

THE FORMATION OF THE CLASSICAL ISLAMIC WORLD

The Formation of al-Andalus, Part 2

Part 2: Language, Religion, Culture and the
Sciences

VOLUME 47

Edited by **Maribel Fierro** and **Julio Samsó**



THE FORMATION OF THE CLASSICAL ISLAMIC WORLD

General Editor: Lawrence I. Conrad

Volume 47

The Formation of al-Andalus

THE FORMATION OF THE CLASSICAL ISLAMIC WORLD

General Editor: Lawrence I. Conrad

- | | | |
|----|---|-----------------------------------|
| 1 | Byzantium on the Eve of Islam | <i>Averil Cameron</i> |
| 2 | The Sasanian East on the Eve of Islam | <i>Shaul Shaked</i> |
| 3 | The Arabs and Arabia on the Eve of Islam | <i>Frank E. Peters</i> |
| 4 | The Life of Muḥammad | <i>Uri Rubin</i> |
| 5 | The Arab Conquests | <i>Fred M. Donner</i> |
| 6 | The Articulation of State Structures | <i>Fred M. Donner</i> |
| 7 | Problems of Political Cohesion | <i>R. Stephen Humphreys</i> |
| 8 | Arab-Byzantine Relations | <i>Michael Bonner</i> |
| 9 | The Turks in the Early Islamic World | <i>C.E. Bosworth</i> |
| 10 | Patterns of Everyday Life | <i>David Waines</i> |
| 11 | Agricultural Production and Pastoralism | <i>Michael G. Morony</i> |
| 12 | Manufacturing, Mining and Labour | <i>Michael G. Morony</i> |
| 13 | Trade, Exchange and the Market Place | <i>A.L. Udovitch</i> |
| 14 | Property and Consumption | <i>Baber Johansen</i> |
| 15 | Cities in the Islamic World | <i>Hugh Kennedy</i> |
| 16 | Nomads and the Desert | <i>Hugh Kennedy</i> |
| 17 | Society and the Individual | to be announced |
| 18 | Muslims and Others | <i>Albrecht Noth</i> |
| 19 | Christian Communal Life | <i>Sidney H. Griffith</i> |
| 20 | The Jewish Communities | <i>David Wasserstein</i> |
| 21 | Archaeology and Early Islam | <i>Donald Whitcomb</i> |
| 22 | Numismatics and Monetary History | <i>Michael Bates</i> |
| 23 | Art and Architecture | <i>Jonathan Bloom</i> |
| 24 | The Qur'ān: Style and Contents | <i>Andrew Rippin</i> |
| 25 | The Qur'ān: Text and Interpretation | <i>Andrew Rippin</i> |
| 26 | The Development of Ritual | <i>G.R. Hawting</i> |
| 27 | The Formation of Islamic Law | to be announced |
| 28 | The Development of <i>Ḥadīth</i> | <i>Harald Motzki</i> |
| 29 | Historiographical Traditions | <i>Lawrence I. Conrad</i> |
| 30 | Early Islamic Theology | <i>Josef van Ess</i> |
| 31 | Eschatology and Apocalyptic | <i>Wilferd Madelung</i> |
| 32 | Visions of Community | <i>Wadād al-Qāḍī</i> |
| 33 | Shī'ism | <i>Etan Kohlberg</i> |
| 34 | The Khawārij | <i>Ridwan al-Saiid</i> |
| 35 | The Emergence of Mysticism | <i>Bernd Radtke</i> |
| 36 | The Philological Tradition | <i>Ramzi Baalbaki</i> |
| 37 | Poetry and Poetics | <i>Suzanne Stetkevych</i> |
| 38 | Arabic Prose Literature | <i>Fedwa Malti-Douglas</i> |
| 39 | The Rise of Islamic Philosophy | <i>Everett Rowson</i> |
| 40 | The Rise of Arab-Islamic Medicine | <i>Lawrence I. Conrad</i> |
| 41 | The Exact Sciences | <i>Jamil Ragep</i> |
| 42 | Magic and Divination | <i>Emilie Savage-Smith</i> |
| 43 | Education and the Transmission of Knowledge | <i>Claude Gilliot</i> |
| 44 | The Islamic Manuscript Tradition | <i>Jan Just Witkam</i> |
| 45 | Islamic North Africa | <i>Elizabeth Savage</i> |
| 46 | The Formation of al-Andalus I | <i>Manuela Marin</i> |
| 47 | The Formation of al-Andalus II | <i>Maribel Fierro/Julio Samsó</i> |

THE FORMATION OF THE CLASSICAL ISLAMIC WORLD

General Editor: Lawrence I. Conrad

Volume 47

The Formation of al-Andalus

Part 2: Language, Religion,
Culture and the Sciences

edited by
Maribel Fierro and Julio Samsó

 **Routledge**
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 1998 in *The Formation of the Classical Islamic World* by
Ashgate Publishing

Published 2017 by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 RN
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017, USA

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

This edition copyright © 1998 by Taylor & Francis, and Introduction by Maribel Fierro and Julio Samsó. For copyright of individual articles refer to the Acknowledgements.

Chapters 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20 and 21 were translated from Spanish into English with the financial assistance of the Ministerio de Educación y Cultura de España (Dirección General del Libro, Archivos y Bibliotecas, Ayudas a la Traducción en lenguas extranjeras de obras de autores españoles).

La presente edición ha sido traducida mediante una ayuda de la Dirección General del Libro, Archivos y Bibliotecas del Ministerio de Educación y Cultura de España.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Notice:

Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library CIP Data

The Formation of al-Andalus.

Part 2: Language, Religion, Culture and the Sciences.

(The Formation of the Classical Islamic World: Vol. 47).

1. Islam–Iberian Peninsula–History. 2. Civilization, Islamic.
3. Spain–Civilization–711–1516. 4. Portugal–Civilization–
To 1500. 5. Spain–History–711–1516. 6. Portugal–History–
To 1385.

I. Fierro, Maribel. II. Samsó, Julio.

946' .000902

US Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 98–15270

ISBN 13 : 978-0-86078-709-9 (hbk)

THE FORMATION OF THE CLASSICAL ISLAMIC WORLD-47

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	ix
General Editor's Preface	xiii
Introduction	xv

Language and Religion

1. The Language Situation in al-Andalus <i>David Wasserstein</i>	3
2. The End of Written Ladino in al-Andalus <i>Roger Wright</i>	19
3. The Christological Consequences of Muslim-Christian Confrontation in Eighth-Century Spain <i>Dominique Urvoy</i>	37

Intellectual and Artistic Developments

The Traditional Islamic Sciences

4. The Role of Men of Religion in the History of Muslim Spain up to the End of the Caliphate <i>Hussain Monès</i>	51
5. Reflections on Mālikism under the Umayyads of Spain <i>Hady-Roger Idris</i>	85

Mysticism and Philosophy

6. <i>Zuhhād</i> of al-Andalus (300/912–420/1029) <i>Manuela Marín</i>	103
---	-----

7. A Report on the Publication of Previously Unedited Works by Ibn Masarra
Emilio Tornero 133

History

8. Some Remarks on *Fatḥ al-Andalus*
Claudio Sánchez Albornoz 151
9. Egypt and the Origins of Arabic Spanish Historiography: a Contribution to the Study of the Earliest Sources for the History of Islamic Spain
Maḥmūd ‘Alī Makkī 173

Literature

10. ‘Abbās ibn Firnās
Elías Terés 235
11. An Oriental Tale in the History of al-Andalus
Fernando de la Granja 245

Art and Architecture

12. The Basilica of San Vicente and the Great Mosque of Córdoba: a New Look at the Sources
Manuel Ocaña Jiménez 257

The Exact and Natural Sciences

Astronomy: the Arab Tradition

13. ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Ḥabīb’s *Book on the Stars*
Paul Kunitzsch 277

Contents

vii

14. Books of *Anwā'* in al-Andalus
Miquel Forcada 305

Astronomy: the Indian Heritage

15. Indian Astronomy in Medieval Spain
David Pingree 329

Astronomy and Mathematics: the Greek Heritage

16. The Contents of Qāsim ibn Muṭarrif al-Qaṭṭān's *Kitāb al-hay'a*
Josep Casulleras 339

17. The Mathematical Works of Maslama of Madrid
Juan Vernet and María-Asunción Catalá 359

18. The 'Meridian of Water' in the Tables of Geographical Coordinates of al-Andalus and North Africa
Mercè Comes 381

Medicine and Pharmacology: the Greek Tradition

19. Medicine in al-Andalus until the Fall of the Caliphate
Margarita Castells 393

20. Sa'īd ibn 'Abd Rabbih's *Urjūza fī l-ṭibb*
Rosa Kuhne 403

21. Ibn Juljul's Treatise of Medicaments not Mentioned by Dioscorides
Ildefonso Garijo 419

- Index 431



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The chapters in this volume are taken from the sources listed below. The editor and publishers wish to thank the authors, original publishers or other copyright holders for permission to use their material as follows:

CHAPTER 1: David Wasserstein, "The Language Situation in al-Andalus", in *Studies on the Muwaššah and the Kharja*, edited by A. Jones and R. Hitchcock (Oxford, 1991), pp. 1–15. Copyright © 1991 by Ithaca Press.

CHAPTER 2: Translation of: Roger Wright, "La muerte del ladino escrito en al-Andalús", *Euphrosyne. Revista de Filología Clásica*, Nova Série, 22 (Lisbon, 1994), pp. 255–68. Copyright © 1994 by the Centro de Estudos Classicos at the University of Lisbon and Roger Wright. Translation by Roger Wright; copyright © 1998 by Ashgate Publishing Ltd. and Roger Wright.

CHAPTER 3: Translation of: Dominique Urvoy, "Les conséquences christologiques de la confrontation islamo-chrétienne en Espagne au VIII^e siècle", *Das Frankfurter Konzil von 794* (Mainz, 1997), pp. 981–92. Copyright © 1997 by the Gesellschaft für mittelhheinische Kirchengeschichte. Translation by Kenneth J. Garden; copyright © 1998 by Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

CHAPTER 4: Translation of: Hussain Monès, "Le rôle des hommes de religion dans l'histoire de l'Espagne musulmane jusqu'à la fin du califat", *Studia Islamica* 20 (Paris, 1964), pp. 47–88. Copyright © 1964 by Maisonneuve et Larose. Translation by John Smedley; copyright © 1998 by Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

CHAPTER 5: Translation of: Hady-Roger Idris, "Réflexions sur le Mālikisme sous les Umayyades d'Espagne", *Atti del 3^o Congresso di Studi Arabi e Islamici (Ravello 1966)* (Naples, 1967), pp. 397–414. Copyright © 1967 by the Istituto Universitario Orientale. Translation by John Smedley; copyright © 1998 by Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

CHAPTER 6: Translation of: Manuela Marín, "Zuhhād de al-Andalus (300/912–420/1029)", *Al-Qanṭara* 12 (Madrid, 1991), pp. 439–68. Copyright © 1991 by the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Translation by Michael Kennedy; copyright © 1998 by Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

CHAPTER 7: Translation of: Emilio Tornero, "Noticia sobre la publicación de obras inéditas de Ibn Masarra", *Al-Qanṭara* 14 (Madrid, 1993), pp. 47–64. Copyright © 1993 by the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Translation by Michael Kennedy; copyright © 1998 by Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

CHAPTER 8: Translation of: Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, "Precisiones sobre *Fath al-Andalus*", *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos* 9–10 (Madrid, 1962), pp. 1–21. Copyright © 1962 by the Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos. Translation by Michael Kennedy; copyright © 1998 by Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

CHAPTER 9: Translation of: Maḥmūd 'Alī Makkī, "Egipto y los orígenes de la historiografía arábigo-española. Contribución al estudio de las primeras fuentes de historia hispanomusulmana", *Revista del Instituto de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid* 5 (Madrid, 1957), pp. 157–220. Copyright © 1957 by the Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos. Translation by Michael Kennedy; copyright © 1998 by Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

CHAPTER 10: Translation of: Elías Terés, "'Abbās ibn Firnās", *Al-Andalus* 25 (Madrid, 1960), pp. 239–49. Copyright © 1960 by the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Translation by Michael Kennedy; copyright © 1998 by Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

CHAPTER 11: Translation of: Fernando de la Granja, "Un cuento oriental en la historia de al-Andalus", *Al-Andalus* 35 (Madrid, 1970), pp. 211–22. Copyright © 1970 by the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Translation by Michael Kennedy; copyright © 1998 by Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

CHAPTER 12: Translation of: Manuel Ocaña Jiménez, "La basílica de San Vicente y la gran mezquita de Córdoba: nuevo examen de los textos", *Al-Andalus* 7 (Madrid, 1942), pp. 347–66. Copyright © 1942 by the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Translation by Michael Kennedy; copyright © 1998 by Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

CHAPTER 13: Paul Kunitzsch, "'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb's *Book on the Stars*", *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften* 9 (Frankfurt, 1994), pp. 161–94; 11 (Frankfurt, 1997), pp. 179–88. Copyright © 1994 and 1997 by the *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften*.

CHAPTER 14: Translation of: Miquel Forcada, "Los libros de *Anwā'* en al-Andalus", *El legado científico andalusí*, edited by Juan Vernet and Julio Samsó (Madrid, 1992), pp. 103–15. Copyright © 1992 by Juan Vernet and Julio Samsó. Translation by Michael Kennedy; copyright © 1998 by Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

CHAPTER 15: David Pingree, "Indian Astronomy in Medieval Spain", *From Baghdad to Barcelona: Studies in the Islamic Exact Sciences in Honour of Professor Juan Vernet*, edited by Josep Casulleras and Julio Samsó (Barcelona, 1996), pp. 39–48. Copyright © 1996 by Josep Casulleras and Julio Samsó.

CHAPTER 16: Translation of: Josep Casulleras, "El contenido del *Kitāb al-hay'a* de Qāsim b. Muṭarrif al-Qaṭṭān", *Actes de les I Trobades d'Història de la Ciència i de*

Acknowledgements

xi

la Tècnica, edited by J.M. Camarasa, H. Mielgo and A. Roca (Barcelona, 1994), pp. 75–93. Copyright © 1994 by the Societat Catalana d’Història de la Ciència i de la Tècnica. Translation by Michael Kennedy; copyright © 1998 by Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

CHAPTER 17: Translation of: Juan Vernet and María Asunción Catalá, “Las obras matemáticas de Maslama de Madrid”, *Al-Andalus* 30 (Madrid, 1965), pp. 15–45. Copyright © 1965 by the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Translation by Michael Kennedy; copyright © 1998 by Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

CHAPTER 18: Mercè Comes, “The ‘Meridian of Water’ in the Tables of Geographical Coordinates of al-Andalus and North Africa”, *Journal for the History of Arabic Science* 10 (Aleppo, 1994), pp. 41–51. Copyright © 1994 by the Institute for the History of Arabic Science, University of Aleppo, Syria.

CHAPTER 19: Translation of: Margarita Castells, “La medicina en al-Andalus [hasta la caída del Califato]”, *El legado científico andalusí*, edited by Juan Vernet and Julio Samsó (Madrid, 1992), pp. 131–35. Copyright © 1992 by Juan Vernet and Julio Samsó. Translation by Michael Kennedy; copyright © 1998 by Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

CHAPTER 20: Translation of: Rosa Kuhne, “La *Urjūza fī l-ṭibb* de Sa’īd Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihī”, *Al-Qanṭara* 1 (Madrid, 1980), pp. 279–308. Copyright © 1980 by the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Translation by Michael Kennedy; copyright © 1998 by Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

CHAPTER 21: Translation of: Ildelfonso Garijo, “El tratado de Ibn Ŷulŷul sobre los medicamentos que no mencionó Dioscórides”, *Ciencias de la Naturaleza en al-Andalus: Textos y Estudios I*, edited by E. García Sánchez (Granada, 1990), pp. 57–70. Copyright © 1990 by the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Translation by Michael Kennedy; copyright © 1998 by Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

Every effort has been made to trace all the copyright holders, but if any have been inadvertently overlooked the publishers will be pleased to make the necessary arrangement at the first opportunity.

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The pagination of articles originally published in English has been maintained for this volume. In articles translated into English, the original pagination has been indicated in the text in bold-face type.

GENERAL EDITOR'S PREFACE

Since the days of Ignaz Goldziher (1850–1921), generally regarded as the founder of Islamic studies as a field of modern scholarship, the formative period in Islamic history has remained a prominent theme for research. In Goldziher's time it was possible for scholars to work with the whole of the field and practically all of its available sources, but more recently the increasing sophistication of scholarly methodologies, a broad diversification in research interests, and a phenomenal burgeoning of the catalogued and published source material available for study have combined to generate an increasing "compartmentalisation" of research into very specific areas, each with its own interests, priorities, agendas, methodologies, and controversies. While this has undoubtedly led to a deepening and broadening of our understanding in all of these areas, and hence is to be welcomed, it has also tended to isolate scholarship in one subject from research in other areas, and even more so from colleagues outside of Arab-Islamic studies, not to mention students and others seeking to familiarise themselves with a particular topic for the first time.

The Formation of the Classical Islamic World is a reference series that seeks to address this problem by making available a critical selection of the published research that has served to stimulate and define the way modern scholarship has come to understand the formative period of Islamic history, for these purposes taken to mean approximately AD 600–950. Each of the volumes in the series is edited by an expert on its subject, who has chosen a number of studies that taken together serve as a cogent introduction to the state of current knowledge on the topic, the issues and problems particular to it, and the range of scholarly opinion informing it. Articles originally published in languages other than English have been translated, and editors have provided critical introductions and select bibliographies for further reading.

A variety of criteria, varying by topic and in accordance with the judgments of the editors, have determined the contents of these volumes. In some cases an article has been included because it represents the best of current scholarship, the "cutting edge" work from which future research seems most likely to profit. Other articles—certainly no less valuable contributions—have been taken up for the skillful way in which they synthesise the state of scholarly knowledge. Yet others are older studies that—if in some ways now superseded—nevertheless merit attention for their illustration of thinking or conclusions that have long been important, or for the decisive stimulus

they have provided to scholarly discussion. Some volumes cover themes that have emerged fairly recently, and here it has been necessary to include articles from outside the period covered by the series, as illustrations of paradigms and methodologies that may prove useful as research develops. Chapters from single author monographs have been considered only in very exceptional cases, and a certain emphasis has been encouraged on important studies that are less readily available than others.

In the present state of the field of early Arab-Islamic studies, in which it is routine for heated controversy to rage over what scholars a generation ago would have regarded as matters of simple fact, it is clearly essential for a series such as this to convey some sense of the richness and variety of the approaches and perspectives represented in the available literature. An effort has thus been made to gain broad international participation in editorial capacities, and to secure the collaboration of colleagues representing differing points of view. Throughout the series, however, the range of possible options for inclusion has been very large, and it is of course impossible to accommodate all of the outstanding research that has served to advance a particular subject. A representative selection of such work does, however, appear in the bibliography compiled by the editor of each volume at the end of the introduction.

The interests and priorities of the editors, and indeed, of the General Editor, will doubtless be evident throughout. Hopefully, however, the various volumes will be found to achieve well-rounded and representative syntheses useful not as the definitive word on their subjects—if, in fact, one can speak of such a thing in the present state of research—but as introductions comprising well-considered points of departure for more detailed inquiry.

A series pursued on this scale is only feasible with the good will and cooperation of colleagues in many areas of expertise. The General Editor would like to express his gratitude to the volume editors for the investment of their time and talents in an age when work of this kind is grossly undervalued, to the translators who have taken such care with the articles entrusted to them, and to Dr John Smedley and his staff at Ashgate for their support, assistance and guidance throughout.

Lawrence I. Conrad

INTRODUCTION

Maribel Fierro and Julio Samsó

There is an image of al-Andalus among both Muslims and Westerners that depicts it as a land whose inhabitants were poets, artists and philosophers, spending their time in enchanting gardens and palaces like the Alhambra, living a life devoted to the pleasing of all the senses. Al-Andalus has become by definition a lost paradise. For the people who actually lived in it, things were of course different. The process of formation of an Andalusī linguistic, religious and cultural identity reflects the complexity of a medieval society on the borders of Islam and Christendom, and it is against this background that other developments, including the emergence of a sophisticated Andalusī scientific tradition, must be assessed.

Language and Religion

The Muslim presence in the Iberian peninsula initially consisted of Arab and Berber troops who defeated the Visigoths, replacing them as rulers of the Hispano-Roman population, which was Christian and spoke Latin/Romance, and among whom lived a small Jewish community. Thus the different ethnic and religious groups were also differentiated at the linguistic level (Latin/Romance versus Arabic and Berber), although the dividing lines between ethnic identity, religion and language did not always coincide. These lines of division are analysed in all their complexity and changing combinations in the article by D. Wasserstein (Chapter 1), who highlights the limitations of the available sources and the contradictory interpretations to which they have been submitted. Something that has been the subject of particularly intense debate is the question of Arabic–Romance bilingualism. By the fourth/tenth century, a period which constitutes the chronological limit which we have set for ourselves for the formative period of al-Andalus, Arabic had become the predominant written language, achieving equivalent dominance as a spoken language in the following century. F. Corriente is the scholar to whom we owe the greatest and most decisive contribution to our understanding of what he calls “the Spanish Arabic dialect bundle”.¹ The

¹See Federico Corriente, *A grammatical sketch of the Spanish Arabic dialect bundle*, Madrid, 1977; *idem*, *Arabe andalusí y lenguas romances*, Madrid: Mapfre, 1992.

traces of Berber are few, which may be explained in part by the Latinisation of the North African Berber tribes who settled in the Peninsula.²

Though the question of when the Andalusi Christians³ ceased to use Latin/Romance as their spoken language is controversial, it is generally accepted that toward the middle of the fourth/tenth century texts written in Latin were no longer produced as they had been in earlier periods.⁴ R. Wright (Chapter 2) offers an explanation of just why this occurred: the rupture in the socio-linguistic continuum between written and spoken Latin/Romance was the unanticipated consequence of the attempt by Eulogius to raise the cultural level of the Christians with the object of helping them to preserve their cultural identity. For their part, the Jews, although also Arabised in the fourth/tenth century, were able to promote their Jewish identity through such measures as establishing the Bible as their own model of literary excellence. Strategies of this sort, which might be termed “Shu‘ūbī”,⁵ never really found a place in the Mozarab community, which was progressively weakened, whereas on the other hand it might be said that Islam had the effect of making the Andalusi Jewish community secure, as in fact occurred in the rest of the Muslim world.

Eulogius also played a crucial role within the process of Islamisation that was taking place among the Christian population of al-Andalus, in his

²See Jaime Oliver Asín, *En torno a los orígenes de Castilla. Su toponimia en relación con los árabes y los beréberes*, Discurso de Recepción en la Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, 1974.

³The Christians of al-Andalus are often referred to as “Mozarabs”, a term that began to be used at a late date and is not entirely accurate. See D. Urvoy, “Les aspects symboliques du vocable ‘mozarabe’. Essai de réinterprétation”, *Studia Islamica*, 78 (1993), 117–53.

⁴See Manuel Díaz y Díaz, “La circulation des manuscrits dans la Péninsule Ibérique du VIIe au XIe siècles”, *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 12 (1969), 219–421 and 383–92 (= *Vie chrétienne et culture dans l’Espagne du VIIe au Xe siècles*, Aldershot: Variorum, 1992, chapter XII); Juan Gil, *Corpus Scriptorum Muzarabicorum*, Madrid, 1973; Pedro Herrera Roldán, *Cultura y lengua latinas entre los mozárabes cordobeses del siglo IX*, Córdoba, 1995; José Eduardo López, “La cultura del mundo árabe en textos latinos hispanos del siglo VIII”, *Islão e Arabismo na Península Ibérica: Actas do XI Congresso da União Europeia de Arabistas e Islamólogos (Evora-Faro-Silves, 29 set.-6 out. 1982)*, A. Sidarus (ed.), Evora, 1986, 253–72 (which includes an ample bibliography); Dominique Millet-Gérard, *Chrétiens mozarabes et culture islamique dans l’Espagne des VIIIe-IXe siècles*, Paris, 1984; Kenneth B. Wolf, “The earliest Latin lives of Muḥammad”, in M. Gervers and R.J. Bikhazi (eds.), *Conversion and Continuity. Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands*, Toronto, 1990, 89–101.

⁵The Shu‘ūbī texts composed in al-Andalus by Muslims of non-Arab origin belong to the fifth/eleventh century. See J.T. Monroe, *The Shu‘ūbiyya in al-Andalus*, Berkeley, 1974.

Introduction

xvii

capacity as ideologue of the voluntary martyrdom movement.⁶ This movement was one of the most determined attempts to control the Andalūsī Christian community's adaptation to its Islamic context, at a time when there was a clear danger that this process of accommodation might end up as religious assimilation through conversion. Ever since R. Bulliet⁷ published his analysis of the curve showing conversion in the Iberian peninsula, his results (namely that toward the end of the fourth/tenth century Muslims made up the majority of the population of al-Andalus) have gained virtually unanimous acceptance, not so much because the method employed is completely convincing⁸ as because there is no evidence whatsoever that unequivocally contradicts these results. The process of conversion to Islam in al-Andalus has yet to be the subject of a monographic study, although there is no shortage of partial studies that focus on specific aspects, including legal factors⁹ and the peculiar characteristics of the frontier settlements.¹⁰

The religious practices and beliefs of the Muslims of al-Andalus during the second/eighth–fourth/tenth centuries, which can be partly reconstructed,¹¹ also reflect this process of Islamisation and the formation of an

⁶See F.R. Franke, "Die freiwilligen Märtyrer von Córdoba und das Verhältnis der Mozaraber zum Islam (nach den Schriften des Speraindeo, Eulogius und Alvar)", *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens* XIII, Münster/West., 1958; Francisco Javier Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes de España*, Madrid, 1897–1903; repr. Amsterdam, 1967; Kenneth B. Wolf, *Christian Martyrs in Muslim Spain*, Cambridge, 1988; J. Coope, *The Martyrs of Córdoba: Community and Family Conflict in an Age of Mass Conversion*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995.

⁷See Richard Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979, 114–27.

⁸See Luis Molina, "Familias andalusíes: los datos del *Ta'riḥ 'ulamā' al-Andalus* de Ibn al-Faradī", in *EOBA II*, M.L. Ávila (ed.), Granada, 1989, p. 20 n. 3.

⁹See Pedro Chalmeta, "Le passage à l'Islam dans al-Andalus au Xe siècle", *Actas del XII Congreso de la U.E.A.I. (Málaga, 1984)*, Madrid, 1986, 161–83; Mikel de Epalza, "Falta de obispos y conversión al Islam de los cristianos de al-Andalus", *Al-Qanṭara*, 15 (1994), 385–400; David Wasserstein, "A *fatwā* on conversion in Islamic Spain", *Studies in Muslim-Jewish Relations*, 1 (1993), 177–88; Maribel Fierro, "Four Questions in Connection with Ibn Ḥafṣūn", in vol. 46 of this series.

¹⁰See Victoria Aguilar, "Onomástica de origen árabe en el Reino de León (siglo X)", *Al-Qanṭara*, 15 (1994), 351–64; Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, "Acerca de la población arabizada del Reino de León (siglos X y XI)", *Al-Qanṭara*, 15 (1994), 465–72.

¹¹See María Isabel Fierro, "Religious beliefs and practices in al-Andalus in the third/ninth century", *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, 66 (1993), 15–33; Manuela Marin, "Muslim religious practices in al-Andalus (2nd/8th–4th/10th centuries)", *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, S.K. Jayyusi (ed.), Leiden, 1992, 878–94.

Andalusī Islam. We use this term in the sense of an Islam with particular features which, within the unity of the *umma* and without forgetting that these features were not static, allows us to differentiate it from the forms of Islam which existed in other regions of the Islamic world in terms of jurisprudence (for example, the predominance of the Mālikī school and the development of a specifically Andalusī legal canon), the penetration or absence of certain intellectual currents, and the structuring of the world of the 'ulamā' and its relations with political power.

Another topic of debate is how much influence each of the three religions present in the territory of al-Andalus was able to exert on the other two. Linked to this issue is the matter of the Christological heretical movements, the focus for the article by D. Urvoy (Chapter 3). The most well known of these movements is adoptionism, which has been interpreted as the result, at least in part, of contact between Christianity and Islam,¹² a position which tends not to be accepted by scholars working in the area of mediaeval Christian Spain,¹³ because of an ever-latent tendency in this academic body to view with suspicion any Arab-Muslim influence on Spanish Christendom. In the opposite direction, it has been suggested that Christian asceticism may have influenced Muslim ascetic-mystical tendencies,¹⁴ just as Muslim mysticism would later influence both Jewish as well as Christian mysticism. In any case, it is clear that religions which exist side by side always end up addressing each other in some way, even if it is only through apologetics or polemics. Whereas Andalusī Muslim polemic literature came into its own largely after the fifth/eleventh century, in other words, only after Mus-

¹²See Mikel de Epalza, "Influences islamiques dans la théologie chrétienne médiévale: l'adoptionisme espagnol (VIIIème siècle)", *Islamochristiana*, 18 (1992), 55–72; Spanish version, "Sobre el origen islámico del adopcionismo: influencias musulmanas encubiertas en el Cristianismo latino", *Diálogo filosófico-religioso entre Cristianismo, Judaísmo e Islamismo durante la Edad Media en la Península Ibérica*, Turnhout, 1994, 29–52; Marie-Thérèse Urvoy, "La culture et la littérature arabe des chrétiens d'al-Andalus", *Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique*, 92/4 (1991), 259–75.

¹³See Abilio Barbero de Aguilera, "Los 'síntomas españoles' y la política religiosa de Carlomagno", *En la España Medieval*, 4 (1984), *Estudios dedicados al profesor don Angel Ferrari Núñez*, vol. 1, 87–138; repr. in *La sociedad visigoda y su entorno histórico*, Madrid, 1992, 78–135.

¹⁴See Miguel Asín Palacios, *Abenmasarra y su escuela. Orígenes de la filosofía hispanomusulmana*, Madrid, 1914 (repr. in vol. 1 of M. Asín Palacios, *Obras escogidas*, Madrid, 1946, 1–216; repr. in M. Asín Palacios, *Tres estudios sobre pensamiento y mística hispanomusulmanes*, Madrid: Hiperión, 1992); English trans. *The Mystical Philosophy of Ibn Masarra and his followers*, by E.H. Douglas and H.W. Yoder, Leiden, 1978; Fierro, "Religious beliefs and practices in al-Andalus", 15–33.

Introduction

xix

lim territories faced a military threat from the Christian north, Christian polemic literature got off to an early start, impelled to a great extent by Eastern Christian writings.¹⁵

Intellectual and Artistic Developments

The articles chosen for this section related to intellectual output concentrate on the written output by the Muslims of al-Andalus, about which there is a steadily growing body of information available, thanks to the publication in recent years of a great number of sources and studies.¹⁶ Texts written in Arabic by the Andalusī Christians during the period which concerns us here have also been analysed in various monographic studies,¹⁷ as have those written by Jews.¹⁸

The Traditional Islamic Sciences

The process of Islamisation was closely linked to the appearance of the Muslim religious scholars, or '*ulamā*', who specialised above all in the Qur'ān, traditions of the Prophet Muḥammad or Islamic law. Those who specialised in law, the *fuqahā*', make up by far the largest number of men recorded in the biographical dictionaries of '*ulamā*' which were composed during the

¹⁵See Norman Daniel, "Spanish Christian sources of information about Islam (ninth-thirteenth centuries)", *Al-Qanṭara*, 15 (1994), 365-84; Wolf, "The earliest Latin lives of Muḥammad", 89-101.

¹⁶See Fierro, "Religious beliefs and practices in al-Andalus", 15-33. For the year 2000, the publication by M. Fierro of *Historia de los Autores y Transmisores de al-Andalus (HATA)* is foreseen. This book will be a bio-bibliographical repertory of works written and transmitted in al-Andalus from the Muslim conquest to the fall of the Naṣrid kingdom. In this work one will be able to find up-to-date information about which Andalusī works are preserved in manuscript form, which have been published, which have been translated into some Western language, and the studies that exist about these works. Until the *HATA* is published, the information which it is to contain is available upon request from M. Fierro.

¹⁷See P.S. van Koningsveld, "Christian-Arabic literature from Medieval Spain: an attempt at periodization", *Christian Arabic Apologetics during the Abbasid Period (750-1258)*, S.K. Samir and J. Nielsen (eds.), Leiden, 1994, 203-24; 'A.'A. Kuḥayla, *Ta'riḫ al-naṣārā fī l-Andalus*, Cairo, 1993; Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes de España*; Marie-Thérèse Urvoy, "La culture et la littérature arabe des chrétiens d'al-Andalus", 259-75; *idem*, "Influence islamique sur le vocabulaire d'un psautier arabe d'al-Andalus", *Al-Qanṭara*, 15 (1994), 509-17.

¹⁸See Angel Sáenz-Badillos and Judith Targarona Borrás, *Diccionario de autores judíos (Sefarad. siglos X-XV)*, Córdoba, 1988.

fourth/tenth century.¹⁹ These dictionaries constituted the medium by which the *'ulamā'* left a record of their existence as a group and perpetuated the memory of their characteristics, the rules by which they were governed, the quarrels that took place among them and their relations with political power; they also served to give a structured form to the transmission of religious knowledge. The oldest biographical dictionaries to have been preserved were composed in the fourth/tenth century in the Umayyad capital (Córdoba) and for the Umayyad rulers. We find preserved in these texts information proceeding from earlier biographical repertories,²⁰ some of them referring to other Andalusī towns. All of these earlier repertories are lost, but through the information thus preserved it is possible to discern the rhythms of the process of Islamisation in the various regions of al-Andalus.²¹ Following an initial period during which those who administered religious learning were members of the conquering population, that is, Arabs or highly Arabised Berbers, the Andalusī *'ulamā'* as a group ultimately came to be characterised by the fact that they were essentially males²² of Muwallad origin, in other words, the descendants of Arabised converts drawn from the local population;²³ by their connections with the market;²⁴ because their scholarly

¹⁹See María Luisa Ávila, *La sociedad hispano-musulmana al final del califato. Aproximación a un estudio demográfico*, Madrid: CSIC, 1985; *idem*, "La obra biográfica de Jālid b. Sa'd", *Estudios onomástico-biográficos de al-Andalus. II*, María Luisa Ávila (ed.), Granada: CSIC, 1989, 187–209; *idem*, "El género biográfico en al-Andalus", *Estudios onomástico-biográficos de al-Andalus. VIII*, María Luisa Ávila and M. Marín (eds.), Madrid: CSIC, 1997, 35–51; Rafael Castejón Calderón, *Los juristas hispanomusulmanes (desde la conquista hasta la caída del califato de Córdoba, años 711 a 1031 de J.C.)*, Madrid, 1948; *Estudios onomástico-biográficos de al-Andalus. I–VIII*, M. Marín et al. (eds.), Madrid, 1988–97; Manuela Marín, "Nómina de sabios de al-Andalus", *Estudios onomástico-biográficos de al-Andalus. I*, M. Marín (ed.), Madrid, 1988, 23–182.

²⁰See María Luisa Ávila, "El género biográfico en al-Andalus", *Estudios onomástico-biográficos de al-Andalus. VIII*, María Luisa Ávila and M. Marín (eds.), Madrid: CSIC, 1997, 35–51.

²¹See María Isabel Fierro and Manuela Marín, "La islamización de las ciudades andalusíes a través de sus ulemas (ss. II/VIII–comienzos s. IV/X)", *La ciudad islámica en la Alta Media (Al-Andalus–Maghreb)*, Madrid: CSIC/AECI, 1998, forthcoming.

²²See María Luisa Ávila, "Las mujeres 'sabias' en al-Andalus", in María Jesús Viguera (ed.), *Actas de las V Jornadas de Investigación Interdisciplinaria. I: al-Andalus. La mujer en al-Andalus. Reflejos históricos de su actividad y categorías sociales*, Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 1989, 139–84.

²³See Maribel Fierro, "Arabes, beréberes, muladíes y *mawālī*. Algunas reflexiones sobre los datos de los diccionarios biográficos de al-Andalus", *Estudios onomástico-biográficos de al-Andalus*, VII, Madrid: CSIC, 1995, 41–54.

²⁴See Evariste Lévi-Provençal, *L'Espagne musulmane au Xe siècle: institutions et vie*

Introduction

xxi

training took place fundamentally outside al-Andalus;²⁵ and by a prevailing inclination towards co-operation rather than confrontation with the governing authorities, though there were those among the 'ulamā' who preferred to have no dealings whatsoever with the sultan—or at least not to boast of such ties.²⁶

The predominant discipline among the traditional Islamic sciences of al-Andalus was Islamic law (*fiqh*). During the second half of the second/eighth century, the doctrines of the Syrian al-Awzā'ī (d. 157/774) enjoyed an understandable influence on a Muslim Arab military population that had strong links with Syria. However, after the third/ninth century, the doctrines of the Medinan legal school, especially the teachings of Mālik ibn Anas (d. 179/795), began to gain adherents. What has come to be called the "reception of the Mālikī school" has been the subject of various studies,²⁷ though for the third/ninth century it is more apt to speak of the reception of the Medinan and Egyptian juridical tradition. Various explanations for the triumph of Mālikism and the slight impact of other juridical schools of thought have been put forth.²⁸ The sociological explanation proposed by H.R. Idris (Chapter 5) does not enjoy widespread support, whereas the geo-

sociale, Paris, 1932; Manuela Marín, "El oficio de la ciencia y otros oficios: en torno a la onomástica de los ulemas andalusíes", *Estudios onomástico-biográficos de al-Andalus. VII*, M. Marín and H. de Felipe (eds.), Madrid, 1995, 377–436; *idem*, "Anthroponomy and society: the occupational *laqab* of Andalusian 'ulamā'", *Romania Arabica. Festschrift für Reinhold Kontzi zum 70. Geburtstag*, J. Lüdtke (ed.), Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1996, 271–79.

²⁵See Manuela Marín, "Los ulemas de al-Andalus y sus maestros orientales (93–350/711–961)", *Estudios onomástico-biográficos de al-Andalus. III*, María Luisa Ávila (ed.), Granada, 1990, 257–306; Luis Molina, "Lugares de destino de los viajeros andalusíes en el *Ta'rīj* de Ibn al-Farādī", *Estudios onomástico-biográficos de al-Andalus. I*, M. Marín (ed.), Madrid, 1988, 585–610.

²⁶See Manuela Marín, "*Inqibāḍ 'an al-sultān*: 'ulamā' and political power in al-Andalus", *Saber religioso y poder político en el Islam*, Madrid, 1994, 127–39.

²⁷See Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, 3 vols., Paris–Leiden, 1950–53; Spanish trans. by E. García Gómez in *Historia de España*, Ramón Menéndez Pidal (ed.), vols. 4–5, Madrid, 1957; *idem*, *L'Espagne musulmane au Xe siècle*; *idem*, "Le malikisme andalou et les apports doctrinaux de l'Orient", *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos de Madrid*, 1 (1953), 156–71; José López Ortiz, *La recepción de la escuela malequí en España*, Madrid, 1931; Maḥmūd 'Alī Makkī, *Ensayo sobre las aportaciones orientales en la España musulmana y su influencia en la formación de la cultura hispano-árabe*, Madrid, 1968 (repr. Madrid: Editorial Trotta, 1998); 'Abd al-Majīd Turki, "La vénération pour Mālik dans le mālikisme andalou", *Théologiens et juristes de l'Espagne musulmane*, Paris, 1982, 43–67.

²⁸See Jorge Aguadé, "Some remarks about sectarian movements in al-Andalus", *Studia Islamica*, 64 (1986), 53–77.

graphical explanation has gained greater acceptance: the Andalusīs tended to become Mālikīs because their sojourn abroad as students (*riḥla fī ṭalab al-‘ilm*) took them to Medina and Egypt, where disciples of Mālik were to be found in great numbers, while Iraq (where Ḥanafism was predominant) began to be counted among the destinations of Andalusī travellers only after the second half of the third/ninth century.²⁹ This explanation does not take into account the fact that the Ḥanafī school had a strong presence at Qayrawān, one of the sites most frequented by Andalusīs.³⁰ The geographical explanation must be seen in conjunction with a political explanation: the spread of Ḥanafism was linked to the ‘Abbāsīd government, and as a result this school of law could not be adopted in a country ruled by an Umayyad regime.³¹

During the first half of the third/ninth century, we see the introduction of transmissions (*samā‘*) with juridical content from the Medinan and Egyptian teachers with whom the Andalusīs had been in contact during the time they spent in the East. These transmissions have been preserved in a group of works compiled by Andalusī authors about which we have an increasing amount of information: the *Wāḍiḥa* and *samā‘* of Ibn Ḥabīb (d. 238/852), the *Mustakhraja* of al-‘Utbī (d. 255/868),³² the *Muntakhab* by Ibn Abī Zamanīn (d. 399/1008) and the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Ṭulayṭulī (third/ninth–fourth/tenth centuries).³³ Still lacking is an overall study which analyses the contents of these works and the connections among them, the types of legal reasoning utilised in them and how they fit in with the socio-political, economic and religious context of the time. We know somewhat more about

²⁹See Luis Molina, “Lugares de destino de los viajeros andalusíes en el *Ta’rīj* de Ibn al-Faraḍī”, *Estudios onomástico-biográficos de al-Andalus. I*, M. Marín (ed.), Madrid, 1988, 585–610.

³⁰See Mohammed Talbi, “Kairouan et le malikisme espagnol”, *Études d’Orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire de Lévi-Provençal*, 2 vols., Paris, 1962, 1, 317–77.

³¹See Maribel Fierro, “El alfaquí beréber Yahyà b. Yahyà, ‘el inteligente de al-Andalus’”, *Estudios onomástico-biográficos de al-Andalus*, VIII, María Luisa Ávila and M. Marín (eds.), Madrid: CSIC, 1997, 269–344.

³²Ana Fernández Félix is currently preparing her doctoral thesis on this book.

³³See María Arcas Campoy, “Ibn Abī Zamanīn y su obra jurídica”, *Cuadernos de Historia del Islam*, 11 (1984), 87–101; María José Cervera, “El *Muḥtaṣar* de Al-Ṭulayṭulī (Siglo X). Primer compendio jurídico andalusí conservado”, *Actas del II Coloquio Hispano-Marroquí de Ciencias históricas “Historia, ciencia y sociedad”* (Granada, 6–10 noviembre de 1989), Madrid, 1992, 139–50; Miklos Muranyi, *Materialien zur mālikitischen Rechtsliteratur*, Wiesbaden, 1984; *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Ḥadīṭ- und Rechtsgelehrsamkeit der Mālikiyya in Nordafrika bis zum 5. Jh. D.H. Bio-bibliographische Notizen aus der Moscheebibliothek von Qairawān*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997.

Introduction

xxiii

the peculiar characteristics of Andalusī jurisprudence,³⁴ some of which seem to have been of Berber origin.³⁵ Andalusī output was accompanied by the reception of works composed outside al-Andalus, the greatest influence in the field of law being Saḥnūn's *Mudawwana*,³⁶ which is representative of the work carried out by the *ahl al-ra'y*, an expression that the sources use to designate the jurists who justified their doctrine by basing it on the opinion, regarded as authoritative, of an outstanding *faqīh*. It was in the third/ninth century that the *ahl al-ra'y* were obliged to confront the challenge represented by the traditionists, or *ahl al-ḥadīth*, for whom juridical doctrine had to be based upon the Qur'ān and the tradition of the Prophet, exactly as this tradition had been collected in the sayings and deeds of Muḥammad as preserved in anecdotes whose chains of transmission guaranteed the authenticity of what was transmitted.

Two Cordobans, who were contemporaries, Ibn Waḍḍāḥ (d. 287/900) and Baqī ibn Makhlad (d. 276/889), represent the phase during which the science of Prophetic tradition (*'ilm al-ḥadīth*) was introduced to al-Andalus.³⁷ The second of these two men may be seen as the equivalent to the traditionists of the East who, during this period, put together large compilations of traditions of the Prophet, some of which would end up becoming canonical, such as the collections by al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870), Muslim (d. 261/875), Abū Dāwūd (d. 275/889), al-Tirmidhī (d. 279/892) and al-Nasā'ī (d. 303/915), which were the five such compilations most widely studied in North Africa.³⁸ Baqī ibn Makhlad composed a *Muṣannaḥ/Musnad* (now lost, except for its *muqaddima*), incurring the hostility of the *ahl al-ra'y*, who even went so far

³⁴See Alfonso Carmona, "Las diferencias entre la jurisprudencia andalusí y el resto de la escuela de Mālik: el texto atribuido a Abū Ishāq al-Garnāṭī", *Al-Qanṭara*, 19 (1998), forthcoming; López Ortiz, *La recepción de la escuela malequí en España*; Makkī, *Ensayo*.

³⁵See Maribel Fierro, "Los mālikíes de al-Andalus y los dos árbitros (*al-ḥakamān*)", *Al-Qanṭara*, 6 (1985), 79–102; *idem*, "El alfaquí beréber Yaḥyà b. Yaḥyà", 269–344.

³⁶See José María Fórneas, "Datos para un estudio de la *Mudawwana* de Saḥnūn en al-Andalus", *Actas del IV Coloquio Hispano-Tunecino (Palma de Mallorca, 1979)*, Madrid, 1983, 93–118; *idem*, "Recepción y difusión en al-Andalus de algunas obras de Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī", *Homenaje al profesor Darío Cabanelas Rodríguez O.F.M. con motivo de su LXX aniversario*, 2 vols., Granada, 1987, 1, 315–44; *idem*, "Para un estudio del *Kitāb al-Muwatta'* en al-Andalus: las *riwāyāt* de 'Abd al-Ḥaqq ibn 'Aṭīyya", *Actas del II Coloquio Hispano-Marroquí de Ciencias históricas "Historia, ciencia y sociedad" (Granada, 6–10 noviembre de 1989)*, Madrid, 1992, 197–216.

³⁷See Maribel Fierro, "The introduction of *ḥadīth* in al-Andalus (2nd/8th–3rd/9th centuries)", *Der Islam*, 66 (1988), 68–93.

³⁸The work of Ibn Māja (d. 273/886) enjoyed slight popularity, and was replaced by Mālik ibn Anas' *Muwatta'*.

as to accuse him of heresy in order thus to discredit his attempt at intellectual renewal. The Umayyad emir Muḥammad (238/852–273/886), during whose reign the persecution of Baqī ibn Makhlad occurred, managed to bring it to a halt and attempted to ensure that such quarrels among the ‘*ulamā*’ did not lead to social or political unrest. Ibn Waḍḍāḥ, for his part, sought to reconcile the doctrines of the Mālikī school with those of the traditionists. He played a key role in establishing an Andalusī Mālikī canon which had as its foundations a work of *ra’y*, Saḥnūn’s *Mudawanna*, and Mālik’s *Muwaṭṭa’*. The latter book was regarded as a compilation of Prophetic traditions and ended up taking the place of Ibn Māja’s compilation among the collections of *ḥadīth* which attained canonical rank in the Muslim West. It has even been claimed by N. Calder that Ibn Waḍḍāḥ deserves the real credit for Mālik ibn Anas’ *Muwaṭṭa’* in the transmission of the Andalusī Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā (d. 234/848).³⁹ Although the case of al-Andalus serves to confirm in its general lines J. Schacht’s theories on the evolution of Islamic jurisprudence and the late role played by the *ḥadīth* in this process, Calder’s position is overly extreme and has been rejected on the basis of convincing arguments.⁴⁰

It was in the first half of the fourth/tenth century, following the adoption of the title of caliph by the Umayyad ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III (300/912–350/961), that the Mālikī school was publicly proclaimed to be the official doctrine of al-Andalus. This took place in the context of the persecution of the Masarrites,⁴¹ and it amounted to yet one more element of the programme to reinforce the political legitimacy of the Umayyad caliphate.⁴² According to H. Monès (Chapter 4), the Mālikī jurists were used by the Umayyad emirs to legitimise their rule: the emirs recognised the right of the *fuqahā*’ to manage the religious and legal affairs of the community, while the

³⁹See Norman Calder, *Studies in Early Muslim Jurisprudence*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.

⁴⁰Hārald Motzki, “The Prophet and the Cat: On Dating Mālik’s *Muwaṭṭa’* and Legal Traditions”, *JSOI*, 21 (1997), forthcoming; Miklos Muranyi, “Die frühe Rechtsliteratur zwischen Quellenanalyse und Fiktion”, *Islamic Law and Society*, 4/2 (1997), 224–41; Maribel Fierro, “El alfaquí beréber Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā,” 309–10.

⁴¹See María Isabel Fierro, *La heterodoxia en al-Andalus durante el periodo omeya*, Madrid: I.H.A.C., 1987; *idem*, “Sobre la adopción del título califal por ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III”, *Sharq al-Andalus*, 6 (1989), 33–42; *idem*, “Bāṭinism in al-Andalus. Maslama b. Qāsim al-Qurtubī (d. 353/964), author of the *Rutbat al-ḥakīm* and the *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm (Picatrix)*”, *Studia Islamica*, 84 (1996), 87–112.

⁴²See Fierro, “Sobre la adopción del título califal por ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III”, 33–42; Gabriel Martínez-Gros, *L’idéologie omeyyade. La construction de la légitimité du Califat de Cordoue (Xe-XIe siècles)*, Madrid, 1992.

Introduction

XXV

jurists for their part committed themselves to supporting the Umayyads and defending the legitimacy of their rule before the general population. Within this context, there took shape an institution, the council, or *shūrā*,⁴³ which Monès regards as an Andalusī innovation. The councillors (*al-fuqahā' al-mushāwarūn*) did not in themselves constitute a formal, institutionalised legal body, but they nevertheless had to be consulted by the judge or emir in matters relating to violent crimes and legal sanctions prescribed by the Qur'ān. Monès also claims that the Mālikī jurists were rigid, fanatical and intolerant, laying the blame for these characteristics on a particular "religious consciousness" on the part of the inhabitants of al-Andalus which ensured that it was the only Muslim country where the *fuqahā'* participated in such a direct fashion in government affairs. Monès' essentialist position should be understood as coming from a way of writing history that is characteristic of a very specific period in the present century, both in Egypt as well as Spain, when reference was still made to the "nature of peoples" and certain alleged national traits—such as religiosity, a pronounced respect for men of religion, the restriction of thought, and fanaticism—were deemed to have characterised the inhabitants of the Iberian peninsula virtually from the dawn of history up to the twentieth century. Such traits allowed one to speak of the existence throughout all those centuries of a "Spanish race".

Nonetheless, an examination of the accusations of heresy and blasphemy that took place during the second/eighth through fourth/tenth centuries⁴⁴ do not reveal any special fanaticism on the part of the Andalusīs, but rather demonstrate that the instances in which the accused were condemned to death occurred in all cases at times when the government of the day felt itself to be in danger. In other words, the supposed religious dissidence was accompanied by a political activism which constituted a specific and immediate threat against which the state felt obliged to act. This is the case of the heretic (*zindīq*) Abū l-Khayr, charged with being an Ismā'īlī agent during the reign of al-Ḥakam II (350/961–366/976), a period when the Umayyads were reinforcing their Sunnī character in opposition to Shī'ism,⁴⁵ which had assumed political control in Ifrīqiya with the rise of the Fāṭimid caliphs. The Fāṭimid caliphate constituted the main threat and most dangerous of the

⁴³See Manuela Marín, "Šūrā et ahl al-šūrā dans al-Andalus", *Studia Islamica*, 62 (1985), 25–51.

⁴⁴See Fierro, *Heterodoxia*.

⁴⁵See Maḥmūd 'Alī Makkī, "Al-tashayyu' fi l-Andalus", *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos de Madrid*, 2 (1954), 93–149.

rivals that the Umayyad caliphate had to face in several areas, including the arts.⁴⁶

Mysticism and Philosophy

Ibn Waḍḍāḥ was the author of a book, now lost, entitled *Kitāb al-‘ubbād*, perhaps a biographical dictionary of ascetics. If so, as shown by M. Marín (Chapter 6), it was unique for the Umayyad period, for not until the Al-mohad period does one find in al-Andalus biographical dictionaries devoted specifically to ascetics and Ṣūfīs. However, the reference to the existence of ascetics and mystics can be found here and there in all sorts of sources. Their study reveals how widespread and deeply rooted were the tendencies which existed within the *zuhd* and *wara‘* and which ranged over a broad spectrum, from pious Muslims who abstained from all illicit behaviour, but without engaging in any particular devotional activities, to those who were capable of working miracles, the intermediaries whose prayers were heard by the divinity (*mujāb al-da‘wa*), and those who devoted themselves to the life of *ribā‘*. There is documentary evidence of the existence of groups of disciples who followed the norms established by their master, though naturally it is not yet possible to speak of the existence of brotherhoods or *ṭarīqas*.⁴⁷

Mysticism and philosophy are closely linked in the work of Ibn Masarra, which clearly has its roots in Neo-Platonism, as E. Tornero (Chapter 7) writes in an article which provides a documented exposition of the current understanding of this famous Cordoban’s ideas, while offering a critical analysis of previous studies on this subject.⁴⁸ The penetration of philosophical currents into al-Andalus⁴⁹ may have been more profound than it appears.⁵⁰ The campaign of persecution against the Masarrites, a term which encompasses the followers of different doctrines, should not be seen so much as an attack on doctrinal tendencies which were considered radically incompatible

⁴⁶See Jonathan Bloom, *Minaret, Symbol of Islam*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989, *Oxford Studies in Islamic Art*, VII, 86–124; Mohamed Yalaoui, “Controverse entre le fatimide al-Mu‘izz et l’Omeyyade al-Nasir d’après le *Kitāb al-majālis wa-l-musāyārāt* du cadī Nu‘mān”, *Cahiers de Tunisie*, 26 (1978), 7–33.

⁴⁷See Claude Addas, “Andalusī mysticism and the rise of Ibn ‘Arabī”, in S.K. Jayyusi (ed.), *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, Leiden, 1992, 909–33.

⁴⁸See Asín Palacios, *Abenmasarra y su escuela*; Muḥammad Kamāl Ibrāhīm Ja‘far, *Min al-turāth al-falsafī li-bn Masarra*, Cairo, 1402/1982.

⁴⁹See Miguel Cruz Hernández, *Filosofía hispano-musulmana*, 2 vols., Madrid, 1957; Dominique Urvoy, “Sur les débuts de la pensée speculative en Andalus”, *Mélanges de l’Université Saint-Joseph* 1984, 707–17.

⁵⁰See Fierro, “Bāṭinism in al-Andalus”.

Introduction

xxvii

with Andalusī Islam, as a further step in the strengthening of the caliphal power of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III. This was a policy which entailed the imposition of a higher degree of uniformity in religion and control over religious beliefs than had existed up till then. At the same time, however, the second caliph, al-Ḥakam II established a library in which all tendencies and sciences—Islamic or otherwise⁵¹—were represented; and among the members of the courtly elites there can be found followers of Mu‘tazilism and of Ibn Masarra who professed their doctrines undisturbed. It was only when al-Manṣūr (d. 392/1002) assumed power and reduced the role of caliph to a mere puppet in his hands that a real curbing of intellectual freedom took place, with the famous purge of the caliphal library and the persecution of those who pursued the non-Islamic sciences.⁵²

History

There exists a sizeable body of work on the Andalusī historians and geographers,⁵³ although it needs to be updated to include the studies and editions that have appeared more recently. History is without question the area of intellectual output which has attracted the most attention from modern-day scholars and about which there exist the largest number of scholarly studies, among which stand out those by R. Dozy, E. Lévi-Provençal, G. Levi della Vida, C. Sánchez-Albornoz, M.‘A. Makkī, P. Chalmeta, M.J. Viguera, L. Molina and E. Manzano. The explanation for this abundance is obvious: all study of the history of al-Andalus implies a study of its historiography. Nonetheless, the obvious nature of this point is not always taken into account, an omission that entails exposure to certain pitfalls.

Among the Andalusī texts to be published by the first Spanish Arabists were the historical chronicles. Their analysis has given rise to numerous controversies, often formulated in violent tones and accompanied at times by strong remarks and hostility, as the article included in this volume by C. Sánchez-Albornoz (Chapter 8) openly reveals. This article illustrates the

⁵¹See David Wasserstein, “The library of al-Ḥakam II al-Mustanṣir and the culture of Islamic Spain”, *Manuscripts of the Middle East*, 5 (1990–91), 99–105, although the scepticism expressed by the author regarding the number of books contained in al-Ḥakam II’s library is unjustified.

⁵²See Fierro, *Heterodoxia*, 161–70.

⁵³See Francisco Pons Boigues, *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico sobre los historiadores y geógrafos arábigo-españoles*, Madrid, 1898; also Konstantin Boïko, *Arabskaia istoricheskaia literatura v Ispanii*, Moscow, 1977; Ḥusayn Mu‘nis, “Al-Jughrāfiya wa-l-jughrāfiyūn fi l-Andalus”, *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos*, 7/8 (1959–60), 199–309; 9/10 (1961–62), 207–372; 11/12 (1963–64), 1–328; Cairo, 1986.

rift that exists between two groups of specialists: on the one hand, Arabists devoted to historiographical studies, and historians who attempt to analyse historical sources in Arabic on the other. In recent years there have been encouraging signs of an effort to overcome this division and the conflicts it has generated: some of the historians who deal with the history of al-Andalus seem to have accepted the need, on their part, for a thorough knowledge of the Arabic language, while Arabists who study historiographical themes seem to have accepted the need for a profound understanding of the historiographical approaches and methodology of the historians. Further progress down this path will be to the benefit of all.

To what extent was Andalusī historiography indebted to Latin and Christian works? Various studies have attempted to answer this question,⁵⁴ of particular interest in this regard being the case of Orosius' *Historiae*,⁵⁵ a work which arrived in al-Andalus in the fourth/tenth century as a gift from the Byzantine emperor to the Umayyad caliph, who then had it translated from Latin to Arabic. Other studies centre on the complex links between Arab chroniclers and Mozarab chronicles.⁵⁶ In like fashion, it has proved possible to establish connections between Muslim chronicles and later Christian chronicles.⁵⁷

However, regardless of the strength of these influences, Andalusī historiography is first and foremost indebted to Arab-Muslim historiography. In his detailed study (Chapter 9), M.ʿA. Makkī analyses Andalusī historiog-

⁵⁴See Miquel Barceló, "Una nota entorn del *Llibre dels Reis Francs* regalat pel bisbe Gotmar de Girona, l'any 384/940 (sic) a al-Ḥakam, a Còrdova", *Annals de l'Institut d'Estudis Gironins*, 25 (1979–80), 127–36; Luis Molina, "Sobre la procedencia de la historia preislámica inserta en la Crónica del Moro Rasis", *Aurāq*, 5/6 (1982–83), 122–40; *idem*, "Orosio y los geógrafos hispanomusulmanes", *Al-Qanṭara*, 5 (1984), 63–92; Joaquín Vallvé, "Fuentes latinas de los geógrafos árabes", *Al-Andalus*, 32 (1967), 241–60.

⁵⁵See Giorgio Levi della Vida, "La traduzione araba della storia di Orosio", *Al-Andalus*, 19 (1954), 257–93; also in *Note di storia letteraria arabo-ispánica*, Rome, 1971, 79–107; Luis Molina, "Orosio y los geógrafos hispanomusulmanes", *Al-Qanṭara*, 5 (1984), 63–92.

⁵⁶See Manuel Díaz y Díaz, "La historiografía hispana desde la invasión árabe hasta el año 1000", *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo*, 17, 1, Spoleto, 1970, 313–43, and in *De Isidoro al siglo XI*, Barcelona, 1976, 205–34; Cesar E. Dubler, "Sobre la Crónica arábigo-bizantina de 741 y la influencia bizantina en la Península Ibérica", *Al-Andalus* 11 (1946), 283–349; Giorgio Levi della Vida, "Un texte mozarabe d'histoire universelle", *Etudes d'Orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire de Lévi-Provençal*, 2 vols., Paris, 1962, 1, 175–83; José Eduardo López, *Estudio crítico sobre la Crónica Mozárabe de 754*, Zaragoza, 1980.

⁵⁷See Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, "San Isidoro, Rasis y la Pseudo-Isidoriana", *Cuadernos de Historia de España* 4 (1946), 73–113; repr. in Cl. Sánchez Albornoz, *Investigaciones sobre historiografía hispana medieval (siglos VIII al XII)*, Buenos Aires, 1967, 337–75.

Introduction

xxix

raphy's ties to Egypt, a country closely linked to the intellectual development of al-Andalus.⁵⁸ The writing of history was clearly promoted in the fourth/tenth century by the Umayyad caliphs as part of their programme of political legitimisation,⁵⁹ with the output of the al-Rāzī family⁶⁰ playing a major role. Their work became the principal source for the *Muqtabis*, that great compendium of the history of Umayyad al-Andalus composed by Ibn Ḥayyān in the fifth/eleventh century. At the same time, the *Muqtabis* can be seen as responsible for the loss of earlier chronicles which, once incorporated into this lengthy work, gradually faded into oblivion. However, not all Andalusī historiography was pro-Umayyad, for, according to Ibn Ḥazm, historical works were in circulation which dealt with political rivals of the Umayyads such as the Banū Qasī or the Ḥafsūnīs.⁶¹ In a category by itself is the set of compilations that describe the conquest of al-Andalus, including works such as the *Akhbār majmū'a* and the *Fatḥh al-Andalus* (both anonymous works) and Ibn al-Qūṭīya's *Ta'rikh iftitāḥ al-Andalus*,⁶² which pose the problem of their sources—were there family traditions handed down by the descendants of those who took part in the conquest?—and to which must be

⁵⁸See also Makkī, *Ensayo*.

⁵⁹See Reinhardt Dozy, "Introduction au *Bayān*", in R. Dozy (ed.), *Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne* (ed. of Ibn 'Idhārī's *al-Bayān al-mughrib*), 2 vols., Leiden, 1848–51, 5–107; Martínez-Gros, *L'idéologie omeyyade*.

⁶⁰See 'Abd al-Wahhāb Dhunnūn Ṭāha, "Nash'at al-tadwīn al-ta'rikhī fī l-Andalus: dirāsa taṭbīqīya 'an Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Rāzī", *Dirāsāt al-'ulūm al-insānīya*, (Amman) 7 (1980), 23–93; Pascual de Gayangos, *Memoria sobre la autenticidad de la Crónica denominada del Moro Rasis*, Madrid, 1852; Evariste Lévi-Provençal, "La Description de l'Espagne d'Aḥmad al-Rāzī: essai de reconstitution de l'original arabe et traduction française", *Al-Andalus*, 18 (1953), 51–108; Luis Molina, "Sobre la historia de al-Rāzī. Nuevos datos en el *Muqtabis* de Ibn Ḥayyān", *Al-Qanṭara*, 1 (1980), 435–41; *idem*, "Sobre la procedencia de la historia preislámica inserta en la Crónica del Moro Rasis", *Awrāq*, 5/6 (1982–83), 122–40; Charles Pellat, "The origin and development of historiography in Muslim Spain", *Historians of the Middle East*, Bernard Lewis and P.M. Holt (eds.), London, 1962, 118–25.

⁶¹See Charles Pellat, "Ibn Ḥazm, bibliographe et apologiste de l'Espagne musulmane", *Al-Andalus*, 19 (1954), 85.

⁶²See Pedro Chalmeta, "Una historia discontinua e intemporal: *jabar*", *Hispania*, 123 (1973), 23–75; Emilio García Gómez, "Novedades sobre la crónica anónima titulada *Fatḥh al-Andalus*", *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales (Alger)*, 12 (1954), 31–42; Luis Molina, "Los *Ajbār maǧmū'a* y la historiografía árabe sobre el periodo omeya en al-Andalus", *Al-Qanṭara*, 10 (1989), 513–42; Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, *El Ajbār Machmū'a. Cuestiones historiográficas que suscita*, Buenos Aires, 1944; *idem*, *En torno a los orígenes del feudalismo, II: Los árabes y el régimen prefeudal carolingio. Fuentes para la historia hispano-musulmana del siglo VIII*, 2nd ed., Buenos Aires, 1974.

applied new methodologies such as those developed by A. Noth.⁶³ Finally, myths and legends form an indissoluble part of the writing of history, and the case of al-Andalus is no exception.⁶⁴

Literature

The reign of the emir ‘Abd al-Raḥmān II (206/822–238/852) is unanimously regarded as the moment at which Andalusī cultural life truly came into its own, both in terms of Islamic sciences as well as the sciences of the ancient world, under the encouragement given by the emir himself to the introduction of currents and tendencies that then existed in the ‘Abbāsīd caliphate. Córdoba sought to imitate Baghdad, and in order to do so, it needed writers of literature, musicians, grammarians, poets and scientists schooled in the novelties originating in the East. The poets had been present in al-Andalus ever since the conquest, of course, singing the praises of the tribal groups they accompanied. But now new forms and ways of saying things were being introduced. Whereas the ‘*ulamā*’ were overwhelmingly male as a group, we find some women among the first Andalusī poets.⁶⁵ The few verses to have survived by poets of the early period have been the object of studies by various scholars⁶⁶ and in particular a series of articles by E. Terés, one of which is included here (Chapter 10). This article allows us to appreciate the high degree of Arabisation experienced by the elite groups of the first waves of Berbers.

The social and political function of poetry meant that poets would appear wherever there was a man of substance who needed them to sing his praises and who was ready to pay for the service. Such poets were to be found not only at the Umayyad court but also in the entourage of the Arab lords

⁶³See Albrecht Noth, *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition. A source-critical study*, in collaboration with Lawrence I. Conrad, trans. Michael Bonner, Princeton, 1994 (1st German ed., Bonn 1973); cf. also Eduardo Manzano Moreno, “Oriental *topoi* in Andalusian historical sources”, *Arabica*, 39 (1992), 42–58; as well as the article by F. de la Granja that is translated in this volume.

⁶⁴See Julia Hernández Juberías, *La península imaginaria: mitos y leyendas sobre al-Andalus*, Madrid: CSIC, 1996.

⁶⁵See Teresa Garulo, *Diwān de las poetisas de al-Andalus*, Madrid: Hiperión, 1986.

⁶⁶See José Manuel Continente, “Abū Marwān al-Ŷazīrī, poeta ‘āmīrī”, *Al-Andalus*, 34 (1969), 123–42; *idem*, “Notas sobre la poesía amorosa de Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi”, *Al-Andalus*, 35 (1970), 355–80; Wilhelm Hoenerbach, “El andalusí ‘Ubāda b. Mā’ al-Samā’: su poesía clásica en las antologías de Ibn Bassām e Ibn al-Kattānī”, *Andalucía Islámica Textos y Estudios*, 4–5 (1983–86), 69–106.

Introduction

xxxii

of Seville—they were even hired to sing the praises of Muwallad families.⁶⁷ Ibn Faraj al-Jayyānī (d. 366/977) composed one of the first poetry anthologies in al-Andalus, marking another manifestation of this emulation of all things Eastern, as outlined by Terés.⁶⁸ The number of poets—and poems that have been preserved—increases after the beginning of the fourth/tenth century. We have at our disposal several *dīwāns* reconstructed on the basis of fragments dispersed in various works, such as those by Yaḥyā ibn Ḥakam al-Ghazāl (d. 250/864) and Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi (d. 328/940),⁶⁹ as well as complete *dīwāns* for later poets such as Ibn Darrāj al-Qaṣṣālī (d. 421/1030). Nor should we neglect that fact that Ibn Hānī’ (d. 361/971), bard to the Fāṭimid court, was of Andalusī origin.

Within the constantly debated area of influences and borrowings, there has been talk of an Arabic epic genre of possible Romance origin⁷⁰ as well as Arabic influence on Romance epic poetry.⁷¹ However, it is the question of the influences bearing on lyric poetry that has caused most ink to flow,⁷² especially so far as concerns the presence of Romance *kharjas* in the Arabic strophic poems known as *muwashshahāt*. The discovery of these *kharjas* in Romance immediately aroused the interest of Romance language scholars and Hispanists, given that the *kharjas* can be interpreted as the oldest example of a Romance lyric form. The convergence of this fact with the fact that the *muwashshahāt* are a poetic form of Andalusī invention⁷³ has meant that

⁶⁷See Emilio García Gómez, “La poésie politique sous le califat de Cordoue”, *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, 17 (1949), 5–11; Elías Terés, “‘Ubaydis ibn Maḥmūd y Lubd ibn al-Šāliya, poetas de Šumuntān (Jaén)”, *Al-Andalus*, 41 (1976), 87–119.

⁶⁸See Elías Terés, “Ibn Faray de Jaén y su *Kitāb al-ḥadā’iq*. Las primeras antologías arábigoandaluzas”, *Al-Andalus*, 11 (1946), 131–57; “Algunos aspectos de la emulación poética en al-Andalus”, *Homenaje a Millás Vallicrosa*, 2 vols., Barcelona, 1956, 2, 443–62.

⁶⁹See ‘A. Zamāma, “Shā’ir al-Andalus Yaḥyā ibn Ḥakam al-Bakrī al-Ghazzāl”, *Al-Mawrid*, 8/2 (1979), 66–73; *Al-Manāhil*, 4 (1975), 149–65; Continente, “Notas sobre la poesía amorosa de Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi”, 355–80.

⁷⁰See Julián Ribera y Tarragó, “Epica andaluza romanceada”, *Disertaciones y opúsculos*, 2 vols., Madrid, 1928, 1, 93–150; María Jesús Rubiera, “Estructura de ‘cantar de gesta’ en uno de los relatos de la conquista de al-Andalus”, *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos*, 23 (1985–86), 63–78.

⁷¹See Francisco Marcos Marín, *Poesía narrativa árabe y épica hispánica: elementos árabes en los orígenes de la épica hispánica*, Madrid: Gredos, 1971; James T. Monroe, “The historical Arjuza of Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi, a tenth-century Hispano Arabic Epic Poem”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 91 (1971), 67–95.

⁷²See Rosa María Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History. A Forgotten Heritage*, Philadelphia, 1989.

⁷³See Emilio García Gómez, “Sobre el nombre y la patria del autor de la *muwaššaha*”, *Al-Andalus*, 2 (1934), 215–22.

the bibliography on the *muwashshaḥāt* and *kharjas* is ample indeed, to the extent that there now exist repertories devoted to this bibliography.⁷⁴ Bibliographical references to this subject have therefore not been included here, in order to allow more space for other topics that are neither so well known nor so thoroughly investigated. Nevertheless, any scholar interested in the historical process of the formation of al-Andalus and in how that process has been interpreted would be well advised to look through the extensive bibliography on the *kharjas*, for from it one can learn a great deal about the various ways of interpreting Andalusī culture and the different approaches and methodologies of the researchers who have pursued the topic.

The cultural renewal provoked by Iraqi influence in al-Andalus beginning during the reign of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān II is most clearly exemplified by the work of *adab* by Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi (d. 328/940) called *Al-‘Iqd al-farīd*, a literary compilation based on Eastern sources. When this book fell into the hands of the Buwayhid vizier al-Ṣāḥib ibn ‘Abbād, this man, observing that it contained no material on al-Andalus, was moved to exclaim: “It is our own merchandise, which has been returned to us”. It is not a question, however, of judging Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi’s efforts by modern standards of literary originality which existed neither in that day nor in that culture. For him and Andalusīs before and after him, the act of writing consisted fundamentally in compiling material from different sources already in circulation, and then providing it a new form or structure which gave the result a new flavour, no matter how old the ingredients. The works which have come down to us from the third/ninth century tend to be compilations of this sort, as is the case with ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Ḥabīb’s *Kitāb al-nisā’* and Ibn Waḍḍāḥ’s *Kitāb al-bida’*, which abound in material of the *khbar* and *ḥadīth* genres. *Al-‘Iqd al-farīd* still awaits an overall study which can provide an in-depth analysis of what this work represented at that moment in the cultural life of al-Andalus. However, there does exist a detailed analysis of the book’s sources which serves to highlight the wealth of works to which Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi had access, in spite of the fact that he never travelled outside al-Andalus.⁷⁵ The Eastern authors who exerted the greatest influence were, naturally, Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889) and al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/869), whose work quickly reached al-Andalus, in part by way of an

⁷⁴See R. Hitchcock and C. López Morilles, *The Kharjas: a critical bibliography*, London: Grant and Cutler, 1977; *Supplement no. 1*, London: Grant and Cutler, 1996.

⁷⁵See Walter Werkmeister, *Quellenuntersuchungen zum Kitāb al-‘Iqd al-farīd des Andalusiers Ibn ‘Abdrabbih (246/860–328/940)*. *Ein Beitrag zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, Berlin, 1983.

Introduction

xxxiii

Easterner, Abū l-Yasar al-Riyādī al-Baghdādī (d. 298/910), in part by way of Andalusī.⁷⁶ Ibn Qutayba's *Kitāb adab al-kuttāb* enjoyed enormous popularity and was the subject of several commentaries written by Andalusī of the fourth/tenth century. Abū l-Yasar al-Riyādī was also among the first to introduce Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* to al-Andalus.⁷⁷

The article by F. de la Granja (Chapter 11) shows the adaptation to the Andalusī Umayyad context of an anecdote which had circulated in Eastern works of *adab* and whose origin, in the final analysis, is to be found in the hoary depths of Persian literature, which also reached a wide audience in the Iberian peninsula by way of filters such as the works and transmissions of Ibn al-Muqaffa' (d. 139/756). F. de la Granja offers us a finely drawn tracing of the routes by which the Eastern story-telling tradition was introduced into al-Andalus, later to enrich that genre in Spain and the Romance-speaking world in general. Intercultural transfer often occurs by means of popular literature, those "old wives' tales" to which Ibn Ḥazm referred when speaking of the stories that the women would recount while at their spinning.⁷⁸ The particular anecdote examined by F. de la Granja was intended to show off the fact that the virtues and merits of the first Umayyad caliph of Damascus were preserved intact in one of his Andalusī descendants, 'Abd al-Raḥmān II. This study is thus yet one more reflection of the varied efforts undertaken by Andalusī Umayyad propaganda to consolidate the legitimacy of the ruling dynasty.

Among the works employed by Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi can also be found books of grammar and lexicography. Grammatical studies quickly took root in al-Andalus, as can be seen in the fact that among the earliest biographical dictionaries to be compiled we find a *Kitāb al-naḥwīyīn wa-l-lughawīyīn*, by al-Zubaydī (d. latter part of the fourth/tenth century),⁷⁹ and treatises on grammar were among the first books to be written in al-Andalus. One example of such a treatise is the *Kitāb al-dalā'il* of the Banū Thābit al-Saraqustī

⁷⁶See Pellat, "Note sur l'Espagne musulmane et al-Jāhīz", *Al-Andalus*, 21 (1956), 277–84.

⁷⁷See Muḥammad Ḥajjī, "Kitāb Sībawayhi fi l-Maghrib wa-l-Andalus", *Lughat al-'arab* (Rabat), 12/1 (1975), 76–90.

⁷⁸*Kitāb al-fiṣal fi l-mīlal wa-l-ahwā' wa-l-niḥal* (in the margins, al-Shahrastānī's *Al-Mīlal wa-l-niḥal*), 5 vols. in 1, Cairo AH 1347–48, 1, 218; partially trans. by M. Asín Palacios, *Abenḥázam de Córdoba y su Historia Crítica de las ideas religiosas*, 5 vols., Madrid, 1929, 2, 382.

⁷⁹See N.R. al-'Azzāwī, *Abū Bakr al-Zubaydī al-Andalusī wa-āthāruhu fi l-naḥw wa-l-lughā*, Najaf, 1975.

on *gharīb al-ḥadīth*, of which a fragment has been preserved.⁸⁰ Some of the first grammarians were highly Arabised Berbers. The two most outstanding figures for the reception in al-Andalus of works of both grammar and *adab* were two Easterners, Abū ‘Alī al-Qālī (d. 356/957)⁸¹ and Ṣā‘id al-Baghdādī (d. 417/1026).⁸² Grammar and literature constituted the breeding ground for the training of secretaries, or *kuttāb*,⁸³ an office around which biographical dictionaries were also written.⁸⁴ The epistles (*rasā’il*) by Abū Marwān al-Jazīrī (d. 394/1004) were collected in a *dīwān* which has unfortunately not been preserved.⁸⁵ The writings of Ibn Shuhayd (d. 426/1035) reveal a personal style in a body of work that excels by any standard.⁸⁶ On all these processes of reception, emulation and literary creation there are now available studies that provide a general overview, as well as anthologies, some of which have been published only recently.⁸⁷

‘Abbās ibn Firnās (d. 274/887), the poet at the centre of the study included here by E. Terés, was not only a man of letters but also a magician, alchemist, astrologer and expert in music. It was precisely during the reign of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān II that a profound renaissance in the field of music took place as a result of the activities of an immigrant Eastern musician,

⁸⁰See Shākir al-Faḥḥām, “Ḥadīth al-Sha‘bī fī ṣifāt al-ghayth. Naṣṣ mustakhrāj min *Kitāb al-dalā’il fī gharīb al-ḥadīth* li-Abī Muḥammad Qāsim ibn Thābit al-‘Awfī al-Saraqustī”, *Revue de l’Académie Arabe de Damas*, 58 (1983), 3–69.

⁸¹See Rudolf Sellheim, “Abū ‘Alī al-Qālī. Zum Problem mündlicher und schriftlicher Überlieferung am Beispiel von Sprichwörtersammlungen”, in H.R. Roemer and A. Noth (eds.), *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Vorderen Orients. Festschrift für Bertold Spuler zum siebzigsten Geburtstag*, Leiden, 1981, 362–74; ‘A.’A. al-Wadghīrī, *Abū ‘Alī l-Qālī wa-atharuhu fī l-dirāsāt al-lughawīya wa-l-adabīya bi-l-Andalus*, Rabat, 1983.

⁸²See Régis Blachère, “Un pionnier de la culture arabe orientale en Espagne au Xe siècle: Ṣā‘id de Bagdad”, *Hespéris* 10 (1930), 15–36 (repr. R. Blachère, *Analecta*, Damascus, 1975); ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Tāzī Sa‘ūd, *Ṣā‘id al-Baghdādī: ḥayātuhu wa-ātharuhu*, Rabat: Wizārat al-awqāf wa-l-shu‘ūn al-islāmīya, 1993.

⁸³See Mohamed Meuoak, “Histoire de la *kitāba* et des *kuttāb* en al-Andalus umayyade (2e/VIIIe–4e/Xe siècles)”, *Orientalia Suecana*, 41/42 (1992–93), 166–80.

⁸⁴See María Luisa Ávila, “El género biográfico en al-Andalus”, *Estudios onomástico-biográficos de al-Andalus. VIII*, María Luisa Ávila and M. Marín (eds.), Madrid: CSIC, 1997, 35–51.

⁸⁵See Continente, “Abū Marwān al-Ŷazīrī, poeta ‘āmīrī”, 123–42.

⁸⁶See James Dickie, “Ibn Šuhayd. A biographical and critical study”, *Al-Andalus*, 29 (1964), 247–52.

⁸⁷See Iḥsān ‘Abbās, *Ta’rīkh al-adab al-andalusī: ‘Asr siyādat Qurṭuba*, repr. 2nd ed. (1965), Beirut, 1981; Ḥikmat ‘Alī al-Awsī, *Fuṣūl fī l-adab al-andalusī fī l-qarnayn al-thānī wa-l-thālīth li-l-hijra*, 2nd ed., Baghdad, 1974; Angel González Palencia, *Historia de la literatura arábigo-española*, Barcelona, 1928; repr. Barcelona, 1945; María Jesús Rubiera, *Literatura hispanoárabe*, Madrid: Mapfre, 1992.

Introduction

xxxv

Ziryāb, who was at one and the same time performer, teacher, setter of cultural standards and general arbiter of taste at the Umayyad court. In spite of Ziryāb's fame, a recent study reminds us that "his influence is by no means easy to determine", for his function seems to have been as much symbolic as anything else: "he embodies the introduction, establishment and diffusion of a certain tradition in a way that confirmed the nascent cultural equality between Córdoba and Baghdad and the increasing self-confidence that went with it—even if still expressed partly in terms of covert comparisons with the East".⁸⁸ The increasing cultural self-assertion of the Andalusī, which coincided in the caliphal era with the appearance of an Arabophone "Andalusī" identity which to a large measure erased earlier ethnic divisions, would culminate in the *Risāla fī faḍl al-Andalus* composed by Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064),⁸⁹ which can be seen as a kind of declaration of cultural independence for al-Andalus.

Art and Architecture

Within the field of Islamic architecture, the great mosque of Córdoba is regarded as a prime example of the hypostyle mosque.⁹⁰ The article by M. Ocaña Jiménez (Chapter 12) analyses the elements of legend that are present in the story according to which the mosque was erected on the site of a church, just as had occurred with the Umayyad mosque in Damascus. In reality, this is yet one more example of the means to which the Andalusī Umayyads resorted in their attempts to endow their rule with legitimacy, basing their claims to a large extent on the fact that they were descendants of the Umayyad caliphs of Damascus. Following this same line, it is said that the mosaics that adorned the *miḥrāb* were made by workers sent by the Byzantine emperor to the Umayyad caliph in Córdoba—again, paralleling what had happened during the construction of the Umayyad mosque

⁸⁸See Owen Wright, "Music in Muslim Spain", in S.K. Jayyusi (ed.), *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, Leiden, 1992, 555–79.

⁸⁹See Pellat, "Ibn Ḥazm, bibliographe et apologiste de l'Espagne musulmane", 53–102.

⁹⁰See Christian Ewert, *Spanisch-islamische Systeme sich kreuzender Bögen*, vol. 1, *Die senkrechten ebenen Systeme sich kreuzender Bögen als Stützkonstruktionen der vier Rippenkuppeln in der ehemaligen Hauptmoschee von Córdoba*, Madrider Forschungen, 2. Berlin, 1968; E. Lambert, "Histoire de la grande mosquée de Cordoue aux VIIIe et IXe siècles d'après des textes inédits", *Annales de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales (Alger)*, 2 (1936), 165–79; Leopoldo Torres Balbás, "El arte hispanomusulmán hasta la caída del califato de Córdoba" in *Historia de España*, Menéndez Pidal (ed.), vol. 5, Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1957, 333–788.

in Damascus.⁹¹ The Umayyads of al-Andalus, great patrons of the arts, endeavoured by various means to create a visual language that would make manifest their links with the Umayyad legacy and, after the proclamation of the Andalusī caliphate, were also anxious to distinguish themselves from the Fāṭimids.⁹² As in all other artistic and intellectual areas, the cultural weight of Iraq made itself felt in art and architecture; this can be seen in the palace city of Madīnat al-Zahrā'.⁹³ The studies by M. Gómez Moreno, H. Terrasse, L. Torres Balbás, B. Pavón and J. Dodds provide useful overviews of the subject.⁹⁴

A topic which has provoked energetic debate is the relationship and tension between Islamic and indigenous traditions in early Andalusī art. One example of this blend can be seen in the horseshoe arch, which originated in the construction techniques of Visigothic churches. However, the connection between such techniques and the so-called Mozarab churches⁹⁵ has been experiencing a profound revision ever since S. Garen proposed that Santa María de Melque, a church that had been assumed—on the basis of the work

⁹¹See Oleg Grabar, "Notes sur le *mīhrāb* de la Grande Mosquée de Cordoue", in *Le mīhrāb dans l'architecture et la religion musulmanes. Actes du colloque internationale: Formes symboliques et formes esthétiques dans l'architecture religieuse musulmane: le mīhrāb*. Paris, 1980, A. Papadopoulo (ed.), Leiden/New York, 1988, 115–22; Henri Stern, *Les mosaïques de la Grande Mosquée Cordoue*, Madrider Forschungen, 11, Berlin, 1976.

⁹²See Jonathan Bloom, "The revival of early Islamic architecture by the Umayyads of Spain", *The Medieval Mediterranean: Cross-Cultural Contacts*, M. Chiat and K. Reyerson (eds.), St. Cloud, Minn., 1988, 35–41; *Minaret, Symbol of Islam*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989, *Oxford Studies in Islamic Art*, VII, 86–124; Jerrilynn D. Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology in Early Medieval Spain*, University Park, Penn./London, 1990.

⁹³See Manuel Ación Almansa, "Madīnat al-Zahrā' en el urbanismo musulmán", *Cuadernos de Madīnat al-Zahrā'*, 1 (1987), 11–26; Félix Hernández Giménez, *Madīnat al-zahrā': arquitectura y decoración*, Granada, 1985; Antonio Vallejo Triano, "Madīnat al-Zahrā': el triunfo del estado islámico", *Al-Andalus. Las artes islámicas en España*, J.D. Dodds (ed.), Madrid: Ediciones El Viso, 1992, 27–40.

⁹⁴See Manuel Gómez Moreno, *El arte árabe español hasta los almohades. Arte mozárabe*, *Ars Hispaniae*, 3, Madrid, 1951; Basilio Pavón Maldonado, *Ciudades hispanomusulmanas*, Madrid: Mapfre, 1992; Henri Terrasse, *L'art hispano-mauresque des origines au XIIIe siècle*, Paris: Publications de l'Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines, 1932; Leopoldo Torres Balbás, "El arte hispanomusulmán hasta la caída del califato de Córdoba" in *Historia de España*, Menéndez Pidal (ed.), vol. 5, Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1957, 333–788; *idem*, *Ciudades hispanomusulmanas*, Madrid, 1971; 2nd ed., Madrid, 1985.

⁹⁵See Manuel Gómez Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes: arte español de los siglos IX al XI*, Madrid, 1919; Fernando Arce, "Los monasterios cordobeses de Tábanos y Peñamelaria a la luz de los textos y su entorno histórico", *Boletín de Arqueología medieval*, 6 (1992), 157–70.

Introduction

xxxvii

of L. Caballero—to be Visigothic, was actually built in Umayyad times.⁹⁶ It is L. Caballero, in careful studies that promise interesting future developments, who is now positing new dates for the monuments preserved from the transitional period.⁹⁷

The Exact and Natural Sciences

The papers on this theme reproduced in this volume are intended to summarize the main lines of development of the “sciences of the ancients” (*‘ulūm al-awā’il*) during the period extending from the Islamic conquest of the Iberian peninsula (92/711) to the fall of the caliphate (422/1031). As the volume is not specifically addressed to historians of science, one of the criteria for the selection of articles for this section has been to exclude highly technical studies: this has been followed with only one exception, the paper on Maslama al-Majrīṭī by J. Vernet and M.A. Catalá, whose intention is to give an example of the high degree of sophistication attained by applied mathematics in al-Andalus towards the end of the period in question.⁹⁸

There are no records of scientific study in Andalusī civilisation until the reign of the emir ‘Abd al-Raḥmān II, during which the new science developed in the East on the basis of translations from Greek, Persian and other languages was introduced to al-Andalus. Before that period we can only perceive the survival of a Latin astrological tradition⁹⁹ and imagine that it

⁹⁶See Sally Garen, “Santa María de Melque and church construction under Muslim rule”, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 51 (1992), 288–306.

⁹⁷See Luis Caballero, “Un canal de transmisión de lo clásico en la Alta Edad Media española. Arquitectura y escultura de influjo omeya en la Península Ibérica entre mediados del siglo VIII e inicios del siglo X (I)”, *Al-Qanṭara*, 15 (1994), 321–48 and “(II)”, *Al-Qanṭara*, 16 (1995), 107–24; *idem*, with Fernando Arce, “El último influjo clásico en la Lusitania extremeña. Pervivencia visigoda e innovación musulmana”, *Los últimos romanos en Lusitania. Cuadernos Emeritenses* 10, Mérida: Museo Nacional de Arte Romano, 1995, 187–217; *idem*, “La iglesia de San Pedro de la Nave (Zamora). Arqueología y arquitectura”, *Archivo Español de Arqueología*, 70, 175–76 (1997), 221–74.

⁹⁸In addition, the papers by P. Kunitzsch, Vernet and Catalá, and R. Kuhne originally contained editions of texts in Arabic which have been omitted in the present work, as presentation of such material lies beyond the scope of this volume: consequently, references in these papers to the Arabic passages have also been suppressed.

⁹⁹A general survey of the development of Andalusī science in Julio Samsó, *Las Ciencias de los Antiguos en al-Andalus*, Madrid: Mapfre, 1992; and Geneviève Balty-Guesdon, *Médecins et hommes de sciences en Espagne Musulmane (IIe/VIIIe-Ve/XIe s.)*, doctoral dissertation presented in Paris (1988), edition in microfiches published by the Atelier National de Réproduction des Thèses de l’Université de Lille III, 1992. A critical analysis of the “external” sources (biographical dictionaries, *ṭabaqāt*) may be consulted in Miquel Forcada, “Biografías de científicos”, in M.L. Ávila and M. Marín (eds.), *Estudios onomásticos*

probably coexisted with an Arabic tradition of folk astronomy.¹⁰⁰ To this one should add an early introduction of practical astronomical knowledge applied to the needs of Islamic religious worship (lunar calendar, *qibla* orientation, determination of the times of prayers). Yet even in this field it is possible to find symptoms of a possible Latin influence: sources dating from the tenth and eleventh centuries bear witness to the survival of very crude and primitive types of horizontal sundials which might be the result of a degeneration of Latin equatorial sundials.¹⁰¹

As for medicine¹⁰² and the natural sciences, Ibn Juljul's *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā' wa-l-ḥukamā'*¹⁰³ states that medicine was practised by Christian physicians and mentions the existence of an Arabic translation of a Latin medical handbook entitled *'b.r.s.m* (probably a collection of medical aphorisms, not necessarily related to the famous Hippocratic work, the *Aphorisms*). This period also saw an early interest in agronomy: the first attempt to create a botanical garden near Córdoba was carried out under 'Abd al-Raḥmān I (138/756–172/788). In it, plants imported from Syria were nurtured and acclimatised.¹⁰⁴ Once again, the possible survival of a Latin agronomic tradition has been extensively discussed on the basis of quotations extant in later sources: while the Yūnyūs quoted in the agricultural texts does not seem to be Iunius Moderatus Columela, but Vindanius Anatolius of Berito,¹⁰⁵ there is still considerable argument about the possible survival of the influence of other Latin authors such as Martialis or Palladius and also, obviously, about the influence of local agricultural techniques.

y biográficos de al-Andalus (Madrid, 1997), 201–48. On the survival of a Latin astrological tradition see Julio Samsó, *Islamic Astronomy and Medieval Spain*. Variorum Collected Studies Series, Aldershot, 1994, items II, III and IV.

¹⁰⁰ See Forcada's article in this volume (Chapter 14).

¹⁰¹ See Josep Casulleras, "Descripciones de un cuadrante solar atípico en el Occidente Musulmán", *Al-Qanṭara*, 14 (1993), 65–87; and Casulleras in Josep Casulleras and Julio Samsó (eds.), *From Baghdad to Barcelona. Studies in the Islamic Exact Sciences in Honour of Prof. Juan Vernet*, 2 vols., Barcelona, 1996.

¹⁰² In matters pertaining to Andalusī medicine, see Castells' article in this volume (Chapter 19) and the important collection of sources gathered by Muḥammad al-'Arabī al-Khaṭṭābī in his *Al-Ṭibb wa-l-aṭibbā' fī l-Andalus al-islāmīya. Dirāsa wa-tarājim wa-nuṣūṣ*, 2 vols., Beirut, 1988.

¹⁰³ See Juan Vernet, *Estudios sobre Historia de la Ciencia Medieval*. Barcelona and Bellaterra, 1979, 469–86.

¹⁰⁴ On this botanical garden, see Julio Samsó, "Ibn Hišām al-Lajmī y el primer jardín botánico en al-Andalus", *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos* (Madrid), 21 (1981–82), 135–41.

¹⁰⁵ R.H. Rodgers, "Yūniyūs o Columela en la España Medieval", *Al-Andalus*, 43 (1978), 163–72.

Introduction

xxxix

The middle of the third/ninth century marked the beginning of a period during which Andalusī culture underwent a process of Orientalisation. This was favoured by the common practice of making the *riḥla* to the East, a journey which completed the standard education of any young man belonging to a family who could afford it, and also by the cultural policy of the Umayyad emirs whereby they encouraged Eastern scholars to settle in Córdoba and who did their best to buy the new books published in the great capitals of the Mashriq. There was, however, an inevitable delay in the arrival of scientific knowledge as well as a degree of selection, which meant that certain books never reached al-Andalus, or arrived at a later date. Orientalisation went on until the fall of the Umayyad caliphate, but the delays continued: al-Khwārizmī's *zīj*, compiled *ca.* 215/830, was not properly assimilated until the second half of the fourth/tenth century; the same can be said of al-Battānī's *zīj* and Ptolemy's *Almagest*.

Astronomy: the Arab Tradition

The survival of a Latin astronomical and medical tradition in al-Andalus in the first half of the third/ninth century caused a reaction within Muslim conservative circles represented by the polymath 'Abd al-Malik ibn Ḥabīb, whose *History* (*Ta'rikh*) contains an attempt to ascribe to Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr (d. 98/716–17), the first Arab conqueror of the Iberian peninsula, specialised knowledge in astrology and other techniques for the prediction of the future, in order not to leave these kinds of capacities exclusively in the hands of the Christians.¹⁰⁶ On the other hand, Ibn Ḥabīb is also the author of a *Mukhtaṣar fī l-ṭibb* ("Summary on Medicine")¹⁰⁷ and a *Kitāb fī l-nujūm* ("Book on Stars"), both works representing the very early Arab scientific tradition. The former is clearly divided into three parts, the first and the third being a compilation of Prophetic *ḥadīths* related to medicine (*ṭibb al-Nabī*, "Medicine of the Prophet"), which together contain a good collection of medical remedies with a firmly rational basis, while a very few of them are based purely on religious belief or superstition. Both the *ḥadīths* and the second part of the book—an original compilation on dietetics which seems to be the work of Ibn Ḥabīb himself—bear witness to a possible Hellenistic influence in traditional Islamic medicine.

¹⁰⁶ See, for example, Manuela Marín, "‘Ilm al-nuḡūm e ‘Ilm al-ḥidṭān en al-Andalus", *Actas del XII Congreso de la UEAI*, Madrid, 1986, 509–35.

¹⁰⁷ Camilo Álvarez de Morales and Fernando Girón Irueste, *Ibn Ḥabīb (m. 238/853), Mujtaṣar fī l-ṭibb (Compendio de Medicina)*, Madrid, 1992.

As P. Kunitzsch argues (Chapter 13), the purpose of the *Kitāb fī l-nujūm* is to reject astrology and to show what kind of astronomical knowledge is useful and acceptable to a good Muslim. On this basis, the *Kitāb fī l-nujūm* belongs to the *anwā'* literature surveyed by M. Forcada (Chapter 14), which deals mainly with meteorological predictions based on a solar year determined by the heliacal risings and simultaneous settings (at sunrise) of fourteen pairs of stars, and it is the first work of its kind known in al-Andalus. It is based on the teachings of the famous jurist Mālik ibn Anas, which reached Ibn Ḥabīb through one of Mālik's disciples during a three-year trip to the East in which Ibn Ḥabīb stayed in Medina and Egypt. The text presents, however, some adaptations to local conditions, such as the ratio 15/9 for the maximum/minimum length of daylight during the solstices, a figure which could correspond to the latitude of Córdoba (38;30°) if we assume that fifteen hours is a rounded value for 14;45 hours. Among other materials of interest for us here, we find that Ibn Ḥabīb describes the procedure for determining the hour during the night by observing which of the lunar mansions is crossing the meridian at a given moment, a rule for determining the entrance of the sun in a lunar mansion and another one which allows the calculation of the day of the new moon without sighting.

Anwā' literature is represented in the fourth/tenth century by three very different sources: one of them is the *Kitāb al-anwā' wa-l-azmina*, written by Ibn 'Āṣim (d. 403/1013),¹⁰⁸ which follows strictly Eastern models. More or less at the same time another *Kitāb al-anwā'* (usually known as the *Córdoba Calendar*) was written, the product of collaboration between a Muslim physician, 'Arīb ibn Sa'īd (ca. 300/912–ca. 370/980), and a Christian bishop, Rabī' ibn Zayd/Recemund: this calendar adds to the *anwā'* materials others derived from the Hellenistic medical tradition and from Indian and early Islamic astronomical sources (the *Sindhind* and *Al-Zīj al-mumtaḥan*).¹⁰⁹ Shortly thereafter, Aḥmad ibn Fāris al-Munajjim, astrologer to the caliph al-Ḥakam II, used the pretext of *anwā'* literature (more or less accepted by Islamic orthodoxy) to defend astronomical studies and astrological practices.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸Partial edition, translation and commentary by Miquel Forcada, *Ibn 'Āṣim, Kitāb al-anwā' wa-l-azmina - al-qawl fī l-ṣuhūr - (Tratado sobre los anwā' y los tiempos - capítulo sobre los meses -)*. Barcelona, 1993.

¹⁰⁹See, for example, Viladrich's article in Casulleras and Samsó (eds.), *From Baghdad to Barcelona*, I, 253–65.

¹¹⁰See Forcada's article in *ibid.*, II, 769–80.

Introduction

xli

Astronomy: the Indian Heritage

The *Córdoba Calendar* is not the earliest source in which we can establish the existence of an Eastern influence based, ultimately, on Indian, Greek or early Islamic sources. The first set of astronomical tables with explanatory text (*zīj*) was introduced during the reign of the emir ‘Abd al-Raḥmān II. This *zīj* was probably the famous *Sindhind*, based ultimately on Indian sources, in the adaptation made by Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Khwārizmī (fl. ca. 215/830). Al-Khwārizmī’s *Sindhind* was the object of new recensions made by Abū l-Qāsim Maslama ibn Aḥmad al-Majrīṭī (d. 397/1007) and his disciples Ibn al-Ṣaffār and Ibn al-Samḥ, as discussed by D. Pingree in his article on the subject (Chapter 15). Only a disappointing fragment of Ibn al-Ṣaffār’s Arabic version is extant in Arabic,¹¹¹ while Maslama’s version has been preserved in the Latin translation by Adelard of Bath.¹¹² We need not dwell on this *zīj*, for there is not much in it which could be considered original, although we should remember that its influence lasted for a long time (until at least the seventh/fourteenth century) both in Andalusī and Maghribī *zīj*es. On the other hand, this text, studied in an important article by M. Comes (Chapter 18), seems to be one of the earliest sources to introduce a correction of the difference in geographical longitude between Arīn¹¹³ and Córdoba, which amounts to 63°: this implies a displacement of the western meridian 17;40° to the west of the “Fortunate Islands” (the present-day Canary Islands) and has the effect of reducing the Mediterranean to very nearly its actual size. Maslama also seems to have added a certain number of astrological tables to al-Khwārizmī’s *zīj*, such as those concerned with the projection of rays (*maṭrah al-shu‘ā‘āt*) which constitute about a third of the whole work: here the astronomer was fully successful and improved

¹¹¹ See Margarita Castells and Julio Samsó, “Seven Chapters of Ibn al-Ṣaffār’s lost *zīj*”, *Archives Internationales d’Histoire des Sciences*, 45 (1995), 229–62.

¹¹² See O. Neugebauer, *The Astronomical Tables of al-Khwārizmī. Translation with Commentaries of the Latin Version edited by H. Suter supplemented by Corpus Christi College Ms. 283*, Copenhagen, 1962; and Van Dalen’s contribution in Casulleras and Samsó (eds.), *From Baghdad to Barcelona*, I, 195–252.

¹¹³ An Indian city, originally called Ujjayn/Uzzayn (hence the shift to Arīn in Arabic), from which Indian astronomers are said to have made observations in pre-Islamic times. It was supposedly located on the equator (latitude 0°), probably on Ceylon, at 90° of longitude from the western limit of the Western world (usually regarded as the Canary Islands or the coast of Morocco) and another 90° of longitude from the eastern limit of the Eastern world (the coast of China). It was thus considered to be at the centre of the earth (ecumene/*ma‘mūra*), and the meridian of Arīn was often used by Muslim geographers and astronomers.

on the tables provided by al-Khwārizmī for the same purpose, for those by Maslama are easier to use and give exact results, while al-Khwārizmī's only give approximations.¹¹⁴

Astronomy and Mathematics: the Greek Heritage

We suspect that the first introduction of Hellenistic materials to al-Andalus took place during the second half of the third/ninth century, when we know that 'Abbās ibn Firnās built a clepsydra with moving figures—an instrument which might be related to the Classical tradition—for the Umayyad emir of Córdoba Muḥammad.¹¹⁵ The situation is clearer during the first half of the fourth/tenth century, for which written sources are available. One of them is the *Kitāb al-hay'a* of Qāsim ibn Muṭarrif al-Qaṭṭān, a work studied by J. Casulleras in this volume (Chapter 16); this text is a qualitative description of the Ptolemaic cosmos based on an indirect knowledge of Ptolemy's *Almagest* and *Planisphaerium*. The introduction of Ptolemy (the *Almagest* and *Planisphaerium*) as well as that of al-Battānī's *zīj* (based on Ptolemaic astronomy and, especially, the *Handy Tables*) is well documented half a century later through the works of Maslama al-Majrīṭī assessed by J. Vernet and M.A. Catalá (Chapter 17).¹¹⁶ Al-Majrīṭī may have undertaken a technical revision of an Eastern translation of Ptolemy's *Planisphaerium* and certainly wrote a commentary on it in which he shows himself quite capable of making original contributions to the field of applied mathematics. The *Planisphaerium* is the standard work on the theory of the astrolabe and, towards the beginning of the fifth/eleventh century, Maslama's disciples Aḥmad ibn al-Ṣaffār (d. 426/1035) and Aṣḥab ibn al-Samḥ (d. 426/1035) wrote treatises on the use of the astrolabe, while the latter also wrote on its construction.¹¹⁷ Both the texts and the extant Andalusī astrolabes—such

¹¹⁴ See Jan P. Hogendijk, "The Mathematical Structure of Two Islamic Astrological Tables for 'Casting the Rays'", *Centaurus*, 32 (1989), 171–202. On the subject of mathematics applied to astrology, see also Kennedy's article in Casulleras and Samsó (eds.), *From Baghdad to Barcelona*, II, 535–78.

¹¹⁵ Juan Vernet, *De 'Abd al-Rahmān I a Isabel II*. Barcelona, 1989, 297–300.

¹¹⁶ Cf. also P. Kunitzsch and R. Lorch, *Maslama's Notes on Ptolemy's Planisphaerium and Related Texts*. Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte. Jahrgang 1994, Heft 2.

¹¹⁷ See Mercè Viladrich and Ramon Martí, "En torno a los tratados hispánicos sobre construcción de astrolabio hasta el siglo XIII", in J. Vernet (ed.), *Textos y Estudios sobre Astronomía Española en el Siglo XIII*, Barcelona, 1981, 79–99; Ramon Martí and Mercè Viladrich, "En torno a los tratados de uso del astrolabio hasta el siglo XIII en al-Andalus, la Marca Hispánica y Castilla", in J. Vernet (ed.), *Nuevos Estudios sobre Astronomía*

Introduction

xliii

as those made in 417/1026–27 and 420/1029 by Muḥammad ibn al-Şaffār (Aḥmad ibn al-Şaffār's brother)—describe or contain a zodiacal scale which appears on the back of Andalusī and Maghribī instruments of this kind and which furnishes a simple way of calculating the solar longitude for a given date of the solar year. Eastern references to such diagrams date from much later and we suspect that this diagram was introduced to the Mashriq by the Andalusī polymath Abū l-Şalt Umayya ibn Abī l-Şalt (*ca.* 459/1067–528/1134), who wrote a treatise on the use of the astrolabe in Alexandria in 503/1109–10 in which he described two different methods for determining the solar longitude (a solar ephemeris for a given year and the zodiacal scale).

The astrolabe zodiacal scale leads us to consider another astronomical instrument: the equatorium which was developed in al-Andalus from the beginning of the fifth/eleventh century, although there is an Eastern predecessor in the instrument designed by Abū Ja'far al-Khāzin (d. between 349/961 and 360/971). The first Andalusī treatise on this instrument was written by Abū l-Qāsim ibn al-Samḥ (d. 426/1035) and it was probably the result of the development of astrology as a profession. The standard astrolabe quite easily solved the problem of the division of the houses, which was necessary in order to cast a horoscope, but the computation of planetary longitudes using a set of astronomical tables (*zīj*) was a complicated exercise. An equatorium solved this problem graphically because it consisted of a set of Ptolemaic planetary models made to scale. Ibn al-Samḥ's equatorium is fairly straightforward and seems to be vaguely related to the astrolabe, for it used a set of plates (one for each planet plus another for the epicycles) which were kept within the *mother* (*umm*) of an astrolabe and used the scale engraved on the rim of this instrument as an ecliptic scale on which the true longitude of the planet was measured.¹¹⁸

The role played by Maslama and his disciples in astronomy is thus very clear, but we should not forget Maslama's contributions in the field of applied mathematics. Şā'id al-Andalusī (d. 461/1069) ascribes to Maslama, Ibn al-Şaffār and Ibn al-Samḥ a series of mathematical works: all three of them wrote non-extant books on commercial arithmetic (*mu'āmalāt*) and, in addition, Ibn al-Samḥ wrote a treatise on the nature of number (*ṭabī'at al-'adad*), a commentary on Euclid's *Elements* and a lengthy treatise on

Española en el Siglo de Alfonso X, Barcelona, 1983, 9–74; Mercè Viladrich, *El "Kitāb al-'amal bi-l-aṣṭurlāb"* (*Llibre de l'ús de l'astrolabi*) d'Ibn al-Samḥ. *Estudi i traducció*. Barcelona, 1986.

¹¹⁸Mercè Comes, *Ecuatorios andalusíes. Ibn al-Samḥ, al-Zarqālluh y Abū-l-Şalt*. Barcelona, 1991.

geometry. It seemed that none of these works had survived, until the recent publication, by R. Rashed and T. Lévy, of a fragment of Ibn al-Samḥ's great geometrical treatise, extant in a Hebrew translation made by Qalonymos ibn Qalonymos in 1312. In it, Ibn al-Samḥ gives Euclidean definitions of the sphere, cylinder and cone and develops a study of the plane sections of the cylinder (mainly the ellipse), in which he shows a familiarity with the works of Euclid, Archimedes and Apollonius and appears to follow the path marked out in the third/ninth century by the Easterner al-Ḥasan ibn Mūsā. Surprisingly enough, he does not seem to know the work on the same topic by Thābit ibn Qurra (d. 288/901),¹¹⁹ whose book on Menelaus' theorem (*al-shakl al-qattā'*) was known to Maslama.¹²⁰

Medicine and Pharmacology: the Greek Tradition

The arrival, towards the end of the reign of 'Abd al-Raḥmān II, of the Eastern physician al-Ḥarrānī gives us the first hints about the introduction to al-Andalus of medicine based on the Hippocratic-Galenic tradition, and this tendency is clearly confirmed under 'Abd al-Raḥmān III. It is during the rule of this emir that there appear the first Andalusī medical texts: these are the work of Sa'īd ibn 'Abd Rabbihi (d. 342/953–54 or 356/966–67), who wrote a treatise on medicinal compounds (*aqrābādihīn*) and a mnemonic poem on medicine (*Urjūza fī l-ṭibb*) studied by R. Kuhne (Chapter 20). This second work, written around 317/930–328/940, is an attempt to summarise the Greek medical heritage and to give an overview of humoral theory as well as pathology, therapeutics, hygiene, anatomy, physiology and diet. His attitude is more theoretical than practical, in spite of the fact that Sa'īd himself seems to have been an able practitioner who also wrote a work on his "experiences" (*mujarrabāt*).

It is also during the reign of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III that we see the birth of the Andalusī school of pharmacology. There is some evidence for an interest in this subject from the second half of the third/ninth century, but the crucial event seems to be the arrival in Córdoba in 337/948 (?) of a Greek manuscript of Dioscorides' *Materia Medica* sent from Constantinople by Constantine VII (913–59) or his son Romanus (959–63). This work had been translated into Arabic in the East by Stephen, son of Basil, but this translation had many shortcomings in the identification of the Greek names

¹¹⁹See Roshdi Rashed, *Les mathématiques infinitésimales du IXe au XIe siècle*, I: *Fondateurs et commentateurs*, London, 1996, 885–973.

¹²⁰See Lorch's article in Casulleras and Samsó (eds.), *From Baghdad to Barcelona*, I, 49–57.

Introduction

xlv

for simple drugs, many of which had simply been transliterated using Arabic characters. With the help of the Greek original and a Byzantine monk called Nicholas, a team of Cordoban physicians—among them the Jewish doctor Ḥasdāy ibn Shaprūt and the famous Ibn Juljul (b. 332/943)—revised the Eastern Arabic translation and succeeded in identifying most of the simples, providing names for them in Greek, Latin, Classical and Andalusī Arabic, Romance and Berber, a practice that would be systematically followed by later Andalusī pharmacologists. The final report on this revision, studied by I. Garijo (Chapter 21), was probably written in 371/982 by Ibn Juljul (*Tafsīr asmā' al-adwiya al-mufrada min kitāb Dioscorides*, “Explanation of the names of simples in the book by Dioscorides”), to which he added a *Maqāla fī dhikr al-adwiya allatī lam yadhkurhā Dioscorides fī kitābihi* (“Description of the medicaments not cited by Dioscorides”),¹²¹ which does not mark the beginning of a systematic description of the Andalusī or Maghribī flora but rather comprises a list of additions to Dioscorides based mainly on Galen and Eastern botanists and physicians such as Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, al-Rāzī and Yaḥyā ibn Sarābiyūn. It is interesting to observe that some of the simples mentioned are called “Indian”, which implies the use by Ibn Juljul of another unidentified source.

A similar work seems to have been written by another Andalusī pharmacologist, Ḥāmid ibn Samajūn (d. ca. 392/1002) and we find the same kind of basically philological approach taken by Ibn Juljul in his *Maqāla fī adwiyat al-tiryāq*, “On the medicaments used in theriac”, as described by Andromachos the Younger (first century AD). This work includes numerological speculations based on the classification of numbers made by Nicomachos of Gerasa (first century AD) and reproduced by Isidore of Seville (ca. 560–636) in his *Etymologies*, a source quoted by Ibn Juljul himself in his *Ṭabaqāt*. This brings us back to the survival of Latin knowledge in Andalusī science.¹²²

The second half of the fourth/tenth century is also the moment when Andalusī medicine reaches a surprising level of maturity and creativity and when a new scientific discipline—agronomy—appears. It is during this time that ‘Arīb ibn Sa‘īd—already mentioned as one of the authors of the *Córdoba Calendar*—dedicated his *Kitāb khalq al-janīn wa-tadbīr al-ḥabālā*

¹²¹ Editions, translations and commentaries by Ildefonso Garijo, *Ibn Yūlūl, Tratado Octavo*, Córdoba, 1992; and Albert Dietrich, *Die Ergänzung Ibn Ġulġul’s zur Materia medica des Dioskurides*. Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-Historische Klasse. Dritte Folge. Nr. 202. Göttingen, 1993.

¹²² Ildefonso Garijo, *Ibn Yūlūl, Tratado sobre los medicamentos de la triaca*. Córdoba, 1992.

wa-l-mawlūdīn (“On the generation of the foetus and the treatment of pregnant women and new-born babies”) to the caliph al-Ḥakam II. This work is a treatise on obstetrics, gynaecology, sexology and paediatrics, whose sources are both Greek (Hippocrates, Galen, Dioscorides) and Eastern Arabic (Ishāq ibn ‘Imrān, Yaḥyā ibn Māsawayh, ‘Īsā ibn Mūsā) but which also shows (indirect?) knowledge of an Indian treatise on erotology. In his treatise, Ibn Sa‘īd also provides us with the first extant information on the practice of medical astrology in al-Andalus.

Far more important, however, is the figure of Abū l-Qasim al-Zahrāwī (ca. 324/936–ca. 403/1013), probably the greatest physician in the entire history of Western Islam. His great medical encyclopaedia, *Kitāb al-Taṣrīf li-man ‘ajiza ‘an al-ta’ālīf* (roughly, “Book on medical practice for those who want to abstain from other compilations”) is intended to be a self-sufficient work which will save the medical student or physician from having to read either medical literature produced in the East or incomprehensible translations from the Greek. The work is divided into thirty books and comprises an introduction to clinical medicine, a study of human nature and its temperament, anatomy, pathology, the classification of diseases, symptoms, medical treatment, hygiene, diet and pharmacology. The work as a whole is not only a summary of all the medical knowledge of its time but also reflects the personal experience of a proficient practitioner and contains, for example, one of the earliest known descriptions of haemophilia. The *Taṣrīf*, however, has become especially famous because of its Book 30—on surgery—probably the best known surgical treatise of the Middle Ages, which contains an important set of drawings of surgical instruments and has become the basic source of information on this topic.¹²³ Al-Zahrāwī’s *Taṣrīf* is surprisingly mature for its time, and it shows that medicine in al-Andalus had reached a higher level than astronomy or mathematics, which would attain an equivalent degree of development during the period of the Party Kings (*mulūk al-ṭawā’if*).

Finally, one should remark that Abū l-Qāsīm al-Zahrāwī may also be the author of a treatise on agronomy which has often been ascribed to Ibn Wāfid (d. 460/1067): this agrees with the well-known connection between Andalusī medicine and agronomy and with the recently discovered existence

¹²³See S.K. Hamarneh and G. Sonnedecker, *A pharmaceutical view of Abulcasis al-Zahrāwī in Moorish Spain*, Leiden, 1963; M.S. Spink and G.L. Lewis, *Abulcasis on surgery and instruments. A definitive edition of the Arabic text with English translation and commentary*, Berkeley, 1973.

Introduction

xlvii

of an interest in the study of agricultural techniques on the part of the Umayyad state towards the end of this period.¹²⁴

* * *

The formation of al-Andalus thus includes processes of various sorts that intersect at different moments and in different proportions: Arabisation, but also Berberisation, Hellenisation, Romanisation, and in certain fields, the indirect influence of other cultures, such as that of India; Islamisation, but also Christian influences; the legacy of Umayyad Syria, but also Iraqi influences and emulation of 'Abbāsīd Baghdad; the rejection of Shī'ism and the strengthening of the Sunnī character of Andalusī civilisation in the face of the Fāṭimid threat. The creation and re-creation of the distinguishing features of Andalusī identity have as a permanent element the fact that al-Andalus was a frontier land cut off from the rest of the Islamic world, "an island surrounded by the sea and the Christians", as a definition taken from Muslim sources puts it. This explains the delay in the arrival in al-Andalus of certain cultural currents and accounts for the fact that some books never reached the Andalusī world. When studying the earliest period of Andalusī history, it is hard to forget that we know the end of the story, namely, that Islam would ultimately disappear from the Iberian peninsula. This knowledge is particularly poignant, given that many texts of an eschatological nature from this first formative period, written by the Muslims themselves, convey a vague sentiment of precariousness, a foreboding of the loss of al-Andalus.¹²⁵

¹²⁴See Miquel Forcada, "Sa'īd al-Bagdādī y los antecedentes de la Agronomía andalusí", *Al-Qanṭara*, 16 (1995), 163–71.

¹²⁵See Maribel Fierro, "Mahdisme et eschatologie dans al-Andalus", in A. Kaddouri, *Mahdisme. Crise et changement dans l'histoire du Maroc. Actes de la table ronde organisée à Marrakech par la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines de Rabat du 11 au 14 Février 1993*, Rabat, 1994, 47–69.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

There have been two guidelines in compiling this bibliography: to include those books and articles that have been seminal in the field, and to give preference to later works in which earlier and relevant bibliography can be found, so that by consulting them the reader will be informed of previous works. An effort has been made to incorporate as many studies in Arabic as possible, especially in the fields of poetry, literature, grammar and the traditional Islamic sciences, to which Arab scholars have paid special attention.

Studies mentioned in Volume I of *The Formation of al-Andalus* are not included, even if relevant to the issues discussed in the present volume, as it is taken for granted that the two volumes constitute a unity. Editions of sources are not mentioned. It must be kept in mind, however, that over the last twenty years there has been a dramatic increase in the available editions of the primary sources concerning this period. No research undertaken on al-Andalus should overlook this fact.

Language and Religion

Aguilar, Victoria, "Onomástica de origen árabe en el Reino de León (siglo X)", *Al-Qanṭara*, 15 (1994), 351-64.

Barbero de Aguilera, Abilio, "Los 'síntomas españoles' y la política religiosa de Carlomagno", *En la España Medieval*, 4 (1984), *Estudios dedicados al profesor don Angel Ferrari Núñez*, vol. 1, 87-138; repr. in *La sociedad visigoda y su entorno histórico*, Madrid, 1992, 78-135.

Bulliet, Richard, *Conversion to Islam in the medieval period*, Cambridge, Mass., 1979.

Chalmeta, Pedro, "Le passage à l'Islam dans al-Andalus au Xe siècle", *Actas del XII Congreso de la UEAI (Málaga, 1984)*, Madrid, 1986, 161-83.

Corriente, Federico, *A grammatical sketch of the Spanish Arabic dialect bundle*, Madrid, 1977.

———, *Arabe andalusí y lenguas romances*, Madrid, 1992.

Daniel, Norman, "Spanish Christian sources of information about Islam (ninth-thirteenth centuries)", *Al-Qanṭara*, 15 (1994), 365-84.

Introduction

xlix

- Epalza, Mikel de, "Influences islamiques dans la théologie chrétienne médiévale: l'adoptionisme espagnol (VIIIème siècle)", *Islamochristiana*, 18 (1992), 55-72; Spanish version "Sobre el origen islámico del adopcionismo: influencias musulmanas encubiertas en el Cristianismo latino", *Diálogo filosófico-religioso entre Cristianismo, Judaísmo e Islamismo durante la Edad Media en la Península Ibérica*, Turnhout, 1994, 29-52.
- , "Falta de obispos y conversión al islam de los cristianos de al-Andalus", *Al-Qanṭara*, 15 (1994), 385-400.
- Franke, F.R., "Die freiwilligen Märtyrer von Córdoba und das Verhältnis der Mozaraber zum Islam (nach den Schriften des Speraindeo, Eulogius und Alvar)", *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens XIII*, Münster, 1958.
- Gil, Juan, *Corpus Scriptorum Muzarabiorum*, Madrid, 1973.
- Herrera Roldán, Pedro, *Cultura y lengua latinas entre los mozárabes cordobeses del siglo IX*, Córdoba, 1995.
- Koningsveld, P.S. van, "Christian-Arabic literature from medieval Spain: an attempt at periodization", *Christian Arabic apologetics during the Abbasid period (750-1258)*, S.K. Samir and J. Nielsen (eds.), Leiden, 1994, 203-24.
- Kuḥayla, 'A.'A., *Ta'riḫ al-naṣārā fī l-Andalus*, Cairo, 1993.
- López, José Eduardo, "La cultura del mundo árabe en textos latinos hispanos del siglo VIII", *Islão e Arabismo na Península Ibérica: Actas do XI Congresso da União Europeia de Arabistas e Islamólogos (Evora-Faro-Silves, 29 set.-6 out. 1982)*, A. Sidarus (ed.), Evora, 1986, 253-72.
- Millet-Gérard, Dominique, *Chrétiens mozarabes et culture islamique dans l'Espagne des VIIIe-IXe siècles*, Paris, 1984.
- Oliver Asín, Jaime, *En torno a los orígenes de Castilla. Su toponimia en relación con los árabes y los beréberes*, Discurso de Recepción en la Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, 1974.
- Rodríguez Mediano, Fernando, "Acerca de la población arabizada del Reino de León (siglos X y XI)", *Al-Qanṭara*, 15 (1994), 465-72.
- Sáenz-Badillos, Angel and Targarona Borrás, Judith, *Diccionario de autores judíos (Sefarad. siglos X-XV)*, Córdoba, 1988.
- Simonet, Francisco Javier, *Historia de los mozárabes de España*, Madrid, 1897-1903; repr. Amsterdam, 1967.
- Urvoy, Marie-Thérèse, "La culture et la littérature arabe des chrétiens d'al-Andalus", *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique*, 92/4 (1991), 259-75.

_____, "Influence islamique sur le vocabulaire d'un psautier arabe d'al-Andalus", *Al-Qantara*, 15 (1994), 509-17.

Wasserstein, David, "A *fatwā* on conversion in Islamic Spain", *Studies in Muslim-Jewish Relations*, 1 (1993), 177-88.

Wolf, Kenneth B., *Christian martyrs in Muslim Spain*, Cambridge, 1988.

_____, "The earliest Latin lives of Muḥammad", in M. Gervers and R.J. Bikhazi (eds.), *Conversion and continuity. Indigenous Christian communities in Islamic lands*, Toronto, 1990, 89-101.

_____, "Christian views of Islam in early medieval Spain", *Medieval Christian perceptions of Islam: a book of essays*, J.V. Tolan (ed.), New York, 1996, 85-108.

Intellectual and Artistic Developments

The Traditional Islamic Sciences

Aguadé, Jorge, "Some remarks about sectarian movements in al-Andalus", *Studia Islamica*, 64 (1986), 53-77.

Arcas Campoy, María, "Ibn Abī Zamanīn y su obra jurídica", *Cuadernos de Historia del Islam*, 11 (1984), 87-101.

_____, "Teoría jurídica de la guerra santa: el *Kitāb qidwat al-gāzī* de Ibn Abī Zamanīn", *Al-Andalus/Magreb* (Cádiz), 1 (1993), 51-66.

Ávila, María Luisa, *La sociedad hispano-musulmana al final del califato: Aproximación a un estudio demográfico*, Madrid, 1985.

_____, "Las mujeres 'sabias' en al-Andalus", in María Jesús Viguera (ed.), *Actas de las V Jornadas de Investigación Interdisciplinaria. I: al-Andalus. La mujer en al-Andalus. Reflejos históricos de su actividad y categorías sociales*, Seville, 1989, 139-84.

Calder, Norman, *Studies in early Muslim jurisprudence*, Oxford, 1993.

Carmona, Alfonso, "Las diferencias entre la jurisprudencia andalusí y el resto de la escuela de Mālik: el texto atribuido a Abū Ishāq al-Garnātī", *Al-Qantara*, 19 (1998), forthcoming.

_____, "Las corrientes doctrinales del occidente musulmán vistas por geógrafos orientales del siglo X", *Actas del II Coloquio Hispano-Marroquí de Ciencias Históricas: 'Historia, ciencia y sociedad'*, Granada, 6-10 noviembre de 1989, Madrid, 1992, 107-14.

Introduction

li

Castejón Calderón, Rafael, *Los juristas hispanomusulmanes (desde la conquista hasta la caída del califato de Córdoba, años 711 a 1031 de J.C.)*, Madrid, 1948.

Cervera, María José, "El *Muḥtaṣar* de Al-Tulayṭulī (Siglo X). Primer compendio jurídico andalusí conservado", *Actas del II Coloquio Hispano-Marroquí de Ciencias históricas "Historia, ciencia y sociedad" (Granada, 6-10 noviembre de 1989)*, Madrid, 1992, 139-50.

Estudios onomástico-biográficos de al-Andalus. I, M. Marín (ed.), Madrid, 1988; *II*, M.L. Ávila (ed.), Granada, 1989; *III*, M.L. Ávila (ed.), Granada, 1990; *IV*, L. Molina (ed.), Granada, 1990; *V*, M. Marín and J. Zanón (eds.), Madrid, 1992; *VI*, M. Marín, (ed.) Madrid, 1994; *VII*, M. Marín and H. de Felipe (ed.), Madrid, 1995; *VII*, M.L. Ávila and M. Marín (eds.), Madrid, 1997.

al-Faḥḥām, Shākīr, "Hadīth al-Sha'bī fī ṣifāt al-ghayth. Naṣṣ mustakhraj min *Kitāb al-dalā'il fī gharīb al-ḥadīth* li-Abī Muḥammad Qāsim ibn Thābit al-'Awfī al-Saraqustī", *Revue de l'Academie Arabe de Damas*, 58 (1983), 3-69.

Fierro, Maribel, "Los mālikīes de al-Andalus y los dos árbitros (*al-ḥakamān*)", *Al-Qanṭara*, 6 (1985), 79-102.

—————, *La heterodoxia en al-Andalus durante el periodo omeya*, Madrid, 1987.

—————, "The introduction of *ḥadīth* in al-Andalus (2nd/8th-3rd/9th centuries)", *Der Islam*, 66 (1988), 68-93.

—————, "Sobre la adopción del título califal por 'Abd al-Raḥmān III", *Sharḡ al-Andalus*, 6 (1989), 33-42.

—————, "Religious beliefs and practices in al-Andalus in the third/ninth century", *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, 66 (1993), 15-33.

—————, "Mahdisme et eschatologie dans al-Andalus", in A. Kaddouri, *Mahdisme. Crise et changement dans l'histoire du Maroc. Actes de la table ronde organisée à Marrakech par la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines de Rabat du 11 au 14 Février 1993*, Rabat, 1994, 47-69.

—————, "El alfaquí beréber Yaḥyà b. Yaḥyà, 'el inteligente de al-Andalus'", *Estudios Onomástico-Biográficos de al-Andalus. VIII* (1997), M.L. Ávila and M. Marín (eds.), 269-344.

—————, and Marín, Manuela, "La islamización de las ciudades andalusíes a través de sus ulemas (ss. II/VIII-comienzos s. IV/X)", *La ciudad islámica en la Alta Media (Al-Andalus-Maghreb)*, Madrid, 1998, forthcoming.

Fórneas, José María, "Datos para un estudio de la *Mudawwana* de Saḥnūn en al-Andalus", *Actas del IV Coloquio Hispano-Tunecino (Palma de Mallorca, 1979)*, Madrid, 1983, 93-118.