabs had quietly deserted their tents and vanished. Charles thus came off victorious.

[1] See Ḍabbi, *Bughyah*, p 353.

[2] André Duchesne, *Histor'ce Francorum scriptores*, vol. I (Paris, 1636), p. 786.

Later legends embellished this day of Poitiers or Tours, greatly exaggerating its historic importance. To the Moslems, who, however, have very little to say about it, it has become a *balāṭ al-shuhadā'*,[1] pavement of martyrs. To the Christians it meant the turning-point in the military fortunes of their eternal foe. Gibbon,[2] and after him other historians, would see in Paris and London mosques, where cathedrals now stand, and would hear the Koran instead of the Bible expounded in Oxford and other seats of learning, had the Arabs won the day. To several modern historical writers this battle of Tours is one of the decisive battles in history.[3] In reality it decided nothing. The Arab-Berber wave, already almost a thousand miles from its starting-place in Gibraltar, had reached a natural standstill. It had lost its momentum and spent itself. Internal discord and jealousy between its two component racial elements were beginning to tell on the morale of 'Abd-al-Rahmān's army. Among the Arabs themselves, as we shall immediately see, there was no unanimity of feeling and purpose. It is true that the Moslems were checked at this point, but their raids continued elsewhere. In 734, for instance, they seized Avignon; nine years later they pillaged Lyons; and not until 759 did they relinquish their hold on Narbonne, the strategic base of their operations. But although this defeat near Tours was not the actual cause of the Arab halt, it does mark the farthest limit of the victorious Moslem arms. One hundred years after the death of the Prophet the domain of his successor in Damascus had become a world-empire extending from China to Gaul.[4]

The strife between the two factions in the Moslem ranks of Spain affords the key to the history of the period between the battle of Tours in 732 and the heroic advent of the Umayyad 'Abd-al-Rahmān I in 755. It was the same old feud between

[1] *Akhbār*, p 25, Maqqari, vol. i, p. 146, l. 3. *Balat* is a loan-word through Syriac from Latin or Greek *platea* or *palatium*. The word is common in place names, especially in Spain (Idrisi, pp 32, 59) In this instance the field was referred to as "pavement" because the battle was fought on a paved Roman road. Cf John 19 13

[2] *Decline and Fall*, ed. Bury, vol. vi, pp. 15 *seq* See also Lane Poole, pp 29-30

[3] Edward Creasy, *The Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World*, new ed (New York, 1918), pp. 159 *seq*; S. P. Scott, *History of the Moorish Empire in Europe* (Philadelphia, 1904), vol i, p 306 Cf Henry Coppée, *History of the Conquest of Spain by the Arab Moors* (Boston, 1881), vol. ii, pp. 19 *seq*.

[4] See above, p 216.

North Arabians, frequently referred to as Muḍarites,[1] and South Arabians or Yamanites. The Yamanites everywhere were inoculated with Shī'ite ideas; the Muḍarites maintained Sunni orthodoxy. At the establishment of the 'Abbāsid dynasty the Yamanites, as 'Alids, naturally sympathized with the new régime; the others remained loyal to the fallen house of banu-Umayyah. The Berbers, who after the Spanish conquest flooded the peninsula from Africa, where many of them had embraced the Khārijite doctrine and espoused its cause against both Umayyads and 'Alids, now constituted a most disturbing factor. They complained that their nationals carried the brunt of the fighting but were nevertheless allotted the arid central plateau, whereas the Arabs appropriated for themselves the most smiling provinces of Andalusia.

Discontent soon led to open revolt. The flame of Berber insurrection which had raged for years (734–42) from Morocco to al-Qayrawān now spread to Spain and threatened the handful of Arab colonists with extermination. In 741 the Caliph Hishām dispatched an army of twenty-seven thousand Syrians to quell the African revolt.[2] The remnant of this army, about one-third of it, crossed the strait under the leadership of Balj ibn-Bishr al-Qushayri. The Syrians turned colonists and, with their ambitions and interests marked by unswerving loyalty to the Umayyad cause, introduced a new problem into an already complicated situation. Balj seized the government and established his men in the capital, Cordova. After that the turbulent Syrians were dispersed. The division of Ḥimṣ was settled in Seville; that of Palestine in Medina Sidonia and Algeciras; that of Damascus in the district of Elvira; and that of Qinnasrīn in the district of Jaen.[3] As an index of the prevailing anarchy in this period suffice it to note that in the short interval between 732 and 755 no less than twenty-three governors succeeded one another in Spain. Under such conditions not much progress could be made into the land of the enemy in the north, though several campaigns

[1] The Mudar and Rabī'ah, both of North Arab origin, were often included under the collective term Ma'add. See above, p. 280.

[2] *Akhbār*, p. 31. Cf ibn al-Qūṭīyah, pp. 14-15; ibn-'Idhārī, vol. i, pp. 41-2, vol ii, p. 30, Marrākushī, p. 9

[3] Ibn-al-Qūṭīyah, p. 20, ibn-'Idhārī, vol. ii, p. 33; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p. 119; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. v. pp 204-5, ibn-al-Khaṭīb, MS in R. Dozy, *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne*, 3rd ed. (Paris, 1881), vol. i, app. ii, pp. vi-xvii

were conducted in the course of which certain governors "suffered martyrdom".[1]

The government of the peninsula was in the hands of an amīr who ruled almost independently, though nominally under the governor-general of al-Maghrib (i.e. North Africa and Spain) residing in al-Qayrawān. In certain instances the amīr received his appointment from, and held it directly under, the caliph in Damascus. 'Abd-al-'Azīz, son of Mūsa ibn-Nuṣayr and first amīr of al-Andalus, chose Seville (Ishbīliyah) for his seat of government. He married the widow of King Roderick, Egilona, whose name now became umm- (mother of) 'Āṣim. This new Christian wife, according to Arab chroniclers,[2] persuaded her husband to wear a crown, after the usage of Visigothic royalty, and to make the entrance into his audience chamber so low that none could get in without bending in obeisance. She also insisted on having such a low door to her palace chapel that 'Abd-al-'Azīz himself had to bend on entering as if in an act of worship. Rumours centring on these innovations, exaggerated to the point of making of the Moslem amīr a convert to Christianity, reached the Caliph Sulaymān and resulted in the murder of the first governor of Moslem Spain. The tragic event took place near Seville in 716 at the monastery of Santa Rufina, presumably used then as a mosque. The head was dispatched to Damascus, where it was exhibited to 'Abd-al-'Azīz' aged and distressed father.

Three years afterward al-Samḥ ibn-Mālik al-Khawlāni, the fourth in this list of ephemeral amīrs, transferred the seat of government to Cordova[3] (Qurṭubah), destined to become for centuries the brilliant residence of the Western Umayyad dynasty. It was al-Samḥ who rebuilt the bridge in Cordova over the Guadalquivir[4] on the remains of an older Roman structure, made a fresh survey of the land and instituted a new system of taxation. Shortly after al-Samḥ the governorship became a bone of bloody contention between the Muḍarites and Yamanites. The two parties finally hit upon what they considered a brilliant

[1] Ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, pp. 118-19; Maqqari, vol. i, pp 145-6

[2] *Akhbār*, p. 20; ibn-'Abd-al-Hakam, p. 212; ibn-al-Qūṭīyah, p. 11; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. v, p. 14; ibn-'Idhāri, vol. ii, pp. 22-3; Maqqari, vol. i, p. 178. Cf. pseudo-ibn-Quṭaybah, pp. 169 *seq.*

[3] *Nabdhah*, pp. 206-7; ibn-al-Qūṭīyah, pp. 12-13. Cf. ibn-'Idhāri, vol. ii, p 25, Maqqari, vol i, p 190.

[4] From Ar. al-Wādi al-Kabīr, the big valley

idea: choosing alternately one of their number each year to rule the land.

The first choice of the Muḍarites was Yūsuf ibn-'Abd-al-Rahmān al-Fihri,[1] a descendant of 'Uqbah, the founder of al-Qayrawān. The Caliph Marwān II confirmed (746) the appointment.[2] At the end of the year, however, Yūsuf refused to give turn to the Yamanite candidate and continued to rule for about ten years.[3] Toward the close of 755, as he was in the north busy subduing a revolt, word was received that an Umayyad youth by the name of 'Abd-al-Raḥmān ibn-Mu'āwiyah had lately landed on the coast south of Granada and was on his way to capture the amīrate. A new and important chapter in the history of Spain was being ushered in.

[1] *Akhbār*, pp. 57 *seq.*; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. v, pp. 286-7.
[2] Cf. pseudo-ibn-Quṭaybah, p. 188.
[3] Ibn-al-Abbār, *al-Ḥullah al-Siyarā'* (*Notices sur quelques manuscrits arabes*), ed. Dozy (Leyden, 1847-51), p. 54. ibn-al-Athīr, vol. v, p. 376.

CHAPTER XXXV

THE UMAYYAD AMÍRATE IN SPAIN

WHEN in 750 the 'Abbāsids signalized their accession by a general massacre of the members of the house of Umayyah,[1] one of the very few who escaped was 'Abd-al-Raḥmān ibn-Mu'āwiyah,[2] a grandson of Hishām, the tenth caliph of Damascus. The story of the narrow escape of this twenty-year-old youth and of his five years' wandering in disguise through Palestine, Egypt and North Africa, where more than once he barely escaped the vigilant eyes of 'Abbāsid spies, forms one of the most dramatic episodes in Arabic annals. The flight began from a Bedouin camp on the left bank of the Euphrates where 'Abd-al-Raḥmān had sought refuge. One day the black standards of the 'Abbāsids suddenly appeared close by the camp. With his thirteen-year-old brother, 'Abd-al-Rahmān dashed into the river. The younger, evidently a poor swimmer, believed the pursuers' promise of amnesty and returned from midstream, only to be slain; the elder kept on and gained the opposite bank.[3]

As he trudged on his way southward 'Abd-al-Raḥmān was joined in Palestine by his faithful and able freedman Badr. In North Africa he barely escaped assassination at the hands of its governor, a relative of Yūsuf al-Fihri. Wandering from tribe to tribe and from town to town, friendless and penniless, the proscribed fugitive finally reached Ceuta (755). His maternal uncles were Berbers from that neighbourhood and offered him refuge. Thence he sent Badr across the strait to negotiate with the Syrian divisions from Damascus and Qinnasrīn which were settled in Elvira and Jaen. Many of the leaders, who were former protégés of the Umayyad house, welcomed the opportunity to rally under the leadership of one who bore a name with which all Syrians conjured. The Syrians won the Yamanites over to their cause,

[1] See above, pp 285-6, 450

[2] Corrupted by the old Christian chroniclers into Benemangias.

[3] *Akhbār*, pp 52-4; ibn al-Athir, vol. v, p 377.

not so much because the latter loved 'Abd-al-Raḥmān as because they hated their titular governor, Yūsuf. A ship was sent to transport the new leader. Tall and lean, with sharp, aquiline features and thin red hair,[1] this scion of the banu-Umayyah, imbued with the spirit of adventure and trained in the best tradition of the house, soon became master of the complicated situation. In vain did the weak-kneed Yūsuf try to satisfy the new pretender with rich gifts and promises, including his daughter's hand. One southern city after another opened its gates without resistance. Archidona,[2] where the Jordan division had established itself, the province of Sidona, in which the Palestine division had settled, and Seville, where dwelt the Arabs of Ḥimṣ, welcomed the prince with open arms.[3]

Cordova captured

As 'Abd-al-Raḥmān with his partisans pushed on toward Cordova, Yūsuf advanced in the direction of Seville. Before the impending battle it was noticed that the prince had no military standard of his own, whereupon the Yamanite chieftain of Seville, abu-al-Ṣabbāḥ al-Yaḥṣubi, improvised a banner by fastening a green turban round the head of a spear.[4] Thus originated, we are told, the standard of the Umayyads in Spain.

The morning of May 14, 756, found the two opposing armies engaged in battle on the banks of the Guadalquivir. Though most of the men on both sides were on horses, which were still scarce in Andalusia, 'Abd-al-Raḥmān, realizing that some of his followers were afraid he might desert, insisted on changing his mount for an old mule belonging to abu-al-Ṣabbāḥ.[5] The issue of the combat was not long in doubt. Yūsuf with his chief general sought safety in flight. Cordova was captured and a general amnesty was declared. 'Abd-al-Raḥmān had no little difficulty in stopping the pillage of the capital and in putting the harem of the defeated governor under his magnanimous protection.

Moslem Spain consolidated and pacified

The mastery of Cordova, however, did not necessarily mean the mastery of Moslem Spain. The fugitive governor continued to foment trouble in the north until he was finally slain near

[1] Ibn-'Idhāri, vol. ii, p. 50, ibn-al-Athīr, vol. vi, p. 76.
[2] The capital of the mountainous province of Regio (Ar. Rayyah); Yāqūt, vol. i, p. 195, 207.
[3] Ibn-al Athīr, vol v, p. 378, ibn-'Idhāri, vol. ii, p. 48; Maqqari, vol. i, p. 212.
[4] *Akhbār*, p 84 Cf. ibn-al Qūṭiyah, p. 25
[5] *Akhbār*, pp. 88-9, ibn-al-Athīr, vol. v, p. 378.

Toledo.[1] This city was not reduced till 764. Yamanite and Shī'ite revolts, fostered by 'Abbāsid agents, were successive. Berber insurrections took ten years to suppress. The Berbers never forgave their Arab superiors for appropriating to themselves the lion's share of the conquered land. Former staunch supporters of the new amīr now turned enemies and had to be summarily dealt with. The Sevillan sheikh whose banner and mule had led 'Abd-al-Raḥmān to victory lost his head in an uprising. Badr, 'Abd-al-Raḥmān's right-hand man, was banished to a frontier town after losing all his property

Enemies within had their confederates without. In 761 the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Manṣūr had the temerity to appoint one al-'Alā' ibn-Mughīth as governor over Spain. Two years later al-'Alā' was decapitated and his head, preserved in salt and camphor and wrapped in a black flag and the diploma of appointment, was forwarded to al-Manṣūr while on a pilgrimage to Makkah.[2] Al-Manṣūr, who on another occasion called 'Abd-al-Raḥmān "the falcon of Quraysh",[3] now exclaimed, "Thanks be to Allah for having placed the sea between us and such a foe!"[4] 'Abd-al-Raḥmān is said even to have equipped a fleet to wrest Syria from 'Abbāsid hands but was forced by domestic problems to stay at home.

In 777 a formidable confederacy of Arab chiefs in the north-east headed by the governor of Barcelona and a blue-eyed son-in-law of Yūsuf al-Fihrī invited Charlemagne, who might have been considered an ally of the 'Abbāsid caliph[5] and therefore a natural enemy of 'Abd-al-Raḥmān, to an alliance against the new amīr of Spain. Charlemagne advanced (778) through the north-eastern Spanish marches as far as Saragossa,[6] but had to withdraw when that city closed its gates in his face and domestic enemies threatened his authority at home. On its "dolorous route" of retreat through the defiles of the Pyrenees, the Frankish army was attacked in its rear by Basques and other mountaineers from whom it suffered disastrous loss in men and baggage.[7] Among the leaders who fell was Roland, whose heroic

[1] Ibn-al-Abbār, *Ḥullah*, p. 55. [2] Ibn-al-Qūṭīyah, p. 33.
[3] Ibn-'Idhārī, vol. ii, p. 61; Maqqarī, vol. i, p. 213.
[4] Ibn-al-Qūṭīyah, pp. 33-4; Maqqarī, vol. i, p. 215.
[5] É. Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, vol. i (Paris, 1950), p. 121.
[6] *Akhbār*, p. 113.
[7] Eginhard, *Charlemagne*, ed. and tr. Halphen, pp. 29-31; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, pp. 123-4; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. vi, pp. 7-8.

defence has been immortalized in the *Chanson de Roland*, not only a gem of early French literature but one of the most striking epics of medieval times. In effect, 'Abd-al-Rahmān proved himself the equal of the mightiest sovereign in the West as he had proved himself the equal of the greatest ruler in the East.[1]

An independent amīrate

In the process of subduing his multitudinous adversaries 'Abd-al-Rahmān developed a well-disciplined, highly trained army of 40,000 or more mercenary Berbers, imported from Africa, on whose loyalty he could now depend for the maintenance of his throne. The favour of such a body he knew how to keep by generous pay. In 757 he discontinued the *khutbah* hitherto delivered in the name of the 'Abbāsid caliph, but did not assume the caliphal title himself. He and his successors down to 'Abd-al-Rahmān III contented themselves with the title of amīr, though ruling independently. Under 'Abd-al-Rahmān I Spain had thus been the first province to shake off the authority of the recognized caliph in Islam.

With his realm consolidated and temporarily pacified, 'Abd-al-Rahmān turned to the arts of peace, in which he showed himself as great as in the art of war. He beautified the cities of his domain, built an aqueduct for the supply of pure water to the capital, initiated the construction of a wall round it and erected for himself the Munyat[2] al-Ruṣāfah outside Cordova in imitation of the palace built by his ancestor Hishām in north-eastern Syria. To his villa he brought water and introduced exotic plants, such as peaches and pomegranates. To a lonely palm tree in his garden, said to be the first imported from Syria, he addressed some tender verses of his own composition.[3]

Two years before his death in 788 'Abd-al-Raḥmān rebuilt the great Mosque of Cordova[4] as a rival to the two sanctuaries of Islam in Jerusalem and Makkah. Completed and enlarged by his successors, the Mosque of Cordova soon became the Ka'bah of Western Islam. With its forest of stately columns and its spacious outer court this monumental structure, transformed into

[1] Consult Coppee, vol ii, pp 167-8

[2] A loan word from Gr. (also Coptic) meaning "garden".

[3] Ibn al Abbār, *Hullah*, p 34, ibn al Athir, vol vi, p 77, Maqqari, vol ii, p. 37, Nicholson, *Literary History*, p 418 The first date-palms were introduced by the Phoenicians The Arabs brought in new varieties which they propagated from off-shoots, whereas the earlier culture was based entirely on growing dates from seed.

[4] Ibn 'Idhāri, vol. ii, p 60, cf p 245, Maqqari, vol i, p 212.

a Christian cathedral at the reconquest by Ferdinand III in 1236, has survived to the present day under the popular name "La Mezquita" (the mosque). Besides the great mosque the capital could already boast a bridge, over the Guadalquivir, later enlarged to seventeen arches. Nor were the interests of the founder of the Umayyad régime limited to the material welfare of his people. In various ways he diligently strove to fashion into a national mould Arabians, Syrians, Berbers, Numidians, Hispano-Arabs and Goths—a rather hopeless task; and in more than one sense did he initiate that intellectual movement which made Islamic Spain from the ninth to the eleventh centuries one of the two centres of world culture.

The dynasty established by 'Abd-al-Raḥmān I, styled al-Dākhil (the newcomer) by Arab chroniclers, was to endure for two and three-quarter centuries (756–1031). It reached its height under the eighth amīr, 'Abd-al-Raḥmān III (912–61), the greatest in the long line and the first to assume the title of *caliph (929). In fact the reign of the Caliph 'Abd-al-Raḥmān* marks the zenith of the Arab epoch in the peninsula. Throughout the Umayyad period Cordova continued to be the capital and enjoyed a period of incomparable splendour as the Western rival of Baghdād.

The Umayyad caliphate began to wane after the death of the talented regent al-Ḥājib al-Manṣūr (1002), the "Bismarck of the tenth century" and possibly the greatest statesman and general of Arab Spain, and entirely disappeared in 1031. On its ruins arose sundry petty kingdoms and principalities, many of which were always at daggers drawn with one another and all of which finally succumbed to the growing power of the native Christians, particularly those of the north. With the fall of Granada in 1492 the last vestige of Moslem rule vanished for ever from the peninsula.

The main task of 'Abd-al-Raḥmān al-Dākhil's successors continued to be the pacification of the land and the solution of the knotty problems arising from the dual character of the population as Christians and Moslems and from the jealousies between old Arab Moslems and newly converted Spanish Moslems. From the beginning the policy followed by the Arab conquerors in the treatment of their subjects in Spain was not fundamentally different from that pursued in other conquered

lands.[1] Poll tax (*jizyah*), levied on Christians and Jews only, varied between twelve, twenty-four and forty-eight dirhams a year, according to the economic status of the payer. Women and children, the aged and destitute, as well as monks and people afflicted with chronic diseases, were of course exempt. Land tax (*kharāj*), averaging about twenty per cent. of the yield, was also collected from these dhimmis, but, unlike the poll tax, remained unaffected by the conversion of the taxpayer. Territories acquired by the sword, together with the landed property of the churches and of the lords who fled Spain at the time of the conquest, were confiscated and parcelled out among the conquerors as individuals; but the serfs were left on those lands as cultivators and were required to hand four-fifths of the produce to the new Moslem lords. Out of this confiscated territory, however, one-fifth was appropriated by the state, which exacted from its serfs only one-third of the crops. Certain state lands were later divided into fiefs among Syrians and Arabs imported to quell revolts.

"No bondage in Islam" did not necessarily apply to a slave on becoming Moslem. Christian communities were left unmolested in the exercise of their faith and under their own ecclesiastical laws and native judges, whose jurisdiction, of course, did not include cases involving Moslems and offences against the religion of Islam. In general, therefore, the Moslem occupation of Spain entailed no new unbearable hardships to the natives. "In some respects", declares Dozy,[2] "the Arab conquest was even a benefit to Spain." It broke the power of the privileged group, including the nobility and clergy, ameliorated the condition of the servile class and gave the Christian landowner such rights as the alienation of his property which he was denied under the Visigoths.

Renegades in arms

Nevertheless, Christians flocked to Islam. In mountain and rural regions they maintained the old national pattern and traditional culture, but in the cities they did not. As Neo-Moslems they constituted a social class by themselves, called by the Arabs *Muwalladūn* (sing. *Muwallad*, adopted, affiliated) and by the Spaniards *Muladies*. In course of time these neophytes became the most discontented body in the population. Their ranks were

[1] See above, pp 170-71.

[2] *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, ed É. Lévi Provençal (Leyden, 1932), vol. i, p. 278, tr. Francis G. Stokes, *Spanish Islam* (London, 1913), p. 236.

recruited mainly from serfs and freedmen and their descendants who cultivated the soil or toiled as day labourers. Some of them, though professing Islam, were "secret Christians";[1] but they all knew well the clear and inexorable law of apostasy from Islam, which prescribed death. The Moslem Arabs treated all *Muwallads* as inferior, though some of them were of noble descent. By the end of the first century after the conquest these *Muwallads* had become the majority of the population in several cities, where they were the first to take up arms against the established order.

[1] Eulogius, "Memoriale sanctorum", Bk. II in A. Schottus, *Hispaniæ illustratæ*, vol. IV (Frankfort, 1608), p. 293

CHAPTER XXXVI

CIVIL DISTURBANCES

IN Cordova, the southern suburb, referred to as *al-rabaḍ*,[1] was overwhelmingly populated with such Neo-Moslems, renegades from the Christian point of view. Sections of them were under the influence of students and teachers of theology and law (*faqīhs*), about four thousand of whom flourished in the capital. As long as Hishām I (788–96), the pious and scholarly son[2] and successor of 'Abd-al-Raḥmān, ruled there was no immediate cause for trouble. But the reign of Hishām's successor, al-Ḥakam I (796–822), who was gay and addicted to the chase and wine, changed the situation. Objection was made not only to the levity of al-Ḥakam but also to his bodyguard, composed mainly of negroes and other foreign mercenaries who knew no Arabic.[3] The trouble began in 805 when one day as the amīr was passing in the streets the mob attacked him with stones while the theologians applauded. Seventy-two of the ringleaders who were later found implicated in a conspiracy to depose al-Ḥakam were apprehended and crucified. Uprisings in the renegade quarter followed one another, culminating in a serious outbreak in 814[4] under the leadership of a Berber *faqīh*. Al-Ḥakam was shut up in his palace by the furious mob, but his cavalry finally succeeded in cutting down the insurgents. The suburb was dealt with ruthlessly. Its leaders, to the number of three hundred, were nailed to crosses, head downwards. The whole population was ordered to evacuate Spain in three days and the quarter was levelled to the ground. It was forbidden for anyone to build

[1] Ibn-'Idhārī, vol. ii, pp 73, 77; ibn al-Athīr, vol. vi, pp 209 *seq.*; *'Iqd*, vol. ii, p 365, ibn-Khaldūn, vol iv, p 126

[2] Ibn al-Athīr, vol vi, pp 101-2, ibn al Quṭiyah, p 42.

[3] Hence their sobriquet *al khurs*, the dumb ones, ibn-Khaldūn, vol iv, p. 127; Maqqarī, vol. i, p 220

[4] A.H. 202 (817–18) in ibn-'Idhārī, vol. ii, p 77. Cf. ibn al Qūṭiyah, pp 51-2.

there again.[1] Eight thousand families found asylum in Morocco, particularly in Fās (Fez), which Idrīs II, a descendant of 'Ali, was then building as his new capital.[2] Others, comprising fifteen thousand individuals,[3] landed at Alexandria. Here the refugees succeeded in making themselves masters of the town until 827, when they were forced to flee by a general of the Caliph al-Ma'mūn. For a new abode the exiles chose Crete, a part of which still belonged to the Byzantine empire. They reduced the whole island and their leader founded a dynasty which lasted until Crete was reconquered by the Greeks in 961.[4]

Some Spanish Moslems, it should be noted, were invaluable allies to the Arabs and allowed themselves to be used against their former co-religionists. Such was the case of 'Amrūs ibn-Yūsuf, who in 807 was appointed by al-Ḥakam as governor of Toledo, the proud "royal city"[5] which in the eyes of the conquered natives was politically and ecclesiastically the most important town. Toledo had been restless under Moslem yoke; its renegades and Christians were in a chronic state of revolt. In honour of a visit from the fourteen-year-old crown prince 'Abd-al-Raḥmān, son of al-Ḥakam, 'Amrūs at the suggestion of al-Ḥakam arranged for a banquet to which he invited hundreds of notable Toledans. In the courtyard of his newly erected castle stretched a long ditch, whence had come the clay used in constructing that stronghold. Beside the ditch 'Amrūs now planted an executioner. As each guest entered the courtyard the sword fell upon his neck. The corpses were dumped into the ditch. For several years after this "slaughter of the ditch",[6] turbulent Toledo remained tranquil.[7] But other cities such as

[1] In memory of this sensational episode al-Ḥakam won the sobriquet al-Rabaḍ (the suburban). Ibn-al-Abbār, *Ḥullah*, p. 38.

[2] The quarter where they settled is still called *'idwat al-Andalus*, the bank of the Andalusians.

[3] Ibn-al-Qūṭīyah, p. 51.

[4] Ibn-al-Abbār, *Ḥullah*, pp. 39 40; Maqqari, vol. i, p. 219; Marrākushi, pp. 13-14; Kindi, *Wulāh*, pp. 161-5, 184; Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, p. 561; Yāqūt, vol. i, p. 337. See above, p. 202.

[5] *Urbs regia* in Isidorus Pacensis, "Del chronicon", in *España sagrada: Theatro geographico-historico de la iglesia de España*, ed. Fr. Henrique Florez, vol. viii (Madrid, 1753), p. 297; *madinat al-mulūk* (the city of kings) in Qazwini, *Āthār*, p. 366.

[6] *Waq'at al ḥufrah*, ibn-al-Athīr, vol. vi, p. 135; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p. 126.

[7] Ibn al-Qūṭīyah, pp. 45-9; ibn-'Idhāri, vol. ii, pp. 71-2.

Mérida remained in a state of revolt until the reign of 'Abd-al-Raḥmān II,[1] an energetic artisan of Umayyad Spanish unity and a zealous patron of music and astronomy.

As an amīr 'Abd-al-Raḥmān II (822–52), later surnamed al-Awsaṭ,[2] was influenced by four personages: a woman, a eunuch, a theologian and a singer. The woman was his favourite wife, Sulṭānah (queen) Ṭarūb, a consummate intriguer. The eunuch was his gifted slave Naṣr, the royal chamberlain, son of a Spaniard and a favourite with the queen.[3] The theologian was none other than the Berber ringleader of the *faqīh*-renegade mutiny of Cordova, Yahya ibn-Yahya († 849) of the Maṣmūdah tribe, a student of the Imām Mālik ibn-Anas in Baghdād and the man responsible for the introduction of the Māliki rite into al-Andalus.[4] So firmly established did this rite become that the people there were wont to declare: "We know no other works but the Book of Allah and the *Muwaṭṭa'* of Mālik".[5] The singer was a Persian tenor, Ziryāb, who hailed from Baghdād.

Ziryāb[6] was one of those musicians who had graced the court of Hārūn al-Rashīd and his sons, where he had distinguished himself not only as an artist but also as a man of science

[1] Umayyad amīrs of Cordova

1. 'Abd-al-Raḥmān I (756–88)
2. Hishām I (788–96)
3. Al-Ḥakam I (796–822)
4. 'Abd-al-Raḥmān II (822–52)
5. Muḥammad I (852–86)
   - 6. Al-Mundhir (886–8)
   - 7. 'Abdullāh (888–912)
     - Muḥammad
       - 8. 'Abd-al-Raḥmān III (912–29, caliph 929–61)

[2] I.e. the middler, for coming between 'Abd al-Raḥmān I and 'Abd-al-Raḥmān III. Ibn-al-Abbār, *Ḥullah*, p. 61; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. IV, p. 127.

[3] Maqqari, vol. I, pp. 224-5; below, p. 516

[4] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. III, p. 173. Cf. ibn-al-Qūṭīyah, p. 34. Mālik, according to ibn-Khallikān, dubbed Yaḥya "the wise man ['*āqil*] of al-Andalus", because he remained in his seat listening to the imām's lecture while an elephant was passing along the street and all the other students rushed out to see it.

[5] Maqdisi, p. 236.

[6] Pers. *zar*, "gold" + *āb*, "water"; nickname of abu al-Hasan 'Ali ibn-Nāfi'. *'Iqd*, vol. III, p. 241, calls Ziryāb a black slave.

and letters. Thereby he aroused the jealousy of his equally renowned teacher, Ishāq al-Mawṣili, and fled first to north-western Africa. Anxious to make of Cordova a second Baghdād, ʿAbd-al-Rahmān, who maintained an opulent court and imitated the lavish prodigalities of Hārūn, rode out (822) of his capital in person to welcome the young minstrel.[1] Ziryāb lived with his new patron, from whom he received an emolument of 3000 dinars annually and real estate in Cordova worth 40,000 dinars, on terms of closest intimacy. He soon eclipsed all other musicians in the land. Besides being credited with knowing the words and tunes of 10,000 songs, which like other musicians he believed the jinn had taught him during the night, Ziryāb shone as a poet and as a student of astronomy and geography.[2] What is more important, he proved himself so polished, witty and entertaining that he soon became the most popular figure among the smart set of the time, even an arbiter of fashion. Hitherto hair had been worn long and parted on the forehead, now it was trimmed low on the brow; water had been drunk out of metal vessels, now out of glasses; certain dishes, including asparagus, had been unpopular, now those same dishes became favourites—all because of Ziryāb's example.[3]

Toward the close of ʿAbd-al-Rahmān's reign the lure of the language, literature, religion and other institutions of the conquerors—including the harem system—had become so strong that a large number of urban Christians had become Arabicized though not actually Islamized. Dazzled by the glamour of Arab civilization and conscious of their own inferiority in art, poetry, philosophy and science, native Christians soon began to ape the Arab way of living. These imitators now became so numerous as to constitute a social class by themselves and acquired the epithet Mozarabs.[4] Spain, be it remembered, was one of the last countries of Europe to be Christianized; some of its country districts were still pagan at the time of the Moslem conquest and its Visigothic Arianism agreed in its Christology with Moslem doctrine. A contemporary Christian writer of Cordova deplores the fact that the Christian laymen shun the works of the Latin Fathers and are "intoxicated with Arab

[1] Cf. ibn-Khaldūn, *Muqaddamah*, p 357, quoted by Maqqari, vol. i, p 222.
[2] Maqqari, vol. ii, p 87, ibn-al Qūṭiyah, p 68
[3] Maqqari, vol. ii, pp 87–8.
[4] From Ar. *musta'rib*, he who adopts the Arabic language and customs.

eloquence".[1] As early as 724 or thereabout John, bishop of Seville, is said to have made an Arabic recension of the Bible for the convenience of Arabicized Christians and the Moors.[2]

As a reaction against this tendency toward Arabicization, a curious movement now started among the Christian zealots of Cordova which resulted in the voluntary martyrdom of several men and women. The leading spirit was an ascetic priest, Eulogius, supported by his wealthy friend, later his biographer, Alvaro.[3] Nothing could have crystallized the sentiment of the movement better than the execution on the feast of Ramaḍān (850) of another Cordovan priest, Perfectus by name, for having reviled Muḥammad and cursed Islam.[4] Headed by the bishop of Cordova the populace lost no time in declaring Perfectus a saint and in attributing miracles to him; for did he not before his decapitation correctly prophesy the immediate death of Naṣr, the eunuch chamberlain in charge of execution? Naṣr, it seems, had entered into a conspiracy with Ṭarūb to poison her royal husband; Ṭarūb's motive was to secure for her own son 'Abdullāh the succession to the throne to the prejudice of Muḥammad (the eldest of 'Abd-al-Raḥmān's forty-five sons), who was born of another wife. 'Abd-al-Raḥmān got wind of the scheme, and when Naṣr brought a phial claiming that it held a wonderful remedy the monarch ordered him to try it first on himself.[5]

Not long after the Perfectus episode a monk named Isaac appeared before the qāḍi on the pretext of wishing to be converted to Islam and began to heap curses on Muḥammad. Like Perfectus he was beheaded and soon became a saint.[6] Now the race began. Clergy and laity went out of their way to blaspheme Islam with the simple intention of receiving the inescapable penalty that they well knew went with such an offence. Eleven thus "suffered martyrdom" in less than two months.

Flora and Eulogius

Instigated by 'Abd-al-Raḥmān, the bishops hesitatingly held a council which, against the protests of Eulogius, forbade Chris-

[1] Alvaro, "Indiculus luminosus", in *España sagrada*, vol. xi, p. 274.

[2] *Primera crónica general, estoria de España que mandó componer Alfonso el Sabio*, ed. Ramón Menéndez Pidal (Madrid, 1906), vol. i, p. 326.

[3] "Vita vel passio Beatissimi Martyris Eulogij", in *España sagrada*, vol. x, pp. 543-63; "Vida y martyrio de S. Eulogio", in *España sagrada*, vol. x. pp. 411 *seq.*

[4] Alvaro, "Indiculus", in *España sagrada*, vol. xi, pp. 225-6.

[5] Ibn-al Qūṭiyah, pp. 76-7; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p. 130.

[6] Alvaro, "Indiculus", in *España sagrada*, vol. xi, pp. 237-8.

tians henceforth to aspire to this holy death. But it was all to no avail. At last came the turn of a beautiful young follower of Eulogius, Flora, daughter of a Christian mother and Moslem father. Together with a youthful nun, Mary, who was a sister of one of the previously decapitated monks, Flora had succumbed to the temptation of blaspheming the Prophet and was merely committed to jail by a compassionate qāḍī. Here Eulogius, who had also been cast in jail and had cherished a pure and spotless love for Flora, employed all the persuasive rhetoric at his command to encourage the girl he loved and her companion, as the two wavered in their sacrificial ardour, to go to the scaffold. The virgin would-be martyrs did not recant; they suffered the supreme penalty on November 24, 851.[1] This hysterical desire for self-immolation did not subside until Eulogius himself in 859, then bishop of Cordova, was executed by Muḥammad I (852–86), who had inaugurated a policy of severe repression. The total included some forty-four martyrs.

Other disturbances, not so fantastic though more serious in character, were in store. In the first place, neither Muḥammad nor his two sons and successors, al-Mundhir (886–8) and 'Abdullāh (888–912), represent the best tradition of tolerance and energy associated with the house of Umayyah. Then there were the usual difficulties attendant on the accession to the throne, which according to Moslem dynastic practice went to the eldest or the ablest in the reigning family. After a rule of less than two years al-Mundhir was poisoned at the instigation of his successor by a lancet used by the surgeon in bleeding him.[2] In the meantime *Muwallad* and Mozarab revolutions were continuing throughout the domain and several states were breaking loose and asserting their independence under Berber or Spanish Moslem rule. Such separatist movements, sponsored by Neo-Moslems who posed as nationalist champions in provinces which in theory were subject to Cordova, continued to engage the attention of the Umayyad amīrs till the beginning of the tenth century.

In the south the mountainous state of Regio,[3] with its capital

[1] *España sagrada*, vol. x, pp. 417-18; Alvaro, "Vita Eulogii", in *ibid.* pp. 547 *seq.*

[2] Ibn-'Idhārī, vol. ii, pp. 160-61, 122, vol. i, introduction by Dozy, pp. 44-6. Cf. ibn-al-Qūṭīyah, p. 102; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p. 132; *Akhbār*, p. 150.

[3] Ar. Rayyah, which ibn-Khaldūn (vol. iv, p. 132, cf. p. 134), among others, makes a town and confuses with Malaga. Malaga was the capital of Regio under the Visigoths and after the reign of 'Abd-al-Raḥmān III. See Idrīsī, p. 28.

at Archidona, entered in 873 into treaty relations with Muhammad, who practically recognized its independence subject to a yearly tribute. The natives were mostly Islamized Spaniards. In the northern marches independent Aragon under the banu-Qasi,[1] an old Visigothic family which had embraced Islam, incorporated within itself in the middle of the ninth century Saragossa, Tudela and other important frontier towns.[2] The banu-Qasi were in league with their neighbours to the west, the kings of Leon. Throughout the land around Toledo, a city which was more often in rebellion than in peace, the Berber banu-dhu-al-Nūn, at the head of bands of brigands, carried fire and sword. In Seville, which as the chief centre of Roman culture under the Visigoths had a population mostly descended from Romans and Goths, the banu-Ḥajjāj became all-powerful.[3] These rulers of Seville and its district were descended in the female line from Sarah, granddaughter of Witiza and wife of an Arab. The historian ibn-al-Qūṭīyah (son of the Gothic woman) was also descended from Sarah.[4] In the Galician south-west a daring renegade of Mérida and Badajoz, ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān ibn-Marwān al-Jillīqi[5] by name, founded an independent principality whence, with the aid of Alfonso III, king of Leon and natural ally of all rebels against the Arab government, he spread terror far and wide. At the south-western corner of the peninsula, which is the modern Algarve[6] of Portugal, another renegade established himself as master towards the close of Muhammad's reign. In the south-east Murcia (Ar. Mursiyah), under another renegade prince, shook off Arab suzerainty. But the most dangerous and implacable of all rebels was one ʿUmar ibn-Ḥafsūn.

Ibn-Ḥafsūn

ʿUmar was a Moslem descendant of a Visigothic count. Starting his colourful career about 880 as an organizer of a band of brigands with headquarters in an ancient castle on Mount

[1] Benikazzi in Sebastian, "Chronicon", in *Esṗaña sagrada*, vol. xvi, p 487

[2] Ibn-al Qūṭīyah, pp 85, 113-14 Qasi is mistaken for "Mūsa" in ibn Khaldūn, vol iv, p 134, where his descendants are termed "Lub", Lope Cf. ibn-ʿIdhārī, vol ii, pp 175 6

[3] Ibn-ʿIdhārī, vol ii, pp 128 *seq.*; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p. 136.

[4] Ibn-al Qūṭīyah, pp 4 6

[5] I e the Galician. See ibn-ʿIdhārī, vol. ii, pp 102, 104, ibn-al Qūṭīyah, pp 89 90; ibn al-Athīr, vol vii, pp 127-8, Ḍabbī, p. 359, ibn-Khaldūn, vol iv. p. 131; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, vol. ii, p 110

[6] From Ar. *al gharb*, the west.

Bobastro,[1] 'Umar, after serving temporarily in the royal army at Cordova, rose with the support of the mountaineers of Elvira (Ilbīrah) to a position of leadership in the Spanish south against Moslem rule. His rebellion engaged the attention of three amīrs, Muḥammad, al-Mundhir and 'Abdullāh. To the southern Christians and malcontents 'Umar became the champion of a long-suppressed nationality. To the Arabs, however, he was "the accursed", "the rogue".[2] After many vicissitudes of fortune he succeeded in isolating Cordova and opened negotiations with the 'Abbāsids[3] and the Aghlabid ruler of Africa with a view to receiving an appointment for himself as governor of Spain. Failing in this ambitious plan, he professed about the year 899 the religion of his forbears, which he had long concealed in his heart,[4] adopting Samuel as a baptismal name. Again and again did Samuel shake the Umayyad throne to its very foundation. The authority of the successors of 'Abd-al-Raḥmān I stood jeopardized, sadly in need of a restorer.

[1] Ar. Bubashtar; ibn-al-Qūṭīyah, p. 90; *Akhbār*, p. 150. Cf. ibn-'Idhārī, vol. ii, pp. 108, 120, 204, Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. vii, p. 295.
[2] Ibn-'Idhārī, vol. ii, pp. 117, 120, 123. Cf. *'Iqd*, vol. ii, p. 367.
[3] Ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p. 135. [4] Ibn-'Idhārī, vol. ii, p. 143.

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE UMAYYAD CALIPHATE OF CORDOVA

Caliph 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir

WHEN 'Abd-al-Raḥmān III succeeded his grandfather, 'Abdullāh, in 912, he was barely twenty-three years of age. 'Abdullāh had instigated one of his own sons to kill the other, 'Abd-al-Raḥmān's father, Muḥammad, on a mere suspicion of disloyalty.[1] Later he connived at the murder of his other son, the fratricide, leaving himself childless. At the accession of 'Abd-al-Raḥmān the vast Moslem state organized by his first namesake had shrunk to Cordova and its environs.

The young amīr proved himself the man of the hour. His were those qualities of resoluteness, daring and candour which characterize leaders of men in all ages. Slowly but surely 'Abd-al-Raḥmān reclaimed the lost provinces, one after the other. With characteristic energy, which he displayed throughout his long reign of half a century (912–61),[2] he extended his conquests on all sides. Ecija was the first to surrender and that on the last day of 912.[3] Elvira followed suit. Jaen offered no resistance. Archidona agreed to pay tribute. Seville opened its gates toward the close of 913. Regio, whose mountain fastnesses had shielded the bold followers of ibn-Ḥafṣūn, was reduced step by step. The redoubtable leader himself remained defiant in his impregnable Bobastro until death came in 917 to put out of the way that formidable enemy of thirty-seven years' standing. Only Toledo remained unsubdued, but in 932 the proud former capital succumbed to famine and siege. The whole land was thus pacified and the state consolidated under the sway of a beneficent absolute ruler.

In the meantime external enemies were threatening. Among these the most dangerous were the Moslem Fāṭimids to the south and the Christian kings of Leon to the north. 'Ubaydullāh al-Mahdi, the founder of the Fāṭimid dynasty in Tunisia in 909, had

[1] Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. I, introduction by Dozy, pp. 47-50, ibn-al-Abbār, *Ḥullah*, p. 91.

[2] Ibn-al-Abbār, *Ḥullah*, p. 99, is right in claiming for 'Abd al-Raḥmān III the longest reign in Islam down to his time. See above, p. 481, n. 2.

[3] Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. II, p. 165.

negotiated an alliance with ibn-Ḥafṣūn and sent emissaries and spies across the straits. As they claimed descent from Fāṭimah, daughter of the Prophet and wife of 'Alī, the Fāṭimid caliphs would acknowledge no authority in Islam other than their own. The Cordovan ibn-Masarrah (883–931), the pseudo-Empedoclean philosopher who introduced into the West an esoteric system of writing whose words bore an inner and mysterious meaning which only the initiates could understand, may have been commissioned to establish a Fāṭimid party in Spain through his organized fraternities. Realizing that his position in Spain could not be safe while an enemy flourished in Africa, 'Abd-al-Raḥmān, whose suzerainty was recognized in Morocco as early as 917 or 918, obtained possession of Ceuta in 931 and ultimately secured homage from a great part of the Barbary coast.[1] His enlarged and renovated fleet,[2] second to none in the world of that age, with Almería[3] as chief harbour, disputed with the Fāṭimid navy the supremacy of the western Mediterranean. In 956 a Spanish fleet of seventy ships devastated parts of the African coast in retaliation for a raid made on the Spanish shore by the Sicilian fleet at the command of the Fāṭimid caliph.[4]

While these operations against domestic and foreign foes were in progress 'Abd-al-Raḥmān, whose mother was a Christian slave, was often engaged in the holy war against the Christians of the north who had hitherto never been subdued. Here the land of the Basques[5] occupied the centre, bridging the Pyrenees. To the east lay the still embryonic kingdoms of Navarre and Aragon. To the west stretched those territories which developed into the kingdoms of Castile and Leon. As early as 914 the undaunted

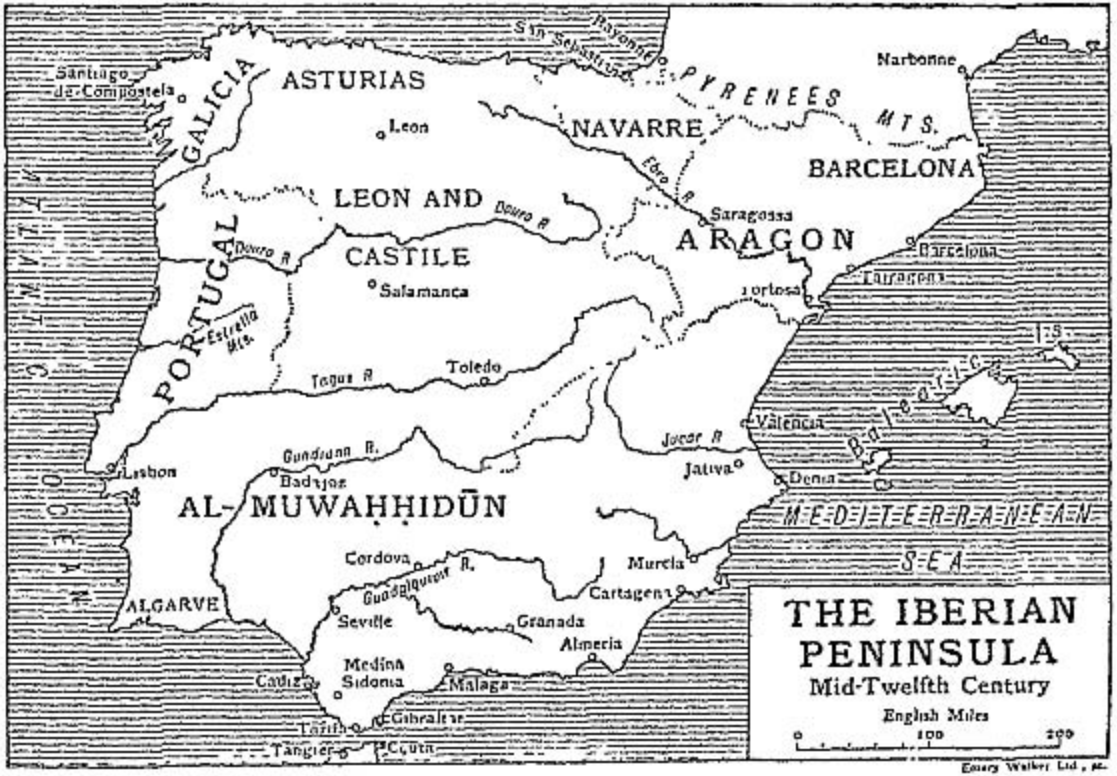
[1] Ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, pp. 137-8, quoted in Maqqarī, vol. i, p. 227.

[2] The Spanish Moslem fleet had several encounters with the Scandinavian pirates known in England as Northmen (Norsemen), with the Normans of France and with the Danes, to all of whom the Arabs applied the generic term Majūs (fire-worshippers). The first occasion on which the Majūs attempted a landing was in 844, in the reign of 'Abd-al-Raḥmān II, when with their eighty ships they anchored before Lisbon and then occupied Seville. In 858–61, in the reign of Muḥammad I, they attempted several landings on the coasts of the peninsula. Ibn-al-Qūṭīyah, p. 63; ibn-'Idhārī, vol. ii, pp. 89-90, 99; Mas'ūdī, vol. i, p. 364; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. vii, pp. 11-12, 58; Dozy, *Recherches*, vol. ii, pp. 250-371.

[3] From Ar. al-Marīyah (watchtower).

[4] Ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p. 46; tr. de Slane, *Histoire des Berbères et des dynasties musulmanes de l'Afrique septentrionale*, ed. Paul Casanova, vol. ii (Paris, 1927), p. 542.

[5] "Bashkans" of pseudo-ibn Qutaybah, pp. 121, 132; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. vii, p. 48; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p. 140.


Santiago de Compostela
GALICIA
ASTURIAS
Leon
San Sebastian
Bayonne
PYRENEES MTS.
Narbonne
NAVARRE
BARCELONA
LEON AND CASTILE
Douro R.
Ebro R.
Saragossa
ARAGON
Barcelona
Tarragona
Tortosa
Salamanca
Estrella Mts.
PORTUGAL
Tagus R.
Toledo
Valencia
Jucar R.
Jativa
Denia
Lisbon
Guadiana R.
Badajoz
AL-MUWAḤḤIDŪN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Cordova
Murcia
Guadalquivir R.
Cartagena
ALGARVE
Seville
Granada
Almeria
Medina Sidonia
Cadiz
Malaga
Gibraltar
Tarifa
Tangier
Ceuta
THE IBERIAN PENINSULA
Mid-Twelfth Century
English Miles
0
100
200
Emery Walker Ltd., sc.

king of Leon, Ordoño II,[1] taking advantage of the situation in the Moslem kingdom, commenced hostilities by devastating the region to the south. Three years later he succeeded in capturing one of 'Abd-al-Raḥmān's generals and nailing his head beside that of a wild boar to the wall of a frontier fortress, San Esteban de Gormaz,[2] which the Moslem general was besieging. Pillaging forays from these northern enemies were successive. In 920 'Abd-al-Raḥmān took the field in person, razed San Esteban (S. Estevan), demolished a number of other strongholds[3] in that debatable land between Christianity and Islam and at Val de Junqueras (vale of reeds) met the combined forces of Ordoño II and Sancho[4] the Great of Navarre and inflicted on them a severe defeat. After overrunning parts of Navarre and adjacent Christian lands, 'Abd-al-Raḥmān returned triumphantly to his capital. Four years later he penetrated as far north as Pampeluna,[5] capital of Navarre, which he demolished. Its haughty king, the bulwark of Christianity in the east, referred to as "dog" by ibn-'Idhārī,[6] was reduced to impotence for a long time after this. About the same time the other champion of the native cause, Ordoño, died and the civil discord which followed brought a lull in military activity.

The remaining years of 'Abd-al-Raḥmān's long reign were filled with evidences of wise and able administration. One of the first among those was the proclamation that beginning Friday, January 16, 929, the ruling sovereign should be designated in all public prayers and official documents as caliph. For himself he chose the title *al-Khalīfah al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh*, the caliph-defender of the religion of God.[7] It was most appropriate for him who brought Moslem Spain to a higher position than it had ever before enjoyed to assume the rôle of *amīr al-mu'minīn* especially in view of the low level to which the Eastern caliphate had fallen.

[1] "Ardūn" of Mas'ūdi, vol. iii, p. 75; Maqqari, vol. i, p. 233; "Ardhūn" of ibn-'Idhāri, vol. ii, pp. 179, 187.

[2] Or Castro Moros; Ar. Shant Ishtibān, Ashtīn or Qāshtar Mūrush.

[3] Ibn-'Idhāri, vol. ii, p. 183 *seq.* Ibn-'Abd-Rabbihi, poet laureate of 'Abd-al-Raḥmān, speaks of seventy strongholds reduced in one campaign, *'Iqd*, vol. ii, p. 368.

[4] "Shānjah" of ibn-al-Qūṭiyah, p. 114; "Shanjah" of Maqqari, vol. i, p. 233; "Sānjah" of ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p. 141.

[5] "Banbalūnah" in Maqqari, vol. i, p. 234; ibn-'Idhāri, vol. ii, pp. 196, 199.

[6] Vol. ii, p. 200.

[7] *'Iqd*, vol. ii, pp. 368, 369; ibn-'Idhāri vol. ii, pp. 162, 211-12; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p. 137, copied by Maqqari, vol. i, p. 227

As defender of the faith the Caliph al-Nāṣir felt it his supreme duty to press the holy war against the Christians, who never ceased to cast covetous eyes on their ancestral territory to the south. His campaigns continued until the year 939, in which King Ramiro II of Leon and Queen Regent Tota[1] of Navarre, widow of Sancho the Great, inflicted on him at Alhandega,[2] south of Salamanca, the first serious check his military operations had encountered in twenty-seven years of almost incessant warfare. The caliph's huge army was practically annihilated; he himself barely escaped with his life. This same Tota later appeared at the court of the caliph together with her son, in whose name she was ruling Navarre, and with her grandson Sancho the Fat, ex-king of Leon, seeking medical advice for Sancho and military aid to reinstall him on the throne.[3] The royal guests were received in great state, while the Moslem capital was treated to the grand sight of Christian royalty knocking in supplication at the door of the caliph whose word was law from the mouth of the Ebro to the Atlantic and from the foot of the Pyrenees to Gibraltar. Through the skill of the Jewish court physician and statesman Ḥasdāy ben-Shaprūt, Sancho was relieved of his excessive corpulence, which had cost him his crown, and through the caliph's efforts he regained in 960 his lost authority.

Al-Zahrā'

The caliph's court at that time was one of the most glamorous in all Europe. Accredited to it were envoys from the Byzantine emperor as well as from the monarchs of Germany, Italy and France.[4] Its seat, Cordova, with half a million inhabitants, seven hundred mosques[5] and three hundred public baths, yielded in magnificence only to Baghdād and Constantinople. The royal palace, with four hundred rooms and apartments housing thousands of slaves and guards, stood north-west of the town on one of the spurs of the Sierra Morena overlooking the Guadalquivir. 'Abd-al-Rahmān started its construction in 936 with money left, so the legend goes, by one of his concubines. His first thought was to use the fund for ransoming captives in

[1] "Ṭūṭah" in ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, pp 142-3.
[2] From Ar. *al-khandaq*, the moat. Maqqarī, vol. i, pp. 227, 228.
[3] Ibn-Khaldūn, vol iv, p. 143, quoted in Maqqarī, vol i, p 235
[4] Ibn-'Idhārī, vol. ii, p 229; ibn-Khaldūn, vol iv, pp. 142-3, Maqqarī, vol. i, p. 227
[5] Three thousand in ibn-'Idhārī, vol. ii, p. 247. Cf. Maqqarī, vol. i, p. 355.

Christian hands. Since none were found he acted on the suggestion of his other concubine, al-Zahrā' (she with the bright face), and erected this palatial mansion which he named after her. Marble was brought from Numidia and Carthage; columns as well as basins with golden statues were imported or received as presents from Constantinople; and 10,000 workmen with 1500 beasts of burden laboured on it for a score of years.[1] Enlarged and embellished by al-Nāṣir's two successors, al-Zahrā' became the nucleus of a royal suburb whose remains, partly excavated in and after 1910, can still be seen.

In al-Zahrā' the caliph surrounded himself with a bodyguard of "Slavs" which numbered 3750[2] and headed his standing army of a hundred thousand men.[3] At first applied to slaves and prisoners captured by Germans and others from among the Slavonic tribes and sold to the Arabs, the name Slav[4] was later given to all purchased foreigners: Franks, Galicians, Lombards and the like, who as a rule were secured young and Arabicized. With the aid of these "Janissaries" or "Mamlūks" of Spain the caliph not only kept treason and brigandage in check but reduced the influence of the old Arab aristocracy. Commerce and agriculture consequently flourished and the sources of income for the state were multiplied. The royal revenue amounted to 6,245,000 dinars, a third of which sufficed for the army and a third for public works, while the balance was placed in reserve.[5] Never before was Cordova so prosperous, al-Andalus so rich and the state so triumphant. And all this was achieved through the genius of one man, who, we are told, died at the ripe age of seventy-three leaving a statement that he had known only fourteen days of happiness.[6]

[1] Ibn-'Idhārī, vol. ii, pp 225, 240, 246-8; ibn-Ḥawqal, p. 77; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p. 144; Maqqarī, vol. i, pp. 344-7; ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, p. 413.

[2] Ibn-'Idhārī, vol. ii, p. 247.

[3] Mas'ūdī, vol. iii, pp. 74, 78. Mas'ūdī was a contemporary, though distant, author.

[4] Ar. Ṣaqālibah; see above, p. 235

[5] Ibn-'Idhārī, vol. ii, p. 247; ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, p. 413. Cf. ibn-Ḥawqal, p. 77.

[6] Ibn-'Idhārī, vol. ii, p. 248.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

THE reigns of 'Abd-al-Raḥmān III and his successor al-Ḥakam II (961–76), together with the dictatorship of al-Ḥājib al-Manṣūr (977–1002), mark the apogee of Moslem rule in the West. Neither before nor after this was Moslem Spain able to exercise the same political influence in European and African affairs.

Cordova

In this period the Umayyad capital took its place as the most cultured city in Europe and, with Constantinople and Baghdād, as one of the three cultural centres of the world. With its one hundred and thirteen thousand homes,[1] twenty-one suburbs,[2] seventy libraries and numerous bookshops, mosques and palaces, it acquired international fame and inspired awe and admiration in the hearts of travellers. It enjoyed miles of paved streets illuminated by lights from the bordering houses[3] whereas, "seven hundred years after this time there was not so much as one public lamp in London", and "in Paris, centuries subsequently, whoever stepped over his threshold on a rainy day stepped up to his ankles in mud".[4] When the University of Oxford still looked upon bathing as a heathen custom, generations of Cordovan scientists had been enjoying baths in luxurious establishments. The Arab attitude toward the Nordic barbarians found expression in the words of the learned Toledan judge Ṣā'id[5] († 1070), who thought that "because the sun does not shed its rays directly over their heads, their climate is cold and atmosphere clouded. Consequently their temperaments have become cold and their humours rude, while their bodies have

[1] Ibn-'Idhārī, vol. ii, p. 247. Cf. Maqqarī, vol. i, p. 356.
[2] Maqqarī, vol. i, pp. 299, 304. Cf. Ibn-'Idhārī, vol. ii, pp. 247-8.
[3] Maqqarī, vol. i, p. 298, ll. 2-3. These lights were evidently fastened to the front doors or corners
[4] John W. Draper, *A History of the Intellectual Development of Europe*, rev. ed. (London, 1910), vol. ii, p. 31.
[5] *Ṭabaqāt*, pp. 8-9.

grown large, their complexion light and their hair long. They lack withal sharpness of wit and penetration of intellect, while stupidity and folly prevail among them." Whenever the rulers of *Leon, Navarre or Barcelona* needed a surgeon, an architect, a master singer or a dressmaker, it was to Cordova that they applied. The fame of the Moslem capital penetrated distant Germany where a Saxon nun styled it "the jewel of the world".[1] Such was the city which housed the Umayyad ruler and his government.

The organization of the government in the Western caliphate did not differ radically from that of the Eastern. The caliphal office was hereditary, though army officers and nobles quite often elected him whom they favoured. When there was a *ḥājib* (chamberlain) he stood above the vizirs, who communicated through him with the caliph. Below the vizirs came the *kuttāb* (secretaries), who together with the vizirs formed the *dīwān*. The provinces, which apart from Cordova were six in number, were each ruled by a civil and military governor called *wāli*. Some important cities were also under *wālis*. Justice was administered by the caliph, who as a rule delegated the authority to *qāḍis*, at the head of whom stood the *qāḍi al-quḍāh* in Cordova. Criminal and police cases were heard by a special judge, *ṣāḥib al-shurṭah*. Another special judge in Cordova, *ṣāḥib al-maẓālim*, heard complaints against public officials. The usual sentences involved fine, scourging, imprisonment, mutilation and, in case of blasphemy, heresy and apostasy, death. An interesting officer was the *muḥtasib* (Sp. *almotacén*), who, besides directing the police, acted as overseer of trade and markets, checked weights and measures and intervened in cases of gambling, sex immorality and improper public dress.[2]

The state depended for its revenue mostly on duties imposed on imports and exports. Spain under the caliphate was one of the wealthiest and most thickly populated lands of Europe. The capital boasted some thirteen thousand weavers and a flourishing leather industry. From Spain the art of tanning and embossing leather was carried to Morocco and from these two lands it was brought to France and England, as the terms cordovan, cordwainer and

[1] Hrotsvitha in *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum; Hrotsvithæ opera*, ed. Paulus de Winterfeld (Berlin, 1902), p. 52, l. 12.

[2] Al-Saqati, *Fi Ādāb al-Ḥisbah*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal (Paris, 1931), pp. 3 *sqq.*; Lévi-Provençal, *L'Espagne musulmane au X^ème siècle* (Paris, 1932), pp. 79-96.

morocco indicate. Wool and silk were woven not only in Cordova but in Malaga, Almería and other centres.[1] Sericulture, originally a monopoly of the Chinese, was introduced by Moslems into Spain, where it thrived. Almería also produced glassware and brasswork. Paterna in Valencia was the home of pottery. Jaen and Algarve were noted for their mines of gold and silver, Cordova for its iron and lead[2] and Malaga for its rubies. Toledo, like Damascus, was famous all over the world for its swords.[3] The art of inlaying steel and other metals with gold and silver and decorating them with flower patterns, which was introduced from Damascus, flourished in several Spanish and other European centres and left a linguistic heritage in such words as damascene, damaskeen, French *damasquiner* and Italian *damaschino*.

Agriculture

The Spanish Arabs introduced agricultural methods practised in Western Asia. They dug canals,[4] cultivated grapes and introduced, among other plants and fruits, rice,[5] apricots,[6] peaches,[7] pomegranates,[8] oranges,[9] sugar-cane,[10] cotton[11] and saffron.[12] The south-eastern plains of the peninsula, especially favoured by climate and soil, developed important centres of rural and urban activity. Here wheat and other grains as well as olives and sundry fruits[13] were raised by a peasantry who worked the soil on shares with the owners.

This agricultural development was one of the glories of Moslem Spain and one of the Arabs' lasting gifts to the land, for Spanish gardens have preserved to this day a "Moorish" imprint. One

[1] Maqqari, vol. i, pp. 102, 123-4.

[2] Lisān-al-Dīn ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāṭah fī Akhbār Gharnāṭah* (Cairo, 1319), vol. i, p. 15; *al-Lamḥah al-Badrīyah fī al-Dawlah al-Naṣrīyah*, ed. al-Khaṭīb (Cairo, 1347), p. 13.

[3] For more on industry and metals consult ibn-Ḥawqal, pp. 78-9; Iṣṭakhri, p. 42; Maqqari, vol. i, pp 90 92, 123.

[4] The Sp. word for canal is *acequia*, from Ar. *al sāqiyah*.

[5] Sp *arroz*, from Ar. *al-aruzz*, originally Skr. Cf. below, p. 665.

[6] Sp *albarcoque* (whence Eng. apricot), from Ar. *al-barqūq*, which came from L. through Gr.

[7] Sp. *alberchigo*, from Ar. *firsiq*, *firsik*, from L., a variety of peaches.

[8] Ar. *rummān*, which has survived in Sp. *romanía*, a drink made of pomegranate juice.

[9] See above, p. 351. The Arabs introduced into Europe the bitter, or Seville orange. The sweet, or common orange was introduced later by the Portuguese from India.

[10] Cf. below, p. 667.

[11] Sp. *algodón*, O.Sp. *coton* (whence Eng. cotton), from Ar. *al-quṭn*.

[12] Sp. *azafrán*, Pg. *açafrão*, from Ar. *al-za'farān*.

[13] Ibn-al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭah*, vol i, pp 14-15, 27, 37; *Lamḥah*, p. 13; Maqqari, vol. i, pp. 94-6; ibn-Baṭṭūṭah, vol. iv, pp. 366-9.

of the best-known gardens is the Generalife (from Ar. *jannat al-ʿarīf*, the inspector's paradise), a Naṣrid [1] monument of the late thirteenth century whose villa was one of the outlying buildings of the Alhambra. This garden, "proverbial for its extensive shades, falling waters and soft breeze",[2] was terraced in the form of an amphitheatre and irrigated by streams which, after forming numerous cascades, lost themselves among the flowers, shrubs and trees represented today by a few gigantic cypresses and myrtles.

The industrial and agricultural products of Moslem Spain were more than sufficient for domestic consumption. Seville, one of the greatest of its river ports, exported cotton, olives and oil; it imported cloth and slaves from Egypt and singing girls from Europe and Asia. The exports of Malaga and Jaen included saffron, figs, marble and sugar. Through Alexandria and Constantinople Spanish products found markets as far away as India and Central Asia. Especially active was the trade with Damascus, Baghdād and Makkah. The international nautical vocabulary of the modern world contains not a few words, for example admiral, arsenal, average,[3] cable, corvette,[4] shallop (sloop),[5] tariff, which testify to the former Arab supremacy on the seas. An interesting echo of brisk maritime activity in the Atlantic, (*baḥr al-ẓulumāt*, classical Mare Tenebrarum, the sea of darkness) is found in an obscure story preserved in al-Idrīsi,[6] who tells of eight "beguiled" cousins who set off from Lisbon on an expedition of exploration which carried them after thirty-five days of sailing west and south to strange islands.[7]

The government maintained a regular postal service. It modelled its coinage on Eastern patterns, with the dinar as the gold unit and the dirham as the silver unit.[8] The copper *fals* [9] of early Islam was likewise current. Arab money was in use in the Christian kingdoms of the north, which for nearly four hundred years had no coinage other than Arabic or French.

The halo that surrounded the court of ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān III did not cease to shed its lustre on that of his son and successor

[1] See below, p. 549.
[2] Ibn-al-Khaṭīb, *Lamḥah*, p. 109.
[3] In the sense of duty upon goods. From Ar. *ʿawārīyah*.
[4] Ar. *ghurāb*, war vessel, through Sp. *corbeta*.
[5] Ar. *ṣalbāh*, boat, through Sp. *chalupa*.
[6] Pp. 51-2.
[7] Perhaps the Canary and Cape Verde Islands.
[8] Ibn-al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭah*, vol. i, p. 37.
[9] From Gr. *phollis*, from L. *follis*.

al-Ḥakam II al-Mustanṣir (961–76), considered by al-Mas'ūdi [1] the most judicious (*aḥkam*) of all men. Early in al-Ḥakam's reign there appeared at the Moslem capital Ordoño the Wicked, seeking reinstatement in the Leonese throne which he had lost through the intervention of 'Abd-al-Raḥmān. The ex-king was escorted to al-Zahrā' by Walīd ibn-Khayzurān, the Christian judge of Cordova, and 'Abdullāh ibn-Qāsim,[2] the metropolitan of Toledo, and instructed by them in the details of proper court etiquette. Dressed in white and wearing a head-gear adorned with jewels, Ordoño, at the head of his nobles, made his way through the serried ranks of Moslem soldiers lining the approaches to the imperial residence. Struck with awe, the Christians began to cross themselves. In the audience chamber sat the caliph on his throne with the members of his household and chief officers on both sides and behind. With abject genuflections the Christian prince advanced, bare-headed, kissed the hand of the commander of the believers, calling himself his slave, implored his aid and retired walking backwards to the door. The same procedure was observed by his noble companions. Walīd acted as interpreter. The caliph promised aid under certain conditions, but the visit proved fruitless.[3]

Educational activity

The real glory of this period, however, lies in fields other than political. Al-Ḥakam was himself a scholar and patronized learning.[4] He granted munificent bounties to scholars and established twenty-seven free schools in the capital.[5] Under him the university of Cordova, founded in the principal mosque by 'Abd-al-Raḥmān III, rose to a place of pre-eminence among the educational institutions of the world. It preceded both al-Azhar of Cairo and the Niẓāmīyah of Baghdād and attracted students, Christian and Moslem, not only from Spain but from other parts of Europe, Africa and Asia. Al-Ḥakam enlarged the mosque which housed the university, conducted water to it in lead pipes and decorated it with mosaics brought by Byzantine artists, spending on it 261,537 dinars and 1½ dirhams.[6] He invited professors from the East to the university and set aside

[1] Vol. i, p. 363.
[2] Note the Moslem form of the names of these two Christian dignitaries
[3] Ibn-'Idhārī, vol. ii, p. 251; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p. 145; Maqqarī, vol. i, pp. 248, 252 6.
[4] Ibn-al-Athīr, vol viii, p. 498; ibn-al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭah*, vol i, p. 305.
[5] Ibn-'Idhārī, vol. ii. p. 256 [6] *Ibid.* pp. 253, 256-7.

endowments for their salaries. Among its professors were the historian, ibn-al-Qūṭīyah, who taught grammar, and the renowned philologist of Baghdād, abu-'Alī al-Qālī,[1] whose *Amālī*[2] (dictations) is still studied in Arabic lands. One of the dramatic episodes in the life of al-Qālī was the time he was struck with stage fright while delivering an extemporaneous oration at the pompous reception tendered the Byzantine envoys by the Caliph al-Nāṣir. He could not proceed beyond the introductory praise to Allah and blessing on Muḥammad, whereupon he was immediately replaced by Mundhir ibn-Sa'īd, who "extemporaneously" delivered a most eloquent address, covering two pages and a half in al-Maqqari,[3] all in rhymed prose.

In addition to the university the capital housed a library of first magnitude. Al-Ḥakam was a bibliophile; his agents ransacked the bookshops of Alexandria, Damascus and Baghdād with a view to buying or copying manuscripts. The books thus gathered are said to have numbered 400,000, their titles filling a catalogue of forty-four volumes, in each one of which twenty sheets were devoted to poetical works alone.[4] Al-Ḥakam, probably the best scholar among Moslem caliphs, personally used several of these works; his marginal notes on certain manuscripts rendered them highly prized by later scholars. In order to secure the first copy of the *Aghāni*, which al-Iṣbahāni, a descendant of the Umayyads, was then composing in al-'Irāq, al-Ḥakam sent the author a thousand dinars.[5] The general state of culture in Andalusia reached such a high level at this time that the distinguished Dutch scholar Dozy,[6] followed by other scholars, went so far as to declare enthusiastically that "nearly every one could read and write". All this whilst in Christian Europe only the rudiments of learning were known, and that by the few, mostly clergy.

Al-Hakam was succeeded by his son Hishām II al-Mu'ayyad (976–1009), a boy of twelve. Hishām's mother, a beautiful and able Basque named Ṣubḥ[7] (dawn, aurora), was the real power

Ami dicta ship

[1] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, pp. 130-31; Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, vol. ii, pp. 351-4; Sam'āni, fol. 439 b. [2] 2 vols. (Būlāq, 1324). [3] Vol. i, pp. 237-40.
[4] Maqqari, vol. i, pp. 249-50, 256; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p. 146.
[5] Ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p. 146; Maqqari, vol. i, p. 250.
[6] *Histoire des Musulmans*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, vol. ii, p. 184; Nicholson, *Literary History*, p. 419; Rafael Altamira in *The Cambridge Medieval History*, (New York, 1922), vol. iii, p. 434.
[7] Ibn-'Idhāri, vol. ii, p. 268; Maqqari, vol. i, p. 259; Marrākushi, pp. 17, 19.

in state affairs The Sultanah had a protégé, Muhammad ibn-abi-'Āmir, who started life as a humble professional letter writer and ultimately became virtual ruler of the kingdom. His career provides another illustration of what pluck, talent and ambition could accomplish in a Moslem state. Muhammad's ancestor, a Yamanite of the Ma'āfir tribe, was one of the few Arabs in Ṭāriq's army of conquest. Under the patronage of the queen, who was said to have been also his mistress, young Muhammad rose from one office to another in the court, disposing, by clever manipulation or force, of superiors on whose shoulders he climbed until he became royal chamberlain (*ḥājib*) and vizir.[1] In that capacity he dealt a final blow to the Slavonic bodyguard, substituted for it a new unit of loyal Moroccan mercenaries and finally shut up the immature caliph in his palace. In order to set aside al-Zahrā' the Ḥājib built for himself in 978 a magnificent residence east of Cordova on a site not yet identified and styled it al-Madīnah al-Zāhirah (the brilliant town).[2] To ingratiate himself with the ulema he burned all books in the library of al-Ḥakam dealing with philosophy and other subjects blacklisted by those theologians. The poets he handled properly through bounteous subsidies. He then had his name mentioned in the Friday prayer and on the coinage, wore robes of gold tissue woven with his name—a privilege of royalty—and after 992 had his seal replace the caliph's on all official documents issued from the chancellery.[3] The only thing he did not do was to overthrow the nominal Umayyad caliph and establish an 'Āmirid caliphate.

In military affairs ibn-abi-'Āmir proved as successful as in peaceful undertakings. He first reformed the army, substituting for the ancient tribal organization the regimental system. The removal of the Fātimid seat of power farther east to the newly built Cairo (969) and the internecine conflicts among the petty Christian kingdoms of the north afforded his armies an opportunity to march triumphantly along the north-western African coast as well as in the northern parts of the Iberian Peninsula. His victories led him to assume in 981 the honorific title al-Manṣūr bi-Allāh (rendered victorious through the aid of Allah).

[1] Ibn-'Idhārī, vol II, pp 267-9, ibn-Khaldūn, vol IV, pp. 147-8, ibn al-Athīr vol ix, pp 124-5, ibn al Khaṭīb, *Iḳtiṭaḥ*, vol II, 67 9

[2] Ibn-'Idhārī, vol. II, pp 294 7. [3] Maqqarī, vol. I, p. 258.

In the spring and autumn of every year al-Ḥājib al-Manṣūr led his troops as a matter of course against the Christians of Leon, Castile and Catalonia. Here, among other achievements, he captured Zamora in 981, sacked Barcelona in his thirteenth campaign[1] (985) and in 988 razed the city of Leon with its massive walls and high towers, making its kingdom a tributary province. He even ventured into the mountainous passes of Galicia and in 997 demolished the magnificent church of St. Jago (Santiago) de Compostela,[2] a shrine frequented by pilgrims from all of Christian Europe Subsequent to this last feat his triumphal entry into Cordova was signalized by a multitude of Christian captives bearing on their shoulders the church doors, which were incorporated in the capital's great mosque, together with the church bells, which were utilized as lamps in Moslem edifices. Christians with chains round their ankles were employed by al-Manṣūr in repairing the mosque. Never except under 'Abd-al-Rahmān III did the star of Spanish Islam shine with such brilliancy.

Al-Manṣūr's wish to die in the field was realized in 1002 on his way back from a campaign against Castile, the fiftieth of his expeditions.[3] Buried with him in the coffin was the dust which had accumulated on his coat of mail during his numerous campaigns and which he had kept for this purpose.[4] On his tomb at Medinaceli (Madīnat Sālim) was engraved this epitaph:

> His story in his relics you may trace,
> As tho' he stood before you face to face,
> Never will Time bring forth his peer again,
> Nor one to guard, like him, the gaps of Spain.[5]

But the pointed comment of the monkish annalist better ex-

[1] Ibn-al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭah*, vol. ii, p 71; according to others twenty third campaign.

[2] "Sīant Yāqūb" of Arab authors, ibn-'Idhārī, vol ii, pp 316-19, Maqqarī, vol. i, pp 270-72; Idrīsī, p. 104 Considered by Christians the burial place of the Apostle James, son of Zebedee, who, tradition asserts, introduced Christianity into Spain. The tomb was spared by al-Manṣūr.

[3] Ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p 148, makes his campaigns fifty-two, quoted fifty-six in Maqqarī, vol. i, p. 258, cf. p. 261, l 17, ibn-al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭah*, vol ii, p. 69, l 14; ibn al-Athīr, vol viii, p. 498, l. 15; ibn-al-Abbār, *Ḥullah*, p. 149

[4] Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭah*, vol. ii, p. 72, ibn-al-Athīr, vol. ix, p. 125, Marrākushī, p 26

[5] Nicholson, *Literary History*, p. 413; ibn-al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭah*, vol. ii, p. 73; ibn al-Abbār, *Ḥullah*, p 151. Ar. *thughūr*, rendered "gaps of Spain", means "marches" or "frontier forts".

presses the sentiment of the Christians: "In 1002 died Almanzor, and was buried in hell".[1]

Collapse of Umayyad power

For eighty years after the death of the 'Āmirid dictator the Andalus was torn asunder by Berbers, Arabs, Slavs (*Ṣaqālibah*) and Spaniards, with the prætorian guard playing the same rôle as it did in ancient Rome and decadent Baghdād. His son 'Abd-al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, whom al-Manṣūr had appointed as his successor, thus making the office hereditary, succeeded in maintaining the unity and prestige of the kingdom for six years.[2] In 1008 al-Muẓaffar was poisoned by his brother and successor, 'Abd-al-Raḥmān, surnamed Shanjūl (Sanchuelo, i.e. little Sancho, because his mother was daughter of King Sancho of Navarre), who immediately proclaimed himself heir presumptive to the Umayyad caliphate, a step which aroused the populace and resulted in his execution.[3] For twenty-one years after this, caliph after caliph was set up: one as a puppet of the Cordovans, another of the Slavs and a third of the Berbers. Even the Castilians had a share in unseating one caliph and seating another.[4] The real power was in the hands of the military. The unfortunate Hishām II was dragged out of his thirty years of seclusion but manifested only childish incompetence and was forced to abdicate in 1009 in favour of his second cousin Muḥammad II al-Mahdi.[5] Muḥammad's only claim to distinction

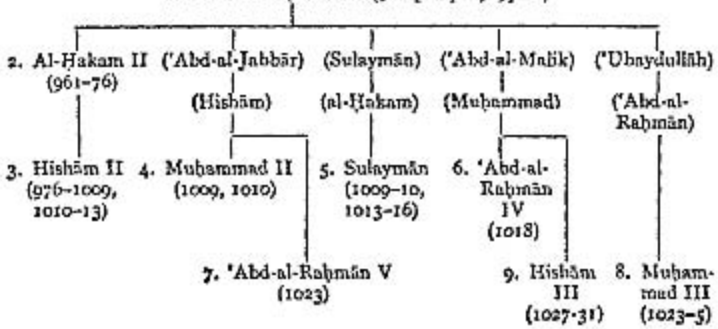
[1] "Chronicon Burgensi" in *España sagrada*, vol. xxiii, p. 308.

[2] Ibn-'Idhārī, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, vol. iii (Paris, 1930), pp. 3-4, 36-7; Maqqarī, vol. i, pp. 276-7.

[3] Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. iii, pp. 43-8, 66-74; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, pp. 148-50; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. viii, p. 499.

[4] Ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, pp. 150-51; ibn-al-Abbār, *Ḥullah*, pp. 159-60.

[5] Table showing genealogy of Umayyad caliphs in Cordova:



was that he held the throne for only a few months, in which he found time to raze the Madīnah al-Ẓāhirah of the 'Āmirids[1] and have the severed heads of a number of leaders of the northern marches who refused to acknowledge him converted into flower-pots and placed on the banks of the river opposite his palace. His manufacture of wine in his palace won him the sobriquet *nabbādh*, wine-maker.[2] Three of the nine Umayyad caliphs in this period of anarchy held the throne more than once; one of them, Hishām II, was set up and pulled down twice, after which he disappeared in a mysterious way that has never been solved. An impostor bearing close resemblance to him was installed in Seville.[3] One poor wretch, 'Abd-al-Raḥmān V al-Mustaẓhir (1023), the best of the lot and whose vizir was the learned ibn-Ḥazm, hid himself in the bathroom heater, whence he was dragged and butchered before the eyes of his successor, Muḥammad III al-Mustakfi,[4] who two years later was to meet as hard a fate. In 1025 as al-Mustakfi, "whose interest in life centred in sex and stomach",[5] sought flight in the guise of a singing girl wearing a veil, he fell victim, in an obscure village on the frontier, to poison administered by one of his officers.[6] A daughter of this caliph was the poetess Wallādah, whose beauty and talent made her the chief centre of attraction in the court and won her undying fame.

Before coming to its inglorious end the Umayyad caliphate was interrupted by another régime, the Ḥammūdid, which claimed all caliphal privileges. The founder was one 'Ali ibn-Ḥammūd (1016–18), who traced his descent from his namesake the Prophet's son-in-law, but was himself half Berberized. 'Ali had held the governorship of Ceuta and Tangier before proclaiming himself caliph in Cordova. He had also conquered Malaga, where his eight descendants maintained themselves from 1025 to 1057.[7] Two other Ḥammūdid pretenders to the

[1] Nuwayri, ed. Gaspar Remiro, vol. i, p. 74.

[2] Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. viii, p. 500 [3] See below, p. 538.

[4] Ibn-'Idhāri, vol. iii, pp. 138-9; Nuwayri, vol. i, p. 78; ibn-al-Abbār, *Ḥullah*, p. 164; ibn-Bassām, *al-Dhakhīrah fi Maḥāsin Ahl al-Jazīrah*, pt. 1, vol. i (Cairo, 1939), p. 39.

[5] Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. ix, p. 194.

[6] Ibn-'Idhāri, vol. iii, p. 142; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. ix, p. 194; Marrākushi, p. 40; Nuwayri, vol. i, p. 84.

[7] Marrākushi, pp. 30-37; ibn-'Idhāri, vol iii, pp. 113-17, 119-25; Maqqari, vol. i, pp. 281-2; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, pp 152-5; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. ix, pp. 188 *seq*. The Ḥammūdids were related to the Idrīsids of Morocco.

caliphate followed, exercising precarious power in Cordova until 1027.[1]

In this year Hishām III al-Mu'tadd recaptured the throne for the Umayyads. But the fifty-four-year-old monarch was no match for the troublous situation. Tired of the endless changes in their government the Cordovans at last decided to take a radical step and abolish the caliphate altogether. Hishām was shut up with his family in a dismal vault attached to the great mosque. Here in total darkness and half frozen in his scanty attire the wretched sovereign, almost suffocating with the foul air, sat for hours trying to warm on his bosom his infant daughter, whom he dearly loved. In the meantime the vizirs were holding a public meeting which proclaimed the abolition of the caliphate for ever and the rule of a council of state under the leadership of one abu-al-Ḥazm ibn-Jahwar. Hishām met the epoch-making announcement by begging for a light and a morsel of bread for his starving child.[2]

[1] Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. III, pp. 124-35

(Hammūd)

1 'Alī (1016–18) — 2. Al Qāsim (1018–21, 1022–5)

3 Yaḥya (1021, 1025–7)

[2] Ibn 'Idhārī, vol III, pp 150-52, Maqqarī, vol I, p 286, ibn Khaldūn, vol. IV, pp. 152-3; ibn al-Athir, vol IX, pp 198 9 Marrākushī, p 41.

CHAPTER XXXIX

PETTY STATES: FALL OF GRANADA

FROM the ruins of the Umayyad caliphate there emerged an apparently fortuitous conglomeration of petty states which spent themselves in fratricidal quarrels and, after falling in part a prey to two Moroccan Berber dynasties, succumbed one after the other to the rising Christian power of the north. In the first half of the eleventh century no less than twenty such short-lived states arose in as many towns or provinces under chieftains and kinglets called by the Arabs *mulūk al-ṭawā'if* (Sp. *reyes de taifas*, party kings).

In Cordova the Jahwarids headed a sort of republic which was in 1068 absorbed by the banu-'Abbād of Seville.[1] Henceforth primacy among Moslem states lay with Seville, whose fortunes were always closely linked with Cordova's. Granada was the seat of a Zīrid régime, which received its name from its Berber founder ibn-Zīrī (1012–19) and was destroyed by the Moroccan Murābits in 1090. This was the only Spanish Moslem town in which a Jew, the Vizir Ismā'īl ibn-Naghzālah[2] († 1055), ever exercised virtually supreme power. At Malaga and in neighbouring districts the Ḥammūdid dynasty,[3] whose founder and his first two successors ruled as caliphs over Cordova too, lasted until 1057. After passing through Zīrid hands Malaga finally came within the orbit of Murābit power.[4] The thronelet of Toledo was occupied by the banu-dhu-al-Nūn (1032[5]–85), an ancient Berber family which had often been in rebellion, until destroyed by Alfonso VI of Leon and Castile.[6] In Saragossa the banu-Hūd held the sovereignty from 1039 until overpowered

[1] Marrākushī, pp 50 51.

[2] Naghrālah, Heb Samuel ben-Nagdela Ibn-'Idhārī, vol. iii, pp 261, 264.

[3] The noted geographer al Sharīf al Idrīsī was a grandson of Idrīs II (1042–6, 1053–4), the last save one of this line

[4] Ibn-'Idhārī, vol iii, pp 262-6, ibn Khaldūn, vol iv, pp 160-61.

[5] E Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne* (Leyden, 1931), pp 65-6

[6] Maqqarī, vol. i, p 288, ibn-Khaldūn, vol iv, p. 161, ibn-'Idhārī, vol iii, pp 276-85; ibn al-Athīr, vol. ix, p. 203.

by the Christians in 1141.[1] Among these party kings the cultured house of the 'Abbādids in Seville was undoubtedly the most powerful.[2]

The 'Abbādids of Seville

The banu-'Abbād (1023–91) claimed descent from the ancient Lakhmid kings of al-Ḥīrah. Their Spanish ancestor came as an officer in the Ḥims regiment of the Syrian army shortly after the conquest[3] and the dynasty started in the person of a shrewd qādi of Seville who used as his cat's-paw someone who closely resembled the vanished Hishām II.[4] In 1042 the qāḍi's son 'Abbād succeeded his father as chamberlain to the pretended caliph, the pseudo-Hishām, but lost no time in throwing off the mask and openly reigning under the honorific title al-Mu'tadid[5] (he who seeks strength [from Allah]), thus putting an end to the farce perpetrated by his father.

Al-Mu'tamid

Al-Mu'tadid was a poet and patron of letters who improvised elegant ditties with his boon companions and enjoyed a harem of nearly eight hundred inmates. But his court was eclipsed by that of his son and successor al-Mu'tamid (he who relies [upon Allah], 1068–91), "the most munificent, the most popular and most powerful of all party kings".[6] Shortly after his accession al-Mu'tamid succeeded in destroying the banu-Jahwar régime and in uniting Cordova to his kingdom. Like many of his contemporaries, however, he was tributary to a Christian monarch, first to Garcia, King of Galicia, and then to his successor, Alfonso VI.[7] Al-Mu'tamid possessed a sensitive and poetical soul. Numerous are the anecdotes told of his life of luxury, his gay parties and his romantic adventures in disguise. He "whose court was the halting-place of sojourners, the rendezvous of poets, the direction toward which all hopes were turned and the haunt of men of excellence"[8] chose as vizir

[1] Ibn-'Idhāri, vol iii, pp 221-9, ibn-Khaldūn, vol iv, pp 163-4; ibn al-Athīr, vol. ix, p 204.

[2] For names and dates of rulers in these minor dynasties consult Lane-Poole, *Dynasties*, pp 23 6, de Zambaur, pp 53-7, Dozy, *Musulmans*, ed Lévi-Provençal, vol iii, pp 236 41

[3] See above, p 502 Seville was often referred to as Ḥims, ibn-Jubayr, pp 258 9

[4] Ibn-Khaldūn, vol iv, p 156, ibn al Athir, vol ix, p 201-2; ibn al Khaṭib, *Iḥāṭah*, vol ii, p. 73

[5] After the 'Abbāsid caliph of the same name, Maqqari, vol. i, p. 132.

[6] Ibn-Khallikān, vol ii, p 412 Cf ibn al Khaṭib, *Iḥāṭah*, vol ii, p 77.

[7] Ibn-Khallikān, vol ii, p 414, ibn al-Athir, vol x, p 92.

[8] Ibn Khallikān, vol ii, p 412. Cf the eulogy of al-Fath ibn-Khāqān, *Qalā'id al-'Iqyān* (Būlāq, 1283), pp. 4-5.

a poet, ibn-'Ammār,[1] and as favourite wife a slave girl of talent and beauty, I'timād. While strolling one evening with ibn-'Ammār along the banks of the Guadalquivir, the monarch observed a gentle breeze ruffling the face of the water and improvised this hemistich, challenging his vizir to complete the verse:

Behold the wind weaving the waves into mail;

Ibn-'Ammār hesitated. Meanwhile a young woman who happened to be washing clothes near by instantly supplied the antiphony:

Oh, were it but frozen—no knight would it fail![2]

That was the youthful I'timād al-Rumaykīyah, the future queen, from whose first name her royal husband is said to have adapted his own[3] and whose every whim and fancy he later tried to satisfy. Impressed on one occasion by the rare spectacle of snowflakes falling in Cordova, I'timād implored al-Mu'tamid for a substitute, and forthwith he ordered the Sierra planted with almonds, whose white flowers bloom in the latter part of winter. Noticing on another day some Bedouin dairy women carrying their jars and walking in the muddy streets with their skirts lifted up, she expressed the wish to imitate their performance; in no time the courtyard of the royal palace was converted into a pool filled with spices and perfumed essences, all moistened with rose-water and made into an aromatic quagmire ready for the delicate feet of I'timād and her pretty attendants.[4]

The last days of al-Mu'tamid were as miserable as his early days were gay. After a lull of several years in which the Christian monarchs of the north had occupied themselves with internal troubles, they were again besturring themselves against their Moslem neighbours. The kingdoms of Leon and Castile, united under Ferdinand I and his son Alfonso VI, became especially dangerous. Alfonso added to his kingdom Galicia and Navarre, and as Moslem princes vied with the Christian in winning his favour he styled himself "the emperor" like his successor

[1] Marrākushi, pp. 77, 85-90.

[2] Dozy, *Scriptorum Arabum qui de Abbadidis*, vol. ii (Leyden, 1852), pp. 151-2, vol. iii (Leyden, 1863), p. 225.

[3] Ibn-al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭah*, vol. ii, p. 74. Her surname she acquired from her first master, Rumayk. [4] Dozy, *Scriptorum*, vol. ii, pp. 152-3; Maqqari, vol. i, p. 287.

Alfonso VII, who, in addition to that, claimed to be "king of the men of the two religions". Raids from the north now became regular and reached as far south as Cadiz. In the meantime Rodrigo Díaz de Bivar, "My Cid the Challenger", had established himself with his Castilian followers in Valencia and began to harass the 'Abbādid domain. As a measure of protection against his suzerain Alfonso VI and the Cid, al-Mu'tamid at this time committed the fatal error of inviting as an ally from Morocco the powerful leader of the Murābiṭs, Yūsuf ibn-Tāshfīn.[1] To his critics who foresaw the danger and warned him of the impossibility of "sheathing two swords in one scabbard", al-Mu'tamid replied that he would rather be a camel-driver in Africa than a swineherd in Castile.[2] These Berber Murābiṭs, in whose veins some negro blood flowed, were now in power from Algiers to Senegal.

Yūsuf accepted the invitation. He marched unopposed through southern Spain, met Alfonso VI at al-Zallāqah,[3] near Badajoz, and with about twenty thousand men inflicted on him, October 23, 1086, a humiliating defeat. The Christian monarch and but three hundred of his horse barely escaped with their lives, leaving enough dead to form a tower of heads which was used as a minaret by the rejoicing Moslems.[4] The Berber chief shipped some forty thousand heads across the straits as a trophy. A wave of enthusiasm spread over Moslem Spain, and the proud ibn-Tāshfīn, who could not understand the flowery eulogies of the Sevillan poets, returned to Africa in accordance with his previous promise. Not long afterwards, however, the Murābiṭ chief, who with his Saharan hordes had tasted enough of the delicacies of civilized Spain to whet their appetites for more and render the barrenness of the desert more distasteful than ever before, came back, but this time as a conqueror rather than ally. In November 1090 he entered Granada; in the following year he took Seville and other leading towns. The whole of Moslem Spain was annexed with the exception of Toledo, which remained in Christian hands, and Saragossa, where the banu-Hūd were

[1] For the letter of invitation see Maqqari, vol. ii, p. 674.

[2] Maqqari, vol. ii, p. 678; Dozy, *Scriptorum*, vol. ii, p. 8; Koran 2 : 168.

[3] Sacralias, modern Sagrajas. See Marrākushi, pp. 93-4; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. vi, pp. 186-7; tr. de Slane, *Berbères*, vol. ii, pp. 78-9; ibn-Khallikān, vol ii, p. 415; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. x, pp. 101-2; ibn-abi-Zar', *Rauḍ al Qirṭās*, vol. i, pp. 93 *seq.*

[4] Ibn-al-Khaṭīb, *al-Ḥulal al-Mawshiyah fi Dhikr al-Akhbār al-Marrākushiyah* (Tunis, 1329), p. 43, estimates the number of Christian victims at 300,000.

allowed to subsist. Al-Mu'tamid was sent to Morocco, where he lived in chains and utter destitution, sharing his exile with I'timād and his daughters, who spent their time spinning to earn a living.[1] One day the fallen monarch noticed a procession going to the mosque to pray for rain and the old poet in him, still alive, improvised these pathetic lines:

> And forth they went imploring God for rain;
> "My tears," I said, "could serve you for a flood."
> "In truth," they cried, "your tears might well contain
> Sufficiency, but they are dyed with blood."[2]

In 1095 this last of the 'Abbādids died in Aghmāt. The period of Berber hegemony in Spain had begun.

The Murābits (Almoravides) were originally a religious military brotherhood established in the middle of the eleventh century by a pious Moslem in a *ribāṭ* (whence Murābit),[3] fortified monastery, on an island in the lower Senegal. The first recruits were mainly from the Lamtūnah, a branch of the Sanhājah tribe, whose members lived as nomads in the vast wastes of the Sahara and, as their descendants the Ṭawāriq (Touaregs) of south Algeria still do to the present day, wore veils covering the face below the eyes. This strange custom[4] among their men gave rise to the other name *Mulaththamūn* (veil-wearers), sometimes given to the Murābits. Starting with about a thousand warrior "monks", the Murābiṭs forced one tribe after another, including some negro tribes, to accept Islam and in a few years established themselves as masters of all north-western Africa and finally of Spain.[5] Their story serves as another illustration in Islam of what can be produced by the marriage of the sword to religion.[6]

Yūsuf ibn-Tāshfīn (reigned 1061–1106), one of the builders of the Murābiṭ empire, founded in 1062 the city of Marrākush (Morocco, Marrakesh), which became his and his successors' capital.[7] In Spain Seville, instead of Cordova, functioned as a

[1] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, p. 419, ibn-Khāqān, p 25, ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Ihāṭah*, vol. ii, p 83, Dozy, *Scriptorum*, vol 1, pp 63-4, vol. ii, p 151.
[2] Dozy, *Scriptorum*, vol 1, p 383.
[3] Fr. *marabout* devotee, is a corruption of this word.
[4] Consult ibn-al-Athīr, vol. ix. pp 428 9, ibn-al-Khaṭīb, *Ḥulal*, p 10
[5] The Berber tribe of Dalīm in Morocco claims descent from al-Murābiṭs.
[6] Ibn-abi Zar', vol. i, pp. 75-87; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. vi, pp. 181-2, ibn-al-Athīr, vol. ix, pp. 425-7.
[7] Ibn abi Zar', vol. i, pp. 88 9, ibn-Khaldūn, vol. vi, p. 184= de Slane, vol. ii, p 73.

subsidiary capital. The Murābiṭ sovereigns reserved for themselves all temporal power and bore the title amīr al-Muslimīn,[1] but in matters spiritual acknowledged the supreme authority of the 'Abbāsid caliph in Baghdād,[2] an authority which had been discarded at the advent of the Umayyad régime. For more than half a century the Murābiṭ power was supreme in north-western Africa and southern Spain. For the first time in history a Berber people was playing a leading rôle on the world's stage.

Coinage

The later Murābiṭ dinar bore the title *amīr al-Muslimīn* on the obverse, with a reference to the 'Abbāsid caliph preceded by the title *imām* on the reverse. King Alfonso VIII of Leon and Castile (1158–1214) imitated it, retaining its Arabic inscription but adapting its legend to the Christian formulas. On it he appeared as *amīr al-Qatūlaqīn* (the commander of the Catholics) and the pope in Rome as the *imām al-bī'ah al-Masīḥīyah* (the leader of the Christian Church). The coin was issued "in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, one only God" in place of the corresponding Moslem formula, and "whosoever believeth and is baptized shall be saved" stood in place of the denunciation of those who refused to accept Islam.

Persecution

Under the Murābiṭs, fresh converts to Islam and heirs to a barbarian legacy not yet dead, an outburst of religious fervour on the part of theological zealots resulted at the beginning of the twelfth century in suffering for many Christians, Jews and even liberal Moslems. Under the devout 'Alī (1106–43), Yūsuf's son and successor, al-Ghazzālī's works were put on the black list or committed to the flames in Spain and al-Maghrib,[3] because of remarks considered derogatory to theologians (*faqīhs*), including those of the Mālikite school of jurisprudence favoured by the Murābiṭs. Al-Ghazzālī, however, had headed the list of Eastern divines who expressed unreservedly their approval of the Andalusian *faqīhs*' legal opinion that Yūsuf ibn-Tāshfīn was absolved from any pledges he had made to the party kings of Moslem Spain and that it was not only his right but his duty to dethrone them.[4] At Lucena, termed by al-Idrīsī[5] a Jewish city, the inhabitants, who were the wealthiest of their co-religionists in the Moslem world, were called upon by the

[1] Ibn-abi-Zar', vol. i, pp 88, 96 ibn-Khaldūn, vol. vi, p 188.
[2] Marrākushī, p 64
[3] *Ibid* p. 123; see *Iḥyā'*, vol. i, pp. 28-38.
[4] Ibn Khaldūn, vol. vi, p. 187.
[5] *Ṣifat al-Maghrib*, ed Dozy and de Goeje (Leyden, 1866), p. 205.

founder of the Murābiṭ power in Spain to meet out of their pockets the deficit in the public treasury. Under the Umayyads the legal status of the Spanish Jews had greatly improved over that of Visigothic days and their number had increased. During the caliphate of 'Abd-al-Raḥmān III and his son al-Ḥakam, under the influence of whose treasurer Ḥasdāy ben-Shaprūṭ many Jews came from the East, Cordova became the centre of a talmudic school whose foundation marks the beginning of the flowering of Andalusian Jewish culture.[1] The Spanish Jews used the language and dress of the Arabs and followed the same manners.

The Mozarabs, that element in the population of Spain which had assimilated itself in language and ways of living to the conquering Moslems but retained its Christian faith, had assumed by this time large proportions and therefore became the special object of restrictions. In the large cities these Arabicized Christians lived in quarters of their own, kept under the Umayyads their special magistrates[2] and wore no distinctive clothes. Usually they bore double names: one Arabic and familiar, the other Latin or Spanish and more formal. They even practised circumcision and kept harems. Most of the Mozarabs were bilingual, their native tongue being the Romance patois derived from Low Latin and destined to become Spanish. In such cities as Toledo they continued in the use of Arabic as the written language of law and business for two centuries after the Christian conquest by Alfonso VI in 1085.[3] This Alfonso, like several of his successors, stamped his coins with Arabic characters. One of the early kings of Aragon, Peter I († 1104), could write only in Arabic script. Even when writing Latin the Mozarabs used Arabic letters. Not long after the Moslem conquest parts of the Bible were apparently translated into Arabic,[4] and in 946 Isaak Velasquez of Cordova translated Luke and presumably the other three Gospels from Latin.[5]

[1] Ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol. ii, p. 50.

[2] The two chief officials were called in Arabic *qūmis* (L. *comes*, Sp *conde*) and *qāḍi al-Naṣāra* (the judge of the Christians)

[3] For some of their writings consult Angel Gonzalez Palencia, *Los Mozarabes de Toledo en los siglos XII y XIII*, 4 vols. (Madrid, 1926–30).

[4] See above, p. 516.

[5] Georg Graf, *Die Christlich-arabische Literatur bis zur fränkischen Zeit* (Freiburg in Breisgau, 1905), p. 27.

On a *fatwa* (religious opinion) from his theologians Yūsuf in 1099 ordered a beautiful church, built in the Visigothic age and now possessed by the Mozarabs of Granada, to be levelled to the ground. These same Granadans in 1126 were put to the sword or banished to Morocco because they had entered into communication with a Christian sovereign of the north. Eleven years later a second expulsion of Mozarabs left few of them in Spain.

Racially the line of demarcation between Mozarabs and Moslems in the urban communities was at this time hard to draw. From the beginning, as we have noted before, the real Arabians in the army of conquest and among the colonists were comparatively few, limited to those in command and in high office. The number of women accompanying the army and first immigrants was necessarily small. Disease and fighting decimated the early conquerors and settlers. After the fourth generation the Arabian blood must have become greatly diluted by intermarriage with native women. Concubines, slaves and prisoners of war helped the process of amalgamation, as in other conquered lands. The researches of Ribera[1] have shown that even the Moslems of Spain, the so-called Moors, were overwhelmingly of Spanish blood. In the opinion of this modern Spanish scholar the veins of Hishām II, the third Umayyad caliph, could not have contained more than a thousandth part of Arabian blood.

My Cid the Challenger

It was in the early Murābiṭ period that the most colourful of Mozarabs and at the same time most celebrated of the heroes of Spanish chivalry, Rodrigo Díaz de Bivar, better known as the Cid,[2] carried on his military exploits. A descendant of a noble Castilian family, Rodrigo entered first the service of Alfonso VI but was later (1081) banished by him from the Castilian dominions. He then entered upon a knightly career espousing now the cause of this faction, now that of another and fighting Moslems or co-religionists as the occasion arose. In his behaviour he was almost as much Moslem as Christian. While in the service of the Hūdid dynasty at Saragossa, Rodrigo covered himself with glory and won from his Moslem soldiers the title

[1] Julián Ribera y Tarragó, *Disertaciones y opúsculos* (Madrid, 1928), vol. i, pp. 12-35, 109-12

[2] From Ar. *sayyid*, colloquial *sīd*, lord.

el Cid Campeador.[1] The crowning achievement of My Cid the Challenger was his occupation in 1094 of Valencia, which he held in defiance of the Murābiṭ attacks until his death in 1099. In romance the Cid has lived as the national hero of Spain, the exemplar of its chivalry and its champion against the infidel. Spanish ballads surrounded his name with a saintly aureole of virtue; Philip II († 1598) even presented it to the pope for canonization. The epic *Cantar de mio Cid* woven around the Cid's name in the middle of the twelfth century is one of the grandest and oldest of Spanish poems, one that deeply influenced Spanish thought throughout subsequent ages and contributed powerfully to the establishment of the native language and the consolidation of the national character.

The Murābiṭ dynasty in Spain (1090–1147),[2] as was to be expected, was short-lived. It fulfilled the fated cycle of Asiatic and African monarchies with rapidity: a generation of efficient militarism followed by sloth and corruption leading to disintegration and fall. Its rough Berbers, raised on the privations of desert life and suddenly transported to the luxurious regions of Morocco and Andalusia, soon succumbed to the vices of civilization and became enervated, even effeminate. They entered Spain at a time when intellectual pleasures among the Arabs had long since replaced the love of war and thirst for conquest. This gave the African conquerors their opportunity for settling in the land and at the same time proved their undoing, since it gave them contact with a refined civilization for the assimilation of which they were in nowise prepared. In turn they fell an easy prey to their more vigorous kinsmen the Muwaḥḥids. Throughout the twelfth century and well into the first half of the thirteenth Spain

[1] Sp. equivalent of Ar. *mubāriz*, champion. See above, pp 88, 173. In Ar. Campeador was rendered al-Kanbīṭūr, ibn Bassām, "al Dhakhīrah", in Dozy, *Recherches*, vol. ii, pp v, ix; al Qanbīṭūr, in ibn-'Idhārī, vol. iii, pp 305-6 (supplement). Cf. Maqqarī, vol. ii, p 754.

[2] (Tāshfīn)

1. Yūsuf (1090–1106)

2. 'Alī (1106–43)

3. Tāshfīn (1143–6)

4. Ibrāhīm (1146)

5. Isḥāq (1146–7)

was under the successive rule of these two Berber dynasties, whose seat was Morocco.

The Muwaḥḥids

As in the case of the Murābit, the Muwaḥḥid dynasty had its inception in a politico-religious movement founded by a Berber. This was Muhammad ibn-Tūmart (*ca.* 1078–*ca.* 1130) of the Maṣmūdah tribe.[1] Muhammad assumed the symbolic title of al-Mahdī[2] and proclaimed himself the prophet sent to restore Islam to its pure and original orthodoxy. He preached among his own and other wild tribes of the Moroccan Atlas the doctrine of *tawhīd*, the unity of God and the spiritual conception of Him, as a protest against the excessive anthropomorphism then prevalent in Islam. Accordingly his followers were called al-Muwahhidūn.[3] Small, ugly and misshapen, this son of a mosque lamplighter lived the life of an ascetic, and opposed music, drinking and other manifestations of laxity. When a young man, his zeal led him to assault in the streets of Fās (Fez) a sister of the reigning Murābiṭ ʿAlī ibn-Yūsuf because she went unveiled.[4]

Founder of the Muwaḥḥid dynasty

In 1130 ibn-Tūmart was succeeded by his friend and general ʿAbd-al-Muʾmin ibn-ʿAlī, son of a potter of the Zanātah tribe, who became the caliph-founder of the Muwaḥḥid dynasty, the greatest Morocco ever knew, and of an empire second to none in the annals of Africa. In accordance with the doctrine that theirs was the only community of true believers, these unitarian Moslems now carried fire and sword throughout Morocco and adjacent lands. In 1144–1146 ʿAbd-al-Muʾmin annihilated the Murābit army near Tilimsān (Tlemcen), which he captured together with Fās, Ceuta, Tangier and Aghmāt, and after an eleven-month siege of Marrākush in 1146–1147 he put an end to the Murābiṭ dynasty.[5] The last of the Murābiṭ line, a boy named Isḥāq ibn-ʿAlī, grandson of the founder of the empire, was executed by the Muwaḥḥid caliph (*amīr al-muʾminīn*) in spite of his childish tears.[6] Marrakesh now became the Muwaḥḥid capital. In 1145 ʿAbd-al-Muʾmin had dispatched into Spain,

[1] Ibn Khaldūn, vol. vi, p. 225, ibn al-Athīr, vol. x, p. 400. Cf. Marrākushī, p. 128, ibn abī Zarʿ, vol. i, p. 120, ibn Khallikān, vol. ii, p. 426.

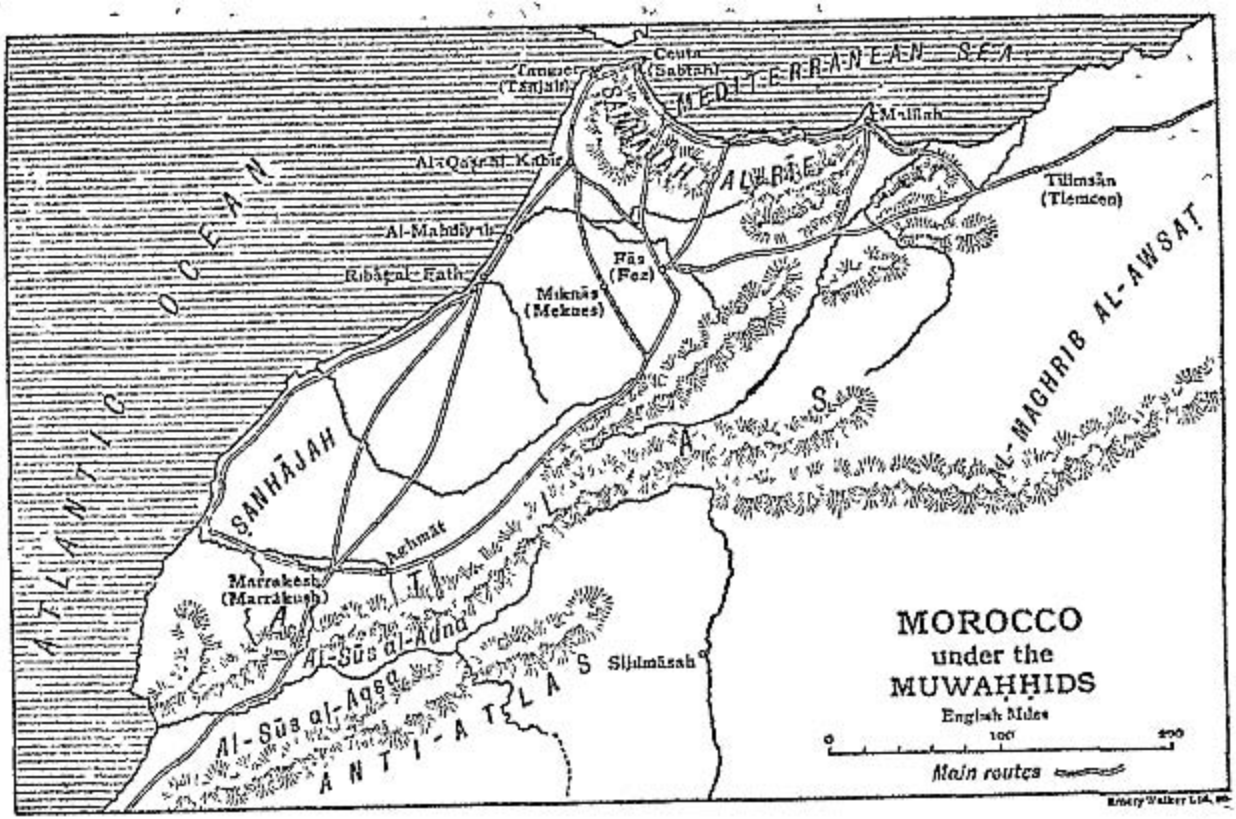
[2] Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Ḥulal*, p. 78; *Kitāb Muḥammad ibn-Tūmart*, ed. I. Goldziher (Algiers, 1903), pp. 2–3.

[3] The unitarians, corrupted into Sp. Almohades.

[4] Ibn Khaldūn, vol. vi, p. 228. Cf. ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, p. 431.

[5] Marrākushī, pp. 145–6, ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, p. 557; ibn abī-Dīnār, *al-Muʾnis fī Akhbār Ifrīqiyah wa-Tūnis* (Tunis, 1286), p. 120.

[6] Ibn al-Athīr, vol. x, pp. 412–13.


ATLANTIC OCEAN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Ceuta (Sabtah)
Tangier (Tanjah)
Melilah
Al-Qaṣr al-Kabir
Al-Mahdiyah
Ribāṭ al-Fatḥ
Fās (Fez)
Miknās (Meknes)
Tilimsān (Tlemcen)
SANHĀJAH AL-BAḤR
SANHĀJAH
AL-MAGHRIB AL-AWSAT
Aghmāt
Marrakesh (Marrākush)
Al-Sūs al-Adna
Al-Sūs al-Aqṣa
ANTI-ATLAS
Sijilmāsah
MOROCCO
under the
MUWAḤḤIDS
English Miles
100
200
Main routes
Bartholomew Walker Ltd., edr.

where political corruption, brigandage and dissatisfaction were rife, an army which in the course of five years reduced the whole Moslem part of the peninsula. The Balearic Isles, attached to the Umayyad amīrate since 903, alone remained for a few more years in the hands of the last representatives of the Murābiṭs.

Master of Morocco and Spain, 'Abd-al-Mu'min pushed his conquests in 1152 to Algeria, in 1158 to Tunisia and in 1160 to Tripoli. Thus for the first time in Moslem history the whole coast from the Atlantic to the frontier of Egypt became united with Andalusia as an independent empire. The Murābit empire, on the other hand, had included, besides Spain, only Morocco and part of Algeria. From every pulpit in this immense new empire Friday prayers were read in the name of the Mahdi or his caliph instead of in that of the 'Abbāsid caliph as heretofore.[1]

Al-Manṣūr

After a long and glorious reign 'Abd-al-Mu'min died in 1163. Among the greatest and best known of his successors was his grandson abu-Yūsuf Ya'qūb al-Mansūr (1184–99), who, like many other Berber rulers, was the son of a Christian slave.[2] It was to al-Mansūr's court that Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn (Saladin) sent with valuable presents an embassy headed by a nephew of Usāmah ibn-Munqidh. Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn, who recognized the 'Abbāsid caliph, accredited the embassy to *amīr al-Muslimīn*, instead of *amīr al-mu'minīn*, which at first made al-Manṣūr hesitate to act. Later, however, he is said to have dispatched 180 vessels to assist the Moslems against the Crusaders.[3]

The existing architectural monuments of al-Manṣūr are among the most remarkable in either Morocco or Spain. In Seville, to which the Muwaḥḥids transferred their capital in 1170,[4] his accession was marked by the erection of the tower, now known as the Giralda, in connection with the great mosque. This mosque, begun in 1172 and completed in 1195, is now superseded by the cathedral. In Morocco he built Ribāṭ al-Fatḥ, modelled on Alexandria,[5] and in Marrakesh he built a hospital which his contemporary al-Marrākushī[6] thought had no equal in the world.[7]

[1] For a Muwaḥḥid *khuṭbah* see Marrākushī, pp 250-51.
[2] Marrākushī, p. 189, ibn-abi-Zar', vol. i, p 142; ibn-abi-Dīnār, pp 116-17.
[3] Ibn-Khallikān, vol iii, p. 381; ibn-Khaldūn, vol vi, p 236
[4] Maqqari, vol. ii, p 693. [5] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. iii, p. 379. [6] P. 209.
[7] For his other buildings see ibn-abi-Zar', vol. i, pp 143, 151-2

The chief anxiety of the Muwaḥḥid caliphs in Spain was the prosecution of the holy war, but they were not particularly successful. The disastrous defeat at Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212 resulted in their expulsion from the peninsula. This battle, called by the Arabs that of al-'Uqāb (hill), was fought about seventy miles east of Cordova. The Christian army, in which Aragon was represented by its king, Navarre by its king and Portugal by a contingent of Templars and other knights, was led by Alfonso VIII of Castile, whose own forces included French Crusaders. The Caliph Muḥammad al-Nāṣir (1199–1214), son of al-Manṣūr, led the Arab troops, of which only one thousand out of "600,000" escaped.[1] Al-Nāṣir fled to Marrākush, where he died two years later. The overthrow of the Muwaḥḥid régime in Spain was complete. All Moslem Spain lay at the feet of the conquerors. Gradually it was parcelled out among the ever-encroaching Christian sovereigns and local Moslem dynasts. Among the latter the Naṣrids of Granada formed the most conspicuous group and proved the last representative of Moslem authority in the peninsula.

In Morocco al-Nāṣir's successors, nine in number and all descendants of 'Abd-al-Mu'min,[2] lasted until their capital Marrakesh was captured in 1269 by the semi-nomadic Berber tribe of banu-Marīn, a branch of the Zanātah.[3]

The founder of the Naṣrid dynasty (1232–1492), which traces its descent to the eminent Khazraj tribe of al-Madīnah, was Muḥammad ibn-Yūsuf ibn-Naṣr, commonly known as ibn-al-Aḥmar. Hence the other name of the family, banu-al-Aḥmar. Ibn-Khaldūn,[4] who resided for a time at Granada and was attached to the court of one of ibn-al-Aḥmar's successors, gives us a detailed account of the career of Muḥammad. After the collapse of the Muwaḥḥid régime, as the Castilians were setting one Moslem chieftain against another and destroying each in turn, Muḥammad entered into alliance with the Christians and contrived to carve for himself a state around Granada which to

[1] Maqqarī, vol. ii, p. 696. Cf. Marrākushī, p. 236, ibn-abi-Zar', vol. i, p. 159. A contemporary English chronicler claims that al-Nāṣir received in 1213 from King John, of Magna Charta fame and brother of Cœur de Lion, an embassy offering to hold England under tribute to him and to exchange the Christian faith for Islam.

[2] For lists consult al-Zarkashī, *Ta'rīkh al-Dawlatayn al-Muwaḥḥidīyah wal-Ḥafṣīyah* (Tunis, 1289); Lane-Poole, *Dynasties*, pp. 47-8; de Zambaur, pp. 73, 74.

[3] Ibn abi-Zar', vol. i, pp. 174-5, 184.

[4] Vol. iv, pp 170-72. See also ibn-al-Khaṭīb, *Lamḥah*, pp. 30 *seq.*

a limited extent revived and continued the glories of Seville and for the next two and a half centuries acted as the champion of Islam in its defensive struggle against the rising power of Christianity.

Muḥammad (1232–73) assumed the title of al-Ghālib (the overcomer) and chose Granada for his seat of government. He as well as his successors paid homage and tribute to the Castilian crown. By the Arabs Granada (Gharnāṭah), than which no city in Andalusia was more favoured in site and climate,[1] was likened to Damascus, and in it many Syrians and Jews had settled.[2] Its plain (*marj*), the Vega, fed by abundant streams, presented a rare spectacle of perpetual verdure and beauty, and corresponded to the Ghūṭah of Damascus.[3] At the close of the Nasrid period it housed about half a million within its walls. Lisān-al-Dīn ibn-al-Khaṭīb († 1374), the hero of al-Maqqari, vizir at the Naṣrid court and literary historian of the dynasty, has left us a number of monographs on the sovereigns and savants of Granada which supply us with interesting details about the capital.

Alhambra

On a hilly terrace on the south-east border of this beautiful city al-Ghālib built on the remains of an earlier Umayyad citadel his world-renowned castle called al-Ḥamrā' (Sp. Alhambra), the red one, from the red stucco used in its construction and not from his personal nickname as formerly supposed. Enlarged and further embellished by three of his successors, the Alhambra became one of the architectural monuments of Spain. Standing sentinel over the surrounding plain, like the Acropolis of Athens, this citadel-palace, with its superb decorations and arabesque mouldings, still excites universal admiration. In it the Nasrids maintained a court which revived for a time the glory of Moslem Spain in Umayyad and 'Abbādid days. Their patronage of art and learning attracted many scholars, especially from North Africa. Their encouragement of commerce, notably the silk trade with Italy, rendered Granada the wealthiest city of Spain. Under them the capital became an asylum for Moslems fleeing from Christian attacks as well as heir to Cordova as home of art and science. But these were the last rays of the setting sun of Spanish Islam.

[1] Cf. ibn-al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭah*, vol i, p. 13
[2] Maqqari, vol 1, pp. 109, 721. Cf ibn-Jubayr, pp 16-17. See above, p. 502.
[3] Ibn-al-Khaṭib, *Lamḥah*, p. 13; see above, p. 231.

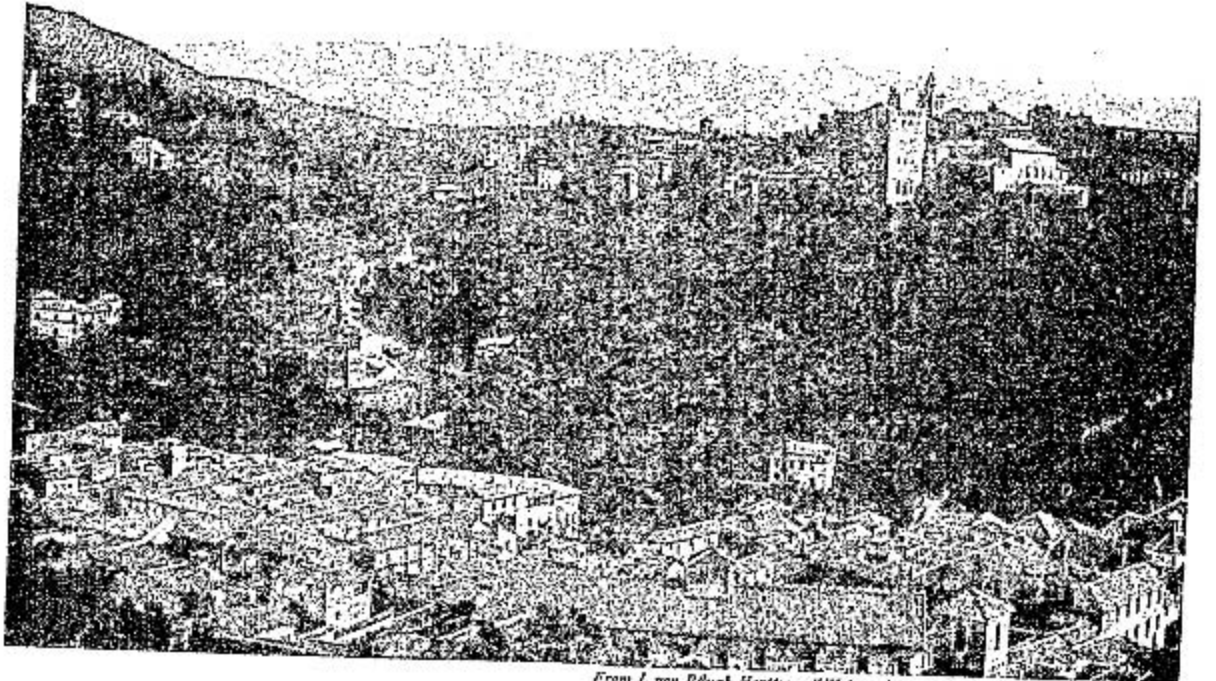
The period of Christian reconquest (*reconquista*) started as early as the fall of the Umayyad caliphate in the eleventh century. In fact, Spanish historians consider the battle of Covadonga in 718, in which the Asturian chieftain Pelayo checked Moslem advance, as marking the actual beginning of reconquest. Had the Moslems in the eighth century destroyed the last vestiges of Christian power in the mountainous north, the subsequent story of Spain might have been entirely different. Impeded at first by constant friction among the Christian chiefs of the north, the process of reclamation was greatly accelerated by the final union of Castile and Leon in 1230. By the middle of the thirteenth century the reconquest, with the exception of Granada, was practically completed. Toledo fell in 1085; Cordova followed in 1236 and Seville in 1248.

After the middle of the thirteenth century two major processes were in operation: the Christianizing of Spain and its unification. Christianizing the country was different from reconquering and unifying it. The only part of the peninsula where Islam had struck root was that where the earlier Semitic, Carthaginian, civilization had once flourished. The same was true of Sicily, a fact not without significance. In general the line of cleavage between Islam and Christianity coincided with the ancient line between the Punic and Occidental civilizations. By the thirteenth century many Moslems throughout the land had become subject to the Christians either by conquest or treaty, but had otherwise preserved their laws and religion. Such Moslems were designated Mudejars.[1] Many of the Mudejars were now forgetting their Arabic, adopting exclusively the Romance tongue and becoming more or less assimilated to the Christians.

Progress toward the final unification of Spain was slow but sure. At this time the Christian territory was made up of but two kingdoms, Castile and Aragon. The marriage in 1469 of Ferdinand of Aragon to Isabella of Castile united permanently the crowns of these two kingdoms. This union struck the note of doom for Moslem power in Spain. The Naṣrid sultans, as they were called,[2] were by no means able to cope with the increasing danger. The last of them were involved in dynastic troubles which rendered

[1] From Ar. *mudajjan*, one allowed (by the Christian conquerors) to remain where he is on condition that he pays tribute.

[2] Ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p. 172.



From J. von Pflugk-Harttung, "Weltgeschichte: Orient" (Verlag Ullstein, Berlin)

THE ALHAMBRA AND GRANADA TODAY

their position still more precarious. Of the twenty-one sultans[1] who ruled from 1232 to 1492, six ruled twice and one, Muḥammad VIII al-Mutamassik, ruled thrice (1417–27, 1429–32, 1432–44), giving an average of about nine years for each of the twenty-eight reigns. Final ruin was hastened by the recklessness of the nineteenth sultan, ʿAlī abu-al-Ḥasan (Sp. Alboacen, 1461–82, 1483–5), who not only refused to pay the customary tribute but commenced hostilities by attacking Castilian territory. In reprisal Ferdinand in 1482 surprised and took al-Ḥammah,[2] which stood at the foot of the Sierra de Alhama and guarded the south-western entrance into the Granadan domain. At this juncture a son of abu-al-Ḥasan, Muhammad abu-ʿAbdullāh, instigated by his mother, Fāṭimah,[3] who was jealous of a Spanish[4] Christian concubine to whose children the royal husband was devoted, raised the banner of rebellion against his father. Supported by the garrison, the rebel son seized the Alhambra in 1482 and made himself master of Granada. In the following year this eleventh Muḥammad of the dynasty, whose surname abu-ʿAbdullāh was corrupted into the Spanish Boabdil, had the temerity to attack the Castilian town of Lucena, where he was beaten and taken captive. Abu-al-Ḥasan then reinstated himself on the Granadan throne and ruled until 1485, when he abdicated in favour of his more able brother Muḥammad XII, nicknamed al-Zaghall (valiant), governor of Malaga.[5] In their prisoner abu-ʿAbdullāh, Ferdinand and Isabella saw a perfect tool for effecting the ultimate destruction of the ill-fated Moslem kingdom. Supplied with Castilian men and money, abu-ʿAbdullāh occupied in 1486 part of his uncle's capital and once more plunged the unlucky Granada, which presented the spectacle of having two sultans at the same time, in a destructive civil war. The legend relating to the destruction of the patriotic

[1] For lists consult Lane-Poole, *Dynasties*, pp. 28-9; Zambaur, pp. 58-9.

[2] Ar. for "hot spring", whence Sp. Alhama. Al-Ḥāmmah in Maqqari, vol. ii, p. 801.

[3] Not ʿĀ'ishah; L. S. de Lucena in *al-Andalus*, vol. xii (1947), pp. 359 *seq.*

[4] *Rūmīyah* in Maqqari, vol. ii, p. 803.

[5] Genealogical table of the last Naṣrids:

18. Sa'd al-Musta'īn (1445–6, 1453–61)

19. ʿAlī abu-al-Ḥasan (1461–82, 1483–5) — 20. Muḥammad XII al-Zaghall (1485–6)

21. Muḥammad XI abu-ʿAbdullāh (1482–3, 1486–92)

noble family of banu-Sarrāj (Abencerrage) by abu-'Abdullāh, at Alhambra, belongs to this period in the mythical history of the last days of Granada.

In the meantime the Castilian army was advancing. One town after another fell before it. Malaga was reduced in the following year and many of its people were sold into slavery. The circle was being narrowed around the doomed capital. Al-Zaghall made a few unsuccessful stands against the army of Ferdinand, but abu-'Abdullāh acted as its ally. In his despair al-Zaghall made a final but fruitless appeal to the Moslem sovereigns of Africa, just then busy fighting among themselves. At last he surrendered and retired into Tilimsān,[1] where he passed the remainder of his days in misery and destitution, wearing, we are told, on his mendicant rags, a badge proclaiming, "This is the hapless king of Andalusia". Only the city of Granada now remained in Moslem hands.

No sooner was al-Zaghall thus disposed of than abu-'Abdullāh was requested (1490) by his patrons to surrender the city. Under the inspiration of a valiant leader the pusillanimous abu-'Abdullāh refused to comply. In the spring of the following year Ferdinand with an army of 10,000 horse again entered the plain of Granada. As in the preceding year he destroyed the crops and orchards and drew the cordon tighter round the last stronghold of Islam in Spain. The siege was pressed into a blockade intended to starve the city into surrender.

> When winter advanced with its extreme cold and heavy snow all access from outside was barred, food became scarce, prices soared and misery prevailed. In the meantime the enemy had seized every patch of ground outside the city walls and made it impossible for the besieged to plant or gather any crops. Conditions moved from bad to worse . . . until by the month of Safar [December 1491] the privations of the people had reached their extreme.[2]

Finally the garrison agreed to surrender, if not relieved within a period of two months, on the following terms: The sultan with all his officers and people would take the oath of obedience to the Castilian sovereigns; abu-'Abdullāh would receive an estate in al-Basharāt;[3] the Moslems would be left secure in person

[1] Maqqari, vol. II, p. 810.
[2] *Ibid* p. 811.
[3] Sp. Alpujarras. The term, meaning "pastures", included the mountainous foreland south of the Sierra Nevada as far as the Mediterranean.

under their laws and free in the exercise of their religion.[1] The period of grace having expired without any sign of relief from the Turks or Africans, the Castilians entered Granada on January 2, 1492, and "the cross supplanted the crescent" on its towers.[2] The sultan with his queen, richly dressed, left his red fortress and departed in the midst of a gorgeous retinue, never to return. As he rode away he turned to take a last look at his capital, sighed and burst into tears. His mother, hitherto his evil genius, allegedly turned upon him with the words, "Thou dost well to weep like a woman for what thou couldst not defend like a man". The rocky height whence he took his sad farewell look is still known by the name El Último Suspiro del Moro, the last sigh of the Moor.

Abu-'Abdullāh made his home first on his allotted estate, but later retired to Fās, where he died in 1533–4 and where his descendants in the year in which al-Maqqari[3] was compiling his history (1627–8) were still objects of charity, "counted among the beggars".

Their Catholic Majesties Ferdinand and Isabella failed to abide by the terms of the capitulation. Under the leadership of the queen's confessor Cardinal Ximénez de Cisneros,[4] a campaign of forced conversion was inaugurated in 1499. The cardinal at first tried to withdraw from circulation Arabic books dealing with Islam by burning them. Granada was the scene of a bonfire of Arabic manuscripts. The Inquisition was then instituted and kept busy. All Moslems who remained in the country after the capture of Granada were now called Moriscos,[5] a term applied originally to Spaniards converted into Islam. The Moslem Spaniards spoke a Romance dialect but employed

[1] Cf. *Akhbār al-'Aṣr fi Inqiḍā' Dawlat banī-Naṣr*, ed. M. J. Muller (Munich, 1863), p. 49.

[2] Legend makes Alhambra in that same year the scene of Christopher Columbus' appeal to Queen Isabella for a subsidy for his maritime adventure, the greatest in history, which resulted in the discovery of America.

[3] Vol. ii, pp. 814-15.

[4] His greatest service was the printing (1502–17) of the Complutensian Polyglot, the first edition of the Bible in the original text with translation.

[5] Sp. for "little Moors". The Romans called Western Africa Mauretania and its inhabitants Mauri (presumably of Phœnician origin meaning "western"), whence Sp. *Moro*, Eng. Moor. The Berbers, therefore, were the Moors proper, but the term was conventionally applied to all Moslems of Spain and north-western Africa. The half-million Moslems of the Philippines are still known by the name Moros, given them by the Spaniards on the discovery of the islands by Magellan in 1521.

the Arabic script.[1] Many, if not most, Moriscos were of course of Spanish descent but all were now "reminded" that their ancestors had been Christians and that they must either submit to baptism or suffer the consequences. The Mudejars were grouped with the Moriscos and many became crypto-Moslems, professing Christianity but secretly practising Islam. Some would come home from their Christian weddings to be married secretly after the Moslem rite; many would adopt a Christian name for public and an Arabic one for private use. As early as 1501 a royal decree was issued that all Moslems in Castile and Leon should either recant or leave Spain, but evidently it was not strictly applied. In 1526 the Moslems of Aragon were confronted with the same alternatives. In 1556 Philip II promulgated a law requiring the remaining Moslems to abandon at once their language, worship, institutions and manner of life. He even ordered the destruction of the Spanish baths as a relic of infidelity. A rising, the second of its kind, started in Granada and spread to the neighbouring mountains, but was put down. The final order of expulsion was signed by Philip III in 1609, resulting in the forcible deportation *en masse* of practically all Moslems on Spanish soil. Some half a million are said to have suffered this fate and landed on the shores of Africa or to have taken ship to more distant lands of Islam. It was mainly from these Moriscos that the ranks of the Moroccan corsairs were recruited. Between the fall of Granada and the first decade of the seventeenth century it is estimated that about three million Moslems were banished or executed. The Moorish problem was for ever solved for Spain, which thus became the conspicuous exception to the rule that wherever Arab civilization was planted there it was permanently fixed. "The Moors were banished; for a while Christian Spain shone, like the moon, with a borrowed light; then came the eclipse, and in that darkness Spain has grovelled ever since."[2]

[1] The literature left by Moriscos is varied and linguistically interesting. It is termed *aljamiado* from Ar. *al a'jamiyah*, foreign tongue. A collection of such manuscripts was found under the floor of an old house in Aragon, where they were apparently hidden from the officers of the Inquisition. These are the *Manuscritos arabes y aljamiados de la Biblioteca de la Junta*, ed J. Ribera and M. Asin (Madrid, 1912). See A. R. Nykl, *A Compendium of Aljamiado Literature* (Paris, 1928).

[2] Lane-Poole, *Moors in Spain*, p. 280.

CHAPTER XL

INTELLECTUAL CONTRIBUTIONS

MOSLEM Spain wrote one of the brightest chapters in the intellectual history of medieval Europe. Between the middle of the eighth and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries, as we have noted before, the Arabic-speaking peoples were the main bearers of the torch of culture and civilization throughout the world. Moreover they were the medium through which ancient science and philosophy were recovered, supplemented and transmitted in such a way as to make possible the renaissance of Western Europe. In all this, Arabic Spain had a large share.

In the purely linguistic sciences, including philology, grammar and lexicography, the Arabs of al-Andalus lagged behind those of al-'Irāq. Al-Qāli (901–67), mentioned above as one of the eminent professors of the university of Cordova, was born in Armenia and educated in Baghdād. His chief disciple, Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḥasan al-Zubaydi [1] (928–89), belonged to a family that hailed from Ḥimṣ, but was himself born in Seville. Al-Zubaydi was appointed by al-Ḥakam to supervise the education of his young son Hishām, who later appointed him qādi and chief magistrate of Seville. Al-Zubaydi's chief work was a classified list of grammarians and philologists who had flourished up to his time; al-Suyūṭi made extensive use of it in his *Muzhir*. It should be recalled at this point that Hebrew grammar, which was based essentially on Arabic grammar (above, p. 43, n. 1) and to this day uses technical terms which are translations of corresponding Arabic terms, had its birth in Moslem Spain. Ḥayyūj Judah ben-David (Ar. abu-Zakarīyā' Yaḥya ibn-Dāwūd), the father of scientific Hebrew grammar, flourished in Cordova, where he died early in the eleventh century.

In literature the most distinguished author was ibn-'Abd-Rabbih (860–940) of Cordova, the laureate of 'Abd-al-Rahmān

[1] See Tha'ālibi, *Yatīmah*, vol. i, p. 409; ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, pp 338-40.

III.[1] Ibn-'Abd-Rabbih was descended from an enfranchised slave of Hishām I. His title to fame rests on the miscellaneous anthology he composed, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*[2] (the unique necklace), which after *al-Aghānī* occupies first place among works on the literary history of the Arabs. But the greatest scholar and the most original thinker of Spanish Islam was 'Alī ibn-Ḥazm (994–1064), one of the two or three most fertile minds and most prolific writers of Islam. Ibn-Ḥazm claimed descent from a Persian client, but was in reality the grandson of a Spanish Moslem convert from Christianity. In his youth he adorned the tottering courts of 'Abd-al-Raḥmān al-Mustaẓhir and Hishām al-Mu'tadd[3] in the capacity of vizir, but on the ensuing dissolution of the Umayyad caliphate he retired to a life of seclusion and literary pursuit. Ibn-Khallikān[4] and al-Qifṭī[5] ascribe to him four hundred volumes on history, theology, tradition, logic, poetry and allied subjects. As an exponent of the Ẓāhirite (literalist) school of jurisprudence and theology, long since extinct, he was as tireless as he was vigorous in his literary activity. In his *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah*[6] (the dove's necklace), an anthology of love poems, he extols platonic love. The most valuable of his surviving works, however, is *al-Faṣl fi al-Milal w-al-Ahwā' w-al-Niḥal*[7] (the decisive word on sects, heterodoxies and denominations), which entitles him to the honour of being the first scholar in the field of comparative religion. In this work he pointed out difficulties in the biblical narratives which disturbed no other minds till the rise of higher criticism in the sixteenth century.

For the history of literature the period of the party kings, particularly of the 'Abbādids, Murābiṭs and Muwaḥḥids, was one of special importance. The cultural seed sown in the Umayyad age did not come into full fruition until then. The civil wars which closed the Umayyad period and the subsequent rise of new dynasties enabled such centres as Seville, Toledo and Granada to eclipse Cordova. From this last city Arabicized

[1] See Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, vol. II, pp. 67-72, ibn Khallikān, vol. I, pp. 56 8.
[2] Several editions, none critical. The one used here is in 3 vols (Cairo, 1302).
[3] Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, vol. V, p. 87. [4] Vol. II, p. 22. [5] P. 233.
[6] Ed. D. K. Pétrof (Leyden, 1914); tr. A. R. Nykl, *The Dove's Neck-Ring about Love and Lovers* (Paris, 1931).
[7] No scholarly edition. The one used here is in 5 vols (Cairo, 1347–8). See Asin, *Abenhazam de Cordoba y su historia critica de las ideas religiosas*, 5 vols. (Madrid, 1927–32).

Christians, Mozarabs, quite conversant with Arabic literature, had communicated many elements of Arabic culture to the other kingdoms of the north and south. In prose the fables, tales and apologues, which began to flourish in Western Europe during the thirteenth century, present unmistakable analogies with earlier Arabic works, themselves of Indo-Persian origin. The delightful fables of *Kalīlah wa-Dimnah* were translated into Spanish for Alfonso the Wise (1252–84) of Castile and Leon, and shortly afterwards into Latin by a baptized Jew. A Persian translation became through French one of the sources of La Fontaine, as acknowledged by him. To the *maqāmah*, written in rhymed prose adorned with all manner of philological curiosity and intended to teach some moral lesson through the adventures of a cavalier-hero, the Spanish picaresque novel bears close affinity. But the most significant contribution of Arabic to the literature of medieval Europe was the influence it exercised by its form, which helped liberate Western imagination from a narrow, rigid discipline circumscribed by convention. The rich fantasy of Spanish literature betrays Arabic models, as does the wit of Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, whose author was once a prisoner in Algiers and jokingly claimed that the book had an Arabic original.

Wherever and whenever the Arabic language was used there p. the passion for poetical composition was intense. Verses countless in number passed from mouth to mouth and were admired by high and low, not so much perhaps for their contents as for their music and exquisite diction. This sheer joy in the beauty and euphony of words, a characteristic of Arabic-speaking peoples, manifested itself on Spanish soil. The first Umayyad sovereign was a poet and so were several of his successors. Among the party kings al-Mu'tamid ibn-'Abbād was especially favoured by the Muses. Most of the sovereigns had laureates attached to their courts and took them along on their travels and wars. Seville boasted the largest number of graceful and inspired poets, but the flame had been kindled long before in Cordova and later shone brilliantly at Granada as long as that city remained the bulwark of Islam.

Aside from ibn-'Abd-Rabbih, ibn-Ḥazm and ibn-al-Khatīb, Spain produced a number of poets whose compositions are still considered standard. Such a one was abu-al-Walīd Aḥmad ibn-

Zaydūn (1003–71), reckoned by some as the greatest poet of al-Andalus. Ibn-Zaydūn belonged to the noble family of Makhzūm, a branch of the Quraysh.[1] He was first a confidential agent to ibn-Jahwar, chief of the Cordovan oligarchy, but later fell from grace, probably on account of his violent love for the poetess Wallādah, daughter of the Caliph al-Mustakfi. After several years in prison and exile he was appointed by al-Mu'taḍid al-'Abbādi to the twofold position of grand vizir and commander of the troops and given the title *dhu-al-wizārataynِ*,[2] he of the two vizirates, i.e. that of the sword and that of the pen. It was under his influence that al-Mu'tamid sent an army in 1068 against Cordova and wrested it from Jahwarid hands. In al-Mu'tamid's court, which was temporarily removed to Cordova, ibn-Zaydūn aroused the jealousy of a rival poet and minister, ibn-'Ammār, a man of obscure origin who at first led a wandering life singing the praises of anyone who cared to reward him. Ibn-'Ammār met his death at the hand of his patron al-Mu'tamid at Seville in 1086.[3] Besides being an accomplished poet ibn-Zaydūn was a distinguished letter writer. One of his most widely read epistles is that in which he denounces ibn-'Abdūs, minister of ibn-Jahwar and rival for the hand of Wallādah. Several verses addressed by ibn-Zaydūn[4] to Wallādah depict the glowing beauty of al-Zahrā' with its gardens, and illustrate the deep feeling for nature which is characteristic of Spanish Arabic poetry.

This beautiful and talented Wallādah († 1087), renowned alike for personal charm and literary ability, was the Sappho of Spain, where Arab women seem to have shown special taste and aptitude for poetry and literature. Al-Maqqari[5] devotes a whole section to these women of al-Andalus in whom "eloquence was a second instinct". Wallādah's home at Cordova was the meeting-place of wits, savants and poets.[6]

Among the lesser lights reference may be made to abu-Isḥāq ibn-Khafājah[7] († 1139), who spent his life in a little village south of Valencia without seeking to pay court to the kinglets of his time, and to the young licentious poet of Seville, Muḥammad

[1] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, pp. 75-7.
[2] Cf. Marrākushi, p. 74, l. 5.
[3] Marrākushi, p. 89; ibn-Khāqān, pp. 98-9. Cf. ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, p. 370.
[4] *Dīwān*, ed. Kāmil Kilāni and 'Abd-al-Rahmān Khalīfah (Cairo, 1932), pp. 257-8; tr. in Nicholson, *Literary History*, p. 425.
[5] Vol. ii, pp. 536 639.
[6] Ibn-Bassām, p. 376.
[7] His *Dīwān* published in Cairo, 1286. On his life see ibn-Khāqān, pp. 231-42; ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, pp. 23-4.

ibn-Hānī' (937–73), who addressed several panegyrics to the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Mu'izz.[1] Ibn-Hānī' was considered tainted with the opinions of Greek philosophers.[2]

Emancipated to a limited degree from the fetters of convention, Spanish Arabic poetry developed new metrical forms and acquired an almost modern sensibility to the beautiful in nature. Through its ballads and love songs it manifested a tenderly romantic feeling which anticipated the attitude of medieval chivalry. By the beginning of the eleventh century a lyric system of *muwashshaḥ*[3] and *zajal* had been developed in the Andalus. Both forms were based on a refrain for the chorus and were undoubtedly sung. Music and song established and maintained everywhere their alliance with poetry.

It was abu-Bakr ibn-Quzmān († 1160), the wandering minstrel of Cordova who travelled from town to town singing the praises of the great, who lifted the *zajal*, till then left entirely to improvisators, to the dignity of a literary form.[4] As for the other variety of folk-song, the *muwashshaḥ*, it was not only developed but invented in Spain, whence it spread into North Africa and the East. Among the noted *muwashshaḥ* composers were abu-al-'Abbās[5] al-Tuṭīli, the blind poet of Tudela who died in his youth, in 1129, after singing the glories of 'Ali, son and successor of Yūsuf ibn-Tāshfīn; Ibrāhīm ibn-Sahl[6] († 1251 or 1260), a Sevillan convert from Judaism whose persistence in the use of wine rendered his Islam suspect; and Muḥammad ibn-Yūsuf abu-Ḥayyān (1256–1344) of Granada, a polyglot of Berber origin who also wrote Persian, Turkish,[7] Coptic and Ethiopic grammars.[8] Of these only the Turkish survived.

It was Arabic poetry in general and this lyric type in particular that aroused native Christian admiration and became one of the

[1] Zāhid 'Ali, *Taʾrīkh al-Maʿānī fī Sharḥ Dīwān ibn-Hānī'* (Cairo, 1352), pp. 1 *seq.*

[2] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, p. 367; Maqqari, vol. ii, p. 444.

[3] So called by comparison with *wishāḥ*, a double belt ornamented with variegated pearls which women wear diagonally round the body from shoulder to hip.

[4] Ibn-Khaldūn, *Muqaddamah*, p. 524. Ibn-Quzmān's poems have been published by A. R. Nykl, *El cancionero* (Madrid, 1933).

[5] Name wrongly given in ibn-Khāqān, p. 273; ibn-Khaldūn, *Muqaddamah*, p. 519.

[6] His *Dīwān*, printed in Beirūt, 1885. On him see Kutubi, *Fawāt*, vol. i, pp. 29-35; Maqqari, vol. ii, pp. 351-4, Soualah Mohammed, *Ibrahim Ibn Sahl* (Algiers, 1914).

[7] *Al-Idrāk li-Lisān al-Atrāk*, ed. Ahmed Caferoğlu (Istanbul, 1930-31); the earliest or second earliest Turkish grammar.

[8] Kutubi, vol. ii, p. 356; Maqqari, vol. i, pp. 823 *seq.* For other poets consult ibn-Khaldūn, *Muqaddamah*, pp. 518-34.

potent factors in assimilation. Two such forms, the *zajal* and the *muwashshaḥ*, developed into the Castilian popular verse form of *villancico*, which was extensively used for Christian hymns, including Christmas carols. The sestet, which in its original form presumably rhymed CDE, CDE, was probably suggested by a form of Arabic *zajal* instanced in the works of the Andalusian poets. Al-Qazwīnī[1] († 1283) asserts that at Shilb (Silves) in southern Portugal one would meet even ploughmen capable of improvising verse. This brings to mind the many men in modern Lebanon, *qawwālūn*, who extemporaneously produce such folk-poetry, some of which they still call *zajal* and *muwashshaḥ*.

The emergence of a definite literary scheme of platonic love in Spanish as early as the eighth century marks a distinctive contribution of Arabic poetry. In southern France the first Provençal poets appear full-fledged toward the end of the eleventh century with palpitating love expressed in a wealth of fantastic imagery. The troubadours,[2] who flourished in the twelfth century, imitated their southern contemporaries, the *zajal*-singers. Following the Arabic precedent the cult of the dame suddenly arises in south-western Europe. The *Chanson de Roland*, the noblest monument of early European literature, whose appearance prior to 1080 marks the beginning of a new civilization—that of Western Europe—just as the Homeric poems mark the beginning of historic Greece, owes its existence to a military contact with Moslem Spain.

Education

Primary education was based, as in all Moslem lands, on writing and reading from the Koran and on Arabic grammar and poetry. Though mainly a private concern, education was nevertheless so widely spread that a high percentage of Spanish Moslems could read and write[3]—a situation unknown in Europe of that age. Higher value was placed on the function of the elementary teacher than in other lands of Islam. The position of women in the learned life, as portrayed by such an author as al-Maqqarī[4] and verified by the facts of literary history, proves that in Andalusia the maxims prohibiting the teaching of writing to women were but little applied.

Higher education was based on koranic exegesis and theology,

[1] *Āthār*, p. 364. R. Menéndez Pidal in *Bulletin hispanique*, vol. xl (1938), pp. 337 *seq.* A. R. Nykl in *ibid.* vol. xli (1939), pp. 305-15.

[2] This word may have come from Ar. *ṭarab*, music, song; Ribera, *Disertaciones*, vol. ii, p. 141.

[3] Cf. above, p. 531.

[4] See above, p. 560.

philosophy, Arabic grammar, poetry and lexicography, history and geography. Several of the principal towns possessed what might be called universities, chief among which were those of Cordova, Seville, Malaga and Granada. The university of Cordova included among its departments astronomy, mathematics and medicine, in addition to theology and law. Its enrolment must have reached into thousands and its certificate opened the way to the most lucrative posts in the realm. The university of Granada was founded by the seventh Naṣrid, Yūsuf abu-al-Ḥajjāj (1333–54), whose administration was graced by the poet-historian Lisān-al-Dīn ibn-al-Khatīb.[1] The building had its gates guarded by stone lions. The curriculum comprised theology, jurisprudence, medicine, chemistry, philosophy and astronomy. Castilian and other foreign students patronized this institution. In it and other universities it was customary to hold occasional public meetings and commemorations in which original poems were recited and orations delivered, usually by members of the faculty. A favourite inscription over collegiate portals ran thus: "The world is supported by four things only: the learning of the wise, the justice of the great, the prayers of the righteous and the valour of the brave".

Side by side with universities libraries flourished. The royal library of Cordova, started by Muḥammad I (852–86) and enlarged by 'Abd-al-Raḥmān III, became the largest and best when al-Ḥakam II added his own collection. A number of persons, including some women, had private collections.

The peculiarities of Moslem life with its lack of political assemblies and theatres, which were characteristic features of Greece and Rome, made books almost the sole means of acquiring knowledge. As a book market Cordova held first place in Spain. This anecdote illustrates the spirit of the time: [2]

> When living in Cordova I frequented its book market looking for a book in which I was especially interested. At last a copy of good calligraphy and handsome binding fell into my hands. Full of joy, I began to bid for it but was time after time outbid by another until the price offered far exceeded the proper limit. I then said to the auctioneer: "Show me this rival bidder who has raised the price beyond the worth of the book". Accordingly he took me to a man attired in distinguished

[1] *Lamḥah*, pp. 91, 96. In late years Granada has again become a centre for Arabic studies in Spain.

[2] Maqqari, vol. i. p. 302.

garb. Approaching him I said: "May Allah keep our lord the *faqīh* strong! If you have a special object in acquiring this book I will let it go, for the bidding has already exceeded the limit." His answer was: "I am not a *faqīh*, nor am I aware of the contents of the book. But I have just established a library and made much of it in order to pride myself among the notables of my town. There is still an empty space there which this book will just fill up. Seeing that it was in elegant hand and good cover, I liked it and cared not how much I paid for it, for, thanks to Allah, I am a man of means."

Paper

This accumulation of books in Andalusia would not have been possible but for the local manufacture of writing-paper, one of the most beneficial contributions of Islam to Europe. Without paper, printing from movable type, which was invented in Germany about the middle of the fifteenth century, would not have been successful, and without paper and printing popular education in Europe, on the scale to which it developed, would not have been feasible. From Morocco, into which the manufacture of paper was introduced from the East, the industry passed into Spain in the middle of the twelfth century.[1] Yāqūt[2] mentions Shātibah (Játiva) as the centre of the industry in Spain. A philological reminder of this historical fact is English "ream", which is derived through Old French *rayme* from Spanish *resma*, a loan-word from Arabic *rizmah*, a bundle. After Spain the art of paper-making was established in Italy (*ca.* 1268–76), also as a result of Moslem influence, presumably from Sicily. France owed its first paper-mills to Spain, and not to returning Crusaders as claimed by some. From these countries the industry spread throughout Europe. A secretary of 'Abd-al-Rahmān used to write the official communications in his home and send them to a special office for reproduction—a form of printing (*tab'*, perhaps block printing)—whence copies were distributed to the various governmental agents.[3]

After the destruction of Moslem power in Spain less than two thousand volumes survived to be collected by Philip II (1556–98) and his successors from the various Arab libraries. These formed the nucleus of the Escurial library still standing not far from Madrid. In the early part of the seventeenth century the Sharīf Zaydān, sultan of Morocco, fleeing his capital, sent his library aboard a ship whose captain refused to land the books at the

[1] See above, p 347 [2] Vol III, p 235. [3] Ibn al-Abbār, *Hullah*, p. 137.

proper destination because he had not received full pay in advance. On its way to Marseille the ship fell into the hands of Spanish pirates and its bookish booty, to the number of three or four thousand volumes, was deposited by order of Philip III in the Escurial, which made this library one of the richest in Arabic manuscripts.[1]

In Spain Arabic philology, theology, historiography, geography, astronomy and allied sciences had a comparatively late development, since the Moslems there, unlike their co-religionists of Syria and al-'Irāq, had but little to learn from the natives. Even after their rise Spanish sciences lagged behind those of the Eastern caliphate. It was mainly in such disciplines as botany, medicine, philosophy and astronomical mathematics that Western Moslems made their greatest mark.

One of the earliest and best known of Andalusian historians was abu-Bakr ibn-'Umar, usually known as ibn-al-Qūṭīyah,[2] who was born and flourished at Cordova, where he died in 977. His *Ta'rīkh Iftitāḥ* (variant *Fatḥ*) *al-Andalus*,[3] which we have used in this work, extends from the Moslem conquest to the early part of 'Abd-al-Rahmān III's reign. Ibn-al-Qūṭīyah was also a grammarian and his treatise on the conjugation of verbs[4] was the first ever composed on the subject. Another early but more prolific historical writer was abu-Marwān Ḥayyān ibn-Khalaf of Cordova, surnamed ibn-Ḥayyān (987 or 988–1076). Ibn-Ḥayyān's list of works contains no less than fifty titles, one of which, *al-Matīn*, comprised sixty volumes. Unfortunately only one work, *al-Muqtabis fi Ta'rīkh Rijāl al-Andalus*,[5] has survived. The most valuable work on the Muwaḥḥid period was written in 1224 by the Moroccan historian 'Abd-al-Wāhid al-Marrākushi,[6] who sojourned in Spain.

Andalusia produced a number of biographers, one of the first among whom was abu-al-Walīd 'Abdullāh ibn-Muhammad ibn-al-Faraḍi, who was born in 962 at Cordova, where he studied and

[1] See its catalogue, *Les manuscrits arabes de l'Escurial*, by Hartwig Derenbourg, 2 vols. (Paris, 1884–1903), vol. III, revised by Levi-Provençal (Paris, 1928)

[2] See Tha'ālibi, vol. I, pp. 411-12; ibn-Khallikān, vol. II, pp 336-8.

[3] (Madrid, 1868), tr. Don Julián Ribera, *Historia de la conquista de España* (Madrid, 1926).

[4] *Kitāb al-Af'āl*, ed. Ignaz Guidi (Leyden, 1894)

[5] Ed Melchor M. Antuña, pt. 3 (Paris, 1937).

[6] *Al-Mu'jib fi Talkhīṣ Akhbar al Maghrib*, ed. R. Dozy, 2nd ed. (Leyden, 1881) tr. E. Fagnan, *Histoire des Almohades* (Algiers, 1893)

taught. When thirty years old he undertook a pilgrimage in the course of which he stopped to study at al-Qayrawān, Cairo, Makkah and al-Madīnah. After his return he was appointed qāḍi of Valencia. During the sack of Cordova by the Berbers in 1013 ibn-al-Faraḍi was murdered in his home; his body was not found till the fourth day afterward and was so decomposed that it was buried without the usual ceremonial washing and wrapping.[1] Only one of ibn-al-Faraḍi's works, *Ta'rīkh 'Ulamā' al-Andalus*,[2] is extant. This collection of biographies of the Arab scholars of Spain was supplemented by ibn-Bashkuwāl, abu-al-Qāsim Khalaf ibn-'Abd-al-Malik, in a volume completed in 1139 under the title *al-Ṣilah fi Ta'rīkh A'immat al-Andalus*.[3] This is one of two surviving works of ibn-Bashkuwāl, who is credited with the composition of some fifty books.[4] Ibn-Bashkuwāl was born at Cordova in 1101 and died there in 1183. His *Ṣilah* was continued by abu-'Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn-al-Abbār (1199–1260) of Valencia under the title *al-Takmilah li-Kitāb al-Ṣilah*.[5] In addition to this work ibn-al-Abbār wrote *al-Ḥullah al-Siyarā'*,[6] a collection of biographies. Another valuable dictionary of learned Spanish Arabs is *Bughyat al-Multamis fi Ta'rīkh Rijāl al-Andalus*, by al-Ḍabbi,[7] abu-Ja'far Aḥmad ibn-Yaḥya († 1203), who flourished in Murcia.

In the history of science we have from the pen of abu-al-Qāsim Ṣā'id ibn-Aḥmad al-Andalusi (1029–70)[8] the *Ṭabaqāt al-Umam*[9] (classification of nations), which was a source of al-Qifṭi, ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah and ibn-al-'Ibri. Ṣā'id held the office of qāḍi of Toledo under the banu-dhu-al-Nūn and distinguished himself as historian, mathematician and astronomical observer.

The two names which stand for the highest literary accomplishment and historical comprehension of which Western Islam was

[1] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, p. 480; Maqqari, vol. i, p. 546.
[2] Ed. Francisco Codera, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1890–92).
[3] Ed. Codera, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1882–3).
[4] Al-Dhahabi, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ*, 2nd ed., vol. iv (Ḥaydarābād, 1334), p. 129. Cf. ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, pp. 305-6.
[5] One part edited by Codera, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1886–9), another by M. Alarcón and C. A. González Palencia in *Miscelánea de estudios y textos árabes* (Madrid, 1915), pp. 146-690, completed by Alfred Bel and M. Ben Cheneb (Algiers, 1919–20). On ibn-al-Abbār consult Kutubi, vol. ii, pp. 282-4; ibn-Khaldūn, tr. de Slane, vol. ii, pp. 347-50; ibn-Khallikān, vol. i, p. 77.
[6] Edited in part by Dozy (Leyden, 1847–51).
[7] Ed. Codera and Julián Ribera (Madrid, 1884–5).
[8] Ḍabbi, *Bughyah*, p. 311.
[9] Ed. L. Cheikho (Beirūt, 1912).

capable are those of the two friends and officials of the Nasrid court, ibn-al-Khatīb and ibn-Khaldūn.

Lisān-al-Dīn ibn-al-Khatīb[1] (1313–74) was descended from an Arab family which had migrated to Spain from Syria. Under the seventh Nasrid sultan, Yūsuf abu-al-Ḥajjāj (1333–54), and his son Muḥammad V (1354–9, 1362–91), he held the pompous title of *dhu-al-wizārataym*.[2] In 1371 he fled from Granada because of court intrigues, only to be strangled to death three years later at Fās in revenge for a private grievance. In his death Granada, if not the whole of Arab Spain, lost its last important author, poet and statesman Of the sixty odd works penned by ibn-al-Khatīb, which are chiefly poetical, belletristic, historical, geographical, medicinal and philosophic, about a third have survived. Of these the most important for us is the extensive history of Granada.[3]

'Abd-al-Rahmān ibn-Khaldūn (1332–1406) was born in Tunis of a Spanish Arab family which traced its ancestry to a Hadramawt tribe. The founder of the family had migrated in the eighth century with Yamanites to Spain, his descendants flourished in Seville until the thirteenth century 'Abd-al-Rahmān himself held a number of high offices in Fās before he fell into disgrace and entered (1362) the service of the sultan of Granada, Muhammad V. The sultan entrusted him with an important mission of peace to the Castilian court. Two years later, after having aroused the jealousy of his powerful friend ibn-al-Khatīb, ibn-Khaldūn returned to al-Maghrib Here he occupied a number of positions, finally retiring to Qal'at ibn-Salāmah,[4] where he began work on his history and resided till 1378. In 1382 he set out on a pilgrimage but broke his journey in Cairo to lecture at its mosque al-Azhar. Two years later he was appointed chief Māhkite qādi of Cairo by the Mamlūk Sultan al-Zāhir Barqūq. In 1401 he accompanied Barqūq's successor al-Nāsir Faraj to Damascus on his campaign against the dreadful Tamerlane (Timūr), who received ibn-Khaldūn as an honoured guest Thus

[1] Al-Maqqari devotes the second half of his *Nafh al Tib* to the life and works of ibn al Khatīb Al Maqqari was of Tilmsān but compiled this work, which is our principal authority for the whole literary history of Moslem Spain, at Damascus between 1628 and 1630

[2] See above, p 560

[3] *Al-Ihāṭah fi Akhbār Gharnāṭah*, 2 vols (Cairo, 1319), an abbreviated edition.

[4] Now called Tawghzūt, east of Tilmsān in northern Algeria.

did this historian play a significant part in the politics of North Africa and Spain, all of which prepared him admirably for the writing of his great work. His comprehensive history, entitled *Kitāb al-'Ibar wa-Dīwān al-Mubtada' w-al-Khabar fi Ayyām al-'Arab w-al-'Ajam w-al-Barbar*[1] (book of instructive examples and register of subject and predicate dealing with the history of the Arabs, Persians and Berbers), is made up of three parts: a *Muqaddamah*[2] (prolegomena), forming volume one; the main body, treating of the Arabs and neighbouring peoples; and the last part,[3] which sketches the history of the Berbers and the Moslem dynasties of North Africa. Unfortunately the critical theories ably propounded in the *Muqaddamah* were not applied to the main part of the work. However, the section treating of the Arab and Berber tribes of the Maghrib will ever remain a valuable guide.

The fame of ibn-Khaldūn rests on his *Muqaddamah*.[4] In it he presented for the first time a theory of historical development which takes due cognizance of the physical facts of climate and geography as well as of the moral and spiritual forces at work. As one who endeavoured to formulate laws of national progress and decay ibn-Khaldūn may be considered the discoverer—as he himself claimed[5]—of the true scope and nature of history or at least the real founder of the science of sociology. No Arab writer, indeed no European, had ever taken a view of history at once so comprehensive and philosophic. By the consensus of critical opinion ibn-Khaldūn was the greatest historical philosopher Islam produced and one of the greatest of all time.

Geography

The best-known geographer of the eleventh century was al-Bakri, a Hispano-Arab, and the most brilliant geographical author and cartographer of the twelfth century, indeed of all medieval time, was al-Idrīsi, a descendant of a royal Spanish Arab family who got his education in Spain.

[1] 7 vols. (Cairo, 1284). At the end of vol. vii, beginning p. 379, is his autobiography, a major source for his life. This was translated by M. G. de Slane, *Journal asiatique*, ser. 4, vol 3 (1844), pp 5-60, 187-210, 291-308, 325-53. See Maqqari (Cairo, 1302), vol. iv, pp 6-17.

[2] Earlier than the Cairo edition is that of M. Quatremère, 3 vols. (Paris, 1858): tr de Slane, 3 vols. (Paris, 1862-8, ed. Bouthoul, Paris, 1934-8).

[3] Tr. de Slane, *Histoire des Berbères et des dynasties musulmanes de l'Afrique septentrionale*, ed. Paul Casanova, 2 vols. (Paris, 1925-7)

[4] Tr. Franz Rosenthal, *Ibn Khaldūn's Muqaddimah*, 3 vols (New York, 1958).

[5] *Muqaddamah*, pp. 4-5.

Abu-'Ubayd 'Abdullāh ibn-'Abd-al-'Azīz al-Bakrī,[1] the earliest of the Western Moslem geographers whose works have survived, flourished in Cordova, where he died at an advanced age in 1094. A belletrist, poet and philologist, he won his laurels through his voluminous geography *al-Masālik w-al-Mamālik*[2] (the book of roads and kingdoms), which, like most geographical works of the Middle Ages, was written in the form of an itinerary. The book has survived only in part.

Al-Idrīsi, born at Ceuta in 1100, shed lustre on the reign of Roger II, Norman king of Sicily, and will be treated in that connection.

After al-Idrīsi Arab geographical literature can claim no great originality and is represented by travellers' narratives, which then become especially numerous. The best known among these travellers was ibn-Jubayr,[3] abu-al-Ḥusayn Muhammad ibn-Aḥmad, who was born in Valencia in 1145 and educated at Játiva. Between 1183 and 1185 ibn-Jubayr undertook a journey from Granada to Makkah and back, visiting Egypt, al-'Irāq, Syria—parts of which were still in the hands of the Crusaders—and Sicily. He travelled in the East on two further occasions, 1189–1191 and 1217, but on the latter journey he only reached Alexandria, where he died. His *Riḥlah*,[4] the account of his first journey, is one of the most important works of its kind in Arabic literature. Another Hispano-Arab geographer and traveller was abu-Ḥāmid Muhammad al-Māzini (1080/1–1169/70) of Granada, who visited Russia in 1136. While among the Bulgars in the Volga region he witnessed a commercial activity unreported in any other source, trade in fossil mammoth ivory, which was exported as far as Khwārizm to be made into combs and pyxides.[5] Tra

The travels of ibn-Jubayr and al-Māzini were eclipsed by those of the Moroccan Arab Muḥammad ibn-'Abdullāh ibn-Battūṭah, the Moslem globe-trotter of the Middle Ages. Ibn-Battūṭah was born at Tanjah (Tangier) in 1304 and died in Marrākush in 1377. In the second quarter of that century he

[1] Consult ibn-Bashkuwāl, vol. i, p. 282; Suyūṭi, *Bughyah*, p. 285.
[2] Edited in part by de Slane (Algiers, 1857)
[3] On him see Maqqari (Leyden), vol. i, pp 714 *seq*.
[4] Ed. William Wright, 2nd ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1907).
[5] "Tuḥfat al-Albāb", ed. Gabriel Ferrand in *Journal asiatique*, vol. ccvii (1925), p. 238.

made four pilgrimages to Makkah in conjunction with which he journeyed all over the Moslem world. Eastward he reached Ceylon, Bengal, the Maldive Islands and China. He also visited Constantinople. His last travels in 1353 took him far into the interior of Africa. His alleged visit to the city of Bulghār, near Kazan and the Volga, seems to be the only serious fabrication in his whole account.[1]

Influence over the West

Arab geographical studies had but a limited influence in the West. They kept alive the ancient doctrine of the sphericity of the earth, without which the discovery of the New World would not have been possible. An exponent of this doctrine was abu-'Ubaydah Muslim al-Balansi (of Valencia), who flourished in the first half of the tenth century.[2] They perpetuated the Hindu idea that the known hemisphere of the world had a centre or "world cupola" or "summit" situated at an equal distance from the four cardinal points. This *arīn*[3] theory found its way into a Latin work published in 1410. From this Columbus acquired the doctrine which made him believe that the earth was shaped in the form of a pear and that on the western hemisphere opposite the *arīn* was a corresponding elevated centre. It was, however, in the realm of astronomical geography and mathematics that a number of new concepts were contributed to Western lore.

Astronomy and mathematics

In Spain astronomical studies were cultivated assiduously after the middle of the tenth century and were regarded with special favour by the rulers of Cordova, Seville and Toledo. Following abu-Ma'shar of Baghdād, most of the Andalusian astronomers believed in astral influence as the cause underlying the chief occurrences between birth and death on this earth. The study of this astral influence, i.e. astrology, necessitated the determining of the location of places throughout the world together with their latitudes and longitudes. Thus did astrology contribute to the study of astronomy. Finally it was through Spanish channels that the Latin West found its Oriental inspiration in astronomy and astrology. The leading Moslem astronomical works were translated in Spain into Latin, and the Alfonsine tables compiled under the ægis of Alfonso X in the thirteenth century were but a development of Arab astronomy.

[1] *Tuḥfat al-Nuẓẓār fi Ghará'ib al-Amṣār wa-'Ajā'ib al-Asfār*, ed. and tr. C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti, 3rd impression (Paris, 1879–93), vol. ii, pp. 398–9.

[2] Ṣā'id, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 64. See ibn-Ḥazm, vol. ii, pp. 78–9; above, p. 375.

[3] See above, p. 384.

Spanish Arab astronomers built upon the preceding astronomical and astrological works of their co-religionists in the East. They reproduced the Aristotelian system, as distinguished from the Ptolemaic, and in the name of Aristotle attacked the Ptolemaic representation of the celestial movements. Outstanding among early Hispano-Arabic astronomers were al-Majrīṭī [1] († *ca.* 1007) of Cordova, al-Zarqālī (*ca.* 1029–*ca.* 1087) of Toledo and ibn-Aflah († between 1140 and 1150) of Seville.

Abu-al-Qāsim Maslamah al-Majrīti, the earliest Spanish Moslem scientist of any importance, edited and corrected the planetary tables (*zīj*) of al-Khwārizmi,[2] the first tables composed by a Moslem. He converted the basis of these tables from the era of Yazdagird into that of Islam and to some extent replaced the meridian of *arīn* by that of Cordova. In 1126 Adelard of Bath made a Latin version of the tables ascribed to al-Khwārizmi. About fourteen years later another important *zīj*, that of al-Battāni, composed about 900, was rendered into Latin by Plato of Tivoli and long afterwards done directly from Arabic into Spanish under the auspices of Alfonso X († 1284), surnamed the Wise and the Astronomer. Among al-Majrīṭī's honorific titles was *al-ḥāsib*, the mathematician, for he was considered a leader (*imām*) in mathematical knowledge, including mensuration. It was either he or his Cordovan disciple abu-al-Ḥakam ʿAmr al-Karmāni [3] († 1066) who introduced into Spain the writings of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ.

The so-called Toledan tables were based upon observations and studies made by a number of Spanish Moslem and Jewish astronomers, notable among whom was al-Zarqāli, abu-Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn-Yahya († *ca.* 1087). These tables comprised geographical information derived from Ptolemy and al-Khwārizmi and were rendered into Latin in the twelfth century by Gerard of Cremona. The works of Raymond of Marseille were likewise largely drawn (1140) from the astronomical canons of al-Zarqāli. Ptolemy's exaggerated estimate of the length of the Mediterranean Sea as 62°, cut by al-Khwārizmi to about 52°, was reduced probably by al-Zarqāli to the approximately correct figure of 42°. Al-Zarqāli was evidently the foremost astronomical

[1] Born in Majrīṭ (Madrid)

[2] Ṣāʿid, p. 69, quoted by ibn-abi-Uṣaybiʿah, vol. II, p. 39. Cf. Qifṭi, p. 326. Ṣāʿid, who was himself an astronomer, criticizes al Majrīṭi.

[3] Ṣāʿid, p. 71.

observer of his age.[1] He devised an improved type of astrolabe, called the *ṣafīḥah*,[2] and was the first to prove the motion of the solar apogee with reference to the stars. According to his measurements it amounted to 12·04″, whereas its real value is 11.8″. Copernicus quotes al-Zarqāli (Arzachel) along with al-Battāni in his book *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium*.

In his *Kitāb al-Hay'ah*[3] (book of astronomy), which was also translated by Gerard of Cremona, Jābir ibn-Aflaḥ (Geber filius Afflæ) sharply criticizes Ptolemy and rightly asserts that the lower planets, Mercury and Venus, have no visible parallaxes. This book of ibn-Aflaḥ is otherwise noteworthy for a chapter on spherical and plane trigonometry. About two and a half centuries before ibn-Aflaḥ, al-Battāni had popularized, if not discovered, the first notions of trigonometrical ratios as we use them today. The science of trigonometry, like algebra and analytical geometry, was largely founded by Arabs.

Foremost among the last Spanish astronomers stood Nūr-al-Dīn abu-Isḥāq al-Biṭrūji[4] (Alpetragius, † *ca.* 1204), a pupil of ibn-Ṭufayl. His *Kitāb al-Hay'ah*,[5] on the configuration of the heavenly bodies, is remarkable for its attempt to revive in a modified form the false theory of homocentric spheres. Though considered the exponent of a new astronomy, al-Biṭrūji in reality reproduced the Aristotelian system; his work marks the culmination of the Moslem anti-Ptolemaic movement. By the end of the twelfth century translations had been made from Arabic into Latin of a large number of Aristotle's works on astronomy, physics and meteorology, in which most of Aristotle's thought in geography had also found expression.

Arab astronomers have left on the sky immortal traces of their industry which everyone who reads the names of the stars on an ordinary celestial sphere can readily discern. Not only are most of the star-names in European languages of Arabic origin, such as Acrab (*'aqrab*, scorpion), Algedi (*al-jadi*, the kid), Altair (*al-ṭā'ir*, the flyer), Deneb (*dhanab*, tail), Pherkad (*farqad*, calf),[6] but a number of technical terms, including "azimuth"

[1] Ṣā'id, p. 75. [2] Qifṭi, p. 57. Cf. Khwārizmi, *Mafātīḥ*, pp. 233-4.

[3] Cf. Qifṭi, p. 319, l. 12, p. 393, l. 1; Ḥājji Khalfah, vol. vi, p 506. Like most other astronomical works this book has survived only in manuscript form.

[4] Of Pedroche, north of Cordova.

[5] Translated into Latin by Michael Scot in 1217 and into Hebrew in 1259.

[6] For more names consult Richard H. Allen, *Star-Names and their Meanings* (New York, 1899), Amīn F. al-Ma'lūf, *al Mu'jam al-Falaki* (Cairo, 1935).

(*al-sumūt*), "nadir" (*naẓīr*), "zenith" (*al-samt*), are likewise of Arabic etymology and testify to the rich legacy of Islam to Christian Europe. In the mathematical vocabulary of Europe we have another eloquent witness to Arab scientific influence. Other than borrowings, as illustrated by such words as "algebra" and "algorism" cited above, certain Arabic terms were translated into Latin. The algebraic term "surd", a sixteenth-century loan-word from Latin meaning "deaf", is a translation from Arabic *jadhr aṣamm* (deaf root). In trigonometry "sine" (L. *sinus*) is likewise a translation of an Arabic word *jaybˇ* (pocket), which is in turn an adaptation of Sanskrit *jīva*. The English mathematician Robert of Chester, who flourished in the middle of the twelfth century, was the first to use *sinus* as equivalent to Arabic *jaybˇ* in its trigonometrical acceptation.

One of the most interesting mathematical terms borrowed from Arabic is "cipher"[1] or "zero". While the Arabs, as we have learned, did not invent the cipher, they nevertheless introduced it with the Arabic numerals into Europe and taught Westerners the employment of this most convenient convention, thus facilitating the use of arithmetic in everyday life. In the numeral system the cipher is of capital importance. If in a series a unit, a ten or a power of ten is not represented "these little circles" are used "to keep the rows".[2] Without the zero we should have to arrange our figures in a table with columns of units, tens, hundreds, etc., that is, use an abacus.

We have seen earlier that al-Khwārizmi, writing in the first half of the ninth century, was the first exponent of the use of numerals, including the zero, in preference to letters. These numerals he called *Hindi*, indicating their Indian origin. His work on the Hindu method of calculation was translated into Latin by Adelard of Bath in the twelfth century and as *De numero indico* has survived, whereas the Arabic original has been lost. Moreover, the Moslems of Spain had developed as early as the second half of the ninth century numerals slightly different in shape, *ḥurūf al-ghubār* (letters of dust), originally used in conjunction with some kind of sand abacus. Most

[1] Not cognate with "cipher" meaning "code", "monogram", which is derived from Ar. *ṣifr*, book, originally Aramaic.

[2] Khwārizmi, *Mafātīḥ*, p. 194.

scholars trace the *ghubār* numerals, like the Hindu, back to India; others claim that they were of Roman origin and were known in Spain before the advent of the Arabs.[1] Gerbert, who spent several years in Spain prior to his becoming Pope Silvester II (999–1003), was the first to describe scientifically the *ghubār* numerals, his work appearing about a hundred years after the earliest Arabic manuscripts (874) containing such numerals. The modern European numerals bear closer resemblance to the *ghubār* than to the Hindu figures.

The diffusion of the Arabic numerals in non-Moslem Europe was incredibly slow. Christian arithmeticians throughout the eleventh, twelfth and part of the thirteenth centuries persisted in the use of the antiquated Roman numerals and the abacus or made a compromise and used the new algorisms together with their old system. It was in Italy that the new symbols were first employed for practical purposes. In 1202 Leonardo Fibonacci of Pisa, who was taught by a Moslem master and had travelled in North Africa, published a work which was the main landmark in the introduction of the Arabic numerals. More than that, it marks the beginning of European mathematics. With the old type of numerals, arithmetical progress along certain lines would have been impossible. The zero and Arabic numerals lie behind the science of calculation as we know it today.

Botany and medicine

In the field of natural history,[2] especially botany pure and applied, as in that of astronomy and mathematics, the Western Moslems enriched the world by their researches. They made correct observations on sexual difference between such plants as palms and hemps They classified plants into those that grow from cuttings, those that grow from seed and those that grow spontaneously, as evidenced by ibn-Sab'īn's answer to one of Emperor Frederick's questions.[3] The Cordova physician al-Ghāfiqi,[4] abu-Ja'far Ahmad ibn-Muhammad († 1165), collected plants in Spain and Africa, gave the name of each in Arabic, Latin and Berber, and described them in a way that may be

[1] David E. Smith and Louis C. Karpinski, *The Hindu-Arabic Numerals* (Boston and London, 1911), pp. 65 *seq*; Solomon Gandz in *Isis*, vol. xvi (1931), pp. 393-424. See ibn-Khaldūn, *Muqaddamah*, p. 4, l. 22.

[2] On the horse and horsemen see ibn Hudhayl, *Hiṣ'at al Fursān wa-Shi'ār al-Shuj'ān*, ed. Louis Mercier (Paris, 1922), tr. Mercier, *La parure des cavaliers et l'insigne des preux* (Paris, 1924).

[3] See below, p. 587.

[4] Ghāfiq was a town near Cordova.

considered the most precise and accurate in Arabic. His principal work *al-Adwiyah al-Mufradah* (on simples)[1] was not merely quoted but practically appropriated by his later and better-known confrère and countryman, ibn-al-Baytār. Towards the end of the twelfth century there flourished at Seville abu-Zakarīyā' Yaḥya ibn-Muhammad ibn-al-'Awwām, whose treatise on agriculture, *al-Filāhah*, is not only the most important Islamic, but the outstanding medieval work on the subject. Derived partly from earlier Greek and Arabic sources and partly from the experience of Moslem husbandmen in Spain, this book treats of five hundred and eighty-five plants and explains the cultivation of more than fifty fruit trees. It presents new observations on grafting and the properties of soil and manure and discusses the symptoms of several diseases of trees and vines, suggesting methods of cure. But with all its importance this book was little known to Arab writers; neither ibn-Khallikān, Yāqūt, nor Ḥājji Khalfah knew it and ibn-Khaldūn[2] wrongly considers it a recension of ibn-Wahshīyah's.[3]

The best-known botanist and pharmacist of Spain, in fact of the Moslem world, was 'Abdullāh ibn-Ahmad ibn-al-Baytār, a worthy successor of Dioscorides. Born at Malaga, ibn-al-Bayṭār travelled as a herbalist in Spain and throughout North Africa and later entered the service of the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Kāmil in Cairo as chief herbalist.[4] From Egypt he made extensive trips throughout Syria and Asia Minor. In 1248 he died in Damascus, leaving two celebrated works dedicated to his patron al-Ṣālih Ayyūb, who, like his predecessor al-Kāmil, used Damascus as his Syrian capital. One of these works, *al-Mughni fi al-Adwiyah al-Mufradah*, is on materia medica; the other, *al-Jāmi' fi al-* Ibn Bay

[1] Ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol. ii, p. 52. An abridged edition prepared by the famous Christian historian ibn-al 'Ibri has been recently published as *Muntakhab Kitāb Jāmi' al-Mufradāt*, ed. Max Meyerhof and Jūrji Ṣubhi (Cairo, 1932?), with an English translation. Ibn al-'Ibri's abridged translation into Syriac has been lost.

[2] *Muqaddemah*, p. 412.

[3] In his *Bibliotheca Arabico Hispana Escurialensis*, vol. i (Madrid, 1760), pp. 323 *seq.*, the Lebanese scholar Michael Casiri (Ghazīri) was the first to call attention to the complete MS of ibn-al 'Awwām's work in the Escurial. Casiri's pupil Josef Antonio Banqueri edited it with a Sp. tr., 2 vols. (Madrid, 1802), tr. Clément-Mullet, *Le livre d'agriculture*, 2 vols. in 3 pts (Paris, 1864–7). Neither the edition nor the translations are satisfactory.

[4] Ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol ii, p. 133; Maqqari, vol i, p. 934, Kutubi, vol i, p. 261. Ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah was a pupil of ibn al-Bayṭār and herborized with him in the neighbourhood of Damascus

Adwiyah al-Mufradah,[1] is a collection of "simple remedies" from the animal, vegetable and mineral worlds, embodying Greek and Arabic data supplemented by the author's own experiments and researches. It stands out as the foremost medieval treatise of its kind. Some 1400 items are considered, of which 300, including about 200 plants, were novelties. The number of authors quoted is about one hundred and fifty, of whom twenty were Greek. Parts of the Latin version of ibn-al-Baytār's *Simplicia* were printed as late as 1758 at Cremona.

Medicine

Most of the Spanish Arab physicians were physicians by avocation and something else by vocation. Ibn-Rushd, ibn-Maymūn, ibn-Bājjah and ibn-Tufayl were better known as philosophers and will be treated on a later page. Ibn-al-Khatīb, whom we have already noted as a stylist and historian, held like many other physicians a vizirial office. In connection with the "black death", which in the middle of the fourteenth century was ravaging Europe and before which Christians stood helpless, considering it an act of God, this Moslem physician of Granada composed a treatise in defence of the theory of contagion, as may be illustrated by the following passage.[2]

To those who say, "How can we admit the possibility of infection while the religious law denies it?" we reply that the existence of contagion is established by experience, investigation, the evidence of the senses and trustworthy reports. These facts constitute a sound argument. The fact of contagion becomes clear to the investigator who notices how he who establishes contact with the afflicted gets the disease, whereas he who is not in contact remains safe, and how transmission is effected through garments, vessels and earrings.

Al-Zahrāwi

The greatest surgeon of the Arabs, who never produced many surgeons, was abu-al-Qāsim (Abulcasis) Khalaf ibn-'Abbās al-Zahrāwi[3] († *ca* 1013), court physician of al-Ḥakam II. His claim to distinction rests on *al-Taṣrīf li-Man 'Ajaz 'an al-*

[1] *Al-Jāmi' li-Mufradāt al Adwiyah w al Aghdhiyah*, 4 vols (Būlāq, 1291), German translation by Joseph v. Sontheimer, 2 vols (Stuttgart, 1840–42) unsatisfactory, Fr. tr. Lucien Leclerc in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, vol xxiii (Paris, 1877), pt 1, vol xxv (1881), pt i, vol. xxvi (1883), pt. i.

[2] "Muqni'at al-Sā'il 'an al Marad al-Hā'il", ed and tr. M. J. Müller, *Sitzungsberichte der königl. bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München*, vol. ii (Munich, 1863), pp 6 7, 18-19

[3] His birthplace al-Zahrā' was the famous suburb of Cordova. He is known to the Latin writers as Abulcasis or Albucasis, a corruption of abu al-Qāsim.

Ta'ālīf[1] (an aid to him who is not equal to the large treatises), which in its last section sums up the surgical knowledge of his time. The work introduces or emphasizes such new ideas as cauterization of wounds, crushing a stone inside the bladder and the necessity of vivisection and dissection. This surgical part was translated into Latin by Gerard of Cremona and various editions were published at Venice in 1497, at Basel in 1541 and at Oxford in 1778.[2] It held its place for centuries as the manual of surgery in Salerno, Montpellier and other early schools of medicine. It contained illustrations of instruments which influenced other Arab authors and helped lay the foundations of surgery in Europe. A colleague of al-Zahrāwi was Ḥasdāy ben-Shaprūṭ, the Jewish minister and physician who translated into Arabic, with the collaboration of a Byzantine monk Nicholas, the splendid illustrated manuscript of the *Materia medica* of Dioscorides, which had been sent as a diplomatic present to 'Abd-al-Raḥmān III from the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII.[3]

Al-Zahrāwi's rank in the art of surgery was paralleled by that of ibn-Zuhr in the science of medicine. Abu-Marwān 'Abd-al-Malik ibn-abi-al-'Alā', surnamed ibn-Zuhr[4] (L. through Heb. Avenzoar), was the most illustrious member of the greatest medical family of Spain. Ibn-Zuhr was born between 1091 and 1094 in Seville, where he died in 1162 after serving for many years as court physician and vizir to 'Abd-al-Mu'min, founder of the Muwahhid dynasty. His originality he showed by confining himself to authorship in the field of medicine, when his colleagues were spreading themselves over several branches of knowledge. Of the six medical works written by him three are extant. The most valuable is *al-Taysīr fi al-Mudāwāh w-al-Tadbīr*[5] (the facilitation of therapeutics and diet) written at the request of his friend and admirer ibn-Rushd as a counterpart to the latter's *al-Kulliyāt*.[6] The *Taysīr* dealt with more specific topics than the *Kulliyāt*. In his *al-Kulliyāt* ibn-Rushd hails ibn-

[1] *Ta'lif* in ibn abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol. ii, p. 52.

[2] The Oxford edition Albucasis, *De chirurgia*, has part of the text with Latin translation by John Channing. The text in its entirety has not yet been published.

[3] Ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol. ii, p. 47, where Romanus is credited with the donation.

[4] See ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol. ii, pp. 66-7.

[5] The Hebrew translation was rendered into "vulgar language", possibly the Venetian dialect, which was in turn done into Latin in 1280 with the help of a Jew in Venice, where it was repeatedly printed.

[6] Ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol. ii, pp. 75-6

Zuhr as the greatest physician since Galen. At least he was the greatest clinician in Islam after al-Rāzi. Ibn-Zuhr has been often credited with being the first to discuss feeling in bones and to describe the itch mite (*siʿābat al-jarab*); but it has been recently shown that in his discovery of the itch mite he was anticipated by Aḥmad al-Ṭabarī (second half of tenth century) in his *al-Muʿālajah al-Buqrāṭīyah*.[1]

The ibn-Zuhr family produced about six generations of physicians in direct descent. After the above-mentioned abu-Marwān his son, abu-Bakr Muḥammad († 1198–9), was the most distinguished member. His distinction, however, was due more to his control of all branches of Arabic literature than to his medical activity. Several poems, including *muwashshaḥs* of great delicacy of sentiment, are ascribed to him.[2] The Muwaḥḥid abu-Yūsuf Yaʿqūb al-Manṣūr appointed him his physician at Marrākush, where he was poisoned by a jealous vizir. The caliph himself preached his funeral sermon. One of the early ibn-Zuhrs, a grandfather and namesake of abu-Marwān ʿAbd-al-Malik, had practised medicine not only in Spain but in Baghdād, al-Qayrawān and Cairo.[3] Another Hispano-Arab physician who practised in the East was ʿUbaydullāh ibn-al-Muẓaffar al-Bāhili of Almería (al-Marīyah). Al-Bāhili, a poet as well as physician, entered in 1127 the service of the Saljūq Maḥmūd ibn-Malikshāh in Baghdād and provided him with a field hospital transported on forty camels.[4] He died at Damascus in 1154.

Transmission to Europe

In the first centuries of Moslem domination in Spain, Eastern culture flowed from a higher level into Andalusia, as can be seen from al-Maqqari's[5] list of Spanish savants who journeyed "in quest of learning" to Egypt, Syria, al-ʿIrāq, Persia and even Transoxiana and China; but in the eleventh and following centuries the course was reversed, as illustrated by ibn-Zuhr and al-Bāhili. Indeed, the current became strong enough in the twelfth century to overflow into Europe. In the transmission of Arab medicine to Europe, north-western Africa and Spain, in particular Toledo, where Gerard of Cremona and Michael Scot

[1] Mohamed Rihab in *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin*, vol. xix (1927), pp. 123-68.

[2] For specimens consult Maqqari, vol. i, pp. 625-8; ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii. pp. 375-6.

[3] Ṣāʿid, p. 84, copied by ibn-abi-Uṣaybiʿah, vol. ii, p. 64; ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, pp. 376-7.

[4] Maqqari, vol. i, p. 899.

[5] Vol. i, pp. 403-943.

worked, played the leading part. The initiator of this significant movement of acquainting the West with the learning of the Arabs by means of Latin translation was Constantine the African († 1087), who translated the theoretical part of 'Ali ibn-al-'Abbās' *al-Kitāb al-Malikī*.[1] Born in Carthage of obscure origin, Constantine attached himself for some time to the medical school of Salerno, the first medical school of Europe, reputed by legend to have been founded by four masters, a Latin, a Greek, a Jew and a Saracen. To Constantine, to Gerard of Cremona († 1187), translator of al-Zahrāwi's *Tasrīf*, al-Rāzi's *al-Manṣūri* as well as ibn-Sīna's *al-Qānūn*, and to Faraj ben-Sālim (Fararius, Faragut), the Sicilian Jew, who translated al-Rāzi's *al-Hāwi* in 1279 and ibn-Jazlah's *Taqwīm al-Abdān*, medieval Europe was chiefly indebted for its knowledge of Arabic medicine. Thereby were the three main medical traditions, Moslem, Jewish and Christian, at last brought into a position where they could be amalgamated. Through these and similar translations several Arabic technical terms were introduced into European languages. "Julep" (Ar. *julāb*, from Pers. *gulāb*, rose-water), for a medicinal aromatic drink; "rob" (Ar. *rubb*), for a conserve of inspissated fruit juice with honey; and "syrup"[2] (Ar. *sharāb*), a solution of sugar in water made according to an officinal formula and often medicated with some special therapeutic, may serve as an illustration. "Soda", which in medieval Latin meant headache and in the form *sodanum* headache remedy, comes ultimately from Arabic *ṣudā'*, splitting pain in the head. Certain medical terms were translated, as were certain mathematical terms. "Dura mater" and "pia mater" are Latin translations of Arabic *al-umm al-jāfiyah* (the coarse mother) and *al-umm al-raqīqah* (the thin mother) respectively. Among several chemical terms which passed into European languages through Latin from Arabic works ascribed to Jābir ibn-Ḥayyān and other Moslem alchemists, we may note "alcohol",[3] "alembic",[4] "alkali" (*al-qali*), "antimony",[5] "aludel",[6] "realgar"[7] and "tutty".[8]

The crowning achievement of the intellectual class of Arabs Pl

[1] The surgical part was done into Latin by a disciple of Constantine, John the Saracen (1050–1103), a Salernitan physician. See above, p. 367, below, p. 663.

[2] For "sherbet" see above, p. 335.

[3] Ar. *al kuḥl*, whence Eng. "coal" possibly also comes.

[4] Ar. *al-inbīq*, originally Gr.

[5] Ar. *ithmid*, of Gr. origin.

[6] Ar. *al-uthāl*, vessels.

[7] Ar. *rahj al ghār*, "the powder of the cave".

[8] Ar. *tūtyā'*, from Skr.

in Spain was in the realm of philosophic thought. Here they formed the last and strongest link in the chain which transmitted Greek philosophy, as transmuted by them and their Eastern co-religionists, to the Latin West, adding their own contribution, especially in reconciling faith and reason, religion and science. To the Moslem thinkers Aristotle was truth, Plato was truth, the Koran was truth; but truth must be one. Hence arose the necessity of harmonizing the three, and to this task they addressed themselves. The Christian scholastics were faced by the same problem, but their task was rendered more difficult by the accumulation of dogmas and mysteries in their theology. Philosophy as developed by the Greeks and monotheistic religion as evolved by the Hebrew prophets were, as noted above, the richest legacies of the ancient West and of the ancient East. It is to the eternal glory of medieval Moslem thinkers of Baghdād and Andalusia that they reconciled these two currents of thought and passed them on harmonized into Europe. Their contribution was one of first magnitude, considering its effect upon scientific and philosophic thought and upon the theology of later times.

This influx into Western Europe of a body of new ideas, mainly philosophic, marks the beginning of the end of the "Dark Ages" and the dawn of the scholastic period. Kindled by contact with Arab thought and quickened by fresh acquaintance with ancient Greek lore, the interest of Europeans in scholarship and philosophy led them on to an independent and rapidly developing intellectual life of their own, whose fruits we still enjoy.

Ben-Gabīrōl

Among the earliest philosophers of Arabic Spain was Solomon ben-Gabīrōl[1] (Avicebron, Avencebrol), a Jew. Solomon was born at Malaga about 1021 and died in Valencia about 1058. As the first great teacher of Neo-Platonism in the West, ben-Gabīrōl is often referred to as the Jewish Plato. Like ibn-Masarrah[2] before him he was an advocate of the system of philosophy fathered on Empedocles. A thousand years before his time Platonic philosophy had been Orientalized by Philo, the Hellenistic Jewish philosopher of Alexandria, preparatory to its Christianization and Islamization, and now in the form of Greco-

[1] Sulaymān ibn-Yahya ibn-Jabīrūl. Cf. Ṣā'id, p. 89.

[2] See Miguel Asin, *Abenmasarra y su escuela. Orígenes de la filosofía hispano musulmana* (Madrid, 1914).

Moslem philosophy it was re-Occidentalized by ben-Gabīrōl and restored to Europe. Ben-Gabīrōl's main work was *Yanbū' al-Ḥayāh* (the fount of life).[1] Translated into Latin in 1150 as *Fons vitæ*, it played a part in medieval scholasticism and inspired the Franciscan school.

The twelfth was the greatest century in the history of philosophic thought in Moslem Spain. The century opens with abu-Bakr Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya ibn-Bājjah (Avenpace, Avempace), philosopher, scientist, physician, musician and commentator on Aristotle, who flourished in Granada and Saragossa and died at Fās in 1138. Ibn-Bājjah wrote several treatises on astronomy in which he criticized Ptolemy's assumptions and thus prepared the way for ibn-Ṭufayl and al-Bitrūji, other treatises on materia medica which were quoted by ibn-al-Bayṭār, and still others on medicine which exerted a powerful influence over ibn-Rushd.[2] But his most important work, the only one extant besides a farewell letter to a friend, is a philosophical treatise entitled *Tadbīr al-Mutawaḥḥid* (*De regimine solitarii*, the régime of the solitary), which has been preserved only in a Hebrew abstract. The aim of this book is to demonstrate how man unaided may attain to union with the Active Intellect, and to teach that the gradual perfection of the human spirit through union with the divine is the object of philosophy. Moslem biographers considered ibn-Bājjah an atheist.[3]

Ibn-Bājjah's philosophic ideas were carried a step further by abu-Bakr[4] Muhammad ibn-'Abd-al-Malik ibn-Tufayl,[5] the Neo-Platonic philosopher who practised medicine at Granada and later became adviser and chief royal physician to the Muwaḥḥid abu-Ya'qūb Yūsuf (1163–84)—a combination of functions not unusual in a Moslem state. In 1182 he resigned his position as court physician and was succeeded by his younger philosopher-friend ibn-Rushd, whom he had recommended to the caliph. These two luminaries shed imperishable lustre on the court of the early Muwaḥḥids, a dynasty puritanic in theology but liberal in its patronage of philosophy. Born in the first decade of this

[1] His *Iṣlāḥ al-Akhlāq* has been edited and translated by Stephen S. Wise (New York, 1901).

[2] Ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol. ii, p. 63, makes ibn-Rushd (b. 1126) ibn Bājjah's pupil.

[3] Ibn-Khallikān, vol. ii, p. 372. [4] Whence his Latinized name Abubacer.

[5] Ibn-al-Ṭufayl in ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol. ii, p. 78. Cf. ibn abi-Zar', vol. i, p. 135; ibn-Khallikān, vol. iii, p. 467.

century, ibn-Ṭufayl died in 1185 in the Muwaḥḥid capital Marrākush, where his second patron the Caliph abu-Yūsuf al-Manṣūr (1184–99) attended the obsequies. His masterpiece was an original philosophic romance entitled *Ḥayy ibn-Yaqẓān* (the living one, son of the vigilant),[1] whose underlying idea was that human capacity unassisted by external agency may attain to the knowledge of the higher world and may find out by degrees its dependence upon a Supreme Being. This story, one of the most delightful and original in the literature of the Middle Ages, was first translated into Latin by Edward Pococke, the younger (1671),[2] and then into most European languages, including Dutch (1672), Russian (1920) and Spanish (1934). Some have sought in it an original of *Robinson Crusoe*. The theory it develops is evolutionary. Ibn-Ṭufayl borrowed his characters' names from ibn-Sīna's short and lifeless tale of the same title, but drew his inspiration from earlier authors beginning with al-Fārābi.

Ibn-Rushd

The greatest Moslem philosopher, judged by his influence especially over the West, was the Hispano-Arab astronomer, physician and Aristotelian commentator abu-al-Walīd Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Rushd (Averroës). Ibn-Rushd was born in Cordova in 1126, and belonged to a distinguished family which had produced several theologians and qāḍis. In 1169–71 he himself was qāḍi of Seville and two years later of Cordova. In 1182 he was called to Marrakesh by abu-Ya'qūb Yūsuf to replace ibn-Ṭufayl as court physician. Yūsuf's son and successor al-Manṣūr banished ibn-Rushd in 1194 on a suspicion of heresy due to his studies in philosophy, but later recalled him to his office in Marrākush, where he died soon afterwards, on December 10, 1198.[3] His remains were later removed to Cordova.

Ibn-Rushd's chief contribution to medicine was an encyclopædic work entitled *al-Kulliyāt*[4] *fi al-Ṭibb* (generalities on medicine), in which the fact is recognized that no one is taken twice with smallpox and the function of the retina is well under-

[1] I.e. the intellect of man derived from the divine intellect.

[2] The translation was published in Oxford together with the Ar. text edited by Edward Pococke, the elder. Several editions of the Ar. text appeared in Cairo and Constantinople in 1299. There is only one critical edition, that of Léon Gauthier (Algiers, 1900; Beirūt, 1936) with a Fr. translation.

[3] Ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, vol. ii, pp. 76-7; ibn-abi-Zar', vol. i, pp. 135-6; ibn-Khallikān, vol. iii, p. 467.

[4] Corrupted into L. *Colliget*, not related etymologically to *colligo*, to collect.

stood. But ibn-Rushd, the physician, was entirely eclipsed by ibn-Rushd, the philosopher and commentator. His chief philosophical work, other than his commentaries, was his *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut*[1] (the incoherence of the incoherence), a reply to al-Ghazzāli's attack on rationalism entitled *Tahāfut al-Falāsifah* (the incoherence of the philosophers[2]). It was this work for which ibn-Rushd was best known, and unfavourably so, in the Moslem world. In the Jewish and Christian worlds, however, he was known primarily as a commentator on Aristotle. A medieval commentator, we should recall, was an author who composed a scientific or philosophic work using some earlier writing as a background and framework. Accordingly ibn-Rushd's commentaries were a series of treatises using in part the titles of Aristotle's works and paraphrasing their contents. As ibn-Rushd knew no Greek he was content to rely on translations made by his predecessors in Baghdād. His chief commentaries on Aristotle were a short *Jāmi'* (summary), an intermediate *Talkhīs* (résumé) and a long *Tafsīr* or *Sharh* (commentary).[3] Most of ibn-Rushd's commentaries have been preserved in Hebrew translations or in Latin translations from the Hebrew. Only a few have survived in Arabic and even these are generally in Hebrew script.[4]

Last of the great Arabic-writing philosophers, ibn-Rushd produced no progeny in Islam. He belonged more to Christian Europe than to Moslem Asia or Africa. To the West he became "the commentator"[5] as Aristotle was "the teacher". Though using in most instances a Latin translation of a Hebrew rendition of an Arabic commentary upon an Arabic translation of a Syriac translation of a Greek original, the minds of the Christian schoolmen and scholars of medieval Europe were agitated by ibn-Rushd's Aristotle as by no other author. From the end of the twelfth to the end of the sixteenth century Averroism remained the dominant school of thought, and that in spite of the orthodox reaction it created first among the Moslems in Spain, then among the Talmudists and finally among the Christian clergy.

[1] Ed Maurice Bouyges (Beirūt 1930); tr S Van Den Bergh, 2 vols (Oxford, 1954)

[2] Aristotelian and Neo-Platonic; views stated in his *Maqāṣid al-Falāsifah* (Cairo, 1331)

[3] For a complete list consult Ernest Renan, *Averroès et l'averroïsme*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1861), pp 58-79; Sarton, *Introduction*, vol ii, pp. 356 61.

[4] His *Talkhīṣ Kitāb al-Maqūlāt*, a resumé of Aristotle's *Categories*, has been edited by Maurice Bouyges (Beirūt, 1932)

[5] Or to quote Dante, "Averrois che il gran comento feo", *Inferno*, canto IV, l. 144.

Ibn-Rushd was a rationalist and claimed the right to submit everything save the revealed dogmas of faith to the judgment of reason, but he was not a free-thinker or unbeliever. His view of creation by God was evolutionary: not a matter of days but of eternity. Earlier Moslem Aristotelians had taken for genuine a number of apocryphal works, including some of Neo-Platonic character; ibn-Rushd's philosophy involved a return to purer and more scientific Aristotelianism. After being purged of objectionable matter by ecclesiastical authorities, his writings became prescribed studies in the University of Paris and other institutions of higher learning. With all its excellences and all the misconceptions collected under its name, the intellectual movement initiated by ibn-Rushd continued to be a living factor in European thought until the birth of modern experimental science.

Ibn-Maymūn

For first place after ibn-Rushd among the philosophers of the age the only candidate is his Jewish contemporary and fellow Cordovan abu-'Imrān Mūsa ibn-Maymūn (Heb. Mōsheh ben-Maimōn,[1] L. Maimonides), the most famous of the Hebrew physicians and philosophers of the whole Arabic epoch. Ibn-Maymūn was born in Cordova in 1135,[2] but his family left the country as a result of the Muwaḥḥid persecution and settled in Cairo about 1165. The claim of al-Qifṭi[3] and ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah[4] that in Spain ibn-Maymūn professed Islam in public but practised Judaism in secret has recently been subjected to sharp criticism. In Cairo he became the court physician of the celebrated Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn and of his son al-Malik al-'Azīz. From 1177 on he held the chief religious office of the Jewish community[5] at Cairo, where he died in 1204. In accordance with his will his body was carried by hand over the route once taken by Moses and buried in Tiberias, where his unpretentious tomb is still visited by throngs of pilgrims. Ailing people among the poor Jews of modern Egypt still seek their cure by spending the night in the underground chamber of the synagogue of Rabbi Mōsheh ben-Maimōn in Cairo.

Ibn-Maymūn distinguished himself as astronomer, theologian, physician and above all as philosopher. His medical science was

[1] Also referred to as *Mōsheh ha-ʒēmān*, "the Moses of his time". A popular Jewish saying, "From Moses to Moses there was none like Moses [Maimonides]", expresses the eminent position he has ever held in Jewish estimation.
[2] His eight-hundredth anniversary was observed throughout the civilized world.
[3] Pp. 318-19. [4] Vol. ii, p. 117. [5] Ar. *ra'ʒs al-millah*, Heb. *nāgīd*.

the standard Galenism of his time derived from al-Rāzi, ibn-Sīna and ibn-Zuhr and enlivened by rational criticism based on personal observation. Ibn-Maymūn improved the method of circumcision, ascribed hemorrhoids to constipation, prescribing for them a light diet predominantly vegetarian, and held advanced ideas on hygiene. His most popular medical work was *al-Fuṣūl fi al-Ṭibb* (aphorisms of medicine). His leading philosophical work bore the title *Dalālat al-Ḥā'irīn*[1] (the guide of the perplexed); in this he tried to reconcile Jewish theology with Moslem Aristotelianism or, in broader terms, faith with reason. Prophetic visions he explained as psychical experiences. To this extent at least he stood as the champion of scientific thought against biblical "fundamentalism" and aroused the anger of conservative theologians, who referred to his book as *Ḍalālah* (misguidance, error). His philosophic ideas resembled those of ibn-Rushd, though developed independently. Like ibn-Rushd he knew no Greek and depended entirely on Arabic translations. The theory of creation which he propounded, but did not share, was the atomistic one as distinguished from the two others held by the Arabic-writing thinkers, namely, the fundamentalist theory, which made God creator of everything, and the philosophical, which was Neo-Platonic and Aristotelian. His works, with one major exception, were written in Arabic, but in Hebrew characters, and were soon translated into Hebrew and later in part into Latin. Their influence, far-reaching in space and time, was exerted mainly over Jews and Christians. Down to the eighteenth century they remained the principal medium through which Jewish thought reached the Gentiles. Modern critics detect traces of that influence in the Dominicans, as attested by the works of Albertus Magnus, in Albertus' rival, Duns Scotus, in Spinoza and even in Kant.

Ibn-'Arabi myst

The ruling mystic of the age was another Hispano-Arab, abu-Bakr Muhammad ibn-'Alī Muḥyi-al-Dīn ibn-'Arabi,[2] the greatest speculative genius of Islamic Sufism. Ibn-'Arabi was born in Murcia (Mursiyah) in 1165 and flourished mainly in Seville until 1201–2, when he made the holy pilgrimage, after

[1] Edited in Hebrew characters and translated into French by Salomon Munk 3 vols. (Paris, 1856–66).

[2] In the East he is generally known as ibn-'Arabi to distinguish him from his fellow countryman and traditionist abu-Bakr ibn-al-'Arabi. Among his *nisbahs* he bore al-Ḥātimi al-Ṭā'i, implying descent from Ḥātim al-Ṭā'i

which he remained in the East till his death at Damascus in 1240.[1] There his tomb, enshrined in a mosque, is still standing. The twelfth century witnessed in the East the beginnings of a vast organization of Moslem religious life corresponding to the monastic orders in medieval Christendom, and ibn-'Arabi, who represented the illuministic (*ishrāqi*) or pseudo-Empedoclean, Neo-Platonic and pantheistic school founded by ibn-Masarrah and ben-Gabīrōl, was the man to give this Sufi movement its framework of speculative philosophy. The greatest exponent of this school in the East was al-Suhrawardi († 1191), whose Persian origin and emphasis on the metaphysics of light reveal Manichaean-Zoroastrian influence and whose major work was *Ḥikmat al-Ishrāq* (wisdom of illumination). The illuministic school was so called because, according to its mystical theory, God and the world of spirits should be interpreted as light and our process of cognition as an illumination from above through the intermediary of the spirits of the spheres.[2] To his followers ibn-'Arabi was *al-shaykh al-akbar*, the grand master. His system is embedded in an enormous mass of writings,[3] of which the most influential are *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkīyah*[4] (the Makkan revelations) and *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*[5] (the bezels of wise precepts). It is in chapter 167 of the *Futūḥāt*,[6] headed "Kīmiyā' al-Sa'ādah" (the alchemy of happiness), which contains an esoteric allegory of the ascension of man to heaven, and in another work still unpublished, entitled *al-Isrā' ila Maqām al-Asra* (the nocturnal journey toward the station of the Most Magnanimous One), where he develops the theme of the Prophet's ascension to the seventh heaven, that ibn-'Arabi anticipates Dante.[7]

In jurisprudence ibn-'Arabi nominally belonged to the Ẓāhiri (literalist) school of his compatriot ibn-Ḥazm; in matters of speculative belief he passed for a *bāṭini* (esoteric);[8] in philosophic theory he was a pantheistic monist, as his doctrine *waḥdat al-wujūd* (the unity of existence) justly proclaims him. His central theme was that things pre-exist as ideas (*a'yān thābitah*)

[1] Ibn-al-Jawzi, *Mir'āt al-Zamān*, ed. James R Jewett (Chicago, 1907), p. 487; Maqqari, vol. i, p 567; Kutubi, vol. ii, p. 301; al Sha'rāni, *al-Yawāqīt w-al-Jawāhir* (Cairo, 1905), p 8.

[2] Consult Hājji Khalfah, vol. iii, pp. 87 *seq*; Carra de Vaux in *Journal asiatique*, ser. 9, vol. xix (1902), pp. 63 94.

[3] Of the 289 works credited to him Brockelmann, vol. i, pp. 442-8, lists 150 as existing at the present day. [4] 2nd ed., 4 vols. (Būlāq, 1293). [5] (Būlāq, 1252). Vol. ii, pp. 306-75. [6] See above, p. 114. [7] Maqqari, vol. i, pp. 569 *seq*.

in the knowledge of God, whence they emanate and whither they return. There is no creation *ex nihilo*; the world is merely the outer aspect of God, who is its inner aspect. Between the Essence and its attributes, i.e. God and the universe, there is no real difference. Here Moslem mysticism passes into pantheism. The divine manifests itself in the human, and the perfect man (*al-insān al-kāmil*) is, of course, Muḥammad. Muḥammad is also the *kalimah*, the *logos*, as Jesus was. The true mystic, in the judgment of ibn-'Arabi, has but one guide, the inner light, and will find God in all religions.[1]

The influence of the illuministic school, whose greatest Spanish representative ibn-'Arabi was, is manifest not only in Persian and Turkish Sufi circles[2] but in the so-called Augustinian scholastics such as Duns Scotus, Roger Bacon and Raymond Lull.[3] Another Murcian, abu-Muḥammad 'Abd-al-Haqq ibn-Sab'īn (*ca.* 1217–69), stood for the same type of thinking and writing as ibn-'Arabi. His pre-eminence in Sufi circles won him the enviable title Quṭb-al-Dīn (the pole of religion). But he is best known for the answers he wrote, *al-Ajwibah 'an al-As'ilah al-Ṣiqilliyah*[4] (answers to the Sicilian questions), to the learned questions on the eternity of matter, the nature and immortality of the soul, the object of theology and the like asked by Frederick II of Hohenstaufen and transmitted by the Muwaḥḥid 'Abd-al-Wāḥid al-Rashīd (1232–42). Ibn-Sab'īn, who was then residing at Ceuta, answered at some length in terms of Islamic orthodoxy and offered to set the Christian emperor of Sicily right in a personal interview. In the meantime he refused the reward of money which accompanied the questionnaire. Ibn-Sab'īn's other leading work is *Asrār al-Ḥikmah al-Mashriqīyah* (the mysteries of illuministic philosophy), still unpublished. He was one of the rare Moslems in history who committed suicide, and that by opening a vein in his wrist while sojourning in Makkah.[5]

[1] Ibn-'Arabi, *Tarjumān al-Ashwāq*, ed. and tr. Nicholson (London, 1911), pp. 19, 67.

[2] The greatest of the Sufi poets, Jalāl-al-Dīn al-Rūmi, who died some thirty years after ibn-'Arabi, was linked to the latter through one of ibn-'Arabi's pupils.

[3] In his *El Islam cristianizado* (Madrid, 1931), Asín develops the thesis that Moslem Sufism as represented by ibn-'Arabi was consciously or unconsciously an imitation of Christian monastic mysticism.

[4] Still unpublished. See M. Aman, *Bibliotheca Arabo-Sicula* (Leipzig, 1855–7), pp. 373–7; in *Journal asiatique*, ser. 5, vol. i (1853), pp. 240–74. See also A. F. Mehren, *loc. cit.* vol. xiv (1879), pp. 341–454.

[5] Kutubi, vol. i. p. 316.

Toledo, centre of translation

In the process of transmitting the treasures of Arabic erudition into the West, Toledo, which maintained its position after the Christian conquest in 1085 as an important centre of Islamic learning, acted as the main channel. Here through the initiative of Archbishop Raymond I (1126–52) arose a regular school for translation. In it a series of translators flourished from about 1135 to 1284. Scholars were attracted from various parts of Europe, including the British Isles, whence hailed Michael Scot and Robert of Chester.[1] In 1145 Robert made the first translation of al-Khwārizmi's algebra; in 1143 he had completed with Hermann the Dalmatian for Peter the Venerable the first Latin translation of the Koran. It was also in Toledo that the first school of Oriental studies in Europe was established, in 1250, by the Order of Preachers with a view to preparing missionaries to Moslems and Jews.

The name of Adelard of Bath, who is said to have visited Spain at this time, is one of the greatest in English science before Roger Bacon. After sojourning in Sicily and Syria Adelard turned into Latin in 1126 the astronomical tables of al-Majrīṭī, which were based on those of al-Khwārizmi and included tables of sines. He translated a number of other mathematical and astronomical treatises and became the first of a long line of English Arabists. The Scotsman Michael Scot († *ca.* 1236), one of the founders of Latin Averroism, studied and worked in Spain before becoming court astrologer to Frederick II of Sicily. In Toledo he translated among several other works al-Biṭrūjī's astronomy, *al-Hay'ah*, and Aristotle's *De coelo et mundo* with ibn-Rushd's commentary; in Sicily he translated other Arabic books which he dedicated to Frederick. The most important of these was ibn-Sīna's version of Aristotle's zoology, *Abbreviatio Avicenne de animalibus*. But the most prolific of the Toledan translators was Gerard of Cremona, who before his death in 1187 had rendered into Latin al-Farghānī's version of Ptolemy's *Almagest*, al-Fārābi's commentary on Aristotle, Euclid's *Elements* and various treatises of Aristotle, Galen and Hippocrates—in all seventy-one Arabic works.

As we have seen, Jews, both orthodox and converted, played a major rôle in this work of translation. One of the earliest among them was Abraham ben-Ezra of Toledo († 1167), a distinguished biblical commentator who translated two treatises on astrology

[1] See Charles H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1927), ch. i.

by his earlier co-religionist of the East, Māshā'allāh[1] († 815). He also translated al-Bīrūnī's commentary on al-Khwārizmi's tables. Ben-Ezra's contemporary, John of Seville (Joannes Hispalensis, often confused with a Mozarab Christian), a baptized Jew, flourished in Toledo about 1135–53 under the patronage of Archbishop Raymond and translated works on arithmetic, astronomy and astrology, medicine and philosophy by al-Farghāni, abu-Ma'shar, al-Kindi, ben-Gabīrōl and al-Ghazzāli. Of these the most important was al-Farghāni's astronomy. John presumably translated from Arabic into the vernacular, Castilian, and an associate put the Castilian into Latin.

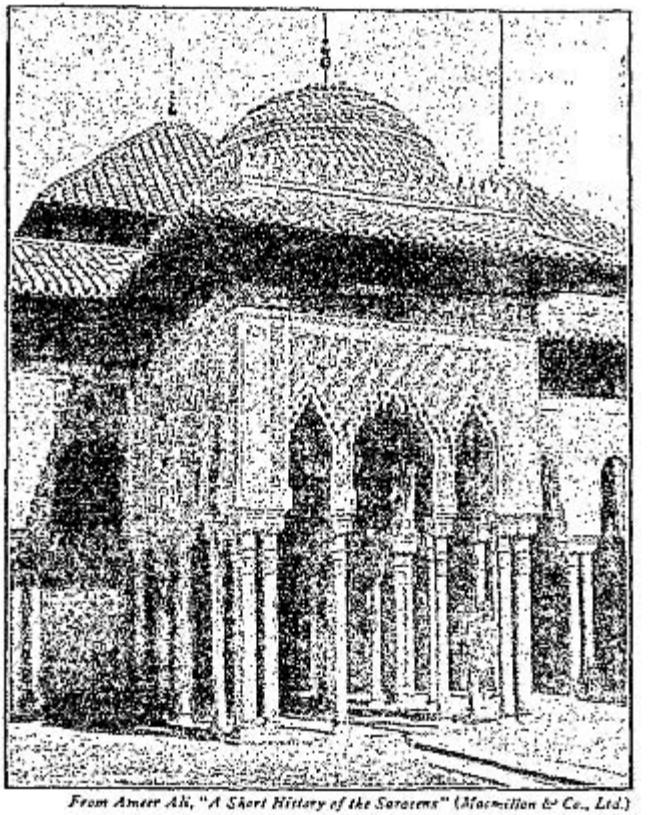
By the close of the thirteenth century Arabic science and philosophy had been transmitted to Europe, and Spain's work as an intermediary was done. The intellectual avenue leading from the portals of Toledo through the Pyrenees wound its way through Provence and the Alpine passes[2] into Lorraine, Germany and Central Europe as well as across the Channel into England.[3] Among the cities of southern France deserving mention are Marseille, where Raymond in 1140 drew up planetary tables based on those of Toledo; Toulouse, where Hermann the Dalmatian completed in 1143 al-Majrīṭi's translation of Ptolemy's *Planisphærium*; Narbonne, where Abraham ben-Ezra translated in 1160 al-Bīrūni's commentary on al-Khwārizmi's tables; and Montpellier, which in the thirteenth century became the chief centre of medical and astronomical studies in France. In eastern France Cluny, whose famous abbey housed a number of Spanish monks, was during the twelfth century a significant focus for the diffusion of Arab learning. Its abbot, Peter the Venerable, sponsored (1141–3) the first Latin translation of the Koran, besides various pamphlets directed against Islam. Arabic science, introduced into Lorraine (Lotharingia) in the tenth century, made that region a centre of scientific influence in the following two centuries, Liége, Gorze and Cologne, among other Lotharingian cities, provided the most fertile soil for the germination of Arab learning. From Lorraine it radiated into other parts of Germany and was transported

[1] Mentioned in *Fihrist*, p. 273.

[2] See below, p. 605.

[3] The first book printed in England, *The Dicte and Sayengis of the Philosophres* by William Caxton at Westminster in 1477, was based on *Mukhtār al-Ḥikam wa-Maḥāsin al-Kalim*, by a Syro-Egyptian prince abu-al-Wāfā' Mubashshir ibn-Fātik, fl. 1021 (ed. 'Abd-al-Raḥmān Badawi, Madrid, 1958).

into Norman England by men born or educated in Lorraine. Embassies between German kings in the north and Moslem rulers in Spain were frequent and intellectually fruitful. As early



From Ameer Ali, "A Short History of the Saracens" (Macmillan & Co., Ltd.)

PAVILION IN THE COURT OF LIONS, ALHAMBRA, GRANADA

as 953 Otto the Great, king of the Germans, sent as an envoy a Lotharingian monk, John by name, who resided in Cordova for nearly three years, probably learned Arabic and brought back with him scientific manuscripts.[1] Thus did Spanish Arabic learning permeate all Western Europe.

[1] "Vita Johannis abbatis Gorziensis", G. H. Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniæ historica, scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, vol. iv, pp. 337-77.

CHAPTER XLI

ART AND ARCHITECTURE

Minor arts

The Arabs in Spain carried on almost all the minor and practical arts developed by Moslems in other lands. In metal-work[1] involving decoration, raising patterns in relief or engraving them, inlaying with gold and silver[2] and inscribing characters, the Hispano-Moresque school excelled. One of the earliest specimens is a relic of Hishām II (976–1009) preserved on the high altar of the Cathedral of Gerona in the form of a wooden casket sheathed with silver-gilt plating patterned in *repoussé* with scroll-like foliation. It bears an Arabic inscription stating that it is the work of two craftsmen, Badr and Ṭarīf, and was made for a courtier of al-Ḥakam II (961–76) as a present for the heir apparent, Hishām. In metal-work such as cutlery, sword blades and astrolabes Toledo and Seville[3] were especially noted. Next to damascene blades, toledos had the finest temper and the greatest elasticity. The astrolabe, an astronomical instrument of ancient Greek invention, was perfected by the Moslems and introduced into Europe in the tenth century. Besides its use to determine the hour of prayer and the geographical position of Makkah, the astrolabe was invaluable to mariners for nautical observations and was a necessary adjunct of the astrologer's equipment. In the story told by the tailor in the *Arabian Nights* (no. 29), the glib barber exasperates his customer by trying to find with an astrolabe the precise moment auspicious for shaving. A properly executed astrolabe is a beautiful work of art.

Enamelling found no high favour with Moslem metal-workers, but in the application of coloured glazes to earthenware, Moslems were from an early period past masters. Valencia was the Moslem centre of this industry in the West. The importation of its products laid the foundation of the pottery industry at Poitiers.

[1] Sp. *alhaja*, jewel, is from Ar. *al-ḥājah*.

[2] Generally known as damascening, from European association of the work with Damascus.

[3] Maqqarī, vol. i, p. 124.

In the fifteenth century we find imitations of this Moslem pottery produced as far north as Holland. From Spain the industry was meanwhile introduced into Italy. Its influence is noticeable in the later Spanish vessels, with their pseudo-Arabic inscriptions and Christian heraldic devices. In other forms of ceramics, as well as mosaics, especially tile and blue faïence, the Spanish Moslem school distinguished itself. The various kinds of coloured tiles still favourites in Spain and Portugal are a legacy from the Arabs, as the name *azulejo*[1] suggests. In the eyes of modern collectors the Mudejar lustre pottery ranks only below the Chinese. Exquisite pottery was manufactured in Toledo and Cordova as early as the third quarter of the eleventh century, after which Calatayud (Qal'at Ayyūb),[2] Malaga and above all Manises in Valencia became famous for this ware. In the manufacture and colouring of glass, however, Spain could not compete with Syria.

Textiles

In the development of the sumptuous textile arts which made the Arabic-speaking peoples the leading fabric-makers and silk mercers in the medieval world, the Arabs of Spain had a share;[3] but in carpet-making Spain offered no serious competition to the Eastern, especially Persian, market. Cordova was a centre of the weaving industry. Almería is said to have had four thousand eight hundred looms.[4] Just as al-Mawṣil exported to Italy the fabric known there as *mussolina*, whence our "muslin", and Baghdād supplied the same market with the rich silk cloth bearing the Italianized name *baldacco* and with the silken canopies, "baldachin",[5] suspended over the altars in many Western churches, so did Granada in later times supply the European dress shops with grenadines. Such Oriental silk textiles, with their rich colouring and floral and geometrical designs, were in limited demand for church vestments, for wrapping relics of saints[6] and for aristocratic and royal robes. As the importation of finely wrought stuffs from Moslem lands increased in Europe, Western enterprise saw in this industry a potential source of wealth and began to set up looms in various

[1] Ar. *al-zulayjī*. See Maqqari, vol. i, p. 124.
[2] Idrīsī, *Ṣifat al-Maghrib* (Leyden), p. 189.
[3] Ibn-Ḥawqal, p. 79; Iṣṭakhrī, p. 44, l. 8; ibn-al-Khaṭīb, *Lamḥah*, p. 13; Maqqarī, vol. i, pp. 123-4.
[4] Maqqarī, vol. i, p. 102.
[5] See below, p. 668.
[6] See above, pp. 422-3; below, p. 668.

centres of France and Italy. In these early factories some Moslem workmen were undoubtedly at first employed.

As in metal- and glass-work, pottery, architecture and other departments of decorative art, so in textiles we have between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries numerous examples of European work bearing the stamp of Islamic style. In fact, as early as the twelfth century the adoption of Islamic designs by European weavers became frequent, and from that time on we have numerous illustrations of the use of meaningless imitation of Arabic script merely for decorative purposes. We should also remember that in Spain, and to a greater extent in Sicily, Oriental workmen lingered long after Islam had receded; hence the combination of Christian and Islamic elements in the forms of art and architecture known as Mudejar and the Islamic features in the Sicilian art and architecture of the Norman period. Mudejar workmen excelled in woodwork, pottery and textiles. To this day the Spanish carpenter uses in his trade words that are largely Arabic.



Photo Casa Moreno

CARVED IVORY CASKET

Made in Cordova, A.D. 964, and now in the Museo Arqueologico, Madrid

In ornament executed in relief the Spanish Arab carvers and modellers followed the same system of design that governed their practice in flat surface decoration and other modes of technical expression. In the tenth century a school of ivory-carvers centred at Cordova and produced many beautiful caskets and boxes made partly or wholly of ivory and decorated with carved, inlaid or painted ornaments. Some of the ornaments represented musical performances and hunting-scenes illustrating the use of animal forms as a decorative motif. Such containers were often used as jewel cases and perfume or sweetmeat boxes. The inscriptions they bear indicate that they were often intended for gifts. One of the finest examples of this work is a cylindrical casket made in A.H. 353 (964), as the inscription round the domed lid reads, for the Caliph al-Hakam II as a gift to his wife.

The sides are entirely covered with palmettes in addition to peacocks and other birds.

Architecture

All monuments of religious art in Spain have perished with the exception of one of the earliest and grandest, the great Mosque of Cordova. The foundation was laid by 'Abd-al-Raḥ-

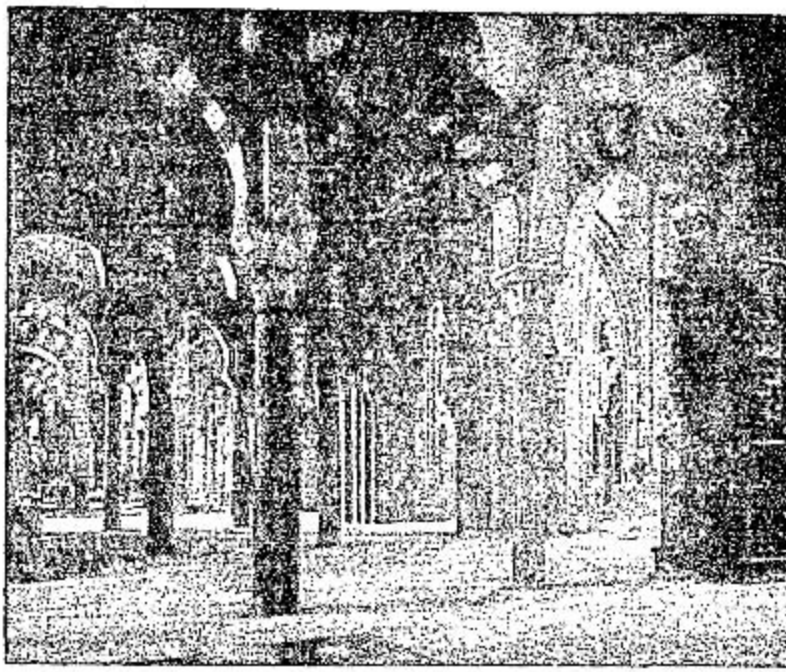


Photo. Arxiu Mas

INTERIOR OF THE GREAT MOSQUE OF CORDOVA

mān I in 786 on the site of a Christian church which was originally a Roman temple.[1] The main part of the mosque was completed in 793 by his son Hishām I, who added the square minaret. The Spanish minarets followed the African style, which was of Syrian origin (above, p. 452). Additions to the Cordova mosque were made by Hishām's successors. Twelve hundred and ninety-three columns, a veritable forest, supported its roof. Brass lanterns made from Christian bells[2] illuminated the building. "One chandelier held a thousand lights; the smallest held

[1] See above, pp. 508-9.

[2] Cf. above, p. 533.

twelve."[1] For the decoration of the building Byzantine craftsmen were employed, as they may have been employed in the Umayyad mosques of Syria.[2] Eighty thousand gold pieces from the spoils of the Goths were spent on the structure by its founder. Enlargements and repairs were made on it down to al-Ḥājib al-Manṣūr (977–1000). Today it is a cathedral to the Virgin of the Assumption.

Of the secular monuments the Alcázar[3] of Seville and the Alhambra of Granada, with their profuse but graceful decorations, are the most superb remains. Of Madīnat al-Zahrā', now called Córdoba la Vieja, built by 'Abd-al-Raḥmān III and his successors with columns imported from Rome, Constantinople and Carthage, very little has been left to show its former splendour. It is noteworthy that the caliph set up over the gateway a statue of his favourite concubine, whose name the palace bore. He is, moreover, said to have brought for it from Constantinople a fountain decorated with human figures. On the occasion of the Berber revolt of 1010 the Madīnah was sacked and set on fire. About the same time the similarly named villa of al-Manṣūr, al-Madīnah al-Ẓāhirah, which lay to the east of Cordova, was likewise destroyed by the Berbers and has now entirely disappeared.

The oldest part of the Alcázar of Seville was built by a Toledan architect for the Muwaḥḥid governor in 1199–1200. It was restored in the Moslem style by Mudejar workmen for King Peter the Cruel in 1353 and was used until a few years ago as a royal residence. Among the many Alcázars in Cordova, Toledo and other Spanish towns, this of Seville is the most renowned and the only one surviving. Seville boasts another Muwaḥḥid monument, the Giralda tower, originally the minaret of the great mosque. Erected in 1184, this minaret was decorated with cusped arcading, anticipating later Gothic tracery.

The Hispano-Moslem system of decoration reached its culminating point in the Naṣrid palace Alhambra.[4] This acropolis of Granada, with its excessive decoration in mosaics, stalactites and inscriptions, was conceived and constructed on so extensive and magnificent a scale that it has been accepted as the last

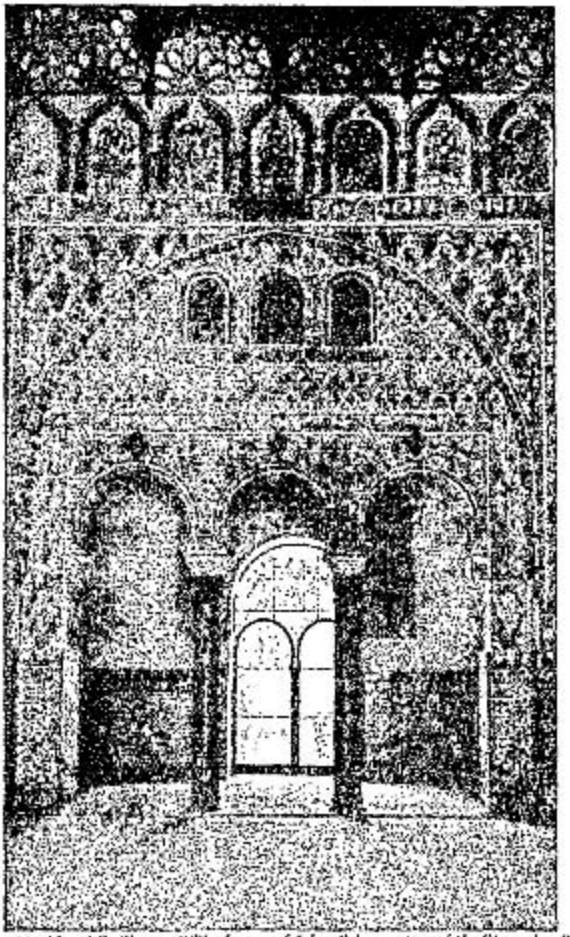
[1] 'Umari, *Masālik al Abṣār fi Mamālik al-Amṣār*, ed Ahmad Zaki, vol i (Cairo, 1927), p 212.

[2] Cf. above, pp. 264, 265

[3] For etymology see above, p. 107, n 2.

[4] For the best reproductions consult the illustrations in Albert F. Calvert, *The Alhambra*, 2nd ed (London, 1907)

word in such workmanship. Begun by Muḥammad I al-Ghālib about 1248, its construction was completed by abu-al-Ḥajjāj



From Arnold and Guillaume, "The Legacy of Islam," by courtesy of the Clarendon Press

THE HALL OF THE AMBASSADORS IN THE ALCÁZAR, SEVILLE
With coloured tiles representing Mudejar workmanship

Yūsuf (1333–54) and by his successor Muḥammad V al-Ghanī (1354–9). Most of the interior decoration is ascribed by the

inscriptions on the walls to abu-al-Ḥajjāj. The most celebrated portion is the Court of Lions. In the centre of this court twelve marble lions stand in a circle, each spouting a jet of water from its mouth. Among the surrounding profusion of decoration these lions, together with the ceiling of the so-called Hall of Justice, are the most important monuments of art. The ceiling depicts scenes painted on leather illustrating tales of chivalry and hunting episodes, besides ten rulers seated on an oval bench. Certain inscriptions embody al-Ghālib's motto, *wa-la ghālib illa Allāh* (but there is no conqueror other than Allah); others, employed for decorative purposes only, are represented as addressing the visitor in their function of ornament.

The horseshoe form of arch, which became characteristic of Western Moslem architecture, was represented in northern Syria, Ctesiphon and other places even before Islam. The pointed arch, which later became the distinctive feature of Western Gothic architecture, appears first in Islam in the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus and Quṣayr 'Amrah.[1] The round horseshoe variety was used at the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus. This last type, which in the West became known as the Moorish arch, undoubtedly existed in Spain before the Arab conquest, but it was the Spanish, more particularly the Cordovan Moslems, who realized its structural and decorative possibilities and adopted it generally. Another contribution of Arab Cordova, which was truly original, was the system of vaulting based on intersecting arches and visible intersecting ribs. The

These and other architectural features developed at Cordova were carried to Toledo and other centres in the north of the peninsula by Mozarabs. Here by merging of Christian and Moslem traditions arose a definite style characterized by almost regular use of the horseshoe arch and the vault. In the hands of Mudejar workmen this mixed art attained great beauty and perfection and became the Spanish national style. Mudejar work is still to be seen all over the country. The Spanish language has preserved several architectural terms which attest an Arabic origin.[2]

[1] See above, p. 417. Cf. Bell, *Ukhaiḍir*, pp. 5, 9, 12, pl. 7, fig. 1; C. Leonard Woolley, *The Sumerians* (Oxford, 1928), pp. 36-7.

[2] E.g. *adoquin* (Ar. *kaddān*), paving stone; *alacena* (Ar. *al-khizānah*), cupboard; *albañil*, Pg. *alvanel* (Ar. *al-bannā'*), builder; *alcoba*, Pg. *alcoba* (Ar. *al qubbah*, whence Eng. alcove), bedroom; *andamio*, Pg. *andaime* (Ar. *al-di'āmah*), scaffolding;

Music

The corner-stone of Spanish musical art was laid by Ziryāb, a disciple of the Mawṣili school of Baghdād. Ziryāb arrived in 822 in Cordova, where his knowledge of more songs than any other artist, his mastery over the physical sciences, his magnetic personality and his refined manner and ready wit made him the social model.[1] It was at Cordova under the patronage of 'Abd-al-Raḥmān II that Ziryāb, who has also been credited with substituting eagles' talons for wooden plectra, added a fifth string to the lute and opened a school which became the conservatory of Andalusian music. Other schools followed in Seville, Toledo, Valencia and Granada.

After Ziryāb, abu-al-Qāsim 'Abbās ibn-Firnās († 888) is given the largest share of credit for introducing Oriental music into Spain and popularizing it. To his ingenuity is ascribed the discovery of making glass "from stones", as well as the construction in his home of a sort of planetarium where one could see stars, clouds and even lightning. Ibn-Firnās was the first man in Arab history to make a scientific attempt at flight. His flying equipment consisted of a suit of feathers with wings, which, we are told, carried him a long distance in the air. When he alighted, however, he hurt himself because his suit was not provided with a tail.[2] The musical theory and practice introduced by Ziryāb and ibn-Firnās were naturally the Perso-Arabic, but gradually this system gave way to the Greek and Pythagorean theories as works from Greek were translated into Arabic.

In general the Western Moslems proved themselves more addicted to the sweet art than their Eastern co-religionists. By the eleventh century the music of Andalusia had almost paled the fame of Baghdād. At that time Seville under the 'Abbādids, who for a short period also ruled Cordova, became the centre of the music, song and other gaieties which we usually associate with the Moors in the smiling plains of Andalusia. One of the 'Abbādids, al-Mu'tamid (1068–91), was not only a gifted poet but also a singer and performer on the lute. The 'Abbādid capital became famous for its manufacture of musical instru-

azotea, Pg. *açoteia* (Ar. *al-sufayḥah*), flat roof, *algibe* (Ar. *al-jubb*, the cistern), ogive. On *kaddān* see D. Leopoldo de Eguilaz y Yanguas, *Glosario etimologico de las palabras españolas de origen oriental* (Granada, 1886). Cf. R. Dozy and W. H. Engelmann, *Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'arabe*, 2nd ed. (Leyden, 1869); *al-kaddādān* in ibn-Jubayr, p. 331, l. 18.

[1] See above, p. 514.

[2] Maqqari, vol ii, p. 254.

ments, in which it developed an export trade. From the Murābiṭ period we have from the pen of the philosopher ibn-Bājjah († 1138), who flourished at Seville and Fās, a treatise on music, now lost, which was as much appreciated in the West as al-Fārābi's work in the East. To another philosopher, ibn-Sab'īn († 1269) of the Muwahhid period, we owe a discussion of related musical notes called *Kitāb al-Adwār al-Mansūb*, of which a solitary copy is preserved in Cairo.[1] In the course of a debate, held in the presence of the third Muwahhid sovereign, al-Manṣūr (1184–99), between ibn-Rushd and abu-Bakr Muhammad ibn-Zuhr, on the relative excellences of Seville and Cordova, ibn-Rushd, arguing Cordova's case, made this illuminating remark: "I know not what you are talking about, but one thing I do know: When a scholar dies in Seville and his estate wants his books sold, the books are carried to Cordova, where a market is found. But when a musician dies in Cordova his instruments are carried to Seville for sale."[2]

Influ in Eur

As the Christian population accepted the lyric models of the Moslems, Arab songs grew popular throughout the peninsula. Moslem musicians flourished at the courts of the kings of Castile and Aragon. Long after the fall of Granada, Moorish dancers and singers continued to entertain the natives of Spain and Portugal.[3] The recent researches of Ribera[4] tend to show that the popular music of Spain (*musica ficta*), in fact of all south-western Europe, in and after the thirteenth century, like the lyric and historical romance of that region, is to be traced to Andalusian and thence through Arabic to Persian, Byzantine and Greek sources. Even as philosophy and mathematics and medicine travelled from Greece and Rome to Byzantium, Persia and Baghdād, then to Spain, and thence to all Europe, so did several phases of musical theory and practice. Many of the instruments shown in the early Spanish miniatures and even some of the performers are of unmistakable Moslem origin.

Some of the early Spanish miniatures show Arab musicians

[1] Ahmad Taymūr in *al-Hilāl*, vol. xxvm (1919), p 214.
[2] Maqqari, vol i, pp 98, 302
[3] The Morris dance of England, as the name indicates, is of Moorish origin.
[4] *Historia de la música árabe medieval y su influencia en la española* (Madrid, 1927), *Music in Ancient Arabia and Spain; Being la música de las cantigas*, tr and abr. Eleanor Hague and Marion Leffingwell (Stanford University, 1929), esp. ch. xm; *Disertaciones*, vol. ii, pp. 3-174.

playing a game of chess.[1] Spanish provides the first description of the game in a European language and that in a work of Alfonso X,[2] king of Castile and Leon from 1252–82 and the greatest apostle of Moslem learning in Christian Spain. Alfonso was the man responsible for that great collection of poetry, *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, the music of which, according to Ribera, was of Moslem-Andalusian origin. Besides this collection and the astronomical Alfonsine tables, this monarch compiled a code of laws which bears traces of Islamic influence and which has become the basis of Spanish jurisprudence.

Reference has already been made to Arabic poetical influence in the troubadours, who resembled Arab singers not only in sentiment and character but also in the very forms of their minstrelsy. Certain titles which these Provençal singers gave to their songs are but translations from Arabic titles. Adelard of Bath, who studied music at Paris, was probably the translator of al-Khwārizmi's mathematical treatise as *Liber ysagogarum Alchorismi*, which comprised a section on music. This treatise was, therefore, one of the first to introduce Arab music into the Latin world. In Adelard's days, the first half of the twelfth century, the Arabs were already in possession of several ancient Greek treatises on music as well as some most important original works by al-Kindi, al-Fārābi, ibn-Sīna and ibn-Bājjah. Before the end of the century many of these original works had become known in Europe through Latin translations made at Toledo. It is significant that in this same period a new principle appears in Christian European music, the principle that notes have an exact time value or ratio among themselves. The first to give an exposition of this mensural music or measured song was the elusive Franco of Cologne (*ca.* 1190). His notation, called the Franconian notation, is not essentially different from our own. Under the name *īqā'*, rhythm, this same measured music had formed a constituent part of Arab music for at least four centuries prior to Franco's age and was fully described by al-Kindi (fl. *ca.* 870; above, p. 370).

[1] Sp. *ajedrez* (formerly *axedrez*), Pg. *xadrez*, all derived from Ar. *al-shiṭranj*, which is borrowed from Skr. through Pers. See above, p. 339. Playing cards were either of Arab origin or transmitted to Europe by Arabs: Sp. *naipe*, It. *naïb*, for playing card, comes from Ar. *nā'ib* (governor) represented on a fifteenth-century pack now in Istanbul. L. A. Mayer, *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, vol. xxxviii (1939), pp. 113 *seq.*

[2] For illustration consult John G. White, *El tratado de ajedrez del Rey d. Alonso el Sabio, del año 1283* (Leipzig, 1913), pl. xlii.

After Franco's time there appeared a treatise ascribed to John of Garland dealing with *ochetus*, i.e. rhythmic mode. The term *ochetus* is probably a transformation of Arabic *īqā'āt* (pl. of *īqā'*).

Mensural music was probably the greatest but certainly not the only contribution the Arabs made in this branch of knowledge. Two of the instruments that have aided most in the progress of the art of music, the lute (Ar. *al-'ūd*, through Sp. *laúd*) and the rebec (Ar. *rabāb*,[1] through Sp. *rabel*), were introduced into Western Europe by Arabs. The rebec or ribibe, a favourite instrument with Chaucer, may be counted as one of the precursors of our violin. *Rabeca* is still the ordinary word used in Portugal for a violin. Other instruments in the peninsula with names derived from Arabic are the old trumpet *añafil* (Fr. *anafin*, from Ar. *al-nafīr*[2]), the tambourine *pandero* (colloq. Ar. *bandayr*) and the cymbals known as *sonajas* (Ar. pl. *ṣunūj*, sing. *ṣinj*, fr. Pers. *sanj*) round whose edge are "jingles". It was also the Moslems who introduced into Europe the guitar (fr. Ar. *qītārah*,[3] through Sp. *guitarra*, originally Gr.), the horn (Sp. *alboque*, fr. Ar. *al-būq*), the timbal (Sp. *atambal*, fr. Ar. *al-ṭabl*), and the kanoon (fr. Ar. *qānūn*).

[1] See above, p. 426

[2] Pl. *anfār* (whence perhaps Eng "fanfare"). This instrument with its name were probably introduced into Europe from Syria during the period of the Crusades, as were the cymbals (*ṣunūj*); Henry G Farmer, "Oriental Influences on Occidental Military Music," *Islamic Culture*, vol. xv (1941), pp. 235-42. See below, pp. 663-4.

[3] Masculine form *qītār*; see above, p. 427.

CHAPTER XLII

IN SICILY

Conquest

THE Moslem conquest of Sicily (Ar. Siqilliyah) represents the last ripple in the wave that brought the Arabs into North Africa and Spain. The leaders of the expansion into the island and mid-Europe during the ninth century were Aghlabids from al-Qayrawān; but sporadic attempts by Moslem adventurers, soldiers of fortune and pirates had been made much earlier. In fact, the very same year (652) in which the Byzantine navy at Alexandria was crushed and maritime power began to pass into Arab hands witnessed the first attack on Byzantine Sicily, made by a general of Mu'āwiyah.[1] The delights of Syracuse (Saraqūsah, Saraquṣṣah), ravaged in this first attempt, consisted of women, church treasures and other valuable booty which invited repeated returns by Moslem plunderers in the course of the second half of the seventh century. In the eighth, Berber and Arab corsairs from North Africa and Moslem Spain began to harass the islands to the north and east and to cast paralysing fear over the inhabitants of Sicily as well as Corsica and Sardinia. Piracy and privateering, be it remembered, were then considered legitimate means of livelihood by Moslems and Christians alike. But there was no planned policy in these early raids.

The establishment of the powerful Aghlabid state of al-Qayrawān in the first year of the ninth century, however, changed the aspect of the situation. An appeal from a Syracusan rebel for aid against the Byzantine governor in 827 offered a timely pretext for an invasion. Ziyādat-Allāh I (817–38), the third Aghlabid, immediately sent off seventy vessels carrying some ten thousand fighters and seven hundred horses under the leadership of his seventy-year-old qāḍi-vizir, Asad ibn-al-Furāt.[2]

[1] See above, p. 167; Theophanes, p. 348.

[2] Ibn- Idhāri, vol. i, p. 95; Nuwayri, ed. Gaspar, vol. ii, p. 241; Amari, *Biblioteca*, p. 527.

The real conquest began. The African army landed at Mazara[1] and advanced to Syracuse. A plague which spread in the Arab camp carried away Asad and a large number of his fighters.[2]



SICILY AND SOUTHERN ITALY
To illustrate Moslem occupation

Reinforced by fresh troops from Spain, the army captured Palermo (Ar. Balarm, originally a Phoenician colony) in 831,

[1] Ar. Māzar; ibn-al-Athīr, vol. vi, p. 236; Idrīsi, *Min Kitāb Nuzhat al-Mushtāq fi Ikhtirāq al-Āfāq*, ed M. Amari and C. Schiaparelli (Rome, 1878), p. 32; Amari, *Storia*, ed. Nallino, vol. i, pp. 394 *seq.*

[2] Ibn-'Idhāri, vol. i, p. 96; ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p 190.

thereby acquiring a vantage point for further conquest and a seat for the new amīrate. About 843 Messina[1] fell. In 878 the strongly fortified Syracuse was taken after nine months' siege and destroyed during the rule of the bloody Aghlabid, Ibrāhīm II (874–902), who towards the close of his reign came in person to Sicily. Here he reduced the district in the neighbourhood of Mount Etna[2] and in 902 destroyed Taormina. Ibrāhīm died and was buried in Sicily. The conquest of the island, which had begun in 827, was now complete. For the next hundred and eighty-nine years Sicily under turbulent Arab chieftains formed in whole or in part a province of the Arab world.

In Italy

Just as Spain was a *point d'appui* for further raids and temporary conquests northward, so was Sicily with regard to Italy. Before his death in 902 Ibrāhīm II had carried the holy war across the straits into the toe of Italy, Calabria,[3] but he was not the first Arab invader to set foot on Italian soil. Shortly after the fall of Palermo, Aghlabid generals had interfered in the quarrels of the rival Lombards of Southern Italy, whose heel and toe were still held by the Byzantine emperor, and when Naples[4] in 837 appealed for Arab aid the Moslem war-cry echoed on the slopes of Vesuvius as it had before on those of its southern sister—"the mountain of fire". About four years later Bari, on the Adriatic, which was to become the main base for the next thirty years, was captured. About the same time the victorious Moslems made an appearance before Venice. In 846 even Rome was threatened by Arab squadrons which landed at Ostia and, unable to penetrate the walls of the Eternal City, sacked the cathedrals of St. Peter beside the Vatican and of St. Paul outside the walls and desecrated the graves of the pontiffs. Three years later another Moslem fleet reached Ostia but was destroyed by the tempestuous sea and the Italian navy. A painting from sketches by Raphael recalls this naval fight and the marvellous rescue of Rome. But the hold of the Moslems over Italy remained so firm that Pope John VIII (872–82) deemed it prudent to pay tribute for two years.[5]

[1] Massīni, Mussinah; Yāqūt, vol. iv, p. 535; ibn-Jubayr, p. 320.

[2] Ar. *jabal al-nār*, the mountain of fire, ibn-al-Athīr, vol. vi, p. 239; Yāqūt, vol iii, p. 408, Amari, *Biblioteca*, app. 2 (Leipzig, 1887), p. 2.

[3] Qillawriyah in Yāqūt, vol. iv, p. 167; Qallawriyah in ibn-Hawqal, pp. 8, 128; see ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, pp 200, 202.

[4] Nābul; ibn al-Athīr, vol. vii, p. 3; Amari, *Biblioteca*, index; Idrisi, p. 17.

[5] Amari, *Storia*, ed. Nallino, vol. i, pp. 588 93.

The Aghlabids did not limit their operations to the Italian coasts. In 869 they captured Malta.[1] From Italy and Spain piratical raids in the tenth century extended through the Alpine passes into mid-Europe. In the Alps are a number of castles and walls which tourists' guides attribute to the invasion of the Saracens. Certain Swiss place-names, such as Gaby and Algaby (*al-jābi*?, tax collector) which appear in Baedeker's *Switzerland*, may possibly be of Arabic origin.[2]

Aer the

The recapture of Bari by the Christians in 871 marks the beginning of the end of the Moslem menace to Italy and Central Europe. In Bari the commanders had gone so far as to declare themselves "sultans" independent of the amīr at Palermo. In 880 the Byzantine Emperor Basil I wrested Taranto (Ṭārant), another important fortress, from Moslem hands and a few years later expelled the last remnants of the Arabs from Calabria. The final stage of the expansion which had begun in distant Arabia two and a half centuries before was thus brought to an end. At the present day numerous "Saracen towers", structures from which the approach of Arab fleets from Sicily or Africa was announced, still contribute to the scenic beauty of the peerless coastline south of Naples.

Wit dra fro

In Sicily the amīr first held his office under the Aghlabids of al-Qayrawān.[3] With the destruction of the Aghlabid dynasty in 909 by the new and more powerful Fātimid caliphate, the Sicilian domain became a part of that empire as founded in North Africa by 'Ubaydullāh al-Mahdi. Four years later, however, the Sicilian Moslems under Ahmad ibn-Qurhub (912–16) asserted their independence and named the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Muqtadir, foe of the Fāṭimids, in the Friday prayers.[4] In 917 the Amīr Ahmad, abandoned by his Berber troops, suffered execution by order of al-Mahdi and Sicily reverted to the Fātimid domain. With the island as a base the Fātimid fleet carried its plundering raids as far as Genoa, which was sacked in 934 or 935.

The Sara ami

The domestic situation in Sicily was far from satisfactory.

[1] Ibn-Khaldūn, vol. iv, p. 201.

[2] Probably the adjective *maur* occurring in the toponomy is a mere synonym for "brown", without reference to Moorish invaders. The inhabitants of the Alpine regions may have become acquainted with such words through the Crusades.

[3] For list consult Zambaur, p 67; Eduard Sachau, *Ein Verzeichnis Muhammedanischer Dynasten* (Berlin, 1923), p 26

[4] Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. viii, pp. 53-4.

The Spanish and African elements in the Moslem population were in constant friction, which was complicated by the eternal feuds arising from the old distinction among the Arabs between South Arabian Yamanites—including Kalbites—and North Arabians. In 948 the third Fāṭimid Caliph al-Manṣūr appointed as governor over Sicily al-Ḥasan ibn-'Ali ibn-abi-al-Ḥusayn al-Kalbi († 965), who laid the basis of a more or less independent and stable state.[1] Under him and his successors, the Kalbite dynasty, the seeds of Arab culture were afforded an opportunity to germinate in this polyglot isle. It was during the short reign of abu-al-Futūḥ Yūsuf ibn-'Abdullāh (989–98), a descendant of al-Ḥasan, that Moslem Sicily reached its height.

The Kalbite amīrs lived in luxurious palaces and maintained enlightened courts in their flourishing city. The Eastern geographer and traveller ibn-Ḥawqal[2] (fl. 943–77), whose description of the capital Palermo is not merely the oldest but the only account by a Moslem eye-witness, found in it over a hundred and fifty butcher shops and the incredible number of three hundred mosques. In the congregational mosques he counted thirty-six rows of worshippers, each with about two hundred men, making over seven thousand in all. He numbered over three hundred public school teachers, who were regarded by the inhabitants as their most pious, excellent and distinguished citizens, and that "in spite of the fact that school teachers are notorious for their mental deficiency and light brains".

Norman conquest

The downfall of the Kalbite régime was brought about by civil wars and Byzantine interference, which paved the way for the Norman conquest of the island. This began with the capture of Messina in 1060 by Count Roger, son of Tancred de Hauteville, culminated in the seizure of Palermo in 1071 and Syracuse in 1085 and ended in 1091. In 1090 Malta was taken by Roger. The Normans, already strong in the possession of a vigorous state on the mainland, were now secure in their newly conquered territory.

Arab-Norman culture

Sicily under the Normans saw the efflorescence of an interesting Christian-Islamic culture. Throughout the Arab period of domination there streamed into the island, already rich in memories of bygone civilizations, Eastern cultural currents which, blending with the precious legacy of Greece and Rome,

[1] Ibn-al-Athīr, vol. viii, p. 354. [2] Pp. 82-7.

took definite shape under Norman rule and gave the Norman culture its distinctive character. Hitherto the Arabs had been too engrossed in warfare and squabbles to develop the finer arts of peace, but now their genius attained its full fruition in a rich outburst of Arab-Norman art and culture.

Though himself an uncultured Christian, Roger I († 1101) drew from the Moslems the mass of his infantry, patronized Arab learning, surrounded himself with Eastern philosophers, astrologers and physicians and allowed the non-Christians full liberty to follow their rites. The case of the poet 'Abd-al-Jabbār ibn-Ḥamdīs (*ca.* 1055–1132), who though born in Syracuse retired at the Norman conquest to the Spanish court of al-Mu'tamid, was exceptional.[1] On the whole, Roger maintained the former system of administration and even kept high Moslem officials. His court at Palermo seemed more Oriental than Occidental. For over a century after this Sicily presented the unique spectacle of a Christian kingdom in which some of the highest positions were held by Moslems.

In this century the trade of the country remained to a large extent in the hands of Moslem merchants and the cultivation of the land continued to prosper under Arab husbandmen who, as in Spain, knew how to make the land produce abundantly. Sugar-cane, date-palms, cotton, olives, oranges, mulberries and other plants and fruits were introduced by the Arabs. Sericulture was established by the Normans after 1147. Papyrus, the like of which ibn-Ḥawqal[2] saw nowhere except in Egypt, was now cultivated in greater abundance than ever before. From its fibre, cordage was made for ships. Ibn-Jubayr,[3] who visited the island in 1184, was greatly impressed by its fertility, rich resources and plentiful means of sustenance. He particularly noted grape-vines and other trees cultivated in symmetrical rows.

The earliest extant paper document from Europe is an order in Greek and Arabic issued by the wife of Roger I, presumably in 1109; but it is more reasonable to suppose that the paper of this document was imported by Sicilian Arabs. From the time of King Roger II we have the earliest coin bearing a date in Arabic numerals (1138) and an Arabic inscription.

[1] Ibn-Ḥamdīs later accompanied his Sevillan patron into captivity in Africa. His *Dīwān* was edited by C. Schiaparelli (Rome, 1897); extracts in Amari, *Biblioteca*, pp. 547-73. [2] P. 86. [3] P. 328.

The line of Sicilian Arabophiles started by Roger I culminated in his son and second successor Roger II (1130–54) and in

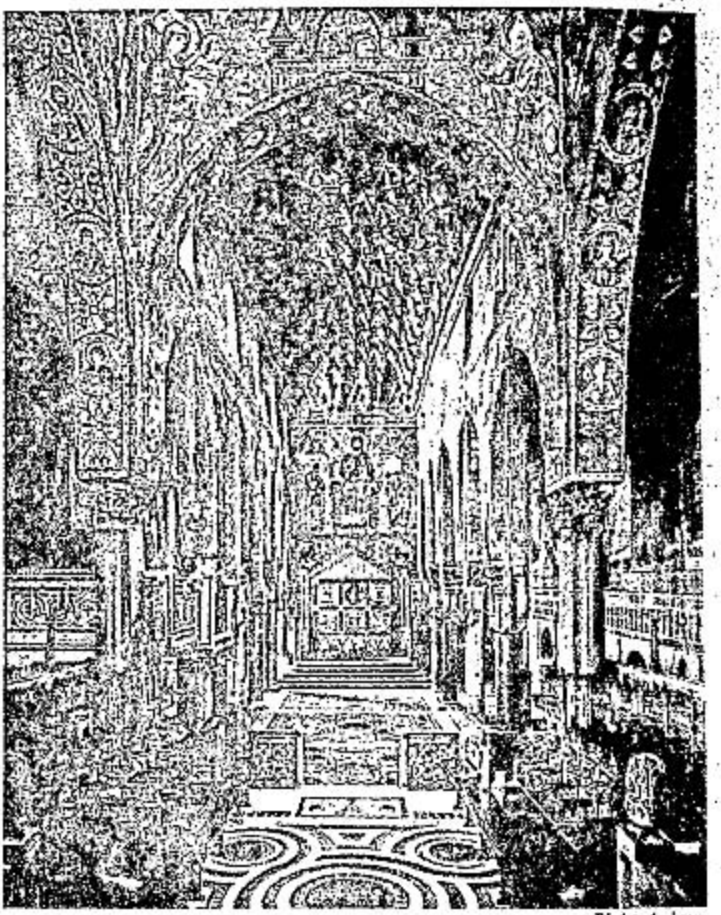


Photo: Anderson

CAPPELLA PALATINA, PALERMO

Built by Roger II and decorated with medallions bearing Kufic inscriptions

Frederick II. Roger II dressed like a Moslem and his critics called him the "half-heathen king". His robe bore decorative Arabic characters. Even under his grandson William II (1166–89) ibn-

Jubayr[1] saw Christian women of Palermo wearing Moslem costumes. The chapel built by Roger II in his capital had its ceiling covered with Fāṭimid-influenced paintings and Kufic inscriptions. Arab craftsmen were undoubtedly employed in the construction of this and other Sicilian monuments. Several ivory objects, including caskets and croziers now in the Museo Cristiano of the Vatican and other museums, typify Siculo-Arabic craftsmanship of this period.[2] Roger's fleet, which raised Sicily to the position of the leading maritime power in the Mediterranean, was built and commanded by amīrs of whom the greatest was George (Jurji) of Antioch, a Greek formerly in the service of a Moslem prince in al-Mahdīyah, Africa The highest office in the realm was that of *ammiratus ammiratorum* (*amīr al-umarā'*).

The chief ornament of Roger II's court was al-Idrīsi, the most distinguished geographer and cartographer of the Middle Ages. Born in Ceuta in 1100 of Hispano-Arab parents, abu-'Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn-Muhammad al-Idrīsi († 1166) did his life work at Palermo under the patronage of Roger II. His Rogerian treatise (*Kitāb Rujār*) entitled *Nuzhat al-Mushtāq fi Ikhtirāq al-Āfāq*[3] (the recreation of him who yearns to traverse the lands) not only sums up the main features of such preceding works as those of Ptolemy and al-Mas'ūdi but is primarily based upon original reports submitted by observers who had been sent to various lands to secure data. In his critical collation of the material al-Idrīsi shows a remarkable breadth of view and a grasp of such essential facts as the sphericity of the earth Besides this monumental work al-Idrīsi constructed for his Norman patron a celestial sphere and a disk-shaped map of the world, both in silver.[4]

The second of "the two baptized sultans of Sicily"[5] was Roger II's grandson Frederick II of Hohenstaufen (1215–50), who ruled both Sicily and Germany and, besides holding the title of emperor of the Holy Roman Empire after 1220, became king of Jerusalem by his marriage in 1225 with the heiress,

[1] P. 333 [2] See Perry B. Cott, *Sicule Arabic Ivories* (Princeton, 1939).

[3] A synopsis of the text with its seventy one maps was printed in Rome as early as 1592. It was translated, but inaccurately, into Latin as *Geographia Nubiensis* (Paris, 1619) by two Maronite scholars, Jibrā'il al-Ṣahyūni (Gabriel Sionita) and Yūḥanna al Ḥasrūni (Joannes Hesronita) Partial editions of the text have been made in Leyden, Madrid, Rome, Bonn, etc. Consult Konrad Miller, *Mappae Arabicae*, vol vi (Stuttgart, 1927).

[4] Amari, *Biblioteca*, p. 658. [5] Amari, *Storia*, ed Nallino, vol III, p. 372.

Isabelle of Brienne. The Emperor Frederick therefore was the highest civil authority in Christendom. Three years after his marriage he undertook a Crusade which inoculated him with more Moslem ideas.

In his personal habits and official life Frederick, who kept a harem, was semi-Oriental. In his court flourished philosophers from Syria and Baghdād, with long beards and flowing robes, dancing girls from the Orient and Jews from the East as well as from the West. His interest in the world of Islam he maintained by political and commercial relations, especially with the Ayyūbid sultan of Egypt.[1] From this Sultan al-Kāmil Muhammad (1218–38), nephew of Ṣalāh-al-Dīn, Frederick received for his menagerie, which included camels and accompanied him wherever he went in Europe, a giraffe,[2] the first to appear in medieval Europe. From Egypt he also brought experts to test the incubation of ostrich eggs by the heat of the sun. From another Ayyūbid sultan, al-Ashraf of Damascus, he received in 1232 a wonderful planetarium with figures of the sun and moon marking the hours on their appointed rounds. In return, the emperor sent a white bear and a white peacock which astonished the Damascenes as much as the marvellous beast from Egypt had astonished their Sicilian contemporaries. It was to this Sultan al-Kāmil, among other Moslem rulers, that Frederick propounded, partly for information and partly as a puzzle, those problems of mathematics and philosophy whose solution was successfully undertaken by an Egyptian scholar.[3] The geometrical and astronomical problems, including the squaring of a circle's segment, were solved at al-Mawṣil. The same questionnaire was submitted to ibn-Sab'īn (above, p. 587).

Frederick brought from Syria skilled falconers, watched them train the birds and tried to ascertain by seeing the hawks' eyes whether they could find food by smell. He had his interpreter-astrologer Theodore (Thādhuri), a Jacobite Christian from Antioch,[4] translate an Arabic treatise on falconry. This translation together with another from Persian became the basis of Frederick's work on falconry, the first modern natural history. Theodore also extracted for the emperor a treatise on hygiene from the *Sirr al-Asrār* of the pseudo-Aristotle. As court

[1] Abu'l-Fidā', vol. III, p. 148 [2] This word is of Arabic origin, *zarāfah*.
[3] Amari, *Biblioteca*, p. 522, cf. p. 514, l. 4. [4] Ibn al-'Ibri, pp. 477 8

astrologer Theodore was preceded by Michael Scot, who from 1220 to 1236 represented in Sicily and Italy the learning of Moslem Spain. Scot made for the emperor from Arabic a Latin summary of Aristotle's biological and zoological works, par-



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AN ARABIC MAP OF THE WORLD
Based on al-Idrīsī

ticularly *De animalibus*, with ibn-Sīna's commentary, which he dedicated to his patron as *Abbreviatio Avicenne*.

This almost modern spirit of investigation, experimentation and research which characterized the court of Frederick marks the beginning of the Italian Renaissance. Italian poetry, letters and music began to blossom under Provençal and Arabic

influence.[1] The cultivation of poetry in the vulgar tongue was evidently due to the example of Arabic poets and singers, and the metrics of the early popular poetry of Italy, as represented by the carnival songs and the *ballata*, is fundamentally the same as that of the folk poetry of Andalusia.[2] "Stanza" is evidently a translation of Arabic *bayt*, "house", "strophe". But Frederick's greatest single contribution was the founding of the University of Naples (1224), the first in Europe to be established by a definite charter. In it he deposited a large collection of Arabic manuscripts. The works of Aristotle and ibn-Rushd which he caused to be translated were used in its curriculum; copies of the translations were sent to the Universities of Paris and Bologna. The University of Naples counted among its pupils Thomas Aquinas. In the fourteenth and following centuries Arabic studies were cultivated in several European universities, including Oxford and Paris, but with an entirely different motive: that of preparing Christian missionaries for Moslem lands.

Sicily's place in transmitting thought

The meeting-point of two cultural areas, Sicily was peculiarly adapted to act as a medium for transmitting ancient and mediæval lore. Its population comprised a Greek element which used Greek, a Moslem element which spoke Arabic and a body of scholars who knew Latin. All three languages were in current use in the official registers and royal charters as well as among the populace of the many-tongued Palermo. It was in Sicily about 1160 that the first translation of the *Almagest* into Latin was done directly from Greek with the collaboration of a Greek-speaking Sicilian, Eugene of Palermo, surnamed the Amīr. Eugene, who flourished under Roger II and his successor William I, knew Arabic as well as Latin. He made a Latin version from Arabic of the *Optica* ascribed to Ptolemy, the Greek text of which is lost, and helped translate into Greek the Arabic *Kalilah*. Under William not only translations from Arabic but also from the Greek originals were encouraged.

The Jews of Sicily, like those of Spain, had a significant part in the work of translation. The encyclopædic medical work of al-Rāzi was done into Latin by the Sicilian Jewish physician,

[1] Amari, *Storia*, ed. Nallino, vol. III, pp 760 *seq*; G. A. Cesareo, *Le origini della poesia lirica e la poesia siciliana sotto gli svevi*, 2nd ed. (Milan, 1924), pp. 101, 107

[2] José M. Millás in *Revista de archivos*, vol. xli (1920), pp 550 64, xlii (1921), pp 37-59.

Faraj ben-Sālim, in 1279 under the auspices of Charles I of Anjou and was propagated in numerous manuscripts during the succeeding centuries. This was the only major medical work rendered into Latin in Sicily, where the translations dealt mainly with astronomy and mathematics. Though some of the Greek and Arabic books were done again and better in Toledo, nevertheless Sicily's contribution was of prime value.

Via

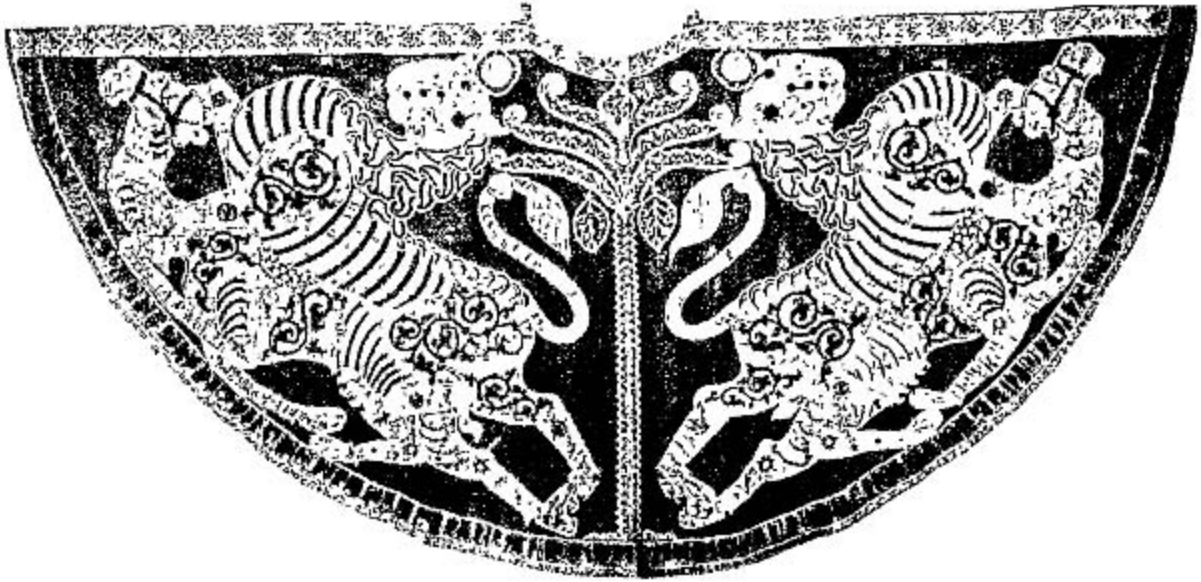
Since the Norman kings and their successors on the Sicilian throne held not only the island but also Southern Italy, they provided a bridge for the transmission of various elements of Moslem culture into the peninsula and mid-Europe. By the middle of the tenth century traces of Arab learning became clearly noticeable north of the Alps. Dante's ideas of the other world may not have been derived from any particular Arabic text, but they certainly appear to have been of Oriental origin, though drawn by him from the popular lore of Europe. This penetration from the East through various channels is evident in the domain of art as well as in science and literature. The design of Renaissance *campanili*, it would seem, was derived from the square North African, more particularly Egyptian, type of minaret. Long after Sicily and the southern part of the peninsula had reverted to Christian rule Moslem craftsmen and artists continued to flourish, as evidenced by the mosaics and inscriptions of the Palatine Chapel. The renowned weaving-house established by the Moslem rulers in the royal palace at Palermo supplied European royalty with state robes which bore Arabic inscriptions. The first Italian textile workers acquired their technical knowledge and models for designs from Sicily. By the beginning of the thirteenth century silk weaving had already become the principal industry in several Italian towns, which exported fabrics imitating the Sicilian stuffs into various parts of Europe. As in Palermo and Cadiz, so in Venice, Ferrara and Pisa, colonies of Oriental craftsmen taught the natives and collaborated with them. So great was the demand for Oriental fabrics that there was a time when no European could have felt really well-dressed unless he possessed at least one such garment.

During the fifteenth century when opulent Venice was so actively adopting and scattering Moslem fashions in art, books bound in Italian workshops began to assume an Oriental appearance. The peculiarities of Arabic binding, including the flap that

folds over to protect the front edges of the volume, appear on Christian books. At the same time new methods of tooling and decorating leather covers were also being learned from Oriental artisans in various Italian towns. Venice, moreover, was the home of another industry, the inlaying of brass with gold,[1] silver or red copper, an art which flourished mainly in al-Mawṣil in the twelfth century.

On the whole, Sicily as a transmitter of Moslem culture might claim for itself a place next in importance to that of Spain and higher than that of Syria in the period of the Crusades.

[1] It *azzimina*, from Ar. *a'jami*, Persian, foreign



From a photograph by Österreichische Lichtbildstelle, Vienna

THE CORONATION MANTLE OF ROGER II, WITH KUFIC INSCRIPTION ON THE SEMICIRCULAR BORDER