

Edward Said and the Spanish Orientalists.

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The second edition of the Spanish translation of *Orientalism* –Madrid: Debate, 2002¹– includes a foreword especially written by Edward Said in April 2002 for this edition. He defends himself, once again, against those who criticized him for not having considered other Oriental studies except the British, French and North American in his book and replies that his purpose was to enquire about the link between “imperialism” and “Orientalism” both elements existing in the three case studies. As for the criticism claiming that the relationship between Spain and Islam was not an imperialistic one, he admits it to be true and acknowledges that after having read Americo Castro and Juan Goytisolo, he has become convinced that Spain is a remarkable exception within the European general context of Orientalism.² Islam is not alien, even adversary to the Spanish cultural identity, but substantial to it.

So far so good, but one misses an explanation of the Spanish Orientalism as detailed as the one of the French, British and North American to be persuaded of his words. Edward Said explains that Orientalism applying this method:

Therefore I study Orientalism as a dynamic exchange between individual authors and the large political concerns shaped by the three great empires –British, French, American—in whose intellectual and imaginative territory the writing was produced³.

There are authors who openly assembled the ideological backbone of these imperial projects, for instance Arthur J. Balfour and Lord Cromer. E. Said refers to Balfour’s June 13, 1910 speech to the House of Commons as exemplary.⁴ I had the opportunity of reading the proceedings of that session related to the Eldon Gorst’s report on Egypt, and that took place after the assassination of PM Boutros Pacha, and after a speech of former US President Theodore Roosevelt in the Gildehall on Egypt and Soudan. The British parliament, echoing British public opinion, was divided. John M. Robertson, a literary critic, friend of the Egyptian socialist Salâma Mûsa, was member of that parliament and spoke in favor of

¹ It includes a presentation by Juan Goytisolo, and it is based on the 1997 London edition. The Spanish translation was first published in Madrid: Libertarias, 1990; there is a third edition, Barcelona: Debolsillo, 2003.

² *Orientalismo*, Spanish translation, p. 9.

³ *Orientalism*, (1978. New York: Vintage Books, 1979), pp. 14-15.

⁴ Said quotes *Parliamentary Debates* (House of Commons), 5th series, London: HMSO, vol. 17 (1910) cols. 1140-1146.

Egyptian self-government in spite of sharing the view that Egyptians still needed to be prepared for it. And Arthur J. Balfour was not the most extreme representative of Colonialist thinking; a member of the House called H. Craik went so far as to recommend not to give elementary education to the Egyptians, claiming that they are “a race of which religion is the very centre of its life” and suggested using religion as a means of regeneration.⁵ Balfour defended the British colonization as civilization in the interest of Europe, not only of the British Empire.

Lord Cromer was a British administrator in Egypt for many years, and the Consul-General, “proconsul”, from 1883 to 1907. He wrote a book, *Modern Egypt*, about his long experience⁶ and E. Said picks from it a series of derogatory terms with which Cromer described Orientals: They are not accurate, they cannot reason, they contradict themselves, they are given to “fulsome flattery”, they are “lethargic and suspicious”, etc. But Said does not mention that Cromer considered Syrians as “really civilized”,⁷ let us remind that Said’s family was Christian and Syrian.

Said believes that men like Balfour and Cromer could say what they said because Orientalism had provided and was providing them with “a vocabulary, imagery, rhetoric, and figures with which to say it”.⁸ Nevertheless, Said could have referred to another book by Lord Cromer, namely *Ancient and Modern Imperialism*⁹ and maybe he had discovered that Orientalists were not the only ones to provide Imperialists with words and concepts. Cromer devoted the book to the Classical Association, of which he was a president. He saw Roman Imperialism as a model to follow and explained the success of the Romans for various reasons.

The Romans only had, for the most part, to deal with tribes. It was Christianity and its offshoot, Islam, that created nations and introduced the religious element into politics¹⁰.

Cromer remarked that Romans failed completely with Jews whose religion is “un-assimilative”. Other reasons for the success were that color of the skin did not bar Romans the way to intermarriage, and that language was not a barrier because the dominated peoples

⁵ *Parliamentary Debates*, col. 1125.

⁶ Evelyn Baring, Earl of Cromer: *Modern Egypt*, London: Macmillan, 1908. 2 vols.

⁷ Cromer, *Modern Egypt*, vol. 2, p. 218.

⁸ Said, *Orientalism*, p. 41.

⁹ *Ancient and Modern Imperialism*, London: Murray, 1909, 2nd.1910

¹⁰ Cromer, *Imperialism*, p. 91.

eagerly embraced Latin. By contrast, modern imperialism has to deal “with national sentiments which often cluster round the idea that the extrusion of the vernacular language should be stoutly resisted”.¹¹ Mastering the language of the imperialist did not mean any integration, it could even turn into a weapon against him.

Cromer admitted that both, Roman and modern imperialism aspired to civilize their subjects and to keep hold over them. On the second purpose he made the distinction between British Imperialism and the others. The “leading Imperialist of the world”, i.e., the Briton, is an idealist man, who strives to attain two ideals which can be “mutually destructive”: good government and self-government.¹²

Since historians have studied these personalities who often combine political leadership and doctrinal creativity, this is not Said’s most original contribution. There are also artists, literates and travelers, such as Richard Burton,¹³ Gustave Flaubert, Gérard de Nerval, F-R. Chateaubriand, and even philosophers --Said pays attention to Karl Marx-- interested in the mythical Orient. They often reflected scholarly views.

Said’s originality resides in his interpretation of the work of scholars properly known as Orientalists, such as A.I. Silvestre de Sacy and Ernest Renan, and of the partial work of Edward W. Lane, i.e. those who founded the discipline in the XIX century. He saw, for instance, that Burton, Flaubert and de Nerval read and cited Lane’s *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* and looked for the innermost force of the text. Said was very impressed by the analytical work of Michel Foucault and emphasized the power of discourse described by Foucault “as an organized and recognizable manner of intentionally transmitting information or knowledge from one person to another”.¹⁴

According to Said, Silvestre de Sacy believed that everything could be made clear and reasonable, and coherent with his philosophy, “he put before the profession an entire systematic body of texts, a pedagogic practice, a scholarly tradition, and an important link between Oriental scholarship and public policy” (p. 124). He displayed an organized material, and he had previously made the selection.

¹¹ *Imperialism*, p. 102.

¹² *Imperialism*, p. 118.

¹³ Richard D. Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to al-Madinah and Meccah*, London: Tylston and Edwards, 1893. Reprint New York: Dover, 1964.

¹⁴ Cf. his pages on Foucault in *Beginnings. Intention and Method* (New York: Columbia UP, 1985), pp. 283-315.

De Sacy's *Chrestomathie arabe*¹⁵ is presented as a masterpiece of manipulative work. Said asserts that De Sacy's anthologies "submerge and cover the censorship of the Orient exercised by the Orientalists" (p. 129). They did not reveal why and how the texts were chosen, although there was a pedagogical purpose. Anthologies were a subjective representation of the Orient but the readers overlooked this fact, and took them as an objective representation.

Silvestre de Sacy drew attention to the purpose of his collection: to introduce the various genres of Arabic writing to the students of the *École royale et spéciale des langues orientales vivantes*. His anthology puts together historical fragments, in particular of al-Maqrîzî; sociological, of Ibn Khaldûn; and poetry of different ages or geography, such as al-Qazwîni. Most of the authors should be considered first ranking figures of the Arabic literature while others are minor figures, for instance, the jurist 'Abd al-Qâdir Zayn ad-Dîn al-Hanbalî *al-Jazîrî* (fl. 960/1553) whose fragment deals with the issue whether drinking coffee is licit or not.¹⁶ Edward Said claims that De Sacy's selection misrepresents the Orient, or said in another way, they represent a clichéd image of the Orient. Said makes de Sacy's works and in particular his *Chrestomathie* responsible for first creating the distorted image of the Orient we inherited. And then Said has Ernest Renan follow him.

Said describes Renan as a "dynamical force" that transformed the work of De Sacy into a set of reference texts. According to Said, Renan arrived at Orientalism from philology and Renan described philology as a comparative, exclusively modern, discipline and defined philology as the exact science of the mental realities,¹⁷ like mathematics is the exact science of natural realities.

Philology led Renan toward the discovery of the Semitic world. Said advocates a daring thesis, namely, that the Semitic science was, for Renan, a substitute for his lost Christian faith. Renan concentrated his efforts in *creating* a Semitic world, in which the words would reveal man its secrets. This sounds very positive, but Said immediately shows the negative aspect: Despite the Semitic phenomenon being continuous throughout history, the Semitic languages cannot regenerate themselves. Renan opposed organic to inorganic languages and Said interprets him in this way:

¹⁵ *Extraits de divers écrivains arabes tant en prose qu'en vers, avec une traduction française et des notes*. 3 vols. 1806, 1826, 1827. Reprint Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1973.

¹⁶ Brockelmann, GAL, G II, p. 325; S II, p. 447.

¹⁷ Ernest Renan, *L'avenir de la science. Pensées de 1848*. 4th edition, Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1890, quoted by Said, pp. 132-133.

On the one hand there is the organic, biologically generative process represented by Indo-European, while on the other there is an inorganic, essentially un-regenerative process, ossified into Semitic (p. 143).

Said points out the contradiction, the paradox between seeing languages as some form of life and then qualifying the Semitic languages as inorganic, arrested. For Said, Renan “as people so unlike each other as Matthew Arnold, Oscar Wilde, James Frazer” (p. 145) constructed a reality existent only in his philological laboratory which was a “sign of imperial power”.

The objection may be raised that *Orientalism* deals with many other authors and that the section that has generated the hottest discussion is not that about De Sacy and Renan, but the one about North American scholars in recent times, in chapter IV.¹⁸ Said ends traditional Orientalism with Louis Massignon (1883-1962) and H.A.R. Gibb and begins contemporary Orientalism where the “experts” often replace the old fashioned scholars. Said fiercely attacks old scholars such as Gustave von Grunebaum and Bernard Lewis as well as new “experts”, such as Monroe Berger,¹⁹ Gil Carl Alroy,²⁰ and Raphael Patai.²¹ Would have Said lived long enough to see the amount of expert literature after September 11th, he would have much more material for reflection.

To the objection, I would answer that Said is most original in his project of unveiling the ideological, political components of an apparently sterile, objective science and that the beginnings of this science reflect, at its best, this masqueraded situation. Therefore, we may take De Sacy and Renan as the sources for our enquiry about the Spanish Orientalists.

Spanish Arabists

In 1970, James T. Monroe wrote the first monograph on them²² and in 1973 M. Manzanares de Cirre published a book on the Spanish Arabists.²³ Although Monroe outlines the influence of Krausism in their development, and Manzanares, of the Romantic movement, both scholars were not concerned with the colonial implications of the Spanish Orientalism.

¹⁸ See for instance Martin Kramer, *Ivory Towers on Sand. The Failure of Middle Eastern Studies in America*. The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2001.

¹⁹ *The Arab World Today*, New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1964.

²⁰ “Do the Arabs want peace?” in *Commentary*, 57 (February 1974), pp. 56-61.

²¹ *The Arab Mind*, New York: Scribner, 1973

²² *Islam and the Arabs in Spanish Scholarship (Sixteenth Century to the Present)*. Leiden, 1970.

²³ *Arabistas españoles del XIX*. Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura, 1972.

On the contrary, Bernabé López García devoted his 1973 doctoral dissertation to the colonial ideology.²⁴ Since then, quite a good number of articles and books have been published,²⁵ one of the latest being a book by Aurora Rivière Gómez²⁶ that pays attention to the ideology too.

López García renders homage to Gustave Dugat, who related the colonial movement to the development of the Orient as a matter of study.²⁷ López García realizes that the Arabic studies in Spain developed during the re-institution of the Bourbon dynasty in 1874, a period of “growing interest in the sciences and in the humanities”, and formulates the thesis that the colonial occupation was also a decisive factor in the development of the Spanish Orientalism, although –he remarks—it was not the only one. But later, López García recognizes further limitations to the Spanish Orientalism: it is only Arabism; it focuses on the Islamic past of the Peninsula and soon was divorced from the political movement interested in Africa, *africanismo*.

When Spain eventually succeeded in establishing its authority over the northern region of Morocco, a few steps were taken to bring together colonialism and Arabism, such as the creation of the Instituto General Franco de Estudios e Investigaciones Hispano-árabes, in 1938.²⁸ These institutions were short-lived because the Protectorate saw its end in 1956.

Pascual Gayangos

In Pascual Gayangos, we find the Spanish instance of De Sacy’s living legacy. Pascual Gayangos Arce was born in Seville on June 21, 1809 and died in London on October 4, 1897,²⁹ he lived in the labyrinthine world of Spanish politics in the XIX century.

²⁴ *Contribución a la historia del arabismo español (1840-1917)*. Orientalismo e ideología colonial a través de la obra de los arabistas españoles. Tesis doctoral, Universidad de Granada 1973. Abstract, Universidad de Granada, 1974.

²⁵ Among others, Víctor Morales Lezcano, *Africanismo y orientalismo español en el siglo XIX*. Madrid: UNED, 1988 and his annex as editor to *Awrâq* 11 (1990), same title.

²⁶ *Orientalismo y nacionalismo español*. Madrid: Universidad Carlos III y Editorial Dykinson, 2000.

²⁷ *Histoire des Orientalistes de l’Europe du XII au XIX siècle*, 2 vols. París, 1868-1870.

²⁸ Fernando Valderrama, “La acción cultural de España en Marruecos”, in *Boletín de la Asociación Española de Orientalistas*, 42 (2005) 9-22.

²⁹ For his biography, see Pedro Roca, “Noticia de la vida y obras de Don Pascual Gayangos”, *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, 3ª época, 1 (1897) 544-565; 2 (1898) 13-32, 70-82, 110-130, 562-568; 3 (1899) 101-106; the biography ends around 1841. Monroe, *Spanish Scholarship*, pp. 67-81. Manzanares de Cirre, *Arabistas españoles*, pp. 83-101. Joaquín Vallvé, *Catedráticos en la Academia, Académicos en la Universidad “El arabismo en la Universidad Complutense”* (Madrid, 1995), pp. 99-106. J. Vallvé, “Pascual de Gayangos (1809-1897). A propósito del centenario de su muerte”, *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 194 (1997) 461-488.

When Gayangos was born, Spain was at war against Napoleon Bonaparte whose troops had occupied the country in 1808 and where he appointed his brother Joseph as a king but who was never accepted by the Spaniards except by a few *afrancesados*. In 1814 the legitimate king Fernando VII regained his throne thanks to the resistance of the population against the French occupation. Since 1814 Fernando ruled as an absolute monarch, but in 1820 he was forced to pledge allegiance to the constitution. The liberal experience lasted only for three years, because the intransigent European powers sent an expeditionary force lead by the duke of Angouleme in 1823 and this time, the foreign intervention did not face any resistance. Fernando VII enjoyed absolute power for the next ten years although he was now more cautious in his politics. His power was however reduced to the Iberian Peninsula and to the islands of Cuba and the Philippines: in 1825 the American colonies had fought and won their independence from Spain.

Fernando VII died on September 29, 1833, and his widow María Cristina assumed the regency of the kingdom because of the young age of the future queen Isabel II (born 1830). The civil war burst out under the pretext of the legitimacy of a male candidate Carlos María Isidro over the daughter of the last king and actually, as a reaction of conservative forces against the moderate liberalism of the regent. The *Carlista* war lasted until 1839, and the financial effort required selling real state belonging mostly to the church, the so called *desamortización*. The most famous *desamortización* was conducted by Mendizábal in 1834-35.

Although the regent had removed the *Carlista* danger, she could not remove the danger exposed by an ambitious general, B. Espartero, who forced her to resign and to go into exile. Espartero was the self-appointed regent from 1840 to 1843 but he had to give up power, and Isabel II ascended to the throne in 1843, when she was 14 years old and declared major of age. Queen Isabel II often interfered in politics, she favored reactionary generals and statesmen, the Church and religious orders, and barred progressive forces from power; no wonder, her reign was infested with military insurrections, *pronunciamientos*; the revolt of 1854 enjoyed popular support and brought a progressive government to power. Despite of so intense agitation the state finances improved and the industrial revolution began.

In 1859, during the government of Leopoldo O'Donnell, Spain attacked Morocco and troops led by general Prim occupied Tetuan. The Sultan agreed to pay a heavy compensation and Spain withdraw from Tetuan and from the occupied territory. By no means this *guerra de Africa* can be seen as part of any colonial project; it was a way to divert public opinion from other issues and to create a feeling of patriotic fervor that overwhelmed left and right.

In 1868 Isabel II had lost the support of the rising capitalism too and when the generals J. Prim and F. Serrano, a former lover, revolted against her, she had to go into exile. Spain lived its short republican experience from 1873 to 1874. After Isabel II had abdicated (she died 1904), her son Alfonso XII (b. 1857) could rise to the throne in 1874 riding the wave of a *pronunciamiento*. With Alfonso XII the period of the *Restauración* began, in the first six years, the conservative party of Cánovas ruled the country, then the liberal party of Sagasta did it for another three years, and then the power went back to Cánovas.

Alfonso XII died in November 1885, his successor Alfonso XIII was born a few months later, in May 1886, and María Cristina, the widow and mother of Alfonso XIII, would be queen-regent until his majority of age in 1902. She had to face growing social unrest, the development of national movements in Catalonia and the Basque country, and eventually the lost of the last American colonies, Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines in 1898. Gayangos had died the year before in London.

Gayangos's father was an Artillery officer who was sent to Mexico and who, after the Mexican independence in 1820, came back and settled in Madrid, where Pascual attended school. In 1822, his parents sent him to France, to the boarding school of Pont-le-Voy, close to Blois, where he studied until 1825; these three years correspond to the Liberal period of

Fernando VII. Afterwards, he was admitted to the *École des Langues Orientales Vivantes* in Paris and attended the courses of de Sacy for three years. Gayangos married Fanny Rebell, daughter of a British Liberal politician, in 1828 and they stayed in London for two years.

In 1825 the French troops restored the absolutist regime in Spain, but this was not an obstacle for Gayangos who returned to the country in 1830 and entered the civil service in Malaga taking advantage of his rights as an officer's son. Later, in 1833, he moved to Madrid as translator at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs,³⁰ and was commissioned to "translate and summarize" the Arabic manuscripts extant at the Royal Library; he spent a year doing this and other works at the library.³¹ In fact, what he was seeking was the chair in Arabic Studies, and he spent some months in France and Britain in 1835 in preparation. Fernando VII had died in 1833 and these were the years of the queen-regent and of the first *Carlista* war that exhausted the financial resources of the country. Gayangos did not get the chair and spent the years 1837-1843 in London, doing research for the British Museum, writing for various projects and trading occasionally in ancient books. There he made the acquaintance of the Hispanist George Ticknor whose *History of Spanish Literature*³² Gayangos would translate into Spanish in 1851. In these years, Gayangos published the *History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*,³³ a large translation, but not the entirety, of al-Maqqarî's (d. 1632) *Nafh al-Itih*. Besides, he introduced the Aljamiado literature to the international scholarship³⁴ and translated the inscriptions on the walls of the Alhambra too:

*Plans, elevations, sections and details of the Alhambra from drawings taken on the spot in 1834 by the late M. Jules Goury and in 1834 and 1837 by Owen James archt. With a complete translation of the Arabic inscriptions and an historical notice of the Kings of Granada from the conquest of that city by the Arabs to the expulsion of the Moors by Mr. Pasqual de Gayangos*³⁵.

³⁰ Mar Vilar García, "Pascual de Gayangos, traductor e intérprete de inglés y otras lenguas en el Ministerio de Estado (1833-1837)", *Boletín de la Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo*, 73 (1997). 43-57.

³¹ Roca, "Noticia", *RABM*, 1 (1897), p. 555.

³² New York and London, 1849, 3 vols. Gayangos's translation appeared 1851-1857.

³³ by Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Al-Makkarî; *translated from the Arabian text with critical notes* by Pascual de Gayangos. London: printed for the Oriental Translation Fund, 1840-1843, 2 vols. Reprint London; New York: Routledge Curzon, 2002.

Said should react with indignation because of the use of Mohammedan, see *Orientalism*, p. 66.

³⁴ "Language and Literature of the Moriscos", *British and Foreign Review*, vol. III, nº15, January 1839, pp. 63-95.

³⁵ London: Vizetelly brothers, 1842.

Gayangos acknowledged the usefulness of the first translation of the inscriptions made by Alonso del Castillo in 1556. The “historical notice” is a history based on Arabic sources and consists of the standard narrative of wars and kings, what is benevolently called “political history”. In any case, these three pieces of scholarship are representative of his interest in the history of Islamic Spain, although it was not an exclusive one because Gayangos also cultivated the study of Spanish literature and other fields such as the relations between England and Castile.

Gayangos always kept in touch with good friends in Madrid, those to the right and to the left, and he succeeded in being appointed Vice-Consul of Spain in Tunis (Real Orden of October 14, 1841).³⁶ The appointment was signed by B. Espartero, the regent; the same man who two years later, in 1843, would have to give up the regency and make way for the new queen Isabel II. Gayangos did not go to Tunis to take the post, and his knowledge of Africa was limited to a visit of Tetuan, Larache and Tangier in October of 1848.³⁷

Gayangos came back to Spain in 1843 to become the first professor of Arabic at the University of Madrid, a post that he would hold until approximately 1869. He soon became a member of the Royal Academy of History, where he worked gathering sources for the history of Spain and helping to preserve art heritage. Since 1851, he coordinated and contributed to the edition of *Memorial Histórico Español*, and since 1857 he oversaw the committee in charge of publishing a *Colección de obras arábigas de geografía e historia*. To this *Colección* he contributed a second volume; he edited the Arabic text of Ibn al-Qûṭīya’s chronicle of the Muslim conquest of the Peninsula, the translation of which was done by Julián Ribera.³⁸

In 1881, during the *Restauración*, and under the liberal administration of Sagasta, Gayangos was Director General of Public Education. He resigned after being elected senator from the province of Huelva for the years 1881-1882. He served also as senator for the Royal Academy of History in 1884-1885, 1886, 1891, 1893-1894 during the regency of María Cristina.³⁹

Gayangos sold part of his library to the Royal Academy of History in 1895; the Spanish National Library would purchase the rest after his death in 1897. Meanwhile,

³⁶ Roca “Noticia”, *RABM*, 2 (1898), p. 112.

³⁷ Juan B. Vilar, “El viaje de Pascual de Gayangos a Marruecos en busca de manuscritos y libros árabes”, *Boletín de la Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo*, 73 (1997) 29-41.

³⁸ *Historia de la conquista de España de Abenalcoitá el Cordobés*. Madrid: Tip. Rev. Archivos, 1926.

³⁹ *Spanish Senate*, Library, call number: HIS-0190-03.

Gayangos had moved to London, where he concentrated on another aspect of his scholarship: the Hispanic studies, contributing to their development in the English speaking world.⁴⁰

Gayangos's scholarship is not very different from that of his master De Sacy or from his colleagues on the Northern side of the Pyrenees, where he lived for many years and died. His method was positivist. It consisted of searching and locating sources, mainly written, but also archeological, and then of making them accessible either by editing or by translating them. Like De Sacy and many scholars, he did not really know the Orient; he had never lived there and he was not engaged in any activity related to the short-lived occupation of Tetuan. And like De Sacy, he translated political documents on the Orient; he did not write them.

Nevertheless, Gayangos worked for the British Library and for British institutions. He often published in English, and in London. Should we consider him an agent of the British Empire when he translated for Goury and Owens the Alhambra inscriptions or when we wrote entries for the *Westminster Review*, the *Edinburgh Review*, the *Penny Cyclopaedia* and other dictionaries? Maybe we need to revise the connection between Orientalism and Imperialism as established by Edward Said.

No scholarly activity can be isolated from its own personal and social context, and no scholar can prevent his research from being used and manipulated by the politically powerful, but to assert that every scholar and every academic activity serves a political purpose is not accurate. The European Orientalists were part of the contemporary enterprise of collecting any item of cultural value, all these manuscripts, statues or paintings that now fill the museums and libraries of the industrialized countries. However, the objective research of the Orientalists cannot be reduced to colonial service.

Edward Said lost sight of another fact. Scholarly activity tends to isolate itself and become alien to reality, creating its own world. Not only professors but entire departments of Oriental studies often deliver products that are of no use to politicians and that circulate only within academic circles, or do not last too long.

De Sacy and Gayangos wanted to disseminate knowledge, not only to collect knowledge. Knowledge is neither absolutely objective nor all-inclusive, but this circumstance does not make it worthless. The notices Gayangos that wrote matched the taste of his time and

⁴⁰ *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Spanish Language in the British Museum*, London, 1876-1893, 4 vols.

they were faithful to the Arabic originals. If they reflected a scenario of violence, intrigues, it was because the Arabic chronicles supplied this information that covered some part of the real history. If they transmitted a negative image, it was not a fabrication of Gayangos and the Orientalists, since such a negative image also characterized chronicles of other civilizations.

De Sacy and Gayangos made knowledge available that could be used for other purposes, including political ones, and in opposing directions, but their Orientalism was often instrumental, and not an agent of any political “concern”.

Gayangos deserves merit for having created the Spanish school of Orientalism, or to be more precise, the Spanish Arabism. One of his students Francisco Codera Zaidín (1836-1917)⁴¹ succeeded him as the chair of Arabic in Madrid in 1874. Codera’s disciple, Julián Ribera Tarragó (1858-1934) was not his successor in official terms, because Ribera came to Madrid in 1905 as professor of Hispano-Arabic Literature⁴² but both edited the Arabic sources of the Spanish history, *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana* (1882-1895).

Julián Ribera Tarragó did more than editing and translating Arabic texts. He was also a musicologist and studied the *Cantigas* composed by instruction of King Alphonse the Wise. His studies led him to affirm that Arabic melodies that Alfonso heard in his youth must have been the inspiration of the music of the *Cantigas*.⁴³ He went further showing how Arabic music had influenced popular music in medieval Spain.⁴⁴ Ribera was conscious of the contribution of the Arabic and Islamic past to the formation of Spain.

Among Gayangos’s disciples Francisco Fernández González (1833-1917) was, perhaps, the most sensitive to the issue of the “national” component of the Arabist science. He

⁴¹ For the biographies of Codera, Ribera or Fernández, see the works of Monroe, Manzanares de Cirre, and Vallvé.

For Fernández, see also E. Martínez Tebar, *Estudio crítico biográfico de D. Francisco Fernández y González*, Madrid, 1908.

For Codera, see Francisco Codera y Zaidín, *Decadencia y desaparición de los almorávides en España*. Con una introducción titulada: M Jesús Viguera Molins: *Al-Ándalus prioritario: el positivismo de Francisco Codera*. Pamplona : Urogoiti, 2003. CXXXVII, 221 p.

⁴² Vallvé –*Catedráticos*, p. 105 – calls attention to the fact that Gayangos as Director General of Public Instruction made a decision of great import for the history of the Spanish Arabism: He converted the chair of Hebrew at the University of Zaragoza into a chair of Arabic, and so Ribera became the first professor of Arabic in 1887.

⁴³ *La Música de Las Cantigas. Estudio Sobre su origen y naturaleza con reproducciones fotográficas del texto y transcripción moderna por Julián Ribera de las RR. AA. Española y de la Historia*, Madrid: Tipografía de la Revista de Archivos, 1922.

⁴⁴ *La música árabe y su influencia en la española*. Madrid, 1927. Revisión, prólogo y semblanza biográfica por Emilio García Gómez. Valencia: Pre-Textos, 2000.

was professor of Spanish Literature at the University of Granada (1856-1864) and Aesthetics at Madrid from 1864 until his retirement in 1903. In his articles, Fernández advocated for a positive attitude toward the glorious Islamic past of the country.⁴⁵ Spain was once a country where other Europeans came to in search of science, and this golden age was the Arab domination of the Peninsula. Americo Castro and Juan Goytisolo have here a forerunner.

Miguel Asín Palacios

If Gayangos could be considered a rigorous positivist, Miguel Asín Palacios reflects a very different tradition. Asín Palacios was born on July 5, 1871 in Zaragoza and died on August 12, 1944 in San Sebastián.⁴⁶ He went to the Church Seminary in Zaragoza and was ordained in 1896. While studying in the seminary, he attended courses on Humanities at the state university where he made the acquaintance in 1891 of Julián Ribera, the first professor of Arabic there.

He grew interested in Islamic spirituality and in April of 1896 he defended his doctoral dissertation on al-Ghazâlî (d. 1111) at the Central University, i.e., Madrid. He was living on a meager priest stipend in Zaragoza until he obtained the chair of Arabic in Madrid in 1903, after the early retirement of Codera. Asín held this position until 1934 when he asked for and was transferred to a purely research one. The outbreak of the war (1936-1939) that brought Franco to dictatorial power took him in San Sebastián, where he stayed until the end of the war. Then he went back to his chair until his legal retirement in 1941. Besides his post as professor, he was also a member of three Royal Academies.

Asín had received a scholastic theological education, besides he found inspiration and guidance in the life and writings of Cardinals Newman (1801-1890) and Mercier (1851-1926)⁴⁷. His life was that of a diocesan clergyman, devoted mainly to his research and some

⁴⁵ "Plan de una biblioteca de autores arábigos españoles para servir a la Historia de la Literatura Árabe en España", *Revista ibérica de ciencias, etc.* 1 (1861), pp. 54-58.

⁴⁶ Juan Zaragüeta Bengoechea, "Necrología del Excmo. Sr. D. Miguel Asín Palacios, Académico de número y Censor (Estudio bio-bibliográfico), Separata de *Anales de la Real Academia de Ciencias Morales y Políticas*, (1952), 44 pp. Emilio García Gómez, "Don Miguel Asín (1871-1944). Esquema de una biografía. Bibliografía de don Miguel Asín", *Al-Andalus* 9 (1944) 267-271. Henri Terrasse, "Miguel Asín Palacios", *Hesperis* (Rabat) 32 (1945). Monroe, *Spanish Scholarship*, pp. 174-195. Joaquín Lomba Fuentes, "Bibliografía de Don Miguel Asín Palacios", en *Endoxa*, UNED, Madrid, 6 (1996), pp. 109-133.

José Valdivia Valor, *D. Miguel Asín Palacios. Mística cristiana y mística musulmana*. Madrid: Hiperión, 1991. Andrea Celli, *Figure della relazione: il Medioevo in Asin Palacios e nell'arabismo spagnolo*. Rome: Carocci, 2005.

⁴⁷ Celli, *Figure delle relazione*, pp. 100-103.

teaching, which contrasted to the active one of Gayangos. But life in the country during this period was rather troubled.

Alfonso XIII was enthroned in 1902 following a military coup. The young king strived to “regenerate” the Spanish society after the defeat of 1898 against the US navy in Cuba and the Philippines. *Regeneration* was the slogan of the time: to regenerate the political system, to regenerate the administration, to regenerate the public finances, to regenerate the economy in general, and the country well needed it because it was as much underdeveloped as Morocco.

The scenario had changed in relationship to the former century: national movements in Catalonia and other parts arose; partisans of the republic reunited; unions organized labor. Alfonso XIII soon forgot his good intentions, and he heavily relied on the military that had brought him to power. Since the last American colonies were gone, new opportunities were needed to justify the disproportionate size of the army, and above all, of the officers’ staff. The new opportunity was called Morocco, and its barren lands of the Riff.

The *guerra de Africa* of 1859 exacted 40.000 troops --many of them volunteered-- and lasted less than one year. The *guerra del Rif* would be different. In 1909 reservists were needed to reinforce the troops around Melilla and a revolt exploded in Barcelona where they were boarding the ships. The revolt was addressed not only against the government, but also against the Catholic Church –seen as a main supporter of the regime. Religious buildings were set afire. The occupation of the small, poor Northern region of Morocco would last until 1927, and it would be over only when France dispatched an army of half a million men to attack from the Southern part of Morocco. The occupation happened after the parliamentary regime was overthrown by General Primo de Rivera in September 1923. The new dictator considered himself a promoter of the *Regeneration* but soon changed his views concerning Morocco. His victory over Morocco, however, could not stop his fall, and in 1929 he went into exile. Two years later, in April 1931, Alfonso XIII abdicated and the II Republic was born. Its existence would be short-lived, from 1931 to 1939 and was followed by the long, cruel dictatorship of Franco for almost 40 years.

Asín Palacios was not directly involved in the politics of the time, although he was no doubt a very conservative man. He lived in his ivory tower –calle San Vicente – which made possible his fructiferous scholarly production. Except for his trip to Algiers to attend the Orientalists Congress of 1905, he never visited the Arab world. There were chaplains with the Spanish troops in Morocco; one of them, for instance, Carlos Quirós Rodríguez (d. 1961), knew Arabic and did research on Averroes. Neither Asín nor Quirós were disturbed at all by the fact that they were fighting the same civilization they were studying. Anyway the colonial army would always rely on auxiliary forces of “friendly” natives, *moros amigos*, and thus the image of a Muslim enemy was blurry. And when Franco revolted against the Republic, over 75.000 Moroccan troops became essentially part of his army.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Francisco Sánchez Ruano, *Islam y guerra civil española. Moros con Franco y con la República*. Madrid, 2004.

Asín's doctoral dissertation dealt with **أبو حامد** al-Ghazâlî, the Muslim theologian and mystic. Menéndez Pelayo wrote the introduction to the printed version⁴⁹ "with true patriotic satisfaction" and emphasized that the ancient Oriental philosophy, "and in particular that which flourished in Persia" explains the origins and development of "our philosophy". Menéndez Pelayo meant by "our philosophy" that which grew on the Peninsula, whether it be Hispano-Arabic, Hebrew or Christian. Menéndez Pelayo gave Asín's research its ideological foundation.

Asín continued his research on al-Ghazâlî, translating his main writings, or good amounts of the work, and accompanied them with introductions. So he did with the *Median in Belief*,⁵⁰ with al-Ghazâlî's major work, *The Revival of the religious sciences*⁵¹, and other texts. Asín followed the same procedure with other authors, including a theologian but not a Sufi, namely the Andalusian Ibn H̄azm (d.1064),⁵² and with the Sufi Ibn 'Arabî (d. 1240)⁵³. His translations are accurate, and his painstaking work is admirable. His research extended also to Andalusian philosophers, to linguistic issues and some historical subjects but his main interest was related to religion and mysticism, and to the mutual influences of Islam and Christianity. Asín saw Christian origins in the Sufism of Ibn 'Arabî and al-Ghazâlî. The connecting points to Massignon are evident, although their views diverge.⁵⁴ Massignon, who was in permanent contact with the people of the Orient, was reluctant to see only influences and believed in a common experience of Islamic and Christian mystics, on the contrary, Asín saw even "the golden strand of the *philosophia perennis*" in Ibn H̄azm, who was a sharp critic of Christianity.

As for the Islamic influence in the Christian world let us turn to his *Traces of Islam, Huellas del Islam*.⁵⁵ Asín presented the Andalusian Islam carrying the "Classical and

⁴⁹ *Algazel, dogmática, ascética y mística*, con prólogo de Menéndez y Pelayo. Zaragoza: Comas, 1901.

⁵⁰ *El justo medio en la creencia, compendio de teología dogmática de Algazel*. Madrid: Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, 1929.

⁵¹ *La espiritualidad de Algazel y su sentido cristiano*, Madrid: Maestre, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1941, 4 vols. Asín had summarized and interpreted the text in his doctoral dissertation.

⁵² *Los caracteres y la conducta*. Madrid: Maestre, 1916.

Abenházam de Córdoba y su historia crítica de las ideas religiosas. 5 vols. Madrid: Tipog. RABM, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1931, 1932, R Madrid: Turner, 1984.

⁵³ *El Islam cristianizado. Estudio del sufismo a través de las obras de Abenarabi de Murcia*. Madrid: Plutarco, 1931. Reprinted Madrid, 1981

⁵⁴ Mikel de Epalza, "Massignon et Asín Palacios : une longue amitié et deux approches différentes de l'Islam", in *L'Herne : Louis Massignon* 13(1970) 157-169.

⁵⁵ *Santo Tomás de Aquino, Turmeda, Pascal, San Juan de la Cruz*, Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1941.

Christian heritage” to Europe as well as enriching it, being convinced that “in the history of culture there is no discontinuity”.

Asín Palacios raised international clamor in 1919, when he published *La escatología musulmana en la Divina Comedia* that was his inaugural address to the Royal Spanish Academy; it was translated into English as *Islam and the Divine Comedy*.⁵⁶ Asín Palacios argued for Muslim influence in Dante’s sketch of the travel to the Afterlife: Islam knows the legend of Muhammad’s nocturnal travel, *Mi’râj*, and its Medieval Spanish translation is extant.⁵⁷ The thesis remains controversial but, using Monroe’s words, “Dante scholarship will be never the same after Asín”.

Asín Palacios constructed his own world, where ideas flew without borders and united men and ages. Aquinas and Averroes coincided, for instance, and the Latin Averroists were simply wrong in their understanding of Averroes.⁵⁸ The supremacy of the Indo-European by Renan was the supremacy of Christianity, but he was tolerant and recognized the contributions of Islam. He recognized a high degree of spirituality in Muslim ascetics and hermits and further he admitted in them true supernatural life even from a Christian standpoint. Asín explained the phenomenon because of the legacy Islam and other religions had inherited from Christianity, as Epalza pointed to.⁵⁹

Asín Palacios lived in his own world, the latest references of which dated to the Spanish Golden Age, and the external world was very different from that time. In 1940, half of Spain was oppressing the other half, and half of Europe oppressed its other half. Moreover, Franco led a Crusade and seized power with the decisive help of the followers of Muhammad. *Jihâd* and the Crusade converged. Asín Palacios descended into reality and made his own interpretation of the events in an article published that year: *Why did the Moroccan Muslims fight on our side*.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Translated and abridged by Harold Sunderland. Introduction by the Duke of Alba. London: Hazell, Watson and Viney, 1926.

⁵⁷ Enrico Cerulli, *Il “libro della Scala” e la questione delle fonti arabo-spagnole della Divina Commedia*, Città del Vaticano 1949. Another edition, *La escala de Mahoma, traducción del árabe al castellano, ordenada por Alfonso X el Sabio*, latín y francés. Edición, introducción y notas por José Muñoz Sendino. Madrid: Dirección General de Relaciones Culturales, 1949.

⁵⁸ “El averroísmo teológico de Sto. Tomás de Aquino” in *Homenaje a don Francisco Codera en su jubilación del profesorado*, (Zaragoza: Escar, 1904), pp. 271-331.

⁵⁹ “Algunos juicios teológicos de Asín Palacios sobre el Islam”, *Pensamiento* 25 (1969) 145-182.

⁶⁰ “Por qué lucharon a nuestro lado los musulmanes marroquíes”, Offprint of the *Boletín de la Universidad Central*, Madrid, 1940. 25 pp. Reedited in M. Asín Palacios, *Obras escogidas*. Vols. II – III, *De historia y filología árabe* (Madrid: CSIC, 1948), pp. 126-152.

Asín Palacios shares the astonishment of many observing how enthusiastic “the Muslim colonial hosts joined our Army and our Cause” despite the low pay they receive. The money does not justify risking their lives –Asín goes on – nor political motivation does, because the main goal of any people living under the regime of Protectorate is to achieve its independence. He recognizes that an intensive and extensive propaganda movement toward independence was stirring the French Protectorate and states:

Nobody ignores that the high direction of the propaganda in all Islamic countries, either colonized or protected by European nations resides in the international Marxism, to be more precise, in Bolshevism...

The tentacles of the Bolshevik propaganda have got a hold on our Zone too, above all after the declaration of the Republic. We have observed with astonishment and vexation during the last years how congressmen and even ministers, Republican or Marxists, have contributed to such anti-Spanish propaganda with their words in political meetings or in the press as well as with their political influence from Madrid in favor of some Moroccan *revoltosos*, troublemakers in our Zone.

Nevertheless, the ideal striving for independence has not moved the masses in “our Zone” and some argue that the reason lies in the better treatment their inhabitants receive in contrast to those in the French Protectorate. Asín takes this fact into account, but does not consider it decisive in explaining their enthusiasm for joining in “our Cause”; they would stay away from the war. He observes that neither material interest nor striving for independence has been effective. He raises the question whether racial affinity of Spaniards and Moors explains the enthusiasm, but Asín denies and places cultural affinity above racial affinity. The cultural affinity binding Spaniards and Moors is the common defense of religion, family, property against Bolshevism.

At a first glance, religion divides Christians and Muslims, and Asín has to overcome this initial difficulty. He proceeds to dismantle the “centuries old prejudice” of the enmity between Christians and Muslims based on religious grounds. His argument reads first that religion is the most powerful element of cultural identity, and surely many fundamentalists today will agree with Asín. Second, that Islam is the same as Christianity since Islam:

Except for these two articles of the Catholic faith [Trinity and Incarnation] all its dogmatic and moral theology and a great deal of the liturgical ceremonies is, indeed, a more or less faithful tracing of the Jewish-Christian creed and liturgy (p. 5).

In a significant movement, Asín summarizes his former research on the interflow of Christian and Islamic doctrines and practices. He dares to soothe the sharp Muslim denial of the divinity of Jesus by adducing traditional Muslim narratives on the goodness of Jesus and

Maria. For instance, he quotes Ibn 'Arabî as saying that his conversion to the ascetic life was prompted by “the inspiration and guidance of Jesus’s Heart”.

But neither the faith nor the liturgy is everything, maybe not even the most important part of religion. On the contrary, the positive effect caused by beliefs and ceremonies upon the moral character and upon the behavior is the standard that truly measures the cultural value of any religious system (p. 16).

Asín Palacios concludes his flawed reasoning saying that because of the Christian contents of the Muslim dogma the moral effects are alike in Christians and Muslims. And one gets the point: Therefore good people fight evil people and only Catholics can be good people, if Muslims are good it is because they are Catholics in an unconscious way. The remark should be added that Asín was not the only one to offer a religious interpretation of the large Moroccan contribution to a war which was called *jihâd* when suitable.⁶¹ And María Rosa de Madariaga, in her field research, gathered direct evidence of how the tribal leaders recruited troops calling on the Muslim duty to fight the unbelievers.⁶²

To sum up, Asín’s thesis is very simple: Christians and Muslims, i.e., traditional Spaniards and Moroccans, are true believers; they believe in God and in Spain. The leaflet, as representative of his profound beliefs should not, however, overshadow his impressive, long-termed hard work from which we still benefit.

Moreover, Asín’s knowledge of the living Orient was second hand; maybe he followed some Arabic press from the East, but his interest remained in the middle Ages, and his *Chrestomatía* may illustrate my affirmation. Edward Said insisted that the effects of De Sacy’s *Chrestomathy* upon the West, insofar as the selection of the texts was a personal way of defining the Orient in an apparently objective way. For decades Spanish students started learning Arabic with the *Crestomatía* which Asín published in 1939.⁶³ In the introduction, Asín limits its purpose to the teaching of Arabic to students of Medieval Spanish history so that many texts are of historical content. Others are religious, and others are taken from belletristic collections. The first extract, and therefore the most read, is the story of a pair of

⁶¹ Sánchez Ruano, *Islam y guerra civil*, pp. 230-233

⁶² “La guerra colonial llevada a España. Las tropas marroquíes en el ejército franquista”, in J.A. González Alcantud et. al. (eds.), *Marroquíes en la guerra civil española. Campos equívocos* (Rubí: Anthropos, 2003), pp. 58-94.

⁶³ *Crestomatía de árabe literal con glosario y elementos de gramática*. Madrid: Imp. Fernández, 1939, reprinted. Publicaciones de las Escuelas de Estudios Árabes de Madrid y Granada.

slippers extracted from the *Majânî al-adab* compiled by the Lebanese Jesuit Louis Cheikho (1859-1927).⁶⁴

A man named Abû l-Qâsim was so greedy that he had on the same slippers for seven years. He had repaired them so many times that they were so heavy that they became a proverb. Once he was in the Turkish bath and his friends strongly reproached him for his greed. When he went out to dress again, he saw a new pair of slippers besides his old ones and thought that someone had given them to him out of generosity. He put them on and left the old ones there. In fact they were de qadi's slippers and Abû l-Qâsim was soon arrested and fined. He was angry at his slippers and tried to get rid of them, which became not only an impossible task, but ruined him.

The story has its moral teaching: that greed eventually leads to poverty, and is a typical example of medieval *adab* literature. These stories may be interpreted as mirroring the exoticism that attracted the European eyes, but we should not forget that they were read by Arab children in those years at school too. And by no means do these samples make the bulk of Asín's *Crestomatía* that remains illustrative of the written production in al-Andalus.

Emilio García Gómez

The case may be different with his disciple, don Emilio García Gómez (1905-1995).⁶⁵ He was one of the first Arabists who spent some time in the Orient. He lived in Cairo from 1927 to 1929 thanks to a fellowship and there he made the acquaintance of Egyptian scholars and literates, whose friendship he always cultivated. García Gómez composed his own anthology⁶⁶ in 1943 and in the foreword he explained his ambitious purpose as follows:

I have chosen some texts of easy style, entertaining, with so few references and proper names as possible, which reveal the more profound and deepest-rooted characteristics of Muslim life and culture (p. viii).

Many texts are *adab*, medieval belles-lettres and seek to be entertaining. According to García Gómez, the main and essential part of the anthology is made of 18 tales taken from the *Mukhtasār Rawd al-ḥayāt fī manâqib as-salihīn* by 'Abdallâh al-Yafī'î (1132-

⁶⁴ 6 vols. (Beirut, 1884), vol. 4, pp. 232-234.

⁶⁵ On the occasion of his death on May 31, 1995, numerous biographies were published. Gamal Abdel Karim and the University of Cairo organized a colloquium in his honor, and the published proceedings contain various articles on García Gómez: *Ponencias. IV Congreso Internacional de Civilización Andalusí. Homenaje al ilustre arabista D. Emilio García Gómez. 3-5 marzo 1998*. El Cairo: Universidad, 1998.

⁶⁶ *Antología árabe para principiantes*. Textos árabes sin vocalizar, seleccionados y editados con un glosario. Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1943, reprinted.

1207).⁶⁷ They are tales of pious men, *s[ā]lih[īn]*, and marvelous events. May I chose tale number 13, “The miraculous flour”. The wife gave an ascetic two dirhams to buy flour at the market. The ascetic saw a slave weeping because he had lost the two dirhams that his owner had given to him in order to buy something. The ascetic gave him the two dirhams that his wife had put in his hand and went to the mosque. He spent there most of the day and went back to the market on his way home. A friendly carpenter gave him sawdust to heat the house and miracle! The sawdust was transformed into delicious flour.

García Gómez was faithfully following the steps of the pious Asín Palacios. He did so in the aftermath of the so-called Civil War, when people were starving and flour was a mixture of wheat meal and unrecognizable stuff. The selected tale was similar to those tales Christian authors were writing at the time about Christian saints,⁶⁸ and its ideology too.

When Edward Said claimed that the Spanish Orientalism is an exception because Islam is constitutive part of the Spanish identity, he did not have a close look at it. Spanish Orientalism has been mainly Arabism and has focused on the medieval period of Spanish history. How true the fact is, we should be careful with its ideological implications.

First of all, Said’s affirmation that Orientalism provided Colonialism with the “enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage –and even produce—the Orient” (*Orientalism*, p. 3) remains disputable, and so in the Spanish case; by the way, Said ignores completely all those Orientalists who opposed Colonialism.⁶⁹ And second, for Spain, the situation of the country made Imperialism wishful thinking. The condition of the Spanish land day laborers was as bad as that of their Moroccan counterparts, and should they leave their own country, the poor and small part of the Moroccan protectorate was not the place where they need for land could be satisfied.

Nevertheless, there was an ideological projection of Orientalism, or Arabism, in Spanish scholarship that in my view had very serious consequences and it consisted of

⁶⁷ Printed on the margins of Ah[mad] ibn Muh[ammad] Tha’libi, (d. 1035): *Qis[as] a[ṣ]ṣ[ā]lihiyya’: al-musammā bi-al-’Arā’is*. Wa-bi-h[ā]mishihi kitāb*Rawd[ā] a[ṣ]ṣ[ā]lihiyya’ fī hikāyat as[ṣ]ṣ[ā]lihiyya’* li-l-’allāmah al-Yāfi’i. García Gómez used the edition Cairo 1348/1929.

Italian translation by V. Vacca, *Il giardino dei fiori odorosi*, Marsilio, 1993.

⁶⁸ The genre of the *Flos sanctorum* is well known. For the period in which García Gómez composed his anthology, may I quote: Fr. Justo Pérez de Urbel, *Año cristiano*, Burgos: Aldecoa, 1933.

⁶⁹ Robert Irwin mentions Claude Cahen, Maxime Rodinson or Jacques Berque among them in *Dangerous Knowledge : Orientalism and its Discontents*, Woodstock, NY : Overlook Press, 2006.

identifying Islam and Christianity for political purposes. Islamic fundamentalists ignore that seventy years ago Catholic churchmen and “right” Spaniards already had embraced them in a joint struggle against secularism and liberal values that made it possible for Edward Said to live with dignity.

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