Philosophy between the Islamicate and Latin American Traditions: Civilizational Perspectives on Alienation/*Ghayriyya* (Otherness) in the Knowing/Existing

Papers presented at the Symposium, 22-24 June 2004

Edited by

Anthony F. Shaker

and

Amílcar Aldama Cruz

Universidad de La Habana

Series in Philosophy

VERNON PRESS

www.vernonpress.com

In the Americas:	*In the rest of the world:*
Vernon Press	Vernon Press
1000 N West Street, Suite 1200,	C/Sancti Espiritu 17,
Wilmington, Delaware 19801	Malaga, 29006
United States	Spain

Series in Philosophy

Library of Congress Control Number: 2025945082

ISBN: 979-8-8819-0374-9

Cover design by Vernon Press. Background image by fernandocortesde on Freepik.

Philosophy between the Islamicate and Latin American Traditions, 22-24 June 2024

This symposium was sponsored by the Departamento de Estética e Historia de la Filosofía, Facultad de Filosofía, Universidad de Sevilla. It is the first of a series of conferences, anthologies and other projects on philosophy in the Islamicate and Latin American worlds.

Contents

Opening Statement

Amílcar Aldama Cruz

Universidad de La Habana

In his 1903 introduction to "Outline of a technical dictionary of Muslim philosophy and theology", the Spanish Arabist Miguel de Asín Palacios analyzed the current state and lineage of Spanish-Muslim studies. He wrote,

> I am referring to studies on the philosophical-theological history of Spanish Muslims. Because it should be well noted that the neglect in which we have left such studies for centuries cannot be explained by alleging their meager value and importance within the general history of ideas. [...] Today no one who claims to be discreet will dare deny that the thirteenth century owed the copious scientific materials that made up the scholastic synthesis to [the people of Andalus].[1]

Subsequently, in the Ibero-American context, a significant number of research projects, translations and other contributions to this field have been achieved. Towards the end of the last century, the work of many researchers, such as Professors Luce López-Baralt (whom we are honored to have with us), Ramón Guerrero, Miguel Cruz Hernández, Joaquín Lomba Fuentes, Gómez Nogales, Puig Montana, Martínez Lorca, José Antón Pacheco, Francisco O'Reilly, Pablo Beneito, Luis Xavier López-Farjeat, among others, have raised the importance of studies on Islamicate philosophy in the Spanish language, a path which in a certain respect was guided by the work of Asín Palacios and Manuel Alonso Alonso.

Currently, the study of Islamicate philosophy—Ḥikma and ʿIrfān—in the same context has been undertaken by a growing number of researchers from Hispanic and, more broadly, Latin America. Nevertheless, their studies have not been viewed without a touch of puzzlement. A good example is the Cuban Philosophical Academy, where sadly the only research in Islamicate philosophy was published by Professor Jorge Daniel Chirino in 2009, under the title "The problem of the relationship between philosophy and religion in the non-commentary work of Averroes". It was accepted chiefly because of the significance of Averroes to Marxist theory. We Cuban scholars have so much still to do!

---

[1] Miguel de Asín Palacios, *Bosquejo de un diccionario técnico de filosofía y teología musulmana* (Zaragoza: Editorial Mariano Escar, 1903), 4.

I remember that the Soviet *Philosophical Dictionary* (1939) by Rosental and Iudin, widely used in Cuba, contained illustrations of Marxist thinkers and those considered something like proto-Marxists. The images of Democritus, Averroes and Spinoza clearly interacted with those of Lenin, whereas other figures in the Islamicate philosophical tradition were held at bay. The academy found its bearings on this basis. Cuba is not so unique in this respect, however. Unfortunately, a similar attitude has persisted in other academic contexts in Latin America, as well.

Although there is a significant scientific production in the Spanish language in this field, certain areas of research have not been addressed. Most studies focus either on the Peripatetic or on the "mystical" branch of philosophy in relation to particular historical stages (with emphasis on those that gestated in the Iberian Peninsula), even though these two branches bifurcate from a common trunk. Accordingly, some researchers call into question the philosophical comprehension of other researchers who, for their part, see harmony between the two sides; the second group prefers to home in on aesthetic aspects, disdaining the complex theorizing which, in the tradition, is said to lead to the same place. Unfortunately, the work and reflection of contemporary researchers elsewhere with strong credentials in rational philosophy and "mysticism", which have obviously been harmonized in the *ḥikma* tradition, are unknown in our context. Some notable examples are the Iranian researchers Hasan Zādeh Āmulī, Javādī Āmulī, Yadāllah Yaẓdānpanāh and Alī Amīnī Nezhād. They have made original contributions beyond the traditional chain of commentaries.

There are several reasons why Latin American academics have been so distant from Islamicate philosophy—a kind of estrangement. The fundamental one, perhaps, is that the Hegelian doxographic approach lives on among them. Another could be the failure to find a point at which dialogue may take place between the Islamicate and the Latin America philosophical traditions.

In the work of the late philosopher Enrique Dussel, there is a frank attempt to find such a point. He had familiarized himself with the work and ideas of Moroccan philosopher Muḥammad ʿĀbid al-Jabrī. But then, there is the case of Prof. Luce López-Baralt, with her study of the Nicaraguan poet Ernesto Cardenal and her own connection with Islamicate mystical poetry.

This problem can be viewed from the other side, as well. In Iran, where I have lived for some years, there are some translations of Latin American authors like Jorge Luis Borges, García Márquez or Octavio Paz into Farsi. But foundational thinkers, like Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, Andrés Bello, Juan Bautista Alberdi, José Martí, José Vasconcelos, Francisco Miró Quesada, to mention only a few, have not been fully disclosed either in an academic or a traditional context in the Islamicate world. Therefore, while it is fair to say that in Iranian university spaces there has been a rapprochement with certain Latin American thinkers, this tradition is too rich to be reduced to a few figures or

dominated by Bolívar and Che Guevara. To be sure, steps have been taken by both sides towards enhancing their mutual knowledge, but even so, their dialogue does not quite match their historical links since the sixteenth century.

The cultural richness of the Iranian and Latin American literary traditions should be borne in mind, especially given the Arabic and Islamic roots they share in their languages and the philosophical and poetic thinking. This longstanding imprint is unmistakable in two mystical and universal poets, the Persian Ḥāfeẓ-e Shīrāzī (1315-90) and the Spanish San Juan de la Cruz (1542-91). Both of them respond, according to their languages, contexts, poetic styles and spiritual ecstasies, to an ontology permeated by the Arabic language and its sapiential symbols. This response has led the Iranian *Dīwān* and the Iberian *Spiritual Canticle* to be intertwined in a magnificent colloquium of souls. There are sadly few academic and literary studies in Spanish and Persian that bring these two colossal figures together in a frank dialogue that takes account of the vessels of communication nourishing them and that draws on Arabic and Islamic *ḥikma*.

Redressing this failure is our hope in this Symposium. The idea itself originated with Anthony Shaker, and happily, a number of excellent researchers from different continents, languages and schools of thought found it easy to subscribe to it.

Thank you for taking part in a dialogue between these two philosophical traditions. We all look forward, also, to new ideas and projects emerging from our conversations and strengthening our search for a genuine knowledge of both traditions.

Welcome, everyone!

Introductory Address

Anthony F. Shaker

Estimados colegas, bienvenidos a todos
همکاران عزیز، به همه شما خوش آمدید
Değerli meslektaşlarım, hepiniz hoş geldiniz
Dear colleagues, a warm welcome to you all,

I would like first to express—on behalf of my co-organizer and dear friend, Prof. Amílcar Aldama Cruz, and myself—our heartfelt thanks to Prof. José Antonio Antón Pacheco and the Department of Aesthetics and History of Philosophy at the University of Sevilla for sponsoring this event. Professor Pacheco is a renowned historian of philosophy and a man of culture. We are truly honored to have him with us. You will probably agree with me that there have been shamefully few gatherings devoted to these two philosophical traditions, together. Our sponsorship by the University of Sevilla has been a double blessing. This is an outstanding educational institution, to be sure, but our collaboration has been a blessing also because of the historical significance of this city, as you know.

Now, colleagues, I believe I speak for everyone when I say how much we must keep the people of Palestine in our hearts and minds. They face nothing less than a genocide, albeit one that began well before 1948. Let us pray for the innocent everywhere.

Ladies and gentlemen, until only recently, dialogue across cultural boundaries in philosophy has chiefly meant talking to "Western" academics and intellectuals—with little or no prospect of reciprocity, as I am sure you are aware. So, it gives me great satisfaction to see scholars from Latin America, the Islamicate world and elsewhere taking the time to explore the timely theme of otherness/alienation. There is no doubt that many elements of the "Western" worldview[1] figure prominently in the Latin American and contemporary Islamicate cultural spheres, and they will naturally come up in the course of our conversations. But this is very different from speaking in a

[1] In this volume, "West" refers to the westernmost parts of the European subcontinent (England and France) and the United States. Despite its importance to the rise of the West, Germany has been more or less an outlier. Most of its history (whether unified or split into two or more states) has been one of conflict with the western European powers.

"Western" voice. I think at this point in history, given the multipolarity to which the world is finally returning after a hiatus of a century-and-a-half of Western domination, we can begin to look beyond the narrow strictures imposed on our intellects and towards the kind of dialogue that used to come naturally to our ancestors. Before we start, therefore, permit me to give some context to what we wish to accomplish here together. While doing this, I shall be mentioning the very fine scholars who will present their papers.

Let me now pay tribute to the great city of Sevilla with some historical background that impinges on the relationship between Latin America and the Islamicate world. Some of you are aware that Sevilla—or *Ishbīliyya*, its old name in Arabic—was originally called "Hiṣbaʿal" by the Phoenicians in the Late Bronze Age.[2] The word "*baʿal*", which in the "Phoenician" language meant lord, was used as a title and sometimes referred to a particular god. It is said that Melqart, a legendary figure who headed the pantheon of the city of Tyre and represented the monarchy, sailed through the Strait of Gibraltar to the Atlantic and founded the trading posts of Cádiz and Hiṣbaʿal. At that time, the Guadalquivir Valley, where these trading posts were located, was inhabited by the indigenous pre-Roman people of Tartessos. This early connection with eastern civilization, I want to stress, is emblematic of Iberia's experience down through the ages.

Under Islamic governance, Sevilla went on to become an important scholarly center. By the twelfth century, when urban concentrations of any size were still unheard of in the rest of western Europe, the city boasted a mostly Visigoth population of 80,000. These inhabitants consisted of both Muslims and people who retained their older affiliation to a branch of Christianity that was actually of eastern inspiration. Regardless of their religious affiliations, the Visigoths played a crucial role in the cosmopolitan society that took root all over the Iberian Peninsula. It all began in earnest in the eighth century with Ṭāriq's campaign against Roderic, the newly coronated Roman Catholic king. Roderic had given himself the mission of cleansing the Peninsula of its "heretics", including any new Muslims, whom the Inquisition conflated with the indigenous Arian Christianity of the Visigoths—the Arians were inspired by Arius, the priest and ascetic who died in the year 336. When Ṭāriq defeated the new king, Archbishop Oppas of Sevilla, the archbishop of Toledo and many of their peers greeted his forces with open arms.[3] So intense were the dissension and the open revolts before that moment that Ṭāriq's soldiery included a good number of the Arian Christian

[2] Joaquín Pascual Barea, "De Coripe (Corrivium) a Sevilla (Hispal) por Utrera (Lateraria): formación y deformación de topónimos en el habla," *Actas VII Jornadas de Patrimonio Histórico y Cultural de la provincia de Sevilla: Toponimia y hablas locales* (1 November 2013), edited by M. García Fernández and J. Reina Macías (Casa de la Provincia, 2013), 73 [49-74].

[3] Roger Garaudy, *L'Islam en occident: Cordoue, capital de l'esprit* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1987).

Visigoths. His famous general, Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, who descended from a Visigoth count himself, made a point of incorporating them into his largely Muslim army.

During its eight-hundred-year history, the vibrant Andalusian society that emerged experienced a cultural convergence that resembled in many ways what was taking place throughout the Islamicate world.[4] Convergence was pretty much the pattern in the African continent, Greater Syria, Palestine, the Persian heartland, central Asia, the Indian subcontinent, southeastern Europe, Confucian China and the densely populated South Pacific islands. But just as each region had its character, Andalus had her *Convivencia*, a state of cultural intermingling crowned with intense artistic, philosophical and scientific creativity. As most historians know, the Islamicate world's philosophy and science, which predominated in Iberia, were a crucial factor in alleviating the chaos and chronic backwardness under which all the former Roman provinces of western Europe had descended. But one must not forget economics: especially the breakthroughs in Andalusian technology, agricultural techniques and domestication of edible plants, which of course included those we love today in the citrus family. These breakthroughs were essential to the capital accumulation soon witnessed in Occitania and without which feudal western Europe would have taken much longer to overcome its severe geographical isolation.

On the other side of the cultural divide, Andalusian philosophy, which exhibited great originality, extended in a number of directions, some fruitful and some expiring. The famous Orientalist Miguel Asìn Palacios believed that one facet of this philosophy was traceable to the affinity existing between Ibn Masarra and the teachings of Prisciliano de Ávila, the bishop of Roman Hispania. Prisciliano had been inspired by the teachings of Arius and lived in the fourth century. We know that Ibn Masarra was of capital importance to Ibn ʿArabī; he happened also to be of mostly Visigoth extraction.[5]

Let me now paint an overall picture of our main theme and its implications, but also tie the papers' topics together based on the two basic approaches to "*ghayriyya/alienation*" we have adopted for this symposium. On the one hand, most of the papers deal directly with "*ghayriyya*" (otherness) or "alienation" in relation to either tradition; on the other, some papers offer historical examples of how "otherness" played itself out ideationally and/or socially, particularly Andalus and Türkiye. Philosophy is simply too dynamic to

[4] In this volume, "Islamicate" will be used instead of "Islamic" in order to emphasize the cultural and ethnic diversity of an entire civilization and to avoid the parochialism ailing the "Western" conception of religion and of Islam.

[5] Miguel Asìn Palacios, *The Mystical Philosophy of Ibn Masarra and His Followers* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978), 30-1.

keep its history in a museum. And it has had many tributaries that never ceased to enrich it. These papers give us a sense of its scope and dynamism.

With respect to the second approach, one may observe how the phenomenon of *ghayriyya* actually played itself out, for example, among the so-called *moriscos* in Iberia. Prof. Luce López-Baralt—the depth and originality of whose work are admired across the world—focuses on their Arabic and Spanish literature. In her paper, which is based on her new findings and her analysis of the *morisco* literature, she selects terms that figure in various Arabic and Spanish texts written in the Arabic language (sometimes garbled) either in Arabic or Spanish script, or in an Iberian language in Arabic script. In their indomitable spirit, the *moriscos* clearly aspired to look beyond their imposed collective estrangement, one so severe that we are hard-pressed to find a precedent.

Professor José Antonio Pacheco does us a great service with his clarifications of "*ḥikma*" and "*falsafa*", which he lucidly argues are not mutually exclusive or contradictory terms. In his paper, he summarizes how, under the broad heading of *ḥikma*, the spiritual imprint—which, according to my twofold division of our themes, would fall under the category of the *ideational*"—has contributed to intellectual developments closer to our time. He discusses the ideas of María Zambrano, García Morente and Xavier Zubiri, where he contends that this imprint was of a spiritual or even a "mystical" order despite the academic limitations of their time. Along the way, he refers to certain Spanish philosophers who have undergone similar experiences. This is interesting in itself, of course—many Latin American intellectuals have drawn inspiration from the Iberian Peninsula in this area.

Within the framework of the second approach I mentioned, we are fortunate to have Prof. Hilal Altun. She discusses one clear instance of cultural "otherness" or, if you will, collective "self-alienation" relating to the Turkish Republic and the decades that preceded its founding. Her extensive linguistics research and proficiency in several languages give her exceptional insight into the language reforms of that country. Her paper presents original research in this area. Although its subject-matter admittedly lies outside of philosophy, it is very relevant to what philosophers purport to do. Reasoning philosophically never occurs in a vacuum, and understanding the historical circumstances under which it takes place can only deepen our understanding of its workings.

"*Ghayriyya*" (otherness) covers far more ground than the relatively modern concept of "alienation", since it does not depend solely on the narrow psychological or moral connotations usually attached to the modern concept of "alienation". In sociology, *anomie*—a variety of alienation, if you will—has to do with the loss of belongingness and other emotive and social features of contemporary society. Neither *anomie* nor alienation was explored in *ʿilm al-ḥikma* in the maudlin style of, say, the French Existentialists.

Let me briefly pause here to clarify what *ʿilm al-ḥikma* has meant to those who work in it. A little background will come in handy to the beginner while reading the papers, especially since it will draw nothing from the formulaic notions circulating in the field of "Islamic Studies" and other Orientalist pursuits.

The name "*ʿIlm al-Ḥikma*" refers specifically to the discipline or science of philosophy— the Greek prefix "*philo*" is here replaced by "*ʿilm*" (discipline or science). Another name for philosophy, especially prevalent in the classical period of the Islamic calendar, is "*Falsafa*". It is obviously derived from *philo-sophia*; therefore, implicit in it is "the love of wisdom", though it is not necessary to take serious note of this. It is also more restrictive than *ʿIlm al-Ḥikma*. Of the two names, "*ʿIlm al-Ḥikma*" is the more common, though they both come under the heading of *Ḥikma*. To be clear, the word "*ḥikma*" alone is just a regular noun that basically means *wisdom*, and for this reason can equally stand for philosophy, or even learning in the broadest conceivable sense. With respect to Latin America, I prefer to leave it to my colleagues to clarify what they mean by philosophy, because modern philosophy has no single definition. In spite of this glaring indecision, permit me to add, nothing keeps us from talking to each other across cultural traditions and developing a common approach to questions that are of the greatest importance to humankind.

One semi-historical issue that comes readily to mind is: What purpose did the philosophers attach to the kind of knowledge and activities they pursued within the parameters of the discipline called *ʿilm al-ḥikma*?

Although neither *ʿilm al-ḥikma* nor the Greek *philo-sophia* is reducible to either epistemology or ontology (in the modern jargon), there is no doubt that philosophy in general is a kind of knowledge. But this hardly implies that its object must always be "knowledge". There is a limit to how useful the inquiry into knowledge-as-such is in the pursuit of wisdom. At some point, one has also to ask, *Knowledge of what?* In *ʿilm al-ḥikma*, the two considerations never stay mentally divorced from each other for long. This does not negate the fact that, in his or her pursuit of "*ḥikma*" (wisdom), the Ḥākim (philosopher) still has to work out the conditions of *knowledge*, or to consent to those stipulated by others. And the noblest object sought, according to *al-Falsafa al-Ūlā* (the First Philosophy), is nothing less than the Supreme Being—in other words, the knowledge of God (technically, the God who describes Himself for the sake of Man). Needless to say, this orientation was never intended to replace religious discourse or religious practice. The true subject-matter (*mawḍūʿ*) proper to the *methodology* closely associated with the First Philosophy was "*mawjūdiyya*". This is what distinguished philosophy. Short of it, philosophy risked sinking back to the derivation of principles needed merely to justify or refute what was interpretable from the source texts, in the manner of Kalām.

In Ḥikma, the pursuit of knowledge depended on the discipline of the self and how well it learns to pose questions *wisely*, rather than simply posing questions, which I suppose any child can do. Posing questions wisely entailed giving singular consideration both to the possible consequences of thinking and practice and to the preservation of one's ability to probe further. This has several implications, one of which—beyond the unavoidable task of inquiring into knowledge that, incidentally, Qūnawī and Suhravardī and many others systematically undertook—is that a philosopher cannot be content to probe only into things or substances in isolation from each other. That would lose him or her all traction in the natural flow of knowing and the existing intended in this longstanding tradition.

It remains that the relation between knowing and existing was first explored by the Presocratics, and every subsequent form it has assumed thereafter covers much more than what philosophers are accustomed to these days. Virtually all the papers presented reveal some aspect or other of this relation, which is of vital importance to philosophy, together with its connection with "*ghayriyya*", because however much one needs mentally to distinguish knowing and existing, in life they are inseparable. Since Man (*insān*, human being, not the biological male) was said to be central to this relation, the theoretical philosopher (*nāẓir*) could not be indifferent to either Man or his welfare. I must confess that I often think of philosophy's professed mission to *civilize* human beings. Civilizing (re: *ʿumrān*) points to something more far-reaching and dynamic than "ethics" (in Ḥikma, properly known as *akhlāq*), and certainly has nothing at all to do with the manipulative moralizing impulses we witness today. Indeed, Man's centrality is closely connected with what I mentioned earlier, that merely posing questions is insufficient in the pursuit of wisdom. More technically, in this tradition, the questioning had to be purposeful at a level comprehensible or fruitful in some important respect to human beings, and thus useful in a manner consistent with human nature, not just "useful" in the materialist manner of contemporary thought.

To help us fathom the contrast with contemporary thought, towards which admittedly everyone from the Marxists to the Existentialists and plenty others have sought to maintain a critical attitude, but with varied success, the eminent Prof. Hamidreza Ayatollahy [6] examines the intellectual consequences of Humanism, a contemporary outlook that purports to be about the human being but where, to my mind, the human being seems somehow to have vanished from view. As a worldview or ideology, Humanism limits itself to treating humanity as an object, not an agent. Professor Ayatollahy argues with such passion that his paper, the last one, helps us round the anthology with a hopeful but cautious note.

[6] Professor Ayatollahy was unable to present his paper at the symposium.

PAGES MISSING

FROM THIS FREE SAMPLE

General Bibliography

ʿAjība, Aḥmad b. *Al-Baḥr al-madīd*, editor. Ahmad al-Qurashī Raslān. Cairo: Maṭbaʿat Ḥasan ʿAbbās Zakī, 1999.

ʿAjība, Aḥmad b. *Iqāẓ al-himam fī sharḥ al-ḥikam*. Edited by Muḥammad Naṣṣār. Cairo: Dār Jawāmiʿ al-Kalim, 2005.

Akpınar, Yavuz. "Tercüman." *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*. Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2011, 492-94.

Aktürk, Şener. "Persistence of the Islamic Millet as an Ottoman Legacy: Mono-Religious and Anti-Ethnic Definition of Turkish Nationhood." *Middle Eastern Studies*, 45 (2009), 6:893–909.

Aktürk, Şener. "Nationalism and Religion in Comparative Perspective: A New Typology of National-Religious Configurations." *Nationalities Papers*, 2 (2022), 50:205-18. doi:10.1017/nps.2021.17.

Al-ʿAlawī, Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafa. *Al-Aḥādīth al-ʿalawiyya fī'l falsafa al-islāmiyya*. Mustaghānim, Algeria: Aḥbāb al-Islām, 2005.

Al-ʿAlawī, Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafa. *Al-Baḥr al-masjūr*. Algeria: Mustaghānim Publishing House, n.d.

Al-ʿAlawī, Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafa. *Dīwān*. Fourth edition. Mustaghānim, Algeria: Al-Maṭbaʿa al-ʿAlawiyya, n.d.

Al-ʿAlawī, Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafa. *Lubāb al-ʿilm fī Sūrat al-Najm*. Mustaghānim, Algeria Al-Maṭbaʿa al-ʿAlawiyya, n.d.

Al-ʿAlawī, Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafa. *Al-Mawād al-Ghaythiyya*. Second edition. Mustaghānim, Algeria: Al-Maṭbaʿa al-ʿAlawiyya, 1989.

Al-ʿAlawī, Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafa. *Al-Minaḥ al-quddūsiyya*. Second edition. Mustaghānim, Algeria: Al-Maṭbaʿa al-ʿAlawiyya, n.d.

Al-ʿAlawī, Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafa. *Al-Nūr al-ḍāwī fī ḥikam al-Shaykh al-ʿAlawī*. Mustaghānim, Algeria: Al-Maṭbaʿa al-ʿAlawiyya, n.d.

Al-ʿAlawī, Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafa. *Sufi Aphorisms: Shaykh Abu'l ʿAbbas Ahmad Ibn Mustafa al-ʿAlawi,* translated by Saiyad Ahmad (unpublished).

Al-ʿAlawī, Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafa. *Al-Unmūzaj al-Farīd al-mushīr li-khāliṣ al-tawḥīd*. Fourth edition. Mustaghānim, Algeria: Al-Maṭbaʿa al-ʿAlawiyya, n.d.

Albarracín, María Mercedes. *La Posibilidad De Una Ontología Desde Y Para América En Kusch: Entre El Ser Y El Estar*. Bachelor's thesis. Bahía Blanca: Universidad Nacional del Sur, 2019.

Albayrak, Mustafa. "Millet Mekteplerinin yapısı ve çalışmaları." *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi*, 10 (1994), 29, 471-83.

ʿAlīkhānī, Bābak. *Ashnāyī bā Ḥikma fahlawī*. Tehran: Muʾassaseh Ḥikmat wa Falsafe-ye Irānī, 2023.

ʿAlīkhānī, Bābak. *Romūz-e ishrāqī Shāhnāmeh: Sharḥ-e abyāt wa ḥall romūz-e dāstān-e Siyāvakhsh* (*Illuminist Symbols in the Book of Kings: Commentary on the Story of Siyāvakhsh*). Tehran: Muʾassaseh Ḥikmat wa Falsafe-ye Irānī, 2021.

Almut, Hintze. *Zamyād Yasht*. Berlin: Wiesbaden, 1994.

Altun, Hilal O. "A comparison of modern Turkic languages (Turkish, Azerbaijani, Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Uzbek) in terms of most frequently used 1000 Words." *Acta Turcica/Özel Sayı Polonya ve Türk Dünyası* (2019), 130-45.

Alvarado, Adalberto. *El pensamiento martiano: Diccionario*. Miami: Interamericana, 1994.

Ames, Roger T. *Confucian Role Ethics: A Vocabulary*. Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2011.

Ames, Roger. "*Zhi* (*Chih*): To Know, To Realize." In Antonio S. Cua (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Chinese Philosophy*. New York: Routledge, 2003.

Āmolī, Ḥasan Ḥasanzādeh. *Dorūs-e sharḥ Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*. Qom: Būstān Kitāb, 2008.

Arıkan, Mehmet Ş. and Seyfettin Aslan. "Sanat ve politika ilişkisi bağlamında erken Cumhuriyet dönemi politikalarının hüsnühat sanatına etkileri." *Dicle Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 31 (2022), 397-427.

Asad, Talal. *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1993.

Asgarova, Nigar. "Islam in Latin America: The Rise, Challenges and Current Situation." *Türk Tarih Kongresi*, iv (2022), 157-168.

Asti Vera, Armando. *Fundamentos de la filosofía de la ciencia; René Guénon, el último metafísico de Occidente*. Prólogo de Francisco García Bazán. Sevilla: Athenaica, 2015.

Asti Vera, Armando. *Metodología de la investigación*. Sevilla: Athenaica, 2015.

Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi. *Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri I-III* (ATAM). Ankara: Dil Tarih Yüksek Kurumu Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 2006.

Atencio, Caridad. "¿Existe una poética crítica en los *Apuntes* de José Martí?" *Temas*, 89-90 (2017), 129-35.

Ayad, Omneya. "Divine Unity in a *Qaṣīda Lāmīyya* (Ode Rhyming in Lām) of Abū Madyan al-Ghawth." *Journal of Islamic and Muslim Studies*, 7, no. 1 (May 2022), 61-91.

Ayad, Omneya. *Love in Sufi Literature: Ibn 'Ajiba's Understanding of the Divine Word*. London: Routledge, 2024.

Ayatollahy, Hamidreza. *The Existence of God, Mulla Sadra's Seddiqin Argument Versus Criticisms of Kant and Hume*. Tehran: SIPRIn Publication, 2005.

Ayatollahy, Hamidreza. "The Role of Media in the Threats and Opportunities of Globalization for Religion." *Journal of Media and Religion*, 7 (January 2008), 1-2, 34-44.

Ayatollahy, Hamidreza. "Interaction of Islamic and Western Philosophies." *Ishraq (Illumination), Islamic Philosophy Yearbook*, no. 1. Moscow: The Institute of Philosophy, Russian Academy of Sciences (RAS Institute of Philosophy), 2010, 81-87.

Azcuy, Eduardo. *Compilador. Kusch y el pensar desde América*. Buenes Aires: Editorial García Cambeiro, 1989.

Banarlı, Nihad Sâmi. *Türkçe'nin Sırları*. Thirteenth edition. Istanbul: Kubbealtı, 1995.

Baquero, Gastón. *Poesía completa.* Edited by Pío E. Serrano. Madrid: Verbum, 2013.

Barea, Joaquín Pascual. "De Coripe (Corrivium) a Sevilla (Hispal) por Utrera (Lateraria): formación y deformación de topónimos en el habla." *Actas VII Jornadas de Patrimonio Histórico y Cultural de la provincia de Sevilla: Toponimia y hablas locales* (1 November 2013). Edited by M. García Fernández and J. Reina Macías. Casa de la Provincia, 2013, 49-74.

Barletta, Vincent. *Covert Gestures. Crupto-Islamic Literature as Cultural Practice in Early Modern Spain, Minneapolis*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2005. Spanish translation: *Gestos clandestinos: la literatura aljamiado-morisca como práctica cultural*. Zaragoza: Instituto de Estudios Islámicos y del Oriente Próximo.

Barrios Aguilera, Manuel. *Estudio preliminar*, "Las invenciones del Sacromonte. Estados de la cuestión y últimas propuestas". In Ignacio Gómez de Liaño, editor, *Los juegos del Sacromonte*, Granada: Colección Archivum, Universidad de Granada, 2005, vii-liii.

Barrios Aguilera, Manuel. *Los falsos cronicones contra la historia.* Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2004.

Barrios Aguilera, Manuel. "Pedro de Castro y los plomos del Sacromonte: invención y paradoja. Una aproximación crítica." In Barrios Aguilera and García Arenal, editors, *Los plomos del Sacromonte. Invención y tesoro*. Valencia/Granada/Zaragoza: Universitat de València/Universidad de Granada/Universidad de Zaragoza, 2006, 17-50.

Barrios Aguilera, Manuel and Mercedes García-Arenal, editors. *¿La historia inventada? Los libros plúmbeos y el legado sacromontano*. Granada: Universidad y legado andalusí, 2008.

Barrios Aguilera, Manuel and Mercedes García-Arenal, editors. *Los plomos del Sacromonte. Invención y tesoro*. Valencia/Granada/Zaragoza: Universitat de València/Universidad de Granada/Universidad de Zaragoza, 2006.

Bauer, Ralph. *The Alchemy of Conquest: Science, Religion, and the Secrets of the New World*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2019.

Bautista Video, Fray Juan. *Huehuetlatolli, que contiene las platicas que los padres y madres hicieron a sus hijos y a sus hijas, y los señores a sus vasallos, todas llenas de doctrina moral y politica*. Mexico City: 1601.

Beck, Roger. *The Religion of the Mithras Cult in the Roman Empire: Mysteries of the Unconquered Sun*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Becket, Samuel. *Mexican Poetry*. London: Calder and Boyars, 1970.

Berk, Süleyman. "Bab-ı Seraskeri üzerindeki kitâbelerin serencamı. " *İstanbul Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 31 (2014), 105-30.

Bernabé Pons, Luis. *Bibliografía de la literatura aljamiado-morisca.* Alicante: Universidad de Alicante, 1992.

Bernabé Pons, Luis. *El canto islámico del morisco hispanotunecino Taybili.* Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1988.

Bhabha, Homi. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge, 1993.

Bordas de Rojas, Nerva. "Kusch y el miedo en América." In Eduardo Azcuy. *Compilador. Kusch y el pensar desde América*. Buenes Aires: Editorial García Cambeiro, 1989.

Browne, Walden. *Sahagún and the Transition to Modernity.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000.

Brubaker, Rogers. "Between nationalism and civilizationism: The European populist moment in comparative perspective." *Ethnic and Racial Studies,* 40 (2017), 8, 1191–226.

Buela, Alberto. *Pensamiento de ruptura.* Buenos Aires: CEES—Editorial del pensamiento nacional, 2021.

Al-Bukhārī. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Beirut: Dār Ibn Kathīr, 2002.

Burkhart, Louise. *The Slippery Earth: Nahua-Christian Dialogue in Sixteenth-Century Mexico*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989.

Cardaillac, Louis. *Morisques et chrétienes. Un affrontement polémique (1492-1640)*. Klincksieck, 1983.

Carrasco, Davíd. *City of Sacrifice*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1999.

Chejne, Anwar. *Islam and the West. The Moriscos.* Albany: State University of New York, 1983.

Chittick, William C. *ʿAvālem khayâlī.* Translated into Farsi by Najibollah Shafagh. Qom: Imam Khomeini Educational and Research Institute, 2005. [Original title: *Imaginal Worlds: Ibn ʿArabī and the Problem of Religious Diversity*.]

Civantos, Christina. *The Afterlife of Al-Andalus. Modern Iberia in Contemporary Arab and Hispanic Narratives.* New York: SUNY Press, 2017.

Clendinnen, Inga. "Franciscan Ideology and 16th century Missionary Violence in Yucatán." *Past & Present*, 94 (1982), 27-48.

Cole, Juan R. *Colonialism and Revolution in the Middle East: Social and Cultural Origins of Egypt's ʿUrabi Movement*. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 1993.

Csirkés, Ferenc. "Turkish/Turkic books of poetry, Turkish and Persian Lexicography: The Politics of Language under Bayezid II." In G. Necipoğlu, C. Kafadar and C.H.

Fleischer (eds.), *Treasures of Knowledge: An Inventory of the Ottoman Palace Library (1502/3-1503/4)* (ss. 673-733). Leiden: Brill, 2019.

Çaycı, Abdurrahman. "Atatürk'ün uygarlık anlayışı." *Belleten* (1988), 52:1105-118.

Çiçek, Kemal. "Osmanlı adliye teşkilatında mahkeme tercümanları." *Toplumsal Tarih,* 30 (1996), 5, 47-52.

Danner, Victor. *Ibn 'Aṭṭā'illah's Sufī Aphorisms*. Leiden: Brill, 1973.

Dashtakī, Manṣūr. *Ishrāq hayākil al-nūr.* Tehran: Mīrāsh-e Maktūb, 2003.

Davies, Tony. *Humanism*. New York: Routledge, 2008.

De Cruz, Helen. "Religion and Science." *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2022 edition), Edward N. Zalta and Uri Nodelman (eds.), https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2022/entries/religion-science/.

Develi, Hayati. "Osmanlı Türkçesi." In G. Eren, K. Çiçek, H. İnalcık and C. Oğuz (eds.), *Osmanlı*. Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 1999, 9.456–62.

Díaz Balsera, Viviana. *The Pyramid under the Cross: Franciscan Discourses of Evangelization and the Nahua Christian Subject in Sixteenth-Century Mexico*. Tucson: University of Arizona, 2005.

Dibble, Charles E. "Sahagún's *Historia*." In Bernardino de Sahagún, *Florentine Codex: General History of the Things of New Spain* (Introductory Volume). Twelve volumes. Edited and translated by Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles Dibble. Salt Lake City: School of American Research and University of Utah, 1953-82, 9-23.

Dil Derneği. "Dil Derneği'nin kuruluş öyküsü". http://www.dildernegi.org.tr/TR,2/tarihce.html. (Accessed: 14/12/2023)

Durán, Fray Diego. *Book of the Gods and Rites* and *The Ancient Calendar*. Edited and translated by Fernando Horcasitas and Doris Heyden, with foreword by Miguel León-Portilla. New York: Orion University of Oklahoma Press, 1971.

Durán, Fray Diego. *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España e Islas de la tierra firme*. Two volumes. Two volumes. Second edition. Edited by Àngel María Garibay K. Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1984. Translated by Doris Heyden as *History of the Indies of New Spain*. New York: Orion Books, 1994 (1574-1579).

Emerson, Ralph Waldo. *Selected Essays, Lectures and Poems of Ralph Waldo Emerson*. Edited and introduced by R.E. Spiller. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1955.

Emerson, Ralph Waldo. *The Complete Works. Letters and Social Aims*. Twelve volumes. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1917.

Ercilasun, A. Bican (ed.). *Karşılaştırmalı Türk Lehçeleri Sözlüğü*. Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1991.

Ercilasun, A. Bican. "Osmanlı Türkçesi." In G. Eren, K. Çiçek, H. İnalcık and C. Oğuz (eds.), *Osmanlı*. Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 1990, 9.391-98.

Eren, G., K. Çiçek, H. İnalcık and C. Oğuz (eds.). *Osmanlı*. Twelve volumes. Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 1990.

Ergin, Osman. *Türk Maarif Tarihi*. Three volumes. Istanbul: Eser Matbaası, 1977.

Fatone, Vicente. *El budismo 'nihilista'*. EUDEBA, 1971.

Fatone, Vicente. *Filosofía y poesía.* Prologue by Francisco García Bazán. Buenos Aires: Secretaría de Cultura de la Nación, 1994.

Fatone, Vicente. *Introducción al conocimiento de la Filosofía de la India.* Prólogo de Leandro Pinkler. Sevilla: Athenaica, 2016.

Fatone, Vicente. *La lógica en la India*. Sevilla: Athenaica, 2015.

Fatone, Vicente. *Sacrificio y gracia: de los Upanishads al Mahayana.* Prólogo de Miguel Álvarez Ortega. Sevilla: Athenaica, 2015.

Ferdowsī, Ḥakīm. *Shāhnāmeh*. Tehran: Chāp-e Par, 2013.

Fonseca, Gregorio, editor. *Sumario de la relación y ejercicio espiritual sacado y declarado por el Mancebo de Arévalo en nuestra lengua castellana*. Madrid: CLEAM, Gredos/Fundación Menéndez Pidal, 2002.

Forbes, Jack D. "Nature and Culture: Problematic concepts for Native Americans." In John A. Grim (ed.), *Indigenous Traditions and Ecology: The Interbeing of Cosmology and Community*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001, 103-24.

Franco, Jean. *The Modern Culture of Latin America*. Middlesex: Penguin, 1970.

Fuentes de la Paz, I. de los Ángeles. *Noche insular, jardines invisibles. El concepto de la luz en la obra de José Lezama Lima: un paradigma filosófico de su cosmología* (thesis). Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 2015.

Galeano, Eduardo. *Open Veins of Latin America*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1973.

Garaudy, Roger. *L'Islam en occident: Cordoue, capital de l'esprit*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 1987.

Galmés de Fuentes, Álvaro and Emilio García Gómez, editors. *Actas del Coloquio Internacional sobre Literatura aljamiada y morisca.* Madrid: Gredos, 1978.

Galmés de Fuentes, Álvaro, Juan Carlos Villaverde and Luce López-Baralt, editors. *Tratado de los dos caminos*. Madrid/Oviedo: Instituto Seminario Menéndez Pidal, Universidad Complutense de Madrid/Seminario de Estudios Árabo-Románicos, Universidad de Oviedo, 2005.

García Arenal, Mercedes. *Los moriscos*. Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1975.

García Arenal, Mercedes. Presentación. "Sección Monográfica en torno a los plomos del Sacromonte (II)." *Al-Qanṭara*, XXIV (2003), 295-574.

García Bazán, Francisco. *Neoplatonismo y Vedanta. La doctrina de la materia en Plotino y Shánkara.* Buenos Aires: Depalma, 1982.

García Bazán, Francisco. *El pensamiento iranio,* en *Enciclopedia iberoamericana de filosofía. Filosofías no occidentales.* Madrid: Trotta-CSIC, 1999.

García Bazán, Francisco. *René Guénon o la Tradición viviente*. Buenos Aires: Hastinapura, 1985.

García Bazán, Francisco. *René Guénon y el ocaso de la metafísica.* Barcelona: Obelisco, 1990.

Gay, Eugenia. "Kusch and Radically Situated Truth. A Decolonial Perspective on History." *Historiografías* (Universidad Nacional de Córdoba), 27 (January-June, 2024), 89-104.

Gingerich, Willard. "*Chipahuacanemiliztli*, 'The Purified Life.' In the Discourses of Book VI, Florentine Codex." In J. Kathryn Josserand and Karen Dakin (eds.), *Smoke and Mist: Mesoamerican Studies in Memory of Thelma D. Sullivan*, Part II. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports (1988), 517-43.

Girard, Raphael. *People of the Chan*. Translated by Bennett Preble. Chino Valley, Arizona: Continuum Foundation, 1995.

Gökalp, Ziya. *Türkçülüğün Esasları*. Istanbul: Varlık, 1968.

Gökalp, Ziya. Türkleşmek, İslâmlaşmak, Muasırlaşmak. Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1976.

Gónzales Gazqués, Gustavo. "Cultura y sujeto cultural en el pensamiento de Rodiolfo Kusch." In Eduardo Azcuy, *Compilador. Kusch y el pensar desde América*. Buenes Aires: Editorial García Cambeiro, 1989.

Gündüz, Mustafa. "İçtihad Mecmuasında dil ve dilde sadeleşme tartışmaları (II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi)." Erdem, 15 (2005), 42 119-48.

Ḥāfiẓ, Moḥammad. *Ghazaliyyāt.* Tehran: Mawlā, 2012.

Hall, David L., and Roger T. Ames. *Thinking Through Confucius*. Albany: SUNY Press, 1987.

Hall, David L., and Roger T. Ames. *Thinking from the Han: Self, Truth and Transcendence in Chinese and Western Culture*. Buffalo: SUNY Press, 1988.

Hamilton, Michele. *Beyond Faith. Belief, Morality and Memory in a Fifteenth-Century Judeo-Iberian Manuscript*. Leiden: Brill, 2014.

Hanh, Thich Nhat, *Zen Keys*. San Jose: Harmony Press, 1994.

Hanioğlu, M. Şükrü. "Batılılaşma." In *Islâm Ansiklopedisi. Forty-six volumes.* Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1992, 148-52.

Hanioğlu, M. Şükrü. *Preparation for a Revolution: The Young Turks, 1902–1908*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Hanna, Nelly. "Literacy among Artisans and Tradesmen in Ottoman Cairo." In C. Woodhead (ed.), *The Ottoman World*. London: Routledge, 2012, 319-31.

Harvey, Leonard Patrick. "El Mancebo de Arévalo y la literatura aljamiada." In Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes and Emilio García Gómez, editors, *Actas del Coloquio Internacional sobre Literatura aljamiada y morisca.* Madrid: Gredos, 1978, 21-42.

Harvey, Leonard Patrick. "The moriscos and Don Quixote." *Inaugural Lecture in the Chair of Spanish*, delivered at the University of King's College, November 11, 1974.

Harvey, Leonard Patrick. "Un manuscrito aljamiado de la Biblioteca de la Universidad de Cambridge." *Al-Andalus*, XXXIII (1958), 49-74.

Harvey, Leonard Patrick. *Muslims in Spain. 1500 to 1604*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.

Harvey, Leonard Patrick. "Yūse Banegas. Un moro noble en Granada bajo los Reyes Católicos." *Al-Andalus*, XXI (1956), 297-302.

Hester, Jr., Lee Thurman, and Dennis McPherson. "Editorial: The Euro-American Philosophical Tradition and its Ability to Examine Indigenous Philosophy." *Ayaangwaamizin: International Journal of Indigenous Philosophy* 1 (1997), 3-9.

Hester, Lee, and Jim Cheney. "Truth and Native American Epistemology." *Social Epistemology* 15 (2001), 319-34.

Hickman. L.A., and T.A. Alexanders (eds.). *The Essential Dewey*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988.

Hobsbaum, E.J. *Industry and Empire*. Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1979.

Ibn ʿArabī, Muḥy al-Dīn. *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*. Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1980.

Ibn ʿArabī, Muḥy al-Dīn. *Al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya*. Cairo: Dār Ṣādir, 1968.

Ibn ʿArabī, Muḥy al-Dīn. *Rasāʾil Ibn ʿArabī*. Edited by Abrār Aḥmad. Rawalpindi, Pakistan: Ibn ʿArabī Foundation, 2021.

Ibn al-ʿArīf al-Ṣinhājī. *Maḥāsin al-majālis*. Edited by Muḥammad al-Idrīsī. N.P.: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 2015.

Ibn al-Fāriḍ, ʿUmar b. *Dīwān b. al-Fāriḍ*. Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, n.d.

Ibn al-Fāriḍ, ʿUmar. *The Mystical Poems of Ibn al-Fāriḍ*. Translated by A.J. Arberry. Dublin: Chester Betty Monographs No. 6. Emery Walker, 1956.

Ibn Ḥanbal, Aḥmad. *Al-Zuhd*. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1999.

Ibn Sīnā. *Al-Nafs min Kitāb al-Shifāʾ*. Qom: Bustan Kitāb, 1385 AS.

Ibn Sīnā, *Al-Shifāʾ*. Ten volumes. Edited by Fr. Qanawātī, *et al.* Cairo: Al-Idāra al-ʿĀmma li'l-Thaqāfa, 1956.

Ierardo, Esteban. "Ecos de la América profunda en Rodolfo Kusch." In *Revista Diaporías*, Publicación de la Cátedra de Filosofía de la Carrera de Sociología de la Facultad de Ciencias Sociales (UBA). Buenos Aires: UBA, 2002.

İnalcık, H. "Hermenötik, Oryantalizm, Türkoloji." *Doğu-Batı: Oryantalizm I*, 5 (2002), 20, 13-39.

Iversen, Reem. *Prophecy and Politics: Moriscos and Christians in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Islam.* New Jersey: Princeton University, 2002 (unpublished doctoral dissertation).

Jurjānī, al-Sayyid al-Sharīf. *Kitāb al-taʿrīfāt*. Beirut: Maktabat Lubnān Nāshirūn, 2000.

Karmī, Moḥsin. "*Nemād shenāsī taṭbīqī-e rangihā-ye dar andīsheh Shayḫ Ishrāq va dar shamāyil hāyī-e mehrparastī*" ("Comparative Semiotics of Colors in the Thought of Šayḫ Išrāq and in the Icons of Mithraism"). In B. ʿAlīkhānī (ed.), *Fahlawī nāmeh*. Proceedings and articles of the International Congress on the Philosophy of Suhrawardī. Tehran: Muʾassase-ye Ḥikmat wa Falsafe-ye Irānī, 2023, 407-27.

Karttunen, Frances. *An Analytical Dictionary of Nahuatl*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992.

Kāshānī, ʿAbd al-Razzāq. *Sharḥ Fusus al-ḥikam*. Qom: Bidār, 2003.

Kenanoğlu, M. Macit. "Is Millet System a Reality or a Myth? The Legal Position of the Non-Muslim Subjects and Their Religious Leaders in The Ottoman Empire." *Türk Hukuk Tarihi Araştırmaları,* 12 (Fall, 2011), 17-38.

Köchler, Hans. *Democracy and the International Rule of Law*. Vienna: Springer-Verlag, 1995.

Kubaseck, Max. *Rodolfo Kusch: El orientalismo en la sabiduría de América.* Paper presented at XIIth Jornadas de Investigación en Filosofía Departamento de Filosofía/FaHCE/UNLP. Buenos Aires, August, 2019.

Kubaseck, Max. "Taoísmo y budismo en la ontología de Günter Rodolfo Kusch." *Revista nuestrAmérica*, 21 (2023). https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.8074325

Kusch, Rodolfo. *Geocultura del hombre americano*. Buenos Aires: Editorial García Cambeiro, 1976.

Kusch, Rodolfo. *Obras completas*. Rosario: Editorial Fundación Ross, 2007.

Lāhījī, Āghāmīrzā Ḥassan. "*Zawāhir al-ḥikam*." In *Muntakhabāt az āthār-e ḥukamā-ye ilāhiyy-e Irān*. Qom: Islamic Seminary of Qom, 1383 AH.

Laird, Andrew. "Aztec and Roman Gods in 16th Century Mexico: Strategic Uses of Classical Learning in Sahagún's *Historia General*." In John M.D. Pohl and Claire L. Lyons (eds.), *Altera Roma: Art and Empire from Mérida to México*. Los Angeles: Costen Institute of Archaeology Press, UCLA, 2016, 167-88.

Laird, Andrew. *Aztec Latin: Renaissance Learning and Nahuatl Traditions in Early Colonial Mexico*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2024.

Lee, Jongsoo. "The Europeanization of a Pre-Hispanic Tradition: Bernardino de Sahagún's Transformation of Aztec Priests (*tlamacazque*) into Classical Wise Men (*tlamatinime*)." *Colonial Latin American Review*, 26:3 (2017), 291-312.

"Legend of the Suns." In John Bierhorst (trans.), *History and Mythology of the Aztecs: The Codex Chimalpopoca*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1992, 139-62.

León-Portilla, Miguel. *La Filosofía Náhuatl: Estudiada en sus fuentes con nuevo apéndice*; *prólogo de Ángel María Garibay K., edición novena.* Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2001 (1956).

León-Portilla, Miguel. *Bernardino de Sahagún: First Anthropologist*. Translated by Maurcio J. Mixco. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002.

Lepschy, Giulio. "Mother Tongues and Literary Languages." *The Modern Language Review*, 96 (2001), 4, xxxiii–xlix.

Leuchsenring, Emilio Roig. *Martí y las religiones*. Havana: Librería Martí, 1958.

Levend, Agâh S. *Türk dilinde gelişme ve sadeleşme evreleri*. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 1960.

Liaño, Ignacio Gómez de. *El círculo de la Sabiduría. Diagramas del conocimiento en el mitraísmo, el gnosticismo, el cristianismo y el maniqueísmo*. Madrid: Editorial Siruela, 1998.

Lima, José Lezama. *La cantidad hechizada*. Madrid: Ediciones Jucar, 1974.

Lima, José Lezama. *Enemigo rumor*. Havana: Colección Sur Editores, 2018.

Link, Andreas, Rajesh Ramachandran, Christine Binzel. "Vernacularisation and linguistic democratisation" *Eurasia Review* (2020). https://cepr.org/voxeu/columns/vernacularisation-and-linguistic-democratisation (Accessed: 27.12.2023).

López Austin, Alfredo. *The Human Body and Ideology: Concepts of the Ancient Nahuas*. Translated by Thelma Ortiz de Montellano and Bernard R. Ortiz de Montellano. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press. 1988.

López Austin, Alfredo. *The Myth of the Opossum: Pathways of Mesoamerican Mythology*. Translated by Bernard R. Ortiz de Montellano and Thelma Ortiz de Montellano. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993.

López Austin, Alfredo. "The Research Method of Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: The Questionnaires." In Munro S. Edmonson (ed.), *Sixteenth-Century Mexico: The Work of Sahagún*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1974.

López-Baralt, Luce. *Huellas del Islam en la literatura española. De Juan Ruiz a Juan Goytisolo*. Madrid: Hiperión, 1985-89. Arabic translation: Zaghouan, Túnez, CEROMDI, 1990.

López-Baralt, Luce. *Islam in Spanish Literature*. Anderw Hurley, trans. Leiden: Brill, 1992.

López-Baralt, Luce and Awilda Irizarry. "Dos itinerarios secretos de los moriscos del siglo XVI (los mss. aljamiados 774 de la Biblioteca Nacional de París y el T-16 de la Real Academia de la Historia de Madrid." *Homenaje a Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes*. II. Madrid: Universidad de Oviedo/Editorial Gredos, 1985, 547-82.

López-Baralt, Luce. *Un Kama Sutra español*. Madrid: Ediciones Siruela; Reprinted in México: Vaso Roto, 1992/2017.

López-Baralt, Luce. *La literatura secreta de los últimos musulmanes de España.* Madrid: Trotta, 2009. Translated into Arabic by the Center for Research and Intercommunication Knowledge (Riyadh) and by the Fondation Temimi pour la Recherche Scientifique (Tunis).

López-Baralt, Luce. *El viaje maravilloso de Buluqiya a los confines del universo.* Madrid: Trotta, 2004.

López-Baralt, Luce. *A zaga de tu huella: la enseñanza de las lenguas semíticas en Salamanca en tiempos de San Juan de la Cruz*. Madrid: Trotta, 2006.

López-Morillas, Consuelo. *The Qur'an in Sixteenth Century Spain: Six Morisco Versions of Sura 79*. London: Tamesis Books, 1992.

Mareque, Enrique. "Líneas fundamentales del pensamiento de Rodolfo Kusch." In Eduardo Azcuy. *Kusch y el pensar desde América*. Buenes Aires: Editorial García Cambeiro, 1989.

Madajczak, Julia. "Sebastian Purcell: *Discourse of the Elders. The Aztec Huehuetlatolli: A First English Translation*." In *Inter-American Journal of Philosophy*, 15 (2024), 1, 42-8.

Maffie, James. *Aztec Philosophy: Understanding a World in Motion*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2014.

Maffie, James. "*In Huehue Tlamanitiliztli* and *la Verdad*: Nahua and European Philosophies in Fray Bernardino de Sahagún's *Colloquios y doctrina cristiana*." *Inter-America Journal of Philosophy* 3 (2012), 1-33.

Maffie, James. "The Nature of Mexica Ethics." In Colin Marshall (ed.), *Comparative Metaethics: Neglected Perspectives on the Foundations of Morality*. London: Routledge, 2020, 60-80.

Maffie, James. "Reflections on Henry Rosemont's Introductory Statement." *Confluence* 1 (2014), 8-13.

Maffie, James. "The Role of Hardship in Mexica Ethics: Or, Why Being Good Has to Hurt." *American Philosophical Association Newsletter for Indigenous Philosophy*, vol. 18, no. 2 (2019), 8-17.

Maffie, James. "Weaving the Good Life in a Living World: Reciprocity, Balance and *Nepantla* in Aztec Ethics." *Science, Religion and Culture*, 6, Special Issue 1, Owen Flanagan (ed.) (2019), 15-25.

Martí, José. *Obras Completas. Cuadernos de apuntes*. Volume 21. Havana: Ciencias Sociales, 1991.

Martí, José. *Obras Completas. Cuba: Mujeres, Artículos varios, Letras, Educación, Pintura y Música.* Volume 5. Havana: Ciencias Sociales, 1991.

Martí, José. *Obras Completas. Escenas norteamericanas III, 1886-1888.* Volume 11. Havana: Ciencias Sociales, 1991.

Martí, José. *Obras Completas. Edición Crítica*. Volume 14. Havana: Centro de Estudios Martianos, 2015.

Martí, José. *Obras Completas. Escenas norteamericanas II, 1884-1886.* Volume 10. Havana: Ciencias Sociales, 1991.

Martí, José. *Obras Completas. Escenas norteamericanas IV, 1888-1891.* Volume 12. Havana: Ciencias Sociales, 1991.

Martí, José. *Obras Completas. Europa II.* Volume 15. Havana: Ciencias Sociales, 1991.

Martí, José. *Obras Completas. Fragmentos.* Volume 22. Havana: Ciencias Sociales, 1992.

Martí, José. *Obras Completas. Nuestra América I.* Volume 6. Havana: Ciencias Sociales, 1991.

Martí, José. *Obras Completas. Nuestra América II.* Volume 7. Havana: Ciencias Sociales, 1992.

Martí, José. *Obras Completas. Poesía I.* Volume 16. Havana: Ciencias Sociales, 1991.

Martí, José. *Obras Completas. Viajes, diarios, crónicas, juicios.* Volume 19. Havana: Ciencias Sociales, 1991.

Marx, Karl and F. Engels. *Gesamtausgabe* (Band VI): *Briefwechsel* (September 1852 to August 1853). Berlin: Dietz Verlag Berlin, 1987.

Marx, Karl. *The Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844*. New York: International Publishers, 1973.

McNeill, W. H. *The Rise of the West*. New York: The New American Library, 1965.

Mészáros, István. *Marx's Theory of Alienation*. London: Merlin Press, 1978.

Mignolo, Walter. "Introduction." In Rodolfo Kusch, *Indigenous and Popular Thinking in América*, translated by María Lugones and Joshua M. Price. USA: Duke University Press, 2010.

Molina, Fray Alonso de. *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y Mexicana y Mexicana y castellana*. Fourth edition. Mexico City: Porrúa, 2001 (1571).

Monaghan, John D. *The Covenants with Earth and Rain: Exchange, Sacrifice and Revelation in Mixtec Sociality*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995.

Mohaghegh, Mehdi and Tsihiko Izutsu. *The Metaphysics of Sabzavari.* Tehran: University of Tehran Publication, 1991 CE/1370 AH.

Narváez, María Teresa. *Tratado (Tafsira) del Mancebo de Arévalo*. Madrid: Trotta, 2003.

Nasr, Seyyed Hossein. *Religion and the Order of Nature*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Neurath, Johannes. "Creating and Destroying the Upper Part of the Cosmos." In *Reshaping the World: Debates on Mesoamerican Cosmologies*, edited by Ana Díaz. Lousiville, Colorado: University Press of Colorado, 2020, 319-40.

Neurath, Johannes. "Shifting Ontologies Huichol Ritual & Art." *Anthropology & Humanism*, 40 (2105), no. 1, 58-71.

Nesvig, Martin Austin, editor and translator. *Forgotten Franciscans: Works from an Inquisitional Theorist, a Heretic, and an Inquisitional Deputy*. University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011.

Nuri (İleri), Celal. *Târih-i Tedenniyât-ı Osmâniye*. Istanbul: Matbaʿa-i İctihâd, 1330/1912.

Nykl, A.R. "Aljamiado Literature: el Rrekontamiento del Rrey Ali¡andere." *Revue Hispanique* CLXXII (1929), 409-611.

Ogilvie, Bertrand. "Truth in France." In Deborah Posel *et al.* (eds.), *Keywords: Truth*. New York: Other Press, 2004, 101-30.

Olmos, Fray Andrés. *Arte de la lengua Mexicana*. Madrid: Iberoamericana; Vervuert, 2022.

Özel, İsmet. *Bir akşam gezintisi değil bir istiklâl yürüyüşü*. Istanbul: Tiyo Yayınları, 2018.

Pageau, C., M. Román and R.A. Sánchez Blanco. "Exploraciones en torno a los conceptos de Rodolfo Kusch, el pensamiento nacional y los levantamientos populares latinoamericanos." *Nuevo Itinerario*, 17 (2021), 1:139–65. https://doi.org/10.30972/nvt.1715352

Palacios, Miguel de Asín. *Bosquejo de un diccionario técnico de filosofía y teología musulmana*. Zaragoza: Editorial Mariano Escar, 1903.

Palacios, Miguel Asìn. *The Mystical Philosophy of Ibn Masarra and His Followers*. Translated by Elmer H. Douglas and Howard W. Yoder. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978.

Pirenne, Henri. *Mahomet et Charlemagne*. Paris: Club du Meilleur Livre, 1937/1961.

Pérez, Alberto Julián. "Rodolfo Kusch y su crítica a la razón occidental." In *Mitológicas*. Buenos Aires: Centro Argentino de Etnología Americana, 2010, 25.27-38.

Pınar, Mehmet. "Türk Ocakları kurultaylarında dil meselesi." *Akademik Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*, 4 (2016), 23, 179-200.

Plato: The Collected Dialogues including the Letters. Edited by Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961.

Pollnitz, Aysha. "Old Words and the New World: Liberal Education and the Franciscans in New Spain, 1536–1601." *Transactions of the Royal History Society*, 29 (2017), 123-52.

Pratt, R. H. "Kill the Indian in him, and save. The man." *Proceedings of the National Conference of the Charities and Correction at nineteenth annual session held in* Denver, Colorado *(June 23-29, 1982*. Boston: Press of Geo. H. Ellis, 1892, 45-59.

"Proverbs of Solomon." Old Testament (St. James version).

Purcell, Lynn Sebastian. "Confucius and the Aztecs on The Mean." *Comparative Studies in Asian and Latin American Philosophies* (2020), 10-21.

Purcell, Lynn Sebastian. *Discourses of the Elders: The Aztec Huehuetlatolli*. New York: Norton, 2023.

Quiles, Ismael. *Autorretrato filosófico*. Buenos Aires: Ediciones Universidad El Salvador, 1981.

Quiles, Ismael. *Filosofía budista*. Buenos Aires: Troquel, 1973.

Quiles, Ismael. *Filosofía y mística yoga*. Buenos Aires: Depalma, 1967.

Al-Qayṣarī, Dawūd. *Sharḥ Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*. Edited by Sayyed Jalāl al-Dīn Āshtiyānī. Tehran: ʿElmī Farhangī, 1986.

Qūnawī, Ṣadr al-Dīn. *Iʿjāz al-bayān fī tafsīr Umm al-Kitāb*. Edited by Anthony F. Shaker. Sheffield: Equinox, 2025. [Translated by Anthony F. Shaker, *The Limits of Discursive Interpretation*. Equinox, 2024.]

Qūnawī, Ṣadr al-Dīn. *Iʿjāz al-bayān fī tafsīr Umm al-Kitāb*. Edited by Sayyid Āshtiyānī. Qom: Muʾassasse-ye Bustān-e Kitāb-e Qom, 1381 AS/1423 AH. [New edition by Anthony F. Shaker (Equinox Publishing, 2025); another published by Sāzmān Tablīghāt Islāmī, 2002.]

Al-Qūnawī, Ṣadr al-Dīn. *The Limits of Discursive Interpretation*. Translated and introduced by Anthony F. Shaker. Sheffield: Equinox, 2024.

Ríos Castaño, Victoria. *Translation as Conquest: Sahagún and 'Universal History of the Things of New Spain'*. Madrid: Iberoamericana / Frankurt am Main Vervuert, 2014.

Rosemont, Jr., Henry. "Does the Concept of 'Truth' Have Value in the Pursuit of Cross-Cultural Philosophy?" *Confluence: Online Journal of World Philosophies* (2014), 151-60.

Ruiz Bañuls, Mónica. *El huehuetlatolli como discurso sincrético en el proceso evangelizador novohispano del siglo XVI*. Rome: Bulzoni, 2009.

Rūmī, Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad. *Mathnawī-ye maʿnawī*. Tehran: Rowzaneh, 2019.

Safa, Peyami. *Türk İnkılâbına Bakışlar*. Ankara: Ötüken, 1988.

Sahagún, Bernardino de. *Coloquiois y doctrina Cristiana*. Edición facsimilar, Introducción, paleografía, versión del Náhuatl y notas de Miguel León-Portilla. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1986.

Sahagún, Bernardino de. *Florentine Codex: General History of the Things of New Spain*. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles Dibble (eds. and trans.). Twelve volumes. Salt Lake City: School of American Research and University of Utah, 1953-82.

Sahagún, Bernardino de. *Historia General de las Cosas de Nueva España*. Tenth edition. Edited by Ángel María Garibay K. (ed.). Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1999.

Sahagún, Bernardino de. *Primeros Memoriales: Facsimile Edition*. Photographed by Ferdinand Anders. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993.

Saltapé, Nicolás. *La recepción de la fenomenología en el pensamiento de Rodoflo Kusch*. Bachelor's thesis. La Plata: Universidad nacional de la Plata, 2023.

Sánchez Álvarez, Mercedes. *El manuscrito misceláneo 774 de la Biblioteca Nacional de París (Leyendas, itinerarios, profecías sobre la destrucción de España y otros relatos moriscos)*. Madrid: CLEAM 5, Gredos, 1982.

Sandstrom, Alan R., and Pamela Effrein Sandstrom. *Pilgrimage to Broken Mountain: Nahua Sacred Journeys in Mexico's Huasteca Veracruzana*. Denver: University Press of Colorado, 2022.

Santana, Alejandro. "Did the Aztecs Do Philosophy?" *American Philosophical Association Newsletter on Hispanics/Latino Issues in Philosophy*, 8 (2008), 2-9.

Sanz, Jesús Moreno. *El logos oscuro: Tragedia, mística y filosofía en María Zambrano: El eje de* El hombre y lo divino*, los inéditos y los restos de un naufragio*. Madrid: Editorial Verbum, 2008.

Sarınay, Yusuf. *Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Tarihi Gelişimi ve Türk Ocakları (1912–1931)*. Istanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat, 2004.

Sassmannshausen, Christian. "Educated with Distinction: Educational Decisions and Girls' Schooling in Late Ottoman Syria." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 62 (2019), 1, 222–56.

Scharfstein, Ben-Ami. "How important is truth to epistemology and knowledge? Some answers from comparative philosophy." *Social Epistemology*, 15 (2001), 275-84.

Schullman, Ivan. *Símbolo y color en José Martí*. Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1970.

Schwartz, Stuart. *All Can Be saved: Religious Tolerance and Salvation in the Iberian Atlantic World*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.

Sedarat, Roger. *Emerson in Iran. The American Appropriation of Persian Poetry.* New York: SUNY Press, 2019.

Shahrazūrī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad. *Sharḥ Ḥikmat al-ishrāq*. Tehran: Muʾassaseh Mutaʿāliyat va Taḥqīqāt Farhangī, 1993.

Shaker, Anthony F. *Modernity, Civilization and the Return to History*. Wilmington, Delaware: Vernon Press, 2017.

Shaker, Anthony F. *Reintroducing Philosophy: Thinking as the Gathering of Civilization*. Wilmington, Delaware: Vernon Press, 2020.

Shīrāzī, Quṭb al-Dīn. *Sharḥ Ḥikmat al-ishrāq*. Tehran: Enteshārāt-e Ḥikmat, 2005.

Al-Shīrāzī (Mullā Ṣadrā), Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad. *Al-Ḥikma al-mutaʿāliya fi'l-asfār al-arbaʿa*. Beirut: Dār al-Maḥajja al-Bayḍāʾ, 2011. Also, published by Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, 1981.

Al-Shīrāzī, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Ṣadr al-Dīn. *Al-Mashāʿir*. Mashhad: Maktab al-Iʿlām al-Islāmī, 1381 AS.

Al-Shīrāzī, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Ṣadr al-Dīn. *Al-Shawāhid al-rubūbiyya.* Tehran: Soroush Publication, 1366 AS/1987 CE.

Shirmahaleh, Shekoufeh M. *Estudio icónico del Shahnamé de Ferdousí: una metáfora de la identidad iraní*. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2019.

Shirmahaleh, Shekoufeh M. *La leyenda de Sīāvaš: un recorrido mitológico, ritual y literario*. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2022.

Smith, Huston. "Western and Comparative Perspectives on Truth." *Philosophy East and West*, 30 (1980), 425-37.

Sonyel, Salâhi R. "Enver Paşa ve Orta Asya'da başgösteren 'Basmacı' akımı." *Belleten* (1990), *54* (1990), 1179-208.

Stachowski, Marek. *Podstawy turkologii dla bałkanistów*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Księgarnia Akademicka, 2023.

Suhrawardī, Yaḥyā. *Majmūʿeh-ye muṣannafāt-e Shaykh al-ishrāq*. Edited by Henry Corbin *et al.* Three volumes. Tehran: Institute of Humanities and Cultural Studies, 1380 AS.

Suhrawardī, Yaḥyā. "*ʿAghl-e sorkh*." In *Majmūʿeh-ye muṣannafāt-e Shaykh al-ishrāq*. Volume 3. Tehran: Institute of Humanities and Cultural Studies, 1380 AS.

Suhrawardī, Yaḥyā. "*Al-Ghurba al-gharbiyya*." In *Majmūʿeh-ye muṣannafāt-e Shaykh al-ishrāq*. Volume 2. Tehran: Institute of Humanities and Cultural Studies, 1380 AS.

Suhrawardī, Yaḥyā. *Fī ḥaqīqat al-ʿishq*. Tehran: Enteshārāt Mawlā, 2023.

Suhrawardī, Yaḥyā. "*Ḥikmat al-ishrāq*." In *Majmūʿeh-ye muṣannafāt-e Shaykh al-ishrāq*. Volume 2. Tehran: Institute of Humanities and Cultural Studies, 1380 AS. Also published in 1977.

Suhrawardī, Yaḥyā. *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq*. Qom: Dāneshgāh ʿulūm-e Dīnī, 2014.

Suhrawardī, Yaḥyā. *Kalimat al-taṣawwuf*. In *Majmūʿeh-ye muṣannafāt-e Shaykh al-ishrāq*. Volume 4. Tehran: Institute of Humanities and Cultural Studies, 1380 AS.

Suhravardī, Yaḥyā. *Kitāb al-lamaḥāt*. Beirut: Dār al-Nahār li'l-Nashra, 1991.

Suhravardī, Yaḥyā. *Kitāb al-mashāʿir wa'l-muṭāraḥāt*. In *Majmūʿeh-ye muṣannafāt-e Shaykh-e Ishrāq*. Volume 1. Tehran: Institute of Humanities and Cultural Studies, 1977.

Suhrawardi, Yaḥyā. *Al-Mashāriʿ wa'l-mutarahat*. In *Majmūʿeh-ye muṣannafāt-e Shaykh al-ishrāq*. Volume 1. Tehran: Institute of Humanities and Cultural Studies, 1380 AS.

Suhrawardī, Yaḥyā. *Majmūʿeh-ye muṣannafāt-e Shaykh al-ishrāq*. Edited by Henry Corbin *et al.* Three volumes. Tehran: Institute of Humanities and Cultural Studies, 1380 AS.

Tahir, Kemal. *Bozkırdaki Çekirdek*. Istanbul: İthaki, 2019.

Tansel, Fevziye A. "Arap harflerinin ıslâhı ve değiştirilmesi hakkında ilk teşebbüsler ve neticeleri (1862-1884)." *Belleten, 17* (1953), 224-49.

Terraciano, Kevin. *The Mixtecs of Colonial Oaxaca: Ñudzahui History, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001.

Ticknor, George. *Historia de la literatura española, IV*. Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra, 1881-85.

Al-Tilimsānī, ʿAfīf al-Dīn Sulaymān b. ʿAlī. *Sharḥ al-Fātiḥa wa baʿḍ Sūrat al-baqara*. Edited by Orkhan Musakhanov. Istanbul: Waqf al-Diyāna al-Turkī, 2017.

Tinker, George E. *Missionary Conquest: The Gospel and Native American Cultural Genocide*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993.

Toynbee, Arnold. *A Study of History*. London: Oxford University Press, 1955-64.

Townsend, Camilla. "Review of Discourses of the Elders: The Aztec Huehuetlatolli: A First English Translation by Sebastian Purcell." *Journal of Mexican Philosophy*, 3 (2024), 98-104.

Trías, Eugenio and Rafaél Argullol. *El cansancio de Occidente*. Madrid: Destino, 1992.

Trouillot, Michel-Rolph. *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1995.

Turki, Abdelmajid. "Documents sur le dernier exode des andalous vers la Tunisie." In Míkel de Epalza and Ramón Petit, editors, *Recueil d'études sur les moriscos andalouses en Tunisie*. Madrid/Tunis: Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura/Centre d'Études Hispano-Andalouses, 1993, 114-27.

Türkyılmaz, Selçuk. "*Usul*-i *cedid Türkçe öğretim kitapları* ve *İsmail Gaspıralı*." *Modern Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 4 (2014), 9, 47-78.

Uğurlu, Mustafa. "Türkçe'nin "Yüksek dil" olarak Anadolu'da oluşumu ve geleceği." In H. E. Pekyürek (ed.), *Yunus Emre'nin Vefatının 700. Yıl Dönümü Anısına Uluslararası Türkçe'nin Anadolu'da Yazı Dili Oluşu Sempozyumu.* Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 2021, 537-62.

Ünver, İsmail. "Osmanlı Türkçesi." In G. Eren, *et al.*, (eds.), *Osmanlı*. Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 1999, 9.430–55.

Vázquez, Miguel Ángel. *Desde la penumbra de la fosa: la concepción de la muerte en la literatura aljamiado-morisca.* Madrid: Trotta, 2007.

Vázquez Zuleta, Sixto. *Indiomanual*. Humahuaca: Instituto de Cultura Indígena, 1985.

Voll, John O. *Islam Continuity and Change in the Modern World*. Syracuse: Routledge, 1982.

Wiegers, Gerard. *Islamic Literature in Spanish and Aljamiado. Yça of Segovia (fl. 1450). His Antecedents and Successors.* Leiden: Brill, 1994.

Wiegers, Gerard. "The 'Old' or 'Turpiana' Tower in Granada and its Relics According to Aḥmad b. Qâsim al-Ḥajarī." *Res Orientales*, VIII (1996), 191-205.

Wiegers, Gerard. "The persistence of Mudejar Islam? Alonso de Luna (Muḥammad Ibn Abū ʾL-ʿĀsī), the *Lead Books* and the *Gospel of Barnabas*." In Barbara Weissberger, editor, *Medieval Encounters. Jewish, Christian and Muslim Culture in Confluence and Dialogue. Special Issue: Interrogating Iberian Frontiers*, vol. 12/3. Leiden: Brill, 2006, 498-518.

Wiget, Andrew. "Reading against the Grain: Origin Stories and American Literary History." *American Literary History*, 3 (1991), 209-31.

Wood, Stephanie, editor. *Online Nahuatl Dictionary*. Wired Humanities Projects, College of Education, University of Oregon, 2000. https://nahuatl.wired"humanities.org/content/huehuetlatolli (Accessed 2/28/23).

Zambrano, María. *Obras completras*. Edited by Jesús Moreno Sanz *et al*. Madrid: Galaxia Gutenberg, 2014-19.

Zoppellaro, Simone. "'*To the expansion of this influence there is no limit*': Ralph Waldo Emerson e i classici della poesia persiana'." *Rivista di Studi Indo-Mediterranei,* III (2013), 1-25.

Further Readings:

Bernabé Pons, Luis. "Islamic anti-Christian Polemics in 16th-Century Spain: The Lead Books of Granada and the *Gospel of Barnabas*. Beyond the Limits of *tahrif*." In Douglas Pratt *et al.*, editors, *The Character of Christian-Muslim Encounter. Essays in Honour of David Thomas.* Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2015, 207-24.

Epalza, Míkel de and Ramón Petit, editors. *Recueil d'études sur les moriscos andalouses en Tunisie*. Madrid-Tunis: Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura/Centre d'Études Hispano-Andalouses, 1993.

Galmés de Fuentes, Álvaro. *Estudios sobre literatura española aljamiado-morisca*. Madrid: Fundación Ramón Menéndez Pidal, 2004.

Galmés de Fuentes, Álvaro, *et al. Glosario de voces aljamiado-moriscas.* Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo (Biblioteca Árabo-Románica)/Fundación Menéndez Pidal, 1994.

García Arenal, Mercedes. Presentación. "Sección Monográfica en torno a los plomos del Sacromonte (I)." *Al-Qanṭara*, XXIII (2002), 2, 343-543.

Gil, Pablo. *Manuscritos árabes y aljamiados de la Biblioteca de la Junta*. Madrid: Litografía de Guerra y Bacque/Tipografía de Comas Hermanos, 1912.

Gilman, Stephen. *The Spain of Fernando de Rojas. The Intellectual and Social Landscape of La Celestina*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972.

Ginsburg, Carlo. "The Inquisitor as Anthropologist." Translated by John and Anne Tedeschi. In Carlo Ginsburg, *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1989, 156-64.

Harvey, Leonard Patrick. "Textes de littérature religieuse des moriscos tunisiens." In Mikel de Epalza and Ramón Petit, editors, *Recueil d'études sur les moriscos andalouses en Tunisie*. Madrid-Tunis: Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura/Centre d'Études Hispano-Andalouses, 1973, 199-204.

Hegyi, Ottmar. "El uso del alfabeto árabe por minorías musulmanas y otros aspectos de la literatura aljamiada, resultantes de circunstancias históricas y sociales análogas." In Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes and Emilio García Gómez, editors, *Actas del Coloquio Internacional sobre Literatura aljamiada y morisca.* Madrid: Gredos, 1978, 147-65.

Lasarte López, J. A., editor, *Poemas de Muhamed Rabadán*. Zaragoza: Diputación General de Aragón, 1991.

López-Baralt, Luce. *Aljamiado: The Secret Literature of the Last Muslims of Spain*. Oxford University Press: Oxford Islamic Studies Online, 2016.

López-Baralt, Luce. "La angustia secreta del exilio. El testimonio de un morisco de Túnez." *Hispanic Review* 55 (Winter 1987), 1, 41-57. Longer versions in*: Les Actes de la première table ronde du C.I.E.M. sur: La littérature aljamiado-morisque: hybridisme linguistique et univers discursif.* In Abdeljelil Temimi, editor. Tunis: Publication du Centre de Recherche en Bibliotéconomie et Sciences de l'Information, 1986, 55-64.

López-Baralt, Luce. "Crónica de la destrucción de un mundo: la literatura aljamiado-morisca". *Bulletin Hispanique*, 82 (1980), 16-58. French translation: *Revue d'Histoire Maghrebine* XVI-XVII (Tunis), 43-73.

López-Baralt, Luce. "Escribiendo desde las ínsulas extrañas: reflexiones de una hispano-arabista puertorriqueña." *Historia y Fuente Oral,* Barcelona, 1991, 14-26. Reprinted in *Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humanines of the Université Hassan II*. Mohammedia: Marruecos, 1993, 51-67.

López-Baralt, Luce. "La estética del cuerpo entre los moriscos españoles, o de cómo la minoría perseguida pierde su rostro." In Agustín Redondo, editor. *Le corps dans la societé espagnole des XVIe et XVIIe siècles*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1990, 335-48.

López-Baralt, Luce and María Teresa Narváez. "Estudio sobre la espiritualidad popular en la literatura aljamiado-morisca del siglo XVI. La Mora de Úbeda, el Mancebo de Arévalo y San Juan de la Cruz." *Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares* XXVI (1981), 17-51.

López-Baralt, Luce. "El extraño caso de un morisco maurófilo." In B. Ciplijauskaité and C. Maurer, editors. *La voluntad de humanismo. Homenaje a Juan Marichal*. Barcelona: Anthropos, 1990, 171-83.

López-Baralt, Luce, Luisa Piamontese and Claire Martin (1989). "Un morisco astrólogo, experto en mujeres." *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* XXXVI, 2, 61-276.

López-Baralt, Luce. "Un morisco Ricote de carne y hueso nos habla de la angustia secreta del su exilio en Berbería." In *La literatura secreta de los últimos musulmanes de España*. Madrid: Trotta, 2009, 443-63.

López-Baralt, Luce. "La novela ejemplar de un morisco refugiado en Túnez." In A. Temimi, editor, *Actes du XIIe Symposium International d'Études Morisques. Imágenes, escritos y lengua de los moriscos del siglo XVI*. Túnez, FTERSI (2007), 69-87.

López-Baralt, Luce. "Noticia de un nuevo hallazgo: un códice adicional del *Kama Sutra español* en la Biblioteca de Palacio de Madrid (ms. 1767)." *Sharq al-Andalus*, Alicante (1995), 35-9.

López-Baralt, Luce. "El oráculo de Mahoma sobre la Andalucía musulmana de los últimos tiempos en un manuscrito aljamiado-morisco de la Biblioteca Nacional de París." *Hispanic Review*, 53 (1984), 41-57.

López-Baralt, Luce. "Las problemáticas 'profecías' de San Isidoro de Sevilla y de ʿAlī Ibnu Yābir Alferesiyyo en torno al Islam español del siglo XVI: tres aljofores del ms. aljamiado 774 de la Biblioteca Nacional de París." *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica*, XXIX (1980), 2, 343-66.

López-Baralt, Luce. *San Juan de la Cruz y el Islam*. Madrid: Hiperión, 1985/1990.

López-Morillas, Consuelo. *Textos aljamiados sobre la vida Mahoma: el profeta de los moriscos*. Madrid: CSIC/Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional, 1994.

Menocal, María Rosa. *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain.* Foreword by Harold Bloom. Boston: Little, Brown, 2002.

Read, Kay A. *Time and Sacrifice in the Aztec Cosmos*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988.

Ribera, Julián and Miguel Asín. *Manuscritos árabes y aljamiados de la Biblioteca de la Junta*. Madrid: Imprenta Ibérica, 1912.

Rosa-Rodríguez, María del Mar. "Simulation and Disimulation: Religious Hybridity in a *Morisco Fatwa*." *Medieval Encounters*, 16 (2010), 1, 143-80.

Rosa-Rodríguez, María del Mar. *Aljamiado Legends: The Literature and Life of Crypto-Muslims in Imperial Spain.* Newark, Delaware: Juan de la Cuesta, 2017.

Sacy, Silvestre de. *Journal des Savants* (Paris), 16 Germinal, V, April 8, 1797.

Said, Edward. *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Alfred A. Knoff, 1993.

Tapia, Serafín de. "Hipótesis sobre las raíces familiares y el entorno social del Mancebo de Arévalo." *Sharq al-Andalus* (Alicante), 21 (2014-16), 165-202.

Téllez-Nieto, Heréndira. *Arte de la lengua mexicana de fray Andrés de Olmos*. Madrid: Colección Paraíso en el Nuevo Mundo, 2022.

Wiegers, Gerard. *Yça Gidelli (fl. 1450). His Antecedents and Sucessors. A Historical Study of Islamic Literature in Spanish and Aljamiado.* Leiden: Brill, 1991.

About the Contributors

Hilal Oytun Altun is Associate Professor at Jagiellonian University (Poland). Her work centers on the linguistics of the modern Turkic languages and the classical literary Chagatay and Ottoman Turkish, with special focus on interlingual relations and language changes. She has authored *Tercüme-i Tevârîh-i Mülûk. Nevâyî'nin Fars Hükümdarları Tarihi* (Translation of the History of Dynasties. Nevâyî's History of Persian Dynasties), published by the Türkiye Ministry of Culture. She has also published an electronic version of the first encyclopedia-like compilation of Ottoman, accessible on http://derlemos.actaturcica.org/ website. She obtained her doctorate in Turkic philology at Marmara University (Istanbul, 2009).

Omneya Ayad is Assistant Professor of Sufi Studies at the Institute for Sufi Studies at Üsküdar University (Türkiye). She has published widely in her field. Her writings include "Abū Madyan al-Ghawth and Divine Unity in His Lāmiyya Ode," *The Journal of Islam and Muslim Studies*, and groundbreaking studies on other Sufi figures like Aḥmad Ibn ʿAjība, Shaykh Ahmad Ibn Mustafa al-ʿAlawī and Niyāzī Miṣrī, and on al-Fāriḍ's *Tāʾiyya*. Her book on the Sufi Quranic hermeneutics of Ibn ʿAjiba is being published as part of Routledge's Sufi Studies series. She obtained her doctorate at the University of Exeter.

Hamidreza Ayatollahy, professor emeritus, is senior scholar in the comparative philosophy of religion. Although he was unable to deliver his lecture, we are still publishing his paper. He has written numerous papers and books, and currently heads several academic institutions in Iran and organizations around the world, including the Research Institute for Ḥikmeh and Teachings, the Research Institute for the Humanities and Cultural Studies, the Iranian Association for the Philosophy of Religion, and the Mizan Educational Complex. He obtained his doctorate at Vrij Universiteit Brussel (Belgium, 1998).

Luce López-Baralt is Professor of Spanish and Comparative Literature, University of Puerto Rico (San Juan, Puerto Rico). Widely acclaimed—but acknowledging her debt to the early twentieth-century Spanish "Arabist", Rev. Miguel Asín Palacios, among others—she writes extensively on the mystical literature and religious practices of the Iberian Christians and Muslims, expertly tracing their trail of fruitful interactions. Her works on San Juan de la Cruz (the subject of her dissertation) and Santa Teresa de Ávila have been translated into French, English, German, Dutch, Arabic, Urdu and Farsi. She also taught at several universities in South America, North America, Europe, North Africa,

the Middle East and South Asia. Her books include *San Juan de la Cruz y el Islam: Estudio sobre la filiaciones semíticas de su literatura mística*; *Huellas del Islam en la literatura española: De Juan Ruiz a Juan Goytisolo* (translated by Andrew Hurley as: *Islam in Spanish Literature. From the Middle Ages to the Present*); *Asedios a lo Indecible—San Juan de la Cruz canta al éxtasis transformante*; *The Sufi trobar clus and Spanish mysticism: A shared symbolism*; *El Viejo maravilloso de Buluqiya a los confines del universo*; *A zaga de tu huella: La ensenanza de las lenguas semíticas en Salamanca en tiempos de San Juan de la Cruz*; and other titles. She obtained her doctorate at Harvard University (1974).

Houssem Eddine Chachia, who teaches at Tunis University, did not submit a paper but delivered an informal lecture on his award-winning book, *Al-Mashhad al-moriskī: Sardiyyat al-ṭard fī'l-fikr al-Espānī* (The Morisco Landscape Narratives of Expulsion in Modern Spanish Thought). He is also a visiting professor at the University of Murcia and a visiting researcher at the Centre for Middle Eastern Studies at Harvard University. He has written numerous other studies and papers in Arabic, Spanish and English focused on the *moriscos*, including *Tunisia, the Mediterranean, and the Moriscos* (2023) (English); *Between Two Banks: The Noble Morisco Path from Murcia to Tunisia* (2017) (Spanish).

Amílcar Aldama Cruz is a professor of Islamic thought at the Rafael Cepeda Higher Institute of Religious Sciences (ISECRE), Havana University; a professor at the Department of Languages at Al-Mustafa International University (Iran), where he is also working towards a degree; and Coordinator of Epistemology and Research Methodology at the "Dr. Osvaldo A. Machado Mouret" Center for Arab and Persian Islamic Studies in Argentina. In 2020, he founded *Ṣadrā*, a journal of Islamic philosophy. Professor Cruz's published works include *The Transcendental Philosophy of Mullā Sadrā* (translated into English by Muhammad Khamenei, Orient Foundation, 2015); *Lexicon of Islamic Philosophy* (forthcoming). His papers include "Graham Harman and Islamic Philosophy. Origin and Problems of Vicarious Causation," *Dialektika* (February 4, 2020); "Meanings and Evolution of the Term *Inniyya* in Classical and Contemporary Islamic Philosophy," *Dialektika* (March 7, 2021); "The Pythagorean in Suhrawardī Philosophy and the *išraqī* School," *Dialektika* (April 9, 2022); "The Diachrony of the Technical Term *al-basīṭ* in Islamic Philosophy: Its Use from the Works *ʿUṣūl li-ʾuqlīdus* and *ʾUṭūlūğīyā* to the onto-theology of Mullā Ṣadrā," *Proceedings of the Symposium Arab Thought* (University of Valencia, 2022); and "Diachrony and logic in Suhrawardī's *nūr* term," *Dialektika* (May, 14, 2023). Besides his doctorate in Pedagogical Sciences (2011), he holds a bachelor's degree in Islamic Sciences from Al-Mustafa International University (Iran, 2020).

Jim Maffie is Senior Lecturer at the Departments of History, Philosophy, Latin American Studies and Religious Studies (University of Maryland). A renowned, philosophically

trained Mesoamericanist, he has authored *Aztec Philosophy: Understanding a World in Motion* (University Press of Colorado, 2014) and numerous articles on Mexica (Aztec) moral philosophy.

Ángel Horacio Molina is Professor of Arabic Language and Culture at San Jorge School (Argentina), where he currently teaches. He is the founding member and secretary of relations and exchanges at the Center for Oriental Studies (Faculty of Humanities and Arts, National University of Rosario, Argentina). Active in the Working Group on Colonial Present in Asia, Africa and Latin America of the Autonomous University of Mexico City, he also coordinates the Area of Political Science and International Relations for Argentina, which is affiliated with the "Dr. Osvaldo Machado Mouret" Centre for Islamic, Arab and Persian Studies at the Al-Mustafa International University (Iran). A scholar of wide learning, Professor Molina continued his education at the Autonomous Metropolitan University (Mexico) in political science and the philosophy of ethics at Al-Mustafa International University.

José Antonio Antón Pacheco is Honorary Researcher at the University of Sevilla (Sevilla, Spain) and teaches the history of philosophy. His research focuses mainly on questions of traditional hermeneutics and thought. He cofounded the Swedenborg Society of Spain, being a scholar of Swedenborg's work, and the Center for Comparative Spiritual Studies and the Permanent Seminar on Comparative Hermeneutics (forum where figures like Ibn ʿArabī, Suhravardī, René Guénon, Louis Massignon and Henry Corbin are discussed). He serves on the editorial boards of *Heterodoxia*, *Er*, *Epimeleia* and *Boreas*. His books include *Elementos de metafísica tradicional* (Madrid, 1982); *Symbolica nomina* (Barcelona, 1988); a book on Swedenborg (Seville, 1991), the English translation of which is titled *Visionary Consciousnes: Swedenborg and the Immanence of Spiritual Reality*, 2000); *Ensayo sobre el tiempo axial* (various editions); a collaborative work titled *Emanuel Swedenborg: El habitante de dos mundos* (Madrid, 2000); *Los testigos del instante* (Madrid, 2003); *La sabiduría mazdea: Dos textos del Irán antiguo*, in collaboration with Joaquín Rodríguez Vargas (Madrid, 2007); *Formas de la forma: determinación formal e indeterminación* (Senderos, 2021). He has written more than a hundred articles, some of them translated into Farsi, French and English.

Hamedeh Rastaei is Assistant Professor of Philosophy at Aletaha Institute of Higher Education (Iran). She is Managing Editor and an editorial board member of *The Journal of History of Islamic Philosophy*. Her published papers include "Ibn ʿArabī Approach to Epistemic Disagreement", "Ibn ʿArabī and other Positive Religions on the Occasion of 'Other'", "Analysis of the two problems of recognition and responsibility before God

and 'the other'", and "Corona and the Answer to Other's Suffering in the Light of Kant's Duty-Oriented Ethics and Responsibility Approach of Levinas".

Mahdi Saatchi is Assistant Professor of Islamic Philosophy and Theology, Department of Islamic Philosophy and Theology at Shahīd Motahharī University (Iran), and for some years a visiting lecturer at Tehran University. After graduating as a civil engineer, he reoriented his studies towards philosophy and theology in both the *ḥawzeh* (privately and informally) and the public university systems. In the former, he studied Ibn Sīnā, Suhravardi, Mullā Ṣadrā and ʿAllāmeh Ṭabātabāʾī under several prominent scholars steeped in the school of ʿAllāmeh Ṭabātabāʾī (1903-81). He obtained his MA in Islamic philosophy and *kalām* at ʿAllāmeh Ṭabātabāʾī University (Tehran), and his doctorate in Islamic Theology at Shahīd Motahharī University (Tehran). Since then, he has been teaching philosophy, the philosophy of religion and *kalām*, and his research interests are in metaphysics, philosophy of religion and theoretical mysticism.

Anthony F. Shaker, a philosopher and a scholar of Islamicate and German philosophy, has written extensively in both fields, most recently *Reintroducing Philosophy: Thinking as the Gathering of Civilization* (US, 2021) and *Modernity, Civilization and the Return to History* (US, 2017). He has just completed an English translation and a critical Arabic edition of Ṣadr al-Dīn Qūnawī's *Iʿjāz al-bayān* (Equinox Publishing), having previously translated four books from Ghazālī's *Iḥyāʾ al-ʿulūm* (Islamic Texts Society, Cambridge, UK). His published papers include "Interpreting Mullā Ṣadrā on Man and the Origin of Thinking," *Synthesis Philosophica* (Croatia, 2020); "Nature along Man's Journey of Return," *Journal of Philosophical Theological Research* (Iran, 2023); "The Paradigmatic Significance of Perception in Mullā Ṣadrā's Philosophy of Being," *Journal of Philosophical Investigations* (Iran, 2018); "Man, Existence and the Life Balance (*Mīzān*) in Islamic Philosophy," *Journal of Islamic Studies* (UK, 2015). Several of his papers were translated into Turkish and published in *Sabah Ülkesi* (Türkiye), and an interview appears in Spanish translation in two issues of *Sadra: Revista de Filosofia Islamica* (Cuba/Iran, 2022). He is presently researching and writing two new monographs, tentatively entitled *A Study of Philosophical Reasoning, Its Methods and Ends Since Qūnawī* and *Historical Realism and the Human Horizon beyond the "Post-West"*. In the late 1990s, he was elected to the Executive Council of the Canadian Parliament's official opposition party, where he chaired two committees, contributed to the formulation of policy and consulted with political leaders. He holds a doctorate and a master's from the Institute of Islamic Studies (McGill University).