The Routes of al-Andalus

Spiritual convergence and intercultural dialogue

THE ROUTES OF AL-ANDALUS: SPIRITUAL CONVERGENCE AND INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUE

"The whole world in all its diversity is one, and all men are brothers and neighbours"
(Al-Zubeidi, tutor to Al-Hakam II)

Ever since its foundation, UNESCO has striven to foster dialogue between cultures as fundamental to the building a culture of peace. The international co-operation which developed from this inspired the concept of mankind's "common heritage", promoted greater knowledge of other peoples and mobilized intellectual communities to support projects highlighting cultural diversity and interaction.

Though much has been done, there is still an imperative need to strengthen intercultural dialogue. The complex processes at work in the present-day world are creating a momentum that is highly dangerous - as can be seen from numerous ongoing conflicts - but are also quite capable of stimulating convergences between cultures which will bring to light a number of shared values.

UNESCO is therefore striving to place the emphasis on contemporary convergence processes, to find more and more meeting points for dialogue between communities belonging to different cultural or religious traditions, to draw attention to the ways in which they borrow from and contribute to each other, and to encourage new ways of looking at each other and a deeper sense of solidarity.

Against this background, the "Routes of al-Andalus" project, approved by UNESCO's General Conference at its twenty-eighth session in November 1995, seeks to highlight the processes, mechanisms and heritage of dialogue that gradually developed in medieval Spain, and to study the consequences today of the interactions that took place in that context. Islamic, Christian and Jewish cultures and religions coexisted for nearly eight centuries in al-Andalus, though admittedly within a complex historical setting marked by divisions and violence; but that in no way diminishes its exceptional nature. Al-Andalus provided an outstanding environment for dialogue and contact.

That form of coexistence, unparalleled at the time, was destined to have wide-ranging consequences. It was not only the Iberian peninsula and the Maghrib, but also sub-Saharan Africa and Western Europe, that were enriched. Through al-Andalus, the foundations of Greek culture and the contributions to philosophy and science of India, Persia and China were disseminated in Europe. The Spain of al-Andalus thus served as a link between East and West and between Antiquity and the future Renaissance.

But the aim of UNESCO is also to build bridges. Bridges between Judaism, Christianity and Islam; between the West, the Arab world and sub-Saharan Africa; between the past and the present, to shape a future of mutual exchange and respect between peoples, cultures and religions which, in former times and in spite of difficulties, succeeded in living together and enriching each other.

Federico Mayor

EL LEGADO ANDALUSI:
"THE ROUTES OF AL-ANDALUS"

Each day we hear more spoken about al-Andalus, of its artistic and social creations, its music, arquitectural achievements, science, philosophy and of its influence in the transmission of Greek and Roman thought to the rest of Europe. As a place of interchange, a melting-pot of cultures, races and religions, its capacity for tolerance and coexistence created a society which showed its greatest radiance in the Middle Ages.

In Andalusia, three cultures derived from three religions have coexisted in spite of all obstacles. The theological and cultural representations, the actual rhetoric forms between the distinct religions and communities, have as their origin the debates and controversies of the period.

The Andalusian Regional Government, by way of El Legado Andalusí, is fulfilling a labour of recovery and diffusion of our Andalusian past. One of our objectives is to promote inter-cultural dialogue as a fundamental factor in the creation of a culture which is more just and solid, a culture of peace. Cooperation and interchange with international organisations like UNESCO allows the emergence of this notion of a patrimony common to all humanity, improves mutual knowledge between cultures, and mobilizes groups of intellectuals around projects which develop diversity and cultural interaction.

In this context of a constantly renewed intercultural dialogue, the Andalusian Regional Government promotes the creation of areas of dialogue between communities which belong to different cultural and religious groups but who share a common historical patrimony, to stimulate the manifestation of certain universal values. It is a question of emphasising the reciprocal contributions made by the cultures, and study in more depth the notions of "otherness", the viewpoint of others, and solidarity.

We consider the global programme "*The Routes of al-Andalus: spiritual convergence and intercultural dialogue*" a necessary and estimable initiative. The study and analysis of the mechanism's dynamics of breaking-off and convergence in what al-Andalus was, should be the impulse to create new areas of dialogue between cultures and civilizations.

This interchange between cultures can serve to bring today to the world specific keys for a better understanding between communities and to establish bonds of solidarity which contribute to a better future.

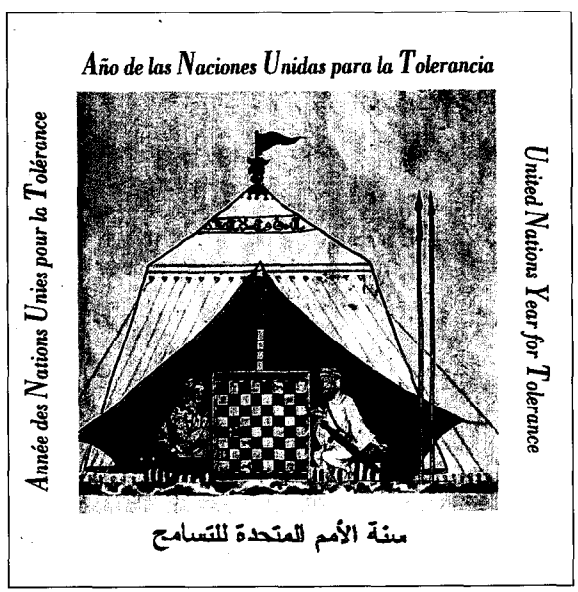
Carmen Calvo Poyato
Minister of Culture for the Andalusian Regional Parliament

INTRODUCTION

Doudou DIENE
Director of the Division for Intercultural Projects
Division for UNESCO

In a limited geographical setting - the Iberian Peninsula, over a considerable period of time - more than seven centuries, three regions - the Arab world, Europe and Africa, and three religions - Islam, Judaism and Christianity, all came together, setting the scene for one of history's most prodigious intercultural dialogues. This conjunction of history, geography, culture and religion transformed medieval Spain into "al-Andalus", a nexus of human, cultural and spiritual interactions which left an imprint so deep that it cannot be ignored by anyone wishing to understand the long term implications of Christian Europe's perceptions of and its relations with the Arab-Islamic, Judaic and African worlds.

The cultural outcome of that encounter is well known: an aesthetic approach and artistic creations exemplified by the Alhambra in Granada, and the music and poetry of al-Andalus. However, it is precisely this all but exclusive highlighting of aesthetics and of the art of living that presents a problem. In the first place this is because the aesthetic of al-Andalus and its artistic expressions have come to overshadow the ethical dimension, the values and points of convergence in the collective memory, if not in that of the scholarly community; but also and above all because of the all but exclusively historical interest in this unparalleled experience, which does not take account of all the lessons that could be drawn from it.



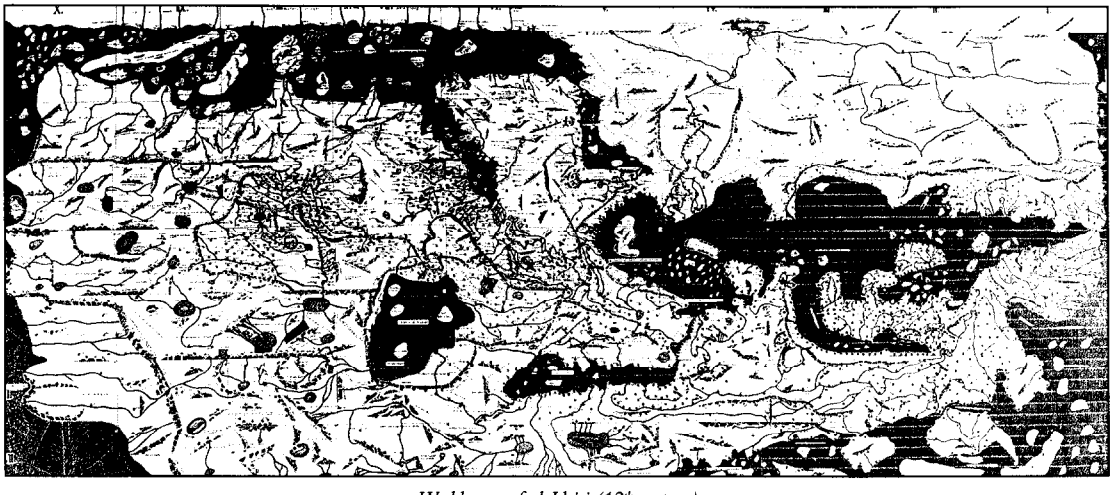
Muslim and Christian playing chess.
The Book of games *of Alfonso X El Sabio.*

If we are to gain a better understanding of the experience of al-Andalus, it is vital to delve into the long memory of the interlocking mechanisms and processes which for several centuries enabled three cultural complexes and three religions to practise *in vitro* an art of coexistence in which conflict and dialogue merged in a fruitful give-and-take.

To speak of a long memory - and that is the underlying meaning of the concept of "routes" - is precisely to ponder and probe the hidden linkages formed in medieval times with the help of the questions, perceptions and practices of these three religions and these cultures in modern times.

Ultimately, the goal of the "Routes of al-Andalus" project is to enable history and modernity, values and arts, to come together in order to build and consolidate, here and now, a Culture of Peace - the new idea launched by the Director-General of UNESCO. To read the story running like filigree through the relations between human beings and between religions, linking war and peace, trade and culture, is to illuminate - in the spirit of UNESCO's own mandate - through a more radical reappropriation of the experience of al-Andalus, the gradual construction of a plural identity and a common heritage, the understanding of whose mechanisms may perhaps enable us to find better answers to the questions currently affecting relations between Islam, Judaism and Christianity, the Arab world, Europe and Africa...

Its depth and duration were major features that made the Spain that was al-Andalus a "live" cultural field, metaphorically switched on. It was because the political and the military dimensions, the forces of antagonism and of attraction, had to be transmuted, resolved or translated into a constant process of cultural invention, that al-Andalus reached a cultural "critical mass" which literally radiated out through space and time.



World map of al-Idrisi (12th century)

We must as a matter of urgency ensure that, thanks to its special radiance, the Spain of al-Andalus is not seen solely as an aesthetic scene from long ago, but is perceived and experienced as an intercultural dialogue whose relevance to today's world is acknowledged by all.

In the final analysis, UNESCO's response to the prevailing doctrine of the clash of civilizations is to highlight, in order to construct "the defences of peace in the minds of men", the dynamic process of mutual nourishment of cultures which also obeys the old law of energy: "nothing is created, nothing is lost, all is transformed".

DIALOGUES BETWEEN RELIGIONS IN ANDALUSIA

Haïm ZAFRANI

The dialogue of ideas, cultures and religions, which is of such major interest to us today, has its roots in the distant past, in Biblical wisdom literature, which, being essentially universalist, supra-historical in character and a source of monotheism, provided an important point of contact between ancient civilizations and peoples, such as the Jews and the Arabs.

The Arab conquests between 632 and 711 created an immense area in the western Mediterranean which united under the banner of Islam peoples who had previously been subject to the empires of Persia, Byzantium and Rome. The distinctive way of life that developed in the Umayyad and Abbasid periods lasted for eight centuries in the Muslim West, in the fertile lands of North Africa and Andalusia, until 1492. It has survived in the Judaeo-Muslim historical and cultural consciousness over the four centuries since that tragic date and remains as a major point of reference and a model to be followed.

Maqâmât of al-Harîrî (13th century)

Taking the collation of parallel Jewish and Islamic writings as our starting-point, we have scrutinized the texts that have helped to transmit cultures, civilization and indeed wisdom, dissecting their authors' way of thinking so as to reveal similarities and the elements of a symbiotic relationship for which there is no parallel during the more than 1,500 years of Jewish life in Christian countries, apart from a few brief periods in the history of Spain, the inheritor of Arab civilization, when some of its monarchs proclaimed themselves emperor of two or three religions[1].

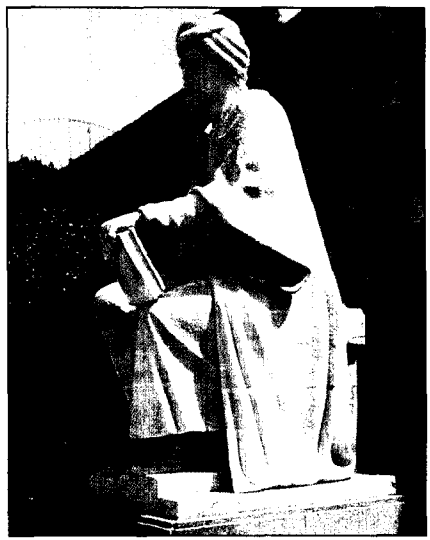
Accordingly, we have constructed models and delineated the areas in which Jews, Christians and Muslims were most fully and freely able to engage in a wide range of common activities. They include the socio-economic, linguistic and literary, philosophical, theological and even religious fields, mystical and cabalistic practices, the law and administration, folklore, poetry and music, and other social activities marked by the imprint of religion and magic (including rites of passage such as birth, marriage and death).

1. *In Castilla Alfonso VI (11th century), Alfonso X el Sabio (13th century), Pedro de Castilla, known as "the Cruel" (14th century), who minted coinage with this claim, and in Aragon, Jaime I (13th century).*

Two outstanding figures of the Hispano-Maghribi Golden Age: Averroës and Maimonides

Averroës and Maimonides, who were both born in Córdoba, had their roots in the same civilization, in the same symbiotic society and in a culture which had at that time reached a very high degree of sophistication and was at its peak. They were both experts in legal science, both doctors and both philosophers. They were also contemporaries. (Maimonides lived from 1135 to 1204 and Averroës from 1126 to 1198) and thus both lived under the regime that had been established by the Almohad dynasty.

They lived parallel lives (in Plutarch's meaning of the term) and although their paths never crossed and they never even met they followed exactly the same course as regards their intellectual activities and even their professional careers - and perhaps also as regards the religious repression they both suffered. Here I am thinking, in the case of Averroës, mainly of doctrinal questions, even though he lived at the Almohad court and carried out official duties, while in the case of Maimonides it was because he was Jewish and did not belong to the dominant religion.



Monument to Averroës in Cordoba

Averroës occupied the posts of *qadi* (judge) and chief *qadi* (*qadi al-quda*), a mainly religious function in Muslim society, requiring a thorough knowledge of the revealed law, its theological developments and legal and jurisprudential implications.

Averroës was, moreover, a philosopher, and in that capacity, had been requested by the caliph to interpret Aristotle. In addition to what may be termed these spiritual and intellectual responsibilities he also had temporal duties as royal physician, attached to the person of the Almohad sovereign, Abu Ya'qub Yusuf. It is worth pointing out that these three major functions are paralleled in the life of Maimonides, who was also a master of legal science and a pillar of the *halakhan* (rabbinical law), a philosopher and a doctor at the royal court in Fostat.

The philosophical model

Clearly the way in which Jewish philosophy flourished in the Islamic world has attracted a great deal of attention. It gave rise to a philosophical model which it is, however, by no means easy to distinguish from other models and approaches and from other forms of expression and thought, with theological, mystical, ethical, poetical and even legal and political elements, which are interrelated in varying degrees according to the dominant characteristics of each work. Outstanding examples of this are provided by the works of

such figures as Sa'adia, Ibn Gabirol, Bahya Ibn Paquda, Maimonides, Judah ha-Levi and their Muslim counterparts, al-Kindi, al-Farabi, Ibn Sina, al-Ghazali, Ibn Bajjah, Ibn Tufayl, Ibn Rushd (Averroës), etc.

Statue of Maimonides

As far as philosophy is concerned, one of the most striking features of the Judaeo-Arab symbiosis is the "*Hellenization of Jewish thought through the intermediary of Islam*". The relations of a great number of Diaspora Jews with the Greco-Latin world, despite the importance of Philo of Alexandria, had only a superficial influence. However, just as Jewish translators had passed on Arab science and philosophy to the Christian world, so it was through the writings of the Arabs that Greek science and ways of thinking penetrated the Jewish universe.

Jewish philosophical thought followed the same intellectual path as Islamic thought, adopting the most advanced findings of the new sciences and maintaining friendly relations, while at the same time conserving an attitude of independence on the fundamental questions of religion. This has enabled the great works of the theologians and philosophers of the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries to remain classics of orthodox Judaism, in spite of the controversies some of them aroused, in particular *The Guide of the Perplexed*[2]. One figure, among many other philosophers and scholars, may serve as an example: Samwal al-Maghribi, a Jew who came under the influence of Islam late in life, a scholar and intellectual of great renown, the creator of new mathematical principles and the author of Algebra al-Bahir. His mentor was a twelfth-century Jewish thinker, Abu al-Barakat al-Baghdadi, called Awhad al-Zamam, "Unique of his generation", whose critique of Aristotle's Physica foreshadowed modern science. Converted very late in his life to Islam, he was considered to be one of the greatest Islamic philosophers of all time.

Mysticism: a wellspring of wisdom

It was through Sufism that many Jewish ascetics and mystics came into contact with a particular form of spirituality which they passed on to Jewish culture and to its ethical system, initially in Arabic, but subsequently in translations into Hebrew and other Jewish vernacular languages. They included Bahya Ibn Paquda, Abraham Abulafya, Abraham and Obadya, the son and grandson of Maimonides, and many others.

The writings on Ibn 'Arabi and the practices of Andalusian Sufism bring out the points of contact and the similarities and reveal the existence of areas where Jewish and Muslim esotericism and spirituality converge.

The teachings of al-Ghazali had immense repercussions and exerted considerable influence on the history of thought, in both East and West, among the elites of Europe, especially among Jewish thinkers and authors, for whom, his works and teachings provided a lesson to be learnt and his spiritual experience an

2. Maimónides

example to be followed. This influence operated on two levels and covered two periods. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it was exercised over Jewish authors who thought and wrote in Arabic. Such was the case of Judah ha-Levi, who was the first to accept the teachings of the master and his most fervent disciple, employing from the very beginning the accusation of incoherence which al-Ghazali had made against philosophers in general and Aristotelian philosophy in particular, since, like him, he perceived the great danger it posed for the revealed religions. Faithful to the master's thinking, he quoted directly from his texts, using an early story which al-Ghazali had included in his *Ihya'ulum al-Din* and which summarized the doctrinal bases on the dogmas he taught. It is generally accepted that Maimonides knew al-Ghazali's works and had read his *Tahafut al-falasifa*. What is surprising, however is that the code of Maimonides, the *Mishne Torah*, the only work he wrote in Hebrew, presents on analysis remarkable similarities with al-Ghazali's *Ihya'ulum al-Din*. Both these works, which as exclusively legal-religious in essence, but intended to some extent to revitalize the religious sciences, cover many similar subjects and both begin with a substantial prologue bearing the same title, "The Book of Knowledge", *Sefer ha-madda* in the first case and *Kitab al-'ilm* in the second.

The spiritual theology of Bahya Ibn Paquda and its affinities with that of Ibn 'Arabi

The first of these writers, Bahya Ibn Paquda, a major figure in his own right who had considerable influence on later Jewish spirituality and whose own teachings were greatly influenced by Islamic mysticism, was an Andalusian Jew of the latter half of the eleventh century, whose famous work *Guidance to the Duties of the Heart* rapidly became a very popular book of devotion in eastern and western Judaism in its translation into Hebrew and the Jewish languages of East and West, including the Judaeo-Arabic of the Maghrib[3].

The literary structure and the ascetic ideas Bahya developed in this work of pietism derive from Sufism, that is to say, from the very sources of Islamic mysticism.

The spiritual theology which Bahya constructed for his co-religionists mainly drew on Islamic sources, even in areas where he could have found similar elements in his own religious tradition. Thus, he borrowed from Islamic mysticism the idea of a journey leading the soul to pure divine love and to union with the "supreme light" of God and he chose to employ an ideological framework, a mystical structure, and a style which matched the tastes of his Jewish readers who were profoundly influenced by Arabic literature ...

Thus, Bahya's works represents a deliberate attempt, marked by deep understanding, to adopt Islamic mysticism to Jewish spirituality.

As a manual of the inner life of a very pure and elevated spirituality, and an introduction to the duties of the heart, it is also valuable testimony to the astonishing receptiveness of the Jewish mind which, not content

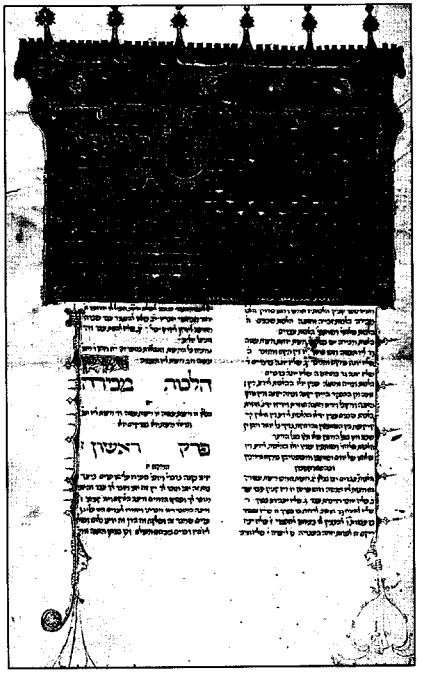
3. Bahya wrote this book in Arabic, entitling it Kitab al-Hidaya 'ila fara'id al-qulub. *It is worth noting in this respect that Al-Ghazali, in his* Mizam al'Amal *"Criteria of Action", pays a lot of attention to "the science of the heart" inherited from Al-Hasan al-Basri.*

with assimilating the heritage of Greek thought as transmitted and enriched by the Muslims, also set out to extract from Islamic asceticism what it could incorporate within the framework of its own beliefs.

Bahya seems to have been inspired by ascetic work (*zuhd*) of eastern origin. In that respect, as in others, the West was still dependent on the East and Muslim Spain in the eleventh century was familiar through the works of a number of such writers with a strand of asceticism which circulated freely in the Islamic world.

The ten principles of the *Kitab al-hidayah ila fara'id al-qulub* (Guidance to the Duties of the Heart) are stated by its author at the outset in the plan he himself laid out for the book: a sincere profession of the oneness of God (*ikhlas al-tawhid*), consideration for all created beings (*al-i'tibar bilmakhluqin*), obedience to God (*ta'at Allah*), abandonment (*tawakkul, the principle of giving oneself entirely to Him*), sincerity of action (*ikhlas*), humility (*tawadu'*), repentance (*tawba*), constant examination of one's conscience (*muhasaba*), abstinence and asceticism (*zuhd*), and love of God (*mahabba*).

These different stages (*maqamat*) of spiritual life also occur, either in a broadly similar order or in a completely different order, in the works of other Islamic mystics of West and East (Ibn 'Arabi in particular) and in the descriptions they give of Sufi experiences and of what they call spiritual "dwellings" (*manazil*) and "states" (*'ahwal*).



Manuscript of the Mishne Torah "Second Law" of Maimonides

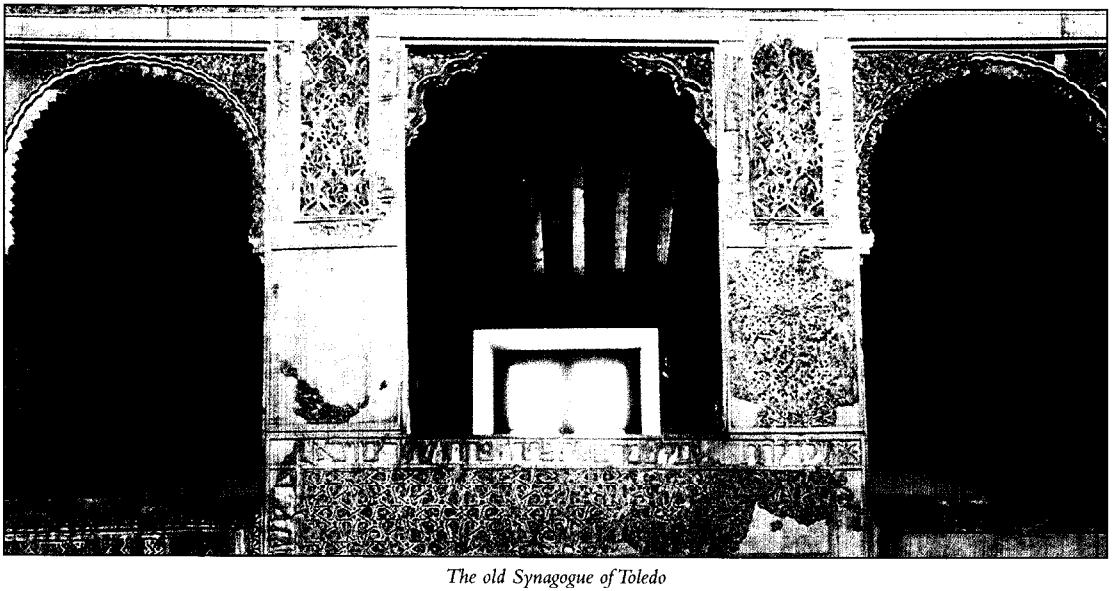
The influence of Hispano-Arab poetry

In this field too it was at the Arab school of the linguistic sciences and humanities that the Hispano-Maghribi Jewish poets learnt their art. Jewish poetry owes the main features of its prosody to the rich heritage of the Andalusian Golden Age, its metre being, despite the constraints imposed by the Hebrew language, a relic of Arabic metre.

A "treatise on the art of poetry", intended to pass on to Hebrew poetry the lessons of Arabic rhetoric, was written by Moses Ibn Ezra (1070-1140), "an illustrious poet in Hebrew and a Jewish scholar of Arabic" for whom "the art of correct expression had become the special prerogative of the Arab world as a whole". "The Arabic language", wrote a poet whom he quoted, "is to other languages as spring is to the other seasons". It was an opinion contested by other Jewish writers for whom the literary pre-eminence of Hebrew literature and the Scriptures remained unquestioned.

Arab-Andalusian musical traditions in Jewish society

Arab thinkers and musicologists had produced many works of musical theory, well known to the Jewish elites, who included many composers and theoreticians, and indeed Maimonides himself was not indifferent to theories propounded on the therapeutic value of music in certain cases of mental illness. One contemporary, in the treatise "Medicine of souls", recommended that one whole year - the eighth of the ten making up the course of academic studies - be devoted to music. On more that one occasion, Muslim princes had recourse to the talents of Jewish musicians and singers on festive or solemn occasions. It is worth noting that in the Maghrib, in Morocco in particular, "the Muslim and Jewish communities have piously conserved the memory of Hispano-Arab music, which emigrated with them from the Iberian cities they were forced to leave".



The old Synagogue of Toledo

As an outstanding example of the dialogue between different religions, cultures and civilizations, Andalusia represents a lesson for us today as we confront globalization, which needs to take place against a background of enlightened social relations and the universal ethical values in which humanity has its roots and without which it cannot survive.

There is also a message for contemporary societies in the universal wisdom contained in the scriptures, whether they be the Old Testament, The New Testament or the Koran. This involves seeking out the universal values enshrined in the Creation and in our relations with all created beings, by living in harmony and sharing with others and pursuing the quest for values and forms of behaviour that will result in a little more justice, responsibility, generosity and love.

AL-ANDALUS: TOLERANCE AND CONVERGENCE

Mohamed BENCHRIFA

Throughout the period of Islamic rule al-Andalus was a remarkable example and outstanding model of tolerance. It emerged at the time of the conquest, when the Muslim conquerors undertook to preserve the freedoms of their subjects, protect their fortunes and their property, respect their churches and ensure their defence.

The agreement concluded between 'Abdul'azîz ibn Mûsà ibn Nusair and Theodomir is a case in point. Similarly, the story told by historians of Ardabat and Maimûn al-'Âbid is about the practical application of written agreements. It demonstrates in the clearest possible way of the generosity of the conquerors' conduct and policy towards the vanquished in the age of the Governors (*the wulâh*), which resulted in a perfectly harmonious cohabitation and a model of peaceful coexistence between the different races and religions.

One of the consequences was that the Arabic language and literature became widespread among Christians and Jews, starting at the time of the Umayyad emirate and intensifying under the Caliphate. This rapid process of arabization, which took place a century or a little more after the arrival of the Muslims in the Iberian peninsula, provoked lamentations from some churchmen, the most famous of whom was Álvaro, a priest at Córdoba.

This situation probably arose not only as a result of the climate of tolerance, referred to above, but out of the ambitions of Christians and Jews at that time to occupy state positions and accede to posts in government service. In this connection, it is known that the Umayyads of al-Andalus, following the example of their predecessors from the East, employed many Christians in their various offices, some of whom achieved the highest rank under the princes and caliphs. Examples of this are Gomes Rabî', who was close to al-Hakam ar-Rabdî, and Gomes ibn Antûn, first secretary to Abd-al-Rahman an-Nâsir al-Ausat, whose writing style, quality of correspondence, *savoir-faire*, and accurate accounting were praised by the great historian Ibn Hayyân. One further example is Bishop Rabî' ibn Zaid (Recesmundus), who worked with 'Abd-al-Rahman an-Nâsir and was entrusted with various missions and several embassies during his reign.

In this context, a most curious fact should be noted: government services at that period were closed on Sundays. Thus, the historian Ibn Hayyân writes: "The first to make Sunday a day of rest every week for the Sultan's secretaries and clerks, now absent from the Palace on this occasion, was Gomes ibn Antûn, Prince Muhammad's letter-writer. He was a Christian and wished to spend this day - that is, Sunday - at his devotions. All the secretaries followed his example in order to take some rest and look after their own affairs, and the habit has continued down to our own times".

Another instance of tolerance in al-Andalus is the fact that the Muslims usually took part in Christian festivals, particularly those of the Nativity.

Tolerance reached its apogee in the reign of 'Abd-al-Rahman an-Nâsir in whose palace the great doctors and scholars of the three religions that acknowledge Abraham lived side by side. The scholar, doctor and man of letters Ibn al-Kattânî, the Jewish doctor Hasdai ibn Shaprût and the Christian Rabi' ibn Zaid, were assembled there, all of them with the task of studying the book of Dioscorides.

Bishop Rabî'Ibn Zaid and the great scholar of the *Hadîth*, Qâsim ibn Asbagh, were also engaged in reviewing the translation of the works of Paulo Orosio. Such collaboration between a great imâm of the hadîth and the Islamic sciences and a bishop clearly shows the great spirit of coexistence and tolerance that prevailed in al-Andalus under the Umayyads. This is confirmed by professor Vernet, the historian of science, whose objectivity can be relied up on; he writes: "Under the caliphate, there was great political and religious tolerance. Scholars of various races and religions collaborated closely: good evidence of this is the patronage that Hasdai bestowed upon Muslims and Christians, in addition to his Jewish co-religionists".

Arabic version of the Materia Médica *of Dioscorides*

These manifestations of tolerance under the caliphate did not decline during the period of the taifa kingdoms, and there is no lack of even later examples, notwithstanding the new situation of confrontation that was to put an end to cohabitation in Islamic al-Andalus and lead later to the establishment of the courts of the Inquisition.

The existence of Christian communities in Andalusian society was unique in the Muslim West, unlike Jewish communities which were established everywhere.

This situation and the pluralism that went with it had various consequences: the intermixing of races, bilingualism and multilingualism and, lastly, religious dialogue and debate.

The intermixing of races comes out clearly in marriages between Arabs, non-Arabs (Spaniards) and Berbers, and is particularly evident in the case of the mothers of the Umayyad princes and caliphs, of non-Arab Andalusian origin.

Bilingualism and multilingualism affected the language of the natives of al-Andalus and the Hebrew of the Jews, while everyone vied to be proficient in Arabic, a language in which authors, writers and poets of all races and religions distinguished themselves. One of the most celebrated of these was Ibn Sahl, who was a Jew. Another feature of multilingualism in literature is the *kharja* (poems) in the romance language and in Andalusian *muwashshaha*.

Lastly, it was only natural that this vibrant pluralism of religion should have given rise to religious dialogue and debate. One of many examples is Ibn Hazm, who is regarded as the founder of comparative religious history and whose work not only had an impact in his own day, but, as

specialists have shown, later influenced critical Christian thought.

In the same period - the fifth century AH/eleventh century - al-Bâjî wrote a reply to a letter sent by a French monk to al-Muqtadir bi-Llâh, Prince of Saragossa. The two texts, which have been published, are a reflection of this religious debate that thus extended beyond the borders of al-Andalus.

To this important legacy of Ibn Hazm and al-Bâjî must be added a sixth-century AH/twelfth-century dialogue between Ibn 'Abduzzamad al-Qurzubî and scholars in Toledo, and the dispute that took place in the city of Murcia between the historian and man of letters Ibn Râshiq al-Mursî and an Arabist Dominican, Raymond Marti.

A Jewish apothecary.
Cantigas *of Alfonso X.*

Another reference we have inherited from the Andalusian religious debate is 'Abdullâh at-Tarjumân's book. Initially he was a priest called Anselmo Turmeda, from the city of Majorca, Ramon Llull's town; he converted to Islam and settled in Tunis at the end of the eighth century AH/fourteenth century. Ramon Lull, as we know, was the leading representative of the Christian community. And, to bring this century to a close, we will recall that it was in this period that 'Abdulhaqq al-Islâmî, a converted Jew, wrote his controvertial book against the rabbis.

In the middle of the ninth century AH/fifteenth century, shortly before the fall of Granada, a Muslim Andalusian described discussions he had held in Salamanca, Madrid, Valladolid and Segovia in a book entitled *Risâlat as-sâ'il wa-l-mujîb* (The Epistle of the Questioner and the Replier).

Finally, we shall refer to *Nâsir ad-Dîn* (The Champion of the Faith) by the Moor Afûqai in which he relates the misfortunes of his co-religionists and contests the rabbis and priests.

As well as religious debate in al-Andalus there was also debate about racial and ethnic groups. Two works give a comprehensive view of the matter: *al-Istîhâr* (The Exposition) and *al-Mughâlaba* (The Overcoming), defending the cause of the "Slavs" and other slaves of European origin. It should be noted that Ibn Gharsîya's *risâla* (epistle) belongs to this school: it gives primacy to non-Arabs and provoked many replies.

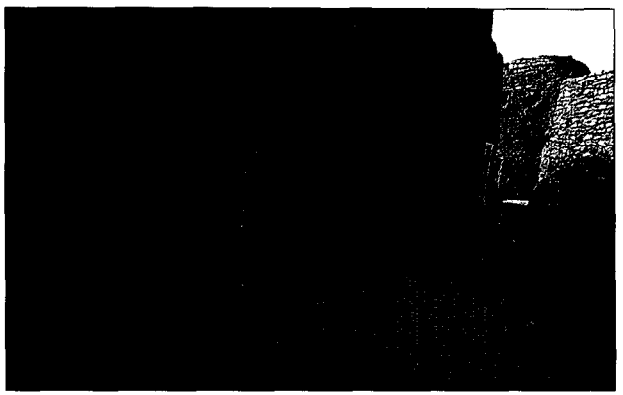
This tradition of religious disputes and theological discussions organised between scholars and members of the religious communities illustrates complex attitudes: expression of the differences and willingness to convince and convert "the other".

In conclusion, it can be said that al-Andalus was home to forms of tolerance that were not seen again until modern times. It was a genuine land of dialogue, dialogue that was at times serene and at others lively.

THE ALMORAVIDS: AN AFRO-IBERIAN HEGEMONY

York K. FALL

Al-Andalus, with its numerous original cultural characteristics, is a very rare example of a European territory conquered and governed, from the end of the 11th century to the middle of the 12th century, by an African dynasty from the south-west of the Sahara and the Senegalo-Nigerian Sahel. The Almoravid hegemony (from the Arab al-murabitûn) thus represents the only historical experience - albeit ephemeral - of political integration ever formed between West Africa, the Maghrib and the Iberian Peninsula.



The city of Walata in Mauritania

The West African origin of the Almoravid movement, however, has been largely occulted given the exclusively military vision of history, and the tendency of historians to insist, more than is necessary, upon the wars and the political and ideological confrontations between Islam and Christianity. Other aspects such as the strong presence of black warriors (free men or slaves) at the time of the Almoravid hegemony in the Maghrib and in Spain, or the establishment of an empire, at the end of the 11th and during the 12th century, stretching from north to south from the Ebro to Senegal, have also been overlooked..

The Almoravids were already firmly established in the Maghrib when, in 1086, they crossed the Straits of Gibraltar to come to the assistance of the Muslim principalities of Spain and Portugal which were threatened by the Castilian offensive to reconquer the Peninsula for Christianity.

This departure point in the Maghrib for the conquest of al-Andalus explains the fact that the Almoravid Empire was only considered from the distorted viewpoint of the series of power substitutions which marked Ibero-Maghribi history.

The West-African Origins

We are indebted to the contemporary Andalusian geographer, Abu Ubayd Abd Allah al-Bakri of Cordoba for his *Book of itineraries and kingdoms (Kitab al-masalik wa l-mamalik)*, which is a precious source of information concerning the Almoravid expansion. Written in journalistic style around the year 1040, this classical work of historical geography provides a complete panorama of the Senegalo-Nigerian Sahel,

and describes the different phases of the birth of the Almoravid hegemony, starting from the south of the Sahara and the banks of the Senegal river.

Born out of the preachings of a Berber exegete who had settled amongst Berber tribes in the south of present-day Mauritania, the movement developed very rapidly in the form of a coalition with Takrur, a newly Islamised state in the Senegal valley. It would seem probable that most of the other City-States of the Senegalo-Nigerian Sahel also formed part of this coalition.

The principal palm grove of Marrakech

Within two decades, from the south to the north, the towns and principalities of the western regions of the Sahel and the Sahara, which took an active part in controlling the transsaharan routes, were placed under the Almoravid administration. Sijilmasa, an important caravan city of southern Morocco, then Awdaghost, the prestigious trading metropolis in central Mauritania, were conquered one after the other. Marrakech was founded in 1070 and became their northern capital and the bastion from which the remainder of Morocco up to Ceuta, followed by the west of Algeria up to Tlemcen and Oran, were integrated into the Empire.

The Almoravids were successful in unifying all the tribes as well as the Saharan and Maghribi tribal confederations whose latent rivalry and frequent conflicts were an obstacle to stable trading relations and the safety of the transsaharan caravans.

A Unifying Task

By combining military operations (reconnaissance, skirmishes and lightnening attacks) with an opportunist policy of matrimonial alliances, clever diplomacy and fanatical proselytism, they contributed to the establishment and stabilisation of a Muslim Sahelo-Maghribi area centred on urban cultures.

Very quickly, the "*veiled desert warriors*" were caught up in Iberian geopolitics. Following the decline of the central Umayyad power, the unity of Islam in the Peninsula had fragmented with the constitution of

some twenty small emirates (the *muluk al-tawa'it* or reyes de taifas) all anxious to preserve their independence.

The disunion, and the intense and enduring conflicts which perpetuated rivalry amongst the emirates, had enabled the Castilians to conduct a victorious offensive culminating in the conquest of Toledo in 1085.

The Almoravids adapted their strategy to the specificities of Andalusia. While respecting the independence of their protégés, they successfully mounted three expeditions, from 1086 to 1090, which forced the troops of Alfonso VI to retreat and stabilized the frontier lines around Toledo and Zaragoza.

The third expedition nevertheless provided a propitious occasion to depose the Caliph and the emirs and to exile them to the Maghrib, in particular to Marrakech where they were under the surveillance of the central power. With the integration of all the newly reunited Andalusian territories, the empire's unifying task was thus completed.

The Almoravid doctrine, essentially Mâlikî and Sunnî, was a movement of religious reform which disputed the legitimacy of the Shi'î Fatimid power. As such, it forms a part of the history of the debates amongst the schools of law and the quarrels between orthodox and heterodox Muslim doctrines.

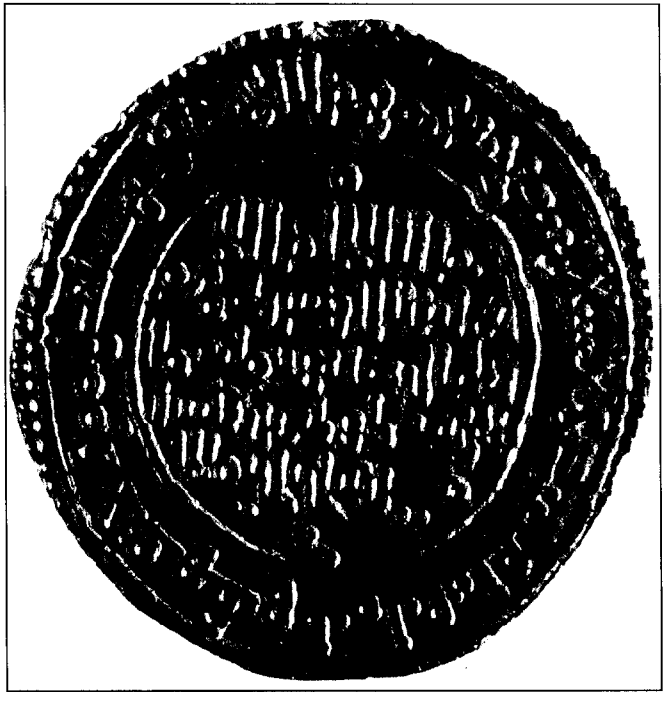
Nevertheless, and despite their coercive appeal for a return to orthodoxy, their theological rigour and their brutal methods of ideological indoctrination, they could put up no resistance to the climate of religious coexistence in Andalusia, to the urban life style in the trading towns of the Sahel, or to the political and economic needs created by the geography of the territories they controlled. All that remained therefore was their solid politico-military organization and their aristocratic conviction of belonging to an elite which had come from the south to assist the western Muslim world.

A Profound Cultural Impact

The effective geopolitical unity of the immense territories controlled by the Almoravids from Senegal to the Ebro, was, however, short lived. The vitality of African cultures, the extreme harshness of the Saharan climate, and the Amoravids' lack of adequate military resources, meant that their task was disproportionate to the means at their disposal.

As the masters for several decades of an area extending from the West African gold trading centres to the Mediterranean and European zones where gold coinage was in great demand, the Almoravids kept tight control over the anchor points of the transsaharan traffic, and thus made substantial gains from the wealth of these territories, both in political and economic terms.

Their dinars, the famous *marabotins*, coins of the finest quality, were the currency of this period. This led to the Almoravids being considered by their African, Mediterranean and European contemporaries as one of the greatest powers of that period. Very few of these coins can be found today since they were mostly



Arabic coin of the 11th-12th century

melted down at the time by other Mediterranean and European states in order to mint their own money containing much less gold.

Political unification had a lasting economic impact thanks to the revival of transsaharan trade. The gold was exchanged for goods from the Maghrib and Andalusia (cloth, metal work, jewellery, beads and spices) and manuscripts, especially jurisprudence manuals and works on Islamic theology and Arab grammar. Close links between intellectuals enabled Islam to spread through the circulation of manuscripts between al-Andalus, the Maghrib and the Sahel.

In the western Mediterranean region and along the adjacent Atlantic coasts, the frequent sea crossings, necessary for military and administrative purposes, had a positive and lasting effect on the development of the navy and navigation. Lisbon and the ports situated further south, Cadiz, Sevilla, Ceuta, Malaga, Almeria and Denia, as well as the Balearic Islands, benefited greatly from this development of maritime and harbour activities. However, it is their architectural and artistic achievements, as well as their role in the cross-cultural influences between Spain, the Maghrib, the Sahara and the Sahel, which stand out among the cultural contributions made by the Almoravids. Their very elaborate stucco-work, the widespread use of marble tomb stones, even in the south at Gao (Mali), the integrated urbanisation of Marrakech whose many monuments still bear their mark, the construction of palaces and mosques, all provide evidence of their skill as builders, while highlighting their aesthetic purity.

The Almoravid hegemony thus contributed to the proliferation and merging of the intercultural routes of al-Andalus and to their extension to the Saharan and Sahelian regions of West Africa. Marrakech, their capital, was greatly influenced by Andalusian culture. Power and wealth flowed into al-Andalus from the south, and, after the first centuries of Shi'ite or Kharijite Islamisation, the caravan routes became vectors for the spread of Sunnism. Al- Andalus drew upon these new sources of inspiration, notwithstanding the initial difficulties caused by the rigour of the "veiled desert warriers". However they very quickly adapted to the Andalusian civilisation. This adaptation enabled al-Andalus to perpetuate its role as a cultural crossroads, and is an indication of the scale and impact of this culture of cultural convergence which succeeded in overcoming the characteristic roughness of the Almoravids.

AL-ANDALUS: SCIENTIFIC HERITAGE AND EUROPEAN THOUGHT

Pierre Philippe REY

Al-Andalus, lying to the north of the Maghrib, to the south of Europe, is the heir to the rationalist, philosophical and scientific thought of ancient Persia and Greece, reformulated in the light of the universalism born of the fertile dialectic between the three great monotheistic religions whose coexistence it made possible. It was this new universalist rationalism that al-Andalus transmitted to North Europe, either directly or via Sicily, its twin sister.

One figure more than any other marks this Andalusian origin of European rationalism: that of Ibn Rushd, Averroës, physician, jurist and philosopher. We shall discuss him at some length. However, the figure of Averroës is but the culmination of a lengthy process.

There is indeed a veritable "road of universalist rationality", which should be explored, stage by stage, just as the silk road and the routes travelled by gold and spices are studied. Its starting-point is the Maghrib-Muslim West African nexus for it was there, in the eighth century of the Christian Era, that two currents of Kharijism flourished, namely, Ibadism (which survives today in the Maghrib: at Mzab in Algeria, at Djerba in Tunisia and at Djebel Nafusa in Libya, as well as in Oman and in Zanzibar), and Sufrism (which died out several centuries ago). These currents, which had remained highly democratic since their establishment in Arabia, came into contact with, and subsequently merged with, the tradition of clan-based democracy of the Imazighen (as the Berbers call themselves) of North Africa. Indeed, it was this encounter that led to the triumph of Islam in North Africa, since whereas the first orthodox Sunni Muslim conquerors, following in the wake of 'Uqbah ibn Nàfi', himself defeated and killed in a battle against the Amazigh chief Kusaylah, had failed to convert the Imazighen by force of arms, a few poor, peaceful missionaries, armed with nothing but their knowledge (they were referred to as "bearers of knowledge", 'hamallet et ilm'), would spread the dissident Sufrite and Ibadite doctrines the length and breadth of the region. Furthermore, the Imazighen clans underwent a mass conversion to this dissident, democratic form of Islam because it united them and thereby enabled them to resist more effectively the new attempts at conquest launched by the Easterners. In other words, the mass, root and branch Islamization of the Imazighen (Berbers) occurred as a means of countering the Arab conquest.

Abd-al-Rahman arrives at the Iberian peninsula in 755.

Thus, by the eighth century of the Christian era, the scientific and technical achievements of Greece and Persia had been reformulated and developed by this dissident current of Islam established in the Maghrib, as well as in Oman at the same time. But whereas access to knowledge in the highly hierarchical society of ancient Persia, and even in the limited democracy of Greece, was reserved for an elite, the Ibadites made knowledge available to all, with a concern to provide widespread

education that would not occur again in human history until after the French Revolution. A transition may thus be said to have occurred from an initiatory conception of knowledge to a universalist conception. Indeed, the Ibadites would soon abandon the offensive Holy War as a means of disseminating their doctrine, opting instead for education as a way of spreading knowledge.

By the end of the eighth century, the doctrine was crossing the Sahara and would lead to the development in Black Africa of the only version of Islam that would be known there for centuries and that would accompany the expansion of the Soninke, and later the Malinke, diasporas, which Arabic-speakers refer to as Wangara and which is today known as Dyula. Dyula Islam, codified in the fifteenth century by al-Hajj Salim Suware, may be regarded in its main lines as a legacy of Ibadism and indeed, one of the main Islamizing Wangara-Dyula groups, the Saghanogha, was Ibadite in the mid-fourteenth century, according to Ibn Battuta. The emergence of this universalist, rationalist current of Islam south of the Sahara was so close in time to its establishment in North Africa that we cannot but conclude that the starting-point of the road of universalist rationality is the North Africa-Muslim West Africa nexus, and that this movement began in the eighth century of the Christian era.

In Spain, the dissemination of this religious current among the Imazighen (who from the outset accounted for two thirds of the Muslim population established in Spain) culminated in the great uprising of the Imazighen against the Eastern Arabs in 742, an uprising that undoubtedly serves far more satisfactorily than the battle of Poitiers to explain the halting of the Muslim expansion towards northern Europe. The Arab groups living in Spain, themselves divided between those who hailed originally from "Arabia Felix" and those who came from the Arabian desert, would succeed in restoring the situation only when the Umayyad, driven from the East by the 'Abbasids (750), had established themselves there. But the Umayyads very quickly realized that they could govern only Spain with the support of the demographically dominant Muslim element, that is, the Imazighen, and this they would continue to do until their dynasty died out at the beginning of the eleventh century. Throughout the duration of the Ibadite imamate of Tahart in North Africa and even later (see in this connection the support given by the Umayyads to the radical Ibadite uprising of Abu Yazid against the Fatimids from 943 to 946), the Umayyads would maintain a special alliance with the Ibadites of North Africa which would serve as a conduit for these Ibadites' scientific and technical knowledge - for example, in mathematics, in astronomy, in matters of navigation and the irrigation of arid zones, but also in history (the great Andalusian historian al-Warrak would gather directly from the son of Abu Yazid, who had taken refuge in Andalusia after the defeat and death of his father, information on Berber genealogies and on North Africa, which would later be reproduced by al-Bakri and after him by Ibn Khaldun). Nevertheless, the Umayyads, and even the Imazighen of Spain as a whole, would not embrace Ibadism, but would in their vast majority become Sunnites of the Malikite school. This Malikism, was, however essentially open and tolerant, as was Ibadism itself.

Over a century elapsed between the fall of the Umayyads of Spain and the birth of Averroës, but it was during the period marked by the intense interchange of ideas and wealth between Wangara Black Africa, Ibadite North Africa and Umayyad Spain that the Andalusian culture that would flourish in the following centuries was formed.

That flowering was reflected during the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries in a shifting of the scientific centre of gravity of the Muslim world from East to West. Whereas in the eighth and ninth centuries all

the renowned scholars of the Muslim world were concentrated in Baghdad, in the tenth and eleventh centuries Córdoba would overtake Baghdad in this respect and surpass the entire East in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Cairo incidentally enjoying a growing ascendancy parallel to that of Córdoba, albeit on a more limited scale (cf. Paul Benoît and Françoise Michaud, *"L'intermédiaire arabe?"*, maps on pp. 158 and 159, in Michel Serres, *Eléments d'Histoire des Sciences*, Bordas, 3rd edition, 1994).

This road of Muslim science, from East to West, as charted by the authors we have just cited, does not pass via Ibadite Tahart or Djebel Nafusa, despite the considerable number of scholars that a historian such as Tadeusz Lewicki has been able to identify at those same periods, according to the chronicles of the Ibadites themselves. No doubt this is because the sources drawn upon by the authors of the maps referred to (*Dictionary of Scientific Biographies and Encyclopedia of Islam*) do not attribute to the Ibadite scholars sufficient influence outside their religious current to justify their inclusion in their surveys, but it is certainly also because knowledge in the Ibadite world, particularly in the centuries considered here, was so widely spread that no one individual stands out as being particularly eminent. Thus, we are dealing here with a body of knowledge available to the masses not just to an elite. However, that the road passed through Tahart and the Dyula world (where the names of scholars are wholly unknown, with the exception of the collective name Saghanogho and, much later on, the individual name of al-Hajj Salim Suware Cisse) is a fact deeply etched in the history of Muslim philosophy, the *falasifa*, while in the East, the falasifa - the term itself is the Persian-Arabic corruption of its Greek name, *filosofia* - was proceeding to self-destruct. This is clearly apparent in the movement which led from Ibn Sina (985-1036, Avicenna in mediaeval Europe), a Persian deeply marked by Greek philosophy, to al-Ghazali (died in 1111), also a Persian, born in Khurasan, who sought to destroy the Graeco-Persian rationalist legacy of the earlier Muslim philsophers (of whom Avicenna was the most illustrious exemplar) and the establishment of radical atheism. Such was the objective of al-Ghazali's work, *Tahafut al-falasifa, "Destruction" or "Incoherence" of Philosophy*. The passage of ideas via Ibadite universalism and its scientific impact upon Andalusia enabled the Andalusian Ibn Rushd (1126-1198, Averroës in mediaeval Europe) to settle this dispute among Persians (or Graeco-Persians). He replied to al-Ghazali with his *Tahufut al-Tahafut, Destruction of Destruction or Incoherence of Incoherence* - a title so Hegelian that it is today difficult to realize it was penned by a twelfth-century philosopher - in which he established that there was no contradiction between the elitist discourse of the philosophers and the universalist discourse of religion, these being simply two methods of expounding a single truth. Accordingly, when revelation entered into contradiction with reason as constituted by the philosophers, it must be reinterpreted until that contradiction was resolved. Thus there emerged a new universal, that of Reason, an immanent universal that during the following centuries would gradually replace the transcendental universal of Revelation.

Madinat al-Zahra (Cordoba)

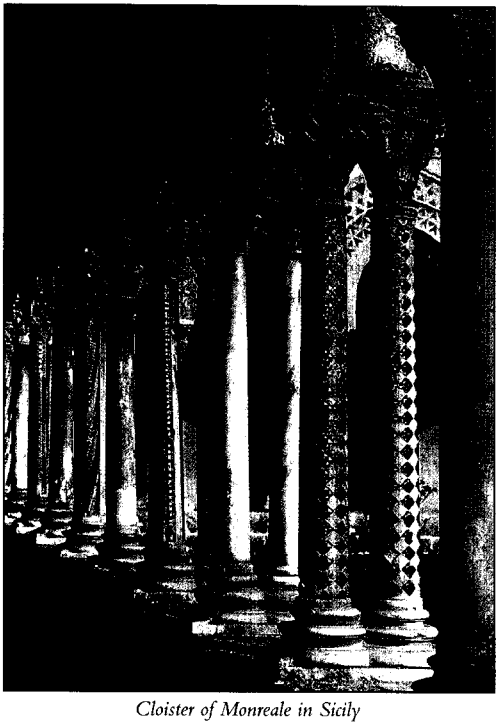
It was indeed in Andalusia that universal reason, as distinct from religion, came into being, whereas, among the Ibadites of North Africa, knowledge, *Ilm*, was the unity of universalist religious knowledge and of the secular technical and scientific legacy of the Greeks and Persians (the Ibadite imams of Tahart, the Rustamids, were the descendants of one of the most renowned Persian families; one of their ancestors was the general in command of the Sassanid troups at the battle of Qadisiyya where, in year 14 of the Hegira, the Persians suffered their first major defeat at the hands of the Muslims; through them much Persian science was transmitted). In Andalusia in the twelfth century, reason won its independence. This was a development largely determined by the epoch, the result of the great expansion of science and technology. Among the contemporaries of Averroës, two names very close to his testify to a community of approach: that of his companion Ibn Tufayl and that of Ibn Maymun, a Jew by religion (known in medieval Europe by the name of Maimonides).

Averroës' rationalist message crossed in the following century into France. Indeed, it came very close to being carried directly into Germany, for the German Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen, grandson through his father of Frederick Barbarossa, was at the same time King of Sicily as grandson through his mother of Roger of Sicily, the first Norman conqueror of the island. However, the Norman king had continued to maintain a Muslim court, changing but little the island's way of life: and it was, inter alia, to him that was dedicated the major work of the great Arab geographer al-Idrissi, accordingly known as the *Kitab Rujar*, the "Book of Roger". Frederick II carried still further this trend within Sicily, while at the same time establishing ties abroad with the Ayyubid dynasty in Cairo and Damascus. Thanks to these ties, he was able to make a peaceful entry into Jerusalem, which the Crusader armies had failed to conquer by force. Successive Popes vowed implacable hatred against him and although, thanks in particular to his Sicilian Muslim armies, he managed throughout his life to withstand them, they wreaked their vengeance on his descendants, whom they exterminated to the last man, woman and child. Frederick II caused to be built in the mainland part of the Kingdom of Sicily, that is, in the south of Italy, a University which provided a debating forum for the most brilliant minds of the age - Christian, Jew and Muslim. There, Averroës exercised great influence, and his works, together with those of Aristotle, Ptolemy and others, were translated into Latin. Frederick II, who wielded sufficient political power to be able to do so, proclaimed an atheism that was far more pronounced than that of Averroës. But the destruction of his dynasty meant that his achievements were short-lived. However, his principal minister in Sicily, Thomas of Acerra or Thomas Aquinas, had a nephew who, imbued at a very early age with Arab culture and Averroism in that university, was to become, as Saint Thomas Aquinas, at once the chief critic and the main propagator of Averroist theories in Christendom.

The Papacy having got the better, if not of Frederick II himself then of his offspring, it was in France that Averroist thought was to spread most widely. There were several geopolitical reasons for this; without being truly allies, the King of France, Philippe Auguste, and the young Emperor Frederick II were fighting the same enemies, the Saxons and the Anglo-Saxons. The battle of Bouvines (1214), an event familiar to many a French schoolchild, was one episode in those convergent struggles. Philippe Auguste, who was also distrustful of the Papacy, began to endow the University of Paris with its own statutes as early as 1215 (the year after the battle of Bouvines). A few decades later it became, notably in its faculty of arts (in which students underwent their first years of schooling, and obtained their first university degrees), an Averroist stronghold. In the mid-thirteenth century, two of the most renowned "Latin Averroists", Siger of Brabant and Boece (Boethius) of Daclus, lectured there on the thought of the Andalusian master, who was thus,

nearly four centuries before Descartes, at the origin of French rationalist thinking. It was there, then, that Saint Thomas Aquinas went in order to combat (apparently) but also to spread (in reality) the new rationalism, although his work *Against Averroës*, De unitate intellectus contra Averroistas, is, in fact, directed more against the "Latin" Averroists than against Averroës himself.

Subsequently, this universalist current of rationalist thought would pursue its course in France, leading on in the seventeenth century to the systems of the great philosopher-mathematician-physicists, Descartes, Pascal and Leibniz (Leibniz, though a German, wrote part of his philosophical work in French; a great student of Aristotle, he had also translated a philosophical allegory by Ibn Tufayl, the friend and rival of Averroës), and in the eighteenth century to the naturalism of Buffon and the evolutionism of Lamarck, before culminating in the French Enlightenment, with the Encyclopedists, Voltaire and Rousseau.



Cloister of Monreale in Sicily

It reached its apogee with the French Revolution, which took place under the standard of universal reason but led on to a philosophy of Freedom, fully developed by Hegel, in which reason, triumphant from the twelfth century to the eighteenth, came to be merged with, but also subordinated to, the principal construction of the human mind, namely, the principle of humanity's freedom.

Such then was the road followed by universalist reason. Its birthplace, in the eighth and ninth centuries, was North Africa and West (Black) Africa. Andalusia was the arena of its struggle to win independence from revelation, during the tenth, eleventh and above all the twelfth centuries. It was mainly in France that the work of construction would be pursued, and that reason would continue its conquest, stage by stage, of all that formerly had pertained to revelation. Its total victory, with the French Revolution, brought about its subordination to an all-encompassing ultimate goal; freedom.

Today, Europe is tempted by a return to anti-rationalism, of which Nazism reawakened, in the second third of this century, the terrifying spectre. In order to combat this new wave of anti-rationalism, which is currently threatening to submerge us, Europe must stop believing that its rationalist thought was born and embodied solely in Europe itself. Rationalism came to Europe from elsewhere: from North Africa, from West Africa and from that Andalusia which belongs geographically to Europe, although Europe itself constantly attempts to forget that it owes to it what constitutes its essence. Only if it is capable of restoring its links, through the history of Andalusia, with North Africa and West Africa, the starting-point of the road of universalist rationality, and if it is able to give them the place due to them, that is, as the matrix of its very being, will Europe avoid the new decline with which it is threatened.

UNESCO
Intercultural Projects Division
1, Rue Miollis
75732 Paris CEDEX 15
France
Tel +33 1 45 68 47 64
Fax +33 1 45 68 55 88
e-mail: d.diene@unesco.org

El Legado Andalusí
Corral del Carbón
c/ Mariana Pineda s/n
18009 Granada
Spain
Tel +34 958 22 59 95
Fax +34 958 22 86 44
e-mail: info@legadoandalusi.es
http://www.legadoandalusi.es