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The End of the Andalusian State: A New Reading in the Causes and the Consequences

An Extended Essay Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for the "Master" Degree in Anglo-Saxon Literature and Civilisation

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Dedication

I dedicate this work to my dear parents, my sweet family and all who encouraged me to fulfill this work.

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Above all, I thank Allah, the almighty for having given me the strength and patience to undertake and complete this work.

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Abstract

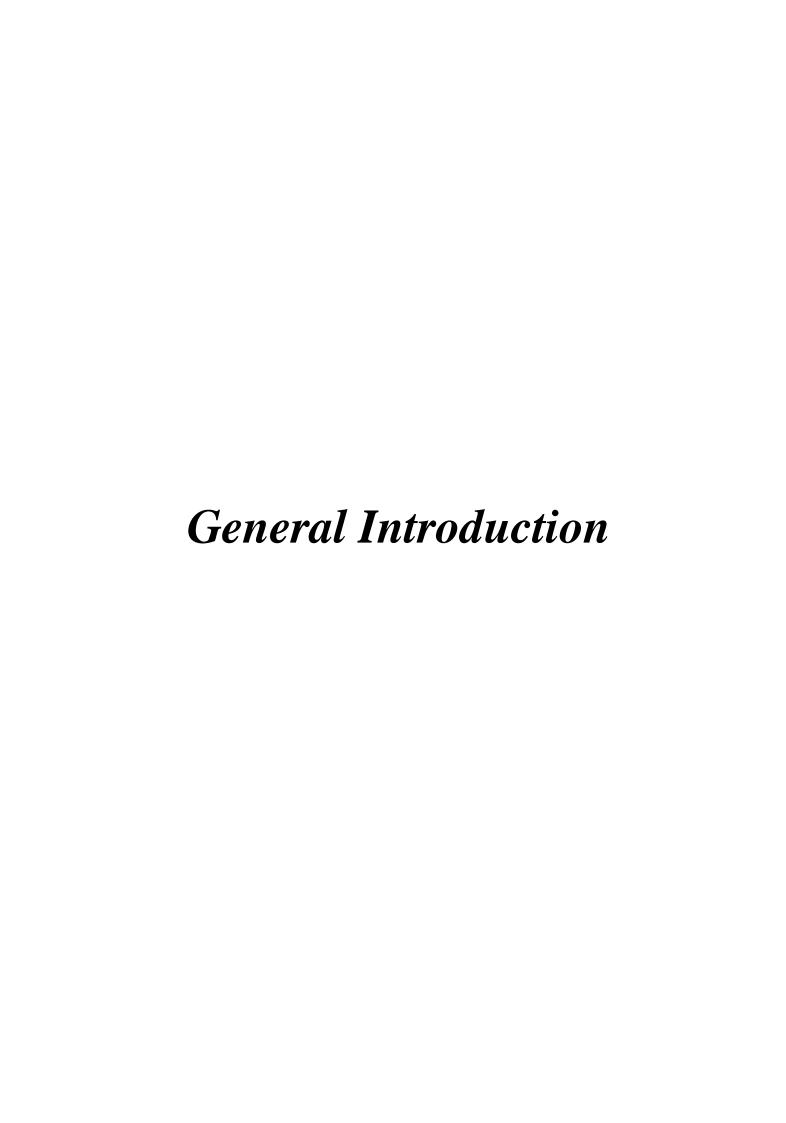
In light of the multiple conflicts and wars that hit the Arab-Muslim world nowadays and which play a very important role in changing the political map, I was interested in finding examples in the history of an event or a historical period that is similar to our contemporary reality. Fundamentally, this memoir seeks to shed light on the history of the Islamic civilization in Andalusia with a particular focus on the causes and consequences of its downfall. To this end, the study has used the historical approach to trace back these important issues. As a matter of fact, along its eight centuries of existence, Andalusia was exposed to a set of internal and external factors that weakened it, the internal conspiracies, the betrayals of the Andalusian rulers and their alliances with the Christian kingdoms against each other, and the frequent campaigns of the Christians from the North, were among the most prominent reasons that led to the collapse. After the fall of Granada, the last Islamic fortress in the Iberian Peninsula, in 1492, the rest of Muslims in that isolated land witnessed one of the worst phases in their history. That dark phase started by the compulsory Christianization and the oppressive inquisitions, and it ended with the final expulsion of all Muslims.

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General Introduction

The Islamic Fath (Opening) of the Iberian Peninsula at the beginning of the eighth century was the turning point that changed the face of the history since it documented the first direct interaction between the Islamic civilization and the western world. For nearly eight centuries, Andalusia or the Islamic civilization in Spain was the beacon that brought and transferred civilization in its noblest meaning to the Visigothic Spain and then to Europe which was covered by the darkness of the middle ages. Nevertheless, like any other civilization, Andalusia was exposed to a series of internal and external factors that weakened it and that led to its complete fall by the end of the 15th century i.e by the fall of Granada in 1492, which was the last breath in a decaying civilization. This memoir studies the main reasons behind the decline of Andalusia as it sheds light on the disastrous and catastrophic consequences of that collapse. Thus, the questions should be asked in this regard are: What are the major reasons that led to the fall of Andalusia? What are the chief consequences of that fall?

In order to answer the questions mentioned above, this study relies on the use of the historical approach.

The first chapter entitled 'The Golden Age' provides at the beginning an overview about the Iberian Peninsula under the tyrannical rule of the German Visigothic tribes that invaded Spain during the 5th century. Then it tackles the early 8th century, exactly to the year 711, talking about the different phases of the Islamic Fath (Opening) of Andalusia. The next part of this chapter sheds light on the golden age in Andalusia which was characterized from one side by the great scientific and cultural

achievements which have lastingly affected the other civilizations. From the other side this phase was described as the golden age of tolerance and coexistence between the different races, ethnicities, and religions. This chapter ends by giving an example of one of the greatest Andalusian leaders called Abdu Rahman Al Dakhil.

After the age of strength and prosperity, multiple factors of vulnerability began to penetrate into the body of the Andalusian state leading to its division into a set of small feuding and conflicting kingdoms or Taifas. This rivalry among the Andalusian kingdoms stoked and fueled strongly the ambition and the greediness of the neighboring Christian kingdoms to reconquer the Spanish lands. Precariously, balanced between the threatening Christian forces and the rival Muslim kings towards the South of Andalusia. The tide turned lastly in favor of the Christians by the beginning of the 13th century and within decades Muslim cities began to fall one after the other until the year 1492, when Muslims political sovereignty in Andalusia came to an end by the fall of Granada.

In contrast to the first chapter that evoked Andalusia in its brightest period, the second chapter highlights the period of weakness and decadence with the focus on the most important reasons and consequences.

1.1. Introduction

After the great Islamic expansion in North Africa during the second half of the seventh century and the beginning of the eighth century, the Islamic opening of the Iberian Peninsula came just as a culmination and coronation of that series of victories. This first chapter speaks at the beginning about the Visigoth Spain and about the northwestern part of Africa during the seventh century i.e. during the pre-Islamic presence phase to give the reader an overview about the circumstances surrounding the Islamic Opening (Fath) of Spain.

In the fall of 711, the Muslim armies crossed the Strait of Gibraltar to take the control over most of the Spanish territories in less than seven years. This chapter speaks briefly about the phase of the Islamic expansion in the Iberian Peninsula.

Finally, it sheds light on the golden age of the Islamic Spain, when Andalusia witnessed its golden age with the Umayyad Caliphate of Cordoba during the tenth century; it became one of the greatest civilizations in the Islamic history.

1.2. Andalusia before The Islamic Opening

Andalusia, or Spain as it is called today, is a peninsula which is located in the northwestern part of the Mediterranean Sea. It has a very strategic location, bound to the North by Pyrenees Mountains that separate it from France and the rest of Europe, and to the South by the narrow Straits of Gibraltar which connects the waters of the Mediterranean with the Atlantic(Nazeer, 2015).

The idea of opening Andalusia goes back to the times of Caliph Othman Ibn Affan, when the companion and the military commander Okba Ibn Nafi put the plan to cross the Strait of Gibraltar towards Spain, but the actual implementation of the opening was postponed to the age of the Umayyad Caliph Abdul Malik Ibn Marwan, when he sent several military campaigns to the Iberian Peninsula under the flag of the two Muslim leaders, Musa Ibn Nusair and Tariq Ibn Ziyad (Takkush, 2002).

In the course of the 5th century, Andalusia was invaded by the Visigoths who established a new kingdom with Toledo as their capital. The Visigoths were one of the Germanic tribes, whom the Romans identified as 'Barbarians' which means that they were different and culturally backward. The Visigothic conquest of the Iberian Peninsula was facilitated by the decline of the exhausted Roman Empire, and immediately after their invasion of the Southwestern part of Europe, the Visigoths began settling down in Spain and Portugal where they established their Visigothic Kingdom (Waldman & Mason, 2006, p. 843).

The Visigoths first entered Spain in 414, and they occupied the North-east corner of the country which is called 'the Roman province of Tarraconensis'. Thereafter, they maintained their hold under various political arrangements, but there was no real unity because the Visigoths adhered to the heretical Arian form of Christianity, while the majority of the indigenous population was catholic (Watt & Cachia, 2010, p. 10). According to Watt (2001):

The weakness of the Visigothic kingdom may thus be attributed To three main factors: The devision within the upper class over the succession to the kingship; the discontent of the other sections of society at the privileges of the upper classes, with the consequent unreliability of the army; and the persecution of the Jews(Watt & Cachia, 2001, p.12).

1.3. The Leaders of The Islamic Opening of Andalusia

Musa Ibn Nusair and Tariq ibn Ziyad were the two Muslim commanders who led the Islamic Umayyad conquest of Visigothic Spain in 711–718 A.D.

1.3.1. Musa Ibn Nusair (640-718 A.D)

Musa Ibn Nusair Ibn Abdur Rahman Zayd Alajmi was the Muslim military leader and the governor of North Africa who was responsible for the Islamic opening of Morocco and the Iberian Peninsula. Musa was born in Syria (Acham) approximately in the year 640, and died in Damascus city in the year 718(Ibn-Hallikān & Slane, 1868, p. 475).

1.3.2. Tariq Ibn Ziyad

Tariq Ibn Ziyad (689-720 A.D) was the Muslim leader from Berber origins who led the Islamic Opening of the Iberian Peninsula in the fall of 711. Most historians asserted that he was likely a freed Berber slave of the governor of North Africa who offered him his freedom and appointed him as the leader of his army, and later on as the governor of Tangiers. The recent sources portray him as a hero and record an epic speech that he is said to have delivered to his army shortly before going into battle against the Visigoths. After the opening, Tariq was called to Damascus on the order of the Umayyad Caliph Al walid Ibn Abdul Malik who dismissed him from all his positions(Akyeampong & Gates, 2012, pp. 507-508).

1.4. The Course of The Islamic Opening of The Iberian Peninsula

The Islamic opening of the Iberian Peninsula that began in 711 would bring substantial and radical changes to the structure of the Visigothic society. A new type of society would be built.

The Visigothic society was eroded from the inside because of the permanent conflicts, eventhough, it may have looked powerful from the outside. There was much infighting among the nobles and the church clergy, and the country was at the brink of danger (Allen, 2008, p. 18).

Moreover, the Visigothic kings and the Church clergy had been so cruel and harsh with the lower classes like the Christian peasants and the Jews in general. Later on, this racial and class discrimination would give Muslims a big opportunity to incorporate some of the unfortunate and disadvantaged people like the peasants into their civilian forces (Allen, 2008, p. 18).

In Damascus, Al Walid Ibn Abdul Malik had ascended the Umayyad throne. Al Walid was known in history as the Muslim Caliph who selected carefully and accurately the most capable commanders and generals, such as, Qutaiba bin Muslim Al Bahili(The conqueror of Sinkiang) Mohammed bin Qasim (The conqueror of Sindh and Multan) Musa Ibn Nusair, and Tariq Ibn Ziyad (conquerors of the Iberian Peninsula).

After a long struggle with the Visigoths, the Umayyad governor Musa Ibn Nusair managed in controlling the north-west corner of Africa which would be later on a starting point of the Muslim Army to open Spain (Nazeer, 2015).

In the fall of 710, the Christian governor of Ceuta was the first one who encouraged and supported Musa Ibn Nusair and his deputy Tariq Ibn Ziyad to cross The Strait of Gibraltar to invade Spain and to eliminate the Christian king Roderic offering to help the Muslim army to make his way across the Iberian Peninsula (Akyeampong & Gates, 2012). The most famous story is that the Visigothic ruler 'Roderic' mistreated and abused 'Florinda' the daughter of Julian when she was in Toledo to learn the etiquettes of the nobles. In accordance with this story, Count Julian was outraged and thus he decided to take revenge on Roderic for his act. Julian travelled to Kairawan to request the help and the aid of Musa Ibn Nusair and to call him to invade Spain. Other historians stated that there had been a large number of Visigoth nobles who wanted Roderic to be brought down such as Akhila and his two brothers. When their father Witiza died in 710, Roderic unseated and isolated the family of 'Witiza', who were the rightful rulers of the Visigothic Spain depriving them from the throne of their father 'Witiza' (Akyeampong & Gates, 2012, p. 507).

In July 711, the governor of Tangiers Tariq Ibn Ziyad sent a reconnaissance party of four hundred Muslim soldiers under the leadership of Tarif Al Muafiri to explore the Southern part of the Iberian Peninsula, this reconnaissance was successful and Tariq received a positive report from this expedition. This latter made Muslims sufficiently confident to wage and to launch a full-scale campaign in the following year. In the Spring of 711, Tariq led an army of around twelve thousand soldier who were mostly berbers and they crossed the Straits of Gibraltar on boats at night. They landed first at the rock of Gibraltar which ever after would bear and carry Tariq's name. The word Gibraltar is a corruption of 'Jabal Tariq' the mountain of Tariq. In his turn, Count Julian provided Muslim troops with seven thousand soldiers (Watt, 1965, p. 8),(Akyeampong & Gates, 2012, p. 507).

During the Summer of 711 A.D, Muslim troops encountered the last Visigothic king Roderic near the River of Guadalette at a place now called Medina-Sidonia in the province of Cadiz (Allen, 2008, p. 19).

When the muslim army defeated Roderic's resistance in thenbattle of Guadalette the entire Iberian Peninsula lay open for further expansion. One month later, the muslim army moved northward opening many towns and territories, including Toledo the capital of the Visigoths and the Southern city of Cordoba, which would later become the capital of the Islamic Andalusia (Akyeampong & Gates, 2012, p. 507).

When the word of the opening reached Musa Ibn Nusair in al Qayrawan, he decided to cross the Strait of Gibraltar in June 712, so as to help and support the muslim army. Musa focused upon the territories passed over by his deputy Tariq, including the city of Seville (Akyeampong& Gates, 2012, p. 508),(Allen, 2008).

The first advance of Musa was towards Seville, the city that he entered after a long siege. After that Saragosa, Barcelona, and Portugal fell one after the other. In the fall of 712 the Pyrnees chain mountain which separate France and Spain was crossed by Muslims and the city of Lyon which is located in the South of France was conquered up. By the mid of 713, Musa met with his deputy Tariq in the superb of Toledo. Toghether they continued their expeditions northwards to lay the foundation and the ground for the Islamic rule in the Iberian Peninsula through the next year.

In the year 714, Musa and Tariq stopped their expansion in Spain when they were recalled to Damascus by the Umayyad Caliph Al Walid Ibn abdul Malik (Akyeampong & Gates, 2012, p. 508).

1.5. The Cultural Achievements of The Andalusian Civilization

The historian Richard Fletcher says: 'Any attempt to understand the history and culture of the Iberian Peninsula must take account of that incredible Islamic legacy'.

The Islamic opening of the Iberian Peninsula can be considered as highly effective and essential in the advance and the development of a nation praised not only for its cultural and scientific achievements and contributions, but also for its variety and coexistence among the different races, ethnicities, and religions.

During the 9th century, people of different ethnics excelled in science, technology, architecture, philosophy, agriculture, and art. The 10th century when most of the wonders were accomplished is known as The Golden Age of Andalusia. At that time the capital city of Andalusia

Cordoba was the most advanced city in Western Europe. The population of Cordoba by the end of this century was estimated over 50.000 while the population of Paris 38.000 and Rome35.000 lagged entirely a long way behind (Ruiz, 2007, p. 39).

Ana Ruiz writes:

By the 14th century al-Andalus was the largest state in Europe and was the most advanced and populated center of learning and education. Education was highly valued by the Muslims; public libraries, schools and the first university in Europe were established in Al-Andalus. Most Arabs were literate and children attended Koranic schools where boys and girls of the age of six or seven learned how to read, write, recite the Koran and master basic mathematics. Access to the Madraza or Islamic school, where the most reputable teachers taught The Koran, medicine, science, poetry, grammar, mathematics and astronomy was somewhat restricted (Ruiz, 2007, p. 39).

At its peak, Cordoba had approximately 30 settled territories outside its city boundaries. It has been assessed estimated that during its brilliant age there were 6000 castles and estates ,200,000 homes, 700 mosques, 8000 merchant shops, 800 shower houses, and 50 hospitals, a large big healing center that had showers with running water was built in Cordoba. Experts were assigned to different and various zones of disease and injuries; it was constantly open to people in general and the treatment was free to the poor (Ruiz, 2007, p. 40).

Moreover, Andalusia enjoyed the impacts of other Muslims. They joined a large portion and a big part of these spearheading thoughts and ideas into their own particular society. Subsequently, Andalusia soon turned into a focal point of advancement and innovation, culture, and science in Europe.

Since that time, the commitment of the Andalusian cultural achievements have lastingly affected the world society. A large amount of what we know and utilize today goes back to the Islamic Spain. Current science, innovation, craftsmanship, design and even clothing and eating behavior can all find and discover their origins and roots centuries earlier in Andalusia (Greg, 2016).

Indeed, we can count many fields in which the Andalusian scholars excelled, such as, medicine, architecture, sciences, and arts.

1.5.1. Architecture

The marvels of design and architecture scattered in the Iberian Peninsula are wonderful visual of the times of long ago, but the most important of magnificence accomplished by the Islamic civilization of Spain. Numerous cultures contributed in forming and constituting the real identity of Andalusia. However, Muslim scholars were the ones who left the most effective imprint, especially in architecture making it so different from the rest of the European countries. The best accomplishments of the Andalusians were achieved during the rule of the Nasry dynasty in Granada, and the Caliphate of Cordoba (Ruiz, 2007, p. 47). Ruiz (2007) says:

Among the greatest architectural legacies of the Spanish Moors Are indeed the Alhambra palace fortress of Granada

and the mosque in Cordoba. In Seville stands another Endmark: The 12th century Giralda Tower or former Almohad minaret That once stood as an astronomical observatory. It was built Under the supervision of the mathematician and astronomer Jubair Ibn Aflah of Seville (Ruiz, 2007, p. 47).

1.5.2. Medicine

The big fulfillment of Muslims in this field was to refuse and to reject all what is superstition and to put the study of medicine on scientific bases. Moreover, the Andalusians asserted on the fact that any doctor should have a set of morals and qualities. Ibn hazm said:'A doctor should be kind, understanding, friendly, good, able to endure insults and adverse criticism; he must keep his hair short, and his fingernails as well; he must wear clean, white clothes and behave with dignity' (Lunde, 2016).

A large number of the Andalusian scholars excelled in the field of Medicine, most notably Ibn Rushd. Ahmed Issa (2012) writes:

Muslim Spain established its own universities with centers of medicine And philosophy, which facilitated the flow of Muslims expertise to the rest of Europe in the 12th century CE. The most famous Andalusian Muslim scholar was Ibn Rushd or Averroes.

He influenced the west in philosophy but also excelled as a judge Physician, and author of a comprehensive medical encyclopedia

Edward Browne writes that both Arab and non-Arab Muslim made the largest contribution to the body of scientific doctrine that they they inherited from the Greeks ,regarding chemistry and medicine As a result,

Muslims considered chemistry and botany more useful in the preparation of medicines than as separate disciplines Medical and Pharmaceutical knowledge spread throughout the Muslim work owing to scholars traveling to the exceptional medical schools to learn from masters (Issa & Ali, 2010, p. 14).

1.5.3. Astronomy

The Andalusians established several observatories in several places and developed many astronomical instruments of high precision so as to make accurate observations and calculations of the orbs and celestial bodies (Ruiz, 2007, p. 48). Ruiz (2007) says:

They made tremendous contributions to the science of astronomy, particularly during the 10th century. Many of the bright stars are still known by a version of their Arabic name, such as Betelgeuse (fromYad al-jawza,or'Folower of the Pleiades') Suhail (from al-Suhail, translating as 'The plain') and Fomalhaut (from Fum al-Hut,or'Mouth of the fish')to name a few. However, the arabs were not always the first to name these stars as the ancient Egyptians, Greeks and Romans had also been active in this sphere (Ruiz, 2007, pp. 47-48).

One of the most prominent and talented Andalusian astronomers is called Abbas Ibn Firnas. He was born in Ronda (Malaga)during the reign of Abd al Rahman. Indeed, Firnas was multi-talented and so inventive. He designed and built a water clock, a mechanized planetarium with revolving planets, and an armillary sphere which is a model of the celestial globe constructed from rings and hoops representing the equator,

the tropics and other celestial circles and able to revolve on its axis (Ruiz, 2007, p. 48),(Greg, 2016).

1.5.4. Literature and Philosophy

The Andalusian Literature with its distinct genres of poetry and prose began to flourish during the 9th and 10th century.

Al Muwashaha or Moaxaja is one of the most famous Andalusian poetic styles developed by a blind Andalusian poet from Cordoba called El Cabri, he lived during the 9th century, this sort of Literature is based on poetic compositions formulated in classical Arabic, and one of the most famous examples of this poetic form is the poem of 'Lamma Bad Yatathanna' El Zejel is another Andalusian literary form which was developed from Al Muwashaha and which was written in the colloquial Arabic. Ruiz (2007) says: 'Zejel and the Moaxaja experienced their peak in popularity between the 11th and 13th centuries and they exist as the two major contributions of Al-Andalus to the field of poetry' (Ruiz, 2007, p. 52).

Philosophy was among the intellectual fields that the Andalusians gave a big importance, yet it was difficult to delve in such complicated domain. In the course of the 9th century the Andalusian thinkers and philosophers began to deal with the theological issues posed by the Greek philosophy and their substantial question was: How could logic and reason be reconciled with religion?

The Andalusian scholar Ibn Hazm Al Zahiri was one of the first philosophers who studied this problem in depth. He adopted some of the Arestotelian principles and notions and refused the others (Lunde, 2016). Lunde (2016) writes:

Ibn Hazm wrote a large number and detailed commentary on Aristotle's Posterior Analects, that Absolute work on logic. Ibn Hazm appears to have had no problem relating logic to fact, he gives illustrative examples of how it can Islam. In be used in solving problems drawn from the body of Islamic law. Nothing better illustrates the ability of Islam assimilate foreign ideas and acclimatize them than Ibn Hazm. Ibn Bajjah, whom scholaristic theologians called Avempace was another great Andalusian philosopher. But it was Averroes-Ibn Rushd- who earned the greatest reputation. He was an ardent Aristotelian his works had lasting effects in their Latin translation on the development of European Philosophy (Lunde, 2016).

1.5.5. The Religious Tolerance

Andalusia is considered by many historians as one of the best examples or eras in terms of tolerance and co-existence between the different races, ethnics, and religions such as, Islam, Judaism and Christianity. Indeed, Jews enjoyed their freedom under the Islamic rule. For instance, they were not compelled to change their faith or religion as they were not obliged to live in miserable places. Thus, many Jews and Christians adopted many things from the Islamic culture such as, learning Arabic, wearing Arab clothes, and taking Arab names. For those who did this, they were called the Mozarabs (Muslim Spain. 2009).

1.6. The Falcon of Quraish: Abdul Rahman Al Dakhil

Abdul Rahman I, more fully Abdul Rahman bin Muawiyah bin Hisham bin Abdul Malik bin Marwan bin Hakam. He was born in 731 in Damascus, Syria and died in 30 September 788 in Cordoba, Andalusia. Abdul Rahman was the founder of the Umayyad dynasty in Cordoba, Spain after the fall of the Umayyad Caliphate by the Abbasids in 750.

In Damascus, the majority of the Umayyads were executed or exiled. Only one young Umayyad managed and succeeded to escape from that massacre. Abdul Rahman began his legendary journey in the Northwestern part of Africa to gain help and aid, and since his mother was a Berber, so he found the necessary support in the Berber homeland (Alkhateeb, 2014, p.113).

Al Khateeb writes:

He finally found support for the Umayyad family in al-Andalus in 755. Here, he established himself as the ruler of an Umayyad state with Cordoba as its capital, politically separate from the Abbasidsbased in farway Baghdad. His journey from Syria to this distant western land gave him the nickname al-Dakhil, the immigrant. The Umayyad Emirate established by 'Abdul Rahman al-Dakhil became a cultural melting pot during the centuries after his rule (Alkhateeb, 2014, p. 113).

1.7. Conclusion

In fact, the Islamic civilization in Andalusia witnessed its golden age and reached its peak under the Umayyad Caliphate between the eighth and the tenth centuries. It was a real and perfect civilization with all the sense of the word, since it included and touched different fields of life such as economy, culture and religion. This chapter portrayed briefly the most important factors and conditions that led to the rise of the Andalusian Civilization.

After that period of strength and prosperity, many factors of weakness began to penetrate and to infiltrate into the body of the Andalusian State, shattering it into many small kingdoms or Taifas.

That division was the real and the actual beginning of the collapse of Andalusia.

Chapter Two The Fall and The Consequences

2.1. Introduction

One of the steady historical facts is that disunity was and remains the first reason behind the fall of the great empires. This chapter presents one of the most prominent examples of this fact which is the period of the Taifa kings in Andalusia. After the phase of the strength and the development, the Taifa's period came to tear the body of the Andalusian state and to mark the beginning of the end of the Islamic rule in Spain. This chapter explains in a brief and gradual way the phases of the fall with an analysis of the main reasons.

In the fall of 1492, Muslims witnessed the fall of Granada the last Islamic fortress in The Iberian Peninsula. Throughout the next centuries, Muslims would suffer from different sorts of torture, persecution, marginalization and ethnic cleansing. In its second part, this chapter sheds light on the dire consequences of the collapse.

2.2. The Taifa's Period

In the fall of 976, a young Umayyad child of 10 years old was appointed as the Caliph of Andalusia. Since he was too young and had no enough experience to lead, the reins of the government went to the advisor Al Mansur Ibn Abi Amer. Caliph Al Mansur ruled Andalusia for more than three decades, and Muslim troops reached the last point in the Iberian Peninsula. Nevertheless, one of the consequences of Al Mansur's authoritarian policies was the decay of the importance of the Caliph himself. After the death of Al Mansur in 1002, Andalusia was shaken by disunity, since many Muslim governors and military commanders rose to create independent provinces or Taifas throughout the Iberian Peninsula. This event declared the beginning of the Taifa's phase (Alkhateeb, 2013). Abdullah Ibn Bullugin says in his description of that period:

When the Amirid Dynasty of Al Mansur came to an end and the people were left without an imam (leader), every military commander role up in his own town and entrenched himself behind the walls of his own fortress, having first secured his own position created his own army and amassed his own resources. These persons vied with one another for worldly power, and each sought to subdue the other (Kennedy, 1996, p. 134).

The majority of the Taifa's rulers had neither the affiliation and the belonging to the ruling dynasty (Umayyad family) nor the right and the legitimacy in the governance, their only legitimacy was in their ability to military invade new territories. The largest cities of the Taifas were Granada, Malaga, Cordoba and Seville.

The kings of the Taifas descended from different origins, that diversity reflected obviously the Andalusian social structure. In the southern corner of Andalusia as in Cordoba, Zaragoza and Seville. Most of the Taifa rulers originated from rich Arab families while the other cities were governed by Berber rulers (Alkhateeb, 2013). Kennedy (1996) says: 'The rulers who

emerged in the 1010s and 1020s can be divided, roughly speaking, into four groups: Local Arab patrician families, old-established Berber chiefs, sagaliba leaders and newly arrived Berber soldiers' (Kennedy, 1996, p. 134).

This partition and division of Andalusia led to many conflicts and infightings between the Taifas. The Christian kingdoms of the north benefited from The Taifas's period. As the Muslim small kingdoms continued their fighting and battling against each other, the Christian kingdoms exploited the miserable circumstances of Muslims to advance towards the South and to invade Muslim lands; above all, in many cases, some of the Taifa rulers asked the Christian kings to fight with them against other Muslim states and that truly led to the loss of Muslim provinces during the 11th century.

In such desperate circumstances, the Taifa rulers appealed and requested Yusuf Ibn Tashfin, the leader of Al Murabitun in the late 11th century, to come and to stop the Christian expansion towards the South. Ibn Tashfin in his turn, responded to the call of the Andalusian leaders and he crossed the Straits for the first time in 1086 when the city or the Taifa of Seville was under the siege of Alfonso of Castille, who had already invaded the Muslim city of Toledo (Takkush, 2002, p. 256). Ruiz (2007) writes:

In desperation the Taifa kings requested help in 1086 from Almoravides in fighting against the Christian kings of Castile and Leon. The Almoravides were not only fervently religious, but were quite proficient in military tactics as well. The Christian were defeated and the Almoravides returned to Spain in 1090 to reconquer the land for themselves. This was accomplished within a year and al-Andalus was once again re-united, but only as a province administered by governors sent forth by Almoravid Emir of Marrakesh (Ruiz, 2007, p. 20).

After the great help and assistance provided by Almoravides, the Taifa leaders returned again to the conspiracies, disputes, and conflicts. This dire situation pushed Yusuf Ibn Tshfin to cross the Strait for the second time in 1080, and for the third time in 1090 to re-unite Andalusia and to add it to Almoravide' state, supported by a set of Muslim scholars such as Abu Hamed Al Ghazali and Abu Bakr Al Tartushi, Ibn Tashfin began to overthrow the Taifa rulers one after the other. In spite of the fact that Almoravides were never ready or able to recapture any territory that was lost during the Taifa's period, nevertheless they could stop or slow the advance of the Christian armies in the South, which postponed the collapse of Andalusia for more than 400 years (Suwaidan, 2005,pp.294-295), (Takkush, 2005, pp. 258-259).

2.3. The Last Muslim Dynasty

The last Islamic Taifa in the Iberian Peninsula was the Nasryd's dynasty of Granada, it has always captivated the historians since it provides a vivid example about the struggle for the survival. This kingdom withstood and resisted for more than two centuries and half, and

it became the last fortress of Muslims in Spain despite the internal conflicts and the frequent attacks of the Christian armies (Hattstein, 2011).

At its beginning the Nasryd dynasty exploited and benefited a lot from the fall of Al Mohads in 1229. In the fall of 1232, Mohammed Ibn Yusuf Ibn Nasr established the last Muslim kingdom in the Iberian Peninsula known as the Nasryds. Ibn Nasr was born in 1195 in Jaen to the Banu Nasr, and because of his red hair he was called Al-Ahmar. The slogan of the Nasryds was' Wa la ghalib illa Allah' which means 'There is no conqueror but Allah'. Ibn Nasr not only established the last Muslim dynasty in the Iberian Peninsula, but he also started the construction of the castle of Alhambra six years later, their famous slogan was eternalized throughout the castle (Alkhateeb, 2014, p. 126), (Ruiz, 2007, p. 21). Najeebabadi (2001) writes: 'Ibn Al Ahmar laid the foundation of Al Hamra Palace in Granada, which is still considered as one of Seven Wonders of the Worldand a relic of the declining years of Muslim grandeur. However, it bears no comparison with the Zahra Palace of Cordoba, which was pulled down by the Christians' (Najeebabadi, 2001, pp. 197-198).

By the end of the year1240, The Nasryds' state extended along the coast from Murcia(north of Almeria) to Tarifa including seven provinces, Malaga, Cadiz, Seville, Cordoba, Jaen, Almeria and Granada. For the purpose of maintaining the city of Granada. Al-Ahmar conspired and collaborated with the Christians against Muslims. In 1248, he sent military troops to the Christian side to help the king of Castile to invade Seville.

As a matter of fact, the conspiracies and the defeatism among the rest of Muslim kingdoms brought them down one after the other just like the Taifas of the 11th century. Cordoba fell to the Christians in 1236, Jaen in 1246, and Seville in 1248. By the mid of the 13th century all the Andalusian provinces became a part of the Christian empire except the kingdom of Granada that included Malaga and Almeria. Granada withstood and survived for more than 200 years, with a population estimated at 300.000 (Ruiz, 2007, p. 22). Najeebabadi (2001) says:

The entire Islamic Spain came back under the control of Yusuf Ibn Tashfin, and the state of anarchy ended. Spain was ruled by Yusuf ibn Tashfin, king of the Almoravid's Viceroy and Governor The strife-torn country of Spain which was about to go to the Christian fold, was saved by a Muslim king. All hopes entertained by the Christians of taking back Spain were dashed to the ground. Although the Christians were in the northern areas of the Peninsula, a large part of the populated and fertile area was under Muslim rule. Muqtadi Biamrillah, the Caliph of Baghdad sent him a garment and a standard and conferred on him The title of 'Amir-ul Muslimin' (Najeebabadi, 2001, p. 179).

2.4. Granada-The Last Muslim Stronghold in The Iberian Peninsula

By paying heavy tributes to the Christian king, Granada succeeded to withstand and to resist against the Christian tide until the end of the 15th century. In fact, refugees of the other Andalusian kingdoms that had fallen to the Christians contributed effectively in the development and the prosperity of Granada. One can say that Granada witnessed its golden age between the 13th and the end of the 14th centuries (Ruiz, 2007, p. 22).

In fact, the fall of Granada became eminent through the increasing power and strength of the Christian kingdoms as through the internal quarrels about the legacy and the succession among the members of the ruling family (Watt, 2001, p. 149).

The desire of the invasion and the conquest of Granada traced back to the year 1469, when Ferdinand the king of Aragon married with the queen of Castille, this marriage assembled and united two of the most powerful Christian kingdoms in Spain. With a unified Christian kingdom Ferdinand and Isabella worked so hard and focused their sight on eliminating and erasing the last Muslim kingdom in the Iberian Peninsula. Watt (2001) says:'This strength was very much increased by the union of Aragon and Castile through the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella. Isabella ascending the throne of Castile in 1474 and Ferdinand that of Aragon in 1479 (Watt & Cahia, 2001, p. 149).

In the fall of 1482, the war started between the Christian kingdom of Ferdinand and Isabella and the Islamic kingdom of Granada. Although the Muslims of Granada were in a very weak position, but they fought valiantly and bravely to protect their lands. One Spanish historian expressed his high appreciation and respect for the Granadan troops'The moors (Muslims put all their strength and all their heart in the battle, as a brave man will undoubtedly do while defending his life, his wife, and his family'.

During the war, Granada experienced many political changes. Muslim kings and governors began to put the plans to overthrow each other, and some of them conspired secretly and covertly with the Christians in return for riches, land, and power. More awful than that, in 1483 when the Christian troops began to attack from the outside,

Mohammed the son of the king of Granada sparked a civil war between Muslims when he declared his rebellion against his father (Alkhateeb, 2013).

Alkhateeb writes: 'Muhammed's leadership only added to the woes of Granada; the Christians captured him in 1486, and during his captivity his father was able to retake the throne. After being held captive for a year, Muhammed was released upon his pledge of allegiance to the Christian state. With arms and soldiers supplied by the Christians he managed to establish himself once again as the Emir of Granada' (Alkhateeb, 2014, p.127).

After the overthrow of his father and after he became the real ruler of Granada, Mohammed was sent a letter by the king Ferdinand who asked him to surrender the city of Granada. Mohammed was shocked and astonished by his request as Ferdinand promised him that he would be allowed to ascend the throne of Granada with Ferdinand's help. At that Mohammed realized that he was used by the Christians to weaken the last Andalusian fort (Alkhateeb, 2013).

Watt and Cachia write: In this way he(Ferdinand) managed to capture Ronda (1485) and Malaga (1487) in the West and then Almeria (1489) in the East. The final campaign against Granada was launched in 1491, and before the end of the year the defenders had recognized the hopelessness of their position and agreed to surrender' (Watt & Cachia, 2001, p. 150).

After the fall of Granada in November 1491, Mohammed Abu Abdullah was forced to sign a peace treaty with Ferdinand. The historian Najeebabadi (2001) mentioned some of the items and the conditions of the peace treaty with the Christians:

- 1-The Muslims will enjoy the liberty of either living in the country or living it.No harm will be caused to the life and prosperity of any Muslim.
- 2-The Christians will not seek to interfere in religious affairs of the Muslims.
- 3-No Muslim will intrude into mosques.
- 4-Mosques and trusts will remain intact.
- 5-Muslim affairs will be decided by Muslim judges according to the codes of Shariah.
- 6-Prisoners on both sides will be set free.
- 7-A Muslim intending to go to Africa will be sent on board ship.
- 8-The converted Christians will not be forced to abandon Islam.
- 9-The spoils of war possessed by Muslims will not be recovered.
- 10-No tax other than the existing ones will be levied on the Muslims.
- 11-No tax will be realized from the Muslims for a period of three years; they will also remain exempt from the existing tax for this period.
- 12-The government of Al-Bashrat will be handed over the Sultan Abu Abdullah.
- 13-After sixty days from the signing of the treaty Al-Hamra Palace and the artillery and other means of warfare, which it contains, will be given to the Christians.
- 14-Within sixty day from signing, the treaty will be completed with all its conditions.

15-Granada city will be left free for one year. After one year the Christians will capture it fulfilling the conditions mentioned above (Najeebabadi, 2001, pp. 216-217).

After the capture of Granada in the 2nd of January,1492, the Christian king Ferdinand broke all the promises and the conditions mentioned in the peace treaty. At that morning, the Christian soldiers seized the palace of Al Hamra, they hung the Christian flags over the mosques, and at the highest point of Al Hamra which was the tallest building in the city they erected a giant silver cross, signifying their victory. The last king of Granada Mohammed Abu Abdullah was banished and in his way out of Granada he stopped at the top of a small hill, he turned towards Granada and he bursts into tears, his mother was unaffected with his sudden regret and she reprimanded him saying: 'When you could not save your country despite being a brave soldier what is the use of shedding tears like woman now?' or she told him:' Do not cry like a woman for that which you could not defend as a man' (Najeebabadi, 2001, p. 217), (Alkhateeb, 2013).

2.5. After The Fall of Granada

As the Reconquest of Spain by the Christians progressed through the 11th to the 15th centuries, Spain's Muslims became a marginalized group. In the fall of 1492, when the last Muslim stronghold, Granada, fell, Spain's Muslims faced a new reality started by the Christianization and ended by the final expulsion of the Muslims (Alkhateeb, 2012).

2.5.1. The Christianization

Soon after the fall of Granada, the Christian policy towards the rest of Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula was brutal, cruel, and unfair. In the fall of 1492, the members of Muslims was estimated at 500.000 throughout the Peninsula. The first priority of the Christian Church was to convert all of them to Christianity, in order to erase any trace of the Islamic religion from Andalusia.

In the year 1499, the Christian cardinal Francisco Jimenez was sent on a mission to the southern part of Andalusia to accelerate the process of Christianization, his method was to pester Muslims until they change their religion. All the books and the original copies written in Arabic were burned. The Muslims who rejected to embrace Christianity were brutally sent to the jails, they were tormented and tortured and had all their properties appropriated and confiscated in an attempt to persuade them to leave their religion. The historian Najeebabadi says:' A general order was issued in 904 A.H., to confess Christianity or face death, with the result that the Muslims escaped to the hills and accepted a miserable life instead of renouncing Islam. Some of the Christians who had already converted to Islam were baptized. But, they, however, kept sticking to Islam and worshiped Allah inside their houses (Najeebabadi, 2001, p. 218). In 1502, the king Ferdinand and Isabella issued a decree which included that all the Muslims had to embrace Christianity, leave Spain, or die(Ruiz, 2007, p. 24).

2.5.2. The Inquisitions

The inquisition is an organization in the Roman Catholic Church in the part that was responsible for finding and punishing people who did not accept its beliefs and practices. The first mission of the Spanish inquisitions was to torture, kill and burn all the Muslims who refused to be Christians. In the year 1566, the Christian authority in Spain imposed a set of strict confinements on the Muslims to ensure that they were not still covertly practicing the teachings of Islam, which numerous were obviously doing. Muslims were obliged to leave the doors of their homes open on Thursday evenings and Friday mornings, so the inquisitors and the Christian soldiers can enter in order to make sure that they were not showering, as the Muslims should do before the congregational prayer of Friday (Zaimeche, 2004, p. 14),(Alkhateeb, 2012).

Salah Zaimeche (2004) writes:

introduced on 25 May1566 stipulated that 'the moors had to abandon the use of Arabic, change their customs, that their doors must remain open every Friday and other feast days, and (of course) that their baths, public and private, will be torn down. Doors and windows were to be left open on Friday and Islamic feast days to watch in case they prayed. The possession of books or paper in Arabic was almost conclusive proof of disobedience with severe repercussions. Muslims in their countless numbers, were burnt at the stake of pursuing the observance of their faith. Over the period beginning in 1549. the inquisitions of Saragossa alone had burnt 1817 men and women (Zaimeche, 2004, pp. 14-15). 758

2.5.3. The Expulsion

In the year 1609, the Christian king of Spain issued a decree expelling all the Muslims from Spain. They (the Andalusians) were given only three days to completely leave and quit The Iberian Peninsula. Amid this time, they were continually pestered and persecuted by the Christians, who would plunder their possessions and who would kidnap their kids to raise as Christians. By 1614, the last batch or the last group

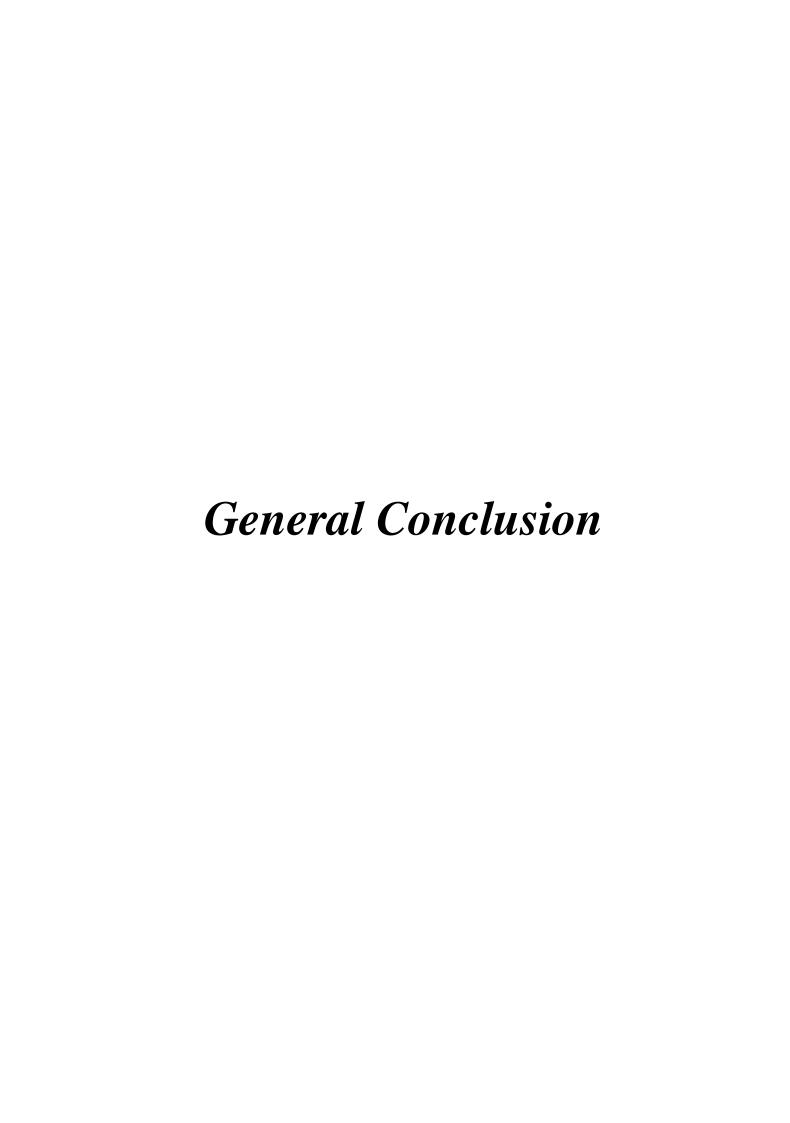
of Muslims left Andalusia towards the North of Africa, and thus, Islam disappeared from the Iberian Peninsula (Ruiz, 2007, p. 25; Alkhateeb, 2012).

Anna Ruiz describes the last expulsion of the Muslims from the Iberian Peninsula saying:' During the beginning of the 17th century an estimated 7500 Moriscos lived in Seville, more than any other city in the country. Within five years after king Felipe ordered the expulsion of all Moriscos, Jews and Gypsies, an estimated 300.000 Moriscos left Spain, mostly fleeing to Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia (Ruiz, 2007, p. 25).

2.6. Conclusion

Unlike the Christian kingdoms that united under one banner during the 15th century, this second chapter gives some examples about the frequent betrayals of the Andalusian rulers, as well as their alliances with the Christians against each other which were the main reasons behind the fall of the Andalusian cities one after the other. This chapter also shows the dire and the terrible consequences of the fall of Andalusia.

After the loss of Granada, the last stronghold of Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula, the rest of Muslims witnessed one of the worst and most terrible periods throughout the human history. That dark period began by the abusive practices against Muslims, passing by the Spanish inquisitions and ending by the expulsion.



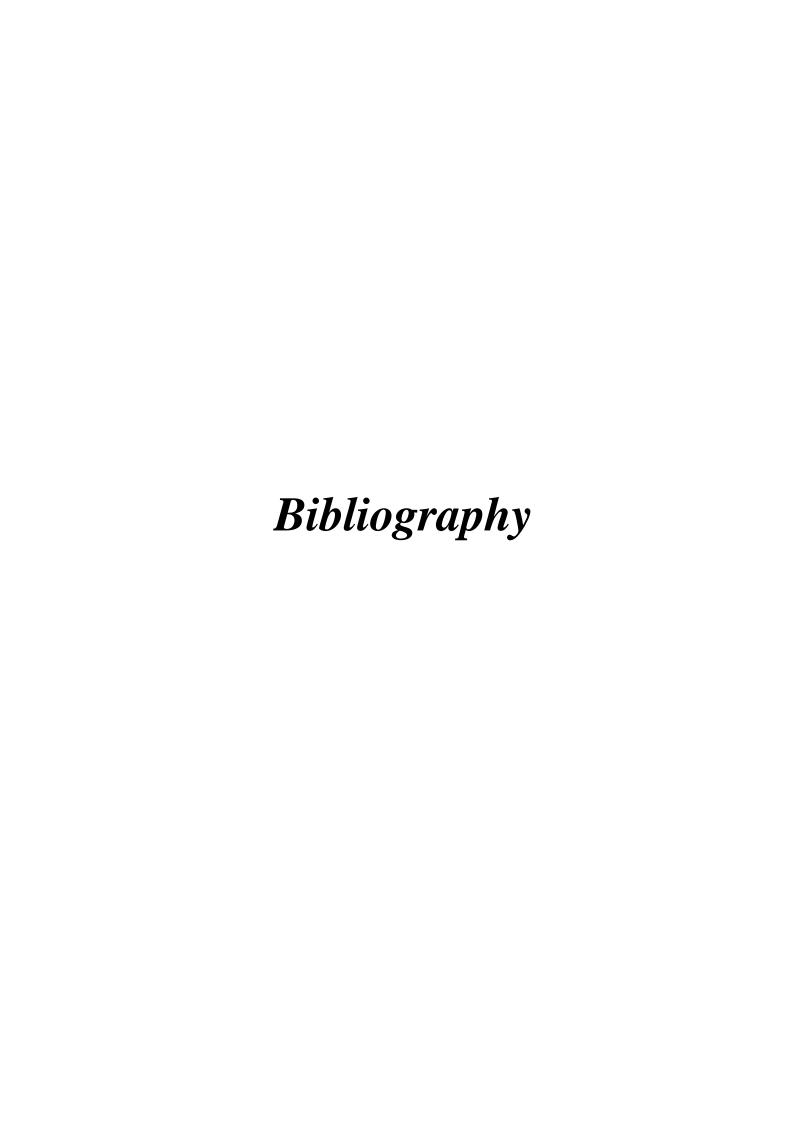
General Conclusion

It is said that the hills of El Pujarra around Granada still weep for the sound of the call for prayer (adhan) every morning and the mosque of Cordoba stays awake all night waiting for the sajda (prostration) of a single Muslim. After the passage of more than five hundred years since the fall of Granada, the pearl of Andalusia and the last fortress of Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula. Muslims around the world still have nostalgia to that lost paradise. In fact, Andalusia is depicted and portrayed from the viewpoint of the majority of the historians as a beacon or as a fertile ground for producing the great scientific, cultural, and esthetic achievements that represented the foundation stone of the European renaissance. Nevertheless, the miserable and regrettable status of Muslims nowadays may push many people to find it bizarre or hard to believe that there was a time in the middle ages when the capital of Andalusia Cordoba was the center of civilization while the European continent was living in the 'Dark Ages'

Along its eight centuries of existence, Andalusia was exposed to a set of internal and external factors of weakness that infiltrated into the body of the Andalusian state making it an easy prey to the Christian neighboring kingdom. Unlike the Christian kingdoms that united under one banner during the 15th century, the frequent betrayals and conspiracies of the Andalusian rulers, the shameful and disgraceful alliances with the Christians against each other, as well as the repeated campaigns of the Christian troops against the Muslim strongholds were the most prominent factors behind the downfall of Andalusia.

After the loss of Granada the last refuge of Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula, the rest of Muslims witnessed one of the most terrible periods throughout the human history. That dark period began by the compulsory Christianization and the abusive practices against Muslims, passing by the Spanish inquisitions, and ending by the final expulsion of Muslims. By the beginning of the 17th century the last batch of Muslims left Spain heading to the north of Africa and the curtain fell on Muslim Andalusia.

In fact, the study of history gives us wide chances to get better understanding of our past experiences to count on the great accomplishments and avoid the horrific and terrible mistakes. The rich history of the Andalusian state may widely open the doors for the researchers to make further comparisons and projections on our contemporary reality.



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