The modern Spanish school of scientific historians is not favourably disposed towards the legacy of Islam. A hundred years ago the importance of 'the Moors in Spain' was unduly exaggerated; to-day the subject is out of fashion among serious workers and apt to be despised by intelligent readers. This attitude may be regrettable, but there are reasons for it, and not all of them are bad reasons. The inaccuracies in Conde's Historia de la dominación de los árabes en España, the somewhat unfortunate conclusions reached by Dozy regarding the Cid—conclusions which subsequent research has proved to be fallacious, and lastly the tendency emanating from French and American universities to trace everything, if possible, to a Latin origin, have led Hispanists to regard oriental studies with a certain feeling of distrust, from which not even the solid achievements of an Asín or a Ribera have altogether been able to save them.

Other influences also have been at work, as a result of the social and political conditions of modern Spain. An idea has gained ground that oriental studies, and Islamic solutions for the problems of Spanish history, philology, and art, belong to that romantic but disastrous tradition, which, after a nineteenth century of invasion, civil war, and unrest, ended in the Spanish-American conflict of 1898. The movement for reform and recuperation, begun by 'the generation of 1898' and encouraged by the inspired teaching and blameless life of Francisco Giner, led to the development of that sense of accurate scholarship which is so conspicuously manifest in the work of Professor Menéndez Pidal. Yet it was singularly unfortunate that wherever Pidal turned—to the old ballads, to the poem of the Cid, to the origins of the Spanish language—he found a body of ill-supported assumptions concerning 'Moorish origins', assumptions which had to be cleared away before any real progress could be made.
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Menéndez Pidal was so much better equipped than any of his contemporaries that the conclusion was drawn that a Romance philologist must inevitably be more reliable in Spain than an orientalist, and a Romance explanation of any phenomenon in Spanish philology or Spanish art intrinsically more probable than a solution derived from oriental studies. Pidal himself, however, had no illusions as to the value or necessity of the study of Arabic in Spanish philology; and in the first number of the Revista de Filología Española, founded by him in 1914, the leading article was by Professor Miguel Asín.

Effects of Islam on political and economic history

Yet there is another line of opposition in Spain to the legacy of Islam: that the Muslims were the cause, directly or indirectly, of all the evils which afterwards befell the country. ‘Without Islam’ (writes one of the best of the younger Spanish medievalists) ‘Spain would have followed the same course as France, Germany, Italy and England; and to judge by what was actually accomplished through the centuries, Spain might have led the way. But it was not to be. Islam conquered the whole of the Peninsula, distorted the destinies of Iberia and allotted to it a different part in the tragi-comedy of history—a role of sacrifice and vigilance, of sentinel and teacher, a role which had enormous importance in the life of Europe, but which proved extremely expensive to Spain.’

The first result of the Muslim conquest of 711 was that Iberian particularism sprang once more to life. All along the mountain chains which cross northern Spain from the Atlantic to the Mediterranean arose nuclei of resistance to the Muslim invaders; and these nuclei became in time the kingdoms of Asturias and Navarre and the ‘counties’ in the Pyrenees. The

1. C. Sánchez Albornoz, España y el Islam. (Revista de Occidente, vii, no. 70, p. 4, April 1929.) The Arabic origin of the famous name (al-burnus, the man with the burnous) will not escape notice.

new states led a separate existence for something like eight centuries, with nothing in common except their faith and the fact that the dialects they spoke had once been a form of Low Latin. They had begun as Christian points of resistance, like the Balkan states, and so they continued. When at length Islam ceased to be a dangerous neighbour, each of the Christian states turned its gaze in a different direction; they fought with one another again and again, and in their isolation created different dialects, different traditions. The most vital of these new kingdoms was the kingdom of Castile; but even that, owing to its prolonged contact with Islam, was some three centuries behindhand in the development of those institutions which are characteristic of medieval Europe. Meanwhile the reconquest advanced southwards, and the Christian kings replenished their resources by the occupation of immense territories inhabited by Muslim agricultural labourers, while their Christian subjects tended to become more and more an exclusive military caste. The economic consequences of the reconquest were disastrous. It was not that the influence of Islam was directly harmful, but it certainly retarded the economic development of the Christian states. Christian Spain revolved for five centuries in the economic orbit of the Islamic South; commerce was monopolized by Muslims and Jews. For nearly four hundred years the Christian kingdoms in Spain used no money except Arabic or French, and for two hundred more the kings of Castile had no gold coinage of their own. Among the ‘Old Christians’ there was no impulse towards economic activity; the reconquest, whether it was a conscious ideal or not, absorbed all men of action in military adventure. When the reconquest was interrupted, as it was from the middle of the thirteenth century until the fifteenth, the spirit of adventure led Aragon to seek hegemony in Italy and the East, and Portugal to exploration in Africa and the Atlantic, while Castile, having no outlet to the sea, consumed its energies in dynastic quarrels and barons’ wars.
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The union of Aragon and Castile in the persons of Ferdinand and Isabella, which led to the capitulation of Granada and the end of the reconquista, in 1492, coincided with the discovery of America; and this once more drew away, on the greatest adventure in history, the most vigorous part of the Spanish population. The banishment of the Jews, which also took place in that year, had not been unpopular with the 'Old Christians'; but the expulsion of the Moriscos (the Spanish Muslims who by one means or another had been converted to Christianity) never had the support of the majority of the Christian inhabitants; and when, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the country was suddenly deprived of all its skilled workmen and several hundred thousand agricultural labourers by this measure, the decline of Spain was inevitable.

Yet the fact of living in contact with a Muslim people had had at least one advantage. It had created in the small cultivated minorities of the Christian kingdoms a spirit of toleration rare in Europe in the Middle Ages. The French crusaders who had helped Alfonso VIII to win the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212) deserted him in disgust when they saw how mildly he treated the conquered Muslims, while Pedro II of Aragon died fighting for the Albigeois 'heretics', and several monarchs of Castile and Aragon surrounded themselves with learned Moors and Jews. They employed Muslim architects, listened to Muslim musicians, and enjoyed the refinements of Muslim culture. But at the same time the fact of constant 'holy wars' against Islam at length produced an exacerbation of religious sentiment. In no country in Europe did the clergy reach a position of power and influence comparable with that achieved in Spain; and the country came to be governed by an ecclesiastical minority with whom the true interests of Spain took second place: 'Spain sacrificed to Catholicism both liberty of spirit and greatness as a nation.'

Islam, while it died out in al-Andalus, ended by poisoning Spain.

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Ferdinand and Isabella soon fell victims, and with innocent hands administered the draught to their own kingdoms. In the first place they abandoned the traditional toleration of the houses of Castile and Aragon; they allowed themselves to be overruled by the ideas and sentiments of the ecclesiastical minority, and tried to achieve the fusion of their ill-united kingdoms by converting the national unity into a unity which was less political than religious... Philip II, urged onward by the ideas which had been imprinted on his mind by the ecclesiastical minority, denaturalized the policy of Ferdinand and Isabella to the limit of intolerance and absurdity; and the prosecution of this line of conduct by the successive Philips ruined in a few generations that marvellous flower of Hispanic thought, the only favourable legacy which Islam had bequeathed.

Races and Languages in Muslim Spain

Such is the indictment of a modern Spanish historian. Yet it cannot be denied that while Europe lay for the most part in misery and decay, both materially and spiritually, the Spanish Muslims created a splendid civilization and an organized economic life. Muslim Spain played a decisive part in the development of art, science, philosophy, and poetry, and its influence reached even to the highest peaks of the Christian thought of the thirteenth century, to Thomas Aquinas and Dante. Then, if ever, Spain was 'the torch of Europe'.

But who were the torch-bearers? It was formerly the custom to call them 'Moors' or 'Arabs', but such a statement is far too sweeping. The leader of the first successful expedition into Spain, Ţāriq, was not an Arab but a Berber, and so were a large proportion of his followers: the actual figures given are 500 Arabs and 7,000 Berbers. The forces brought over in the following year, 714, by Mūsā ibn Nuṣair were also a mixed force of Arabs (from different parts of Arabia), Syrians, Copts, and Berbers. Study of ancient records and modern place-names (particularly in the kingdom of Valencia) makes it possible to

1 Revista de Occidente, vol. vii, no. 70, p. 28 (April 1899).
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arrive at an approximate tribal distribution of Arabs in Spain, both directly after the invasion and later: and besides their tribal names, the invaders brought their tribal quarrels, which were fought out in Spain with as much bitterness as in the land of their origin. Many families of Christians living in Spain were converted to Islam, and the more important of them, and some who remained Christian, left their names also, with the Arabic prefix Banū-, or Banī-, ‘sons of’.

There was much intermarriage between Muslims and Christians. The son of Mūsā ibn Nuṣair and other leaders of the expedition married into the family of Wātiza, the last legitimate king of Visigothic Spain; and throughout the country the mothers of the next generation, whether Muslim or Christian, were all Spanish. The Muslims of succeeding generations preferred the mothers of their children to be those fair-complexioned slaves captured in the north of Spain, rather than, or in addition to, their own womenfolk. Professor Ribera has studied the records of the slave-market at Córdoba at various periods.1 The purchase of a slave was not so simple a transaction as is often imagined. It had to be concluded in the presence of a notary, and the purposes for which a female slave was required, as well as her capabilities and treatment, were carefully considered. Women enjoyed more freedom and more consideration under the Umayyads in Spain than under the ‘Abbāsids of Baghdād; yet it was thought highly desirable that those destined to become the mothers of children in good families should be fair-skinned, and, if possible, Galicians. The result was that, although their descendants bore the names of their ancestors in the male line only, the purity of the Arab race was diminished by crossing with Spanish strains in each successive generation, and the more Arab names a man bore the less Arab blood he had in his veins. It is wrong, therefore, to assume that all Muslims in Spain were Arabs, and all Christians Romans or Goths; that all of these fled to the north for refuge at the time of the conquest, or that the ‘reconquest’ was a war lasting eight centuries between the ‘Latino-Goths’ in the north and the Andalusian ‘Arabs’ in the south.

From the third or fourth generation after the conquest, most Spanish Muslims were bilingual, both those of Arab descent (by that time a small minority) and those of Spanish Christian origin. Besides Arabic, which was the official language, they used a Romance patois, which was also spoken by the Mozárabes (mustā‘rib, ‘Arabized’ or ‘would-be Arab’) — the Christians still living under Muslim rule. Al-Khushānī (Aljoxānī), in his history of the qādīs of Córdoba,2 brings out clearly how general the use of this Romance dialect was. It seems to have been used in Córdoba by all classes, even in courts of law and in the royal palace. There were, in fact, four languages in use in Muslim Spain:

1) Classical Arabic, the language of men of letters;
2) Colloquial Arabic, the language of administration and government;
3) Ecclesiastical Latin, a merely ritual language associated with a particular form of worship; and
4) A Romance dialect, mainly derived from Low Latin, but destined to become (under the name of Romance castellano or Spanish) one of the great international languages of the world, by the side of English and Arabic.

It was difficult at first for the illiterate people of Peninsular origin to learn to express themselves in Arabic of any kind; and in the first centuries after the conquest there were many newly-converted Muslims in Spain who were too ignorant of the Arabic language to be instructed in the fundamental laws of Islam.

1 Historia de los juzgados de Córdoba. Text, translation, and introduction by Julián Ribera. (Madrid, 1914.)
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Even in later times it caused no great surprise when a man who spoke no Arabic was appointed qādi. 'Abd al-Rahmān III and his courtiers made jokes and rimes about the odd-sounding words employed by the people.1 Al-Khushaní relates that there was in Córdoba at that time an old man called Yana, or Giner—a name which no one at all intimately acquainted with the development of modern Spain can pronounce without emotion. He only spoke in Romance (al-'ajamiyya 'the outlookland speech'), but he was so esteemed for his honour and sincerity that his testimony was accepted without question in legal and judicial proceedings. He was much beloved in Córdoba for his virtues and his orthodox professions of the Muslim faith; and one day the officers invited him to give evidence in a case against a certain qādi. ‘The old man replied in 'ajamiyya: “I do not know him, but I have heard the people say of him that he is a little . . . .” And he used a diminutive of the word in 'ajamiyya. So when they reported his saying to the Emir (the mercy of God be upon him!) he was delighted with the man's expression, and said: “There would not have come the like of this word from that honest man, unless it were to be trusted.” So he dismissed the qādi forthwith.2

Mozárabes and Muslim culture

Yet in spite of the fact that many Muslims in Spain were of Spanish origin, and that the Arabic language was by no means universally understood nor spoken very well—even in the ninth century the Arabic of Spain was described by a traveller from the East (al-Muqaddasi) as being ‘obscure and difficult to understand’—still the legacy of Islam continued to make progress. If cultivated Mozárabes were bilingual, the majority were illiterate; the few who could read and write preferred to do so in Arabic rather than in Latin. Latin was a clumsy language to write compared with Arabic, and the Latin literature available was of

1 R. Menéndez Pidal, Orígenes del Español, p. 442. (Madrid, 1926.)

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no great interest; so we find a bishop in Córdoba reprimanding his flock not so much for lack of faith as for preferring Arabic poetry and prose to the homilies of the Fathers. Again, the Muslims had introduced paper, and books were more quickly and cheaply produced in Arabic than in Latin.

Córdoba in the tenth century was the most civilized city in Europe, the wonder and admiration of the world, a Vienna among Balkan states. Travellers from the north heard with something like fear of the city which contained 70 libraries and 900 public baths; yet whenever the rulers of León, Navarre or Barcelona needed such things as a surgeon, an architect, a dressmaker or a singing-master, it was to Córdoba that they applied. Queen Tota of Navarre, for instance, brought her son Sancho the Fat to be cured of his corpulence. She was referred to a famous Jewish physician; and not only was the treatment successful, but the government made use of the doctor to negotiate with the Queen an important treaty.

But what most struck the imagination of travellers were the reports of the summer palace of Madinatu-l-Zahra', situated about three miles to the west of Córdoba, which even in the sober pages of al-Maqqarī writing long afterwards seems more like a dream—palace of the ‘Thousand and One Nights’ than a group of buildings of which modern excavators can find little except the drains.1

Madinatu-l-Zahra' was destroyed within fifty years of its completion. But the fall of the Caliphate meant that its culture—or, at any rate, some of it—became available to the conquerors. The tenth century is the period of Muslim city states or ‘party-kings’ (Ar. mulūk al-jawā'if, Sp. reyes de taifas); and though Seville under the 'Abbādite dynasty (e.g. Mu'tamid, the poet) was no less brilliant than Córdoba had been the century before, the Muslim states were now more open to the Christians of the north, and cultural influence spread as their political

1 R. Velázquez Bosco, Medina Anzabra y Alemiriya. (Madrid, 1912.)
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power declined. The expansion of Muslim culture to the north was still further encouraged by the emigration of the Mozárabes during the persecution which took place under the Berber dynasties, Almorávides (al-Murábiyun) and Almohades (al-Muwallidun), especially between 1090 and 1146. For the first time in Spanish history intolerance had appeared; but it is curious that it should have appeared almost simultaneously in both camps, being introduced by the Berber fanatics in the south and the Cluniac monks in the north. The Mozárabes of Valencia found it impossible to live under the Almorávides; when Jimena abandoned the city in 1102 after the death of the Cid, all the Mozárabes were expatriated to Castile. This mass emigration was followed by others; and under the Almohades (1143) the position of the Mozárabes grew worse. 'Abd al-Mu'min decreed the expulsion of all Christians and Jews who refused to turn Muslim. It is surprising, however, to find that it is precisely this period of Berber hegemony in Spain (roughly from 1056 to 1266) which includes some of the greatest names in Muslim Spanish culture: al-Bakrî and Idrîsî the geographers and Ibn Zuhr (Avenzoar) the physician lived under the Almorávides; while the succeeding dynasty produced Avempace, Averroes, and Ibn 'Tufayl among philosophers, Ibn 'Arabi of Murcia the mystic, Maimonides the Jewish savant, and Ibn Jubayr the traveller.

The deported Mozárabes had carried with them certain ways of building and styles of dress, certain Muslim customs and expressions (e.g. quem Deus salvet, cui sit beata requies, quo Dios mantenga), but the legacy of practical Muslim civilization as it had existed in Spain was spread all over the country by the Christian conquests—and by Jewish intermediaries—in the first half of the thirteenth century, which brought large numbers of Muslim craftsmen under Christian rule. The way to Muslim learning had been thrown open to the whole of Europe by the capture of

1 Menéndez Pidal, loc. cit.
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Toledo (1085), and with the fall of Córdoba (1236) and Seville (1248) it spread rapidly. With the conquest of Granada (1492) the legacy might be said to have come to an end, except for pottery and some of the minor arts.

The Arabic renaissance, which had been preceded by a French renaissance, was followed by the Italian renaissance, and the period of Arabic influence was ended.

Architecture: Mozárabe and Mudéjar

Muslim architecture has been dealt with in another chapter. The periods of the emirate and caliphate are represented by the great mosque of Córdoba (fig. 77); a memorial (one of the very few) of the ‘party-kings’ are the scanty remains of the Aljaferia (al-Ja‘fariya) at Saragossa. The Almohade period is illustrated by the Giralda tower and the oldest part of the Alcázar (the patio del yeso) at Seville; while the art of the Nasrīte dynasty of Granada is represented by the Alhambra (fig. 1) and the Generalife (frontispiece).

There are, however, two other styles, both characteristically Spanish, which deserve attention: the Mozárabic and Mudéjar.

Mozárabic architecture is in some ways a reaction against Islam, but it had to submit to influences from its more powerful and more civilized neighbour in the south. Originating in a style practised in Spain before the invasion of 711, it became the typical style of the Christian kingdoms of the north between that period and the introduction of the Romanesque style towards the end of the eleventh century. As ‘a distant outpost of Byzantine art’, it shows certain features which appear in Muslim architecture also, such as the paired *ajimez* windows (al-thamāb) and the horseshoe arch. The history of this ‘Moorish’ arch is a very pretty problem, for it is found not only in Muslim buildings but in Mozárabic churches also. It has been suggested that Christian emigrants from Córdoba, especially monks,
brought with them ideas of a higher culture than any known in the north, including new methods of building. The unpretending churches which date from this epoch, though they show certain features of Byzantine origin, betray the influence of Córdoba in the structure of the arch and in the system of vaulting (e.g. San Miguel de Escalada, built by monks expelled from the Muslim capital in 913). Córdoba made the ‘Moorish’ arch known to the Christians and Muslims alike, but did not originate it, for it undoubtedly existed in Spain before the date of the conquest, and is even found on late Roman tombstones. The Spanish Muslims, however, quickly realized its possibilities, both structural and decorative, and adopted it generally, exaggerating the ‘pinch’ in the sides and eventually half filling the hollow of the arch. The influence of Córdoba, including the horseshoe arch, is also to be seen in Mozárabic illuminated manuscripts (such as the commentaries of Beatus of Liébana); while other Latin manuscripts are known which actually have marginal notes in Arabic explaining the meaning of the Latin words. But the most original contribution of Córdoba to architecture was the system of vaulting based on intersecting arches and visible intersecting ribs, a system which attacks the main problem of architecture—that of covering space with a roof—in much the same way as the system of Gothic vaulting which developed two centuries later.

The architectural forms developed at Córdoba were carried to Toledo and Saragossa, where they are beautifully exhibited in brickwork. The exquisite ‘Cristo de la Luz’ at Toledo (fig. 2), originally a Visigothic church, was turned into a mosque at the time of the Muslim occupation, and was restored by a Muslim architect in 980, as is stated in an inscription on the front of the building. Inside, the walls are lined with ‘blank arcading’—rows of ‘dummy’ arches leading nowhere. This is said to be the earliest instance of its use, the next being the cathedrals of Durham (1093, fig. 3) and Norwich (1119). Decorative inter-
secting arcading became a favourite device with the Muslim workmen after they had submitted to the Christians.

These men, known as Mudéjares (mudajjanin), were the creators of the Spanish national style, perhaps the most characteristic Spanish contribution to the art of Europe, and their work is to be seen all over Spain. But its real home is Toledo. There we find those beautiful brick church-towers with constantly varying courses of blank arcading, the principle of decoration being one of tiers of arches, one above the other in rows, while each story has windows of different form (fig. 4). In Aragon, the Mudéjar towers are separated from the churches, like minarets, and are sometimes decorated with brightly-coloured tiles as well as brickwork. At Tornel, four of the towers are built across the streets, with the traffic going through an arch at the bottom; at Calatayud (qalat Ayyûb) the towers are octagonal.¹ The brick apses of the Mudéjar churches in Toledo are also particularly beautiful examples of brickwork, while the north wall of the older of the two cathedrals at Saragossa is a splendid example of this kind of decoration. Mudéjar workmen were employed all over Spain for the decoration of churches and private houses, e.g. the fantastic courtyard of the Infantado palace at Guadalajara (zabdi-l-bijara). They were particularly in request for the canopies of tombs, and also for synagogues, as may be seen in the buildings at Toledo now known as ‘El Tránsito’ and ‘Santa María la Blanca’. The Alcázar at Seville was built by Mudéjar workmen for King Pedro the Cruel entirely in the Muslim style, and is still used as a royal residence.

Woodwork, ceramics, textiles, and music

The Mudéjar workmen excelled above all in the minor arts: woodwork, pottery, textiles. The Spanish coffered (artesonado) ceilings have no parallel in Europe—if we except that of the

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Capella Palatina at Palermo, which is also Muslim work. Their inlaid doors are no less beautiful and individual, and to this day the technical Spanish words of the carpenter’s trade are largely Arabic. The various kinds of coloured tiles (azulejos), so familiar to-day in Spain and Portugal, are a legacy from the Muslims, as the name implies (see p. 20). After the reconquest the geometrical patterns and inscriptions of earlier times were replaced by pictures, or even by vast frescoes composed of tiles (fig. 5). In Seville, tiles were used for altars, balustrades, fountains (where the water was arranged so as to trickle slowly over the rim of the basin and keep the tiles below it wet and shining); and in public gardens they are used for seats and bookshelves (the free library in a public garden is a peculiarly Spanish institution). In Portugal coloured tiles and tile-pictures are used to an even greater extent: there is a church in Evora, the interior of which is completely covered with blue and white tiles.

The highest level of Mudéjar workmanship was reached in Hispano-Moresque lustre pottery, which, in the eyes of collectors, ranks only below Chinese porcelain. The earliest mention of it is in the eleventh century (Toledo 1066, Córdoba 1068), while Idrisî describes its being made at Calatayud before 1154. Two other places in Spain, widely separated, were famous for this ware: Málaga and, above all, Manises in the kingdom of Valencia. The earliest existing pieces date from the fourteenth century, though fragments which must have been four hundred years older were found during the excavations of Madinatu-l-Zahrâ. Typical Hispano-Moresque ware has a shimmering metallic golden lustre varying from ruby to mother-of-pearl and greenish yellow. The earliest forms of decoration are Byzantine, but the square Kufic characters were soon introduced for decoration; while later, a favourite inscription was al-‘âbiya, good health (Sp. alefia, prosperity, fate, or blessing). This formula was popularly supposed to have been adopted by the potters as a substitute for the sacred name of Allah, so that there might be

Fig. 5. COLOURED TILES IN SPAIN
The Hall of the Ambassadors in the Alcázar
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no chance of the piece with that name being broken and the potter consequently losing his soul. The al-tāfya is found principally on drug-jars. The Valencian potters, however, invented other schemes of decoration based on the wild bryony (Ar. al-ghālība, Sp. algalba), a plant familiar in their district. Vine-leaves were also employed, and, latterly, heraldic devices (fig. 3), from which it has been proved that Hispano-Moresque pottery was manufactured for popes and cardinals and the greatest families of Spain and Portugal, Italy and France.1

'They lack our faith', Cardinal Ximénez remarked of these heretical craftsmen, 'but we lack their works'.

Spanish-Moorish silks were hardly less in demand than Spanish-Moorish pottery. They were particularly treasured in Christian churches; even at Canterbury Cathedral several of the little silk bags which held the seals of documents, dating from 1264 to 1366, were found to be made of pieces of ancient Spanish silk, the patterns being unmistakable and unequalled for their intricacy and fineness of workmanship. The best surviving pieces probably date from the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth centuries. With the fourteenth century, new designs appeared with still more elaborate interlacings, and these outlasted the Muslim dominion in Spain and are one more manifestation of the Mudéjar art of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Córdoba became famous for its leather, known as 'Cordovan' or 'Cordwain', so that the Cordwainers' Company, or at least the name, might be considered part of the legacy of Arabia. In later years fine and characteristic work was done by Mudéjar bookbinders. The Muslim-Spanish goldsmiths also achieved renown; and the workers in other metals took no less pains with such things as enamelled and inscribed sword-hilts, as with such every-day objects as iron keys, the wards of which often take the

1 C. van der Put, in Spanish Art: Burlington Magazine Monograph (1927), and separate studies.
form of interlacing letters and words in the square Kufic script to which its shape is admirably adapted.

It is difficult to do justice to the industrial arts of the Spanish Muslims; in music, on the contrary, their influence has probably been exaggerated. The superficial resemblance between popular music heard in the south of Spain and that heard in Morocco and other Muslim countries has led many observers astray. Though in the dances and dance-rhythms there is undoubtedly a relationship between modern Spain and modern Morocco, and although certain melodies in the repertory of musicians at Fez are said to have been brought from Granada, in other music the likeness lies in the manner of performance rather than in the modes and forms of the music itself. There were undoubtedly Muslim musicians at the courts of the medieval kings of Castile and Aragon—their names have been preserved, just as have the names of their colleagues from England or Scotland and other parts of Europe—but in the later medieval period (e.g., that of the Archpriest of Hita) the ‘Moors’ are more often described as dancers than as players on instruments, though the instrument had in many cases been brought to Spain—and so to Europe—by Muslims: the lute al-āṣid, guitar qitāra (Gk. xitāp), and rebec or ribble, a favourite instrument with Chaucer, Ar. rābāb, Sp. rebeca, Port. rabeça, the last being the ordinary word still used in Portugal for a violin.

There are other instruments in the Peninsula with names derived from Arabic, such as the tambourine (Sp. pandero, pandero, coll. Ar. bandour); while the ‘jingles’ round the edge are known in Spain as sonajas (Ar. pl. jānāj; Pers. jānj). The old Spanish trumpet aṅāfīl is the Arabic al-na‘īf; while the word ‘fanfare’, a piece of music played by several trumpets, is derived by Dr. Farmer from a plural form of nāfīr—ānːfīr. The Spanish bag-pipes gaita are the Arabic al-ghaita (hautboï), known in West Africa as ‘alligator’, the nearest English word to the colloquial pronunciation of the Arabic. There is also the old Spanish instrument known as albogñ, and albergón (Ar. al-bāq, Lat. bucium). This has long been a mystery; but it has been described and illustrated as played to-day in the Basque provinces.\footnote{1} Finally (as pointed out in another chapter) the words ‘troubadour’ and trobar are almost certainly of Arabic origin: from ṭarriba, to sing, or make music.

During the persecution and gradual expulsion of the Moriscos during the sixteenth century, the Gipies (who are first reported as landing at Barcelona in 1442) gradually came in and took their place, some even settling down in the abandoned quarters of Granada, and giving up their wandering habits. Though they sometimes plied the trade of tinker or farrier, they had no arts or crafts, and were in every way a bad substitute for the Moriscos; but they gradually became the musicians of the people, performing music which they had heard in the course of their wanderings, but performing it with a dash and fire that was all their own. The manner of performance, which is known to the initiated as a zambrā (Ar. zambrā)—and still more, the manners of the audience, breaking in with cries of Ole! Ole! (wâllâkî)!—kept up a likeness to what had been in Muslim times. The guitar-player began alone, playing a long prelude until the spirits of the audience and the other performers were worked up to the proper pitch; and then, when the singer at last entered, he or she would begin with a long ay! for the same purpose—to try the voice—or (as was heard as lately as 1922) with a wild wailing lēl, lēl, which may be nothing else than a memory of the Muslim creed, or perhaps ‘my night, my night!’

There is, however, a distinct possibility that European musical theory, like every other branch of learning in medieval Europe, was influenced by Muslim writers.\footnote{2} Between the eighth and eleventh centuries many Greek treatises on music were trans-

\footnote{1\: Rodney Gallop, \textit{A Book of the Basques} (1930), p. 183.}
lated into Arabic, and important original works were written in
Arabic by Al-Kindî, Al-Fârâbî, Avempace, Avicenna, and others.
When students from the north began to visit Toledo, these
Arabic works gradually became known in Europe in Latin trans-
lations, and it is a curious coincidence that this period (the first
half of the twelfth century) is the period in which a new prin-
ciple appears in northern music—the principle that the notes
have an exact time-value or ratio among themselves, instead of
the fluid time-value of plain-song. The inventor of this
'measured music' is sometimes stated to have been Franco of
Cologne; but he himself speaks of measured music as a thing
already in existence, and it seems to have been known to Al-
Khalil as early as the eighth century, as well as to Al-Fârâbî
(tenth century), who, under the name of Alpharabius, was
translated into Latin and widely read among northern musicians.
Walter Odington, the greatest musician of the thirteenth
century, spoke with enthusiasm of the Arabic masters; and
another English musician of the time, a writer on the theory of
music, goes so far as to call the new note-values by Arabic
names: thus he speaks of 'elmahaym' and 'elma.arîfâ.' 2

Medieval music is, at present, a subject in which too much is
known about the theory, and too little about the practice; the
chapter on the 'Social aspects of music in the Middle Ages' in
the introductory volume of The Oxford History of Music (1929)
broke entirely new ground. Yet the practical value of the system
of 'measured music' was immense, for it enabled music to be
composed and written down in a legible form for several voices
singing together. Such music would probably have been com-
pletely unintelligible to 'Alpharabius' and the other Muslim
theorists, and they might never have understood that the
northern musicians were applying a principle which they them-
selves had been the first to enunciate. 'Sumer is icumen in',

1 Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 3rd ed. (1927), art. 'Franco'.
2 Coussemaker, Scriptores de musica medii aevi, i. 339.

the great 'round' for six voices composed about 1240 by a monk
of Reading, is in advance of any music of its time; and is in a
different world altogether from the songs of the Troubadours
and the Cantigas of the Spanish king Alfonso the Sage (c. 1283)
which probably arose under direct Muslim influence.

Arabic words in Spanish and Portuguese

Nothing in Spain gives clearer evidence of the debt to Islam
than the Spanish language. Yet here particularly it is important
to avoid exaggeration and to estimate as accurately as possible
what the debt amounts to. By the time of the Muslim invasion
of 711, a Romance dialect was already in process of formation
from the Low Latin which had once been spoken in the Penin-
sula, and it is known to have been used (as we have already seen)
by the Christians under Muslim rule, and, as time went on,
by numbers of Muslims themselves. A considerable number of
Arabic words made their way into this Romance dialect; and the
reason is to be found, not so much in the direct borrowing of
Arabic words, as that the Spanish dialects themselves were in an
uncertain and fluid state while there were Arabic-speaking
people in the Peninsula.

The borrowed Arabic words are in most cases nouns, and they
are the kinds of objects and ideas which had (and in many cases
still have) Arabic names in modern Spanish, e.g. fonda hotel
(Ar. zindaq), tabona bakery (Ar. tâbûna mill), tarifa tariff (Ar.
tarîf notice, definition).

As a rule, however, the Arabic word was taken over into
Spanish with the Arabic definite article joined to it, and then
the Spanish article was added in front of that, e.g. la alhaja1
the jewel (Ar. al-hâja), el arroz the rice (Ar-ruzz), la aciaria the
canal or dyke (Ar.-îqiya), el anacelo the baker's boy (Ar.-naqiîl
the carrier.) The Spanish words, it need hardly be said, were not

1 In the sixteenth century the usual form was el alhaja.
derived from the classical, written language, but from the colloquial Arabic of Southern Spain; and, in pronunciation, the -l of the article was in certain cases assimilated to the initial consonant of the following word, e.g. ar-ruz, ar-saqqāya, an-naqqāl, but al-baḥā, al-qubba, &c. Pedro de Alcalá, the missionary, who in 1505 published two books dealing with the colloquial Arabic of Granada, writes a dar the house, a xem the sun, a collán the Sultan, &c. Yet it should not be concluded that every strange-looking Spanish word is of Arabic origin if it begins with al-: almuerzo lunch, alameda avenue, almendra almond, are words of undoubted Latin origin; while albaricoque apricot, and albarchigo one of the numerous varieties of peach, were originally Latin words which have passed through Greek and Arabic before settling down in Spanish.

Nevertheless the fact remains that the Spanish words borrowed from Arabic include some of the commonest objects of daily life:

- passage into a house zaguin
- flat roof azotea
- awning tellado
- bedroom alcober
- cupboard alacena
- shelf anaquele
- stand, dais, footstool tarima
- partition tebague
- carpet or mat alfombra
- pillow almohadón
- pin alfiler
- dressing-gown bata
- overcoat gabán
- builder albañil
- scaffolding andamis
- warehouse almácén
- paving-stone adequin
- tar alquitrán

Ar. asfalcón, Gk. oros
al-safārā, dim. of sāf root
zulla canopy
al-qubba dome
al-baḥā, cupboard
al-naqqāl bearer
tarima
fābd layer, surface
al-khurṣā mat of palm-leaves
al-mukadda pillow
al-khislā
batwa x coarse garment, lining
qaba' outer garment
al-bannā
ad-dā' x 'im pillars, supports
al-madhzan
al-dūkān shop, stone bench
al-qasrān

These are common words of every-day use, and the list might have been made longer. Suburbs, village, farm, are all known by Arabic words. The countryman measures his corn by the fannan of one and a half bushels (Ar. faṣānī a large sack), and divides it into twelve cemenes, each equivalent to a gallon (Ar. thūnānī, colloquial zeremī, eight), and he has another measure, the arraha (Al-ruba', fem.) a 'quarter' (of a hundredweight) dry measure, or four gallons liquid. His entire vocabulary concerning with irrigation is Arabic, and so are the names of numerous flowers, fruits, vegetables, shrubs, and trees. Sugar asūcar has passed into Spanish, Portuguese, and other European languages through the Arabic al-xukkar, Persian shakar, and not (as is often stated in Spain) through the Latin saccharum; both words are derived ultimately, but by different roads, from the same word in Sanskrit. Again, the word jarabe which the traveller in southern Spain sees so often in advertisements is the English 'syrup' (also 'sherbet' and rum 'shrub') derived from the Arabic sharāb, drink. Jarabe was formerly spelt xarabe, the Spanish x having been pronounced as sh down to the seventeenth century, as it still is in Catalan and Portuguese. It may be surprising to learn that the Spanish-speaking peoples still make use of the Arabic phrase in shallāb; yet such is the explanation of the
common Spanish expression *ojalá*, formerly spelt *oxalá* and then pronounced with the *x* equivalent to *sh*.

Other words borrowed from Arabic,1 which have survived in literary Spanish, are gradually dropping out under the influence of journalism. Spanish journalism, and particularly Spanish-American journalism, is strongly influenced by Paris, and the so-called ‘Latin press’ (*prensa latina*) has no love for words which are not immediately intelligible in any Latin country. The most notable modern exception is José Martínez Ruiz—the essayist who has always written under the pen-name of ‘Azorín’. No man in Spain is a greater ‘Francophile’ than he; yet his love for the old Spanish writers, and his early environment—like Professor Ribera he is a native of Valencia, full of Moorish devices for irrigation and the Arabic words and place-names which describe them—led him to use the language with extraordinary richness and variety; while his passion for ‘interiors’ and his minute and detailed description of common things and his delight in their names make his earlier essays a valuable contribution to the legacy of Arabia in modern Spain.

The really cultivated Spaniard still takes pleasure in words of mixed Spanish-Arabic origin, no less than in those of Spanish-Latin origin which can be traced back to Mozarabic times. The wandering minstrels who recited the ‘Poem of my Cid’ and the older Spanish ballads, the poems of Gonzalo de Berceo and the Archbishop of Hita, the prose of Alfonso the Sage and Don Juan Manuel—all these drew upon ‘a well of Castilian undefiled’ which, from its Low Latin origins and Arabic borrowings, had become a possession peculiarly characteristic of the Spanish people. Nevertheless the influence of minds which cannot conceive of

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The word ‘baroque’ seems to be of Arabic origin, (barga, uneven ground) and to have reached Europe through baroco, a technical term used by Portuguese pearl-fishers, and dealers in pearls.

**Arabic place-names in Spain and Portugal**

Place-names are unaffected by journalism, and the map of Spain and Portugal is of extraordinary interest to a student of Arabic. Though some of the names are Arabized forms of older Iberian and Phoenician names, and many are of characteristically mixed origin, Arabic and Romance, they form when taken together a striking demonstration of the mark which the Islamic peoples left on the Peninsula. Mountains and hills, capes and islands, sand-banks, rivers, lakes, and hot springs; plains, fields, woods, gardens, trees, and flowers; caves and mines; colours; and works of man such as farms, villages, towns, markets, mosques, paved roads, bridges, castles, forts, mills, towers, have all become geographical names. Thus jabal (mountain) appears in Monte Jábalcuz, in Jabalcón, Jabaloyas, Jabalquinto, Javalcón and the Peo and Sierra de Javalambre; there is also the Sierra de Gibralbin, Gibraleón, Gibalfaro (mountain of the pharaohs), while Gibraltar (mount Tarig) is named after the Berber chief who led the first successful Muslim expedition into Spain. Al-kudya (the hill) appears in the nine or ten places known as Alcudia, as also in Cudia Cremada (Burnt Hill) in Menorca; al-qar (plural of qara, hillock) in Alcor and Alcora; while al-mudannaqar (round, from dura, turn) is the name of the hill-town of Almodóvar del Rio and Almodóvar del Campo, and others. The port of Almería is named from al-maariyya the watch-tower. From al-manāra (beacon) are named the heights Cerro de Almenara, Sierra de Almenara, and the harbour Puerto de la Almenara; the Spanish word alménara, however (battlement), is not al-man'ah, but a Latin word minus to which the Arabic article has been added; while in Aragon the word alménar (al-manbar) is connected with irrigation. Tāraf (cape) has given Trafalgar, taraf al-qār, cape of the cave; al-jaza‘ah, the island, appears in Algeciras and Alcira. Kalla’ anchorage (from kal‘a, protect) is found separately as Cala (beach), and in combination, such as Cala Barca, Cala Blanca, Cala de San Vicente, Cala Santany, Punta de la Cala, Torre de la Cala Honda, La Caleta. The sand-banks at the mouth of the Ebro are known as Los Alfiques, perhaps from al-fakk, jaws.

Rambla, a sandy river-bed, recalls the origin of La Rambla, the principal street of Barcelona; but the Arabic word most familiar in Spain in connexion with a river is waḍi, which in Spanish is spelt guad, though still often pronounced with a ewart. Thus we find Guadalquivir, waḍi-l-kobir, the great river; Guadalajara, waḍi-l-bijara, the river of stones, Guadalaviar, waḍi-l-abuyah, the white river; Guadalcazar, waḍi-l-qasr, the river of the fort; Guadalctón, waḍi-l-qasr, the river of cotton, Guadalmédena, waḍi-l-madina, the city river; Guadarrama, waḍi-l-ramla, the sandy river; Guarromán, waḍi-l-rumman, the river of pomegranates. Others preserve an ancient place-name in an Arabic disguise: e.g. Guadiana, waḍi Anas; Guadix, waḍi Acci; Guadalupe, waḍi-l-ibāb, the wolf river (Latin lupus). In Portugal the Arabic word has become Odí-, or Ode-; e.g. Odiana (Guadiana), Odívellas, Ribeira de Odéilouca, and Odélote.

Lakes and lagoons in Spain and Portugal have often preserved their Arabic name of al-bubahaira (dim. of bahār, sea); thus there are Albuera, Albuféira, Albufeira, Albuhera, and Balabalbar. Reservoirs, ponds, or tanks, al-birkā, account for Alberca and Alverca; wells or cisterns, al-jubb, for Algibe; conduits, as-sāqīya, for Acéquia—all of which are common geographical terms in Spain. The Persian ḥandaq is remembered in Laguna de la Janda, Jandula, Jandúilla; it was in the first of these that the greater part of the Visigothic army perished in the decisive victory of Tāriq in 711. A familiar place-name is the hot spring, al-hamma, Alhama.

Woods and thicketts have given their Arabic names to
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Algaba, al-ğāba, and Algaida, al-ğāida. Meadows have preserved an Arabic word, al-ma'dhī, in Almargem (Lisbon), Almágeron (Málaga), Almarcha (La Mancha). Gardens which recall their Arabic origin in their names are Generalife, jannat-al-ṣariq, the garden of the architect or inspector, and Almurnal de Doña Godina, al-munya, the market garden. Fields of barley, al-ğāsil, have given their names to Alcácer do Sal in Portugal; sunflowers, al-ṣifur, to Venta de los Alazores; the tamarisk, al-ṣarfa, to Tarfæ; the wild olive, ʿaz-zanbiy, to Azambuja and Zambujeira in Portugal and the Puerta del Acebuché at Zafra. Among colours, a favourite geographical term is Albaida, al-baidâ, the white (fem.), while the Alhambra, al-ḥamrâ, the red (palace), was the dwelling of al-Ahmâr, the red (king).

Familiar geographical names are derived from the mine, al-ma'dīn, Almadén; the farm, al-qaryā, has given its name to Alcaria do Cume and Alcaria Ruiva in Portugal, and several places named Alquería in Spain; the village, al-dāl'a, has become the common Peninsular word aldea. Medina, Medina del Campo, Medina de Pomar, Medina de Ríosco, Medinaceli, Medina Sidonia, Laguna de Medina show one half of their origin (madina, city) very clearly. The mosque, masjid, Mequita, appears in several names; and the market, as-sūq, though officially known as 'el mercedo', is still spoken of by country people as el azogue (Port. azogue), and survives in a well-known proverb ¹ and in the proper names Azoguejo (Segovia), Azuqueca de Henares, and the Zocodover of Toledo: i.e. sūq-ad-dawâb, the cattle-market which, in medieval times, was known as the zoco de las bestias (sūq of the beasts).

Arabic words for fortress have produced many geographical

¹ En el azogue
Quien ma bakım éico mal toye.
(In the market, he who speaks evil hears evil.)

The common meaning of azogue, however, is quicksilver (Ar. al-żawâs, and az-nazâq).
in their work of teaching, provided that that teaching was not spread abroad amongst people in general.

The great thinkers of Muslim Spain do not belong to the brilliant age of the Caliphate of Córdoba, but to the ages of political confusion which followed. They rediscovered Greek philosophy, and above all the works of Aristotle. The historians and the dramatists were apparently unknown to them, but they introduced Aristotle to the West centuries before the revival of Greek scholarship which directly preceded the Renaissance and was one of the causes of the Reformation. They seem hardly ever to have known the Greek texts at first hand or to have translated from them directly; their translations were made as a rule from intermediate versions in Syriac; so that an English or Scottish student, if he wished to become further acquainted with the works of Aristotle than was possible from the meagre Latin versions at his disposal, found it convenient to travel to Toledo and learn to read his Greek authors in Arabic. The transmission of Greek learning to the West began at Baghdad, whence it was forwarded by Jewish or Muslim intermediaries to the Muslims in Spain; and thence, by Jewish intermediaries again, it was conveyed to wandering scholars from Christian Europe.

Arabic influences on early Spanish literature

The administrative, economic, and artistic aspects of Muslim civilization in Spain have already been mentioned, while its effects on European literature have been discussed in another chapter. Something more, however, remains to be said concerning the influence of Muslim thought on the literature of Spain.

In the age of heroic poetry (c. 1050–1250) the influences are French and Teutonic rather than Arabic. The national epic of Castile, the ‘Poem of my Cid’, has the form of a *chanson de geste*, though the hero himself was very nearly contemporary with the first minstrel who sang of his doings, and was not (as in the case
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of Roland) a semi-mythical hero who had perished hundreds of years before. The date of the poem is about 1140, and Ruy Díaz de Bivar, the Cid, died in 1099. His title, of course, is Arabic: saiyyid (colloquial sīd), lord; and the mixture of languages prevalent at the time could not be better shown than by the usual form under which the Cid was addressed by his men: Tā miq Cīd. An Arabic-speaking vassal would have said: Tā sīdī.

The second period (c. 1250–1400) is one in which the chief foreign influence on Spanish literature was Arabic. The gates of oriental learning and story were opened both to Spain and to the whole of Europe by the capture of Toledo (1085), which became a school of translation from oriental languages. As early as 1220 Petrus Alfonsi, a Spanish Jew who was baptized and whose godfather was Alfonso VII, introduced Indian fable into Spain by the celebrated collection of stories known as Disciplina Clericale. The Spanish translation of the ‘Indian tales’ of Calila e Dimna made directly from the Arabic text dates from 1251. It is the earliest attempt at story-telling in the Spanish language. The romance of the Seven Sages (Sindibad or Sendebar) was translated from the Arabic for the Infante Don Fadrique about 1253, under the name of Libro de los engaños e asayenlos de las mujeres (Book of the Wiles and Deceptions of Women). From the second half of the thirteenth century, collections of aphorisms and moral tales become numerous in Spain. They include a lost version of the Buddhistic legend of Balaam and Josaphat, the Libro de enseñanzas por ABC collected by Clemente Sánchez de Vercial, and the oddly-named Libro de los gatos, ‘Book of Cats’, which is probably a misreading for Libro de los géntos (quentos), ‘Book of Stories’—and is derived from an Arabic source through the Narrations of the English monk

1 Ed. J. Alermann (Madrid, 1913) and A. G. Salalinde (Madrid, 1917).
2 Ed. D. Comparetti, Researches respecting the Book of Sindibad (London, 1882), and A. Bonilla y San Mattrin (Madrid, 1904).
3 Ed. A. Marel Fatio, in Romania (1888).

Odo of Cheriton. Stories included in these collections are constantly recurring in Spanish literature down to the time of the dramatists of the seventeenth century: the greatest of Spanish plays, La vida es sueno (Life’s a Dream), is the story of Christopher Sly in ‘The Taming of the Shrew’ and ‘The Sleeper Wakened’ in the ‘Thousand and One Nights’, and is derived ultimately from Barlaam.

Alfonso the Sage

The greatest apostle of Muslim learning in Christian Spain was Alfonso X, el Sabio, king of Castille and Leon from 1252 to 1284. Under his patronage—and indeed under his immediate supervision—a number of vast works were undertaken, many of them being compiled from Arabic sources, which were made available to him by Jewish assistants. His prose works—and his naive, semi-oriental prose is one of the great delights of medieval Spanish studies—include a code of laws, Las siete partidas, which is a mine of curious information on Spanish life and customs of the time; the Crónica general, in which chapters 466 to 494 are devoted to a strange life of the Prophet Muhammed; and the Grande e general Estoria, a ‘great and general history’ on a vast scale which is now in process of being printed for the first time. The astronomical studies of Alfonso the Sage include the famous ‘Alfonse Tables’—a collection of observations taken at Toledo, which were in use throughout Europe for centuries; he also compiled a Lapidario, a treatise on the virtues of precious stones, and a ‘Book of Games’, Libro de los juegos, including dice, backgammon, and several varieties of chess played on boards of different shapes and sizes.

1 Ed. S. E. Northup, in Modern Philology (1908).
2 The Legacy of Israel, pp. 222–5.
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Chess is so characteristic a product of the legacy of Islam that it deserves more than a passing mention. Modern European chess is the direct descendant of an ancient Indian game, adopted by the Persians, handed on by them to the Muslim world, and finally borrowed from Islam by Christian Europe. 1 In most European languages the game is named after the king (Persian šah; medieval Latin seicí, chesmen); but the Spanish word ajedrez (formerly xedrez or achedrez), and the Portuguese xadrez are derived from the Arabic name for the game itself: al-shatranj, a word borrowed from Persian and ultimately from Sanskrit. Several of the terms still used in chess are Persian: ‘checkmate’, for instance, šah māt, which does not necessarily signify that ‘the king is dead’, but that he is dishonoured or defeated. 2 The Castle or Rook is the Spanish roque, and the Persian rukb—the dreaded ‘roc’ encountered by Sindbad the Sailor. It has been discovered, however, that this word was in use among the Muslims in Spain for a chariot, and the idea of a chariot seems to explain at once the straight move and devastating power of the Rook in modern chess. In an early set of chessmen, reputed (but only since the seventeenth century) to have belonged to Charlemagne, the Rook is actually a chariot with a man in it; while the triumphal car used in certain religious festivals at Valencia is still known as the roca. The Bishop, again, is known in Spain as el alfíl (Ar. al-fil, the elephant), the French fou (when it refers to chess) being a corruption of the same word, and in no way connected with the moves or powers of a dignitary of the church.

Spain provides the earliest certain references to chess in Europe; there are bequests of chessmen in the wills of two members of the family of the Counts of Barcelona, dating from 1008

2 ‘Check (roque) is a manner of legal affront to the lord; and when they give him mate, it is a manner of great dishonour, even as if they should conquer him or kill him.’ Alfonso el Sabio, Libro de las juegos, fol. 2 b.
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(31014) and 1017. The first description of the game in a European language is that of Alfonso the Sage. His book is obviously compiled from Arabic sources and the miniatures usually show players in oriental dress. Sometimes they are accompanied by oriental musicians, while now and then the musicians may be seen having a game by themselves, holding their instruments ready in the left hand, in case they are suddenly called upon to play them (fig. 7). The description of the game given by Alfonso has been found to be not altogether in accordance with Muslim practice, but the problems he gives are almost exclusively Muslim, for the chess-problem is a kind of mental activity which is characteristic of the legacy of Islam to Europe. His pieces, with one exception, are the same as ours. There is no Queen; her place is taken by the piece which Chaucer called the 'Fers' and Alfonso el alfarza (al-farzān, the counsellor; not al-faras, the horseman or knight). The Fers could move one square diagonally; but for his first move he could jump to the third square either diagonally or straight. He is the ancestor of the modern Queen, and the development of his powers in that direction is chiefly due to two Spanish players: Lucena (1497) and Ruy López (1561).

Alfonso X's games of chess on a larger number of squares than usual are of peculiar interest at the present time, when suggestions for improving the game (and reducing the chances of a draw) are being made by such masters as Sr. Capablanca. One of these suggestions is a board of 100 squares instead of the usual 64; while another is a kind of double chess, played on a board with 16 squares at each end and 12 at the sides. It is curious that the name of Alfonso el Sabio has never been mentioned in the discussion of these projects; for he knew of a game played on a board of 100 squares, with two additional pieces (which he calls

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1 J. G. White, The Spanish Treatise on Chess-Play written by Order of King Alfonso the Sage in the Year 1283. Reproduction of the Escorial MS. in 194 phototypic plates. (Leipzig, 1913.)
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'judges') on each side, and two additional pawns. A game which interested him more; however, was 'great chess' (Grande acebre), played on a board of 144 squares, with 12 pieces and 12 pawns. Next to the King stood a Gryphon; and then, on each side, came a Cocatrice, a Giraffe, a Unicorn, a Lion, and a Rook. The King moved, as in the modern game, to any adjacent square; and although 'castling' had not yet been invented, he could leap to the third square for the first move. The Gryphon (Sp. anca, Ar. 'ângâ) moved one square diagonally and then any number straight. The Cocatrices moved like modern Bishops, though the large board gave them a greater range and power. The Giraffes had a move resembling that of the modern Knight, except that their leap was longer; for while the Knight moves one square diagonally and two squares straight, the Giraffes moved the one square diagonally and four squares straight. The Unicorns also had a complicated move, and were regarded as the most powerful pieces on the board, after the Gryphon; they began like a Knight and went on like a Bishop, with the proviso that they could not take another piece until the move was completed. The Lion could leap to the fourth square in all directions; while the Rook moved as usual: straight, in any direction. The pawns moved as in the ordinary game: one square forward at a time. They had no right of moving two squares for the first move, but in compensation for that, they started on the fourth row instead of the second, and if they reached the twelfth square of their file and 'queened', they took the rank and powers of the piece on whose file they had started.

Alfonso the Sage has one more connexion with the legacy of Islam to Spain. He was responsible for one of the greatest collections of medieval poetry, the Cantigas de Santa Maria, preserved, with contemporary musical notation, in two manuscripts in the Escorial and one at Madrid. The language of these poems is not Castilian but the Galician dialect of northern Portugal, which, in the thirteenth century, was the language of court poetry in Castile and Aragon as well as Portugal, and continued to be so until Castilian Spanish became sufficiently ductile for refined lyrical expression. The music has been claimed by Professor Ribera to be Andalusian music of Muslim origin, a claim which historians of music are not very ready to admit. Yet many of the instruments shown in the miniatures, and even some of the performers, are obviously of Muslim origin; while the poetic form is peculiar to Muslim Spain, consisting almost entirely of stanzas of the type of the muwashshab and zajal first employed by Ibn Qozmân (Abencuzmán) and described in another chapter. It has been urged that these poems are of exclusively Christian inspiration, and are therefore unlikely to be tainted with any suspicion of Islamic artifice. But the forms of muwashshab and zajal developed into the typically Castilian popular verse-form of villancico, which was extensively used for all kinds of Christian poetry, including Christmas carols; and the subject—the praise of the Virgin Mary—is a logical development of the troubadour's idealization of the lady of the manor; while the poems of the troubadours (as will be found convincingly demonstrated in chapter III) are, in matter, form, and style, closely connected with Arabic idealism and Arabic poetry written in Spain.

Don Juan Manuel and the Archpriest of Hita

The period of translation and compilation from oriental sources represented by the school of Alfonso the Sage was succeeded by a brilliant period of original work, in the prose of the Infante Don Juan Manuel (1282–1349?) and the poetry of the Archpriest of Hita (d. before 1351). Both had learnt from Eastern story, not only how to employ fables for teaching a moral lesson, but also how to set them in a suitable framework. In Don Juan Manuel's Conde Lucanor,1 the Count asks the advice

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1 Ed. H. Knust (Leipzig, 1909) and F. J. Sánchez Cantón. (Madrid, 1922.) See also Broadway Translations. (London, 1924.)
of his Councillor, Patronio, on certain questions of life and government, and Patronio replies in each case by telling a story to illustrate the point. The stories have in many cases been traced to an Eastern origin, and on two or three occasions they contain phrases in the colloquial Arabic of the time, written out phonetically in Spanish. The moral tone is uniformly high, and the author, a nephew of Alfonso the Sage, is clearly conscious that by writing he is performing a public duty. Juan Ruiz, Archpriest of Hita, is a man of the people, with no sense of public duty or personal obligation to society and still less with any religious vocation. Yet he is a true poet, among the greatest in the Spanish language. His Libro de buen amor¹ ('The Book of True love'—buen amor as contrasted with earthly love, loco amor) is a satirical autobiography in which he tells with disarming candour the tale of his love-affairs. There is no possibility of an allegorical intention. The love that leads the Archpriest is earthly love, though in lyrics of passionate sincerity he protests his devotion to the Virgin Mary. Not all his desires end in fulfillment; but some of the ladies, e.g. Doña Endrina, are vividly and enchantingly portrayed, and the go-between, Trotaconventos (the direct ancestor of La Celestina and Juliet's nurse), is already one of the great characters in fiction. The Archpriest moved on the margins of society; he ministered to outcasts and wantons, and such despised subjects as musicians and Moorish dancing-girls. He reports conversations and sometimes transcribes answers which were given in Vulgar Arabic. The form of his work is to a certain extent oriental, a framework on which numerous fables and apalogues are hung; and the vocabulary is a store-house of words borrowed from Arabic; but the Archpriest also availed himself of subjects borrowed from French and from medieval Latin. He employed every metre known to him in a masterly fashion, not excluding the characteristic zagal, with the

¹ Ed. J. Cezador y Fruca, 'Clásicos castellanos', Nos. 14 and 17. (Madrid, 1913.)

thought ever present in his mind that a minstrel might one day sing parts of his book in the street—as indeed is known to have actually happened during the half-century after his death. For a distracted scribe, copying a chronicle in his cell, one day made notes of the performance of a wandering minstrel in the street outside; and the man, in the midst of a string of anecdotes, rhymes, and a somersault or two, was heard to catch the flagging attention of the audience by exclaiming: 'Now we begin from the book of the Archpriest!'¹

Contemporary with the Infante Don Juan Manuel and the Archpriest of Hita was the author of the earliest Spanish book of chivalry, the Historia del Cavallero Cifar,² which was probably composed between 1299 and 1335. Like all books of chivalry, it was said to have been taken from a 'Chaldean' (i.e. Arabic) original, and the underlying idea is that of a story in the 'Arabian Nights', though the detail is a strange mixture of the 'Golden Legend', Arthurian romance, and Oriental fable. The name Cifar is Arabic (safar, a journey; or safara, an embassy), so that 'Cavallero Cifar' is equivalent to 'Knight-Errent'. His wife is named Graima (Karime, a common name among Muslim women and signifying 'precious thing', 'noble-born', or 'daughter'). Other Oriental features have been noticed.³

Spanish written in Arabic characters

Another contemporary of the Archpriest was the author of the Poema de Yacuf,⁴ an anonymous poem based on the legend

¹ R. Menéndez Pidal, Poeta juglaresco y juglares (Madrid, 1924), pp. 370-1 and 462-7.
³ A. González Palencia, Historia de la literatura Árabe-Española (Madrid, 1928), pp. 316-17.
⁴ Ed. R. Menéndez Pidal. (Madrid, 1902.) [Text in Arabic and Latin characters.]
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of Joseph. Its peculiarity is that although the words are Spanish (Aragonese dialect) and the verse-form French, it is written in the Arabic character; and the poem is derived from the Qur'ān and other Muslim sources. It is an example of what is known in Spain and Portugal as literatura aljamiada, 'ajama meaning to speak bad Arabic, whence 'ajami a foreigner, and al-'ajamiya the outlandish language. In Spain it was originally used by Arabic-speaking Spaniards to designate Spanish, and afterwards applied to the writings of the Moriscos who employed the Arabic character for Spanish words. Manuscripts of this kind are fairly numerous. Some time ago a collection was found hidden under the floor of an old house at Almonacid de la Sierra in Aragon, where they must have been placed to keep them out of sight of the ‘familiars’ of the Inquisition: they are now in the library of the Junta para Ampliación de Estudios at Madrid.  

They include important legal documents, verses in praise of the Prophet written in muwashshah form in the fourteenth century, sermons, legends, stories, and superstitions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; while one of the most instructive manuscripts of the time is a pastoral epistle from the mufti of Oran advising the persecuted Moriscos in the century following the conquest of Granada to what extent they should conform to the conquerors, who seemed to regard every decency of Muslim life—even washing—as heresy and therefore a capital offence. The use of the Arabic character, even after the fall of Granada, shows how the conquered Muslim Spaniards clung to the handwriting of their religion, even when they spoke a Romance dialect and were (in many cases) of Christian Spanish descent. The method of transcribing the Spanish sounds in Arabic character offers many points of interest, and is especially valuable as an indication

1 MSS. árabes y aljamiados de la Biblioteca de la Junta. (Madrid, 1912.) See also D. Lopes, Textos em aljamião português. (Lisbon, 1893.)