

Political Tension And The Beginnings Of Philosophical Thought In Andalusia During The Era Of The Emirate 138 AH / 755 AD - 316 AH / 928 AD

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Abstract

This paper deals with the beginnings of philosophy in Andalusia in terms of its relationship with the Islamic East where Arab Islamic philosophy emerged through internal and external factors related to this civilization. It also deals with the relationship of philosophy with the political situation in Andalusia during the period of the Umayyad Emirate, and its relationship also to the Umayyad doctrine Jabriyyah, and to the Maliki school of thought which became the official doctrine of the Emirate. This paper also attempts to prove the relationship between these topics and their impact on the nature of philosophy in Andalusia in terms of form and content.

Keywords: Andalusia, Islamic philosophy, Qadariyya, Jabriyya

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1. Introduction

The Arab-Islamic control of Andalusia began in 92 AH / 711 AD, under the leadership of Tariq ibn Ziyād and Mūsa ibn Nuṣayr at the time of the Umayyad Caliph al-Walīd ibn ‘abd al-Malik (86 AH/ 705 AD- 96 AH/ 715 AD) [al-Maqqari, 1968, vol.1, p. 223; Ibn al-Qūtiyya, 1989, p. 33; al-Ḥumaydī, 2008, p. 23]. A control that prevailed for several centuries where multiple states appeared, had their portion of development and regression and contributed to the enrichment of human heritage in all fields whether arts, literature, architecture or philosophy, which were in their entirety a true expression of Arab-Islamic civilization.

Philosophy has had a long story in the Islamic history. It began to form and develop as a result of Muslim Arabs' interaction with the neighboring nations and the translation of the Greek heritage in particular into Arabic. This was due to political reasons related to the Caliphate, and also due to religious reasons which expressed the needs of that civilization. Muslims had the need to understand the Greek philosophy especially Aristotle's Dialectic when dealing with followers of other faiths [Amin, 2012, vol.1, p. 340]. Moreover, the proximity of Harran and Gundeshapur, and Muslims' intermingling with Syriac residents of those and other regions in the Fertile Crescent had a great impact on translating the Greek philosophical books both from Greek and Syriac into Arabic, and also on spreading the philosophical thought within the Islamic civilization [De Boer, 2013, p. 22-23].

Such developments took place during the first Abbasid era after the fall of the Umayyads in 132 AH/ 750 AD. Later, after their demise in the East, the Umayyads would establish an autonomous authority in the West in Andalusia which was an epicenter of internal political tensions due to its various social structure. Despite the political detachment, the Andalusians would not distance themselves from the center of the Islamic civilization in the Levant which led various intellectual and scientific developments, including philosophy, to take place in Andalusia with a relevant contribution of its residents which was a reflection of the totality of that civilization and the specificity of the Andalusian case especially at the political level and in particular during the Emirate period (138 AH/ 755 AD- 316 AH/ 928 AD).

2. The internal political tension in Andalusia during the Emirate period

The Umayyad rule of Andalusia began in 138 AH/ 756 AD when Emir Abd al-Rahman ibn Mu'awiya ibn Hisham ibn Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan, surnamed al-Dakhil (=the Entrant), managed to flee the Abbasids to Andalusia. Taking advantage of the turbulent conditions ignited by the tribal conflicts, he also managed to mobilize the Yemenite tribes disaffected with the Mudar tribes who had assumed power in the Iberian Peninsula [Akhbār al-Majmou‘a, 1989, p. 68- 83;; al-Ḥumaydī, 1989, p. 28- 30; Ibn al-Qūtiyya, 1989, p. 45-51; Ibn Abd Rabbih, 1999, vol.4, p. 459- 460; Ibn Idhari, 2013, vol.2, p. 53-56]. Throughout his reign, he continued to strengthen his power in the face of internal and external dangers, until his death in 172 AH/ 788 AD [Anan, 1997, vol.1.1, p. 192; al-Ameri, 2014, pp. 61-62].

His son Hisham assumed power in 172 AH/ 788 AD. His term was full of turmoil. He faced a number of internal uprisings and external challenges [Ibn Abd Rabbih, 1999, vol.4, p. 461; Ibn Idhari, 2013, vol.1, pp. 73-77]. Then in 180 AH/ 796 AD, Hisham's son, al-Hakam bin Hisham, took power a few days following his father's death. His days also witnessed a lot of strife and wars the most serious of which was in al-Rabad (=Arrabal) Region of Cordoba in 190 AH/ 805 AD [Ibn Idhari, 2013, vol.2, p. 85; Ibn al-Athir, n. d., vol.5, pp. 337- 338. N.B. Ibn al-Athir dates the incidents in 190 AH] and in 202 AH/ 818 AD. It is worth noting that the Fuqaha' (Islamic jurists) where the ones who ignited the revolt [al-Maqqari, 1968, vol.1, p. 339; Akhbār al-Majmou'a, 1989, p. 118-119; Ibn al-Qūtiyya, 1989, p. 68; Ibn Idhari, 2013, vol.2, p. 89; Ibn al-Athir, n. d., vol.5, p. 405- 406]

It is noted that the external revolts at the time of Abd al-Rahman al-Dakhil were by loyalists of the old regime against the new one. They were a continuation of a regime based on tribal fanaticism and ethnic racism most of which were of Arab tribes such as Yousef al-Fahri's revolt in 141 AH/ 757 AD [Akhbār al-Majmou'a, 1989, pp. 88-91, Ibn Idhari, 2013, 2., pp. 58- 59;] and the revolts of the Yemenites who used to be his allies but later some of them, led by al-'Ala' bin Mughith al-Yahsubi and supported by the Abbassids, wanted to overthrow him in 146 AH/ 758 AD [Akhbār al-Majmou'a, 1989, p. 93- 96; Ibn Khaldun, 2000, vol.4, p. 157; Ibn Idhari, 2013, vol.2, p. 61- 63]. It seems that the Yemenites' revolts were sensing the danger of Abd al-Rahman's internal policies which were drifting away from tribal fanaticism and seeking to establish a state based more on a kind of special fanaticism of the ruler [Na'ni, n.d., p. 159]. The numerous Arab tribal internal revolts resulted in forming an army that relied mainly on Mawali and Berbers [al-Maqqari, 1968, vol.1, p. 333; Ibn Khaldun, 2000, vol.4, p. 158].

At the time of Abd al-Rahman al-Dakhil Berbers were not in a better condition than the Arabs specially since the two ethnic groups had a rivalry. Berbers staged several revolt the most dangerous of which was Shaqna or Shaqya Abd al-Wahid's who was a teacher in Northeastern Andalusia, originally from the Berbers of Miknasa, and claimed to be a descendant of Al-Hussein bin Ali bin Abi Talib. His revolt lasted from 150 AH/ 768 AD to 160 AH/ 777AD [Anan, 1997, vol.1.1., pp. 165- 167].

It seems that this fanaticism fueled the competition within the Umayyads which led to rift the ruling family. The signs of this rift appeared in al-Dakhil's time upon discovering two conspiracies: the first one [Akhbār al-Majmou'a, 1989, p. 99- 100] was in 163 AH/ 779 AD led by his nephew (his brother's son) Ubaid Allah bin Aban, and the second was in 168 AH/ 784 AD led by his other nephew (his sister's son) al-Mughira bin Walid bin Mu'awiya supported by some of the Qaisiya tribes' leaders. The blood ties would not intercede for al-Mughira as al-Dakhil killed him along with the other conspirators [Akhbār al-Majmou'a, 1989, p. 105; Ibn Idhari, 2013, vol.2, p. 68].

The successors of Abd al-Rahman ibn Muawiyah were not free of similar challenges. During his regin (172 AH/ 788 AD- 180 AH/ 796 AD) Hisham bin Abd al- Rahman fought several wars against Arab tribes and Berbers. He also entered with his older brother Sulaiman a conflict over power that eventually resulted in him leaving Andalusia for Morocco [al-Maqqari, 1968, vol.1, p. 337; Ibn Khaldun, 2000, vol.4, p. 159- 160; Ibn Idhari, 2013, vol.2, p. 74]. The conflict was fueled by the tendencies of various parties in Andalusia: Sulaiman was supported by the Arabs known as Shamiyyin (=Levantines) in Andalusia while Hisham got the support of most of the other ethnic groups the majority of which were not Arabs [Ibn Idhari, 2013, vol.2, p. 73]. This does not mean though that the conflict reflected upon the ruling family, rather it expresses the convergence of interests between some individuals within the ruling family and some of the competing streams.

These conflicts were an extension of the Andalusian social structure prior to the era of the emirate and it lasted for many centuries. Al-Hakam bin Hisham for example fought against these streams such as the Berbers who revolted in 182 AH/ 798 AD- 184 AH/ 800 AD with al-Hakam's uncle, Sulaiman, who had returned from Morocow upon Hisham's death [Ibn Idhari, 2013, vol.2, p. 85; Ibn al-Athir, n.d., vol.5, p.308], and participated also in Asbagh bin Abdullah al-Miknasi's revolt in Mérida in 190 AH/ 806 AD which lasted seven years [Ibn Idhari, 2013, vol.2, p. 85]. There was also the Berber's revolt in Morón in 200 AH/ 816 AD [Ibn al-Athir, n.d., pp. 417-418]. Arabs also took part in the revolt of al-Hakam's uncle Abdullah al-Balansy bin Abd al-Rahman (d. 208 AH/ 823 AD) [Ibn al-Athir, n.d., vol.5, p. 312]. Moreover, other streams were beginning to form pausing a serious threat on the Umayyad state namely the Muladí (the indigenous Andalusians who had converted to Islam [Provençal, 2000, p. 80] who revolted in the Upper March and took over Zaragoza in 181 AH/ 791 AD and once more in Toledo under different leadership the same year [Ibn al-Qūtiyya, 1989, p. 64-65; Ibn Idhari, 2013, vol.2, p. 82; Ibn al-Athir, n.d., vol.5, p. 305].

The most dangerous thing that took place during al-Rabadi reign was the revolts that assumed a purely religious nature such as al-Rabad revolts in 190 AH/ 805 AD and 202 AH/ 818 AD which were ignited by the Fuqaha'. In

fact the clergy had begun to interfere with the Umayyad politics in Andalusia to a large extent which alarmed the rulers. There began to appear also religious sects looking for a foothold in Andalusia particularly the Kharijites in Morón in 200 AH/ 816 AD, and in Algeciras [Ibn al-Qūtiyya, 1989, pp. 67-68. NB. Ibn al-Qūtiyya is the only one to mention this event yet he doesn't specify its date, rather he mentions it taking place between the events of Toledo and the battle of Rabad, i.e. between 199 AH/ 815 AD- 202 AH/ 818 AD. Ibn Idhari mentions that the year 201 AH/ 817 AD was not eventful, therefore it's probable that the incident in question took place in 200 AH/ 816 AD coinciding with the emergence of the Kharijites in Morón as well]

The successor caliphs witnessed the same streams their predecessors did. During the reign of Abd al-Rahman II (206 AH/ 821 AD- 238 AH/ 852 AD) a war broke between the Mudarites and the Yamanites that lasted for several years from 207 AH/ 823 AD to 213 AH/ 829 AD [Ibn Idhari, 2013 vol.2, pp. 93- 96; Ibn al-Athir,n.d., vol.5, pp. 457-458]. Abd al-Rahman II also faced some of the Berber's revolts in southern Andalusia in 211 AH/ 826 AD and in 236 AH/ 850 AD [Salem, 1962, p. 230- 231]. In a dangerous move in 226 AH/ 241 AD, the Berbers allied with the Muladí in Mérida which ignited a revolt that lasted from 213 AH/ 828 AD to 219 AH/ 834 AD [Provençal, 2000, p. 178- 179]. The Muladí also made a dangerous move in 226 AH/ 241 AD in northern Andalusia under the leadership of Musa bin Musa who comes from a family with origins tracing back to Spanish nobles [Anan, 1997, vol. 1, pp. 259- 260].

The challenges that Abd al-Rahman II's sons, prince Mohammad I (238 AH/ 852 AD- 273 AH/ 886 AD), and his sons al- Munthir (273 AH/ 886 AD- 275 AH/ 888 AD) and Abdullah bin Mohammad (275 AH/ 888 AD- 300 AH/ 912 AD) were the same that their predecessors faced [Asidu, 2002, p. 259].

3. Umayyad's Ideology and religious policy

It is not possible to understand the Umayyads ideology in Andalusia without first understanding their ideology during their reign in the East particularly concerning beliefs origins especially that those origins were not separated from politics during the first centuries of Islam. Politics actually had a great influence on the issues of Islamic sects; in fact the emergence of the Islamic sects were related to the axis of politics in Islam which is the caliphate (In his *Kitāb al-Milal wa al-Nihal*, al-Shahrastani describes the caliphate as the " greatest dispute among Muslims" [al-Shhrastani, 1986, vol.1, p. 24].

In their quest to preserve and legitimize their caliphate, the Umayyads embraced the doctrine of Jabriyah (=predestination) since the time of Muawiyah ibn Abi Sufyan (41 AH/ 661AD- 60 AH/681AD), although its roots trace back to the Umayyad Caliph Uthman ibn Affan's (23 AH/644AD- 35AH/656AD, one of the Rāshidūn (=Rightly Guided Caliphs)) way of addressing his adversaries. The Umayyad caliphs exploited the doctrine of Jabriyah to justify their being appointed by Allah, that their caliphate was predestined by Allah, and that any rebellion against their rule is a rebellion against the will of Allah Himself [al-Shar'a, 2021- 2022, pp. 20; 78-79].

This doctrine prompted the Umayyads to sense the danger of it's opponents especially the Qadarites. In fact in 106 AH/ 724 AD, Hisham bin Abd al-Malik crucified Ghaylan al-Dimashqi one of Qadariyyah's most prominent theorists after an ostensible debate about the subject of Qadar in Islam with the Islamic jurist al-Awza'i [Ibn 'Asaker, 1997, vol.48, p. 209- 210]. Al-Awza'i's take on this subject was simple as he proved the existence of Qadar and wasn't delving into these issues preferring to avoid disputes following the steps of the Salaf (=ancestors) [al-Ashqar, 2005, pp. 79-80; Amin, 2012, vol.2, p. 457].

This school of thought found its way to Andalusia during Abd al-Rahman al-Dakhil's reign [al-Ḥumaydī, 2008, p. 350; Ibn al-Fardi, 2008, vol.1, p. 278]. Then during Hisham bin Abd al-Rahman's reign, Imam Malik's school of thought began to emerge [Ibn al-Qūtiyya, 1989, pp. 62-63]. Hisham also won over the jurists who used to be Malik's students [Palencia, 1955, p. 418]. Anan argues that the Umayyads adopted Malik's school due to the common hatred towards the Abbasids [Anan, 1997, vol.1.1, p. 229]. Moreover, adopting Maliki school of thought would provide the Umayyads with an independent doctrinal form that would enhance their political independence from the Abbasid Caliphate [al-Kubaisi, 2004, p. 48].

The Maliki school of thought had the support of the Umayyads to the extent that many of the high positions were restricted exclusively to its followers which increased the number of people converting to it [al-Maqqari, 1968, vol.2, p. 10]. It is not reasonable, therefore, what Ibn Khaldun argues that Moroccans and Andalusians embraced Maliki thought due to their similarity to Bedouins [Ibn Khaldun, 2001, vol.1, p. 568] since most of them weren't actually Bedouins and whoever of them had had Bedouin origins, adopted rural or civil lifestyles. So, the political reasons of converting to Maliki in this case are more reasonable, in addition to the fact that the political authority needed to unite the different political and social streams under a single religious doctrine that would

mitigate the underlying conflicts, especially since the intellectual life in Andalusia was not influenced by foreign influences as the intellectual life in the East did.

Perhaps what made the Umayyads adopt Malik's doctrine is that his opinion of Qadar is close to theirs [Malik, n.d., pp. 502-503], and it is also a doctrine that relies heavily on the Qur'an and Sunnah, especially since its emergence was in Medina, a city that constitutes an important symbolism for Muslims.

Malik also argues the inadmissibility of revolting against the just ruler, and impartiality when revolting against the unjust imam [Rabba', 2004, p. 185]

The Andalusian Umayyads' belief in Jabriyyah was very apparent through their discourses. For instance, we notice it clear in Abd al-Rahman al-Dakhil's poetry [Anan, 1997, vol.1.1, p. 202] as in: "wa maqādiru balaghat wa hāla hā'ilu" (personal translation: "Fate" wanted the situation to be catastrophic, and obstacles stood against unity and strength).

Al-Dakhil decided that the punishments he imposed were predestined by Allah, and he considered his reign to be a gift from Allah [al-Maqqari, 1968, vol.3, pp. 39; 46]. Perhaps one of the most famous documents from which the Umayyad doctrine of Jabriyyah is inferred is the document issued by al-Hakam al-Rabadi after exterminating the Rabad Revolt in which he affirms that his authority was an act of Allah, and that the Rabdis' claim of power was not predestined by Allah, and, finally, that oppressing and killing them is a predestined punishment by Allah [Anan, 1997, vol.1.1, pp. 245- 246]. By that political document he justifies his actions and legitimizes his power as an act of Allah. We find also that some of the Umayyad Emirs inscribed what implies this notion on their official seals. Abd al-Rahman II's seal, for example, had the phrase "Abd al-Rahman is pleased by the act of Allah" inscribed on his seal [Ibn Idhari, 1997, vol.2, p. 94]. He saw himself as a savior for Muslims by the will of Allah, and was also given the title "Amin Allah" (=Allah's entrusted) [Tārīkh al-Andalus, 2007, p. 186; 187].

Umayyads faced a lot of movements and revolts threatening their authority that they had to confront them by means of force and resourcefulness and pragmatic measures. This was also one of the reasons that prompted them to embrace the Jabriyyah since it also legitimize their Emirate's independence from the center of the Caliphate. In order to consolidate their authority, they wanted to ally with the jurists to appear as just rulers and to gain the people's support.

5. The emergence of Islamic philosophy in the East

Before the Islamic conquest, the Fertile Crescent was an ancient and advanced Christian civilization center, and it was a platform of heated debates on various theological issues concerning the nature of Jesus Christ [Hourani, 1997, p. 41; Hitti, n.d., vol.1, p. 410], and discussions between Syrian Christians and Armenians about the notion of good and evil as many book titles mentioned in various indexes still indicate [Gardet and Qanawati, 1967, vol.1, p.58]. The Jacobites and the Nestorians in particular continued to study Greek philosophy especially Aristotle's works, even after the Islamic conquest of those regions, since the conquerors were not targeting them so they continued their studies throughout the Umayyad era [Mazhar, 2017, p. 24].

Muslims had been early influenced on by their neighbors, so they began to employ philosophical arguments in their discussions with the neighboring followers of other religions [Amin, 2012, vol.1, p.340]. They also employed those arguments and their knowledge of multiple ancient Greek philosophical schools to refute each other and to formulate doctrines opposing the authority such as Jahm bin Safwan's (d. 128 AH/ 745 AD) doctrine [al-Shra'a, 2021-2022, p. 70]. It seems that Muslims' influence by these religious arguments and debates that employ philosophy is not due to one single reason. In fact most of the figures thanks to whom Kalām (=Islamic theology) had begun to take shape had moral, religious, political and social dimensions [Murad, 2019, p. 24], in addition to some of the Emirs' personal interest in translating a few of the ancient works like the Umayyad Khaled bin Yazeed I (d. 90 AH/ 709 AD) for example [Ibn al-Nadim, 1971, p. 419].

The biggest activity of translation took place during the Abbasid era [De Boer, 2013, pp. 24-25]. It was big to the extent that Ibn Qutaybah (d. 276 AH/ 889 AD) complains in his *Adab al-Kātib* about people's demand on books of philosophy and logic although he had gifted his work to the vizir of al-Mutawakkil (232 AH/ 847 AD- 247 AH/ 861 AD) who declared war against the Mu'tazila and those involved in philosophy [Ibn Qutayah, 1989, pp. 9-12], which signals a contrast between philosophical and religious sciences.

This means that the intermingling with other cultures and translation had contributed to the emergence of the Islamic Kalām (=theology) which employed the philosophical arguments in its politico-religious debates. In other words, it wasn't pure philosophy. Nonetheless, the economic and social conditions during the third century AH, such as the disintegration of central feudalism, the flourishing of trade and cities, and the collapse of the

Abbasid ideology, contributed to philosophy gaining a relative independence from Kalām and dealing with less theological issues [Murawwa, 2008, vol.3, pp. 23-32]. The advancement of sciences also contributed the independence of philosophy [Saadyef and Salloum, 2000, p.16].

It should be noted that the Muslim sources of Greek philosophy were diverse and sometimes mixed with each other. Muslims began to study philosophy through the explanations of the Neoplatonic schools, so they confused their views with those of Aristotle. They also tried to reconcile the views of Aristotle and Plato, and reviewed pre-Socratic doctrines and later schools such as the Stoics [De Boer, 2013, pp. 28-34]. This contributed to making the Islamic philosophy a mixture of these doctrines, which was expressed by al-Kindi (d. 256 AH / 873 AD), the first Arab philosopher, in an unconscious way, as his philosophy was a mixture of the doctrines of Pythagoras, Pericles, Aristotle, Plato and Plotinus [Saadiyef and Salloum, 2000, p. 116]. It also contributed to making Islamic philosophy close to Gnostic mystical methods, especially in the doctrine of the origin of the beings from God, and the quest to reveal the divine secrets [Abu Rayyan, 1990, p. 79], which prompted Muslims to use interpretation and apply it to the Qur'an, something that would provoke the ire of Muslim clerics.

From the beginning, philosophy clashed with the clergy, which prompted al-Kindi to write a letter to the Abbasid Caliph al-Mu'tasim (218 AH/833AD - 227 AH/842AD), in which he defends philosophy and clarifies its status and topics, and responds to its critics among the clergy. He also indicates that his writing style is wary of them, as it's esoteric and contains a lot of double entendre [al-Kindi,1953, vol. 1, p. 25-36].

This indicates a principled and historical contradiction between philosophy and its tools and between conservative clergymen, something that will dominate the history of this relationship in different places, especially since Islamic philosophy was not independent of religion, as both were researching metaphysical topics, and Muslim philosophers have employed pagan philosophies in interpreting the world and its occurrence, and touched on religious topics such as prophecy, revelation and resurrection, which made the clash inevitable.

6. The arrival of philosophy to Andalusia

Perhaps, up to the present time, we have not come across any Andalusian sources indicating that Andalusia was indeed philosophy's hometown, and that philosophy had benefited even a little from the Spanish philosophers prior to the conquest. This is due to the deterioration of philosophical studies during the era of the Visigoths (418-720 AD) [Palencia, 1956, p. 323], which makes the thesis of the orientalist Reverend Asin Palacios somewhat correct till this day. He actually argues that the Andalusian philosophy is a matching image of the Islamic philosophy in the East [Guerrero, 1995, p. 13]. There is some truth in Palencia's argument that one of the reasons why Andalusian philosophy did not appear is the warlike temper of Arabs and Berbers, in addition to the decline of philosophy during the era of the Goths [Palencia, 1956, p.323]. However, Palencia's view is ethnological as a number of Andalusian philosophers were in fact descendants of Arabs and Berbers. Al-Kindi, for example, who was the first philosopher to appear in the Islamic civilization, was Arab. In addition, the geographical location of Andalusia on the outskirts of the Islamic Empire made it imperative for Muslims, during the first centuries at least, to have this warlike temper, especially since they are far from the center and close to their enemies, not to mention that the diverse composition of Muslims fueled the conflicts among them. Furthermore, no philosophical centers in Spain before the conquest survived the Christian religious fanaticism as in the case of Harran and Gondishapur, for example, in the East.

On the ideological level, the Umayyads' embrace of Jabriyah and forming alliances with the Maliki school and adopting it as a doctrine of state and society had a significant impact in hindering the growth of philosophy as an internal product or it gaining an outside acceptance, although there were a number of Umayyad princes who welcomed it [Alqam, 1988, p.53]. As a result, the Maliki had turned to a totalitarian school that used the violence of authority to fight against other schools of thought even if they were Sunnis such as the Shafi's and the Hanafi's [al-Maqdisi, 1906, p.237]. This, in turn, made philosophy and philosophers a rare feature in Andalusia, and lead philosophical debates to take place in symbols [Ibn Tufail, 1995, p.111]. Yet, it doesn't make the East more tolerant except theoretically speaking. Philosophy, in fact, had suffered since the beginning the harassments of the religious authority about which al-Kindi complains [al-Kindi,1953, vol.1, pp.34-35], but it had the chance to spread in the East due to it being the stage of the developments of the Islamic civilization where there is social diversity and the best scientific centers in the world at the time, not to mention the disintegration of the Abbasid Caliphate due to the disintegration of economic structure that was based on central feudalism during the third century AH [Murawwa, 2008, vol.3, pp. 24-25].

On the other hand, the nature of Islamic society had its own peculiarity during the Middle Ages. The Qur'an was the source of legislation, laws and morals for Muslims, therefore the first scientific concerns of Muslims began

to form around it, hence sciences of Tafsīr (=Exegesis), Ḥadīth, language and rhetoric emerged. Even the first theologians would draw their arguments from the Qur'an and its interpretation [Abu Rayyan, 1990, p.52-53]. Thus, the Qur'an was the basis of intellectual developments on all political, economic and scientific aspects of Islamic civilization, and the center of these developments was the Islamic East, where Islam and the Arabs emerged from which holds great symbolism for Muslims.

The Andalusians were part of the Islamic community that embraced this notion. They pray five times a day towards Mecca, and they practice the fifth pillar of Islam, the pilgrimage to the Kaaba, like any other Muslim. Also, the political and social ties were not broken at all. All these factors of necessity and symbolism did not create any rupture between Andalusia and the Islamic East.

During the Umayyad era, scientific expeditions, which began since the days of Abd al-Rahman al-Dakhil and were specifically concerned with religious and literary sciences [al-Fayyumi, 1997, p. 96-101], continued to the Islamic East. These expeditions were focused towards the Levant and the Hijaz due to their moral value in the hearts of the early Umayyads. Afterwards, the expeditions to the Levant began to decline, whereas the Hijaz was able to maintain its position not only for its symbolic value, but also for being a major center for the Maliki school embraced by the Andalusians [Yassin, 2017, p.180-182].

Iraq as well was a main destination for Andalusian students of science, as Baghdad had become a cosmopolitan city with hyperactive scientific movement both in religious and philosophical sciences, especially with the translation movement that flourished in Iraq greatly. The advancement of papermaking, book binding and manuscripts also contributed to this scientific flourishing [Ashour, al-Abadi and Abd al- Hamid, 1986, p.129-130].

Books enjoyed an important status, as hundreds of Andalusian scholars and pilgrims brought with them good numbers of books from the East [Moller, 2020, p.106]. Eastern books were also of a great interest for the Umayyads as they were among the East's exports to Andalusia especially the rare ones [Provençal, 2000, p.210]. The climax of this exchange was during the reign of Abd al-Rahman II who used to send expeditions to the East to buy books [Ibn Said, 1978, vol. 1, p.45] that formed the actual nucleus of the establishment of the Cordoba Library at the time of his son Muhammad [Moller, 2020, p.109]. The rich and powerful also began to acquire books even if they were not people of knowledge or culture, and Cordoba became one of the world's most acquiring cities for books [al-Maqqari, 1968, vol.1, p.462].

During the Umayyad era, Andalusia became a destination for scholars of the Orient, and the sources mentioned a large number of them to the extent that Al-Maqqari dedicated a whole chapter for them in his book [al-Maqqari, 1968, vol. 3, p.5]. The scholars' journeys began since the era of abd al-Rahman al-Dakhil [Ibn al-Qutiyya, 1989, p.56].

As a result of this cultural exchange which, in turn, is due to Andalusia being a part of the Islamic civilization atmosphere and to the somewhat encyclopedic nature of education, philosophy began to infiltrate Andalusia along with other sciences. It is not acceptable, therefore, to say it was introduced to Andalusia only during the reign of Abd al-Rahman II as mentioned in some sources [Anonymous, 2007, p.184]. In fact, some sources mention a number of scholars who had studied philosophy and were close to his father al-Hakam such as the Judge al-Abbas bin Nasih and his son Abd al-Wahhab, the inventor Abbas bin Firnas, the poet Yahya al-Ghazal along with some of the Mu'tazila such as Khalil bin Abd al-Malik whose works were burned after his death [Ibn al-Faradi, 2008, vol.1, p.129].

It is worth mentioning also the other sciences related to philosophy at the time, such as medicine, mathematics and astronomy as they were much needed. The study of medicine required the science of logic [Amin, 1969, vol.3, p.232]. Astrologers, like Abu Ubaidah al-Balancy (d. 295 AH/ 908 AD), would disguise their knowledge with religiosity [Ibn Sa'id, 1912, pp. 64-64] as Ibn Tufail implicitly suggested [Ibn Tufail, 1995, p.111].

7. Philosophy and power during the era of the Emirate

Philosophy needed to hide under the cloak of other sciences or religious schools of thought such as Mu'tazilism and Sufism [Palencia, 1956, p.326]. It is true there were people who embraced philosophy and supported philosophers such as the Emir al-Hakam al-Rabadi and his son Mohammad, but the social and political power of the jurists was greater than that support.

Philosophy had known esotericism since al-Kindi, and therefore it disguised itself with the mask of sciences and schools of thought. In fact, anyone who was engaged in philosophy in anyway would be accused of heresy, and his life would be in danger even before being reported to the authorities who would most often kill him to please

the public [al-Maqqari, 1968, vol.1, p.221]. It is true that al-Hakam fought against the power of jurists in Rabad, and that his son also was fed up with them, yet neither were able to restrain it.

Under Emir Abdullah bin Muhammad, the situation in Andalusia was disturbed to an indescribable degree, and in this charged atmosphere appeared the first Andalusian philosopher Ibn Masarra (d.319 AH) who grew up under his father's care who had good cultural links with the Mu'tazila and the esotericism in the East. Ibn Masarra had withdrawn with a number of disciples in a hermitage in Cordoba, and soon brought accusations of heresy and atheism upon himself [al-Qifti, 1908, p.13]. Islamic sources depicted conflicting images of him based on their positions of his thought, as he was accused of being a Sufi, a Mu'tazila and an esoteric Shiite [Yassin, 2017, p.163]. The scientific research of the orientalist Palacios showed that Ibn Masarra's views are a mixture of Gnostic doctrines that were adopted by Neoplatonism and were attributed to Empedocles, so Ibn Masarra's doctrine appeared distorted among Muslims at that time [Palencia, 1995, p. 329]. It is true that Ibn Masarra's doctrine survived the persecution of the Emirate thanks to his caution expressing his views to a few of his disciples through symbols [al-Qifti, 1908, p.13], but it was severely tortured after al-Hakam al-Mustansir's death in 370 AH/ 980 AD as Ibn Masarra's followers were arrested and his books were burned [al-Nabahi, 1983, p.78].

Conclusion

This is how the relationship between philosophy and politics had formed in Andalusia which, since the beginning, was one of contradiction due to the Umayyads' embracing Jabriyyah that no matter how open it was, it would not allow the emergence of philosophy that is substantially based on freedom of development and spread. Not to mention that their alliance with the jurists made them subdued to their authority, which tightened the screws on philosophy and prompted whoever engaged in it to disguise behind other sciences and schools of thought. This, in turn, led to a greater overlap between philosophy and religion and gave the Islamic philosophy in Andalusia a mystical and gnostic character and forced it to follow an esoteric and symbolic style of speech. Moreover, the habit of burning books took roots in Andalusia, and although political authority sometimes embraced and supported sciences and wanted to restrain the power of jurists, it nevertheless needed them for its own legitimacy. This duality increased the overlap between what is religious and what is political, and shrank the space for philosophy to develop freely.

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