

Beyond Religious Borders

Interaction and Intellectual Exchange
in the Medieval Islamic World

Edited by

David M. Freidenreich
and Miriam Goldstein

PENN

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA PRESS

PHILADELPHIA

CHAPTER 3

Thinkers of "This Peninsula"

Toward an Integrative Approach to the Study of Philosophy in al-Andalus

SARAH STROUMSA

Andalusian Communities

The development of philosophical thought among Muslims in al-Andalus is often described in contradictory terms. On the one hand, scholars agree that, in many ways, the Iberian peninsula witnessed the acme of Islamic philosophy. On the other hand, medieval and modern scholars alike often regard the development of philosophy in this region as something of an anomaly.¹ Medieval Muslim writers such as Ibn Ḥazm (d. 1065) and Ibn Ṭumlūs (d. 1223) speak apologetically regarding the scarcity of philosophical interest and of philosophical and theological compositions in al-Andalus, while al-Maqqarī (d. 1631) reports animosity toward the study of philosophy in this region.² The discrepancy between these apparently unfavorable conditions and the seemingly sudden burst of philosophy requires explanation, one that can bridge the gap between these contradictory descriptions. Such an explanation, however, is not to be found in most studies on the topic, and the few scholars who address this problem tend to refine the presentation of the question rather than offer a satisfactory explanation for it.

Jewish philosophy in al-Andalus, on the other hand, is depicted in a much simpler and more homogeneous way. The effervescence of Jewish philosophy is seen as part and parcel of the so-called Golden Age of Jewish culture in Islamic Spain. Like Jewish culture in al-Andalus in general, philosophy is painted in

rosy—or should we say golden—colors. The appearance of luminaries like Judah Halevi (d. 1148) and Moses Maimonides (d. 1204) is regarded as the natural outcome of a flourishing Jewish community whose cultural activity reflected its interest in philosophy as well as the influence of the surrounding Muslim society.

The circumstances in which thought in general, and philosophy in particular, developed in Muslim and Jewish communities are usually studied as separate questions, although dutiful nods acknowledge the existence of the other community. This last statement, which may seem unfair at first sight and may trigger a protesting denial by students of these literatures, deserves elaboration.

Students of Judeo-Arabic philosophy are, of course, well aware of the strong connections between it and its Muslim counterpart. Halevi has been shown to depend on al-Ghazzālī³ as well as on Šūfī and Ismāʿīlī Shīʿī texts,⁴ while the eleventh-century Baḥyā ibn Paqūda depends on al-Muḥāsibī.⁵ Maimonides' philosophy, continuously and thoroughly examined, has been shown to draw upon works by al-Fārābī, Avicenna, and Andalusian authors like Ibn Ṭufayl and Ibn Bājjā.⁶ For students of Muslim philosophy, the connection with Jewish philosophy imposes itself less forcefully. Nevertheless, contemporary scholars (such as Miguel Cruz Hernández and Dominique Urvoy) have attempted to present a coherent synthesis that includes the Jewish philosophical output in their mapping of Andalusian philosophy.⁷ And yet, all these studies present the connection either as background to the discussion of their main focus of interest (in the case of Jewish philosophy) or as mere chapters in it (in the case of Muslim philosophy).

A comparison with the modern study of the Christians of al-Andalus can highlight the oddity of the compartmentalized approach to the study of Andalusian intellectual history. The history of al-Andalus, from the eighth to the fifteenth centuries, can be described as a chronology of its continuous war with Christian Spain. An uninterrupted Christian presence within the borders of al-Andalus, combined with the Christian pressure from outside, made the Christians a determining factor of Andalusian culture. In the realm of philosophical thought, however, the Christian presence seems to have played only a minor role in the period that concerns us. In the East, the Christians' heritage fostered interest in philosophy, and Christians played an active role as translators and as facilitators of the transmission of philosophical and scientific traditions.⁸ Nothing like this decisive Christian intellectual presence is witnessed in this period in al-Andalus.⁹ Dominique Urvoy has argued for the existence of some evidence of a transmission of pre-Islamic Spanish philosophical works to Arabic, but the limited evidence for this phenomenon justifies its treatment as rather minor, and Urvoy also notes the "*faiblesse relative de la vie intellectuelle*

mozarabe" as compared to that of the Jews.¹⁰ Ann Christys likewise notes that the Christians were only a footnote in the history of al-Andalus and explains this marginality as resulting from the fact that the Christians did not write (which is to say, they wrote little).¹¹ One could therefore argue that the explanation for the separate treatment of the Christian community in the historiography of al-Andalus and the marginal place it is accorded in the history of Andalusian thought can be found in the objective sociological characteristics of that community. This explanation, however, does not hold in the case of the Jewish community in al-Andalus: the Jews had a flourishing philosophy, which they did write, and yet they, too, remain little more than a footnote in modern historiography of Islamic philosophy in al-Andalus.¹² This last fact obliges us to look for another explanation for the disjointed historiography of Andalusian philosophy, one that would focus on the preconceptions of the historians who write it as much as it does on the historical developments themselves.

An integrative approach to the history of philosophy in al-Andalus should seek to view the various products of philosophy in the Iberian Peninsula—Jewish, Muslim, and Christian—as parts of a common intellectual history and as stages in a continuous trajectory. This task obviously requires a comprehensive study, which I hope to present elsewhere. This essay has the limited purpose of introducing the methodology of such a study. It will focus on the dynamics of interaction between intellectuals of the different religious communities in al-Andalus and on the method of extrapolating this dynamic from sometimes recalcitrant texts.

"This Peninsula"

The self-perception of the inhabitants of al-Andalus supports the adoption of an integrative approach to their intellectual history. Within the Islamic world, al-Andalus represents a distinct cultural unit with unique characteristics. The territorial borders of this unit are dependent on the fluctuating territorial borders of Islamic Spain (though they are not necessarily identical to them at all periods). At times, these borders encroach upon Maghreban territory; Andalusian intellectual history is thus closely linked to the Maghreb and to its culture. The philosophy engendered within this cultural unit developed as a continuation of the philosophy in the Islamic East and in dialogue with it. Books and theories were imported from the East, and their content was studied and assimilated. The philosophical and theological compositions of Andalusian authors, however, are not servile replicas of Maghreban or Oriental sources.¹³ They have a distinct

character which, while reflecting the influences of their sources, displays their originality and the fact that they belong to the world of al-Andalus. Muslim writers themselves were quite conscious of the distinct character of their region. The Cordoban Ibn Ḥazm, for example, attempted to spell out "the merits of al-Andalus," while Ibn Rushd (d. 1198) included in his *Commentary on Plato's "Republic"* several observations concerning the peculiarities of political regimes in what he calls "our precinct," and in his *Commentary on Aristotle's Meteorology* he discusses the specific characteristics of the inhabitants of "this peninsula."¹⁴

Like their Muslim counterparts, Andalusian Jewish philosophical writings also display close connections with currents of thought in the Maghreb. And they, too, notwithstanding their close dependency on the literary output of the Jewish centers in the East, developed their own local characteristics. Jewish thinkers saw themselves as "the diaspora of *Sefarad*," and they cultivated their own local patriotism. Thus, Moses ibn Ezra extolled the literary and linguistic purity of the "Jerusalemmites who were exiled to *Sefarad*" above all other Jewish communities;¹⁵ Maimonides, exiled from al-Andalus as a young adolescent, continued to call himself "*ha-sefaradi*."¹⁶

The distinctiveness of Andalusian intellectual life is taken into account, as a matter of course, in the study of Muslim theology, where regional differences often offer the main framework for historical studies.¹⁷ Students of Jewish philosophy, however, usually prefer a classification that aligns Jewish medieval thinkers with the schools of Islamic thought (*kalām*, *falsafa*, Sufism, and so on).¹⁸ Paradoxically, the underlying assumption for this approach (initiated by Julius Guttman and in itself quite legitimate) is that the development of Jewish philosophy was, by and large, an integral part of a common Islamic culture.¹⁹ But the logical result of this approach favors the connection of a Judah Halevi with his Eastern sources (both Jewish and Muslim) while ignoring his immediate, neighboring intellectual environment. Such an approach would be justifiable only if one could claim that Jews in al-Andalus lived a segregated intellectual life, an indefensible claim.

The strongly felt Andalusian identity of both Jewish and Muslim intellectuals, along with their close proximity, requires an integrative approach to the study of philosophy in al-Andalus. Such an integrative history should focus on intellectual developments in al-Andalus, attempting to evaluate the local, Andalusian character of this philosophy and to see how it is connected to the development of Islamic philosophy in the Orient.

In what follows, I will discuss the intellectual context in which this philosophy grew and attempt to illustrate what can be learned through an integrative approach.

Ibn Masarra

Very little is known about the early infiltration of speculative thought into al-Andalus. The tenth-century Muslim thinker Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh Ibn Masarra (d. 930) provides an apt illustration of the thick fog that covers these beginnings. Much speculation has been published concerning his philosophical tendency. Ibn Masarra has been described as a Mu'tazilī theologian, a mystic, a Neoplatonist follower of the *Bāṭiniyya*, a follower of the so-called Pseudo-Empedocles, and a combination of all of these. Most of these suggestions, however, are not based on an examination of his extant writings and even less on an appraisal of his probable intellectual environment. A cursory examination of his writings discloses some striking, hitherto unnoticed, unmistakably Jewish elements. When these elements are followed and closely checked, they can add significant information to our meager knowledge of the beginnings of Islamic and Jewish philosophy in al-Andalus.²⁰

The idea that the paucity of information in Arab sources needs to be supplemented by the examination of other available material has been emphasized by Pierre Guichard, who used Christian and archaeological sources to study the social, administrative, military, and demographic history of al-Andalus.²¹ In the case of Ibn Masarra, the discovery of a Jewish element in his thought can help us trace, for example, the transmission lines of theological (*kalām*) material in al-Andalus. It can help us rethink questions concerning the character of this material—for instance, the real or imagined character of Mu'tazilite presence in al-Andalus or the role played by Jews, and in particular by the Karaite Spanish community, in the transmission of Mu'tazilite material. It would also serve as a starting point for a reexamination of the emergence of Jewish and Muslim pietistic movements in al-Andalus, related to figures like Ibn Masarra, Baḥyā ibn Paqūda, or Ibn al-'Arīf (d. 1141).

Libraries, Scholars, and Pirates

Ibn Masarra's mystical philosophy, with its intriguing echoes of Jewish thought, is our sole witness for this aspect of the development of philosophy and science in al-Andalus in the first half of the tenth century. The second half of the tenth century was, in many ways, a turning point in Andalusian intellectual history. The story of this turning point has two parts. Although the first part, relating to the introduction of sciences to al-Andalus, has been told many times, it deserves

to be retold and to be complemented by some "less direct and immediately exploitable sources," as suggested by Guichard. The main source for the story is Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī (d. 1068), who says:

After the beginning of the fourth century, the emir al-Ḥakam [r. 961–76] . . . son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh [r. 912–61]—and this was still in the days of his father's reign—was moved to attend to the sciences and to favor scientists. He brought (*istajlaba*) from Baghdād, Egypt and other places in the Orient the main outstanding compositions and wonderful tracts, in the old sciences as well as in the modern ones. He gathered, in what remained of his father's reign and then in his own, books in quantity that equaled what the ʿAbbasid kings gathered over a long time.²²

According to Ṣāʿid, it was mainly al-Ḥakam II who introduced philosophical, theological, exegetical, and scientific lore into the Iberian peninsula on a large scale and established a huge library.²³ Ṣāʿid also tells us of a parallel move, where al-Ḥakam's Jewish vizier, Ḥasdāy ibn Shaprūt, imported religious books for the use of the Jewish community.²⁴

Ḥasdāy ibn Ishāq, the minister of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh . . . was the first to open for the Andalusian Jews the gates of religious law, computation and the like. Prior to his days, they were obliged to turn to the Jews of Baghdād in matters concerning their religious law, their computation and fixing the dates of their holy days. . . . But when Ḥasdāy attached himself to al-Ḥakam, . . . he used his good offices to bring (*li-istijlāb*) whatever he wanted of the compositions of the Jews in the Orient. The Jews of al-Andalus thus came to know that regarding which they were ignorant before.²⁵

Ṣāʿid clearly sees Ḥasdāy's initiative to import books (*istijlāb*) as connected to that of his master's, a fact that has already been noted by several scholars.²⁶ The connection is not limited to the purpose of the two initiatives but also has implications regarding the lot of the books at the receiving end. It requires little dramatic imagination to realize that the same ships must have carried the books ordered by the caliph and his vizier and that when the ships arrived at the docks in Seville, for example, their literary cargo was not divided strictly according to religious affiliation. Although Ḥasdāy had ordered Jewish religious books, the

books ordered by al-Ḥakam could just as well reach the hands (and the libraries) of Ḥasdāy and his co-religionists (as well as those of Christians). Ḥasdāy ibn Shaprūt was no stranger to the sciences. When the caliph received, as a gift from Byzantium, a manuscript of Dioscorides' *Materia Medica*, Ḥasdāy was a member of the team that was called upon to translate it into Arabic. He probably perused or purchased more books than he ordered, and he must not have been the sole Jew to have done so.

Ṣā'id's information is corroborated by a Jewish source, the twelfth-century Abraham Ibn Daud (d. ca. 1180). In his *Book of Tradition*, Ibn Daud recounts the story of four Oriental Talmudic scholars who were captured by pirates in the service of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III. Ransomed by four different Jewish communities, so the story goes, these captives lay the basis for an independent Jewish scholarship in the West. In the case of al-Andalus, the ransomed captive was Rabbi Hanooh. Ibn Daud recounts the speedy spread of the rumors regarding Rabbi Hanooh's erudition, and adds: "[At this point] the commander [of the pirates] wished to retract his sale. However, the king [i.e., the caliph, presumably 'Abd al-Raḥmān III] would not permit him to do so, for he was delighted by the fact that the Jews of his domain no longer had need of the people of Babylonia."²⁷

Ibn Daud's account tells us that the importation of books was often accompanied by traveling scholars, and he testifies to the dramatic effect the migration, whether voluntary or forced, had on the life of the Jewish communities. Ibn Daud does not connect this account to Ḥasdāy ibn Shaprūt, but Ḥasdāy's involvement with pirates may be attested in yet another source, this time by a Christian writer. Liudprand of Cremona recounts that Otto I had sent John of Gorze to carry letters to 'Abd al-Raḥmān III. The background for this mission was a dispute between the two rulers over the attacks on Otto's land by the pirates of Fraxinenum (LaGarde Freinet in the Gulf of St. Tropez). The letters that John of Gorze was charged to bring were offensive to Islam, and the mission went sour and dragged on for years. Several local mediators were involved in this affair, among them a Jew named Hasdeu, who may well have been Ḥasdāy ibn Shaprūt.²⁸

The snippets of information culled from Christian, Jewish, and Muslim sources allow us to flesh out the image of Ḥasdāy: his role in sensitive missions in the service of both 'Abd al-Raḥmān III and his son al-Ḥakam II; the diplomatic ease with which he crossed the boundaries of religious communities; and his interest in scholarly entrepreneurship. The various stories in which Ḥasdāy appears depict him as a facilitator of intellectual transport

from Byzantium and from Christian Europe via Christians, from the Orient via Jewish books and captives.

As mentioned above, this part of Ṣā'id's story is well known. Reading the Jewish, Muslim, and Christian texts together, however, allows us to flesh out the story and to appreciate the intricacy of the picture. The dissemination of philosophy and science in al-Andalus owes much to the determination of people like al-Ḥakam, Ḥasdāy or John of Gorze, who turned adverse situations like pirate attacks or diplomatic crises into a channel for purchasing books and acquiring new knowledge.

The Porous Iron Curtain

The oft-told story, however, has a second part, which, although as famous as the first, is usually reported in a curtailed fashion. This is the part regarding al-Manṣūr's censorship, a key source for which is the continuation of the account of Ṣā'id, who says:

[Al-Ḥakam] died in 366 [976]. His son Hishām became king after him, and he was then a boy . . . and his chamberlain Abū 'Āmir [r. 976–1002] took control of managing his kingdom. As soon as [Abū 'Āmir] took control, he turned to the treasuries of [Hishām's] father al-Ḥakam, in which the above-mentioned books were kept, and he took out, in the presence of his close entourage of religious scholars, the various kinds of compositions that were found in them. He commanded [his servants] to put aside the books of the Sciences of the Ancient, which were composed in logic, astronomy etc. . . . and he ordered that these books be burnt and destroyed. Some were burnt, others were thrown into the palace's wells and covered with rocks and dirt, or were disfigured in all kinds of manners. . . . The people who have been moved to [search for] science were thus silenced, their souls were suppressed and they took to conceal whatever they had of these sciences.²⁹

Ṣā'id's depiction of "the iron curtain" that descended on libraries and their users is much exaggerated; al-Ḥakam's library was not wholly destroyed, and other libraries continued to function.³⁰ Nevertheless, this story is commonly accepted as faithfully reflecting the difficulty encountered by scholars of

philosophy.³¹ One should notice, however, that, unlike the first part of the story, Šā'id's story of censorship does not have a Jewish part, nor is it attested in any Jewish text. Indeed, there is no indication that the censorship of al-Manšūr targeted the intellectual activity of Jews.³² In fact, the eleventh century saw a steady growth in the quantity and quality of Jewish philosophical writings. Jews could thus serve as the custodians of philosophy when its study was deemed heretical by Muslims. They (and their private libraries) played a crucial role in the preservation, transmission, and cultivation of philosophy and sciences in al-Andalus.³³ Among Muslims, philosophical activity was kept alive on a minor scale during the following century, in the courts of the so-called party kings (*mulūk al-ṭā'ifa*).³⁴ As argued by Martínez Lorca, the continuation of this activity, recorded by Šā'id, prepared the ground for the seemingly sudden appearance of philosophy in the twelfth century. At the same time, as Šā'id's report also shows, Jewish scholars seem often to have served as an important link in the line of transmission of philosophy and science to their Muslim neighbors.

One example of this continuous line of transmission may suffice. The first in the line of great Muslim philosophers of the twelfth century, the Saragossan Ibn Bājja (d. 1139), corresponded with Abū Ja'far Yūsuf ibn Ḥasdāy, an Andalusian physician who emigrated to Egypt. Ibn Bājja reported to him about the order in which he had learnt the various sciences, and this order closely resembles the one followed, according to Šā'id, by another outstanding scholar of Saragossa, Abū al-Faḍl Ḥasdāy Yūsuf ibn Ḥasdāy.³⁵ Whether or not Ibn Bājja's correspondent is identical to Šā'id's Saragossan scholar, or just related to him, it is clear that the two belonged to the Jewish community and that both of them were accomplished in the sciences and philosophy.³⁶ Like Ibn Bājja, Abū Ja'far Yūsuf ibn Ḥasdāy and Abū al-Faḍl Ḥasdāy belonged to a minority group, "the minority (quite a large minority in Saragossa) of the followers of the sciences of the ancients."³⁷ In terms of their intellectual position, the fact that these two Jewish scholars also belonged to a religious minority seems to have been almost insignificant.

Influences, Currents, and Whirlpools

The history of philosophical thought in al-Andalus can be discussed on two parallel levels: one concerning the way in which this thought was formed and fashioned, the other concerning the way it is studied by modern scholars. The examples cited above attempt to show that, on both levels, examining the

history of the various religious communities together provides a comprehensible and more accurate picture.

An examination that focuses on the output of only one religious community is similar to examining an object with a single eye and is likely to produce a flat, two-dimensional picture. Reading Jewish, Christian, and Muslim intellectual history together is a *sine qua non* for a well-rounded picture of this history. One should emphasize that, for a correct application of the multifocal approach, a parallel but separate study of the different communities will not suffice. If one were to close successively one eye then the other, one would still obtain only a flat, two-dimensional picture.

In this complex intellectual world, the ideas flow into each other, brazenly oblivious to communal barriers. In the domains of theology and of polemics, the dynamic character of the interaction has been depicted by the metaphor of a marketplace, where the same coins change hands. This metaphor, however, is misleading, since in the fiscal transaction the coins remain intact and unchanging (except for the usual wear from continuous use). In the medieval intellectual marketplace, on the other hand, ideas and motifs moved from one religious or theological system to another, slightly modifying the system into which they were adopted and, in the process, undergoing some transformation themselves. The flow of ideas was never unilateral or linear but went in all directions, creating a "whirlpool effect." Like a drop of colored liquid which, when falling into the turbulent water of the whirlpool eventually colors the whole body of water, an idea introduced into this intellectually receptive world had an impact on all its components.

The whirlpool metaphor may also convey some of the difficulties involved in our approach. It is much easier to trace the course of neatly divided currents and trends than to reconstruct the ways in which they contributed to the whirlpool. This understanding, however, does not free us from the need to try to detect direct contacts, proximate channels, and possible influences.

61. 'Arib b. Sa'd al-Qurtubī, *Ṣilat ta'rikh al-Ṭabari*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden: Brill, 1965), 30.
62. Ibid.
63. See Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Aḥkām ahl al-dhimma*, 1:212-42; for Ibn al-Naqqāsh, see M. Belin, "Fetoua sur la condition des dhimmīs," *Journal Asiatique*, 4th ser., 18 (1851): 417-516, esp. 440-55; vol. 19 (1852/2): 97-140.
64. See Levy-Rubin, *Continuatio*, 103-4; ms. p. 251.
65. The word used here is *nabidh*; this is an alcoholic drink usually made of raisins or dates. It could, however, also mean "wine expressed from grapes"; see E. W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon* (1863; Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society Trust, 1984), 2757.
66. Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, 2:489; *Chronicon ad annum christi 1234 pertinens*, ed. and trans. Jean Baptiste Chabot (1916; Louvain: L. Durbecq, 1952/3), text, 1:307-8 (trans.: 239); Agapius b. Maḥbūb, *Kitāb al-'unwān*, ed. and trans. Alexandre Vasiliev, *Patrologia Orientalis*, vol. 8, part 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1971), 502-3.
67. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 399 (Mango, *Chronicle*, 550).
68. Muḥammad b. Idris al-Shāfi'i, *Kitāb al-umm* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1993), 4:281, 283.
69. See, e.g., Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Aḥkām ahl al-dhimma*, 2:659, 661-62.
70. Levy-Rubin, *Continuatio*, 102-6, ms. pp. 251-53.
71. Regarding the enforcement of *ghiyār* regulations under his rule, see Alexander Scheiber, "A New Fragment of the Life of Obadiah, the Norman Proselyte," *Kiryat Sefer* 30 (1954-55): 93-98.
72. See text and note 63 above.
73. See, e.g., Fattal, *Statut légal*, 102-10; and Mark R. Cohen, *Under Crescent and Cross: The Jews in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995), 62-68.
74. On al-Ḥākim, see n. 40 above; regarding Salāḥ al-Dīn, see 'Abd al-Masīḥ and Burmester, *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church by Sawīrus ibn al-Muqaffā'*, vol. 3, part 2 (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1968), 97-98 (trans.: 164-66).

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1. Among modern scholars, see, e.g., Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Fayyūmī, *Ta'rikh al-falsafa al-islāmiyya fi al-maghrib wa-'l-andalus* (Beirut: Dār al-Jil, 1997), 6.
2. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Risāla fi Fadl al-andalus wa-dhikri rijālīhā*, in *Rasā'il Ibn Ḥazm al-andalusī*, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās (Beirut: Al-Mu'assasa al-'Arabiyya li'l-Dirāsāt wa-'l-Nashr, 1981), 2:186-87; and Ibn Ṭumlūs, *Kitāb al-madkhal ilā šinā'at al-mantiq*, ed. Miguel Asín-Palacios (Madrid: Al-Maṭba'a al-Ubayriqa, 1916), 9-12. Al-Maqqarī is quoted in Solomon Munk, *Mélanges de philosophie juive et arabe* (Paris: Nouvelles Éditions, 1955), 309-458, reprinted as Solomon Munk, *Des principaux philosophes arabes et de leur doctrine* (Paris: Vrin, 1982), 334.

3. See David H. Baneth, "Judah Halevi and al-Ghazali," *Keneset* 7 (1941-42): 311-29 [Hebrew].
4. See Shlomo Pines, "Shi'ite Terms and Conceptions in Judah Halevi's *Kuzari*," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 2 (1980): 165-261; Ehud Krinnis, "The Idea of Chosen People in *al-Kitāb al-khazāri* and Its Sources in Imāmī Shi'ism" (Ph.D. diss., Ben Gurion University, 2007) [Hebrew]; and Diana Lobel, *Between Mysticism and Philosophy: Sufi Language of Religious Experience in Judah Ha-Levi's "Kuzari"* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000).
5. See Amos Goldreich, "On Possible Arabic Sources for the Distinction Between Duties of the Heart and Duties of the Body," *Tē'uda* 6 (1988): 179-208 [Hebrew].
6. See, e.g., Shlomo Pines, "Translator's Introduction: The Philosophic Sources of the *Guide of the Perplexed*," in Moses Maimonides, *The Guide of the Perplexed*, trans. Pines (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1963), lvii-cxxxiv; Alfred L. Ivry, "The Guide and Maimonides' Philosophical Sources," in *The Cambridge Companion to Maimonides*, ed. Kenneth Seeskin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 58-81; and Steven Harvey, "Medieval Sources of Maimonides' *Guide*," *Bulletin de Philosophie Médiévale* 46 (2000): 283-87.
7. See, e.g., Dominique Urvoy, "The Ulamā' of al-Andalus," in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, ed. Salma K. Jayyusi (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 849-75. Urvoy suggests that "the Christians and Jews of Spain . . . caused traditional factors to predominate within Islam itself on their conversion, and from this springs the 'deliberate conservatism, even archaizing,' character which Lévy-Provençal regards as the characteristic quality of Andalusian Islam" (849). Miguel Cruz Hernández, *Historia del pensamiento en el mundo islámico*, 3 vols., especially vol. 2, *El pensamiento de al-Andalus (siglos IX-XIV)* (Madrid: Alianza, 1996).
8. Although, as Dimitri Gutas has shown, their involvement in the translation movement was less dominant than hitherto believed; see Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early 'Abbasid Society (2nd-4th/8th-10th Centuries)* (London: Routledge, 1998); and Sarah Stroumsa, "Philosophy as Wisdom: On the Christians' Role in the Translation of Philosophical Material to Arabic," in *Exchange and Transmission Across Cultural Boundaries: Philosophy and Science in the Mediterranean World*, ed. Haggai Ben-Shammai, Shaul Shaked, and Sarah Stroumsa (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, forthcoming).
9. A translation movement that appeared in Spain in the twelfth century led in the opposite direction, transmitting the Muslim heritage (via Jewish converts who translated the Arabic to Castilian) to the Latin-speaking Christians; see José L. Abellán, *Historia crítica del pensamiento español*, vol. 1, *Metodología, introducción general* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1979), 198, 210-18. On the role of Jews as transmitters of the Arabic philosophical lore to the West, see also Munk, *Des principaux philosophes arabes*, 335, 439.
10. See Dominique Urvoy, *Pensers d'al-Andalus: La vie intellectuelle à Seville et Cordoue au temps des empires berbères (fin XIe siècle-début XIIIe siècle)* (Toulouse: Presses Universitaires de Mirail, 1990), 29, 33. See also Bernard F. Reilly, *The Contest of Christian and Muslim Spain* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 17-18.
11. Ann Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus (711-1000)* (Richmond: Curzon, 2002), 23.

12. According to Reilly, *The Contest of Christian and Muslim Spain*, 14-15, the Jewish community was "the most literate community of the peninsula," which may explain their disproportionate representation in written sources. A similar situation, where the philosophy that was out of favor in Islam found refuge among the Jews, is commonly depicted concerning the end of the twelfth century, with the translation of philosophical texts from Arabic to Latin; see Munk, *Des principaux philosophes arabes*, 335.

13. The specific, independent character of Andalusian thought is often downplayed by scholars. See, e.g., Abellán, *Historia crítica del pensamiento español*, 181, who admits the existence of autonomous elements but insists on Oriental influence and generally regards Andalusian philosophy as "but a continuation of the topics and problems which occupied Islamic thought as a whole."

14. See E. I. J. Rosenthal, ed. and trans., *Averroes' Commentary on Plato's "Republic"* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), 97. The Arabic original is not extant, and the medieval Hebrew translation reads *mehozenu*. Aḥmad Shaḥlān, who reconstructed the Arabic from the Hebrew, suggests *ṣaḡ'inā*; see *Al-Ḍarūri fī'l-siyāsa: Mukhtaṣar kitāb al-siyāsa li-aflātūn* (Beirut: Markaz Dirāsāt al-Waḥda al-'Arabiyya, 1998), 195. For the Commentary on *Meteorology*, see Abū al-Walīd ibn Rushd, *Talkhiṣ al-āthār al-'ulwiyya*, ed. Jamāl al-Dīn al-'Alawī (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1994), 103-4 ("hādhihi al-jazīra").

15. See Moses ibn Ezra, *Kitāb al-muḥādara wāl-mudhākara*, ed. Montserrat Abumalham Mas (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto de Filología, 1985), 1:59.

16. See Joshua Blau, "At Our Place in al-Andalus," "At Our Place in the Maghreb," in *Perspectives on Maimonides: Philosophical and Historical Studies*, ed. Joel L. Kraemer and Lawrence V. Berman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 293-94.

17. See, e.g., the structure of Josef van Ess's *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra: Eine Geschichte des religiösen Denkens im frühen Islam*, 6 vols., especially vol. 4 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1997), 259-76. On the question of the existence of an Andalusian philosophical school, see Lawrence I. Conrad, "The World of Ibn Ṭufayl," in *The World of Ibn Ṭufayl: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*, ed. Lawrence I. Conrad (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 12-13.

18. See, e.g., J. Guttmann, *Philosophies of Judaism: The History of Jewish Philosophy from Biblical Times to Franz Rosenzweig*, trans. D. W. Silverman (New York: Anchor, 1964); and C. Sirat, *A History of Jewish Philosophy in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

19. That is to say, the dominant culture of the Islamic world, which, although reflecting the heavy influence of Islam, was also shared by non-Muslim communities.

20. See Sarah Stroumsa, "Ibn Masarra and the Beginnings of Mystical Thought in al-Andalus," in *Wege mystischer Gotteserfahrung: Judentum, Christentum und Islam*, ed. Peter Schäfer (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2006), 97-112. For a comprehensive study of Ibn Masarra, see Sarah Stroumsa and Sara Sviri, *The Beginnings of Mystical Philosophy in al-Andalus: Ibn Masarra and His Writings* (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

21. Guichard advocates "la nécessité ou la légitimité d'une utilisation—la plus prudente possible—de sources moins directes et immédiatement exploitables que les

sources arabes, défaut ou en complément de celles-ci." See Pierre Guichard, *Les musulmans de Valence et la reconquête (XIe–XIIIe siècles)* (Damascus: Institut français du Damas, 1990–91), 1:11.

22. Šā'id al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt al-umam*, ed. Ḥayāt Bū 'Alwān (Beirut: Dār al-Ṭalī'ah, 1985), 162–63. For another English translation, see Sema'an I. Salem and Alok Kumar, *Science in the Medieval World: The "Book of the Categories of Nations" by Šā'id al-Andalusī* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991), 191.

23. See David J. Wasserstein, *The Rise and Fall of the Party-Kings: Politics and Society in Islamic Spain, 1002–1086* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985), 194; Wasserstein, "The Muslims and the Golden Age of the Jews in al-Andalus," in *Dhimmi and Others: Jews and Christians and the World of Classical Islam*, ed. Uri Rubin and David J. Wasserstein, *Israel Oriental Studies* 17 (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1997), 179–93.

24. Wasserstein ("The Muslims and the Golden Age," 186, 194) doubts that Ḥasdāy attained particularly high rank in the service of the Umayyads. Šā'id's terminology *khādīm*, however, seems to me to suggest exactly such high rank; see also Eliyahu Ashtor, *The Jews of Moslem Spain* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1984), 3:79.

25. Šā'id al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt al-umam*, 203–4. For an English translation of this passage, see Wasserstein, "The Muslims and the Golden Age," 189–92. See also J. Finkel, "An Eleventh Century Source for the History of Jewish Scientists in Mohammedan Lands (Ibn Šā'id)," *Jewish Quarterly Review*, n.s., 18 (1927–28): 45–54. The same information, with very similar formulations, appears in Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a's entry on Ḥasdāy ibn Ishāq; see his '*Uyūn al-anbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*', ed. Nizār Riḍā (Beirut: Maktabat al-Ḥayāt, n.d.), 498. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a also mentions Ḥasdāy in his entry on Ibn Juljul, '*Uyūn al-anbā'*', 493–95. This may mean that for his information on Ḥasdāy, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a depended on Ibn Juljul. Šā'id also mentions Ibn Juljul, and he may well have depended on this source, too. One may then wonder whether Ibn Juljul was also one of the sources used by the twelfth-century Abraham Ibn Daud (see note 27 below).

26. See, e.g., Wasserstein ("The Muslims and the Golden Age," 194), who establishes the connection between Šā'id's stories about the importation of books and the fact that Ḥasdāy "in thus cutting the umbilical cord with Iraq, was acting in concert with his employer, the caliph of Cordoba." Wasserstein estimates that "the Jewish revolution of fourth/tenth century Spain is a sub-set of the overall Iberian separatist revolution of that period." See also David J. Wasserstein, "The Library of al-Ḥakam II al-Mustanṣir and the Culture of Islamic Spain," *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 5 (1990–91): 99–105, esp. 103. See also Gerson D. Cohen, "The Story of the Four Captives," *Proceedings of the American Academy of Jewish Research* 29 (1960–61): 55–131, esp. 115–16; Jacob Mann, *Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1931), 1:111–12; and J. Vahid Brown, "Andalusī Mysticism: A Recontextualization," *Journal of Islamic Philosophy* 2 (2006): 69–101, esp. 71–72.

27. Ibn Daud, *A Critical Edition with a Translation and Notes of the Book of Tradition (Sefer ha-Qabbalah)*, ed. Gerson D. Cohen (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1967), 66/48.

28. See Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 109–17.

29. Šā'id al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt al-umam*, 163-64.
30. Among them the library of the vizier of Zuhayr, the Slav ruler of Almeria (d. 1038), which is said to have contained 400,000 volumes; see Wasserstein, "The Library of al-Ḥakam II," 99. On libraries in al-Andalus, see also Julián Ribera y Tarragó, "Bibliófilos y bibliotecas en la España musulmana," in *Disertaciones y opúsculos* (Madrid: E Maestre, 1928), 1:181-228. Šā'id's account of al-Manšūr's censorship falls within what Roger Collins depicts as "a framework of interpretation that sees the history of Spain as a whole being best represented by a pattern of long periods of isolationism and exclusivity on the part of the peninsula in relation to the outside world, punctuated by a succession of shorter, rather hectic, phases of catching up, in the course of which Spain becomes almost uncritically receptive of outside influences." See Roger Collins, *The Arab Conquest of Spain, 710-797* (1989; Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), 11.
31. See, e.g., Alain de Libera, *La philosophie médiévale* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de Paris, 1993), 143.
32. It is interesting to note, for comparison, the attempt of Christian monarchs in thirteenth-century Spain to supervise and control what Jews read. In 1255 a royal patent of rights forbade Jews to read or to own books that contravened Jewish law; see Nahem Ilan, "The Jewish Community in Toledo at the Turn of the Thirteenth Century and the Beginning of the Fourteenth," *Hispania Judaica Bulletin* 3 (2000): 65-95, esp. 81-82. As noted by Ilan (p. 75), the Jews of that period played a decisive role as cultural intermediaries between the Muslims and the Christians. Rather than an interest in defending Jewish orthodoxy, as suggested by Ilan, the patent was probably meant to block the passing of uncensored material (including translations of philosophy and science) to the Christians.
33. The observation that the Jews were "useful intermediaries" in the cultural process is made by Wasserstein, *Party-Kings*, 192.
34. But according to Miguel Cruz Hernández, "La crítica de Averroes al depotismo oligarquico andalusí," in *Ensayos sobre la filosofía en al-Andalus*, ed. Andrés Martínez-Lorca (Barcelona: Editorial Anthropos, 1990), 110, 110n5, it is not true that the party-kings supported the development of Andalusī thought after al-Manšūr. On the continued philosophical activity in the *ta'ifa* period, see also Manuela Marín, "Los Reinos de Taifas—Teología y filosofía," in Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *Historia de España VIII*, ed. María Jesús Viguera (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1994), 4:528-30, on p. 530.
35. See Ibn Bājja, *Rasā'il falsafīyya li-Abī Bakr ibn Bājja: Nuṣūṣ falsafīyya ghayr manshūra*, ed. Jamāl al-Dīn al-'Alawī (Beirut: Dār al-Bayḍā', 1983), 78-79; Šā'id al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt al-umam*, 205-6 (English trans.: 81-82). See also Eliyahu Ashtor, "Ḥisday ibn Ḥisday, Abū al-Faḍl," *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 1st ed., 8:533; Miquel Forcada, "Ibn Bājja and the Classification of the Sciences in al-Andalus," *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 16 (2006): 287-307, esp. p. 294. On the paramount importance of Saragossa for Jewish philosophy in al-Andalus, see Wasserstein, "The Muslims and the Golden Age," 192; and Joaquín Lomba Fuentes, *La filosofía Islámica en Zaragoza* (Zaragoza: Diputación General de Aragón, Departamento de Cultura y Educación, 1987).
36. See Shlomo Pines, "La dynamique d'Ibn Bājja," *Mélanges Alexandre Koyré* (Paris: Hermann, 1964), 1:442-68, reprinted in *The Collected Works of Shlomo Pines* (Jerusalem:

Magnes, 1986), 2:440-68; Juan Vernet, *La transmisión de algunas ideas científicas de oriente a occidente y de occidente a oriente en los siglos XI-XIII* (Rome: Unione internazionale degli istituti di archeologia storia e storia dell'arte in Roma, 1992), 25-31; and Forcada, "Ibn Bājja and the Classification of the Sciences in al-Andalus," 296.

37. Forcada, "Ibn Bājja and the Classification of the Sciences in al-Andalus," 295.

CHAPTER 4. TRANSLATIONS IN CONTACT

1. This verse was quoted by St. Jerome in his letter to Pammachius on "The Best Method of Translating." Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, eds., *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, vol. 6, *St. Jerome: Letters and Select Works* (1893; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1979), letter 57, p. 114.

2. For a detailed study of "literal" versus "free" biblical translations, see James Barr, *The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translations* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1979); Sebastian Brock's extensive studies of Greek and Syriac biblical translations: *The Bible in the Syriac Tradition*, 2nd rev. ed. (Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias Press, 2006); "Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 20.1 (1979): 69-87 (reprinted in Brock, *Syriac Perspectives on Late Antiquity* [London: Variorum, 1984], III); and "Translating the Old Testament," in *It Is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture*, ed. Donald A. Carson and Hugh G. M. Williamson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 87-98; as well as Eugene A. Nida, *Toward a Science of Translating: With Special Reference to Principles and Procedures Involved in Bible Translating* (Leiden: Brill, 1964).

3. Barr, *Typology of Literalism*, 5, 7, and section III (pp. 20-49).

4. Nida, *Toward a Science of Translating*, 12; Barr, *Typology of Literalism*, 5.

5. The questions why and when this tradition of literal biblical translation developed into "free" or "reader-oriented," especially with regard to the end of the European Middle Ages, have already been adequately answered by Brock, *The Bible in the Syriac Tradition*, 11-12.

6. Brock, *The Bible in the Syriac Tradition*, 12. Nida, *Toward a Science of Translating*, 12, remarks, regarding the Latin translations, that some of them were "apparently rather haphazard."

7. Aquila's translation of the Hebrew Old Testament into Greek in the early second century CE has been described as "a painfully literal translation" that displays "absurd literalism" and "barbarous Greek." See Nida, *Toward a Science of Translating*, 12, 23.

8. The Latin Vulgate may also display this tendency, for although St. Jerome (in his letter to Pammachius on "The Best Method of Translating," 113) defends the method of "sense for sense" that he and others had employed in translating various writings, he also remarks that translating the Scriptures demands another method: "For I myself not only admit but freely proclaim that in translating from the Greek (except in the case of the holy scriptures where even the order of the words is a mystery) I render sense for sense and not word for word." Bruce M. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), 323, has described the Old Latin version of the New Testament as