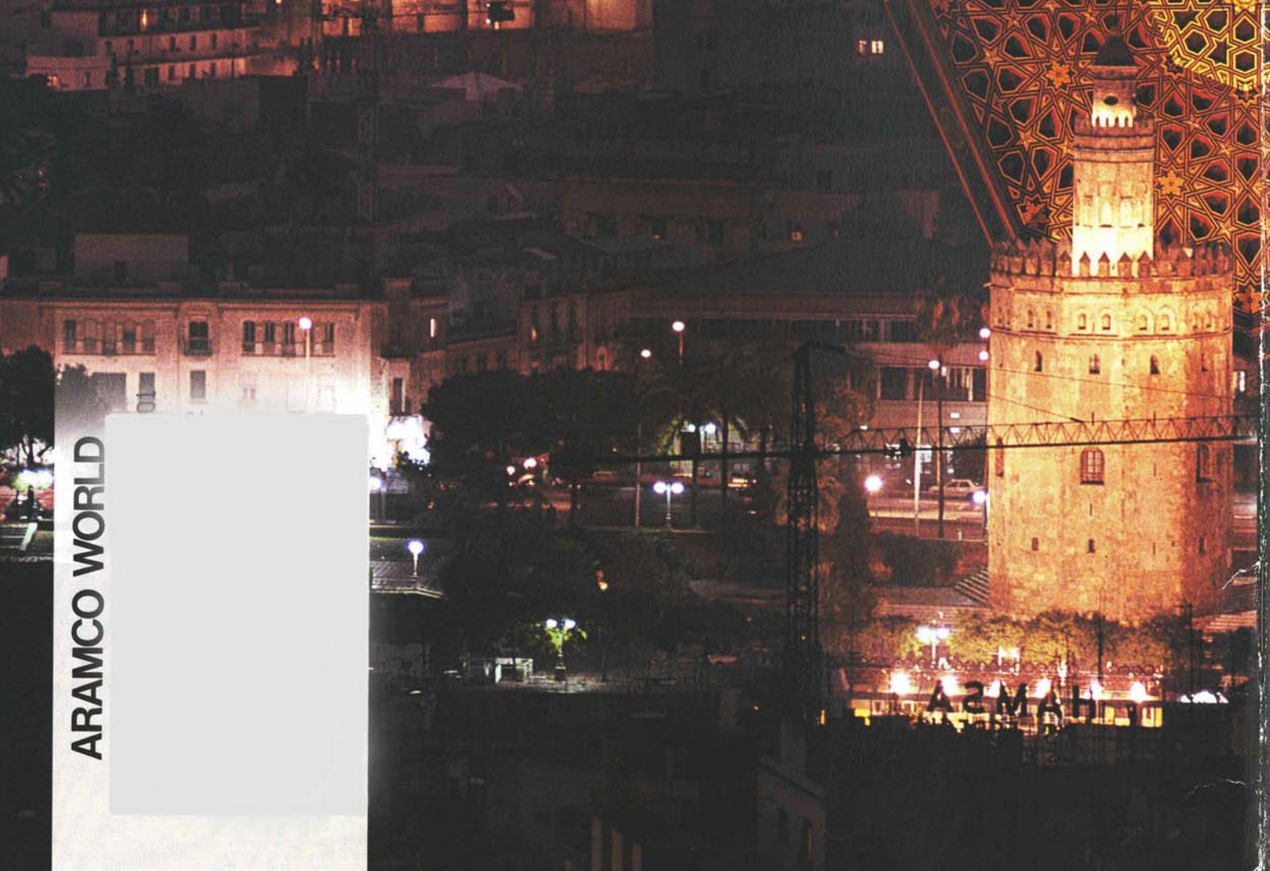
ARAMCO WORLD
JANUARY-FEBRUARY 1993

THE LEGACY OF AL-ANDALUS



Published by
Aramco Services Company
9009 West Loop South,
Houston, Texas 77096

ISSN 1044-1891

Hamad A. Juraifani
PRESIDENT

Shafiq W. Kombargi
DIRECTOR, PUBLIC AFFAIRS

Ismail I. Nawwab
CONSULTING EDITOR

Robert Arndt
EDITOR

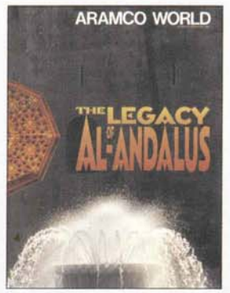
Robert W. Lebling, Jr.
ASSISTANT EDITOR

DESIGN AND PRODUCTION
Keenan Design Associates Ltd.

PRINTED IN THE USA
Judd's, Incorporated
Shenandoah Division

Aramco World is distributed without charge to a limited number of readers with an interest in Saudi Aramco, the oil industry, or the history, culture, geography and economy of the Middle East.

Editorial correspondence should be addressed to :
The Editor, Aramco World
Aramco Services Company,
Post Office Box 2106,
Houston, Texas 77252-2106, USA
Requests for subscriptions and changes of address should be sent to :
Aramco World, Box 469008,
Escondido, California 92046-9008



Cover : An illuminated fountain in front of Seville's Torre del Oro, or Golden Tower, and a Mudejar ceiling detail from the Alcázar's Hall of Moorish Kings, in the same city. The Almohads built the tower to protect a bridge of boats across the Guadalquivir. In 1248, the bridge was burned and the city fell to the Castilians. Back cover: The Giralda and Torre del Oro at night.
All photographs:
Roland & Sabrina Michaud.

◀ Boabdil, Granada's last Arab king, sculpted in limestone by Anna Vaughn Huntington. Photo: Hispanic Society of America.

ARAMCO WORLD

VOL. 44 NO. 1 PUBLISHED BI-MONTHLY JANUARY-FEBRUARY 1993

The Other 1492 2
By Greg Noakes

Just 10 months before Columbus landed in the New World, the last Arab kingdom in Spain fell to Castilian forces. Today, despite the passage of five centuries, al-Andalus continues to cast its spell.


NOAKES

Historical Markers 10
By Ian Meadows

Arabic place names - ranging from simply colorful to historically memorable - dot the landscape of present-day Spain. They tell us much about the ebb and flow of Arab conquest and settlement in al-Andalus.


MEADOWS

The Poet-King of Seville 12
By Rose M. Esber

This monarch wrote poetry "as beautiful as the bud when it opens to disclose the flower," said one chronicler. Al-Mu'tamid's life, with its dramatic twists, was a metaphor for the rise and fall of Islamic Spain.


ESBER

Ishbiliyah: Islamic Seville 20
By Paul Lunde

Even when rival Córdoba was capital of al-Andalus, Seville was the richest, most powerful city in the realm. The city remains a living monument to its glory days: more than 500 years of Islamic rule.

The Giralda 32
By Paul Lunde

Perhaps Seville's best-known symbol, the bell tower of Europe's third-largest cathederal was once the minaret of a huge mosque. Its complexity reflects the city's mix of classical, Muslim and Christian cultures.


LUNDE

Second Flowering 36
By María Luisa Fernández

Muslim artisans working under Christian rule inherited the legacy of Islamic art from al-Andalus. They carried its captivating beauty, in a new context, to the Spanish colonies of the New World.


FERNÁNDEZ

THE OTHER 1492

WRITTEN BY GREG NOAKES
PHOTOGRAPHED BY TOR EIGELAND

Praise be to God,
who ordered
that he who speaks
with pride
of al-Andalus
may do so
without fear and
as boldly
as he pleases,
nor meet any
that may
contradict him...

Al-Shaqundi,
"Of the Excellence of al-Andalus"

Previous spread: A Toledo Cathedral carving shows Castilians besieging a Muslim city in the Nasrids' final years. Below: These silver dirhams circulated in 10th-century al-Andalus.

PETER KEEN/COURTESY OF GIBRALTAR MUSEUM

Right: The Muslim castle at Molina de Aragón fell to Christians in 1129. Far right: The Court of the Lions at Granada's Alhambra draws two million visitors annually. Border: Alhambra detail.

The year 1492 has long been a historical touchstone. Europeans and Americans recently marked the 500th anniversary of Christopher Columbus's "discovery" of the New World, not without protests from those who felt that the hemisphere's gains from the event were far outweighed by its losses. Spain was a focus of attention in the quincentennial year, in part because it was Columbus's point of departure, and as host of the universal exposition EXPO '92 in Seville and the summer Olympic Games in Barcelona.

There was another 500th anniversary to be marked in 1992, however, and it too involved Spain. While this event has also had important repercussions in world history, and remains the source of a lingering sense of loss, it has attracted much less attention. The event was the fall of the Muslim city of Granada (Gharnatah in Arabic), on the second day of 1492, to the forces of the Catholic kings of Castile, ending nearly eight centuries of Muslim rule in the Iberian Peninsula and closing one of the most turbulent and glorious chapters in Islamic history.

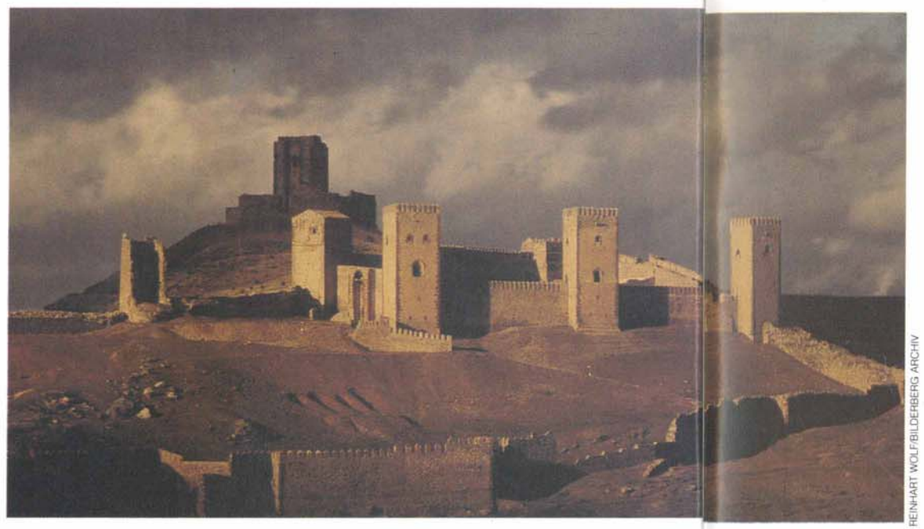
As some historical accounts have it, Muslim armies first arrived in the peninsula in AD 711 at the request of one side of a civil war raging in Visigothic Spain. Muslim rule was accepted voluntarily by many Spaniards, and numbers of them accepted Islam. In 732, just 100 years after the death of the Prophet, Muslim troops crossed the Pyrenees to make their deepest advance into western Europe; they were checked at Poitiers in a battle that has rung down the centuries in Western legend, but which Muslim chroniclers record, if at all, as a minor skirmish. The Muslims soon withdrew again and set about establishing Islam in Spain, in the territories they called al-Andalus. The society they developed was perhaps uniquely tolerant and heterogeneous, with Arab and Berber immigrants living side-by-side with Spanish Muslims, Christians and Jews. Intermarriage was fairly common.

Al-Andalus was ruled by the Umayyad caliphs in Damascus until 750, when the Abbasid dynasty came to power in the East. One Umayyad prince alone, 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Mu'awiyah, escaped and fled to Spain; there he established an independent Umayyad state in 756. The Andalusian rulers, sovereign politically, continued to regard the Abbasid caliphs as the ultimate religious authority for almost 200 years, but the eighth ruler of the dynasty, 'Abd al-Rahman III al-Nasir, claimed the caliphal title for himself and his progeny in 929.

The Andalusian Umayyad caliphate was the golden age of al-Andalus in terms of political power. The southern two-thirds of the Iberian peninsula were united under the caliph in Córdoba (in Arabic, Qurtubah), and he was also an important player in North African affairs. It was the Umayyads who, through skill, cleverness and occasional ruthlessness, laid the foundation for the splendor of al-Andalus.

Between 1009 and 1031, however, a series of uprisings and a succession of weak rulers together led to the dissolution of the Umayyad state. Filling the vacuum, more than a score of independent petty monarchs emerged, called "party kings" or in Arabic *muluk al-tawa'if*, from the word *ta'ifah* (Spanish *taifa*), meaning party or faction. Though these rival kingdoms – some no more than city-states – were much weaker than the unitary Umayyad caliphate, the taifa period witnessed a flourishing of arts and learning as each ruler attempted to outdo the others in the prestige of his court. As David Wasserstein points out in *The Rise and Fall of the Party Kings*, the profusion of rulers also meant a profusion of patrons, so artists, scholars and scientists could find a sponsor, or even competing sponsors, with relative ease.

Nevertheless, weakened by chronic infighting, treacherous double-dealing and internal decadence, the taifa kings gave up considerable territory to the Christian kingdoms that were reasserting themselves in the north of the peninsula. By 1085 the Castilians had taken the crucial city of Toledo, and the petty kings asked the new Almoravid ruler in Morocco, Yusuf ibn Tashufin, to intervene. The Almoravids (in Arabic, al-Murabitun, "The Garrisoned Ones") were a puritanical dynasty that had arisen among the Berbers of far southern Morocco, and for a time they were content to assist the taifa kings militarily – but in 1090 Yusuf decided that his erstwhile hosts had to go, and the petty kings were swept aside. The Almoravids at first imposed their puritanism and rigid religious orthodoxy, visible even in their art, on Spain, but in the end, though their faith remained pure, they themselves succumbed to the luxury and ease of al-Andalus.



REINHART WOLF/BILDERBERG ARCHIV

The Almoravids' faltering strength provided the Christian kingdoms with opportunities for reconquest, and by 1145 Almoravid Spain was reeling. The Muslim population rose in revolt and a new group of taifa monarchs asked the Almohads (in Arabic, al-Muwahhidun, "Those Who Profess God's Unity") – another puritanical movement from southern Morocco, which supplanted the Almoravids in North Africa – to intervene. The Almohads willingly obliged, and for a time the new North African rulers enjoyed some success in Spain. But the tide turned in favor of the Christians in 1212 at the Battle of al-'Iqab, called in Spanish Las Navas de Tolosa, and within decades the Almohads had retreated back across the Strait of Gibraltar. Muslim cities fell one after another until 1260, when only the kingdom of Granada remained.

Precariously balanced between hostile Christian powers to the north and rival Muslim rulers in Morocco to the south, Granada survived for almost two centuries more. Although they gradually ceded territory to the Spanish Christian forces, the Nasrid rulers of Granada, afraid of being swallowed by their rescuers, refused to turn to the Moroccans for assistance. Isolated politically, the Granadines lived on, on borrowed time.

Yet, architectural historian John Brooks notes, "despite the general winding down of the organized political and military state during the last period of Muslim rule in Spain, this strikingly rich and original culture was still evolving." Indeed, many of the most lavish and famous examples of Andalusian art and architecture date from this period (See *Aramco World*, September-October 1992). Within its slowly shrinking enclave, Granada flourished magnificently, both artistically and culturally, until the end of the 15th century, when Catholic Spain overcame political division and the effects of the Black Death and the final stage of the *reconquista* began in earnest.

By the end of 1491 the armies of Ferdinand and Isabella were at the gates of Granada itself. There remained only one final act to be played out, a knell

whose sorrow was to reverberate across the Muslim world and become legend. Granada's ruler, Muhammad XII Abu 'Abd Allah, known in the West as Boabdil, secretly agreed to hand over the city to the Christians in return for his safe passage out of Spain. As he left the city, Boabdil paused to look back at the Alhambra palace, the Generalife gardens and the rest of Granada. Stanley Lane-Poole relates Boabdil's reaction in his classic 1887 work *The Moors in Spain:*

> "Allahu akbar!" he said, "God is most great," as he burst into tears. His mother Ayesha stood beside him: "You may well weep like a woman," she said, "for what you could not defend like a man." The spot whence Boabdil took his sad farewell look at his city from which he was banished for ever, bears to this day the name of *el ultimo sospiro del Moro*, "the last sigh of the Moor."

Thus, on January 2, 1492, Muslim political sovereignty in Spain came to an end.

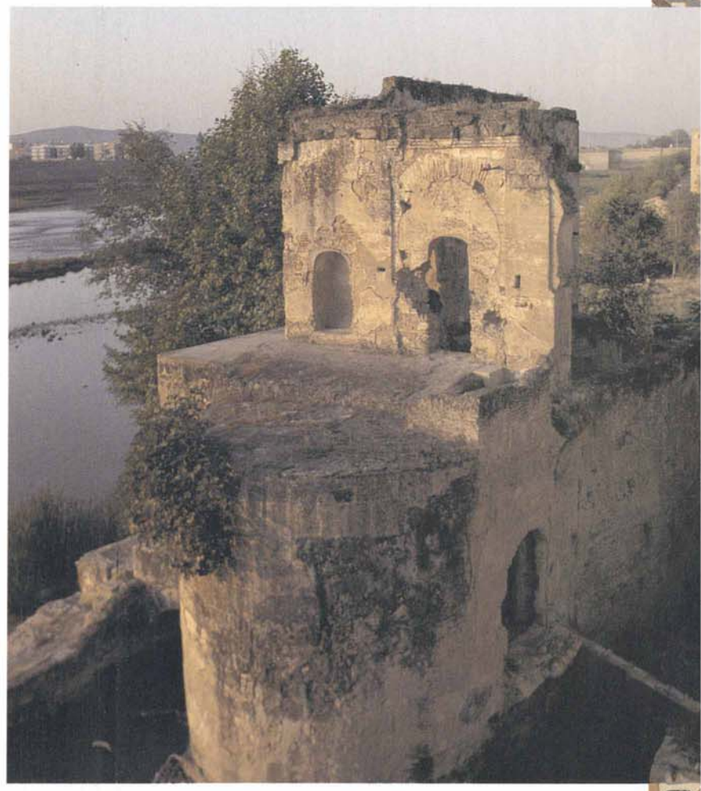
Muslims and people of Muslim origin had lived relatively unmolested in Christian areas before the fall of Granada and continued to do so immediately after; the city's inhabitants received generous terms of submission and a large degree of religious freedom. In 1499, however, the Catholic monarchs' guarantees were broken, and forced conversion of the Muslims was introduced. The Muslim population rebelled, but the revolt was quickly suppressed. In 1500 Spanish Muslims were presented with a stark choice: Convert to Catholicism or be expelled from Spain. While some Muslims did convert, others continued to practice their faith in secret, and the rest chose exile, principally across the Mediterranean in North Africa.

Although Muslim rule in Spain had ended, the rich cultural and intellectual legacy of al-Andalus survived, both in the Iberian Peninsula and throughout the world. Elements of the Islamic heritage can be found throughout Spain, and in recent years modern Spain has become more aware, and more proud, of the glories of this period of its history. Many place names, such as those of the port city of Algeciras (from al-Jazirah al-Khadra', green island), the Guadalquivir River (from al-Wadi al-Kabir, great river), and the southern region of Andalusia itself, all come from the Arabic used in al-Andalus. The Spanish language itself has been greatly influenced by Arabic, particularly in terms of vocabulary, and many terms of Arabic origin passed on from Spanish into English in the New World.

Some of Spain's most famous architectural monuments, including Córdoba's Great Mosque, Seville's Giralda and Granada's Alhambra, date from the Muslim period; architecture in southern Spain and Latin America borrows a great deal from Muslim builders, both in terms of materials used – tile, stucco – and design elements like central courtyards, abstract ornamentation, and creative use of water and fountains. The artisans and craftsmen of Spain after the *reconquista* remained largely Muslim, and they often received commissions from Spanish nobility; their work can easily be seen today throughout Andalusia – in the royal residence of Seville, the Alcázar (from the Arabic al-Qasr, meaning the palace), for example.

The instruments, rhythmic patterns, vocal conventions and overall structure and organization of

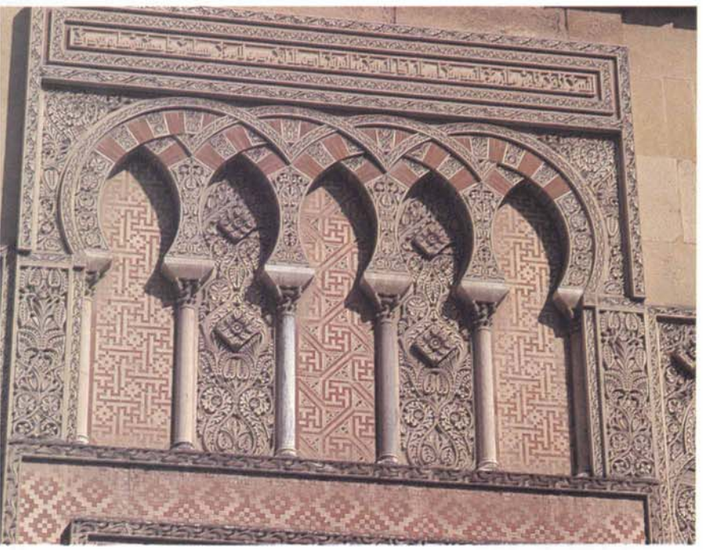
The Alhambra's Mirador, or viewing turret, of Lindaraja, far left, featuring a double-arched window with delicate *muqarnas* stalactites, overlooks a favored garden.



Andalusian music, derived directly from Arab precursors, have also had their effect on Spanish – and, by extension, Latin American – music. In some cases even the Andalusian melodies have been passed down intact.

The works of many of the most prominent thinkers and practitioners of al-Andalus, along with writings from the eastern Muslim world, were translated from Arabic into Latin by Spaniards (See *Aramco World*, May-June 1992). Through these translations, philosophical and scientific thought from the Greek and Roman worlds, preserved and expanded upon by Muslim scholars, passed into

The ruins of an old Arab mill, above, on the banks of the Guadalquivir River near Córdoba, stand as a reminder of daily life in al-Andalus.



European consciousness to fuel both the Renaissance and the Age of Enlightenment.

Nevertheless, it was back in the Arab and Muslim worlds that Andalusian culture and society had their greatest impact, even before 1492. Many important contributors in Islamic intellectual history came from or worked in Muslim Spain: No account of the development of philosophy in Islam is complete without a discussion of Ibn Tufayl, who died in 1185, and of his pupil Ibn Rushd, who was born in Córdoba, became chief *qadi*, or judge, of Seville, and died in 1198. Ibn Rushd, known in the West as Averroes, made his most important contributions in his commentary on Aristotle, his refutation of al-Ghazali's critique of philosophy, and his examination of the relationship between reason and religion. Much of Ibn Rushd's thought prefigured the work of Thomas Aquinas.

In medicine, al-Andalus produced scholars like al-Zahrawi (died ca. 1013), who wrote extensively on surgery, pharmacology, medical ethics and the doctor-patient relationship. Ibn Zuhr (known in the West as Avenzoar), a century and a half later, was an advocate of clinical research and practical experimentation.

In literature, Ibn Hazm (died 1064) expanded traditional romantic poetry with his "Tawq al-Hamamah" ("Dove's Necklace"), which expounds on the various forms of chivalric love and the joys and sorrows it produces. The courtly *muwashshah* form of poetry passed from al-Andalus into North Africa, and influenced the development of both literature and music in the Maghrib. The classical music of North Africa, which remains popular, is still known as "Andalusi music."

The most immediate effects of the events of 1492 to 1500 were felt in the great cities of North Africa, where most of the Andalusian refugees fled after their expulsion. Residents of each Spanish city tended to migrate to a particular Maghribi city, so that many exiles from Valencia ended up in Tunis, those from Córdoba in Tlemcen, refugees from Seville in Fez, and so on. Andalusian scholars, merchants and artisans in many ways revitalized North African society, enriching Maghribi culture and adding a fresh influence to the existing Arabo-Berber traditions. This influence continued for some 200 years, until the Andalusian heritage had been completely integrated into North African life. Nonetheless, many present-day Moroccans, Algerians and Tunisians can still trace their lineage back to a specific city of al-Andalus (See *Aramco World*, July-August 1991).

Its intellectual, cultural and esthetic contributions aside, however, al-Andalus left a bittersweet emotional legacy to the Arab and Muslim worlds. Though the sense of loss is most pronounced in descendants of the Andalusian exiles, the memory of al-Andalus retains its emotive power throughout the Islamic world.

The 20th-century Iraqi writer Daisy Al Amir, for example, takes contemporary England as the setting for her allegorical story "An Andalusian Tale," about an Arab student who meets "a Spaniard who recognized his Arab ancestry" and is proud of his Andalusian heritage. Tunisian film director Nacer Khemir borrows his title and his melancholy subject matter from Ibn Hazm in the 1990 film *Le colier perdu du colombe (The Dove's Lost Necklace)*. Khemir's fanciful costumes, dream-like architecture, shimmering colors and stunning cinematography give life to the esthetic ideal of al-Andalus (See *Aramco World*, January-February 1992).

In the Islamic world today, Muslim Spain is invoked on two levels. First there is the memory of the land itself: the flowing rivers and green fields of southern Spain, the magnificent mosques and palaces, the flourishing culture. This is the land

that Andalusian exiles refer to still as *al-firdaws al-mafqud* – paradise lost – and whose passing the Valencian exile Ibn Amira mourned in his *Epistola a un amic*:

> *An ocean of sadness rages inside us,*
> *Our hearts, desperate, burn with*
> *eternal flames...*
> *The city was so beautiful with its*
> *gardens and rivers,*
> *The nights were imbued with the*
> *sweet fragrance of narcissus.*

Al-Andalus is remembered on another level as the one area that was once – but is no longer – part of the Muslim world. Until the middle of this century, Muslims have withstood Mongols, Crusaders, empire-builders and settlers and still emerged with their Islamic identity intact – except in Spain. Even the Communist regimes of present-day China and the former Soviet Union failed to root out Islam, failed to deracinate their Muslim populations, despite vast expenditures of time, of treasure and of blood in attempts to build "the new socialist man" (See *Aramco World*, January-February 1990). The fact that the rest of the Muslim world has retained its religious identity over some fourteen centuries rife with political, social, cultural and technological change makes the exception of Spain that much more painful to Muslims.

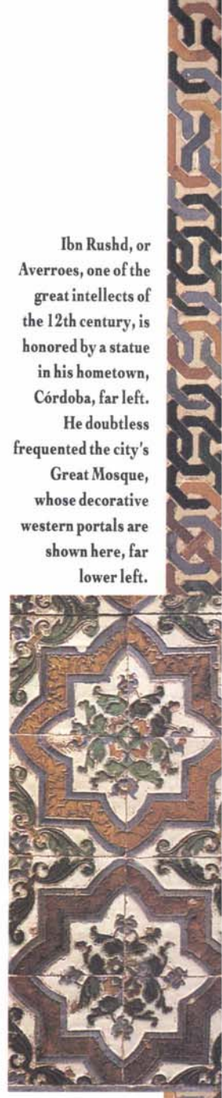
It is nonetheless a pain that lies well beneath the surface. Contemporary Muslims are less likely to think of Spain as a historic enemy, or still less a territory to be reclaimed, than as an important trading partner, a fellow member of the family of nations, and – especially for North Africans – a source of expatriate employment. Muslim countries maintain cordial relations with Madrid and a number of them opened pavilions at EXPO '92 in Seville and sent teams to Barcelona.

And though, over the years, lost Muslim Spain has been much idealized in the Islamic world, there remains an appreciation of the factors behind its downfall. Some of these were external, such as the unification and expansion of the Christian kingdoms of Spain and the geographic and political isolation of al-Andalus from the rest of the Muslim world. There were also internal factors that contributed to the decline of al-Andalus, particularly the rivalries that weakened and divided Muslim Spain, the greed and self-indulgence that gripped its elites, and the loss of a unifying religious vision.

On the other hand, Islamic Spain was an immensely fertile ground for learning, producing a long series of intellectual, esthetic and scientific advances attributable to Muslim, Christian and Jewish thinkers and the atmosphere they created. This blossoming was due in part to the spirit of tolerance that prevailed for much, though not all, of the history of al-Andalus – a tolerance extended not only just to other religious groups but operative within Muslim society as well.

Despite the passage of 500 years, al-Andalus continues to cast its spell. As the birthplace of some of the world's outstanding scholars and artisans, home of dazzling architectural masterpieces, and setting of a brilliant society notable for both the height of its achievements and the depths of its decadence, al-Andalus retains its emotional impact and its privileged place in Muslim historical memory.

Greg Noakes, an American Muslim, is news editor of The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs *and writes frequently on Islamic issues and North African matters.*



Ibn Rushd, or Averroes, one of the great intellects of the 12th century, is honored by a statue in his hometown, Córdoba, far left. He doubtless frequented the city's Great Mosque, whose decorative western portals are shown here, far lower left.

The tilework above decorates the Sala de las Dos Hermanas, or Hall of the Two Sisters, in the Alhambra. At left, a detail from an Arab water trough at the Alhambra Museum shows the common royal motif of lions attacking their prey.

HISTORICAL MARKERS

WRITTEN BY IAN MEADOWS

History tells us little about Tarif ibn Malik, the Berber officer who landed in Spain in the early months of AD 710, heading a reconnaissance mission of 100 cavalry and 400 foot soldiers. But the place where he landed is named **Tarifa** in his honor, and Ibn Malik, as the first Muslim to enter Spain, takes pride of place in the long list of names – verbal historical markers – that testify to 800 years of Muslim civilization in al-Andalus.

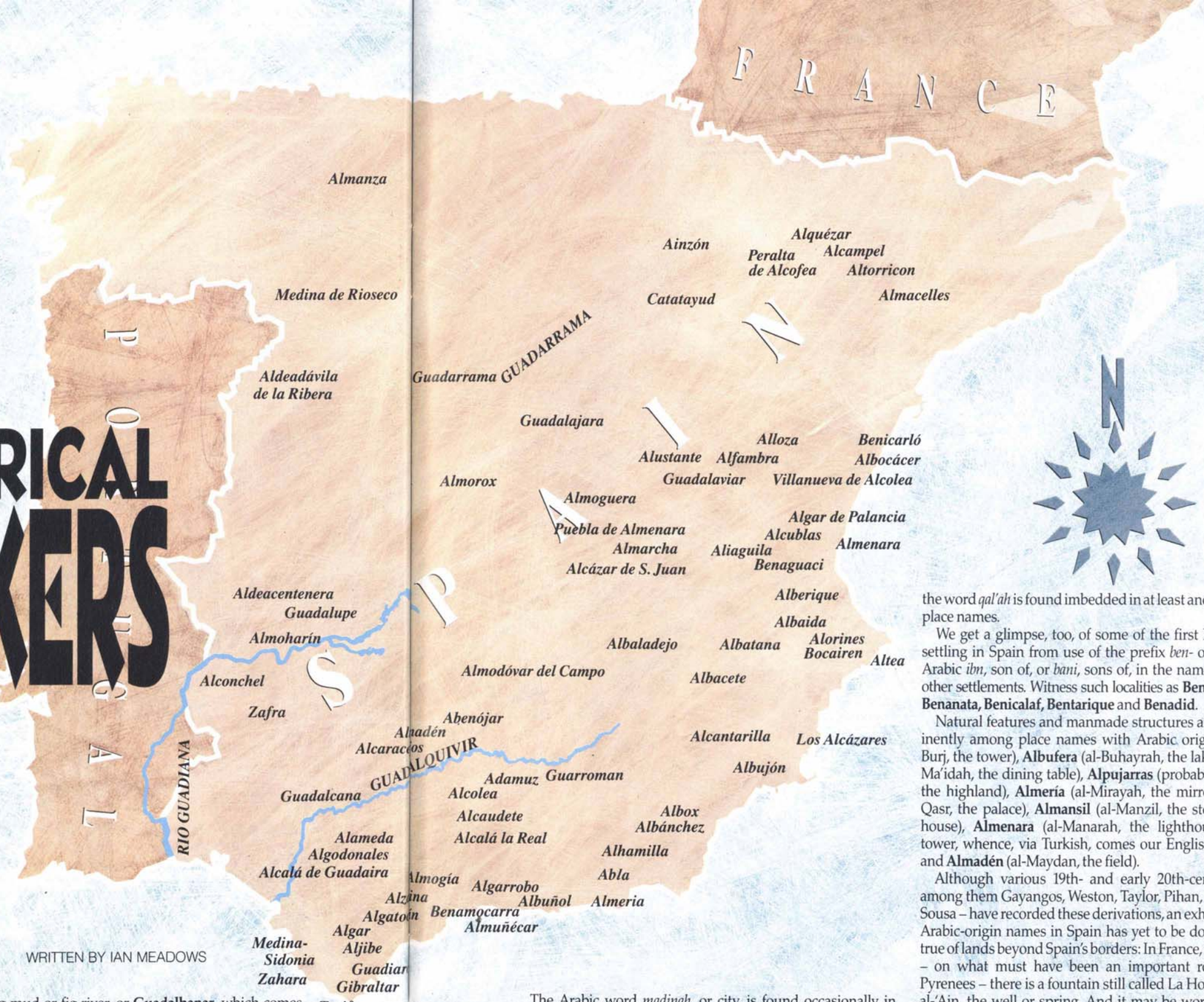
Hard on Tarif's heels came that remarkable horseman Tariq ibn Ziyad, who stepped ashore in **Algeciras** Bay, a name derived from the Arabic al-Jazirah al-Khadra' – Green Island – which is probably how those desert warriors viewed fertile Spain. Tariq, at the head of his light cavalry, swept right up through the Iberian Peninsula to the Bay of Biscay. His name is perpetuated where his campaign began, at **Gibraltar,** Jabal Tariq, or Tariq's Mountain.

The spread of Arabic place names across the peninsula tells us a lot about the ebb and flow of Arab conquest and settlement in what is today Spain and Portugal, and provides a tantalizing insight into the minds of the soldiers, geographers, poets and simple folk who came, made Spain their home and – in creating a unique culture – gave the land so much in return. Like the blue ceramic disks that mark historic buildings in London, or the cast-aluminum plaques that identify battlefields in Texas, the names on the land in Spain remind us of those past events that made the present.

Arabic place names are most common around Valencia (called Balansiyah in Arabic) and in the vicinity of Málaga (Malaqah), Granada (Gharnatah) and Seville (Ishbiliyah), despite the many changes imposed by Ferdinand and Isabella after the *reconquista.* There's little trace of the Arab presence, however, in Galicia, Asturias and parts of Navarre, Aragón and Catalunya, which are mountainous, inhospitable and were more easily defended against invaders. Besides, we know historically how the Muslim advance was checked in Cantabria around 718 and in Aragón about the same time. This helps explain why only 30 percent of Spain's Arabic place names are found north of the Tagus River, while over 65 percent occur south of that line.

We can only guess at the identity of the geographers, chieftains, soldiers or settlers who named the various places and natural features they discovered as they moved across the land. But they faithfully recorded the imagery that their minds conjured up, and it's clear that the incidence of streams, rivers and high land struck them most. The syllable *guad-*, from *wadi*, meaning river or valley, is found frequently: Consider **Guadalquivir** (al-Wadi al-Kabir, great river), **Guadalcázar** (Wadi al-Qasr, river of the palace), **Guadalhorra** (Wadi al-Ghar, cave river), **Guadarranque** (Wadi al-Ramakah, mare river), **Guadalquitton** (Wadi al-Qitt, cat river), **Guadalajara** (Wadi al-Hijarah, stony river), **Guadalbacar** (Wadi al-Baqar, cattle river), **Guarroman** (Wadi al-Rumman, pomegranate river), **Guadalaviar** (al-Wadi al-Abyad, white river) and **Guadalimar** (al-Wadi al-Ahmar, red river). Some rivers have Arabic-sounding names whose derivations are nonetheless uncertain – for example, **Guadalertin**, believed by some scholars to derive from Wadi al-Tin, meaning mud or fig river, or **Guadalbanar**, which comes, just perhaps, from Wadi al Harb, river of war, or from Wadi al-Fanar, river of the lighthouse.

Other place names give us visual images as well: **Alhambra** (al-Hamra', the red [fortress]), **Arrecife** (al-Rasif, the paved road), **Almazara** (al-Ma'sarah, the oil press), **Aldea** (al-Dai'ah, the small village), **Alquería** (al-Qariyah, the village), **Alcantara** (al-Qantarah, the bridge) and **Trafalgar**, derived from the name of the cape, Taraf al-Ghar, meaning Cave Point.



The Arabic word *madinah*, or city, is found occasionally in Spanish place names – for example, **Medinaceli** (Madinat Salim, the city of Salim), **Medina-Sidonia** and **Medina del Campo** – while the descriptive *qal'ah*, meaning fortress or castle, is found in Aragón at **Calatayud**, or Ayyub's Castle, referring to one of the key leaders during the early years of al-Andalus, as well as in old Castile at **Calahorra** (from Qal'at al-Hajar, stone castle, or perhaps al-Qal'ah al-Hurrah, free castle) and in new Castile at **Calatrava** (Qal'at al-Rabah, Rabah's castle). All in all, the word *qal'ah* is found imbedded in at least another half-dozen place names.

We get a glimpse, too, of some of the first Muslim families settling in Spain from use of the prefix *ben-* or *beni-*, from the Arabic *ibn*, son of, or *bani*, sons of, in the names of towns and other settlements. Witness such localities as **Benevites, Beniajar, Benanata, Benicalaf, Bentarique** and **Benadid**.

Natural features and manmade structures also figure prominently among place names with Arabic origins: **Alborg** (al-Burj, the tower), **Albufera** (al-Buhayrah, the lake), **Almeida** (al-Ma'idah, the dining table), **Alpujarras** (probably from al-Bajra', the highland), **Almería** (al-Mirayah, the mirror), **Alqézar** (al-Qasr, the palace), **Almansil** (al-Manzil, the stopping place or house), **Almenara** (al-Manarah, the lighthouse or mosque tower, whence, via Turkish, comes our English word *minaret*) and **Almadén** (al-Maydan, the field).

Although various 19th- and early 20th-century writers – among them Gayangos, Weston, Taylor, Pihan, Perceval and de Sousa – have recorded these derivations, an exhaustive study of Arabic-origin names in Spain has yet to be done. The same is true of lands beyond Spain's borders: In France, not far from Pau – on what must have been an important route across the Pyrenees – there is a fountain still called La Houn, from Arabic al-'Ain, the well or spring. And it may be worthwhile searching for Arabic names in mainland Italy, where Arab columns probed during the eighth, ninth and 10th centuries, in Sicily, and even in Switzerland, where legends of lost Arab warriors settling in remote valleys persist to this day. There, as well as across southern Spain, the names on the land record history.

Ian Meadows, veteran journalist and author, lives in Languedoc, France, where he is at work on a historical novel set during the crusades in Palestine and Occitania.

His court was

the halting place

of travelers,

the rendezvous

THE POET KING OF SEVILLE

of poets,

...and the haunt

of men

of talent.

WRITTEN BY ROSE M. ESBER
ILLUSTRATED BY NORMAN MACDONALD

In disguise, the two friends often sallied forth to the banks of al-Wadi al-Kabir. On one such outing, he met his future bride.

Poetry flourished exuberantly in 11th-century al-Andalus. Verse was the common expression of the day, an arabesque of words and meaning – the language of love, diplomacy and satire. Andalusians loved poetry and virtually everyone composed it.

No poet so embodied the spirit of this brilliant poetical age as did al-Mu'tamid, the poet-king of Seville, who lived from 1040 to 1095. Al-Mu'tamid is considered one of the most outstanding Andalusian poets of his age. "He left," wrote literary historian Ibn Bassam, "some pieces of verse as beautiful as the bud when it opens to disclose the flower."

The dramatic twists of al-Mu'tamid's life, which took him to triumphant kingship in Seville and then to the bitterness of African exile, are legendary, and they remain a poignant metaphor for the spectacular rise and fall of al-Andalus. The historian al-Marrakushi wrote of al-Mu'tamid, "If one wanted to list all the examples of beauty produced by al-Andalus from the time of the conquest to the present day, then al-Mu'tamid would be one of them, if not the greatest of all...."

The collapse of the Andalusian Umayyad caliphate in 1031 diminished the illustrious capital city of Córdoba to a mere provincial town, and splintered al-Andalus into some 23 petty principalities and locally ruled kingdoms. The disarray left by this disintegration unified the feuding Christian states of Galicia, León, Castile, Navarre, Aragón and Barcelona with visions of reconquest. This period became known as the era of the "party kings" or petty monarchs – *muluk al-tawa'if* in Arabic, *reyes de taifas* in Spanish.

Once-glorious Córdoba was soon eclipsed by the flourishing dynasties of Seville, Badajoz, Granada and Toledo. Yet apart from brief coalitions against their common Spanish-Christian enemy, the kingdoms were constantly dividing and realigning themselves through feuds and treaties, their rulers vying not only for political dominance, but also to attract the greatest poets and scholars of the day to their respective courts.

Of all these rival kingdoms, the most formidable militarily and the most scintillating artistically was undeniably the kingdom of Seville, ruled by the 'Abbadids. Al-Mu'tamid inherited not only the reins of power from his ancestors but their poetical talent as well.

Al-Mu'tamid's grandfather, Abu al-Qasim Muhammad ibn Isma'il ibn 'Abbad, the founder of the 'Abbadid dynasty, was renowned for his justice and wise rule, while his son al-Mu'tadid, al-Mu'tamid's father, was feared for his tyranny and fierce cruelty. Nonetheless, poets and scholars gravitated to al-Mu'tadid's court, for he was also known as a great patron of literature and the arts, as well as a poet in his own right.

Abu al-Qasim Muhammad II ibn 'Abbad al-Mu'tamid was the third and last of the 'Abbadid dynasty. His reputation as an enlightened, benevolent ruler and gifted poet soon surpassed that of his forebears. The biographer Ibn Khallikan described al-Mu'tamid as "the most liberal, hospitable, munificent and powerful of all the princes ruling Spain. His court was the halting place of travelers, the rendezvous of poets, the point to which all hopes were directed and the haunt of men of talent."

Al-Mu'tamid's life story, dramatic enough in its facts, was immortalized by his verse and the intimate revelations it provided of his soul. His youthful works show his preoccupation with pleasure and friendship, and mirror the popular themes of love, nature and sensual beauty:

She stood in all her slender grace
Veiling the sun's orb from my face:
O may her beauty ever be
So veiled from time's inconstancy!

It was as if she knew, I guess,
She was a moon of loveliness;
And may aught else the bright sun veil
Except the moon's own lustre pale?[1]

During these early years, a young, penniless, poet-adventurer was drawn to the court of Seville to prove his talent and reap his reward. Ibn 'Ammar's artful verse captured the fervent admiration of the young prince al-Mu'tamid, who aspired to model himself after the poet. Lovers of pleasure, high adventure and – above all – poetry, the two became inseparable companions.

When al-Mu'tamid's father appointed him governor of Silves (in present-day Portugal) at age 23, the prince named Ibn 'Ammar his vizier, and later, when he ascended the throne, his prime minister.

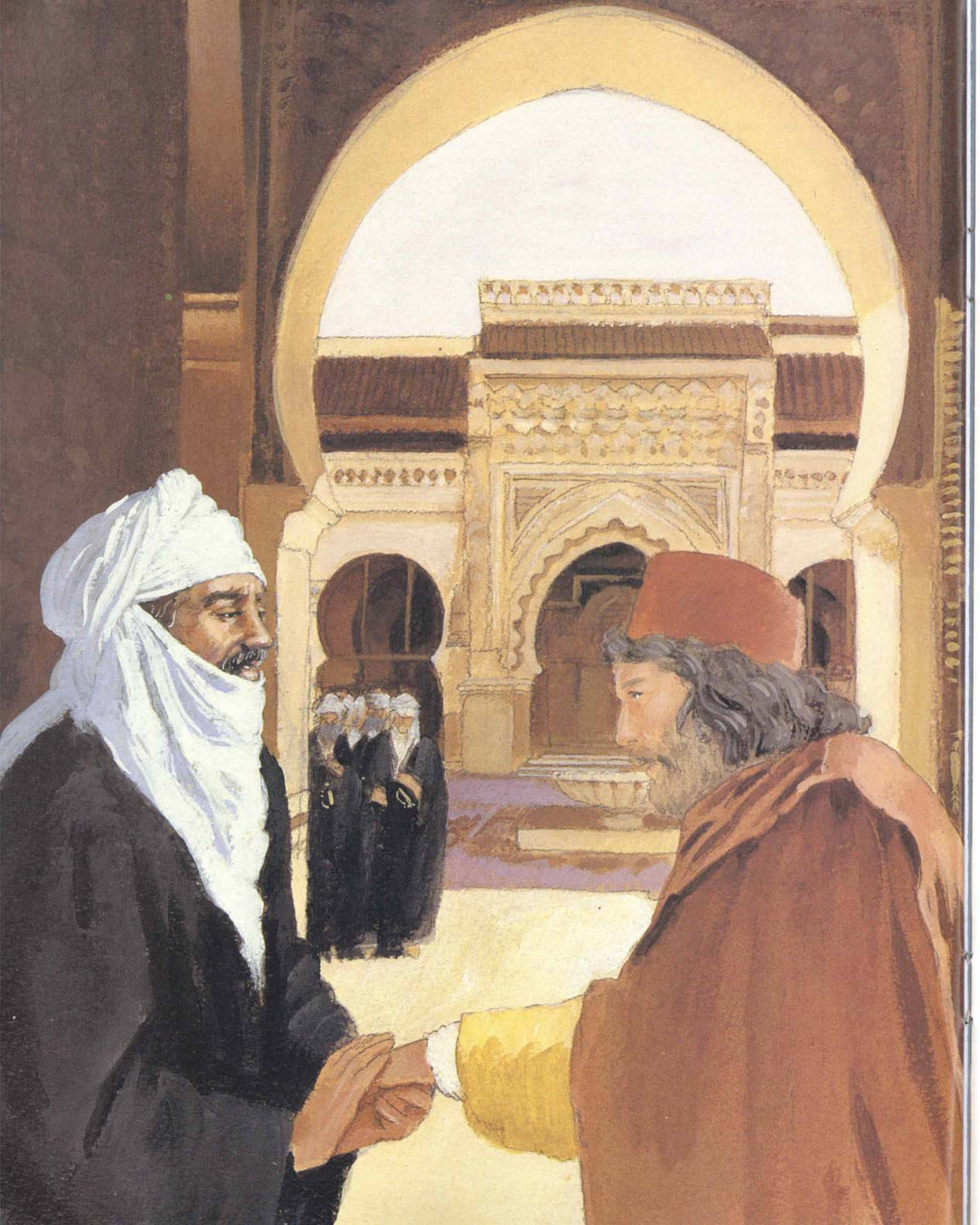
The two friends often sallied forth in disguise to the banks of al-Wadi al-Kabir, now the Guadalquivir River, to amuse themselves. On such an outing, al-Mu'tamid supposedly met his future bride. While strolling along the river's bank where some young women were washing linen, the legend has it, al-Mu'tamid improvised a half-verse, challenging Ibn 'Ammar to supply the second half-verse on the spot:

Sana'a 'r-rihu min al-mā'i zarad...
[The wind has turned the water to chain mail...]

Ibn 'Ammar's brilliant wit had never failed him in this, their favorite pastime. But this time, before he could take up the rhyme, one of the linen-washers unhesitatingly replied:

Ayyu dir'in li-qitālin law jamad!
[What armor for a battle, if it froze!]

His son warned against inviting the Almoravids into al-Andalus. The king replied: "I would rather be a camel-driver in Africa than a swineherd in Castile."



Captivated by her beauty and cleverness, al-Mu'tamid had the young poet brought to the palace. Her name was I'timad; she was commonly known as Rumaikiyyah, the slave of Rumaik, for whom she drove mules. Al-Mu'tamid purchased I'timad's freedom and married her. It is said he adopted the public name al-Mu'tamid 'ala Allah – "He Who Relies on God" – after his wife's name I'timad, or "reliance."

The second period of al-Mu'tamid's poetical work is dominated by themes of war and rulership, expansion of the kingdom of Seville, his deep love for his wife and their splendid life together at court. Al-Mu'tamid expressed his feelings for I'timad in an acrostic rhapsody that he composed while separated from her:

Invisible to my eyes, thou art ever present
to my heart.
Thy happiness I desire to be infinite, as are my
sighs, my tears, and my sleepless nights!
Impatient of the bridle when other women seek to
guide me, thou makest me submissive
to thy lightest wishes.
My desire each moment is to be at thy side.
Speedily may it be fulfilled!
Ah! my heart's darling, think of me, and forget
me not, however long my absence!
Dearest of names! I have written it, I have now
traced that delicious word –
I'timad![2]

I'timad's extravagant whims were infamous, but al-Mu'tamid attempted to indulge her every wish and remained devoted to her throughout his life.

The story is told of a wintry February day when snowflakes gently fell on Córdoba. Watching this rare spectacle from a palace window, I'timad suddenly burst into tears. She sobbed to her husband that he was cruel not to provide her such a lovely sight every winter. In response, al-Mu'tamid ordered the Sierra of Córdoba to be planted thick with almond trees, whose delicate white blossoms each spring would simulate the snowflakes so admired by I'timad.

Although not overly concerned with state affairs, al-Mu'tamid succeeded in annexing Córdoba to the kingdom of Seville – a campaign initiated by his grandfather – and this in only the second year of his reign. The royal poet lauded his own conquest in verse:

I have won at the first onset
The hand of the lovely Córdoba;
That brave Amazon who with sword and spear
Repelled all those who sought her in marriage.
And now we celebrate our nuptials in her palace,
While the other monarchs, my baffled rivals,
Weep tears of rage and tremble with fear.
With good reason do ye tremble, despicable foemen!
For soon will the lion spring upon you.[2]

The four or five years following the conquest of Córdoba were indeed joyful for al-Mu'tamid and his family, but their joy was to be short-lived. Constant feuding among the party kings provided an opportunity for Christian reconquest, and successful encroachment forced some Andalusian kings to become tributaries to Christian suzerains. Meanwhile, Alfonso VI, King of León, Castile and Navarre, had resolved to conquer the entire peninsula. "Biding his time," the Dutch historian Reinhart Dozy wrote, "he crushed the treasuries of the Muslim kinglets as in a wine-press, till they poured forth gold."

On May 25, 1085, Alfonso VI forcibly annexed Toledo, a great center of Muslim scholarship. In a panic, the Andalusians realized that, relying on their own resources, they had but two alternatives: submit to the Christian king, or emigrate. The scholar Abu Muhammad al-'Assal sounded the alarm in verse: "Men of al-Andalus, put spurs to your horses! Delay at this time is idle folly."

Their very existence threatened by Christian ascendancy, the Andalusian kings called upon the Muslim Almoravids of North Africa for reinforcements, despite the fact that these stern Berber nomads from the Sahara seemed more likely rivals than allies.

When al-Mu'tamid's son Rashid advised against introducing the Almoravids into Spain, al-Mu'tamid reportedly replied: "I have no desire to be branded by my descendants as the man who delivered al-Andalus as prey to the infidels. I am loath to have my name cursed in every Muslim pulpit. And, for my part, I would rather be a camel-driver in Africa than a swineherd in Castile."

Thus, the kings of Seville, Granada and Badajoz sent envoys to Yusuf ibn Tashufin, king of the Almoravids, pressing him and his army to come immediately to their aid, without, however, encroaching on their sovereignty in al-Andalus. Yusuf ibn Tashufin agreed, crossed the Strait of Gibraltar into Spain, and defeated Alfonso VI in the brilliant strategic battle of al-Zallaqah (Sagrajas), a few kilometers north of Badajoz, in 1086. Hailed as the savior of all al-Andalus, Ibn Tashufin and his piety, valor and military skill were extolled throughout Muslim Spain.

Alfonso VI's defeat liberated the Andalusian kings from the humiliation of paying annual tribute. Yet, despite the brilliance of the victory, it was not a decisive one; the Andalusians remained incapable of defending themselves, and the Castilians began focusing their attacks on the eastern part of al-Andalus. Unable to cope with the increasing raids in the eastern provinces of his kingdom, al-Mu'tamid himself traveled to Morocco, once again seeking the aid of Ibn Tashufin.

Threatened by Christian attacks on his kingdom's eastern frontier, he traveled to Morocco, once more seeking the help of the Almoravid ruler.

By this time an air of growing discontent had permeated the petty kingdoms. Their rulers were too weak to protect their subjects even from neighboring Muslim kingdoms, much less from the Christian invaders. While citizens cried out against the kings' extortionate taxes for their opulent courts, the kings themselves bickered and denounced each other to the Almoravid ruler.

The disaffection of the Andalusian populace reached the ear of Ibn Tashufin. With the encouragement of his advisors, he again responded to the pleadings of the petty kings, this time with the intention of adding al-Andalus to the Almoravid empire, which already stretched from Senegal to Algiers.

Grief-stricken crowds thronged the banks of the river to bid farewell to the royal family. The king was banished to Morocco's High Atlas, where he languished in chains until his death.

The kingdoms of Granada and Málaga were the first to fall to the raiding Almoravid armies. Learning of Ibn Tashufin's betrayal, al-Mu'tamid attempted to forge an alliance with Alfonso VI, but it was too late. The Berbers stormed the fortifications of Seville and sacked the city. Al-Mu'tamid defended his citadel heroically, finally surrendering only to spare his family. In his grief, he wrote:

When my tears cease to flow,
And a calm steals over my troubled heart,
I hear voices crying "Yield! That is true wisdom!"
But I reply, "Poison would be a sweeter draught to me
Than such a cup of shame!"
Though the barbarians wrest from me my realm,
And my soldiers forsake me,
My courage and my pride remain steadfast.
When I fell upon the foe, I scorned a breastplate,
I encountered them unarmed;
Hoping for death, I flung myself into the fray;
But alas, my hour had not yet come![2]

Many of the Andalusian kings, dethroned and their cities despoiled, were assassinated. For al-Mu'tamid, Ibn Tashufin decreed deportation. A vast, grief-stricken crowd thronged the banks of the Guadalquivir to bid the royal family farewell; black barges ferried the exiles from their beloved al-Andalus across the Strait of Gibraltar to North Africa. When the barge carrying al-Mu'tamid docked in Tangier, the poets of the land sought him out, even then seeking patronage. To them, al-Mu'tamid gave the last of his money, stained with his own blood.

So began the third and final chapter of al-Mu'tamid's life. From the pinnacle of happiness and power to the depths of poverty and humiliation, al-Mu'tamid poured out his deep sorrow in poetry unparalleled in Arabic literature. En route to Meknes, encountering a procession walking to the mosque to pray for rain, he mused:

When folk who were about
To implore heaven for rain
Met me, I exclaimed,
"My tears will take the place of showers!"
"Thou sayest truth," they replied;
"Thy tears would suffice –
But they are mingled with blood!"[2]

The poet-king was banished to the arid desert village of Aghmat, near Marrakech, situated in the most elevated and dramatic mountain range of the High Atlas. There, al-Mu'tamid dragged out a pitiful existence in utter destitution, tormented by the sight of his wife and daughters spinning wool for paltry sums.

Poetry was his only solace. The elegies written at Aghmat recall his former greatness, his massacred sons and his splendid palaces and court life. Al-Mu'tamid admitted that he had erred in summoning Ibn Tashufin to al-Andalus. "In so doing," he said, "I dug my own grave." On his first 'Id al-Fitr in captivity, he wrote, in abject misery:

In days gone by the festivals made thee joyous,
But sad is the festival which findeth thee a captive at Aghmat.
Thou seest thy daughters clothed in rags and dying of hunger;
They spin for a pittance, for they are destitute.
Worn with fatigue, and with downcast eyes, they come to embrace thee.
They walk bare-footed in the mire of the streets,
Who once trod on musk and camphor!
Their hollow cheeks, furrowed with tears, attest their poverty....
Just as on the occasion of this sad festival –
God grant that thou mayest never see another! –
Thou hast broken thy fast, so has thy heart broken hers:
Thy sorrow, long restrained, bursts forth afresh.
Yesterday, when thou spakest the word, all men obeyed;
Now thou art at the beck of others.
Kings who glory in their greatness are dupes of a vain dream![2]

Al-Mu'tamid greeted rumors of insurrection in al-Andalus with hope and joy, but they earned him only the additional humiliation of chains.

Strange that these irons do not glow
And singe the hands of these villains,
For fear of him, upon whose grace
Courageous men depended, and whose sword
Sent some to heaven and some to hell.[3]

Languishing in fetters, forgotten and ill, al-Mu'tamid was finally overwhelmed with grief after the death of his beloved I'timad. In 1095, at the age of 55, he succumbed, dying in exile at Aghmat. He was the last of the native-born Andalusian kings, and he brilliantly represented a magnificent culture. His chivalry, liberality and courage endeared him to succeeding generations. "Everyone loves al-Mu'tamid," wrote historian Ibn al-Abbar more than a century later, "everyone pities him, and even now he is lamented."

Rose M. Esber is a free-lance writer based in Washington, D.C.

Poetry quotations courtesy of: (1) *Moorish Poetry* by A.J. Arberry, Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1953; (2) *Spanish Islam* by Reinhart Dozy, London: Darf Publishers, 1988; and (3) *Moorish Culture in Spain* by Titus Burckhardt, Translated by Alisa Jaffa, London: George Allen & Unwin, 1972.

All things come to an end,
Even death itself dies the death of things.
Destiny is chameleon-colored,
Its very essence is transformation.
In its hands we are like a game of chess,
And the king may be lost for the sake of a pawn.
So shake off the world, and find repose,
For earth turns to desert, and men die.
Say to this lowly world: the secret of the Higher world lies hidden at Aghmat....[3]

– Al-Mu'tamid, King of Seville

A city steeped in history, Seville was a shining jewel of al-Andalus. Its Islamic past continues to enchant.

ISHBILIYAAH = ISLAMIC SEVILLE

WRITTEN BY PAUL LUNDE

PHOTOGRAPHED BY
ROLAND & SABRINA MICHAUD

In the late 730's Sara, the granddaughter of Witiza, penultimate king of the Visigoths, fitted out a ship in Seville and sailed downriver to the Atlantic, entered the Mediterranean through the Strait of Gibraltar, and sailed east to the Palestinian port of Ascalon. Sara was on her way to the Umayyad court at Damascus.

She had obtained an audience with the caliph Hisham to demand restitution of as many as a thousand estates in the environs of her native city that had been confiscated by Ardabasto, one of her three uncles, despite the fact that an earlier caliph had confirmed her right to inherit. Hisham upheld her claim and wrote to his governor in North Africa, ordering him to enforce it and assist Sara in every way. Perhaps to render her position even more unassailable, he married her to one of his freedmen, 'Isa ibn Muzahim. The couple returned to Seville together.

Sara and 'Isa had two sons, Ibrahim and Ishaq. It is to the great-grandson of Ibrahim that we owe our knowledge of Sara's journey to Damascus, for Abu Bakr ibn al-Qutiyyah – "the son of the Gothic woman" – begins his short account of the Muslim conquest of Spain with the story of his great-great-grandmother Sara, of whom he was justifiably proud.

'Isa died in 755, the very year that the last survivor of the Umayyad dynasty entered Spain and initiated the most brilliant period of Muslim rule in al-Andalus. Sara went from Seville to Córdoba to greet 'Abd al-Rahman I ibn Mu'awiyah ibn Hisham, and he reminded her that they had met before: in Damascus, when she had pled her case before Hisham. 'Abd al-Rahman, Hisham's grandson, had been but a boy at the time and was still only 25 when he first set foot in Spain.

Sara too must have been quite young when she journeyed to Syria, for on the death of 'Isa she married again, this time an Umayyad supporter of royal descent, Umayr ibn Sa'id al-Lakhmi, whose family went back to the pre-Islamic Lakhmid kings of al-Hirah in Iraq.

Sara bore a son to Umayr, and the descendants of this union between a Gothic princess and an Arab aristocrat became known in Seville as the Banu Hajjaj. For several hundred years members of this clan held high office in the city and owned much of the surrounding countryside, rich agricultural land that had once belonged to the Gothic royal family.

Seville was called Spalis by the Visigoths, Hispalis by the Romans who preceded them. The word, whose meaning is unknown, is almost certainly of Semitic origin, for the site upon which Seville is built was occupied by the Carthaginians from at least the seventh century BC. Isidore of Seville, whose *Etymologies* were written in the sixth century of our era, says Hispalis means "built upon posts," because *his palis* in Latin means "these posts." This is folk etymology, but curiously, a number of pine posts were found earlier this century beneath a building on Seville's Calle Sierpes, deeply embedded in the earth and probably dating from the birth of the city. They must have been used to consolidate the foundations, for Seville is built on marshy ground and used to be frequently flooded by its two rivers.

The Roman general Scipio had established a military garrison called Italica on a bluff overloading the present city in 206 BC, when Roman arms finally put an end to Carthaginian power. A city grew up eight kilometers (five miles) away, and by 49 BC Hispalis was the largest and most important city in Betica, which corresponded roughly with modern western Andalusia. Not yet a *colonia*, it was nevertheless walled and possessed a forum and other characteristics of a Roman city. It was already exporting grain, and it is in this year that the name Hispalis first appears in the Roman sources.

Four years later, in 45 BC, Julius Caesar accorded Hispalis the status of *colonia*; henceforth all free citizens of the city had the same legal rights as Romans and the same political system. Italica continued to be inhabited, probably by the well-to-do, and the city expanded across the river, to the area the Arabs later called Tiryana and which is now known as Triana, after the emperor Trajan. Seville was thus a mini-Rome, divided by its river like the mother city. Triana has maintained a certain independence from the rest of Seville even to this day.

Musa ibn Nusayr ibn 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Zaid al-Lakhmi, Umayyad governor of North Africa, was the grandson of a Christian captured by the great Arab general Khalid ibn al-Walid in the little Mesopotamian oasis town of 'Ain al-Tamr. His father had been a confidant of the first Umayyad caliph, Mu'awiyah, and before becoming governor Musa had been a tax-collector in the Umayyad civil service. In 710, almost certainly without informing the caliph al-Walid of his intention of invading Spain, he sent a young Berber officer named Tarif ibn Malik on a reconnaissance. Tarif landed at the town which now bears his name – Tarifa – and made a sortie to Algeciras, returning with rich booty and having met little or no opposition from the Goths.

In the summer of the following year Musa ibn Nusayr sent Tariq ibn Ziyad, his Berber freedman and best commander, across the strait with 7000 Berber troops in ships supplied by the Visigothic exarch of Ceuta, Count Julian. The Arabic sources tell the story – worthy of a *romancero*, or Spanish ballad – of how Count Julian had left his daughter in the keeping of Roderic, the Visigothic king of Spain, and of how Roderic had ravished her; Julian's revenge was to help the Muslims invade Spain.

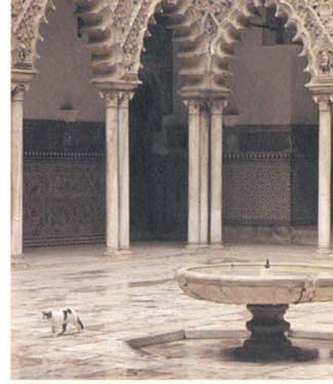
Not only did he lend the Muslims four ships, but he drew them a map of the country, indicating the Gothic weak points, and entered into a conspiracy with two brothers of Witiza, Sisiberto and Oppas, who commanded the right and left wings respectively of Roderic's army. In the key battle, in a place the Arabic sources call al-Buhayrah, "the lake," near Algeciras, Sisiberto and Oppas deserted their commander, and Julian's revenge was complete. When the invaders searched among the dead, after the battle, for Roderic's body, they found nothing but his white horse with its golden, jewel-studded saddle, a cloak woven of gold thread and embroidered with pearls and rubies, and one of Roderic's sandals.

Tariq sent the Greek freedman Mughith to Córdoba (in Arabic, Qurtubah), to secure his rear, while he himself followed the Roman road to the Visigothic capital at Toledo (Tulaytulah), via the old Roman towns of Egabro, Tucci, Aurgi, Salaria, Laminium and Consabura. By the winter, almost all the important urban centers of Visigothic Spain had fallen to the invaders. There was one exception: the large and important city of Spalis.

Musa himself crossed the Strait of Gibraltar in July 712, exactly a year after Tariq. He was accompanied by a number of Gothic nobles, 18,000 troops – largely Arab – and his son 'Abd al-'Aziz. They landed at Jabal Tariq – Gibraltar – and then moved on to "The Green Peninsula," as the Arabs called Algeciras. "I don't want to follow the same route as Tariq," said Musa to Julian: "I don't want to follow in his footsteps." "We will show you a road more noble than that taken by Tariq, and cities of greater importance which will yield more booty, as they have never been conquered," replied the Gothic nobles.

So Musa and his 18,000 troops took Shadhuna – now Medina Sidonia – and then Carmona, the most heavily fortified city in Andalusia, whose ramparts date back to Carthaginian times. With Carmona in his hands, the way was clear for Seville, "which city," says al-Maqqari, whose account we are following, "was the most important in Andalusia, with the most wondrous architecture and ancient monuments. Before the coming of the Goths it had been the capital, but the Goths transferred the capital to Toledo, while the ecclesiastical hierarchy remained in Seville."

The city held out against Musa for several months, then capitulated. The Goths fled to Beja, where they regrouped. Musa entered Spalis with his son 'Abd al-'Aziz, who governed the city while Musa pursued the remains of the Gothic army to the north. The Jews of Spalis, who had helped in the conquest, were stationed in the citadel under the command of Arab officers.



Spalis – or Ishbiliyah, as it now came to be called – was the richest city in Andalusia. It is probable that Tariq had been told to leave its conquest to his commanding officer, and that the Goths who helped the Muslim invaders hoped to preserve the city by arranging for it to fall into the hands of Musa ibn Nusayr rather than to Tariq and his Berber troops.

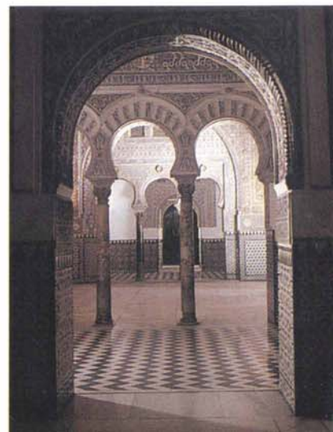
This is partly borne out by the fact that Musa's son 'Abd al-'Aziz married Roderic's widow, Egilona, called Umm 'Asim in the Arabic chronicles. Egilona, not comprehending the egalitarian nature of Arab society, was appalled that her new husband did not insist on the trappings of kingship. Why did he not wear a crown? Why did his officers not bow down in his presence? 'Abd al-'Aziz told her that these things were forbidden by his religion; one source says that she prevailed on him to make the door leading to his audience chamber very low, so that people entering would at least have to stoop.

These stories are almost certainly apocryphal, but they may well reflect the kind of cultural misunderstandings that arose in early times between conquerors and conquered. These stories about 'Abd al-'Aziz and Egilona also contain echoes from the life of Alexander the Great, whose troops grumbled when he began to adopt Persian court ceremonial and became increasingly remote to his men. 'Abd al-'Aziz, in fact, was assassinated by his troops five years after being appointed.

Ishbiliyah was the capital of al-Andalus for three years, between 713 and 716 – the first Arab capital in Spain.

The city Musa conquered was essentially a Roman city. The Vandals, led by Gunderic, had brutally sacked it in 426 and the basilica, which probably occupied the site of the present cathedral or the nearby Patio de las Banderas, was "vandalized" and desecrated. Yet the Vandals only occupied the city for three years before moving to greener pastures in North Africa.

The Goths arrived in Spain towards the middle of the sixth century, and in 589 the Visigothic king Hermenegild was converted to Catholicism from the Arian heresy. Spalis became, largely through the efforts of Isidore of Seville, the leading intellectual center of Spain – although the barbarous times meant that intellectual activity was of a rudimentary nature. The written language was Latin, but by the eve of the Arab invasion the Hispano-Roman population already spoke a prototype of Spanish, as can be seen from the occasional Romance, or



Previous spread: Islamic tradition endures in the Court of the Maidens, heart of Seville's Alcázar, built mostly under Christian rule by Muslim artisans. Above left: Seville is viewed from Triana. Device at top: Wrought iron in the Alcázar bears God's name in Arabic.

Decoration in the Court of the Maidens, upper right, strongly resembles that of the Alhambra in Granada. At right is a view of the Alcázar's Hall of the Ambassadors.

'ajami, word in the Arabic chronicles. It is doubtful if Witiza and his family spoke Gothic at all; the language Sara spoke was almost certainly Romance.

Despite Gothic and Christian changes to the Roman city, Spalis, when Musa took it in 712, was in a relatively good state of preservation, with forum, senate, theaters, temples, baths and gymnasiums – these latter in ruins – arcades, grid-patterned streets and aqueducts. The well-to-do classes would have worn the regulation military-style short cloak, the *chlamys*, clasped at the right shoulder by a *fibula*. Some old men of the senatorial class may even have still been wearing the toga.

Musa and his Arab troops would have been familiar with Roman cities from Syria and North Africa: They must have ridden through the magnificent ruins of Leptis Magna and Thuburbo Majus. But Spalis would have

been the first Roman city the Muslims saw with most of its buildings and even some of its institutions intact.

In the first decades of the eighth century, Islam was still a very recent phenomenon. The characteristic forms of Islamic architecture had not yet been fully elaborated, although the extraordinary building programs of the Umayyad caliphs, particularly al-Walid, Hisham and al-Walid II, were already producing civil, religious and military buildings with features that can be called typically Islamic. Roman forts in the Syrian desert – many of them built by Trajan, most famous native son of Hispalis – as well as Hellenistic and Sassanian models, all influenced the people who were to build the Alcázar of Seville and the Alhambra of Granada.

The early Muslim community thus physically inherited much from late antiquity, as indeed it did intellectually. But Islamic revelation and Islamic law were very different from Christianity and Roman or Visigothic law. At the same time as the *shari'ah*, or Islamic law, was being codified and elaborated, Islamic architectural forms took on a specifically Islamic grammar of structure and vocabulary of ornament. At the same time too, the Arabic language itself was being extensively studied by the grammarians of Basra and Kufa so that it might be extended throughout the *ummah*, the community of believers. The Muslim, and the city he lived in, began to take on a personality that could be confounded with no other. Religious belief and practice, law, dress, language, food, system of taxation and personal relations – all these and a thousand other details began to coalesce and mark off Islamic civilization from any other. There were strong regional variants of this civilization, and one of these arose in al-Andalus. The Arabs in Spain arrived with little more than their religion and their language, and created an enduring civilization.

We know very little of the beginnings of this process, in that period when Ishbiliyah was governed by Umayyad officials under the authority of the governor of North Africa. Musa's son 'Abd al-'Aziz wrote to friends and relations in Syria, and perhaps as many as 13,000 people made their way to al-Andalus as a result, and were assigned estates in and around the city. This process presumably continued after 'Abd al-'Aziz's assassination, but it is impossible to form any exact idea of the numbers involved. The vast majority of the local population – its size equally unknown – was Christian, both in Seville and in the countryside. As time went on, many of these people became Muslims and were called *muwalladun* – plural of *muwallad*, "one born [in Spain]" or "one born [of a mixed marriage]," referring to Muslims of Spanish ancestry – as opposed to the conquerors, who came from without.

Those who remained Christian, with the legal status of *dhimmis* – members of a protected religious minority with a revealed scripture – were called *musta'ribun*, plural of *musta'rib*, a word which has gone into Spanish as *mozárabe* and into English as Mozarab. In Arabic it simply means "arabized," or "would-be Arab," for this community, dwelling as it did in what was now a Muslim land, came to share many of the features of the dominant civilization. The Mozarab community retained Latin as its liturgical language and was bilingual in Arabic and Spanish. Its members were under the authority of their bishop, and legal cases within the community came under their own law; cases involving conflict with Muslims were tried under the *shari'ah*. The Mozarab community of Seville was large and important, particularly during the first three centuries or so of Muslim rule.

In later centuries, when the Christian *reconquista* began to roll the frontier back toward the south, the position of the Mozarabs worsened. Under the Almoravids (al-Murabitun) and Almohads (al-Muwahhidun), many crossed into Christian territory, and by the time Ishbiliyah fell to Fernando III in 1248 there were few if any Christians in the city. Yet the Mozarabs still had an important cultural role to play: Their knowledge of Arabic and their familiarity with Muslim society made them ideal purveyors and interpreters of Muslim science and culture to Europe.

Previous spread: Islamic-style gardens, such as these at the Alcázar, remain popular in Seville, and throughout Spain, to this day. Above left: A short section of the old city walls, dating from Almohad times, survives in the Macarena quarter.

The Jewish community in Ishbiliyah was very large too; again it is not possible even to guess at its size. It possessed at least four synagogues when the city fell to the Christians, and by that time its size had been much reduced. The Jews had suffered severely under the Visigoths and welcomed the Muslim conquerors. We have already seen how Musa ibn Nusayr left the city in their hands while he pursued the remains of the Visigothic army to the north. Because of their help, the Jews received very favorable treatment under Muslim rule, rising to high office in the political sphere and, in the intellectual, making important contributions, particularly in medicine.

Like the Mozarabs, the Jews of Ishbiliyah spoke and wrote Arabic as well as Spanish, using Hebrew as their liturgical language. During the 10th and 11th centuries, with the revival of Hebrew studies, original works were even composed in Hebrew, including poetry set to the meters established for classical Arabic. *Dhimmis* like the Christians, the Jews were ruled by their own law. When Ishbiliyah was taken by the Christians, the Jews were grouped in three or four contiguous *barrios*, near the Alcázares Reales, or royal palace; there is no real evidence that they were so grouped during Islamic times. Their position, like that of the Mozarabs, worsened with the *reconquista* and the Christian struggles against the Almoravids and the Almohads, and the Jews were required to wear distinctive clothing, like the Mozarabs, to mark them off from the Muslims.

Jews and Mozarabs partook so largely in the dominant culture of al-Andalus that Jewish and Mozarab poets are included as a matter of course in the *Mughrib fi Hula al-Maghrib*, the exhaustive anthology of Andalusian poetry and song compiled over a period of 115 years by six different authors and finally "published" in the 13th century. There is no way of telling the religious affiliation of the poets from their verse, which obeys the strict canons of the classical Arabic poem. It is only by delving into the anthology's editorial notes that we learn these men were *dhimmis*.

The presence of two significant non-Muslim communities in early Ishbiliyah contributed to the complexity of the urban texture. But within the Muslim community itself there was even greater variety. The first wave of conquerors settled on the estates belonging to Sara the Goth, many of which dated back to the Roman *latifundia*. However, the Arabs of the Arabian peninsula had been divided into northern and southern tribes since pre-Islamic times. Sara's second husband, of Lakhmid origin, was a southern – a "Yemeni," as they were called in Spain, because the tribe of Lakhm was considered to be of Yemeni origin. Although these groupings, with their rather fictional origins, were full of complex internal alignments, they could nevertheless cohere in the face of real or imagined threats from the opposing group. Ishbiliyah was a predominantly "Yemeni" city, and during the early years of settlement there were a number of rebellions against "northern" rule.

Another complication arose in 742, when large numbers of Arab regular soldiers from Syria Palestine were settled in the major cities of al-Andalus. Syrians from the *jund*, or military forces, of Hims, ancient Emessa, were allotted to Ishbiliyah and its province. This must inevitably have led to conflicts with the original settlers, but the presence of such numbers of native speakers of Arabic, on the other hand, must also have hastened the process of arabization and helped to repopulate the countryside around Ishbiliyah, depopulated in the terrible famine of the years 708 to 710 in which, the Arab chronicles say, more than half the population perished. Then there were the Berbers who took part in the conquest, men of the Moroccan Rif and the Middle Atlas. Like the Arabs, they were divided into two groups, each with an eponymous ancestor. These groups were called al-Butr

and al-Baranis. Modern scholars have suggested that these two words actually refer to the characteristic garb of the two groups, the al-Butr wearing the short cloak still worn by some tribes in the Moroccan highlands and the al-Baranis – the word is the Arabic plural of *burnus* – wearing the long cloak of that name. The word *burnus*, like the long cloak itself, is ultimately of Greek origin.

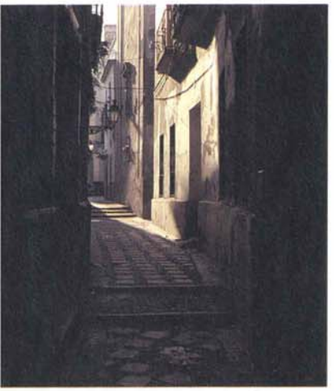
Ishbiliyah's political dependence on North Africa ended with the great event of the eighth century: the arrival in al-Andalus of the Umayyad prince 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Mu'awiyah ibn Hisham on August 14, 755. His family, which had ruled the Muslim world from Damascus since 661, had been overthrown by a revolutionary movement which began in far-off Khurasan and took power in 750; the line of Abbasid caliphs, with their new capital of Baghdad, then began. 'Abd al-Rahman, who survived the general massacre of his family, fled to the west and succeeded in establishing a dynasty that ruled Spain until 1031.

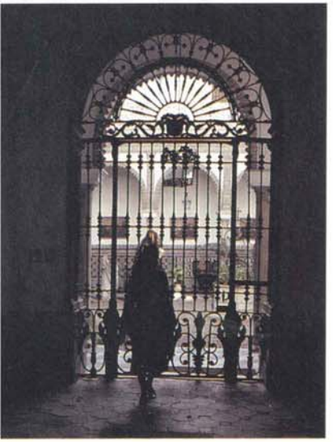
The Umayyads' capital was Córdoba, and a number of brilliant rulers established the city as one of the leading

The Patio of the Orange Trees, above right, like the famous Giralda minaret, is a surviving element of Seville's Great Mosque, built by the Almohads from 1172-1176.

centers of Islamic culture in the world. Ishbiliyah, although not the capital, was the richest and most powerful city in Umayyad al-Andalus.

'Abd al-Rahman I, the founder of the dynasty, had almost impeccable credentials. He was a prince from a dynasty that ruled – usually well – for almost a century. His daring escape from Abbasid assassins and his journey to the west were the stuff of romance, and his youth added to his luster. By a curious quirk of history, he had Berber blood: His mother was of the Nafza tribe of al-Butr, and 'Abd al-Rahman was thus a blood relation of Tariq ibn Ziyad, first conqueror of Spain; this Berber connection may have gained him support among the Berbers of the peninsula. Yet Yusuf al-Fihri, the governor of Seville at the time of 'Abd al-Rahman's "entry," resisted him and was driven from the city. He counter-attacked several years later, in 758, but was again defeated. There were a number of other "Yemeni" rebellions against 'Abd al-Rahman's attempts to extend his authority over Ishbiliyah: Even at this early date the city had no wish to be dominated by Córdoba, for the heterogeneous elements of the population were beginning to think of themselves as "Sevillians" and to fight to protect their interests. The sporadic rebellions culminated in a joint Berber and Yemeni insurrection in 771. 'Abd al-Rahman marched against the city with his two sons, Hisham and Sulaiman, and effectively put an end to it. After this date we hear no more of Yemeni rebellions; Ishbiliyah was governed by officials appointed by the court at Córdoba, and for almost a hundred years enjoyed relative peace.





It was during these hundred years that Ishbiliyah began to be transformed from a Roman to an Islamic city. The first congregational mosque was built in Ishbiliyah in 829, and marked the beginning of the transformation. This was the mosque of 'Umar ibn 'Adabbas, whose foundation inscription reads: "May God have mercy on 'Abd al-Rahman ibn al-Hakam, the just prince, the rightly-guided by God, who ordered the construction of this mosque under the direction of 'Umar ibn 'Adabbas, qadi of Ishbiliyah, in the year 829..." This is the oldest surviving Arabic inscription from al-Andalus. A copy of the inscription can be seen today above the cloister entrance of the church of San Salvador, which occupies the site of this earliest Sevillian mosque. The cloister itself is bounded on one side by columns and arches from the ninth-century mosque, so deeply imbedded in the ground that only the tops of the columns are now visible. No other site in Seville gives so graphic an idea of how much time separates us from the Islamic past of the city.

'Abd al-Rahman ibn al-Hakam ruled al-Andalus from 822 to 852. In 844, only 15 years after the founding of the mosque of 'Umar ibn 'Adabbas, the Vikings landed on the coasts of Galicia and Portugal. They had suddenly appeared off the Atlantic coast, with 24 longboats and a large number of supply vessels. During the first days of September, the ships arrived off Cádiz (Qadis); the Vikings then sacked Sidonia and began to sail up the Guadalquivir (al-Wadi al-Kabir) towards Ishbiliyah. They camped at a place called Jazirat Qabtal, probably not far from Sanlúcar de Barrameda, sacking and burning the countryside as they went. By the end of the month they were in the little town of Coria del Río, only 20 kilometers (12 miles) from Ishbiliyah. The next day they attacked the potter's quarter outside the city. Mad with bloodlust, they entered Ishbiliyah that night and raped and killed indiscriminately for the next two days. Men, women and children were put to the sword – even domestic animals and pet birds were killed. They tried to set the roof of the mosque of 'Umar ibn 'Adabbas on fire with flaming arrows, but lost interest when it refused to catch. A few survivors escaped the massacre by fleeing to Carmona.

'Abd al-Rahman ibn al-Hakam sent his best general, Muhammad ibn Rustum, to the relief of Ishbiliyah. After a number of inconclusive battles, including one that took place inside the city, the Vikings retreated. Muhammad ibn Rustum succeeded in cutting them off from their ships, anchored in the river, and the Muslims killed 500 Vikings, and captured four ships laden with booty.

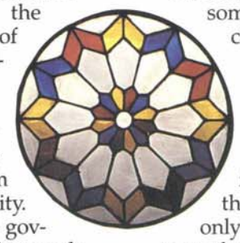
Various Viking contingents had meanwhile scattered through the countryside, looting and killing, particularly in the little agricultural towns of the Aljarafe, the fertile farm land in the hills north of the city. 'Abd al-Rahman decided to fight them on their own terms, and sent 15 boats downriver to Ishbiliyah. The Vikings fled, ravaging both banks of the river as they went, and vanished as suddenly as they had come.

The Viking attack showed the people of Ishbiliyah how vulnerable they were and led to the fortification of the city. The old Roman walls had long ago crumbled, so 'Abd al-Rahman built the first Islamic defenses. The circuit of walls and heavily fortified gates was many times extended and rebuilt in the following centuries, and survived until the 1840's, when the walls were for the most part torn down. A short section, dating from Almohad times, survives in the Macarena quarter, and a number of private homes in modern Seville contain sections of the Islamic defensive walls in their interiors, sometimes exposed to view.

A stained-glass window in Seville's San Lorenzo church, on the facing and following pages, employs an Islamic geometrical pattern. Old Seville's narrow streets, above left, are reminiscent of those in North African towns. The Spanish mantilla, lower left, is a reminder of the Muslim veil.

The wealth of Ishbiliyah was based on the agricultural production of the Aljarafe, especially grain, olive oil, fruit and vegetables, as well as on foreign and domestic trade. The city was thus a rich prize for the ambitious warlords of al-Andalus, and after the century of peace imposed by 'Abd al-Rahman there were attempts even by groups within the city to wrest control of Ishbiliyah and the surrounding countryside from the Umayyads of Córdoba. We know of one such attempt by the wealthy *muwallad* leader Muhammad ibn 'Umar ibn Khattab ibn Angelino, who revolted in 889. As can be seen by his name, he was descended from the pre-Islamic Angelino family.

More powerful were the two Yemeni clans, the Banu Hajjaj and the Banu Khaldun. The Banu Hajjaj, as we have seen, were in part descended from Sara the Goth, and controlled much of the richest land in the province of Ishbiliyah. The Banu Khaldun – from whom the historian and sociologist Ibn Khaldun descended – had a well-fortified castle in the Aljarafe, called the Tower of the Banu Khaldun. In the late ninth century, the chief of the clan, Kurayb, revolted against the Umayyads. He took Ishbiliyah and put many of the Banu Angelino to the sword. The rebellion was only put down with difficulty.



The Banu Hajjaj and the Banu Khaldun were so numerous and powerful that there was little Córdoba could do but give them de facto authority over Ishbiliyah and let them fight over who would take supreme authority. The Banu Hajjaj prevailed, and for a while governed Ishbiliyah independently of the Umayyads, with every prerogative of royalty but one: They did not strike their own coins. Yet the Umayyad ruler 'Abd al-Rahman III was no man to trifle with. The last independent governor of Ishbiliyah, Ibn Maslamah, of Lakhmid origin, was reduced to seeking the aid of the rebel and apostate 'Umar ibn Hafsun, but to no avail: The Umayyad chamberlain Badr entered the city on December 7, 913. He followed a wise and clement policy toward supporters of the Banu Hajjaj – among other measures, he left the gates of the city open and unguarded for a night, so warriors who had taken refuge in the mountains could return unseen to their houses – and during the next few days he enrolled them in the cavalry with pay and pension. 'Abd al-Rahman personally appointed the high officials who subsequently governed Ishbiliyah, and for almost a hundred years Ishbiliyah again enjoyed peace and tranquility. The Umayyad ruler ensured that this would be so by tearing down the newly-built city walls, making it difficult if not impossible for a rebellious lord to hold the city against the central government.

The last we hear of the Banu Hajjaj and the Banu Khaldun is toward the end of the 10th century; by this time the two leading members of the clans were little more than robber barons. The future lay with an unrelated family, the Banu 'Abbad. They were of Lakhmid origin, and had entered Spain with Syrian *jund* in 743, one branch settling in Seville and the other in the little river-ain town of Tocina. The family was not of noble origins, but very rich, and owned one-third of the land in the environs of Ishbiliyah. Isma'il, the real founder of the dynasty, was one of the most respected men in western al-Andalus; he had protected Ishbiliyah from a Berber assault in the years when the power of the Umayyads was waning. He was a religious scholar and a *qadi*, or Islamic judge, and so was his son Abu al-Qasim, who inherited his father's firmness and rectitude. Abu al-Qasim became the supreme authority in Ishbiliyah in 1023, just before the final collapse of the Umayyads and the beginning of the period of *muluk al-tawa'if* – the faction kings.

This term had great historical resonance for the Arabs. It had long been used by Muslim historians to describe the state of affairs that followed the death of Alexander the Great, when the empire he had founded in so short a time was distributed among his successors. Just as Alexander's empire had been divided among Seleucids and Ptolemies, al-Andalus shattered into local dynasties, some Arab and some Berber, centered on the cities and each trying to control as much surrounding countryside as it could.

Defense was Abu al-Qasim's priority. He formed a mercenary corps of Berbers, Arabs, *muwalladun* and blacks. It was small – no more than 500 cavalry – and at first insufficient to deter a determined foe. Attacked by the Berber chieftain Birzali, Abu al-Qasim was only able to save Ishbiliyah by rendering up his son as hostage – an act that won him great respect, for he had put the safety of his city before that of his family.

The Umayyad caliphate was officially abolished in 1031, and from that date the qadi Abu al-Qasim ruled Ishbiliyah as an absolute monarch. He justified his claim to rule by spreading the rumor that he was governing in the name of Hisham II, legitimate claimant to the Umayyad succession, and that Hisham was hidden in his palace, under his protection. Hisham II had in fact died in mysterious circumstances 20 years before, but the fiction served to rally all the diverse elements of city and countryside to his banner, for in those uncertain times any vestige of continuity with a more stable past was eagerly seized. By the time the ruse was discovered, as it inevitably was, the Banu 'Abbad were so firmly established in western al-Andalus that it scarcely mattered.

Abu al-Qasim died in 1042 and was succeeded by his son 'Abbad, who took the throne name of al-Mu'tadid. Ishbiliyah now dominated western al-Andalus – indeed, al-Mu'tadid's sphere of influence reached to the Atlantic coast of Portugal. An aggressive ruler, al-Mu'tadid's technique was to eliminate the opposition before it had time to organize, and one by one he absorbed Granada (called Gharnatah in Arabic), Badajoz (Batalyaws) and the little kingdoms of western al-Andalus: Niebla (Lablah), Silves (Shilb) and Huelva (Walbah).

Al-Mu'tadid then turned his attention to the south, annexing Morón (Mawrur), Ronda (Runda), Arcos (Arkush) and Jerez (Sharish) by the simple procedure of inviting their rulers to a banquet and having them suffocated in the bathhouse. In 1067 he finally took Carmona (Qarmuna), one of the most strongly fortified cities in al-Andalus and a perpetual thorn in the side of Ishbiliyah.

Al-Mu'tadid was a brilliant, treacherous, highly literate and sadistic ruler. His son Isma'il, under the influence of an evil counselor, twice rebelled against his father. He was pardoned the first time; the second, his father personally killed him.

Toward the end of his reign the kingdom of Ishbiliyah, now of great extent, was attacked by Fernando I, king of Castile. The Christian armies sacked and burned almost to the gates of the city; their numbers were such that al-Mu'tadid could save his realm only by becoming tributary to Castile; each year thereafter large sums of gold coins were delivered to the Christian monarch. Al-Mu'tadid died in 1069, embittered by this humiliation.

Unusually for the time, the succession was smooth. His son Abu al-Qasim Muhammad, who took the throne name al-Mu'tamid, was 30 years old and already an accomplished statesman. His father had made him governor of Huelva at the age of 11; at 14 he led an army against Silves, and nine years later he was named that city's governor. He was perhaps the most accomplished poet of his age. His closest friend was Ibn 'Ammar, also a fine poet, but an even more accomplished intriguer. Al-Mu'tamid's father had disapproved of their friendship, and exiled Ibn 'Ammar. As soon as al-Mu'tamid came to the throne, he appointed Ibn 'Ammar prime minister.

Al-Mu'tamid was just as concerned with expanding the kingdom of Ishbiliyah as his father had been. He succeeded in occupying Córdoba, Ishbiliyah's ancient enemy, and appointed his son Siraj al-Dawlah, "Lamp of the State," its governor. He then turned to the rich kingdom of Murcia (Mursiyah), governed by an independent Arab ruler. The sinister Ibn 'Ammar formed an alliance with the count of Barcelona; the joint armies of Ishbiliyah and Christian Barcelona besieged Murcia. Once it was captured, however, Ibn 'Ammar made himself master of Murcia, betraying his friend and lord, and made matters worse by circulating a scurrilous poem about al-Mu'tamid. Then he was betrayed in his turn, by one of his generals, and had to seek asylum at the Castilian court, where Alfonso VI was already contemplating the further reduction of al-Mu'tamid's territory.

The perfect opportunity to attack presented itself when al-Mu'tamid killed Ibn Shalib, the Jewish treasurer of Alfonso, sent to Ishbiliyah to collect the annual tribute. Alfonso quickly retaliated, invading the Aljarafe, burning the villages and enslaving the inhabitants. He besieged Ishbiliyah for three days and raided throughout al-Mu'tamid's territory. It was now obvious that the faction kings would never be able to bury their differences and unite against the invader. Al-Mu'tamid and the rulers of Badajoz and Granada agreed that the only way to prevent the Christian takeover of al-Andalus was to seek the help of the powerful Almoravid leader Yusuf ibn Tashufin and his army of veiled Sanhaja Berbers.

These warrior monks belonged to a reform movement that began in Africa, on the Senegal River; their puritan ideals found wide acceptance among the Sanhaja of the Sahara, whom the Arab historians of al-Andalus referred to as the *mulaththamun*, "the veiled ones," from their habit of covering their mouth and nose with their head cloth, as do their modern descendants, the Tuareg.

The fall of Toledo in 1085 made immediate action imperative. The Almoravids crossed into Spain the following year and inflicted a terrible defeat on Alfonso VI at al-Zallaqah. Ishbiliyah no longer had to pay tribute to the Christians, and al-Mu'tamid's lands were now protected by Yusuf ibn Tashufin's superb warriors.

Yusuf ibn Tashufin returned to Morocco soon after the victory of al-Zallaqah. In 1089, al-Mu'tamid once again solicited his help at the siege of the castle of Aledo, held by the Castilians, and once again Yusuf agreed to help. But the siege was a disaster; the quarrels of the faction kings put Yusuf's troops in serious danger, while the religious scholars of Ishbiliyah and other cities complained to him of the illegal taxes levied to finance endless wars and of the plight of the common people. Yusuf decided it was time to put an end to the misrule.

In 1091 he captured Córdoba and took its governor, a son of al-Mu'tamid, prisoner. One by one the castles and fortified cities in al-Mu'tamid's domain fell to the Almoravid. Al-Mu'tamid, desperate, allied himself with Alfonso; the army sent to his aid was routed by the Almoravids. Ishbiliyah was besieged; the walls were breached on September 2, 1091. Al-Mu'tamid personally fought at the breach. The enemy entered the city on September 7 and Ishbiliyah was sacked. Al-Mu'tamid and his son al-Rashid held out for a time in the citadel, but finally surrendered.

Al-Mu'tamid and his family were borne away in black ships down the Guadalquivir. Ibn Labbana, a court poet, wrote a long elegy on his former master:

I will never forget that morning by the river.
I saw them herded onto the ships, like corpses
on the decks.
People gathered on both banks, sadly watching...
It was time to set sail; the women wept
And so did the men, calling out, "Goodbye!"
So many tears fell into the river, so much
Heartbreak sailed with those black ships.

The key to understanding the policies of al-Mu'tamid and his father is their passion for their native city. Even their constant attempts to enlarge their kingdom can be seen as preemptive strikes against potential aggressors.

This view of the port and city of Seville near the end of the 16th century, upper right, is said to be the work of Spanish court painter Alonso Sánchez Coello.

Ishbiliyah continued to be the capital of western al-Andalus under the Almoravids, who governed it for 56 years, from 1091 to 1147. By 1094, only three years after taking the city, the Almoravids ruled all of al-Andalus; it was not long before they had extended their sway to most of southern Portugal. Seville was governed during these years by relations of Yusuf ibn Tashufin. The most important of these was the first, Sir ibn Abi Bakr, who had been the general mostly responsible for the defeat of al-Mu'tamid and who had in turn to face the armies of Alfonso VI. These armies several times laid waste the Aljarafe and threatened Ishbiliyah itself, but the real threat to Almoravid power was another religious-political movement in Morocco: the al-Muwahhidun.

Beginning in 1121, the al-Muwahhidun – or Almohads – began dismembering the Almoravid state in the Maghrib. In 1146 they crossed into Spain. They took Seville the following year and made it their capital. It remained so almost until its final conquest by Fernando III, except for a brief interregnum when the administration was removed to Córdoba by the caliph 'Abd al-Mu'min. His successor, Abu Ya'qub Yusuf, came to the throne in 1163 and immediately returned it to Ishbiliyah, for he had governed the city years before and fallen in love with it. It is to him that we owe many of the surviving Islamic monuments of Seville.

The Almohad empire was huge, and Abu Ya'qub Yusuf was unable to stay permanently in Ishbiliyah until 1171. In that year he built a bridge of boats across the river, linking Ishbiliyah to Triana and the Aljarafe. Until that date, everything had been ferried across the river; it was not until much later that stone bridges were thrown across the Guadalquivir. The river was also given to frequent flooding; Abu Ya'qub Yusuf built a stone retaining wall along the left bank and began construction of the tower now called the Torre del Oro. He improved the water supply by building an aqueduct and made many other improvements to the infrastructure of the city.

But the construction of the Great Mosque and its minaret – now the cathedral and the Giralda – was the major work undertaken by Abu Ya'qub Yusuf, who began laying it out in the spring of 1172. He had already carried out the restoration of the old mosque of 'Umar ibn 'Adabbas and many smaller ones, but wanted a mosque large enough for all the faithful, and an unforgettable symbol of Almohad power. The site he chose probably lay inside the palace precincts at the time: A number of houses and buildings had to be demolished and their owners compensated. A team of craftsmen from every town in al-Andalus and from as far away as Marrakech was assembled, under the authority of the architect and engineer Ahmad ibn Basu. The task of organizing the huge body of workmen and the transportation of materials – much of the latter by ship from Morocco – must have been formidable, for the mosque had 17 naves and five cupolas. The most precious materials were used – marble, sandalwood, ebony, gold and silver. The first *khutba*, or pulpit address, was pronounced in April 1182, and it was only after the construction of the mosque itself that work began on the minaret (See page 32).

The last major Almohad work in Ishbiliyah is the Burj al-Dhahab – the Torre del Oro, or Golden Tower – now almost as much a symbol of Seville as the Giralda. Begun in 1220, toward the end of Almohad rule, it was built to protect the bridge of boats built by Abu Ya'qub Yusuf. A heavy chain was stretched across the river from the base of the tower to prevent enemy ships coming upriver, but this security measure lasted only a generation.

For even as the Torre del Oro was being built, Almohad power was weakening under the constant pressure from Castile, the enormous expense of a large army, a growing dissatisfaction among the people, the anti-Almohad rebellion of Ibn Hud, and then the final siege of Ishbiliyah by Fernando III. The Castilian fleet – using boats fitted with steel saws in their prows – broke through the chain across the Guadalquivir and burned the bridge, isolating the city from the Aljarafe. The people of Ishbiliyah, starved into submission, had no choice but to capitulate. The documents were signed on November 23, 1248; on the 22nd of December the last of the inhabitants left and the king of Castile and León entered Seville.

Five hundred years before, when Musa ibn Nusayr entered Hispalis, he had found himself in a Roman city with some Christian Visigothic additions. The impression the city then made on its conquerors echoed through both popular and learned Arab tradition, so magnificent were the vestiges of antiquity. When Fernando III entered Ishbiliyah in 1248, it had been transformed. Hardly a trace remained of Roman times: He found himself in an enchanted world of palaces, gardens, fountains and mosques, the Torre del Oro still clad in the gold-luster tiles that gave it its name. The Christians, even as they transformed the city in future centuries, would live under its spell. They still do today.

Historian and Arabist Paul Lunde, a frequent contributor to Aramco World, *makes his home in Seville.*

WRITTEN BY PAUL LUNDE

T·H·E GIRALDA

Modern Seville is a city of the Renaissance – the most Italian of Spanish cities, said a Venetian ambassador in the 16th century – and above all a city of the baroque, a style which may be regarded as the antithesis of traditional Islamic taste.

Yet the symbol of Seville, endlessly reproduced on everything from key chains to cookie boxes, is the Giralda: once the minaret of a huge congregational mosque, now the bell tower of Europe's third-largest cathedral. The Giralda dates back to the brief period between 1147 and 1229 when Ishbiliyah, as the city was known to the Arabs, was ruled by the North African Muslim dynasty called the Almohads (al-Muwahhidun), and under them became the capital of al-Andalus.

A great deal is known about the building of this mosque and its minarets, thanks to the chance survival of the second volume of a three-volume history of the Almohad dynasty entitled *al-Mann bil-Imamah* (*The Gift to the Imamate*). The author, Ibn Sahib al-Sala, was in the service of Almohad caliph Abu Ya'qub Yusuf and witnessed many of the events he describes. The manuscript, discovered in the Bodleian Library in Oxford in 1930, gives precious details of the caliph's building projects, including the names of the architects he used.

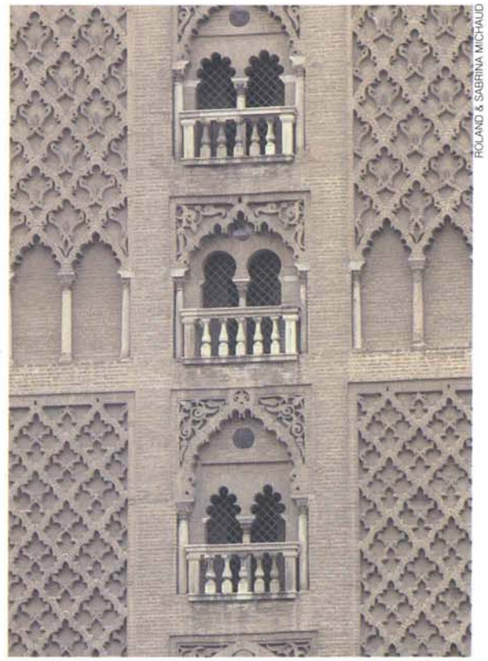
The chief architect of the mosque, and the man who laid the foundation of the minaret, was Ahmad ibn Basu. Ibn Sahib al-Sala says that in April 1172 "the Commander of the Faithful began to mark out the site of this noble and beautiful mosque. The houses near the gate of the palace precinct were demolished and the project put into the hands of the chief architect, Ahmad ibn Basu, and his colleagues, the architects and masons of Ishbiliyah. They were aided by all the other builders in al-Andalus, as well as those of Marrakech and Fez and other cities across the Strait [of Gibraltar]. They all came to Seville, along with various sorts of carpenters and sawyers and other craftsmen in great numbers, each with his own specialty."

The work went on for three years and 11 months, with the caliph personally supervising the project and visiting the site almost every day. When the huge mosque – as big as that in Córdoba – was finished and roofed, Yusuf was called back to his North African capital, Marrakech. Eight years passed before he returned to Seville.

When he did so, in 1184, it was to attack the well-defended Christian stronghold of Santarem. On the eve of this campaign, Yusuf ordered Seville's governor to build a minaret for the new mosque, but he did not live to see it. The caliph was killed in the Battle of Santarem and his son, al-Mansur, succeeded him.

Al-Mansur scrupulously carried out his father's last wish. Once again, Ahmad ibn Basu was named chief architect. He dug deep against the wall of the mosque and at a great depth discovered a spring, perhaps used in Roman times to supply water to the city. He blocked the spring with stone and laid the minaret's foundation above it. This must have been a long and difficult job, but one well done: The minaret has stood for eight centuries and survived a number of earthquakes.

Stones from the walls of an old palace nearby were used for the foundation. Some of these stones dated back to Visigothic or even Roman times, used and re-used in successive buildings. Two Roman dedication tablets, originally set up by an organization of sailors in the Roman town, are still visible at the base of the structure, and may have been placed there by the architect as a symbol of Islam's triumph over Roman lands.



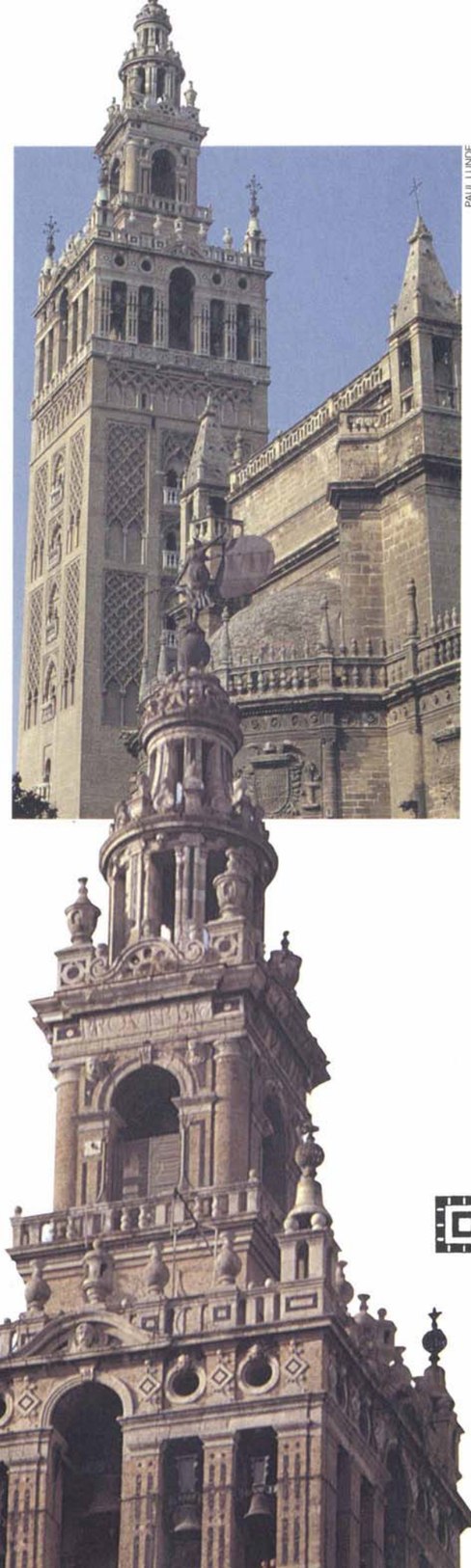
ROLAND & SABRINA MICHAUD

A view of the south face of the Giralda, left, shows the delicate tracery and traditional double windows of the original Almohad design. The balconies were later additions. Far left: This fuller view shows the Christian belfry and weathervane, set atop the minaret in the 16th century.

When the base of the tower had risen a few meters above ground, work suddenly ceased. Ibn Basu may have died, for when work recommenced in 1188, a new architect, 'Ali al-Ghumari, was in charge. Al-Ghumari decided to use baked brick instead of cut stone for the rest of the minaret, and the point of transition can still be clearly seen.

Unable to oversee the work personally, al-Mansur sent his trusted advisor, the famous physician and poet Abu Bakr ibn Zuhr – known in the Latin Middle Ages as Avenzoar – from Marrakech to supervise the project. Thus the Giralda is linked to one of the most famous names in Islamic Seville.

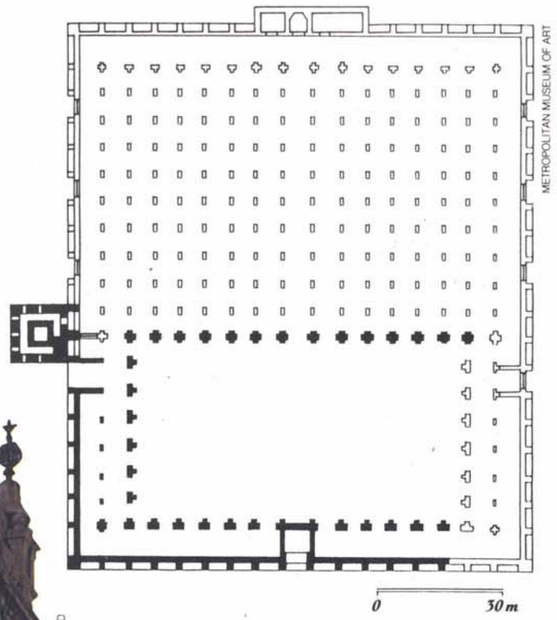
The outer surface of the minaret was decorated with a pattern of interlaced arches in raised brickwork, and glass panes were set in the windows.



PAUL LUNDE

TOR EIGELAND

The Giralda, once part of the Great Mosque, now serves as bell tower for a Gothic cathedral, right, completed in 1506. Of the original mosque, only the minaret, a wall, the Gate of Pardon and part of the Patio of the Orange Trees, depicted in the floor plan, lower right, remain. Immediate right: A closer view of the belfry.



METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

Access to the top was by a series of 34 gently sloping ramps. The central core consisted of seven rooms, probably used for storage or as quarters for guards, for the minaret also served as a watchtower.

In 1195, al-Mansur won a great victory against the forces of King Alfonso VIII in the Battle of Alarcos. To celebrate his triumph, he ordered four enormous gilded bronze balls – called "apples" – to be placed on the very top of the minaret. The metal balls were graduated in size, with the smallest at the top and the largest at the bottom. Their precise significance is not known, but three similar balls sit atop the minaret of the Kutubiyyah mosque in Marrakech, the largest of them two meters (six and a half feet) in diameter. The ones on the Giralda were much larger, but the exact dimensions are unknown, for they fell to the ground during an earthquake in 1356 and were smashed. King Alfonso the Wise, writing in the 13th century, says that the largest one, whose surface was divided into twelve deep "channels," was so immense that a gate had to be widened when it was brought into the city. All four were plated with gold under the supervision of the chief treasurer and in the presence of the caliph. They were then wrapped in soft cotton bast to protect them during handling.

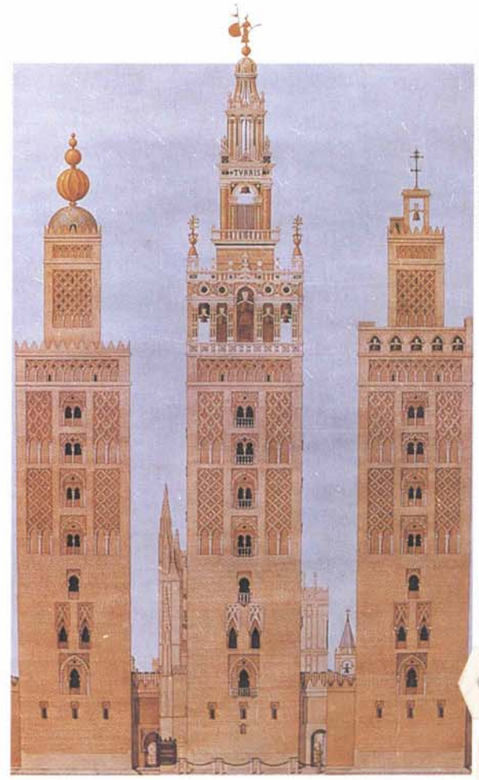
The four "apples" were moved quickly through the streets to the construction site. A Sicilian engineer named Abu Layth was given the job of hoisting them to the top of the Giralda; Ibn Sahib al-Sala is vague about how this was done. A vertical iron bar called a *jamur*, or "mast," and weighing 2835 kilograms (6250 pounds) had been installed on top of the Giralda. On March 10, 1198, before the caliph, court and people of Seville, the balls were lifted to the top of the minaret and threaded onto the *jamur*. More than 35 kilograms (77 pounds) of gold had been used to gild the "apples," and King Alfonso the Wise says that when the sun struck them, the reflection could be seen a full day's march from the city.

The completed minaret – not counting the *jamur* and its four golden apples – was 65 meters (213 feet) high and 14 meters (46 feet) on each side, comparable in size to the famous minaret of the Kutubiyyah mosque in Marrakech, which is 68 meters (223 feet) high and 13 meters (43 feet) wide. The Kutubiyyah minaret predates that of Seville, and Ahmad ibn Basu and his colleagues obviously had it in mind when constructing the Giralda. Another famous Almohad minaret is the Tour Hassan in Rabat, 50 meters (164 feet) high and 16 meters (52 feet) wide – an unfinished project begun in 1195 and originally intended to be the biggest in the world. Both the Kutubiyyah and the Tour Hassan are stylistically very similar to the Giralda. In all three, the restrained geometric decoration in raised brick expresses the austerity of the Almohad dynasty.

Although Seville has spread far beyond its medieval confines, the Giralda still towers above the city and can be seen from many miles away. From the top, on a clear day, one can see to Carmona and the plain of the Guadalquivir, and its towns and the far-off mountain ranges. The words of Ibn Sahib al-Sala are still true: "This minaret is beyond description ... because of its massive size, its deep foundations, the solidity of its brickwork, the extraordinary skill with which it is constructed and the amazing sight it presents – appearing to the traveler when he is several days from Seville as if it were suspended among the stars of the zodiac."

When Seville fell to the Christian armies in 1248, after a long siege, its Muslim inhabitants were forced to leave, and the mosque was transformed into a cathedral. Yet Christian Sevillians seem to have been as proud of the Giralda as the Muslims had been, for it often figures on coats of arms and other heraldic devices. Some of these date from before the earthquake of 1356 and show the four "apples" still in place.

In 1400, the first public clock in Spain was installed at the top of the Giralda, and a year later the decision was taken to build a "modern" – in this case, Gothic – cathedral on the site of the mosque. In the course of building the third largest cathedral in Christendom, most of the old Almohad structure was demolished. A section of the wall, the beautiful Patio of the Orange Trees, the Gate of Pardon, with its magnificent bronze-plated door, and the minaret were spared.



DIAPOSITIVAS ANDALUZAS, SEVILLE

Reconstructed at left are three stages in the life of the Giralda: The left tower is the Almohad minaret (1198), with its four gilded "apples"; the right tower, under Christian control (1400), is topped with a bell; the center tower (1568) features the renaissance belfry of Hernán Ruiz.

By the mid-16th century, Seville had become the richest city in Europe; all the gold and silver of the New World passed through it, first the wealth of the Aztecs and Incas, then the fabulous silver of Potosí (See *Aramco World*, May-June 1992). It was felt that some symbol of the city's new prosperity was required. The architect Hernán Ruiz, heavily influenced by Italian renaissance architecture, came forth with an ambitious design for increasing the height of the Giralda by 30 meters (100 feet) and turning the top into a bell tower. It is a tribute to the strength of the Almohad structure that it could support the added weight. Ruiz's bell tower was in turn surmounted by a colossal bronze statue representing Faith, called the *Giraldillo*, or weathervane, for it turns to indicate the direction of the wind. It is from this statue that the Giralda takes its name; before that, it was simply called "the tower" or *alminar* – the Spanish version of the Arabic word for "minaret."

In a very real sense, the Giralda presents a paradigm of the complex history of the city it adorns. Its foundations are Roman or possibly Carthaginian; the main body of the tower is Islamic, which in turn supports a renaissance structure built according to the norms of classical architecture. The complexity of the image makes it a fitting symbol of a city where classical, Christian and Muslim cultures met and merged.

SECOND FLOWERING

This antique Mexican wooden door, at the Franz Mayer Museum in Mexico City, employs Mudejar inlay technique, using ebony, cedar, mahogany, mother-of-pearl and other materials. The door was dated to the 19th century by one expert, but may be substantially older.

ART OF THE MUDEJARS

WRITTEN AND PHOTOGRAPHED BY MARÍA LUISA FERNÁNDEZ

Visigothic Spain was conquered by Muslim armies from North Africa in 711, and within varying territorial limits, Islamic rule continued in the Iberian Peninsula until 1492. However, many Muslims also lived and worked in Christian-held territory until as late as the 17th century; they were called Mudejars – in Spanish *Mudéjares*, probably from the Arabic *al-mudajjanun*, "those permitted to remain," with a suggestion of "tamed, domesticated," or perhaps from *al-muta'akhkhirun*, "those who stayed behind." It was during the 14th and 15th centuries that Islamic artistic and cultural influences flourished in the form of Mudejar art created in the service of Catholic kings and nobility.

In 1492, Christopher Columbus arrived in the New World; thereafter, many Mudejars, as well as Christian craftsmen who had inherited the techniques and art of Islamic decoration, migrated to the New World (See *Aramco World*, May-June 1992), transplanting both Mudejar art and its cultural patrons to Hispanic America, particularly during the 16th and 17th centuries.

Mudejar art and architecture derive from the Islamic art traditions of the Iberian Peninsula, but must be viewed through the prism of the *reconquista*. By comparing an important Islamic monument, such as the Alhambra Palace in Granada, with a Mudejar structure of similar scale and purpose, like the Alcázar of Seville, we can identify Mudejar elements that are most likely to appear in Hispanic-American colonial art.

From the 12th through the 15th centuries – when austere Cistercian monastic architecture and later the more decorative Gothic style were on the ascendant in Christian Spain, strongly reinforced by the *reconquista*, and Islamic art was about to expire in Granada – Mudejar art, heir of Islamic art traditions, flourished in Christian-held parts of Andalusia and other provinces of the peninsula.

The Alhambra (from the Arabic al-Hamra', the red [fortress]) was built during the reigns of two Nasrid rulers of the kingdom of Granada, Yusuf I and Muhammad V, in the 13th and 14th centuries. While it was being completed, King Pedro I of Castile, dubbed the Cruel, took over the old Almohad palace in Christian-held Seville in 1364 to build the Alcázar (from the Arabic al-Qasr, the palace). However, Pedro did not use either the Cistercian or Gothic styles in constructing his royal residence; instead, he ordered the use of lavish Islamic architectural ornamentation.

When Muhammad V finished construction of the Hall of Ambassadors in the Alhambra, Pedro I asked the sultan to lend him his artisans to build the so-called Hall of Justice at the Alcázar, in imitation of the Hall of the Ambassadors.

The Alcázar adheres to an Islamic plan, with open courtyards and fountains, recalling the Alhambra. The stucco and tile decoration and the extraordinary effects of light and shadow seen in the Alcázar echo those of the Nasrid palace. However, while the Alhambra bears Arabic inscriptions in an Islamic context, the Alcázar combines praises to God in Arabic with blessings invoked upon the Christian "Sultan" Don Pedro, and Gothic paintings and motifs alternate with Islamic patterns.

Why would a Christian ruler dedicated to driving the Muslims from Spain choose Islamic decoration for his palace? The cathedral of Seville was built by Christian architects, so there was no lack of qualified Christian craftsmen. The explanation, I believe, lies in the application of temporal power: Mudejar style was deliberately used to express the authority of Christian kings over subject minorities in terms the subjects could understand. By appropriating the Islamic artistic tradition, Pedro the Cruel was able to express notions of power, luxury and wealth familiar to his Muslim subjects. Islamic palaces and gardens, from Madinat al-Zahra' to the Alhambra, had a long, well-established tradition in the peninsula, providing a large and lavish repertoire of royal symbols. By contrast, Gothic architecture's symbolism had been developed solely for religious purposes.

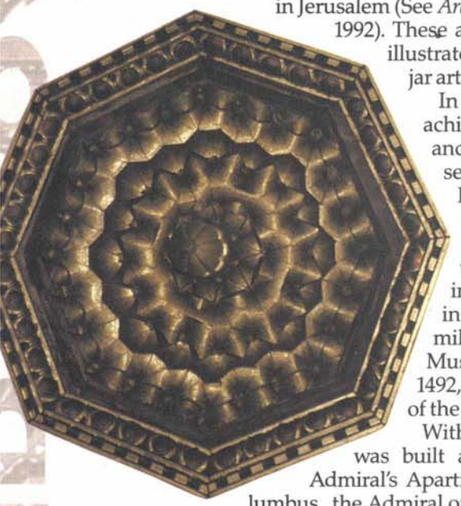
Mudejar ornamentation was occasionally applied to Christian religious monuments. From a theological point of view might sound rather contradictory. However, the reasons for incorporating an Islamic vocabulary in Catholic churches were similar to those that applied to the Alcázar. First, Islamic motifs were still meaningful to a population which for eight centuries had lived under Islamic rule; and secondly, Mudejar decoration revived the glories of an Islamic past, which had been appropriated by the Christian reconquest.

Despite the fact that the Spanish Inquisition received papal permission in 1479 to destroy Arabic manuscripts, Mudejar architecture exhibiting Arabic inscriptions and Islamic-style stucco and tile decoration continued to flourish in Christian-controlled territories.

The Alcázar of Seville was neither the first nor the only example of Mudejar architecture. The Alcázares of Carmona and Segovia, and a long series of civil buildings ordered by Pedro I, all followed the style of the Seville Alcázar. Mudejar ornamentation was even applied to Jewish architecture:

TOR EIGELAND

The Mudejar style retained its popularity into the 20th century. The Mudejar Pavilion, above, now a Seville museum, was built for an international exposition between 1911 and 1914.



A Mudejar wooden ceiling from the late 16th century, with gilded stalactites called *mocárabes* or *muqarnas*, below, crowns the apse of the main church of the San Francisco convent in Quito, Ecuador.

The synagogue in Toledo known as El Tránsito, built in 1355 by Samuel Ha-Levi, royal tax collector of Pedro the Cruel, in addition to traditional Hebrew inscriptions, also exhibits Arabic characters in praise of the Christian monarch.

Even after the Christian conquest of the kingdom of Granada in 1492, palatial Mudejar architecture remained fashionable in Andalusia, and its influence spread throughout the peninsula. The famous palace of Doña María de Molina and the Palace of Tordesillas, both in Valladolid, as well as the aristocratic House of the Knights of St. James in Córdoba, are remarkable examples of Mudejar architecture, both in design and ornamentation. Among the largest and richest private dwellings of the 16th century is the Mudejar-style House of the Marquis de Rivera in Seville, better known as the Casa de Pilatos, or House of Pilate – so-called because it copied features of the praetor's house in Jerusalem (See *Aramco World*, March-April 1992). These and many other palaces illustrate the flowering of Mudejar art in the peninsula.

In late 15th century, Seville achieved historical importance as the second royal seat – after Toledo – of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella. The many long sojourns of the Catholic monarchs in Seville reflected their interest in managing the military struggle against Muslim Granada and, after 1492, in administering affairs of the "Indian Continent."

Within the Alcázar of Seville was built a wing known as the Admiral's Apartments, named for Columbus, the Admiral of the Ocean Sea. Queen Isabella received the explorer in the Alcázar after his second voyage, and it was in the Admiral's Apartments, in 1503, that she established the Casa de Contratación, or House of Trade – the government department that regulated commerce with the New World.

The Alcázar, one of the most meaningful examples of Mudejar architecture in the peninsula, and the presence of an active Mudejar population in Seville, are important elements in understanding the transfer of Mudejar art and architecture to the New World.

Until the 15th century, historians make no mention of the existence of a special quarter (*aljama*) for Seville's Mudejars. But in 1483, the Cortés, or council, of Toledo, which had authority over Seville, insisted upon separating the Muslim and Jewish minorities from the Christian population. Documents show an apparent decline in the number of Mudejars; however, Seville's overall population did not decrease, leading one to conclude that instead of moving out, some Mudejars might have had themselves counted among the Christian population. Spanish historians have taken note of the various building activities of the Mudejar population. In 1420, some 200 Mudejars lived and worked in Seville as *alarifes* (master masons, from the Arabic *al-'arif*, foreman), carpenters, potters, and tile and glassmakers, suggesting an abundance of Mudejar craftsmanship in the city throughout the 15th century and particularly at the time of the discovery and conquest of the New World.

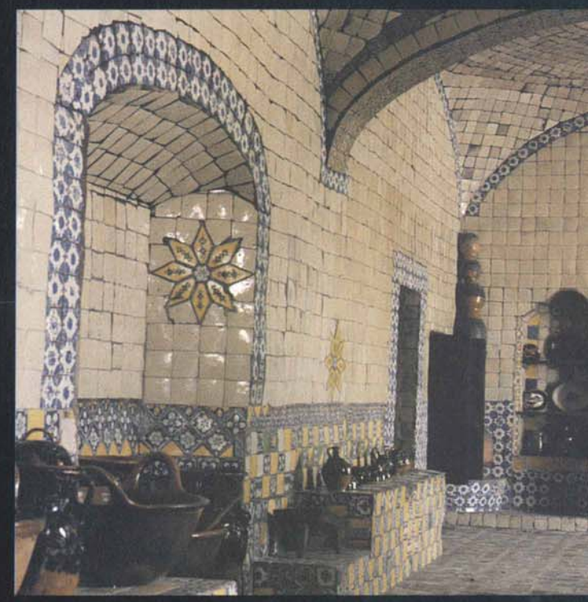
The conquistadors arrived in the Americas and established a colonial administration as soon as the physical conquest of the population was achieved in the first quarter of the 16th century. Then more Spaniards came to settle, cities were either reconstructed or founded, and a whole building enterprise began.

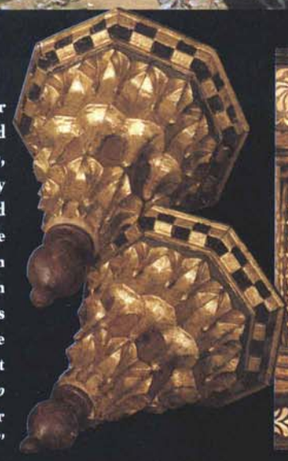
Franciscans, Augustinians and Dominicans were the first religious orders to settle in the New World, followed by the Jesuits. The orders founded large monasteries and churches in order to preach to, teach and control the Amerindian population, particularly in places where Indian religious practices were still strong. Once the viceroyalties of New Spain (Mexico and northern Central America), Peru (the Andean region), New Granada (Colombia and neighboring countries) and Río de la Plata (Argentina and its neighbors) had been consolidated, cathedrals – symbols of religious and civil power – were erected, according to plans drawn up by renowned Spanish and Italian architects. For provincial churches and small chapels, however, local authorities had to develop their own plans and make use of Indian and Mudejar craftsmanship. Converted Mudejars seemed to have been more competent, because they were familiar with church construction techniques back in Spain.

While experts have devoted considerable energies to the study of Spanish baroque art, little attention has been paid to the development and evolution of Mudejar decoration in Hispanic-American colonial architecture. But the role of Mudejar art in the New World was substantial, and should be viewed in the light of those converted Mudejars who arrived in the New World, the perceived urgent need to build churches and the evolution of Spanish policies.

During the first half of the 16th century, monastic orders permitted Indian and Mudejar artistic elements to mingle with European forms; they even allowed the Indians to hold traditional festivals in the large atriums of their monasteries. The Protestant reformation of the 16th century, however, put the Catholic Church on the alert against trends toward religious and cultural syncretism. The church and crown joined forces in promulgating a

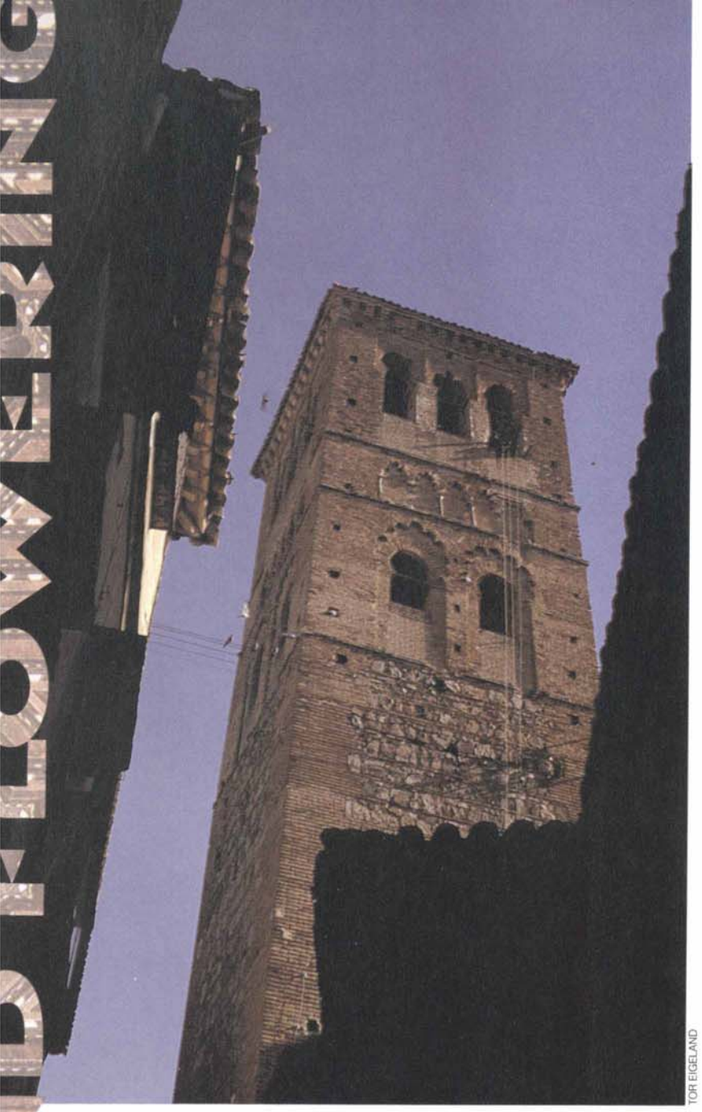
At left: The 18th-century Casa del Alfeñique in Puebla, Mexico, is Mudejar in its plan, central courtyard and tile decoration. Below: The Patio of Washington Irving in Seville is an example of a Mudejar-style central courtyard, an organizing unit in houses and cloisters.





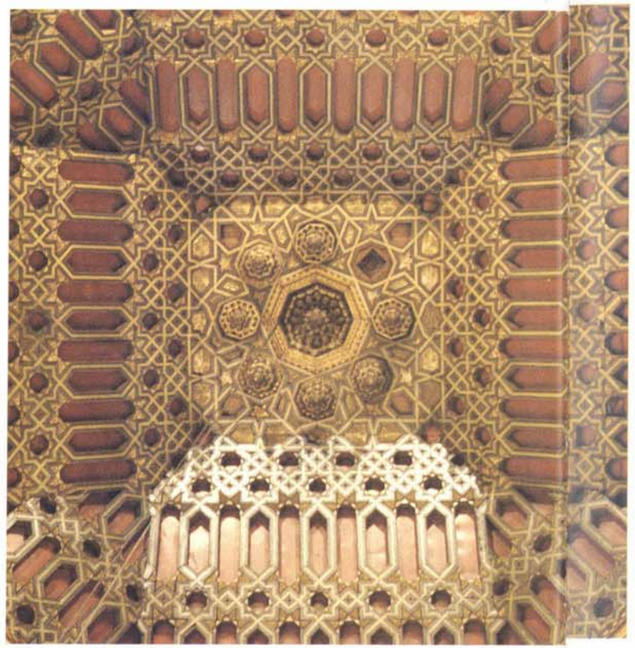
At right is a closer view of two gilded wooden *muqarnas*, after restoration by master mason and carpenter Jorge Haro, at the San Francisco church in Quito. These elements are part of the dramatic ceiling effect known as *"cielo mudéjar"* or "Mudejar heaven."

The enameled tilework in the kitchen of the Santa Rosa convent in Puebla, Mexico, above, is typical of Mudejar *azulejeria*. The 17th-century *bargueño*, or wooden chest, at left, from Quito's Museum of Colonial Art, is inlaid with wood and mother-of-pearl and shows Filipino-Mudejar influences.



TORI EIGELAND

The church of Santo Tomé in Toledo is noted for its distinctive 14th-century Mudejar tower, above. Across the Atlantic, at the church of Santo Domingo (1650) in Quito, right, a wooden Mudejar ceiling crowns the end of the central nave.



alfarjes – the Spanish word, from Arabic *al-furjah*, a space between two things, refers to wooden painted ceilings with elaborate decoration based on interlacing star-shaped polygons, yet interwoven with Christian iconography.

For ideological reasons, the Spanish church in the second half of the 16th century began barring the use of either Indian or Mudejar motifs in the ornamentation of religious structures, on the grounds that these forms could mislead the recently converted Indian population. In 1557 appeared the first set of *Ordenanzas para Pintores y Doradores* – Ordinances for Painters and Gilders – royal decree in 1543 forbidding Moorish, Jewish, Protestant and Gypsy immigration to the New World (See *Aramco World*, May-June 1992). In 1574, *Las Leyes y Ordenanzas Reales de las Indias del Mar Oceano* -- The Royal Laws and Ordinances of the Indies of the Ocean Sea – insisted that "all Berbers, male and female slaves, as well as Moors recently converted to Christianity, including their children, should be expelled from the Indies." The promulgation of these laws indicates that a considerable number of Mudejars were already living, legally or illegally, in the Spanish colonies.

Their presence explains why Mudejar ornamentation was profusely applied to 16th-century monasteries and churches throughout the viceroyalties, *reales audiencias* (high courts) and *capitanias* (provinces) created by Spain. In these territories, Mudejar art is represented by sumptuous in New Spain, which set limits on artists' portrayals of religious subjects. But these rules applied more to painting than to architectural decoration, where Mudejar techniques and ornament were allowed to mingle with the dazzling baroque of the 17th and 18th centuries.

The viceroyalty of New Spain was well-known for its *alfarjes*. The Franciscan church of Tlaxcala, the church of San Diego in Huejotzingo and the church of Tulancingo, the Franciscan cloister at Tzintzuntzan and the chapel of San Francisco in Uruapan (Puebla) feature the most beautiful examples of Mudejar ceilings.

Originally, the single nave of the 16th-century Cathedral of Mexico City was covered by a splendid Mudejar *alfarje*, but in the 17th and 18th centuries the entire church was transformed to a national baroque style.

The facade of the church of San Francisco in Quito, Ecuador, could be classified as sober baroque, in the style of Spanish architect Juan de Herrera, but its single nave is covered by a lavish "*cielo mudéjar*" (literally, "Mudejar heaven"), a ceiling exhibiting stars and hanging *mocárabes*, or stalactites. The original ceiling was severely damage by the earthquake of 1755, but was entirely reconstructed in the same style and with the same techniques by Indian craftsmen.

In *capitanias* such as Venezuela, most churches exhibit baroque facades and vaults, with contrasting Mudejar alfarjes in their lateral chapels. A baroque vaulting system is used to cover the three central naves of the Cathedral of Caracas, but its southwestern chapels exhibit wooden ceilings in the Mudejar style. Although heavily restored, the one crowning a rococo altarpiece shows elaborate, polychrome wooden interlaced work, echoing Spanish-Mudejar *alfarjes*.

A second major Mudejar contribution to Hispanic-American architecture is the patio, or central courtyard, designed as an organizing unit in houses and cloisters. Patios were often provided with a fountain and potted plants and were defined by arcades, following the Andalusian architectural tradition.

Central courtyards occur in convents and private dwellings of the Colonial period in Mexico City. Even closer to the Andalusian tradition are the patios found in provincial Mexican cities such as Puebla, Morelia and Mérida, and the Casa del Alfeñique in Puebla is among the most remarkable houses of the 18th century. Although its decoration is a Mexican version of baroque, its plan, central courtyard, and tile decoration exemplify the Mudejar artistic legacy.

The garden in front of the main facade of the Quinta de Anauco – a villa in Caracas built around 1797 and now housing the city's Museum of Colonial Art – is divided into four segments, and has a fountain at its center, following the Mudejar garden pattern. Moreover, the *estrado*, or hall with a platform, is perhaps the most conspicuous feature of this house. The estrado was the place reserved for women's informal activities. The platform was covered by an Oriental carpet spread with cushions, recalling Eastern reception rooms. Windows were provided with wooden screens that allowed light to enter but kept out the heat of the sun and prevented intruders from looking inside – like the *mashrabiyyah*, or wooden window screens, so commonly used in the Middle East.

Among the most important Mudejar techniques taught by the Spaniards to local craftsmen in the New World was the art of enameled tiling or *azulejería*, from the colloquial Arabic *al-zulaij*, meaning faïence or ornamental tile. Decorated tiles were often applied to fountains, walls, domes, niches, floors and building facades, following the tradition established by the Mudejars in the peninsula (See *Aramco World*, March-April 1992). However, the motifs displayed on these tiles were not always Mudejar; Italian artistic influences had also reached the Spanish colonies.

Building facades of the 17th and 18th centuries in Mexico City often display tile revetments, or derivations of Mudejar motifs mingled with baroque stone carving, as on the facade of the Casa de los Azulejos, or House of the Tiles, the former residence of the Conde del Valle de Orizaba. But the greatest concentration of buildings that feature tiles alternating with bricks is to be found in Puebla, about 75 miles southeast of Mexico City.

Wood-carving and inlay technique – setting tiny pieces of rare woods and ivory in furniture and other woodwork – was another Mudejar craft taught at *escuelas de artes y oficios*, or church craft schools, in Mexico. Just as in Mudejar Spain, Mexican artisans applied this technique to doors, pulpits and choir stalls.

Although Mudejar influences contributed to the formation of Hispanic-American colonial art, the original Islamic meaning underlying the art was essentially lost. The Mudejar style in the New World developed not in an Islamic but in a Christian-baroque and neo-Hispanic context.

In the 16th century, the ambitious building programs of the Catholic Church had created a need for master masons that Spanish architects were unable to satisfy. The church thus turned to trained – and inexpensive – Mudejar craftsmen. When the church had achieved its goal of converting the Indians, and baroque art had fulfilled its propagandistic task in Spain, the cathedrals of America were rebuilt in the nationalistic baroque style. Nevertheless, provincial chapels, churches and monasteries, particularly those far from urban centers, escaped the overwhelming pressure of the baroque, and Spanish-Mudejar forms did not vanish from the New World. Instead, they fused with local and other imported architectural elements, giving birth to Hispanic-American Mudejar art.

From the 16th through 18th centuries, there occurred a fascinating *mestizaje*, or blending, of local and imported styles in the arts of Hispanic America. An amazing variety of styles and elements were often incorporated in the same building over various historical periods. These styles – Spanish and Italian renaissance, mannerism, plateresque, local interpretations of Spanish-Mudejar techniques, baroque, churrigueresque, rococo, and Filipino-Mudejar influences coming out of the East, as well as indigenous artistic expressions – produced Hispanic-American hybrid styles unknown to the artistic repertoire of the Old World.

Professor María Luisa Fernández, the first Venezuelan to earn a doctorate in Islamic art history from Harvard University, teaches at Simón Bolívar University in Caracas.

This Mudejar motif is from the facade at the church of La Conchita in Coyoacán, near Mexico City. The Mudejar style thrived in smaller towns of colonial Latin America. Inside back cover: This 16th-century Mudejar ceiling in La Asunción church, Tlaxcala, Mexico, was crafted by a Sevillian carpenter with local help.

ARAMCO WORLD

SUPPLEMENTARY

INDEX '92

A

AFLAJ
Oman's "Unfailing Springs", Simarski, Lynn Teo, N/D 92: 26-33
AGRICULTURE
Muslims and Muslim Technology in the New World, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 38-41
New World Foods, Old World Diet, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 47-55
Oman's "Unfailing Springs", Simarski, Lynn Teo, N/D 92: 26-33
Questionable Origins, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 50-51
ALBANIA
Albania's Islamic Rebirth, Luxner, Larry, J/A 92: 38-49
ALEXANDER THE GREAT
Muslim History of the New World, A, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 26-33
Ponce de Leon and an Arab Legend, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 42-46
ALFONSO X, King of Spain
Voyages of the Mind, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 2-5
ALGERIA
Through North African Eyes, Simarski, Lynn Teo, J/F 92: 30-35
ALHAMBRA
Art of Islamic Spain, The, Jellicoe, Patricia, Countess, S/O 92: 24-33
'ALI IBN HUSAYN
Muslim History of the New World, A, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 26-33
ALMOHADS
Art of Islamic Spain, The, Jellicoe, Patricia, Countess, S/O 92: 24-33
ALMORAVIDS
Art of Islamic Spain, The, Jellicoe, Patricia, Countess, S/O 92: 24-33
ANATOLIA
Finding the Evidence, Jobe, Lynne Limpus, J/F 92: 18-19
ANDALUSIA
Art of Islamic Spain, The, Jellicoe, Patricia, Countess, S/O 92: 24-33
Tile Viewers Guide, A, Eigeland, Tor, M/A 92: 28-29
Tiles of Iberia, The, Eigeland, Tor, M/A 92: 24-31
ANIMALS
Academy of the Rain Forest, The, Eigeland, Tor, M/A 92: 50-51
Questionable Origins, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 50-51
ANTHROPOLOGY
Early Mankind in Arabia, Whalen, Norman M. and Pease, David W., J/A 92: 16-23
ARABS – SCIENCE
Discovery Principle, The, Clark, Arthur, N/D 92: 16-23
ARABS – SOCIAL LIFE AND CUSTOMS
Oman's "Unfailing Springs", Simarski, Lynn Teo, N/D 92: 26-33
Ramadan's Lanterns, Feeney, John, M/A 92: 14-23
ARABS IN AMERICA
Arab-Americans on the Air, Clark, Brian, N/D 92: 12-15
ARAMCO
Discovery Principle, The, Clark, Arthur, N/D 92: 16-23
ARCHEOLOGY AND ARCHEOLOGISTS
Early Mankind in Arabia, Whalen, Norman M. and Pease, David W., J/A 92: 1623
Finding the Evidence, Jobe, Lynne Limpus, J/F 92: 18-19
Questionable Origins, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 50-51
ARCHITECTURE
Mosque in Islamabad, A, McGrane, Len, J/F 92: 20-29
ART
Art of Islamic Spain, The, Jellicoe, Patricia, Countess, S/O 92: 24-33
Deck and the Islamic Style, Harlow, Frederica Todd, J/A 92: 8-15
ASTROLABE
World of Mohamed Zakariya, The, Kesting, Piney, J/F 92: 10-17
ASTRONOMY
Voyages of the Mind, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 2-5
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Pillars of Hercules, Sea of Darkness, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 6-17
AUTOMOBILES
Taking the Flag, Kesting, Piney, N/D 92: 24-25
AVIATION AND AIRLINES
Air-Cargo Connection, The, Luxner, Larry, M/A 92: 38

B

EL-BAZ, Farouk
Taking the Long View, Kesting, Piney, M/A 92: 12-13
BENLYAZID, Farida
Through North African Eyes, Simarski, Lynn Teo, J/F 92: 30-35
BERBERS
Berber Silver, Arab Gold, Stone, Caroline, S/O 92: 14-21
BLACK STONE
Journey of a Lifetime, The, Nawwab, Ni'mah Isma'il, J/A 92: 24-35
BOOKS
London's Oriental Bookshops, Clark, Arthur, M/A 92: 2-11
Recalling the Tales, Kesting, Piney, S/O 92: 22-23
BOUGHEDIR, Ferid
Critic of the New Wave, Simarski, Lynn Teo, J/F 92: 34
Through North African Eyes, Simarski, Lynn Teo, J/F 92: 30-35
BRUNEI DARUSSALAM
Academy of the Rain Forest, The, Eigeland, Tor, N/D 92: 2-11
BUSHNAQ, Inea
Recalling the Tales, Kesting, Piney, S/O 92: 22-23

C

CAIRO, Egypt
Ramadan's Lanterns, Feeney, John, M/A 92: 14-23
CALLIGRAPHY
World of Mohamed Zakariya, The, Kesting, Piney, J/F 92: 10-17
CANARY ISLANDS
Eternal Isles, The, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 10-11
Pillars of Hercules, Sea of Darkness, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 6-17
CARTOGRAPHY
Piri Reis and the Columbus Map, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 18-25
Voyages of the Mind, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 2-5
CERAMICS
Deck and the Islamic Style, Harlow, Frederica Todd, J/A 92: 8-15
COINS
American Silver, Ottoman Decline, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 34-37
COLUMBUS, Christopher
Al-Farghani and the "Short Degree", Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 14-16
Columbus: What If?, Vincent-Barwood, Aileen, J/F 92: 2-9
Piri Reis and the Columbus Map, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 18-25
Ponce de Leon and an Arab Legend, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 42-46
CÓRDOBA, Spain
Art of Islamic Spain, The, Jellicoe, Patricia, Countess, S/O 92: 24-33
COTTON
Muslims and Muslim Technology in the New World, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 38-41
CRAFTS
Berber Silver, Arab Gold, Stone, Caroline, S/O 92: 14-21
Deck and the Islamic Style, Harlow, Frederica Todd, J/A 92: 8-15
Ramadan's Lanterns, Feeney, John, M/A 92: 14-23
Tile Viewers Guide, A, Eigeland, Tor, M/A 92: 28-29
Tiles of Iberia, The, Eigeland, Tor, M/A 92: 24-31
CULTURAL EXCHANGE
New World Foods, Old World Diet, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 47-55
Voyages of the Mind, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 2-5

D

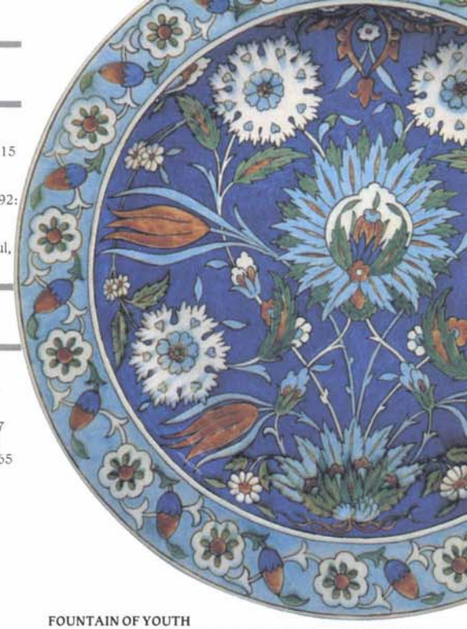
DECK, Joseph-Théodore
Deck and the Islamic Style, Harlow, Frederica Todd, J/A 92: 8-15
DUBAI, United Arab Emirates
Air-Cargo Connection, The, Luxner, Larry, M/A 92: 32-39
Jabal 'Ali: Dubai's Gateway to the World, Luxner, Larry, M/A 92: 32-39
DYES
Muslims and Muslim Technology in the New World, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 38-41

E

ECOLOGY
Academy of the Rain Forest, The, Eigeland, Tor, N/D 92: 2-11
ECONOMICS
American Silver, Ottoman Decline, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 34-37
New World Foods, Old World Diet, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 47-55
New World Through Arab Eyes, The, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 56-65
EDUCATION
Discovery Principle, The, Clark, Arthur, N/D 92: 16-23
EGYPT
Ramadan's Lanterns, Feeney, John, M/A 92: 14-23
EXHIBITIONS
Art of Islamic Spain, The, Jellicoe, Patricia, Countess, S/O 92: 24-33
Discovery Principle, The, Clark, Arthur, N/D 92: 16-23
EXPLORATION
Columbus: What If?, Vincent-Barwood, Aileen, J/F 92: 2-9
Eternal Isles, The, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 10-11
Pillars of Hercules, Sea of Darkness, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 6-17
Piri Reis and the Columbus Map, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 18-25
EXPLORERS
Columbus: What If? Vincent-Barwood, Aileen, J/F 92: 2-9
Pillars of Hercules, Sea of Darkness, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 6-17
Piri Reis and the Columbus Map, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 18-25
Ponce de Leon and an Arab Legend, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 42-46

F

AL-FARGHANI
Al-Farghani and the "Short Degree", Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 14-16
FILMS
Critic of the New Wave, Simarski, Lynn Teo, J/F 92: 34
FLORIDA
Ponce de Leon and an Arab Legend, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 42-46
FOLKLORE, Arab
Recalling the Tales, Kesting, Piney, S/O 92: 22-23
FOOD
Blending Flavors, Clark, Brian, J/A 92: 36-37
New World Foods, Old World Diet, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 47-55
Questionable Origins, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 50-51
FORESTS
Academy of the Rain Forest, The, Eigeland, Tor, N/D 92: 2-11



FOUNTAIN OF YOUTH
Ponce de Leon and an Arab Legend, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 42-46
FREDERICK II, Holy Roman Emperor
Voyages of the Mind, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 2-5
FRUITS AND VEGETABLES
New World Food, Old World Diet, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 47-55
Questionable Origins, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 50-51

G

GAZZAR, Saeed
Taking the Flag, Kesting, Piney, N/D 92: 24-25
GEOGRAPHY
Columbus: What If?, Vincent-Barwood, Aileen, J/F 92: 2-9
Pillars of Hercules, Sea of Darkness, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 6-17
Piri Reis and the Columbus Map, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 18-25
Voyages of the Mind, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 2-5
GIBRALTAR, Strait of
Pillars of Hercules, Sea of Darkness, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 6-17
GLASS
Deck and the Islamic Style, Harlow, Frederica Todd, J/A 92: 8-15
GRANADA, Spain
Art of Islamic Spain, The, Jellicoe, Patricia, Countess, S/O 92: 24-33

H

HAJJ
Journey of a Lifetime, The, Nawwab, Ni'mah Isma'il, J/A 92: 24-35
HISTORY
Columbus: What If?, Vincent-Barwood, Aileen, J/F 92: 2-9
HISTORY OF THE WEST INDIES *see*
TA'RIKH-I HIND-I GHARBI

I

INDUSTRY
Jabal 'Ali: Dubai's Gateway to the World, Luxner, Larry, M/A 92: 32-39
IRAQ
Finding the Evidence, Jobe, Lynne Limpus, J/F 92: 18-19
ISLAM
Journey of a Lifetime, The, Nawwab, Ni'mah Isma'il, J/A 92: 24-35
Mosque in Islamabad, A, McGrane, Len, J/F 92: 20-29
Trees and Islam, Masri, Al-Hafiz B. A., N/D 92: 9
ISLAM IN ALBANIA
Albania's Islamic Rebirth, Luxner, Larry, J/A 92: 38-49

J

JEWELRY
Berber Silver, Arab Gold, Stone, Caroline, S/O 92: 14-21

K

KA'BAH
Journey of a Lifetime, The, Nawwab, Ni'mah Isma'il, J/A 92: 24-35
KATIB-I RUMI *see* **'ALI IBN HUSAYN**
KHEMIR, Nacer
Through North African Eyes, Simarski, Lynn Teo, J/F 92: 30-35

L

LEGENDS
Pillars of Hercules, Sea of Darkness, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 6-17
Ponce de Leon and an Arab Legend, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 42-46
LITERATURE
Muslim History of the New World, A, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 26-33
New World Through Arab Eyes, The, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 56-65
Orient of Pierre Loti, The, Clark, Arthur, J/A 92: 2-7
LONDON, United Kingdom
London's Oriental Bookshops, Clark, Arthur, M/A 92: 2-11
LOTI, Pierre
Orient of Pierre Loti, The, Clark, Arthur, J/A 92: 2-7

M

MADINAH, Saudi Arabia
Journey of a Lifetime, The, Nawwab, Ni'mah Isma'il, J/A 92: 24-35
MAKKAH, Saudi Arabia
Journey of a Lifetime, The, Nawwab, Ni'mah Isma'il, J/A 92: 24-35
MAMLUKS
American Silver, Ottoman Decline, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 34-37
MAPS
Columbus: What If?, Vincent-Barwood, Aileen, J/F 92: 2-9
Piri Reis and the Columbus Map, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 18-25
Voyages of the Mind, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 2-5
MEASUREMENT
Al-Farghani and the "Short Degree", Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 14-16
Columbus: What If?, Vincent-Barwood, Aileen, J/F 92: 2-9
MINERALS
American Silver, Ottoman Decline, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 34-37
MOGHULS
New World Food, Old World Diet, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 47-55
MOROCCO
Another Romantic Remembers, Clark, Arthur, J/A 92: 5
Berber Silver, Arab Gold, Stone, Caroline, S/O 92: 2-7
Orient of Pierre Loti, The, Clark, Arthur, J/A 92: 2-7
Through North African Eyes, Simarski, Lynn Teo, J/F 92: 30-35
MOSQUES
Albania's Islamic Rebirth, Luxner, Larry, J/A 92: 38-49
Mosque in Islamabad, A, McGrane, Len, J/F 92: 20-29
MUSEUMS
Deck and the Islamic Style, Harlow, Frederica Todd, J/A 92: 8-15
Discovery Principle, The, Clark, Arthur, N/D 92: 16-23
Orient of Pierre Loti, The, Clark, Arthur, J/A 92: 2-7
MUSIC
Ramadan's Lanterns, Feeney, John, M/A 92: 14-23
MUSLIMS – ALBANIA
Albania's Islamic Rebirth, Luxner, Larry, J/A 92: 38-49

N

NASRIDS
Art of Islamic Spain, The, Jellicoe, Patricia, Countess, S/O 92: 24-33
NAVIGATION
Al-Farghani and the "Short Degree", Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 14-16
Columbus: What If?, Vincent-Barwood, Aileen, J/F 92: 2-9
Eternal Isles, The, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 10-11
NEW WORLD
American Silver, Ottoman Decline, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 34-37
Muslim History of the New World, A, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 26-33
Muslims and Muslim Technology in the New World, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 38-41
New World Foods, Old World Diet, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 47-55
New World Through Arab Eyes, The, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 56-65
Piri Reis and the Columbus Map, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 18-25
Ponce de Leon and an Arab Legend, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 42-46
Questionable Origins, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 50-51
NORTH AFRICA
Berber Silver, Arab Gold, Stone, Caroline, S/O 92: 14-21
Through North African Eyes, Simarski, Lynn Teo, J/F 92: 30-35

O

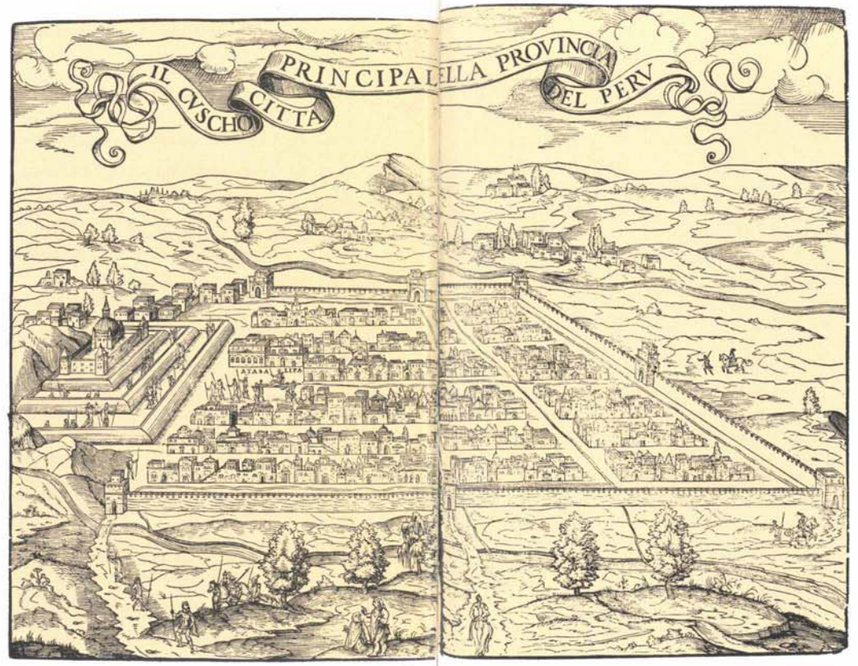
OMAN
Oman's "Unfailing Springs", Simarski, Lynn Teo, N/D 92: 26-33
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
American Silver, Ottoman Decline, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 34-37
Muslim History of the New World, A, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 26-33
Piri Reis and the Columbus Map, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 18-25

P

PAKISTAN
Mosque in Islamabad, A, McGrane, Len, J/F 92: 20-29
PALESTINIANS
Recalling the Tales, Kesting, Piney, S/O 92: 22-23
PERSONALITIES
Blending Flavors, Clark, Brian, J/A 92: 36-37 (Yahya Salih)
Critic of the New Wave, Simarski, Lynn Teo, J/F 92: 34 (Ferid Boughedir)
Deck and the Islamic Style, Harlow, Frederica Todd, J/A 92: 8-15 (Joseph-Théodore Deck)
Finding the Evidence, Jobe, Lynne Limpus, J/F 92: 18-19 (Aslihan Yener)
Orient of Pierre Loti, The, Clark, Arthur, J/A 92: 2-7 (Pierre Loti)
Recalling the Tales, Kesting, Piney, S/O 92: 22-23 (Inea Bushnaq)
Taking the Long View, Kesting, Piney, M/A 92: 12-13 (Farouk El-Baz)
World of Mohamed Zakariya, The, Kesting, Piney, J/F 92: 10-17 (Mohamed Zakariya)
PHOTOGRAPHY
Taking the Long View, Kesting, Piney, M/A 92: 12-13
PIRI REIS
Muslim History of the New World, A, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 26-33
Piri Reis and the Columbus Map, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 18-25
PONCE DE LEON
Ponce de Leon and an Arab Legend, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 42-46
PORTS
Growing Importance, Luxner, Larry, M/A 92: 36
Jabal 'Ali: Dubai's Gateway to the World, Luxner, Larry, M/A 92: 32-39
PORTUGAL
Muslim History of the New World, A, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 26-33
Tile Viewers Guide, A, Eigeland, Tor, M/A 92: 28-29
Tiles of Iberia, The, Eigeland, Tor, M/A 92: 24-31

R

RACING
Taking the Flag, Kesting, Piney, N/D 92: 24-25
RAMADAN
Ramadan's Lanterns, Feeney, John, M/A 92: 14-23
RELIGION
Journey of a Lifetime, The, Nawwab, Ni'mah Isma'il, J/A 92:24-35
REPORTERS AND REPORTING
Arab-Americans on the Air, Clark, Brian, N/D 92: 12-15
RESEARCH
Academy of the Rain Forest, The, Eigeland, Tor, N/D 92: 2-11
ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY
Academy of the Rain Forest, The, Eigeland, Tor, N/D 92: 2-11



S

SALIH, Yahya
Blending Flavors, Clark, Brian, J/A 92: 36-37
SATELLITES
Taking the Long View, Kesting, Piney, M/A 92: 12-13
SAUDI ARABIA – PREHISTORY
Early Mankind in Arabia, Whalen, Norman M. and Pease, David W., J/A 92: 16-23
SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY
Academy of the Rain Forest, The, Eigeland, Tor, N/D 92: 2-11
American Silver, Ottoman Decline, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 34-37
Art of Islamic Spain, The, Jellicoe, Patricia, Countess, S/O 92: 24-33
Columbus: What If?, Vincent-Barwood, Aileen, J/F 92: 2-9
Discovery Principle, The, Clark, Arthur, N/D 92: 16-23
Early Mankind in Arabia, Whalen, Norman M. and Pease, David W., J/A 92: 16-23
Muslims and Muslim Technology in the New World, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 38-41
Taking the Long View, Kesting, Piney, M/A 92: 12-13
Voyages of the Mind, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 2-5
World of Mohamed Zakariya, The, Kesting, Piney, J/F 92: 10-17
SHARJAH, United Arab Emirates
Growing Importance, Luxner, Larry, M/A 92: 36
SIDI BOU SAID, Tunisia
Heaven's Gate, Bilkadi, Zayn, S/O 92: 2-7
Study in Blue and White, A, Cecil, Charles O., S/O 92: 8-13
SOUTH AMERICA
New World Through Arab Eyes, The, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 56-65
SPAIN
Art of Islamic Spain, The, Jellicoe, Patricia, Countess, S/O 92: 24-33
Tile Viewers Guide, A, Eigeland, Tor, M/A 92: 28-29
Tiles of Iberia, The, Eigeland, Tor, M/A 92: 24-31
SPORTS
Taking the Flag, Kesting, Piney, N/D 92: 24-25
SUGAR
Muslims and Muslim Technology in the New World, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 38-41
SUQS
Ramadan's Lanterns, Feeney, John, M/A 92: 14-23

T

TAIFA KINGS
Art of Islamic Spain, The, Jellicoe, Patricia, Countess S/O 92: 24-33
TA'RIKH-I HIND-I GHARBI
Muslim History of the New World, A, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 26-33
TAZI, Mohamed Abderrahman
Through North African Eyes, Simarski, Lynn Teo, J/F 92: 30-35
TECHNOLOGY
Discovery Principle, The, Clark, Arthur, N/D 92: 16-23
Finding the Evidence, Jobe, Lynna Limpus, J/F 92: 18-19
TELEVISION
Arab-Americans on the Air, Clark, Brian, N/D 92: 12-15
TEXTILES
Art of Islamic Spain, The, Jellicoe, Patricia, Countess, S/O 92: 24-33
TILES
Tile Viewers Guide, A, Eigeland, Tor, M/A 92: 28-29
Tiles of Iberia, The, Eigeland, Tor, M/A 92: 24-31
TOBACCO
Questionable Origins, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 50-51
TOURISM
Tile Viewers Guide, A, Eigeland, Tor, M/A 92: 28-29
TRADE
Air-Cargo Connection, The, Luxner, Larry, M/A 92: 38
American Silver, Ottoman Decline, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 34-37
Finding the Evidence, Jobe, Lynne Limpus, J/F 92: 18-19
Growing Importance, Luxner, Larry, M/A 92: 36
Jabal 'Ali: Dubai's Gateway to the World, Luxner, Larry, M/A 92: 32-39
New World Food, Old World Diet, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 47-55
Pillars of Hercules, Sea of Darkness, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 6-17
Piri Reis and the Columbus Map, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 18-25
Voyages of the Mind, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 2-5
TRANSPORTATION
Air-Cargo Connection, The, Luxner, Larry, M/A 92: 38
Growing Importance, Luxner, Larry, M/A 92: 36
Jabal 'Ali: Dubai's Gateway to the World, Luxner, Larry, M/A 92: 32-39
TRAVEL AND TRAVELERS
Muslims and Muslim Technology in the New World, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 38-41
New World Foods, Old World Diet, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 47-55
New World Through Arab Eyes, The, Lunde, Paul, M/J 92: 56-65
Orient of Pierre Loti, The, Clark, Arthur, J/A 92: 2-7
TREES
Academy of the Rain Forest, The, Eigeland, Tor, N/D 92: 2-11
Trees and Islam, Masri, Al-Hafiz B. A., N/D 92: 9
TUNISIA
Critic of the New Wave, Simarski, Lynn Teo, J/F 92: 34
Heaven's Gate, Bilkadi, Zayn, S/O 92: 2-7
Study in Blue and White, A, Cecil, Charles O., S/O 92: 8-13
Through North African Eyes, Simarski, Lynn Teo, J/F 92: 30-35

U

UMAYYADS
Art of Islamic Spain, The, Jellicoe, Patricia, Countess, S/O 92: 24-33
UNITED ARAB EMIRATES
Air-Cargo Connection, The, Luxner, Larry, M/A 92: 38
Growing Importance, Luxner, Larry, M/A 92: 36
Jabal 'Ali: Dubai's Gateway to the World, Luxner, Larry, M/A 92: 32-39
UNITED KINGDOM
London's Oriental Bookshops, Clark, Arthur, M/A 92: 2-11
UNIVERSITIES
Academy of the Rain Forest, The, Eigeland, Tor, N/D 92: 2-11

W

WATER
Oman's "Unfailing Springs", Simarski, Lynn Teo, N/D 92: 26-33

Y

YENER, Aslihan
Finding the Evidence, Jobe, Lynne Limpus, J/F 92: 18-19

Z

ZAKARIYA, Mohamed
World of Mohamed Zakariya, The, Kesting, Piney, J/F 92: 10-17

Authors

A-K

BILKADI, ZAYN
Heaven's Gate, S/O 92: 2-7

CECIL, CHARLES O.
Study in Blue and White, A, S/O 92: 8-13
CLARK, ARTHUR
Another Romantic Remembers, J/A 92: 5
Discovery Principle, The, N/D 92: 16-23
London's Oriental Bookshop M/A 92: 2-11
Orient of Pierre Loti, The, J/A 92: 2-7
CLARK, BRIAN
Arab-Americans on the Air, N/D 92: 12-15
Blending Flavors, J/A 92: 36-37

EIGELAND, TOR
Academy of the Rain Forest, The, N/D 92: 2-11
Tile Viewers Guide, A, M/A 92: 28-29
Tiles of Iberia, The, M/A 92: 24-31

FEENEY, JOHN
Ramadan's Lanterns, M/A 92: 14-23

HARLOW, FREDERICA TODD
Deck and the Islamic Style, J/A 92: 8-15

JELLICOE, PATRICIA, COUNTESS
Arts of Islamic Spain, The, S/O 92: 24-33
JOBE, LYNNE LIMPUS
Finding the Evidence, J/F 92: 18-19

KESTING, PINEY
Recalling the Tales, S/O 92: 22-23
Taking the Flag, N/D 92: 24-25
Taking the Long View, M/A 92: 12-13
World of Mohamed Zakariya, The, J/F 92: 10-17

L-Z

LUNDE, PAUL
Al-Farghani and the "Short Degree", M/J 92: 14-16
American Silver, Ottoman Decline, M/J 92: 34-37
Eternal Isles, The, M/J 92: 10-11
Muslim History of the New World, A, M/J 92: 26-33
Muslims and Muslim Technology in the New World, M/J 92: 47-55
New World Through Arab Eyes, The, M/J 92: 56-65
Pillars of Hercules, Sea of Darkness, M/J 92: 6-17
Piri Reis and the Columbus Map, M/J 92: 18-25
Ponce de Leon and an Arab Legend, M/J 92: 42-46
Questionable Origins, M/J 92: 50-51
Voyages of the Mind, M/J 92: 2-5
LUXNER, LARRY
Air-Cargo Connection, The, M/A 92: 38
Albania's Islamic Rebirth, J/A 92: 38-49
Growing Importance, M/A 92: 36
Jabal 'Ali: Dubai's Gateway to the World, M/A 92: 32-39

MASRI, AL-HAFIZ B.A.
Trees of Islam, N/D 92: 9
McGRANE, LEN
Mosque in Islamabad, A, J/F 92: 20-29

NAWWAB, NI'MAH ISMA'IL
Journey of a Lifetime, The, J/A 92: 24-35

PEASE, DAVID W.
Early Mankind in Arabia, J/A 92: 16-23

SIMARSKI, LYNN TEO
Critic of the New Wave, J/F 92: 34
Oman's "Unfailing Springs", N/D 92: 26-33
Through North African Eyes, J/F 92: 14-21
STONE, CAROLINE
Berber Silver. Arab Gold, S/O 92: 14-21

VINCENT-BARWOOD, AILEEN
Columbus: What If?, J/F 92: 2-9

WHALEN, NORMAN M.
Early Mankind in Arabia, J/F 92: 16-23

Photographers

A-K

ABDUL LATIF, ABDULAZIZ
Discovery Principle, The, N/D 92: 16-23
AGUIAR, WALTER R.
American Silver, Ottoman Decline, M/J 92: 34-37
AMIN, S.M.
Discovery Principle, The, N/D 92: 16-2
Journey of a Lifetime, The, J/A 92: 24-35
Mosque in Islamabad, A, J/F 92: 20-29
AZZI, ROBERT
Oman's "Unfailing Springs", N/D 92: 26-33
World of Mohamed Zakariya, The, J/F 92: 10-17

BERRY, DAVID
London's Oriental Bookshops, M/A 92: 38-49
BIBER, MEHMET
Albania's Islamic Rebirth, J/A 92: 38-49
Journey of a Lifetime, The, J/A 92: 24-35
BRIGNOLO, JOSEPH
Growing Importance, M/A 92: 36
Jabal 'Ali: Dubai's Gateway to the World, M/A 92: 32-39

CECIL, CHARLES O.
Study in Blue and White, A, S/O 92: 8-13
CHAPPELL, WEBB
Taking the Long View, M/A 92: 12-13
CLARK, ARTHUR
London's Oriental Bookshops, M/A 92: 2-11
CLARK, BRIAN
Arab-Americans on the Air, N/D 92: 12-15
Blending Flavors, J/A 92: 36-37

DOBAIS, A. Y.
Discovery Principle, The, N/D 92: 16-23

EIGELAND, TOR
Academy of the Rain Forest, The, N/D 92: 2-11
Al-Farghani and the "Short Degree", M/J 92: 14-16
Art of Islamic Spain, The, S/O 92: 24-33
Columbus: What If?, J/F 92: 2-9
Tile Viewers Guide, A, M/A 92: 28-29
Tiles of Iberia, The, M/A 92: 24-31
Trees and Islam, N/D 92: 9

FEENEY, JOHN
Ramadan's Lanterns, M/A 92: 14-23

GRAHAM, GEOFF
Discovery Principle, The, N/D 92: 16-23

HANDLY, KEVIN
Taking the Flag, N/D 92: 24-25

JOBE, LYNNE LIMPUS
Finding the Evidence, J/F 92: 18-19

AL-KHALIFA, ALI
Discovery Principle, The, N/D 92: 16-23
KING, STEVEN R.
New World Foods, Old World Diet, M/J 92: 47-55

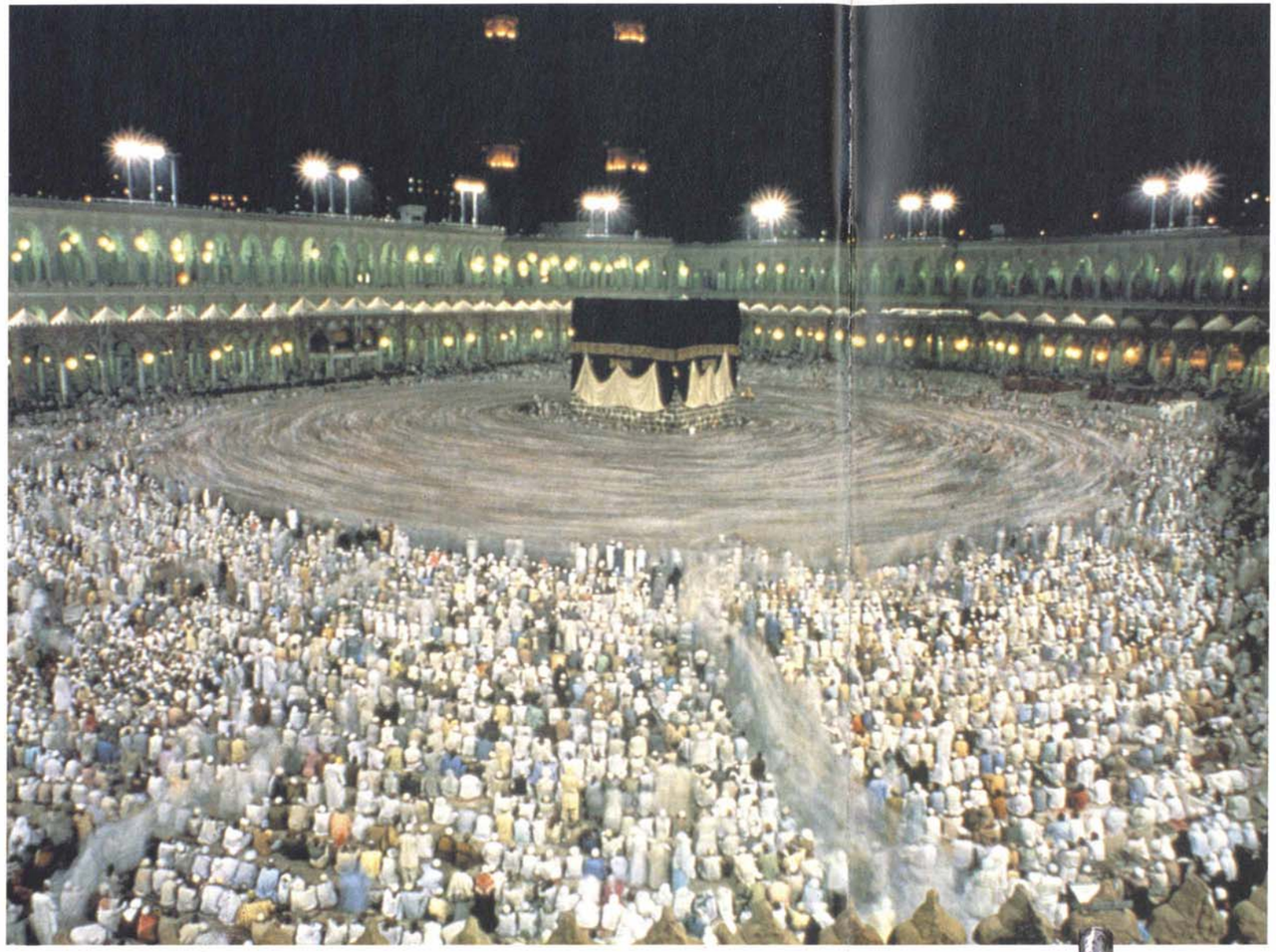
L-Z

LARRAIN, SERGIO
American Silver, Ottoman Decline, M/J 92: 34-37
LUNDE, PAUL
Voyages of the Mind, M/J 92: 2-5
LUXNER, LARRY
Air-Cargo Connection, The, M/A 92: 38
Albania's Islamic Rebirth, J/A 92: 38-49
Growing Importance, M/A 92: 36
Jabal 'Ali: Dubai's Gateway to the World, M/A 92: 32-39

MICHAUD, ROLAND AND SABRINA
Art of Islamic Spain, The, S/O 92: 24-33
MUBARAK, A.A.
Discovery Principle, The, N/D 92: 16-23

PEASE, DAVID W.
Early Mankind in Arabia, J/A 92: 16-23

SIMARSKI, LYNN TEO
Oman's "Unfailing Springs", N/D 92: 26-33
Through North African Eyes, J/F 92: 14-21



SPIELMAN, JEFF
Oman's "Unfailing Springs", N/D 92: 26-33

THOMAS, KATRINA
Recalling the Tales, S/O 92: 22-23

VENTURI, FRANCESCO
Berber Silver, Arab Gold, S/O 92: 14-21

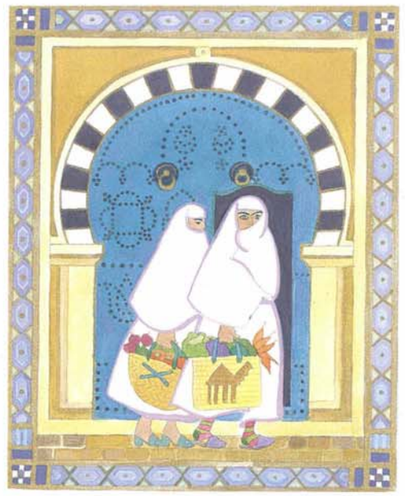
WEAVER, JONATHAN S.
London's Oriental Bookshops, M/A 92: 2-11
WHALEN, NORMAN M.
Early Mankind in Arabia, J/F 92: 16-23
WHEELER, NIK
Mosque in Islamabad, A, J/F 92: 20-29

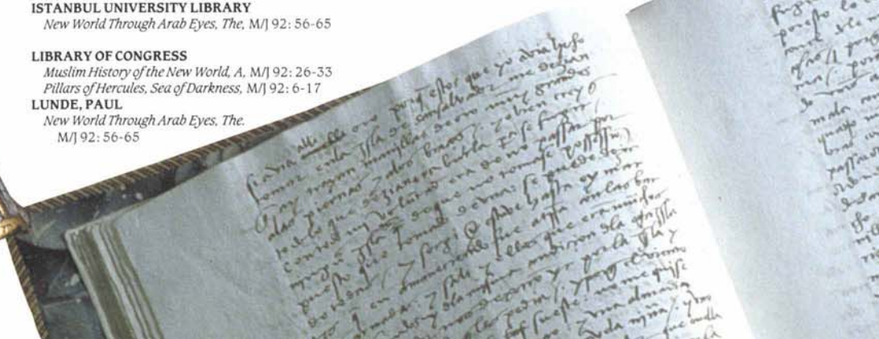
Illustrators

A-Z

GRIMSDALE, MICHAEL
Early Mankind in Arabia, J/A 92: 16-23

WILLIAMS-YAQUB, PENNY
Heaven's Gate, S/O 92: 2-7





Institutions

A-L

ARAB FILM DISTRIBUTION
Through North African Eyes, J/F 92: 30-35
ASIAN-PACIFIC PEOPLE'S ENVIRONMENT NETWORK
Trees and Islam, N/D 92: 9

BEYAZIT LIBRARY, ISTANBUL
Ponce de Leon and an Arab Legend, M/J 92: 42-46
BIBLIOTECA COLOMBINA, SEVILLE
Al-Farghani and the "Short Degree", M/J 92: 14-16
BIBLIOTECA ESTENSE, MODENA
Piri Reis and the Columbus Map, M/J 92: 18-25
BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL, MADRID
Columbus: What If?, J/F 92: 2-9
Ponce de Leon and an Arab Legend, M/J 92: 42-46
BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE, FLORENCE
Al-Farghani and the "Short Degree", M/J 92: 14-16
BIBLIOTECA UNIVERSITARIA, BOLOGNA
Piri Reis and the Columbus Map, M/J 92: 18-25
BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, PARIS
Pillars of Hercules, Sea of Darkness, M/J 92: 6-17
Voyages of the Mind, M/J 92: 2-5
BODLEIAN LIBRARY
Pillars of Hercules, Sea of Darkness, M/J 92: 6-17
BROWN UNIVERSITY, BROWN LIBRARY
American Silver, Ottoman Decline, M/J 92: 34-37

CAGATAY, ERGUN
Ponce de Leon and an Arab Legend, M/J 92: 42-46
CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
American Silver, Ottoman Decline, M/J 92: 34-37
Muslim History of the New World, A, M/J 92: 26-33
Muslims and Muslim Technology in the New World, M/J 92: 38-41
New World Through Arab Eyes, The, M/J 92: 56-66
Questionable Origins, M/J 92: 50-51
Voyages of the Mind, M/J 92: 2-5
CHARMET, JEAN-LOUP
Deck and the Islamic Style, J/A 92: 8-15
CHESTER BEATTY LIBRARY
Muslim History of the New World, A, M/J 92: 26-33
CHRISTIAN GENET
Orient of Pierre Loti, The, J/A 92: 26-33
COMSTOCK PHOTOFILE LIMITED
Albania's Islamic Rebirth, JA 92: 38-49

DAR AL-ATHAR AL-ISLAMIYA
Art of Islamic Spain, The, S/O 92: 24-33
Deck and the Islamic Style, J/A 92: 8-15

EIGELAND, TOR
Ponce de Leon and an Arab Legend, M/J 92: 42-46
EOSAT
Taking the Long View, M/A 92: 12-13

GEOGRAPHERS' A-Z MAP COMPANY
London's Oriental Bookshops, M/A 92: 2-11

HAMILTON COLLEGE
Muslims and Muslim Technology in the New World, M/J 92: 38-41
HARVARD UNIVERSITY BOTANY LIBRARIES
Muslims and Muslim Technology in the New World, M/J 92: 38-41
HARVARD UNIVERSITY, HOUGHTON LIBRARY
Piri Reis and the Columbus Map, M/J 92: 18-25
Questionable Origins, M/J 92: 50-51
HISTORICAL MUSEUM OF SOUTHERN FLORIDA
Ponce de Leon and an Arab Legend, M/J 92: 42-46

IMAGE BANK, THE
London's Oriental Bookshops, M/A 92: 2-11
Oman's "Unfailing Springs", N/D 92: 26-33
ISTANBUL UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
New World Through Arab Eyes, The, M/J 92: 56-65

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
Muslim History of the New World, A, M/J 92: 26-33
Pillars of Hercules, Sea of Darkness, M/J 92: 6-17
LUNDE, PAUL
New World Through Arab Eyes, The, M/J 92: 56-65

M-Z

MAGNUM
American Silver, Ottoman Decline, M/J 92: 34-37
MAISON PIERRE LOTI, ROCHEFORT
Orient of Pierre Loti, The, J/A 92: 2-7
MARIE CLAIRE
Another Romantic Remembers, J/A 92: 5
Orient of Pierre Loti, The, J/A 92: 2-7
MARIE CLAIRE MAISON
Orient of Pierre Loti, The, J/A 92: 2-7
METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART
Art of Islamic Spain, The, S/O 92: 24-33
Columbus: What If?, J/F 92: 2-9
Deck and the Islamic Style, J/A 92: 8-15
MICHAUD, ROLAND AND SABRINA
New World Through Arab Eyes, The, M/J 92: 56-65
Pillars of Hercules, Sea of Darkness, M/J 92: 6-17
Piri Reis and the Columbus Map, M/J 92: 18-25
Ponce de Leon and an Arab Legend, M/J 92: 42-46
MUSÉE ADRIEN DUBOUCHÉ, LIMOGES
Deck and the Islamic Style, J/A 92: 8-15
MUSÉE D'ORSAY
Deck and the Islamic Style, J/A 92: 8-15
MUSÉE D'UNTERLINDEN, COLMAR
Deck and the Islamic Style, J/A 92: 8-15
MUSÉE DES ARTS DÉCORATIFS, PARIS
Deck and the Islamic Style, J/A 92: 8-15
MUSEO CIVICO, COMO
Columbus: What If?, J/F 92: 2-8
MUSEO NAVALE DI PEGLI, GENOA
Columbus: What If?, J/F 92: 2-8

NASA
Eternal Isles, The, M/J 92: 10-11
Pillars of Hercules, Sea of Darkness, M/J 92: 6-17
Piri Reis and the Columbus Map, M/J 92: 18-25
Ponce de Leon and an Arab Legend, M/J 92: 42-46

PHILADELPHIA MUSEUM OF ART
Deck and the Islamic Style, J/A 92: 8-15

SCALA/ART RESOURCE
Al-Farghani and the "Short Degree", M/J 92: 14-16
Columbus: What If?, J/F 92: 2-9
Pillars of Hercules, Sea of Darkness, M/J 92: 6-17
Piri Reis and the Columbus Map, M/J 92: 18-25
SPINK AND SON, LTD.
American Silver, Ottoman Decline, The, M/J 92: 34-37
SUSAN GRIGGS AGENCY
London's Oriental Bookshops, M/A 92: 2-11
SYGMA
Through North African Eyes, J/F 92: 30-35

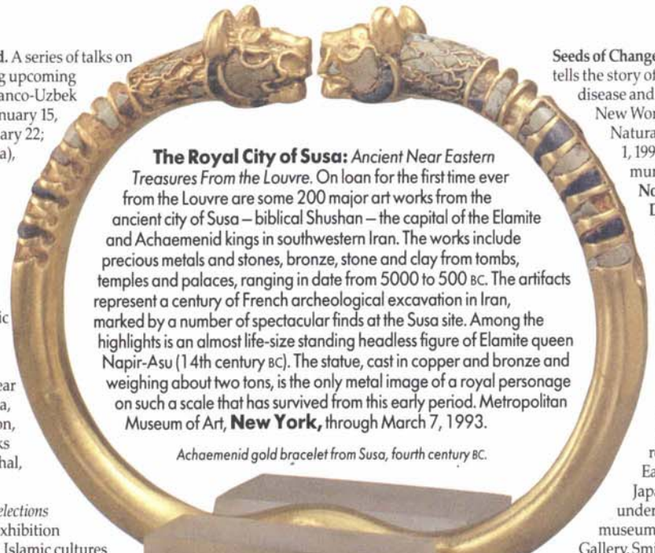
TOPKAPI PALACE LIBRARY
Ponce de Leon and an Arab Legend, M/J 92: 42-46
TOPKAPI PALACE MUSEUM
Piri Reis and the Columbus Map, M/J 92: 18-25
TV ORIENT
Arab-Americans on the Air, N/D 92: 12-15

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS, BENSON LIBRARY
New World Through Arab Eyes, The, M/J 92: 56-65

VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM
New World Foods, Old World Diet, M/J 92: 47-55

ZIMMERMANN, OCTAVE
Deck and the Islamic Style, J/A 92: 8-15

EVENTS & EXHIBITIONS



The Royal City of Susa: *Ancient Near Eastern Treasures From the Louvre.* On loan for the first time ever from the Louvre are some 200 major art works from the ancient city of Susa – biblical Shushan – the capital of the Elamite and Achaemenid kings in southwestern Iran. The works include precious metals and stones, bronze, stone and clay from tombs, temples and palaces, ranging in date from 5000 to 500 BC. The artifacts represent a century of French archeological excavation in Iran, marked by a number of spectacular finds at the Susa site. Among the highlights is an almost life-size standing headless figure of Elamite queen Napir-Asu (14th century BC). The statue, cast in copper and bronze and weighing about two tons, is the only metal image of a royal personage on such a scale that has survived from this early period. Metropolitan Museum of Art, **New York,** through March 7, 1993.

Achaemenid gold bracelet from Susa, fourth century BC.

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

Current Archeology of the Ancient World. A series of talks on current research and discoveries. Among upcoming Middle Eastern or Islamic topics: The Franco-Uzbek Archeological Mission in Samarkand, January 15, 1993; Mleiha, Oasis Town in Oman, January 22; The Temples of Ras Shamra-Ugarit (Syria), February 5; Seljuk Architecture of Iran, February 12; Dja'dé (Syria): A New Settlement on the Middle Euphrates, March 12. Musée du Louvre, **Paris**.

The Munayyer Collection of antique Palestinian and Syrian costumes is touring libraries in New Jersey. Remaining schedule: **Scotch Plains** public library, January and February 1993; and **Bridgewater** public library, June 1993.

The Court Arts of Indonesia. The 1000-year traditions of the royal courts of Indonesia, the world's most populous Muslim nation, are reflected in this exhibition of artworks from the eighth to 20th centuries. Kunsthal, **Rotterdam**, through January 17, 1993.

Cultures at Crossroads: *Southeast Asian Selections From the Australian National Gallery.* The exhibition examines the impact of India, China and Islamic cultures on the motifs, functions and techniques of Southeast Asian textiles. Asia Society, **New York,** through January 17, 1993.

Art of the Persian Courts: *Selections From the Art and History Trust.* This survey of Persian art focuses on the arts of the book, and features about 125 manuscripts, paintings, drawings, calligraphies and artifacts. **Los Angeles** County Museum of Art, through January 24, 1993.

Odhanies: *Rajasthan Through the Veil.* Odhanies are women's head drapes from the Indian state of Rajasthan. Dyed in various patterns and colors, they mark changing seasons, religious festivals and auspicious times. Commonwealth Institute, **London,** through January 24, 1993.

Nayika: *Representation of the Female Form in Miniature Art* uses contemporary Indian miniatures to explore the portrayal of women in Moghul art. Commonwealth Institute, **London,** through January 27, 1993.

Egypt's Dazzling Sun: *Amenhotep III and His World.* The golden age of Egyptian art is recalled through some 150 works from major collections. Kimbell Art Museum, **Fort Worth, Texas,** through January 31, 1993; Grand Palais, **Paris,** March 2 through May 31, 1993.

Arab Awareness Week. This Arab Student Society event seeks to present to Canadians a realistic view of Arabs and their world. University of British Columbia, **Vancouver**, first week in February 1993.

Byzantium: *Art From the National Collections.* Byzantine art treasures from collections throughout France were brought together for the first time for this exhibit. Musée du Louvre, **Paris,** through February 1, 1993.

Yemen: *A Culture of Builders.* This exhibition takes an artistic look at Yemeni architecture. Andrews University, **Berrien Springs, Michigan,** through February 5, 1993.

Indian Paintings and Drawings From the Collection of Howard Hodgkin. These 42 pictures from the British artist's collection were shown earlier at the Sackler Gallery in Washington, D.C., and the Reitberg Museum in Zurich. Ashmolean Museum, **Oxford,** through February 7, 1993.

Islam and China. Drawing on Harvard's rich collections of Islamic and Asian art, the exhibition compares and contrasts Islamic approaches to artistic design with those of China. Arthur M. Sackler Museum, **Cambridge, Massachusetts,** through February 14, 1993.

The Wealth of the Indies: *New Sources for Coinage in Renaissance Europe,* traces the movement of gold and silver from South America to 16th-century Europe and beyond, including the Ottoman Empire. British Museum, **London,** through February 14, 1993.

Bukhara: *Traditional Weavings From Pre-Soviet Central Asia.* Displayed are boldly patterned hangings, garments and carpets crafted in Bukhara. The Textile Museum, **Washington, D.C.,** through February 15, 1993.

A Kurdish Reed Screen. The arts and culture of the Kurds are explored in this exhibit, built around a dwelling partition woven by Kurdish pastoralists. The Textile Museum, **Washington, D.C.,** through February 15, 1993.

The Poetry of Place: *19th-Century Topographical Photographs.* Featured are albumen prints by photographers who documented the Middle East, Italy, Japan, the American West and Minneapolis from the 1860's to the 1880's. **Minneapolis** Institute of Arts, through February 21, 1993.

Saudi Artifacts. These unique Saudi Arabian handicrafts, mostly from the Ta'if area, were donated from a private collection and are on loan from the Nance Museum of Kingsville, Missouri. Southwestern Regional Library, **Fort Worth, Texas,** through February 28, 1993.

Beauty, Wealth and Power: *Jewels and Ornaments of Asia.* Jewelry and other objects are on display from Japan, Korea, China, Mongolia, Bhutan, Nepal, Tibet, India, Southeast Asia and Luristan. Asian Art Museum of **San Francisco,** through February 28, 1993.

The Power of Maps. Displayed are more than 400 maps ranging in date from 1500 BC to the present. Among those from the Middle East are a Mesopotamian plan of fields, carved in clay, and Napoleon's map of the Pyramids from his survey of Egypt. Cooper-Hewitt Museum, **New York,** through March 7, 1993.

The Afghan Folio. Luke Powell's photos of Afghanistan displayed as dye-transfer prints. **Bismarck [South Dakota]** State College, March 12 through April 16, 1993.

Images of a Queen's Power: *Royal Tapestries of France.* Ten tapestries illustrate the life of the most famous ruling widow-queen of antiquity, Artemisia of Caria, builder of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus. **Minneapolis** Institute of Arts, March 21 through June 20, 1993.

Seeds of Change. This major Quincentennial exhibition tells the story of five "seeds" – sugar, corn, the potato, disease and the horse – that indelibly changed the New World and the Old. National Museum of Natural History, **Washington, D.C.**, through April 1, 1993. A traveling version appears at public municipal libraries in: **Salt Lake City; Dallas; Norristown, Pennsylvania,** and **Wilmington, Delaware**, January 30 through February 28, 1993; **Reno, Nevada; Oklahoma City; Pittsburgh** and **Washington, D.C.,** March 20 through April 18, 1993; **Boise, Idaho; Des Moines, Iowa; Detroit** and **Baltimore,** May 8 through June 6, 1993; **Billings, Montana; Minneapolis; Hartford, Connecticut,** and **Manalapan, New Jersey,** June 26 through July 25, 1993.

Freer Gallery of Art Reopening. This acclaimed national museum of Asian art reopens after more than four years of renovation. The collection features Near Eastern, South and Southeast Asian, Japanese, Chinese and Korean art. New underground exhibition space now links the museum with the neighboring Arthur M. Sackler Gallery. Smithsonian Institution's Freer Gallery of Art, **Washington, D.C.,** from May 9, 1993.

Howard Carter: *Before Tutankhamun.* The focus of this exhibition is not on Carter's most celebrated find, but on his 30 years of archeology in Egypt leading up to that discovery. British Museum, **London**, through May 31, 1993.

The Westward Migration of Chinese Blue and White. Ceramic ware from China, Iran, Vietnam, Turkey, Europe and America illustrates the spread of underglaze blue and white porcelain from its birth in China in about AD 1250 to most of the industrialized world by the 18th century. **Minneapolis** Institute of Arts, through June 6, 1993.

Sifting the Sands of Time: *The Oriental Institute and the Ancient Near East.* This exhibit traces the growth of the institute. Oriental Institute Museum, **Chicago**, extended through June 30, 1993.

Vanished Kingdoms of the Nile: *The Rediscovery of Ancient Nubia* traces 3500 years of the history and culture of southern Egypt and northern Sudan. Oriental Institute Museum, **Chicago**, extended through June 30, 1993.

Ancient Nubia: *Egypt's Rival in Africa.* Artifacts from the museum's collection help trace the history of Nubia from 3100 BC to AD 500. University of Pennsylvania Museum, **Philadelphia**, through October 3, 1993.

Metalwork and Ceramics From Ancient Iran. An exploration of technical and esthetic similarities between metal and clay artifacts created in western Iran between 2300 and 100 BC. Smithsonian Institution's Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, **Washington, D.C.,** indefinitely.

The Nehru Gallery of Indian Art features a new display of 100 artworks tracing the history of pre-Moghul India, the Moghuls of the 16th and 17th centuries, the Deccan Sultanates, the Rajput Courts and India of the British Raj. Victoria and Albert Museum, **London,** indefinitely.

The Aramco Exhibit. Centered on the Arab-Islamic technical heritage, this permanent interactive, "learn-by-doing" scientific exhibit relates the historical background to today's petroleum exploration, production and transportation. **Dhahran, Saudi Arabia**.

Information is correct at press time, but please reconfirm dates and times before traveling. Readers are welcome to submit information for possible inclusion in this listing.

Aramco World (ISSN 1044-1891) is published bimonthly by Aramco Services Company, 9009 West Loop South, Houston, Texas 77096. Volume 44, Number 1. Second-class postage paid at Houston, Texas and at additional offices.

POSTMASTER: send address changes to *Aramco World*, Box 469008, Escondido, CA 92046.