

Connected Stories

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Connected Stories

Contacts, Traditions and Transmissions in Premodern
Mediterranean Islam

Edited by
Mohamed Meouak and Cristina de la Puente

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Mohamed Meouak and Cristina de la Puente

Connected Stories. Introduction

A 20th century Spanish writer and philosopher, Eugenio D'Ors, wrote: "outside tradition there is no place for true originality, everything that is not tradition is plagiarism." This phrase, originally written in Catalan, "Fora de la Tradició, cap veritable originalitat. Tot lo que no és Tradició, és plagi",¹ is quoted in part in Spanish on the facade of the Casón del Buen Retiro in Madrid. It was his son, the architect Víctor D'Ors, who requested that the quote be engraved when he was in charge of the restoration of this beautiful building, one of the only pavilions that survive of the Palace of the Habsburgs in the Spanish capital. This aphorism, which goes largely unnoticed by pedestrians and tourists, summarizes in a few words what we mean by tradition and yet at the same time addresses core of concepts such as influence, imitation, emulation, transmission or plagiarism that are transcendental to cultural history and the subject of universal debate. In this case, they are not mere labels imposed by modern historiography on ancient texts, nor are they the result of a later interpretation of ways of transmitting and teaching, but are concepts defined and discussed internally, within all cultures, since time immemorial, which have yielded very diverse results. In the case of culture, or better Arab-Islamic cultures, we could analyze and discuss endlessly numerous terms that refer to concepts related to the multiple ways of perceiving the Other, receiving his knowledge and producing new knowledge: *sunna*, *taqlid*, *bid'ʿ*, *muḥāka*, *ta'allum*, *ṭalab al-ʿilm*, *ijtihād*...

The purpose of the present work evolves around these concepts, but does not pretend to cover all of them, nor is it a monograph said concepts. The approach of the work is not completely original since some very important academic works have already been presented regarding cultural contacts and the transmission of knowledge in the pre-modern Arab world. This work aims to become part of the tradition of studies on this subject that is essential to the understanding of the processes of reception and creation. The authors want to analyze them in depth through the use of examples that are based on the well-known idea that societies in different regions did not remain isolated and indifferent to the literary, religious or scientific creations that were developed in other territories and moreover that the flow of concepts did not always occur in only one direction. Contacts, both voluntary and involuntary, are never incidental or marginal, but are rather the true engine of the evolution of knowledge and creation. It can also be stated

1 "Glosari. Aforística de Xènius," XIV, *La Veu de Catalunya*, 31.10.1911.

that it has been the awareness of the existence of multidimensional cultural relations which has allowed modern historiography on Arab cultures to evolve and be enriched in recent decades.

(Just) like our colleagues from previous centuries, we adhere to a consolidated epistemological tradition in which, in our opinion, it is necessary to highlight some pioneering studies. We refer to works that, in the decade of the 80s and 90s of the 20th century, systematized the information from the Arab sources that have been preserved in order to be able to carry out an analysis of the tradition of knowledge in the Islamic West. In a rigorous and meticulous manner, some specialists undertook studies of a biographical, prosopographical and bibliographic nature, whose objective was to make known the documentary corpus provided by pre-modern Arabic sources about intellectual knowledge. Time has shown that these works were absolutely necessary to help carry out further analysis of the texts later on; and that the results obtained through these philological studies have had great influence on the historiography produced by Arabists and Medievalists dedicated to very varied and broad questions. Of special mention among these studies are those carried out in the database *Onomasticon Arabicum*,² started by Georges Vajda and continued by Jacqueline Sublet, and in the *Cahiers d'onomastique arabe*.³ The Onomastic Project was not new, it had been started at the beginning of the 20th century by Italian orientalists Giuseppe Gabrieli and Leone Caetani. The novelty was the use of computing in the extraction, classification and exposition of data, a process that provided extraordinary results.

Their objectives and methodology were followed in other research centers, giving rise to collective works in which the cooperation between researchers from different parts of Europe was welcomed. Among the many works in the field from the period we would like to mention *Estudios Onomástico-Biográficos de al-Andalus*;⁴ the collection of studies edited by Alessandra Avanzini *Problemi di onomastica semitica meridionale*;⁵ the work edited by Biancamaria Scarcia Amoretti *Onomastica e trasmissione del sapere nell'Islam medievale*;⁶ and the special volume edited by Manuela Marín titled *History and Collective Biography. Arab-Islamic Medieval Culture*.⁷

In addition to these studies, numerous monographs dedicated to the transmission of knowledge and cultural contacts within a given time and space could

² <https://onomasticon.irht.cnrs.fr/> (online 15.03.2021).

³ Paris: CNRS Éditions, 5 volumes published between 1979 and 1993.

⁴ Madrid – Granada: CSIC, 18 volumes edited between 1988 and 2012.

⁵ Pisa: Giardini editori e stampatori, 1989.

⁶ Roma: Università di Roma “La Sapienza” – Bardi editore, 1992.

⁷ Special issue of *Medieval Prosopography* 24 (2002).

be mentioned, but the interest of the aforementioned works lies in the fact that they were the result of collective projects that expanded thematically over time and became more and more international. Additionally, these studies had a clear evolution that led to a new epistemology. In general terms it can be said that it began with the compilation of data obtained from the scientific examination of Arabic sources but gradually the authors developed their own interpretative frameworks adapting them to the specific characteristics of the sources – biographical dictionaries, lexicographical works, historical chronicles, geographical texts among others. Therefore, we can speak of a second interpretive phase in which various theories have been developed about routes of transmission of knowledge in pre-modern times. Very interesting hypotheses were developed regarding learning, teaching and transmission networks in *Espaces et réseaux en Méditerranée, VI^e–XVI^e siècle*⁸ edited by Damien Coulon, Christophe Picard and Dominique Valérien, where a series of works dedicated to these topics over a wide space-time spectrum were collected. For example, the editors made a well thought out and documented analysis of the complexity involved in the study of the ulamas and sages of pre-modern times and the exchanges and relations between them.

At present, we find ourselves at a possible turning point since the development of computation applied to human sciences, the so-called digital humanities, is leading to a transformation not only of the possible results that can be obtained in philology and history but also in the use that can be made of the information obtained from having the results classified and presented correctly by employing these processes. Methodology is undergoing a profound change whose scope and impact we will see over time.

The chapters in this volume belong to Arabists and historians from different countries and historiographic traditions who have long worked on the intellectual history of the Islamic world. The authors examine different cultural contacts, whose central theme is the transmission of stories, tales and texts with very different characteristics from one space to another. We must note the fact that by space we do not mean only a geographical area, but also a cultural or intellectual one. Although in some of the studies included in this work this is true of all, geographical, cultural and intellectual spaces, this is not the case in all of them.

The work is structured around the genre or the field to which the stories belong, which necessarily influences the way in which knowledge transmissions take place: linguistic stories, intellectual stories, material stories, and spiritual stories. Clearly, in many of the chapters in the book several or all of these ele-

⁸ Vol. I. *La configuration des réseaux*, Paris: Éditions Bouchène, 2007; and vol. II. *La formation des réseaux*, Paris: Éditions Bouchène, 2010.

ments can be found together since language, the world of ideas, the artistic world and religion are interrelated and often inseparably intertwined.

The first section – **linguistic stories** – deals with cultural exchanges in which linguistic contacts are the fundamental factor. The chapter written by Daniel G. König instructs readers about the world of translation of Arabic texts into Latin during late antiquity. The role played in translation by specific sectors of society such as Maronites and Catholics living in the Middle East and missionaries, Catholic as well as Protestant, is highlighted. These groups focused on the translation and diffusion of philosophical works from Arabic into Latin and later on, between the 9th/15th and 13th/19th centuries, of ecclesiastical works. The author compares four different movements that worked on translating Latin and Arabic. Thanks to this preliminary work, he is able to go on to demonstrate that said translation movements did not develop by chance, but rather that they evolved as a result of complex cultural processes in which he highlights the role of political, social and textual historical factors that help clarify the sociolinguistic foundations of pre-modern Euro-Mediterranean history and the way it has been intellectually handed down and understood up to the present.

The second chapter of this section refers to a much later period in the history of Islam in which language is also at the crux of transmission. Ana Echevarría points out that recent discoveries have revealed that dialectal and classical Arabic were still used in the Christian territories of the Iberian Peninsula in the 9th/15th century, and that the Muslim communities that lived there were able to undertake the Hajj up to at least the year 900/1495. These two facts lead to change previously prevalent ideas regarding the transmission of texts and knowledge among Muslim minorities in the western Mediterranean. The chapter analyzes the existing “knowledge routes” available to Mudejars and shows that they were more active and mobile than their legal status would imply. Both, the route to Alexandria and the areas in which the Mamluks ruled, were open to trade from Granada and Valencia and could therefore have also served as real conduits for intellectual exchange (for Mudejar communities). This can be seen in, for example, the quest by Mudejars to import books in Arabic upon their return from the pilgrimage, a desire expressed in numerous written texts. The author refers to a number of texts that, during the Andalusian period, were not available in the north of the Iberian Peninsula yet were known to the Mudejars. The presence of these books may point to an active interest of the Mudejar community in maintaining its religious traditions alive.

In the chapters written by König and Echevarría it becomes evident that language is an essential element in the preservation of traditions or in their renewal after they have been discontinued due to a breakdown in the transmission chains resulting from historical circumstances of various types such as a (territorial) conquest.

The second section – **intellectual stories** – includes two chapters that evolve around the transmission of ideas and knowledge between sages apparently belonging to the same group. In the first place, Yassir Benhima posits the question of the relation between the Iraqi *mālikiyya* jurists and their counterparts from the Maghreb, as well as their role in the intellectual development of Western *mālikiyya*, (thought) which has been little understood up until today. Based on the study of biographical dictionaries (North African and Eastern), the author explains the formation and development of networks of scholars. Benhima divides the chapter into three sections: in the first one he outlines the most significant events in the history of Iraqi *mālikiyya* between the end of the 2nd/8th century and the beginning of the 5th/11th. His objective is to identify the main intellectual authorities and the sources of transmission. In the following section he studies the ways in which legal knowledge flowed between Iraq and the Maghreb with an emphasis on the role of the “journey in search of science” (*riḥla fī ṭalab al-‘ilm*) made by Maghrebian sages to Iraq or the scarcer visits of Iraqi sages to the Maghreb. In the last section, which is very personal and novel, he assesses the intellectual contribution made by Iraqi sages to the development of the Maghrebi *mālikiyya*, especially the introduction of Ash‘arī theology through the teachings of al-Bāqillānī’s Maghrebi disciples.

In the following chapter, Miquel Forcada tells us about the governmental desire to promote transmission and literary creation and its plans to implement it. The author reflects on this period in the history of al-Andalus, that of the governments led by Cordoban emirs al-Ḥakam I and ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān II (3th/9th century), an era noted for its political and economic prosperity. They undertook to widen and improve the cultural level of their administrators and courtiers by importing books. In doing so they copied the customs already established in the Abbasid court in Baghdad. Despite the decline of sciences related to astrology, there is evidence of the presence of a number of astrologers and of the practice of astrology and mathematical astronomy in al-Andalus during this century, which can be considered a time of transition of the “Sciences of the Ancients” in the Islamic West.

The third section of the volume is dedicated to **material stories**. In the first place, Salvador Peña Martín studies the influence(s) on the Almohad monetary tradition, which used to combine the square and the circle, and its relationship with other numismatic systems present in the Islamic world in other places and during previous periods. He asks what the reasons that drove the Almohads to mint coins with a square inscribed in a circle were and then, based on a thorough investigation, analyzes them. The author carries out a critical exercise of the historiography on the subject to date and examines the explanations given so far. He pays special attention to the religious and symbolic meaning of the geometric

shapes and provides novel explanations related to Almohad spirituality. Finally, he reflects on the influences this had on other distant numismatic systems.

The second chapter (of this section), written by Virginie Prevost, deals with contacts related to material culture but also goes into spiritual and religious matters. The author invites readers to explore a specific material field that is an emblematic topographical element of Islamic culture: the mosque and its design. She studies the architectural model of the minaret staircase and the spread of the use of this design towards the Islamic West. This design takes the form of a flight of stairs that run along one of the facades of the mosque to allow the muezzin to reach the roof where sometimes a small structure is set up to protect him from bad weather. Grounded on the observations that Joseph Schacht had made on the transfer of architectural principles from the north to the south of the Sahara based on the model of the minaret staircase, she takes up Schacht's ideas and adds a series of new essential elements to arrive to a new hypothesis. On the one hand, the author points out that the staircase minaret in the Ibadi communities had been studied with a lot of material and cultural details. On the other hand, she takes into account archaeological discoveries made in different regions of the Muslim world after 1961, the date on which Schacht finished the development of his theory. In view of the new data, she concludes that the staircase minaret was used in various ways in the East, both in Sunni and Shiite mosques, and that therefore this architectural element cannot be considered as a characteristic of Ibadi architecture. As in the other chapters in this volume, Prevost develops her own ideas and formulates new hypotheses about the reasons for the growth in the use of the minaret staircase in the Islamic world.

In the last block of studies, issues related to **spiritual stories** are pondered. The final three chapters of the book take us into the realm of the individual and his cultural environment, looked at mainly from a spiritual perspective, which in the case of all pre-modern societies is (always) linked to religion.

In the first place, and through the analysis of (a set of) ten manuscripts, Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala provides a wealth of information on the movement and continuous flow of knowledge, not only between different geographical zones of the Islamic world, but also between diverse cultural and religious areas. The author presents a historiographical analysis of the sources on the martyrdoms of Najrān that have been preserved. After a detailed examination, Monferrer-Sala deduces that the Arabic manuscripts that relate the events surrounding the martyrdom of the Christians of the city of Najrān (southern Arabia), at the hands of the Jewish king Dhū Nuwās, yield the version of the story as transmitted by the Melkite Christian Arab tradition and is very close to the Greek tradition. We find ourselves again with research in which in order to understand which are the sources of transmission is essential to carry out the analysis of the languages that are in con-

tact. The account of the martyrdom of the Najrān Christians is an important element of the Eastern Christian tradition (in Syriac, Greek, Arabic and Ethiopian) and shows a significant degree of cultural interdependence.

Allaoua Amara's chapter also deals with the transmission of texts of a religious nature. The author studies the role played by Ibn Sa'dūn al-Qayrawānī, an ulama from the Maghreb, in introducing books of *ḥadīth* and *taṣawwuf* brought to the West from the East. Amara's study is based primarily on information obtained from biographical dictionaries and is complemented with historical chronicles that in large measure reproduce Ibn Sa'dūn's no longer extant work(s). We can assert that it is a representative biography of the Islamic social and intellectual phenomenon known as the search for science, *ṭalab al-ʿilm*. It is the biobibliographical account of an erudite scholar who, in addition to going on the *ḥajj* to Mecca, undertakes a trip to the East dedicated to study and receives lessons from the outstanding ulamas of his time. His commercial activities grant him the opportunity to teach and spread what he has learned. He is representative of important groups of ulamas that were forced to emigrate due to political problems. Ibn Sa'dūn al-Qayrawānī had to leave his homeland due to the advance of the Hilalians and went to al-Andalus and the western Maghreb to continue with his tasks: dissemination of knowledge and commerce; a journey that ended with his death in Aghmāt on 485/1092. Ibn Sa'dūn is known for having introduced a number of corpus of *ḥadīth* and Sufi texts in al-Andalus and stands out also for having made known for the first time Ibn al-Qāsim's version of the *Muwattaʿa*. Furthermore, Ibn Sa'dūn propagated his work on the history of Kairouan and its Māliki scholars entitled *Ta'assī ahl al-īmān bimā ṭara'a 'alā madīnat al-Qayrawān*, a work that was used by Western authors to condemn both the Fatimids and the Hilalians. Through a meticulous philological analysis in which the chains of transmission are reconstructed, that is, the traditions Ibn Sa'dūn is part of, Amara not only reconstructs his intellectual work and his contribution to the transmission of religious texts in the 5th/11th century, but shows also how the ulama is influenced by political events and his work in turn ends up influencing them, in a complex reciprocal relationship that past historiography used to ignore.

The final chapter was written by Bárbara Boloix-Gallardo and also focuses on the study of the routes of religious transmission between East and West during the Merinid period (7th/13th to 9th/15th centuries). The author's contribution to this volume adds the novelty of treating the issue also, although not only, from a gender perspective. Boloix-Gallardo analyzes the consequences that the pilgrimage of a number of women from that period has on Maghreb religiosity since these women upon their return from Mecca bear enormous religious and social influence on their milieu. They are, in the opinion of the author, in large part responsible for the sanctification of (both) the Merinid and their symbolic spaces. Of special inter-

est is the characterization that the author makes of these pilgrim women as symbolic of Islamic religiosity. Their representation as “mothers of believers” constitutes a worthwhile portrayal of the relationship they build between their role as women-mothers, related to femininity and education, and their religious devotion, shown in the stories as exemplary and pure. At the same time, they become the standard – bearers of the religiosity of the male members of their dynasty, the role of women being an essential element in understanding the honor, sobriety and faith of their male relatives. Finally, it can be stated that in the last chapter, as in previous ones, we can also find worthwhile stories closely related the subject at hand, since spiritual contacts yield material results in the construction of shrines and mosques upon their return to the Maghreb.

The nine chapters of the book have two fundamental characteristics: first, the philological rigor employed by their authors, whose exhaustive examination of the sources has been the basis for their interpretations; and also, and very importantly, because in all of them we find a personal and novel reflection regarding the transmission of knowledge in a specific period and area. All of them delve in depth into the multidimensionality of cultural contacts in the fascinating pre-modern Islamic world.

Part I: **Linguistic Stories**

Daniel G. König

Sociolinguistic Infrastructures

Prerequisites of Translation Movements Involving Latin and Arabic in the Medieval Period

1 Introduction

The following contribution systematically compares two medieval “translation movements” involving the languages Latin and Arabic.

During the first translation movement, a handful of Latin texts was Arabized in the Christian and the courtly milieus of late Umayyad al-Andalus. Translation activities began approximately in the middle of the 9th century and petered out by the middle of the 11th century.¹ They did *not* stand at the beginning of a systematic study of Latin and the development of Latin studies in the Arabic-Islamic sphere: Latin–Arabic translation was not taken up again until much later, this time by very different agents: between Rome and the Middle East, Christians of various denominations attached to the Roman Church transferred a huge corpus of medieval and early modern Latin-Christian texts into Arabic between the 15th and the 19th centuries. Muslim Arab scholars, in turn, only began to produce Arabic translations of a large corpus of ancient and a very much smaller number of medieval and early modern Latin texts after the introduction of a system of secular academic education to the Arab world at the beginning of the 20th century.²

During the second translation movement, hundreds of texts were translated from Arabic to Latin in various European and Mediterranean locations. Translation began in the 11th century at the latest, but only gained momentum at the beginning of the 12th century. It tied in with the millennia-long diffusion of ancient Greek texts in the wider Mediterranean sphere—the late antique Latinization of a limited number of Greek works at the hands of Boethius (d. c. 524) and Cassio-

1 For the Christian milieu, see Cyrille Aillet, *Les Mozarabes. Christianisme, islamisation et arabisation en péninsule Ibérique (IX^e–XII^e siècle)* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2010), in particular 185–212. For the courtly milieu, see David Wasserstein, “The Library of al-Ḥakam al-Mustanṣir and the Culture of Islamic Spain,” *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 5 (1990–1991): 99–105.

2 Daniel G. König, “The Unkempt Heritage. On the Role of Latin in the Arabic-Islamic Sphere,” *Arabica* 63 (2016): 449–55, 471–74.

dor (d. c. 580–585),³ the Greek–Syriac–Arabic translation movement of the 5th to 10th centuries,⁴ as well as the systematic translation of Greek texts into Latin that also began in the 12th century.⁵ Arabic–Latin translations continued to be produced until the early 16th century. This translation movement provided one, if not the basis for the emergence of Arabic studies in Christian Europe. Translation activities were taken up by European Arabists who produced a limited number of Latin translations of Arabic texts until the 19th century, when Latin ceased to be used as a language of academic endeavours.⁶ The medieval Arabic–Latin translation movement became a battlefield for two ferocious debates. One opposed Graecophile humanists and Arabists in Christian Europe of the 14th to 16th century and revolved around the question, whether scientific texts produced by the ancient Greeks were superior in quality to their medieval Arabic–Latin translations and Arabic writings in general.⁷ The other debate involved and continues to involve those who accept and those who refuse to accept that influences from the Islamic(ate) sphere contributed to the early modern rise of the sciences in Europe.⁸

3 Walter Berschin, *Griechisch-lateinisches Mittelalter. Von Hieronymus bis Nikolaus von Cues* (Bern: Francke, 1980), 97–112. This Greek–Latin translation movement is dwarfed by its contemporary Greek–Syriac equivalent, see Gotthard Strohmaier, “Die lateinische und die syrisch-arabische Rezeption der griechischen Wissenschaften,” in *Die Literatur der Spätantike – polyethnisch und polyglottisch betrachtet*, ed. Johannes Irmscher (Amsterdam: A.M. Hakkert Verlag, 1997), 145–51.

4 Translations from Greek to Syriac were already effected from the 2nd century CE onwards, but concerned mainly Christian texts. The translation of ancient Greek texts began in the 5th century, see: Sebastian P. Brock, *A Brief Outline of Syriac Literature* (Kottayam: St. Ephrem Ecumenical Research Institute, 1997), 116–23; Javier Teixidor, “D’Antioche à Bagdad: bibliothèques et traductions syriaques,” in *Des Alexandries I. Du livre au texte*, ed. Luce Giard and Christian Jacob (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2001), 249–62; Richard Walzer, *Greek into Arabic. Essays on Islamic Philosophy* (Oxford: Cassirer, 1962); Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture. The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early ‘Abbāsīd Society (2nd–4th/8th–10th centuries)* (London: Routledge, 1998); Javier Teixidor, *Aristote en syriaque. Paul le Perse, logicien du VI^e siècle* (Paris: Éditions CNRS, 2003); Javier Teixidor, *Hommage à Bagdad: traducteurs et lettrés de l’époque ‘abbasīde* (Paris: Éditions CNRS, 2007).

5 Charles Homer Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science* (Cambridge/MA: Harvard University Press, 1924), 141–241; Berschin, *Griechisch-lateinisches Mittelalter*, 290–326.

6 Daniel G. König, “Latin Arabic Entanglement: A Short History,” in *Latin and Arabic. Entangled Histories*, ed. Daniel G. König (Heidelberg: Heidelberg University Publishing, 2019), chap. 2.5, 94–105.

7 Felix Klein-Franke, *Die klassische Antike in der Tradition des Islam* (Darmstadt: WBG, 1980); Dag Nikolaus Hasse, *Success and Suppression: Arabic Sciences and Philosophy in the Renaissance* (Cambridge/MA: Harvard University Press, 2016).

8 See, for example, George Saliba, *Islamic Science and the Making of the European Renaissance* (Cambridge/MA: Harvard University Press, 2007); Jack Goody, “The Arabs and the Italian Renaissance,” in *The Role of the Arabic-Islamic World in the Rise of the West. Implications for Contempor-*

Although they involve the same languages, the two translation movements subject to comparison in this article are obviously highly unequal in terms of duration, scope, and their mid- to long-term legacy.⁹ The aim of this article is to understand why they differed so much. To this end, the article systematically compares the sociolinguistic prerequisites of both movements. Building on deliberations by Cyrille Aillet, Matthias Maser, Dimitri Gutas, Dag Nikolaus Hasse, and others,¹⁰ its objective is to understand why they began, why they took place in a particular period, in particular places, and in a particular manner, and—last but not least—how and why they ended. The article will analyse each translation movement individually and end with a comparative conclusion. Analysis and comparison build on a set of parameters. These include (1) the relation between geopolitical shifts, the emergence and/or availability of specific forms of “intellectualized bilingualism”, and the beginnings of translation activity; (2) the scope and duration of the translation movement as circumscribed by the availability and thematic breadth of appropriate texts, the motivations to translate, and the supporting institutions of patronage; finally (3) the resulting degree of institutionalization in the spheres of language learning, teaching, and translation in relation to the end and the respective legacy of translation activity.

ary *Transcultural Relations*, ed. Nayef R. F. Al-Rodhan (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012), 25–37; Jim Al-Khalili, *The House of Wisdom. How Arabic Science Saved Ancient Knowledge and Gave Us the Renaissance* (New York: Penguin Press, 2011). On the formulation of the same general hypothesis in Arabic works from the 19th century onwards, see Daniel G. König, *Der Islam und die Genese Europas. Zwischen Ideologie und Geschichtswissenschaften* (Saarbrücken: Universitätsverlag des Saarlandes, 2018), 50–51. The counterposition is formulated in Sylvain Gouguenheim, *Aristote au Mont Saint-Michel. Les racines grecques de l'Europe chrétienne* (Paris: Seuil, 2008).

⁹ On this imbalance, see König, “The Unkempt Heritage,” 419–93; Daniel G. König, “Islamic Studies: A Field of Research Under Transcultural Crossfire,” *Journal of Transcultural Studies* 2 (2016): 101–35.

¹⁰ Dimitri Gutas, “What was there in Arabic for the Latins to Receive? Remarks on the Modalities of the Twelfth-Century Translation Movement in Spain,” in *Wissen über Grenzen. Arabisches Wissen und lateinisches Mittelalter*, ed. Andreas Speer and Lydia Wegener (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006), 18–19; Dag Nikolaus Hasse, “The Social Conditions of the Arabic–(Hebrew–)Latin Translation Movements in Medieval Spain and in the Renaissance,” in *ibid.*, 68–86; Matthias Maser, “Übersetzung und Identität. Überlegungen zu Intentionen und Kontexten des Iberischen Übersetzungswerkes im Mittelalter,” in *Grenzräume und Grenzüberschreitungen im Vergleich: Der Osten und der Westen des mittelalterlichen Lateineuropas*, ed. Klaus Herbers and Nikolas Jaspert (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2009), 241–60; Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*.

2 From Latin to Arabic in Umayyad al-Andalus (9th–11th Cent.)

Latin–Arabic translation in Umayyad al-Andalus involved two sets of texts: Christian texts including the Psalter, the Gospels, the Pauline epistles, and the ecclesiastical canons of the Visigothic era on the one hand, historiographical texts, specifically an enlarged version of Orosius’ (d. c. 417) late antique “Histories against the Pagans” (*Historiarum adversus paganos libri septem*) and, possibly, a list of Frankish kings on the other hand. Translations were generally produced in the environs of Cordoba, both in a “Mozarab” Christian milieu and in circles attached to the Umayyad court.¹¹

2.1 Geopolitical Preconditions and the Emergence of Romance-Arabic Bilingualism

The beginning of translation activity in the middle of the 9th century ultimately resulted from the geopolitical shift brought about by the Muslim invasion of the Iberian Peninsula in 711. The invasion extended the recently established contact zone of Latin and Arabic, which had come into being in North Africa at the end of the 7th century. This contact zone had brought together Arabic speakers from the Middle East as well as speakers of what we may either call “vulgar” Latin or a Romance idiom derived from Latin.¹² The latter included Romanized North African city-dwellers and Romanized Berbers accustomed to communicating in a Latinate idiom. Since both groups had already lived under Muslim rule for several decades, we can assume that some of their members were able to communicate with the Muslim elites in Arabic. If we accept these preconditions,¹³ it seems plausible that North African linguistic mediators facilitated acts of collaboration and administrative interaction between Arabic speakers and Iberian speakers of Romance during the period of invasion.

¹¹ For an excellent overview and further details, see Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, 177–212.

¹² Reinhold Kontzi, “Das Zusammentreffen der arabischen Welt mit der romanischen und seine sprachlichen Folgen,” in *Substrate und Superstrate in den romanischen Sprachen*, ed. Reinhold Kontzi (Darmstadt: WBG, 1982), 387–450.

¹³ Discussed in more detail in: Daniel G. König, “Herrschaftsübernahme durch Multilingualismus. Die Sprachen der arabisch-islamischen Expansion nach Westen,” *Historische Zeitschrift* 308.3 (2019): 637–74.

Initially, communication between the different speaker groups must have been confined to the exchange of rather basic and thus easily explicable information.¹⁴ Communication on more complex topics—including, for example, the negotiation of surrender treaties—was probably dependent on multilingual North African immigrants, rather than on inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula with previous linguistic experience in Muslim North Africa.¹⁵ The panoply of linguistic mediators became wider as soon as Latin- or Romance-speaking Christians and immigrated Arabic-speaking Muslims began to build up more intensive relations. Inter-marriage between conquerors and the indigenous population, for example, created family ties resulting in intensified communication and the rearing of possibly bilingual children. We can assume that indigenous women continued to speak Romance to their children even after they had married an Arabic-speaking Muslim of Middle Eastern origin who probably assured the linguistic integration of these children into the conquerors' society: this seems plausible in the case of Sāra al-Qūṭiyya, said to be the grandchild of the penultimate Visigothic king Viti-za, who married two men from Syria;¹⁶ and it probably remains valid at the end of the 8th century, when pope Hadrian I criticized Iberian Christian families for marrying off their daughters to "the pagans".¹⁷ Not only the progeny of Christian-Muslim parents, but all kinds of non-Muslims cooperating with the new Arabic-speaking elites will have been subject to a process of linguistic Arabiciza-

14 Daniel G. König, "Caught Between Cultures? Bicultural Personalities as Transmitters in the Late Antique and Medieval Mediterranean," in *Acteurs des transferts culturels en Méditerranée médiévale*, ed. Rania Abdellatif, Yassir Benhima, Daniel König and Elisabeth Ruchaud (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2012), 58.

15 It is unclear if inhabitants of the pre-Islamic Iberian Peninsula had the opportunity to learn Arabic in Muslim North Africa. This could be implied by Visigothic law of the late 7th century, which prohibits the kingdom's Jews to engage in commerce with regions beyond the sea (*ut nec ad cataplum pro transmarinis commerciis faciendis ulterius audeant properare*). The acts of the 17th council of Toledo (a. 694), in turn, accuse Iberian Jews of conspiring with their North African brethren against the Christians (*indubie invenimus, hos in transmarinis partibus Hebraeos alios consuluisse, ut unanimiter contra genus christianum agerent*), see: Karl Zeumer, ed., "Lex Visigothorum," in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Leges nationum Germanicarum: Leges Visigotorum*, ed. Karl Zeumer (Hanover: Hahn, 1902), § 12,2,18, 427; Karl Zeumer, ed., "Concilium Toletanum XVII, Tomus Egicani regis," in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Leges nationum Germanicarum: Leges Visigotorum*, ed. Karl Zeumer (Hannover: Hahn, 1902), 484.

16 Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, *Tārīkh iftitāḥ al-Andalus*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī (Beirut: Dār al-kitāb al-lubnānī, 1989), 29–32; Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, *The History of Ibn al-Qūṭiyya*, trans. David James (London: Routledge, 2009), 49–51.

17 Wilhelm Gundlach, ed., "Codex Carolinus" (ep. 95: Hadrianus papa ad episcopos Hispaniae), in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Epistolae*, vol. 3: *Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini Aevi*, vol. 1, ed. Wilhelm Gundlach (Berlin: Weidmann, 1892), 643.

tion.¹⁸ Indigenous converts to Islam, in particular, will have made efforts to acquire excellent Arabic skills, e.g. in the case of a Muslim with “non-Arab parents” (*kāna fī abawayhi ‘ajama*) aspiring to the office of a Muslim judge in Cordoba at the beginning of the 10th century.¹⁹

The process of linguistic Arabicization was accompanied by a parallel process of linguistic Romanization.²⁰ The progeny of Christian converts to Islam may have become fully Arabicized in the course of several generations. It is possible, however, that they also upheld bilingual Romance-Arabic skills, in particular if they continued to maintain regular relations with Iberian Christians living outside the Muslim sphere of rule. This was the case with the Banū Qasī, who frequently married off their Muslim daughters to northern Christian courts as late as the 10th century.²¹ In addition, several sources suggest that the descendants of immigrated Muslims also acquired Romance skills, albeit in different degrees: the three centuries after the period of invasion witnessed the emergence of a particular Andalusī dialect of Arabic, mentioned, for example, by al-Muqaddasī (d. after 380/990).²² Although difficult to reconstruct, we can be certain that it contained a large number of Romance loanwords and thus featured a shared lexical basis resulting from, but also facilitating further linguistic interaction between speakers of Arabic and Latinate idioms.²³ However, bilingualism also existed on a higher level: al-Khushanī (d. c. 371/981) mentions two Muslim judges of the 9th century who represent two different forms of bilingualism—one was able to speak, the other only seems to have been able to understand Romance, defined here as the “non-Arabic language” (*al-‘ajamiyya*).²⁴ In the 11th century, Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064) regarded

18 For an overview, see Ángeles Vicente, *El proceso de arabización de Alandalús: Un caso medieval de interacción de lenguas* (Zaragoza: Instituto de Estudios Islámicos y del Oriente Próximo, 2007).

19 Al-Khushanī, *Kitāb al-Quḍāt bi-Qurṭuba / Historia de los jueces de Córdoba por Aljoxani*, ed./trans. Julián Ribera (Madrid: Imprenta Ibérica, 1914), 188–89 (AR), 234 (ES).

20 Daniel G. König, “Herrschaft und Sprache. Herrschaftsumwälzungen und die Transformation von Sprachlandschaften im mittelalterlichen Euromediterraneum,” in *Macht und Herrschaft transkulturell. Vormoderne Konfigurationen und Perspektiven der Forschung*, ed. Matthias Becher, Linda Dohmen and Stephan Conermann (Bonn: V&R Unipress, 2018), 303–6.

21 Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-‘Arab*, ed. ‘Abd as-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn (Cairo: Dār al-ma‘ārif, 1982), 502. See Jessica Coope, *The Most Noble of People. Religious, Ethnic, and Gender Identity in Muslim Spain* (Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press, 2017), 144–58.

22 Al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan at-taqāsīm fī ma‘rifat al-aqālīm*, ed. Michael de Goeje (Leiden: Brill, 1877), 243.

23 Federico Corriente, “Andalusī Arabic,” in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, ed. Kees Versteegh, vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 101–11.

24 Al-Khushanī, *Kitāb al-Quḍāt bi-Qurṭuba / Historia de los jueces*, ed./trans. Ribera, 111–12, 139 (AR).

the Arabic monolingualism and the lack of “Latin” skills of a certain tribal group, the Banū Balī, as exceptional.²⁵ Finally, we should consider that imported captives, slaves, and concubines from the Iberian north or the Frankish sphere continuously re-introduced native Romance skills to the Arabic-speaking society of the conquerors.²⁶ Thanks to intermarriage with northern Iberian Christian families and the import of Christian concubines, even Umayyad rulers may have acquired their earliest language faculty with the help of a Romance-speaking mother, before they were whisked off into the male courtly environment dominated by Arabic when they became older.²⁷

In sum, the approximately 150 years between the Muslim invasion of 711 and the earliest translation activities from Latin to Arabic in the middle of the 9th century, witnessed the gradual build-up of bilingual skills. In a society made up of an increasingly mixed progeny of conquerors, conquered, and later immigrants, different degrees of Latin(ate)–Arabic bilingualism coexisted:²⁸ the linguistic situation in the highly Arabicized Umayyad capital of Cordoba and in Christian-Muslim milieus cooperating in the realm’s administration will have differed from the situation in some of the less Arabicized border zones to the Christian kingdoms of the north.²⁹ Some Muslims and Christians may have only shared a modest lexical basis, common to their respective oral form of Andalusi Arabic or Ibero-Romance dialect; others may have had passive knowledge of the respective other oral form; finally, a certain percentage was probably able to communicate actively in both linguistic systems.

2.2 A Short Window of “Intellectualized Bilingualism”?

The ability to communicate orally in two languages does not automatically make a good translator of written texts. The latter needs at least passive reading skills in the source language, and active writing skills in the target language.

25 Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-‘Arab*, ed. Hārūn, vol. 2, 443; David Wasserstein, “The Language Situation in al-Andalus,” in *Studies on the Muwashshah and the Kharja*, ed. Alan Jones and Richard Hitchcock (Reading: Ithaca, 1991), 9.

26 Cf. Ibn al-‘Aṭṭār (d. 399/1009), *Kitāb al-Wathā’iq wa-s-sijillāt—formulario notarial hispano-árabe*, ed. Pedro Chalmeta, Federico Corriente (Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura, 1983), 33–36, 115–16, 254–55, 285–89.

27 Dede F. Ruggles, “Mothers of a Hybrid Dynasty. Race, Genealogy, and Acculturation in al-Andalus,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 34.1 (2004): 65–94.

28 Otto Zwartjes, “Al-Andalus,” in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, ed. Kees Versteegh, vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 96–101.

29 A point highlighted by Corriente, “Andalusi-Arabic,” 102.

Such skills are attested around the middle of the 9th century in and around the milieu of the so-called martyrs of Cordoba. According to Eulogius of Cordoba (d. c. 859), one of the hagiographers of the martyr movement, a certain Aurelius, son of a “pagan”, i.e. Muslim father and a Christian mother, had first received a training in “Arabica litteratura”. Under the influence of his Christian aunt and several clerics, he began to engage with Christian scripture.³⁰ Since 9th-century Christians in Cordoba still used Latin as their main language of documentation, Aurelius very probably engaged with the scriptures in Latin. His case may have important implications: it suggests that Muslims of the 9th century—even if they hailed from Muslim-Christian families—may have been able to speak a form of Romance, but only engaged with Latin texts as soon as they inserted themselves into a specifically Christian milieu.

This Christian milieu, however, was not entirely Latinized anymore. The Christian youth of the 850s seems to have been more interested in using Arabic rather than Latin: according to Albarus of Cordoba (d. c. 861), the second hagiographer of the martyr movement, they employed Arabic words, experimented with the metres and rhyme system of Arabic poetry, and preferred “Chaldaean” books to the volumes of the Latin Church fathers. They were, Albarus claims, not able to write a decent Latin letter anymore.³¹

Both references point to an imbalance of Arabic and Latin skills in Cordoba, with Arabic gaining, and Latin losing currency. Considering that a translator from Latin to Arabic mainly needed to understand Latin and to express himself in Arabic, this linguistic imbalance permitted unidirectional translation from Latin to Arabic. In view of this precarious balance of increasingly passive Latin and increasingly active Arabic skills, we must ask ourselves if the particular linguistic constellation in Muslim al-Andalus of the mid-9th century only permitted translation activity from Latin to Arabic in a very short period, in which Christians still retained enough Latin skills to be able to understand Latin texts, but were already proficient enough in the language of the conquerors to produce Arabic texts. This could explain why translation activity stopped in the middle of the 11th century at the latest.

Latin written culture was certainly losing ground in al-Andalus: Latin records of ecclesiastical activity in Muslim al-Andalus as recorded in the *Corpus Scriptorum*

³⁰ Eulogius Cordubensis, “Memoriale Sanctorum,” in *Corpus Scriptorum Muzarabicorum*, ed. Juan Gil (Madrid: CSIC, 1973), vol. 2, lib. II, cap. X,1, 416; *ibid.*, lib. II, cap. X,18, 423.

³¹ Albarus Cordubensis, “Indiculus luminosus,” in *Corpus Scriptorum Muzarabicorum*, ed. Juan Gil (Madrid: CSIC, 1973), vol. 1, cap. 35, 43–64, 314–15.

um *Muzarabiorum* break off in the 860s.³² One should note, however, that the Christian liturgy seems to have been kept in Latin to a certain degree,³³ that it is possible to reconstruct some meagre traces of literary activity in Latin until the 10th century,³⁴ and that we find references to Latin-Arabic bilingualism, at least until the 11th century: the Ottonian *Vita Iohannis abbatis Gorziensis* mentions a Christian courtier named Recemund at the court of ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān III around the year 953 who was educated both in Latin and Arabic letters (*litterae*);³⁵ commenting on the Roman history of Seville, the Andalusian geographer al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094) mentions contemporary “specialists in the Latin language” (*ahl al-‘ilm bi-l-lisān al-laṭīnī*).³⁶ Finally, the Arabicization of the Latin canons of the Hispanic Church between 1048 and 1050³⁷ as well as Latin and Arabic glosses produced at the margins of Latin manuscripts until around the 12th century³⁸ show that Latin reading skills persisted.

Consequently, we must refute the hypothesis that a particular balance between passive Latin and active Arabic skills only made Latin–Arabic translation

32 Latin was still used in the extant acts of the ecclesiastical council of Córdoba of 839 and in the condemnation of Samson effected by a certain Hostegesis at the council of Córdoba in 862. See Juan Gil, ed., “Concilium Cordubense (a. 839),” in *Corpus Scriptorum Muzarabiorum*, ed. Juan Gil (Madrid: CSIC, 1973), vol. 1, 135–41; and Samso, “Apologeticus liber,” in *Corpus Scriptorum Muzarabiorum*, ed. Juan Gil (Madrid: CSIC, 1973), vol. 2, lib. II, cap. VII,1, 569–70; Nina Pleuger, “Christliche Identitätsbildung bei Samson,” in *Integration und Desintegration der Kulturen im europäischen Mittelalter*, ed. Michael Borgolte, Julia Dücker, Marcel Müllerburg, Bernd Schneidmüller (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2011), 47–49.

33 Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, 142–43: “On ne possède donc aucun texte liturgique méridional en langue arabe, comme si la sphère de la liturgie avait davantage résisté à l’arabisation, ce qui fut d’ailleurs aussi le cas en Orient en milieu copte ou syriaque.” But also see 196–201, where Aillet plays with the idea of a partially Arabicized Christian liturgy.

34 See Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, 139–42.

35 Jean de Saint-Arnoul, *La Vie de Jean, abbé de Gorze*, ed./trans. Michel Parisse (Paris: Picard, 1999), § 128, 154–55; Peter Christoph Jacobsen, ed./trans., *Die Geschichte vom Leben des Johannes, Abt des Klosters Gorze* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2016), cap. 128,2, 448: “litteris optime tam nostrorum quam ipsorum inter quos versabantur linguae Arabicae institutus.”

36 Al-Bakrī, *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik*, ed. Aadrian P. van Leeuwen and André Ferré (Tunis: Dār al-‘arabiyya li-l-kitāb – Bayt al-ḥikma), § 1513, 902–3.

37 Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, 202–4. It has been questioned if we can really speak of a proper translation, see Hanna Kassiss, “Arabic-Speaking Christians in al-Andalus in an Age of Turmoil (Fifth/Eleventh Century until A.H. 478/A.D. 1085),” *Al-Qanṭara* 15.2 (1994), 416: “the compiler Vincentius and his team were creative jurists rather than mere translators.”

38 Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, 145–46: “Les milieux cléricaux semblent donc avoir préservé leur connaissance de la syntaxe et du lexique latins, malgré des niveaux très variés.” For Arabic glosses on Latin manuscripts, see 153–76.

possible for a short period.³⁹ To understand the scope and duration of the translation movement, it is thus necessary to look for other factors by focussing on the milieus of translation activity.

2.3 The Christian and Courtly Milieus of Translation

The scope of translated texts—Christian scripture and ecclesiastical texts on the one, Christian historiographical texts on the other hand—suggests that translation activity was firmly tied to a Christian, “Mozarab” milieu. This milieu was increasingly Arabicized thanks to its links to the Muslim environment, and may have felt pressured to exhibit and defend the validity of its faith vis-à-vis the rival monotheist faiths of al-Andalus in Arabic. Its liturgy may have been partially Arabicized.⁴⁰ Consequently, this Christian community was in need of Arabic translations of the most essential texts representing its creed—the Psalter, the Gospels, the Pauline epistles, and ecclesiastical legislation.

Arabic translations of the Psalter were produced approximately between the 860s and 880s, since the extant translation by Ḥafṣ b. Albar, dated 889, mentions an earlier but lost translation of allegedly minor quality.⁴¹ To date, the only identifiable Andalusian translation of the Gospels was produced by a certain Ishāq b. Balashk al-Qurṭubī around 946. In view of texts citing biblical quotations in Arabic that differ from Ishāq’s translation, scholarship supposes that other Arabic versions, some of them probably preceding this translation, also circulated in al-Andalus.⁴² This also applies to the Pauline epistles, which were translated en-

³⁹ See Cyrille Aillet, “Recherches sur le christianisme arabisé (IX^e–XII^e siècle). Les manuscrits hispaniques annotés en arabe,” in *¿Existe una identidad mozárabe? Historia, lengua y cultura de los cristianos de al-Andalus*, ed. Cyrille Aillet, Mayte Penelas, Philippe Roisse (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2008), 100.

⁴⁰ On these issues, see Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, 185, 189, 196–201.

⁴¹ Ḥafṣ bin Albar, “Urjūza,” ed./trans. Marie-Thérèse Urvoy, v. 28, in Marie-Thérèse Urvoy, *Le Psautier mozarabe de Ḥafṣ le Goth* (Toulouse: Presses universitaires, 1994), 15. See the English translation in Douglas M. Dunlop, “Ḥafṣ b. Albar: The Last of the Goths?,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 3.4 (1954): 140.

⁴² Pieter S. van Koningsveld, “Christian-Arabic Manuscripts from the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa: A Historical Interpretation,” *Al-Qanṭara* 15.2 (1994): 425; Philippe Roisse, “Los Evangelios traducidos del latín al árabe por Ishaq b. Balask al-Qurtubi en 946 d. C.,” in *Estudios árabes dedicados a D. Luis Seco de Lucena en el XXV aniversario de su muerte*, ed. Concepción Castillo Castillo, Inmaculada Cortés Peña and Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1999), 147–64; Ann Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus (711–1000)* (Richmond: Curzon, 2002), 155–56; Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, 185–96.

tirely in al-Andalus, one translation dating from the 9th or 10th century.⁴³ The Arabic version of the Hispanic ecclesiastical canons is dated to 1048–1050 and was produced by a certain Vincentius (*Binjinshiyush*) at the order of an unidentified bishop named ‘Abd al-Malik.⁴⁴

These translations can be considered the product of an inner-Christian discourse, which flared up dramatically in the middle of the 9th century during the turbulences associated with the phenomenon of the so-called martyrs of Cordoba. The propagators of this movement can be defined as “Christians who opposed assimilation”.⁴⁵ Regarding Christianity under Muslim rule as imperilled in terms of religion and culture, they bewailed the loss of Latin skills and pursued an agenda of Latinization.⁴⁶ The translators who transferred the basic texts of Christianity from Latin to Arabic belonged to the opposing group of “assimilationists” who, while rejecting conversion to Islam, accepted and supported the linguistic Arabization of Andalusian Christianity. At the beginning, their efforts did not go uncontested, as is documented in the introductory poem of Ḥafṣ b. Albar’s translation of the psalms. He mentions “people who will ridicule what I have done / and will delight in blaming my work”,⁴⁷ whereas his intention was to provide “understanding of what was previously not understood”.⁴⁸ The translators’ positive stance towards Arabization also implied rather good relations to the Umayyad authorities: according to Ibn al-Qūṭīyya (d. 367/977), Ḥafṣ b. Albar occupied the post of “judge of the non-Arabs” (*qāḍī al-‘ajam*), thus being one of the prime representatives of Andalusian Christians vis-à-vis the Muslim ruling elites.⁴⁹ While little is known about Ishāq b. Balashk al-Qurtubī, the translator of the Hispanic canons, Vincentius, speaks of his “judicial obligations and those of the congrega-

43 Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, 192–93; Sara Schulthess, *Les manuscrits arabes des lettres de Paul. État de la question et étude de cas (1 Corinthiens dans le Vat. Ar. 13)* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 2. But see: Daniel Potthast, “Die andalusische Übersetzung des Römerbriefes,” *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia* 8 (2011): 69–70.

44 Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, 202–5.

45 Jessica A. Coope, *The Martyrs of Córdoba. Community and Family Conflict in an Age of Mass Conversion* (Lincoln: The University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 60.

46 Roger Wright, “The End of Written Ladino,” in *The Formation of al-Andalus Part 2: Language, Religion, Culture and the Sciences*, ed. Maribel Fierro and Julio Samsó (Farnham: Ashgate, 1998), 25–28.

47 Ḥafṣ b. Albar, “Urjūza,” ed./trans. Urvoy, v. 110, 19: “qawman sa-yuskhitūna mā fa’altu / walyala’ūna ‘ayb mā ‘amaltu [...]”; trans. Dunlop, “Ḥafṣ b. Albar,” 144.

48 Ḥafṣ b. Albar, “Urjūza,” ed./trans. Urvoy, v. 113, 19: “fahmu mā qad kāna laysa yufhama.”; trans. Dunlop, “Ḥafṣ b Albar,” 144. See Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, 180.

49 Ibn al-Qūṭīyya, *Tārīkh iftitāḥ al-Andalus*, ed. al-Abyārī, 31.

tion” (*rutbatī ash-sharī‘a wa-thaqaf al-jamā‘a*),⁵⁰ a remark, which has prompted Cyrille Aillet to suppose that he held the post of “judge of the Christians” (*qāḍī an-naṣārā*), i.e. the representative of Christians vis-à-vis the respective Muslim authorities.⁵¹

It is important to note that these translations did not take place in a closed-off space, hermetically sealed off from its Muslim surroundings, but in a flourishing intellectual milieu that came into being around the middle of the 9th century.⁵² According to Ṣā‘id al-Andalusī’s (d. 462/1070) history of scientific achievements, the *Kitāb Ṭabaqāt al-umam*, Muslim intellectuals of the post-invasion period focused on legal and linguistic matters. Interest in other forms of knowledge only arose in the second half of the 9th century, the period which also witnessed the beginnings of Latin–Arabic translation in al-Andalus:

“Its inhabitants [i.e. the Muslims] only cultivated the legal sciences (*‘ulūm ash-sharī‘a*) as well as the science of language (*‘ilm al-lughā*) until, after a period of infighting, Umayyad rule became strong and high-minded characters turned to the study of the sciences (*ṭalab al-‘ulūm*) [...]. In the middle of the third century of the hijra [i.e. the third quarter of the ninth cent. CE], i.e. in the days of the fifth Umayyad *amīr*, that is Muḥammad [I, r. 238–273/852–886], certain people took up the study of the sciences and provided it with an uncommon visibility until approximately the middle of the fourth century [i.e. the third quarter of the tenth cent. CE].”⁵³

In the ruling periods of ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān III (r. 300–350/912–961) and his son al-Ḥakam II (r. 350–366/961–976), “ancient” and “modern” sciences (*al-‘ulūm al-qadīma wa-l-ḥadītha*) began to flourish in al-Andalus. This, Ṣā‘id al-Andalusī claims, was also due to the massive import of new books from the Abbasid sphere:

“Then, in the early fourth century [of the *hijra*] the *amīr* al-Ḥakam [II] al-Mustanṣir bi-llāh, the son of ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān [III] an-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh, applied himself, still in the days of his father, to cultivating the sciences and the scientists’ zeal. From Baghdad and Egypt and

50 See Kassis, “Arabic-Speaking Christians,” 414.

51 Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, 202.

52 Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, 178.

53 Ṣā‘id al-Andalusī, *Kitāb ṭabaqāt al-umam*, ed. Louis Cheikho (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1912), 62–64: “lā ya ‘nī ahluhā bi-shay’ min al-‘ulūm illā bi-‘ulūm ash-sharī‘a wa-‘ilm al-lughā ilā an tawaṭṭada al-mulk li-Banī Umayya ba‘da ‘ahd ahliahā bi-l-fitna fa-taḥarraka dhawū al-himam minhum li-ṭalab al-‘ulūm [...]. lammā kāna wasaṭ al-mi‘a ath-thālitha min tārikh al-hijra wa-dhālik fi ayyām al-amīr al-khāmis min mulūk Banī Umayya wa-huwa Muḥammad bin ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān bin al-Ḥakam bin Hishām bin ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-dākhil bi-l-Andalus taḥarraka afrād min an-nās ilā ṭalab al-‘ulūm wa-lam yazālū yuḥarūn zuhūran ghayr shā‘i’ ilā qarīb wasaṭ al-mi‘a ar-rābi‘a [...].”

other eastern regions he imported the gems of the most important writings as well as the most interesting compilations on the ancient and the modern sciences. In the remaining days of his father, then in the subsequent period of his own rule, he collected so many of these that it almost equalled what the Abbasid rulers had collected over a long period. What pushed him to do this was his extreme love for science, his extensive interest in acquiring excellence, and his desire to resemble sage kings. Consequently, in his time, many people were moved to read the books of the ancients as well as to learn their schools of thought”.⁵⁴

Other works confirm that the court sponsored intellectual endeavours, including a number of translations. According to Abraham b. Dawūd (fl. 542–561/1148–1166), al-Ḥakam II commissioned an Arabic translation of the Talmud from a certain Joseph b. Isaac b. Shatnash surnamed Ibn Abitur.⁵⁵ Ibn Juljul (d. after 384/994) credits the Jewish courtier Ḥasday b. Shaprūt and a Byzantine monk named Nicholas with having produced an improved Arabic version of Dioscurides’ *Materia medica* at the behest of ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān III, after the latter had received the manuscript from the Byzantine emperor around 337/948. According to Ibn Juljul, Orosius’ *Historiarum adversus paganos libri septem* had also reached the Umayyad court with the same Byzantine delegation.⁵⁶ The exact circumstances of this translation are disputed,⁵⁷ given that Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406), the other important source on the circumstances of this translation, fails to mention the alleged Byzantine origin of the manuscript and additionally claims in one

54 Šā‘id al-Andalusī, *Kitāb Ṭabaqāt al-umam*, ed. Cheikho, 65–66: “thumma lammā maḍā ṣadr min al-mī‘a ar-rābi‘a intadaba al-amīr al-Ḥakam al-Mustaṣṣir bi-llāh bin ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān an-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh wa-dhālika fī ayyām abihi ilā ‘ināya bi-l-‘ulūm wa-ilā th-thibār ahlahā wa-stajāba min Baghdād wa-Miṣr wa-ghayrihimā min diyār al-mashriq ‘uyūn at-tawālīf al-jalīla wa-l-muṣannafāt al-gharība fī al-‘ulūm al-qadīma wa-l-ḥadītha wa-jama‘a minhā fī baqiyyat ayyām abihi thumma fī muddat mulkihi min ba’dihi mā kāda yuḍāhī mā jama‘athu mulūk al-‘Abbās fī al-azmān aṭ-ṭawīla wa-tahayya‘a lahu dhālik li-farṭ maḥabbatihi li-l-‘ilm wa-bu‘d himmatihi fī iktisāb al-faḍā’il wa-sammū nafsīhi ilā at-tashabbuh bi-ahl al-ḥikma min al-mulūk fa-kathira taḥarruk an-nās fī zamānihi ilā qirā‘at kutub al-awā’il wa-ta‘allum madhāhibihim.” See José Martínez Gázquez, *The Attitude of the Medieval Latin Translators Towards the Arabic Sciences* (Florence: SIS-MEL, 2016), 10–11, with supporting material.

55 Abraham Ibn Dawud, *Sefer ha-qabala*, ed./trans. Gerson D. Cohen (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1967), § 48–49, 66: “R. Joseph b. R. Isaac b. Shatnash surnamed Ibn Abitur [...] interpreted the whole of the Talmud in Arabic for the Muslim King al-Hakam.”

56 Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a, *‘Uyūn al-anbā’ fī ṭabaqāt al-a‘ibbā’*, ed. August Müller (Cairo: al-Maṭba‘a al-wahbiyya, 1882), vol. 2, 47; Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a, *‘Uyūn al-anbā’ fī ṭabaqāt al-a‘ibbā’*, ed. Nizār Riḍā (Beirut: Dār maktabat al-ḥayāt, 1965), 494–95.

57 Cf. Daniel G. König, *Arabic-Islamic Views of the Latin West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 149, 182–85, with a summary of the different theories on who translated the work. The most explicit theory was proposed by Mayte Penelas, “A Possible Author of the Arabic Translation of Orosius’ *Historiae*,” *Al-Masāq* 13 (2001): 113–35.