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Mothers of a Hybrid Dynasty: Race, Genealogy, and Acculturation in al-Andalus

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One of the enduring debates among historians of Iberian culture is the question of how acculturation (or transculturation) occurred in the Iberian Peninsula, where large populations of Christians descended from Hispano-Romans and Visigoths lived alongside Muslim Arabs, Muslim Berbers, and Jews from 711–1492 and after. At the extremes of the political and intellectual camps, Iberian culture has been characterized as either the product of a dark-skinned, Muslim, North African people who conquered the Iberian Peninsula in the early eighth century and were only partially expelled after 1492, or an essence that is European, Christian, and white.[1] Today most scholars adopt the more reasonable position that Spain and Portugal are the result of an intermingling of those peoples with a generous admixture of Jews.[2]

These perspectives describe the consequence of *convivencia* (cohabitation) but they rarely address the question of *how* such cultural diversity occurred. *Convivencia* is a loose term that suggests that by virtue of living in close proximity the people of the Iberian peninsula enjoyed cultural diversity and a corresponding richness of artistic forms and styles between the arrival of Islam in 711 and the expulsions in 1492. But history shows that, just as military and political frontiers do not necessarily prevent trade on the popular level, the proximity of diverse groups does not in and of itself cause interchange.[3] With respect to al-Andalus, historians have rarely agreed on how diversity was achieved. One argument is that Arabs and Muslim Berbers came to Spain in 711, met a population descended from Roman and Visigothic Christians, married and produced children with the genes and cultural formation of both groups, and suddenly Spain became a melting pot of many ethnic flavors. Opponents to this model point out that the Muslim army that crossed the Straits of Gibraltar in 711 did not consist solely of men; the soldiers traveled with their families, and so, instead of an

immediate mingling of Arabs and Iberians through intermarriage, the house-holds of each maintained separate identities.[4]

But whether or not the Muslim army arrived with wives and daugh-ters, it is a fact that throughout history women have been objects of exchange. In Islam, as in Byzantium and ancient Rome (and even parts of the modern world), women were bought and sold as slaves, one of whose functions was sexual and reproductive. The family formed around a Muslim man could include non-Muslim wives as well as Christian and pagan slaves of both sexes. It is therefore quite likely that from the earliest days of the Muslim conquest of Iberia, plenty of unions occurred between free Arab men and Iberian women taken either as wives or slave-captives.

In this study, I will argue that *convivencia* should be understood not as a natural or automatic consequence of cultural proximity, but in distinctly gendered terms in which the concept of "race" or ethnic identity was used by men in order to link themselves with the ancestors who gave them their legit-imacy as rulers, yet was in actual practice countered by the presence of women whose ethnic difference introduced alternative cultural habits. The difference was manifested in religion, speech, music, dress, and a wide spec-trum of social behaviors. In hybrid cultural contexts such as al-Andalus, peo-ple of different cultural backgrounds do manage to communicate and learn each other's spoken and visual languages, yet—important for this study—the point from which they must start is their own early formation when their mothers tended and taught them. The following case study focuses on the elite class that produced the art and architecture in which acts of patronage and reception can most easily be traced; it demonstrates that women cannot simply be added to an existing historical narrative, like a dash of pepper to an otherwise successful recipe. Once we examine the diverse ethnic and religious backgrounds of the women in the Umayyad dynasty that ruled Cordoba from 756 to 1011, we can no longer speak of the Umayyad house as if its members had a single shared identity and history.[5] The cultural identity of the Umayyads, like Spain itself, is more complex.

While one cannot call the Umayyad-ruled Andalusian kingdom an empire, it was an offshoot of the Syrian Umayyad empire that extended from Iraq to Morocco in the early eighth century. The self-definition of the Hispano-Umayyads stemmed from this imperial past when the Umayyads played a decisive role in the Mediterranean, and thus the Hispano-Umayyads saw themselves as descendents of a glorious empire that had brought Islam to the southern half of the Mediterranean.

The kingdoms of what is today central and southern Europe were united by a common descent from the Roman Empire which with the rise of Christianity became the Holy Roman Empire. The eastern Mediterranean and northern Africa were similarly united by a common religion, Islam, and guided by a central text, the Qur'an. But that empire lost its unity when in 750 the Abbasid clan massacred the male members of the ruling Umayyad dynasty and seized power. One Umayyad prince escaped the slaughter and fled across Africa to the Iberian Peninsula where he asserted his right to rule, independently, as prince (*emir*) of what had formerly been a mere satellite province. While in fact the east and west split apart at that point, the separation was tacit until 928 when the current Hispano-Umayyad ruler proclaimed himself caliph and thus issued a direct, public challenge to the authority of the Abbasid caliph in the east. The gesture was virtually ignored by the Abbasids who had already experienced such a schism in 908 when a minor prince of the Shi'i Fatimids in Tunisia proclaimed himself caliph. The Fatimid claim to the caliphal title was more radical than the Umayyad one because it reflected a sectarian divide and was issued by a political body that in 969 moved to Egypt where they were near enough to pose a serious threat to Abbasid authority. In contrast, al-Andalus was at the far western end of the Mediterranean and, although it enjoyed great wealth and cultural prestige and succeeded in enticing some of the best scholars and artists of Baghdad and Cairo westward, it was still very distant and, by the time the Hispano-Umayyad prince took the title of caliph, the rift between the Abbasids and the Umayyads was of such longevity that the Abbasids made little response.

Al-Andalus rose to great importance thanks to its fertile landscape, skilled agricultural techniques, and profitable role as the intermediary between the gold merchants of sub-Saharan Africa and European buyers of gold, but it was not really an empire in the Umayyad period. At its zenith, the Umayyad's territory consisted of all but the very northern tier of the Iberian peninsula, a few Mediterranean islands, and some tributaries in the Maghreb. Nonetheless, the Hispano-Umayyads were territorially ambitious and were proud of their noble genealogy. They traced their history to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, as well as to Jerusalem and Damascus which their forefathers had won from the Byzantines. It is this concept of ideological imperialism, based on authority, lineage, and race, that will be examined here.

History books on Islamic Iberia (al-Andalus), beginning with Pascual de Gayangos's nineteenth-century *History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*[6]—a translation of the *Nafh al-tib* by the early-seventeenth-
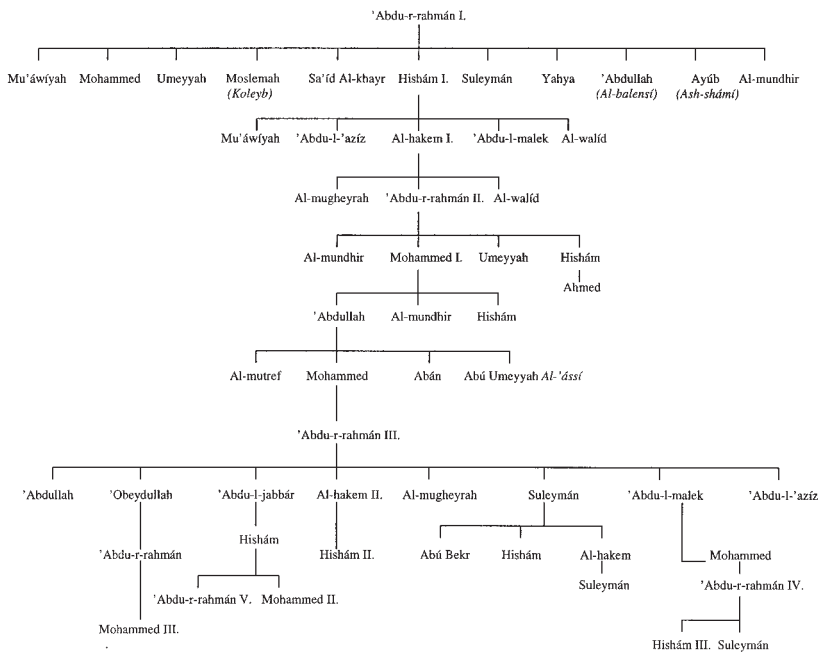
Figure 1.
Genealogy of the Hispano-Umayyad dynasty. From Pascual de Gayangos, The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain *(1840–43)*.

century historian al-Maqqari—often provide a genealogy of the Umayyad emirs and caliphs who ruled from the capital Cordoba from 756 to about 1031 (see fig. 1). ʿAbd al-Rahman I, who stood at the head of this noble family tree, was called "the Emigré" (*al-Dakhil*) because, although he became the ruler of al-Andalus, he was born and raised in Syria, fleeing his native land as a young man to escape the massacre of his family. He survived and took refuge with his mother's people, Berbers of the Maghreb, making his way to the Iberian Peninsula which was as far west as he could go and probably the safest distance from his Abbasid foes. This historic moment marked the end of the Umayyad rule of greater Syria (661–750) from the capital Damascus, the launching of the Abbasid dynasty that would move that capital to Baghdad and endure from 750 to 1258, and the emergence of ʿAbd al-Rahman I (756–788) from obscurity to a pivotal role in al-Andalus as the progenitor of the Hispano-Umayyad line.

 The family tree of the Iberian Umayyads that is presented by histo-

rians of the modern era as well as the classical period of Islam is comprised of sons of an uncomplicated Arab patriarchal genealogy. Muslim names are likewise patriarchal: in the medieval Arabic histories and biographies, a man's name is followed by the names of his male forebears, usually traced for five generations. Thus, he is the son (*ibn*) of the son of the son of the son of a man.[7] The mother is almost never mentioned, except in the case of dynastic rulers, and then presumably only so as to distinguish between brothers of the womb and half-brothers. Hence, while histories written in Arabic by premodern Muslim historians do not provide a family tree of the sort that Gayangos offers, the writing of a man's full name was itself a summary of his male ancestors.

The men of the Hispano-Umayyad house traced their ancestry to the Umayyad house of Damascus, and thus they appear to be of pure, noble, Muslim, and Arab stock. However, the *mothers* of these Umayyad heirs were predominantly Christian women from the north. Ibn Hazm, writing in the early eleventh century, tells us that, with but one exception, all the Umayyad caliphs and their children were blond like their mothers and predominantly blue-eyed.[8] Ibn Hazm's lengthy description of the fairness of the Umayyads and their predeliction for blonde women indicates that fair hair was not a common or universally admired genetic trait in al-Andalus in his day. Indeed, he composed a poem defending the beauty of a blonde woman:

> They criticized her to me on account of the blondeness of her
> hair,
> And I said: "This is exactly what makes her pretty to me!"
> They blame the color of light and gold in great error,
> Has anyone ever blamed the color of freshly-unfolded narcissus?
> Or the colors of stars blossoming forth in the distance?[9]

Ibn Hazm had fallen in love with a blonde slave girl; probably fair hair was common among slave women and their children, since a great many female slaves were obtained from the northern Iberian frontier. But he tells us that it was also a distinguishing characteristic of the Umayyad rulers of al-Andalus, for in addition to being the proud sons of Arab men, they were the blond sons of northern, non-Arab concubines. These early rulers of Islamic Spain were the progeny of a very intimate form of *convivencia*, literally "living together" or cohabitation.

A more complete family tree of the Umayyad house is presented in figure 2. Who are the women, the mothers of the emirs and caliphs shown
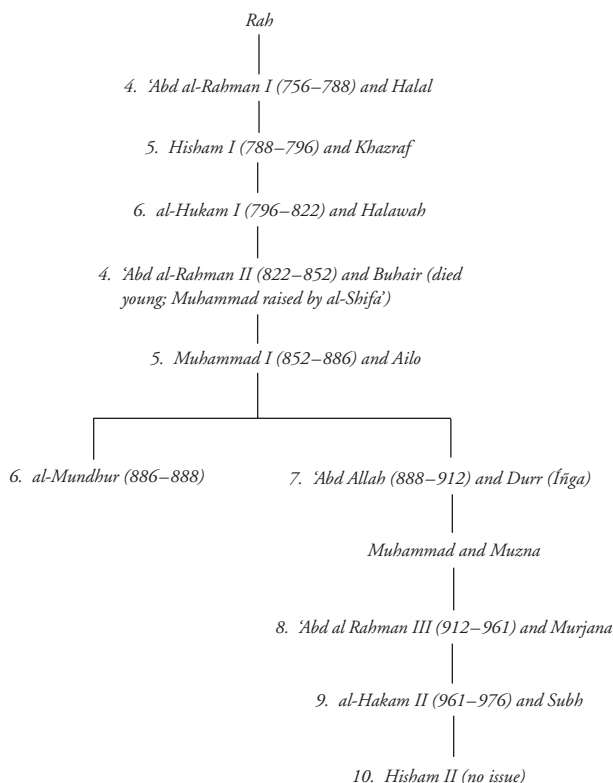
Rah
|
4. 'Abd al-Rahman I (756–788) and Halal
|
5. Hisham I (788–796) and Khazraf
|
6. al-Hukam I (796–822) and Halawah
|
*4. 'Abd al-Rahman II (822–852) and Buhair (died
young; Muhammad raised by al-Shifa')*
|
5. Muhammad I (852–886) and Ailo
|
6. al-Mundhir (886–888)   *7. 'Abd Allah (888–912) and Durr (Íñga)*
|
Muhammad and Muzna
|
8. 'Abd al Rahman III (912–961) and Murjana
|
9. al-Hakam II (961–976) and Subh
|
10. Hisham II (no issue)

Figure 2.
Genealogy of the Hispano-
Umayyad dynasty with the royal
mothers (D. F. Ruggles).

here? Rah, the mother of 'Abd al-Rahman I, was a Berber slave from the
Maghreb who lived most if not all of her adult life in Syria.[10] Although
many Berbers were early converts to Islam, they were not Arab, and their
appearance and culture were different from those of the Arabs. That Rah's
identity and ethnic origins are recorded in history is probably due to the role
her family played in providing refuge to 'Abd al-Rahman I and guiding him
toward his destiny in al-Andalus.

Hisham I was the first Umayyad ruler born on Andalusian soil, one

year after his father arrived on the peninsula. Hisham I's mother was Halal; the only information on her is an early source describing her as having black eyes. Given ʿAbd al-Rahman's five years in North Africa and the date of Hisham's birth not long after, it is reasonable to assume that Halal was a wife or consort chosen from among ʿAbd al-Rahman's Berber cousins.[11]

Khazraf, the mother of al-Hakam I, was a concubine.[12] Halawah ("Sweetie"), mother of ʿAbd al-Rahman II, was also a concubine.[13] Buhair ("Dazzling"), the concubine-consort of ʿAbd al-Rahman II, produced the future caliph Muhammad, but she died young, and so the child was raised by another concubine-consort of ʿAbd al-Rahman II, appropriately named al-Shifaʾ ("Healing").[14] Because the official histories largely ignored women and their lives, we know very little about the relationship between children and their birth mothers, co-mothers, and nurses. Did the mothers nurse their babies and sleep with them at night, and if so, until what age? Al-Shifaʾ is a welcome exception to the textual silence, because she is identified as a wet nurse, the adoptive mother of Buhair's son, as well as the birth mother of a son (al-Mutarrif) with ʿAbd al-Rahman II. Although a single example does not make a rule, this glimpse into the varied roles that a woman might play in the rearing of children indicates that there was not a strict separation between royal mothers and wet nurses. Furthermore, a concubine's most valuable asset as the years progressed was the child that she produced for the Umayyad family. Just as the sons were thrown into competition with each other for succession, important administrative appointments, and gifts from the sovereign father, the concubine-mothers were similarly competing for the success of their sons. It is unlikely that a woman would allow such a biological investment to be raised away from her watchful and protective eyes.

Muhammad I's concubine-consort Ailo gave birth to his son al-Mundhir, who would rule as caliph for a short term. Ailo was a Christian woman from the northern provinces, perhaps Castile, Leon, or Basque country.[15] Muhammad had at least one legitimate wife, Umm Salama, who was also his first cousin (marriage among cousins was a common Muslim practice). The Umayyad rulers, although they produced their heirs with slave women, also contracted marriages with legitimate wives. To understand this dual system, it is important to recognize that marriage and procreation had different goals.

Marriage was a protective status that provided a woman with a guardian and a family to assume responsibility for her. According to various hadith, a woman could not refuse her husband's sexual attentions, but she could demand full coitus; in other words, she could insist on sexual inter-

course without birth control, thus improving her chances of bearing children (which would elevate her social status thereafter).[16]

For concubines, the owner alone had the right to use or assign her sexual services and to decide whether or not to allow conception to occur. A female slave who bore a child was an *umm walad* (mother of a child) and gained certain rights, paramount among which was permanent residence in her owner's house and manumission when he died. The children born to both wives and concubines were absolutely equal under the law: they inherited property and enjoyed legal rights regardless of their mother's status.

Since we know that the Umayyad rulers married legitimate wives and that those wives, in theory, had the right to bear children — or at least to deny the husband the practice of coitus interruptus — why then did none of the Umayyad wives produce a son and heir for the Umayyad line? The historical sources reveal nothing. But we can surmise that a deliberate procreative program was in effect whereby wives were denied the sexual services of their royal husbands at least until a successor (or two) had been born to a slave-concubine.[17] ʿAbd al-Rahman II had eighty-seven children, and of these only Muhammad caught the attention of the official chroniclers.[18] This elder son, born of a slave-consort, became the ruler of al-Andalus and was a critical link in the dynastic chain, whereas the other forty-four sons and forty-two daughters were irrelevant to the continuity of the dynasty. The sons assembled on feast days with the sovereign's brothers and uncles to swear loyalty to their father, but spent the rest of their lives in relative anonymity.

Returning to the list of Umayyad concubine-mothers, Muhammad's wife Umm Salama was the patron of the cemetery bearing her name built outside of Cordoba. Indeed, many of the wives, concubines, and daughters of the Umayyad house were patrons of the built environment and the literary and visual arts. Thus, those women who failed to give birth to a contender for dynastic succession (which was largely, although not exclusively, determined by birth order) might make their mark on history as patrons. For example, ʿAbd al-Rahman II's daughter al-Baha' (d. 305/918) commissioned a mosque in a northern suburb of Cordoba and was a skilled copier of Qur'an manuscripts. Al-Hakam I's concubines, ʿAjab and Mut'a, built mosques, as did numerous other concubines and wives.[19]

Muhammad I's grandson, Muhammad, died before he could become emir, but his son ʿAbd al-Rahman III inherited in his place. Muhammad's mother was called Durr ("Pearl") in Arabic, but her name at birth was Íñiga. One of the problems in studying these women is that the names by which

they were recorded in history were often affectionate sobriquets, of which they might have several.[20] Durr was a Christian, the daughter of King García of Navarre, and her first marriage had been to a man from Navarre.[21] Clearly when she arrived in the Umayyad royal harem, she was a mature adult whose cultural formation had occurred in an entirely different context.

Muhammad's concubine-consort, who produced the future ʿAbd al-Rahman III, was named Muzna ("Raincloud"), although Lévi-Provençal admits that the name as written might have been a corruption of the Romance *Marta* or *María*, and Manuela Marín's recent study gives her the names Muzayna, Asma' and Usayma.[22] The sources state that she was a slave of either Basque or Frankish birth.[23]

Probably the most famous of the Christian concubine-mothers was Subh ("Dawn"), a fair-haired Basque who gave two sons to al-Hakam II. Subh held enormous political sway at court, conspiring with the vizier al-Mansur to secure the throne for her young son Hisham II after al-Hakam's death. Al-Hakam was either too absorbed in his books to care for sensual pleasures, or more attracted to men than to women (both explanations are offered in the histories), because he had not produced an heir at the time of his succession at age forty-six. But Subh dressed herself in a boyish style and caught the attention of al-Hakam, who nicknamed her Jaʿfar, a masculine name.[24]

While this behavior of Subh has been held up as proof of al-Hakam's homosexuality and her cunning manipulation of him, there is an alternative reading to these events that deserves mention. Depending on the perspective, Subh has been seen variously as an Amazon or a transvestite, both of which are polarizations of a behavior that was probably more common than historians have generally recognized. But recent studies indicate that female "cross-dressing" occurred on numerous other occasions. In fact, Subh belonged to a type known as the *ghumaliya* (a slave girl with a boyish look), whose figure was slim, sometimes with short hair and without a veil.[25] Envisioning those elusive lives and activities at the royal court that were either not deemed important by chroniclers or, more likely, were simply not seen by them, we can imagine that an enterprising woman might find it appealing on occasion to transform herself by shedding the visible signs of femininity (flowing robes, long hair, and veils) and the strictures associated with those signs, and to adopt alternative gender signs in order to emerge from the harem quarters and experience greater freedom in the world of men. On the other hand, in a society where the birth of royal sons was a

woman's key to power and influence, becoming "masculine" might have been a deliberate tactic for attracting the eye of a prince whose preference was for boys.

The custom of procreating with foreign slave women like Subh was not limited to the Hispano-Umayyad court. A recent study of the imperial Ottoman period indicates that from the mid–fifteenth century onward it was a strategy designed to exclude the mother's family from competing dynastic claims and identities.[26] From 750 until the early eleventh century, all but three of the Abbasid caliphs were born to slaves, according to Ibn Hazm.[27] Slave women are by definition *not* Muslim, because Muslims cannot legally be enslaved. Thus, the concubines in Muslim harems were typically Christian, pagan, or Jewish (although there is less information on Jewish female slaves).[28]

At a later time and place in the Islamic world, the harems of the Ottoman court in Istanbul contained Christian women of Polish, Greek, Balkan, Armenian, and Italian origins. In the Ottoman house from the mid–fifteenth century onward, the genealogical advantage of choosing slave-concubines to bear the Sultan's children and the Ottoman heirs was that the concubine, by virtue of her slave status, had no known bloodline to compete with that of the Ottomans. The concubine's only family was the Ottoman house that had adopted her, so that her interests concurred with theirs.[29] It appears that in Umayyad Spain genealogies were similarly constructed to confirm the descent of the male line and to construct a family tree without competition from the mother's genealogical family.

In other areas of the Islamic world, marriage to either non-Muslims or Muslim women from outside the royal family was favored as a form of political diplomacy. For example, the Mughal emperors (1526–1858) married Hindu women from prominent Rajput families who served the Mughal empire, thus ensuring mutual dynastic interests. The Safavids of Iran (1501–1732) chose their wives from among diverse noble Georgian, Circassian, and Turkmen families who brought distinguished political connections with them. However, when it came to procreation, only those sons born to Turkmen mothers succeeded to the throne. In the reign of Shah 'Abbas, the daughters of the Safavid house were married not to Turkmen families, as had previously been the practice, but rather to the 'ulema and Safavid nobles. Thus the Safavids began to focus their genealogy more and more on patriarchal lines.[30]

While Islamic law allowed Muslim men to marry non-Muslim women, a practice that increased the population and refreshed the gene
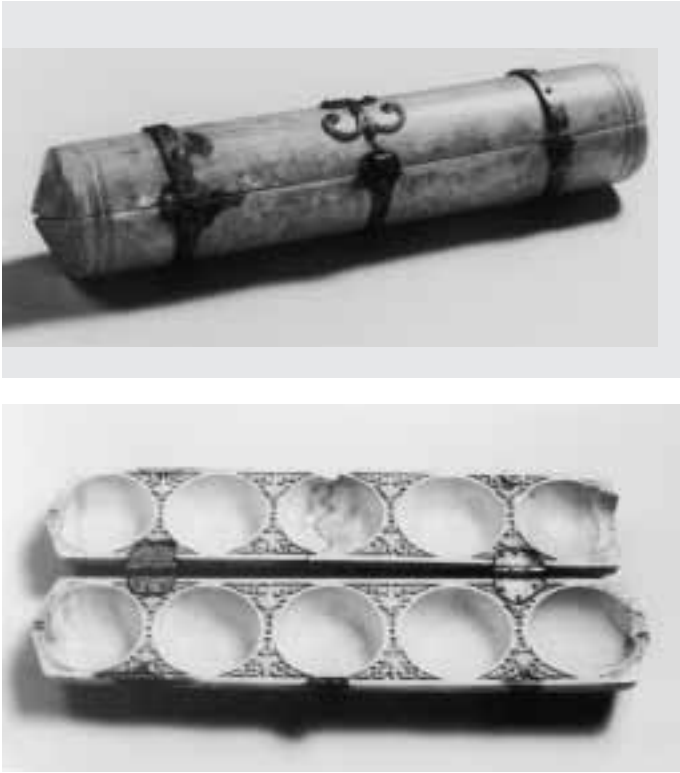
Figure 3.
Ivory game board of the daughter
of ʿAbd al-Rahman III. Courtesy
Museo de Burgos.

pool, Muslim women in contrast could only marry Muslim men.[31] One interesting aspect of this conjugal system is that, even when married to a Muslim husband, a Christian woman did not have to convert. Her children would be raised as Muslims, yet sheltered beneath the wing of a Christian who could worship as she pleased and—if she were a slave from the north—whose cultural foundations might be quite different from the dominant culture in which she now lived.[32] We may ask, in what language were the lullabies that she sang to her children? What games did they play together?

In the collection of the Museo de Burgos, there is an ivory game board with an inscription stating that it was made for one of the daughters of ʿAbd al-Rahman III (fig. 3). The game is manqala and it is played with beads

dropped into the shallow bowls of the open box. Popular in subsaharan Africa and Egypt, manqala was probably exported northward to Spain along with the African ivory from which it was made.[33] This game is evidence of material borrowing as well as the assimilation of cultural practices, and given the ethnic diversity of the Umayyad harem, one can easily imagine the process by which an African toy became popular in the royal palace of Cordoba.[34]

Returning to the family tree, the scenario is vastly more complex than even the genealogical diagram (fig. 2) indicates, because it is not the specific gene pool of the sons that we are tracing, but the cultural identity of all the members of the Umayyad harem quarters where the princes and future caliphs were raised. Thus, in describing the family environment in which a prince's social identity was shaped, we should include all the consorts, including those whose progeny did not rule. For example, 'Abd al-Rahman II's concubine-consort, Qalam, was the daughter of a Basque Christian man.[35] Likewise the singer Qalam—same name, different lady—who entertained the Umayyad court in the tenth century was of Basque origins.[36] Other similarly "hybrid" inhabitants of the Umayyad harem included the slave-eunuch Nasr, who was the son of a Spaniard who spoke no Arabic.[37]

Of course, to rise in the Umayyad court, any concubine or male slave had to learn perfect Arabic and the impeccable manners of that world whose social ladder he or she wished to climb. A woman who attained consort status in the ruling house would have been well trained in the arts of dance, music, and poetry, as well as the refinements of fashion. Certainly, the formal language and cultural norms of that court were Arabic. But, as in bilingual and ethnically mixed families today, in those unselfconscious, informal modes of chat, gossip, humming, and play, the mother would draw upon a different repertoire: the language, tunes, and games that she had learned from her own birth and milk mothers. Hence, she might also speak the romance tongue of Navarre or Cataluña, remember the sweet taste of well-cured ham, and occasionally sing a colloquial song remembered from her childhood, particularly when rocking the cradle of her newborn. These mothers oversaw the early years of their sons' lives, when all the children lived in the harem; later, if the son became amir or caliph, his mother enjoyed high social status and considerable political power.[38] In the Ottoman court, where the practice paralleled the Umayyad system of procreation with concubines, the authority of the sultan's mother—despite her slave origins—exceeded that of either his legitimate, freeborn wives or the concubine mothers of his sons.

Lurking discretely behind the descriptions of royal mothers who were blonde, blue-eyed, and "foreign" is the issue of blondeness as a sign of racial difference. In today's rhetoric, we would call these physical characteristics markers of "race." They are selected signs: it is not stated whether the women had large or small noses, broad or narrow cheekbones. In al-Andalus, two physical details — hair and eyes — constructed the racial categories that were, in turn, used to construct social identities.[39] The blondeness of these women marked them as belonging to a different racial and social group: Christian/slave/northern.

At the same time, the Umayyad men were also constructing themselves as a racial group, by means of a patriarchal genealogy. They possessed the same visual markers of "Basqueness" (however that term was understood) as their blonde mothers, yet they cast themselves as Arab. The use of racial markers was selective. We have seen that race could serve to identify difference, but it could also be ignored when it did not serve the construction of social identity desired by the Umayyad rulers. Thus, despite the fact that the Umayyad rulers of Cordoba were genetically and culturally a mixture of Arab and "Basque," Muslim and Christian, they presented themselves entirely as Arab and Muslim, the sons of a pure patriarchal genealogy. Of course, the tracing of genealogy via the male line was the norm among both Muslims and Christians throughout the medieval world, but in the case of the Hispano-Umayyads, the fact of genetic and cultural hybridity detracted from their claim to Arab purity. To underscore their distinguished heritage, they called attention to their Arab roots in their patronage of architecture and chronicles by evoking places and events in Arab history. For this reason, 'Abd al-Rahman I (756–788), the first emir of al-Andalus, named his Cordoban palace estate al-Rusafa, after the estate in Syria where he had spent his youth. Of its rich variety of trees and flowers, collected at considerable expense in what may have been the first botanical garden on the European continent,[40] he identified himself with the palm tree, a reminder of the desert and the peripatetic Arabs. He composed this poem about that palm, a sign of exile and of longing for a lost home:

> A palm tree stands in the middle of Rusafa, born in the West,
>   far from the land of palms.
> I said to it: "How like me you are, far away and in exile,
>   in long separation from family and friends.
> You have sprung from soil in which you are a stranger;
>   and I, like you, am far from home.

Figure 4.
Great Mosque of Damascus,
prayer hall. Photograph courtesy
of the author.

> May dawn's clouds water you, streaming from the heavens
> in a grateful downpour."[41]

The date palm tree is an ancient symbol of Syria, the "land of palms" (and hence the name of the Syrian city, Palmyra). But in the poem the palm, like the Syrian-born 'Abd al-Rahman, is transplanted to al-Andalus. The poem captured the imagination of early historians such as Ibn Hayyan, al-Nuwayri, Ibn 'Idhari, and al-Maqqari, who transmitted it to modern historians, generations of whom have used the poem as proof of a self-conscious cultural and ideological bridge between Syria and al-Andalus.[42] Art historians like myself especially like to cite this poem in order to demonstrate the self-consciousness of the linkage between the Great Mosque of Damascus (finished 715) and the Great Mosque of Cordoba (begun 786).

The two buildings share many distinctive features such as prayer halls with unusually high ceilings held aloft by double-tiered arcades on columns (see figs. 4–6) and, by the mid–tenth century, a program of mag-

Figure 5.
Great Mosque of Cordoba, prayer
hall. Photograph courtesy of the
author.

nificent mosaics (figs. 7 and 8). The Great Mosque of Cordoba also has a foundation myth that resembles that of Damascus, its apparent model. Just as the Great Mosque of Damascus was reputedly built on the site of a church bought from the Christian community, the Great Mosque of Cordoba was supposedly built on the site of a Visigothic church bought legitimately from the Christians of Cordoba.[43] The story of the foundation of the Cordoba mosque is probably apocryphal, for it does not appear in the historical sources until more than two hundred years after the erection of the mosque, but the anecdote is important because it reveals the desire to link Cordoba's greatest Umayyad monument with the former Umayyad seat of government and great mosque in Syria.[44]

'Abd ab-Rahman I's poem appears to be a literary mirror for the flow of such cultural, artistic, and architectural influences from Syria to al-Andalus: the palm tree is of Syrian stock, an exotic type newly domesticated in al-Andalus, like 'Abd al-Rahman I himself. But we must avoid adopting the same racial constructions as the Umayyad themselves: neither their bloodlines nor the artistic influences on this building were purely Syrian and Arab. In fact, Damascus was only one of the sources from which the architects of this

Figure 6.
Great Mosque of Cordoba,
double-tiered arcades on columns.
Photograph courtesy of the author.

mosque drew. The Cordoba mosque is a rich amalgam of Roman, Visigothic, Byzantine, and Syrian Islamic architectural and ornamental ideas, some imported to Iberia from abroad, and others observed locally. For example, both the polychromy and the double-tiered structure of the red-and-white colored arches of the mosque interior were observed at the Roman aqueduct of Merida, and the capitals and columns (fig. 6) that held aloft that Damascus-like arcaded superstructure were taken from older Visigothic and Roman
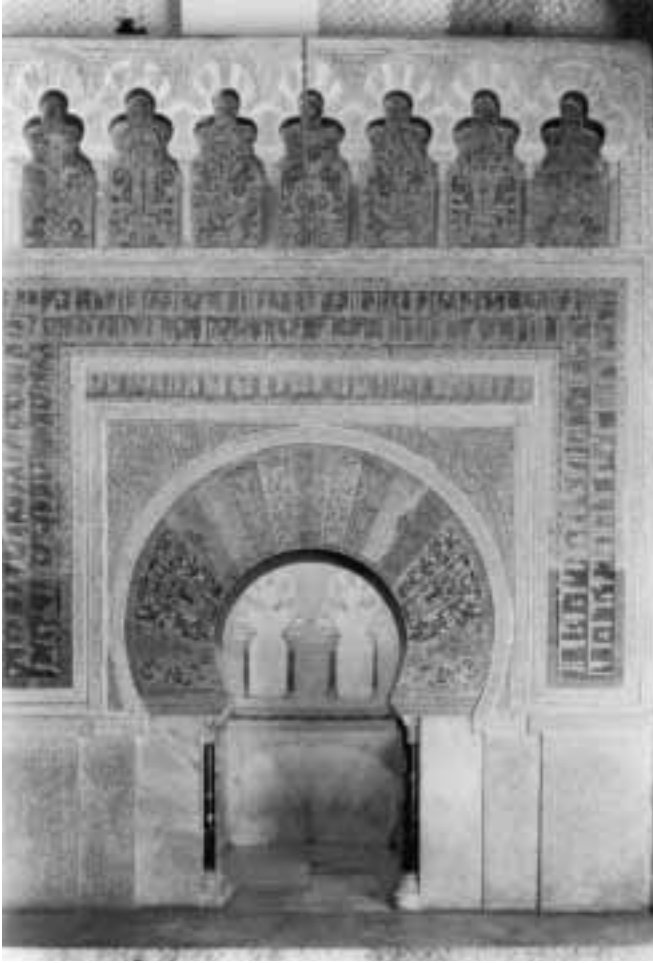
Figure 7.
Great Mosque of Cordoba,
mihrab. Photograph courtesy of
the author.

buildings that littered the landscape around Cordoba. They were presumably paid for by 'Abd al-Rahman I at about the time that he was gazing at his palm tree and dreaming nostalgically of Syria. That Damascus is the most explicitly acknowledged of these diverse sources is due to its ideological importance, conferring legitimacy upon a dynasty formed by an orphaned refugee.[45]

Indeed, the solitary palm is a problematic symbol of genealogy; for as with human beings, the palm reproduces sexually, pollen from the male

Figure 8.
Great Mosque of Damascus,
courtyard mosaics. Photograph
courtesy of Bernard O'Kane.

palm inducing the female palm to produce fruit.[46] Likewise, the fruit of the Hispano-Umayyads was obtained sexually from women who were not Syrian or Arab, but Christian from the Iberian North. What matters here is not that the genes of the Umayyad rulers became increasingly more European than Arab with each generation. The critical point pertains to the effect of child-rearing and cultural formation on *convivencia.*

The impact of this mixed culture on the arts of al-Andalus has been well documented. Of the many examples of foreign objects and techniques admired by Andalusian patrons and incorporated into Andalusian art and architecture, the most famous are the mosaics that framed the new mihrab added to the Great Mosque of Cordoba in 965 (fig. 7). Adorning the most visually important place in the premier mosque of the capital of al-Andalus, these mosaics that now emblematize Hispano-Umayyad visual culture were made by Byzantine artisans sent to Cordoba with crates of tesserae from the Byzantine emperor.[47] Art historians portray this as a dramatic moment in artistic exchange, and of course it was also a dramatic moment in artistic reception.

The installation of glittering Byzantine mosaics in Cordoba is not parallel to the examples of the mosaics installed in the Great Mosque of Damascus (fig. 8), the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, the Medina mosque, and even the Aleppo mosque in the late seventh and early eighth centuries.[48] The mosaics in the mosques of Damascus and Medina were probably made by Byzantine artisans (at Damascus, tesserae taken from ruined churches were used),[49] while in other cases local craftsmen learned the technique from Byzantine masters. Whether made by Byzantines or in a Byzantine style, the eastern mosaics were in place 250 years *before* Cordoba received its new mihrab, and they were made in areas where mosaics were a common feature of church (and eventually mosque) ornamentation. In contrast, few people in Cordoba had ever seen mosaics, except perhaps the pebble mosaics still to be seen on the floors of ruined Roman villas, and fewer still had seen the colorful mosaics running around the courtyard facade and arcades of the Damascus mosque (partly visible today) and adorning its *qibla* wall. Nonetheless, those eastern monuments continued to echo in the imaginations of tenth-century Andalusian patrons and chroniclers who proudly traced the ancestry of the Umayyads to Syria.

In their Cordoba mosque, the Umayyad patrons of al-Andalus probably commissioned this program of Byzantine mosaics because of its nostalgic associations with the glorious Umayyad Syrian past. Such mosaics must have had strong Umayyad associations that outweighed any Byzantine resonance, but they referred to an Umayyad time and place that was quite far from tenth-century Cordoba. It is significant that once the visiting master mosaicist had used up his gold and blue tesserae on this spectacular mihrab, he packed up and went home to Constantinople. Unlike the Syrian scenario, mosaics were not assimilated into the technical repertoire of local artistic practice, and no other such mosaic was ever made in the Islamic kingdoms of al-Andalus. The mosaics at Cordoba remained an admired exoticism and, like the poem's palm tree, a sign of historicity and difference.

The royal palace provides a second example of cultural appropriation. The Umayyad seat of government and residence of the caliphs was the great palace city Madinat al-Zahra', begun in 936, a few kilometers from the walled, urban center of Cordoba. Legends about the foundation of this enormous city of palaces, mosques, gardens, and handsome reception halls explained that it was named for a concubine called al-Zahra', and over the main gate of the palace there stood a female figure, supposedly a representation of the lady al-Zahra' herself. Because of the ambiguity of the Arabic grammatical construction, the name *Madinat al-Zahra'* can mean "City of

Radiance," but it could also mean "City of the Radiant Woman." In addition to radiant, the word *al-Zahra'* means "white." (Hence the name for the planet Venus is al-Zuhara, referring to its bright whiteness.) When applied to a woman, it has the meaning of "fair of face" and "fair-complexioned."[50]

The story of how the palace received its name is spurious, for it is unlikely that a caliph with international aspirations to power would have named the seat of his administration after one of his concubines.[51] In a palace whose female population numbered in the thousands, he had many liaisons, few of which were lasting, and in any case there is no mention of such a woman in the contemporary histories.[52] It is more likely that the romantic myth of al-Zahra' was invented after the fact to explain the Roman statue, a figure of a goddess picked up at one of the many ruined Roman villas along the Guadalquivir River valley and reused in the new Islamic palace city. Evidently, the Roman origins of the statue at Madinat al-Zahra' was no barrier to its enthusiastic reception in public art of the Islamic period, for the female figure was placed in a prominent position above the gates of the city and seen by all who passed through them.

The statue was removed from Madinat al-Zahra' in 1190 by the Almohad ruler Ya'qub al-Mansur, but we can imagine her general appearance. The physiognomic naturalism of the Roman sculpture, celebrating the grace and beauty of the female body, would have stood in contrast to the more schematic rendering of Islamic representations of the human form. Seen in this Islamic context with its more limited tradition of volumetric figural arts, the three-dimensional naturalism of the Roman sculpture—perhaps a Venus, as the name suggests—was surely "read" as non-Islamic and exotic, and its public display may have been intended as a reference to the exotic fair-haired women sequestered in the Umayyad harem, perhaps the royal mothers.

While the Cordoba mosque mosaic is an example of artistic production and the eager commissioning of new art employing the technique, style, and craftsmen of a foreign art culture, it is also an example of reception: a willingness to import foreign forms and to use them in the heart of the most quintessentially Islamic building on the Iberian Peninsula. In contrast, the portal sculpture of Madinat al-Zahra' is an example of pure reception: a non-Islamic work of art, rounded and fleshy in the Roman style, prominently displayed in the most quintessentially Umayyad palace of al-Andalus. It did not launch a series, for although many later palaces were built in Cordoba and al-Andalus, none had gates topped by such statues. Both the mosaics and the Roman statue are cases of monumental, exotic art

Figure 9.
Marble capital, probably
from Madinat al-Zahrà.
Courtesy Meadows Museum,
Southern Methodist
University, Dallas.

forms that were received and esteemed by Umayyad patrons, but that were not assimilated into Umayyad art and reproduced by its artists.

However, there are other cases of genuine assimilation where a Byzantine technique was imported to al-Andalus, mastered by Andalusian artists, and thoroughly domesticated, as in the example of the carved and deeply drilled marble capitals and bases from Madinat al-Zahra' (see fig. 9). The reception halls, residential quarters, and mosques of that palace had well more than fifty such capitals, distinctive for the sharp contrasts in light and shade of their surfaces. Although the historical sources, which are quite specific with respect to the numbers, status, and salaries of the various work-

ers, do not mention Byzantine artisans, nonetheless, we can surmise the artistic "genealogy," knowing that master artists from both Constantinople and Baghdad had worked on the Dar al-Rawda, an earlier palace for the same Umayyad patron.[53] Either an eastern master trained local young men in the technique of drilling, or Byzantine artists visited Cordoba and stayed, mingling undifferentiated with the Arabized Christian community after a generation or two. In either case, whether it was because they themselves became Andalusians or simply gave training to Andalusian stoneworkers, their extraordinary technique was soon naturalized.

These scenarios of artistic appropriation and assimilation can be multiplied by countless other cases of manuscripts, textiles, hairstyles, enamel portraits, musical instruments, animals, plant cuttings, and assorted gifts that arrived in Cordoba from Constantinople, Baghdad, Ifriqiya, the Maghreb, and the Christian kingdoms of Leon, Navarre, and Aragon. Together, they show that there was a willing reception of novel forms and techniques, whether imported from abroad or discovered locally as Roman spolia.

Just as goods and practices arrived in al-Andalus from elsewhere, Andalusian art and cultural practices also went northward. Many precious and finely worked ivory and metal containers that housed cosmetics or trinkets in the Muslim court were seized as the booty of conquest by Christian soldiers (some of whom were employed by Muslim lords trying to seize territory from other Muslim lords) and donated to cathedral treasuries for use as reliquaries. For example, a silver and gilt box, called the Casket of Hisham II (Museu de la Catedral de Girona), fabricated in 976 for the caliph in one of Cordoba's workshops, was seized by Catalan mercenaries in 1010 and eventually was donated to Gerona Cathedral.[54] The so-called Pamplona casket (Museo de Navarra, Pamplona), dated 1004/5, had a similar fate (see fig. 10). From the same royal workshop that had earlier produced the gameboard of the daughter of ʿAbd al-Rahman III (fig. 3), the Pamplona casket was made for the son of al-Mansur to mark the occasion of his conquest of Leon in 1004. It eventually passed to Christian owners who donated it to Leyre Abbey, where it served as a reliquary for the bones of two Christian martyrs who had died defying Islam in the south.[55] Another ivory container made for the same patron ultimately became a receptacle for a chalice in Braga Cathedral (Braga Cathedral Treasury, Portugal).[56] Just as these and other similar luxury objects were traded northward or seized as conquest booty, likewise Christian women were traded southward, or captured as prisoners of war. Cathedral treasuries were collections, and harems were collections. And in both, the unusual and foreign were highly prized.

Figure 10.
Pamplona casket. Courtesy Museo
de Navarra, Pamplona.

Such exchanges, whether human or material, provoke the measuring of difference and sameness; and in the culturally heterogeneous environment of al-Andalus, they contributed to the construction of social identity. For this reason such exchanges are never neutral. The act of cultural exchange sets in motion a play of comparisons, which the historian, looking backward, assesses in terms of the degrees of "influence."[57] Such comparisons require the acknowledgment of difference, as well as decisions regarding the acceptance or rejection of difference. This operation may leave its record in the material objects of al-Andalus, which has attracted the interest of an international community of art historians in recent years (prompted by the excitement of the quincentenary celebration of 1492), but it is enacted in human society.

I have not presented the objects and architectural elements discussed here in order to observe the influence of one ethnic or social group on the arts of another. Nor in showing that some Christian women attained high status and power in the Umayyad house am I suggesting that they deliberately patronized objects from Christian culture or with ostensibly "Christian" influence. The casket of Hisham, casket and pyxis of Sayf al-Dawla, and mosaics of the Great Mosque of Cordoba are works of silver, ivory, and glass: they are neither Muslim nor Christian, Arab nor Basque,

male nor female. We should be wary of using inanimate things to reify power and gender relations and, more insidiously, to justify the categories of difference by which we establish the existence of "race." Although medieval and modern historians, including myself, regularly invoke classifications of race, religion, and ethnicity in order to facilitate comparative analysis and expose difference (or the areas where it collapses), I am proposing that we reexamine our motives for doing so. If meaning is the result of an audience's reading or perception of a visual, literary, or musical form, and if the audiences and individuals were complex ethnic and social composites, then the most immediate and profound *convivencia* occurred not in the arts but in the bodies and minds of the producers, patrons, and audiences of those arts.

We have looked at the gendering of race, in which Arab-Syrian men were marked as separate and distinct from the Christian slave women who were their consorts. These constructions of race served to exclude women from Umayyad patriarchy and stressed the Umayyads' unilateral descent from Arab-Syrian origins that were ostensibly not diverse, not multicultural, and not polyglot. But if we can see past the construction of difference momentarily, and focus instead on its *constructedness*, we can ask: How Arab were those sons reared in palace harems supervised by Berber, Frankish, and Basque mothers? What is at stake in these words *Arab*, *Islamic*, *Christian*, and ultimately *Spanish*? When modern historians use these terms, do we participate in the same racial constructions as the Umayyads themselves? When we accept the Umayyad vision of an uncomplicated Muslim patriarchy, are we not shirking our duties as historians to write and critique history, as opposed to merely repeating it? I wonder if we have subscribed to the Umayyad version of the palm tree transplanted from Syria to al-Andalus, because it allows us to turn a blind eye to the patriarchal structures of the modern world, in which all of today's historians are intellectually formed. When we exclude the women from the Umayyad family tree and deny them a critical role in the formation of Andalusian culture and the reception and patronage of art, to whose patriarchy and concepts of race, gender, and identity are we really bowing our heads?

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Notes

1   The question of the degree to which Spanish culture is stable (essential) or is the product of centuries of *convivencia* among Muslims, Christians, and Jews, lies at the heart of Américo Castro's historical work, especially *España en su historia: cristianos, moros y judíos*, 2nd ed. (Barcelona: Editorial Crítica, 1983); and its English version, *The Structure of Spanish History* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1954). He was opposed by Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz in *España: un enigma histórico*, 2 vols. (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamérica, 1956). The "separate identities" model was also adopted by Pierre Guichard, "The Social History of Muslim Spain from the Conquest to the End of the Almohad Régime," in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, ed. Salma Jayyusi (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992), 679–708; and Guichard, *Structures sociales "orientales" et "occidentales" dans l'Espagne musulmane* (Paris-The Hague: Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 1977). Guichard was in part trying to combat lingering racist arguments that Spain had been culturally superior to other parts of the Islamic world in the medieval period precisely because its people were "improved" by the admixture of European blood. Along these lines, Lévi-Provençal had written that ʿAbd al-Rahman III was "un Umaiyade andalou de la bonne tradition, car il coule dans ses veines au moins autant de sang européen que de sang asiatique" (*Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, 3 vols. [Paris: G.-P. Maisonneuve, 1950–53], 2:2). For a discussion of nationalist polemics of Spanish medieval historiography, see Thomas Glick and Oriol Pi-Sunyer, "Acculturation as an Explanatory Concept in Spanish History," in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 11 (1969): 136–54. More recent discussions of cultural difference, influence, and hybridity are to be found in María Rosa Menocal, "Visions of al-Andalus," in *The Literature of Al-Andalus, The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature*, ed. M. Menocal, Raymond Scheindlin, and Michael Sells (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 1–24; Jerrilynn D. Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology in Early Medieval Spain* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 1–5; and Thomas Glick, "Convivencia: An Introductory Note," in the exhibition catalogue *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain*, ed. Vivian B. Mann, Thomas F. Glick, and Jerrilynn D. Dodds (New York: George Braziller in association with the Jewish Museum, 1992), 1–9.

2   The term *Spain* is deeply problematic when applied to the medieval context. It is often used to refer to the entire Iberian Peninsula, which is incorrect. Here I use *Spain* and *Portugal* to refer to the modern nations. For a discussion of *Spain*, see Menocal in *Literature of Al-Andalus*, 11–13; and Richard Fletcher, *Moorish Spain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 9–10.

3   For example, David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996), 10, documents

the many barriers erected in thirteenth-century Iberia between Christians, Jews, and Muslims that were intended to prohibit social and sexual intercourse.

4   See note 1.

5   For studies on Andalusian women, see Manuela Marìn's extraordinarily detailed and up-to-date *Mujeres en al-Andalus* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2000); María Viguera, "*Asluhu li'ma'ali*: On the Social Status of Andalusi Women," in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, ed. Salma K. Jayyusi (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994), 709–24; María J. Viguera, ed., *La mujer en al-Andalus: Reflejos históricos de su actividad y categorías sociales* (Seville: Editoriales Andaluzas Unidas, 1989); Rachel Arié, "Aperçus sur la femme dans l'Espagne musulmane," in Celia del Moral, ed., *Árabes, Judías y Cristianas: mujeres en la Europa Medieval* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1993), 137–60.

6   Although this two-volume work by Pascual de Gayangos (London, 1840–43) edited and abbreviated al-Maqqari's lengthy history of the Umayyad dynasty (*Nafh al-Tib*), it was the first such translation to make that era of the Islamic Iberian history available to Spanish readers. D. F. Ruggles, "Historiography and the Rediscovery of Madinat al-Zahra'," *Islamic Studies* 30 (1991): 129–40.

7   The string of personal names is his *nasab* (genealogy); it culminates in a *nisba*, a collective family name.

8   Ibn Hazm, *A Book Containing the "Risala" Known as the Dove's Neck-Ring*, trans. A. R. Nykl (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1931), 39–40; D. K. Pétrof, *Tauk-al-Hamama* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1914), 26 (Arabic). One cannot know if Ibn Hazm means yellow blond or perhaps light brown hair, but he clearly meant to emphasize the sharp distinction between blond and black hair.

9   For the full poem, see Ibn Hazm, *Dove's Neck-Ring*, 41.

10   Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire,* 1:95. This was a substantial revision of R. Dozy's text of the same title.

11   Pascual de Gayangos, *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, 2 vols. (London, 1840–43), 2:95 and 424. The timing of events strongly suggests this. The reference to black eyes alone is insufficient evidence for Berber origins, for "black eyes" is a conventional description and does not necessarily denote a Berber, who might have had blue or green eyes.

12   Ibid., 2:106.

13   Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire*, 1:195, citing Ibn Sa'id (C.E. 1214–1286/7), *Mughrib*, fol. 116v; Gayangos, *History*, 2:124.

14   Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire*, 1:267, citing Ibn al-'Abbar (d. C.E. 1041/2), *Kitab al-Takmila*; Gayangos, *History*, 2:128, calls her "Kahtaz."

15   Gayangos (*History*, 2:131) calls her "Athl," or "tamarisk." The terms *Basque* and *Navarre* to identify a slave's place of origin are confusing. Clearly they came from the frontier where the preponderance of Hispano-Islamic slaves were obtained as conquest booty. But as to what the terms *Basque, Navarrese,* and *Frankish* meant to the medieval Islamic historians of al-Andalus is a subject ripe for further research.

16   Discussed in Barbara Stowasser, "The Status of Women in Early Islam," in Freda Hussain, ed., *Muslim Women* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984), 31, citing al-Bukhari (C.E. 810–870), ed. A. J. Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*

(Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1927), book 67; and Ahmad ibn Hanbal (d. C.E. 855), *Musnad*, 6 vols. (Cairo, A.H. 1313 [1895–96]), 1:31.

17 The Umayyad pattern of selecting royal mothers and producing sons bears some resemblance to the Ottoman house. Although the Ottomans contracted formal marriage with high-born foreign princesses until the mid–fifteenth century, they abandoned marriage thereafter. From that point onward, the royal mothers were concubines, with a few rare instances in which the sultan freed his concubine and made her a legitimate wife. On this subject, see Leslie Peirce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); and Peirce, "Gender and Sexual Propriety in Ottoman Royal Women's Patronage," in D. Fairchild Ruggles, ed., *Women, Patronage, and Self-Representation in Islamic Societies* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000), 53–68.

18 Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire*, 1:267–68.

19 On these three women, see Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire*, 1:267–68 and 285; on al-Baha' see also Ibn ʿAbbar, *Takmila*, no. 2858, and Ibn ʿIdhari, *Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, intitulée al-Bayano' l-Mogrib*, trans. E. Fagnan, 2 vols. (Alger: P. Fontana, 1901–4), 2:285. The women al-Shifa', Tarub, and Fakhr likewise endowed mosques (Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire*, 1:262). Mariyan (or Murjana), the consort-concubine of ʿAbd al-Rahman III and mother of al-Hakam II, endowed several charitable foundations and built numerous mosques, one of which was very large (Ibn Hayyan, *Cronica del califa ʿAbdarrahman III An-Nasir entre los años 912 y 942 (al-Muqtabis V)*, trans. María Jesús Viguera and Federico Corriente [Zaragossa: Instituto Hispano-Arabe de Cultura, 1981], 13–20). Of the 30 women's names that appear in the more than 300 inscriptions collected by Lévi-Provençal and Ocaña, half belong to tombs in which the women are buried (Manuela Marín, "Las mujeres en al-Andalus: Fuentes e historiografía," in del Moral, ed., *Árabes, judías y cristianas*, 35–52). While this does not prove that the women themselves commissioned the tombs, it does show their association with architectural patronage either as patrons or as beneficiaries.

20 Marín, *Mujeres*, 53–60.

21 Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire*, 1:323.

22 Marín, *Mujeres*, 64.

23 Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire*, 2:2.

24 Ibid., 2:173, citing Ibn ʿIdhari. Al-Maqqari, in *Analectes*, 2:59, said al-Hakam was a *hubb al-walad* ("lover of boys").

25 Henri Pérès, *Esplendor de al-Andalus*, trans. Mercedes García-Arenal (French original, 1937; Madrid: Hiperión, 1983), 236 and 420–22. For a brief discussion of this public behavior adopted by some Andalusian women, see María Viguera, "*Asluhu li'l-maʿali*," in *Legacy of Muslim Spain*, 708–24.

26 Peirce, *Imperial Harem*; see note 15.

27 Fatima Mernissi, *The Forgotten Queens of Islam*, trans. M. J. Lakeland (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 57, citing Ibn Hazm.

28 Jewish communities tended to adopt many of the practical norms of the societies in which they lived. Hence, Jews under Christianity practiced monogamy, but those living in Islamic societies were more inclined toward polygamy. There is less information on the practice of concubinage; it was officially condemned by the rabbis. See Moisés

Orfali, "Influencia de las sociedades cristiana y musulmana en la condición de la mujer judía," in del Moral, ed. *Árabes, judías y cristianas*, 77–89; and *The Encyclopedia Judaica* (1971), 5:862–65. There were increasing numbers of Jewish slave women after 1492, according to Charles Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale*, 2 vols. (Ghent: Rijkssuniversiteit te Gent, 1977), 2:493.

29 Peirce, *Imperial Harem*, passim.

30 In the Timurid and Safavid dynasties, wives from noble families brought a distinguished genealogy with them into marriage. The foundation inscriptions on the architectural monuments of the Timurid queen Gawhar Shad, for example, proclaim her to be the wife of the Sultan but also the daughter of her father. On Timurid women, see Roya Marefat, "Timurid Women: Patronage and Power," *Asian Art* 6/2 (1993): 28–49; and Priscilla Soucek, "Timurid Women: A Cultural Perspective," in Gavin Hambly, ed., *Women in the Medieval Islamic World* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 199–226. For Safavid examples of female genealogy endowing social status, see Maria Szuppe, "La participation des femmes de la famille royale à l'exercice du pouvoir en Iran safavide au XVIe siècle," *Studia Iranica* 23 (1994): 211–57; and 24 (1995): 61–122; Kishwar Rizvi, "Gendered Patronage: Women and Benevolence during the Early Safavid Empire," in Ruggles, ed., *Women, Patronage, and Self-Representation*, 123–53; and Kathryn Babayan, "The ʿAqaʾid al-nisaʾ: A Glimpse at Safavid Women in Local Isfahani Culture," in Hambly, ed., *Women in the Medieval Islamic World*, 356–57.

31 The Qurʾan states that Muslim women may not marry idolators (2:221), but that Muslim men may marry, in addition to Muslim women, women of "People of the Book," that is, Jews and Christians (5:5). For a discussion of the role of marriage in the process of acculturation in al-Andalus, see Janina M. Safran, "Identity and Differentiation in Ninth-Century al-Andalus," *Speculum* 76 (2001): 573–98.

32 Thiery Bianquis, "The Family in Arab Islam," in *A History of the Family*, ed. André Burgiére et al., trans. S. H. Tenison et al., 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1996), 1:601–47.

33 Renata Holod, entry 1, "Game Box of the Daughter of ʿAbd al-Rahman III," in *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain*, ed. Jerrilynn Dodds (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992), 190–91.

34 This is but one example of a rich exchange of architectural motifs, textiles, habits of dress, cuisine, games, words, and social practices. While a larger discussion of these lies outside the scope of this essay, examples are to be found in María Rosa Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987); the Metropolitan Museum of Art catalogue, *The Art of Medieval Spain, A.D. 500–1200* (New York: Metropolitan Museum and Harry Abrams, 1993), especially the three introductory essays by Bernard Reilly, John Williams, and Jerrilynn D. Dodds, 3–37; Mann, Glick, and Dodds, ed., *Convivencia*; and various essays in the exhibition catalogue *El Esplendor de los Omeyas Cordobeses*, 2 vols. (Córdoba: Consejería de Cultura, 2001).

35 Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire*, 1:285. Her father was enslaved by Muslims as a boy.

36 Al-Maqqari, *Nafh al-tib min ghush al-Andalus al-ratib*, ed. I. ʿAbbas, 8 vols. (Bayrut: Dar Sadir, 1968), 3:140.

37 Reinhart Dozy, *Spanish Islam: A History of the Moslems in Spain*, trans. Francis Griffin Stokes (London: Chatto and Windus, 1913), 265.

38 Describing his youth, Ibn Hazm wrote that he was trained in Qur'an and taught his letters by women until he reached the age of puberty (Manuela Marín, "Las mujeres en al-Andalus: Fuentes e historiografía," in del Moral, ed., *Árabes, judías y cristianas*, 49).

39 Ibn Hazm specifically referred to fairness of hair, but Ibn Khaldun referred to color of skin in his discussion of the cause of "racial" differences in *The Muqaddimah*, trans. Franz Rosenthal, 3 vols. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958), 1:167–73, 264–68, 278–82.

40 Julio Samsó, "Ibn Hišam al-Lajmi y el primer jardín botánico en al-Andalus," *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid* 21 (1981–82): 135–41.

41 This is my translation from Ruggles, *Gardens, Landscape, and Vision in the Palaces of Islamic Spain* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 42. The Arabic original is given in Ibn ʿIdhari, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord et de l'Espagne musulmane intitulée Kitab al-Bayan al-mughrib*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal and G. S. Colin, 2 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1948–51), 2:60. The poem closely parallels verses attributed to ʿAbd al-Malik, the Syrian-born governor of Seville in the time of ʿAbd al-Rahman I (Gayangos, *History*, 2:77 n. 4).

42 Some examples include Ruggles, *Gardens, Landscape, and Vision*, 42; Jerrilynn Dodds, "The Great Mosque of Cordoba," in Dodds, ed., *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain*, 15; Francisco Prado-Vilar, "Circular Visions of Fertility and Punishment: Caliphal Caskets from al-Andalus," *Muqarnas* 14 (1997): 38 n. 41; Adolf Friedrich von Schack *Poesía y arte de los árabes en España y Sicilia* (German original, 1865; Madrid: Hiperión, 1988), 37–38.

43 Ibn ʿIdhari, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord et de l'Espagne*, trans. Fagnan, 2:378.

44 K. A. C. Creswell, *A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture*, rev. James Allan (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1989), 291; and Dodds, "The Great Mosque of Cordoba," 11–25.

45 The concept of a Hispano-Umayyad ideology is thoroughly discussed by Dodds in *Architecture and Ideology*; and "The Great Mosque of Cordoba," 11–25.

46 Francisco Prado-Vilar has examined the palm tree motif in Umayyad ivories as a fertility symbol, "Circular Visions of Fertility and Punishment," 19–41.

47 Ibn ʿIdhari, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord et de l'Espagne*, 2:249–56; and Fagnan, trans., *Histoire*, 2:385–93.

48 For a discussion of Umayyad mosaics and Byzantine influences, as well as a bibliography of the sources on early Umayyad mosaics, see Finbarr B. Flood, *The Great Mosque of Damascus: Studies in the Making of an Umayyad Visual Culture* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2001).

49 According to Tabari, *The Zenith of the Marwanid House*, trans. Martin Hinds (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), 142; cited in Flood, *Great Mosque of Damascus*, 24.

50 E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, 8 vols. (London, 1863–93).

51 Ruggles, *Gardens, Landscape, and Vision*, 57 and 64.

52 More than 6,000 women, according to Ibn ʿIdhari, in Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire*, 2:127.

53 Ruggles, *Gardens, Landscape, and Vision*, 49.

54 Manuel Casamar Pérez, entry 9, "Casket of Hisham II," in Dodds, ed., *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain*, 208–9.

55 O. K. Werckmeister, "Art of the Frontier: Mozarabic Monasticism," in *Art of Medieval Spain*, 121–22; Julie Harris, "Muslim Ivories in Christian Hands: The Leire Casket in Context," *Art History* 18 (1995): 213–21.

56 Daniel Walker, entry 5, "Pyxis of Sayf al-Dawla," in Dodds, ed., *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain*, 202.

57 Jerrilynn Dodds proposed the critical reexamination of "influence" as an explanation for cultural change in al-Andalus, arguing that influence is not passively received by one cultural group from another dominant group, but is a selective process in which styles and motives are embraced or rejected for ideological reasons (*Architecture and Ideology*, 3).