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INTELLECTUAL CARTOGRAPHIC SPACES: ALFONSO X, THE WISE AND THE
FOUNDATION OF THE *STUDIUM GENERALE* OF SEVILLE

by

Jessica Katherine Zeitler

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the
DEPARTMENT OF SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
WITH A MAJOR IN SPANISH

In the Graduate College

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

2013

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
GRADUATE COLLEGE

As members of the Dissertation Committee, we certify that we have read the dissertation prepared by Jessica K. Zeitler, titled *Intellectual Cartographic Spaces: Alfonso X, the Wise and the Foundation of the *Studium Generale* of Seville* and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The topic of my dissertation about the symbolic importance of knowledge and the creation of intellectual spaces and practices of the medieval Iberian Peninsula originated from the research for a paper I delivered at a Texas Tech University conference on *convivencia*. The encouragement and positive feedback I received from this conference led me to a broader application of spatial and social theory to the creation of space for intellectual practices in medieval Muslim and Christian communities as well as provided a new perspective on the social realities of intercultural relations between the three confessional communities of medieval Iberia.

I wish to thank the University of Arizona Medieval, Renaissance, and Reformation Committee, whose support, in the early stages of my investigation, afforded me the opportunity to spend a summer in the archives of Seville. I am also most grateful for the support Marshall Foundation whose dissertation fellowship enabled me to dedicate an extended amount of time to completion of the written portion of my project.

Many individuals offered encouragement and advice. I especially wish to thank Dr. Kinkade for seeing the potential in me and my project, offering guidance on the process of completing such an endeavor, and words of encouragement to overcome life challenges and arrive to the finish line of the great marathon that we call the dissertation. This project would not be complete without the support and guidance of Dr. Gamal, whose Arabic language and literature courses furthered my understanding of the Arabic language and culture, but also introduced me to the Arabic version of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*.

In particular, I wish to acknowledge the valuable comments and suggestions of Dr. Morales, Dr. Williamsem and Dr. Fiore.

To my loving and very patient husband Mladen, and our new baby boy, Stefan, who remind on a daily basis that love is a driving force behind many things, even those endeavors ending with a PhD. Finally, I dedicate this work to the memory of my younger brother and mother, whose love and support were enduring.

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Figure 1: Arabic Transliteration Chart

IJMES TRANSLITERATION SYSTEM FOR ARABIC, PERSIAN, AND TURKISH														
CONSONANTS														
A = Arabic, P = Persian, OT = Ottoman Turkish, MT = Modern Turkish														
	A	P	OT	MT		A	P	OT	MT		A	P	OT	MT
ا	ā	ā	ā	—	ز	z	z	z	z	ك	k	k or g	k or ñ	k or n
ب	b	b	b	b or p	ژ	—	zh	j	j				or y	or y
پ	—	p	p	p	س	s	s	s	s				or ğ	or ğ
ت	t	t	t	t	ش	sh	sh	ş	ş	گ	—	g	g	g
ث	th	s	s	s	ص	ş	ş	ş	s	ل	l	l	l	l
ج	j	j	c	c	ض	ḍ	z	z	z	م	m	m	m	m
چ	—	ch	ç	ç	ط	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	t	ن	n	n	n	n
ح	ḥ	ḥ	ḥ	h	ظ	ẓ	ẓ	ẓ	z	ه	h	h	h ¹	h ¹
خ	kh	kh	h	h	ع	‘	‘	‘	—	و	w	v or u	v	v
د	d	d	d	d	غ	gh	gh	g or ğ	g or ğ	ي	y	y	y	y
ذ	dh	z	z	z	ف	f	f	f	f	ة	a ²			
ر	r	r	r	r	ق	q	q	q	k	ال	3			

¹ When h is not final. ² In construct state: at. ³ For the article, al- and -l-.

VOWELS														
ARABIC AND PERSIAN							OTTOMAN AND MODERN TURKISH							
Long	ا	or	آ	ā			ā	{	words of Arabic and Persian origin only					
	و		ū				ū							
	ي		ī				ī							
Doubled	ای		iy	(final form ī)			iy	(final form ī)						
	و		uw	(final form ū)			uvv							
Diphthongs	او		au	or	aw		ev							
	ای		ai	or	ay		ey							
Short	ا		a				a	or	e					
	و		u				u	or	ü	/	o	or	ö	
	ي		i				i	or	ı					

For Ottoman Turkish, authors may either transliterate or use the modern Turkish orthography.

VOWELS

ARABIC AND PERSIAN				OTTOMAN AND MODERN TURKISH	
<i>Long</i>	ا or ى	ā		ā	{ words of Arabic and Persian origin only
	و	ū		ū	
	ي	ī		ī	
<i>Doubled</i>	يـ	īyy (final form ī)		iy (final form ī)	
	وـ	uww (final form ū)		uvv	
<i>Diphthongs</i>	او	au or aw		ev	
	اي	ai or ay		ey	
<i>Short</i>	ـَ	a		a or e	
	ـُ	u		u or ū / o or ö	
	ـِ	i		i or ī	

For Ottoman Turkish, authors may either transliterate or use the modern Turkish orthography.

ABSTRACT

This dissertation, “Intellectual Cartographic Spaces: Alfonso X, the Wise and the Foundations of the *Studium Generale* of Seville,” I reevaluate Spain’s medieval history, specifically focusing on the role of Alfonso X and his court in the development of institutions of higher education in thirteenth-century Andalusia. In the past, Spain has been analyzed through a limited, usually western, lens. Incorporating historiography from both eastern and western sources, my investigation traces Semitic intellectual traditions and their subsequent transmission to the Iberian Peninsula during the Umayyad dynasty with the establishment of *katātib* (schools), *maktabāt* (libraries), and *awāqf* (pious endowments). With the identification and classification of these scholarly nuclei, my research maps the chronological diffusion of knowledge and intellectual practices adopted by the Wise King on a tangible level. At the same time, I have developed a theoretical framework that includes the concepts of Henri Lefebvre, Pierre Bourdieu, and Itamar Even-Zohar, all of whom provide a rich, synthetic canvas for social and economic analysis of the medieval period. This investigation has led to a fresh approach that demonstrates how Muslim Spain, though separated from the great intellectual metropolises of *Dar al-Islam*—Cairo, Baghdad, Damascus, and Kairouan—experienced nonetheless the very same development of academic centers and institutions, or *jām‘āt*, that were emerging at that time in the rest of the Muslim world long before a similar Christian movement that would later establish the universities of western Europe. Moreover, Alfonso’s subsequent adoption and maintenance of these Islamic cultural initiatives, including the designation of space for intellectual activities, is not exclusively

of western or of eastern origin but rather a combination of both these established traditions which would ultimately shape the intellectual foundations of the Iberian Peninsula.

INTRODUCTION

In the last thirty years, literary production and political activities during the life of Alfonso X, the Wise have been broadly studied creating a comprehensive vision of his reign, with a majority of these investigations centering on specific literary works or political aspects of the period from 1252, when he became king, until his death in 1284. There remain, however, many areas of research on the wise monarch that have yet to be adequately addressed. Significantly, one of his greatest achievements was the foundation of a *studium generale* or institution of higher learning in Seville which he utilized to staff the teams of scientists, jurists, historians, mathematicians and translators who would subsequently compose the encyclopedic works for which he is so well known: the *Tablas alfonsinas*, *Siete Partidas*, *Gran e general estoria* and the *Estoria de España*, to name but a few.

Despite Alfonso's glaring political weaknesses, he was nevertheless immensely successful within the intellectual arena and his work within the field of translation in collaboration with Jewish, Muslim and Christian translators made irrefutable changes to the process of translation at the time. The support and involvement of Alfonso X himself facilitated this movement and most particularly the production of intellectual works in the Castilian language. The shift from Arabic, Greek, and Hebrew texts, translated primarily into Latin, to an emphasis on works rendered into the vernacular marked a defining moment in Spanish history and ultimately established Castilian as a vehicle of expression

capable of competing with Latin.¹ Moreover, this same shift distinguished Alfonso X from other scholarly patrons among his contemporaries who supported the translation renaissance in Spain as well as other parts of Europe during the 13th century, including Frederick II Hohenstaufen, who sponsored translation projects from Arabic and Greek into Latin at his court in Palermo.²

While his predecessors, Alfonso VIII, Alfonso IX and his father, Saint Fernando, are known for their encouragement of the *studia generalia* in Spain during the 12th and 13th centuries, Alfonso X's role in the expansion of these newly formed universities and his personal involvement with the translation movement distinguish him from his relatives. As the successor to the famed Toledan School of Translators of earlier centuries, the *studium generale* of Seville, the city where Alfonso X had also established his court in 1252, played a critical role in the monarch's consequent scientific endeavors but, to date, little attention has been paid to this essential first stage in the evolution of his vast encyclopedic production. The genesis of the *studium generale* in Seville, the motivation for its conception and eventual formation are only vaguely and imprecisely outlined. Contemporary studies of Alfonso's reign have addressed neither the specific individuals he engaged nor their many contributions to the development of science and

¹ Some critics consider this a nationalistic move on Alfonso's part so that instead of spreading knowledge, he was limiting it because he was translating works into Castilian. What these critics fail to recognize is that he was providing literary and scientific texts that would be more accessible to a much broader spectrum of intellectual than would; he also translated many texts into Latin and French.

² Frederick II, Alfonso X's cousin, was the Holy Roman Emperor from 1220 until his death in 1250. While the court of Frederick II Hohenstaufen was one of the few courts of the thirteenth century that embraced translation of Arabic and Greek into Latin as well as the multicultural dynamics surrounding such a task, during the twelfth century Renaissance, Frederick II's grandfather, Roger II, King of Sicily from 1130 to 1154, also played an important role in establishing this translation tradition.

technology in medieval Spain. My objective, then, will not only be to more accurately and comprehensively analyze and define the origins and development of the nascent Christian and Muslim intellectual practices, but also, through the application of social theory, identify how the practices of the dominant cultures of medieval Iberia influenced Alfonso X, the Wise's patronization of translations as well as his ultimate establishment of the *studium generale* of Seville.

The many gaps in research one observes in the context of Alfonso's relationship to the *studium generale* of Seville have left unanswered the following fundamental questions: When and to what extent did Alfonso X participate in the further development and expansion of School of Translators of Toledo? How, when, and to what extent did the *studium generale* of Seville engender a new school of translators and what was the reason for its eventual disappearance without a trace? Did Alfonso inherit the vast Islamic libraries that had previously been established in Andalusia, Seville specifically, or did he relocate manuscripts from Toledo or other libraries? What differentiates the School of Translators of Toledo from the *studium generale* of Seville, and what was the extent and nature of Alfonso's personal involvement in the textual translations at both of these two schools? What was the nature and influence of the so-called "Islamic culture of knowledge" on the *studium generale* of Seville? Were certain Alfonsine collaborators, such as Judah ben Mose ha-Kohen, Isaac Ibn Cid (Rabiçag), and Buenaventura de Sena, among others, working both in the Toledan School of Translators as well as the newly founded *studium generale* of Seville? In order to address these questions, I will begin

with an introductory chapter followed by three chapters divided by theme, and a conclusion.

Chapter one, “Theory: Constructing a Framework for Social Analysis,” explores theory with which to examine the diffusion of knowledge, the creation of intellectual centers, and the sociocultural practices that ultimately persuaded Alfonso X to establish his court and the city of Seville as a nexus of cultural and scholarly exchange between the East and the West during the middle of the 13th century. This veritable *mélange* of geographical and social theoretic framework includes spatial theory by Henri Lefebvre, polysystems theory for cultural and literary analysis by Itamar Even-Zohar, and socio-ethnographic theory on cultural capital by Pierre Bourdieu.

Henri Lefebvre, in *The Production of Space*, utilizes a model of the immovable house to explain that while the structure of the house is perceived as permanent, the elements flowing through the house like water, electricity, sewage, as well as people, goods, commodities, interconnecting and traveling in and out, are what create its being. Thus, “its image of immobility would then be replaced by an image of a complex of mobilities, a nexus of in and out conduits”.³ By applying this model to the city of Cordoba during the reign of the Umayyad dynasty, for example, in addition to attempting to map an abstract idea like the spread of knowledge, we are also able to suggest a complex relationship between knowledge viewed as a commodity through the acquisition of books and subsequent migration, embedded in medieval commerce. By examining commerce and migration to and from the Iberian Peninsula, I hope to ascertain how

³ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*. Trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford, OX, UK: Blackwell, 1991) 93.

“knowledge” arrived and moved through the urban areas of southern Spain and was acquired by Alfonso X and his collaborators for the purposes of translation.

To examine the motivations that drove said movement through and around the Mediterranean, I have combined the concepts of polysystems and cultural capital. While these two theories may seem disparate, the element that links them are the rise and fall of sociocultural practices. On the one hand polysystems theory offers a method of interpreting the function of translations in a literary system and how that system operates in relation to dominant and marginal literary production. On the other, through its cultural approach polysystems can additionally be useful for the examination of multicultural phenomena because through its networking element it traverses boundaries that might normally limit our investigation. It is not surprising, then, that the concept of cultural capital, the value attached to certain cultural activities, objects, and/or production determined by dominant communities, merges well with cultural repertoire, each one reflecting upon and determining the other. The application of these theories then, will provide a method for the interpretation of sociocultural norms that drive dominant cultural practices as well as influence the establishment of new practices.

George Makdisi confirms that the earliest Islamic institutions of learning began in the tenth century and those of the Christian West, in the twelfth.⁴ This assertion implies a reexamination of the development of Islamic intellectual centers including an analysis of the motivation behind the intellectual activity that provoked the Islamic translation

⁴ George Makdisi, “Baghdad, Bologna, and Scholasticism,” in *Centres of Learning: Learning and Location in Pre-Modern Europe and the Near East* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995) 141-57. In this work, Makdisi links scholasticism and the *ijazat at-tadris* or *licentia docendi*, the license to teach, when relating Islamic education to the European Universities founded in the twelfth century.

movement, together with the formation of Islamic institutions of higher learning. Finally, the question remains as to how this movement, and the knowledge it encompassed, spread. These questions form the basis for the second chapter, “Medieval Islamic Intellectual Spaces: The Diffusion of *‘ilm*,” in which I will discuss the historical setting of the Islamic Golden Age,⁵ the formation of the principal Islamic intellectual centers in Baghdad, Cairo, and Cordoba, and the Medieval Islamic translation movement that was ultimately disseminated throughout Spain and the rest of Europe.

Baghdad, as the new capital of the Abbasid dynasty, became a fundamental center of translation as a result of the establishment of the *Bayt al- Hikma* (House of Wisdom) around 830.⁶ Consequently, the creation of this famous library and translation institution marked the beginning of the Islamic Golden Age, a period of unparalleled intellectual activity in Islamic Medieval history. While the Abbasids, starting with Harun ar-Rashid and later, his son, Caliph al-Ma'mun, were cultivating the historical imprint they would leave on the world from Baghdad, the Umayyad Dynasty was shaping its own history within the Spanish city of Cordoba.⁷ The Umayyad Dynasty is legendary for its scholarly

⁵ The Islamic Golden Age began during the late eighth century rule of the Abbasid Caliphate of Baghdad and continued until the thirteenth century.

⁶ With the overthrow of the Umayyad Dynasty of Damascus, around 750, the new Abbasid caliphate moved its capital to Baghdad. For further reading on medieval Muslim libraries see Ruth Stellhorn Mackensen “Four Great Libraries of Medieval Baghdad,” *The Library Quarterly* 2.3 (1932): 279-99, notes that the *Bayt al-Hikma* (House of Wisdom) was also known as *Dar al Hikma* (Palace of Wisdom), or *Khizana al Hikma* (Treasury of Wisdom), and suggests that the information collected on this library is limited and mostly coming from the *Fihrist* of Ibn Al-Nadim. Other authors like Mongia Mensia, “Las traducciones en los primeros siglos del Islam y el papel de Bayt al-Hikma de Baghdad,” *Pensamiento y circulación de las ideas en el Mediterráneo: el papel de la traducción* (Cuenca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 1997) 53, also notes limited documentation and studies, but provides a much more detailed account of the different phases of the Bayt al-Hikma.

⁷ Abd Al-Rahman I, of the Umayyad Dynasty, escaped the massacre of his family and fled to Cordoba.

achievements as well as its patronage of other intellectuals of the time, particularly during the reigns of Abd al-Rahman III (912-961) and al-Ḥakam II the Learned (961-976), famous for his extensive library of over 400,000 books.⁸ Accordingly, Baghdad and Cordoba are representative of the significant role that the Islamic intellectual centers played in the diffusion of knowledge from the Near and Middle East, and from ancient Greece as well as from Persia to Europe during medieval times.⁹

The principal sources used to develop this chapter include: S. D. Goitein and Paula Sanders, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, Eeqbal Hassim, *Elementary Education and Motivation in Islam: Perspectives of Medieval Muslim Scholars, 750-1400 CE*, Mehdi K Nakosteen, *History of Islamic Origins of Western Education*, Franz Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant: The Concept of Knowledge in Medieval Isla*, Aḥmad Shalaby, *History of Muslim Education*. Other research dealing specifically with al-Andalus includes: Ibn al-Abbār *Al-Takmilah li-Kitāb al-Ṣilah*, Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Tārīkh al-‘ulamā’ wa-al-Ruwāh lil-‘ilm bi-al-Andalus*, Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Kitāb al-Ṣilah fī Tārīkh a’immat al-Andalus wa-‘ulamā’ihim wa-Muḥaddithīhim wa-Fuqahā’ihim wa-Udabā’ihim*, Abdulghafour I. Rozi, *The Social Role of Scholars 'ulama' in Islamic Spain: A Study of Medieval Biographical Dictionaries (trājim)*, and one of the few works that discusses the

⁸ All of the below listed authors confirm the existence of these libraries but differ in opinion as to the number of volumes, including José Sangrador Gil, “La escuela de traductores de Toledo durante la Edad Media,” in *Pensamiento y circulación* (Cuenca, 1997) 25; J. Ribera, *Bibliófilos y bibliotecas en la España Musulmana* (Zaragoza: Tipografía de “La Derecha,” 1896); Jane S. Gerber, *The Jews of Spain: A History of the Sephardic Experience* (New York: Free Press, 1992); C.H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Medieval Science* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1924).

⁹ The other principal centers of Islamic Medieval intellectual activity include Cairo, the *dar al-Hikma* of the Fatimid Dynasty and Samarqand during the Abbasid Dynasty.

peninsular Islamic development of intellectual centers as well as Christian centers, *Historia de las universidades hispánicas: orígenes y desarrollo desde su aparición a nuestros días*, edited by Cándido Ajo González de Rapariegos y Sáinz de Zuñiga.

With the establishment of Islamic intellectual centers in southern Spain, it is clear that contact between Muslim and Christian courts must have existed, and despite their often volatile political relations, intellectual and cultural intercourse continued to flourish. Furthermore, the frequent change of rulers in the Muslim controlled lands also resulted in the relocation of not only capitals, but also Arabic intellectual texts and libraries to other Spanish cities. This constant fluctuation of rulers, in addition to the ebb and flow of the *Reconquista* left many works in the hands of the Spanish monarchy and thus furthered the diffusion of oriental knowledge throughout Spain.¹⁰

The third chapter, “The Development of Medieval Christian Intellectual Practices: Sixth Through Twelfth Century,” traces the nascent Christian intellectual practices in the Iberian Peninsula, from Saint Isidore of Seville and the Councils of Toledo to Archbishop of Toledo Don Raimundo and the School of Translators of Toledo. This chapter will also address the early development of spaces dedicated to scholarly activities and their relationship to the twelfth century translation renaissance.

Although the School of Translators of Toledo was not established as a *studium generale*, its function as a translation and intellectual center stems from Toledo’s past as

¹⁰ After the death of al-Ḥakam II at the end of the 10th century, his ten-year-old son, al-Ḥisham II, inherited the Caliphate. Due to his age, al-Ḥakam’s top advisor, al-Mansur, would hold the Caliphate position until al-Ḥisham was of age. The loss of the strong Umayyad ruler caused internal fighting among the *taifas* and this weakened the Caliphate as a whole leaving it susceptible to invasions by the Almoravids towards the end of the 11th century and, later, in mid 12th century, the Almohads.

a home to many diverse scholarly communities.¹¹ Toledo not only served as the capital of the Visigoths but also as a key cultural metropolis during the Moorish occupation from 715 until 1085 when Alfonso VI of Castile reclaimed the city in the *Reconquista*. Although no longer the capital in the age of Alfonso X, Toledo maintained its role as a major cultural center because of its historical importance, central location, and extensive libraries containing texts by the most celebrated Arab intellectuals.

The essential sources for the development of this third chapter include the works of José Gil, *La escuela de traductores de Toledo y sus colaboradores judíos*; Clara Foz, *El traductor, la iglesia y el rey: la traducción en España en los siglos XII y XIII*; Vicente Cantarino, “Mediaeval Spanish Institutions of Learning: A Reappraisal”; research by Vicente Beltrán de Heredia on the origins of the university of Salamanca; Ángel González Palencia on Archbishop Don Raimundo, Toledo, translation, and the hispano-arabic culture; Julio Samsó on translation in Toledo during the 12th and 13th centuries; Mariano Peset on the origins of medieval Spanish universities; José María Millás Vallicrosa on translation, diffusion of science, and Alfonso’s court; Ana María López Álvarez on the School of Translators of Toledo; and Cándido María Ajo González on the history of Spanish universities.

¹¹ The common use of the term *universitas* or university, stemming from the earlier definition of *studium generale*, does not appear until the beginning of the thirteenth century. Consequently, there is little systematization of such intellectual centers, cathedral schools, and *studia generalia* and, since they lacked organizational structure, there are many scholarly guilds or groups of intellectuals with no official documentation of their establishment.

Some critics, like Marie Terese d’Alverny, question the existence of the Toledan School of Translators, but this is linked, as will be discussed in my dissertation, to the fact that many universities and intellectual centers were never officially founded because they existed before the requirement of papal approval and a bull stating such establishment.

While the broad outlines and even some details with regard to most of the Iberian *studia generalia* are well documented, research on the *studium generale* of Seville is almost non-existent and the physical location of this school is still unknown. Alfonso X's establishment of this school in 1254 and his own relationship with its academic collaborators are of significant importance because, once documented, they will increase our understanding of the school's cultural function and intellectual production.

The fourth chapter, "Alfonso X, the Wise and the Foundation of Thirteenth Century Universities" contextualizes the origins of the Alfonsine School of Seville and the extent to which this essential *studium generale* eventually formed an integral part of the king's own existence and the intellectual life of his court in relation to the developing intellectual practices within medieval Iberia. One of the first actions Alfonso took to establish an intellectual environment was to promulgate the *Repartimiento de Sevilla* through which he granted privileges to many intellectuals, Jewish and Christian, who had previously been living in Toledo. Although some of Alfonso's collaborators have been identified, several of these translators are still anonymous; moreover, it is not clear whether many of their texts produced were translated in Seville or Toledo. While historical documents such as the *privilegio rodado* of 1254 and the Papal Bull of 1260 record the official formation of a *studium generale* in Seville, the ecclesiastical archives explored by Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga in his *Anales eclesiásticos de Sevilla*, suggest the existence of many unedited *privilegios* which could shed additional light on the matter. Through documents such as the *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, the *Itinerario de Alfonso el Sabio*, and more recent scholarly investigations in Judaic and Islamic Studies, such as

Heather Ecker's research and maps of Islamic Seville, this dissertation will draw a clearer picture of how Alfonso X gained access to these texts, the identification of his collaborators including the scholars who relocated from Toledo to Seville and, finally, the evolution of the *studium generale* of Seville and the probable causes of its ultimate disappearance.

The works of Antonio Ballesteros y Beretta, *Sevilla en el siglo XIII*, *Alfonso X el Sabio*, and the *Itinerario de Alfonso el Sabio*, not only serve as a foundation for research on Alfonso X and his court, but also define the environment of thirteenth-century Seville. In addition to publishing much of his own research on Alfonso X, Manuel González Jiménez has also edited and republished much of Ballesteros' previous works. Other invaluable resources that will help shape this chapter include: *The Worlds of Alfonso the Learned and James the Conqueror: Intellect and Force in the Middle Ages* and *Emperor of culture: Alfonso X the Learned of Castile and his thirteenth-century Renaissance* edited by Robert I. Burns; the Alfonsine biographies of Antonio G. Solalinde, H. Salvador Martínez, and Joseph F. O'Callaghan and various works by Norman Roth on the Jews in Spain, specifically those who functioned in Alfonso's court.

The conclusion puts theory into practice through the analysis of the sociocultural value (cultural capital) associated with the Alfonsine translations. Through the contextualization of the diffusion of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, one of the foundational prose literary works in the nascent Castilian literary polysystem, the final pages link the previous chapters, from the rise of Christian and Muslim intellectual centers and the establishment of the *studia generalia*. In this sense, through its translation *Kalīla wa-*

Dimna exemplifies not only the culture of knowledge that comes to characterize al-Andalus as well as Alfonso X's court, but also through its numerous added prologues it identifies underlying practices relevant to the cultural motivations driving sovereigns of all past centuries to procure and produce translations of said work. Utilizing this approach, the spread of knowledge serves to connect all four chapters, each one building on the previous one to create a picture of the historical development of the intellectual environment during the High Middle Ages.

This dissertation not only approaches the questions surrounding Alfonso X's reign and development of the *studium generale* of Seville through a more detailed and comprehensive perspective, including the influence of the Semitic East as well as the Christian West, but also offers new insights, through the implementation of urban theory on the intellectual intercourse that flourished in medieval Spain. While this work focuses on 13th-century Seville and Alfonso X, it also proposes a reinterpretation of the cultural atmosphere that not only served as an impetus to *convivencia* but also to the complex cultural relationships that ultimately led to these essential intellectual discoveries.

CHAPTER ONE: THEORY: CONSTRUCTING A FRAMEWORK FOR SOCIAL ANALYSIS

The Orient is not only adjacent to Europe; it is also the place of Europe's greatest and richest and oldest colonies, the source of its civilizations and languages, its cultural contestant and one of its deepest and most recurring images of the Other. In addition, the Orient has helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience. Yet none of this Orient is merely imaginative. The Orient is an integral part of European *material* civilization and culture.¹²

--Edward Said, *Orientalism*

The introduction to Edward Said's magnum opus, *Orientalism*, calls attention to the dichotomous imagery typically created by the West and westerners to not only characterize the East, but also to define the West as an opposing and dominant culture and power. Because of Said's tremendous international influence on Middle and Near Eastern studies, scholars today are afforded the opportunity and even challenged to present a reinterpretation of what has been labeled as Middle and Near Eastern history, culture and society. Said not only brings to the table a sobering acknowledgement of the problem of subjectivity in the writing of history, but his line of thought also raises similar questions about the study of Eastern influences on the development of Western European culture.

¹² Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978) 1-2.

Although not specifically mentioned in his work, Spanish medieval history is often interpreted in this polarized fashion, through a Western lens, resulting in Orient vs. Occident and Muslim vs. Christian dichotomies. This tendency brought about a somewhat unbalanced focus of research centering primarily on Northern Spain due to the fact that al-Andalus was largely misunderstood as a distinctly foreign culture whose unfamiliar ethos was only intensified by the unquestionable pre-eminence of the medieval Arabic intellectual corpus. This displaced emphasis continues to characterize academic research of medieval Spanish history and culture, specifically in accounts dealing with the 8th through the 13th centuries. In the past three decades, however, investigation into al-Andalus and its Middle Eastern cultural heritage has captured popular imagination, intensifying this highly debated view of medieval Spain. On one hand, it has led to the romantic idealization of al-Andalus as a utopic community where *convivencia* flourished and, on the other, to a history of graphic imagery depicting a dystopian, ethnically divided al-Andalus waiting to be liberated by western Christian crusaders. Today the mention of medieval Spain still inspires these nostalgic and, at the same time, polarized images. Although such enthusiasm has been a compelling force behind support for continued academic research, scholars have yet to substantiate the socio-historical realities of medieval al-Andalus. This gap in research concerning the socio-cultural practices inherent in shaping the collective body of Muslim Spain has created misconceptions, such as those previously mentioned, that characterize the current disparity between the study of medieval Muslim and Christian culture and history in the Iberian Peninsula.

To accurately assess medieval Spanish history, it is not sufficient to take into consideration a single part of the historical context or geographical area, leaving southern Spain to the imagination. In order to reveal the historical realities of southern Spain and to understand the cultural dynamics of the entire Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Ages, it is essential to incorporate as many historical aspects as possible including literary, economic and sociological as well as anthropological features. Such an interdisciplinary perspective must perforce use both eastern and western sources-- including often understudied Moorish-Andalusian literary genres such as biographical dictionaries or *trājim* from the 10th through the 13th centuries.¹³ Likewise, it is essential to both acquire and utilize a theoretical apparatus to serve as a vehicle for such analysis.

In light of the appearance and marked influence of cultural studies in the last thirty years, interdisciplinary and trans-disciplinary analyses combining “literary, philosophical, anthropological, and sociological studies,”¹⁴ have emerged as frontrunners for the scrutiny of living social systems. Similarly, institutional, ideological and discourse analysis have since come to the forefront of cultural studies where they have recently taken up the center of critical debate.

¹³ See *trājim* (biographical dictionaries) by Ibn al-Faradi, *Ta'rikh 'ulama' al-Andalus* (History of Scholars of Al-Andalus) from the tenth century, as an addendum to Ibn Faradi's history, Ibn Bashkuwal wrote *Kitab al-Sila* (Book of Continuation) during the eleventh century, and Ibn az-Zubair, *Silat as-Silah* (Continuation of Adendum) and Ibn al-Abbār (595-658/1198-1260) *Takmila* (Supplement) both from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The first three sources alone provide 3611 biographies, covering from 714 to 1236. For a contemporary study of this biographical genre see Abdulhafour I. Rozi work, *The Social Role of Scholars 'ulama' in Islamic Spain: A Study of Medieval Biographical Dictionaries Trājim* (Diss. Boston University, 1983).

¹⁴ Editors of *Cultural Critique* from the University of Minnesota (1985), cited in Groden, Michael, Martin Kreiswirth, and Imre Szeman, *The John Hopkins Guide to Literary Theory and Criticism* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004) 224.

Philosophers such as Louis Althusser draw from Karl Marx to establish what he coins as the Ideological State Apparatuses or ISA's.¹⁵ Rather than an analysis based on legal and military systems of government, like that of Marx's State Apparatus, Althusser depends on a framework of naturally-developing social networks, including religious, educational, familiar and cultural systems, to reinterpret ideology and its effects on social practices. He clarifies that, "Ideology imposes itself not simply through consciousness nor through disembodied ideas but through systems and structures; ideology is inscribed in the representations (the signs) and the practices (the rituals) of everyday life."¹⁶ In other words, ideology inherently reproduces itself within the framework of society and its omnipresence is ultimately revealed symbolically through the practices and production of society. Althusser's stress on ideology and the plurality of Ideological State Apparatuses plays an influential role in the later development of both structuralism as well as other cultural and sociological thought.¹⁷ The analysis of complex social structures, overviewed by Marx, and expanded and detailed by Althusser, arrives at its apogee during the 70's, and this ideological framework of society reappears in the theories of Itamar Even-Zohar, Pierre Bourdieu, and Henri Lefebvre, to mention just a few.

The theories of Even-Zohar, Bourdieu and Lefebvre coincide because their concepts and analyses depend on symbolic relationships and often on an unconscious social infrastructure. Likewise, their research is directly correlated with the active ebb

¹⁵ Louis Althusser, *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays* (London: NLB, 1977); Louis Althusser and Etienne Balibar, *Reading "capital"* (London: NLB, 1970); Karl Marx, *Capital*. Mineola (N.Y: Dover Publications, 2011).

¹⁶ Althusser, *Lenin*, 53.

¹⁷ Althusser, *Lenin*, 55 "...there is a *plurality* of Ideological State Apparatuses. Even presupposing that it exists, the unity that constitutes this plurality of ISAs as a body is not immediately visible."

and flow of societal change. While each theorist centers on distinct topics that can be examined autonomously, they all acknowledge their interdependency with other fields because they cross disciplinary boundaries and encompass infinite systems. Thus, the theories of Even-Zohar, Bourdieu and Lefebvre are seen to be complimentary and represent systematic functional approaches that lend to analyses of multicultural and multilingual societies, specifically avoiding subjective value judgments such as those concerning cultural production. Additionally, they also embrace interdisciplinary lines of thought and practice, bridging multilayered systems including economic, sociological, political and historical considerations.

Itamar Even-Zohar, an Israeli literary theorist, first introduced the polysystems hypothesis in 1970 with his publication of “The Function of the Literary Polysystem in the History of Literature.”¹⁸ Drawing from the Russian formalists, Jurii Tynianov, Boris Eikhenbaum and the Czech structuralist, Roman Jakobson,¹⁹ Even-Zohar adopted a distinct perspective on systems analysis, forging both a synchronic and diachronic

¹⁸ Itamar Even-Zohar, “The Function of the Literary Polysystem in the History of Literature,” Paper presented to the Tel Aviv Symposium on the Theory of Literary History (Tel Aviv University, February 2, 1970); Also see, Even-Zohar, “The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem” In *Literature and Translation: New Perspectives in Literary Studies*, eds. James S Holmes, José Lambert, and Raymond van den Broeck (Leuven: Acco, 1978) 117-127.

¹⁹ There is a discrepancy in the spellings of both Jurii Tynianov as well as Boris Eikhenbaum, for consistency I am using the spelling found in Michael Groden, Martin Kreiswirth, and Imre Szeman. *The John Hopkins Guide to Literary Theory and Criticism* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins UP, 2004); See, Boris Eikhenbaum and Jurii Tynianov, *Russian Prose* (1926); Also, Jurii Tynianov, ‘O literatunoi evolutsii.’ 4 (1927). ‘On Literary Evolution.’ In *Readings in Russian Poetics: Formalist and Structuralist Views*. Ed. L. Matejka and K. Pomorska (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1971), 68-78; Tynjanov, Jurij, and Roman Jakobson. 1971 [1928] “Problems in the Study of Literature and Language,” in *Readings in Russian Poetics: Formalist and Structuralist Views*, edited by Ladislav Matejka and Krystyna Pomorska (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press) 79–81.

approach to understand how literary systems operate “in principle” and “in time.”²⁰

While Even-Zohar rejects the static, a-historical approach often incorporated into literary analysis by Russian formalists of the early 1920's, he, like Tynianov and Jakobson, emphasizes the dynamic nature of literature, language, and culture through interdependent networks of relationships. In this regard, he defines a polysystem as “a multiple system, a system of various systems which intersect with each other and partly overlap, using concurrently different options, yet functioning as one structured whole, whose members are interdependent.”²¹

Even-Zohar's polysystem not only highlights the connectedness and interdependency of center and peripheral relations--such as within high and low culture, or primary and secondary literary systems--but it also maps the “nature of these correlations...explaining the mechanisms of change in literary history.”²² It is important to note, however, that Even-Zohar's purpose is not to offer a subjective value judgment of canonized or non-canonized literature, but rather to interpret the shifts of these interdependent systems and identify mechanisms governing the literary polysystems.²³ He rejects mere value judgments, indicating their isolating nature and the limitations they have placed on the expansion of research within literary systems and literary history as a whole. At the same time, he recognizes the inability of researchers to ignore the norms,

²⁰ Itamar Even-Zohar, “Polysystems Studies,” *Poetics Today International Journal for Theory and Analysis of Literature and Communication*, Vol.11. 1 (1990) 11.

²¹ Even-Zohar, “Polysystems,” 11.

²² Itamar Even-Zohar, “The Function of the Literary Polysystem in the History of Literature,” Paper presented to the Tel Aviv Symposium on the Theory of Literary History (Tel Aviv University, February 2, 1970) 10.

²³ Even-Zohar, “Polysystems,” 13.

such as the literary canonized repertoire of a specific period since they “are an integral part of these mechanisms”:²⁴

Obviously, canonized repertoire is supported by either conservatory or innovatory elites, and therefore is constrained by those cultural patterns which govern the behavior of the latter. If sophistication and eccentricity (or the opposite, i.e., “simple-mindedness” and conformism) are required by the elite to gratify its taste and control the center of the cultural system, then canonized repertoire will adhere to these features as closely as it can.²⁵

By highlighting the “system of systems” concept,²⁶ Even-Zohar reveals a multiplicity of intersections among the various systems as well as distinct centers and peripheries within each one. Moreover, through this multilayered structure, Even-Zohar stresses the implicit nature of the polysystems hypothesis as an inclusive, versus exclusive, theory:

...synchronism can deal with the general idea of language function, but cannot account for the function of language on specific territory in time, as languages are polysystems, not systems. The heterogeneous structure of culture in society can, of course, be reduced to the culture of the ruling classes only, but this would not be fruitful beyond the attempt to construct homogeneous models to account for the principal mechanisms governing a cultural system when time factor and adjacent systems’ pressures are eliminated.²⁷

Even-Zohar maintains that for a valid analysis of literary systems, it is necessary to adopt a broader perspective--including not only canonized, “masterpieces,” and non-canonized, the center and the periphery, but also the extra-literary systems, i.e. economic, political, and other socio-cultural systems.²⁸ Collectively, this aggregate of constructs represents the influential tensions governing the evolution and changing stratification of the literary

²⁴ Even-Zohar, “*Polysystems*,” 13.

²⁵ Even-Zohar, “*Polysystems*,” 18.

²⁶ Even-Zohar, “*Polysystems*,” 87.

²⁷ Even-Zohar, “*Polysystems*,” 12.

²⁸ Even-Zohar, “*Polysystems*,” 13.

polysystem. He believes that this open approach, indicative of the polysystems analysis, offers insight into a diverse number of disciplines and that ultimately to implement the polysystems theory one has to accept its interdisciplinary scope:

Thus, not only does it make possible the integration into semiotic research of objects (properties, phenomena) previously unnoticed or bluntly rejected, but also such an integration becomes a *precondition*, a *sine qua non*, for an adequate understanding of any semiotic field. Thus, standard language cannot be accounted for without the non-standard varieties; literature for children is not considered a phenomenon *sui generis*, but is related to literature for adults; translated literature is not disconnected from “original” literature; mass literary production (thrillers, sentimental novels, etc.) is not simply dismissed as “non-literature” in order to evade discovering its mutual dependence with “individual” literature.²⁹

In short, his polysystem theory indicates that in any cultural system the units of sub-systems are interrelated and even interdependent. Using this same logic, southern Spain is neither completely separate nor an independent community functioning without connections to the outside world. As antagonistic as the relations between the North and the South may have been, these two opposing forces also acted and reacted to one another, often forming overlapping, multicultural relationships in places like the *frontera*, the market or through their involvement in intellectual projects patronized by kings like Alfonso X.

To further his understanding of the dynamics of translated texts within the literary history Even-Zohar uses the polysystems hypothesis to examine key elements of social change, including the interplay of center vs. periphery power relations and the manifestation of innovatory and conservatory devices. According to this model,

²⁹ Even-Zohar, “*Polysystems*,” 13.

competition functions as a driving force within polysystem shifts and, in this manner, also is representative of social dynamics:

It seems that when there is no “sub-culture” (popular literature, popular art, “low culture” in whatever sense, etc.), or when exerting real pressures on canonized culture is not permitted, there is little chance of there being a vital canonized culture. Without the stimulation of a strong “sub-culture,” any canonized activity tends to gradually become petrified.³⁰

To this end, whether within a literary, an economic, a political or a cultural context, the polysystems framework exists on both a macro and micro level. It is not limited by finite borders but rather it systematically reproduces itself and its mechanisms on an infinite number of planes. As such, the centers and peripheries are numerous. And yet, the characteristics defining each system of the polysystem are dependent on the socio-cultural circumstances of the given period:

Polysystem theory—under whatever formulation—eventually strives to account for larger complexes than literature. However, ‘literature’ is neither ‘deserted’ nor ‘liquidated’ by such a procedure. On the contrary, it is given the opportunity to break out of the corner into which it had been pushed (sometimes with all good intentions) by our relatively recent tradition. Literature is thus conceived of not as an isolated activity in society, regulated by laws exclusively (and inherently) different from all the rest of the human activities, but as an integral—often central and very powerful—factor among the latter.³¹

While Even-Zohar’s polysystems theory brings together a wide range of disciplines including semiotics and cultural studies, his early research is influenced by his interest in multicultural and multilingual systems.³² Consequently, this interest is a keystone to the

³⁰ Even-Zohar, “*Polysystems*,” 16-17.

³¹ Even-Zohar, “*Polysystems*,” 45.

³² See José Lambart, “Itamar Even-Zohar’s Polysystems Studies an Interdisciplinary Perspective on Culture Research,” *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature*, 24:1 (1997) 8.

development of much of his theoretical apparatus, especially his innovative work on the function and position of translated texts within the polysystem. In this regard, he claims that historians recognize the importance of translated texts within the development of national cultures though, at the same time, they neglect to identify the historical function “of a corpus of translated literature as a whole, and its existence as its own literary system, rather focusing on individual works.”³³ For Susan Bassnett and many other scholars in translation studies, his 1976 presentation of “The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem,” linking translation and cultural studies through his polysystems theory, remains as his seminal work.³⁴ His systemic approach not only offered a new perspective from which to look at translation as a whole but, more specifically, the position and function of groups of translated texts within a historical context.

Even-Zohar views translated literature both as an “integral” and “active system within the polysystem.” Moreover, he explains that while translated literature is often marginalized in reference to its study, it neither sustains a peripheral or central position within the literary polysystem.³⁵ Accordingly, he asks “what is its position within the polysystem, and how is this position connected with the nature of its overall repertoire?”³⁶ To break down the complex relations of translated literature within a literary polysystem, he presents a general model of tendencies dependent on a given

³³ Even-Zohar, “Position,” 117.

³⁴ Susan Bassnett, “The Translation Turn in Cultural Studies,” Eds. Bassnett, Susan, and André Lefevere, *Constructing Cultures: Essays on Literary Translation* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1998) 126.

³⁵ Even-Zohar, “Polysystems,” 46.

³⁶ Even-Zohar, “Polysystems,” 46.

sociocultural polysystem. Even-Zohar directly then proceeds to link the dynamics of social relationships with the internal shifts of the literary struggle and the inclination to import foreign models into the “home polysystem” through translations. The weight of these imports lies within the innovatory elements that translations offer. Even-Zohar clarifies that:

[...] when new literary models are emerging, translation is likely to become one of the means of elaborating the new repertoire. Through the foreign works, features (both principles and elements) are introduced into the home literature which did not exist there before. These include possibly not only new models of reality to replace the old and established ones that are no longer effective, but a whole range of other features as well, such as a new (poetic) language, or compositional patterns and techniques. It is clear that the very principles of selecting the works to be translated are determined by the situation governing the (home) polysystem: the texts are chosen according to their compatibility with the new approaches and the supposedly innovatory role they may assume within the target literature.³⁷

In that regard, innovatory and conservatory devices are contingent on the struggles or reigning circumstances of the literary polysystems and, as such, the success or failure of translations is equally linked to the situation of both home and target literary systems. The three principle conditions that produce an environment receptive to the importation of translated texts into the literary polysystem are:

(a) when a polysystem has not yet been crystallized, that is to say, when a literature is ‘young,’ in the process of being established; (b) when a literature is either “peripheral” (within a large group of correlated literatures) or ‘weak,’ or both; and (c) when there are turning points, crises, or literary vacuums in a literature.³⁸

³⁷ Even-Zohar, “*Polysystems*,” 47.

³⁸ Even-Zohar, “*Polysystems*,” 47.

Even-Zohar points out that the first assertion is particularly indicative of the historical circumstances of the Middle Ages, stating that translations served as a vehicle for the elaboration and diffusion of national vernaculars as well as literary genres:³⁹

In the first case translated literature simply fulfills the need of a younger literature to put into use its newly founded (or renovated) tongue for as many literary types as possible in order to make it serviceable as a literary language and useful for its emerging public. Since young literature cannot immediately create texts in all types known to its producers, it benefits from the experience of other literatures, and translated literature becomes in this way one of its most important systems.⁴⁰

Surely, 13th-century Spain and, in particular, Alfonso X's court, fit in this category. There has, however, been little or no research completed on Medieval Spain using Even-Zohar's polysystems. While there are a limited number of recent scholarly publications connecting polysystems theory to medieval translations,⁴¹ most applications of polysystems remain within the field of modern translation or cultural studies. In this sense, applying Even-Zohar's polysystems theory to medieval Spain and its 13th-century translation renaissance could not only offer new insight into the social pressures that influenced such literary production, but might also reveal why certain Arabic texts were translated while others remained on the shelves of one of the famed *scriptoria* as a reminder of Spain's Muslim past.

³⁹ Even-Zohar, "Polysystems," 16, 79; also see Bassnett, *Translations*, 127.

⁴⁰ Even-Zohar, "Polysystems," 47.

⁴¹ Lynne Long, "Medieval Literature Through the Lens of Translation Theory Bridging the Interpretive Gap," *Translation Studies* 3.1 (2010): 61-77; also see multiple publications by, Susan Bassnett, and André Lefevere. *Constructing Cultures: Essays on Literary Translation* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1998).

Even-Zohar states that both the second and third conditions point to weak literatures or underdeveloped literary repertoires that allow for imports to obtain a primary position in the literary system. The second condition points to:

relatively established literatures whose resources are limited and whose position within a larger literary hierarchy is generally peripheral. As a consequence of this situation, such literatures often do not develop the same full range of literary activities (organized in a variety of systems) observable in adjacent larger literatures (which in consequence may create a feeling that they are indispensable). They may also “lack” a repertoire which is felt to be badly needed vis-à-vis, and in terms of the presence of, that adjacent literature. This lack may then be filled, wholly or partly, by translated literature. For instance, all sorts of peripheral literature may in such cases consist of translated literature.... In other words, whereas richer or stronger literatures may have the option to adopt novelties from some peripheral type within their indigenous borders (as has been demonstrated by Sklovskij and Tynjanov), “weak” literatures in such situations often depend on import alone.⁴²

While the second condition is related to a lack of development of a full-range of literary genres within the polysystems, often seen in smaller nations corresponding to a hierarchy within a macro-literary system such as that of the macro-European polysystem,⁴³ the third hinges on societal change:

In the third case, the dynamics within the polysystem create turning points, that is to say, historical moments where established models are no longer tenable for a younger generation. At such moments, even in central literatures, translated literature may assume a primary position ...no item in the indigenous stock is taken to be acceptable, as a result of which literary “vacuum” occurs. In such a vacuum, it is easy for foreign models to infiltrate, and translated literature may consequently assume a primary position.⁴⁴

⁴² Even-Zohar, “*Polysystems*,” 47-48.

⁴³ Even-Zohar, “*Polysystems*,” 48.

⁴⁴ Even-Zohar, “*Polysystems*,” 48 .

This, again, is indicative of the literary situation during Alfonso X's reign. As Alfonso established the Spanish language as a literary vehicle, Latin was slowly phased out of the Spanish literary repertoire, but did not completely disappear because of its relationship with the rest of the Christian world.

These conditions, while not definitive, provide an open interpretive model for further application and analysis of translations within literary polysystems. Although, polysystems theory has often been conceived as vague, its system of systems structure offers wide-ranging applications relevant to all literary systems during any time period. Such adaptability is directly connected to the system's inclusiveness, also suggesting that as an open, all-encompassing construct the polysystems framework reaches far beyond literary history, offering an instrument for analysis of the multiple facets of social production.

In this sense, my use of Even-Zohar's polysystem research is twofold. On the one hand, I intend to study the entrance of translations into the Spanish literary repertoire and the role played by this group of texts in Spain and al-Andalus during the 12th and 13th centuries. Second, I will use the polysystems framework together with sociological and spatial theory to gain a better understanding of how sociocultural practices serve as an impetus for the production and consumption of translations and intellectual spaces, such as medieval libraries, courts, institutions of higher learning and book markets.

Since its first appearance in 1970, polysystems theory has significantly influenced two fields of research: on one hand, its highly systematized foundation has been

incorporated into translation studies;⁴⁵ on the other hand, this same structured analysis has been appropriated by cultural studies, highlighting its interdisciplinary application and the emphasis of cultural studies on class struggles within the social framework.

Pierre Bourdieu, a highly regarded anthropologist, social theorist and contemporary of Even-Zohar, adopted a similar structuralist approach in his best known work, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (1979).⁴⁶ Like Even-Zohar, Bourdieu analyzes the mechanisms shaping the social structures but, more specifically, he identifies these mechanisms as forms of capital and, thus, as inherent forms of power that are embedded in the social practices of everyday life. As a result of his ethnographic field research in Algeria during the 1950's, Bourdieu's theories are rooted in authentic accounts of cultural practices. Drawing from both structuralist and Marxist theories, Bourdieu critically analyzes society within a multi-layered and multi-dimensional framework where capital, in its several forms, shapes and reproduces social power structures.

Bourdieu is especially celebrated for his concept of *habitus* as well as his identification of the multiple forms of capital and their manifestations within society. He defines *habitus* as a “system of schemes of production of practices and a system of perception and appreciation of practices. And in both of these dimensions, its operation

⁴⁵ In 1976, Itamar Even-Zohar together with the members of the Lueven Group met in Belgium for a seminar to define translation studies. Together with other scholars, such as Gideon Toury, Jose Lambert, Andre Lefevere, James Holmes, and Slovak Anton Popovic, Even-Zohar decided that translation studies needed a more systematized base. Even-Zohar made his debut of polysystems at this conference, see “Translation Theory” Eds. Michael Groden, Martin Kreiswirth, and Imre Szeman. *The John Hopkins Guide to Literary Theory and Criticism* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins U.P., 2004) 909-910.

⁴⁶ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard U.P., 1984).

expresses the social position in which it was elaborated...habitus thus implies a 'sense of one's place' but also a 'sense of the place of others.'⁴⁷ To this effect, this 'sense of place,' what he also identifies as 'taste,' an unconscious reflection of the class system, is an ever-changing perception of reality governed by social conditioning.⁴⁸ In *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, defines capital as:

accumulated labor (in its materialized form or its 'incorporated,' embodied form) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e., exclusive, basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor. It is a *vis insita*, a force inscribed in objective or subjective structures, but it is also a *lex insita*, the principle underlying the immanent regularities of the social world. It is what makes the games of society—not least, the economic game—something other than simple games of chance offering at every moment the possibility of a miracle.⁴⁹

As such, capital is not an object equally available to all who desire it, but rather is often predetermined and contingent on the time, place and position into which a person is born. Moreover, obtaining capital offers its possessors certain advantages, momentum if you will, within society to produce more capital, as well as replicate social structures for further reproduction. Together, competition and scarcity play especially active roles in the social infrastructure. Bourdieu goes on to divide capital into three forms which present a more complex but, at the same time, a more thorough look at the mechanisms that shape social structures:

economic capital, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights; as *cultural capital*, which is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be

⁴⁷ Pierre Bourdieu, "Social Space and Symbolic Power," *Sociological Theory* 7.1 (1989): 19.

⁴⁸ Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 6.

⁴⁹ Pierre Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," ed. John G. Richardson. *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986) 47.

institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications; and as *social capital*, made up of social obligations ('connections'), into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility.⁵⁰

Accordingly, through the analysis of capital in each of its forms, we are offered an expanded but more in-depth analysis from which to interpret societal tensions, strategies, and struggles involved in obtaining and maintaining capital. Similar to the innovatory and conservatory devices in Even-Zohar's literary polysystems, the process of accumulating capital results in symbolic power and, therefore, class elevation. To this effect, a continued buildup of capital would in most cases place its possessor within a center dominant position. The production and collection of capital is inherently connected to cultural practices and vice versa. This suggests that if we can identify prevalent social activities, relationships or objects that are equivalent to the different forms of capital during 10th- through 13th-century Spain, then this would also point out certain socio-cultural practices. In this sense, links between capital and the social practices become observable social networks and, in turn, these relationships are viable methods for socio-historical analysis, as Bourdieu asserts:

the structure of the distribution of the different types and subtypes of capital at a given moment in time represents the immanent structure of the social world, i.e., the set of constraints, inscribed in the very reality of that world, which govern its functioning in a durable way, determining the chances of success for practices.⁵¹

While all three forms of capital will be considered in the socio-historical analysis of al-Andalus, cultural and social capitals are of particular interest because they bring to light social practices and strategies not directly connected to economic capital. Moreover,

⁵⁰ Bourdieu, "Capital," 47.

⁵¹ Bourdieu, "Capital," 46.

similar to the polysystems structure, social and cultural capital are not limited to prioritizing oppositions, like those of Christian versus Muslim or Orient versus Occident. Through an overlapping network of networks these forms of capital, social and cultural, can vary from one community to the next and, as such, can appear in any class stratification. Bourdieu went on to further classify different forms of cultural capital determined by the relationship of capital with its consumers:

cultural capital can exist in three forms: in the *embodied* state, i.e., in the form of long-lasting disposition of the mind and body; in the *objectified* state, in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.), which are the trace or realization of theories or critiques of these theories, problematics, etc. ; and in the *institutionalized* state, a form of objectification which must be set apart because, as will be seen in the case of educational qualifications, it confers entirely original properties on the cultural capital which it is presumed to guarantee.⁵²

In the context of 13th-century Spain, this particular hypothesis provides a means by which we may focus on the development of cultural capital through the various forms of *‘ilm* or knowledge.⁵³ From the Umayyad Dynasty and Caliphate (756-1031) to the final days of Alfonso X’s reign in 1284, *‘ilm* held an esteemed position in Andalusian society. Whether through a book, a library, an education, a religious site, or a person, as an object of social production and consumption, knowledge and the desire to obtain knowledge was a motivating force driving the social creation of spaces reserved for knowledge. This circular nature of *‘ilm* in the form of cultural capital is an illustration of the tendency of the social framework to reproduce itself. While each product of knowledge distinguishes

⁵² Bourdieu, “Capital,” 47.

⁵³ Franz Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant: The Concept of Knowledge in Medieval Islam* (Boston: Brill, 2007) 2.

itself from the others, the social framework sustaining and fomenting desire and, thus, the future formation of capital, does not lose momentum but continues to grow and create for further consumption. Often, however, social crises or political transitions may cause a loss of capital and in turn a transformation in the social-framework.

In this manner, production and consumption are related to power and thus knowledge, through its transformation into any of the three forms of capital, represents symbolic power. Symbolic power, as a social ideological apparatus, is only realized if and because society deems there to be a particular value in a specified form of capital. Again, this relationship of production and reproduction of capital that is inherently linked to power is also implicit in the development and early establishment of institutions of higher learning because *‘ilm* achieved this status as cultural capital within Islamic and later Christian al-Andalus. Each of these concepts of cultural capital is fundamental to the examination of knowledge as power and how each form of *‘ilm*; embodied, objectified, or institutionalized at the same time, reflects the diffusion of cultural practices. Boudieu identifies the embodied state as follows:

The accumulation of cultural capital in the embodied state, i.e., in the form of what is called culture, cultivations, *Bildung*, presupposes a process of embodiment, incorporation, which, insofar as it implies a labor of inculcation and assimilation, costs time, time which must be invested personally by the investor. Like the acquisition of a muscular physique or a suntan, it cannot be done at second hand (so that all effects of delegation are ruled out)... This embodied capital, external wealth converted into an integral part of the person, into a habitus, cannot be transmitted instantaneously (unlike money, property rights, or even titles of nobility) by gift or bequest, purchase or exchange.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Bourdieu, "Capital," 48.

Accordingly, *‘ilm* in its embodied state is the intellectual who consumes knowledge, and in terms of Medieval Spain, this *‘ulamā* or scholar possesses cultural capital through his reputation as an individual who has acquired certain knowledge and thus abilities to share or transmit said knowledge with other scholars or pupils.⁵⁵ Another form of embodied cultural capital that is especially prevalent in Islamic Spain is the concept of *riḥla* or travel.⁵⁶ This form of capital is based on an experience and correlates with travel to the Middle East for the purpose of education (in the sense of *‘ilm*) in other courts or intellectual centers. Although *riḥla* from al-Andalus to the Middle East for *hajj* was also a common practice during the 8th through the 12th centuries, many Middle Eastern scholars identify the importance of knowledge over that of pilgrimage and therefore link *‘ilm* and *riḥla* in the same cultural practice of obtaining capital.⁵⁷ These embodied forms of cultural capital were ultimately interwoven into the fabric of one’s reputation and, as a result, were a determining factor in the future career of intellectuals of the period.

Bourdieu stresses the changing nature of cultural capital, especially in regard to embodied cultural capital. Not only is this form of capital contingent upon the socio-cultural conditions of the period, but also the lifespan of the possessor:

Cultural capital can be acquired, to a varying extent, depending on the period, the society, and the social class, in the absence of any deliberate inculcation, and

⁵⁵See Abdulghafour I. Rozi work, *The Social Role of Scholars "ulama' in Islamic Spain: A Study of Medieval Biographical Dictionaries Trajim*, diss. Boston University Graduate School, 1983 (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International, 1986).

⁵⁶ See, Michael K. Lenker, *The Importance of the Riḥla for the Islamization of Spain*, diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1982 (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International, 1982); Also, Joan E. Gilabert, "Institutionalization of Muslim Scholarship and Professionalization of the 'Ulamā' in Medieval Damascus," *Studia Islamica* 52 (1980): 105-34.

⁵⁷ Lenker, *Riḥla*, 189; Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant*, 2, 322-323; Aḥmad Shalabi, *History of Muslim Education* (Beirut: Dar al-Kashshaf, 1954) 71-111.

therefore quite unconsciously. It always remains marked by its earlier conditions of acquisition which through the more or less visible marks they leave (such as the pronunciation characteristics of a class or region), help to determine its distinctive value. It cannot be accumulated beyond the appropriating capacities of an individual agent; it declines and dies with its bearer (with his biological capacity, his memory, etc).⁵⁸

Since embodied cultural capital cannot be inherited the same way one inherits property, money, or even social relationships (objectified cultural capital, economic capital, and social capital), it is often directly linked to the individual possessor as a personal asset. To this effect, cultural capital in its embodied form is not seen as capital strategically earned through dedication of time or experience, but rather interpreted as inherent individual competence, as natural abilities of intellect. Likewise, medieval Spanish scholars embodied their knowledge, both earning an individual reputation and elevating their social status according to the career they were able to cultivate:

It thus manages to combine the prestige of innate property with the merits of acquisition and more disguised than those of economic capital, it is predisposed to function as symbolic capital, i.e., to be unrecognized as capital and recognized as legitimate competence...the specificity of symbolic logic of distinction additionally secures material and symbolic profits for the possessors of a large cultural capital: any given cultural competence (e.g., being able to read in a world of illiterates) derives a scarcity value from its position in the distribution of cultural capital and yields profits of distinction for its owner.⁵⁹

Bourdieu connects embodied cultural capital with economic capital through education. He presents three points of transfer, first identifying that the “link between economic and cultural capital is established through the mediation of the time needed for acquisition”, and that, “differences in the cultural capital possessed by the family imply differences

⁵⁸ Bourdieu, “Capital,” 48-9.

⁵⁹ Bourdieu, “Capital,” 49.

first in the age at which the work of transmission and accumulation begins.”⁶⁰ This would suggest that the earlier an agent begins to acquire knowledge or embodied cultural capital, the more advantages they will have at a younger age in terms of their career level. Bourdieu also connects the possibilities of obtaining future employment, accumulating additional cultural capital in either a social or embodied form, to the amount of capital already obtained in comparison with the competition of the labor market, identifying scarcity value as a determining factor. He points out that the third transferable relationship from an embodied form of cultural capital into economic capital is through the level of compensation received for such capital, in this case knowledge:

... so collective strength of the holders of cultural capital would tend to increase if the holders of the dominant type of capital (economic capital) were not able to set the holders of cultural capital in competition with one another. They are, moreover, inclined to competition by the very conditions in which they are selected and trained, in particular by the logic of scholastic and recruitment competitions... [It] should not be forgotten that it exists as symbolically and materially active, effective capital only insofar as it is appropriated by agents and implemented and invested as a weapon and a stake in the struggles which go on in the fields of the social classes—struggles in which agents wield strengths and obtain profits proportionate to their mastery of this objectified capital, and therefore to the extent of their embodied capital.⁶¹

Another dimension of cultural capital, identified by Bourdieu as the institutionalized state of cultural capital, is merely an extension of embodied cultural capital transformed into an objectified form of capital through its institutionalization. For this reason I have combined the institutionalized and objectified forms of capital according to Bourdieu explanation:

⁶⁰ Bourdieu, “Capital,” 50.

⁶¹ Bourdieu, “Capital,” 50.

The objectification of cultural capital in the form of academic qualifications is one way of neutralizing some of the properties it derives from the fact that, being embodied, it has the same biological limits as its bearer. [...] the cultural capital academically sanctioned by legally guaranteed qualifications, formally independent of the person of their bearer. With the academic qualification, a certificate of cultural competence which confers on its holder a conventional, constant, legally guaranteed value with respect to culture, social alchemy produces a form of cultural capital which has a relative autonomy vis á-vis the cultural capital he effectively possesses at a given moment in time. [...] In this case, one sees clearly the performative magic of the power of instituting, the power to show forth and secure belief or, in a word, to impose recognition.⁶²

While my research of the 13th century represents the transitional phase from Muslim to Christian Spain and a nascent stage embodying the institutionalization of higher learning, the informal institutionalization of intellectual practices in Muslim Spain that date back to the 9th century confer similar benefits to what was later considered to be the formal institutionalization of higher education through an imperial or Papal bull.⁶³ During the 13th century, the *licentia docendi* represented this form of “imposed” recognition in the Christian world, but during the 9th century, in Muslim Spain and the East, the less formal ‘*ijazah*’ fulfilled this role.⁶⁴

The term ‘*ijazah*’ in Islamic pedagogy signifies generally a ‘*licence to teach*’, and more specifically refers to a certificate issued by a professor in an institution of higher learning to a student who has attended a course of lectures to the

⁶² Bourdieu, “Capital,” 50-1.

⁶³ The political implication of the institutionalization of higher education through imperial bull, which was a phenomenon unique to Spain, is indicative of power strategies Alfonso X. On one hand, the institutionalization of education helps to establish a national identity, through what could be referred to as national cultural capital, and on the other, Alfonso the X’s role as patron and at the same time, as the driving force behind the establishment of the Spanish language would elevate his cultural capital via symbolic power and benefit him in his endeavor to obtain the position of Holy Roman Emperor. This will be discussed in detail in chapter 2.

⁶⁴ According to the Catholic Encyclopedia, the *Licentia docendi*, a “degree conferring the right to teach,” is closely linked to the early history (12th century) of the University of Paris.

professor's satisfaction, and who is deemed henceforth qualified to transmit the same subject to his own students.⁶⁵

In terms of cultural capital, the '*ijazah*', like the *licentia docendi*, gave scholars acknowledgement not only of their competence in a specified subject, but also conferred upon them the right to teach throughout the Islamic empire, including Muslim Spain. In addition to the institutionalized form of capital accessible via the '*ijazah*' or *licentia docendi*, medieval scholars transformed their knowledge from the embodied state to the objectified state through their production of written knowledge. By way of translated texts, as well as the creation of intellectual spaces for the purpose of the diffusion of knowledge, whether in the form of a library, a book auction or a classroom, '*ilm*' became a multifaceted form of capital in medieval Spain. However, this esteem for knowledge in its multiple forms was not permanent nor did it always span language and cultural barriers as is frequently shown throughout the history of the *Reconquista* during which many books and libraries were destroyed because of their relationship with the Muslim culture.⁶⁶ Bourdieu emphasizes that its dissoluble nature is indicative of the various forms of capital that, along with the trends of the day, change and can be destroyed because of socio-cultural shifts:

Transition of cultural capital from the embodied state--education/habitus--to something that can be given ... domestic transmission, books, libraries ... can

⁶⁵ R.Y. Ebied and M.J.L. Young, *An Early Eighteenth-Century Ijazah Issued in Damietta*, in *Le Muséon - Revue D'études Orientales*, vol.: 87 (1974) 445.

⁶⁶ It is important to note here that at times of war, especially during the 14th and 15th centuries, as the *Reconquista* regained most of the cities of al-Andalus, burning books, especially in Arabic, was very popular due to the moral value they held. At this time, knowledge and its symbolic nature reaches a point of transition, where it is better to hide knowledge, books, libraries out of necessity of survival.

backfire ...; due to political and religious affiliations/waves, the value of this capital can change ... sometimes being destroyed.⁶⁷

A similar dynamic can be seen in social capital, the third and probably most complex form of capital. In today's world where globalism and technology govern our limitless social networks, they also trace our electronic footprints, identifying where we are and where we have been, who we know and how we are connected to these various aspects which define our very existence. In comparison, the social relationships of the Middle Ages tend to appear nominal and also harder to trace due to the lack of extensive documentation of such interactions. It is more likely that we will be able to ascertain the social capital of the upper echelon of medieval society; however the understanding of such capital provides insight on the dynamics of medieval social networks. Bourdieu defines social capital as:

... the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition—or in other words, to membership in a group—which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a 'credential' which entitles them to credit, in various senses of the word.⁶⁸

Accordingly, medieval scholars, nobles, and even, merchants and peasants held a certain amount of social capital, each quantified by the social stratification tendencies of a given space and time. As in Even-Zohar's polysystems, within each society communities exist within other larger communities and as such, as a polysystem, they present varying stratification formations. For example, where an individual may be considered to possess

⁶⁷ Bourdieu, "Capital," 51.

⁶⁸ Bourdieu, "Capital," 51.

large quantities of social capital within their local ethnic community--such as a rabbi in the Jewish community, an imam in the Muslim community or a priest or bishop within the Christian community--, within the community or region at large they might not have as distinguished a social capital or network. Social capital is often identified with a “family name, a class, or a tribe or of a school, a party etc.,” and in this sense, social capital can be inherited and earned through personal time investment or social activities:

The volume of social capital possessed by a given agent thus depends on the size of the network or connections he can effectively mobilize and on the volume of the capital (economic, cultural or symbolic) possessed in his own right by each of those to whom he is connected.⁶⁹

Although contrary to popular belief about the Middle Ages, during the 9th through the 11th centuries travel between Spain and the Middle East was quite common. Michael Lenker, in *The Importance of the Rihla for the Islamization of Spain* (1982), argues that study and pilgrimage were the most important reasons for travel while trade was secondary.⁷⁰ This suggests that social networks between al-Andalus and the Near and Middle East were not only larger than most would expect, but also that the scholarly network was also quite extensive. While Bourdieu discusses social networks in terms of strategies to obtain capital, he also correlates these strategies with unconscious activities to replicate social relations that already exist. Although his stress on the unconscious facets of social reproduction raises many red flags related to Marxist theories and free will, the word “natural” could easily replace “unconscious”, because the process of

⁶⁹ Bourdieu, “Capital,” 51.

⁷⁰ Lenker, *The Importance of the Rihla*, 303; Also see, Sam I. Gellens, *Scholars and Travellers: The Social History of Early Muslim Egypt, 218-487/833-1094*, diss., Columbia University, 1986 (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International, 1982).

creating friendships and sometimes even whole networks of relationships is perceived as a natural process:

In other words, the network of relationships is the product of investment strategies or unconsciously aimed at establishing or reproducing social relationships that are directly usable in the short or long term, i.e., at transforming contingent relations, such as those of neighborhood, the workplace, or even kinship, into relationships that are at once necessary and elective, implying durable obligations subjectively felt (feelings of gratitude, respect, friendship, etc.) or institutionally guaranteed (rights).⁷¹

Although Bourdieu tends to research the defining features of capital and its relationships with other forms of capital, behind every mechanism and manifestation of capital, the social element continues to be the foundation for such analysis. In this regard, Bourdieu takes this process one step further with his description of capital in spatial terms:

Endeavouring to reconstitute the units most homogeneous from the point of view of the conditions of production of habitus, i.e., with respect to the elementary conditions of existence and the resultant conditionings, one can construct a space whose three fundamental dimensions are defined by volume of capital, composition of capital, and change in these two properties over time (manifested by past and potential trajectory of social space).⁷²

In this concept of constructing space out of social mechanisms, Bourdieu borrows from the most influential spatial theorist of our time, Henri Lefebvre. In *The Production of Space* (1974), Lefebvre introduces the idea of social space, that is, a transition from mathematical space into a more abstract concept of space as a social product. The question he poses is, "...how were transitions to be made from mathematical spaces (i.e.

⁷¹ Bourdieu, "Capital," 52.

⁷² Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard U.P., 1984) 114.

from the mental capacities of the human species, from logic) to nature in the first place, to practice in the second, and thence to the theory of social life--which also presumably must unfold in space?"⁷³ Immediately this becomes an epistemological query of connecting thought to practice. Lefebvre coined this leap from mental to physical space, as the "*salto mortale*," referring to the inability of previous philosophers to develop a connection between the two spaces and thus leaping from one to the other without conceptualizing the relationship and/or the abyss.⁷⁴ The complexity here identified by Lefebvre refers to the fact that within these two spaces lie so many more, meaning that space, whether mental or physical, divides indefinitely into other spaces: "geographic, economic, demographic, sociological, ecological, political, commercial, national, continental, global," to name just a few.⁷⁵ Lefebvre was clearly searching for a unitary theory of space relating back to both Jacques Lafitte and Marx. By calling space a social product, he links the production of space to social practices similar to a "global process of commodities, money and capital," concluding that "the space produced also serves as a tool of thought and of action; that in addition to being a means of production it is also a means of control."⁷⁶ Inevitably, space, due to its inherent relationship to modes of production, also engenders capitalism and thus, calls for the analysis of capital as well as its relationship to power as a hegemonic force within the world market. While Lefebvre relates capitalism, capital, and Marxist theory to the existence and creation of space, and

⁷³ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, Trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford, OX, UK: Blackwell, 1991) 3.

⁷⁴ Lefebvre, *Space*, 6.

⁷⁵ Lefebvre, *Space*, 8.

⁷⁶ Lefebvre, *Space*, 26.

this is essential to my analysis of medieval al-Andalus, the obvious disconnect here lies in the fact that this same research discusses medieval Spain, not the modern capital state. However, these theories may also be legitimately applied to the Middle Ages because all periods maintain some form of social infrastructure as well as incorporate the varied forms of capital and, as such, they, too, produce space.

Lefebvre's spatial theory helps to explain how the movement of people, communities, and/or objects constantly transform space such as the case of building and/or expanding space allotted to intellectual endeavors.⁷⁷ In this context, Lefebvre states that "(Social) space is a (social) product... The more so in view of the further claim that the space thus produced also serves as a tool of thought and of action; that in addition to being a means of production it is also a means of control, and hence of domination, of power."⁷⁸ This would appear to confirm that social practices play a principal role within Lefebvre's spatial theory and, through its social element, can naturally merge with Even-Zohar's polysystems and Bourdieu's capital.⁷⁹ Furthermore, Lefebvre's house model in *The Production of Space* affirms that the space of a house is not an immutable object that defines its own limitations,⁸⁰ but rather it is the flow of energy, objects, and people through this space that shapes the ultimate, but constantly changing, house.⁸¹

⁷⁷ Lefebvre's theories were highly influential for later scholarly developments in urban theory by David Harvey and Edward Soja.

⁷⁸ Lefebvre, *Space*, 26

⁷⁹ Michael Chamberlain. *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190-1350* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), discusses knowledge in the form of capital

⁸⁰ Lefebvre's house model is used in Leila Hudson's work, *Transforming Damascus: Space and Modernity in an Islamic City* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2008).

⁸¹ *Space*, 92-3, "Consider a house, and a street, for example. The house has six storeys and an air of stability about it. One might almost see it as the epitome of immovability, with its concrete and its stark,

While this is, to some extent, an abstract theory, if conceptualized to apply to the establishment and use of a library which experiences a consistent influx of people and books, it is logical to conclude that these people (scholars) left within the library space copied and/or translated books and, thus, the inherent need for the library to grow. Eventually, the people and books that enter or leave its space define this structure. If this same theory is applied to the urban space of port cities or the 11th-century *taifa* kingdoms after the disintegration of the Umayyad Caliphate in 1031, it suggests that around these urban centers there must be fluctuating nuclei of scholars, books and intellectual centers where there is an increased flow of people and commerce.

In this manner, spatial theory is ideally suited to providing us with a more comprehensive model that allows us to better understand the transmission of knowledge and the spread of intellectual practices among an ethnically diverse society. Spatial theory is not limited to binary oppositions, suggesting a back-and-forth linear dialogue

cold and rigid outlines. (Built around 1950: no metal or plate glass yet.) Now, a critical analysis would doubtless destroy the appearance of solidity of this house, stripping it, as it were, of its concrete slabs and its thin non-load-bearing walls, which are really glorified screens, and uncovering a very different picture. In the light of this imaginary analysis, our house would emerge as permeated from every direction by streams of energy which run in and out of it by every imaginable route: water, gas, electricity, telephone lines, radio and television signals, and so on. Its image of immobility would then be replaced by an image of a complex of mobilities, a nexus of in and out conduits. By depicting this convergence of waves and currents, this new image, much more accurately than any drawing or photograph, would at the same time disclose the fact that this piece of 'immovable property' is actually a two-faceted machine analogous to an active body: at once a machine calling for massive energy supplies, and an information-based machine with low energy requirements. The occupants of the house perceive, receive and manipulate the energies which the house itself consumes on a massive scale (for the lift, kitchen, bathroom, etc.). Comparable observations, of course, might be made apropos of the whole street, a network of ducts constituting structure, having global form fulfilling functions, and so on. Or apropos of the city, which consumes (in both senses of the word) truly colossal quantities of energy, both physical and human, and which is in effect a constantly burning, blazing bonfire."

of sorts, but rather a dynamic interaction, effectively demonstrating a multidirectional exchange among, in this case, Muslims, Jews, and Christians.

The diffusion of knowledge in the Mediterranean and Muslim Spain is manifest by combining the three aforementioned theoretical analyses with historical documents, which include biographical dictionaries (detailing the lives of the *'ulama'*, scholars), *waqf* (registering pious endowments of land, buildings, and other personal belongings), and other historical records (providing evidence of the establishment of libraries, mosques, and schools). Furthermore, this analytical approach also permits us to more clearly identify the social dynamics that fomented distinct intellectual traditions which, in turn, engendered overlapping cultural and social communities as well as produced “space” for intercultural dialogue. Lastly, if knowledge as embodied capital is interpreted in its physical form, objectified capital, it becomes less abstract and much more traceable through the establishment of intellectual spaces, whether secular or religious, and written documents including the Cairo *Geniza* manuscripts, medieval Arabic biographical dictionaries, educational treatises and fiscal records from the Christian *Reconquista*.⁸²

While dichotomies and opposing forces, such as the *Reconquista*, tend to characterize the Middle Ages in many recent cultural studies, space as a social product now offers a new framework within which to examine medieval society and history. These overlapping social structures, presented by both Even-Zohar’s polysystems and

⁸² Julio González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1951), documents the quantity of money or land given to different people for their relocation into the newly acquired city of Seville, 1248. This historical documentation includes intellectuals from Toledo as well as other cities, which suggests not just a simple repopulation, but also the establishment of Alfonso’s Court with a particular type of person, mostly scholars that had worked in the School of Translators in Toledo.

Boudieu's capital, together with Lefebvre's spatial considerations, propose an insightful image of history not as a new invention but as a three dimensional, living space where history, people and life converge in a moving axis of intersections, whose proximity between points or cluster of relations reflect history as it actively unfolds before our eyes. All three theorists in their own unique way introduce the concept of social networks as living, palpable, changing organisms which, as described in these particular terms, provide us with a useful, visual model. While Itamar Even-Zohar lays the foundations for our hypothetical structure and the possible changes which may be envisioned for it in the future, Pierre Bourdieu effectively sets forth the plans for the interior design and fixtures of our construct; and finally, Lefebvre carries us across the abyss that lies between mental thought and social practice by offering a three dimensional space for his house, the city and social movement.

CHAPTER TWO: MEDIEVAL ISLAMIC INTELLECTUAL SPACES: THE DIFFUSION OF *‘ILM*

Today, the mention of medieval al-Andalus inspires nostalgic accounts of the Alhambra and the elegant courts and vast libraries of the Umayyad Caliphate of Cordoba. Highlighting this famous city's proclivity towards cultural tolerance and intellectual fervor, medieval and contemporary scholars have often referred to Muslim Spain's capital, Cordoba, as the "jewel of the world." While far from what was considered culturally and intellectually, the center of the Islamic Empire, medieval Muslim historians such as Ibn Khaldūn, al-Maqqarī and ibn Jubair,⁸³ documented the extensive development of libraries as well as the breadth of scholarly activity within Muslim Spain. Though such references draw attention from scholars and laymen alike, the socio-historical details surrounding al-Andalus and its impassioned intellectual culture seem to have vanished among the multitude of books hidden away in medieval Muslim libraries, subsequently dispersed to the *taifa* kingdoms (Ar. *malūk al-ṭawā'if*; Sp. *los reyes taifas*) and smaller personal collections after the fall of the Umayyad Caliphate (1031).⁸⁴ The following two accounts, although often cited, continue to offer insight into the socio-cultural history of Andalusian society. The first reference, by Ibn al-Abbār, describes the

⁸³ Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History* 2. Ed. And trans. Franz Rosenthal (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1980); Ahmad M. Al-Maqqarī, *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain: Extracted from the Nafhu-t-tib min ghosni-l-Andalusi-r-rattib wa tārīkh lisānu-d-dīn ibni-l-khattīb*. Trans. Pascual Gayangos (Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, 1984); Ibn Jubair, *The Travels of Ibn Jubair*. Trans. William Wright (Leyden: Brill, 1852).

⁸⁴ In Ahmed Ibn-Mohammed al-Makkari's *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain* he states, "the immense collection of books remained in the palace of Cordova, until, during the siege of that capital by Berbers, the Hājib Wādheh, who was a freedman of Al-mansūr ibn Abī 'Amir, ordered them to be sold, the remainder being shortly after plundered and destroyed on the taking of that city by the Berbers" (169).

palace library at Cordoba of al-Ḥakam II (915-976AD/303-366AH), one of Muslim Spain's most famous patrons of learning.

It was not only individual books but whole libraries that the Muslim elite competed to obtain. Arabic Spain had at one count seventy libraries, the largest having been established by Caliph Hakim at Cordova in 976. [...] According to the historian Ibn al-Abar, the catalog of al-Hakim's library ran forty-four volumes, and the books themselves numbered between 400,000 and 600,000—two or three books for every house in the city, and a stunning achievement at a time when even the largest European libraries numbered in the mere hundreds of volumes.⁸⁵

Ibn al-Abbār not only highlights the expansive system of libraries and books, which supported the acclaimed scholarly activity of Cordoba, but also points out the competitive nature of procuring works for these libraries. Often deemed an exaggeration,⁸⁶ this description of the number of books tends to be undervalued though similar estimates have also been registered in other medieval Muslim libraries.⁸⁷ Another well-known account

⁸⁵ As cited in Matthew Battles, *Library: An Unquiet History* (New York; W.W. Norton, 2003) 65-66. Ibn 'Abbār, *Al-takmilah li-kitab al-silah v. 1* (Kairo: Maṭba'a as-Sa'āda, 1956) 226.

⁸⁶ See Carlota Sanchez-Molini Saez, "Las bibliotecas y al-Andalus," in *El saber en al-Andalus: Textos y estudios*, eds. J.M. Bravo Carabaza and Essawy A. T. Mohamed (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1999) 87; During this time period, holdings in Europe's most expansive monastic libraries only numbered a few hundred volumes, and for this reason, many scholars question the validity of such high estimates in Muslim libraries.

⁸⁷ There are two aspects that especially impacted these numbers, first, the introduction of inexpensive paper from China, and second, many of these libraries held multiple copies of particular texts. While Julián Ribera's assessment of the organization of Muslim society is controversial, particularly in the realm of education, he does comment on the advances in the production of paper as well as the tendency of Muslim libraries to hold multiple copies of important works. See Julián Ribera and María J. Viguera, *Libros y enseñanzas en al-Andalus* (Navarra: Ugoiti Editores, 2008) 91-94; for more about the adoption of Chinese paper making see Thomas F. Carter, *The Invention of Printing in China and Its Spread Westward* (New York: Ronald Press Co, 1955); Frederick A. Lerner, *The Story of Libraries: From the Invention of Writing to the Computer Age* (New York: Continuum, 1998) 69; Jonathan Bloom, *Paper Before Print: The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2001). For additional libraries with a large number of texts see Mohamed M. Sibai in *An Historical Investigation of Mosque Libraries in Islamic Life and Culture* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI, 1984) 347-49; Among other libraries with large holding, Sibai

was documented by the historian al-Maqqarī who recounts the experience of al-Ḥadramī, a bibliophile in Muslim Spain, in one of the celebrated Andalusian book bazaars:

I resided once in Cordoba for some time, where I used to attend the book-market every day, in the hope of meeting with a certain work which I was anxious to procure. This I had done for a considerable time, when on a certain day, I happened to find the object of my search, a beautiful copy, elegantly written and illustrated with a very fine commentary. I immediately bid for it, and went on increasing my bid, but to my great disappointment, I was always outbid by the crier (auctioneer), although the price was far superior than the value of the book. Surprised at this I went to the crier, and asked him to show me the individual who had thus outbid me for the book to a sum far beyond its real value, when he pointed out to me a man of high rank, to whom, on approaching, I said, "May God exalt you O doctor (*faqih*, lit. scholar), if you desire this book I will relinquish it, for through our mutual bidding its price has risen far above its real value." He replied, "I am neither learned nor do I know what the contents of the book are, but I have just established a library, and cost what it may, I shall make it one of the most notable things in my town. There is an empty space there which this book will just fill. As it is beautifully written and tastefully bound I am pleased with it, and I don't care what it costs, for God has given me an immense income."⁸⁸

While the content of the desired work from al-Ḥadramī's story is today still unknown, the incident is not without meaning. This sort of zeal toward the collection and display of books in Islamic Spain between the 9th and the 13th century not only demonstrates the inherent value of books during this period but it also suggests that knowledge, whether feigned or genuine, had a distinct cultural significance in medieval Muslim society.

With this inherent value in mind, the present chapter analyzes medieval Islamic cultural ideologies and traditions that shaped the social dynamics of *Dar al-Islam*. More specifically, it examines how three core concepts from Muslim society, *‘ilm*

notes, the Haydariya Library of the Grand Mosque of al-Najaf (Iraq), the Zaytuna Mosque in Tunis, and the library of al-Hakim (386/996-411/1021).

⁸⁸ Al-Maqqarī, *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, 140.

(knowledge),⁸⁹ ‘*ulamā*’ (scholars; sing. ‘*ālim*) and *riḥla* (travel in the pursuit of knowledge), which from now on I will refer to as the triad of ‘*ilm*, functioned as a common instrument of social action in the development and diffusion of intellectual practices. Namely, it shows how the symbolic and economic, socio-cultural value placed on these concepts played an essential role in the establishment of intellectual centers such as *maktabāt* (libraries; sing. *maktaba*) and *madāris* (Muslim institutions of higher learning; sing. *madrasa*), as well as other spaces that served as hubs of scholarly activity. This chapter demonstrates how the cultural notion of ‘*ilm*, widely accepted as cultural capital, stimulated an increase of ‘*ulamā*’ in principal Islamic cities as well as the creation of an international network of traveling scholars through the realization of *riḥla*.

2.1- The Medieval Muslim Triad of ‘*ilm*

Often, Middle Eastern scholars, like Ziauddin Sardar, have identified ‘*ilm* (knowledge), ‘*adl* (justice), ‘*ibadah* (worship), *khilāfa* (trusteeship) and *waqf* (pious endowment; charitable trust) as the driving forces which helped to maintain a continued momentum for the diffusion of intellectual practices.⁹⁰ The present research, however, employs the notions of ‘*ilm*, ‘*ulamā*’, and *riḥla*, and considers these three core principles as a unified triad because combined they function as a single instrument of transmission fueled by Islam. In the sense that none of the three can exist without the other two, the triad represents the entire spectrum of knowledge while underscoring the lively socio-intellectual dynamics in Muslim Spain, as the two previous accounts have shown. While

⁸⁹ The term *ma’rifā* is also used to express knowledge, however, *ma’rifā* is a spiritual knowledge or understanding, while ‘*ilm* is considered something you study and learn. See Franz Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant: The Concept of Knowledge in Medieval Islam* (Boston: Brill, 2007) 39.

⁹⁰ Ziauddin Sardar, in *How We Know: Ilm and the Revival of Knowledge* (London: Grey Seal, 1991) 24-39.

each concept renders a basic definition within the context in which it was commonly used during the Middle Ages, all three aspects are synonymous with the foundations of Muslim learning and dissemination of knowledge at that time.

An example of the triad at work may be seen through *‘ilm* and its relationship with medieval Muslim society. In Franz Rosenthal’s work, *Knowledge Triumphant*, (1970) he defines *‘ilm* as “to know.”⁹¹ While the English word does not adequately express the depth of meaning of *‘ilm* within its cultural context or praxis, it incorporates many other meanings because *‘ilm* composes the root of other concepts such as “science,” “to teach,” and even, “scholar.”⁹² Rosenthal dates the appearance of *‘ilm* as a concept within Eastern society back to Mohammad and the establishment of Islam. Once rendered into English, however, *‘ilm* is severed from its cultural context and though not officially a religious term in Arabic, it cannot be separated from Islam. Rosenthal explains this intricate relationship among *‘ilm*, Islam and Muslim civilization:

[...] there is no other concept that has been operative as a determinant of Muslim civilization in all its aspects to the same extent as *‘ilm*. This holds good even for the most powerful among the terms of Muslim religious life such as, for instance, *tawhîd* ‘recognition of the oneness with God,’ *ad-dîn* ‘the true religion,’ and many others that are used constantly and emphatically. None of them equals *‘ilm* in depth of meaning and wide incidence of use.⁹³

⁹¹ Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant: The Concept of Knowledge in Medieval Islam*, 10; and *Muslim Intellectual and Social History: A Collection of Essays*, 10.

⁹² Hans Wehr and J M. Cowan, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic* (Ithaca, N.Y: Spoken Language Services, 1976) 743.

⁹³ Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant*, 2.

By equating *‘ilm* with Islam during the Classical Period,⁹⁴ *‘ilm* is seen to be inseparable from Islam and its role in the development of Muslim civilization and vice versa.⁹⁵ Within this context, one of most renowned Islamic medieval jurists and Sufi mystics, Abu Ḥamid al-Ghazālī (1058-1111AD/450-505AH, also known as Algazel), also describes this fusion of *‘ilm* and Islam in his extensive work *Ihya’ ‘ulum al-din* (*The Revival of Religious Sciences*).⁹⁶ In his first chapter, *Kitāb al-‘ilm* (*The Book of Knowledge*), which focuses on *‘ilm* and the requirements of faith, al-Ghazālī draws a comparison between the essential qualities of knowledge and nutrition. He says that, “for the nourishment of the heart, on which its life depends, is knowledge and wisdom, just as the nourishment of the body is food. Whoever lacks knowledge has an ailing heart and his death is certain.”⁹⁷ Rosenthal further expands al-Ghazālī’s commentary explaining that:

Knowledge remains the goal of all worthwhile aspirations of mankind, the true synonym of religion. These were the ideas that determined the development of Muslim “knowledge” and with it, of all Muslim intellectual life, and, in fact, all Muslim religious and political life.⁹⁸

In sum, the admiration of *‘ilm* disseminates via the spread of Islam. Indeed, such pursuit of knowledge became an obligation of every Muslim.⁹⁹ As *‘ilm* filtered into the daily

⁹⁴ The Islamic Golden Age (711-1258 AD) is also referred to as the Classical Period.

⁹⁵ Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant*, 2.

⁹⁶ Abu-Hamid M. I.-M Ghazzali, *The Book of Knowledge, Being a Translation with Notes of the Kitāb al-‘ilm of Al-Ghazzali’s (abu-Hamid Muhammad Ibn-Muhammad Al-Gazzali) Ihya’ ‘ulum Ad-Din*. trans. Nabih A. Faris (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1962).

⁹⁷ Ghazzali, *The book of Knowledge*, 8.

⁹⁸ Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant*, 32.

⁹⁹ One of the most commonly mentioned hadith says, “The seeking of knowledge is incumbent on every Muslim” طلب العلم فريضة على كل مسلم

religious duties of every believer, over time its significance, both symbolic and economic, naturally shaped the cultural traditions of medieval Muslim society in both the East and the West.

Such reverence for *‘ilm* is acknowledged by the *Qur’an* and Muhammad himself as seen in the *ḥadīth*.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, *‘ilm* is held to a high standard in part because of its religious indoctrination. Consequently, it occurs in the *Qur’an* about 750 times, the fifth most used word after, *k-w-n* “to be”, *q-w-l* “to say”, *Allah* “God”, and *rabb* “the Creator.”¹⁰¹ In fact, a distinction is made in Arabic language and culture which characterizes the pre-Islamic era as “*jāhiliyya*” (Arabic era of ignorance, barbarism),¹⁰² and conversely employs *‘ilm* to innately define Islam. Though both Rosenthal and A.L. Tibawi stress the prevalence of the oral tradition within the pre-Islamic society,¹⁰³ Tibawi also emphasizes that within one generation the *Qur’an* was stabilized in its written form and as a direct result fostered the spread of literacy and the subsequent foundation of medieval Muslim educational practices as the following excerpt illustrates:

Apart from its purely religious content proclaiming unity and majesty of God, the message insists on the high value of learning and associates it with wisdom. Men of learning are placed in a position second only to prophets. But this learning was,

¹⁰⁰ Wehr and Cowan, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, 190, describes the *ḥadīth* as “Prophetic tradition, Hadith, narrative relating deeds and utterances of the Prophet and his companions.”

¹⁰¹ Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant*, 20.

¹⁰² In Juan de Campo’s 2009 edition of *Encyclopedia of Islam* Jon Armajani explains that, “The term has often been used to connote the pagan polytheism of the Arabian Peninsula before the revelation of the QURAN. Muslims view this period with particular disdain because polytheism, or assigning partners to God (SHIRK), is viewed as absolutely contradictory to Islam’s own strict MONOTHEISM (TAWID). They believe that Islam brought humanity true and ultimate knowledge through the Quran and HADITH, founded on the recognition that there is one God and MUHAMMAD is his prophet. In contrast, Muslims associate Jahiliyya with total spiritual darkness” (387).

¹⁰³ Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant*, 20; Abdul L. Tibawi, *Islamic Education: Its Traditions and Modernization into the Arab National Systems* (London, Luzac, 1972) 23.

of course, concerned with the divine revelation, its understanding and its propagation by preaching and teaching. The Koran represents Muhammad as a teacher of this divine message, but a teacher who, unlike others, expected no reward for his labour except from God. [...] Thus preaching the new faith was accompanied by two practical measures of special educational significance: literate believers were required to teach illiterates, and only literate believers were sent out to new communities that embraced Islam.¹⁰⁴

It is, then, through the spread of Islam that the foundations of education, with an emphasis on literacy for the study of the *Qur'an*, were established. In this respect, religion was the central motivation in the pursuit and production of *'ilm*/knowledge, *vis-à-vis* *'ulamā'*, *riḥla*, books, and the establishment of libraries as well as other spaces of scholarly activity. This desire for knowledge was not only linked to the belief that through the pursuit of *'ilm* an individual gained a close relationship with Allah, but showed once again the fusion of *'ilm* with Islam. The possession of knowledge was also directly associated with the upward mobility of social class. Rosenthal presents similar evidence showing the value of knowledge over that of noble birth:

Nobility of birth was held in the lowest esteem of all the material advantages. It was certainly deemed by far less valuable than intellectual merit as proved by the possession of knowledge [...] Ignorance, on the other hand, lowers the prestige an individual may possess and annuls the advantages of noble birth.¹⁰⁵

Hence, a distinction between the possession of nobility and the possession of *'ilm* is established and the bearer of *'ilm*/knowledge, who has forged a relationship with Allah by means of *'ilm*, is regarded with greater admiration by the medieval *umma* (collective

¹⁰⁴ Tibawi, *Islamic Education*, 23-24.

¹⁰⁵ Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant*, 322-23.

or Muslim community) than someone of noble birth.¹⁰⁶ Rosenthal's assertion is expanded by Shelomoh Dov Goitein, who comments that:

In our civilization, people study in order to acquire knowledge. In the society reflected in the Geniza records, study had an additional function: it was an act of devotion, it was worship. To give as much time as possible to reading and discussion of holy texts was religiously meritorious, and the reputation of being versed in them was a mark of honor, coveted not only by members of the professional class, but by any respectable citizen. And no one could aspire after communal leadership without being distinguished by a certain degree of erudition.¹⁰⁷

The *Geniza* documents, found in Cairo in the late 19th century, are Jewish manuscript fragments dating approximately from the 9th through the mid-thirteenth century. Their importance for the present investigation lies in the fact that they describe the historical setting of the medieval Middle East as well as other regions that formed a part of the Islamic Empire, including northern Africa and al-Andalus while providing historical details regarding the social and educational practices prevalent in Christian, Jewish, and Muslim communities.¹⁰⁸ In addition to reinforcing esteem for knowledge, the *Geniza* records also attest to the merits of scholarly pursuits and high regard in which '*ulamā*', the second part of the triad, was held.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ This reverence for the '*ulamā*' by the *umma* often led royal and dynastic rulers to employ these scholars for their political and religious connections to the Muslim community.

¹⁰⁷ S.D. Goitein and Paula Sanders, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World As Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, V. II (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967) 171.

¹⁰⁸ See Goitein and Sanders, *A Mediterranean Society*.

¹⁰⁹ See Goitein and Sanders, *A Mediterranean Society*, chapter 9, *Education and the professional class*, 248-83 and chapter 10, *Interfaith Relations*, 290-305.

2.2- 'ilm as Cultural Capital the 'ulamā'

Research on 'ulamā' reveals a wide-range of descriptions, medieval and contemporary, some describing elite 'ulamā' and others focusing on 'ulamā' with purely religious objectives.¹¹⁰ In this light, both descriptions suggest that the 'ulamā' profession was restricted to the higher social classes, just as they were in Europe of the time. In contrast, the direct translation of 'ulamā' denotes "knowing, expert, learned, scholar, scientist,"¹¹¹ though it does not define class restrictions for this profession. R. S.

Humphreys provides a similar, all-encompassing description:

Who and what are the 'ulamā'? Is it easier to say what they are not, for they are neither a socio-economic class, nor a clearly defined status group, nor a hereditary caste, nor a profession. They appear in our texts as semi-literate village imams and erudite qadis, as rabble-rousers and privy counselors to kings, as spiritual directors and cynical politicians. Some are scions of wealthy and influential families, others are impoverished immigrants from remote villages. Some are landowning, some are salaried professors or bureaucrats, some are merchants or humble artisans. The great majority are men, but there are a number of notable women in their ranks as well. In short, they seem to cut across almost every possible classification of groups within Islamic society, playing a multiplicity of political, social, and cultural roles. But in spite of this ambiguity, they are plainly a crucial element in Islamic society.¹¹²

Humphreys clearly shows that these scholars were not only from very diverse backgrounds, but they were also highly involved at all levels of medieval Muslim society. Manuela Marín, defines the 'ulamā' in a similar manner and directly classifies the

¹¹⁰ Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190-1350*, Cambridge studies in Islamic civilization (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994). Daphna Ephrat, *A Learned Society in a Period of Transition: The Sunni "ulama" of Eleventh Century Baghdad* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000).

¹¹¹ Wehr and Cowan, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, 745.

¹¹² R. S. Humphreys, *Islamic History: A Framework for Inquiry* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1991) 187.

‘*ulamā*’ by their character saying, “Ése es, en efecto, el carácter que define al ulema: su dedicación a la ciencia y al conocimiento. [...] El ulema es aquél que posee el saber (*‘ilm*).” (This is, in effect, the character that defines the ‘*ulamā*’: their dedication to science and to knowledge. [...] The ‘*ulamā*’ is he who possesses knowledge (*‘ilm*)).¹¹³

Humphreys’ refusal to pinpoint a specific social class or profession as representative of the ‘*ulamā*’, together with Marín’s identification by means of character, suggests that ‘*ulamā*’, the bearers of *‘ilm*, could have originated from any social class. However, the intrinsic nature of ‘*ulamā*’ to Muslim society, *vis-à-vis* its organic relationship with the *Qur’an*, naturally created its own highly recognized and elite social class of scholars.

In this regard, equating *‘ilm* as cultural capital for *Dar al-Islam*, particularly during the Islamic Golden Age, is supported by social practice and widely-accepted Islamic philosophical and religious literatures which highlight the religious and cultural value of *‘ilm*. Within this context, Rosenthal provides a related comparison commenting that, “The higher estimation of knowledge is, for instance, expressed in the constantly cited Prophetical tradition showing preference for the man who knows (*‘ālim*) as against the pious worshiper who fulfills all the religious duties (*‘ābid*).”¹¹⁴

Therefore, in the present research, the second core principle ‘*ulamā*’ represents the bearer of *‘ilm*/knowledge. As such, *‘ilm* resides in ‘*ulamā*’ which exemplifies, on one hand, the pursuit of knowledge by scholars as a religious medium to come closer to Allah

¹¹³ Manuela Marín, “Ulemas de al-Andalus,” in *El saber en Al-Andalus: Textos y estudios*. Eds. Pedro Cano Ávila and Ildefonso Garijo Galán, Vol. 1 (Spain: Universidad de Sevilla, 1997) 151-52;

¹¹⁴ Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant*, 248.

and, on the other, the pursuit of symbolic knowledge as a means of upward class mobility and social prestige. An example of the symbolic realization of *‘ilm* by the *‘ulamā*’ is seen through the third concept of the triad, the *riḥla*.

Travel for the purpose of study with religious and secular scholars in search of *‘ilm* was often the final stage of a student’s (*tā’lib*) education. This journey, a socio-religious practice, is considered the *riḥla*.¹¹⁵ Many intellectuals relocated across the Mediterranean for the mere opportunity to teach and/or study in famous learning centers, such as the court of al-Ḥakam II in Cordoba, *Bait al-Ḥikma* (House of Wisdom) in Baghdad or *Bait al-‘ilm* (House of Knowledge) in Cairo. As a result of religious obligations, specifically the *ḥajj* (pilgrimage) to Mecca, and the relatively central location of the intellectual centers like Cairo and Baghdad, scholars routinely traveled east, towards Mecca for the pursuit of *‘ilm*.

Many people from all countries traveled to it (House of Wisdom) in order to study various sciences. In it the books were completely at the disposal of students [...] This library was known in the whole world and attracted students in such manner that the astronomer Abu-Ma’shar (died 885) coming from Khorasan with the intention of going to Mecca to perform the pilgrimage, decided to go and see it. He was so enthusiastic about it that he remained there and did not continue his journey.¹¹⁶

There is also proof however, that scholars and students traveled west, to al-Andalus, with similar intellectual pursuits.¹¹⁷ Evidence of the realization of the *riḥla* is found in a number of medieval biographical dictionaries (*trāḡim*) as well as the *Geniza*

¹¹⁵ Michael Karl Lenker offers extensive analysis of the significance of this tradition in *The Importance to the Rihla for the Islamization of Spain* (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1982).

¹¹⁶ Yukut al-Himawi, *Mu’djam al-Udabā* 15:157, quoted by Ribhi Mustafa Elayyan, *The History of Arabic-Islamic Libraries, 7th to 14th centuries*, "International Library Review 22, 1990 pp. 119-135, 127.

¹¹⁷ Lenker, *The Importance to the Rihla for the Islamization of Spain*, 85-131.

documents.¹¹⁸ Both Michael Lenker and A. M. Rozi's research on medieval Andalusian biographical dictionaries confirms that the *riḥla* played a vital role in shaping Muslim cultural and intellectual heritage.¹¹⁹ The *riḥla* resulted in the collection of eastern intellectual works in Spanish libraries and, vice versa, medieval Spanish Muslim works in Eastern libraries.¹²⁰ Furthermore, the trans-Mediterranean diffusion of the Greek and Muslim intellectual corpus also inspired the later translation movement in Italy and Spain during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries known in European history as the "Twelfth Century Renaissance."¹²¹ Evidence of the *riḥla* not only reveals cross-cultural intellectual activities by networks (*ṣilsila*) of Muslim, Christian and Jewish scholars, but it is also indicative of the simultaneous development of educational practices in Eastern and Western Muslims societies. In "Institutionalization of Muslim Scholarship and Professionalization of the 'Ulamā' in Medieval Damascus," Joan E. Gilabert documents the *riḥla* as an educational practice in the medieval Mediterranean since Muhammad's time:

[...] from earliest Muslim times, companions of Muhammad, *tābi'ūn*, and subsequent generations of '*ulamā'*' journeyed throughout the Islamic territories to pursue and disseminate religious knowledge. This tradition of travel in search of learning continued to dominate the educational and career patterns of later

¹¹⁸ For biographical dictionaries see, A. A. M Ibn al-Faraḍī and 'Izzat -A. Ḥusaynī. *Tārīkh al-'ulamā' wa-al-ruwāḥ lil- 'ilm bi-al-Andalus*. 1988; Ibn, Bashkuwāl K. A.-M. *Kitāba al-silah fī tārīkh a'immāt al-Andalus wa- 'ulamā' ihim wa-muḥaddithihim wa-fuqahā' ihim wa-udabā' ihim*. 1955; For the specific contents of the *Geniza*, see S.D. Goitein Paula Sanders, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World As Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, 1967, or the most recent abridgement edition by Goitein and Lassner, *A Mediterranean Society: An Abridgment*, 1999.

¹¹⁹ Lenker, *The Importance of the Rihla*; Rozi, Abdulghafour I. *The Social Role of Scholars 'ulama' in Islamic Spain: A Study of Medieval Biographical Dictionaries (trājim)* (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1986).

¹²⁰ Rozi, *The Social Role of Scholars 'ulama' in Islamic Spain*, 349-71.

¹²¹ For the 12th century European Renaissance see Charles H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, 1971.

'*ulamā*'. [...] Muslim scholars from areas as distant as Spain, North Africa, and Central Asia sought personal communication with one another. [...] Muslim scholars traveled as participants in a host of professional and social as well as religious practices that grew up around the exchange of religious information. These organized pursuits constituted an international system of Muslim learning.¹²²

Indeed, the symbolic value of '*ilm*' varied considerably from one region to another.

However the high volume of travel between the Eastern Mediterranean and Andalusian cities, like those of Cordoba, Seville, Toledo, Malaga, Almeria, Tripoli, Alexandria, Cairo, Baghdad and Damascus during the 9th through the 13th centuries, documented in the Cairo *Geniza* and biographical dictionaries,¹²³ serves as evidence of widespread networks of '*ilm*' through its bearers, the '*ulamā*'. In this regard, the extensive contact and an innate cultural exchange resulted in a similar esteem for '*ilm*' and, as such, educational practices throughout the *Dar al-Islam*. The influence of Islamic cultural practices vis-à-vis the value of '*ilm*' is seen through the widespread simultaneous appearance of intellectual centers in Eastern and Western Islam, such as *masājid* (mosques), *maktabāt* (libraries), *madāris* (Muslim schools of higher education) and other scholarly spaces. Moreover, this transformation in the Muslim intellectual landscape, since the beginning of Islam, demonstrates a steady increase in the value and transmission of knowledge until the 13th century. In this vein, education, religious and secular, characterized Islamic

¹²² Joan E. Gilabert, "Institutionalization of Muslim Scholarship and Professionalization of the '*Ulamā*' in Medieval Damascus," *Studia Islamica*. 52.1980: 105-34, 107.

¹²³ *Ta'rikh ulama' al-Andalus* by Ibn al-Faradi (d. 403/1013), *Kitab al-silat fi akhbar a'immat al-Andalus* by Ibn Bashkuwal, a follower of Ibn al-Faradi, and finally, *Jadhwat al-muqtabis fi dhikr wulat al-Andalus* by Abu abd Allah Muhammad b. Abi Nasr al-Humaydi (d. 488/1095). All of the above mentioned works discuss poets, scholars, *wazirs*, and other famous men of Spain as late as 450/1058. For modern scholarly works on medieval Mediterranean contact and travel see Olivia R. Constable, *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain: The Commercial Realignment of the Iberian Peninsula, 900-1500* (Cambridge UP, 1994).

civilization. Consequently, the symbolic manifestations of *‘ilm* can be observed through the initial establishment and gradual transformation of these spaces dedicated to the pursuit of *‘ilm*, and provide insight into the ultimate foundation of a formal educational institution under Islam, the *madrasa*.

2.3- Types of Schools and Education in the Medieval Middle East and Near East

The official *madrasa* (Muslim school of higher education) was not established until 1066-1067AD/459AH,¹²⁴ but before this period it is clear, through biographical dictionaries, documentation of *waqf* (pious endowments; in al-Andalus commonly called *hubs*)¹²⁵ and treaties on education, that intellectual practices flourished throughout *Dar al-Islam*. The main distinguishing characteristic before and after 1066, while value of *‘ilm* and intellectual practices spread together with the expansion of the Islamic Empire, is that before this date an official institution created solely for the purpose of education did not yet exist. As a result, elementary and higher education in the Muslim world, especially during the first few centuries of Islam, were characterized by informality and flexibility.

¹²⁴ For more details on the development of the education system see A. L. Tibawi, *Islamic Education*; Shalaby, Ahmad. *History of Muslim Education* (Beirut: Dar al-Kashshaf, 1954); Mehdi K Nakosteen, *History of Islamic Origins of Western Education, A.D. 800-1350: With an Introduction to Medieval Muslim Education*, (Boulder: University Colorado Press, 1964); George Makdisi, "The Madrasa and the Islamization of the Middle East. The Case of Egypt," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, 22:29-47 (1985); "Muslim Institutions of Learning in Eleventh-Century Baghdad," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 24.1, 1-56 (1961); *The Rise of College Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West* (Edinburgh UP, 1981); Eeqbal Hassim, *Elementary Education and Motivation in Islam: Perspectives of Medieval Muslim Scholars, 750-1400 CE.* (New York: Cambria Press, 2010); John Walbridge, "Madrasa," *Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim World. Ed. Richard C. Martin. Vol. 2, 418-421.*

¹²⁵ A. M. Debasa Carballeira, *Legados píos y fundaciones familiares en al-Andalus: Siglos IV/X-VI/XII* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2002).

Ahmad Shalaby, Mehdi Nakosteen, and Eeqbal Hassim identify a number of places where education took place before 1066AD/459AH, such as libraries, mosques, the two variations of the *kuttāb*, palaces, bookshops, houses of learned men, literary salons and the desert.¹²⁶ However, the numerous locations from which medieval Muslims could pursue *‘ilm* are, at the same time, a detriment to our ability to document the development of informal education in contemporary history. For this same reason, Muslim intellectual institutions prior to 1066 have not been as precisely identified or defined, and, as a result, the medieval history of Muslim education from this time period is often less understood.¹²⁷ This suggests that research on medieval Muslim education, particularly at the elementary level, holds certain limitations.

In the *History of Muslim Education* by Ahmad Shalaby, one of the most notable scholars in this area, provides a comprehensive description of the numerous locales and types of education available in medieval Muslim societies prior to the *madrasa*. Although dated, Shalaby’s research is essential to the study of medieval Muslim learning on a broad spectrum because it not only delineates the less formal development of educational practices and intellectual spaces before 1066 but also offers a detailed description of the official establishment of the *madrasa*. While his investigation admittedly focuses on

¹²⁶ Aḥmad Shalaby, *History of Muslim Education*, 1; Mehdi K Nakosteen, *History of Islamic Origins of Western Education*, 45; Eeqbal Hassim, *Elementary Education and Motivation in Islam*, 35-84.

¹²⁷ Even today there is still much debate as to the origin of the University and the parallels it holds with the *madrasa* (Muslim school of higher education) and *jāmi’a* (university). At the forefront of this debate is George Makdisi, “The *Madrasa* and the Islamization of the Middle East. The Case of Egypt,”; “Muslim Institutions of Learning in Eleventh-Century Baghdad”; *The Rise of College Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West*; Nakosteen also shares his opinion on this topic in *History of Islamic Origins of Western Education*.

Egypt, he also acknowledges similar contemporaneous educational developments in Baghdad and al-Andalus.

In spite of the controversial assertions presented in Mehdi Nakosteen's *History of Islamic Origins of Western Education: A.D. 800-1350*, the historical data he presents on medieval Muslim education is invaluable. Inspired by the limited recognition that Muslim civilization receives for its role in the development of medieval Western education, Nakosteen offers a broader chronological scope than Shalaby, initiating his research with a study of classical culture and history to connect Western and Eastern lines of thought and educational development to the Greco-Arabic translations.

The most recent publication of the three scholars is that of Hassim whose focus on elementary education and the motivation behind the development of educational practices in Islam is definitely a welcome addition to our historical knowledge of medieval Muslim education. Especially interesting is his section on the education of girls.¹²⁸ Although he does not provide extensive lists of female scholars, he does mention new resources which document thousands of Muslim women involved in intellectual activities starting from the advent of Islam until today.¹²⁹

2.4- Muslim Women and Education in al-Andalus

Before moving on to the diverse locales of general education, it is important to note the distinction between the types of education afforded to males and females. While this is not an exhaustive investigation of women or gender relations, through an examination of women and their access to learning I hope to offer further insight into the

¹²⁸ Hassim, *Elementary Education and Motivation in Islam*, 67-71.

¹²⁹ Muḥammad A. Nadwī, *Al-muḥaddithāt: The Women Scholars in Islam* (Oxford: Interface Publications, 2007).

development of educational practices of Muslim women in al-Andalus and to the address the question of how socio-spatial divisions could have influenced their intellectual formation.

In studies on medieval Muslim education, the instruction of women remains controversial. On one hand, more traditional accounts, like those of Shalaby and Muhammad Abdul Hamid Issa,¹³⁰ deny the existence of the education of females in schools and merely characterize their intellectual formation as restricted and private. On the other hand, the education of celebrated female scholars in al-Andalus is magnified and generalized as a popular occurrence, suggesting a hyper-liberal society where most women could achieve high degrees of intellectual competence.¹³¹ The social reality according to medieval sources, nonetheless, lies somewhere in the middle, thus calling for a reassessment of both primary sources and of gender spatial divisions in Muslim Spain.

Historical documentation, providing either details of Muslim women's academic formation or expanding upon their intellectual activity, is sparse and scattered throughout numerous Arabic biographical dictionaries (*trāḡim*),¹³² chronicles and even religious *ḡadīth*. Moreover, the principle difficulty facing the scholar eager to study women in al-Andalus is that most of the records remain in Arabic with a limited number of texts

¹³⁰ Shalaby, *History of Muslim Education*, 191; Muhammad Abdul Hamid Issa, "16. Islamic Education Under the Caliphate", in *Cultural Symbiosis in Al-Andalus: A Metaphor for Peace*, ed. Sanaa Osseiran (Beirut, Lebanon, UNESCO: 2004).

¹³¹ Henri Pérès, *La poésie andalouse en arabe classique au XIe siècle: Ses aspects généraux, ses principaux thèmes et sa valeur documentaire* (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1953).

¹³² *Jadwat al-Muḡtabis* by al-Humaydi from 11th-century; *Kitab al-sila* by Ibn Baskuwal from the 12th-century; *Buḡyat al-Multamis* by al-Dabbi (ed. BAH, t. III, Madrid 1.885) from the 11th and 12th centuries.

translated into Spanish or Latin, as may be seen in works by Francisco Codera and Julián Ribera.¹³³ The three most renowned biographical dictionaries that include female figures are *Kitāb al-ṣila* by Ibn Baṣkuwāl (1101-1183), *Al-takmila li kitāb al-ṣila* (*Supplement to the book of biographies*) by Ibn al-Abbār (1199-1260) and *al-Dayl wa-l-takmila* by Abd al-Malik al-Marrākuṣī (1237-1303).¹³⁴ Whether all of the women mentioned in these works were considered intellectuals (sing. *‘ālima*; pl. *‘alimāt*) or received similar educational opportunities is doubtful as educational practices before the 11th century, just like those afforded to men of the same period, were highly diverse. In the context of the institutional development of Muslim education, however, the recorded number of female intellectuals composes less than two percent of all recognized scholars. According to the previously mentioned *trājim*, within al-Andalus there are more than 6,000 documented scholars of which a few hundred are female and, as such, documentation of an educational system for girls remains insufficient to sustain broad-based conclusions.¹³⁵ Moreover, recent publications by Andalusian scholars investigating the participation of women in the culture of knowledge insist that these documented females were exceptional cases and that their level of erudition cannot be generalized as common practice.

Though there are many explanations for this limited documentation on the education of women, the three most prevalent theories contend: that there was a distinct division between masculine and feminine spaces, that only women of the upper social

¹³³ F. Codera y J. Ribera *Bibliotheca arábico-hispana* (Matriti, 1882).

¹³⁴ María Luisa Ávila, “Women in Andalusí Biographical Sources,” in *Writing the Feminine: Women in Arab Sources* (London: I.B. Tauris in association with the European Science Foundation, 2002) 149-163.

¹³⁵ Ávila, “Women in Andalusí Biographical Sources,” 152-3.

classes or those socially tied to prominent male social figures were allowed access to education and, finally, that bibliographical dictionaries tend to include only the intellectual milieus and scholars found in urban metropolises of the period, such as Cordoba, Seville and Granada.

In medieval Muslim societies, women of the upper class were not permitted to roam through public space as freely as men and, in this context, were also less often allowed the same educational privileges as males of similar social status. For this reason, Muslim culture and the role of Muslim women in society have often been analyzed in terms of space. Thus, while most women mentioned in the biographical dictionaries are defined by their distinct professions as scholars, authors, teachers, poets, calligraphers and even erudite slave girls, all of which confirm a certain level of intellectual achievement *vis-à-vis* education, women's activities are typically presented and examined via the notion of opposed and mutually exclusive masculine and feminine spaces. This vision of women confined to feminine spaces has led scholars to one of two conclusions: the first, suggests that women were not generally educated and, as such, were also denied an intellectual space, meaning limited or no access to locales typically associated with knowledge and educational practices, e.g. libraries, schools or mosques. The other conclusion is that the few women who gained international fame for their intellectual competence as poets, leaders or slave girl scholars, had merely borrowed space from men, as suggested in the following passage by María Jesús Viguera Molíns.

As with other written sources, chronicles contribute towards maintaining and justifying the private situation of women, their incapability, lack of resources, institutional background, possibilities and decency...in any public activity that

they dare undertake. This is the reason why the space that chronicles devote to women is simply borrowed.¹³⁶

It is very difficult to prove that women were routinely denied education because, as Mikel de Epalza confirms in *La mujer en el espacio urbano musulmán*,¹³⁷ while women of rural areas were allowed much more access to markets and public spaces, women of urban areas were commonly restricted to feminine spaces. Epalza defines medieval Muslim society as “sexuada” or gendered and, thus, identifies urban spaces as feminine, masculine or, even at times, shared.¹³⁸ Additionally, he typifies public places like the street, markets and mosques as masculine and private spaces, the home, other domestic locales as well as small allies, those that weave through the suburbs and between houses, as feminine. Accordingly, the education of women was also regularly limited to private spaces. For that same reason, those same private spaces would not typically be documented in the prominent biographical dictionaries written by men.

In contrast, the women who successfully achieved renown as scholars and were documented in biographical dictionaries, those often linked both to public spaces and men of high social status, are identified as borrowers of space.¹³⁹ Henri Lefebvre explains that space is a social creation, shaped and produced by the social constructs of each culture and that in this case borrowing space seems an improbable suggestion for two

¹³⁶ See María Jesús Viguera Molíns, “A Borrowed Space: Andalusí and Maghribi Women in Chronicles,” in *Writing the Feminine: Women in Arab Sources*, Eds. Randi Deguilhem and Manuela Marín (London: I.B. Tauris, 2002) 173.

¹³⁷ Mikel Epalza, “La mujer en el espacio urbano musulmana,” in *Actas de las V jornadas de Investigación Interdisciplinaria I: Al-Andalus; La mujer en Al-Andalus: Reflejos históricos de su actividad y categorías sociales*. ed. María J. Viguera (Madrid: Ediciones de la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 1989) 53-60.

¹³⁸ Epalza, “La mujer en el espacio urbano musulmana,” 53.

¹³⁹ Viguera Molíns, “A Borrowed Space,” 165.

reasons.¹⁴⁰ The first is associated with the highly gendered nature of Muslim Spain that would suggest that the social activities and development of men and women would also be very distinct, emphasizing the individual molding of masculine and feminine spaces that imitate social norms. Likewise, Helene Cixous, in the *Laugh of the Medusa*, maintains that women were only able to occupy and participate *vis-à-vis* their own struggle to gain access to said space.¹⁴¹ In this framework, we are not referring to borrowing a physical space but rather examining the intellectual practices that shape and produce intellectual spaces. Thus while Molín's research sustaining that females gained further access to education because of their relationship to high-ranking males may be evident, the idea that this additional freedom to create was in turn a borrowing of men's intellectual space is impractical. A woman's intellectual production, whether accessed through men or through their own wiles, would still be a feminine production and thus also feminine intellectual space. Furthermore, if intellectual space is borrowed, just as we may observe with other borrowed items, does it not have to be returned? Can feminine intellectual creation and/or production be returned?

Taking into consideration the numerous educational spaces that flourished prior to the *madrasa*, as will be discussed ahead; women (by themselves) would only have access to the *kuttāb*, held in private residences or palaces if they were of noble ranking or formed part of the court or the *masjid* (the mosque). There are limited accounts, however of girls who would accompany male relatives, often their fathers as seen below, to

¹⁴⁰ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 26.

¹⁴¹ Helene Cixous, "Laugh of the Medusa," in *Feminisms: an anthology of literary theory and criticism*, Eds. Robyn R. Warhol and Diane Price Herndl (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, c1997) 347-362.

ḥalaqāt (study circles in mosques; sing. *ḥalqa*). Education in shared public spaces, like that of the mosque, however, was rarely documented in al-Andalus and does not appear to be a common occurrence. This does not signal that women were unequivocally excluded or denied access. In fact, there are some documented cases, where women were restricted to the women's side of the mosque or were even taught by men, but from behind a curtain, or even taught men from behind a curtain. Mohamad Akram Nadwi, *Al-Muḥaddithāt: The Women Scholars in Islam* (2007) gives numerous examples of Muslim females learning and/or teaching in the *ḥalqa* in mosques and well as learning in shared masculine/feminine educational spaces.¹⁴² Especially prevalent female scholars include the female Companions of the Prophet, during the first century of Islam, who narrated the *ḥadīth* such as 'Ā'ishah and Umm Salamah.¹⁴³ While Nadwi's work focuses on women of the East, he does note that during the second century of Islam *ḥadīth* became especially popular in Spain and Morocco. He highlights the prevalence of Spain's most well-known *muḥaddithah* (women who narrated *ḥadīth*), including Umm al-Hassān bint Abī Liwā' Sulaymān ibn Aṣḥab al-Miknāsī from Cordoba, who studied with Baqī ibn Makhlad, Aṣmā' bint Asad ibn al-Furāt, who studied with her father, and finally, Khadījah bint al-Imā Sahnūn, who studied with her father and later taught and gave *fatwas* (opinion based on knowledge of the Qur'an).¹⁴⁴ Nevertheless, as previously noted, evidence suggests that women were more commonly educated in feminine spaces identified as private and related to the interior of family houses and other domestic

¹⁴² See chapters 2, 3, 4 and 6 in Mohammad A. Nadwī, *Al-muḥaddithāt* (Oxford: Interface Publications, 2007).

¹⁴³ Nadwī, *Al-muḥaddithāt*, 248-9.

¹⁴⁴ Nadwī, *Al-muḥaddithāt*, 271.

spaces. This, therefore, suggests that if women received an education it was most often private tutelage by a family member, either male or female or, less commonly, by an outside scholar but most often within what was defined as the *kuttāb*.

This dynamic of masculine versus feminine, often marked as sexed and polarized, is not always strictly adhered to as evidenced by a large number of women who defied social norms or by women living in rural areas, where public spaces were not necessarily male nor female, but shared due to the nature of labor in these regions. The most famous women who disregarded such divisions include the renowned poetesses Wallada bint al-Mustakfi (11th century) who instituted a literary salon for women, the slave girl of al-Ḥakam II (d. 976AD/365AH) who was educated as an astronomer or the “well-known case of al-Baha (d. 917AD/305AH), daughter of Umayyad emir ‘Abd al-Rahman II (r. 822-852AD/ 206-238AH), who copied Korans and established them in *hubs* (pious endowments); she also founded a mosque where they might have been stored.”¹⁴⁵ Scholars highlight these distinguished historical female figures, but with the reservation that these women may well have been afforded such opportunities by virtue of their close ties and access to male figures from the upper echelons of society.

Within the three biographical dictionaries previously mentioned, only 5 of 116 women are defined as *‘alimā* (scholar; Ar. pl. *‘alimāt*) or cited for producing *‘ilm* (knowledge); the majority are described as female poets (44- *šā’ira*), authors of literary works (22- *adībat*), teachers and readers of the Quran (16), scribes (11- *kātibat*), book

¹⁴⁵ Ávila, “Las mujeres ‘sabias’ en al-Andalus,” 143; al-Bahā is mentioned in Ibn al-Abbār’s *Takmila*, ed. Alarcón, n° 2858.

copiers (4) and calligraphers (8) among others who dedicated their time to science (*'ilm*), astronomy (*ta'dil*), history (*tārij*), and *ḥadīth*.¹⁴⁶

Though research on medieval Muslim women and medieval women in general is far from complete, we may nonetheless assert from the evidence adduced by Andalusian biographical dictionaries and other medieval chronicles that women were clearly limited by their socio-historical context, a highly gendered patriarchal society. At the same time, women were not necessarily denied access to education and were decidedly engaged in the socio-cultural activities of medieval al-Andalus. While we cannot yet confirm the number of women educated in *kuttāb*'s, mosques or even palaces of the period, scholars continue to search the troves of unedited manuscripts from the East and probe the chronicles of medieval Iberia for those fragments of the past that may be utilized to interpret certain social developments and tendencies of Muslim women in al-Andalus.

In terms of general education, Nakosteen, Hassim and Shalaby divide medieval Muslim education into two periods: the first, before the advent of the *madrasa*, approximately from the ninth to the end of the tenth century, and the second from the mid-eleventh century with the foundation of the *madrasa* and its continued growth until the thirteenth century. On one hand, the debt owed to private endowments (*awāqf*) and the general social enthusiasm for gaining knowledge, motivated by the arrival of Islam during the first period, is characterized by numerous educational locations.¹⁴⁷ The second period, although many of the previous educational spaces, like the *ḥalaqāt*, survived and still continue today, is closely connected to the introduction of the *madrasa* which, as a

¹⁴⁶ Ávila, "Las mujeres 'sabias' en al-Andalus," 143.

¹⁴⁷ Nakosteen, *History of Islamic Origins*, 38; Shalaby, *History of Muslim Education*, 15.

more consolidated system run and controlled by the state, was often linked to particular political entities like *Sūnni*, *Shi'iah* or *Mālikī*.

Together, Shalaby, Nakosteen and Hassim identify eight different educational locations that flourished during the first period, however considering George Makdisi's 1981 work *The Rise of Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West*,¹⁴⁸ we have added the last three additional sites:

1. *Kuttāb* for the instruction of reading and writing;
2. *Kuttāb* for the instruction of the *Qur'an* and elementary subjects;
3. Elementary education as taught in palaces;
4. Bookshops;
5. Houses of learned men;
6. Literary salons;
7. The desert;
8. Mosques (*masjid*; non-congregational mosque);¹⁴⁹
9. Congregational Mosque (*al-masjid al-jāmi'*: "the mosque that brings together, unites" came to be used for the Friday Congregational Mosque)
10. Libraries (*dar*, *bait* and *khizana*);
11. Hospitals (*maristan*);

In terms of general elementary education, the *kuttāb*, also referred to as the *maktab* (a place of writing; pl. *makātib*), is identified as one of the first educational spaces.¹⁵⁰

Though dated before the advent of Islam, under the newly formed religion of Islam and its fervor for knowledge, the *kuttāb* prospered. Because the distinction between the two types of *kuttāb* and the *maktab* often remains vague, all three being intermittently referred

¹⁴⁸ George Makdisi, *The Rise of the Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1981) 9-12.

¹⁴⁹ Nakosteen, *History of Islamic Origins*, 45; Shalaby, *History of Muslim Education*, 1.

¹⁵⁰ Elementary education is not the focus of this investigation, however, understanding access to knowledge and training, offers important insight to the development of systems of higher education, their socio-cultural significance and the general medieval society in which they were founded.

to as a *kuttāb*, it suggests that at a certain point in medieval education these terms became interchangeable.¹⁵¹ All three scholars indicate that first stage was dedicated to the teaching of reading and writing and that the second, appearing during early Islam, was dedicated to teaching the *Qur'an* and other elementary subjects like “poetry, horsemanship, swimming, famous proverbs, elementary arithmetic, elementary grammar, manners (*adab*), and penmanship.”¹⁵² Nakosteen confirms that, “these *maktabs* prevailed in Spain, Sicily, Africa, and the Middle East, though the contents of their curriculum varied and were adapted to local cultural-social interests and backgrounds.”¹⁵³

Medieval and modern scholars agree that elementary education started at age six or seven and ended by age fifteen;¹⁵⁴ however, distinctions in this trend vary depending on region, gender, and time period.¹⁵⁵ Nakosteen emphasizes that:

Elementary education was almost universal in Islam. The Abbasside caliphs were great patrons of learning and literacy. They insisted, beginning with Harun-al-Rashid, that every Muslim child have an opportunity to learn the fundamentals of reading, writing, computation, some elementary science, geography, history, and so forth. They attached, therefore, a primary school to every *masjid* (mosque), or place of worship. Skilled instructors taught the children of the rich and the poor on equal terms. Literacy was almost universal.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵¹ Hassim, *Elementary Education*, 36.

¹⁵² Hassim, *Elementary Education*, 43-43.

¹⁵³ Shalaby, *History of Muslim Education*, 16; Nakosteen, *History of Islamic Origins*, 46; Also for medieval sources discussing education see Ibn Batuta, *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, A.D. 1325-1354*. Eds.C Defremery, B R. Sanguinetti and trans. H A. R. Gibb (London: Hakluyt Society, 1958); Ibn, Jubair. *The Travels of Ibn Jubair*. Trans. William Wright (Leyden: Brill, 1852); Ibn-Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*. Ed. and trans. Franz Rosenthal (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1980).

¹⁵⁴ Hassim, *Elementary Education*, 42.

¹⁵⁵ See Hassim, *Elementary Education*, 26.

¹⁵⁶ Nakosteen, *History of Islamic Origins*, 44; Harun al-Rashid ruled as the Abbasid caliph from 786-809, and his son al-Ma'mun is credited with the foundation of the *Bait al-Hikma* (The House of Wisdom) during the early 9th century.

Nevertheless, the prevalence of organized, medieval elementary education in the Islamic Empire is still highly debated. Shalaby, Nakosteen and Hassim identify a general system of elementary education; however, the varying curriculum was flexible dependent on the socio-cultural tendencies of each region. Moreover, all three scholars assert that due to the patronage of dynastic rulers and *awāqf* from wealthy community members or scholars, elementary education was often free to poor students and orphans.¹⁵⁷ The most renowned medieval endowments for elementary education are highlighted by Hassim and include the following:

Figure 2: Renowned Educational Endowments (*Awāqf*)

Yahya b. Khalid b. Barmak	d.190/806	. Pioneered a <i>kuttāb</i> for orphans in Mesopotamia
Al-Hakam II of Cordoba	d. 366/976	. Established 27 <i>katātib</i> in Andalusia for poor students to receive free education
Shams al-Din ‘Uthman b. Nizam al-Mulk	fl. 485/1092	. Established a <i>kuttāb</i> with a large endowment for poor students and orphans
Nur al-Din	d. 569/1174	. Many well-supported <i>katātib</i> were established for children in Syria under his rule
Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi	d. 589/1193	. Endowed several <i>katātib</i> for poor children in Egypt and Syria

Hassim, *Elementary Education and Motivation in Islam*, 155.

In contrast, A.L. Tibawi states that “all the enthusiasm for acquisition of learning was by its nature confined to adults. No formal and universal provision appears to have been made for the prerequisite of teaching the elements to children” and that elementary

¹⁵⁷ Hassim, *Elementary Education*, 48-49.

education was the “private concern of the parents.”¹⁵⁸ This assertion that elementary education was only available through paid tutelage suggests that educational opportunities were limited to the privileged classes. Hassim also states that elementary education was “the private concern of parents,” indicating that education with private tutors was particularly common among the first generations of Muslims before the spread of education in mosques and in the education of girls.¹⁵⁹

This difference of opinion is a reminder of the lack of uniformity that characterized Muslim education before the eleventh century. Educational treatises, however, show there was a clear upward swing in the widespread interest of educational practices throughout the Islamic Empire, even during this period so overwhelmingly identified by informality. In addition to the *Qur’anic surahs* that promulgate the value and spread of *‘ilm*, the 9th and 10th centuries were witness to the appearance of many educational monographs like that of Suhnun Ibn Mohammad, *The Behavior of Teachers* (817-870AD/202-256AH) or Ibn Abi Zayd (928-996AD/316-386AH), *On the Laws Governing Teachers and Students*.¹⁶⁰ Additionally, the appearance of these monographs suggests the spread of educational practices together with an inherent expansion and formalization of the educational system under Islam. Especially significant in the diffusion of *‘ilm* through the development of educational institutions were the treatise of the famous Persian polymath Ibn Sīnā from a village near Bukhārā, known in Europe as

¹⁵⁸ Tibawi, *Islamic Education*, 25.

¹⁵⁹ Hassim, *Elementary Education*, 38 and 68.

¹⁶⁰ Mentioned in *Knowledge Triumphant* by Franz Rosenthal, 291; Also see Shalaby, who documents the various *surahs*, traditions, and sayings that encouraged people to acquire knowledge and seek education, 161. Examples include *surah* 58, verse 11, “Allah will exalt those who believe among you and those who have knowledge, to high degrees.” Also see s 39 v 9, s 9 v 122, s 20 v 114, and s 16 v 43.

Avicenna (c. 980-1037AD/370-428 AH). Although famed for his *al-qānūn fī 'l-tibb* (*The Medical Canon*), a chapter entitled, *The Role of the Teacher in the Training and Upbringing of Children* has been identified as essential in the subsequent foundation of the *madrasa* institution because his treatise stresses the importance of public teachers over that of private tutors as well as the value of competition in the classroom.¹⁶¹ In addition to identifying the duties of scholars as teachers and students as apprentices during this period, these treatises also foreshadow the continued importance of intellectual centers, and therefore *'ilm*, in Muslim society.

As far as a specific location for the *kuttāb*, modern scholars agree that medieval education commenced and most often took place in the mosque or a room adjoining the mosque. Harun al-Rashid (c. 766-809AD/148-193AH), of the Abbasid Dynasty, is noted for cultivating and promoting elementary education in mosques in Baghdad.¹⁶² In this respect, educational practices were linked to worship and, as such, elementary and higher education continued inside the mosque even after the introduction of the *madrasa*. The use of private premises, in the tutors' and students' private homes was very common.¹⁶³ Other locations frequently used for elementary education were the palace (*adab*) schools and mosque *kuttāb* or *ḥalaqāt* (teaching circles).

Similar to the concept of *'ilm*, the word *adab* in Arabic is multifaceted and in this sense, its multiple meanings are impossible to express in English through one word. In its most simple manifestation, resembling the relationship between knowledge and *'ilm*,

¹⁶¹ Muhamed S Asimov and Clifford E. Bosworth. *History of Civilizations of Central Asia: Vol. 4, P. 2* (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 2000) 34.

¹⁶² Nakosteen, *History of Islamic Origins of Western Education*, 47.

¹⁶³ Shalaby, *History of Muslim Education*, 21.

adab commonly identifies with literature, however this definition essentially removes the meaning from its contextualized sociocultural history. *Adab* within its historical context also varies. Its meanings range from a specific moral behaviour, that opposed to a vulgar behavior, as identified by Barbara Metcalf and Rosenthal,¹⁶⁴ too its determination as *belles lettres* that ultimately develops as a form of secular liberal arts education as well as links to groups of prose works that are included in the *adab* literary genre. In this context, *adib* (Ar. fem. singular *adiba*; masculine plural *udabā*) is an educated man or literati, and similar to the *‘ulamā*, whether originating from a high or lower social class, their access to knowledge would realign their symbolic social capital.¹⁶⁵ Together with Geert Jan Van Gelder, Gillis J. Dorleijn and Herman L.J. Vanstiphout highlight these relationships between knowledge and social class.

... *adab* not only applies to texts customarily classified as literature, but also refers to qualities of people, such as good education, erudition, and the knowledge that makes people suitable for certain purposes. Such a cultivated person is called an *adib*, a man of culture and good breeding who is part of a secular elite.... Knowledge of the *adab* implied access to high position and thus yielded cultural capital. Theoretically, people from the lower social classes could through their skills in *adab* gain access to the corridors of power as advisors to those in authority.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁴ “*Adab* in all its uses reflects a high valuation of the employment of the will in proper discrimination of correct order, behavior, and taste. It implicitly or explicitly distinguishes cultivated behavior from that deemed vulgar, often defined as pre-Islamic custom. Moral character is thus the fruit of deliberation and effort. *Adab* means discipline and training. It denotes as well the good breeding and refinement that results from training...” Barbara Metcalf, *Moral Conduct and Authority* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984) 2–3; Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant*, 174.

¹⁶⁵ Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant*, 252.

¹⁶⁶ Gillis J. Dorleijn and Herman L.J. Vanstiphout, *Cultural Repertoires: Structure, Function and Dynamics* (Lueven: Peeters, 2003) XIV.

In relation to education, then, *adab*, commonly appeared in palaces and offered additional training centered on future professions in and around the caliphs' courts and government. This type of education included instruction in manners, oratory skills, and other essential topics like history, traditions, the *Qur'an*, poetry and preparation for higher education, which would also take place within the palace.¹⁶⁷

It is important to note that because any space that was used for elementary education could be denominated *kuttāb* or *maktab*, the specific location was not what created the essence of the *kuttāb* but rather it was determined by the activity taking place. Ribera, Tritton and Lenker note that while teachers, as '*ulamā*' of higher education, were emulated and highly venerated, teachers of elementary education were disliked.¹⁶⁸ Hassim explains this sentiment in the following words: "There was some form of scholarly and political ambivalence towards elementary education in the medieval *kuttāb*. The scholars recognized its importance but criticized its teachers at the same time."¹⁶⁹ In this manner, social recognition, or lack thereof, played an important role in the development of the *kuttāb* and surely influenced the limited number of endowments dedicated to elementary education. Hassim reiterates the social role in the establishment of the *kuttāb*, saying that:

Muslim rulers and dignitaries preferred grand endowments to build large mosques and *madāris*. Medieval Muslim rulers and dignitaries used to establish *awāqf* to guarantee the social status of their descendants. A mosque, *madrasa*, or library

¹⁶⁷ Shalaby, *History of Muslim Education*, 25-26.

¹⁶⁸ J. Ribera Ribera, y Tarrago, *Dissertaciones y opúsculos: 1887-1927. Con una introducción de Miguel Asín Palacios*, 260; A.S. Tritton, *Materials on Muslim Education in the Middle Ages*, 8; Michael K. Lenker, *The Importance of the Riḥla for the Islamization of Spain*, 139.

¹⁶⁹ For more on elementary education see, Hassim, *Elementary Education and Motivation in Islam*, 154

carried greater social credibility than a *kuttāb*, as these were often referred to with glowing praise in the annals of Muslim history.¹⁷⁰

Accordingly, the biographical dictionaries, which often mention the educational background of their subjects, rarely mention elementary education, giving preference to renowned *madāris* dedicated to higher learning and famed scholars.¹⁷¹ The most prevalent establishments devoted to higher education supported by *awqāf* before the establishment of the *madrasa*, include *masājid* (mosques) and *maktabāt* (libraries). While spaces such as bookshops, houses of learned men, literary salons, and the desert, were also essential in the promotion of intellectual dialogue and, therefore, the acquisition of *‘ilm*/knowledge and the pruning of the intellectual landscape, they were not necessarily places of public education.

The desert seems to have functioned as an Arabic language school of sorts. Because the Islamic Empire encompassed Byzantine and Persian territories, errors in the Arabic language, especially in urban centers where foreign travelers and merchants often visited, became rampant and were considered disgraceful.¹⁷² The Bedouin tribes were known for maintaining the purest form of the language and often for this reason parents would send their sons with them to learn how to speak eloquently and correctly and thus these tribes often made a profession out of teaching language. This, however, was not a

¹⁷⁰ Hassim, *Elementary Education*, 155; For more on the moral value of libraries see, Shalaby, *History of Muslim Education*, 77-78.

¹⁷¹ Shalaby highlights three such scholars who were *kuttāb* teachers before achieving fame; Al-Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf al-Thaqafī (d.95 AH), Al-Dahhāk ibn Muzāhim (d. 105 AH), and Al-Kumait ibn Zaid (d. 126 AH) 23.

¹⁷² Shalaby, *History of Muslim Education*, 43-43.

free public service, and while famed scholars and men of stature sent their children to the desert, known as *bādiya*, most could not afford such access.

Literary salons, often found in palaces and houses of learned men, were also limited to particular elite groups of scholars and dignitaries. While bookshops were famed for unlimited admission to the public, they were often the local for impromptu debates and as such they were not commonly utilized for organized education but rather for buying or copying texts.¹⁷³

2.5- *Maktabāt* (Libraries)

The establishment and expansion of the library system in Muslim Society, while far from a new invention, was an organic process intricately linked to the spread of Islam. Just as the triad, '*ilm*, '*ulama*' and *riḥla*, became a natural and essential part of medieval Muslim culture and society, the library also came to serve a similar function. The *maktaba* not only served as a storehouse of the highly revered '*ilm*, but was also a symbolic representation of the cultural and intellectual accomplishments scene of any Muslim reign.

In the *History of Muslim Education*, Shalaby dedicates a whole chapter to the symbolic nature of '*ilm*, the physical manifestation of knowledge through the production of books and the establishment of libraries and schools as well as the realization of *riḥla*.¹⁷⁴ Similar to Maqqari's account of the book auction in Cordoba, Shalaby reports that the increased popularity of the library "was a result of the appreciation of books" and, "that collections began to appear from the early times of Islam. [...] Even laymen

¹⁷³ Shalaby, *History of Muslim Education*, 26-29.

¹⁷⁴ Shalaby, *History of Muslim Education*, 71-111.

were desirous of having libraries in their houses though they could not use them, as the possession of a library gave the owner higher rank”.¹⁷⁵ This desire to own and/or found libraries, in this context symbolically owning and founding *‘ilm*, is documented in many of the urban centers across the medieval Islamic Empire. Al-Andalus and its learned community were, however, especially renowned for their enthusiasm for this symbolic image of *‘ilm*. Carlota Sánchez-Moliní Sáez, in “Las bibliotecas y al-Andalus,” highlights this tendency:

Una de las señas de la cultura que se respiraba en Al-Andalus se refleja en el interés que se mostraba por el libro y las bibliotecas. El libro era un símbolo de prestigio social, y el poseer una buena biblioteca suponía un orgullo para su dueño. Incluso los gobernantes –que en Al-Andalus se destacan normalmente por ser hombres cultos y preocupados por el mundo de la educación--, fundaron bibliotecas cuyos fondos se abastecían de ejemplares traídos de Oriente por agentes enviados especialmente para este fin.¹⁷⁶

...

One of the indications of the culture that flourished in Al-Andalus can be seen in the interest shown in books and libraries. Books were the symbol of social prestige, to own a good library meant pride for its owner. Even political leaders -- who in Al-Andalus were usually known for being learned men and preoccupied with the world of education---, founded libraries whose funds supplied extant copies brought from the Orient by agents sent especially for this task.

A key factor stimulating this sudden expansion of libraries and their collections was the introduction of paper from China during the mid-eighth century. So, while the rest of Europe was using comparatively expensive parchment that restricted buying power to the nobility and the Church, the Middle and Near East had adopted a new form of inexpensive paper-making from Chinese captives in Samarkand.¹⁷⁷ Accordingly, access

¹⁷⁵ Shalaby, *History of Muslim Education*, 77-78.

¹⁷⁶ Sánchez-Moliní Sáez, “Las bibliotecas y al-Andalus,” 86.

¹⁷⁷ Douglas C McMurtrie and Bruce Rogers, *The Book: The Story of Printing & Bookmaking* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1943) 64; Carter *The Invention of Printing in China*, 97-98.

to paper transformed medieval Muslim society. First and foremost, it offered an inexpensive method of producing both new and copied books. Before the advent of cheap paper, the activity of copying and translating texts was restricted to scholars with wealthy patrons and only a select few could afford written works on papyrus or parchment. However, once paper was introduced the rise in demand for venerated works, together with an interest in procuring special editions, resulted in a drastic increase in *warraqiin* (bookstores), copyists, calligraphers and, due to the absorption of the Greek intellectual corpus, even translators. Consequently, multiple copies of venerated works became readily available.

Of course, copying and translating works within these intellectual centers contributed to the large number of volumes accounted for in such libraries as that of al-Ḥakam II of Cordoba or al-Ḥākim of the Fatimid Dynasty in Egypt. This far-reaching development in all arenas dealing with *‘ilm* and its diffusion ultimately led to the expansion of the library system from private to semi-private to public.¹⁷⁸ This transformation offered a new found access to scholarly works in libraries, bookshops, mosques and in private and public collections.

Moreover, this change in the intellectual landscape, offering increased professional opportunities related to *‘ilm* and the production and collection of books, also provoked a competitive environment. International courts throughout the Islamic Empire aspired to earn a reputation for their own intellectual prowess, represented, of course, by the tremendous spaces they had dedicated to their collections of revered texts as well as

¹⁷⁸ Sanchez-Molini Saez, “Las bibliotecas y al-Andalus,” 79-98.

by the fame of the '*ulamā*' who labored in these legal institutions. As a result, intellectual centers functioning as storage houses of '*ilm*, came to characterize a caliph's reign and, in this same manner, served as a form of legitimacy. Accordingly, many of the principal Muslim cities like, Cairo, Cordoba and Baghdad established world-renowned libraries each one of which inherently engendered a thriving intellectual center. These libraries, linked to particular courts and rulers, were known not only for the quantity of their collection but also for the quality of books that they contained creating in the process additional pressure to find and/or produce highly adorned copies of the most renowned books of the time.¹⁷⁹ In her research on the establishment of libraries in Baghdad, Ruth Mackensen comments:

Probably the most interesting aspect of these libraries is the important place they held in the cultural life of the time ... Books were gathered by men who loved them, and were in constant use by scholars and eager students. These libraries were busy places. The librarians, frequently men noted for their attainments in many fields, went out or sent others to gather rare and precious books which, if necessary, were copied and translated into Arabic. The position of librarian in Muslim lands during the medieval ages must have been an honorable one, for in these four libraries, as in others, it was often filled by great scholars, chosen apparently for their knowledge of books.¹⁸⁰

With the advent of cheap paper, the pursuit of knowledge was not limited to caliphs, dignitaries and scholars with wealthy patrons, but also spread to scholars and students of modest means. *Maktabāt* were not separate buildings, spaces merely dedicated to scholarly pursuits, but rather most of the time these libraries were located within other spaces of cultural significance. Libraries, as '*ilm*, found a space in every socio-cultural

¹⁷⁹ Battles, *Library*, 65-66.

¹⁸⁰ Ruth Stelhorn Mackensen, "Four Great Libraries of Medieval Baghdad," *The Library Quarterly* 2.3(1932) 281.

foundation of Islam. As such, libraries were located in private houses, mosques, bookshops (book bazaars, Ar. *suq al-warraqiin*), as well as within formal and informal schools.

When discussing libraries, Shalaby asserts that “most medieval Islamic libraries were educational institutions besides performing the function of modern libraries. Moreover the first Islamic academy (*Bait al-Hikma*) was founded in conjunction with a collection of books, so that historians did not agree whether to consider it a library or a school.”¹⁸¹ In late 10th-century Cordoba, the reign of al-Ḥakam II is often considered to be one of the most idealized periods of Muslim Spain. Such high regard for books, however, was not limited to celebrities and caliphs, but was also essential for any individual who aspired to social esteem.

During this same 10th century, together with the remarkable successes we have just noted in Baghdad and Cordoba, Cairo’s intellectual community flourished under the rule of the Fatimid dynasty. In this context, Shalaby reports that “Many mosques, with al-Azhar at their head were founded, *Dar al-‘ilm* was established and palaces were used for regular lessons.”¹⁸² While each library established in *Dar al-Islam* carried its own distinct features, one characteristic that all of these establishments had in common was the impulse to spread knowledge, reiterating the importance of *‘ilm*.

¹⁸¹ Shalaby, *History of Muslim Education*, 73.

¹⁸² Shalaby, *History of Muslim Education*, 234.

2.6- From *Masājīd* (mosques) to *Madāris* (Muslim Schools of Higher Education)

During the first few centuries of Islam, alongside the widespread adoption of the nascent religion, we may observe the extensive foundation of mosques as centers of worship and, indeed, every mosque was required to possess a certain fundamental collection of religious knowledge or *maktaba*. Although designated for religious purposes, because the pursuit of knowledge fulfilled the provisions of the *Qur'an* and prophetic traditions, the mosque also became a principal center of education.

In this regard, Shalaby cites Al-‘Abdari indicating that “the best place for public education is the mosque. It is open to all people who wish to attend.”¹⁸³ Although during the early years of Islam *ḥālaqāt* centered on religious knowledge, later recognition of renowned scholars brought about numerous *ḥālaqāt* within individual mosques dedicated to particular scholars and their branch of learning. Although mosques often included an additional room for elementary education, known as the *maktab*, and the *ḥālaqāt* were typically held around columns in within Congregational mosques, as the religious population increased over time, education eventually moved to institutions especially dedicated to the learning process. While there are varied opinions concerning the reasons for the foundation of the *madrassa* that involved moving student instruction there from the *masjid*, two major arguments prevail. The first claims that the student population grew to such a degree as to interfere with daily prayers and the second, that the subsequent large number of learned men required a means of survival through teaching which was not provided by the free *ḥālaqāt* in mosques.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸³ Shalaby, *History of Muslim Education*, 30.

¹⁸⁴ Shalaby, *History of Muslim Education*, 55-56; Nakosteen, *History of Islamic Origins*, 49.

The first *madrassa* was founded in Baghdad in 1066AD/459AH by Nizam al-Mulk,¹⁸⁵ a famous vizier of the Seljuk dynasty, and was named Nizamiyyah. While it was not the first school under Islam, coming after the previously established centers of educations, it was, according to Nakosteen, the first “system of special schools geared to that state and Sunnite Islam. The *madrassah* had, aside from their zest for learning, both political and religious purposes—moulding public opinion in Sunnite orthodox Islam against the *Shi’iah* branch.”¹⁸⁶ These *madāris* were financially supported and controlled by the Sūnni state and as such provided stipends and lodging to students studying in their new institutionalized system of education. Nizam al-Mulk was famous not merely for the establishment of one *madrassa*, but rather for the universal system of *madāris* that he founded throughout Eastern Islam. After the fall of the Seljuk Empire, the followers of Nizam al-Mulk, Nur al-Din (d. 1173AD/569AH) and later, Saladin (d. 1193AD/589AH), also created numerous *madāris* in Syria and Egypt.¹⁸⁷ These standardized *madāris* were not, however, established in Spain and Italy because the territories were not Sunni but Maliki. This does not mean that Muslims in Spain and Italy did not establish their own *madāris*,¹⁸⁸ however, these political differences, while not the focus of our research, did, in fact, influence the pre- and post-*madrassa* development of educational institutions and endowments (*awāqf*).

¹⁸⁵ A Turco-Persian Sunni Muslim dating from 1071 to 1299AD.

¹⁸⁶ Nakosteen, *History of Islamic Origins*, 38.

¹⁸⁷ Nakosteen, *History of Islamic Origins*, 38.

¹⁸⁸ Nakosteen, *History of Islamic Origins*, 38.

2.7- The *Madrasa* in Spain

While the *madrasa* system was established in 1066, the first “documented” *madrasa* in Spain did not appear until three centuries later in 1349AD/750AH in Granada, the *Madrasa Nasriya* founded by Nasrid Sultan Abu ‘l-Hajjaj Yusuf (r. 1333-1354).¹⁸⁹ Despite the fact that a formal tradition of educational institutions in the Iberian Peninsula was indeed lacking, defined by the intervention and funding of the state, there are earlier dated references to informal schools of higher education. Julián Ribera and George Makdisi both identify the *colegio musulman* (Muslim college),¹⁹⁰ founded by Alfonso X, the Wise (1221-1284AD) in the city of Murcia after its conquest by the Christians in 1243, as a *madrasa*.¹⁹¹ This school, though established and funded by a Christian king, employed a Muslim intellectual, Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Bakr ar-Rāqūtī, to teach the Arab sciences to scholars of the three religions of the region, Muslims, Jews and Christians.¹⁹² While Alfonso’s innovative approach and active involvement in scholarly activities would later characterize his reign, Ribera, highlights an essential crux that remains controversial today. He questions whether the center of Muslim learning established by Alfonso X was really the first *madrasa* or even a *madrasa* at all, because if the *madrasa* had not existed in Spain before its foundation in Murcia by the learned Christian monarch, why and where would Alfonso have adopted the *madrasa* structure

¹⁸⁹ George Makdisi, "The Madrasa in Spain: Some Remarks," *Revue de l'Occident musulman et de la Méditerranée*. (1973):153.

¹⁹⁰ While Ribera uses “colegio musulmán” which in English would often refer to basic public education, Ribera is suggesting a public school of higher learning such as a college or university.

¹⁹¹ Julián Ribera y Tarragó and Palacios M. Asín, *Disertaciones y opúsculos* (Madrid: Impr. de E. Maestre, 1928); Julián Ribera y Tarragó, *La enseñanza entre los musulmanes españoles* (Zaragoza: Imp. de Calixto Ariño, 1893) 18-19; Makdisi, "The Madrasa in Spain" 154.

¹⁹² Ribera, *La enseñanza*, 19.

and organization? Moreover, Ribera ties this *ex nihilo* emergence of Alfonso's *madrasa* to modern arguments that the first universities of Europe also appeared *ex abrupto*, as suggested by Gabriel Compayré when he states that "The universities sprang from a spontaneous movement of the human mind."¹⁹³ Ribera, naturally, does not believe that the university system was invented overnight and proposes at least some influence of the Eastern *madrasa* tradition that had materialized two hundred years before the first universities.¹⁹⁴

Since the publication of his *Disertaciones y opúsculos* (1928), numerous scholars have made efforts to continue Ribera's work, however new sources and information about the *madrasa* in the Iberian Peninsula have been limited. One of the most renowned contemporary authors to advance Ribera's theories is George Makdisi who has not only expanded our knowledge on the *madrasa*, comparing it with the medieval University,¹⁹⁵ but has also offered new clues as to the early foundations of *mudāris* and the reasons for its limited diffusion in Spain.¹⁹⁶

In his analysis of the *Dibāj*, a Medieval biographical dictionary written by Ibn Farhūn (d. 1397AD /799AH),¹⁹⁷ Makdisi examines Farhūn's life account of Ibn Sukkara. This medieval Muslim scholar from the Iberian Peninsula is said to have held a position as a professor in "the *madrasa* of Murcia" as well as *qādī* of metropolis after his *riḥla* to

¹⁹³ Gabriel Compayré, *Abelard and the Origin and Early History of Universities* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1893) 26.

¹⁹⁴ Ribera, *La enseñanza*, 18.

¹⁹⁵ George Makdisi, "Madrasa and University in the Middle Ages," *Studia Islamica*, 32:255-264 (1970).

¹⁹⁶ Makdisi, "The Madrasa in Spain" 153-158.

¹⁹⁷ Ibn Farhūn, *ad- Dibāj al-mudhahhab fī ma'rifat a'yan 'ulamā' al-madhhab* (Cairo: al-'āhid Press, 1932/1351).

study in numerous cities in the East including “the Maghrib, in Cairo, in Mecca, and in Baghdad.”¹⁹⁸ Makdisi emphasizes, however, that it is not clear whether Ibn Farhūn used *madrasa* “anachronistically” or not, but Ibn Sukkara’s appointment as a professor is dated around 1092AD/485AH. He suggests that if the usage was correct, “this would place the foundation of “the madrasa of Murcia” in the fifth/eleventh century, at some unspecified time before the professorship of Ibn Sukkara, since Ibn Farhūn’s statement implies an already established institution of higher learning, and the only “madrasa” of that city.”¹⁹⁹ While this evidence is encouraging, placing the establishment of the early *mudāris* in Spain shortly following the first foundation of and institution of higher learning with the *Madrasa Nizāmiya* in Baghdad during the eleventh century, it does not confirm the date of the first *madrasa* in Spain nor are there other sources that corroborate Ibn Farhūn’s statement.²⁰⁰ Furthermore, it is doubtful that Alfonso X would have created the first *madrasa* in Spain and still vague as to whether it was even an official *madrasa*. The few indications of the *madrasa* prior to the thirteenth century are so limited that we cannot yet draw any definite conclusions about the date of its first appearance in the Iberian Peninsula. Until further documentation of the institutions of higher learning is discovered, scholars are left to identify the first official *madrasa* as the *Madrasa Nasriya* of Granada dated 1349.

¹⁹⁸ Makdisi, "The Madrasa in Spain," 154.

¹⁹⁹ Ibn Farhūn says, “*thumma ‘ada (Ibn Sukkara) ilā ‘l-Andalus, was ‘staqarra bi-Madrasat Mursîa, wa-rahala ilhaihî ‘n-nâs’*... (‘then Ibn Sukkara returned to Andalusia, and took up his residence in the Madrasa of Murcia, the students seeking him by journeying from afar’)” quoted and translated by Makdisi, "The Madrasa in Spain", 154-155.

²⁰⁰ Makdisi, "The Madrasa in Spain," 155.

At this juncture the only other clues about the development of Muslim higher education and intellectual practices in the Iberian Peninsula are linked to the prominent religious schools of the region. In Spain as well as parts of North Africa, the Malikī school of law (*madḥab*) made specific regulations in terms of the establishment of *awāqf* (endowments). Throughout *Dar al-Islam* *awāqf* were established to meet one of the five pillars of Islam, considered *ṣaḥābāt* (alms). Though the concept obliges all Muslims to give a certain amount of their wealth to charity for the public good, many decide to give *ṣaḥābāt* in the form of property or objects, like books, through a *waqf* endowment. Usually dedicated to the foundation of libraries, mosques and schools, the benefit of these establishments is two-fold. Under three (Hanafī, Shafī'ī and Hanbalī) of the four Sunni schools of law, the founders of an endowment maintained some managerial control and influence over its use, the income that it produced and permitted the *waqf* to be inherited. Consequently, this method of alms giving offered families a method of retaining their wealth. In contrast with the other Sunni *madḥab*, the Malikī school did not allow the *wāqif* (endower) to administer the *waqf* and in this sense, the *wāqif* lost all property rights, meaning it could not be inherited or gifted or even administered by its donor.²⁰¹ While under the Hanafī, Shafī'ī and Hanbalī *madḥab* the endowment itself provided certain social prestige, which held special importance during the ninth through twelfth centuries, just as it does today. Within the Maliki regions, however, the *wāqif* had to receive the intended benefit of *ṣaḥābāt*, which is identified as *qurba* or closeness with God.²⁰² In this

²⁰¹ George Makdisi, *The Rise of the Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1981).

²⁰² Makdisi, *The Rise of the Colleges*, 39.

context, these distinctions determined the evolution of educational institutions, creating a stark difference between the number of *madrasa* establishments in the Malikī regions of Spain and North Africa in comparison with those of eastern cities like Baghdad and Cairo.²⁰³

Makdisi's argument draws an innate connection between the establishment of the *madrasa* institution and the schools that administrated them as *waqf*, which explains the limited documentation of the *madrasa* in Spain. Andalusian scholars, however, are left to examine the diffusion of intellectual practices in the Iberian Peninsula, both pre- and post- *madrasa*, to better understand if and how the educational practices were influenced by the advent of the *madrasa*. Even though the *madrasa* did eventually appear in Spain, it is fairly evident that it was not wide-spread as an institution in Malikī regions. At the same time, the biographical dictionaries, chronicles and Islamic legal documents (*fātwas*) suggest that learning continued and interest in *‘ilm* did not dissipate, as may be seen in the continuation of the same practices even during the thirteenth century with Alfonso the Wise.

Ultimately, the appearance of the *madrasa* marks an unprecedented change in the intellectual institutions of the Islamic East, however, it seems evident that the greater impact on intellectual life in the Iberian Peninsula came from the demise of the Cordoban Caliphate in 1031 and its fragmentation into numerous petty kingdoms. With its immense

²⁰³ Makdisi in "The Madrasa in Spain" discusses the topic of the *madrasa* in Spain, briefly mentioning *waqf* and its possible influence in the development of the *madrasa* system. In contrast, Maya Shatzmiller in "Islamic Institutions and Property Rights: the Case of the 'public Good' Waqf" *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient / Journal De L'histoire Economique Et Sociale De L'orient*. 44.1 (2001): 44-74, provides in-depth analysis of Maliki legislation and ruling on *public good waqf*. She briefly mentions the *madrasa* however does not go into great detail on how Maliki laws effect its development.

storehouses of *‘ilm*, together with its vibrant intellectual cityscape, the fall of the Caliphate was like a giant expelling its last sighing breath, dispersed throughout al-Andalus and the newly formed *taifa* kingdoms. Cordoba’s innate *şilsila* (network of scholars and knowledge), although still alive, lost its nuclear stature and with it the disappearance of many of the works which had been scattered throughout the region. The transmission of *‘ilm* never really ended, but was transformed through a system of smaller, less remarkable intellectual centers. It is suggested that the much of al-Ḥakam II library remained hidden in personal collections, reappearing at the end of the twelfth and the early thirteenth century alongside the progress of the *Reconquista* of much of al-Andalus

CHAPTER THREE: MEDIEVAL KNOWLEDGE AND ITS DIFUSSION THROUGH CHRISTIAN SPAIN: SIXTH THROUGH TWELFTH CENTURY

The analytical discussion so far has covered the development of Medieval intellectual practices and spaces divided into two meta-narratives: Chapter II focused on the development of Muslim intellectual practices and spaces in the Iberian Peninsula and the Middle and Near East; Chapter III now examines the development of intellectual practices in Visigoth and Christian Spain until the twelfth century and Chapter IV will explore the development of Christian intellectual practices and spaces between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, highlighting particular periods of overlapping Muslim and Christian intellectual traditions in the Iberian Peninsula.

The reasoning behind this division is multifaceted. First, by separating the chapters into standard areas of study, we are able to highlight the epistemological divisions that exist in academia. For example, Chapter II traces the history of Muslim Spain, which has been, until recent years, studied entirely apart from the history of Christian Spain and that of the European West. While this is partially due to an inadequate number of translations from Arabic to Spanish or English of primary sources on al-Andalus and its socio-intellectual dynamics, researchers have also found themselves straddling, historically and culturally, two disciplinary studies, often having to choose one while limiting access to and collaboration with the other. Traditionally, academia has defined the study of al-Andalus, the Iberian Peninsula and its intellectual practices by religion instead of region, which reflects Western epistemological divisions and exposes the underlying relationship between these divisions. Walter Mignolo calls

this “geopolitics of knowledge” and links geopolitical power to space when he echoes the words of Sir Francis Bacon, “There can be no others”.²⁰⁴ He explains that Bacon’s words “inscribed a conceptualization of knowledge to a geopolitical space (Western Europe) and erased the possibility of even thinking about a conceptualization and distribution of knowledge ‘emanating’ from other local histories (China, India, Islam, etc.).”²⁰⁵ In this sense, discourse by Mignolo as well as by scholars of other cultural and sociological studies, underscores that this kind of historical perspective has led to certain critical deficiencies in the areas of non-European history.²⁰⁶

The aforementioned geopolitical divisions manifest themselves in the study of the Iberian Peninsular which presents Christian and Muslim Spain in complete opposition and mutual rejection, often ignoring parallel cultural developments of Christians, Muslims and Jews in shared spaces like the *frontera* regions and al-Andalus. By the same token, disregard for intellectual practices, including the creation and establishment of intellectual spaces by all three religions, has regularly been linked to regional associations with long periods of Muslim rule in the Iberian Peninsula.

While historical events, like the *Reconquista*, which continuously altered border regions and emphasized the clash of cultures, have enabled Western scholars to overlook less formal shared spaces of collaboration and intellectual practices by these pluralistic communities, a select few of these multiethnic spaces have dominated the historical arena

²⁰⁴ Walter Mignolo, "The Geopolitics of Knowledge and the Colonial Difference," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 2002, 101.1: 57-96.

²⁰⁵ Mignolo, "The Geopolitics of Knowledge and the Colonial Difference," 59.

²⁰⁶ Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.d. 1250-1350* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

as if their surroundings, in time and space, were non-existent. The fact is that so much emphasis has been placed on the School of Translators of Toledo and the court of Alfonso the Wise that the socio-historical context which produced these iconic heroes of the lost Greco-Roman past often fades from view. While these two intellectual spaces play an undeniably essential role in the Renaissance of the Spanish culture, the social developments fueling these centers remain to be unpacked from their metaphorical geopolitical box. This view of the Iberian Peninsula during the High Middle Ages as producing historically disconnected spurts of intellectual fervor amidst tides of war has impacted Western perception of both Spain's production of knowledge and cultural heritage as a whole. As a result, the cultural practices that fueled the establishment of intellectual centers, formal and informal, before the advent of the first official Christian institution of higher education (the *studium generale*) in the thirteenth century, call for further investigation.

The present chapter therefore aims to connect these separate but deeply intertwined histories of Muslim and Christian Spain though we approach both histories in a seemingly traditional divisive fashion in terms of the distinct early developments of each cultural group's scholarly activity and intellectual developments. However, between the tenth and thirteenth centuries the Muslim, Christian, and Jewish intellectual traditions within the Iberian Peninsula coincide thus realizing a unique cultural and intellectual heritage that requires further evaluation due to the infrequent study of "Eastern and Western" shared spaces. Seeing that these spaces overlap in history, it is also essential that we erase the religious *fronteras*, mental and physical, that have upheld the

continuation of contemporary epistemological separations in universities and which, in turn, also produce new investigations that also reflect this philosophy.

Within this multifaceted framework, we consider two of the most renowned works on the development of Western intellectual practices and European universities: Charles Homer Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (1927) and Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* (1936) as foundational to the study of the intellectual traditions during the Middle Ages. While both works centering on a history of Western Europe are now considered dated and rather lacking in interdisciplinary research on the development of pre-university spaces as well as Mediterranean networks that influenced the diffusion of knowledge and culture, they both remain invaluable to this investigation. Rashdall's work is a remarkably in-depth survey of the establishment of Medieval European universities. Although he offers limited information on the early, more informal, establishments of Spain, his work remains relevant to this investigation because he identifies Spain as culturally unique in terms of its tradition in founding intellectual centers by royal charter, while other European universities are dependent on papal bulls.²⁰⁷ While Spain and its monarchs ultimately comply with the Christian tradition of requesting a papal bull, showing allegiance to the pope and the Christian empire, its cultural heritage, both Christian and Muslim, surely influence its individuality. Haskins' text focuses on an age of intense intellectual exchange that legitimizes the designation of the "Renaissance of the Twelfth Century." Moreover he also identifies some of the more informal aspects of learning of the High

²⁰⁷ Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936) vol 1, XXIV.

Middle Ages.²⁰⁸ In this respect both texts serve as an impetus for this study as well as numerous subsequent investigations.

Since Hastings' and Rashdall's publications, research on the development of the intellectual practices of the Middle Ages has expanded and reoriented its approach by embracing cultural studies fostering research on more informal scholarly establishments in these shared spaces, such as the translation schools in the Iberian Peninsula and networks of intellectual exchange throughout the Medieval Mediterranean.²⁰⁹ At the same time, recent support for interdisciplinary studies focusing on the Medieval Mediterranean, including the Iberian Peninsula as a nexus for intellectual and commercial activity, has prompted a remolding of traditional epistemological separations, creating an interdisciplinary space both in Hispanic and Near Eastern Studies departments for the study of al-Andalus in its multi-cultural and, as such, multi-layered milieu.²¹⁰ In light of the aforementioned considerations, to analyze the impetus of the famous multi-lingual

²⁰⁸ Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, "Chapter III: Books and Libraries," 70-92.

²⁰⁹ See numerous recent works by Charles Burnett *Arabic into Latin in the Middle Ages: The Translators and Their Intellectual and Social Context*, Farnham, Surrey, (England: Ashgate/Variorum, 2009), *The Coherence of the Arabic-Latin Translation Programme in Toledo in the Twelfth Century* (Berlin: Max-Planck-Institut für Wissenschaftsgeschichte, 1997), "The Translating Activity in Medieval Spain," *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*. Ed. S.K. Jayyusi, Jayyusi, Salma Khadra, and Manuela Marín (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992) 1036-1059; Olivia Constable *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Sources* (Philadelphia: UP Pennsylvania, 1997) and "Muslim Merchants in Andalusi International Trade," in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*. Ed. Salma Khadra Jayyusi, Salma Khadra and Manuela Marín (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992) 759-766; Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000); Miguel H Larramendi Parrilla G. Fernández, and José S. Gil. *Pensamiento y circulación de las ideas en el Mediterráneo: El Papel De La Traducción* (Cuenca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 1997); Pita I. Beceiro *Libros, Lectores y bibliotecas en la España medieval* (Murcia: Nausicaä, 2007).

²¹⁰ The National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Institute 2012, *Networks and Knowledge in the Medieval Muslim-Christian-Jewish Mediterranean*, in association with The Mediterranean Seminar, is a prime example of not only recent support for scholarship on the Medieval Mediterranean, but also current scholarship focusing on "Bridging Cultures" of the medieval period.

and multi-faith translation schools of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as they did not appear *ex-abrupto*, it is necessary not only to delineate the growing regard for *‘ilm*, *ulema* and the intellectual traditions of Muslim Spain, as described in Chapter II, but also to consider the nascent Christian intellectual spaces, together with their practices and development over time beginning with their emergence during the Visigothic period.

3.1- Christian Spain: Early Intellectual Centers

When looking at the development of intellectual practices during the early Middle Ages in the Iberian Peninsula, there are a few important considerations to keep in mind. First, we need to take into account the social conditions of the period and, next, how these circumstances influence the advent of intellectual centers. In *El deber de saber: La tradición docente en la Edad Media Castellana*, Adeline Rucquoi reflects on two pertinent topics. First, that the *deber de saber* (desire to know/need for knowledge) is an emerging socio-intellectual movement during the Middle Ages and, second, taking a cue from David Charles Wright Carr, she sustains that the development of educational and intellectual practices in the Iberian Peninsula are inseparable from other evangelical movements.²¹¹ From this perspective, similar to the early intellectual practices of the East linked to the advent of Islam and religious instruction as the foundation and underlying purpose for all educational traditions, the formation of the first schools in Visigothic Spain materialized within a religious context. The emergence and documentation of these practices are directly linked to the conversion of the Visigothic kings, and most especially

²¹¹See Adeline Rucquoi, “El deber de saber: La tradición docente en la Edad Media Castellana,” in *México en el mundo hispánico* (Zamora, Michoacán: El Colegio de Michoacán, 2000) 309-329; David Charles Wright Carr, *Los franciscanos y su labor educativa en la Nueva España (1523-1580)* (Mexico, INAH, 1998) 11, where he maintains, “la enseñanza es inseparable de las demás tareas evangelizadoras y debe estudiarse bajo este enfoque.”

Reccared, who were converted from the “Arian form of Christianity to the Catholic Christianity of the Hispano-Roman peoples they had conquered” as recorded in the III Council of Toledo (589).²¹² In this sense, the fusion of the Visigothic and Catholic religious cultures within the burgeoning Isidorian period are seminal to the establishment of an ecclesiastical and intellectual milieu throughout the Peninsula. Although documents from this period are scarce, the ecclesiastical records of the Hispanic councils are the most reliable source we have for these intellectual beginnings.²¹³ While the first councils that appeared during the sixth century focus on educational practices, the importance of the acquisition of certain religious knowledge does not materialize until the seventh century and the IV Council of Toledo (633).²¹⁴ This council not only determined that knowledge of the sacred scriptures and religious canons of the Church be required of all bishops and clergymen, but that ignorance of the scriptures inhibits all men of religious vocation from fulfilling their duties as can be seen in the following excerpt from Canon 25:

Ignorantia mater cunctorum errorum, maximé in sacerdotibus Dei vitanda est, qui docendi officium in populis susceperunt. Sacerdotes enim legere sanctas Scripturas admonentur, Paulo Apostolo dicente ad Timotheum: “Intende lectioni, exhortationi doctrinae; semper permane in his. Sciant igitur Sacerdotes Scripturas

²¹² David Nirenberg, Introduction to “3. The Visigothic Conversion to Catholicism: The Third Council of Toledo, Sixty-Two Bishops Attending in which the Arian Heresy was condemned in Spain (589)” in *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Sources*, Ed. Olivia R. Constable (Philadelphia: UP Pennsylvania Press, 1997).

²¹³ *Collectio conciliorum hispaniae* (Madriti excudebat Petrus Madrigal, 1593).

²¹⁴ A. García y García. “De las escuelas visigóticas a las bajomedievales,” 41; J. Vives, Tomas Marín Martínez, and Gonzalo Martínez Díez, *Concilios visigóticos e hispano-romanos* (Barcelona-Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1963) 202.

Sanctas et Canones; ut omne opus eorum in praedicatione et doctrina consistat, atque aedificent cunctos, tàm fidei scientia, quàm operum disciplina.”²¹⁵

...

Ignorance, the mother of all errors, should be avoided above all by the priests of God that have taken upon themselves to teach the community. The sacred scriptures command priests to read, when the apostle Saint Paul said to Timothy: ‘Pass your time reading and teaching, and always be constant in these chores; and priests should know the sacred scriptures and canons, so that their work consists of preaching and teaching the doctrine, as much for science of faith as for the descipline of their conduct.

In addition to council records, other primary texts reflecting the intellectual concerns of the period include the renowned works of Saint Isidore of Seville (ca. 560-636). As the archbishop of that city, Saint Isidore played an essential role in shaping the educational foundations of the church and the clergy. Not only was he one of the most widely read authors of the Middle Ages, but the lasting influence of his writings, specifically the *Etymologiae*, a rare encyclopedic monograph, and the *Sententiae Libri III*, a pedagogical treatise, both serve today as a testament to his legacy and the foundation of ecclesiastical intellectual practices.²¹⁶ Saint Isidore’s teaching philosophy, underscored by his involvement in the Toledan Councils of the sixth and seventh centuries, is also reiterated throughout the aforementioned texts.

As Saint Isidore presided over the IV Council of Toledo (633), he stressed the importance of acquiring knowledge and qualified this achievement as the fundamental

²¹⁵ *Collectio conciliorum hispaniae*, 343. “Ignorance, the mother of all errors, should be avoided above all by the bishops of God, that have taken upon themselves to teach the community. The Sacred Scriptures command bishops to read, when the apostle Saint Paul said to Timothy: ‘Pass your time reading and teaching, and always be constant in these chores; and bishops should know,..., the Sacred Scriptures and the Canons, so that their work consists of teaching and the doctrine and for theof all, as much for science of faith as for the legality of their conduct.’”

²¹⁶ See Martínez B Bartolomé, *Historia de la acción educadora de la iglesia en España* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1995) 160; Adeline Rucquoi, “El deber de saber,” 2.

element for the subsequent dissemination of that same learning. In his own words, “Quid enim docere poterunt, quod ipsi non didicerunt? Desinat locum docendi suscipere qui nescit docere”, (What indeed can they teach, if they have not learned? Let them take the place of those who do not know how to teach).²¹⁷ In this respect, the *Sententiae* of Saint Isidore highlights the fundamental character of education and the importance of knowledge for the clergy. In this manner, pedagogical thought and practice then is tied to the norms of early ecclesiastical formation and in the same moment shapes the nascent educational institutions vis-à-vis the Church the Iberian Peninsula. His other *magnum opus*, *Etymologiae*, also demonstrates the importance of education by delineating the seven liberal arts.

II. De septem liberalibus disciplinis. [1] Disciplinae liberalium artium septem sunt. Prima grammatica, id est loquendi peritia. Secunda rhetorica, quae propter nitorem et copiam eloquentiae suae maxime in civibus quaestionibus necessaria existimatur. Tertia dialectica cognomento logica, quae disputationibus subtilissimis vera secernit a falsis. [2] Quarta arithmetica, quae continet numerorum causas et divisiones. Quinta musica, quae in carminibus cantibusque consistit. [3] Sexta geometrica, quae mensuras terrae dimensionesque complectitur. Septima astronomia, quae continet legem astrorum.²¹⁸

....

ii. The seven liberal disciplines (De septem liberalibus disciplinis) 1. There are seven disciplines of the liberal arts. The first is grammar, that is, skill in speaking. The second is rhetoric, which, on account of the brilliance and fluency of its eloquence, is considered most necessary in public proceedings. The third is dialectic, otherwise known as logic, which separates the true from the false by very subtle argumentation. 2. The fourth is arithmetic, which contains the principles and classifications of numbers. The fifth is music, which consists of poems and songs. 3. The sixth is geometry, which encompasses the measures and

²¹⁷ Isidore of Seville *Sententiae, Libri III, Chap. 35, 97*.

²¹⁸ Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae, Liber I, Chapter II*.

dimensions of the earth. The seventh is astronomy, which covers the law of the stars.²¹⁹

The importance of an erudite clergy remains evident throughout the seventh century and even subsequent centuries later, as reflected in the IV Council of Toledo (633), the VIII Council of Toledo (653) and in later ecclesiastical records, including the Council of Coyanza (1050).²²⁰ The disappointment expressed on the theme of ignorance as seen in Canon 25 of the IV Council of Toledo, is echoed twenty years later in Canon 25 of the VIII Council of Toledo, though the latter has now been transformed from a reminder to the Bishop to adhere to the scriptures of the sacred texts to a requirement of the entire clergy to acquire specific knowledge and skills related to their religious vocation by learning the Psalter, canticles, hymns and the baptismal rite as seen in the following excerpt.²²¹

En la octava discusión encontramos que algunos encargados de los oficios divinos, eran de una ignorancia tan crasa, que se les había probado no estar convenientemente instruidos en aquellas órdenes que diariamente tenían que practicar. Por lo tanto, se establece y decreta con solicitud que ninguno en adelante reciba el grado de cualquier dignidad eclesiástica sin que sepa perfectamente todo el Salterio, y además los cánticos usuales, los himnos y la forma de administrar el bautismo; y aquellos que ya disfrutaban de la dignidad de los honores, y sin embargo padecen con la ceguera tal ignorancia, o espontáneamente se pongan a aprender lo necesario o sean obligados por los prelados, aun contra su voluntad, a seguir unas lecciones.²²²

²¹⁹ Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, Eds. and trans. Stephen A. Barney, W.J. Lewis, J.A. Beach, and Oliver Berghof Cambridge (UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

²²⁰ Antonio García y García, “De las escuelas visigóticas a las bajomedievales: Punto de vista histórico-jurídico,” in *X Semana de estudios medievales: La enseñanza en la Edad Media* (Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2000) 39-59.

²²¹ Pierre Riché, *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West: From the Sixth through Eighth Century* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1978) 287.

²²² J. Vives and others, *Concilio visigóticos e hispano-romanos* (Barcelona-Madrid, 1963) 374.

Although the prevalence and rigor of these practices is unknown, it is clear from these conciliar texts that during the seventh century Christian churches in Visigothic Spain expected their clergy to follow the sanctions set forth during these assemblies. The concept engendered by this ecclesiastical gathering was not only to avoid moral and intellectual ignorance but, through the acquisition of religious knowledge, clergy members would also form an innate relationship with God. In the *Sententiae Libri III* Saint Isidore insists that, “Quien desea estar siempre con Dios, debe orar y leer frecuentemente puesto que, al orar, hablamos con Dios y al leer es Dios quien nos habla. Todo el provecho procede de la lectura y recordamos lo que sabemos.”²²³ This mandate is seen throughout his writings as well as in conciliar records. In Delgado’s essay, “Pedagogos cristianos y sus escritos sobre educación,” he reiterates Saint Isidore’s message, saying that without a moderate training in grammar, rhetoric, geography, history and law, clerics would be unable to comprehend the Holy Scriptures or the Church commandments which would prevent them from completing their principal obligation, which was to proselytize the community.²²⁴ At the same time that Saint Isidore was establishing educational standards for the Church, there was also a dramatic increase in religious sanctuaries in both rural and more central semi-urban areas.

²²³ Saint Isidore, *Los tres libros de las "sentencias,"* intro. Ismael Roca Meliá, book III, chap 9, 1-3. (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 2009) 148. “Nemo potest sensum scripturae sanctae cognoscere, nisi legendi familiaritate, sicut scriptum est: Ama illam, et exaltabit te; glorificaberis ab ea cum eam fueris amplexatus. 9.2. Quanto quisque magis in sacris eloquiis adsiduus fuerit, tanto ex eis uberiores intellegentiam capit; sicut terra, quae quanto amplius excolitur, tanto uberius fructificatur. 9.3. Quanto amplius ad quamlibet artem homo conscendit, tanto magis ad hominem ars ipsa descendit, sicut in lege scribitur: Moyses ascendit in montem, et Dominus descendit.”

²²⁴ Buenaventura Delgado, “Pedagogos cristianos y sus escritos,” 159.

At this juncture, the production of religious space comes to the forefront as an explicit quandary. We cannot presume that didactic practices, Muslim or Christian, arose without a socio-cultural context, that is, a social space that fostered the continuity of Christian practices and stimulated the emerging desire for knowledge seen during the seventh through tenth centuries. In this framework space emerges as a social construct rather than a mere physical unit. Where were these Christian sites of intellectual productivity, how are they associated with their urban, semi-urban or rural location and are they influenced by similar spaces to be found within the context of their religious counterparts?

3.2- Spaces of Worship and Education

In the East, intellectual traditions flourished with the advent of Islam appearing in numerous informal secular spaces like libraries and bookstores as well as more structured religious settings such as mosques. While the Christian educational practices of the Early Middle Ages in the Iberian Peninsula also materialized around religious development, the feudal underpinnings of the period grounded these intellectual practices exclusively within formal sacred spaces of the Church or those spaces patronized by the king.

One of the first locations of religious didactic activity was within the church house (ca. 50-150 C.E.), which was later adapted and renovated, changing its name to *domus ecclesiae* or house-church.²²⁵ Though the *domus ecclesiae* dates back to the second and third centuries marking the beginning of Christian architecture, the transition

²²⁵ For a broader discussion of these three periods of Christian architecture, see Richard Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1965); also see a more recent work by L. Michael White, *The Social Origins of Christian Architecture* (Valley Forge, Pa: Trinity Press, 1996) 20.

from the church house to the *domus ecclesiae* is differentiated only by internal restructuring.²²⁶

While a discussion of this particular phenomenon is beyond the scope of our investigation in the present chapter, the existence of the *domus ecclesiae* in the Iberian Peninsula is indeed relevant to our current debate because it pinpoints a context in which the first Christian Visigothic educational foundations materialized. L. M. White provides a chart illustrative of the phasing out of this architectural structure between the third and fourth centuries;²²⁷ Spanish ecclesiastical records, however, confirm the continued existence of the *domus ecclesiae* even during the sixth and seventh centuries, as evidenced in the II Council of Toledo (527) and in the VIII Council of Toledo (653).²²⁸ This evidence also supports Siker's statement that, "In Gaul and Spain Christian communities spread more slowly"²²⁹ and for that same reason these regions were decidedly conservative in the transformation of their architectural structures manifesting a very real congruency between the growing Christian social practices and the impact they had on architectural metamorphosis, especially when we compare them to contemporary Christian communities like those of Rome or Syria. During the same period in which White has signaled the disappearance of the *domus ecclesiae* in Eastern

²²⁶ Philip F Esler, *The Early Christian World* (London: Routledge, 2000); White, *The Social Origins of Christian Architecture*, 20.

²²⁷ For more information on the spread of Christianity and phasing out of the *domus ecclesiae* in the Iberian Peninsula and other European countries see, Jeffery S. Siker "Christianity in the second and third century" in *The Early Christian World*. Ed. Philip F. Esler, 241.

²²⁸ "De his quos voluntas parentum a primis infantiae annis clericatus officio mancipavit hoc statuimus observandum: ut mox de tonsi vel ministerio electorum contraditi fuerint in domo ecclesiae sub episcopali praesentia a praeposito sibi debeant erudiri." Vives, *Concilios visigóticos e hispano-romanos*, 42.

²²⁹ Siker "Christianity in the second and third century", 241.

Christianity,²³⁰ Siker notes that episcopal sees began to appear in France in the cities of Arles, Rouen, Paris, Bordeaux, Trier, and Rheims.²³¹ This is not coincidental but rather evidence of the conversion of these edifices. In this respect, Spain follows the same trend, but then again, delayed by a few centuries. Thus, the transformation of the Spanish *domus ecclesiae* after the sixth century not only reflects a change in Christian social spaces and practices in the Iberian Peninsula but also suggests that these early religious spaces are the natural origin of episcopal and, later, cathedral schools.

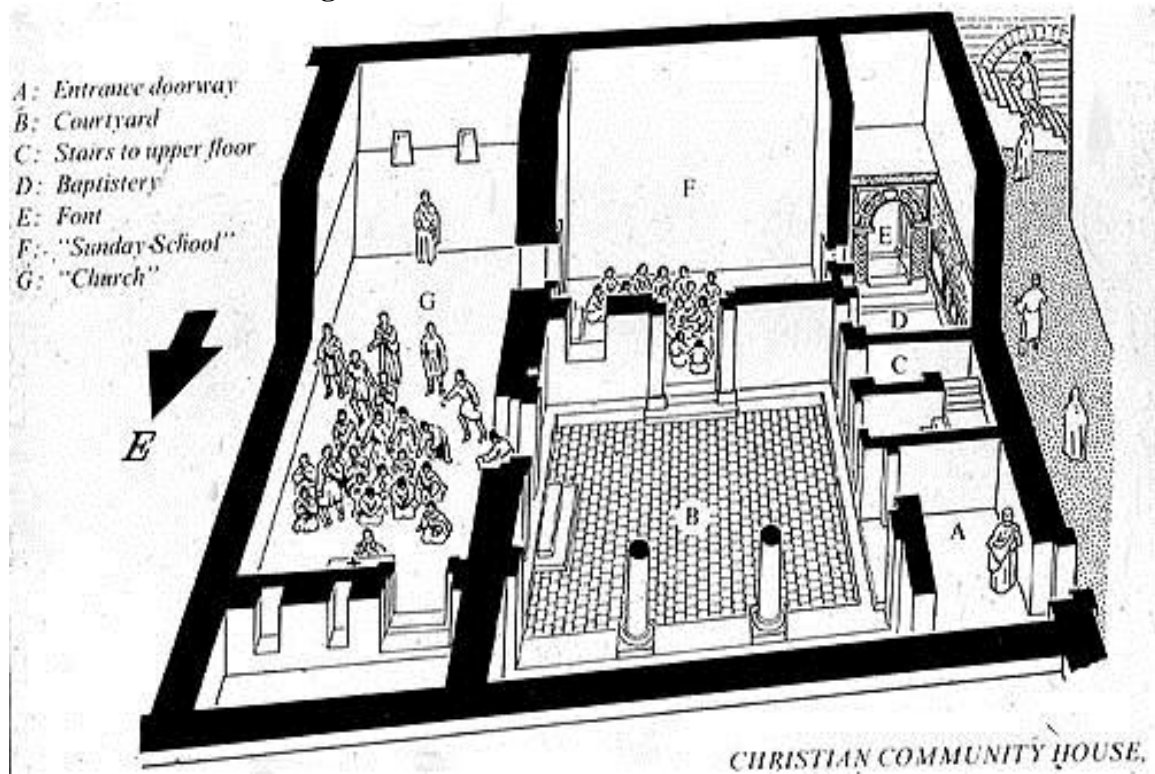
In regards to Spain, Antonio García y García identifies the *domus ecclesiae* as a building connected to or within the church that was dedicated to the training of the clergy.²³² His description correlates with the late Spanish version of the *domus ecclesiae* that remained in use by Visigoths during the sixth and seventh centuries. In contrast, the earlier structures from the Eastern Christian tradition of the *domus ecclesiae* consisted of a single edifice, emphasizing its multi-functionality and serving as a public space of Christian assembly as seen in the following image.

²³⁰ White, *The Social Origins of Christian Architecture*, 712.

²³¹ Siker "Christianity in the second and third century," 241.

²³² "De las escuelas visigóticas a las bajomedievales," 40.

Figure 3: *Domus Ecclesiae*: House Church



House-church (*domus ecclesiae*), a residential building modified for use as a church, Dura Europos, Syria, before 256.

The *domus ecclesiae* that Garcia y Garcia defines is similar to White's description: "existing church buildings, which had emerged through the adaptation of *domus ecclesiae*, continued to operate alongside and untouched by monumental Constantinian basilicas for several generations."²³³ In this context, the space of the *domus ecclesiae* still existed, however the purpose appears to have changed from public to semi-public, from a single building, constituting the entire church incorporating multiple social uses, to a building connected to the new church structure, basilica or cathedral. The addition of the cathedral structure did not terminate the use of the old *domus ecclesiae* but rather newly dedicated

²³³ White, *The Social Origins of Christian Architecture*, 24.

the *domus* to the education of its aspiring clergy, including the training of young children.²³⁴ At the same time that Riché highlights the appearance of the episcopal school, he also identifies the space where clergy-in-training lived within the *domus ecclesiae*. This indicates that during periods of transition the space retained multiple labels: the newly designated space for the clergy and the episcopal school as well as its previous space identify were known as the *domus ecclesiae*.

It is not until 527, in Spain, that we see the first signs of an official institution.... At this last council, over which Bishop Montanus presided, a decision was made to create an Episcopal school. The bishops decided that young children destined by their parents for an ecclesiastical career would reside in the *domus ecclesiae* after they were tonsured. Here, under the supervision of the bishop, they were to be trained by a master specifically entrusted with this duty (“a preposito sibi debeant erudiri”). At age eighteen, they could choose between marriage or entrance into major orders. In the latter case, they were to remain attached to the church where they had to be educated. This canon, especially because it goes so far in the direction of *stabilitas*, betrays unmistakable monastic influence. ... The creation of the Episcopal school by the Council of Toledo, in a city which was beginning to assume the role of a metropolitan see, boded well for the future.²³⁵

The use of identical terminology for the single structured church from the third and fourth centuries and the location where clerics lived and were educated during the sixth and seventh centuries in Spain also suggests that the definition of the *domus ecclesiae* continued to be shaped by social needs as seen with the addition of new buildings attached to the original structure. The architectural modification of the *domus ecclesiae* in the Iberian Peninsula remains indefinite; however, recognition of the tendencies of early Christian architectural developments in other regions together with ecclesiastical records

²³⁴ Pierre Riché, *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West, Sixth Through Eighth Centuries* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1976) 126.

²³⁵ Riché, *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West, Sixth Through Eighth Centuries*, 128.

of the sixth and seventh centuries from the Councils of Toledo documenting the use of the *domus ecclesiae*, provide general insight into later renovations of Christian religious sites within Spain as well as the change in function of these spaces throughout the Middle Ages.

Intimately linked to the adaption of the *domus ecclesiae* and the nascent Christian social development is the emergence of a number of distinct categories of religious spaces coinciding with educational organizations. Each institution varies in its focus on religious formation, similar to the differences seen within the principal educational spaces in Muslim Spain and the East.²³⁶ Over the centuries, many of these spaces transform into intellectual centers, focusing less on spiritual concerns and more on incorporating the Arabic and Greek scientific, philosophic and literary corpus of knowledge into a diverse curriculum. This is not to say that religion loses its importance within the Iberian Peninsula but rather it continues to function as the backbone of Christian Spanish society while the *deber de saber* continues to grow and integrate newly discovered repositories of knowledge. The list below, constructed to allow for a more comprehensive grasp of this complex issue, consists of both nascent centers of learning appearing during the Early Middle Ages and then later educational foundations during the High Middle Ages.²³⁷

²³⁶ See Chapter II, 80.

²³⁷ To create the list of educational spaces, I combined the various institutions described in the following texts: Riché, *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West, Sixth Through Eighth Centuries*; Bartolomé Martínez *Historia de la acción educadora de la iglesia en España*; Bernabé Bartolomé Martínez, *Historia de la educación en España y América [vol.1]* (Madrid: Fundación Santa María, 1992).

Figure 4: Nascent Intellectual Centers Prior to the 10th Century

1. Monastic schools within or attached to monasteries evidencing diverse levels of pedagogical practices; they are, however, often characterized as dedicated exclusively to prayer and work. ²³⁸
2. Episcopal schools attached to cathedrals within urban municipalities, said to have focused on instruction of the seven liberal arts: the <i>trivium</i> and <i>quadrivium</i> . ²³⁹
3. Palace schools attached to royal courts, for the instruction of the <i>trivium</i> and <i>quadrivium</i> , as originally implemented by Charlemagne at the end of the 8 th century and beginning of the 9 th . Palatine schools developed in Christian Spain under the auspices of the monarchy were especially prevalent from the 11 th century where they are found in the court of Fernando I of Castile (1035-1065). ²⁴⁰
4. Parish schools located in rural areas and dedicated to teaching local children.
5. Mozarabic schools located in Muslim controlled territories and first appearing during the 8 th century.

²³⁸ See Bartolome Martinez, *Historia de la educación en España y América [vol.1]:528*.

²³⁹ En el siglo XI funcionaban, entre otras, las de Astorga, León, Lugo, Palencia (donde estudio Santo Domingo de Guzmán), Salamanca, Segovia y Toledo. En todas ellas se enseñaban las «siete artes liberales» el *trivium* (gramática, retórica y dialéctica o lógica) y el *quadrivium* (aritmética, geometría, música y astronomía), como en la mayor parte de las escuelas del occidente europeo. Puede que en España, sin embargo, fuera mayor la persistencia de la tradición escolar de época visigoda, recordada a través de las *Etimologías* de San Isidoro, ampliamente difundidas.” Manuel Riu Riu., *Manual de historia de España: 2* (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1989) 323.

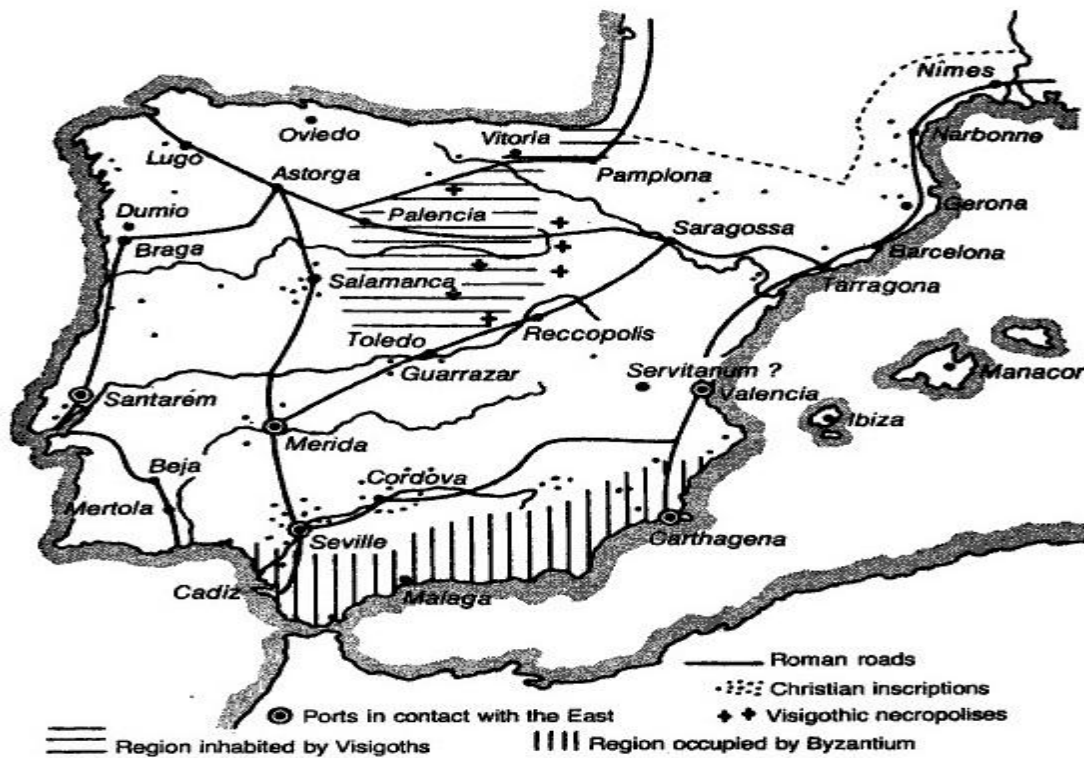
²⁴⁰ “Fernando I de Castilla (1035-1065) creyó una escuela palatina, a imitación de otros monarcas, para la formación de funcionarios y la educación de sus hijos. El anónimo autor de la *Historia Silense* nos dice textualmente que «dispuso educar a sus hijos e hijas de suerte que se instruyeran primero en las artes o disciplinas liberales, a las que el mismo había prestado estudio; después, cuando la edad lo consentía, hizo a los hijos correr caballos al modo de los españoles (léase: andalusíes) y ejercitarse en armas y cacerías; mas a las hijas, para que no se viciasen con la ociosidad, las mando instruir en todas las virtudes propias de la mujer»”; Riu Riu., *Manual de historia de España: 2*, 323.

Figure 5: Emerging intellectual centers after the 10th century

1. Translation centers/schools emanating from monastic and episcopal schools, which we will deal with later in the context of the School of Translators of Toledo.
2. Cathedral schools flourished throughout the 12 th century.
3. Various mendicant orders first appearing during the 13 th century.
4. <i>Studia generalia</i> stemming from Cathedral schools during the 12 th and 13 th centuries.

Accordingly, monastic and episcopal schools originate from the first scholastic foundations of the Visigothic Christian period during the late sixth and seventh centuries. In terms of the location of these centers of intellectual development, we can see the placement of Visigothic necropolises, the location of Roman roads and towns as well as Christian inscriptions from the end of the sixth century in the following map by Riché. Whereas his illustration centers on education, he also identifies regions connected by Roman roads and ports in contact with the East, highlighting networks of communication and commerce. In this respect, the location of commercial and intellectual centers of activity can also be identified as the *loci* of emerging intellectual centers during the seventh century.

Figure 6: Map of Lay Education Visigothic Spain



6. Visigothic Spain at the End of the Sixth Century

Fig. 3.2. IV Lay Education in Visigoth Spain: Visigoth Spain at the end of the Sixth Century (Riché, *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West, Sixth Through Eighth Centuries*, 249).

With the conversion of the Visigoths to Christianity there was also “a relocation of centers of culture. They are no longer found on the Mediterranean littoral but in the interior of Spain.”²⁴¹ Riché indicates that following this relocation Seville, Toledo, and Saragossa became the main metropolises with Seville maintaining its hegemony because of Isidore’s presence in the sixth and beginning of the seventh century while Toledo “became the seat of the monarchy and of nation councils.”²⁴² As the Visigothic/Christian

²⁴¹ Riché, *Education and Culture*, 277.

²⁴² Riché, *Education and Culture*, 277.

societies melded into one, including the relocation and development of the centers of culture, a somewhat cohesive social ethos manifested itself and, as such, hubs of higher learning also began to multiply. Accordingly, the spread of ecclesiastical culture, including its intellectual component, was shaped by the geographical positioning of these religious spaces.

As seen in the following map, metropolitan sees and monasteries are situated around these primary Visigothic Christian cultural centers. On one hand, the monasteries flourish outside the cities, often lying on Roman trade routes and, on the other, the metropolitan sees are located within the heart of the new urban cultural centers. At the same time, however, the urban ecclesiastical foundations were often linked to western monasticism in the sense that numerous metropolitan bishops received an essentially monastic intellectual formation. Riché makes this connection by analyzing the intellectual background of famous learned bishops, Leander, Isidore, Braulio and their disciples, who were all former monks.²⁴³ Furthermore, several monasteries, including Honoriacense, Agali, Cauliana and Santa Engracia, maintained contact with the cathedral churches in the new centers of culture (Seville, Toledo, Merida and Saragossa).²⁴⁴

²⁴³ Riché, *Education and Culture*, 289.

²⁴⁴ Riché, *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West, Sixth Through Eighth Centuries*, 289.

Figure 7: Map of Ecclesiastical Culture in 7th Century

8. Centers of Ecclesiastical Culture in Seventh-Century Spain

Fig. 3.3. *The Education of Clerics and Monks: Centers of Ecclesiastical Culture in Seventh-Century Spain*, (Riché, *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West, Sixth Through Eighth Centuries*, p 278).

Consequently, the early educational systems that emerged from these sacred spaces include, as we have already seen, monastic and episcopal schools. Monastic schools were typically located in semi-rural areas on the outskirts of the city thus allowing easy access to the city for purposes of commerce or were situated near pilgrimage routes along the *Camino de Santiago de Compostela* that became popular

during the eighth century. Riché indicates that monastic foundations, first appearing during the fourth century and stemming from the East, did not, however, limit their schools to clerics, but rather were open to laymen and clergy alike.²⁴⁵ After the merger of the Christian and Visigothic cultures in the Iberian Peninsula and the reforms stimulated by the Councils of Toledo and Saint Isidore of Seville, the monasteries combined sacred learning with the education of children as seen in the records of the Second Council of Toledo (527) and the Second Council of Seville (619).

The architecture of the monastery resembled an isolated fortress, described by Pablo C. Díaz as “*villa bajo-imperial*,” functioning in many instances both as a protective refuge from invasion by the outer world and as a secluded sanctuary offering a quiet environment for religious meditation and communal life.²⁴⁶ In most instances, however, these private intellectual spaces not only disseminated scholarly culture via networks of communication among the numerous monasteries,²⁴⁷ but also served as storehouses of knowledge since most monastic institutions established *scriptoria*.²⁴⁸

In contrast to the monastic centers of higher learning, episcopal schools were located in metropolitan centers, typically built around or near cathedral libraries. Episcopal schools were where “one first learned how to read and chant liturgical texts” and were linked to “the renewal of scriptural and theological studies.”²⁴⁹

²⁴⁵ Riché, *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West, Sixth through Eighth Centuries*, 10.

²⁴⁶ “El legado del pasado: reglas y monasterios visigodos y carolingios,” in J. A. García de C. R. A. and Ramón Teja. *Monjes y monasterios hispanos en la Alta Edad Media*, Aguilar de Campoo (Palencia: Fundación Santa María La Real, Centro Estudios del Románico, 2006) 9-31; 21.

²⁴⁷ Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, 33.

²⁴⁸ Riché, *Education and Culture*, 119.

²⁴⁹ Riché, *Education and Culture*, 279

The following map reflects the continued expansion of both the monastic and episcopal foundations in the north of the Iberian Peninsula during the seventh century.

Figure 8: Map of Monastic Centers during the 7th Century



II. Monastic Centers in Northwestern Spain in the Seventh Century

Fig. 3.4 *The New Elements of the Seventh Century: II. Monastic Centers in Northwestern Spain in the Seventh Century.* (Riché, *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West, Sixth through Eighth Centuries*, p 358).

3.3- Eighth Century: Change of Rhythm

Less than one hundred years after the VIII Council of Toledo (653) and the establishment of the nascent foundations of ecclesiastical education within the Church, the Muslim conquest of the Peninsula in 711 subsequently diminished most didactic efforts to standardize ecclesiastical reform. While Christian educational practices were not completely extinguished, progress remained limited due to the Muslim–Christian conflict and the constantly changing socio-cultural dynamics of the Iberian Peninsula.

Consequently, the development of intellectual activity within the Christian populations from the eighth through the tenth centuries is still highly debated. Some modern scholars, following more traditional lines of thought, claim that little or no progress was had due to Muslim domination while others suggest that more informal progress was achieved, shaped by the influence of the pluralistic environment.²⁵⁰ In “Marco histórico: Iglesia, sociedad y educación,” Miguel-Ángel Ladero Quesada offers insight into the historical moment and the social pressures on Christians living within Muslim regions of the Peninsula.

La invasión islámica en Hispania produjo la extrema debilitación o ruptura de los lazos culturales, con respecto a otras cristiandades de la Europa occidental, que se podrían haber anudado en un supuesto distinto. La Iglesia hispano-cristiana no participó en los «renacimientos» culturales de los siglos IX y X, ni adoptó las medidas sobre formación del clero promovidas en el Imperio carolingio. Su situación, como la de otras iglesias cristianas englobadas en el mundo islámico, fue de supervivencia, dentro de un nivel de respecto que no permitía ni muchos aspectos públicos del culto cristiano ni la ampliación, el cambio o el proselitismo, sino que, por el contrario, propiciaba la reducción y la permanencia en un pasado cultural que cedía paulatinamente terreno ante la arabización—en aspectos no religiosos—de los cristianos mozárabes.²⁵¹

In contrast to Ladero Quesada’s remarks, Francisco Martín Hernández claims that, “A pesar de la invasión árabe, continúan funcionando en España escuelas clericales, con lo que en ambas zonas, la cristiana y la musulmana, tanto en este como en otros aspectos, se

²⁵⁰ Miguel-Ángel Ladero Quesada, “I. Marco histórico: Iglesia, sociedad y educación,” in *Historia de la acción educadora de la iglesia en España*, Ed. Bernabé B. Martínez, 112; Francisco Martín Hernández, “Formación del clero en la iglesia visigótico -mozárabe” (Toledo: Estudio Teológico de San Ildefonso, Seminario Conciliar, 1979) 20.

²⁵¹ Ladero Quesada, “I. Marco histórico: Iglesia, sociedad y educación,” 112.

conserva durante largos años la herencia visigoda.”²⁵² Although both accounts differ in terms of perceived progress and continuity of Visigothic Christian intellectual activity, they do agree on one element, that the Muslim expansion and presence in the Iberian Peninsula transformed the direction and rhythm of intellectual development in Christian Spain. Moreover, the migration of much of the Christian population, north or to other countries like Italy, also debilitated the strength of monasteries, stifling further ecclesiastical advancement in the Iberian Peninsula.²⁵³ Though the evidence supports these conclusions, debilitation and stagnation for particular periods of conflict, it also suggests that the presence of the Muslim scholarly culture may also have served as an impetus to Christian intellectual progress and, eventually, for all religious groups residing in Spain.

After the relocation of the Umayyad dynasty to the Iberian Peninsula during the mid-eighth century and the establishment of libraries in the Caliphate of Cordoba, scholarly activity in both southern and northern regions increased. Competition to acquire highly adorned copies of intellectual works from the East was not limited to Hispano-Arabs of al-Andalus, but was rather a growing phenomenon that was spreading throughout the Peninsula. This activity is particularly evident during the ninth and tenth centuries, when the commercial trade and intellectual atmosphere in al-Andalus were at their height; however this multi-faith exchange vis-a-vis the porous *frontera* regions is not well documented. Christians who remained under Muslim rule and were known as

²⁵² Martín Hernández, *Formación del clero en la iglesia visigótico-mozárabe* (Toledo: Estudio Teológico de San Ildefonso Seminario Conciliar, 1979) 20.

²⁵³ Riché, *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West, Sixth through Eighth Centuries*, 368.

Mozarabs, maintained the Visigothic scholarly organization and discipline; an example of this preserved practice may be seen in the ninth-century writings of Saint Eulogius of Cordoba, Alvaro of Cordoba and the *Crónica mozárabe* of 754.²⁵⁴ The largest population of Mozarabs resided in Toledo, Merida, Cordoba, Seville, Granada, Malaga, and Saragossa, all principle metropolises controlled and largely populated by Muslims.²⁵⁵ Through their life in the city, the Mozarabs mirrored the existing trends of social structures in al-Andalus, including their adoption of Arabic as a primary language. While the Mozarabs were considered culturally Arabized, they considered themselves Christians as they preserved the Visigothic heritage.

3.4- 10th through the 13th Century: Moving to City/Urban Growth

The popular German proverb, *Stadtluft macht frei nach Jahr und Tag* (After a year and a day, city air makes you free), references a medieval law freeing landed serfs who had moved to the city and lived there for a year and a day. Although the Holy Roman Empire abolished this law during the early thirteenth century, the tenth through the thirteenth centuries are witness to a drastic increase in urban development because within the city the limitations of the feudal system, which characterize Christian Spain of the time, are diminished. Whether this law was effectively observed in Spain, however, is doubtful and the advantages of the city versus the feudal countryside only become clear following the establishment of Christian cities and the subsequent expansion of Christian culture after the tenth century. A comparison of Muslim and Christian urban development

²⁵⁴ Bernabé Bartolomé Martínez, *Historia de la educación en España y América [vol.1]*, 205; *Crónica mozárabe de 754*, ed. and trans. J. E. López Pereira (Zaragoza: Anubar, 1980), references the military, ecclesiastical and political events from 611-754.

²⁵⁵ Bernabé Bartolomé Martínez, *Historia de la educación en España y América [vol.1]*, 205.

prior to the tenth century accentuates the sparse urban growth in Christian Spain and the city as the source of political, intellectual and commercial activity within Muslim Spain. This disparity highlights the Christian feudal system versus the Muslim Caliphate system, which was dependent on its centralized urban structure as well as the *umma* (Muslim community) that ultimately legitimized the Caliphates reign through their support of his intellectual projects through *waqf* or *hubs*, pious endowments. While this cultural phenomenon of endowments to establish libraries, mosques and even schools for children is especially vibrant during the Umayyad Caliphate, it is also reproduced during the *taifa* kingdoms, like those of Toledo and Seville. Thomas Glick succinctly explains these differences in terms of agriculture and commerce:

The crux of the difference between Islamic and Christian society before A.D. 1000 is that in the former these functions were concentrated, while in the latter they were dispersed. ...In al-Andalus towns developed quickly, beginning in the late eighth century, as a result of the emplacement of the region in the international trade network of the Islamic Empire. The international market encouraged concentration of artisan industries in towns whose monetary economy allowed the urban middle class to buy into the surrounding countryside and to develop the tightly interdependent town-huerta complexes whose agricultural surpluses further accelerated urban economic and demographic growth. In Christian Spain, both agricultural surpluses and urban functions were dispersed. A general movement of concentration can be first detected in the last third of the tenth century, gathering momentum in the eleventh owing to the economic growth that was produced by the stimulation of trade and concurrent commercialization of natural resources associated with the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, as well as by the economic stimulus provided by the payment by the Taifa kings of vast sums of money in tribute.²⁵⁶

²⁵⁶ Thomas F. Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages* (Chicago: American Academy of Research Historians of Medieval Spain, 1999) "Chapter 3: Urbanization and Commerce" 110-11.

The development and growth of Christian cities, through the process of the *Reconquista* and *Repartimiento* of territories is directly linked to the renewal and expansion of this intellectual environment. Although rooted in religious thought, this fervor or even search for knowledge is inherently connected to what Adeline Rucquoi defines as *el deber de saber*, which had characterized Muslim Spain in previous centuries.²⁵⁷ This *desire*, stimulated and reinforced by the changing social and intellectual landscape of the medieval Iberian Peninsula, was influenced by the advance of the *Reconquista* and is particularly evident in the occupation of Toledo in 1085 by Alfonso VI of Leon and Castile and the subsequent absorption of Muslim libraries from the *taifa* kingdoms and the expansion of ecclesiastical orders near and within the principal Christian metropolises. Between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, Christian Spain engendered a number of new intellectual centers including the transformation of the episcopal school into the cathedral school, the foundation of Mendicant orders in monasteries situated in semi-rural areas and the establishment of translation centers all of which mark the essential emergence of educational spaces in the Peninsula. Coupled with the translation and transmission of Greek and Arabic scientific, philosophic and literary texts, the social mobility related to this scholarly activity shaped intellectual developments from the early eleventh century on. In this endeavor, both the Christian monarchy and the Church vigorously encouraged this intellectual change.

3.5- Translation Schools

The contemporaneous appearance of translation centers in the Iberian Peninsula in Toledo, Seville, Barcelona, Tarazona, Segovia, Leon and Pamplona, as well as urban

²⁵⁷ Rucquoi, “*El deber de saber*,” 309-329.

areas in the south of France in Toulouse, Narbonne and Marseille marks a transformation of Western Christian intellectual practices.²⁵⁸ Not only is there a transition from exclusively monotheistic intellectual spaces, like those of cathedral schools and monasteries, to secular intellectual spaces created by multi-lingual and multi-faith translation groups but also the translation activity occurring in these secular spaces fueled an environment of collaboration. Ultimately, these centers and their translators generated a corpus of scientific and philosophic knowledge that had not been previously accessible to the West. Consequently, the mass of translated texts altered the Western body of knowledge during the Middle Ages, creating what Bartolomé Martínez identifies as a “crecimiento del saber humano”.²⁵⁹

We are not contemplating here, in the strictest sense, a growth of human knowledge since a large number of the translated texts previously existed in Arabic or Greek. Nevertheless, by making these texts available to Western Europeans through editions in Latin and the Romance languages, this “growth” reflects a significant diffusion of knowledge. Moreover, the translation movement, which highlights the emerging *deber de saber*, not only produced the so-called “Renaissance of the Twelfth Century,” but also sustained it through the first half of the thirteenth century, all the while serving as an impetus to the foundation of the first *studia generalia* in the Iberian Peninsula.²⁶⁰ The “secularization of culture” within Spain, which is expressed through this transitional period of translation activity, also encompasses the cultural phenomenon

²⁵⁸ José Gil, *La escuela de traductores de Toledo y los colaboradores judíos* (Toledo: Instituto Provincial de Investigaciones y Estudios Toledanos, 1985) 28.

²⁵⁹ B. Bartolomé Martínez, *Historia de la educación en España y América*, vol. I (Madrid: SM, 1992) 555.

²⁶⁰ Charles H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1971).

of *convivencia* especially prevalent in two translation centers of the Iberian Peninsula: the School of Translators of Toledo and the court translators of Alfonso the Wise in Seville and Toledo.²⁶¹

3.6- The Mythical City and the School of Translators of Toledo

Like El Dorado, the mythical lost city of gold, or the ancient, sunken continent of Atlantis, the medieval city of Toledo morphed into a mythical metropolis of knowledge and *convivencia*. At the same time, while Toledo and other urban areas in the Iberian Peninsula began to prosper and grow as intellectual centers, the city of Cordoba, renowned for its overflowing libraries and widespread admiration for scholars and their journey in search of *'ilm*, saw its fame as the cultural and intellectual Jewel of the World fade together with the ephemeral Caliphate of Cordoba riven with internal political dissention that eventually created the new and dispersed party kingdoms. Toledo also differed from Cordoba in the sense that its centrality in the history of Spain was ongoing not only as a symbolic position of power for its Visigothic, Muslim or Christian rulers, but also because it had endured through time as a metropolis of intellectual activity and ethnic diversity. During the advent of the Twelfth-Century Renaissance, scholars from all over Europe flocked to Toledo, like seekers of a hidden treasure, to acquire its ancient trove of knowledge. Daniel Morley (c. 1140 – c. 1210), a famous English scholastic philosopher and translator, is said to have tired of the boring intellectual scene in Paris and, drawn by the legends of Toledo, hurried to “the most famous centre of Arabic

²⁶¹ Mariano Brasa Diez, “Alfonso X el Sabio y los traductores españoles” *Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos*. 410 (1984): 21-33.

science, in order to hear the wiser philosophers of the world.”²⁶² History, however, has not revealed whether the scholarly space dedicated to the translation of these texts was either a school or simply an intellectual center in the Toledan capital.

The interest and subsequent debate concerning the Toledan School of Translators first arose in 1819 when Amable Jourdain declared that this intellectual mecca of the twelfth century was not merely a center of scholars but rather a well-defined school of translators.²⁶³ By identifying the translation center of Toledo as a school, Jourdain inspired further investigation concerning the didactic practices occurring in intellectual spaces dedicated to translation. Clara Foz, who recently published *El traductor, la iglesia y el rey (Península Ibérica siglos XII-XIII)*, offers an in-depth analysis of the topic, including a brief description of translators from both periods, translation practices, models and problems as well as the power dynamics involved in translating such a vast body of literature.²⁶⁴

Recent publications examining the Toledan School of Translators continue to emphasize the ambiguity that surrounds its history and, indeed, the very concept of a “translation school” during the twelfth century. Doubt as to the existence of “schools of translation” is not at all surprising because, in addition to being previously established in non-secular intellectual spaces, all earlier schools focused on religious formation and

²⁶² Gil, *La escuela de traductores de Toledo*, 29; Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1924) 126-127 and *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, 380.

²⁶³ Amable Jourdain, and Charles Jourdain. *Recherches Critiques Sur L'âge Et L'origine Des Traductions Latines D'aristote, Et Sur Des Commentaires Grecs Ou Arabes Employés Par Les Docteurs Scolastiques* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1960).

²⁶⁴ Clara Foz, *El traductor, la iglesia y el rey* (Barcelona: Editorial Gedisa, 2000).

obligations. Ramón Gonzálvez, in his analysis of the Toledan School of Translators, expresses a similar opinion, insisting that:

Hay que desechar la idea de una escuela en el sentido estricto, como si hubiera existido una institución organizada que hubiera tomado sobre sí la tarea de traducir obras del árabe al latín con la intención de ponerlas al servicio de los eruditos del occidente europeo. Por lo que sabemos, los traductores actuaron en forma individual o por grupos de colaboradores, generalmente por encargo, a requerimiento de personas destacadas a las que con frecuencia dedicaron sus trabajos o de otros intelectuales, aunque también por iniciativa propia y en la mayor parte de los casos por motivos insuficientemente conocidos. Así, la Escuela de Traductores de Toledo es el conjunto de los esfuerzos de muchas personas en momentos distintos que trabajaron por poner a disposición de los intelectuales cristianos de occidente los textos y libros que se conocían entre los musulmanes españoles.²⁶⁵

While Gonzálvez's approach is similar to that of many western scholars who consider that without a document of institutional foundation a school did not exist, the social transformation of the period, due to the influence of the past Muslim spatial informality and the *Reconquista*, also suggests changes in the socio-cultural institutions and traditions, calling attention to the anomalous combination of old and new practices. The belief that only the formal creation of educational institutions and practices validates the existence of an educational system extends to the later foundation of *studia generalia* and universities throughout the western world.²⁶⁶ As a result, this thought pattern shaped popular opinion about whether the translation spaces of Toledo and Seville either impacted or were themselves converted into other spaces, a matter we will discuss in the

²⁶⁵ Ramón Gonzálvez, "V. La escuela de traductores de Toledo", in *Historia de la acción educadora de la iglesia en España* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1995) 268-275, 268.

²⁶⁶ This approach ultimately characterizes western tendencies to systemize and categorize, and expect that history of Western Europe has always been organized in the same fashion.

context of Chapter IV and the establishment of the *studium generale* by Alfonso X, the Wise.

3.7- The Toledan School of Translators: Historical Background

Both Foz and José Gil, among many other scholars, divide the translation movement in the Iberian Peninsula into two main periods of production, that of Don Raimundo and the School of translators of Toledo dating from approximately 1130 to 1187 and that of Alfonso X, the Wise and his court dating from 1252 through 1284.²⁶⁷ However, the historical context surrounding the development of these translation centers and their transmission of the Greek and Arabic intellectual corpus to the medieval West verifies that other intellectual centers existed in Toledo prior to its conquest by Alfonso VI of Castile in 1085.²⁶⁸ Many new spaces dedicated to scholarly activity in the eleventh century were, on the one hand, a result of the branching out of the library system from the main hub of commerce and intellectual exchange in the Caliphate of Cordoba during the ninth and tenth centuries. On the other hand, these same spaces also grew out of the diffusion of books from the library of Cordoba prior to or during the party kingdom period (*mulūk at-tawā'if*) dating from the early eleventh century and ending before the mid-thirteenth century. For this reason, the appearance of the School of Translators of Toledo is sometimes identified as a second stage in the dissemination process, arguing that this particular scholarly movement was actually a continuation of earlier intellectual activity in Toledo.²⁶⁹ In fact, Gil and Carrobbles link the translation movement directly to the books that were left in the libraries of Toledo by the Banū du-l-Nūn dynasty during

²⁶⁷ Gil, *La escuela de traductores*, 17.; Foz, "El traductor, la iglesia y el rey," 15, 27.

²⁶⁸ Santos J. Carrobbles, *Historia De Toledo*. (Toledo: Editorial Azacanes, 1997) 141-3.

²⁶⁹ Foz, "El traductor, la iglesia y el rey," 14.

the *taifa* period.²⁷⁰ It is indeed probable that these works had been moved from the famous libraries of the Cordoban capital at the time of the establishment of the Almoravid dynasty. By emphasizing the multiple cultural histories of Toledo, Gil characterizes Toledo's past by its pluralistic communities, the very elements that first enabled the translation projects:

Toledo poseía una tradición. En la ciudad había los libros apropiados, mecenas que propulsaran el saber y las traducciones y, sobre todo, anidaba en ella el elemento humano: judíos, cristianos, musulmanes, mozárabes y mudéjares, que tenían como lengua propia, primero el árabe y, más tarde, el romance.²⁷¹

Whether Muslims or Christians reigned in Toledo, the city maintained a vibrant multicultural community, including a large Jewish population. Foz, on the other hand, looks beyond the religious boundaries and even the borders of the Iberian Peninsula, connecting the translation activity occurring in Toledo to its Mediterranean origins from the eighth-, ninth- and tenth-century *Bait al-Hikma* (House of Wisdom) in Baghdad.²⁷² There is, however, a distant link between the translations produced in Toledo during the twelfth century and those of Baghdad during earlier centuries and towards the end of the Umayyad Caliphate scholarly travel from the East to the West had dramatically decreased.²⁷³ Moreover, by the second half of the twelfth century the Mediterranean had

²⁷⁰ Carrobbles, *Historia De Toledo*, 141-3; Gil, *La escuela de traductores*, 23.

²⁷¹ *La escuela de traductores*, 21-2. "Toledo sustained a tradition. Within the city there were the appropriate texts, patrons who fueled the production of knowledge and translations and, above all, residing within the city, the human element: Jews, Christians, Muslims, Mozarabs and Mudejars, that maintained as their own language, first Arabic and, later, romance."

²⁷² *El traductor, la iglesia y el rey*, 14.

²⁷³ Lenker, *The Importance of the Rihla for the Islamization of Spain*, 93. Lenker's analysis of the *trājim* genre shows that by the twelfth century a majority of the limited scholars visiting al-Andalus were from *Maghrib*. 93-4.

gone through a transformation of power dynamics.²⁷⁴ In this context, the routes from the Iberian Peninsula to the Middle East had been largely taken over by Genoese and Venetian merchants so that direct contact with Baghdad had dissipated and it is more likely that the translations and books from the libraries of the Ummayyad Caliphate and the later *taifa* kingdoms were the source of not only works to translate but also inspiration vis-à-vis the diffusion of the culture of *'ilm*. Similar to Gil, Foz reveals the attractiveness of Toledo as an epicenter of activity from its early location as the Visigothic capital through the almost 400 years of Muslim rule, fostering a dynamic intellectual community until 1085 when Christian rulers again dominated the city:

...la atracción que Toledo parece provocar entre los doctos del siglo XII, tanto si su «horizonte cultural» es el del Occidente latino como si es el del Oriente peninsular, se debe sin duda, ... a su carácter de «zona fronteriza», de lugar propicio para la mezcla étnica y los consiguientes multilinguismo y pluralismo religioso – con todo lo que estas palabras pueden representar en esa época.²⁷⁵

Again, according to Foz, the establishment of the School of translators of Toledo dates back to around 1130 when Don Raimundo de la Salvetat (1124-1152) is said to have provided the stimulus for the foundation and momentum of this institution.²⁷⁶ At the same time, the possible influence of the Cluniac monk, Bernard of Sederac (c.1050-1125), archbishop of Toledo who mentored Don Raimundo and Peter the Venerable, has

²⁷⁴ Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.d. 1250-1350* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989) 137.

²⁷⁵ *El traductor, la iglesia y el rey*, 21. "...the attraction that Toledo seemed to incite among the scholars of the twelfth century, as if their <<cultural horizon>> is of the Latin Occident as it is of the Peninsular Orient, without a doubt is due to, ... its <<border zone>> character, an opportune place for ethnic mixture and the subsequent multi-lingualism and religious pluralism --- with everything that these word could mean during the period." J. Zeitler translation.

²⁷⁶ *El traductor, la iglesia y el rey*, 28.

also been mentioned. The visits of Peter the Venerable to the Iberian Peninsula in 1140 and 1142 and his procurement of the *Qur'an* in Latin from a group of translators are often tied to the foundation of the school of translators though the disparity between the alleged establishment of the school in 1130 and Peter's visits comprises a period of more than ten years.²⁷⁷

We have included a chart of the documented translators of Toledo during Don Raimundo's period as well as the transitional period ranging from 1187 until 1252. The significance of the translators is multifaceted. On one hand the pure number of documented translators in Toledo during the twelfth century demonstrates the increasing *deber de saber* within the Peninsula, particularly within the newly absorbed Christian metropolises. On the other, the value set on knowledge can be seen by the intense production of philosophical, medical and scientific treatises over the less common translated literary works. Moreover, by reviewing the origin of many of these translators it is clear that the fame of the school of translators of Toledo, whether an official institution or merely an informal secular space designated to knowledge, had reached beyond the peninsular borders to scholars throughout the European West, suggesting that the texts that these scholars encountered in Toledo were clearly not accessible in other parts of the European world, with the notable exception of the court of Frederick II (1194-1250) in Palermo. Lastly, while the suggestion that Spanish Christians adopted particular Muslim intellectual traditions, like the university, has been highly debated, often leaving George Makdisi at the center of this controversy, it is quite evident, that the

²⁷⁷ Manuel Riu Riu, *Manual de historia de España: 2* (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1989) 325.

atmosphere fueled by access to and desire for knowledge, encouraged collaboration, but also transformed the ecclesiastical nature of education in Christian Spain. See **Error!**

Reference source not found.

The following chart of translators has been compiled by combining both the primary works of Foz and Gil on the translators of Toledo.²⁷⁸

Table 1: Translators from the XII century: (defined as first generation translators)			
Name and Alias	Origin and Languages	Location of translation and collaborators	Works translated
Abraham bar Hiyya, also known as Abraham Judaeus Savasorda, Abraham ha-Nasi	Spanish Jew, astronomer and mathematician who grew up in Al-Andalus. He died around 1136. ²⁷⁹ *Languages: Arabic, Hebrew and Romance	Worked in translation Barcelona around 1134-1145. Collaborated with Platón de Trivoli	Translated mathematical, astronomical and astrological works into Latin, his most famous work includes, <i>Quadripartitum</i> by Ptolomeo. ²⁸⁰
Abraham b. ‘Ezra	Born in Tuleda, Spain at the end of the XI century and died in 1167. ²⁸¹ *Language: Latin, Arabic, Hebrew and Romance ²⁸²		Translated astronomy, astrology and mathematics, but he also wrote religious and secular poetry, <i>Sefer yesod mora – El Fundamento del temor de Dios</i>

²⁷⁸ Foz, *El traductor, la iglesia y el rey*, 45-77; Gil, *La escuela de traductores*, 29-56.

²⁷⁹ Juan Vernet, *La cultura hispanoárabe en Oriente y Occidente* (Barcelona: Editorial Ariel) 115.

²⁸⁰ Foz, *El traductor, la iglesia y el rey*, 49.

²⁸¹ Juan Vernet, *Lo Que Europa Debe Al Islam De España* (Barcelona: El Acantilado, 1999)

²⁸² Foz, *El traductor, la iglesia y el rey*, 50; Marie-Therese d’Alverny, “Translations and Translators,” in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1982) 421-462, 444.

Adelard of Bath, also called Aethehard, Adelardus Bathonensis, Adelardua Badunensis ²⁸³	English Benedictine priest born around 1080 *Languages: English, Arabic, and Latin, probably Italian and French due to his studies and time spent in these countries. His knowledge of Arabic and his translations are still in question in a recent publication by Charles Burnett ²⁸⁴	José Gil estimates that he was in Spain between 1126 and 1129 ²⁸⁵ however we cannot confirm where he completed his translations.	His most famous work is a Latin version of the <i>Elements</i> by Euclid, based on Arabic sources. He also produced a Latin translation of <i>Astronomical Tables</i> (1126) of al-Khwarizmi, as well as wrote three brief treatises on astrology and procured <i>De cura accipitrium</i> , a philosophical work, <i>De eodem et diverso</i> and his last work, <i>De opera astrolapsus</i> , is dated around 1150. <i>Quaestiones naturales</i> , is his own treatise.
Daniel of Morley	English intellectual, while Charles Singer ²⁸⁶ suggests that Morley was one of the few early scholars with “first-hand knowledge” of Arabic, modern scholars continue to doubt his competence in the language ²⁸⁷	After studying in Oxford and France, arrived in Toledo during the time Gerard of Cremona (c. 1175) to study astrology	Wrote his own philosophical treatise <i>Liber de naturis inferiorum et superiorum</i> .

²⁸³ Sarton, *History*, II, part I. 169; Gil, *La escuela de traductores*, 30; Foz, *El traductor, la iglesia y el rey*, 50.

²⁸⁴ Charles Burnett, “Adelard of Bath and the Arabs,” in *Rencontres de cultures dans la philosophie médiévale. Traductions et traducteurs de l’Antiquité tardive au XIV siècle*, (Louvain-la Neuve/Cassino, 1990) 90-107.

²⁸⁵ Gil, *La escuela de traductores*, 30.

²⁸⁶ Charles Singer, “Daniel of Morley. An English Philosopher of the XIIth Century,” *The History of Science Society*, 3.2, (1920) 263-269, 263.

²⁸⁷ Foz, *El traductor, la iglesia y el rey*, 52.

<p>Domingo Gonzalvo, Dominicus Gundissalinus, Gundisalvus, Gundisalvi y Dominicus Archidiaconus Segoviensis²⁸⁸</p>	<p>Translator, philosopher *Languages: Arabic, Latin</p>	<p>Worked alongside Juan Hispano (Ibn Dāwūd), his work dates approximately from 1130-1180 (1181), most of his works are translations of philosophy. Although many of his works are clearly identified by his name, Gil reminds us that because Gonzalvo and Juan Hispano worked as a translation team, that we have to consider these works also by Juan Hispano.²⁸⁹</p>	<p><i>Liber de scientiis, Fontes Quaestionum, De intellectu</i> and <i>Liber excercitationis ad viam felicitatis</i>, all by al-Fārābī</p> <p>A number of works were translated by both Gonzalvo and Gerardo de Cremona : <i>Liber Alchinidi de intellectu</i> (titled by Cremona as <i>De ratione</i>), and <i>Liber de definitionibus</i>, by Ishāq al-Isrā ‘īlī.</p> <p><i>De intellectu et intellectu</i>, by Alejandro de Afrodisia, <i>Liber introductoribus in artem logicae</i> demonstrationes, by Ijwān al-Safa, <i>Maqāsid</i>, by al-Gazzalī, <i>Metaphysica Avenennae...sive de prima philosophia</i> Ibn Sīnā and <i>De convenientia et differentia subiectorum</i>, attributed to Ibn Sīnā and included in Gundisalvo’s treaties <i>De divione philosophiae</i></p> <p>Gonzalvo is also known for composing five of his own</p>
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²⁸⁸ Gil, *La escuela de traductores*, 38.

²⁸⁹ For this same reason modern scholars might attribute the same work to different people, for example, Sarton lists *Maqāsid* by al-Gazzalī to Juan Hispano. See Gil, *La escuela de traductores*, 41 and Sarton, *History*, II, part I, 171.

			treaties. ²⁹⁰
Hermann el Dálmata, Hermann Secundi, Hermann de Carinthie (in France) or Hermann le Second ²⁹¹	Slavic priest, (c. 1113-1154) who studied in Chartres France, arriving to Spain around 1130. *Languages: unknown		His activity is dated between 1138 and 1143. He collaborated with Robert of Chester on numerous occasions completing works under the patronage Pedro the Venerable. One of these works includes a rubric of the translation of the Quran
Hugo de Santalla, Hugo Sanctallensis, Hugo Sandalensis, Hugo Strellensis and Hugo de Santalia ²⁹²	Spanish Priest born in Galicia, Spain *Languages: Latin	Worked in Tarazona under the auspices of bishop Michael (a colleague of Don Raimundo) during the years 1119 and 1151 ²⁹³	He is acknowledged for producing ten translations. <i>Liber Aristotilis</i> , a translation of Ibn al-Muthanna's commentary on al-Khwarizmi's astronomical tables. Translation of pseudo-Apollonius' <i>Sirr al-khaliga</i> , under the title <i>De secretis</i>

²⁹⁰ Gil, *La escuela de traductores*, 38.

²⁹¹ See Charles Burnett, "Hermann of Carinthia" in *A History of Twelfth-Century Western Philosophy*, Ed. Peter Dronke (Cambridge England: Cambridge UP, 1988) 386-406.

²⁹² Gil, *La escuela de traductores*, 52; Foz, *El traductor, la iglesia y el rey*, 54.

²⁹³ Gil, *La escuela de traductores*, 52; Foz, *El traductor, la iglesia y el rey*, 54.

			<i>naturae</i> (introduced into Latin Europe the <i>Tabula Smaragdina</i> ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus) a canonical text for alchemists. The Arabic texts which Hugo used for his translations likely came from the library of <i>Rūta</i> (located in the taifa kingdom of Zaragoza), the capital of the Banū Hūd ²⁹⁴ from (1110-1140).
Juan de Sevilla, ²⁹⁵ Johannes Avendehut, Johannes Hispanus, Joannes Hispanus, Johannes Hyspalensis et Lunensis, Johannes	Spanish Jew or Mozarab, translator, astronomer, astrologer and Philosopher, *Languages: Arabic and Romance	1133-1142 or 1130-1180 ²⁹⁶ Worked under the auspices of Archbishop don Raimundo with Domingo Gundisalvo, between 1130-1150, Gunfissalinus is identified as the	Iohannes Avendehur Isrealita: <i>Liber de anima</i> by Ibn Sina (Avicena) , Iohannes Hispanus: <i>De differentia Spiritus et Animae</i> , by Qustā ben Lūqā <i>Epistola de conservatione Corporis humani</i> , by Sirr al-asrār Iohannes Hysoakebsis et Lunensis episcopus :

²⁹⁴ See C. Burnett, "Hermann of Carinthia," 388; Charles Burnett, "The Coherence of the Arabic-Latin Translation Program in Toledo in the Twelfth Century," *Science in Context* 14 (2001): 249-288; J. Hogendijk "Discovery of an 11th-Century Geometrical Compilation: the Istikmāl of Yūsuf Al-Mu'taman Ibn Hūd, King of Saragossa," *Historia Mathematica* 13.1 (1986): 43-52.

²⁹⁵ This long list of names is often attributed to one translator, however many scholars have also divided them into two distinct personalities that labored in the Cathedral of Toledo under the patronage of Don Raimundo. See C. Burnett, "John of Seville and John of Spain: A *Mise au point*" in *Arabic into Latin in the Middle Ages: The Translators and Their Intellectual and Social Context*. (Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate/Variorum, 2009); M. Alonso Alonso, "Juan Sevillano: sus obras propias y sus traducciones," *Al-Andalus* 18 (1953), 17-49; Maria Teresa D'Alverny, "Avendauth?," *Homenaje a Millas-Vallicrosa*, 2 vols, José María Millas Vallicrosa (Barcelona, 1954-6) I.19-43; Gil, *La escuela de traductores*, 31-2; Foz, *El traductor, la iglesia y el rey*, 54-5; Sarton, *History, II, part I*, 169; Gonzalo Menéndez Pidal, "La Escuela de Traductores de Toledo," in *Historia general de las literaturas hispánicas*, ed. Guillermo Díaz-Plaja, and Pidal R. Menéndez (Barcelona: Editorial Barna, 1949) LXXX-779.; Vallicrosa, *Estudios*, 264.

²⁹⁶ Foz, *El traductor, la iglesia y el rey*, 55.

Hispanlensis, Joane Hispalensi, Auendeuth, Avendeuth, Avohavet, Auohaueth, Avendeath, Avendebech, Abendana, Avendar		disciple of Juan Hispano (Ibn Dāwūd)	<i>Liber de Nativitatibus</i> Ioanne Hispalensi Hispanico Astologo Celeberrimo : <i>Epitome Totius Astrologiae</i> Auendeuth : <i>Logica</i> Avendeuth : <i>Liber de Causis</i>
Pedro Alfonso, Petrus Alfonsi	Spanish Jew converted (1106) to Christianity, his real name Mosé Sefardí, born in Huesca. *Languages: Latin, Romance, Hebrew and Arabic	Worked in the court of Enrique I (1100-1135) around 1110 as a doctor.	Millás Vallicrosa attributes the Pedro Alfonso with the first Latin translation (c. 1115) of the <i>Astronomical Tables</i> of al-Khwarizmi. While Adelard of Bath is also known for producing a Latin translation, Millás Vallicrosa suggests that Bath's version is an adaption of Pedro Alfonso's translation. ²⁹⁷ As an author, he is known for two main works, his compendium of fables of Arab and Indian origin, <i>Disciplina clericalis</i> , considered a didactic work and <i>Dialogi cum Iudaeo</i> . ²⁹⁸
Platón de Tivoli	Italian mathematician, astronomer and astrologer. *Languages: Italian, Arabic, Hebrew,	Lived and worked in Barcelona, around 1116- 1138 or 1134-45. It said to have	<i>Liber Abulcasim de operibus astrolabiae</i> , by Ibn al-Saffār

²⁹⁷ See J.M. Millás Vallicrosa, *Estudios sobre historia de la ciencia española* (Madrid: CSIC, 1987) 197-98; Foz, *El traductor, la iglesia y el rey*, 56.

²⁹⁸ Foz, *El traductor, la iglesia y el rey*, 56.

	Romance and Latin	worked with Gerardo de Cremona, Abraham bar Hiyya and possibly Juan de Sevilla	
Robert of Chester (of Ketton), Robert de Retines	English priest, Archdeacon of Pamplona in 1143, *Languages: English, and most likely Latin	Lived in Spain around 1140-1147, in Pamplona and Segovia. Worked with Hermann el Dálmata	Translator of al-Khwarizmi's <i>Algebra</i> (1145) and Ptolemy's <i>De compositione astrolabii</i> . He was also the first translator of the Quran. ²⁹⁹ (1141-1143) ³⁰⁰
Rudolf of Bruges, Rodolfo de Brujas	Flemish astronomer, disciple of Hermann el Dálmata *Languages: Latin, Romance	There is no evidence that puts Brujas in Toledo, however he dedicates one of his translations to Juan of Seville, which suggests some relationship between him and the city of Toledo. ³⁰¹	Translated from Arabic to Latin. His only documented work is the translation on the Astrolabe by Maslama Ibn Ahmad al-Magriti.

Gerardo de Cremona is posited in Gil's work within the first generation and in Foz's, as part of the second generation. Whether he is in one or the other, or both, he is described

²⁹⁹ Singer, "Daniel of Morley," 263.

³⁰⁰ Gil, *La escuela de traductores*, 28.

³⁰¹ Gil, *La escuela de traductores*, 52.

as one of the most prolific translators of his time, producing more than eighty translations over his lifetime.

Gerardo de Cremona, Gherardus Cremonnensis, Tholetanus	Cremona, Italy 1116-1187 * Languages: Italian, Arabic	Spent many years in Toledo, arriving around 1141/1167, considered one of the most profound translators of the 12 th century.	3 on dialectics, 17 on geometry, 12 on astronomy, 11 on philosophy, 21 on medicine, 3 on alchemy, 4 on geomancy, plus other translations, totaling 87 translated works.
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The years of transition at the School of Translators of Toledo, 1188 until 1251, are situated between the burgeoning period of Don Raimundo's School of Translators of Toledo and the multiethnic collaboration of translators at the court of Alfonso X. This transitional period is described by Gil as one of dissolution of the activity of the Toledan School of Translators and, in this respect, Gil also characterizes the translators from this time as distinctly inferior.³⁰² However, there are two points that contradict his stance. The first is that this it is also the period in which Castilian becomes a popular vehicle for many of the translations, as seen by the works by Hernán Alemán, and the second is that few prominent translators are also identified with this period.

³⁰² José Sangrador Gil, "La escuela de traductores de Toledo durante la Edad Media," in *Pensamiento y circulación de las ideas en el Mediterráneo: El papel de la Traducción* (Cuenca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 1997) 25-52, 42.

Table 2: Translators from the XII and XIII centuries: The Transition Period (1188-1251)³⁰³ (defined as second generation translators)

Name and Alias	Origin and Languages	Location of translation and collaborators	Works translated
Alfred of Sareshel, Walfred, Alvred Alphitus, Sarawel, Sarchel, Alphredus Philosophus, Alpredus Anglicus ³⁰⁴	English translator and philosopher * Languages: English, French, Italian and either proficient in Arabic or Latin, but probably not both.	End of the 12 th century	Translated: the treaty of Pseudo-Aristotle, <i>De plantis</i> , a section <i>Sifa</i> , about alchemy, by Ibn Sina, titled <i>Avicennae mineralia</i> or <i>Liber Congelatis</i> , <i>Lapidario</i> and in 1227 <i>De nativitatibus</i>
Michel Scott, Miguel Scot	Born in Scotland around 1175 and died between 1235-6 in the court of Frederick II in Sicily. * Languages: Hebrew, Latin and Arabic, however per Roger Bacon Scott ignored Arabic. Foz suggests that he had at his side a Jewish translator known as	In 1217 he appears in Toledo, he later works in the court of Frederick II in Sicily	Translated: Aristotle's work on homocentric spheres, <i>De verificatione motuum coelestium</i> , his zoological treatises, <i>Historia animalium</i> and Al-Biṭruji's astronomical treatise (<i>Kitāb al-Hay'ah</i>) to Latin <i>De motibus celorum</i>

³⁰³ Gil, "La escuela de traductores de Toledo durante le Edad Media," 25.

³⁰⁴ Gil, *La escuela de traductores de Toledo*, 51.

	Abuteus. ³⁰⁵		
Hermann el Alemán, HernanAleman, Hernan of Carinthis, Hermannus Teutonicus, Hernan Germanicus	German monk, *Languages: Arabic and Latin?	In Toledo from 1240-1246, after which he worked for king Manfredo in Naples between 1258 and 1266, finally returning to Spain in 1266 through 1272 to occupy the episcopal See in Astorga, continuing his translation projects with the help of Mudejares. ³⁰⁶	<i>Psalterio</i> -Castilian, in 1240 <i>Ética a Nicómaco</i> , in 1256 <i>Poética</i> and <i>Retórica</i> by Aristotle
Marcos de Toledo, Marcus Canonicus	Spanish physician and Canon of Toledo *Languages: Arabic, Latin and Romance	His most renown years of translation date between 1197-1234. He is said to have spent most of his time in the city Toledo however, agreeing with Rivera Recio, Foz suggests that he spent some	Translated: The <i>Koran</i> (al-Qur'an), dated 1209. Hippocrates' <i>De aere aquis locis</i> . Hunayn Ibn Ishaq's versions of four of Galen's treatises: <i>De tactu pulsus</i> , <i>De utilitate pulsus</i> , <i>Se motu membrorum</i> , <i>De motibus liquidis</i> . Hunayn Ibn Ishaq's <i>Isagoge ad Tegni Galieni</i> , a series of Muslim religious treatises, dated 1213 and a Greek treatise on biology.

³⁰⁵ Foz, *El traductor, la iglesia y el rey*, 66. Also see, Roland De Vaux, *La Première Entrée D'averroës Chez Les Latins* (Paris: La Revue, 1933).

³⁰⁶ Foz, *El traductor, la iglesia y el rey*, 66.

		time either in Montpellier or Salerno to study medicine. ³⁰⁷	
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As the twelfth century came to an end, so did the school of translators of Toledo. While a handful of scholars continued their translation activity, as shown by the translators that form part of the transition period, the prolific production that characterized the Toledan School of Translators had faded, giving way to the southward push of the *Reconquista* and the new knowledge that remained in the yet-to-be-conquered or in the yet unconquered city of *Hispalis* or Seville.

³⁰⁷ Foz, *El traductor, la iglesia y el rey*, 65; Juan Francisco Rivera Recio, *La Iglesia de Toledo en el siglo XII (1086-1208)* (Roma, Instituto Español de Historia Eclesiástica, 1966^a).

**CHAPTER FOUR: ALFONSO X, THE WISE AND THE FOUNDATION OF
THIRTEENTH-CENTURY UNIVERSITIES: THE *STUDIUM GENERALE***

Oh to know whether I shall spend one more night
 In those gardens, by that pond,
 Amid olive-groves, legacy of grandeur,
 The cooing of the doves, the warbling of birds;
 In the palace of Azhir, in the spring rain,
 Winking back at the dome of Zurayya,
 As the fortress of Zahi, with its Sud al-Su'ud,
 Casts us the look of the waiting lover.
 Oh that God might choose that I should die in Seville
 That He should there find my tomb when the last day comes!
 Al-Mu'tamid³⁰⁸

With the progression of the *Reconquista* of Muslim Spain during the thirteenth century, the significance of *Hispalis* (Seville), the capital of Andalusia and the center of the Muslim reign in the Peninsula, comes into focus. Seville was culturally important because it played an equally prominent role in both Visigothic and Muslim history. During the fifth century, the city of Spali (Visigothic name for Seville) held the position of capital before relocating to Toledo a century later. It also served as a home to two famed Sevillian bishops of the sixth and seventh century, Saint Leander and his brother, Saint Isidore, who laid the foundations of Christian-Visigothic intellectual practices, a legacy of Christian education that was preserved throughout the *Reconquista*. In this

³⁰⁸ Al-Mu'tamid, *Dīwān*, ed. Riḍā al-Suwīsī (Tunis, 1975, n. 165) 171-72.

same sense, during the Umayyad Caliphate, Seville ranked second to Cordoba because of its connection to international trade routes and with the rest of the *dar al-Islam*. As seen in the *Geniza* documents, Seville served until the thirteenth century as a major hub linking the most traveled routes between Muslim Spain and North Africa (Tripoli, Libya) and the East (Alexandria, Egypt).³⁰⁹ Moreover, with the disintegration of the Umayyad Caliphate into smaller *taifas* (*mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*) or petty kingdoms around 1031, power as well as knowledge in the form of books from al-Hakam's famed library also spread to multiple Muslim rulers and elites. According to Carlota Sánchez-Moliní Sáez, "En 1009 la biblioteca de al-Ḥakam—...fue destruida y los libros transportados a otras ciudades (Sevilla, Almería, Badajoz, Toledo, Málaga, Valencia, etcétera.), que empezarían a destacarse como importantes centros culturales."³¹⁰ While the *taifa* kingdoms were short lived (1031- c.1090), *Ishbiliya* (Seville in Arabic) maintained its vital role in Muslim Spain, through the presence of the Almohad dynasty (1147-1229) which transferred the capital of Muslim Spain to Seville following the overthrow of the Almoravids who had ruled from Marrakech (c.1061-1147). Similar to the Almoravid period that followed the *taifa* kingdoms, the Almohad dynasty has been typically categorized by fanaticism and therefore³¹¹ little attention has been paid to its cultural legacy. However, recent studies

³⁰⁹ Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society, Vol 1, Economic Foundations*, 212-13; Seville as well as Almería and Denia served as direct routes from Alexandria, Egypt. A letter from the *Geniza* documents the following, "Maimonides remarks in a responsum that Jews, even learned ones, were regular passengers on boats commuting between Seville and Alexandria.", 213.

Valencia, "Islamic Seville: Its Political, Social and Cultural History", in *Legacy of Muslim Spain*, 144.

³¹⁰ Carlota Sanchez-Molini Saez, "Las bibliotecas y al-Andalus", in *El saber en al-Andalus: Textos y estudios*, eds. J.M. Bravo Carabaza and Essawy A. T. Mohamed (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1999) 85.

³¹¹ Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society, Vol 1, Economic Foundations*, 41.

have shown that the Almohad dynasty endorsed more religious tolerance than the Almoravids and, as such, also encouraged a certain intellectual liberty among scholars.³¹² In addition to erecting the Great Mosque and the Giralda Tower (1184), the Almohads also patronized numerous scholars and their intellectual production including Ibn Quzmān (1078-1160), Ibn Ṭufayl (1105-1185), Muḥyī 'l-dīn Ibn 'Arabī (1165-1240) and Ibn Rushd “Averroes” (1126-1198).³¹³ Seville, then, inherited a vibrant intellectual heritage, and with it a symbolically important place in history for both Christians and Muslims.

For many of these very same reasons, Alfonso X's father, Saint Ferdinand III of Castile-León (1217 r.1230-1252), had chosen to move his court to the *hispalense* capital after its capture from the Almohad Dynasty in 1248.³¹⁴ Following in the footsteps of his forbearers, this move from Toledo to Seville, from the center to the periphery of the Iberian Peninsula, can be interpreted as a symbolic grasp for power similar to that of Alfonso VI's relocation to Toledo following the fall of the Muslim *taifa* of Toledo in 1085. That is, by resettling the Christian court, seen as the nexus of Christian power in the Peninsula, the Spanish monarchs, Alfonso VI and Ferdinand III, legitimize their permanent presence in the newly ordained Christian territory. Surely, Fernando's desire

³¹² Maribel Fierro, “Alfonso X “The Wise”: The Last Almohad Caliph?,” in *Medieval Encounters*, 15 (2009) 175-198.

³¹³ See Volume 8.2 of the *Historia de España* Ramón Menéndez Pidal (Viguera Molins), and its accompanying bibliography, and other collected studies that have appeared subsequently (*Los almohades: Problemas y perspectivas; Averroès et l'averroïsme, XII^e-XV^e siècle*). Francisco Codera y Zaidín, and later by Ambrosio Huici Miranda, and most recently, Fierro, “Alfonso X “The Wise”: The Last Almohad Caliph?” 175-198.

³¹⁴ Antonio Ballesteros Beretta, *Sevilla en el siglo XIII* intro. Manuel Gonzalez Jimenez (Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, I.C.A.S., 2007) 19.

to maintain proximity to the mobile border region, with plans to continue the *Reconquista* across the Strait of Gibraltar to Africa, also played a role in this decision.³¹⁵

When Ferdinand III died in 1252 shortly after the fall of Muslim *Hispalis* to the Christian *Reconquista*, his son Alfonso X, the Wise, maintained the court in this famous city of “maravillas”.³¹⁶ With the capture of Cordoba (1236) and Seville (1248) separated by a little more than a decade, it is especially interesting that the Spanish monarchy chose Seville over that of the city coined the “jewel of the world” for their residence. Moreover, this act reinforces the previously mentioned transfer of power and knowledge and, in the same sense, cultural reverence, from Cordoba to the multiple *taifas* including: Zaragoza, Valencia, Toledo, Badajoz, Seville and Granada among many others.³¹⁷ Seville however, due to its central geographical location as well as its access to the Guadalquivir became one of the largest, absorbing many of the smaller *taifas*, and most powerful faction states of the *taifa* period. For this same reason it also became the next center of intellectual endeavors. Ballesteros notes the uniqueness of this Arabized city when he distinguishes it from Cordoba:

A su fisonomía oriental unía Sevilla el delicado ambiente de los taifas abbadíes y dominando todo un carácter marroquí de pura cepa africana.sorpresa causó a los conquistadores una ciudad completamente mora, de largas y estrechas calles con blancos edificios y misteriosos ajimeces. Acostumbrados a Córdoba no podían explicarse cómo pudiera existir un dédalo aún mayor y más inextricable de vías confluentes, y de asombro comparaban la ciudad de zocos, las chauias, los

³¹⁵ Ballesteros Beretta, *Sevilla en el siglo XIII*, 75.

³¹⁶ See *Cantigas de Santa Maria* de D. Alfonso el Sabio, Real Academia Espanola Madrid, 1889) 524. Cantiga CCCLXXV.

³¹⁷ In *The Rise and Fall of the Party-Kings: Politics and Society in Islamic Spain 1002-1086* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1985) 82-115. David Wasserstein identifies over 36 initial *taifa* states however, many of the smaller kingdoms are quickly swallowed up by bigger *taifas* like that of Seville.

elevados alminares de tan numerosas mezquitas situadas en aquel llano inmenso, rodeado de fuertes murallas coronadas de matacanes moriscos...³¹⁸

These features are directly linked to Berber (Almoravid and Almohad) dominance in the region³¹⁹ And, indeed, it has been said that this is the same Moroccan-Muslim element that had attracted the Wise King. Maribel Fierro even draws striking parallels between the Almohad dynasty and Alfonso X's political and cultural projects, suggesting that he adopted intellectual and political practices directly from the conquered Berber dynasty.³²⁰

Ultimately, Alfonso X also reveals ulterior motives for his residence in *Hispalis*. His intense desire to surround himself with scholars and the Hispano-Arabic culture were in evidence since his youth in Toledo. Surely, the fame of the multi-faith translators of Toledo from the time of Don Raimundo, as well as that of the smaller number of translators from the transitional period, was not far from his thoughts when he patronized the first translations of the *Lapidario* (1250) by Judāh ben Mošē ha-Kohen and the *Kalīla wa Dimna* (1251) by an anonymous translator. Later, with his relocation to Seville and coronation (1252), he again pursued his intellectual ambitions by patronizing a large multi-faith group of translators, which was eventually coined Alfonso's Court of Translators, and the foundation of the *studium generale* of Seville (1254). Both these intellectual spaces are commonly discussed separately because one is, in theory, located in Toledo, and the other, in Seville. Their objectives, however, inevitably overlap, emphasizing the identical motivations behind their foundation.

³¹⁸ Ballesteros, *Sevilla en el Siglo XIII*, 25-6.

³¹⁹ This same architectural connection with North Africa and the Berber culture is seen in the limited development of the *madrasa*, as seen in Granada with the *Patio de Leones*. See....

³²⁰ Fierro, "Alfonso X "The Wise": The last Almohad Caliph?," 175-98.

Amongst the many theories about the motives fueling the Wise King's establishment of these two intellectual centers, there are three that stand out. The first, as demonstrated throughout this investigation, is the *deber de saber* which proposes that the desire for knowledge is a growing socio-cultural trend during the High Middle Ages. Adeline Rucquoi and Isabel Pita Beceiro connect this *deber* with the early Visigothic tradition from the sixth and seventh centuries and the dissemination of intellectual practices during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries through a direct line of Christian transmission.³²¹ Fierro also identifies a similar trend during the Almohad reign, labeling it a "Quest for knowledge".³²² However, she ties it specifically to this Berber dynasty because of the doctrine of Ibn Tūmart and his first treatise "*A'azz mā yuṭlab*, or *The Most Precious Quest*, according to which the highest goal for which men should strive is knowledge, *al- 'ilm*."³²³ Nevertheless, as previously demonstrated in chapter II and chapter III, the core of this burgeoning propensity, while founded and, to a certain degree, promulgated in both the Christian and Muslim religious traditions, spread primarily in the Iberian Peninsula between the tenth and thirteenth centuries. This era is intricately linked to *convivencia* and, simultaneously, to the Christian *Reconquista*. Although these concepts are polar in nature, one indicating peaceful collaboration and the other religious-based war and ethnic division, they are overlapping in time and space and are seminal to the cultural and intellectual exchange occurring in these nascent centers of knowledge. Indeed, it is this same upheaval of cultures brought about by the movement of both books

³²¹ Rucquoi, *El deber de saber*, 13; Isabel Pita Beceiro, *Libros, lectores y bibliotecas en la España medieval* (Murcia: Nausíccä, 2007).

³²² Fierro, "Alfonso X, 'The Wise': The Last Almohad Caliph?," 186.

³²³ Fierro, "Alfonso X, 'The Wise': The Last Almohad Caliph?," 184.

and intellectuals of all faiths from one court to the next within these “contact zones”,³²⁴ that is the driving element behind the diffusion of the *deber de saber*. Mohammed El-Madkouri Maataoui emphasizes this same tendency, insisting that, “La movilidad de los miembros de esta comunidad, en un período en que todavía no existían los medios de comunicación, participó en propagar la preocupación por la traducción incluso más allá de los Pirineos.”³²⁵ The question of the mobility of scholars, then, is reminiscent of the *rihla* rooted in Muslim tradition as well as the informal nature of medieval intellectual practices during the tenth through the thirteenth centuries in general. Charles Homer Haskins states that,

In 1100 ‘the school followed the teacher,’ by 1200 the teacher followed the school. At the same time these intervening years created a more advanced type of school by the very fact of the revival of learning. At the close of the eleventh century learning was almost entirely confined to the seven liberal arts of the traditional curriculum; the twelfth century filled out the *trivium* and *quadrivium* with the new logic, the new mathematics, and the new astronomy, while it brought into existence the professional faculties of law, medicine, and theology. Universities had not existed hitherto because there was not enough learning in Western Europe to justify their existence; they came into being naturally with the expansion of knowledge in this period. The intellectual revolution and the institutional revolution went hand in hand.³²⁶

Although Haskins highlights the nature of intellectual institutions prior to Alfonso X’s lifetime, mobility continues to haunt the Iberian Peninsula specifically because of the distinct features of thirteenth-century Spain. The cultural dynamics of the Iberian

³²⁴ Mary Louis Pratt defines *contact zones* as “social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination...”; See Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992) 4.

³²⁵ Mohammed El-Madkouri Maataoui, “Las escuelas de traductores en la Edad Media,” Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 105.

³²⁶ Haskins, *The Twelfth Century Renaissance*, 368.

Peninsula and its constantly morphing *frontera* regions, including the spread of the desire for knowledge, are complex and hard to pinpoint. Nevertheless, one of the cultural artifacts of this period that can be traced is the production of knowledge through these same translation centers, demarcating the second theory behind Alfonso's support and establishment of intellectual foundations, the "secularization of knowledge".³²⁷

Knowledge, specifically in the Christian tradition, was often tied to clerical obligations as seen in the works of Isidore of Seville and the multiple conciliar canons. During Alfonso's reign (1252-1284), however, his court of translators was not limited to a homogeneous group of intellectuals, but rather to a heterodox, multi-faith group of scholars. Furthermore, the works that they translated originated from diverse cultural heritages including classical Greco-Roman and Muslim as well as numerous works from Jewish sources. In other words, the need for multilingual translators as well as the realization of textual translations from distinct ethnic backgrounds also leads to a certain pluriculturalism and, at the same time, appropriation and diffusion of the same practices. In this sense, the secular nature of knowledge and intellectual spaces of the time reproduce themselves and are further encouraged in institutions such as those established by Alfonso X, the Wise.

The most discernible motive behind Alfonso X's intellectual centers relates to the very traditions of his position as a monarch, that of the *rex sapiens* and *rex magister*.³²⁸ Like his forefathers and his cousin, Frederick II (1194- r.1213-1250), whose court of translators in Salerno was most surely a model for the Castilian, Alfonso X prioritized his

³²⁷ Bartolomé, "Las universidades medievales. Los primeros colegios universitarios," 327.

³²⁸ Rucquoi, "El deber de saber," 3.

own intellectual formation and achievements not only through active involvement with the court of translators in Toledo and the translations produced there under his patronage, but also through his personal works, including the *Partidas*, *General Estoria*, *Libros de ajedrez, dados y tablas* and *Libros del saber de astronomia* to name but a few. Rucquoi identifies *rex sapiens* as an essential element embedded in the *deber de saber* and explains:

Al rey, *defensor fidei*, incumbía pues el deber de proteger a su pueblo de los errores y de las herejías, de sacarle de la ignorancia, en otros términos de transmitirle el saber. Varios siglos después, Alfonso X el Sabio, heredero de esa larga tradición, explicó que Dios había dado más entendimiento a los reyes que a los demás mortales, y que, por esa razón, ellos tenían la obligación de enseñar a su vez a sus pueblos.³²⁹

While Rucquoi inherently links these two concepts of *rex sapiens* and *deber de saber*, it is clear that Alfonso X, the Wise, extended his “quest” for knowledge much farther than many European monarchs of his age. In fact, his nephew Don Juan Manuel, in the *Libro de la caza*, extols his intellectual attributes claiming that “Non podria dezir ningun omne quanto bien este noble rey fizo sennalada mente en acresçentar et alunbrar el saber.”³³⁰

And again, in the *Crónica abreviada*, Don Juan continues to elaborate on his uncle’s scholarly activities:

Ca morava en algunos logares vn anno e dos e mas e aun, segunt dizen los que viuián a la su merced, que fablauan con el los que querían e quando el quería, e así auía espacio de estudiar en lo quel quería fazer para sí mismo, e avn para

³²⁹ Rucquoi, “El deber de saber,” 3.

³³⁰ Manuel, Juan. *Obras completas*, Ed. José Manuel Blecha. 2 vols (Biblioteca Románica Hispánica, Textos 15. Madrid: Gredos, 1981); Fierro, “Alfonso X, The Wise”: The Last Almohad Caliph?,” 186; “No one would be able to describe how much this noble king markedly did to increase and enlighten knowledge”. (1: 520).

veer e esterminar las cosas de los saberes quel mandaua ordenar a los maestros e a los sabios que traya para esto en su corte.³³¹

According to his nephew, then, Alfonso X's character and lifestyle emphasize not only his own mobility as a scholar but also his very real involvement with knowledge. In this sense, he truly fulfills the role of *rex sapiens*. Instead of the mere ownership of books and the power, as king, to control his subjects, Alfonso X benefited from the "social capital" that afforded him access to information to both absorb knowledge as well as to spread that same knowledge through translations. Accordingly, contemporary scholars like José Millás Vallicrosa identify Alfonso X and his court of translators as "el último y más brillante eslabón de aquella cadena de traductores que floreció desde mediados del siglo XII."³³² This same exaltation of Alfonso X's intellectual entourage, however, also points out a discrepancy between the king's court and the multiple groups of translators residing in the Iberian Peninsula from the twelfth century on, mainly the so-called School of Translators of Toledo.

4.1- Alfonso's Court of Translators

The relationship between the School of Translators of Toledo and Alfonso X's court of translators has often characterized the latter as a continuation and, in this sense, an imitation of the Raimundian School. Although this definition tends to be true in a certain sense, there are several distinctions that suggest that the Toledan School of translators, while serving as a model for Alfonso X's court of translators, was not

³³¹ Fierro, "Alfonso X, The Wise": The Last Almohad Caliph?, 186; "Since he dwelt in some places a year or two or even more, according to those who lived under his favor, those who wished to speak to him did so and when he wished it, and thus he had time to study what he wished to do himself, and even see and determine the fields of knowledge that he would order to be assigned to the masters and scholars that he gathered in his court for that purpose." (2: 575-576).

³³² Millás Vallicrosa, "El literalismo," 187.

indicative of the ultimate achievements of the Alfonsine translators. For this reason, the differences we can detect in the trajectory between Don Raimundo's and Alfonso X's translation projects are essential to a precise interpretation of the cultural transformation, institutional development and appearance of the *studium generale* within medieval Spain.

While Don Raimundo's "intellectual project" has been analyzed by numerous scholars,³³³ most, like Menéndez Pidal and González Palencia, tend to focus more on his ecclesiastical career and individual accomplishments rather than the fundamental role he played as a stimulus for the Toledan School of Translators. These same scholars, then, have most often been reluctant to specify his motivations for the patronization of countless translations or even his involvement in the translation process. González Palencia acknowledges his disillusionment by saying, "A pesar del avance que supone mi artículo, he de confesar sinceramente que todavía no queda muy aclarada en detalle la intervención del Arzobispo don Raimundo en el asunto de las obras árabes."³³⁴

Highlighting the ambiguity that surrounds Don Raimundo's participation, Gil responds to Menéndez Pidal's claim that the circumstances of the moment obligated Don Raimundo to support these translations by asking "¿Cuáles fueron tales circunstancias?"³³⁵ With that said, there are relatively few pertinent elements of Don Raimundo's past that could effectively establish his motives. Gil suggests that Don Raimundo's French origins, membership in the Benedictine Order and his relationship and possible collaboration with Peter the Venerable (1094-1156) in the apologetic treatises, *Libri adversus nefariam*

³³³ Haskins, González Palencia, Menéndez Pidal, Gil, Foz, Procter to name a few.

³³⁴ González Palencia, A. *Moros y cristianos en España medieval: Estudios histórico-literarios*. 3. Ser (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Antonio de Nebrija, 1945) 167.

³³⁵ Gil, *La escuela de traductores de Toledo y los colaboradores*, 28.

sectam saracenorum, all served as possible motives. In addition, Gil suggests that Don Raimundo's desire to protect his priests and promote the See of Toledo generated competition with other European sees as well as with those from within the Iberian Peninsula.³³⁶ While all of these reasons would seem to support the production observed in Toledo between 1130-1187, El-Madkouri Maataoui provides a key factor tying these previous points together: "La traducción no es hermana sólo de la paz sino también de la guerra."³³⁷ Together, Gil and El-Madkouri Maataouri make a strong argument suggesting that the act of translation was transformed from a purely intellectual endeavor to a propagandistic tool of ideological warfare. Indeed, this transformation would seem to coincide with the immediate intellectual past of Christian Spain with its primary development in religious centers dedicated to the maintenance and defense of the Visigothic heritage and, in this same sense, Christian-Visigothic identity. The undeniable religious ideology behind the translations supported by Don Raimundo are, at the same time, legitimized because they are set forth in Latin not merely for other secular intellectuals, but rather for other Christian intellectuals. In fact, this is once again demonstrated through the genre of texts translated, primarily of a philosophical nature,³³⁸ such as those by Daniel of Morley and Domingo Gonzalvo.³³⁹ This point is also evident through the religious orientation and profession of the translators working under Don Raimundo's patronage the majority of whom were Christian priests and Jews. While there is evidence of a possible Mozarabic scholar, Juan of Seville, historians have yet to

³³⁶ Gil, *La escuela de traductores de Toledo y los colaboradores*, 28-9.

³³⁷ Mohammed El-Madkouri Maataoui "Las escuelas de traductores en la Edad Media," 99.

³³⁸ Gil, *La escuela de traductores de Toledo y los colaboradores*, 28.

³³⁹ Chapter III, 37.

identify any Muslims working with the Toledan School of Translators. Thus while this intellectual assembly was indeed characterized by multiculturalism, including Christians, many foreigners, Jews and a possible small number of Mozarabs, Muslim collaboration is still in question.

In this context, the intellectual projects of Don Raimundo and Alfonso X were inherently distinct. Whereas Don Raimundo's endeavors, largely determined by religious ideology, ultimately received little recognition, Alfonso X's "quest", multifaceted as it was, not only earned him the nickname "the Wise" but also characterized his court as one of multicultural tolerance. Unlike Don Raimundo, Alfonso X not only sought knowledge but also the power to create spaces for the production and diffusion of learning among a larger national populous, not limiting his works to the clergy through Latin translations alone, but rather by means of numerous translations into Romance, Latin and even French. Ultimately, Alfonso X, with the intellectual works and scientific activities he assiduously promoted through his court of translators, aspired to enhance both his own scholarly persona and the public image he projected of León–Castile as a nation whose ruler was worthy to lead the Holy Roman Empire. In this endeavor, his fundamental role model was undoubtedly his own cousin, the emperor Frederick II, the brilliance of whose multicultural court in Sicily had earned him the title of *stupor mundi*, "the wonder of the world." While he would never achieve his goal and though his political and personal life are often portrayed in a negative light, Alfonso's scholarly aptitude and intellectual creativity easily surpass those of other monarchs of his era. Not only was he able to stimulate the intellectual transformation of Spain through the translation of scientific and

historical works but in the process he managed to establish Castilian as an erudite language capable of challenging Latin as the medium of scholarly expression within his domain. As will be seen through the following list of translators from the Alfonsine period, their origin, languages spoken as well as translations produced and possible relationship with the Wise King, are all indicative of the accumulated cultural heritage of al-Andalus.

Table 3: Translators from XIII Century: (1252-1277)³⁴⁰ (identified as translators patronized by Alfonso X and his court)			
Name and Alias	Origin and Languages	Location of translation and collaborators	Works translated
Fernando de Toledo	From Toledo, Christian Mozarab ³⁴¹ *Languages: Romance and probably Arabic	He produced one of the first translations requested by Alfonso X, and he worked alone however later Alfonso requested another translation suggesting he was unhappy with the original. ³⁴²	Produced the first translation of <i>Libro de la açafeha</i> (c. 1255-1256) al-Zarqalī in Romance. ³⁴³

³⁴⁰ Gil, “La escuela de traductores de Toledo durante le Edad Media,” 45.

Álvaro de Oviedo, Alvaro Ovetense,	From Oviedo, Christian *Languages: Romance, Latin	Worked in Toledo from 1270 under Alfonso X and from 1280-1298 under the patronage of Archbishop Gonzalo García Gudiel.	Translated the Arab astronomer's, Abenragel, astrological treatises from the Romance version by Judá b. Mosé, <i>Libro conplido</i> , to Latin, <i>De judiciis Astrologiae</i> . He also produced three works opposing Averroes's theories, <i>Comentario</i> . His handwriting has also been identified in <i>Quatripartito</i> by Ptolemy. ³⁴⁴
Yudah ben Mošē ha-Cohen o Judāh or Mosca el Menor/ Judā ben Mošē ha-Kohen	Probably from Toledo, ³⁴⁵ Jew *Languages: Arabic, Latin, and due to his prolific scientific knowledge and production probably others.	Rabbi of the Synagogue of Toledo. Enters service of Alfonso X in 1243.	Collaborated with Guillelmus Anglicus in the Latin translation of <i>Tratado de la açafeha</i> of al-Zarqalī (1231). Completes translation of <i>Lapidario</i> (1250), ³⁴⁶ <i>Libro conplido</i> (<i>Kitāb al-barī' fī ahkām al-muğūm</i> by Abenragel, also, Abū-l-Ḥassan 'Alī ibn Abīl-Riğāl and Zacuto) (1254), and collaborated with Guillen Arremon d'Aspa on the translation of <i>III Libros de las estrellas de la ochava espera</i> (<i>Kitāb al-kawākib al-tābita al-musawwar</i> by 'Abd al-Raḥmān al Sūfī) (1256). ³⁴⁷

³⁴¹ El-Madkouri Maataoui, "Las escuelas de traductores en la Edad Media", 108.

³⁴² Foz, *El traductor, la iglesia y el rey*, 72.

³⁴³ Foz, *El traductor, la iglesia y el rey*, 72.

³⁴⁴ Gil, *La escuela de traductores de Toledo durante le Edad Media*, 58.

³⁴⁵ J. Millas Vallicrosa, "El literalismo", 156.

³⁴⁶ Four of the treatise from the *Lapidario* collection can be found in the Escorial, h-I-15; Gil, *La escuela de traductores de Toledo y los colaboradores*, 64.

³⁴⁷ Gil, *La escuela de traductores de Toledo durante le Edad Media*, 65.

			Translates <i>Libro de las cruces</i> and first translation of <i>Libro de alcora</i> (<i>Kitāb al-‘amal bi-l-kura al-fulkīya</i> by Qustā ibn Lūqā) (1259) with Johān d’Aspa. Works with Rabiçag and other translators (1262-1272) to write <i>Tablas Alfonsies</i> (1277).
Rabiçag/Zag - AXS, Issac Ibn Cid Aben Cayut, Ishāq b. Sīd	From Toledo, Jew *Languages: Romance, Hebrew	Astronomer, rabbi, translator r-1263-1277, he was dedicated to the study and exegesis of the Talmud.	Knowledge of astronomy, astrology, architecture, and mathematics. He is known for translating: <i>Libro de las armellas or Açafeha</i> (derived from <i>Tratado de la açafeha</i> by al-Zarqalī), <i>Libros del asrolobo Redondo</i> , the <i>Libro del Ataçir</i> both books of <i>Lamina Universal</i> (translated in Toledo...), the <i>Libro del quadrante pora rectificar</i> and the four books of clocks: <i>Relgio de la riedra de la somber</i> , <i>Relogio dell Agoa</i> , <i>dell Argent vivo y del palacio de las oras</i> . He is also known for collaborating with Judāh ben Mošē on the composition of <i>Tablas alfonsies</i> .
Don Abraham Alfaqui, Abraham de Toledo, Faquin (in	From Toledo, Jew, related to the Ibn Waqar family, which served numerous official	Kings doctor, in the kings court c. 1260-1277	Translator of <i>Mi’rāj</i> (<i>La Escala de Mahoma</i>) (1263- from Arabic to Romance), <i>Libro de la açafeha</i> (1277) (<i>Kitāb al-‘amāl bi-l-safīha</i>

Arabic, al-Ḥakīm)	functions in the royal court. ³⁴⁸ Died c. 1294. *Languages: Arabic, Romance		<i>al-Zīgīya</i> by Azarquiel). ³⁴⁹ He also translated a cosmology of Alhacén to Romance <i>Libro de la constitución del universo</i> (<i>Kitāb fī-hay'āt al-ālam</i> by Abū 'Alī al-Haitam).
Samuel HaLevi Abulafia (Abu-l-‘afia)	From Toledo, Jew, belongs to the Abū-l-‘Afiyat family that was given property in Seville for thier service (Joseph ben Todros ha-Levi Abulafia and D. Meir ben Todros ha-Levi Abulafia) (Rab) ³⁵⁰ *Languages:	Toledo (1240-1291) Dedicated to Mathematics	Wrote: <i>Religio de la candela</i> ; Translated/composed: <i>Libro de la fábrica y usos del levantamiento que en arabigo llaman ataçir</i> , and collaborated on the translation of <i>IIII Libros de las estrellas de la ochava espera</i>
Bernardo el Arábigo, “Maestro Bernardo Arabico ouero Saracino”	Muslim who converted to Christianity, ³⁵¹ *Languages: Arabic, Romance		Worked with D. Abraham Alfaquí in the revision of Azarquiel’s <i>Tratado de la azfea</i> 1277. ³⁵²
Buenaventura	Italy, Christian		<i>La escala de Mahoma</i> (1264-

³⁴⁸ J. Millas Vallicrosa, “El literalismo,” 156.

³⁴⁹ J. Millas Vallicrosa, “El literalismo,” 157; This Arabic manuscript is found in El Escorial n° 957 and n°962 was analyzed by Vallicrosa to identify the disparities between the Arabic, Latin and Hebrew.

³⁵⁰ J. Millas Vallicrosa, “El literalismo,” 156.

³⁵¹ Mohamed El-Madkouri Maataoui, “Las escuelas de traductores en la Edad Media,” in *La Enseñanza En La Edad Media: X Semana De Estudios Medievales*, Nájera, 1999. Eds. García, de C. R. A. J. A, F. J. García Turza and J. I. Iglesia Duarte (Logroño [Spain]: Gobierno de la Rioja, Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2000) 108; Foz, *El traductor, la iglesia y el rey*, 71; Gil, *La escuela de traductores de Toledo durante le Edad Media* 59.

³⁵² Gil, *La escuela de traductores de Toledo durante le Edad Media*, 59; Foz, *El traductor, la iglesia y el rey*, 71.

de Siena	*Languages: Latin, Romance and French		from Romance to Latin ³⁵³ and French ³⁵⁴)
Egidio de Tebaldis	Italy, Christain *Languages: Italian, Latin and Romance	Notary until after 1270	Translated <i>Tetrabiblos</i> by Ptolemy to Latin, <i>Quadripartitum</i> , and collaborated with Don Xosse Alfaquí in the translation of Abenragel's, astrological treatises <i>Liber de iudicii astrologiae</i> from Romance to Latin, <i>Libro complido en los iudizios de las estrellas</i> .
Garci Pérez, García Pérez	From Toledo, Christian Cleric	He received property in Seville in 1253, he served as notary to the king from 1254-1259. ³⁵⁵	Worked with Judāh ben Mošē ha Kohen to produce a translation of <i>Lapidario</i> .
Guillem Arremon Daspa		1256	Collaborated on the Romance translation of <i>Libro de las estrellas fijas</i> , included in <i>Libro del saber de astronomía</i> a compendium of 15 Arab treatises covering various astronomical topics including instruments written between the IX and XII centuries.
Juan de Aspa	Cleric	Cleric of the Alfonso X, also served as a	Worked in collaboration with Judā ben Mošē in the translation of <i>Libro de la</i>

³⁵³ Don José Muñoz found both the French (Oxford, Laud misc. 537) and the Latin manuscript (Paris, BN, Lat. 6.064) 251-488.

³⁵⁴ Identified by George Sarton as "the first French translation of any text made in Spain",

³⁵⁵ Gil, *La escuela de traductores de Toledo durante le Edad Media*, 59; Pablo Espinosa, *Segunda historia de Sevilla* (1630), fol. 5.

		teacher.	<i>alcora</i> and <i>Libro de las cruces</i> (1259).
Juan de Cremona and Juan de Mesina	Italians, Christian clerics *Languages: Latin, Italian	Served as a notary and scribe of texts to Alfonso X.	1276 revision of the astronomical treatises translated by Guillem Arremon Daspa and
Petrus de Regio	Probably from Reggio Lombardy ³⁵⁶ *Languages: Latin, Romance	Served Alfonso X until after 1270. ³⁵⁷	Collaborated with Egidio de Tebaldis in the translation of Abenragel's, astrological treatises to Latin, <i>Libro conplido</i> .
Don Xosse Alfaquí, Don Mosé	*Languages: unknown	Was given land in Seville (1253) by Alfonso X. Was a writer and had knowledge of astrology and medicine.	Last chapter of <i>Libro de alcora</i> (<i>Kitāb al-'amal bi-l-kura al-fulkīya</i> by Qustā ibn Lūqā) written in 1259 and revised in 1277.

The previous chart underscores three details about Alfonso X's court of translators. The first point, while it may be evident, is that Alfonso X's court is in Seville though many of these same scholars are in Toledo. The question of contact, then, is fairly relevant when considering Alfonso X's involvement in the translations produced. Next, and in the same line of thought, the relationship between Alfonso X and his court of translators, while sometimes lacking in detail, often suggests more than a mere impersonal working relationship. Not only did many of these intellectuals serve the court for more than a decade, holding multiple positions as notaries, translators, doctors and authors, but a few translators such as Don Xosse and Garcí Pérez, were also given land

³⁵⁶ Foz, *El traductor, la iglesia y el rey*, 77.

³⁵⁷ Foz, *El traductor, la iglesia y el rey*, 77.

grants in the repartition of Seville between 1248 and 1252 when Alfonso ascended the throne. While this may seem part of an arbitrary process of the *repartimiento*, representing the king's efforts to reshape the cultural landscape of his new Arabized home, these examples demonstrate that this recasting is anything but arbitrary because Alfonso X is, in essence, relocating intellectuals, both Christian and Jewish, to Seville. While intellectuals do not make up the majority of the population moving to Seville from other regions of Spain, mainly in the North, it would not be surprising to discover that more scholars than we currently recognize received land in Seville during Alfonso X's reign. Finally, we are constrained to ask how and to what extent are Alfonso X's court of translators and his *studium generale* related, if at all.

We know from Alfonso's nephew, Juan Manuel, that the king was not a stationary monarch, but rather he traveled often while maintaining his court in Seville. Although his royal duties surely influenced much of his travel, the fact that he was available to consult with scholar-translators and had time to pursue his intellectual aspirations suggest that knowledge moved with him. In this manner, he fulfills the role of the eleventh-century traveling scholar as well as representing this transitional moment during the twelfth century, aptly described by Haskins and indicative of the establishment of higher education, where scholars now followed schools instead of vice versa. Haskins has provided us with a detailed definition of these individuals:

The freer conditions of the pre-university epoch, when men moved in leisurely fashion from place to place in search of eminent masters, careless of curriculum or fixed periods of study or degrees, are portrayed in a famous passage of John of Salisbury which covers the years 1136-47: 'When as a lad I first went into Gaul for the cause of study (it was the next year after that the glorious king of the

English, Henry the Lion of Righteousness, departed from human things) I addressed myself to the Peripatetic of Palais [Abaelard], who then presided upon Mount Saint Genovefa, an illustrious teacher and admired of all men. There at his feet I acquired the first rudiments of the dialectical art, and snatched according to the scant measure of my wits whatever passed his lips with entire greediness of mind.’³⁵⁸

At this juncture it is important to first establish that Haskins is talking about the eleventh and twelfth centuries, while Alfonso X belongs to the thirteenth century. This discrepancy is easily explained by the historical circumstances of the Iberian Peninsula during that time. Spain, still dealing with the *Reconquista*, was delayed in institutionalizing higher education. While the desire for knowledge and the formation of intellectual spaces was not lacking in the Peninsula, as demonstrated by the amount of translation taking place during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries under Christian patronage, and even earlier in Muslim Spain, the formalization of these spaces was still absent until the thirteenth century. Moreover, the insistence of Alfonso X’s court of translators as the ultimate, but unfortunately the last of the famed group of multi-faith intellectuals,³⁵⁹ is contemporaneous with the institutionalization of higher education in the Iberian Peninsula, the *studium generale*.

In comparison to other European countries, Spain is unique not only because of its delay in the establishment of the *studium generale*, but also because of its foundational methods, and the simultaneous formalization of its intellectual spaces. While other European countries depended on a papal bull and the collaboration of the Catholic Church to legitimize the establishment of a *studium generale*, higher education in the

³⁵⁸ Haskins, *Twelfth Century Renaissance*, 372-3.

³⁵⁹ Vallicrosa, “El literalismo,” 156.

Iberian Peninsula was traditionally a royal institution founded by the king through a royal charter.³⁶⁰ In this sense, Alfonso X, followed the examples of his predecessors, Alfonso VIII of Castile with the *studium generale* of Palencia (1208-9) and Alfonso IX of León with the foundation of the *studium generale* of Salamanca (1227), when he established the *studium generale* of Seville by royal charter in 1254. While this process of institutionalization appears fairly straight forward, the foundation of *studia generalia* in the Peninsula is as yet surrounded by much vagueness and uncertainty.

4.2- Birth of University

At the dawn of the thirteenth century, the *Reconquista*, under the auspices of the Spanish monarchy and the Roman Catholic Church, was well on its way toward the recovery of most of the Iberian Peninsula from the domination of the Almohad Dynasty with a decisive victory in the Battle of *Las Navas de Tolosa* (1212). Through the subsequent process of the repopulation of al-Andalus and the relocation of the capital to Seville, the Spanish monarchy effectively absorbed the subjugated intellectual spaces there together with the *‘ilm* (knowledge) that remained in the libraries of the *hispalense* capital. In this sense, the thirteenth century is marked not only by social changes indicative of the absorption of Muslim territories but also of a tangible shift in the access of knowledge. This is seen through the both the capture of Toledo and the creation of the Toledan School of Translators as well as through the conquest of Seville and Alfonso X's Court of Translators. In his analysis of the rise of the university, Bernabé Bartolomé maintains that these translation projects represented a transfer from a religious institution

³⁶⁰ Hastings, *The Universities of the Middle Ages*, Vol II, 64-65.

to a secular institution.³⁶¹ It is, then, this “secularization of knowledge”, through the absorption and diffusion of learning which provoked the emergence of the Spanish university during the thirteenth century. Bartolomé describes the secularization of knowledge as the “growth of human knowledge” and while it is not necessarily a literal growth of knowledge in and of itself, it is indeed a pivotal change in the available access to this knowledge through translation centers that promote such diffusion now identified as “growth”:

...*causa material* del nacimiento de las universidades fue el crecimiento del saber humano; que la *causa formal* sería el desarrollo del movimiento corporativo y la *causa eficiente* el hecho o circunstancia histórica de su creación y establecimiento institucional. Para terminar, como *causa final*, la orientación de sus actividades docentes al servicio de la Iglesia o de la política real.³⁶²

Equally important, and indeed intrinsically linked, is the social change occurring as a consequence of the southward moving *Reconquista*. As discussed in chapter III, the Christian feudal system that controlled the countryside, often limited intellectual development within Christian Spain to ecclesiastical functions and monastic establishments. However, with the conquest of Toledo towards the end of the eleventh century, the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are witness to a population displacement from rural areas to the growing urban spaces. The *Reconquista*, then, also brings about a socio-economic shift that effectively realigns the Iberian Peninsula within Western Europe reshaping its relations in the Mediterranean with Italy, while in the process

³⁶¹ B. Martínez Bartolomé, “IX Las universidades medievales: Los primeros colegios universitarios,” in *Historia de la acción educadora de la iglesia en España* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1995) 327.

³⁶² Bartolomé, “*Las universidades medievales. Los primeros colegios universitarios*,” 327.

initiating the fortification and enhancement of its position as a commercial power among other Christian European nations.

A finales del siglo XI y principios del XII se produce un cambio notable. Con el comercio aparecen y se desarrollan las ciudades, y la vida escolar se desplaza del monasterio para instalarse en ellas. Es la época de las escuelas urbanas, catedralicias o capitulares.³⁶³

In Christian Spain, similar to the other parts of Western Europe, universities were established often because they had outgrown a previously existing intellectual space, like a cathedral or palatine school as may be observed in the case of Spain's first *studium generale*, the University of Palencia (1208-1212).³⁶⁴ Haskins claims that type of growth was common for the early universities, citing the example of the famed University of Paris founded in the twelfth century.

Inasmuch as such a development was necessarily gradual, we cannot say just when Paris ceased to be a cathedral school and became a university, or give any special date for the university's foundation. Like all the oldest universities, it was not founded but grew.³⁶⁵

During the twelfth century the Iberian Peninsula saw the establishment of four official universities, including, Palencia, Salamanca, Seville and Lisbon-Coimbra, with

³⁶³ José Sánchez Herrero, "VII. Las escuelas de gramática monásticas y catedralicias," in *Historia de la acción educadora de la iglesia en España, I: Edades Antigua, Media y Moderna*, directed by Bernabe Bartolomé Martínez (Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos: Madrid, 1995) 290.

³⁶⁴ *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, Rashdall explains that because there was no official bull, papal or imperial, or even royal charter, the date of foundation, is dated between 1209 and 1212. In a later section he suggests that 1209 is most likely the correct date, however a recent study, *Historia de la acción educadora de la iglesia en España* Bartolomé identifies the 1212 date as its commencement.

³⁶⁵ Haskins, *The Renaissance*, 382.

Valladolid identified as a possible fifth though there is no evidence of a papal bull confirming this event before 1346.³⁶⁶

In the following discussion of the institutionalization of intellectual practices in thirteenth-century Iberia, there are several salient features to be considered due to the transitional nature of the period. The first concerns the circumstances surrounding the establishment of these *studia generalia* including, but not limited to, the date of foundation, the founder and their intellectual beginnings. Next, we will analyze the differences between southern and northern establishments of higher education in terms of their formation and their intellectual practices in general. Finally, we will explain how these spaces are or are not linked to the translation movement of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

4.3- The Earliest Spanish Universities: Palencia, Salamanca and Valladolid

The controversy that surrounds the *studium generale* of Palencia, the first Spanish university, is still very much alive today. Disagreements about its date of foundation and its ultimate disappearance continue to inspire new theories as seen in Bartolomé's recent publication on the first medieval universities, suggesting that the University of Palencia never reached the status of a *studium generale*, but rather maintained its function as a cathedral school.³⁶⁷ The main point of contention surrounding the establishment of the University of Palencia as well as all of the early Spanish universities, while no one explicitly mentions it, is hinged on the acceptance or rejection of informal practices of institutionalization. Indeed, the transitional nature of the thirteenth century is especially

³⁶⁶ Rashdall, *The Universities*, vol I, XXIV.

³⁶⁷ Bartolomé, "Las universidades medievales," 329.

visible in the transformation from less formal intellectual practices of the past to the formal institutionalization of these same practices. With the increased Italian dominance of previously controlled Muslim trade routes to Spain there is an economic realignment of the Iberian Peninsula within Western Europe. Accordingly, the formal establishment of intellectual centers becomes much more scrutinized by the European norms established by the Catholic Church. Spain, however, with a prevalent tradition of *rex sapiens*, tends to continue this tradition through its establishment of intellectual centers, nascent universities with royal charters, though as is the case with Palencia, there is often no “formal” foundational document.

As the process of establishing universities became more common, Spain and its rulers were obliged to accept the requirement of a papal bull to legitimize studies at Spanish universities. Furthermore, without this support, which inferred transfer of instructional control to the Catholic Church, the earliest academic degree, the *licentia docendi* (the license to teach), would not be recognized throughout the rest of Europe, effectively invalidating Spanish higher education. While this informality is inherently part of the early foundation of Spanish universities, by 1252 and the reign of Alfonso X it appears that requesting a bull of foundation from the pope had become a routine procedure. Thus, while a *studium generale*, including teachers, students and classrooms may have already been physically established, the official beginnings of such an institution would remain in question until such time as a papal bull was issued.

While the University of Paris thus originates itself, it came to depend upon royal and still more upon papal support, and with papal support came papal control. The first specific document of the university’s history belongs to the year 1200, the

famous charter of Philip Augustus from which the existence of a university is sometimes dated, though such an institution really existed years earlier. There is here no suggestion of a new creation, but merely the recognition of a body of students and teachers which already exists...³⁶⁸

Within the context of these early informal foundations for the *studia generalia*, both 1208 and 1212 have been identified as the most likely dates for the establishment of the *studium generale* of Palencia. Rucquoi however, contends that this university existed since 1180, citing the fact that St. Dominic de Guzmán, the founder of the Dominican Order, studied arts and theology and possibly even taught theology in this *studium* towards the end of the twelfth century.³⁶⁹ While scholars usually agree that St. Dominic was indeed schooled in Palencia around 1184, his training has most often been linked to the long-standing cathedral school of Palencia that eventually became a *studium generale*. Although Rashdall notes that at this time neither a papal nor a royal charter were yet required for the establishment of a *studium*, there were no substantial organizational changes consequent with the growth of instruction during the twelfth century.³⁷⁰ In 1208, however, subjects were expanded to include theology, canon law, logic and grammar in an attempt to imitate the famed schools of Paris, Bologna and Oxford.³⁷¹ With this development, Alfonso VIII is usually identified as both the first founder of endowed professorships and creator of the *studium generale* of Palencia

³⁶⁸ Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, 383.

³⁶⁹ Rucquoi, "El deber de saber," 17.

³⁷⁰ Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, 66-7.

³⁷¹ Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, 66-7.

though he appears to have acted specifically at the request of Bishop Don Tello de Meneses.³⁷²

After the death of Alfonso VIII in 1214, studies in Palencia were suspended due to several years of civil war during the reign of Enrique I from 1214-1217. Following the ascension to the throne of Fernando III in 1220, the *studium generale* was reestablished, again at the insistence of Don Tello de Meneses. The institution, however, had disappeared by 1260. While these multiple transformations of the University of Palencia are indicative of the period, its ultimate dissolution is still in question. Many scholars believe that the instructional activities at the University of Palencia were merely transferred to the other nascent universities of Salamanca or Valladolid.

In 1218, Alfonso IX of Leon founded the *studium generale* of Salamanca though this was not confirmed by Pope Alexander IV until 1254. While Ferdinand III is credited with the establishment of this second institution, he died two years before its formal confirmation. Although numerous scholars support the theory of the transfer by Fernando III of the studies at Palencia to Salamanca, others suggest that this was in fact impossible because Palencia was, at the time, ruled by Castile and Salamanca by Leon.³⁷³ In contrast, the first historian of Valladolid, Antolínez de Burgos, confirms that in fact Palencia was transferred to Valladolid:

³⁷² Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, 66-7.

³⁷³ “Pero no pudo haber un traslado institucional del Estudio de Palencia a Salamanca entre otras razones porque Palencia es reino de Castilla y Salamanca pertenece a León. En el momento del hipotético traslado, eran, pues, reinos separados.” See Elena Sanchez Movellán, 13. The transfer of estudios generales de Palencia to Salamanca however is supported by Marina, Colmenares y Alonso García Matamoros.; Marina suggests that Fernando III realized this transfer.

El Rey Don Alonso el 8. que mereció el renombre de *Noble* y de *Bueno*, en el año de 1200 fundó en Palencia Universidad, donde se leyesen y enseñasen todas las facultades, buscó para este efecto en su reino y en los estraños hombres doctos y maestros a propósito, señalándoles salario y estipendio competentes. A pocos años como diesen del tiempo de todo punto faltasen, cesaron los estudios, y quedaron no mas que en sombra las escuelas. ...en tiempo del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo se había trasladado a Valladolid la Universidad de Palencia: consta de un privilegio que esta en la Santa Iglesia de Toledo, su fecha en Valladolid ano de 1293...”³⁷⁴

Because of this “transfer” from one school to another, Matías Sangrador Vítóres considers Valladolid to be the oldest Spanish university. Founded by Alfonso X around 1255-1260, the University of Valladolid did not receive formal papal recognition as a *studium generale* until the end of the 13th century. By 1346, its lecturers had obtained the papal privilege of *licentia ubique docendi* allowing them to teach anywhere within Europe.³⁷⁵ Nevertheless, some historians claim that there was never any official transfer of the institution but rather that the professors and students transferred by choice to Salamanca.³⁷⁶ The one source of evidence supporting a more formal transfer to Valladolid, however, is that the *decimas reales* from many churches in Palencia, which had previously been given to the *studium generale* of Palencia, had also been transferred to Valladolid.³⁷⁷

³⁷⁴. Juan Antolínez de Burgos and Juan Ortega Rubio, *Historia de Valladolid* (Valladolid: Hijos de Rodriguez, 1887) 96.

³⁷⁵ Matías Sangrador Vítóres, *Historia de la muy noble y leal ciudad de Valladolid: Desde su más remota antigüedad hasta la muerte de Fernando VII*. Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León. 1854. Biblioteca Digital de Castilla y León, 186-192.

³⁷⁶ See Elena Sanchez Movellán, “Los inciertos orígenes de la Universidad de Valladolid (s. XIII)”, in *Estudios sobre los orígenes de las universidades españolas* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid) 1988.11-30.

³⁷⁷ Sangrador Vítóres, *Historia de la muy noble y leal ciudad de Valladolid*, 191-92.

4.5- The University of Seville

While the other *studia generalia* have been grouped together, we have separated the University of Seville for three reasons: First, it represents the first university in southern Spain, the region where Muslim and classical knowledge was in the process of being translated. Second, while Alfonso X, the Wise, established the *studium generale* of Seville in 1254 by royal charter, its organization is different from the other contemporaneous *studia generalia* because it was dedicated to the study of Arabic and Latin. Lastly, Rashdall and other scholars claim that Alfonso X's school was a mere "paper university".³⁷⁸

While Alfonso X's establishment of an intellectual center in the context of fulfilling his role as a *rex sapiens* is not necessarily new, the element that differentiates his *studium* from other nascent universities must certainly be his own personal involvement with the identification and recruitment of the translators of Toledo. Together with the *repartimiento* and subsequent relocation of many intellectuals to Seville, Alfonso X's quest for knowledge and, specifically, astronomical and astrological knowledge, is ultimately expressed through his establishment of the *studium generale* in that city. Indeed this suggests, similar to Haskins indication of mobile scholars and schools of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, that Alfonso X's Court of Translators in fact revived the migratory traditions of times past. In this sense, the concept of a migratory school following the teacher or scholar, in this case Alfonso X, also links to *rihla* and other Muslim intellectual practices from al-Andalus during the ninth through

³⁷⁸ Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, 66-7.

the twelfth centuries. This highlights, on the one hand, the slow adoption of formal practices of institutionalization by the Wise King in Spain in general while, on the other calling into question the very location of the *studium generale* of Seville. Rashdall's claim that the *studium* was a paper university, meaning that it never physically existed, merely confirms the essential mobility that characterized the scholars who worked under Alfonso X's patronage. Similar to early Muslim Spain with its numerous intellectual spaces, these being defined by the practices and scholars within them rather than by any special foundation or building dedicated to the intellectual practices themselves, the *studium generale* did, in all probability, exist within an old mosque on the grounds of the Alcázar of Seville or even, as some have suggested, in the nearby school of San Miguel.³⁷⁹ The location, then, was not as important as the intellectual practices occurring within it. Much like the Toledo School of Translators, there was not necessarily a construction of a specific building to serve as a school, but rather a gathering of intellectuals with a common endeavor.

While Spain was late to formalize education through its institutionalization, it served nonetheless as a bridge transmitting classical knowledge and Muslim learning to the rest of Europe. In the words of González Palencia, "En el renacimiento filosófico, artístico, científico y literario del siglo XII y XIII, fueron los andaluces uno de los pueblos que más influyeron en Europa: filosofía, astronomía, cuentos, fábulas, etc."³⁸⁰ Not only did it change the course of Latin learning in the West, the Muslim presence in the Peninsula served as a conduit for the transmission of Greek classical knowledge

³⁷⁹ Manuel González Jiménez, *Orígenes medievales de la Universidad de Sevilla*, 5.

³⁸⁰ González Palencia, *Moros y cristianos en España medieval: Estudios histórico-literarios*, 15.

(Ptolomy, Aristotle, Plato, Euclid and Galen among others), Hindu philosophy, didactic literature, mathematics, astronomy, astrology, geometry and medicine, representing a vast scientific and literary corpus that influenced the production of works both within the Iberian Peninsula as seen in Alfonso X's *Libros de ajedrez, dados y tablas* and later frame tales like the *Conde Lucanor* by Don Juan Manuel, Juan Ruiz's *Libro de buen amor*, and Saint John of the Cross's *Cántico spiritual* and *Noche oscura* as well as in other European countries like Italy with Dante's *Divine Comedy*.³⁸¹ In this sense, Spain serves as the primary link between Muslim cultural heritage and the rest of Europe particularly with those texts translated under the patronage of the Wise King.

The social element tied to education and knowledge, identified in chapter one as cultural capital, was not new to 12th - and 13th - century Spain but rather suggests a growing social tendency emerging from both the early Visigothic intellectual endeavors of Saint Isidore and the socio-cultural practices of Muslim Spain, sprawling from the great urban centers of Cordoba, Toledo and Seville. The social reverence for scholars, *maestres escuela* is seen in Muslim Spain through the '*ulamā*', as a clear marker not only of closeness to God/Allah, but also as a title which transformed its possessor into a sort of wise man or sage worthy of social praise and offering young intellectuals career opportunities within the upper echelons of society. While not all men of knowledge rose to such heights, many preferring the humble position of a religious scholar, a great number of these intellectuals joined Alfonso X's court as translators, scribes, and copyists.

³⁸¹ Miguel Asín Palacios and Julián Ribera. *La Escatología musulmana en la Divina Comedia: Discurso leído en el acto de su recepción* (Madrid: Impr. de E. Maestre, 1919).

Ultimately reframing the cultural heritage of the Iberian Peninsula through transculturation, Alfonso X's adoption of Muslim spatial and intellectual practices reaches far beyond mere imitation. Indeed, his attempt to establish intellectual centers such as the *studium generale* of Seville and his patronization of translations into the nascent Castilian language, integrate and disseminate a cultural heritage, both Muslim and Christian, that ultimately came to be known as Spanish.

CONCLUSIONS: ENDING AT THE BEGINNING

5.1-The Travels of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* from the Eastern Mediterranean to the Court of Alfonso X, the Wise

With these concluding remarks I hope to further highlight the interconnectedness of medieval Mediterranean cultures through the acculturation of intellectual practices as demonstrated by the diffusion of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* throughout the Middle East and its ultimate arrival at the court of Alfonso X, the Wise in Spain during the 13th century. Modern scholars have produced seminal studies on *Kalīla wa-Dimna* in the Spanish as well as Arabic literary tradition, its didactic structure, and even its various translations.³⁸² Although recently David Wacks has presented an exhaustive investigation on *Kalīla wa-Dimna* as part of the development of the *frametales* narrative in the Iberian Peninsula and identifies the nascent Castilian literary repertoire (in connection with Even-Zohar's literary polysystems) as an underlying factor in its translation,³⁸³ the relationship between Alfonso X and his patronage of a Castilian rendition remains tenuous.

The first appearance of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, also known as *Bidpai's Fables*, dates back to its Sanskrit origins as part of the five tantra of the *Panchatantra* (the "Five Books" of wisdom) composed by Vishnu Sharman around 300AD. As its long journey continued from India to Iran, from Sanskrit to Pahlavi (Middle Persian) during the late

³⁸² Louis Cheikho, *La versión árabe de Kalilah et Dimnah*, 2nd ed (Beirut : 1923); John E Keller and Robert W. Linker. *El libro de Calila e Digna* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1967); Margaret Parker, *The Didactic Structure and Content of El Libro De Calila E Digna* (Miami, Fla: Ediciones Universal, 1978); J. M Cacho Bleuca and María J. Lacarra, *Calila E Dimna* (Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1987); M. Marroum, "Kalila Wa Dimna: Inception, Appropriation, and Transmimesis," *Comparative Literature Studies*. 48.4 (2011): 512-540.

³⁸³ David A. Wacks, *Framing Iberia: Maqamat and Frametales Narratives in Medieval Spain* (Leiden: Boston, 2007) 87.

sixth century (c. 570AD) its title as well as its stories evolved. While *Kalīla wa-Dimna* was founded on the original five stories of Indian origin, additional prologues and stories were routinely added to new translations of the famed work.³⁸⁴ By 750AD, the Pahlavi version of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* found itself in the hands of ‘Abdallāh Ibn al-Muqaffa’ (a Zoroastrian convert to Islam) who translated the venerated Persian “mirror for princes” into to Arabic.³⁸⁵ It is not coincidence, however, that the translation of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* into Arabic and many subsequent Arabic renditions coincide with the advent of the Islamic Golden Age, a period celebrated for its intellectual fervor. This enthusiasm for knowledge or *‘ilm*, as discussed throughout this investigation, can be seen through the growing importance of procuring rare editions and translations for sovereigns of the Islamic Empire and through the appearance of intellectual centers such as the *Bait al-Ḥikma* (House of Wisdom) in Baghdad during the 9th century, the court of al-Ḥakam II in Cordoba during the 10th century or the *Bait al-‘ilm* (House of Knowledge) in Cairo at the onset of the 11th century.

While numerous manuscripts of the Arabic version of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* contain a varying number of introductory chapters, through the first three prefaces in the Arabic version of the text provided by M. Silvestre de Sacy, an 1816 publication in Paris, we discover that the history of the manifestation, the translation and therefore, the transmission of the work is multidimensional. On the one hand, the writing of wisdom

³⁸⁴In "Kalila Wa Dimna: Inception, Appropriation, and Transmimesis," Marruom especially highlights the history of translation of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* in the East.

³⁸⁵ Julie Scott Meisami, “Rulers and the Writing of History” in Marlow, Louise, and Beatrice Gruendler. *Writers and Rulers: Perspectives on Their Relationship from Abbasid to Safavid Times* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2004) 75.

literature, like *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, was essential in the development of the “mirror for princes” literary genre, a literary tradition for educating princes as well as high-ranking court administrators through wise proverbs and fables. On the other hand, the same act of producing, writing or translating said “knowledge” resulted in the acquisition of cultural capital, through the new addition to the sovereign library and the veneration of the sovereign through the preservation of their memory vis-à-vis the additional prefaces in new translations. In this regard, we are interpreting both the value of the text for its content and the mere value of possessing a text of such notoriety.

These concepts are demonstrated in the first preface, where Bahnūd ibn Sahwān (Alī ibn al-Shāh al-Fārisī, the same person) narrates the circumstances surrounding the writing of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* and explains that Dabshalīm (the king of India) calls on Baydabā (an Indian philosopher) to compose a book of wisdom that would perpetuate his name similar to the works in the royal library that exalt the names of his ancestors and other notable men of past centuries.

In the mean time the influence of Bidpai was very visible in the conduct of the king, who perceiving the good effects of the course he was pursuing, as soon as he found, that by the administration of Bipai his power and authority were firmly established in the submission of his enemies, employed himself in reading the ancient histories of his ancestors; and it occurred to him to order an account to be written of his own reign, in which his name might be handed down to posterity with the facts that were recorded: . . . I desire that you would take upon yourself to perform this literary task, and employ the resources of your understanding to compose a work, which professing to embrace only the instruction of the people, may contain useful lessons for the conduct of kings who would secure the obedience and fidelity of their subjects.³⁸⁶

³⁸⁶ Wyndham Knatchbull, *Kalila and Dimna, or, the Fables of Bidpai* (Oxford: W. Baxter for J. Parker, 1819) 26-7.

In this first preface, the desired capital is that of the preservation of his own memory through the writing of his history. In this, Dabshalim's name would carry on alongside the wise proverbs. The second preface explains that one of the earliest translations of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, from Sanskrit to Pahlavi, was commissioned by a 6th-century Persian emperor, Kīsrā Anūshīrwān (Khusrōy I Anōshagruwān 550-578AD). The precarious manner of obtaining this translation, however, entailed sending his court physician, Burzoe (Barzawayh) to the Indian kingdom to covertly retrieve a copy of the famed work as well as any other knowledge from the treasury of that ruler.

I have chosen you Barzouyéh on account of the reputation which you enjoy of your wisdom and learning, and thirst after knowledge wherever it is to be met with, for a mission to India, for the purpose of getting possession of a book, which according to the accounts which I have received, is said to be preserved in the library of the king of that country. You will make the best use of your talents and judgement in the prosecution of this undertaking, which will extend also to the acquisition of any other writings hitherto unknown amongst us, constantly bearing in mind the advantage which your success will procure both to us and yourself.³⁸⁷ ... Moreover the king desired his Visir, as soon as he had finished what he was to write, to bring it to him, that he might have it read aloud to his people, as a proof of Barzouyéh's attachment to his sovereign's person, and a monument of his own glory.³⁸⁸

The quest for a specific text, in this case, *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, together with any other knowledge that the physician could find exemplifies the symbolic value of knowledge in general, but also, by owning a copy of said wisdom literature Anūshīrwān's reign is ultimately glorified through his patronage of a new rendition.

³⁸⁷ Knatchbull, *Kalila and Dimna*, 34.

³⁸⁸ Knatchbull, *Kalila and Dimna*, 45.

The third preface by Ibn al-Muqaffa' echoes the importance of the search, consumption and diffusion of knowledge.

The principal aim of a man in his pursuit of knowledge is to acquire what may be useful and profitable to himself.....when he has laid up a sufficient stock of learning to serve him on all occasions in his journey through life, it is then time for him to think of communicating the results of his experience and enquiries to his fellow creatures; because the man of the world is not supposed to live entirely for himself; if he has learning, he is bound to instruct the ignorant ... Now in conclusion it cannot be too often repeated, that the person who gives up his time to the study of this book, must not be satisfied with the superficial beauties of the images by which it may attract, but must search out the depth and hidden tendency of its fables, extracting from every proverbial expression the truth which it conceals, and giving to every word its moral import; in short, he must imitate in his conduct the prudence and foresight of the youngest of three brothers, whose history is related in the following manner.³⁸⁹

While in the first preface Bahnūd ibn Sahwān (Alī ibn al-Shāh al-Fārisī, the same person) narrates the circumstances surrounding the origin of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, the second describes the procurement of the text at the request of the 6th-century Persian king Anūshirwān, and the third delineates the purpose of the text told by Ibn al-Muqaffa', at some level, they all reiterate the involvement of a sovereign and laud knowledge. In "Ibn al-Muqaffa' and early Abbasid prose," J.D. Latham reiterates the intended purpose and audience for the consumption of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* as a representative of the mirror for princes:

Despite the widespread popularity that *Kalīlah wa-Dimnah* enjoyed in aftertimes, it was originally produced for an exclusive readership within court circles. Seen as didactic, its function was to illustrate what should or should not be done by those who would succeed in life...it was intended to serve in Arabo-Muslim court

³⁸⁹ Knatchbull, *Kalila and Dimna*, 52-3; 61.

circles the same purpose as it had served at the Sasanian court, whose values and political wisdom so dominated the secular thinking of Ibn al-Muqaffa'.³⁹⁰

Indeed, it is Ibn al-Muqaffa's translation and elaboration of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* that earns him the reputation as an early founder of the concept of *adab* as *belles lettres*. Michael Cooperson in a biographical entry on Ibn al-Muqaffa' writes:

His influence is evident from the history of the term *adab*, which in its original meaning of "prose read for edification and entertainment" owes a great deal to his creation of a new Arabic prose literature on the Persian model. In modern Arabic, *adab* has come to mean both "good manners" and "literature," a combination of sensibilities for which Ibn al-Muqaffa' is largely responsible. In creating a corpus of texts dealing with politics, society, and human nature, and in drawing on other cultural traditions to do so, Ibn al-Muqaffa' used Arabic prose for purposes it had never served before.³⁹¹

Although still very speculative, it is very likely that a copy of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* arrived to Spain during the 9th century, a time when the Umayyad Court in Cordoba fostered a culture enthusiastic in its pursuit of knowledge and the travel of scholars between the Iberian Peninsula and the East was at its height.

This innovatory function of prose in the Arabic literary tradition, on the one hand, inserts a didactic element and, on the other, serves dually as a book of courtly council and as courtly entertainment. In other words, the combination of temporal and cultural context of Ibn al-Muqaffa's translation also altered the desired audience.

³⁹⁰ J.D. Latham, "Ibn al-Muqaffa and early Abbasid prose" in *'abbasid Belles-Lettres* (England: Cambridge University Press, 1990) 52-53.

³⁹¹ Michael Cooperson and Shawkat M. Toorawa. *Arabic Literary Culture, 500-925* (Detroit: Thomson Gale, 2005) 12.

While the history of these translations may seem far-removed from renditions produced in the Alfonsine School of Translators, the prefaces themselves offer insight into the motives behind the ultimate Castilian translation. By the mid-13th century, most of Southern Spain had been reclaimed from the Almohad dynasty by the Christian *Reconquista*, resulting in the process of absorption and reintegration of Andalusī territories and its Hispano-Arab culture by the Christian monarchs, Fernando III and his eldest son, Alfonso X. At this time, the Castilian literary repertoire was non-existent, however the translations of this praised work, served as a base from which to develop the nascent tradition.

For this same reason, I have returned to polysystems theory by Itamar Even-Zohar to recast and reevaluate the connection between the symbolic value of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* and its translation into Castilian in the Alfonsine court. As discussed in the first chapter of this investigation, Even-Zohar's polysystems theory is often applied to analyze the use of translations as a base for a developing a national literary polysystem.³⁹² In this regard, the foreign model, *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, served as an impetus not only for the introduction of innovatory elements into a developing Castilian literary repertoire, such as the frametale literary genre, but also functioned as a vehicle for the diffusion of the national vernacular at a time when the use of Latin still dominated in literary and political works. Wacks underscores the relevance of this celebrated frame tale in the context of al-Andalus. He insists that:

Calila e Dimna is an ideal cornerstone for a study of Castilian-Andalusī acculturation, because it represents the first stage of a complex cultural process of

³⁹² See chapter one page 24.

integration and synthesis: contact and translation. ... Calila derives its authority from the intellectual legacy of Andalusī learning.³⁹³

The two points identified by Wacks, first, that the translation of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* is representative of the contact and exchange occurring in al-Andalus during and previous to Alfonso's time, and second, that *Kalīla wa-Dimna* is a chief example of the intellectual traditions that were disseminated through its translation, are both valid and further suggest that the cause of such enthusiastic transmission of this literary work is rooted in a complex system of sociocultural practices. As seen through the *corpus* of Alfonsine translations, a majority of the works commissioned by Alfonso X are of a scientific nature, that is to say that his patronage was limited to two literary prose works for translation, *Kalīla wa-Dimna* (*Calila e Dimna*) in 1251 and a version of the *Sendebar* (*Libro de los engaños e asayamientos de las mugeres*) in 1253, of which the latter was commissioned by Alfonso's younger brother, Don Fadrique. The question then becomes, what value did this translation represent for Alfonso X and his court of intellectuals? How did Alfonso X benefit from producing a Castilian rendition of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*?

This notion of sociocultural value not only evokes Bourdieu's cultural capital, but also Even-Zohar's polysystems, both being intrinsically bonded because the societal norms of al-Andalus define cultural capital and as such, are also inherently linked to the dominant literary and cultural repertoires. In their introduction to *Cultural Repertoires: Structure, Function, and Dynamics* Gillis J. Dorleijn and Herman L.J. Vanstiphout define cultural repertoire as:

³⁹³ Wacks, *Framing Iberia*, 87.

the notion which encompasses most objects and practices: it implies the list of cultural products, including the norms of behaviors as well as their socio-cultural function. The list itself (the organised set of cultural products) should be called the cultural repertory. The underlying norms and values have determined the selection and structure of this list in relation to particular social function: the acquisition of power and cultural capital, the achievement of social cohesion, inclusion and exclusion, etc. In turn, a selection from this list can be called the literary canon...³⁹⁴

In this sense, the cultural repertoire is a governing system that incorporates multiple literary and cultural polysystems. Consequently, the encompassing nature of the cultural repertoire is also indicative of the norms for intellectual practices of translation and the translating of the literary canon, even if, as in the case of Alfonso X, it derives from a dominant foreign literary polysystem. During Alfonso's time, both these literary and cultural systems were in transition determined by the progress of the *Reconquista*, specifically the conquest of the Andalusī cities of Cordoba (1236) and Seville (1248). The previous dominant cultural repertoire of Muslim Spain, however, maintained many of its Andalusī characteristics, just as Toledo had remained a multicultural center of intellectual activity even after its fall to the Christian monarch Alfonso VI of Leon in 1085. In fact, while the transfer to Christian power may have occurred relatively quickly, history suggests that the cultural repertoire of Seville was one of its most valuable legacies, particularly highlighted by the presence of knowledge in the form of books, and as such, Seville, like Toledo, was an ideal place for those in search of knowledge. The Andalusī sociocultural transformation would realign Alfonso X into multiple polysystems. Access to said knowledge linked Alfonso X to the Christian *rex sapiens*, similar to his

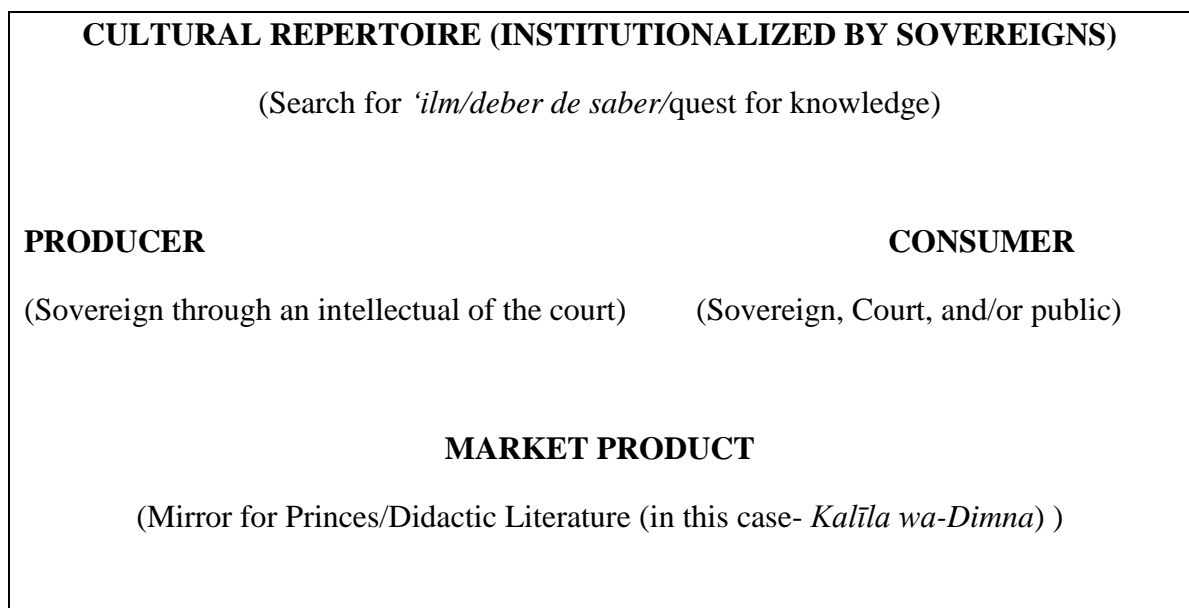
³⁹⁴ G J Dorleijn and H L. J. Vanstiphout. *Cultural Repertoires: Structure, Function, and Dynamics* (Leuven: Peters, 2003) XIV.

cousin Frederick II, as well as to the Muslim Caliphates of previous centuries that propagated the courtly culture of knowledge. As discussed earlier in this investigation, the cultural and intellectual practices of the Muslim world encompassed the educational practices of the ‘*ulamā*’ and the *adab* literary tradition of the literati or *udabā*.³⁹⁵

Dorleijn and Vanstiphout astutely note that, “engagement with cultural repertoire thus implied the acquisition of cultural capital”.³⁹⁶ In this context, Alfonso’s translation and subsequent possession of Muslim knowledge, through the production and consumption of the *adab* literary tradition, simultaneously resulted in the acquisition of cultural capital that was both inherently Eastern and Western. The diagram below provides an interpretation of the dominant cultural repertoire.

Figure 9: Polysystems Theory: Cultural Repertoires

My application: The translation of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* and cultural relationship with power dynamics



³⁹⁵ See Chapter two, pages 81; 84-5.

³⁹⁶ *Cultural Repertoires: Structure, Function, and Dynamics*, XIV.

Within these two polysystems (the literary and the cultural), the significance or value of the translation of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* is two-fold. On one hand it stresses that Alfonso X belongs to a cultural repertoire of power, vis-à-vis his role as a monarch. On the other, his attempt to adopt the famed *adab* literary tradition from the dominant (Arab) literary polysystem by commissioning a translation, reiterates his capital as a *founder* and promulgator of knowledge, seen through the nascent Castilian literary polysystem and literary language, which would preserve Alfonso X's memory as the Wise.

While the original purpose of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* was as a mirror for princes, through its multiple translations over the span of more than five hundred years, the work retained its didactic nature, though the designated audience had evolved from sovereign to courtly elite circles as also seen in Ibn al-Muqaffa's translation. The original manifestation of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* as part of the *Panchatantra*, as well as its later translation, reflects the symbolic nature of the "search for knowledge or '*ilm*'" that inherently spread with the expansion of the Islamic Empire from the mid-eighth century until the Mongol invasion of Baghdad in 1258. This nature, or quest for knowledge, was avidly sought after by medieval Islamic Caliphs and Christian monarchs alike. The act of procuring extant copies or being a patron of translations gave rise to a form of legitimization of a sovereign's rule and immortalization through the designation as "the Just" as with the Persian emperor Anūshirwān or "the Wise" as with Alfonso X and linked these sovereigns to flourishing intellectual centers. More specifically, the procurement of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, across religious and geographic borders, as seen in the

second preface, is intrinsically linked to the tradition of appropriation of didactic literature by medieval sovereigns and influenced an impending national development of the “mirror for princes” literary genre as seen in the East through Ibn al-Muqaffa’s opus, including, *Adab al-Saghīr* (The Lesser Book of Conduct), *Adab al-Kabīr* (The Comprehensive Book of the Rules of Conduct), and *Risālat al-Sahāba* (Epistle on Caliphal Companions), as well as in the Iberian Peninsula through the *al-‘iqd al-Farīd* (*Unique Necklace*) by the Andalusian author Ibn Abd al-Rabbih (d. 940), *Setenario* (begun before 1252 which supposedly anticipates the *Siete Partidas*, 1256-65) by Alfonso X and *Castigos y documentos* by Alfonso X’s son, Don Sancho IV.

The motivation behind the translation of this venerated work links to imperial ideology that legitimized their reign through the translation and incorporation of such knowledge into their collection. In this sense, Alfonso X belonged to a network (polysystem) of sovereigns whose ultimate triumph was to legitimize and immortalize their reign. While this network of rulers crosses cultural and temporal boundaries, it highlights a link between the East and the West, bypassing one of the most divisive obstacles of the medieval period, namely religion. As I conclude, I am reminded of the conclusion of the extant Castilian version of *Calila e Dimna*:

Aqui se acaba el libro de Calila et Digna. Et fue sacado de árábigo en latín, et romançado por mandado del infante don Alfonso, fijo del muy noble rey don Fernando, en la era de mil et dozientos et noventa et nueve años.

El libro es acabado.
Dios sea siempre loado.³⁹⁷

³⁹⁷ J. M. Cacho, Blecua, and María J. Lacarra. *Calila e Dimna* (Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1987) 355.

While the work of this enlightened medieval Spanish monarch came to an end just like scholar-sovereigns before him, the influence of this text, seemingly culturally unique with each translation, just like Alfonso's influence, can never be erased from history. Indeed, *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, the overarching meaning of the act of its translation and transformation into another linguistic tradition, fulfills new and multiple cultural practices and stresses the temporal and intellectual borderlessness that represents medieval Iberia and its Mediterranean connections during the Middle Ages. It is in this regard that it traverses its binding and physical geopolitical regions, arriving in Iberia, essentially unbound.

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