

The library of al-Ḥakam II al-Mustanşir and the culture of Islamic Spain

by David Wasserstein*

The library amassed in Cordoba by the second Umayyad caliph there, al-Ḥakam II al-Mustanşir (reg. 350/961-366/976), has attracted the admiration and the hyperbole of writers from that ruler's own time up to the present. From Ibn Ḥazm, in the fifth/eleventh century, who claimed (just plausibly) to have known the eunuch in charge of the collection, to Ribera, in this century, they unite in claiming that the library contained some four hundred thousand books (Ar. *mujallad*, though that word is as potentially vague as the English 'book'), and that the catalogue alone filled forty four volumes, of twenty pages each, listing nothing but titles¹. (It is perhaps just worth noting, parenthetically, that these figures work out at two hundred and twenty seven items on each side of every single page of the catalogue, a fact which seems to have caused no difficulty for anyone from Ibn Ḥazm to Ribera.)

Such figures are, of course, quite meaningless, and relate to reality only insofar as they serve as indications that the library was, by the standards of the writers concerned, very large. For comparison we may note that a major library, housed in the Dār al-Ḥikma in Cairo and similarly enjoying a form of state support, apparently contained only six and a half thousand works when it was catalogued in 435/1045²; another, in Baghdād, dating from only a few years after the death of al-Ḥakam (that is, from 381/991 or 383/993), contained 'more than 10,000 books'³. Other large collections in Spain itself also existed, both in the time of the Umayyads and in the later cultural florescence of the fifth/eleventh century. We hear of such libraries intermittently in the large biographical dictionaries, and in one case, that of the vizier of Zuhayr, the Slav ruler of Almeria in the first third of the fifth/eleventh century (ob. 429/1038), the number of items is said to have been 400,000, just as in the case of the library of al-Ḥakam. The coincidence is striking. We know nothing of the fate of this collection - or for that matter of its contents⁴.

Not much remains of the library of al-Ḥakam. A single manuscript, a copy of a work on religious law, has survived to our own days, and was found and identified by Lévi-Provençal in the library of the mosque of the Qarawiyyīn, in Fes, in 1934⁵. Apart

from manuscripts themselves, we can point to texts of which copies are known to have been in the library. A history of Egypt and the Maghrib written in Spain under al-Ḥakam was dependent on a similar work lent to the author by al-Ḥakam⁶. A third manuscript, a 120-part copy of the works of al-Shāfi'ī, with a good *isnād* going back directly to the author, apparently 'ended up in the possession' of al-Mustanşir⁷. I think that I have been able to demonstrate the existence of a translation into Arabic of a summary of the Talmud in al-Ḥakam's library, and part of that translation, though not, alas, in the original library copy, may survive⁸. We know also of other works: there will presumably have been two copies of the book on *materia medica* of Dioscorides, the Greek copy that was sent to Spain with an embassy from Constantinople, and the revised Arabic translation of it made at the Cordoban court⁹. There will, in the same way, presumably have been two copies, one in Latin and one in Arabic, of the *Seven Books Against the Pagans* of Orosius (the Arabic translation survives in the library of Columbia University, and has apparently been published recently in Beirut)¹⁰. We can be fairly sure of the presence of third/ninth and fourth/tenth century Spanish Arabic translations of parts of the New Testament, and also of at least the Psalms from the Old Testament¹¹. And the account of his travels in Christian Europe by Ibrāhīm b. Ya'qūb al-Ṭurtūshī is likely to have been there too¹². The *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, of which we know that al-Ḥakam paid 1000 dinars of gold for the first copy, was definitely there; and a legal commentary by Abū Bakr al-Abharī al-Mālikī, for which he is said to have paid a similar sum¹³. Another category of such works is made up of those texts which were composed for al-Ḥakam or under his patronage: we can trace perhaps a dozen of these, and they include a curious mixture of subjects: works of linguistic interest, history and legal study jostle others on *ḥadīth* and obstetrics¹⁴.

All this is not to mention references to works which al-Ḥakam is said to have made notes in (of which more in a moment), nor works that can be assumed to have been in the library - the Qur'ān, and works connected with it, legal texts and so on; nor is it to mention works that are known to have been brought

to Spain, to al-Ḥakam's court, by scholars attracted there by that caliph's munificence and patronage; these include not only actual manuscripts but also works whose texts were brought in the memories of such scholars as al-Qālī, and dictated there to local scholars. A list of such works is given by Ibn Khayr in his *Fahrasa*¹⁵. Although it is confined largely to belletristic works, it extends considerably the range as well as the number of works which we can identify with some degree of certainty as having been in the library. And a number of other specific texts could doubtless be traced by a systematic trawl through the sources for the period.

If we confine ourselves to an examination of works of which copies can be shown to have been in al-Ḥakam's possession, thus excluding works (like the Qur'ān) which we must assume to have been there but whose presence we cannot demonstrate, then we can name, at the moment, probably not much more than around fifty works in the library of al-Ḥakam. This is not much for a great library, although it does not compare too unfavourably with what we can do for some other great libraries and collections of the past. The ancient library of Alexandria (which a recent report suggests UNESCO is planning to rebuild) contained somewhere between 100,000 and 700,000 volumes; although not a single one of these survives, we can name quite a respectable number (though these of course represent a tiny proportion of the whole)¹⁶. Of the contents of the libraries of medieval England, according to Ker and his continuators, we can trace surviving books amounting to some six and a half thousand (although it should be remembered both that this refers to actually surviving books and that these come from about five hundred different libraries, and from a period of several centuries, right up to the invention of printing)¹⁷. If comparisons have any meaning in such a context, two or three score works of which copies are known to have been in al-Ḥakam's library, of which one single manuscript survives, while respectable, is not a lot.

Al-Ḥakam's library was not the first great collection in the Islamic world. We have the libraries in Cairo and Baghdād, mentioned above, which were roughly contemporary with al-Ḥakam's; and we have, more importantly, the famous *Bayt al-Ḥikma* established in Baghdād by the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Ma'mūn in the third/ninth century: although the primary purpose of that institution was not to serve as a repository for books, it did nonetheless fulfil at least some of the important functions of a great library, and is in significant respects, most importantly that of its function as a focus for a great deal of cultural activities, to be compared with the library of al-Ḥakam¹⁸.

Why then is this Spanish library so important? It was probably not much larger than most of the other great royal libraries of the Islamic middle ages; although it contained some notable first editions, the

real weight and significance of these will have faded with time; and, as will be seen, the fate of the library was, except in one important feature, not all that different from those of other great collections of the period. The answer of this question seems to lie not so much in the collection's size as in a combination of other features, in the functions which it existed and aimed to fulfil and in the place which it occupied in the overall policies of al-Ḥakam himself as ruler, policies both related to the library and completely unrelated to it or to its aims as a cultural phenomenon.

In histories of Islamic Spain the reign of al-Ḥakam is usually presented as a one-paragraph interlude between the fifty-year reign of his father 'Abd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir (300/912-350/961) and the long first reign of his son Hishām II al-Mu'ayyad (366/976-399/1009). The first of these brought unity to Islamic Spain, re-created the caliphal institution in Cordoba, and laid the foundation for a strong, wealthy and internationally influential Islamic state in the Iberian peninsula. The latter, under the tutelage of his mayor of the palace, the great *ḥājib* al-Manṣūr Muḥammad Ibn Abī 'Amir, presided over a long period of at least surface success for the Cordoban state. The reign of al-Mustansir, by contrast, is generally dismissed by historians as scarcely worthy the attention of scholars: 'Abd al-Raḥmān's son and successor ... was a great scholar and bibliophile, and little interested or concerned to make changes in the structures constructed by his father ... This was in part a consequence of the ruler's lesser interest in personal involvement in such affairs ...'¹⁹. Al-Ḥakam's main interest is seen to have been books, and he is thus not really a serious actor on the political scene.

Part of the reason for such an impression is, of course, the fact that historians of Islam have tended to prefer the political over most other types of historiography; and part, too, is the result of the fact that al-Ḥakam reigned for only sixteen fairly untroubled and prosperous years, while between them his father and his son reigned for three politically tumultuous quarters of a century. Then, again, father and son were present, so to speak, at the birth pangs and the death throes of the Umayyad caliphal institution in Cordoba. Al-Ḥakam was in a sense the Isaac of his dynasty, poised pointlessly and uncomfortably between its Abraham and its Jacob, and, like Isaac, he has tended to attract such little attention as he has received mainly by virtue of being apparently not terribly interesting.

In one sense, there might be little trouble with such a view of al-Ḥakam, but as one looks more closely at his activities as a ruler alongside his activities as a patron of culture a problem arises. Put simply, the routine picture of al-Ḥakam as a genial old bibliophile wandering between the shelves, pottering about and making notes in manuscripts, just does not march

happily with the other equally routine picture of him as efficient administrator, political calculator and manipulator, and marshaller of armies from the Pyrenees deep into North Africa. In the ways in which they have been drawn in the past, these pictures do not match; as pictures of a single man, equally, they must do so. The solution to this problem, it seems to me, stares at us out of the evidence: it is not just that al-Ḥakam the efficient ruler was also a bibliophile, nor that he acted as a patron. He was both, but he was also a prince, and as a prince he was a patron with a purpose. The cultural policies of middle Umayyad tenth-century al-Andalus were clear and unambiguous and as much the product of intelligent calculation and political ambition as of princely taste.

Al-Ḥakam's taste for education was formed early. He enjoyed, like many others of his house in Spain before him, and like his son later, the tuition of a number of the best scholars and teachers available. We can identify roughly a dozen of these in the sources²⁰; and probably half that number among the teachers whom he employed for his son²¹. Although he came to the throne late, at the age of forty six or forty seven, he had begun to collect books very much earlier, and to patronise both the copying and the outright composition of books. We can trace his studies back to his early teens, and follow him in the latter role, that of patron, almost as soon as he enters his twenties²². When the famous littérateur al-Qālī came to Spain in 330/942, he did so in response to an invitation issued by a twenty five year old.

From what little we know of the contents of his library and of the activities of some of those whom he employed, we can see a little of al-Ḥakam's tastes: of the works from his library whose identities we can be sure of, one is a work, or a collection of works, by al-Shāfi'ī, and another is a summary, in Arabic, of the Talmud - both of these strange works for a Muslim prince in a state dominated exclusively by Mālikī doctrines to be interested in²³. We possess more than a dozen explicit references to specific notes made by him in his manuscripts (and one possibly in a manuscript belonging to someone else), generally notes connected with the backgrounds or the biographical details of various scholars, *qādīs* and others²⁴. He appears to have had a special interest in the history of Islamic Spain (not perhaps very surprisingly), and in topics related to religion, more particularly religious law, but this interest was not in any sense exclusive or intolerant: quite apart from the interest in Judaism and in Shāfi'ī law for which we have evidence mentioned above, we also have material showing a broad interest in poetry and in other more purely belletristic types of literary writing, exemplified by his patronage, at a very great geographical remove, of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*.

All this was from one point of view personal activity, but it went hand in hand with other more public

activities characteristic of a truly great library. It is clear from what we know of it that al-Ḥakam's was far from being merely the private (and fabulous) collection of a learned prince. The library served as the focus of a whole nexus of cultural activities which helped to lay the foundations for the massive explosion of literary productivity in Islamic Spain associated with the century and a quarter following al-Ḥakam's death in 366/976. It is in connection with this that the caliph's involvement with the library and its related work and institutions should be considered. Books from his library were lent out²⁵. Outsiders appear to have enjoyed some degree of access to books held there (the value of this should not be exaggerated: one person who derived some heretical views from a book in al-Ḥakam's library was executed for them on the caliph's order²⁶). The library's needs called for the employment of numerous copyists of manuscripts, of other people to check the accuracy of copies made there, of librarians, of translators of different types²⁷. The interests of the ruler himself encouraged the acquisition of books on a very wide range of subjects, and despite the official intolerance it is clear that in philosophical and theological areas there were large numbers of works which did not accord with the ruling orthodoxy²⁸. As a part of the ruler's (and hence we may say the state's) institutions, the library must have served as a link in the educational network for the Spanish and the non-Spanish alike in Cordoba. The biographical dictionaries show us al-Ḥakam welcoming foreign scholars and teachers to Cordoba, and, as a centre through which new works, whether local or foreign in origin, could be made available, the library helped to channel the energies and interests of local scholarship along the same lines as in the main centres of Arabo-Islamic culture to the east.

What was all this for? What aims did it serve? Can we in fact plausibly claim that the personal scholarly interests of this prince represent more than an uneconomic (if creditable) drain on the privy purse of tenth-century Islamic Spain? I think that we can point to a pattern in all this that serves to make the activity of the prince as patron consistent with his activity as a ruler.

The main need felt by al-Ḥakam as a ruler was to maintain the strength and the cohesion of the Umayyad state centred on Cordoba. In doing this he was perpetuating the strategic policy aims formulated by his father, 'Abd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir. These called for a difficult balancing act: in the desire to establish a strong and independent Islamic Spain under Umayyad rule, it was necessary both to imitate the models, both cultural and political, provided by Baghdād, as the real centre of the Islamic world, and at the same time to stress the fact that Spain was both separate from Baghdād and also somehow different²⁹. Accepting Baghdād wholly implied admitting the ille-

gitimacy of the Umayyad regime in Spain; rejecting Baghdād, on the other hand, in the name of Umayyad legitimacy in Spain and in the rest of the Islamic world, meant consigning Spain to eternal backwater provinciality. Neither suited a resurgent Spain facing a weakened Baghdād. The solution was to proffer a Spain that was the same, only more so. That is why, when the Būyid vizier Ibn 'Abbād, on reading Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi's work *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, said, 'This is our own merchandise being served back to us', he was missing the essential point of this famous Andalusian anthology of oriental literature: that work, through its structure and through its highly programmatic introduction, laid stress on the directness and the legitimacy of the Spanish Umayyads' inheritance of authority in Islam as a whole from their oriental predecessors³⁰. In this sense, by making oriental materials the lasting touchstone for quality in later Andalusian literary production, the author, in the name of his Spanish Umayyad masters, was also laying claim to the literary excellences of the oriental part of the Islamic world. As heirs to it, and as the successors also of such writers as Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, the littérateurs of Umayyad Spain, with al-Ḥakam himself at their head, sought both to distance themselves from Baghdād, the capital of their rivals, and to compete with it as the centre of their own world³¹.

This picture of a great library acting as the hub for a wide range of cultural activities with a deliberate policy in view fits very neatly with the other picture provided by the normative politico-military style of Islamic Spanish history, that of al-Ḥakam as the leader of a resurgent Umayyad state in the peninsula, powerful and influential outside its own frontiers within its end of the Mediterranean basin³². Is this picture correct? More precisely, perhaps, while political and military advantage might be produced quite rapidly, cultural preeminence seems to take longer - it calls for more than just paying professors more in one place than they can command in another: how was it possible for such developments to occur under al-Ḥakam? Why should Spain have been able so relatively quickly to emerge as a major centre of Islamic culture?

The answer to this appears to lie in a combination of features, first, and most important, the conversion of non-Muslims to Islam. The model for the rate of conversion proposed some years ago by Bulliet is not without its difficulties and problems, not least in its application to Spain³³; but for all the difficulties it does seem to offer a persuasive account, if not a total explanation, of what happened in this area as far as Spain is concerned. If Bulliet is right, the massive wave of conversion to Islam in Spain will have been largely complete by the reign of al-Ḥakam. Along with conversion, going in advance of it and keeping largely in parallel with its momentum, the process of arabicisation, linguistic acculturation, of the majority

of the population, both Muslim and non-Muslim, appears to have been largely complete by this time as well³⁴. The numbers of people involved or expecting to be involved in the majoritarian culture of Spain were vastly greater than ever before (The first in the great series of Spanish biographical dictionaries, that of Ibn al-Faraḍī, covers precisely the fourth/tenth century, and for good reason); at the same time, and here we approach the second feature of this hypothesis, it was necessary for the regime to claim convincingly that it represented some form of Islamic legitimacy to its subjects³⁵. As the regime of a provincial backwater it could do so only by accepting permanent insignificance and the danger of disappearance. Brilliance offered a happier solution.

In facing this problem, al-Ḥakam was in the fortunate position that the 'Abbāsīd caliphate, as offering the only other major form of Sunnī Muslim orthodoxy, was not only too far away to matter but also too weak to be of any real significance as a challenge to Cordoba. Bulliet has identified the historical moment of which this period is a paradigm³⁶: when Islam has not only become the religion of the overwhelming majority, or something like the overwhelming majority, of the population of a territory but also reached a stage where its elimination has begun to appear a manifest impossibility, he sees this as the stage when the significance of Islamic unity, the unity of the *umma* provided by the figure of the caliph and the institution of the caliphate, begins rapidly to lose weight. In cultural terms, this argument can be applied here with considerable force: by the middle of the fourth/tenth century, Islam had become so solidly implanted in Spain as to appear irremovable; the *real* significance of Baghdād, as the seat of the symbols of unity in the Islamic world, begins to decline; but the Umayyads still need their own local legitimation, and they still need to offer their subjects something of the symbols of unity, and they are able to provide this only by appearing to be more Catholic than the 'Abbāsīds. The result is the awkward balancing act between distancing and imitation.

A hypothesis of this sort squeezes the old bibliophile into the same skin as the adroit politician. It would be good to have some supporting evidence for it, in the form of some programmatic declaration by the caliph or by his officials or paid writers, to demonstrate its analytical value. Such material naturally does not exist. But it is possible, nonetheless, to suggest that there is one control that apparently confirms its general validity.

The fourth/tenth century is precisely the period, I have argued elsewhere, where we have to look for the seeds of the tremendous vitality of the Jewish Golden Age in Spain, both Muslim and, later, Christian³⁷. It is in this period that there took place the separation of Cordoba, in Jewish terms, from Babel, Babylon, the great centre of oriental Jewish life up till that time.

Babylon, Mesopotamia, centred in Baghdād, was the seat of a declining Jewish exilarchate, generally parallel to the caliphate for the Jews of the Islamic world. In many of its features, the Jewish separation in Spain from the east mirrors, or appears to parallel, what was happening in the Muslim world at the same time. And so far as we are able to judge of this, it seems to have done so with at least the tacit blessing of the state: the scale and quality of the revolution in Spanish Jewish life in the fourth/tenth century are inconceivable without the structural support of a patron; the great leader and patron of the Jewish community in fourth/tenth century Islamic Spain, Hasdai ibn Shaprut, was an official of the government, close to the caliph, and indeed himself a participant in at least one of the major cultural enterprises of the arabophone society in which he lived, the revised Arabic translation of Dioscorides. It seems to be the case that the Jewish revolution of fourth/tenth century Spain is a sub-set of the overall Iberian separatist revolution of that period.

The deliberate distancing of the Muslim and of the Jewish worlds of Spain from the east, their appropriation of the cultural heritages both of Judaism and of Islam for Spain, appear to have been integral elements in the creation of a new view of that country on the part of Muslim and Jew there. All that was inconceivable before that time and without the preconditions offered by both the special situation of the Umayyad regime in that country and the processes of arabicisation and islamisation there up to the middle of the fourth/tenth century.

Al-Ḥakam's library did not survive him very long. After his death, in 366/976, power in the state was taken over by the *hājib* al-Manṣūr, and al-Ḥakam's son and successor, Hishām II al-Mu'ayyad, was reduced to a cipher. In order to encourage the support of the 'ulamā', al-Manṣūr purged the library of its works on philosophy and of much of its theological contents, on grounds of heresy³⁸. A few decades later, in the upheavals that marked the downfall of the Manṣūrid dictatorship and the beginning of the end for the Umayyad dynasty, the rest of the library was dispersed, taking, we are told, six months to be removed from its building³⁹. In a sense, the burning of some of the books by al-Manṣūr and the dispersal of the rest a generation afterwards underline the value and the significance of the library as a centre for the spreading of ideas and for the infiltration of new books and new ways of thinking in Spain, recognising as they do the potential for danger that the library represented. But the library, and its founder, I think, should be viewed in a broader perspective.

The library, seen as I have suggested it should be, is an argument for a thoroughgoing re-assessment of al-Ḥakam and of his reign. He is usually seen as a bibliophilic querk in an otherwise (at least up till his own time) fairly sound dynasty. This view comes, I

think, largely from the fact that we tend to see his bibliophilia as a personal interest and activity, whatever its effects. Unlike the societies of the ancient world, or for that matter the modern world, where proper state institutions, corporations and the like, could stand behind such work as the activities of a great library, in the medieval Islamic world this was not possible. Even mosques, and mosque schools, did not have the means, as they did not by and large bear the responsibility, for this. For these activities to be undertaken, it was necessary to have a ruler who could act as patron. For such a ruler to provide the patronage, it was necessary that he be a ruler of the type of al-Ḥakam - that is to say, not just a civilised and cultured eccentric with a love of books (That sort of eccentricity does not act on such a scale by itself), but a ruler with an eye to his state's interests.

The library of al-Ḥakam was in effect a great state institution, and should be viewed as that. In its quality as a state institution, its activity and the support given to it by the state, through the ruler, should be interpreted not, or not just, in the old-fashioned clichés of purely cultural history, but also in terms of the relationship which they reveal between culture and politics. Cultural policies are on occasion general and vague; and on occasion they have very specific and detailed aims. In this case, I should suggest, we are faced with a commingling of the general and the specific in a major area of cultural politics.

NOTES

* University College, Dublin, Ireland

¹ Ibn Ḥazm, quoted in al-Maqqarī, *Analectes sur l'Histoire et la Littérature des Arabes d'Espagne*, ed. R.P.A. Dozy, G. Dugat, L. Krehl and W. Wright, Leiden, 1855-61 (repr. Amsterdam, 1967), I, 249-50, 256 (dependent on Ibn Khaldūn and Ibn al-Abbār); J. Ribera, *La Enseñanza entre los Musulmanes Españoles. Bibliófilos y Bibliotecas en la España musulmana*, Córdoba (Publicaciones de la Real Academia de Córdoba), 1925³, 107 (where the figures of 50 folios per volume should be corrected to twenty). See also S.M. Imamuddin, *Hispano-Arab Libraries*, Karachi (Pakistan Historical Society, memoir no.4), 1961, 3-6. On libraries in the Islamic world more generally, see Y. Eche, *Les Bibliothèques arabes publiques et semi-publiques en Mésopotamie, en Syrie, et en Egypte au moyen âge*, Damascus, 1967.

² *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (= *EI*)², II, 126-27, art. *Dār al-Ḥikma* (by D. Sourdel).

³ *EI*², II, 127, art. *Dār al-'Ilm* (by D. Sourdel).

⁴ Al-Maqqarī, *Analectes*, II, 359, where 400,000 is given as the number of *dafātir* in his collection, which are then distinguished from the 'defective' ones in it, which are said to be 'innumerable'.

⁵ E. Lévi-Provençal, 'Un manuscrit de la bibliothèque du calife al-Ḥakam II', *Hespéris*, 18, 1934, 198-200. The manuscript is a copy of the *Mukhtaṣar* of Abū Muṣ'ab b. Abī Bakr al-Zuhrī, made by Ḥusayn b. Yūsuf for al-Ḥakam in Sha'bān 359/June-July 970.

⁶ Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Ta'riḫ 'Ulamā' al-Andalus*, ed. F. Codera, 2 vols., Madrid (Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana, 7-8), 1890, I, p. 6.

⁷ *Ibid.*, II, pps. 69-70, no. 1634.

⁸ D. Wasserstein, 'An Arabic Version of *Abot* 1:3 from Umayyad Spain', *Arabica*, 34, 1987, 370-74.

⁹ Cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne Musulmane*, Paris-Leiden, III, 1967, 230, 508; C.E. Dubler, *La 'Materia Medica' de Dioscorides: Transmisión medieval y renacentista*, I, Barcelona, 1953.

¹⁰ See 'U. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Kuḥayla, 'Kitāb al-Tawārīḫ li-Bawlūs Urūsiyyūs wa-Tarjamatuḥu al-Andalusiyya', *Majallat al-Ma'had al-Miṣrī lil-dirāsāt al-Islāmiyya fi Madrid*, 23, 1985-86, 119-37; H. Daiber, 'Orosius' *Historiae Adversus Paganos* in arabischer Überlieferung', in: J.W. van Henten [& others] (edd.), *Tradition and reinterpretation in Jewish and early Christian literature: Essays in honour of J.C.H. Lebram*, Leiden, 1986, 202-249; Orosius, *Ta'riḫ al-Ālam*, ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Badawī, Beirut, 1982 (I owe these references to the kindness of Professor P.Sj. van Koningsveld); G. Levi della Vida, 'La traduzione araba delle storie di Orosio', *Al-Andalus*, 19, 1954, 257-93.

¹¹ H. Goussen, 'Die christlich-arabische Literatur der Mozaraber', *Beiträge zur christlich-arabischer Literaturgeschichte*, IV. Heft, Leipzig, 1909, 1-31; E. Tisserant (and D. de Bruyne), 'Une feuille arabo-latine de l'épître aux Galates', *Revue Biblique*, 7, 1910, 321-43; H.S. Gehman, 'The Arabic Bible in Spain', *Speculum*, 1, 1926, 219-21; D.M. Dunlop, 'Ḥafṣ b. Albār - the last of the Goths?' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1954, 137-51; id., 'Sobre Ḥafṣ Ibn Albār al-Qūṭī al-Qurtubī', *Al-Andalus*, 20, 1955, 211-13; A.S. Tritton, 'The Old Testament in Muslim Spain', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 21, 1958, 392-95, is concerned mainly with a later period. See also P.Sj. van Koningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic Glossary of the Leiden University Library. A contribution to the study of Mozarabic manuscripts and literature*, Leiden (Asfār I), 1977, esp. cap. 3, pps. 44-60.

¹² On this traveller see now *EI*², III, 991, art. *Ibrāhīm b. Ya'kūb al-Isrā'īlī al-Ṭurtūshī* (by A. Miquel), with bibliography; B. Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe*, London, 1982, 315, n. 10.

¹³ Cf. al-Maqqarī, *Analectes*, I, 250.

¹⁴ See, for examples, Ibn al-Faraḍī, I, p. 404, no. 1398 (Muḥammad b. al-Hārith al-Khushanī: 'he composed for the Commander of the Faithful al-Mustanṣir billāh [may God have mercy upon him] many books; I have heard that he compiled a hundred *dīwāns* for him, and he composed for him a book on the [great] men of al-Andalus, which we have quoted from here wherever it is so stated'); p. 69, no. 236 (Ishāq b. Salama al-Qaynī, author of a history of Islamic Spain ordered by al-Ḥakam); for further references on him see F. Pons Boigues, *Los Historiadores y Geógrafos Árabe-Españoles, 800-1450 A.D.*, Madrid, 1898, repr. Amsterdam, 1972, p. 100, no. 66, no. 2); pps. 113-14, no. 396 (Khālīd b. Sa'd, author of a work on the great men of al-Andalus); al-Ḍabbī, *K. Bughyat al-Multamis*, ed. F. Codera and J. Ribera, Madrid (Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana, 3), 1885, pps. 500-01, no. 1506 (Ya'īsh b. Sa'id b. Muḥammad al-Warrāq, author of a work on *ḥadīth*); *EI*², I, 628 ('Arīb b. Sa'd, author of *K. Khalq al-Janīn wa-Tadbīr al-Ḥabāla wal-Mawlūd*, a work on obstetrics); al-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Nahwiyyīn wal-Lughawiyyīn*, ed. M. Abū al-Faḍl Ibrā-

hīm, Cairo (Dhakhā'ir al-'Arab, 50), 1984², 18 (a work on biographies of grammarians, with its dedication to al-Mustanṣir); Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa*, 2 vols., ed. J. Ribera, Saragossa (Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana, 9-10), 1894-95, p. 125 (Qāsim b. Aṣḥagh, author of a work on *fiqh*); Ibn al-Faraḍī, I, p. 7, and I, p. 216, no. 777 (Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn Mufarraḡ, author of a biographical work, cf. also Pons, *Historiadores*, pps. 82-83, no. 43).

¹⁵ Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa*, pps. 395-97 ('a list of the names of the books of poetry and the names of the poets which Abū 'Alī Ismā'īl b. al-Qāsim al-Baghdādī [= al-Qālī] brought [*scil.* to Spain], excluding those works, other than these, which he brought but which he taught in Qayrawān [on the way to Spain]'); 398-400 ('and the *akhbār* which Abū 'Alī al-Baghdādī brought'; from the list it can be seen that the word *akhbār* here refers simply to prose works in general).

¹⁶ Cf. *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, Oxford, 1970², art. *Libraries*; P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, Oxford, 1972, I, 328-29; II, 485-86.

¹⁷ N.R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: a list of surviving books*, London (Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks, no. 3), 1964², x-xi, xxvii.

¹⁸ See now M.G. Balty-Guesdon, *Le Bayt al-Ḥikma de Baghdad*, mémoire de D.E.A., Université de Paris III - Sorbonne Nouvelle, année universitaire 1985-1986 (dactylographié). I am grateful to Mme Balty-Guesdon for permitting me to consult this work.

¹⁹ Cf. my *The Rise and Fall of the Party-Kings: Politics and Society in Islamic Spain, 1002-1086*, Princeton, 1985, 38.

²⁰ For al-Ḥakam's teachers see Ibn al-Faraḍī, I, p. 128, no. 442; pps. 142-43, no. 492; pps. 251-52, no. 896; p. 287, no. 1041; pps. 297-98, no. 1068; pps. 348-49, no. 1230; pps. 353-54, no. 1247; p. 354, no. 1249; II, p. 41, no. 1543; al-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 284, no. 234; p. 298, no. 266; p. 303, no. 276 (the last three described as employed to teach al-Nāṣir's *walad*, which need not by any means refer to al-Mustanṣir but the reading *wuld* would permit such an interpretation); al-Maqqarī, *Analectes*, II, 256.

²¹ Cf. Pons, *Historiadores*, p. 83, no. 44; Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa*, p. 79; Ibn al-Faraḍī, I, p. 47, nos. 163, 164; pps. 47-48, no. 165; p. 89, no. 308; p. 111, no. 390; pps. 113-14, no. 396; p. 128, no. 442; pps. 142-43, no. 492; p. 383, no. 1355; II, pps. 56-57, no. 1595.

²² Ibn al-Faraḍī, II, p. 41, no. 1543, is a biography of a man who taught both al-Nāṣir and al-Mustanṣir, dying in 317/929, when al-Mustanṣir was only 14 (cf. also al-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 284, no. 234). For two others of his teachers who died when he was still very young, cf. also al-Zubaydī, *op. cit.*, p. 298, no. 266; Ibn al-Faraḍī, I, pps. 251-52, no. 896.

²³ For the work of al-Shāfi'ī, cf. Ibn al-Faraḍī, II, pps. 69-70, no. 1634; for the Talmud, cf. *supra*, at n. 8.

²⁴ Cf. Ibn al-Faraḍī, I, p. 89, no. 308; p. 111, no. 390; p. 128, no. 442; p. 188, no. 681; pps. 212-13, no. 769; p. 266, no. 952; p. 288, no. 1045; pps. 293-94, no. 1060; pps. 314-15, no. 1122; p. 335, no. 1195; II, pps. 9-10, no. 1430; p. 21, no. 1459; p. 61, no. 1605.

²⁵ Cf. Ibn al-Faraḍī, I, p. 6; II, pps. 9-10, no. 1430.

²⁶ Cf. n. 8, *supra*.

²⁷ E.g., Ibn al-Faraḍī, I, p. 47, no. 163; p. 364, no. 1290; p. 368, no. 1307.

²⁸ Cf., for the reaction to this, the account of al-Manṣūr's purging of the library's contents after al-Mustaṣṣir's death given by a writer of the mid-eleventh century: Ṣā'id of Toledo, *Kitāb Ṭabaqāt al-Umam*, ed. L. Cheikho, Beirut, 1912, pps. 66-67 (= trans. R. Blachère, Ṣā'id al-Andalusī, *Kitāb Ṭabaqāt al-Umam (Livre des Catégories des Nations)*, Paris [Publications de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Marocaines, t. xxviii], 1935, pps. 125-126); cf. also M. Isabel Fierro Bello, *La Heterodoxia en al-Andalus durante el Periodo Omeya*, Madrid (Cuadernos de Islamología, I), 1987, 161-62.

²⁹ Cf. *The Rise and Fall of the Party-Kings* (*supra*, n. 19), pps. 23-38.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 25-26; *EI*², III, 676-77 (art. *Ibn 'Abd Rabbih*, by C. Brockelmann).

³¹ Cf. al-Mustaṣṣir's boast about his country reported by Ibn al-Faraḍī, I, pps. 113-14, no. 396: 'If the orientals boast of Yahyā b. Mu'īn to us then we can boast of Khālīd b. Sa'd to them'; and cf. also the publicity and generosity attending the welcomes given to oriental scholars arriving in Spain: e.g., Ibn al-Abbār, 'Apéndice a la edición Codera

de la «Tecnica» de Aben al-Abbār', ed. M. Alarcón and C.A. González Palencia, *Miscelánea de Estudios y Textos Árabes*, Madrid, 1915, 147-690, at pps. 336-37, no. 1290; Ibn al-Faraḍī, I, p. 230, no. 822; pps. 261-62, no. 932.

³² On this see generally Lévi-Provençal, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 9), II, 1950², 165-96.

³³ R.W. Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period, an Essay in Quantitative History*, Cambridge, Mass., 1979, esp. cap. 10, pps. 114-27.

³⁴ Cf. my 'The Linguistic situation in al-Andalus', to appear in the proceedings of the first international colloquium on the *kharjas*, Exeter, 1987.

³⁵ Cf. *The Rise and Fall of the Party-Kings*, 27-29, 33-36.

³⁶ Bulliet, *op. cit.*, cap. 11, pps. 128-38, 'The consequences of conversion'.

³⁷ 'The Jewish Community of Tenth-Century Spain', to appear in the proceedings of the Second Solon Symposium, Oxford, 1988.

³⁸ Cf. *supra*, n. 28.

³⁹ Cf. Lévi-Provençal, *op. cit.*, II, 318, and *ibid.*, n. 1; cf. also al-Maqqarī, *Analectes*, I, 256.