

(1546)

an enormous scallop shell, which gives the effect of a huge megaphone. Around the sides are three-lobed arches which form decorative niches and are mounted on black marble columns. Between the columns and between the curves of the arches and their rectangular frames are elaborately carved alabaster panels. The panels between the curves of the arches and their rectangular frames are carved with the Persian "Tree of Life" motif, while the panels between the curves of the arches and the frames are carved with vegetal motifs which strongly resemble Persian stucco of the Early Islamic Period.(36)

The doors or rather portals of the Mosque of Cordoba which date from the time of al-Hakam II are of extraordinary beauty, but offer nothing new from our point of view. Those of the western facade have survived nearly intact. They consist of a large horseshoe arch flanked by two smaller lobed arches. Above the main arch is a series of interlaced horseshoe arches and above this is a Kufic inscription in cut brick. The whole is beautifully decorated with carved stone panels and brick mosaics. These last, both in their technique and in their motifs remind one of Persian brickwork of the Samanid Period (37). The eastern portals were mainly demolished by the later enlargement of the mosque by Almanzor. In one which survives in part is a stone panel around the lower part of the curve of the main horseshoe arch which is carved with a motif identical to that of the Persian stuccowork of the Abbassid Period (38).

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Almanzor (al-Mansur), Hajib (Vizir) of Hisham II, son of al-Hakam II, decided to enlarge the mosque again. This he did by adding eight naves on the eastern side of the mosque, thus destroying the symmetry and leaving the *mihrab* uncentered. Note that the Mosque of Cordoba does not really "face toward Mecca". In Spain, Mecca is to the Southeast. However, Abd ar-Rahman I came from Syria, and oriented the mosques as mosques are oriented in Syria, and this orientation, correct for Syria but not for Spain, was maintained by his successors in the enlargements of the mosque. In general, the enlargement of Almanzor reflects a decline in both workmanship and taste. The capitals are very crude, and the arches merely painted to give the impression of alternating bands of white limestone and red brick. Nevertheless, in one aspect at least Almanzor succeeded in surpassing al-Hakam II. The eastern portals built by Almanzor are of singular beauty. The main arch is of horseshoe shape. Above it is a series of smaller, linked (but not crossed or interlaced) horseshoe arches. On either side of the main arch are "twin" horseshoe arches and above these are lobed arches. As before, the whole is profusely decorated with brick mosaics similar to those of the portals of al-Hakam II and with carved stone panels. The panels around the lower curves of the main arch of one of the portals is carved with a motif identical to Persian stuccowork of the Samanid Period (39), and flanking the columns supporting the smaller paired or

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"twin" arches are panels carved with the Persian "Tree of Life"

motif.

As we said before, the excavation and partial restoration of Medina az-Zahara is proceeding slowly because of lack of funds. Fine restoration work has been done in the Mosque of Cordoba, but a great deal remains to be done, particularly in some of the oldest portals on the western facade, in and around the patio and in some details of the *mihrab*. Also, from what survives, from written Muslim and Christian sources and from drawings and carved reliefs it should be possible to restore the minaret of Abd ar-Rahman III to its original appearance. Said minaret was badly damaged by an earthquake and a hurricane in 1589, and the present Renaissance-style belfry built around the remains. This belfry, if not exactly ugly or monstrous, is not of any great merit and is very incongruent with the rest of the Mosque. Once again, lack of funds intervenes.

During my visit to Medina az-Zahara one of the directors of the excavation told me that a wealthy Arab oil-producing country (I believe Saudi Arabia but am not absolutely certain) offered to finance the restoration of the Mosque of Cordoba and the excavation and restoration of Medina az-Zahara. But there was a condition. Within the Mosque is the Cathedral of Cordoba and the parish church of El Sagrario. These had to be removed from the Mosque and the Mosque restored to Muslim worship, even though the present Muslim community in Cordoba is very small. In spite of their proverbial liking for the wines of Montilla and Moriles, the

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Cordobans are in general very Catholic as every visitor notes, and

would never accept such conditions. Nevertheless, I think it possible to perhaps come to some sort of agreement. The Cordobans are very friendly and hospitable, and very proud of their city's past glory as capital of the Caliphate. The Cathedral really only occupies a small part of the mosque, while the parish church of El Sagrario is practically hidden in a corner of that part of the mosque built by Almanzor. The most important parts of the mosque, i.e., the *mihrab* and the Capilla de Villaviciosa, are untouched by either the Cathedral or the parish church. The parish church also has merit from an historical standpoint, for it gives one an idea of what a mosque converted into a church must have been like, something very frequent at the time of the Christian Reconquest. As we said before, on the site of the present mosque was a Visigothic church which for some time after the Muslim Conquest was shared by both faiths. Hence, there is most certainly a precedent for the two faiths sharing the same edifice. Also, there is another point. The Mosque of Cristo de la Luz in Toledo is not at present used as a church. I see no particular reason why it could not be refurbished and once again used as a mosque. Thanks to its location in Toledo, it would be very convenient for the personnel of the embassies and for the large number of students from Muslim countries studying in Madrid. In summary, the complete excavation and partial restoration of Medina az-Zahara and the complete restoration of those parts of the Mosque of Cordoba

which need it (including the minaret of Abd ar-Rahman III) would be a great service to Islamic culture and would contribute toward

a greater understanding between the Islamic and Christian faiths.

At least one of the so-called "minor arts" (I myself have never understood the division between "major" and "minor" arts; to me this division is obviously arbitrary and irrelevant, a product of snobbery, frivolity and provincialism of both time and place) of the Caliphate of Cordoba is very interesting from our viewpoint. I refer to the art of ivory carving. About 22 works of carved ivory of the Caliphal Period survive in various parts of the world. The motifs of these pieces are varied. A plaque in the Metropolitan Museum of New York repeats several times the typically Sassanian motifs of animals facing one another on either side of the "Tree of Life". Even more interesting from our viewpoint is a large ivory chest in the Cathedral of Pamplona. Here is a veritable catalogue of Sassanian motifs, which are so numerous that the whole is impossible to describe in a brief fashion. The plaques on the two short sides of the chest contain two carved medallions. In one of them two pairs of lions attacking gazelle-like animals confront one another on either side of the "tree of Life. In the other medallion one finds two griffin-like animals confronting one another on either side of the Tree of Life. The lid is composed of five plaques. In one of them one finds a central medallion which contains a peacock of very Sassanian aspect. On either side of the medallion one finds somewhat stylized lions attacking a gazelle-like animal. The

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Sassanian style peacock also appears on two other plaques.

Yet another plaque contains a medallion in which one finds a heraldic eagle sinking his talons into the backs of two smaller birds. The top plaque contains a medallion in which two warriors confront one another and fight with the Tree of Life between them. The Tree of Life motif occurs between the medallions and the medallions and the plaques are edged with Celtic-style interlace (40). Similar, though smaller and less elaborate is an ivory chest in the Provincial Museum of Burgos (see photos). The influence of this ivory carving extended to Christian Spain. In the National Museum of Madrid I have seen a 10th Century Mozarabic ivory processional cross carved with the same Sassanian motifs one finds in the Caliphal ivory chest in the Cathedral of Pamplona.

Judging by later Hispano-Muslim textiles, it would seem reasonable that the textiles of the Caliphal Period must have used a great number of Sassanian motifs, particularly the peacock and animals confronting one another on either side of the Tree of Life. However, the pieces which survive from the Caliphal Period are far too few in number to allow one to reach any conclusions. Concerning the actual migrations of Persians to al-Andalus in the time of the Emirate and the Caliphate, little can be said because our sources have very little to say on the subject. This is most unfortunate, since the theme is of great importance for the study of Hispano-Muslim civilization, particularly in the fields of art, literature and Sufism or Mysticism. The very fact that our sources have so little to say on the subject would seem to

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indicate that the actual number of Persian immigrants cannot have been large (indeed, the number of Arab immigrants was quite small compared to the great mass of Hispano-Muslims). Well known in this connection is Ziriyab, who came to al-Andalus during the reign of Abd ar-Rahman II and introduced many Persian fashions in music, clothing and even cuisine (41). Well known also is the family al-Razi, of whom we have spoken before. (42). To be of Persian origin in al-Andalus apparently was a mark of distinction. The great ibn Hazm of Cordoba was of purely Hispanic origin, being the grandson of Mozarabs of Huelva. Nevertheless, he liked to claim a Persian origin (43). We have spoken of the *zajals* of the Cordoban poet ibn Quzman, which are written in Andalusian Vulgar Arabic, and contain a large Romance vocabulary and even a fair number of Byzantine Greek words. Emilio Garcia Gomez, in his great work on ibn Quzman lists two Persian words which occur in the *zajals* of said poet, i.e., *jauzahar* and *shadirwan* (shadorvan). But in a footnote Garcia Gomez states quite frankly:

"Neither this appendix nor the one before can by any means claim to be exhaustive. They deal only with a few selected words, those whose importance most attracts one's attention. The section on Persian words is reduced to two, although there are many others (in the *zajals* of ibn Quzman)"(44).

Emilio Garcia Gomez is a fine Arabist, perhaps the leading authority on Hispano-Arabic literature and on the Andalusian dialect of Vulgar Arabic. He is also a very fine writer and translator of such skill that he richly deserves to be recognized

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as a prose stylist and poet in his right. However, as he himself admits, he is not an Iranist. A study of the vocabulary of Andalusian Vulgar Arabic by a qualified Iranist might well yield some surprises. In an earlier chapter we have examined the possibility that the *zajal* itself may be of Persian origin, derived from the *tarj-i-band*. However, as we have said before, the evidence appears to be against this theory; the most probable is that both techniques derive from a remote common source, not the one from the other.

As an anecdote, it should be noted that the very Andalusian *merienda* (afternoon snack), breakfast and desert, which everyone who has lived in Andalusia is thoroughly familiar with and which consists of bread, cheese and quince jelly, is the typical Iranian breakfast (45). The quince, so popular in Iran, is also very popular in Andalusia. The town of Puente Genil is renowned for its quinces and quince jelly. What is called "Indian Summer" in U.S.A. is called *Verano del Membrillo* (Summer of the Quince) in Andalusia.

According to the poet Abu Bakr ibn al-Qutiyya (literally "Abu Bakr son of the Goth"), the three great holidays of the Hispano-Muslims were *Mihrajan*, 'Id and *Nawruz*. Two of these are of special interest to us. The word "Nawruz" in Persian means "New Year", literally "New Light". In Iran it is celebrated on the date of the Spring Equinox, but in al-Andalus it was celebrated in the first days of January. Thus, the Persian New Year was confused with the Christian New Year and also with

Epiphany. *Mihrajan* (Avestan: *Mithrakana*) is also of Persian origin; literally, "*Mihrajan*" means "Birth of Light." The word *Mihr* is derived from the name of the god *Mithra*, one of whose functions was as a god of light. In Iran *Mihrajan* it is celebrated at the time of the Autumn Equinox, but in al-Andalus it was celebrated on June 24, or the time of the Summer Solstice.(46) Thus the Persian *Mihrajan* was confused with St. John's Eve, which, as we have said is a festival of Celtic origin. Thus, two of the most popular holidays in Muslim Spain bore Persian names, though in practice one was confused with the Christian new Year and Epiphany, while the other was confused with a festival of Celtic origin, though long given a Christian name.

In reference to music, the Persian mode called *Shur* is identical to the Hispano-Muslim mode called *Sika*. (47). Of course, one cannot be certain that the *Sika* mode is of Persian origin, because, as we shall see, it may be Celtic. In any case, Celtic modes were used in Hispano-Muslim music (48).

It is generally believed that the Spanish guitar is derived from the Arab *'ud*. However, the word "guitar" ("guitarra" in Spanish) certainly seems to be Persian rather than Arabic. In form the Spanish Classic Guitar seems to be a hybrid between the Arab *'ud* and the Persian *tar*, having characteristics of both. Both the *'ud* and the *tar* are fretted instruments. The body of the *'ud* is oval shaped, and entirely of wood, with a sound hole on the upper side. The body of the *tar* is hour-glass shaped, but the top is a drumhead, not wooden, and there is no sound hole. The guitar

resembles the `ud in having a body entirely of wood with a sound hole on top, but resembles the tar in having a long neck and an hour-glass shaped body. Incidentally, the Persian word "tar" means "string".

The word *Flamenco* comes from the Hispano-Arabic dialect words *fellah mengu*, which means literally "peasant music", roughly "folk music" in contrast to the more elaborate "art music". There are those who say that "real Flamenco music" is that of the Gypsies of Andalusia. However, there are *payo* or non-Gypsy Andalusian guitarists who play folkloric and traditional music of Andalusia.

Such masters of Andalusian traditional music as Paco de Lucia and Manolo Sanlucar are indeed "payos" or non-Gypsies and their style of playing does not have typical Gypsy characteristics. From the etymological viewpoint, the word "Flamenco" has nothing to do with Gypsies, and would indeed be more applicable to the non-Gypsy folkloric and traditional music of Andalusia. I most certainly am not a Gypsy-hater, and enjoy Gypsy music. I simply wish to avoid confusion, to avoid the sort of mistakes made by Franz Liszt. Searching for Hungarian folkloric and traditional music, Liszt confused Gypsy music with music which is truly Hungarian. I do not wish to confuse Gypsy music with music which is truly Andalusian.

Anyone may compare non-Gypsy folkloric and traditional guitar music of Andalusia with Arab music played on the `ud and with Persian music played on the tar (Lyricord Discs LLST 7201 & LLST 7220). Anyone who does this will readily perceive that said

Andalusian non-Gypsy guitar music really does not much resemble the Arab music of the `ud, but bears a very close resemblance to the Persian music of the tar.

It was the Sufis who finally won over the bulk of the population of al-Andalus to Islam. The alfaquis, scholars of the Law (Maliki in this case) were rather unpopular among the people of al-Andalus, who made jokes about them similar to the "lawyer jokes" of today. Certainly the alfaquis converted very few (if any) Mozarabs to Islam.

On the other hand, Sufism permeated the very air of al-Andalus, and did so until the end, and even later, when Hispano-Muslim Sufism so strongly influenced the great Spanish Christian mystics of the 16th Century.

We now come to the vexed question of the number of Shi'ites in al-Andalus, which question we will deal with in a monographic manner in Chapter 8. Here we only wish to note that the influence of the Shi'ite *kalam*, and Shi'ite *irfan*, *ishraqi* and *hikmat-i-Illahi* is perfectly obvious in most of the great thinkers of al-Andalus, notably ibn Massarah, ibn Arabi, Abul Abbas ibn al-Arif of Almeria, ibn Saba'in, ibn Abbad of Ronda and ibn al-Khatib of Granada.

An anecdote concerning al-Hakam II. Wine-drinking was very prevalent in al-Andalus, as it had been in pre-Muslim times, and there is little to choose between Mozarabs and Muslims on this score, even some cadis and *alfaquis* being "prone to take a nip". Being a devout Muslim, al-Hakam II decided that this state of

affairs could not continue, and went so far as to order all vineyards to be uprooted. However, people now began to make wine from figs, dates, apples, peaches, cherries, apricots, plums and about everything else that would ferment. Al-Hakam II finally came to the conclusion that wine-drinking was too firmly rooted in the culture of al-Andalus to be eradicated, and lifted the ban.

At a later period ibn Quzman in his *zajals* gives a lively picture of the wineshops of Cordoba, which have changed very little from his time until the present. During Muslim times the grapes from which the wines of Jerez, the famous "Sherry" are made were brought from Shiraz in Persia, while the grapes from which the famous wines of Malaga, often called *Moscatel* in Spanish, were brought from Musqat in Arabia during this same period. Also, after the Christian Reconquest, "Old Christians" from the North noted that their Muslim neighbors had a tremendous revulsion against eating pork, but tended to be tremendous drunkards. This commentary is found among those "Old Christians" who were in general favorably disposed towards the Muslims, and praised their charity, hospitality and hard work, so there is no reason to doubt its truth.

During the reign of Hisham II the real power was in the hands of the vizir or *hajib* Almanzor (al-Mansur). The vizir recruited a large army of Berber mercenaries with which he won a series of victories over the Christian Kingdoms of the North. However, these savage Berbers were cordially detested by the population of al-Andalus, and the image of the puppet Caliph inevitably created

a lack of respect for the very institution of the Caliphate. After the death of Almanzor, there began a period of instability and confusion. Claimants to the Caliphal throne succeeded one another in a sort of "game of musical chairs".

Europeans (Hispano-Muslims and Slavs or Franks) and Berbers in the Caliphal armies fought one another and backed rival claimants, who were in any case mere puppets either of the European military faction or of the Berbers as the case might be. Two Caliphs were assassinated. Finally in December, 1031 the Caliphate was declared to be abolished.

Yet even in its inglorious end the Caliphate of Cordoba stirs the imagination with the romance of the poet ibn Zaydun and Walada, the red-haired beauty, daughter of the decadent Caliph al-Mustakfi. Here is a quatrain written to Walada by ibn Zaydun:

Your love has made me famous among the people
For you my heart and thoughts are obsessed
When you are absent none can console me
And when you appear the whole world is present

ibn Zaydun

And here is a quatrain written by Walada to ibn Zaydun:

I am jealous of my eyes, of my whole person
Of yourself, of your time and place
Still graven in the pupils of my eyes
My jealousy never ceases

Walada bint al-Mustakfi

Here are a few more verses by Wallada:

Worthy am I, by God, of the highest, and
Proudly I walk, with head aloft.
My cheek I give to my lover and, to those who wish them,
I yield my kisses.

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Wait for my visit when darkness falls;

Night is the best concealer of secrets.
Such passion I feel for you that, if they felt so,
The sun would not shine, the moon not appear,
The stars not move.

Al-Andalus now literally fell apart, divided into small, weak kingdoms which constantly fought one another. This period is called "the first period of taifas". There is a legend of this time which is of great interest to us.

I wish to thank my good friend, Manuel Perez Regordan, local historian of Arcos de la Frontera, for proportioning information concerning this legend.

Not far to the east of the great wine centre of Jerez de la Frontera, home of the famous "Sherry", rises a high bluff out of the surrounding plains and above the river Guadalete. On the highest point of this bluff, according to local traditions, the great Celtic King Brigo, the Brigo or Breoghan of Irish and Gallego legends, constructed a fortification. Later Carthaginians, Romans, Visigoths and Muslims fortified this dominating height. The present castle is partly of Visigothic, partly of Almohade construction. Around this fortification grew a town, which took its name from King *Brigo* or *Breoghan*. *Arcobrigan* the name of this town in Roman sources, probably comes from a Celtic expression meaning "the Height of Brigo" or "the Fortification of Brigo", and this is preserved in the present name of the town, Arcos de la Frontera. Because of its lovely natural setting on a steep bluff crowned by a castle overlooking the Guadalete, where hobby falcons wheel and soar lazily, because of

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its charming whitewashed and pastel houses with wrought iron

grills and bright flowers in the windows and, - why not? - because of its pretty girls, many people consider Arcos to be the most beautiful small town in Spain.

On the dissolution of the Caliphate, Arcos became the capital of a small kingdom or *taifa* (*tawa'if*) ruled by Berber kings. In Seville, however, the populace, with the aid of the *Saqaliba* (Slavic and Lithuanian mercenaries) drove out the Berbers and chose al-Mutadid ibn Abbad, a *cadi* or Islamic judge of the Hispano-Muslim family of Beni Abbad, as king. This family name is interesting. Remotely it would seem to be derived from the Aramaic "abba", which means "father" and was used as a title for the head of a monastery. It is the origin of the English word "abbot" and the Spanish "abad". Our knowledge of monasticism in Visigothic Spain and among the Mozarabs is fragmentary, and indicates diversity of practices. In Visigothic Spain Irish, Byzantine, Coptic, Armenian and Syrian influences abounded, and this mixed heritage was passed on to the Mozarabs. At one time in Ireland there were monasteries in which the inmates were allowed to be married. Also, it has never been unusual for a widower to take holy orders, so there is nothing shocking in the idea that of a monk or friar being the father of children. In Spain to this day the surnames *Abad* (Abbot), *Monje* or *Monxe* (Monk) and *Fraile* or *Freire* (Friar) still exist, though they are not very common. Apparently the founder of the banu Abbad was abbot of a Mozarabic monastery.

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A handsome, brave and fiercely determined man, al-Mutadid ibn

Abbad was the father of a great king, al-Mutamid ibn Abbad, and the ancestor of a great sufi, ibn Abbad of Ronda. Partly because of ambition, partly because of a plain hatred of Berbers, al-Mutadid was determined to annex the neighboring Berber-ruled taifas to his kingdom. Al-Mutadid would soon be known as "the scourge of the Berbers". The poet al-Nahli, comparing the great warrior al-Mutadid with the pusillanimity of some other Hispano-Muslim taifa kings, wrote:

"(Al-Mutadid) ibn Abbad annihilated the Berbers
Ibn Ma'n (king of Almeria) slew the village hens"

The umm walid or chief wife of ben Hazrun, the Berber king of Arcos, was the beautiful chanteuse which some sources call by the Romance name of "Bonifacia" (which would indicate that she was a Mozarab at least by birth), while in other sources she is called by the Arabic name "Nanafasy", which means "Violet."

In 1053 ben Hazrun of Arcos, along with the neighboring Berber kings Aben Nuh or Moron and Hilal ben Abi Kurra of Ronda was invited to a great festival by al-Mutadid. When he left for Seville, ben Hazrun locked Bonifacia or Nanafasy in one of the towers of the castle, leaving ample provisions. This act may seem strange, but it must be remembered that the Berbers were cordially hated by the population of al-Andalus and Bonifacia or Nanafasy may well have been despised as a "collaborationist".

Al-Mutadid received the Berber kings with great ceremony, and invited them to a steam bath after their journey. When the

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Berbers were safely in the bath, the door was walled up and the

servants increased the fires under the baths. The Berber kings and their followers were literally roasted alive. Berber treachery being proverbial in al-Andalus, al-Mutadid and his Sevillanos no doubt thought that they were giving the Berbers "a dose of their own medicine". Al-Mutadid then dispatched forces to occupy Moron, Ronda and Arcos.

Meanwhile Bonifacia or Nanafasy waited in her refuge, the magnificent view being the only consolation in the boredom and loneliness. Finally one day Bonifacia or Nanafasy heard the rude noises of battle and saw the smoke of burning houses. The forces of al-Mutadid had arrived. Now the population of Arcos joined the Sevillanos to exterminate the hated Berbers. The drums of the Sevillanos thundered in triumph. Berber heads topped long lances. "Death to the Berbers", chanted the people of Arcos.

The mob now broke down the doors of the castle and invaded the harem. From her tower Bonifacia or Nanafasy watched in horror as one of the mob siezed her small son and hurled him from the walls of the castle into the abyss below. Suddenly the mob and the soldiers who had stromed the castle heard a blood-curdling scream and saw a dark mass fall from the high tower. The ample pleats of her sleeves unfolded like the wings of a huge bird which seemed to grow smaller and smaller as it fell into the abyss, appearing successively as a swallow and as a black butterfly which fell into the silver ribbon of the river. The waters had not yet calmed when a black bird rose from the river and soared to the

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heights of the castle and swift as an arrow made for the murderer

of the son of Bonifacia or Nanafasy, pecking out his eyes. "The Ghost Bird", shouted the others, fleeing from the castle.

To this day at twilight on Friday the Ghost Bird rises from the river, and soars to the high chimneys of Arcos. Many people of Arcos, including the distinguished and erudite lady dona Violeta (appropriate name!) Buck have seen the Ghost Bird flying from the high tower of the castle toward the old door of the harem (49).

The parallel with certain Persian legends, particularly those relating to the *Simurgh* or *Garuda* is clear.

So now we take leave of my friends and relatives of the enchanting town of Arcos de la Frontera. And my relatives they are, because I am of Irish origin, and Arcos was founded by Brigo or Breoghan. An anonymous bard of the O'Hara clan of Ireland said:

There was never anyone to equal Eber the Fair
Neither in Spain nor in Ireland
Of the royal blood of his tribe
Of the lineage of Breoghan
With him came the sons of Mil ...

Cordoba had been plundered and Medina az-Zahara had been razed by the Berbers. Seville now became the political and cultural centre of al-Andalus. This period, known as "the first period of *taifas* offers nothing new in the field of art and architecture. However, it was the golden age of Hispano-Arabic literature. The taifa kingdoms were militarily weak but

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culturally strong.

Almanzor won many victories over the Christians of the North, yet in the long run his rule was a terrible disaster for al-Andalus. In fact, I do not hesitate to say that more than any other single person Almanzor was responsible for the eventual destruction of Muslim Spain. Knowing that the majority of the Andalusis were loyal to the Umayyads, Almanzor, Andalusis himself, did not trust his own countrymen. He deliberately disarmed the Andalusis to prevent rebellions, and built an army composed almost entirely of foreign mercenaries, i.e., Berbers from North Africa and Europeans from North of the Pyrenees, mostly Slavs or "Saqaliba". These last were Slavs and Lithuanians captured by the Germans in their *Drang nach Osten* (March to the East) and sold as slaves. The effects of this policy were catastrophic. The Slavs or *Saqaliba*, of European origin, were easily assimilated among the population of al-Andalus (remember, from 95% to 99% of the population of al-Andalus were native Spaniards). Not so (475) the Berbers, who remained a foreign body, detested by the Andalusis. The Berbers made little distinction between Hispano-Muslims, Mozarabs, Slavs and Spanish Christians from the North (called *Jellikan* or "Gallegos"), all of whom were white Europeans. The Berbers plundered and raped all with fine impartiality. The wanton destruction and plundering by the Berbers in Cordoba and Medina az-Zahara is proof enough of this. The Andalusis of course retaliated whenever they had the chance. The acts of al-Mutadid and the population of Arcos recounted in the legend of Arcos must

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be judged in this context.

Granada during this time was ruled by a Berber dynasty, the Ziri, though effectively governed by the vizirs of the Jewish family of beni Nagrela, whose descendants, the Agrela family, still live in Granada. The Granada of the Zirids was economically wealthy, but the Zirids, being Berbers, had little appreciation of Arabic verse. This first taifa period is generally considered as the golden age of Hispano-Arabic literature, but the Ziri kings of Granada despised poets. The Granadino poets migrated to other kingdoms, from whence they wrote anti-Ziri and anti-Berber invective. Wrote the Granadino poet Sumaysir from his refuge in Almeria:

I saw Adam and said to him
"Father of all men, the people say
That the Berbers are your descendants"
And he answered:
"If that be true, then I hereby repudiate Eve" (50).

The conflict between Andalusis and Berbers has been dealt with by Emilio Garcia Gomez in Andalucia contra Berberia (51).

The policy of Almanzor was disastrous for yet another reason. The Andalusis had once possessed fine martial qualities, and would do so again. The Caliphal armies of Abd ar-Rahman III and al-Hakam II were composed almost entirely of Andalusis, and more than held their own both in Spain and the Maghrib. But the policies of Almanzor disarmed the Andalusis, so that when the Caliphate disintegrated the Andalusis had for the moment lost their martial qualities from lack of practice, and were unable to

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confront the rough but stern and viril Christians of the North.

The results of this were to be both disastrous and tragic.

Almanzor, obsessed with power, followed a policy which was suicidal for al-Andalus. The correct policy was to have maintained good relations with the Christians of the North, backing this up with a strong military force composed of native Andalusis, and to have maintained a strong Mediterranean fleet and control of various North African ports, thus confining the Berbers to their own side of the Straits of Gibraltar. This was the wise policy of Abd ar-Rahman III and al-Hakam II. Had it been continued, al-Andalus might exist to this day. There is yet another factor. It is quite wrong to imagine the Caliphate as a tightly centralized despotism. The fact is that the Caliphate was very largely feudal. In part this was the heritage of Visigothic feudalism, in part an expression of Spanish individualism, particularism and intense localism. The fact is that feudalism goes very well indeed with the Spanish temper, which is intensely individualist and localist and also personalist in politics. Particularly in local elections Spaniards tend to vote on the basis of personalities rather than ideology or party labels. Almanzor undermined the prestige of the Umayya dynasty and the very institution of the Caliphate. In summary, Almanzor antagonized the Christian kingdoms of the North, disarmed the native Andalusis, imported a horde of savage Berbers, and undermined the prestige and authority of the Caliphate. If he had deliberately set out to follow a policy which in the long run would destroy al-Andalus, he

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could hardly have done it better.

Certainly the most important of the taifas of this period was the Kingdom of Seville, ruled by the dynasty of the banu Abbad, of whom we have spoken before. Of al-Mutadid we have spoken in connection with the legend of Arcos. Whatever one may think of some of the methods of al-Mutadid, his aims were good. A true Andalusí patriot, he intended to free al-Andalus of the Berbers and to create a state powerful enough to resist the Christians of the North and to control the Western Mediterranean to keep the Berbers at bay. On his death the Kingdom of Seville was the most powerful militarily and most brilliant culturally of all the taifas. A great king himself, al-Mutadid was the father of another great king and ancestor of the great sufi ibn Abbad of Ronda, whose influence is so evident in the works of St. John of the Cross, particularly Dark Night of the Soul, al-Mutadid is certainly one of the greatest figures in the history of Muslim Spain, or al-Andalus.

The son of al-Mutadid, known as al-Mutamid, was also one of the great figures in the history of al-Andalus. Brave, handsome, magnanimous, a poet of rare distinction, his strange and tragically romantic life has been an inspiration to poets and moralists for centuries. Emilio Garcia Gomez describes the life of al-Mutamid as "poetry in action". His life had two guiding lights, in this order: 1.) Islam and its teachings; & 2.) the Code of Chivalry. An anonymous *muwashasha* cited by al-Shaqundi says:

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Seville is a bride
Whose bridegroom is (al-Mutamid) ibn Abbad
The Aljarafe (a palace) is her crown

The river (Guadalquivir) is her necklace

Says R.A. Nicholson:

"... his life (i.e., that of al-Mutamid) reminds one of a sentence frequently occurring in the Arabian Nights: "Were it graven with needle-gravers upon eye corners, it were a warner to whoso would be warned (52).

True to Islamic Law and the tradition of the Caliphs of al-Andalus, al-Mutamid was tolerant and generous towards Christians and Jews, and relations between the three faiths were very cordial. Al-Mutamid called himself "King of Two Religions", i.e., Islam and Christianity.

Many tales are told of the happy life of al-Mutamid in Seville. The evening sallies of he and his vizir, the poet ibn Ammar, remind one of the tales of Harun al-Rashid and his vizir Jaafar ibn Barmak as told in the Arabian Nights. A romantic tale is told of al-Mutamid. He and ibn Ammar were one day walking along the banks of the Guadalquivir. Al-Mutamid improvised the following two lines of verse, and challenged ibn Ammar to "cap" them:

See how the flaming Sun and gentle breeze
Make the river like a burnished coat of mail

"Cap it", said al-Mutamid. "Wait a moment", answered ibn Ammar, "I need time to think."

At that moment a girl was passing, and capped the verse:

Better than a coat of mail
A coat which will keep you from freezing

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Turning in surprise, al-Mutamid saw a beautiful girl dressed in rough peasant garb. The king instantly fell in love with her,

married her and remained devoted to her for the rest of his life.

Since it is most unlikely that a peasant girl could understand Classic Arabic, much less compose verse in it, we may suppose that al-Mutamid was improvising verse in either Vulgar Arabic or Romance.

A famous bandit, called "The Gray Falcon", was captured and tied to a cross in the outskirts of Seville, his wife and children loudly lamenting at the foot of the cross. A clothing salesman happened to pass by. The Gray Falcon begged the man to come near. He explained how he had come to so grim a situation, and said that he wished to end his life with an act which would benefit his wife and children. A short time ago, he said, he had stolen a large amount of money, and, before his arrest, had thrown it into a dry well only a few yards away. He indicated where it was, asking the merchant to find the money and give it to his wife. The greedy merchant lowered himself into the well by means of a rope. The Gray Falcon then told his wife to cut the rope. She then took the donkey and merchandise of the merchant to Seville, where she sold it for a goodly sum of money. When finally someone heard the cries of the merchant in the dry well and got him out, news of these happenings was soon the gossip of Seville. Al-Mutamid then ordered that The Gray Falcon be taken down from the cross and brought to his presence. Al-Mutamid asked the bandit how, being between Heaven and Hell, he thought to commit yet another crime.

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The Gray Falcon answered that if the king knew how delightful it is to deceive people, he would leave his throne and become a

bandit. Al-Mutamid spared The Gray Falcon's life, and gave him a position in the Royal Guard.

However, storm clouds were gathering in the North, where the "Gallegos" (*al-Jellikani*) or "hard cider drinkers" still smarted from the humiliations received at the hands of the armies of Almanzor. After a period of confusion following the death of Fernando I of Leon and Castile, the stern and warlike knights of the Northwest were on the march again.

Alfonso VI laid siege to Toledo and conducted a destructive raid into al-Andalus, swearing that no Muslim would stop his southward advance. Reaching Tarifa, the southernmost point of Spain, he rode his horse into the Atlantic and fulfilled his vow, thus knowingly or unknowingly repeating the gesture of Sidi Uqba, the Arab conqueror of the Maghrib more than four centuries before. Finally Toledo fell, while other Christian armies raided to within a few miles of Granada. By now the taifa kings were thoroughly alarmed. In the Maghrib at this time the power of the *Almoravids* (*al-Murabitun*) under Yusuf ben Tashfin was at its height. The Almoravids or *al-Murabitun* of Yusuf ben Tashfin were the forerunners of the English and New England Puritans on the one hand and the Wahhabis and Taliban on the other. It was proposed to invite the Almoravids to Spain to aid in the struggle against the Christians. Many in al-Andalus were opposed to inviting a horde of savage Berbers to al-Andalus, fearing that "the cure would be

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worse than the disease". Indeed, an Almoravid invasion had for some time been a nightmare for most people in al-Andalus, who had

much experience with hordes of savage Berbers. But al-Mutamid, whom no one could accuse of being a friend of the Berbers, replied:

"Better to be camel-driver in Africa than a swineherd in Castile."

So, with great misgivings ben Tashfin was invited to al-Andalus, an invitation which he promptly accepted. Alfonso VI was very far from being cowed, and besides, like the Andalusis, he had a vigorous dislike of Berbers. Alfonso boldly rode south to meet the threat.

The two armies met a Zallaqa, not far from Badajoz. Alfonso sent a note to the Muslims, saying that since it was Friday, the Muslim Holy Day, he would not begin the battle until the next day. Al-Mutamid, he and his Sevillanos in the vanguard, watched the Army of Castile and heard the warlike skirl of the bagpipes of the troops from Galicia and Asturias. To the Andalusis this sound was familiar, answering some call in the blood inherited from Celtic ancestors. Yet, to the Almoravides it was unnerving. Many centuries before, the stalwart hearts of the Roman legionnaires had been chilled by the skirl of Celtic bagpipes in the dark, misty forests of Galicia and Asturias.

In general the Andalusis fought badly, but al-Mutamid and his Army of Seville fought gallantly, proving that not all Andalusis had lost their martial qualities. Al-Mutamid himself was twice

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wounded. While the Christians were busy with the Sevillanos, ben Tashfin and his Berbers attacked them from behind. But the

Christians fought resolutely all day, Alfonso himself being wounded. Finally the Christians collapsed, Alfonso escaping with a few survivors. For the moment ben Tashfin had problems in Africa, and there returned. Four years later, however, he returned to al-Andalus on the pretext of continuing the Jihad against the Christians. With true Berber perfidy he forgot his oaths not to annex any part of al-Andalus to his empire. Granada was taken by the Almoravids, who in their lust for plunder even broke the stones of the Alcazaba or citadel in search of treasure. Granada did not recover from this blow for more than two centuries. The next victim of the Almoravids was Seville, whose king, al-Mutamid, had first invited them to al-Andalus and who had fought gallantly at their side at Zallaqa. Under the leadership of al-Mutamid the Sevillanos resisted desperately. Two of al-Mutamid's sons had already been killed fighting against the Almoravids, one in Cordoba and one in Ronda. Finally Seville itself was besieged. Another son of al-Mutamid and one of the sons of the poet ibn Zaydun, famous for his romance with Wallada bint a-Mustakfi, daughter of the Caliph al-Mustakfi, was killed in the final, house-to-house defense of the city. Al-Mutamid was forced to watch as the Almoravids systematically razed his beloved Seville to the ground. His daughter was sold as a slave. Finally, he and his wife and two youngest sons, along with a few followers were put in chains and taken by prison ship to

(1573)

the Maghrib. The poet ibn Labbana recalls the scene:

I will forget all save that morning by the

Guadalquivir when those of the Royal Family were in the ships like corpses in their tombs.

The people on the banks beat their breasts and contemplated these pearls floating on the foam of the water.

When came the moment of farewell, women who had given their all and men disposed to sacrifice their lives, launched heart-rending cries.

The ships cast off, accompanied by tearful laments and keening, like camels whom the driver forces to go forward. What lamentations were carried on the waters! How many tears flowed with the river! How many broken hearts went with those unfeeling galleys!

So, accompanied by the lamentations of his people, al-Mutamid was borne away to Agmat in Morocco, where he died our years later.

As al-Mutamid himself said, he had "dug his own grave"(52).

Even in exile, al-Mutamid continued to write poetry. One verse is particularly appropriate:

Two iron tools long have I used - with lances' points
And with sharp, gleaming swords I had great skill
Now chains of iron hold fast my aching limbs
As the teeth of hungry lions hold fast their prey.

Al-Mutamid survived only three years in exile. An anonymous poet expresses the grief of his people for the death of their beloved king:

Oh best of kings, your people weep and languish for you
Your palace where we once made merry is now deserted
Beside your lonely desert grave, we recite our verses of
lamentation.

As even the cold-hearted Edward Gibbon said concerning the martyrdom of Imam Hussein at Karbala:

"It is a tale able to draw tears from the coldest reader."

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Some say that al-Mutamid was not a great king. But how is greatness measured? Al-Mutamid was handsome, chivalrous, devout,

upright, a great poet and patron of the arts, beloved by his people who considered him the best of kings. He was as much beloved by his Christian or Mozarabic subjects as by his Muslim ones, and was known as "the king of the two religions". If this is not a great man and a great king, then what is? Al-Mutamid, to many people you will always be a romantic hero and a great king, and we will shed tears for you. Your spirit lives in the marvelous and noble city of Seville, which you loved so much, where jasmine and roses yet bloom and nightingales yet sing, and where the Guadalquivir still forms the necklace of the city that was your beloved bride. Not a drop of rain falls in Seville that is not a tear for you, al-Mutamid, not a bird sings nor a breeze sighs in the trees that does not recite your sweet verses. Until the end of time the birds of Seville will fly and sit on the tree branches with the name of al-Mutamid in their beaks. In Seville the mournful "coo-coo" of the Eurasian ringdove or collared dove and the cuckoos mourn for you, al-Mutamid, keening "Coo?, Coo?, Coo?", in the Persian and Celtic languages "Where?, Where?, Where?", Where is al-Mutamid, our cherished king, who gave his life for his beloved Seville, whom Seville loved more than life itself, whom none can replace. Forever we shall keen "Coo?, Coo?, Coo?", "Where?, Where?, Where?". Al-Mutamid, in Paradise hear our weeping and lamentations and see our tears.

The king of Badajoz was promised safe conduct, but once

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outside the walls he and his family were strangled.

In Valencia the Castilian knight Rodrigo Diaz de Vivar, "El

Cid", deeply sorrowed by the fate of his good friend al-Mutamid and for this and many other reasons seeking revenge against the Yusuf ben Tashin, rallied Christians and Muslims alike to resist the Almoravids. Well known is the legend that so great was the fear that El Cid inspired among the Almoravids that even in death his corpse, braced in the saddle, won a victory over them. Thanks to this gallant resistance the Muslim Kingdom of Sarragossa also maintained its independence. But the rest of al-Andalus was crushed under the heel of the Almoravids.

The Almoravid invasion marks a watershed in the history of al-Andalus. It effectively halted the Christian Reconquest for 30 years. Yet it was a hard blow in other ways. The Almoravids proved to be brutal, plundering tyrants. The destruction which they caused was nearly total in many places (notably Seville and Granada, which had been the leading centres of culture and learning) only the mosques being spared. Libraries in particular were favorite targets of the destructive urges of the Almoravids. The Almoravid invasion very nearly meant the end of the Mozarabs.

All Christian churches and monasteries were systematically razed, all Christian manuscripts burned. Large numbers of Mozarabs and Jews, and some Muslims, particularly Shi'as and Sufis, fled to the North. Never again would al- Andalus enjoy such a high cultural level and such wealth as in the period of the Caliphate and the first taifa period. Of course, resistance movements grew up in

(1576)

al-Andalus, which provoked savage reprisals.

One common misconception needs to be corrected here.

Al-Andalus was not a mere extension of the Maghrib. The brilliance of Hispano-Muslim civilization was due to a combination of heterogenous elements: on the one hand the Celtic, Roman Byzantine and Visigothic heritage of Spain, on the other elements which came from the East, from Syria, Byzantium, Iraq, Armenia and Persia. As we have seen, the role of the Berbers or North Africans was mainly destructive and disruptive, closely parallel to the role of the Turks in the Eastern Caliphate. Culturally speaking, the Maghrib was a dependency of al-Andalus, not the reverse. The tragedy of al-Andalus encloses a hard lesson: that division creates weakness, that empires and nations must not become too dependent on foreign mercenaries, and that a people that loses its martial qualities will soon lose its liberty: those who will not bear swords will bear chains.

The Almoravid invasion was a disaster for yet another reason. It marks the first large-scale religious persecution of any type since the Muslim Conquest in 711. To put it another way, in Spain before the Almoravid invasion, neither Muslims persecuted Christians nor Christians persecuted Muslims. Before said invasion, relations between Christians and Muslims were very cordial. The tales of Almoravid savagery told by refugees from al-Andalus changed all this. Not that relations between the two religions were always unfriendly after said invasion. However, in the minds of Spanish Christians was born the image of Muslims as

(1577)

"savage, treacherous, bloodthirsty, thieveing Moors", which still exists even today. The old cordiality between the two religions

would never quite return. The injustice of this is obvious. The Almoravids were not good Muslims in either theory or practice. In his doctrines ben Tashfin was a heretic. In practice nearly all the Almoravids were nominal Muslims who had very little knowledge of the faith that they professed and for whom Islam was no more than a pretext to plunder, rape and murder. But the damage had been done, and would never be completely repaired. In a very real sense the expulsion of the Moriscos in 1610 was a result of the Almoravid invasion. No one remember that the Almoravids had robbed and slaughtered Muslims as well as Christians, and that they were hated by the Muslims of al-Andalus.

Culturally speaking the Almoravid period in the history of al-Andalus is a blank page. Virtually no Almoravid structures survive in Spain (not that they were ever abundant), very few in North Africa. As one may suppose, the situation was similar in the field of literature.

With the decline of Almoravid power, al-Andalus entered in what is known as the "Second Taifa Period" as the Hispano-Muslims threw off the Almoravid yoke. Militarily, of course, this was unfavorable. Sarragossa, Extremadura, La Mancha, Tortosa and Teruel fell to the advancing Christians. Yet in some ways this was a great period. The golden age of Hispano-Arabic literature was the first taifa period. Yet the second produced so great and interesting a figure as the tall, blond Cordoban with

(1578)

the Gothic name ibn Quzman (Spanish "Guzman", from the Gothic "Guttmann") about whom we have spoken earlier. In one very

important field this second taifa period was truly a golden age; that of Sufism or Mysticism. Sufism had permeated the very air of al-Andalus for a long time. The Almoravids, of course, were fiercely hostile to Sufism. Indirectly and most certainly unintentionally the Almoravids may have caused the flowering of Sufism and philosophy in general by weakening the "Maliki Establishment". At first generally favorable to the Almoravids, the alfaquis later protested when they proved to observe Islamic Law mainly in the breach, and when the alfaquis protested they were persecuted.

In any case, after the end of the Almoravid period Sufism rose and burgeoned like a skyrocket and al-Andalus became second only to Persia as a centre of Sufism. The main centers of this movement were in Western Andalusia and the Portuguese Algarve, with Seville and Silves as the focal points. This is what one might well expect, since these are the zones of al-Andalus in which the Celtic substratum is most powerful. However, by far the greatest figure of this movement was a Murcian, ibn Arabi al-Mursi, though he lived for thirty years in Seville, where he studied under the woman Sufi Fatima bint Ibn al-Muthanna (54). There is no need here to refer to the importance of the man whom the Sufi "pir" Idries Shah calls "the greatest sheikh" (55).

While ibn Arabi al-Mursi (the Murciano) wrote many of his works in the East, he was very much an Andalusian by blood, and

(1579)

received his formation in al-Andalus studying under Andalusian

"sheikhs". Idries Shah is quite right to refer to ibn Arabi al-Mursi as "one of the greatest Spaniards who ever lived". Several works of ibn Arabi al-Mursi, notably the one whose title is usually translated as Sufis of Andalusia, show to what extent the atmosphere of the al-Andalus of his day was permeated, indeed saturated with Sufism.

This great flowering of Sufism in al-Andalus of course opens a fascinating field for speculation and investigation. To give a detailed comparison of the doctrines of the Andalusī Sufis and their Persian counterparts would require more research material than is currently at my disposal. In any case, ibn Arabi al-Mursi lived outside Spain for much of his life, so there is really no way to know for sure how much of his doctrine was acquired in al-Andalus and how much in other parts. For instance, he was definitely in contact with Persian Sufis during his sojourn in Mecca(56). It is very difficult to believe that there is no Persian inspiration and influence in this Sufism of al-Andalus. We have spoken before of the Persians who came to al-Andalus during the Umayyad period, though our sources in this field are poor indeed. It is certainly difficult to believe that Persian Sufis came to al-Andalus during the Almoravid period. In summary, Persian influence on the Sufism of al-Andalus may be considered to be a fact, though the extent of this influence and the means by which it reached al-Andalus at present must be considered a subject for speculation. One possibility is exemplified by the

(1580)

life of ibn Arabi al-Mursi. Many Hispano-Muslims went on

pilgrimage to Mecca, and it is certainly reasonable to assume that ibn Arabi al-Mursi was not the only one who by this means came into direct contact with Persian Sufis.

The second taifa period is quite barren in the fields of art and architecture, for obvious reasons.

The Almoravid movement or heresy had arisen among the nomads of the Western Sahara and was a manifestation of desert puritanism combined with a most intolerant fanaticism and really had very little philosophical or theological base. In the 12th Century a new movement arose in North Africa, this time among the mountaineers of the Atlas. The founder of this movement, known as the Almohads (al-Muwahidun), was ibn Tumart, a man of broad learning. Gradually this movement destroyed the Almoravids, first in effect cutting their empire in two, later methodically exterminating the veiled desert nomads or driving them to the depths of the Sahara.

The Andalusis had quit the Almoravid heel from their necks, but once again found themselves menaced by the advancing Christians. They now appealed to ibn Tumart for aid. Thus begins the Almohad period in the history of al-Andalus, since the price of this aid was the loss of independence. The Almohad advance was not marked by the treachery and savagery of the Almoravid conquest. However, the Almohads were nearly as intolerant of Christians and Jews as the Almoravids had been. The Almohad occupation marks the end of the brief literary flowering and of

(1581)

course the end of the golden age of Andalusian Sufism, since the

Almohads had little tolerance for anything at variance with their own doctrine, particularly anything which smacked of Pantheism or Divine Immanence (though ibn Tumart himself was said to be somewhat inclined toward Shi'ism)(57). The later Almohads became somewhat more tolerant in this last respect, as we shall see.

Nevertheless, the Almohads were, en toto, far less savage and far more cultured than the Almoravids had been. The Almohad period marks a rebirth of art and architecture in al-Andalus.

The artistic glories of the Caliphate were not recuperable. Nothing remotely comparable to Medina az-Zahara or to the Mosque of Cordoba would be produced under the Almohads. Besides the sophistication of its construction techniques, the Caliphal art and architecture of al-Andalus is notable for the richness and solidity of its materials. Everything was of hard stone, and this stone was generally carved as finely as though it were stucco. The architecture of the Almohad period is poorer, both in its techniques of construction and in its materials. Yet this art and architecture has its own merits, and, from our viewpoint, interest as well.

Except for military works, which are irrelevant for our purposes, few Almohad monuments survive in Spain, but those that do survive are enough so that one may come to certain conclusions.

Seville, though razed by the Almoravids (practically nothing remains in Seville from the great period of al-Mutamid) was soon rebuilt and under the Almohads once again became the principal

(1582)

political and cultural centre of al-Andalus. It is in Seville

that the greatest Almo had monuments are found.

Foremost of these monuments is, of course, the famous Giralda, once the minaret of the Jom-e-Masjid of Seville. In its basic plan the Giralda is based on the minaret of Abd ar-Rahman III in the Mosque of Cordoba. If the general form be the same, nevertheless the materials and the decoration are quite different. The minaret of Cordoba is of stone; the Giralda is of brick. The four sides are beautifully decorated. Here the arch plays a lesser role than in Cordoba; fundamentally the construction is post-and-lintel. Down the middle of each side run a series of windows composed of an outer pointed lobed arch and of inner twin arches which are in some cases lobed, in others of horseshoe shape. It should be noted that all these arches are purely decorative, supporting no weight. On either side of the row of windows are very interesting decorative panels. Here one sees a motif which is obviously descended from the interlaced arches of the Mosque of Cordoba. However, the design is purely decorative, supporting no weight whatever. Except for the columns used in the scheme, all is of cut brick. Although, as Cristo de la Luz shows, brick was used during the Caliphal period, the real models of the Giralda are the brick towers of the Seljuk period in Persia, all elaborately decorated with cut brick reliefs as is the Giralda. In summary, the Giralda resembles Caliphal minarets in its square shape and its use of paired horseshoe and lobed arches. However, the fact of being built almost entirely of brick and its use of

(1583)

fine and elaborate cut-brick reliefs are inspired by Persian art

of the Seljuk period (58).

A few other, much smaller Almohad minarets survive in Andalusia, but they are really small editions of the Giralda; square plan, brick construction, elaborate relief decoration of cut brick.

Stucco was apparently little used during the Caliphal period. It was used during the Almohad period, but at least in the examples which survive is not of much merit. Although no examples of this survive in Spain, it is evident from North African examples that the Almohads used what is known as "stalactites" or *muqarna* decoration. The Persian origin of this is not in doubt, the first known example being in the funeral tower of Gunbad-i-Qabus in Khurasan(1006-1007 AD)(59).

A word should be said concerning Almohad textiles. While virtually no textiles survive from the Caliphal period, a number of Almohad textiles are still in existence. At least one motif of Persian origin is quite prominent in these textiles; that of animals confronting one another on either side of the Tree of Life (60).

Art and architecture in the Almohad period never reached the heights of the Caliphal period. Nevertheless it is interesting because of new elements (nearly all of which are of Persian origin) that it introduces, some of which survive in Mudejar art and others which reached full maturity in the Kingdom of Granada under the Nazirid dynasty. Perhaps a bit of clarification is

(1584)

called for here. The Almohad brickwork survived in Mudejar art,

while the use of stucco and "stalactites", still halting and rudimentary under the Almohads, reached full flower in the Nazirid Kingdom of Granada.

The Almohad movement, though much solidier and with a much firmer philosophical and theological base than the Almoravids, also began to experience interbal problems. both in Spain and in North Africa. Anti-Almohad resistance movements began in al-Anadlus, notably that of ibn Mardanish (whose name betrays a Byzantine origin), known in Christian sources as "El Rey Lobo" (the Wolf King) in Valencia. The Almohads and their Andalusi allies suffered a disastrous defeat at the hands of the allied Christian kings under the leadership of Sancho VII the Strong of Navarra in 1212. It is said that the Almohad Sultan Muhammad al-Nasir had an elite guard who were chained together so that their line could not be broken. But the horse of Sancho of Navarra vaulted over the chains, and the elite guard was slaughtered by the Navarros. The chains are still to be seen in Pamplona, ancient capital of the Kingdom of Navarra, and to this day the chains appear on the coat-of-arms of Navarra.

"Our coat of arms has chains to show that we know how to break them"

say the Navarros. Most certainly this is true. During the Napoleonic Wars the French soldiers said:

"Cut a Navarro in half and then two Navarros attack you."
This was also shown during the Carlist wars, when the Navarros

(1585)

fought so stubbornly for their religion, tradition and "fueros" or

regional liberties. "God, country, fueros, king" was the motto of the Carlists, whose emblem was a red beret. Here is a quatrain from the Second Carlist War of the 19th Century:

Long live valiant Navarra
The province noble and brave
That abandons its fields
For love of God and Spain.

Later during the Spanish Civil War of 1936-39 it was said:

"If you wish to see the Reds
Flee in panic and disorder
One only needs show them
A scarlet beret" and

"Why do the Reds
Bother to dig so many trenches
Since the Carlists take them (the trenches)
Whenever they wish?"

The battle of Las Navas de Tolosa effectively ended the power of the Almohades in Spain. There followed a brief period known as the "Third Period of taifas". Now the Christian kingdoms of Castile-Leon, Aragon and Portugal took the offensive. Mallorca, Cordoba, Valencia, Silves, Seville, Jerez and Murcia all fell to the Christians, spearheaded by the Castilians under one of the great rulers of all time, Fernando III the Saint. From this wreck was saved an enlarged Kingdom of Granada, including Almeria, Ronda, Malaga and Gibraltar. Castile had conquered vast and densely populated Muslim territories within a few years, and now for the moment was content to allow this kingdom to survive as a vassal. Muhammad ibn al-Ahmar, of noble Hispano-Arab family of the Naziri, was the first ruler of this kingdom. Vast numbers of

(1586)

Hispano-Muslims from the territories recently reconquered by

Castile and Aragon took refuge in Granada, giving the new kingdom a firm demographic base. Surprising as it may seem, this kingdom survived for more than 250 years, for reasons too complex to explain here. We should note, however, that the Nazirid kings of Granada returned to the wise policies of Abd ar-Rahman III and al-Hakam II. They in general maintained good relations with Castile, maintaining a strong and mostly indigenous military force and kept the Berbers at bay, even going so far as to help the Castilian fleet control the straits. These wise policies brought a respite of 250 years for the Kingdom of Granada, though by now too much had been lost to permit the permanent survival of al-Andalus. Had these wise policies been consistently followed throughout the history of al-Andalus, Muslim Spain would no doubt still exist today. Caught between the Berbers and the Christian Kingdoms of the North, only wise and prudent policies would have permitted the survival of al-Andalus. Because for long periods suicidal policies were followed, al-Andalus was ground to bits between the upper millstone of the Christian Kingdoms and the lower millstone of the Berbers. It is well to remember that a weak al-Andalus was not only a temptation to the Christian Kingdoms of the North, it was also a threat. On two occasions a weak al-Andalus had permitted dangerous invasions of the Peninsula by savage Berbers from North Africa. Ruled by a native Andalusí dynasty, free of both Christian (the Kingdom of Granada was frequently a vassal of Castile, but the Castilians were content with tribute, token

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military aid and commercial treaties, not interfering at all in

internal affairs) and North African rule, Hispano-Muslim civilization enjoyed a sort of "Indian Summer" (or, it being that Granada is in Andalusia, perhaps we should say "Quince Summer") in Granada. The Nazirid or "Granadino" period in the history of Hispano-Muslim civilization never equalled the Caliphate in art and architecture, nor the first *taifa* period in literature nor the second *taifa* period in the field of Sufism or Mysticism and philosophy in general. Nevertheless, in all the above fields the Nazirid period was a "silver age". In the field of ceramics it probably surpassed all previous periods. For these reasons the Nazirid period must not be thought of as merely a sort of "twilight", but must be considered as one of the great periods in the history of Hispano-Muslim civilization. In all fields it is the 14th Century which is the great period of the Kingdom of Granada. Persian cultural influence was certainly strong in Granada. Ibn al-Khatib (14th Century) described the Granadinos as wearing Persian cloaks (61). This is most interesting, as Ibn al-Khatib was a Shi'a or at the very least was profoundly influenced by Shi'a theology. (See Chapters 8 & 9) The fact that the Granadinos of the Nazirid period dressed in the Persian rather than the North African fashion (contrary to the opinion of many people, who imagine the Hispano-Muslims as wearing North African jilabas) is amply proven by the descriptions and drawings of the Moriscos of Granada of the 16th Century (62), which also proves that in the manner of dress the Muslim Granadinos continued to

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follow the Persian fashion even after the Christian Reconquest of

1492. Both sexes among the Moriscos wore baggy trousers, the masculine garb at least in the cities conforming to the Castilian usage after the Reconquest of 1492. But during the great uprising of the Moriscos (1568-1571 AD) many Moriscos reverted to their ancestral garb: baggy trousers, boots, Persian kaftan or cloak, white or turquoise-colored turban. Here we are very far indeed from the North African hooded *jilaba* and skullcap. On at least one occasion the rebellious Moriscos wore red turbushes with white windings in the Turkish style. There is no reference to the Granadino Muslims or their Morisco descendants wearing North African garb (63).