



MAX-PLANCK-GESELLSCHAFT

MAX-PLANCK-INSTITUT
FÜR EUROPÄISCHE RECHTSGESCHICHTE

MAX PLANCK INSTITUTE
FOR EUROPEAN LEGAL HISTORY

www.rg.mpg.de



Max Planck Institute for European Legal History

research paper series

ISSN 2699-0903 • Frankfurt am Main

No. 2016-02 • <http://ssrn.com/abstract=2747854>

Raja Sakrani

Convivencia: Reflections about its
“*Kulturbedeutung*” and Rereading the
Normative Histories of Living Together

Published under Creative Commons cc-by-nc-nd 3.0



Electronic copy available at: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2747854>

Convivencia: Reflections about its “*Kulturbedeutung*” and Rereading the Normative Histories of Living Together*

Raja Sakrani

Preface

Convivencia is, to me, the project of displacement and reunion. Displacement and questioning of some of the cultural evidence on Jews, Christians and Muslims living together in the Iberian Peninsula from the Muslim conquest in the 8th century to the definitive expulsion of the *moriscos* in the 17th century. My work is rooted, primarily, in the Arabo-Islamic legal and cultural perspective and seeks – for precisely this reason – to be the bearer of a perspective of reunion between the historical ties woven between these three religions, three communities and three worlds in Al-Andalus, not only during the nine centuries of tension between tolerance and intolerance, between passion and oppression, but much earlier within the Arabian Peninsula and even after the 16th century in the Maghreb and Latin America.

The goal is thus to get to the real history of this cohabitation lived side by side, face to face, together or separately – a cohabitation that has to a large extent been underestimated, demonized or mystified¹ – in order to shift the representations of the Other and to return history to its dynamism. In other words, approaching this field of research from an Arabo-Islamic perspective by necessity means, and this is a choice, writing the history of *Convivencia* in its polyphony that is to open up the Islamic perspective and to subject it to the confrontation with and complementarity of the Jewish and Christian perspectives. History thus becomes the histories of *Convivencia*, a plurality of views. The diversity in the object of research seems to be reproduced in the observer’s eye.

But are we not dealing with an illusion? How can we profit from the historical concept of *Convivencia* for current debates? Though many intellectuals renounce the idea of a “clash of civilizations”, this rhetoric has become the leading tonality after the horrible events of

* I am very grateful to Jenny Hellmann for her valuable assistance in bringing the manuscript into the current form.

¹ Insofar this contribution has to be seen in the tension of a clash of perspective on the one hand and the harmonizing myth of mutual recognition in a climate of peaceful and joyful living together, on the other hand.

the terrorist attacks in Paris on November 13, 2015 with the new addition that the terrorists' claim to be part of any civilization is cast into doubt.² And one could add the alarming incidents of December 31, 2015 in Cologne, which have lead to the question of whether "cultural codes" should be taught³ in order to avoid misunderstandings about the idea of carnival of reversing the social order, and to live together peacefully...

The objective of this paper, as the first of a series to follow, is to attempt to trace out the central issues for my research. In painting its own horizon, it shall remain vigilant and mindful of these issues, but also bent on moving what began as a solo undertaking to a common horizon. It is part of the project '*Convivencia: Iberian to Global Dynamics, 500-1750*' which is carried out by an interdisciplinary working group.⁴

It is only thus that this paper can be read as a continuous recount, a narration in the strongest sense of the word.⁵ The multi-normative complex that governed the relations between Christians, Muslims and Jews can be unfolded into a plausible recount, once – with regard to sources and methodology – one passes from a diachronic to a synchronic approach that is impartial, without irenicism in masking any difficulties or stifling any frustrations, but at the same time without "burning the boats", to use a famous expression in the Arab-Islamic collective imagination pertaining to Ṭāriq Ibn Ziyād and the conquest of Al-Andalus.⁶

² See the analyses in the chapter: On the "*Kulturbedeutung*" of *Convivencia*. With regard to Huntington's thesis see for example: GIESING (1999) 117-141.

³ See the excellent article written by GUERRIN "Cologne passée au crible culturel", in *Le Monde*, 23 January 2016; the idea had been realized in Cologne as well as in Bonn. See: STADT BONN (2016)

⁴ This project is being pursued by four Max Planck Institutes: the Max Planck Institute for European Legal History (Frankfurt), the Max Planck Institute for History of Science (Berlin), the Max Planck Institute for the History of Art (Florence) and the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology (Halle).

⁵ For the German context see: KOSCHORKE (2012), *Wahrheit und Erfindung: Grundzüge einer Allgemeinen Erzähltheorie*, who curiously enough does not refer to the legal context.

⁶ The figurative sense of this expression which means to make a firm decision with no going back refers to a martial strategy practiced by famous conquerors. It goes back, it would seem, to the debarking of troops from Agathocles of Syracuse in Northern Africa around the 4th century B.C. Following his arrival in Africa, he had all his boats burned, so as to prevent any premature return. In fact, the boats therefore allude to the ships, and "burning" designates the desire not to fall back. This procedure was also cited by William the Conqueror in the 11th century or Hernán Cortés in the 16th century. The latter showcased his method of conquering Mexico in this manner right after debarking. For Arab history, "burning the boats" – while firmly anchored in the Maghreb collective imagination – is but a mythical story that appears in the legend on Ṭāriq Ibn Ziyād, the conqueror of Al-Andalus. This personality, considered as a hero in the arabo-islamic imagination, is said to have declared to his army when arriving at Spanish soil and after having traversed the Straits of Gibraltar: "*Oh my warriors, whither would you flee? Behind you is the sea, before you, the enemy.*" This legendary phrase reported lately by the historian Ahmed Muhammad Al-Maqqari (1578–1632), born in Algeria (Telmecen), is



Figure 1: Tarik ibn Ziyad © by Theodor Hosemann (1807-1875)

The paper is built as follows: In a first part I try to sharpen the reader's awareness of the methodological problems of research about *Convivencia* in a historiographic perspective. In the second part, the intensified use of *Convivencia*, from the Pope's speeches to the "renaissance of the term" in Islamic countries, is seen as an indicator of the objective need for a model of living together in the face of the international scene of tensions, conflicts and horrific developments. Having thus sketched the "*Kulturbedeutung*" of what *Con-*

disputed by serious historical sources, especially by the Andalusians indicating several alternative crossings. See especially one example from the Egyptian school of the Andalusian chronics (9th century): the historian of Andalusian origin Abdel-Mālik Ibn-Ḥabīb with his book: *Mubtada' al-Khalq*; or the Andalusian school of the chronics of Andalusia (10th century), as: Abu-Bakr Muhammad al-Qurtubī in his book: *Tārīkh iftitāḥ Al-Andalus* (History of the Conquest of Andalusia); or later (13th century) the historian Ibn-ʿAdhārī al-Marrakšī and his chronic: *Al-bayān al-muḡhrib fī akḥbārī Al-Andalus wal-Maḡhrib*. The famous phrase is thus just a "legend": DJAIT (2008) 200.

vivencia might mean today, I construct my normative-historical research, in the third part, around ten theses, from religious questions to historico-political and legal dimensions of a “con-sociality”.

I. Reflecting *Convivencia*: Between Myth and Methodology

It is unavoidable for us to ask a question that, while certainly provocative, is nonetheless legitimate: Is *Convivencia* actually an empty shell of a concept, something “romanticized” and susceptible to all sorts of projections of values or ideologies, an a-historical and perhaps even dangerous concept? In his book *Royal Treasure: Muslim Communities Under the Crown of Aragon in the 14th Century*, John Boswell paints a vivid image of the great conceptual difficulty revealed by the term *Convivencia*: “The question of convivencia, the living together of the various Iberian religious and ethnic groups, is intensely complicated, and the task of a scholar trying to understand and describe this symbiosis is rather like that of a man attempting to reconstruct a broken and crumpled spider’s web”.⁷ Historian Olivia Remie Constable explicitly underlines the “dangerousness” of *Convivencia* – as a modern concept, to be precise. Due to its “simplicity” as a model, it can also be extremely complex and therefore dangerous, “since it can tempt us to read the Middle Ages through a murky – though often rosy – lens of biased historical memory and deterministic modern values”.⁸ The difficulty is very real and the complexity all but insurmountable, to the point that certain researchers increasingly insist on the uneasiness that alters *Convivencia* despite all efforts undertaken in works posterior to, and often critical of, Américo Castro. Instead of providing an aid for conceptual framing, the term has become a real obstacle to Iberian Studies of the medieval period. This is what Maya Soifer, to name just one example, fiercely claims.⁹ Her plea to better understand the Christian bases concerning the treatment of religious minorities in the Northern and Southern Pyrenees may be well-founded. She convincingly criticizes the lack of attention accorded to the nuances of social and political powers that affected the relations between Christians, Muslims and Jews, and played out in the polarization implied by *Convivencia* between “tolerance” and “persecution”. Her argument concerning the Islamic element, however, is questionable. In essence, according to the author, *Convivencia* continues to hold some of its past influence due to researchers insisting on comprehension between religions as a “distinctly Ibero-Islamic phenome-

⁷ BOSWELL (1977) 12.

⁸ REMIE CONSTABLE (2005), *Is Convivencia dangerous?* (unpublished), cited in: SZPIECH (2013) 135.

⁹ See SOIFER (2009), in particular the article: *Beyond convivencia: critical reflections on the historiography of interfaith relations in Christian Spain*, 19-35.

non”.¹⁰ She insinuates that “the evidence for Islamic influence on interfaith coexistence in Christian Spain is scarce”.¹¹ However, it is precisely this Arab-Islamic aspect of the *issue of Convivencia* that merits scientific study, minute analysis and correct understanding so that the historical normative legacy of Arab culture in the Iberian Peninsula can find a legitimate place in the Humanities, especially from the perspective of European legal history.¹²

The conceptual battle surrounding the definition of *Convivencia* is not merely the consequence of methodological rifts and disputes.¹³ It results as much from methodological conflicts within the Humanities as it follows in the wake of the linguistic turn.¹⁴ In any case, the issues of polemics are well removed from methodological questions. At issue is history, rewriting, interpretation, invention and re-invention of history. At issue are the three monotheistic religions, Europe and the Other. Since Américo Castro and even well

¹⁰ Abstract for the abovementioned article: SOIFER (2009) 19.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² See the basic article by DUVE (2012), *Von der Europäischen Rechtsgeschichte zu einer Rechtsgeschichte Europas in globalhistorischer Perspektive*, 18-71; see also: DUVE (2014), *German Legal History: National Traditions and Transnational Perspectives*, 16-48.

¹³ This paper is not concerned with cataloguing these methodological problems, or with providing an in-depth critical analysis of these difficulties. Such efforts, for the most part, go beyond our present scope. The literature on this subject is abundant. See, by way of example: CHACÓN JIMENEZ (1982), *El problema de la convivencia. Granadinos, Mudejares y Christianos-viejos en el reino de Murcia. 1609-1614*; GARCÍA-SABELL (1965), *Concepto y vivencia*, 109-117; GUILLEN (1975), *Convivencia*; MANN/GLICK/DODDS (1992), *Convivencia. Jews, Muslims and Christians in Medieval Spain*; see especially: GLICK, *Convivencia: An Introductory Note*, 1-9; and: Science in Medieval Spain: The Jewish Contribution in the Context of *Convivencia*, 83-111. See also for more recent works: TOLAN (1999), *Une convivencia bien précaire: la place des juifs et des musulmans dans les sociétés chrétiennes ibériques au Moyen Âge*, 385-394; CATLOS (2001-2002), *Contexto y convivencia en la corona de Aragón: propuesta de un modelo de interacción entre grupos etno-religiosos minoritarios y mayoritarios*, 259-268; ARÍZAGA BOLUMBURO (2007), *La convivencia en las ciudades medievales*; FUENTE PÉREZ (2010), *Identidad y convivencia. Musulmanas y judías en la España medieval*; CABEDO MAS/GIL MARTINEZ (2013), *La cultura para la convivencia*.

¹⁴ For a reasonably complete summary of this question based on historiographic polemics through the lens of philology, see SZPIECH (2013) 136: “The overall argument I wish to proffer here (...) consists of three parts: first, that the comparatist method followed by Américo Castro and other literary historians of his generation (...) derived ultimately from an early Romantic concept of history, itself an expression of an earlier model proposed by Giambattista Vico, of the intimate connection between philology and philosophy; second, that the collapse of this model has created a methodological rift between interpretative and empirical arguments both within and across Humanist disciplines such as philology and historiography; and third, that this division has produced a profound conflict of method between a predominant focus on hermeneutics in North America and on scientific philology in Spain”.

before him,¹⁵ *Convivencia* has incessantly been pulled every which way. It is the enigma to be unravelled, the historical reality that has been buried for a long time, it is the religious syncretism, the exaggerated social and cultural symbiosis,¹⁶ it is the myth of tolerance, the myth of the Spain of three cultures,¹⁷ the “romanticization” of Islam,¹⁸ the lyrical “non-sense”, the camouflaged violence under a fantastical myth and it is even apartheid.¹⁹

¹⁵ For a more precise analysis of the work and legacy of Américo Castro, one should return to his teacher: Ramón Menéndez Pidal so as to better understand the linguistic and conceptual premises of the word “*Convivencia*”. In effect, Castro starts by using the expression not in the proper sense of a linguistic variant, but rather to designate the social coexistence of Christians, Jews and Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Ages in: CASTRO (1956), *Dos ensayos*, 48. Castro explains: “Menéndez Pidal no puede ‘convivir’ mi idea histórica porque él piensa, o siente, que ‘la vida de un pueblo es un continuo irrompible, dada la realidad de su ininterrumpida sucesión generativa’. Lo cual quiere decir que las palabras usadas por el maestro del hispanismo y las mías poseen distinto significado, un ‘sentido’ para él y otro para mí – una discrepancia correcta y respetable”. See also about the theory of Menéndez Pidal: GÓMEZ-MARTÍNEZ (1975), *Américo Castro y el Origen de los Españoles*, 61ff. Subsequently, the term was subjected to certain rectifications in later works. One might compare in this sense the first work by CASTRO (1948), *España en su historia*, with his later works, notably: *La realidad histórica de España*, CASTRO (1954). It is also important not to lose sight of the thoughts and works of certain contemporaries of Américo Castro, such as AUERBACH (1965), *Literary Language and 1st Public in Late Latin Antiquity and in the Middle Ages*. Moreover, the link to the philological concept of Giambattista Vico is explicitly mentioned in the introduction of this work by Auerbach, xvi. The Romantic vein of what is commonly referred to as “Literary history” or “Romantic history” under which Américo Castro is systematically classed, particularly by his detractors, can be easily identified via these affiliations. See: PEÑA (1975), *Filología como europeización in: Américo Castro y su visión de España y de Cervantes*, 72-74. To further polemicize around these tendencies is another matter which has no place here.

¹⁶ For these critiques, see in particular the attack by SÁNCHEZ-ALBORNOZ (1956) in his book: *España: un enigma histórico*; see also in the same sense: ASENSIO (1976), *La España imaginada por Américo Castro*, 26ff.. Cf. further for later works and their extended treatment of this conflict and its outgrowths – simply by way of example: GÓMEZ-MARTÍNEZ (1975); GLICK (2005), *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages*, in particular: 6-13. Further, on the notion of *Convivencia* in general and its origins, see esp.: AKASOY (2010) *Convivencia and its Discontents*, 489–499; WOLF (2009), *Convivencia in Medieval Spain*, 72–85, MARTÍNEZ MONTÁVEZ (1983-1984), *Lectura de Américo Castro por un arabista. Apuntes e impresiones*, 21-42.

¹⁷ The topic of the three cultures is not new. Besides publications, multiple encounters had been organized. See for example: *Actas del II Congreso Internacional Encuentro de las Tres Culturas*. 3-6 octubre 1983, Ayuntamiento de Toledo, 1985.

¹⁸ The “romanticization” of Islam or of Arab Studies linked to the Iberian Peninsula is a topic of research that deserves its own separate discussion. Suffice it to say here that the legacy or impact of the works of Américo Castro also extends to this branch. To quote one example: López García mapped out the impact of Castro on Arabic Studies on the Peninsula. That said, and at the risk of reducing the complexity of the evolution research in this field, it is clear that the critiques have been voiced by scholars of Spanish Arabic Studies influenced by a romanticism in the vein of the thought of Castro and his disciples. Arabic Studies scholar MARÍN (1992) 379-394, associates this romanticism with

The thesis according to which *Convivencia* should rather be understood as a concept that in itself confirms the inherent paradox that does not exclude violence, deserves closer consideration. The writings of María Rosa Menocal are illuminating in this sense. In the author's opinion, the conceptual error "that has plagued all sides of the study of what some call medieval Spain, and others Al-Andalus, and yet others Sefarad (and sometimes these are identical and sometimes they overlap in part and sometimes they are at opposite ends), is the assumption that these phenomena, reconquest and convivencia, are throughgoing and thus mutually exclusive".²⁰ In *Communities of Violence*, David Nirenberg is clearer and "more sophisticated" in his formulation: "*Convivencia* was predicated upon violence; it was not its peaceful antithesis. Violence drew its meaning from coexistence, not in opposition to it. To call plague massacres (or Holy Week riots, miscegenation accusations, and the like) "intolerant" is therefore fundamentally to misconstrue the terms in which coexistence was articulated in medieval Iberia".²¹ This claim is both questionable and fruitful for the hypothesis proposed by this paper. When it comes to Arab-Islamic culture and its normative legacy during the Islamic presence in the Iberian Peninsula, it is domination that holds our attention and not violence as such. In other words, violence is certainly a social relation²² and even linked to domination, but nevertheless remains something different. Domination demands recognition of the other, the dominated. One might even say that the

what she calls the "exoticism" extirpated from Andalusian history "(...) en los orígenes del arabismo científico hay un firme deseo de desembarazar a la historia de al-Andalus del romanticismo y el exotismo con que se veía tanto dentro como fuera de España. Este exotismo se ha ido renovando y transformando para adoptar hoy unas formas peculiares, pero no por nuevas menos falsas (como el mito de la España de las tres culturas)". These critiques are further balanced by other works from a more critical and refreshing recent strand within Arabic Studies that have "reconsidered with a critical spirit some of the mythical aspects of the society of al-Andalus and analysed this historical past with scientific rigor, free of ideological passions and interferences".

¹⁹ Among those who have adopted such an extreme position, we can cite by way of example: particularly Serafín Fanjul who arrives at the extreme conclusion that the Islamic "régime" in Al-Andalus was "un régimen más parecido al apartheid sudafricano: experiencias muy próximas, de ahora mismo, en Líbano, Turquía o Yugoslavia nos alerten acerca de la realidad de esa imaginaria convivencia fraternal y amistosa de etnias, religiones y culturas (...). Ese panorama de exquisita tolerancia (la misma palabra ya subsume que uno tolera a otro, o sea está por encima), cooperación y amistad jubilosa entre comunidades se quiebra apenas iniciamos la lectura de los textos originales y se va configurando ante nuestros ojos un sistema de aislamiento entre grupos, de contactos superficiales por necesidades utilitarias y de odios recíprocos y permanentes desde los tiempos más remotos (el mismo siglo VIII, el de la conquista islámica), es decir, un régimen más parecido al apartheid sudafricano, mutatis mutandis, que a la idílica inventada por Castro", FANJUL (2004) 28-29.

²⁰ MENOCAL et al. (2000), *Visions of Al-Andalus*, 14.

²¹ NIRENBERG (1996), *Communities of Violence. Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages*, 245.

²² The logic of Weber's "Herrschaftslehre" is systematically analysed in: HANKE/MOMMSEN (2001), *Max Webers Herrschaftssoziologie*.

potential for violence is always present, as the meaning of domination is to frame violence. The issue becomes more interesting, however, if one examines more closely the mechanism of legitimacy from the point of view of sociology of domination. In the Islamic case, any theory of *dhimma* is abundant in theological and legal foundations that allow for the exploration of claims to legitimacy by the dominant (*Legitimationsanspruch*) and of faith in the legitimacy by the dominated (*Legitimationsglaube*).²³

A short definition of *dhimma* may be formulated as follows: it is a historical term referring to non-Muslims in Muslim territories. *Dhimma* designates a space of validity to which non-Muslims are subjected under Muslim rules. This category of Islamic Law embraces for example the obligation of a debtor towards the creditor. This etymological origin underlines that the concept is highly normatively loaded, and entails some kind of reciprocity: Acceptance of certain norms in exchange with protection and relative autonomy in legal affairs. By the way some modern interpretations try to approach the concept of *dhimma* to the idea of citizenship. But this is another story...

And yet, investigating the issue remains a frightening act: To attempt to understand the Andalusian, “European”, Islam of the Middle Ages is to open Pandora’s Box. Are we condemned to fall into an a-historical transposition?²⁴ Are we into what certain researchers conceive as the sacrilege of the three cultures that never existed and will never exist?²⁵

My proposition is one that seeks to go beyond epistemological suspicions regarding terminology and concept: It is neither philological nor historiographic. While avoiding any “normativization” of the concept of *Convivencia*, it refers to the normative, in a wide sense, in that it does not content itself with legal or theological texts, on the one hand, and in that it attempts to decode the non-juridical normativities, on the other. In addition to the legal texts – the chronicles of the *qādi* and *notaries*, the *fatāwā*, the theological-religious treatises – “non-legal” texts are also explored and investigated. It will therefore take other Arabic texts into account that go through the literature, poetry and chronicles, while deal-

²³ This is one basic element of Max Weber’s theory of domination. For Weber’s reading of the relationship between Law and Religion see: SAKRANI (2011), *Religion und Recht im Islam. Historisch-komparative Zugänge im Lichte der Weberschen Rechtssoziologie*, 91-101.

²⁴ It is also in the name of the Romantic vision of Islam that MANZANO MORENO (2000) expresses: “Si en lugar de defender la identidad de valores entre Islam y Cristianismo, proyectamos sobre el pasado las ideas de ‘tolerancia’ y ‘convivencia’ íntimamente ligadas al Islam peninsular y contrapuestos al secular cerrilismo hispano, no estamos haciendo más que una trasposición ahistórica e igualmente idealista de una serie de conceptos contemporáneos que tienen su justificación en una historia que nunca es descrita ni interpretada, sino simplemente plasmada”, 37.

²⁵ Cf. DURÁN VELASCO (2001), *Reflexiones y digresiones en torno a la mitificación de al-Andalus*. See also the interesting point of SEVILLA (2014) in his book: *Die ‘Drei Kulturen’ und die spanische Identität. Ein Konflikt bei Américo Castro und in der spanischsprachigen Narrativik der Moderne*. See especially the chapter: Juan Goytisolo’s Reivindicación del Conde don Julián [1970]: Das Maurische als das doppelte Andere des Spanischen, 193ff.

ing in passing with genres specific to Al-Andalus, such as *adab al-munādhara* (a polemic literary genre) particularly in religious matters. Other genres are more widespread in northern Africa following the *Reconquista*, such as the *rudūd* (the plural of *radd*), literally “the replies” addressed to Christians – these are thus essentially anti-Christian texts. One should, of course, also not forget a whole gamut of texts of all genres (biographical, historical, theological, etc.) written by expelled *moriscos*.

In other words: One has to adopt a realistic view, in the sense of “*Wirklichkeitswissenschaften*”, requiring theoretical-analytical reflection (on violence, domination, inter-religious interaction, etc.) and the ample use of empirical data, from legal texts to poetry.

II. On the “*Kulturbedeutung*”²⁶ of *Convivencia*: Inflational Use of a “Magic Word” in Complex Realities

Convivencia is a research topic that is complex, impossible to grasp, beautiful and dangerous, all at the same time. If the roots and historiographic ramifications of this project open and reopen immense research fields – that in part are as yet unexplored –, its cultural and civilizational dimensions are more topical and urgent than ever. The possibilities of an interdisciplinary reading that are offered to us require that we first abandon all temptations of engaging in generalizing discourse on Christians, Arab-Muslims and Jews or on the three monotheistic religions in a broader sense. For every complex situation necessitates several simultaneous readings, readings that run across to each other. The histories of “Andalusian living together” or of the “Andalusian mutual rejection” are colossal in their complexity. Accounts and perspectives mix, diverge, complement or oppose each other.

The essential and main issue in contemporary discourse, however, lies elsewhere. *Convivencia* as semantics, *Convivencia* as meaning and as a symbol, *Convivencia* as a wish and a perspective has become a very fashionable “watchword”. The concept has made a career, a fantastic account adopted by everyone to suit their narrative and ends.²⁷ It has turned into a soft nostalgia that has seen a sudden resurgence to soothe the wounds and recall the hope for the possibility to live together in the global context of wars and terrorist attacks that are without precedent after the end of the two world wars. From the Pope to

²⁶ In the sense of Max Webers Wissenschaftslehre, cf. WEBER (1922). The question is thus not whether *Convivencia* possesses value but whether it refers to values (*Wertbeziehung*) in the sense of Heinrich Rickert.

²⁷ We could observe, in fact, this kind of global “renaissance” since several years. See for example the book edited by FORNET-BETANCOURT (2011), *La convivencia humana: problemas y posibilidades en el mundo actual. Una aproximación intercultural*. The authors referred to several countries and continents in order to contextualize the “living together”, in Asia, in Latin America, in Europe, Africa and the Arabian world.

the Arab streets via the “Manifeste convivialiste”²⁸ or Plantu and his caricatures of the scenic “*nouveau vivre ensemble*”²⁹ to San Sebastián and its European cultural dream of “*la convivencia para convivir*”;³⁰ everywhere, *Convivencia* is increasingly on everyone’s, or at least almost everyone’s lips. Let me explore some of these examples in order to gain a better understanding of the concept of *Convivencia* in its current usage:

1. During his first visit to Sarajevo on June 6, 2015, Pope Francis pronounced words of hope during his first welcome address in Sarajevo: “Bosnia Herzegovina [tiene] un significado especial para Europa y el mundo entero”³¹ as they are a place of “*dialogo y pacífica convivencia*”. The Pope made sure to recall the contribution of the Catholic Church in the material and moral reconstruction of Bosnia Herzegovina and the care taken by the Holy See in promoting peace, reciprocal understanding and “*una convivencia civil*”.³²

The Papal usage of the term *Convivencia* is more than just simple cordial or diplomatic discourse. “*La convivencia y la colaboración cotidiana*” are also at the center of his inter-religious message in his speech held on the occasion of an ecumenical meeting at the In-

²⁸ Cf. LES CONVIVIALISTES (2013), *Le manifeste convivialiste*, a small booklet of 39 pages published as the outcome of collective work and discussions held by some forty francophone authors representative of numerous currents of thought and action. In 2013, the signatories numbered 64 (from Uruguay, Italy, Argentina, USA, Canada, Japan, Israel, China, Turkey, Brazil, the UK, etc.). Later, their number was to grow to over 100 coming from various continents. In the third chapter entitled “Convivialisme”, the latter is defined as: “(...) le nom donné à tout ce qui dans les doctrines existantes, laïques ou religieuses, concourt à la recherche des principes permettant aux êtres humains à la fois de rivaliser et de coopérer, dans la pleine conscience de la finitude de ressources naturelles et dans le souci partagé du soin du monde. Et de notre appartenance à ce monde”, 25. However, neither the booklet, translated into several languages, nor the recent book by CAILLÉ (2015), *Le convivialisme en dix questions*, makes any mention of the historical concept of *Convivencia*, esp. 117ff., where “un vivre ensemble métissé”, “les bases morales partageables”, etc. are evoked.

²⁹ Following the terrorist attacks in November 2015, Plantu in his newspaper column in *Le Monde* painted a surrealist assembly of several presidents throughout the world (Assad, Rouhani, Putin, Hollande, Sarkozy, De Gaulle...) seated around a single table with the title: *Le nouveau “vivre ensemble”*.

³⁰ San Sebastián has become European capital of culture in 2016, a title it shares with the Polish town of Wrocław.

³¹ “Bosnia Herzegovina hold[s] a special meaning for Europe and the entire world”, POPE FRANCIS (06.06.2015a), own translation. This first discourse was pronounced in the presidential palace during the official welcoming ceremony. The Pope’s hope referred particularly to children: “Yo he visto hoy esta esperanza en los niños que he saludado en el aeropuerto: islámicos, ortodoxos, judíos, católicos y de otras minorías – afirmó el Papa y añadió – ¡Todos juntos con alegría! ¡Ésta es la esperanza! ¡Apostemos sobre ella!”.

³² Ibid.

ternational Franciscan Student Center of Sarajevo.³³ While Sarajevo is certainly a symbol for Europe, on the other side of the Atlantic in the Holy Father's homeland, *Convivencia* also runs the course of all of Latin America. The visits in summer of 2015 to several Latin American countries are already testament to it. His discourse is abundant in the grammar of "*la convivencia*", used in various forms from the family to the global Other. In Ecuador, he presents "algunas claves de la convivencia ciudadana a partir de este ser de casa, es decir a partir de la experiencia de la vida familiar." And the Pope adds: "El amor de los padres lo ayuda a salir de su egoísmo para que aprenda a convivir con el que viene y con los demás, que aprenda a ceder, para abrirse al otro".³⁴ The Pope further analyzes what in this country like in many Latin American countries, threatens "*la convivencia social*".³⁵ In addition to the visits to Bolivia and Paraguay, the Pope's message of "*convivencia pacífica*" is addressed to Colombia and Venezuela,³⁶ while a telegram addressed to King Felipe of Spain on the way back to Rome expresses the desire to live in "*armoniosa convivencia*".³⁷ Does this mean that the Argentine Pope is simply drawing from the depths of Latin America's Iberian³⁸ roots and the Iberian experience itself? Or is it his awareness – apart from a call for interreligious tolerance – of a global religious context in which fundamentalist Islam plays an important role? These are big questions that certainly deserve in depth study elsewhere. For now, let us state the following:

In Latin America, Islam poses rather a complex question, despite the definite Morisco influence following the 16th century,³⁹ the exact nature and extend of which is, however,

³³ POPE FRANCIS (06.06.2015b): "El encuentro de hoy es signo de un deseo común de fraternidad y de paz; y da fe de una amistad que se ha ido construyendo a lo largo del tiempo y que ya vivís en la convivencia y la colaboración cotidiana".

³⁴ POPE FRANCIS (08.07.2015): "several keys to civic *convivencia* starting with being like a family, that is to say beginning with the experience of family life. [...] The love of parents helps them leave behind their egotism so that they can learn to live together [*convivir*] with their offspring and with others, and learn to yield in order to open themselves up to the other" (own translation).

³⁵ Ibid.: "La migración, la concentración urbana, el consumismo, la crisis de la familia, la falta de trabajo, las bolsas de pobreza producen incertidumbre y tensiones que constituyen una amenaza a la convivencia social".

³⁶ POPE FRANCIS (06.07.2015).

³⁷ POPE FRANCIS (13.07.2015); this call for "*la convivencia pacífica*" between religious communities as "un bien inestimable para la paz y el desarrollo armonioso de un pueblo", has found an echo as far as Cuba, where Christian, Jewish, Muslim and Buddhist leaders united for peace and religious tolerance on September 7, 2015, two weeks before the Pope visited the island.

³⁸ Ibid.: "todos los hijos e hijas de esas queridas tierras [Spain R.S.]. [...] rogando al Señor abundantes dones celestiales que los ayuden a vivir en armoniosa convivencia (...)".

³⁹ An interesting literature attracts our attention. To mention only some examples: REIN (2008), Arabes y judíos en Iberoamérica/Similitudes, diferencias y tensiones; RAMÍREZ et al. (2001), Raíces Mediterráneas en Latinoamérica; TEMIMI (ed.) (2005), Actas del XI Congreso de estudios moriscos

ignored.⁴⁰ In any case, the fairly recent conversions to Islam within indigenous communities in the Chiapas in Mexico certainly draw attention. This phenomenon is all the more intriguing given that even though Mexico is the second largest Catholic country in the world after Brazil, this conversion movement has been growing since the 90s in the least Catholic and poorest state in Mexico.⁴¹ The complexity already becomes quite manifest: “The Islam” of the Chiapas is in reality “the Islams”, as apart from the communities of *Aḥmadia* and *el Murābitūn*, the *sunni Wahhabi* Islam has made inroads, as well as a branch of *Suḥfī* Islam.⁴²

Where do these doctrines come from? How are they propagated and with what structures? These are already several legitimate questions that go beyond the Mexican scope.⁴³

A second very recent example is that of *Convivencia* and the promotion of European culture:

sobre huellas literarias e impactos de los moriscos en Túnez y en América Latina; SAGARZAZU (2005) 177-191.

⁴⁰ The a priori very distant and invisible link between Arab culture and identity, on the one hand, and that of Latin America, on the other, is sometimes more present there where one least expects it. This can be seen, on the Arab side, in modern literature that creates bridges between the two worlds in questioning the identity of the Latin American Other as a projection and reflection of the self. With his literary finesse, Lebanese novelist Elias KHOURY illustrates this communication or meta-communication with Latin America in his novel *majma‘ al-asrār* (Le coffre des secrets, 2009). He accomplishes this via one of his protagonists: Ibrahim Nassar who wanted to emigrate to Colombia, as well as the character Santiago Nassar (Santiago: Yacoub in Arabic, which is also the name of Ibrahim’s father), in *Crónica de una muerte anunciada* by Gabriel GARCÍA MARQUÉZ (1981). See further: much more indirectly, more metaphorically and violently in the “roman-Minotaure” by Wajdi MOUAWAD (2012), *Anima*.

⁴¹ It is a state that boasts quite an interesting religious diversity running from Evangelicals, via Jews to Buddhists. According to statistics compiled by the Instituto Nacional de Geografía y Estadística (INEGI) in 2010, 82% of the Mexican population declare themselves Catholic. In Chiapas, 58% of the population is Catholic. By way of illustration, imam Ibrahim Chechev (born Anastasio Gómez) of the Islamic community *Aḥmadia* explains: “Yo no nací siendo musulmán, me hice musulmán en 1995. Fui el primero de mi familia.” It is interesting to know that this imam was a member of the Islamic community *al-Murabitūn*, a Sufi group directed by Spaniards who appear to have been a pioneering Islamic group in the region. Subsequently, several of their adepts – including Ibrahim – went on to found their own communities: “Les chocaban nuestras costumbres tzotziles, como la lengua y comida a base de maíz. Por eso me separé de ellos”, Ibrahim explained. He added: “[...] Cuando vamos por la calle nos preguntan, ‘¿son musulmanes?’, ¿son de la gente que mata y asesina?’ Y nosotros tenemos que decirles que están muy equivocados”, See: CHECHEV (27.01.2016), interview in *La Nación*.

⁴² Space precludes engaging in an analysis of the characteristics of each of these religious branches.

⁴³ Let us recall that a visit by Pope Francis to Mexico has taken place in February 2016, including a meeting with the communities of the Chiapas.

2. To those who are conceiving the new European capital of culture for 2016 as “*un legado de convivencia*”⁴⁴ and are creating the “*programa por la convivencia*” for Donostia (a beautiful Basque seaside resort town) living together is the message “*por la tolerancia y el respeto al otro*”,⁴⁵ and the panorama that orchestrates all the civic waves of energy (*ola de energía ciudadana*). *Convivencia* thus becomes the chief orchestrator of a “*cultura para convivir*”, which a short audio production for the opening understands as follows: “(...) pero convivir es vivir con (...) convivir es vivir con mormones, católicas, musulmanes, agnósticos y ateas, con turistas, con argentinos, ucranianas, chinos o personas de cualquier otra comunidad extranjera. Convivir, es vivir con gente que piensa, habla, reza distinto a ti. Vivir con (...) izquierdistas, anarquistas, independentistas, nacionalistas, capitalistas o miembros de cualquier otro -ismo... Convivir, es vivir con aquellas personas con las que creemos no tener demasiado en común”.⁴⁶



Figure 2: Puente Maria Cristina, inauguración Capitalidad Europea ©San Sebastián 2016

⁴⁴ EL PAÍS (17.12.2015), San Sebastián despliega su programa por “la convivencia”.

⁴⁵ EL PAÍS, op cit. In his presentation of the program for *Convivencia* at the Museo Reina Sofía in Madrid, Pablo Berástegui clarified that what sets San Sebastián apart is that: “...frente a anteriores capitalidades culturales, ‘que eran más de grandes nombres y grandes espectáculos’, Donostia dará prioridad ‘al legado’, a lo que quede ‘de acelerar un proceso para recuperar la alegría de vivir’, y con atención a la memoria de los que sufrieron el terrorismo”, adding: San Sebastián 2016, “no puede contratar convivencia pero la favorecerá”. Cf. further on the “Cultura para la convivencia”: DIARIO DE NAVARRA (17.12.2015) “Convivencia en paz, alma de San Sebastián 2016”.

⁴⁶ DONOSTIA/SAN SEBASTIÁN (2016), Personal transcript of words from the video: Cultura para convivir.

And yet, how is one to have nothing in common and still find a model for living together? This is the bridge that leads to the next example, the final and most complex.

3. In a radically different geopolitical and religious context, certain intellectuals and religious figures, as well as ordinary Arab citizens are hoping to, if not reconstruct, at least retrieve, in turn, their own *Convivencia*: *Taqāfat al-ta'āyūš* (culture of living together). For if the bloody wars in the Middle East following the first Iraq War only succeeded in destroying the social tissue including the different non-Islamic communities and minorities, the post-revolutionary wars and ISIS are incessantly smashing any form of coexistence between Muslims and non-Muslims to pieces (Christians, Yazidis, Assyrians, Bahā'í, Kurds, etc.). Wahhabi Islam⁴⁷ is unquestionably the prime culprit, as its ideology is founded on the elimination – within Islam itself – of “bad Muslims” who do not adhere to its doctrine. Nevertheless, the complex regional and global geopolitical context⁴⁸ and the delusions of certain powers in the West who, in all directions, are playing dangerous games with Wahhabism and radical Islam,⁴⁹ are doing anything but smooth things out and lend to the Arab debate on *Convivencia* any dimensions that are different from those familiar in Europe.⁵⁰ Dimensions that are deeply tied first to the upheaval of the Arab revolutions and then to the drama of the unspeakable terror and destruction caused by the Islamic State that dominates the landscape following the broken dreams, particularly in Syria and Libya.

⁴⁷ Cf. particularly: REDISSI (2007), *Le pacte de Nadjd. Ou comment l'islam sectaire est devenu l'islam*; DELONG-BRAS (2008), *Wahhabi Islam. From Revival and Reform to Global Jihad*.

⁴⁸ The Islamic State Daesh does not only wage its wars with the Qurān and in the name of Islam – it lives, propagates and even enters European ground thanks to a complex global network of mafia-like structures and ties of all kinds which also involve – it must be said – the West: The sale of petroleum to whoever will pay; the open sale of stolen art and history of an entire desecrated civilization, a millennia-old civilization that is not solely Islamic; the sale or kidnapping on European soil of child refugees to criminal pedophile rings, etc. ... the horror knows no limits.

⁴⁹ See for example the very pertinent analysis by BEAU/BOURGET (2013) in their book: *Le vilain petit Qatar. Cet ami qui nous veut du mal*. Denouncing – in the case of France – those responsible within French politics who, to escape from the financial crisis, demand aid for a country that fosters a radical Islam, that finances the satellite TV chain Al-Jazeera and propagates hatred and radicalization throughout the world, a country that has “blown out” the embers of the “Arab Spring” to avoid a greater revolution, and, worst of all, that offers billions to France to purchase the football club Paris Saint-Germain, to invest into the French real estate market and to acquire capital in companies, to finance, above all, plans to rescue the *banlieues*. If the production of radicals, read terrorists, is part of the rescue plan, the mission has been quite successful! And with all this, France is no isolated case in Europe. Saudi Arabia plays a similar role in the region and even on a global level. See in the same sense the excellent sociopolitical analysis by ADRAOUI (2013), *Du golfe aux banlieues*. Le salafisme mondialisé, with a nice introduction by Gilles Kepel.

⁵⁰ For a philosophical approach from an arabo-islamic perspective of living together, see for example: DHOUB, *Vernünftigkeit als Maxime für das Zusammenleben. Überlegungen vor dem Hintergrund der Menschenrechtsdebatte in der arabisch-islamischen Philosophie*, 143-156.

Essentially, the revolutionary earthquake, the great upheaval that produced what Milan Kundera calls “the sudden beauty of the impossible”,⁵¹ this event full of unknown variables took place in a stifling and stymieing environment – that of dictatorship and monolithism of all sorts. Then, suddenly, the religious, ideological and social forces found themselves face to face, and faced with one single question: What to do in order to “live together” despite the differences? All of the countries that experienced revolutions subsequently descended into violence and massacres, with Tunisia being the sole country still resisting despite the fragility of a “living together” that is seriously threatened by terrorism and corruption and where the debate on *ta’āuš*⁵² is not very well articulated. What many intellectuals call “*Ḍarb al-ta’āuš*”, i.e. the frontal attack on and destruction of the mode of living together – already fragile and imperfect – between Muslims and non-Muslims particularly in Syria and Iraq, is in return nourishing the discussion on an “*Arab Convivencia*”. Let me nonetheless remark that the semantics are very revealing: the word *ta’āuš* which is a kind of direct translation of *Convivencia*, is fairly recent. Its usage is increasingly generalized with reference to *Tasāmuḥ*, which means tolerance, a term that has been used for a long time, also by the dictatorships in power in the guise of political propaganda. This *Convivencia* currently has an enormous theological and legal dimension within Islam, even if its articulation is still quasi-embryonic and not always explicit. A discussed and dreamed-of “*Arab Convivencia*” expresses an intellectual effervescence that survived post-revolutionary disillusionment, wars, destruction and self-destruction.

The “Kulturbedeutung” of *Convivencia* goes beyond the obvious or even fashionable use of the semantics. It expresses a profound need for change. And just like the history of the relations, by turns fruitful or hostile viz. violent, between Jews and Muslims evolved from the first links between Jewish tribes in Arabia and the Prophet Muhammed⁵³ up to recent conflicts in the Middle East via the golden age of the civilizations of Córdoba and Bagdad, the history of the relations between Muslims and Europe, and by extension all of the West,

⁵¹ KUNDERA (1984), *The Unbearable Lightness of Being*.

⁵² The content of this debate will not be dealt with here. Suffice it to point out that a similar debate also took place in Morocco. It should nonetheless be noted that before the Arab revolutions, the word *ta’āuš* (living together) was associated to essentially religious contexts. It has basically surfaced during public debate in the context of religious dialog or in moments of crisis or violence. The most emblematic examples are those of the Groupe de Recherches Islamo Chrétien GRIC in Tunis (there are currently 4 groups: in Paris, in Beirut, in Rabat-Casablanca and in Tunis), which dedicated its research during the period 2008-2010 to living together, as well as that of the terrorist attacks of *Ghriba* that targeted the great synagogue of Djerba in Tunisia (the oldest one in Northern Africa) killing 19 persons including 14 German tourists. Declarations made in the wake of the attack, among others, by Tunisian Jews and Muslims insisted on the long tradition of living together between the two communities.

⁵³ See: Thesis I of this paper.

necessarily passes the Andalusian period. A pivotal and foundational moment for European modernity follows the reconquest of Granada in 1492. The construction of – in turn – Christian and Judeo-Christian identity in Europe, of Latin American identity and of Islamic identity follows the fall of Granada in 1492. The religious and cultural conversion of the other “Other”, the conversion through sword and cross of the indigenous populace of the Americas and the transfer of an entire normative arsenal sprang from the Iberian experience. It was essentially determined after the forced conversion during the *Reconquista* with the distinction of the Iberian “Other”, Jewish and Muslim, who despite forced conversion, did not “succeed” in being accepted as a “good new” Christian or a “good” European citizen.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Neither the *Sephardic Jews* and their descendants, *los Moriscos* and their descendants, nor *los Indios* and their descendants have recovered from this drama that is at play. Following the fall of Granada in 1492 and the progressive persecution of Muslims and Jews up to forced conversion and expulsion, part of the Andalusian Jewish population fled the Iberian Peninsula and settled in the Maghreb, whereas the remainder essentially dispersed throughout Europe and the Ottoman Empire. As for *los Moriscos*, the consequences were much more complex. Those who remained or survived in Europe dispersed, “evaporated” even, as their traces have been lost. What has become of them? This is a question asked by more and more studies. See: SAKRANI (2014), *The Law of the Other*; VALENSI (2012), *Ces étrangers familiers. Musulmans en Europe (XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles)*; DAKHLIA/VINCENT (2011), *Les musulmans dans l’histoire de l’Europe I. Une intégration invisible*; DAKHLIA/KAISER (2013), *Les musulmans dans l’histoire de l’Europe II. Passages et contacts en Méditerranée*. The drama of World War II, the creation of the Israeli State and the waves of Sephardic Jews leaving Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia following the 60s have not led to the same repercussions as the Andalusian tragedy of the 16th century. The recent Spanish law on the option for of Spanish nationality on descendants of Sephardic Jews poses more than one question and does not cease to stoke the debate between approval and criticism.



Figure 3: Christoph Weiditz, *Moriscos in Granada*, 1529, © GNM Nürnberg, Hs. 22474. Bl. 105–106

The normative transfer following the discovery of the New World produced an identity and cultural phenomenon that is almost unique in modern history: That of Jewish and Muslim otherness in a new geo-cultural space, not that of Arabia, nor even that of Europe, but Latin America. Similarities, differences and tensions,⁵⁵ the relationship to the collective identity of the Self and of the Other, of the Other as the Self, deserves to be further explored and better understood by returning to the Iberian origins. Even more essentially, the mechanism and magnitude of the normative transfer from the Iberian *dhimmi* under Muslim domination to the “*Indio dhimmi*” under Christian domination merits study. Christopher Columbus himself noted the simultaneity of the Indian adventure and the Treaty of Córdoba. The historical importance is interpreted by Todorov in a stimulating way: “Through the one [action R.S.], Spain discharges the heterogeneous from its body, through the other it is inexorably reincorporated”.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ This is also the title of the work coordinated by REIN (2008).

⁵⁶ Own translation. “Durch die eine [Handlung R.S.] sondert Spanien das Heterogene aus seinem Körper ab, durch die andere wird es unabänderlich wiederaufgenommen.” See: TODOROV (1985), *Die Eroberung Amerikas. Das Problem des Anderen*, (originally: *La conquête de l’Amérique. La question de l’autre*, 1982), 65. This fascinating and difficult issue of normative “mimicry” shall not be dealt with in depth in this paper. However, analysis of the theory of *dhimma* in Islam, in general, and the infiltration viz. adoption of Islamic terminology in the writings of *los mozàrabes*, in particular, open up pertinent avenues for future research. See further: Claim VI.

The status of *dhimmi* is, in short, the essential normative and historical key to understanding the dynamics of living together peacefully or by means of domination in the Iberian Peninsula, but also in Latin America as of the 16th century. A very revealing episode is that of the *Almohades* who abolished the status of *dhimmi* after their “reconquest” of Al-Andalus in the early 12th century and imposed forced conversion or exile on the minorities under protection. The violent abolition of *dhimmi* status deteriorated the situation of non-Muslims, foreshadowed what would happen in 1492 and formed the logic of the Inquisition starting in the early 12th century and at the end of the 11th century. Therefore, the failure and progressive transformation of *Convivencia* – which had more or less worked until then – was already announced in the 12th century. The Marrano and Moorish tragedies had already begun to unfold in the 12th century. From them, things simply followed the course of history according to its own dynamic. Maimonides and Averroes, two persecuted expatriates from Al-Andalus, are a fitting example for this tragic turn in the history of *Convivencia*.



Figure 4: Estatua para Ibn Rushd en Córdoba (*1126 Córdoba, † 1198 Marruecos) ©Americo Toledano



Figure 5: Estatua para el médico y filósofo judío Maimónides en Córdoba (*1135 Córdoba, † 1204, Cairo) © Dr. Manuel

4. Is the *dhimmi* status a simultaneously good and bad “demon” of Islam in its dealings with itself, with Europe and the whole globe? Is it the sole basis that “normativizes” the essentials of the rapport with the non-Islamic Other?

This is truly one of the great unresolved issues in the current world. It touches upon so many burning issues that follow from this historical period⁵⁷ that require rewriting several universalities applicable to all of us; from “post-Christian Salafis” in Europe, seeking to find a more “logical” form of Catholicism,⁵⁸ via what one author calls Erasmus migration (“*hijra* Erasmus”: “Go East, learn ... and come back”)⁵⁹ up to “salafism goes global”. In other words, return in order to destroy the Other at the moment of one’s own destruction. Faced with the memory of Al-Andalus which remains a narcissistic wound – that has not been re-enclosed in the most fundamental normative body of Islamic heritage and faced with an Islamic culture that has been sheltered for centuries, this first paper is also motivated by the desire to reawaken the “good spirits” of “Andalusian Islam”. One has to draw the Islamic reference out of its enclave and to draw out what has been deposited in the Arabic language during Andalusian times⁶⁰ and what is likely to be appropriate for the intellectual issues of today.

⁵⁷ To understand history in the Hegelian sense, i.e. as something composed of successive shocks.

⁵⁸ This very complex phenomenon is spreading throughout Europe, deserves much more attention and multi-disciplinary study. See, for example, the explanation given by ADRAOUI (2013) 49: “[Les] salafis nés au sein de familles non musulmanes s’identifiant au christianisme (et plus précisément au catholicisme) mais dont la référence religieuse s’est diluée avec le passage des générations. Croyants peu pratiquants, la religion catholique est vécue sur un mode personnel mais se caractérise surtout par une frustration rétrospective de ne pas avoir été suffisamment structurée sur un plan théorique et pratique par cette appartenance religieuse. Acceptant de revendiquer l’héritage de Jésus, personnage positif dont l’apostolat de Muhammad représente l’ultime message, les salafis ‘post-chrétiens’ se distinguent par un rapport critique au catholicisme et voient dans leurs entrée dans le *Minhaj Salafi* un éveil à une version plus ‘rationnelle’, plus ‘scientifique’ et, *in fine*, plus ‘logique’ de la foi. Leur cheminement s’interprète d’abord comme la poursuite d’un engagement religieux plus abouti, initié dans le cadre d’une éducation chrétienne”.

⁵⁹ Ibid. 120-122.

⁶⁰ More generally during the classical period in the *Maghreb* (Muslim Occident) as well as in the *Ma-chrek* (Muslim Orient)



**Figure 6 : Le triomphe de saint Thomas d'Aquin, Gozzoli Benozzo (dit),
Benozzo di Lese di Sandro (1420/1422-1497)
©RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) / Hervé Lewandowski**

This Islamic reference is also a body that deserves finding its legitimate place in the common sense nourished by Greco-Latin and Judeo-Christian traditions that is by necessity open to others: Chinese, Japanese, Latin American, etc.. It is certainly painful and sad to evoke this enlightened part of Islam in these difficult times: terrorist attacks in Paris in November 2015,⁶¹ the following day in Lebanon,⁶² several days later in Tunis,⁶³ sexual aggression against women in Cologne on New Year's Eve...⁶⁴

The German trauma from the violence of December 31, 2015 is but the start of a new reality, a new relation to Islam. In fact, since Germany does not have an "Arab-Islamic" colonial past, it was never truly involved in the conflicts and migratory tensions experienced by France, Belgium, the UK or several other European countries. The situation is even more complex in the sense that an entire society, an entire country is under shock after having strongly and generously committed itself to help refugees. A commitment by German citizens without precedent in Europe. The disappointment is therefore deep. How can the misunderstandings on both sides, the perverse and Machiavellian maneuvers of forces on the right and extreme right – all tendencies taken together: of the Islamic right and the European right – be analyzed? Germany, due to its history, holds a conception of tolerance that must necessarily collide with an Arab-Islamic culture that is sick from its own "*malaise*"⁶⁵ and "*maladie*"⁶⁶ and living its own "tragedy"⁶⁷. What is there to do when one welcomes and offers asylum to the "body" of people fleeing horrors and death without being able to

⁶¹ When it comes to the murderous attacks against *Charlie Hebdo* (January 7, 2015) one could speak of a sort of unjustifiable "justification", or rather a pretext – the Muhammed caricatures. Nonetheless, in essence, the assassination of caricaturists and columnists, of a Muslim police officer and of four Jews – including two Sephardic Jews – in a kosher supermarket is not an attack by Muslims on non-Muslims. For an analysis, see: SAKRANI (2015), "Je suis français, je suis juif, je suis musulman. Je suis Charlie". On the trail of *Convivencia*. By contrast, the terrorist attack of November 2015 was a head-on assault on mixing, living together under its most diverse modalities (sport, music, sharing food or a glass of wine...), and is removed from any rational explanation of the act itself.

⁶² The attack of Thursday, November 12, 2015 in a southern suburb of the Lebanese capital also took 43 lives and injured over 200 and was the bloodiest attack against a bastion of Hezbollah since its involvement from early 2013, in the Syrian conflict on the side of the regime of Bashar al-Assad, and one of the deadliest in Lebanon since the end of the civil war (1975-1990). The double attack was claimed by ISIS.

⁶³ The attack, claimed by ISIS, took place on November 24, 2015 and targeted a bus of the presidential policy several meters from the Ministry of the Interior.

⁶⁴ Cologne is not the only city affected, similar incidents also happened in Hamburg; there has been an instance of harassment in a public swimming pool in Bornheim, near Bonn, provoking a debate on whether prohibition of admission for male refugees was justifiable...

⁶⁵ This term intentionally evokes FREUD and his masterful work (1930), *Das Unbehagen in der Kultur*.

⁶⁶ See the major work of MEDDEB (2002), *La maladie de l'Islam*.

⁶⁷ Cf. in particular SIMMEL (1919), especially the chapter "Der Begriff und die Tragödie der Kultur", 223-253.

“cure” their souls – a feat that is impossible to accomplish. To host or help a sick or menaced person does not mean to be capable of healing or saving them: saving the body is never sufficient. This is the first key to understanding what is happening to us. But the German tilt from generosity to disenchantment can help us see more clearly. The Arab-Islamic Other is undergoing a very complex process that is both tormented and violent. It attempts to “save itself” through peaceful revolutions or war, and also through terrorism and self-destruction. A difficult and complex Otherness. Now, to understand this Other and its complex and sorrowful cultural – and therefore necessarily religious – universe, *Convivencia* offers a scientific and human platform to tackle the major difficulties within Islam: the rapport with non-Muslims and “bad” Muslims, on the one hand, and the rapport with women, on the other.

A “*frérocité*”⁶⁸ that today more than ever has become murderous. For when brothers share solidarity between them, they can also become ferocious towards the Other. The other “false” Muslims are also rejected in “exterior darkness”, to use the language of the Bible. With regard to women, it is the most intimate Otherness that is at play, that of one’s self and therefore also the relationship to one’s own body and to desire⁶⁹. Two bastions of resistance to Islamic salutary “suicide”, so that another form of religion and culture may be reborn.

When thinking *Convivencia* in religious terms, one has to take into account that the religions are not at the same level of historical transformation. Catholicism has undergone its own transformation, it has witnessed moments in which it finally committed “suicide”: a form of religion has ended itself in order to give birth to another form of Catholicism. This is what Islam is currently experiencing. Unfortunately, religions do not transform themselves softly, as they crystallize human passions, “wounded” ideals,⁷⁰ and the eyes with

⁶⁸ To borrow a neologism from Jacques Lacan.

⁶⁹ “La femme étant donneuse de vie et la vie étant perte de temps, la femme devient la perte de l’âme”. See the great analysis in the article “Cologne, lieu de fantasmes” by Algerian writer Kamel Daoud, published in *Le Monde* of February 5, 2016, having previously been published on January 10, 2016 in *La Repubblica* under the title: “Colonia. Il corpo delle donne e il desiderio di libertà di quegli uomini sradicati dalla loro terra”. The author rightly notes “l’accueil des réfugiés demande d’admettre que leur donner des papiers ne suffira pas à les guérir du profond sexisme qui sévit dans le monde arabo-musulman”, DAOUD (5.2.2016).

⁷⁰ Psychoanalyst Fethi Benslama is a major figure with his research and writings on the crisis of Islam and the process of radicalization. The relationship between ideals, on the one hand, and the passage to violent acts, on the other, is the subject of a recently published multi-disciplinary book under his direction: BENSLAMA (2015), *L’idéale et la cruauté. Subjectivité et politique de la radicalisation*. In the chapter: *L’idéal blessé et le surmusulman*, 11-28, he estimates that the “guerre civile généralisée” is the basis for both a cruel and tragic manifestation of this wounded ideal: “Le monde musulman connaît aujourd’hui une guerre civile généralisée dont l’objet est son sujet: *le musulman* en tant que

which one sees and conceives the world... This is the reason why they pass through periods of violence before they resettle. Great intelligence, interpretive prowess and creativity are thus of the essence. These are difficult phases in history where the demons need to be curbed once again, for in each society, there are foundational texts that enclose small demons, “good and bad”, who slumber and wait to be awakened for better or worse.

The normative challenge, theological and even political, of the *Convivencia* project for “Islam” is thus crucial. It is so in a moment of need for historical transformation. To put it more clearly: this “old and sick” Islam of today, this Islam which has contradictory cultural references that are not at the same level as the historic transformation of modernity, this Islam which is no longer willing to take notice of the global world in which it is living – this Islam – needs to die, it needs to leave itself behind in a certain sense, in order to be reborn in a different form. The last monotheist religion is, in fact, dying right now, before our eyes. And who is killing it? It is those who speak in its name and who destroy others in its name. We are thus engulfed in a complex historical process that is happening right before our eyes, in our own lives, that needs to be understood in order to liberate reflection and speech, in order to move ahead. But to advance, Islam must cease to be an excessive normativity that is no longer timely, and needs to accept the norms of communal life: living together.

tel. J’entends par là le fait que des individus, se reconnaissant à travers ce même *nom*, sont en lutte entre eux et en eux-mêmes sur la base de suppositions éthiques et politiques antagonistes. Que les conflits soient latents ou déclarés, qu’ils se manifestent dans les discours ou qu’ils empruntent la voie des armes, qu’on s’y engage volontairement ou pas, cette guerre n’épargne aucun lieu sur toute l’étendue réputée “terre d’islam” et bien au-delà, partout où se trouvent des musulmans”, 11.

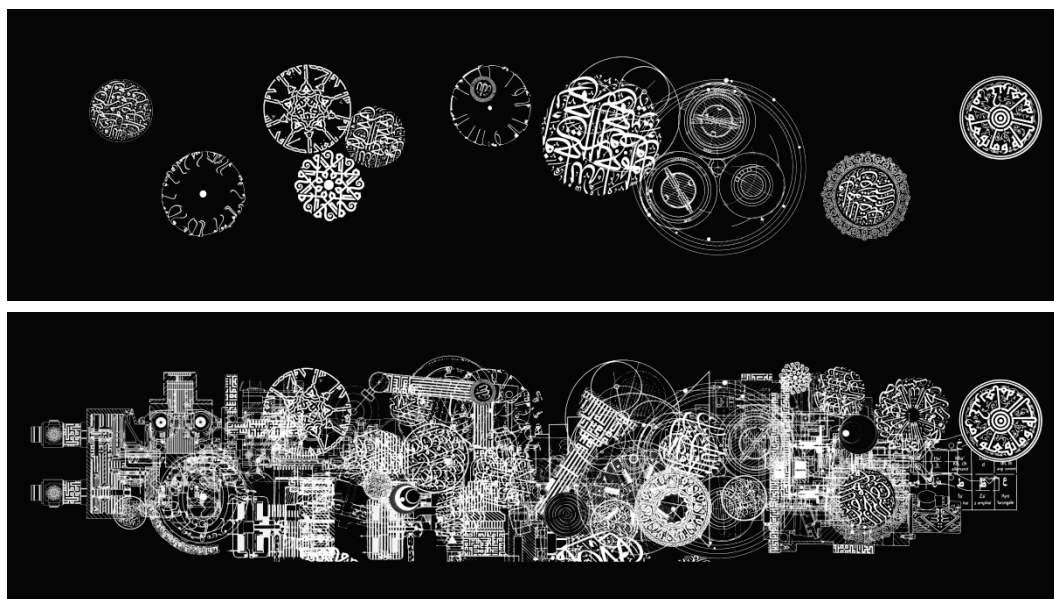


Figure 7: Les Temps Modernes, une Histoire de la Machine – La Chute
©Mounir Fatmi, 2010–2012, video installation

Convivencia, this “magic” concept that currently carries hope in more than one religion and more than one culture might be salutary for Islam as well. It can help Islam understand itself better and lend it the courage to face itself, to see its own good and bad demons.

For in order to be capable of *cum vivere*, it needs to be capable of seeing and confronting what is stopping itself – and not only the Other – from being free, recognized and valued, from loving life and being capable of giving and sharing with others despite being different. The revaluing and return of the culture of *cum vivere* as a fundamental ethical (as well as theological and social) basis that was familiar to Islam for several centuries – and that today needs to be questioned and reworked – represents an important escape hatch. This concerns not only Muslims, but also converts who engage in violent acts in the name of Islam⁷¹ and are increasingly numerous in Europe and beyond. Of course, behind religion, there are also ideals and this is a major problem given that they, too, have their somber face. The dangerous force of radical ideology operating in the name of Islam lies precisely in its capacity to attract those who suffer more than others of identity weakness, troubles caused by modern life and an economic crisis that has become increasingly hard

⁷¹ The most recent statistics following the attacks of November 13, 2015 in Paris show that 40% of those who left to wage jihad in Syria are converts.

to bear. The rejection of or even hatred towards life, from which one needs to “divorce”,⁷² transforms into a search for death, not for the sake of dying but with a view to be guided by an ideal toward a better world, a birth elsewhere. The hatred towards life and the loss of one’s own uniqueness as an individual transforms the jihadists adhering to this ideology into automatons ready to sacrifice themselves in order to camouflage their suicide. Once one yields one’s uniqueness and one’s “self-affection”⁷³, the suffering is soothed, but at the cost of becoming a machine and evil becoming “banal”, shocking in its “normalcy” – to paraphrase Hannah Arendt⁷⁴ referring to moments when the European world witnessed the devastation wrought by dangerous ideals.⁷⁵

The *Kulturbedeutung* of *Convivencia* is thus referring to globalizing semantics and global needs at the same time, even if in Weber’s and Rickert’s times a Eurocentric view of value horizons might have prevailed, and I felt myself forced to rethink the benefits of a *cum vivere* from an Arabo-Islamic perspective of hope to temper the “bad demons”.

⁷² In the communiqué by Daesh claiming responsibility for the Paris terrorist attacks of November 13, 2015, the enormous hatred towards the world is described as follows: “A group that divorced itself from life down here advanced towards their enemy searching death in the path of Allah...”

⁷³ In his work: *La guerre des subjectivités en Islam*, BENSLAMA (2014) identifies *l’auto-affection* as “la condition de toute subjectivité. En ce sens, nous sommes tous affectés par ce que nous sommes, par ce que nous croyons être et désirons préserver. La question ‘Que suis-je?’ ou ‘Que sommes-nous?’ est la question lancinante qui sourd en permanence de ce fond. Ce sont les circonstances de l’histoire individuelle ou collective qui en circonviennent le tourment et l’apaisent, ou bien au contraire la laissent à son désarroi, voire en alimentent la détresse qui se manifeste alors en plaintes, revendications, contestations, jusqu’à la cristallisation du tourment en une passion dévastatrice qui ne recule devant rien, surtout lorsqu’elle devient un phénomène de masse”, 142-143. See also in the same sense the gripping testimony from young French Muslims by birth or conversion who experienced Daesh, in the book by anthropologist and educator Dounia Bouzar: *La vie après Daesh*, BOUZAR (2015).

⁷⁴ ARENDT (1963), *Eichmann in Jerusalem. A Report on the Banality of Evil*.

⁷⁵ In his latest novels: *Le village de l’Allemand ou le journal des frères Schiller* (2008), and: 2084 – *La fin du monde*, Boualem SANSAL (2015) suggests a deep and inspiring reflection on the debate on the somber face of violent ideologies, notably Nazi and Islamist.

III. *Convivencia* revisited: Ten Claims about Rereading the Histories of Living Together in Al-Andalus

The third part is organized by way of ten claims that might help to bring some order to the vast field of debate.

Claim I: In order to understand the mechanisms and codes of *Convivencia*, it is necessary to return to the origins of Islamic texts governing cohabitation between Muslims and non-Muslims: *ṣaḥīfat al-Medina*.

The oldest text to which we have access is that of *ṣaḥīfat al-Medina*⁷⁶ (The Charter of Medina), better known as the “constitution” of Medina. This is the Prophet Muhammad’s first legal document. It is astonishing that classical historians pass over this document without citing it “others do not accord it much importance, simply saying that the Prophet settled the problem of the price of blood (*ma‘āqil*) and nothing more”.⁷⁷ Its authenticity is indisputable today.⁷⁸ It is preserved in two versions, the most famous of which is the biography of the Prophet by Ibn Ishāq reworked by Ibn Hiṣhām⁷⁹.

This corpus constitutes what is called the *sīra nabawiya* (life and acts of the Prophet). However, these “biographies” of the Prophet are not biographies in the proper sense of the word, even if many works by orientalists use them in the same sense as *sīra*. This can be seen in the works of Rodinson, Horovitz,⁸⁰ Blachère,⁸¹ or also Montgomery Watt who opines that: “This general outline [of Muhammad’s life] is found in the early biographies, notably the *Sīrah* or Life by Ibn Isḥāq (d. 768) as edited by Ibn Hisham (d. 833) ...”⁸² The *sīra* is a term that does not exist in ancient lexicography and pertains to the acts and words of the prophet, a meaning that brings it closer to *Sunna* and renders the two synonymous. *Sunna*, as we all know, the second source of Islamic law, is composed of *ḥadīth*, as tellings from the Prophet’s life, to whom normative meaning is attributed by the Islamic jurists. Nevertheless, one should not confuse *sīra* and *ḥadīth*, as the two differ in methodology and style. Critical historical studies of this type of sources –

⁷⁶ In that period, *al-Medina* was called *Yathrib*.

⁷⁷ “[D]’autres ne lui accordent pas grande importance, disant simplement que le Prophète a réglé le problème des prix du sang (*ma‘āqil*) sans plus”, DJAÏT (2012), *La vie de Muhammad. Le parcours du Prophète à Médine et le triomphe de l’islam*. He adds: “Par ailleurs, il n’y a nulle allusion à cela dans le Qur’an, peut-être parce qu’il s’agit d’un acte politique et non pas religieux”, 88-89.

⁷⁸ The great historian of Islam, Hichem Djaït, paints a very clear picture of how this document was transmitted: “Seul Ibn Ishaq transmet l’intégralité du document, plus tard, partiellement Abu ‘Ubayd b. Sallam et plus tard encore, tout aussi partiellement, Zanjawayh”, Ibid. 89. Cf. further: WATT (1961), *Muhammad Prophet and Statesman* 241.

⁷⁹ IBN HIṢHĀM (without date), *Sīrat annabiy’* (The *Sīra* of the Prophet), edited by Muḥiddine Abdel-Ḥamīd; see also: Ben Sallām, *Kitāb al-Amwāl* (The book of goods), 466-470; Al-Wāqidi in his book *al-Maḡhāzi* (Expeditions) refers explicitly to the “constitution” of Medina, cited by Djaït.

⁸⁰ HOROVITZ (1927), *The earliest Biographies of the prophet and their Authors*.

⁸¹ BLACHÈRE (1952), *Le problème de Mahomet*.

⁸² WATT (1961) 241.

extremely important for the study of early Islam – are not very numerous. But a few recent works deal with the critical analysis of *sīra* texts.⁸³ Others are trying to emphasize the multiple facets of the human dimension of the Prophet and to thereby, indirectly, desacralize the *sīra* texts.⁸⁴



Figure 8: The consultation of Quraysh, Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh, Rashīd al-Dīn, Iran, 14th c. ©Edinburgh University Library

A historical contextualization of this “constitution”, even if only a brief one, is absolutely necessary to understand both its religious dimension and its normative content, instead of seeing a political dominant. The time and geo-political space in which the *ṣaḥīfa* was written constitute a historical moment *par excellence* for Islam: It was definitive in the sense of breaking with the past and “entering into a new existence”.⁸⁵ Faced with the rejection, repression and hatred of *Quraysh*, the tribe of the Prophet, the latter was forced to flee his native land, Mecca, with his disciples (*mu'minūn*),⁸⁶ then called emigrants (*muhājirūn*),

⁸³ Cf. the excellent study in Arabic by AMAMU (2012): *Qirā'a naqdiyya li-masādir al-sīra al-nabawiyya* (Critical Reading of the Sources of the Prophetic Sīra), esp.: 15-79.

⁸⁴ To cite but one example: HUSSEIN, Al-Sīra. Le Prophète de l'islam raconté par ses compagnons. T. I (2005) and T. 2 (2007).

⁸⁵ Own translation. DJAIT (2012) 79.

⁸⁶ This is the Qurānic expression.

and to live in exile in *Yathrib (al-Medina)* in 622.⁸⁷ The tribes of Medina agreed to protect and grant exile to Muhammad and his disciples. Even more decisively, given that the majority of the clans of Medina adopted the new religion, they became Muslims called *Ansār*.⁸⁸ Following this historical and religious turning point for Islam, there was “a great impulse of solidarity between new and old believers, like a spark of love and fraternity. The sources speak of the invention by Muhammad of a new institution, a bond of parenthood: the *mu’akhat* or fraternization [...] One must absolutely note its provisions, at the root of the birth of a great religion [...] It is here in this atmosphere that Islam forms. [...] The Charter of Medina is written in the first year: the pragmatic resolution of the conflict [...]”.⁸⁹ That said, the debate surrounding the personality of Muhammad at the moment of *ṣaḥīfat al-Medina*, as a mediator (*ḥakam al-jāhiliya*: mediator in the pre-Islamic period) and as a statesman, remains topical.⁹⁰ In any case, let us examine, much like Hichem Djaït, how at that moment the Prophet could rather be considered a charismatic man, capable of transmitting the power of a divine message that, progressively, altered hearts and minds. Politics would follow, but later, and not during the phase of *Medina*, even less during its start, i.e. Year 1 of the Hegira, the birth date of the *ṣaḥīfa*. Following the death of the Prophet, politics would meld with the religious – particularly with *Abu-Bakr*, the first *Caliph* (successor) – as the wars of apostasy throughout Arabia, or the constraining violence to convert apostates, were set in motion.⁹¹ The establishment of peace – necessary for the cohabitation of different tribes that had been in conflict in *Medina* for ages (with very complex alliances and divisions between the Arab Jewish tribes, on the one hand, and polytheistic Arab tribes, on the other)⁹² – through the “constitution” of *Medina*

⁸⁷ The confiscation of goods and houses of the *muhājirūn*, as well as the rupture of the departure, notably within a tribal Arab setting in which blood ties were so strong, have been recorded in several sources, in particular Ibn Ishāq, *Sīra*.

⁸⁸ The root of the word is *n.s.r.* *Ansār* means those who help, who support, who are committed to the side of the Prophet. This term, which specifically designates residents of Medina, appears explicitly in the Qurān in the *sura al-Tawba* (IX, 100, 117) next to the *Muhājirūn*.

⁸⁹ DJAÏT (2012) 87-88 (own translation).

⁹⁰ The debate about this point is fascinating. See the position of Al-‘Ali, Watt and others, which differs from that of H. Djaït for example.

⁹¹ The wars of apostasy (*ḥurūb al-ridda*) are fundamental to the understanding of the entire theory of *dhimma*, but this point deserves ample separate analysis.

⁹² At *Yathrib (al-Medina)* “trois tribus juives importantes – les Banû Qaynuqâ’, les Banû al-Nadhîr et les Banû Qurayza – sont établies depuis plusieurs générations. [...] Leur influence politique s’exerce notamment par le truchement d’alliances avec les deux principales tribus polythéistes de la ville, les ‘Aws et les Khazraj [...]. Tous ne cessent de faire la guerre. [...] les tribus juives, loin de rester solidaires entre elles, choisissent de soutenir des camps opposés, les Qurayza s’alliant aux ‘Aws, les Qaynuqâ’ et les al-Nadhîr s’alliant aux Khazraj. [...] (les) ‘Aws et les Khazraj finiront par embrasser l’islam. Mais ce ne sera pas le cas des tribus juives. Le Prophète [propose] à ces dernière un ‘Pacte de

took place thanks to the religious and moral authority of the Prophet as well as his neutrality. However, he was strictly speaking not yet a statesman, not even a podesta.⁹³

This document describes a unified *umma*. According to historical sources, Muhammad initially hoped that the Jews would acknowledge him as the ultimate prophet. Islam as a religion was intended to create an ecumenical community (*umma*) open to Jews and Christians. The famous Quranic verse: “No constraint in religion” (II – v. 256) expresses not just the pragmatic pluralism of Islam at its origin but also the Prophet’s strong conciliatory attitude at the outset.⁹⁴

One should recall here that after the “constitution” of Medina and following the death of the Prophet and the enlargement of the Empire, there were other texts on the subject of *dhimma* including the famous pact of Umar – the second successor of the Prophet –, a very controversial document.⁹⁵

The reading of the constitution is revealing and leads to the following claim of principle.

Claim II: Initially, the *umma* is inclusive and not exclusive of the *ahl al-kitāb*

But the big question then is: Were the Jews included in the *Islamic umma* as part of it, or were they regarded as another different *umma* having its own religion?

Two clauses of the text offer two fundamental points on the question of *dhimma*:

- 1- “The Jews of Banu ‘Awf are an *umma* with the *Mu’minun*, the Jews having their religion (*din*) and the *Muslimun* having their religion (*din*)...”

To almost all researchers,⁹⁶ this means that the Jews not only formed a “community of believers” but originally also were not a segregated, but an integral part of the “Muslim community” in form of “*mu’minūn*”, albeit one having its own religion. This position, while held by the majority and generally validated by great historians, deserves being questioned and revisited in the light of a reading of the Arabic text itself, as the translations are at times misleading or at least problematic. Ibn Ishāq introduces the text of the *ṣaḥīfa*⁹⁷ by declaring: “the Messenger of God (...) a writing (*kitābun*) by which he established

bonne entente et de soutien mutuel’. Ce pacte n’est autre que la ‘constitution’ de Medina”. See: “Le Prophète et les tribus juives d’Arabie selon Al-Sīra”, HUSSEIN (2013) 55.

⁹³ The figure of podesta refers to a chief magistrate in towns and republics, a practice that existed particularly in Arabia as well as in Italian towns in the Middle Ages.

⁹⁴ Let us recall that the Qurān only evokes force regarding conversion in the *sura al-Tawba*, IX, 5, i.e. at the end of Year 9, referring to the pagans of Mecca. Let us further recall that the wars of apostasy with Abu-Bakr took place in Year 11.

⁹⁵ A very “hard” document, sometimes simply repressive towards Christians.

⁹⁶ Particularly the works by Wellhausen; Serjeant; Donner; Friedmann...

⁹⁷ *Ṣaḥīfa* means literally: “sheet”

peace and an alliance with the Jews”.⁹⁸ This phrase gives the impression that it represents the essential part of *ṣaḥīfa*, which is in reality, misleading. It must be recalled that the “constitution” of Medina⁹⁹ was not drafted all at once. Historians, including those who translated it,¹⁰⁰ are aware of the difficulty posed in dating this document. To briefly clarify, the *ṣaḥīfa* is divided into two major parts, one comprising articles 1-36 and the other articles 37-47.¹⁰¹ The first part (Year 1 of the Hegira/7th century) is itself subdivided into one part concerning Muslim Arabs (articles 1 to 23) and another concerning the situation of the Jews (articles 24 to 36).¹⁰² In this first part, therefore, there is, on the one hand, the *umma* of Muslim believers and, on the other, the *umma* of Jews having their own religion but who, for several reasons,¹⁰³ are considered allies to the Muslims. This is the source of the Arabic expression: “*umma ma ‘a al-mu’minīn*”. The Arabic term “*ma ‘a*” (with) here refers to both rapprochement and dissociation: to be with, together, but at the same time being different. This historical and juridical reading of the “constitution” is reinforced and justified by the fact that the *ṣaḥīfa* was created to apply to all inhabitants of *Yathrib* (*Medina*), whether they be Muslim Arabs, Jews¹⁰⁴ or polytheist Arabs: *Aws-Manāt*, in classical Arabic. This is basically to say that the “constitution” of Medina was created to apply within a pluri-religious Arab setting. This conclusion, of course, leaves the door wide open to a major difficulty and problem: That of later legal and textual evolutions on the question of *dhimmitude*.

⁹⁸ Own translation from Arabic, see DJAÏT (2012)

⁹⁹ It would be problematic to make a link to modern constitutionalism. Its character remains disputed “*Gemeindeordnung*” has been the famous translation by Julius Wellhausen.

¹⁰⁰ To cite, by way of example, the translation by Watt or that by Serjeant.

¹⁰¹ We are following the same division advocated by historians such as DJAÏT (2012) 91; WATT (1959) 267-272; cf. on the interpretation of Watt: DENNY (1977), *Umma in the Constitution of Medina*, 44. This is also the position of Hamidullah, who opines along with Wellhausen, however, that the first part comprises 23 articles and the second articles 24 to 47 (this, incidentally, points to the problem of subdivision within the two parts of the document). See his article HAMIDULLAH (1941), *The first written Constitution of the World. An important document of the Prophet’s time*, 12-13. Other historians, in turn, adopt different divisions. Such is the case with SERJEANT (1978), who in: *The “Sun-nah Jāmiāh”, Pacts with the Yathrib Jews, and the Tahrīm of Yathrib: Analysis and translation of the documents comprised in the so-called ‘constitution of Medina’*, analyzes documents A through H with a different numbering.

¹⁰² The remaining subdivisions shall not be covered here.

¹⁰³ Space precludes a detailed analysis of the highly complex tribal, religious, ethnic, economic, security, etc. context of this foundational period of Islam.

¹⁰⁴ See also in this sense DJAÏT (2012), who, justifiably, opines that the Jews of Medina were considered by the “constitution” as a *Gemeinschaft* in the Weberian sense, 96.

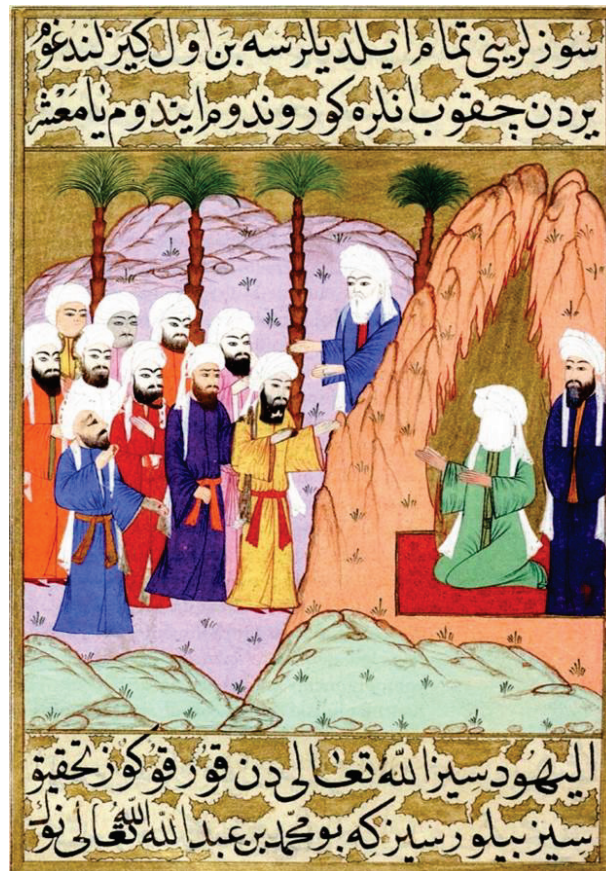


Figure 9: Muhammad with converted Jews, *Siyer-i Nabî* or *Life of the Prophet*, Turkey 14th c. Vol III, The Spencer Collection ©New York Library

The controversial document known under the name “Pact of Umar”, which is very tough towards Christians, is exemplary in this sense. M. Cohen establishes the association between Christians and Jews by means of this controversial Pact, linking it particularly to the episode of Granada in 1066. This episode refers to the reconquest of Al-Andalus by *Almohadi* puritans and their abolition of *dhimmitude* by targeting and massacring not only Jews and Christians, but also tolerant Muslims.¹⁰⁵ This was followed, albeit much later, by texts from jurists of the Hanbalite school – the legal and ideological wing of present day Wahhabism – who increasingly strove for and advocated intolerance and repression of Chris-

¹⁰⁵ COHEN (2013), L’attitude de l’islam envers les juifs, du Prophète Muhammad au Pacte de ‘Umar’, 67ff.

tians and Jews in the land of Islam (*dār al-islām*). The founding texts of the three Sunni Islamic legal schools (*al-islām al-sunnī*), *malikite*, *ḥanafite* and *shāfiʿite*, only dedicated short chapters to the question of *dhimmi* and *dhimmitude*, governing the payment of *jizya* (tribute)¹⁰⁶ and inter-religious marriage,¹⁰⁷ but with very little – almost nothing, in fact – on cohabitation between them and Muslims or on the regulation of details of daily life. How come? This is a good question that merits more in-depth legal and sociological study.

Nevertheless, an “aggressive legal literature” attacking the *dhimmi* and theorizing about a radical and repressive doctrine regarding them proliferated among Hanbalite jurists, the most radical branch of Sunni Islam. Let us recall the names of Ibn qayyim al-Jawziyya (1291-1328) and his voluminous book *Aḥkām ahl al-dhimma*, or also the disciple of Ibn Ḥanbal (the founder of the Hanbalite school) Ibn Taymiyya (1263-1328) and his curious book in the form of a long *fatwā*: *Masʾala fil-qanāis* (Question on the Subject of Churches)¹⁰⁸, in which he advances theological-legal arguments justifying the closing of churches in Cairo ordered by the “*wullāt al-umūr*”.¹⁰⁹ His radical position goes so far as to prohibit maintaining churches inland conquered by Muslims and even provides a “justification” for destroying churches considered a symbol of *kufṛ*¹¹⁰ and therefore belonging no longer to the *ahl al-kitāb* (People of the Book) but to the *kuffār* (People of *kāfir*)!

Incidentally, and following a long historical and legal evolution, the word “*muʾminūn*” today exclusively applies to Muslims and does not include Jews and Christians who, unlike *muʾminūn*, are nevertheless considered People of the Book, given that Islam is born in the same vein, even if it marks its own originality. This original meaning has been lost.¹¹¹ Moreover, its primary meaning was intrinsically tied to the economic and security dimension of the “constitution” of Medina. This follows clearly from the following provision:

- 2- “The Jews are responsible for (paying) their *nafaqa*, and the *Muslimun* are responsible for paying their *nafaqa*. There is support between them against anyone who goes to war with the people of this sheet”.

¹⁰⁶ The question of *jizya* still causes great theological and legal debate. See for instance the analysis in: ABEL (1970), *La djizya: tribut ou rançon?*, 5-19.

¹⁰⁷ One can find, for instance, a short passage on “*Ahl al-dhimma*” (People of *dhimma*) in the famous treatise of Imam *shāfiʿī* entitled *al-umm* (the mother), right after the chapter on *jihād* and the conquest of non-Muslim land.

¹⁰⁸ IBN TAYMIYYA (1995), *Masʾala fil-qanāis*, edited and annotated by Al-Šhibl, Riyadh/Saudi Arabia.

¹⁰⁹ A term that is at the same time religious and legal and signifies the “legitimate” representatives according to the specific Islamic procedures that grant access to political and religious leadership.

¹¹⁰ A term which describes disbelief or denial of Islam, unbelief.

¹¹¹ Contrary to strategies of traditionalizing Islam by way of sacralizing the “golden age”, this time a progressive original meaning has nearly completely been lost over time.

The Jews shared the costs with the faithful when in war. Here, a remark needs to be made. A “*munfiq*” is someone who pays “*nafaqa*”, whereas a “*munāfiq*”, a similar sounding word, is a hypocrite. Later – including by some Muslim jurists in Al-Andalus¹¹² – Jews and Christians were often stigmatized by the latter word and thereby discriminated as “*munāfiqūn*”, that is hypocrites. The original meaning used in the “constitution” of Medina was to lose much of its *raison d’être*, but should nonetheless not be forgotten, as it is linked to the historical context of the text. The economic dimension of this “constitution” to impose taxes becomes very clear here, but in later texts on *dhimma*,¹¹³ the economic aspect, particularly in the *sīra* texts, disappears.

Finally, *dhimma* and *dhimmitude* are key concepts to approach *Convivencia* in a different and more profound way. These issues deserve in depth study. For now let us finish by joining an eminent historian in raising a difficult question: Is it not the case that “the Muslim land [...] constituted a refuge for the Jews [fleeing the Iberian Peninsula] thanks to the status of *dhimmi*”?¹¹⁴ And is it not strange that to this day in Israel “religious tribunals which are granted jurisdiction in family matters on local subjects constitute a legacy of the Ottoman *millet* system”?¹¹⁵

Claim III: Understanding *Convivencia* from an Islamic perspective necessarily includes the question of theological reflection. One must therefore understand the religious dimension of *living together*.

The key concept to grasp this religious impact is limited by the notion of *dhimma*. So, the meaning of protection is central to all theory surrounding *dhimma*. The first part of the “constitution” of Medina contains the following key passage, which translates as follows: “The *dhimma* (security) of Allah is one (for life and property)”. The policy of the Prophet was one of political pragmatism of security (*amān*) and the free exercise of religion in return for loyalty. This policy was first established in favor of the Jews and later expanded to the other People of the Book (*ahl al-kitāb*). In this context, let us recall al-Razi, Fatimi scholar in the 10th century who largely wrote on the rapport between “*mu’min*” and “*amān*”. He explains: “Al-*mu’min* is one of the attributes of Allah. Its roots is from *amān*

¹¹² To quote just one example: the famous Al-Qurtubī (born at Córdoba in 1214, died in Egypt in 1273) with his book: *al-i’lām bimā fī dīni al-naṣāra mina al-fasādi wal-awhām wa idhāri mahāsini al-islām*, in which he demonstrates what is “bad and refutable” in the religion of the “*al-naṣāra*” (the Christians), and which is “kind and adventurous” in Islam.

¹¹³ I am grateful to Hamadi Redissi and Asma Nourira for the interesting discussion on this matter at Tunis in spring 2015.

¹¹⁴ VEINSTEIN (2013), *Juifs et musulmans dans l’Empire ottoman*, 185 (own translation).

¹¹⁵ (Own translation), see the fascinating article by KARAYANNI (2013), *L’application du droit musulman en Israël* 458-470.

(security), as if Allah gives his servants security (*āmana 'ibāda-hu*). (...) Allah is called mu'min and the servant/worshipper mu'min. (...) So that the mu'minun, part of them is in the security of the other part, and one part has given the other part security (*amān*)".¹¹⁶ Al-Razi then cites a very well known hadith by the Prophet, who, after having been asked: "Who is *mu'min*"?, responds: "those whose neighbor is sheltered from his vices", for the fundament of "*imān*" (faith) is "*al-amān*" (security).

Certainly, this does not turn Muslim conquerors into benevolent universalists who came to Al-Andalus to embrace all religions and ethnicities. They were certainly convinced of their superiority, but in their relations with *ahl al-kitāb*, they acted out of theological obligation, not towards Christians or Jews as individuals, but towards God, who was conceived as the last protector of the *umma*. But what happened when there was any kind of dispute and "discord" among the communities? The *ṣahīfā* says that it had to be brought before Allah and Muhammad (§23). This appeals to a charismatic type of conflict resolution. But what happens after the passing of the charismatic figure?¹¹⁷

The *ḥadith* and *sīra* are teeming with history in this sense. There is a report of the Prophet standing up as a funeral procession passes by. He was informed that the deceased was a Jew. He replied: "when you perceive a procession, stand up". Later, during a similar event, the Prophet is said to have exclaimed: "*alysa nafsān?* (is it not a soul?)."¹¹⁸ The famous *Zarqāni*, in his commentary on the *Muwatta'* of imam Malek, added the motive that one needs to get up out of respect for the seizer of souls.¹¹⁹ This type of reasoning, seemingly, is not only theological, but also supremely legal because in contractual matters, jurists put in place complex legal mechanisms to protect not simply one of the contracting parties, for example, but to protect a supreme principle of reciprocity, social interest, moral principle, etc.

The *Muwatta'* of imam Malik Ibn Anas, founder of the Maliki school of law dominant in Al-Andalus and Maghreb, is a major legal work in the entire history of Islamic law. This body of legal work was largely commented and reinterpreted by the *qādi* and jurists from Al-Andalus and Northern Africa through the processes of which it has taken on a different dimension in what is called the *Muslim Occident* as compared to the *Orient*. To our knowledge, there has been no systematic determination of the normative process of this evolution and its impact on the theory of *dhimma*, the rules of living together and Islamic law in general. We are thus faced with a colossal unexplored research field within Islamic legal history.

Ibn Ḥazm, the Andalusian lawyer and poet from Córdoba (11th century) offers a very convincing illustration of this claim. In his famous book *al-Fiṣāl fil milali wal-ahwā' wal-*

¹¹⁶ Cf. SERJEANT (1978) 13-14.

¹¹⁷ This major question opens up a quasi-taboo research field on the human dimension of the Prophet, not solely with regard to *dhimmitude* and living together, but concerning the very theological essence of the Islamic state since its birth.

¹¹⁸ VAJDA (1937), Juifs et Musulmans selon le *Ḥadith*, 76.

¹¹⁹ Rejection by Zarqāni of anti-Jewish arguments in the *ḥadith* by other commentators.

nniḥal (A Comparative Study of Religions), Ibn Ḥazm, the son of a former minister and founder of the *ḏhahiri* school of law in Al-Andalus, attacks Jews and Christians (and incidentally also tolerant and rationalist Muslims). But, despite all the insults and utterances, he instinctively stops at a certain limit: the respect for Jews and Christians as holders of Scripture (*ahl al-kitāb*). His polemic *Risāla* (Epistle/Letter), in which he vehemently refutes the critique of the Jewish minister of Granada Samuel Ibn Nagrila regarding contradictions in the Qurān, is testament to this. Reading this *Risāla* is important in a double sense, as it allows us to formulate the next two claims.



Figure 10: Monument dedicated to Ibn Hazm en la Puerta de Sevilla at Córdoba, 1963 ©artencordoba

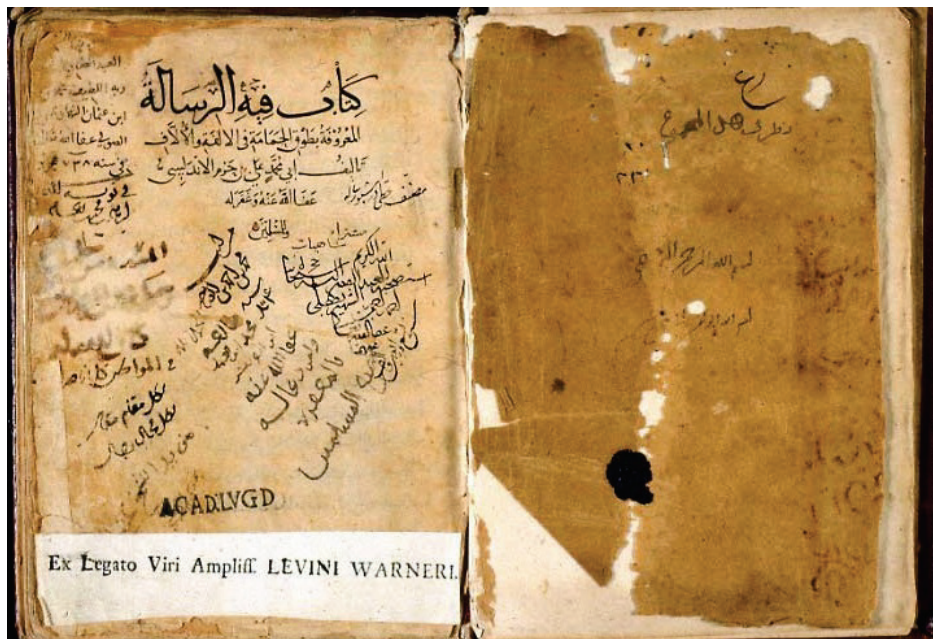


Figure 11: The title-page of the unique manuscript of *Tawq al-Hamama* by Ibn Hazm*
 ©Leiden University Library: MS Or. 927, folio 1a

Claim IV: The Muslim regime of *dhimma* was not applied in a strict manner, but rather in an “elastic” and pragmatic way.

Known for his violent temper and for being easily offended, the abovementioned Ibn Ḥazm starts his letter by questioning the attitude of the king of Granada, whom he likens to “many princes [who] prepare their loss and offer themselves up to their enemy”. The enemy in this case, as we have readily understood, is no other but *dhimmi* Ibn Nagrila to whom the administration of Muslim affairs has been entrusted, a fact that speaks for itself. He replies to the legal and theological arguments of Ibn Nagrila and, before calling for the strict application of *dhimma*, formulates a very revealing wish: “I firmly hope and have the solid hope that God will treat those harshly who get close to the Jews, who live in their entourage, make close and familiar friends with them and do not exercise their rigor against them. Those people disobey the Qurān – he points to sūras 5-51; 3-118; 60-1; 5-57; 5-82; 2-61”.¹²⁰ In other words, Ibn Ḥazm confirms that the “bad Muslims” who “do not

* The first translation into German has been carried out in 1941 by Max Weisweiler (Leiden, Brill) under the misleading assumption that this beautiful text was of pornographic character! I am grateful to Stefan Wild who attracted my attention to this background.

¹²⁰ ARNALDEZ (1973) 47.

respect” the prescriptions of the Qurān have merily lived in *Convivencia* with the *dhimmi* and must be reprimanded for it, according to his restricted view. In this Andalusian society, what I shall call “a normative order of *Convivencia*” (and will demonstrate through our further research to entail some kind of “communicative ethics of *Convivencia*”) – which cannot be defined solely by the texts on the *dhimma* – was therefore quite real, though its legitimacy was disputed by some. In other words: how did the model traced by the “constitution” of Medina change when it was “implanted” to other historical and cultural contexts?

Claim V: Regarding the very concept of *Convivencia*, it seems appropriate to add two further Arabic words: the word “*jār*” (meaning “protector/neighbor”) used by the “constitution” of Medina and the term “*išhra*” (meaning “to live together with”). Therefore these two concepts have to be taken into account in the debate on the scope of *Convivencia*.

Convivencia is today commonly translated in Arabic as “*ta’āwušh*”, to live together. My first socialization within an Arab society has led me to reflect on another word that has not, to my knowledge, been used in this context, namely the word “*išhra*” that comes from the same root – the verb “*āsha*” (to live) or the noun “*aysh*” (life) – but that is etymologically and sociologically richer and more complex than “*ta’āwušh*”. “*išhra*” has a very elastic meaning, as it refers to a whole range of living together: with a friend, a companion or associate, a husband/wife, a group of people or also a neighbor, referring to a relation of “*Gemeinschaft*” in Tönnies’ sense.¹²¹ “*āshara jirānahu*” means: “to have good neighborly relations” and even simply to “see” one’s neighbors, to not exclude them from one’s view and is a strong symbol for a minimum of social contact with the other: to not exclude them from one’s field of vision or one’s view.¹²²

Curiously, “*išhra*” also means community, but in a more descriptive sense than the religiously loaded concept of *umma*.¹²³ In the “constitution” of Medina, the word “*jār*” points to the meaning of protection:

¹²¹ See for example Tönnies’ parlance about: “*Gemeinschaft des Ortes, des Blutes und des Geists*”. Cf. TÖNNIES (1887), *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*.

¹²² When we, humans, enter this world, the first thing connecting us to life is the gaze of the mother who does not reject us. Delassus has worked and written much on birth, psychological maternity and the vital importance of the maternal gift via the gaze through which babies can accept the gift of life. See: DELASSUS (2011), *Le sens de la maternité, especially: Le don de la totalité*, 120ff.. This also recalls Lévinas and his writings on the face...

¹²³ According to a pre-Islamic sense, “*ma’shara*” refers to a group of reunited people, an assembly, a society, or a community.

- “The protected person (*jār*) is like (one’s) self, neither molested nor committing an unlawful act”.
- and in a wider sense: “Allah is a protector for him who observes undertaking and keeps free of dishonourable acts and offences...”

The combination of “*jār*” and “*iṣhra*” does not exclusively point to a relation of protector/protected, but to a more complex and more participative dynamism of mutual protection and assistance. By the same token, it is a social mechanism that allows for the absorption of conflicts on an individual and inter-individual level. Most importantly, “*iṣhra*” is an ethics of living together that is emptied of a direct religious affiliation, even if the background is strongly religious. Let me recall what the validity culture of Islam proclaims: Islamic normativity does not only mean the holy of the holy, but it embraces manners, rituals, everyday life behavior and the law, as is true for other religious “validity cultures”.¹²⁴ One of the main specific properties of Islamic validity culture is that of the logic of validity itself. In effect, what is legally valid or non-valid in Islam is not subjected to a binary code like in occidental legal logics (legal/illegal; valid/null, etc.). The logic of Islamic legal validity is richer because it is more gradual. This explains the existence of an entire palette of legal classification: An act can thus be considered mandatory (*wājib*), recommendable (*mandūb*), legally neutral or indifferent (*mubāḥ*), reprehensible (*makrūh*) and finally forbidden (*maḥḍhur*). Similarly, the legal sanction attached to the act also varies according to its classification. This is the reason why there are not only valid or null acts, but also possible (*jā’iz*) ones, suspended (*mawqūf*) ones,¹²⁵ etc. The big problem is that this “legal richness” is in reality the consequence of a problematic interference between the juridical and the non-juridical in the sense of social norms inscribed initially in the field of ethics that has then become inseparable from the purely legal, on the one hand, and the religiously permissible, recommendable or prohibited, on the other. In short, it is also the great difficulty one faces in approaching *Convivencia* in the light of Islamic validity culture, because the normative dimensions from the other communities are to be seen through the lenses of a normative gradient, more complex than the type of binary code occidental normative orders are used to.

¹²⁴ This new concept was first developed in: SAKRANI/GEPHART (2012), ‘Recht’ und ‘Geltungskultur’. Zur Präsenz islamischen Rechts in Deutschland und Frankreich, 103-137.

¹²⁵ Suspended contracts, for example, are of great originality and complexity in Islamic legal thought. They apply, for instance, to contracts concluded while terminally ill: they are valid contracts, but suspended pending ratification by the heirs. Also, contrary to a notion widespread in the West, polygamy, while permitted, is discouraged or considered reprehensible (*makrūh*).

An interesting example for this “ethic of *‘išhra*” is Testour. It is a small town, situated in North-East Tunisia, founded by Jewish-Muslim Andalusians who fled to this country after the *Reconquista*.

Apart from its Great Mosque constructed according to Spanish techniques, its clock that turns counter-clockwise,¹²⁶ despite its numerous Jewish and Muslim marabouts and the keys to Andalusian houses symbolically kept by – Jewish and Muslim – inhabitants in the hope of returning to them one day (of course, they never did return); despite all this, the inhabitants of Testour maintained a very particular Andalusian habitus over time, namely that of warmly welcoming and including those who pass by to work, to stay for a while or even to settle. Their identity is Judeo-Muslim Andalusian even before being Tunisian and manifests itself through gestures to assure the visitor of their welcome, that they are invited to partake in their dishes, music, festivities, smells and flavors of the Andalusia of yesteryear¹²⁷... One might speak of a good example of *Convivencia* between two cultures, if not three, even if Christians remain absent, but this is another topic worthy of separate discussion...

One cannot leave unmentioned the masterpiece of Morisco immigration to Testour: the Great Mosque. A splendid edifice, unique in its conception in Tunisia. This monument was built by Andalusians according to Spanish techniques as if to imprint the event of their forceful separation from their beloved former homeland into their memories. One need to look but at the clock that adorns the minaret with its hands that turn counter-clockwise to understand the desperate attempts of this population to turn back time in an effort to return to a lost land. This mosque was constructed in the early 17th century by a certain Muhammed Tagharino, a Morisco with origins in Aragon who arrived in Tunisia with the second wave of Andalusian immigration. The first wave arrived in 1610 and built the first nucleus of the city along with its first quarter “*Rĥibat al Andalus*”. It was followed by the quarter of Tagharino, built in the same time as the mosque, and the quarter of *Hara*, occupied by the Jewish community that accompanied the expelled Muslims in their painful fate. To construct the Great Mosque, Tagharino used, besides tiles and bricks fabricated locally by Andalusians, stones extracted from Roman ruins located in situ. Let us recall that Testour originally was a relay in the route between Carthage and Theveste called “*Tichilla*”. And so this elegant and impressive mosque rises into the sky, with its octagonal minaret in the image of towers dominating ancient Spanish churches, with two stars of David – a testament to the diversity of the population of Testour – tile roofing, its sun-dial in the middle of the patio that indicates the hours of prayer and its “*mihrab*” topped by a triangular pediment borrowed from the art of Italian-Spanish Renaissance. This ensemble reunites to reinforce the original character of the building and its universal vocation.¹²⁸

¹²⁶ Note that this clock was restored thanks to an initiative by the Testour Association for the Safeguarding of Medina in collaboration with the Goethe Institut.

¹²⁷ See for example: HAMROUNI (2000), Testour. Documents et études; idem. (1995), Testour. Histoire et récits de voyage.

¹²⁸ About the Mihrabe, see: ÁLVAREZ DOPICO (2005), Le Mihrabe de la grande mosquée de Testour: Une affirmation d’hispanité, 45-53.

Mosque of Testour

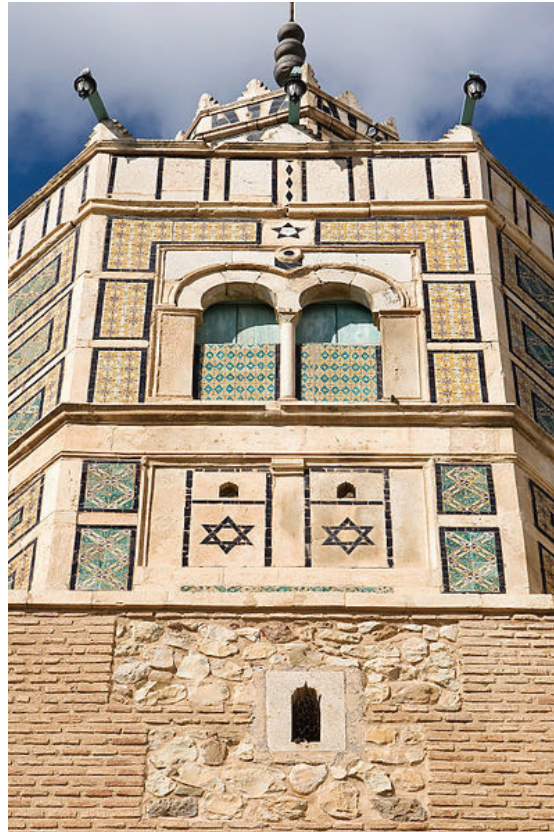


Figure 12: ©Agnieszka Wolska



Figure 13: ©IssamBarhoumi

The universal vocation developed in Al-Andalus is an inescapable key to better understanding *Convivencia*, its functioning and failure. From theology to architecture via everyday life, a specific universalist tendency seriously propels us towards a pertinent hypothesis: How and for what reasons could the social transcend the religious in daily life? In Spain, Arabic texts from the 15th century (the collection of *Sacramento*) have not yet offered up all their secrets for a more in-depth study of this movement of religious syncretism that appeared with the *moriscos* and in the region of *las Alpujarras* before their definitive expulsion from Spain.¹²⁹ Further, the grand mosque of Testour offers a good example for this religious-architectural transplantation. The object is thus not religious conversion of places of faith (for instance a church that becomes a mosque and then again a church), but rather an architectural art that espouses the three religions – and thus the three cultures – reunited. In the legal domain, David Santillana, the codifier of the Tunisian and Moroccan civil code under French protectorate is an exceptional example of a universalist legal tendency. Descendent of Sephardic Jews expelled from Spain who settled in Tunisia in the 15th century, his dream as a legislator consisted in creating a universal civil code that marries “European law” (German, French, Italian, etc.) and Islamic law as carried by a Judaic universalism. His choice of words in “European law” is even more surprising in the 19th century, where Europe of the nation states did not even seek to unify its own law. It goes to show how this jurist of Andalusian origins was a century ahead of his time.¹³⁰

Claim VI: I claim to take account of “Arabness” and the role of the Arabic language in order to understand how *Convivencia* operated in everyday life.

Not only is Andalusian Islam deeply Arabic, unlike Balkan Islam, which is rather Ottoman, but its main component, that is to say the *Arabic language*, was shared by Jews and Christians. In this way, one of the main mechanisms through which the Andalusian social bond seems to have been forged is the Arabic language. Might one therefore speak of a *language community* that transcends *religious communities* for explaining the miracle of *Convivencia*? And what does it mean if the main communality is the language? This question certainly deserves more attention in future research activities.

“Arabness” is an identitary component as such that, nonetheless, needs to be questioned and redefined in the Andalusian context. When investigating “Arabness”, I am also doing this independently of Islam, as it is pre-Islamic. The Arabic language is pre-Islamic, too; it later became the language of the Qurān, but is first and foremost the language of Arabic poetry. One of the particularities of Arab-Islamic civilization is the absence of other forms of aesthetic imagination of “realities” among the genres of art (theater for the Greeks,

¹²⁹ SAKRANI (2014) *The Law of the Other*, 104.

¹³⁰ For more details see: SAKRANI (2009), *Au croisement des cultures de droit occidentale et musulmane*.

sculpture for the Romans...). Poetry is discourse addressed to the senses and imagination of the listener. It is the very place in which the vision of the world is unfolded. In addition, despite its serious position compared to poetry, the Qurān has – curiously – given a positive impulse towards the conservation and evolution of poetic art.¹³¹ Poetic writing has even played a major role in understanding the holy texts: Qurān and the Prophet's *ḥadith*.¹³²

The pre-Islamic pioneer of *qasida* (classical odes), *Imru' al-Qays*, opens his famous *Mu'allāqa* with the theme of effacement, departure and the imperfection of being:

”قفنا نكبي على ذكرى حبيب ومنزل
 “Halt, so that we may mourn the memory of the beloved and of home”

Several translations, including into French, English, German and Spanish fail to do the exact meaning justice. The Arabic personal pronoun “*antumā*” or “*humā*” refers to duality, two persons or two objects, and is used by the poet to describe not two persons, but his own self broken in two (*homo duplex*).¹³³ This verse, still recited by heart in the entire Arab-Islamic world, from Morocco to Syria, is foundational to Arabic collective consciousness. Its impact on the construction of a self and an Other has only rarely been investigated or studied. More than the theme of departure, solitude, what interests me is that of separation from one's homeland or being constrained to exile, which is remarkable in Andalusian Arab-Muslim poetry. The founder of the Umayyad State in Al-Andalus in the 8th century, *Abdel-Rahmān al-Dākhil*, offers a revealing example after the *Abbasids* took power and engaged in a bloody assault to exterminate the entire Umayyad family. The young *Abdel-Rahmān* miraculously survived by fleeing from Damascus to Bagdad and later to Morocco, in order to ultimately settle in Andalusia. Apart from his political works, he was also a poet who sung of the pain of being torn from one's homeland and exiled. Jorge Luis Borges in his famous novel *El Aleph*, reminds the “occidental exile”¹³⁴ when retaining the poetic phrasing of “*Abdurrahmán*”:

“Tú también eres, ¡oh palma!,
 En este suelo extranjero...”¹³⁵

To construct the Great Mosque of Córdoba, he had to purchase the remaining part of the great church, after the Muslims had “shared” it with the Christians by building a little mosque! In effect, this person is also interesting for another reason: his attitude towards Christians. According to several chroniclers such as: al-Muqri (Nafḥ al-tīb min ḡhusni Al-Andalus al-Ratīb), or Ibn al-Qutiyya (Tārikḥ iftitāh Al-Andalus), his policy towards Christians was very tolerant and open. He nominated a chief administrator for Christian affairs who resided by his side in Córdoba and was one of his closest advisers. It was the same Abdel

¹³¹ Unfortunately this poetic dimension of Islam is completely oppressed in the current debate.

¹³² The books of *sīra*, for example, are in fact a mix of poetic prose and interpretations of the Qurān. This is fundamentally a simple reprise of a pre-Islamic tradition: *majālis al-samar* (...), also widespread in Al-Andalus.

¹³³ As to the tradition of “*homo duplex*” see: DURKHEIM (1913), Le problème religieux et la dualité de la nature humaine; idem. (1914), Le dualisme de la nature humaine et ses conditions sociales.

¹³⁴ This is also the title of a wonderful book written by Abdelwahab Meddeb: *L'exile occidental*, MEDDEB (2005).

¹³⁵ La busca de Averroes, in: BORGES (1969), *El Aleph*, 130.

Raḥmān al-Dākhil and his descendants who created a space for the participation of Jews in the governance of Andalusian society.¹³⁶



Figure 14: Statue of Abd ar-Rahman I, Almuñécar, Spain ©Noel Walley

The Arabic language thus became the world in which a new reality for Muslims unfolded. The geographic and cultural context is quite far from being Arabia alone. Islam itself was obligated to include and open itself to others. All this led to a proper collective identity

¹³⁶ “(...) By way of introduction, he had identified himself as ‘Hasdai, the son of Isaac, the son of Ezra, from the sons of the Jerusalem exile who now live in Sefarad’. But Hasdai was much more than this modest identification of family and tribe revealed: he was the nasi, the ‘prince’, of his own religious community. At the same time, he was a vizier, the right-hand man to the ruler of ‘the Ishmaelite citizens’, the caliph Abd al-Rahman III. This Abd al-Rahman, who ruled successfully between 912 and 961, was the descendant of of his namesake founder of that homeland called, as Hasdai indicated, Sefarad in Hebrew and al-Andalus in Arabic”, MENOCAL (2002) 79, A Grand Vizier, a Grand City, Cordoba, 949, in: *The Ornament of the World. How Muslims, Jews, and Christians created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain*.

transcending religious affiliations and expressing a belief in communality as Andalusians!¹³⁷



Figure 15: The bible translated into Arabic by Saadia Gaon, Xth century
©BNF Paris, ms. or., arabe 1, folios 232 verso et 233

¹³⁷ It has been a common expression amongst philosophers, jurists, poets, etc. of diverging descent from Jewish, Christian and Islamic origins to speak of themselves: “عندنا في الأندلس” (at our home in Al-Andalus...), an expression that was widely used by the Arab Jewish philosopher Maimonides for example. See the beautiful book of ANIDJAR (2002), *Our Place in al-Andalus. Kabbalah, Philosophy, Literature in Arab Jewish Letters*, esp.: 57-101.

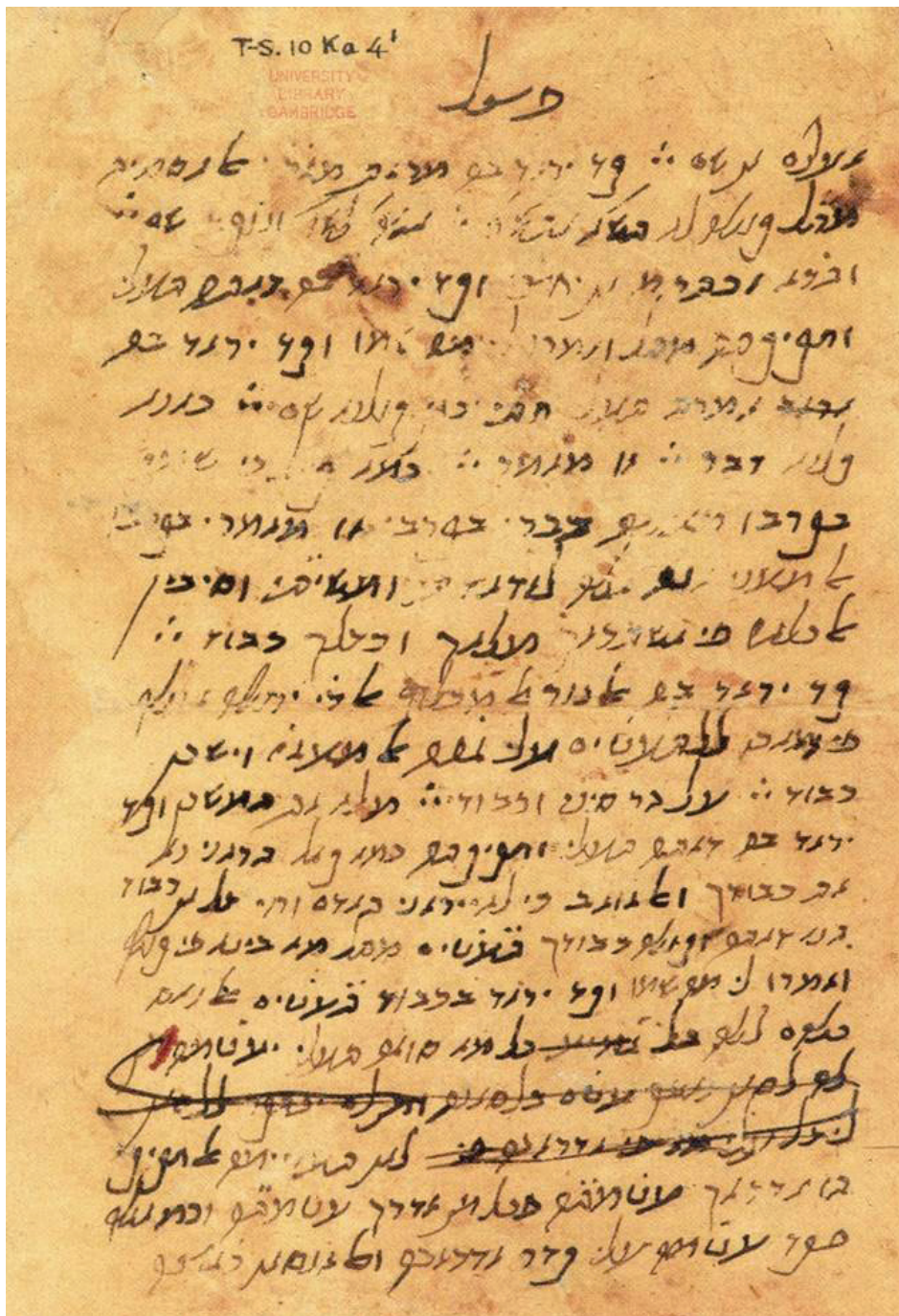


Figure 16: Maimónides, Judeo-Arabic Draft of 'The Guide for the Perplexed', Egypt, end of 12th century, ©Library of the University of Cambridge, coll. Taylor-Schechter, T-S10Ka4.1



Figure 17: Quran transcribed in hebrew characters, Sicile, XVth century, Library of the Vatican

All this said, the Berber factor in Al-Andalus is often underestimated. We know that the majority of soldiers conquering the Iberian Peninsula were Islamized Berbers. That they became known for their successive revolts against Arabs, and that the conversion of a great number of them to Christianity did not help matters (the most famous Christian being Umar Ibn Ḥafsūn). Several Arabic sources even speak of a more profound denigration of Berbers, who were mistreated more than *dhimmi*, according to Ibn al-Khatīb.¹³⁸ Notwithstanding, and even if the extent is still difficult to grasp given the current state of research, the Arabic language was the stunning medium of exchange between Christianity, “Islamized” Berberism, Judaism and Islam. Several Arabic texts written by *los mozárabes* (that means: Christians speaking and writing Arabic), for example, are testament to this.

One of the most important of these is the codex that has been called the *[Hispana] Sistemática Mozárabe*¹³⁹ (El Escorial, Derenbourg 1623). It contains Berberian words originally stemming from the Maghreb like: “*barrā*” (outside); “*ukhruju barrā*” (go outside), or “*yistannā*” (to wait, to delay) (Book II, chapter 15).¹⁴⁰ Usage of these words is still current in the Maghreb today. Vice versa, the introduction of secular terms such as “*al-tabirnaṣh*” (tavernas) from Al-Andalus into Berberian-Arabic was transmitted to the Maghreb. This is particularly striking given that the Arabic language, the structure of this codex, was strongly Islamized. Polemics aside, several studies confirm: The aforementioned text *[Hispana] Sistemática Mozárabe* is clearly an Arabic text parallel to and independent of the Latin *Hispana Systematica* and not just a translation. The “compiler Vicentius and his team were creative jurists rather than translators. That the compilation of the *Hispana* is Iberian (Gonzalo Martínez Díez) rather than Gallic (Le Bras and others) is evident”.¹⁴¹ In this biblical text, the structure is, astonishingly enough, quasi-parallel to the Islamic traditions in the compilation of their second holy source: the *ḥadīth*. A *ḥadīth* starts by citing the source (*isnād*), then the content (*matn*). This structure has been transformed into the *[Hispana] Sistemática Mozárabe*. In addition, the legal-religious language is very much Islamized: “Seven of the ten Books begin with the primary Muslim invocation: ‘*bism Allāh al-rahmān al-rahīm*’ (in the Name of God, the merciful, the compassionate) (...) Books II and III add the Qur’anic expression *wa-huwa ḥasbi wa-ni’m al-wakil*, ‘He [God] is sufficient for me; He is the fairest custodian (Sura, Al-‘Imran, vs. 173)’”.¹⁴² To give another indication of this tendency: “The Divine name is often followed, in the Islamic style, by ‘*azza wa-jall*, [...]’. The priest is referred to as an *imām* (pl. *ayimmah*); borrowing from Hebrew, he is occa-

¹³⁸ See also: GARCÍA ARENAL (2013) 116.

¹³⁹ The designation *Sistemática Mozárabe* is that by G. Martínez Díez.

¹⁴⁰ KASSIS (1994) 110.

¹⁴¹ KASSIS (1994) 411. Compare to Arab and oriental Christian literature. More generally see about the contextualization and interpretation of the Christian-Arabic manuscripts VAN KONINGSVELD (1994) 423-451; MOLÉNAT (1995) 39-60.

¹⁴² KASSIS (1994) 418.

sionally referred to *al-qūhin* or *al-kūhin* [...]; curiously, the collection of canons of St. Martin of Braga is called *al-muwatta'*, the title of Imam Mālik's compendium which held sway over al-Andalus¹⁴³ and the whole Maghreb. This hybrid language may not always be grammatically correct, but is deeply rooted in Arabness.

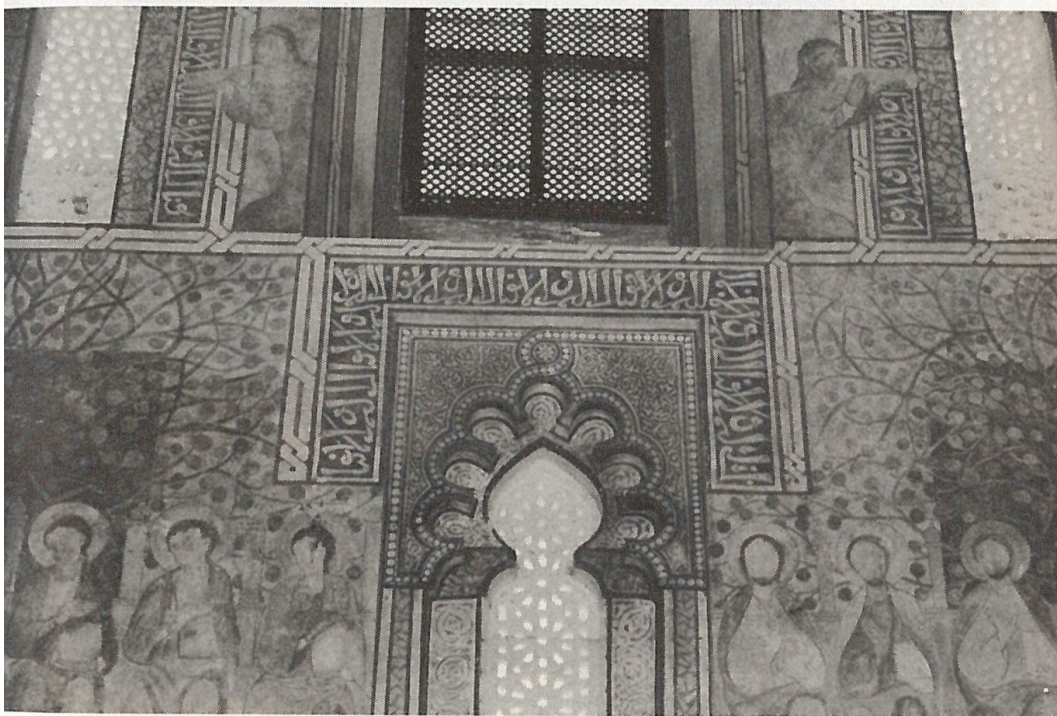


Figure 18: The Church San Roman built by the Castilians of Toledo, XIIth, ©H.D. Miller

The sensual, almost romantic description of a religious statute is remarkable taking the “neophytes”, who are described as “*tari'y*”. The word “*tari'y*” literally means “freshness, suppleness, delicateness”; it implies experiencing tenderness towards someone or something. These semantics might need to be recalled in order to call back to mind the poetic side and the tenderness of some Islamic traditions. This particularly refers to nature, to the buds of roses and other flowers, as well as branches starting to bloom in spring. A baby or small child is also “*raḍhi'un*” or “*saḡhirun'ūduhu tari'yun*”: a delicate and fragile being, just like the “neophyte”... Whether one was Muslim, Christian or Jew, the Arabic language, together with a typical Andalusian relation to Otherness,¹⁴⁴ was capable of trans-

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ On the relationship with Christianity in general in the Middle Age: KASSIS (2004) 173-191.

ending the rigidity of religious hierarchization. By typical Andalusian, I mean a way of seeing the Other as a part of oneself, or translating oneself in the language of the Other.¹⁴⁵ This reminds the famous Andalusian *Sūfi* Ibn ‘Arabi in his collection of poems *Tarjumān al-Ashwāq* ...¹⁴⁶

In summary of claim VI: To formulate the issue of language as a reference to a universalist community that transcends the particularism of languages in religions naturally does not mean that it was resolved. It merely goes to show that, when searching for the basis of the “miracle” of *Convivencia*, “co-linguality” should not be underestimated.

Claim VII: Besides a religious and a political, a lingual and a cultural dimension, *Convivencia* has to be read in the context of the complex discourse about *Otherness*.

Convivencia has to be reflected in the light of theorizing the fundamental relation between the Self and the Other: The question of living together among others. The Other casts a special light on this issue.

Throughout the entire course of Andalusian history, but particularly during precise historical moments (between the 8th and 11th century) the non-Muslim Other ceased to be identified as an Other. He was rather considered a participant in a shared goal or program: The contacts and cooperation between Muslim, Christian and Jewish scholars are the prime example. Within certain professions like medicine, for example, Jews, Muslims and Christians were bound together by what historian Mottahedeh calls “loyalty of class”, which casts religious hierarchy between Muslims and non-Muslims to the background and necessarily encouraged a certain tolerance.

¹⁴⁵ The question of the impact of Latin on the Andalusian Arabic culture will not be dealt with here. For the translation of the Qurān into Latin, see: MARTÍNEZ GÁZQUEZ et al. (2004) 27-39.

¹⁴⁶ SELLS (1997), Longing, Belonging, and Pilgrimage in Ibn ‘Arabi’s Interpreter of Desires (*Tarjumān al-Ashwāq*), 178-196.



Figure 19: Alfonso X dialoga con médicos árabes, 'La Medicina en Al Andalus'
© Patrimonio Nacional

In this complex Andalusian society, the ethnic fabric is also extremely mixed: Islamized Berbers from the Maghreb living together with Islamized Slavs, Hispano-Romans, descendants of Germanic Goths and particularly Christian converts – including converted Arab Muslims, Moors and Berbers. Muslims were therefore but one social group among others and – I would add – almost a minority among others, albeit the dominant one. This, then, marks a departure from relations with an antagonist Other (Muslim/Jew or Muslim/Christian). Things would obviously change with the progressive Christian reconquering, in the course of which Arab-Islamic-Andalusian identity increasingly stood opposed to Christian identity. Nevertheless, the history of the Islamic world speaks towards regulated tolerance toward *dhimmi*.

Of course, facts that contradict this peaceful image of crosscutting cleavages and universalizing alignments should not be obscured: The well-known medieval episodes of bloody persecution such as that of the al- Hākim Fatimid caliph (10-11th century) were directed against all *dhimmi* and their places of worship and were not limited to Jews and Christians. This was the period in which radical Hanbali jurists began their legal harassment of two targets: *women* and *ahl al-dhimma* (Ibn Tayimiya: *Mas'ala fil- Qanā'is*; Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziya: *aḥkam ahl al-dhimma...*). This is also the same period in which both the Maghreb and Al-Andalus would experience the tragic and devastating conquest in 1140 through puritan *Almohades*. The latter not only massacred thousands of Jews and Christians and forced thousands more to convert or flee, but also launched a frontal attack against “bad” Muslims whose religious practices were deemed too soft and tolerant. Ultimately, the massacre of the Jewish community of Granada in 1066 followed by the assassination of Vizier Joseph Ibn Nagrila in reaction to his arrogant conduct was “in reality [says Mark Cohen] the extreme example of chastisement for having gone beyond the acceptable norms of “hi-erocratic” relations between Muslims and dhimmis”.¹⁴⁷

To avoid a naïve and romanticizing view of *Convivencia*, all aspects of common life in Al-Andalus have to be taken into account, especially if one looks for “models” of a better living together.

Claim VIII: If *Convivencia* worked well for a while, this is because there were several ways of being Christian, several ways of being Muslim or Jewish, several ways of being a minority. In this climate of diversity, the principal normative order of *Convivencia* became that of “live and let live”, according to a soft social hierarchy capable of absorbing and tempering strictly religious norms. Diversity and pluralism thus had the paradoxical effect of forging a community beyond communitarian identities.

If it is true that the integrating force at *Medina* had been the prophet’s role as charismatic leader in conflict resolution, an interesting hypothesis for explaining the unity in diversities of the Andalusian society might be just the diversity, as Émile Durkheim proposed in his *Division of Labor in Society*, that is: integration through difference.¹⁴⁸ However, it has been argued¹⁴⁹ that this paradoxical model was based on a hidden assumption, a normative consensus about the legitimacy of the diverse, in other words: an underlying normative ethics of tolerance and mutual respect, a search for the “*constitution of Convivencia*”. We come back to this point in claim X.

¹⁴⁷ COHEN (2013) 67.

¹⁴⁸ DURKHEIM (1893) *De la division du travail social*.

¹⁴⁹ GEPHART (1993) 321-418.

Claim IX: The “*Definitionsmacht*” of *Convivencia* lies in the hands of Muslim jurists. Therefore, it allows for normative elasticity usual in Islamic Law, though tending towards domination.

Etymological debates on the origin of the word “*musta’rib*” or “*musta’rab*” aside, the study of the extant writings by the *mozárabes* themselves or written about them in Arabic sources is of major importance to an understanding of the phenomenon of *Convivencia* from a legal point of view. Nevertheless, two issues need to be mentioned:

Based on the work of María Jesús Rubiera, one can classify *los mozárabes* into three groups – a classification that has been accepted by other researchers:

- 1- *Mozarabs of Visigothic origin, i.e., Christians who had been in the Peninsula at the time of the Muslim conquest*
- 2- *Neomozarabs, i.e., Christians from outside Al-Andalus, from the Islamic and non Islamic worlds*
- 3- *New mozarabs, i.e., Christians of Muslim origin*

The second issue is related to the sources. What has been written about them in Arabic sources is insufficient even if it offers, nevertheless, precious and revealing information on their communal life and particularly on the attitude of the Muslims towards them. The legal status of the Mozarabs during the 11th century was not different from that of any other period. They were protected by the terms of the treaty of 713, with the exception of certain periods of turbulence and revolt, the most famous of which is that instigated by the Berber converted to Christianity mentioned above, *Ibn Ḥafsūn*. A church had been destroyed – an exceedingly rare occurrence – because he had used it as the center of his rebellion. Historically, the 11th century is of key importance, in my opinion, for two reasons. First, because following several revolts, notably the *fitna* (discord) of the Berbers, the caliphate fell and passed over to the kingdoms of *Tāifa*, with considerable consequences for the living together (not only between Muslims and *dhimmi*, but also between Muslims and other Muslims). Second, because of the polemics, the *fatwā* and the evolution of Islamic legal literature concerning the *dhimmi* deserve meticulous study. Just by way of example, I am thinking of polemics such as Ibn Ḥazm, Al-Bakrī, the *qāḍhi* (judges) like Abu al-Walid al-Bāji, al qāḍhi ‘Iyādh, Ḥassan al-qābissi, al-Qurtubī, al-Wanšhrīssī... and we also have good examples in Averroes and especially al- Šhātībī.

The terms of this treaty of 713 read as follows:¹⁵⁰ “In the Name of God. This is a letter from ‘Abd al-‘Aziz ibn Musā to Theodmir son of Ghandaris who made peace. (...) He has the guarantee of God (...) and of Muhammad (...) that nothing will be changed in his situa-

¹⁵⁰ Translation of the Arabic text taken from Hanna Kassis, there is also a French translation by Lévy-Provençal...

tion and that no harm shall befall any of his companions; they shall not be taken in captivity nor would they be separated from their women or children. They shall not be killed; their churches shall not be burnt nor shall their cult objects be desecrated; they shall not be forcibly converted out of their religion. (...) He will not keep from us any intelligence (information about an enemy) he may have. The tribute which he and his subjects will pay shall be as follows: for every free man,¹⁵¹ one dinar, four measures of wheat, four measures of barley, four measures of vinegar, one measure of honey, one measure of oil. For every (male) slave, half these amounts”.

Based on peace treaties, Muslim jurists occupied themselves with normative clarification of several details regarding the everyday life of Christians. From a preliminary study of this literature, we can highlight two things:

1- There is valuable information on the legal debate surrounding the legal status of *los mozárabes*: are they “*ahl sulḥ*” (people of the peace treaty) or “*ahl- ‘unwa*” (those of conquest)? “The determination of such status and its impact on judicial matters, pertaining particularly to property, is examined extensively by al-Bājī”...¹⁵² In his book *al-Muntaqā*, the same al-Bājī elaborates on Malik’s dictum (from the Maliki school of law) regarding the blood indemnity (*diyya*) of a murdered Christian or Jew that was maintained at half of the indemnity for a murdered Muslim.¹⁵³ Another interesting example is the *fatwā* written by *al-qāḍhi ‘Iyāḍh* (a very famous judge of Al-Andalus especially with his book: *Kitāb maḍhāhib al- ḥukkam fī nawāzil al-aḥkām*) in which we find some remarks in connection with the case of the property of a church that was confiscated following the exile of the Christians of the city. “The matter of the Christians of al-Andalus is problematic: are they treaty Christians [the terms of] whose treaty applies to their property so that they can deal with it in the manner of treaty-people? Or are they a conquered people, whose land is conquered, who should conduct their affairs as do [other] conquered people?”¹⁵⁴ In other words: What kind of lesson do we have to draw from this?

2- Even within Muslim domination, there is often a plurality of legal solutions or in a wider sense a normative flexibility in how daily interactions with Christians are regulated. This plurality is difficult to grasp as it is linked to practice and everyday cohabitation and not solely to the *fatwā* and legal writings.

¹⁵¹ Women were worth nothing.

¹⁵² KASSIS (1994) 405.

¹⁵³ Al-Bājī cited in KASSIS (1994).

¹⁵⁴ “[Inna] amra nasara al-andalus muchkil hal hum sulhiyun wa sulhuhum ‘ala ma bi-aydihim fa-yajri amruhum ‘ala ma bi-aydihim majra al-sulhiyin am hum ‘unwah wa-arduhum ‘unwah fa-yajri majra ahl al-‘unwah...” (own translation), Ibid. 405.

Claim X: Within the normative realm of “*dhimmitude*”, and beyond strictly legal operational rules, there is a whole range of *non-binding prescriptions* on manners, the intricacies of respect, how to behave towards the Other, the measure of *social distance*, i.e., of not living too close together, but being involved in overlapping communities: a greeting community, a community of neighbors, a transreligious community in the form of marriage (*conubium*), a community of eating or fasting (commensality)...

An example: *Abu al- Hassan al-Qābisi*, was one of the leading figures in Maliki jurisprudence in the 11th century. In response to a judicial query he said, “Do not associate with someone whose religion is different from yours; that is the safest for you. There is no harm in doing your neighbor a favor if he asks you and if what he asks for is not sinful. There is no harm either if you were to respond to him with kind words providing that this does not unduly magnify him or place him in a rank of honor higher than his own, nor should it make him pleased with his religion. If he greets you [with the greeting ‘Peace be upon you’], your response should be ‘And upon you’. You should add nothing else. There is no benefit in your inquiring about his well-being or that of those who belong to him [his family]. Do not exceed or go too far; however, fulfill what is due to neighborliness”.¹⁵⁵

If one begins to study this fragment, several problems emerge. First, he cites a single opinion in his argumentation. Further, the restriction concerning the formula of how to render the greeting comes from a *ḥadith* of the Prophet concerning Jews in a very specific historical context. And Jews in the *ḥadith* of the Prophet are a huge topic. In brief, the reason for this position is that a Jew had greeted the Prophet by saying “*al-šām alaykum*” instead of “*al-salāmu alykum*”, a word signifying death and disgust. This is a rather aggressive play upon words, “justified” by the insidious attitude of Jews cursing Muslims while giving off the impression of greeting them correctly.¹⁵⁶

Next, concerning neighborliness, this is evaluated very positively in the Qurān and the *Sunna*. According to the Qurān (4, vs. 86): “And when you are greeted with a greeting, greet with a fairer (*bi’ahsana minhā* / better), or return it”. The Prophetic corpus is full of *ḥadith* to this effect. Muhammed insisted on “taking care” and treating one’s neighbors well until the seventh and did not add anything about the difference of religions... Good neighborliness is directly associated with faith. An authenticated *ḥadith* reads: “By Allah, he is not a believer! By Allah, he is not a believer! By Allah, he is not a believer. Who is that, O Messenger of Allah? He said, one whose neighbor does not feel safe from his evil”.

Moreover, al-Bājī, on the subject of responding to the greeting “Peace be upon you” (*al-salāmu ‘alaykum*), starts by citing different legal opinions on the matter. He therefore does not include Christians in the discussion and even concerning Jews, he cites several polite

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ VAJDA (1937) 87.

phrases that go beyond “And upon you (*wa ‘alaykum*)”, and adds for context that this is the opinion of Malik, abu Hanifa or al-Shafi’i... The same debate took place regarding the phrase *ahl-al-kitāb*, which is used when someone sneezes.¹⁵⁷

In a fascinating text on sexuality written by a Morisco from Tunis in the 17th century, we find on several occasions that, concerning a particular question, reference is made to various opinions, often completely contradictory ones, without siding with one or the other. In the same vein, when confronted with the question whether a Muslim married to a Christian or Jewish woman has the right to forbid her from drinking wine, eating pork or exercising her faith in a church or synagogue, he replies: “*fara’ā al-mudawina annahu lā yamna’uhā, wa yaqulu ākḥarūna lahu an yamna’ahā*” (The glossators say that he does not have the right to prevent her, and others hold that he has the right to do so).¹⁵⁸

Finally, there is a very revealing example on the Christian side, credited to al-Bakrī in his book: *Kitāb al-massālik wal-mamālik*. While detailing the religious practices of Christians on Saturdays, their sexual ethics, their rules of marriage, the prohibition of divorce, adultery, etc., he mentions something intriguing concerning fasting. “They [the Christians] eat for two days each week during the fast: On Saturday and Sunday (...) Those of them who live among the Muslims observe the fast out of a sense of propriety. But in the lands of their sovereignty they fast only half a day”.¹⁵⁹

The normative web of situations of *Convivencia* is therefore much more complex and needs to be analysed in terms of social proximity and social distance.¹⁶⁰ It would be a further step to discover a hidden *constitution of Convivencia*.

Conclusion

When talking about the inclusive tendencies of *Convivencia* one has to also bear in mind that there was a fear of mutual infection, by the ideas of the Other, by the God of the Other, by the script and the text of the Other.

The paper covered thus far a wide range of questions: from the nearly inflationary use of a word, including the speeches of the Pope, the motto of a cultural capital in Europe, the intensive search for communal semantics in a time of heavy conflicts and bloody realities: all this as an expression of an urgent need of a *renaissance* of times where different reli-

¹⁵⁷ Sneezing is one of the examples given by Norbert Elias to document the process of Civilization, ELIAS (1939).

¹⁵⁸ Own translation. LÓPEZ BARALT/ABDERRAHMAN (1995).

¹⁵⁹ KASSIS (1994) 410.

¹⁶⁰ In a way this perspective demands an application of Georg Simmel’s project of the “pathos of social distance”. See especially the digressions in the great “Soziologie” by SIMMEL (1908).

gions and cultures seemed to have lived peacefully together in Al-Andalus. This need for models of *con-vivencia* are today so dramatically formulated because of a real fear to drive globally towards con-mortality. A critical look and a historical curiosity at the mechanism that might explain such a model might have functioned led us to the important role of a juristic figure in the normative program of the Islamic traditions that were *transplanted* from the experience of Medina to the people conquered during Islamic expansion. And it should not be forgotten that, in a global perspective, Al-Andalus was in competition with Cairo and Bagdad about the legitimate caliphate. Our interest has been focused on the normative web that was woven amongst the different religious groups and to the socio-historical conditions to realize such a hidden “constitution” of *Convivencia*. Social practices as *conubium* and commensality seemed to be important, practices of dealing with otherness in a non-rejecting and destroying but socially joyful way. We tried to show, with a strong accent on the Islamic perspective, how much this model is impregnated by religious ideas and also by legal concepts that need to be worked out from its historical preconditions. Each claim that we proposed to formulate led to new and sometimes deeper questions. But instead of disenchantment (“*Entzauberung*”) the motivational power of the aforementioned “*Kulturbedeutung*” prevails.

After the attacks of Paris and the abominable sexual aggression in Germany¹⁶¹ – with a surreal feeling of there being a time before and a time after – it is all the more important to think, to write and to find the right tone, even if the voice is no longer the same. Faced with a sense of numbness, suspended thoughts and the overwhelming shock, it is all the more important to continue one’s work and to try and decrypt the inexplicable¹⁶² and not to lose one’s faith in the power of communication for which the history and the semantics of *Convivencia* are only one expression.

¹⁶¹ The question of German policy in the matter of refugees shall be neither analyzed nor criticized here.

¹⁶² The attacks that took place in Paris on November 13, 2015 were committed – apart from the deadliest attack in the Bataclan concert hall, Boulevard Voltaire – in public places emblematic of a certain lifestyle: Shots fired at the terraces of restaurants and cafés took dozens of lives in the 10th and 11th arrondissements of Paris. What might have led youths enamored with death to fire with heavy weapons on other youths filled with life, conviviality and joie de vivre? Those places are to us a symbol of sharing, of conviviality, to the terrorists a “perversity“. See the Daesh communiqué claiming responsibility for the attacks “(...) has targeted the capital of abomination and perversion ... Paris (...) the bataclan where hundreds of idolaters were gathered in a celebration of perversity as well as other targets in the tenth, eleventh and eighteenth arrondissement...”

Bibliography

- ABEL, ARMAND, La djizya: tribut ou rançon?, in: *Studia Islamica* 32 (1970), 5-19
- Actas del II Congreso Internacional Encuentro de las Tres Culturas, 3-6 Octubre 1983, Ayuntamiento de Toledo, 1985
- ADRAOUI, MOHAMED-ALI (2013), *Du golfe aux banlieues. Le salafisme mondialisé*, Paris
- AKASOY, ANNA, Convivencia and its Discontents: Interfaith Life in al-Andalus, in: *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 42 (2010) 489–99
- ÁLVAREZ DOPICO, CLARA-ILHAM (2005), Le Mihrabe de la grande mosquée de Testour: Une affirmation d’hispanité, in: TEMIMI, ABDELJALIL (ed.) (2005), 45-53
- AMAMU, HAYET (2012), *Qirā’a naqdiyya li-masādir al-sīra al-nabawiyya* (Critical Reading of the Sources of Sīra Nabawiyya), Beirut
- ANIDJAR, GIL (2002), *Our Place in al-Andalus. Kabbalah, Philosophy, Literature in Arab Jewish Letters*, Stanford
- ARENDT, HANNAH (1963), *Eichmann in Jerusalem. A Report on the Banality of Evil*, New York
- ARÍZAGA BOLUMBURU, BEATRIZ, JESÚS ANGEL SOLÓRZANO TELECHEA (2008), *La convivencia en las ciudades medievales. Actas del 4º Encuentros Internacionales del Medioevo*, Nájera, 24-27 julio 2007, Logroño
- ARNALDEZ, ROGER, Controverse d’Ibn Hazm contre Ibn Nagrila le Juif, in: *Revue de l’Occident musulman et de la Méditerranée*, 13,1 (1973), S. 41-48
- ASENSIO, EUGENIO (1976), *La España imaginada por Américo Castro*, Barcelona
- AUERBACH, ERICH (1965), *Literary Language and 1st Public in Late Latin Antiquity and in the Middle Ages*, United Kingdom
- BEAU, NICOLAS, JACQUES-MARIE BOURGET (2013), *Le vilain petit Qatar. Cet ami qui nous veut du mal*, Paris
- BENSLAMA, FETHI (2014), *La guerre des subjectivités en Islam*, Paris
- BENSLAMA, FETHI (dir) (2015), *L’idéal et la cruauté. Subjectivité et politique de la radicalisation*, Paris
- BLACHÈRE, RÉGIS (1952), *Le problème de Mahomet*, Paris
- BORGES, JORGE LUIS (1969), *El Aleph*, Barcelona
- BOSWELL, JOHN (1977), *The Royal Treasure*, Yale University Press
- BOUZAR, DOUNIA (2015), *La vie après Daesh*, Paris
- CABEDO MAS, ALBERTO, JOAQUÍN GIL MARTINEZ (2013), *La cultura para la convivencia*, Valencia
- CAILLÉ, ALAIN (2015), *Le convivialisme en dix questions. Un nouvel imaginaire politique*, Lormont

- CASTRO, AMÉRICO (1948), España en su historia. Cristianos, moros y judíos, Buenos Aires
- CASTRO, AMÉRICO (1954), La realidad histórica de España, México
- CASTRO, AMÉRICO (1956), Dos ensayos, México
- CATLOS, BRIAN, Contexto y convivencia en la corona de Aragón: propuesta de un modelo de interacción entre grupos etno-religiosos minoritarios y mayoritarios, in: *Revista d'História Medieval* 12 (2001-2002) 259-268
- CHACÓN JIMENEZ, FRANCISCO, El problema de la convivencia. Granadinos, Mudejares y Christianos-viejos en el reino de Murcia. 1609-1614, in: *Mélanges de la casa de Velasquez* 18,1 (1982) 103-133
- COHEN, MARK R. (2013), L'attitude de l'islam envers les juifs, du Prophète Muhammad au Pacte de 'Umar, in: MEDDEB, ABDELWAHAB, BENJAMIN STORA (eds.) (2013) 58-71
- DAKHLIA, JOCELYNE, BERNARD VINCENT (eds.) (2011), Les musulmans dans l'histoire de l'Europe I. Une intégration invisible, Paris
- DAKHLIA, JOCELYNE, WOLFGANG KAISER (eds.) (2013), Les musulmans dans l'histoire de l'Europe II. Passages et contacts en Méditerranée, Paris
- DELAUSSUS, JEAN-MARIE (2011), Le sens de la maternité, Paris
- DELONG-BRAS, NATANA J. (2008), Wahhabi Islam. From Revival and Reform to Global Jihad, New York
- DENNY, FREDERICK, Umma in the Constitution of Medina, in: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 36,1 (1977) 39-47
- DHOUB, SARHAN (2011), Vernünftigkeit als Maxime für das Zusammenleben. Überlegungen vor dem Hintergrund der Menschenrechtsdebatte in der arabisch-islamischen Philosophie, in: FORNET-BETANCOURT (ed.) (2011) 143-156.
- DJAÏT, HICHEM (2008), Ta'sis al-Ġharb al-islāmī, Beyrouth
- DJAÏT, HICHEM (2012), La vie de Muhammad. Le parcours du Prophète à Médine et le triomphe de l'islam III, Paris
- DURÁN VALESCO, JOSÉ FRANCISCO (2001), Reflexiones y digresiones en torno a la mitificación de al-Andalus, in: ROLDÁN CASTRO, FÁTIMA, HERVÁS JÁVEGA, ISABEL (eds.), *El saber de Al-Andalus 3: Textos y estudios III*, 135-168
- DURKHEIM, ÉMILE (1893), *De la division du travail social*, Paris
- DURKHEIM, ÉMILE (1913), *Le problème religieux et la dualité de la nature humaine*, Paris
- DURKHEIM, ÉMILE (1914), *Le dualisme de la nature humaine et ses conditions sociales*, Paris
- DUVE, THOMAS, German Legal History: National Traditions and Transnational Perspectives. *Rechtsgeschichte* 22 (2014) 16-48
- DUVE, THOMAS, Von der Europäischen Rechtsgeschichte zu einer Rechtsgeschichte Europas in globalhistorischer Perspektive, in: *Rechtsgeschichte* 20 (2012) 18-71

- ELIAS, NORBERT (1939), *Über den Prozeß der Zivilisation*, Basel
- FANJUL, SERAFÍN (2004), *La quimera de Al-Andalus*, Madrid
- FORNET-BETANCOURT, R. (ed.) (2011), *La convivencia humana: problemas y posibilidades en el mundo actual. Una aproximación intercultural/ Das menschliche Zusammenleben: Probleme und Möglichkeiten in der heutigen Welt. Eine interkulturelle Annäherung, Dokumentation des IX. Internationalen Kongresses für Interkulturelle Philosophie, Denktraditionen im Dialog: Studien zur Befreiung und Interkulturalität, Band 32*, Mainz/Aachen.
- FREUD, SIGMUND (1930), *Das Unbehagen in der Kultur*, Wien
- FUENTE PÉREZ, MARÍA JESÚS (2010), *Identidad y convivencia. Musulmanas y judías en la España medieval*, Madrid
- GARCÍA ARENAL, MERCEDES (2013), *Juifs d'al-Andalus*, in: MEDDEB, ABDELWAHAB, BENJAMIN STORA (eds.) (2013) 111-129
- GARCÍA MARQUEZ, GABRIEL (1981), *Crónica de una muerte anunciada*, Bogota
- GARCÍA-SABELL, D. (1965), *Concepto y vivencia*, in: *Collected Studies in Honour of Americo Castro's Eightieth Year*, Oxford, 109-117
- GEPHART, WERNER (1993), *Gesellschaftstheorie und Recht. Das Recht im soziologischen Diskurs der Moderne*, Frankfurt am Main
- GIESING, BENEDIKT (1999), *Kulturelle Identitäten als strategischer Kompaß? Soziologische Anmerkungen zu Samuel P. Huntingtons „clash of civilisations“*, in: GEPHART, WERNER, KARL-HEINZ SAURWEIN (eds.), *Gebrochene Identitäten*, Opladen, 117-141
- GLICK, THOMAS (2005), *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages*, Leiden/Boston
- GLICK, THOMAS, *Convivencia. An Introductory Note*, in: MANN, VIVIAN et al. (eds.) (1992), *Convivencia. Jews, Muslims and Christians in Medieval Spain*, New York
- GLICK, THOMAS, *Science in Medieval Spain: The Jewish Contribution in the Context of Convivencia*, in: MANN, VIVIAN et al. (eds.) (1992), *Convivencia. Jews, Muslims and Christians in Medieval Spain*, New York
- GÓMEZ-MARTÍNEZ, JOSÉ LUIS (1975), *Américo Castro y el Origen de los Españoles: Historia de una Polémica*, Madrid
- GUILLEN, JORGE (1975), *Convivencia*, Madrid
- HAMIDULLAH, MOHAMMAD, *The first written Constitution of the World. An important document of the Prophet's time, first published 1941*, available online:
<https://archive.org/details/THEFIRSTWRITTENCONSTITUTIONOFTHEWORLD>
- HAMROUNI, AHMED (1995), *Testour. Histoire et récits de voyage, Carthage*
- HAMROUNI, AHMED (2000), *Testour. Documents et études, Carthage*
- HANKE, EDITH, WOLFGANG J. MOMMSEN (eds.) (2001), *Max Webers Herrschaftssoziologie*, Tübingen

- HOROVITZ, JOSEF, The earliest Biographies of the Prophet and their Authors, in: *Islamic Culture* 1 (1927) 535-559
- HUSSEIN, MAHMOND (2013), Le Prophète et les tribus juives d'Arabie selon Al-Sîra, in: MEDDEB, ABDELWAHAB, BENJAMIN STORA (eds.) (2013) 54-57
- HUSSEIN, MAHMOUD (2005), Al-Sîra. Le Prophète de l'islam raconté par ses compagnons, I, Paris
- IBN HIŠHĀM (without date), *Sîrat annabiy'* (The Sîra of the Prophet), edited by Muḥiddine Abdel-Ḥamīd, Cairo
- IBN TAYMIYYA (1995), *Mas'ala fil-qanāis*, edited and annotated by Al-Šhibl, Riyadh
- KARAYANNI, MICHAEL (2013), L'application du droit musulman en Israël, in: MEDDEB, ABDELWAHAB, BENJAMIN STORA (eds.) (2013) 458-470
- KASSIS HANNA E. (2004), Symbolische und gesellschaftliche Erwiderungen des Islam in der Begegnung mit dem Christentum, in: LUTZ-BACHMANN, MATTHIAS, ALEXANDER FIDORA (eds.), (2004) 173-191
- KASSIS, HANNA E., Arabic speaking Christians in Al-Andalus in an age of turmoil (fifth/eleventh century until a.h. 478/a.d. 1085), in: *Al-Qantara : Revista de Estudios Árabes* 15,2 (1994) 401-422
- KHOURY, ELIAS (2009), *Le coffre des secrets*, translated from Arabic by Rania Samara, Paris
- KOSCHORKE, ALBRECHT (2012), *Wahrheit und Erfindung: Grundzüge einer Allgemeinen Erzähltheorie*, Frankfurt a.M.
- KUNDERA, MILAN (1984), *The Unbearable Lightness of Being*, Paris
- LES CONVIVIALISTES (2013), *Manifeste convivialiste. Déclaration d'interdépendance*, Lormont
- LOPEZ-BARALT, LUCE, GAMAL ABDERRAHMAN (1995): *Ars Amandi d'un morisque de Tunis*, Zaghouan
- LUTZ-BACHMANN, MATTHIAS, ALEXANDER FIDORA (eds.) (2004), *Juden, Christen und Muslime. Religionsdialoge im Mittelalter*, Darmstadt
- MANN, VIVIAN et al. (eds.) (1992), *Convivencia. Jews, Muslims and Christians in Medieval Spain*, New York
- MANZANO MORENO, EDUARDO (2000), *Orientalismo, exotismo y traducción*, Cuenca
- MARÍN, MANUELA, Arabistas en España, in: *Al-qantara, Revista de Estudios Árabes* 13,2 (1992) 379-394
- MARTÍNEZ GÁZQUEZ, JOSÉ et al. (2004), Die lateinischen Koran-Übersetzungen in Spanien, in: LUTZ-BACHMANN, MATTHIAS, ALEXANDER FIDORA (eds.) (2004) 27-39
- MARTÍNEZ MONTÁVEZ, PEDRO: Lectura de Américo Castro por un arabista. Apuntes e impresiones, in: *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid* 22 (1983-1984) 21-42
- MEDDEB, ABDELWAHAB (2002) *La maladie de l'islam*, Paris
- MEDDEB, ABDELWAHAB (2005) *L'exile occidental*, Paris

- MEDDEB, ABDELWAHAB, BENJAMIN STORA (eds.) (2013), *Histoire des relations entre juifs et musulmans des origines à nos jours*, Paris
- MENOCAL, MARÍA ROSA et al. (2000), *The Literature of al-Andalus*, Cambridge
- MENOCAL, MARÍA ROSA (2002), *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain*, Boston/New York/London
- MOLÉNAT, JEAN PIERRE, Le problème du rôle des notaires mozarabes dans l'oeuvre des traducteurs de Tolède (XIIe-XIIIe siècles), in: *En la España medieval* 18 (1995) 39-60
- MOUAWAD, WAJDI (2012), *Anima*, Montréal/Arles
- NIRENBERG, DAVID (1996), *Communities of Violence. Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages*, Princeton
- PEÑA, ANIANO (1975), *Américo Castro y su visión de España y de Cervantes*, Madrid
- RAMÍREZ, DOLOREZ et al. (eds.) (2001), *Raíces Mediterráneas en Latinoamérica: Cultura Italiana/Cultura Árabe*, Sevilla.
- REDISSI, HAMADI (2007), *Le pacte de Nadjd. Ou comment l'islam sectaire est devenu l'islam*, Paris
- REIN, RAANAN (2008), *Arabes y judíos en Iberoamérica/Similitudes, diferencias y tensiones*, Sevilla
- REMIE CONSTABLE, OLIVIA (2005), *Is Convivencia dangerous?*, unpublished paper presented at the 40th International Medieval Congress, Kalamazoo, Michigan (05.05.2005)
- SAGARZAZU, MARIA ELVIRA (2005), *El cerdo en la dicta criolla Argentina: Antecedentes islamicos*, in: TEMIMI, ABDELJALIL (ed.) (2005) 177-191
- SAKRANI, RAJA (2009), *Au croisement des cultures de droit occidentale et musulmane: Le pluralisme juridique dans le Code tunisien des Obligations et des Contrats*, Hamburg
- SAKRANI, RAJA (2011), *Religion und Recht im Islam. Historisch-komparative Zugänge im Lichte der Weberschen Rechtssoziologie*, in: DINGEL, IRENE, CHRISTIANE TIETZ (eds.), *Die politische Aufgabe von Religion. Perspektiven der drei monotheistischen Religionen*, Göttingen, 91-101
- SAKRANI, RAJA (2015), *Je suis français, je suis juif, je suis musulman. Je suis Charlie. On the trail of Convivencia*, last retrieved on March 2, 2016 from: <http://www.recht-als-kultur.de/en/news/discourse/>
- SAKRANI, RAJA, *The Law of the Other, An unknown Islamic chapter in the legal history of Europe*, in: *Rechtsgeschichte* 22 (2014) 90-119
- SAKRANI, RAJA, WERNER GEPHART (2012), *Recht und Geltungskultur. Zur Präsenz islamischen Rechts in Deutschland und Frankreich*, in: GEPHART, WERNER (ed.), *Rechtsanalyse als Kulturforschung*, Frankfurt am Main, 103-137
- SÁNCHEZ-ALBORNOZ, CLAUDIO (1956), *España, un enigma histórico*, Buenos Aires
- SANSAL, BOUALEM (2008), *Le village de l'Allemand ou le journal des frères Schiller*, Paris
- SANSAL, BOUALEM (2015), *2084 – La fin du monde*, Paris
- SELLS, MICHAEL A. (1997), *Longing, Belonging, and Pilgrimage in the Poetry of Ibn 'Arabi (Tarjuman al-Ashwaq)*, in: BRANN, ROSS, *Languages of Power in Islamic Spain*, Ithaca, 178-96.

- SERJEANT, ROBERT BERTRAM, The Sunnah Jāmi‘ah, Pacts with the Yathrib Jews and the Tahrim of Yathrib: Analysis and Translation of the Documents Comprised in the so-Called “Constitution of Medina”, in: Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies 41 (1978) 1-42
- SEVILLA, FABIAN (2014): Die ‚Drei Kulturen‘ und die spanische Identität. Ein Konflikt bei Américo Castro und in der spanischsprachigen Narrativik der Moderne, Tübingen
- SIMMEL, GEORG (1908), Soziologie. Untersuchungen über die Formen der Vergesellschaftung, Berlin
- SIMMEL, GEORG (1919), Philosophische Kultur, Leipzig
- SOIFER, MAYA, Beyond convivencia: Critical reflections on the historiography of interfaith relations in Christian Spain, in: Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies 1 (2009) 19-35
- SZPIECH, RYAN (2013), The Convivencia Wars. Decoding Historiography’s Polemic with Philology, in: CONKLIN AKBARI, SUZANNE, MALETTE, KARLA (eds.), A Sea of Languages: Rethinking the Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History, Toronto, 135-161
- TEMIMI, ABDELJALIL (ed.) (2005), Actas del XI Congreso de estudios moriscos. Huellas literarias e impactos de los moriscos en Túnez y en América Latina, Fondation Temimi pour la recherche Scientifique et l’Information, Série 4: Etudes d’Histoire Morisque N° 24, Tunis
- TODOROV, TZVETAN (1985), Die Eroberung Amerikas. Das Problem des Anderen, Frankfurt
- TOLAN, JOHN (1999), Une convivencia bien précaire: la place des juifs et des musulmans dans les sociétés chrétiennes ibériques au Moyen Âge, in: SAUPIN, GUY et al., La Tolérance, Colloque international, Nantes, 385-394
- TÖNNIES, FERDINAND (1887), Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft, Leipzig
- VAJDA, GEORGES, Juifs et Musulmans selon le Ḥadīṭ, in: Journal Asiatique 229 (1937) 57-127
- VALENSI, LUCETTE (2012), Ces étrangers familiers. Musulmans en Europe (XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles), Paris
- VAN KONINGSVELD, PETER SJOERD, Christian-Arabic Manuscripts from the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa: A Historical Interpretation, in: Al-Qantara, Revista de Estudios Árabes 15,2 (1994) 423-452
- VEINSTEIN, GILLES (2013), Juifs et musulmans dans l’Empire ottoman, in: MEDDEB, ABDEL-WAHAB, BENJAMIN STORA, (eds.) (2013) 171-195
- WATT, MONTGOMERY WILLIAM (1959), Mahomet à Médine, Paris
- WATT, MONTGOMERY WILLIAM (1961), Muhammad Prophet and Statesman, Oxford University
- WEBER, MAX (1922), Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Wissenschaftslehre, Tübingen
- WEISWEILER, MAX (1941), IBN-HAZM AL-ANDALUSI, ABU-MUHAMMAD ALI, Halsband der Taube. Über die Liebe und die Liebenden. Aus dem Arabischen übersetzt von Max Weisweiler, Leiden
- WOLF, KENNETH BAXTER, Convivencia in Medieval Spain: A Brief History of an Idea, in: Religion Compass 3,1 (2009) 72–85

Newspaper and Online Sources

CHECHEV (27.01.2016), Coranes y velos en Chiapas: un boom del islam entre los indígenas sorprenderá a Francisco, in: La Nación, last retrieved on March 2, 2016 from: <http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1866239-coranes-y-velos-en-chiapas-un-boom-del-islam-entre-los-indigenas-sorprendera-a-francisco>

DAOUD, KAMEL (10.01.2016), Colonia. Il corpo delle donne e il desiderio di libertà di quegli uomini sradicati dalla loro terra, in: La Repubblica

DAOUD, KAMEL (31.01.2016), Cologne, lieu de fantasmes, in: Le Monde

DIARIO DE NAVARRA (17.12.2015), Convivencia en paz, alma de San Sebastián 2016, last retrieved on February 23, 2016 from: http://www.diariodenavarra.es/noticias/mas_actualidad/sociedad/2015/12/17/convivencia_paz_alma_san_sebastian_2016_361979_1035.html

DONOSTIA/SAN SEBASTIÁN (2016), Cultura para convivir, last retrieved on March 2, 2016 from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nekT3uGiuWs>

EL PAÍS (17.12.2015), San Sebastián despliega su programa por “la convivencia”, last retrieved on March 2, 2016 from: http://cultura.elpais.com/cultura/2015/12/17/actualidad/1450372280_241727.html

GUERRIN, MICHEL (22.01.2016), Cologne passée au crible culturel, in: Le Monde, last retrieved on February 23, 2016 from: <http://www.revistaeclesia.com/el-papa-francisco-en-sarajevo-4-discurso-de-bienvenida-a-las-autoridades/>

POPE FRANCIS (06.06.2015a), Discurso de bienvenida a las autoridades en Sarajevo, in: Revista Ecclesia, last retrieved on February 23, 2016 from: <http://www.revistaeclesia.com/el-papa-francisco-en-sarajevo-4-discurso-de-bienvenida-a-las-autoridades/>

POPE FRANCIS (06.06.2015b), Discurso del Papa Francisco en encuentro ecuménico e interreligioso en Sarajevo, in: aciprensa, last retrieved on February 23, 2016 from: www.aciprensa.com/noticias/texto-discurso-del-papa-francisco-en-encuentro-ecumenico-e-interreligioso-en-sarajevo-32707

POPE FRANCIS (06.07.2015): El Papa insta al diálogo y a la participación sin exclusiones, in: El Tiempo, last retrieved on February 28, 2016 from: <http://www.eltiempo.com/mundo/latinoamerica/visita-del-papa-francisco-a-ecuador-el-papa-insta-al-dialogo-y-a-la-participacion-sin-exclusiones/16049696>

POPE FRANCIS (08.07.2015): Papa Francisco explica las claves de la buena convivencia ciudadana, NEWS.VA. Official Vatican Network, Radio Vaticana, last retrieved on February 23, 2016 from: <http://www.news.va/es/news/francisco-explico-a-la-sociedad-civil-de-ecuador-q>

POPE FRANCIS (13.07.2015): Papa Francisco pone a América Latina como ejemplo de política de natalidad, in: El Universo, last retrieved on March 2, 2016 from: <http://www.eluniverso.com/noticias/2015/07/13/nota/5017561/papa-francisco-desea-armoniosa-convivencia-espana-vuelo-regreso>

STADT BONN (2016), Karneval in Bonn - Informationen für Flüchtlinge, Stabstelle für Integration, last retrieved on February 23, 2016 from: http://www.integration-in-bonn.de/fileadmin/user_upload/Redaktion/Flyer_Veranstaltungen/Karneval_Info_mehrsprachig_Jan_2016.pdf