

L.P. Harvey. *Islamic Spain, 1250 to 1500*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990. xvi + 370 pp.

In this monograph Harvey provides, for the first time, a panoramic view of the final 250 years of Islam in the Iberian peninsula. The concluding date of 1500 is that of the prohibition of Islam; by 1250 Christian military supremacy had been established, and that is the approximate date of the rise of the dynasty that was to rule Granada until its fall.

After a masterly chapter on terminological problems and a chapter on small autonomous Islamic enclaves (Murcia, Niebla, Crevillente), six chapters survey the demographic and legal status of *mudéjares* in the various Christian kingdoms of what would later be Spain. There follow ten chapters on the political and diplomatic history of the kingdom of Granada, elegantly and correctly called a complicated ballet (160). The panorama is somewhat uneven: Muslims living in Christian kingdoms, in almost all cases quite small minorities (ix), 'sought to have no history', to live unperceived and thus unmolested (68). Granada was 'a lively center of artistic and literary creativity' (189), but from the largest *mudéjar* community, that of Valencia, 'rarely do we get more than an ill-spelled receipt for a brace of chickens' (119). One important contribution is the evidence assembled on the use of Castilian among the *mudéjares*, who 'may never have possessed Arabic, even at the beginning of our period, as their spoken language' (99). The *moriscos* thus have clear roots in the fifteenth century and before. The translation of the Koran into Spanish, the model for *aljamiado* literature, is 'a radical departure within the history of Islam in general' (87).

Harvey's primary emphasis is on Christian-Muslim relations. He studies how the Muslims saw themselves in relation to their Christian rulers or neighbors, and how the Christians saw them. While Christian historians up to the present have always portrayed Granada as a vassal of Castile, one of Harvey's most significant innovations is showing how distorted that view is (26-30). We follow the dizzying politics through which the *granadinos* skillfully played off competing enemies, and the varying terms on which the Castilians allowed Granada to exist undisturbed through short and long truces (at the beginning, in exchange for the peaceful *entrega* of Jaén). He

also devotes special attention to understanding dissension within both camps. There has never been a book treating Granada's diplomacy so fully: relations not just with Castile and North Africa but also with Aragon and Navarre are studied. The sources used are exceptionally broad and thorough, from Aragonese archival materials to Moroccan legal texts that quote examples from lost Granadine archives. While there have been a number of histories of Granada, most have had a pro-Castilian bias, and none has used all the sources Harvey has assembled. I have noticed the absence only of Juan Torres Fontes, 'Las relaciones castellano-granadinas desde 1475-1478', in *Hispania*, 22 (1962).

The story told is a melancholy one, of decline and fall. Granada fell, Harvey explains, not because of palace intrigues, which have long figured prominently in Christian literature on the topic (266-67). Rather, Granada fell because it was militarily weaker. It could not match the Castilian armies in size, staying power, or technology (cannons). Thus, Granada could not avoid being bled by decades of forced tribute, nor protect its agriculture from devastating raids. Harvey provides much fascinating information on the steady stream of fighting Volunteers for the Faith (*guzāt*, plural of *gāzī*, see 'Volunteers' in the Index); their link with the Christian concept of *caballeria andante* is well worth investigation. Yet while their psychological impact was large, their military impact was small. The rulers of North Africa, themselves weakened, could no longer help. Especially significant in the fifteenth century was Islamic dissension faced with Christian solidarity; the alliance of Castile and Aragon through the marriage of Fernando and Isabel had profound and ominous strategic implications for Granada. The surprise is not that Granada fell, but that it held out as long as it did.

If there is a shortcoming in this vital book, it is that more might have been said about what Islamic Spain represented to both Muslims and Christians, and how its history has been manipulated for symbolic purposes. Harvey's political and diplomatic analysis does not pause long over Granada's material, artistic, and intellectual splendor, its mystique and Sufi foundations (another surprise, 29-31), and why its fall was taken harder than, say, the fall of Zaragoza. Indeed, Harvey might have told us why his sympathies are with the *granadinos*, as they evidently are (and are mine). Did the Christians act any worse than the *granadinos* did, or would have if they could? The fall of Constantinople, which inspired terror in European Christians and presumably brought international pressure on Isabel to conclude the Reconquest, is never mentioned.

The book has a good index and bibliography. It is presumably the publisher that has insisted that all quotations be presented in English only. The rationale for this measure escapes me, especially when the reader's familiarity with such Spanish words as *vega* (195) or *bermejo* (209) is assumed. Names are Anglicized as well: Juan II and Enrique IV have become John II and Henry IV, yet Muhammad cannot be Mohammed, nor Yūsuf Joseph. Titles of some Spanish works are superfluously translated into English (*Chronicle of the Catholic Monarchs*), but titles of Arabic source works, such as *Kitāb nubdhāt*, unfortunately are not. Misprints are few and unserious (Gibralter, 263; relacion, 327; Marmol for Mármol, 354; Meliá for Melia, 355).

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Tallahassee