MUSLIMS, JEWS AND CHRISTIANS IN MEDIEVAL MUSLIM SEVILLE:

(711-1248 CE)

PERCEIVING ARTISTIC EXPRESSIONS AS SIGNS OF ACCULTURATION

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Approved: ______________________________

Professor Anne Dhu McLucas

In the past few centuries, scholars have begun to reevaluate the Euro-centrism of western history. Spain in the Middle Ages presents fertile research ground because it was ruled under Muslims for seven hundred years. Musicologists still debate as to whether the famous manuscript, *Las Cantigas de Santa Maria*, contains any Arabic musical influence. This thesis enlarges the scope of this debate beyond the musical manuscript. This study centers on Seville, where Alfonso X commissioned the *Cantigas*, in order to better understand the cultural relationships within the city at the time of the *Cantigas*' creation. I look at five art forms that were either created in Seville or had strong ties with this city: the illustrations, poetry, and music of the *Cantigas*, a treatise on chess commissioned by Alfonso, and the architecture of Seville. This thesis does not prove any new theory. Instead, I focus on finding a new approach to discovering a more conclusive answer regarding Arabic musical influence in *Las Cantigas de Santa Maria*. Through this comparative analysis, I seek to accurately gauge the possibility of Arabic musical influence within *Las Cantigas de Santa Maria*.

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i. Introduction

Spanish historians have repeatedly refuted the idea that Spain has been influenced by Arabic peoples. The Inquisition lasted for such a long period of time that the idea of tolerance and cultural interchange that had existed in Muslim Spain became a ghost of the past. While other countries' historians were putting down the history of their nations' past, Spain was caught in a political atmosphere that did not allow for the freedom to look back centuries at the truth that pointed to the reality of several religions living, ruling, and influencing each other in one area. The prestigious twentieth-century historian, Sanchez-Albornoz, exclaims:

> "Without Islam, who can guess what our destiny might have been? Without Islam, Spain would have followed the same paths as France, Germany and England; and to judge from what we have achieved over the centuries in spite of Islam, perhaps we would have marched at their head."[1]

Americo Castro was one of the first scholars in the twentieth century to look back into Spain's past in a way that ignored the preconceptions forced upon the Spanish people as a whole. Published and translated, Castro's book set the stage for scholars of the twentieth century to rediscover the truth of medieval Spain and the influences that make it what it is today.[2] Spain has possessed, within both its political and popular culture, a view of itself that rejects the concept that the Spanish people were ever anything other than Spanish. Despite the fact that Celts, Visigoths, Romans, Muslims and Jews lived upon the Iberian Peninsula, many Spanish historical documents repudiate the idea that these peoples had any influence over the pure 'Spanish' population. In *The Spaniards,*

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[1] As quoted in Maria Rosa Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History: A Forgotten Heritage* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987) , 11.
(translated by Monroe 1970: 257)

[2] Américo Castro, *The Spaniards: An Introduction to Their History.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971)

Castro traces the origins of *español* as a term that came from Provence in the thirteenth century. Before the thirteenth century, the Christians on the Iberian Peninsula had no collective identity and referred to themselves as *cristianos*. The Iberian Peninsula had been named Hispania by the Romans. The French thus called them *españoles*. As the native Iberians achieved more successes as a united front against the Muslims, a national identity began to emerge and they began to apply the term *españoles* to themselves.[3] Therefore, it was only once the Muslim population arrived that a national identity was created. In light of this information, the idea of a pure 'Spanish' population that has always existed seems unlikely.

This thesis was inspired by my introduction to the culture of Andalusia in June 2005. The mysteries that surround its past are as complicated as the streets that wind through the Arab districts in cities like Granada or Seville. However, the complexity of its past is beginning to be unearthed. Is this quest being done in order to show the world that various peoples can live together in peace and harmony? It is possible to argue this, in a fashion. However, it cannot be ignored that the Muslims, Jews, and Christians who lived in al-Andalus were continuously warring against one another and striving for each other's power. A striking fact is that, in al-Andalus, Muslims and Christians were not necessarily always fighting each other—Muslim and Christian leaders would create alliances to defeat mutual enemies; religion did not always dictate who was friend or foe. Peace and harmony are subjective terms. It can be argued that toleration of another culture in one's own city as opposed to genocide and expulsion is a much more favorable option. Muslim Spain seems to represent a grey area that cannot as yet, be defined as simply peaceful or chaotic. The cultures were coexisting, though the level of tolerance

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[3] Castro, *The Spaniards: An Introduction to Their History*, 11.

and acceptance would change depending on various factors, especially the ruler or ruling culture. Somehow the atmosphere of Muslim Spain allowed various cultures to live together for centuries in the same cities without genocide or terrible oppression. What gave them this ability is one of the secrets that will only be able to be understood with time and research.

In this thesis, I intend to explore the relations between the three different cultures in al-Andalus through analyzing various forms of artistic expression of the thirteenth century. For the purposes of this thesis, I will focus mostly upon the relationship between the dominant cultures, Christian and Muslim, with less emphasis on the role of the Jewish population. In particular, I will be particularly addressing the works of Seville extant and created during the time of Alfonso X. Alfonso X came into Seville after his father conquered it in 1248; he adopted various structures as Christian centers, such as the Great Mosque in Seville. This adoption of architectural structures as well as commissioning Mudejars[4] to build new buildings in an obviously 'Arabic' style occurred throughout Andalusia after the Reconquista. Christian communities had, before the Reconquista had turned decidedly in their favor[5], attempted to avoid the Islamic arts in al-Andalus. Once most of the Iberian Peninsula was in Christian hands, their admiration for the craftsmanship and skill of the Islamic artisans began to show. Mudejar craftsmen were employed for a long enough period that the craft was no longer bound by cultural barriers and Christian and Jews knew the skills of the Mudejar trade. In this thesis, not only will

[4] Mudejars were craftsmen who kept the traditions of Muslim artisans alive under the rule of the Christians. A large population of Mudejars lived in Granada during the Nasrid rule. After the Reconquista, the position of a Mudejar was one of the most feasible positions for a Muslim person to be hired and subsist in the new Christian-dominated culture.

[5] Ferdinand III was the last important conqueror of Muslim lands in Muslim Spain. Cordoba, Jaén, and Seville are among his great triumphs. Seville was conquered in 1248.

the architecture of Seville be studied, but two works commissioned by Alfonso X. The first work I will present is a treatise entitled *El Tratado de Ajedrez* (1283), a treatise on chess commissioned (and possibly directed by) Alfonso X. In this treatise, each folio of the treatise contains an illustration describing the particular situation in chess—these also testify to the cross-cultural relations that existed within the court of Alfonso X. The second work, and the form of artistic expression that I will focus upon in this thesis, is *Las Cantigas de Santa Maria.* The *Cantigas* is composed of illustrations, text, and music. This compilation presents an amalgamation of various artistic styles and therefore can tell us about the society in which it was created much better than just a single excerpt of a musical manuscript or single work of literature. It is an excellent resource to answer our question about whether influence was imparted from one culture to another, particularly if Arabic culture can be seen to have influenced the Christian Spanish culture.[6] Alfonso X looked to *Las Cantigas de Santa Maria,* in large part, for salvation. The manuscript was intended to contain 100 Cantigas—as death neared and the illness that wracked Alfonso's mind progressed, it grew to the much greater number of 420. The *Cantigas* and Alfonso are connected to Seville due to the fact that Alfonso died in Seville, he asked for the *Cantigas* to be played in the Seville mosque-cathedral every Marian holiday, the city was one of the most important locations his father had conquered and that Alfonso then inherited the responsibility of repopulating, as well as other connections that will be elaborated upon later in this thesis.

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[6] Despite the fact that I am very interested in the idea of the Arabic culture having influenced western medieval society, I do not want the reader to think that this is the only purpose of my thesis. I am searching to understand the relationship between cultures, and this means that the influence could go from Muslim to Christian, vice versa, from Jewish to Christian or to Muslims, etc.

I follow the school of thought that music is a result of the times and society within which it is created. Therefore, my thesis will present an approach that combined the analysis of music as well as the possible social, economic, or political influences that existed at this time. The presentation of a historical background of Muslim Spain, Almohad Seville, and the Seville of Alfonso X are necessary sections for readers who have not been exposed to the rich history of medieval Spain. I have read many musical articles concerning the topic of the *Cantigas* and the possibility of Arabic influence—all writers have given some historical background as a foundation to understand the complexity of Andalusian society in which the music and poetry were composed. The other forms of artistic expression I will present—architecture, various genres of poetry, illustrations, and a treatise on chess are all forms that have been accepted within their fields as demonstrating Arabic influence within a European context.

Musicologists are still struggling to arrive at a conclusion as to whether the *Cantigas* reveal the same cultural mixing as these other forms. The *Cantigas* manuscript provides a very rough sketch of how they might actually be performed; it is impossible, in my opinion, to make a solid conclusion concerning the background of the *Cantigas* solely based upon the music written down in the manuscript. Since we cannot exactly replicate the performance, I agree with the philosophy that we should look to the culture within which this music was created. In my sections covering the history of Andalusia and the two eras, that of the Almohads and Alfonso X, I have chosen specific details of the cultures existing there and their interactions to in order to show how closely interrelated Christian, Muslim, and Jewish lives were in medieval Andalusia. By bringing forth examples of artistic expression created in this society, and the accepted facts that

surround their collaborated creation, I believe that it will be more apparent that the hypothesized view of the *Cantigas* as a form of art displaying a mix of cultures in Andalusia can also be considered as truth.

Many of the articles and books created by musicologists on this topic stick closely to the musical material and try to look at other musical repertoires for answers to the question of musical influence. I have found, however, that the music of *Las Cantigas de Santa Maria,* is nothing but a skeleton of what might have been performed in the court of Alfonso X. Due to this uncertainty, I flesh out my view of what influences the *Cantigas* might contain by recreating their historical context—first by examining the historical background of al-Andalus and then focusing on Seville in particular. I look at five art forms that were either created in Seville or had strong ties with this city: the illustrations, poetry, and music of the *Cantigas* as well as a treatise on chess commissioned by Alfonso and the architecture of Seville. The existence of an Andalusian musical form, the *nawba,* in present day North Africa and its close ties with the *Cantigas* also support the idea of an Arabic influence in the *Cantigas.* I have not found a concrete answer to this question of influence[7], though my research has shown that more work must be done to draw conclusions from the available evidence.

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[7] If I were to continue researching this subject, I would need to learn Arabic in order to read all important documents from this period. Many scholars' work researching the general topic of Arabic influence in the western world is flawed because of their ignorance of the Arabic language.

ii. Review of Literature

An inspiring aspect of my research is that many scholars are currently seeking a more accurate view of medieval Spain. Medieval Spain is *becoming* an area of intellectual interest. The literature is growing, but most of the informed scholarly works have been undertaken in the past century. Much of scholarly work depends upon looking back at the extant body of Spanish medieval literature and reintegrating it. Those written in the past few years often admit that their area of research leaves much more to be explored.

To complete this thesis I have used both primary and secondary sources. Writings describing the social, political, and historical background of medieval Spain helped lay a foundation to understand my subject. Although my thesis focuses on a musical form of artistic expression, I read a variety of sources describing the artistic traditions in Andalusia. There are also some key musicological studies on Andalusian music, specifically on the *Cantigas*, which were instrumental to my research.

The *Cantigas* represent my largest primary source.[8] It is important for me to have a rather broad understanding of the history and culture of Seville during the middle ages. The *Cantigas de Santa Maria* by Alfonso X present an exemplary view of cultural intermingling. We need to keep in mind that the *Cantigas* are not only musical works, but literary and illustrative pieces that allow the modern viewer to gain a broad understanding

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[8] Higinio Anglés, ed. *La música de las Cantigas de Santa Maria, del rey Alfonso el Sabio. Facsímil, transcripción y estudio*. Vol. 1. Facsímile of Codex j.b.2 of the Escorial. (Barcelona: Biblioteca Central, 1964, xvi., 12, 361 plates, large folio).

[9] Kathleen Kulp-Hill,.*Songs of Holy Mary of Alfonso X, The Wise: A Translation of the Cantigas de Santa Maria* (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2000).

of Andalusia's artistic tradition in the thirteenth century. Kathleen Kulp-Hill's[9] translation of the text into English and Walter Mettman's[10] edition of the *Cantigas* in Galician-Portuguese have been invaluable in studying and in performing the *Cantigas.*

There are several collections of medieval writings from the Iberian Peninsula. *Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain,* translated by Kenneth Baxter Wolf[11], is an attempt to juxtapose writings created by persons in different areas of the Iberian Peninsula in order to compare and contrast the feelings toward the invading Muslims. *Christians and Moors in Spain*[12] by Colin Smith consists of three volumes of primary sources with entries from the period of Muslim Spain (711-1492).

Américo Castro's *The Structure of Spanish History*[13], 1954, was one of the first widely distributed books that took the Arabic influence on medieval Spain seriously into consideration. Less than twenty years later, in 1971, Castro wrote another book on the history of the Iberian Peninsula, *The Spaniards: An Introduction to Their History* in 1971. His writings began to change the national concept of a 'pure' Christian Spanish background. Claudio Sanchez-Albornoz [refer to quote on page 1], the prestigious and widely-read twentieth-century Spanish historian had rejected the concept that Spanish culture is partially a result of the Jewish, Christian, and Moorish intermingling during the Middle Ages. Sanchez-Albornoz is only one of many historians who have challenged Castro's writings. Some argue that Castro is unfit, as an Arabist, to write about

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[10] Mettman, Walter, ed. *Alfonso X, King of Castile and Leon, 1221-1284, Cantigas de Santa María / Afonso X, o Sábio* (Vigo : Edicións Xerais de Galicia) , 1981.
[11] Kenneth Baxter Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain.* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1990).
[8] Colin Smith, *Christians and Moors in Spain, Vol. 1.* (Warminster: Arts & Phillips Ltd., 1993).
[11] Américo Castro, *The Structure of Spanish History.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954).

sociological aspects of Spain. Indeed, some of Castro's ideas have been completely rejected, yet his work spurred on a new age of debate that has incited research into a more nuanced approach to medieval Spain.

Many philosophies in this world have problems arriving at one answer, or one way of viewing history or a particularly debated subject. People who believe in viewing medieval Spain as a country without influence of the Arabic culture have researched and studied their own understanding of Spain very thoroughly. When Spanish historians confront Arabists, their ideals and paradigms clash. An historian with a strong Arabic background will have difficulty arguing that Arabic culture has had an impact upon Western culture with someone who has a lesser knowledge of Arab history.

> "This is not to imply that historians—Spanish or otherwise—purposely 'slant' their work with the goal of arriving at preconceived solutions. The phenomenon is much more subtle. What is involved is the awareness on the part of any historian of the presence of ready-made guides and patterns which structure his perception of history and, to a certain extent, govern his selection of data." [14]

This quote is especially important for me to adopt as part of my research perspective. In light of all the injury the Spanish Christians did to the Jews and Moors during and after the Reconquista, I might slant my argument against the Christians without necessarily making this a conscious decision. History will always be written with a bias and controlled by the experiences of the writer. Therefore, I am not seeking to disprove previous writings, but rather to prove my own conceptions of the situation in

[14] Glick, Thomas F. and Oriol Pi-Sunyer. "*Acculturation as an Explanatory Concept in Spanish History.*" Comparative Studies in Society and History > Vol. 11, No. 2 (Apr., 1969), pp. 136-154
Stable URL: http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0010-4175%28196904%2911%3A2%3C136%3AAAAECI%3E2.0.CO%3B2-W

medieval Andalusia in order to be a part of the current movement for deeper understanding of the cultural exchanges that took place there.

Another writer whose work was particularly essential to this thesis is Margaret Ann Kaluzny, a recent graduate of the University of Texas at Austin. She was granted a Fulbright scholarship to study, live and work in Seville for a year. I did not find any other work written exclusively about medieval Seville. Kaluzny's work presents the most extensive compilation of information about medieval Seville through both the epoch of the Muslims and Christians. Without her work, it would have been difficult to find the information I needed because most books provide only one or two pages specifically on Seville. Kaluzny's writing style is very understandable and thus enjoyable (as opposed to early twentieth-century historical writers); reading her dissertation[15] allows me to see Seville again through her writing and concretely reminds me of why I am undertaking this topic for my thesis.

Maria Rosa Menocal is another current author whose writings are particularly influential to the scholarly discourse on Arabic Spain. *The Ornament of the World*[16], *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History: A Forgotten Heritage,* and *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature* are a few of the writings and contributions Menocal has added to this emerging field. Menocal's audience is wider than most scholars' due to her ability to write both informally and formally. Books such as the *Ornament of the World* allow her to tell a story and teach to laypeople who previously knew little or nothing about medieval Spain.

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[15] Margaret Ann Kaluzny, "From Islamic Ishbiliya to Christian Sevilla: Transformation and Continuity in a Multicultural City." (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas, 2004).

[16] Maria Rosa Menocal, *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Chrisitans Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain.* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 2002).

The *Legacy of Muslim Spain*[17] is a collection of essays and studies on a wide assortment of Andalusian artistic expression. These essays are an excellent source for one seeking a more general understanding of the artistic tradition in medieval Andalusia.[18] I found two other compilations, *The Literature of al-Andalus*[19] and *Studies on the Cantigas de Santa Maria*[20], which contained topics particularly relevant to my research.

Similar to the history of Andalusia, the *Cantigas* have not been extensively researched. Julián Ribera and Higinio Anglés are scholars who have published work within the past century and have particularly affected the way in which the *Cantigas* have been interpreted. Ribera argued for a more Arabic-influenced interpretation of the composition of the music while Anglés, in response, argued that the Arabic music had no influence upon the music at all. As a musicologist, Anglés' work was more credible, and people/scholars began to shift away from viewing Spain having been influenced by Arabic culture. There are recent studies that have decided to question Anglés' stance.

O'Callaghan's *Alfonso X and the Cantigas de Santa Maria*[21] approaches the topic of the *Cantigas* through the vehicle of Alfonso X and what the *Cantigas* represented in his life. O'Callaghan discusses the *Cantigas* as they relate to the world of Alfonso and the Castilian kingdom, a much different approach from musicological writings about the

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[17] Jayyusi, Salma Khadra, and Manuela Marín, eds. , *The Legacy of Muslim Spain.* (Leiden ; New York: E.J. Brill, 1992).

[18] This collection of articles, *The Legacy of Muslim Spain,* contains over 1,000 pages; I focused on a few articles: "Islamic Seville: Its Political, Social and Cultural History;" "*Zajal* and *Muwashshaha:* Hispano-Arabic Poetry and the Romance Tradition;" "Music in Muslim Spain;" "The Arts of al-Andalus," among others.

[19] *The Literature of al-Andalus,* ed. María Rosa Menocal, Raymond P. Scheindlin, and Michael Sells, 83-95. Cambridge ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 2000.

[20] *Studies on the Cantigas de Santa Maria: Art, Music, and Poetry*, ed. Israel J. Katz and John E. Keller, 95-110. Madison: The Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, Ltd., 1987.

[21] Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *Alfonso X and the Cantigas de Santa Maria: A poetic biography* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998).

Cantigas. This work aids in understanding why the *Cantigas* is such a monumental work for its time, why it was created, and how it reflects medieval Andalusia.

One website and in-progress database I found for the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* was created by a group of scholars that are currently researching this collection of works. This group has committed to meeting once a year to share the work they have done on the *Cantigas*. The writings that have been produced in these meetings can be found on the internet as well as in a book entitled *Cobras e Son: Papers on the Text, Music and Manuscripts of the 'Cantigas de Santa Maria.'*[22] This book contains articles discussing a variety of topics concerning the *Cantigas*, such as its rhythmic organization, the structure and layout, how the *Cantigas* evolved, etc. The director for this work is Stephen Parkinson from Oxford University. This website is apparently an international effort, for some of the contacts are from Lisbon, and one of them teaches at the University of Aberta. They admit on their website that their research is not nearly complete and that much more work must be done to properly understand Alfonso X's creation. The medieval music scholarly community is realizing the magnificence of the *Cantigas.*[23]

In order for the reader of this thesis to understand the complexities of the society in which *Las Cantigas de Santa Maria* were written, I would like to present a basic introduction to the history of medieval Andalusia, or al-Andalus.

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[22] Stephen Parkinson, ed. *Cobras e Son: Papers on the Text Music and Manuscripts of the 'Cantigas de Santa Maria.'* (Oxford: European Humanities Research Centre of the University of Oxford and the Modern Humanities Research Association, 2000).
[23] (http://csm.mml.ox.ac.uk/)

I. Historical Background of Medieval Andalusia, or al-Andalus

Islam entered Europe from northern Africa in 711 CE. This expansion of the Muslim world occurred before the Islamic calendar had existed 100 years. The Islamic calendar begins in 622 CE, when Muhammad and his followers moved from Mecca to Medina, a journey known as the *hijra.* Muhammad had created an extremely effective social-civil-moral community through his teachings, these virtues adding purpose to the already militaristic culture of the Arabian Desert. With new purpose guiding them in the form of Allah, the Muslims spread across the Eurasian continent and conquered many of the same areas that Rome had secured in the second century. [24] Within one year, the Moors[25] had conquered nearly the entire Iberian Peninsula.

The Iberian Peninsula has a long history as a frontier. The native peoples on the Iberian Peninsula had a difficult time populating the peninsula especially due to environmental barriers; lack of order and sufficient man-power made this land an easy target for warrior peoples.[26] A group of Indo-European settlers, the Phoenicians, arrived in 1100 BCE. Two distinct peoples, the Iberians and the Celts, became the dominant cultures of the peninsula. Rome's annexation of Spain, then called Hispanis, in 29 BC and the introduction of Christianity in the 3rd century added to the Iberian sense of identity. After several attempts by Germanic tribes to claim the territory, the Germanic Visigoths conquered the Iberian Peninsula in the fifth century.[27] The history and social

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[24] Menocal, *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Chrisitans Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain*, 21.

[25] The term 'Moor' is in present-day society derogatory. However, my use of the word is simply referring to the people who resided in Spain in medieval times; people who were called Moors because of their origin from across the strait of Gibraltar in Morocco.

[26] Angus MacKay, *Spain in the Middle Ages: From Frontier to Empire, 1000-1500.* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977) , 4.

fabric of Spain was therefore already an amalgam and the first Muslim princes' (the Umayyads) philosophy of acceptance and tolerance furthered the mixing of cultures and perspectives. The Romans, Visigoths, and the Muslims failed to conquer the entirety of the Iberian Peninsula. Even the Phoenicians that had preceded them did not settle in the northernmost areas of Spain. The north and northwestern parts of Spain had always given conquering forces trouble. These regions include Galicia, Asturias, Navarra and the Basque country. They were never united under one ruler like the rest of the peninsula. The *reconquistadores* began fighting against the Muslims as a 'united' people yet they had not been united by the Romans or the Visigoths. Their lack of Romanization also reveals their separate history. The Asturian kingdom (created after the separation from the Muslim south) attempted to claim connections with the Visigoth kingdom yet failed to demonstrate this link in their manuscripts. This supposed link to the Visigoth kingdom gave the medieval kings a right to reclaim their 'rightful' territory. Even Ferdinand and Isabella were reminded of their Gothic forebears.[28] The well-Latinized portion of Spain was more easily conquered by the Muslims and before them the Visigoths, the Romans, and the Phoenicians.[29] By the time Islam arrived, most of the Iberian Peninsula was populated by people who had learned how to be flexible and live under the rule of the strongest.

The Visigoths, the people who inhabited and ruled the peninsula prior to the Muslim arrival, lacked any central commanding order and had little or no forces to rely upon to fight the incoming Arabs. The Muslim forces, made mainly of Berber soldiers

[28] Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003) , 7.

[29] Castro, *The Spaniards: An Introduction to Their History The Spaniards,* 182.

(several hundreds of thousands) and Arabs (thirty-five thousand invaders)[30], saw mid to southern Spain as holding the most potential for development and set up their ruling center in Córdoba in present-day Andalusia, called al-Andalus in Arabic. The Arabs tended to take the official posts in the cities while the Berbers were assimilated into Arab culture, lived on the outskirts of the city, and often were forced into the mountains. As is common with most traveling warrior cultures, the conquering Muslim forces lacked large numbers of women and were forced to wed with the indigenous population. This necessary assimilation (done without much protest) ensured that the population would be

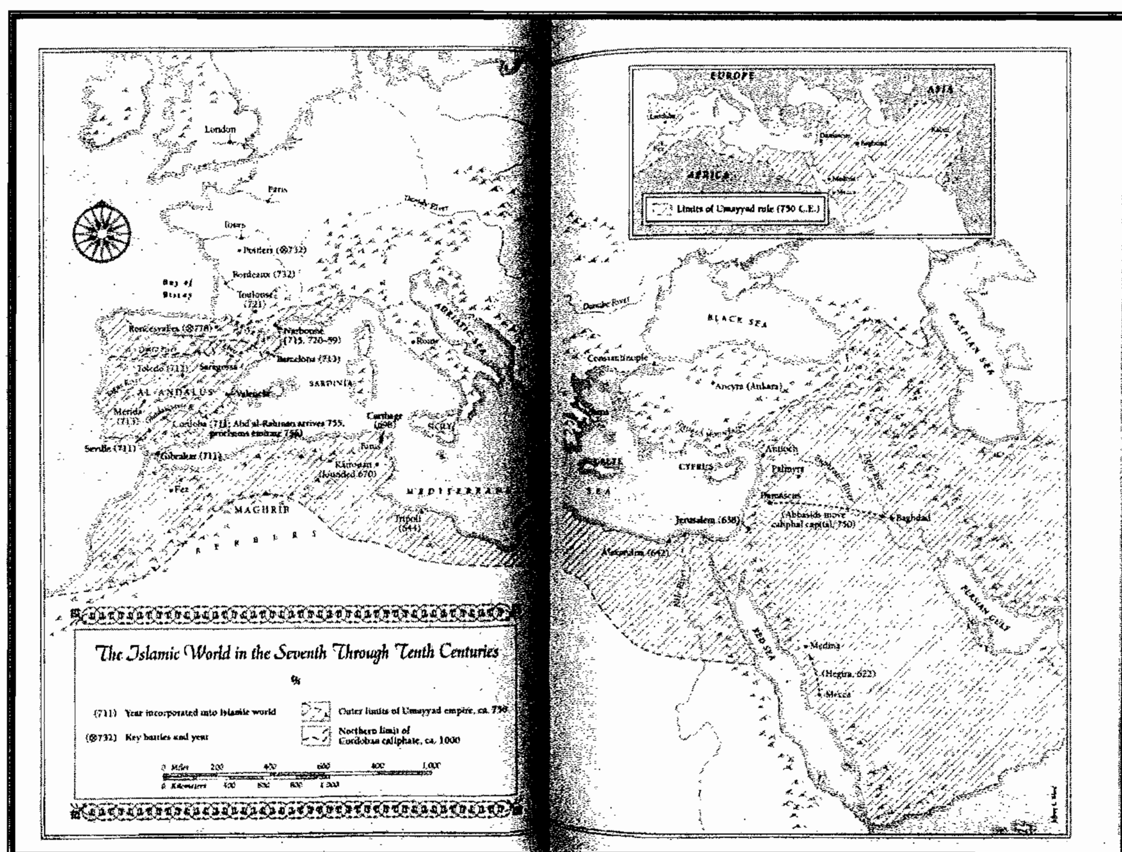

Illustration 1

Image from Menocal, *Ornament of the World,* 22-23

[30] MacKay, *Spain in the Middle Ages: From Frontier to Empire, 1000-1500,* p. 9.

thoroughly mixed after several centuries. The Umayyad emirs and caliphs intermarried often, setting an example for the higher aristocracy like the Amirid chamberlains. Abd Allah was the son of Abd al-Rahman II (d. 852) and Christian Tarub. Abd Allah (d. 912) and the Navarrese princess Onneca of Iniga gave birth to a son Muhammad, who then married the Christian Mary who gave birth to Abd al-Rahman III (d. 961), the first Andalusian Umayyad ruler to claim the title as caliph.[31] These intermarriages suggest much cultural interaction, and perhaps even some motherly influence upon these Umayyad princes. The tolerance of the conquerors is particularly noted in this occasion—Christian women who married Arabs or Berbers were not forced to convert though their children were brought up in an Islamic household. Due to these intermarriages and conversions, most of the Iberian population was Muslim by the tenth century. Christians who did not convert were still highly influenced by the Muslim culture and became known as Mozarabs[32]. The Mozarabs retained their own language and religion. The Jewish population also continued to practice their own religion and speak Hebrew within the synagogue as well as began a rich poetic tradition in Hebrew, a significant event due to the fact that Hebrew had been reserved to the confines of the temple. It is possible that Jewish poets were inspired by the Arabic culture in which one spoke in Arabic when praying but also while reciting poetry. Neither Christians nor Jews achieved all of the

[31] Dwight Reynolds, "Music," in *The Literature of al-Andalus,* ed. María Rosa Menocal, Raymond P. Scheindlin, and Michael Sells (Cambridge ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 2000), 69.
[32] Mozarab is a term that describes the Christian population who accepted the Islamic influence in Spain and adopted some of its practices—for example, they began to speak Arabic, on certain occasions even within the Church. Mozarabic refers to what was produced by these people.

privileges of Muslim citizens during Muslim Spain yet they were allowed a large degree of autonomy.[33]

The Muslim conquerors did not spend much energy fighting with the factious northerners of Spain, with the exception of Al-Mansur Ibn Abi Aamir.[34] These peoples rebelled shortly after they were conquered in the eighth century and remained independent after their first break from the Muslim south. The Battle of Covadonga on 28 May 722 became the symbol of Christian resistance against the Muslims and an inspiration to those soldiers who would fight against the Christians in years to come.[35] Ironically enough, these far outposts of seemingly uncivilized peoples eventually became so sophisticated they were able to reconquer what they felt had been unjustly stolen from them, the land of their proclaimed ancestors, the Visigoths. However, from 711 to1492 (though most strongholds fell in the thirteenth century), Moorish Spain was an extremely fertile area intellectually and was fat with its trade and commerce.

The Umayyad caliphate in al-Andalus was patterned after their ancestors' caliphate in Damascus. The caliphs of al-Andalus looked to the traditions that had been created in Damascus for guidance and, though they created their own distinctive culture on the Iberian Peninsula, made sure to keep in contact with the Islamic world. Damascus was taken by the Umayyads as their Caliphal seat (661-750) after the Aramaeans, Greeks, Romans, and Christians had ruled on the site.[36] The city was a cosmopolitan center rich in the variety of its ideas and cultures. The Umayyad caliphate of Damascus was

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[33] Mikel de Epalza. "Mozarabs: An Emblematic Christian Minority," in *Legacy of Muslim Spain,* ed. Salma Khadra Jayyusi and Manuela Marin (New York: E.J. Brill, 1992), 153.
[34] Al-Mansur led many crusades into the northern part of the Iberian Peninsula during the *taifa* period, which led to his need for more soldiers and the presence of Northern Africans began because of this.
[35] O' Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain,* 5.
[36] Menocal, *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain*, 20.

destroyed in 750 CE by the vying Muslim Abbasids. One Umayyad prince, Abd al-Rahman, escaped from Damascus and fled west. He found the Muslim territory in Spain, al-Andalus, poorly organized and without any true leader. He declared his right to the seat of power and established his seat of power in Córdoba, the city that would thrive as his sons and grandsons led for the next three centuries. Abd al-Rahman founded the independent emirate of al-Andalus in 756 CE. The emirate was kept under the religious jurisdiction of the caliphate in Baghdad[37] until 929 when Abd al-Rahman III assumed the title of 'caliph,' creating a completely independent al-Andalus.[38] The Cordoban caliphate lasted less than a century, yet somehow in these few generations great feats would be accomplished.

Muslim leaders in al-Andalus created an excellent forum for artistic, intellectual, and economic growth. The Umayyad princes of al-Andalus were the most effective in creating a viable political system; for three centuries, the Cordoban emirate-caliphate thrived under their rule. During the time of the Umayyads in al-Andalus, amazing libraries were built, inventions made, literature progressed and past works were translated, East and West connected through the Cordoban connection to Baghdad, art and music flourished, and the Muslim, Jewish and Christian cultures lived in cities comprised of all three cultures' contributions. The Umayyads did not force their language or religion upon the other cultures of the peninsula as the Visigoths had done before them, but instead ruled with tolerance. This tolerance led to the acceptance of the Arabic language and Islamic religion by the Jews and Christians. Jews and Christians of Muslim Spain were treated as *dhimmi,* or People of the Book. *Dhimmi* were not necessarily seen

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[37] The Abbasids moved the caliphate from Damascus to Baghdad after they overthrew the Umayyad caliphate.
[38] MacKay, *Spain in the Middle Ages: From Frontier to Empire, 1000-1500*, 6.

as equals of the Muslims and they were taxed whereas the Muslim population was not.[39] People of these faiths were viewed as people who believed in the same God but in different prophets and philosophies and were therefore given freedom to worship God in their own ways. The Muslim conquerors exerted a tolerant view to the conquered inhabitants and were rewarded with converts and admirers of much of the original population.

> Our Christian young men, with their elegant airs and fluent speech, are showy in their dress and carriage, and are famed for the learning of the gentiles; intoxicated with Arab eloquence they greedily handle, eagerly devour and zealously discuss the books of the Chaldeans [i.e. Mohammedans] and make them known by praising them with every flourish of rhetoric, knowing nothing of the beauty of the Church's literature, and looking with contempt on the streams of the Church that flow forth from Paradise; alas! The Christians are so ignorant of their own law, the Latins pay so little attention to their own language, that in the whole of the Christian flock there is hardly one man in a thousand who can write a letter to inquire after a friend's health intelligibly, while you may find countless rabble of all kinds of them who can learnedly roll out the grandiloquent periods of the Chaldæan tongue. They can even make poems, every line ending with the same letter, which display high flights of beauty and more skill in handling meter than the gentiles themselves possess.[40]

This quote is from Alvarus Pelagius, a ninth-century writer from Seville. The fact that this excerpt was written in the early part of the Umayyads' rule reveals how quickly the Arabic Islamic culture became embedded in the Iberian Peninsula. Though Alvarus was concerned about the influence of Islam in the ninth century, this force would only continue to grow for the next five centuries. It has been suggested that Christian kings as powerful as Alfonso VI knew how to write in Arabic. The powerful city of Toledo that

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[39] The issue of tax was often a deciding factor for those Christians who were considering converting to Islam. The corporeal benefits of being a Muslim from a Christian's standpoint were decidedly greater in the days of Muslim Spain. Islam presented a good side to its conquered inhabitants, and was rewarded with large numbers of conversions. Christians converted in much larger numbers than Jews.

[40] Translation, Watt 1965:56 as quoted in Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History: A Forgotten Heritage,* 28.

would become Alfonso VI's seat of power continued to learn, communicate, and worship in Arabic long after Toledo became a seat of Christian power. [41]

Though the influence of the Umayyad rulers would continue as long as Muslim Spain existed, its end was caused by particularly ironic events. Islam was initially divided into two groups, the Shiites and the Sunnis, due to the dispute over who should succeed the prophet Muhammad after his death. Ironically, a similar dispute over an heir was to cause the end of the Umayyad Andalusian rule as well as the rule of the Almohads.[42] In both the Umayyad and Almohad examples, once the figurehead of the state was lost, Islamic solidarity in al-Andalus disintegrated and factionalism reigned.

The Umayyad caliph al-Hakam [full name, dates] of al-Andalus died with an heir of fifteen. This young boy could not outwit the cunning of his regent, and as in many stories and fables, Al-Mansur Ibn Abi Aamir (c. 938-August 8, 1002) took the crown from the youth. Al-Mansur 'the Victorious' brought the downfall of the Umayyad kingdom. He and his sons began waging constant warfare against the Christian kingdoms in the north. Al-Mansur began to bring Berber mercenaries from North Africa into al-Andalus to fight the Christians. These Berbers were willing to fight the Christians and fight under a caliph who was un-related to the Umayyad dynasty. However, the Cordobans were still attached to their Umayyad past and tension began to build between the new Berber population and Cordoban peoples. When al-Mansur's son Sanchuelo put the figurehead Umayyad caliph into the seat of power in 1009, the Berber population revolted. Not only did they destroy buildings and wreak havoc within the city, but left the city's walls to destroy the Cordoban caliph's symbol of power and sophistication, the

[41] Menocal. *The Ornament of the World.* 178.
[42] Heather Ecker, *Caliphs and Kings: The Art and Influence of Islamic Spain.* (New York: Hispanic Society of America, 2004) , 33.

gardens of Madinat al-Zahra. The destruction of Madinat al-Zahra, the magnificent architectural and artistic estate created by several generations of Rahmans, signaled the symbolic end of the Umayyad dynasty for the final time—there would be no second chance, no Abd al-Rahman. [43]

The Cordoban caliphate was replaced by the *taifa* system, or party states. For fifty years, al-Andalus was divided into twenty-three states and ruled by so-called petty kings that assumed the name *hajib.* The term *hajib* refers to the position of the chief minister of a caliph—since there was no caliph, the petty kings were attempting to create fictional authority.[44] The *taifa* system was set in place once no legitimate Umayyad ruler could be found. The *taifa* kingdoms were not united as one and were ruled by many different leaders who often vied with one another for power or land. Al-Andalus never regained its political stability, yet continued to thrive even while the political leaders lacked direction in their administrative decisions. However, the feuds, war, and internal strife in the upper echelons of the ruling bodies were the major causes for the eventual failure of Islamic Spain. The time of the Umayyad caliphate was especially influential and set the framework for a society in which various cultures and religions mingled. Three centuries after the Umayyad faction began ruling Spain, power would change hands. However, the Umayyad beliefs of tolerance and cultural freedom had embedded themselves so deeply within Andalusian culture that their existence would continue, to varying degrees, up until the Spanish Inquisition began in 1492.

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[43] Menocal, *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain*, 96-100.

[44] Jerrilynn Dodds, "The Arts of al-Andalus," in *Legacy of Muslim Spain,* ed. Salma Khadra Jayyusi and Manuela Marin, (New York: E.J. Brill, 1992) , 612.

The end of the Umayyad dynasty in al-Andalus in 1009 signals a decidedly new change in direction of Islamic Spain. The disagreements of the Islamic *taifa* princes began the sequence of events that led to the end of Islamic Spain and the Reconquista of Christian Spain. The Almoravids, followed by the Almohads, attempted to reunite al-Andalus into a nation of their own vision. The Almoravids and Almohads were Berbers[45] from North Africa who were not as tolerant to cultural exchanges and did not encourage growth and prosperity as did the Umayyads.

In the two centuries after the fall of the Umayyad caliphate, Islamic land gradually fell into the hands of the growing Christian kingdoms. The Christians were gaining their wealth in large part due to the divisiveness of the warring Islamic *taifas*. The Moorish leaders would hire Christian kingdoms or mercenaries in order to kill their fellow Muslim enemy. During this period, however, it was not necessarily a situation in which Christians were opposed to Muslims. Instead, the warring parties could be comprised of a mix of cultures. The *taifa* kings would often pay the Christians to fight with them against another *taifa,* and sometimes the Christians would ask for military assistance in return. It was more common, however, for the Christians to ask for payment in *parias*[46], or gold. El Cid[47], the famous Spanish warrior, had an army consisting mostly of Muslims and fought against Christians for the Muslim *taifas*—depending on who hired him. The Christians became an equal source of power on the Iberian Peninsula during this time. The Islamic kingdoms possessed much more gold than the Christians ever had,

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[45] Berbers are Muslim fundamentalists. They have very rigid ways of viewing their religion and were very disapproving of the ways that the Umayyad emirs and caliphs ruled.
[46] *Parias* were monetary agreements paid from the Islamic *taifa* princes and given to the Christian kings. The *parias* aided the Christian kingdoms in Spain to begin consolidating their power. *Parias* were often given to Christians in exchange for mercenaries in order to aid one Islamic prince defeat another, thus weakening the *taifa* system even more drastically.
[47] El Cid's full name was Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar (c. 1040–July 1099).

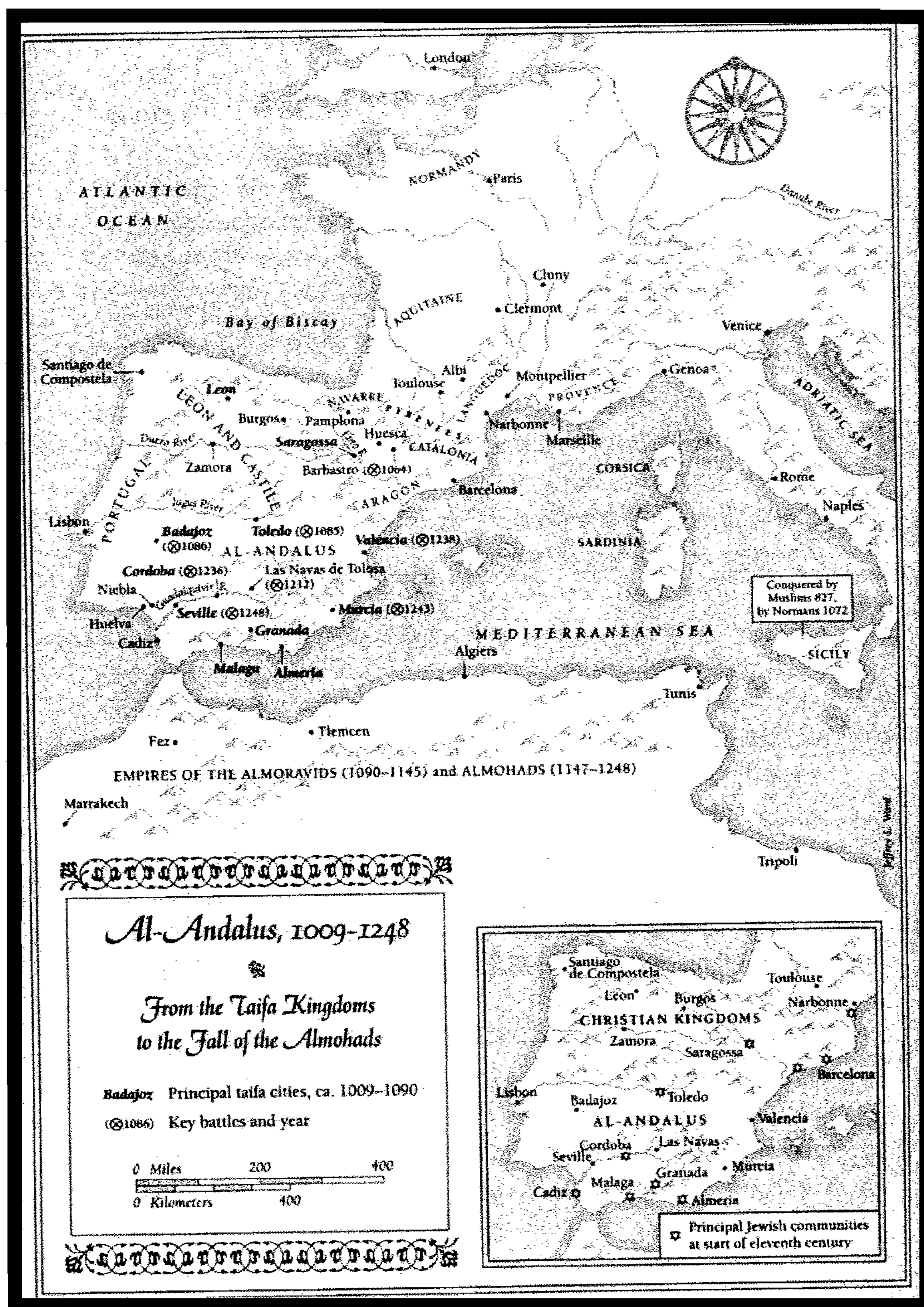

Illustration 2

Image from Menocal, *Ornament of the World,* 38.

and by paying them in *parias* of gold for their war efforts, the Christians began to not only gain money but power and land. Ibn Hazm of Córdoba wrote of the *taifa* rulers:

> By God, I swear that if the tyrants were to learn that they would attain their ends more easily by adopting the religion of the Cross, they would certainly hasten to profess it! Indeed, we see that they ask the Christians for help and allow them to take away Muslim men, women and children as captives to their lands. Frequently they protect them in their attacks against the most inviolable land, and ally with them in order to gain security. [48]

As the amount of Christian land increased, the Islamic *taifas* began to decrease in size and were encroached upon. When Alfonso VI took Toledo in 1085, all land north of the Tagus was then controlled by the Christians. However, the Muslim *taifa* princes were still a power to be reckoned with, and the royal councilor Count Sisnando Davídiz suggested:

> " 'Be not angered with the [Muslim] rulers of the peninsula because you will not be able to do without them...Remember that if you vent your anger and persecute them without respite, you will force them to escape your control and they will have to seek the intervention of a third party.' "[49]

Sisnando represents a powerful faction of Mozarabs that existed in Toledo when Alfonso VI conquered the city.[50] The Mozarab population celebrated the Eucharist in Arabic from the ninth to eleventh centuries.[51] Alfonso introduced Toledo to the Cluniac order. The Cluniac order did not understand the concept of coexistence and tolerance and actively sought to divide the religious populations. They began doing this by inserting

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[48] M. Asín Palacios, 'Un Códice inexplorado del cordobés Ibn Hazm', *Al-Andalus,* II (1934) 42 as cited in MacKay, *Spain in the Middle Ages: From Frontier to Empire, 1000-1500,* 27.

[49] MacKay, *Spain in the Middle Ages: From Frontier to Empire, 1000-1500,* 21.
Cited in M. Asín Palacios, 'Un Códice inexplorado del cordobés Ibn Hazm', *Al-Andalus,* II (1934 31-2.

[50] Mozarab comes from the Arabic word *musta 'rab,* meaning 'Arabicised' or 'having assimilated into Arabic customs'. Christian clergy and lay persons who lived under and adopted Muslim customs were denoted as Mozarabs.

[51] Menocal, *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain* , 178.

Christian worship items into the Mosque of Toledo, one of the first major actions that would impel, as Sisnando had warned Alfonso, the Muslim princes to look for a third party. The population of influential Mozarabs in Toledo attempted to extend a policy of tolerance and understanding between cultures when Alfonso VI stepped in, but Alfonso did not listen closely enough. The mosque of Toledo was taken by the Christians, Alfonso pressed for more *parias* and sent 'governors' to watch over the rule of the Muslim taifa princes. [52]

During Alfonso VI's rule, Seville was the rival of Toledo. Alfonso VI's impetuous actions upset its ruler, al'Mu'tamid, who decided to call upon the forces of the North African Berber Almoravids.[53] The fundamentalist Berbers entered al-Andalus but did not leave as al-Mu'tamid had planned. The North African peoples, the Almoravids, looked at al-Andalus with disdain at their tolerant practices toward other cultures and their lavish life-style. The Almoravids sought to impose unity on the kingdoms of al-Andalus, yet even their stricter ideals could not hold the kingdom together and by the 1140s an even more fundamentalist Berber faction, the Almohads, came to rule al-Andalus. The power of the Almoravids and the Almohads never came to rival the flourishing Umayyad caliphate that had once ruled al-Andalus, and after the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212)[54], the power of the Almohads began to disintegrate. By 1248, Granada was the only Muslim stronghold to remain under Muslim rule, surrounded by Seville, Toledo, Córdoba, and others that had been taken by the Christians.

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[52] MacKay, *Spain in the Middle Ages: From Frontier to Empire, 1000-1500,* 20.
[53] Berbers are fundamentalist, warrior-like peoples of Islam.
[54] MacKay, *Spain in the Middle Ages: From Frontier to Empire, 1000-1500,* 27.

Ferdinand III secured a significant number of important Andalusian cities, such as Córdoba (1236), Jaén (1246) and Seville (1248)[55]. Seville was the last major city Ferdinand conquered, leaving Granada as the last bastion of Islamic power in al-Andalus. Upon Ferdinand III's death, Alfonso X was to claim the throne and he was given the responsibility of repopulating and securing Andalusia for the Christian kingdom of Spain. It is this particular time period on which this thesis focuses, when *Las Cantigas de Santa Maria* were written by Alfonso X. Despite the fact that most of Muslim Spain had been conquered, the remnants of her culture continued to exist inside Christian Spain. Through viewing various forms of art produced in Seville during the reign of Alfonso X, it is possible to see evidence of cultural exchange between Spain's Christian and Muslim traditions. Before jumping into the time of Alfonso X's rule, I would like to discuss the time directly before Ferdinand and Alfonso conquered Seville, the time during which the Almohads ruled their empire from their capital in Seville.

II. Seville's (Islamic Is<u>h</u>biliya) History under the rule of the Moors

Islamic Is<u>h</u>biliya was founded in a city that had already been well developed as a cultural center by various peoples. The Tartessians flourished at the base of the Guadalquivir River sometime around and before 1000 BCE. Situated between the plains on the banks of the Guadalquivir, this region nourished many peoples after the Tartessians left. Pre-Roman, Byzantine, Roman and Visigothic cultures had endowed the city with flexibility to other civilizations before the Arab peoples arrived on the Peninsula. Seville was won by the Arabs from the Visigoths through pacts instead of

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[55] O'Callaghan, *Alfonso X and the Cantigas de Santa Maria: A poetic biography,* 61.

military force. This diplomatic changing of power allowed the Arabic minority to make close allies with the ruling Visigoths. A great number of the leaders in the political, economic and social professions of Islamic Ishbiliya were to come from the union of Sara the Goth and 'Umayr b. Sa'id. Sara the Goth was a daughter of the Visigoth king Witiza and relative of the last bishop of the city before the arrival of the Muslims and 'Umayr b. Sa'id was an Arabic soldier of the *Lakhmi* tribe.[56] From 711 to 1248, the political system of Seville was created in the image of the Arabic tribe and ruled by the Arab minority aristocracy. However, during the Umayyad Emirate and Caliphate of the ninth and tenth centuries, the people who ruled Seville were Andalusian Muwallads, or converts to Islam. This early incorporation of other cultures into the heart of the Arabic tribal political system reveals how well the population of Seville adopted other ways of life. It is also a reflection of Muslim tolerance of other cultures.

Seville was the first declared capital of the new al-Andalus. Shortly after, the capital was moved to Córdoba given its strategic central geographic location in the new Arabic land.

The Almohads were the third and final Muslim dynasty to control al-Andalus. They were in power when Ferdinand III, Alfonso X, and the forces of Ferdinand III took Seville. Cultures like the Almohads and any of the conquering cultures of Spain benefited from the mix of influences and various contributions that had been brought to the city by preceding cultures. During Almohad rule in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Seville was the capital of cultural and administrative Almohad Andalusia and North Africa as

[56] Rafael Valencia, "Islamic Seville: Its Political, Social, and Cultural History," in *Legacy of Muslim Spain,* ed. Salma Khadra Jayyusi and Manuela Marin, (New York: E.J. Brill, 1992) , 136.

well as an important agricultural and trade center.[57] Ewert (1992) states that: "the pacifying power of the Almohad caliphate fused the outer Maghrib and al-Andalus into a totally unified artistic sphere. The two political centers, Marrakesh and Seville, became the two centers of artistic life as well."[58] As a center of artistic life, music thrived in Almohad Seville. There is evidence for a rich musical tradition existing in Seville for centuries during Muslim Spain. Various contemporary documents refer to the high caliber of the training of slave-girl musicians in Seville[59]; Sevillan craftsmen were renowned for the perfection of their instruments. It was necessary to have many skilled craftsmen to make instruments, for the variety of instruments in al-Andalus was expansive. Ziryab is said to have introduced at least forty Middle Eastern instruments to Andalusia.[60] Though iconographic documentation of these instruments is poor, knowledge about these instruments is available in literature including poetical works as well as through histories especially dealing with such subjects as theology or musical aesthetics.[61] The music that the Almohads developed was particularly appealing to the new Christian population who not only enjoyed listening to Muslim music but also incorporated aspects of the Almohad Sevillan tradition into their religious rituals and adopted their musical instruments. This fact can be supported by a document of the Council of Valladolid in 1322 which stated that Christians could not go near any Muslim wedding or funeral celebrations. The Council specifically forbade Christians from bringing Muslim or Jewish musicians into a Christian church. There were harsh penalties

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[57] Kaluzny, "From Islamic Ishbiliya to Christian Sevilla: Transformation and Continuity in a Multicultural City," 155.
[58] Christian Ewert (1992) as quoted by Kaluzny, "From Islamic Ishbiliya to Christian Sevilla: Transformation and Continuity in a Multicultural City," 118.
[59] Discussion of these slave girls and their role in the dispersal of Andalusian music will be discussed later.
[60] Guettat, Mahmoud. "The Andalusian Musical Heritage" *Garland Encyclopedia of Music.* p. 446.
[61] *Ibid,* p. 446.

for churches who did not respect these declarations. There is evidence that Arabo-Andalusian music was still incorporated in daily life as late as the sixteenth century, provided by documents that refer to a commission that investigated the population of Moriscos under Charles V. This commission suggested that Moorish music and dance (*eylas* and *zambras*) be prohibited; this prohibition continued throughout the reign of Philip II.[62] Despite these restrictions, the Christians continued to pursue their interest in Muslim music by inviting Muslim musicians to play at their weddings or other

Figure 1.2 Sevilla / San Bartolomé

Illustration 3
Map of Seville with Shaded Region, San Bartolomé

[62] Reynolds, "Music," 71.

celebrations. There is evidence that even the culturally rigid Queen Isabel allowed the Muslim instruments *trompetas, chirimias and sacabuche,* into the baptismal procession of her son Juan.[63]

In order to become a center of trade and/or artistic life, it is important to have contacts with other cultures. Various documents, notably the Geniza documents, prove that Seville was a thriving Mediterranean port of the Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Ages. The Geniza document contains documents, letters, legal records, marriage contracts and business contracts from the eleventh to the thirteenth century.[64] Seville's link with other cultures through trade as well as its exceptional city planning increased the standard of living. Various estimates for the Muslim population exist for the twelfth and thirteenth century of Seville, beginning at 65,000 by Jacinto Bosch Vila and growing to 83,000 by the estimate of Leopoldo Torres Balbas. For context, Balbas reports Istanbul's population to consist of 250,000-300,000 inhabitants and Cairo of 300,000 during this same period.[65] In the twelfth century, the geographer Al-Idrisi described Seville as:

> Esta última ciudad es grande y muy poblada. Las murallas son sólidas: los mercados, numerosos, haciéndose en ella gran comercio: la población es rica. El principal artículo de comercio de esta ciudad es el aceite, que se envía a Oriente y Occidente por tierra y por mar…
>
> al-Idrisi (1154)[66]

> This modern city is grand and very populated. The defensive walls are solid: there are numerous markets, and much trade is done in them: the population is rich. The primary commercial product of this city is olive oil, which they send to the Orient and the Occident by land and sea…
>
> [author translation]

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[63] Kaluzny, "From Islamic Ishbiliya to Christian Sevilla: Transformation and Continuity in a Multicultural City," 227.
[64] Kaluzny, "From Islamic Ishbiliya to Christian Sevilla: Transformation and Continuity in a Multicultural City," 155.
[65] Ibid., 156.
[66] Ibid., 155.

In comparison with the Umayyads and even the Almoravids, the Almohads were less tolerant of the different populations living within their new country. This did not mean, however, that large populations of Jews and Christians began to leave the cities, but that their lives were more restricted. The *dhimmi* continued to live in al-Andalus but led a more conservative public life and paid a higher tax rate. It has been noted previously that one of the fundamental reasons that the Ummayad culture flourished so readily was due to the free interchange between cultures. The Almoravid and Almohad cultures never reached the degree of societal and economic development that had existed in the time of the Ummayads due to their reining-in of the *dhimmi.* Though the Berbers were less (the Almohads even less than the Almoravids) eager to share their land with the *dhimmi,* their law and religion said that they had to allow them to live as followers of God, and therefore be left unharmed. The first Reconquistadores attempted to adopt this same approach to the Muslims and Jews living within al-Andalus, yet Christianity does not prescribe any such tolerance to any religion, and the attempt to treat other cultures with decency only lasted for a few centuries, and in some areas even less time. As Berber Muslims, the Almohads practiced their religion with more fundamentalist approaches than the Ummayad or the Berber Almoravid cultures. The Almoravids threatened the Alomohad way of life because of their more liberal Berber practices. Just as the Almoravids felt superior to the Umayyads, the Almohads viewed their entrance into al-Andalus as a way to 'clean up' the actions of past ruling bodies and to purify the area. Their fundamentalist approach to religion was equaled in their strict approach to the law.[67]

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[67] Kaluzny, "From Islamic Ishbiliya to Christian Sevilla: Transformation and Continuity in a Multicultural City," 148.

The *Qur'an* is the foundation for both theological and legal arguments in Islamic culture. The Maliki form, or *madhhab,* spread from North Africa to Andalusia. Despite the conservatism of Maliki law, a mystical-philosophical movement thrived in Seville during the Almohad era. Several documents during this epoch suggest that Sufism[68] was respected as a legitimate philosophy and well-known within Seville[69]. The combination of rationalism and myth continued throughout the Almohad rule in Andalusia, though rationalism would increase in popularity in the second and third generations.

The three caliphs of the Almohad era (1130-1199) were 'Abd al-Mu'min, Abu Ya'kub Yusuf, and Abu Yusuf Ya'qub al Mansur. The caliphs, with the exception of 'Abd al-Mu'min, ruled from Seville. The rich intellectual culture of the Almohad era is reflected by the *talaba*, or gatherings, that the caliphs held with an attendance of scholars, jurists, poets, and other educated people. These *talaba* were held in order to stimulate discussion and debate as well as create a forum in which city members could act as advisors.[70] Some key figures who had close connections with the court and must have attended *talaba* meetings during the Almohad period are classical philosophers such as Ibn Tufayl (1116-1185) and Ibn Rushd (known as simply Averroès b.1126-1198) and mystic philosopher Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi (1165-1240).[71]

> "The Sevillians are the most frivolous of people, the most natural and spontaneous of jokers, and the most given to playing tricks, with offence often intended. So accustomed are they to this, and such a habit is it, that

[68] The scope of this paper is already quite broad, and beginning a discussion of Sufism would only add to the many larger concepts. It is important to note that there was a large mystical cult following in Seville and in al-Andalus during the rule of the Muslims. A reason for the existence of this culture in al-Andalus is that Sufism was also widely practiced in the Maghrib and in the Middle East.
[69] Kaluzny, "From Islamic Ishbiliya to Christian Sevilla: Transformation and Continuity in a Multicultural City," 148.
[70] Ibid., 149.
[71] Ibid., 151.

> they are irked by anyone who does not himself play or put up with this type of joke."[72]
> -Al-Maqqari, *Nafh al-tib,* II, 143.

Many excavations have occurred in southern Spain recently, revealing information about the city planning and irrigation systems of the Almohads. An aerial view of Almohad Seville (Ishbiliya) circa 1248 would show a city surrounded by a strong defense network of walls, towers, and urban fortresses. The countryside would have contained olive and fig trees, vineyards, and small farms. The Guadalquivir River sustained the people and their farms.[73]

Inside the city walls, a complex network of water and wastewater systems was constructed. In excavations, many domestic wells, latrines and fountains were discovered. Excavations of the thirteenth-century Muslim towns of Saltes, Siyasa, Vascos, Zsar es-Seghir, and the neighborhood of San Vicente near Seville have developed the picture of Almohad urban planning and medieval domestic areas. These excavations revealed that both the elite and the public had advanced water and wastewater systems; it became obvious that artwork had existed not only in palaces but within the domestic sphere; design plans for structures were not chaotic but followed a very rational and pre-meditated arrangement; there was a mixed socio-economic population within each region. Sites showed that city planners seriously took into account the social necessities of having both a mosque and a bath within each individual neighborhood. This new information made false previous scholars' conceptions of chaotic Muslim urban planning as well as their idea that architectural advances only benefited the elite.[74]

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[72] As quoted in "Islamic Seville" by Rafael Valencia in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain,* 146.
[73] Kaluzny, "From Islamic Ishbiliya to Christian Sevilla: Transformation and Continuity in a Multicultural City," p. 157.
[74] Ibid., 159.

It can be seen in the Alhambra de Granada that the harmony between water and architecture was an important practical, religious, as well as artistic relationship for the Muslims of al-Andalus [see Illustration 3]. Buildings reflect the water in a mystically perfect manner, the borders of the pool framing the buildings' reflection like a painting. Water was very important in the lives of Sevillans during the Almohad era. Islam requires water for purification, and thus water is necessary not only for sanitary, practical reasons but also for religious purposes. Among recent excavations, archeologists located a complex irrigation system in the *Patio de las Naranjas* in 1992, the preserved courtyard of the Great Mosque presently attached to the Catholic Cathedral of Seville. The archeologists propose that water had been taken from the roof and channeled through tile drains in the pillars of the courtyard into a storage tank.

The irrigation and water systems that surrounded and were within the Great Mosque reveal a sophisticated and advanced civilization during the Almohad rule. However, the architecture of the Almohads and the buildings that were inspired after the Reconquista are a much more conspicuous symbol of the magnificence of Islamic culture during the medieval ages. In the next section I will present the first form of artistic expression studied in this thesis, the architecture of Seville. The complexity and sophistication of the irrigation systems of public planners was matched by the artistic beauty of their architecture.

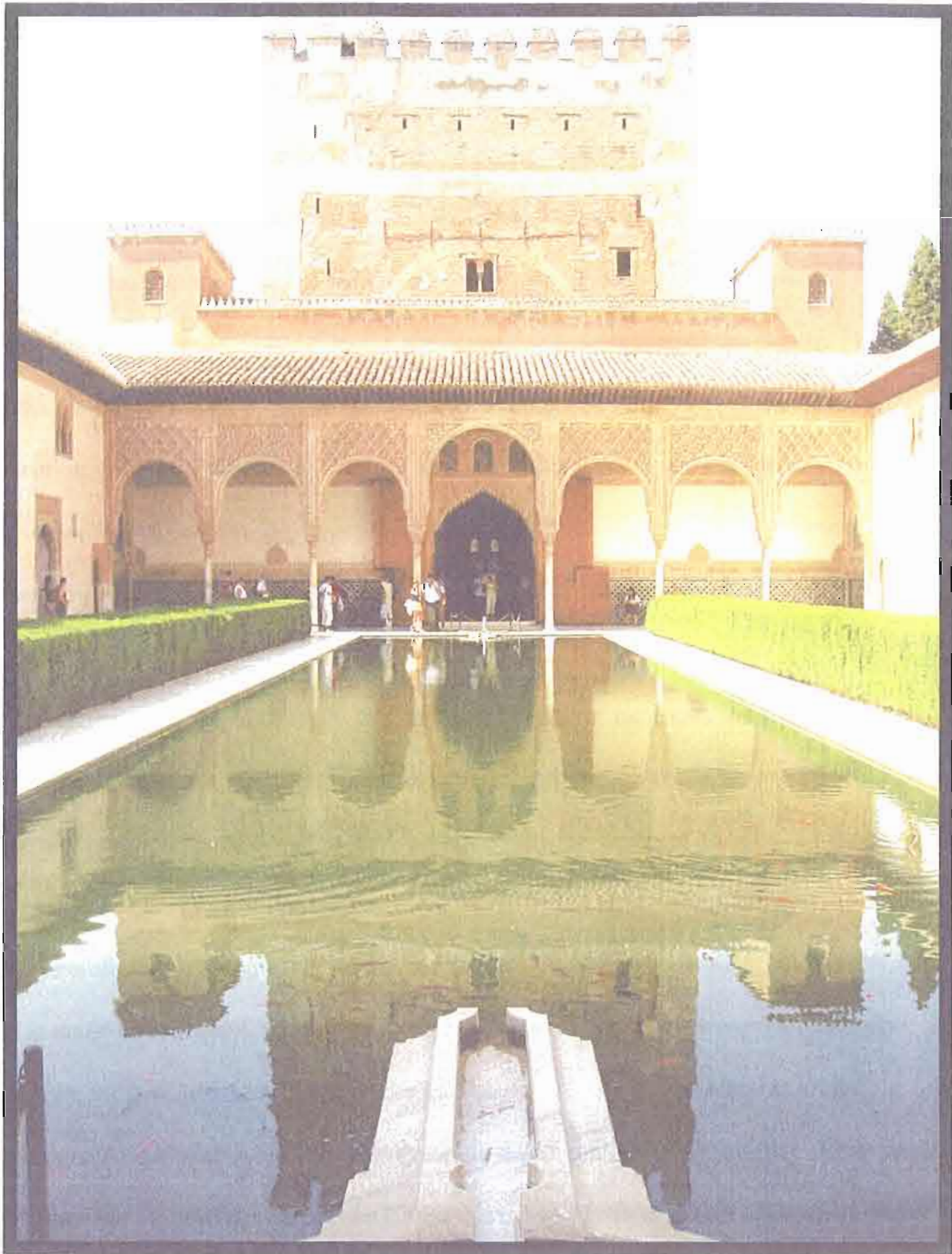

Illustration 4 La Alhambra, Patio de los Arrayanes (Court of the Myrtles)
Photograph taken by author

III. Architecture of Seville

As I mentioned in the introduction of my thesis, the influence of Arabic architectural styles upon Andalusia and Spain has been widely accepted by scholars.[75] Therefore, this section is not seeking to argue that people should believe in the impact of Arabic architecture on Spain. Instead, I want to present several buildings that further support the idea of artistic expression revealing the degree of cultural sharing of the period. The fact that the *Cantigas* and their author, or compiler, Alfonso El Sabio, have an intimate connection with the Cathedral of Seville also strengthens my argument that one cannot look at one type of artistic expression to understand the complexity of the cultural relationships hidden within its contents[76], but instead should consider as many as possible.

The new Christian government made an effort to make the transition of power as smooth as possible. An interesting way in which acculturation could be argued to have occurred during this period was in the Christians' appropriation of buildings. Instead of destroying the buildings of the Islamic city, they kept the structures intact and moved into them. Therefore, the Mosque of Seville became the Cathedral of Seville, not in form, but only in name and religion, for the next two centuries. The structures were not entirely taken over by the Christians; some of the mosques were left for the worship of the Islamic people, yet they were kept segregated to a designated Arabic quarter. After time wore down the Islamic structures, the Christians created buildings that appeared more

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[75] Oleg Grabar, "Two Paradoxes in the Art of the Spanish Peninsula," In *Legacy of Muslim Spain,* ed. Salma Khadra Jayyusi and Manuela Marin, (New York: E.J. Brill, 1992) , 589.

[76] The 'one' type of artistic expression is indirectly referring to *Las Cantigas de Santa Maria,* which are still contested as to whether or not they show cultural interrelationships. The manuscript and its contents will be discussed later.

western in origin, yet many of these churches in Seville kept elements or the entirety of the minaret as ornament. One of the greatest examples of this is the beautiful Giralda Minaret that stands next to the Cathedral of Seville today. [see Illustration 4] The remaining minarets in Seville and in Andalusia are evidence of the respect that the Reconquistas had for Islamic architecture.

The most notable architectural Almohad legacy is the introduction of the square minaret to Andalusia. During the time of Almohad rule, Seville had approximately one hundred neighborhood mosques and accompanying minaret towers along with the Great Mosque and its Giralda. This large number of mosques meant that Muslims were constantly reminded of their allegiance to God. This also meant that processions, rituals, and Arabic music would be constantly resounding throughout medieval Seville.[77]

The discussion of architecture in this thesis will primarily discuss two buildings, the Cathedral of Seville and the Alcázar de Seville. One was originally built during the time of the Almohads and taken over by Alfonso X and the other was built partially during the time of the Almohads and after the death of Alfonso X. Both of these buildings are proof of how this city and the cultures within were shared.

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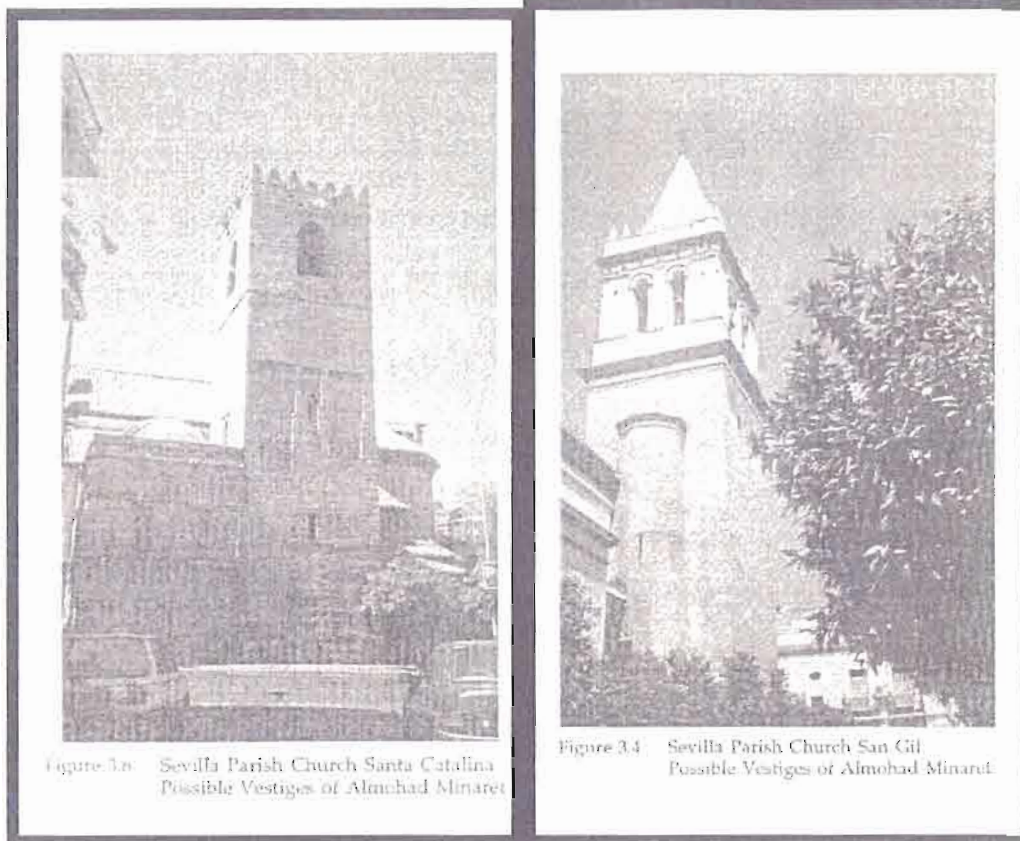
[77] Kaluzny, "From Islamic Ishbiliya to Christian Sevilla: Transformation and Continuity in a Multicultural City," 160.

Cathedral of Seville and the Giralda minaret

-"Various are the works of art and splendid buildings described by authors who have written about Sevilla: but the most amazing of all is unquestionably the tower attached to the great mosque, which was built during the reign of Ya'kub Al-mansur [third Almohad caliph Almohad]. As a piece of architecture it is unparalleled in the world.'

Al-Maqqari (16th century historian) *Nafh al-tib.* Book I Chapter III, pg. 56-7.
(in dissertation pg. 160)

Illustration 5



Sevilla Parish Church Santa Catalina
Possible Vestiges of Almohad Minaret

Figure 3.4 Sevilla Parish Church San Gil
Possible Vestiges of Almohad Minaret

Illustration 6 Seville Parish Church of Santa Marina
Top two photographs taken by Margaret Kaluzny[78], bottom by author

[78] Kaluzny, "From Islamic Ishbiliya to Christian Sevilla: Transformation and Continuity in a Multicultural City,"

Since the time the Muslims arrived on the Iberian Peninsula, architecture had been used as a symbol of power and cultural sophistication. The Ummayads began this tradition with the creation of the Mosque of Córdoba, placing it directly in the city center, and the Madinat al-Zahra[79]. The Christians countered these buildings by creating such cathedrals as Santiago de Compostela.[80] Thus, the idea of using the architecture of a city to state its political ideologies as well as its cultural dominance had existed since the beginning of the Christian-Muslim struggle in the eighth century. It should therefore be no surprise that when the Almohads arrived in Seville, one of the actions they viewed as most essential in order to stop the "...alleged corruption of the Umayyads and Taifa kingdoms by worldly Christian culture"[81] was to whitewash or destroy the buildings that existed in Andalusia. The new constructions the Almohads left for the Christians were made of brick and presented conservative hypostyle[82] floor plans with scarce ornamentation. One example of the architectural legacy of the Almohads (and the only existing example of Islamic architecture left on the Iberian Peninsula) is the Great Mosque of Seville.

The Great Mosque of Seville was built by Ahmad bin Baso, a Sevillian who constructed various buildings for his Almohad patrons, among them military and civil constructions in Gibraltar and Córdoba and an Almohad palace. All of his constructions, other than sections of the Great Mosque, have disappeared. The Great Mosque was begun by the order of Almohad caliph Abu Ya'qub Yusuf

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[79] The Madinat al-Zahra were the royal gardens on the outskirts of Cordoba, created by 'Abd al-Rahman III. They were destroyed in the Berber and Christian forces at the end of the Umayyad rule at the beginning of the 11th century.

[80] Jerrilynn Dodds, "Spaces," In *The Literature of al-Andalus,* ed. María Rosa Menocal, Raymond P. Scheindlin, and Michael Sells (Cambridge ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 2000) 89.

[81] Jerrilynn Dodds, "Spaces," in *The Literature of al-Andalus,* 91.

[82] In simplest terms, this means that you have a ceiling or roof supported by rows of columns.

(1163-1184) in 568. Abu Ya'qub Yusuf hired Ibn Baso as well as many master masons from North After and al-Andalus. Ten years later, the Mosque was completed; today only the minaret, La Giralda, and sections of the *sahn* (interior courtyard of a mosque) still stand.[83]

La Giralda, as a preserved element of the original Great Mosque, has an interesting story tied to its personal symbolism. It has been suggested that the creation of the minaret as a tower from which the call to prayer was proclaimed developed from the original low platform *(sawma'a)* in North Africa and Andalusia as part of the competition with the Christians. When al-Mansur burnt a church in Santiago de Campostela, he sent the bells from its towers back to Córdoba on the backs of Christian prisoners. The bells were then transformed into lamps. The Christians, when they gained control of the Cathedral of Seville, then made its minaret (La Giralda) into a bell tower and a symbol of their victory over the Muslims.[84]

The Friday Mosque of Seville, or the Cathedral of Seville, has a particular relationship with Alfonso X, his family, and *Las Cantigas de Santa Maria.* Alfonso X, his mother, and his father were buried in the Cathedral. In his will, Alfonso wrote:

> Otrosi mandamos, que todos los libros de los *Cantares de loor de Sancta Maria* sean todos en aquella iglesia do nuestro cuerpo se enterrare, e que los fagan cantar en las fiestas de Sancta Maria...[85]
>
> Moreover we ordain that all the books of songs in praise of Holy Mary should all be [kept] in the church where our body is to buried, and that they be sung on the feast days of Holy Mary.[86]

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[83] Jerrilynn Dodds, "The Arts of al-Andalus" in *Legacy of Muslim Spain,* 612.
[84] Jerrilynn Dodds, "Spaces," in *The Literature of al-Andalus,* 92.
[85] Quoted in the version given by Solalinde (1941, 236) as found in Martin G. Cunningham, *Alfonso X El Sabio: Cantigas de Loor,* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2000) , 17.
[86] As translated in Martin G. Cunningham, *Alfonso X El Sabio: Cantigas de Loor,* 17.

Figure 2.2 Cathedral of Sevilla
Source: *Sevilla Forma urbis*. Venezia: Marsilio Editori
Flight Date September 1991

Illustration 7

This image[87] shows the present-day Cathedral with the preserved Muslim minaret and Patio of the Oranges, an area notable by the trees in the photo. The minaret is attached both the Patio and the Cathedral; it can be seen as the first toward looking from the top to the bottom of the photo.

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[87] Kaluzny, Kaluzny, "From Islamic Ishbiliya to Christian Sevilla: Transformation and Continuity in a Multicultural City,"

The theme of using architecture as a sign of power and dominance continues into the discussion of the Alcázar of Seville. The palace, like the Cathedral, also retains structures built by the Almohads. The Patio del Yeso of the present Alcázar shows a different aspect of Almohad architecture, one that could perhaps be described as their secular architecture. The court presents a theme of columns and capitals that is not used in the construction of the mosque. The rectangular court is bordered on one side by seven arches and uses Caliphal capitals. The arcades of the court display stunningly complex stucco designs. The design of the stucco is very similar in design to that of La Giralda yet lacks its conservatism and is free to express with a certain flair forbidden in the area of a holy space.[88]

Pedro the Cruel kept the Patio del Yeso and then began a new Alcázar in the image of the Alhambra. For its construction, he hired Mudejars from the Nasrid palace itself. The completion of this Christian palace in a Mudejar-Muslim style in effect demonstrates Pedro's control over the culture and his attempt to shrink the mystique of the Alhambra Palace. According to Jerrilynn Dodds:

> "The power of Nasrid culture and the seventh-century history of Spanish Islam it celebrates would not be marked in the survival of the kingdom of Granada, or even of Islam on the peninsula. Its survival would be the mark of Islam on the victors who would polarize it: its survival would be found in the Alcázar of Seville, where Peter the Cruel…would find Nasrid style the most powerful manifestation of royal dignity and power."[89]

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[88] Jerrilynn Dodds, "The Arts of al-Andalus," *Legacy of Muslim Spain,* 615.
[89] Jerrilynn Dodds, "Spaces," *The Literature of al-Andalus*, 94.

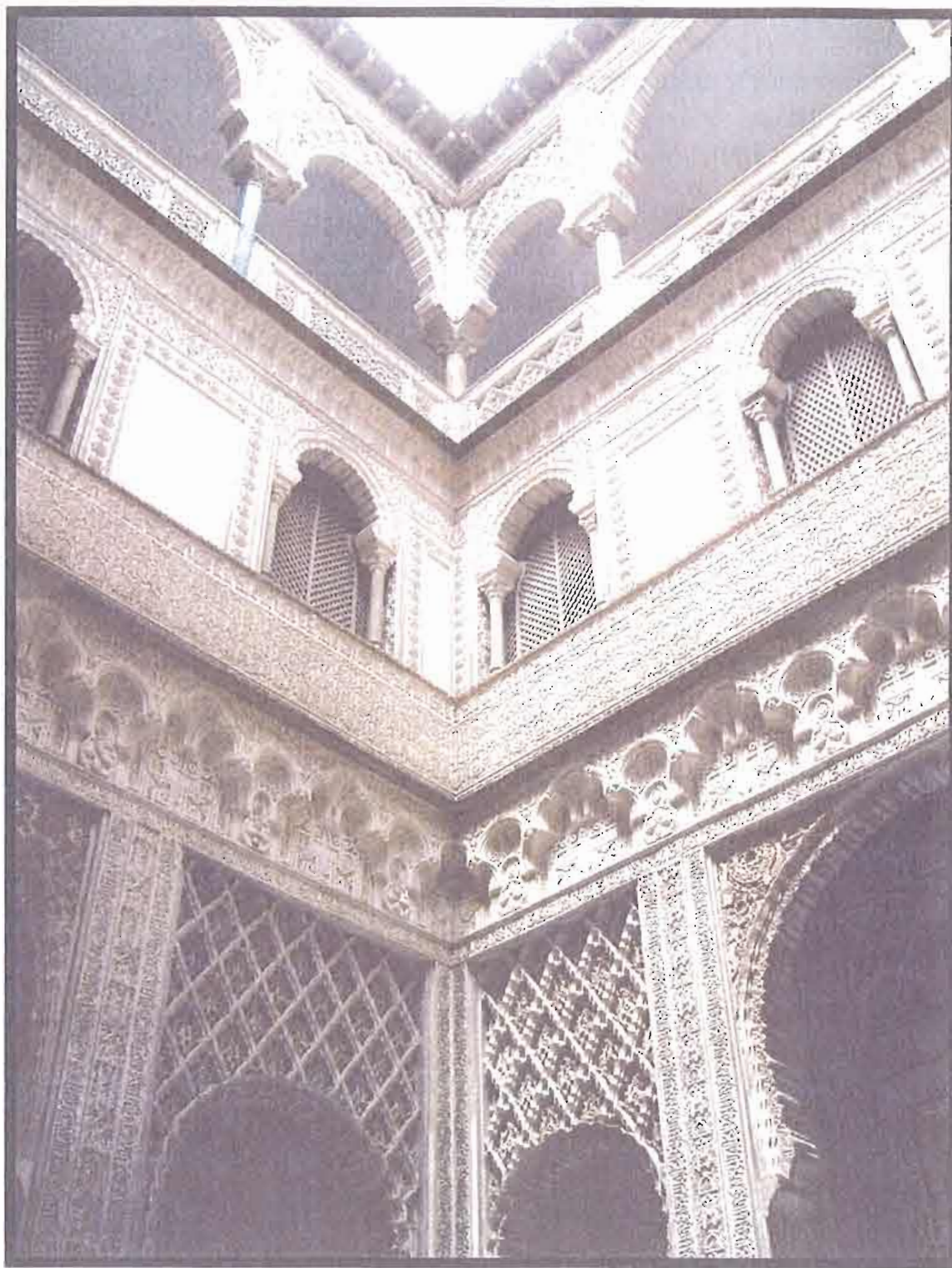

Illustration 8

Patio de las Muñecas, Alcázar of Seville, photo taken by author

Despite the fact that Dodds asserts that the Muslim-Nasrid symbol of power had become the property of the Christians, the public demonstrations of rulers are not what dictate the actions of their people. Christians had lived with Muslims and Jews for seven centuries. Despite their rulers' desire to demonstrate complete dominance over the Muslim culture through the design of great buildings, the existence of artistic forms that reflected the Andalusian spirit to collaborate continued in "ceramic, wall painting, woodworking, metal arts, textile weaving"[90] and even made their way into church architecture occasionally.

Though Pedro the Cruel and his Alcázar attempted to show to the rest of the world that he had taken over one of the most prized aspects of Muslim culture, architecture, he was also preserving it. In the plaster that decorated the palace, Pedro's name was clearly written in Arabic letters.[91] The Great Mosque of Seville was not destroyed, but kept intact by Alfonso X, and only once an earthquake irreparably damaged it was it rebuilt. When Charles V built his palace on the hill of the Alhambra, he made the decision to preserve the Nasrid palace and build his palace next to the Muslim palace. Islamic art traditions continued much longer in Spain than in Sicily, the Balkans, or Russia, areas that had also experienced Muslim domination. Examples of Mudejar styles have even been noticed in Mexico and Peru.[92] Therefore, though the cultures competed with one another through architecture, there is also evidence of appreciation. Perhaps this is due to Andalusia's long history as a frontier; perhaps the cultures had lived so long together that even though tolerance had become an idea of the past the practices of the other cultures continued because they had become so ingrained and

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[90] Jerrilynn Dodds, "Spaces," in *The Literature of al-Andalus.* 94.
[91] Oleg Grabar, "Two Paradoxes in the Art of the Spanish Peninsula," in *Legacy of Muslim Spain,* 588.
[92] Ibid, 589.

enjoyed by the other parts of society. The part architecture played as a merger of the different cultures should be kept in mind as cultural relationships in Alfonso X's Seville are described.

IV. Seville in the Time of Alfonso X

Despite the sophistication of their empire, Almohad al-Andalus began to fall apart in the thirteenth century due to geopolitical conflicts. The Almohads were protecting two fronts: one in al-Andalus against the Christians and the other in North Africa against other Muslim clans. The attempts to maintain these two territories wore down the strength of the empire; after the successful Christian advance into Almohad territory in al-Andalus, the empire collapsed.[93]

Despite the collapse of the Almohad empire, the influence of the Muslim and Jewish populations continued to pervade the new Christian territories throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Instead of tearing down Muslim cities like Seville, the Christians entered the region and began to inhabit the structures that had existed previously. Even mosques became churches in name, not form. The interior of the church was altered by the Christians with statues and paintings[94] of the Virgin Mary and her Son and musicians began to play their instruments during services, yet the walls that held them remained the same as they had when the Almohads ruled Seville. Muslims, Christians, and Jews continued to congregate at neighborhood baths to wash themselves, baths being an age-old meeting place of ideas and debate. The baths presented a forum for the mingling of racial and social classes. According to Jerrilynn Dodds: "…it is in fact

[93] Kaluzny, "From Islamic Ishbiliya to Christian Sevilla: Transformation and Continuity in a Multicultural City," 162.

[94] Islam forbode any pictures or paintings of their God in mosques, a fundamental reason why calligraphy became so important in their religion and culture. Music was not allowed in mosques either.

to the Islamic presence in Spain that the construction and use of civic baths is due."[95] Baths were initially used for religious purification but became important social institutions used by Muslims, Christians and Jews. They became so beloved by Andalusian society that the continuation of the tradition under Christian rule was hardly questioned, though there is evidence of some official disapproval. The Islamic baths culture influenced the Christian population so greatly that they continued to build baths after the Reconquista, the bath in Gerona being a prime example.[96]

The centuries after Almohad rule and before the Expulsion could be viewed as a transitional period between the time of Muslim and Christian Spain, in which the communities who had shared al-Andalus continued to do so in political, economic, and social spheres. It would not be until the fifteenth century, with the marker year of 1492, that the Christian rulers would decide that the other two dominant cultures, Muslims and Jews would no longer be able to practice their religion freely under the new Christian Empire.

The Christians gained control of Seville, the capital of the Almohads, after a long siege that lasted through the summer of 1248. The negotiations that followed provide evidence supporting the Muslims' desire to stay in Seville and preserve their symbolic sacred spaces, the Great Mosque and minaret. The Muslims proposed to relinquish power over the *Alcázar* with tribute and taxes; with each step of negotiations they offered a larger percentage of the city, up to one-half. The Muslims also suggested that a wall could be put up between the Christian and Muslim parts of the city. On 22 November, 1248, the treaty was signed. Ferdinand III gave the Muslim population the following

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[95] Jerrilynn Dodds, "The Arts of al-Andalus," in *Legacy of Muslim Spain,* 614.
[96] Ibid, 614.

options: either they could be exiled to North Africa or Granada, or they could live as *mudejares* (Muslims living under Christian rule). However, they could not live in Seville at the beginning of the Christian repopulation. The Muslims were given one month to pull together all of their belongings and leave Seville.[97]

Four years after the treaty was signed, Ferdinand III died and left the task of repopulation and property redistribution to his son. Ferdinand III is noted for having truly appreciated and valued the city of Seville 'above all other cities.'[98] He would not be the last—Peter the Cruel would choose Seville as his capital as well. The imprint of the Arabic Islamic culture, partly due to the first Christian kings' respect and esteem for Arabic architecture, is very apparent upon the face of modern Seville. The Christians, especially kings such as Ferdinand III and Alfonso X, had a deep respect for the artwork of the Muslim population. There is a story that tells of Alfonso X's decision to protect the Mosque of Seville. When he was leading troops to Seville under his father's reign, he heard that the Muslims had decided to pull down the mosque in order to keep the Christians from occupying it. Alfonso X kept this from occurring by threatening to kill the Muslims of Seville if they completed this act.[99]

Though Alfonso did not reign exclusively from one city, he ruled his territory most often from Seville.[100] Alfonso placed his father's body in the Friday Mosque of Seville that had been consecrated as the cathedral of the new Castilian capital. Ferdinand III is remembered as the Castilian conqueror of the last of the Islamic territories except

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[97] Kaluzny, "From Islamic Ishbiliya to Christian Sevilla: Transformation and Continuity in a Multicultural City," 165.

[98] Menocal. *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain,* 47.

[99] Ibid., 236.

[100] Rafael Valencia, "Islamic Seville: Its Political, Social and Cultural History," in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain,* 143.

Granada, and yet his tomb is inscribed not only in Castilian, but in Latin, Hebrew, and Arabic as well.

Upon Fernando III's death, his son Alfonso X took the reigns of power. Fernando III was reported to have said on his deathbed:

> 'Sir, I leave you all the lands on this side of the sea which the Moors won from King Roderick of Spain. All this now lies within your power, one part of it conquered and the other lay under tribute. If you should manage to hold it all in the way in which I leave it to you, then you are as good a king as I; and if you should enlarge it, you are better than I; and if you should lose any of it, you are not as good as I.' [101]

Alfonso was thus given the large burden of repopulating the cities his father had conquered while maintaining a semblance of order as power changed hands. Alfonso X was very concerned with the ideas of the Reconquista and expansion, spending many of his years attempting to take control of Morocco. Though he never fulfilled his dream to conquer Morocco, he did manage to rule Andalusia in an effective manner that kept power in Christian hands. The order he established in the conquered cities in the thirteenth century was strong enough to keep Christian lands from returning to Islamic hands, though his leadership would not be respected throughout the entirety of his rule. The *Siete Partidas*, a guide Alfonso wrote on how to rule Christian Spain, is a document referred to by many scholars as containing many great ideas and effective governing strategies. This selected passage from the *Siete Partidas* demonstrates Alfonso's intentions to assimilate the Muslims into his new kingdom as opposed to injuring or alienating them:

[101] *Primera Crónica General, ed. Cit.,* vol. II, pg. 748. as quoted in MacKay, *Spain in the Middle Ages: From Frontier to Empire, 1000-1500,* 59.

> "Christians should endeavor to convert the Moors by causing them to believe in our religion, and bring them into it by kind words and suitable discourses, and not by violence or compulsion; for if it should be the will of Our Lord to bring them into it and to make them believe by force, He can use compulsion against them if He so desires, since He has full power to do so; but He is not pleased with the service which men perform through fear, but with that which they do voluntarily and without coercion, and as He does not wish to restrain them or employ violence, we forbid anyone to do so for this purpose; and if the wish to become Christians should arise among them, we forbid anyone to refuse assent to it, or oppose it in any way whatsoever."[102]

Passages like this show that Alfonso was not seeking to estrange the Muslims. They were a valuable labor source and possessed extensive knowledge about agriculture in the region. Records show that there were twenty Muslim communities, *aljamas,* in Seville and its outlying area in 1254.[103] In these areas, they were free to practice Islam and live by their own laws. Archival sources do not suggest that there was an established *morería* in Seville until the early fifteenth century, meaning that the community was spread throughout the city in neighborhoods, or *collaciones.* Though the *mudejars* were treated fairly in many cases, they were not treated as well as the Muslims had treated the dhimmi.[104] Fair treatment of the *dhimmi* is a demand written in the Qur'an whereas the Christians' treatment of the *mudejars* was based upon treaties. Without religious command, Christians were less consistent with their treatment of the Jewish and Muslim populations. One example of the inconsistency of the Christians' actions toward the Muslims is Alfonso X's decision to force the Muslims to move from Morón. Morón was a Muslim town created after the conquest of Seville under the conditions set by the 1248

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[102] Part. VII, Tit. XXV, law II. S. Parsons Scott, trans., *Las siete partidas,* ed. Robert I. Burns, 5 vols. (Philadelphia, P.A.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001) vol. 5, pp. 1438-9. as quoted by Francisco Prod-Vilar. "The Gothic Anamorphic Gaze," in *Under the Influence: Questioning the Comparative in Medieval Castile,* 73.
[103] Kaluzny, "From Islamic Ishbiliya to Christian Sevilla: Transformation and Continuity in a Multicultural City," 165.
[104] Epalza, "Mozarabs: An Emblematic Christian Minority," 160.

treaty. However, as a strategically-located frontier town that grew significantly in seven years, Alfonso felt that the Muslims had too much power and forced them to leave and move to the less prominent town of Silebar.[105] These and other injustices the *Mudejars* suffered caused the rebellion of 1264. After this unsuccessful rebellion, many of the *mud jars* left Andalusia and the Muslim population began to decline even further.

The Jewish population of Seville was also viewed as a tool in the eyes of Alfonso X. Whereas the Muslim knowledge of agriculture and architecture as well as their labor was valued; Jews were very skilled in administration and government organization. However, the sought-after positions that the Jewish population attained in Seville during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries also made them a larger target for hatred and discrimination by the Christians. The Jews' power hinged upon the current ruler, a situation that became horrifically realized during the Inquisition. Pedro I gave several esteemed court positions to Jews. His treasurer, Samuel ha Levi, controlled much of the administrative power. During a quarrel, Pedro's stepbrother Enrique II called him a "friend of the Jews," appealing to the anti-Semitic population of Seville. However, when Enrique himself ascended the throne, he appointed Jews to key positions in his court.[106]

During the resettlement of Seville, Alfonso X awarded Jewish settlers (especially from Toledo) *donadios* and *heredamientos,* as well as large urban and rural properties. The Jews were not forced to live in a *juderia,* yet most Jews chose to live within the limits of Barrios San Bartolome, Santa Maria la Blanca, and Santa Cruz. Alfonso designated three mosques to be converted into synagogues. In 1343, the Jews asked for permission to construct an additional synagogue. The *Siete Partidas* stated that new

[105] Kaluzny, "From Islamic Ishbiliya to Christian Sevilla: Transformation and Continuity in a Multicultural City," 166.
[106] Ibid., 204.

synagogues could only be constructed upon the order of the ruling king; Alfonso VI was so eager to support the desires of the Jews that he wrote Pope Clement VI so that he would view the action favorably. Pope Clement VI approved the building of the synagogue, perhaps due to Alfonso's positive description of the Jewish population in his letter. Part of his letter states of the importance of the Jewish contributions to the Sevillan community:

> "Porque contribuyan a la prosperidad de la ciudad y muchas veces se unían a los cristianos para combater contra los musulmanes, y no temian arriesgar sus vidas."
>
> Because they have contributed to the prosperity of the city and many times they have united with the Christians in order to fight against the Muslims, and they did not fear to risk their lives.
> [author]

There are various estimates on the size of the Jewish population during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. These estimates are in numbers of households. Baer suggests two hundred in 1290. Collantes de Terán estimates 400-500 at the end of the fourteenth century, Ladero Quesada no more than four hundred, and Netanyahu claims that there might have been 6000-7000 during this period. Netanyahu's estimate is unreasonably high and is based on unreliable records.[107] The examples of Pedro and his step-brother appointing Jews to distinguished and important positions in their courts reflect a common situation from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. The Spanish monarchs realized the Jews' facility with handling financial as well as administrative matters and placed them in posts as financial ministers, advisors, ambassadors and court physicians. Other parts of the Jewish population participated in merchant and artisan crafts as practiced by textile merchants, tailors, hat makers, weavers, shoemakers, or silversmiths.

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[107] Kaluzny, "From Islamic Ishbiliya to Christian Sevilla: Transformation and Continuity in a Multicultural City," 205.

The Jewish population, though they gained much materially during this epoch, also suffered from sporadic periods of aggression from the other parts of the community. In 1391, violent uprisings against the Jews began in Seville in San Bartolomé and spread to other parts of Spain. Following this dramatic episode, many Jews converted to Christianity. Jews might have converted for reasons other than fear yet it is notable that this pogrom occurred before a period of many conversions.

After these descriptions of how the Muslim and Jewish populations lived in Alfonso X's Seville, I would like to present some more specific documented examples of Muslims, Jews, and Christians living together and interacting on a daily basis. The Christian Lope Diaz had a Jewish silversmith make his swords; a Christian pharmacist, Gonzalo Rodriguez, rented a store from a Muslim Culeman Obery in the barrio San Isidoro; the Jewess medical practitioner, Doña Leal, treated Muslim and Christian women for eye diseases. The *Mudejares* served the community daily through the reparation and creation of public city works, employed by the Christian government. The Caños de Carmona, the major aqueduct system of the Sevillan region built by the Almohads, was documented to have been under the charge of *mudéjar* Abrahán Gynete in 1488. [108]

It seems apparent that the Christians, Muslims and Jews coexisted under the reign of Alfonso X in a manner similar to the way they had lived the last seven centuries under the Muslims. Alfonso X set an example to the kings that would follow him in the next few centuries. In his later years, Alfonso began to abandon some of the tenets of his code. One of the most inhuman examples of his deranged understanding of power was the execution of his brother the Infante Fadrique and the magnate Simon Ruiz in May

[108] These examples come from Kaluzny's dissertation, yet can be found in the book written by Klaus Wagner (1978), *Regesto de documentos del Archivo de Protocolos de Sevilla.*

1277.[109] There is much debate over Alfonso's reasons for such harsh punishment—one being the possibility of treason, the other homosexuality. The task of governing had begun to wear on Alfonso and his legitimacy as a ruler began to be questioned by the nobility as well as by family members. After the Cortes of Burgos in 1272, a group of his relatives and magnates went into exile in the kingdom of Granada. The King was able to win them back to Castile a year later, but Alfonso's authority was irreparably damaged.

A study conducted by several medical authorities in 1948 revealed that Alfonso X might well have suffered 'from a squamous cell carcinoma in the maxillary antrum, a cancerous growth in the face underneath his eyes.' During the years of his illness, King Alfonso suffered intense pain and felt that he was on his deathbed only to come back to health. These 'near death' experiences occurred, as far as we know historically, three or four times very seriously, with perhaps more minor incidents in between. The physician who studied King Alfonso's body suggested that "bouts of depression, indecision, and frequently bizarre behavior" could be directly related to this illness.[110] Alfonso ascribed his recoveries to the healing powers of the Virgin Mary, which very well may explain why, in his later years, there is an outpouring of *Cantigas* for the Virgin Mary.

Alfonso X is renowned for writing an enormous amount of Castilian prose. His *Siete Partidas* and *Cantigas de Santa Maria* represent only a portion of the works ascribed to his name. Another work that supports a vision of thirteenth-century Seville as a mixture of various cultures and influences is Alfonso's *El Tratado de Ajedrez* (1283), a book describing the Arabic game of chess.[111] Similar to the *Cantigas,* this work reveals many

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[109] O'Callaghan, *Alfonso X and the Cantigas de Santa Maria: A poetic biography,* 148.
[110] Ibid., 132.
[111] Kaluzny, "From Islamic Ishbiliya to Christian Sevilla: Transformation and Continuity in a Multicultural City," 219.

aspects of daily medieval life through its illustrations: the types of clothing; architectural elements; musical instruments; types of occupation. The drawings portray a society in which people of different backgrounds associate. Some of the illustrations depict people of common background while others show games being played by people of all social classes, ages, sexes, and cultures (primarily of Muslim, Christian, or Jewish religions). [see illustrations on following page, presenting different sexes and cultures together]. This document not only reveals social elements of Sevillian medieval society but also reiterates Alfonso's fascination with the Muslim culture, a fascination that extended into the recreational side of his life. There are interesting differences between the treatise and the manuscript mentioned in this thesis. *El Tratado del Ajedrez* is written in the vernacular while the *Cantigas* are written in Galician-Portuguese. The treatise openly displays Alfonso's obvious interest in having other cultures in his court—their ideas, music, women, etc. Within the 'Codex of Musicians' manuscript of the *Cantigas,* there is only one Muslim musician and one woman portrayed.[112] The *Treatise* is a secular work while the *Cantigas* is a religious work, an offering to the Virgin Mary. The extreme differences in the portrayal of the court and kingdom of Alfonso X between these two documents in language and illustrations suggest that the perspective offered by the *Cantigas* may be far from what reality might have been due to Alfonso's desire to display his devotion to the Virgin by depicting a purely Christian kingdom. Alfonso's interest in Muslim architecture has already been mentioned specifically regarding the Giralda minaret in Seville while *Las Cantigas de Santa Maria* include illustrations that also provide evidence for cross-pollination between cultures within Alfonso X's court.

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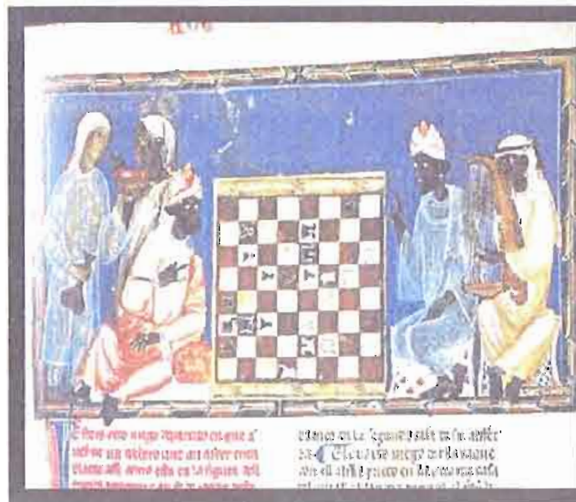
[112] As will be mentioned later, it has been documented that Muslim musicians were hired by Castilian courts.

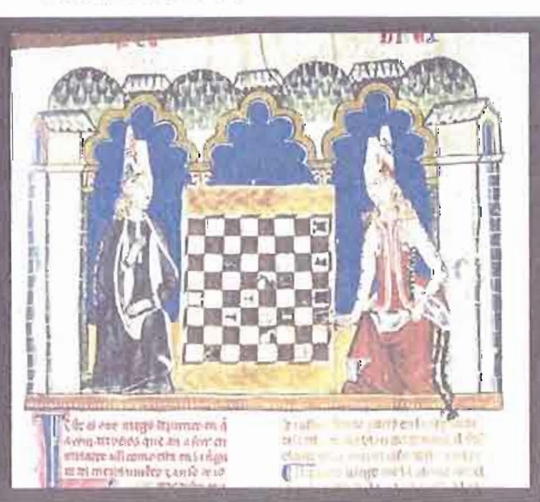
Medieval documents reveal his acceptance and furthering of the Arabic language—supposedly Alfonso created a school for Arabic and Latin.

Arabic woman with man playing chess
Chess Problem # 60
Illustration 9

Arabic man/ Spanish girl
Chess Problem # 87
Illustration 10



Five Muslims, one playing harp
Chess Problem #25
Illustration 11



Two noble Gothic women
Chess Problem # 43
Illustration 12

The illustrations chosen from *El Tratado del Ajedrez*[113] display the mingling of young and old persons [Illustration 9]; the youth of different cultures [Illustration 10]; groups of different cultures [Muslims] within Alfonso's court along with women musicians [Illustration 11]; women of the Christian nobility [Illustration 12]; women of the Muslim upper-class [Illustration 13]; Christian men playing with Christian women [Illustration 14]. The diversity of the relationships presented in this treatise in 150 color drawings create a colorful, rich, and non-discriminative perspective of Alfonso X's court.

Illustration 13
Two Muslim veiled ladies
Chess Problem # 56

Illustration 14
Christian man and woman
Chess Problem #101

The texts he wrote, the chess he played, and the Muslim musicians he hired suggest that Alfonso had an interest in the Muslim culture in Andalusia that went beyond his desire to infuse the strengths of the Mudejar culture into his own. However, his interest

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113 I was able to borrow the facsimile from Washington State University for my research, Hiersemann, Karl W., ed. *Das Spanische Schachzabelbuch des Königs Alfons des Weis vom Jahre 1283.* Facsimile of Codex j.T.6 of the Escorial. Leipzig: Real Biblioteca del Escorial, 1913. 194 plates, large folio. However, for the purposes of describing cultural relationships, I felt it would be better to use color images from the website Alphonso X Book of Games: A Game Researcher's resource. MacGregor Historic games. 8 June 2006. http://historicgames.com/alphonso/index.html

in Muslim culture must have been mixed with his own political goals—assimilation of the Mudejar population could be advanced through Christians attaining knowledge of the Arabic language as well as benefiting the Spanish population through the translation of Arabic books. The expansiveness of translated and written Arabic texts far outnumbered Christian sources at this time—therefore, Alfonso the Wise saw a benefit of his people learning Arabic as a way to reclaim these texts as part of the Western Christian intellectual tradition. The Muslim culture was particularly fascinated with its own language. Since the days of its nomadic lifestyle in the desert where the only consistency that could be found as the landscape changed was the spoken word, the Arabic culture had prized its language and poetry. When the Umayyads reigned in Córdoba, there were as many as seventy libraries within the city limits. The main library of Córdoba contained as many as 400,000 volumes. In this same epoch, Christian Europe held no more than four hundred manuscripts in its major libraries.[114] This is likely due to the fact that much of medieval Christian Europe was illiterate[115] whereas people of the Muslim culture more consistently held some type of education. Alfonso had a goal to make his new territory known for its intellectual ability—therefore, the knowledge of the Muslims was especially necessary to have until the Christians had taken all they needed. The translation of Arabic texts into Spanish is another way in which educated persons of medieval Spain might have been influenced by Arabic culture. In gaining valuable texts

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[114] Menocal, *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain*, 33.

[115] During the Middle Ages, there were few universities in Christian Europe. The monks were some of the only people who were literate. They preserved many early texts, that, without their labor, might be lost today. Monks were often hired to write books or manuscripts as opposed to skilled professionals or publishing houses.

for the rest of Christian Europe, it is possible that the love of poetry and the written word might have begun to seep into Christian Spanish culture.

A question that might be asked is how involved was Alfonso in the actual writing of the prose. A passage from his *General estoria* provides some answers:

> "...the king creates a book, not in that he writes it out with his own hands but rather in that he assembles the arguments of it, and corrects and balances them and sets them right, and shows the way they ought to be presented; thereafter they are written by whoever he designates, but we say for this reason that the king creates a book..." [116]

Scholars have discovered ways to unlock the mystery behind how significant Alfonso's role was in the writing of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* by comparing the four different extant manuscripts. One such observation is that the first 100 Cantigas contain only one Cantiga related to Alfonso; in the second version there are three, eight in the third, and thirteen in the fourth.[117] Therefore, Alfonso's role might be defined as the compiler.

At this point, I would like to discuss the *Cantigas* and their role in revealing the cultural relationships that existed during the time of Alfonso X, but before diving into this discussion, I should briefly introduce the music of Muslim al-Andalus.

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[116] Cunningham, *Alfonso X: El Sabio Cantigas de Loor,* 4
[117] Ibid., p. 8.

VI. Short History of the music of al-Andalus

It is difficult, and some might argue impossible, to search for evidence of Arabic musical influence on Europe. Medieval Europe presents difficulties to musicologists due to the many different kinds of notation that exist and the problems that occur trying to find a consistent way to interpret them. On the other hand, the issue with trying to find answers about the music of Muslim Spain is its lack of written notation. One of the reasons why *Las Cantigas de Santa Maria* are such important musicological sources is because the extant body of musical manuscripts from the Middle Ages, and especially from Muslim Spain, is so small. The reason the repertoire is so small is because music of the Middle Ages was largely part of an oral tradition and was not written down.[118] Studying the music of the Middle East presents a situation similar to that of Muslim Spain in its lack of sources because of its exclusively oral transmission of music. Even if the theorists of the Middle East understood the techniques of notation, the musicians did not read written notation when performing and thus no notated record exists today.[119]

Information from historical or literary works on music performance practice in Muslim Spain is nearly non-existent. There are no extant theoretical texts on the music of Muslim Spain except for two chapters of a thirteenth century encyclopedia by al-Tifashi. We also know that at least one theoretical text was written by Ibn Bajja (d. 1139). Unfortunately this text has been lost, perhaps among others. His work supposedly rivaled

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[118] The use of 'oral' in this document refers to both oral and aural.

[119] Owen Wright, "Music in Muslim Spain," in *Legacy of Muslim Spain,* ed. Salma Khadra Jayyusi and Manuela Marin (New York: E.J. Brill, 1992) , 555.

al-Farabi's (d. 1139) *Kitab al-musiqi al-kabir,* one of the pivotal works of early Middle Eastern music.[120]

"I heard strings played incessantly—tunbūr and zithers."[121] This quote from al-Tijibi refers to the constant music making in Malaga in the eleventh century. Chronicles, journals, and other contemporary sources tell us of the Andalusian love of music, poetry and dance from the ninth century onward. The courts of al-Andalus often hired large ensembles of musicians for their courts: in Almeria, the Vizir Ibn 'Abbas had five hundred female singers in his palace, and most princes or noblemen had their own personal orchestra or *sitara.* Cordovan families had each young woman of the household perform during gatherings. Ibn Malik commented that the common people of al-Andalus loved music and music-making.[122]

It is likely that Muslim Spain had strong connections with Middle Eastern music practices, especially due to the presence of Middle Eastern musicians in courts. There is evidence of Middle Eastern musicians in Muslim Spain from the beginning of the Umayyad emirate/caliphate. A documented example is the ninth-century musician Abu 'l-Hasan 'Ali b. Nafi, nicknamed Ziryab, who was referred to by the historian al-Maqqari (1578-1632) in his work based upon the source by the historian Ibn Hayyan (987-1076). Ziryab studied under Ishaq al-Mawsili (767-850), the famous '*ud* (lute) player from Baghdad.[123] Ziryab's life was documented by various people and the biographical information presented is not completely consistent from source to source. Thus,

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[120] Ibid, p. 556.
[121] Guettat, Mahmoud. "The Andalusian Musical Heritage." *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music.* p. 443.
[122] Guettat, Mahmoud. "The Andalusian Musical Heritage." *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music..,* p. 443.
[123] Guettat, Mahmoud. "The Andalusian Musical Heritage." *The Garland Encyclopedia of Music.* p. 442.

musicologists and performers look to the story of Ziryab for guidance but view it with caution.

Ziryab played in the court of ʹAbd al-Rahman II in Córdoba. He became well-known as a courtier and supposedly laid the groundwork for *al-'alā al-andalusiyya,* or Andalusian music. The underlying idea behind *al-'alā al-andalusiyya* was to create a system of twenty-four modes for each hour of the day which would possess seasonal and temporal characteristics. The modal music is based on two forms of text, the *muwashshah* and the *zajal*. These poetic forms create a fundamentally different type of poetry from the classical *qasda* that had dominated classical Arabic poetry for five hundred years. The *muwashshah* and the *zajal* are Arabic poetry forms that were more folkloric and simple than the *qasda*. The departure from the *qasda* to the *muwashshah* and *zajal* demonstrates the distinctive unifying qualities of al-Andalus. Both forms showed obvious signs of indigenous Iberian poetry and sometimes even included a closing couplet in Latin. The participation of the Jewish population is quite notable. The first manuscripts of this new poetic form were transliterated into Hebrew, were sung solely with other Jews or with Muslims, and the Jews even brought these poetic forms into their synagogues in *a cappella* arrangements.[124]

Though Hayyan may have exaggerated some of Ziryab's influence, it is safe to say that Ziryab influenced the development of music of al-Andalus as a performer and teacher. It cannot be precisely stated how far Ziryab's influence extended—al-Maqqari

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[124] Philip Schuyler: 'Morocco', *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed [10-05-2006]), http://www.grovemusic.com

claims that he introduced a fifth string to the lute as representative of the soul of the instrument as well as introducing different materials to its production.[125]

It is possible that Ziryab and his peers brought an early form of the *nawba* [example of an excerpt from a *nawba,* CD track 4] west from the Middle East. The first reference to the *nawba* 'substitution', 'taking turns' as a term to describe a suite was during the reigns of the third 'Abbasid caliph al-Mahdi [775-785] and his son Harun al-Rashid [786-809]. Starting in the ninth century, *nawba* was commonly used to describe a type of music program. [126] Ziryab's entrance into the Cordoban court in 822[127] would have meant, according to these dates, that he had been exposed to the developing *nawba* in the Middle East This claim cannot be completely separated from the myths that surround Ziryab's life. However, the development of the *nawba* as a suite form has been historically documented to have developed since the ninth century. Thus it is not unlikely that Ziryab was one of the originators of the ideas that would produce the modern *nawba* suite. Ibn Hayyan's descriptions of proto-*nawba* musical characteristics connect it with Abbasid music practices Ziryab would have known and introduced to Muslim Spain.[128] Though Ibn Hayyan does not name the *nawba* as such, the proto-*nawba* Ibn Hayyan describes is very similar to the form of the *nawba* today, beginning with a series of slower pieces that increased in tempo toward the final pieces.

Some scholars, such as Thomas Binkley, have sought to re-introduce the possibility of Arabic influence in western music. Binkley discovered the possible link between North African Andalusian music (specifically the *nawba* suite) and medieval

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[125] *Legacy of Muslim Spain,* "Music in Muslim Spain", p. 558.
[126] Guettat, Mahmoud. "The Andalusian Musical Heritage." *Garland Encyclopedia of Music.* p. 447
[127] Touma, Habib Hassan. "Andalusian Nuba in Morocco." *Garland Encyclopedia of Music.* p. 457.
[128] Wright, "Music in Muslim Spain," *Legacy of Muslim Spain,* 559.

Spain and tried to introduce this idea to Europe through medieval sources such as the *Cantigas*. The problem with Binkley's approach was his misunderstanding of the *nawba* form. It is not possible to make an interpretation of one *Cantiga* through the *nawba* form because the *nawba* is a suite that is comprised of many pieces. It is possible that Binkley recognized the discrepancy but still decided to bring elements of the suite into a short piece, or that he just didn't realize that the *nawba* consisted of many pieces. It is difficult for a person of a different ethnicity to recognize the beginning and ending of pieces within a larger whole. Imagine a person coming from Africa, or China, and entering a jazz bar in New York and listening to a string of standard jazz pieces. As the pianist goes from "Embraceable You" into "Unforgettable", the foreigner might have difficulty locating when the pianist moves from one piece to the next—in fact, the person might view the whole forty-five minute set as one piece of music.[129] The problem with these analyses and performance is the incorrect linking between a large form like the *nawba* and the individual *cantigas*. Scholars need to begin to look more closely at the pieces that lie within the *nawba.*

In the case of Ziryab, we have an example of an eastern musician bringing his influence into al-Andalus. Later, musical ideas would flow from Muslim Spain outward, in the following ways: marriages of the upper classes, political negotiations, the movement of armies and their prolonged captivity in foreign countries, and the influence of traveling professional musicians and slave girls inside the court system. Many of the most significant examples of intermarriage between Christians and Muslims occurred

[129] This analogy was presented to me by Joel Cohen.

during the Umayyad rule in Spain.[130] Medieval texts also tell us that Christian and Muslim nobles spent long periods of time in foreign courts. These nobles might be away for ambassadorial reasons such as the signing of treaties as well as for payment of ransoms. [131]

Another example of the dispersal of the musical practices of Muslim Spain is that of slave girls that were trained by older women, "aestheticians," and then sold to owners throughout Spain and beyond. Al-Tifashi writes that the main center for such training occurred in Seville. The slave girls from Seville were sold far and wide and were valued upon their ability to improvise, a skill that was additionally supported by showing their ability to memorize a large repertoire of compositions. According to al-Tifashi, the bidding price of a trained singing girl began at one thousand Maghribi dinars; for a musician of highest quality, the slave girl could be sold from more than ten thousand gold dinars.[132] The extent of memorization included not only the whole classical repertoire with which the wealthy would be familiar, but also included up to 500 *nawbas*, as well as the *muwashshah* and *zajal* pieces.[133] According to al-Tifashi, the price of a slave girl sold from Seville was based upon the extent of her knowledge of calligraphy and Arabic, a

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[130] The amount of Arabs and Berbers who initially entered the Iberian Peninsula was a small number in comparison to the number of people living on the peninsula. In addition, the conquering forces did not bring many women. Thus it was necessary, initially, to intermarry in order to establish a firm foothold upon the territory. After the first few centuries, intermarriage may not have been as common simply because the amount of people that had converted or intermarried in the first few centuries of Muslim rule had created a large enough pool for it not be such a necessity for a Muslim man, for example, to marry a Christian woman.

[131] Reynolds, "Music," *The Literature of al-Andalus*, 70. The Princess Onneca, Fortun Garc's of Pamplona helped pay her father's debt to Córdoba by remaining there for twenty years. The son of the poet-king al-Mu'tamid of Seville (d. 1095), al-Rashid, was sent to the court of Count Ramon Berenguer II of Barcelona due to his father's debt to the Count. Al-Rashid's stay in Barcelona is particularly notable because of his renowned musical abilities.

[132] Guettat, Mahmoud. "The Andalusian Musical Heritage," *Garland Encyclopedia of Music*. p. 446.

[133] Wright, "Music in Muslim Spain," *Legacy of Muslim Spain*, 562.

wide assortment of pieces, facility on various musical instruments, and sometimes shadow puppetry.[134]

The siege of Barbastro in 1064 may have assisted in the dispersal of the musical abilities of the slave girls. Various contemporary documents have described the sequence of events of this siege. The siege remained so famous that it formed the theme of the French epic "Le Siege de Barbastre". Ibn Hayyan wrote a long account of the siege, supposedly based upon an eye-witness report, in his encyclopedia. Among the booty taken by Christians, the leader of the siege, Crespin, took 1,500 young women and 500 carloads of furnishings, ornaments, clothing and coverings. 50,000 Muslims were reported killed or seized as prisoners.

The Christian source states that part of the booty of the raid of Barbastro was one thousand five hundred slave girls. One of the figures in this raid was William VIII of Aquitaine, father of William IX. William IX is often referred to as the first troubadour of Europe. As a leader of the raid, William VIII would have received a fair portion of the slave girls, a portion of whom would have been musicians. William VIII died while William IX was still a youth, inheriting this booty of singing slave musicians. Thus the influence of Andalusian music might have had direct influence on the daily life of William IX and the development of the tradition of the troubadour.[135]

It is possible, then, that the troubadours may have been influenced by these traveling musicians and slaves from al-Andalus. Other scholars do not believe these influences to have been significant, and suggest that the troubadours, particularly Gautier de Coinci, influenced the compositions of the *Cantigas* because he was composing before

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[134] Reynolds, "Music," in *The Literature of al-Andalus,* 70.
[135] *Ibid.*

the *Cantigas* were written. This influence may indeed have affected some of the *Cantigas*. Yet I believe that it is important to take into account what great musical practices already existed in Andalusia. Why should Alfonso look so much farther than his own back yard? After this short introduction to music of the Spanish Muslims, we will take a closer look at the *Cantigas*.

The *Cantigas de Santa Maria* represent one of the four most important creative works of the thirteenth century, the others being: the encyclopedic compilation by Alfonso X, Gothic architecture, the *Divine Comedy* and the *Summa Theologiae* of St. Thomas Aquinas.[136] Marcelino Menendez y Pelayo defines *Las Cantigas de Santa Maria* as:

> "una especie de Biblia estética del siglo XIII, en que todos los elementos del arte medieval aparecen enciclopédicamente condensados."[137]
>
> "a sort of aesthetic Bible of the thirteenth century, in which all the elements of medieval art appear condensed in an encyclopedic manner.." [author translation]

Due to its status as one of the largest and greatest works of the thirteenth century, the possible influences that shaped the creation of *Las Cantigas de Santa Maria* is a much debated topic among scholars interested in this time period. The two dominant cultures that have been suggested to have impacted the *Cantigas* are the troubadours and trouvères and the Arabic musical tradition that existed at this time. Direct poetic and musical connections have been discovered between the traditions that existed in France and the court of Alfonso. A poem of Gautier de Coinci, *Gran dereit' e de seer,* has been

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[136] Richard P. Kinkade, "Scholastic Philosophy and the Art of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria,*" in *Studies on the Cantigas de Santa Maria: Art, Music, and Poetry*, ed. Israel J. Katz and John E. Keller (Madison: The Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, Ltd., 1987) , 95.

[137] Menendez, Marcelino as quoted by Kinkade, "Scholastic Philosophy and the Art of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria,*" in *Studies on the Cantigas de Santa Maria: Art, Music, and Poetry,* 95.

found, word for word, in *Cantiga* 56.[138] Of the 420 *cantigas,* only tunes from countries outside of Spain have been identified, and these are usually troubadour or trouvère tunes. Some examples are trouvère songs by Gautier de Dargies (*Cantiga* 216) and Cadanet (*Cantiga* 380). *Cantiga* 340, *Virgen Madre Grorioso* seems to be influenced by *Rei Glorios* by Giraut Bornelle. *Novel lu amor* (Rogeret du Cambrai) and *Maravillosos / e piadosos* (Cantiga 139) share a direct musical relationship. Other tunes have been identified as resembling rondeaux, conductus, or melodies by various people; these claims lack specificity in naming the exact *cantigas* and are not related entirely of the *cantigas.*[139]

The influence of Arabic musical traditions has been more difficult to find. The illuminations of Arabic instruments provide grounds on which to argue. However, there are only a few Arabic instrumentalists, if any (since one cannot assume a person's background from the color of their skin) shown in the manuscript. There is contemporary documentation of the use of minorities in the courts as well as the necessity for the ruler or those in power not to seem too interested in these cultures. Due to such pressures, Alfonso might have mandated that musicians of color should not play a dominant, if any, role in the illuminations of the *Cantigas.* There is a contemporary record that tells of a mixed ensemble of 27 persons in the court of Alfonso X's son supports the argument that not only would the Arabic instruments have been assimilated into medieval Spanish culture, but perhaps some elements of performance practice as well. However, no direct links have been found between the text of the poetry or music in the *Cantigas* and Arabic

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[138] Gautier de Coinci and his connection with the *Cantigas* were discussed by Anne Azema, Romantic Language seminar, 23 May 2006, University of Oregon, Eugene.
[139] Jack Sage: 'Cantiga', *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed [23-05-2006]), http://www.grovemusic.com.

poetry or music. Both poetry and music are oral traditions within Arabic culture, therefore it is not surprising that there appears to be less of an argument in this scenario than for troubadour influence. However, the form of the music has provided scholars another possibility for proving the link between the *Cantigas* and Arabic music. The poetic forms of the *Cantigas* relate closely to Arabic poetic forms that are still sung today in *nawba* suites. The possibility of a connection between the *nawba* and the *Cantigas* will be viewed in more detail after a discussion of the *Cantigas.*

I would now like to examine the collection of the *Cantigas* in all of its aspects—art, poetry, and music. In these next sections covering various aspects of the *Cantigas*, I have discussed their form, melody and rhythm; interspersed within the sections is evidence for the influence from both troubadour and Arabic musical traditions. Such a description is useful before going into a more complex discussion of how they might be related with the *nawba.* As a performer, I am also very interested in studying the different transcriptions and the problems the *Cantigas* create for the transcriber. In addition, I studied and listened to how other people perform the *Cantigas* to help me formulate ideas on how to make my own decisions performing this repertoire. The information in these next sections will allow the reader to better understand why the complex issue of influence has not yet been resolved and how much more can yet be discovered about this repertoire.

VI. Las Cantigas de Santa Maria

A. The Manuscript:[140]

Illustration 15

[140] This illustration is taken from a page of Anglès' facsimile of one of the Escorial manuscripts, in this thesis referred to as 'Codex of the Musicians.' This folio page of the manuscript is the music and most of the text for *Cantiga* 167. During most of my discussion on the *Cantigas,* I am using images from transcriptions to explain the music. I feel that it is necessary, to understand some of my argument, to see the music and text in their original form.

There are four extant major sources of *Las Cantigas de Santa Maria:*[141] the 'Toledo,' 'Codice Rico,' the Florence, and the 'Codex of the Musicians' manuscripts. Each source contains a different number of pieces and represents a different stage of the production of the works. In most cases the manuscripts are organized in a simple fashion: for every nine cantigas describing miracles of the Virgin there is one *cantiga* written solely for the purpose of praising the Virgin.[142]

The 'Toledo' manuscript was once housed in the Toledo Cathedral; today it resides in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid. It contains 160 folios.[143] The 'Toledo' manuscript does not contain any illuminations. There are 100 numbered cantigas in this collection, as well as the introductory poem without music, an index, a prologue, and three appendices. The Toledo manuscript is especially noted for its particular musical notation, which has been argued to be evidence of either its place as the earliest *Cantigas* manuscript or the newest manuscript of *Cantigas*. The mystery of when these *cantigas* were actually written has not been solved because no one has traced their notation to a particular date. The one hundred *cantigas* in this manuscript likely represent the number of *cantigas* that Alfonso X originally wished—its appendices are probably some of the first additional works added to the original one hundred works.[144]

The 'Codice Rico' is kept in the library of San Lorenzo del Escorial. It contains 256 folios (48.5 cm X 32.5 cm), an index, prologue, the introductory poem without music, and 192 *cantigas* (with some of the numbers missing). This codex represents the

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[141] In this thesis, the term '*Cantigas*' will most often substitute for naming *Las Cantigas de Santa Maria* in full.

[142] Cunningham, *Alfonso X El Sabio: Cantigas de Loor*, 6

[143] A folio is a term that describes the type of paper of which manuscripts are comprised. A folio is generally folded into two or four sections, making 2-4 individual pages.

[144] Cunningham, *Alfonso X El Sabio: Cantigas de Loor,* 6.

enlargement of the original 100 *cantigas* to a round number of 200. Some of the poems refer to specific events that give this collection a date of no earlier than 1271 and no later than 1275. The 'Florence' manuscript is a companion to the 'Codice Rico' and is presently in Florence. Both of these manuscripts contain elaborate illuminations. The Florence manuscript contains 131 folios with 104 unnumbered cantigas which are not arranged according to the 9 to 1 ratio. Some of the illustrations are complete. The manuscript was left unfinished for as yet unknown reasons: several folios contain lines drawn in preparation for musical notation, but the notes were never written in. Because of the lack of notation, the Florence manuscript has been claimed irrelevant as a musicological source.[145] However, that lack of musical notation proves that the poetic text was created first and that the music followed, and that the musical line was either known by the musicians already or that perhaps it had been memorized by the performers of this genre. Despite the fact that they might not have been completely finished, the illustrations of the Florence manuscript still show evidence of the lifestyle of Alfonso X's court and can give direction as to how the music might have been performed.

The illustrations of the Florence and Codice Rico manuscripts are crucial to the understanding of the Cantigas, and have been studied from three perspectives: first, from the point of view of the technique with which the miniatures were made; second for the information about thirteenth-century life they reveal through the miniatures in an 'archeological' approach; and third how the text and the illustrations combined create a vehicle for narrative.[146] I believe that a fourth way of studying the *Cantigas* should be adopted in which people seek to understand the relationship between all of the aspects of

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[145] Cunningham, *Alfonso X El Sabio: Cantigas de Loor*, 7.
[146] Ibid., 7.

the Cantigas: the illustrations, text and music. I am studying all artistic forms of the *Cantigas* in order to try to better understand whether the music of the *Cantigas* might hold Arabic influence. Scholars have admitted that the illustrations of many different Arabic musical instruments presented in the 'Codex of Musicians' presents a strong argument for the possibility of Arabic musical influence in western Europe. Scholars have also found a possible Arabic link in the poetry, which will be discussed later. Because the musical manuscript represents only a skeleton of what would have been performed, I believe that looking at the illustrations and the text of this work might provide more definitive answers than the musical notation.

The last manuscript, the 'Codex of the Musicians,' is preserved in the monastery of San Lorenzo del Escorial. The 361-folio manuscript (40 cm by 27 cm) contains a 'praependix' with twelve *Cantigas de Fiestas de Santa Maria,* an index, the introductory poem without music, the Cantiga-Prologo, and more text without music. This codex contains the whole of the Toledo and Florence manuscript combined. Of 414 pieces, nine appear twice. This manuscript represents the largest collection of *cantigas*, contains music for about half the pieces, and has an illustration for every tenth cantiga depicting an instrumentalist, and sometimes two. The forty miniatures in this collection provide us with much of our current visual knowledge of instruments in the thirteenth century.[147]

I would like to discuss the Cantigas in their entirety—illustrations, text, and music. I will discuss first the illustrations and then the music and text together, since they are inseparable for a performance of this music.

[147] Cunningham, *Alfonso X El Sabio: Cantigas de Loor*, 8.

B. Illuminations

Illustration 16

The illustrations of *Las Cantigas de Santa Maria* have been regarded as evidence for the social intermingling of cultures and sexes, and of Arabic influence in medieval Spain. The other two forms of art, the poetry and music, are still being analyzed and reviewed to discover what cultures or societies were major sources of influence. In reading scholarly journals and works relating to these topics, I found scholars who supported the ideas of a western influence and those in support of an eastern influence, and of course those who fall in the middle and claim that there are both. The illustrations present the most immediate account of what life was in the court of Alfonso X. [148]

The illustrations are different in each manuscript. In the 'Codice Rico,' there are 194 illustrations for 195 *cantigas*. The 'Codice Rico' is the best known of the

[148] This illumination can be found in the Prologu of the 'Codex of Musicians' manuscript. This illumination presents Alfonso X in his role as the dictator of this work. He looks down at a book as his scribes eagerly await his words. Musicians tune and await his command. This is a stereotypical way in which Alfonso was presented in the manuscripts—however, it is the only illumination in which he appears in the 'Codex of Musicians,' the only facsimile I was able to look at in person.

manuscripts for illustrations. The illuminations are presented in red and blue with gold used sparingly. In the 'Codice Rico', the scribe explains the events shown in each illustration in Galician-Portuguese in the upper portion of the panel.[149] The pictures in this manuscript are especially valuable because they describe the events of the *cantiga* pictorially. The 'Codice Rico' presents one of the best sources of visual information on medieval life in Spain, the clothes people wore in medieval Spain: how the sexes related with one another, how social classes interacted, and how mystical figures like the Virgin Mary and her son would have been portrayed at this time. Some of the *Cantigas* also portray Alfonso X. A specific example of this is portrayed in the *Prologue* of the 'Codex of Musicians' manuscript. [see illumination above] One of the only consistencies of the illuminations is the portrayal of Alfonso X: he is always in the role of supervisor or instructor to clerical and secular scribes who are writing the *Cantigas;* in the background, musicians are tuning or waiting or his signal.[150] The 'Codex of the Musicians' expands our knowledge of this society by portraying musicians and their instruments—instruments that are decidedly of Arabic origin. With the knowledge that the 'Codice Rico' presents of everyday life and cultural relationships, the illustrations of musical instruments fit into a fairly detailed picture of Andalusian society.[151]

The likelihood that there might be Arabic music practices in the *Cantigas* is strengthened by the evidence in the illustrations in the Escorial 'Codex of Musicians' manuscript of the use of Arabic instruments. In the 'Codex of Musicians' there are forty

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[149] Charles L. Nelson, "Art and Visualization in the *Cantigas:* How the Artists Worked," in *Studies on the Cantigas de Santa Maria: Art, Music, and Poetry*, ed. Israel J. Katz and John E. Keller (Madison: The Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, Ltd., 1987) , 111.
[150] Jack Sage: 'Cantiga', *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed [22-05-2006]), http://www.grovemusic.com
[151] The illustrations from *El Tratado del Ajedrez* provide further understanding of the social and cultural relationships within Alfonso X's court.

miniatures that present illustrations of seventy-two instruments. The instruments in the Codex have been identified by scholars as having obvious Arabic origins. It has already been mentioned that Ziryab supposedly brought knowledge of all of the Middle Eastern instruments into the court of Córdoba—therefore, it is likely that many of the instruments portrayed in the *Cantigas* manuscript evolved from a Middle Eastern ancestor. The 'Codex' does not present stories like the 'Codice Rico'. With the exception of the initial picture of Alfonso X in his court, the miniatures only present images of musicians and their instruments.

The presence and wide use of Arabic instruments is obvious in the illustrations of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* and in the *El Tratado de Ajedrez* by Alfonso X. The influence of these instruments is also reflected by various cultures' adoption of words derived from Arabic roots to name instruments. This suggests that these instruments continued to be used outside of the court of Alfonso X. Examples of this borrowing can be found in Iberian languages, French and English: the lute ('ud), rebec (rabab) and nakers (*naqqara*) are only a few examples of linguistic borrowings for the naming of instruments. The importance of the *'ud* is clear: it would become the primary folk instrument during the Renaissance. The importance of the *rabab*—how it was held against the chest, the introduction of the bowing concept that was then applied to other forms of lute—was even more important, leading to the invention of the viol family. Eventually, the popular viol family would replace the lute.[152] Drums (*al-tabl*), cymbals (*sonajas*), trumpets (*al-nafir*) and hornpipes (*al-buq*) are just a few other instruments of Arabic origin that are now often part of the western European ensemble sound.

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[152] Wright, "Music in Muslim Spain" in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain,* 566.

The presence of these instruments in European culture was not established merely by trade overseas—the adoption of these instruments occurred after centuries of cultural intermingling. Therefore, the instruments themselves were only an aspect of this cultural borrowing. In the *Cantigas,* the illustrations provide information about the form, playing techniques of the instruments, and also the fact that both Christian and Moorish musicians played together in Alfonso X's court. This suggests that not only the instruments were adopted but likely their playing techniques from the Muslim musicians. In order to play together, these musicians must have had a common repertoire or have created a musical language that could have been understood by all. The degree of cultural borrowing that goes hand in hand with these instruments may also suggest that melodic material may have been adopted with the instruments.[153]

Below is a table showing the great variety of forty instruments depicted in the 'Codex of Musicians.'

	Instrument	Cantiga #
Bowed strings:	fidulas	preface, 10, 20, 100
	rebab or rebec	110
plucked strings:	citterns or guitars	preface, 10, 150
	mandolas	20, 150, *El Tratado de Ajedrez*
	lutes	30, 170
	fidulas	120, 130, 140
	rebab or rebec	90
	psalteries or zithers	40, 50, 70, 80, 290, *El Tratado de Ajedrez*
	harps	380
Winds:	shawms	preface, 300, 310, 330, 390
	double shawms	220, 360
	bladder pipes	230, 250
	transverse flutes	240
	pipes or recorders	340, 370
	trumpets	320
	horns or trombas	270
	bagpipes	260, 280, 350
	portative organ	200

[153] Wright, "Music in Muslim Spain." *The Legacy of Muslim Spain,* 567.

Percussion:	drums and tabors	300, 370
	clappers or castanets	330
	cymbals	190
	chime bells	180, 400
	symphonia or organistrum	160[154]

I believe that this table communicates much about the variety of instruments that would have been found in the court of Alfonso X. Furthermore, the level of quality and detail with which these instruments were drawn is absolutely stunning: the following illustrations are a good case in point.

Illumination from: *Cantiga* 170 *Cantiga* 270

Illustration 17

The illumination on the left is found next to *Cantiga* 170 and shows several types of lutes. The term 'lute' originated from the Arabic al-'ud, or 'ud. The lute would be one of the most important instruments of the troubadour tradition, further countering the idea that the musical ideas for the creation of the *Cantigas* were based primarily upon the traditions of the troubadours. The other instrument is a bowed rebec or rebab, held on the knee, and is the earliest European precursor of the Renaissance viola da gamba.[155] The illumination on the right is found next to *Cantiga* 270; the instruments the two men are

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[154] See: Jack Sage: 'Cantiga', *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed [22-05-2006]), http://www.grovemusic.com The author created the graph.
[155] Marc Vanscheeuwijck, e-mail to author, 31 May, 2006.

playing can be identified as horns or trombas. The horn or tromba was mentioned in contemporary writing as a very important part of music-making of Muslims in al-Andalus. Its use in the *nawba* suite used to be prominent; today that function has been taken over by the violin.

Illuminations from: *Cantiga* 300 *Cantiga* 120

Illustration 18

These two illustrations portray musicians of both sexes and cultures (Muslim and Christian). In the illustration to the left from *Cantiga* 300, a man is portrayed playing the shawm while a woman plays the drum or tabor. This is one of the only examples that clearly portray both sexes making music together. The illustrations next to *Cantiga* 90 and 330 might have both a woman and man musician, yet the hair length of all of the people is very similar and everyone is wearing what today might be called dresses. In the illustration to the right from *Cantiga* 120, we have two men, one Christian and the other (on the left) of obviously darker skin and possibly of Muslim background, playing

plucked fidulas. This is the only example, within the 'Codex of Musicians', that presents[156] the possibility of a person of a background other than what might be termed 'white European'.

C. Music and Text

1) Form

The importance of rhyme in the poetic structure goes hand in hand with the importance of the melody of the *Cantigas*. Though most of the *Cantigas* are narrative poems with melodies, the fact that the melodic notation has been written down makes it more likely that the *Cantigas* were more often sung than simply declaimed. The aural musical traditions of Middle Eastern and medieval Spain placed a large amount of importance upon the poetry of songs. In the eighteenth century, Muhammad ibn al-Hasan al-Hayk wrote down the poems of classical Arabic poetry but not the music that would correspond with them in performance. In medieval music of Western Europe more importance was often placed upon the words than the melodies.

My focus in this thesis has been showing the connection between the form of the *muwashshah* and *zajal* and the form of the *Cantigas*. The forms of the *cantigas,* in the analyses of Anglés and Cunningham, are explained graphically between the relationship of the textual rhyme and the musical phrases. In the discussion of the forms of the various *cantigas*, I will continue to analyze them in this way. The basic form of a majority of the *cantigas* is shown in the following chart:

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[156] Several scholars I have read have stated that this man's skin clearly indicates his Muslim, or non-Christian background. However, Spain was a melting pot of cultures and it cannot be more than conjectured what this man's background was. Perhaps, if the 'Codex of Musicians' had little headings like the 'Codice Rico' and it stated "this here is a Muslim", his background could be definitively claimed.

Rhyme Scheme	Musical Phrases
a	
a	A
b	B
b	B
b	
a	A

Figure 1

[157] The first two rhyming lines of text are mirrored by two phrases of music. In the *cantigas*, these two lines are usually presented as the introductory sentences, or refrain, of the *cantiga* that tell us what the poem is to be about. For example, in *Cantiga* 167, the opening line is as follows:

"The Virgin will aid whoever trusts in Her and prays faithfully to Her, although he be a follower of another law." This sentence should be seen as the first two (a) sections of rhyming text, and its role in the song is not only to give the 'moral' of the story but acts as the refrain. If a writer wants a moral to be better understood by the listener, what better way than for the sentence to come back again and again in a refrain?

In the second section of the *cantiga*, we have three lines of (b) rhyming material before returning to the refrain (a). All lines of (b) are likely to contain different text. It is obvious when we return to the refrain because the text should be the same as the opening words. The music of the second section contains an interesting asymmetry due to its return to the introductory musical material during the third line of section b) text, anticipating the textual refrain to follow.

Variations in form can be found in the 420 *cantigas*, especially within the *cantigas de loor,* or songs of praise. Scholars have suggested that the form of the poetry of the *Cantigas* is based on both the *muwashshah* and *zajal* poetic forms and the French virelai; for the purposes of this thesis I will focus upon the connection with the Arabic poetic forms.

[157] The basic design of this graph came from Cunningham, *Alfonso X El Sabio: Cantigas de Loor,* 10.

Historical background and general information of the *muwashshah* and *zajal*

The *zajal* and *muwashshah* have been documented by reputable contemporary sources to have originated in al-Andalus. Their popularity grew quickly and spread from North Africa into the Middle East where they are still practiced today. The two genres are often discussed in relation to each other by both modern and medieval Arab scholars. There are five reasons for which they might be discussed as a unit: both are strophic; both contain vernacular language; both have characteristics quite different from classical Arabic *qasda* form; poets composed both *muwashshahs* and *zajals* simultaneously; *muwashshahas* and *zajals* might contain passages quoted from the other poetic form. Though the *muwashshah* and the *zajal* are closely related, there are also significant differences. The *zajal* is composed entirely in the vernacular Arabic dialect of Andalus with random Hispano-Latin words in their midst.[158] The *muwashshah* is in classical Arabic, with the exception of the *kharja* (exiting lines) which are often in foreign languages, colloquial Arabic, or regional dialects, making the tension and excitement of the *kharja* increase in comparison to the other stanzas where traditional Arabic must be used. [159]

In North African Andalusian musical traditions, the *muwashshah* and *zajal* poetic forms are found often in the *san'a,* the individual pieces that make up the *nawba* suite. In Cunningham's edition of the *Cantigas*, he often labels the poetic text form as a *zajal*. In both *san'a*s and *cantigas,* you have a predominant poetic form of an initial A section, a B

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[158] James T. Monroe, "*Zajal* and *Muwashshaha:* Hispano-Arabic Poetry and the Romance Tradition," in *Legacy of Muslim Spain,* ed. Salma Khadra Jayyusi and Manuela Marin (New York: E.J. Brill, 1992) , 404.
[159] Linda Fish Compton, *Andalusian Lyrical Poetry and Old Spanish Love Songs: The Muwashshah and its Kharja.* (New York: New York University Press, 1976) , 6.

section with new music and text, and then a return to the rhyme of the A section after the B and then going back to the refrain.

Form of the *muwashshah* and *zajal*

Ibn Sana' al-Mulk described the *muwashshah* as rhyming phrases placed in a framework of strophes.[160] The *muwashshah* and *zajal* introduced strophic form to Arabic poetry. The poetry of the courts preceding the introduction of these forms, primarily the *qasda,* was through-composed and non-strophic.[161]

The forms of the *zajal* and the *muwashshah* are very similar and can be discussed as a unit except for slight differences, which I will explain. The strophes are divided into *baits* and *qufls. Bait* is the Arabic word that means stanza. *Qufl* comes from the trilateral root, *q-f-l,* meaning "to return." From its root, we can understand the function of the *qufl* in a *muwashshah* as a refrain. The *qufl* can also be identified as a *matla* 'opening verses' or a *kharja* 'exiting verses.' [162] The *qufl* in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* comprises the moral introductory lines discussed previously.

The *matla* is often notated as AA. Inside the *baits* contain lines of what are commonly referred to as *ghusns.* The *ghusns* rhyme together and come in sets of no less than three. From one *bait* to the next, the *ghusn* rhyme changes (aaa, bbb, ccc). The *markaz* follows the *ghusns* and rhymes with the refrain (a) but only presents half of the rhymes and lines of the refrain.

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[160] Compton, *Andalusian Lyrical Poetry and Old Spanish Love Songs: The Muwashshah and its Kharja,* 4.
[161] Jozef Pacholczyk, "The Relationship Between the Nawba of Morocco and the Music of the Troubadours and Trouveres," *The World of Music: Journal of the Department of Ethnomusicology* 25/2 (1983) : 8.
[162] Monroe, "*Zajal* and *Muwashshaha:* Hispano-Arabic Poetry and the Romance Tradition," in *Legacy of Muslim Spain,* 405.

Terms to understand form of Zajal and Muwashshah:

1) *qufl*= refrain=AA *matla*= opening refrain *kharja*=closing lines
2) *bait*=strophe= bbb, ccc, etc. each (c) or (b)=one line of text=one *ghusn*
3) *markaz*=return of rhyme from refrain

The form of an archetypal *zajal* and *muwashshaha*[163] can be represented as:

zajal: AA, bbb*a* (AA), ccc*a* (AA), ddd*a* (AA), etc.

muwashshah: AA, bbb*aa* (AA), ccc*aa* (AA), ddd*aa* (AA), etc.

Cantiga text: aa bbbaa aa

virelai: A bba A

Figure 2

Placed together, it is easy to see that the main difference in form is that the *matla* comes back as half of the original *qufl* in the *zajal,* and as the entire *qufl* in the *muwashshah.* Other than this basic form difference, the *muwashshahs* display three other distinguishing characteristics: About one-third of the surviving Andalusian *muwashshahas* lack the initial refrain. Many *muwashshahs* are only five strophes long, while the *zajals* are often much longer. The *kharja,* or exiting lines, of the poem is usually in the vernacular and is usually presented as a quote often from another *zajal* or *muwashshaha.*[164]

In comparing the *muwashshah* and *zajal* forms to the *Cantigas,* it is evident that the *Cantigas* do not limit themselves to five strophes and usually contain the introductory lines.[165] However, the *Cantiga's markaz,* or the return of the rhyme of the refrain, occurs

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[163] I have placed the form of a basic *cantiga* here so that the reader can see how closely these forms are related.
[164] Monroe, "Zajal and Muwashshaha," in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain,* 405.
[165] In this case, I did not look at all 420 *Cantigas*—however, within the fifty or more *Cantigas* I have viewed, all have these introductory lines.

as both and single lines of text. The *Cantigas* seem to draw elements from both the *zajal* and *muwashshah;* yet because of their lack to conform to the five-strophe rule and their consistent use of the *matla,* it might be suggested that they were more influenced by the *zajal.* If the *zajal* were written in its most simplified version, the form of the text would appear as aabbba, which is directly comparable to the form of the *Cantigas.*

The direction of influence of these poetic forms has been hotly contested. Did Arabic poetry influence Romantic poetry or vice versa? What I am arguing is that, whichever way it occurred, both cultures would have obtained a new poetic form, and this new form would be a mixture of both the background of the person writing the poem and outside influence. The *zajal* still is a decidedly Arabic poem as is the *virelai* a decidedly French poem. In this thesis, I am not trying to prove that influence of one culture necessarily went to the other, but more that an influence has been shared and a new type of artistic expression or cultural perspective is the result. If Arabic musicians took French-troubadour poetic forms and created a new Arabic poetic form, I would argue that it is still an Arabic creation: the people writing the poems are still writing in Arabic. If it was the other way around, then European poetry would have gained a new form. Both scenarios mean that mixing of the cultures would have happened—a *zajal* cannot be argued to be a Romantic poem, just as a *cantiga* or a *virelai* cannot be argued to be an Arabic poem. However, they are poems that have been created through the mixture of influences from which their creators were infused.

2) The melodic notation and rhythmic modes of the Cantigas

The musical notation of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* is very simple in its written form. It exists as a monophonic line[166] next to the text and can be ornamented with illuminations. We know, however, that these lines were probably played by groups of court musicians. It has been documented that Alfonso X's son, King Sancho IV, was paying twenty-seven musicians in 1293. Of these hired musicians, there were thirteen Christians, one Jew, and thirteen Moors (two being women).[167] The tales of this palace give Arabic names for dancers, lute players, flutes, and trumpets.[168] It seems likely that some of these twenty-six musicians at any one time were playing more than the single monophonic line. In accordance with current practice in Arabic countries today, it is likely that many of the performers, both vocalists and instrumentalists, were improvising from the written line and that there was percussion in addition to the heterophonic[169] melody being played and sung. The strong tradition of memorization and improvisation in al-Andalus has been mentioned previously in regards to the slave-girl singers. The repertoire they needed to have memorized was large, and their skill was based upon not only their ability to play numerous songs but also to be able to improvise upon each other's playing. Another example of this strong improvisational tradition in al-Andalus was the huge repertory of memorized songs that Ziryab brought to the Iberian Peninsula. Supposedly, he knew more than ten thousand songs (*aghani*) as well as their tunes

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[166] Monophony is music for a single voice or part. In monophonic music, there would not be any accompaniment. For a monophonic performance of the *Cantigas,* this would mean that any ensemble of musicians playing this piece would play only the one melodic line, a hard-to-accept idea for a group of well-trained musicians.
[167] Cunningham, *Alfonso X El Sabio: Cantigas de Loor,* 15.
[168] Mahmoud Guettat, "The Andalusian Musical Heritage," in *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music: The Middle East,* Vol. 6, ed. Virginia Danielson, Scott Marcus, and Dwight Reynolds (New York: Garland Pub., 198-2002) , 445.
[169] Heterophony occurs when groups of musicians take turns playing/singing parts of a piece.

(*alhan*); not only did he know these pieces, but he understood them well enough to teach them.[170] In his encyclopedia written in the thirteenth century, Al-Tifashi recorded two very striking examples of the musical ability of Andalusian musicians. While visiting Tunis and observing musical performances of Andalusian musicians, he counted seventy-four *hazzat* (vibrations) in a performance of one verse of a poem by Abu Tammam (d. 842), *Wa-munfaridun;* he also saw a female singer improvise for two hours on ***one*** verse of a poem by 'Umar Ibn Abi Rabi'a (644-711), *Tashki' l-kumaytu.*[171] In a society of such advanced improvisational techniques, it is doubtful that a trained musician would be content to simply play the monophonic line.

The melodic line written in the manuscript corresponds with only the first verse of text. The following verses are written without music. It is accepted that musicians would continue to play the musical line as they sang these strophes that did not have musical notation next to them. If it is so easy to accept such a performance practice as fact, should it not be possible to entertain the idea that the Muslim entertainers in the group might have added their own special ornamentations to the music? That possibly, they were hired by nobles and rulers because of their knowledge of this oral and highly improvisatory tradition?

Following this deduction, one might also suggest that since there were thirteen Moors in this ensemble that there might also be an Arabic element to the performance of this music. The Arabic element cannot be seen in the monophonic lines of the manuscript. The musical skeleton written by scribes to explain what happened during performances of *Las Cantigas de Santa Maria* is barely enough for early music

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[170]Guettat, "The Andalusian Musical Heritage," *Garland Encyclopedia of Music,* 442.
[171] Ibid., 444.

performers to put together performances of the music. The lack of any medieval Arabic musical notation also makes any connections about the melodies between the two repertoires nearly impossible. The ornaments that are present in current Arabic musical practices are completely absent from the manuscript, as well as any indication of where improvisation might have occurred. However, the structure of many poems of the *Cantigas*, the *muwashshah,* does provide room to suggest that these thirteen musicians and other Muslim musicians who worked inside courts of Christian kings, did impact the way these pieces were written.

The melodic notation of the *Cantigas* can be transcribed into modern notation by scholars and musicians today. The rhythmic modes, however, have been a topic of much debate in the twentieth century.

The rhythmic notation does not conform to a specific known medieval standardized rhythmic setting. This is partially due to the period in which the Cantigas were composed. They were finished between the age of a non-standardized orally transmitted rhythm and the development of the Franconian system[172] of notation, which is still understood today. The Franconian system of notation would not have been created suddenly in the mid-thirteenth century but over a period of time. The treatise of Franco of Cologne is likely a written manifestation of what was already occurring in the musical oral world. The *Cantigas* were composed at the same time that the Franconian system was being written down; therefore, some of the performance practices of the Franconian system were likely applied in the performance of the *Cantigas*. However, the Franconian

[172] The Franconian system of notation was developed between 1260 and 1280 by Franco of Cologne. [date information from Martin G. Cunningham's *Alfonso X el Sabio: Cantigas de Loor*]

system is only one interpretation for how music was being performed at that moment and it is highly likely that other types of performance occurred in the court of Alfonso X.

The study of the *Cantigas* notation in the past century has added a great deal of knowledge to medieval rhythmic notation, despite the fact that an unequivocal way of interpreting the rhythm has not yet been achieved.

D. Problems transcribing *Las Cantigas de Santa Maria*

Julián Ribera was one of the first scholars to analyze the *Cantigas* thoroughly in 1922[173]. Ursprung countered his argument in 1935[174] and Higinio Anglés made his own, four-volume rebuttal of Ribera's writing from 1943 to 1964. Ribera claimed that Arabic musical elements could be found within the *Cantigas*. Anglés argued against this idea, as did most scholars following him for much of the twentieth century. It has only been within the past few decades that scholars have become seriously interested in researching all aspects of the *Cantigas:* its societal influences, history, and possible performance practices. At this point, a consensus among musicologists studying the *Cantigas* has still not been reached as to whether Arabic influence can be found within the manuscript. One of the fundamental problems of the studies being undertaken surrounding the *Cantigas* is the differences in background of the scholars. Musicologist Anglés argues against the conclusions of Arabist Ribera. Some of Ribera's conclusions concerning the musical notation may be somewhat flimsy, yet his knowledge of the Arabic language and culture extend far beyond Anglés' understanding. There is currently teamwork being undertaken by various scholars with Oxford University as their base—however, much of their

[173] Ribera then made a revised edition in 1929.

[174] Owen Wright mentions Ursprung's name as one of the scholars who immediately opposed Ribera's views in his article "Music in Muslim Spain," in *Legacy of Muslim Spain.*

writings is completed independently of the others. For such an expansive work as the *Cantigas*, it seems as though teamwork and cooperation need to be done

The expansiveness of the *Cantigas* also means that scholars should not claim to have come to any undisputable conclusions without complete understanding of the work. Anglés and Ribera are scholars who attempted to do so, but those who have followed them have found large holes and flaws in their thinking.

I compared several modern transcriptions, those of Anglés and Cunningham, with the facsimile. Notation of a manuscript is an approximate interpretation of an orally transmitted work, which most likely would have been performed differently each time. The text of the pieces is what needs to be followed in this kind of repertoire—by attempting to place the *Cantigas* into a modern rhythmical framework; the essence of the piece is destroyed. The attempt to transcribe this piece into modern piece pushes us even further away from what the original production would have been. Both Anglés' and Cunningham's interpretation of the *cantigas* sometime stifle the expression of the *Cantigas*' poetic rhythm in order to transcribe the piece into a modern framework. Without understanding what would have been the rhythmic practices of pieces like the *Cantigas,* musicologists still attempt to produce a transcription in modern notation. The largest problem I have seen is that modern music has a very different idea of rhythmic consistency; sometimes Anglés or Cunningham would sacrifice the poetic line in order to maintain the rhythmic framework they decided upon originally. Due to the fact that these pieces were in-between Franconian and other practices like those of the schools of Gregorian chant and St. Isidore of Seville, there cannot be a strong argument for placing the *cantigas* within an unchanging rhythmical format. It is much more likely that the

singer would follow the rhythm of the text. If a singer were following the rhythm of a text, it is likely that there might be slight variants in rhythm. There are obvious points in the *cantigas* I studied where the transcriber has seen that his system does not work for the medieval notation but decided to try and squeeze it into the format he created.

Music Excerpt 1 *Cantiga* 103

The excerpt above is a section of *Cantiga* 103, *Quen a Virgen Ben Servira a Parayso Ira:* it displays a difficulty that Anglés encountered when transcribing the *cantigas.* In the first five measures, there are a total of eight syllables. In the following three measures, there are seven syllables. The entire piece is based on a ratio of 8:7, that is, eight metric beats for the first phrase and seven for the second. The piece normally has four bars of melody for each phrase, but whenever the first two lines of melody, or *qufl,* appear, Anglès changes the ratio of measures from 4:4 to 5:3. My thinking is that, due to the number of ornaments contained in the music for the first eight syllables of the poetry, Anglès could not fit the amount of music into four bars, so he decided to enlarge the first musical phrase by one bar and decrease the second phrase by one bar. In my opinion, the number of ornaments should not change the length of the line in comparison to the rest of

the piece. He only changed one bar, yet this changes the rhythm of the poetry. It is to the poetry that one should default, I believe—not the rhythm that the transcriber has decided upon.

Music Excerpt 2, *Cantiga* 280

I have included the above excerpt of Cantiga 280 in order to demonstrate how small Cunningham's division of the beat can become. In this song, his choice of 3/8 makes many of the notes become eighth notes and even smaller.

Juxtaposing the work of Anglès (1943-64) and Cunningham (2000) one can compare the meter decisions of the two transcribers. Cunningham's transcriptions are mostly written in 6/8 or 3/8 with an occasional piece in 2/4 or 3/4. Anglès' transcriptions are often based on 3/4 or 4/4. The decisions made about meter represent the most contested aspect of transcribing the *Cantigas.* For various reasons, early music performers[175] and I would choose to employ Anglès' transcription over Cunningham's. The first is that it is simpler to read Anglès' transcription. The fact that he chooses larger metric units for transcription also makes it seem, perhaps, less exact and leaves more room for ornamentation or the personal touches of the performer. Also, Anglès'

[175] I have worked with both Shira Kammen and Professor Eric Mentzel. Both agree that Cunningham's transcriptions have gone too far in their decisions of the rhythm.

transcription is simply more available in quantity and also contains the entirety of the *Cantigas* whereas Cunningham has transcribed solely the *cantigas e loor.*

The decision to make the meter in 6/8 results in ornaments that are notated in sixteenth notes. This reduces the freedom of the singer or performer even more to a rhythmical framework because sixteenth notes divide the beat two times more than eighth notes. The rhythmical complexities of Cunningham's transcriptions have convinced medieval musicians I have spoken with that it would be best to use Anglés' transcriptions over those of Cunningham. When viewing a medieval manuscript, early music performers know that not all of the answers to the rhythmic interpretation are available. Thus, for Cunningham to demand a very specific way of singing sixteenth notes is almost an affront. Some of Anglès' transcription decisions are also difficult to understand. The difference between the two transcriptions is mostly one of meter; if Cunningham's *cantigas* were performed at a reasonable tempo, they could be just as easy to perform as Anglès'. One reason, however, that early musicians might not wish to read a transcription with sixteenth notes is because the original notation would be simply marked by an irregular neume; all quick separate notes in modern notation would have simply been notated in one neume. To go from one notated symbol to sometimes six separate notes notated as sixteenth notes seems extreme to many early musicians.

These transcription problems are just a few examples that focus upon a pool of six of 420 *Cantigas*. The conclusions concerning transcription problems from these six *cantigas* are: 1) transcribers decide upon a rhythmic format that cannot be linked to any standard rhythm usage of the time period of which the *Cantigas* were written; 2) once they impose the rhythm on the *cantiga,* they do not necessarily remain consistent in the

way they portray the notes; 3) due to their decisions concerning ornamental or irregular neumes, the poetic rhythm is often changed; 4) the choice of meter the transcriber chooses greatly affects how easily a piece can be performed. In conclusion, these transcriptions make the original notation much more complex than it might have originally been viewed. The ornaments that are written out so precisely would have, most likely, have been performed with more musical freedom. In order to perform the *Cantigas* as closely to what they may have sounded like when they were written, I believe that it would be best to perform these as they are written in the original notation. The ornaments are not written out in the original but are written as single neumes, assuming that the performer had knowledge of the performance practice of the particular notations. Though my training as an early musician is limited, the decision to perform from a facsimile of the original has been very positive and has allowed me to realize the text and its musical relationship as opposed to exact (modern) rhythmical phrases.

E. Performance practice of *Las Cantigas de Santa Maria*

As we have seen from the discussions of rhythm and instrumentation above, the monophonic lines of the *Cantigas* do not necessarily represent how they would have been performed. Though the Cantigas present a resource for answering many musicological questions, they also create many problems because the notes on the pages are likely not only what was performed by the musicians. To seek a complete understanding of the music of the Cantigas is a near-impossible task. However, to seek possible interpretations of the Cantigas and how they might have been performed is worthwhile.

Thomas Binkley (1932-95) led the attention of early music performers to Morocco in the 1960s. In 1959, he had established the Studio der frühen Musik (Studio of Early Music) in Munich. After beginning his career as an early music performer, he traveled through India, Turkey, and North Africa. At this time, he was acquainted with the theories of Le Gentil and Farmer. Their theories suggested that it should be possible to find Arabic influence in early European music. After traveling through Muslim lands and hearing the music in these countries, Binkley was inspired to bring the theories of Le Gentil and Farmer into musical performance practice.[176] In his article, "The Arabic style of performing medieval music", John Haines describes Binkley's attempts to capture the Arabic music style as: "...largely an eclectic fabrication, albeit an effective one...In this scheme, Arabic music was used more as a pretext to revive orientalism than as a scientific working out of the actual sounds..."[177] Binkley attempted to bring the Eastern sounds to the West, but did not bring the music in a correct manner—he did not bring the correct instrumentation, the fundamental ornamentation of Arabic music was not performed, the pronunciation of the Arabic was crude at best, the addition of a drone to the music gave the music a modern tonal center, and other elements gave Binkley's experiment an appearance of looking more for public approval than historical accuracy. One critic, René Clemencic, stated in 1977: "a satisfying reconstruction of medieval performance practice on purely scholarly grounds is never possible—indeed, impossible even in principle." [178]

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[176] John Haines, "The Arabic style of performing medieval music," *Early Music Journal Series* 29 (August 2001) : 371.

[177] John Haines, "The Arabic style of performing medieval music," *Early Music Journal*, 375.
[178] Ibid.,. 375.

The beginning of the search for the correct performance practice of the *Cantigas* was thus begun in a flawed way. Musicians began to perform the *Cantigas* with a continuous drone on the final of the mode, only a few of the correct instruments were played—a flute and a tambourine could infuse the piece with enough of an 'oriental' feel; the standards were lowered from accomplishing historically and musically accurate performance. However, performers did not stop at this point.

Some of the more modern performances of the *Cantigas* represent collaborations between Arabic and western musicians. One such example is the CD Alfonso X El Sabio—Cantigas de Santa Maria performed by the ensemble Camerata Mediterranea (directed by Joel Cohen) and the Andalusian Orchestra of Fez (directed by Mohammed Briouel). French, American, and Arabic musicians combined their efforts to create this recording.[179] On this CD are included both Cantigas and portions of the *nawba* suite form from Morocco. The cuts from the *nawba* serve as instrumental interludes. The instruments used and the style of performance is much more in accord with what might have been, particularly because musicians from both Europe and Morocco are working together.

These examples show the progression of performance practice of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* from the 1960s into more contemporary settings.

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[179] Information about the performers and CD information can be found on this website: http://bostoncamerata.org/cd/titles/cantigas.htm

F. My approach to Performance Practice of the ***Cantigas***

In my study of the *Cantigas,* I have looked at both Anglés' and Ribera's work as well as Martin G. Cunningham's and have read articles about the topic of the *Cantigas* and its components. My approach has been to recreate as much context as possible of these pieces in order to develop my own understanding of how they might be played. As a harpist, however, I began to feel that it was necessary not to only read about the *Cantigas,* but to understand what decisions must be made in order to perform the *Cantigas.* And, since I have had vocal training, I decided to attempt to accompany myself as I sang a few selected *cantigas.* Therefore, in this particular aspect of my thesis, I will not only discuss conclusions of theorists and musicologists but my own conclusions based on working with them in what might be considered a "lab" setting.

The selected Cantigas

In my analysis, I focused upon looking at the form of the *cantigas* due to the possibility of its connection with the *muwashshah.* As stated previously, no possible Arabic elements within the rhythm and musical notation have been found. I include the story of the *cantigas* because it is important to remember this musical repertoire as primarily a vehicle for narratives. I chose two *cantigas de loor* because their forms as well as their notations are quite different. *Cantiga* 100 is more syllabic and the second more free in its composition, as can be heard on attached CD tracks 1 and 2. *Cantiga* 100 is the only noticeably syllabic piece I selected—the others were chosen because of the frequency of their irregular neumes and because I am interested in the possibility that this might suggest a strong improvisational musical tradition in Seville.

On the Oxford University website directed by Stephen Parkinson, there is a database of all keywords in the 420 Cantigas. The keyword search of Moor/Muslim appears in 42 poems according to this database and rebellion of Moors/Muslims occurs once in *Cantiga* 345. Searching with the keyword Jews provided an option of 23 cantigas. In choosing the *Cantigas* with which I wanted to work, I wanted at least some of the *cantigas* to contain themes of "convivencia." This, however, did not necessarily mean that because there were textual references to cultural exchanges that the music would be more ornamented or less ornamented.

I selected three of six *Cantigas* to perform for my thesis defense. A CD of this performance is attached to this document for further demonstration of the pieces. This performance reflects decisions I made about the relationship between the text and the music and the rhythm of the *cantiga*. In order to present an original performance, I decided and was coached not to read the transcriptions of previous authors but to go back to the simplest relationship: that between the melody and the poetic line.[180] By removing myself from the modern notation of the transcriptions of Anglés and Cunningham, it was possible to see how a *cantiga* might be declaimed as more of a poem with a melodic line.

In my analysis, I will begin to shift from an absolutely musicological perspective into the mindset of a performer. Performers, when faced with a monophonic manuscript from the Middle Ages, must make decisions in order to give the desired performance. Scholars can continue to argue and debate, as they obviously have, over whether there might be Arabic influence in the *Cantigas* or not. Performers do not have this luxury—they must take the skeleton of the song and change it into some semblance of what it might have been and how it can sound in today's performance. In the following section, I

will complete a descriptive analysis of the *Cantigas* I have chosen and then continue by discussing how I chose to perform the *Cantigas* and how, after completing my research, I might prepare myself for a concert of these medieval pieces.

I will analyze the six cantigas I have chosen both from the facsimile itself and by comparing the two transcriptions to it.[181] The names of the *Cantigas* I chose are:

Cantiga #	Name in Galician-Portuguese	English translation [182]
Cantiga 100	Santa Maria, Strela do dia	Holy Mary, Star of Day
Cantiga 103	Quena a Virgen ben servira a paraíso ira	He who serves the Virgin well will go to Paradise
Cantiga 165	Ni un poder d'este mundo	No power of this mortal world can avail against the power of the Virgin
Cantiga 167	Quen quer que na Virgen fia	The Virgin will aid whoever trusts in Her
Cantiga 189	Ben pode Santa Maria	Well can Holy Mary cure all poison
Cantiga 190	Pouco devemos preçar o demo	We should pay little heed to the devil

In order to describe my analysis of these *cantigas*, I have used transcriptions by Anglès as opposed to using the facsimile because the transcription is easier to understand for the modern reader.

Cantigas de loor (Song of praise)

I have chosen to study and perform both *Cantiga* 190 and 100 [CD tracks 1 and 2] in order to juxtapose two different styles of the *cantigas de loor*[183]. *Cantiga* 100 is part of

[181] The transcription of Cunningham only considers the songs of praise. Therefore, two of the six Cantigas will be analyzed through two transcriptions and the facsimile—the rest I will just use the facsimile and Angles' transcription.

[182] In order to study the meaning of the *Cantigas* more thoroughly, I found an English translation of all 420 Cantigas by Kathleen Kulp-Hill, *Songs of Holy Mary of Alfonso X, The Wise: A Translation of the Cantigas de Santa Maria* (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies) , 2000.

the 'Toledo' manuscript. The Toledo manuscript represents Alfonso and his scribes' first attempt to compile songs of praise and miracles to the Virgin Mary, completed around 1270 (no later than 1280).[184] *Cantiga* 190 first appears in the second compilation of *cantigas,* in the 'Codice Rico.' These two *cantigas de loor* might have been affected in various ways because they were composed at different times. I have already discussed the fact that Franconian notation was written at the same time as the *Cantigas,* thus the later the manuscript is composed, and it becomes more likely to have been influenced by later notational styles. The fact that the two *cantigas* are found in different manuscripts means that several conclusions can be drawn: 1) they were written at different times in musical development[185]; 2) the scribe writing the music was probably not the same and the notation would probably show the differences in schooling and perspective of the scribe; 3) they could have easily been written in different places because Alfonso moved from one part of his kingdom to another fairly regularly.

Cantiga 100, *Strela do dia,* is in the Dorian mode. In his transcriptions, Anglès often includes the notation from the three manuscripts above the melodic line. In this song, the notation of the Toledo and two Escorial notations are very consistent. There are not many irregular ligatures in this *cantiga*; most of the song is declaimed with simple neumes.

The mode of *Cantiga* 190, *Pouco devemos preçar o demo,* has been claimed to be in Mode 2 by Huseby (1983), yet the piece does not cadence on D except for the end of

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[183] As mentioned in the introduction of the different manuscripts, most of the manuscripts were organized in a 9:1 ratio; nine songs were narratives telling of the miracles of the Virgin Mary, and one song was a song in praise of the Virgin Mary.

[184] Cunningham, *Alfonso X El Sabio Cantigas de Loor,* 6.

[185] 'Musical development' includes both performance practice and theoretical frameworks that shape things like the melodic and rhythmic notation.

the B phrase.[186] This uncertain melodic center fits well with a piece whose structure still possesses mysteries for musicologists, as is explained below. There are many more irregular neumes in this *cantiga* and plicas than there are in *Cantiga* 100. Plicas, their name coming from the Latin root 'folded' or 'doubled over,' represent not one but two pitches. The movement of the pitch moves in the direction of the extra stem. Anglès decided that the plica would have the same duration as the preceding pitch; Cunningham agrees with him on most levels but introduces the idea that plicas may represent a difference in duration 'in the appropriate circumstances.'[187] Nearly every plica in *Cantiga* 190, in the opinion of my coach, Professor Eric Mentzel, and in mine, presents an appropriate circumstance to sing the plica less metrically exact. In Cantiga 100, we are shown that of three manuscripts Anglès viewed, they all show a very regular, consistent framework. Of the two *cantigas*, Cantiga 100 could easily be performed in a steady rhythm whereas it would be very difficult to make the phrases regular in Cantiga 190.

The monophonic line of these two *cantigas* presents contrasting styles. In *Santa Maria, strela do dia,* the musical form of the piece is quite regular AB//CDCD//AB. In simpler terms, it could be represented as ABA (refrain, strophe, refrain). The musical framework of *Pouco devemos* has presented problems for scholars. It is unclear which section of the first strophe is the refrain. In the latest edition of the *Cantigas* printed text by Mettman (1986), the form is derived from the Toledo manuscript. It presents a three-line stanza plus a refrain of *que nos caudela* (the fourth line) in all stanzas; and after this line, the third line of the stanza is repeated. The Escorial manuscript, however, suggests that the first line of the first stanza should be repeated, *pouco devemos precar.* Since I

[186] Cunningham, *Alfonso X El Sabio: Cantigas de Loor,* 167.
[187] Ibid., 37.

have looked at the Escorial manuscript facsimile, I chose to perform the piece in this way. However, Mettman (1959) decided in his earlier edition that the whole first stanza is a refrain. This irregular form further emphasizes the composer's intention to create a song that is freer in expression than *Cantiga* 100, which fits into a regular melodic and poetic form. There are other *Cantigas* that cannot yet be understood structurally, for instance, *Cantiga* 250 This aspect of various *cantigas'* failure to fit into a given standard adds further mystery and appeal to studying the *Cantigas.*

Cantiga 100 Form: T: a5 a5 a5 a7 // b9 b9 b9 b8 / a5 a5 a5 a7 // a5 a5 a5 a7

M: A B // C C D C / A B // A B

Cantiga 190 form: Text: a7 a7 a7 b5 // a7

Music: A A A B // A

The way I labeled the form of the *cantigas* is as follows: Lowercase letters represent the rhyme of the text while upper case letters represent the musical phrases. Uppercase letters are used for the musical form. Change in letter signifies that it is a different rhyme or new musical material. When letters match, this means that the rhyme or the musical phrases are the same. There are 'n's scattered throughout the textual forms—this means that there is no rhyme for this given line. The numbers stand for how many syllables are in a given line. I have used two slashes (//) to separate the refrain from the strophe, and a single slash (/) to indicate the reappearance of material from the refrain.

E₂, 190, f. 249 c–d
E₁, 190, f. 176 d

Pou - co de - ve - mos pre - par o de-
mo, se Deus m'an - pari pois nos a Vir -
gen guar - dar que nos can - de -
la. *Pou - co de - ve - mos pre - par.*

Music Excerpt 3, *Cantiga* 190

Music Excerpt 4 , *Cantiga* 100

To, 10 b. a., f. 156 a–b
E₂, 100, f. 144 e–d
E₁, 100, f. 110 d–111 a

San - ta Ma - ri - a, stre - la do di - a, mos - tra-nos
vi - a pe - ra Deus et nos gui - a. Ca ve - er fa - zel-os er - ra - dos
que per - der fo - ran per pe - ca - dos en - ten - der de que mui cul -
pa - dos son; mais per ti son per-dõ - a - dos da ou - sa - dí - a que lles fa -
zi - a fa - zer fo - li - a mais que non de - ve - ri - a, . *San-ta Ma - ri - a, stre - la*

ii. *Cantigas de Miragres* (Songs of Miracles)

The other four *Cantigas* tell of the miracles of Santa Maria. Two of the four *cantigas* mention Muslims and the Arabic culture. Aside from the textual content of these *cantigas*, they were also chosen because of the ornamentation that occurs in all selected. I am especially interested in the presence of ornamentation because of the strong improvisational traditions that existed in al-Andalus. I will not discuss the entirety of each of these four *cantigas,* but will present the poetic and musical form of the *cantiga* as well as distinguishing aspects of the melody that sets it apart from the other *cantigas.* Though I personally could never perform a cantiga with as much ornamentation as they originally might have contained, while analyzing these melodies, it is possible to imagine other instruments performing the monophonic melody heterophonically.

Cantiga 103, *Quen a Virgen ben servira a paraíso*, is in the Dorian mode.

This *Cantiga* speaks of a monk who asked the Virgin Mary to show him how people in paradise live. The Virgin Mary suggested he go to a garden he knew well. Upon sitting, he was entranced by a bird singing such beautiful tones that he did not move for three hundred years. Thus the Virgin Mary presented a piece of paradise for the monk.

The textual form of this *cantiga* resembles a *zajal.* The refrain appears, moves to the strophe where a new rhyme is presented, and then the melodic material begins the refrain in the section that could be called the *markaz,* but only one rhymed line of the refrain *(qufl)* comes back before the return to the refrain.

Form: Text: a^8 a7 / n^8 b^7 n^8 b^7/ n^8 a^7 // a^8 a^7
Music: A B // C C C C / A B // A B

Music Excerpt 5, *Cantiga* 103

Cantiga 165, *Ni un poder d'este mundo,* is in the Dorian mode, or D mode.

The text speaks of "How Holy Mary of Tartus in Syria defended the city from the sultan." The Moorish sultan Bondoudar was renowned for waging war on Christians, and he was preparing a huge army to enter the city of Tartar and "do them great harm." The people of Tartus saw the forces preparing to conquer their city and prayed to the Virgin Mary to defend them from the Moors. The Virgin Mary sent knights from Heaven to protect the city, and when the sultan discovered that they were knights of the Virgin Mary, he said: "In the Koran I found that Holy Mary was forever a virgin. Knowing this, I will wage no war on Her…"

The poetic form of this piece, simplified, becomes aa//bbba//aa—what can be called a *zajal.* The melodic material follows the same pattern of refrain, strophe, return to refrain during the strophe, and then continuing to the refrain; the relationship between the

form of the text and music is so similar that I think it can be argued that the musical and textual form are related to the *muwashshah.*

Form: Text: n8 a7 n8 a7 // n8 b7 n8 b7 / n8 b7 n8 a7 // n8 a7 n8 a7

Music: A B A C // D E D E / A B A C // A B A C

Music Excerpt 6, *Cantiga* 165

Cantiga 167, *Quen quer que na Virgen fia* [CD track 3], is in the Mixolydian mode, or G mode.

This *cantiga* tells of a Muslim woman who takes her dead son to the Holy Mary of Salas. The Muslim women protest her actions, but she tells them that if God protects her son from harm, they should not want to judge her. The Holy Mary revives the child, who had been dead for three days, and the woman converts to Christianity.

The melodic form of this *cantiga* resembles the *muwashshah.* There is an initial refrain, or *qufl,* and then there is a strophe with new material. After the strophe, we return to the same material as the *qufl.* The textual form resembles the *zajal* form, in that the strophe contains three lines that have identical ending rhymes—the last line matches the end rhyme of the *qufl.*

Form: Text: n8 a8 n8 a8 // n8 b8 n8 b8 / n8 b8 n8 a8 // n8 a8 n8 a8

Music: A B C D // E D E D / A B C D // A B C D

Music Excerpt 7
Cantiga 167

Cantiga 189, *Ben pode Santa Maria*, is in the Phrygian mode, or E mode.

This *cantiga* tells the story of a man who slays a dragon on his way to Holy Mary of Salas and is poisoned by the breath of the dragon. His leprous skin is cured by the Holy Mary when he enters the church of Salas.

The form of this *cantiga* resembles the *muwashshah.* The melodic and textual material change from the refrain to the strophe, but then go back to the same rhyme and same melodic material presented in the refrain after the second D line, bringing us to the *markaz.* After the *markaz,* we return to the refrain. What distinguishes this from the *zajal* form is that the entire *qufl,* or refrain, comes back during the *markaz.*

Form: Text: n8 a7 n8 a7 // n8 n8 b8 n7 n8 b8 / n8 a7 n7 a7 // n8 a7 n8 a7

Music: A B A B // A C D A C D / A B A B // A B A B

Music Excerpt 8,

Cantiga 189

VII. The Link between the *Cantigas* and the *Nawba* of the Maghrib

In searching for an Arabic element in the *Cantigas,* I have found in my readings, my analyses, and speaking with other scholars, that there cannot presently be any secure link to be found between the melody and rhythm of the *Cantigas* and Arabic music practices. There are definite links with the troubadour and trouvère traditions; there have been a few songs identified as definite bridges between the two cultures. There are no extant Arabic pieces from the Middle Ages; the complete reliance upon an oral tradition makes it difficult to compare these two influences. The musical traditions of the Maghreb continue to be focused upon oral traditions today. Therefore, since we have no musical documentation it is perhaps in vain that we search for a melodic link between the genres.

I believe that the poetic and musical form of the *Cantigas* should be more thoroughly investigated. The link between the *Cantigas* and the *nawba* can be found within the structure of the poems within these larger works. The *nawba* is a form made of a series of pieces called *san'a.* The poetic structure of these *san'a* is often the *muwashshah* or *zajal,* forms that have already been discussed and shown to be related to the form of many *cantigas.*

Musicologists and performers have begun to consider a possible link between *nawba* modern musical practices of the Maghrib and the proto-*nawba* of Muslim Spain. Scholars have started to analyze some of the *cantigas* of *Las Cantigas de Santa Maria* in juxtaposition with the *san'as* of *nawbas.* In the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* Philip Schuyler has asserted: "Mutual influences between Spain and Morocco are apparent in the music itself and in documents such as the thirteenth-century *Cantigas*

de Santa Maria."[188] Various scholars have written on the possible connection between the *Cantigas* and the *nawba,* such as Owen Wright, Dwight Reynolds, Mahmoud Guettat, etc.

However, scholars have not reached any one conclusion in favor or against the connection between the *nawba* and *Cantigas.* As many types of Arabic art were being used and viewed by Sevillans during the time of Alfonso X, it is likely that the music of Andalusia and Seville were influential as well. Another reason that prevents musicologists interested in this topic from reaching resolution is that many western scholars cannot read Arabic. The articles of Arabic scholars that I have read state events and information regarding the connection between the North African musical heritage and that of al-Andalus with more conviction than western scholars. There are fewer disclaimers; they state what might be a conjecture in another article as fact. This suggests to me that perhaps readers of Arabic are able to reach more conclusions because they can read more of the contemporary Arabic documents. Maria Rosa Menocal has mentioned this problem in her writing in regard to medieval literature:

> "Most Hispanists and medievalists begin their study of medieval literature with the first texts in Romance and assume Latin, conceivably even Greek, to be the necessary classical languages to be learned. Hebrew and Arabic are normally considered superfluous." [189]

I believe that this sentiment can be applied to the study of medieval music of the Iberian Peninsula and that this is why resolution concerning the Arabic influence in the *Cantigas* might be especially difficult. According to Habib Hassan Touma,

> "It would be difficult to discuss the contemporary *nuba* repertoire without referring to these eight centuries of Islamic Spanish history. Indeed, the

[188] Philip Schuyler: 'Morocco', *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed [10-05-2006]), http://www.grovemusic.com

[189] Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History: A Forgotten Heritage,* 11.

> cultural history of the Iberian Peninsula played a major role in the development of the *nuba* repertoire not only until 1492, when Granada…surrendered to the Catholic monarchs of Spain, but even until 1609-1614, when the last Moriscos left the peninsula and emigrated to North Africa."[190]

I have attempted to provide a suitable context with which to understand the complexity of the musical history of al-Andalus. With this background, hopefully the relationship between the *nawba* and the *Cantigas* will be easier understood.

I would like to introduce what we know of the historical development of these genres in order to further demonstrate their interrelation with each other. As has been mentioned earlier, Ziryab might have introduced the *nawba* suite into al-Andalus in the ninth century. One of the reasons this can be further asserted is that the way the contemporary author al-Hasan b. 'Ali al-Katib (late tenth-early eleventh) refers to the performance of suites Ziryab introduced to Córdoba as progressing from slow to fast. The suite would begin with a *nashid,* a recitative in free rhythm and continued with a *basit,* a song in a slow, melancholy rhythm. The suite finished with *muharrakat* (singular form, *muharrak*) and *ahzaj* (singular form *hazaj*) pieces that were exciting and had quick light rhythms that continued to the end. The Moroccan *nuba* today has very similar characteristics: it begins with instrumental (*Mishaliya* and *bughya)* and vocal (*Inshad tab 'al-naghma)* preludes that lead to songs that begin in slow tempos and grow faster and faster until the end of the *nuba.*[191] Other than the eastern influences Ziryab brought with him from Baghdad, he also brought some of the musical traditions he had learned during his ten years in Kairouan (northeastern Tunisia). Therefore, long before the Iberian

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[190] Touma, Habib Hassan. "Andalusian Nuba in Morocco." *Garland Encyclopedia of Music.* p. 455.
[191] Guettat, "The Andalusian Musical Heritage," *The Garland Encyclopedia of Music,* 451.

Peninsula and North Africa were connected through the empires of the Almoravids and Almohads, the musical traditions of these regions had begun to combine.

One of the more important historical events of this period that affected musical transmission was the fact that the Almohads and Almoravids ruled both North Africa and al-Andalus during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. This means that musicians, scholars, slave girls, and others would be going from one area to the other more often than they had during the Umayyad rule. The centuries of close contact with North Africa also meant that after the Christians conquered most of the Iberian Peninsula, and especially after the Expulsion, many Muslims would immigrate with their music to North Africa. As stated previously, Muslims began to leave Seville after the Christian reconquest; even more would emigrate after the rebellion of 1264 for the Maghreb. This cultural exchange created a unique Andalusian-North African music.[192]

Modern North African musicians claim that there is a direct link between their music and that of medieval Iberia. They claim that, for example, the style of Fez is linked with Granada, Tlemcen with the style of Córdoba, and Tunis with that of Seville.[193] In the twentieth century, there have been concerted efforts backed by the government to preserve the performance of Andalusian music by opening private schools, clubs, amateur orchestras, regional and international competitions, festivals, etc.[194] The claim that their music is directly related to the Andalusian music of the Middle Ages must be viewed with caution, among other reasons, because their music is transmitted orally. Therefore, the music has most likely changed within each generation despite attempts to preserve the original melodies. However, it is difficult for a written musical tradition to

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[192] Guettat, "The Andalusian Musical Heritage," *The Garland Encyclopedia of Music,* 441.
[193] Reynolds, "Music," in *The Literature of al-Andalus,* 72.
[194] Ibid., 73.

understand all elements of an orally transmitted music. Western musicologists are seriously studying the processes of oral tradition and are realizing that this tradition may not change as much or as quickly as the Western musical world has previously thought.[195]

The performance of this genre has also drastically changed in terms of instrumentation. According to medieval sources, there are a variety of percussion, woodwind, and string instruments that do not appear in modern orchestras—a brass instrument with a reed mouthpiece (*al-buq),*[196] the organ, plucked zither (*qanun*), the lyre (*rota*), and a few flutes. The lyre, zither, and flutes are seen in photographs from the nineteenth century, showing just how quickly the change in instrumentation has occurred. The dominance of the Western string family in Andalusian music of the Maghreb has changed the sound of the ensemble drastically. Despite all of these changes, some constants can be observed. The lute is still found in various forms. The North African *rabab* is used as a symbol of the Andalusian tradition—in fact, it supposedly has not changed in form since the Middle Ages; it is not used for any other repertoire and is not found in the Mashriq (eastern Arabic lands).[197]

The fact that Andalusian music in North Africa is essentially modal also makes another connection with the *Cantigas,* which are primarily in the Dorian and Mixolydian modes. There is a lack of sources like those of al-Tifashi or Ibn Sana al-Mulk to provide information regarding the development of Andalusian music. However, there are many collections of poetry containing hundreds and thousands of *muwashshah*s and *zajal*s as

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[195] Timothy Rice: 'Transmission', *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed [29-05-2006]), http://www.grovemusic.com

[196] According to al-Tifashi and Ibn Khaldun, the *al-buq* was the most beautiful of Andalusian instruments. Images of the *al-buq* can be found in the miniatures of the *Cantigas.*

[197] Reynolds, "Music," *The Literature of al-Andalus,* 80.

well as a few songbooks that contain texts with an indication of the melodic mode and rhythm for the song, but no actual musical notation. Some of the most essential songbooks are *Kunnash* (Anthology) by the Moroccan Muhammad ibn al-Husayn al-Ha'ik (written c. 1786) and *Safinat al-mulk wa-nafisat al-fulk* (The Vessel of State and the Treasure of the Ark) by Egyptian Muhammad Shihab al-Din al-Misri (pub. 1854).[198] Certain texts have remained within the repertoire since the Middle Ages. One example is a thirteenth century *muwashshah,* described by al-Maqqari as current in his day, which then appears in the eighteenth-century songbook of ibn al-Ha'ik, and is still performed today.[199] This consistency of texts as well as al-Tifashi's description of the Andalusian music tradition as conservative suggests that, perhaps, there might be an even greater connection, perhaps even between the melodies, between modern Andalusian practices and those of the Middle Ages.

As mentioned earlier, some of the earliest manuscripts of the *muwashshah* and *zajal* are recorded in Hebrew. We know that there were Jewish musicians performing this genre during the Middle Ages. Today, musicians in North Africa are still singing songs, or *piyyutim,* [CD, track 5] with tunes from *nawba* cycles. *Piyyutim* have been found to have definite links with medieval texts from Spain, enlarging the possibility that the North African Andalusian music originates in al-Andalus. The pieces also follow classical Arabic meter. The repertoire of the Jewish musicians singing *piyyutim* and Arabic musicians playing *nawba* is so closely related that they often work together on performances. Several scholars have written about the Jewish community's adoption of

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[198] Reynolds, "Music," *Literature of al-Andalus,* 74.
[199] Wright, "Music in Muslim Spain," *The Legacy of Muslim Spain,* 568.

dominant culture's music: Israel Adler and Kay Kauffman Shelemay have done important research concerning this genre of music.[200]

Though there are disputes as to how complete the connections between the music of Muslim Spain and present day North Africa, one of my resources states about North African-Andalusian music: "Transmitted orally for more than twelve centuries, it comprises approximately 1,200 pieces in Morocco, more than 900 in Algeria, and about 350 in Tunisia."[201] Perhaps the connections are not that definite; perhaps things have changed; but, if after more research has been completed, scholars find that there is a legitimate link between the music practices of al-Andalus and modern North Africa, there could be an enormous potential addition to the medieval repertoire.

Conclusion

In this thesis, I have searched specifically for evidence of an Arabic-Christian cultural relationship in Andalusia through viewing various forms of artistic expression. By specifying the region under study as Seville, I attempted to recreate as much of the lifestyle of the people living in this city during the Middle Ages in order to justify my claim that much of daily life was in fact shared by the three cultures: Christian, Muslim, and Jewish. The Jewish culture and its relationship with the others are discussed more briefly than the other two. Their presence on the Iberian Peninsula at this moment in time is significant yet I found that the subject of the Christian-Muslim interchanges became a huge topic in itself.

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[200] Joel Cohen of Paris, e-mail to author, *subject Jewish nawba,* 26 May, 2006.

[201] Touma, Habib Hassan. "Andalusian Nuba in Morocco." *Garland Encyclopedia of Music.* p. 455.

The various artistic works viewed in this thesis have included the architecture of the Cathedral-Mosque and Alcazar of Seville; the treatise on chess commissioned by Alfonso X; and the illustrations, music and poetry of *Las Cantigas de Santa Maria.* Within the sections discussing Almohad and Alfonso X's Seville, there were many different references to contemporary documents that describe how Seville was shared by Christians, Jews, and Muslims. It seems as though Seville, and al-Andalus as a whole, was able to successfully incorporate the three different cultures. In some cases this was successful in part because the jobs and positions of the country were allotted to those cultures that did those best.

If a person were to walk through Seville during the reign of Alfonso X, he would find bath houses that served Christians, Muslims, and Jews (though sometimes at different times of the day) and Arabic games like chess being played by all different cultures, especially in the court of Alfonso X. According to various sources, there would be many shops where the perfection of musical instruments would be underway primarily by Muslim craftsmen. Muslims were not forbidden to make music, as proven by the presence of thirteen Muslim musicians in the court of Alfonso X's son. This would mean that there would have been a need for some common grounds to be established between the Muslim musicians and Christian musicians—therefore, they must have either adapted their training to understand the other music or simply adopted it. Since the Muslim musicians were not forbidden to play, there is no reason to assume that there would not have been Arabic music heard daily when passing Arabic areas of town, which, as mentioned previously, were not confined to one area but spread throughout the city. Daily, people would congregate in the Mosque-turned-Cathedral. As they prayed to the

Virgin Mary, they would know that the walls surrounding them had originally been created by the Muslims and could observe the styles and be influenced visually. After the death of Alfonso X and according to his will, on every Marian holiday his great offering to the Virgin Mary, *Las Cantigas de Santa Maria,* would be played in the Cathedral-Mosque. As the people sat in a Cathedral of a Muslim structure, they would at the same moment listen to songs with a poetic form that has been related to the Muslim *zajal,* likely played on at least one, if not more, instruments of Arabic origin. As they walked home to their houses, they would probably pass at least one of the hundred Almohad neighborhood mosques, some of which had been converted into churches but still retained Muslim architectural structure.

In this thesis, I have studied artistic expressions that have been accepted by scholars as presenting evidence of the Arabic-Christian interrelationship in medieval Spain. I also looked at an example which the Arabic influence is yet being debated, *Las Cantigas de Santa Maria.* What I have hoped to show is that though there still may be indecisiveness regarding the question of Arabic imprint in the music, that, due to the amount of influence the Muslims had in other forms of art (and in one particular area, Seville) and the possibility of their connection with a current Arabic musical genre (the *nawba*), the possibility of their influence in the music of *Las Cantigas de Santa Maria* should be approached more seriously[202], and, perhaps, by scholars who can read Arabic.

I would like to recall the quote presented in the introduction of this thesis, by Sanchez-Albornoz, where he laments how much higher Spain could have risen without

[202] 'Seriously', in this context, refers to the fact that I don't believe that scholars should make definitive claims about this genre unless they have studied the entirety of the *cantigas* and have read all contemporary documents of their epoch. I feel that one of the reasons I read so many different views is that scholars decided they could look at one *cantiga* and reach a general conclusion about the whole work, an approach that undervalues the greatness and complexity of this work.

the eight centuries of Islamic dominance. I feel that this quote should be reversed—how much farther could al-Andalus, or Spain, have risen within a culture that continued to rely on the strengths of the different cultures within it?

Appendix 1

Attached CD Information and Translation of Text[203]

CD Tracks

1. *Cantiga* 190, *Pouco devemos precar* 4'46

2, *Cantiga* 100, *Santa Maria, strela do día* 2'43

3. *Cantiga* 167, *Quen quer que na Virgen fía* 9'06

4. Excerpt from Nawba Rasd al-dhil Mizan Koddam-Sana "Allah hoo Yalamo"[204] 1'48

5. Shahar abaqeshskha performed by Albert Bouadhana 1'58

190

[This is a song of praise.][1]

We should pay little heed to the devil, as God is my aid, because the Virgin who rules us will protect us.

We shall commit great folly if we fear him, for the Virgin who rules us, keeps us.

His power is worth little, for the Spiritual Virgin who rules us protects us from his harm.

His knowledge matters little to us, for She who rules us and who saw Her Son on the cross is our flame and light.

We should not believe him nor do ill because of him, for the Virgin who rules us comes to our aid.

His deceit is nothing, for She who holds the faith and rules us is our Advocate with God.

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[203] These are photocopied pages from Kathleen Kulp-Hill, trans. *Songs of Holy Mary of Alfonso X, The Wise: A Translation of the Cantigas de Santa Maria* 2000.

[204] This CD track is number 17 on *Mystic Spain: The Cantigas*. Camerata Mediterranea, Joel Cohen, dir. Mirabeau, 1998.

100

This is a song of praise.

Holy Mary, Star of Day, show us the way to God and be our guide.

You make the wayward, who were lost because of sin, see and understand that they are very guilty. But they are pardoned by you for the temerity which caused them recklessly to do what they should not.

You must show us the way in all our deeds to win the true and matchless light which only you can give us, for God would grant it to you, and most willingly bestow it for your sake.

Your wisdom can guide us far better than any other thing to Paradise, where God has always delight and joy for whoever would believe in Him. I should rejoice if it please you to let my soul be in such company.

167

This is how a Moorish woman took her dead son to Holy Mary of Salas,[1] and She revived him for her.

The Virgin will aid whoever trusts in Her and prays faithfully to Her, although he be a follower of another law.

Concerning this, Holy Mary of Salas performed a beautiful and merciful miracle for a Mooress from Borja[2] because a beautiful child she had and cared for had died pitifully from a very serious disease.

The woman, with grief for her son, did not know what to do. She saw how the Christians went to Holy Mary of Salas and heard of the miracles She performed and ventured to trust in the Virgin.

She commended the child to Her and prepared her offering. However, the Moorish women protested to her about this, but she told them: "Friends, if God protects me from harm, I believe that my hope will overcome your objections,

"for I shall take my son to Holy Mary of Salas right away, with this waxen image which I have bought for Her. I shall keep watch in the church of the most blessed Holy Mary, and I believe that She will sympathize with my woe."

She went at once, for she would not tarry, and carried her dead son, to the people's great amazement. When she arrived at Salas, she said to the Virgin: "If your law does not lie, give me my son, and I will make my peace with you."

Thus the poor woman kept watch a whole night through, and what did Holy Mary, the Merciful Queen, do? She revived her son for her in a trice, for Her power surpasses understanding.

When the Mooress saw this, she considered it a wondrous miracle, for her son had been dead for three days. She at once became a Christian, for she saw that Holy Mary had given him back to her alive, and she always held Her in great reverence.

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