



The Mass Migration of Jews from Palestine to Andalus and the Life of the Jews in Andalus

Filistin'den Endülüs'e Kitleysel Yahudi Göçü ve Yahudilerin Endülüs'teki Yaşantıları

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ABSTRACT	ÖZ
<p>The mythical history of the Jewish people made them a nation separated from the homeland, and turned the ideal of returning there into a tribal and religious rule. However, despite such longing, it cannot be said the Jews refuse to adapt to the countries they reside. Under favourable conditions, Jews were also concerned about integrating into the society. They took part in the social and political structures, prominently and unvisibly. Andalus is a region where Jews settled following the Roman exile. Although Jewish activity was encountered during Christian rule, the main period when they became visible and contributed to the society was the Muslim centuries. During this period, Jews were influential in social, cultural and economic terms and partly in political life. As a bridge between Christian Europe and Muslim Andalus, Jews contributed to the construction of modern Europe. Yet, the omission of this part of Jewish history prevents complete explanation of the construction process of Europe. This study aims to examine the Jewish immigration to Andalus, their experiences there, and their contributions to both societies. This article mainly employs the Jewish sources. In conclusion, it predicts that the Muslim-Jewish coexistence experienced in Andalus could be an example for today.</p>	<p>Yahudi halkının efsanevi tarihi onları ana vatandan koparılan ve oraya dönebilme ülküsünü kavmi ve dini bir kaideye dönüştüren bir ulus kılmıştır. Ne var ki böylesi bir özleme rağmen Yahudilerin buldukları ülkelere adapte olmayı istemedikleri de söylenemez. Uygun şartlar altında Yahudiler, içinde buldukları topluma entegre olabilmenin de kaygısını taşımışlardır. Bu anlamıyla onları sosyal ve siyasal yapının içinde kimi zaman belirgin kimi zamansa perdeler arkasında görmek mümkündür. Endülüs, Roma sürgününü takiben Yahudilerin yerleştiği bölgelerden biridir. Endülüs'ün Hıristiyanların idaresinde olduğu dönemde de Yahudi etkinliğine rastlansa da onların görünür hale geldikleri ve topluma katkı sundukları asıl dönem Endülüs'ün Müslümanların idaresi altında bulunduğu yüzyıllardır. Bu dönemde Yahudiler sosyal, kültürel ve ekonomik açıdan etkili olmuş ve kısmen siyasi hayatta da varlık göstermiştir. Yahudilerin Hıristiyan Avrupa ile Müslüman Endülüs arasında köprü olması modern Avrupa'nın inşasına katkı sağlamıştır. Buna rağmen Yahudi tarihinin bu bölümü gözden uzak tutulmaktadır. Bu ise bir yönüyle, Avrupa'nın inşa sürecinin de tam olarak açıklanamaması demektir. Bu çalışma Filistin'den Endülüs'e olan Yahudi göçünü ve onların yaşantılarını ve her iki topluma olan katkılarını incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Makalede ağırlıklı olarak Yahudilerin kendi kaynaklarına yer verilmiştir. Çalışma neticesinde Endülüs'te tecrübe edilen Müslüman-Yahudi birlikteliğinin günümüz için de bir örnek olabileceği öngörülmüştür.</p>
<p>Keywords</p> <p>History, Jews, Immigration, Palestine, Andalus</p>	<p>Anahtar Kelimeler</p> <p>Tarih, Yahudi, Göç, Filistin, Endülüs</p>

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1. Introduction

There is no strong information about the history of the Hebrews, the ethnic origin of the Jews, who are considered to be among the Semitic peoples in Western Asia, before they settled in Palestine, the "land where milk and honey flow" (Durant, 1935: 299-302). What is known is that they were also in the great Aramean immigration wave and were left without land. Some sources associate them with the Habiru who were bandits or even trying to take over cities (Graudy, 2011: 72-73). Jews, on the other hand, attribute their ethnic origin to Abraham, a person who lived about 4,000 years ago and is believed to have arrived in Palestine around 2200 BC (Blech, 2003: 35; Durant, 1935: 300-301). This journey of Abraham is thought to have a sanctifying effect on the whole Jewish history beyond a simple walk. (Ballı and Gökçe 2021: 60). According to the Torah, Abraham's son Isaac, a Mesopotamian immigrant from the lineage of Noah's son Shem (Learsi, 1966: 3; Yaşaroğlu, 2013: 16), and then Jacob, were considered the ancestors of the Hebrew people (Gürkan, 2014: 15; Ballı and Gökçe 2021: 62). Even if this is the case, despite their alliances with the Arabs against their enemies, the Jews who succeeded in settling in Palestine were suppressed, divided, and dispersed by the Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, Macedonians, and Romans from 750 BC (Goiten, 2011: 21-22). The powers that seized the Jewish lands scattered them in many parts of Asia, Asia Minor, Africa and Europe. One of the regions where Jews settled with these exiles is the Iberian Peninsula. According to Baer, regardless of wherever it is, the settlement story of the Jewish diasporas is based on legends, not proven historical information (Baer, 1978: 13). The Jewish presence in Andalusia is not free from this uncertainty. There are those who attribute the arrival of Jews calling themselves Sephardi/Sefardim and emphasizing that they came from one of the tribes of Judah in Andalusia to the Muslim Arab conquests as well as there are those who take this date back to a much earlier period, to the destruction of the Temple by Rome and even earlier, to the destruction of the First Temple. After all, it is known that Rome implemented an exile policy towards Jews in the 400s (Baer, 1978: 15-17). In some Islamic sources, it is stated that King Ispan, together with Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, captured Jerusalem in 586 BC. and returned to his country with 100 thousand Jewish captives (İlhan, 2006: 24). Apart from the various narratives about the settlement of the peninsula, it is possible to analyze the history of the Jews in the Iberian Peninsula in three main sections: the first is the period before the conquest of the peninsula by the Muslim Arabs, the second is the period under Muslim rule, and the final one is the period when the peninsula was recaptured by the Christians and continues until today. In each of these periods, Jews lived under the domination of other tribes and powers, depending on different opportunities and statuses. The fact that Jews represent a numerical minority has been both a disadvantage and a source of advantage. While the Jews could not take action based on their own power due to their small numbers, they have gained an advantageous position in their relations with the dominant peoples who were numerically dominant but uneducated, because the Jews were educated and organized not only in the peninsula but also in overseas countries. Thus, they were accepted as both an excluded and a desirable element.

With this study, we aim to examine the existence of Jews in Andalusia under Muslim Arab rule, to determine their position in social life and their possible effects on both Andalusia and European history. In order to achieve this aim, the main sources of Jewish history and the studies on this subject will be evaluated, and the subject will be discussed without suffocating

in details, and without neglecting the people, places and events that will shed light on the issue as much as possible.

In this study, first of all, Jewish immigration/ exile to the Iberian Peninsula will be examined, then the situation of the Jews before the Muslim Arabs will be discussed briefly, and then the position of the Jewish presence together with the Muslims in the geography and period called also as Andalusia will be investigated. In this respect, the expression "Andalusia" in the study will not refer to the Iberian Peninsula or Spain, but to the geography and time period in the region under the domination of the Muslim Arabs.

2. Literature

In the study, firstly, Jewish sources who examined the period in question were used. Secondly, the sources that include the Jews in Andalusia in this context were used. Apart from this, doctoral theses were also included in the study. Since the subject concerns many different disciplines, the referenced sources are spread over different fields. All these sources have been dealt with in the integrity of the subject, and this period of Jewish history has been tried to be conveyed.

3. Methods

In this study, qualitative research method was applied. All the resources reached on the research subject have been evaluated objectively. The results indicated by the obtained findings are clearly shown.

4. Jewish Migration from Palestine to the Iberian Peninsula

The lands south of the Levant, which is used to denote Syria, Lebanon, Israel and the Palestinian territories today, are referred to as Palestine, derived from a Jewish adjective. The word Palestine was first used as a name for a geographical region in the middle of the fifth century BC (Abraham - Gibson, 2007: 581). According to a theory put forward to explain the settlement of Jews in this region, the landless Habiru attacked and captured the cities in the region, and the Israelites acted with them. Another explanation from a religious point of view is that Judaism began when Moses took twelve tribes descended from the twelve sons of Jacob, whose other name was Israel, from Egypt to Sinai, and received the Torah from God there, and subsequently Jews settled in the region during the Joshua period (Learsi, 1966: 19- 40; Gürkan, 2014: 15; Yaşaroğlu, 2013: 16). In this narrative, God freed the people of Israel from slavery and gave the land of Canaan to them, thus for the first time in history a monotheistic belief appeared as the motor power of the social liberation movement (Garaudy, 2011: 63-64). In the 1000s BC., David managed to unite the Jews who settled in the region, and he built a state with Jerusalem as its capital (Learsi, 1966: 54-55; Ballı and Gökçe 2021: 68). The most glorious time of the kingdom was when David's son Solomon built the Temple in Jerusalem (Learsi, 1966: 63-64; Gürkan, 2014: 21; Mansoor, 1991: 3-7). On the other hand, recent archaeological research reveals that the statement in the Bible that the borders of Solomon's country reached "over the Euphrates to Egypt" is an exaggeration and is a design/imagination/image produced later (Abramsky - Sperling, 2007: 755; Malamat, 1985: 164).

After Solomon, in 931 BC., the kingdom was divided into Israel to the north and Judah to the south. It is thought that this division is due to the socio-cultural difference between the northerners living in the plains and cities and the southerners living in the mountains (Learsi, 1966: 66; Garaudy, 2011: 83). The northern kingdom of Israel is invaded by the Assyrians and

its people are exiled (Gürkan, 2014: 21). There are those who argue that the destruction of the Temple, which is an important moment in Jewish history, was not considered significant in world history, and that it was not included in the inscriptions of the Babylonian king, but that this was a loss of the promise in the Torah for the Jews (Garaudy, 2011: 94). The Jews attribute both this exile and the subsequent Babylonian and Roman exiles to their lack of loyalty to their covenant with God. According to the Jews, there are two aspects of divine command that regulate the relations both between God and the Jews and between the Jews and other people. While God quickly forgives injustice done to Him, He does not easily forgive injustice done to people (Blech, 2003: 67-70). As a matter of fact, while the Babylonian Exile, which is believed to be a punishment for idolatry, lasted for about 70 years until the Persian king Cyrus the Great ruled the region and allowed the Jews to return, (Learsi, 1966: 108), the Roman Exile, which is thought to have been caused by injustice, still continues (Grayzel, 1968: 269; Gürkan, 2014: 24). In any case, it is a fact that the Jewish country has been invaded by the powerful states surrounding them and the Jews have been exiled all over the world. One of the regions of exile is the Iberian Peninsula, where Jews have lived for nearly 1200 years, longer than anywhere else in the world, including Palestine (Roth, 2002: 9).

In the explanations about the existence of Jews in the Iberian Peninsula, it is possible to find traces of both the exiles and regardless of these exiles, of the fact that the region has attractive opportunities in terms of climate, transportation, commercial development, and its resemblance to Palestine (Da Costa, 1850: 209). In addition to the ancient families in the region who call themselves Sephardim and attribute themselves to David's lineage, there are also families who say that their ancestors came here after being captured by the Spanish after the destruction of the First Temple (Durant, 1950: 370). There are also those who state that the Jews in the Iberian Peninsula are members of the tribes of Yehuda and Benjamin, who were taken captive by Spaniards and Pyrrhus, who acted together with Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, in the capture of Jerusalem (De Castro, 1851: 4-5). However, Some Jewish studies associate their arrival in Spain with civil strife during the Rule of Judges (1125-1025 BC.) and wars between the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, but these statements have no meaning other than their mythological character due to the lack of any evidence to support these statements (Learsi, 1966: 243-244; İlhan, 2006: 28). There are also those who date the Jewish presence in the Iberian Peninsula to ancient times through the Jews who were sent to assist and serve the Semitic Phoenicians who had made Spain their commercial colony (Grayzel, 1968: 266). According to another view conveyed by Ziya Pasha, a significant part of the Jews in Spain came from the Roman period. Roman Emperor Hadrian suppressed the Bar Kokhba revolt of the Jews in Palestine in 135 AD., and deported 50 thousand Jewish families to Spain (Ziya Paşa, 1888: 497; Da Costa, 1850: 94). Another explanation for this exile is that the Jews who lost the war were first brought to Rome and then some of them went to Spain via Sicily (Grayzel, 1968: 266). According to Mansoor, the first Jewish settlements in Spain consisted of those sent by Rome in the 300s (Mansoor, 1991: 173). It is also known that Rome implemented the policy of massacre and exile against the Jews in the 5th century (Baer, 1978: 15-17; Durant, 1950: 347). However, the accounts pointing to pre-Titus period are also suspicious because it is said that there is no evidence confirming the existence of Jews in the Iberian Peninsula before or during the time of Jesus' invitation (De Castro, 1851: 20-21). Another part of the exiles to the Iberian Peninsula is from Eastern Europe, that is, of Caspian origin. They have closer ties to the

Hun and Hungarian tribes rather than the descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (İlhan, 2006: 28).

We do not have clear information about the number of Jews. There are different opinions on this matter. While the Bible, which describes the beginning of Judaism, states that there are 70 people from Jacob's family who migrated to Egypt, it indicates that the number of men who came out of Egypt with Moses 430 years later was 600 thousand (DellaPergola, 2001: 3; Learsı, 1966: 19; Ballı and Gökçe 2021: 66-67). It is mentioned that the number of Jews was around 3 million shortly before the Roman destruction and exile following the uprising between 66 and 70 AD (Learsı, 1966: 166). Jewish sources claim that the number of Jews killed in Jerusalem alone during this uprising was 1,100,000. It is said that 580,000 Jews were killed in the Bar Kokhba uprising that started 65 years later (Da Costa, 1850: 82, 94; Adams, 188: 44). Even though there are those who claim that the Jewish population was eight million during the Roman Empire and that most of them were assimilated by converting to other pagan religions (Roth, 2002: 7), these numbers must be exaggerated. Adams states that the total number of Jews in the Spanish cities of Leon, Castile and Murcia at the end of the 13th century was estimated at 2 million (Adams, 1887: 176). Nevertheless, the analyzes made on the travel book of the Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela reveal that the Jewish population known in the world in the 12th century might have been between 974,000 and 1,200,000. Maximum 18% of this population lived in Europe and North Africa (DellaPergola, 2001: 8). According to Jacques Attali, around two million Jews were living in the world at the end of the 15th century, and particularly in Andalusia, the number was about three hundred thousand (Attali, 1999: 40). The number of Jews in Andalusia is thought to constitute only half a percent of the total population (Stillman, 1979: 54).

During the spread of Islam in North Africa, Jewish communities living in harmony with Muslims are seen both in pre-existing central places and in places which gained importance with the arrival of Muslims as well as in newly established settlements (Learsı, 1966: 243-244). It is thought that the Jewish population in the region was less than 1% of the total population at the time of the Muslim conquest of the Iberian Peninsula, where they had previously inhabited, because it was attractive for Jews, this rate was around 6-10% in cities, and may be between 15 and 20% in some important cities. (İlhan, 2006: 176). Regardless of the differences between the numbers and the explanations for why this might be like this, the Iberian Peninsula received Jewish immigrations during the periods of stability; on the other hand, the Jews left the region or were exiled during the periods of destabilization. In the Geniza documents, the expressions of 'young from Andalusia,' 'orphan from Andalusia' or 'man from Andalusia' in the aid charts distributed by the Jewish community in Fustat, indicate that some of the Jews went to the Near East and Egypt (İlhan, 2006: 181-182).

5. The Life of the Jews in the Iberian Peninsula before the Islamic Rule

Before the advance of the Muslim Arabs in the Iberian Peninsula by crossing Gibraltar with the Berbers, the Jews were an active people of the region due to their connections with different parts of the world and their education. In the period when the Jews began to settle in the region, the local peoples were still living a pagan life and were living with simple agriculture and animal husbandry activities. It is seen that the first Jewish immigrants were, like the locals, engaged in agriculture, bought land, turned to olives, olive oil, wine and similar products with high commercial value, and the Jews who settled in the cities were engaged in trade and carried out jobs that required professional knowledge and skills (Grayzel, 1968; Da Costa, 1850: 163-

164). In this period, the overseas connections of the Jews also enabled them to take part in a large commercial network with numerous ships circulating the Mediterranean ports (Learsi, 1966: 244). This is a network that covers not only the trade of goods but also of the enslaved who were gathered from many places, especially from the Slavic region. Since possessing slaves and the slave trade were vital for the maintenance of land-based works, this situation had both economic and demographic consequences (Grayzel, 1968: 277, 280). Even though the Iberian Peninsula was invaded first by the Vandals and then by the Visigoths in the early fifth century, these two peoples did not mistreat the Jews. On the one hand, the Jews took a considerable place in the administration structure due to their qualifications; on the other hand, Jewish military units help the Visigoths to protect the country against the Franks. Jews continue to keep their property and businesses under Visigoth rule (Grayzel, 1968: 272). They are free to practice their civil law and to worship (Grayzel, 1968: 270). Marriages between pagans and Jews is allowed, and the Jewish population in the region increase because a pagan woman becomes Jewish when she marries a Jewish man, and when a Jewish woman marries a pagan man, she raises her children as Jewish (Grayzel, 1968: 267). However, this positive period, which lasted about two hundred years, changed when the Visigoth king Reccared I converted to the Catholic faith. Thus, the anti-Jewish campaigns seen in other parts of Christian Europe also begin in the Iberian Peninsula (Durant, 1950: 349; De Castro, 1851: 25). The basis of this attitude is that the Christian clergy considered the Jews as the murderer of Jesus, and they regarded that the Jews take interest and engage in the slave trade as evil. The Christian clergy's advocacy of oppressing the Jews is also reflected in the social status and daily life of the Jews in the Iberian Peninsula. In the course of time, as the Church began to consolidate, everything turned against the Jews, and over time, Jews were prohibited from serving in public services, marrying Christians, converting others, whether free or slave, to the Jewish religion, and keeping Christian slaves. Moreover, in this process, it is seen that Jews were enslaved from time to time, paid princes and nobles to save their lives, and were often subjected to collective punishment due to the alleged or actual misdemeanours of the members of the community (Da Costa, 1850: 218-220; Yaşaroğlu, 2013: 36; Demirci, 2005: 42; İlhan, 2006: 124). After a while, they are compelled to make a choice between converting to Christianity and leaving the country. Jewish children are separated from their families and given to monasteries to be raised as Christians. The properties of those who did not convert to Christianity were confiscated, while those who remained Jewish secretly were followed closely (Grayzel, 1968: 272-273; Attali, 1999: 41). When the Visigoths' anti-Jewish campaign, which lasted nearly a century, reached its peak, Muslim Arabs and Berbers, who had become a prominent force in North Africa, set foot on the peninsula with a force of 12,000 men under the command of Tariq bin Ziyad. The battle that took place in July 711 brought the end of Visigoth domination.

6. Socio-Cultural Life of the Jewish Community in Andalusia

It is a matter of debate whether the Jewish community wholeheartedly welcomed the Muslim conquerors who came to the region that will soon be known as Andalusia, and whether they helped them in the conquest process. It is said that Jews were among those who invited Tariq b. Ziyad, a Muslim Berber, and that they provided Muslims with detailed information about the situation in the region (Chejne, 1974: 116; De Castro, 1851: 41-42; Da Costa, 1850: 220). However, no information confirming this issue comes from any other Jewish, Western, nor Arab sources (İlhan, 2006: 66). In any case, it is certain that many Jews returned to their homes,

which they had to leave under Christian oppression, with the Muslim domination of the region (Durant, 1950: 371). In this period when the oppression ended, the Jews began to live according to the laws of Moses and freely built their synagogues where they were. Moreover, unlike today's Europeans' description of Andalusia as "dark and barbaric," a poet portrays it as a country where he lives in safety along with everyone "drinking their own wine and resting under the fig tree." Of course, in the contrast in this depiction, there is the fact that Christians have lost their position as rulers, and that Jews have obtained the status of a protected community instead of their previous status as a community which had been subjected to discrimination (Menocal, 2002: 10, 85-86; De Castro, 1851: 54; İlhan, 2006: 175).

It is acknowledged that their encounters with Islam in general, and the Andalusian experience in particular, have radically changed Jewish history (Mansoor, 1991: 179). Jews who share this opinion recall the years they spent in Andalusia between 900 and 1200 by saying, "Our Spanish-Jewish-Muslim golden years enriched our Spanish-Jewish heritage and the whole of our Jewish history (Nahman, 1990). They describe this period as the "Golden Age", in which they believe that they have performed important services and gained gains both for themselves and for other people (Mansoor, 1991: 183; Ballı and Gökçe 2021: 71). There are also those who accept this period following 500 years after 711 (Finkelstein, 1989: 13). It is seen that the policy of converting the Jews to Islam was not based on oppression in the period, when the Jews, who left their lands under the pressure of the Visigoths and immigrated to North Africa, returned to the country after the Muslims dominated the region (Nahman, 1990, Grayzel, 1968: 290-292; Da Costa, 1850: 207). The basis of this is the warning of Muhammad not to interfere in the religious life of the Jews and not to disturb them in any way (Farukî - Farukî, 2014: 243). Furthermore, there was a difference between the opinion of the Jews about the Muslims and the pagans. Accordingly, Jews commonly used the word "Ger," meaning "strange", "traveler", "wandering", or "stranger", to describe a non-Jew, and if that foreigner lived in the Jewish community and accepted Noah's laws, they employed the word "Gertoshav" to refer to him, and if he was a pagan rejecting Noah's laws, then he was called as "akkum." They believed that an honest Gertoshav, whose qualifications and rules were specifically mentioned in the Talmud, would find a good place in the afterlife. Gentiles were referred to as "Goy." The rules that make a person Gertoshav, and that every person essentially should follow express the seven basic principles: "to avoid idolatry, blasphemy, adultery, especially adultery between relatives, to establish justice institutions that will ensure justice, and to be fair and honest in all relations, not to spill blood, not to steal, and not to pluck and eat meat from live animals." In accordance with this, people were classified as Jews and Noahites, and pagans. In Jewish tradition, Christians and Muslims were generally counted among the Noahites, and could enjoy the rights of a convert as a Gertoshav, or semi-converted. In fact, according to the rabbis (Jewish clergy), Christianity and Islam were the illegitimate children of Judaism. From this point of view, Jews living in Arab lands thought that Arabs were not pagans, and that they believed in and worshiped only one God (Göçmen, 2010: xı-xııı, 8-9). In the case of Sephardic Jews, it was seen that they were similar to Muslims in many respects, because the Talmud was not just a book of worship and prayer, and in this respect, it resembled the Qur'an, which regulates all aspects of life (Durant, 1950: 360-364; Da Costa, 1850: 138-139; Göçmen, 2010: 7). On the other hand, what was lacking in Judaism was an experience of religious pluralism that could set a precedent in a state they dominated. In other words, in countries where Jews were a

minority, they made sense in the name of religious pluralism. So was Andalusia (Demirci, 2005: Önsöz).

Even though the Jews settled in almost every town of Andalusia under the Muslim rule, they mostly lived in important cities such as Cordoba, Tuleytula, Beyyâne, Talabira, Medinet el-Ferec / Vadi el-Hicara and Madrid (İlhan, 2006: 204). In these cities, Jews generally resided within the walls, in the area where the ruler and headquarters of the city were located, but in separate neighborhoods. At that time, this was natural, and Muslims did not ascribe evil to their neighbours in the Jewish quarter. Thus, the Jews were kept away from being ghettoized and they were considered as the main component of the city (Cohen, 2013: 197-198). Moreover, there were Jews who settled among the Muslims. The jurists allowed Jews and Christians to live among Muslims both because they thought that Muslims could set a good example for their non-Muslim neighbours and display the beauties of Islam, and because Islamic law never gave the sultan a right to treat non-Muslims as just commodities (Cohen, 2013: 95; İlhan, 2006: 61, 203-204). Therefore, the Muslims had a strong relationship with the Jews and Christians in the city centers, and the parties respected each other. Furthermore, an environment of dialogue emerged on the basis of knowing each other and respecting rights (Roth, 2002: 9). Debate assemblies in which Muslims, Jews and Christians took part had become commonplace, and the members of these three religions in Andalusia had built a prosperous and tolerant urban civilization that could compete with Baghdad (Attali, 1999: 36; İlhan, 2006: 168). Although the marriages between religions and ethnic identities mainly served to increase the number of Muslims in this civilization, which was known as the "adornment of the world" and based on integration and tolerance rather than assimilation, it served to bring the elements that make up the Andalusian society closer (Menocal, 2002: 28, 33, 41, 67, 86-87; Stillman, 1979: 53).

It is known that in Andalusia under the rule of Muslims by 11th century, the majority of Jews lived in rented houses and the homeowners were still few in number (Ashtor, 1984: 59, 123-124). Most of these houses are single-story, but there are also multi-story buildings where poor families live together (Ashtor, 1984: 66). Contrary to Christian cities, business and residence areas are located in different regions in Muslim cities. While in the Christian areas there is a workplace on the ground and the owner's house on it, Muslims have separated their private life from business life (Ashtor, 1984: 62). In these neighbourhoods, there is a settlement order that centers the synagogue. Near the synagogue, there are baths and other socio-cultural structures. In this respect, it is seen that the Muslim and Jewish traditions are very similar. Moreover, there were religious and cultural rules that made Muslims and Jews more similar to each other than Christians. First of all, the family laws of Muslims and Jews, who had a family-centered society model, were similar. In the family where the father had an active role, celibacy was considered strange, while polygamy was allowed with early marriage. In both societies, engagement and marriage phases functioned similarly. In terms of the rules of daily life, both communities had close beliefs. These included not eating carrion and similar things that are not kosher (halal), not drinking wine, observing the rules of daily and weekly body cleaning, and circumcision of boys. In places of worship, women were placed in separate places from or behind men (Durant, 1950: 379-381; Ashtor, 1984: 65).

In fact, the Jews, who were considered agricultural people and learned trade from the Babylonians during the Babylonian exile (Mansoor, 1991: 18), turned into a merchant nation over time, and, thanks to their connection with Islam, in Andalusia which was a part of the Mediterranean trade network, they begun to dominate a considerable amount of international

trade through an agency network that embraced the major centers of Europe (Goody, 2012: 91- 130; Goiten, 2011: 141; Durant, 1950: 376). In addition to trade, the Jews were interested in financial affairs. Due to the fact that the holy books of both Islam and Christianity forbade lending at interest, the Jews initially became the intermediary and then the owner of this business (Durant, 1950: 377). In addition to trade and banking activities, Andalusian Jews appeared in various professions and fields such as tailoring, bookbinding, spinning, weaving, fabric dyeing, leatherwork, health technician (making cupping), peddling, dairy and shoemaking. Alcohol production is one of these. It was also possible for Jews to participate in agricultural activities by dividing the land between Muslims, Christians and Jews in small pieces, but due to the fact that the agricultural activities was based on manpower and some restrictions on the use of slaves, Jews preferred urban life and occupations rather than rural areas (Durant, 1950: 375). Even though Muslims did not subject urban Jews to occupational restrictions, except for military or bureaucratic occupations, there was a tendency among Jews to favor certain occupations and avoid others for various reasons. In the commercial operations which they were skilled, the Jews were a monopoly with the Muslims. At the forefront of the commercial activities in which the Jewish merchants in Andalusia made the best profits was the slave trade, the third most important commodity in the Andalusian market. They were driving young girls and boys, bought from northern Spain, other European, Slavic and Black Sea coastal countries, to Andalusia markets. In fact, the slaves, consisting of girls and boys of Frank (Europe), Galician and Sequalibadescent, became one of the symbols of Andalusia. Every castrated Sequalibaslave on earth came from Andalusia, where they were castrated by Jewish traders and put on the market (Durant, 1950: 376; İlhan, 2006: 431-432, 447, 489-492).

Children's education was important to Jews, but it was not the same for boys and girls. Education began at the age of six, and Jewish boys took classes in synagogues or private tutors' homes, which also provided school services, while girls did not go to school. Their mothers would be responsible for their education. In this respect, the education of girls was insufficient, but in terms of religious education, every house was a synagogue, every school was a temple, and every father was a clergyman (Ashtor, 1984: 92-93; Durant, 1950: 381-382). Teachers were paid for by the congregation or the parents. However, the libraries of Andalusia in general, and Cordoba in particular, were serving Jews as well as Muslims with hundreds of thousands of books, and educational institutions at the college level (Menocal, 2002: 33-35). According to the Jews, religious and secular education was given together in this period (Finkelstein, 1989: 15). The content of the education was carried out with materials and methods taken from Muslim scholars belonging to Mu'tazilah and other kalam schools, especially al-Farabi, and in this respect, the strongest Jewish education in Europe was in Andalusia. Jewish rituals and rules had crystallized and had reached the stage of codification. Furthermore, Andalusia became a center for Hebrew studies (Durant, 1950: 372; İlhan, 2006: 332- 520; Ashtor, 1984: 45; Mansoor, 1991: 198-199; Stillman, 1979: 40-41). In the cities of Andalusia, Muslim and Jewish clergy were not only concerned with religious matters, but also with science and art. Literature, and especially poetry, was extremely powerful, and the most distinguished products of the Jewish language belonged to this period (Goody, 2012: 288, 320; Stillman, 1979: 53-58). The education language was Arabic, but in addition to this dominant language, Hebrew, which was revived under Muslim patronage after being excluded from daily life for almost a millennium, was also used. This was evident in private letters as well as sometimes in the judgments of Jewish courts (İlhan, 2006: 518-519; Ashtor 1984: 101-102).

The Jews who mingled with Muslims in Andalusia were greatly influenced by the strong Islamic civilization and Arab culture around them. Arabic was of great importance not only in communication but also in the intellectual life. In this period, not only among ordinary Jews, but as can be seen in the example of Ibn Gabriel, there were many Jewish thinkers who did not know Hebrew and therefore wrote their works in Arabic rather than their own language, dressed like Arabs and embraced the cultural codes of Islamic civilization. Maimonides, one of the leading Jewish figures writing in Arabic of this period, succeeded in presenting a philosophical analysis of the Jewish faith that would later greatly influence Thomas Aquinas. As a result of the influence of the Arabic language and culture, some of the Jews converted. Under these circumstances, the difference between an ordinary Muslim and an ordinary Jew in Andalusia was extremely small (İlhan, 2006: 170, 271, 511; Goody, 2012: 327; Goiten, 2011: 67; Hodgson, 1995: 350; Attali, 1999: 42; Ashtor, 1984: 7-8; Mansoor, 1991: 186-188).

Unlike Andalusian Christians, who were very knowledgeable in Arabic but did not know Western languages, the multilingual education of the Jews and their knowledge of the dominant languages in the Christian world put them in a more advantageous position than Muslims and Christians in terms of being the carrier and transmitter of culture (Roth, 2002: 19-20; Menocal, 2002: 66). The books that were translated from ancient Greek to Arabic were firstly translated into Hebrew in Andalusia, and then, were translated from Hebrew into Latin and other languages before circulating throughout Europe (Grayzel, 1968: 290-292; Mansoor, 1991: 185). Even though the extent to which Muslims shaped the fate of Europe through this transmission over the Jews is debated and the West argues that its civilization should be separated from the East in general and Islam in particular, as can be seen in the example of Dante's teacher Brunetto Latini, the Arabic works, which were translated by Jewish translators who influenced Western intellectuals, and which were distributed throughout Europe, were coming from the cities of Andalusia. New interpretations of Greek thought developed by Ibn Rushd (Averroes) and similar Muslim scholars reached Western thinkers in this way, and Western languages were influenced by Arabic. Jewish thought was also influenced by two main sources, Judaism and Islam. In addition to all these, new techniques developed in agriculture, irrigation, cartography and astronomy in Andalusian cities were transferred to the West from here and changed the historical destiny of Europe. By that period, only Muslims could balance the intellectual level reached by the Jewish community. In this sense, there was a gap between the Christian and pagan peoples and the Jews (Roberts, 2010: 174, 229; Goody, 2012: 280, 283, 351; Durant, 1950: 395, 402, 405; Finkelstein, 1989: 14).

An indication of the privileged status of the Jews in Andalusia was the courts. Andalusian Jews also enjoyed judicial autonomy with their extremely powerful and organized courts. In these courts, which consist of three judges elected by the Jewish community in the cities and one judge in smaller units, the judges can make judgments in areas such as commercial and family law, from crimes such as insult, slander, theft to crimes that require the death penalty, and they applied Jewish law. In general, criminals were sentenced to whips and imprisonment, similar to those in Islamic law. Even if one of the parties was Jewish, it was forbidden to hear the cases of Muslims in these courts. The Jews had the right to choose a Muslim or Jewish court in resolving their disputes, and since the Jews were convinced that Muslim judges acted impartially regardless of religion, they were confident that in many disputes Muslim judges would render honest decisions. The Jewish community was responsible for the execution of the decisions rendered in Jewish courts. Therefore, the Jews had their own prisons, which

were also another symbol that revealed the dominance of the Jewish community within itself (Ashtor, 1984: 70, 81; İlhan, 2006: 194-195, 199).

Andalusian Jews could be considered a state within a state or a city within a city due to their vast autonomy. The Jews were governed by an important administrative body called the "Community Council" (Vaad Hakahila), which was derived from the Roman practice of city councils, an institution pre-Islamic and common to all Jewish communities. The members of this body, consisting of seven people, were elected for one year, based on the Jewish calendar. The chairman of the Assembly was chosen from among the oldest of the congregation, and oversaw the social and economic conditions of the congregation (İlhan, 2006: 188). The money required for the collection of the affairs of the Jewish community was provided by the taxes called "Mauna" and collected in the community. This tax on slaughtered animals, liquor, and sometimes court documents was an important revenue item for the Andalusian Jewish community for centuries. Salaries of the rabbis, hazzans, teachers and the members of the education and training units under the supervision of the community administration were paid from this source. A special tax was also allocated for the salaries of judges, court clerks and staff (İlhan, 2006: 196). In each city, a Jew was obliged to collect the jizya belonging to his community, to distribute them and to offer them to the administration (İlhan, 2006: 70).

Despite the privileged position of the Jews in Andalusia, they were not included in the state hierarchy until the tenth century, with exceptions aside. As far as it is known, the process of including the Jews in government started with Hasdai ibn Shaprut, whose lineage is based on Ezra family, the Jerusalem exile, who was assigned diplomatic missions and was brought in charge of foreign trade because he knew Arabic, Hebrew, Latin, Greek and Spanish. In comparison with Nizam al-Mulk, who would become the vizier of Malik Shah a century later, Hasdai brought the Jews into the development process in the fields of science, art and culture in Andalusia, and he gathered and supported Jewish scientists and artists in his own palace by following the custom of Muslim rulers and the rich. Thus, the Jews described the cultural development that started in this period and continued for three hundred years as the "golden age of Jewish culture" (Durant, 1950: 371-372; Ashtor, 1984: 3; Mansoor, 1991: 267-269; Menocal, 2002: 79). Hasdai is followed by Samuel Halevi ibn Naghdela, who is accused of having illegitimate wealth. In 1027, Samuel took the title "Nagid" and was elected head of the Jews. Samuel, who served as the vizier of finance in the 1030s, was the first Jew to receive the title of vizier (Mansoor, 1991: 223-225). Samuel's son Joseph followed in his footsteps and became the religious and political leader of the Jewish community and the vizier of Emir Badis, who was also the Emir of Granada. Seeing himself above the laws of the Muslims and taking advantage of the weaknesses of Emir Badis, Joseph's disdain for the sacredness of the Muslims led to an uprising in 1066, and as a result of this incident, around four thousand Jews were killed and the Jewish community was punished collectively (Durant, 1950: 372). It is thought that the reason for this is that Joseph wanted to establish a kingdom of his own in al-Mariyya. Another example is the family of Ibn Azra. Many Jews of this family have been held in high positions for generations. During all this process, some of the Jews who took part in the service of Muslims showed up in the field of diplomacy in relations related to both internal and external events of Andalusia, thanks to the foreign languages they knew. It has also been the case that Jews sometimes appeared in the diplomatic field, not on an individual basis, but in the form of a delegation. Both Muslims and Christian administrations benefited from this diplomatic service

offered by the Jews (İlhan, 2006: 135-136, 160). Nevertheless, contrary to Muslims, the Christian world reflected these needs of Jews as anger towards Judaism (Attali, 1999: 41). While the Jewish community was a loyal subject and social component during the times when Muslims had a strong dominance in Andalusia, with the weakening of the emirates, they acted together with the Christian kingdoms in the attacks which was started by the Church and Catholic kings in the 11th century to liquidate Andalusia, to end the long history of Islam in Europe, and to purify the Christian continent from these "parasites" (Attali, 1999: 36-37). This attitude, which means the end of the Jewish "Golden Age," is ascribed to the Jewish community's reflex of self-preservation (Mansoor, 1991: 293; İlhan, 2006: 152-153, 157-158). Even though the Jews received high-level representation in the kingdoms in the reconquest process as reward for their attitudes, they could not avoid the exile in 1492 and the subsequent inquisition process (Neuman, 1942: 220). Whatever the factors that triggered the process, the collapse of Andalusia marked the end of the "Golden Age" for the Jewish community. King Ferdinand, with an edict issued on March 31, 1492, demanded that all Jews leave Spain within four months (Finkelstein, 1989: 1, 7). For a century after this date, the only thing that Andalusian Jews experienced was exile and Inquisition Courts (Attali, 1999: 46).

7. Conclusion/Discussion/Suggestions

Within the 1,200-year history of the Jews in the Iberian Peninsula, the five centuries of Islamic Andalusian period perhaps constitutes the culmination of the experience of living together. During this period, the Jewish community advanced in many fields, especially in language, education, culture, social life, law and economy, and Jews led a prosperous and semi-autonomous life compared to their coreligionists in other parts of the world. This stage that the Jews came also contributed greatly to the formation of modern Europe because the resources transferred to Europe by Jewish clergy, translators, diplomats and traders enabled Europe to introduce rational thought, and thus Europe had the opportunity and courage for a new breakthrough in many areas of life. The influence of this period, which the Jews refer to as the "Golden Age", is still alive in Jewish consciousness.

Another significance of Andalusia for the Jewish community is that, despite the fact that they were repeatedly massacred by adherents of the second of the three religions rooted in Abraham, followers of the third, Islam, rarely spoke to Jews in a punitive language. Therefore, when Andalusia collapsed completely, the main preference of the Jews who wanted to get rid of the Inquisition and preserve their identity was again the Muslim countries.

Today, compared to Ashkenazi Jews, the descendants of Andalusia's Sephardic Jews have little or no influence. This makes it difficult for a new language to emerge between Muslims and Jews. In order to return the relations between Muslims and Jews to the peaceful and tolerant language of Andalusia, this historical experience needs to be well understood, evaluated and updated.

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