Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain

Identities and Influences

Richard Hitchcock

ASHGATE e-BOOK

MOZARABS IN MEDIEVAL AND
EARLY MODERN SPAIN

For Molly, Clem and Grace, and above all, for Meg

Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain

Identities and Influences

RICHARD HITCHCOCK
University of Exeter, UK

ASHGATE

© Richard Hitchcock 2008

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without the prior permission of the publisher.

Richard Hitchcock has asserted his moral right under the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act, 1988, to be identified as the author of this work.

Published by
Ashgate Publishing Limited
Gower House
Croft Road
Aldershot
Hampshire GU11 3HR
England

Ashgate Publishing Company
Suite 420
101 Cherry Street
Burlington, VT 05401–4405
USA

Ashgate website: http://www.ashgate.com

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
Hitchcock, Richard
Mozarabs in medieval and early modern Spain : identities and influences
1. Mozarabs 2. Mozarabs – Spain –Andalusia 3. Christianity and other religions – Spain – History – To 1500 4. Islam – Spain – Relations – Christianity 5. Spain – Religious life and customs 6. Spain – History – 711–1516
I. Title
274.6’03

ISBN 978–0–7546–6314–0

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Hitchcock, Richard.
Mozarabs in medieval and early modern Spain : identities and influences / Richard Hitchcock.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references.
ISBN 978–0-7546–6314–0 (alk. paper)
1. Mozarabs. 2. Christians – Spain. 3. Spain – Church history.
I. Title.

BR1024.H58 2007
305.9’27009460902–dc22 2007023181

Printed and bound in Great Britain by TJ International Ltd, Padstow, Cornwall

Contents

Introduction: The Terminological Question ix

1 Meaning and Origins 1

2 Muslims and Christians in al-Andalus in the Early Eighth Century 7

3 The Case of Córdoba in the Ninth Century 25

4 Christians in Córdoba 41

5 Mozarabism in León I: Arabic Nomenclature 53

6 Mozarabism in León II: Mozarabs 69

7 Mozarabs in Toledo 75

8 Mozarabs in Aragón 99

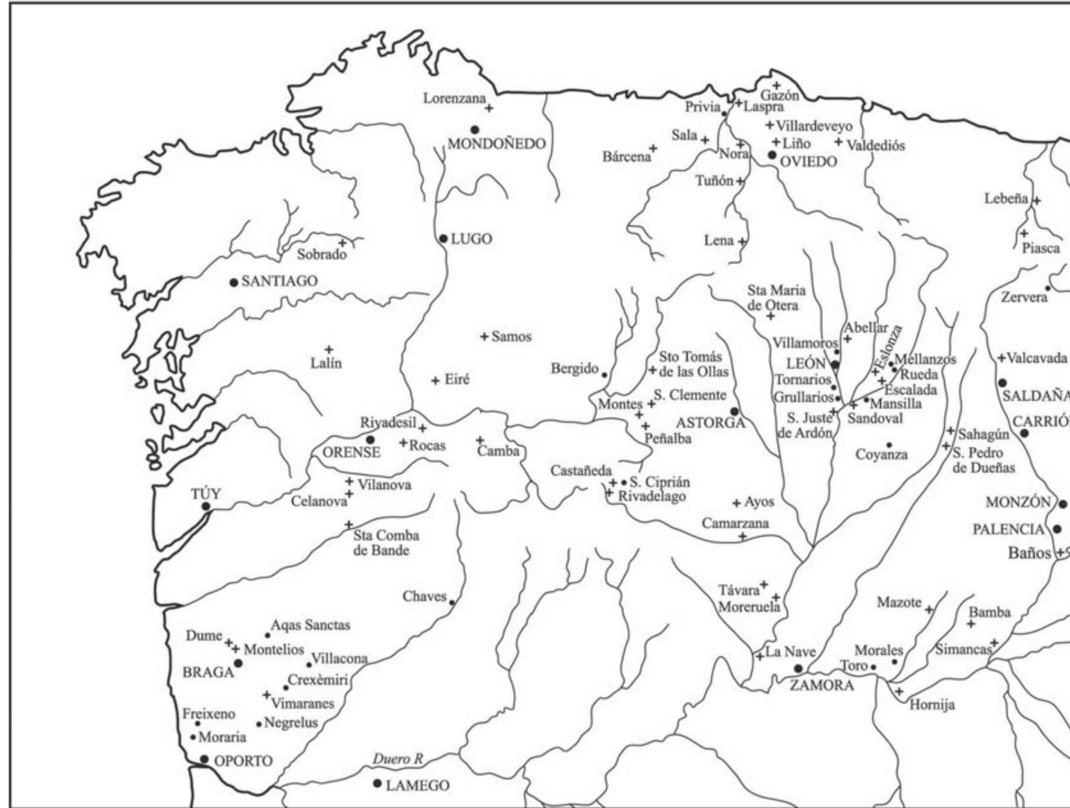
9 Mozarabs after 1492 109

Postscript 129

Bibliography 131

Index 147

Map 1 The territory of al-Andalus in the tenth century



Map 2 Mozarabic churches and others in the north-west of the Iberian Peninsula in the tenth century

This page intentionally left blank

Introduction

The Terminological Question

When my late friend and colleague M.A. Shaban embarked on the long and arduous journey into the origins of the Islamic revolution, he made the following observation about his own *modus operandi*: 'Considerable care has been taken to ascertain the exact meaning and to define the precise use of important terms used by the compilers of the sources and the authorities they quote.'[1] Later on he elaborated on this: 'The meaning of such terms varied from place to place and often enough changed over the centuries, and it is of vital importance to examine systematically these changes in order to obtain proper understanding of the source material.'[2] One such 'important term' is the subject of this book, and the warnings voiced by Shaban have been taken to heart. The interpretation that is presented for the word 'Mozarab' is one that is believed to fit the variegated data afforded by sources, which themselves can only considered to be exceptionally heterogeneous.[3]

The origin of the word 'Mozarab' is *mustaʿrib*, active participle, or *mustaʿrab,* passive participle of the tenth derived form of the Arabic root *ʿaraba,* meaning in the active sense, 'to make oneself similar to the Arabs', and in the passive, 'having assimilated Arabic customs', or, most specifically designating someone who had the appearance of an Arab, was indistinguishable from Arabs, and would not stand out in a crowd of Arabs.[4] Phonetically, the passive participle would appear to be the more probable etymon, in view of the post-tonic 'a', and this supposition is supported by entries in early vocabularies.[5] Arabic dictionaries are unanimous

---

1 M.A. Shaban, *Islamic History AD 600–750 (AH 132). A New Interpretation*, Cambridge: University Press, 1971, p. viii.

2 M.A. Shaban, *Islamic History. A New Interpretation. 2. AD 750–1055 (AH 132–448)*, Cambridge: University Press, 1976, p. ix.

3 The nature of these sources has been subject to much revision and scrutiny over the past thirty years. See the article by Norman Daniel, published posthumously: 'Spanish Christian Sources of Information about Islam (ninth–thirteenth centuries)', *al-Qanṭara*, XV (1994), 366–84; P.S. Van Koningsveld, 'Christian-Arabic Manuscripts from the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa: A Historical Interpretation', *al-Qanṭara*, XV (1994), 423–51; *Actas del I Congreso Nacional de Cultura Mozárabe*, Córdoba, 27–30 April 1995, Córdoba: Cajasur, 1996.

4 Juan Corominas, *Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana*, Berne: Francke, 1954, I, p. 244b.

5 Pedro de Alcalá, *Vocabulista aravigo en letra castellana*, Granada, 1505, ed. Pauli Lagarde, Gottingae: Arnold Hoyer, 1883: 'Arabigo Musta'arabi' (p. 103, line 23), unpaginated MS in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, (R2209), and Federico Corriente, *El Léxico árabe andalusí según P. de Alcalá*, Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1988, p. 134; *Vocabulista in Arabico,* ed. C.

in describing the collective noun *mustaʿriba,* as 'strangers', which term included all those who did not have pure Arab blood. The tenth-century lexicographer al-Azharī, writing in Iraq of the Eastern *mustaʿriba,* called them a 'people not of pure Arabian descent, who have introduced themselves among the Arabs, and speak their language, and imitate their manner of appearance'. Muslim writers observed the distinction between *al-ʿarabu al-ʿarabatu,* Arabs who have not mixed with any other race, and *al-ʿarabu al-mustaʿribatu*, or *al-ʿarabu al-mutaʿarribatu,* those who are not Arabs by race, but who have become Arabs.[6]

Although the Arabic provenance of 'Mozarab' is established, there does not exist any documented evidence that the Muslims in al-Andalus used this term.[7] This absence of documentation has given rise to severe difficulties, numerous theories and speculations.[8] One can, I think, be sure of one point, however. Such a word, with its unequivocal connotation of Arabicization, would have been anathema to those strictly adhering to the Christian faith. Dominique Millet-Gérard has candidly appreciated this detail: 'Nous verrons d'ailleurs que ceux dont nous aurons l'occasion de lire les écrits sont précisément ceux qui méritent le moins cette épithète, prise dans son sens propre.'[9] It would seem logical, therefore, for later historians to avoid using 'Mozarab' when referring to Christians in al-Andalus. Such a stance has been considered to be, by and large, up until quite recently, impractical. In a succinct and judicious survey, Pedro Chalmeta meets directly the challenge posed by the terminological objections , and refrains from using the word 'Mozarab' when narrating the history of the Christian Church and Christian martyrs in al-Andalus. He either employs the appropriate Arabic word, as it appears in the Arabic sources, or 'Christian', whichever seems to be the least controversial and prudent option.[10]

The purpose of the following chapters is, primarily, to engage with those periods of the history of al-Andalus and of the Iberian Peninsula, wherein 'Mozarabs', or the phenomenon to which they gave rise, may be seen to have flourished. As a consequence of the debate surrounding the use of the term, however, attention

---

Schiaparelli, Florence, 1881: 'arabicus musta'arabi', p. 249, and Federico Corriente, *El léxico árabe andalusí según el 'Vocabulista in Arabico'*, Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1989, p. 202; see Hanna Kassis, 'Arabic-speaking Christians in Al-Andalus in an Age of Turmoil (fifth/eleventh century until a.h 478/a.d 1085)', *al-Qanṭara*, XV (1994), 401–22, at p. 401.

[6] Edward W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, London, 1887, reprinted by the Islamic Texts Society Trust, Cambridge, 1984, I, Book One, Part 5, p. 1993. Lane, in his disquisition on the *mutaʿrriba* and the *mustaʿriba*, is quoting from al-Azharī.

[7] Emilio Cabrera, 'Reflexiones sobre la cuestión mozárabe', *Actas del I Congreso Nacional de Cultura Mozárabe*, 1996, pp. 11-26, at p. 12.

[8] Mikel de Epalza, 'Mozarabs: An Emblematic Christian Minority in Islam in al-Andalus', in Salma Khadra Jayyusi (ed.), *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1991, pp. 149–70, reproduced in Manuela Marín (ed.), *The Formation of al-Andalus. Part I: History and Society*, Aldershot: Ashgate, Variorum, 1998, pp. 183–204.

[9] Dominique Millet-Gérard, *Chrétiens Mozarabes et Culture Islamique dans l'Espagne des VIIIe–IX siècles*, Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1984, p. 27, n. 25.

[10] Pedro Chalmeta, 'Mozarab', in C.E. Bosworth et al. (eds), *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, new edn, Vol. VII, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1993, pp. 246-9.

is paid to the Andalusí context, so that the nature and status of the non-Muslim communities may be evaluated. It can be argued, with some justification, that such an approach should *per se* include the Jewish communities of al-Andalus, but to do justice to their role and to determine their significance would be to venture too far beyond the scope of what is attempted here.[11]

The first such community to be deliberated on, indeed, the one that has attracted the most attention from scholars, and which itself is heterogeneous, is to be encountered within al-Andalus, particularly during the epochs of the Umayyad Emirate and Caliphate from the eighth through to the eleventh centuries. This community is the most problematic to identify, and the one that all but defies coherent classification, principally because of terminological considerations. The second community to which the denomination of 'Mozarabic' can be more readily assigned inhabited non-Islamic territories exclusively, and was scattered among the rural and urban peoples in the north of the Iberian Peninsula, where Christianity prevailed. The evidence for the existence and vitality of this second grouping covers three centuries, but is strongest for the tenth century. The third Mozarabic 'period', as distinct from the second as the second was from the first, came into being and prospered after the capture and occupation of Toledo by Alfonso VI of Castile in 1085. Subsequently, a Mozarabic community took root and, after many vicissitudes of fate, is still to be met with in the Toledo of today. It is hoped that the perspectives provided will bring a fresh focus to Muslim/Christian and to Christian/Christian relations in the Iberian Peninsula over a range of centuries, without prejudicing traditional views or recent reinterpretations. 'Mozarabism' covers so many diverse areas, both temporal and territorial that it is legitimate, I think, to call it a phenomenon. As such, its chameleon-like properties can be most effectively appreciated.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, F.J. Simonet wrote an erudite and comprehensive account of the Mozarabs in Spain, drawing on all the sources known to him, interpreting them according to a quite distinct ideology.[12] For him, the Mozarabs were true Spaniards, vassals of Muslim rulers, who preserved their Christian religion throughout many centuries, and who, moreover, kept up the Latin-Visigothic culture which thrived prior to the advent of the Muslims. Simonet demonstrated, at length, that both the Mozarabs and their counterparts, the *muwalladūn,* contributed distinctively to the cultural splendour of the 'Spanish Arab Empire'. He prefaced his study proper with a remarkable essay on the etymology of the word 'Mozarab', providing a chronological list of all instances of the word, in whatever form, that he had succeeded in locating in both Latin and Arabic documents.[13] It is significant, though, that he admitted that he had

---

[11] See, for a concise survey of one aspect, Raymond P. Scheindlin, 'The Jews in Muslim Spain', in Jayuusi (ed.), *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, 1992, pp. 188–200.

[12] Francisco Javier Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes de España deducida de los mejores y más auténticos testimonios de los escritores christianos* [*sic*] *y árabes*, Amsterdam: Oriental Press, 1967. This 976-page work was completed in 1867, and published for the first time in Madrid in 1903 (*Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia*, Vol. XIII).

[13] Ibid., pp. ix–xvi.

been unable to track down the word in its original Arabic etymon in the works of any Hispano-Muslim writer. None the less, this particularity did not dissuade him from discussing Mozarabs throughout the whole of the period of Muslim presence in the Iberian Peninsula. A reading of his book makes transparent the fact that he felt that this procedure was wholly fitting as, for him, to be a Mozarab meant being a Spanish Christian. In a different age, however, it is no longer held to be appropriate to use the word 'Mozarab' as he did, in such an ample context. Simonet's work remains a fundamental source, not least because of its spectacular wealth of documentation, and it serves as a perpetual reminder of the worth of nineteenth-century scholarship.

In a number of aspects that would have been entirely unsuspected by Simonet, his own etymological researches have paved the way for a reinterpretation of the meaning, and consequently, of the application of the word 'Mozarab'. He himself established, to his own satisfaction, that the Christians in al-Andalus were not called Mozarabs in Hispano-Arabic sources. They were given a variety of Arabic names that served to differentiate them from the Muslims, and indeed, from each other. With most frequency, they were designated *ʿajam,* a collective noun which denotes essentially non-Arabic speakers, and thus strangers or foreigners. *ʿAjam* was used by Muslim historians to describe those who could not speak Arabic properly and, by extension, non-Arabs. In an Eastern Islamic context, this applied particularly to Persians. *ʿAjam* were unable to speak Arabic as Arabs did; their knowledge of the language sounded recognizably defective. When al-Khushnī, a tenth-century chronicler who came from Qayrawān to live in al-Andalus, used the word *ʿajam*, the quality which he desired to emphasize was the person's deficient command of Arabic. This was because that person belonged to the indigenous race. Ribera brought out al-Khushanī's intention in his translation.[14] By extension, for him, the word came to denote not only non-Arabs but also more specifically, Christians living both within and outside Islamic jurisdiction in the Iberian Peninsula. *ʿAjam*, though, was a 'neutral' term and one that did not carry with it any religious affiliation.

Perhaps the most instructive word that the Arab writers used to describe both Christians and Jews in Islam was *dhimmī.* The *dhimma* was the protection within the Muslim community, to which both groups were entitled. Corporately known as the *ahl adh-dhimma*, the 'protected people', Jewish and Christian communities enjoyed privileges that varied in time and place in medieval Islam, as the comprehensive study by Bat Ye'or has indicated.[15] Whilst attitudes regarding the status and condition of the *ahl adh-dhimma* do vary, Muhammad, in his lifetime, made concessions to Jewish communities in return for a charge on their revenue. Eventually, the *ahl adh-dhimma* paid the *jizya,* in addition to the *kharaj,* the payment

---

[14] Julián Ribera, *Historia de los jueces de Córdoba por Aljoxaní*, Madrid: Maestre, 1914, prologue, and pp. 118, 136–7, and 144–5.

[15] Bat Ye'or, *The Dhimmi. Jews and Christians under Islam*, London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1986; also, of great textual utility for this and analogous terms, Eva Lapiedra Gutiérrez, *Cómo los musulmanes llamaban a los cristianos hispánicos*, Valencia: Instituto de Cultura 'Juan Gil-Albert', 1997, at pp. 288–96.

of which granted statutory protection to the *ahl adh-dhimma*.[16] Essentially, the *jizya* was a tax that permitted the *dhimmī* freedom to cultivate his land. The immunity granted to these Jewish and Christian communities within Islam in return for payment of taxes in excess of those levied on Muslims was one that allowed Christianity and Judaism to continue to exist, if not to prosper, in certain areas of the Islamic world. There were further restrictions imposed upon non-Muslims living within Islam, at certain times and in certain places, such as the requirement to dress distinctively. According to one decree, drawn up in the second half of the eleventh century, Jews would be distinguished by the yellow colour of their clothes, and Christians by black.[17] The extent to which these additional decrees were imposed on the *dhimmī* communities varied according to the sensitive nature of the prevailing political situation. Generally speaking, the *ahl adh-dhimma* were disinclined to behave in such a way in public places that might draw attention to any presumed superior status over the Muslim community. This would explain the late decree of 1181 AD that specified that Jews and Christians should ride donkeys only.[18] In al-Andalus, though, much of the information concerning the *dhimma* is confined to urban contexts. There is a dearth of unambiguous information about the extent to which Jews and Christians could worship according to their own customs and traditions. This feature of the life of non-Muslim communities within Islam brought about their being designated *mushrikūn,* literally 'those who do not adore God only but also other deities'.[19] As polytheists, the Christians and Jewish communities were expected to practise their respective religions without giving offence to Islam. Churches already in existence, for example, could continue to be used for the Christian faith, but no new churches could be built. Bells could be rung provided that they did not conflict with the Muslim call to prayer although, in practice, it seems as though the ringing of bells was not a frequent occurrence.

A scenario that has gained currency is a relatively straightforward one, whereby the Arabs are seen to have settled in the Iberian Peninsula after 711 AD, immediately establishing an Islamic political system and Islamic institutions. They found there a Christian land and a Christian state, with a social, political and ecclesiastical hierarchy in place.[20] Such a vision does, however, require some

---

[16] Bat Ye'or, *The Dhimmi. Jews*, pp. 175–87.

[17] Eliyahu Ashtor, 'The Social Isolation of *ahl adh-dhimma*', in *The Medieval Near East: Social and Economic History*. *Collected Studies*, Aldershot: Variorum Reprints, 1978 (originally published in *Pat Hirschler Memorial Book*, Budapest, 1949), Chapter VII, pp. 73–94, at pp. 78–9.

[18] Ibid., p. 84.

[19] Ibid., p. 87, n. 59.

[20] This is a resumé, for purposes of convenience, of a part of Mikel De Epalza, 'La islamización de al-Andalus: mozárabes y neomozárabes', *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid*, XXIII (1985–86) [1988], 171–9, at p. 177; Epalza also draws attention to exceptions. The tenor of the argument expounded here, runs counter to Epalza's first conclusion, that 'La conversión de los hispanos al Islam fue rápida y casi total en los territorios de gobierno directo musulmán' (p. 179). The same author returned to the theme in his discerning study 'Falta de obispos y conversión al Islam de los cristianos de al-Andalus', *al-Qanṭara*, XV (1994), 385–400.

careful qualification. The evidence, such as it is, supplied from a variety of available Arabic accounts, would suggest that the Muslim experience of these matters was confined to urban milieux, where there would have been the external indications of the practice of Christianity, such as the visible presence of churches and the audible sound of bells. It is not surprising that there is little to signal the situation in rural areas, where the mass of the indigenous population would have dwelt.

The remains of very few churches have been located and excavated in vast tracts of territory away from the urban centres. It has been argued that a modest place of Christian worship existed in the mountain-top stronghold of ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn, at Bobastro in the province of Rayyo (Málaga), in the second half of the ninth century, and the church of Santa María de Melque in the region of Toledo, has been shown to have been of ancient foundation.[21] Bobastro has been described by Fontaine as the only survivor of a tragic epoch that witnessed, in his opinion, the systematic destruction, by Muslims, of all signs of Christianity in al-Andalus. Fontaine regarded Melque, exposed on the flat plain south of the River Tagus, as having encapsulated the Roman and Visigothic architectural traditions.[22] He argued that it might have held a prominent strategic position between the north and south of the Peninsula. If that was so, then it may, perhaps, have been a ‘special case’. The evidence for the widespread demolition of Christian edifices is slender, at best. There may well be justification for reasoning that the churches fell into disuse through neglect, because of the changing demographic patterns subsequent to the Islamicization of al-Andalus in later centuries. The alternative and simpler explanation, however, is that the churches did not exist in the first place, at least, on nothing like the scale imagined. It follows that if the evidence for the very existence of these churches is not forthcoming, then the argument that there was significant Christianization of the rural centre and south of the Peninsula is fragile at best, if not untenable. This is not to decry Christianity, but to posit that the indigenous population, which the new Muslim rulers had to reckon with, were not, uniformly in rural and urban areas alike, determinably Christian. Perhaps, as has been postulated, the Muslims adopted a tolerant, liberal attitude towards the subject population but, as will be seen, the latter would have been governed according to the conventions of the *dhimma* under Umayyad Islam. [23]

The relationship with the resident *dhimmī* population was always a problematic one for Muslims who were, on occasion, cautioned to limit their dealings with non-Muslims.[24] On the other hand, where non-Muslims had a particular skill of benefit to the community, such as that conferred by the profession of physician, then the *dhimmī*/Muslim barrier tended to be overlooked. Jewish and Christian physicians

---

[21] Jacques Fontaine, *El mozárabe*, Madrid: Ediciones Encuentro, 1978 (original French edn, 1977), pp. 61–80.

[22] Ibid., p. 75.

[23] Michel Banniard, ‘La Rédaction mozarabe à Cordoue: un IXe siècle de ruptures’, in *Viva Voce, Communication écrite et communication orale du IV siècle en Occident latin*, Turnhout: Brepols, 1992, Chapter VIII, pp. 423–84: ‘Le pouvoir musulman a mis en place un système relativement libéral, qui l’est resté jusqu’à la disparition du califat omeyyade’ (p. 442).

[24] Bat Ye’or, *The Dhimmi Jews*, pp. 183 and 187.

enjoyed privileged positions within Muslim communities, and notably in al-Andalus, when ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān III in the tenth century invested so much trust in his Jewish doctor, Ḥasday b. Shaprūt.[25] Christian as well as Jewish practitioners of medicine attained positions of prestige during the Umayyad Caliphate in al-Andalus, although one does read elsewhere of distinct unease on the part of some Muslims being treated by non-Muslim physicians.[26] As might be supposed in such a delicate situation as that prevailing between the *dhimmī* population and the Muslims, any slighting reference to Islam or discourtesy towards Muhammad was regarded as provocative and, indeed, illegitimate behaviour. The protection afforded to Jewish and Christian communities within Islam was forfeited if representatives from among their number assaulted Muslims either in word or in deed, as happened in Córdoba in the ninth century.[27]

Instructive and significant light is thrown on the situation in North Africa, by a piece of information supplied by Ibn Khaldūn writing in the fourteenth century. Referring to some villages belonging to the tribe of Nafzawa in the province of Qastiliyya, Tunisia, he mentioned that there were many *afranj* 'who live under the protection of a treaty. They have been there and their ancestors before them from the time of the conquest by the Muslims until the present day, and as they profess one of the faiths tolerated by Islam, they pay the capitation tax and they enjoy the free practice of their religion.'[28] Whilst it is, maybe, unwise to base too much on a single isolated statement, it does appear that this description may characterize the position of non-belligerent Christian communities living within Islamic territories. Furthermore, al-Bakrī, writing in the eleventh century, alludes to a group of Christians who had survived until his time in Tlemcen, where there was also a church still used by Christians.[29] According to a report drawn up on behalf of the ʿAbbāsid state in the ninth century, the Maghrib was a country 'still in

---

25 Évariste Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne Musulmane*, Cairo: Institut Français, 1944, pp. 326–7; and, for a critical reassessment, Norman Roth, *Jews, Visigoths and Muslims in Medieval Spain*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994, pp. 79–86; see also, the useful bibliographical notes, pp. 266–9.

26 Ashtor, 'The Social Isolation', pp. 90–91. There is an entertaining parallel here. When Cardinal Cisneros was at the height of his powers, and campaigning for the widespread conversion of the Muslims in Granada in 1500, he was struck down by a serious illness. After his own physicians had failed to find a remedy, he was cured by an ancient 'morisca', who was brought to him in secret, and who successfully restored him to full health with the aid of remedies known only to her: Alvar Gómez de Castro, *De las hazañas de Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros* (1569), edited, translated and notes by José Oroz Reta, Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1984, pp. 109–112.

27 This episode is to be discussed subsequently. See Kenneth Baxter Wolf, *Christian Martyrs in Muslim Spain*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, Chapter I.

28 Ibn Khaldoun, *Histoire des Berbères et des dynasties musulmanes de l'Afrique septentrionale,* traduite de l'arabe par le Baron de Slane, nouvelle édition de Paul Casanova, Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1968 [2nd edn, 4 vols], vol. I, p. 231 [my translation].

29 Quoted by Chrétien Courtois, 'Grégoire VII et l'Afrique du Nord. Remarques sur les communautés chrétiennes d'Afrique au XIe siècle', *Revue Historique,* 195 (1945), 97–122, 193–226, at p. 111.

transition between its Christian past and Islam. Amidst the nomadic tribes that had infiltrated the hitherto cultivated areas were prosperous villages and olive farms owned and peopled by the *afāriq* and even a few who claimed to be "descendants of the Byzantines".' The Arab historians used to refer to these *afāriq* as Latin-speaking Berber Christians. Whilst the extent to which the Berber communities were Latinized at the time of the Berber conquest of the Iberian Peninsula may not be determined with any degree of certainty, the likelihood of nuclei of Latin-speaking Berbers has never been wholly dismissed; indeed, it has even been thought that there was 'a broad division between the sedentary Barānis who were mainly Christian and the nomadic Butr who were not'.[30] A precise allusion seems to have been provided by Ibn Ḥazm, when he described the *afāriq* as having invaded al-Andalus with the Berbers and Egyptians.[31] Likewise, when Pedro de Alcalá published his momentous word list in 1505, he baldly identified 'Afriqui' with 'Africano'.[32]

In the Iberian Peninsula, the references to the presence of Christian communities are diverse and uncoordinated, but it needs to be stressed that, in one particular set of instances, the Christians were unequivocally committed members of the Church. There are Latin chronicles and other writings that testify to a thriving Church in al-Andalus for at least a century and a half after the advent of the Muslims. When such Christians are recorded in the Arabic histories, then the word that is used to describe them tends to be *naṣrānī.* When this word is mentioned, for example, by Ibn Idharī, there is little doubt that he is referring to adherents of the Christian faith, and not simply to non-Arab-speakers. The point is that the other words, such as *ʿajam, rūm*, *afranj*, and *musālimūn,* were all religiously neutral terms.[33] It is misleading to confer a religious connotation on these terms, in contradistinction to the word *naṣrānī.* The *naṣrānī* were unambiguously Christian; they were Latin-speaking; they were preservers of that Christianity which had evolved under the Visigothic state in the Iberian Peninsula, and they retained the liturgy practised in the Visigothic Church; they worshipped in churches, the names of a number of which are well known, and they were taught in thriving monasteries.[34] In Córdoba and its environs in the ninth century, there were at least seven churches and, additionally, other centres of the Christian persuasion in the surrounding sierras.[35] Some monasteries, especially those near Córdoba, were influential, and Christian

---

[30] W.H.C. Frend, 'Christianity in the Middle East: Survey down to AD 1800', in A.J. Arberry (ed.), *Religion in the Middle East. Three Religions in Concord and Conflict*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969, Vol. I. Both quotations are taken from pp. 282–3.

[31] Miguel Asín Palacios presumed that *afāriq* was the name given to the indigenous inhabitants of North Africa: 'Un códice inexplorado de Ibn Hazm', *Al-Andalus* II (1934), 1–56, at p. 41 (p. 36 of the Arabic text).

[32] Alcalá, *Vocabulista aravigo en letra castellana*, p. 94.

[33] The same claim has been made for the *mawalí*: P. Crone, *Slaves on Horses. The Evolution of Islamic Polity,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980, p. 237: 'In practice many non-Muslim *mawalī* are known.'

[34] Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes de España*, pp. 325–36.

[35] Archdale A. King, *Liturgies of the Primatial Sees,* London: Longman, 1957, p. 466; Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes de España*, pp. 326–55; Simonet, 'Los mozárabes de Córdoba', *Ilustración Española y Americana*, II (1897), 23–30.

residents amongst them contributed largely to the perpetuation of traditions of learning in the Christian Church. An evaluation of the Latin literature produced in the Iberian Peninsula in the eighth and ninth centuries reveals that there was substantial strength in this Latin Christian tradition. Contact with Islam was avoided, and an examination of these writings shows a fierce hostility towards Islam, and an equally resolute desire to affirm the beliefs that had been handed down.[36]

In the second half of the twentieth century, it became customary to question the time-honoured acceptation of the word 'Mozarab'.[37] The reason for this is simply that this one word has been made to do service for two separate phenomena, recognizably distinct from one another. Whereas the Córdoban Christians are called Mozarabs by nineteenth- and twentieth-century historians, by virtue of having maintained their Christianity whilst subject to an Islamic state, so also are the emigrants from al-Andalus who settled in the northern kingdoms of the Peninsula. These settlers were often Arabicized, and were responsible for the permeation of influences that had been absorbed in an Andalusí environment. Gradually, a Mozarabic culture was forged. If, as now seems incontrovertible, 'Mozarab' derives from *mustaʿrab* or an equivalent form of the Arabic root, then clearly it is a misnomer when applied to those Christians in Córdoba who strove to resist Arabic influence, and who were passionately opposed to institutionalized Islam. As the first appearance of any form of the word occurs in a Latin document in a monastery in the Christian kingdom of León in the third decade of the eleventh century, and as Arabicization in that kingdom had been deeply ingrained in that society for over a century by that time, it seems reasonable to confine 'Mozarab' to a non-Muslim milieu. Mozarabism describes the effects of Arabicization in all walks of life in León. Whilst Arabicization was apparent among the non-Muslim communities in al-Andalus, such as Córdoba, and other urban centres, there was nothing distinctively Mozarabic about their culture or civilization. The preference for some clear differentiation between the usage of 'Mozarab' in the Christian North and the Muslim South takes on a crucial aspect when one comes to the use of the adjective 'Mozarabic'. Mozarabic art and Mozarabic architecture, for example, concern a cultural phenomenon in which Christian and Arabic elements are fused together. This phenomenon, which emerged from cocoon-stage in the first half of the ninth century in non-Islamic territories, comprises a style of church architecture and of manuscript decoration that displays contact with Islamic artistic design and practice. The Mozarabic dialect, on the other hand, was the form of Romance spoken in al-Andalus, and determinable largely from Arabic

---

[36] Norman Daniel, *The Arabs and Mediaeval Europe*, London: Longman and Librairie de Liban [1975], 2nd edn, 1979, pp. 39–44 and 233–66.

[37] See Richard Hitchcock, '¿Quiénes fueron los verdaderos mozárabes? Una contribución a la historia del mozarabismo', *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica*, XXX núm. 2 (1981), 574–85, where some relevant earlier studies are discussed. A searching study has been published by Dominique Urvoy, 'Les Aspects symboliques du vocable "Mozarabe", essai de réinterpretation', *Studia Islamica*, LXXVII (1993), 117–53; Lapiedra Gutiérrez, *Cómo los musulmanes llamaban a los cristianos hispánicos*; Cabrera, 'Reflexiones sobre la cuestión mozárabe'.

sources.[38] There is further potential confusion when one considers the so-called Mozarabic liturgy which describes the ancient Visigothic rite, which resisted Islamic influence, and which formed part of an active and vital liturgical tradition in Córdoba, as late as the ninth century and beyond.[39]

Among the attempts that have been made to rationalize, if not resolve, the terminological problem relating to the Mozarabs has been a proposal by Vicente Cantarino. After discussing the question of Mozarabism in general, he suggested that the *mustaʿribūn* themselves introduced the word in al-Andalus using it with a pejorative implication to designate Arab-speaking collaborators or sympathizers.[40] This thought-provoking theory would explain why the word is not to be located in Hispano-Arabic sources, but there is no firm evidence that it was employed with this stigma attached to it in a non-Muslim environment, that is to say, in the Leonese territories in the north of the Peninsula where, presumably, these collaborators would have found refuge from their Christian calumniators. None the less, the notion that 'Mozarab', or its equivalent, was a word of abuse bandied about within a Christian milieu in al-Andalus, is to be taken seriously, not least because it cannot readily be disproved. Neither can it be said that it is as yet corroborated.

A later rationalization of the use of the word 'Mozarab' is one that defines Mozarabs as 'descendants of pre-Islamic Christians'.[41] The Mozarabs, according to this hypothesis, would have been Christians dwelling in Islamic-controlled lands who were able to trace their ancestry to a period prior to the Muslim invasion of the Peninsula. This detail is necessary, so that there is no confusion between what one might term 'old Christians' and other Christians, from whatever provenance, who happened to be living in Muslim territory. One argument in favour of this is that *mustaʿribūn* connotes Arabicization in a social sense, and not a religious one.

The avoidance of the use of the word 'Mozarab' to describe Christians of al-Andalus will forestall misunderstanding, and will reduce instances of inaccuracy

---

[38] Roger Wright, *Late Latin and Early Romance in Spain and Carolingian France*, Liverpool: Francis Cairns, 1982, p. 161: '*Mozárabe* Romance is not particularly different from that of other parts of Iberia'; see also Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes, *Dialectología mozárabe*, Madrid: Gredos, 1983.

[39] Manuel Díaz y Díaz, 'Textos litúrgicos mozárabes', in *Actas del I Congreso Nacional de Cultura Mozárabe*, 1996, pp. 105–15: 'De todos modos me parece sugestivo proponer una serie de textos [litúrgicos] que con alta probabilidad fueron compuestos en la Córdoba del siglo IX' (p. 111).

[40] Vicente Cantarino, *Entre monjes y musulmanes. El conflicto que fue España*, Madrid: Alhambra, 1978, pp. 96–147: 'Sería más lógico pensar, por el contrario, que fuesen los mismos mozárabes quienes lo introdujeran, en cuyo caso hubo de tener el significado, sin duda peyorativo, de colaborador o simpatizante sin referirse, al menos en principio, a todos los cristianos' (p. 109); Chalmeta, ''Mozárabe', expresses a similar sentiment: 'Ce serait, donc, une insulte, lancée par les conquérants chrétiens, envers ceux qui avaient préféré rester au lieu d'émigrer devant l'envahisseur, et qui auraient donc composé, "collaboré" avec le vainqueur' (p. 248).

[41] Mikel de Epalza and Enrique Llobregat, '¿Hubo mozárabes en tierras valencianas? Proceso de islamización del Levante de la península (Sharq Al-Andalus)', *Revista del Instituto de Estudios Alicantinos*, 36 (1982), 7–31.

and ambiguity. When S.M. Stern published his edition of Romance *kharjas* – refrains in the vernacular appended to a particular genre of Arabic poetry composed in al-Andalus mainly during the tenth and eleventh centuries – he gave it the title of *Chansons Mozarabes*:

> The title 'Mozarabic Song' stems from the term 'Mozarabic dialect', currently used to describe the dialect spoken in Muslim Spain. As this 'Mozarabic' dialect was also spoken by Muslims and Jews, the application of a name which calls to mind the Mozarabs, that is to say Christians subject to the Muslims, is not altogether accurate. However, since the term 'Mozarabic dialect' will go on being used, 'Mozarab songs' will pass muster also.[42]

Stern recognized that the use of the title *Chansons Mozarabes* would imply that they were associated with the Christian population in al-Andalus, and he therefore considered that an explanation was essential in order to dispel notions that the Christians were in any way connected with their composition. Stern would, I believe, like to have avoided the word in the designation of his sensational discovery, because he knew that the use of it was terminologically inexact, and he suspected that it had the potential to be misleading. These particular pieces of verse are now seldom called Mozarabic songs.[43]

The word 'Mozarab' made its first appearance in Latin documents in the form *muzarave* in the kingdom of León in the first half of the eleventh century, in two isolated instances only.[44] Later, after a gap of not quite a hundred years, 'Mozarab' appeared with some consistency as a generic term in the *fueros* granted by Alfonso VI pursuant to his conquest of the city of Toledo. He, along with his successors as king of Castile, specified the *christianos muzaraves* as comprising one of the communities which were to receive particular privileges in a number of townships in the recently conquered areas in the first half of the twelfth century. The word also emerged, with some regularity, as a proper name in both Latin and Arabic conveyancing documents in the environs of Toledo in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. These *muzaraves* were distinguished from the Castilians in that they were Arabicized; they had adopted the Arabic language, spoke and wrote Arabic, and so on. As a result of this label being applied to the Christians who had been discovered, as it were, residing in Muslim territory, it came to be used in the chronicles to refer to those Christians who had lived in al-Andalus. The inference was that if the word *muzaraves* was a suitable description of those Christians who

---

[42] S.M. Stern, *Les Chansons Mozarabes*, Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 1964, p. xxi (author's translation from the French).

[43] See, for example, the generic study of Ovidio Carbonell, 'Hacia una gramática del caos; la poesía estrófica andalusí y los orígenes de la lírica románica', in Otto Zwartjes (ed.) [Foro Hispánico], *La sociedad andalusí y sus tradiciones literarias*, Amsterdam, 1994, pp. 39–59; David Wulstan opted for 'Hispano-Mauresque' in his 'Boys and Drunkards; Hispano-Mauresque Influences on European Song?', in D. Agius and R. Hitchcock (eds), *The Arab Influence on Medieval Europe*, Reading: Ithaca, 1994, pp. 136–67.

[44] Hitchcock, '¿Quiénes fueron los verdaderos mozárabes?', p. 579. See also, Z. García Villada, *Catálogo de los códices y documentos de la Catedral de León*, Madrid: Clásica Española, 1914, p. 128, and the *Tumbo Legionense*, fols 327–327v.

had just been liberated, then it was also applicable to any community of Christians which had, in times past, lived in al-Andalus. The author of the *Anales Toledanos* writing around 1220, made use of the word in his entry for the year 1124, when he stated that 'Mozarabs' went to North Africa against their will.[45]

At a much later period, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there were those who sought to dignify the Mozarabic families of Toledo, emphasizing the steadfastness of the Christian faith of their ancestors in Muslim Toledo. Their opponents, who disparaged their nobility, stressing the injurious consequences of close association with Muslims, found substance for their arguments in their interpretation of the meaning and origin of the word 'Mozarab'. The belief that the word referred, by impliction, to a tainted or tarnished community may have originated from Ximénez de Rada's *De Rebus Hispaniae*, where Christians who acquiesced with the 'Arab' invaders are described as 'mixti arabes', 'eo quod mixti Arabibus convivebant', ('because they lived intermingling with the Arabs'). The Archbishop goes on to say that the name and race 'mixti arabes' existed in his day, the thirteenth century, 'hodie apud nos nomen perseverat et genus', and the assumption is that the phrase 'mixti arabes' was his rendering of the word 'muzarabes', which does not actually occur in any form in his work.[46] Those reflecting, at a later date, on the Archbishop's observations could, if they so wished, find ammunition to interpret the word 'Mozarab' pejoratively, because he had suggested, overtly or covertly, that it could incorporate the idea of Arabicization. In the last two centuries, *mozárabe* has developed still further into a 'blanket' term, applicable to any activity with which the Christians of al-Andalus were associated, whether in al-Andalus itself, or after they had emigrated to the Northern Christian kingdoms.

---

[45] Henrique Flórez, *España Sagrada*, Madrid: Antonio Marín, 1777, Vol. XXIII, p. 388; *Los Anales Toledanos, I y II*, ed. Julio Porres Martín-Cleto, Toledo: Diputación Provincial de Toledo, 1993.

[46] Rodericus Ximenius de Rada, *Opera*, ed. Ma. Desamparados Cabanes Pecourt, Zaragoza: Anúbar, 1968 (Textos Medievales, 22), p. 70.

Chapter 1

Meaning and Origins

The rejection of the use of the word 'Mozarab' when referring to the Christians of al-Andalus in the centuries before the advent of the Almoravids and Almohads is rational. The Arabic form of the word is absent from contemporary accounts, Arabic histories and chronicles. Whatever Spanish historians may have called the Christians of al-Andalus, they were not called Mozarabs. Simonet was alert to this fact when, in the 1860s, he was compiling data for his *Historia de los mozárabes.* The collective noun *mustaʿriba*, which describes the Arabicized community, is not to be found until it occurs in Arabic histories relating to the Eastern territories of Islam in the tenth and eleventh centuries, where it denotes statusless non-Arabs of unspecified religion, in receipt of fewer privileges than the Christian Arabs.[1]

The Christians of al-Andalus must be regarded in the context of other non-Muslim communities within Islam. This is not to say (and this is where the difficulties often arise) that non-Muslim communities received identical treatment throughout the Islamic empire. This would be to impute to the central authorities a degree of omnipotence that they were seldom, if ever, able to enjoy. The policies towards the conquered peoples varied not only from area to area, but also from time to time, depending on how the successive parties in power thought that their interests could best be served. When the Iberian Peninsula was occupied, it was settled initially by Berbers, a heterogeneous body of people, comprising those who had formed part of the invasive forces in 711 AD, and others who had crossed the Straits separating mainland Africa from Iberia, in their wake. The numbers of these Berber settlers are difficult to gauge, but they were sufficiently numerous to disconcert the early Arab governors of al-Andalus. Their tribes had been comparatively recent converts to Islam, but what is more significant in this context is that they had been accorded the same privileges as were enjoyed by Arab Muslims. They were recruited into the Muslim armies, and allowed a share of the plunder. This conscious policy of assimilation of the Berbers into Islam and its concomitant advantages undoubtedly contributed to their enthusiastic participation in the assault on Iberian soil. Later, this policy was reversed when Syrian Arabs establishing themselves in al-Andalus in the 730s sought to restrict the flow of Berbers across the Straits, because they foresaw that a massive Berber contingent could be a destabilizing influence and constitute a potential threat to their authority. One suspects, furthermore, that the Berbers had chosen the most

[1] The word *mustaʿrib* was known during the lifetime of Muhammad. See S.M. Imamuddin, *A Political History of the Muslims*, Dacca: Najmah & Sons, 1965, who refers to Harith Ghassaní the Mustaʿrib (Arabicized) Christian Chief of Busra (Bostar), whose troops were defeated at Madina in 630 AD (p. 78).

favourable sites in which to settle and put down roots in the Peninsula, a predictable source of contention with the incoming Arabs. The eventual rebellion of Berbers, angered by the curtailment of their privileges, came within a hair's-breadth of the withdrawal of the ruling Arabs from al-Andalus, and their departure from the Maghrib. Ultimately, the Yemení faction brought the situation under control temporarily, but arguments amongst Arabs of whatever faction in al-Andalus as to how most effectively to harness the Berbers within Islam, led to rebellion flaring up again in the later decades of the eighth century.[2]

It is assumed that the Arabs who settled in the Peninsula were numerically far fewer than the Berbers.[3] Whatever their respective proportions, both groups would have been outnumbered by the indigenous population by a figure of perhaps thirty or forty to one.[4] The immense majority of the indigenous inhabitants may be divided amongst those who became Muslims and those who did not. There seems to be no reliable or scientific means for determining the respective numerical strengths of these two groupings, but the non-Muslim mass would gradually, over the centuries, have diminished, through conversions and emigration. After the establishment of the Umayyad dynasty in Córdoba in 756, and until its demise with the dissolution of the Caliphate in 1031, the overall control of al-Andalus was vested in the hands of the Marwānid family, supported by a small number of Arab and Berber heads of clan in areas where these had established themselves. Earlier in the history of the Umayyad emirate, notably during the ninth century, vociferous opposition came from the *muwalladūn*, a name that literally signifies 'those born of two races' and referred to those who were raised as Muslims having been born into a non-Arab Muslim family. The word was in general use in al-Andalus to specify sections of society who were converts to Islam. Certain *muwallad* communities, indignant that they were being deprived of the prosperity enjoyed by the governing Arabs, sought to wrest some of their power and wealth from them by setting up their own states in city strongholds remote from Córdoba. These revolts were all ultimately suppressed, but their failure to achieve independence from Córdoba may, in large measure, be due to the lack of cooperation, debatably stemming from a studied disinterest on the part of the majority population of al-Andalus.[5] The argument

[2] See, for example, Pierre Guichard, *Al-Andalus: Estructura antropólogica de una sociedad islámica en occidente*, Barcelona: Barral, 1976, especially pp. 476–9.

[3] These two issues of number and identity are crucial to an understanding of Andalusí civilization. The relative value of Latin and Arabic sources in this regard are analysed and assessed in a subsequent chapter.

[4] A set of figures is supplied by H.V. Livermore, *The Origins of Spain and Portugal*, London: George Allan & Unwin, 1971, p. 304.

[5] W.F. (*sic*) Heinrichs, 'Muwallad', in Bosworth et al. (eds), *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. VII, pp. 807–808, points out that 'the sons of Arab father and indigenous mother did not feel themselves to be and were not regarded as *muwallads*. Since the sire was Arab, the offspring was also Arab' (p. 807). His definition of them as 'descendants of non-Arab neo-Muslims' is precise, though somewhat unmanageable. Thomas F. Glick, in *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages*, Princeton, NJ: Priceton University Press, 1979, is satisfied with the rendering 'Neo-Muslim', but with the following proviso: 'As *muwallad* cannot strictly be rendered "neo-Muslim", I prefer "indigenous Muslim"' (p. 35). For an interpretation, from a

may be propounded that if the refusal of the affluent Arab clans to allow alien encroachment upon their wealth and power is allied to a state of indifference on the part of the indigenous population, then the perpetuation of this state of non-integration of the conquered peoples in the Iberian Peninsula is readily demonstrable.

In the first two centuries of Islam in the Iberian Peninsula, the picture of the non-Muslims that suggests itself is one of an incurious community, largely heedless of the transfer of authority from Visigoth to Muslim. Most of the indigenous population would not have spoken Arabic properly, if at all, but the application of the word *ʿajam* predominantly to non-Muslims suggests that the *muwalladūn* would in all probability have acquired a knowledge of Arabic. On the other hand, there is little indication that non-Muslims were coerced or, indeed, were under any obligation to speak, write, or understand Arabic. The terms *ʿajam*, *muwalladūn* and *barābira* (Berbers), were essentially words of disparagement, used by Arabs, particularly Syrian Arabs proud of their Arab ancestry, to denote, as it were, second-class citizens within Islam, those who had a deficiency, which effectively precluded them from being treated as equals. The use of *ʿajam* is, in itself, an indication of the non-assimilation of the people of al-Andalus.

One further term that should be mentioned in a Hispano-Muslim context is *mawāli*. In some circumstances, it meant 'kinsmen' (although the misleading word 'client[s]' is often used), that is, those who entered into an agreement with an Arab person or an Arab tribe and, in other contexts, slaves, so used during the Umayyad Caliphate of the East. Amongst the foremost authorities on the history of the Muslims in al-Andalus, the name of Ibn Ḥayyān is universally acknowledged, his works being held in high esteem. Although his *magnum opus*, the *Muqtabas* has not survived *in toto*, those sections of this work that are known illustrate the care that he took with his choice of sources, and the attention he paid to his terminology. He was precise in his use of terminology: *ahl al-Andalus* (the people of al-Andalus), for example, always refers to settlers, to the Arabs, but not to the Berbers, who are invariably called by their ethnic name. The word, when he used it, referred to non-Arab sectors of the indigenous population, and designated a social rather than an ethnic category.[6] Frequently, though not invariably, the word has the specific connotation of non-Arab Muslims, as such enjoying the same status as

---

somewhat different angle, of the *muwallad* factor in al-Andalus in the ninth century, see B. and E.M. Whishaw, *Arabic Spain: Sidelights on her History and Art*, London: Smith & Elder, 1912, pp. 70–99.

[6] *Al-Muqtabas (V) de Ibn Ḥayyān*, ed. P. Chalmeta, Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura, 1979, fol. 201, p. 299 of the Arabic text. The translation, by M.J. Viguera and F. Corriente, with the title *Crónica del Califa ʿAbdarrahman III an-Nasir entre los años 912 y 942 (al-Muqtabas)*, Zaragoza: Anúbar, 1981, was published in the *Textos Medievales* series, no. 64. The indices facilitate reference to both the translation and to the Arabic text. See also, J. Bosch Vilá, 'Andalucía islámica: arabización y berberización. Apuntes y reflexiones en torno a un viejo tema', in *Andalucía Islámica. Textos y estudios*, Granada: Universidad, 1980, J. Bosch Vilá and W. Hoenerbach, directors, pp. 9-42, especially pp. 23-4. Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, p. 49; P. Crone, 'Mawlā', 4. 'Muslim Spain', in C.E. Bosworth et al. (eds), *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. VI, pp. 881–2.

the *muwalladūn*, but Ibn Ḥayyān normally qualified the word still further, talking of *mawāli Qurṭūba*, that sector of the indigenous population of Córdoba who had become Muslims. This distinction was observed because the Arab community within Islam was *ipso facto* composed of Arabs, and conversion to Islam could not ensure admission to that community. The *mawāli* were tolerated by the Arabs within Islam, but were not treated as equals, and the consequent resentment of these non-Arab Muslims in the Eastern Islamic lands, led to the emergence of the *shuʿūbiyya* movement, whereby the superiority of the non-Arabs, particularly the Persians, over the Arabs, was proclaimed. The movement attained a certain foothold in al-Andalus, as the eleventh-century epistle of Ibn García would seem to indicate.[7] This point is significant within the context of al-Andalus because it emphasizes again the paucity of intercommunication that subsisted within the Islamic sector of the community. There is something here also of the aristocrats' haughty disdain and distrust of the *nouveaux riches*, for the *mawāli* in al-Andalus became wealthy and powerful, and some *mawāli* families asserted their independence when they controlled a number of the *Ṭā'ifa* states after the collapse of the Caliphate.

The Arabic sources do not dwell at any length on the specifically Christian sectors of the Islamic community in the Iberian Peninsula. The non-Muslims comprised Christians and Jews, but references to the covenant which afforded statutory protection to adherents of these two religions are relatively infrequent, the *muʿāhid,* those in receipt of an *ʿahd or* pact, so one could assume that religious confrontation was seldom an issue.[8] To describe non-Muslims, Ibn Ḥayyān used the words *ʿajam*, *musālima* (those who made peace or who were at peace, and who, at one stage, comprised the conquered race living peaceably within Islam), *dhimmī,* and *naṣrānī.* A distinction can be noted, in that the *ʿajam* were, by definition, non-Arab speakers; the *musālima*, *dhimmī* and *naṣrānī* were all non-Muslims. In time, the role of the *dhimmī* in Islam was codified, but there is scant evidence of any substantial measure of integration having been achieved in al-Andalus, until the growing incidence of Islamicization in the tenth century. The *dhimmī* was not excluded from entry into the administration and, in al-Andalus at the height of the Caliphate in the tenth century, the ambitious *dhimmī* could and did attain an exalted position and status in governmental circles.[9] It is not known at what stage in the course of the progress of Islam in al-Andalus, conversion was deemed to be imperative, but ambassadors and translators in the court of ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān in the tenth century still clearly enjoyed *dhimmī* status. High-level *dhimmīs* may not have had to convert to Islam and it may be suspected that such a label was as much a social as a religious distinction.

---

[7] J.T. Monroe, *The Shuʿubiyya in al-Andalus, The Risala of Ibn García and Five Refutations*, Berkeley: University of California, 1970, Introductory Essay, pp. 1–21.

[8] Eva Lapiedra Gutiérrez, *Cómo los musulmanes llamaban a los cristianos hispánicos*, Valencia: Instituto de Cultura 'Juan Gil-Albert', 1997, pp. 301–304, states that the word *muʿāhid* occurs in only three sources.

[9] Several examples are furnished by Al-Khushaní. See Julián Ribera, *Historia de los jueces de Córdoba por Aljoxaní*, Madrid: Editorial Maestre, 1914, with Arabic text and Spanish translation.

The specific term for Christians was *naṣārā*, as has been noted, the least secular of the words applied to the non-Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula. When it was desired to draw particular attention to the religion of a person, *naṣrānī* was chosen, as is testified by the earliest Arabic-Latin word lists, but Ibn Ḥayyān also used it without overtly religious connotation. He mentions the *naṣārā Qurtūba* during the reign of al-Ḥakam II (961–76). These were the Christians of Córdoba who, in 971, were employed as translators for the meeting between the Umayyads and the envoys from Barcelona.[10] The delegates from Barcelona themselves, however, were not called *naṣārā*, but were known by their regional name, in this instance, the Arabic transcription of 'Barcelonans'. Galicians were *jillīqiyyūn*, and inhabitants of the rest of the kingdoms of the north of the Peninsula named after their indigenous regions, a further, albeit gratuitous, indication of the lack of religious tension between north and south. Some historians have taken care to distinguish between 'muladíes' and 'mozárabes' and often as if to underline the difference between them, have represented them as implacable foes.[11] The evidence does not appear to support this interpretation. For the Arab historians looking back, and for contemporary chroniclers, the only salient division in al-Andalus in the period preceding the advent of the Almoravids in the eleventh century is that which was made between the Arab minority and the non-Arab majority. Urban society in al-Andalus is reflected largely through the eyes of writers from the Umayyad 'generation', sympathizers in the broadest sense of the word. Non-Arabs, be they high-ranking officials, second- or third-generation Muslims, Berbers who had settled after the initial conquest, or whatever group of Muslims or non-Muslims, were socially and ethnically inferior to the Arabs. They were tolerated in a political climate far removed from that which obtained contemporaneously under the ʿAbbāsid caliphate in the East.[12]

They were a jumble of creeds and races, Islamicized to differing degrees, exceedingly difficult to codify, and forbidden, deliberately, from participating at the loftiest level in the wealth and power of al-Andalus. As far as the Arabs in authority were concerned, there was little distinction between the *muwalladūn*, who were Muslims, and the *dhimmī*, who were not. It would seem that the religious differences between the two have been overstressed. Both groups, although classified into separate categories by the Arab Muslims, were Romance-speaking; both belonged to the indigenous population, and the religious observances which divided them were in each case minimal. Attendance at Friday prayers or, more precisely, 'laying aside one's business affairs' was the only occasion in the week

---

[10] Emilio García Gómez, *Anales palatinos del califa de Córdoba al-Hakam II, por ʿIsa Ibn Ahmad al-Razí (360–364 = 971–975 J. C.). El califato de Córdoba en el 'Muqtabis' de Ibn Hayyan*, Madrid: Sociedad de Estudios y Publicaciones, 1967, p. 45.

[11] Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes de España*, for example, Chapter XIV.

[12] Antoine Fattal, *Le Statut légal des non-musulmans en pays d'Islam*, Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1958. An important document, throwing light on inter-faith relationships from a legal perspective is combed for those referring to Jews and Christians by H.R. Idris, 'Les Tributaires en Occident Musulman médiéval d'après le "Miʿyār" d'al-Wanšariši', in Pierre Salmon (ed.), *Mélanges d'islamologie. Volume dédié à la mémoire de Armand Abel par ses collègues, ses élèves et ses amis*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974, pp. 172–96.

that could have interfered with the progress of business. Much has been made of the distinctiveness of the Christians, but there is nothing to indicate that their lot in al-Andalus was radically different to the position of other *dhimmī* groups within Islam.[13] Their own secular and ecclesiastical authorities maintained supervision without any extensive noticeable interference from their Muslim counterparts, and they seem to have lived peaceably within the community. There is not a great deal of evidence of any concerted attempt on behalf of the Arab Muslims to assimilate non-Arabs, however they were legally defined, neither does there appear to have been any comparable movement inaugurated by the *dhimmīs.*[14] There was a considerable amount of emigration from al-Andalus to the Christian North, but intolerant overlordship may have been less responsible for this than the incentive provided by Alfonso III, whose invitations to populate his lands would have been accepted with alacrity by inhabitants from all parts of the Peninsula.[15] There are spectacular instances of *dhimmīs* in the government of the state, and evidence to suggest that a number of prominent Muslim scholars were of indigenous stock, but nothing to point unequivocally to a persistent determination to cultivate non-Muslim values, the pursuance of Latin scholarship, and so on. It was rather a situation whereby the *dhimmī* population enjoyed the statutory protection afforded to the conquered community, proceeding with the practice of their customary occupations, avoiding political confrontation, and coming to terms with what were, for most of the first three hundred years of Muslim presence in the Iberian Peninsula, the far from rigorous demands of the Arab Muslims. As their numbers decreased, through emigration and through public association with the Muslim community, so their significance within that community declined. It is assumed that the non-Muslims retained their *dhimmī* status the longest in the rural areas, until the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when the Almoravids and Almohads adopted harsher policies towards *dhimmī* communities wherever located, largely thanks to the fact that they were suspected of collaboration with hostile Christian forces beyond the boundaries of al-Andalus.[16] Neither Jew nor Christian was admitted to any position in the administration, distinctive tabs were instituted, a cross for Christians, a bell for Jews, who were also required to wear yellow.[17] Organized deportation to North Africa, or emigration to Aragón in the first half of the twelfth century, accounts for all but the tiniest remnants of the *ahl adh-dhimma* in al-Andalus.

---

[13] Epalza and Llobregat, '¿Hubo mozárabes en tierras valencianas?', pp. 7–31.

[14] Richard Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979, Chapter 10, pp. 114–27; Pierre Guichard, *Al-Andalus, estructura antropólogica de una sociedad islámica en occidente*, Barcelona: Barral, 1976, pp. 270–84, and Chapter VII.

[15] Luis G. de Valdeavellano, *Historia de España*, 4th edn, Part I, Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1968, Volume I, pp. 492–7.

[16] C. Cahen, 'Dhimma', *New Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, Vol. II, 1968, p. 230; I return to this aspect in a subsequent chapter.

[17] A.S. Tritton, *The Caliphs and their Non-Muslim Subjects*, new edn, London: Frank Cass, 1970, p. 119. The details for al-Andalus are drawn from al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ aṭ-Ṭīb.*

Chapter 2

Muslims and Christians in al-Andalus in the Early Eighth Century

As a context to the treatment accorded by the Muslims to their subject peoples in al-Andalus, some estimation of the nature of the Islamic state there is perhaps necessary. What contemporary documentation that is available does not appear to support the general contention that the clash of Muslims with the Visigoths in the Iberian Peninsula in the early eighth century was perceived as a religious confrontation. In other words, it was not a question of Muslim armies opposing and defeating Christian forces. Rather, and more simply, the invasion and conquest can be seen as one amongst many episodes of Muslim expansion in the extraordinary first century after the death of Muhammad in 632 AD. The Muslims in North Africa were a superior military force; this statement does not vary according to views taken regarding the motivation behind the invasion. The traditional interpretation has been that the invasion was impelled by belief in the notion of *jihād* in the sense of Holy War.[1] When writing history in certain epochs, particularly in the nineteenth century, it was natural to ascribe the growth of Islam to the ardour of the faith of the early Muslims. The meaning of the word *jihād* is 'striving' or 'exertion'. A crucial Qur'ānic source is *Sūra* 9, entitled 'The Immunity', where in the section on hypocrites, the Prophet is enjoined 'to strive hard against the unbelievers and the hypocrites and be unyielding to them'. M.M. Ali comments that 'it shows an utter ignorance of the Arabic language to take the word *jāhid* here as meaning *fight with sword*.' In *Sūra* 25, 'The Distinction', verse 52 reads: 'So do not follow the unbelievers, and strive against them with a mighty striving with it.' Ali notes that the chapter within which this verse is revealed 'contains no reference to fighting'. 'It should be noted', he continues, 'that the greatest *jihād* that a Muslim can carry out is one by means of the *Qur-án*, to which the personal pronoun at the end of the verse unquestionably refers, and not with the *sword*.'[2] Although there are differing

---

1 For example, David Hannay, *Spain*, London: T.C. Jack and E.C. Jack, 1917: 'The desire to extend the dominion of their faith was motive enough for the Mahometans', p. 27.

2 *The Holy Qur-án*, containing the Arabic text with English translation and commentary by Maulvi Muhammad Ali (Woking: The Islamic Review, 1917), pp. 414 and 721. In Spanish, *Sūra* 25, v. 54, the ambiguity is removed: 'No cedas a los infieles; pero combátelos vigorosamente con este libro' [Mahoma, *El Corán*, Madrid: Biblioteca DM, 1995, p. 251]. Also relevant is *Sūra* 29, v. 6: 'And whoever strives hard, he strives only for his own soul.' Ali comments: 'The suffering of persecution and torture at the hands of their enemies for the sake of their faith was no less a *jihād* of the Muslims at Mecca than their fighting in defence of Islam at Medina' (p. 775).

and conflicting interpretations of Qur'ānic intent, it would seem that there is no unambiguous reference to *jihād* in order to achieve the goal of converting the unbelievers to Islam. The injunction on Muslims to employ fighting is to show an awareness of a defensive necessity, both on an individual level, and for the sake of the security of the Islamic state. The pursuit of *jihād* as Holy War is not, therefore, I believe, a motivating factor relevant to the clashes between Muslims and the peoples they vanquished in the first century of Islam, at least not as far as the conquest and subsequent occupation of the Iberian Peninsula is concerned.[3]

Notwithstanding this, it is apparent, from the numerous treatments that the Muslim conquest of the Iberian Peninsula has received, that the eighth century is considered to be a crucial one in the history of medieval Europe. Frequently, one encounters the use of such language as 'the loss of Spain to the Muslims', when describing the astonishing events of the first two decades of the century. The inference is that an alien and inherently hostile creed had usurped Christianity's rightful position as arbiter of the destiny of the Iberian peoples. From the thirteenth to the twentieth century, with some exceptions, accounts of this period have been coloured by emotive language and given a specifically religious context. Emphasis is placed upon Christian forces opposing those of Islam, Christianity against Islam, or the faithful against the infidel. In other words, it was the clash of two religions that characterized the momentous battle of Tours in 732 AD. The victory of Charlemagne's grandfather, Charles Martel, at a site somewhere to the south-west of Paris, maybe Tours, maybe Poitiers, over a Muslim expeditionary force, is regarded as one of the most defining confrontations of the Middle Ages.[4] Sometimes using language verging on the apocalyptical, writers such as Lane-Poole speculated on the fate of Europe, had the Muslims been victorious at the Battle of Tours.[5] However, the reality of this confrontation may have been rather different. Indeed, it may not have been more than a relatively uneventful military

---

[3] A differing view is expressed by Mahmoud Makki in his essay: 'The political history of Al-Andalus (92/711-897/1492)', in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992, pp. 3-87, where he mentions that 'a number of the governors of al-Andalus conducted a policy of Islamic Holy War beyond the Pyrenees' (p. 15).

[4] Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Moors in Spain*, London: T. Fisher Unwin, 5th edn, with the collaboration of Arthur Gilman, MA, 1893: 'An issue momentous to Europe was to be decided, and the conflict that ensued has rightly been numbered among the fifteen decisive battles of the world. The question to be judged by force of arms was whether Europe was to be Christian or Mohammedan – whether the future Nôtre Dame was to be a church or a mosque' (p. 29). D.M. Dunlop, in his *Arab Civilization to A.D. 1500*, Beirut: Longman, Harlow, and Librairie du Liban, 1971, reprinted, 1985, wrote: 'In 114/732 a great battle was fought in central France which at least from the times of Gibbon and Sir E. Creasy has often been considered decisive for the fate of western Europe' (p. 15).

[5] Lane-Poole, *The Moors in Spain*, pp. 29–30. 'Had not the Saracens been checked at Tours there is no reason to suppose that they would have stopped at the English Channel' (p. 29). With the defeat of the Muslims by Charles, 'the danger to Western Europe was averted. So crushing was the disaster that the Moors of Spain never again, during all the centuries that they ruled in the south, attempted to invade France' (p. 30).

engagement.[6] What is established in Arabic accounts is that there was Muslim military activity beyond the Pyrenees following the successful subjection of the Iberian Peninsula.[7] The excursions of the Muslims into Europe at this early stage may not have been part of a grand design to occupy the ʿ*arḍ al-kabīra*, the Great Land. As the Visigoths had controlled Narbonne, it would have made strategic sense for the conquering Muslims to seek to remove all vestiges of Visigothic power. The number of troops involved in these expeditions would have varied, but is unlikely that there would have been more than a very few Arabs, with conscript soldiers, including Berbers and recruits drawn from the indigenous population of conquered territory, making up the bulk of the force.

It might seem paradoxical that, in the Iberian Peninsula itself, the Arab *amīr*s had not secured the entire land-mass before embarking on warfare in Gaul. Tribal opposition in, for example, the Basque or Cantabrian regions may have been more obstructive, prompting a reassessment of political objectives. There was more intensive military activity beyond the Pyrenees, suggesting that the area in the north and north-west of the Peninsula, held fewer allurements, political or material. Consequently, Muslim incursions beyond the River Duero would have assumed the character of a raid, rather than that of a full-scale military assault. With this in mind, it is possible to attempt an evaluation of the so-called Battle of Covadonga. In his important and pioneering study on the reconquest of Spain, D.W. Lomax presented this battle within the context of 'a Christian rebellion in the Cantabrian mountains led by one Pelayo', and resulting in the formation of an Asturian kingdom.[8] That something happened at *as-sakhra bilāya*, the rock of Pelayo, a Visigothic dukedom in the fastnesses of the Asturian mountains, is testified in Arabic sources but, although this battle is, according to Makki, 'regarded by [Christian records] as the beginning of the *reconquista*', he goes on to observe that: 'In reality it appears to have been an insignificant skirmish in which Pelayo demonstrated his

---

[6] As pointed out by Dunlop, *Arab Civilization to A.D. 1500*, p. 272, Philip K. Hitti, in his *History of the Arabs from the Earliest Times to the Present*, 10th edn, London: Macmillan, 1985 (first published in 1937), said of this battle: 'In reality it decided nothing.'

[7] Miguel Cruz Hernández, *El Islam de al-Andalus*, Madrid: AECI, Instituto de Cooperación con el Mundo Árabe, 1992, uses Ibn Ḥayyān as the basis for his account, but tellingly states: 'Según la tradición, los musulmanes marchaban hacia Tours, tras saquear iglesias y monasterios, atraídos por la fama de los tesoros de San Martín' (p. 75). Francisco Codera, who also used an Arabic source, Ibn al-Athīr, 'expressed doubts of the importance of the battle' (Dunlop, *Arab Civilization to A.D. 1500*, p. 272).

[8] Derek W. Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain*, London: Longman, 1978, pp. 27–8. The use of the word 'Reconquest' with a capital letter throughout his narrative indicates that, for Lomax, the Christian opponents of the Islamic state in the Iberian Peninsula were bent on repossessing that which was rightfully theirs. They were reoccupying land that the Muslims had taken because, by right, it belonged to them as Christians. Irrespective of the justification or otherwise of this hypothesis, which the author sustained both in his writings and in discussions, it does exemplify the continuance of the use of the emotive language that has characterized studies of Muslim-Christian relations in the Peninsula.

steadfastness.'[9] The notion that Pelayo's victory over what was probably not much more than a handful of Muslims, perhaps equivalent to something like a platoon in modern military parlance, was the first stage of a Christian 'Reconquest', cannot be more than speculative at best. Pelayo was defending his territory against incursors, setting the pattern of so-called Christian-Muslim confrontations in the Iberian Peninsula over the succeeding three centuries. What was sacrosanct was one's territory and not one's religion. During these centuries, the nature of the episodes of conflict between Muslims and Christians varied from punitive raids, which were sometimes little more than frontier sorties, to premeditated attempts to extend territory. There is scant evidence that all Muslim raids were prompted by a desire to impose Islam on unbelievers, or that the Christian occupation of the vast tracts of land between the Atlantic and the River Duero was motivated by any deep-rooted sense of outrage at the Muslim presence in the Peninsula. At certain times, the territorial feuding was bitter and erupted into formal battles that tended to settle the issue for a few decades but, for much of this early period, there was freedom of movement and therefore lucrative trade between al-Andalus and the Christian North, and even beyond into northern Europe. The commercial and cultural interchanges were not hampered by any perceived difference in creed between the parties involved.[10]

The initial preoccupation, then, of the Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula was to secure the territory conquered for the Islamic state. Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, the governor (*walī*) of Ifrīqiya had been notably successful. How, why and when he crossed the Straits of Gibraltar, and with how many troops and retinue, may never be determined with any great degree of certainty, because of the variegated nature of the sources.[11] Nevertheless, his arrival is crucial in that, from 712 AD, Muslims settled in the Peninsula. A basis for government of the province was established in

[9] Makki, 'The political history of Al-Andalus (92/711–897/1492)', p. 17; Makki does not however deny the importance of the skirmish, the point being that it was a minor act of belligerence. It is also worth noting that its date, traditionally given as 718 AD, is not certain, and is put four years later (722 AD), by Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain*, p. 26.

[10] There are few concrete details; A.A. El-Hajji, *Andalusian Diplomatic Relations with Western Europe during the Umayad Period (A.H. 138–366/A.D. 755–976)*, Beirut: Dar al-Irshad, 1970, reproduces the Arabic text of a treaty between the 'Andalusis' and the 'Christians' of 759 AD, in which it is stipulated that large amounts of gold, silver, horses, mules, cuirasses, swords and lances be handed over to the Umayyads yearly for a five-year period. The authenticity of the pact was called into question both by Pérez de Urbel and by Lévi-Provençal but, irrespective of this, it does provide an indication of the nature of transactions between North and South in the eighth century (pp. 61–2); Olivia Remie Constable, *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain: The Commercial Realignment of the Iberian peninsula, 900–1500*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, comments that there was communication between al-Andalus and Christian Spain in the eighth and ninth centuries, but does not go into detail (p. 3).

[11] An excellent appraisal of the material available and of the difficulties involved, has been published, in English translation, by María Jesús Viguera Molíns, 'The Muslim Settlement of Spania/Al-Andalus', in Manuela Marín (ed.), *The Formation of al-Andalus*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998, pp. 13–38; the study was originally published in Spanish in 1995.

Córdoba, and *walīs* were appointed from Damascus. The debate over the number of the Berbers and Arabs who settled in the Peninsula has been inconclusive but, in reality, may be a subsidiary issue. What was essential for the survival of the state of Islam was a reliable and effective military presence, to be called upon in times of emergency.[12] If it is accepted that the number of Arabs who came to reside permanently in the Iberian Peninsula was in actuality notional or barely above, then the nature of the priorities of the governors is apparent. Concern for the mass of the indigenous population would have come far down the list of preoccupations. The generals conscripted the troops for individual and specific campaigns; there needed always to be an adequate military presence in the cities where the Arabs were mainly congregated or, failing that, a sufficient defensive potential. There were problems with those Berbers who had decided to settle in places along the routes of the conquering armies, and indeed a revolt of Berbers in the 740s came close to bringing Arab rule in the Peninsula to an end, but divisions among the Arab factions themselves caused the greatest dissension. It could be argued that the rivalry and perpetual conflict among Arabs of different clans in the Peninsula was responsible for more unrest, and rendered the state more insecure than any conflict between Arab Muslims and non-Arab Muslims, of whatever origin the latter might have been.

Against this background, the condition of the indigenous communities within al-Andalus was, at best, a secondary issue. When a distinction has been made between those in the rural areas, as remote from the Arabs as they had been from the Visigoths, and the remnants of the Visigothic dukedoms themselves, then it is apparent that two entirely separate phenomena are involved. In the case of the rural communities, the former Hispano-Romans, the advent of the Arabs to replace the Visigoths, would have impinged upon them only very slightly. In the first place, it may be argued that those reliant on agriculture, or pastoral pursuits would have experienced little change. The production of olive oil, the rearing of horses, and transhumance, for example, were sources of prosperity not only for

---

[12] Viguera, ibid., quotes the recent estimates of scholars, which range from 40,000 or 50,000 Arabs, and 350,000 Berbers (J. Bosch), to 12,000 Berbers in the invading forces, and 18,000 Arabs who arrived with Musa in 712, to which has to be added a further 8,000 plus 2,000 clients who came with Balj in 740. The latter figures are those that can be deduced from 'the Arab chronicles' (pp. 36–7). Pedro Chalmeta, in his *Invasión e Islamicazión. La sumisión de Hispania y la formación de al-Andalus*, Madrid: Mapfre, 1994, summarizes details of numbers from disparate named Arabic sources (p. 126). There is virtually a consensus that the number of Arabs who entered the Peninsula with Tariq's invading forces in 711 was tiny. This force 'essentially' comprised 'non-Arabs, Berbers and *mawāli* or clients' (my translation). It is important to observe that, in the anonymous *Fatḥ al-Andalus*, edited by Luis Molina (Madrid: CSIC, 1994), the distinction is made between Arabs and Berbers. Arabs entered the Peninsula with Musa, alongside an unknown number of *mawāli.* The number of *mawāli* with Musa is reputed to have been so large that it was wondered why he did not rebel against the caliphate; see Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, p. 53 and p. 240, n. 391. The precise number of Arabs may never be determined, but may not have exceeded a few hundred at most. It was these representatives of the Umayyad Caliphate who attempted to impose the rule of Islam.

those in the remoter regions and townships, but also for the monastic houses. There is little reason to suppose that such sources of livelihood were adversely affected with the fall of the Visigoths, and consequent change in overlordship. If, however, restrictions on Jewish merchants impeded commerce in the last decades of the seventh century, then the case could be put that the lot of those in rural areas would have improved. If the decrees of enslavement of the Jews in 694 were enforced, for instance, then their impact on the rural communities would have been substantial.[13] It has, moreover, been observed that the Jews, as *ahl al-kitāb*, enjoyed a status in Islamic society that would have liberated them from any sanctions imposed upon them under previous regimes.[14] When the impositions were lifted, either through statute, or out of services rendered, military or otherwise, then the corresponding advantages for those with whom they had traditionally traded would have been welcome and noticeable. With the advent of Islam, then, the application of Islamic legislation, when it filtered into the rural areas, would have brought relief and alleviation from hardship.

There is another, perhaps less considered aspect, which relates to the integration of the earliest Berber settlers within the existing peninsular population. The Berbers had not submitted readily to the Muslim armies that had crossed the North African Mediterranean coastline to the Atlantic Ocean. Once defeated, though, they are said to have 'embraced Islam and shown themselves to be good Muslims'.[15] Yet, when they achieved success within the Peninsula, many established themselves there, settling in rural areas. The actual location of these settlements has been debated, and whether or not the Berbers occupied land that was later desired by the Arab Muslims, a *casus belli*.[16] Chalmeta has posited a reduced number of such settlers, and has stated that they were absorbed within the communities in al-Andalus.[17] The reason why their absorption was painless, one could argue, was not necessarily their paucity of numbers, but the similarity of their pastoral and agricultural way of life with that of the indigenous rural communities of the Iberian Peninsula and, above all, their language. If they were able to communicate in Latin, for example, then problems of assimilation would be

---

[13] Roger Collins, *Early Medieval Spain, Unity in Diversity, 400–1000*, London: Macmillan, 1983: 'the Jews are to be deprived of the ownership of their property, and they and their families are to be reduced to servitude … condemned never again to recover their free status' (p. 135).

[14] For example, José Orlandis, *Historia de España. La España visigoda*, Madrid: Gredos, 1977, p. 191, where the view is reiterated that the Jewish communities aided the invading forces: 'al cabo de un largo siglo de leyes antijudaicas … los hebreos andaluces fuesen unos valiosos colaboradores de la invasión musulmana … La ayuda militar judía fue en estos momentos preciosa para los invasores … .'

[15] Ar-Raqīq, quoted by H.T. Norris, *The Berbers in Arabic Literature*, London: Longmans, 1982, p. 63.

[16] Chalmeta, *Invasión e Islamicazión*: 'Estos bereberes de la primera ola se asentaron en amplias zonas de la Meseta y Extremadura … Vinieron buscando tierras, las encontraron y, entonces, se desparramaron, estableciéndose en ellas' (p. 231).

[17] Ibid.: 'Serán fácilmente absorbidas ya por arabo-musulmanes, ya por cristianos' (p. 232).

diminished, and integration with the indigenous population greatly facilitated. It is not conceivable that the Berbers, apart perhaps from a few of the officers, could have acquired much knowledge of Arabic, before arriving in al-Andalus, beyond perhaps the smattering required for understanding basic military commands.

From henceforward, pressure or restrictions from the Arab governors or from their representatives encroached as much upon those Berber settlers as they would have done on the indigenous population. Climatic considerations would also have played their part in the changing demographic map after the conquest, although evidence barely exists for the rural areas.

There is, however, as one would suppose, more data concerning the situation of the remaining Visigoths. These were the people with whom the Arabs would have had dealings. The eclipse of the Visigothic kingdom would have begun with the defeat of Roderic in 711.[18] Some information may be pieced together from, for example, the Latin Chronicle of 754, and the account of the ninth-century Arab historian, Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam. After Roderic's death which, according to the most cogent arguments, occurred during the battle with Ṭāriq b. Ziyād's forces, by the River Guadalete, his widow married the governor's son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.[19] Whether ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's later assassination was because of this marriage, or because, as Makki has argued, of the hatred of the caliph in Damascus for his father, his albeit brief association with Roderic's widow, indicates the level of prestige that certain members of the former Visigothic nobility enjoyed.[20]

Neither the circumstances of the marriage between ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz with Egilona, nor the place where it took place, are apparently known, but perhaps Córdoba may have been the venue, as this was the city where the Arabs had established their centre of government.[21] The Latin chronicle suggests that Egilona advised ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz to cast off the 'iugum arabicum' from his neck, encouraging him to reign in the kingdom of Iberia in his own right, whereas Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam ascribes his death to the belief of some of his followers that 'she had made him a Christian.'[22] The fact that ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz took refuge in a mosque, and began to recite from the Qur'ān, would seem to suggest that his apostasy was a myth subsequently created in order to justify his murder.[23] There are two further curious points. In the Latin account, it is the queen's advice – 'consilio Egilonis regine coniugis' – which led,

---

[18] For a disentanglement of information provided in the earliest of the Latin chronicles to deal with these events, the so-called *Crónica Mozárabe* of 754, see Roger Collins, *The Arab Conquest of Spain 710–797*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989, pp. 30–31.

[19] Makki, 'The political history of Al-Andalus (92/711–897/1492)', pp. 8–11, although omitting the detail of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's marriage; Collins, *The Arab Conquest*, p. 37.

[20] Makki, 'The political history of Al-Andalus', p. 11.

[21] Ioannis Gil (Juan Gil), *Corpvs Scriptorvm Mvzarabicorvm*, Madrid: CSIC, Instituto 'Antonio de Nebrija', 2 vols, 1973, I, pp. 33–5; partial English translation by Kenneth B. Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1990, reproduced in *Medieval Iberia. Readings from Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Sources*, ed. Olivia Remie Constable, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997, pp. 31–2.

[22] Translation by David A. Cohen, reproduced in Constable, ibid., p. 36.

[23] These and adjacent points are fully discussed and analysed by Chalmeta, *Invasión e Islamicazión*, pp. 249–54), who emphasizes ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's achievement: 'lo verdaderamente

directly or indirectly, to the death of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, whereas according to the Arab historian, Egilona goaded him to take steps to make himself more regal, so that his people would respect him in the same way that her late husband Roderic had been glorified as king. In both accounts, Egilona's role in the downfall of her husband is apparent. Although no blame is attached to her in the Arabic narrative, she is shown to have been both inordinately wealthy, and eager for her husband's status to be recognized, to the point of paranoia. In neither account is the language of communication between husband and wife mentioned; one is simply left to speculate that both the Latin and Arabic versions of events leading up to the death of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz are elaborating on hearsay. Is it conceivable that Egilona would have acquired a sufficent command of Arabic to use the language reported in the Arabic account? It is even far less likely that ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz would have spoken anything other than Arabic. It is relevant here to note Chalmeta's reference to a belief, in certain quarters, that ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz had become 'de-Arabized', that is, he had adopted non-Arabic practices. As the term used to describe these practices is ʿ*ajamī*, it is legitimate to suppose that he himself might have acquired some knowledge of that colloquial Latin idiom that would have enabled him to communicate with his wife in a rudimentary form of her own language.[24]

Perhaps this is the most striking example of the interference of a prominent member of the former Visigothic nobility in political affairs after the conquest, but there are other instances which are equally revealing. The treaty made between Theodomirus and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in 713 is an instance of the means whereby prominent Visigoths could continue to exercise the privileged position and authority which they had enjoyed within the Visigothic state. The well-known text is generally regarded as evidence of the bestowal of *dhimmī* status upon a member of the indigenous population but, perhaps, the reality of the situation may have been somewhat different.[25] The text is, essentially a 'non-assimilation charter'. Theodomirus's ascendency in the region around Murcia may have extended back to when Roderic was king, and indeed it may have been he who alerted Roderic of the potential danger posed to the kingdom by the presence of armed Berbers near Algeciras in the spring of 711. In order to have been able to negotiate such favourable terms, it is assumed that he did not provide military opposition to the advance of the Arabs, such as had occurred, for example, in Écija whose 'lord', after a siege of a month, was captured and imprisoned.[26] His control over the surrounding region is endorsed, and his followers are also exempt from penalties; they will not be enslaved, nor separated from their families, nor put to death. These 'followers' would have been Visigoths, like Theodomirus, in positions of authority over the mass of the indigenous population. The cities that are covered by this pact

---

trascendental de la actuación de ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz fue ser quien inauguró la política "de ocupación", sentando así las bases de lo que será al-Andalus' (p. 253).

[24] Ibid., p. 254.

[25] The treaty has been published many times. For convenience, the version used is that of aḍ-Ḍabbī, in Constable's translation in Constable, *Medieval Iberia. Readings …*, pp. 37–8. See also, Chalmeta, *Invasión e Islamicazión*, pp. 215–16.

[26] Chalmeta, ibid., p. 147.

range over a broad region; they include Orihuela, Lorca, Mula and Alicante, and the agreement was binding on the Arabs and on Theodomirus during his lifetime. The stipulation, in the treaty, that slaves (*al-ʿabīd*) pay half the amount of tribute as that exacted on Theodomirus and his followers, suggest an existing distinction within society. The category of 'slaves' is perhaps one that comprised all those who did not form part of the ruling Visigothic classes, in other words, those amongst the indigenous people who worked the land, either in an agricultural or pastoral capacity, and about whose condition, after the invasion of the Iberian Peninsula, so little is known. The evidence of the treaty confirms the remoteness of these small farmers from those cities which the Arabs had, by this stage, garrisoned, and from Islam. Subject, then, to paying specified annual tributes, the lives of Theodomirus, those of his followers and the rural communities within his territory, were largely unaffected by the advent of Islam in their particular region. There are references in the treaty to religion and to churches, although the wording on the various recensions of the text differs.[27] One of the undertakings of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz is that churches will not be burnt, a phrase present in all three texts. Two of the Arabic versions, those of al-Ḥimyarī and ad-Ḍabbī, also incorporate the detail that the churches should not be deprived of what is worshipped within them.[28] The whereabouts of these churches is not specified, but they were presumably located in the seven cities mentioned. These cities were to be ceded to the Muslims in return for the terms of the capitulations. Furthermore, the treaty indicates that 'they [the beneficiaries of the pact] should not be forced against their inclinations in the matter of their religion.'[29] The interpretation of this phrase has been that Christians should not be 'coerced' (Constable) into accepting Islam, or obliged to abjure ('renunciar') their religion (Chalmeta). Lévi-Provençal elaborates, perhaps more primly, that they should not be harassed or disturbed ('inquiétés') in the practice of their religion. It is a natural assumption that deductions may be made on the basis of this document as to the nature of Christianity in the area to

[27] The texts consulted are as follows: aḍ-Ḍabbī, *Bughyat al-multamis fi ta'rīkh rijāl ahl al-Andalus*, ed. Francisco Codera, 1885, Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana, Vol. III, Brill, 1889, Arabic text, p. 259, English translation in Constable, *Medieval Iberia. Readings ...*, pp. 37–8; Francisco J. Simonet, *Historia de los Mozárabes de España* (1867), Madrid: Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia, Vol. XIII, 1903, reprinted Amsterdam: Oriental Press, 1967, study, pp. 52–8, and text, pp. 797–8, with Spanish translation, and accompanied by two early, but corrupt, Spanish versions; *La Crónica del Moro Rasis* [fourteenth century], ed. Pascual de Gayangos, *Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia*, Madrid, Vol. VIII, 1852, and Prudencio de Sandoval, *Historia de cinco obispos*, Pamplona, 1615; al-Ḥimyarī, *La Péninsule Ibérique au Moyen-Âge* (Arab text and trans. by E. Lévi-Provençal, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1938), p. 79, and pp. 62–3 of the Arabic text; al-Udhrī, *Fragmentos geográfico-históricos de al-Masalik*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ahwānī, Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Islámicos, 1965, Arabic text, pp. 4–5; Chalmeta, *Invasión e Islamicazión*, with translation and study, pp. 215–16.

[28] Aḍ-Ḍabbī has *mulk* (translated by Constable as 'realm'), rather than the repetition of the word for 'churches' here, but it seems more likely that the treaty was concerned with property within places of worship.

[29] This is my literal rendering of the phrase found, with a slight variant, in all three of the Arabic texts consulted. There is no reference to Christianity, only to religion.

which the treaty relates. Nonetheless, the texts were not contemporary, and may therefore, in their details, reflect a template of the kind of capitulation granted to non-belligerent subject peoples at the time of their respective compositions.

The document itself is an indicator of the species of pact made between Arab leaders or chieftains and those in the category of *dhimmī*. Their way of life, whatever it had been, was permitted to continue, consequent upon acceptance of subject status, exemplified in the payment of the yearly *jizya*, the land-levy imposed on non-Muslims.[30] The terms of the agreement, however, make it clear that the requirements imposed upon Theodomirus are consonant with the payment of *jizya* under the *dhimma* system, and correspond to treaties made with other cities that had succumbed to conquest in the eastern Mediterranean Islamic world.[31] The specific items to be paid over in taxation yearly comprise money, one dinar; quantities of wheat, barley, vinegar, honey and olive oil. In the variant of the Tiflis 'peace terms' (642–43), aṭ-Ṭabarī quotes the payment of the *jizya* at 'the rate of one full dinar per household'. In al-Balādhurī's terms for Tiflis, the inhabitants of districts that have vineyards and mills must make a one-off payment of 100 dirhams.[32] In the Iberian Peninsula in 713, the considerations that weighed most strongly with Theodomirus were political and economic rather than religious ones.

If he had been prominent in Roderic's faction prior to the invasion, then the outcome for Theodomirus through what one supposes to have been the careful negotiating skills of a mature politician, known in Peninsular politics as early as

---

[30] It is worth observing, though, that only al-Udhrī, of those sources verified, specifically uses the word *jizya*.

[31] The English texts of several of these are supplied in Bernard Lewis (ed. and trans.), *Islam from the Prophet Muhammad to the Capture of Constantinople*, London: Macmillan, 1974, I: *Politics and War*, no. 65, 'Peace Terms (633–643)', pp. 234–41. The text of the 'Peace terms' for Jerusalem mentions people who have been accorded 'safe-conduct for their persons, their churches, and their crosses, on their way to safety', suggesting that the objects of worship may well have been crosses; see note 26, above.

[32] Ibid., pp. 240–41. The items in the terms of the treaty given by aḍ-Ḍabbī and al-Ḥimyarī, but not by al-Udhrī, and therefore omitted in Chalmeta's translation (p. 216), include the extra stipulation that 'four [liquid] measures of *tila'* were to be paid in addition. This word has been variously translated by Lévi-Provençal as 'moût' ['must', partially fermented grape-juice] (*La Péninsule Ibérique au Moyen-Âge*, p. 79), and, somewhat improbably, as 'concentrated fruit-juice' by Constable (*Medieval Iberia. Readings ...*, p. 37). The definition offered by E.W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon* [1874], Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1968, Part 5, p. 1876, is: 'Any thick beverage' or 'wine'; 'expressed juice of grapes cooked until the quantity of two thirds has gone by evaporation'. In his article on *khamr* in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (New Edn, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978, Vol. IV, pp. 994–7), A.J. Wensinck, using Mālik b. Anas as a source, tells the story of the visit of [the Caliph] 'Umar to Syria. The locals asked if they could prepare something for him to drink with 'no inebriating power'. On 'Umar's consent, they cooked the beverage: 'Then he said: "This is *til'a ...* " Then he allowed them to drink it.' According to the first chapter of the same *kitāb*, however, 'Umar punishes a man who had become drunk on *til'a.* Juice from grapes, prepared by pressing them only, was considered as wine' (p. 995).

693, was far from unsatisfactory.[33] If, as it has been reported, he went to Damascus to ensure the ratification of his treaty, then he was aware of what might be termed its transcendental significance. His date of death is unknown, but he was succeeded, if not as duke, then as heir to his father's estates, by his son Athanagildus, for whom the terms of the treaty were still valid in 754.[34] It can be argued, then, that adroit diplomacy within three years of the invasion resulted in security for the landed population of large areas of the south-east of the Peninsula for the ensuing half-century. The circumstances in which this situation came to an end are far from clear, but this would have occurred around the time of the advent of the first independent *amīr*, ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān ad-Dākhil in 756.[35]

The information available concerning other prominent figures within the former Visigothic hierarchy, who continued to live in the territories now controlled by the Arabs, endorses what is known of Theodomirus. At the same time, very little light is shed on the majority indigenous population. For example, the three sons of Wittiza, Roderic's predecessor as king, are singled out as having possessed estates in the west of al-Andalus (Alamundus, Sevilla), in the centre of the south (Ardobastus, Córdoba), and in Toledo (Romulus). The argument that they achieved rights to possess these as a consequence of betraying Roderic in the decisive battle, by coming to an arrangement with Ṭāriq, whereby they would desert at a significant moment, has been disputed and dismissed by Chalmeta. His conclusion that they were to enjoy a status similar to that of Theodomirus and other surviving remnants of the Visigothic nobility in al-Andalus seems feasible.[36]

Falling in the same category is the *comes* Casius, a count in the northern region bordering on that of the Basques before the invasion. He submitted to Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, and 'was entrusted with the defence of the Pyrenean frontier'.[37] He

[33] H.V. Livermore, *The Origins of Spain and Portugal*, London: George Allen & Unwin, 1971, p. 251; the prestige of Theodomirus's ducal status, if such it was, would have been enhanced by his victory over a Byzantine naval expedition (p. 259); Kenneth Baxter Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers of Medieval Spain*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1990, 2nd edn, 1999), p. 151; and see José Eduardo López Pereira, *Estudio crítico sobre la Crónica Mozárabe de 754*, Zaragoza: Anúbar, 1980, pp. 41–3. For Miguel Cruz Hernández, however, 'the treaty with Tudmir is a simple case of a Wittizian [*sic*] nobleman "collaborating"' ('The Social Structure of al-Andalus during the Muslim Occupation (711–55) and the Founding of the Umayyad Monarchy'), in *The Formation of al-Andalus*, Part 1, *History and Society*, ed. Manuela Marín, Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998, pp. 51–83, at p. 57); originally published in *Awrāq* II (1979), 25–43.

[34] Collins, *Early Medieval Spain*, p. 206; Orlandis, *Historia de España*, p. 220. The date of his death in the *Chronicle of 754* is given as 744 (Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers*, p. 151). There is evidence that Athanagildus enjoyed a position of considerable standing in al-Andalus as, according to the *Chronicle of 754*, he was able to pay a substantial fine in a very short space of time, before being restored to the new governor's favour, and being remunerated accordingly (Wolf, ibid., p. 152). See Simonet, *Historia de los Mozárabes*, for a graphic account of the travails of Athanagildus (p. 200).

[35] Chalmeta, *Invasión e Islamicazión*, p. 363.

[36] Ibid., pp. 140–42, who blames the false tradition on 'la ignorancia histórica' of Ibn al-Qūṭiyya.

[37] Livermore, *The Origins of Spain and Portugal*, p. 299.

followed in Mūsā's footsteps to Damascus, where he was received by the caliph, and confirmed in the possession of all his lands. It is furthermore claimed that he adopted Islam in the East at the hands of the Caliph al-Walīd.[38] This detail is significant in that it apparently shows the early assimilation of a prominent indigenous leader to the religion and way of life of the newly established regime in al-Andalus. Livermore has observed that 'it was impossible for the Muslims to take control without the support of at least part of the population.'[39] Yet the 'support of the population' was not dependent on whether or not these supporters were Muslims. The explanation may be more prosaic. Casius was able, simply, to negotiate a better deal by complying with all of the requests of the caliph, declaring his willingness to become a Muslim, and adopting client status. It was a politically expedient decision for him to have to make. He and his territories would have been exempt from the payment of the *jizya* and, one suspects, certainly during his lifetime, free from any appreciable external interference thus, to all intents and purposes, ensuring the continuance of the *status quo.*

One feature which links together Theodomirus, the sons of Wittiza, and Casius, is that all are reputed to have gone to Damascus to have had their treaties ratified by the Caliph. It seems surprising, *prima facie*, that these nobles, with so much at stake in their own respective areas, should have undertaken such a perilous journey. Would they, of their own free will, have risked all to encounter the titular head of Islam at the other extreme of the Mediterranean? The motive provided for each visit is the ratification of arrangements made by subordinates of the caliph in the Iberian Peninsula. Yet, how, and in what circumstances would the existence of a greater authority have been communicated to them? The notion of Visigothic nobles trooping across North Africa, or even venturing by sea to Alexandria, seems, at first sight, improbable. There remains the possibility that they were taken to the caliph against their will, in the retinue of the vanquished, as part of proof of the importance of the conquest. Ibn ʿIdhārī, in his *al-Bayyān al-Mughrib,* refers to the triumphal cortège of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, when he was recalled to Damascus to give an account of his achievements in al-Andalus, in 714. Amongst the foreign dignitaries were 'a hundred kings of al-Andalus, and twenty kings of cities conquered in North Africa'.[40] This description appears to be an exaggeration, but if it masks the

---

[38] Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara*, cited in Alberto Cañada Juste, 'El posible solar originario de los Banu Qasi', in *Homenaje a Don José María Lacarra; Estudios Medievales*, Zaragoza: Anúbar, Vol. I, 1977, pp. 33–8, at p. 35; Chalmeta, *Invasión e Islamicazión*, p. 191. His descendants formed the noteworthy and influential Banū Qasī, who controlled the area west of Zaragoza stretching as far as Pamplona in present-day Navarra.

[39] Livermore, *The Origins of Spain and Portugal*, p. 300.

[40] This detail, together with the Spanish translation of the passage of Ibn ʿIdhārī, is supplied by Chalmeta, *Invasión e Islamicazión*, p. 141. Chalmeta believes that if the sons of Witiza ever made their way to Damascus, then they would have been amongst those escorted by Mūsā. Under any other circumstance, such a journey would have been unlikely. See also, pp. 198–201, where the name of Casius is included amongst those in Mūsā's vast retinue, comprising an inordinate number of dignitaries, slaves and prisoners, not to mention the extraordinary display of wealth plundered from the cities and countries conquered, as is testified by many Arabic sources.

pedestrian truth that North African and Visigothic nobles were corralled *en route* in substantial quantities to attempt to impress the caliph on arrival in Damascus, then an explanation of subsequent reports of agreements sanctioned by the caliph may be forthcoming. Sulaymān, the caliph who succeeded al-Walīd in 715, was not well disposed towards Mūsā, whose reception in Damascus and eventual fall from favour is a *cause célèbre*.[41] Mūsā never returned to al-Andalus, but what of those who had accompanied him, brought to Damascus against their will? Although the booty is likely to have been incorporated within the revenues of the state, the destiny of the kings, princes and others is not known. Maybe, the sons of Wittiza were granted favours in the wake of the destitution of Mūsā, and made the arduous return journey with the approval of a caliph who was unhappy with the way that affairs of state in al-Andalus had been managed and were evolving. The situation of Casius is different, in the light of his reported acceptance of Islam, and the granting to him of client status. In his case, negotiations would have been made regarding estates in the north of the Peninsula, eminently satisfactory to him, and agreeable to the Caliph, because of Casius's avowal of Islam. If the sons of Wittiza together with Casius, and perhaps others unnamed, were taken to Damascus against their will, or at least reluctantly, then the eventual outcome of their visit to the capital of Islam would have exceeded all their expectations. They were free to return to their country and, subject to certain not too demanding conditions, to continue to enjoy the prestige and prosperity, that may have seemed to have vanished forever in the aftermath of the Islamic conquest of their kingdom and lands.

The thought remains, though, that the reference to visits by Visigothic nobles to Damascus may be a stock theme incorporated in Arabic accounts, perhaps to extol the achievements of the early conquerors. In this regard, it is worth noting that the journeys of Visigoths to the East are not recorded in the *Chronicle of 754,* the earliest of the so-called Latin sources. The marrying of data in this *Chronicle* with later Arabic sources however, has always been a critical exercise. Even if no hard and fast conclusion can be reached, three strands may be separated from the mass of available information. First, Mūsā was recalled to Damascus, and took with him tangible evidence of the wealth of the lands conquered under his superintendence. Such 'evidence' may have comprised people as well as looted treasure-chests. Secondly, there was a treaty, drawn up between ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and Theodomirus, which points unequivocally to 'deals' done between Muslims and the subject communities, according to a pattern similar to that adopted in Eastern Islamic lands. It is apparent, thirdly, that the indigenous, largely rural population was not disaffected when Arab leaders settled in cities, and began commanding political affairs in the Peninsula. From this, it may be deduced that former elements of the Visigothic nobility either collaborated with the Muslims in order to retain possession of territory previously governed or recently acquired, paying the statutory tax for the privilege, or adopted Islam to avoid such taxation and, in consequence perhaps, to lay the foundation for autonomous government in outlying regions.

---

[41] Chalmeta provides a detailed and gripping account, shedding much light on the workings of the Islamic state at the time (ibid., pp. 201–209).

An evaluation of the role of the ecclesiastical hierarchy upon the advent of the Muslims requires the assimilation of information as diverse as that relating to the political aspects. A fairly clearcut example is the behaviour of Sinderedus, Metropolitan of Toledo, at the time of the invasion. The little that is known of this primate comes from a paragraph in the *Chronicle of 754,* curious information, which when analysed, provides a far from consistent picture.[42] He is described as the metropolitan bishop of the royal city (Toledo), of godly memory, and a saintly man who, at the instigation of the Visigothic King Wittiza, persistently harassed the aged and worthy men that he found in the Church that had been entrusted to him.[43] A little while after the invasion of the Muslims and their establishment of control in Toledo, he became frightened 'expabescens' and, against the decrees or orders ('decreta') of the elders of the Church, he abandoned his flock. The metaphor of the bishop as a shepherd caring for his sheep is reminiscent of the Gospel of St John. The chronicler refers to the act of abandonment on the part of Sinderedus not as that of a shepherd, but as that of a mercenary, or someone who is hired to do a day's work ('mercennarius'). The Gospel graphically describes the conduct of the 'hired man, who is not the shepherd and does not own the sheep, [who] deserts them when he sees the wolf coming; he runs away, leaving the wolf to tear and scatter them, just because he is a hired man, who has no interest in the sheep'.[44] This is a far from dispassionate metaphor for the chronicler to use in the circumstances, and would bear out López Pereira's view that the author favoured Wittiza, and therefore sought to adorn his account of the flight of Sinderedus with colourful terms, leaving the reader in no doubt as to his culpability. According to Chalmeta, Sinderedus had to go, as he was perceived to be within the faction of the late king, Roderic. He had, after all, anointed him.[45] As Livermore has commented, the departure of Sinderedus may have been prompted not solely by the advent of the Muslims, but by 'internal strife'.[46]

He may well have perceived his own situation as being untenable, and therefore he sought refuge in Rome where, as Collins notes, he 'appears as a signatory to the council held in Rome in 721'.[47] Although the phrase that is used in the *Chronicle* is 'Romanie patrie', the assumption is that the 'patrie' here signifies 'state' rather

---

[42] Gil, *Corpus*, I, paragraph 44, p. 32; Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers*, paragraph 53, p. 131. Scrupulously following the *Chronicle,* Orlandis summarizes what is known of Sinderedus, *Historia de España*, p. 289.

[43] This detail reinforces López Pereira's view that the author of the *Chronicle* belonged to the pro-Wittizan faction (*Estudio crítico sobre la Crónica Mozárabe de 754*, p. 106); Livermore conjectures that 'if Sindered had pestered his fellow-bishops on behalf of Witiza, it was to secure a council at which the succession of the Witizan clan would be assured' (*The Origins of Spain and Portugal*, p. 289). Such a council was never convened and, after the death of Wittiza, his family lost its authority in Toledo, and Roderic was appointed king. The assumption is made that it was Sinderedus who, as primate, anointed Roderic king.

[44] The Biblical reference is given by Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers*, p. 132; the Biblical text is taken from James Moffatt, *A New Translation of the Bible*, John X:12–13.

[45] Chalmeta, *Invasión e Islamicazión*, p. 154: 'prudente era poner tierra por medio … .'

[46] Livermore, *The Origins of Spain and Portugal*, p. 289.

[47] Collins, *The Arab Conquest*, p. 43.

than fatherland. In other words, Sinderedus was not a Roman returning home, but a Visigothic ecclesiast who was seeking refuge in the mother Church. The motives for his flight were political, it can be inferred, although there was some pressure exerted upon him to stay in his post. At a time when the Wittizan faction was receiving largesse from the Muslims, his position as leader of the Christian Church in the Peninsula was evidently compromised. The emotive metaphor of the shepherd deserting his flock has the appearance of being the gloss put on his departure by somebody who was politically hostile. The fact that someone as prominent in the Christian Church as Sinderedus should leave his see in Toledo and reside in Rome, is not necessarily testimony of religious persecution. There is no suggestion of the Muslims being involved in the political infighting that led to his departure.

The portrait of another Visigothic dignitary, Oppa, is difficult to describe with any degree of certainty. As he is mentioned in the *Chronicle of 754* and also, with greater prominence, in the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*, it is necessary to try to disentangle the confused information. Recent historians referring to Oppa agree that he was the son of King Egica, and therefore a brother of Wittiza, and uncle to Roderic.[48] The fact that some Latin chronicles show him to be to a degree culpable in the 'fall' of the Visigothic state, demonstrates, in some measure, their need to find a scapegoat. He was entrusted with one of the flanks of Roderic's army in the battle against Ṭāriq; his defection, together with that of his brother, Sisbert, brought about Roderic's defeat.[49] Similarly, at his instigation, certain Visigothic nobles were executed on Mūsā's orders in Toledo. Thirdly, and most damningly, he formed part of the Arab-Muslim army that attacked Pelayo in the Asturias and, indeed, was involved in a notorious verbal exchange with Pelayo, before the start of the engagement. The Arab commander was killed, and Oppa captured.[50] The matter is worth further analysis. According to the *Chronicle of 754*, Oppa was a collaborator, conniving with the invading forces in order to secure his own ends. There must have been a great deal at stake for him to have been involved in the execution of 'nonnullos seniores nobiles uiros' in Toledo.[51] If, in effect, through his

---

[48] Oppa and Sisbertus were '*hermanos* de Witiza' (Chalmeta, *Invasión e Islamicazión*, p. 133, his italics); the Arabic historians were in error in stating that they were the sons of Wittiza. Livermore refers to the records of two Oppas, one who was Bishop of Tuy at the Council of Toledo in 683, and another who was Bishop of Elche in 693. It is not clear whether it was one of these two who is cited by the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* as Bishop of Sevilla (Livermore, *The Origins of Spain and Portugal*, pp. 290–91). Although Oppa is also attributed with the bishopric of Toledo, Collins concurs that he was Bishop of Sevilla: 'a tenth-century episcopal list seems to indicate the existence of a bishop Oppa of Seville at some point in the early eighth century' (Collins, *The Arab Conquest*, p. 33).

[49] Chalmeta, *Invasión e Islamicazión*, p. 139.

[50] See Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada in the thirteenth century, who provides a rich and graphic account of this encounter. Reference is made to the Spanish translation: *Historia de los hechos de España*, translated by Juan Fernández Valverde, Madrid: Alianza, 1989, Book IV, cap. II, pp. 151–2.

[51] Gil, *Corpus*, I, p. 32. 'Ha eliminado a los miembros del *senatus* visigodo que respaldaron a Rodrigo ... ' (Chalmeta, *Invasión e Islamicazión*, p. 69).

assistance, the remnants of Roderic's faction in Toledo were eliminated, then his actions appear to have been motivated by the desire to see the reinstatement of the Wittizan family at the expense of the now discredited and demoralized adherents of Roderic.[52] For this to be a feasible hypothesis, the actions of Oppa the Wittizan, *vis-à-vis* his political opponents, should *de facto* be seen to be consistent. If, for example, Oppa and his nephews, the sons of Wittiza, believed that the Muslims were mercenaries, and that their presence in the Peninsula would be limited to the campaigning period and the immediate post-conquest years, then using them as part of their political machinations would be readily comprehensible. This does not, however, explain Oppa's behaviour towards Pelayo in the north. According to later Latin chronicles, notably the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*, Oppa was despatched by Ṭāriq, in the company of forces under an Arabic commander, to address the danger posed by Pelayo.[53] Following the account of this chronicle, before the battle took place Oppa, who is given the title of bishop, preaches what amounts to appeasement, and entreats Pelayo to 'take advantage of many good things and enjoy the partnership of the Chaldeans'.[54] Pelayo rejects the entreaty, and wins the battle. The exchanges between the two Visigothic nobles show that the author of the account had a political axe to grind, and the presence of Oppa among the Muslim militia has been denounced as legendary. What perhaps may be inferred from these perplexing snatches of information is that Oppa, as a bishop and as Wittiza's brother, sought to exploit the political situation to his own advantage and to that of the surviving Wittizan faction. His episcopal meddling in affairs, the significance of which he did not and perhaps could not comprehend, takes on the characteristic mantle of the collaborator, despised as such by later chroniclers and historians.

A brother of Oppa and sometimes mentioned in tandem with him is Sisbert. According to an Arabic source, reconstructed by Chalmeta, each commanded a flank of Roderic's forces in the battle against the invading Muslims, and defected at a crucial moment.[55] He does not appear to have been an ecclesiastic, although there was a bishop of the same name, allegedly of Toledo, who was deposed by Egica in 693.[56] An apparent distinction between the two is drawn by Orlandis, for whom one should be designated 'primado de Toledo', and the other 'hijo de Égica'

[52] Chalmeta, ibid., p. 155, reaches this conclusion. Oppa was Ṭāriq's mentor in Toledo, prior to Mūsā's arrival, and his [Ṭāriq's] politics 'se convierte … en ejecutora de las fobias revanchistas del "partido" witizano'.

[53] Livermore, *The Origins of Spain and Portugal*, p. 290. See also Ann Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus (711–100)*, Richmond: Curzon, 2002, pp. 100–101.

[54] Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers*, p. 166.

[55] Chalmeta, *Invasión e Islamicazión*, pp. 139–40; the source in question is the anonymous *Fath al-Andalus*; see also, al-Ḥimyarī, *La Péninsule Ibérique au Moyen-Âge* (*supra*, n. 25), p. 14, and p. 10 of the Arabic text, which reads Shishbut (Sis[e]but), the name of a Visigothic king, and applied to the Visigothic nobility likewise in the seventh century.

[56] Collins, *The Arab Conquest*, p. 80. If one concurs with Livermore to the effect that Oppa's brother's name was, perhaps Sebastian, then no conjectural link can be made with a Bishop Sisbert at a date ten years earlier, *The Origins of Spain and Portugal*, p. 290.

although, from the concluding summary to his study of Visigothic Spain, it may be deduced that the two were one and the same.[57]

It would be tempting to interpret these diverse pieces of information as evidence for the practice, among the highest ranks of the Visigothic nobility, of acquiring ecclesiastical posts for political advancement, but this conclusion does not fit all the known examples. The Muslim invasion increased Visigothic factionalism, as each group strove to take advantage of the presence of the invaders, and to exploit their military strength to their own advantage. Sindered, however, was not forced from his archiepiscopal see by the Muslims, but by Wittiza, the villain of the piece, according to later distinguished historians of Toledo, such as Francisco de Pisa writing in the sixteenth century.[58] It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that, after the invasion, the squabbling amongst a tiny remnant of Visigoths was of little consequence to the indigenous population of the Peninsula. The change of overlordship conferred upon them a privileged status, which they came to appreciate, through the gradual establishment of Islam over two-and-a-half centuries.

---

57 Orlandis, *Historia de España*, pp. 322 and 294. He refers to the increasing tendency of bishoprics to be occupied by members of aristocratic Visigothic families, and adds that 'estos obispos demostraron, a veces – como en los casos de Sisberto de Toledo o de Oppa de Sevilla – tener más talente señorial que espíritu eclesiástico' (p. 294).

58 Francisco de Pisa, *Descripcion de la Imperial Civdad de Toledo …*, Toledo*:* Pedro Rodriguez, 1605 (facsimile, Madrid, 1974), Part I, Cap. XXX, p. 155.

Chapter 3

The Case of Córdoba in the Ninth Century

During the Umayyad emirate, relatively little is known of the indigenous population in the urban centres of al-Andalus. In Córdoba, established as the seat of power after ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān assumed control in 756 AD, a handful of Arab families were striving to assert their authority, not at that early stage over al-Andalus as a whole, an unachievable even Utopian aspiration at that time, but in the city and immediate surrounds of Córdoba itself.[1] During the period between ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān's death in 788 and the accession of ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān III in 912, the Peninsula was wracked with conflict.[2] It is during the reign of ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān I, that the role of the count (*comes*, Arabic *qūmis*), is recognized as the one that officiated over the non-Muslim communities. The earliest holder of this prestigious post was Artobas, the Visigothic nobleman, and a son of Wittiza, who owned estates around Córdoba.[3] He was famous for being knowledgeable and astute, and was granted the title of *qūmis* by the *amīr* himself.[4] The reported dialogue between Artobas and ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān in Ibn al-Qūṭiyya's account, if it bears any relation to reality, is a precious testimony, revealing both the *amīr*'s magnanimity and the dignified stance of this ancient Visigoth.[5] It is generally thought that the sons of Wittiza profited from the Muslim invasion, and the story that ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān, some forty-five years later, should show envy towards Artobas on account of the latter's inordinate wealth, is quite plausible. The possessions of Artobas were confiscated; he was reduced to

1 Chalmeta, in *Invasión e Islamización*, Chapter VIII, pp. 349–87, has undertaken a thorough examination of the foundation of the emirate in the Peninsula by ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān I, ad-Dākhil, drawing on the relevant sources.

2 '[In Córdoba] confrontations between Arab and Muwallads occurred frequently throughout the ninth century and were often bloody indeed': Luis Molina, 'An Arab among Muwallads: Muhammad ibn ʿAbd al-Salam al-Khushaní', in *The Formation of al-Andalus*, 1998, Part I, pp. 115–28, at p. 126. This study was first published in 1994.

3 Chalmeta, *Invasión e Islamización*, p. 220.

4 Ibid., p. 334.

5 For Ibn al-Qūṭiyya's text, see the Spanish translation of Julián Ribera in *Historia de la conquista de España por Abenalcotía el cordobés*, Madrid: Revista de Archivos, 1926, pp. 29–31. Ribera, in his informative prologue, noted that Ibn al-Qūṭiyya takes his material from a range of sources: 'introduce en su crónica multitud de relatos en que se narra la conducta del elemento indígena español' (p. xxiv). The story of the wealth of Artobas is told by Joaquín Vallvé, drawing on Ribera's translation in 'The "Zalmedina" of Córdoba', in *The Formation of al-Andalus*, Part I, pp. 392–3. Vallvé's study was first published in 1981, 'España en el siglo VIII: ejército y sociedad', *Al-Andalus*, 43 (1978), 51–112, at pp. 93–8.

living with his nephews in poverty, and finally lodged in Córdoba where he was granted an audience with the *amīr*. In a theatrical scene, the Visigoth berates the *amīr*, blaming him for the discontent of the people of al-Andalus. ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān, far from reacting in a hostile manner, restores twenty of the appropriated estates to Artobas, gives him fine garments and presents, and confers upon him the rank of *comes*.[6] Although it is understandable to link Artobas with the Christians of al-Andalus, there is no indication that he was anything other than a Visigothic noble, who dealt shrewdly and with political expediency, with those who were then perceived to be the occupying forces of invaders, his overriding concern being to preserve and secure his own position and that of his associates.

The overall picture, then, of the high-ranking Visigoths who achieved prominence after the Muslim conquest, is that they prospered. They seemed not to have had preoccupations of a religious nature, whether Christian or Muslim, unless they themselves belonged to the hierarchy of the Church. If the Muslims of al-Andalus applied *dhimmī* status to the conquered peoples, then there was neither urgency nor compulsion for the indigenous population to convert to Islam. Visigothic noblemen 'adjusted' their political allegiance often, one is led to suppose, with an eye to the main chance, without embracing the religion of the Muslims. Those with ecclesiastical responsibilities continued to administer their dioceses, without undue interference. The decisions that were made by the majority of the surviving representatives of the Visigothic nobility would not, in the eighth century, have necessarily reflected the changing political situation although, after 756, the need to adapt to different customs and procedures would inexorably become more pressing.

The history of the eighth and ninth centuries in al-Andalus is one of conflict among Muslims, mainly among Arab Muslims and non-Arab Muslims, although there was intense rivalry between certain Arab Muslim families which also erupted into violence, reflecting a similar pattern of feuding at the other extreme of the Mediterranean.[7] In the city itself, the urban population was ethnically mixed. The ruling Arab families constituted the minority: they were Muslim, they communicated in Arabic and their written language was the classical Arabic of the Qurʾān. Deliberate attempts were made to promote this language, including notable inducements to prominent scholars in the East and offers to them of large financial rewards, if they agreed to settle in al-Andalus. Berbers lived in Córdoba, its environs, and elsewhere in al-Andalus, in some numbers. It is safe to say that they outnumbered the Arabs but it is difficult to determine how many there were of them. References are made, however, to the importation of Berbers into al-Andalus by ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān I, and this was almost certainly the practice amongst

---

[6] The story is told, *inter alia*, by Livermore, *The Origins of Spain and Portugal*, who comments that 'this fable is evidently designed to illustrate changing relationships' (p. 333). Whether the 'promotion' of Artobas implies a subordination of himself and of the Christians of al-Andalus, is a debatable point.

[7] A detailed account of the turbulent politics of the first half of the eighth century is provided by A.D. Taha, *The Muslim Conquest and Settlement of North Africa and Spain*, London: Routledge, 1989.

his Umayyad successors as *amīrs* who sought, by this means, to curb the power of the Arab factions opposed to them.[8] They were mercenary troops mainly, they are assumed to have been Muslims, and they would only have had a smattering of colloquial Arabic.[9] The bulk of the urban community of Córdoba, however, must have comprised the indigenous population, the inhabitants of the Peninsula when the Muslims invaded. As the Muslims grew in influence and became established, parts of the indigenous population from outside the city would over time have moved into the capital, and this I believe to have been the only major population movement during the emirate. The situation changed dramatically after the emirate became a caliphate in 929 AD. From what evidence can be gleaned from the Arabic sources, some of these urban migrants would have remained Romance speakers, and some would have acquired a knowledge of Arabic.

The hostility of the Christians towards Islam seems to have been reserved, for the most part, to the written page, the public denunciation of Muḥammad being confined, by and large, to the troubled decade 850–59, although some vituperation is apparent in Latin writings over a longer period. The Muslims appear to have been indifferent to this written abuse, if they were aware of it at all, although they were obliged to adopt restrictive measures when the abuse was made public. There is no reason to suppose that the Muslim authorities pursued an antagonistic policy towards Christians in general, nor that they were deliberately singling out Christians in order to make examples of them. Blasphemies uttered in public places violated the *dhimma*.[10] The authorities were not accustomed to such behaviour from the *ahl adh-dhimma.*

Eulogius, a priest in Cordoba during this period, gives a detailed account, in his work *The Saints' Memorial*, of the deaths of a number of his fellow Christians who spoke out against Muḥammad and Islam in public. The first of these Christian martyrs was somebody whom Eulogius named as Perfectus, sometimes regarded as the protomartyr.[11] Perfectus, described as a presbyter in the Catholic Church in Córdoba and as a well-read student, particularly in ecclesiastical literature, was on

---

8 Ibid., p. 423; F. Fernández González, *Historia de al-Andalus por Aben-Adharí de Marruecos*, Granada: Ventura y Sabatel, 1860, Vol. I, p. 112.

9 The integration of the Berbers into the Peninsula was thoroughly examined by J. Bosch Vilá, 'Arabización y berberización. Apuntes y reflexiones en torno a un viejo tema', in J. Bosch Vilá and W. Hoenerbach (eds), *Andalucía Islámica; Textos y Estudios*, Granada: Universidad, 1980, I, pp. 9–42.

10 A later codification, by Ibn Naqqash (died 1362 AD), goes further and casts some light on procedures then in place: 'If the *dhimmī* refuses to pay the *jizya,* then his pact [*dhimma*] is broken and all of his possessions may be seized. If he insults the prophet, he is to be put to death ... He can escape capital punishment by converting to Islam' (Bat Ye'or, *The Dhimmi*, pp. 183–4 [translation by Paul Fenton]).

11 Norman Daniel, *The Arabs and Medieval Europe*, 2nd edn, London: Longman, 1979, pp. 23ff.; *Obras completas de San Eulogio*, bilingual edn, Castilian version, R.P. Agustín S. Ruiz, O.B., Córdoba: Real Academia, 1959, pp. 141ff.; J. Pérez de Urbel, *A Saint under Moslem Rule*, translation by a Benedictine of Stanbrook Abbey, Milwaukee, 1937, pp. 114-18; John V. Tolan, *Saracens. Islam in the Medieval European Imagination*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2002, pp. 85–97, and, for Perfectus, pp. 87–8.

one occasion discussing matters relating to the Christian faith with some Muslims in the city. As Eulogius takes the trouble to mention that Perfectus was versed in the Arabic language, it seems reasonable to suppose that the conversation was conducted in Arabic; indeed Perfectus may well have been known to his fellow discussants as Kamin (the Arabic equivalent of his name), and is said specifically to have replied to them in Arabic ('arabice illos reciprocans').[12] The discussion turned to the subject of Christ's divine power, on which topic Perfectus expatiated with eloquence. When pressed to give his view as a Christian on Muḥammad, he quoted the well-known text from the Gospel of Matthew concerning false prophets: 'for there shall arise false Christs and false prophets and shall show great signs and wonders; insomuch that if it were possible they shall deceive the very elect' (Matt. 24:24). According to Eulogius, Perfectus went on to emphasize that Muḥammad was the chief amongst the false prophets, that he was an emissary of the devil and that he had infused diabolic doctrine as a poison into the hearts of his followers. Perfectus, using terms that evoked the Christian notion of the Antichrist, went on to impugn Muḥammad and to denigrate Islam.

There is some evidence in the *Memoriale sanctorum* of Eulogius that leads one to suspect that his discussion did not contravene the accepted precepts of those enjoying *dhimmī* status. It must be assumed that it was a private conversation, not a public diatribe against Muḥammad and Islam in the market-place. If it had been, then Perfectus would have been answerable without delay to Islamic law, because his remarks would have constituted blasphemy against Muḥammad in a public place, thus rendering void the protection afforded to him as a Christian living within the Islamic community. This at least is the impression given by Eulogius's text, and it is borne out by the fact that when Perfectus met these same Muslims a second time, he was immediately recognized as someone who had spoken ill of the Prophet. His presence incited public wrath, and outcry of praise for Muḥammad, and he was brought before the judge as someone who had committed a blasphemous offence.[13] No account is provided of the exchange between the judge and the accused, but the latter was consigned to prison where, again according to Eulogius's account, he was fortified by his own Christian devotional practices. According to this same account, Perfectus was taken from his prison after the month of Ramadan had finished and, just prior to his execution, he spoke slightingly about Muḥammad once more in a public place, linking Islam with the devil's works. There is no way to corroborate the somewhat graphic account of the death of Perfectus and its grisly aftermath, because there is no equivalent version in Arabic sources, but of the impact of the public death of Perfectus on the Christian community, there can

[12] Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*, in *Corpus Scriptorum Mozarabicorum*, ed. Ioannes Gil, 2 vols, Madrid: Instituto Antonio de Nebrija, 1973: 'clara eruditione nutritus, plenissime ecclesiasticis disciplinis imbutus ... necnon ex parte linguae Arabicae cognitus' (Vol. II, p. 398); Eulogius, *Obras completas*, pp. 142–3.

[13] Eulogius, *Obras completas*, pp. 144–5; Gil, *Corpus Scriptorum Mozarabicorum*, p. 399; Eulogius transcribes the Arabic phrase into Latin: 'Zalla Allah Halla Anabi Ua Zallen', quod Latine dicitur 'Psallat Deus super prophetam et saluet eum' (in Gil's version) ('May God bless the Prophet and salute him'). This reflects the injunction in the Qurʿān, *Sūra* 33, v. 56.

be no doubt. He was buried with all the honour of a Christian burial in his own church, and the day of his death found its place in Christian martyrologies, on 30 April.[14]

The following summer, June 851 AD, there occurred a much more striking instance of wilful martyrdom. Again the source is the *Memoriale sanctorum* whose author Eulogius obviously regarded the death of Isaac as setting a shining example for other Christians to follow. It is significant that, according to Eulogius, Isaac was born into a wealthy and noble Córdoban family. This reference to nobility may perhaps indicate a Visigothic ancestry and, if this was the case, then the impact of Isaac's behaviour on other fellow Córdoban nobles would have been that much greater. Not only was he an Arabic-language speaker, but he also held an office in the administration of the municipality ('exceptor rei publicae'). Although it is not possible to determine precisely what functions Isaac exercised it may be that he was one of the many *kātib* in the Islamic government. To be a *kātib* implies not only an advanced knowledge of the Arabic language ('doctus lingua arabica') but also of Islamic literature as well.[15] He was pursuing a lucrative career, putting his bilingualism to good effect, without necessarily being a committed adherent of either Islam or Christianity. At some stage, he underwent a religious conversion and joined the monastic community of Tábanos, where he had an uncle on his father's side, eventually becoming a monk in that community.[16] After three years of leading a contemplative existence and becoming well acquainted with Christian theology, he went into the city of Córdoba with, apparently, a specific mission. He engaged a judge in conversation, claiming that he wanted to become a follower of the faith of the Prophet. He asked the judge to explain the Prophet's ordinances on the bases of his doctrine. Eulogius's account is curiously double-edged at this point. He indulges in pejorative comments about the judge himself, referring to his long tongue and making derogatory observations about his facial features. At the same time, Eulogius does have the judge state briefly and unambiguously the fundamentals of the Muslim faith: 'Muḥammad is the founder of our religion who, on the instructions of the angel Gabriel, received from the highest authority, a prophecy that he should preach to all nations. Muḥammad wrote his law down and described paradise together with the kingdom of heaven full of pleasures

---

[14] *Le Calendrier de Cordoue publié par R. Dozy*, new edn, by C. Pellat, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1961, p. 74.

[15] Kenneth Baxter Wolf, *Christian Martyrs in Muslim Spain*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, p. 23; Jessica A. Coope, *The Martyrs of Córdoba. Community and Family Conflict in an Age of Mass Conversion*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1995, equates Isaac's office with that of *qūmis* (p. 19). In view of what is known of others occupying the post of *qūmis,* it seems *prima facie* unlikely that Isaac (still not yet thirty years of age), was also a *qūmis* and, *ipso facto*, head of the pacted community in Córdoba. Whatever his post, Isaac, according to Coope, would have 'had some responsibility for collecting Christians' taxes' (p. 95). See also, for a differing opinion, Tritton, *The Caliphs and their non-Muslim Subjects*, where, citing al-Maqqarī, he states that 'in Spain and Morocco no Christians and no Jews were secretaries' (p. 25).

[16] Eulogius, *Obras completas*, pp. 152–3. His uncle, Jeremias, is said to have built the monastery, and to have endowed it (ibid.).

and overrun with beautiful women.'[17] Perhaps, because Eulogius could not bring himself to continue to provide an objective account of Islam, he states that the judge went on to speak of his religion and to give details that would take too long to enumerate. At some point in the discourse, Isaac interrupted him in Arabic, as if he was taking part in a theological debate. He accused the judge of lying and referred to Muḥammad as the devil's disciple, much given to the practice of the black arts and dispensing evil to all. He concluded his diatribe inviting the judge to opt for the 'health-giving faith of the Christian gospel'. This intervention on Isaac's part seems to have brought on a fit of uncontrollable rage on the part of the judge, who dealt Isaac a blow. Isaac's reply as recorded by Eulogius would have the ring of heresy in any other context: 'You dare to strike a face made in the image of God.' The judge, having regained his senses, apparently accused Isaac of being drunk, which charge he vehemently denied; indeed he quoted the well-known passage from the Beatitudes: 'Blessed are those that are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven' (Matt. 5:10).[18] The judge had no option but to order Isaac's imprisonment and to advise the Umayyad *amīr* of what he had done. Isaac was condemned to death for blaspheming against the Prophet Muḥammad in public. He had contravened the protective pact and therefore laid himself open to the statutory penalty.

Historians over the centuries have explored many aspects of the martyrdoms of Perfectus and Isaac. Some have tried to assess the incidents objectively, stripping away the camouflage afforded by Eulogius's rhetoric. The problem of course is that we only have Eulogius's account on which to rely. Looked at from another angle, the deaths of Perfectus and Issac may well take on a rather different light. There is no argument about the fact that two practising Christian monks, both Arabic-speaking, died whilst professing their faith in Córdoba. What is disputed is why they should have behaved as they did, and the extent to which their deaths and those of some fifty or so more in Córdoba in the sixth decade of the ninth century, constituted deliberate persecution on the part of the Islamic authorities. Clearly, one factor uniting Perfectus with Isaac is his apparent mastery of the Arabic idiom. This circumstance may well provide a key to an interpretation of the episode. Both these men were clearly Arabicized, but being Arabicized was one thing; being an Arabicized Christian was clearly another.

The martyrdom episode, if such it may be called, constitutes an exception in the history of the relations between the Muslim rulers and the indigenous population. It would be inaccurate to assert that there was never any discrimination on the part of the Muslims towards the non-Muslim communities. In 818 AD, al-Hakam I put down a rebellion of *muwalladūn* in a suburb (*rabḍ*) of Córdoba. As a consequence,

[17] Ibid., pp. 58–9. The translation is mine. The sentiments in this passage reflect the Qur'ān, where pure beautiful women (houris), are said to inhabit paradise, for example in Sūra LVI: 'In the gardens of bliss [v. 12] ... are pure, beautiful ones' (v. 22); see also, Sūra LII, v. 20, and Sūra XLIV, v. 54: 'The blessings of paradise ... are nothing but physical manifestations of the spiritual blessings which the doers of good enjoy in this life too', *The Holy Qur'ān*, English translation by Maulvi Muhammad Ali, p. 1009, note 2356.

[18] Eulogius, *Obras Completas*, pp. 60–61; Gil, *Corpus Scriptorum Mozarabicorum*, II, p. 367.

many thousands of inhabitants of this suburb emigrated to North Africa and settled in Fez, where they were welcomed by the *amīr* Idrīs II and established an Andalusí quarter in the city.[19] It was not in the interest of the Umayyad *amīrs* to pursue a policy of intimidation towards the non-Muslim community. The behaviour of the Córdoban martyrs was clearly a potentially embarrassing one for the then *amīr* ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān II (822–52) and the person who succeeded him in 852, Muḥammad I. Neither ruler wanted to foment a political crisis within the urban community at a time when there were so many crises to contend with in other parts of the Peninsula, and on the coastline. The presence of a large non-Muslim community in Córdoba was accepted and no doubt valued when members of this community acquired a knowledge of Arabic and contributed their expertise to the administration. The Muslim authorities recognized these people as *mustaʿribūn*, that is to say, Arabicized members of the community, but may not have differentiated them from the small active Christian community in Córdoba. If there were Arabophone Christians actively involved in the Islamic administration, there would have been few indeed. For the Muslims, the Christians were *nasāra*, or *naṣrānī.* These people were distinct from the *mustaʿribūn.* Consequently, when certain Christians displayed the fervour of their belief in Christianity by overtly criticizing the precepts of Islam and thus rendering invalid the pact accorded to the people of the *dhimma*, the authorities would have responded according to the Mālikite interpretation of Islamic law.[20] The cases would have been judged according to their merits and the execution carried out if the case was proven. What would have concerned the authorities much more was the fact that some of the offending Christians were Arab-speaking.[21] It was as a reaction to this fact that the *amīr* ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān II responded by having recourse to the secular head of the non-Muslim community in Córdoba.[22]

At this time, the position was occupied by one of his own officials, known in the Arabic sources as Qūmis an-Naṣrānī b. Antoniān b. Yalyāna *naṣrāniyya.*[23]

[19] Simonet, *Historia de los Mozárabes*, pp. 298–9; Makki, 'The Political History of al-Andalus (92/711–897/1492)', p. 23, and, with a different emphasis: Thomas F. Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979, p. 39; *Corpus of early sources for West African history*, trans. J.F.P. Hopkins, eds N. Levtzion and J.F.P. Hopkins, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981, p. 61, quoting al-Bakrī.

[20] The role of the Mālikites is discussed by Abdel Magid Turki, 'La Vénération pour Malik et la physionomie du malikisme andalou', *Studia Islamica* 33 (1971), 41–65; Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers*, pp. 17–18.

[21] Feliciano Delgado León, *Álvaro de Córdoba y la polémica contra el Islam. El Indiculus Luminosus*, Córdoba: Cajasur, 1996, identifies nine Arabic-speakers among the martyrs, excluding Eulogius and Paul Alvar (p. 32), but judiciously adds that 'No era corriente el que cristianos de los monasterios conocieran la lengua árabe' (ibid.); see also, Dominique Millet-Gérard, *Chrétiens Mozarabes et Culture Islamique dans l'Espagne des VIIIe-IXe Siècles*, Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1984, pp. 53–62.

[22] Évariste Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne Musulmane*, Vol. 1: *De la conquête à la chute du Califat de Cordoue (710–1031 J.C.)*, new edn, Paris: Maisonneuve; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1950, I, pp. 225–39.

[23] Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, *Tarikh iftitāh al-andalus* (Arabic text, Madrid, 1868, p. 83). Attention is drawn to the Christian ancestry of Ibn Antoniān with the reference to Juliana [Yalyāna], the

This *comes* convened in 852, a council of bishops, which took place under the chairmanship of Reccafred, Archbishop of Seville, in order to secure the ecclesiastical condemnation of the behaviour of the voluntary martyrs. This was an astute political manoeuvre, for if the case was proven and the non-Muslim community in Córdoba rejected the Christians as extremists, then the crisis caused would soon be resolved. The Acts of this council have not survived and the proceedings are only preserved through the writings of Eulogius which are, quite naturally, much coloured by contemporary attitudes to events. Eulogius does not mention Ibn Antoniān by name, only by virtue of the office of *exceptor*, which he at that time occupied. It can be deduced, though, that Eulogius regards him with overt hostility, and as instrumental in securing the outlawry of the martyrs, and prohibition on the public avowal of faith.[24] The cause of the martyrs was defended by Saul, Bishop of Córdoba, and his subsequent arrest demonstrates the chasm that was created between the small communities of Christians represented by Eulogius and by Saul, and the majority, epitomized by Ibn Antoniān.[25] In the event, the *status quo* remained unaltered. Shortly after the council was prorogued, ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān died, and the career of Ibn Antoniān took a curious turn. In the reign of Muḥammad I, he became renowned as a *kātib*, his command of both written and spoken Arabic being the subject of envy among Muslim rivals for the status that his linguistic prowess brought him. To protect his newly acquired rank and prestige, he is said to have converted to Islam, and to have adopted a severe stance towards the Church that he had just relinquished.[26]

This policy proved not to be successful, however, as Muḥammad did relieve him of his post.[27] When Ibn Antoniān died, an attempt was made to demonstrate that he had passed away in the Christian faith, and that his substantial fortune should therefore be subsumed in the public treasury. The *muḥtasib*, being particularly concerned with potential instances of heterodoxy, brought the matter before the then judge (*qāḍī*) of Córdoba at the instigation of an influential minister. The claim failed, as the prominent citizens swore their devotion to Ibn Antoniān, known as 'the dove of the Mosque', and the people of Córdoba were apparently surprised that his Islamic faith was called into question.[28] The judge, Saʿīd Sulaymān b. Aswad,

---

Christian woman [*naṣrāniyya*].

[24] Eulogius, *Obras Completas*, pp. 221–5.

[25] Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne Musulmane*, I, pp. 289–90.

[26] Paul Alvar, *Indiculus Luminosus* [number 19], ed. Delgado León, p. 133, and ed. Gil, I, p. 290; Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, p. 400. The source for Simonet and later accounts was R.P.A. Dozy, *Histoire des musulmanes d'Espagne* [1861], as recounted in the edition of Lévi-Provençal, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1932, 3 vols, I, pp. 338–41, and p. 353.

[27] Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, *Tarīkh iftitāḥ al-andalus*, Arabic text, pp. 82–3; Spanish translation by Julián Ribera: *Historia de la conquista de España de Abenalcotía el cordobés*, Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia [Colección de Obras Arábigas, Vol. II], 1926, pp. 67–70; Simonet, *Historia de los Mozárabes*, pp. 444–5.

[28] The source for this account of Qūmis b. Antoniān is al-Khushnī, in Julián Ribera, *Historia de los jueces de Córdoba por Aljoxaní*, Madrid: Imprenta Ibérica, 1914; comprises Ribera's Prologue, his translation and the Arabic text. The translation was reproduced in Colección Crisol, No. 22, Madrid: Aguilar, 1965; Arabic text, pp. 130–33, and Ribera's translation,

and the *amīr* Muḥammad found in favour of the deceased, and his possessions were divided amongst his inheritors.

The writings of the apologists of the martyrs of Córdoba cannot invariably be reconciled with contemporary sources in Arabic, but it is useful to be able to compare and contrast, where appropriate, the information supplied by Eulogius and Paul Alvar on the one hand, and al-Khushnī's invaluable testimony on the judges of Córdoba, on the other. To draw an example, the references made to Perfectus and to Isaac bear out the impression that the Arabic language was essential to advancement in the Islamic administration, and that it was a matter of considerable regret to the practising Christians that non-Muslim members of the indigenous population should choose to throw in their lot so decisively with the Muslims. The testimony of al-Khushnī however, is quite at variance with the above. When Ribera published his translation of al-Khushnī's *History of the Judges of Córdoba*, he pointed out in his introduction that the evidence of the text suggested that the Romance language was current amongst Muslims of all social classes in Córdoba throughout the ninth and tenth centuries. Although Al-Khushnī's Arabic text is not always wholly unambiguous, and although Ribera's translation of this text does appear to embellish the original at various points, there is nonetheless crucial detailed information in support of his hypothesis. The text of Al-Khushnī, for the most part, consists of brief anecdotes relating to the judges of Córdoba until the second half of the tenth century. Most of the judges, whose lives and period of office are recounted in some detail, lived in the ninth and tenth centuries.

It is appropriate to refer, in the first instance, to the judge whose judicature corresponded to the period when the Christians were disturbing the *status quo* by cursing Muḥammad in a public place. The judge concerned was Saʽid b. Sulaymān. Now there was only one judge in Córdoba at any one time unless, that is, the secular and the religious functions of the judge were separated, which was not the case with Saʽid b. Sulaymān.[29] His character, considering the stories told about him, appears to have been that of a venerable and humble man, somebody brought from outside Córdoba, in this instance from Mérida, to occupy the judicial office in the capital city of al-Andalus. Although he had been appointed during the reign of ʽAbd ar-Rahmān II, he continued after ʽAbd ar-Raḥmān's death in 852 for about two years during the reign of his successor, Muḥammad I. This would mean that he stepped down in 854 AD. In making the links between Eulogius and al-Khushnī, one important factor deserves to be given particular emphasis. Al-Khushnī makes it quite clear that this judge understood the Romance language. There is an anecdote that unequivocally confirms this. An old man yelled at the judge from a distance asking him to stop. The judge responded immediately, giving to understand that he knew the meaning of the words that were being shouted at him in Romance.

---

pp. 159–64. For commentary on the *muḥtāsib,* see Pedro Chalmeta Gendrón, *El 'Señor del Zoco' en España: edades media y moderna; contribución al estudio de la historia del mercado*, Madrid: Instituto Hispano-árabe de Cultura, 1973, pp. 404–408.

[29] Pérez de Urbel, *A Saint under Moslem Rule*, pp. 128–9; Eulogius, *Obras Completas*, pp. 60–61; Julián Ribera, *Historia de los jueces de Córdoba por Aljoxaní*, Madrid: Maestre, 1914, pp. 131, 137–9.

The importunate person had hoped to be granted an interview on the spot, but the judge made it clear that there was a time and a place for an official audience and that he should present himself at the appropriate time in the mosque where his business could be addressed. There is no indication that Saʿid Ibn Sulaymān required an interpreter to comprehend what was being uttered and, although it is not clear that he replied in Romance, he certainly followed more than the gist of what was said, sufficient to make a prompt decision.

Throughout this and similar episodes, it is evident that, although the Romance language was used, the persons using it were not Christians. In fact, Saʿid's verbal hectorer was the father of the *ḥājib* at the time. Al-Khushnī's anecdotes are full of people who, although Muslims, spoke only in Romance and knew no Arabic. He uses the word *ʿajamī*, which essentially means a non-Arabic speaker. When he wishes to emphasize the religion of a particular person, he uses the word *naṣrānī* or *naṣrāniyya*, Christian or Christianity. In the case of Ibn Antoniān, above, there appears to have been a deliberate attempt to blacken the name of the *comes* on the part of his political opponents, who employed the word *naṣrāniyya* in the charges levelled against him. It is assumed that he was bilingual but that he retained his Romance name, perhaps to indicate his precedence in the non-Muslim community in Córdoba. Despite the fact that he had been a close associate of Muḥammad I, his retention of his Romance name, and his durable reputation in the non-Muslim community of Córdoba provoked envy and hostility, even posthumously. The presiding judge was not taken in by the calumny, however and, acting in conjunction with Muḥammad I, ordered in favour of the late *comes*. It is instructive for our purposes that the word *naṣrāniyya* was used. This indicates without doubt that a distinction existed between a Romance speaker and a Christian by religion. *Qūmis* was almost certainly among the former, and quite evidently, as was proved by the law, not among the latter.

Further pointers may be drawn from the story of Leocritia and Eulogius, as told by Paul Alvar.[30] According to Alvar, Leocritia was brought up in a well-to-do Muslim environment and was baptized in secret by a relation of hers, a nun called Liciosa. Leocritia's Christian faith grew, first clandestinely and then quite overtly ('primum oculte, deinceps patule et aperte').[31] When the opposition of her parents reached a certain pitch, Leocritia fled and sought refuge with Eulogius himself and his sister Anulo. Such was the prestige of Leocritia's parents that the *amīr* got to hear of the case and there appears to have been a search on the scale of a hunt for a kidnap victim. Eulogius, his sister, and their charge Leocritia eluded the pursuers until eventually their hiding-place was discovered. Again, according to Alvar's account, all three were brought in front of the judge. An examination took place in

---

30 Paul Alvar, *Vita Eulogii*, in Gil, *Corpus Scriptorum Mozarabicorum*, I, pp. 330–43, Chapters 13–16 (pp. 337–41); Coope, *The Martyrs of Córdoba*, pp. 29–30; Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers*, pp. 33–4.

31 Gil, *Corpus Scriptorum Mozarabicorum*, I, p. 337. A narrative account of Leocritia's plight and quest for Christianity is provided by Simonet, *Historia de los Mozárabes*, pp. 481–2. He gives a free translation of the relevant section of Alvar's *Vita Eulogii* of the outcome, pp. 483–5.

which Alvar provides what purports to be a verbatim dialogue between the judge and Eulogius. The latter claimed that he was simply doing his duty in providing religious instruction to somebody who, of her own free will, desired to improve her knowledge of her new faith. This discussion ended with defamatory words by Eulogius in which he denounced the sayings of Muḥammad and the religion of Islam. As a consequence, the judge felt it appropriate to involve the *amīr* and, according to Alvar, after a display redolent of sainthood, Eulogius was executed on 11 March 859.

According to al-Khushnī, the judge involved in this *cause célèbre* was Aḥmad b. Ziyād al-Lakhmī, although no detail of this confrontation is provided. By temperament this man was, according to al-Khushnī, grave and strict. At the same time, he was attributed with a holy mien, sensible ideas and unimpeachably correct behaviour. In total, he had been a judge for nine years during the reign of the *amīr* Muḥammad I, and was highly respected as an administrator of Islamic justice. If he was the judge in question, it appears in keeping with what little is known of his character that he was reluctant to condemn to death so prominent a figure as Eulogius, and indeed, it appears as though it was a specially convened tribunal that found him guilty and that was responsible for his eventual execution.[32]

Alvar's account does not indicate the language in which Eulogius addressed Aḥmad b. Ziyād. From what little evidence there is in the writings of Eulogius, it would not seem likely that Eulogius would have acquired, more than a smattering of Arabic. Therefore, one must assume either a degree of bilingualism on the part of Aḥmad b. Ziyād or, maybe, the intervention of a third party as interpreter. Alvar's account also mentions a brief dialogue between one of Muḥammad I's ministers and Eulogius. Again, the language of this exchange is not recorded, but it is not out of the question that it could have been Romance. Aḥmad b. Ziyād had a close adviser, the *kātib* ʿAmr b. ʿAbdallah, who may well have been capable of speaking Romance, and who eventually succeeded him as judge in 864. This ʿAmr b. ʿAbdallah is described by al-Khushnī as a *mawlā* (client), in fact, the first *mawlā* to occupy the post and, as such, he was certainly a *persona grata* with Muḥammad I. Nonetheless, the appointment of a non-Arab to the position of judge caused some political embarrassment to the *amīr*. Al-Khushnī makes it quite clear that Arabs, as opposed to the body of the Muslim community, objected to ʿAmr b. ʿAbdallah. The Arabs clamoured for his replacement, but Muḥammad found a compromise solution; he appointed another person to lead the Muslims in prayer, whilst ʿAmr b. ʿAbdallah continued to exercise the office of judge. ʿAmr b. ʿAbdallah is revealed as being a virtuous, intelligent and well-educated man and was clearly a favourite with Muḥammad I. He had been a judge in Écija before coming to Córdoba as Aḥmad b. Ziyād's deputy. By implication, ʿAmr b. ʿAbdallah was a Romance speaker and maybe Eulogius communicated with Aḥmad b. Ziyād through him, when he was acting as *kātib* for al-Lakhmī.[33]

---

[32] Al-Khushnī, in Ribera, *Historia de los jueces de Córdoba por Aljoxaní*. References are from the 1914 edition. The section devoted to al-Lakhmī is pp. 114–17 of the Arabic text, and pp. 139–43 of the translation.

[33] Ibid., pp. 141–55, at p. 144.

That the language of the non-Muslim population of Córdoba during the ninth and tenth centuries was principally Romance is amply borne out by al-Khushnī's text. Where the writings of Eulogius and Alvar on the one hand, and those of al-Khushnī on the other, coincide, is in the maintenance of a distinction between a Romance speaker and of the religion of that speaker. It is perhaps natural but would, I think, be incorrect to assume that a Romance speaker was necessarily a Christian. This misleading impression has been created by the assumption that the word *ʿajamī* which essentially means a non-Arabic speaker, must also imply adherence to the Christian religion. The evidence of al-Khushnī, which is less controversial to interpret than that afforded by the writings of Eulogius, makes it apparent that an *ʿajamī* was not ostracized for his inability to speak Arabic. There is, for instance, the curious case of Yanir, or more properly Yanayr (from the Latin Januarius), who is described as being a *shaikh ʿajamī*, an indication of the prestige in which he was held. He was a pious man, of acknowledged probity, and al-Khushnī goes on to mention that he was known and respected in juridical circles. He was knowledgeable in Islamic theology, and his legal and theological prowess brought him widespread renown during the time of the *amīr* ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān II. Ribera, in his translation, mentions that Yanayr only spoke in Romance, but this detail is not found in the Arabic.[34] Nevertheless, one can infer that Yanayr spoke Romance and that he was certainly well versed in Islamic doctrine. The assumption that one would want to make would be that he did not speak Arabic, but may indeed have been able to read it. On one occasion, his judgment as a devout Muslim and as a popular person in Córdoba was called upon by ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān II, who had received complaints about the behaviour of a particular judge. Yanayr, in his comment to the *amīr*, used a Romance diminutive with pejorative implications.[35] This particular episode, as recorded by al-Khushnī, relates that ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān was so impressed by Yanayr's use of this word that he was convinced of the sincerity of Yanayr's judgment. The offending judge was replaced as a consequence. It is noteworthy that a judge should be dismissed on the testimony of a non-Arabic speaker and it may be assumed that Yanayr acquired his respected status as an erudite Muslim. Similarly, the acquisition of an Arabic name was not essential, and was an obstacle neither to social standing nor to political advancement.

The situation in ninth-century al-Andalus was that the Arab-speaking Arab Muslims, the descendants, in the main, of those prestigious Arab families that had settled in the Peninsula in the eighth century, constituted very much the minority of the population. Yet, it was these élite Arab-Muslim families which wielded or sought to wield power from their capital in Córdoba, and which strove to govern al-Andalus.[36] Their counterparts were Romance-speaking indigenous Christians who eschewed contact with the Arabs and Islam, and they preferred to live outside the immediate confines of the city of Córdoba. Some were monks

[34] Ibid., Arabic text, p. 96.

[35] Ribera uses the Castilian phrase '*tío malvado*' (his italics).

[36] A pertinent reflection of the issues of Arab settlement is provided by P. Chalmeta in his review article of Pierre Guichard, *Al-Andalus. Estructura antropológica de una sociedad islámica en Occidente*, Barcelona: Barral, 1976, in *Hispania* 135 (1978), 233–9.

by profession, others were priests, but all in this group are characterized by their fervent espousal of Christianity as a creed and as a way of life, and by their high esteem for and transmission of their Latin Christian Visigothic heritage.[37] These Christians, designated as such in the Arabic sources, adhered to their Visigothic or Roman nomenclature.

Between these two extremes, one may identify Romance-speaking Muslims with ostensible non-Arab names, and Arab-speaking Christians. Whereas one could perhaps characterize the former as Islamicized – Yanayr would presumable come in this category – the latter were clearly Arabicized. Now it is not necessary, and it may not be accurate, to assign a religion to a person who was Arabicized. Bilingual monks were certainly Christians, but the majority of the Arabicized members of the indigenous population may not have been more than nominal followers of Christianity or Islam. The word *muwallad* in al-Andalus was used to describe converts to Islam, and by implication an Arab-speaking Muslim, but essentially, it meant somebody born into a marriage in which one of the parents was Muslim, or a descendant of converts from the indigenous population. Consequently, to make a distinction on religious grounds between *muwallad* and *mustaʿrab* is hazardous. Certainly, it does appear that a man's language differentiated him more than his religion. Time and again, in al-Khushnī's account, for example, reference is made to the fact that a man was an *ʿajamī*. There is seldom an accompanying reference to that person's religion.

If this demographic template holds true for the ninth century, it is peculiarly appropriate, also, in the age of the Umayyad caliphate. When al-Khushnī is talking about judges in the early tenth century and during the reign of ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān III, he continues to supply important information concerning non-Arab speakers and Christians within Islam. There was the case of a powerful and influential non-Arab speaker, Khudmir al-ʿAjimī, who was an influential adviser to the a*mīr* and, presumably, a member of the indigenous population who had successfully achieved advancement within Islam. Of greater significance is the story told in detail by al-Khushnī of a judge, Aslam b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who was appointed around 935 AD. He was very highly regarded on account of his having studied outside al-Andalus, and for having undertaken the pilgrimage to Mecca. This judge was called upon to legislate in the case of a man, described as an *ʿajamī* whose wife, a Muslim from a noble family, had sought the protection of the judge. There occurred a discussion in the court of law concerning non-Arab speakers and their special privileges. It was pointed out to the judge that such people were protected according to a pact (*ʿahd*), and that the judge had no authority to intervene between this non-Arabic speaker and his wife. However, the judge determined that this non-Arabic speaker had broken the law and that he could not get away with illegal practices under the

[37] In this category, in the ninth century, would belong the A*pologeticus* of the Abbot Samson (Gil, *Corpus Scriptorum Mozarabicorum*, II, pp. 505–658), and the treatise of Leovigildus, *De habitu clericorum* (Gil, ibid., pp. 667–84).

protection of the pact. It seems evident that the religion of this non-Arab speaker was not an issue in this case.[38]

Aslam was also involved in a case of self-arraignment in which Naṣrānī, a Christian, presented himself before him, asking for his own death. The judge was scornful and ordered a whipping in order to bring him back to his senses. Al-Khushnī interpolated a comment relating to the folly of Christians who regarded self-immolation as an act of great merit when this did not, in effect, correspond to the life of the Prophet Jesus, son of María, whom al-Khushnī specifically names. The Christian appears to have thought that his act would bring him straight to heaven, but he was disabused by Aslam. Such is the impression of immediacy created by the repartee between Aslam and the Christian, that one is led to suppose that the communicative medium was that of Arabic. This Christian, unequivocally identified as such and not referred to as an *ʿajamī*, was clearly challenging, in certain respects, the Islamic faith, but was being dealt with by the judge as someone of whom it could be said that the balance of his mind was disturbed.[39]

Aḥmad b. Baqī enjoyed a great reputation as a judge. He was appointed judge in 926 and exercised that office for ten years until his death at the age of 74.[40] Acknowledged to have been descended from an Arab family in Córdoba that enjoyed great prestige, the Banū Makhlad (*sic*), and whose members were in the habit of occupying important positions in the Islamic administration, Aḥmad b. Baqī, when questioned about his ancestry, apparently revealed the non-Arabic origin of his lineage. His family, in the account provided by al-Khushnī, were clients of the Banu Makhlad through a woman from the people of Jaén. The indigenous element in Ibn Baqī's ancestry is, however, challenged.[41] Nevertheless, it is significant to note that a judge was not fearful to admit to humble origins and that such an admission did not prejudice him in his career. There is also the implication that ancestral links with the indigenous population were a reason for censure among the Arab-Muslim elite. When the caliph elect, al-Ḥakam, heard the story, he is alleged to have commented that Ibn Baqī could have insisted on the nobility of his Arab ancestry because no one would have dared to contradict him. It is difficult to ascertain whether this genealogical sensitivity was characteristic of the epoch or whether it is the result of an obsession on the part of later Arab chroniclers and biographers. Certainly, it is well known that non-Arab origins were concealed and documents were falsified in order to demonstrate unsullied Arab lineage.[42] The

---

[38] Al-Khushnī, in Ribera, *Historia de los jueces de Córdoba por Aljoxaní*, p. 184 of the Arabic text, and pp. 227–8 of Ribera's translation.

[39] Ibid., pp. 186–7 of the Arabic text, and pp. 231–3 of the translation.

[40] Manuela Marín, 'Baqī b. Majlad [*sic*] y la introducción del estudio del *hadit* [*hadith*] en Al-Andalus', *al-Qanṭara*, I (1980), 165–208, at p. 174; al-Khushnī, in Ribera, *Historia de los jueces de Córdoba por Aljoxaní*, Ribera's translation, pp. 238–51.

[41] J. López Ortiz, *La recepción de la escuela malequí en España*, as cited in Marín, 'Baqī b. Majlad [*sic*] y la introducción del estudio del *hadit*', p. 172.

[42] Guichard argues, with the support of a text from Ibn Ḥayyān, that Arabs in al-Andalus harboured notions of ethnic superiority: 'se continuaba considerando como "más nobles" a los hijos nacidos de padre y madre árabes', with particular preference being given to the union of members from the same lineage or clan. Against this was the reality of the

anecdote recorded by al-Khushnī serves to indicate that Ibn Baqī's reputation was such that he would not have been ostracized for any revelation concerning his Arab lineage.

racial hybridity of many Arabs: 'Que muchos árabes de España fueran, de hecho, racialmente mestizos, es indiscutible', *Al-Andalus*, p. 213.

Chapter 4

Christians in Córdoba

During the middle of the tenth century, the Umayyad Caliphate could be said to have been at the height of its power in al-Andalus. This was the only period in which all Muslims in the Peninsula acknowledged the supremacy of one Muslim leader, in this case ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān III an-Nāṣir, whose long reign had begun in 912 AD and who had, by the 950s, established his position as one of the most influential rulers in Western Europe. In the Peninsula itself, the cities in al-Andalus remote from Córdoba, and hitherto dissident, were absorbed into his administrative structure and were compliant. The Christian states, notably those of León and Navarra, paid homage to ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān, sending delegations to Córdoba, soliciting his support in times of political crisis. Further afield, the Emperor of Byzantium had been in touch with Córdoba between 944 and 955.[1] Before ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān's death in 961, though, it could be alleged that the only rival to his absolute authority in the West was the Emperor Otto I (938–73).

Otto and ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān clashed through a curious set of circumstances. Otto objected indignantly to the marauding activities of certain Muslims who were operating in an area around present-day Marseilles. These Muslims were the descendants of those Muslim pirates who had taken possession of lands near Fraxinetum, present-day Garde-Freinet, in the mid-ninth century, at which time a fortress was constructed, probably with access to the sea.[2] The complaints against them in the tenth century were that they posed a continual threat to travellers *en route* to Italy, that their brigandage and looting interrupted trade between states and that, in particular, they burnt monasteries with impunity in places as distant as the present-day Italian/Swiss border. Otto, it appears, made the assumption, natural in the political circumstances of the day, that ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān would have

---

1 See Philippe Sénac, 'Contribution à l'étude des relations diplomatiques entre l'Espagne musulmane et l'Europe au Xe siècle: le règne de ʿAbd ar-Rahmân III (912–961)', *Studia Islamica*, LXI (1985), 45–55; Sénac comments that 'la capitale umaiyade est à coup sûr l'un des pions principaux de l'échiquier diplomatique au haut Moyen Age' (p. 50).

2 The pioneering work of J.-T. Reinaud, *Invasions des Sarrazins en France* (1836), was published in English translation by Haroon Khan Sherwani, under the title: *Muslim Colonies in France, Northern Italy and Switzerland*, Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1964 (1st edn, 1955); Abdurrahman Ali El-Hajji devoted extensive coverage to the episode and its background in his Cambridge PhD thesis (1966), later published under the title *Andalusian Diplomatic Relations with Western Europe during the Umayyad Period*, Beirut: Dar al-Irshad, 1970, pp. 208–27; Philippe Sénac, *Musulmans et Sarrasins dans le Sud de la Gaule du VIIIe au XI siècle*, Paris: Le Sycomore, 1980; Kees Versteegh, 'The Arab Presence in France and Switzerland in the 10th Century', *Arabica*, XXXVII (1990), 359–88 (p. 361).

had power over these Muslims, thereby endorsing their depredations in territory falling within his, Otto's, jurisdiction.

What sources that are available, however, would seem to indicate that Otto's supposition was false, and that these trans-Pyrenean Muslims were acting free-lance, unattached to any state.[3] Hugh, ruler of Provence after the death of King Louis in 928, mounted a series of campaigns against these Muslims. Notable among these was the expedition of 931, in conjunction with the Byzantines but, although he succeeded in corralling them in the mountains above the coast, he did not negate their threat entirely. In 941, according to Liutprand and to his disapproval, Hugh made a territorial settlement with the Muslims, whereby the latter could control the mountain passes between Switzerland and Italy, and have security over the lands that they already possessed.[4] In the middle of the century, then, the Muslims commanded the Alpine passes and, according to Latin chronicles cited by Versteegh, occupied a substantial area, from the Mediterranean coastline to the Saint Bernard pass, and in the West, as far as Grenoble and beyond . After the death of Hugh in 952, Otto intervened in order to protect the route to Italy, and his overture to ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān III marked the onset of his offensive against them. The delegation to Córdoba was not his only initiative, and his active campaigning led to the defeat of the Muslims at Garde-Freinet in 973. The terms of Otto's initial diplomatic mission to Córdoba are not known, and there is some reference to an envoy of ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān at the court of Otto at Frankfurt who died, of natural causes, *in situ*. Otto then chose Abbot John of Gorze to lead the subsequent mission to Córdoba, in 954–55.[5] The behaviour of John whilst in the caliphal capital city

[3] Versteegh, drawing on Liutprand, Ibn Ḥawqal and Ibn Ḥayyān, carefully assesses the pros and cons. Although he comments that Chalmeta 'concludes that Fraxinetum belonged indeed to the Cordovan empire', Versteegh observes cautiously that 'we may regard ʿAbd ar-Rahman as a tacit ally of the Saracenes in Fraxinetum, who did not actually interfere in their business, but quite naturally wished them to respect the agreement for free commerce he had made with some of [the] Franks' ('The Arab Presence in France and Switzerland', pp. 363–4).

[4] Versteegh and Chalmeta concur that Hugh's negotiations were politically motivated; see Pedro Chalmeta, 'La Méditerranée occidentale et al-Andalus de 934 à 941: les données d'Ibn Hayyan', *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, L (1976), 337–51, at pp. 345–6; Versteegh, 'The Arab Presence', pp. 368–9.

[5] The *Vita Iohannis abbatis Gorziensis* is a biography, written by his contemporary, Abbot John of the monastery of St Arnulf [Arnulphus] of Metz, a manuscript of which is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. It has been edited many times, including by G.H. Pertz, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores IV*, Hanover, 1841. The portion relating to the journey was published in *España Sagrada*, Vol. LVI [*De la Santa Iglesia Apostólica de Eliberri (Granada)*], ed. Angel Custodio Vega, Madrid: Maestre, 1957, pp. 165–78. The text, taken from Pertz, and Spanish translation of this portion was published by A. Paz y Meliá: 'Embajada del Emperador de Alemania al Califa de Córdoba, Abderrahman III', *Colección de documentos históricos, Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, Número II, Madrid, 1872, also as a separate publication (1872), and reproduced in the *Boletín de la Academia de Ciencias, Bellas Letras y Nobles Artes de Córdoba* (1931), 255–82. References are taken from *ES* and Paz y Meliá (1872). See also, El-Hajji, *Andalusian Diplomatic Relations*, p. 211, and also p. 215, where he gives the date of the delegation's arrival in al-Andalus as 953–54, following Ibn ʿIdhārī.

of Córdoba throws some light on the state of the Christian Church in that city. Following the Latin text of John's contemporary and fellow-abbot, John of Saint Arnulf, whilst recognizing that one side of the story only is being related, it is possible to piece together procedures and practices of the Christians of Córdoba. What is immediately striking is that there was little in common between the beliefs of the Christian from Germany, and the resident Christians of Córdoba. Indeed, there seems to have been greater difference of opinion between John and these Christians than between him and the Umayyad Caliph, who afforded him every courtesy during his stay. For example, ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān arranged a 'safe-conduct' pass for John from the frontier city of Tortosa to the caliphal capital, where he was supplied with sumptuous lodgings.[6] The narrative of how ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān intended to keep the German mission waiting for three years in apparent reprisal for similar treatment meted out to his embassy to Otto's court is recounted at length, but what is known to have occurred during this delay, whatever its cause or actual duration, does have a bearing on 'inter-faith relations'. Initially, the intermediary between the caliph and John was ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān's distinguished Jewish physician Ḥasday b. Shaprūt. The Latin text sets up a dialogue between Ḥasday and John, profiling the former quite clearly as the prudent counsellor. When John reveals to him the purpose of his mission and the content of the letter, Ḥasday tells him that 'it is dangerous to see the king with this [letter].'[7] Ḥasday urges caution and the avoidance of any extreme conduct, the attitude one would predict from somebody anxious that a direct clash on religious grounds be forestalled. The assumption is that Ḥasday, in the privileged position that he enjoyed at the court in Córdoba, is aware of the potentially precarious situation should either Judaism or Christianity be seen to defy Islam. In the absence of any corroborative evidence, any interpretation of Ḥasday's intervention in this episode has to be speculative, although it is, perhaps, worth pointing out that the choice of Ḥasday, initially, ahead of a representative from the Christian community, suggests that ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān picked the principal *dhimmī* to conduct such a delicate mission. The only indication of the outcome of the negotiations between Ḥasday and John is that a second emissary is engaged with transactions with John several months later. One may deduce, therefore, that the caliph considered that his first attempt to achieve a mutually satisfactory agreement had failed. John was intransigent and the most distinguished intermediary at ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān's disposal could not deflect him from causing a public affray. The laudatory terms in which the Latin account of John's life are couched cannot disguise his ungracious ingratitude as he had been treated as an honoured guest in Córdoba at the caliph's command and, seemingly, had deliberately refused to behave in accordance with the customs of the Muslim court. It is, however, John's confrontation with the caliph's next intercessor, 'episcopus quidam Iohannes', identified as the Bishop of Córdoba, that has attracted much attention subsequently, in that it demonstrates disagreement between two

[6] Paz y Meliá, 'Embajada del Emperador de Alemania al Califa de Córdoba, Abderrahman III' [1872] pp. 16–17.

[7] 'Periculosum cum hac regem videre', ibid., p. 30.

Christian prelates.[8] There is ample coverage in the text of the exchange between the two Johns. At the outset, the bishop insists on the importance of appreciating the conditions under which he and his fellow-Christians are obliged to exist – 'in tantae calamitatis'. The fact that he is attributed with using emotive language may reveal more about the context in which the account was composed than the actuality of the situation amongst the *naṣārā* of Córdoba. There is, nevertheless, a degree of plausibility in the bishop's deploration of his plight: 'pro tempore igitur hoc videmur tenere consilii, ut quia religionis nulla inferta iactura, cetera eis obsequamur, iussisque eorum in quanto fidem non impediunt obtemperemus.'[9] This seems to be an understandable compromise, to continue with the exercise of one's faith within the political and social constraints then prevailing and, if such were the circumstances, it is natural that he should implore the abbot not to create a scandal by producing offensive letters on a public occasion. The resulting furore could have no other effect than that of provoking a hostile outcry against the Córdoban Christians.

The whole purport of the document now becomes an apologia for the abbot's version of Christianity. The abbot is not conciliatory, and has resort to a Biblical text to refute the bishop.[10] Whether or not he was operating according to a preconceived agenda, the abbot finds recurrent faults in the bishop's temperate observation to the effect that the Christians in Córdoba were constrained by necessity, and that the *modus vivendi* handed down to them and still prevailing was their only option, if they were to continue to be allowed to pursue their Christianity in al-Andalus.[11] The abbot advocates an uncompromising Christianity with the classic rejoinder that 'he would never approve that divine precepts be broken out of fear, love or favour of men.' The conditions imposed on the Christians of Córdoba were not binding on him, as a foreigner to the Umayyad court, and he would not withhold

---

[8] Simonet, *Historia de los Mozárabes*, pp. 607–10, favouring the standpoint of the Abbot John; El-Hajji, *Andalusian Diplomatic Relations*, p. 217, envisaged the episode from the point of view of the caliph, and endeavoured to comprehend his responses. Neither discusses the circumstances in which a Muslim caliph was empowered to send a Christian bishop to intercede on his behalf.

[9] Paz y Meliá, 'Embajada del Emperador de Alemania ...', pp. 30–31; 'In similar circumstances, then, our rule of conduct must always be never to attack [their] religion, to compromise with the rest [of their demands], and to obey their orders providing that these do not obstruct our religion', author's translation, based on the Spanish version of Luis García Arias in 'Una embajada cristiana a un soberaño musulmán, hace mil años', *Historia Diplomática*, Zaragoza: Instituto Fernando el Católico, 1954, Vol. I, pp. 199–228, at p. 221.

[10] Paul's Letters to the Galatians 5:2, where Paul deals with the complex issue of circumcision. If the abbot is blaming the bishop and his flock for their weakness in adversity, and for condoning circumcision, then it may be suspected that the writer or the patron, for whom he was composing this life of Abbot John, was addressing contemporary theological debates, irrespective of the forum. Those upholding Christianity in Islamic lands were long held to be in breach of teachings of the Church, witness the papal mission undertaken in 924 by Zannellus to investigate liturgical practices in the Church in al-Andalus. Zannellus, however, found no fundamental divergences. See Simonet, *Historia de los Mozárabes*, p. 696.

[11] 'Necessitas, inquit, nos constringit; nam alter eis cohabitandi nobis copia non esset' (Paz y Meliá, 'Embajada del Emperador de Alemania ...', p. 36).

the letters for ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān which, if their contents were to be divulged, could well have deleterious consequences for those perceived to share Otto's religion. As a result of the abbot's obduracy, ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān, somewhat predictably, thus reinforcing the impression that this whole dialogue was compiled *post hoc*, threatens the community of Christians which had hitherto been permitted to live unmolested.[12] It is the apocalyptic phrasing attributed to ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān in his letter to the abbot that calls into question the reliability of the narrative as an authentic testimony, yet it evidently reflects a belief held by Christians, but not by the Christians of Córdoba, that Muslims posed a threat to their religion: 'Quod si ipsum interimeret, nullum in tota ispania Christianum vitae relinqueret, sed omnes gladio trucidaret.'[13] The abbot's reaction to the intimidation inherent in the letter is, after some agonizing, to disclaim responsibility for the fate of the Christians of Córdoba. The blame for any reprisals against them would not be his, but the caliph's, on account of the latter's 'cruel anger and malice'.[14] He quotes from the Book of Esther, and brings to bear the telling story of Esther, Mordecai and the fate of the Jews, a precursor of the political brinkmanship adopted by the abbot.[15] The abbot has been seen, then, not to have shrugged off the caliph's threat lightly. His stance, however, is the only option open to him, to uphold the tenets of the Christian Church, as he understood them. If martyrdom of an entire community were to be the consequence of his refusal to compromise his beliefs, then a catastrophe would be averted, if not by human, then by divine intervention.

The abbot's theology, with its reliance on the steadfastness of Old Testament prophets, contrasts with the bishop's pleas for political expediency, considered by him, one should suppose, essential for the continuation of the practice of Christianity in Córdoba. The text makes no reference to any drastic action taken by the caliph, nor to any repercussions resulting from the position adopted by the abbot. It is almost as if this particular episode in the sequence of events at the caliphal court, was inserted to demonstrate the abbot's laudable resoluteness in his impassioned defence of his version of Christianity. It is a picture window, whereby the biographer can exhibit the sterling quality of his subject from an unapologetically Christian standpoint.

Although a timescale is not supplied, it is assumed that many months would have elapsed before the impasse was resolved. The abbot's proposal that a further embassy be sent to the Emperor Otto with the express brief of securing new instructions for the abbot, was in response to the caliph's request to him to suggest a way forward. This detail is another instance of the way in which the Christian

---

[12] The letter containing this threat was handed to the abbot on a Sunday as he was on his way to Mass at the church of St Martin (ibid., pp. 40–41), a detail lending the account a melodramatic quality at this point.

[13] Ibid., pp. 44–45; 'If [the abbot] were to be killed, then not one Christian throughout al-Andalus [ispania] would remain alive, for all would perish by the sword', author's translation, based on García Arias, 'Una embajada cristiana ... ', p. 222.

[14] 'Nec se causam esse caedis ipsorum, sed malitiam crudelitatemque irae ipsius ...' ('If all else failed, then God would come to the help of the threatened Christians'): ibid., p. 52.

[15] 'Si nolueris nunc intercedere, forsitan per aliquam occasionem liberabuntur Iudei, et tu et domus tua peribitis': Esther 4:14.

abbot is seen to attain ascendancy. In Western Europe, there was no one with greater influence or power than ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān, yet this representative of non-captive Christianity, whose unostentatious appearance and austere life-style is remarked upon by the writer, is shown to be the dominant force in the transactions between them. It is clear, however, that the desire, unwitting or otherwise, to show Abbot John as having achieved mastery in what was potentially a politically fraught situation, was not the sole purpose of the narrative.

The person chosen to undertake the mission outlined by the abbot was Recemundo, whose character and subsequent conduct occupy centre-stage until, virtually, the conclusion of the text. His behaviour as someone who, whilst not a Muslim, enjoyed a position of privilege at the court of Córdoba, has achieved a degree of renown. As an Arabicized Christian, he has come to be regarded as the archetype of the successful 'Mozarab' in tenth-century Córdoba. He has been ascribed the authorship, or joint-authorship of a martyrology-cum-astrological calendar, an indicator in itself of his mastery of both Latin and Arabic.[16] From the text under consideration, the first pointer to Recemundo's character is the reference to his Christianity: 'Recemundus quidam, adprime catholicus'. In the light of what follows, this unambiguous testimony to the faith of Recemundo requires some interpretation. Information is provided about his profession: he heard petitioners, and gave them written responses, and he had other people to assist him in his task. In other words, he was an administrator in the Islamic state, benefiting from the prestige and authority afforded by his association with the Umayyads for profit. It was, presumably, during the course of his business that Recemundo became aware of the *cause célèbre* surrounding the ambassador from Otto's court. With an eye to the main chance, he took advantage of the vacillation in the Umayyad hierarchy, offering his own services, at a price, to undertake the mission to Frankfurt. The reward that he sought was the office of bishop in an episcopal see that had recently become vacant. This request was readily granted and, as is wryly observed in the text, thus was a layman suddenly converted to a

[16] *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, published by R. Dozy; new edn, with annotated French translation by C. Pellat, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1961; *Santoral hispano-mozárabe escrito hacia el 961 por Rabi ben Zaid, Obispo de Eliberri*, ed. and annotated by Don Francisco Javier Simonet, and published in *España sagrada*, Vol. LVI (1957), pp. 123–59, with useful 'Advertencia previa' (pp. 119–21), and 'Nota bibliográfica' (pp. 160–61), by the editor of the volume, Ángel Custodio Vega, who also published the *Artículo de Dozy sobre Recemundo de Córdoba*, reproducing Dozy's original study, but without the notes (pp. 181–96). Recemundo is known from Arabic and Latin sources, but the information *à propos* is from the text of the Abbot of St. Arnulphus concerning this mission to Córdoba of John of Gorze. There is an extensive nineteenth-century bibliography relating to the calendar, its texts, origins and significance. A point worth making here is that the date of 961 for its original composition is nowhere to be found within any of the manuscripts, and has been deduced from internal evidence, as has its location in Córdoba. El-Hajji's study, *Andalusian Diplomatic Relations*, pp. 218–20, contains a summary of what is known of the diplomatic activity of Recemundo. See also, Pierre David, *Études historiques sur la Galice et le Portugal*, Coimbra: Instituto de Estudos Históricos, 1947, pp. 189–201. For a further discussion of authorial problems, and recent bibliography, see note 22.

bishop. The question as to the circumstances whereby the Muslim caliph was in a position to grant a non-Muslim preferment in an ecclesiastical post is intriguing, but more so perhaps is the nature of the person who was able to pull Muslim strings for Christian purposes. This scheming, one might argue, is hardly in keeping with an 'adprime catholicus' for, from being a 'mere' functionary, Recemundo achieved elevation to the rank of bishop, an astonishing promotion by whatever yardstick. The mission lasted from June 955 to June 956 and, from the text, it is evident that a diplomatic solution to the deadlock was readily arrived at. Otto wrote revised instructions to the abbot whereby the offensive letters were to be put on one side, and the presents only handed to the caliph, for the sake of peace and friendship, and to ensure that the 'Sarracen pirates' should desist from their depredations, which had been the occasion of the original exchanges between the monarchs.[17] On his return to Córdoba, Recemundo is confirmed in his bishopric, although that there is no evidence that he ever left the Umayyad capital in order to take up residence in Granada, where his diocese of Eliberri was situated. He was a courtier at Córdoba whose status would have been immeasurably enhanced as a consequence of the successful outcome of his year-long diplomatic task. There was no incentive for him to dissociate himself from his duties at court, in case his services were to be called upon at a future date, as indeed occurred when he was to undertake a mission to Byzantium on behalf of the caliph. One deduces, therefore, that his title of Bishop of Eliberri was an honorific one, and that he never exercised any pastoral or administrative fiunctions in that office, nor had he been trained so to do.

The ensuing description, in the text, of the burgeoning friendship between the caliph and the abbot is, as on a former occasion, a vindication of the abbot's strong Christian conviction. Through his spirituality, coupled with political shrewdness, he is able to attain equality of status with the caliph, evinced when the two of them embark on a series of claims for their own respective empires. When the *vita* breaks off, the impression that remains is one of mutual regard between Muslim and Christian, eventually arising out of circumstances fraught with potential danger and uncertainty.

One of the fascinating aspects of the confrontation between the two major powers in the West at this period of the middle of the tenth century is the emergence of Recemundo as a 'player in the game'. The advancement he received for his accomplishment of the potentially precarious assignment demonstrates that he was a suitable person for forthcoming missions of a delicate nature. Evidently he was an Arabic speaker, without being regarded within a Christian context as being 'contaminated' by Islam. His origin as a member of the indigenous community of al-Andalus affirms that he was a Latin speaker, and it was, presumably, in this language that he communicated with Otto.[18]

---

[17] 'Iohanni de prioribus supprimendis rescribitur, tantum cum donis procedat, amicitiam pacemque de infestatione latrunculorum sarracenorum quoquo pacto conficiat, reditumque maturet, edicitur' (Paz y Meliá, 'Embajada del Emperador de Alemania ...', p. 64).

[18] These matters together with the role in diplomatic missions at this time of al-Turtushī, are discussed by El-Hajji, *Andalusian Diplomatic Relations*, pp. 238–71.

If the testimony of the Calendar can be depended upon, then Recemundo adopted the practice of those Christians who emigrated to the north of the Iberian peninsula, that is to say, dual names, one for a Christian (Recemundo), and one for a Muslim environment. This latter name was Rabiʿ Ibn Zayd al-usquf al-Qurṭūbī, (the bishop, the Córdoban).[19] Irrespective of the accomplishments of Rabiʿ in the literary sphere in Córdoba, his career as a trusted ambassador on behalf of the Umayyad Caliphate may have taken him as far as Constantinople.[20]

Because of his political, religious and literary prominence within both Christian and Muslim milieus, Recemundo, *qua* Rabiʿ b. Zayd al-usquf, has been considered as an almost prototypical 'Mozarab'. According to the traditional definition of the word, he was a Christian living within Muslim territory.[21] From the internal evidence of his involvement in the composition of the so-called Calendar of Córdoba, certain precisions may be made.[22] The Arabic text, as edited by Pellat, uses the word *ʿajam* for the first time when the seasons of the year are being discussed, and reference made to the month of December.[23] It would be rash

[19] Dozy adduced that the identification of Recemundo with Rabiʿ was proved by a passage from Ibn Khaldūn, copied by al-Maqqarī, in *España Sagrada,* LVI, p. 195. The similarity of his name with that of ʿArīb b. Saʿīd, and the confusion to which this has given rise, is discussed by Juan Castilla Brazales, *La Crónica de ʿArib sobre al-Andalus*, Granada: Impredisur, 1992, pp. 45–6.

[20] See Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, p. 612 and, for an interesting document attesting exchanges between Córdoba and the Christian East from an earlier date: E. Lévi-Provençal, 'Un échange d'ambassades entre Cordoue et Byzance au IXe siècle', *Byzantion*, XVII (1937), 1–24. Al-Maqqarī, quoting Ibn Ḥayyān, mentions the basins of two fountains destined for the palace of Az-Zahra, the largest of which, 'of gilt bronze and most beautifully carved with basso-relievo representing human figures, was brought to the Khalif from Constantinople by Ahmed Al-Yunani (the Greek), and Rabiʿ the Bishop' (Ahmed Ibn Mohammed al-Makkari, *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties of Spain*, trans. Pascual de Gayangos, London: Oriental Translation Fund, 1843, reprint, New York: Johnson, 1964, Vol. I, p. 234).

[21] See, for example, by inference, the interesting comments of Miguel Cruz Hernández, *El Islam de al-Andalus: Historia y estructura de su realidad social*, Madrid: Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional, 1992, p. 171.

[22] In effect, what has survived in two early Latin translations is an Arabic text, which is essentially a cross between an almanac and a martyrology. The traditional Arab-style calendar and listings of movements of stars with appropriate advice based on astronomical and astrological features, is fused with a specifically Christian document enumerating saints' days and a host of references of a markedly Christian nature: 'The two authors of the *Calendar* were ʿArīb b. Saʿīd, secretary to the Umayyad monarchs of Córdoba, and Recemund (Rabīʿ b. Zayd), Bishop of Iliberis' (Miquel Forcada, 'Books of *Anwa* in al-Andalus', in Maribel Fierro and Julio Samsó (eds), *The Formation of al-Andalus,* Part 2, Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1998, p. 312). Forcada subsequently states that ''Arīb's treatise was summarised and mixed with another book by Rabīʿ b. Zayd ... in order to compose the *Córdoba Calendar*.'

[23] *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, pp. 16–17. Pellat's accompanying footnote is revealing: 'Dans le texte arabe, le mot *ʿAgam* revient assez souvent; il désigne, d'une façon très générale, les non-Arabes, puis les non-Musulmans, et plus spécialement les Mozarabes, et nous l'avons généralement traduit par "Chrétiens"' (p. 16, n. 3). He adds, in a prudent observation, that *ʿajam* can also denote Persians. One needs to assert again here the underlying significance

to render this word as 'Christian', particularly since the word *naṣārā* is also to be encountered in the text. If the original compiler(s) made the distinction between *ʿajam* and *naṣārā*, then it had to be done for a purpose. It has been suggested that one of the translators of the Arabic text into Latin was the twelfth-century scholar Gerard of Cremona.[24] His rendering of *ʿajam* is generally Latini, and of *naṣārā* Cristiani. In recent times, a second and unrelated translation has been brought to light, facilitating comparisons.[25] If the different ways of interpreting these words reflect the diverse knowledge of the world of Islam that the individual translators held, then they also register a discriminating consciousness of ethnic and religious sensibilities. For example, in the introductory sequence, where the Arabic text mentions that the *ʿajam* add a day to the month of December every four years, Gerard translates 'Latini' and the Vich MS has 'Romani'.[26] Towards the end of this same introduction, there is a clutch of instructive references, two to *ʿajam*, and one to *nasra.* Gerard is consistent and renders 'Latini' and 'Cristiani' respectively, and the Vich MS 'Romani' and 'Christiani'. My interpretation, at this point, would be that the choice of the words 'Latini' ('Romani') and 'Cristiani' is not an arbitrary one. The translators recognized the need to distinguish between them, as indeed in the text of the calendar itself, they strove to differentiate between the festivals of the Roman calendar and those celebrated in the local Christian church of Córdoba. First, the language used in the Arabic text follows established practice, whereby the word *naṣārā* denotes what is externally recognizable as specifically Christian, particularly at a local level.[27] Secondly, the repeated use of the word *ʿajam* could throw light on Recemundo's own attitude and standing. As an 'adprime catholicus', one could suppose that he would have wished to draw attention to Christianity with the employment of ostensibly Christian terminology, using *naṣārā* rather than

---

of the word, namely the fact that it applies to non-Arabic speakers. It is a religiously neutral term, and it is an extension of its basic meaning to assume that it indicates Christians.

[24] This is the translation reproduced by Pellat in his edition, following Dozy. The text was also published by Dom Marius Férotin in 'Études sur neuf calendriers mozarabes', *Monumenta Ecclesiae liturgica*, Vol. V: *Liber Ordinum*, Paris, 1904, Appendix I, pp. 449–98, a scholarly comparative study, with useful notes. In my discussion, where there is a divergence with the text published by Pellat, preference is given to the manuscript version in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS Latins, 9335, fols 151v–160v.

[25] José Martínez Gázquez and Julio Samsó, 'Una nueva traducción latina del calendario de Córdoba (siglo XIII)', in Juan Vernet (ed.), *Textos y estudios sobre astronomía española en el siglo XIII*, Barcelona: Universidad Autónoma, 1981, pp. 9–78. The manuscript was discovered in the Museo Episcopal of Vich [henceforward: Vich MS].

[26] *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, p. 17; Gázquez and Samsó, 'Una nueva traducción', p. 21, and n. 5. Pellat normally translates *ʿajam* as 'Chrétiens' although, in this instance, he stays with ' ʿAgam', because 'l'auteur veut probablement parler des Perses, dont le calendrier est bien plus compliqué qu'il ne semble le croire' (ibid., p. 16, n. 3).

[27] Gerard does not sustain the distinction throughout the body of the Calendar, but in a precise context, where the Arabic refers to the feast-days [*ʿid al-ʿajam*]. The repeated use of this phrase suggests that Recemundo did not intervene in the text at these points, although one might suppose that he would have wished to throw Christianity into relief with the employment of ostensibly Christian terminology. These references are mainly absent in the Vich MS.

a religiously neutral word (*ʿajam*), whose significance could vary according to the political and social environment. The logical deduction, in the light of the evidence afforded by the Calendar is that, for Recemundo, the exclusivity of the *naṣārā* was at odds with his status as distinguished roving ambassador, scholar and translator. It is also, perhaps, to be remarked upon that neither Gerard nor the thirteenth-century translator employ the Latin form of the word 'Mozarab', despite the fact that it was, by then, in current use in documentation in the Christian kingdoms in the Iberian Peninsula, particularly Toledo. If the translators had any familiarity with this word, they did not recognize its significance in the behaviour or activity of the non-Muslim community in Córdoba of the tenth century.

An indication of the quality of life for the Christian in tenth-century Córdoba is provided by a translation of the Gospels into Arabic in 946 by Isḥāq b. Balashq [Velasco] al-Qurṭūbī.[28] Those parts of the text that have been scrutinized reveal that the translation is a literal one, sometimes in faltering Arabic, although this latter characteristic might be explained by the use of an imperfect Latin original. However, where Matthew, for example, uses the phrase 'the pinnacle of the temple', which is simplified in the Arabic version as 'the building of the house' (Chapter 4, verse 5), then one is entitled to seek another motive. The somewhat anodyne rendering would not cause any offence in Islamic circles, and the Qur'ānic resonances help to bolster this impression. In the opening verse of Matthew's Gospel, the author speaks of 'The book of the generation of Jesus Christ'. In the Arabic version, 'the book' is translated as *muṣḥaf*, the Qur'ānic term for sacred texts, and normally solely applicable to the Qur'ān, and the whole translation is preceded by the bismillah. Later, on folio 22, the bismillah is erased, an indication, perhaps of the sensitivity of the sixteenth-century inspection of the text. The presumption that

[28] There are three known manuscripts of his translation: Aumer, Monaco 238, a fourteenth-century copy of a copy made in Fez in 1145 by ʿAmr, deacon, for Ibrahim b. ʿAbd al-Masih; BM Add 9061, notified as being from the thirteenth century; MS 35, Cathedral of León. According to a note on the first folio of the León MS, it was copied by ʿAbd al-Masih Shamas Yalshansa [sic] in 736 AH [1335]. It was in the possession of a Morisco Maese Andrés, 'médico', 'christiano nuevo de moros' and it was approved as orthodox by Francisco López Tamarid in the town of Sorbas, 17 May 1565. A description of MS 35 is given by Zacarías García Villada, *Catálogo de los Códices y documentos de la catedral de León*, Madrid, 1919, p. 64. It is noteworthy that H.S. Gehman, in his fully documented article, 'The Arabic Bible in Spain', *Speculum*, I (1926), 219–21, whilst bringing to light the fact that there were two distinct traditions of translation of the Bible in Muslim Spain, was not, apparently, aware of the MS in the Cathedral of León. There was an important study of all three MSS by Ignazio Guidi, *La traduzioni degli Evangelii in arabo e in etiopico*, Memoria del socio Guidi, 1888, pp. 28–9. The PhD thesis by Catherine Alder, University of St. Andrews, 1953, entitled *Arabic Versions of the Psalter in use in Muslim Spain* was a pioneering extensive study in English on the subject. Although Ibn Velashq is not the author of any of the three 'psalter' translations, she discusses his work as translator of the gospels (pp. 7–8). References in my text are made to the León MS. Hanna E. Kassis, in the chapter on 'The Mozarabs', in María Rosa Menocal et al. (eds), *The Literature of al-Andalus*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 420–31, with up-to-date bibliography (pp. 431–4), provides a compact account of 'Mozarabic literature in Arabic', commenting briefly on the contribution of 'Ibn Bilashku (Velázquez [*sic*])' (p. 425).

the translation was a means by which Christians with an insecure knowledge of Latin and a command of Arabic could read the Gospels seems plausible, particularly if one posits the presence of an Arabic-speaking Christian community in Córdoba in the tenth century.[29] The function of the translation as a proselytizing instrument can also be considered. In the sixteenth century, when Arabic was if not spoken then certainly read by the 'New Christian' Moriscos, then such a version would have its practical utility. One cannot, therefore, discount the function of the Arabic translation of the Gospels in the tenth century as a method of conversion. Non-committed members of the indigenous population, as well as Muslims, would have comprised the constituency for such efforts. For Muslims inclined to apostasize, the manner in which certain issues were conveyed in the Arabic would render the prospect of Christianity more acceptable. For those familiar with Arabic, then the existence of Gospels in Arabic would be accessible should a propitious occasion occur. Whatever the original purpose of these Arabic Gospels, their readership may well have been tiny. It is possible, though, to imagine that the Arabic text could have been read out loud to an audience of devotees, by the Christian equivalent of the learned *kātib* (secretary).

[29] 'Whether lured or impelled, the Mozarabs had acquired the language, customs, and other social practices of the Arabs at the latest by the middle of the ninth century' (Kassis, 'The Mozarabs', p. 420). The problem with this claim is the use of the word 'Mozarab'. Clearly, there were Arabicized members of the indigenous community, but there were also Christians for whom Arabicization was an abhorrence. See also, for a differing interpretation of the nature and status of Christian communities within al-Andalus, Mikel de Epalza, 'Mozarabs: an Emblematic Christian Minority in Islamic al-Andalus', in Salma Khadra Jayyusi (ed.), *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992, pp. 149–70; reproduced in Manuela Marín (ed.), *The Formation of al-Andalus*, Part I, *History and Society*, Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1998, pp. 183–204. For Epalza, 'the conversion of Peninsular Christians to Islam was a collective phenomenon, with religious and political structural causes, and was globally produced during the 2nd/8th century. However, small, well-organised Christian nuclei continued to exist throughout the Umayyad period ... ' (p. 193). There is scant evidence for wholesale conversion of the indigenous population in the eighth and indeed the ninth centuries, on religious grounds. As for 'well-organised' Christian nuclei, this seems to be *prima facie*, unlikely and, again, lacking proof, but Epalza's insistence on the role of bishops and on the interpretation of status provides a constructive perspective.

This page intentionally left blank

Chapter 5

Mozarabism in León I: Arabic Nomenclature

The presence of Arabic words and names in Latin documents preserved in monasteries in the northern kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula from the ninth to the eleventh century, has given rise to investigation on two fronts. First, they are sufficiently arresting as to promote theories concerning their origin. Secondly, and more problematically, the impact on both the ecclesiastical and secular society of those who bear Arab names has invited analysis. It has been customary to see in the incidence of these names in Latin documents, evidence of Arabic influence in the Christian regions of the north of the Peninsula. That is to say, those who had these Arab names contributed to the emergence of what has come to be regarded as the Mozarabic period. Yet it is by no means unequivocally clear what such contributions were or might have been, and further, there is unimpeachable evidence that some of those responsible for bringing about the 'age' of Mozarabism were not themselves Arabicized. What is discussed in this chapter is an attempt to throw light on these issues.

Why Arab names, frequently transliterated in grotesque Latin forms, should have appeared in monastic documents from the ninth century onwards, has been the source of a range of theories. Regarding their provenance, it has been suggested that they may have belonged to people who were already Arabicized. They occupied territory in an indeterminate frontier area when it was conquered by the Leonese, who absorbed Arabicized communities, already *in situ,* as they extended their lands further south.[1] Fernando R. Mediano, having analysed that category of Arabic names which occur with Christian ones in the same family milieu, has argued that 'it is possible to posit' that 'the bearers of these names ... are already Arabicized at the moment of the Christian conquest.'[2] In other words,

---

1 Eduardo Manzano Moreno, *La frontera de al-Andalus en época de los Omeyas*, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1991, pp. 173–4; and 'Christian-Muslim Frontier in Al-Andalus: Idea and Reality', in Dionisius A. Agius and Richard Hitchcock (eds), *The Arab Influence in medieval Europe*, Reading: Ithaca Press, 1996, pp. 83–99: 'The only possibility that remains then is that these peoples [in the Duero valley] at some time and somehow had become at least partially arabised' (p. 95).

2 Fernando R. Mediano, 'Acerca de la población arabizada del reino de León (siglos X–XI)', *al-Qanṭara*, XV (1994), 465–472, at p. 472; also Victoria Aguilar, 'Onomástica de origen árabe en el reino de León (siglo X)', *al-Qanṭara*, XV (1994), 351–63, and Victoria Aguilar Sebastián and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, 'Antroponimia de origen árabe en la documentación (siglos VIII–XIII)', in *El reino de León en la Alta Edad Media*, VI (1994), pp. 497–633, in particular, p. 506. These important studies are based on published collections

they may have been Muslims who subsequently became integrated into Christian society.[3] Perhaps they negotiated their liberty with their Christian conquerors, renouncing Islam whilst retaining their Arabic nomenclature. They would have been permitted to continue to reside in areas where their ancestors had settled, perhaps a century and a half earlier, benefiting from a system of tolerance similar to that shown by the Muslim conquerors to the Visigoths.

Reinhart Dozy suggested that such communities may have been Berbers who had settled in the area around Astorga and León in the wake of the Muslim conquests at the beginning of the eighth century. They later embraced Christianity, whilst retaining their Arabic names.[4] However, the supporting evidence for this particular hypothesis is not copious, not least because Berber names are problematic to identify, and arguments can be adduced to the effect that the Berbers who participated in the invasion and early conquest were no more than slightly or superficially Arabicized.[5]

If the Berbers were themselves only marginal contributors to the Arabicization of a region, then perhaps the existence of Arabic names indicates the survival of pockets of Arab Muslims, established in the frontier marches for administrative purposes. When political control from Córdoba was disrupted, notably during the turbulent years of the mid-eighth century, then they and their descendants would have asserted their own autonomy, prospering from the natural economy of the region.[6] Indeed, the attempts of the Umayyad emirate, after ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān's assumption of power in Córdoba in 756 AD, to govern the whole of al-Andalus, tended to exacerbate existing rivalries between Arab clans.[7] Not only was there

---

of documents. The interpretations offered here acknowledge the immense labour of scholars in recent years to make the monastic evidence available, whilst at the same time being founded on the author's own study of named cartularies in their original form at specific times over a span of decades. In this study, precedence is given to the earliest manuscript documentation, where consulted.

[3] Alexandro Herculano, *Historia de Portugal*, Lisbon, 1849, Vol. III, argued that many of these names corresponded to Muslims, either prisoners-of-war, or residents in areas conquered by the Asturians in the ninth century. Both groups became incorporated into Asturian and then Leonese society (p. 193). Juan Ignacio Ruiz de la Peña, 'Siervos moros en la Asturias medieval', *Asturiensia medievalia*, 3 (1979), 139–61, has argued that, for this region, apart from the specific references to people of Muslim origin, signalled by some such word as 'mauri', the relatively abundant examples of Arabic nomenclature reveal 'la influencia de colonizaciones meridionales atribuíbles a la presencia de pobladores mozárabes, es decir formalmente arabizados y no ... a gentes de estirpe sarracena' (pp. 144–5).

[4] R.P.A. Dozy, *Recherches sur l'histoire de l'Espagne*, 3rd edn, Leyden, 1881, I, p. 123; see H.T. Norris, *The Berbers in Arabic Literature*, London, 1982, pp. 19–20.

[5] Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz pointed to the short period of time, in his view, twenty-five years, that the Berbers spent in Leonese territories: *Despoblación y repoblación del valle del Duero*, Buenos Aires, 1966, pp. 264–5; Salvador de Moxó, *Repoblación y sociedad en la España cristiana medieval*, Madrid: Rialp, 1979, pp. 55–7.

[6] Mediano, 'Acerca de la población arabizada del reino de León (siglos X–XI)', p. 471; Eduardo Manzano Moreno, *La frontera de al-Andalus en época de los Omeyas*, pp. 173–4.

[7] For example, Eduardo Manzano Moreno, 'The Settlement and Origins of the Syrian *junds* in al-Andalus', in Manuela Marín (ed.), *The Formation of al-Andalus*, Part I, *History and*

'inter-Arab' rivalry, but also a continuing tension between Arab Muslims and the non-Arab Muslims, who were in the majority. If, as is generally accepted, these twin zones of conflict dominated the political scene in the ninth century, then there would have been no incentive for Muslim settlers of whatever origin, to abandon their lands and possessions after the Leonese annexation of their territory. Furthermore, the formal aspects of religious observance may well have been absent in the remote rural frontier zones. Without mosques, one suspects, the settlers perpetuated whatever life-style that had been customary, whether they were of Berber origin or descended from Arab Muslim families of the East. Only when an abbey became established in a particular region with consequent benefits for the local economy, did it become propitious for them to give an outward show of religious allegiance.

As a gloss on the two theories propounded to explain the presence of Arabic names in the Latin documents, it is worth emphasizing that the evidence itself is so diverse, that what may satisfactorily account for the incidence of Arabic names in one region and at one particular time, may not be valid for that same area fifty years earlier or later, nor for a neighbouring region.

For a long time, the accepted explanation for the presence of Arabic names in Latin documents of the kingdom of León from the end of the ninth century onwards was that they referred to *emigrés* from al-Andalus. Manuel Gómez-Moreno, describing these *emigrés* as Mozarabs, argued that the Arabic names corresponded to Arabicized Christians fleeing north for two principal reasons. His first argument was that, according to the 'concilio de Coyanca' of 1051, permission was only granted to Jews to dwell among Christians, and not to Muslims. This document is, however, of a comparatively late date, and may not necessarily apply to the situation two hundred years earlier.[8] Secondly, and more cogently, Gómez-Moreno refers to the circumstances of the repopulation of the territory in the region of Zamora. The city of Zamora itself was populated by 'gente de Toledo', inhabitants from Toledo, who had come there to rebuild the city, and who subsequently attracted people from the frontier to settle there.[9] Furthermore, in documents of 970 and 983 AD, the great majority of persons cited have Arabic names.[10] However,

---

Society, Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998, pp. 85–114, at pp. 113–14; this study was first published in Spanish in *al-Qanṭara* in 1993.

[8] M. Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes: arte español de los siglos IX a XI*, Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1919, p. 116.

[9] Ibid., pp. 106-7; Sánchez-Albornoz, *Despoblación y repoblación del valle del Duero*, pp. 273–4. Both quote Miguel Asín's translation of a passage of Ibn Ḥayyān as source. Sánchez-Albornoz goes further than Gómez-Moreno, and states that Zamora, which was deserted, was built and fortified by 'mozárabes toledanos', Toledan Mozarabs (p. 274); see also, Fr Justo Pérez de Urbel, 'Reconquista y repoblación de Castilla y León durante los siglos IX y X', in *La reconquista española y la repoblación del país*, Zaragoza: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1951 (Conferencias del curso celebrado en Jaca en agosto de 1947), [Cursos del Instituto de Estudios Pirenaicos], pp. 127–62, at p. 158.

[10] Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, p. 116, n. 1, where three Arabic names are mentioned relating to four other different dates from the tenth century. Pérez de Urbel exaggerates the claim of his predecessor (whilst citing him as his sole source), by affirming

the two documents quoted by Gómez-Moreno for the year 983 are drawn from the Becerro de Celanova, a collection of documents relating to a monastery remote from Zamora, in the region of present-day Orense in Galicia, and then in the western extreme of the Leonese kingdom. Amongst the witnesses to a bill of sale by Dulcidius and his wife to the abbot Zacarias are eight signatories with Arabic names, to wit: Zeit (a deacon), Kazem (a presbyter), Hodman (a witness), Abgalip (a deacon), Kazan and Zait (both witnesses), Dominicus Zicri (a deacon), and Zeit Abiubet (a witness).[11]

None the less, monastic documentation over a vast swathe of territory in the kingdom of León testifies to the profusion of Arabic nomenclature. If these names do not refer to persons *in situ*, then to explain their presence, one must consider the settlement in Christian-held territory of migrants from elsewhere. The early history of the nascent kingdom of Asturias in the eighth century, for instance, brings to light a royal policy of destruction and desolation in the frontier zones. Between 750 and 757 AD, Alfonso I of Asturias (739–57) laid waste to an area encompassing the land from the Sierra de Guadarrama to the Sierra de Gredos. According to a chronicle of the late ninth century, he captured twenty-nine cities and townships, formerly Muslim possessions, putting the Arabs to the sword, and taking the Christians back with him to his kingdom, where they settled over a wide area.[12] In the *Chronicle of Albelda,* which also dates to the reign of Alfonso

that 'la mayor parte de las personas citadas en documentos del siglo X relativos a Zamora llevan nombre árabe' (p. 158).

[11] *Becerro de Celanova*, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, 986B, folio 149. For a brief description of this twelfth-century collection of documents relating to this monastery, see the author's 'Arabic Proper Names in the Becerro de Celanova', in David Hook and Barry Taylor (eds), *Cultures in Contact in Medieval Spain*, London: King's College, 1990 [Medieval Studies III], pp. 111–26, at p. 124. This list, with some slight variations is to be found in Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, p. 116, n. 1. There is a document on fol. 149 v. dated to 951 AD, which does have a link with Zamora 'civitatis' and which may have given rise to the impression that all the three documents recorded on folios 149 and 149v. related to Zamora. (The third, also a bill of sale favouring the Abbot Zacarias is dated 1010 AD.) I would like to acknowledge with gratitude the courtesy and helpful cooperation of the authorities and the staff at the Archivo, during visits that I have made there since 1965 for the purpose of transcribing Arabic names existing in a variety of collections of documents.

[12] 'Adefonsus … qui cum fratre Froilane sepius exercitu mobens multas civitates bellando cepit, id est Lucum, Tudem, Portugalem, Anegiam, Bracaram metropolitanam, Uiseo, Flavias, Letesma, Salamantica, Numantia qui nunc vocitatur Zamora, Abela, Astorica, Legionem, Septemmanca, Saldania, Amaja, Secobia, Oxoma, Septempublica, Arganza, Clunia, Mabe, Auca, Miranda, Revendeca, Carbonarica, Abeica, Cinasaria et Alesanzo, seu castris cum villis et vinculis suis. Omnes quoque arabes gladio interficiens, xpistianos autem secum ad patriam ducens … Era DCCLXLV [757 AD].' *La Crónica rotense* (now known as the Roda version of the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*) in M. Gómez-Moreno, 'Las primeras crónica de la Reconquista: el ciclo de Alfonso III', *Boletín de la Real Academia de Historia*, C (1932), pp. 526–628, at pp. 615–16; this passage was translated into English, although from another Latin text, by Kenneth Baxter Wolf, 'The chronicle of Alfonso III', in *Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1990 [Translated Texts for Historians, Volume 9], pp. 159–77, at p. 169. In a footnote, as a historical gloss, Wolf adds: 'This list of

III at the end of the ninth century, there is a less graphic summary of Alfonso I's achievement, to the effect that he laid waste the 'campos quos dicunt Goticos' as far as the River Duero and extended the Christians' kingdom.[13] The vexed question of the depopulation or otherwise is less crucial to the argument here, than the reference to the forced relocation of Christians.[14] As this demographic change is alleged to have occurred in the 750s, it is unlikely that these Christians would have been noticeably Arabicized. The forty or so years since the initial invasion were simply insufficient time for extensive acculturation to have occurred. The nomenclature of those relocated to Asturias would, therefore, have demonstrated minimal signs of Arabicization, if any at all.

The lands decimated by Alfonso I remained desolate or sparsely inhabited for around a century ['ab antiquis desertas'], until Ordoño I (850–66) fortified four strategic cities – León, Astorga, Tuy and Amaya – and 'built their gates on high ground'.[15] The chronicler goes on to make the crucial observation that he populated these cities with people who came both from his own kingdom and from al-Andalus: 'popule partim ex suis, partim ex Spania advenientibus implevit'. 'Spania' was the name used in the early chronicles and on inscriptions to describe the territory controlled by the Muslims.[16] Those installed in these cities came from other parts of his own territories, and from unspecified areas of al-Andalus. There is no insinuation in this text that those coming from 'Spania' were refugees, nor that they were Christians.[17] It does show unequivocally, however, Ordoño's determination to improve the military capability of his kingdom, giving rise to the

---

towns in the Duero and upper Ebro valleys reflects the geographical range of Asturian raids in the wake of the Berber rebellion and exodus from northern Spain (740-1). Actual Asturian control over these areas probably dates from the next century when the chronicle was written' (note 44). The text of the 'Rotensis' is given, along with the Albeldense, in *Crónicas Asturianas*, ed. Juan Gil Fernández, Oviedo: Universidad, 1985, with annotated translations by José L. Moralejo. The text is the same except that for 'vinculis', Gil has 'viculis' (p. 132), translated by Moralejo as 'aldeas' [villages] (p. 208).

13 *La crónica albeldense* in Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, pp. 600–609. The full text reads: 'Urbes quoque Legionem atque Asturicam ab inimicis possessas uictor inuasit. Campos quos dicunt Goticos usque ad flumen Dorium eremauit et xristianorum regnum extendit.' The 'campos Goticos' or the 'campos Gotorum' were the so-called frontier territories north of the river Duero. See Sánchez-Albornoz, *Despoblación y repoblación del valle del Duero*, pp. 123–54 (texts p. 125).

14 Salvador Moxó provides a judicious account of the historiography of the depopulation of the Duero valley in *Repoblación y sociedad en la España cristiana medieval*, pp. 21–7, and of Leonese territory, pp. 33–6.

15 *La Crónica rotense*, p. 619; Wolf, 'The chronicle of Alfonso III', p. 175, translating 'portas in altitudinem posuit'. Moralejo explains this curious expression as being a 'mala digestión' of a passage in the Book of Judith, but it does not seem necessary to adduce a biblical source.

16 *La Crónica rotense*, p. 620; A. Castro, 'Media un milenio entre las palabras España y español', *Ínsula* 252, November 1967, p. 1.

17 Wolf's assumption that this is a reference 'to the migration of Andalusian Christians (Mozarabs) to the north' is not, I think, justified ('The chronicle of Alfonso III', p. 175, n. 71), although the *Crónica albeldense* does make the general observation concerning

possibility that the new inhabitants were recruited either because they were known to be soldiers, or because of their potential as such.[18] Ordoño is revealed in the Latin chronicles as a warrior monarch, who assaulted his neighbours, both Basques and Muslims, frequently campaigning against the Muslims, and often emerging as victor.[19] His motive throughout his reign seems to have been to strengthen and expand his territories, and it was a vastly extended kingdom that he bequeathed to his son, the adolescent Alfonso III (866–910), on his death in 866.

It is during Alfonso's reign that some information relating to his policy of repopulation is available. It seems as though his initial concern was to occupy the area that is now northern Portugal. Through his impetus, the city of Oporto was occupied by Vímara Peres (869), and Alfonso was responsible for the restoration of the city of Braga in 885. As Pierre David pointed out, the episcopal structure had survived and was endorsed by the king. Alfonso's lasting contribution was to provide a secure military and administrative structure, fortifying the principal cities.[20] 'At that time, the church grew and the kingdom was extended' is how the chronicler of Albelda succinctly describes Alfonso's policy, specifying a number of cities, including Lamego, Viseu, Eminio and Oca, which were 'populated by Christians'.[21] The provenance of these Christians is largely unspecified, though two points may perhaps be made. First, Alfonso was in need of people, and what little evidence there is would seem to suggest that he would have welcomed immigrants to his kingdom whatever their origin, whether from the Basque regions or al-Andalus. It is not, I think, necessary to attribute this policy to the ideal of 'Reconquest'; Alfonso's achievements were those of conquest and not of reconquest.[22] He was an astute general and administrator who used the monastic system to secure his southern frontier. Secondly, there was clearly no vetting system for these newcomers at point of departure. If Alfonso and his nobles set conditions, then these may have included the stipulation that churches needed to be built or restored. What mattered was the influx of new settlers; their religious

---

Ordoño's reign: 'Iste xpistianorum regnum ampliauit' (in Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, p. 603).

[18] 'Multaque et alia castra muniuit' (*Crónica albeldense*, in Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, p. 603).

[19] *Crónica albeldense* has 'sepius' (ibid., p. 603), whereas the *Rotense* has 'semper' (*La Crónica rotense*, p. 620). 'He always emerged the victor' (Wolf, 'The chronicle of Alfonso III', p. 175).

[20] Pierre David, *Études Historiques sur la Galice et le Portugal du Vie au XIIe siècle*, Instituto de Estudos Históricos, Coimbra, Lisbon and Paris, 1947, pp. 177–8; Salvador de Moxó, *Repoblación y sociedad en la España cristiana medieval*, p. 53; Sánchez-Albornoz, *Despoblación y repoblación del valle del Duero*, p. 220.

[21] 'Ejus tempore ecclesia crescit, et regnum ampliatur', *Crónica albeldense*, in Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, p. 604; A. Cotarelo Valledor, *Alfonso III el Magno*, Madrid, 1933, Appendix D, pp. 674–9. Moralejo plausibly suggests that the textual reading of Aucensis [Oca] is a deformation of Auriensis, and that therefore it is the city of Orense, which makes more geographical sense in this context than Oca, which is near Burgos. Eminio is identified with Coimbra (in *Crónicas Asturianas*, ed. Juan Gil Fernández, p. 251, n. 262 and n. 263).

[22] D.W. Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain*, London: Longman, 1978, pp. 37–8.

affiliation, if they were known to have had one, was of secondary importance. What occurred within the new communities in León after the initial repopulators had become established is not at issue here.

There is toponymic evidence, which is significant, particularly for rural areas, and this reveals the abundance of place-names such as Toldanos, Cordobeses, Bascuenses and Mozarvez. Studies, such as those conducted by Menéndez Pidal, amply testify to the translocation of families and indeed of entire communities, and their resettlement in broad bands in the north of the Peninsula.[23] There were nuclei of Galicians (Gallegos, Villagallegos) in León, and an Astureses in Orense. The existence of place-names of a patently Andalusí provenance are an indicator of demographic movement, the reasons for which must be sought from elsewhere. From the middle of the ninth century onwards, there was considerable emigration from al-Andalus to the territory of the kings of León, principally in response to the policies of Alfonso III. Barrau-Dihigo believed that what he called the 'immigration mozarabe' was one of the three essential factors in the emergence of the Asturian kingdom.[24] This immigration was responsible for the foundation of monasteries and of episcopal sees, as well as for the colonization of the Leonese plains.[25] The use of the word 'mozarabe' here is misleading if taken as evidence of either the religion or the degree of Arabicization of the new inhabitants.

Whereas the evidence of toponymy may not be chronologically exact, the information available concerning certain monasteries and churches that were

---

[23] R. Menéndez Pidal, *Orígenes del español*, 5th edn, Madrid, 1964, pp. 442–4, and map at p. 488; Pérez de Urbel, 'Reconquista y repoblación de Castilla y León durante los siglos IX y X'.

[24] Lucien Barrau-Dihigo, 'Recherches sur l'histoire politique du royaume asturien (718–910)', *Revue Hispanique*, LII (1921), 1–360; Spanish translation by Eugenio Fuentes: *Historia política del reino asturiano (718–910)*, prologue by Javier Fernández Conde, Gijón: Biblioteca Histórica Asturiana, 1989. Quotations are from the French: 'Grâce aux Mozarabes, les derniers rois des Asturies restaurènt des sièges épispocaux, relevèrent ou fondèrent des établissements religieux, en d'autres termes rendirent à la vie des cités jusque-là demi-mortes ou des campagnes presque désertes. Mais les résultats de cette immigration ne se manifesteront pleinement qu'au Xe siècle, lorsque la monarchie sera définitivement installée à Léon, sur la grande voie romaine du Nord-Ouest, à laquelle aboutissaient les routes conduisant vers l'Espagne arabe; lorsque les relations de toute nature entre Chrétiens et Musulmans, nouées dès le VIIIe siècle, deviendront plus fréquents et plus intimes; lorsqu'enfin s'effectuera l'amalgame des populations montagnards descendues des Asturies el de la Galice avec les éléments en provenance de l'empire omeyyade' (p. 269). The other two factors were the withdrawal of the Arabs and Berbers in the middle of the eighth century, and the discovery of the body of St James at about the beginning of the ninth century; see also, p. 253, footnote: 'L'immigration mozarabe est un phénomène très important: il nous aide à comprendre certains progrès accomplis sous Ordoño I et Alphonse III.'

[25] L. Barrau-Dihigo, 'Études sur les actes des rois asturiens', *Revue Hispanique*, XLVI (1919), 1–192, comprising a catalogue of relevant documents. There are references to *émigrés* of indisputable Andalusí origin, such as Teudecutus Baiecense, or Biacience, 'sedis archidiaconus' (diplomas of 30 November 904, and 30 November 905), (Document numbers 61 and 64).

established in the kingdom of León is more precise. Inscriptions and monastic documents reveal that a number of important monasteries were founded or restored by *émigrés* from the south. One of the most prominent of these was the monastery of San Miguel de Escalada. It seems that some monks had already settled in Escalada, some 20 kilometres to the east of the city of León, on the meadows next to the River Esla when, in 913 AD, the Abbot Alfonso arrived with a number of colleagues ('sociis') from Córdoba, their homeland ('patria'), with the express brief of rebuilding the monastery on the site of the ruins. According to a Latin inscription now lost, but recorded in the nineteenth century, 'there was a small site dedicated to the archangel Michael which lay in ruins and had been abandoned for a long time.'[26] The crucial piece of information for our purposes, relates to the abbot and to his helpers. Alfonso is not a name that shows any sign of Arabicization, although the inscription clearly indicates that he came from Córdoba. Bearing in mind the fiercely anti-integrationist attitude of Christians such as Eulogius, some fifty years beforehand, this is perhaps unsurprising. Yet, the names of some abbots in monasteries in Christian territories in the tenth century are plainly Arabicized, as the collection of documents pertaining to the monastery of Sahagún clearly indicate, where the Arabic-sounding names of five abbots are to be found. The earliest of these chronologically is an Abdius abba, who confirmed a document of 921 AD and again in 925 AD, when he was attached to the monastery of St Laurentius, and where the manuscript form of the name is Abdie.[27] In this latter document of

[26] The inscription referring to this event was published by E. Hübner, *Inscriptionum Hispaniae Christianiarum*, Supplementum, Berlin, 1900, No. 467, p. 107: 'Hic locus antiquitus Michaelus archangeli honore dicatus, brevi opere instructus, post ruinis abolitis, diu mansit dirutus donec Adefonsus abba cum sociis adveniens a Corduvensi patria edis ruinam erexit sub valente sereno Adefonso principe. Monachorum numero crescente demum hoc templum decorum miro opere a fundamine exundique amplificatum erigitur ... DCCCCLI, sacratumque hoc templum ab episcopum Iennadium XII Kal. Decembrium' (20 November 913). The full text had been published, *inter alia*, by M. Risco, *España Sagrada*, XXXV, 1786, p. 310; by F. Fita, 'San Miguel de Escalada. Inscripciones y documentos', *Boletín de la Real Academia de Historia*, XXXI, 1897, p. 467; and later, by M. Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias Mozárabes*, p. 141, n. 3. A. Ruiz, in *DHGE*, XV, 1963, cols 841–3, gives a summary of the history of this monastery. A substantial account was also provided at an earlier date, by M. Gómez-Moreno, in *Catálogo monumental de España – Provincia de León*, Madrid, 1925–26, I, pp. 100–114. See also, Antonio Linage Conde, *Los orígenes del monacato benedictino en la península ibérica*, León: Fuentes y Estudio de Historia Leonesa IX, 1983, pp. 589–90, Jaime-Federico Rollán Ortiz, *Iglesias mozárabes leonesas*, León: Everest, 1976, pp. 10–11, Jacques Fontaine, *El mozárabe*, Madrid: Encuentro, 1978 (Spanish version, p. 86), and Vicente García Lobo, *Las inscripciones de San Miguel de Escalada: Estudio crítico*, Barcelona: El Albir, 1982, pp. 64–5, using Risco's text. The authenticity of the inscription on this foundation stone has been confirmed by H. Larrén, 'Excavaciones arqueológicas en San Miguel de Escalada (León)', *Actas del I Congreso de Arqueología Medieval de España*, II, Visigodo (Huesca, 1985), Zaragoza, 1986, pp. 103–23. See also, Fernando Regueras, *La arquitectura mozárabe de León y Castilla*, Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 1990, pp. 60–64.

[27] *Becerro gótico de Sahagún [1110 AD]*, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, 989B, fol. 7v, and fol. 154v. Mínguez gives the form of the name as Abdias in the document dated 921 – my reading, though, is Abdius –, and suggests that this particular document is a forgery,

925 AD, one of the signatories is Zaccarias abba.[28] The Abbot Lubila who appears as a signatory to a document of 941 AD may originally have been known as Abū al-ʿAlā, although a non-Arab etymon is also possible.[29] Independent evidence provides a lead. The donors of property and land in the vicinity of Melgar to the monastery of Sahagún in 959 AD were 'Luvila cognomento Iscam' (Hishām) and his wife and sister. Iscam would seem to represent Hishām indisputably, an onomastic pattern reflected in the name of a further signatory to the same document, also living in Melgar, to wit, Taion even Gebdela (Ibn ʿAbdalla).[30] From the evidence provided by this document and from others relating to Melgar, there is a sufficient cluster of names of Arabic origin in a known geographical location to justify speculating on the existence of a joint settlement, perhaps one generation removed. There would appear not to have been a consistent procedure on the part of the abbots to conceal or disguise the names given to them in another environment, on the assumption that their parents, or possibly grandparents, had settled in Christian territory.

In 960 AD, a Ramellus abba de Algatef confirms a donation of the presbyter Meliki – also referred to as Saluti cognomento Meliki.[31] A Muza abba, the fifth of this group of abbots with a probable Arabic provenance, is attested in 971 AD. This may be the Muza diaconus who was among the many signatories of the document also witnessed by Ramellus.[32] Because of defective copying on the part of scribes who would, in most cases, have transcribed the Arabic names phonetically, it is frequently difficult to determine exactly what the original name may have been.

---

because of anachronisms in the text: José María Mínguez Fernández, *Colección diplomática del monasterio de Sahagún (Siglos IX y X)*, Fuentes y Estudios de Historia Leonesa, No. 17, León: Archivo Histórico Diocesano, 1976, pp. 60 and 65.

[28] *Becerro de Sahagún*, f. 154v; Aguilar Sebastián and Rodríguez Mediano, 'Antroponimia de origen árabe en la documentación', p. 522, n. 2; Mínguez, *Colección diplomática del monasterio de Sahagún*, p. 66. In a Muslim context, the Arabic form echoes Zakira (Salahuddin Ahmed, *A Dictionary of Muslim Names*, London: Hurst, 1999, p. 344).

[29] *Becerro de Sahagún*, f. 85v; Mínguez, *Colección diplomática*, pp. 108–109.

[30] *Becerro de Sahagún*, f. 57v; Mínguez, *Colección diplomática*, pp. 202–204.

[31] *Becerro de Sahagún*, f. 179; Mínguez, *Colección diplomática*, p. 229 and pp. 208–209. Mínguez describes the document of 960 as 'muy sospechoso' for having been fabricated by 'los falsarios del siglo XII con objeto de asegurar los derechos del monasterio sobre una serie de villas' [p. 229]. Although the name Ramellus does not appear to have any striking equivalent in Arabic, its occurrence elsewhere in the abbreviated form of Ramel discounts any putative link with the well-known Ramirus (Ranemirus, Rademirus). Algatef is an Arabic form, possibly from the root *al-qaṭf*, referring to the gathering of fruit, in particular of grapes.

[32] *Becerro de Sahagún*, f. 68v. Mínguez did not include this document in his edition of the *Becerro*. Manuel Gómez Moreno, *Iglesia mozárabes* (p. 108, n. 5), lists eighteen abbots by name, covering the period 926–1083, but of the five abbots discussed here, only mentions Ramellus. The reason for this may be that he did not have access to this particular *Becerro*. (Some of the Sahagún documents, including the one with reference to Ramellus, are to be found in other collections.)

Other abbots with Arabic names in Leonese territories testified in surviving monastic documents, include Domno Melic, Abeiza and Domno Hisccam.[33]

Concerning abbots in Leonese monasteries, then, there appears to be a dual phenomenon to interpret, the presence of those of patent Andalusí origin, yet with evidently Christian names, and their counterparts, those with Arabic names. The chronicles verify that there was emigration from other areas of the Iberian Peninsula, including al-Andalus, notably to occupy territory recently annexed by Christian monarchs. What can be established from the policy of Muslims towards conquered peoples suggests that it is unlikely, except perhaps in isolated instances, that religious persecution was the motive for the *emigrés*. There may be a plurality of explanations; indeed, all those put forward to date may be valid for particular instances. It does seem likely, though, that there was substantial emigration from the 880s through, to and during the reign of ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān III (912–61 AD). After the 950s, there is still a plethora of Arabic names in the documentation, not all of which can be attributed to emigration. In the case of the abbots mentioned, however, I would argue that they may well not have been abbots, or even practising Christians, at their point of departure. Individuals drawn from different sectors of the population, some urban and some rural, and Arabicized to different degrees, went north for a variety of reasons. Since the opportunities offered to some of them on arrival were mainly in a monastic environment, they adopted the mantle of Christianity, and would have been appropriated for their abilities and achievements.

If one looks at the available documentation from particular monasteries for onomastic evidence, it is possible to offer some explanation of this Arabicization. For example, in the cartulary of the monastery of San Salvador de Celanova, in present-day Galicia, which flourished certainly throughout the tenth century until, perhaps, the uprising of 1050 AD when 'surrexit alfetena et venerunt mauros in illa terra', there are over a hundred occurrences of anthroponyms with an Arab derivation between 879 and 1037 AD.[34] There are six abbots with Arabic names in

---

[33] These three do figure in Gómez-Moreno's list, and are verified. However, some of the other names listed should be removed because the manuscript reading does not justify their inclusion. See my '¿Quiénes fueron los verdaderos mozárabes? Una contribución a la historia del mozarabismo', *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica*, XXX (1981), 574–85, at pp. 582–3. See also, Aguilar Sebastián and Rodríguez Mediano, 'Antroponimia de origen árabe en la documentación', pp. 588–9.

[34] *Becerro de Celanova*, f. 54v, and published by Eduardo Hinojosa, *Documentos para la historia de las instituciones de León y de Castilla (Siglos X–XIII)*, Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1919, p. 23. There are three isolated instances beyond this date, in 1054, 1063 and 1095 AD; see n. 11. The collection of monastic documents relating to Celanova has been published by Carlos Sáez, bringing to fruition the work of transcription that was discontinued by his father Emilio Sáez in the 1960s: Emilio Sáez and Carlos Sáez, *Colección diplomática del monasterio de Celanova (842–1230)*, Vol. I, pp. 842–942, Alcalá de Henares: Universidad, 1996, Vol. II, 943–88, 2000; the two volumes comprise the series Galicia, 1 and 2. José Miguel Andrade Cernadas has published an edition, in Galician, of the Celanova documents, with the difference that whereas Sáez arranged them chronologically, Andrade and his collaborators chose to follow the order in which they appear in the Tumbo: *O tombo de Celanova: estudio*

this cartulary, prior to the end of the tenth century: Hazme (879 AD), Aila (932 AD), Medoma (941 AD), Alfidius (952 AD), Ziton (955 AD), and Zakarias (982 AD).[35] These documents also contain many Arabic words which have been used as indices of so-called Mozarabic infiltration in the north of the Peninsula.[36] Regarding the names themselves, these occur principally as witnesses to a legal contract of some kind and, as is the case with the Sahagún documents, light is seldom thrown on their provenance from the context. In many instances, the Arabic equivalent of the Latin form of these names is readily recognizable: Hazme is Hazm, Aila could reflect ʿAla, and Medoma abba testis (941 AD), is Muḥammad.[37] It is difficult to find an alternative etymon to Muḥammad as the original form of this name, yet Gómez-Moreno pointed out that a Christian named Muḥammad is *prima facie* surprising.[38] One can only deduce that Medoma's community saw nothing strange in the name, and nothing, contrary to Gómez-Moreno's opinion, that brought to mind any affiliation with Islam. There are other instances of a Medoma in this cartulary, one witnessing a document of 967 AD, another a document of 1018.[39] An Arabic name, even that redolent of the Prophet Muḥammad, gave no cause for comment, let alone alarm, in the monastic Christian communities in the tenth century. The same would apply to Alfidius abbas , who may be (Abū) al-Fidā'.[40] Kazem testis (Qāsim),

---

introductorio, edición e índices (ss. IX–XII), ed. José M. Andrade, 2 vols (consecutive pagination), Santiago de Compostela: Consello da Cultura Galega, 1995. There are some discrepancies in the published transcriptions of Sáez and Andrade. My readings arise from my own scrutiny of the manuscript *becerro*.

35 None of these figure in Gómez-Moreno's list, as he did not apparently use the *Becerro de Celanova* as a source for them, although he did quote from it elsewhere in his *Iglesias mozárabes* (for example, p. 239). See my 'Arabic Proper Names' (note 11 above), pp. 114–19; the folio references are to ff. 104, 173v, 21, 192, 176v, and 160 respectively.

36 Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, pp. 122–; Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, *Una ciudad de la España cristiana hace mil años*, 5th edn, Madrid: Ediciones Rialp, 1966, Appendices II and IV, pp. 184–206. Many of the words abstracted by Gómez-Moreno were utilized, as philological evidence, by Joan Corominas in his *Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana*, 4 vols, Berne: Editorial Francke, 1954.

37 Other striking examples of the early epoch from the *Becerro de Celanova* include Homari presbiter (905 AD) [ʿUmar], who buys the churches of San Martín and San Juan de Baños (f. 42v; Sáez, I, p. 69; Andrade, I, p. 161), and Muza Ibenabdella confirmans (927 AD) (f. 182v; Sáez, I, p. 90, with the form Muza Iben Adela); Andrade's transcription coincides with mine, II, p. 735.

38 Gómez-Moreno was apparently uncertain as to how this issue could be resolved: 'puesto que estos leoneses casi nunca se llamaron Mahómad, considerado tal nombre como una cierta filiación espiritual del Profeta, impropia de cristianos', *Iglesias mozárabes*, p. 111. 'Medoma abba' occurs in the *Becerro de Celanova*, f. 21 (Sáez, I, p. 143; Andrade, by contrast, has the reading 'Merloma'. My transcription, having revisited the text on more than one occasion, is Medoma [Muḥammad]).

39 *Becerro de Celanova*, ff. 141v, and 134v; Andrade, I, p. 545 and I, p. 520; Medomaz as a surname, was also used; see, Menendo Medomaz [Menendo, the son of Medoma], who witnessed a document of 1017 AD (f. 135v; Andrade, I, p. 522).

40 *Becerro de Celanova*, f. 192; Sáez, II, p. 73, Andrade, II, p. 773 and f. 149. For Abū al-Fidā, see Aguilar Sebastián and Rodríguez Mediano, 'Antroponimia de origen árabe en la

Hodman testis (ʿUthmān), and Abgalip testis (Abū Ghālib) (all in a document of 983 AD), also fall into this category.[41]

Whilst still confining the examples to the one Galician monastery of Celanova, the inescapable fact is that, throughout the tenth century, particularly after ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān had established absolute control in al-Andalus, from the 940s onwards, and continuing during the reign of his successor, al-Ḥakam II (961–72 AD), one finds a plethora of unequivocally Arabic names, the greatest density of which occur in the 950s and 960s.[42] The bearers of these names evidently, at one time, dwelt in an Arabicized environment. It is conceivable, as Gómez-Moreno argued, that these were religious refugees fleeing for unspecified reasons from persecution in their place of origin.[43] Yet one is hesitant to accept that persecuted Christians should have become so thoroughly Arabicized as to have cast off all semblance of their Christian names. One would suspect that such people, when in a Christian environment, would have readily embraced their former Christian names, if Islam had been such an anathema to them. It is true that some of the names are hybrid ones, that is to say, Christian and Muslim, but most of them are unequivocally Arabic. The names point to Arabicization but not necessarily to Islamicization. Those who left al-Andalus were Arabicized, but were neither *a fortiori* Muslim nor Christian. Those who voluntarily relocated themselves would, for the most part, have left their homes because of the prospects of betterment outside al-Andalus. A further point to be made here is that demographic movement generally throughout the Peninsula may have been a constant if unrecorded phenomenon throughout Roman, Visigothic and Muslim rule. For climatic, pastoral and commercial reasons, there was a shifting population within the Iberian Peninsula.[44]

One category of names that allows a little more precision to be made is that of ‘servos’, slaves. In 1919, Eduardo Hinojosa published his analysis of an undated document relating to another monastery in present-day Galicia, that of Santa María de Sobrado. Herein, it can be seen that monks went recruiting for slaves,

---

documentación’, who suggest, following Elías Terés, the nominal form of the Arabic root *fada*, meaning redemption or ransom, amongst other alternatives (p. 532).

[41] *Becerro de Celanova*, f. 149. For instances of variants of these names in a wider range of documents, see Aguilar Sebastián and Rodríguez Mediano, ‘Antroponimia de origen árabe en la documentación’, pp. 533, 528 and 532, respectively.

[42] This corresponds to the pattern in Leonese territory generally. Victoria Aguilar’s graph indicates that the instances of Arabic names in the 4,000 documents that formed the basis of her research reached a peak in 960, in ‘Onomástica de origen árabe en el reino de León’, p. 355.

[43] Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, pp. 116–19, where the arguments are clearly rehearsed. Yet, the mature years of ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān’s caliphate were ones in which non-Muslims thrived. They are not noted for religious persecution.

[44] Olivia Remie Constable, *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain; The Commercial Realignment of the Iberian peninsula, 900–1500*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, refers to ‘the dearth of Mozarab traders’, which she attributes to ‘the low status of merchants in Iberian Christian society in contrast to the higher regard for the profession among Muslims and Jews’ (p. 96). Even when one equates the Mozarabs in this quotation to ‘indigenous Andalusi Christians’ (p. 64), there seems little justification for this hypothesis.

and for slaves with particular skills. When within monastic precincts, the slaves converted to Christianity, and adopted 'new' names. Before their 'conversion', they were known as 'pagani'. Some died unconverted, but the general practice was a ceremony of baptism, followed by the acquisition of a new name. Thus, Gali (Abū Ghālib? victor), became Thomas, 'pelitario', and Ali Muogo, 'textor', became Laurentius after baptism.[45] As far as Celanova is concerned, there is revealing and corroborative testimony. In a document that may date to the second decade of the tenth century, there is a reference to 'servos vel origine maurorum' (slaves of Muslim rather than of Berber origin).[46] One of the places mentioned by the donor Guttier in his disposition of property, is 'villa quam vocitant Cordiouarium' in the territory of the Asturian kingdom, a toponym denoting the Andalusí provenance of settlers there, although not specifically of the slaves nor their owners.[47] In the inventory of many tradespeople handed over by the bishop (San) Rosendo to the monastery of Celanova, (dated by Sáez to 977) but undated, there is mention of one 'Salvador Rodesindiz fuit maurus et habet quinque filios'. These five sons follow their father in showing no sign of Arab nomenclature, one Petro Salvatorz (*sic*) taking, as might be expected, the first name of his father as his surname.[48] Salvador may have been a baptismal name conferred upon him many years earlier – he was at the time of the drawing-up of this document a great-grandfather – but nothing further about his previous existence or his provenance is known, apart from the fact that he was once a Muslim (*maurus*). It may be assumed that he was recruited, perhaps at the turn of the tenth century, in order to fulfil a specific function within the precincts of the monastery.

A similar list of generations of descendants is provided in this same mid-tenth-century document for 'Fees mauro de monte Corduba'. Fees (*fawz*, victory, *fawzī*, victorious) may have been a disaffected Muslim from al-Andalus. His sons were Santio Fees and Gemondo Fees, but as the descendants proliferated, the original name Fees is subsumed. The slight distinction between this and the case of Salvador Rodesindiz is that, here, no attempt appears to have been made to disguise or to do away with an Arab name. As in many other instances where Arab names occur in the monastic documents, no opprobrium is attached to somebody whose name

---

[45] Hinojosa, *Documentos para la historia de las instituciones de León y de Castilla*, p. 43; R. Hitchcock, *Arabic Proper Names*, p. 112; Pilar Loscertales de G[arcía] de Valdeavellano, *Tumbos del monasterio de Sobrado de los Montes*, 2 vols, Madrid: Archivo Histórico Nacional, 1976, II, pp. 129–31. The classic work of F. Godoy Alcántara, *Ensayo histórico etimológico filológico sobre los apellidos castellanos*, Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1871, republished Barcelona: El Albir, 1975, remains instructive; see pp. 244–8.

[46] Ibid.

[47] This Cordouario 'in Asturias' is also among the division of properties made by Bishop Rosendo in 934 AD (*Becerro de Celanova*, f. 167; Sáez, I, p. 108: Andrade, II, p. 664).

[48] *Becerro*, f. 56v; Sáez, *Colección*, II, 169–74, at p. 171; Andrade is more cautious regarding dating, simply stating that the transaction of the document falls between the bishop's consecration and his death (942–77 AD) (pp. 222–6).

proclaims his Andalusí origin. It has to be said, though, that the presence of slaves in Galician monasteries accounts for but a minority of the Arab names therein.[49]

An instructive example is that of Moysen cognomento Abdela who, with his wife Trudildi, made a donation to the monastery, in a document confirmed by Bishop Rosendo in 963 AD, of half the property that he owned,[50] and his possessions. It would seem that Abdela, as he was known, was a prominent figure, a substantial and established landowner. It was Gómez-Moreno's argument that the first name would have been a baptismal one, although he does cite exceptions. If Moysen were to correspond to Muhsin (benefactor), then this would also fit into the latter category.[51] As there is no way of determining precisely what was common practice throughout the Christian areas of the north of the Peninsula in the tenth century, one is left with certain assumptions. The first of these would appear to be a constant feature, and it is that there is nothing reproachful about having a name of Arabic origin. There are no indications in the documents that the bearers of Arabic names are tainted because of their nomenclature, and evidently no undue pressure put on them to change their names. The second assumption is that variations of context, both spatial and temporal, need to be considered whenever judgements are made about the phenomenon as a whole. The provenance of the bearers of Arabic names may be determinable in particular instances, but the conclusion that may be drawn for one case, in one particular place and time, may not be applicable anywhere else.

A notable example from the Leonese documents relates to the abbot of the monastery of San Ciprián de Valdesalce, some forty kilometres from Sahagún in the kingdom of León, in the final quarter of the tenth century.[52]. The first abbot of this monastery was, as far as may be established, Hilal, the earliest occurrence of whose name as abbot, but without any affiliation, is in a document of 967 AD.[53] He reoccurs amongst the list of signatories of a sale of a walled garden to the presbyter Abdimelque (ʿAbd al-Malik) in 973 AD.[54] In 974 AD, he was the modest purchaser

[49] José Miguel Andrade Cernadas, *El monacato benedictino y la sociedad de la Galicia medieval (siglos X al XIII)*, La Coruña: Seminario de Estudos Galegos, 1997, p. 144.

[50] *Becerro de Celanova*, f. 76v; Sáez, II, pp. 141-2; Andrade, I, p. 301.

[51] For Muhsin (Mouhsen), see J. Chahine, *Les Mille et un noms arabes*, Paris: Asfar, 1987, p. 52, Ahmed, *A Dictionary of Muslim Names*, p. 127.

[52] An eighteenth-century toponymical reference suggests a location near the hill town of Valencia de Don Juan, once known as Coyanca: 'Almenacid ó Valdesaz' (Tomás López, *Mapa geográfico de una parte de la Provincia de León*, 1786). The exact whereabouts of the monastery are unknown. A church of 'Sancti Cipriani' in 'Valle Salicis' is mentioned in a document of 916 AD: Gregorio del Ser Quijano, *Documentación de la Catedral de León (Siglos IX–X)*, Salamanca: Universidad (Documentos y estudios para la historia del occidente peninsular durante la Edad Media, 5), 1981, pp. 53–9, at p. 55. He classifies this document as false (p. 29), although its toponymical value remains.

[53] Del Ser Quijano, *Documentación de la Catedral de León*, pp. 105–107, at p. 107; Sáez and Sáez, *Colección documental del archivo de la Catedral de León (775–1230)*, II (953–85), León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación 'San Isidoro' (CSIC-CECEL), 1990, pp. 188–9.

[54] Del Ser Quijano, *Documentación de la Catedral de León*, pp. 252–3; Sáez, *Colección documental de León*, pp. 214–15.

of two meadows in Laguna, and is presumed at this time to have been the Abbot of San Ciprián de Valdesalce.[55] In 986, Hylalius, together with all the monks and brothers of Valdesalce are the beneficiaries of a substantial bequest from Gaudiosa, which is signed by King Bermudo II.[56] As Hilal abba, he confirms documents of 990, and 991.[57] On the final two occasions, chronologically, in documents of 993 and 1000 AD, he appears as 'Salvatus abba cognomento Hilar', and 'Salvatus abba et confessus cognomento Hilal' respectively.[58] There is an explanation for the adoption of overtly Christian first name. In the document of 993, the King of León, Bermudo II, granted the Abbot Salvatus the concession of the village of Morella (de los Oteros), where a man, Furtunio Velasquiz, had recently been killed. The king himself signed the deed in the presence of three bishops, and two of the signatories, Michael and Ermegildo, both presbyters attached to the monastery of San Ciprián de Valdesalce, which is otherwise not mentioned, signed as witnesses.[59] The royal signature gives this document a status that such donations would not normally warrant, although the reference in full to 'Salvatus abba cognomento Hilar [*sic*]' might signal a reason. In April 992, Abbot Hilalius, (without Salvatus) and the brothers in the monastery of San Ciprián de Valdesalce had purchased a property in the valley of Covellas.[60] The change of name came about, therefore, in the lapse of time between then and the royal concession. One of the earliest scholars to have drawn attention to this monastery, Eloy Díaz-Jiménez, referred to a document that he had seen, dated 20 October 992, in which details are provided of a *cause célèbre*.[61] In this document a presbyter, Julian, refused to make gifts over to a

---

[55] Sáez, *Colección documental de León*, pp. 223–4. These two documents are recorded in the *Tumbo Legionense*, ff. 173v–174.

[56] *Tumbo Legionense*, ff. 164–164v, where there is a marginal reference to Don Herilalio, indicating the annotator's confusion as to the abbot's name; José Manuel Ruiz Asencio, *Colección Documental del Archivo de la Catedral de León (775–1230)*, Volume III (986–1031), León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación 'San Isidoro' (CSIC-CECEL), 198, pp. 5–7.

[57] Ruiz Asencio, *Colección Documental del Archivo de la Catedral de León*, pp. 39–40 and 53–4; Del Ser Quijano, *Documentación de la Catedral de León*, pp. 134–6 and 140–44, at p. 142.

[58] The form Hilar is resonant of Hilarius, with which name the scribe may have been confused. The Arabic origin of Hilal would seem to be confirmed by the addition in these latter two instances of Salvatus. See Aguilar Sebastián and Rodríguez Mediano, 'Antroponimia de origen árabe en la documentación', p. 539. For the references to the compound name, see ff. 167–167v, and 168–9 (the will of the Abbot Salvatus); Ruiz Asencio, *Colección Documental del Archivo de la Catedral de León*, pp. 80–81, where he gives the date as 994, and pp. 115–17.

[59] *Tumbo Legionense*, ff. 167-167v; Ruiz Asencio, *Colección Documental del Archivo de la Catedral de León*, pp. 80–81; also published by Risco, with the unexplained omission of the opening sentence of the document, in which the name of the abbot is given in full: Manuel Risco, *España Sagrada*, Volume XXXVI, Madrid: Blas Román, 1787, Appendix I, pp. i–ii.

[60] *Tumbo Legionense*, f. 176; Ruiz Asencio, *Colección Documental del Archivo de la Catedral de León*, pp. 61–2.

[61] Eloy Díaz-Jiménez y Molleda, 'Datos para la historia del monasterio de San Justo y Pastor', *Homenaje a Ramón Menéndez Pidal*, Madrid, 1925, Volume III, pp. 165–9; the footnote concerning the monastery of Valdesalce is on pp. 167–8. As he supplied an imprecise bibliographical reference for this document ('Arch. Cat. León. Monasterios, Documentos sin catalogar'), I was unable to verify the details. See also, Simonet, *Historia de los Mozárabes*,

monastery because its abbot had committed a scandalous sin. Eventually, he made his donation to the monastery of San Justo y Pastor, after having drawn the Bishop of León's attention to the outrage. According to Díaz-Jiménez, the monastery in question was that of San Ciprián of Valdesalce, and the offending Abbot Hilal, whose punishment was a fine of 200 *sueldos*. Perhaps this chastening experience led to the renewal of the abbot's spiritual commitment, and his consequent adoption of 'Salvatus'. The addition of the words 'et confessus' to his name in his bequest of 10 March 1000 AD to his monastery of the village of Morella, which he himself had received from the king some eight years earlier, would seem to suggest a measure of contrition.[62] He appears in no documents subsequently, and one would have to assume that his death occurred before 1003, the earliest date of a bill of sale signed by his successor, Valtarius. The property being disposed of by Valtarius was in the city of León, and had been purchased by Salvatus just before a devastating attack by Muslims which demolished it.[63] Al-Manṣūr's expedition of 988 AD, which included the burning of Sahagún, took in León, which would coincide with the period in which Hilal was known as Salvatus.[64] What may be deduced from these fragments of information is that Hilal who was, as far as can be determined, the first abbot of the monastery of San Ciprián de Valdesalce, was active in the promotion of its interests. Towards the end of his abbacy, a scandal of an unspecified nature, with which he was associated, may have occasioned or at least precipitated his adoption of a self-evident 'Christian' name. Hitherto, though, his Arabic name was neither a hindrance nor an embarrassment.

---

p. 634, who leaves the matter unresolved, and Hitchcock, '¿Quiénes fueron los verdaderos mozárabes?', pp. 584–5.

[62] *Tumbo Legionense*, f. 168-169; Ruiz Asencio, *Colección Documental del Archivo de la Catedral de León*, pp. 115–17; Risco, *España Sagrada*, XXXVI, Appendix III, pp. iv–vi. Amongst the witnesses to this will was the chronicler Sampiro [Sampirus presbiter], as noticed by Justo Pérez de Urbel, *Sampiro, su crónica y la monarquía leonesa en el siglo X*, Madrid: CSIC (Escuela de Estudios medievales, Volume XXVI), 1952, p. 439.

[63] Ruiz Asencio, *Colección Documental del Archivo de la Catedral de León*, pp. 171–2; 'ipsa corte distructa et desolata sicut eam sarraceni obstruraberunt'.

[64] Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain*, 1978, p. 47.

Chapter 6

Mozarabism in León II: Mozarabs

The concern in the preceding chapter was to observe and interpret, where possible, some of the incidences of Arabic names in the Leonese documents, focusing ultimately on the monastery of San Ciprián de Valdesalce. This was done deliberately without recourse to the term 'Mozarab', as it was absent in all the documentation. The situation changes at the beginning of the eleventh century when the word appears twice, making it possible to provide a context to what had gone before. The earliest occurrence of a form of the word 'Mozarab' in any language in the Iberian Peninsula is in a Latin document dated 1024 AD ('era LXII super millesima'), during the reign of Alfonso V of León. The document in question gives an account of a lawsuit between the monks of the monastery of San Martín (San Ciprián) de Valdesalce which, according to the documentation, flourished for more than a century from 974 AD, and three named Mozarabs concerning the ownership of property in Valdearcos. For its details and the incidental information that it provides concerning the settlement of Mozarabs in the north of the Peninsula, this document is, I think, of crucial significance in the history of Mozarabism. There are two copies of the document in question, the earliest chronologically a parchment in Visigothic script.[1] The second, the better known of the two, was included in the *Tumbo Legionense*, which was compiled toward the end of the twelfth century.[2]

---

[1] Archives of the Cathedral of León, Document no. 918, as indicated by Z. García Villada, *Catálogo de los códices y documentos de la Catedral de León*, Madrid, 1919, p. 128. In view of what appears to have been an error at some stage in transcribing the saint's name (Martín instead of Ciprián), one may consider this to have been an early copy of the original. There are upwards of sixty-seven documents in the *Tumbo Legionense* referring to the monastery of San Ciprián de Valdesalce between the years 974 and 1093 AD, of which this is the only one to use the name San Martín. This document was reproduced, with slight variants, by José María Fernández del Pozo, 'Alfonso V, rey de León', in *León y su historia. Miscelánea histórica V*, León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación 'San Isidoro' (CSIC), 1984, pp. 244–5. Justo Pérez de Urbel referred to it because of the presence of Castilians among the signatories, in his *Historia del Condado de Castilla*, Madrid, 1943–45, II, p. 964, n. 15.

[2] *Tumbo Legionense*, ff. 154-154v. There are a number of textual differences between the two copies, notably in the spelling of the proper names, and the twelfth-century scribe perpetrated further inaccuracies. It was published by José Manuel Ruiz Asencio, *Colección documental del archivo de la Catedral de León (775-1230)*, III (986–1031), León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación 'San Isidoro' (CSIC-CECEL), 1987, pp. 399–400. It had been reproduced in full as a footnote by Manuel Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes. Arte español de los siglos IX a XI*, Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1919, p. 117, n. 1, with some adjustments to the lexis. Until the reassessment of early Leonese history got under way in the 1980s, references to this document, by both historians and philologists, were taken from Gómez-Moreno's

The three named plaintiffs appear in the document as 'muzaraves de rex tiraceros nominatis Vincente et Abiahia et Iohannes'. The king had given them the village of 'Paliarelios' (Pajarejos) 'cum omnias adiacencias' which they claimed included pieces of land in Valdearcos.[3] The monks of Valdesalce and their Abbot Adulfo disputed this claim, arguing that the Abbot Hilal had purchased the property in question, and therefore rightfully belonged to the monastery. Alfonso's reign which ended with his death at the siege of Viseu in 1028 AD at the age of 33, is marked by a plethora of lawsuits concerning the ownership of property, in part due to the depredations caused by the campaigns of al-Manṣūr and ʿAbd al-Malik into Leonese territory.[4] The procedure followed was to appoint representatives from both sides to put their respective cases before those to whom the king had delegated legislative responsibility, in this instance, Count Don Monio's *maiordomo* Arias Furtuniz, and the person who might be considered Furtuniz's second-in-command, the *sayón* Abolkacem. From available documentation, it is possible to determine that the principal legislator and arbiter after the king was this count, (Don) Munio Munioz (Muñoz), who was active between 1010 and 1028 AD.[5] The *sayón* was the next in the hierarchy after the majordomo, and was engaged with the administration of justice in this epoch. One may observe that an 'Abolkacem presbiter' had witnessed a document of 978 AD. The difference in time-span would suggest that the two Abdolkacems were not one and the same, but the earlier reference shows that the name itself was not an unusual one. Furthermore, the patently Arabic nomenclature was evidently not an issue in eleventh-century León at this time, nor a drawback to attaining high civil and administrative rank.[6]

After the arguments were heard, statements made on oath ('per sacre sacramenta'), and recourse made to ordeal by fire ('per caldarie ignem'), judgment was passed in favour of the abbot and the monastery, who were henceforward to be regarded as rightful possessors of the pieces of land in dispute.[7] A hint at the

---

footnote, as for example, Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, 'El "palatium regis" asturleonés', *Viejos y nuevos estudios sobre las instituciones medievales españolas*, Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1980, III, pp. 1633–728, at pp. 1714–15 (first published in *Cuadernos de Historia de España*, 59–60, 1976).

[3] Pajarejos cannot be located in the precise region in which the Mozarabs settled. There was, however, a village called Pajares, about 4 km from Valdesaz in the direction of Valencia de Don Juan, with which it may be identified. The identical form of the word 'Paliarelios' occurs in a royal document of 1016 AD (*España Sagrada*, XXXVI, Appendix XI, p. XXIII).

[4] Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, 'La sucesión del trono en los reinos de León y Castilla', *Estudios sobre las instituciones medievales españolas*, Mexico, 1965, pp. 639–704, at p. 664, n. 3.

[5] I have noted that he appeared in seventeen documents between 1010 and 1028, and, after Alfonso's death, in one dated 1044 AD; see Pérez de Urbel, *Historia del Condado de Castilla*, II, p. 970, n. 25.

[6] *Tumbo Legionense*, f. 204v. An Abolkacem, without further qualification, made a donation to the monastery of San Martín de Valdepueblo in 971 AD (*TL*, f. 112 and f. 119v). Gómez-Moreno lists four other *sayones* with Arabic names, *Iglesias mozárabes*, p. 109, and n. 2.

[7] The judges appointed by the king were empowered to use whatever methods they chose in order to arrive at their ruling; the procedures mentioned here were usual and in

reason for this decision may be discerned in the detail that the Abbot Hilal had bought them from men who had possessed them 'de prestamo'. In other words, they had them as fiefs from the king, a temporary possession in return for military service when requested.[8] Perhaps the Mozarabs were under a misapprehension about the nature of the king's gift to them, but their efforts to secure their title to lands, which they thought belonged to them, were thwarted by regal legislation. Perhaps again they were unaware of the transaction involving Hilal, although I am inclined to think that they believed that they enjoyed a special relationship with the monarch. They were, after all, his weavers, his embroiderers, *muzaraves de rex tiraceros*.[9] The context that can be envisaged is that King Alfonso V, or possibly his father Bermudo (as Alfonso was a minor when he acceded to the throne of León), had recruited them as craftsmen of a superior category from al-Andalus to fashion garments and fine cloths at the royal command. They therefore perhaps would have felt that they were privileged members of the royal retinue, with a special function to perform, and one that carried with it an entitlement to honour and prestige. They would have been disabused of this when they lost their case.

Andalusí silks figure prominently as luxury items in the documentation. The so-called 'tiraz-system' of embroidering garments came into al-Andalus in the reign of the Umayyad *amīr* ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān II (822–52 AD), according to as-Suyutí, and soon became established in the new city of *al-mariyya*, Almería, which came to be 'renowned throughout Islam for its textiles'.[10] Serjeant quotes al-Maqqarī's statement that there were eight hundred looms there 'for the weaving of tirazi garments of silk', details that had earlier been recorded by al-Ḥimyarī.[11] Pure silk was woven in other cities in al-Andalus, and in many different kinds of ways, following practices in various Eastern Islamic regions, and was traded vigorously, not only in Muslim lands, but also to the Christian north of the Peninsula. By the tenth century, such luxuriously woven and elaborately embroidered items were familiar to noblemen and to royalty in the kingdom of León, as Gómez-Moreno revealed in his *Iglesias mozárabes*.[12] It is further recorded, by al-Maqqarī, that al-

accordance with the powers they had been given; see L. G[arcía] de Valdeavellano, *Curso de historia de instituciones españolas*, Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1968, p. 559.

8 Not 'préstamo' in its customary sense of 'loan'; see ibid., p. 302. This would appear to be the earliest known incidence of the use of 'préstamo', as Corominas ascribes the first appearance of the word to a document of Aranda, dated 1030 AD: Joan Corominas, *Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana*, Berne, 4 vols, 1954, III, p. 881.

9 The word is formed from the Arabic *ṭirāz*, meaning embroidery, or more specifically, embroidered silk. See Olivia Remie Constable, *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain. The commercial realignment of the Iberian peninsula, 900–1500*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp. 147–8; and see Eero K. Neuvonen, *Los arabismos en español en el siglo trece*, Helsinki, 1941, p. 79.

10 R.B. Serjeant, 'Textiles and the Tiraz in Spain', in *Islamic Textiles. Material for a History up to the Mongol Conquest*, Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1972, pp. 165–76; pp. 165 and 169.

11 Ibid., pp. 169–70; E. Lévi-Provençal, *La Péninsule Ibérique au Moyen-Âge*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1938, translation, p. 222, Arabic text, p. 184.

12 Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, pp. 126–9. Although many of the words in their transliterated Latin forms are difficult to identify through lack of recognition of their

Manṣūr, in 997 AD after a victorious campaign, 'gave away to the Christian princes and the Muslims who had helped him', amongst other similar gifts, 'two thousand two hundred and eighty-five pieces of various kinds of tirazi silks'.[13] One could speculate that the *tiraceros* in the service of the Leonese king were there as a consequence of the taste for such material generated by tenth-century trading, and given a stimulus by al-Manṣūr's magnanimity. The king could now boast his own silk-workers on hand and *in situ,* and no doubt a significant status symbol.

The three *tiraceros* themselves are something of an enigma. One, Abiahia, had an Arabic name (Ab (ū) Yahyā), which would appear to denote his Andalusí origin. The other two, Vincente and Iohannes, it would appear, were not Arabicized. There is nothing to suggest that they were Christians from al-Andalus seeking refuge in the north, nothing, in fact, barring the denominator *muzaraves*, to indicate that they were Christians at all. It seems more likely that they, or at least two of them, belonged to the indigenous community in al-Andalus, who had been drawn into the silk trade. Clearly the eight hundred looms in Almería, and those elsewhere, were not managed entirely by practitioners from the East. The original craftsmen would have recruited locally, thus imparting a useful and potentially lucrative craft to the indigenous community. This process would have started in the first half of the ninth century and, by the end of the tenth century, would have been well established. One could imagine that by the turn of the tenth century, the majority of the silk workers were second or even third-generation members of local communities. Of the three *muzaraves de rex tiraceros*, all one can deduce from their names with any degree of certainty, is that one of them was Arabicized and two of them were not. Yet the fact that one of them carried an Arabic name was sufficient for their being known collectively as Mozarabs, that is to say, Arabicized. In the same document, the names of the people who had owned the property at the centre of the quarrel are given as Letico, Fulgentio and Zalama, one Arabic name and two patently not. Yet, there is no collective description of them as Mozarabs. This may seem a trivial analogy, but there were countless inhabitants of these Leonese lands with Arabic names, none of whom were called Mozarabs. Why should these three *tiraceros* have been singled out in this way? In all the available documentation for the Christian kingdoms of the north of the Peninsula, there are no other examples of the word *muzarave* or its equivalent being used to define members of the community. The naming, then, of these three men as *muzaraves* is a totally isolated occurrence. Yet, what made them different from other settlers from al-Andalus? One would have thought that families in which some members retained their Arabic names could have been called Mozarabs. Yet, this never occurs. There were other skilled craftsmen from al-Andalus active in monasteries and in cities, but none are termed Mozarabs. So, one needs to question the context and the circumstances that led to the specific naming of these *tiraceros.*

---

meaning on the part of the scribes, it is clear that such exotica were much prized, even in monastic circles.

[13] Serjeant, 'Textiles and the Tiraz in Spain', p. 169; Constable, *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain*, p. 148.

One must first make the point that it was not common practice to call those with Arabic names Mozarabs. The case of these *tiraceros* then is unique. Of those who may have been responsible for naming them *muzaraves*, the least likely, then are the neighbours, as there is simply no precedent to support such an allegation. It could be argued that the *tiraceros* were ostracized and therefore that *muzaraves* was a pejorative denomination for those people for whom it was considered no place existed in the community, but against this argument, one must ask why there is no other testified use of the term? Other lay inhabitants of Valdearcos may have been jealous of the privileges accorded to the *tiraceros*, and have therefore wanted to disparage them, but this argument scarcely applies to Abbot Adulfo and his monks. They were used to having brothers and other servants of the monastery with Arabic names. Likewise, the possibility that the *tiraceros* called themselves *muzaraves* seems to be a remote one. If they wished themselves to be identified in this way, then it seems remarkable that others employed with particular tasks in monastic communities should not have made the same choice. If they did so, it seems to be even more remarkable that no instances have survived. A third possibility presents itself, and it is that the *tiraceros* were called m*uzaraves* at the royal command. The king need not necessarily have sanctioned the naming himself, but officials in his court, those perhaps to whom they were directly accountable, needed to differentiate them from others in the king's service. If this conjecture has some validity, then it may follow that the conferment of the name *muzaraves* was an indication of the prestige in which they were held. It may be observed that the king himself was present at the initial hearing of the lawsuit, and that the defendants were described as *muzaraves de rex* which seems to point to a special relationship.

A further question that needs to be addressed is why all the *tiraceros* are classified as *muzaraves* when only one of them carried an ostensibly Arabic name. The most readily acceptable solution is that their naming indicates their Andalusí origin. There seems little doubt that they were relatively recent *emigrés* as opposed to those who had repopulated the area north of the River Duero, a century or so earlier. They were then so-called precisely because they were recent arrivals, perhaps as has been suggested above, in the wake of al-Mansur's gift of pieces of silk in 997 AD. 'Mozarab' in this particular instance would therefore equate with 'Andalusí', somebody who had been brought up in al-Andalus. Had they been Muslims, one would have expected some such designation as *sarraceni de rex tiraceros.* Had they been practising Christians, one would have anticipated a widespread use of the word in the Christian kingdoms. So these *tiraceros* may, then, have been called *muzaraves* simply to indicate their provenance. That they were so called is neither an indicator of their religion nor necessarily of their Arabicization. It was nothing more than a pointer to their place of origin. By calling them *muzaraves*, the royal court of León was conferring upon them a status which the document clearly suggests that they believed they enjoyed.

If the designation was a contemporary one, and there has never been any suggestion that it was anything other than that, then what circumstances explain the use of the word *muzarave*? Following the line of the above argument, one may speculate that a representative of the King of León's court, when engaged on

the specific recruiting exercise for silk-workers, whilst on a trade mission or in a diplomatic capacity in al-Andalus, was directed towards a group of indigenous *tiraceros*.[14] His informant called them *muzaraves* because they belonged to the non-Muslim community in al-Andalus, and were to a greater or lesser degree Arabicized. If they had been practising Christians, they would have been called *naṣārā*. Perhaps Vincente, Iohannes and Abiahia had never before been called *muzaraves*, but it would have mattered not to them what term was used to describe them, as long as their future prosperity could be assured. They were promised, expected and received privileges, when they were relocated in Valdearcos. Perhaps, even, they felt that they were above the law of the land because of their royal patronage, but they were undeceived when the legal decision went against them.

As a codicil to this discussion, it is worth mentioning that not only the king, but five leading Castilian magnates together with Nuño, Bishop of León 1007–26 AD, were witnesses to this document, an indication, perhaps that the episode being recorded was one of more than ordinary significance.[15] Few other documents dealing with the affairs of the monastery of San Ciprián de Valdesalce boast such an array of dignitaries. There is no further mention of this action nor of the principal protagonists, the *muzaraves*, in the available documentation. Indeed, this solitary occurrence of the word Mozarab indicates that it was not in common currency in the Christian kingdom of León in the eleventh century.[16] If its usage in the case of the *tiraceros* had been of particular significance, then one would have expected that it would have 'caught on', but nothing of the kind occurred. It would not be until after the conquest of Toledo by Alfonso VI in 1085 AD, that the word occurs with frequency in the documentation, but in a totally different area of the Peninsula, one far removed from that of León in the 1020s.

[14] See, for an example of recruiting expeditions undertaken by monks, Eduardo de Hinojosa, *Documentos para la historia de las instituciones de León y de Castilla (Siglos X–XIII)*, Madrid, 1919, num. XXVIII.

[15] These Castilians were Count Munio Muñoz; the king's armiger, Rodrigo Velaz who was later to be involved in the assassination of the *infante* García of León in 1029 (see Ramón Menéndez Pidal, 'El "Romanz del Infant García" y Sancho de Navarra antiemperador', in *Historia y epopeya*, Madrid, 1934, pp. 31–98, at pp. 36–48); Count Diego Fernández, an active signatory of documents between 1016 and 1030 AD; Vela Iñiguez (this is the latest document in time that he is known to have signed), assumed by Pérez de Urbel to have been the father of the brothers Velaz who were involved in the assassination of García (Pérez de Urbel, *Historia del Condado de Castilla*, II, p. 964); and Munio Ruderiz, also implicated in the assassination of García.

[16] There is one possible exception to this, the vineyard owner, Dominico Muccaravi, mentioned in an undated document in the *Tumbo Legionense*, ff. 357–357v. (see Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, p. 116). The lack of signatories and of the customary formulae makes it a difficult document to date, but it may be assigned to the middle of the eleventh century. Gómez-Moreno believes that this proper name is a variant form of 'mozárabe', but *muccaravi* occurs nowhere else to my knowledge, and there are other feasible explanations for it, such as 'muqarrab', perhaps 'my associate, or [near] companion'.

Chapter 7

Mozarabs in Toledo

Alfonso VI's acquisition of Toledo in 1085 has been discussed at length in a number of accounts. There was a protracted siege of the city and its environs that originated in the conquest of Coria in 1079, and which started in earnest in 1081. It was brought to a successful conclusion for the Castilians as a result of adroit diplomacy on the part of Alfonso who was familiar with the ruler of the city, having spent nine months there in 1072, when he was exiled by his brother Sancho after the Battle of Golpejera in January of that year. This ruler, al-Ma'mūn, a patron of literature and science, who had revived the fortunes of the city since his accession in 1043, treated Alfonso as an honoured guest during this period of banishment, as befitting his status as the monarch's brother.[1] Al-Ma'mūn died in 1074, leaving the Ṭā'ifa state of Toledo in the hands of his grandson, al-Qāḍīr, with whom Alfonso had no affinity. Under al-Qāḍīr's leadership, prosperity declined, and the city was wracked with internal strife. The situation became critical for al-Qāḍīr, who secured Alfonso's support for his cause, at crippling financial cost. Through internal pressure on him, al-Qāḍīr was forced to flee from the city in 1080, whereupon the ruler of the neighbouring state of Badajoz annexed it in June of that year. In response to al-Qāḍīr's request for assistance, Alfonso agreed to expel the usurper from Toledo, on condition that he, Alfonso, would take over control there. At a future date, al-Qāḍīr would occupy Valencia, after Alfonso had captured that city, an agreement made subject to his meeting all the considerable costs of the campaign. In 1081, as a consequence of pressure exerted by Alfonso, the ruler of Badajoz abandoned Toledo, and al-Qāḍīr was restored to power, but the unrest persisted, and in May 1085, after lengthy negotiations, Alfonso entered the Toledo, as its undisputed new ruler, and al-Qāḍīr was deposed. Alfonso's achievement was recognized in regnal charters, where he was described as 'Toletani imperii rex et magnificus triumphator'.

With the conquest of the city of Toledo by the Castilian king in 1085, the political map of the Iberian Peninsula was irrevocably altered. It was in a Toledan context subsequent to this momentous event, that Mozarabs, as such, took root. When referring to the kingdom of León throughout the tenth century and in the first half of the eleventh, Mozarabism may be seen to be an externally applied term. If one disengages from the isolated instance of the word itself in a document of 1026 AD, then Mozarabism as a concept evolved in relatively recent times to encompass

---

[1] Julio Porres Martín-Cleto, *Historia de Tulaytula (711–1085)*, Toledo: Instituto Provincial de Investigaciones y Estudios Toledanos, 1985, charts the history of the city of Toledo, and provides details of the cultural and scientific achievements of al-Ma'mūn's reign (pp. 69–71).

a society and culture with features markedly reflecting those of an Islamic state. It is characterized as an Arabic or Islamic phenomenon within a Christian context, although the word 'Mozarab' *per se* was a religiously neutral one. What may be observed in Toledo is so different as to tempt one to suggest that there was no link at all with the so-called 'Leonese Mozarabism'.[2] In Toledo after 1085 AD, and the surrounding areas for a further century and a half, 'Mozarab' was an internally applied term. Christians used it to define other, Arabicized, Christians, and amongst the communities of the latter were those who had 'Mozarab' or a recognizable form of the word, as a surname.

The key to an explanation of the lack of a continuum between the Mozarabism in León and the establishment of the notion of 'the Mozarab' in post-conquest Toledo is to be encountered in the political and religious climate of the eleventh century. It was not simply the fragmentation of the Umayyad Caliphate, noticeably after it had been dissolved in 1031 AD, and the absorption of León into the kingdom of its more powerful neighbour Castile. It was also the escalation of interest in Iberian affairs on the part of the papacy in Rome and its influential agent of reform, the abbey of Cluny, and of transpyrenean powers. One of the products of this European focus on Iberia was the momentous decision to abolish the so-called Visigothic liturgy, and to substitute it with the new Roman rite.

Papal and European interference would not have sat kindly on the people of León and Castile who, I think it can be argued, were living to a large extent in the past, desperately endeavouring to cling to old traditions, and resentful of the changes that Alfonso sought to impose upon their way of life. In the last decades of the eleventh century, it was no longer appropriate for monarchs to employ their own private weavers from al-Andalus, nor was it fashionable for prominent clerics to display luxury garments that came from the famous looms of Almería and Sevilla and bore exotic names. Well-to-do citizens of León no longer looked to al-Andalus as a source for household effects such as vessels of brass or bronze, tiles, glass and linen. The period when the flourishing Leonese kingdom had absorbed a multitude of Islamic artefacts and practices into their own way of life had passed.[3] This is not to say that trade between the Christian kingdoms of the north of the Peninsula and al-Andalus had ceased entirely, just that the heyday was over.[4] By the late 1080s, though, there was little left in al-Andalus that was alluring to the Christian kingdoms, apart from their gold, which Alfonso VI was successful in channelling into his own coffers.

---

[2] This is contrary to the view of the philologist Eero K. Neuvonen, *Los arabismos del español en el siglo trece*, Helsinki: Sociedad de la Literatura Finesa, 1941, who wrote: 'Dirigiéndose la emigración mozárabe primero hacia León y haciéndose sentir sobretodo en esta región la influencia de los mozárabes, no está lejos la suposición de que la denominación arraigaría primero en el habla de León y se irradiaría luego a las demás' (p. 52).

[3] Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, *Una ciudad de España hace mil años. Estampas de la vida de León*, Madrid: Ediciones Rialp, 1966, 5th edn.

[4] Olivia Remie Constable, *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain*, 1994, supplies references to trade routes along which the merchandise passed up until the 1070s (pp. 45–6).

Among the terms of the treaty of surrender, the most significant one seems to have been the handing over of the *alcázar* and all fortifications; the mosque was left untouched initially, and Muslims were free to stay or depart; if the latter, then without their possessions. If, however, they chose subsequently to return, then they could reclaim their possessions. The assumption is made that those elected to leave the city either belonged to al-Qāḍīr's faction, or were prominent Muslims. Those Muslims who remained were less prosperous, on the evidence of the surviving documentation.[5] As much subsequent legislation within the city concerned disputes relating to the ownership of vacant houses, it is reasonable to assume that there was a considerable exodus of Muslims. This may have occurred after the moderating influence of the Arabicized Count Sisnando Davídiz had been replaced by a rather more intransigent attitude towards Muslims emanating from outside the Peninsula. It can also be suspected that Alfonso was exercised by the presence of Arabic-speaking Christians within the city, and that what policy to adopt towards them was a preoccupation. An immediate problem would have been the relationship between the many Castilians whom Alfonso had brought with him and their ostensibly foreign co-religionaries. It would have been difficult for the Castilians to come to terms with the fact that these inhabitants of Toledo who did not speak their language, and who, to all outward appearances looked as though they were the enemy, were Christians. If Alfonso were to favour these Arabic-speaking Christians, then his Castilian followers, many of who had perhaps been involved in the protracted siege of the city, would nurture some resentment towards him. Yet this was the policy that Alfonso came to adopt. Among the reasons for this policy is the speculative yet plausible one that Alfonso was reciprocating the support given to him by Christians of Toledo, during the siege and negotiations for its handover. Perhaps he got to know some of them during his year in exile in the city in 1072. Secondly, he could not overlook the prevalent climate of religious reform, which rendered anachronistic the liturgical practices of the Toledan Christians.

The official abolition of the old Hispanic rite had taken place in Castile, during the Council of Burgos in the spring of 1080, and it is apparent that Alfonso was determined to impose the Cluniac Reform throughout his territory that, from 1076, included the former kingdom of Navarre.[6] He believed himself to be indebted to the monks of Cluny on account of their intercession on his behalf, when imprisoned

[5] This documentation was made available by Ángel González Palencia in his *Los mozárabes de Toledo en los siglos XII y XIII*, Madrid, 1926–30, 4 vols, the fourth volume of which, the 'volumen preliminar', was an analysis. See also, Reyna Pastor de Togneri, *Del Islam al Cristianismo. En las fronteras de dos formaciones económico-sociales: Toledo, Siglos XI–XIII*, Barcelona: Ediciones Península, 1975, pp. 88–9.

[6] In what follows, I resume some of the issues raised in my 'El rito hispánico, las ordalías y los mozárabes en el reinado de Alfonso VI', *Estudios orientales,* VIII (1973), 19–41; Archdale A. King dedicated an extensively researched study of the Mozarabic rite (the 'Rite of Toledo'), and its abolition, in his *Liturgies of the Primatial Sees*, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1957, pp. 457–628, especially, pp. 503–15; see also, Antonio Ubieto Arteta, 'La introducción del rito romano en Aragón y Navarra', *Hispania Sacra*, I (1948), 299–324.

by his brother Sancho in Burgos in 1072, which had led to his release.[7] He donated several monasteries to Cluny in the 1070s, and was a staunch supporter of the Abbot Hugh's mission to spread the Reform generally, and in particular, throughout the realm of Castile.[8] Alfonso had received a letter from Pope Gregory VII in 1074 expressing papal approval for the repeal of what he termed the Gothic rite in favour of the new so-called Roman rite.[9] Much to Gregory's satisfaction, the decree authorizing the substitution of the old form of liturgy came into effect in 1080. None the less, Alfonso had shown his awareness of the resistance to the imposition of the Roman rite throughout his realms when, in a letter to Abbot Hugh of Cluny in 1077, he wrote that, regarding this issue, 'the country is in a state of desolation.'[10] At about the same time, Alfonso had appointed the Cluniac monk Robert to be abbot of the prestigious and powerful monastery of Sahagún. This appointment did not go down well with some of the monks *in situ* in Sahagún, which suggested that the abolition of the traditional form of worship in the heartlands of the ancient kingdom of León was meeting with a certain opposition. One should mention also that Alfonso's first wife, Agnes of Aquitaine, had died in 1078, and that his second marriage was to Constance of Burgundy, the niece of Abbot Hugh of Cluny who, according to Archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada in the thirteenth century, was instrumental in promoting Cluniac reforms in Castile.[11] The fact that Alfonso may have been conscious of 'some language contrary to the orthodoxy of the Catholic faith' (in other words, heretical utterances) within the traditional liturgy, may also have helped to determine his decision to acquiesce with its abolition, irrespective of consequent political inconveniences.[12]

When, therefore, the conquest of Toledo was achieved in 1085, the establishment of the Roman rite throughout the kingdom was a *fait accompli*. It was natural for Alfonso to appoint a former monk of Cluny, Bernard de Sédirac, then the Abbot

7 H.E.J. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970, pp. 226–7.

8 Pierre David, *Études historiques sur la Galice et le Portugal du VIe au XIIe siècle*, Lisbon and Paris: L'Instituto de Estudos Históricos Dr. António de Vasconcelos de la Faculté des Lettres de Coimbra (Portuguese Collection, Volume 7), 1947, p. 360. David devotes extended and informed coverage to the abolition of the 'rite hispanique' (pp. 391–405).

9 Philippe Labbé and Gabriel Cossart, *Sacrosancta Concilia ad Regiam editionem exacta*, 1671, Volume X, p. 53. A succinct account, largely indebted to twentieth-century scholarship in German, is provided by Anselm Gordon Biggs, *Diego Gelmírez, First Archbishop of Compostela*, Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1949, pp. 17–19.

10 'De romano autem ritu quod tua iussione accepimus sciatis nostram terram admodum desolatam esse', Enrique Flórez, *España sagrada*, Madrid: José Rodríguez, 1763, Volume III, p. 305. An account of these events is provided by Joseph F. O'Callaghan, 'The Integration of Christian Spain into Europe: The Role of Alfonso VI of León-Castile', in Bernard F. Reilly (ed.), *Santiago, Saint-Denis, and Saint Peter. The Reception of the Roman Liturgy in León-Castile in 1080*, New York: Fordham University Press, 1985, pp. 101–20, at pp. 105–109.

11 Alfonso de Castro, *De iusta haereticorum punitione*, Salamanca, 1547, Book III, ff. 26v–27.

12 Ramón Gonzálvez, 'The Persistence of the Mozarabic Liturgy in Toledo after A. D. 1080', in Reilly (ed.), *Santiago, Saint-Denis and Saint Peter*, pp. 157–85, at p. 161.

of Sahagún, to be the first archbishop of that city, a post which he was to hold for forty years, from 1086 to 1126. Throughout this period, Bernard 'remained an outstanding servant of both papal and Cluniac interests in Spain'.[13] Moreover, in the kingdom, as a whole, the influence of Cluny, as an agent of reforms in the Church emanating from the papacy, was widespread.[14] In 1088, three years after Gregory VII's death in 1085, which occurred coincidentally on the same day as Alfonso's entry into the city of Toledo, Urban II, a former prior of Cluny, endorsed Bernard's primacy over the entire Peninsula, 'to exercise the office as his seventh-century predecessors had'.[15] In the intervening three years, the papacy had been unoccupied for twelve months, and then invested in the figure of the aged and infirm Victor III who died in September 1087, four months after his enthronement. Understandably, therefore, there was a three-year period during which papal pressure on Alfonso was in abeyance.

It is against this background of papal and Cluniac influence that Alfonso's policies towards the Christians of Toledo must be adjudged. He granted special dispensation to six parish churches in the city to continue to use the old liturgy, the so-called 'Visigothic' or 'Hispano-Gothic' rite. That is to say that worship within these named churches would be exempt from the exigencies of the Cluniac reform. One may assume, I think, that these were the only churches that were physically standing at the time of the conquest of the city, although it has been pointed out that there were about twenty parish churches in the surrounding region which practised the reformed rite.[16] One explanation for the preferential treatment towards these particular city churches is that Alfonso was rewarding at least some Mozarabs of Toledo for services rendered. Long ago, Simonet suggested that the king had been in collusion with them, and notably perhaps, with religious dignitaries prior to the city's capture.[17] Reyna Pastor went further, differentiating between two groups of Mozarabs in Toledo, those who remained more or less indifferent to the changeover in authority, and a tiny minority of Mozarabs, probably the wealthier elements among them, who would have contributed actively to the advent of Alfonso and his Castilians.[18] Molénat concurs, arguing that the Christian community within the city was substantially weakened during the last period of

[13] Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform*, p. 243.

[14] Ibid., pp. 246–7.

[15] The quotation is from Biggs, *Diego Gelmírez*, p. 38; Bernard F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VI, 1065–1109*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988, p. 207.

[16] Jean-Pierre Molénat, *Campagnes et Monts de Tolède du XIIe au XVe siècle*, Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 1997, p. 41; see Juan Francisco Rivera Recio, *La iglesia de Toledo en el siglo (1086-1208)*, Rome: Iglesia Nacional Española, 1966 (Publicaciones del Instituto Español de Historia Eclesiástica, Monograph 10), p. 87.

[17] Francisco Javier Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes de España*, Amsterdam: Oriental Press, 1967 (reprint of the first edition, Madrid, 1903; the work was finished in 1867), p. 674.

[18] Reyna Pastor de Togneri (with the collaboration of Marta Bonaudo), 'Problèmes d'assimilation d'une minorité: Les Mozarabes de Tolède (de 1085 à la fin du XIIIe siècle)', *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations,* 25 (1970), 351–90, at pp. 386–7; a version in Spanish

Islamic domination.[19] It seems reasonable to propose the hypothesis that Alfonso, in conferring such an ostentatious privilege on the Christians *in situ*, was repaying a debt to his former fifth column, although there is, as Gautier Dalché pointed out, scant evidence.[20] Whether there was a substantial number of Mozarabs in the city at the time of the conquest is debatable. As far as the clergy was concerned, the last known archbishop of Toledo had been Pascual, although before his accession, in 1058, the names of his predecessors are unknown from 956 onwards.[21]

The documentation available for the reign of Alfonso VI, and for Toledo and its environs in the century following the conquest, does provide the basis for an interpretation of the role of some Mozarabs at least. Reyna Pastor, basing her study almost exclusively on the data provided by the documents published by González Palencia, envisaged a minority of long standing in Toledo and in the surrounding areas that was at first isolated, then exploited, and ultimately absorbed by a rapacious Castilian new Christian society, as a consequence of a policy of systematic oppression.[22] Gautier Dalché, who did not believe that there were any systematized anti-Mozarab policies, posited arguments contrary to her conclusions.[23] Julio González also dissented, arguing that the Mozarabs were far fewer in number than is generally supposed, that there was a substantial immigration of (Mozarabic) Christians from the south, and that they all lived in accord with the Castilians.[24]

Incontrovertible evidence concerning the Mozarabs within the city itself is supplied by the sequence of royal privileges granted to the citizens of the city, starting with the '*Carta Mustarabum*'. This was the name given to the document of 20 March 1101, wherein the entitlements of the Mozarabs and their privileges were specified. The present whereabouts of the original document are unknown, although it may have been preserved in the Ayuntamiento of Toledo until the eighteenth century.[25] There was considerable interest in this document during that

---

was published in Reyna Pastor de Togneri, *Conflictos sociales y estancamiento económico en la España medieval*, Barcelona: Ariel, 1973, pp. 199–268.

[19] 'La ville et ses alentours sont restés très peu peuplés pendant plus d'un demi-siècle après 1085', Molénat, *Campagnes et Monts de Tolède*, p. 42.

[20] J. Gautier-Dalché, in his measured review of five studies by Pastor Togneri, *Le Moyen Âge*, 69 (1973), 140–57: 'Quant à l'existence d'un groupe de "collaborateurs" parmi les riches Mozarabes, elle est plausible, mais il faut avouer qu'il s'agit d'une hypothèse qui repose sur des bases assez minces' (notably, the role of Sisnando Davídiz), p. 152.

[21] Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, p. 670.

[22] Pastor de Togneri, 'Problèmes d'assimilation d'une minorité', pp. 386–9.

[23] Gautier-Dalché, in *Le Moyen Âge*, p. 155.

[24] Julio González, 'Los mozárabes toledanos desde el siglo XI hasta el Cardenal Cisneros', in *Historia Mozárabe. I Congreso Internacional de estudios Mozárabes*: Toledo, Instituto de Estudios Visigótico-Mozárabes de San Eugenio, 1978, pp. 79–89. See also, Jean-Pierre Molénat, 'Les Mozarabes: un exemple d'intégration', in Louis Cardaillac (director), *Tolède, XIIe–XIIIe. Musulmans, chrétiens et juifs: le savoir et la tolérance*, Paris: Éditions Autrement, 1991, pp. 95–111.

[25] For a discussion of the document and its recensions, see Alfonso García-Gallo, 'Los Fueros de Toledo', *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español*, 45 (1975), 341–488, at pp. 346–9. González Palencia, writing in the 1920s, refers only to the location of the document in the

century, and it was studied both by Camino and by Burriel.[26] Indeed, Burriel may well have made a copy of the original in 1752 when, according to one biographer, he copied out with help from the calligrapher Palomares, about two thousand genuine documents for the Royal Commission established in 1750 to investigate the principal archives of Spain.[27] According to Llorente in 1808, however, the document was in the 'Colección diplomática de la real academia de la historia' in Madrid, although it was also copied by Tomás González who was the archivist at Simancas between 1815 and 1833.[28] When Muñoz published his *Colección de fueros municipales* in 1847, he mentioned, in a footnote, that the original was in the Royal Academy of History in Madrid.[29] Throughout the centuries, nevertheless, the *Carta mustarabum* has been copied and assessed on a number of occasions, as its contents were clearly not ignored by the citizens of Toledo.[30] This was notably the case in the eighteenth century when Camino was so totally preoccupied with the defence

---

eighteenth century: 'el archivo secreto del Ayuntamiento de Toledo', *Los mozárabes de Toledo*, preliminary vol. (1930), p. 118.

[26] P. Camino y Velasco, *Defensa de los Privilegios de los Nobles Mozárabes de Toledo contra el escrito de D. Juan de Huarte, Abogado de los Reales Consejos*, dated May 1744, probably in the author's hand, Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional, MS. 13059, ff. 208–23v. particularly, ff. 210–14v., where Camino refers to this privilege, and comments on the whereabouts of early privileges granted to the Mozarabs of Toledo; Andrés Marcos Burriel, *Informe de la Imperial Ciudad de Toledo al Real y Supremo Consejo de Castilla, sobre igualación de Pesos y Medidas en todos los Reynos y Señoríos de su Majestad según las leyes,* Madrid, 1758. References are made to the reprint of 1780 (which does not, however, bear Burriel's name on the title-page). On p. 283, he states that the 'Privilegio, o Carta de Fuero dada a los mozárabes existe original en letra Gothica [*sic*]en nuestro Archivo'. See also, Marius Férotin, 'Étude sur les Manuscrits mozarabes', *Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica*, VI Paris, 1912, 678–82.

[27] Pedro Sáinz y Rodríguez, *El P. Burriel, paleógrafo*, Madrid, 1925, p. 8.

[28] J.A. Llorente, *Noticias Históricas de las tres Provincias Vascongadas, en que se procura investigar el estado civil antiguo de Álava, Guipuzcoa, y Vizcaya, y el origen de sus fueros*, 5 vols, Madrid, 1806–1808; Volume IV (1808), Part III [Apéndice o Colección Diplómatica], p. 1. According to the *Colección de fueros y cartas-pueblas de España, por la real Academia de la Historia. Catálogo*, Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1852, p. 251, González published a copy of this '*Carta Mostarabum*' in the *Colección de privilegios, franquezas y Fueros, concedidos a varios pueblos y corporaciones de la Corona de Castilla, copiados de los Registros del archivo de Simancas*, Volume V (1830), p. 28. The copy was contained in the unpublished 'Libros de privilegios y confirmaciones' in the Real Archivo de Simancas, Number 377–4.

[29] Tomás Muñoz y Romero, *Colección de fueros municipales y cartas pueblas de los reinos de Castilla, León, Corona de Aragón y Navarra; coordinada y anotada*, Madrid: Imprenta de Don José María Alonso, 1847, facsimile edition by Ediciones Atlas, Madrid, 1970, p. 360: 'el privilegio ó carta de fuero dada a á los Muzárabes existe original en letra gótica en nuestro archivo, despachada el 13 de las Kalendas de abril era 1139 ó año de 1101.' It seems as though Muñoz took his text from González, *Colección de privilegios, franquezas y Fueros*.

[30] The earliest copy known to me is that contained in a fifteenth-century manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, MS 838 (olim D93), ff. 1–2. The written text, which shows considerable variations from the published versions, was made on the order of Enrique IV of Castile, and completed in Toledo on 31 March 1455. This manuscript is not amongst those taken into consideration by García-Gallo in his reconstruction of the text, 'Los Fueros de Toledo', *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español*, 45 (1975), 341–488, pp. 459–61.

of the rights and exemptions enjoyed by the Mozarabs. He insisted that, in this document, Alfonso VI was restoring to the Mozarabs of the city privileges and rights that they had experienced since the times of the Visigoths, a stance which Simonet was also to adopt in the century following.[31]

One of the concerns of the text was the relationship between the Mozarabs and the Castilians who were taking up residence in the city in the wake of its conquest. After 1085, some of the inhabitants of the city acquired lands and properties in the city and its surrounds either by moving in and taking possession of unoccupied properties or estates, or through purchase.[32] Disputes arose because many complained that they had been deprived of what was rightfully theirs, and others sold or gave what was not theirs to sell or give. The king, in order to settle these concerns and to contain potential dissent, set up a commission to examine the possessions of both Castilians and Mozarabs. Its remit was not only the city itself but also its environs. The two named members of this commission were prominent Mozarabs, the judge Juan *alcalde* and the *alguacil* Don Pedro, the others being ten of the best citizens to be found among the Castilians and the Mozarabs.[33] Juan was also a signatory to this *Carta mustarabum*, where his status within the city is further defined as 'judge of the people of Toledo and their superintendent'.[34] Alfonso no doubt intended that the appointed arbiters should be distinguished men within the city, and with specific skills, Juan in the judiciary, and Pedro for his civic experience.[35] The outcome of what one must presume to have been their joint deliberations was that the king granted all the Mozarabs security of tenure over those lands and estates which they occupied, evidently a decision favouring the former inhabitants of Toledo, and one that would foster potential disquiet in the future.[36] Furthermore, they could not be dispossessed by any earthly authority:

---

[31] Camino, *Defensa*, ff. 210–12; Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, pp. 681–3.

[32] 'De presuria ['prenura' in Muñoz] o de comparato'. For *presura* (*sic*), see J. Puyol, *Orígenes del reino de León y de sus insitituciones políticas*, Madrid, 1926, p. 96, translating from Santa Rosa de Viterbo's indispensable *Elucidário das palabras, termos, e frases que em Portugal antigamente se usaram e que hoje regularmente se ignoram*, Lisboa, 1798–99 (2nd edn, 1865), the entry for 'presuria': 'Llamóse así a la conquista o reinvindicación hecha a mano armada de la que usaron nuestros mayores cuando principaron a tomar por fuerza las tierras y posesiones de que los sarracenos habían despojado a sus ascendientes.' See also, Ignacio de la Concha, *La 'presura'. La ocupación de tierras en los primeros siglos de la reconquista*, Madrid, 1946.

[33] 'Decem ex melioribus civitatis inter mostarabes et castellanos ipsemet cum eis', Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid MS 838 (see note 30). References are to this MS, although it may not be the most accurate one and contains some obvious orthographic errors. For 'decem' in the quotation given, the text gives 'de reino' which seems to be a curious lapse. 'Decem' occurs elsewhere and patently fits the sense.

[34] 'Joannes Toletanorum populi judex atque praepositus', Muñoz, *Colección de fueros municipales*, p. 362.

[35] For *alguacil*, Muñoz has *alhariz* (which he explains as 'Alhariz, voz árabe que significa, veedor, inspector') but which could also be *alfariz* ('alférez'). González Palencia has *alcacit,* possibly a corrupted form of 'alcaide'. Whatever the precise function that Don Pedro occupied, it was that of an officer whose role the judiciary would have defined.

[36] 'Facio hanc cartam firmitatis ad totos ipsos mostarabos de Toleto, Cavalleros et pedones ut firmitater habeant semper quantas cortes et hereditates sive vineas hac terras

neither by subsequent monarchs, nor by municipal officers such as the *zalmedina* who, traditionally in Islamic society, had administrative authority over a city's affairs, nor by any military commander. What was theirs was theirs forever. If they wished to dispose of any of their possessions, they were free to do so. The references to 'Alcalde', *alhariz* and *zalmedina* ('zafalmedino') in this document, and to various Islamic institutions in later documentation, have led some scholars to assert that the Muslim administrative system was deliberately perpetuated, with separate legislation for each community.[37] Yet this is an interpretation that fails perhaps to take into account the necessary pragmatic approach that Alfonso was obliged to adopt, and is not borne out in the evidence of this *carta* on its own. The emphasis in Alfonso's policies would seem to have been on the Christianization of his realm, in line with the reforms of the Church spearheaded by Cluny, and under the watchful eye of the papacy. Whereas toleration of the Mozarabic liturgy within the precinct of Toledo was politically expedient, it became apparent soon after the conquest that an indulgent attitude toward the Muslims of the city could not be durable. Moreover, León, in the previous century, had been a city impregnated with Andalusí influences, institutional and otherwise, yet this was a mark of its Mozarabism, and not of its Islamicization.

The royal privileges lasted a long time. On 28 September 1740, Juan Ballesteros y Alameda, *escribano* to Felipe V, signed a memorandum to the effect that the privileges granted to Mozarabs in Toledo by previous kings were all confirmed. Some leading citizens of the city commented adversely on this decision, claiming that the protection afforded to the Mozarabs spelt disaster for their city.[38] The legal situation was one which had earlier preoccupied the sixteenth-century Toledan historian, Pedro de Alcocer. According to Alcocer, the Castilian knights begged the king to allow them to be judged according to the Castilian *fuero*, and not the *fuero juzgo* which was the one governing the Mozarabic community. The king acquiesced, and gave them a Castilian *alcalde*, but for civil cases only. For criminal cases they, and future settlers within the city's precincts, would be under the jurisdiction of the Mozarabic *alcalde*.[39] This begs the question as to whether there was or was not a *Carta castellanorum*. In the eighteenth century, Camino y Velasco doubted its existence, and claimed that, in any event, nothing was known of its contents. The text of the *Carta mustarabum* does seem to indicate that the Mozarabs were recipients of special privileges, and that the Castilians in the city were required to be bound by the Mozarabic legislators.[40] In the early nineteenth century, Martínez Marina made a similar point, stressing that all the component

---

hodie in suo iure retinent', ibid.

[37] Ramón Gonzálvez, 'The Persistence of the Mozarabic Liturgy': 'Toledo, then, was a Christian city in which the Muslim administrative structures were inherited and deliberately maintained intact' (p. 173).

[38] 'Es el motivo de la mayor ruina de esta ciudad la manutención de los muzáraves en los lugares con el goce de los Privilegios', Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional, MS 13059, f. 233.

[39] Pedro de Alcocer, *Historia, o descripción de la imperial Cibdad de Toledo*, Toledo: Iuan Ferrer, 1554, Book I, Chapter 66, ff. 54–54v (fFacsimile reprint, Madrid: EPSC, 1973).

[40] Camino, in Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid MS 13059, ff. 211–12.

groups that constituted the Council of Toledo fell under the jurisdiction of the *fuero juzgo*.[41]

Reyna Pastor bluntly states that there was immediate conflict, that is to say, after Alfonso's conquest of the city in 1085, between Castilians and Mozarabs over lands and estates abandoned by the Muslims who had left the city and its surrounds, but the reality of the situation may have been rather more complex.[42] Certainly, there were disputes, and one can imagine that these were keenest when they had to deal with ownership of property, but Alfonso VI was clearly aware of the delicacy of what one might term 'community relations', and legislated accordingly. Yet the inevitable consequence of his legislation was that a divided city was created, one controlled by the Castilians who had settled in the city, and the other comprising the former inhabitants. There is no evidence that the numbers of the latter were swollen by converts from Islam, as Gonzálvez has suggested, although it is legitimate to speculate on the provenance of the parishioners of the favoured churches.[43] The seeds were sown by Alfonso that would result in a resentment that was to linger for centuries. In the first sixteen years of Castilian occupation of Toledo, it is apparent from this *Carta mostarabum* that Alfonso's feelings for the Mozarabs had not waned: 'omnes quos in hac urbe semper amavi et dilexi', and that he was determined, now towards the end of his reign, that their future position in the city and their well-being should never be jeopardized.

Further light is thrown on the situation of the Mozarabs within the city of Toledo by the so-called *fuero general de Toledo*, promulgated by Alfonso VI's grandson, Alfonso VII, on 16 November 1118.[44] This *fuero* is addressed to 'omnes cives Toletanos, scilicet Castellanos, Mozarabes, atque Francos propter fidelitatem et equalitatem illorum'. The inescapable conclusion that one draws from this phrase is that the *fuero* acknowledges the equal rights of citizenship of these communities. The Castilians who had settled there, the Mozarabs who had inhabited the city and who were there when it had been captured over thirty years previously, and the French incomers, were all Toledans. Notwithstanding the substantial differences between the communities, the *fuero* recognizes the political advisability of

---

41 Francisco Martínez Marina, *Ensayo histórico-crítico sobre la legislación y principales cuerpos legales de los reinos de León y Castilla* (Madrid, 1808), ed. J. Martínez Cardos, Madrid, 1966 (Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 194, 1966), p. 32.

42 Reyna Pastor y Togneri, 'Problemas de la asimilación de una minoría', p. 231.

43 Gonzálvez, 'The Persistence of the Mozarabic Liturgy', p. 175.

44 Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, MS 838, ff. 2–4v., and copied a second time, ff. 7–9v., when it was confirmed by Alfonso VIII in 1179 (see n. 30 above); an earlier copy of the original existed in the eighteenth century, and was known to Burriel; Muñoz, *Colección de fueros municipales*, pp. 363–9, who took his text from Burriel. García-Gallo, 'Los Fueros de Toledo', refers to a twelfth-century copy in the Municipal Archives of Toledo (pp. 351–2). It should be said, though, that García-Gallo adduced significant arguments in support of his belief that this *fuero* was not a Royal Charter at all, but a text fashioned outside the Royal Chancillery 'con cierta pretensión de hacerlo pasar si no como un diploma regio, sí como un texto autorizado al añadirle las cláusulas de confirmación por el rey y por los habitantes de poblaciones cercanas a Toledo' (p. 355), and dating it to around 1166 (ibid., pp. 351–63 and 473–83).

having one class of citizenship.[45] All the groups specified were to be subject to one law, the *fuero juzgo*, and all the earlier privileges conceded by Alfonso VI were confirmed and improved by Alfonso VII. Burriel commented that this '*Fuero municipal de Toledo*' became 'el muelle de su gobierno político civil y criminal hasta San Fernando'.[46] One is led to suspect, therefore, that it was this legal provision that counted at this time. What mattered in a city that was constantly threatened by outside forces, notably the Almoravids, but also the Aragonese, was a politico-social structure that was effective. The last thing that the beleaguered Castilians needed was unrest within their most prized possession. Rivera, drawing on the *Anales Toledanos*, signals out the decade 1109–18 as one of particular turbulence. In the wake of the death of Alfonso VI, and during the troubled and conflictive minority of his grandson, the Almoravids sought to take advantage of the political interregnum, by endeavouring to capture Toledo, evidently an objective of theirs since inflicting defeat on Alfonso VI at Zallāqa in 1086.[47]

The religious dimension, or rather the lack of it, in both the *carta* and the *fuero*, is significant. In neither document are the liturgical concessions granted by Alfonso VI to the Mozarabs of Toledo specifically mentioned. This is a point perceptively raised by Gonzálvez in respect of the 1101 *carta*. Amongst the reasons he proposes for this omission is the fact that the *carta* is a 'juridical code which deals with the regulation of city life of a purely civil [*sic*] nature', and with this one can concur. When he states, however, that 'any express mention either for or against the liturgical difference would have been highly impolitic' because it 'must offend either the settled opinion of the highest ecclesiastical office or those Mozarabs for whom the ritual constituted a principle of identity', one must be more cautious.[48] On the one hand, the papacy would have been aware of the concessions, and any offence caused by mention of them in an official document would be putative, and secondly, the notion that the Mozarabic rite represented a 'principle of identity' begs a number of questions. Whilst respecting these arguments, one is inclined to wonder whether the exemption granted to the six named Toledan churches was, by 1101, *vieux jeu,* and therefore not sufficiently momentous to merit a mention. After all, the city had changed hands politically, sixteen years earlier. By 1118, all thoughts of the events of 1085–86 would be distant memories. As Rivera has shown, these churches do not get a mention in the documents until the middle of the twelfth century or later, when a different set of circumstances prevailed.[49] There is no evidence that they provided the backbone of the Mozarabic community; they may have been kept going by a reduced number of clerics and a scant amount of

---

45 Elsewhere in the text of this *fuero*, reference is made to 'Castellanos, et Gallecos, et Muzarabes', allowing one to speculate that Galicians also constituted a community within Toledo.

46 Burriel, *Informe de la Imperial Ciudad de Toledo al Real y Supremo Consejo de Castilla ...*, (1780, *cf.* n. 26, above), p. 287.

47 Rivera Recio, *La iglesia de Toledo en el siglo (1086-1208)*, pp. 32–3.

48 Gonzálvez, 'The Persistence of the Mozarabic Liturgy', pp. 174–5.

49 Rivera Recio, *La iglesia de Toledo en el siglo (1086-1208)*, pp. 87–90.

parishioners. In other words, the churches were a symbol of Alfonso's magnanimity towards a community that had once rendered him indispensable service.

One of the features of the 1118 *fuero* is the imposing list of signatories. Archbishop Bernard was the only person to have confirmed both this and the earlier *carta* of 1101, perhaps indicative of his approval of the continuity of policies favouring the Mozarabs, although he himself could be said to belong to the 'French' faction. Yet, what is noteworthy is that the signatories are drawn, not from Toledo at all, but from among the dwellers [*moratores*] in the neighbouring townships of Madrid, Alhamen, Talavera and Máqueda. About a quarter of them signed their names in Arabic, seen by González as an indicator that they were Mozarabs.[50] Yet, their names are all Arabic ones and not names conforming to the Castilian pattern which are transliterated in Arabic script. For example, they include ʿAlī b. Khair from Madrid, and ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān from Talavera. Out of the twelve names listed in Arabic, one only gives an indication of a possibly non-Muslim origin, Abī al-Ḥasan b. Mikā'īl, from Madrid. When one recalls that the Toledan mayor was called Juan, and other Mozarabic dignitaries who signed the *Carta mostarabum*, Petrus Alvariz and Michael Adiz, it is surprising that Mozarabs in the locality should not be similarly named.[51]

Madrid, Alhamen, Máqueda and Talavera were amongst the fifteen fortified towns listed as being under the ecclesiastic jurisdiction of Toledo in 1127, according to a decree issued by Pope Honorius II, and this may be a reason why their citizens should have signed the *fuero*.[52] If one concurs that the inhabitants of these areas were Christians, as stated by Rivera, then those with Arabic names may have been Arabicized members of the indigenous population who retained their Arabic nomenclature. They and their ancestors may have always tilled the fields and farmed the land there, irrespective of who was in command in Toledo. The situation was to change as the twelfth century progressed, but in the political turmoil of the second decade, what mattered was one's allegiance to the monarch. If this could be relied upon, then one's name or how one wrote it was of minor importance. In his study of Mozarabic assimilation, Diego Olstein, using the documents published by González Palencia, shows how the incidence of Mozarabs with fully Arabic names diminished. In the first generation after the conquest of Toledo, there is a majority of names entirely in Arabic (59 per cent), whilst in the twenty-year period 1110–30, this figure has reduced to 45 per cent. Between 1150 and 1170, it has dropped to 5 per cent. During the same period (1130–70), hybrid names, of the type Abī al-Ḥasan b. Mikā'īl, above, retain their popularity, representing over 40 per cent of the instances.[53] These statistics demonstrate the growing awareness on the part of the

[50] Muñoz, *Colección de fueros municipales*, pp. 367–69; Julio González, 'Los mozárabes toledanos desde el siglo XI hasta el cardenal Cisneros', in *Historia Mozárabe: I Congreso Internacional de Estudios Mozárabes [Toledo, 1975]*, Toledo: Instituto de Estudios Visigótico-mozárabes de San Eugenio, 1978, pp. 79–90, at pp. 84–5.

[51] Muñoz, *Colección de fueros municipales*, pp. 360–69.

[52] Rivera Recio, *La iglesia de Toledo en el siglo (1086-1208)*, pp. 80–81. The relevance of this argument may be affected by the redating of the document to the 1160s.

[53] Diego Olstein, 'El Péndulo mozárabe', in *Anales Toledanos*, XXXIX (2002) [2003], 37–77, at pp. 58–9.

population in and around Toledo, of the political and social circumstances of the twelfth (and later the thirteenth) centuries. By 1118, and throughout the following two centuries, being Mozarab meant, first and foremost, being Arabicized members of a Castilian community. Those in the city of Toledo were more conscious of their status than those who lived in the surrounding areas, whose concerns were mainly those of a rural community.

The town of Santa Olalla, just to the south of Máqueda, was the recipient of a *fuero* granted by Alfonso VII on 6 April 1124, the original text of which has not survived.[54] The feature of this *fuero*, as noted by Burriel in the eighteenth century, was that the terms that applied to Toledo also applied to the citizens of Santa Olalla, that is to say that both should have separate mayors for their Castilian and for their Mozarabic communities.[55] This judicial provision was also practised in Talavera in the thirteenth century, as is testified by a *providencia*, dated 1290, where both the mayor of the *muzarabes* (Gonzalo Ibáñez el Alcalle), and the mayor of the Castilians (Fernant Benítez et Alcalle), are mentioned.[56] In the sphere of jurisdiction, then, it was recognized by the Castilian monarchs during these two centuries that the two communities required separate legislative heads, even when they were both subject to the same body of law.

The *fuero* granted by Alfonso to the citizens of Guadalajara on 3 May 1137 is known only in a fourteenth-century Romance version reproduced by Muñoz.[57] According to the terms of this *fuero*, present and future settlers, specifically Castilians, Leonese, Galicians and Mozarabs, were to be granted possession of their houses and properties in Guadalajara. Particular mention is made of 'aquellos mozarabes' who were expected to come, presumably from al-Andalus, and who were to be treated in the same way as other migrants, 'como de otros homes', a phrase which would suggest that they were still not known nor fully understood.[58]

The original manuscript of the *fuero* granted by Alfonso VII, when in Cuenca, to the Mozarabs of Toledo on 16 March 1137 was misplaced in the middle of the twentieth century, until which time it had been in the Municipal Archives in Toledo. A version of it was published by Pisa in the seventeenth century, and Burriel made

---

[54] Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, pp. 686–7. A copy, indicated in the index as being in MS 13093 (olim Dd 112), in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, lacks the folios which should contain this *fuero* (ff. 51–3). Their absence was noted by Simonet, p. 687, n. 1.

[55] Burriel, *Informe de la Imperial Ciudad de Toledo …*, pp. 296–7. He reproduced the relevant passage: 'Et dono vobis, ut vos regatis in justitia secundum Fora meae Civitatis de Toledo. Et quod habeatis Alcalles [*sic*] Mozarabem atque Castellanum …' (p. 297, n. 1)

[56] Ibid., p. 299.

[57] Muñoz, *Colección de fueros municipales*, pp. 507–11; Simonet, *Historia de los Mozárabes*, p. 687.

[58] The relevant text reads: 'otorgamos á vos que sodes pobladores de Guadalfayara, ó aquellos que de aqui adelante vernan á poblar, siquier de Castiella, siquier de Leon, siquier de Galicia, ó de otras partes, que hayades vuestras casas é vuestras heredades en todo el logar, y asi mismamente de aquellos mozarabes, como de otros homes, los quales halli seredes allegados' (Muñoz, *Colección de fueros municipales*, p. 508).

a scrupulous copy in 1753.[59] This *fuero* was addressed to 'omnibus christianis qui in Toleto populati sunt, vel populari venerint, Mozarabes, Castellanos, Francos', from which it is readily evident that, as far as Alfonso VII was concerned, in 1137, they were all Christians, or rather that religion was not a differentiating factor, despite the special exemptions made to the six Mozarabic churches. One is to understand, thereby, that the Mozarabs were not privileged by virtue of their religion. The second salient point is that the *fuero* is directed to present and to future inhabitants of the city of Toledo, from wherever. The specific purpose of this *fuero* was to give immunity to these named categories of Christians from the payment of *portazgo*, when entering or when leaving the city, or indeed anywhere within the king's realm.[60] This *portazgo* was the tariff levied on merchandise that was brought through the city gates to be sold in the city markets.[61] The exemption did not apply to those who left the city of Toledo to trade in al-Andalus ('terram maurorum'); these traders would be obliged to pay the *portazgo* according to their own *fuero*(s).[62] The king, in this document, also shows familiarity with the Muslim tithe, the *'ushr* (the 'tenth', payable to the Muslim state), from the payment of which the Mozarabs, Castilians and Franks are also exempt. From this day forward, they should not give the king '*Alesor*' on their land.[63] Pisa's explanation for this is that it was a kind of tariff paid by those who take possession of a piece of land in order to build on it, which seems to be appropriate in this context.[64] It was, in addition, as Constable has demonstrated, a tax of 10 per cent levied on goods brought by merchants, whether Andalusí or European, entering particular Islamic states, notably the Maghrib. Her claim that 'the *'ushr* was not only a mercantile

---

59 Francisco de Pisa, *Descripción de la Imperial Civdad de Toledo, y Historia de sus antiguedades ..., Primera Parte*, Toledo: Pedro Rodríguez, 1605 (facsimile, Madrid, 1974), ff. 53v–54, although Pisa mistakenly assigns this document to Alfonso VI. The Latin text is followed by a version in Castilian ('buelto en Romance'), and a brief commentary, by Pisa, on its contents (f. 54v). Burriel's copy is to be found in Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, MS 13093, ff. 87–8. There is a further copy, in a different hand on ff. 88–89v. The fifteenth-century manuscript, BN MS 838 (see note 30, above), also contains a copy, ff. 4v–5. See also, Muñoz, *Colección de fueros municipales*, pp. 375–6. García-Gallo attributes this *fuero* to a later date (1178?), although the arguments do not perhaps carry the same weight as those used for the redating of the 1118 *fuero* ('Los Fueros de Toledo', pp. 376–8, 446).

60 The text is unequivocal: 'quod non dent portaticum in Toleto in introitu, neque in exitu, nec in tota mea terra, de totis illis causis quas comparaverint, vel vendiderint, aut de alio loco secum adduxerint' (Muñoz, *Colección de fueros municipales*, p. 375].

61 See Constable, *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain*, pp. 46, 106; L. G[arcía] de Valdeavellano, *Curso de historia de las instituciones españolas de los orígenes al final de la Edad Media*, Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1968, p. 607.

62 'Illi vero homines qui cum mercaturas ad terram maurorum, de Toleti exeuntes perrexerint, dent suum portaticum secundum suum forum', González Palencia, *Los mozárabes de Toledo*, vol. preliminar, 1930, p. 122, quoting this excerpt, seems to assume that the text carries an injunction to merchants to continue their trade with the Muslims, whereas it seems to be making a specific exception to the exemption granted to the named category of Christians of Toledo.

63 'Quod ab [Muñoz: 'ad'] isto die in antea, non dent Regi terrae Alesor'.

64 Pisa, *Descripción de la Imperial Civdad de Toledo ...*, f. 54v.

tax, but was also levied on agricultural produce' seems still to be too restrictive, in the light of the text of this *fuero*, from which it may be deduced that the *'ushr* was operative in Toledo in the sense of land-tax, prior to the Castilian conquest.[65] Alfonso VII, then, in this *fuero*, is deliberately denying himself and his kingdom a source of revenue that had been levied in Toledo, as a consequence of the continued validity of the former Muslim system of taxation. As Pisa perceptively pointed out nearly four hundred years ago, lifting this particular tax gave incentive to people who were considering moving to Toledo to live ('porque de mejor gana viniessen a poblar').[66]

In 1174, Alfonso VIII confirmed the royal privileges of his predecessors, the *carta*, and the *fueros*, this time reverting to the secular language of the document of 1118, addressing 'omnes cives toletanos, scilicet castellanos, muzarabes atque francos', and reiterating the privileges and exemption granted by his forebears.[67] It is significant perhaps that Alfonso VIII saw fit to refer specifically to the *portazgo*, in order to extend the immunity to include Christians who had been in captivity in al-Andalus. The diverse elements in Toledan society are still referred to discretely by name, yet as collectively representing the citizenry of Toledo. The Mozarabs are still recognizable as distinct from the other sectors of population in the city, although not singled out for separate mention.

Between the time of the *fuero* of 1137 and this confirmation by Alfonso VIII, there is a further reference to the Mozarabic community in Toledo, and this is one which has a pointedly religious context. Around the year 1146, Pope Eugenius III (1145–53), sent an epistle to the clergy and the people of Toledo 'qui Muzarabes nuncupantur', concerning their refusal to obey the archbishop.[68] The clergy, to whom the complaint would appear to have been specifically addressed, were following their age-old practices in the matter of the sacraments at Mass, and other divine services, tonsures and vestments.[69] This pope took a particular interest in

[65] Constable, *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain*, pp. 128–9; García-Gallo, 'Los Fueros de Toledo', pp. 374–5, n. 73.

[66] Pisa, *Descripcion de la Imperial Civdad de Toledo ...*, ibid.

[67] Toledo Municipal Archives, Cajón 10, Legajo 3, núm. 4. The parchment is fragile, with gaping holes in its centre, and the writing pale but legible. The text was copied in Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, MS 13093, ff. 198–9, and was reproduced by Muñoz, although his version differs substantially from others (*Colección de fueros municipales*, pp. 380–83). He gives the date as 1176 AD, whereas the reading seems to be, unequivocally, 1174 AD ('XX kals Marci, Era MCCXII')]. García-Gallo provides the incipit and finale with signatories only, omitting entirely the body of the text, 'Los Fueros de Toledo', pp. 483-4; see also, pp. 383–5.

[68] The text was published by Josephi Saenz de Aguirre, *Collectio Maxima Conciliorum omnium Hispaniae*, III, Rome, 1694, p. 362, and by J.P. Migne, *Patrologia latina*, CLXXX, Paris, 1855, col. 1559, no. DXXXVII, although he makes no attempt to assign the date of the letter to any one particular year of the papacy of Eugenius III. Both give the title of the letter as follows: 'Ad Clerum & populum Toletanum, ut Muzarabes Toletano Archiepiscopo pareant, & in coeremoniis ab eo non dissentiant'.

[69] 'In sacramentis missarum et aliis divinis officiis, tonsura quoque clericali, vestimentis suam antiquam consuetudinem consequentes ab Apostolica Sede diuersa sentire presumant', Rivera Recio, *La iglesia de Toledo en el siglo (1086-1208)*, p. 209, n. 41.

Iberian affairs, and in this instance was responding to complaints from Raimundo, the recently installed Archbishop of Toledo. He emphasized the gravity of the offence that had been called to his attention, and reminded the recalcitrants of their duty to obey the archbishop 'si in ipsius provincia remanere voluerint'. How this thinly veiled threat was received by the Mozarabs of Toledo is not known, but the context wherein their obstinacy had become the occasion of papal intervention, may be explored further. Two eighteenth-century reactions are worthy of note. Terreros referred to the papal epistle as evidence that the Mozarabs of the time were 'fuertemente asidos a sus antiguas costumbres, y aun al modo de vestir', and the rebuke was given full weight by Burriel in his *Memorias auténticas,* both being under the assumption that it was those Mozarabs of long standing whose obedience was being impugned.[70] However, was Archbishop Raimundo really complaining about the Mozarabic priests and parishioners of the parish churches favoured by royal exemption to use the so-called Mozarabic liturgy? Was he trying to coerce them into getting in line with the rest of the Toledan clergy? This seems unlikely, as one imagines that there would be other records if Raimundo had sought to disregard the royal mandate, and in any event, there may well have been no more than a handful adhering to the obsolete form of worship. Although the issue would have been a sensitive one, it seems rather far-fetched to suppose that he would have had recourse to the pope in order to cow them into submission. Yet, if this papal epistle did not refer to the Mozarabs and their treasured concessions, to whom was it addressed? There is a possible alternative hypothesis. The 1140s were a time of upheaval in the Peninsula. The Almohads had replaced the Almoravids and were showing scant tolerance towards Christians and Jews in Islamic territories. At the same time, the Castilian monarchs had been pursuing with vigour their policy of campaigning in al-Andalus. Alfonso VII briefly occupied the city of Córdoba in 1146, Baeza and Úbeda in 1147 and, famously, Almería, which was to remain in Castilian control for ten further years, in October of the same year. When one recalls that it was the intention of the Castilian monarchs to encourage the repopulation of Toledo and the surrounding areas, it is logical to argue, as Molénat has done, that the returning expeditionary forces would have brought back to Castile with them numbers of beleaguered Mozarabic communities. It may not be prudent to assert that there was a massive influx of so-called 'new Mozarabs' in Toledo ('une immigration massive vers Tolède') from 1146, but it is not unreasonable to suggest that the traditional balance of Christians within the city was upset.[71] Maybe it was this situation that the Toledan archbishop called on the pope to redress. I think, though, that there is still insufficient evidence to argue that there were numerous thriving Christian communities in al-Andalus in the twelfth century, and that it

---

[70] Esteban Terreros y Pando, *Paleografía española*, Madrid, 1758, p. 20; Andrés Marcos Burriel, M*emorias auténticas de las santas vírgenes y mártires Sevillanas Justa y Rufina* [1752], published by D[on] A[ntonio] V[alladares] D[e] S[otomayor] in *Colección de algunas obras inéditas críticas, eruditas, históricas y políticas de nuestros mejores autores, antiguos y modernos*, Volume I, Madrid, 1806, pp. 7–92, at pp. 73–7.

[71] Jean-Pierre Molénat, *Campagnes et Monts de Tolède du XIIe au XVe siècle*, pp. 42-43. See also, Molénat, 'Les Mozarabes: un exemple d'intégration', pp. 95–111, at pp. 96–7.

is more feasible to suppose that the migrants, especially those from rural areas, were lukewarm in their adherence to whatever creed. The Almohads were as rigorous in their demands on Muslims whom they perceived as having lost sight of the original tenets of Islam, as they were of non-Islamic communities, so certain Muslims were as likely to want to escape the harsh conditions of fundamentalism as non-Muslims. One can concur though, that they were all largely Arabicized. If such was the case, then the assimilation of either group within the Toledan communities may have been problematic. There may be an analogy here with the incomers in the Leonese kingdom in the tenth century. Those fleeing from al-Andalus for whatever cause would have embraced whatever form of religion in their new locations that was demanded of them. Indeed, those who settled in Toledo may have become aware of the privileges that the Mozarabs *in situ* enjoyed, and wished to have a part of them, but were denied the same rights. If one accepts that the newcomers far outnumbered those Mozarabs already in Toledo, then the resentment of the numerical majority could well have compromised the *status quo* of all Christians within the city, thus provoking Raimundo's letter to the pope, although the pope may not have been aware of the intricacies of the situation.[72] One might observe, in passing, that the threat that the offending Mozarabs might be expelled if they did not toe the line would make more sense if the so-called 'new Mozarabs' were the target. The 'old hands' would have been unlikely to succumb to intimidation, but those who had recently settled might well be startled into compliance, if it was felt that their new status and livelihood were threatened. One must bear in mind, though, that the identity of 'those who called themselves Mozarabs' – that is, those who were the subject of papal disapproval – cannot with certainty be established.

The word 'Mozarab', or a form of it, begins to appear with some frequency as a surname in the Toledan area from the middle of the twelfth century onwards. The information for this mainly comes from a corpus of Arabic documents, primarily of a legal nature, bills of sale and deeds of gift, and so on, which survive in the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid. In 1897, Pons Boigues published very useful detailed notes on over 120 of these documents, arranging them in chronological order, and thirty years later, González Palencia, in an extensive four-volume work, published the texts of more than 1,100 documents, with summaries of their contents in Spanish, accompanied by a thorough critical analysis.[73] From the information that they provide, it is possible to gain a picture of a mixed society in which Jews, *francos*, a few Muslims and Mozarabs all participated. Here, it is simply my purpose to draw attention to the hybrid nature of the names, and to attempt to understand the social context within which they are seen to emerge. A number of important studies have been made about the legal and other aspects of

[72] Molénat, 'Les Mozarabes ...', p. 98.

[73] Francisco Pons Boigues, *Apuntes sobre las escrituras mozárabes toledanas que se conservan en el Archivo Histórico Nacional*, Madrid, 1897; Ángel González Palencia, *Los mozárabes de Toledo en los siglos XII y XIII*, 1926–1930, 4 vols. There are, though, some significant variants between the texts of those documents I have been able to collate, and their transcription by González Palencia. See Pastor de Togneri, 'Problemas de la asimilación', p. 200, n. 8.

the documents themselves, which are not *à propos* my intention, an indication that their significance, long since neglected, is now being recognized. [74] The surname 'Al-Mustaʿrabī' makes its début appearance in a deed of sale, written in Arabic, dating to 1150 AD, of a vineyard between the roads of Olías and Oliolas, in the jurisdiction of Toledo, where a vineyard belonging to Ibn Martīn al-Mustaʿrabī is mentioned as one of the adjacent properties.[75]

He may be identified, from internal evidence, as the Ibn Martīn who had appeared in a document dated the previous year, 1149 AD, as Martīn Salama b. Abī Ḥajja.[76] In a document of February 1191 AD, this same person occurs with his full imposing nomenclature of 'Don Domingo Martīn b. Salama b. Abī Ḥajja known as [*al-maʿrūf*] Martīn al-Mustaʿrab'.[77] The insertion of 'known as' perhaps may simply indicate that he preferred to be known by a shorter more manageable name, but it is also a plain statement that he is the person who is Arabicized. Yet, his Arabic name is a clear indication of Arabicization, and one therefore needs to ask what are the circumstances that may explain his adoption of 'Mustaʿrab' as a surname. If the people in the whole region had been Arabicized for a long period of time, then this name would hardly to used to signify one who stood out as such. After all, the inhabitants of Toledo were known collectively as 'muzaraves' soon after the conquest of the city in 1085. Likewise, if the region had been depopulated, and if he had been a subsequent settler from al-Andalus, one would assume him to have been Arabicized. Molénat has demonstrated, not only with chronicle references, but also by signalling the hardline policies of the Almohads that contributed to an exodus of non-Muslims on a large scale, that there was substantial repopulation of the 'Valley of the Tagus'.[78] To some extent, their place of origin may be determined by toponymical evidence in the immediate environs of Toledo, and it is noteworthy that he should make specific mention of Olías, where Ibn Martīn had his vineyard. Olías first figures in the documents in 1146, and then on a further twenty-six occasions, enabling Molénat to posit the deliberate division of territory post-1146, precisely in order to cater for the immigrant colonizers.[79] Ibn Martīn, with his

[74] For example, the works of Reyna Pastor de Togneri, to which reference has already been made, and María Luz Alonso, 'La compraventa en los documentos toledanos de los siglos XII–XV', *Anuario de Historia de Derecho Español*, 49 (1979), 455–517, in the 1970s, and more recently the *oeuvres* of Jean-Pierre Molénat, notably his extensive and erudite thesis, *Campagnes et Monts de Tolède* of 1997; see also, the studies assembled by Cardaillac in 1991 (*Tolède, XIIe–XIIIe ...*), and Francisco J. Hernández, 'Language and Cultural Identity: The Mozarabs of Toledo', *Boletín Burriel*, 1 (1989), 29–48.

[75] AHN, Madrid, Carpeta 300, no. 17 (parchment); the originals of the documents cited, unless specified otherwise, have been consulted by the author; González Palencia, *Los mozárabes de Toledo ...* (henceforth AGP), vol. I, pp. 27–8, no. 40.

[76] AGP, I, p. 26, no. 37.

[77] Doc. 153, AGP, I, pp. 111–12. The date (Era 1229) is mistakenly given as 1181 AD by González Palencia.

[78] Molénat, *Campagnes et Monts de Tolède*, pp. 38–53.

[79] Ibid., pp. 79–81; Pastor de Togneri, 'Problemas de la asimilación', pp. 205–206, gives Olías as an example of land divided and subdivided according to the 'costumbres o fueros del lugar'.

full Arabic name, and other Arabic names present in the 'Olías' documents could therefore well have been among those who settled in the area in the 1140s. One should note, however, that these documents do not testify to an entirely Arabicized community. In the 1150 deed of sale, mentioned above, Rodrico Urdunīs (Ordóñez) bought a vineyard from Paul Yuanis (Juanes), and his wife Shamsī, which would suggest that the land was not entirely depopulated at the time of the advent of the new settlers from al-Andalus. It is conceivable, however, that Rodrico came from the Murcian region of al-Andalus. He paid for his purchase with fourteen *mithcals* of *murábeti* gold, five of which were royal *marīnis*, and the other nine *ayādis.* The former were coins minted in al-Andalus under the Almoravid regime. When this collapsed in 1150, one finds no further reference to its coinage.[80] The *marīnis* were, according to Gautier-Dalché, originally struck in North Africa and not in the Peninsula, but the *ayādis* were minted during the reign of the Murcian ruler, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallah b. Ayād who died in 1147, but whose coinage circulated in the valley of the Tagus between 1150 and 1158. This document is the earliest chronologically in which it is mentioned. The conclusion one can draw is that gold coins minted in al-Andalus were accepted currency amongst those who settled in the Toledan region, because the immigrants had brought their money with them, and that Ibn Martīn and the others involved in the sales detailed in this document, came from a place where such currency was used, namely the kingdom of Murcia. The toponym of Olías does not provide unequivocal evidence of an Andalusí provenance, although one possible source is a location in the Málagan region. There exists a variety of possible etymons, such as *Awliyya* or *Ūliyya*, and an etymology based on the Romance word for olive tree has also been proposed.[81] Failing a specific identification for Ibn Martīn's place of origin, then, one is left with the proposition that his surname is no more nor less an indication that he originally came from al-Andalus. In the document of 1191, Don Martīn is deceased, but his notoriety in life accompanies him after death. The phrase 'May God forgive him!' is applied to him in the text, on account, perhaps, of the reputation that his prowess as a businessman earned him.[82] His sons, Don Domingo and Don Cristóbal Martīn, are involved in this transaction and, on a later occasion, in 1196, Don Cristóbal is still identified as the son of Don Martīn Mustaʿrab. From his possessions, and from the references to their father in documents where the sons are involved in transactions, it is clear the Martīn al-Mustaʿrab was a prominent figure in the Toledan area in the twelfth century.

If one follows the pattern of reasoning just applied, then a transaction recorded for the year 1171 falls into the same category. Although the proceedings described

---

[80] J. Gautier-Dalché, 'Le rôle de la reconquête de Tolède dans l'histoire monetaire de la Castille (1085–1174)', in *Estudios sobre Alfonso VI y la reconquista*, Toledo: Instituto de Estudios Visigótico-Mozárabes, 1988, pp. 11–25, at pp. 21–2.

[81] Molénat, *Campagnes et Monts de Tolède*, pp. 80–81, n. 62; Eloy Benito Ruano, 'Olías, alquería islámica de Toledo', *Simposio Toledo Hispanoárabe*, Toledo, 1986, pp. 99–103.

[82] A version of the relevant Arabic text is rendered as follows: 'a description of him and an explanation of him go without saying – on all that has [already] been mentioned and expounded', which is paraphrased by González Palencia as 'que no es preciso describir su notoriedad' (AGP, I, pp. 111–12).

in the document are not wholly clear, it seems as though Yuán (Juan) Mustaʿrab bought a shop from Don Melendo within the city of Toledo with money from Dona Sotomayōrī, the widow of Domingo al-Barnīṭī. This money was gold *mithcals* from Baeza (*bayāsiyya*), which were in circulation in Toledo between 1152 and 1173 and were the preferred currency used in about fifty transactions. Baeza remained in Castilian hands during the decade in which Almería was a Castilian enclave within al-Andalus, 1147–57 and, according to Gautier-Dalché, maintained relations with Toledo after it had passed into the hands of the warrior Ibn Mardānish in 1159. To explain the circulation of these *mithcals,* Gautier-Dalché has put forward the reasonable hypothesis that Alfonso VII ordered the minting of *bayāsī mithcals* in Toledo with the same characteristics as those from Baeza itself.[83] If this were to have been the case, then it would be hazardous to argue, on the basis of the evidence of the coinage, that Juan Mustaʿrab was an Andalusí. It is still feasible, however, that he came from an unspecified location in al-Andalus, and that he settled in Toledo itself. The word 'Mozarab' does not figure as a surname before this time, although it was well known as a generic denominator. The fact that the Juan in this document was called Mustaʿrab would suggest that there was something distinctive about him, something that set him apart from those Mozarabs who already inhabited the city. The evidence is far from conclusive, but the documents themselves provide certain fragments of information that lends some support to what has been propounded above.

There are other instances of the word *mustaʿrab* or variant in these Arabic documents of Toledo, particularly in the final decade of the twelfth century, and subsequently. Apart from those names mentioned in Arabic, a witness to a sale between two wealthy clerics, one of whom was the *imām* of the Church of Santa María in Talavera, dated June 1178, was appended in Latin: 'Dominicus, mistarabs testis'.[84] At about the same time, and then throughout the thirteenth century, a place-name that occurs with some frequency is that of Val de Mozárabes (*bāl de mustʿarab* or *bāl de Mustaʿrabīsh*), eleven times between 1235 and 1296.[85] Prior to 1235, it was known as *ʿain ad-dīk* (cockerel's well), and one can assume that the region had acquired notoriety in the twelfth century as a place where Mozarabs settled.[86] One can postulate that Mozarabs settled the area from al-Andalus at some time in the twelfth century, as it is mentioned in documents from 1192

[83] Gautier-Dalché, 'Le rôle de la reconquête de Tolède', pp. 22–4.

[84] Madrid, AHN, Carpeta 3039, no. 7; AGP, I, p. 102, no. 141. Amado Alonso, 'Árabe st > Español ç. Español ST Árabe > CH', *PMLA*, 62 (1947), 325–38, at p. 330, studied this form of the word, which conceivably may have influenced Archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada when he invented his etymology: 'Mixti Arabes, eo quod mixti Arabibus convivebant'. See Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, p. xv, did not believe that it had any connection with the archbishop's etymology, and thought that it was 'simplemente un cambio de pronunciación por *Mostárab*'; he refers to the toponym of *Almizárabes* (de Sierra) in the province of Jaén.

[85] AGP, I, nos 517, 595, 616, 642, 682, 696, 705, 721, 778, 779 and 791. See also, Pascual de Madoz, *Diccionario geográfico-estadístico-histórico*, Madrid, 1849, Vol. XV, p. 221, the entry for 'Valdemuzaravez': 'es de pasto y labor y pertenece a la catedral (de Toledo)'; Simonet, *Historia de los Mozárabes*, p. XIV.

[86] AGP, II, p. 213, no. 517; Molénat, *Campagnes et Monts de Tolède*, p. 135.

onwards. It is significant that this location later became known as San Julián, probably as a consequence of the interest shown in it by the Cathedral of Toledo.[87] A canon of the cathedral, Don Guillem Repostero, purchased land there in 1235, and his nephew, the deacon Don Martín Guillem, did likewise in 1255. His cousin, Maestro Guillén (*sic*), bought out Don Martīn in 1262. Both Don Martīn and his cousin received donations from Don Guillem Repostero in the same place in 1252 and 1254.[88] Although there is no specific reference to bequests to the cathedral, ecclesiastical involvement in the affairs of the settlers is apparent, and a presage of later activity. This same area belonged to the cathedral chapter in the fourteenth century.[89] Despite the fact that this toponym Valdemuzáraves has survived as a place-name east of Toledo, it is clear that once members of the cathedral chapter became involved, the evidently Christian name of San Julián is preferred.[90] The change of name does seem to suggest a certain measure of sensitivity to a name ostensibly associated with al-Andalus. Whereas the dwellers themselves would have been oblivious to the derivation of the word, cathedral clerics would perhaps have resented resonances of those privileged Mozarabic communities in the city, and would therefore have welcomed the opportunity of having the word expunged from the locality. In later centuries, when the animosity had died down, the village resorted to its former nomenclature.

Gradually, as the twelfth century progressed, the Castilians and other settlers in Toledo and in the surrounding areas came to terms with the presence of Mozarabs in their midst. The privileges and special benefits granted to the Mozarabs by successive monarchs constituted an obstacle to their integration. This preferential treatment, even if in some instances it was more perceived than real, had various consequences. First, it meant that the relationship between the Mozarabs and the others – Castilians, Leonese and Galicians – was always going to be fraught. As the barriers came down, and as the assimilation of the Mozarabs into Castilian society proceeded, and a form of colloquial Latin became a means of communication, so the justification for the special consideration accorded the Mozarabs lessened. Secondly, it meant that they were always vulnerable. They could be protected and given exemptions by the monarchs, but they were not immune from the predatory policies adopted by the Church, particularly the Cathedral of Toledo. It may be demonstrated from the documents published by González Palencia, that there was systematic acquisition by the cathedral or its representatives of the smallholdings that had enabled the Mozarabs to make a living. As their properties were brought under the wing of the Church, so their own distinctiveness as Arab-speaking nuclei within Christian Castile was absorbed.

One example of the attention paid by the cathedral to the Mozarabic communities may be cited. Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, as Archbishop of Toledo, attended the

---

[87] Molénat, ibid., p. 135, n. 24.

[88] AGP, II, p. 191, no. 595; II, p. 217, no. 616; III, pp. 47, 48–9, nos. 778, 779; Molénat, ibid., p. 113.

[89] Molénat, ibid., pp. 299, 303–304.

[90] '... Val de Moçaraues, que dizen agora Sant Julian, termino de Toledo' (document of 1279), ibid., p. 135, n. 24.

Fourth Lateran Council in Rome in 1215. As Gonzálvez has pertinently pointed out, one of the decrees directed that bishops in cities where 'liturgical pluralism currently existed' should 'provide appropriate clerics to faithful Christians of the different rites who should administer the sacraments and instruct them "secundum diversitatem rituum et linguarum"'.[91] As far as ecclesiastical jurisdiction was concerned, then, the Mozarabs in the city could legitimately continue to use the old unreformed rite. Archbishop Rodrigo was bound to concur with the injunction of the Lateran Council. Yet, between 1209 and 1242, there were no fewer than twenty-six private transactions in which the archbishop purchased land, property and goods from Mozarabs, including acreage and a vineyard in Olías, mentioned above, and two houses within Toledo itself.[92] If it was perceived that there existed enclaves of Mozarabs in Toledo and surrounding areas, then the policy of buying up their lands meant their enforced absorption into the Castilian community, and the diminution of their distinctiveness. There is a curious codicil to this. In his *De rebus Hispaniae*, which was concluded in 1243, the archbishop evolved a bizarre etymology of the word 'Mozarab', one which became popular in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, asserting that the Mozarabs were so called because they lived with the Arabs, in other words, 'mixtiarabes'.[93] There is a suggestion, in this definition, that these Mozarabs were tainted through their contact with Muslims over so many centuries. One is entitled to ask whether the archbishop deliberately devised a false etymology to disparage the Mozarabic communities, and at the same time to justify his personal campaign towards their disappearance as independent nuclei in his archdiocese.[94]

It would be fair to say that the Mozarabs flourished in the city of Toledo in the twelfth century. They still had their own mayor in 1178, Melendo Lampader, who died in 1181, and relations with the Castilian community in the city seemed positive. This same Melendo married a daughter of the Castilian *alcaide*, and the line was perpetuated well into the thirteenth century.[95] The maintenance of two separate mayors, responsible for their own communities, one hundred years after the capture of the city by Alfonso VI, is an indication of the success of this king's initial policies. Arabophone Christian communities, however they came into existence, could prosper independently within Christian territories. One may glimpse a picture of Castile increasing in prestige as a consequence of taking and retaining possession of Toledo, adjusting to the presence of Mozarabs within their midst. Initially a spirit of tolerance prevailed, but over the decades, the special

---

[91] Ramón Gonzálvez, 'The Persistence of the Mozarabic Liturgy', p. 178.

[92] Pastor de Togneri, 'Problemas de la asimilación', pp. 253–4.

[93] This was taken up by Sebastián de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana* (Madrid, 1611), Barcelona: Riquer, 1943, p. 817, col. (a): 'Pues, como estos tales christianos estuviesen mesclados entre los moros, llamáronlos *mixtiarabes, eo quod cum arabibus viverunt*.'

[94] A contrary point of view is expressed by Hernández, 'Language and Cultural Identity: the Mozarabs of Toledo, pp. 39–40, although he does admit that while it 'does seem far-fetched to claim that either Archbishop Rodrigo or the church of Toledo conspired to destroy them, yet, in the two centuries that separate Rodrigo from [Chancellor] Ayala, the Mozarabs do appear to have lost their distinctiveness as a group' (p. 40).

[95] Molénat, *Campagnes et Monts de Tolède*, pp. 95–6.

privileges enjoyed by the Mozarabic community in Toledo rankled with those not so favoured. The authority and precedence of this community was surely on the wane, particularly in the thirteenth century, and this was matched by the decrease of the Arabicization that characterized it. Arabic would have been used less and less within the city of Toledo, though it is likely to have lasted longer in the rural areas, particularly if the communities there comprised emigrants from al-Andalus in the middle of the twelfth century. By the end of the thirteenth century, though, the Arabic-speaking Christians in the Toledan area had shed the buoyancy that had sustained them even until the end of the twelfth, and dwindled just as one imagines that the Cornish did, their language with them.

This page intentionally left blank

Chapter 8

Mozarabs in Aragón

Alfonso I of Aragón's invasion of al-Andalus in 1125-26 is copiously reported in Latin and Arabic sources. As-Sayrafī's twelfth-century account is preserved in the work of the fourteenth-century historian, Ibn al-Khaṭīb. Prior to this, it had been copied by Ibn ʿIdhāri al-Marrākushī.[1] Subsequently, al-Maqqarī, in the seventeenth century, provided a valuable narrative complementing earlier versions of events, drawing on historiographical traditions, now lost.[2] There are also contemporary *fatwas,* studied in detail by Lagardère, which cast light on the reactions of the Almoravid authorities to these events.[3] The nearest to a contemporary source in Latin is contained in the *Ecclesiastical History of England and Normandy* of Ordericus Vitalis. Other relevant information is provided by the texts of the *fueros* in certain Aragonese townships, such as Mallén, for example. Most of the primary material has been sifted and assessed, and the general consensus is that Alfonso's incursion into al-Andalus had as its specific aim the rescue of Christians who had petitioned him as a consequence of persecution by the Almoravids. García de Valdeavellano, for instance, makes a number of telling points. He singles out the Mozarabs of Granada as the ones suffering intolerable conditions, who promised the king support in his campaign to conquer the city. When the king responded to the plea, and reached the outskirts, many Mozarabs fled from the city itself, increasing his numbers substantially. However, his 'fifth column' of Mozarabs within Granada were unable to foment rebellion, and Alfonso was thwarted in his quest and turned his attention elsewhere, attacking Córdoba before returning to his original objective, the submission of Granada. He was obliged to raise the siege, however, because of an epidemic amongst his troops. Many Mozarabs accompanied him on the return journey to Aragón, and these helped to repopulate the valley of the Ebro. As a consequence of the assistance rendered by Mozarabs to the Aragonese king, the Almoravid leader, ʿAlī b. Yūsuf ordered that the remaining Mozarabs be deported to the Maghrib, thus decimating (García de Valdeavellano actually says extinguishing) the Mozarabic population in al-Andalus.[4]

---

1 See Reinhart P.A. Dozy, *Recherches sur l'histoire et littérature de l'Espagne pendant le Moyen Âge*, 3rd edn reviewed and augmented, 2 vols, 1860, facsimile reprint, Amsterdam: Oriental Press, 1965, I, pp. 348–63.

2 Al-Makkari, Ahmed ibn Mohammed, *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, translated by Pascual de Gayangos, 2 vols, 1840–43, reprinted London: RoutledgeCurzon (*sic*), 2002, I, pp. 303–307.

3 Vincent Lagardère, 'Communautés mozarabes, et pouvoir almoravide en 519H/1125 en Andalus', *Studia Islamica*, 67 (1988), 99–119.

4 Luis G[arcía] de Valdeavellano, *Historia de España, I: De los orígenes a la Baja Edad Media*, Part IV, 4th edn, Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1968, pp. 421–2.

This is a clear and coherent account in which there are, nonetheless, points that can be elaborated. The assumption is that the Granadan Mozarabs were being persecuted and, because of this, they sought Alfonso's help. It is also asserted that the Mozarabs, in the event of Alfonso's positive response to their plea, would organize a full-scale rebellion that would enable him to take advantage of the turmoil and capture the city. There is, therefore, I think, an ambivalence in Valdeavellano's narrative. Did they want to escape to the safety of Christian territory, or did they actually believe that, with Alfonso's assistance, they could establish a Christian (non-Muslim) state in al-Andalus, as was to be the case with Almería twenty years later? Was the motivation of the Mozarab petitioners religious or political, and is Alfonso's role to be seen as that of one of the leaders of the Crusade who, at that time, were enjoying such success in the East under Baldwin II? More trenchant views have been expressed than those of Valdeavellano. Rachel Arié, for example, unequivocally held that Alfonso was intent on rescuing the Mozarabs from religious persecution and from the enduring hatred of the *faqīhs*, the legal experts who were responsible for the orthodoxy of Muslim beliefs. The pioneering Dutch Arabist of the nineteenth century, Reinhart Dozy, explained Alfonso's invasion as a response to the plight of the Mozarabs who had been provoked to rebel because of the Almoravids' hostility towards Christians. The Arabic sources help to place these interpretations into perspective.

The Almoravids, who had taken over control of Granada in 1090, conducted periodic offensives in the Peninsula from their political base in North Africa, notably under their most successful leader, Yūsuf b. Tashfīn. In his fourth incursion into the Peninsula, in 1099, he set in motion campaigns for the assault on Valencia. After the Christians had abandoned Valencia in May 1102, the *amīr* Mazdalī took a force north and raided the city of Barcelona, destroying the churches there and razing the belfries to the ground. The bells were brought back to Valencia where they were converted into lamps, and hung in the great mosque.[5] Whilst at his base in Granada, Yūsuf ordered the destruction of the church that stood by the Elvira gate of the city. This policy of destruction of specifically Christian buildings, in contrast to the observance of the *dhimma* status that had mainly marked the attitudes of Muslims towards non-Muslims in al-Andalus hitherto, was as unexpected as it was unwelcome. A natural response to religious persecution is the hardening of resolve of those persecuted. The situation concerning the non-Muslim community in Granada is, I believe, rather more complex. If there was a prominent Christian presence, then one would perhaps have expected a steady sequence of references to it since the collapse of the Ṭā'ifa kingdom in the 1080s. This does not seem to have been the case. One is led, therefore, to conjecture that either those practising Christians who maintained their faith must have kept an exceptionally low profile, or that they were so few as not to have made an impact. As the hostile measures intensified, it is quite conceivable that more inhabitants may have declared their adherence to Christianity. In the terminology used by Arab writers to denominate non-Muslims, the distinction between Christians

[5] Ibn Al-Kardabús, *Historia de al-Andalus*, ed. Felipe Maíllo Salgado, Madrid: Akal, 1986, pp. 135–7.

and those who were beneficiaries of the pact persisted. The former, as has been noted, were called *naṣārā*, and the latter *muʿāhidūn*, those to whom the terms of a treaty applied. This was a religiously neutral term. In the history of the Almoravids written by As-Sayrafī of Granada who was the *kātib* (secretary) of the governor, Abū Bakr b. ʿAlī, 1126–38 AD, and which is therefore a contemporary account, one can see a sensitivity towards this distinction. The author singles out a major non-Muslim political figure in Granada at the beginning of the twelfth century, one Ibn al-Qallas who is described as *muʿāhid*, a practice followed by Ibn ʿIdhārī and Ibn al-Khaṭīb. This description was not due to the fact that he was a Christian, which he may or may not have been. Ibn al-Qallas was, according to As-Sayrafī, the leader of the community of *rūm*, Romans or Greeks, but in this context, designating the indigenous population of the Peninsula. These *rūm* 'tilled their land, lived in their villages and were presided over by *ashaykh min ahl adīnihim* [old (or venerable) men of their religion]'.[6] These sheikhs were, in effect, the headmen of the district, responsible for their subjects, and they acted as a link between them and the Muslim governors of the province. No mention is made of priests or bishops, and I think that Ibn al-Qallas had a secular role in determining the well-being of the non-Muslim communities over a wide area. There is no indication that they were rebellious, nor that they were oppressed. Guided by their leaders, they would have been well versed in their obligations as possessors of the status of *mu'āhidūn*. Until the advent of the Almoravids, they had, in Andrew Handler's words 'led a peaceful, inconspicuous coexistence with few exceptions'.[7] They were farmers and agriculturists in the rural areas, artisans and traders in the city, both far removed from military or governmental circles.

Under the sway of the Almoravids, the nature of life experienced by the rural communities would have undergone a gradual change. There is a pointer to this in the fourteenth-century *Anales Toledanos* which, for the year 1106, has the following entry: 'fue la hueste de Malaga quando exieron los mozarabes de Malaga', to paraphrase: 'It was when there was a large army [of Almoravids] at Málaga, that the Mozarabs left [or were obliged to leave].'[8] Although the sense here is not wholly unequivocal, it is clear that what is being recorded is an occasion when Mozarabs left their homes in the Málagan region. Some historians have considered that the date is erroneous, and that it should be 1126 AD, which would link in with Alfonso's expedition, but what is clear is that the departure of a significant element of the population in south-east al-Andalus was sufficiently noteworthy to be registered by the fourteenth-century chronicler.[9] Such demographic shifts had been a rarity

---

[6] Dozy, *Recherches sur l'histoire et littérature de l'Espagne*, pp. 350–51, and, for the Arabic text: Appendix XXVIII, p. lxx.

[7] Andrew Handler, *The Zirids of Granada*, Miami, FL: University of Miami Press, 1974, p. 157.

[8] More literally: 'it was the Málagan host [or army] when the Mozarabs left Málaga', Enrique Flórez, *España Sagrada*, Madrid: Antonio Marín, XXIII, 1767, p. 368.

[9] José Ángel Tapia Garrido, *Historia de Almería y su provincia*, Almería: Caja de Ahorros, 1976, II, pp. 343–4.

hitherto, suggesting that a fundamental change of policy occurred with the establishment of Almoravid rule in al-Andalus.

The Arabic text ascribed to As-Sayrafī goes into unusual detail about the preliminaries of Alfonso's expedition, suggesting that the indigenous population of the region were planning an insurrection. Although Ibn al-Qallas is not named specifically as the instigator, it seems plausible that he initiated the correspondence with Alfonso, the 'Ibn Radmīr' of the Arabic text. The Arabic text mentions more than one message sent, all meeting with a cautious response from Alfonso. In order to press their case further, the potential rebels sent Alfonso a list or catalogue (*zimām*) of the names of twelve thousand warriors, a list which excluded all old and inexperienced people. Ibn al-Qallas, if he was the correspondent, informed Alfonso, furthermore, that he would be able to count on an even larger number, but this was unverifiable as those concerned lived a long way from Granada. Inducements were offered which suggest that the rebels expected that Alfonso would not only relieve them of their plight, but would also capture the city of Granada and occupy the surrounding territory. These included the economy of the region, undeniable at the time, and founded in the fertility of the Vega, the tract of land to the west of the city, notably the corn, the olive groves, the fruit trees and the vines. Silk (*ḥarīr*) is also mentioned as one of the allurements, bearing out what is known about the buoyancy of the raw silk trade from al-Andalus to the East at this time.[10] The enticement to conquest included the defensive strength of Granada, in particular, the impregnability (*manāʿa*) of its fortress and the strategic position of the area for further expeditions, by implication, to North Africa. The Andalusí historian makes no reference to any religious constraint felt by al-Qallas and his fellow *muʿāhidūn*. Given the fact that he does refer to the religious fervour of the Aragonese knights who all swore on the Holy Gospel (*injīl* – Evangel) that they would never abandon their comrades, one feels that had there been any equivalent sentiment on the part of the Andalusí petitioners, then it would have been mentioned.[11] The Arabic text does not read as a plaintive cry for help on the part of Ibn al-Qallas and persecuted members of the indigenous population desperate to organize the clandestine mass exodus of an entire community. It is reminiscent, rather, of a political conspiracy, an ambitious potential *coup d'état* involving the substitution of an increasingly oppressive overlord by a foreign power, by means of promises and inducements.

The entreaties were effective, as Alfonso, according to As-Sayrafī, left Zaragoza in September 1125 AD, clearly bent on the conquest of Granada. Scholars writing in the twentieth century, such Las Cagigas, Huici Miranda, Serrano and Ubieto Arteta have provided detailed accounts of the itinerary of his journey south, all with discrepancies, most of them minor, the most detailed of which is that of

---

10 Constable, *Trade and Traders in Muslim*, pp. 175–6.

11 The details above are drawn from Dozy, *Recherches sur l'histoire et littérature de l'Espagne*, pp. 350–53, and from pp. lxx–lxxii of the Arabic text; see also, Richard Hitchcock, 'Los musta'ribūn: ¿comunidad marginada en al-Andalus a principios del siglo XII?', in Richard Hitchcock and Ralph Penny (eds), *Actas del primer congreso anglo-hispano*, Volume III, *Historia*, Madrid: Castalia, 1994, pp. 251–60.

Vincent Lagardère.[12] Alfonso went south without proclaiming the object of his expedition, contrary to what one might have expected, had his intention been to rescue Christians.[13] He went via Valencia, which he besieged briefly, and where the numbers of his troops were swollen by *muʿāhidūn* who served as guides, and imparted local knowledge. As an observation on this detail, Lagardère, imprudently equating *muʿāhidūn* with Christians, wonders whether the presence of 'Mozarab elements' in Valencia in 1125 can be verified. Although there are references to a residual presence of Christians in Valencia when Rodrigio Díaz de Vivar, el Cid, captured the city in 1095, there is nothing to suggest that there was a substantial nucleus of Christians in the surrounding areas, and that it was these who swarmed to join Alfonso. The *rūm al-baladiyyūn* were not Christians, but members of the indigenous population, of no ascertainable religious allegiance, who were country-dwellers.[14] They were Arabicized, and no doubt keen to welcome a change in overlordship from the oppressive intransigence of the Almoravids.

After a well-publicized journey, which took him via Denia, Játiva and Murcia, Alfonso reached Guadix, attacking the city without succeeding in capturing it, and remaining in the region for about a month. At this point, following As-Sayrafī, the conspiracy within Granada was discovered. Again, it is misleading to identify the *muʿāhidūn* responsible with Christians, as Lagardère does. Indeed, there is no need to do so in order to make sense of the episode. The potential fifth column in Granada, the conspirators who had tempted Alfonso with their offers of support, slunk away from the city to avoid imprisonment, and by diverse routes, rendezvoused with his army. According to Arabic sources, his amassed troops now numbering fifty thousand (according to As-Sayrafī's account), a figure which seems somewhat inflated, were first seen by the citizens of Granada in January 1126, and they caused considerable consternation. The weather, however, favoured the defenders, as Alfonso, hampered by rain and freezing conditions, was unable to mount a full-scale assault. When he found that he could not gain entry to the city, recriminations started. Clearly, he expected greater assistance from those who petitioned him to venture this far south, something more decisive than provisions for the troops and fodder for the horses. In As-Sayrafī's narrative, Alfonso reprimanded his petitioners and in particular Ibn al-Qallas, presumably on the grounds that he had been led to anticipate an unopposed entry into the city. Ibn al-Qallas, however, stood his ground, and blamed Alfonso for having lingered over his expedition, and thereby affording the Muslim defenders ample time to muster their defences, and

---

12 Isidro de Las Cagigas, *Minorías étnico-religiosas de la Edad Media española*, Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1948, Vol. II, *Los mudéjares*, Part I, pp. 250–51; Ambrosio Huici Miranda, *Historia musulmana de Valencia y su región. Novedades y rectificaciones*, Valencia: Ayuntamiento, 1970, 3 vols, Vol. III, pp. 51–64; Antonio Ubieto Arteta, *Historia de Aragón: la formación territorial*, Zaragoza: Anúbar, 1981, pp. 172–8; Lagardère, 'Communautés mozarabes'; Delfina Serrano, 'Dos fetwas sobre la expulsión de los mozárabes al Magreb en 1126', *Anaquel de estudios árabes*, (2) 1991, 163–82, at pp. 165–7. See also, Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes de España* (reprint, Amsterdam, 1967), pp. 745–57.

13 Al-Makkarí, *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, Vol. II, p. 305; as-Sayrafī in Dozy, *Recherches sur l'histoire et littérature de l'Espagne*, p. 353.

14 Lagardère, 'Communautés mozarabes', pp. 101–102.

to bring reinforcements from North Africa. This exchange reflects, it seems to me, the bickering of company commanders, neither of whom was willing to shoulder the blame for the failure of a much vaunted enterprise.

Following his aborted attack on Granada, Alfonso campaigned in other areas of al-Andalus. He was successful in various skirmishes, and gained a notable victory against pursuing Almoravid forces at the fortress of Arnisúl, identified by Lagardère as Anzul, near Lucena.[15] In March 1126 AD, he returned to Granada, perhaps having attracted more members of the disaffected indigenous population to his army, even getting as far as the favourable venue of the Vega, but, without launching any attack on the city, he retraced his steps towards Aragón. Almoravid reinforcements transported from Meknes and from Fez at the express instructions of the governor, seriously harassed him. As an interpretation of these events, both the length of his absence from his homeland, and the impracticability of maintaining a viable Aragonese presence so deep into Andalusí territory may well have been factors. It is possible that he also felt that he had been lured southwards under false pretences, and that the promised support from the *muʿāhidūn* within al-Andalus was woefully inadequate for his purposes. His objective of capturing Granada was unrealizable. No doubt, he was surprised by the strength of the military opposition of the Almoravids, even if his troops outnumbered theirs, as seems plausible from the sources. In his reasoning, perhaps, those who had besought him to come were insufficiently equipped to govern Granada as his representative, and he was left with no alternative other than retreat.[16]

The losers in this failed enterprise were undoubtedly Ibn al-Qallas and the dissidents among the *muʿāhidūn* whose position under Islamic jurisdiction in al-Andalus was now well nigh untenable. Their insurrection had been thwarted, in part through what can legitimately be interpreted as crossed lines of communication, or at least a misunderstanding on their part and a fundamental misconception on Alfonso's, and in part by the timely deployment of reinforcements on the part of the Almoravids. It is not known what happened to Ibn al-Qallas, but perhaps his criticism of Alfonso's policies prior to the expedition and as it occurred, implicit in the references to the correspondence between him and Alfonso, and his ultimate disenchantment at the latter's capricious expediency, precluded his presence at Alfonso's court. Nevertheless, there are testimonies to large numbers of *muʿāhidūn* joining Alfonso's forces on their return journey. Ordericus Vitalis, the Norman monk, born in England and resident for many years in the French monastery of St Evroult, concluded his *Ecclesiastical History* in 1141 AD. From his narrative, one can ostensibly draw a somewhat different picture of these events. The following passage initially takes the form of a spoken petition to Alfonso by the *muʿāhidūn*:

> Now, rejoicing greatly that you are come among us, we wish to quit our native soil, and migrate with you, carrying with us our wives and all our effects. The King granted the

---

15 Dozy, *Recherches sur l'histoire et littérature de l'Espagne*, p. 357; Lagardère, 'Communautés mozarabes', p. 109.

16 See Huici Miranda, *Historia musulmana de Valencia y su región.* pp. 58–61, for a different emphasis: 'The true purpose of the Aragonese king was to secure as much booty as possible' (p. 59, translation mine).

> petition of the Mosarabians [Mozarabs], and in consequence vast multitudes of them left their country, exiling themselves in toil and indigence for their love of the divine law ['pro sacrae legis amore'].[17]

Orderic specified ten thousand 'mozárabes andaluces', in Huici's rendering, who mustered and joined Alfonso's forces on the return journey.[18] His account is related from a Christian perspective, and furthermore, it is not implausible that he himself might have had an informant who was an active participant in the expedition. The biographer of Ordericus points out that his customary practice was to use personal testimonies in the compilation of his *History*, and St Evroult was the refuge for many veterans of the wars and crusades in Italy and elsewhere.[19] It also seems as though he wrote this brief notice of Alfonso's invasion of al-Andalus in the last year of his life. It does not seem to be too fanciful to suggest that he might have heard about it from someone or from a number of soldiers who had taken part, only fifteen years earlier.[20] When referring to the *muʿāhidūn* who allied themselves to Alfonso, Orderic employs the word *muceravii* which appears to be a corrupt form of the Arabic *mustaʿrabī.* Throughout, he identifies these *muceravii* as Christians, as is demonstrated in this additional extract:

> We and our forefathers have hitherto been brought up among the Gentiles to this present day, and being baptized, we gladly follow the Christian laws; but we have never been able to acquire a perfect knowledge of the doctrines of our holy religion. Our subjection to the Infidels, under whose oppressive government we so long groaned, prevented our venturing to call in teachers from Rome or France, nor would such instructors have come to us [more precisely: 'they have never come to us'], by reason of the barbarity of the Pagans, our former masters.[21]

Forester's explanation for this is that the 'Mosarabian Christians had in the course of time lost the use of the Latin language. It is therefore no wonder that French and Italian preachers were no longer in vogue among them.'[22] This clarification is understandable and indeed logical enough in the context of the mid-nineteenth century when the identification of Mozarab with Christian was not questioned, but

---

17 Ordericus Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of England and Normandy*, trans. Thomas Forester, London: Bohn, Vol. IV, 1856, pp. 118–19; see also, the edition and facing English translation by Marjorie Chibnall, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, Oxford: The Clarendon Press, Vol. VI, Books XI, XII and XIII, 1978, pp. 404–407. The passage was rendered into Spanish by Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, p. 748, and by Huici Miranda, *Historia musulmana de Valencia*, Vol. III, pp. 61-62.

18 Huici Miranda, ibid., p. 62. The Spanish phrase quoted is his, but I could not find the precise figure in Orderic's account. See Dozy, *Recherches sur l'histoire et littérature de l'Espagne*, p. 356, n. 2.

19 See Marjorie Chibnall, *The World of Orderic Vitalis*, Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1984, pp. 152 and 207–208.

20 Ordericus Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History of England and Normandy*, Vol. IV, p. xxxiv.

21 Ibid., p. 119. The emendation in parenthesis is the phrase of Chibnall, *World of Orderic Vitalis*, p. 407. By and large, though, the earlier version of Forester is preferred.

22 Ordericus Vitalis, ibid., p. 119, n. 2.

further nuances are, I believe, not only possible but essential. There is no need to call into question Orderic's opinion that co-religionaries had suffered persecution and isolation under the Muslims in al-Andalus, but the petitioner's monologue is nonetheless overtly fanciful. If a body of people in a particular area preferred to live in the domain of a more powerful neighbour because they felt that their own security and safety were threatened, then it would have been quite natural for them to have made overtures to the ruler concerned, in this case, Alfonso I of Aragón. If this entailed the outward adoption of Christianity, then this would have been a small price to pay. When describing just such a situation, Orderic would have superimposed a crusading mentality. He would have known crusaders; St Evroult was a centre from which Norman knights went to the Iberian Peninsula. The frame of mind prevalent in the centuries during which the Crusades took place, required Muslims to be seen as enemies of Christianity. Orderic is therefore fantasizing when he says that Muslims had oppressed the *muceravii* for so long. He must supplement his references to the *muceravii* by having them appear not only hard-pressed and religiously persecuted, but also untutored in the Christian faith. To accept that he could conceivably have known whether they had ever sought the guidance of learned men (*doctos*) from Rome or France is to stretch credulity too far. It was evidently politically expedient for those *muʿāhidūn* who had rebelled against the Almoravids to seek salvation with the Aragonese. Whatever their political or religious affiliation beforehand, once they had joined forces with Alfonso, they were perforce Christians.

If, then, they were called Mozarabs, it was with the unspoken understanding that they were no longer uncommitted religiously. They were now Arabicized Christians.

Alfonso's army found conditions harsh on the return journey. As-Sayrafī and Orderic concur on this point, both referring to the ravaged land, the implication in As-Sayrafī's account being that the Aragonese had been responsible for this. In Orderic's version of events, they found the region through which they passed plundered of all its (natural) wealth, which suggests that their enemies were responsible for the devastation. Orderic, nevertheless, mentions the extreme want and hunger ('penuria et fame') they had to suffer before they reached their homes, which contributed to their hardship. As for the accompanying *muʿāhidūn*, some two thousand of them were settled in various Aragonese townships.[23] They were given a host of privileges and exemptions. In the *Fuero general* granted by Alfonso in the town of Alfaro in June 1126, the beneficiaries are specifically 'totos christianos mozarabis quos ego traxi cum deo auxilio de potestate sarracenorum et adduxi in terras christianorum'.[24] The Mozarabs and their descendants were granted land

[23] J.M. Lacarra, *Alfonso el Batallador*, Zaragoza: Guara, 1978, pp. 90–92.

[24] The text comprised Appendix XI in Simonet's *Historia de los Mozárabes*, pp. 824–5; it was reproduced by J.M. Lacarra in his 'Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación del Valle del Ebro' (first series), in *Estudios de Edad Media de la Corona de Aragón* [*EEMCA*], Zaragoza, 1946, II, pp. 469–574, at pp. 513–14, no. 51. Lacarra specifically states that his source was a thirteenth-century copy existing in the Archivo Municipal de Zaragoza, no. 2.

to inhabit and cultivate, exemption from payment of tax on merchandise, and the right to be judged by their own laws, by which was understood the *Fuero juzgo*. The use of the phrase 'christianos mozarabis' appears to indicate a development in the awareness on the part of the Aragonese king and his advisers of the status of the immigrants. It demonstrates a consciousness of the need to qualify the word 'Mozarab' which, *prima facie*, in isolation, did not denote Christian. In a situation analogous to that which occurred in the Toledan area, the Aragonese had to recognize that from now on, these new settlers with their Arabic language and their 'foreign ways' were co-religionaries, and had to be treated as Christians. This phrase used in the document has its parallel in as-Sayrafī's account when he refers to *an-naṣārā al-mu'āhidūn* (Christians who are beneficiaries of the pact).[25] The *mu'āhidūn* who were left after Alfonso's expedition were now identified with Christianity, and were treated both as religious and as political enemies.

Alfonso also made a special *fuero* in favour of the Mozarabs of Mallén, in the province of Zaragoza, in June 1132 AD, in terms similar to those used in the *fuero* mentioned above (here 'totos christianos mozarabes de Mallen'), indicating what was clearly still felt to be the need to qualify the word 'mozarabes', six years after their arrival in Aragonese territory.[26] The phrase in continuation, 'quos ego traxi cum Dei adjutorio de potestate paganorum, et aduxi [*sic*] vos intra christianorum', confirms the original provenance of these settlers who had left behind 'vestras casas et vestras hereditates'. Again, the terms are generous: the Mozarabs were granted the same rights, privileges and exemptions as specified in the *fueros* decreed for the citizens of Tudela (1115 AD), and Zaragoza (1118 AD).

The earliest use of the word 'Mozarab' used as a proper name in Aragón is found in a document dated 13 November 1135, published by Lacarra. Doña María and her daughters sell a property in Cinegia to Pedro González and Domingo Mozarab.[27] This same person appears as a witness to a document of 20 May 1141 AD.[28] There are two other near-contemporary documents which make mention of a man with the name of 'Mozaravi' in the environs of Zaragoza.[29] Where there is a nucleus of population resident within a particular area, then one readily appreciates that individuals belonging to this group should acquire the generic term as their surname. There seems no reason at all to doubt the conclusion that these Mozarabs belonged to those Andalusís who had fled north with Alfonso, refugees then, or the descendants of refugees. Their religious affiliation in al-Andalus cannot, I think, be established with any degree of certainty, but they adopted Christianity, or perhaps a more outward show of what had been latent before, in Aragonese lands where they were the beneficiaries of legislation in their favour, and where they constituted a discrete and distinctive sector of the community.

---

25 Dozy, *Recherches sur l'histoire et littérature de l'Espagne*, p. 360; Arabic text, p. lxxviii.

26 Reproduced by Tomás Muñoz y Romero, *Colección de Fueros Municipales y Cartas Pueblas de los reinos de Castilla, León, Corona de Aragón y Navarra*, Madrid, 1847, I, p. 503.

27 J.M. Lacarra, 'Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación del Valle del Ebro' (second series), in *EEMCA*, III, Zaragoza, 1947–48, p. 580, no. 189.

28 Ibid., third series, V, 1952, pp. 570–71, no. 349.

29 Ibid., p. 576, no. 356.

Those *muʿāhidūn* who did not accompany Alfonso north were by no means so fortunate. Because they were associated with the insurrection as being recipients of the pact within an Islamic society, whether or not they were actual participants, they were *personae non gratae* in an al-Andalus governed by Almoravids, and later by the Almohads. In 1126, the judge (*qāḍī*) of Córdoba, Abū al-Walīd Ibn Rushd promulgated a *fatwa* in which the *muʿāhidūn* of al-Andalus, irrespective of their location, were to be expelled to North Africa.[30] They were now identified as Christians (*an-naṣārā al-mu'āhidūn*), and their crime was to have been implicated in the conspiracy, which led to the invasion by the Aragonese troops, collectively known as the *rūm*. They had forfeited the right to the protection afforded to the recipients of the pact in Islamic lands, and they had therefore to suffer the consequences, in this instance, exile. They were transported mainly to Meknes and to Salé in the Maghrib, where they appealed to the Muslim authorities concerning the disposition of their properties in al-Andalus. Ibn Ward, *qāḍī* of Granada, issued a further *fatwa* in 1127 AD concerning ecclesiastical endowments, which the Mozarab priests and monks claimed were their sole source of income.[31] In cases of hardship, it was decreed that impoverished *dhimmīs* should be assisted from the public treasury. Ibn Ward also refers to the conversion of some of the *dhimmīs* to Islam which, if it were not made under duress, should be accepted as valid by the Muslim authorities.

During the first half of the twelfth century, one therefore, witnesses, I think, a fundamental change in the demography of al-Andalus. The regime that had prevailed throughout the Umayyad period, and that had faltered though remaining more or less secure during the era of the *mulūk aṭ-ṭawā'if* in the eleventh century, finally came to an end with the advent of the Almoravids. Despite the bellicose intentions of the Almoravids, notably at the turn of the eleventh/twelfth century, the *ahl al-kitāb*, both Christians and Jews, retained their *dhimmī* status in al-Andalus. All pacts were rendered invalid, however, as Ibn Ward made clear in his *fatwa*, if those with a 'pacted status' helped the enemies of Islam. The fifth-column activities of Ibn al-Qallas and his fellow conspirators effectively marked the beginning of the end of the compromise situation that had been tolerated for such a long period. The *mu'āhidūn* had to come off the fence and declare their allegiance to Christianity, if they wished to avail themselves of the opportunity afforded them by Alfonso's invasion. The epoch in which indifference to religion may well have been, and as I have argued, is likely to have been the norm, had now definitively come to an end.

---

[30] As-Sayrafī, in Dozy, *Recherches sur l'histoire et littérature de l'Espagne*, p. 360; Arabic text, p. lxxviii; Lagardère, 'Communautés mozarabes', p. 111.

[31] The text of Ibn Ward's *fatwa* is provided by Serrano, 'Dos fetwas sobre la expulsión de los mozárabes,' pp. 173–82, and there is a perceptive analysis of it by Lagardère, ibid., pp. 112–14.

Chapter 9

Mozarabs after 1492

Two statements may be made about the situation of the Mozarabs in the Iberian Peninsula after the thirteenth century. First, what is known about them is chiefly, though not exclusively, confined to the city of Toledo and, secondly, their fortunes dwindled notably in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It is true that, in 1371, Enrique II confirmed all the privileges and exemptions enjoyed by the Mozarabs of Toledo, thereby reaffirming their status within the city, but their six parish churches fell into a state of desuetude.[1] At the end of the thirteenth century, a senior ecclesiastic had tried to reinvigorate these churches, but the decline of the urban community of Mozarabs could not, it seems, be arrested.[2] Simonet put forward two reasons why the churches languished. The first was that their rents and tithes on which they depended diminished; the second was the 'descuido y abandono' of the clergy charged with the responsibility of Mozarabic mass.[3] By the end of the fifteenth century, the Mozarabic traditions had all but died out in Toledo. Alvar Gómez de Castro, the sixteenth-century biographer of Cardinal Cisneros wrote: 'Más, al ir desapareciendo poco a poco las familias, empezó a desaparecer también aquel rito y [*sic*] introducirse lentamente el Gregoriano incluos en aquellas seis iglesias. Así que llegó el momento en que no se celebraba en ellas el Santo sacrificio según ese rito a excepción de unos pocos días fijos y de fiesta.'[4]

It took the well-known reforming zeal of Cardinal Cisneros to revive the Mozarabic community in Toledo. In 1504, he founded the Chapel of Corpus Christi in the cathedral and, in 1508, provided a lavish endowment of thirteen chaplaincies so that priests could recite the Mozarabic rite daily. The higher profile which was thereby accorded to the Mozarabic liturgy, would have enhanced the status of those few Mozarabic families still clinging, hitherto forlornly, to their

---

1 The list, in full, of what was confirmed by Enrique II comprised 'los privilegios, Fueros, Cartas, Libertades, Gracias, Mercedes, Franquezas, Donaciones, Composiciones y Sentencias', José Antonio Dávila and García Miranda, *La nobleza e hidalguía de las familias mozárabes de Toledo*, Madrid: Hidalguía, Instituto Salazar y Castro (CSIC), 1966, p. 13.

2 Ramón Gonzálvez Ruiz, 'La persistencia del rito hispánico o mozárabe en Toledo después del año 1080', *Anales Toledanos*, 27 (1990), 9–33, at pp. 32–3.

3 Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes de España*, p. 701.

4 'Moreover, as the [Mozarabic] ramilies gradually disappeared over a period of time, their liturgy was also on the wane, and the Gregorian rite came to be introduced slowly, even in those six parish churches. So eventually, there came a time when the Holy Sacrament stopped being celebrated according to this rite, apart from on a few special dates and feast days': Alvar Gómez de Castro, *De las hazañas de Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros*, ed. and trans. with notes by José Oroz Reta, Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1984, pp. 124–5. *De Rebus Gestis a Francisco Ximenio* was first published in 1569.

ancient practices. These decisive actions of Cisneros may be readily interpreted as a reflection of his desire to exalt the descendants of those Christians who had maintained their faith steadfastly in a Muslim environment. Cisneros had, after all, made the symbolic journey to Burgos where he visited the tomb of the Cid, thereby making an ostensible association with a Castilian hero who had been the victor in all confrontations with Muslims in the eleventh century. This outward show of allegiance to a renowned figure in Castile's history, and one who was moreover perceived to have been a doughty defender of Christianity against Islam, occurred at a propitious time. Cisneros was on the point of taking up his appointment as Archbishop of Granada where he would repeal the terms of capitulation agreed between the Catholic kings and the Muslims of Granada that came into effect in 1492.[5] He would also reverse the conciliatory policies of his predecessor, Archbishop Talavera, towards the Muslims remaining in the kingdom and city of Granada after the capture of that city. To favour those Christians in Toledo who had withstood the presence of Islam for so long would have been thoroughly consistent with his other policies. Yet the situation is not perhaps quite as clear-cut as this. Gómez de Castro attributes the favours that Cisneros granted to the Mozarabs to the fact that he was 'aficionado a las ceremonias antiguas', which may be interpreted as an indication that his reinstatement of the Mozarabic rite was not motivated wholly by religious ardour. He was, rather, an inveterate antiquarian, with an abiding interest in the preservation of Castile's literary heritage. He had visited the Cathedral Library of Toledo at some time prior to 1500, according to Juan Meseguer Fernández, and had commissioned scholars to transform 'aquellos ritos sagrados' into intelligible script and to publish them.[6] This was accomplished in 1500 and 1502, with the publication of the Mozarabic missal and breviary respectively. One of those entrusted with this task was Alfonso Martínez de Yepes, the parish priest of the Mozarabic church of Santa Eulalia. Martínez de Yepes was later to become the first Mozarabic chaplain in the cathedral.[7]

Gómez de Castro also felt it incumbent upon him to explain the posture that Cisneros adopted regarding the Mozarabs, and he did this by discussing the etymology of the word used to describe this privileged sector of the Toledan community. These people, he said, by virtue of the fact that they lived cheek by jowl among Arabs ('mezclados con los Arabes'), were called 'Mistárabes' and their rite the 'Oficio Mistarábigo'. The term was corrupted over a long period of time, and above all, through the language of foreigners, and it evolved into 'Mozarab', which was current sixteenth-century usage.[8] In Gómez de Castro's account, there is just

[5] For an excellent survey of the background, see Basil Hall, *Humanists and Protestants*, Edinburgh: Clark, 1990, pp. 1–51.

[6] The parlous state of the Mozarabic churches in the fifteenth century was examined, on the basis of contemporary documentation, by Juan Meseguer Fernández, 'El Cardenal Jiménez de Cisneros, fundador de la Capilla Mozárabe', in *Historia Mozárabe. Ponencias y comunicaciones presentadas al I Congreso Internacional de Estudios Mozárabes: Toledo, 1975*, Toledo: Instituto de Estudios Visigótico-mozárabes de San Eugenio, 1978, pp. 149–245.

[7] Ibid., pp. 157–8.

[8] Gómez de Castro, *De las hazañas de Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros*, p. 124. In the 1569 Latin text (Compluti: Andreas de Angulo), the reference is to f. 41.

a suspicion of his distaste for a word that might notionally suggest collaboration with Islam or contamination by Islamic practices. In 1568, the year prior to the publication of his work, the Moriscos of Granada had rebelled, and in Philip II's Spain, there was a growing sensitivity concerning anything relating to Islam.[9]

The fact that the Mozarabs of Toledo claimed a special status in sixteenth-century Spain, and yet bore a name that was as redolent of the former enemies of Christianity as was the word 'Morisco', became a disadvantage as the century progressed. Those whose name implied, albeit mistakenly, that they were mixed with Arabs meant that they were as much under suspicion as those whose name indelibly reflected their Muslim forbears.[10] One can gather a sense of contemporary attitudes, prejudices and misunderstandings, wilful or otherwise, from sixteenth-century treatises. A starting-point is the *Catalogus Haeriticorum* of Bernard of Luxembourg, first published in Cologne in 1528. Muḥammad, the Arabs, the Mamluks, al-Ghazālī, Averroes (Ibn Rushd) and Avicenna (Ibn Sīnā), all representing the 'secta Mahomet', are included amongst those proscribed, as are the Iudei, Reiudeizantes and Marrani, all linked in some way to Judaism. The compiler of the catalogue demonstrates an awareness of the Spanish context, not only through his inclusion of Marrani, because there are named heretics such as Ramon Llull. One would not have expected to find any reference to Mozarabs, and there is no entry to them in the 1522 edition, nor in other editions of the work consulted.[11] It is therefore curious that Alfonso de Castro in his *De Iusta haereticorum punitione*, first published in Salamanca in 1547, brackets the Marrani and the Mozarabs together, and indeed defends them both against the charge of heresy levelled against them. Having defined a heretic as someone who, after receiving baptism and being sufficiently prepared in the Catholic religion, persistently denies it, Castro exonerates the Mozarabs. They are neither heretics nor are they suspected of heretical practices. Furthermore, 'they have not strayed from the Catholic religion, and they even have an "opulenta capella" in the famous cathedral of Toledo where services according to their rite are celebrated daily.'[12]

---

[9] This discussion repeats many of the points made in my earlier study, 'Conflicting Views towards the Mozarabs after 1492', in Trevor J. Dadson, R.J. Oakley and P.A. Odber de Baubeta (eds), *New Frontiers in Hispanic and Luso-Brazilian Scholarship: Como se fue el maestro, for Derek W. Lomax in Memoriam*, Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 1994, pp. 105–16. 'Moro' signified Muslim rather than Moor, hence the definition of 'Morisco' as a Moorish person, is both misleading and inaccurate.

[10] The interface between Mozarabs and Moriscos is discussed in my 'Mozarabs and Moriscos: Two Marginalized Communities in Sixteenth-century Toledo', in Barry Taylor and Geoffrey West (eds), *Historicist Essays on Hispano-Medieval Narrative In Memory of Roger M. Walker*, London: Maney Publishing for the MHRA, 2005, pp. 171–84.

[11] Bernardo Lutzenburgo, *Catalogus haereticorum*, Cologne, 1522, ff 17–77, 5th edn, Colonia: Johannes Kempensis, 1537. Francisco López Estrada checked the second edition of the *Catalogus* (Paris, 1524), but he could not trace the entry either: 'sólo hallé la referencia a Marranus en la lista alfabética de herejías', 'Dos tratados de los siglos XVI y XVII sobre los mozárabes', *Al-Andalus*, 16 (1951), 331–61, at p. 361.

[12] Alfonso de Castro Zamorensis, *De Iusta haereticorum punitione*, Lugduni: Iacobus Faure, 1556, pp. 76–9.

Castro disclosed these details about the Mozarabs to demonstrate that Bernard de Luxembourg had no justification in placing them among his array of heretics. As it appears that Bernard was not guilty of having branded the Mozarabs as heretics, did Castro therefore make him his man of straw, using him as a scapegoat for disputatious purposes? Yet this seems *prima facie* improbable. Alfonso de Castro (1495–1558) was a Franciscan theologian who achieved fame with his *Adversus Haereses*, published in 1534, who went to Bruges to combat Lutheranism, who is credited with having founded penal law in Spain, who became chaplain to Carlos V, and who even travelled to England in Philip's retinue as his spiritual mentor, when the latter married Mary.[13] He was not therefore someone likely to commit elementary blunders. He was not from Toledo, but was clearly familiar with the status of the Mozarabs in that city. Perhaps the frankly bizarre form of the word that he uses for Mozarabs affords a solution to the conundrum. He calls them 'mopsarabes', a form of the word not to my knowledge registered elsewhere. It might conceivably represent his attempt, albeit a deficient one, to reflect the Arabic etymon *musta'raba*, which perhaps he had heard somebody speak aloud, and thus he was guilty of nothing more that a phonetic solecism. In other words, was he perhaps seeking to indicate, from a position of neutrality, not himself being a Mozarab, that the true definition of the word did not carry with it any taint of Islamicization? The mystery remains, but it is still none the less noteworthy that someone as eminent as Castro should declare in print in the 1540s that the Mozarabs were without blemish theologically.

The year 1554 marked the publication of the history of Toledo by Pedro de Alcocer, himself a citizen of the city, but not apparently of Mozarabic lineage.[14] His name appears in the census of 1561 as an inhabitant of the 'adarbe de la macerilla' (Macerilla quarter) in the parish of Santo Tomé, and his work was held in high regard by his successors.[15] He applauded the decrees ordained by Alfonso VI which granted greater privileges to the Christians 'llamados Muçarabes' whom he found in the city than to those he brought with him when he conquered it. Alcocer is unequivocal on this point. Alfonso favoured the Mozarabs, he argued, 'because they and their ancestors had always and courageously persevered in our Holy Catholic Faith, refusing to be corrupted by Islam and the knavish behaviour of the Muslims' ('porque como buenos avrán perseverado siempre, ellos y sus predecessores en nuestra sancta fee catholica, sin aver sido corrompidos de la secta y desonesto bivir delos Moros').[16] Showing an awareness of the contemporary situation, he goes on to mention that descendants of those Mozarabs given preference by Alfonso VI have lasted in the city even until his time ('cuya descendencia dura hasta oy en

[13] See Marcelino Rodríguez Molinero, *Origen español de la ciencia del derecho penal. Alfonso de Castro y su sistema penal*, Madrid: Cisneros, 1959, pp. 323–33.

[14] Pedro de Alcocer, *Historia, o Descripcion dela Imperial cibdad de Toledo. Con todas las cosas acontecidas en ella, desde su principio, y fundacion,* Toledo: Iuan Ferrer, 1554 (facsimile reprint, Madrid: EPSC, 1973).

[15] Linda Martz and Julio Porres, *Toledo y los toledanos en 1561*, Toledo: Patronato 'José María Cuadrado', 1974, p. 171.

[16] Alcocer, *Historia, o Descripcion dela Imperial cibdad de Toledo*, f. 54 (misnumbered lv in the text).

esta cibdad'). He continues with the revealing statement that 'through changes that affairs in the city have brought about, they have merged with others with the result that this name of 'Mozarab[s] has virtually wholly disappeared' ('por las mudanzas que las cosas enella han hecho, se han mezclado unos con otros: demanera que este nombre de Muçarabes esta ya casi del todo deshecho'). There is a hint of discretion in Alcocer's account at this point, because he does not make clear precisely what these 'cosas' might have been. He is not saying that the Mozarabs no longer exist, but rather that certain unspecified events have wrought changes in their life-style. They are not comfortable with their lot in Toledo in the 1550s, perhaps Alcocer may be insinuating, because of the negative impact of their name. Their name might be a cross that they have to bear, but they persevere. Even if their churches had fallen on hard times – two having probably disappeared by 1570 – the Mozarabic chapel in the cathedral still flourished.[17]

In the census of the city in 1561, it seems as though the inhabitants were obliged to declare their status, as the word 'moçarabe' is appended to a number of the names that figure in the register. There is a 'lorenzo de sebilla moçarabe', for example who, through the evidence of his name, may well have been an immigrant, perhaps a recent one. There are some dozen identifiable Mozarabs in the small parish of San Pedro, though this was not one of the Mozarabic churches originally privileged by Alfonso VI. This parish was adjacent to the cathedral, and included the precinct formerly occupied by the old mosque. It may not be too speculative to imagine the germ of suspicion developing when it was common knowledge that people ostensibly calling themselves Mozarabs were blatantly dwelling in a little square near the site of the old mosque. The explanation may have to do with the social distinctions of the day. Only the less privileged sector of society, possibly *parvenus*, would describe themselves as Mozarabs. The Mozarabs of long standing who regarded themselves as, if not belonging to the aristocracy, then certainly superior to the average Toledan citizen, would not have deigned to use the actual word 'Mozarab' in their names. Their distinction and distinctiveness resided in the fact that they could trace their ancestors back to the time of the Visigoths. In their eyes, to have adopted a nomenclature resonant of those amongst whom they had striven for so long to maintain their identity, would have been anathema to them.

Philip II's librarian and chronicler, Esteban de Garibay, who described himself as 'de nacion Cantabro' from Mondragón in the Province of Guipuzcoa, completed his history of Spain in 1567. He may be said to have been one of the first apologists of the Mozarabs. He drew on Alcocer, but concentrated to a greater extent than his predecessor on the origin of the word 'Mozarab'. He considered two possibilities: 'mixti arabes', and 'Muza arabes', and eventually opted for the latter as the more plausible explanation of the two. This may seem somewhat unhistorical, judging by the standards of today, but there was a logic to the argument that was accepted in contemporary Spain. Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, the Arab governor of Ifrīqiya, entered the Iberian Peninsula in the wake of the conquests of Ṭāriq b. Ziyād in 711, and, just as his Berber predecessor had been, was unerring in his quest to occupy

[17] Linda Martz, *Poverty and Welfare in Hapsburg Spain. The Example of Toledo*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983, p. 164.

Toledo, the capital of the Visigothic state, and possessed of legendary wealth and riches. Garibay's argument was that Mūsā permitted the Christians to worship in seven (*sic*) parish churches in the city, and if he sought to outdo Ṭāriq in the extent of the privileges and tax exemptions that he showered upon them, what more natural response on their part than that of perpetuating his name in honour of his memory?[18] Garibay went into detail about the liturgy which Alonso Ortiz had designed for the Mozarabic Chapel at the instigation of Cardinal Cisneros at the beginning of the century. He was at pains to observe that the pope approved this liturgy, and that it had its origins in the pre-Islamic era. He noted that it was practised both in the cathedral and in some of the designated Mozarabic parish churches. Garibay, then, it seems, was satisfied with the *status quo* in Toledo. Yet his acceptance of the Muza Arabe provenance of the word, which appears to be the evident stuff of legend, and faintly ludicrous, may undermine one's confidence in other arguments that he proposes. He may not have been aware of the scathing dismissal of this etymology by Blas Ortiz, Canon of Toledo Cathedral who, in 1549, had summed up his demolition of it with the withering comment on Mūsā; 'nescio quo Arabum duce'.[19] A 'Dr Ortiz' appears in the census of 1561 as one of the chaplains of Toledo Cathedral, with whom Blas Otriz may reasonably identified, so perhaps he realized that such an explanation of 'Mozarab' would do damage to the Mozarabic cause in the city.[20]

Following the generally partial references to the Mozarabs in the first half of the sixteenth century, the unfettered hostility towards them that is apparent in a treatise written by the prominent Dominican preacher, Agustín Salucio comes as something of a surprise. Salucio (1523–1601) was an Andalucían, born in Jérez into a family originally from Genoa; he acquired widespread renown and respect as a preacher, receiving the ultimate accolade of delivering the funeral oration in Córdoba when Philip II died, in 1598. The authorship of the treatise entitled *Del origen de los villanos que llaman christianos viejos* was, according to López Estrada, attributed to Salucio in the nineteenth century. He courted controversy in his writings, and contributed a work, written late in his life (1600), but not approved for publication until after his death, on the *limpieza de sangre* statutes.[21] The treatise under discussion is couched in the form of an epistle in response to a request to explain the origins of the 'villanos que llaman christianos viejos'. The people of Spain could, in Salucio's view, be divided into four categories, the descendants of first, the conquerors, secondly, the vanquished, third, those who were neither conquerors nor vanquished, and fourth, a mixture of the two.[22] He exalts the achievements of those in the first category. These were those

---

[18] Esteban de Garibay y Çamalloa, *Los XI libros del Compendio Historial de las Chronicas y Universal Historia de todos los reynos de España*, Antwerp: Christophoro Plantino, 1571, p. 381. (The *aprobación* is dated 1567.)

[19] Blas Ortiz, *Summi Templi Toletani et graphica descriptio*, Toledo, 1549, f. 96v.

[20] Martz and Porres, *Toledo y los toledanos en 1561*, p. 283.

[21] *Avisos para predicadores del Santo Evangelio*, ed. Álvaro Huerga, Barcelona: Juan Flors, 1959, at pp. 17–22.

[22] López Estrada, 'Dos tratados de los siglos XVI y XVII sobre los mozárabes', p. 337.

> … who took refuge in the mountains and fastnesses of Asturias, Galicia, Vizcaya and Navarra, when King Rodrigo lost Spain [*perdió a España*] and who, from there made war on the Muslims, gradually taking their land. For these immortal exploits, and with the price of their blood and their lives, they acquired the nobility which the noblemen [*hijosdalgo*] of today, their descendants, happily enjoy.[23]

One must point out that Salucio's concern here is to demonstrate that nobility was earned, in that the more glorious the feats were, the higher the rank of nobility those responsible for them achieved.

Salucio divided his second category, that of the vanquished, into two, those of olden times, and those of modern times. Those who fell into the former category were the Muslims and Jews ('moros y judíos') who lived in Spain when the Christian conquerors recaptured the land ('tornaron a ganar la tierra'): 'They were tributaries of the Christians who allowed them their lands and religions.' Gradually many of these Muslims and Jews, some in order to avoid hardship, and others through an understanding of our Faith, converted and received holy baptism. These were then called New Christians (*christianos nuevos*), to differentiate them from other Christians. Here Salucio is referring in part to the Mudéjars, those Muslims who remained in the Christian kingdoms of Castile and Aragón after much of al-Andalus had been conquered in the thirteenth century. As the centuries progressed, many of the Mudéjar communities became integrated into Christian society and, over the course of three hundred years, came to forget the fact that they were descendants of worthless and abject people ('gente soez y abatida'). The vanquished of modern times were the Muslims whose lands were most recently recovered, and the Jews who adhered to their Judaism. They embraced Christianity in the time of the Catholic kings, and they are the ones who are now called 'New Christians'. Salucio is drawing a distinction between the two main periods of Christian conquest. Those who were defeated in the decisive conquests of the thirteenth century were originally called New Christians, when they were baptized, but after two hundred years, this description had been eroded and lost in the sands of time. The New Christians were only those who had converted in recent memory.[24] It is instructive that Salucio does not use either the word 'morisco' or 'converso', perhaps because in this particular treatise neither was the principal focus of his attention.

The third category is the one for which Salucio reserves most of his opprobrium. The account of those who were descendants neither of the conquerors nor of the vanquished is related with some venom. In essence, he is referring to those Christians who 'did a deal' with the invading Muslims. He describes them as 'having rebelled secretly against King Rodrigo, and having promised loyalty to the Muslims into return for their being able to enjoy their own liberty, their estates and their Christian religion on condition of their payment of the requisite taxes'. The betrayal by other Visigothic nobles is one of the interpretations of Rodrigo's defeat, but the lens that Salucio uses to view this event and the subsequent actions of these nobles, is distinctively coloured. They were quite content to 'suffer the Arabic

23 Ibid. The verbatim translation is mine.

24 Salucio, in López Estrada, ibid., p. 338.

yoke', provided always that they could keep their own property and possessions. They were not prepared to contemplate the hardship that their fellow Christians, the Pelayan faction, were enduring. In fact, they were unremitting in their hostility to those Christians who were not living in al-Andalus who, in retaliation, branded them as 'Mistos', or 'Metis'. For Salucio, this was a justified reproach for those who, whilst dignifying themselves with the name of Christians, actually owed all their allegiance and loyalty to the Muslims. They were called 'Misti[árabes]' or 'Metis', then because they were collaborationists. In another place in his diatribe, Salucio returns to this point in order to specify that it was King Pelayo who called them time-servers and false Christians ('contemporizadores y falsos christianos') 'Metrárabes o Muzárabes, que es decir Metis'.[25] It is this pejorative denomination that calls for analysis.

The word 'Metis' is an unusual one, and one which I have not been able to trace elsewhere. Initially, I had thought that it was akin to 'mestizo', and so signified 'of mixed race'.[26] I now think that Salucio was conscious of the niceties of the possible Arabic etymologies. 'Metrárabe' appears to be derived from *mutaʿarraba*, those who would be, pretend to be, or aspire to be Arabs, whereas *mustaʿriba*, the etymon of 'mozarabe', indicates a more positive assertion of Arabicization. It is the difference between aspiration (*mutaʿarriba*), and adoption (*mustaʿriba*).[27] This distinction was known in the sixteenth century, and was later lucidly articulated by Bernardo de Aldrete in his *Varias Antigüedades de Espana*, published in 1614: 'El nombre de Mozarabe no vino del origen que algunos le dan, quasi Misti Arabes, sino de Musta arabi … arábigo por accidente.'[28] Those who collaborated with the Muslims in the overthrow of King Rodrigo made pretence of their Arabicization, so that they could (so one would understand their reasoning to have gone) preserve their lives, their lands and their possessions. However, this policy made them abhorrent not only to the Christians in the north of the Peninsula, but also to the Muslims as well. As far as I am aware, Salucio was the only person to introduce the word 'Metrárabe' into the debates in the sixteenth century, his purpose being, I think, to demonstrate just how despicable a role the *muzárabes* played, in his opinion, in the early history of Spain. These Muzárabes were people who were 'loathed by other Christians and humiliated and despised by the Muslims to whom they were subordinate and to whom they paid taxes' ('gente aborrecida de los otros christianos y abatida y menospreciada de los moros a quienes estaban sugetos y pagaban sus tributos').[29] Salucio goes on to give a very brief survey of aspects of the history of the Christians who lived in al-Andalus, mentioning the 'malos tratamientos' that were meted

---

[25] Ibid., p. 339 and 341.

[26] See my 'Conflicting Views towards the Mozarabs …', in the homage volume to Derek W. Lomax, 1994, p. 111.

[27] The distinction between *ʿarabūn mutaʿarribūn* and *ʿarabūn mustaʿrabūn* is discussed by E.W. Lane, *An Arabic English Lexicon*, London: Williams & Norgate, 1874, Book I, Part 5, pp. 1991–3, citing a variety of Arabic sources.

[28] Bernardo de Aldrete, *Varias Antigüedades de España, África y otras provincias,* Ámberes: Juan Hasrey, 1614, p. 433.

[29] Salucio, in López Estrada, 'Dos tratados de los siglos XVI y XVII sobre los mozárabes', p. 342.

out to them by the Muslims. It is not unsurprising that he should say, giving San Eulogius as his source, that many of them were martyred, but it is significant that he should state that many also apostatized, and became Muslims. If it occurred to him somewhat strange that Eulogius and his fellow-martyrs should be given the same label as the 'compromisers', both falling into the category of Mozarabs, he does not reveal any symptoms of unease or uncertainty. He is aware that little information concerning the *multitud* of Mozarabs has survived, just something about a few in Toledo ('unos pocos que avía en Toledo'), in whose memory are left their mass and their Mozarabic chapel, and a further handful in Córdoba. Given an awareness of how few of these Mozarabs survived, no more research is necessary to ascertain that there is barely a trace of their descendants left.[30] The thrust of Salucio's argument at this point appears to be that, over time, the legally tainted designation of 'christianos nuevos, nombre aborrecido de las leyes' was shelved. Both Mozarabs and those who converted to Christianity in the early centuries of conquest became old Christians (*christianos viejos*). In the *limpieza de sangre* debates in Salucio's time, both categories escaped investigation, because they are favoured by what has been forgotten. There is a bitter tone in Salucio's reasoning here, as it seems to reflect his dismay that the law regarding purity of blood could not be more rigorously applied. Yet, his is a historical analysis. He does not appear to be directing his hostility towards those Mozarabs who were striving to retain their identity in Toledo during the reign of Philip II. Whether his treatise achieved any propagandist impact is not known, neither is there any evidence to suggest that that the Toledan lobby knew of his damaging arguments. What seems to represent common knowledge, and what is relevant to the debates in general about the Mozarabs in the sixteenth century, is the opinion that the word 'Mozarab' carried with it the notion of association with the Arabs, hence the acceptance of the derivation 'mixtiarabes'. This suggestion was, naturally, anathema to the Mozarabs of Toledo, who not only sought to distance themselves from any suspicion of collaborationism, but also strove to demonstrate that they deserved to enjoy a special status within society, by virtue of the steadfastness in the Christian faith of their ancestors.

Francisco de Pisa's history of Toledo was published in 1605, but as his lifespan (1534–1616) was similar to that of Salucio, one can consider him as a contemporary, but one with markedly different views. Pisa was a prominent Toledan academic, theologian and lawyer who was the chaplain of the Mozarabic chapel in Toledo Cathedral, and was later buried in the entrance of this chapel on 3 December 1616.[31] His extensive *Descripcion de la Imperial Civdad de Toledo* is divided into five parts, and touches on the Mozarabs at various points.[32] Referring to the origin of

[30] In my earlier treatment of this treatise, I failed to appreciate the precise tenor of Salucio's argument at this point (ibid., p. 111).

[31] Francisco de Sales Córdoba-Sánchez Bretaño, *Los Mozárabes de Toledo*, Toledo: Diputación Provincial, 1985, p. 30.

[32] El Doctor Francisco de Pisa, *Descripcion de la Imperial Civdad de Toledo, y Historia de sus antiguedades, y grandeza, y cosas memorables que en ella han acontecido, de los Reyes que la han señoreado, y gouernado en sucession de tiempos*, Toledo: Pedro Rodriguez, 1605.

the Christians who remained in the city after its conquest by the Muslims, he says that they were called *Muzarabes* in memory of Mūsā (*Muza Arabe*) because Mūsā came to an agreement with them and granted them freedom and privileges. In this derivation, he states that he is following Alcocer and Garibay; he repudiates Archbishop Rodrigo's explanation that the word 'Mozarab' came from 'misti Arabes' ('que quiere dezir mezclados con los Alarabes'). Pisa goes on to make a firm statement about the present-day Mozarabs of Toledo. The lineage going back to Mūsā's time, he says, is unbroken: 'Y aun destos mismos Christianos de entonces, procediendo de una generacion en otra, han quedado hasta nuestros tiempos algunos linages, y vezinos de Toledo, parrochianos de algunas delas seys yglesias sobredichas, teniendos por nobleza venir de aquellos Christianos antiguos, que tuvieron tanta firmeza en la Fe.'[33] In so far as the unbroken lineage is concerned, Pisa may have believed this to have been the case, but he may also have succumbed to sixteenth-century propaganda. What is crucial to his account is his reference to the nobility of the Mozarabs of the Toledo of his day. The argument that their nobility was due to the fact that they descended from those Christians of the eighth century, who were resolute in their faith, was a sixteenth-century one. Yet Pisa was assuredly of the pro-Mozarab faction, partly one suspects, because of his hostility towards Islam, understandable in the atmosphere of the reign of Philip II, and partly also, because of his perceived affiliation with the Mozarabic cause in his capacity of chaplain to the Mozarabic chapel. He would reject the 'mixti arabes' derivation because of the slur that it would inevitably cast on the Toledan Mozarabs who were desperate to avoid charges of contamination in the *limpieza de sangre* debates. One may suspect, further, that Pisa was upholding the Mozarabic cause, because of the increasingly beleaguered situation in which the Mozarabs of Toledo found themselves as the reign of Philip II progressed. As will be seen, there was also a notable attempt to defend the Mozarabic corner in Philip II's reign.

The sixteenth-century crisis for the Mozarabic citizens of Toledo was one that stemmed largely, I believe, from the marked escalation of issues relating to *limpieza de sangre* in the reign of Philip II. The Mozarabs sought not only to affirm their unimpeachable Christian faith and that of their ancestors, but also to proclaim the nobility of status to which they believed that they were entitled. They depended on the confirmation, by successive Castilian monarchs, of charters made in their favour. Yet, in the political climate of the 1580s, this was proving insufficient. The other citizens of Toledo resented and refuted their claims to special consideration and, in the *limpieza* debates, their own status was by no means secure. Their detractors were happy to point to the generally presumed origin of their name to hint at a possible taint in their ancestry. The situation was becoming precarious. To combat the charges that the Mozarabs did not have an unsullied past history, certain versions of Toledan history began to emerge that demonstrated, indubitably,

[33] 'Some families, residents in Toledo, parishioners of some of the above-mentioned parish churches can, in this day and age, trace their lineage back, from generation to generation, to those very same early Christians, and now consider themselves as belonging to the nobility, by virtue of their descent from those Christians who showed such steadfastness in the faith': ibid.

the heroic role that the Mozarabs had played in maintaining Christianity in a hostile environment. In effect, the history of Toledo was in the process of being rewritten.

The enterprise of manufacturing a country's past was not to be undertaken lightly, but the gravity of the social crises in Philip II's reign, during which any ancestral lineage which was not palpably *viejo cristiano* was subject to the scrutiny of both ecclesiastical and secular authorities, may well have prompted certain scholars to embrace extreme remedies. The nettle was grasped by an elderly professor of Latin at the Jesuit College of San Eugenio in Toledo, Jerónimo Román de la Higuera y Lupián (1538–1611), known as Higuera.[34] The College was inaugurated in 1584, and Higuera figured in the first list of members of staff as 'lector de latinidad'. Thanks to his initiative, a revised version of Toledo's past was created. He fabricated some documents which he called *fragmentos*, attributed them to chroniclers and to historians, some known and some entirely unknown, and later arranged them into the format of chronicles. A succinct account of Higuera's *modus operandi* was provided by Nicolás Antonio (1617–84), from his perspective as a bibliographer and librarian, and recorded in the eighteenth century by the learned legal scholar, Gregorio Mayáns y Síscar (1699–1781).[35] Part of what Nicolás Antonio wrote about Higuera is as follows (in my translation):

> [In 1594] he concocted [*forjó*] some single documents [*cabos sueltos*] which he called 'Fragments', attributing them to Dexter (son of Paciano, Bishop of Barcelona), accorded a place by San Gerónimo amongst ecclesiastical writers; to Maximus, Bishop of Zaragoza, venerated by St. Isidore among famous men; to Luitprand, Deacon of Pavia, well known for his writings; to Julián Pérez, a writer unknown to everybody, although his creator conferred authority upon him in thousands of different ways; and finally to San Braulio, Tajón, Valderedo and Heleca, Bishops of Zaragoza, and to many others.

Nicolás Antonio went on to say that Higuera made his discoveries known to a number of people, including Don Juan Bautista Pérez, Bishop of Segorbe, who wrote back to Higuera saying that the so-called chronicle of Dexter was a forgery, as was the one attributed to Maximus. This refutation apparently reduced Higuera to silence but, after the bishop's death three years later, 'the falsifier altered his original invention, formulated in his imagination another history, and arranged it in the form of Chronicles, these being the best manner of composition since they can comprise loose sheets, which can be reduced or increased by whatever number one wishes.'[36] One must remember that Nicolás Antonio made these criticisms in

---

[34] For Higuera, see Julio Caro Baroja, *Las falsificaciones de la Historia (en relación con la de España)*, Barcelona: Seis Barral, 1992, pp. 161–82; José Godoy Alcántara, *Historia crítica de los falsos cronicones*, Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1868 (the classic work on the subject), Thomas D. Kendrick, *St. James in Spain*, London: Methuen, 1966, pp. 116–22, and my article, 'The *Falsos Cronicones* and the Mozarabs', *Journal of the Institute of Romance Studies*, 3 (1994–95) [1996], 87–96. For the Jesuit aspect, see Antonio Astraín, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la asistencia de España*, 2nd edn, 7 vols, Madrid: Razón y Fé, 1925, Vol. III, pp. 431, 519, and Vol. V, p. 102.

[35] Gregorio Mayáns y Síscar, *Censura de historias fabulosas, obra posthuma de Don Nicolás Antonio*, Valencia: Bordázar, 1742, introduction.

[36] Ibid.

1652 (although they were not published until the 1740s), some fifty years after they had gained a firm foothold in the canon of Spanish history.

In the same decade that Nicolás Antonio was writing, Pedro de Rojas, Conde de Mora, the first part of whose history of Toledo came out in 1654, was expressing contrary views. The Conde de Mora prefaced his history as follows (in my translation):

> We have come across four Masters who are our teachers and who show us the way; they serve as our lodestar and guide, so that we can benefit from them and present to interested readers of these works. They dispense with long-winded accounts; their clear and succinct style make reading them a pleasure. These four masters are: Dexter, Maximus, Luitprand, and Julián Pérez.[37]

Of the chronicles stated, the one that is of concern here is that of Julián Pérez. It does not seem to have attracted as much attention as the others, although it was published, for the first time in 1628, by Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado, a Spanish diplomat whilst he was representing Spanish interests in Paris. Olivares, according to Elliott, had sent Ramírez de Prado to Paris in February of that year 'in order to keep alive the plans for the invasion of England, and above all to deepen the rift between the English and the French'.[38] Ramírez de Prado dedicated his edition to Olivares in whose library the manuscript was allegedly lodged.[39] The Conde-Duque's copy, one of a number known to have been in circulation, may have been made from one belonging to the Conde de Mora, whose copy, in turn, may have been from Higuera's original.[40] Kendrick suggests, though, that the Julián Pérez and Liutprand chronicles were not the work of Higuera himself, but of 'historians of his own sort, pupils, as it were, proud to add to the master's creation, inspired by his style and splendid imagination'.[41] It seems unlikely that the mystery of their authorship will ever be definitively resolved.

There are a number of factors that could account for the emergence of the *Chronicle* of Julián Pérez at the end of the sixteenth century. It could provide corroboration for some of the information incorporated in the Dexter and Maximus Fragments, which were first revealed in the 1590s, and were so seminal in their revision of Spain's early episcopology. The *Chronicle* could certainly assist in making good the lacunae in existing knowledge of ecclesiastical and regnal

---

37 Pedro de Rojas, Conde de Mora. Señor de las Villas de Layos, *Historia de la Imperial, nobilissina, inclita y esclarecida ciudad de Toledo*, Madrid: Diego Díaz de la Carrera, Primera Parte, 1654, introduction; the 'Parte Segunda' was published in 1663.

38 J.H. Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares. The Statesman in an Age of Decline*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986, p. 347.

39 *Iuliani Petri Archpresbyteri S. Iustae Chronicon cum euisdem adversariis, et de eremiteriis hispanis brevis descriptio, atque ab eodem variorum carminum collectio ex Bibliotheca Olivarensi*, Paris: Laurentium Sonnium, 1628. Ramírez de Prado conceals the Latin form of his name (Laurentius Ramires de Prado) in a motto: 'Prae sole de miranda v[u]irtus', which as an anagram is exact, except for the lack of the fourth 'r'.

40 Godoy, *Historia crítica de los falsos cronicones*, p. 219. Changes may well have been made during the copying process.

41 Kendrick, *St. James in Spain*, p. 121.

history. It could add prestige to aspects of Spain's past, which no doubt was what Spaniards, bruised by the extraordinary reverse of the Armada expedition in 1588, wanted to hear about. In other words, potentially, Julián Pérez's *Chronicle* could perform a restorative function in renewing the country's awareness of its former glory. However, Higuera may have had in mind a more specific purpose, akin to that of the discovery of the *libros plúmbeos* (Lead Books) in the Sacromonte in Granada from 1595 onwards. Just as the latter purported to demonstrate a syncretism between the two religions of Christianity and Islam, with evident propagandist overtones, so the *Chronicle* under discussion focused on Spain's metropolitan city in remote epochs for the purposes of propagandism. The Lead Books, in essence, represented a last-gasp attempt to secure a place in contemporary Spain for Morisco communities that were desperately seeking to stave off impending expulsion. The discovery of these Books gave the Moriscos some cause for hope. Likewise, the *Chronicle* of Julián Pérez provided remarkable testimony, at a propitious moment in history, of the primacy of the Church of Toledo, boosting the city's confidence just at a time when it had been languishing in the doldrums. More specifically, the *Chronicle* served as a shot in the arm for the Mozarabic citizens of Toledo.

According to Godoy who had an autograph manuscript in front of him as he was writing, Higuera, in 1593, had completed the first ten books of a projected Ecclesiastical History of Spain, which enterprise he set aside in 1596, in order to concentrate on a history of the city of Toledo (*La imperial ciudad de Toledo y su tierra*).[42] The incentive for carrying out this new initiative was none other than the recently revealed chronicles. Yet, there may well have been a more impelling personal motive for creating a chronicle that so extolled Toledo's role in Spain's past. It is simply that Higuera wished to demonstrate his own Mozarabic lineage. In support of this assertion, one can signal Nicolás Antonio's statement, in Book XV of his *Censura*, that Higuera had in fact composed a *Historia de los Mozárabes*, and that he, Nicolás Antonio, had seen it. One of the chapters was entitled 'El linage de los Higuera es antiguo, i Mozarabe de esta Ciudad' in which he wrote 'Si probaré que los del apellido de Higuera son Mozarabes en esta Ciudad, quedará probado que es gente antigua, i que tiene su principio de los Godos.'[43] Not surprisingly, in the circumstances of this discussion, Higuera's documented source is Julián Pérez's *Chronicle*. The *limpieza de sangre* debates were raging in the 1590s, and it was therefore crucial to establish for oneself a totally uncontaminated lineage. Although Higuera, as a Jesuit, was unlikely to be a subject for investigation, it was nevertheless the case that some Jesuit Provincials encouraged Moriscos to enter the Company, and the whole issue was therefore a sensitive one. The distinguished historian of sixteenth-century Toledo, Linda Martz, has alleged that Higuera was the name of 'a converso family long active in Toledo', and that the chronicler Higuera was 'probably a member of this family'.[44] If Higuera was conscious of an externally

---

[42] Godoy, *Historia crítica de los falsos cronicones*, pp. 131–2, footnote 1.

[43] Nicolás Antonio in Mayáns, *Censura de historias fabulosas, obra posthuma de Don Nicolás Antonio*, pp. 623–9.

[44] Linda Martz, *A Network of Converso Families in Early Modern Toledo. Assimilating a Minority*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003, pp. 334–5. A manuscript copy of

perceived *converso* label, something that has hitherto not been acknowledged as a prominent issue, then this could have provided further incentive for him both to prove an unsullied lineage for himself and to exonerate the family name.

Higuera fabricated a barely plausible provenance for the *Chronicle* of Julián Pérez: that it had been brought from the renowned monastery of Fulda, near Worms by Father Torralba, a Jesuit from Ocaña who, when on a visit to Germany had, by chance, seen the Gothic-letter original, and ordered a copy to be made with the permission of the owner, a burgher of Worms. When Higuera circulated this version of the discovery of the *Chronicle*, Torralba had died and could not therefore corroborate it. Godoy, who provides an account of these shenanigans, points out that, in the political climate of the day, a German monastery was an acceptable choice for the source of the *Chronicle*, because of the known zeal in Germany for rescuing old texts from oblivion.[45] It goes without saying that Julián Pérez was unknown until this *Chronicle* came to light, although there did exist a 'Iulianus Petriz, alvazil' who appeared as a signatory to a number of documents in the reign of Alfonso VII.[46] His full name and title, as given by Ramírez de Prado, was 'Iulianus Petri, Archipresbyter Sanctae Iustae, e nobilium Equitum Barrosorum Muzarabum Toletanorum familia oriundus'.[47] It is significant that he should have been a member of the Barroso family, as this was one of the most prominent Mozarabic families at the time of the conquest of Toledo by Alfonso VI.[48] Julián was, then, avowedly a Mozarab, whose ancestors had retained their Christian belief within an Islamic state throughout four centuries of Muslim rule. Julián was not only blessed with an impeccable Mozarabic line of descent, but was also an archpriest in Toledo when Bernard was appointed first Archbishop of Toledo by Alfonso VI after his capture of the city in 1085. It is a fact of suspicious convenience that Julián was attached to the parish of Santa Justa, one of those churches in Toledo presumed to have been extant at the time of the Muslim conquest, and therefore one in which Christian worship persisted for so long despite the Muslim presence in the city.[49] Of the six churches given the special privilege by Alfonso VI to practise the Mozarabic rite after 1085, that of Santa Justa (y Rufina) was the one with the most parishioners. By having Julián associated with this particular Mozarabic church, Higuera is conferring even greater prestige upon him. Any account or chronicle attributed to such a person would be bound to have credence, given his seemingly

---

Higuera's work *Familias de Toledo*, in the Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid (9/229), is cited by Martz.

[45] Godoy, *Historia crítica de los falsos cronicones*, pp. 175–6.

[46] Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes de España*, pp. 755, 827–8.

[47] The description continues 'qui Domino Bernardo Archiepiscopo Toletano fuit a secretis, et floruit aetate Regis Adefonsi VI', *Chronicon*, 1628 (see note 38 above), p. 2.

[48] See Simonet's reference to Pero Gómez Barroso 'mozárabe principal' and 'progenitor de la Marquesa de Malpica', *Historia de los mozárabes de España*, p. 828.

[49] Andrés Marcos Burriel, 'Memorias auténticas de las santas vírgenes y mártires Sevillanas Justa y Rufina' (1752), in *Colección de algunas obras inéditas, críticas, eruditas, históricas y políticas de nuestros mejores autores, antiguos y modernos, recogidas y publicadas para instruir y deleytar*, por D[on] A[ntonio] V[alladares] D[e] S[otomayor], Madrid: [Valladares], 1806, pp. 7–92, at pp. 75–9.

impeccable credentials. Julián was endowed with erudition, a knowledge of several languages, as well as longevity, being implausibly over a hundred years old when he died in the 1150s. Of himself, he states in the final paragraph of the Chronicle that he was born in Toledo and that he was baptized by Pascual, consecrated as Bishop of Toledo in 1058. He moved away from the city to live in Alcalá for a while, before returning to Toledo where the same Pascual invested him as deacon. He travelled with Bernard to Rome, and it was maybe on this visit that he brought back with him a multitude of books from Gaul and Italy. He assembled a large library to which he made constant additions.[50] He also went with the archbishop on various journeys within the Iberian Peninsula; through this means, he was able to witness many events and diverse happenings during his lifetime. It is apparent that he was a distinguished aide of the archbishop, of whom he speaks in glowing terms. This might seem to strike a jarring note, as Bernard could not have been expected to espouse the cause of the Mozarabs in the city, yet here is a Mozarab of renown singing the praise of this French prelate who was so influential in shaping the future of the Christian Church in Castile. As Julián was also well acquainted with the Cid, one has a key here perhaps, to Higuera's intention. His archpriest straddled the barrier between the old and the new. He was on good terms with the Cid, representative, it might be said, of the old régime, and also with the new in the person of the French archbishop. In short, Julián was admirably placed to provide a commentary on a crucial century of Toledo's history. He was furthermore a chronicler whose scholarly skills included those of composing panegyrics, hymns, and a poem on the conquest of Almería which he witnessed in person.[51]

Much of the *Chronicle* concerns the state of the early Church in the Peninsula and in Toledo in particular. Julián throws into sharp relief the history of the city, supplying copious details of illuminating events that occurred there. Pride of place is accorded to two *cause célèbres*, the Adoptionist heresy in the eighth century, and the so-called martyrdom movement in the ninth. In his treatment of the former, he takes what may almost be described as the modern line, emphasizing the intervention of Charlemagne in Peninsular affairs. Charlemagne, Julián claims in his *Chronicle* without any justification, went personally to the church of Santa Justa in Toledo where he conversed with 'Christianis Muzarabibus', and gave them his word that he would liberate them as soon as he conceivably could from the Muslim yoke that oppressed them.[52] A current interpretation of the episode wherein the hierarchy of the Christian Church condemned Elipandus in the 790s for expressing views redolent of the Adoptionist heresy is that Charlemagne, strongly influenced by his advisor Alcuin in this matter, turned the dispute to his own political advantage. He observed the deep schism in the Catholic Church in what was now al-Andalus, and supported the accusation of heresy made against Elipandus by Beatus, a monk of Liébana in Asturias. The condemnation of the utterances of Elipandus at the Councils of the Church held in Frankfurt (794) and in Aachen (799), the former at the instigation of Charlemagne himself, indicate that he was

50 Julián Pérez, *Chronicon*, p. 133.

51 Ibid., p. 80.

52 Julián Pérez, *Chronicon*, p. 95.

quite evidently *parti pris*. By allying himself with the accuser, he sought to make political capital out of the theological controversy. He had imperial aspirations beyond the Pyrenees and, by supporting an Asturian against the Metropolitan of the Catholic Church in the Peninsula, he sought to undermine the authority of the latter and to gain a legitimate foothold in the Asturian kingdom. After Elipandus died *c.* 800, charges of Adoptionism against the Church in Toledo subsided, but the authority of the archiepiscopal see suffered as a consequence, the non-Muslim controlled areas of the Peninsula from henceforth being wrested from Toledo.[53] Julián's angle on this dispute is instructive. In his account, the Mozarabs suffered severely ('*vehementissime*') during the archbishopric of Elipandus (754–*c.* 800), and many fled to Asturias and to Galicia, leaving their houses vacant and their families behind.[54] He stops short of implicating Elipandus himself in the plight of these early Toledan Mozarabs, but portrays him as being out of line with the rest of Christianity. If he shows himself to be pro-Charlemagne and pro-Mozarab, one can detect a consistency in his attitude. Just as Julián saw in Bernard a resuscitating force in the Church in the reign of Alfonso VI so his French predecessor, Charlemagne, is depicted as a friend to Mozarabs. Charlemagne would be their saviour, not only from the Muslims but also, the inference is, from the enemy within. The theme that is noticeable here is that the Mozarabs are upholding the tenets of the Christian faith in the face both of what was perceived to be an alien religion from without, and heterodoxy from within.

This same strand is evident in Julián's account of the martyrdom movement in Córdoba in the ninth century. He reveals something hitherto unknown to historians, to wit, that some prominent Mozarabic families from Toledo went to Córdoba to petition for the transfer of Eulogius to be their own bishop in Toledo. According to Paul Alvar, Eulogius had been elected to succeed Wistremirus, with whom he had in fact stayed on his journey to the north of the Peninsula around 850, as Bishop of Toledo in 852 but, for reasons that are never explained fully, he did not take up his new post. Alvar's comment is that 'divine providence placed obstacles in his path.'[55] It is generally accepted that the Muslim *amīr* of al-Andalus, ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān II, vetoed the appointment, because of the political ramifications of a dissident figure fostering disaffection elsewhere. The support that Eulogius gave to the martyrs was opposed by the *amīr*, and criticized by Bishop Reccafred of Sevilla who was

---

[53] For a succinct discussion of the content and context of Adoptionism, see Dominique Urvoy, 'The Christological Consequences of Muslim-Christian Confrontation in Eighth-Century Spain', in Marbel Fierro and Julio Samsó (eds), *The Formation of Al-Andalus*, Part 2, The Formation of the Classical Islamic World, Volume 47, Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998, pp. 37–48; the article was originally published in French in 1997; see also, John C. Cavadini, *The Last Christology of the West: Adoptionism in Spain and Gaul, 785-820*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993.

[54] Julián Pérez, *Chronicon*, p. 97.

[55] Kenneth Baxter Wolf, *Christian Martyrs in Muslim Spain*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, whose translation from the Latin is cited, p. 58. See also, Edward P. Colbert, *The Martyrs of Córdoba (850–859): A Study of the Sources,* Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1962, pp. 322–8; Ann Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus (711–1000)*¸ Richmond: Curzon, 2002, p. 59.

openly hostile. Both leaders were anxious to avoid further unrest in the Muslim capital, and in 'the middle to late summer' of 852, a Council of the Christian Church in Córdoba, was convened in order to find a solution to the problem. For the *amīr*, it was essential that the flow of martyrdoms be staunched, and the bishop for his part would have been concerned about the public expressions of hatred towards Islam. He would be anxious to avoid the very real possibility that the position of the majority of the *dhimmī* community in Córdoba would be seriously compromised.[56] One may assume that the petitioners imagined by Higuera would have attended the Council, and have made the case for Eulogius moving to Toledo as their bishop. According to Julián's account, Eulogius was venerated as a saint who withstood Muslim persecution in Córdoba, so they are unlikely to have ventured into the lion's den, by approaching the court of the *amīr* himself. A significant aspect of this episode is that Julián named the petitioners, amongst whose number were 'viros Muzarabes S. Iustae, Gomesanum, Barrosum atque Menendium, omnes Muzarabes S. Iustae'.[57] Higuera has Julián exalting the parish to which he was attached, and adding lustre to his own family name, by representing the Barrosos as doughty opponents of Islam, and supporters of those who, like Eulogius, were perceived to have been steadfast in the Christian faith.

It is curious that Julián should not define the word 'Mozarab'. However, throughout his chronicle, it is evident that the Mozarabs were Christians who stayed in the city of Toledo after the Muslims had settled there, rejecting the overtures of Islam and adhering to the practice of Christianity in named parish churches. According to the Chronicle, the Muslims permitted the Christians to worship in six churches, whilst destroying twenty-eight others. This detail, which is not verified elsewhere, seems to have been included to provide proof of religious persecution and, at the same time, to imply that the achievement of the Christians (Mozarabs) in maintaining their faith in such a hostile climate was that much the more praiseworthy. Many Christians did leave the city, and others made an agreement with the Muslims ('cum Mauris pacti sunt'), which could describe the *dhimmī* population, but it was the Mozarabs who were the focus of Julián's attention.[58] Mozarabic families are mentioned by name, such as Barroso, to which Julián belonged, Ficulnus, to which Higuera claimed to be descended in direct line, Portocarrero, perhaps the most celebrated of all Mozarabic families, and Gudiel, two members of which family are named as office-holders in Toledo. One, D. Ferrand Gudiel, was a magistrate (*alguacil*).[59] In his references to Mozarabs in the early history of Toledo, it is clear that Julián strives to keep a distance between them and other segments of the Toledan community, be they Muslims or other Christians less devout than they were themselves. For example, between 946 and 964, there was allegedly a Mozarabic mayor, one Lupus Osorius Alcaldus Muzarabum who

---

[56] The estimate of the date in 852 is that of Wolf, ibid., p. 130.

[57] Julián Pérez, *Chronicon*, p. 106.

[58] Julián Pérez, *Chronicon*, pp. 82–3.

[59] José Antonio Dávila and García-Miranda, *La nobleza e hidalguía de las familias mozárabes de Toledo*, Madrid: Hidalguía, 1966, p. 26. This author also refers to the Archbishop D. Gonzalo García Gudiel.

harassed those former Mozarabs who were apostates, calling them dishonourable and worthless ('infames et viles').[60] Further attributes of the Mozarabs of Toledo are brought into high relief. When Alfonso VI addressed the congregation at the rededication of Toledo Cathedral on 18 December 1086, he stated that 'by the grace of God I was present at the reconquest of this city; the Mozarabs spoke the Hispanic Gothic language as they were accustomed to do, especially those from Toledo who were more accomplished [*politiores*] than the rest, and who respected the natural elegance of their vernacular language amongst the Muslims.'[61] It is instructive to note that, although there is a speech attributed to Alfonso VI by Archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada in the 1240s, in his account of the reconsecration of the Mosque for Christian worship, the passage, which so ostentatiously eulogizes the Mozarabs, is glaringly absent.[62]

The abolition of the Mozarabic rite in Castile, at the insistence of the pope and abetted by the representatives of Cluny, was one of the crucial decisions made by Alfonso VI. As it was to have incalculable consequences for the Mozarabic community, one may imagine that it was not a decision taken lightly by the Castilian monarch. He needed to ensure that all his subjects could recognize its legitimacy, and so he invoked the tried and tested methods of the judicial duel and trial by fire. Some years ago, I dealt extensively with this topic, examining, *inter alia*, an unpublished manuscript in the Real Academia de la Historia, in Madrid, by the eighteenth-century historian Felipe Fernández Vallejo.[63] I was not then aware of Julián Pérez's *Chronicle* which covers both episodes in graphic detail. His version does not differ markedly from that of Archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, which formed the basis of most of the later accounts. Not surprisingly, Julián Pérez claims that he was a witness to both the duel and the conflagration. Two warriors, one representing the old rite, and the other the reformed rite, participated in a duel in order to determine God's will. The one championing the Mozarabic was the victor, but this was not deemed sufficient; further evidence of God's will was called for, and so recourse was had to an ordeal by fire. Although the Mozarabic missal rode the flames emerging unscathed, and the Roman book was consumed (the leaves of the latter were scattered to the four winds, in Julián's description), this sign of divine approval of the former was rejected by the monarch.[64] Julián Pérez refers to the 'great struggle' ('magna lis') between the Mozarabs of Toledo and the French soldiers, providing the names of the duellists and of the judges, all of whom belonged to families of renown in Toledo. Julián was not only a witness, but also a participant ('testigo y actor', in Godoy's phrase), in that in his capacity

---

60 Julián Pérez, *Chronicon*, p. 113.

61 Ibid. See also, Juan Francisco Rivera, *La iglesia de Toledo en el siglo XII (1086–1208)*, Rome: Iglesia Nacional Española, 1966, pp. 66–72.

62 Rodericus Ximenius de Rada, *De rebus Hispaniae*, Book VI, in *Opera*, Valencia: Anúbar, 1968 [Textos Medievales, 22], pp. 137–8. This edition is a facsimile reprint of that of Cardinal Lorenzana of 1793, with the addition of indices by Mª Desamparados Cabanes Pecourt.

63 'El rito hispánico, las ordalías y los mozárabes en el reinado de Alfonso VI', *Estudios Orientales*, El Colegio de México, VIII (1973), 19–41. See also, Archdale A. King, *Liturgies of the Primatial Sees*, London: Longmans, Green & Co, 1957, p. 510.

64 Rodericus Ximenius de Rada, *De rebus Hispaniae*, p. 139.

of archpriest of the Mozarabic church of Santa Justa, he embraced the Mozarabic victor of the duel which took place outside the precincts of the city, and gave thanks to God for this ruling in favour of the Mozarabs.[65] As Godoy pointed out, Julián was almost duty bound to react in this way because it was important to affirm the Mozarabic rite, not solely to appease the Toledans, but also because the rite had been established in Spain by Saint James, and ordained by Saint Peter.[66] Julián did not, however, criticize Alfonso VI for having set aside the first divine signal, and did not indulge in the anti-French sentiment which heaped all the blame for the abolition of the Mozarabic rite on Alfonso's French wife. His neutral observation was that 'the King did not wish to acquiesce in this sign' ('nec Rex hoc prodigio voluit acquiescere').[67] None the less, Julián gives his own interpretation which, as one might have expected, enhances the reputation of the Mozarabs. His view was that Alfonso VI granted the Mozarabs the concession of being able to continue the observance of the Mozarabic liturgy in six churches in the city, in recognition of what was perceived to be the external sign of divine approval. The Mozarabs had, after all, assisted Alfonso in the conquest of the city, and this was their recompense.

In creating the person of the chronicler, Julián Pérez, Higuera was providing himself with the opportunity of 'filling in the gaps' in his city's past. By deliberately avoiding dramatic discoveries and extravagant claims, Higuera was establishing his chronicler's credibility. However, he could also indulge in his own propagandist agenda. He gives prominence to the Mozarabs in the early history of Toledo, and he provides a higher profile for the city as well. Both of these motives emerged from Higuera's perception of the Mozarabs and their plight in the sixteenth century in which he lived. Furthermore, the city was falling on hard times as Philip II's reign progressed, and Julián's *Chronicle* gave a much-needed boost to its prestige. Higuera did not live to see the publication of his *opus*, but his efforts were vindicated. The light that Julián's *Chronicle*, and his other inventions, cast on the darker corners of the city's history, helped to restore Toledo's self-belief. Historians were proud to incorporate the new data in their accounts of the Imperial City, right up until the time that eighteenth-century historians uncovered the deception, and attempted to identify what was spurious, and to separate history from myth.

---

[65] Julián Pérez, *Chronicon*, pp. 126–7.

[66] Godoy, *Historia crítica de los falsos cronicones*, pp. 204–205.

[67] Julián Pérez, *Chronicon*, p. 127.

Postscript

In what has gone before, it will be seen that much emphasis has been laid on terminological issues, as was intimated in the Introduction. It is my belief that a consistent failure to understand or appreciate what a particular term meant in a particular context has led to serious misconceptions and to distortion over a broad area. If one can bring the problems out into the open, and propose solutions that may correspond with what is known of the facts, then perhaps a step or so forward may have been achieved. It may readily be conceded that 'Mozarab' in whatever form meant different things at different times and places, but it cannot, in my view, be a word employed to signify Christians who lived in al-Andalus. Since I embarked on this quest to explore the various uses of 'Mozarab' in the early 1960s, scholars have recognized and accepted that it is impractical at the very least to expect one word to do service for two contradictory interpretations. The word Mozarab could not be used to apply both to Christians who resisted Islam in al-Andalus, and to the phenomenon of Arabicization in the Christian kingdom of León. One cannot with any sense or rationality refer both to 'Mozarabic martyrs' and 'Mozarabic architecture'. A recognition of this anomaly, however, is only a stage along the path of understanding 'Mozarab' and related terms. In these pages, I have endeavoured to cast new light on divergent data over many centuries proposing a number of readings and interpretations which I believe deserve an airing. Together, they constitute the results of research undertaken over a period spanning more than forty years. They are offered, not as definitive solutions, but as viable and valid interpretations of available evidence or lack of it. The historian does, I think, have a duty not to cover over the traces, but rather to recognize anomalies and incongruities for what they are. Students of history may prefer to have loose ends tied up, but to do this in the case of the Mozarabs would be to invite distortion. The Mozarabs, in whatever stage of their existence, deserve a just and unadorned appraisal.

Bibliography

Victoria Aguilar, 'Onomástica de origen árabe en el reino de León (siglo X)', *al-Qanṭara*, XV (1994), 351–63.

Victoria Aguilar Sebastián and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, 'Antroponimia de origen árabe en la documentación (siglos VIII–XIII)', in *El reino de León en la Alta Edad Media*, VI (1994), 497–633.

Salahuddin Ahmed, *A Dictionary of Muslim Names*, London: Hurst, 1999.

Pedro de Alcalá, *Vocabulista aravigo en letra castellana*, Granada, 1505, ed. Pauli Lagarde, Gottingae: Arnold Hoyer, 1883.

Pedro de Alcocer, *Historia, o Descripcion dela Imperial cibdad de Toledo. Con todas las cosas acontecidas en ella, desde su principio, y fundacion*, Toledo: Iuan Ferrer, 1554 (facsimile reprint, Madrid: EPSC, 1973).

Catherine Alder, *Arabic Versions of the Psalter in use in Muslim Spain*, PhD thesis, University of St. Andrews, 1953.

Bernardo de Aldrete, *Varias Antigüedades de España, África y otras provincias*, Ámberes: Juan Hasrey, 1614.

Amado Alonso, 'Árabe st > Español ç. Español ST Árabe > CH', *PMLA*, 62 (1947), 325–38.

María Luz Alonso, 'La compraventa en los documentos toledanos de los siglos XII–XV', *Anuario de Historia de Derecho Español*, 49 (1979), 455-517.

José Miguel Andrade Cernadas, ed., *O tombo de Celanova: estudio introductorio, edición e índices (ss. IX–XII)*, 2 vols (consecutive pagination), Santiago de Compostela: Consello da Cultura Galega, 1995.

José Miguel Andrade Cernadas, *El monacato benedictino y la sociedad de la Galicia medieval (siglos X al XIII)*, La Coruña: Seminario de Estudos Galegos, 1997.

Eliyahu Ashtor, 'The Social Isolation of *ahl adh-dhimma*', in *The Medieval Near East: Social and Economic History. Collected Studies*, Aldershot: Variorum Reprints, 1978 (originally published in *Pat Hirschler Memorial Book*, Budapest, 1949), Chapter VII, pp. 73–94.

Miguel Asín Palacios, 'Un códice inexplorado de Ibn Hazm', *Al-Andalus* II (1934), 1–56.

Antonio Astraín, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la asistencia de España*, 2nd edn, Madrid: Razón y Fé, 1925, 7 vols.

Michel Banniard, 'La Rédaction mozarabe à Cordoue: un IXe siècle de ruptures', in *Viva Voce, Communication écrite et communication orale du IV siècle en Occident latin,* Turnhout: Brepols, 1992, Chapter VIII, pp. 423–84.

L. Barrau-Dihigo, 'Études sur les actes des rois asturiens', *Revue Hispanique*, XLVI (1919), 1–192.

Lucien Barrau-Dihigo, 'Recherches sur l'histoire politique du royaume asturien (718–910)', *Revue Hispanique*, LII (1921), 1–360; Spanish translation by Eugenio Fuentes: *Historia política del reino asturiano (718–910)*, prologue by Javier Fernández Conde, Gijón: Biblioteca Histórica Asturiana, 1989.

Eloy Benito Ruano, 'Olías, alquería islámica de Toledo', *Simposio Toledo Hispanoárabe*, Toledo, 1986, pp. 99–103.

Becerro de Celanova, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, 986B.

Becerro gótico de Sahagún [1110 AD], Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, 989B.

Anselm Gordon Biggs, *Diego Gelmírez, First Archbishop of Compostela*, Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1949.

J. Bosch Vilá, 'Andalucía islámica: arabización y berberización. Apuntes y reflexiones en torno a un viejo tema', in *Andalucía Islámica. Textos y estudios,* Granada: Universidad, 1980, J. Bosch Vilá and W. Hoenerbach, directors, pp. 9–42.

Richard Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period*, Cambridge, Ma: Harvard University Press, 1979.

Andrés Marcos Burriel, *Informe de la Imperial Ciudad de Toledo al Real y Supremo Consejo de Castilla, sobre igualación de Pesos y Medidas en todos los Reynos y Señoríos de su Majestad según las leyes,* Madrid 1758. (Edn reprinted 1780 does not bear Burriel's name on the title page).

Andrés Marcos Burriel, 'Memorias auténticas de las santas vírgenes y mártires Sevillanas Justa y Rufina' (1752), in *Colección de algunas obras inéditas, críticas, eruditas, históricas y políticas de nuestros mejores autores, antiguos y modernos, recogidas y publicadas para instruir y deleytar*, por D[on] A[ntonio] V[alladares] D[e] S[otomayor], Madrid: [Valladares], 1806, pp. 7–92.

Emilio Cabrera, 'Reflexiones sobre la cuestión mozárabe', *Actas del I Congreso Nacional de Cultura Mozárabe*, Córdoba: Obra Social y Cultural CajaSur, 1996, 11–26.

Isidro de Las Cagigas, *Minorías étnico-religiosas de la Edad Media española*, Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, Vol. II, *Los mudéjares*, Part I, 1948 .

C. Cahen, 'Dhimma', *New Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. II, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1968.

Le Calendrier de Cordoue publié par R. Dozy, ed. C. Pellat, new edn, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1961.

P. Camino y Velasco, *Defensa de los Privilegios de los Nobles Mozárabes de Toledo contra el escrito de D. Juan de Huarte*, *Abogado de los Reales Consejos*, dated May 1744, probably in the author's hand, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, MS 13059, ff. 208–23v.

Vicente Cantarino, *Entre monjes y musulmanes. El conflicto que fue España,* Madrid: Alhambra, 1978.

Alberto Cañada Juste, 'El posible solar originario de los Banu Qasi', in *Homenaje a Don José María Lacarra; Estudios Medievales*, Zaragoza: Anúbar, Vol. I, 1977, pp. 33–8.

Ovidio Carbonell, 'Hacia una gramática del caos; la poesía estrófica andalusí y los orígenes de la lírica románica', in *La sociedad andalusí y sus tradiciones literarias*, ed. Otto Zwartjes (Foro Hispánico), Amsterdam, 1994, pp. 39–59.

Julio Caro Baroja, *Las falsificaciones de la Historia (en relación con la de España)*, Barcelona: Seis Barral, 1992.

Juan Castilla Brazales, *La Crónica de ʿArib sobre al-Andalus,* Granada: Impredisur, 1992.

Alfonso de Castro [Zamorensis], *De iusta haereticorum punitione*, Salamanca, 1547.
Alfonso de Castro Zamorensis, *De Iusta haereticorum punitione*, Lugduni: Iacobus Faure, 1556.
Américo Castro, 'Media un milenio entre las palabras España y español', *Ínsula* 252 (Nov. 1967), pp. 1, 12.
J. Chahine, *Les Mille et un noms arabes*, Paris: Asfar, 1987.
Pedro Chalmeta Gendrón, *El 'Señor del Zoco' en España: edades media y moderna; contribución al estudio de la historia del mercado*, Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura, 1973.
Pedro Chalmeta, 'La Méditerranée occidentale et al-Andalus de 934 à 941: les données d'Ibn Hayyan', *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, L (1976), 337–51.
P. Chalmeta, review article of Pierre Guichard, *Al-Andalus. Estructura antropológica de una sociedad islámica en Occidente*, Barcelona: Barral, 1976, in *Hispania* 135 (1978), 233–9.
P. Chalmeta, ed., *Al-Muqtabas (V) de Ibn Ḥayyān,* Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura, 1979.
Pedro Chalmeta, 'Mozarabe', *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, VII (1991), pp. 248–51.
Pedro Chalmeta, *Invasión e Islamicazión. La sumisión de Hispania y la formación de al-Andalus*, Madrid: Mapfre, 1994.
Marjorie Chibnall, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, Vol. VI, Books XI, XII, and XIII, Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1978.
Marjorie Chibnall, *The World of Orderic Vitalis*, Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1984.
Ann Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus (711–100)*, Richmond: Curzon, 2002.
Edward P. Colbert, *The Martyrs of Córdoba (850–859): A Study of the Sources*, Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America, 1962.
Colección de fueros y cartas-pueblas de España, por la real Academia de la Historia. Catálogo, Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1852.
Roger Collins, *Early Medieval Spain, Unity in Diversity, 400–1000*, London: Macmillan, 1983.
Roger Collins, *The Arab Conquest of Spain 710–797*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989.
Ignacio de la Concha, *La 'presura'. La ocupación de tierras en los primeros siglos de la reconquista*, Madrid: Instituto Nacional de Estudios Jurídicos, 1946.
Olivia Remie Constable, *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain: The Commercial Realignment of the Iberian peninsula, 900–1500*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
Olivia Remie Constable, *Medieval Iberia. Readings from Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Sources*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997.
Jessica A. Coope, *The Martyrs of Córdoba. Community and Family Conflict in an Age of Mass Conversion*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1995.
Juan Corominas, *Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana*, 4 vols., Berne: Francke, 1954.
Federico Corriente, *El Léxico árabe andalusí según P. de Alcalá*, Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1988.
Federico Corriente, *El léxico árabe andalusí según el 'Vocabulista in Arabico'*, Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1989.
Armando Cotarelo Valledor, *Historia crítica y documentada de la vida y acciones de Alfonso III el Magno*, Madrid: Victoriano Suárez, 1933.

Chrétien Courtois, 'Grégoire VII et l'Afrique du Nord. Remarques sur les communautés chrétiennes d'Afrique au XIe siècle', *Revue Historique*, 195 (1945), 97–122, and 193–226.

Sebastián de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana* (Madrid, 1611), Barcelona: Riquer, 1943.

H.E.J. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970.

P. Crone, *Slaves on Horses. The Evolution of the Islamic Polity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.

P. Crone, 'Mawlā', 4. 'Muslim Spain', in C.E. Bosworth et al. (eds), *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* new edn, Vol. VI, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1991, pp. 881–2.

Miguel Cruz Hernández, *El Islam de al-Andalus: Historia y estructura de su realidad social*, Madrid: Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional, Instituto de Cooperación con el Mundo Árabe, 1992.

Miguel Cruz Hernández, 'The Social Structure of al-Andalus during the Muslim Occulation (711-55) and the Founding of the Umayyad Monarchy', in *The Formation of al-Andalus,* Part 1, *History and Society,* ed. Manuela Marín, Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998, pp. 51-83.

Angel Custodio Vega, ed., *España Sagrada*, Vol. LVI [*De la Santa Iglesia Apostólica de Eliberri (Granada)*], Madrid: Maestre, 1957.

ad-Dabbī, *Bughyat al-multamis fi ta'rīkh rijāl ahl al-Andalus*, ed. Francisco Codera, 1885, Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana, Vol. III, Brill, 1889.

Norman Daniel, *The Arabs and Mediaeval Europe*, London: Longman and Librairie de Liban, 1975, 2nd edn, 1979.

Norman Daniel, 'Spanish Christian Sources of Information about Islam (ninth–thirteenth centuries)', *al-Qanṭara*, XV (1994), 366–84.

Pierre David, *Études historiques sur la Galice et le Portugal du VIe au XIIe siècle*, Coimbra, Lisbon and Paris: L'Instituto de Estudos Históricos Dr. António de Vasconcelos de la Faculté des Lettres de Coimbra (Collection Portugaise, Volume 7), 1947.

José Antonio Dávila and García Miranda, *La nobleza e hidalguía de las familias mozárabes de Toledo*, Madrid: Hidalguía, Instituto Salazar y Castro (CSIC), 1966.

Feliciano Delgado León, *Álvaro de Córdoba y la polémica contra el Islam. El Indiculus Luminosus*, Córdoba: Cajasur, 1996.

Eloy Díaz-Jiménez y Molleda, 'Datos para la historia del monasterio de San Justo y Pastor', *Homenaje a Ramón Menéndez Pidal*, Madrid, 1925, III, p. 165–9.

Manuel Díaz y Díaz, 'Textos litúrgicos mozárabes', in *Actas del I Congreso Nacional de Cultura Mozárabe*, 1996, pp. 105–15.

Reinhart P.A. Dozy, *Recherches sur l'histoire politique et littéraire de l'Espagne pendant le Moyen Âge*, Leyde: E.J. Brill, 1849; 3rd edn, reviewed and augmented, 2 vols, 1860; facsimile reprint, 2 vols, Amsterdam: Oriental Press, 1965.

Reinhart P.A. Dozy, *Histoire des musulmanes d'Espagne* (1861), ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, 3 vols, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1932.

D.M. Dunlop, *Arab Civilization to A.D. 1500*, Beirut: Longman, Harlow, and Librairie du Liban, 1971, reprinted 1985.

Fath al-Andalus (*La conquista de al-Andalus)*, ed. Luis Molina, Madrid: CSIC, 1994.

A.A. El-Hajji, *Andalusian Diplomatic Relations with Western Europe during the Umayad Period (A.H. 138–366/A.D. 755–976)*, Beirut: Dar al-Irshad, 1970.

J.H. Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares. The Statesman in an Age of Decline*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986.

Mikel de Epalza, 'La islamización de al-Andalus: mozárabes y neomozárabes', *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid*, XXIII (1985–86) (1988), 171–9.

Mikel de Epalza, 'Mozarabs: an Emblematic Christian Minority in Islamic al-Andalus', *The Legacy of Muslim Spain,* ed. Salma Khadra Jayyusi, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992, pp. 149–70; reproduced in *The Formation of al-Andalus,* Part I, *History and Society,* ed. Manuela Marín, Aldershot: Ashgate, Variorum, 1998, pp. 183–204.

Mikel de Epalza, 'Falta de obispos y conversión al Islam de los cristianos de al-Andalus', *al-Qanṭara,* XV (1994), 385–400.

Mikel de Epalza and Enrique Llobregat, '¿Hubo mozárabes en tierras valencianas? Proceso de islamización del Levante de la península (Sharq Al-Andalus)', *Revista del Instituto de Estudios Alicantinos*, 36 (1982), 7–31.

[Eupogius of Córdoba], *Obras completas de San Eulogio*, bilingual edn, Castilian version, R.P. Agustín S. Ruiz, OB, Córdoba: Real Academia, 1959.

Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*, in *Corpus Scriptorum Mozarabicorum*, ed. Ioannes Gil, 2 vols, Madrid: Instituto Antonio de Nebrija, 1973.

Antoine Fattal, *Le Statut légal des non-musulmans en pays d'Islam*, Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1958.

José María Fernández del Pozo, 'Alfonso V, rey de León', in *León y su historia. Miscelánea histórica V*, León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación 'San Isodoro' (CSIC), 1984, pp. 244–5.

F. Fernández González, *Historia de al-Andalus por Aben-Adharí de Marruecos*, Granada: Ventura y Sabatel, 1860.

Dom Marius Férotin, 'Études sur neuf calendriers mozarabes', *Monumenta Ecclesiae liturgica,* Vol. V: *Liber Ordinum*, Paris, 1904, Appendix I, pp. 449–98.

Marius Férotin, 'Étude sur les Manuscrits mozarabes', *Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica*, VI Paris, (1912), 678–82.

Fidel Fita, 'San Miguel de Escalada. Inscripciones y documentos', *Boletín de la Real Academia de Historia*, XXXI, 1897, 466–515.

Henrique Flórez, *España sagrada*, Vol. III, Madrid: José Rodríguez, 1763.

Henrique Flórez, *España Sagrada*, Vol. XXIII, Madrid: Antonio Marín, 1777.

Jacques Fontaine, *El mozárabe*, Madrid: Ediciones Encuentro, 1978 (original French edn, 1977).

Miquel Forcada: 'Books of *Anwa* in al-Andalus', in Maribel Fierro and Julio Samsó (eds), *The Formation of al-Andalus*, Part 2, Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1998.

W.H.C. Frend, 'Christianity in the Middle East: Survey down to AD 1800', in A.J. Arberry (ed.), *Religion in the Middle East. Three Religions in Concord and Conflict*, Vol. I, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969.

Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes, *Dialectología mozárabe*, Madrid: Gredos, 1983.

Luis García Arias in 'Una embajada cristiana a un soberaño musulmán, hace mil años', *Historia Diplomática*, Zaragoza: Instituto Fernando el Católico, 1954, Vol. I

Alfonso García-Gallo, 'Los Fueros de Toledo', *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español*, 45 (1975), 341–488.

Emilio García Gómez, *Anales palatinos del califa de Córdoba al-Hakam II, por 'Isa Ibn Ahmad al-Razí (360–364 = 971–975 J. C.). El califato de Córdoba en el 'Muqtabis' de Ibn Hayyan*, Madrid: Sociedad de Estudios y Publicaciones, 1967.

Vicente García Lobo, *Las inscripciones de San Miguel de Escalada: Estudio crítico*, Barcelona: El Albir, 1982.

Z. García Villada, *Catálogo de los códices y documentos de la Catedral de León*, Madrid: Clásica Española, 1914.

Esteban de Garibay y Çamalloa, *Los XI libros del Compendio Historial De las Chronicas y Universal Historia de todos los reynos de España*, Antwerp: Christophoro Plantino, 1571. (The *aprobación* is dated 1567.)

J. Gautier-Dalché, *Le Moyen Âge*, 69 (1973), 140–57 (review of five studies by Pastor Togneri).

J. Gautier-Dalché, 'Le rôle de la reconquête de Tolède dans l'histoire monetaire de la Castille (1085–1174)', in *Estudios sobre Alfonso VI y la reconquista*, Toledo: Instituto de Estudios Visigótico-Mozárabes, 1988, pp. 11–25.

Pascual de Gayangos, *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties of Spain* by Ahmed Ibn Mohammed al-Makkari, London: Oriental Translation Fund, 1843, reprint, 2 vols, New York: Johnson, 1964, and London: RoutledgeCurzon (*sic*), 2002.

Pascual de Gayangos, ed., *La Crónica del Moro Rasis*, *Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia*, Vol. VIII, Madrid, 1852.

José Martínez Gázquez and Julio Samsó, 'Una nueva traducción latina del calendario de Córdoba (siglo XIII)', in Juan Vernet (ed.), *Textos y estudios sobre astronomía española en el siglo XIII*, Barcelona: Universidad Autónoma, 1981, pp. 9–78.

H.S. Gehman, 'The Arabic Bible in Spain', *Speculum*, I (1926), 219–21.

Ioannis Gil (Juan Gil), *Corpvs Scriptorvm Mvzarabicorvm*, Madrid: CSIC, Instituto 'Antonio de Nebrija', 2 vols, 1973.

Juan Gil Fernández, ed., *Crónicas Asturianas*, with annotated translations by José L. Moralejo, Oviedo: Universidad, 1985.

Thomas F. Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979.

José Godoy Alcántara, *Historia crítica de los falsos cronicones*, Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1868.

José Godoy Alcántara, *Ensayo histórico etimológico filológico sobre los apellidos castellanos*, Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1871, reissued Barcelona: El Albir, 1975.

Alvar Gómez de Castro, *De las hazañas de Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros*, ed. and trans. with notes by José Oroz Reta, Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1984. The *De Rebus Gestis a Francisco Ximenio* was first published in 1569.

Manuel Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes: arte español de los siglos IX a XI*, Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1919.

M. Gómez Moreno, *Catálogo monumental de España – Provincia de León*, Vol. 1, Madrid, 1925–26.

M.Gómez-Moreno, 'Las primeras crónica de la Reconquista: el ciclo de Alfonso III', *Boletín de la Real Academia de Historia*, C (1932), 526–628.

Julio González, 'Los mozárabes toledanos desde el siglo XI hasta el Cardenal Cisneros', in *Historia Mozárabe. I Congreso Internacional de Estudios Mozárabes*, Toledo, Instituto de Estudios Visigótico-Mozárabes de San Eugenio, 1978, pp. 79–89.

Tomás González, ed., *Colección de privilegios, franquezas y Fueros, concedidos a varios pueblos y corporaciones de la Corona de Castilla, copiados de los Registros del archivo de Simancas*, Vol. V, Madrid, 1830.

Ángel González Palencia, *Los mozárabes de Toledo en los siglos XII-XIII*, 4 vols, Madrid: Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, 1926–30.

Ramón Gonzálvez, 'The Persistence of the Mozarabic Liturgy in Toledo after A.D. 1080', in Bernard Reilly (ed.), *Santiago, Saint-Denis*, 1985 (*infra*), pp. 157–85.

Ramón Gonzálvez Ruiz, 'La persistencia del rito hispánico o mozárabe en Toledo después del año 1080', *Anales Toledanos*, 27 (1990), 9–33.

[John of Gortz], *Vita Iohannis abbatis Gorziensis*, ed. G.H. Pertz, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores IV*, Hanover, 1841.

Pierre Guichard, *Al-Andalus: Estructura antropólogica de una sociedad islámica en occidente*, Barcelona: Barral, 1976.

Ignazio Guidi, *La traduzioni degli Evangelii in arabo e in etiopico*, Memoria del socio Guidi, 1888.

Basil Hall, *Humanists and Protestants*, Edinburgh: Clark, 1990, pp. 1–51.

Andrew Handler, *The Zirids of Granada*, Miami, FL: University of Miami Press, 1974.

David Hannay, *Spain*, London: T.C. Jack & E.C. Jack, 1917.

W.F. (*sic*) Heinrichs, 'Muwallad', in C.E. Bosworth et al. (eds), *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edn, Vol. VII, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1993, pp. 807–808.

Alexandro Herculano, *Historia de Portugal*, Lisbon, 1849.

Francisco J. Hernández, 'Language and Cultural Identity: The Mozarabs of Toledo', *Boletín Burriel*, 1 (1989), 29–48.

al-Ḥimyar*, *La Péninsule Ibérique au Moyen-Âge*, Arabic text and trans. E. Lévi-Provençal, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1938.

Eduardo de Hinojosa, *Documentos para la historia de las instituciones de León y de Castilla (Siglos X–XIII)*, Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1919.

Richard Hitchcock, 'El rito hispánico, las ordalías y los mozárabes en el reinado de Alfonso VI', *Estudios Orientales*, El Colegio de México, VIII (1973), 19–41.

Richard Hitchcock, '¿Quiénes fueron los verdaderos mozárabes? Una contribución a la historia del mozarabismo', *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica*, XXX, 2 (1981), 574–85.

Richard Hitchcock, 'Arabic Proper Names in the Becerro de Celanova', in David Hook and Barry Taylor (eds), *Cultures in Contact in Medieval Spain*, London: King's College, 1990 (Medieval Studies III), pp. 111–26.

Richard Hitchcock, 'Conflicting Views towards the Mozarabs after 1492', in Trevor J. Dadson, R.J. Oakley and P.A. Odber de Baubeta (eds), *New Frontiers in Hispanic and Luso-Brazilian Scholarship: Como se fue el maestro, for Derek W. Lomax in Memoriam*, Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 1994, pp. 105–16.

Richard Hitchcock, 'Los musta'ribūn: ¿comunidad marginada en al-Andalus a principios del siglo XII?', in *Actas del primer congreso anglo-hispano*, Vol. III, *Historia*, eds Richard Hitchcock and Ralph Penny, Madrid: Castalia, 1994, pp. 251–60.

Richard Hitchcock, 'The *Falsos Cronicones* and the Mozarabs', *Journal of the Institute of Romance Studies*, 3 (1994–95) (1996), 87–96.

Richard Hitchcock, 'Mozarabs and Moriscos: Two Marginalized Communities in Sixteenth-Century Toledo', in Barry Taylor and Geoffrey West, eds, *Historicist Essays on Hispano-Medieval Narrative In Memory of Roger M. Walker*, London: Maney Publishing for the MHRA, 2005, pp. 171–84.

Philip K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs from the Earliest Times to the Present*, 10th edn, London: Macmillan, 1985 (1st edn, 1937).

E. Hübner, *Inscriptionum Hispaniae Christianiarum*, Supplementum, Berlin, 1900.

Ambrosio Huici Miranda, *Historia musulmana de Valencia y su región. Novedades y rectificaciones*, 3 vols, Valencia: Ayuntamiento, 1970.

Álvaro Huerga, ed., *Avisos para predicadores del Santo Evangelio*, Barcelona: Juan Flors, 1959.

H.R. Idris, 'Les Tributaires en Occident Musulman médiéval d'après le "Mi'yar" d'al-Wanšariši', in *Mélanges d'islamologie. Volume dédié à la mémoire de Armand Abel par ses collègues, ses élèves et ses amis*, ed. Pierre Salmon, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974, pp. 172–96.

Ibn Al-Kardabūs, *Historia de al-Andalus*, ed. Felipe Maíllo Salgado, Madrid: Akal, 1986.

Ibn Ḥayyān, *Crónica del Califa ʿAbdarrahman III an-Nasir entre los años 912 y 942 (al-Muqtabas)*, trans. M.J. Viguera and F. Corriente, Zaragoza: Anúbar, 1981.

Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères et des dynasties musulmanes de l'Afrique septentrionale,* trans. from Arabic by Baron de Slane, new edn ed. Paul Casanova (2nd edn, 4 vols), Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1968.

Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, *Tarikh iftitāh al-andalus* (Arabic text), Madrid, 1868.

S.M. Imamuddin, *A Political History of the Muslims*, Dacca: Najmah & Sons, 1965.

Salma Khadra Jayyusi, ed., *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992.

[Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada] Rodericus Ximenius de Rada, *Opera*, ed. Ma. Desamparados Cabanes Pecourt, Zaragoza: Anúbar, 1968 (Textos Medievales, 22).

Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, *Historia de los hechos de España*, trans. Juan Fernández Valverde, Madrid: Alianza, 1989.

Hanna Kassis, 'Arabic-speaking Christians in Al-Andalus in an Age of Turmoil (fifth/eleventh century until a.h 478/a.d 1085)', *al-Qanṭara*, XV (1994), 401–22.

Hanna E. Kassis, 'The Mozarabs', in María Rosa Menocal, Raymond P. Scheindlin and Michael Sells (eds), *The Literature of al-Andalus*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 420–31.

Thomas D. Kendrick, *St. James in Spain*, London: Methuen, 1966.

Archdale A. King, *Liturgies of the Primatial Sees*, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1957.

Philippe Labbé and Gabriel Cossart, *Sacrosancta Concilia ad Regiam editionem exacta*, 1671, Vol. X.

J.M. Lacarra, 'Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación del Valle del Ebro' (first series), in *Estudios de Edad Media de la Corona de Aragón*, Zaragoza, 1946, II, pp. 469–574.

J.M. Lacarra, 'Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación del Valle del Ebro' (second series), in *EEMC*, Zaragoza, 1947-48, III, pp. 499–727.

J.M. Lacarra, *Alfonso el Batallador*, Zaragoza: Guara, 1978.
Vincent Lagardère, 'Communautés mozarabes, et pouvoir almoravide en 519H/1125 en Andalus', *Studia Islamica*, 67 (1988), 99–119.
Edward W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, London: Williams & Norgate, 1874; Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1968; reprinted by the Islamic Texts Society Trust, Cambridge, 1984.
Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Moors in Spain*, 5th edn, with the collaboration of Arthur Gilman, MA, London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1893.
Eva Lapiedra Gutiérrez, *Cómo los musulmanes llamaban a los cristianos hispánicos*, Valencia: Instituto de Cultura 'Juan Gil-Albert', 1997.
H. Larrén, 'Excavaciones arqueológicas en San Miguel de Escalada (León)', *Actas del I Congreso de Arqueología Medieval de España*, II, Visigodo (Huesca, 1985), Zaragoza, 1986, pp. 103–23.
Leovigildus, *De habitu clericorum*, in Gil, *Corpvs Scriptorvm Mvzarabicorvm*, Vol. II, pp. 667–84.
Bernard Lewis, ed. and trans., *Islam from the Prophet Muhammad to the Capture of Constantinople*, London: Macmillan, 1974.
E. Lévi-Provençal, 'Un échange d'ambassades entre Cordoue et Byzance au IXe siècle', *Byzantion*, XVII (1937), 1–24
Évariste Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne Musulman*, Cairo: Institut Français, 1944.
Évariste Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne Musulmane*, Volume I: *De la conquête à la chute du Califat de Cordoue* (*710–1031J.C.*), new edn, Paris: Maisonneuve; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1950.
N. Levtzion and J.F.P. Hopkins, eds, *Corpus of early sources for West African History*, trans. J.F.P. Hopkins, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
Antonio Linage Conde, *Los orígenes del monacato benedictino en la península ibérica*, León: Fuentes y Estudio de Historia Leonesa IX, 1983.
H.V. Livermore, *The Origins of Spain and Portugal*, London: George Allan & Unwin, 1971.
J.A. Llorente, *Noticias Históricas de las tres Provincias Vascongadas, en que se procura investigar el estado civil antiguo de Álava, Guipuzcoa, y Vizcaya, y el origen de sus fueros*, 5 vols, Madrid, 1806–08.
Derek W. Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain*, London: Longman, 1978.
Mahoma, *El Corán*, Madrid: Biblioteca DM, 1995.
Tomás López, *Mapa geográfico de una parte de la Provincia de León*, 1786.
J. López Ortiz, 'La recepción de la Escuela Malequí en España', Madrid: Tipografía de Archivos, 1931.
Francisco López Estrada, 'Dos tratados de los siglos XVI y XVII sobre los mozárabes', *Al-Andalus*, 16 (1951), 331–61.
José Eduardo López Pereira, *Estudio crítico sobre la Crónica Mozárabe de 754*, Zaragoza: Anúbar, 1980.
Pilar Loscertales de G[arcía] de Valdeavellano, *Tumbos del monasterio de Sobrado de los Montes*, 2 vols, Madrid: Archivo Histórico Nacional, 1976.
Pascual de Madoz, *Diccionario geográfico-estadístico-histórico*, Vol. XV, Madrid, 1849.

Bernardo Lutzenburgo, *Catalogus haereticorum*, Cologne, 1522, fols 17–77; Editio Quinta, Colonia: Johannes Kempensis, 1537.

Mahmoud Makki, 'The political history of Al-Andalus (92/711–897/1492)', in Salma Khadra Jayyusi, ed., *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992, pp. 3–87.

Eduardo Manzano Moreno, *La frontera de al-Andalus en época de los Omeyas*, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1991.

Eduardo Manzano Moreno, 'The Settlement and Origins of the Syrian *junds* in al-Andalus', in Manuela Marín, ed., *The Formation of al-Andalus*, Part I, *History and Society*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998, pp. 85–114.

Eduardo Manzano Moreno , 'Christian-Muslim Frontier in Al-Andalus: Idea and Reality', in Dionisius A. Agius and Richard Hitchcock, eds, *The Arab Influence in Medieval Europe*, Reading: Ithaca Press, 1996, pp. 83–99.

Manuela Marín, 'Baqí b. Majlad y la introducción del estudio del *hadit* [*hadith*] en Al-Andalus', *al-Qanṭara*, I (1980), 165–208.

Francisco Martínez Marina, *Ensayo histórico-crítico sobre la legislación y principales cuerpos legales de los reinos de León y Castilla* [Madrid 1808], ed. J. Martínez Cardos, Madrid, 1966 [Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 194, 1966].

Linda Martz, *Poverty and Welfare in Hapsburg Spain. The Example of Toledo*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Linda Martz, *A Network of Converso Families in Early Modern Toledo. Assimilating a Minority*, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2003.

Linda Martz y Julio Porres, *Toledo y los toledanos en 1561*, Toledo: Patronato 'José María Cuadrado', 1974.

Gregorio Mayáns y Síscar, *Censura de historias fabulosas, obra posthuma de Don Nicolás Antonio*, Valencia: Bordázar, 1742.

Fernando R. Mediano, 'Acerca de la población arabizada del reino de León (siglos X–XI)', *al-Qanṭara*, XV (1994), 465–72.

Ramón Menéndez Pidal, 'El "Romanz del Infant García" y Sancho de Navarra antiemperador', in *Historia y epopeya*, Madrid, 1934, pp. 31–98.

Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *Orígenes del español*, Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1964, 5th edn (following the 3rd edn with many corrections and addition).

Juan Meseguer Fernández, 'El Cardenal Jiménez de Cisneros, fundador de la Capilla Mozárabe', in *Historia Mozárabe. Ponencias y comunicaciones presentadas al I Congreso Internacional de Estudios Mozárabes: Toledo, 1985*, Toledo: Instituto de Estudios Visigótico-mozárabes de San Eugenio, 1978, pp. 149–2.

J.P. Migne, *Patrologia latina*, CLXXX, Paris, 1855.

Dominique Millet-Gérard, *Chrétiens Mozarabes et Culture Islamique dans l'Espagne des VIIIe–IX siècles*, Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1984.

José María Mínguez Fernández, *Colección diplomática del monasterio de Sahagún (Siglos IX y X)*, Fuentes y Estudios de Historia Leonesa, No. 17, León: Archivo Histórico Diocesano, 1976.

Jean-Pierre Molénat, 'Les Mozarabes: un exemple d'intégration', in *Tolède, XIIe–XIIIe. Musulmans, chrétiens et juifs: le savoir et la tolérance*, under the direction of Louis Cardaillac, Paris: Éditions Autrement, 1991, pp. 95–111.

Jean-Pierre Molénat, *Campagnes et Monts de Tolède du XIIe au XVe siècle*, Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 1997.

Luis Molina, ‘An Arab among Muwallads: Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Salam al-Khushaní’, in Manuela Marín, ed., *The Formation of al-Andalus*, Part I, *History and Society*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998, pp. 115–28.

J.T. Monroe, *The Shu’ubiyya in al-Andalus, The Risala of Ibn García and Five Refutations*, Berkeley: University of California, 1970.

Salvador de Moxó, *Repoblación y sociedad en la España cristiana medieval*, Madrid: Rialp, 1979.

Tomás Muñoz y Romero, *Colección de fueros municipales y cartas pueblas de los reinos de Castilla, León, Corona de Aragón y Navarra; coordinada y anotada*, Madrid: Imprenta de Don José María Alonso, 1847, facsimile edn by Ediciones Atlas, Madrid, 1970.

Eero K. Neuvonen, *Los arabismos del español en el siglo trece*, Helsinki: Sociedad de la Literatura Finesa, 1941.

H.T. Norris, *The Berbers in Arabic Literature*, London: Longmans, 1982.

Joseph F. O’Callaghan, ‘The Integration of Christian Spain into Europe: The Role of Alfonso VI of León-Castile’, in Bernard F. Reilly, ed., *Santiago, Saint-Denis, and Saint Peter. The Reception of the Roman Liturgy in León-Castile in 1080*, New York: Fordham University Press, 1985.

Diego Olstein, ‘El Péndulo mozárabe’, in *Anales Toledanos*, XXXIX (2002) [2003], 37–77.

José Orlandis, *Historia de España. La España visigoda*, Madrid: Gredos, 1977.

Blas Ortiz, *Summi Templi Toletani et graphica descriptio*, Toledo, 1549.

Reyna Pastor de Togneri (with the collaboration of Marta Bonaudo), ‘Problèmes d’assimilation d’une minorité: Les Mozarabes de Tolède (de 1085 à la fin du XIIIe siècle)’, *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 25 (1970), 351–90, at pp. 386–7; a version in Spanish was published in Reyna Pastor de Togneri, *Conflictos sociales y estancamiento económico en la España medieval*, Barcelona: Ariel, 1973, pp. 199–268.

Reyna Pastor de Togneri, *Del Islam al Cristianismo. En las fronteras de dos formaciones económico-sociales: Toledo, siglos XI–XIII*, Barcelona: Ediciones Península, 1975.

A. Paz y Meliá, ‘Embajada del Emperador de Alemania al Califa de Córdoba, Abderrahman III’, *Colección de documentos históricos, Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, No. II, Madrid, 1872, reproduced in *Boletín de la Academia de Ciencias, Bellas Letras y Nobles Artes de Córdoba* (1931), 255–82.

J. Pérez de Urbel, *A Saint under Moslem Rule,* translation by a Benedictine of Stanbrook Abbey, Milwaukee, 1937.

Julián Pérez, *Chronicon*, see Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado.

Justo Pérez de Urbel, *Historia del Condado de Castilla*, Madrid, 1943–45, 2 vols.

Justo Pérez de Urbel, ‘Reconquista y repoblación de Castilla y León durante los siglos IX y X’, in *La reconquista española y la repoblación del país*, Zaragoza: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1951 (Conferencias del curso celebrado en Jaca en agosto de 1947) [Cursos del Instituto de Estudios Pirenaicos], pp. 127–62.

Justo Pérez de Urbel, *Sampiro, su crónica y la monarquía leonesa en el siglo X*, Madrid: CSIC (Escuela de Estudios medievales, Vol. XXVI), 1952.

El Doctor Francisco de Pisa, *Descripcion de la Imperial Civdad de Toledo, y Historia de sus antiguedades, y grandeza, y cosas memorables que en ella han acontecido, de los*

Reyes que la han señoreado, y gouernado en sucession de tiempos, Part I, Toledo: Pedro Rodriguez, 1605 (facsimile, Madrid, 1974).

Francisco Pons Boigues, *Apuntes sobre las escrituras mozárabes toledanas que se conservan en el Archivo Histórico Nacional*, Madrid, 1897.

Julio Porres Martín-Cleto, *Historia de Tulaytula (711–1085)*, Toledo: Instituto Provincial de Investigaciones y Estudios Toledanos, 1985.

Julio Porres Martín-Cleto, ed., *Los Anales Toledanos, I y II*, Toledo: Diputación Provincial de Toledo, 1993.

J. Puyol, *Orígenes del reino de León y de sus insitituciones políticas*, Madrid, 1926.

The Holy Qur-án, containing the Arabic text with English translation and commentary by Maulvi Muhammad Ali, Woking: The Islamic Review, 1917.

Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado, *Iuliani Petri Archpresbyteri S. Iustae Chronicon cum euisdem adversariis, et de eremiteriis hispanis brevis descriptio, atque ab eodem variorum carminum collectio ex Bibliotheca Olivarensi*, Paris: Laurentium Sonnium, 1628.

Fernando Regueras, *La arquitectura mozárabe de León y Castilla*, Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 1990.

Bernard Reilly, ed., *Santiago, Saint-Denis and Saint Peter: the Reception of the Roman Liturgy in León-Castile in 1080*, New York: Fordham University Press, 1985.

Bernard F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VI, 1065–1109*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988.

J.-T. Reinaud, *Invasions des Sarrazins en France* (1836), English translation by Haroon Khan Sherwani, under the title *Muslim Colonies in France, Northern Italy and Switzerland*, Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1964 (1st edn, 1955).

Julián Ribera, *Historia de los jueces de Córdoba por Aljoxaní*, Madrid: Maestre, 1914.

Julián Ribera, *Historia de la conquista de España por Abenalcotía el cordobés*, Madrid: Revista de Archivos, 1926.

M. Risco, *España Sagrada*, Vol. XXXV, Madrid: Antonio Marín, 1786.

Juan Francisco Rivera Recio, *La iglesia de Toledo en el siglo (1086–1208)*, Rome: Iglesia Nacional Española, 1966 (Publicaciones del Instituto Español de Historia Eclesiástica, Monograph no. 10).

Marcelino Rodríguez Molinero, *Origen español de la ciencia del derecho penal. Alfonso de Castro y su sistema penal*, Madrid: Cisneros, 1959.

Pedro de Rojas, Conde de Mora, Señor de las Villas de Layos, *Historia de la Imperial, nobilissina, inclita y esclarecida ciudad de Toledo*, Madrid: Diego Díaz de la Carrera, Part I, 1654, Introduction; Part II was published in 1663.

Jaime-Federico Rollán Ortiz, *Iglesias mozárabes leonesas*, León: Everest, 1976.

Norman Roth, *Jews, Visigoths and Muslims in Medieval Spain*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994.

José Manuel Ruiz Asencio, *Colección documental del archivo de la Catedral de León (775–1230)*, III (986–1031), León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación 'San Isidoro' (CSIC-CECEL), 1987.

Juan Ignacio Ruiz de la Peña, 'Siervos moros en la Asturias medieval', *Asturiensia medievalia*, 3 (1979), 139–61.

Josephi Saenz de Aguirre, *Collectio Maxima Conciliorum omnium Hispaniae*, III, Rome, 1694.

Emilio Sáez and Carlos Sáez, eds, *Colección documental del archivo de la Catedral de León (775–1230)*, II (953–985), León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación 'San Isidoro' (CSIC-CECEL), 1990.

†Emilio Sáez and Carlos Sáez, eds, *Colección diplomática del monasterio de Celanova (842–1230)*, I (842–942), Alcalá de Henares: Universidad, Vol. I, 1996, Vol. II, 2000; the two volumes comprise the series Galicia, 1 and 2.

Pedro Sáinz Rodríguez, 'El P. Burriel, paleógrafo', in *Evolución de las ideas sobre la decadencia española y otros estudios de crítica literaria*, Madrid: Riale, 1962 (1st edn, 1925). Madrid, 1925.

Francisco de Sales Córdoba-Sánchez Bretaño, *Los Mozárabes de Toledo*, Toledo: Diputación Provincial, 1985.

Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, 'La sucesión del trono en los reinos de León y Castilla', *Estudios sobre las instituciones medievales españolas*, Mexico, 1965, pp. 639–704, first published in *Boletín de la Academia Argentina de letras*, XIV (1945), 35–124.

Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, *Despoblación y repoblación del valle del Duero*, Buenos Aires, 1966.

Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, *Una ciudad de España hace mil años. Estampas de la vida de León*, 5th edn, Madrid: Ediciones Rialp, 1966.

Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, 'El "palatium regis" asturleonés', *Viejos y nuevos estudios sobre las instituciones medievales españolas*, Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1980, III, pp. 1633–728 (first published in *Cuadernos de Historia de España*, 59–60, 1976).

Prudencio de Sandoval, *Historia de cinco obispos*, Pamplona, 1615.

J. da Santa Rosa de Viterbo, *Elucidário das palabras, termos, e frases que em Portugal antigamente se usaram e que hoje regularmente se ignoram*, Lisboa, 1798–99 (2nd edn 1865).

Santoral hispano-mozárabe escrito hacia el 961 por Rabi ben Zaid, Obispo de Eliberri, ed. and annotated by Don Francisco Javier Simonet, and published in *España sagrada*, Vol. LVI (1957) ed. Ángel Custodio Vega, pp. 123–59, with useful 'Advertencia previa' (pp. 119–21), and 'Nota bibliográfica' (pp. 160–61), by the editor, who also published the *Artículo de Dozy sobre Recemundo de Córdoba*, reproducing Dozy's original study, but without the notes (pp. 181–96).

Raymond P. Scheindlin, 'The Jews in Muslim Spain', *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, 1992, pp. 188–200.

C. Schiaparelli, ed., *Vocabulista in Arabico*, Florence, 1881.

Philippe Sénac, *Musulmans et Sarrasins dans le Sud de la Gaule du VIIIe au XI siècle*, Paris: Le Sycomore, 1980.

Philippe Sénac, 'Contribution à l'étude des relations diplomatiques entre l'Espagne musulmane et l'Europe au Xe siècle: le règne de 'Abd ar-Rahmân III (912–961)', *Studia Islamica*, LXI (1985), 45–55.

Gregorio del Ser Quijano, *Documentación de la Catedral de León (Siglos IX–X)*, Salamanca: Universidad (Documentos y estudios para la historia del occidente peninsular durante la Edad Media, 5), 1981.

R.B. Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles. Material for a History up to the Mongol Conquest*, Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1972, Chapter XVII, 'Textiles and the Tiraz in Spain', pp. 165–76.

Delfina Serrano, ‘Dos fetwas sobre la expulsión de los mozárabes al Magreb en 1126’, *Anaquel de estudios árabes*, 2 (1991), 163–82.

M.A. Shaban, *Islamic History AD 600–750 (AH 132). A New Interpretation*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971.

M.A. Shaban, *Islamic History. A New Interpretation. 2. AD 750–1055 (AH 132–448)*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.

Francisco Javier Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes de España deducida de los mejores y más auténticos testimonios de los escritores christianos* [*sic*] *y árabes*, Amsterdam: Oriental Press, 1967. This 976-page work was completed in 1867, and published for the first time in Madrid in 1903 (Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia, Vol. XIII).

F.J. Simonet, ‘Los mozárabes de Córdoba’, *Ilustración Española y Americana*, II (1897), 23–30.

S.M. Stern, *Les Chansons Mozarabes*, Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 1964.

A.D. Taha, *The Muslim Conquest and Settlement of North Africa and Spain*, London: Routledge, 1989.

José Ángel Tapia Garrido, *Historia de Almería y su provincia*, Almería: Caja de Ahorros, 1976, 2 vols.

Esteban Terreros y Pando, *Paleografía española*, Madrid, 1758.

John V. Tolan, *Saracens. Islam in the Medieval European Imagination*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.

Arthur S. Tritton, *The Caliphs and their non-Muslim Subjects: A Critical Study of the Covenant of ‘Umar*, London: Frank Cass, 1970 (first published, 1930).

Tumbo Legionense, No. 11 of *Catálogo de los códices y documentos de la Catedral de León*, ed. Z. García Villada, Madrid: Clásica Española, 1914.

Abdel Magid Turki, ‘La Vénération pour Malik et la physionomie du malikisme andalou’, *Studia Islamica* 33 (1971), 41–65.

Antonio Ubieto Arteta, ‘La introducción del rito romano en Aragón y Navarra’, *Hispania Sacra*, I (1948), 299–324.

Antonio Ubieto Arteta, *Historia de Aragón: la formación territorial*, Zaragoza: Anúbar, 1981.

al-Udhrī, *Fragmentos geográfico-históricos de al-Masalik*, ed. ‘Abd al-Aziz al-Ahwani, Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Islámicos, 1965.

Dominique Urvoy, ‘Les Aspects symboliques du vocable “Mozarabe”, essai de réinterpretation’, *Studia Islamica,* LXXVII (1993), 117–53.

Dominique Urvoy, ‘The Christological Consequences of Muslim-Christian Confrontation in Eighth-Century Spain’, in *The Formation of Al-Andalus*, Part 2, eds Marbel Fierro and Julio Samsó, *The Formation of the Classical Islamic World*, Vol. 47, Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998, pp. 37–48; the article was originally published in French in 1997.

Luis G[arcía] de Valdeavellano, *Historia de España: De los orígenes a la Baja Edad Media*, 4th edn, Part I, Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1968, Vol. I.

Luis G[arcía] de Valdeavellano, *Historia de España, I: De los orígenes a la Baja Edad Media*, 4th edn, Part II, Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1968.

G[arcía] de Valdeavellano, *Curso de historia de las instituciones españolas de los orígenes al final de la Edad Media*, Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1968.

Joaquín Vallvé, 'España en el siglo VIII: ejército y sociedad', *Al-Andalus*, 43 (1978), 51–112.

P.S. Van Koningsveld, 'Christian-Arabic Manuscripts from the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa: A Historical Interpretation', *al-Qanṭara*, XV (1994), 423–51.

Kees Versteegh, 'The Arab Presence in France and Switzerland in the 10th Century', *Arabica*, XXXVII (1990), 359–88.

María Jesús Viguera Molíns, 'The Muslim Settlement of Spania/Al-Andalus', in Manuela Marín, ed., *The Formation of al-Andalus*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998, pp. 13–38.

Ordericus Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of England and Normandy*, trans. Thomas Forester, London: Bohn, Vol. IV, 1856.

A.J. Wensinck, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edn, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978, Vol. IV, pp. 994–7.

B. and E. M. Whishaw, *Arabic Spain: Sidelights on her History and Art*, London: Smith & Elder, 1912.

Kenneth Baxter Wolf, *Christian Martyrs in Muslim Spain*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Kenneth B. Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1990.

Roger Wright, *Late Latin and Early Romance in Spain and Carolingian France*, Liverpool: Francis Cairns, 1982.

David Wulstan, 'Boys and Drunkards; Hispano-Mauresque Influences on European Song?', in D. Agius and R. Hitchcock, eds, *The Arab Influence on Medieval Europe*, Reading: Ithaca, 1994, pp. 136–67.

Rodericus Ximenius de Rada, see Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada.

Bat Ye'or, *The Dhimmi. Jews and Christians under Islam*, London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1986.

This page intentionally left blank

Index

‘Abd al-Azīz 13–15,
‘Abd ar-Raḥmān I, ad-Dākhil 17, 25–6, 54
ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān II (822–52), 31–3, 36, 71, 124
ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān III an-Nāṣir (912–961) xv, 4, 25, 41–3, 45, 62
Abiahia, *tiracero* 72, 74
Abū Bakr b. ʿAlī (1126–38) 101
Adoptionist heresy 123–4
Adulfo, Abbot 70, 73
afāriq xvi
afranj xv–xvi
ahd 37
ahl adh-dhimma xii–xiii
ahl al-kitāb 108
Aḥmad b. Baqī, judge 38–9
Aḥmad b. Ziyād al-Lakhmī 35
‘ajam xii, xvi, 3, 4, 34, 36–8, 48–50
Alcalá, Pedro de xvi
Alcocer, Pedro de 83, 112–13, 118
Aldrete, Bernardo de 116
Alfaro 106
Alfonso, Abbot 60
Alfonso I of Asturias (739–57) 56–7
Alfonso I of Aragón 99–108
Alfonso III (866–910) 56–9
Alfonso V of León 69, 71
Alfonso VI of Castile xi, xix, 74, 75-80, 96, 112–13, 122, 124, 126–7
  wives, Agnes of Aquitaine 78
    Constance of Burgundy 78, 127
Alfonso VII 84, 87, 89–90, 94, 122
Alfonso VIII 89
Alhamen 86
Almería 71–2, 90, 123
Almohads 1, 91–2, 108
Almoravids 1, 85, 99–100, 102–4, 106, 108
Amaya 57
Anales Toledanos xx, 85, 101
Antonio, Nicolás 119, 121
Arabicization xvii–xix, 59–60, 64, 72–4, 91, 97, 103, 106, 116, 129
Arabs 2
Aragón 99, 104, 115
ʿArīb b. Saʿīd 48
Arié, Rachel 100
Armada expedition 121
Artobas 17, 25–6
Aslam b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, judge 37
As-Sayrafī 99, 101–3, 106–7
Astorga 54, 57
Asturias 57, 115, 123–4
Athanagildus 17

Baeza 90, 94
Banu Makhlad 38
Barcelona 100
Barrau-Dihigo L. 59
Beatus of Liébana 123
Berbers xvi, 1–3, 5, 14, 26, 54–5
Bermudo II 67
Bobastro xiv
Burgos 78, 110
  Council of 77
Burriel, Andrés Marcos 81, 90

Calendar of Córdoba, the 46, 48–9
Camino y Velasco, Pedro 81, 83
Casius, *comes* 17–19
Castile 76, 78, 96, 115, 126
Castilians 87–8, 95–6
Castro Alfonso de 111–12
Catalogus Haeriticorum 111
Celanova, Becerro de 56, 61, 65
Chalmeta, Pedro x, 12–22
Charlemagne 123–4
Chronicle of Albelda 56–8
Chronicle of Alfonso III 21, 22
Chronicle of 754 19–21
Cid, the 110, 123
Cisneros *see* Jiménez de Cisneros, Francisco, Cardinal
Cluniac Reform 77–8
Cluny 78–9, 83, 126

monks of 77
coinage in the Toledan region 93–4
Collins, Roger 20
comes, Arabic *qūmis* 25–6, 34
Constable, Olivia Remie 71, 76, 88–89
Córdoba xv–xviii, 2, 4, 26–7, 29–33, 35–6, 38, 42–3, 47–8, 51, 54, 60, 90, 99, 108, 117, 124–5
Covadonga, Battle of 9
Coyanca, concilio de 55
Cuenca 87

Damascus 18, 19
David, Pierre 58
Davidiz, Count Sisnando 77
Dexter, false chronicle of 119–20
dhimma status xiv, 100
dhimmī xii–xv, 4–6, 14, 16, 26, 27–8, 31, 43, 108, 125
Díaz-Jiménez y Molleda, Eloy 67–8
Dozy, Reinhart 54, 100

Écija 35
Egica 22
Egilona 13–14
Eliberri, Granada 47
Elipandus 123–4
Escalada, San Miguel de 60
Eugenius III Pope (1145–53), 89
Eulogius 27–30, 32–6, 60, 117, 124–5
The Saints' Memorial 27–9

faqīhs 100
fatwa 108
Felipe V 83,
Fernández Vallejo, Felipe, eighteenth-century historian 126
Fez 31, 104
Fontaine, Jacques xiv
Forester, Thomas 105
Francos 88, 91
Fraxinetum, present-day Garde-Freinet 41–2
Fuero general de Toledo 84–85
Fuero general granted by Alfonso I of Aragón 106
Fulda, monastery of 122

Galicia 62, 115, 124
Galicians 87, 95
G[arcía] de Valdeavellano, Luis 99–100
Garibay, Esteban de 113–14, 118
Gautier-Dalché, Jean 80, 93–94
Gerard of Cremona 49
Godoy Alcántara, José 121, 126–7
Gómez de Castro, Alvar 109–10
Gómez-Moreno, Manuel 55–7, 62, 64, 66, 70–71
González Palencia, Ángel 79, 86, 91, 95
Gonzálvez, Ramón 83–5, 96
Gospels in Arabic 50–51
Granada 99–100, 102–4, 110
Sacromente, 121
Gregory VII, Pope 78–9
Guadix 103
Guzmán, Gaspar de, Condeduque de Olivares 120

ḥājib 34
al-Ḥakam I 38
al-Ḥakam II (961–973) 5, 64
Handler, Andrew 101
Ḥasday b. Shaprūt xv, 43
Higuera *see* Román de la Higuera, Jerónimo
Hilal, abbot, also known as Salvatus 67–8, 70–71
Hinojosa, Eduardo 64, 74
Hispanic rite, also known as the [Hispano-] Gothic rite 77, 79
repeal of 78
Honorius II, Pope 86
Hugh, Abbot of Cluny 78
Huici Miranda, Ambrosio 102, 105

Ibn al-Khaṭīb 99
Ibn al-Qallas 101–4, 108
Ibn Antoniān, *comes* 31–2, 34
Ibn Ḥayyān 3, 34, 38
Ibn Ḥazm xvi
Ibn ʿIdhārī 18
Ibn Khaldūn xv
Ibn Mardānish 94
Ibn Martīn, also known as Martīn al-Mustaʿrab 92-3
Ibn al-Qūṭiyya 25
Isaac 29–30
Isḥāq b. Balashq 50

Jews xiii, 4, 6, 12, 45, 91, 108, 111, 115
jihād 7–8
Jiménez de Cisneros, Francisco, Cardinal, 109–10, 114

Jiménez de Rada, Archbishop Rodrigo xx, 78, 95–6, 118, 126
jizya xii–xiii, 16, 18
John, Bishop of Córdoba 43–5
John of Gorze, Abbot 42–6
John of Saint Arnulf, Abbot 43, 46

kātib 29, 32, 35, 51, 101
Kendrick, Thomas D. 120
kharaj xii
al-Khushnī xii 33–9

Lacarra, J. M. 107
Lagardère, Vincent 103–4
Lampader, Melendo, mayor of Toledo 96
Leocritia 34
León xvii, xix, 41, 54–5, 57, 59, 66, 68, 71, 73–4, 76, 78, 129
Leonese 87, 95
libros plúmbeos 121
limpieza de sangre 114, 117–18, 121
Liutprand 42, 120
Livermore, H.V. 20, 26
López Estrada, Francisco 114
Luxenbourg, Bernard of 111–12

Madrid 81, 86
Málaga xiv, 101
Mālikite School of Law 31
Mallén 99
Mansūr, al- 68, 70, 72–3
Maqqarī, al- 71
Máqueda 86–7
Marrani 111
Martínez de Yepes, Alfonso, Mozarabic chaplain 110
Martz, Linda 121
maurus 65
mawāli 3, 4
mawlā 35
Mayáns y Síscar, Gregorio 119
Mediano, Fernando R. 53
Menéndez Pidal, R. 59
Meknes 104, 108
Meseguer Fernández, Juan 110
Metrárabe 116
Millet-Gérard, Dominique x
Mistárabes, Misti Arabes, mixtiarabes xx, 96, 110, 116–18
Molénat, Jean-Pierre 79–80, 90, 92
'mopsarabes' 112
Moriscos 51, 101, 121
Mozarab ix–xii, xvii–xx, 1, 48, 50–51, 69, 72, 73, 75–6, 79–80, 82, 87–8, 105–7, 112–13, 125, 128
  Mozarabs in Aragón 106–7
  Mozarabs of Granada 99–100, 106
  Mozarabs of Málaga 101
  Mozarabs of Mallén 107
  Mozarabs of Toledo 82–4, 86, 89–91, 94–7, 109–13, 117–19, 123–4, 126–7
  Mozarabic families xx, 109–10, 122, 124–5
  Mozarabic art and architecture xvii
  Mozarabic chapel 109, 113–14, 117–18
  Mozarabic churches 88, 113–14
  Mozarabic culture xvii
  Mozarabic dialect xvii, xix
  Mozarabic liturgy xviii, 90, 109, 127
  Mozarabic Mass 109, 117
  Mozarabic missal 126
  Mozarabic rite 83, 109, 111, 122, 127
Mozarabism xi, 53, 69, 75–6
mu'āhid 4, 101
  mu'āhidūn of Granada 102–4, 106–8
Muccaravi, Dominico 74
  muceravii 105–6
Mudéjars 115
Muḥammad, the Prophet 30, 62
Muḥammad I, *amīr* 31–5
muḥtasib 32

Muñoz, y Romero, Tomás 81, 87–8
Murcia 14, 103
Mūsā b. Nusayr 10, 17–19, 21, 113–14, 118
musālimūn xvi, 4
mushrikūn xii
Muslim pirates 41, 47
Muslims of Granada 110
Musta'rab as a proper name 92–4
musta'raba, *musta'riba* x, xvii, 112, 116
musta'ribūn xviii, 31, 37
  Carta Mustarabum 80–84, 86
muwalladūn xi, 2–4, 25, 30, 37
Muza arabes 113–14, 118
muzaraves de rex tiraceros xix, 71–4

naṣārā 101
  an-naṣārā al-mu'āhidūn 107–8
  of Córdoba 44, 49, 74
nasrānī xvi, 4, 5, 31, 34
Nasraní, a Christian 38

Navarra 41, 115
New Christians 115
non-Arab Muslims 4, 26, 55
Nuño, Bishop of León (1007–26) 74

Olías 92
Olivares *see* Guzmán, Gaspar de, Condeduque de
Olstein Diego 86
Oppa 21–2
Ordericus Vitalis 99, 104–6
Ordoño I (850–66) 57–8
Orense 56, 59
Ortiz, Blas, Canon of Toledo Cathedral 114
Otto I, Emperor (938–73) 41–3, 45, 47

Palomares, calligrapher 81
Pascual, Bishop of Toledo 123
Pastor Togneri, Reyna 79–80, 84–5
Paul Alvar 33–6, 124
Pelayo 9–10, 21, 22
Pellat, Charles 48–9
Pérez, Julián , false chronicle of 120–27
Perfectus, presbyter and martyr 27–8, 30
Philip II 111–14, 117–19, 127
Pisa, Francisco de 23, 88–9, 117–18
Pons Boigues, Francisco 91
portazgo 88–9

qāḍī 32, 108
Qāḍīr, al-, ruler of Toledo 75, 77
Qayrawān xii
Qur'ān 50,

Rabiʿ Ibn Zayd al-usquf 48
Raimundo, archbishop of Toledo 90–91
Ramírez de Prado, Lorenzo 120, 122
Reccafred, Archbishop of Seville 32, 124
Recemundo 46–9
'Reconquest' 58
Ribera, Julián 33, 36
Rivera Recio, Juan Francisco 85–6, 89
Robert, monk, appointed abbot of Sahagún 78
Roderic 13–14, 20–22, 115–16
Rojas, Pedro de, Conde de Mora 120
Román de la Higuera, Jerónimo 119–23, 125, 127
Roman rite 76–9
Rome 21, 123
    Fourth Lateran Council 96
Rosendo, San 65–6
rūm xvi 102, 108
    rūm al-baladiyyūn 103

Sahagún 60–61, 66, 68, 78
Sancho II of Castile (1065–1072) 75, 78
Saʿīd Sulaymān b. Aswad, Judge 32–4
St Evroult 105–6
Salucio, Agustín 114–17
Santa Eulalia, Mozarabic church 110
Santa Justa, church of 122–3, 127
Santa María de Melque xiv
Santa Olalla 87
Saul, Bishop of Córdoba 32
Sédirac, Bernard of, Archbishop of Toledo 78–9, 86, 122–4
Serjeant, R. B. 71
Shaban, M. A. ix
shuʿubiyya 4
silks 71—3
Simancas
    archivist, Tomás González 81
Simonet, F. J. xi–xii, 1, 79
Sinderedus 20–21
Sisbert 21–2
slaves 15, 64–6
Sobrado, Santa María de, monastery
Spania, name to describe al-Andalus 57
Stern, S. M. xix,

Tábanos, monastery of 29
Talavera 86, 94
Talavera, Hernando de, Archbisop of Granada 110
Ṭāriq b. Ziyād 13, 17, 21–2, 113–14
Theodomirus 14–18
tila' 16
Toledo xi, xiv, xix, 20, 22, 50, 55, 74, 75–92, 94, 96, 109–14, 117, 119, 121, 123–5, 127
    Cathedral 94–5, 126
Tortosa 43
Tours, Battle of 8
Treaty of 713 14–17
Tudela 107
Tumbo Legionense 69
Tuy 57

Úbeda 90
Umayyad Caliphate xv, 41

Umayyad dynasty 2
Umayyad emirate xi, 25, 108
Urban II, Pope 79
ʿushr 89

Val de Mozárabes 94
Valdearcos 69–70, 73–4
Valdemuzárabes, Val de Mozárabes 94, 95
Valdesalce, San Ciprián de, monastery 66–70, 74
Valencia 75, 100, 103
valley of the Ebro 99
Vincente and Iohannes, *tiraceros* 72, 74
Viseu, siege of 70
Visigoths 3, 9, 11–14, 26, 82
Vizcaya 115

walī 10, 11
al-Walīd, Caliph 18-19
Wittiza 18, 20–23, 25

Ximénez de Rada *see* Jiménez de Rada,

Yanayr 36–7
Ye'or, Bat xii
Yūsuf b. Tashfīn 100

Zaccarias abba 61
zalmedina 83
Zamora, 55–56
Zaragoza 107