PHILOSOPHICAL PREDECESSORS AND CONTEMPORARIES OF IBN BĀJJAH

D. M. DUNLOP

OUR starting-point is the characterization of Ibn Bājjah by his friend Ibn al-Imām (in full Abū 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Imām al-Anṣārī, see below), which occurs in the introduction to a collection of Ibn Bājjah's works made by Ibn al-Imām, and is repeated by Ibn abī Uṣaibiʿah. Ibn al-Imām says of his friend:[1]

> In penetration of mind and acuteness of investigation into these exalted, noble and abstruse ideas (sc. of philosophy) he was the wonder of his age and the portent in the sky of his time. For these philosophical books were current in Spain from the time of al-Ḥakam (i.e. al-Ḥakam II, 350/961–366/976), their importer and the importer of rare works composed in the East, who brought in books of the ancients and others—may God lighten his face. They were repeatedly investigated, and no way was opened in them by any of the investigators before him, who left nothing in writing about them except errors and alteration, as was the case with Ibn Ḥazm of Seville. He (Ibn Bājjah) was among the greatest investigators of his time, most of whom did not attempt to record any of their thoughts, and he was their superior in investigation and naturally more penetrating in making distinctions. The ways of investigation in these sciences were opened only by this scholar and Malik b. Wuhaib of Seville. They were contemporaries, but Malik left in writing only a small amount on the principles of logic (*aṣ-ṣināʿah adh-dhihnīyah*). Then the latter gave up investigating these sciences openly and speaking about them, because of the attempts on his life to which he was subject on their account, and because he aimed at victory in all his conferences on scientific subjects. He turned to the religious sciences and became the leader in them or nearly so, but the light of this kind of philosophical knowledge did not shine upon his words, nor did he leave in writing anything on philosophy of a private nature to be found after his death.

Ibn al-Imām says in effect that after the first introduction of philosophical books into Spain in the 4/10th century no real advance was made till Ibn Bājjah's time, and then principally by Ibn Bājjah himself. Of the other Spanish philosophers up to this time he mentions only Ibn Ḥazm and Malik b. Wuhaib, both of whom are here compared unfavourably with Ibn Bājjah. The work of Ibn Ḥazm is now well known, thanks in

[1] Bodleian MS. Pococke 206, fol. 3^b=Ibn Uṣaibiʿah, abī *Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbāʾ*, ed. A. Müller, ii. 62–63, with minor differences.

'Abd al-Mu'min (i.e. the Almohades). This Malik b. Wuhaib possessed exact knowledge of many of the parts of philosophy. I have seen in his handwriting the *Kitāb ath-Thamarah* (sc. the *Centiloquium*) of Ptolemy on judicial astrology, as well as the *Megiste* on astronomy with marginal notes which he had written down in the days when he studied it with a man of the people of Cordova, whose name was Ḥamd adh-Dhahabī.[1]

When this Malik heard the words of Muḥammad b. Tūmart, he perceived the ardour of his soul, the quickness of his mind and the extent of his allusion, and advised the Commander of the Muslims to have him killed, saying, 'This is a seditious man whose malignity cannot be guarded against. No one hears his words without inclining to him. If he appears in the country of the Masmūdah, great mischief will be stirred up against us by him.' But the Commander of the Muslims hesitated to kill him. . . . So when Malik despaired of having him killed as he desired, he advised him to imprison him for life. But the Commander of the Muslims said, 'Why should we take one of the Muslims and imprison him, when we have no prescribed right? And is prison anything but the brother of death? Rather let us bid him depart from us out of the town, and let him go wherever it pleases him.' So Ibn Tūmart and his companions departed in the direction of Sūs.

This story of the detection of the Mahdī's designs by Malik b. Wuhaib is referred to also by Ibn Khallikān[2] (somewhat differently in Ibn Khaldūn).[3] It is a pretty example of the advantages in practice of a philosophical training.

The date of the incident involving Ibn Tūmart should be 515/1121 or 516/1122. How Malik b. Wuhaib came to be associated with the Almoravides is explained by a passage in Maqqarī,[4] where he cites some pleasant verses of Malik, adding from the *Mushib* of al-Ḥijārī[5] the following:

He is (or 'was') the Philosopher of the West, manifest for continence and piety. The Commander of the Muslims, 'Alī b. Yūsuf b. Tāshifīn (reigned 500/1106–537/1143), summoned him from Seville to the court at Marrākush, and made him his companion and friend. On him one of his enemies said:

The empire of 'Alī b. Tāshifīn is pure to perfection from every blemish,
Except that Satan has found an entry into it through the sins of Malik b. Wuhaib. (measure *khafīf*)

And 'Alī ordered him to confer with Muḥammad b. Tūmart, surnamed the Mahdī, who founded the empire of the Banū 'Abd al-Mu'min (Almohades).

The 'enemy' of Malik b. Wuhaib is not named. Possibly he was the physician Abū 'l-'Alā' b. Zuhr of Seville (died 525/1131), father of the famous Abū Marwān b. Zuhr (Avenzoar of the Latins). Ibn Zuhr, the father, in an epigram aimed against Ibn Bājjah said:[6]

[1] Unidentified. Perhaps the first name should be read Aḥmad.

[2] Transl. De Slane, iii. 213–14, cf. ii. 265, n. 4.

[3] De Slane's *Histoire des Berbères*, ed. Casanova, ii (Paris, 1927), p. 169.

[4] *Nafḥ aṭ-Ṭīb*, ii. 322–3.

[5] This work, by a contemporary, contained biographies down to 530/1135 (Pons Boigues, *Historiadores y Geógrafas arábigo-españoles*, No. 178).

[6] Maqqarī, *Nafḥ aṭ-Ṭīb*, ii. 294.

large measure to the late Miguel Asín Palacios.[1] It seems desirable, before going further, to put together some existing texts on Malik b. Wuhaib, which serve to illustrate and amplify what is said by Ibn al-Imām.

First we may take the following short biography from the *Ṣilah* of Ibn Bashkuāl[2] (completed in 534/1139).

Malik b. Yaḥyā b. Wuhaib b. Aḥmad b. ʿĀmir b. Aiman b. Saʿd al-Azdī of the people of Seville, whose *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbdallah, one of the men of perfection and distinction in the knowledge of the different divisions and kinds of the sciences, except that he was the most grudging of mankind in regard to them. He transmitted a slight amount on the authority of Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Ḥasan b. ʿUmar al-Hauzanī and Abū ʿAbdallah Aḥmad b. Muḥammad and others, and Ḥātim b. Muḥammad gave him authorization for the whole of his transmission. Knowing predominated with him over transmitting. I met him in Cordova and walked with him. He died in Marrākush in 525/1130, having been born in Seville in 453/1061. His origin was from Laura (?Lora del Rio, near Seville).

There is nothing particularly instructive for his philosophical antecedents in what is here said of the teachers of Malik b. Wuhaib.[3] Nor does the still shorter notice in the *Bughyat al-Wuʿāt*[4] of Suyūṭī (completed in 871/1466) throw light on this matter, though it shows that the memory of Malik b. Wuhaib survived to a comparatively late date. Suyūṭī's notice says simply: 'Malik b. Wuhaib al-Andalusī. The author of the *Raiḥānah* says, An *imām* in the knowledge of language. He studied the *Kitāb* of Sībawaih and the books of Abū ʿAlī. Abū 'l-Walīd b. Khairah received from him.' The pupil Abū 'l-Walīd b. Khairah is several times mentioned in Maqqarī, but simply as a traditionist.[5]

A much more instructive account of Malik b. Wuhaib is given in the *History of the Almohades* by ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī (born 581/1185), as follows.[6]

(The Mahdī) Ibn Tūmart departed (sc. from Fez) in the direction of Marrākush. Word of him came to the Commander of the Muslims, ʿAlī b. Yūsuf, and when he entered the city he was brought before him. The *faqīhs* had been assembled to debate with him, but none of them knew what he was saying, except a man of the people of al-Andalus whose name was Malik b. Wuhaib. This man shared in all the sciences, without, however, displaying any but what was profitable at that time, and was a master of many different kinds of learning. I have seen a book by him which he called *Qurāḍat adh-Dhahab fī dhikr liʾām al-ʿArab*, in which he included the despicable among the Arabs both in the *Jāhilīyah* and in Islam, with numerous stories. I saw this book, which is unique of its kind, in the library of the Banū

[1] See Asín Palacios, *El Cordobés Aben Házam, primero historiador de las ideas religiosas*, Madrid, 1924; *Aben Házam de Córdoba y su historia crítica de las ideas religiosas*, Madrid, 5 vols., 1927–32.

[2] Ed. F. Codera, No. 1251.

[3] Cf. Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣilah*, No. 315 (al-Hauzanī), No. 157 (Abū ʿAbdallāh Aḥmad b. Muḥammad), and No. 351 (Ḥātim b. Muḥammad).

[4] Ed. Cairo, 1326, p. 384.

[5] *Nafḥ aṭ-Ṭīb*, ed. Leiden, i. 711, 809, 872.

[6] Dozy's 2nd ed. (1881), pp. 132–3.

The *zindīq* must certainly be gibbeted, whether he who supports him wishes it or not:

The beam has long been prepared for him, and the spear has directed its point against him. (measure *sarī*ʿ)

Ibn Bājjah's supporter, adds Maqqarī, was Malik b. Wuhaib.

From these last notices we may gather the important result that the relationship of Malik b. Wuhaib, styled in his own time the 'Philosopher of the West' and the older man, to Ibn Bājjah under the Almoravides was quite similar to the relation between Ibn Ṭufail and his protégé Ibn Rushd a little later under the Almohades. The story of how Ibn Ṭufail introduced the younger philosopher, whose fame was ultimately to outstrip his own, to the Almohade Caliph Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf is well known.[1] It appears that both Berber dynasties felt the need of learned and enlightened Spaniards. The presence of a philosopher at these courts was evidently no isolated phenomenon, but rather there was a whole succession of them.

Enough perhaps has been said to indicate that Malik b. Wuhaib was a man of extensive learning, who made a considerable figure in his day. It has to be added that his fame, presumably as an astrologer, was perpetuated later in a curious connexion. Ibn Khaldūn has much to tell us of a 'cabbalistic' operation, ostensibly for revealing the future, in which the instrument or rather diagram used was called *zā'irjah*, in full *zā'irjat al-ʿālam*.[2] This, we are told, was the invention of Abū' l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad as-Sibtī, who enjoyed the reputation of being a wonder-working saint, under an Almohad ruler in the second half of the 6/12th century. Since he was still alive, upwards of 80 years old, at Marrākush in 594/1197,[3] he was contemporary with Malik b. Wuhaib and Ibn Bājjah. To operate the *zā'irjah*, use was made of a verse of poetry, inscribed on one of its sides, attributed to Malik b. Wuhaib.[4] In a notice referring to a large-scale *zā'irjah* in the 7/13th century or later,[5] nothing explicit is said of the verse

[1] ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī, *History of the Almohades*, 2nd ed., pp. 174 ff.

[2] *Prolégomènes d'Ebn Khaldoun* (*Notices et Extraits*, vols. 16–21), text i. 213–20, transl. i. 245–53 = *Muqaddimah*, ed. Bulaq-Beirut, 116–19; *Prolégomènes*, text iii. 146–91, transl. iii. 199 ff. (omitted *Muqaddimah*, ed. Bulaq-Beirut, p. 503).

[3] Maqqarī, *Nafḥ aṭ-Ṭīb*, ed. Leiden, ii. 68.

[4] *Prolégomènes*, text i. 215, transl. i. 247 = *Muqaddimah*, ed. Bulaq-Beirut, p. 116.

[5] The passage, in *The Treasurie of Auncient and Moderne Times* (an anonymous compilation from Pedro Mexía and others), London, 1613, p. 529, was pointed out to me by Dr. Philip George, Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge. Details of what the writer calls *Zairagia* are too long to quote in full. The passage ends: 'One of these Figures was sometimes made, in the Colledge of King *Abululan* in the Cittie of *Fez*, and the open place where it was made was paved with fine smooth white Marble, every quadrant of the place, containing fiftie yardes in length, and two third parts of the place, was employed with such things as belonged to the framing of the saide Figure: three severall persons also were verie seriously busied in making it, each man having the charge of a proportioned part; and yet they could scarcely conclude it in a whole day. Another was likewise made in *Thunis*, by a verie excellent Mayster, whose father had commented on the said rule in two Volumes; and such as be acquainted with this rule, are held to be verie singuler men.' I have not been able to identify the source. 'King *Abululan*' is evidently the Almohade ruler Abū 'l-'Ulā Idrīs al-Ma'mūn (626/1229–630/1232).

or its author, but Ibn Khaldūn, who seems to have followed with interest the proceedings of adepts of this form of divination, mentions both. Ibn Khaldūn of course flourished in the 8/14th century. How long the *zā'irjah* continued to attract serious attention in the west of Islam it would be difficult to say. A degraded, or at least greatly simplified, form of it was known in Egypt last century and is mentioned by E. W. Lane,[1] but all knowledge of a connexion with Malik b. Wuhaib may have been forgotten.

The account of Ibn al-Imām, with which we began, mentions by name none of the predecessors of Ibn Bājjah save Ibn Ḥazm. Ibn Ḥazm himself in a famous *risālah*[2] speaks of two earlier philosophers, whom he reckons among the glories of Muslim Spain. 'As to philosophy, I have seen collected treatises and written sources dealing with it by Sa'īd b. Fatḥūn of Saragossa, showing his mastery of this art. As to the treatises of our own professor Abū 'Abdallah Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Madhḥijī, which are famous and in every hand, they are excellent in every way and of great utility.'[3]

Sa'īd b. Fatḥūn is the subject of the following notice by the Qāḍī Ṣā'id of Toledo,[4] writing in 460/1068:

Abū 'Uthmān Sa'īd b. Fatḥūn b. Mukram, known as al-Ḥimār,[5] of Saragossa was expert in geometry, logic and music, adept in the other philosophical sciences, and a master of grammar and philology. He was the author of a work on music, and a good treatise on the introduction to the philosophical sciences, which he named *Shajarat al-Ḥikmah* (*Tree of Wisdom*) as well as a treatise on the rectification of the sciences (*ta'dīl al-'ulūm*) and how they come successively into existence through the division of substance and accident. There befell him in the days of al-Manṣūr Muḥammad b. abū 'Āmir (chief of state in Muslim Spain 981–1002) a violent persecution, the reason for which is well known, and which drove him, after his release from prison, to leave Spain. He died in Sicily.

The Qāḍī Ṣā'id mentions him again as a master in logic of Ibn al-Kattānī (*c.* 340/949–420/1029), for whom see below. The poet Ibn al-Ḥaddād, who flourished under al-Mu'taṣim b. Ṣumādiḥ of Almeria

[1] *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, chapter xi.

[2] Text in Maqqarī, *Nafḥ aṭ-Ṭīb*, ed. Leiden, ii. 108–21. See Ch. Pellat, 'Ibn Ḥazm, bibliographe et apologiste de l'Espagne musulmane', *Al-Andalus*, xix (1954), pp. 53–102, for a French translation and full commentary.

[3] Maqqarī, op. cit., p. 119.

[4] *Ṭabaqāt al-Umam*, ed. Cheikho, Beirut, 1912, pp. 68–69 = transl. R. Blachère (*Livre des Catégories des Nations*, Paris, 1935), p. 129.

[5] This spelling has been extensively adopted, especially in Spain, and seems to be right = 'Ass', not in a pejorative sense, but with the meaning in which it was applied to Marwān, the last of the Umayyads of the East, i.e. 'laborious' (see e.g. *al-Fakhrī*, ed. Derenbourg, p. 184). The equivalent of the Greek *Philoponos* is not out of place for a Muslim scholar. M. Pellat (op. cit., p. 88) follows M. Blachère (op. cit., p. 129), who read *al-Ḥammār* and translated 'le Muletier'. But *al-Ḥammār* should be 'donkey-driver' not 'muleteer' (*baghghāl*), and there is no support for this reading in the sources which I have consulted. M. Pellat seems to be in error in saying that al-Ḥammār is read by the editor of the *Analectes* (cf. Maqqarī, *Nafḥ aṭ-Ṭīb*, ed. Leiden, ii. 119 and 338: al-Ḥimār apparently, without *tashdīd*, which is also the reading of aḍ-Ḍabbī ed. Codera, No. 813, and not *al-Khammār*, 'cabaretier', as M. Pellat writes).

known as al-Ḥimār; the bishop Abū 'l-Ḥārith, pupil of the philosopher-bishop Rabīʿ b. Zaid; Abū Marwān al-Bijā'ī; and Maslamah of Madrid.'[1]

This notice was evidently used by Ibn al-Abbār, who writes in the *Takmilah*:[2]

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusain[3] al-Madhḥijī, of the people of Cordova, known as al-Kattānī, whose *kunyah* was Abū 'Abdallah. He was a learned man, and master of various arts. He studied under Muḥammad b. 'Abdūn al-Jabalī, 'Umar b. Yūnus al-Ḥarrānī, the grammarian Abū 'Abdallah al-'Aṣimī, Abū' l-Qāsim Qand b. Najm, Saʿīd b. Fatḥūn, Maslamah of Madrid, and others. He was eminent in the art of medicine, and had his share of polite letters and poetry. He discoursed on the sciences, and was the author of well-known treatises and books, which are excellent, of great utility, and sound. He went to Saragossa at the end of his life. Ibn Ḥazm and al-Maṣḥafī transmitted from him. He is mentioned by al-Ḥumaidī, who related that he lived after 400/1010. The Qāḍī Ṣāʿid, who gives most information about him, says that he died about 420/1029 and was nearly 80.

Similar to this is aḍ-Ḍabbi's account:[4]

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan abū 'Abdallah al-Madhḥijī, known as Ibn al-Kattānī. He possessed a large share of literary culture and poetry and was eminent in medicine and logic. He discoursed on the sciences. He was the author of treatises on that and well-known books, including one which he called *Muḥammad and Suʿdā*, a pleasant work on its subject. He lived after 400/1010. The following are examples of his poetry. . . .

In one of the verses with which aḍ-Ḍabbī ends his notice of Ibn al-Kattānī Suʿdā occurs again as the name of a girl. It is very probable that the verse comes from the work just mentioned, which evidently was a romance of some kind.[5] We may even hazard a conjecture as to the nature of the contents of this work, *Muḥammad and Suʿdā*. A feature of the activity of Ibn al-Kattānī, hardly to be expected from the grave accounts of his distinction as a scholar which have been quoted above, was his interest in the training of young girls, including Christians from the north, destined to be sold by Ibn al-Kattānī himself to the rich houses of Spain.[6] These girls, after receiving an Arabic education which included not only music and literature but also at least a smattering of philosophy, astrology, and the new learning in general, commanded an extremely high price and evidently helped to make their teacher's fortune. It seems likely that in *Muḥammad and Suʿdā* the heroine was a girl of this kind, and that much of the prose matter which, interspersed with verses, it doubtless contained,

[1] This passage is discussed below.
[2] Ed. Codera, No. 411.
[3] Explaining the fluctuation in the sources above between 'b. al-Ḥasan' and 'b. al-Ḥusain'.
[4] Ed. Codera, No. 81.
[5] So H. Pérès, *La Poésie andalouse en arabe classique au XI^e siècle*, Paris, 1937, p. 251, n. 3.
[6] Pérès, op. cit., pp. 383–5.

(5/11th century, 2nd half), wrote in refutation of Sa'īd b. Fatḥūn. Maqqarī, who gives this information,[1] seems, however, not to have recorded any specimen verses. A short notice by aḍ-Ḍabbī gives no additional information.[2] 'Sa'īd b. Fatḥūn abū 'Uthmān of Saragossa. He possessed culture and learning, was adept in the definitions of logic, and is well known. He is mentioned by Abū Muḥammad 'Alī b. Aḥmad (sc. Ibn Ḥazm, presumably as above).' The attitude of al-Manṣūr to learning and science during his tenure of power is well depicted by the Qāḍī Ṣā'id,[3] but neither he nor the other sources quoted throw further light on what was evidently once a *cause célèbre*, the ill treatment of Sa'īd b. Fatḥūn. We may gather from them, however, that the latter was a figure of considerable importance.

The second of the two philosophers mentioned by Ibn Ḥazm, in the passage already cited, was his own teacher, called by him Abū 'Abdallah Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Madhḥijī. This versatile personality is perhaps better known as al-Kattānī or Ibn al-Kattānī.[4] A notice of him is given by the Qāḍī Ṣā'id in *Ṭabaqāt al-Umam* as follows:[5]

In the time of Ibn 'Abdūn and afterwards to the end of the 'Āmirid rule there were a number of people who possessed thorough knowledge and experience of the art of medicine, though they all came short of the distinction of Muḥammad b. 'Abdūn and followed in his footsteps. . . . The youngest of them was Abū 'Abdallah Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain, known as Ibn al-Kattānī. He learned medicine from his uncle Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain and others of that generation, and acted as physician to al-Manṣūr b. abū 'Āmir and his son al-Muẓaffar. Then at the beginning of the *Fitnah* (i.e. the period of the final break-up of the Umayyad Caliphate in Spain for about twenty years from 399/1009 onwards) he removed (sc. from Cordova) to Saragossa and settled there. He was skilled in medicine and eminent therein. He possessed a knowledge of logic, astrology, and much of the philosophical sciences. I have been informed by the vizier Abū' l-Muṭarrif 'Abdarraḥmān b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Kabīr b. Wāfid al-Lakhmī (Abenguefit) that he had a fine intelligence, a penetrating mind and an excellent understanding, and was skilled in deduction and inference (*at-taulīd*[6] *wa' t-tantīj*). He was rich, with ample means, and died about 420/1029 nearly 80 years old. I have read in one of his works the following: 'I learned the art of logic from Muḥammad b. 'Abdūn al-Jabalī; 'Umar b. Yūnus b. Aḥmad al-Ḥarrānī; the philosopher Aḥmad b. Ḥafṣūn; the grammarian Abū 'Abdallah Muḥammad b. Ibrahīm al-'Aṣimī; Abū Muḥammad 'Abdallah b. Mas'ūd al-Bijā'ī; Muḥammad b. Maimūn, known as Markūs (?Marcus); Abū' l-Qāsim Qand b. Najm; Sa'īd b. Fatḥūn of Saragossa,

[1] *Nafḥ aṭ-Ṭīb*, ii. 338.

[2] Ed. Codera, No. 813.

[3] *Ṭabaqāt al-Umam*, ed. Cheikho, pp. 66–67 = transl. Blachère, pp. 125–126.

[4] The correct form of the name, so pointed in the *Takmilah* of Ibn al-Abbār and in aḍ-Ḍabbī, see below.

[5] Ed. Cheikho, pp. 81–82 = transl. Blachère, pp. 148–9.

[6] Lit. 'bringing to birth', but here in a figurative sense, cf. *Jāmi' al-'Ulūm* of al-Aḥmadnagarī, ed. Ḥaidarābād, i. 365: *qālat bihi al-Mu'tazilah ma'nāhu fī 'n-naẓr aṣ-ṣaḥīḥ mufīd li'l-'ilm.*

dealt with learned themes treated in not too severe a fashion. A parallel would be the story of the cultured slave-girl Tawaddud in the *Thousand and One Nights*.[1]

The academy where Ibn al-Kattānī's girls were trained was apparently at Cordova, before the break-up of the Caliphate. Later we find him taking notice of beautiful Arab girls at the court of a Christian ruler, Sancho Garcia, count of Castile. The episode is given by Ibn Bassām in Ibn al-Kattānī's own words.[2]

> I was present one day [says Ibn al-Kattānī] at a reception of the Christian woman, daughter of Sancho, king of the Basques, wife of the tyrant Sancho, son of Garcia, son of Ferdinand, during one of my frequent journeys to the court of this prince at the time of the *Fitnah* (i.e. Ibn al-Kattānī evidently went from Saragossa). In the *salon* were a number of Muslim singing-girls, who had been presented to him by Sulaimān b. al-Ḥakam . . . when he was Commander of the Faithful in Cordova (Sulaimān b. al-Ḥakam, one of the last of the Spanish Umayyads, died 407/1016). The Christian woman signed to one of them, who took a lute and sang the following verses. . . .
>
> She sang to perfection. Near the Christian woman were girl-captives, so beautiful that one would have thought they were quarters of the moon. One of them, when she heard these verses, began to cry. I went towards her and said, 'Why do you weep?' 'These verses were made by my father,' she replied, 'and hearing them has renewed my grief.' 'Who is your father?' I asked. 'Sulaimān b. Mihrān of Saragossa,' replied the girl. 'It is long since I fell into captivity, and all this time I have heard nothing of my family.' I never experienced sharper grief than I felt for that girl that day, [adds Ibn al-Kattānī].

Ibn Bassām's authority for the tale is Ibn Ḥazm himself. It is perhaps intended to be characteristic of one whose talents Ibn Ḥazm and Abenguefit at least valued highly.

The list of Ibn al-Kattānī's masters in logic[3] would repay study and is deserving of more attention than we can give it here. With Muḥammad b. 'Abdūn al-Jabalī and 'Umar b. Yūnus b. Aḥmad al-Ḥarrānī we are in direct touch with the main philosophical movement in the East, for the former studied under Abū Sulaimān as-Sijistānī, or as-Sijazī[4] (*c.* 320/932–390/1000), while 'Umar b. Yūnus b. Aḥmad al-Ḥarrānī (the *nisbah* is significant) read the works of Galen under the direction of Thābit b. Sinān (died 365/975), grandson of Thābit b. Qurrah himself.[5] The list includes the names of learned Mozarabes, 'the bishop Abū 'l-Ḥārith,

[1] See Night, 424 ff.

[2] Pérès, op. cit., pp. 386–7.

[3] Given above. The list is reproduced in Ibn abī Uṣaibi'ah, ed. A. Müller, ii. 45.

[4] Author of the *Ṣiwān al-Ḥikmah*, for which see M. Plessner, 'Beiträge zur islamischen Literaturgeschichte', *Islamica*, iv (1930); D. M. Dunlop, 'Biographical Material from the *Ṣiwān al-Ḥikmah*' (paper read at the 23rd International Congress of Orientalists, Cambridge, 1954). His association with Muḥammad b. 'Abdūn al-Jabalī is mentioned in *Ṭabaqāt al-Umam*, ed. Cheikho, p. 81 = transl. Blachère, p. 147.

[5] *Ṭabaqāt al-Umam*, ed. Cheikho, p. 81 = transl. Blachère, p. 146.

pupil of the philosopher-bishop Rabīʿ b. Zaid', the latter well known as Recemundo, envoy of the Umayyad 'Abdarraḥmān an-Nāṣir to the Emperor at Frankfurt. Probably also 'Muḥammad b. Maimūn, known as Markūs', though a Muslim, was of Christian origin. (These names are omitted in Ibn al-Abbār's shorter list.)[1] Abū 'l-Qāsim Qand[2] b. Najm appears to have been a freedman. Saʿīd b. Fatḥūn we have already discussed, and Maslamah of Madrid is well known.

Before passing from Ibn Bājjah's predecessors there is one other name which has to be given at least cursory mention, that of al-Muqtadir b. Hūd of Saragossa. The two are mentioned together in the well-known *Risālah* of ash-Shaqundī (died 629/1231).[3] 'Have you,' he asks the Africans, 'in music and philosophy anyone like Ibn Bājjah, and in astrology, philosophy and geometry a king like al-Muqtadir b. Hūd, lord of Saragossa, for therein he was a marvel?'[4] Al-Muqtadir ruled in Saragossa, as one of the *Mulūk aṭ-Ṭawāʾif* (*Reyes de taifas*), from 438/1046 until 474/1081. During part of this long period he enjoyed the services of Abū 'l-Walīd al-Bājī, a distinguished theologian, to whom al-Muqtadir entrusted the task of replying to what is usually called the 'Letter of the monk of France'.[5] The intellectual interests of al-Muqtadir were inherited by his son al-Mu'tamin (474/1085), and we even know the title of one of the latter's books.[6] The attention paid by the ruling house of his native place to philosophy and science is not to be neglected among the influences affecting Ibn Bājjah a little later.[7]

As to Ibn al-Imām, whose characterization of Ibn Bājjah stands at the beginning of this article, we find the following notice in the great *History of Granada* of Ibn al-Khaṭīb.[8]

'Alī b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Imām al-Anṣārī, whose *kunyah* was Abū 'l-Ḥasan, of Saragossa by origin but by domicile and employment of Granada. He was a distinguished vizier, of great influence, honoured and eminent, learned in many branches of knowledge, one of the *kātibs* (secretaries) of the age, an elegant stylist and a noble character. He was vizier to the emir Abū 'ṭ-Ṭāhir Tamīm b. Yūsuf b. Tāshifīn, lord (*ṣāḥib*) of Granada, and his vizierate was the subject of praise. He acted as secretary to the emir 'Alī b. Yūsuf (Almoravide, brother of the foregoing,

[1] See above.

[2] Qand, rather than F-nd (Cheikho), Faid (A. Müller, Blachère), appears to be the correct form, attested as the name of freedmen in Spain at this period, cf. Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, i (Cairo, 1944), p. 324 and n. 1.

[3] Text in Maqqarī, *Nafḥ aṭ-Ṭīb*, ii. 126–50.

[4] Maqqarī, op. cit., p. 130.

[5] D. M. Dunlop, 'A Christian Mission to Muslim Spain in the 11th Century', *Al-Andalus*, xvii (1952), pp. 259–310.

[6] Cf. Maqqarī, *Nafḥ aṭ-Ṭīb*, i. 288; *Ṭabaqāt al-Umam*, ed. Cheikho, p. 75 = transl. Blachère, p. 139.

[7] Other exponents of philosophy connected with Saragossa at the same time were al-Kirmānī (*Ṭabaqāt al-Umam*, ed. Cheikho, pp. 70–71 = transl. Blachère, pp. 132–3) and Ibn Jaushan (op. cit., ed. Cheikho, p. 75 = transl. Blachère, p. 139.) Saragossa was evidently a nursery of the sciences under the later Hūdid rule, and this fact has to be taken into account in Ibn Bājjah's development. In the former passage M. Blachère strangely speaks of 'Saragosse dans l'ouest de la Péninsule', where Cheikho read تغربها. The correct reading is given in Cheikho's list of variants on p. 115: ثغرها, i.e. 'on the frontier of Spain'.

[8] Escorial Arabic MS. 1673, fol. 331.

reigned 500/1106–537/1143). Instances of his generosity and distinction are related by the *shaikhs* of Granada. Abū' l-Qāsim says: One of his brethren complained to him of misfortune, saying impoverishment had forced him to leave his country and prevented him from returning. The man was lodged in the most honourable apartment in his house, while the vizier went out to the cathedral mosque, and took witnesses against himself that he gave the man a quarter of his possessions. He wrote a document to that effect and handed it to him, saying 'My brother, that will relieve your condition. My condition does not permit of more, so forgive your brother.' Yet what he had given him was the equivalent of more than 1,000 Almoravide *dīnārs*. God showed mercy to the vizier, and he prospered. He was the paragon of the age.

Ibn Bājjah's association with this man, which is greatly to his credit and goes far to remove the insinuations against his character made by some other contemporaries,[1] is not referred to in this notice. It indicates, however, what was no doubt partly the basis of the friendship, the fact that Ibn al-Imām, like Ibn Bājjah, was originally from Saragossa.

Further information about Ibn al-Imām is to be found in his collected edition of the works of Ibn Bājjah, already referred to. The Bodleian MS. (Pococke 206) begins:

> The *shaikh*, the vizier, Abū' l-Ḥasan, the learned, the perfect, the excellent ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Imām says at the beginning of the collection which includes the existing words of the *shaikh*, the vizier, the perfect, the excellent Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Bājjah al-Andalusī—may God have mercy on him: This is a collection of what has been put in writing of the words of Abū Bakr on the philosophical sciences, &c.

The notice goes on as already quoted. More precise data appear on fol. 120ᵃ of the manuscript.

And when I (sc. the copyist) reached the corresponding place in the original, I found what is here reproduced: 'I compared with all that is in this part (*juz'*—the division into *ajzā'* seems to have disappeared in the course of the transmission) the original from which it is taken. It is in the handwriting of the *shaikh*, the learned, the devout, the abstinent, the beneficent, the just, the pious, the defence of the good, the choicest of the beneficent, the Saiyid, the vizier Abū' l-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Imām of Saragossa, and he was examining its precious original from the hand of the unique of his age, the rarity of his period, and the portent in the sky of his time (the writer is echoing Ibn al-Imām, see above) Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. aṣ-Ṣāʿigh, known as Ibn Bājjah, reading by reading, under the instruction of the author in Seville. The above-mentioned great man (sc. Ibn al-Imām)—may God prolong his greatness—was at that time *ʿāmil* of Seville and

[1] Notably Ibn Khāqān in his *Qalā'id al-ʿIqyān* and Ibn as-Sīd al-Baṭalyausī in three letters extant in Escorial Arabic MS. 488, fols. 35ᵇ and 38ᵃ. The texts of Ibn as-Sīd have now been published by Dr. Ḥussain Monés in his article 'Sabʿ wathā'iq jadīdah 'an daulat al-Murābiṭīn', *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid*, ii (1954), Arabic section, pp. 77–84.

preceptor (*musta' dī*) of the *kharāj* of the city and its adjoining province. The vizier —may God prolong his greatness—finished the reading of this *juz'* under him, at a period the end of which was 15 Ramaḍān, A.H. 530. And al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. an-Naḍr wrote in Qūṣ in Rabī' II, A.H. 547. He asks God—glorious is He—for knowledge useful in this world and the next. Verily He has power over what He wills.'

According to Ibn abī Uṣaibi'ah,[1] who also had, or had had, before him a copy of the collection of Ibn Bājjah's writings, made by Ibn al-Imām, 'Abū' l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Imām was from Granada.[2] He was an excellent secretary and distinguished in the sciences. He associated with Abū Bakr b. Bājjah for a time, and worked under him. Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Imām departed from the West, and died at Qūṣ.'

The facts then are fairly clear. The Bodleian MS., which is in an Oriental, not Western hand, was taken from a *transcript* of a first copy of Ibn Bājjah's writings made by Ibn al-Imām himself, while at Seville in the company of Ibn Bājjah in 530/1135. The transcript was written, apparently by a protégé of Ibn al-Imām, a certain al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. an-Naḍr, in Qūṣ (Upper Egypt) in 547/1152. Between the two dates as much had happened. Ibn Bājjah had died in 533/1138. The Almoravide dynasty itself had come to an end in 541/1147, after the fall of Marrākush to the Almohades under 'Abd al-Mu'min. Ibn al-Imām had evidently left the West, no doubt, because of the Almoravide débacle, and arrived at Qūṣ, with manuscripts which he had transcribed while in Seville. When the new transcript was made he was still alive, as is clear from the formula attached to his name, i.e. in 547/1152. The stage might seem set for the rise of Ibn Bājjah's philosophy in the East, where his name was known considerably earlier (see below). But of such a development, if it took place, there seems to be no evidence.

For the relations between Ibn Bājjah and Ibn al-Imām the proem to an incomplete *risālah* in the Bodleian manuscript possesses a certain interest.[3]

And he wrote—may God be pleased with him—to the vizier Abū 'l-Ḥasan b. al-Imām: My knowledge of your intellectual and moral excellence prevents me opposing your wish—which would be a sin against friendship or a withholding of information, and both are bad things. You say that you have learned that 'Abdarraḥmān b. Sīd brought out demonstrations of a geometrical kind, which no one before him, of known mathematicians, ever perceived, but that he did not write them down in any book, and that only two persons received them from him, one of whom was myself, and the other died in a war which broke out in the country where we were. You have learned at the same time that I made some additions when he brought them out. The matter—may God give you honour—is

[1] *Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā'*, ed. Müller, ii. 63. [2] A natural confusion, see above. [3] Fol. 213ᵃ.

as you have heard, and that is an incentive to me to write you a letter containing them, and to subjoin certain questions the demonstrations of which, as I have already mentioned to you, I composed during my second imprisonment. I write all this to you without going into details, for what I have composed is simply a completion of what the man composed, or a modification of it, and the first mover is more worthy of honour of movement than the second mover, since he is moved by him. This then is what I write to you in the present letter.

There is no ground for thinking that it was directed to Qūṣ in Upper Egypt. It was evidently sent by the author to Ibn al-Imām before he left the West.[1] The geometer ʿAbdarraḥmān b. Sīd is mentioned by the Qāḍī Ṣāʿid as one of the younger generation of philosophers in Spain in his own time, *c.* 460/1068, with the *kunyah* Abū Zaid.[2] He is a different person from Ibn Bājjah's opponent Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallah b. Muḥammad b. as-Sīd al-Baṭalyausī, who had no special interest in philosophy. ʿAbdarraḥmān b. Sīd, according to the Qāḍī Ṣāʿid, belonged to Valencia. He is probably to be regarded as a teacher of Ibn Bājjah.

Passing over Abū 's-Ṣalt (460/1067–529/1134), who, though a logician[3] and a contemporary of Ibn Bājjah, does not seem to have been in contact with him, we come to Abū Jaʿfar Yūsuf b. Ḥasdāi, who was the recipient of another of the *rasā'il* contained in the Bodleian MS.[4] This Abū Jaʿfar Yūsuf b. Ḥasdāi was a prominent astronomer of the time. In the *risālah* in question Ibn Bājjah criticizes the astronomer Zarqalī (whom incidentally he calls az-Zarqālah Ibrahīm b. Yaḥyā al-Andalusī) (420/1029–480–1087), for contradicting Ptolemy.

Abū Jaʿfar Yūsuf b. Ḥasdāi travelled to the East, and from 515/1121 to 519/1125 he enjoyed the favour of al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'iḥī, vizier of the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Āmir.[5] The creation of an observatory at Cairo had been planned by the Fāṭimid vizier al-Afḍal, who as an old man had shown enthusiasm for the project. On al-Afḍal's death in 515/1121 his successor al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'iḥī took up the work, in which the Spanish scholar played a prominent part, together with other astronomers, native Egyptian and foreign, till 519/1125. In that year al-Ma'mūn incurred the Caliph's displeasure and fell from power. Among the crimes reckoned against him was his construction of the observatory, and it was alleged that his naming it after himself ('al-Ma'mūnī') was proof that he aspired to the Caliphate. The vulgar said that the observatory was built to hold converse with Zuḥal (Saturn) and to ascertain the future, or that it was for magical purposes, with other absurd suggestions. When the vizier was

[1] Above, 'the country where we were' seems to refer to Eastern Spain.

[2] *Ṭabaqāt al-Umam*, ed. Cheikho, p. 75 = transl. Blachère, p. 139.

[3] His *Kitāb Taqwīm adh-Dhihn* was edited with a translation under the title *Rectificación de la mente* by A. González Palencia, Madrid, 1915.

[4] Fol. 118b ff.

[5] This and the rest of the paragraph from Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Bulaq, i. 125–8.

arrested, the Caliph refused to go on with the work, and none dared mention it to him. He gave orders for its demolition, and the materials were removed to the government stores. The workmen and experts fled. The latter included, as well as Abū Ja'far Yūsuf b. Ḥasdāi, the *qāḍī* Ibn abī 'l-'Īsh of Ṭarābulus (Tripolis) the geometer, the *khatīb* Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Sulaimān b. Aiyūb, the instrument-maker (*sā'ātī*) Abū 'n-Najā' b. Sind of Alexandria, the geometer Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Karīm of Sicily, and other distinguished men. Clearly the undertaking was on a large scale.

Ibn abī Uṣaibi'ah reports Ibn Ḥasdāi's friendship with Ibn Bājjah and says that he was continually corresponding with him from Cairo.[1] It is therefore probable that the *risālah* in the Bodleian manuscript was originally sent by Ibn Bājjah to Egypt. Since Ibn Ḥasdāi is not recorded as having returned to Spain, it is possible that Ibn al-Imām obtained it in Egypt and added it to those works of Ibn Bājjah already in his possession.

It is mentioned in the account of al-Maqrīzī that Ibn Ḥasdāi was not always present at the observatory, in spite of the efforts made by the vizier al-Ma'mūn to secure the regular attendance of all concerned. This may be explained by what Ibn abī Uṣaibi'ah says about the levity of Ibn Ḥasdāi's conduct.[2] However this may be, he apparently addicted himself earnestly to study. He wrote on the works of Hippocrates for his friend the vizier, who during his vizierate showed himself an amateur of other sciences besides astronomy. Ibn abī Uṣaibi'ah, or his authority, had seen an excellent commentary on the *Kitāb al-Aiman* (the famous Hippocratic oath) and part of another commentary on the *Fuṣūl* (*Aphorisms*) of Hippocrates by him, as well as certain notes (*ta'ālīq*) made by Ibn Ḥasdāi when he arrived at Alexandria from Spain. He was also a student of Galen, having abbreviated 'Alī b. Riḍwān's commentary on the *Kitāb ilā Aghlūqun* (*Ad Glauconem*). Of strictly philosophical works Ibn abī Uṣaibi'ah mentions a *Kitāb al-Ijmāl* on logic, with a commentary.

It seems that Abū Ja'far Yūsuf b. Ḥasdāi was a great-grandson of the celebrated Jewish scholar and statesman Ḥasdāi b. Shaprūṭ, and that the Abū 'l-Faḍl Ḥasdāi b. Yūsuf b. Ḥasdāi, mentioned by the Qāḍī Ṣā'id as a rising scholar in 458/1058,[3] was his father. Since Abū 'l-Faḍl was resident in Saragossa, we may probably infer that Abū Ja'far Yūsuf b. Ḥasdāi was a companion of Ibn Bājjah's youth.

At all events another Saragossan associated with Ibn Bājjah was his pupil Ibn Jūdī, who comes in an anecdote given by Maqqarī.[4]

It is related that Aiyūb b. Sulaimān as-Suhailī al-Marwānī (i.e. a descendant of

[1] *Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā*, ii. 51.
[2] Loc. cit.
[3] *Ṭabaqāt al-Umam*, ed. Cheikho, p. 90 = transl. Blachère, p. 159.
[4] *Nafḥ aṭ-Ṭīb*, ii. 225.

the Umayyad Caliphs) was one day present with Ibn Bājjah, and the poet Abū 'l-Ḥasan b. Jūdī was also there. Al-Marwānī spoke in language which betrayed his high birth and culture, and Abū 'l-Ḥasan b. Jūdī, who was then a very young man, wished to know him. Accordingly he said to him, 'Who are you—may God give you honour?' The other replied, 'Why do you not ask someone else about me? That would be civiller in you and more respectful towards me.' So Ibn Jūdī said, 'I asked the chamberlain about you, and he did not know you.' 'Young man', replied al-Marwānī, 'there was a time when even the ignorant knew us, and those who saw us did not need to ask.' He fell silent for a little, then raised his head and recited the verses:

I am the son of those whose glory Destiny has changed to humiliation, and they are few and like not to be recognized—
Kings over the course of Time in East and West, their Destiny has overtaken them and altered;
Remind them not by asking of their fate, for misfortune is shame to remember.
(measure *ṭawīl*)

And Ibn Jūdī knew that he was a descendant of Marwān, and rose and kissed his head and begged his forgiveness. Then al-Marwānī took his leave, and Ibn Bājjah said to Ibn Jūdī, 'I am displeased by your manners, after what I have been accustomed to from you. How could you approach a man in my assembly (*majlis*) whom you saw that I favoured and honoured and listened to his words, and proceed to ask him about himself? See that it does not become a habit with you, for it is one of the worst breaches of good manners.' And Ibn Jūdī said, 'In the words of Abū Tammām, I have not ceased

Taking his money and his instruction from the *shaikh*.'

(measure *munsariḥ*)

This young friend of Ibn Bājjah is characterized by Ibn al-Khaṭīb in the *History of Granada* as follows:[1]

'Alī b. 'Abdarraḥmān b. Mūsā b. Jūdī al-Qaisī, the cultivated secretary, whose *kunyah* was Abū' l-Ḥasan, one of the knowledgeable in the ancient sciences. His origin was from the province of Saragossa. He was a friend of the vizier Abū 'l-Ḥasan b. Hāni. He studied under the wise man (*ḥakīm*) Abū Bakr b. aṣ-Ṣā'igh, known as Ibn Bājjah, and was accounted a profligate.

Ibn al-Khaṭīb adds short examples of his poetry.

This survey may be rounded off with the account of Ibn Bājjah given by Ibn Ṭufail (*c.* 504/1110–581/1185), philosopher of the Almohades and author of the celebrated philosophical romance *Ḥaiy b. Yaqẓān*. In the introduction to this work, speaking of the development of Spanish philosophy, Ibn Ṭufail singles out Ibn Bājjah for mention, and the general tenor of his remarks, though he is evidently no partisan of Ibn Bājjah, recalls what had been earlier said by Ibn al-Imām. Ibn Ṭufail's account is as follows:[2]

[1] Escorial Arabic MS. 1673, fol. 326.

[2] L. Gauthier's 2nd ed. (*Ḥayy ben Yaqdhân*, *Institut d'Études Orientales de la Faculté des Lettres d'Alger*, iii, Beirut, 1936) text, pp. 12–13 = transl. pp. 10–12.

Those who grew up in Spain endowed with superior intelligence, before the spread of logic and philosophy there, spent their lives in the study of mathematics, in which they made great advances, but were incapable of anything more. Then there grew up after them a generation which surpassed them by knowing something of logic. They investigated this science, but it did not bring them to the true perfection. . . . Then there grew up after them another generation, possessing greater insight and nearer to the truth. There was none among them of more penetrating intelligence, sounder in investigation or with truer views than Abū Bakr b. aṣ-Ṣā'igh (i.e. Ibn Bājjah), except that worldly affairs engaged him, so that death cut him off before the appearing of the treasures of his knowledge and the divulging of the secrets of his wisdom. Most of his existing works are imperfect and unfinished, such as his book *On the Soul*, the *Tadbīr al-Mutawaḥḥid* (*Rule of the Solitary*) and what he wrote on logic and natural science. As for his finished books, they are short books and hasty treatises. He himself said so expressly, mentioning that 'the idea which he attempts to prove' in the treatise *On the Union* (sc. *of the Intellect with Man*) 'is not to be perfectly understood there except with great trouble and inconvenience',[1] and that 'the arrangement of the exposition is in some places not according to the most perfect method, and he had not the time to change it'.[2] Such is the condition in which this man's knowledge has reached us. We never met him personally. As for those who were contemporary with him who are described as of equal standing (variant: who are described as of unequal standing) we have seen none of their works. As for those of our own contemporaries who came after them, they are still at the stage of increasing, or have stopped short of perfection, or are people whom we do not know about for certain.

A page or two previously Ibn Ṭufail had said apropos of the delight which accompanies the 'union of the intellect with man' that Ibn Bājjah had not kept his promise to explain the nature of the union in detail, adding,[3] 'It is likely that he was prevented by the lack of time of which he speaks and his being occupied by his visit to Oran, or he thought that if he described the state, he would be obliged to say things which would have reflected on his own way of life and belied the encouragement which he had expressly given to multiply and accumulate wealth and employ all manner of devices in acquiring it.'

This is a somewhat measured, not to say guarded, appreciation of Ibn Bājjah, who, as associated closely with the previous dynasty, could scarcely with propriety be spoken of by Ibn Ṭufail in terms of unqualified praise. Though, as he expressly tells us, he had not met Ibn Bājjah, he had evidently had access to the *Union of the Intellect with Man*, which he quotes verbatim, and he mentions other works. The titles and description of these correspond closely with what we find in the collection of Ibn Bājjah's works made by Ibn al-Imām. From what he says about the encouragement given by Ibn Bājjah to money-making and his otherwise apparently

[1] Asín Palacios, 'Tratado de Avempace sobre la unión del intelecto con el hombre', *Al-Andalus*, vii (1942), p. 23.

[2] Loc. cit.

[3] Gauthier, op. cit., text p. 10 = transl. p. 8.

unrecorded visit to Oran, it seems that Ibn Ṭufail had additional sources of information. This is not surprising at the time and place, especially if, as appears possible, Ibn Bājjah's visit to Oran brought him into contact with Ibn Ṭufail's own patrons, the Almohades, as an envoy from the Almoravides or otherwise. What of course is specially remarkable, as already suggested, is Ibn Ṭufail's singling out Ibn Bājjah for mention by name, alone of previous Spanish philosophers. Throughout this introduction Ibn Ṭufail has *Ḥaiy b. Yaqẓān* in mind, and something is doubtless due to the close relation which he felt to exist between his own allegory and Ibn Bājjah's *Union of the Intellect with Man*. Yet Ibn Bājjah is here mentioned side by side with Aristotle, al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā, and al-Ghazālī, and only these. The impression is left that Ibn Ṭufail, like Ibn al-Imām, regarded Ibn Bājjah as among the greatest, if not the greatest, of Spanish philosophers who had hitherto appeared.

Having canvassed, not exhaustively indeed, the names of Ibn Bājjah's philosophical predecessors and contemporaries, so far as they are likely to have influenced or been influenced by him, we seem to find that, at least, Ibn Bājjah marks a new beginning. There is no trace in him of special dependence on any of them, nor on the best-known early representatives of Arabic philosophy in Spain, Ibn Masarrah[1] (died 319/931) and Ibn Ḥazm (383/993–456/1064), both philosophers of religion, whom it is not necessary to do more than mention here. On the other hand, his contemporaries, as well as his successors, notably Ibn Rushd (520/1126–595/1198), submitted to Ibn Bājjah's influence, though they may not always have cared to admit it freely. Marks of the later period, when interest in philosophical treatment of the themes of dogmatic religion had waned (though in the nature of the case religion did not cease to exercise the minds of the later thinkers, and some of their most characteristic works dealt directly or indirectly with dogmatic questions, e.g. the three treatises on the accord of religion and philosophy by Ibn Rushd),[2] are greater familiarity with the Greek philosophers of the classical period and later, notably Plato and Aristotle, and a marked attention to Muslim predecessors, al-Fārābī in the case of Ibn Bājjah and Ibn Rushd,[3] and apparently Ibn Sīnā in the case of Ibn Ṭufail. We cannot here discuss the later development of philosophy in Muslim Spain—destined to be the last important phase of activity of Arabic philosophy in general until the

[1] See Asín Palacios, *Aben Masarra y su escuela; orígines de la filosofía hispano-musulmana*, Madrid, 1914.

[2] The basic work is M. J. Müller, *Philosophie und Theologie des Averroes*, Munich, 1859 (text) and 1875 (translation). For more modern studies see Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*.

[3] Dr. E. I. J. Rosenthal in several works has pointed out the 'great dependence' of Ibn Rushd on al-Fārābī, extending to 'unmistakable literary borrowing on a large scale' ('The Place of Politics in the Philosophy of Ibn Rushd', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, xv (1953), p. 271). See also Dr. Rosenthal's forthcoming edition of the Hebrew version of Ibn Rushd's *Commentary on Plato's Republic*.

present time—in which these characteristics, already clear in Ibn Bājjah, continue to the end. While Ibn Bājjah's importance and originality are unquestioned, and he may be said to mark the beginning of an epoch, he did not appear from nowhere to inaugurate a period of unprecedented brilliance in Arabic philosophy, before its final extinction. It is quite certain that there were in his time men working at philosophy in much the same way as himself, in Spain and elsewhere, and that there had been others in the immediate past. To understand Ibn Bājjah it is necessary to know something of the other, more shadowy figures, and fortunately, as we have seen, there is a certain amount of information about them, scattered throughout the various sources, and in the writings of Ibn Bājjah himself.