

The Role of Jews in Muslim Spain: A Historical Golden Age for Jewish Development

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Abstract:

For almost seven hundred and eighty one years i.e, from 711 C.E. to 1492 C.E; Muslim people and rulers were present in Spain with impressive history except for some short periods of controversy and conflict among themselves during which the Jewish position was not comparatively better. As contrast to those durations, for most of the periods during Muslim rule, due to their outstanding roles Jews were surely more benefited community compared with other minority groups. that is why this period of Muslim rule in Spain is called the Golden Age for Jewish development in the history of Spain. This article deals with the Jewish role in Muslim Spain mostly focusing their position in intellectual affairs as well as at decision making levels.

As far as our historical knowledge is concerned, in the 2nd century C.E. Romans settled in Spain¹ i.e., the Iberian peninsula. The name of all-Andalus² was applied to the Iberian peninsula by the Arabs. The latter found some Jewish families already there whose ancestors had arrived after the destruction of the first Temple in Jerusalem or during the time of Solomon and Nebuchadnezzar. In 551 C.E the visigoths established their kingdom on the peninsula and in the 587 C.E. the Visigoth King Ricardo (586-601) was converted to Roman Catholicism. As a result, the kingdom was turned into a Christaian state. The Christian Visigoths were too fanatic and fundamentalist as well as conservative to tolerate the Jewish people of the area. In spite of it, since their arrival up to 613 C.E. Jewish had managed to lead a somewhat peaceful coexistence. This peaceful coexistence was no longer sustained. A series of oppressions and suppressions were imposed by Christian Visigoths upon Jews.³ Their rule was "full of devastation, massacres, political assassinations, intestine wars among the invading barbarians".⁴ In 613 C.E. the Christian Visigoths gave Iberian Jews a choice between conversion or emigration. By force they made many Jews convert to Christians and religious Jews were exiled form the peninsula. However by 694 E.C. the remaining Jews enslaved to serve Visigoths. As the Jews were being persecuted severely by the Christian Visigoths of the area, they were searching for a remedy. They knew through their Muslim experience that in Muslim lands Jews would be provided religious freedom along with their life security as well as personal choice of profession. In searching for a remedy, thus they used to desire the Muslim rule in Spain. So naturally the Jews invited, in secret, Muslim soldiers of Morocco to invade the peninsula. Therefore in 711 C.E. perhaps by the invitation of Count Julian of the Visigoths, Muslim forces under the Empire of Damascus, headed by

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Tariq Ibn Ziya, entered Spain from Africa. They were earnestly welcomed and fully aided by the Jews as liberators. Thus the Jews welcomed the Muslim conquerors in the 8th Century. In Muslim-ruled territories Jews were freed from slavery and allowed to form their own communities. Thus "the legal status of the Jews improved under the Muslims and the destructive policy of the Visigoths was succeeded by the wide toleration ad freedom"⁵ which were the most important characteristics of Muslim rule everywhere in the world.

Before going to the root discussion I want to present briefly a short history of Muslim rule in Spain. This history includes both the Amirate C.E. 750-929 and Caliphate of Cordova (929-1031) and its Taifa successor kingdoms specifically and in general territories under Muslim rule (711-1492). In 711 C.E. a mixed force of Arabs and Berbers led by Tariq Ibn Ziyad crossed from African through Gibraltar Strait to invade Visigoth Hispania responding to the cordial invitation of the oppressed and suppressed people of the area. After a decisive victory at the battle of Guadalete and completely defeating Roderick, the last Visigothic King on July 19, 711 C.E., Tariq brought most of the Iberain Peninsula under Islamic rule within only seven years. But the advance into Muslim Europe was stopped in 732 C.E. by Charles Martel at the battle of Tours. The Iberain Peninsula, however, became part of the expanding Umayyad empire under the name of Al-Andalus.

At first Al-Andalus was ruled by governors appointed by the Umayyad Caliph in Damascus and they were granted the rank of Amin. From 740 C.E. a series of civil wars between various Muslim groups in Spain resulted in the breakdown Caliph control with Yusuf al-Fihri, who emerged as the main winner, being effectively an independent ruler.

After the Umayyads were overthrown by the Abbasids in 750 C.E., Abd-ar-Rahman 1 (later titled Al-Dakhili) and Umayyad exile established himself as the Amir of Cordova in 765, ousting Yusuf al Fihri, and declared Cordova an independent Amirate. For the next century and a half, his descendants continued as Amirs of Cordova with nominal control over the rest of al-Andalus, but with real control varying greatly depending on the competence of the individual Amir. Indeed, Abdullah Ibn Muhammad, who was Amir around 900 C.E., has very little control beyond the area immediately around Cordova.

However, Abdullah's grandson, Abd-ar-Rahman III, who succeeded him in 912, not only rapidly restored Ummayyad power throughout al Andalus, but extended it into Western North Africa as well. In 929 C.E. he proclaimed himself Caliph, elevating the Amirate to a position competing in prestige not only with the Abbasid Caliph in Baghdad but also with the Shite Caliph in Tunis, with whom he was competing for control of North Africa. Thus he declared the independent

Caliphate of Cordova effectively breaking all ties with the Egyptian and Syrian Caliphs.

The Cordova Caliphate effectively collapsed during a ruinous civil war between 1009 and 1013 (although it was not finally abolished until 1031). In 1031, the Cordova Caliphate finally broke up into a number of mostly independent Muslim states called Taifas. These were, however, militarily too weak to defend themselves against repeated raids and attacks of neighboring Christian states. Eventually raids turned into conquest specially by Castilian King Albonso VI, capturing Toledo from Muslim hands in 1085. In response, the kings requested help from the Almoravids, the puritanical rulers of the Magrib (Morocco).

The Almoravids, accepting their invitation, led by Ibn 'Abbad defeated Alfonso VI on October 23 in 1087 at a place called Sugrajas and finally established an empire in 1091. The Almoravids were substantially less tolerant of Christians and Jews than the earlier Umayyads and were succeeded in the 12th century by the even more fanatical Almohads, another Berber dynasty, after the defeat of the Castilian Alfonso VIII at the Battle of Alarcos in June at 1212. But in July 17, 1212 a coalition of Christian kings under the leadership of the Castilian Alfonso VIII defeated the Almohads at the decisive battle of Las Navas de Tolosa. The Muslims were driven off from central Spain in the next few decades (from 1212 to 1269) until only the Kingdom of Granada remained in Muslim hands. Finally, the Marinids, the last Berber dynasty that attempted to retake control of Al-Andalus, were defeated by Castilian Alfonso XI at the Battle of Salado in 1340. By the mid 13th century, Granada was the only independent Muslim realm in Spain (which would last until 1492). On January 1, 1492 Abu Abdullah, the last leader of the Amirate of Granada, the last Muslim stronghold in Iberia, surrendered to armies of Christian Spain united under the Catholic monarchs, Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand II of Aragon. Thus Al Andalus ceased to exist.

I shall discuss on 'The Golden Age'⁶ for the Jewish development which is attested by the major achievements, found in several Muslim rulers, blessed with some eminent individual Jews in particular and the Jewish communities themselves in general. For a period of time during the Muslim occupation of Spain Jews were generally accepted in Spanish society and Jewish religious, cultural, and economic life blossomed. The Golden Age of Jewish history in Spain is also known as the Golden Age of Muslim rule in Spain. In all its achievements, Spanish Jews were to play a central role⁷. This Golden age has however, become a subject of debate. Some eminent scholars give starting periods of this age as either the mid-700s C.E. (the Muslim conquest of Spain) or 912 (the rule of Abd-ar-Rahman III) and end of this age as variously 776 (when the Caliphate began to

break apart), 1066 C.E. (when the Jews of Granada were expelled) or the mid-1100s, with the invasion of the Almohads⁸.

Though Muslim Spain is considered a key center of Jewish life during the early middle ages, producing important scholars and one of the most stable and wealthy Jewish communities, there is no clear scholarly consensus over whether the relationship between Jews and Muslims in Spain was truly a paragon of interfaith relations or whether it was simply similar to the treatment Jews received elsewhere at the same time

Mark Chen, in his book titled **Cross and Crescent** writes that the idea of a Golden Age of times in Spain was bolstered in the twentieth century by two sources. On one side, Jewish scholars like Heinrich Graetz used the story of the Golden Age to draw contrasts to the increasing oppression of Jews in mainly Christian Eastern Europe, eventually leading to the Holocaust. On the other side, Arab scholars who wanted to show that modern state of Israel shattered a previously existing harmony between Jews and Arabs in Palestine under the Ottoman rule pointed to the supposed utopia of the Golden Age as an example of previous relationship. Cohen argues that the utopian Golden Age is overstated but that "countermyth" of Jewish persecution is also an oversimplification⁹.

To many historians and other scholars, however, both the tenth and eleventh centuries of Muslim rule in Spain are expected to be a Jewish Golden Age in literature as well as culture with harmonious development of interfaith.

The Christian rulers and inhabitants of Spain persecuted the Jews severely, so naturally the Jews welcomed the Muslim conquerors in the very early of the 8th century. The conquered cities of Cordoba, Malaga, Granada, Seville and Toledo were briefly placed in charge of the Jewish inhabitants, who had been armed by the invaders. Thus, "they had great influence in the government of the country."¹⁰ The victors removed the restrictions which had oppressed the Jews so heavily and granted them full religious liberty.

In this time Jews were given complete autonomy. As "dhimmis" or "protected non-Muslim" Jews in the Muslim world paid the Jizya as a poll tax and Kharaj as a land tax which were administered from the Zakat paid by Muslims. Jews had their own legal system and social services.

Starting especially after 912 with the reign of Abd-ar-Rahman III (912-961) and his son, Al-Hakam II (961-976) the Jews prospered, devoting themselves to the service of the Caliphate of Cordova, to the study of sciences, and to commerce and industry, especially to trading in silk and slaves. Even "Jewish physicians from Cordova served as court physicians in different European Kingdoms"¹¹. In this way, they (Jews) were promoting the prosperity of the country. During the periods of Muslim rule Southern Spain became an asylum for the oppressed Jews

of other parts, al-Andalus became the center of Talmudic study, and Cordova the meeting place of Jewish savants.

The Jewish Community of Muslim Spain from the time of 'Abd ar Rahman III (912-961) until the Almohads (after 1140) had a distinctive character among medieval Jewish communities. No other Jewish community produced as many Jews who achieve positions of status and even power in the non-Jewish world; no other Jewish community produced such an extensive literary culture reflecting the deep impact of an intellectual life shared with non-Jews¹².

Individual Jews in Iraq, Egypt and elsewhere had risen to power and wealth before the 10th century, and would continue to do so long after the eclipse of al-Andalus. Jewish literature in the Muslim East had begun to reflect the influence of larger intellectual trends before the 10th century. Among these Samuel Ibn Naghrilab (993-1055) is the most spectacular example of this type. As a courtier of Habbus, the Zirid ruler of Granada, Ibn Negrila helped to secure the succession of the Prince Badis, and thereafter played a central role in the Zirid state until his death. Among his other activities, he accompanied the Granadan troops on their annual military campaigns, perhaps even as a general. He was the financier and prime minister of the Zirid king of Granada. Samuel was succeeded by his son Yusuf. Both allowed their co-religionists to participate in the administration of the state and to enlist in the army for twenty years¹³. Like Hasday, Ibn Naghrila was also a central figure in the Jewish community. He bore the Hebrew, little Nagid (Prince). He not only supported Hebrew poetry and Talmudic scholarship, but was himself one of the most accomplished men of his time in both fields. His brilliant career made him a model help up to sons by ambitious Jewish fathers long after the end of the Taifa period. Joseph Ibn Naghrila, like his father, was an efficient politician. He remained a powerful figure in Granada politics for a decade. A number of other Jews appear to have acquired the title "vizier" and to have been active politically or in the administration of certain Taifa state.

In Granada itself, where the two Nagids played an important role in both politics and administration, there appears to have been another Jewish minister named Abraham who is known only from poem in his honor in which he is praised as a defender of his people. He is supposed to be one who fights with the enemy and growls at him like a lion cub.

In Saragossa a rather better-known Jewish vizier was Abu al-fadle Hasday b. Yusuf Ibn Hasday, a member of a family of distinguished scholars and doctors. His grand father had served al-Hakam II al-Mustansir as a physician. He was also a doctor and served the Hudid rulers of the Saragossa state in the second half of the eleventh century as a Vizier and katib. Earlier in the eleventh century another Jew

did certainly hold high office in the Hudid capital. This was Abu Ishaq Yequiel b. Isaac Ibn Hasan.

Even Seville, where the Abbadids appear on occasion to have been strong upholders of the Islamic norms relating to the employment of dhimmis, had Jewish officials in government service. Abraham b. Me'ir Ibn Muhajir (also known as Ibn Shortmeqash) and other members of his family were in the scribe of al-mu'tamid Ibn Abbad. Abraham Ibn Muhajir had the title of vizier, while his two brothers were both described as nasi, a Hebrew title akin to 'prince' which probably indicates prominence in the Jewish community of the city. There may well have been other Jews who reached high office in many taifa kingdoms of the eleventh century but of whom no report has survived.

The viziers and others who are known to us tell us something about the position of the Jews in these states. Virtually all the prominent Jews known to us from this period appear to have held the title of vizier. Some were doctors a profession which for Jews and others, particularly dhimmis, was common path to political preferment under Islam.

In Granada there seems to have been a clear policy of employment of Jews in the administration as a means of maintaining the ethnic balance in the state. In the other states in al-Andalus where Jews were prominent they were neither so numerous nor so significant a segment of the populace. It was unnecessary to placate them, or to use them as a balance against other groups in the state. As a consequence, the only Jews whom the Taifa rulers employed were individuals who had some special skill or ability to offer. The Jews who attained high office in all likelihood, got such positions because of their special background and their training and education. Jewish culture and certain aspects of their communal structure and attitudes brought them close to the Muslims in Spain as a whole.

This cultural closeness to Islam went far beyond these structural similarities. In literature, for example, Jewish creativity showed its links with and dependence on Islamic culture through direct translation, imitation, adaptation, stylistic similarities, and the borrowing of forms of literary expression. More importantly, this closeness to Islamic cultural patterns displayed itself in the languages used by Jews in literary works produced in al-Andalus in this period and later. The Jews developed a complete range of varieties, or "registers" of language, which paralleled the registers in use among the Muslims. The material position attained by Jews before the end of the caliphal-amirid state helped to give them the necessary qualifications for a fuller participation in the politics of al-Andalus once that area had fallen apart into a number of tiny states. The growth of their cultural independence from the great traditional centers of Jewish learning in the Islamic east at about the same time encouraged this process further. As the century

progressed it is possible to discern a hardening of Muslim attitudes toward Jews and Jewish participation in the politics of Muslim states.

The Muslim rulers of Spain in the Umayyad, Amirid and Taifa periods had a strong incentive to rely on Jews in diplomacy, finance and public administration, because the Jews could not aspire to ultimate political power and therefore posed less of a risk to the established order than Muslim (who might themselves aspire to rule) while the Christians could aspire to political power that passed a real threat to the Muslim states. Thus while Christians and Jews were equally diminished Christians were a potential fifth column while Jews were not. Finally, the Jews were ordinarily dependent on the government to protect them from the crowd and from religious extremists. There was a natural alliance between the Jews and the Court¹⁴.

One of the most remarkable developments within Andalusian Jewry was its syncretistic literary culture that brought together Arabic and Hebrew ideas and literary forms. The Jewish courtier-Rabbis, men like Ibn Shaprut and Ibn Naghrila played a major role in fostering this literature.

The Jews thus found themselves in the anomalous position of being the respected bearers of Arabic culture, when the actual creators of that culture were under subjugation. In this role the Jews were active participants in the wave of translation into Latin of philosophical and scientific writings through which Arabic science at this time first began to reach Latin Christendom. Some of the translators were apostates like Petrus Alfonsi (b. 1062) and Abraham bar Hiyya. In most cases, the Jewish translators, who knew Arabic, worked together with Christian scholars, who knew Latin¹⁵.

By the tenth century, the Jewish communities were totally Arabized to the point that Saadya Gaon (d. 942), a leader of the Egyptian Jewish community, felt the need to translate the Bible into Arabic and even to explain Hebrew grammar in that language for the benefit of his co-religionists. It was at that time that many Jewish merchants, artisans, bankers, public officials, and authors made remarkable contributions¹⁶.

Under Arab-Muslim influence, Jewish thought and philosophy and even Jewish law and religious practice were systematized and finally formulated. Even the Hebrew language developed into (grammar and vocabulary) on the model of the Arabic language.

The Jews were fully Arabized and made their presence felt throughout the Muslim rule in Spain. They usually used the Arabic language for self-expression adopted the Arabic lore. Thus, it is hardly possible to differentiate the mental process or intellectual outlook of a Jew or an Arab of that time. Moreover, the indebtedness of Arabic and Arabic lore to the Jews is not hard to demonstrate, nor is it difficult

to show the influence of the Arabic language and literature on later Jewish writers who used Hebrew as the medium of self-expression. The list of Jewish intellectuals in Muslim Spain is, indeed, an impressive one. However only a very few of them can be mentioned here.

Youda Iban Dawud wrote the first scientific Hebrew grammar in Arabic using Arabic grammar as a model. A number of Jewish poets initiated a neo-Hebraic poetry, taking Arabic poetry as a model of form. For instance, Moses Ibn Ezra (d. 1138) was a poet of wine, women and song in the best Arab manner. Yahuda Halevi (1085-1143) poet, philosopher, and physician, composed several poems in Arabic with a rare elegance. Finally, Abraham Ibn Ezra (1092-1161) was an expert in the use of Arabic prosody and an astronomer, poet, and traveler as well. Although al-Harizi (ca. 1170-1230) tried to prove that Hebrew was as great a language as Arabic, he often preferred to use Arabic and undertook the difficult task of translating the famous *Maqamat* of al-Hariri into Hebrew. In philosophy and medicine, many outstanding Jews used Arabic as the medium of expression and Arabic learning as the basis of their intellectual orientation. When Arabic speaking scholars- Jews, Christians and Muslims were deliberating philosophical questions and cultivating the sciences, Europe was in a period of slumber. The Jews played an important role in transmitting Arabic lore to Europe. Many Jews knew Arabic, Hebrew and Latin well. Under the sponsorship of Christian rulers in Spain and Sicily, they began to translate Arabic works from all disciplines into Latin. The transmission of ideas was a prime factor in the subsequent resurgence of Europe.

Under Muslim rule in Spain, Arabic became the common language for all educated persons. Jewish philosophers and theologians such as Ibn Gabirol, Ibn Pakuda and Maimonides wrote their principal works in Arabic.

The Jews of Muslim Spain in the eleventh century formed a series of communities together with Muslims shared certain characteristics with them, which went beyond such obvious ones as the use of the Arabic language for many purposes and participation in a cultural and poetical world like the Muslim, they formed a religious cum-ethnic grouping.

Thus all the Jews had virtual freedom to practice their religion. They had complete autonomy in most internal matters. Economically, they enjoyed everywhere in Muslim territories an absence of ethnic or other restrictions on participation in commerce and similar activities. Culturally, too, they had almost complete freedom and the limitations on this freedom were of slight importance in comparison with its gains¹⁷. So it will not be exaggeration if I mention here the comment that "the Muslim Government was tolerant and some Amirs were very liberal and honored the terms of treaties"¹⁸. By their acts of tolerance and mercy,

the Muslim rulers won the hearts of the people and by those of equity and justice they raised their social status.¹⁹

With the death of Al-Hakam II Ibn Abd-ar Rahman in 976, the Caliphate began to decline and the conditions of the Jews started to become precarious in the various smaller states. The first major persecution occurred on Dec. 30, 1066, when the Jews expelled from Granada and fifteen hundred families were killed when they did not leave.

This was the first persecution of Jews on the Peninsula while under Muslim rule.²⁰ In 1091 C.E., the invasions of the Almoravid a fanatical Muslim sect from Morocco caused disruption of the Jewish Golden Age, but in 1148 C.E., the invasions, of Almorahad another more fanatical Muslim sect of Morocco effectively ended it.

Even under the Almoravids, some Jews prospered. Among those who held the title of "vizier" or "nasi" in Almoravid times were the poets and physicians Abu Ayyub Solomon Ibn al-Mullam, Abraham Ibn Meir Ibn Kamnial, Abu Isaac Ibn Muhajar, and Solomon Ibn farusal. Under the reign of the Almohads, the Jews were forced to accept Islamic faith; the conquerors confiscated their property and took their wives and children, many of whom were sold as slaves. The most famous Jewish educational institutions were closed and many synagogues were destroyed.

It was they (Almohads) who first imposed on the Jews the choice of conversion or death, thereby creating the first large group of crypto-Jews. This degree of intolerance many have been an isolated episode in the history of the Jews under Muslims, but it had a permanent effect on the Jewish community.²¹

During this time Jews continued to work as money lenders, jewellers, cobblers, tailors, and tanners. Soon however they would be mandated to wear distinctive clothing, including the wearing of a yellow turban to distinguish them Muslim. These changes were a foreshadowing of the stricter controls.²²

Conclusion:

From the foregoing discussion it is clear that from the very beginning of Muslim rule in Spain till the period of caliph, the overall condition as well as position of the Jewish people was very much friendly and cooperative based on mutual relationship. Even the Jewish people were considered (everywhere in Spain) at the said period as complementary to Muslims in every sphere of political, social and intellectual level. In the light of relationship between Muslims and Jews that period was the period of development and very much flexible as well as comfortable for the Jewish people. The Jewish extreme development was held in the time of Caliphate period specially in the time of Abdur Rahman III when Jews used to enjoy high status and position in the state. Thus from the second half of

the eight century to the end of the eleventh century Jewish life flourished to such and extent that it is called the Golden Age of the Jewish people during the medieval period in Europe. Though it was very unhappy to hear it is true that this golden age began to dissolve from almoravids rule and even in the period of Almohades this golden age was totally ended.

Even though true Muslims and Muslim rulers were not and never be against the Jewish development as it is totally against the teachings of Islam, it is harsh to hear but true that some fanatic and very conservative Muslims and Muslim rulers at times violated and are still violating the peaceful and cooperative teachings of Islam. That was the case in the last two centuries of Muslim Spain. However, the total period of Muslim Spain cannot be condemned for Jewish persecution on one hand and cannot be regarded as the golden age of Jewish development in all ways of life on the other. Although in some periods, specially the periods of the Almoravide and the Almohads the Jewish position deteriorated; from the early period of Muslim Spain up to the end of the period of Caliph was at time of helping and cooperating with the Jews. This helping and cooperative period reached the highest level of its on in the period of Abu-ar-Rahman III, whose reign was undoubtedly the peak of the Golden Age for Jewish development in Spain.

Notes and References:

1. Spain is a European country which comprises about eleven thirteenths of the Iberian Peninsula. 'On all sides it has natural boundaries. It is separated from North Africa by the Straits of Gibraltar. On the north the Peninsula is cut off from France and the rest of Europe by the loftily mountain chains of the Pyrenees called al-Burt by the 'Arabs'. On the eastern and western sides it is surrounded by the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean respectively. Represents and are of transition between the two continents of Africa and Europe'. S.M. Imamuddin, **Some Aspects of Socio-Economic and Cultural History of Muslim Spain (711-1492 A.D.)**, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1965, p. 1.
2. Al-andalus was the Arabic name for the Iberian Peninsula. The name first appears amongst the 'Arabs', but its origin is still somewhat obscure just as that of the older Iberia of the Greeks and Hispania of the Romans. Authors like Ibn Hayyan and Ibn Khaldun derive it from Andalosh, a nation of barbarians, who settled there after the deluge. But, according to Gayangos, it is derived from Vandaloci as the Vandals were called. (Gaynagas, **The Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain**, pp. 17, 23, 312 n. 5). Only the southern part of Spain was called vandaoci but the Muslims gave this name (Vandaloci or Andalus) to the whole Peninsula. The word is still preserved in the provincial name 'Andalusia' (Cf Dozy, *Recherché*, 3rd ed vol., 1 pp. 301-31), which is now applied only to the regions south of the Guadalquivir and Guadiana plains. Taken from the footnotes of S. M. Imamuddin, op., cit., p. 1.
3. For details please see : S. M. Imamuddin op. cit., pp. 13-14; Amir Ali. **A Short History of the Saracens**, London, 1951, pp. 107.

4. Louis Bertrand, *The History of Spanish*, London, 1956, p. 18, quoted in S.M. Imamuddin, op. cit., p. 9.
5. **Cambridge Medieval History**, III, p. 429, quoted in S.M. Imamuddin, op. cit. p. 41.
6. This particular Golden Age has been shown to be as mythical as others by B. Lewis, "The Pro-Islamic Jews", **Judaism**, 1968, reprinted in B. Lewis, **Islam in History Ideas, Men and Events in the Middle East**, London 1973, 123-37 and 315-17, who shows convincingly that if the term "Golden Age" has any validity in this context, it is true only of the Cultural sphere. Taken from the footnotes David Wasserstein, **The Rise and Fall of the Party Kings: Politics and Society in Islamic Spain (1002-1086)**, Princeton University Press: Princeton New Jersey, 1985, p. 193.

According to modern Jewish writer like Frederick M. Schweitzer, Islamic Spain was the golden age of post-biblical Jewish history. The reason, he holds, was that the Moors granted the Jews internal autonomy and freedom. Every walk of life was open to them-military, political and diplomatic, scholarly, agricultural and commercial, industrial and financial and in all of them they distinguished themselves. Frederick M. Schweitzer, **A History of the Jews Since the First Century A.D.** The Macmillan Company, New York, 1971, p. 60, under the article of 'Islamic Spain'. Jeremy N. Gottstein in his writing 'A Four-Thousand Year History' under **Reading of History of the Jews** recognized the Golden Age as he states: "In Spain, the Christians had persecuted the Jews. But under Muslim rule, the Jewish and Islamic communities were well integrated. Jews even reached positions of importance in government. As a result of this tolerant attitude, there was a tremendous outburst of Jewish creativity a Golden Age." Jeremy N. Gottstein, 'A Four-Thousand Year History', [ed.] **Religion in Human Culture: The Jewish Tradition**, Texas. 1978, p. 48.

7. Frederick M. Schweitzer, **A History of the Jews Since the First Century A.D.** The Macmillan Company, New York, 1971, p. 60, under the article of 'Islamic Spain'.
8. See for details : <http://www.answers.com/topic/golden-age-of-jewish-cultureinSpaindated>. Date on 24-01-06.
9. See for details: <http://www.nsweres.com/topic/golden-age-of-jewish-culture-in-spain.dated> on 24.01.06.
10. Cf. Levi-Provencal, *L'Espagne Musubmance aux Siecle*, pp. 37. 9 and *La Civilization Arabe en Espana*, pp. 121-22, quoted in S.M. Imamuddin, **Some Aspects of the Socio-Economic and Cultural History of Muslim Spain 711-1492 A.B.**, Leiden E.J. Brill, 1965, p. 41.
11. S.M. Imamuddin, **Muslim Spain (711-1492) : A Sociological Study**. Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1981, p. 189.
12. Raymond P. Scheinlin, "The Jews in Muslim Spain", in Salma Khadra Jayyusi (editor), **The Legacy of Muslim Spain**, New York, Köln, 1992, p. 189.

13. Anwar G. Chejne, **Muslim Spain: Its History and Culture**. Minneapolis. the University of Minnesota Press, 1974, p. 117.
14. Scheinlin op. cit., 191.
15. Scheinlin, op. cit., p. 197.
16. Chejne, op., cit., p. 116.
17. David Wasserstein, **The Rise ad Fall of the Partiy Kings: Politics and Society in Islamic Spain (1002-1086)**. Pricetion University Press: Princeton, New Jersey, 1985, p. 194.
18. Livi-Provençal, L'Espagne, p. 33, and n. I; Peninsula Iberique, pp. 78-9; Gaspar Remiro, Hisoria de Murcia Musulmans, Saragossa, 1905, pp. 11-37; al-Dabbi, Bughyat-al-Multamis. No. 675. p 259 quoted in S.M. Imamuddin, op. cit., p. 26.
19. Cf. Riyasat 'Ali' **Tarikh-I-Undalus** pp. 221-27, quoted in S.M. Imamuddin, op., cit., p. 26.
20. See for details: <http://www.anseres.com/topic/tolen-age-of-jewish-culture-in-spain>. Date on 24-01-06.
21. Scheinlin, op. cit., p. 195.
22. See for details: <http://isfp.org.sages/hispaina.html>, dated 20-01-06.