

CONTENTS

	<i>Preface</i>	· xi
	<i>Acknowledgments</i>	· xv
	<i>Abbreviations</i>	· xix
	<i>Transliteration and Dates</i>	· xxi
	Introduction	1
	<i>Al-Andalus: Territory, Chronology, and Identity</i>	1
	<i>The Linguistic and Philosophical Koinē of the Islamicate World</i>	4
	<i>Intellectual Contacts</i>	7
	<i>Religious Communities</i>	12
	<i>The Philosophers' Community</i>	18
	<i>Philosophical Schools and Speculative Thought</i>	19
	<i>Toward an Integrative Intellectual History of al-Andalus</i>	22
	<i>The Politico-Religious Map of al-Andalus</i>	25
CHAPTER 1	Beginnings	27
	<i>Books and Libraries</i>	28
	<i>Censorship</i>	31
	<i>Scholars and Thinkers</i>	34
	Ibn Masarra and His Books	34
	Searching for the True Knowledge of Divine Unity	41
	Ibn Masarra's Jewish Connections	48
	The Persecution of the Masarrīs	57

CHAPTER 2	Theological and Legal Schools	61
	<i>Mu‘tazila: The Footprints of a Phantom</i>	61
	Mu‘tazila	61
	Mu‘tazila in al-Andalus	63
	<i>Literalism and Scripturalism</i>	73
	Karaites	73
	Zāhirīs	77
CHAPTER 3	Intellectual Elites	81
	<i>Golden Ages</i>	81
	<i>Courtiers</i>	82
	<i>Poets</i>	85
	<i>Philosophers</i>	87
	<i>The Philosophical Curriculum</i>	90
	<i>The Solitude of the Engaged Philosopher</i>	94
	<i>Philosophical Friendships</i>	96
CHAPTER 4	Neoplatonist Inroads	102
	<i>The Two-Pronged Philosophical Trajectory in al-Andalus</i>	102
	<i>Pseudo-Empedoclean Neoplatonism</i>	115
	<i>Hybrid Philosophers</i>	120
CHAPTER 5	Aristotelian Neo-Orthodoxy and Andalusian Revolts	124
	<i>Aristotelian Shift</i>	124
	<i>Almohads and Almohad Education</i>	128
	<i>The Almohads and Philosophy</i>	134
	<i>The Philosophers and the Almohads</i>	141
	<i>The Almohad Impact on Philosophy</i>	146

Principles and Fundamentals	147
Andalusian Revolts	151
<i>The Andalusian Aristotelian School</i>	155
Conclusion	162
<i>Moving Out</i>	162
<i>The Common Ground</i>	167
<i>References</i> · 171	
<i>Primary Sources</i> · 171	
<i>Secondary Sources</i> · 176	
<i>Index</i> · 213	

Introduction

THE STORY TOLD in the present book, which begins in earnest only in the fourth/tenth century, tells the tale of speculative thought in the Iberian peninsula under Islamic rule. It would be impossible to give an accurate account of our topic, however, if we were to treat al-Andalus (or for that matter, any other region) as hanging in thin air, and its culture as a creation *ex nihilo*. Before moving to the story itself, then, we shall first set the scene with some background.

Al-Andalus: Territory, Chronology, and Identity

Within the Islamic world, “al-Andalus” (Islamic Spain) constituted a distinct cultural unit with its own unique characteristics. The borders of this territory changed over time, following the advance of the Christian conquests (the “Reconquista” in Christian parlance).¹ Toward the end of the second/eighth century, al-Andalus covered most of the peninsula (today’s Spain as well as Portugal), while in the eighth/fifteenth century, the shrunken Emirate of Granada alone, at the southernmost tip of the peninsula, remained in Muslim hands. Our period of interest extends mainly from the fourth/tenth to the sixth/twelfth century, when Jews living under Islam in the Iberian peninsula played a significant cultural role, and when philosophy flourished in al-Andalus.²

1. On some religious and legal implications of these unstable borders, see Fierro and Molina, “Some Notes on *dār al-ḥarb* in Early al-Andalus,” esp. 205–6.

2. Some Jewish communities existed in al-Andalus also after the Almohad persecution, up until the fall of Granada, especially after 1391, following the persecution of Jews in Christian Spain. But these communities did not attain the cultural strength of the past. See Del Valle and Stemberger, *Saadia Ibn Danán*, 17–27.

At times, al-Andalus was politically an extension of Maghreban territory. This was clearly the case in the sixth/twelfth century, under Almoravid and Almohad rule. But even in periods when the Maghreb and al-Andalus constituted distinct political entities, Andalusian intellectual history remained tightly tied to the Maghreb and its culture. The borders of al-Andalus as a cultural and intellectual unit were thus dependent on its fluctuating territorial borders, although they were not always identical with them.

The philosophy and theology that were produced in this cultural unit developed as a continuation of speculative thought in the Islamic East and remained in constant dialogue with it. Books and ideas were imported from the East, studied, and assimilated.³ Yet the philosophical and theological works of Andalusian authors are not servile replicas of Maghreban or Eastern sources.⁴ They have a distinctive character that, while showing their different sources, displays their originality and their Andalusian provenance.⁵ The Muslim writers themselves were quite conscious of the special quality of their region. The Cordoban Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064), for example, attempted to spell out “the merits of al-Andalus,” while Ibn Rushd (Averroes to the Latin scholastics, d. 594/1198) included in his commentary on Plato’s *Republic* several observations concerning the nature of political regimes in what he calls “our precinct.”⁶ In his commentary on Aristotle’s *Meteorology*, Averroes also discussed the specific traits of the inhabitants of “this peninsula [*hādhihi al-jazīra*].”⁷

3. See Forcada, “Books from Abroad”; and see further chapter 1.

4. Modern scholarship often played down the specific, independent character of Andalusian thought. See, for instance, Abellán (*Historia crítica del pensamiento español*, 181), who admits the existence of autonomous elements but puts more emphasis on Eastern influences, and generally regards Andalusian philosophy as “but a continuation of the topics and problems which occupied Islamic thought as a whole.” Similarly, Asín Palacios, *The Mystical Philosophy of Ibn Masarra*, 14: “The history of philosophical-theological thought in Muslim Spain is a faithful copy of oriental Islamic culture.” For Reilly (*The Medieval Spains*, 69), “the high culture of Muslim Andalus during the eighth and ninth centuries was largely derivative.” Nonetheless, see, for example, Abbès, “The Andalusian Philosophical Milieu,” 764–77. Andalusian philosophy and theology, like the rest of Andalusian culture, is, however, more than a stop along the way, “the receiver of the intellectual legacy of the Islamic East and the propagator of a refined civilization to the Christian West.” Cf. Di Giovanni, “Motifs of Andalusian Philosophy,” 209.

5. See also Casewit, *The Mystics of al-Andalus*, 4–5.

6. Ibn Ḥazm, *Risāla fī faḍl al-andalus*; Averroes’s *Commentary on Plato’s “Republic,”* 97. The Arabic original of this commentary is not extant, and the medieval Hebrew translation reads *meḥozenu*. Aḥmad Shaḥlān, who reconstructed the Arabic from the Hebrew, suggests: *ṣaq’inā*; see *al-Ḍarūri fī l-siyāsa*, 195.

7. See Ibn Rushd, *Talkhīṣ al-āthār al-’ulwiyya*, 103–4. On the background to “the

Like their Muslim counterparts, Andalusian Jewish philosophical writings exhibit close connections with trends of thought in the Maghreb. Moreover, notwithstanding their strong dependence on the literary output of the Jewish centers in the East, they too developed their own characteristic traits. Jewish thinkers saw themselves as “the diaspora of *Sefarad*,” and they cultivated their own local patriotism. Thus Moses Ibn Ezra (d. after 1138) extolled the literary and linguistic purity of “the Jerusalemites who were exiled to *Sefarad*” (Obad. 1:20) above all other Jewish communities, and he insisted that “these exiled Jerusalemites, who were undoubtedly at the origin of our own exiled community, were more knowledgeable in the correct use of language.”⁸ This strong sense of Andalusian identity was also shared by Maimonides (d. 1204), who, although exiled from al-Andalus as a young adolescent, continued to call himself “ha-sefaradi.”⁹

In the study of Muslim theology, where regional differences often constitute the framework for historical studies, the particularity of Andalusian intellectual life is assumed as a matter of course.¹⁰ Students of Jewish philosophy, for their part, usually prefer a classification that links Jewish medieval thinkers with the relevant schools of Islamic thought (*kalām*, *falsafa*, or Sufism) rather than to geographical provenance.¹¹ The assumption underlying this rather reasonable approach is that the development of Jewish philosophy was, by and large, an integral part of a common Islamic culture. The problem is that the logical consequence of this perspective, which favors, for example, assigning Judah Halevi (d. 1141) to the Neoplatonic school, is to minimize the impact of the immediate intellectual

Andalusian sense of identity” that “went further than self-praise and actually expressed itself in the creation of systems of ideas that were distinctly Andalusian and consciously directed against intellectual authorities in the Eastern part of Islam,” see Sabra, “The Andalusian Revolt,” 143.

8. “Wa-lā shakka anna ahl **Yerushalem** alladhīna jāliyātunā naḥnu minhum kānū a‘lam bi-faṣīḥ al-lughā” (Ibn ‘Ezra, *Muḥāḍara*, 1:59–60). The tradition according to which the Jewish community of the peninsula stemmed from the First Temple exiles is fairly widespread among Jewish authors; see Del Valle and Stemberger, *Saadia Ibn Danan*, 25 and note 43.

9. See Blau, “At Our Place in al-Andalus,” 293–94.

10. See, for example, the structure of van Ess, *TG*, and esp. 4:259–76, which follows the theological developments region by region, devoting a separate section to the Maghreb, and within it to al-Andalus. A structure that follows regional development is also present, to some extent, in Nasr and Leaman, *History of Islamic Philosophy*, part 1, section 3, devoted to Islamic philosophers in the Western lands of Islam.

11. See, for instance, Guttman, *Philosophies of Judaism*; Sirat, *A History of Jewish Philosophy*.

environment on a given thinker.¹² Only if one claimed that Jews in al-Andalus lived a segregated intellectual life—a claim that no one has thus far made—would such an approach be justifiable.

The strongly felt Andalusian identity of both Jewish and Muslim Andalusian intellectuals, and the close proximity in which these figures lived and worked, clearly calls for an integrated inquiry. Accordingly, this book perceives the various products of philosophy and theology in al-Andalus as components of a common intellectual history and as stages in a continuous trajectory. This region itself, however, was part of the greater Islamicate world. Before beginning the story of al-Andalus, then, some remarks on the broader context are in order.

The Linguistic and Philosophical Koinē of the Islamicate World

From the second/eighth century, Islam dominated for centuries a vast territory, stretching from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic and from the Caspian Sea in the north to Yemen in the south. Notwithstanding differences between regimes and variants of religious denominations, the presence of Islam was the major cultural factor uniting these territories, to the extent that they can justly be called “the world of Islam.” Striving to do justice to the polyvalent nature of this world, Marshall Hodgson (d. 1968) coined the term “Islamicate,” which refers “not directly to the religion, Islam, itself, but to the social and cultural complex historically associated with Islam and the Muslims.”¹³ This term allows us to distinguish Islam as the dominant religion of a cultural world from the civilization identified with it, a civilization that encompassed multiple religious communities and was shaped by all of them. The *lingua franca* of the Islamicate world was Arabic. Religious and ethnic minorities living in this world retained their own legacy and often their own cultural language—Persian, Syriac, Coptic, Greek, or Hebrew—but Arabic came to be their primary language: the language in which they spoke and corresponded with members of other communities as well as with each other, and in which they discussed even their own religion.

The linguistic and politico-religious unity of the world of Islam formed a unique, common cultural platform for thinkers of different religious and

12. See Guttman, *Philosophies of Judaism*, 136–51. As a matter of fact, all the Jewish thinkers listed by Guttman as Neoplatonists belong to the Western Islamic world, but Guttman emphasizes the school tradition, rather than the impact of the proximate environment. On the Jewish Andalusian Neoplatonists, see chapter 4, pages 111–13.

13. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, 1:59.

ethnic backgrounds. A comparison with the role of Latin in the European High Middle Ages may help us grasp this singularity. Latin, as the literary language of the elite, cultivated in monasteries and closely associated with Christianity, served as the scholarly vernacular of Christian intellectuals across Europe. At the same time, it functioned as a cultural barrier for the simple folk as well as for the Jewish minority, including its elite.¹⁴ By contrast, Arabic was used by the elite and the multitudes, by Muslims and non-Muslims alike. Arabic was not only an international communication language, as English is today; it came to be the mother tongue of all participants in significant parts of this vast area.¹⁵ Christians and Jews sometimes wrote Arabic in their own script: Christian Arabic in Syriac characters (known as Karshuni) or Judaeo-Arabic in Hebrew characters.¹⁶ The very existence of these hybrids, however, demonstrates the pervasive, all-encompassing nature of the Arabic language in this period.

The significance of this linguistic commonality and the extent to which it facilitated cultural and intellectual exchange would be hard to overstate. The intellectual elites of all these religious communities received a similar formative initiation to nonreligious domains: philosophy and science. They read the same books, which were either translated into Arabic from Sanskrit via Persian, or from Greek, sometimes via Syriac, or composed by earlier Arabophone thinkers; and quite often, they read one another.¹⁷

The cultural significance of the spread of Arabic was observed by the fourteenth-century Ibn Taymiyya, who wrote,

Jews and Christians living in the central Arab lands speak Arabic just as well as the majority of Muslims do; in fact, many of them speak it

14. See Hyman, "Medieval Jewish Philosophy as Philosophy," 245–46.

15. The capital importance of Arabic as a linguistic basis of the intellectual network is noted also by al-Mūsawī (*The Medieval Islamic Republic of Letters*, 1–2, 67). His study, dedicated mostly to a later period than the one discussed in this book, does not, however, treat its impact on intercommunal exchanges. The parallel to modern English is implied in Goitein's comparison of the "competitive, mobile, freely moving world" reflected in the documents of the Cairo Genizah to the "vigorous free-enterprise society of the United States"; see *Mediterranean Society*, 2:ix. On the Cairo Genizah, see Goitein, *ibid.*, 1:1–28.

16. On the phenomenon of multiglossia in this period, see Blau, *A Grammar of Christian Arabic*; *idem*, *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic*; and see also the articles in Izre'el and Drory, *Language and Culture in the Near East*.

17. As noted by Berger ("Judaism and General Culture," 63), Jews and Muslims faced the challenge of philosophical speculation at the same time, and they "confronted the legacy of the past in a fashion that joined Muslims and Jews in common philosophic quest." Berger thus rejects the common perception of the transmission process as a narrow monorail, from Christians to Muslims and only then to Jews; see Stroumsa, introduction to Dāwud al-Muqammaṣ, *Twenty Chapters*, xlix–l.

even better than many Muslims. . . . Even the ancient books—those of the People of the Book as well as those of Persians, Indians, Greeks, Egyptians and others—were translated into Arabic. For most people, it is easier to access the knowledge of books composed in Arabic and [to understand] Arabic speech than to access the knowledge of books composed in other languages, for, although some people know Hebrew, Syriac, Latin and Coptic, more people know Arabic than those knowing any of these languages.¹⁸

Since thinkers belonging to different religious communities also wrote in Arabic on issues pertaining to their respective religious traditions, there was easy access to the religious texts of the other communities. Consequently, even when these authors dealt with theological and religious matters, their technical and professional language—including approach, assumptions, ideas, and terminology—is remarkably similar, regardless of their specific religious affiliation. One finds a common technical language in the realms of philosophy and science, where many topics were not thought to require a particularistic religious statement. More striking since less expected is the common technical language that appears in theological and legal texts. It is not unusual to come across page upon page of theological Arabic texts that bear no identifying mark of the religious affiliation of their author. When such pages occur only as disconnected fragments, with no title (as is often the case in the Cairo Genizah), it is difficult indeed to identify their author as a Jew, a Christian, or a Muslim. Furthermore, texts that do bear signs of their author's religious identity are often remarkably similar to texts written by authors of another religion, where both authors employ the same building blocks to erect their different religious edifices.¹⁹

These unifying characteristics spread across all the territories that came under Muslim dominion, beginning in the Fertile Crescent (where they made their first appearance) and advancing with the Muslim conquests. As they developed, they spurred vibrant cultural exchange in the Islamic East as well as in its far West.

For intellectuals in this society, cultural assimilation was particularly pronounced. We may even speak of a cultural *koinē* or common language where texts, ideas, and concerns were fully shared and discussed (using

18. Ibn Taymiyya, *Al-Jawāb al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 2:57–58. I am indebted to Ahmed El Shamsy for this reference.

19. A good example of such commonality can be seen in the Mu'tazilite texts; see Adang, Schmidtke, and Sklare, *A Common Rationality*.

the linguistic *koinē*, Arabic) by philosophers and scientists hailing from different religious communities.

Intellectual Contacts

Within such a high culture, it makes little sense to study one segment of this society—say, Jewish philosophers—and neglect its counterparts. It is not only lack of material, however, that would prompt one to avoid such wanton wastefulness. More definitively, the tight interconnection of this elite society pushes us to seek a reliable representation by drawing an integrative picture of the three relevant communities. In other words, a three-dimensional representation requires a multifocal approach.²⁰

In principle, few students of Islamicate medieval intellectual history would contest this claim. Such an understanding has gained momentum in the past few years and is reflected in the research of a growing number of scholars. And yet, as mentioned above, scholars are still inclined to focus on one of the three religious communities and relegate the other two to the margins of their discussion. Furthermore, even when the pluralistic nature of Andalusian culture is recognized, one encounters a propensity to spotlight the big political entities, namely, Christianity and Islam, and leave the Jews as a footnote. Ranghild Zorgati, for example, who studies issues of identity and conversion in medieval Iberia, centers on Christian and Muslim legal sources “since they represent the cultures that were in power and, therefore, could define the framework that regulated the relationships between the religious communities in the Iberian peninsula.”²¹ This statement, offered as a justification for the fact that, in her book, “[t]he voice of the Jewish community will . . . only be indirectly heard,” ignores not only the limited power of Christians under Muslim rule, but also the Jewish community’s agency in regulating the relationship of its members with other communities.

The notion that Iberian history was shaped at least largely—and possibly entirely—by the Christian and Muslim cultures (thus identifying culture with political power) was suggested by Thomas Glick and Oriol Pi-Sunyer, for whom “the central phenomenon of medieval Spain—the formative period of its national culture—is the meeting and bilateral adjustment of two distinct cultures, Christian and Muslim, with a third,

20. See Stroumsa, *Maimonides in His World*, xiii–xiv; eadem, “Comparison as Multifocal Approach.”

21. Zorgati, *Pluralism in the Middle Ages*, 22.

semi-autonomous entity, the Jews, playing some role in the events.”²² Mercedes García-Arenal, for her part, remarks that, while there were indeed three religions in the Iberian peninsula, there were only two cultures, the Christian and the Muslim, with the Jews attaching themselves to the one or the other, according to the territory in which they lived.²³ García-Arenal is, of course, correct insofar as in this period there was no independent Jewish political entity and territorial civilization. But as the cultural history of the Iberian peninsula shows, Jewish culture was not always coextensive with the territory in which the Jews carrying it lived.²⁴

Thus, the parameters of the discussion are often set less by the requirements of the topic (i.e., culture and its carriers) than by the conventions of academic disciplines. Let us consider the case of Jewish philosophy. The archaic style of the main medieval philosophical works, which were translated into Hebrew already in the Middle Ages, encourages contemporary readers to treat medieval Hebrew as “a source language” (rather than as a translation, which is at least once removed from the original), and to play down the fact that they were originally composed in Arabic. Furthermore, a widespread scholarly approach assumes that Jewish philosophers of all generations relate first and foremost to earlier Jewish tradition, and that the contemporaneous non-Jewish intellectual environment was of secondary importance.²⁵ Following this methodological assumption, even scholars who are familiar with the overwhelming Arabic impact on Jewish philosophy tend to treat Jewish philosophy as growing on the background of Arabic Islamic philosophy, rather than as an integral part thereof.²⁶

A similar in-drawing tendency can be seen in the study of medieval Christian thought, in the world of Islam and beyond it.²⁷ But such a sepa-

22. Glick and Pi-Sunyer, “Acculturation as an Explanatory Concept,” 138.

23. García-Arenal, “Rapports entre les groupes,” 92: “En effet, on est en présence de trois religions, mais seulement de deux cultures: la chrétienne et la musulmane; les juifs se rattachent à l’une ou à l’autre, en fonction des territoires où ils vivent.”

24. See conclusion, page 166.

25. This position was phrased most forcefully by Eliezer Schweid, *Feeling and Speculation*. While Schweid of course recognizes the impact of Muslim philosophy on medieval Jewish thought, he treats this impact as a marginal issue. As pointed out by Shlomo Pines, this approach “is decidedly erroneous as regards the period in which Jewish philosophical works were composed chiefly in Arabic” (“Scholasticism after Thomas Aquinas,” 1). Nevertheless, cultural, linguistic, and ideological factors contribute to the continuing currency of this approach.

26. The readers of Micah Goodman’s popular Hebrew study *The Secrets of the “Guide,”* for example, could easily remain ignorant of the fact that Maimonides wrote in Arabic, or that his intellectual interests went beyond the Jewish world.

27. See, for example, otherwise excellent books such as Thomas Burman’s *Religious*

ratist, inward-looking methodology, detectable in the study of both Jewish and Christian intellectual history, is still more conspicuous in the study of Muslim intellectual history, where discussions of Jews and Christians are ancillary at best, too often granted the status of an elaborate footnote. Even when religious minorities' contributions are accorded chapter-long inquiry, they remain secondary to the main story, whose flow is hardly interrupted.²⁸ Generally speaking, such asymmetrical treatment stems less from bias than from the erroneous methodological stance that the overwhelming presence of the Muslim majority in this period made influence unidirectional, that is, passing only from the ruling Muslim majority to the minorities.²⁹

While from a distance this argument appears almost unassailable, closer inspection reveals it to be far from so. Indeed, unlike Jewish and Christian thinkers, who not infrequently quote Muslims by name, it is the rare Muslim philosopher who attributes a view to a figure from a different religious community.³⁰ It ought to be borne in mind, however, that the medieval world in general and the Islamicate world in particular were not "footnote societies." Authors did not feel the need to disclose their sources,

Polemical, or Ann Christys's *Christians in al-Andalus*. An extreme example, on a polemical rather than scholarly register, is Sylvain Gouguenheim's *Aristote au Mont-Saint-Michel: Les racines grecques de l'Europe chrétienne*, which sets out to disprove any significant Muslim contribution to European philosophy. The many fallacies in Gouguenheim's book received a forceful scholarly response in the collective volume entitled *Les Grecs, les Arabes et nous*. In the present context, suffice it to mention the article by Jean-Christophe Attias, who notes ("Judaïsme: Le tiers exclu," 213) that Gouguenheim manages to keep silent about Judaism and Jews, as well as to minimize the role of Spain in the history of philosophy in Europe. See also Dye, "Les Grecs, les Arabes et les 'racines' de l'Europe," 819–20.

28. See, for example, Cruz Hernández, *Historia del pensamiento*, volume 2, chapters 3 and 6. Nasr and Leaman (*History of Islamic Philosophy*) dedicate a separate section to "The Jewish Philosophical Tradition in the Islamic Cultural World" (part 1, section 6, pages 673–783). But the synthetic analysis in the section dedicated to "Philosophy and Its Parts" (part 2, section 7, pages 783–1002) is based only on the writings of Muslim thinkers, implying that what Jewish and Christian thinkers in this period had to say on metaphysics, logic, mysticism, or ethics is irrelevant to the overall analysis.

29. Ignác Goldziher (*Buch vom Wesen der Seele*, 7*–8*) argued that "it cannot be assumed that a Muslim author . . . would have been interested in this treatise, which repeatedly turns to Bible exegesis." Elisha Russ-Fishbane, for his part, regards the silence of the Muslim sources regarding Jewish thought as evidence of the lack of reciprocity, where "only one of the two communities actively sought out, and creatively adapted itself to, the spiritual traditions and rites of the other" (*Judaism, Sufism, and the Pietists*, 35). For an example to the contrary, see chapter 1, pages 53–55.

30. The Eastern Christian philosophers, who played an essential role in the Abbasid translation movement, are exceptions to this rule, as they are cited relatively often by contemporary Muslim thinkers.

and when they did, they did so for specific reasons: to display their own broad culture, to bolster the authority of their position, or (perhaps most commonly) to identify their target for polemical attack.³¹ In the context of such a norm, it would be mistaken to conclude that failure to mention any particular writer indicated unfamiliarity with that thinker.

The works of Muslim writers occasionally reveal acquaintance with those of Jewish philosophers, even when they do not quote their source.³² But in a society where life was governed by religion and religious conventions, and where preoccupation with philosophy was often viewed as suspect—a society, that is, in which philosophers had to watch their every step—a Muslim philosopher would have had no incentive to cite what he read in, or learned from, a Jewish source, and many incentives to avoid doing so.³³ Maimonides, for example, tells us in his *Guide of the Perplexed* that he read texts under the guidance of a disciple of one of the contemporary masters of philosophy, Ibn Bājja (d. 533/1138), and that he had met the son of the astronomer Ibn al-Aflah al-Ishbīlī (d. ca. mid-sixth/twelfth cent.). Maimonides mentions these Muslim thinkers to present his own credentials, and it would not be surprising if they themselves did not mention him in their writings. But it is self-evident that if Maimonides met them, they also met him; and when they read texts, they read and discussed them together.³⁴ This is not to say that the relations in these meetings were necessarily equal, or to deny the directionality of the influence exerted by the majority culture on members of the minority. It does, however, show us that the available explicit data cannot be trusted to reveal a full picture of the reciprocal exchanges between philosophers. Furthermore, the evidence that does exist for such exchanges

31. See Toorawa, *Ibn Abī Tayfūr and Arabic Writerly Culture*, 26–29; Stroumsa, “Between ‘Canon’ and Library.”

32. Alexander Altmann and Samuel M. Stern (*Isaac Israeli*, 8), for example, considered it plausible that the correspondence of certain passages in *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm* to Isaac Israeli’s work discloses direct indebtedness to Israeli (rather than a common source). Al-Baṭalyawṣī may also have drawn from Israeli, although he too fails to mention him; see Eliyahu, “Ibn al-Sid al-Baṭalyawṣī,” 1:74. Vahid Brown (“Andalusī Mysticism,” 81) goes so far as to speak of “Andalusī Judeo-Islamic philosophy.” See also Stroumsa, “Between ‘Canon’ and Library,” esp. 44–45.

33. The hostility toward philosophy, and the techniques adopted by the philosophers in order to cope with it, were famously discussed by Leo Strauss; see, for instance, his *Persecution and the Art of Writing*. See also Steven Harvey, “The Place of the Philosopher,” 221; and see chapter 3, pages 95–96.

34. See Maimonides, *Guide*, 2.9 (*Dalāla*, 187:10; Pines, 268); and see Wirmer, *Vom Denken der Natur*, 11. The inherently reciprocal nature of the contacts is noted also by Glick and Pi-Sunyer (“Acculturation as an Explanatory Concept,” 140), for whom “acculturation is . . . essentially a bilateral process.”

is often muted. Thus, a working assumption that a priori denies the reciprocity diminishes the likelihood of recognizing the occasional piece of evidence for what it is. Indeed, in different contexts it has been argued that “the eyes don’t see what the mind doesn’t know.”³⁵ In our attempts to capture interactions that shaped the medieval philosophical culture, we would do well to make wider mental room for the possibility of unstated reciprocal connections.

Šā‘id Ibn Šā‘id al-Andalusī (d. 462/1070) is explicit about such connections, and he thus serves as a precious source for the study of the Andalusian multicomunal philosophical scene. Reporting, for instance, about the Jew Isaac b. Qisṭār, who served al-Muwaffaq Mujaḥhid al-‘Āmirī (d. 436/1044) as well as his son Iqbāl al-Dawla ‘Alī (r. 468/1075–76), Ibn Šā‘id says, “I spent many hours in his company [*jālastuhu kathīran*].”³⁶ The mixed milieu described by Ibn Šā‘id al-Andalusī was shared by other Muslims as well as by Jews, a fact to bear in mind despite the guarded silence of most Muslim writers.

As sharply put by Allwyn Harrison, conjectural conclusions are endemic to Andalusian historiography “for want of hard or persuasive evidence.”³⁷ For the aforementioned reasons, the hard evidence for the existence of mutual contacts, though extant, is indeed slim. Furthermore, there is no question that the overall Muslim impact was the decisive, dominant, and ever-growing factor for both Jews and Christians, at all levels of social and cultural activity. In the realms of philosophy and science, however, Muslim preeminence left space for significant exchange with non-Muslims. What I will try to show in the following pages is the extent and depth of this exchange, and the fact that it involved all philosophers, regardless of their religious affiliation.

What we call Islamicate philosophy was created and developed by Muslims, Jews, and Christians. The flow of ideas between these communities was never unilateral or linear, but rather dialectical or interactive. It created what I have proposed to call “a whirlpool effect,” where, when an idea falls, like a drop of colored liquid, into the turbulence, it eventually colors the whole body of water, changing its own color in the process.³⁸ To fully understand the development of philosophy among Muslims, therefore,

35. For this saying, attributed to D. H. Lawrence, I am indebted to Hanna-Attisha, *What the Eyes Don’t See*, 22.

36. Ibn Šā‘id, *Ṭabaqāt al-umam*, 204. On Ibn Šā‘id, see also Llaverro-Ruiz, “El cadi Šā‘id de Toledo.”

37. Harrison, “Behind the Curve,” 40.

38. See Stroumsa, “Whirlpool Effects.”

one must also study its development among Jews and Christians (and, of course, the same is also true for the other edges of the triangle). Furthermore, to the extent that Muslim, Jewish, and Christian medieval philosophies were forged in the same historical context, they must be studied together, like the interlaced warp and weft of a single, multicolored fabric, woven on a single loom.³⁹

This holds true for the Islamic East as for the Iberian peninsula. Nonetheless, the peninsular (i.e., semi-insular) settings of the Iberian peninsula produced a fertile microclimate with its own core characteristics.⁴⁰

Religious Communities

The relations between religious communities in the Islamic world are often portrayed in irenic terms. Shlomo Dov Goitein (d. 1985) introduced the term “symbiosis” to describe the way religious minorities lived under Islam, participating in the economic, social, and cultural life of the Muslim majority, yet also maintaining, along with their religious beliefs and practices, their own culture and community structure.⁴¹

Regarding al-Andalus in particular, scholars speak of *convivencia*, or coexistence, of the different communities. The term, coined in 1926 by Ramón Menéndez Pidal to characterize the linguistic formation of Mozarabic Spain, was then used by Américo Castro in the middle of the twentieth century “to explicate the unique nature of medieval Spain’s

39. The concept of “cross-pollination” is in principle intended to capture this mutual exchange, where “philosophers loyal to one tradition discern the issues that unite them with philosophers of another time, place or confession, inherit their problematics and creatively adapt their responses”; see Lenn Goodman, *Jewish and Islamic Philosophy*, viii. But as a closer reading of the quotation cited above and of the book it introduces show, the concept has been used in ways that largely ignore the relevance of actual historical contexts. See also James Montgomery, “Islamic Crosspollinations.”

40. See, for example, Wasserstein (*The Rise and Fall of the Party-Kings*, 236), who notes that “the isolation of the peninsula had encouraged the retention there, up until the fifth/eleventh century, of religious norms and practices peculiar to the peninsula.” On the scientific isolation of the Andalusians, which they themselves might have cultivated, see also Balty-Guesdon, “Al-Andalus et l’héritage grec,” 342. Di Giovanni (“Motifs of Andalusian Philosophy,” esp. 227) attempts to identify recurring motifs in Andalusian philosophy, motifs that “can help to understand the Andalusian tradition as a continuum rather than a disconnected series of figures and idea.” For Di Giovanni (*ibid.*, 232), the continuum “exists more in the questions asked than in the solutions offered.”

41. On symbiosis, see Goitein, *Jews and Arabs*, 155. For criticisms of this term, see Wasserstrom, *Between Muslim and Jew*, 3–12 and 206–37; Russ-Fishbane, *Judaism, Sufism, and the Pietists*, 37 (who introduces the term “ecumenical synergy”); Hughes, *Shared Identities*, 27–35; Stroumsa, “The Literary *Genizot*.”

multi-ethnic, multi-religious society.”⁴² Since then, this term has acquired excessively idyllic overtones, denoting harmonious coexistence in which *las tres culturas* (namely, Islam, Christianity, and Judaism) supposedly enjoyed a common golden age under the aegis of Islam.⁴³ A much more apt representation of the religious situation in al-Andalus was offered by Thomas Burman, who speaks of the “pluralistic circumstances” that prevailed there.⁴⁴ Although Islamic Iberia was, as a rule, more tolerant toward its minorities than medieval Christian Europe, or, more precisely, than medieval Christian Spain, its presentation as a model of tolerance is highly anachronistic. Even if we put aside the questionable cliché that describes the Middle Ages as a Dark Age, some of our most cherished principles were certainly foreign to this era. The world of medieval Islam (like the rest of the premodern world) was neither egalitarian nor democratic, and it was definitely not tolerant.

Furthermore, to the extent that the *convivencia* notion reflects the actual historical situation, it should be emphasized that al-Andalus is not an exceptional case of a multireligious society in an otherwise benighted medieval Oriental civilization. Rather, al-Andalus was only one of the many instances of the multicultural society of medieval Islam, in the East as well as in the West.⁴⁵ This being said, it is also true that, because of the peninsula’s well-defined geographical contours, its contiguity to Christian Europe, its tight connections to North Africa as well as to the Islamic East, and its high level of culture, al-Andalus provides a condensed and thus a particularly salient example of the development and functioning of the intercommunal cultural *koinē* of the medieval Islamicate world.

Although the Jews and Christians of al-Andalus shared a status as “subordinate religions,” these two communities differed drastically in their social fabric and consequently also in their religious behavior. The Jews

42. See Novikoff, “Between Tolerance and Intolerance in Medieval Spain,” 18–20.

43. As examples of the many discussions of *convivencia*, see Wasserstein, *The Rise and Fall of the Party-Kings*, 225; Marín and Pérez, “L’Espagne des trois religions”; Fanjul García, *La quimera de al-Andalus*, esp. 21–53 (“el mito de las tres culturas”); García-Arenal, “Rapports entre les groupes,” 91; Novikoff, “Between Tolerance and Intolerance in Medieval Spain”; Akasoy, “*Convivencia* and Its Discontents,” esp. 489–90, 495–97; Szpiech, “The Convivencia Wars,” esp. 135–41; Jaspert, “Mendicants, Jews and Muslims at Court,” 125; Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 8–10; García-Sanjuán, “La distorsión de al-Andalus”; Walter, *Der Verschwundene Islam?*, 204; Hughes, *Shared Identities*, 29–30.

44. Burman, *Religious Polemic*, 2.

45. See Stroumsa, *Convivencia in the Medieval Islamic East*; Catlos, “Christian-Muslim-Jewish Relations,” 9. Among the several possible explanations for Spain’s special place in modern historiography, the fact that Spain is a European country is a prominent one; see preface.

were mostly immigrants or the descendants of immigrants who had come from the Islamic East and North Africa and settled in al-Andalus, usually in the cities, after the Muslim conquest.⁴⁶ The number of Jews who made up these urban communities could not have been high, but they seem to have been economically and culturally well integrated.⁴⁷ The Christians, by contrast, constituted at the beginning of this period the vast majority of the population, and their social makeup did not change much when their numbers began to shrink through conversion and migration: they were mainly indigenous, and most of them lived in rural communities.⁴⁸

One might have expected the large, ancient, and well-established local Christian community to be more resistant to conversionary pressures than the small, newly established Jewish community. Furthermore, one might have expected the presence of the bordering Christian kingdoms in the north of the peninsula to serve as a source of religious strength that could help keep those Christians living under Muslim rule (known as Mozarabs) from converting to Islam. In fact, on both counts, the opposite occurred. The existence of the Iberian Christian kingdoms, and the ongoing state of war between them and the Muslims, exposed the Mozarabs to

46. The urban character of the Jewish population was not uniform over time, and at least after the thirteenth century, and under Christian rule, Jews (who were still principally city dwellers) nevertheless owned land; see Ray, *The Sephardic Frontier*, 36–42.

47. The relatively high level of Jewish acculturation and “political complacency” compared to other ethnic and religious groups in the Andalusian society was noted also by Brann, “Textualizing Ambivalence,” 107; idem, *Power in the Portrayal*, 1. Demographic estimates regarding this period are highly conjectural. This caveat applies, of course, to both the population at large (and also, for example, to the estimate of the peninsula’s population toward the end of the Visigothic period as “between seven and nine million”; see Harrison, “Behind the Curve,” 39 and the sources quoted in note 21 there) and the Jewish community. Goitein (“Jewish Society and Institutions under Islam,” 173) estimates that Jews “did not amount to more than one percent of the total population—with the important qualification that in the cities and towns . . . they formed a far higher percentage of the inhabitants.” Ashtor (“The Number of Jews,” esp. 56), estimates the Jews in the “golden age” in the peninsula to be a little more than half a percent of the general population, with much more significant numbers in the major urban center: 10 percent in Toledo in the eleventh century, 14 percent in Huesca, 9 percent in Tudela, 7.4 percent in Almeria, and up to 20 percent in Granada. But, as noted repeatedly by Wasserstein (and contrary to Ashtor and Torres Balbás), the calculations on which these estimates are based are highly speculative, and probably exaggerated. See, for instance, Wasserstein, “Jewish Élités in al-Andalus,” esp. 107–9; idem, “Islamisation and the Conversion of the Jews.” Regarding the various Jewish communities in the cities of al-Andalus, see Pérès, *La poésie andalouse*, 264–68.

48. See Wasserstein, *The Rise and Fall of the Party-Kings*, 224–46; and see introduction, pages 15–17. On the religious and intellectual profile of another predominantly rural Christian society, see Tannous, *The Making of the Medieval Middle East*, esp. 14–45.

the charge of being a fifth column. Their typical profile as rural communities, often with a poor level of religious education, may also have been a source of vulnerability.⁴⁹ Mikel de Epalza has thus suggested that the Christian rural population, isolated from the guidance of the urban clergy, converted more easily to Islam.⁵⁰ The opposite argument is put forward by David Wasserstein, who cautiously says that “it seems not unlikely that retention of Christianity may have been stronger in the rural areas and in the more isolated parts of the peninsula,” and that “much of the literate class of Christians in al-Andalus went over to Islam.”⁵¹ But whether more in the cities or more in the countryside, the overall picture remains that conversion was a widespread phenomenon among the Christians, whereas among the Jews it seems to have remained restricted to individual cases.

Just as the two communities differed in terms of social fabric and patterns of conversion, they also differed with respect to their level of acculturation.⁵² Jews living in al-Andalus, as elsewhere, adopted Arabic as their language and developed their own, Jewish version of Arabic culture. This applied to all social levels of the Jewish community, with the community leaders, who often carried not only political but also religious authority, taking the lead in this process. Jewish intellectuals were active participants in the court culture.⁵³ A creative Andalusian Judaeo-Arabic culture flourished, and even Hebrew linguistics and Hebrew poetry in al-Andalus were shaped in the mold of Arabic linguistics and followed Arabic poetical models.⁵⁴ The Christians of al-Andalus, by contrast, played only a marginal

49. The continuous impact of the profile of Visigoth Spain on the Christian ability to adapt to the cultural shock of the Muslim conquest is also noted by Tolan, *Saracens*, 85–87; see also Fernández Félix and Fierro, “Cristianos y conversos.”

50. De Epalza, “Trois siècles d’histoire mozarabe,” 29; see also idem, “Mozarabs.” Tolan (*Saracens*, 96) also points to “conversion by slippage,” a gradual disintegration of Christian communities as a passive reaction to the prevailing circumstances. Scholarly positions regarding the pace and historical context of the conversion of Christians to Islam in the Iberian peninsula are succinctly summarized in Burns, *Muslims, Christians, and Jews*, 4–5; and see Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, 43–93.

51. Wasserstein, *The Rise and Fall of the Party-Kings*, 229–30 and 237. The predominance of provincial communities in preserving religious tradition is attested also in the Genizah documents, according to the analysis of which, as noted by Goitein (*Mediterranean Society*, 1:15), “Hebrew lingered on in the smaller towns of Egypt longer than in the larger centers.”

52. “Acculturation” refers here primarily to the literary and verbal expression of culture, those associated with the use of the Arabic language; see introduction, note 58.

53. See chapter 3.

54. For Goitein (*Jews and Arabs*, 155), “The most perfect expression of Jewish-Arab symbiosis is not found in the *Arabic* literature of the Jews, but in the *Hebrew* poetry created in Muslim countries, particularly in Spain” (italics in the original). See chapter 3.

role in the intellectual, cultural, and political life in Arabic (with the exception of medicine).⁵⁵ In the Islamic East, the Christian heritage fostered Muslim interest in philosophy, and the Christians played a pivotal role as translators and as facilitators of the transmission of philosophical and scientific traditions to the emerging Muslim culture.⁵⁶ Nothing like this decisive Christian intellectual presence was witnessed in the same period in al-Andalus.⁵⁷ The adoption of Arabic high literary culture among Andalusian Christians seems to have been a more protracted and tortuous process.⁵⁸ When it finally appeared to take root in the more urban segments of the Christian community in the first half of the ninth century, the community's religious leaders reacted with alarm. The Church's resistance to Arabization, and its attempts to reaffirm a genuinely Christian Latin culture,

55. This relative marginality is evident, notwithstanding the continued existence of some Christian centers of learning in al-Andalus; cf. Forcada, "Books from Abroad," 6–62. Wasserstein (*The Rise and Fall of the Party-Kings*, 244–45) argues that Christians scarcely participated in Islamic political life, and suggested that they lacked the necessary skills to do so: "The majority of those who did acquire them seem to have ended up as converts to Islam," and the others probably entered the Church. See also Pères (*La poésie andalouse*, 264), who points out that the Jews "apprécieraient mieux que les chrétiens les avantages d'être soumis à de nouveaux conquérants," and that, although many Jews had certainly converted to Islam, their advantageous place in the Muslim courts must have slowed down the conversions. See also Stroumsa, "Between Acculturation and Conversion."

56. Dimitri Gutas has contended that the Christian role in the translation movement was less dominant than hitherto believed, or at least not altogether unique; see Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*. Notwithstanding Gutas's astute observations, the role played by the Christians remains of primary importance; see Stroumsa, "Philosophy as Wisdom." See also Treiger, "Palestinian Origenism."

57. On the intellectual climate among Christians in the ninth century, see Delgado León, *Álvaro de Córdoba*, 23–27; Fernández Félix and Fierro, "Cristianos y conversos." A translation movement that does appear in Spain in the twelfth century leads in the opposite direction, transmitting the Muslim philosophical and scientific heritage (often via Jews and Jewish converts, who translated the Arabic to Castilian) to the Latin-speaking Christians; see Abellán, *Historia crítica*, 198, 210–18; and see conclusion, pages 162–67.

58. See Kassis, "The Arabization and Islamization of the Christians." On the continuous use of Latin and Romance languages by the Christians of al-Andalus, see, for example, Sánchez-Albornoz, "Espagne préislamique," 301–2; Monferrer-Sala, "Les chrétiens d'al-Andalus," 369; idem, "Somewhere in the 'History of Spain,'" esp. 48–49; Corriente, *Romania Arabica*, 9–17. Wasserstein (*The Rise and Fall of the Party-Kings*, 238) also notes the eventual Arabization of the literate classes of the Christians. One should note that profound acculturation of Iberian Christians under Islam did find its expression in the material culture, agricultural and water system, legal system, and the vocabulary pertaining to these aspects. See, for example, Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain*, 51, 277–99; Glick and Pi-Sunyer, "Acculturation as an Explanatory Concept"; Novikoff, "Between Tolerance and Intolerance in Medieval Spain," 29.

are obvious in the writings of clergymen like Paulus Alvarus, Eulogius, and Samson.⁵⁹

When Arabic did become the language of Christian intellectuals, it was mostly used in domains that are more clearly connected to religious identity. Nevertheless, these Christian works, too, are integrated into the interconfessional cultural milieu. Moses Ibn Ezra can thus refer his readers to the poetic Arabic rendering of Psalms by Ḥafṣ the Goth (*rajazihi fī l-zabūr*). In the linguistic context in which this translation interests Ibn Ezra, he can overlook its polemical overtones and feels no need to mention the author's religious affiliation.⁶⁰

An anecdote told by Ibn Juljul (d. 383/994) is highly illuminating in this context. Ibn Juljul mentions a gift that the caliph 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir received in 337/948 from the Byzantine emperor, and which included a sumptuously illuminated Greek manuscript of Dioscorides's *Materia Medica*, as well as a Latin manuscript of Orosius's *History*. In the accompanying letter, the emperor encouraged the caliph to seek a translator for the former text, expressing his belief that it should not be difficult to find a Latin speaker in al-Andalus to translate Orosius's work. The emperor's reckoning turned out to be correct. According to Ibn Juljul,

in Cordoba at the time, among the Christians of al-Andalus, there was nobody who could read ancient Greek. Dioscorides's Greek book thus remained, un-translated, in al-Nāṣir's library [*khazāna*]. It remained in al-Andalus, while the text circulating was Stephen's translation, imported from Baghdad.⁶¹

The absence of a local Christian who was proficient in Greek brought the caliph to ask for a competent teacher of Greek and Latin to be sent from Byzantium, someone who could train a group of slaves (*'abīd*) as

59. The anxiety caused by the accelerated pace of Arabization is clearly expressed by Alvarus; see, for example, Simonet, *Historia de los Mozárabes*, 2:369–71; Griffith, *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque*, 152; Tolán, *Saracens*, 86, 95–96; Delgado León, *Álvaro de Córdoba*, 29–34, esp. 33; and see Stroumsa, "Single-Source Records," esp. 228.

60. See Ibn 'Ezra, *Muḥāḍara*, ed. Abumalhan Mas, 1:47. Ḥafṣ is also probably the one to whose work Ibn Gabirol repeatedly refers as *Kitāb al-Qūṭī*; see Ibn Gabirol, *Ikhlaṣ al-akhlāq*, 22–23, 28–29, 36, 40, 42. For Marie-Thérèse Urvoy (*Le Psautier mozarabe*, iv), it is a paradox that Ḥafṣ's text, which "echoes the virulent Visigothic anti-semitism," would be quoted by Spanish Jews. It is also for this reason that Steinschneider (*Arabische Literatur der Juden*, 111, §66) and Halkin (in his edition of *Muḥāḍara*, 42) doubted the Christian identity of Ḥafṣ. On Ḥafṣ, see also Dunlop, "Ḥafṣ b. Albar"; idem, "Sobre Ḥafṣ ibn Albar"; Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, 178–80.

61. IAU, 494; see further chapter 1, page 30.

translators.⁶² The most prominent figure in this group and the closest to the caliph, says Ibn Juljul, was the Jew Ḥasḏāy. In addition to him, the majority if not all of them, to judge by their names, were Muslims.⁶³

The Philosophers' Community

Philosophers and scientists in the Islamic world were part of an intellectual network that by its very nature crossed community lines. The level of integration of Jewish and Christian philosophers in the general Islamic culture often surpassed what is usually understood by the term “symbiosis.”⁶⁴ The philosophers, regardless of their religion, often held similar positions vis-à-vis their respective ancient traditions, their understanding of the philosophical quest, and their way of negotiating their place as intellectuals in society at large. The relationship between Jewish (and Christian) philosophers and their Muslim philosophical milieu was not only symbiotic; it represented, rather, what I call, for lack of a better term, a case of intellectual integration.

The marginality of the Christians on the Arabic cultural scene in al-Andalus is particularly striking in the realm of philosophy. Dominique Urvoy has attempted to track a transmission of pre-Islamic Spanish philosophical works to Arabic, but the meager and piecemeal evidence found for this phenomenon seems, rather, to accentuate its marginality: Isidore of Seville (d. 636) remains a lone example, with little follow-up in al-Andalus after the Muslim conquest.⁶⁵ Urvoy therefore also notes the “faiblesse relative de la vie intellectuelle mozarabe” as compared to that of the Jews.⁶⁶ By contrast, Jewish and Muslim thought flourished, and the

62. The term *‘abīd* was sometimes used (perhaps derisively) concerning persons occupying rather high administrative functions; see Stroumsa, “Single-Source Records,” 222.

63. See IAU, 494–95. From Ibn Juljul’s testimony, it is evident that the work of translating this text, and perhaps the functioning of this group, continued over several years, perhaps for several decades. The monk Nicholas, entrusted with the translation work, arrived in Andalus only in 340/951. Ibn Juljul’s own commentary on Dioscorides was composed in 372/982, during the reign of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, and he testifies that he had met this entire group together, during the rule of al-Ḥakam al-Mustaṣṣir (who mounted the throne in 351/962). See also Munk, *Mélanges*, 480–81 and note 2; Sáenz-Badillos, *Literatura Hebrea*, 22; Fierro, *Abderraman*, 236; Balty-Guesdon, “Al-Andalus et l’héritage grec,” 335–36.

64. See introduction, note 41.

65. See also chapter 1, page 27.

66. See Dominique Urvoy, *Pensers d’al-Andalus*, 29, 33. See also Reilly, *The Contest of Christian and Muslim Spain*, 17–18. For Reilly (*The Medieval Spains*, 124–25), “The participation of the Christian community in this intellectual ferment was to take an

literary output of al-Andalus includes some of the highlights of Jewish and Muslim speculative thought in all its diversity: Aristotelian and Neoplatonist philosophy, rational theology, and mysticism. The role played by Jews in this particular field in al-Andalus is utterly disproportionate to the size or strength of the Jewish community.⁶⁷

As the following pages will seek to show, speculative thought in al-Andalus was shaped by both Muslims and Jews. In the field that concerns us here, the above-mentioned slogan of *las tres culturas* is therefore misleading not only because of its association with the mythical depiction of *convivencia*, but also because the numbers are wrong. The intellectual history of the Iberian peninsula does not follow a tripartite structure, and the interacting religious cultures are rarely 3, but rather usually 2 + 1.⁶⁸ In al-Andalus from the fourth/tenth to the sixth/twelfth centuries, while Jews were active in almost all aspects of the intellectual and cultural life, the local Christians played a rather marginal intellectual role. The roles would be reversed when philosophy began to blossom in Christian Spain (after the conquest of Toledo in 1085), and Muslims living under Christian rule seem to have moved to the margins of intellectual activity there. It is mostly Jews who transmitted this common Arabic philosophical heritage to the Christians in the north, after its waning in al-Andalus.⁶⁹

Philosophical Schools and Speculative Thought

Already in medieval texts, the Arabic term *faylasūf* (pl. *falāsifa*) appears in more than one sense. It is often used broadly, to describe a person pursuing theoretical wisdom, or “as an epithet for deep thinkers.”⁷⁰ It also denotes more specifically the followers of the classical philosophical

unprecedented form. That is, its locus was to be the new Christian kingdom of the north rather than the Mozarab community.” More simply put: when living in al-Andalus, the Christians did not participate in the intellectual ferment. The difference in the status of Jews and Christians is apparent also in Bosch Vilá, *La Sevilla Islámica*, 348–54. Renan, for his part (*Averroès et l’Averroïsme*, 36, note 1), blurs the difference in character between the two *dhimmi* communities, stating that “almost all the physicians and philosophers in Spain were of Jewish or Christian origin.” But he also goes so far as to argue (*ibid.*, 145) that “la philosophie arabe n’a réellement été prise bien au sérieux que par les Juifs.” See conclusion.

67. See introduction, note 47; and chapter 4.

68. This equation is actually also misleading, as the Jewish and Muslim communities were not homogenous religious entities; see further chapter 2.

69. See conclusion.

70. Goldziher, “Faylasūf,” 872.

tradition, which was translated from Greek into Arabic. The translated material included a core component of Peripatetic texts, but classical Arabic philosophy was imprinted from its inception by Neoplatonic material, too. The first Arabic philosopher, al-Kindī (d. ca. 256/870), known as “the philosopher of the Arabs [*faylasūf al-‘arab*],” indeed combined in his work both Aristotelian and Plotinian elements.⁷¹ Neoplatonism became, in Cristina d’Ancona’s formulation, “a key to understanding *falsafa*.”⁷² The term *falsafa* was also used to designate the later, predominantly Christian, school of philosophy that included Abū Bishr Mattā (d. 940) and his students Yaḥyā Ibn ‘Adī (d. 974) as well as al-Fārābī (d. 339/951), and which focused more strictly on the study of the Aristotelian corpus. Even in al-Fārābī’s work, however, the presence of non-Aristotelian components (Platonic as well as emanationist) is notable.⁷³ A similar, narrow use of the term, along with its ambiguities, also appears in Judaeo-Arabic texts: Judah Halevi (d. 1141), for example, makes “Greek wisdom [*ḥokhmat Yawan*]” a main target for his criticism in both his poetry and in his *Kuzari*, and the protagonist of this wisdom, designated in the *Kuzari* as a *faylasūf*, presents the characteristic admixture of Peripatetic and Neoplatonic doctrines.⁷⁴

In modern scholarship on Islamic and Jewish medieval thought, the first, broader meaning is hardly ever used, and the word “philosopher” often designates students of the classical tradition. Furthermore—and despite the common recognition of the multiple sources of medieval *falsafa*—the term came to be closely identified with the Aristotelian tradition of Arabic philosophy, starting with the Christian Aristotelian philosophers of Baghdad and continuing with Avicenna (d. 428/1037). In this narrow usage, the term “philosophy” (*falsafa*) distinguishes the “Aristotelian” school of thought from other philosophical traditions, such as rational theology (*kalām*) or mystical philosophy.⁷⁵

71. See Jolivet, “Al-Kindī et Aristote”; Adamson, “Al-Kindī and the Reception of Arabic Philosophy”; Arnaldez, “Falsafa”; Watt, “Why Did Ḥunayn,” 371; idem, “The Syriac Translations,” 475.

72. D’Ancona, “Greek into Arabic,” 24.

73. See Galston, *Politics and Excellence*, 9–12, 17; and see further chapter 4.

74. *Kuzari* 1:1–3, ed. Baneth/Ben-Shammai, 3–6; ed. Bashīr, 153–59.

75. See, for example, Endress, “Philosophie,” 25–33; Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 286–96. Inverted commas are added to “Aristotelians,” for example, by Peter Adamson and Richard Taylor, in their introduction to *The Cambridge Companion to Arabic Philosophy*, as well as by d’Ancona, “Aristū ‘inda l-‘Arab,” 23. On the problematic usage of “philosophy,” see also Vahid Brown, “Andalusī Mysticism,” 73–74.

When one discusses philosophy in al-Andalus, the names that spring to mind make up the trio of Ibn Bājja, Ibn Ṭufayl (d. 581/1185–86), and Averroes: all three Muslims, living in the sixth/twelfth century, and grouped together as “the Spanish *falāsifa*.” A fourth, frequently added name is that of the Jewish Maimonides, also living in the twelfth century. The tendency to associate these figures with each other may create the impression that, as a group, the Spanish *falāsifa* belong to what came to be known as “the Spanish Aristotelian tradition”—although it is well known that Ibn Ṭufayl, who was inspired by Avicenna, retains clear Neoplatonic characteristics, with pronounced mystical traits.⁷⁶ Furthermore, the identification of *falāsifa* or philosophy as *Aristotelian* philosophy can result in the presentation of Ibn Bājja as the first Muslim philosopher of al-Andalus, or in a statement such as “Philosophy in Al-Andalus developed later among Muslims than among Jews,” ignoring both Ibn Masarra (d. 319/931) and al-Baṭalyawsī (d. 523/1129).⁷⁷ But philosophy in al-Andalus did not begin in the twelfth century, nor did it begin with the Aristotelians, but rather with mystical Neoplatonism.

As mentioned above, modern scholarship on Jewish philosophy often classifies Jewish medieval thinkers according to the relevant schools of Islamic thought. In the case of Jewish Andalusian thinkers, however, this classification sometimes seems to represent a veritable straightjacket, forcing them into molds that do not quite fit.⁷⁸

The modern categorization of Islamic thought into schools of thought, with the concomitant tendency to reserve the term “philosophy” for the so-called Aristotelian tradition, is indeed disadvantageous when drawing the intellectual, philosophical map of al-Andalus. Mystics, theologians, as well as philosophers of all schools, can be brought into the discussion of speculative thought, as well as scientists—astronomers and physicians—since the philosophers were often also engaged in the pursuit of these sciences.⁷⁹

76. See further chapter 5.

77. See Puig Montada, “Ibn Bājja.”

78. That the modern division of Jewish medieval thinkers into schools should not be taken to suggest doctrinal uniformity is noted by Hyman, “Medieval Jewish Philosophy as Philosophy,” 251. On the sometimes artificial distinction between Muslim philosophy and *kalām*, see Wisnovski, “Towards a Natural-History Model of Philosophical Change,” 145. In the case of Jewish thinkers, the artificiality of the distinction is even more evident, notwithstanding Maimonides’s attempts to distance himself from the Jewish *mutakallimūn*.

79. Sciences here include those tightly connected to philosophical speculation, which are sometimes called “philosophical sciences” (“sciences philosophiques,” e.g., Balty-Guesdon, “Al-Andalus et l’héritage grec,” 335).

As noted in the preface, I do not presume to cover in this book all thinkers in al-Andalus. Most of the thinkers discussed in the following pages wrote, in one way or another, about metaphysics—a clear indication that they aspired to reach the higher levels of philosophical thought.⁸⁰ Mainly, however, I homed in on those thinkers who allow us to see most clearly the interest of integrative intellectual history, and on issues that reflect this interest most sharply.

Toward an Integrative Intellectual History of al-Andalus

The development of speculative thought among Muslims in al-Andalus is often described in contradictory terms. On the one hand, scholars as well as the broader public associate the Iberian peninsula with the acme of Islamic philosophy. On the other hand, medieval and modern scholars alike often regard the development of philosophy in this region as somewhat of an anomaly.⁸¹ Among the former, Ibn Ḥazm and Ibn Ṭumlūs (d. 620/1223) speak apologetically regarding the scarcity of philosophical interest and of philosophical and theological compositions in al-Andalus, while al-Maqqarī (d. 1041/1631) reports particular animosity toward the study of natural philosophy and astronomy.⁸² The coexistence of these apparently unfavorable conditions and the seemingly sudden philosophical explosion calls for an explanation. Such an explanation, however, is

80. See Balty-Guesdon (“Al-Andalus et l’héritage grec,” 339–41), who points to the Andalusian preference for the theoretical over the practical sciences, and practical sciences are integrated within this worldview. Lorberbaum (*Dazzled by Beauty*, 18) views what is called in Arabic *al-‘ilm al-ilāhī* as theology, and identifies it as “theoretical systems in the center of which is the understanding of God, His relationship to the World, His prophetic communication with humans and His giving of the law to humans as guidance.”

81. Among modern scholars see, for instance, al-Fayyūmī, *Ta’rīkh al-falsafa al-islāmiyya*, 6.

82. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Risāla fī faḍl al-andalus*, 186–87; Ibn Ṭumlūs, *Madkhal*, 9–12. On Ibn Ṭumlūs’s depiction of the attitude to philosophy, see Elamrani-Jamal, “Éléments nouveaux,” 465; Ibn Aḥmad, *Ibn Ṭumlūs*, 212–16 and 341. Ibn Ṭumlūs’s own silence regarding his extensive use of the works of his teacher Averroes seems to support his testimony concerning the atmosphere in al-Andalus; see Aouad, *Le “Livre de la Rhétorique,”* ii–x. Al-Maqqarī (*Nafh al-ṭīb*, 1:221) says that these branches of science “are of great interest to the elite, but no work on these topics can be undertaken openly out of fear of the common folks.” Here as elsewhere in his report on the development of the sciences in al-Andalus, al-Maqqarī clearly relies heavily on Ibn Ṣā’id, although his report tends to be less critical and more laudatory. See also Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭīb*, 3:11, quoted in Conrad, *The World of Ibn Ṭufayl*, 11: “In Spain philosophy is an abhorred field of inquiry that cannot be pursued openly by its adherents, who, for the same reason, must keep their works hidden.”

not to be found in most studies on the topic, and the few scholars who address this problem tend to refine the terms of the question rather than to address it satisfactorily.

Jewish philosophy in al-Andalus is depicted in a simpler and more consistent way. The efflorescence of Jewish philosophy is seen as part and parcel of the so-called golden age of Jewish culture in Islamic Spain.⁸³ Like Jewish culture in al-Andalus in general, philosophy is painted in rosy—or should we say, golden—colors. The appearance of luminaries like Judah Halevi and Moses Maimonides is presented as the natural outcome of a robust Jewish community whose cultural activity reflected its interest in philosophy as well as the influence of the surrounding Muslim society.

The circumstances in which speculative thought developed among Muslims and Jews are generally studied along communal lines, with separate monographs dedicated to the history of Muslim and Jewish philosophy—despite the dutiful nods that acknowledge the existence and relevance of the other community. Students of Judeo-Arabic philosophy are, of course, well aware of its strong ties to its Muslim counterpart. Halevi has been shown to rely on the work of al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) as well as on Šūfī, Ismā‘īlī, and Shī‘ī texts,⁸⁴ while the eleventh-century Baḥyā Ibn Paqūda has been shown to be indebted to al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243/857).⁸⁵ Maimonides’s philosophy, which has received continuous and comprehensive examination, has been shown to draw upon the work of al-Fārābī, Avicenna, and Andalusian authors like Ibn Ṭufayl and Ibn Bājjā.⁸⁶

Students of Muslim philosophy, for their part, are less forcefully confronted with the connection of their texts to Jewish philosophy. Several contemporary scholars have offered a coherent synthesis that includes the Jewish and Christian philosophical output in their mapping of Andalusian philosophy and science, or called for such a synthesis.⁸⁷ And yet, many of these studies still present the connection either as background to the

83. See chapter 3.

84. See Baneth, “Judah Halevi and al-Ghazali”; Pines, “Shī‘ite Terms”; Krinis, *God’s Chosen People*; Lobel, *Between Mysticism and Philosophy*.

85. See Goldreich, “On Possible Arabic Sources.”

86. See, for example, Pines, “Translator’s Introduction”; Steven Harvey, “Medieval Sources of Maimonides’ *Guide*”; Ivry, “The *Guide* and Maimonides’ Philosophical Sources.”

87. Cruz Hernández, *Historia del pensamiento*, esp. volume 2, *El pensamiento de al-Andalus (siglos IX–XIV)*; Forcada, *Ética e ideología de la ciencia*; or Wirmer, *Vom Denken der Natur*; Dominique Urvoy, quoted in introduction, note 91; Di Giovanni, “Motifs of Andalusian Philosophy”; and see introduction, note 88. Sviri (“Spiritual Trends,” 78) argues that “research into any one of these two systems can be fruitful for a deeper understanding of historical and phenomenological aspects of the other,” but clearly sees them as two separate, though often interinfluenced, systems.

discussion of their main focus of interest (in the case of Jewish philosophy) or as mere chapters in it (in the case of Muslim philosophy).⁸⁸

A comparison with the modern study of the Christians of al-Andalus brings into even sharper focus the oddity of the compartmentalized approach to the study of Andalusian intellectual history. The history of al-Andalus from the second/eighth to the ninth/fifteenth centuries can be described as a chronology of its continuous war with Christian Spain. Without question, an uninterrupted Christian presence within the borders of al-Andalus combined with pressure from the Christian kingdoms made the Christians a rather important factor in Andalusian history. But the direct impact of this factor on the intellectual life of al-Andalus was, as noted above, remarkably small. Ann Christys can thus correctly say that the Christians appear only as a footnote in the history of al-Andalus. She attributes their marginality to the fact that the Christians did not write—which is to say, that they wrote little.⁸⁹ Plausibly, then, the usual separate treatment of the Christian community in the historiography of al-Andalus, and the ancillary place it is granted in the history of Andalusian thought, might be thought to reflect objective sociological characteristics of that community.

This account, however, does not hold in the case of the Andalusian Jewish community. In al-Andalus, the Jews crafted a vigorous philosophical literature, often written in Arabic or Judeo-Arabic (rather than in Hebrew).⁹⁰ And yet they, too, remain marginal in the modern historiography of Islamic philosophy in al-Andalus, or else are discussed in separate studies. Hence, the traditional disjointed historiography of Andalusian philosophy tells us at least as much about the preconceptions of historians of this literature as about the historical developments themselves.

88. A welcome exception to this approach is Adamson, *Philosophy in the Islamic World*; see esp. part 2. Still more common, however, is the listing of Jewish alongside Muslim and Christian authors, but with no attempt to bring those lists together—let alone examine the possible influence of minority thinkers on the development of Andalusian philosophy. See, for example, González Palencia's introduction to Abū l-Šalt's *Kitāb taqwīm al-dhihn, Rectification de la mente*, 9–10. The scholarly tendency to relegate minorities to a footnote is not unique to students of Islamic history; on a parallel approach by scholars of Western philosophy (regarding both Jewish and Muslim philosophy) see, Hyman, "Medieval Jewish Philosophy as Philosophy," 245.

89. Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 23.

90. According to Reilly (*The Contest of Christian and Muslim Spain*, 14–15), the Jewish community was "the most literate community of the peninsula," a fact that may have contributed to the disproportionate representation of Jews in written sources. On the respective characteristic traits of the Christian and Jewish communities, see introduction, pages 13–18.

The Politico-Religious Map of al-Andalus

The religious profile of Muslim al-Andalus is commonly painted as conservative, dominated by staunch Mālikī ‘*ulamā*’.⁹¹ This seemingly uniform, stereotypical profile must be made more nuanced: other legal schools (in particular, the Zāhirī school) were also introduced into al-Andalus and made their intellectual impression upon it, continuously challenging the Mālikīs.⁹² The Andalusian Mālikī school of law itself evolved over time.⁹³ Nonconformist, even revolutionary forms of Sunnī Islam appeared in al-Andalus, at times gaining a ruling position (as in the case of the Almohads).⁹⁴ Nevertheless, the conservative stereotypical profile is not altogether incorrect, insofar as Sunnī Islam in general, and Mālikī traditionalism in particular, remained the determining factors in Muslim Iberia, religiously as well as politically.⁹⁵ Despite repeated attempts to do so, Shī‘ī Islam did not manage to establish itself politically in the Iberian peninsula, a fact that makes al-Andalus stand out especially in the fourth/tenth century, when various forms of Shī‘ism spread across the Muslim world.⁹⁶

But the expansion of Shī‘ī, Ismā‘īlī Islam in North Africa, perceived as a political, religious, and intellectual threat to the Sunnī rulers in al-Andalus, became a constitutive factor for religious and intellectual developments in the peninsula. Fāṭimid theology, presented as a comprehensive worldview and inspired by Neoplatonism, was spread by missionaries who crossed the straits of Gibraltar to reach al-Andalus.⁹⁷ It was also energetically disseminated through the application of a systematic knowledge

91. On the Mālikī hegemony in al-Andalus, as well as on its nuances, see, for example, Fierro, “La política religiosa,” 137ff. Dominique Urvoy (“The ‘Ulamā’ of al-Andalus,” 849) cites Lévy-Provençal’s view that “deliberate conservatism, even archaizing,” was a characteristic quality of Andalusian Islam, and suggests that it springs from the fact that “the Christians and Jews of Spain . . . caused traditional factors to predominate within Islam itself on their conversion.”

92. See Fierro, “La política religiosa”; and see the articles assembled in *Ibn Ḥazm of Cordoba*. On Zāhirism in al-Andalus, see further chapter 2.

93. See, for example, Fierro, “Proto-Malikis.”

94. On the Almohads, see chapter 5.

95. See, for example, Guichard (*Les musulmans de Valence*, 1:130), who, relying on Ibn Ṭumlūs, mentions “l’obscurantisme malékite dominant en Andalousie avant l’époque almohade.”

96. As noted by Tibi, there is no ground to the suggestion that the Zirids of Granada were Shī‘ites; see *The Tibyān*, 215, note 171. On the Fāṭimids’ attempts to get a foothold in the peninsula, see also Fierro, “La política religiosa,” 129–33.

97. See, for example, Walker, “Fatimid Institutions of Learning”; Madelung and Walker, *The Advent of the Fatimids*, 33; Fierro, “La política religiosa,” 132–33.

policy, such as the establishment of libraries and teaching institutions, catering to different levels of the population. The challenge that this intellectual policy posed for al-Andalus's political rulers colored their attitude to the study of philosophy and the sciences. As our story unfolds, we shall see that the vicissitudes of philosophy and the sciences in al-Andalus can be seen as outcomes of this challenge in the formative period of philosophical thought in al-Andalus.

INDEX

- ‘Abd al-A‘lā b. Wahb, 64
‘Abd Allāh al-Mahdī, Caliph, 56
‘Abd al-Mālik, 65
‘Abd al-Mu‘min, 132, 134–35, 138n50
‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh, Caliph (*also* ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III), 17–18, 28, 29, 30–31, 83; and Andalusian Jews, 29; and Masarrīs, 57; nationalists and, 57n130
‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Sid, 152
‘Abd al-Raḥmān II, 67
‘Abd al-Raḥmān III. *See* ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh, Caliph
‘Abd al-Wahhāb, Muḥammad ibn, 64, 131n27
‘Abd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī. *See* Marrākushī, ‘Abd al-Wāḥid al-
Abraham Bar Ḥiyya Ha-Nassi, 83, 164
Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Qurṭubī, 39
Abū ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Khamīs al-Jābūrī, 40
Abū al-Barakāt al-Baghdādī, 124
Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Malik al-Ma‘marī al-Ubādhi, 40
Abū ‘Āmir. *See* Maṣūr Ibn Abī ‘Āmir, Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb al-
Abū Bakr Faraj b. Sallām, 66–67
Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā. *See* Ibn Bājja, Abū Bakr ibn al-Ṣā‘igh
Abū Bishr Mattā, 20
Abū Ḥabūs, 134
Abū Ja‘far Aḥmad b. Naṣr, 36
Abū Ja‘far ibn ‘Abbās, 32n18
Abū Ja‘far Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥasdāy, 92
Abū Sa‘īd b. al-A‘rābī, 35
Abū Ya‘qūb Yūsuf, Caliph, 85, 136–38, 139, 142, 143
Abū Yazīd al-Bistāmī, 122
Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb, 79, 137–38, 142
Abū’l-‘Abbās al-A‘mā, 85n13
Abū’l-Faḍl Ḥasdāy ibn Yūsuf ibn Ḥasdāy, 91–92, 107, 125–26
Abū’l-Faḍl al-Dimashqī, 94
Abū’l-Faraj Hārūn, 76
Abū’l-Ḥārith, 56n125, 105n13
Abū’l-Hudhayl al-‘Allāf al-Baṣrī, 46, 48
Abū’l-Ṭaras, 76
Abū’l Walid Muḥammad. *See* Averroes
Africa, northern. *See* Maghreb, the
Alexander of Aphrodisias, 127
al-Ḥakam al-Mustanṣir, Emir, 18n63, 28
Allah. *See* God
Almohads (*also* Muwaḥḥidūn), 25, 128–29; education of, 130–34; hierarchy of, 130, 132; literalism, 151, 152–53; philosophy and, 134–61; propaganda of, 135–37; religious beliefs of, 69–71, 72n43, 79–80, 128–31; religious persecution by, 1n2, 130; and science, 141
Almoravids, 128
alphabet. *See* letters
Alvarus, Paulus, 17
Anan ben David, 73–75
Ananites, 73–75
Andalus, al- (Andalusia): Christian community in, 13–19, 24; geographic extent of, 1; Jewish community of (*also* Karaites, Rabbanites), 1n2, 3, 7–8, 13–15, 19, 23, 72–73, 81–101; legal systems in, 25; multiethnic nature of, 7–8, 11–19, 23–24; philosophy in. *See* Aristotelianism, Neoplatonism, philosophy and subentries; religion in, 12–14, 16–17, 25–26, 61–80; self-identity of, 2–4; study of, xii–xiii, 2n4, 7–8, 13n45, 116–18
Arabic, 4–6; used by Jews and Christians, 5–6, 8, 15–17, 24, 30n11, 54–55, 77, 85–86, 87; translations from and into, 16n57, 18, 30, 120, 162–63, 164. *See also* language; letters
Aristotelians, 20–21, 66, 102–3, 104, 109, 113n51; educational system, 90–92, 122, 125; neo-orthodox, 124–61; with Neoplatonist characteristics, 120–23; on truth, 87–88; on state-building, 89–90
Aristotle, 125, 136–37, 154; Ibn Ḥazm and, 105, 106n16; and Neoplatonism, 104, 109, 118, 119, 120; on physics, 151–52

- Ash'arism, 67, 70–71, 72n43, 79, 131, 141
astronomy, 151–54: Almohads and, 141;
animosity toward, 22, 32; in the curriculum, 90, 92, 132–33
Avenpace. *See* Ibn Bājja, Abū Bakr ibn al-Šā'igh
Avendauth, 164. *See also* Ibn Daud, Abraham
Averroes (Abū'l Walīd Muḥammad ibn Rushd), 21, 85, 89; Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf and, 136–38; Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb al-Manšūr and, 85, 139; on al-Andalus, 2; Al-Marrākushī and, 136–38, 139n54, 140–41; Almohads and, 84–85, 134, 137, 139, 141, 143–44, 146–48, 151; and the ancient philosophers, 87, 143–44; on Aristotle, 153; Aristotelianism and, 87, 123, 136–41, 151, 153, 156, 157–58; Bundūd and, 140n58; commentaries of, 2, 93, 136–44, 153, 156, 166–67; on God, 156–57; Ibn Bājja and, 153; Ibn Sīnā and, 156; Ibn Ṭufayl and, 144; influence on Ibn Ṭumlūs, 22n82; on law, 147; and Maimonides, 71n40, 98, 137n48, 147–48; on medicine, 151; on metaphysics, 157–58; on Mu'tazilite beliefs, 71, 77; Neoplatonism and, 123; on philosophical study, 93; Ptolemaic astronomy and, 151, 152–53; on resurrection, 157; on truth, 143n70
Avicenna, 124, 125n3, 164; Aristotelianism and, 20, 124, 155–56, 160; on God, 156–57; influence on Ibn Daud, 160; influence on Ibn Ṭufayl, 21, 122, 128; Ibn Zuhr and, 155n127; Maimonides and, 23, 125n3, 155–57; Platonism and, 124; revolt against, 155–56
Baḥyā Ibn Paqūda, 111; al-Muḥāsibī and, 23; Jewish law and, 111; Neoplatonism and, 121; rationality, 169; Sufism and, 111, 114
Ballūṭī, Mundhir b. Sa'īd al-, 64
Banū Hūd, the, 110
Banū Ḥudayr, the, 65n9
Banū Qasī, the, 57n130
Baṭalyawsī, Ibn al-Sīd al-, 21, 88–89, 114, 158, 165n16; and al-Fārābī, 125; *The Book of Circles*, 108–9, 110n35, 112, 121; *The Book of Questions and Answers*, 109–10; and Ibn Bājja, 127; and Isaac Israeli, 10n32; influence on Ibn Daud, 160; students of, 126
Biṭrūjī, Nūr al-Dīn al-, 151–52
Book of Circles, *The*. *See* Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī.
Book of Creation, *The*. *See* *Sefer Yešira*
Book of Explanation, *The*. *See* Ibn Masarra, Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh
Book of Letters, *The*. *See* Ibn Masarra, Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh
Book of Questions and Answers, *The*. *See* Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī
books, 94; censorship of, 31–32, 33n23, 59n136, 104, 165, 167; collections of, 28–30, 76, 96, 113, 142; in creation story, 54; translations of, 5–6, 17–18, 73, 164; writing of, 37, 106n16
Braulius of Saragossa, Bishop, 75n56
Cairo Genizah. *See* Genizah.
censorship: of Averroes, 143; evasion of, 33–34, 165–66; of Ibn Masarra, 113; of Jews, 33n23; of libraries, 31–32, 59n136, 104, 165, 167; by al-Manšūr, 31–32, 33, 102, 104; of Muslims, 33–34, 69, 79, 104, 165; of Neoplatonism, 104; of scholars, 32–34, 69, 102–3, 104, 133–34
Cervantes, Miguel de, 81–82
Christians (*also* Mozarabs), 13–15, 24; as courtiers, 83–84; conversion of, 15; as historians, xii, 7–8; and language, 5, 16–17; persecution by and of, 30, 33, 130; as translators, 9n30, 16, 18n63. *See also* philosophy, Christian
Cisneros, Jiménez de, Cardinal, 165
Commentary on Plato's "Republic." *See* Averroes
conversion, religious, 14–15, 16nn55 and 57, 75n56, 83–84, 130, 163
convivencia. *See* al-Andalus, multiethnic nature of
Ḍabbī, 'Alī b. Yaḥyā al-, 41n60
Daniel al-Qūmisī, 73, 74
Dāwūd al-Zāhirī, 64n7, 79n71
Dhahābī, Abū Ja'far al-, 139, 142
Dhū'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī, 59

- Dunash ben Labrat, wife of, 86n15
Dūnash ben Tamīm, Abū Sahl, 30, 51n103, 53
- education, hierarchical structure of, 90–94, 125–26
- Eli‘ezer Alluf, 73
- Empedocles, 46, 103, 115, 117, 119
- Epistle of Contemplation, The*. See Ibn Masarra, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh
- Epistles of the Pure Brethren, The*, 53, 106, 118, 121
- Eulogius, 17
- Fārābī, Abū Naṣr al-, 20, 90–91, 124, 135; Aristotelianism and, 95, 121, 127, 156; influence on Maimonides, 23; metaphysics and, 157; Neoplatonism and, 121; on philosophers, 94
- Fāṭimids, 25–26, 57, 60, 65n9, 102, 103–4, 106n20, 108, 120, 158
- friendship, 96–101
- Genizah (*also* Cairo Genizah), 5n15, 6, 15n51, 75n57
- Ghazālī, Abū Ḥāmid al-, 40, 143n69, 149, 165n18; Almohads and, 69, 129; as anti-Almoravid, 129; Aristotelians and, 124; Halevi and, 23; Ibn Ṭāhir and, 135; Maimonides and, 149n95
- Gnosticism, 117–18, 168
- God: attributes of, 38, 42, 44–48, 50, 68n21, 69–70, 117n65, 169; corporeality of, 129, 148–49; knowledge of, 47–48, 68n21, 71n40, 143, 149, 156–57; names of, 45, 50–51; unity of (*tawḥīd*), 41–48, 50, 54, 59, 69–70, 71n40, 111, 129, 148–49, 169
- Guide of the Perplexed*. See Maimonides, Moses.
- Ḥabbūs al-Muẓaffar, 83
- Ḥafṣ the Goth, 17
- Hai Ben Naḥshon, 73
- al-Ḥakam (head of the Mu‘tazilites), 64–65
- Ḥakam II, al- Emir, 28–30, 31–32, 83
- Ḥallāj, al-, 122
- Hanoch, Rabbi, 30–31
- Ḥarrānī, ‘Umar al-, 105n13
- Ḥasdāy ibn Shaprūt (*also* Ḥasdāy ibn Ishāq; Hasdeu), 18, 29–30, 31, 83, 91n39
- Ḥayy b. ‘Abd al-Mālik, 37–38
- Ḥayy Ibn Yaḡẓān*. See Abū Bakr ibn Ṭufayl
- Hebrew, 4, 15nn51 and 54, 86; characters for Arabic, 5, 24, 54–55; translations from and into, 8, 73, 110, 113n49, 164, 166. See *also* language; letters
- Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, 18n63, 31–32
- Ḥumaydī, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr b. Fattūḥ al-, 40–41, 46n80, 168
- Ibn Abī Sa‘īd b. ‘Uthmān, 94n53
- Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a, 29n8, 133n33, 148
- Ibn ‘Adī, Yaḡyā (*also* Yaḡyā b. ‘Adī), 20, 94n53, 124
- Ibn al-Abbār, 36, 37–38
- Ibn al-Aflaḥ, Jābir, 152
- Ibn al-‘Arabī, Abū Bakr, 108
- Ibn al-‘Arabī, Muḡyī al-dīn (*also* Ibn ‘Arabī, Muḡyī al-dīn), 38, 49, 50, 77n62, 110, 162, 167–68
- Ibn al-‘Arīf, 111, 158
- Ibn al-Bāli, Baruch, 87n22, 97
- Ibn al-Bālia, Isaac, 87n22, 96
- Ibn al-Faraḡī, Al-Walīd ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, 41, 45–46, 59n140, 68n21
- Ibn al-Haytham, 56, 103
- Ibn al-Imām, Abū al-Ḥasan, 28n4, 99, 126
- Ibn al-Kattānī (Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Madhḥijī), 41, 56n125, 105, 125n5
- Ibn al-Mar‘a b. Dahhāq al-Mālaqī, 39, 41–42, 44–45, 117n65, 168
- Ibn al-Māshiḡa, Daniel, 72n44
- Ibn al-Naḡhrīla, Samuel ha-Nagid. See Samuel ha-Nagid
- Ibn al-Naḡhrīla, Yehoseph. See Yehoseph ha-Nagid
- Ibn al-Samīna, Abū Bakr Yaḡyā, 58, 64
- Ibn al-Tiflwit, 84
- Ibn al-Zarqālluh. See Tujībī, Abū Ishāq
- Ibrāhīm al-Naqqāsh al-
- Ibn ‘Āmir, al-Manṣūr. See Manṣūr Ibn Abī ‘Āmir, Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb al-
- Ibn ‘Arabī, Muḡyī al-dīn. See Ibn al-‘Arabī

- Ibn Bājja, Abū Bakr ibn al-Šā'igh (*also* Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā, *also* Avempace), 10, 21, 84–85, 88–89, 92, 94–95, 126n9, 127; Abū al-Ḥasan Ibn al-Imām and, 99; Abū Ja'far Yūsuf Ibn Ḥasdāy and, 100; Aristotelianism and, 127, 153; and astronomy, 152, 154; on friendship, 100; Ibn Ṭufayl and, 122–23, 128, 136; on knowledge, 157–58, 165n16; Maimonides and, 23, 93; Mālik Ibn Wuhayb and, 126; *Regimen of the Solitary*, 92n44, 99, 122, 127; *tartīb* and, 92n44
- Ibn Barraḡān, 111, 114, 158
- Ibn Bundūd, Abū Bakr, 136
- Ibn Danan, Saadia, 31n14
- Ibn Daud, Abraham (*also* Avendauth), 29n8, 64, 75, 76, 87n22, 96, 97, 164; as Aristotelian, 159–61; *Book of Tradition*, 30–31; *The Lofty Faith*, 121, 159–60
- Ibn Ezra, Abraham, 53n113, 75, 86, 113, 164n12
- Ibn Ezra, Moses, 17, 28n4, 29n9, 83, 86–87, 88, 112, 125n3, 127, 165n16; on al-Andalus, 3
- Ibn Falaqera, Shem Tov, 112, 115, 116
- Ibn Gabirol, Salomon, 17n60, 116, 126n8; Ibn Daud on, 159–60; as Neoplatonist, 111–12, 114, 115, 127; as poet, 88; as Pseudo-Empedoclean, 115; *The Source of Life (Fons Vitae)*, 52, 88, 111–12, 113, 115, 164
- Ibn Ghiyyāth, Isaac (*also* Isaac b. Ghiyyāth), 87n22, 88, 112, 119
- Ibn Ḥafsūn, 57n130
- Ibn Ḥafṣūn, Aḥmad, 105n13
- Ibn Hārūn, Abū Ja'far, 66
- Ibn Ḥasdāy, Abraham, 119
- Ibn Ḥayyān, Jābir, 30n11, 108; on Ibn Masarra, 36n37, 41, 57n130, 68n21
- Ibn Ḥazm, 2, 67, 75, 105, 106n16; on Aristotle, 105, 106n16; on al-Ḥakam, 64–65; on Ibn Masarra, 47–48, 49–50, 58, 59–60, 117; on law, 149; Maimonides and, 149; and Mu'tazilism, 47, 67–69; on philosophy, 22; Ptolemaian astronomy and, 152n11; and Zāhirism, 78–80
- Ibn Hūd, Abū 'Amir, 107
- Ibn Hūd, al-Musta'in II, 84
- Ibn Hūd, 'Imād al-Dawla, 84
- Ibn Janāh, Abū'l-Walīd Marwān, 76
- Ibn Juljul, 17–18, 29; on Dioscorides, 18n63; on Ḥasdāy ibn Ishāq, 30; Ibn Daud and, 29n8
- Ibn Jumay', 155n127
- Ibn Khāqān, Abū Naṣr al-Faḥ, 41n60, 109n34, 127
- Ibn Lubāba, 64
- Ibn Maḍā' al-Qurṭubī, 155
- Ibn Marwān al-Jilliqī, 57n130
- Ibn Masarra, 'Abd Allāh, 34, 39, 64n6
- Ibn Masarra, Aḥmad b. Abd Allāh al-Qurṭubī, 40
- Ibn Masarra, Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Najīh, 21, 34–60; Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. Naṣr and, 36; *The Book of Explanation*, 39; *The Book of Letters (also The Book of Properties of Letters)*, 38, 43, 45, 47–48, 49, 50, 53–54, 55; *Epistle of Contemplation*, 36–37, 38, 40, 42–43, 45, 48–49, 55; Ibn Gabirol and, 116n61; influence by and on Jews, 39, 48–57, 113–14, 168; *Kitāb tawḥīd al-mūqinīn*, 39, 41–45, 50; Maslama b. Qāsim and, 108; and Mu'tazilism, 37, 42, 64, 67–68; and mysticism, 38, 110–11, 113, 117–18, 122, 168; and Neoplatonism, 35, 37, 38, 48, 103, 108; as poet, 41; Pseudo-Empedocleanism and, 117; rhetorical talents of, 35–36; writings of, 36–41
- Ibn Megash, Meir, 97
- Ibn Paqūda. *See* Baḥyā Ibn Paqūda
- Ibn Qāsī, 109n33, 111
- Ibn Rushd, Abū'l-Walīd Muḥamad. *See* Averroes
- Ibn Sab'in, Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, 38, 162, 168
- Ibn Ṣaddīq, Joseph, 73, 75, 85n13, 113, 119, 121
- Ibn Ṣā'id (*also* Ṣā'id Ibn Ṣā'id al-Andalusī): on Abū'l-Faql Ḥasdāy, 91–92, 125–26; on censorship, 31–33, 102–3; on Empedocles, 46; on Ibn Masarra, 46–47, 48, 117; on Jews, 11, 97; al-Marqarī and, 22n82; on philosophy in al-Andalus, 11, 27, 28–29, 33–34, 97, 104–9, 125–26; study and, 93

- Ibn Sīnā, 156
Ibn Ṭāhir, Abū ‘Abd al-Rahmām, 135
Ibn Tāshufīn, Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf (*also* Ibn Tā‘yāshṭ), 85
Ibn Taymiyya, 5-6, 57n131
Ibn Tā‘yāshṭ. *See* Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf Ibn Tāshufīn
Ibn Ṭufayl, Abū Bakr, 21; al-Marrākushī on, 136-37, 138n50; Almohads and, 135-36, 144, 146-47; Aristotelianism and, 135-37; Averroes and, 136-38, 140n58; *Ḥayy Ibn Yaqẓān*, 97, 99, 122, 128, 144-45; and Ibn Bājjā, 85, 122-23, 136; influence on Maimonides, 23; on knowledge, 127; and mysticism, 21, 122-23; and Neoplatonism, 21, 122-23, 128, 144-45, 158; Ptolemaic astronomy and, 152
Ibn Tūmart, Muḥammad (Mahdī), 69-70, 129-32, 142, 149, 150
Ibn Ṭumlūs, 22, 25n95, 69n30, 111
Ibn Waḍḍāḥ, Muḥammad, 34, 39-40
Ibn Wuhayb, Mālik, 126
Ibn Zarb, Muḥammad b. Yabqā, 41n60, 59n136
Ibn Zuhr, Abū Bakr, 133-34
Ibn Zuhr, Abū ‘Alā’, 127, 155
Ibn Zuhr, Abū Marwān, 151
Ibrāhīm ibn Ya‘qūb al-Isrāīlī al-Ṭurṭūshī, 31n15
Imaginary Circles (Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī), 160
Iqbāl al-Dawla ‘Alī, 11
Isaac b. Ghiyyāth. *See* Ibn Ghiyyāth, Isaac
Isaac b. Qistār, 11
Isaac Israeli, 10n32, 53, 56, 104, 112, 119; *The Book of Creation (Sefer Yešira)*, 52, 53, 55, 56-57, 114
Isidore of Seville, 18
Islam: Fāṭimid, 25-26, 56, 57, 60, 65n9, 102, 103-4, 106n20, 108, 110, 158, 159; geographic extent of, 4; Ismā‘īlī, 25, 56, 102, 103, 104, 106n20, 107-8, 110, 113, 118-19, 120, 158, 159, 168; religious intolerance in, 13; Shī‘ī, 25, 51, 63, 65n9, 66, 70n32, 113, 130, 159, 160, 162, 168; Sunnī, 25, 51, 110, 129-30, 162, 168
Islamicate, 4-7; philosophy, 11-12, 18-9, 61-62, 81, 88-91; religious relations in, 12-14; study of, 7-8, 62, 162
Jabalī, Muḥammad b. ‘Abdūn al-, 105n13
Jāḥiẓ, ‘Amr b. Baḥr al-, 66, 71
Jews, 3n8, 13-14; in the Almohad realm, 18, 130, 145-48; as courtiers, 16n55, 29-31, 82-85, 89-90; Ibn Massara and, 48-57; influence on Iberian peninsula, 7-8, 19, 23, 163-69; Karaite, 63, 73-77; language and, 4-5, 15; as philosophers, 4n12, 18-19, 32-34, 60, 87-90, 111-15, 165-67; persecution of, 1n2, 33n23, 88, 96, 130; as poets, 85-87; Pseudo-Empedocles and, 117-20; Rabbanite, 63, 72-73, 74, 75-76, 77; as translators, 163-65. *See also* Andalus, al-, Jewish community of; law, Jewish; philosophy, Jewish
John of Gorze, 31
Joseph Ibn Jābir, 145
Joseph Ibn Shim‘on, 92-93, 146
Jubbā‘ī, al-, 64n7
Judah ben Barzillai ha-Barceloni, 53, 54n118
Judah Halevi, 3-4, 73, 75; on Aristotelianism, 20, 113; influences on, 23, 54; *Kuzari*, 20, 53, 54, 73, 88, 113, 121, 160; as Neoplatonist, 113; as poet, 88
Judah Ibn Tibbon, 165n16
Junayd, al-, 35
Karaites, 73-77; beliefs of, 63; and Mu‘tazilites, 63; oral tradition and, 73-74
Khalīl b. ‘Abd al-Mālik (*also* Khalīl al-Ghafla, *also* Khalīl al-Qadarī), 58-59, 64
Khushanī, ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥārith b. Asad al-, 34, 36, 39-40, 59n140
Kindī, al-, 20, 120, 159; Aristotelianism and, 20, 159; Averroes and, 155; Neoplatonism and, 20, 120
Kirmānī, Abū ‘l-Ḥakam al-, 106-7, 108
language: as divisive agent, 5; as unifying agent, 4-6, 15; source, 8; technical, 6; written, 50-53. *See also* Arabic; Hebrew; letters
law: Jewish, 29, 33n23, 63, 72-80, 111, 149-50; Mālikī, 25, 63, 79-80, 108, 129, 141-42, 147, 152n111; and philosophy, 61, 147-50; and theology, 22n80,

- law (*continued*)
54, 61–80, 129–30, 143; *Zāhirī*, 25, 64n7, 77–80, 155n125
- letters: Arabic, 38, 42–43, 47, 49, 50–52, 55; Hebrew, 52
- libraries, 28–33, 76–77, 96, 142; censorship of, 31–32, 59n136, 165, 167
- Liudprand of Cremona, 31
- Lofty Faith, The*. See Abraham Ibn Daud
- Lu'lu'ī, Abū Bakr al-, 41
- Madhḥijī, Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-. See Ibn al-Kattānī
- Maghreb, the, 2; Almohads in, 70, 128–32; religious movements in, 3n10, 63, 70, 92–93, 118, 141n61
- Maimonides, Moses, 8n26, 99, 159; Almohads and, 147, 148; on al-Andalus, 3; on Aristotle, 153–54; Averroes and, 98, 156–57; and Avicenna, 125n3, 157; on faith, 148–49; on friendship, 97–99; on God, 146, 148–49; *Guide of the Perplexed*, 10, 52–53, 70–71, 98–99, 149, 154; influences on, 10, 23; on law, 149–50; on metaphysics, 157–58; on perfection, 95; on philosophy, 87, 94; on Ptolemy, 154; on resurrection, 157; as teacher, 92–93, 145–46
- Majrīṭī, Maslama b. Aḥmad al-Faraḍī al-, 105n13, 107
- Mālikīs, 25, 63, 79–80, 108, 129, 141–42, 147, 152n111
- Manṣūr Ibn Abī 'Āmir, Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb al- (*also* Abū 'Āmir; al-Manṣūr Ibn 'Āmir), 31–33, 57, 60, 85, 102–3, 104, 139, 166
- Maqqarī, al-, 28n4; on astronomy, 22; Ibn Ṣā'id and, 22n82; on philosophy, 22n82
- Marc of Toledo, 93
- Marcus (Muḥammad b. Maymūn), 105n13
- Marrākushī, 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-, 69, 122–23, 128, 135–36
- Marrākushī, Ibn 'Abd al-Mālik Al-, 136–38, 139n54, 140–41
- Masarrīs, 44, 64, 103, 110–11, 144; beliefs of, 58, 59; persecution of, 57–60. See *also* Ibn Masarra, Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh
- Maslama b. Qāsim al-Qurṭubī, 93n51, 107–8, 123
- Meccan Revelations* (Ibn al-'Arabī), 49
- Moshe Cordovero, 167, 168n29
- Mozarabs. See al-Andalus, Christian community in; Christians
- Muhammad I, 66
- Muḥammad b. Abī Burda, 64
- Muḥammad b. Maymūn (*also* Marcus), 105n13
- Muḥāsibī, al-, 23, 111
- Mu'izz, al-, Caliph, 103
- Muqammaṣ, Dāwūd al-, 121
- Mu'tamad, al-, 96
- Mu'tazila, the, 6n19, 42, 47, 61–73, 114; 'Abd Allāh and, 64n6, 68n21; Almohad period, 69–71, 76–77; Banū Ḥudayr and, 65n9; beliefs of, 62, 64, 65, 68n21, 69, 70–72; Ibn Ḥazm on, 68; Ibn Masarra and, 35, 37, 42, 46–48, 67–68; Ibn Tūmart and, 69–70, 131; al-Jāḥiẓ and, 66, 71; and Jewish scholars, 63, 72–73, 77n62; Karaites and, 63, 76–77; on knowledge, 62; Mālikī period, 63–65, 67–68, 69; Masarrīs and, 57, 59, 67n20; post-Muslim Conquest period, 63–64, 65–67; Zāhirists and, 64n7, 68–69, 77
- Muwaffaq Mujāhid al-'Āmirī, al-, 11, 117
- Muwahḥidūn. See Almohads
- mysticism, 61–62, 110–11, 117–18, 167–68; Bahyā Ibn Paqūda and, 111; Ibn Masarra and, 38–39, 43–44, 48–50, 60, 113–14; Ibn Ṭufayl and, 122–23; Jewish, 9n28, 50, 52–57, 111, 113–14, 117; Maimonides and, 117, 156n132; and Neoplatonism, 21, 103–4, 117, 162; texts, 35n33, 52–57, 107–8
- Nasafi, Abū'l-Ḥasan al-, 103
- Naṭronay Gaon, 73, 74–75
- Neo-Aristotelian philosophy. See Aristotelians, neo-orthodox.
- Neoplatonism, 20, 21, 60, 102–23; Aristotle and, 104, 109; with Aristotelian characteristics, 120–23, 156, 160; Fāṭimids and, 25, 60, 103–4, 110, 158; Ibn Gabirol and, 88; Ibn Masarra and, 35, 37, 38, 48–49, 103; Ibn Ṭufayl and, 21, 128, 144–45; Jewish tradition of,

- 112–14, 119–20, 158, 159–60; proponents of, 4n12; Pseudo-Empedoclean, 115–20; texts of, 107–9, 113n51, 118–19
Nicholas (monk), 18n63
- Ordoño III, King, 31n15
Otto I, Holy Roman Emperor, 31
- philosophy: definition of, 20, 21; hostility toward, 10n33, 31–33, 95, 159; mystical (*see* mysticism); training in, 90–94
- philosophy, Christian: role in Arabic Islamic philosophy, 8–9, 15–16, 18–20, 23–24, 105n13; role in Jewish philosophy, 17, 23–24; role of non-Christians in, 16n57, 162–63
- philosophy, Islamic: comparison with Jewish philosophy, 3, 5n17; Neoplatonism and, 103–4, 158–59; role in European philosophy, 9n27; role of non-Muslims in, 5n17, 9–11, 168
- philosophy, Jewish, 3–4, 8, 23, 24, 111–15; comparison with Islamic philosophy, 3, 114, 121; designations of, 3, 21n78; role in Arabic Islamic philosophy, 8–11, 48–49, 52–56, 60; role in European philosophy, 9n27, 162–69; role of non-Jews in, 5n17, 8–9, 23, 113–14, 168. *See also* Jews: as philosophers
- Plotinus, 20, 118, 120–21
- poetry, 15, 41, 85–89
- Porphyry, 120
- Priscillianism, 117–18
- Pseudo-Empedocleanism. *See under* Neoplatonism
- Ptolemy, 151
- Qāḍī al-Nu‘mān, 103
- Qasmūna (daughter of Samuel ha-Nagid), 85n15
- Qirqisānī, Abū Ya‘qūb al-, 73, 75n55
- Qūmis ibn Antunyān (*also* Qaumis), 84
- Qur‘ān, the, 43; Almohads on, 129, 131, 132–33, 135; Averroes on, 139n53; as created or uncreated work, 64; on creation, 55; Ibn Masarra on, 41, 45, 47–48, 51–52, 55–56, 68n21; Khalil al-Ghaffla on, 64; Maimonides and, 148; Masarriyya on, 58; Mu‘tazila on, 62, 64, 65, 77; on the soul, 135; Zāhirīs on, 64n7, 77, 79
- Rabbanites, 63, 72–73, 74, 75–76, 77
- Rabī‘ bn. Zayd, 56n125
- Rāzī, Abū Ḥātim al-, 50, 155n127
Regimen of the Solitary. *See* Ibn Bājja, Abū Bakr ibn al-Ṣā‘igh
- Ru‘aynī, Ismā‘īl al-, 49–50, 58, 59–60
- Sa‘adya Gaon, 52–53, 72, 121
- Sa‘īd b. Faṭḥūn b. Makram, Abū ‘Uthmān, 33, 104–5
- Ṣā‘id Ibn Ṣā‘id al-Andalusī. *See* Ibn Ṣā‘id Ṣalt, Abū al-, 126
- Samson, 17
- Samuel Ben ‘Eli, 99
- Samuel ha-Nagid (*also* Ibn al-Naghrīla), 30n11, 75, 83, 85n15, 86n18, 87n22, 96
- Saragossa, 85, 92, 110, 124–26, 166
- science: censorship of, 102–3; philosophical, 21n79, 27, 31–32, 45, 90–94, 140n58; physical, 27, 31–32, 90, 93
- Sefer Yešira (The Book of Creation)*, 52, 53, 55, 56–57, 114
- Shahrastānī, al-, 115
- Shahrazūrī, al-, 115
- Shallūn, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, 40
- Sijistānī, Abū Sulaymān al-, 105n13
- solitude, 94–96, 97–98
- Spain, “golden age” of, 82
- Subkī, al-, 69
- Tādilī, al-, 122
- tawḥīd*. *See* God: unity of
- Thābit b. Sinān, 105n13
- translations: by and into Arabic, 16n57, 18, 30, 120, 162–63, 164; of books, 5–6, 17–18, 73, 164; by Christians, 9n30, 16, 18n63; by and into Hebrew, 8, 73, 110, 113n49, 164, 166; by Jews, 163–65
- Tuǰībī, Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm al-Naqqāsh al-, 106, 107n22, 152
- Tustarī, Aḥmad b. Sālim al-, 35
- Tustarī, Sahl b. al-Faḍl al-, 35, 77n62
- Umayyad dynasty, 57, 65n9, 82

Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī. *See* Ibn ʿAdī, Yaḥyā

Yaḥyā b. Yūsuf Ibn Tāshufīn, 85

Yefet Ben ʿEli, 74n50

Yehoseph Ha-Nagid (*also* Yehoseph Ibn al-Naghrīla), 30n11, 83, 96

Yesuʿah ben Yehuda, 76

Yūsuf al-Baṣīr, 73n46

Yūsuf ibn Yaḥyā al-Khurāsānī, 56

Zāhirīs, 25, 64n7, 77–80, 155n125