

Al-Andalus in Text and Context:
Stories and Histories of Medieval and Early Modern Iberia

Nasser Meerkhan
Charlottesville, VA

MA, Villanova University, 2013
BA, University of Damascus, 2011

A Dissertation presented to the Graduate Faculty of the University of
Virginia in Candidacy for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Italian, Spanish and Portuguese

University of Virginia
November, 2017

Table of Contents

| | |
|---|-----|
| <u>Abstract</u> | iii |
| <u>Acknowledgements</u> | v |
| <u>Introduction</u> | 1 |
| I <i>A convivencia</i> of Convenience: The Curious Case of Ibn al-Qūṭīyah | |
| <u>I.1 Introduction</u> | 38 |
| <u>I.2 Sara, Artabas and ‘Abd al-Rahmān I: Establishing continuities</u> | 49 |
| <u>I.3 Prophecies and divine signs in <i>Tārīkh</i></u> | 57 |
| <u>I.4 Conclusions</u> | 72 |
| II Alfonso X The Wise: Emperor of Law and Memory | |
| <u>II.1 Introduction</u> | 77 |
| <u>II.2 Islam, Muhammad and the Conquest in Alfonso’s Historical Texts</u> | 89 |
| <u>II.3 <i>Las Siete Partidas</i>, Title XXV: “Concerning the Moors”</u> | 106 |
| <u>or Concerning the Christians?</u> | |
| <u>II.4 Conclusions</u> | 121 |
| III Ibn al-Khaṭīb, or How We Learned to Start Worrying and Miss Al-Andalus | |
| <u>III.1 Introduction</u> | 125 |
| <u>III.2 On History: The inevitability of destruction</u> | 141 |
| <u>III.3 Granada, the last land of Al-Andalus: Temporal heterotopia of crisis</u> | 148 |
| <u>III.4 On Ibn al-Khaṭīb: Politics, power and resistance</u> | 152 |
| <u>III.5 Conclusions</u> | 159 |
| IV False Hope and Flawed Sainthood in <i>Don Quixote</i> : al-Khiḍr, al-Mahdī and The Knight of the Green Coat | |
| <u>IV.1 Introduction</u> | 162 |
| <u>IV.2 al-Khiḍr and Al-Mahdī in <i>morisco</i> prophecies</u> | 176 |
| <u>IV.3 al-Khiḍr’s “cameo role” in <i>Don Quixote</i></u> | 180 |
| <u>IV.4 Conclusions</u> | 194 |
| <u>Conclusion</u> | 196 |
| <u>Works Cited</u> | 204 |
| <u>Appendix</u> | 227 |

Abstract

Historians in Medieval Iberia never lost sight of the brief Umayyad Caliphate (661-750 CE) in their attempts to reconstruct the Islamic conquest of Iberia. As early as the ninth century, there is evidence of solid, yet almost contradictory, visions of the future of Islam in Iberia. On the one hand, Al-Andalus was interpreted, by al-Humaydi (11th c.) for example, as the land in “the west” mentioned in hadiths attributed to Muhammad affirming that Islam shall be present there until Judgement Day. On the other hand, other prophecies were also circulating which anticipated the eventual expulsion of Muslims in Iberia.

This dissertation deals with the concepts of imagination, nostalgia and ephemerality in the shaping of Medieval Iberian Islamic historiography. I argue that the aforementioned contradictory prophecies reflect a nostalgic view towards the Umayyad Caliphate; one where not only its brief eminence but also its inevitable fall are imagined to be recreated in Al-Andalus. My goal is to show how unstable the historical concept of Al-Andalus has been since at least the 10th century. By resorting to Iberian authors from different historical and cultural backgrounds, I aim to emphasize the transcultural and trans-temporal significance of their contributions to this broader view of Medieval and Early Modern Iberian history.

Chapter one deals with the work of tenth-century Muslim historian of Visigothic descent Ibn al-Qūṭīyah. His work evidently attempts to create an alternative periodization of the Islamic caliphates: one that highlights the continuity of *caliphates* rule from Damascus straight to Al-Andalus, but also from the Visigothic last rulers to the Umayyads

of Cordoba. In Chapter II I turn to thirteenth-century King of Castile and Leon Alfonso X, The Wise. This chapter focuses on the pragmatics of Alfonso's understanding of history as an establishment of the authority of knowledge. I use examples of his treatments of Christians, Muslims and Jews to illustrate an early attempt in Iberian historiography to define – and isolate – the roles of different social groups within an absolute monarchy.

In Chapter III, I analyze the texts of fourteenth-century Andalusí polymath Ibn al-Khaṭīb. By resorting to his historical writing, I illustrate how much of our contemporary understanding of the concept of Al-Andalus as a nostalgic space is, in one way or another, indebted to Ibn al-Khaṭīb's works, which portray him as both agent and protagonist of history. Furthermore, the nostalgia for the past present in his texts dovetails with the Alfonsine poetic evocation of the untrammelled Gothic past before Rodrigo. Thus, these examples from both Christian and Muslim historiography build on a wistful, lost past. The last chapter resorts to the figure of Muslim saint al-Khiḍr, as he sums many of the contradictions present since the ninth century on the future of Islam in Iberia. In this chapter, I illustrate striking similarities between this saint and a minor character called Don Diego in Miguel de Cervantes' *Don Quixote Part II* (1615). If my reading of Don Diego as a possible representation of al-Khiḍr is justified, Cervantes's text shows the transcendence of the legends and prophecies surrounding the future of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Iberian imagination.

Keywords: historiography, Al-Andalus, Medieval Iberia, prophecy.

This dissertation was possible thanks to a dissertation fellowship from the Department of Spanish, Italian and Portuguese; as well as funding from the Charles Gordon Reid, Jr. Fellowship and the Buckner W. Clay Endowment for the Humanities, both of which allowed me to conduct research at archives of Istanbul and Madrid. I am very grateful for the selection committees and the people providing these resources for their generosity.

I would like to express my sincerest gratitude to my thesis advisor, E. Michael Gerli. Since I first became his student back in 2013, he has maintained an open, intellectually-stimulating dialogue with me. His patience, diligence and constructive criticism as professor and as advisor are inspiring. It is thanks to his generous support, care, comments, and suggestions that I was able to take it upon myself to write this dissertation.

I am also very thankful for my readers whose thoughts and words are visible in the way this dissertation has been conceived. Thanks to Ricardo Padrón for chasing me down the hall to convince me that my casual comment about Cervantes' Don Diego *morisco*-ness was worth pursuing, as well as his thoughtful feedback once I followed his advice; to Allison Bigelow for her insight on the process of writing a dissertation, for meeting with me on various occasions to discuss my research, and for patiently helping me think out loud about how to frame the first chapter; and to Ahmad Al-Rahim for agreeing to be an outside reader of the dissertation and for introducing me to the world of *The History of Christian-Muslim Relations*. Thanks are also due to Gustavo Pellón, in whose class I learned a great deal about literary theory; to Alison Weber, for having me as a Junior Fellow, an experience which helped me maintain productive dialogues with

professors and graduate students of the University of Virginia working in different fields; and to the faculty of Spanish, Italian & Portuguese for their support throughout the years I spent as a graduate student in this department.

Many thanks to Andrea Pauw for her generous feedback on my work and for the rewarding conversations on the history of Islam in Medieval Iberia; to Erick Romig and Matthew Richey for their suggestions on the ideas discussed in chapter one; to my friends and fellow graduate students at the University of Virginia from whom I learned a great deal; and to my parents and sister, for their incredible support.

Last but not least, I would like to thank my girlfriend Sarah for her patience and valid input over the past two years. It is thanks to her love and support that I was able to keep a smile on my face during challenging moments of the process.

This dissertation is dedicated to my late brother, Saeed, who taught me how to read and how to appreciate the arts.

Introduction

“History is nothing more than a dream”, utters Cesar Rubio, the failed history professor and tragic hero of Rodolfo Usigli’s 1938 masterpiece *El Gesticulador [The Impostor]* who is determined to resurrect a fictitious revolutionary leader to save his country, fueled by the beliefs and desires of the masses. His tragic flaw lies in his blindness to the irreversibility of his own statement regarding history: his attempt to turn his dream of a historic-savior figure into reality ultimately leads to his own assassination at the hand of his nemesis, Navarro. He dies just as his quixotic dream of becoming leader is about to come true. This play is a great example of how literature and history are as inseparable as language and discourse.

Indeed, history is very much like a dream. The analogy is even clearer when comparing the processes of narrating history and that of recounting dreams. Imagine waking up from a chaotic, life-like nightmare. When you decide to share that dream with others, an infinite number of factors come into play. Just to mention a few, especially those relatable to the telling of history, you first choose the words that describe what happened as closely as possible. Then, you consider your audience: if you are telling the dream to your best friend who was brutally murdered in the dream, you might decide to ignore or, at best, eschew that detail. The timing of your decision to tell the dream is also crucial: the sooner you tell it, the more details you remember. However, telling the dream too soon after its occurrence also means you are even less objective about it, as the emotions that accompanied the “events” are still raw. Finally, and most importantly perhaps, the reason and context for telling the dream determine the manner in which you recreate it. You might tell the exact same dream in two very different ways: once,

humorously, to your friend to make him or her laugh; and another, with utmost seriousness, to your psychotherapist, in an attempt to understand why it horrified you.

In short, you will have to resort to language, with all its limitations, pitfalls and risks, to create a plot out of a chaotic collection of events in order to have a relatable, functional, and comprehensible story. All of the above can be almost seamlessly applied to history writing. Historians go through similar struggles in the imaginative process of recreating their own version of past events, no matter how immediate those events are. As Marc Bloch puts it, "Anyone who has taken even the humblest part in a great battle is very well aware that it sometimes becomes impossible to be precise about a major episode after only a few hours" (57). Both processes, writing history and recreating dreams, are essentially a matter of finding the adequate means for retelling a past narrative, and by doing so, enabling a contemporary audience of interacting with your narrative through various interpretative possibilities.

In the field of literary theory, the intrinsic relationship between political and social intention on the one hand and the audience's reception over time on the other has attracted much attention in the past century. Frederick Jameson addressed those concerns in claiming that

(...) only a genuine philosophy of history is capable of respecting the specificity and radical difference of the social and cultural past while disclosing the solidarity of its polemics and passions, its forms, structures, experiences, and struggles, with those of the present day. (18)

The focus on reception flourished with critics such as Roland Barthes, who in the *Death of the author* confirmed that “[t]he reader is the space on which all the quotations that make up a writing are inscribed without any of them being lost; a text’s unity lies not in its origin but in its destination” (1325). The author’s function, according to Michel Foucault, was identified as “to characterize the existence, circulation, and operation of certain discourses within a society” (“What is...”1481). The literary work is the ultimate result of this interaction between the author who wrote the text in the “past” and the reader that is interpreting it in the “present.” As Wolfgang Iser puts it, the literary work lies halfway in-between a text and its realization (279) and the very act of reading enables the text’s “inherently dynamic character” (280). Finally, Iser denominates this coming together of text and reader’s enabling imagination “the virtual dimension of the text” (284).

It is within this virtual dimension that we as critics operate. When analyzing a text, any text, we are, consciously or not, engaging in a dialogue with this in-between territory: we repeatedly tend to seek its boundaries by confirming a “fact” or highlighting a “clear purpose” of the text, yet the very act of setting a concrete signpost in this territory sets about a flow of new possibilities that push the confinements even further away from us. This tendency of contemporary criticism toward “a model of immanence” (282), as Jameson puts it, is a “myth” that could be characterized as a

neo-Freudian nostalgia for some ultimate moment of *cure*, in which the dynamics of the unconscious proper rise to the light of day and of consciousness and are somehow ‘integrated’ in an active lucidity about ourselves and the determinations of our desires and our behavior. (283)

It is precisely this signposting process in that in-between territory, however, that makes our efforts worthwhile. For we have learned, after centuries of reflecting on the history of textuality, that our job is to work in the threshold, rather than attempting too forcefully to cross it, since the threshold “bears the between,” as Heidegger puts it (204). In short, our job is to expand possibilities of reading history and literature rather than to find concrete, unquestionable interpretations.

Comparing the processes of recreating dreams and writing history highlights the fact that the latter is an inherently plotted process, as Hayden White showed decades ago. Yet most importantly, the comparison points to our inclination to *identify and recreate* those plots. Specifically, when dealing with Medieval history, our present temptation to look for “allegorical master narratives” comes from the fact that such narratives are inscribed both in the text itself as well as in our thinking about those texts (Jameson 34). Now the dream-like storytelling process of history has concrete examples in Medieval history as well. Imagine, for instance, a land at the end of Europe where a newly founded Muslim emirate is struggling to reclaim the legitimacy of its brief, immediate past glory in order to establish its authority over a mix of Berbers, Syrians, Yemenites, and, of course, locals and *muwalladūn*¹. It is in Al-Andalus (711-1492²), or Islamic Iberia, that the Umayyads (the first Muslim dynasty that ruled the Islamic World from 660 to 750, and Muslim Iberia from 756 to 1031) would have to resurrect an abruptly-ended dream, and turn it into social and political reality.

¹ *Muwalladūn* (sing. *Muwallad*, hispanized as *muladí*) would be the Islamic world’s equivalent of Latin America’s *mestizos*. Their struggles to legitimize their cause in front of the growing Arab elitism became especially significant when Islam would expand east to the Indies and west to Iberia. See, for example, S. M. Imamuddin (1981), p. 27.

² All dates in this dissertation are Common Era, unless otherwise specified.

The need for some sort of political stability compelled the Umayyads to make history a tangible part of the present. Thus, the Rusāfa estate created on the mountain above Cordoba by ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān I, the first Umayyad Emir of Cordoba, is designed to recreate the dynasty’s Rusāfa estate in Syria; the Mosque of Cordoba is erected to recall the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus; and the list goes on.³

Yet as with the fictional Cesar Rubio, the Umayyad dream met with brutal, open endings: the destruction of Madīnat al-Zahrā’ near Cordoba, the great Umayyad palace-city meant to capture the splendor of their civilization and the grandeur of their power, is perhaps one of the best examples of this. Built to reflect and to protect the strength of the newly founded Umayyad Caliphate proclaimed in 929, the city was a true wonder of its time⁴. Yet this is only one side of the story. On the other hand, Madīnat al-Zahrā’ also demonstrates the pompous self-affirmed superiority of the Umayyads, who insisted on suppressing non-Arab aspirations for power in Muslim Iberia. It should not come as a surprise, then, that the city would soon be destroyed by the forces of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-’Amīn, the Berber leader, son of al-Manṣūr, whose physical resemblance to his grandfather Sancho Garcés II of Pamplona earned him the cognomen of Sanchuelo⁵. The enemies of Sanchuelo, the Arabs of Cordoba, by the same token, destroyed al-Manṣūr’s own version of Madīnat al-Zahrā’: al-Madīnah al-Zāhirah. Thus, one only needs to focus

³ Romanization of Arabic words throughout the dissertation is based on the ALA-LC Romanization Tables for Arabic. Exceptions include common terms in English such as hadith rather than ḥadīth, Muhammad rather than Muḥammad, and Al-Andalus rather than al-Andalus. See: <https://www.loc.gov/catdir/cpsd/romanization/arabic.pdf>

⁴ See, for example, Luis Molina's study on the (legendary?) pool of mercury (2004).

⁵ For more on Sanchuelo, the last of Banū ‘Āmir who were the *de facto* rulers of Al-Andalus since the death of Caliph Ḥakam II, see Levi-Provençal's entry in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, p. 84.

his or her gaze on the rise and fall of these two cities (al-Zahrā' and al-Zāhirah), in less than a century in order to appreciate how aspirations for hegemony and stability in Al-Andalus were constantly, brutally transformed and shattered over and again.

In this dissertation, I write about the Iberian Middle Ages. Putting those three terms together would be jarring, had the juxtaposition not become normalized. Even the term “Eurocentric” falls short here, because when speaking of the Middle Ages it is a term that is inaccurate for both world history *and* European history, but especially for Iberian history. The phrase Iberian Middle Ages is thus not Eurocentric, but rather counter-European: it creates an idea of a very exclusive and highly fantastical Europe with no place for such cultural spaces like Al-Andalus. Any worthwhile study of Medieval Iberia reveals that it is perhaps where the Middle Ages, as we understand them when viewed through a lens cluttered with intellectual baggage, simply could not happen. Indeed, even the most obvious arguments crafted in Modernity since Petrarch invented the “dark ages” in the 1330s fall flat in the context of Iberia. Just to mention one example, Greco-Roman traditions not only survived but remained in dynamic evolution in “Medieval” Iberia. So dynamic, in fact, that even Averroes, the justly renowned twelfth-century Muslim philosopher from Cordoba, would himself have no problem choosing to summarize a Platonic text on politics rather than an Aristotelian one (as one would expect from Averroes) in order to create better parallelisms between his own time period and Antiquity.

In a broad sense, then, this dissertation is but another effort aimed at demystifying the Middle Ages, especially the concept of the Iberian Middle Ages. Yet more specifically, it focuses on the evolution of another concept that was never a constant one,

neither historically, nor geographically, nor culturally: the concept of Al-Andalus. This term, of unknown origins⁶, refers to the (ever changing) territories of the Iberian Peninsula that were under Muslim rule for almost eight-hundred years. However, Al-Andalus continues to thrive imaginatively; arguably - and paradoxically - due to its association with ephemerality. The essential transient ephemerality of Al-Andalus, highlighted throughout the pages to come, facilitated its transformation into a nostalgic space in Islamic history even before the fall of Granada, the last Muslim kingdom in Europe.

Thus, Al-Andalus, or Islamic Iberia, is an imagined historical concept that is still today burdened by centuries of contradictory, deeply nostalgic views. The political needs of a nascent Spanish empire whose origins coincided with the end of Al-Andalus as a political entity forced the concept to remain alive far beyond the latter's physical existence. More importantly, the paradoxical ephemerality of this particular space painfully remained in the collective Muslim imaginary as an irreplaceable moment of an Islamic culture characterized by creativity and exuberance. Literary descriptions of urban life in tenth-century Cordoba, Ḥakam II's library of (allegedly) half a million volumes, and the dazzling variety of topics that surfaced with the creation of two poetic forms in Al-Andalus (*muwāshshahāt* and *zajal*), are but a few vestiges of this ephemeral culture. Yet again, this is only one side of the story. Al-Andalus, as Brian Catlos argues in *Unholy Warriors and Infidel Kings*, was also a place where the thirst for power and domination would translate into bloody encounters fueled solely by ambition as well as ugly

⁶ Even though there is no consensus on the origins of the term, the most accepted theory so far has been that it comes from an Arabization of a Berber reference to the "land of Vandals". See Glick (2005), pp. xxi.

manifestations of superiority among the Arab elite, resistant - for the most part - to acknowledging their non-Arab Muslim countrymen as their equals.

In this reconstructed nostalgic space, views of contemporary critics have ranged from rosy to dark, and the entire spectrum in between. Thus, progress leading to the understanding of this relatively newly discovered field of historical inquiry has been incredibly promising. Just to mention a few recent examples, we have the work of Jonathan Shannon on music and nostalgia of Al-Andalus throughout the Mediterranean (2015), works authored and co-authored by María Rosa Menocal on *convivencia* such as *The Ornament of the World* (2002) or *The Arts of Intimacy* (2008), David Nirenberg's influential works on violence as a means of survival among and between Jews, Muslims, and Christians, as in his most recent study *Neighboring Faiths* (2014), as well as many other relevant studies, by Maribel Fierro and other Andalusí specialists, published in a special issue of *Medieval Encounters* edited by Ivy Corfis on contact and cultural diffusion between Jews, Muslims and Christians in Medieval Iberia (2009).

Yet there remain big questions to be posed in attempting to understand the meaning of Al-Andalus in our contemporary world. First of all, is it safe to speak of one Al-Andalus when Islamic Iberia exhibits very few political uniformities throughout its history? How did the concept of Al-Andalus evolve, and why *did* Al-Andalus survive as a homogenous entity in the collective imagination of Muslims (and, of course, of modern-day Spaniards)? What is static about this concept nowadays, and what remains protean? These are the sorts of questions that underlie this project. The pages that follow attempt to respond to these queries by analyzing early signs of how the concept of Al-Andalus resisted uniformity; but also, how, eventually, it was homogenized textually and

culturally. This is one of the reasons I insist on analyzing texts from the tenth to the seventeenth centuries: I want to illustrate how Al-Andalus was never a stable, harmonized concept, and how over time it became, out of necessity, a problematic term that separated the histories of Muslims and Christians in Spain, rather than bringing them together.

In the first chapter, I examine a text known as *Tārīkh Iftitāh Al-Andalus [History of the Conquest of Al-Andalus]* by Ibn al-Qūṭīyah (d. 975), a Muslim historian and grammarian of Visigothic descent. The focus will be on his historical recreation of the early days of Al-Andalus and on his weaving of legends into his text regarding the destiny of Al-Andalus. We will see how even at the height of the Caliphate the concept of Al-Andalus remained unstable: a hybrid nation with clearly defined if nuanced political conflicts. In Ibn al-Qūṭīyah's case, for example, the "impurity" of the *muwalladūn* was a source for power and pride rather than a reason for marginalization. In his view, Al-Andalus itself would not have come to exist as such without the initial help of the Visigoths, and its future remained unclear given the constant turmoil that threatened central authority.

In Chapter II, I move on to look at the thirteenth-century king, Alfonso X the Wise of Castile and Leon (1221-1284). Here I focus on his treatment of Muslims in his historical texts as well as his legislative attempts to incorporate and simultaneously isolate them in his own imagined Imperial Spain that he unsuccessfully attempted to turn into reality. To be sure, the political implementation of his project would have to wait for many years after his death, when his comprehensive legal code, *Siete Partidas*, would be partially promulgated in 1348 and when his illusory Hispanic Empire would become a

reality with the Catholic Monarchs and their descendants. In Alfonso's imagined Castile, Al-Andalus was also unstable as it was gradually becoming radicalized as a concept: while the cultural contributions of Muslims were much appreciated, Islam as a religious institution was at the same time being vigorously delegitimized.

Next, I move on to the *wazīr* (chief minister) and polymath Ibn al-Khaṭīb (1313-1374) when Al-Andalus becomes geographically restricted to the Kingdom of Granada and, in turn, Granada metonymically encompasses all of Al-Andalus: a sacred bulwark of Muslims in the West, worthy of the fiercest defense against what he deems the “real threat”: Christians. With Al-Andalus becoming so politically charged a concept in Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s imagined Granada, we begin to appreciate better the role of influential individuals in shaping our contemporary nostalgic and ephemeral understanding of Al-Andalus.

Finally, in the early seventeenth century, Miguel de Cervantes (1547-1616) depicts what seems to be the culmination of the *moriscos*’ hopes for survival⁷. In a secondary character of *Don Quixote Part II* (1615), we see all that Spain could have been but never was: a culture that could never be designated as exclusively Muslim nor exclusively Christian. By depicting a Muslim *and* Christian paragon in one character, and making both models fail miserably, Cervantes literarily closes the door on Spain’s potential for cultural tolerance in parallel with a door that had been shut in reality by Philip III with his edict expelling the *moriscos* from the Spanish kingdoms in 1609. Al-Andalus, here, becomes impossible because it had been compelled to turn into a separate

⁷ *Morisco* refers to Muslims who converted voluntarily or forcibly to Christianity, as well as their descendants. Many of them were (suspected to be) crypto-Muslims.

concept from Spain and consequently forced out of Iberia. This forced expulsion from Spain's historical continuity (not only of *moriscos* but of Spain's Islamic-ness as a whole) is still perceptible in contemporary Hispanic identity: an attempt to define oneself by that which oneself *perceives* is not.

Efforts to reconcile Spain's past with its present, then, must begin by acknowledging that the expulsion was not "merely a political act" as some still claim: it was a collective denial of a whole polity's past that started as early as Alfonso the Wise fabricated an exclusively Christian past of Iberia that undermined its hybrid antecedents (with noteworthy yet less transcendent earlier attempts, such as Alfonso III's chronicles). Thus, the expulsion was a symptom of an imagined Spain. If we want to understand better how this process took place, we must take into account what Benedict Anderson claimed essential for understanding a relevant issue: Modernity's nation-ness and nationalism as cultural artifacts. "To understand them properly we need to consider carefully how they have come into historical being, in what ways their meanings have changed over time, and why, today, they command such profound emotional legitimacy" (4).

The present work is, thus, the first part of a project that aims to establish how Al-Andalus has taken possession of large spaces in the historiography of Islam; more generally, of Medieval Iberia; and, even more generally yet perhaps just as important, of Europe, but also, how idealizing interpretations and politico-cultural uses of its history have laid claim to it. I focus on texts written while the physical presence of Muslims and, later, *moriscos* was still significant in Iberia. Therefore, the last text that I will deal with

is from 1615 (*Don Quixote Part II*). Ensuing projects will investigate the evolution of the historiographical significance and uses of Al-Andalus from that date onward.

Yet the first text I examine, *Tārīkh* Ibn al-Qūṭīyah, is what I deem the first noteworthy testimonial to the shifting concept of Al-Andalus. As soon as Ibn al-Qūṭīyah attempted to make the histories of Muslims and Visigoths inseparable, the history of Al-Andalus was altered or, as Catlos sardonically puts it, “tarnished” forever. It is through the resistance of this quite unsettling group, the *muwalladūn*, that we may start to see why Al-Andalus was an invented concept used differently throughout history to legitimize political ambitions and discourses of power by Muslims and Christians alike. When speaking of the invention of America, O’Gorman, the colonialist critic whose work has been a direct influence for conceiving of this dissertation, says that his work revealed

(...) the need to focus historical events in the light of an ontological perspective, i.e., as a process producing historical entities instead of a process, as is usually assumed, which takes for granted the being of such entities as something logically prior to it. (4)

If America was a product of its history, the history of Medieval Iberia produced two very conflictive entities: Spain and Al-Andalus. The defenders of each respective entity sought legitimacy based on arguments of historical unity, which necessarily struggled against pluralistic realities of a land of such cultural, religious, ethnic and, most importantly for this dissertation, historical diversity.

In order for Spain to exist, Alfonso the Wise had to seek a unified history that drew and connected the genealogical dots from the Romans, through the Visigoths, to his own dynasty. This straight line was the most effective way in excluding other peoples of

Spain as interruptions that needed to be overcome; including those whose presence in Spain had been longer than that of the Christians - i.e., the Jews. From this perspective, even Alfonso's most remembered deed - elevating Castilian to the level of Latin - highlighted this continuity: Castilian was a legitimate descendant of Latin, just as much as Castilians were legitimate descendants of Romans. In fact, to return to Anderson, the critic draws our attention to the fact that imagining a "nation" only became possible when, among other factors, Latin lost its privilege over other European languages (36). On the other side of history, Granada, for Ibn al-Khaṭīb about a century later, had to be a superior Arab and Islamic land with undeniable resemblance to other legitimate metropolises such as Damascus, Cairo and, of course, Cordoba.

Hence, my dissertation seeks to show how Al-Andalus was continuously invented and reinvented as a necessarily unified conceptual historic place by Muslim and Christian historians alike. By reflecting on the works of three very different historians (Ibn al-Qūṭīyah, Alfonso the Wise, and Ibn al-Khaṭīb) with three very different agendas, I wish to show how different stories of the will to power in Medieval Iberia were set on the common ground of nascent, fragile ruling models. In the case of Ibn al-Qūṭīyah, the emerging ruling model was the new Caliphate of Cordoba that was a notable response to the growing threat of the Fatimids in Egypt and North Africa. In Alfonso's case, it was the kingdom of Castile that had very recently incorporated such metropolises as Seville and Cordoba to its lands. This is not to mention Alfonso's own deep aspirations to claim the Crown of the Romans and become Holy Roman Emperor. Finally, in the case of Ibn al-Khaṭīb, it was Nasrid Granada: a prosperous yet precariously fragile kingdom.

We will see, nevertheless, how this invented Al-Andalus crystallized over time. Ibn al-Qūṭīyah is perhaps the first *and* last Andalusí author to highlight the heterogeneous origins of Islamic Iberia. By the time of Cervantes, a Muslim Spain had become so incompatible with the Christian one for which Alfonso had set the foundation that Spaniards who had lived for hundreds of years in Spain, a significant percentage of whom were fully assimilated like the *moriscos* of Aragon (while others admittedly not as much, such as those of Valencia) all fell under one category: potential crypto-Muslims that had no place in a Catholic nation that saw itself as the bastion of Christendom. This was also the case for Jews and *conversos*, who had suffered similar blows earlier on in Iberian history with the mass conversions of Jews after the riots of 1391 and their ultimate expulsion in 1492⁸. Returning to *moriscos*, they were thus expelled in the early seventeenth century in an attempt to distract the public from a humiliating treaty, the infamous Treaty of Antwerp, signed on the same day the edict of expulsion was issued.

In terms of theory, I would like to comment on two choices I have made that might seem random at first. The first choice is that, for this introduction, I was mostly inspired by the reflections of Marc Bloch in his *The Historian's Craft*. The second concerns my third chapter: In it I made use of the less “canonical” works of Michel Foucault. In both cases, I found it more fruitful to use unfinished works (literally in Bloch's case; metaphorically in Foucault's) by those two influential historians. In Foucault's case, his explicit concerns with the risks of offering us what seem to be his own personal thoughts on history and power are perhaps what made those works all the

⁸ For a recent study of the anti-Jewish riots of 1391 and their repercussions, see Benjamin R. Gampel's *Anti-Jewish Riots in the Crown of Aragon and the Royal Response, 1391-1392* (2016), especially pp. 13-23.

more valuable. Knowing that those published works are not as polished as other canonical works by him frees both Foucault as author and us as readers from focusing too much on the final product and rather, to contemplate his thought process.

In terms of Bloch, the context in which he wrote *The Historian's Craft* is tragically illuminating: he knew he was writing his final words and thus he was explicit about his entire thought process, including his vulnerabilities and shortcomings. To have such a hopeful scope of history by an historian who by then knew just how cruel history had been to him, as he was deprived of his position as professor and even of his books at that point, is an indispensable commentary by itself, let alone his incredible insight into the present-ness and practicality of history as a discipline. To realize that a doomed man's last major deed was to defend the liveliness of history in the face of all traditional views regarding its static-ness is troubling yet crucial for any present and future work on history. Bloch holds us all responsible to be attuned to the present, no matter how dark this present might seem, nor how "ancient" that past might be.

I chose to frame my introduction from Bloch's viewpoint of history because it is perhaps the approach that does most justice to the texts I am analyzing. Ibn al-Qūṭīyah brought the Visigothic past to the present in an unparalleled defense of hybrid identities. Alfonso the Wise - ironically - did the same but from a very different perspective at an extremely fragile, even if remembered as glorious, point in the history of Castile. Ibn al-Khaṭīb obscured the lines between past and present to the point that he made himself the only authority capable of putting the entire history of Islamic Granada - and by extension, Al-Andalus at that point - together. Finally, in my reading of Cervantes, I note that he

intentionally confused the past with the present and Muslim ideals with Christian ones to help us better understand the ruthless world of Early Modern Spain.

Effective dialogue between Iberia's past and present that forever altered both, then, is the true guiding principle of this dissertation. As I am concerned with matters of historiography, it is necessary to clarify where exactly my work falls within the field of history. Although the reader is clearly the ultimate judge, my hope is to offer a work on the history of ideas. Coined by twentieth-century historian Arthur Lovejoy, it is a study of the evolution of certain human ideas over time. This dissertation fits better within the framework perpetuated by Lovejoy's colleague and interlocutor Leo Spitzer. In devising his *Essays in Historical Semantics*, Spitzer provides the following perception of history, which I have in turn adapted from him:

Given the variety and extent of the literary material on which the word-histories in question have been based, it is evident that these have had to be conceived supra-personally, and that the personalities which have left their imprint on the words can only be those of civilizations although these, in turn, have naturally been formed and colored by the personalities of individuals (who, however, were only giving expression to the general feelings of their civilization). (1)

This back-and-forth between individuals and their respective civilizations (or cultures, if civilization has become a much riskier term since Spitzer's 1947 work) is what I attempt to bring closer to the surface through my readings of those four authors' texts. I also aim to highlight universal historiographic concerns, as well as trans-cultural aspects of those

works in order to contextualize them better within the broader history of the Mediterranean.

In the Mediterranean basin, one cannot speak of history without mentioning Herodotus (c. 484–c. 425 BC) and Thucydides (c. 460 – c. 400 BC). Our obsession with origins wanes as we have started to value the present more genuinely. "For here, in the present, is immediately perceptible that vibrance of human life which only a great effort of the imagination can restore to the old texts" (Bloch 44). Yet one parameter of Ancient, Classical, Medieval and Early Modern historians persists: we can always learn from history. We can also learn from historiography; from the history of history, to put it in the most straightforward of terms. Thus, I will return to those "origins" of history and move chronologically to highlight a few moments in historiography that are relevant for my dissertation. The reason I go this far back in time is because "the historian must, from now on, consciously begin to employ the agency of fiction" (Jauss, *Question* 25). Thus, I will resort to historians as early as Herodotus, as influential as St Augustine, and as controversial as Spinoza, among others, to illustrate this agency of fiction throughout history. By drawing connections between the works of influential thinkers from Antiquity to our day and the writings of the four authors I chose, the aim is to situate Medieval Iberian historiography better within universal historiography. That is to say, the next few paragraphs will highlight the relevance of the contributions of Ibn al-Qūṭīyah, Alfonso the Wise, Ibn al-Khaṭīb and Cervantes to the humanities, beyond Medieval Iberia, by putting their works in dialogue with thinkers from other geographical spaces, as well as other time periods. Additionally, each of these historians provide elements from which I construct my own extensive model of the historical text.

It is incongruous to speak of history without speaking of historiography. It matters little that the term “historiography” was first coined in the 1560s, or that Herodotus might have been “the first” to attempt to formulate a method for writing history: the fact that people tried to keep a *selective* record of their past and present with regard to the future constitutes a historiographical act. A comparison with a theory from the philosophy of language is useful here: John Austin defined speech acts as utterances with performative functions (40). Now those speech acts existed since the first words were uttered and with them existed implicit concerns and attempts at regulation. Nobody would claim that such acts did not exist before Austin identified them, or even more absurd, that language lacked structure before 1916 Saussure’s posthumous *Course in General Linguistics*. Similarly, it does not follow to assume that historiography did not exist before its methodology started taking shape explicitly among Ancient Greek historians.

Thus, before discussing Herodotus’ *Histories*, I must briefly comment on the significance of a much earlier text: *The Epic of Gilgamesh*. This is one of the earliest complex written narratives to have survived to our time, with clear resemblance to the Hebrew Bible and established influence on such authors of Antiquity as Homer. Yet the reason I invoke this epic is because, if we want to be fair as critics, and as historians, we must realize how little has changed since then in written texts: legends, creative imagination, and “facts” were never meant to constitute three different fields of study, despite the positivistic taxonomical thrusts of later centuries. Consciously, historians might have become more aware of these presumably separable modes of writing over time and attempted in vain to avoid intermixing them; yet this was never the case. Whereas the creative imagination is clearly still present in history writing (we only need

to pick up a high school history textbook from two nations whose official narrative of a significant historical moment is conflictive - say, Turkey and Armenia's respective narratives on the Genocide of the early twentieth century - to see how history is imagined in very different terms), legends too are still alive and problematic as ever. We have the clear cases of such folk saints as Gauchito Gil in Argentina or Marie Laveau in the US⁹.

Beyond explicit worshiping - whether religious or profane - legend and myth (and the pernicious confusion of both) are still used as ideological instruments today. As such, these tools derive their legitimacy from imaginative histories. To mention the most recent example, take the myth of "Make America Great Again" that is confused with a legendary greater past worth restoring. In short, facts do exist, as Marc Bloch argues in his examples on Caesar's victory in Pompey (103), yet they are inseparable from the human imagination as well as from myths and legends, whether individual or collective. Therefore, criticism of texts of any moment in history, near or far, should be aware of the risks of studying them in isolation. Since any historical event is encoded textually, it will always be open for interpretation rather than for confirmation. A statement such as "Thomas Jefferson drafted the Declaration of Independence" is not objective. Suffice it to juxtapose it with "Slave owner theorizes on Freedom" to see why. A photograph of a child crying is not objective. What was the perspective of the photographer? How does the light affect our perception? And even on more basic levels, how do we know the child was spontaneously crying? A video of a child crying and saying "I'm crying because I'm hungry" is not objective. How do we know he is not lying?

⁹ For more on those two folk saints, see Frank Graziano's chapter on Gauchito Gil (pp.113-140) and Martha Ward's *Voodoo Queen: The Spirited Lives of Marie Laveau* (2004).

I am not mentioning these examples to state that we should not trust what is presented to us as factual, but rather because I have an ulterior motive: these examples justify why it is possible for a literature student to study “historical accounts” and what we, as students of literature, have to say that could complement the works of scholars from other fields. I realize the irony of separating the fields of literary and historical criticism now when it comes to my own work: yet here it emanates from my need to address possible concerns of why a “literature” student is focusing on “history.”

Literature students are accustomed to identifying plots, and to questioning the silences in texts, to acknowledging the vulnerability of even the most trustworthy of narrators. These are by no means fully effective techniques: as early as the seventeenth century, Cervantes dared us not to trust his narrator, Cide Hamete, and yet we find ourselves incessantly, and often unconsciously, endeavoring to believe him! Our strategies, then, might not be wholly compelling, yet they are still effective in expanding the meaning of texts traditionally conceived as historical. This is because, as Jameson puts it, the literary critic recognizes that

(...) history is *not* a text, not a narrative, master or otherwise, but that, as an absent cause, it is inaccessible to us except in textual form, and that our approach to it and to the Real itself necessarily passes through its prior textualization, its narrativization in the political unconscious. (35)

Returning to chronological highlights of history, we may now consider Herodotus. This historian, as Walter Blanco said in his 2013 translation of *The Histories*, would probably like us to remember him neither as the father of history nor, clearly, as the father of lies but rather as the father of research (xii). To be sure, Herodotus offers

two foundational blocks of historical writing that are relevant to this dissertation: *conflict*, and *perspective*. In his *Histories* he, for instance, provides different versions for the origins of the rivalry between the Persians and the Greeks as a segue to his own interpretation of history (5-6). The complex relationship between conflict and perspective is present throughout his work. For example, in Chapter 138 he explains that,

While Xerxes' campaign was ostensibly aimed at Athens, he had really set out against all of Greece. The Greeks came to know this before long, but they didn't all take it in the same way. (177)

Herodotus here claims to know Xerxes' intentions and the Greeks' reception of those intentions, and like all the historians dealt with in this dissertation, he appropriates "facts" in such a way as to claim the authority to speak on behalf of rulers and the general public alike (which is reminiscent of the ideas in Spitzer's earlier observation).

As we get to Thucydides, the priority shifts from recording all that's worthwhile remembering to recording only immediate events that he experienced first-hand, or past ones that have been extensively "verified" by him rather than hearsay. This is why the past history of Greece becomes at best a background for his narrative on Greece's present history in which he sees clear indications of great events that would change the history of mankind forever. This seems to be, at least, Thucydides' explicit motive for writing his *Peloponnesian Wars*. According to Jeremy Popkin, Thucydides' criticism of storytellers that confused facts with fables was aimed at Herodotus himself (28). The irony here arises from two things: first, the fact that his overemphasis on his own reliability makes his text less welcoming for the reader's judgments on the events. That is to say, Herodotus providing us with different accounts (even if sometimes advancing his own

opinion on the matter as well) gives us more freedom than Thucydides as readers to decide what seems to be more plausible to us. The second irony arises from the fact that Thucydides' preoccupation with immediacy was placed on the sources, rather than the receptors: In Book I, after admitting that his insistence upon verifiable information might make his work less pleasurable than others, he concludes with the following statement on his *Peloponnesian Wars*: "It was composed as a permanent legacy, not a showpiece for a single hearing" (12).

The concerns of Herodotus and Thucydides, two of the Mediterranean's earliest known historians, are productive for framing this dissertation: their attempts at writing history reveal their own criteria of *what* is worth preserving and *how* it must be transmitted to future generations. If we frequently remind ourselves with such examples as those just discussed, we can reduce the risk of getting carried away with one historian's or another's account. That is to say, this brief overview of history writing (one that is clearly biased towards my own research) could serve, among other things, as a restraint to reading: we are after all reading the works of specific, male, "mature" Medieval and Early Modern Iberian authors who employ different rhetorical tools to persuade their readers with the plausibility of their narratives.

In his *From Herodotus to H-Net: The Story of Historiography*, Jeremy Popkin chose Sima Qian (145? -89? BC) as representative of early history writing of China. This is because the latter is among the most well-known early historians of China and has frequently been compared to Herodotus in the West. What this specific historian offers for my project is what Burton Watson claims to be "an entirely new historiographical form" in arranging his material (x). Hence, he broadens our views of history writing

since, like many Muslim historians would do much later (including the two discussed in this dissertation), he, first, frequently highlights the moral responsibility of an historian to provide a critical judgement of history in his text. Second, and most importantly, Sima does not privilege chronology in history writing (or at least not consistently). Rather, he divides his comprehensive work *thematically* into five sections: basic annals, chronological tables, treatises, hereditary houses, and finally biographies.

This last part is most useful here: if looked at formally, a biography chosen at random from his text and another also chosen randomly from Ibn al-Qūṭīyah have much in common in the way a person's life is perceived. For what both authors highlight are relevant physical and moral attributes, anecdotes told through reconstructed dialogues, poems, and attempts at providing an explanation of the person in question's fate, be it tragic or glorious. This is clearly not an exclusive narrative style of either author. I therefore mention this example from Chinese historiography since it demonstrates why any comparative study of history must admit that it is safer to attribute commonalities between the texts we study to shared universal historiographical concerns rather than attempt to find often forced intertextuality between them. Pointing out that a text has a direct influence from another can be fruitful as long as it does not become an obsession. This residue of nineteenth and early twentieth-century attempts at equating the humanities to "science" through proof and causality could be damaging because it is both unrealistic, and it defeats the point of the humanities: to study *imperfect* human cultural products and their significance. When studying history, finding possible influences should occasion a celebration of our shared human creativity. Yet nationalistic discourses have turned this intertextuality into a rather exhausting field of research where critics

would become defensive regarding the “purity” of their beloved masterpieces. We are, thankfully, beyond this point, yet the residue of such ideas must be pointed out, especially as my last chapter provides a reading of a minor character in *Don Quixote* that expands his interpretation as a failed Christian nobleman into a fake Muslim saint.

Speaking of controversial Saints, let us go back to North Africa, this time to discuss Augustine of Hippo (354-430). His *City of God* is relevant here because it reflects an early Christian view on the generalized anxiety of doom, parallel to the Muslim one we will see with Ibn al-Qūṭīyah and Ibn al-Khaṭīb. His *City* yields an oxymoronic message: a reassuring warning. He offers the view that we are doomed only when we misinterpret destruction as a reason to move away from Christianity rather than to embrace it¹⁰. Ibn al-Qūṭīyah and Ibn al-Khaṭīb both resort to divine elements to emphasize the legitimacy of Islam, each with different aims. Whereas the former seems to be warning the new inexperienced Caliph in whose court he was writing from falling into past mistakes, the latter is calling on other Muslim rulers to protect Granada. Similarly, Cervantes points out the risks of misinterpreting what *appears* to be just and saintly. The difference is that, in the latter's case, it is too late for such warnings (as he is clearly aware) which turns this anachronistic cautionary tale into a twisted mockery of Early Modern Spain's failed attempts at ignoring its hybrid past.

Moving now further towards the East (or West, depending on where we are), a few decades before Ibn al-Qūṭīyah would write his *Tārīkh*, court poet Rajasekhara narrated a myth that paralleled Purusha, whose sacrifice created all life in the Vedic

¹⁰ Once again, I am focusing on a minor point that directly relates to the dissertation, not on St Augustine's exhaustive influence on all branches of the Humanities.

tradition, with the birth of fine literature: Kavyapurusha¹¹. He was the son of the Goddess of Learning [Sarasvati], given to her as a gift from Brahma for her penance (Dalal 35-36).

Sarasvati was happy with her son and described him as follows:

Word and meaning (*shabdārtha*) are your body, Sanskrit is your face (...) *misharka* (the ‘mixed’ language of theatre) is your bosom. You are poised, refined, delightful, noble and strong (...) Your tongue is excellent with phrases of speech (*ukti*), your soul is *rasa* [sentiment], your hair is [a collection of poetic meters] (...) Your adornments are alliterations (...) The foreteller of future, revelation itself (...) composes this praise for you¹². (Stchupak and Renou 42-43)

This identification between the creation of life and that of fine literature is a pivotal example for understanding the second and third chapters of my dissertation. Both Alfonso the Wise and Ibn al-Khaṭīb sought divine origins for the written histories of their respective kingdoms. Alfonso highlighted old wise men’s concern for preserving their history as a lesson for future generations and framed Spain’s written history as one destroyed by past invaders, turning himself into the savior of Spain’s past. Ibn al-Khaṭīb, on the other hand, praised the written word, as the most efficient way of preserving the potential of the spoken word, and reserved the highest class of writing for history as God’s means for delivering his laws among Muslims.

¹¹ I first learned about this work thanks to a talk by Professor Debjani Gangouly on World literature, delivered for the Society of Fellows of the University of Virginia on March 19, 2017.

¹² As quoted in *The Comparative Study of Traditional Asian Literatures* (2001), p. 94.

As for Islamic Medieval Historiography, I will restrict myself to two of its most prominent figures, one from the early Islamic Middle Ages, Ṭabarī (839-923) and the second, Ibn Khaldūn (1332-1406) who lived towards their end. In discussing Ṭabarī's ideology, Boaz Shoshan presents different interpretations in recent criticism of the possible objectives of Ṭabarī's encyclopedic work. Among those views, I would like to focus on two that are pertinent for my project. The first is Marshall Hodgson's interpretation, which sees that Ṭabarī's focus was the success and failure of historical communities. The second is Tarif Khalidi's interpretation, who considers Ṭabarī's intention to be that of historicizing the Quran (85). Hodgson's view highlights Ṭabarī's *evaluative* efforts of history, which are echoed in both Ibn al-Qūṭīyah's and Ibn al-Khaṭīb's depiction of past rulers. Khalidi's understanding of Ṭabarī's work, on the other hand, underscores Ṭabarī's overwhelming religious discourse as Ṭabarī's ultimate motive for writing his work.

This is relevant for Ibn al-Khaṭīb's understanding of historiography. He, like Ṭabarī, framed his historical work within a religious worldview, heavily reliant upon rulers, where history was a cornerstone for understanding how God determined people's destinies. However, one main difference between their manifest interpretations of God's intervention in people's destinies should be noted. Ṭabarī's introduction to his work makes people's freewill the ultimate arbiter for their salvation or doom. When they are good believers, they will live in his grace on Earth. When they are infidel, God's punishment could be either delayed until the afterlife or they could receive his wrath both in the afterlife and on Earth. Ibn al-Khaṭīb, in contrast, draws a far more pessimistic pattern where all kingdoms will inevitably perish, regardless of people's actions. Besides

clear personal contrast between the two historians, these two Islamic worldviews can tell us much about the difference between the context in which each was writing: Ṭabarī's tenth-century Baghdad and Ibn al-Khaṭīb's fourteenth-century Granada. Yet both authors have one thing in common: they both stand in sharp contrast with the views of Ibn al-Khaṭīb's friend-and-enemy: Ibn Khaldūn. In the latter's canonical *Muqaddimah*, what has stood out over the centuries is the *human* component in the dynamic relationship between God's plan and our understanding of it. "For Ibn Khaldūn, God is the Creator of all causes. But then, these causes serve as the context within which man is confined to act and work. There are patterns of regularity embedded in God's very creation of causes. These patterns result in patterns of human action in history" (Çaksu 41).

About a century after Ibn Khaldūn's attempts at devising a science capable of studying all human endeavors, Machiavelli would attempt to develop theories on an all-encompassing political power system in his *Il Principe [The Prince]* (1513). The pragmatism of this text is similar to that discussed in Ibn al-Qūṭīyah, Alfonso, and Ibn al-Khaṭīb's works. In Chapter 15 of *Il Principe*, Machiavelli speaks of the "effectual truth." The concept, simply put, means that truth lies in the outcome of ideas, not in the theoretical ideas themselves. That is to say, what really matters is how things *are*, not how they *ought to be*. For instance, a prince should opt for what seems to be a vice if it were to bring him prosperity and abandon what seems to be a virtue if it were to bring him ruin. Hence, just like in most arguments of the three historians in question, Machiavelli's concept is backed by examples he chooses because they *work*, not because they are ideal or morally compelling. Furthermore, his controversial views on being feared as superior to being loved when it is impossible to be both resonates with many of

the anecdotes narrated by Ibn al-Qūṭīyah on Umayyad princes, and it can most definitely be noted in Ibn al-Khaṭīb's life and work. The latter would intimidate his enemies in all ways possible, including his writing: he is well-known for his ruthless satiric descriptions, in prose and poetry, of his rivals. However, he was not a prince nor a king, as much as he wanted to be. And as he overestimated his political influence; it backfired and he was eventually assassinated by those same rivals he scorned.

The moral debate on ruling models intensified in the seventeenth century, culminating with works such as Baruch Spinoza's *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* (1670). His ideas are perhaps most relevant for reading Alfonso the Wise, where we shall see a clear struggle in his *Siete Partidas* for finding a balance between individual will and state power to guarantee minimum rights for Jews and Muslims in Castile. Alfonso's concern was to depict himself in writing as a monarch who believed in the superiority of Christianity, yet at the same time he needed to remain practical and minimize the threat of possible rebellions by Muslims. Thus, Spinoza's treatise may serve to attenuate our judgement of Alfonso's measures to isolate the Muslim and Jewish communities of his newly conquered dominions: it was never a black and white matter but rather a very ambiguous, gray area.

This leads us to the social contract of the "Age of Enlightenment" which would not have matured were it not for such works as Spinoza's and Hobbes's. This theory, which found its defense in historical examples as well, can help my reader better understand the *uncertainties* that would motivate each of the four authors dealt with here to write. Ibn al-Qūṭīyah focuses on the tension between the local *muwalladūn* and what they deemed as a foreign elite, the Arabs, who constantly attempted to deprive them of

their right to self-governance. Alfonso the Wise strived to redefine the rights of Muslims now that they were, politically speaking, subdued by Castile. Yet he himself would taste the bitter consequences of attempting to deprive the Castilian nobility of the rights that they saw as legally theirs when his own son, Sancho, would push him to the margin in his attempt to secure himself as the Wise King's successor. Ibn al-Khaṭīb was ostracized for abusing his legal rights as he, according to his opponents at least, seemed to consider himself above the law. Finally, Cervantes depicts what happens when large sections of society find themselves having to give up their most basic natural right: the right to exist.

Rulers and ruling systems that struggled (and mostly failed) to protect their citizens' rights, then, are present throughout the dissertation. The impact of those struggles on Medieval Iberian historiography is palpable on many levels. In order to reveal and discuss those levels, I will move on to the nineteenth century and resort to Immanuel Kant's views on universal history. Namely, I would like to exploit his suggestion that even the most unpredictable act can become meaningful when its context is changed from the individual to a universal study of the steady progress of history (17). It seems to be a concern for all four authors in question: each points out individual acts to draw larger patterns that justify the histories they wrote. Ibn al-Qūṭīyah and Ibn al-Khaṭīb addressed the issue of specific past rulers who neglected to rely on wise advisors, opting for inexperienced ones instead. Alfonso and Cervantes elected legendary figures from history to make disparate points on universal history. Whereas Alfonso used those figures (Hercules, Muhammad, etc.) to recreate imagined "pure" Christian and Roman legitimizing roots for Castile, Cervantes pointed out just how absurd those claims for "purity" had become by his own time: even what seemed to be the most devout Christian,

Don Diego de Miranda, could have in fact been a crypto-Muslim with attributes reminiscent of a legendary Muslim saint.

It should come as no surprise, then, that it is in Cervantes that I find closure for the dissertation. His *Don Quixote* is an ironic celebration of imperfections. I insist on the plural here because I chose to read the chapter of *Don Quixote* in question as a manifesto of failures. Don Diego is presented as an illusion of intertwined Christian and Muslim ideals, but both are ultimately bogus. By ending on this note, I hope to leave my readers with more questions than answers, yet I also hope that it is a different set of questions than the ones they started with. Before concluding, I must invoke some relevant twentieth and twenty-first century theories of history, politics, and the reshaping of our understanding of the Middle Ages.

I believe the concept of the Middle Ages as conceived in the West received one of their biggest jolts in the twentieth century with the publication of Miguel Asín Palacios' *Islam and the Divine Comedy* (1919). This is not necessarily because of his invaluable work itself, but rather due to its repercussions: it revealed the resistance of many Western scholars, even as late as the late twentieth century, to accepting the multicultural heritage of the Mediterranean, rather than Latin Europe, as the cultural landscape of such nationalistically-burdened figures as Dante. Just to give an example, the first Italian translation of Palacios' magnum opus would not appear until 1994. This clearly would not have been the case had the work not been so controversial for Italian cultural history.

Beyond this work, in the twentieth century, traditional views on history have been questioned, challenged, and at points, even discarded, yielding new methods for investigating written accounts of the past as well as their historical reception and

criticism. Among those exhaustive efforts, two that I find most relevant for this project are the Annales School, and New Historicism. The Annales School has been influential in taking a holistic, continuous approach towards history. Far from being perfect, the French historians remain very influential in prompting critics to challenge themselves and to embrace their frustrations as they approach the texts they would analyze. In the words of Lucien Febvre,

being a historian means never resigning oneself. It implies trying everything, testing out anything that might possibly fill in the gaps in our information. It means exercising one's ingenuity, that is the word. Making mistakes, or, one might say, plunging enthusiastically a dozen or more times along ways that are full of promise only to discover that they do not lead to the place you want to go to. Never mind, we begin again. (34)

New Historicism, on the other hand, has become a necessary evil: whether we find it revolutionary, biased, redundant, or even *passé*, it has marked a turning point in recent criticism as it problematized the long-accepted separation of historical inquiries and literary ones. This is by no means a comprehensive summary, but rather a modest selection of works of different critics and schools of thought that have heavily influenced how I critically imagined and framed the rest of this dissertation. It is also, as mentioned, an attempt to place the works of the four authors in question on the map of universal historiography, rather than limiting them to Iberian studies.

What unites the four authors I chose, one might ask? I would argue that it is their will to exercise the power of history at moments of crisis, both figuratively and in practice. Certeau explains how historiographers are “virtual” princes dependent on the

“princes in fact” (8-9). Here we have four very peculiar cases and variations of those princes. Ibn al-Qūṭīyah seeks to exercise power from the margins by problematizing purist tendencies among the ruling Arab elite, using his own lineage as a basis for his arguments. Alfonso the Wise and Ibn al-Khaṭīb have in common the fact that they were both historiographers and politicians; that is, princes virtually and in practice. They both aspired to play roles that were out of their reach (Alfonso as European emperor and Ibn al-Khaṭīb as *wazīr* with uncontested powers). Both, in a sense, were punished for their overambitious attempts at shaking the ruling systems of their times. They were both shunned and isolated. This is not to say that they were victims nor that their actions were always well-intentioned. In fact, as we will see, at points they would become borderline tyrants, at least for our contemporary taste. Yet what is undeniable is that both were revolutionary *for* and *against* their times.

Last but not least, we return to the margins of political influence with Cervantes. He is not what we would conventionally consider a historian, yet his masterpiece *Don Quixote* incessantly tackles the problematic separation of history and literature. His framing and critique of the society of his time has been perhaps far more influential than most Spanish historians of his time. Through his work, as well he aspired to exercise power: the power to ascertain moral values but, most importantly, to question them and, in many cases, to ridicule them. His pro-Catholic “real life” values and the *maurophilia* (that unnerving term!) that can be perceived in his writings are not at odds with each other. They are but manifestations of an intellectual whose attempts to grasp the depth of Islamic culture were well-balanced with his Early Modern Christian convictions.

Cervantes, then, wrote history without having to categorize it as such. Better yet, he left us a legacy of works that consciously shunned traditional categorization. If the first three chapters of my dissertation attempt to reaffirm a now established theory that “historical texts” are highly literary, the last chapter will show that one of the masterpieces of world literature is entangled with social history well beyond its explicit references to historical events. Furthermore, it is as emotively effective as any historical text we might encounter regarding the many instabilities that characterized Spain’s politics at the turn of the seventeenth century. It is, indeed, disconcerting in the way *Don Quixote* teases our fears of the uncanny (in the Freudian sense of the word). For the character I analyze, Don Diego, represents a dark image of Early Modern Spain, at once familiar and strange: the shell of a Muslim saint with the core of a Christian nobleman, with neither shell nor core capable of performing any significant action to save Don Diego from becoming a disappointment. Thus, he can never be fully removed from his passivity because he has been doomed to inactivity.

Finally, to comment on the shortcomings of this project, I think the biggest one currently is the unfortunate exclusion of Iberian Jews. If I may provide one excuse, it is because of their immense influence on the narrative of Spain’s history that I was not able to include them. For the moment, what I would have to offer on Judaism in Iberia’s historiography would be mediocre at best. As I move forward with my research, however, I aim to collaborate with scholars who work on the history of Judaism in order to provide a less exclusive image of Medieval Iberia.

Beyond this, I would argue that writing a dissertation whose topic spans seven centuries is like setting up a few lights in one’s own dark backyard. It creates a path by

illuminating very limited parts of the space while leaving the rest in darkness. Since the path is created by the same lights that brighten it, it is necessarily narrow and ultimately fragile: you only have to turn one of the lights around to create a very different, yet still accessible, path. I chose four specific texts from four particular moments in the cultural history of a specific geographical space. Yet my aim is to show that those intentional choices serve as markers for an investigation of a broader historical problem: how much of what we know about Al-Andalus has been adulterated by the illusion of a homogenous concept of an Islamic Medieval Iberia that coexisted with a Christian one. Those two Iberias have been at conflict with each other from as early as the eighth century, as can be seen in the *Mozarabic Chronicle* of 754. This anonymous chronicle describes the first few decades of the Islamic presence in Iberia focusing, according to Ron Barkai, on the fraudulent character of Islam (23). The conflict has always been there: it is our reading of its significance that (thankfully) keeps changing.

My reading of the conflict highlights effective attempts during the existence of Al-Andalus as a historico-political entity to redefine over and over the very significance of Islamic Iberia. The Alhambra could serve as a metonym for these attempts. Ibn Naghrillah, an influential politician in the court of Zirid rulers of Granada, constructed it to show his power and influence as a Jew in the Muslim court; the Nasrids rebuilt it to reflect their own claims for power by appropriating a cultural product of their Zirid predecessors; the Catholic Monarchs left their emblems in the Cuarto Dorado of the Alhambra as a reminder of their conquest; and finally, Charles V built his personal residential palace in it, at the expense of destroying a part of the original palace, to assert his hegemony over all of Spain's people, including Granada's *moriscos*. The history of

Islamic Iberia would go through similar processes of transformation, turning Al-Andalus successfully into an imagined lost land of Islam in the West.

I thus fail to provide a comprehensive study of the history of Al-Andalus because my aim is not holistic but rather very specific: to find significant examples of how unstable the concept of Al-Andalus actually is. I do this by resorting to the examination of different literary and rhetorical techniques in its historical representation; but mostly by means of close-readings of texts that are inevitably, yet not exclusively, *historical* in every sense of the word. They are inquiries into the past; they are reflective of (major parts of their) respective societies; they involve references to their own present moment; and they are stories that make us reconsider our interpretations of Medieval Iberia's history. Close-reading, then, can be a crucially helpful tool for reading history since, as Greenblatt puts it, "[t]he historical anecdote functions less as explanatory illustration than as disturbance, that which requires explanation, contextualization, interpretation" (7). Close-reading pushes us to take up the challenges of text and language, of the time that has passed, of unfamiliar references, of scribal errors, of sarcasm and subterfuge, to name a few.

Last but not least, close-reading enables us to be active participants in keeping the text alive, since, according to Jauss, "a literary past can return only when a new reception draws it back into the present" (Jauss, *Toward an aesthetic* 35). A few pages earlier, he had already highlighted the importance of the reader's active participation as fundamental for keeping the text alive:

The historical life of a literary work is unthinkable without the active participation of its addressees. For it is only through the process of its

mediation that the work enters into the changing horizon of experience of a continuity in which the perpetual inversion occurs from simple reception to critical understanding. (Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic* 19).

Yet why should we take up those challenges, one might ask? Jorge Luis Borges provides a plausible response in “Pierre Menard, Author of *The Quixote*.” It should be noted, first, that in this story, it is counter-productive to look for answers. For every time you think you “have found an answer”, you immediately realize that that very same moment of discovery opens the door to thousands of unsettling questions regarding our contemporary approaches to reading and writing fiction. The plot deals with a contemporary fictional French author, Pierre Menard, trying to recreate *Don Quixote* word by word.

What is relevant here in terms of the question I just posed is that, at one point, Borges offers a brief close-reading of the identical paragraph written, first, by Cervantes and, then, by Menard. The interpretation of the exact same text is, however, radically different in each instance. In a way, it tells us that taking up the challenges of close-reading is worth our while because it can afford a dead text a thousand different resurrections. Yet at the same time, it is a warning to be aware of our own assumptions, prejudices and vanity. By resorting to close-reading in this dissertation, for example, I, as a reader, am engaging with the texts in a dialogue that reveals, at once, what I *think* the text is saying and what I *want* the text to say. The latter is what all critics struggle against, yet it always surfaces in between their words, because there are simply no words that can be completely disassociated from authors’ own views and, dare I say, opinions of the texts they analyze. This is a risk that critics should be willing to take because it reveals

their subjectivity, which is ultimately necessary for the reception and understanding of their analysis. The author is dead, but the critic is not, nor should he or she be. This is because we might share with authors of fiction the luxury of uncertainty, but not the luxury of ambiguity. In sum, close-reading is an essential technique in analyzing what we traditionally consider “historical texts” just as it is in analyzing what we traditionally consider “literary texts” because it guarantees that the critic is engaging in a dialogic relationship with the texts and is thus willing to be held responsible for her or his own contributions on expanding the text’s meaning. For it is a dialogue after all: both we and the text are talking to each other. Unison is comforting in such dialogues, yet polyphony is far more fruitful, even as it at points inevitably turns into dissonance.

Chapter I

A convivencia of Convenience: The Curious Case of Ibn al-Qūṭīyah

I.1 Introduction:

How do we write the history of hybrid spaces? This is a question that a lot of us face in our study of the interconnected regions of different moments of world history – from the contemporary Andes to the Byzantine Empire. It is a special challenge for scholars of Medieval Iberia because there is no consensus on how to define the historical relationship between northern Christian kingdoms and southern Muslim ones. Perhaps the place that best throws into sharp relief these tensions is Al-Andalus. If geographers are right, and to name is to claim, then it is worth recalling that Andalucía refers to the southernmost region of Spain as it is currently demarcated, while Al-Andalus is reserved for the historical territories under Muslim political rule between 711 and 1492. The presence of crypto-Muslims in Iberia, however, extends far beyond the date of their mass expulsion which occurred between 1609 and 1614, since Inquisitorial records show prosecution of crypto-Muslims in Granada as late as 1727¹³.

What I mean to say by immediately problematizing questions of space, time, and naming is that these questions in Medieval Iberian historiography are fundamentally unresolved. So, how do we approach this place called Al-Andalus, at this time called the Medieval period? My project joins a collective group of scholars in addressing some of these thorny issues. My research makes three key interventions:

1. The first concerns the role that nostalgia played, and continues to play, in defining Al

¹³ See Enrique Soria's book on the last *moriscos* and their prosecution in Granada (2014).

Andalus. In *Yearning for Yesterday*, Fred Davis explains that what is most important for nostalgia is its contrast with the present, regardless of how far in the past it looks to (12).

According to Davis, nostalgia involves a special past whose meaning intensifies when juxtaposed with the present (13). Nostalgia, he later concludes, is a dialectic of the search for continuity amid threats of discontinuity (35). Such observations can help us understand why the representation of a nostalgic past never ceased to be a crucial concept in explaining the place of Al-Andalus in history, especially in and to the Muslim World.

2. My second intervention concerns the pragmatics of history and the writing of history: as scholars like Lionel Gossman and Walter Mignolo have shown, the genre of history has changed over time. What it meant to write a “history” in the 16th century was not the same as what it means in the 19th century, or in our own day. The explicit “break” between history and *literature* can be traced down to neoclassicism (Gossman 228-229). With similar concerns to Gossman, Walter Mignolo has argued that the early modern “*historia*,” as understood in the classical roots of the term, was driven by story, not chronology; writers of histories were not expected to be objective about the past (75). They were supposed to be persuasive. But critics working on Medieval Iberia have not always accepted the paradox of history writing, insisting at points on separating history from fiction, as discussed in the introduction.

3. Finally, my third intervention revolves around cultural identity. I believe that we are in need of a definition of Andalusí cultural identity that would reflect and respect the contributions of the inherently hybrid identity of such groups as the *muwalladūn*. The author I will introduce shortly, Ibn al-Qūṭīyah (d. 970), was one of them. For if we do not, we run the risk of flattening the complex realities of authors who moved between worlds, languages, and religious traditions that were never self-contained in Al-Andalus. We also run the risk of

denying the fluid identities that come from deep traditions of intermarriage between Arab men and women from diverse ethnicities, as well as the constant cultural encounters between the different minorities that suddenly found themselves under Muslim rule throughout the Mediterranean and beyond. Ultimately, too, we deny the possibility of change over time itself.

This chapter uses a tenth-century Andalusí historical text to engage all of these themes, and to show why a different approach to Medieval Iberian history – one that accounts for the difficult, messy, and category-shattering questions of nostalgia, imagination, and ephemerality – is so needed today. The emirate of Cordoba (756-929) was established by a survivor of the Umayyad dynasty of Damascus, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān I (731-788). The Abbasids, who had massacred the Umayyads in Syria, conspired against him on more than one occasion. Moreover, rivalry between Berber soldiers, Syrian clients, and Arab noblemen created an atmosphere of hostility that constantly threatened the attempts for a centralized ruling model in Cordoba. Al-Andalus, thus, came to exist amidst, and struggle against, constant threats of discontinuity. The immediate past of the gruesome events in Damascus that had abruptly ended the Umayyad caliphate condemned the newly found Umayyad emirate in Cordoba to a reign of uncertainty. I am referring here to the rivalry between the Abbasids and the Umayyads that lead to the rebellion of the former and the eventual extermination of the Umayyad dynasty¹⁴. It is not surprising, therefore, that even the earliest accounts of the conquest of Iberia would involve nostalgic views towards the Umayyad Caliphate of Damascus. It *is* surprising, however, to find a tenth century Arabic text that includes a wistful treatment of the last Visigothic rulers of the Peninsula and their crucial role in what is

¹⁴ For more on the crisis of the Umayyads and their downfall, see Chapter 4 of Ira Lapidus’ *A History of Islamic Societies* (2002), especially pp. 51-58.

depicted as a peaceful transfer of power to the new Muslim lords of Iberia. This is the case with *Tārīkh Ifītāḥ al-Andalus* – or *The History of the Conquest of Al-Andalus* – from here on referred to as *Tārīkh*, by Ibn al-Qūṭīyah.

Ibn al-Qūṭīyah was a historian and grammarian *mawlā*¹⁵ of the Umayyads and a descendant of the Visigothic nobility. A Sevillian by birth, he spent most of his life in Cordoba where he was known as an authority on Arabic grammar, until his death in 977. The *Tārīkh* covers the foundational period of Al-Andalus and ends with the reign of the Emir ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III, who would later become the first Umayyad Caliph of Cordoba (Bosch-Vilá)¹⁶. Since the nineteenth century, critics have praised the *Tārīkh* for its unique portrayal of the early centuries of Islamic civilization in Iberia. It is one of the sources used by Reinhart Dozy in his 1861 work *Histoire des Musulmans d’Espagne jusqu’à la conquête de l’Andalousie [History of the Muslims of Spain until the Conquest of Al-Andalus]*. Before this seminal work, Dozy had established a few assumptions regarding the composition and the sources of the *Tārīkh*, a few of which are still accepted among some scholars¹⁷. Pons Boygues, in his magnum opus *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico* (1898), believes that the parts of the *Tārīkh* that deal with Ibn al-Qūṭīyah’s ancestors are not

¹⁵ *Mawlā* (plural *mawāli*) is a pre-Islamic concept referring to clients of tribes. Its meaning expanded in Islam, under the Umayyads, and came to refer more generally to non-Arab Muslims. See Jamila Bargach (2002), p.50.

¹⁶ All English quotations from the *Tārīkh* come from David James’ translation, unless otherwise noted. When necessary, I will also make occasional corrections to the text that will be noted.

¹⁷ For instance, in the introduction of his edition of Ibn ‘Idharī’s *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, Dozy observes that Ibn al-Qūṭīyah’s students must have written the *Tārīkh*, since the sole manuscript we have of this work starts with “Ibn al-Qūṭīyah has told us” (29). In 1989, Maribel Fierro questioned the reliability of such assumptions, after showing the influence of Dozy’s opinions on such critics as Ribera, Sánchez Albornoz, and M. A. Makki, among others.

based on any personal family anecdotes of Ibn al-Qūṭīyah's; rather, they rely on the sources mentioned by Ibn al-Qūṭīyah himself— his teachers, a historical work by 'Abd al-Malik ibn Ḥabīb, and a poem by Tammām Ibn 'Alqama, neither of which have survived to our time (85). These views sharply contrast with Arabists such as Julián Ribera who, in his Spanish edition of Ibn al-Qūṭīyah's text in 1926, would argue that Hispanic blood ran through Ibn al-Qūṭīyah's veins and informed his spirit (XII).

More recently, the *Tārīkh* has been subject to diverse interpretations. Some critics highlight the multiple purposes of the text, while others criticize its various limitations. For instance, Roger Collins in his book *The Arab Conquest of Spain* questions the work's authenticity, as a part of a larger argument in which he states that what dominates Arab records of the conquest is fantasy (34-35). Similarly, Charles Pellat considers Ibn al-Qūṭīyah's need to please the Umayyads a compromising factor, arguing that it is not until the fall of the Caliphate of Cordoba that historians in Al-Andalus would take a more critical approach to their own past (121). Yet the *Tārīkh* has also been referred to as a valid source for the constant rebellions during the Umayyad emirate, as can be seen in Marín-Guzmán's analysis of the rebellions of 'Umar Ibn Ḥafṣūn and Daysam Ibn Ishāq (146). This is in line with David James's observations, who in the introduction to his English translation of the *Tārīkh* in 2009 states that much of the text deals with overcoming challenges to central authority in the early days of Al-Andalus (32). Denise K. Filios highlights the significance of the discrepancies between Ibn al-Qūṭīyah's account of the story of Ludharīq [Roderick/Rodrigo] and earlier Arabic texts (383), which I further discuss in the present chapter. Justin Stearns also references the Ludharīq

anecdote as he points out the connections between the Andalusís' narratives of the end of times and present-day nostalgia for Al-Andalus ("Representing" 365).

In terms of the text's conciliatory tone, Ron Barkai explains how Ibn al-Qūṭīyah's ambiguous identity played an important role in his attempt to reconcile the last Visigoth families with the first Arab families in Iberia (66-69). Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala seems to agree that Ibn al-Qūṭīyah's Visigothic origins are visible in the text, but he also confirms that the author makes many mistakes when discussing the Christian world (Thomas et al., 457-458). Finally, Antoine Borrut's significant study on the political rhetoric of periodization in Early Islam makes reference to Ibn al-Qūṭīyah as an Andalusí example of texts that would highlight the continuum of the Umayyads as rulers of Muslims (51).

What we can conclude from these valuable efforts is that very few studies are dedicated to the text of the *Tārīkh* itself. There is rather a tendency to employ it as an example to demonstrate varying historiographical approaches to Al-Andalus and the Islamic Middle Ages, as well as to center on its accuracy regarding actual events in the early history of Al-Andalus. This stems from a comprehensible desire to use the *Tārīkh* as a "reliable source" for the early years of Islamic presence in Iberia. However, if we can overcome that desire of unearthing the history of Al-Andalus as if it were a physical artifact, we can easily see that the *Tārīkh* can afford a far more important task. It is an invitation to reshape our understanding of Al-Andalus, rather than a dull confirmation of what we already assume we know about it.

Even though most critics recognize the significance of Ibn al-Qūṭīyah's work, the far more detailed account of the anonymous *Akḥbār Majmū'a*¹⁸ [*Collected Reports*] has been the center of attention for numerous historiographers, moving Ibn al-Qūṭīyah's treatise to the periphery. Indeed, it is too easy to dismiss Ibn al-Qūṭīyah's work: first, the fact that the *Tārīkh* was written as part and parcel of the ideological establishment of the Umayyads in Al-Andalus, during or right after the nascent caliphate of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III. Second, its reliability has been questioned, due to the fact that, of the aforementioned sources stated at the beginning of the manuscript, next to nothing survives. Third, and most importantly, the *Tārīkh* has entered the critical abyss of the question of its authorship: almost every helpful study of the *Tārīkh* includes an attempt to decide whether the manuscript we have is based on an original written by Ibn al-Qūṭīyah himself, one of his descendants or a student who released his notes from Ibn al-Qūṭīyah's classes after Ibn al-Qūṭīyah's death. Fierro's 1989 study muted these discussions by detailing the impossibility of such claims. Moreover, I would like to underscore the futility of such attempts, when it is an established fact that the work has been consistently attributed to Ibn al-Qūṭīyah, as the title of the work has held his name for centuries. Furthermore, the *Tārīkh* clearly privileges his personal ancestry, as the name of Sara la Goda, his great-great Visigothic grandmother, appears from the very beginning of the text as part of the foundational narrative of Islamic Iberia. There also remains the undiscussed possibility of the existence of a later historian who might have decided to use Ibn al-Qūṭīyah's identity, and most importantly, his authority, to comment on the necessity for a

¹⁸ An anonymous Arabic text from the eleventh century on the early history of Al-Andalus. See Luis Molina (1998).

reconciliatory treatment of the early days of Al-Andalus. The authenticity of actual authorship aside, by maintaining the focus on the text's dynamic purpose, the author shall once and for all be dead, as Roland Barthes would have told us.

This chapter is thus not a comparative study regarding the origins and authenticity of the *Tārīkh*. Rather, I will deal with the text itself: its content, its possible readings, and how it contributes to an alternative conceptualization of Al-Andalus as a place of contradictory prophecies on the future of Al-Andalus in relation to its historical roots in the Umayyad Caliphate of Damascus. I therefore follow the lines of investigation mapped out by Maribel Fierro, whose studies on the messianic movements in Al-Andalus have led her to coin the term “sentimiento de precariedad”, or a sense of historical uncertainty that prevailed among the Muslim community in Iberia from the very beginning of the Muslim conquest (160).

In a broader sense, I will also exploit the theoretical framework established by Gabrielle Spiegel in *Romancing the Past*, a study that links historical writing – especially medieval historical writing – to genealogy and ideology, since the *Tārīkh* portrays the past as an apologetic justification for the ideology of the present. Spiegel confirms that,

Historical writing is a powerful vehicle for the expression of ideological assertion, for it is able to address the historical issues so crucially at stake and to lend to ideology the authority and prestige of the past, all the while dissimulating its status *as* ideology under the guise of a mere accounting of "what was." (2)

Finally, in terms of history writing, my study falls within a changing view of history that was perpetuated by Northrop Frye and, later Hayden White, where in the words of the

latter history became to be considered “a verbal structure in the form of a narrative prose discourse that purports to be a model, or icon, of past structures and processes in the interest of explaining what they were by representing them” (3). Before delving into the details of the interplay of ideology, genealogy and the uses of the past for the present in the *Tārīkh*, it is necessary to give a general idea of the nature of the work: first, in formal terms, and second, in terms of its rationale. This will permit the reader to understand better the motivations for highlighting certain aspects of the text, such as the parts dealing with the Islamic conquest of the eighth century, as well as the numerous prophecies regarding the historical destiny of Al-Andalus sown throughout the text.

In terms of content, the *Tārīkh* seems at first to be a chronological account of the different Emirs of Al-Andalus until the reign of the first Caliph of Cordoba, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III. That is to say, between the years 756 and 929. However, the parts of the text leading up to the establishment of the emirate by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān I in 756 make this characterization unviable. This is because the narrative of the first few years of the Muslim conquest in the *Tārīkh* provides a unique reinterpretation of the wide array of political entities and interests that were involved in establishing the early presence of Muslims in Iberia. These interests are divided mostly along ethnic lines in the narrative (the Syrians, the Berbers, the Yemenites, the Visigoths, etc.)

Thus, in order better to describe the work’s structure, its discussion can be divided into two sections. The first will deal with the events leading up to the establishment of the emirate of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān I. This comprises roughly 30% of the work. The remaining part corresponds to the traditional characterization of the text as a chronological narration

of *akhbār*¹⁹ of different Emirs, rebels, and noblemen. It should be noted that the shorter first part is far more complex than the longer second one. It synchronizes the last Visigoth ruling model with that of the first Umayyads through a common factor: morality²⁰. As we shall see, *Sara la Goda* will become a welcome visitor of the Cordoban Umayyad court. Additionally, Artabas, her uncle, due to his generosity of both spirit and material possessions, will compensate ‘Abd al-Raḥmān I’s greed with good advice. He will also share his lands with envious Arab nobles and peasants alike.

As for the text’s rationale, the history of Ibn al-Qūṭīyah is a narrative that seeks to legitimize power on the basis of continuity and *translatio imperii*²¹. It seamlessly and simultaneously introduces the Visigoths in the foundational narrative of Al-Andalus, using Sara the Goth and, more significantly, her uncle Artabas as key figures in the transference of power from the Visigoths to the Umayyads. When put in the context of its emergence (10th c.), the *Tārīkh* becomes a portrayal of the past as an apologetic justification for the present. This is because it reflects a political view where non-Arabs and their mixed descendants can indeed be allies of the Arab elite, rather than their perceived enemies. In the words of Spiegel,

The prescriptive authority of the past made it a privileged locus for working through the ideological implications of social changes in the

¹⁹ *Akhbār* – plural of *khbar* (report; piece of information) – is a term heavily associated with a more flexible type of the oral transmission of history, since unlike stricter forms such as *hadīth* for example, it does not require *isnād* (a traceable chain of sources). For a more detailed study of the evolution of both the *akhbār* and the *hadīth* tradition, see Tarif Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Period* (1994), Chapter 2.

²⁰ Other scholars have explored the topic of well governance in the *Tārīkh*. For a recent example, see Herrero (2010), pp. 475 - 488.

²¹ The concept in the present chapter has more to do with the linear transfer of both political and spiritual power between dynasties than with the figure of an “emperor.”

present and the repository of contemporary concerns and desires. As a locus of value, a revised past held out for contemporaries the promise of a perfectible present.

(*Romancing 5*)

The *Tārīkh* also resorts to prophecies and divine omens to solidify the trifold connection between the Umayyad Caliphate of Damascus, the success of their only survivor in founding the Emirate of Cordoba, and the newly founded Umayyad Caliphate of Cordoba in 929. I believe that this need for establishing legitimacy through history writing, as Gabrielle Spiegel would say, reflected an anxiety for uncertainty on succession in the court, which makes it likely that the text was written during the problematic reign of Emir al-Ḥakam II who would not produce an heir until the age of forty-six²².

Last but not least, the *Tārīkh* redefines the problematic emergence of Al-Andalus by exposing the chaotic and fragile alliances that defined the first two turbulent centuries of Islamic presence in the Iberian Peninsula. I will organize the rest of this chapter around the three critical interventions mentioned at the beginning: nostalgia, pragmatics of historiography and cultural identity. Even though I will be focusing on one theme at a time, it should be noted that all three are organically interconnected in the text. For instance, the author's nostalgic treatment of the past reflects his hybrid cultural identity, which in turn informs his choices in writing his history. Let us begin with nostalgia, which conveniently enough coincides with the first part of the text.

²² He was believed to be homosexual and had kept a male harem. See Daniel Eisenberg's entry in *Medieval Iberia: An Encyclopedia* (2003), pp. 398-399.

I.2 Sara, Artabas and ‘Abd al-Rahmān I: Establishing continuities

Ibn al-Qūṭīyah’s history begins with two major events: Witiza’s death, and the rebellion of his army commander, Ludharīq, who seized Cordoba with his loyal army men. This version of the story differs from its counterpart included in the *Mozarabic Chronicle of 754* (the so-called *Continuatio Hispana* which covers the years 610-754) and aligns more with the version of the later Chronicle of Alfonso III (between 866-910)²³. For in the *Tārīkh*, the time between the death of Witiza and the Muslim conquest is greater than the commonly referred one-year term between the two events. Ibn al-Qūṭīyah states:

وكانوا [أي أولاد غيطشة] صغاراً عند وفاة أبيهم، فضبطت عليهم أمهم ملك أبيهم بطليطلة (...) فلما دخل طارق بن زياد الأندلس (...) كتب لذريرق إلى أولاد الملك غيطشة، وقد ترعرعوا وركبوا الخيل، يدعوهم إلى مناصرتهم. (٢٩)

[All [Witiza’s sons] were very young when their father died so their mother became regent in *Tulaytula* [Toledo] (...) When Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād entered al-Andalus (...) Ludharīq wrote to the sons of Ghitisha [Witiza], who had grown up and could ride, calling on them to help him.] (49)

It is my belief that this change in the account, highlighting the fact that Witiza’s sons had grown by the time of the conquest, is not an arbitrary one. It rather shows Ibn al-Qūṭīyah shifting the ambiguous context of the rise and fall of Roderick into a story of a dynasty seeking to take revenge for its unfair treatment at the hands of a rebellious military leader. Thus, he creates a sense of continuity between the Umayyads of Damascus and those of Cordoba from the very first paragraph by drawing on certain parallelisms

²³ For more on the story of Witiza’s sons in the Chronicle of Alfonso III, see Barkai (1984), p. 40.

between their respective destinies. This is further evidenced by the fact that Roderick is soon to be called by Witiza's offspring their "father's dog", a grave insult in Arabic, as they agree to betray him in response to Roderick's earlier rebellion. Ibn al-Qūṭīyah on one level thus commemorates the fall of Roderick as a result of Roderick's own tyranny, in conformance with other Arabic and non-Arabic sources of the conquest of Al-Andalus. On another level, however, Ibn al-Qūṭīyah introduces the turbulent world of early Al-Andalus where greed, revenge, and the lust for power often overshadowed any quest for dynastic legitimacy.

In terms of nostalgia, this is highly reminiscent of the conflict between the Abbasids and the Umayyads that ended in Damascus in 750 with the brutal extermination of most of the Umayyad nobility less than a hundred years after the establishment of the Umayyad Caliphate. As De Grutyer puts it, "Restricted to its Umayyad past, Syria *had* to vanish from the scene with the demise of the first dynasty of Islam to make room for the Abbasids who had their own claims to make" (43-44). The critic also highlights efforts to create a sense of an uninterrupted Umayyad caliphate by historians in Al-Andalus and makes a brief reference to Ibn al-Qūṭīyah as an example of this gesture (51).

Yet Ibn al-Qūṭīyah's text reveals not only a continuum in time between the Umayyads of Damascus and those of Cordoba; the text also constructs a continuum in *space* between Syria and Iberia. In Damascus, Sara *La Goda* would meet 'Abd al-Raḥmān I for the first time.

وكان عبد الرحمن يحفظ ذلك لها بالأندلس، وكانت إذا أتت قرطبة أذن لها في دخول القصر إلى

العيال. (٣٢)

[Years later in al-Andalus he would remind her of that and whenever she visited Cordoba he would give her leave to enter the palace and visit the royal family.] (50)

This “reminder” of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān I serves also as a reminder for the reader that the encounter between the Visigothic nobility and the Umayyads actually began in Damascus and *continued* in Cordoba. This continuity is also visible in such attempts as ‘Abd al-Raḥmān I’s Rusafa estate, which memorialized the Rusāfa in central Syria, the Umayyad Caliphs’ favored residence (Menocal 9). The fact that Ibn al-Qūṭīyah focuses on the encounter between Sara and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān I, who must have been a child at the time, reemphasizes both the legitimacy and the continuity of the Umayyad rule in Iberia, given that the shift of power from the Visigoths to the Umayyads was initiated in Damascus, and had involved the same people: Sara and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān I. This is a clear example of what Spiegel, inspired by Bakhtin, claims to be the essential meaning of a text: it is relational, rather than inherent (*Romancing* 9).

The story of Sara’s uncle Artabas is perhaps one of the most controversial in the text, to such an extent that it is the only excerpt that Pons Boygues decided to include as a sample in his *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico* mentioned earlier. Having been betrayed by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān I, as the latter broke the pledge of his ancestors to Artabas by taking away his lands, he decides to visit the Emir in his palace to bid him farewell. When they meet, they both misunderstand each other by thinking the other is leaving (Artabas to Rome and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān I to Damascus). ‘Abd al-Raḥmān I’s answer reflects the compulsory nature of his presence in Al-Andalus, as he laments the impossibility of going back after

having miraculously fled Syria (76). Yet the most significant part of their conversation is when Artabas decides to instruct ‘Abd al-Raḥmān I on good governance:

قال له أرتاباش: فهذا الموضع الذي أنت فيه تريد أن توطد لولدك بعدك أم تأخذ منه ما اتخذ لك؟
 قال له: لا والله، ما أريد إلا أن أوطده لنفسى ولولدي، قال له أرتاباش: فعين هذا العمل اعمل فيه،
 ثم عرفه بأشياء كان الناس ينكرونها عليه وبيتها له، فسُرَّ بذلك عبد الرحمن بن معاوية، وشكره
 عليه. (٥٨)

[So Artabas said, 'The position you are now in, do you want to hand it down to your son, or do you intend to deny him what has been given to you?' 'No, by God, said Abd al-Rahman, all I want is to consolidate it; for me and for my son.' So Artabas said, 'Well – consider this matter and act upon it!' Then he informed him of some of the things that people disapproved about him and made them clear to him. Abd al-Rahman was happy with this and thanked him.] (76)

Artabas, who at first unjustly takes away Sara’s sons’ lands, is now a pious nobleman and one of the most astute men of his time, according to the text (76). His profile in the *Tārīkh* stands out, first, as a key figure in a peaceful transfer of power between some Visigothic rulers and the Umayyads. Second, and most importantly, his profile is seamlessly included with descriptions of otherwise Muslim noblemen. His story becomes an essential part of the description of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān I’s reign, by presenting Artabas as the only man to have had the courage to confront the Emir with people’s criticism of him. In other words, Artabas’ vision of governance is one where a leader’s survival is contingent upon his awareness of the people’s sincere opinion of him. Only then can he be guaranteed to hand down his position to his descendants.

This is a brief yet a key anecdote for understanding the *Tārīkh*. It is reminiscent of the *translatio imperii* topos present in the first few pages of the text, as it focuses on the succession of power – in this case, through transmitting *knowledge* on good governance – from one of the last members of the Visigothic ruling family to the founder of the Andalusí branch of the Umayyad rulers. As Jacques Le Goff reminds us in his discussion of Christian and profane medieval themes of conceiving history, "[t]he transfer of power, the *translatio imperii*, was above all a transfer of knowledge and culture, a *translatio studii*" (171). In terms of nostalgia, then, the anecdote in question reduces the disruption between past and present through frequent encounters between the Visigothic nobility and the Syrian one. This might explain the otherwise puzzling decision of Artabas to bid the Emir farewell, for it is very unlikely he truly believed ‘Abd al-Raḥmān I would ever consider going back to Damascus, having miraculously escaped the less fortunate destiny of the rest of the Umayyads there. Rather, I read his farewell as an acceptance of the inevitable transfer of power from the Visigoths to the Umayyads.

This hypothesis is supported by the fact that, immediately after the anecdote of his encounter with ‘Abd al-Raḥmān I, another story is told about Artabas to reinforce not only his generosity, but also *the ease with which he gave away his lawful possessions*. In this rather curious anecdote, ten Syrian noblemen come to visit Artabas. During their visit, a Syrian client – Maymūn al-‘Abid – comes in and is received by Artabas with extreme humility. He takes Maymūn by the hand and gives him his seat. The man asks Artabas to share one of his estates with him, since he, like many Syrians, had not anticipated (٥٩) "الاضطراب على موالينا بالمشرق" [the troubles of our masters in the East] (76), and thus was not prepared to stay on permanently in Al-Andalus.

فقال له أرتباش: لا والله، ما أرضى أن أعطيك ضيعةً مناصفةً، ودعا بوكيل له، فقال له: ادفع إليه
المجشّر، الذي على وادي شوش، وما فيه من البقر والغنم والعييد، وادفع إليه القلعة بجيان، وهي
المعروفة بقلعة حزم ملكها. فشكره وقام، وعاد أرتباش إلى مقعده. (٥٩)

[But Artabas said, ‘No, certainly not! I would not be happy with a shared estate.’ He summoned one of his administrators (...) and said to him: ‘Give him *al-Mujashshir* at Guadajoz, together with its cows, goats and serfs. Give him the castle (...) at Jaen called the Castle of Hazm...’ Maymun thanked him and rose to his feet, and Artabas returned to his chair.] (76)

The author also briefly mentions that this same Syrian client would one day become the founder of the Banū Ḥazm, which again underscores the historian’s stress on the transference of power and authority from Visigoths to Muslims. Artabas’ magnanimous actions provoke one of the visitors, Şumayl – to whose *akhbār* the text turns in the following chapter – to accuse Artabas of belittling the Muslims²⁴.

وأنا سيّد العرب بالأندلس، ويدخل أصحابي هؤلاء معي، وهم سادات الموالي بالأندلس، فلا تزدنا
من الكرامة على القعود على العيدين. (٥٩)

[I, the lord of the Arabs in al-Andalus, come here, with my companions, who are the heads of the clients here, and you have shown us no more honor than giving us somewhere to sit!] (76).

²⁴ It is important to remember that this is the same Şumayl that had allied with Yusuf al-Fahrī against at the time of his arrival in the Peninsula, and is thus a rival of the Umayyads. For more on Yusuf al-Fahrī’s conflict with ‘Abd al-Raḥmān I, see Marilyn Walker’s entry on ‘Abd al-Raḥmān I in *Medieval Iberia: An Encyclopedia* (2003), p. 4.

Artabas then accuses him of ignorance, for *their* religion – i.e. Islam – would have commended his act of charity, while at the same time explaining that his actions come from his Christian belief of the obligation of sharing one’s own God-given gifts with all fellow humans. He then grants ten estates to each of the ten attendees, since only abundance can make kings happy, according to Artabas (77).

There is one minor detail in this episode that is also doubtless significant. When Artabas mentions Jesus, he follows his name with the phrase *صلى الله عليه وسلم* [May Allah honor him and grant him peace], which is a formula strictly used after mentioning Muhammad’s name in Islam, at least in earlier texts²⁵. This tradition comes from the Quran, where Muslims are required to “pray for Muhammad and wish him peace” just as God and his Angels do. Perhaps the phrase would not be as noteworthy had it not appeared in the context of Artabas’ discourse: he is highlighting shared values and beliefs between Muslims and Christians regarding charity. One cannot discard the possibility of such an unusual juxtaposition of the word “Messiah” and the formula *صلى الله عليه وسلم* being a mere mistake of the copyist. The fact that only one manuscript of the text has survived makes it harder for us to decide whether the combination was intentional or not. Yet if the “mistake” was indeed intentional, it could be indicative of the maturity of cultural synchronization present in Ibn al-Qūṭīyah’s text, since it is a part of an anecdote that stresses the common belief in charity between Muslims and Christians.

In sharp contrast, immediately after the *akhbār* of Artabas we read an anecdote about this same Ṣumayl where he tries to correct a *muaddib* (teacher) who was teaching

²⁵ I would like to thank Professor David Thomas of the University of Birmingham for confirming through correspondence that such a combination is rather uncommon in Early Islamic texts. He also mentioned that it is likely a case of scribal error.

his students verse 140 of the Surah Al Imran. The text only mentions part of the verse, italicized in the following quotation, yet reading the full verse would give us a better understanding of the discussion that follows, as we relate it to the anecdotes about Artabas:

إِنْ يَمَسُّكُمْ فَرْحٌ فَقَدْ مَسَّ الْقَوْمَ فَرْحٌ مِّثْلُهُ ۚ وَتِلْكَ الْأَيَّامُ نُدَاوِلُهَا بَيْنَ النَّاسِ وَلِيَعْلَمَ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا
وَيَتَّخِذَ مِنْكُمْ شُهَدَاءَ ۗ وَاللَّهُ لَا يُحِبُّ الظَّالِمِينَ (140:3)

[If a wound should touch you - there has already touched the [opposing] people a wound similar to it. *And these days [of varying conditions] We alternate among the people* so that Allah may make evident those who believe and [may] take to Himself from among you martyrs - and Allah does not like the wrongdoers -] (Sahih International)

When Şumayl hears the *muaddib*, he tries to correct him by saying that it is “among Arabs”, not “among people”. However, as he learns that he is mistaken, he exclaims: "[Then, by God, I believe this will make us comparable to slaves, rascals and scoundrels²⁶]. Another episode follows highlighting Şumayl’s arrogance and antipathy, as he refuses to straighten his hat since others are expected to do so for him (77).

What we clearly see here is a contrast in morality and in ethical behavior between a Syrian nobleman and a Visigothic one. The anecdotes are evidently heavily laden with political commentary: choosing Şumayl as a bad moral example would doubtless have pleased Ibn al-Qūṭīyah’s readers since Şumayl was known to be a rival of the Umayyads.

²⁶ Translation is mine, since James’s translation does not highlight Şumayl’s concern with what he sees as a *change* for the worse as he learns that the Quran refers to “people” rather than “Arabs”.

At the same time, the display of Artabas' piety and magnanimity privileges Ibn al-Qūṭīyah's own lineage and ancestry, and the foundational role played by them at the moment of the emirate's establishment in Iberia. In a broader sense, the story also reveals that noble actions only encompass piety, generosity and spiritual righteousness, regardless of one's religion. One cannot dismiss the fact that in these few pages, the last Visigoth is the one who acts with moderation, paving the way for 'Abd al-Raḥmān I to establish not only his own rule, but that of his dynasty and descendants. Artabas' generosity, astuteness and piety vividly contrast with the selfishness of Şumayl, the noble Muslim who deems himself too good even for his own religion. In this first part of the text, then, a nostalgic view towards the early days of Al-Andalus prompts the author to reshape the Islamic conquest of Al-Andalus into a story of dynastic legitimacy, where the descendants of Witiza, the last legitimate Visigothic king, contribute to the prosperity of the last legitimate descendent of the Umayyads, 'Abd al-Raḥmān.

I.3 Prophecies and divine signs in *Tārīkh*

Let us now turn to the second mentioned intervention, concerning the pragmatics of historiography, as we look at the second part of the text: the *akhbār*, the accounts, of the subsequent Emirs. The focus will first be on the prophecies in the text as they reflect the awareness, both of Ibn al-Qūṭīyah and of the Emirs involved, regarding the potentiality for catastrophe or for long-lasting prosperity for Muslims in Al-Andalus. Second, I will also underscore any remarks the author makes that can help us better understand this evolving perspective in Islamic historiography as manifested in Ibn al-Qūṭīyah's work:

one in which a discourse of doubt regarding the future becomes a model for the writing of history in Al-Andalus.

In a book chapter in which Laura Grillo reflects on her experience with researching divination in Côte d'Ivoire which ultimately got her personal life far more involved in the process than she could have imagined, she confirms that “divination is the process of puzzling out one’s own meanings and motivations” (40). Indeed, omens, prophetic visions and supernatural interventions of all sort can tell us quite a deal about Ibn al-Qūṭīyah’s appraisals of different Emirs. It is a very subtle critical method: the Emirs he seems to approve of, regardless of whether this was due to his personal admiration for them or to please his patrons, will have predominantly positive divinations associated with them; the opposite is true for those he judged as faulty. Even a cursory examination of the text shows that it abounds with prophecies, omens and divine messages. Supernatural interventions also frequently appear at moments where a critical change in the path of history is about to take place. For instance, immediately before a decisive battle, thus indicating its providential outcome, but also pointing to the destiny of Islam as a whole in the historical trajectory of Al-Andalus.

Although the prophecies can be categorized in different ways, since I want to focus on the paradox of ephemerality and long-lasting Islamic presence in Iberia, I will divide the prophecies into two simple yet contradictory categories that facilitate their understanding. On the one hand, the first category includes omens where Al-Andalus is taken as a land of victory and prosperity for Muslims. On the other hand, the second group reflects Muslims’ self-awareness of the instability of their state in Iberia, and therefore a widespread anxiety regarding the ephemerality of the Muslim presence in the

Peninsula. I shall start with the first category of omens: those that predicted and privileged the presence of Muslims in Iberia. For short, I shall refer to these as “propitiatory prophecies.” The first one in Ibn al-Qūṭīyah’s text is interestingly a legend that concerns the Visigoths.

ويقال: إنه كان لملوك القوط بطليطلة بيت فيه تابوت، وفي التابوت الأربعة الأناجيل التي يقسمون بها، وكانوا يعظمون ذلك البيت ولا يفتتحونه، وكان إذا مات الملك منهم كتب فيه اسمه، فلما صار الملك إلى لذريق حمل التاج، فأنكرت ذلك النصرانية، ثم فتح البيت والتابوت بعد أن نهته النصرانية عن فتحه، فوجد فيه صور العرب متكبة قسيها، وعمائمها على رؤوسها، وفي أسفل العيدان مكتوب: إذا فُتح هذا البيت وأُخرجت هذه الصور دخل الأندلس قوم في صورهم فغلبوا عليها. (٣٣)

It is related that the kings of the Goths had a temple (*bayt*) in Toledo wherein was an ark (*tabut*) in which were kept the Four Gospels upon which they took the sacred oath. They exalted this temple and kept it closed. When one of their kings died they inscribed his name on it. Now, when Ludharīq became king he took the crown and placed it on his head, which was something not approved of according to Christianity. Then he opened the temple and the ark, although this was forbidden by Christianity. Inside the ark he found pictures of Arabs with bows on their shoulders and turbans on their heads. On the wooden base was written: *If this temple be opened and these pictures taken out, then al-Andalus will be invaded by the people shown in the pictures and conquered by them!* (51)

When compared to a version of the same legend mentioned in Alfonso the Wise’s *Estoria de España*, the text of the legend in the *Tārīkh* is far less demonic in nature. Alfonso’s

text notably highlights the fear that Rodrigo and his men felt when they saw the terrifying images of the Arabs (Alfonso X, *Primera Crónica* 307²⁷).

The potency of such a prophecy comes from the message it conveys regarding the Muslim conquest from the Christian perspective. It is one that would only come true when a ruler would deliberately disobey the mandates of Christianity, as highlighted *twice* in Ibn al-Qūṭīyah’s paragraph above. He is thus postulating that the Muslim conquest is a curse for the Visigoths that they had brought on themselves, as Alfonso’s version also portends. In both traditions, Iberia would be cursed by an Islamic conquest if the temple was opened and the pictures were taken out. Here we are in the presence of one of the most common *topoi* in monotheistic Mediterranean cultures: the fall from grace due to the violation of a prohibition motivated by arrogance and excessive curiosity. This will become a prominent narrative model for Alfonso, as we shall see in the next chapter.

Ibn al-Qūṭīyah moves on to explaining how Yuliyan, the legendary Count who allegedly helped facilitate the Muslim conquest of Iberia,

قصد طارق بن زياد، فرغبه في الأندلس، وذكر له شرفها وضعف أهلها، وأنهم ليسوا أهل
شجاعة. (٣٤)

[met with Ṭāriq and incited him to come to al-Andalus, telling him of its splendor and the weakness of its people and their lack of courage.] (52)

This was to take revenge of Ludharīq’s seduction of Yuliyan’s daughter. It is worth mentioning here that Yuliyan’s “treason” as portrayed in the *Tārīkh* is secondary to

²⁷ Due to its length, the full text of the legend (with my translation) can be found in the Appendix.

Ludharīq's vainglory: it is the latter who is to blame for the fall of Al-Andalus into Muslim hands; an important distinction to keep in mind as we consider Alfonso's view of the same events in the following chapter.

The next propitiatory prophecy occurs when Ṭāriq is on his ship sailing to Iberia. He falls into a long sleep, in which he has a dream that he takes as a propitious omen for the conquest:

(...) فكان يرى في نومه النبي، صلى الله عليه وسلم، وحوله المهاجرون والأنصار قد تقلدوا السيوف وتككبوا القسي، فيمرّ النبي، عليه السلام، بطارق فيقول له: تقدم لشأنك. ونظر طارق في نومه إلى النبي وأصحابه حتى دخلوا الأندلس. (٣٤)

(...) he saw the Prophet Muhammad – peace and praises be upon him. He was surrounded by his followers from Makka and Madina who were armed with swords and bows. The Prophet passed by Ṭāriq and said, 'Go on with your venture.' And Ṭāriq slept on, dreaming of the Prophet and his Companions, until the ship reached al-Andalus. (52)

Let us not forget that a vision of Muhammad in one's sleep, according to the hadith, cannot be a deception, giving this paragraph even more potency and authority. In the words of Muhammad, the Devil cannot impersonate him in dreams (Juynboll 272). Yet prophecies are, certainly, more effective when looked at in retrospect. *Ex eventu* prophecies are a recurring strategy in the text where the author's knowledge of the aftermath of a certain historical moment has clearly informed his decision to include a divine omen that anticipates the outcome.

This is why the history of 'Abd al-Raḥmān I is one of the most heavily laden with omens and divine interventions. It points to the correlation between the significance of an

historical event and the number of divine interventions present in it. In ‘Abd al-Raḥmān I’s story, the propitious omens begin just when he is about to step onto Iberian soil²⁸.

فلما جاوزوا البحر [أي بدر وأبو فريعة وتمام] واجتمعوا بعبد الرحمن قال: يا بدر، من هذا؟ قال:
مولاك تمام، وهذا مولاك أبو فريعة، فقال: تمام، تم أمرنا إن شاء الله، وأبو فريعة، افتترعنا البلد،
إن شاء الله. (٤٧)

[And when [Badr, Abu Furay’a and Tammam] crossed the sea and met with ‘Abd al-Raḥmān I, the latter said: Who is this, Badr? To which he answered ‘Your servant Tammam, and this is your servant Abu Furay’a.’” ‘Abd al-Raḥmān I then punned: *Tammam*, our affairs shall be fulfilled [*tamma*], God willing, and Abu Furaya, we shall possess [*iftara’a*, literally deflower or initiate] this land, God willing.] (47)

As ‘Abd al-Raḥmān I prepares to fight his enemy Yusuf al-Fihri just outside of Cordoba, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān I inquires about the day and date. When he realizes that the day after would be Friday and the Day of ‘Arafah²⁹, he takes this as a good omen, as his ancestor Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam (the fourth Umayyad caliph) had won the battle of Marj Rāhiṭ against yet another al-Fihri (al-Ḍaḥḥāk) on that very same day just outside Damascus. What we have here is an iteration of circular history under Allah’s blessing. The Umayyads were blessed in the battle of Marj Rāhiṭ, and the omens implying parallelisms in the current circumstances should lead to a similar success. The propitious omens abound as ‘Abd al-Raḥmān I comes across a young man named Sābiq bin Mālik bin Yazīd.

²⁸ The translation is mine, since I disagree with James’ interpretation: “Tammam punned, ‘It’s fulfilled!’ Abu Furay’a punned in turn, ‘God willing, we’ll ravage the land!’” (69)

²⁹ This is the second day of the Hajj, which Muslims believe to have been the day that a part of verse 3 of the Quranic sura al-Mā’idah, announcing that the religion of Islam had been perfected, was revealed.

ثم التفت [أي عبد الرحمن] إلى غلام وقعت عينه عليه، فقال له: من تكون يا فتى؟ فقال له: سابق
بن مالك بن يزيد، فقال عبد الرحمن: سابق، سبقنا، ومالك، ملكنا، ويزيد، زدنا. (٥٠)

Then his eye lit upon a youth (*ghulam*). ‘Who are you, young fellow?’ he asked. ‘Sabiq the son of Malik the son of Yazid,’ he replied. ‘Aha!’ said Abd al-Rahman “‘Sabiq’ means we will win the race: ‘Malik’ means we will be king; and ‘Yazid’, we will prosper! (70)

‘Abd al-Raḥmān I moves on to appoint Sābiq bin Mālik bin Yazīd as his saddle-mate, or riding companion. This is a good example of how prophecies in Andalusí historiography influenced, altered, and shaped the perception of historical reality. Even though this is probably no more than a dramatic sketch invented later, its presentation as factual matter helps us better understand the centrality of prophecies in times of war in Andalusí history.

Moving on to another propitiatory prophecy, the reign of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān I’s son Hishām (788-796) includes a prophecy that would highlight his legendary piety. An astrologer predicts he only had seven years left to live. Hishām remains unaffected by this knowledge, as he decides to spend his last years worshiping God:

فقال له الضبيّ [المنجم]: ما بين الستة إلى السبعة [أشهر]، فأطرق عنه ساعة ثم رفع رأسه إليه
فقال له: يا ضبيّ، والله لو أنها في سجدة لله لهانت، وكساه وحباه وصرفه إلى بلده، واطرح الدنيا
ومال إلى الآخرة، رحمه الله... (٦١-٦٢)

[So he [the astrologer al-Dabbi] told him, ‘You have but six or seven years left.’ Then the emir bowed his head in silence for an hour. Finally he looked up and said, ‘Well, al-Dabbi, if they are spent in worshiping the Almighty, it is little import to me.’ He gave him a robe of honor and

rewarded him and gave him leave to return to his home. Then the emir – may Goad have mercy upon him – turned away from worldly things and began to think of higher ones.] (82)

A description follows of all the pious actions for which Hishām is remembered. If one were to consider Ibn al-Qūṭīyah’s text loosely as it were a mirror of princes for the new caliph ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III (or his successor, if the text was indeed written after his death), the anecdote could be interpreted as a reminder for governors of the importance of piety; a recurring theme in the *Tārīkh*. This is further emphasized with the fact that the *akhbār* of the Emir Hishām portray him as one who ruled with kindness, justice and humility (82).

Furthermore, in the context of Islamic historiography, this narrative is an inherently contradictory one: whereas the omen itself is catastrophic, as can be seen in the astrologer’s initial reluctance to convey his vision to the Emir, I am still including it with propitiatory prophecies because of the message it delivers. That is, a good ruler would know how to turn an imminent tragedy into an opportunity to serve God by becoming an exemplary Emir (82). Indeed, Ibn al-Qūṭīyah goes on to explain that Hishām built the Great Mosque of Cordoba (which was actually built by his father ‘Abd al-Raḥmān I) and was praised by no less than Anas ibn Mālīk for his efforts (83).

And now we may turn to the second category of prophecies: those depicting the anxiety of Muslims regarding their ambiguous future in Al-Andalus. For short, I’ll call them “inauspicious prophecies.” The *akhbār* of the Emir al-Ḥakam (796-822), whose reign in Ibn al-Qūṭīyah’s text is distinguished for the high number of opponents he killed, provides one of the most remarkable inauspicious prophecies: it depicts the fear of future

catastrophe for Muslims in Al-Andalus. In an incident that Ibn al-Qūṭīyah attributes to Ibn Waḍḍaḥ³⁰, we learn that al-Ḥakam, while resting close to an unnamed valley, makes the following observation:

ثم نظر إلى بعض الفجاج فقال: يخرج في آخر الزمان خوارج كأنني أراهم من هذه الفجاج، يقتلون الرجال ويسبون الولدان، فيا ليت حكماً كان حياً حتى يُعلم نصره وذبه عن الإسلام. (٧٤)

[He looked towards a valley and said, ‘On the Day of Judgment the Dissenters (*khawarij*) will come – I can almost see them now pouring out of this valley, killing people and enslaving children. I hope there will be an “al-Hakam” alive to be victorious and defend Islam.] (92)

One might expect to read such a prophecy in an *aljamiado* text from the sixteenth century. Yet the fact that it appears in a tenth-century treatise leaves no doubt that the foreboding of future disasters was established in Al-Andalus since an early stage of the Muslim presence in Iberia. Inauspicious prophecies will intensify later on in the history of Al-Andalus as tensions between the Muslim and Christian community rises, leading up to the eventual expulsions of all *moriscos* in the year 1609. For instance, it would lead to a rise of messianic figures that *moriscos* hoped would help them in their fight for survival in Iberia, as shall be discussed in Chapter 4.

The next inauspicious prophecy appears in what can be otherwise considered one of the most amusing *akhbār* in Ibn al-Qūṭīyah’s text: those regarding ‘Abd al-Raḥmān II (822-852). After discussing the arrival of the musician Ziriyāb to the court, of whom I’ll

³⁰ The most complete biography of Ibn Waḍḍaḥ can be found in *Tārīkh ‘Ulamā’ Al-Andalus* by Ibn al-Faraḍī (c. 1000;1890), pp. 317-319.

speak shortly, an anecdote is told of this Emir that is full of sexual innuendos. After having a nocturnal emission in Guadalajara,

فقام إلى الطَّهر، فلما تقضى طهره، والوصيف يجفف رأسه، دعا بابن الشَّمر، فلما وصل إليه قال

له: يابن الشمر:

سأقك من قرطبة الساري بالليل لم يدر به الداري

فأجابه:

زار مجيباً في ظلام الدجى أهلاً به من زائر ساري. (٧٧)

[He went to perform the ablutions for prayers, which being done, and while the servant (*wasif*) was drying his head, he called for Ibn al-Shamir and recited the following verse:

From Cordoba, in the night came

a nocturnal traveler, without the knower knowing it.

So he answered with a verse:

Welcome to the one

who comes in the dark of night!] (98-99)

The suggestive exchange of poetry excites him to the point that he goes back to Cordoba to sleep with a concubine (99). Whereas in the case of Hishām an anecdote of evident piety framed the emir's good ruling; in this case, the anecdote sets the ground for the depiction of 'Abd al-Raḥmān II as a ruler more concerned with worldly pleasures than with righteousness.

This culminates with a series of events during his reign in which the destiny of Islam in Al-Andalus is threatened. It goes as follows: The major deed of this Emir is the

construction of the Great Mosque of Seville (100), which curiously enough becomes a metonym for Islam as a whole in the following vision experienced by the Emir:

وكان عبد الرحمن بن الحكم رأى في نومه، عند تمام جامع إشبيلية، أنه يدخل فيجد النبي، صلى الله عليه وسلم، ميتاً مسجى عليه في قبلته، فانتبه مغموماً، فسأل أهل العبارة عن ذلك، فقالوا: هذا موضع يموت فيه دينه، فحدث فيه إثر ذلك ما كان من غلبة المجوس على المدينة. (٨٢)

[After the building of the Great Mosque of Seville was complete, Abd al-Rahman II had a dream in which he entered the building, to find the Prophet Muhammad – peace and praises be upon him – lying in the prayer-niche, dead, and wrapped in a shroud. The dream caused him to awake in distress, so he asked those who interpreted dreams for an explanation. They told him, ‘This is where his Faith will die.’ Immediately after that the capture of the city by the Vikings occurred.] (101)

Even though Ibn al-Qūṭīyah interprets the dream as a foreshadowing of the Vikings’ attack on the city, the words of the Emir’s interpreters nevertheless clearly imply a larger fear of the death of Islam in Iberia – in fact, a fear of the loss of Islam as a whole, after it is lost in Iberia. This is further evidence in favor of Fierro’s observations on the presence of prophecies regarding expulsion from the foundational period of Al-Andalus. The episode of the Vikings includes two more supernatural events. The first is a terrifying eclipse that took place a little before their attack, during which a special prayer was held in the new mosque. The second event took place when the Vikings entered the mosque. The Vikings say a very beautiful young man drove them out of the mosque (according to the translator, this is probably a local legend regarding an angel. Some Vikings actually stayed and converted) (101).

The last anecdote on ‘Abd al-Raḥmān II returns to Ziryāb, the famous Baghdadi musician, and his presence at the court of the Emir. He soon becomes a favorite of the Emir “because of his knowledge of literature, his anecdotes, and his musical ability” (102). The Emir orders that he be paid thirty thousand dinars, which the *kuhzzān* (money keepers) refuse to do. The Emir then decides to pay him from his own treasure (102). ‘Abd al-Raḥmān II’s *akhbār*, then, portray him as a desire-driven Emir, as the anecdotes on his thirty years of reign are reduced to ones about his sexual desires, a dark nightmare depicting the death of the Muslim faith, and his excessive love for the arts. There is an evident correlation between his impious deeds and the turbulence that characterized his reign. His is perhaps the episode that most clearly reveals Ibn al-Qūṭīyah’s critical view of the history of the Umayyads in Iberia.

Yet the criticism on good governance persists in Emir Muhammad’s reign (852-886). This is because what Ibn al-Qūṭīyah deems the turning point – towards the worse – in the Emir’s reign is his decision to appoint Hāshim Ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz³¹ as a chamberlain. Hāshim’s appointment, according to Ibn al-Qūṭīyah, marks the beginning of a troublesome era in which old, wise counselors are replaced with young, immature ones:

[كان الأمير محمد] مُكرماً لأعلام الناس من أهل العلم والموالي والأجناد، متخيراً لعمّاله، إلى أن ولى أمره هشاماً [sic]، فأفسد عليه، فترك طريقة اختياره العمّال من الكهول والشيوخ، ومال إلى الأحداث (...) ففسد بذلك الأمر، وكان ما سيأتي ذكره. (٨٦)

[He [Emir Muhammad] treated with deference his leading scholars, clients and soldiers, and was careful in his choice of provincial governors; until

³¹ For a brief overview of Hāshim’s rise to power and his eventual execution by al-Mundhir, see David James, 125, note 2.

he appointed Hāshim [Abu Khalid Hāshim ibn ‘Abd al-‘Aziz] as chamberlain, and all that was upset. He gave up the system appointing venerable elderly men and instead chose young ones (...) and things went to rack and ruin, as we shall relate.] (109)

Once more, we have an Emir whose initial characterization shapes his reign. In this case, it is again a turbulent time due to the Emir’s dubious reliance on young advisors, rather than older, wiser ones³². The text, for instance, mentions that during Emir Muhammad’s reign there was a plot to assassinate him (112), a growing role of the palace eunuchs (113-114), rivalry between Muslim and Christian officials initiated by Hāshim’s jealousy (115), and a famine (118), among other troublesome events.

The following Emir is Muhammad, whose *akhbār* include an alarming number of executions (123), yet Ibn al-Qūṭīyah justifies his actions by previously mentioning a divine dream the Emir had where God showed him “the best method of attack and combat” (122). This is reminiscent of what was mentioned in the introduction regarding Machiavelli’s views on being feared rather than loved, when being both is unviable, to be a successful ruler. Except, in this case, Ibn al-Qūṭīyah makes sure not to leave any space for speculation on whether this was a “bad decision” by the ruler in question by providing a divine justification for his actions.

Subsequently, the *Tārīkh* turns to the uprisings of Ibn Ḥafṣūn, and Daysam Ibn Ishāq, among others. However, what truly stands out in the pages to come is the instability among the Umayyads themselves. First of all, the reign of the Emir al-Mundhir

³² This theme will be revisited in Chapter 3 as it will become a central concern for fourteenth-century *wazīr* Ibn al-Khaṭīb (1313-1374).

(886-888) is cut short when he is suddenly assassinated³³. The rumor mentioned by Ibn al-Qūṭīyah about a eunuch poisoning him to escape punishment could be interpreted in different ways (131). It could be seen as yet another example of the alarming role the eunuchs had at the court of some Umayyad Emirs, which would fit with the observation that the text was probably written during the reign of Ḥakam II, rather than ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III. However, Ibn al-Qūṭīyah could also be hinting at a political assassination by providing a frivolous explanation for the Emir’s death.

The instability peaks during the reign of the Emir ‘Abdullāh (888-912): the rivalry reaches his family when his son Muṭarrif kills his own brother Muhammad, after having killed Ibn Umayya (not to be confused with Aben Humeya, who was a leading *morisco* rebel in the Alpujarras revolts of 1568-71), the head of the Emir’s army against ‘Umar Ibn Ḥafṣūn³⁴. Whereas Ibn ‘Idharī concludes his *akhbār* on Muṭarrif by stating that it is unclear whether Emir ‘Abdullāh ordered him killed or pardoned (150), Ibn al-Qūṭīyah confirms that he was killed and characterizes Muṭarrif’s death as a just punishment for his actions (135). This is another of frequent moments in the text where Ibn al-Qūṭīyah prioritizes the importance of just governance. It also hints at the ambivalence of political assassinations in the text, since they could be a sign of justice or of unnecessary cruelty, depending on the author’s views of the perpetrator. Once again, we return to Machiavelli’s “factual truth”. That is to say, in the *Tārīkh*, certain violent acts such as

³³ Interestingly enough, the assassination does not appear in the *Akhbār Majmū‘a*, where the anonymous author simply states that al-Mundhir died only two years after he became Emir, unable to solve the problems of his Emirate (132). Nor does Ibn ‘Idhari speak of an assassination, as in *al-Bayān al-Mughrib* he says that al-Mundhir’s death was caused by a malady (118).

³⁴ Ibn al-Qūṭīyah seems to be hinting at the conspiracy between Ibn Ḥafṣūn and Muṭarrif to overthrow Emir ‘Abdullāh, which is mentioned more explicitly in Ibn ‘Idhari (150).

assassinations are not automatically dismissed. Rather, depending on their *outcome*, they could be condemned or praised.

Finally, during the reign of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III (who will become the first Cordoban Caliph), all rebellions are extinguished, and he successfully defeats his opponents (140). Surprisingly, the manuscript does not end here: rather, it ends with a most peculiar anecdote regarding the sons of Emir Muhammad I. It goes as follows: Ibrahīm visits his brother ‘Uthmān (both are sons of the Emir Muhammad I) where ‘Uthmān shows him much appreciation and asks a concubine to sing a song. She sings “It delights my heart to see your visitors.” When they leave, ‘Uthmān whips her saying she must be in love with his brother. Another day Ibrahīm comes again, ‘Uthmān asks the concubine to sing again, and this time she sings “the crow of dissent and division is not welcome”. ‘Uthmān goes to whip her, but a humorous character with the name of Abū Sahl al-Iskandarānī, who was present the first time the concubine was whipped, points out ‘Uthmān’s unjust treatment of the concubine. When Ibrahīm hears about the incident, he realizes his brother’s jealousy and tells him that he shall never visit him again, then leaves (141). Critics often ignore this peculiar parable-like conclusion, although it is clearly significant. The fact that Ibn al-Qūṭīyah chooses to end on such a troublesome note is another proof of the author’s concern with the behavior of some of the men in the ruling dynasty. Rather than ending his work with praise for ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III, Ibn al-Qūṭīyah highlights the jealousy and rivalry between two brothers, members of the Umayyad dynasty. The reemergence of rivalry between a ruler’s sons is uncanny, and could be interpreted as a bad omen of a history that repeats itself.

These critical views of the policies of many Umayyad Emirs make us question the assumptions about Ibn al-Qūṭīyah's bias towards the Umayyads. Even though it is evident that he is writing under the rule of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III or al-Ḥakam II, and is therefore unable to openly condemn past actions of the Umayyad Emirs, his clear criticism of certain aspects of governance during the reign of many Emirs makes it clear that the *Tārīkh* is far more than an ideological tool at the service of the Umayyads. Ibn al-Qūṭīyah's account is less detailed than others, such as *al-Bayān al-Mughrib* or the *Akḥbār Majmū'a*, yet it is thanks to its relative brevity and the highly anecdotal character of the text that his critical view and advocacy of good governance is conveyed. His preoccupation with justice is always present in the stories he chooses to include (and those he chooses to exclude). That is to say, his selectiveness in relating the *akḥbār* is far from arbitrary: his choices can help us characterize him as a historian who, by emphasizing the importance of piety and justice in governance, warns his readers of the dangers of deviating from such a model. His examples of the consequences of greed, jealousy and an overreliance on unseasoned young advisors should not be overshadowed by his inevitable loyalty to the Umayyads.

I.4 Conclusions

To conclude, let me turn to the third intervention mentioned earlier: that of hybrid cultural identities. The title of my chapter evokes the debated concept of *convivencia*. Even though some historians and literary critics alike have now long questioned the term, I believe it can still be useful in identifying moments in the history of Medieval Iberia where the need for negotiating the past for the present in reconciliatory terms remained

not only convenient but, to a certain extent, urgent. Furthermore, Ibn al-Qūṭīyah is yet another crucial Medieval Iberian figure that reminds us how thin the line is between *convivencia* and *violencia*. As María Rosa Menocal says,

Ferdinand III is the king remembered as the Castilian conqueror of the last of all the Islamic territories save Granada, and yet his tomb is rather matter-of-factly inscribed in Arabic and Hebrew as well as in Latin and Castilian. (12)

Thus, what we have in Ibn al-Qūṭīyah is a hybrid Andalusí identity *par excellence*. The autobiographical facts we have about him from other sources pale in comparison to what his own words tell us about him. He is a Muslim intellectual, well read, and quite versed in Classical Arabic. Yet he is aware of the uniqueness of his own Visigothic origins, which remained present in his name –and not in a favorable manner. In such a patriarchal culture where only the male ancestor's name is normally given, his *laqab* is most uncommon: the son of al-Qūṭīyah (the Arabicized form of *la godilla*, a pejorative diminutive of *Goda*, in reference to his ancestor Sara la Goda). It clearly identifies him as *muwallad*.

Ibn al-Qūṭīyah writes to satisfy the Umayyads' need for legitimizing their newfound Caliphate. Yet the ends do not justify the means in his case. He produces an anecdotal history that embodies the complex notion he has of what Al-Andalus, a turbulent political entity, meant in his own time. He reflects on how Al-Andalus had come to exist as such, and includes contradictory speculations regarding its future. He reminds us of the presence of Sara both in Damascus and in Cordoba to vouchsafe the notion of the continuity of the Umayya's reign through a Visigothic personage – his own

great-great grandmother. In this way, his text attempts to reduce the otherness of the Visigoths, weaving them into the fabric of Andalusí history. In fact, it highlights the otherness present among the Muslims themselves as he repeatedly mentions the uneasiness the first Berber conquerors of Al-Andalus felt about the Syrian clients. He glorifies ‘Abd al-Raḥmān I’s deeds, yet he does not hesitate to call him greedy when Artabas’ conciliatory role is at stake. At the same time, he is quite aware of the persuasive quality of prophecies and knows exactly when to include a prophetic vision in his history. His text reflects his understanding of the need to portray simultaneously the Emirs as both imperfect humans and divinely chosen rulers. Finally, he knows better than to isolate the role played by Visigoths in the Muslim conquest of Al-Andalus from that played by the Muslims themselves. This is why, at the beginning of his *akhbār*, rather than finding an abrupt conquest by the Muslims, we see a gradual transfer of power from the Visigoths to the Umayyads.

From his text we can conclude that the transfer is made possible due to three major factors. First, the Muslims’ divine mandate to spread Islam on Earth. Second, Rodrigo’s vainglory and misuse of power that brought about his own destruction. Third, and most importantly, the fact that the Visigoths were no strangers to the Umayyads – as can be seen in Sara’s episode – which, far more than a story of ethnic and religious intermixing, would provide a narrative to facilitate the Umayyads’ efforts to restore their lost glory in the west, in Al-Andalus. Ibn al-Qūṭīyah’s use of the prophecies shows how God ordained the Muslim conquest, yet his depictions of Sara and Artabas remind us that the Visigoths, who ruled before the Muslims, were equally respectable and mature historical forebears on a socio-moral level, thus offering an opportunity for the

construction of a sense of identity and continuity between the Visigoths and the Umayyads.

The *Tārīkh*, then, reinterprets the first two centuries of the Muslim presence in Iberia: it tells the story of the Umayyad rulers as a logical, divinely ordained convergence between the descendants of the last Visigothic king and the descendants of the last Umayyad caliph of Damascus. In this way, whether written by the historical Ibn al-Qūṭīyah, great-great-grandson of the historical Sara la Goda, or not; whether a real history or a pseudo-epigraph, the *Tārīkh*, is ideologically committed to evoking an imagined, nostalgic past – one that is perhaps more wistful than real – that legitimates the Visigothic role in the founding of Al-Andalus. It is a work about a not-so-distant past that seemed crucially important to another later historical present, namely, the establishment of the Caliphate of Cordoba during the first third of the tenth century and the acceptance of the *muwalladūn* as partners in laying the groundwork for it.

With this chapter, I hope that the reader's concept of Al-Andalus has been slightly altered. If we take Ibn al-Qūṭīyah's history in account when considering the emergence of this entity, we can see that it was a hybrid concept from day one. The Islamic conquest of Iberia, in his view, was never an exclusively Muslim or Arab phenomenon. Rather than asking ourselves: Was this true? It is more realistic to ask: What does this mean? I believe it has various meanings. For my project in particular, it means that we have evidence of early attempts to highlight the precariousness of the concept of Al-Andalus. In Ibn al-Qūṭīyah's views, the first Muslims in Iberia fought the Visigoths, but they also *learned* from them. This means that the latter weren't left in a static past, but are rather actively present through their impact on such influential Muslim rulers of Iberia as 'Abd

al-Raḥmān I and, of course, through their descendants such as Ibn al-Qūṭīyah himself. As we turn to the next chapter, then, we may keep in mind that the Visigothic past that Alfonso X desperately sought to resurrect was, in fact, still thriving among those he delegitimized in his narrative: the *muwalladūn*, the local Muslims of mixed descent.

Chapter II

Alfonso X The Wise: Emperor of Law and Memory

II.1 Introduction

The Mediterranean, in Henry Pirenne's posthumous *Mahomet et Charlemagne* (1937), is the key for understanding the fragmentary evolution of the Roman Empire beyond the third century. In his reading of the history of Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, the Great Migration and its aftermath was a weakening phenomenon that nevertheless preserved, rather than ended, the Roman Empire. The Germanic invasions challenged Rome's central authority, yet with the exception of the Anglo-Saxons, the new rulers rarely dismissed their loyalty to the empire. Most Germanic rulers adopted local Romanized cultures rather than imposing their own, and even Arianism would not resist Catholicism for too long in most of the lands they dominated. The major nurturer for the Roman culture to survive, in Pirenne's views, is the Mediterranean. It is within a virtually uninterrupted Mediterranean basin that the cultural and political influences of the Roman Empire persisted.

What broke the Empire was thus the emergence of Islam, for the historian characterizes the expansion of Muslims as a zealous politico-religious wave of invasions that did not see "Romania" as superior and thus, altered the Latin Mediterranean forever. It is thanks largely to Pirenne's work that we saw the rise of Mediterranean studies in the second half of the twentieth century. Fernand Braudel, less than two decades later, would publish his influential *The Mediterranean and The Mediterranean World In The Age Of Phillip II*, where he attempts – with various degrees of success – to show the environmental, economical and social protagonism of the Mediterranean in shaping the

Early Modern West³⁵. Later works, such as David Abulafia's *The Great Sea: A Human History of the Mediterranean* (2011), would bring about even more comprehensive, if at points overly optimistic, views on the role of the Mediterranean in promoting cultural exchange (through "travelers" ranging from pirates to merchants) since Antiquity and until our day.

In this thriving field of Mediterranean studies, my dissertation falls within the domain of reinterpretations of the interaction between Muslims and Christians, specifically on Iberian soil. The conflictive aspect of this dynamic relationship between the two religions grew over time to the point that it became, due mainly to contributions of nineteenth century historians, one defining character of Medieval Iberia's history under the term Reconquista. The introduction of this critical term in the late eighteenth century marked a point of no return in understanding the role Iberia played in the history of the Mediterranean. It became an unofficial criterion in categorizing critical works on the history of Medieval Iberia, forcing us to either accept the concept, treat it with neutrality or reject it, but never ignore it. This is because, in a way, it made sense to employ this term in defining the centuries-long conflict between Muslim kingdoms and Christian ones in Iberia. After all, as I mentioned in the introduction, we have evidence as early as 754 of narratives by Christian authors that considered Muslims in Iberia as "enemies". However, the idea of Reconquista also immediately provided a historiographical problem that can be discerned from the following observation by Derek W. Lomax:

³⁵ Braudel includes Pirenne in his acknowledgements, as he attended his lectures in the early 1930s (22).

(...) What is exceptional about this movement [i.e. Reconquista] is its longevity – the fact that a *single political objective* could survive for over seven centuries, constantly attracting the loyalty of new generations of adherents until it was finally achieved. (4, emphasis mine)

The problem with Reconquista is that it favors singularizing the political objectives of Christian kingdoms of the North. It also works like Ibn al-Qūṭīyah's *ex eventu* prophecies in that it uses the resolutions of certain political conflicts to indicate “clear causes” for prior conflicts.

Nevertheless, the term was never consistently reductive of Spain's history. At many points, it yielded rather influential works on the history of struggles between Muslim and Christian kingdoms in Medieval Iberia. Just to mention another example besides Lomax influential work, in 1975, Julian Bishko amplified the concept of Reconquista through a detailed study of the phenomenon as both a local one in terms of political dominance of Spain as well as a Western crusade supported by the Pope in opposition to the threats of African Muslims. Rather than condoning the concept, treating it with “neutrality” or rejecting it altogether, I would like to frame this chapter as a challenge of Reconquista from within: if we were to suppose that such a concept had an historical basis, one of the best moments to examine it would be mid-thirteenth century Castile: when Muslim dominance in the Peninsula was reduced to the Kingdom of Granada.

In the middle of the thirteenth century, Castile was a rising kingdom with a comprehensible need for self-definition. After conquering vast lands that had been under the rule of Muslims for centuries, a far more intricate mission awaited the monarchy:

resituating Spain on the political map of Christian Europe³⁶. The Battle of *Las Navas de Tolosa* (1212), known in Arabic as al-‘Uqāb, had marked the beginning of the end for Muslim rule in Iberia, after the loss of the Almohads at the hands of what could only be described as a crusade-like coalition between Castile, Aragon, Navarre and Portugal; not to mention many Christian military orders, as well as French, Catalan and Leonese volunteers³⁷. By the 1250s, it had become clear that little remained of the possibilities of convenient *convivencia* that we witnessed in Ibn al-Qūṭīyah's text. With the military expansion practically over after the fall of Seville (1248), the Castilian monarchy had to focus on an ideological mission to produce persuasive arguments in defense of the Christian-ness of what had long been deemed as Muslim territories. In *Neighboring Faiths*, David Nirenberg argues that for Christians, Jews and Muslims in the Middle Ages, it was "as neighbors, in close relation to one another, that they have constantly transformed themselves, reinterpreting both their scriptures and their histories" (12).

Thirteenth-century Castile, then, came to define its Christian-ness (inevitably) through its historical neighborliness with Islam. For thirteenth-century Castilian historiographers, this meant a compromised reinterpretation of Spain's history with the hope of producing narratives where the centuries-long dominance of Islam in the Iberian Peninsula would become an anomaly in the history of an otherwise Christian, Visigothic nation that was united by its noble Greco-Roman origins. This is reminiscent of Pirenne's

³⁶ In his biography of Alfonso X, H. Salvador Martínez dedicates a few paragraphs to the correlation between the conceptual emergence of Europe and the inauguration of the Holy Roman Empire in 800. See pp. 129-130.

³⁷ Exhaustive literature has discussed this (controversially) decisive battle in Iberia's history. For recent studies, see Carlos Vara, *Las Navas de Tolosa* (2012); Francisco García Fitz, *Las Navas de Tolosa* (2012); Joe O'Callaghan's *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (2003).

work and is also comparable to the circumstances that led to the emergence of the term Reconquista. According to García Fitz, the idea of a Reconquista gives a nationalistic sense of unity to the different territories of Spain insofar that they all sought to fight the foreign enemy of Islam (“La Reconquista” 144-45). Today, historical revisionism in regards to the Muslim conquest remains problematic, prompting such academics as Alejandro García Sanjuán to address what he calls “fraude negacionista” [fraud of denial] in attempting to deny Islam’s role in Spain’s history. The problem, according to him, is that such fantastic rewritings of Spain’s history as Ignacio Olagüe’s 1969 book with the self-explanatory title *Les arabes n’ont jamais envahi l’Espagne* [*The Arabs Never Invaded Spain*] have crossed the threshold from hilarious, baseless claims on history to become considered by some as “academic” endeavors (27-28).

García Sanjuán’s work is especially relevant here since he, similarly to Garcia Fitz, considers that what prompted the term Reconquista to flourish is a Catholic-nationalistic ideology that set the confrontation between Islam and Christianity at the core of the collective identity of Spain (29). This is the result of centuries of conflictive apologetic reinterpretations of the Islamic conquest of Spain that clearly kept failing in yielding satisfactory results. This is why it should come as no surprise that this “fraud of denial” still had its repercussions on Spanish historiography as late as 2006 when it received support from Spanish Arabists (García Sanjuán 23). Spain’s Islamic-ness, thus, remains controversial in the twenty-first century, an issue I will address in the dissertation’s Conclusion. For now, the focus will remain on thirteenth-century Iberia. David Nirenberg poses the following question for contemporary historians: "How should we write history, knowing that the possibilities for life in the present may be affected by

the ways in which we choose to reconstruct the past?" (11). One can easily imagine that similar pressing questions were behind the redaction of Alfonso X The Wise's *Estoria de Espanna* [*History of Spain*].

Alfonso X The Wise (1221-1284) was, is, and will always be a king who aspired to be an emperor. This is not a reductive statement, but rather an epitome of Alfonso's expansive theoretical and practical endeavors to establish his virtue and legitimacy as a present king and an aspiring, legitimate emperor. Even though his immediate attempts to become an emperor in the political sense of the word failed during his lifetime; from his ascent in the mid-thirteenth century onward, he saw himself as an emperor of many peoples, religions, cultures, and domains. Seven hundred years later, we can safely say that he was first and foremost an emperor of culture, as Robert I. Burns chose to title the edition of thirteen articles commemorating the seventh centennial of his death. As the incisive studies in Burns' collection show, Alfonso was an active participant in the cultural undertaking he initiated, which is perhaps best remembered today for its translations of texts from Arabic, Hebrew, and Latin into Castilian. The King was a zealous scholar who, according to Márquez Villanueva, actively oversaw and participated in the texts that were being translated, created, recreated, and, most importantly, adopted to his sphere of influence³⁸.

At the same time, Alfonso was an emperor of ideology: he established the bedrock for what one day would become the Spanish imperial imaginary through his mastery not only of territory but of the key discourses of cultural authority, especially

³⁸ Márquez Villanueva provides a comprehensive analysis of Alfonso's personal involvement in the works produced under his command in *El Concepto Cultural Alfonsí* (1994), pp. 119-126.

through the careful construction of both legal and historical texts. His *Siete Partidas* [*Seven-Part Code*], for example, offers a detailed portrayal of how to be a virtuous king. The second *Partida* reflects a clear ideological commitment to fashioning himself as the ideal personage, the perfect model of what it is to be a Holy Roman Emperor³⁹. The *Partidas* also establish Alfonso as a ruler and emperor of the law. He knew how to rework, amplify and deftly accommodate Greco-Roman, Judeo-Christian, and Islamic sources to serve his own purposes in crafting a universal law code that would serve as the basis for his pursuit of the Crown of the Romans⁴⁰. This has come to be known as the *fecho del imperio* [*the pursuit of the empire*]. One should not look at this *fecho* as a reductive framework for Alfonso's political and cultural efforts, but rather as an additional yet significant motor for the comprehensiveness of such Alfonsine texts as the *Siete Partidas* that perhaps would not have had such a universal impact were it not for Alfonso's imperial aspirations. The rich variety of sources for the *Siete Partidas* include texts of a literary character, such as the *Bocados de oro* (Deyermond 164). This is not surprising since, according to A. Deyermond,

La separación entre los códigos legales y la literatura propiamente dicha no llegaría a contar con ninguna significación para la mayoría de los escritores medievales; y la educación jurídica parece haber contribuido a la gestación de un género (los poemas de debate) (...) y a obras singulares (*La Celestina*, por ejemplo). (164-65)

³⁹ This complex literary-political self-fashioning of the figure of the king is analyzed by José Luis Bermejo, in "Notas sobre la segunda *Partida*" (1976).

⁴⁰ On the exhaustive sources of the *Partidas*, see Antonio Pérez Martín, "La obra legislativa alfonsina y puesto que en ella ocupan las *Siete Partidas*" (1992), pp. 37-42.

[The distinction between legal codes and literature per se would have been meaningless for the majority of Medieval authors; and legal education seems to have contributed to the birth of a genre (debate poems) (...) in addition to unique works (*Celestina*, for example).]

This legal code in the Castilian vernacular has become so influential that to this day parts of it are still invoked by lawyers, either directly or indirectly⁴¹.

Alfonso was also an emperor of language. His determination to elevate Castilian to an official language made Castilian vernacular the *lingua franca* of his imagined empire, much as Latin did for Rome and Arabic for the Islamic Empire⁴². Finally, and most importantly, Alfonso was an emperor of memory. In his historical texts, he authoritatively reshaped the past since Antiquity until his own time to suit his political and civic ambitions in an attempt to explain and define what Spain had been, what it was during his lifetime, and what it could be in the future. Through the manipulation of history, he created a mythic, imperial ideology which he employed to construct an apologetic background for the past of the Imperial Spain he imagined and sought tirelessly to invent, with the help of both ideologically-compromised sources and a unique group of polyglot, multi-ethnic scholars. Such a comprehensive cultural movement had an undeniable role in the maturation of European culture throughout the

⁴¹ See, for example, the case mentioned by Jerry Craddock, in *Emperor of Culture* (1990), p.183.

⁴² See Chapter 2 of *El humanismo medieval y Alfonso X El Sabio* (2016), where Martínez discusses in detail the “invention” of Castilian as language of culture, pp. 89-120.

Middle Ages and beyond⁴³. However, for the sake of consistency, I will maintain the focus on the history of Muslims in Iberia as shaped and imagined by Alfonso X.

The present chapter pursues an analysis of how King Alfonso sought to define the role of Muslims first in the history of Spain, and second, in the present and future of his imagined Spanish empire⁴⁴. For their role in history, I will focus on certain key parts of the *Estoria de Espanna* which narrate events from the birth of Islam until the Muslim conquest of the Peninsula in 711. The goal is to examine how Alfonso created a history of Spain that had no real place for Muslims, to such an extent that the Prophet himself was said to have been driven from Spain by Saint Isidore⁴⁵. I will focus particularly on how the *Estoria* anticipates modern day conceptualizations of Reconquista by centering the history of Spain around its imagined fall from Providential Grace with the arrival of the Muslims, to its subsequent salvation by the descendants of the Visigoths, and by extension in the text, the recuperation of the Greek and Roman past, in the person of Alfonso himself.

The reason I emphasize the story of Muhammad in Alfonso's history is due to its nostalgic use: for nostalgia, as discussed earlier, generates a new meaning by presenting

⁴³ Among the most recent studies of Alfonso's contributions to what would later be denominated the European Renaissance, Simon Doubleday's *The Wise King: A Christian Prince, Muslim Spain, and the Birth of the Renaissance* (2015) stands out both for its accessible language and for effectively challenging the predominant, centuries-long pejorative regard towards the European Middle Ages as a static period of ignorance.

⁴⁴ All references to Alfonso's works clearly include those who worked alongside him. By using his name solely, I mean to constantly remind the reader that those works also, and sometimes most and foremost, served his personal agenda as an aspiring emperor. See Gonzalo Menéndez Pidal, "Cómo trabajaron las escuelas alfonsíes" (1951).

⁴⁵ Alfonso was clearly following Archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada's *Historia arabum* (c. 1245) in his description of the life of Muhammad. Both texts, for example, erroneously attribute the conquest of Damascus to Muhammad, whereas it is well known that this would not take place until after the Prophet's death.

the past and the present as analogous. Similarly, I argue that, by including the story of Muhammad, the *Estoria* generates a new meaning for Islam by weaving it nostalgically into the history of Spain. Since the history of the early days of Islam is juxtaposed with the history of the last days of the Visigothic rulers, as the text shifts back and forth between the two histories, Alfonso highlights the contrast between the deceitful Muslims and the Visigoths. He thus justifies his quest to resurrect the Visigothic past of Spain for the sake of the present kingdom and future empire, while restricting Islam to Spain's static past.

It is with Alfonso's *Estoria*, ironically, that we can see how Reconquista was a concept constructed retrospectively by writing a selective, ideologically-compromised history of Spain, rather than an organic "mission" that gradually evolved and united Christians against Muslims in Spain. Reconquista's validity, then, could emanate from its historic *use*, rather than its historic *authenticity*. In other words, rather than proving that Reconquista was a historical concept, Alfonso's work, if anything, proves that there were historical *attempts* at constructing Reconquista-like interpretations of Spain's past.

It is imperative to keep in mind that the process of compilation of texts from various sources is what gives medieval historical works such as the *Estoria* its meaningfulness. That is to say, with an ambitious ideological work of these dimensions, it becomes even more necessary to understand what the work, not merely the text, is trying to convey to the reader. To be sure, let us think of such Medieval Byzantine compendia of diverse works like *De Administrando Imperio*. Those "historical accounts" of salient contradictions acquired an additional discrete meaning when put together in one collection with the explicit aim of emperor Constantine VII to compose a *speculum*

principis for his son Romanos II⁴⁶. I will be approaching the *Estoria* with works like *De Administrando Imperio* in mind. For instance, I deem the contextual placement of the excerpts on the life of Muhammad within the text of the *Estoria* far more significant than the biography's source. This is because there is little to be said on why Alfonso would choose Archbishop Jiménez de Rada's texts as a source: the latter was a distinguished authority in the process of constructing the history of Christian Spain, and his politico-religious anti-Islamic inclinations would fit well within Alfonso's rhetoric. His work also already had a certain degree of authority in the ideological milieu of the Castilian-Leonese court.

Rather, what stands out in the *Estoria* is, first, the reason for including such events that took place in the Arabian Peninsula as part of the local history of Spain. Consequently, it is important to explore how the meaning of such narrative changes when placed *vis-a-vis* the history of the Visigoths. Third, and most importantly, we need to observe how the *Estoria* defines Islam by tying its origins to heresy, deceit, and witchcraft. Even though the details might coincide with Jiménez de Rada's source text, the finality is evidently divergent. Whereas Alfonso most probably coincided with the archbishop's worldview, according to Lucy Pick, as "one in which a Christian whole struggles to maintain as much unity as is possible in its fallen state in the face of internal threats" (225), the overall goal was quite different: Jiménez de Rada states in the prologue to the *Historia arabum* that "the aim of his outline of the origins of Islam is to help weak Christians avoid being tempted by its teachings" (Pick 225). The political

⁴⁶ See the introduction to the English translation of *De Administrando* by R. J. Jenkins (1967), especially pp. 10-13.

nuances of the archbishop's work were obviously far more complicated, as can be inferred from his active propagandistic and diplomatic role in the Battle of Las Navas (García Fitz, *Las Navas* 44-45), yet it remains clear that his *Historia arabum* is an attempt to delegitimize Islam mostly as a faith in opposition to Christianity.

Alfonso's *Estoria*, on the other hand, is more concerned with reimagining the influential role Islam played in the history of Spain, specifically. The aim is a political one: that is, to construct a legitimate historiographical crusade against Muslims by questioning their origins while asserting and recuperating the Visigothic origins of the Spanish kingdoms. This would ultimately put Castile in dialogue with a wider European militant Christian ideology that defined itself in opposition to Islam, as discussed earlier. It would also create a notion of Al-Andalus that is in sharp contrast with that created by such historians as Ibn al-Qūṭīyah: an *exclusively* Muslim political concept that needs to be replaced with a Christian one, following the replacement of Muslim rulers after Alfonso's father conquered Cordoba and Seville. Therefore, even if we were to play the devil's advocate and assume that Reconquista as a concept was deeply rooted in Spain's history, we can see that as early as the thirteenth century it was a defective concept: one whose reliability was contingent upon a rewriting of Spain's history where Muslim conquerors were *inherently* anti-Christian, determined to destroy Spain.

In the second part, I will turn to the treatment and representation of Muslims in the *Siete Partidas*. Through a close reading of Title XXV "Concerning the Moors", I will seek to show that this part of the *Siete Partidas* actually concerns Christians as it reflects fears of Muslim uprisings, as well as conversions and intermarriages between Christians and Muslims. I propose this as an initial study of this Title of the *Partidas* in line with

Dwayne Carpenter's study of Title XXIV regarding the Jews, since we still lack an in-depth analysis of Alfonso's laws regarding the Muslim community of thirteenth-century Castile⁴⁷.

II.2 Islam, Muhammad and the Conquest in Alfonso's Historical Texts

Alfonso's historical texts are a great example of why an overemphasis on identifying sources in Medieval texts often turns out to be a futile process in seeking to determine the text's meaning. As detailed in Dubler's analysis of Arabic and Greek sources for Alfonso's *Estoria*, on many occasions, Alfonso's history would follow closely an Arabic chronicle, which in turn would be inspired by a Latin source and vice versa. As an example, Dubler extensively studies Alfonso's praise of Spain, which stylistically leaves no doubt that it came from an Arabic source – most probably al-Razī's famed historical account.⁴⁸ The Arabic text, however, appears to follow Saint Isidore's description of Spain. This leads the author to conclude that Alfonso's Arabic sources were, in fact, both direct and indirect (Dubler 161-65).

Furthermore, I would argue that it is both reductive and impossible to approach any Alfonsine cultural product with a dissecting intention: how can one decide what "authentic" Arabic, Spanish, Latin or Hebrew source was being used for a certain section when both authors and texts in Alfonso's workshops were too culturally hybrid even for our contemporary, post-modern mind to understand? This is not to say that it is

⁴⁷ Carpenter, however, did write a shorter paper on the legal status of both Jews and Muslims in the *Siete Partidas* (1986), which will be discussed as well.

⁴⁸ This is in reference to the ninth-century Cordoban historian, known in Spanish as *El moro Rasis*, not to be confused with the tenth-century Persian polymath.

impossible to trace what *written* source was being used in the redaction of say, Count Julian's legend in Alfonso, for that is obviously as easy as comparing it to earlier texts that included the same details of the narrative. Yet that is precisely what it is: *easy*. What is difficult, yet crucial, is to interpret the text beyond its sources and linguistic references: through the text's social logic, as Gabrielle Spiegel puts it in *The Past as Text* (xviii). For example, Alfonso might copy a passage *verbatim* from Lucas de Tuy; yet the place in which he decides to insert the excerpt would give the text a whole new performative meaning. This is not to mention the significance of the reasons behind choosing this source and not another; how "minor" the minor changes to the original text are; why one sentence or another was left out; and so on. This brings to mind, once again, Jameson's analysis of social and political intention in history writing and how it implicates our reading of such texts.

Thus, as I speak of the passages on Muhammad's life, one observation should be noted: the passages in Alfonso's text are intertwined with those of the parallel development of Visigothic history, proving once and again that Alfonso perceived the history of Islam as part of the history of Spain; a part that needed to be acknowledged, distorted and moralized before it could be rhetorically and ideologically conquered. My interpretation, then, is inevitably limited, as my dissertation topic pushes me to focus on the narrative of Muhammad's life rather than the parallel history of the successive Visigothic kings. Before analyzing Alfonso's text, it is important to mention the two prevalent theories on the reason for not completing the *Estoria de Espanna*, as it provides a suitable background for understanding the pragmatic ends of the text in question.

Benito Brancaforte, in his edition of excerpts from various historical texts by Alfonso X, challenges Fraker's theory on the reasons that led Alfonso X to abandon his *Estoria de Espanna*. Fraker notes Alfonso X's preoccupation with the construction of a monarchy (and a monarch) that descended from the Roman Empire. Thus, abandoning the notion that the *Estoria de Espanna* is tied to Alfonso's failure in his pursuit of becoming Holy Roman Emperor. Brancaforte characterizes Fraker's observations as "stimulating", yet he ultimately favors the theories of Solalinde, Menéndez Pidal and Francisco Rico, among others, who affirm that Alfonso and his school intended to create a universal history and this desire superseded the need for finishing the *Estoria de Espanna* (Brancaforte 22-23). Yet it can also be argued that both histories represent Alfonso X's attempts to recreate a universal history of the world: the *Estoria de Espanna* articulates world history around Spain, whereas the *General Estoria* is based on the authority of scripture. For the sake of brevity and specificity, since I will focus on aspects of the *Estoria* that recreate a history of Spain in which Muslims are de-legitimized and depicted as a significant yet temporary ignominy in the history of Medieval Iberia, this chapter aligns more closely with Fraker's ideas. This is because I argue that such writing of history fits within Alfonso's aspirations of becoming Emperor, as it highlights Spain's consciousness of the need to subordinate its Islamic history to its Christian present.

Furthermore, Alfonso's conceptualization of the role played by Muslims in the history of Iberia has eventually led to the separation of the history of Christians, of Muslims and of Jews in Medieval Iberia. In fact, the legacy of Spain's Muslim population is still a contested issue in the twenty-first century. As late as 2009, the Casa de Velázquez published a comprehensive work under the title *Al-Andalus/España*.

Historiografías En Contraste. The work is an attempt to resituate the role that Al-Andalus played in Western historiographies (namely, those of Spain, Portugal and France) in the Modern Era. This is a much-needed effort since, as addressed in the Introduction, Medieval Iberian historiography has been plagued by the segregation of these loaded terms: both “medieval” and “Iberian.” Indeed, the problematic role of Al-Andalus in Western historiography is by no means due exclusively to Alfonsine texts. Yet the roots of these issues, such as the creation of a hierarchical historiography in which Al-Andalus is a false counterpart to an “authentic” Spain can be traced back, as we shall see, to certain parts of the *Estoria de Espanna*.

The first issue comes up at the very beginning of the text. In the Prologue, Alfonso X’s quest for origins leads him as far back in history as possible, beginning with “Los sabios antiguos, que fueron en los tiempos primeros” (Pidal 3). [the ancient sages, who lived in the first times⁴⁹]. After explaining that language arose from the need to conserve knowledge for posterity’s sake, Alfonso laments the loss of Spain’s early written history due to “cruelles lides et batallas daquellos que la conquirien” (4) [cruel wars and battles of its conquerors]. The rhetoric of loss is thus extended to Spain’s collective memory. It is at this crucial point in the *Estoria* when Alfonso X himself is introduced. After stating his illustrious lineage and deeds, we are told that he ordered a history of Spain be written from whatever fragments might have survived from earlier texts (4). The list of sources stated is a non-comprehensive collection of both religious and lay works. Not only are major works that are quoted in the *Estoria* missing, as

⁴⁹ All translations are mine, based on Pidal’s 1906 edition titled *Primera Crónica General De España*, unless otherwise stated.

pointed out by Brancaforte (49), all possible Semitic sources are also silenced. This contradicts our contemporary certainty of Alfonso X's indebtedness to Arabic sources in his historical writings⁵⁰.

The *Estoria of Espanna* becomes a history that intends to depict an exclusively Christian Spain by ignoring pivotal Semitic influences both in its textual material (the sources) and its practical compilation efforts (Jews and Muslims in Alfonso's workshops). This is at least the explicit aim since as mentioned earlier, Alfonso implicitly acknowledged Islam as part of the history of Spain by including the life of Muhammad as an integral part of the history of Spain. Yet this is precisely what the text is attempting to do: relegate Islam to Spain's past. Ironically, Alfonso X's cultural ambitions would not have enjoyed such tremendous success if not for a group of intellectuals, including those same excluded Jews and Muslims, who transmitted texts from Hebrew and Arabic into Castilian. The list of sources at the beginning of the work is followed by the purpose of the *Estoria*:

Et esto fiziemos por que fuesse sabudo el comienço de los
espannoles, *et de quales yentes fuera Espanna maltrecha*. (4,
emphasis mine)

[and this we did to make known the origin of Spaniards, *and of the
people who injured Spain*].

This is one of many examples of how Muslims were depicted as an injurious interruption in Spain's otherwise praiseworthy history. In effect, the subsequent paragraph prioritizes

⁵⁰ See the aforementioned C. E. Dubler "Fuentes árabes y bizantinas en la *Primera Cronica General*" (1951).

the Gothic-Germanic roots of Spaniards, until the fall of Spain at the hands of “los dAffrica” (4) [those from Africa]. Thus, in the foundational history of Iberia, Spain is a land comprised of the legitimate descendants of the Visigoths, while other groups are characterized either as damaging, injurious invaders, such as the Muslims, or they are ignored altogether, such as the Jews who had inhabited Iberia far longer than the Visigoths⁵¹.

The intent to depict a non-Muslim contemporary Spain led Alfonso X to include the subversive biography of Prophet Muhammad in a defying effort to portray him as the ultimate adversary of Christianity, following the steps of Jiménez de Rada in his *Historia arabum*. Moreover, in both texts, Muhammad becomes a false prophet that unites all of Christianity’s foes, including the Jews. At first, Muhammad is described at the time he married Khadīja, when he was 25 years old:

Este Mahomat era omne fermoso et rezio et muy sabidor en las artes a que llaman magicas, e en aqueste tiempo era el ya uno de los mas sabios de Aravia *et de Affrica*. (265, emphasis mine)

[Muhammad was a-handsome, tough man, very well acquainted with the arts they call magic, and by that time he was already one of the wisest men of Arabia *and of Africa*].

It is clear that this paragraph classifies Arabs and Africans under one category, even though it is well known that Islam would not spread to Africa until many years after

⁵¹ For a comprehensive study of the presence of Jews in Iberia since (possibly) the Diaspora, see Jane Gerber, *Jews of Spain: A History of the Sephardic Experience* (1992), Chapter 1.

Muhammad's death⁵². By collapsing the distinction between Arabia and Africa, we witness the process of inventing a united anti-Christian enemy.

Another factor to take into account here is Africa's reputation for barbarism in the Middle Ages. Medieval Europe was familiar with Egypt and northern African countries, but the majority of the continent remained a mystery to Medieval society. There were some sporadic exceptions, especially in Eastern Africa. For example, in an article from 2010, Matteo Salvatore studied the curious networks of exchange between Ethiopians and Europeans in the fourteenth century. South of the Sahara, however, only limited penetration by Arabs brought back gold and exotic stories of "Bilad al-Sudan [The Land of Blacks]⁵³." Finally, perhaps the best vestige we have of Medieval Europe's construction of Africa as an antithesis of civilization is Petrarch's *Africa*, where the struggle between Carthage and Rome would end in the favor of the latter, enabling its world supremacy (Regn and Huss 88). Returning to Alfonso X, by making Muhammad a citizen of Africa as well as Arabia, Alfonso magnifies a stereotypical image of the Prophet's barbarism, unpredictability and savagery.

Immediately afterwards, the Nestorian priest Bahīrā is introduced as "Johan" -- a heretic monk from Antioch⁵⁴. Muhammad would meet with him frequently either in

⁵² See the critical timeline of the early spread of Islam in Africa in Everett Jenkins, *The Muslim Diaspora: A Comprehensive Reference to the Spread of Islam in Asia, Africa, Europe, and the Americas*, esp. V1. pp. 22-42.

⁵³ For a detailed definition of this Islamic conceptualization of West Africa as Bilad al-Sudan, see Muhammad Al Hajj (1977). For an example on Early Islamic accounts of the "exotic land of golds" see Hopkins and Levtzion's *Corpus of early Arabic sources of West African history* (1981), pp. 35-36.

⁵⁴ Bahīrā, sometimes referred to in the West as Sergius the Monk, has often been considered a heretic in Christian sources. The most famous case of this accusation is

Egypt or in Palestine to learn about Christians and Jews, as he prepares his own “false” religion based on “altered” sources (265). The choice to call Baḥīrā by the name Johan of Antioch is quite puzzling. According to *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, there existed a chronicler by such name who was contemporaneous to Muhammad. Little is known about him, apart from the fact that he was a monk who composed a chronicle (*Historia chronike*) from Adam to the death of Phokas (610). There was, however, a far more polemic John of Antioch who lived earlier, during the fifth century. By challenging the Nestorian schism, his actions catalyzed the persecution of the Nestorians that ultimately concluded with their escaping across the frontier to Persia⁵⁵. I have not found other sources connecting Baḥīrā with John of Antioch as of yet. In Saint John’s writings, for example, he appears anonymously as “an Arian monk” (Sahas 133). Nevertheless, regardless of this peculiarity, what stands out here is a confirmation of a widespread Medieval Christian belief, perpetuated by John of Damascus, regarding a heretic Christian figure who helped Muhammad create a schismatic basis for his new religion⁵⁶.

Next, the *Estoria* describes the beginning of Islam as an act of enchantment: Muhammad discovers his captivating attributes when he seduces Khadīja, and subsequently, pronounces himself as the long-awaited Messiah. Those who believe him include the Jews of Arabia. Shortly after, however, the text also says that Muhammad was contradicting both the Old and the New Testament, “assi que muchas vezes avien

made by Saint John of Damascus. For more on Baḥīrā, see Barbara Roggema, *The Legend of Sergius Baḥīrā* (2009).

⁵⁵ See the entry on John of Antioch in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*:

<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/08468a.htm>

⁵⁶ See İsmail Gönenç, “The Christian Reaction Towards Islam in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries” (2011).

razon los cristianos et los iudios de desputar con los moros” (87). [for which reasons Christians and Jews were right to dispute with Moors on many occasions]. Thus, the Jews are presented as contradictory figures in the early days of Islam. They generally oppose Muslims, yet when convenient, both religions would be grouped together. This contradiction is probably due to a deliberate need to make Christianity the only true, revealed monotheistic religion, on the one hand; on the other, a crucial part of Alfonso’s (and Jiménez de Rada’s) rhetoric in delegitimizing Islam relies on confirming the new religion as schismatic with *both* Christianity and Judaism.

Returning to the *Estoria*, after describing Muhammad’s visions of Gabriel as epileptic fits, the author finally places Muhammad in Spain. He is soon expelled by the last Father of the Church, Saint Isidore, thus highlighting the concept of Islam as an intrusion that must be banished from Spain.⁵⁷

Despues desto passo ell a Espanna et fuesse pora Cordova, et predigo y aquella su mala secta; e dizie les en su predicacion que Nuestro Sennor Ihesu Cristo que nasciera de virgin por obra dell Spiritu Sancto, mas non que fuesse el Dios. Quando esto sopo el buen padre sant Esidro, que llegara estonces de la corte de Roma, envio luego sus omnes a Cordova quell prisiessen et ge le levassen; mas el diablo apparecio a Mahomat, et dixol que se partiesse daquel logar. (266)

[After that, he came to Spain and went to Cordoba, and he preached there his evil sect; and he told them in his preaching that Our Lord Jesus Christ

⁵⁷ On the legend of Muhammad meeting Saint Isidore, see J. López *San Isidoro De Sevilla Y El Islam* (1936), p. 7.

had been born from a virgin through the work of the Holy Spirit, yet that he was not God. When our good father Saint Isidore, who had arrived then from the court of Rome, learned of this, he sent his men to Cordoba to imprison Muhammad and bring him; but the devil appeared to Muhammad, and told him to leave that place.]

The *Estoria* provides far more commentary on Muhammad's life, yet what we have seen so far suffices to demonstrate the political characterization of Muslims as a threat to Christianity in Spain. Muhammad is portrayed as a hypocrite who bases his new religion on heretical beliefs intended to maliciously contradict the Old and New Testament. I would like to note here that the text's literariness is overwhelming: repeated formulae such as "Del segundo anno del regnado del rey Recaredo non fallamos ninguna cosa que de contar sea que a la estoria pertenesca, si non tanto que este rey ..." or "Mas agora dexa la estoria de fablar de los godos et torna a contar de Mahomat" (263) are but reminders of the need to resist our contemporary inclination to separate History from Literature and focus on what the text is attempting to do, and how it is doing it.

Next, I will turn to Alfonso X's account of the Muslim conquest of Spain in his *Estoria*. It should be noted that I will not focus on the sources for Alfonso's version of the events, as these have been thoroughly studied by critics such as Diego Catalán and Menéndez Pidal. Rather, I will concentrate on the text's pragmatic aspects: namely, how the Muslim conquest is subsumed in a rhetoric of destruction that conceives of Spain as a metonym for a lost Christian paradise. The immediate reasons the text provides for the loss of Spain are the treason of Count Julian and the malice of the Muslims. The most

significant reason, however, is attributed to the fact that people follow their kings' faults, thus delegating the ultimate responsibility for protecting Spain to the monarchy.

The *Estoria* gradually constructs the image of Muslims as a deceitful enemy, as shown in the section analyzed above. The Muslim conquest becomes a narrative of a lost paradise that can be structured as follows: first, the story of Count Julian is introduced to set the tone for a break in the "natural" order of things⁵⁸. Hence, the Count's honor is jeopardized when the last Visigothic king, Rodrigo, maintains sexual relations with his daughter (or his wife, as the text leaves it undecided). A cycle of deceit commences when the king does not fulfill his promise to marry Julian's daughter. The Count first speaks to the Muslims and then asks Rodrigo to receive his daughter to console her sickly mother (307). Next, the author mentions that Julian had fought against the Muslims and demonstrated his strength to them. Later, Julian would promise Mūsá Ibn Nuṣayr⁵⁹

quel darie toda Espanna sil quisiesse creer. Este Muça era llamado por sobrenombre Abenozayr; e quando oyo aquello que el cuende Julian le dizie, ovo ende grand plazer, et fue muy alegre, ca avie ya provada la fortaleza del cuende en las contiendas et en las faziendas que sus yentes ovieran con el. (308)

[that he would give him all of Spain if he were to believe him. Musa's appellation was Ibn Nusayr; and when he heard what Julian was telling him, he felt great pleasure and was very happy, because the Count's

⁵⁸ On this continuously repeated legend of Count Julian, see Gibbon and Guizot's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1859), Chapter 51, p. 249.

⁵⁹ For a biography of Mūsá Ibn Nuṣayr, see Gerli, *Medieval Iberia: An Encyclopedia* (2003), p. 598.

strength had already been demonstrated to him in the battles and struggles his people had had with him.]

Whereas in Alfonso's text Tariq is attracted to the idea of conquering Spain by the Count's demonstrated *strength*; in Ibn al-Qūṭīyah's text, we saw that it was the alleged *weakness* of the Visigoth that convinced Tariq to attack. This is a significant example of how Iberian historians manipulated the same source materials in different, contradictory ways to construct their own imagined narrative of the Muslim conquest.

Alfonso's *Estoria* depicts the Muslim conquest in terms of a disgrace that the Visigoths would bring upon themselves when a dissenting faction, led by Count Julian, decided to fight alongside North African Muslims against their compatriots. Curiously enough, when describing the battle between Julian's and Rodrigo's armies, the author says that

“el cuende Julian et los godos que andavan con el lidiaron tan fieramiente que crebantaron las azes de los cristianos” (309).

[Count Julian and the Goths who accompanied him fought so fiercely that they destroyed the troops of the Christians].

This distinction between Visigoths who fought alongside Muslims and those who fought against them on a religious basis is possibly an allusion to Arian Christians, and it further highlights the construction of an anti-Catholic enemy. It is also in this part of the text that the term *mezquina España* or “poor Spain” would be repeated as the *Estoria* personifies Spain in order to facilitate victimizing “her” as a widowed, deserted land⁶⁰. Finally, the

⁶⁰ At the time of writing the *Estoria*, the word “mezquino” most probably was closer to its original Arabic meaning (poor) rather than its contemporary Spanish one (miserly).

stylistic register shifts from a tragic one to a nostalgic, moralizing one by introducing the common topos in Iberian historiography, both in Spanish and Arabic, of praising Spain⁶¹.

In this section, the divided Visigothic groups are dismissed in order to focus on the Muslims as external invaders. The rhetoric comprises a warning against vainglory: even the Visigoths, the noblest of people, fell to the temptation of vainglory and were defeated by “el poder de Mahomat el revellado” (311). [the power of Muhammad the rebel]. Therefore, Alfonso warns the readers not to pride themselves in riches or power, for God’s will is capable of all. Thus, if there is anything to be proud of, it should be of serving Him (311).

The text follows with a description that unifies Spain conceptually into one land, paving the way ideologically for a future Spanish empire that would claim to recover a lost one: the Spain praised by Saint Isidore in his *Historia gothorum*.

Pues esta Espanna que dezimos tal es como el parayso de Dios, ca riega se con cinco rios cabdales (...) Espanna es abondada de miesses, deleytosa de fructas, viciosa de pescados, sabrosa de leche et de todas las cosas que se della fazen; lena de venados et de caça, cubierta de ganados, loçana de cavallos, provechosa de mulos, segura et bastida de castiellos, alegre por buenos vinos (...) ⁶². (311)

[For this Spain of which we speak is like the Paradise of God, because five bountiful rivers flow through her (...) Spain is plentiful with grains;

⁶¹ The ideological implications of the use of such topics is studied in detail by Raul Alvarez-Moreno. See “Towards a Linguistics of History in Medieval and Early Modern Spain” (2014).

⁶² This is the section referred to in an example, earlier in this chapter, on possible circular influences from Arabic and Latin sources in praising Spain.

delightful with fruits; abundant with fish, delicious milk, and all that is made from it; full of deer and animals to hunt; covered with cattle; beautiful with its horses; profitable with its mules; secure and self-sufficient with its castles; bright with its good wines (...)]

The superiority of Spain is then extended to its inhabitants, the Visigoths, known for their courage. Such glory would come to an end when

“todas las cibdades de Espanna fueron presas de los moros et crebantadas et destroyas de mano se sus enemigos.” (312)

[all the cities of Spain were captured by the Moors and destroyed at the hands of their enemies].

Finally, the praise for Spain turns into a eulogy that would resurrect past destructions of great cities such as Babylon, Rome, Jerusalem and Carthage: all comparable to the tragedy of its Muslim conquest (313). The *Estoria* highlights that Julian and Rodrigo are to blame as well. The language used depicts Spain after the Muslims won the battles against the Christians as an empty land, depicting the North African invaders as follows in a fantasy of orientalism:

Los moros de la hueste todos vestidos del sirgo et de los pannos de color que ganaran, las riendas de los sus cavallos tales eran como de fuego, las sus caras dellos negras como la pez, el mas fermoso dellos era negro como la olla, assi luzien sus oios como candelas (...)

La vil yente de los affricanos que se non solie preciar de fuerça nin de bondad, et todos sus fechos fazie con art et enganno (...)

essora era exaltada, ca crebanto en una ora mas ayna la

nobleza de los godos que lo non podrie omne dezir por lengua.

(312)

[The Moors of the army were all dressed with twisted silk and colorful rags they had plundered; the reins of their horses were as if made of fire; their faces as black as tar; the fairest of them was as black as a pot, and their eyes flickering like candles (...) The despicable African people, who were never valued for their strength nor their righteousness, and who accomplished everything through the art of deceit (...) were now exalted, for they broke in one hour the nobility of the Goths with such swiftness that one could not express it with words.]

After this gruesome description of the invaders, a personified Spain speaks, admonishing the living as if with the voice of a suffering specter from the Other World,

Et suena su voz assi como dell otro sieglo, e sal la su palabra assi como de so tierra, e diz con la grand cueta: “Vos, omnes, que passades por la carrera, pared mientes et veed si a cueta nin dolor que se semeie con el mio.” (312)

[and her voice resonates as if it were coming from the other world, and her words come as if from beneath the Earth’s surface, as she says with much affliction: ‘You, men passersby on the road, behold if there is an affliction or sorrow comparable to mine’].

Spain has lost its sons and is assaulted by evil men. The deceit of Muslims is once again highlighted with a confirmation that “las cibdades que los alaraves non pudieron

conquerir, engannaron las et conquiriron las por falsas pleytesias” (313). [the cities that the Arabs could not conquer were deceived by false offers of respect.] Finally, the *Estoria* once again emphasizes the role of the king in securing his vassals’ prosperity.

E digamos agora onde le vino esta cueta et este mal et por qual razon:
 Todos los omnes del mundo se forman et se assemeian a manera de su rey,
 e por ende los que fueron en tiempo del rey Vitiza et del rey Rodrigo (...)
 et de los otros reys que fueron ante dellos (...) por ende los otros omnes
 que fueron otrossi en sus tiempos dellos formaron se con ellos et
 semeiaron les en los peccados. (99)

[And we shall now say from where this affliction and misfortune came [to Spain] and for what reason: all the men in the world are formed and resemble in their likeness the ways of their king, and therefore those who lived in the times of kings Wittiza and Roderick (...) and other kings who came before them (...) those men who also lived during their lifetimes thus also aligned with them and resembled them in their sins.]

The text then accuses kings like Rodrigo of treason for their lust for power rather than fulfilling their duties. Spain’s tragedy is thus God’s punishment for their failure to preserve their kingdom. This is yet another indication of the need to read the *Estoria* as a fable, rather than a history, of Spain. This is not because of the obvious non-reliability of the narrated events, but rather because of the highly effective literary and rhetorical techniques deployed in the text.

Spain is a clear metaphor for a pillaged paradise that can only be recuperated after acknowledging the shortcomings of the past. By structuring the history of Spain around a

full, divinely-mandated circle – commencing with what the text construes as the predecessors of the Visigoths, that is, the Romans, and ending with what the text construes as their descendants, that is, Castilian kings – the *Estoria* becomes a narrative of Odyssey-like dimensions: Spain is believed to be widowed in the absence of its "true" protectors, the Visigoths, and has thus to deal for long years with its own Proci, the Muslims, until the Visigoths finally return to power. It also follows the master narrative of Christianity: fall with the promise of resurrection; the loss of paradise and its recuperation.

Indeed, in the 1930s Pirenne came to the conclusion that “[t]he Empire of Charlemagne was the critical point of the rupture by Islam of the European equilibrium (...) It is therefore strictly correct to say that without Mohammed Charlemagne would have been inconceivable” (234). Similarly, we have seen how Alfonso’s history of Spain without Mohammed would have been inconceivable as well. This is because, in Alfonso’s writings, we see the maturation of Spain’s history conceived as a Christian nation with some Semitic “interruptions.” These interruptions, however, represent Spain’s fall from *recoverable* grace. It is clearly an emplotted history, to return to Hayden White’s term. The plot crafted by Alfonso is in tune with the master narrative of Christianity. To be sure, Spain was a heaven on Earth, as described in the quote above regarding its abundance of natural resources. The fall from grace occurs after two violations: one of a sexual character (Count Julian’s legend) and the other, Rodrigo’s violation of Toledo’s forbidden tomb which was discussed in Chapter I, is comparable to Adam’s curiosity. What follows is banishment in a realm of unlikeness among the sufferers, to borrow St. Augustine’s terminology (35-37). Muslims’ domination of Spain

is, like the sack of Rome, a proof and reminder of divine providence: God's punishment will affect all, but only His followers shall eventually survive this affliction, whereas the "wicked" shall be ruined (37-39). Finally, the restoration of universal order would come after many heroic sacrifices. These are perhaps best represented in the final parts of the *Estoria*: namely, the saintly figure of Alfonso's father and his glorious yet afflictive conquest of Seville. In short, Alfonso's history builds on a universal Christian tradition of writing history that restores Spain to Christian Europe through a circular worldview mandated by God's providence. In this way, his history is prophetic.

II.3 *Las Siete Partidas*, Title XXV:

"Concerning the Moors" or Concerning the Christians?

Alfonso X ascended to the throne to find himself ruling over vast territories in dire need of an up-to-date legal system that would reflect the complexity of the communities of his realms as well as compliment his imperial ambitions. It is in this field where we most clearly see Alfonso's role as a distinguished intermediary between the past, present and future. This new state of a nascent Christian Iberia within which other religions were significantly present called for a careful construction of a universal law that could be applied both in the present Iberian monarchy and, in conformance with Alfonso's aspirations, the future empire over which he dreamed to preside (even though he never saw the laws take effect in his lifetime). Burns confirms in the introduction to the English translation of the *Partidas* that "Since it was a law code, it aimed less at originality than at effective transfer of the Roman juristic tradition. And since it meant to be of general application, it did not overstress the local" (xii).

The local, however, is of great importance when it comes to defining the roles of Jews and Muslims. For such laws would have little or no interest for the Holy Roman Empire where such populations were not as significant as they were in thirteenth-century Iberia. Thus, the laws concerning Jews and Muslims in the *Partidas*, ironically highlight the Iberian-ness of this Roman legal code. By including laws applicable to the two religions, Alfonso X places Iberia within his imagined future European empire in a unique interpretation of its future: rather than a Christian state *despite of* the presence of Jews and Muslims, it is a Christian state *because of* their presence. As we shall see, Alfonso would establish a projected subordination and isolation of Muslims and Jews in relation to Christians, leaving it clear that – as we saw in the part dealing with the *Estoria* - Spain's Semitic-ness is now in its past, but not in its future. As for the present, Alfonso's universal law shows clear understanding of the local, immediate need for laws that would, on the one hand, guarantee minimum – even if by our contemporary criteria, unjust – rights for Muslims. In the words of Márquez Villanueva,

Si bien discriminatorio y represivo para los criterios de hoy, el estatuto que a éstos [musulmanes y judíos] reconoce en las *Partidas* no toma por norte su extinción, sino el asegurar unas condiciones de vida mínimamente aceptables a las minorías no cristianas. (99)

[Even if it seems discriminatory and repressive by today's criteria, the laws that recognize them [Muslims and Jews] in the *Partidas* do not aim at their extinction, but rather at securing minimally acceptable living conditions for non-Christian minorities.]

This has obvious reasons: no sensible ruler would leave significant Muslim communities in his reign unprotected by the law⁶³. On the other hand, there was also an immediate need to contain the Muslim society and guarantee the cessation of any conversions to Islam, intermarriage with Christians, and any possibility of Muslims regaining power in the peninsula with the help of their North African coreligionists.

In short, in order to serve both Alfonso's local and imperial ambitions, Islam under Alfonso was to eventually stand as an example, as a lesson to be learned from, in Spain's past. In the present, Alfonso sought to create a legal code where Muslims would have an increasingly limited role in order to guarantee that Islam would have no place in Spain's future. A clear example of this is Alfonso's decision to strip Muslims of their mosques. As indicated in the *Partidas*:

Pero en las villas de los cristianos non deben haber los moros mezquita, nin facer sacrificios publicamente ante los homes; et las mezquitas que habien antiguamente deben seer del rey, et puedales el dar a quien quisiere. (650)

[Moors, however, shall not have mosques in Christian towns, or make their sacrifices publicly in the presence of men. The mosques which they formerly possessed shall belong to the king; and he can give them to whomsoever he wishes⁶⁴.] (1438)

⁶³ O'Callaghan provides a comprehensive list of cities and towns with significant Muslim population in thirteenth-century Spain. See *The Learned King* (1993), pp. 97-98.

⁶⁴ For Spanish, I'm using the Real Academia de la Historia's 1843 edition. All English translations are by Samuel Scott (2000).

Even if such measures were in many cases more theoretical than practical (especially since, as mentioned, the *Partidas* never took effect in Alfonso's lifetime), they paved the way for increasingly anti-Muslim laws that would one day culminate in such royal decrees as Philip II's 1567 edict officially prohibiting Moriscos from a wide range of cultural practices, most importantly the use of Arabic⁶⁵.

Just as any other Alfonsine text, the *Siete Partidas* is a necessarily hybrid text whose authors did not hesitate in recurring to all available sources (including those that are not legal in a contemporary sense, such as the Arabic sources listed by Martín Pérez and mentioned in an earlier footnote) for the sake of local but also universal practicality. This hybridity, one has to stress, was also present in the original source materials of the *Partidas*. One salient example of this is the Visigothic Code, known in Spanish as the *Fuero Juzgo*. Not only do the sources themselves come from a mix of Germanic and Roman customs; the Code's translation into Spanish added another level of hybridity by "updating" it. Martín Pérez points out how the translators of the *Fuero Juzgo* from Latin, most probably during Fernando III's reign, were translating the text not only in the literal sense, but also socially and legally to fit the needs of a thirteenth-century Spain that had very little to do with the seventh-century, the time when the Visigothic Code was originally employed (13). Alfonso thus knew exactly how to reinterpret and adapt historically significant legal sources in his attempt to introduce the Visigothic history of Spain as a continuation of the Roman Empire. Let us now focus on the treatment of Muslims in the *Partidas*.

⁶⁵ This led to the famed rebellion of the Alpujarras (1568-71). See Julio Caro Baroja, *Los moriscos del Reino de Granada. Ensayo de historia social* (1957), pp. 156-60.

What better way to establish the superiority of Christians over Jews and Muslims in a nascent empire than to discuss the roles of the latter two at the very end of a universal law code, in a section that deals specifically with criminals, suicides, and sorcerers? The text of the seventh and last *Partida*, which focuses on “all the offenses that men commit,” is interrupted to discuss legislation for the Jewish and Moorish communities of Iberia. It provides the following justification at the beginning of Title XXIV for including the Jews in this section of the *Partidas*:

(...) pues que en el título ante deste fablamos de los adevinos et de los otros homes que tienen que saben las cosas que han de venir, que es como manera de desprecio de las cosas que han de venir, que es como manera de desprecio de Dios, queriéndose igualar con él en saber los sus fechos et las sus puridades; queremos agora aquí decir de los judíos que contradicen et denuestan el su fecho maravilloso et santo, que él fizo quando envió á su fijo nuestro señor Jesucristo en el mundo para salvar los pecadores. (643)

[(...) since in the preceding Title we spoke of Diviners, and other men who allege that they know things that are to come, which is a kind of contempt of God, since they desire to make themselves equal to Him by learning his acts and his secrets; we intend to speak here of the Jews, who *insult* His name and *deny* the marvelous and holy acts which He performed when he sent His Son, Our Lord Jesus Christ, into the world to save sinners.] (1433, emphasis mine)

The Jews, then, in Alfonso’s realms are criminals by definition. The first Law proceeds to explain that the only reason they are allowed to live among Christians is [a common

belief] that they shall serve as a reminder of the crucifixion of Jesus Christ (1433). The Muslims are no less stigmatized in the *Partidas*, as we shall see in Title XXV:

Moros son una manera de gentes que creen que Mahomat fue profeta et mandadero de Dios: et porque las obras et los fechos que él fizo non muestran dél tan grant santidad por que á tan santo estado pudiese llegar, por ende la su ley es como denuesto de Dios. Onde pues que en el título ante deste fablamos de los judíos et de la su ciega porfia que han contra la verdadera creencia, queremos aqui decir de los moros, et de la su nescedad que creen et por que se cuidan salvar. (650)

[The Moors are a people who believe that Mohammed was the Prophet and Messenger of God, and for the reason that the works which he performed do not indicate the extraordinary sanctity which belongs to such a sacred calling, his religion is, as it were, *an insult to God*. Wherefore, since in the preceding Title we treated of the Jews and of the obstinacy which they display toward the true faith, we intend to speak here of the Moors, and of their *foolish* belief by which they think they will be saved.] (1438, emphasis mine)

Before proceeding to examine the rest of Title XXV, it must be noted that so far the otherness of the Jews and Muslims is highlighted in the text mostly in religious terms. Both religions are portrayed as a form of defiance to Christianity, the true law of God, with the Jews characterized in their traditional role as deniers of Christ, and the Muslims as foolish followers of a false prophet. Yet there remained an essential difference

between the two Semitic religions' relationship to Christianity in Iberia. In the words of Carpenter,

Jewish-Christian relations were defined and oftentimes determined by historico-theological considerations, while Muslim-Christian contacts in the Iberian Peninsula were governed by pragmatic concerns resulting from religio-bellicose confrontations. (“Minorities” 276)

Titles XXIV and XXV therefore reflect an early attempt in Medieval Iberia to define Jews and Muslims from a rising Christian-centered Castilian worldview. By doing so, the Alfonsine work becomes part of an ideological tool that will gradually move Muslims and Jews to the periphery, leaving the center open only for Christians and absolute monarchy. The displacement is not merely theoretical but also physical: the *Partidas* and other legal measures by Alfonso will isolate Jews and Muslims from Christians by limiting them to their own communities.

Just to mention an example, according to O’Callaghan, “Alfonso X ordered a wall erected in Murcia to separate the Moorsih quarter, the Arrixaca, from the Christians, and restricted Moors settling in Orihuela to the suburb beyond the bridge” (*The Learned King* 103). Such attempts at isolation are one of many turning points in the history of Medieval and Early Modern Iberia where a decreasing toleration for religious minorities would ultimately lead to the expulsions of 1492 and 1609 respectively. The tension between theory and practice in the text are well explained by Carpenter:

These juridical collections [in reference to the corpus of medieval legal texts including the *Siete Partidas*] are particularly useful because they are both *pragmatic*, in that they frequently result from actual confrontations,

and *theoretical*, since they are concerned with ideal behavior.

(“Minorities” 275)

After explaining why Muslims are included in the penal code, Title XXV turns to defining them; namely, through a discussion of the meaning of the word “Moor”, the types of Muslims there are, and how they should live among Christians, under Law I (López and Real Academia 650, Scott 1438). This law invents a political definition of Muslims by dividing them into two subgroups: those who only believe in the Old Testament and those who believe neither in the Old nor in the New Testament, confusing Samaritans with Muslims⁶⁶.

What is most noteworthy about this first law is that it gives Muslims similar rights to those conferred upon Jews; however, one major difference is that they shall not have nor build mosques in Christian towns. The prohibition reflects a fear of mosques as a social institution beyond religion, where Muslims would have the opportunity to gather frequently. Let us not forget that, as highlighted in the Introduction to the English translation of the Seventh *Partida*, “resident Muslims were (...) feared as a kind of fifth column, ready to revolt or to assist the powerful Islamic states that regularly attacked the Christian armies or served as entourages for rural nobility” (Scott xxxiii). Furthermore, Carpenter notes that Alfonso's Christian attitude towards Muslims “indicates an amalgamation of religious antipathy and political fear” (“Minorities” 276).

The following laws contrast Christianity with Islam in terms of superiority, temptation, and peculiarity. As shall be seen, rhetorically the phraseology first stresses the superiority of Christianity over other religions. Second, in an Orientalizing gesture, it

⁶⁶ See *Las Siete Partidas: Antología* (1992), p. 420, note 2.

associates Islam with worldly pleasures that, on the one hand, might tempt Christians to convert; and on the other, willingly abandoning such pleasures becomes evidence of the piety of converts. Last but not least, those who do not believe in Christianity are frequently characterized as followers of “*creencias extrañas*” (651), or “strange” beliefs. By focusing on these concepts, I wish to point out the treatment of Muslims in the *Siete Partidas* as a paradoxically indispensable threat in the Christian domains of Iberia. Both the threat and the indispensability of the Muslims derive from their numerous numbers and their much needed agricultural skills. Unlike the Jews, who mostly inhabited urban areas, Muslims were a majority in many newly conquered Christian territories in the thirteenth century. They were a significant part of the workforce; yet they were a constant reminder of the threat of Muslims regaining control of their recently lost domains⁶⁷.

Thus, Laws II and III map out the procedure for converting Muslims to Christianity, along with the expected treatment of converts (López and Real Academia 650-51, Scott 1438-39). Specifically, Law II emphasizes the need for converting Muslims through persuasion in the form of kind words, and not force. This is justified in the text by explaining that God would have compelled Muslims to convert had that been his wish. Furthermore, Law III asserts the need for treating new converts with kindness since they

(...) conoscien la mejoria de la nuestra fe, et recíbenla et apártanse de sus padres, et de sus madres, et de los otros sus parientes et de la vida que habien acostumbrado de facer, et de todas las otras cosas en que reciben placer. (651)

⁶⁷ Robert I. Burns explains the significance of the Muslim workforce in the newly conquered territories in his "Immigrants from Islam: The Crusaders' Use of Muslims as Settlers in Thirteenth Century Spain" (1975).

[...] acknowledge the superiority of our religion and accept it, separating from their parents and their relatives, and abandoning the life which they have been accustomed to live, and all *other things* from which they derive pleasure.] (1439, emphasis mine)

This can be read as a defense of New Christians by attacking stereotypes regarding Islamic hedonism and the pursuit of “pleasurable things,” of which Muslims were regularly accused. At the end of this Law, the high value of Muslims who convert to Christianity is stressed when the punishment for harassing converts is declared to be

“mas cruamente que si lo ficiesen á otro home ó muger, que todo su linage de abuelos et de bisabuelos hobiesen seido cristianos” (López 651).

[more severe than if the injury had been committed against another man or woman whose entire line of ancestors had been Christians] (Scott 1439).

So far, Title XXV reflects the urgent need for the peaceful conversion of Muslims to Christianity, yet it also shows the fragility of the state of the new converts: there is very little that can be offered to them, besides protection and more freedom to interact with Christians. It is not surprising that such “benefits” offered to Muslim converts would not be wholly effective since a majority of them preferred to maintain a rural lifestyle, by which they were able to retain their language, culture and religious practices with greater ease than in urban areas⁶⁸.

⁶⁸ One compelling point of view on the significance of social interaction in those rural *mudéjar* societies is James F. Powers’ discussion of the potential threat that public baths of Muslims posed for the Christian conquerors. See his article “Frontier Municipal Baths and Social Interaction in Thirteenth-Century Spain” (1979).

Laws IV to VIII of Title XXV have very little to do with Muslims. In fact, they reflect a fear of Christians converting to Islam, which had decreased considerably from the numbers of conversions during the first centuries of the presence of Islam in Iberia; yet the phenomenon was still relatively significant by the time of Alfonso X and would continue to exist well into the sixteenth-century. As Burns points out, this was also a topic of concern for Ramon Lull:

the Catalan Raymond Lull, himself an international figure and experienced in the Muslim-Christian interaction of this region, also deplored the ease with which Christians subject to Islamic rule became disenchanted with the faith and "renounced it" to become Muslims. ("Renegades" 343)

To begin, Law IV states that, sometimes, people lose their minds and go mad when choosing to abandon the faith of Christ to convert to Islam (López and Real Academia 651, Scott 1439). This observation is followed by a more plausible set of reasons that might lead some Christians to convert. These include a desire to live according to Moorish customs; the loss of relatives; becoming poor and looking for prosperity; and finally, the infamous attraction of the euphemistic "unlawful acts that they commit." Those who choose to convert are guilty of "wickedness and treason," for they have abandoned eternal salvation for worldly pleasures. As a result, they shall lose all their property and be put to death if found within Alfonso's territories.

Since the subtitle of Title XXV is "Concerning the Moors," what implicitly concerns them in this Law is the threat they posed, and the temptations they presented, to Christians of weak faith, who would choose to indulge in "pleasures" that can only be afforded by Muslim culture. Time and again, the *Partidas* portray Muslims as false and

given to worldly pleasures (often code for homosexual practices), which contrasts sharply with the chastity and pursuit of eternal salvation attributed to Christians. Such depictions cannot be taken lightly: in less than two centuries, being a *maurófilo* would become so powerfully associated with homosexuality, “strangeness” and impotence that it would be one of the major weapons used in delegitimizing claims against Ferdinand III and, most notably, Henry IV, in Castile⁶⁹.

The error of converting to Islam or Judaism is reiterated in the following paragraph, Law V. A convert is considered to be a “false” subject and is characterized as an “escarnecedor de las leyes” (652) [manifests contempt for our Faith] (1440). Thus, those who commit such an offense are punished even if they repent. Interestingly enough, their punishments are characterized by stripping them of their credibility and reliability by means of various sanctions: their testimony may not be taken; they are deprived of holding office; they are unable to make a will; their sales or donations all become invalid. The Law explains that such punishment is worse than death, “ca la vida deshonorada que él fará le será por muerte de cada día” (653). [for a dishonorable life will be worse to him than death itself] (1440). We may conclude that those who convert and repent serve the Christian community in a way similar to that attributed to the Jews at the beginning of Title XXIV: they are an example and a reminder of what the consequences are for denying the true Faith of Jesus Christ. Furthermore, the Law also highlights that this punishment will make apostates suffer as they see what others enjoy; what they once had and now have lost due to their own error.

⁶⁹ See, for example, Daniel B. Eisenberg’s “Enrique Cuarto and Gregorio Marañón” (1976), p. 29, note 27.

Law VI, regarding the penalty for adopting another faith and marrying a Muslim, a Jew, or a heretic opens with a reminder of the king's divine mission to mandate laws that cannot be found in ancient legal codes. The juxtaposition of Muslims, Jews, and heretics once again establishes the superiority of Christians by grouping these diverse religious beliefs into one category as opposed to the only "true" Faith. Law VII further develops the punishment for renegades by extending Christians' right to attack their reputation for up to five years after their death. Finally, Law VIII introduces a contradiction in regard to the rest of Title XXV. For in this law, an exception is made for renegades who

se trabajrien de facer algunt granado servicio á los cristianos, que se tornaria en grant pro de la tierra. (López and Real Academia 654)

[attempt to render some great service to the Christians resulting in the substantial benefit of the country.] (Scott 1441)

A person belonging to this group is pardoned since he or she makes it "sufficiently understood that he is attached to the Christians." It even goes on to try to justify their conversion by saying that it was probably motivated through shaming or reproach by relatives, silencing the reasons mentioned at the beginning of Title XXV regarding the pursuit of earthly pleasures now that they are no longer convenient.

Regardless of how implementing this law might have been intended, it is a significant moment in the *Partidas* since it reveals that Christianity as a political entity and civic force is more important to Alfonso than Christian dogma. This falls in line with his self-fashioning as the minister of God in all *earthly* matters. The law depicts leniency with renegades who serve their country to the extent that it even pardons those who

decide to remain Muslims. The visible contradiction between this law and those that precede it is indicative of the struggle of Castilian monarchs who suddenly found themselves in the process of accommodating the high numbers of Muslims present in their newly conquered realms.

The last two laws of Title XXV, Law IX and Law X, return to more explicit regulations for Muslims, rather than Christians, converts and renegades alike, under Alfonso's rule. Law IX aims to protect Muslims on mission from other kingdoms, whereas Law X explains the consequences of a Muslim having sexual relations with a Christian woman. The Muslim man will be stoned to death if he sleeps with a virgin, a widow or a married Christian woman. The Christian woman will be punished depending on her marital status. Virgins will lose half their property on the first offense, and all their property on the second offense; this also applies to widows. Punishment for married women will be left up to their husbands to resolve.

Finally, a Muslim and a prostitute who have sexual intercourse will be scourged throughout the town on the first offense and put to death on the second offense (López and Real Academia 655-256, Scott 1441-42). The law makes no mention of the opposite case; that is, of Christian men who maintain sexual relations with Muslim women. This might partially be explained by the fact that Islam forbids women from marrying men of other religions, whereas the opposite, though unfavorable, is still allowed. Simon Barton⁷⁰ also notes this peculiar bias in Iberian laws and ponders that fear from *both*

⁷⁰ The topic of intermarriage in Medieval Iberia has attracted much attention lately. Besides Simon Barton's culturally-focused work (2015), Ranghild Zorghati's 2012 *Pluralism in the Middle Ages* approaches the topic on a more legal basis by comparing legal texts from all three religions on the topic.

Christian communities on the one hand as well as Muslim and Jewish ones on the other of intermixing between the later's women and the former's men might explain what he calls "Double standard" laws⁷¹ (57-58).

Title XXV of the *Siete Partidas* thus comprises a set of laws that fail to define the role of Muslims in territories under Christian domains. Instead, it offers an anxious attempt to foreclose any possible re-emergence of Islam in the Peninsula; threatening to punish those who convert, yet at the same time keeping the door open for renegades who could be of help to the monarchy. One possible interpretation of this attitude is an effort to limit the number of people who would choose to flee Christian lands to those under Muslim rule; we know quite well that the repopulation of newly conquered domains was both a problem and a priority for the Castilian monarchy⁷². If we look at the larger picture, however, where the *Partidas* serve as an ideological manifesto for Alfonso's *fecho del imperio*, we can see that, in appealing to other Christian leaders of Europe, the King attempted to paint an image of an uncorrupted Christian Spain through the relegation of Jews and Muslims to the world of delinquents and wrongdoers in his code.

In this way, Title XXV tells the story of a problematic community for Alfonso; one that could neither be excluded nor quite included in his imagined unified empire. The best his legislation could accomplish was to initiate a process of isolating the Muslim community from society by portraying its members as an illegitimate threat composed of the false, foolish followers of a fake prophet, just as it does in confining the Jews to their

⁷¹ On conversion in the *mudéjar* communities around the time of Alfonso X, see Chapter I of James Powell, *Muslims Under Latin Rule, 1100-1300* (1990).

⁷² See, for instance, Joseph O'Callaghan *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (2003) for details on Fernando III's involvement with the repopulation of Jaén (p. 111) and Seville (p. 120).

stereotypical role of an example and reminder for Christians of the consequences of denying the true faith.

II.4 Conclusions

With Titles XXIV and XXV of the *Siete Partidas*, Alfonso X managed to consolidate a shift in Castilian politics towards a Spain that is intolerant of Semitic groups. The laws concerning the interactions between Christians, Jews and Muslims fall within his ideology of a Christian king aspiring to the throne of the Holy Roman Empire. In order to further defend the legitimacy of his candidacy, he first needed to create historically a Christian Spain, “unstained” by Muslims and Jews. This is, of course, a primitive version of what would in the future become a major institutional concern in Early Modern Spain: *limpieza de sangre*, or “blood purity.” Conversion to Islam and the repopulation of newly conquered vast territories was a legitimate concern for Alfonso X, especially if we consider the turbulent political issues that were arising during his reign: The most distinguished of which is the growing dissatisfaction of the Castilian nobility with his policies, which culminated with his son Sancho IV’s successful rebellion against him⁷³.

This theoretical and pragmatic legal stand on Muslims by Alfonso is harmonious with his portrayal of early Islam in the *Estoria de Espanna*. Whereas the *Partidas* establish the religious hierarchies legally, the *Estoria* depicts a historical superiority that can be traced back to each community’s (Christian and Muslim) roots. The Visigoths are traced all the way back through Rome to Hercules; the roots of Muslims, however, date

⁷³ For an analysis of the political crisis which Alfonso X had to face during his reign, see Joseph F. O’Callaghan, “Image and Reality: The King Creates His Kingdom” (1990).

back – through Africa rather than the Arabian peninsula – to a deceiving, epileptic Judaizer whose religion is but a heretical sect of Christianity. As for the conquest of 711, we must look back to Chapter I of this dissertation in order to see how ideological differences helped create two very different versions of the history of Al-Andalus in Iberia. In both traditions, there is a historiographical tendency to reinterpret significant past events based on a religious backdrop where the history of humanity is a spiral *continuum*. Yet whereas Ibn al-Qūṭīyah tried to create a sense of a trifold continuity between the Umayyads of Damascus, the Umayyads of Cordoba and the Visigoths; Alfonso X resorted to rhetoric to unite a historically divided Spain. His efforts echo the words of Paul de Man: “Rhetoric radically suspends logic and opens up vertiginous possibilities of referential aberration” (1371).

Thus, Spain’s tragic fall at the hands of Muslims, reminiscent of past tragedies that narrate the collapse of civilizations, serves to create a view of one, homogenous Spain. In this view of history, the Visigoths had once helped Spain recover from its “wounds.” This would explain why the descendants of the Visigoths, such as Alfonso X, are seen as the righteous agents destined to restore to Spain its ancient glory. In other words, Alfonso’s historical and legal writings reveal his conceptualization of an ideal present (the legislative containment of both Muslims and Jews) as well as an imperial future where the ultimate triumphant discourse would be the Catholic-imperial one. This discourse would fit with the emergence of a Europe that, in response to the spread of Islam around the Mediterranean, as Pirenne showed, culminated with crowning Charlemagne as Holy Roman Emperor; the title Alfonso himself desperately desired.

The Wise king's *Estoria* was defined by a nostalgic impulse to reanimate the past, that is, Rome via the Visigoths within the narrative frame of universal Christian history. Titles XXIV and XXV of his seventh *Partida*, on the other hand, were characterized by pragmatism in addressing the urgent issue of legally defining Muslim and Jewish minorities. The laws as a whole project an apparently unshaken determination of a Catholic king in protecting his Christian subjects from heretics; yet the "fine print" was imbued with the anxieties of a fragile, nascent Castile that feared the palpable threat of Muslim rebellions and conversions to Islam.

The fall of Spain at the hands of the Muslims, then, becomes the "Middle Ages" of Iberia; that is, a later constructed conceptualization of a parenthetical time defined by its impertinence. Whereas the construction of the European Middle Ages was needed to better define the Roman Empire and the Renaissance, Al-Andalus in Alfonso's works would fall between two glorified moments of his history: the rule of the Visigoths, the heirs of Rome, until 711, and the return of their descendants who, under Fernando III (Alfonso's father) were able to limit Muslim-controlled territories of Iberia to the Kingdom of Granada. In short, Alfonso The Wise, on the one hand, contributed to the expansion of Europe's cultural outlook through his work and the collaboration of his team of translators. On the other hand, his rhetoric also contributed to an early Orientalizing, static view of Muslims where all groups of people living under Islamic rule are characterized by a hedonistic and deceitful, menacing nature, that brought chaos and destruction upon Christians, both present and past.

In the only Muslim kingdom left in Iberia by Alfonso's time, the Kingdom of Granada, some authors would make use of a parallel rhetoric to persuade Muslim rulers

outside of the Peninsula to protect them from the threat of the “enemy”, that is, Castile and Leon. In the next chapter, we will see how a Granadan diplomat, poet and historian imagined another exclusive history for Iberia: he carefully crafted the history of Granada, as a metonym of Al-Andalus, to put the city on par with other Muslim “paradises on Earth” such as Damascus and Cordoba. Thus, we will start to see early manifestations of the contemporary nostalgic views of Al-Andalus as a superior Muslim culture.

Chapter III:

Ibn al-Khaṭīb, or How We Learned to Start Worrying and Miss Al-Andalus

III.1 Introduction

The Nasrid kingdom of Granada (1232-1492) originated as an ending: it was established as the final Muslim stronghold in Iberia. It was, therefore, doomed to be a beginning of the end. If fears of the demise of Muslim rule constituted a marginal threat for Andalusís in Ibn al-Qūṭīyah's time, they became a predominant anxiety by the thirteenth century. Since its founding by the Zirids, Granada, like the rest of the *taifa* kingdoms that inherited the different parts of the Umayyad Al-Andalus, was perhaps not as threatened with the northern Christian kingdoms as it was by possibilities of North African invasions. The memoirs of the last ruler of the Zirids, 'Abd Allāh Ibn Buluggīn (1056-1090), offer an illuminating personal insight on the rivalries between those *taifas* and how North African Almoravids, under Yusuf Ibn Tashfīn, would benefit from those inner feuds as they invaded Al-Andalus after defeating Alfnoso VI the Brave in the Battle of Zalaca (1086).

Almoravid rule would last only until the mid-twelfth century, when an uprising started by Masmuda tribes in Morocco would succeed in replacing it. The new rulers, the Almohads, whose lords claimed the title of Caliph throughout their reign, were seen in Al-Andalus as fanatics (at least initially), and their orthodox views of Islam heightened the already tense political atmosphere in Al-Andalus. Almohad intolerance drove many Christians and Jews to neighboring Christian states. After the battle of *Las Navas de Tolosa* (1212), discussed in Chapter II, and especially after unprecedented internal

conflicts among the Almohads themselves in 1225, Muslim strongholds in Iberia started falling one after the other into the hands of Christian monarchs.

By 1248, the only territory still under Muslim control was Granada, ruled now by the Nasrids or Banū Naṣr. It remained a tributary state to Castile until the late fifteenth century when it was finally conquered by the Catholic Monarchs after more than a decade of military campaigns⁷⁴. Thus, between 1232 and 1492, Granada remained in a state of limbo: a timed bomb in many respects. Everyone knew the end of Muslim rule had become just a matter of time, yet nobody knew exactly when it would happen nor whether it could somehow be avoided. L. P. Harvey, in *Islamic Spain*, highlights the “omnipresence of the frontier” (21) that overshadowed all aspects of life in Granada. In order for this fragile entity to survive and preserve its Muslim identity, it needed to reach out both in space and in time to other geographical areas and other time periods. In terms of space, maintaining amicable relations with North African kingdoms and, when possible, Castile, became crucial.

As for expansion in time, just as Alfonso X crafted both a legitimating history and an imperial future for Castile to suit the needs of an emerging power, so too did Granada, an almost accidental kingdom, need to locate its historical roots to forge a clearer outlook towards the future. In the middle of the fourteenth century, one polymath inferred that necessity and successfully managed to minimize Granada’s threats of geographical and historical isolation - at least temporarily. His diplomatic moves helped the Nasrid Sultans for whom he worked maintain a certain stability among the political turmoil that shook

⁷⁴ For more details on the crisis of Muslim rule in Iberia between the collapse of the Umayyad Caliphate until the fifteenth century, see Chapter 3 of Simon Barton’s *A History of Spain* (2004).

Castile after the death of Alfonso XI in 1350, as well as the Nasrids own internal conflicts. He wrote an encyclopedic historical work called *Al-Iḥāṭah fī Akhbār Gharnāṭah*, [*The Comprehensive History of Granada*], finished c. 1371, from here on *Iḥāṭah*, which aimed to cover the history of Granada since the Islamic conquest of 711 until his own day. His name was Muhammad Ibn ‘Abdullāh, better known as Lisān al-Dīn [the Tongue of Religion⁷⁵] Ibn al-Khaṭīb.

Ibn al-Khaṭīb (1313-1374) consciously crafted his authority to become the preeminent guardian of Nasrid Granada’s history. He identified the kingdom’s need for a detailed history that would make it a worthy rival for other great Muslim metropolises such as Baghdad, Cairo, Damascus, and Cordoba⁷⁶. However, as we shall see, his writing method plotted Nasrid Granada’s history as a narrative whose central savior was Ibn al-Khaṭīb himself. His overemphasis on his own superiority and indispensability for the stability of the last Muslim kingdom in Iberia would garner him many an enemy which, among other complex reasons, would lead to his tragic death. Ibn Khaldūn, the Tunisian polymath with Andalusí roots, describes the gruesome events that surrounded his assassination, where Ibn al-Khaṭīb was strangled to death in his prison cell while being held there for accusations of heresy, after having been tortured publicly during his trial. The day after, as a gesture of scorn his body was unearthed and burned before being put back into the ground (Ibn Khaldūn 7: 341-342). This anecdote has earned Ibn al-Khaṭīb yet another dual title: he was the man of two *wizāras* (for being assigned as a *wazīr*

⁷⁵ Boloix-Gallardo explains that he earned this cognomen due to his eloquence (“Introduction” 281).

⁷⁶ See the full list of cities’ histories that made Ibn al-Khaṭīb eager to write one for Granada, in his own words (*Iḥāṭah* 1: 81-83)

twice), of two lives (for suffering from chronic insomnia that would make him work all night), and now of two deaths (Būfalāqah 25).

This series of dual characteristics is but one indication of the complexity of Ibn al-Khaṭīb's personality which is reflected in all aspects of his life. In his writings, his impressive knowledge of Arabic had led him to craft an obscure style of writing that would make many critics reluctant to analyze his works. His dexterity with the language provided him an impressive weapon for praising friends and patrons and satirizing enemies. As Ralf Elger puts it, "One of his weapons were *hijā'* [invective] poems, but he also was a master of intrigue and treason" (301). Finally, his life between Granada and the Maghreb (due to two exiles⁷⁷) lead him to reflect on the experience of *ightirāb* - or living in exile - in his masterpiece which unfortunately only survived in part: *Nufāḍat al-Jirāb fī 'Ulālat al-Ightirāb [Shedding of the Bundle in Consolation of Exile]*.

In the texts of Ibn al-Khaṭīb, it is inevitable, necessary, and logical to discuss the power of autobiographical writing in creating the illusion of global views on history. I will therefore resort, first, to such works as Smith and Watson's *Reading Autobiography*, on how to analyze autobiographical writings. Second, and most importantly, I will rely on Foucault's contemplations on power, the self and history while reading Ibn al-Khaṭīb's highly opinionated texts on history (both as a genre and as a local record of Al-Andalus) as well as his own explicit and implicit self-references.

In "History, Discourse and Discontinuity", Foucault poses the following question: "How does the struggle for taking over the discourse [of history] take place between classes, nations, linguistic, cultural or ethnic collectivities?" (235). This question is at the

⁷⁷ On his first exile, see his *Iḥāṭah* 1: 24-29. On the second, see *Iḥāṭah* 1: 33-36.

core of analyzing Ibn al-Khaṭīb's writing - at least in this chapter. The paragraphs to follow can be read as a commentary on how Ibn al-Khaṭīb attempted to take over the discourses of history, of politics and of language in fourteenth century Granada to forge, both for immediate audiences and for future ones, an image of a wounded sacred land of Islam. This sacred land, with the help of experienced politicians such as himself, struggled to survive among accelerating threats of destruction. Al-Andalus, as a conceptual space, needed to be transformed to adapt to this unstable situation. Even though the physical and political Al-Andalus survived only until 1492 (or 1538, or 1609, or even beyond, depending on how we interpret the official history); the nostalgic, imagined Al-Andalus shaped by Ibn al-Khaṭīb, among others, has without a doubt survived to our day in many forms. Using music as medium, for instance, Jonathan Shannon has argued that an Andalusí identity of sorts can be perceived, in diverse forms, through the performance of Andalusí music across the Mediterranean.

Going back to Foucault, in another work of his he states, "I wish to study the forms of understanding which the subject creates about himself" ("About the Beginning" 203). I will follow this Foucauldian line of investigation as well, focusing on the subject in question: Ibn al-Khaṭīb. My analysis gears toward revealing how this polymath has made us understand him as a politician, as an historian, and as a poet that fiercely defended the culture of a dying Al-Andalus; a superior Islamic culture that, as he also makes us understand, had ironically turned its back on him. We can see this, for instance, in the following verses – quoted from, according to the copier, a (now lost part) of *Nufāḍat al-Jirāb* – from a poem that appears at the end of El Escorial's manuscript of *Iḥāṭah*:

| | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------|
| جزتني غرناطة بعد ما | جلوتُ محاسنها بالجلا |
| ولم تبق جاهاً ولا حرمة | ولم تبق مالأً ولا منزلاً |
| كأنني انفردت بقتل الحسين | وجردت سيفي في كربلا |
| ولم أجن ذنباً سوى أنني | صدعتُ بأمداحها في الملا |
| وأني صنعتُ فيها الغريب | فصرت الغريب أجوب الفلا |
| يميناً لقد أنكرتُ ما جرى | نفوس الورى وأبته العلا |
| وما خصني زمني بالعقوق ف | كم من فاضل مبتلا (Ihāṭah 4:638) |

[Granada punished me after I made her merits shine

And she left [me] no glory, nor anything sacred, nor riches, nor houses

As if I were the only one to kill Hussein, revealing my sword in Karbala!

My only fault was singing her praises publicly

And that I made in [Granada] peculiar deeds, yet now I am the peculiar
one roaming aimlessly

I swear that all living people condemned what happened, and the honored
ones abhorred it

Yet I'm not the only one to whom his time was ungrateful; oh, how many
virtuous ones were troubled!⁷⁸]

If Granada had betrayed Ibn al-Khaṭīb, it seems that recent criticism and historiography have not given him the attention he deserves either. To be sure, it is remarkable to see the unjust lack of contemporary attention that the works of Ibn al-Khaṭīb have merited. Even though he is among the most widely-known historians and authors of *muwāshshaḥāt* throughout the Islamic world, most of his non-poetical works have either appeared in

⁷⁸ All translations in this chapter are mine unless otherwise noted.

incomplete editions (some of which are very poor due to the fact that their editors have only had access to inadequate photocopies of the actual manuscripts, as one of them complains⁷⁹), or are yet to be published. The fact that a very small portion of his works have been translated into other languages has added to the difficulties of studying his works outside of Arabic criticism (and, to an even greater extent, Iberian criticism).

Thus, most of what we see are general acknowledgements of our indebtedness to him as an historian and as a poet, sporadic editions of some of his texts, as well as occasional studies of particular aspects of his life and work. These include, to mention a few recent examples, his decisive role in conveying to us detailed knowledge of the royal Nasrid women of his time (Boloix-Gallardo, “Beyond the *Harem*”), his references to Christian kings of Spain (Stearns, “Two passages”), a close-reading of his subversive *zejel* celebrating the return of Sultan Muhammad V to power (Elinson); and, of course, his well-known description of the plague and how quarantine is the only measure against its spread⁸⁰. Such efforts are invaluable, and some of these studies have been truly groundbreaking in the light they shed on Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s cultural contributions. Yet we are still in need of in-depth, consistent studies to better understand his exceptional legacy in the fields of history, language, politics and Sufism. This is, of course, relatively speaking: for we need to compare him to such influential figures of the late Middle Ages and Early Modernity as Cervantes, Ibn Khaldūn or Thomas More. In that sense, Ibn al-Khaṭīb remains under-appreciated, leaving the door open for critics interested in bringing

⁷⁹ See Sayyed Kisrawi Hasan’s 2003 edition of *A‘māl al-A‘lām*, pp. 18-19. A more reliable (yet incomplete) edition was published as *Histoire de L’Espagne Musulmane* by Levi-Provençal in 1956.

⁸⁰ The manuscript, preserved in El Escorial, was edited in 2013 as part of the book *Thalāth Rasā’il Andalusīyah Fī Al-Ṭā’ūn Al-Jāriḥ*.

to light his contributions to Arabic poetry, to political theory, and to our contemporary views of Al-Andalus.

Among the valuable studies that do exist of Ibn al-Khaṭīb, we may distinguish – besides the ones mentioned – Ralf Elger’s analysis of Al-Maqqarī’s depiction of Ibn al-Khaṭīb⁸¹; Isabel Calero and Nicolás Roser’s study of Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s persecution trial and its political and religious dimensions (2001); Ali Akhtar’s work on controversial Sufi philosophy (2015) in the Nasrid court (a debate which is widely considered to be the most immediate reason for accusing Ibn al-Khaṭīb of heresy); as well as the critical introductions to many – but not all – editions of his manuscripts. Last but not least, *Medieval Encounters* published a special issue to commemorate the 700th anniversary of his birth (2014), covering topics such as his relationship with Ibn Khaldūn (Fromherz), Andalusí identity in Maghreb (Gómez-Rivas), as well as the concept of *musahara* [affinity] as a true game of thrones in the Nasrid court (Ženka).

As this chapter will try to show, Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s work contains the germ of Al-Andalus as it is widely imagined among Muslims today: an ephemeral state in which Islamic culture thrived; a dreamed, stolen moment of passion, as Ibn al-Khaṭīb puts it in one of his most popular verses⁸². The chapter will adopt a three-fold and, in a sense, reversed approach to Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s work. First, I will start with the most general: his

⁸¹ Al-Maqqarī’s work, *Nafḥ at-ṭīb min gūṣn Al-Andalus ar-raṭīb wa-dikri wazīrihā Lisān-ad-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb [The Breeze of Pleasant Scent from the Bedewed Branch of Al-Andalus and the Remembrance of its Wazīr Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb]*, from here on *Nafḥ*, completed in 1629, only a few decades after the expulsion of the *moriscos*, is one of the most comprehensive sources we have on Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s works. It is thanks to this monumental effort, in which the author aimed to introduce the curious readers of the Middle East to the works of Ibn al-Khaṭīb, that we still have access to some of his works, letters and personal details that would have otherwise been lost.

⁸² See Al-Maqqarī 7: 11.

views on history as a genre. Second, I analyze his construction of Granada as an example of a significant metropolis with historical ties to Damascus. Finally, I will deal with Ibn al-Khaṭīb himself: how by intertwining his life with virtually everything he wrote, he made it impossible to separate his actual self from his works on history, religion and politics. Thus, when today we recall Al-Andalus' cultural legacy for Islam, we - consciously or not - are heavily influenced by a certain concept of Al-Andalus, an ephemeral space; one to whose shaping Ibn al-Khaṭīb has contributed significantly in more ways than one.

As Gómez-Rivas puts it, even though Ibn Khaldūn's work has merited more critical attention overall, "it is arguably his [Ibn al-Khaṭīb's] work, however, that had the greater impact on shaping the narrative and pervading tone of the history of Al-Andalus and how it is remembered in the Maghrib and the Arabic textual tradition" (341). Ibn al-Khaṭīb's retrospective views of the recent history of Iberia are also crucial for the shaping of his own authority; a failed attempt to protect himself from his dissenters. In fact, his overemphasis on his role in forging Granada's history, both in real life as a politician as well in the texts he wrote as an historian, would backfire: it facilitated his enemies' mission in finding claims to end his life. As Stanley Fish puts it, "autobiographers cannot lie because anything they say, however mendacious, is the truth about themselves, whether they know it or not" (15). Ibn al-Khaṭīb was definitely too smart not to realize the riskiness of his defensive autobiographical writings, and that one day his opinions could be used against him. Nevertheless, his vehement, grandiose self-fashioning would also guarantee that his legacy survived him until our own days. Throughout this chapter, then, I will aim to illustrate how much of our contemporary understanding of the concept

of Al-Andalus is, in one way or another, indebted to Ibn al-Khaṭīb's works, which portray him as both agent and protagonist of history.

In his writing, Al-Andalus is clearly a Muslim state facing the threats of an ever growing Christian monarchical hegemony. However, it is also – ironically – one defined by this struggle. The threat of Islam disappearing in Iberia further supported the claims of historians such as Ibn al-Khaṭīb in considering Al-Andalus the most sacred of lands: the land where Muslim faith would be put to the test through the threat of Christians. This is the predominant tone in a series of letters by Ibn al-Khaṭīb that Al-Maqqarī quotes (4: 404-445). In these letters, aimed to urge North African Muslims to protect Granada, the rhetoric is one of defiance and even of shaming on a religious basis. Just to mention an example, he calls on Muslims to wake up and unite by using the counter-example of the Pope: a tyrant who resorts to encouraging war against Muslims as means of ending dissent among Christians (4: 445).

As we approach Ibn al-Khaṭīb's texts, we need to ask ourselves what exactly we are looking for: what do we expect of “autobiographical narrators,” as Smith and Watson put it (15)? If we search for truth, he clearly has little credibility. How could we demand “the truth” from someone who would rewrite an entire book about the poets of his time mostly because he wanted to exchange his initial positive opinions of some poets with crude, demeaning opinions and evaluations of them? This is the case in his *al-Katībah al-Kāminah, fi man Laqaynāh bi-Al-Andalus min shu‘arā’ al-Mi’ah al-Thāminah* [*The latent faction of those we found in Al-Andalus from the poets of the eighth century*]. In this particular book, aimed explicitly to introduce poets of Al-Andalus and Maghreb to the much broader Arabic audience of the East, Ibn al-Khaṭīb compiles poems from

contemporary authors, an effort he had made before. Yet this time he adjusts the brief biographies he includes before their poems to fit his new rivalries with such people as the Granadan poet (and his own disciple) Ibn Zamrak and Imām al-Nabāhi (Ibn Al-Khaṭīb and ‘Abbās 18). The search for truth, then, is irrelevant in analyzing Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s texts. What the texts *do* provide us, though, is a very rich story by an opinionated historian who made his own life the connecting point for all time, space and power in Granada. His influential views not only of Al-Andalus and the Kingdom of Granada but, as we shall see, on history itself as a sacred genre, offer a unique narrative of historico-political struggles in mid-fourteenth century Spain, on both sides of the Christian and Muslim divide.

Maria Salgado explains the difference between literary self-portraits and autobiographies through the emphasis on the present in the former and on chronology in the latter (439). In Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s case, the autobiographical element he superimposed on almost every work he ever produced distorts perceptions of chronology and of the present-time. We can find letters, poems and commentaries by him scattered among the different chapters of Granada’s history, even those occurring before his lifetime. He keeps bringing the reader to the present moment of Nasrid Granada *through his own figure*, making himself utterly omnipresent in his historical works.

What stands out in his writings is thus the overemphasis on his superiority, which would in turn cost him his life. As a superior *wazīr*, he depicts himself as an indispensable active agent in the politics of his times. He, for instance, claims for himself the fall of Pedro the Cruel/Just at the hands of his half-brother Enrique II as a plot carefully planned by him to prolong the dissent between Christians, to distract them from

fighting the Muslims. In this rather curious rewriting of history, Ibn al-Khaṭīb liberates himself from any possible accusations of treason when he decides to advise the enemy: Pedro⁸³. First, he assures the reader that his acts were blessed by the Sultan (Muhammad V, who was known to have maintained good relations with Pedro⁸⁴).

Second, he describes how Pedro appreciated his, Ibn al-Khaṭīb's, help, but immediately after he connects the dots for us to show how his advice only *seemed* to be fruitful to Pedro when in reality it guaranteed a much-needed prolongation of Castile's internal struggles. In his narration of the events, the Nasrid king is marginalized to leave Ibn al-Khaṭīb at the center, manipulating Pedro as he wishes. Even God is pushed to the periphery, as the *wazīr's* word choice makes God a mere enabler of Ibn al-Khaṭīb's "trick" (*Iḥāṭah* 2: 85-87). Such games with appearances and reality consolidate his self-portrait as a dexterous politician, yet they also pave the way for problematic assumptions about his hypocrisy. In the letter to him by Imām Nabhānī, who became one of his most outspoken critics, for instance, Ibn al-Khaṭīb is accused of contempt for all that is sacred: laws, social norms, and even God; not to mention all the silenced accusations, repeatedly referred to in the letter (*Al-Maqqarī* 5: 122-131).

Speaking of those silenced accusations, one has to mention the surprising contemporary dismissal of allusions to Ibn al-Khaṭīb's homoerotic relationships. Just to mention a few examples, Imām Nabhānī, in that same letter, accuses Ibn al-Khaṭīb of

⁸³ For a comparative analysis of Spanish and Arabic accounts of this advice, see Marquer (2011).

⁸⁴ He, for instance, is said to have received four castles from Pedro that used to belong to Granada ('Abbādī 82).

letting off “one of the boys that admired him” after being charged with a significant crime.

ومنها [أي التهم] أن أحد الفتيان المتعلقين بكم توجهت عليه المطالبة بدم قتييل، وسيق المدعي عليه للذبح بغير سكين، فما وسعني بمقتضى الدين إلا حبسه على ما أحكمته السنة، فأنفتم لذلك، وسجنتم

الطالب وليّ الدم، وسرحتم الفتى المطلوب على الفور. (Al-Maqqarī 5: 126)

[And among them [the accusations] that one of the boys that admired you was accused of killing a man, and so the accused was taken for slaughter without a knife. In accordance with the religion, I had no choice but to put him in prison, thus complying with Sunna laws. Yet you refused: you imprisoned the man who demanded his [the accused’s] death, and immediately set the accused young man free.]

Another example comes from Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s own writings: many of his poems seem to describe passionate encounters with handsome, young men. This can be seen in those two not-so-innocent couplets:

| | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| أضاف إلى الجفون السود شعرا | كجنج الليل أو صبغ المداد |
| فقلت أمير هذا الحسن تزكو | الأجور له بتكثير السواد (...) |
| من لي به أسمر حلو اللما | أهيف ماضي السحر مرهوبه |
| كالنحل في رقة خصر وفي | لسع متى شاء ومقلوبه. (Iḥāṭah 4: 508) |

[To the black eyelids he added lashes

Like the darkness of night or the dye of ink.

Thus I said: such a prince of handsomeness merits

compensations through incrementing black (...)

Who can bring him to me? tanned with sweet dark lips

and a thin waist, with admirable, far-reaching enchantment

He is like a bee in the tenderness of his waist, and

in the way he stings, when he wants to, and in reverse.]

The examples of passionate homoeroticism in his poetry abound. Nevertheless, homoeroticism is most significantly present in some of his letters, such as the one he wrote to Ibn Khaldūn after the latter left Granada (which ironically seemed to be motivated by Ibn al-Khaṭīb's own jealousy of all the attention Ibn Khaldūn received in the Nasrid court (*Iḥāṭah* 1: 30):

فها أنا أبكي عليه بدم أساله، وأنهل فيه أسى له، وأعلل بذكره قلباً صدعه، وأودعه من الوجد ما
أودعه، لما خدعه، ثم قلاه وودعه، وأنشق رياه أنف ارتياح قد جدعه، وأستعدي به على ظلم
ابندعه:

خليلي هل أبصرتما أو سمعتما قتيلاً بكى من حبّ قاتله قبلي [البيت لجميل بثينة]

(Al-Maqqarī 6: 391)

[And here I am, crying him with blood that he spilled, and I drink from it in mourning him, and I distract the heart that he broke with his memory, and I render it with love what he rendered, when he tricked it and then abhorred it and left it, and I let the nose of the comfort that he mutilated smell his scent, and I seek his help despite the injustice that he created: My friends, have you seen or heard / a dead man weeping from his murderer's love before me [the verse is by Jamīl Buthaynah⁸⁵].

⁸⁵ Umayyad-era poet, known for his unreciprocated love with an Arab noblewoman with the name of Buthaynah. For a detailed study of his life and influence, see Ramādī (1976).

The letter doubtless forms part of an established tradition among Arabic writers of resorting to wordplay and intricate linguistic structures to show off one's ability when addressing a prestigious fellow author. It could even be read as a parody of passionate letters between lovers. Let us not forget that Ibn Khaldūn and Ibn al-Khaṭīb were “pen pals” and, in their competitiveness, often showed-off how extremely well versed in Arabic they were. Their well-documented relationship of rivalry “illustrates the importance of a class of intellectuals who not only provided services to rulers but also had their own often subtle influence in legitimating and chronicling political and social power” (Fromherz 289). Still, the homoerotic content of this and other letters of his, although formulaic at times, merits more critical attention. The fact that very limited literature exists in Arabic on homoeroticism among famed noblemen and polymaths of the Islamic Middle Ages could be an indication of our lack of understanding of those same-sex relationships.

As Miguel Boronha shows in his master's thesis of 2014 on homosexuality and *mujūn*⁸⁶ literature in Al-Andalus and Maghreb around the High Middle Ages, research on homosexuality in Islam since the nineties, with few exceptions such as Louis Crompton's comments on homosexuality in Al-Andalus, has either been biased or methodologically unreliable⁸⁷. Thus, we frequently witness flagrant dismissal of possibilities of homoeroticism in Arabic literature and especially in the history of the Islamic world, unless (and sometimes, even when!) the references to the topic are extremely explicit,

⁸⁶ For more on this genre, characterized by celebratory indulgences in social taboos, see *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*, Volume 2, pp. 546.

⁸⁷ See pages 16-34 of Boronha's thesis for a thorough literature review on the topic.

such as in *mujūn* literature. Categorizing texts with less explicit manifestations of homoeroticism as “expressions of brotherly friendship,” “commonplace in Arabic poetry” or “wordplay” is reductive, to say the least.⁸⁸

Going back to historiography, Ibn al-Khaṭīb was also a major contributor to what would be one of the biggest paradoxes in the history of Islam: the superiority of Al-Andalus in the memory of many Muslims. This is a paradox because, while Ibn al-Khaṭīb among others helped create this image for posterity, immediately tied to nostalgia in the collective imagination of Muslims; in his own time, he also contributed to an ever-growing dissatisfaction with the sense of superiority among Andalusí thinkers, parallel to the well-studied tension between Arabs and non-Arabs in Al-Andalus⁸⁹. This is a major factor to take into account when considering the failure of the Muslim world in protecting Al-Andalus: Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s constant calls for defending Granada from Castile, reflected in the aforementioned letters he sent to other Muslim rulers of his time, portray Al-Andalus as a superior land of Muslims. If we look at it from a different perspective, one highlighted by such texts as his *mufākhara*⁹⁰ between Salé and Málaga, one cannot help but notice that this notion of Al-Andalus’ superiority inevitably makes other parts of the Muslim world inferior. As Camilo Gómez-Rivas shows in his analysis of this *mufākhara*, Málaga is superior in most aspects to Salé. Even though Gómez-Rivas convincingly

⁸⁸ In Iberian studies, the theme has garnered more critical interest, especially from the point of view of Castilians’ regard to homosexuality among Muslims. See, for example, Benjamin Liu’s, “Affined to love the Moor,” in *Queer Iberia* (1999), pp. 48-72.

⁸⁹ One of the best representatives of this tension is Ibn Garcia’s manifesto, which in 2003 Larsson connected to the larger polemic of interpreting Islam through non-Arab cultures.

⁹⁰ *Mufakharāt* is a genre of Arabic literature which, as the *Encyclopedia of Islam* puts it, refers to a “contest for precedence and glory, rivalry with other tribes or groups.”

argues that such works reveal the role that the interaction between the Maghreb and Al-Andalus had in shaping a cultural Andalusí identity, it could also be argued that Ibn al-Khaṭīb's approach to Al-Andalus as a land superior to other Muslim lands is yet another sign of Andalusí elites distancing themselves from those they needed the most.

III.2 On History: The inevitability of destruction

Foucault advises us to “Seek in the discourse [of history] not its laws of construction, as do the structural methods, but its conditions of existence” (“History, Discourse” 235). Ibn al-Khaṭīb's historical discourse emerged in a moment of such instability that, when a Sultan would leave his palace on a mission, he could not be sure that he would find his throne waiting for him when he returned. This is what happened to Sultan Muhammad V, Ibn al-Khaṭīb's patron (‘Abbādī 30-32). Such conditions of existence could explain why with Ibn al-Khaṭīb, the uncertainty of the future turns into a semi-satirical certainty of the ephemerality of all empires.

His *al-Lamḥah al-Badrīyah fī al-Dawlah al-Naṣrīyah* [*The Hasty Glimpse of The Nasrid Kingdom*], from here on *Lamḥah*, begins with praising God for making all kingdoms like stars: He lets them rise bright from the East, then plays with them - regardless of whether they develop “straight” or “confused”, until they are changed and eradicated. He then turns to define history as follows:

أما بعد فإن في تاريخ الدول عبرة لأولى النهى، وذكرى لمن غفل عن الله وسها، لتحول الأحوال،
وتصير الرسوم إلى الزوال، وتلاعب زعازع الأهوال، بالنفوس والأموال، إلى إمتاع المجالسة،
وإتحاف المؤانسة، عند الملايسة، لا سيما التاريخ الذي لم يُهتدَ لضمّه لديوان، لقلّة عيان، أو تأخر
زمان، فالنفوس إليه متطلّعة، وباجتلاء أنبائه متولّعة. (10)

[And so, in the history of states lies an example for the intelligent, and a reminder, for he who has forgotten God and has gone astray, of the changes in conditions, and the erasure of traces, and how catastrophes manipulate souls and riches, but also [history's] pleasurable companionship, and delightful friendship, especially history that no record was guided to contain, due to the lack of witnesses, or the delay in times; the souls strive for it, and are passionate about clarifying its accounts.]

In this passage, Ibn al-Khaṭīb summarizes what he considers the writing of history should *accomplish*. First, it is an example to be followed and a reminder of God's plan for us. Yet immediately after, he highlights its ephemerality: how things change until they eventually disappear. This pessimistic view is followed by an entertaining and consolatory function of history: keeping one with good company.

The intrigue created by his emphasis on those histories that have not been written before reflects Ibn al-Khaṭīb's determination to underscore the uniqueness of the history he not only wrote but also in which he actively participated. It becomes clear that his self-fashioning is so entwined with his histories that it is impossible to discuss any of his historical texts without having to talk about him as well. In the introduction to his masterpiece *Iḥāṭah*, he further expands his concept of history.

(...) الفن التاريخي مأرب البشر، ووسيلة الى ضم النشر، يعرفون به أنسابهم في ذلك شرعاً وطبعاً ما فيه، ويتكسبون به عقل التجربة في حال السكون والرفيه، ويستدلون ببعض ما يُبدى به الدهر وما يخفيه، ويُري العاقل من تصريف قدرة الله تعالى ما يشرح صدره بالإيمان ويشفيه، ويمر على مصارع الجبابرة فيحسبه بذلك واعظاً ويكفيه، وكتاب الله يتخلله من القصص ما يتم

هذا الشاهد لهذا الفن ويوفيه. (*Iḥāṭah* 1: 80-81)

[...] The art of history is the aim of people, and a way of uniting the dispersed. They learn their lineages in it through laws and through nature, and gain from it the core of experience in times of calmness and easy living. They are guided by some of what the ages show in it and what they hide, and it [the art of history] shows the wise one - from the phases of the power of God - what alleviates his chest and cures it through belief. He [the wise one] passes by the deaths of tyrants and takes it [the art of history] to be advice and is thus satisfied with it. And the book of God includes stories that complete and fulfill this testimony for this art.]

If in the *Lamḥah* history was a necessary moral example to remember past lessons, in the *Iḥāṭah*, finished many years after the former, history has become the focus of humanity; a view backed by no less than God himself. History brings people together and thus saves them from loss.

Whereas in Alfonso's texts, divine authority was inspired from Biblical narratives in legitimizing his constructed history of Spaniards, Ibn al-Khaṭīb converts history into the divine means by which God transmitted, preserved and spread his laws among his followers. Alfonso, then, elevates the history of the Spaniards-Visigoths-Romans above other histories. Meanwhile, Ibn al-Khaṭīb elevates history as a whole, as a genre, above other means of transmitting knowledge and of remembering. This is clearest in an excerpt from a text named *A 'māl al-A 'lām fī man Būyi 'a Qabla al-Iḥtilām min Mulūk al-Islām* [*The Deeds of Known Muslim Kings Crowned Before Puberty*]. The introduction to this work is a magnificent manifesto in defense, first, of the virtue of the written word and, second, of the art of historiography.

In a subchapter of the introduction dedicated to God’s mercy in educating man after his ignorance (referencing a Quranic verse that will be discussed in detail Chapter IV) Ibn al-Khaṭīb lists three substitutes for spoken word: metaphor, gestures, and “the book” - or written word. The latter is the one favored by Ibn al-Khaṭīb, as he provides the following arguments:

وإما بالكتاب: وهو أشرف ما ناب عن النطق والكلام، وأشد أمانة على أداء ما يراد منه أداءه، فقلّ أن يتحيفه أو ينقصه أو يخونه بل يؤديه بحاله ويبلغه بكماله ويدفع حكم الأسماع عن سره ويوصله إلى قوة النفس التي تتدبره في الإنسان بواسطة بصره منفرداً إذا شاء عن غيره، ثم يحكم فيه خاصة الاستماع إذا شاء عند جهره وإعلانه والخروج في الأمر عن كتمانته (53: 1)

[Or through the written word: it is the most honorable of the substitutes of speaking and talking, and it is more loyal in fulfilling what is intended to be fulfilled through it. For it [the written word] rarely mutates, deducts from or betrays it [the spoken word] but rather, it fulfills it as it is and transmits it in its totality. It turns the listeners away from its secrets, and it transmits it to the strong spirit that undertakes it in a person through solely his sight if he chooses not to resort to other [senses], and then it enables in it the quality of listening if he decides to say it out loud, reveal it and bring matters out of their secrecy.]

This philosophical reflection on writing is reminiscent of Phaedrus’ dialogue with Socrates in which the latter, through a legend about the invention of writing, belittles whoever thinks that the written word is an “elixir of memory.” Rather, it is an elixir of reminding: an instigator of forgetfulness since it pushes men to rely on it rather than their memories (Plato 274c-275b).

At first blush, Ibn al-Khaṭīb seems to contradict Plato's text; yet if we look carefully at the context of the former's passage, it becomes clear that his ideas echo another paragraph in *Phaedrus* that appears after the mentioned one. In this paragraph, Socrates makes the following point:

Socrates: Now then, do we see another kind of speech, a legitimate brother of this last one? Do we see both how it comes into being and how much better and more capable it is from its birth?

Phaedrus: What kind are you referring to, and how does it 'come into being'?

Socrates: The kind of speech that is written together with knowledge in the soul of the learner, capable of defending itself, and knowing how to speak and keep silent in relation to the people it should. (276a).

Plato, then, attributes the potential of the written word to its author's abilities. Ibn al-Khaṭīb, even though seemingly trusts the reader more than Plato does, is still speaking in the realm of sacred writing (including what for him is just as sacred: history). Therefore, Ibn al-Khaṭīb also remains close to an author-centered approach to writing, as his examples are almost exclusively those of sacred texts and authoritative histories of Muslim cities.

Both philosophers acknowledge the power of man in bringing the mute, written word to life, with Ibn al-Khaṭīb's interpretation perhaps less pessimistic than Plato's. For whereas the latter's focus seems to be the risks of such quality of the written word; the former's focal point remains an homage to the potential of writing. By comparing those two texts, my aim is to illustrate that even Ibn al-Khaṭīb's most deeply philosophical

ideas are ingrained in his socio-political context. For, as will be seen shortly, it makes sense to defend fiercely the authority of the written word – especially that of historical writing – as it had become an urgently needed weapon in defending the survival needs of an already vanishing Al-Andalus.

Yet one last brief comparison is due, this time with Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s contemporary Ibn Khaldūn. The latter’s *Muqaddimah* has evidently been far more influential universally: it is amongst the finest medieval articulations of theoretical concerns on a wide variety of disciplines, including historiography and the social sciences. Its influence is amplified by its controversial emphasis on practicality in studying the past and present as one continuum, focusing on the influence of both nature and humans in shaping history, and thus provoking innumerable historical debates within Islamic historiography and beyond⁹¹. Yet what the *Muqaddimah* shares with Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s views on history is a general anxiety about human trajectories, one that is manifest in their writings in the form of teleological awareness of an impending end.

Ibn al-Khaṭīb conveniently shifts from this defense of writing to praising the art of history. This shift is introduced as a matter related directly to the written word in a subchapter titled “On the honor of history.” Ibn al-Khaṭīb starts with a teleological definition of this art, as follows:

كان هذا المنقول الذي علقنا به صلاح الدنيا والآخرة يرجع بأجناس ما يكتب ويعرف ويلقب إلى فن التاريخ، وحيقته نقل الأخبار وإثباتها بإزاء ما يقابلها من الأخبار الزمانية والتواريخ المنقولة ما بين تاريخ زمان كغرض كتب السيرة (...) فلو لم يكن في التاريخ من شرف إلا هذا لكفي؛ إذ

⁹¹ Franz Rosenthal gives a well-documented view of Ibn Khaldūn’s success in resorting to a combination of disciplines in the service of historiography. See *A History of Muslim Historiography* (1968), pp. 117-19.

ثبت أنه الأصل الذي تفرع عنه تفسير الكتاب والسنة (...)، وبسقت من جوهره عظمة أحكامها
وأفنان حلالها وحرامها إلى ما فيه الاعتبار والاستبصار والاتعاظ والازدجار. (1: 55).

[This transmitted [text] to which we attached the wellness of this world and the afterworld takes the sources of what is written, known and defined back to the art of history. Its truth is to relay the accounts and to prove them in comparison with their parallel temporal accounts and transmitted histories within the history of a certain time period, such as the books of the *Sīrah* [the accounts of Muhammad's life] (...) And if history had no honor but this one it would suffice, for it is proven to be the source from which branched out the exegesis of the Book [the Quran] and of the Sunna (...) and from its essence flourished the greatness of its [the Quran and Sunna's] laws, and the branches of its *ḥalāl* and *ḥarām* for the benefit of what is exemplary, clarifying, moralizing and cautionary.]

History, according to this extensive definition, is for Islamic texts what pragmatics is for linguistics. Just as pragmatics bring to life all that words themselves cannot directly convey, history's very end is to reveal the unspoken exemplary content of the Quran and Sunna. This elevates history to the level of a sacred territory. By extension, historians are almost saintly humans for having the capacity to produce texts of such value. This can help us begin to understand the problematic savior figure that Ibn al-Khaṭīb carved out for himself, in words and actions, which will be the focus of the last part of the chapter. To conclude, history in the world of Ibn al-Khaṭīb was defined as a divine way of seeing the past. If the Quran and the Sunna are the sources of divine laws, history is the means

of spreading God's word among people. Now let us shift from general history to a more concrete one: fourteenth-century Granada.

III.3 Granada, the last land of Al-Andalus: Temporal heterotopia of crisis

Granada in Ibn al-Khaṭīb's texts is the epitome of an imagined temporal heterotopia⁹². It has extended beyond its physical existence to the realm of the imagination: a paradise to be forever remembered, comparable only to other temporal paradises of the Muslim world such as Damascus and Cordoba. Even though in Foucault's terms, temporal heterotopias refer to places such as seasonal fairs; if we apply his concept to the domain of historiography, Ibn al-Khaṭīb's Granada - as a metonym for Al-Andalus - quite fits the description. His *Ihāṭah* dedicates a short chapter at the beginning to describe the city as follows:

فهي شامية في أكثر أحوالها، قريبة من الاعتدال، وبينها وبين قرطبة، أعادها الله تعالى، تسعون ميلاً. وهي منها بين شرق وقبلة. وبحر الشام يحول ويحاجز بين الأندلس وبلاد العدو (...). وكورة البيرة أشرف الكور، نزلها جند دمشق. وقال [الرازي]: لها من المدن الشريفة مدينة قسطنطينية، وهي حاضرة البيرة، وفحصها لا يشبه بشيء من بقاع الأرض طيباً ولا شرفاً إلا بالغوطة، غوطة دمشق (...). وفحصها الأفيح المشبه بالغوطة الدمشقية حديث الركاب، وسمر الليالي، قد دحاه الله في بسيط سهل تخترقه المذانب، وتتخلله الأنهار جداول، وتتراحم فيه القرى والجنات (...). فهي قيد البصر، ومنتهى الحسن، ومعنى الكمال، أضفى الله عليها، وعلى من بها من عباده المؤمنين جناح ستره، ودفع عنهم عدو الدين بقدرته. (*Ihāṭah* 1: 94-99)

⁹² Foucault coined the term heterotopia in contrast to utopias and defined them as "counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted" ("Of Other Spaces" 24.)

[And so it is [Granada] mostly Sham-like, close to moderation, separated from Cordoba - may God return it - ninety miles. And it is located at its [Cordoba's] southeast. And the Sea of Sham separates and puts a barrier between Al-Andalus and the Maghreb. (...) And the kora [site] of Ilbira⁹³ is the most honorable of koras. It was inhabited by the settlers of Damascus. And he [Rhazes the Moor] said: Among its honorable cities is Qastalya, the capital of Ilbira, and its meadow is only comparable on Earth with the Ghouta of Damascus in its virtue and honor (...) And its spacious meadow, comparable to the Ghouta of Damascus, is the talk of travelers, and the companion of nights. God placed it in a vast plain penetrated with brooklets, with rivers flowing throughout it, and crowded with towns and gardens (...) And so it is captivating to the sight, the summit of beauty, and the definition of perfection. God graced it and its faithful residents with the wing of His protection, and he pushed the enemies of religion away from them with His power.]

In this heterotopia, Ibn al-Khaṭīb depicts a sacred place that is simultaneously earthly and heavenly. By comparing its meadows to those of Damascus, reaffirming the passage by the utmost authority for the history of Al-Andalus for Arabs (Rhazes the Moor), Ibn al-Khaṭīb solidifies the connection between two “lost paradises”: Umayyad Damascus and Al-Andalus in its days of eminence.

⁹³ Ilbira, or Elvira, is a toponym that is used to refer to the site of a major Islamic kora prior to the rise of Granada. For a detailed study on the development of Ilbira into Granada, see Carvajal and Day (2013).

This is further highlighted by many literary techniques: first, the repeated use of the adjective *afīah* (vast) in his description of the meadow is not arbitrary. One of Damascus' well-known nicknames is *al-Fayḥā'* (the vast; the pleasant) which is derived from the same root: *fayaḥa* (to expand). Second, he locates Granada both physically and figuratively in relation to Cordoba, which as we have seen in chapter one of the dissertation was meant to be a new Damascus in Al-Andalus. By Ibn al-Khaṭīb's time, however, this title of "Damascus of Al-Andalus" had become one of the common names for Granada. In fact, when consulting MS. D. 1776 in El Escorial, Ibn al-Khaṭīb's *Lamḥah* starts its description of Al-Andalus by calling it "the Sham of Al-Andalus" - Sham being commonly used to refer to Damascus specifically, even though the term in its most accurate sense refers to Greater Syria. In other manuscripts, however, it seems he wrote *sanām* (the "hump", in reference to its altitude).

Regardless of which word he meant to use, what truly makes Granada a heterotopia, rather than a utopic space, is the reference to its virtuous residents: descendants of the people of Sham, chosen by God to be protected. The hyperbolic description of its perfection, when juxtaposed with its mundane, almost profane characteristics such as "the talk of travelers and companion of nights" creates a dialogic relationship between the reader and Granada as both a sacred and mundane place. This dichotomy is further highlighted in Granada's description in the brief chapter dedicated to Granada's physical appearance at the beginning of the *Lamḥah*. The chapter emphasizes its abundance with all sorts of natural resources, yet it also highlights the perfection of its manmade monuments, as it describes the orderly beauty manifest in its palaces, towers and houses that blind the eye and amaze the mind (14).

The connection between Granada and Damascus grows stronger a few pages later, when Ibn al-Khaṭīb quotes Abu Marwān (a reference to the famed Andalusí historian Ibn Hayyān al-Qurṭubī). After the tensions between the newly settled Syrians and the Berbers in Al-Andalus, the former dispersed across Al-Andalus, away from Cordoba, in an attempt to avoid conflicts. They were ordered to be removed from the proximity of Cordoba by the then-ruler, Abū al-Khattār⁹⁴,

(...) إنزالهم بالكور، على شبه منازلهم التي كانت في كور شامهم، ففعل ذلك على اختيار منهم،
فأنزل جند دمشق كورة إلبيرة (...) فهذه منازل العرب الشاميين (...) فلما رأوا بلداناً شبه بلدانهم
بالشام، نزلوا وسكنوا واغتبطوا وكبروا وتمولوا (Ihāṭah 1: 103)

[...] to be settled in the koras, in the houses similar to those they had in the koras of their Sham. And so it was done with their consent, and the hosts of Damascus settled in the kora of Ilbira (...) and so these are the houses of the Arabs of Sham (...) And when they saw cities like theirs in Sham, they settled, lived, delighted, grew old and made their life there.]

Granada, then, was the *natural* place for the settlers of Damascus since it was already similar to their homeland. They found their lost paradise there, and - when put in the larger context of Ibn al-Khaṭīb's political project - it turns out that Granada had been the new Damascus from the very beginning of the Muslim presence in Iberia. The Umayyads lost their Damascus, and thus the Nasrids should be careful not to lose theirs. This concern for protecting the sacred land of Al-Andalus - here represented by a Damascene Granada - is echoed in a *khuṭba* (a kind of sermon) that Ibn al-Khaṭīb quotes (without

⁹⁴ Abū al-Khattār was the twentieth Umayyad *wāli* of Al-Andalus. See Martínez (2005).

specifying whether the author was him or someone else); one that was read in mosques to call for the protection of Algeciras:

إعلموا رحمكم الله، أن الإسلام بالأندلس، ساكن دار، والجزيرة الخضراء بابه، (...) فمن جهتها
اتصلت في القديم والحديث أسبابه، وتَصَرَّتْه على أعدائه وأعداء الله أحبابه (Ihāṭah 2: 88)

[And know, may God have mercy upon you, that Islam in Al-Andalus is an inhabitant of a home whose door is al-Jazīra al-Khadrā‘. (...) For Islam’s causes were connected to it [Jazīra] both in old times and recent ones, and those who loved it protected Islam from its enemies and the enemies of God.]

The legitimizing discourse argues the superiority of Al-Andalus as a whole, and Granada and al-Jazīra al-Khadrā‘ specifically. This superiority is rooted in *both historic and geographic nostalgia*. In other words, only by bringing the past to the present, and Damascus to Granada, can we comprehend what is at stake: the loss of Islam in Al-Andalus should be avoided at any cost since it would signify losing, once again, the Muslim paradise on Earth.

III.4 On Ibn al-Khaṭīb: Politics, power and resistance

Foucault, in “The Subject and Power”, dismisses reason in analyzing economies of power and instead suggests “taking the forms of resistance against different forms of power as a starting point” (780). He mentions a few examples, such as investigating insanity to understand better what society means by sanity. This, I believe, becomes crucial in understanding Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s controversial works, life, and death. He did not simply challenge the power structures of his own society: he diminished many of them to replace

them with his own views of power, bestowing upon himself the final word on how to define history, politics, and divine love. Thus, we can better understand his work by analyzing his resistance to the established political and cultural system of his time.

When it comes to history, the discussion above illustrates how he, first, defined the field by establishing the superiority of Islamic history to other written genres (and of history-writing to other occupations) by converting it into a divinely-mandated pursuit for all of humanity. In personal terms, in one curious excerpt of his autobiography, we see that he challenges his enemies by reminding them that he was treated like a God. Even though he introduces such treatment in a context of condemnation, we shouldn't be fooled into believing he did not also want the reader to acknowledge and be warned by his power.

Before analyzing the passage in question, it should be mentioned that Ibn al-Khaṭīb's autobiography, which appears at the end of the *Iḥāṭah* followed by what seems to be a selection of what he deemed as his most-worthy works (mostly poetry but also prose), is incredibly detailed. Just to give an idea, the autobiography along with this selection of his texts comprises roughly 15% of the manuscript of the *Iḥāṭah* preserved today in El Escorial. Granada's history, therefore, both literally and literarily reaches its apogee with his autobiography. The passage regarding his "adoration" goes as follows:

وأما ما رفع إليّ من الموضوعات العلمية والوسائل الأدبية، والرسائل الإخوانية، لما أقامني الملك
صنماً يعبد، وجبلاً إليه يُستند، صادرة عن الأعلام، وحملة الأعلام، ورؤساء النثار والنظام، فجَمَّ
يضيق عنه الإحصاء، ويعجز عن نشره الاستقصاء. (*Iḥāṭah* 4: 457)

[As for what has been submitted to me on scientific topics, literary instruments, and brotherly letters, *when the king made me an idol to be*

worshiped, and a mountain on which to rely, from important men, carriers of pens, and heads of fragmented groups and orderly ones: these are numerous [texts] that cannot be counted, and are impossible to be collected through inquiry. (Emphasis mine).]

Besides the evident arrogance in this passage, Ibn al-Khaṭīb is also making a dangerous accusation. He turns the table on dissenters like Imām Nabāhī who, as mentioned, accused him of heresy, by saying that the heretics are their king and themselves for having treated him like a god. As Smith and Watson put it, besides the autobiographical function of history-writing, autobiographers

are also performing several rhetorical acts: justifying their own perceptions, upholding their reputations, *disputing the accounts of others*, *settling scores*, conveying cultural information, and inventing desirable futures, among others. The complexity of autobiographical texts requires reading practices that engage the narrative tropes, sociocultural contexts, *rhetorical aims*, and *narrative shifts* within the historical or chronological trajectory of the text. (13, emphasis mine)

As a politician, perhaps the best example that summarizes Ibn al-Khaṭīb's challenging views of governance is the final text in the preserved manuscript of *Iḥāṭah*: a *maqāma* on politics (a literary genre in which the Arabic rhymed prose known as *saj'* alternates with intervals of poetry in which rhetorical extravagance is conspicuous). In this very peculiar *maqāma*, Ibn al-Khaṭīb takes us back to an imagined court of Hārūn al-Rashīd, the late eighth century art-loving Abbasid Caliph whose luxurious court life led

to many legendary stories about him in popular Islamic culture⁹⁵. One night, al-Rashīd is bored and asks his men to find him a companion to keep him entertained. The man they bring back is an anonymous old man whose art is “wisdom (...) which I’ve turned into my favorite art, and in which I’ve set a comfortable bed” (*Iḥāṭah* 4: 615). This excites al-Rashīd and he proceeds to ask the man to divide politics into different arts. The man, thus, initiates a long discourse in which he explains how a king should govern his people, followed by an elaborate description of the virtues of a good *wazīr*; how to earn the loyalty of the army; how to guarantee laborers happiness and equality; how to properly raise offspring (with implicit hints to al-Rashīd’s own real-life mistakes in inadvertently allowing the rivalry between his two sons, al-Amīn and al-Ma‘mūn⁹⁶); how to protect oneself from servants’ malice; and how to choose female concubines wisely (and to resort to them only when absolutely necessary).

After a moment of silence, he begins another discourse on the moral responsibility of a ruler before moving on to advising al-Rashīd on avoiding the temptations of money, on wisely choosing public and private companions, on securing a good reputation after death, on confiding in God more than any other source of power, on choosing peace over war, and intellectuals over ignoramuses. Finally, the wise man urges al-Rashīd to avoid the risk of disloyalty - given the numerous people observing him - by setting a moral example based on piety, even when (he thinks he is) by himself. When the wise man realizes how late it is, he sings a hypnotizing song that makes everyone fall

⁹⁵ See, for example, Clot’s book on legends involving al-Rashīd in *Arabian Nights* (1989).

⁹⁶ On his two sons’ rule and rivalry, see El-Hibri (1999), especially Chapters 3 and 4.

asleep. When they wake up, the wise man has vanished forever. al-Rashīd then orders his wisdom to be forever remembered by writing it down.

The rhymed prose of the *maqāmat* is a discourse of power. *Maqāmat* are not simply an aesthetic genre whose aim is to entertain and instruct the reader. Rather, in such cases as the *maqāma* in question, the use of rhymed prose subjects the reader to a relationship of imbalanced power with the author: Ibn al-Khaṭīb is confirming his superiority by showing his simultaneous capabilities of following traditional authoritative discourses (such as the ultimate rhymed prose model: the Quran), of manipulating language to discuss his views on just rule and, most importantly perhaps, of turning the form of this specific literary model into a facilitator for transmitting the message, rather than an inhibitor. That is, this particular *maqāma*, even though dealing with complex matters of governance, flows so smoothly that the reader at points almost forgets he is reading rhymed prose. Thus, we are required to be active readers in interpreting a text whose formulaic, familiar structure is deeply intertwined with the message it contains: one of an orderly politico-moral system with a divine backdrop.

Turning back to the content: At first glance, the text seems to offer little more than a typical *speculum principis*. What, then, does this *maqāma* offer that distinguishes it from other similar ones? I would argue that it is the reflection not of the ruler in this mirror, but rather of Ibn al-Khaṭīb himself. This, in a way, could be considered an autobiographical text, intentionally placed as the conclusion of the autobiographical part of *Iḥāṭah*⁹⁷, in which Ibn al-Khaṭīb decided to condense his political experience into an

⁹⁷ In introducing the *maqāma*, Ibn al-Khaṭīb explicitly says that he wants to conclude his work with his opinions on politics (*Iḥāṭah* 4: 614).

exemplary story. The anonymous wise man is a clear alter-ego of Ibn al-Khaṭīb as he enchants the monarch and dominates the court. He respects the king's wish in beginning his discourse with discussing how to rule the king's people, yet as soon as that wish is fulfilled, the first aspect of ruling he turns to is the role of the *wazīr* in the court. This part of the text is significant, for it contains implicit warnings regarding undermining a *wazīr*'s power, highlighted in the citation below:

والوزير الصالح أفضل عددك، وأوصل مددك، فهو الذي يصونك عن الابتذال، ومباشرة الأندال،
ويثب لك على الفرصة، وينوب في تجرع الغصة، واستجلاء القصة، ويستحضر ما نسيته من

أمورك (...) واحذر مصادمة تياره، والتجوز في اختياره . (Iḥāṭah 4: 617-18)

[And a good *wazīr* is your best weapon, and your furthest reaching helper, for he protects you from indecency, and from contacting scoundrels. He jumps on chances for you, swallows distress on your behalf, and clarifies accounts. *He recalls what you have forgotten of your affairs (...) and so avoid clashing with his inclination or choosing him lightly.* (Emphasis mine)]

Ibn al-Khaṭīb, then, does not forget the kings' affairs, and his authority should not be challenged. In this *maqāma*, as in most of his political writings, he depicts a political world that would fall apart were it not for wise advisors like himself. The immediate reason for this is his clear personal interest in protecting his power in a court increasingly hostile to his presence (understandably in part, given his blunt propensity to defame anyone who contradicted him).

Yet if we look beyond this personal aim, we have a better idea of the political turmoil that surrounded Muslim Granada in the days of Ibn al-Khaṭīb: choosing Hārūn al-

Rashīd is no mere literary choice; it is a very politically-charged one. His was a reign marked by contradictory prosperity and decline, politically speaking. He secured some protection for his borders through a well-known amicable relationship with Charlemagne (Clot 97); yet the threat of the Byzantine attacks was always imminent. He tolerated and even encouraged the rise of non-Arab minorities to power; yet it was also during his reign that the Barmakids uprising was crushed (Sawāfirī 30). Finally, he attempted to secure peace after his death by “fairly” dividing his empire between his two sons; yet this only led to confrontations between them after his death. In short, al-Rashīd’s choices had the reputation of being at times uninformed, and could have been avoided had he relied more on loyal counselors rather than a minority (the same Barmakids) with an increasing thirst for power.

Although there is no direct link to Ibn al-Qūṭīyah’s text (other than the fact that he is one of Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s sources on the Muslim conquest), in the context of this dissertation, it is fruitful to observe those two final stories at the end of both manuscripts. In each case, we have an attempt at an authoritative version of history ending with a note of uncertainty and of looming mistakes of the past that should be avoided. Both texts were written at the apogee of power of their respective kingdoms: Ibn al-Qūṭīyah’s during the Caliphate of Cordoba, and Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s during a time of relative (very relative, indeed) peace. Yet both realms had serious threats still looming over their heads. The Cordoban Caliphate remained a fragile state of uncertain future that had just barely overcome decades of *muwalladūn* uprisings; the Nasrid Kingdom, as mentioned above, was founded among losses of most Muslim territories in Iberia and had its share of internal conflicts, not to mention the constant threat posed by the kingdom to which it

paid tribute: Castile. In a sense, then, both authors resorted to history as a warning for their respective contemporary rulers, with Ibn al-Khaṭīb's texts being more explicit about history as a savior for God's followers.

To conclude, Smith and Watson suggest that we treat life narratives "as a moving target, a set of shifting self-referential practices that, in engaging the past, reflect on identity in the present" (1). With Ibn al-Khaṭīb, thanks to his prolific work over several decades, we have the privilege of moving along with this mobile target: one of an historian and politician that never stopped reflecting on his own past, remorseful at times yet mostly defiant, in an attempt to explain better the history of the troubled kingdom in which he served.

III.5 Conclusions

Foucault confirms that "the anxiety of our era has to do fundamentally with space, no doubt a great deal more than with time. Time probably appears to us only as one of the various distributive operations that are possible for the elements that are spread out in space" ("Of Other Spaces" 23). The anxiety of Ibn al-Khaṭīb's era seems to be the inevitable loss of what was conceived as a holy space and place, over time. His confirmation throughout his historical texts that all glories perish is perhaps a way of coming to terms with the dark, ever more real destiny of Al-Andalus. Rather than fighting its disappearance, Ibn al-Khaṭīb tells us to accept it and to thank God for it, for it is the divine way of ruling the Earth: endless cycles of glorious reigns leading gradually to their doom.

This is reminiscent of Judgment Day's anticipation in the common imagination of Muslims: most signs of its approximation are catastrophic. Yet those catastrophes are necessary to finally acquire an infinite life of grace. In fourteenth-century political terms, this would translate into an infinite reputation of virtue in history, which seems to be precisely what Ibn al-Khaṭīb sought, both in his self-fashioning as a loyal advisor and in reminding the monarch of the need for protecting one's future reputation. As a final note, one question remains: what are we to make of Ibn al-Khaṭīb's violent death? Foucault's definition of discourse illuminates some of the murkiness that surrounds it: "the discourse is constituted by the difference between what one could say correctly at one period (according to the rules of grammar and those of logic) and what is actually said" ("History, Discourse" 238). Ibn al-Khaṭīb's attempts to challenge the political discourse of his time were punished through the excuse of his challenge to a much less flexible discourse: that of religion. It is reasonable to believe that Ibn al-Khaṭīb was not murdered solely for heresy; yet heresy was the most straightforward accusation his foes could summon to guarantee his dismissal from the court and, eventually, cause his death. It is not a matter of victimizing Ibn al-Khaṭīb, but rather, of pointing out the on-going difficulty of understanding his resistance to conform to the cultural, political and religious discourses of his time. His foes interpreted his efforts as a threat; we, as twenty-first-century readers, may allow ourselves to reinterpret them as vestiges of the culture of the final days of Al-Andalus: one defined by resistance until the very end.

Indeed, as we will see in the next and final chapter, resistance was visible in the many revolts that took place once Granada fell to the Catholic Monarchs in 1492. The revolts were motivated by increased intolerance towards cultural the manifestations of

Islam and Arabic culture. The measures of the Catholic Monarchs and, later, of the Habsburgs, aimed at forcing *moriscos* to assimilate in a hegemonic Catholic culture heightened the tensions between *moriscos* and Christian authorities, prompting the former to rebel. During this period, which falls between 1492 and their expulsion in 1609, prophecies regarding the future of Islam in Iberia became very common. In Chapter IV, I will look at one of the most well-known ones regarding a Muslim savior figure (who is a counter-point to Santiago Matamoros) that would ultimately help *moriscos* win their fight for survival.

Chapter IV

False Hope and Flawed Sainthood in *Don Quixote*:

al-Khiḍr, al-Mahdī, and The Knight of the Green Coat

IV.1 Introduction

Parody is capable of “reconciling the irreconcilable,” as Alan Deyermond puts it in his discussion of the *Libro de Buen Amor* [*The Book of Good Love*] (117). In Medieval and Early Modern Iberia, parody played a subversive role as it created a space to question constantly all that was sacred or sublime. This is evident in the tension between divine and profane love in Medieval Iberian poetry. It lurks at every turn in a work like *Celestina*, where loyalty is devoured by greed and love is reduced to self-destructive desires. It culminates with Cervantes’ masterpiece *Don Quixote*, where a young, righteous knight-errant is replaced by a dubious aging man with a Sad Figure; where the trustworthy, authoritative narrator is anything but a trustworthy, authoritative narrator; and finally, where the privileged, active life of the nobility is turned into a theater of the grotesque.

This chapter of the dissertation will deal with a Cervantine character who, in my interpretation, is Cervantes’s literary avatar of a reconciliatory figure of extremes and guide to safety from Islamic tradition, who in *Don Quixote* fails to fulfill his original role as conciliator and peacemaker. In *Don Quixote Part II* (1615), an *hidalgo* (a member of the low Christian nobility in Early Modern Spain) named Diego de Miranda is introduced and referred to in the text also as The Knight with the Green Coat. Critics have discussed the possible significance of Don Diego’s character profusely. Whereas some see him as the image of an unachievable dream (Márquez Villanueva 155-234), others consider him

the epitome of the passive hidalgo when compared to Don Quixote (Castro 255-256). Others offer a less pessimistic interpretation of him than Castro's. This is the case with Casalduero, who describes Don Diego's unperturbed lifestyle as a state of serene spirituality (155). Casalduero also presents the possibility that this character represents an ideal Cervantes, while others consider him a possible ideal of both Cervantes and Don Quixote (Pope 207-218). Finally, from a religious perspective, Redondo posits him as a representation of an ideal married Christian (513-533), whereas Murillo highlights his secular piety (153n20). What all the interpretations seem to agree on is that he is, in a way, a mirror of Don Quixote: he is Don Quixote's *doble*, with some critics highlighting his idealness and others, his idleness, but all agreeing on his otherness.

This chapter provides a reading of Don Diego that highlights aspects of both his physical description and his personality that can be related to a Muslim saint, one that was extremely significant among *morisco* communities at the turn of the seventeenth century: al-Khiḍr. My hypothesis is that Cervantes refers specifically to the *morisco* interpretation and adaptation of the saint (where he is associated with the messianic Muslim figure al-Mahdī), not to the Classical Islamic figure. Thus, the image I am proposing is compatible with the one that has been constructed so far in contemporary criticism, within the reconciliatory terms of parody. In my interpretation, Don Diego still offers a critique of the bourgeoisie, yet he also represents the failure of *aljofor*, i.e. a prophecy, that expected al-Khiḍr to come save the last hopes of *moriscos*⁹⁸.

⁹⁸ On *aljofores*, or morisco prophecies that heavily foretold the triumph of Islam over Christian forces, see Luce López Baralt's *Islam in Spanish Literature* (1992), p. 252.

A possible connection between Don Diego and al-Khiḍr was first established in 1990 by Françoise Zmanter, in a paper titled “Lecture Morisque du ‘Caballero del Verde Gaban’ dans Cervantes (II^o Partie. Ch. 16 17 18)” and presented during the IV International Symposium on Morisco Studies, Tunisia. In her paper, Zmanter first explains and interprets the traditional Islamic significance of al-Khiḍr⁹⁹.

“Al Chadir” dont le Dictionnaire des Symboles de P. Seghers nous dit qu'il est le patron des voyageurs et qu'il incarne la providence divine (...) Al Chadir représente la mesure de l'ordre humain; comme tout véritable initiateur il indique le chemin de la vérité sous des apparences parfois absurdes, il disparaît une fois qu'il a rendu service. Ce médiateur qui réconcilie les extrêmes et révèle les paradoxes de l'apparence, assure la marche de l'homme. (345)

[al-Khiḍr, as P. Seghers' Dictionary of Symbols tells us, is the patron of travelers. He reincarnates divine providence (...) al-Khiḍr represents moderation in human order; like all true enlightened people, he indicates the way of truth, often in absurd disguise. He disappears once his job is finished. This mediator, who reconciles the extremes and reveals the paradoxes in appearances guarantees the progress of man.]

Thus, Zmanter's observation explains the expected role of al-Khiḍr as a re-conciliator; yet, as I will seek to demonstrate, in the *morisco* context of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, al-Khiḍr fails to live up to these expectations, as those who claim to be al-Mahdī (the prophesied redeemer of Islam who will rule until the Day of Judgment,

⁹⁹ All translations provided are mine, unless otherwise noted.

who, as we shall see, will be identified with al-Khiḍr among *moriscos*) turn out to be impostors. Returning to Zmanter's paper, she highlights the *morisco*-ness of Don Diego's appearance through his items of clothing, with a special emphasis on the significance of the color green for Islam:

Le symbolisme des couleurs n'est pas universel, et la lecture de la couleur est un fait de culture. La valeur islamique du vert, celle de Cide Hamate Benengeli et de sa culture, est connue de Cervantes et ne doit pas être écartée dans notre hypothèse de lecture. Cervantes dote d'un turban vert un personnage musulman du *Gallardo español*, Nacor qui est un "jarife" c'est à dire un descendant de la race de Mahomet. (347)

[The symbolism of the colors is not universal, and the reading of the color is a cultural deed. The Islamic value of the color green, the value of Cide Hamate [sic] Benengeli and of his culture, is known to Cervantes, and thus should not be discarded in our reading hypothesis. Cervantes gave a Muslim character in his *Gallardo español* a green turban: Nacor, who is a "jarife" which means a descendant of the race of Muhammad.]

Zmanter then provides a detailed interpretation of this greenness in terms of the character, suggesting a complicity between Cide Hamete and the narrator (348) while also acknowledging that Don Diego doubtless falls within a long Western literary tradition where the color green connotes sensuality and concupiscence (350). Zmanter concludes with a hypothesis on what al-Khiḍr might mean if he and Don Diego were indeed one.

S'il est bien Al Chadir, Cervantes signifie que pour ne pas avoir peur de la mort, c'est à dire de la vie, il faut être mortel; que pour pouvoir agir il faut défier la temps et que cela n'est possible que s'il nous est compté, que la refus du combat est aussi un encouragement au combat" (352).

[If he is indeed al-Khiḍr, Cervantes hints that in order not to fear death, that is to say life, one must be mortal; that to be able to proceed, we must defy time and that this is only possible when time is short, that refusing a fight is also an encouragement to fight.]

She suggests the possibility of Cervantes being familiar with al-Khiḍr, speculating whether he learned of him while being imprisoned in Algiers, or whether a certain legend circulated among *moriscos* similar to the popular legend of “Juan de [sic] Espera en Dios” [The Wandering Jew] (353).

Zmanter’s efforts provide a firm basis for a meaningful *morisco* interpretation of Don Diego, as her analysis clarifies why such a reading is plausible. Yet the connection she highlights is incomplete, since her reading of al-Khiḍr does not go beyond Early Islamic legends about him derived from the Quran. This gap is understandable, given the fact that she conducted her research when few studies had discussed the significance of al-Khiḍr among *moriscos*. Hence, I will expand Zmanter’s observations to include more recent investigative efforts relating to al-Khiḍr, al-Mahdī and Cervantes.

I aim to offer some form of closure to the constant struggle between the nostalgic longing of the past and the anxious projection of an obscure future in the history of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia through this, as discussed throughout this dissertation. This closure is dark yet ironic: Cervantes in my reading shows us how the

moriscos' hopes to survive in an increasingly intolerant Spain are brutally crushed as prophecies regarding their most noble awaited hero, the merged figure of al-Mahdī and al-Khidr, turn out to be as false as the *Capitulaciones* of Santa Fé (1491), and the other broken promises by Christians upon the fall of Granada.

In order to achieve this, we must return to the Arabian Peninsula in 609, exactly one thousand years before the *moriscos* were expelled from Spain. Muhammad, now 40 years old, is meditating in *Ghar Hīrā'*, a small cave on the outskirts of present-day Mecca. One day, the Archangel Gabriel appears to him and, after asking him to read three times, with Muhammad insisting that he cannot read, the angel delivers the first verses of the Quran:

اقْرَأْ بِاسْمِ رَبِّكَ الَّذِي خَلَقَ ۝ خَلَقَ الْإِنْسَانَ مِنْ عَلَقٍ ۝ اقْرَأْ وَرَبُّكَ الْأَكْرَمُ ۝
الَّذِي عَلَّمَ بِالْقَلَمِ ۝ عَلَّمَ الْإِنْسَانَ مَا لَمْ يَعْلَمْ

[Read! In the Name of your God, Who created / man from a clot / Read!

And your God is the Most Generous / He Who has taught by the pen /

He Has taught man that which he knew not]¹⁰⁰

The first thing God emphasizes to his neophyte follower is the grace of divine knowledge. The mention of the pen is reminiscent of the role of memory and the transmission of divine knowledge through writing¹⁰¹. All of this is crucial for Islamic

¹⁰⁰ Translation is loosely based on the one provided in the following link:

<http://www.noblequran.com/translation/surah96.html>

¹⁰¹ It should be noted that Luce López-Baralt has compared the “Supreme Pen” of Islamic tradition with the pen of Cervantes, as *Don Quixote Part II* concludes with the pen, hanging by a wire, bragging that the enterprise of writing Don Quixote’s story was reserved for it alone. The article has been translated into English as “The Supreme Pen (Al-Qalam Al-A’la) of Cide Hamete Benengeli in Don Quixote” (2000).

beliefs, and among the different prophets, saints and wise men that appear in the Quran, perhaps the one that most exemplifies the ideal of divine knowledge is al-Khiḍr, the Green One.

Al-Khiḍr appears unnamed in the Quran as Moses' wise travel companion who tries to temper Moses' impatience through a series of events that first appear to be cruel, until al-Khiḍr explains that they have a deeper meaning. For instance, he makes a hole in a ship they were traveling in, then later explains how he did so because he knew of a tyrant who confiscates ships from their owners, only if they are in good condition. Thus, al-Khiḍr ensured their ship had imperfections, so that the hardworking men to whom it belonged could keep their property¹⁰². Indeed, his characterization as a wise travel companion is not completely unique to the Quran: he has also been associated with Alexander the Great, Gilgamesh, and Elijah in Judaism (Donzel 902). Thus, al-Khiḍr, just like Christian saints such as Santiago, is sometimes portrayed riding a horse. Al-Khiḍr as a horseman tends to appear in Islamic texts describing the legends of Alexander the Great, as in the following:

¹⁰² The full narration of the encounter between Moses and Khiḍr can be found between the verses 65-82 of Surat al-Kahf in the Quran. For an English translation, see: <http://noblequran.com/translation/surah18.html>

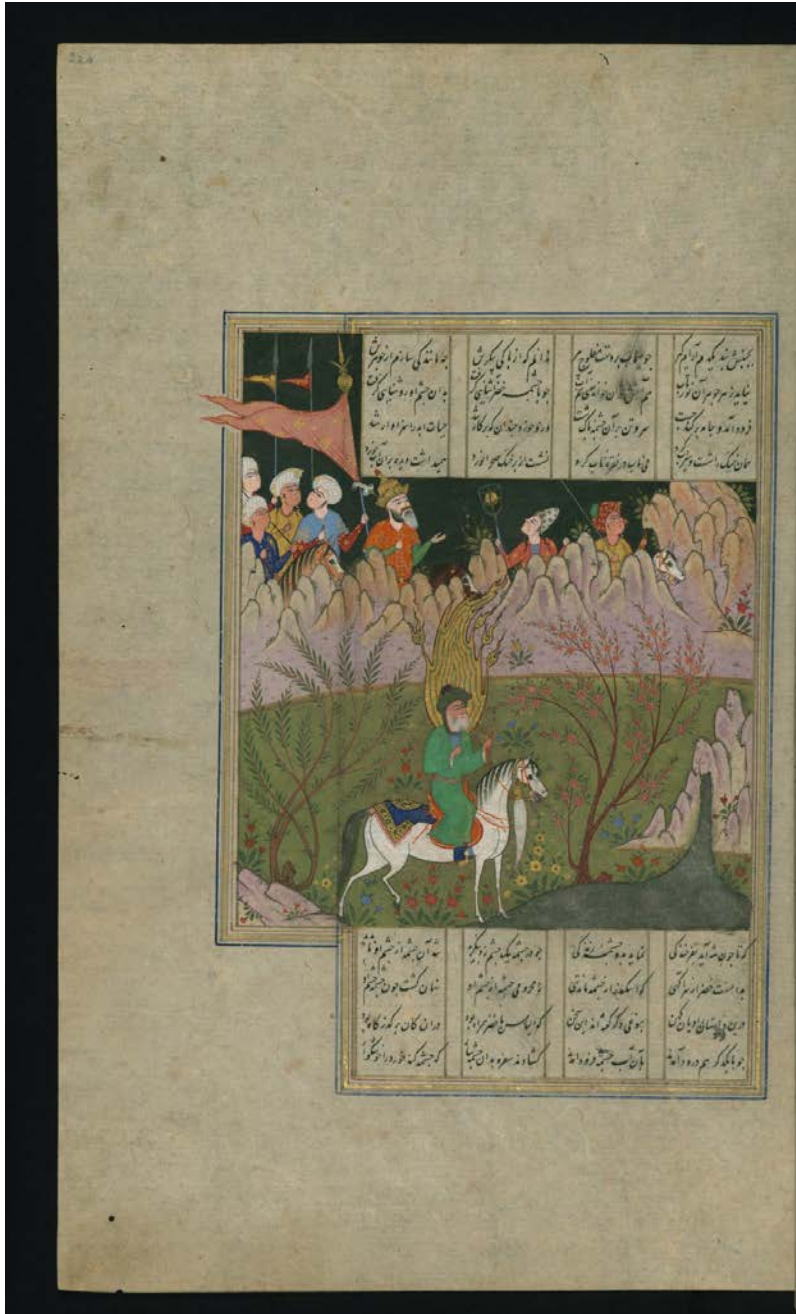


Fig. 1. Alexander the Great and Prophet Khidr in Front of the Fountain of Life

16th century AD, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore. Accession number:

W.610.320A

Source: <http://art.thewalters.org/detail/83608>

Furthermore, al-Khiḍr was never exclusive to Islam: Christians in the Middle East and Eastern Europe, for example, have identified him with Saint George (Dingh 63). One could argue that the association developed from the greenness that is attributed to both al-Khiḍr and Saint George. This greenness, interestingly enough, appears at the beginning of Saint George's description in *the Golden Legend* of Jacobus de Voragine:

“Georgius dicitur a *Geos*, quod est terra, & *Orge*, quod est colere; quasi *Colens terra*, idest, carnem suam.” (202)

[The name George is derived from *geos*, meaning earth, and *orge*, meaning to work; hence one who works the earth, namely, his own flesh¹⁰³.] (238)

On the other hand, the color green is not only a symbol of fertility (and in some contexts, of sexuality, as mentioned earlier) but it is indeed *the* most representative color of Islam, to the point where it was supposedly the color of the cape that Muhammad wore, the one which the caliphs kept exchanging until it arrived at Constantinople, where it is kept today in the Topkapı palace (Penzer 247). Besides Muslims and Christians, al-Khiḍr is identified among Jews of the Middle East as Elijah, and finally, today he is perhaps most significant for a minority known as *durūz* who are considered Muslims but who do not always self-identify as such. He is thus one of a handful of figures whose miraculous attributes are accepted in all three major monotheistic religions of the Middle Ages.

In terms of his physical appearance, necessary for my identification of him in *Don Quixote*, Aubaile-Sallenave explains:

¹⁰³ Translation by William Granger Ryan (1993; 2002).

Il apparait le plus souvent vêtu d'un manteau vert ; on évoque rarement son âge mais souvent sont attitude profondément religieuse et parfois son air resplendissant qui est un attribut de c'est être du lumière, bon par excellence (11).

[He most often appears wearing a green cloak; he rarely mentions his age but often *does* mention his deeply religious attitude, and sometimes his brilliant aura which is an attribute of this being of light, a good man *par excellence*] (11, my emphasis).

He is also identified with fish, which symbolizes his wisdom (Omar 289). Both his green cape and the fish tend to appear in illustrations of him, such as this one:



Fig. 2. Muslim sage al-Khidr as shown in a Mughal era manuscript miniature.

Mid 17th century, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inventory number IS.48:12/A-1956.

Source: <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O85611/painting-unknown/>

However, what is most noteworthy about al-Khiḍr is his extremely ambiguous identity: the place where he meets Moses, his age, his mortality, the actual significance of the fish, and his status as a saint all remain matters of debate¹⁰⁴. His age, for example, is never mentioned in the Quran and is rarely referred to in popular Islamic culture, which supports the idea of his immortality. “The idea of his being eternal is clearly based on his association with ‘the Water of Life’—the reason for his eternal youth” (Singh 69). The place where he meets Moses, the “encounter of the two seas” has been associated with different seas. Ibn Kathīr, the sixteenth century theologian, summarizes two of the most significant theories on the topic:

Qatadah and others say that one of the two waters is the Persian Sea [Indian Ocean] in the east, and the other is the Roman Sea [Mediterranean] in the west. Mhammad b. Ka’b says the meeting place of the two waters is in Tangiers, meaning in the farthest city in the west. (Wheeler 227)

Finally, there remains an on-going debate as to whether he is a saint, a prophet or a wise man with angelic characteristics (Donzel 905).

Of all these ambiguities, I believe it is this last one that made it possible for authors to incorporate his figure into the literature of the Arabo-Islamic world with such thematic seamlessness. The diversity of the representations of al-Khiḍr throughout the Islamic world facilitates his various presentations in the local legends of each area, as highlighted by Aubaille-Sallenave. In fact, the legend of al-Khiḍr has gained such wide

¹⁰⁴ In Islam, the notion of saint is normally expressed using the term *walī* (protector; helper). Veneration of saints in Islam is a controversial topic, especially for ultra-conservative movements such as Salafism.

acceptance that he appears in popular literature from as far east as India and as far west as Iberia. His most persistent characteristic among the different legends is his divine wisdom. Just to mention a few examples, he pioneered the construction of the Hagia Sofia complex in Istanbul (Aubaille-Sallenave 24), while in North Africa he is thought to be the founder initiator of Sufi poetry (Schimmel 105). In fact, the Andalusí Sufi poet Ibn ‘Arabī claims that he has received the *khirqah* – or the cape of initiation into Sufism – directly from al-Khiḍr! (Schimmel 106). Among the *morisco* communities of sixteenth-century Spain, he becomes an appropriation of the Christian legend of Santiago Matamoros.

Before elaborating on his *morisco* interpretation, however, it is worth mentioning that al-Khiḍr had appeared in an even earlier legend in Iberia, one that is less important for this chapter, yet still worth mentioning to establish his deeply-rooted presence in Islamic Iberia. It is one of the Islamic legends concerning the founding of Hispania, one that attempts to explain the name Hispania itself. The version mentioned in *al-Bayān al-Mughrib* of Ibn ‘Idharī follows:

ثم ظهر بإشبيلية إشبان؛ وكان رجلاً ضعيفاً حرّاً؛ فوقف به الخضر - عليه السلام! - وهو يحرث؛ فقال له: (إذا غلبت علي إيلياء، فأرفق بأولاد الأنبياء!) فقال له: (كيف يكون هذا، وأنا ضعيف، من غير بيت ملك؟) . فقال له: (يُقدر ذلك من قدر في عصاك ما قدر!) . فلما نظر إلى . عساه، إذا بها قد أورقت؛ ففزع. وغاب عنه الخضر (٢٠٠)

[Echban lived in Seville, and he was a weak man that plowed the earth.

Al-Khiḍr – may peace be upon him – appeared to him as he was plowing, and he said to him “If you take Jerusalem, be merciful with the sons of the prophets!” Echban asked “How could it be, when I am neither strong nor

of the lineage of kings?” And al-Khiḍr responded “He who has done to your cane what He has done will make it possible!” When Echban looked at his cane, he found it full of green leaves, which frightened him. Then al-Khiḍr disappeared.]

Last but not least, the *morisco* Mancebo of Arévalo, portrays al-Khiḍr in one of his *aljamiado* texts as a fictional character. Wilnomy Pérez studies the Mancebo’s treatment of al-Khiḍr in an article concerning one of the Mancebo’s unpublished texts. In it, the Muslim saint has three mysterious dreams. Pérez summarizes the narrative as follows:

Inesperadamente el joven abulense [el Mancebo] nos comienza a describir con detalles minuciosos y sorprendentes el sueño de al-Jadir. Comienza por decirnos que al-Jadir vio dos visiones de claridad en el aire y cada una señalaba tres ramos de luz. Imagen que nos cautiva y a la vez nos intriga, y al parecer esta sensación no nos es exclusiva ya que a al-Jadir le sucede algo parecido, pues el Mancebo nos comparte que éste pasó en esa "sobelansa" (acción de velar algo, proteger, acción de cuidar algo con mimo) toda la noche. (7)

[All of a sudden, the young man from Ávila [el Mancebo] starts to describe with minute and surprising detail the dream of al-Khiḍr. He starts by telling us that al-Khiḍr had seen two clear visions in the air, each signaling three branches of light. It is an image that at once captivates and intrigues us. It seems that this feeling is not exclusive to us, since something similar happens to al-Khiḍr, for the Mancebo shares with us

that Khidr spent the entire night in this “sobelansa” (to hide something, to protect, to take great care of something)]

Even though the events of the story themselves are not immediately relevant to the present study, the idea that sixteenth-century Castilian authors other than Cervantes have also depicted al-Khidr in their narratives can help us document his presence and better understand his significance in Early Modern Iberia. Furthermore, Mancebo’s text confirms that

“la figura de al-Jadir está muy vinculada al tema de los sueños y las visiones, y comienza a parecernos cada vez más lógico que sea el protagonista en el relato del Mancebo” (Pérez 10).

[the figure of al-Khidr is closely linked to the subject of dreams and visions, and we gradually realize it is logical for him to be the protagonist of the Mancebo’s story].

His association with marvelous visions can also be a factor to take into account when considering the possibility of Cervantes including al-Khidr in his masterpiece.

IV.2 al-Khidr and Al-Mahdī in *morisco* prophecies

Now let us focus on a more recent legend in Iberia. The *moriscos* of the sixteenth century appropriated the legend of Santiago and adapted it to a Muslim prophecy in which al-Khidr reflected the attributes of the Christian saint. The legend has been studied extensively by Marya Green-Mercado in her article “The Mahdi in Valencia: Messianism, Apocalypticism and Morisco Rebellions in Late Sixteenth-Century Spain.” What is most peculiar about the case of the legend of al-Khidr among the *moriscos* is that

in Iberia the figure of al-Khiḍr overlaps with another important Islamic religious personage: al-Mahdī. Al-Mahdī is, as noted, "a figure many Muslims believe will appear at the end of time to restore righteousness briefly - over the span of a few years - before the end of the world, The Day of Judgment" (*Encyclopedia of Islam*, 316). In addition, al-Mahdī was thought to be a descendant of Muhammad through his daughter Fāṭima (which explains why the terms Mahdī and Fāṭimī are often interchangeable). He was supposed to appear anonymously after years of persecution and injustice against Muslims. Because of his anonymity, numerous men have claimed to be al-Mahdī throughout history. One notable example in Spain, according to Green-Mercado, was a man who in 1575 claiming to be al-Mahdī recruited *moriscos* of Valencia for an insurrection. Inquisitorial records cite testimonies of accused subjects who reference this man's actions (Green-Mercado 204).

How did al-Khiḍr and al-Mahdī overlap? Green-Mercado offers the following explanation: "the figure of the green knight, *caballero verde*, who, mounted on a horse, would come to fight the final apocalyptic battle on behalf of the Moriscos, can be identified as the sage of Islamic tradition known as al-Khiḍr" (Green-Mercado 207). Green-Mercado also draws our attention to the fact that Iversen identified similarities between this *morisco* legend and that of Santiago Matamoros in his analysis of a poem by Gaspar Aguilar (305-310). This will not be, however, the first time that the *moriscos'* historical narrative would parallel the legend of Santiago. The saint had already been adumbrated by Ali, Muhammad's cousin, in quasi- "chivalric novels" *a la morisca*, according to Galmés de Fuentes. The author explains that these novels are, stylistically at least, influenced by famous European legends, among which he identifies those of

Roland and Amadís de Gaula (14). To conclude, in the *morisco* context of the sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries, the “redeemer” and “saintly” figures merged to become a unified symbol of hope. Al-Khiḍr and al-Mahdī represented the possibility of a recovery of the past and of divine mercy when it was most needed.

Al-Khiḍr, then, takes on in Spain a far more practical role than perhaps in any other Islamic context: his divine wisdom would transform into a divine mission to save the *moriscos*. This explains how the legend of the *moro* al-Fāṭimī comes to exist. Louis Cardaillac has a brief, yet significant article in which he explains how Old Christians and *moriscos* used a similar rhetoric to prophesize the appearance of

(...) an exceptional being that would lead the momentum of the people towards final victory. There is a common, underlying expectation of the destruction of a world that would give birth, after a good amount of turbulence, to general salvation. There is a Muslim universalism that corresponds to the Christian one. (145)

We have witnessed this underlying expectation of destruction throughout the dissertation, with varying interpretations. At Ibn al-Qūṭīyah’s time it functioned as a warning regarding the future, whereas in Alfonso’s *Estoria* it justified the parallelism he would craft between Castile’s history and the universal Christian master narrative. Ibn al-Khaṭīb used the expectation to elevate Granada’s place among Muslim cities, urging other Muslims to help protect it. Finally, at the turn of the seventeenth century, the expectation of destruction made it urgent for *moriscos* to resort to Islamic legends to maintain hopes that God would help them survive among ever-growing hostility towards their religious and cultural practices. Cardaillac refers to two texts from 1612 and 1613 that were

written by Aznar Cardona and Marcos de Guadalajara, respectively, on the “justified” expulsion of the *moriscos*. In both texts, we have the mention of the *morisco* prophecy of al-Fatimī who will come on his green horse to save the Muslims from Christians. What this means is that the legend was anything but unknown among both Muslims and Christians in Early Modern Iberia.

To be sure, there is a toponym that commemorates the expectation of the appearance of al-Fatimī in the Valle de Laguar, one of the scenes of *morisco* resistance to their expulsion from the Kingdom of Valencia (1609). Today the small mountain range there is called the sierra del Peñón. However, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it was referred to locally by its Valencian appellation: the Serra del Cavall Vert [*sierra of the Green Horse*]. The name comes from an episode of the expulsion that is detailed by Gaspar Escolano’s 1611 history of Valencia. According to him, one Muslim *alfaquí*, or jurist, convinced a few thousand desperate *moriscos* of Valencia that on that mountain a green horse will come save them from Christians. There, they died a few days later of starvation (823).

The “prophecy” evokes an earlier legend where al-Fāṭimī, centuries before, had supposedly fallen off and got buried with his green horse while fighting against James the Conqueror. There, in that very same valley, he would one day resurrect with his horse to fight against the Christians should they dare step into the valley again (Muñoz Lorente 171-72.) This anecdote serves as yet another indication of how pervasive the legend must have been among the local *moriscos*. So, there is clearly more than one concrete source in Spanish where Cervantes could have been informed of the existence of the legend. In fact, in a recent article, E. Michael Gerli shows how prolific apocalyptic prophecies had

become in Spain by the early seventeenth century, how they were exploited by both *moriscos* and Christians, and how Cervantes had access to this tradition which was manifest in his *Persiles*, published posthumously yet written simultaneously with *Don Quixote Part II* (“Xadraque” 268-69).

IV.3 Al-Khidr’s “cameo role” in *Don Quixote*

If we consider the significance of this character as a sort of Muslim Santiago in seventeenth-century Spain, along with his identification with the prophesied al-Mahdī al-Fatimī, we may begin to understand how he could have been of interest to Cervantes. The legend of the knight on a green horse coming to save *moriscos* was well known among Spanish intellectuals, due to the proliferation of texts like the ones previously mentioned. Furthermore, Cervantes was captive in Algeria for five years, he was at times also deployed to Tunisia, and he clearly took an interest in Islamic culture, as demonstrated by characters such as Cide Hamete, Zoraida, Ricote and Ana Felix, only to name a few examples. Lastly, recent criticism has highlighted the prominence of *morisco* culture in various Cervantine works. Perhaps the best example is Carroll B. Johnson’s most recent work, published posthumously, regarding Cervantes and the *moriscos*. In chapter four of his book, as Johnson explores the connotations of the word “Quijote”, he comes to the following conclusion:

If we read the *Quijote* in terms of that dialectical opposition [of cultural identity in a conflicted society] (...) then maybe we need to reconsider a number of suppositions (...) Maybe Don Quijote’s failed efforts at combat and physical dominance are not examples of a deviant individual’s

inability to measure up to certain ideals, but an interrogation of the validity of the ideals. (237-238)

I would like to broaden Johnson's hypothesis to include Don Diego's episode in *Don Quixote Part II*. As shall be seen, I propose that Don Diego is a false Khidr: he is not a *morisco*-saint, he is merely a *morisco*; a crypto-Muslim at most. This coincides with what happened during the final years of the *morisco* presence in Spain: numerous men claimed to be the long-awaited saint. Yet in Cervantes' text he is also portrayed as an *hidalgo*, a member of the lower Christian nobility. Therefore, his character questions two ideals present in Early Modern Iberia: those of the Christian nobility, and those of the last *moriscos*. I will be focusing on the latter, given that scholarship on the former (Don Diego as an *hidalgo*) abounds. If my reading is justified, it shows that Cervantes did not only capture the *moriscos*' hopes but also their deep deception in his portrayal of Don Diego.

And so, where lies the connection? Let us start with the title of the chapter¹⁰⁵. *De lo que sucedió a Don Quijote con un discreto caballero de la Mancha* (Murillo 147). [Regarding what befell Don Quixote with a prudent knight of La Mancha] (Grossman, 550). Don Diego exhibits prudence when he, unlike many other characters, cannot decide whether Don Quixote is crazy or sane. Now let us not forget that almost nothing in *Don Quixote* is arbitrary, which is why the exact moment The Green Knight is introduced is significant: The episode begins with a euphoric Don Quixote rejoicing over his false triumph against a false enemy who is, in fact, his *neighbor*, followed immediately by a

¹⁰⁵ For the Spanish version of *Don Quixote*, I use Andrés Murillo's 2010 edition. For the English version, I use Edith Grossman's 2003 translation.

discussion of the false appearance of the *Knight of the Mirrors* and Tomé Cecial, when they are interrupted by the apparition of the Green Knight. In other words, the context is one of falseness and deceiving appearances. Now let us note the physical description of this Green Knight:

En estas razones estaban, cuando los alcanzó un hombre que detrás dellos por el mismo camino venía sobre una muy hermosa yegua tordilla, vestido un gabán de paño fino verde, jironado de terciopelo leonado, con una montera del mismo terciopelo; el aderezo de la yegua era de campo y de la jineta, asimismo de morado y verde; traía un alfanje morisco pendiente de un ancho tahalí de verde y oro, y los borceguíes eran de la labor del tahalí; las espuelas no eran doradas, sino dadas con un barniz verde, tan tersas y bruñidas, que, por hacer labor con todo el vestido, parecían mejor que si fuera de oro puro. (Murillo 149-150)

[They were engaged in this conversation when they were overtaken by a man riding behind them on the same road, mounted on a very beautiful dapple mare and wearing a coat of fine green cloth trimmed with tawny velvet and a cap made of the same velvet; the mare's trappings, in the rustic style and with a short stirrup, were also purple and green. He wore a Moorish scimitar hanging from a wide green and gold swordbelt, an his half boots matched his swordbelt; his spurs were not gilt but touched with a green varnish, so glossy and polished that, since they matched the rest of his clothing, they looked better than if they had been made of pure gold.] (Grossman, 551-552)

Fernández-Morera captures the impressiveness of this scene:

He appears to him as a figure dressed in green, whose essential quality, at this point, is that "*greenness*" that gives him his name; who lets himself be known and perceived as a pure and simple *spatio-temporal thing* (...) He is there, a few feet away, mounted and armed, and in general *a stunning charismatic sight*. (128, emphasis mine)

It should be noted that Cervantes's diction stresses stylistically the *morisco* elements of Don Diego's appearance by redoubling it through the use of words of Arabic origin after the mention of the Moorish scimitar (*tahalí, borceguí*, etc.).

Indeed, this stunning sight is reminiscent of many literary depictions of Moorish knights in Early Modern Iberia. One significant example is a popular book from sixteenth-century Spain, which appeared in 1595: *Guerras Civiles de Granada [The Civil Wars of Granada]*. In the following excerpt, the narration pauses before a joust between the knight Musa and the Master of Calatrava in order to call attention to Musa's physical appearance¹⁰⁶:

Llevaba el bravo moro su cuerpo bien guarnecido, sobre un jubón de armas una muy fina cota, que llaman jacerina, y encima una coraza fuerte aforrada en terciopelo verde, y sobre ella una rica marlota del mismo terciopelo labrada con oro, por ella sembradas muchas DD de oro, hechas en arábigo. Esta letra llevaba el moro por ser principio del nombre de Daraja, á quien él tanto amaba. El bonete era verde con ramos de oro labrados, y lazadas con las mismas DD. Llevaba una adarga hecha en Fez,

¹⁰⁶ Translation by Thomas Rodd (1803).

y atravesado por ella un listón verde, y en el medio una cifra: y era una mano de una doncella, que apretaba en ella un corazón, del que salían gotas de sangre, con una letra que decía: *Mas merece*. (17)

[Beneath his jacket he wore a coat of mail, adorned with a breast plate lined with green velvet; his jacket was also of the same velvet wrought with gold, and the Arabic letter D, the initial of Daraxa's name, embroidered thick upon it. His cap was green, interwoven with sprigs of Gold, and fastened with a knot, decorated with the same letter. His shield, made in Fez, was bound by green ribbon, and in the center was seen the hand of a damsel grasping a bleeding heart, with this motto, "she merits more."] (39)

It is clear that both Cervantes' description and that of Pérez de Hita stress the charismatic physical appearance of *morisco* knights highlighted by the color green. It is possible that Cervantes was inspired by this very description since he knew the *Civil Wars*, published twenty years before the second part of *Don Quixote*.

Yet what I believe most compellingly confirms the possibility of Don Diego being a *morisco* is his own self-description: he never mentions Jesus, but he does mention God and the Virgin, highlighting elements of Marianism typical of *moriscos*, which has already been shown by Francisco Rico.

Las posibilidades de interpretación de la figura del Caballero del Verde Gabán son muchas y aun conflictivas entre sí: las matizaciones –oír misa cada día, la mención de la devoción a la Virgen, no citar a ningún Santo ni

a Jesús–, unido al vestido que llevaba, incluso podrían aproximarle al comportamiento de los moriscos conversos. (Murillo, n42)

[The possibilities of interpreting the figure of the Knight of Green Cape are numerous and contradictory: the clarifications – going to mass every day, the mention of the devotion to the Virgin, lack of any mention of Saints or Jesus – together with the clothes he wore, could even approximate him to the behavior of converted *moriscos*.]

It is well known that the figure of the Virgin has always been venerated among Muslims, to such a point that she is the only woman whose name, Maryam, is the title of sura 19, one of the 114 suras, or chapters, of the Quran.¹⁰⁷ During the time of religious tensions between *moriscos* and Old Christians in the sixteenth century, the forcibly converted appealed to the figure of the Virgin to reduce the widening gap between the two groups, and perhaps also as an attempt to attenuate the stigma of being a New Christian. The famous case of the Lead Books of Sacromonte provides the best example of this¹⁰⁸. The forged lead books, “discovered” in the late sixteenth century, represented a less bellicose aspect of *morisco*’s resistance. The authors attempted to rewrite the early history of Christianity, through the figure of the Virgin Mary, to create the illusion that Christians who spoke pre-Islamic Arabic were among the first to settle in Iberia, particularly in

¹⁰⁷ For a complete list of the titles of the Quran, with their suras, see <http://www.arabicbible.com/for-christians/quran/1375-list-of-suras-in-the-quran.html>.

¹⁰⁸ The original books remain inaccessible for researchers as discussing them has been forbidden by the Church since 1682, yet parts of them have been transcribed. For example, L. P. Harvey’s *Muslims in Spain, 1500-1604* (2005) includes a full translation of one of the texts in Appendix III, pp. 384-398.

Granada. Yet the books, just like the uprisings, proved insufficient to save *moriscos* from expulsion.

Returning to Cervantes, the saintly image Don Diego presents is so convincing that it fools Sancho, who goes on to kiss his feet believing he is a saint. As Sancho kisses Don Diego's feet, the latter asks him why he does so, to which Sancho responds "me parece vuesa merced el primer *santo a la jineta* que he visto en todos los días de mi vida" (154). [I think your grace is the first saint with short stirrups that I've ever seen in my life] (555). Let us not forget that, as Redondo clarifies, *cabalagar a la jineta* is associated with Moorish culture and the Arabic origins of the short-stirrup saddle (515). However, Don Diego's appearance does not fool Don Quixote, who laughs at Sancho's gullibility. This establishes perspective in reading Don Diego: his saintly appearance and self-fashioning is captivating if taken at face value, yet Don Quixote's laughter cautions us to be wary: he is not who he seems to be. It also underscores Sancho's naïveté.

Don Diego's *morisco* identity is highlighted when we reach his house. According to David Quint, his house reflects the hospitality of the *hidalgo*: "His house invites the outside community, neighbors and friends, into it, and Don Quijote and Sancho are themselves the beneficiaries of his hospitality. And, however modestly, he does good in the world, which is more than can be said thus far for Don Quijote" (111). However, what stands out in the paragraphs to come in Don Diego's episode is *silence*. This silence is manifest in different ways in the episode. The first time it is evoked indirectly by the narrator by stating that the *morisco* translator of *Don Quixote* passed over in silence many of the details in the description offered by Cide Hamete, which he found impertinent.

That is, the *morisco* is acting as the editor of Cide Hamete's text, silencing those parts which he deemed are excessive and do not pertain to rendering the truth of the episode:

Aquí pinta el autor todas las circunstancias de la casa de don Diego, pintándonos en ellas lo que contiene una casa de un caballero labrador y rico; pero al traductor desta historia le pareció pasar estas y otras semejantes menudencias en silencio, porque no venían bien con el propósito principal de la historia; la cual más tiene su fuerza en la verdad que en las frías digresiones. (Murillo 169)

[Here the author depicts all the details of Don Diego's house, portraying for us what the house of a wealthy gentleman farmer contains, but the translator of this history decided to pass over these and other similar minutiae in silence, because they did not accord with the principal purpose of the history, whose strength lies more in its truth than in cold digressions.] (Grossman 568).

The text thus invokes the *morisco* translator's censoring of certain *marginal* aspects of the story to focus on the "truth." Regardless of whether this silence has to do with Don Diego's identity or not, as Cervantes readers, it is likely safe to assume that this paragraph is, to say the least, ironic. We have learned time and again that the text is replete with silences and dubious truths, as the novel itself tells us in Chapter IX of the second part.

The second allusion to silence in Don Diego's episode is far more explicit, and it concerns his household:

Fuéronse a comer, y la comida fue tal como don Diego había dicho en el camino que la solía dar a sus convidados: limpia abundante y sabrosa; pero de lo que más se contentó don Quijote fue del maravilloso silencio que en toda la casa había, que semejaba un monasterio de cartujos. (173)

[They went in to eat, and the meal was just the kind that Don Diego had declared on the road the he usually provided for his guests: pure, abundant, and delicious; but what pleased Don Quixote the most was the marvelous silence that reigned throughout the house, which seemed like a Cartusian monastery.] (Grossman 571).

We can now perceive that something is surely awry, and my suggestion is that it is the true identity of Don Diego and his family¹⁰⁹. I base my assumption on an article by Louis Cardaillac in which he analyzes the relations between *moriscos* and Old Christians. Here, silence is identified as a characteristic of the *convivencia* between the two groups:

“Para los moriscos, la primera regla de su vida en común con los cristianos es, pues, *la ley del silencio*: hablar demasiado, haber manifestado adhesión al Islam o crítica de los cristianos, conduce a menudo a la Inquisición”

(28).

[For the *moriscos*, the first rule of living side by side with Christians is *the law of silence*: talking too much, showing adherence to Islam or criticism of Christians can often lead to the Inquisition. (Emphasis mine)]

¹⁰⁹ It also echoes the silence of the Escudero’s house in Toledo in the anonymous novella *Lazarillo de Tormes* (1554), compared to the silence of a tomb. It is clear that the Escudero is a *converso*.

Perhaps this partially explains Don Diego's preoccupation with his son's desire to be a poet: he doesn't want him to speak too much. His son is also reluctant to study theology or law. Another worthwhile observation is that Don Diego and his son do not acknowledge chivalric romances, understandably so, given the fact that those romances clearly cleaved toward Christian ideology. In addition, even the fact that Don Diego had wine and a wine cellar at his home does not necessarily indicate that he is an Old Christian since, according to Cardaillac,

“Algunos moriscos tienen viñas y las cultivan para demostrar que son buenos cristianos” (Cardaillac 33).

[Some *moriscos* have vineyards and they cultivate them to demonstrate that they are good Christians.]

Finally, the gloss the son recites for Don Quixote includes a peculiar section which can be interpreted as the *morisco* longing for a lost glorious past:

Cosas imposibles pido,
 Pues volver el tiempo a ser
 después que una vez ha sido,
 no hay en la tierra poder
 que a tanto se haya estendido.
 Corre el tiempo, vuela y va
 ligero, y no volverá,
 y erraría el que pidiese,
 o que el tiempo ya se fuese
o volviese el tiempo ya. (Murillo 174).

[What I ask is the impossible,
 for there is no force on earth
 that has the power to turn
 back time that has passed us by,
 to bring back what once was ours.
 Time races, it flies, it charges
 past, and will never return,
 and only a fool would beg
 a halt, or if the time would pass,
 or if at last the time would come.] (Grossman 572-73)

This longing for times past echoes *moriscos'* hopes for restoring their glory in Spain, a topic one could find in many of their *aljofores*¹¹⁰. Yet the young man's poem also echoes the *moriscos'* dark reality as it announces the impossibility of such past to return.

It is clear that the examples I have drawn must enter into consideration when seeking to determine the nature of Don Diego's identity. They appear to point to several significant analogies between the depiction of Don Diego and al-Khiḍr. I believe that the ambivalence of the character in various religious traditions, along with the explanations provided, illustrate a more nuanced understanding of Don Diego's character: he could be an allusion to the *morisco* prophecy about the saint-knight al-Khiḍr. However, in all this for various reasons Cervantes appears to depict the *failure* of al-Khiḍr rather than al-Khiḍr himself. First of all, Don Diego appears a little too late in the narrative. We know from the episode of Ricote, the *morisco* character who returns in disguise to Spain, that

¹¹⁰ For an example of these prophecies, see Luce-López Baralt (1992), pp. 253

Don Quixote Part II is supposed to take place after the expulsion of the *moriscos* in 1609. There is also evident falseness about Don Diego: for example, whereas Musa in *The Civil Wars of Granada* wears real gold, Don Diego wears imitation gold, and Cervantes' comment on gold surely forms part of the ironic discourse that is overwhelmingly present in this episode. For instance, just a few sentences before Don Diego is introduced, Don Quixote states that "Todo es artificio y traza" (149). [Everything is artifice and mere appearance] (551). Finally, Don Diego is a coward, an idle nobleman and only the simulacrum of a saint, since were he the genuine personage, his duty according to *morisco* prophecies would be to fight alongside Muslims against their Christian oppressors. Yet here we see him hiding from the King's lion, in a way that recalls the *Infantes de Carrión* in the contemporary ballads of *El Cid*.

A closer look at Don Diego's comportment in the episode with the King's lion sheds light on his dual, cross-cultural identity. First, since ancient times, the taming of the lion has been associated with the hero/savior. This is the case with *Gilgamesh*, as can be seen in the following well-known Sumerian depiction:



Fig. 3 Gilgamesh mastering a lion.

713–706 BCE. Louvre Museum, Paris. Accession number: AO 19862

Source:[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Epic_of_Gilgamesh#/media/File:Hero_lion](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Epic_of_Gilgamesh#/media/File:Hero_lion_Dur-Sharrukin_Louvre_AO19862.jpg)

[Dur-Sharrukin Louvre AO19862.jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Epic_of_Gilgamesh#/media/File:Hero_lion_Dur-Sharrukin_Louvre_AO19862.jpg)

Although such ancient depictions remained unknown until the nineteenth-century excavations in Khorsabad (Bohrer 341), the legend, its influence, and variations on it have always existed. Elements of the legend have survived indirectly through *Gilgamesh's* impact on The Old Testament, the *Illiad*, the *Arabian Nights*, just to name a few examples¹¹¹. Closer to home, the episode in *Don Quixote* probably reflects taming of the lion as part of the mentioned heroic tradition of *El Cid*, as depicted in late sixteenth-century ballads like the ones on the *Infantes de Carrión*. The point to be made here is that the idea of the human conquest of a wild beast, especially a lion, has always been associated with heroism in the collective imagination of the Mediterranean¹¹². That is why, at this moment of the novel, one where Cervantes prolongs the suspense by making us wait before finally opening the cage, we witness a hero about to demonstrate his heroism by conquering the lion.

At the same time, there is the prudent *hidalgo* trying to persuade him to abandon such an idea. We see here both Don Quixote's impetus as well as Don Diego's caution put to practice in a reenactment of al-Khidr's interaction with heroes. The events take us back to the essence of the encounters with al-Khidr: a traveling companion who offers shrewd advice – to Moses in the Quran and to Alexander the Great in other legends. In a popular legend from Iran, for instance, “Khidir preaches true religion and in his encounter with Iskandar [i.e., Alexander] teaches the proud ruler humility and brings him back to the path of Islam” (Fang Ng 300). In our case, Don Diego attempts to bring Don

¹¹¹ For a more complete list, see Ziolkowski's *Gilgamesh Among Us* (2011), pp. 8.

¹¹² The influence of animal slaughter episodes in *Gilgamesh* has reached such an extent that Jared Christman coined the term “Gilgamesh Complex” to encompass a wide range of desires underlying zoocidal human behaviors (2008).

Quixote back to the path of rationality. As expected, however, Don Quixote pays little heed to the thoughtful words of the *hidalgo*. This clearly is a sign of Don Quixote's stubbornness, yet it also reveals Don Diego's inefficacy. For Don Quixote is not a lost cause: he, for instance, listens to the lion keeper when the latter convinces him that he has proved his heroism by the mere act of challenging his opponent, the lion. Thus, the figure of the heroic knight, capable of conquering the unconquerable, is demystified and ridiculed once again, while the inefficiency of Don Diego's wisdom and prudence in persuading his travel companion are confirmed for the readers.

IV. 4 Conclusions

This duality in Don Diego's characterization is the focal point of my reading: Cervantes was capable of creating in Don Diego a character that may be seen simultaneously as an Old Christian, as Don Diego himself tries to tell us, as well as a *morisco*, as his physical appearance, his relaxed attitude towards religion and the silence reigning in his home indicate. By creating a character who carefully defines his religiosity in his own words, what is revealed is a flexible identity that will depend on the expectations of the reader in Cervantes' time. That is, if an Old Christian were to read *Don Quixote*, the last name "Miranda", alongside the words "mass", "Our Lady" and "wine" would confirm Don Diego as an Old Christian constituent of the low nobility. On the other hand, a *morisco* reader or one familiar with *morisco* culture and beliefs of the early seventeenth century, especially when heightened with anxieties about the Expulsion, could easily identify elements of both al-Khiḍr and *morisco* society in expressions such as "the Green", "farmer", "a Morisco alfanje" and "fishing."

Hence, when reading Don Diego, perspectivism, religious ambivalence, as well as the genuineness of what is represented are all at stake. Don Diego's character offers a critique of the bourgeoisie with his passive spirituality and cowardice, yet this passivity, when extended to the Muslim saint in question, announces his falseness: instead of saving *moriscos*, he prefers to lounge with his family and worry only about the perils of his son becoming a poet. Undoubtedly, *Don Quixote* is a novel about encounters: picaresque meets chivalric romance, aristocracy meets common people, pastoral life meets that of knights, etc. In this vein, the episode of the Green Knight exposes one more encounter: a failed religious ideal, represented by Don Diego, who faces a dying moral ideal, represented by Don Quixote. In theory, both models are possible. In practice, however, both *hidalgos* are obliged to conform to the context of seventeenth-century Spain; one that did not tolerate ambiguity on socio-religious frontiers.

To conclude, it is important to recall "the difficulties of relating literature to reality" as MacKay eloquently advises in his discussion of the problematic of historicism (83). I believe that Cervantes does not depict a reality in Don Quixote's encounter with the Man of the Green Cloak, but rather what he perceived to be false hopes of survival in the collective *morisco* imagination of the early seventeenth century, at the moment the *morisco* community of Spain grappled with the Expulsion. Don Diego is an idle nobleman and a hollow saint. Don Quixote recognizes this deceptiveness when he laughs at Sancho's veneration of Don Diego. He is but an image with no substance, a false idol empty of piety. Cervantes, then, fails to portray the Muslim saint, preferring to represent his false *morisco* counterpart who survived only in the vain hopes of salvation among the *moriscos* during their final years in Spain.

Conclusion

I have traced down one path of the evolution of Islamic Medieval Iberia, as imagined by four polymaths from the tenth century up to the early seventeenth century. In the context of the Iberian history of the Middle Ages, my research has emphasized the necessity of analyzing underlying discourses of power in written narratives that tackled the problematic role of Islam in the collective imagination of Medieval Iberian societies. Each of the four authors I chose had his own claims for power over the historical discourse of his corresponding imagined community and sought to exercise that power by writing his own version of Iberia's history. Ibn al-Qūṭīyah wrote at the apogee of power of the Umayyads of Al-Andalus, which allowed him to claim the authority to reinterpret the expansion of Islam in the West by focusing on local actors that shaped the first two centuries of Islamic presence in Iberia, without fear of losing his credibility. He achieved that reinterpretation explicitly through his reintroduction of the Visigoths as important players in the political scene of eighth-century Al-Andalus. Yet he also implicitly questioned the traditional chronology of Islam's expansion by relying on the newly founded Umayyad Caliphate to exclude the Abbasids from the narrative. This is because the continuation he created between Damascus and Cordoba through the Umayyads and Visigoths left Baghdad completely out of the picture.

Alfonso's claims for power over the historical discourse of Medieval Iberia stemmed from his own efforts to become an all-encompassing ruler and scholar rather than relying solely on the authority of the throne he inherited. This is clearly reflected in his cognomen that we still use today, The Wise. His treatment of Islam confirms his astuteness, for his objectives of approximating Spain to the rest of Europe through the

exclusion of Islam from Spain's future were ultimately "successful," even if the fruits of his efforts were harvested many years after his death. My analysis of his *Estoria* has shown how, even though he relied on a clear textual source for an ideologically-compromised history of Islam (Archbishop Jiménez de Rada's writings), he increased the legitimacy of this imagined history in three ways. First, he gave it royal authority by including it in his own version of the history of Spain. Second, he juxtaposed it with the history of the Visigoths to highlight the contrast between the "legitimate" rulers of Spain, the descendants of the noble Romans, and the "illegitimate" invaders, the followers of a schismatic, false prophet. Third, and most importantly, his text was written in Castilian (whereas Jiménez de Rada wrote in Latin) thus appropriating this rewriting of the history of Islam to his own domain of power *par excellence*: the vernacular.

Ibn al-Khaṭīb took advantage of his powerful political position as supreme advisor to claim authority over the history of Al-Andalus, with Granada as a metonym for the latter. He, like the previous two historians, resorted to divine authority to claim his legitimacy, yet he took this claim to a whole new level: he transformed the writing of history into the ultimate aim of humanity and the means by which God found it best to divulge and to preserve the mandates of Islam. This translated into Ibn al-Khaṭīb taking the liberty to create a discourse of historical superiority for Granada, by connecting its landscape to the East, especially that of Damascus, and its people to the inhabitants of Sham, especially those of Damascus as well. Contemporary nostalgic views of Al-Andalus are thus already visible in his poetic writing of Granada's history. Outside of history, however, he was seen as abusive of his power and, were it not for his copious work and the proliferation of his texts outside of Granada, we would have lost far more of

his contributions than we already have, since many of his works were destroyed forever by those who succeeded in accusing him of heresy.

Cervantes' claims for power came from the success he witnessed during his lifetime of *Don Quixote Part I* as well as from his pride for having participated in what he deemed the most honorable of battles: the Battle of Lepanto (1571), where he lost use of his left arm. Thus, in writing *Part II*, in which the character I discussed, Don Diego de Miranda, appears, his play with history and fiction intensified as it touched upon many immediate concerns for Early Modern Spain on a deep, dark social, religious, and ideological level. In the case of Islam and *moriscos*, Cervantes claimed the authority to ridicule the ideals of Early Modern Spain through Don Diego. This is because Don Diego as a fake Muslim saint fits well with other *morisco* characters in *Don Quixote Part II*, such as Ricote and Ana Félix, since he presents yet another side of Spain's cultural and humanistic prism that was shattered with the Expulsion of 1609.

Over the past few decades, we have seen notable resistance to traditional views of Medieval Iberia as a geographic and cultural space that became the fighting scene for two clashing ideologies: Islam and Catholicism. However, the praise-worthy efforts of the second half of the twentieth century to emphasize the need to *not* limit the history of Spain to this confrontation have had some inevitable side-effects. First, they have frequently given place to almost fantastical views of the societies of Medieval Iberia (sometimes too rosy while others too dark). Second, and most significantly, they pushed us further away from understanding how these traditional views came to exist in the first place. Defenders of Reconquista have rightly claimed that there *was* one traceable line of Christian resistance to Islam in Iberia. Yet what I am suggesting is first to address the

issue of the complexity of the evolution of Islam in Iberia, since this will help us understand the *interruptions* in this process. Therefore, we need to pay attention to texts such as Ibn al-Qūṭīyah's history not only because of the attractiveness of the alternative, hybrid trajectory of the Islamic conquest it provides, but also because it points at the early political and social instability of Al-Andalus itself. It does so, first, through this same alternative characterization and, second, through expanding the spotlight from the Umayyad rulers (which remained in the center of the narrative) to mixed-race minorities that challenged the central authority of those Muslim rulers perhaps more fiercely than did early Christian kingdoms of the North. This is because real threat from the North did not come until the late twelfth century, when the northern kingdoms were able to consolidate their societies and drew closer to trans-Pirenian kingdoms through alliances based on marriage, driven by imperial aspirations. Up until then, Al-Andalus was always at peril from the internal centrifugal forces of regionalism, the *muwalladūn*, grass roots populism, and more effective external military threats like the Vikings or the Fatimids.

We need to pay attention to Alfonso's legal and historical characterization of Jews and Muslims not only because they were among the first systematic attempts to exclude Semitic-ness from Iberia's past, present and future, but also because it is through the treatment of those two marginalized groups that we can best understand the fragility of Spain's political foundations. For when the exclusively-Catholic Spain that Alfonso imagined started taking shape in reality with the expulsion of the Jews in 1492 and that of the *moriscos* in 1609, the "glory" of the Romans clearly was not restored. In fact, as we know, the results further complicated matters since the mass expulsions, rather than addressing Spain's urgent socio-economical crises, aggravated them. Thus, we need to

understand the different ways Islam and Judaism were excluded from Spain's historical narrative before attempting to resituate the Semitic influences in the evolution of Hispanic identity. For if we do not make the effort to understand how that discourse was shaped in the first place, Spain's Semitic past will never enter into effective dialogue with its present.

We need to pay attention to Ibn al-Khaṭīb's contributions to Iberia's history not only because of the remarkable information they contain on Nasrid Granada's society and culture, but also because his work provides a counterpoint for Alfonso's imagined, unified Spain. When we read both historians' claims for the superiority and legitimacy of their respective politico-religious discourses, both legitimacies become nullified. What remains of both discourses are persuasive narratives that can help us understand how imagined histories that isolated Christians from Muslims in Iberia made it impossible for a pluralistic Spain to survive.

Finally, we need to pay attention to *Don Quixote's* "minor" *morisco* characters not only because they broaden our understanding of Cervantes' masterpiece, but also because their frustrations are perhaps just as genuine as those of the *moriscos* who were so desperate to stay in Spain that they would starve to death on top of a mountain while waiting for their legendary savior to appear. The fact that *aljofores* would make their way to different works written in Spanish, either directly as in the case of Escolano and Cardona or indirectly as I am suggesting in Cervantes' case, can tell us just how prolific those prophecies were and, by extension, how desperate *moriscos* were to stay in Spain. This is, of course, well-documented in other manifestations of *moriscos'* attempts to survive, such as the mentioned Lead Books, as well as the increased use of an Islamic

doctrine that is only invoked in extreme cases, and which had, for complex reasons, historically been more associated with Shi'ites than Sunnis: the *Taqiya*¹¹³.

Thus, we already know that our contemporary need to define the role of Islam in the evolution of the Hispanic identity cannot be dissociated from nineteenth-century attempts at recreating a confrontational history of Medieval Iberia, nor from the aftermath of those attempts. Reconquista had clear antecedents in both Christian and Muslim historians who, with few notable exceptions, had their own needs for reimagining Iberia's past as one that favored either the Visigoths or the Muslims as the legitimate rulers of Iberia. What I wanted to add through this dissertation is that critics have struggled for centuries to define Islamic Medieval Iberia because, since 711, it was a space of uncertainty that challenged all three of those terms: Islamic Medieval Iberia.

Using the term "Islamic" is inaccurate because neither the political atmosphere nor the cultural sphere was ever exclusively Muslim. Just to name a few examples, Jews achieved high political ranks in different courts¹¹⁴; secular lifestyles made it possible for (certain) women to remain unmarried, defend their financial independence, become scribes for the Caliph, and openly write erotic poetry about their male and female lovers alike¹¹⁵. "Medieval" does not work well either since Al-Andalus did not really fall in the middle of anything. In fact, if we decide to incorporate the history of *moriscos* with the history of Al-Andalus (as we should, since as *aljamiado* texts show Islam's cultural

¹¹³ *Taqiya* in Islam is the act of concealing one's true faith to avoid persecution. For its specific use among *moriscos*, see Devin Stewart (2013).

¹¹⁴ See, for example, Norman Roth's entry on the diplomat and scholar Hasdai Ibn Shaprut in *Medieval Iberia: An Encyclopedia* (2003), pp. 420-421.

¹¹⁵ See the cases of Wallādah Bint al-Mustakfī and Lubná of Cordoba, both studied by Kamila Shamsie (2016).

legacy survived well beyond the 1492 conquest of Granada) then Al-Andalus would extend into Modernity.

Last but not least, "Iberia" does not fit quite well since, frequently, the dynasties ruling Al-Andalus would also be ruling parts of North Africa. Before 750, they would also rule other parts of the Mediterranean, including southern France. In short, we have tried for too long to isolate one of the utmost Mediterranean spaces, Al-Andalus, from the rest of the Mediterranean: it has been seen as an “anomaly” in the history of Islam, an “anomaly” in the history of Europe, and an “anomaly” in the history of Spain itself. Many – yet thankfully not all – critics have forced Al-Andalus to stay within the spatial limits of Iberia and the temporal limits of the Middle Ages for centuries, and their efforts have failed since their approximations were too nostalgic, too nationalistic, too exclusive, and the list goes on.

What we need to do, then, is to accept that Islamic Medieval Iberia is a historical construct. Once we do that, we may begin to listen more carefully to the contradicting prophecies on Islam's future in Iberia; to the nostalgic descriptions of Spain's abundance that made their way from Saint Isidore of Seville's history to Alfonso's through the writing of Arab historians; to the equally nostalgic encounter between ‘Abd al-Raḥmān I and Artabas in Ibn al-Qūṭīyah 's text, drawing a connecting point between the Umayyads and the Visigothic nobility; to Ibn al-Khaṭīb claiming for himself the fall of Pedro the Just/Cruel; to his fictional wise man offering an equally fictional Hārūn al-Rashīd a ruling model that conveniently reflected Ibn al-Khaṭīb's own political views as a closure to his autobiography; to the similarly fictional wise man with false sainthood whose silence at his own house speaks louder than words. These are the details that close-

reading of the history of Al-Andalus can reveal. And these are the details that merit our attention because they are indicative of both the precariousness and the depth of the history of Al-Andalus as a critical component for the culture of the Mediterranean. Those details are to be found everywhere in the historiography of Medieval Iberia. All we need to do is look at them, rather than look beyond them.

Works Cited

- ‘Abbādī, Aḥmad Mukhtār ‘Abd Al-Fattāḥ. *El Reino De Granada En La Época De Muhammad V*. Instituto de Estudios Islámicos, 1973.
- Abulafia, David. *The Great Sea: A Human History of the Mediterranean*. Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Akhtar, Ali Humayun. "The Political Controversy over Graeco-Arabic Philosophy and Sufism in Nasrid Government: The Case of Ibn al-Khaṭīb in Al-Andalus." *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 47, no. 2, 2015, pp. 323 - 342.
- Alfonso X, King of Castile and Leon, and Benito Brancaforte. *Prosa Histórica*. Cátedra, 1984.
- Alfonso X, King of Castile and Leon, and King of Castile and Leon Sancho IV. *Primera Crónica General De España Que Mandó Componer Alfonso El Sabio y Se Continuaba Bajo Sancho IV En 1289*, edited by Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Bailly-Bailliére é hijos, 1906.
- Alfonso X, López, E. F., & López, G.-B. M. T. *Las siete partidas: Antología*. Castalia, 1992.
- Al Hajj, Muhammad. "The Character of the Central Bilad Al-Sudan in Historical Perspective." *The Central Bilād Al-Sūdān: Tradition and Adaptation: Essays on the Geography and Economic and Political History of the Sudanic Belt: Proceedings of the Third International Conference of the Institute of African and Asian Studies, University of Khartoum, Held from 8 to 13 November 1977*. Edited by Yūsuf F Hassan and Paul Doornbos. Khartoum: The Institute, 1979. pp. 14-19.

- Al-Maqqarī, Aḥmad Ibn Muhammad. *Nafḥ Al-Ṭīb Min Ghuṣn Al-Andalus Al-Raṭīb*. Dār Sādir, 1968.
- Alvarez-Moreno, R. "Towards a Linguistics of History in Medieval and Early Modern Spain: The Ideological Implications of Historians' Linguistic Views and Practices." *Imago Temporis-Medium Aevum*, vol. 8, 2014, pp. 61 - 84.
- Anderson, Benedict R. O'G. *Imagined Communities: Reflections On the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Rev. ed. Verso, 2006.
- "Arabic Romanization Table." *ALA-LC Romanization Tables*, Library of Congress, 2012. <https://www.loc.gov/catdir/cpsd/romanization/arabic.pdf> Accessed 23 Oct 2017.
- Asín Palacios, Miguel, and Harold Sunderland. *Islam and the Divine Comedy*. Qausain, 1977.
- Aubaille-Sallenave, Françoise "Al- Khidr, 'L'homme au manteau vert' en pays musulmans: ses fonctions, ses caractères, sa diffusion," *Res Orientales*, vol. 14, 2002, pp. 11-36.
- Augustine, Saint, et al. *St. Augustine: Vol. V, Bks. 16-18. 35: City of God*. Abridged ed. Harvard University Press, 1965.
- Austin, J. L. *How to Do Things with Words*. Harvard University Press, 1962.
- Bargach, Jamila. *Orphans of Islam: Family, Abandonment, and Secret Adoption in Morocco*, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2002.
- Barkai, Ron. *Cristianos y musulmanes en la España medieval: (El Enemigo En El Espejo)*. Rialp, 1984.

- Barthes, Roland. "The Death of the Author." *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*, edited by Vincent B. Leitch and William E. Cain, WW Norton & Company, 2010, pp. 1322-1326.
- Barton, Simon. *A History of Spain*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.
- . *Conquerors, Brides, and Concubines: Interfaith Relations and Social Power in Medieval Iberia*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015.
- Bermejo, José Luis. "Notas sobre la segunda Partida." *Vii Centenario Del Infante Don Fernando De La Cerda: Jornadas De Estudio, Ciudad Real, Abril 1975: Ponencias Y Comunicaciones*, edited by Burgos M. Espadas, Instituto de Estudios Manchegos, 1976.
- Bishko, Charles Julian, and Harry W Hazard. *Spanish and Portuguese Reconquest, 1095-1492*. Library of Iberian Resources Online, Dept of History, University of Central Arkansas, 1999.
- Blanks, David R, and Michael Frassetto. *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Perception of Other*. Macmillan, 1999.
- Bloch, Marc, and Joseph R Strayer. *The Historian's Craft: Translated From the French by Peter Putnam*. Manchester University Press, 1954.
- Bohrer, Frederick N. "Inventing Assyria: Exoticism and Reception in Nineteenth-Century England and France." *Art Bulletin*, vol. 80, no. 2, 1998, pp. 336-56.
- Boigues, Francisco Pons. *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico sobre los historiadores y geógrafos árabe-españoles*. SF de Sales, 1898.

- Boloix-Gallardo, Bárbara. "Beyond the Ḥaram: Ibn al-Khaṭīb and his Privileged Knowledge of Royal Nasrid Women." *Medieval Encounters* vol. 20, no. 4-5, 2014, pp. 383-402.
- . "Introduction." *Medieval Encounters* vol. 20, no. 4-5, 2014, pp. 277 - 287.
- Borges, Jorge Luis. *Fictions*. J. Calder, 1965.
- Boronha, Miguel António de Freitas. *Male homosexuality in Islamic normative and in the mujun literature of al-Andalus and the Maghreb between the 10th and 13th centuries*. MA Thesis. University of Lisbon, 2014.
- Borrut, A. "Vanishing Syria: Periodization and Power in Early Islam." *Islam-Zeitschrift Fur Geschichte Und Kultur Des Islamischen Orients*, vol. 91, no. 1, 2014, pp. 37 - 68.
- Bosch-Vilá, J., "Ibn al-Ḳūṭīyya", *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_3265. Accessed 03 Feb 2017
- Braginskii, V. I. *The Comparative Study of Traditional Asian Literatures: From Reflective Traditionalism to Neo-traditionalism*. Curzon, 2001.
- Braudel, Fernand. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*. Collins, 1972.
- Būfalāqah, Muhammad Sayf Al-Islām. *Juhūd 'Ulamāa Al-Andalus Fī Khidmat At-Tārīkh Wat-Tarājim: Ibn al-Khaṭīb Wa Kitāb Al-Ihāta Namūthajan*. Dār al-Jinān, 2014.
- Burns, Robert I. *Emperor of Culture: Alfonso X the Learned of Castile and His Thirteenth-Century Renaissance*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990.

- . "Immigrants from Islam: The Crusaders' Use of Muslims as Settlers in Thirteenth-Century Spain." *The American Historical Review*, vol. 80, no. 1, 1975, pp. 21-42.
- . "Renegades, Adventurers, and Sharp Businessmen: The Thirteenth-Century Spaniard in the Cause of Islam." *The Catholic Historical Review*, vol. 58, no. 3, 1972, pp. 341-366.
- Çaksu, Ali. "Ibn Khaldūn and Philosophy: Causality in History." *Journal of Historical Sociology*, vol. 30, no. 1, 2017, pp. 27-42.
- Calero Secall, M. Isabel, and Nicolás Roser Nebot. "El Proceso De Ibn Al-Jaṭīb. Apéndice: Epístola De Al-Bunnāhī a Lisān Al-Dīn." *Al-Qantara: Revista De Estudios Arabes*, vol. 22, no. 2, 2001, pp. 421-461.
- Cardaillac, Louis. *Moriscos y Cristianos : Un Enfrentamiento polémico, 1492-1640*. Fondo de Cultura Economica, 1979.
- Caro Baroja, Julio. *Los Moriscos Del Reino De Granada. Ensayo de historia social*. Instituto de Estudios Políticos, 1957.
- Carpenter, Dwayne E. *Alfonso X and the Jews: An Edition of and Commentary on Siete Partidas 7.24 "De Los Judios"*. University of California Press, 1986.
- . "Minorities in Medieval Spain: The Legal Status of Jews and Muslims in the Siete Partidas." *Romance Quarterly* vol. 33, no. 3, 1986, pp. 275-287.
- Carvajal, JC, and PM Day. "Cooking Pots and Islamicization in the Early Medieval Vega of Granada (Al-Andalus, Sixth to Twelfth Centuries)." *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, vol. 32, no. 4, 2013, pp. 433-451.
- Casalduero, Joaquín. *Sentido y Forma Del Quijote: (1605-1615)*. Ediciones Insula, 1970.
- Castro, Américo. *Hacia Cervantes*. 3. ed., Taurus, 1967.

- Catlos, Brian A. *Infidel Kings and Unholy Warriors: Faith, Power, and Violence in the Age of Crusade and Jihad*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2015.
- Certeau, Michel de. *The Writing of History*. Columbia University Press, 1988.
- Cervantes, Saavedra M, and Edith Grossman. *Don Quixote*. Ecco, 2003.
- Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de, and Andrés Murillo, L.A. *El Ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quijote De La Mancha*. Editorial Castalia, 2010.
- Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de, et al. *Don Quijote De La Mancha*. Instituto Cervantes, c1998.
- Christman, Jared. "The Gilgamesh Complex: The Quest for Death Transcendence and the Killing of Animals." *Society & Animals*, vol. 16, no. 4, 2008, pp. 297 - 315.
- Clot, André. *Harun Al-Rashid and the World of the Thousand and One Nights*. Saqi, 1989.
- Collins, Roger. *The Arab Conquest of Spain, 710-797*. B. Blackwell, 1989.
- Constantine, Gyula Moravcsik, and Romilly J. H. Jenkins. *De Administrando Imperio*. Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1967.
- Corfis, Ivy A. *Al-Andalus, Sepharad and Medieval Iberia: Cultural Contact and Diffusion*. Brill, 2009.
- Crompton, Louis. *Homosexuality & Civilization*. Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003.
- Davis, Fred. *Yearning for Yesterday: A Sociology of Nostalgia*. Free Press, 1979.
- De Man, Paul. "Semiotics and Rhetoric." *The Norton anthology of theory and criticism*, edited by Vincent B. Leitch and William E. Cain, WW Norton & Company, 2010, pp. 1365-1378.

- Deyermond, A. D. *The Middle Ages*. Benn, 1971.
- Deyermond, A D, and López L. Alonso. *Historia De La Literatura Española: La Edad Media*. Ariel, 1991.
- Dodds, Jerrilynn Denise, et al. *The Arts of Intimacy: Christians, Jews, and Muslims in the Making of Castilian Culture*. Yale University Press, 2008.
- Doubleday, Simon R. *The Wise King: A Christian Prince, Muslim Spain, and the Birth of the Renaissance*. Basic Books, 2015.
- Donzel, E. J. van. *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition*. 6th ed., Brill, 1998.
- Dozy, Reinhart P. A, and Evariste Lévi-Provençal. *Histoire Des Musulmans D'espagne: Jusqu'à La Conquête De L'andalousie Par Les Almoravides (711-1110)*. E.J. Brill, 1932.
- Dubler, César E. "Fuentes árabes y bizantinas en la *Primera Crónica General*." *Vox Romanica*, vol. 12, 1951, pp. 120.
- Eisenberg, Daniel B. "Enrique IV and Gregorio Marañón." *Renaissance quarterly* vol. 29, no.1, 1976, pp. 21-29.
- Elger, Ralf. "Adab and Historical Memory. The Andalusian Poet / Politician Ibn al-Khaṭīb as Presented in Aḥmad Al-Maqqarī (986 / 1577-1041 / 1632), Nafḥ Aṭ-Ṭīb." *Die Welt Des Islams*, vol. 42, no. 3, 2002, pp. 289 - 306.
- El-Hibri, Tayeb. *Reinterpreting Islamic Historiography: Hārūn Al-Rashīd and the Narrative of the 'Abbasid Caliphate*. Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Elinson, Alexander. "Making light work of serious praise: a panegyric zajal by Lisan al-Din Ibn al-Khaṭīb." *EHumanista*, vol. 14, 2010, pp. 83-105.

- Escolano, Gaspar, and Juan B Perales. *Décadas De La Historia De La Insigne y Coronada Ciudad y Reino De Valencia: Aumentada Con Gran Caudal De Notas, Ampliaciones Aclaratorias y Continuada Hasta Nuestros Dias*. Terraza, Aliena, 1878.
- Febvre, Lucien. *A New Kind of History: From the Writings of Febvre*. Harper & Row, 1973.
- Fernández-Morera, Darío. "Phenomenology of an Encounter: Don Quijote Meets the Knight of the Green Cloak." *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos*, vol. 12, no .1, 1987, pp. 125-133.
- Fierro, Maribel. "Doctrinas y movimientos de tipo mesiánico en al-Andalus." *Milenarismos y milenaristas en la Europa medieval: IX Semana de Estudios Medievales, Nájera, del 3 al 7 de agosto de 1998*, edited by José Ignacio de la Iglesia Duarte, Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 1999, pp. 159-175.
- . "La obra histórica de Ibn al-Qūṭīyah." *Al-Qantara*, vol. 10, no. 2, 1989, pp. 485-512.
- Filios, Denise K. "Legends of the Fall: Conde Julián in Medieval Arabic and Hispano-Latin Historiography." *Medieval Encounters*, vol. 15, no. 2/4, 2009, pp. 375 - 390.
- Firro, Kais. *A History of the Druzes*. E.J. Brill, 1992.
- Fish, Stanley. "Just published: minutiae without meaning." *New York Times*, 07 Sept. 1999, p. A23.
- Fitz, Francisco García. "La Reconquista: un estado de la cuestión." *Clio & Crimen*, no. 6, 2009, pp. 142-215.
- . *Las Navas De Tolosa*. Ariel, 2012.

Fortescue, Adrian. "John of Antioch." *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 8.

<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/08468a.htm>. Accessed 03 Mar. 2017.

Foucault, Michel. "About the Beginning of the Hermeneutics of the Self: Two Lectures

At Dartmouth." *Political Theory*, vol. 21, no. 2, 1993, pp. 198 - 227.

---. "The subject and power." *Critical inquiry*, vol. 8, no. 4, 1982, pp. 777-795.

---. "What Is an Author?" *The Norton anthology of theory and criticism*, edited by

Vincent B. Leitch and William E. Cain, WW Norton & Company, 2010, pp.

1475-1490.

Foucault, Michel, and Anthony M. Nazzaro. "History, Discourse and Discontinuity."

Salmagundi, no. 20, 1972, p. 225-248.

Foucault, Michel, and Jay Miskowiec. "Of other spaces." *Diacritics*, vol. 16, no. 1, 1986,

pp. 22-27.

Fraker, Charles F. *The Scope of History: Studies in the Historiography of Alfonso El*

Sabio. University of Michigan Press, 1996.

---. "Alfonso X, the Empire and the 'Primera Crónica'." *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, vol.

55, no. 2, 1978, pp. 95 - 102.

Fromherz, Allen. "Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn al-Khaṭīb and Their Milieu: A Community of Letters

in the Fourteenth-Century Mediterranean." *Medieval Encounters: Jewish,*

Christian and Muslim Culture in Confluence and Dialogue, vol. 20, no. 4-5, 2014,

p. 288-305.

Gampel, Benjamin R. *Anti-Jewish Riots in the Crown of Aragon and the Royal Response,*

1391-1392. Cambridge University Press, 2016.

- García Sanjuán, Alejandro. *La Conquista Islámica De La Península Ibérica y La Tergiversación Del Pasado: Del Catastrofismo Al Negacionismo*. Marcial Pons, 2013.
- Gerber, Jane S. *The Jews of Spain: A History of the Sephardic Experience*. Free Press, 1992.
- Gerli, E. Michael. "Xadraque Xarife's Prophecy, *Persiles* III, 11: The Larger Setting and the Lasting Irony." *eHusmanista/Cervantes*, vol. 5, 2017, pp. 265-284.
- Gerli, E. Michael, et al. *Medieval Iberia: An Encyclopedia*. Routledge, 2003.
- Gibbon, Edward, and François Guizot. *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. New ed., rev. and corr. Applegate, 1859.
- Glick, Thomas F. *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages*. Brill, 2005.
- Gómez-Rivas, Camilo. "Exile, Encounter, and the Articulation of Andalusī Identity in the Maghrib." *Medieval Encounters* vol. 20, no. 4-5, 2014, p. 340-351.
- Graziano, Frank. *Cultures of Devotion: Folk Saints of Spanish America*. Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Greenblatt, Stephen. *Learning to Curse: Essays in Early Modern Culture*. Routledge, 2007.
- Green-Mercado, Marya T. "The Mahdi in Valencia: Messianism, Apocalypticism and Morisco Rebellions in Late Sixteenth-Century Spain." *Medieval Encounters*, vol. 19, no. 1-2, 2013, pp. 193-220.
- Gönenç, İsmail. "The Christian Reaction towards Islam in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries." *Electronic Journal of Social Sciences*, vol. 10, no. 36, 2011, pp. 287-298.

- Gossman, Lionel. *Between History and Literature*. Harvard University Press, 1990.
- Grillo, Laura. "Memoir as Method, or 'What the Devil Was I up to Anyway?'" *Divination: Perspectives for a New Millenium*, edited by Patrick Curry. Ashgate, 2010. pp. 39-46.
- Harvey, L. P. *Islamic Spain, 1250 to 1500*. University of Chicago Press, 1990.
- . *Muslims in Spain, 1500 to 1614*. University of Chicago Press, 2005.
- Heidegger, Martin. *Poetry, Language, Thought*. Harper & Row, 1971.
- Herodotus. *The Histories: The Complete Translation, Backgrounds, Commentaries*. 2nd ed., W.W. Norton & Company, 2013.
- Herrero, Omayra. "El Perdón Del Gobernante En Las Sociedades Islámicas Pre-Modernas: Su Estudio a Través Del Ta'rij Iftitah Al-Andalus De Ibn al-Qūṭīyah." *Futuro Del Pasado: Revista Electrónica De Historia*, vol. 1, 2010, pp. 475-488.
- Hodgson, Marshall G. S. *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization*. University of Chicago Press, 1974.
- Hopkins, J F P, and Nehemia Levtzion. *Corpus of Early Arabic Sources for West African History*. Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Ibn al-Faraḍī, et al. *Historia Virorum Doctorum Andalusiae*. La Guirnalda, 1890.
- Ibn al-Khaṭīb. *Al-Lamḥah al-Badrīyah fī al-Dawlah al-Naṣrīyah*. al-Maṭba‘ah al-Salafiyah, 1927.
- Ibn al-Khaṭīb and Iḥsān ‘Abbās. *Al-Katībah al-Kāminah i Man Laqaynah Bi-Al-Andalus in Shu‘arā‘ Al-Mā‘ah Al-Th‘aminah*. Dār al-Thaqāfah, 1963.

- Ibn al-Khaṭīb, and Aḥmad ‘Abbādī. *Nufāḍat al-Jirāb fī ‘Ulālat al-Ightirāb*. Dār al-Kātib al-‘Arabī, 1968.
- Ibn al-Khaṭīb, and Evariste Lévi-Provençal. *Tārīḥ Isbānīya Al-Islāmīya Au Kitāb A ‘māl Al-A ‘lām Fī Man Būyi ‘a Qabla ‘l-Iḥtilām Min Mulūk Al-Islām*. Dār al-Makṣūf, 1956.
- Ibn al-Khaṭīb, and Muhammad ‘Abd Allāh ‘Inan. *Al-Iḥāṭṭah fī Akhbār Gharnāṭah*. Maktabat Al-Khanji, 1973.
- Ibn al-Khaṭīb, and Muhammad Hasan. *Thalāth Rasā’il Andalusīyah Fī Al-Ṭā’ūn Al-Jārif (749 H / 1348 M)*. al-Majma‘ al-Tūnisī lil-‘Ulūm wa-al-Ādāb wa-al-Funūn, Bayt al-Ḥikmah, 2013.
- Ibn al-Khaṭīb, and Saiyid K. Ḥasan. *A ‘māl Al-A ‘lām Fī Man Būyi ‘a Qabla ‘l-Iḥtilām Min Mulūk Al-Islām Wa-Mā Yata ‘allaq Bi-dāliq Min Al-Kalām: Ğuz’ 1*. Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmīya, 2003.
- Ibn Al-Qūṭīyah, and David James. *Early Islamic Spain: The History of Ibn Al-Qūṭīya : A Study of the Unique Arabic Manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale De France, Paris, With a Translation, Notes, and Comments*. Routledge, 2009.
- Ibn Al-Qūṭīyah, and Ibrāhīm Ibyārī. *Tārīkh Iftitāḥ Al-Andalus*. al-Ṭab‘ah 1. ed. Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmīyah, 1982.
- Ibn Al-Qūṭīyah, and Qutaybah A. A. M. Ibn. *Historia De La Conquista De España*. Tipografía de la "Revista de archivos", 1926.
- Ibn Buluggīn, ‘Abd Allāh and ‘Alī M. ‘Umar. *Kitāb Al-Tibyān ‘an Al-Ḥādithah Al-Kā’inah Bi-Dawlat Banī Zīrī Fī Gharnāṭah*. Maktabat al-Thaqāfah al-Dīnīyah, 2006.

- Ibn 'Idhārī. *Al-Bayān al-Mughrib fī Akhbār Al-Andalus Wa-Al-Maghrib*. Dār al-Thaqāfah, 1980.
- Ibn 'Idhārī, and Reinhart P. A. Dozy, Evariste Lévi-Provençal, and Ibn S. 'Arīb. *Aljuz' Al-Awwal[-Al-Thālith] Min Al-Bayān Al-Mughrib Fī Akhbār Al-Andalus Wa-Al-Maghrib*. Brīl, 1848.
- Ibn 'Idhārī, et al. *Kitāb Al-Bayān Al Mughrib Fī Akhbār Al-Andalus Wa-Al-Maghrib*. Dār al-Thaqāfah, 1967.
- Ibn Khaldūn. *Kitāb Al- 'ibar Wa-Dīwān Al-Mubtada' Wa-Al-Khabar: Fī Ayyām Al- 'Arab Wa-Al- 'ajam Wa-Al-Barbar Wa-Man 'āṣarahym Min Dhawī Al-Sulṭān Al-Akllhbar Wa-Huwa Tarīkh Waḥīd 'aṣrih*. Dar al-tiba'ah al-Khidiwiyah, 1867.
- Ibyārī, Ibrāhīm. *Akhbār Majmū'ah Fī Fath Al-Andalus Wa-Dhikr Umarā'ihā Wa-Al-Ḥurūb Al-Wāqi'ah Bi-Hā Baynahum*. Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmīyah, 1981.
- Imamuddin, S. M. *Muslim Spain 711-1492 A.D.: A Sociological Study*. Brill, 1981.
- Iser, Wolfgang. "The Reading Process: A Phenomenological Approach." *New Literary History*, vol. 3, no. 2, 1972, pp. 279 - 299.
- Iversen, Reem F. "Prophecy and Politics: Moriscos and Christians in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Spain." Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 2002.
- Jacobus, de Voragine, et al. *Legenda Aurea Sanctorum: Diuini Verbi Concionatoribus Perquam Vtilis [et] Vberima*. Juan Garcia Infanzon, 1688.
- Jacobus, de Voragine, et al. *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*. Princeton University Press, 2012.
- Jameson, Fredric. *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act*. Cornell University Press, 1981.

- Jauss, Hans Robert. *Question and Answer: Forms of Dialogic Understanding*. University of Minnesota Press, 1989.
- . *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*. University of Minnesota Press, 1982.
- Jenkins, Everett. *The Muslim Diaspora: A Comprehensive Reference to the Spread of Islam in Asia, Africa, Europe, and the Americas*. McFarland, 1999.
- Jiménez de Rada, Rodrigo. *Historia Arabum*. Secretariado de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla, 1993.
- Juyntboll, G. H. A. *Encyclopedia of Canonical Ḥadīth*. Brill, 2007.
- Kant, Immanuel, and Ted Humphrey. *Perpetual Peace and Other Essays on Politics, History, and Morals*. Hackett Pub. Co, 1983.
- Khalidi, Tarif. *Arabic historical thought in the classical period*. Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Khindaswinth, King of the Visigoths, et al. *Fuero Juzgo: En Latín y Castellano*. Ibarra, 1815.
- Lapidus, Ira M. *A History of Islamic Societies*. 2nd ed., Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Larsson, Göran. *Ibn García's Shu'ūbiyya Letter: Ethnic and Theological Tensions in Medieval Al-Andalus*. Brill, 2003.
- Latif, Syed Abdul. *Al-Quran*. 1st ed. Academy of Islamic Studies, 1969.
- Le Goff, Jacques. *Medieval Civilization 400-1500*. B. Blackwell, 1988.
- Lévi-Provençal, Evariste. "Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad b. Abi Amir Sanchuelo." *Encyclopedia of Islam*. Second edition, vol. 1, 1960, p. 84.

- Liu, Benjamin. "'Affined to love the Moor': Sexual Misalliance and Cultural Mixing in the Cantigas d'escarnho e de mal dizer." *Queer Iberia: Sexualities, Cultures, and Crossings from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance*, edited by Blackmore, Josiah, and Gregory S. Hutcheson. Duke University Press, 1999, pp. 48-72.
- López-Baralt, Luce. *Islam in Spanish Literature: From the Middle Ages to the Present*. Brill, 1992.
- López-Baralt, Luce, and Marikay McCabe. "The Supreme Pen (Al-Qalam Al-A'la) of Cide Hamete Benengeli in Don Quixote." *Journal of Medieval & Early Modern Studies*, vol. 30, no. 3, 2000, pp. 505 - 518.
- López, Gregorio, and Real Academia de la Historia (Spain). *Las Siete Partidas Del Rey Don Alfonso El Sabio*. Lecointe y Lasserre, 1843.
- López, Ortiz J. *San Isidoro De Sevilla Y El Islam: (comentarios a Cuatro Pasajes De Don Lucas De Túy Y Del Silense)*. Cruz y Raya, 1936.
- López Pereira, José Eduardo. *Cronica Mozarabe De 754*. Anubar Ediciones, 1980.
- Machiavelli, Niccolò, et al. *Machiavelli: The Prince*. Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- MacKay, Angus and Ian R Macpherson. *Love, Religion, and Politics in Fifteenth Century Spain*. Brill, 1998.
- Marín-Guzmán, Roberto. "Political Turmoil in Al-Andalus in the Time of the Amir 'Abd Allah (888–912): Study of the Revolt of Daysam Ibn Ishāq, Lord of Murcia and Lorca and the Role of 'Umar Ibn Hāfsūn." *The Muslim World*, vol. 96, no. 1, 2006, pp. 145-174.
- Marín, Manuela, ed. *Al-Andalus/España: Historiografías En Contraste: Siglos XVII-XXI*. Casa de Velázquez, 2009.

Marquer, Julie. "La figura de Ibn al-Jaṭīb como consejero de Pedro I de Castilla: entre ficción y realidad." *e-Spania. Revue interdisciplinaire d'études hispaniques médiévales et modernes*, vol. 12, 2011, <http://e-spania.revues.org/20900>

Accessed 02 Sept. 2017.

Márquez Villanueva, Francisco. "El caballero del verde gabán y su reino de paradoja."

Personajes y temas del Quijote. Bellaterra, 2011. pp.155-234.

---. *El Concepto Cultural Alfonsí*. Editorial MAPFRE, 1994.

Martín, Antonio Pérez. "La Obra Legislativa Alfonsina y Puesto Que en Ella Ocupan las

Siete Partidas." *GLOSSAE: Eur. J. Legal Hist*, vol. 3, 1992, pp. 9-64.

Martínez, Díez G. *El Condado De Castilla, 711-1038: La Historia Frente a La Leyenda*.

Junta de Castilla y León, Consejería de Cultura y Turismo, 2005.

Martínez, H. Salvador. *Alfonso X, El Sabio: Una Biografía*. Ediciones Polifemo, 2003.

---. *El Humanismo Medieval y Alfonso X El Sabio: Ensayo Sobre Los Orígenes Del*

Humanismo Vernáculo. Ediciones Polifemo, 2016.

Meisami, Julie Scott, and Paul Starkey. *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*. Routledge,

1998.

Menocal, Maria Rosa. *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians*

Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain. Little Brown, 2002.

Mignolo, Walter. "Cartas, crónicas y relaciones del descubrimiento y la

conquista." *Historia de la literatura hispanoamericana* 1, 1982, pp. 57-116.

Molina, Luis. "On the Pond of Mercury by Medina Azahara." *Al-Qantara*, vol. 25, no. 2,

2004, pp. 329 - 333.

---. "Un relato de la conquista de al-Andalus." *Al-Qantara*, vol. 19, no .1, 1998, pp. 39-65.

Munoz, Lorente G. *La Expulsion De Los Moriscos En La Provincia De Alicante*. Ecu, 2013.

Ng, Su Fang. "Global Renaissance: Alexander the Great and Early Modern Classicism from the British Isles to the Malay Archipelago." *Comparative Literature*, vol. 58, no. 4, fall 2006, pp. 293-312.

Nirenberg, David. *Neighboring Faiths: Christianity, Islam, and Judaism in the Middle Ages and Today*. University of Chicago Press, 2014.

O'Callaghan, Joseph F., "Image and Reality: The King Creates His Kingdom." *Emperor of Culture: Alfonso X the Learned of Castile and His Thirteenth-Century Renaissance*, edited by Robert I. Burns, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990, pp. 13-33.

---. *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003.

---. *The Learned King: The Reign of Alfonso X of Castile*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993.

O'Gorman, Edmundo. *The Invention of America: An Inquiry into the Historical Nature of the New World and the Meaning of Its History*. Indiana University Press, 1961.

Olagüe, Ignacio. *Les Arabes n'ont jamais envahi l'Espagne*. Flammarion, 1969.

Omar, Irfan A. "Khidr in the Islamic Tradition." *Muslim World*, vol. 83, no. 3-4, 1993, pp. 279-294.

- Pellat, Charles. "The Origin and Development of Historiography in Muslim Spain." *Historians of the Middle East*, edited by B. Lewis and P. M. Holt, Oxford UP, 1962, pp. 118-126.
- Penzer, N. M. *The harem; an Account of the Institution as it Existed in the Palace of the Turkish Sultans, with a History of the Grand Seraglio from its Foundation to the Present Time*. Lippincott, [1936?].
- Pérez, de H. G. *Guerras Civiles De Granada*. Baudry, 1847.
- Pérez, de H. G, and Thomas Rodd. *The Civil Wars of Granada*. T. Ostell, 1803.
- Pérez, Wilnomy. "Acercamiento a un fragmento de un manuscrito aljamiado-morisco." http://www.academia.edu/8337890/Acercamiento_a_un_fragmento_de_un_manuscrito_aljamiado-morisco. Accessed 15 November, 2016.
- Pick, Lucy K. "What Did Rodrigo Jiménez De Rada Know About Islam?" *Anuario De Historia De La Iglesia*, vol. 20, 2011, pp. 221- 235.
- Pidal, Gonzalo Menéndez. "Cómo trabajaron las escuelas alfonsíes." *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica*, vol. 5, no. 4, 1951, pp. 363-380.
- Pirenne, Henri. *Mohammed and Charlemagne*. Dover ed. Dover Publications, 2001.
- Plato, and C J Rowe. *Phaedrus*. Penguin Books, 2005.
- Pope, Randolph D. "El Caballero Del Verde Gabán y su encuentro con Don Quijote." *Hispanic Review*, vol. 47, no. 2, 1979, pp. 207-218.
- Popkin, Jeremy D. *From Herodotus to H-Net: The Story of Historiography*. Oxford University Press, 2015.
- Powell, James M. *Muslims under Latin Rule, 1100-1300*. Princeton University Press, 1990.

- Powers, James F. "Frontier Municipal Baths and Social Interaction in Thirteenth-Century Spain." *The American Historical Review*, vol. 84, no .3, 1979, pp. 649-667.
- Quint, David. *Cervantes's Novel of Modern Times: A New Reading of Don Quijote*. Princeton University Press, c2003.
- Rājaśekhara, C. D Dalal, and R. Anantakrishna Sastry. *Kāvyaṁmānsā of Rājas'ekhara*. Central Library, 1916.
- Rājśekhara, Nadine Stchoupak, and Louis Renou. *La Kāvyaṁmāmsā De Rājas'ekhara*. Imprimerie nationale, 1946.
- Ramādī, Muḥammad J.-D. *Jamīl Ibn Ma 'mar: Shā 'ir Al-Ḥubb Wa- 'āshiq Bathīnah*. al-Hay'ah al-Miṣrīyah al- 'Āmmah lil-Kitāb, 1976.
- Redondo, Augustín. "Nuevas consideraciones sobre el episodio de Andrés en el Quijote (I, 4 y I, 31)", *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica*, vol. 38, 1990, pp. 857-873.
- Regn, Gerhard, and Bernhard Huss. "Petrarch's Rome: The History of the Africa and the Renaissance Project." *MLN*, vol. 124, no. 1, 2009, pp. 86–102.
- Ricapito, Joseph V. *La Vida De Lazarillo De Tormes y De Sus Fortunas y Adversidades*. Ediciones Cátedra, 1976.
- Rico, Francisco. *Alfonso el Sabio y la " General estoria": tres lecciones*. Vol. 3. Ariel, 1984.
- Roggema, Barbara. *The Legend of Sergius Baḥīrā: Eastern Christian Apologetics and Apocalyptic in Response to Islam*. Brill, 2009.
- Rosenthal, Franz. *A History of Muslim Historiography*. 2d rev. ed. E. J. Brill, 1968.
- Sahas, Daniel J. *John of Damascus On Islam: The "Heresy of the Ishmaelites."*. Brill, 1972.

- Saheeh International, *The Qur'an: English Meanings and Notes*, Al-Muntada Al-Islami Trust, 2001-2011; Dar Abul-Qasim 1997-2001.
- Salgado, María A. "Mirrors, portraits, and the self." *Romance Quarterly*, vol. 33, no. 4, 1986, pp. 439-452.
- Salvadore, Matteo. "The Ethiopian Age of Exploration: Prester John's Discovery of Europe, 1306–1458." *Journal of World History*, vol. 21, no. 4, 2010, pp. 593-627.
- Saussure, Ferdinand de. *Course in General Linguistics*. Philosophical Library, 1959.
- Sawāfirī, Muhammad Muhammad Khāṭir. *Al-Barāmīkah Wa-Dawruhum Fī Al-Ḥayāh Al-Fikrīyah Fī Al-‘Aṣr Al-‘Abbāsī Al-Awwal*. Dār Ḥamūrābī lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī‘; 2009.
- Schimmel, Annemarie. *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*. University of North Carolina Press, c1975.
- Shamsie, Kamila. "Librarians, Rebels, Property Owners, Slaves: Women in Al-Andalus." *Journal of Postcolonial Writing*, vol. 52, no. 2, 2016, pp. 178-188.
- Shannon, Jonathan Holt. *Performing Al-Andalus: Music and Nostalgia across the Mediterranean*. Indiana University Press, 2015.
- . "There and Back Again: Rhetorics of Al-Andalus in Modern Syrian Popular Culture." *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 48, no. 1, 2016, pp. 5 - 24.
- Shoshan, Boaz. *Poetics of Islamic Historiography: Deconstructing Ṭabarī History*. Brill, 2004.
- Sima, Qian, and Burton Watson. *Records of the Grand Historian of China*. Columbia University Press, 1961.

- Smith, Sidonie, and Julia Watson. *Reading Autobiography: A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives*. University of Minnesota Press, 2001.
- Soria Mesa, Enrique. *Los Últimos Moriscos: Pervivencias De La Población De Origen Islámico En El Reino De Granada (Siglos XVII-XVIII)*. Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Zaragoza, 2014.
- Spiegel, Gabrielle M. *Romancing the Past: The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France*. University of California Press, 1993.
- . *The Past as Text: The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography*. Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997.
- Spinoza, Benedictus de, and Samuel Shirley. *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus: (Gebhardt Edition, 1925)*. E.J. Brill, 1989.
- Spitzer, Leo. *Essays in Historical Semantics*. S. F. Vanni, 1948.
- Stearns, Justin. "Representing and Remembering Al-Andalus: Some Historical Considerations Regarding the End of Time and the Making of Nostalgia." *Medieval Encounters*, vol. 15, no. 2/4, 2009, pp. 355 - 374.
- . "Two Passages in Ibn al-Khaṭīb's Account of the Kings of Christian Iberia." *Al-Qantara : Revista De Estudios Arabes*, vol. 25, no. 1, 2004, pp. 157-182.
- Stewart, Devin. "Dissimulation in Sunni Islam and Morisco Taqiyya." *Al-Qantara: Revista De Estudios Arabes, Vol 34, Iss 2, Pp 439-490 (2013)*, vol. 34, no. 2, 2013, pp. 439 - 490.
- Ṭabarī, and Muhammad Abū Al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm. *Tārīkh Al-Ṭabarī: Tārīkh Al-Rusul Wa-Al-Mulūk*. Dār al-Ma‘ārif, 1960.

- Thomas, David, et al. *Christian Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*. Brill, 2009.
- Thucydides, Martin Hammond, and P. J Rhodes. *The Peloponnesian War*. Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Usigli, Rodolfo, and Daniel Meyran. *El Gesticulador*. 1a. ed. Cátedra, 2004.
- Vara, Thorbeck C. *Las Navas De Tolosa*. Edhasa, 2012.
- Wagner, E. and Farès, Bichr, "Mufākhara." *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0777. Accessed 02 Sept. 2017.
- Ward, Martha. *Voodoo Queen: The Spirited Lives of Marie Laveau*. University Press of Mississippi, 2004.
- White, Hayden V. *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975.
- Ženka, Josef. "The Great Ruling Family of the Fourteenth Century: Muṣāhara in the Age of Ibn al-Khaṭīb." *Medieval Encounters*, vol. 20, no. 4/5, 2014, pp. 306 - 339.
- Ziolkowski, Theodore. *Gilgamesh among Us: Modern Encounters with the Ancient Epic*. Cornell University Press, 2011.
- Zmanter, Françoise. "Lecture morisque du "Cabellero del Verde Gaban" dans Cervantes (II partie. ch. 16 17 18)" *Actes Du IV Symposium International D'etudes Morisque [i.e. Morisques] Sur: Metiers, Vie Religieuse Et Problématiques [i.e. Problematiques] D'histoire Morisque*. Ceromdi, 1990.

Zorgati, Ragnhild Johnsrud. *Pluralism in the Middle Ages: Hybrid Identities, Conversion, and Mixed Marriages in Medieval Iberia*. Routledge, 2012.

Appendix: The legend of Toledo's ark in Alfonso X's *Primera Crónica General*.

En la cibdad de Toledo avie entonces un palacio que estidiera siempre cerrado de tiempo ya de muchos reys, et tenie muchas cerraduras, e el rey Rodrigo fizol abrir por que cuadava que yazie y algun grand a ver; mas quando el palacio fue abierto non fallaron y ninguna cosa, sinon una arca otrossi cerrada. E el rey mando la abrir; et non fallaron en ella sinon un panno en que estavan escriptas letras ladinas que dizien assi: que cuando aquellas cerraduras fuessen crebantadas et ell arca et el palacio fuessen abiertos et lo que y yazie fuesse visto, que gentes de tal manera como en aquel panno estaban pintadas que entrarien en Espanna et la conqueririen et serien ende sennores. El rey quando aquello oyo, pesol mucho por que el palacio fiziera abrir; e fizo cerrar ell arca et palacio asi como estavan de primero. En aquel palacio estavan pintados omnes de caras et de parescer et de maneras et de vestidos assi como agora andan los alaraves, e tenien sus cabeças cubiertas de tocas, et seyen en cavallos, et los vestidos dellos eran de muchos colores, e tenien en las manos espadas et ballestas et sennas alçadas. E el rey et los altos omnes fueron mucho espandados por aquellas pinturas que viran. (307)

[In the city of Toledo, there existed a palace that had always been closed since the times of many kings, and it had many locks, and the king Roderick ordered it open because he thought that in it lied something grave to see; yet when the palace was opened, they did not find anything there, save for a chest that was locked as well. The king ordered it open; and all they found was a cloth in which was written in *romance* what follows: that when those locks were to be broken and the chest and palace opened and what was in

them would be seen, that people such as those depicted on that cloth would enter Spain, they would conquer it and become its lords. When the king heard that, he regretted very much having opened the palace, and he ordered the chest and palace be locked as they were at first. In that palace were painted men with faces, appearances and ways of dressing just like the Arabs now go, and they had their heads covered with veils, and their clothes were very colorful, and they had in their hands swords, crossbows and risen banners. The king and the noble men were very frightened by those images they saw.]