

**MEDENİYET VE
BİRLİKTE YAŞAMA KÜLTÜRÜ**



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TÜRKİYE İMAM HATIPLİLER VAKFI

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SEBAT OFSET MATBAACILIK

Fevzi Çakmak Mh. Hacı Bayram Cd. No: 57

Tel: +90 332 342 0153 Karatay-KONYA

sebat@sebat.com

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AÇILIŞ PANELİ

THE ANDALUSIAN CULTURE, A WORLD CULTURAL HERITAGE

Mhammad BENABOUD

mhenaboud@hotmail.com

ABSTRACT

The Andalusian culture is a medieval culture. The term cultural heritage is one that has been used recently to designate cultural and archeological monuments by states, national institutions and such international bodies as UNESCO. The purpose of this article is not to define or discuss this term in a technical sense, but to reflect on how it applies so beautifully to the Andalusian culture, including Andalusian history, architecture, culture and arts. As a specialist in the history of Al-Andalus who has carried out research on its political, military, economic, social and cultural history, I would like to share a sort of synthesis of my research and reflections on this theme in this article. At any rate, my own research has convinced me and others that the essence of the Andalusian culture is that of a unique world culture. This universal culture has been transmitted beyond the frontiers of the Iberian Peninsula for the past five centuries.

In the first part, we will talk about how Andalusian culture englobes the arts and sciences of the period as well as the human dimension in a unique manner, because the Andalusian culture was the product of the assimilation of numerous cultures which were integrated in the context of a multi-ethnic society. The capacity of Andalusian society to integrate other cultures and to form a melting pot is clearly reflected in its cultural dimension. Not only did the Andalusian culture thrive throughout the history of Al-Andalus during its periods of political and economic stability and its periods of crisis, it continued to develop on the other side of the Straits of Gibraltar after the end of the political entity of Al-Andalus. In the second part of the article, we examine the foundations of the Andalusian culture. It is a culture which first developed in the Iberian Peninsula, where numerous ethnic groups and different religions coexisted side by side. I argue in the article that Al-Andalus has in my opinion been as important for the Arabic and Islamic Culture as Greece has been for the Western Christian European Culture. Later, we mention the importance of Maliki school in Andalusian culture. In conclusion, we demonstrate how the Andalusian culture has been considered as a world cultural heritage for numerous reasons.

The Andalusian culture is a medieval culture. The term cultural heritage is one that has been used recently to designate cultural and archeological monuments by states, national institutions and such international bodies as UNESCO. The term world cultural heritage also applies to Al-Andalus. We tend to associate the term cultural heritage with the classification of monuments, cities or historical sites by UNESCO. The purpose of my inaugural speech is not to define or discuss this term in a technical sense, but to reflect on how it applies so beautifully to the Andalusian culture, including Andalusian history, architecture, culture and arts. As a specialist in the history of Al-Andalus who has carried out research on its political, military, economic, social and cultural history, I would like to present a sort of synthesis of my research and reflections on this theme.

The focus of my research has been on the period of the Taifa period or the eleventh century.¹ This was a period which had been considered as an intermediary period to that of the previous Omayyad period which ended in the tenth century and the following Almoravid period which started during the second part of the eleventh century and continued during the twelfth century until it was replaced by the Almohad period.² It was my position from the very beginning that neither the previous Omayyad period nor the following Almoravid periods cannot be properly understood unless we understand the Taifa period profoundly, and the research which has been carried out during the past forty years in Europe and the Arab world have proven my postulate to be correct. At any rate, my own research has convinced me and others that the essence of the Andalusian culture is that of a unique world culture. This universal culture has been transmitted beyond the frontiers of the Iberian Peninsula for the past five centuries. The time when interest in the history and culture of Al-Andalus was limited to a handful of specialists is gone. It was indeed a universal cultural heritage and this is what I would like to explain in my own way here.

¹ See for example my *Mabahith fi At-Tarikh Al-Andalusi wa Masadirih*, (Rabat, Okad, 1992), which has recently been translated into Spanish by the School of Translation at Toledo; Mhammad Benaboud, *Jawanib mina Al-Waqi' Al-Andalusi fi Al-Qarn Al-Khamis Al-Hijri*, 2nda ed., Tetouan, Manshurat Al-Jum'iyah Al-Maghribiya li Adirasat Al-Andalusiya, 1999.

² In 1978 when I prepared my Ph.D. thesis on the history of Seville under the Banu 'Abbad at the University of Edinburgh, I observed that research should be diverted to the 11th century given the important primary sources for this period. This would enable us to have a better understanding not only of this period, but of the previous Omayyad period as well. (Mhammad Benaboud, *A Political and Social History of Seville Under the Banu 'Abbad*, Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Edinburgh University, 1978) This work was translated and published in Arabic as *At-Tarikh As-Siyyasi wa Al-Ijtima'iyah li Ishbiliyya fi 'Ahd Bani 'Abbad*, Tetouan, 1983 and was given the Prize of Morocco for the Social and Human Sciences by the Moroccan Ministry of Culture that year .

The Andalusian Culture

The Andalusian culture reflects the global dimension of Andalusian society which developed over a period of eight centuries.³ It includes the spiritual and material dimensions of society. This is normal since Andalusian society was basically an Islamic society. It also englobes the arts and sciences of the period as well as the human dimension in a unique manner, because the Andalusian culture was the product of the assimilation of numerous cultures which were integrated in the context of a multi-ethnic society. The capacity of Andalusian society to integrate other cultures and to form a melting pot is clearly reflected in its cultural dimension.

Whether we examine Andalusian society and culture from a global perspective over the period covering Al-Andalus's eight centuries of history from the ninth century to the fifteenth century, or whether we study it in a more limited span of time like the eleventh century, we will find that the culture that it produced was unique in many respects. However, the mutations and transformations which this society and its culture underwent explain why it thrived and prospered in Al-Andalus' periods of unity and splendor, especially during the Omeyyad period, its periods of political divisions and economic crisis, especially during the period of the Taifa States during the eleventh century, its periods of the incorporation of Al-Andalus into the Moroccan Almoravid and Almohad dynasties from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries or during its final period of political decline and collapse of the Nasrid dynasty which culminated with the Castilian conquest of Granada in 1492.

Not only did the Andalusian culture thrive throughout the history of Al-Andalus during its periods of political and economic stability and its periods of crisis, it continued to develop on the other side of the Straits of Gibraltar after the end of the political entity of Al-Andalus.⁴ The transmission of the

³Today, our knowledge and understanding of Andalusian society is much more profound, thanks to the works of historians of Al-Andalus in the Moroccan and Spanish universities and in the university circles of many other nations. In Morocco, Ibrahim Al-Qadiri Boutschiche and Ahmed Tahiri have been among those who have published most on the social history of Al-Andalus and Morocco during the period of the Almoravids. Their studies include the social stratification and social evolution of Andalusian society, including the juridical and economic dimensions. Some of my studies on the social history of Al-Andalus include the following:

'Asabiyya and Social Relations in Al-Andalus during the Period of the Taifa States in Hespéris-Tamuda, XIX (1980-1981), pp.5-45 ; *The Political and Social Role of the 'Ulama' in Al-Andalus during the Period of the Taifa States*, in *Hespéris-Tamuda*, Vol. XXIII, No.2, (1984) pp.103-141); *Economic and Social Trends in Al-Andalus during the Period of the Taifa States*, in *Islamic Studies*, Vol.26, No.1, (1987), pp.1-30; *Historiography in Al-Andalus during the Period of the Taifa States, (11th century A.D./5th A.H.)*, *Hespéris-Tamuda*, Vol. XXV, (1987), pp.5-32.

⁴During the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, Reinhart Dozy followed by Evariste Lévi-Provençal considered that the stagnation of Andalus after the Omeyyad period was due to the Maliki rite of law which thrived in Al-Andalus and the Maghrib following the creation of the Almoravid Empire in the eleventh century, following by that of the Almohads. Numerous studies have since illustrated that culture continued to develop and thrive in Al-Andalus and the Maghrib regardless of the political regime which dominated. It reached unprecedented heights from the

Andalusian culture was made possible following the expulsion of the Andalusians (the Moriscos) and the immigration of the Andalusians who settled in the cities and the rural areas of the Maghrib and the Middle East. Some cities like Tetouan in Northern Morocco were reconstructed by the Andalusians in the end of the fifteenth centuries and the beginning of the sixteenth. That is why the Andalusian influence is clear in this city's architecture, music, traditions, traditional arts and even the mentality of its people.⁵ Tetouan has been referred to as the daughter of Granada. Other cities like Fez which had flourished as an important urban economic and cultural city before the arrival of the Andalusians, was nonetheless culturally and spiritually enriched by their arrival. The influence of the Andalusian culture is equally strong at Fez, but in a different way. Important Andalusian scholars settled and died in Fez like Lisan Din Ibn Al-Khatib. Other names like Ibn Khaldun are closely associated with Fez and the cultural influence of Al-Andalus is clear in the development of Al-Qarawiyyin University, the oldest university in the Maghrib. It is important to stress that the Andalusian cultural influence was equally strong in such important cities in Morocco as Rabat, Salé, Chauen, Marrakech, Meknes and Ksar El-Kebir as well as in the most important cities in Algeria like Tlemsan and in Tunisia, especially in Qairawan.⁶

Many of the cities where the Andalusian culture has been strong have been classified by UNESCO as world cultural heritage cities. These include Fez, Tetouan, the Kasba in the Medina of Algiers, Tunis and Kairouan. In the case of Tetouan, the main argument for its classification as a world cultural heritage city by UNESCO in 1997 was that this is a city where the Andalusian culture has been conserved over the past five centuries and is clearly

eleventh to the fifteenth centuries. The edition and publication of hundreds of Arabic Andalusian manuscripts over the past fifty years have stimulated a un unprecedented interest of scholars in the cultural dimension of the Andalusian culture. These include the edition and publication of such fundamental sources as Ibn Bassam's literary anthology, *Kitāb al-Dhakhira fī mahāsīn ahl al-Jazīra*, ed. by Ihsan 'Abbas, (Volumes 1-8, Beirut, 1975-79); Ibn Hazm, *Risala fī Fadli Ahli Al-Andalus*, in Abu Muhammad Ali Ibn Hazm, *Rasa'il Ibn Hazm*, ed. Ihsan 'Abbas, Beirut, Al-Mu'assasa Al-'Arabiyya li Adirasat wa Anashr, 1983; Ibn Hayyan, *Al-Muqtabas*, ed. por Mahmud Ali Makki, Riad, Markaz Al-Malik Faysal li-Abhath wa Addirasat, 2003; 'Abd-Allah Ibn Buluggin's *Kitab At-Tibyan*, Ed. by Amin Tawfiq Tibi, Rabat, Okad, 1995; Lisan Din Ibn Al-Khatib's *Al-Ihata fī Ahmed Al-Maqqari's Akhbari Gharnata*, Ed. by Muhammad 'Abdallah 'Inan, 4 vols., Cairo, Maktabat Al-Khanji, 1973-1977; Ahmed Al-Maqqari's *Nafh At-Tib fī Ghusni Al-Andalus Ar-Ratib*. Ed. by Ihsan 'Abbas, 8 vols., Beirut, Dar Sadir, 1968.

⁵ Publications on the history and culture of the Medina of Tetouan include the following: *Guia de Arquitectura de la Medina de Tetuán*, Ed. por Ramón de Torres, 3rd ed., Sevilla-Tetuán, Junta de Andalucía, 2011 and *Tétouan, Capitale méditerranéenne*, Rabat, Publications of the Tetouan Asmir Association, 2004.

⁶ Muhammad Dawud, *'A'ilat Titwan*, Vol.1-3, Ed. by Hasna Dawud, Tetouan, Publications of the Tetouan Asmir Association, 2016.

manifested in the Medina of Tetouan's history, culture, architecture and arts and most especially, in the daily life in the Medina.⁷

Perhaps the most important element which confirms the tremendous impact of the Andalusian culture in many Maghribi Medinas is the consciousness which the inhabitants have of the Andalusian origin of their culture. This is clear in the names of such Maghribi families of Andalusian origin as Al-Andalusi which in Arabic means originally from Al-Andalus. The author of a twelve volume history of Tetouan, Muhammad Dawud, takes great pride in referring to the Andalusian origin of his family in the his introduction to this monumental work. He also refers to the Andalusian group as a fundamental component of Tetouani society in his three volume encyclopedia of Tetouani families.⁸

This tradition of remembering and taking pride in the cultural origins of numerous Maghribi families goes back to the Andalusian tradition maintaining the awareness of belonging to this unique culture. Several types of publications which were common in both Al-Andalus and many parts of the Maghrib confirm explain how it was perpetuated. These include the Andalusian biographical dictionaries from different historical periods such as Ibn Bashkuwal, Ibn Az-Zubayr's and Al-Marrakushi, each covering the scholars, jurists and literary Andalusian figures from different centuries.

Another tendency of expressing the awareness by Andalusian scholars in a variety of disciplines and fields of specialisation include Andalusian scholars in such fields as historiography, literature, *fiqh*, geography or literary anthologies. Examples from the eleventh century alone include such scholars as Ibn Hazm who wrote a treatise on the sciences of Al-Andalus during his period and Ibn Bassam Ash-Shantarini who explains in the introduction to his monumental eight volume literary anthology *Adh-Dhakhira fi Mahasini Ahl Al-Jazira* that he wrote his work to conserve the knowledge of the Andalusian poetry of his period, adding historical sources by such historians as Ibn Hayyan, the greatest Andalusian historian ever who dedicated his entire life to write his two fundamental histories of Al-Andalus, *Al-Muqtabas* and *Al-Matin*.⁹

The Foundations of the Andalusian Culture

The Andalusian is a universal culture for multiple reasons. It is a culture which first developed in the Iberian Peninsula, where numerous ethnic groups and different religions coexisted side by side. Yet this coexistence was not an ideal or abstract one. Like other societies, Andalusian society was mundane. It was a society where Islam was practiced in accordance with the Makili rite of law. Malikism was the general framework of the

⁷ Tetouan continues to thrive as a dynamic city which is why this was the main argument for its classification as a world cultural heritage city in 1987(www.whc.unesco.org).

⁸ See Muhammad Dawud's introduction to his three volume work on the Tetouani families: Muhammad Dawud, *'A'ilat Titwan*, ed. by Hasna Dawud, Tetouan, Publications of the Tetouan Asmir Association, 2016, pp.30-46).

⁹ Ibn Bassam, *Adh-Dhakhira fi Mahasini Ahl Al-Jazira*, vol.1, ed. by Ihsan 'Abbas, Volumes 1-8, Beirut, 1975-79

religious, theological and spiritual aspects of life, but it was also the intellectual and cultural context within which education, research and sciences developed within a material and human context. Ibn Hazm's eleventh century treatise on the classification of knowledge reflects the high level reached by so many sciences in Al-Andalus. His treatise on the achievements of the inhabitants of Al-Andalus is really a bibliography of the religious and literary sciences which flourished in Al-Andalus during that period.¹⁰ Ibn Bashkuwal's bio-bibliographical dictionary, *Kitab As-Sila* covers about two thousand outstanding Andalusian scholars, jurists and literary figures of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Other Andalusian authors produced similar works for the previous and most importantly, the following periods. Among them were Ibn Az-Zubayr and Al-Marrakushi, but several encyclopaedic works were written much later like Lisan Din Ibn Al-Khatib's fourteenth century *Al-Ihata fi Akhbari Gharnata* or Al-Maqqari's monumental literary encyclopaedia, *Nafh At-Tib fi Ghusni Al-Andalus ar-Ratib*. These works reflect the awareness of the Andalusian scholars of belonging to an Andalusian culture that they strongly identified with as an integral part of their cultural identity.

Personally, I do not consider that the Andalusian scholars exaggerated the magnitude of the Andalusian culture as some modern scholars think, because the latter was indeed a world cultural heritage. In many cases, those who undermine the Andalusian culture do so because they ignore it. Al-Andalus has in my opinion been as important for the Arabic and Islamic Culture as Greece has been for the Western Christian European Culture. The difference, and some may not agree, is that the perception of the Greek culture which is now widespread in the West was created in the sixteenth century and propagated ever since, while the greatness of the Andalusian culture has not been sufficiently considered and appropriately integrated or claimed in many parts of the Arab and Islamic world. However, just like the Greeks, the Andalusians were not only proud, but fully aware of the real value of their culture.

The spread of the Andalusian culture over numerous centuries has also led to its strong impact and influence in large geographical areas spreading from the Andalusian Peninsula across the Strait of Gibraltar to the Maghrib, the Middle East and beyond. I started working on the political, military, economic, social and cultural history of Al-Andalus during the late seventies of the last century. Then I became interested in the cultural heritage of the Medina of Tetouan which has been classified as a world cultural heritage city by UNESCO in 1997. I have published on the cultural and architectural heritage of the Medina of Tetouan as well as that of other Moroccan Medinas where the Andalusian immigrants settled since their expulsion in the late fifteenth century such Chauen and Salé.

¹⁰ Abu Muhammad Ali Ibn Hazm, *Rasa'il fi Fada'ili Al-Andalusi wa Ahliha*, ed. by Ihsan 'Abbas, Beirut, Al-Mu'assasa Al-'Arabiyya li Adirasat wa Anashr, 1983.

Let us take the example of the impact of the Andalusian culture in the Medina of Tetouan in the Mediterranean coast of Northern Morocco. The Medina of Tetouan has been classified as a world cultural heritage city by UNESCO in 1997 and the main argument to defend this classification was that it is a city where the Andalusian culture has been maintained alive. Tetouan was rebuilt by Ali Al-Mandari, originally from Granada, during the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century. It has been described as the daughter of Granada, precisely because of its Andalusian cultural origin.

Some of the most influential families in Tetouan are of Andalusian origin. These include family names that still exist in Spain such as Torres, Paes, Medina, Raghoun, Sordo, Lukash and Dawud. These families have maintained the Andalusian tradition alive in Tetouan, because they are conscious of their Andalusian origin and are proud of their Andalusian identity. For example, Muhammad Dawud, the author of a twelve volume history of Tetouan refers to his Andalusian origin with great pride.¹¹ This collective consciousness of belonging to Al-Andalus has contributed to maintain the Andalusian traditions alive in Moroccan cities like Tetouan, Chauen, Rabat, Salé or Fez as well as in many of the rural areas in Northern Morocco where the inhabitants are also of Andalusian origin.

The structure of the urban planning and the architectural development of the Medina of Tetouan is Andalusian. The earliest parts of its historical city wall, towers and gates reflect the Nasrid architecture of Granada. Tetouan's school of Andalusian music is among the best in Morocco thanks to such masters of Andalusian music as Abdessadaq Chekara. The structure of the traditional houses in the Medina of Tetouan developed in line with the main characteristics of the Andalusian model with a courtyard in the centre surrounded by the maq'ad or open room with arches overlooking the courtyard, such decorative elements as Tetouani zullayj or tiles, painted wood, engravings on whitewashed limestone walls or wooden doors with the symbol of a pomegranate in the entrance door.¹²

If we take the zullayj or mosaics as an example, we will observe numerous similarities between those in the Alhambra Palace or the Reales Alcacares of Seville on the one hand and the zullayj in the Tetouani houses. The type of clay with which they are fabricated is similar, the mineral colouring is similar, each piece is baked individually in the oven, the Tetouani tiles and the Granadan tiles both shine more, because of their oval form which enables them to reflect light in different directions, the tiny

¹¹Muhammad Dawud, *Tarikh Titwan*, vol.1, Tetouan, 1956; On Tetouan's Andalusian families, see Muhammad Dawud, *A'ilat Titwan*, Ed. by Hasna Dawud, vol.1, Tetouan, Publications of the Tetouan Asmir Association, 2016, pp.30-39.

¹²The large variety of the different types of houses in the Medina is clear in the catalog which professor Bernardino Lindez Vilches and his team of over eighty architects studied over a period of two years. *Tetuán, herencia viva: Reflexiones y trabajos de colaboración de instituciones tetuaníes y la Uniceridad de Granada*, Coordinación: Bernardino Lindez Vilches, Granada, Universidad de Granada, 2012.

pieces are baked individually, then coloured and reintroduced in the oven to be baked again, and each little piece is individually installed. The great variety of the geometrical forms of these zullayj are impressive in both the Alhambra Palace and the private houses and mosques of the Medina of Tetouan. The five or six colours of the Tetouani zullayj are found in both the Alhambra Palace of Granada and the Reales Alcazares of Seville, because they were coloured with the same minerals and the five or six colours which they used are identical due to the similarity of the minerals with which they are made in both cases. It is extremely interesting to observe that the Tetouani zullayj derived its origins from the Andalusian zullayj, but developed. The Tetouani zullayj were used to decorate the walls of the interior of private houses and mosques as had been done in Al-Andalus, but they were also used to decorate pillars, stairs or mural fountains in ways that were not common in Al-Andalus. To conclude, the development of the Andalusian zullayj continued in different ways in Moroccan cities like Tetouan, Fez, Rabat or Marrakech.

The sophisticated underground Skundo water system of the Medina of Tetouan which is of Andalusian origin has been studied in a doctoral dissertation by Dr Khalid Rami.¹³ Unlike those in some Andalusian and Moroccan cities like Granada or Fez, it still functions in the Medina of Tetouan. We have compared the detailed elements of some domes in the Alhambra Palace with those in the mausoleums of the Granadan Mujahidin in the historical cemetery of Tetouan and found that both were octagonal domes built on square walls, that the same construction materials namely bricks and limestone were used to build both, that the same construction techniques were used to build the four edges connecting the square walls with the octagonal domes and that even the interior decorative elements of these connecting points are identical. One could even add the similarities of the pathological elements which result from the penetration of water causing damage inside the domes.

One of the most interesting characteristics of the Andalusian influence in the houses of the Moroccan Medinas is that these houses stand out for their great variety for numerous reasons. For example, they differ from one place to another so that the houses in Fez are different from those in Salé which are different from those in Chauen or Tetouan in Northern Morocco. These houses also differ from one period to another so that the seventeenth century houses in the Medina of Tetouan are completely different from the eighteenth, nineteenth or twentieth century houses in the same city. Further, houses in the same city and the same period also differ, because the architects and the craftsmen were always creative and developed new styles, building methods and decorative elements.

¹³ Khalid Rami, *Al-Nizam Al-Asil li Tawzi' Al-Ma' bi Madinat Titwan min 1862 Ila 1913*, Tetouan, Publications of the Tetouan Asmir Associatio, 2008.

Other areas where the influence of Al-Andalus is strong in Tetouan is embroidery, the culinary arts or jewelry.¹⁴

Most interesting is the fact that this Andalusian influence in the Maghrib and the Middle East has developed in new ways. In other words, it has been five centuries since the Andalusians were forcefully converted to Christianity or expelled from the Iberian Peninsula, but their cultural heritage has continued to develop across the Strait of Gibraltar and it has done so in new and innovative ways in accordance with the places where the immigrants settled and the nature of they integrated.

The idea of religious tolerance which flourished in Al-Andalus was fundamental for the continuity of the Andalusian culture in the Maghrib. Americo Castro coined the term *convivencia* which in Spanish means peaceful coexistence to describe Andalusian society. This model applies to Morocco and other countries in the Maghrib area. Religious tolerance must not be interpreted to imply that there were no wars in either Al-Andalus or Morocco. Wars have always existed not only between Muslims and Christians or Jews in Al-Andalus, but also among the Muslims or among the Christians in the Northern kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula. The Jews continued to live in Al-Andalus as long as Al-Andalus was ruled by the Muslims. Christians also lived in some cities of the Iberian Peninsula like Toledo. They were called Mozarabs, because they used the Arabic language either in their daily lives or their education. The most important observation to underline here is that the inhabitants of Morocco were in contact with people of different beliefs and values. This has undoubtedly contributed to enrich their outlook towards life creating open minded social and cultural attitudes.

Why was the Andalusian culture so universal? What are the main components of this culture which not only stimulated its development over a period of eight centuries in the Iberian Peninsula, but also across the Strait of Gibraltar during the centuries following the Catholic expulsion of the Andalusians?

Language is a fundamental component of any culture and the official and cultural language in Al-Andalus was the Arabic language, the language of the Quran, since Islam was the official religion in Al-Andalus as well as in the Maghrib.¹⁵ Malikism was the official juridical rite of law in Al-Andalus and

¹⁴ See chapter X on the culinary arts, Toumader Khatib, *L'art culinaire ou le savant mélange des couleurs, des senteurs et des saveurs*, in *Tétouan, Capitale Méditerranéenne*, (Ed. by Mhammad Benaboud), Rabat, Publications of the Tetouan Asmir Association, 2004, pp.100-105.

¹⁵ Arabic was the language which all the Andalusian scholars used to write their works throughout the eight century long history of Al-Andalus. Spanish would only be used for historical writing beginning from the 13th century in the Christian kingdom of Leon and Castile. This enabled the Andalusian culture to develop as part of the Islamic culture which spread over a large geographical area covering the Maghrib and the Orient outside of the frontiers of the Iberian Peninsula. Besides grammar and literature, the Arabic language was also developed by the Andalusians to develop their culture in numerous areas of knowledge ranging from historiography, geography, jurisprudence and theology to agriculture, mathematics, medicine and astronomy.

the Maghrib, but equally important, it was also the cultural framework of the cultural development in the area. The bio-bibliographical dictionaries first in Al-Andalus and later in Morocco have recorded the thousands of Andalusian and Maghribi scholars who were so productive over a period covering centuries.

Malikism was important for a number of reasons including the following:¹⁶

First, Malikism guaranteed the world view of the Andalusian and Moroccan scholars and stimulated their unity.

Second, Malikism was the official rite of law, which meant that it was supported by the State, but the reason that it was supported by the State was precisely because it had the popular support of the Andalusian and Maghribi scholars and jurists. Malikism was not only the cultural framework within which the Andalusian culture developed, it was also the legal and social framework within which society functioned. Consequently, it was an important factor for the legitimacy of the power of the rulers and permitted the transmission of legality and legitimacy of the State. This furnished the necessary stability that was necessary for the cultural stimulation and social mutations which were required to guarantee the continuity of this culture both in the Iberian Peninsula and later across the Strait of Gibraltar. The enormous corpus of Maliki scholarship in both Al-Andalus and the Maghrib illustrate the privileged place of Andalusian and Maghrib Maliki scholars, especially in Tunis and Morocco, in the history of the development of Malikism. Andalusian scholarship was a Maliki scholarship and it occupied a distinction position in the development of the social and experimental sciences. This is illustrated in different types of publications ranging from the bio-bibliographical dictionaries to the publications of *fiqh An-Nawazil*, such as the *Nawazil* of Andalusians like Ibn Al-Haj and Al-Wanshrisi. This juridical literary genre was initially meant to be a juridical manual, but historians have more recently paid more attention to their value as unique sources for the social and economic history of Al-Andalus and Morocco.

Thirdly, what originated as a limited rite in the small circles of Makka in the second century of the Hijra developed over numerous centuries into a sophisticated rite of law that was capable of meeting the needs of a highly developed economic and social system in Al-Andalus and the Maghrib. The sophistication of the Maliki tradition is due to the complexity of the Andalusian and Maghribi urban society on the one hand and the high intellectual calibre and the continued productivity of the Maliki scholars such as Ibn Rushd, Al-Qadi 'Iyad and Abu Al-Walid Al-Baji.

Fourthly, the newly developed notions which were introduced by the Maliki scholars transformed this rite of law into a sophisticated and flexible one that was capable to meet the demands of the social mutations which

¹⁶Some of the greatest Maliki Andalusian scholars included Abu Al-Walid Al-Baji and Al-Qadi 'Iyad, who wrote an enormous dictionary of Maliki scholars not only in Al-Andalus, but also in the Maghrib and the Orient, *Tartib Al-Madarik*...

characterised Andalusian and Maghribi societies. Notions like *Al-Masalih Al-Mursala*, *At-Tahsiniya* and *A'mal Ahl Al-Madina* were created and developed in order to enable society to meet mutations which Andalusian and Maghribi society underwent. Consequently, legal thought was elevated to new heights as a result of the exceptional scholars who developed different religious sciences within the framework of Malikism. This was strongly reflected in the cultural heritage of Andalusian society and later in Maghribi society.¹⁷

The specific historical developments in Al-Andalus and the Maghrib such as the Christian reconquest and the nature of the legal, economic, social and cultural relations between the Andalusian Christians and the Muslims as well as the relations between the Andalusian Muslims and the Jewish minority in Al-Andalus and the Maghrib, contributed to shape a social model that has been closely associated with the Andalusian cultural heritage. Andalusian society would be idealised, but the reality of Al-Andalus was undoubtedly unique, because during one phase, the Christian and Jewish minorities lived under the rule of the Andalusian Muslims and during another phase, the Muslims of Al-Andalus lived as a minority under the rule of the rulers of the Christian rulers such as the kings of the Kingdom of Leon and Castile. The Christian rulers clashed with the Andalusian and Maghribi rulers and these situations had a tremendous impact on the lives of the Muslim, Christian and Jewish inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula.

The Andalusian culture has been considered as a world cultural heritage for numerous reasons.

¹⁷ One of the literary genres which developed in Al-Andalus and the Maghrib was the *fiqh An-Nawazil*, a sort of juridical manual which evolved in line with the evolution of Andalusian and Maghribi society. Some of the most famous *Nawazil* include the *Nawazil of Ibn Al-Haj* (11th-12th centuries) and the *Nawazil of Al-Wansharisi*.