

**ANDALUSĪ CHRISTIANITY:**  
**The survival of indigenous Christian**  
**communities**

**Alwyn Harrison**

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**Volume I of II**

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This thesis comprises an attempt to re-evaluate the experience and the survival of the indigenous Christian population of al-Andalus. It is a response to two problematic aspects of the historiography, whose authority has only recently begun to be questioned: first, the inordinate focus upon the polemical and problematic mid-ninth-century Cordoban hagiography and apologetic of Eulogius and Paul Albar, whose prejudiced vision has not only been accepted as a source of social history, but also projected onto all Andalusī Christianity to support the second – the assertion that conversion happened early and *en masse*, and led to their eradication in the early twelfth century.

Eulogius and Albar’s account of a Córdoba oppressed and Christians persecuted (a trope herein dubbed the *ecclesia destituta*) has dominated thinking about the indigenous Christians of al-Andalus, due to its championing by Catholic historians since the texts’ rediscovery and publication in 1574, and by nineteenth-century Spanish nationalists to whose ideological and patriotic purposes it was amenable. The Cordobans’ account is here re-evaluated as regards its value as a historical artefact and its internal problems are outlined. The discrepancies between the picture created by Eulogius and Albar and that of other contemporary reports, and the problematic hagiography, are then explained to some degree by the literary models Eulogius had at his disposal – of primary interest are the classical pagan poetics of Vergil, Horace and Juvenal and the late antique theology of Augustine.

Albar’s famous despair at the Arabisation of the Christian youth has, in conjunction with Eulogius’ *ecclesia destituta* and the relative scarcity of documentary evidence for the Christians of Andalusī territory, formed the crux of assumptions regarding the speed and extent of Arabisation and conversion. In reassessing Richard Bulliet’s ‘curve of conversion’, which seemed on a faulty reading to prove these assumptions, the second part of the thesis seeks to argue that profound Arabisation did not impact until a century later than is thought and resulted not in assimilative decline but in a late cultural flowering, and show the long, and in many places unbroken, survival of indigenous Christian communities in al-Andalus to the early fifteenth century.

# CONTENTS

Introduction	10
Islam's arrival in the Iberian Peninsula	12
Mid-ninth-century Córdoba: martyrdom amid-the blossoming of Arabic-Islamic culture	16
Mozarabism	18
Arabic Christian designations	23
The place of indigenous Christianity in the historiography	24
(i) Ignored by the founding studies of Andalusī history	24
(ii) 'Mozarabs' briefly become a valid subject	27
(iii) Andalusī Christians once more sidelined in history of conquerors' culture	33
(iv) Andalusī Christians seen through Eulogius and his martyrs of Córdoba	35
(v) The debate over Arabisation and Islamisation	37
(vi) Focus returns to mozarabic studies	45

## PART I

### LATINATE CHRISTIANITY IN AL-ANDALUS

Chapter I. <i>The ecclesia destituta</i>	53
Eulogius (and Albar's) modern reception as historical source	54
Persecution of the individual	61
Destruction of church buildings	66

The burden of Visigothic sin	68
<i>Ecclesia fracta</i> : contemporary martyrdom rejected	73
Clergy imprisoned	82
Chapter II. Problems and internal contradictions in Eulogius' <i>ecclesia destituta</i>	85
Eulogius and Albar as unrepresentative witnesses	88
Chronology	91
Portrait of emir Muḥammad I	94
The relationship between historical truth and hagiographical persecution	96
Conflicting claims for 857: mass public martyr veneration during renewed persecution	99
No place for the miraculous?	102
Córdoba, seat of Latin learning	107
Eulogius' hagiography	111
External contradictions	117
Manuscript transmission and concluding comments	123
Chapter III. Eulogius' motivation and influences	129
Division and conflict in the <i>Dār al-Islām</i>	130
Apocalypticism in al-Andalus?	143
The rise of Arabic culture and the blurring of cultural boundaries	150
A war of words against Arabic culture: studying for a Latin renaissance	161
Chapter IV. The pagan classics on the Eastern Other: a framework for Christian apologetic and anti-Islamic polemic	174
<i>Oriens barbarus</i> : the Graeco-Roman image of the East	179
Christian-Muslim moral antithesis	190
Cordoban engagement with the classics	198
Conclusion	209
Chapter V. Eulogius' Cordoban hagiography: a Christian revival	212
The limited appeal of monumental Latin polemical tracts	212
Intercession and redemption	215
Christian unity around martyrial <i>exempla</i>	224
The martyr's <i>locus potentiae</i>	227
Hagiography as a means of culture-building	230
Augustinian influence in the Iberian Peninsula	233

Augustine's martyr: a Christian hero	238
Chapter VI. Inscriptions: a window into Latin literacy	250
Highs and lows of literary Latin to the eleventh century	255
Latin use in a ritual context into the thirteenth century	263

## PART II

### THE SURVIVAL OF ANDALUSĪ CHRISTIANITY

Chapter VII. Bulliet's Conversion Curve and its significance for the history of Andalusī Christianity	269
Bulliet's reception and problems with his methodology	273
An argument for reassessing indigenous Andalusī Christian survival in light of Bulliet's true import	277
Eastern <i>dhimmī</i> survival belies inevitability of mass conversion	283
Introduction to Part II	288
Chapter VIII. The Flourishing of Arabised Andalusī Christianity Part I: the Caliphate (929-c.1031)	296
Urban rebellion in Córdoba: post-Eulogian martyrdom	301
Christians of standing and influence in tenth-century society	304
Scriptural translation	311
Ḥafṣ al-Qūṭī and internal conflict over the Arabisation of Scripture	314
Ḥafṣ al-Qūṭī's Psalter	321
The <i>Calendar of Córdoba</i> : a Christian text?	326
Latin documentation after the Arabisation of Scripture	333
Chapter IX. The Flourishing of Arabised Andalusī Christianity Part II: the <i>taifa</i> kingdoms (c.1031-c.1086)	338
Christians serve <i>taifa</i> courts	339
Christian Arabic verse	346
Religio-cultural boundaries: Christian influence still felt	351
Christian Conquests	358
<i>Gharb al-Andalus</i> : Coimbra, 1064	358

<i>Meseta central</i> : Toledo, 1085	360
<i>Sharq al-Andalus</i> : Valencia and Albarracín, 1094	362
Conclusion	368
Chapter X. An age of upheaval: Almoravids, Almohads and Naşrid Granada (c.1086-1492)	371
Indigenous Christians fade as holy war consumes the historical discourse	375
An age of Christian movement	379
Granada post-1126	391
Exiles in North Africa	394
North African exiles copy Arabic Scripture	398
North marches: Zaragoza, 1118	401
<i>Gharb al-Andalus</i> : Lisbon, 1147	404
Valencia, 1238	409
Murcia, 1243	411
Seville, 1248: <i>hisba</i> literature on Almoravid control of Christian population	412
Almohad conquest of Seville	417
<i>Gharb al-Andalus</i> : the Church of the Crow	419
The swift end of Almohad control	421
Last potential sighting: Granada province, 1431	423
Conclusion	428
Appendices	
Appendix I: Albar's complaint in full	434
Appendix II: Inscriptions	440
Appendix III: The Calendar of Córdoba	499
Appendix IV: Lasting testament to Christian presence in Iberian toponymy	503
Bibliography	506

## **ADDITIONAL MATERIALS**

Graphs	596
Map: Christian inscriptions and manuscript production of al-Andalus	498



## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>CSEL</i>	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i>
C.S.I.C.	Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas
<i>CSM</i>	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Muzarabicorum</i>
CUP	Cambridge University Press
<i>MGH</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>
OUP	Oxford University Press
<i>PG</i>	<i>Patrologia Graeca</i>
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologia Latina</i>
<i>PMH</i>	<i>Portugaliae Monumenta Historica</i>
SUNY	State University of New York Press

## INTRODUCTION

A century after its first revelation, and 80 years after the Prophet Muḥammad's death, according to traditional chronology, Islam had spread westward along the entire North African littoral to the Iberian Peninsula. By around 701, the Umayyad Caliphate had conquered the regions of modern Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco and the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik (685-705) had the indigenous Berbers of this region brought into the fold of the *Dār al-Islām*<sup>1</sup> by enforced, and in all likelihood only nominal, conversion.<sup>2</sup> A decade later, the caliph's generals – their numbers swelled with these Berber converts – turned their attention toward the Iberian Peninsula, home of the Visigoths, which Arabic writers knew as *al-Andalus*.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Dār al-Islām* (دار الاسلام): 'The House of Islam', or 'House of Peace'.

<sup>2</sup> The Berbers' conversion was probably only nominal, for according to several traditions recorded by Arabic chroniclers both roughly contemporary and much later, the North African resisted and would continue to resist Islam. See: Julien, Charles-André, *L'Afrique du Nord en marche: nationalismes musulmans et souveraineté française* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Paris: Julliard, 1952), 1ff; Abun-Nasr, Jamil M., *A History of the Maghrib in the Islamic Period* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Cambridge: CUP, 2003); Galmés de Fuentes, Álvaro, 'La arabización de Al-Ándalus: sus oscuros orígenes', *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 199 (2002), 18.

<sup>3</sup> The origins of the name *al-Andalus* are unclear, and various parties both ancient and modern have proposed derivations from the Vandals who passed through the peninsula between 409 and 429, and from the neighbouring Atlantic. The seventeenth-century Algerian chronicler al-Maqqarī (c.1591-1632) offers a helpful summary of the various theories:

قال ابن سعيد: إنما سميت بالأندلس بن طوبال بن يافث بن نوح، لأنه نزلها، كما أن أخاه سبت بن يافث نزل العدو المقابلة لها، وإليه تنسب سبته... وقال ابن غالب: إنه أندلس بن يافث، والله تعالى أعلم... قال أبو بكر عبد الله بن عبد الحكم... قال: وأول من سكن بالأندلس على قديم الأيام... قوم يعرفون بالأندلس بمعجمة الشين

Ibn Sa'īd said that it is named after al-Andalus, son of Tūbāl, son of Yāfeth, son of Nūh [Noah], who settled there just as his brother Sebt, son of Yāfeth, settled the opposite shore and gave his name to Sebtah [Ceuta]... Ibn Ghālib said that this Andalus was the

One initial point – which may appear trivial but is worth making for it is of cardinal importance to the second part of the present work, and will be reiterated there – is that the Arabic term *al-Andalus* signified the Iberian Peninsula as a whole, a geographical entity, not a religious or political one. This is made clear by geographical works produced in the peninsula and in the Maghreb: in the twelfth-century Moroccan al-Idrīsī’s (1100-65) *Kitāb nuzhat al-mushtāq fī ikhtirāq al-āfāq* (*An Excursion for the Man who Yearns to Traverse the Horizons*)<sup>4</sup> and al-Ḥimyarī’s fifteenth-century *Kitāb al-rawḍ al-mi’tār fī khabar al-aqtār* (*The Book of the Fragrant Garden in the Report of the Regions*)<sup>5</sup> both describe cities taken by the Christian North as cities of al-Andalus, regardless of whether they were of Christian or Muslim foundation; in the mid-tenth

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son of Yāfeth, but God knows best... Abū Bakr ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam said that the first to settle in al-Andalus in ancient times... was a tribe known as al-Andalush with a *sh*

(*Nafḥ al-ṭīb min ghuṣn al-Andalus al-raṭīb* edited in ten volumes by Muḥammad Muḥyā al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī, undated edition), 124... 129-30; Pascual de Gayangos published selections of this vast work in English in two volumes under the title *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain* (London: Oriental Translation Fund, 1840), I.17, though his translation bears only a casual resemblance to the text). The link to Noah is also found in the fifteenth-century anonymous *Dhikr bilād al-Andalus* (edited and translated into Castilian by Luis Molina under the title *Una descripción anónima de al-Andalus* (Madrid: C.S.I.C., Instituto ‘Miguel Asín’, 1983), I.81). Al-Maqqarī’s source may be al-Rāzī, or al-Ḥimyarī, who quotes him on the matter:

قال الرازي: أول من سكن الأندلس بعد الطوفان على ما يذكره علماء عجمها قوم يعرفون بالأندلس بشين معجمة بهم سمي البلد ثم عرب، وكانوا أهل تمجس

al-Rāzī said: ‘The first men who inhabited al-Andalus after the Flood were, according to the learned Christians of the country, a people known by the name the *Andalush* with a letter *shīn*, whence [comes] the country’s Arabic name. They were a people who practiced paganism’

(*Rawḍ al-mi’tār fī khabar al-aqtār* edited by Iḥsān ‘Abbās (Beirut: Maktaba Lubnān/ Librairie du Liban, 1975), 33. Gayangos, in his edition of al-Maqqarī, identifies this barbarian tribe as the Vandals, identifying the word *Andalush* as ‘a corruption for *Vandalocii*, as we find the Vandals were called’ (*History of the Mohammedan Dynasties*, 312n5). Lévi-Provençal does likewise in his annotated edition of al-Ḥimyarī’s *Rawḍ al-mi’tār*:

Puis on l’appela al-Andalus (Andalousie), du nom d’al-Andalīš (les Vandales), qui vinrent s’y fixer

(*La péninsule ibérique au Moyen-Âge: d’après le kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi’tār fī habar al-aqtār. Texte arabe des notices relatives à l’Espagne, au Portugal et au Sud-Ouest de la France* (Leiden: Brill, 1938), 4). On the Vandals’ chronology, see: Carr, Karen Eva, *Vandals to Visigoths: Rural Settlement Patterns in Early Medieval Spain* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), 25-7. For further discussion of the etymologies above, see: Bossong, Georg, ‘Der Name *al-Andalus*: neue Überlegungen zu einem alten Problem’ in *Sounds and Systems: Studies in Structure and Change* edited by David Reste and Dietmar Zaefferer (The Hague: Mouton de Gruyter, 2002), 149-64; Dozy, *Recherches sur l’histoire et la littérature des Arabes d’Espagne pendant le Moyen Âge* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Leiden: Brill, 1860), I.310-11; Halm, H., ‘Al-Andalus und Gothica Sors’, *Welt des Orients* 66 (1989), 252-263; Vallvé Bermejo, Joaquín, ‘El nombre de al-Andalus’, *Al-Qanṭara: Revista de estudios árabes* 4 (1983), 301-55, *La división territorial de la España musulmana* (Madrid: CSIC, 1986), 17, and ‘Etnografía y toponimia de al-Andalus: atlantes, árabes y bárbaros’ in *Le patrimoine commun hispano-mauresque. Grenade 21-23 avril 1992* (Rabat: l’Académie du Royaume du Maroc, 1993), 137-51, reproduced in *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 192 (1995), 83-101; Wycichl, Werner, ‘Al-Andalus (sobre la historia de un nombre)’, *Al-Andalus* 17 (1952), 449-50.

<sup>4</sup> Al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-mushtāq fī ikhtirāq al-āfāq* uncredited editor (Beirut: ‘Ālam al-Kutub, 1989), II.535.

<sup>5</sup> Al-Ḥimyarī, *Rawḍ al-mi’tār*, 32-3.

century Ibn Ḥawqal envisaged al-Andalus as the whole peninsula minus the extreme Northwest, describing it as ‘a peninsula touching the very small provinces of Galicia and France’<sup>6</sup>. In the interests of clarity, however, *al-Andalus* shall be used here to designate Muslim-controlled territory.

### Islam’s arrival in the Iberian Peninsula

The late date of the earliest Arabic sources has left the chronology of the early Andalusī period hazy.<sup>7</sup> In terms of contemporary testimony there is nothing; the earliest extant is the chronicle *Kitāb al-tar’ikh* (*The Book of History*) produced by the jurist ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Ḥabīb (died 853).<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless it is generally held that, following a reconnaissance mission the previous year, the Moroccan Berber general Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād

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<sup>6</sup> Ibn Ḥawqal:

جزيرة تتصل بالبر الأصغر من جهة جليقيه وافرنيجه

(*Ṣurat al-Ard* unknown editor (Beirut: Dār Maktabat al-Hayāt, 1964), 65). In the following century we see the same idea in Ibn Sīda (died 1066), quoted by the *Dhikr bilād al-Andalus*:

قال ابن سيده : الأندلس بلد آخذ في عرض الاقليمين الخامس والسادس من البحر الشامي في

الجنوب إلى البحر المحيط في الشمال. وبها من الجبال سبعة وثمانون... والجبل الثاني هو الجبل

الحاجز بين الأندلس وافرنيجة وجليقية

Ibn Sīda said: al-Andalus is a land spanning the breadth of the fifth and sixth regions from the Syrian Sea [the Mediterranean] in the South to the [Atlantic] Ocean in the North. There are some 87 mountains... the second mountain [range] is that dividing al-Andalus from France and Galicia

(*Dhikr bilād al-Andalus*, 10).

<sup>7</sup> The debate over the value of late sources for the conquest narrative can be seen in microcosm in a comparison of two Anglophone historians. Roger Collins rejects the Arabic sources and compares them unfavourably with the Latin sources because of their late date and their lack of the historical rigour that is now a vital requirement – but was not in the nineteenth century when the modern field of Andalusī history was established. He writes: ‘With the Arab records of the conquest, fantasy... becomes the dominant feature. As literature this material is interesting, but not as anything else’ (*The Arab Conquest of Spain, 710-797* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), 34). Though there are contemporary Latin sources – the *Chronica Byzantina-Arabica* and *Chronica Muzarabica*, thought to have been written in 741 and 754 respectively, and hence also known as the *Chronicle of 741* and *Chronicle of 754*, respectively – it would be wrong to suggest that the Latin sources of early al-Andalus are any more trustworthy than the Arabic. Kennedy notes all these problems, and does not deny them, but argues that the approach of Andalusī historians to their sources – a matter of lengthy quotation patched together with interjections by each successive author – meant that earlier accounts, perhaps lost, were well and faithfully preserved in the later chronicles. See: Collins, *The Arab Conquest*, 1-5, 23-36; Kennedy, Hugh, *Muslim Spain and Portugal: A political history of al-Andalus* (New York: Longman, 1996), 6-9. On the later creativity of Islamic history, see Christys, Ann, ‘The History of Ibn Habib and Ethnogenesis in al-Andalus’ in *The Construction of Communities in the Early Middle Ages: Texts, Resources and Artefacts* edited by R. Corradini, M. Diesenberger, and H. Reimitz (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 323-48.

<sup>8</sup> See: Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-tar’ikh* edited with commentary by Jorge Aguadé as *Kitāb al-tar’ij* (*la historia*) (Madrid: C.S.I.C, Instituto de Cooperación con el Mundo Árabe, 1991). On the conquest and its chroniclers, see: Manzano Moreno, Eduardo, *Conquistadores, emires y califas: los Omeyyas y la formación de al-Andalus* (Barcelona: Crítica, S.L., 2006), 34ff.

of the Nafza tribe, accompanied by a force reputedly numbering between 7,000 and 17,000 men<sup>9</sup>, crossed the straits in 711 to land at the rock that legend has it bears his name – Gibraltar, ‘the Mountain of Ṭāriq’ from *jabal Ṭāriq* (جبل طارق). The governor of North Africa Mūsā bin Nuṣaīr and his son ‘Abd al-‘Azīz joined Ṭāriq either in 711 or in the following year to assume command of the army, and the conquest of the ailing Visigothic kingdom was swift. Within four years Mūsā’s campaign had established control of the vast majority of the peninsula as far north as Zaragoza<sup>10</sup>; only the mountainous Basque and Asturian regions withstood his advance, as they had those of previous Roman and Visigothic conquerors before him. In 717, Andalusī power broke from the Visigothic past, relocating the seat of power from Toledo to Córdoba, deep within conquered territory. In 756, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān I *al-Dākhil* (الداخل) or ‘the immigrant’ after his flight from Syria, proclaimed himself *amīr*<sup>11</sup> (emir) of Córdoba, and founded a western Umayyad Emirate to rival the Damascene Caliphate of the ‘Abbāsīd usurpers who had massacred his family.<sup>12</sup>

As in other regions conquered by Islamic forces, having signed an *amān*<sup>13</sup> and submitted to pay the *jizya*<sup>14</sup> poll-tax, the Visigoths were awarded the protection of the

<sup>9</sup> The *Dhikr bilād al-Andalus* numbers Ṭāriq’s troops at 12,700:

فجاز إليها في شهر رمضان المعظم من سنة ٩٢ للهجرة في جيش من اثني عشر ألف مقاتل: عشرة  
آلاف من البربر وألفين من العرب وسبعمئة من السودان

And Ṭāriq crossed in the glorious month of *Ramaḍān* in the year 92 after the *Hijra*, with an army of 12,000 warriors: 10,000 Berbers, 2,000 Arabs, and 700 from Sudan

(*Dhikr bilād*.I, 98). Ibn Qutaība claims 70,000 men (سبعين ألف); the anonymous late-twelfth century compilation *Faṭḥ al-Andalus* reports ‘13,000 men, Arab and Berber’ (ثلاثة عشر ألفا بين عرب وبربر). See: *Faṭḥ al-Andalus*, edited by Luis Molina under the title *Faṭḥ al-Andalus (La conquista de al-Andalus)* (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1994), 16; Ibn Qutaība, *al-Imāma wa al-Siyāsa* edited by Ṭāhā Muḥammad al-Zaīnī (Beirut: Mu’assasat al-Ḥalabī, 1967), I.60.

<sup>10</sup> Al-Ḥimyarī writes that the conquest was complete in or before 715:

وافتتحت الأندلس في أيام الوليد بن عبد الملك

al-Andalus was conquered in the days of al-Walīd ibn ‘Abd al-Malik [Caliph al-Walīd, 668-715]

(*Kitāb al-rawḍ al-mi‘ṭār*, 35).

<sup>11</sup> *Amīr* (أمير): a military title equivalent to general or the political office of governor.

<sup>12</sup> On the Umayyad-Abbāsīd conflict, see: *E.J. Brill’s First Encyclopaedia of Islam Volume I: A-BĀBĀ BEG* edited by Martijn Theodoor Houtsma (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 14; Bosworth, Clifford Edmund, *The New Islamic Dynasties: A Chronological and Genealogical Manual* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), 6-10; Kennedy, Hugh, *The Early Abbasid Caliphate: A Political History* (London: Croom Helm, 1986); Lapidus, Ira Marvin, *A History of Islamic Societies* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Cambridge: CUP, 2002), 56ff.

<sup>13</sup> *Amān* (أمان): ‘treaty or assurance of protection’.

<sup>14</sup> *Jizya* (جزية): a head tax levied on non-Muslims in the *Dār al-Islām*.

*dhimma*<sup>15</sup> and *dhimmī*<sup>16</sup> status, which granted them a great deal of autonomy in return for respect of Islam as a religion and a political power.<sup>17</sup> In theory Islam recognised the dignity of Christians and Jews – collectively known as the *ahl al-kitāb*<sup>18</sup> (People of the Book) or the *ahl al-dhimma* (People of the Covenant) – at least of those who recognised Islam’s dignity and respected the terms of the *dhimma*.<sup>19</sup> In practice, this principle was not always adhered to – Eulogius would have us believe that it certainly was not upheld by the Western Emirate in the mid-ninth century, though it would be closer to the truth to say that Eulogius presents the emir Muḥammad I rigidly if over zealously pursuing his duty to the *dhimma* – but is evident in the terms agreed between Theodemir of Murcia and ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Mūsā in April 713 which were recorded on both sides by the anonymous mid-eighth-century *Chronica Muzarabica* and the late twelfth-century

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<sup>15</sup> *Dhimma* (ذمة): ‘(covenant of) protection, inviolability’.

<sup>16</sup> *Dhimmī* (ذمي): ‘one who benefits from the protection of the *dhimma*’.

<sup>17</sup> The Tunisian scholar Mohamed Tahar Mansouri offers a nuanced understanding of the *dhimma* as a contract of allegiance to the ruler, not one between *dhimmī* community and greater Muslim society:

*Le contrat de la dhimma n’étant pas social mais politique, les liens ne sont pas des liens entre la société majoritaire et la communauté dhimmie mais entre celle-ci et les représentants du pouvoir. Cette relation directe entre le pouvoir politico-religieux et la communauté des non-musulmans a permis... la possibilité d’exercer des fonctions civiles de haut niveau*

Since the *dhimma* contract is not social but political, the ties are not ties between the majority society and the *dhimmī* community, but between this latter and the representatives of power. This direct relationship between political-religious power and the community of non-Muslims permitted... the possibility of holding civil offices at high levels

(*Du voile et du zunnâr: Du code vestimentaire en pays d’Islam* (Tunis: l’Imprimerie SIMPACT, 2007), 113). On the freedoms conferred by the *dhimma*, see, among others: Catlos, Brian A., *The Victors and the Vanquished: Christians and Muslims of Catalonia and Aragon, 1050-1300* (Cambridge: CUP, 2004), 24. Also: Imamuddin, S.M., *Muslim Spain 711-1492 A.D.: A Sociological Study* (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 26f.

<sup>18</sup> *Ahl al-kitāb* (أهل الكتاب): ‘the People of the Book’, meaning the people of the pre-Islamic Abrahamic religions, chiefly Judaism and Christianity but also extended to include Manichaeans and later Zoroastrians, Sabaeans, Hindus, and Buddhists, in possession of scriptures. These groups automatically qualified for the protected position of *dhimmī* if they reached terms of surrender with their conquerors. On the extension of the *dhimma* to non-Abrahamic adherents, see: *Israel Oriental Studies XVII. Dhimmis and Others: Jews and Christians and the World of Classical Islam* edited by Uri Rubin and David J. Wasserstein (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1997), 129; Friedmann, Yohanan, *Tolerance and Coercion in Islam: Interfaith Relations in the Muslim Tradition* (Cambridge: CUP, 2003), 72-9.

<sup>19</sup> Louay Safi writes:

early jurists recognized that non-Muslims who have entered into a peace covenant with Muslims are entitled to full religious freedom, and equal protection of the law as far as their rights to personal safety and property are concerned... Similarly, early Muslim jurists recognized the right of non-Muslims to self-determination, and awarded them full moral and legal autonomy in the villages and towns under their control. Therefore, al-Shaybani [Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan, a greatly respected eighth-century Iraqi *imām*], the author of the most authoritative work on non-Muslim rights, insists that Christians who have entered into a peace covenant... have all the freedom to trade in wine and pork in their towns, even though such practice is considered immoral and illegal among Muslims

(*Tensions and Transitions in the Muslim World* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2003), 113).



*Kitāb bughyāt al-multamis fī tā'rīkh rijāl ahl al-Andalus* of al-Ḍabbī.<sup>20</sup> There is no way of verifying whether Theodemir's treaty is representative, however, as it is the only specimen extant. The Latin source, despite being 'the one account that is effectively contemporary'<sup>21</sup>, gives little detail of Theodemir's relations with the Muslims, and no specifics of their arrangement:

Theodemir... was found by the emir of the faithful to be more prudent than the others, and he was respected... and thus he remained secure so that the strength of these bonds were in no way dissolved by the successors of the Arabs<sup>22</sup>

This situation is redressed by al-Ḍabbī's copy of what purports to be the actual agreement met, but its late date renders this unlikely:

[Theodemir and his people] will not be coerced regarding their religion, their churches will not burn, nor will sacred objects be taken from his estate, [as long as] he remains sincere and fulfils the conditions that we have set for him. He has agreed a settlement concerning seven towns: Ūrīwāla [Orihuela], Balantala [Valentilla], Laqant [Alicante], Mūlah [Mula], Baqasrah [Bigastro], Ayyah [Ello], and Lūrqa [Lorca]... He and his men shall also pay one *dīnār* every year, together with four *mudd*<sup>23</sup> of wheat, four *mudd* of barley, four *qisṭ*<sup>24</sup> of concentrated fruit juice, four *qisṭ* of vinegar, four of honey, and four of olive oil<sup>25</sup>

<sup>20</sup> For dating, see also: Collins, *The Arab Conquest*, 39-41.

<sup>21</sup> Collins, *The Arab Conquest*, 26.

<sup>22</sup> *Chronica Muzarabica*.47.1-12:

*Theudimer... qui et apud Amir Almuminim prudentior inter ceteros inuentus hutiliter est honoratus... sicque hactenus permanet stabilitus, ut nullatenus a successoribus Arabum tante uim proligationis soluatur*

(*Corpus Scriptorum Muzarabicorum* (henceforth CSM) edited by Juan Gil Fernández (Madrid: Instituto Antonio de Nebrija, 1973), 1:34).

<sup>23</sup> *Mudd*, مَدَّ (plural امداد, *amdād*): a dry measure varying across the Arabic world: 18 litres in modern Palestine, but 46.6 litres in modern Tunisia (*The Hans Wehr Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic* edited by J.M. Cowan (Ithaca: Spoken Language Services, 1976), *ad loc.*)

<sup>24</sup> *Qisṭ*, قِسْطٌ, (plural اقساط, *aqṣāṭ*): an ill-defined 'share, instalment, measure, quantity', varying in value across the *Dār al-Islām* between roughly one and six litres. See: Gil, Moshe, 'Additions to *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*' in *Occident and Orient: A tribute to the memory of Alexander Scheiber* edited by Robert Dán (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988), 168; Hinz, W., *Islamische Masse und Gewichte* (Leiden: Brill, 1955), 50; Robinson, Chase F., *Empire and Elites After the Muslim Conquest: The Transformation of Northern Mesopotamia* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000), 2n6.

<sup>25</sup> Al-Ḍabbī:

ولا يكرهوا على دينهم، ولا تحرق كنائسهم، ولا ينزع عن ملكه ما تعبد ونصح وأدى الذى  
اشترطنا عليه وأنه صالح على سبع مدائن: أوريوالة، وبلنتلة، ولقنت، وموله، وبقسره، وأية  
ولورقة، وأنه لا لنا عدواً، ولا يخيف لنا امنا، ولا يكتم خبر عدو علمه، وأن عليه وعلى أصحابه  
دينارا كل سنة، وأربعة أمداد قمح وأربعة أمداد شعير، وأربع أقساط طلاء و أربع أقساط خل  
وقسطى زيت

(*Bughyāt al-multamis fī tā'rīkh rijāl ahl al-Andalus* unknown editor (Cairo: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1967), 274). The fact that the Egyptian al-Ḍabbī was separated from his subject by four centuries and thousands of miles does beg the question whether his version of the treaty represents eighth-century

## Mid-ninth-century Córdoba: martyrdom amid the blossoming of Arabic-Islamic culture

After ‘Abd al-Raḥmān’s declaration of a Western Emirate, Córdoba was seen as a safe haven from the ‘Abbāsids and saw an influx of immigrants from the Muslim East and, in the reign of his namesake and indirect successor ‘Abd al-Raḥmān II (822-52), the city became a cultural centre to rival all others in the *Dār al-Islām*. Scholars, musicians, and poets flocked to al-Andalus to enjoy the emir’s patronage, bringing with them the luxuries and high Arabic culture of the East.<sup>26</sup> It was in this newly-burgeoning Islamic milieu, during the reigns of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān II and his son Muḥammad I (852-66), that a priest of the Basilica of St Zoilus by name of Eulogius claimed and glorified 46 martyrs between 851 and 857; his work, along with that of his lay associate Paul Albar is the focus of the first part of the present work. Eulogius’ own death, along with Leocritia, a young fugitive he had harboured, 11 March 859, brought the ‘Martyrs of Córdoba’ to a total of 48.

Eulogius set down his *passiones* chronologically in the three-volume *Memoriale Sanctorum*<sup>27</sup>, apparently written piecemeal between 851 and 856.<sup>28</sup> It purports to be a chronicle of Christian experience in Córdoba, and thus offers a compelling view of the emiral capital in the early 850s. What Eulogius presents is a gross oppression of the Church (the laity does not figure in the role of victim), or rather a defence of his claim for oppression, for the two other works that survive, the *Documentum Martyriale*<sup>29</sup> and *Liber Apologeticus Martyrum*<sup>30</sup>, are, as their titles indicate, essentially a concerted defence of contemporary martyrdom. The *Documentum Martyriale*, ostensibly written in the second half of 851<sup>31</sup> to fortify imprisoned confessors Flora and Maria in their resolve to face and accept death – which they met, according to Eulogius, on 24

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Andalusī terms or eleventh-century Egyptian laws regarding *dhimmī*. See also the account of the *Crónica del Moro Rasis* in Gayangos, ‘Memoria sobre la autenticidad de la Crónica denominada del Moro Rasis’ (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1852), 79.

<sup>26</sup> Imamuddin, *Muslim Spain*, 142-3, 183-4, 171; Makki, Mahmoud, ‘The Political History of al-Andalus (92/ 711-897/ 1492)’ in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain* edited by Salma Khadra Jayyusi (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 24-7, and Wright, Owen, ‘Music in Islamic Spain’ also in *Legacy of Muslim Spain*, 556ff; Tolan, John Victor, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 71-104.

<sup>27</sup> CSM 2:363-459. Gil’s edition is used throughout the present work, but the *Memoriale Sanctorum* was previously published in a nineteenth-century edition by Jacques-Paul Migne in *Patrologia Latina* (PL) 115, col.731-818C.

<sup>28</sup> Millet-Gérard, Dominique, *Chrétiens mozarabes et culture islamique dans l’Espagne des VIII<sup>e</sup>-IX<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1984), 15.

<sup>29</sup> CSM 2:459-75; also PL 115, col.819-34.

<sup>30</sup> CSM 2:475-95.

<sup>31</sup> On the dating of the *Documentum Martyriale*, see: Menéndez Pidal, Gonzalo ‘Mozárabes y asturianos en la cultura de la Alta Edad Media: en relación especial con la historia de los conocimientos geográficos’, *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 143 (1945), 160; Millet-Gérard, *Chrétiens mozarabes et culture islamique*, 15.



November 851<sup>32</sup> – presents martyrdom as something necessary and glorious in that time and place. The *Liber Apologeticus Martyrum*, written in or after 857<sup>33</sup>, is more straightforwardly a defence of martyrdom and a meditation on its significance in the Christian order.

Eulogius did not work alone; he exchanged several letters with the lay man Paul Albar who wrote his biography (the *Vita Eulogii*<sup>34</sup>, whence comes the notice of Leocritia’s martyrdom), and the *Indiculus Luminosus*<sup>35</sup> of 854<sup>36</sup>, which rails against Islam. The various letters of both men add further insight into the diurnal reality and the thoughts of Córdoba’s clerical and lay Christian elite. The image of persecution and martyrdom crafted by these two men has exerted great influence on posterity’s perception of Andalusī Christianity as oppressed victim and Andalusī Islam as persecutor. As Roger Wright recently put it:

Our modern view of the Christians living in Al-Andalus has naturally been highly coloured by the extensive writings of Álvaro and Eulogio, and by the Cordoban martyrs of the 850s... Well over half the pages of the two large volumes of Christian writings from Muslim Spain, as edited by Juan Gil, are by these two writers, Eulogio and Álvaro, and it is difficult for us not to be impressed by them<sup>37</sup>

In a field boasting a relatively tiny corpus of data, the words of Eulogius and Albar have encouraged the assumption that Arabisation and conversion to Islam was swift and *en masse* despite the wealth of evidence to the contrary, deeply fragmented and scattered as it may be after the ninth century – which will be addressed in Part II.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Eulogius:

*illae octauo Kalendarum Decembris martyrium consummantes*

(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.II.8.16.5-6, CSM 2:415).

<sup>33</sup> Millet-Gérard, *Chrétiens mozarabes et culture islamique*, 15.

<sup>34</sup> CSM 1:330-43; PL 115, col.705-24A.

<sup>35</sup> CSM 1:270-315; PL 121, col.513-56B.

<sup>36</sup> Albar refers to 854 as the present year, the Era 892:

*hoc incarnationis Domini anno octingentesimo quinquagesimo quarto, et aera quae currit octingentesima nonagesima secunda*

this year of the Lord’s incarnation 854, Era 892

(*Indiculus Luminosus*.21.63-4, CSM 1:294-5). See also: Millet-Gérard, *Chrétiens mozarabes et culture islamique*, 15. On the Spanish Era, see: Levi della Vida, Giorgio, ‘The “Bronze Era” in Moslem Spain’, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 63 (1943), 183-90, reproduced in *Note di storia letteraria arabo-ispánica* edited by Maria Nallino (Rome: Istituto per l’Oriente, 1971), 109-22.

<sup>37</sup> Wright, ‘Language and religion in early medieval Spain’ in *Language of Religion – Language of the People: Medieval Judaism, Christianity and Islam* edited by Michael Richter and David Wasserstein (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2006), 122.

<sup>38</sup> Thomas F. Glick writes:

The easy conquest of the peninsula is generally assumed by historians to have been followed by a rapid Islamization of the indigenous population, although the evidence for such an assertion is wholly inferential

(*Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 33). Dominique Millet-Gérard regards Albar’s *Indiculus Luminosus* as ‘a real cry of alarm, almost a swan-song of that period’s Christian culture’:

*véritable cri d’alarme, presque chant du cygne de la culture chrétienne de l’époque*

## Mozarabism

Before going further, one must deal with some important terminological matters. It is nigh on impossible to tackle the Andalusī period of medieval Iberia without chancing upon the controversial term rendered ‘Mozarab’ in English, and it is inadvisable to attempt to avoid it, though this present work is not, it must be stressed, a study of the Mozarabs.<sup>39</sup> The term’s original use was obscured by its anachronistic application to all Arabised Christians by Simonet – a practice that continues for the most part.<sup>40</sup> It is generally accepted, however, that the word rendered *muzaraue* or *muzarabe* in Old Castilian and Latin is derived from the Arabic *musta‘rib* (مستعرب) – the participle of the tenth form of the verb *a‘rab* (عرب) – defined by Hans Wehr as meaning ‘to assimilate oneself to the Arabs, become an Arab’<sup>41</sup>. This derivation is problematic though, since it is a feat of modern philology, based on no admissible evidence: for no Andalusī writer, Muslim or Christian, ever used it to designate the indigenous Christian in al-Andalus<sup>42</sup> –

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(*Chrétien mozarabes et culture islamique*, 49).

<sup>39</sup> For a detailed survey of the history of the term Mozarab, its proposed etymologies, and its usages in the last five centuries, see Dominique Urvoy’s ‘Les aspects symboliques du vocable « mozarabe »: essai de réinterprétation’, *Studia Islamica* 78 (1993), 117-153.

<sup>40</sup> Roger Wright notes the anachronistic general use to which Mozarab is still put (‘Bilingualism and diglossia in Medieval Iberia (350-1350)’ in *A Comparative History of Literatures in the Iberian Peninsula volume I* edited by Fernando Cabo Aseguinolaza, Anxo Abuín Gonzalez and César Domínguez (Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2010), I.337. Manuel Rincón Álvarez opens the first chapter of his recent book *Mozárabes y mozarabías* with the inaccurate pronouncement that:

*Los mozárabes fueron aquellos pobladores autóctonos peninsulares que, a la llegada de los musulmanes en el 711, decidieron permanecer en su tierra*

The Mozarabs were those indigenous peninsular people who decided to stay on their land at the Muslims’ arrival in 711

(*Mozárabes y mozarabías* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad, 2006), 15). Notable exceptions to the rule include Pedro Chalmeta who uses ‘Christian’ or the specific Arabic term, Ann Christys, who prefers ‘Christians of al-Andalus’, and Harold Livermore, who restricts his use of the term Mozarab to those who emigrated north. See: Chalmeta, ‘Mozarab’ in *The Encyclopedia of Islam volume VII* edited by Clifford Edmund Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs and Charles Pellat (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Leiden: Brill, 1993), 246-9; Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus (711-1000)* (Richmond: Curzon, 2002), 8; Livermore, H.V., *The Origins of Spain and Portugal* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1971), 377n1.

For a comprehensive, though now out of date, overview of Andalusī Christian/ mozarabic studies, see Cortabarría Beitia, A., ‘Les études mozarabes en Espagne’, *Mélanges de l’Institut Dominicain d’Études Orientales du Caire* 14 (1980), 5-74. See also Cyrille Aillet’s recent article outlining the history of the term Mozarab and its understanding and use by historians: ‘La question « mozarabe »: bilan historiographique et nouvelles approches’ in *Al-Andalus/ España. Historiografías en contraste: siglos XVII-XXI* edited by Manuela Marín (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2009), 295-324.

<sup>41</sup> *Hans Wehr Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, ad loc.; Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain: Identities and Influences* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), x; Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes: deducida de los mejores y más auténticos testimonios de los escritores cristianos y árabes* (Amsterdam: Oriental Press, 1967), xii.

<sup>42</sup> Simonet implicitly admits as much in his prologue (*Historia de los mozárabes*, xiii). See also: Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio, ‘Reflexiones sobre la cuestión mozárabes’, *Actas del I Congreso Nacional de Cultura Mozárabes (historia, arte, literatura, liturgia y música): Córdoba, 27 al 30 de abril de 1995* (Córdoba: Cajasur, 1996), 12.

though it was used thus to denote the non-Arab in the East.<sup>43</sup> It is a derivation probably informed to some extent by chronicler and Archbishop of Toledo (1209-47) Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada's pejorative derivation *mixti arabes*.<sup>44</sup>

The use of 'Mozarab' in the historical record is of little help in understanding its origin, but does clarify the proper sense of the word. 'Mozarabism' is strictly speaking a phenomenon of Castilian-Leonese (especially Toledan) and Aragonese provenance, and originally appears in the Latin documentation of migration and resettlement.<sup>45</sup> The Latin term *muzarabe* was therefore a means of categorising the people who professed Christianity but did so in the Arabic tongue, whose hybrid identity set them apart from both the *christiani latini* of the North and the *arabes infideles* of the South. The earliest extant use of the term is found in a Leonese document of March 1024 which makes reference to 'the king's three Mozarab tailors named Vincent, Abū Yaḥyā and John' (*muzaraues de rex tiraceros nominatis Vincente et Abiahia et Iohannes*)<sup>46</sup> who found

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<sup>43</sup> Though *muzarabe* is an exclusively Iberian phenomenon, *musta'rib* is an exclusively Eastern phenomenon, as is the cognate term and *muta'arrib* (متعرب), likewise meaning 'Arabised'. It can be found in the Eastern *Dār al-Islām*, particularly Egypt and the Arabian Peninsula. Genealogists of the latter use the terms with far greater specificity; they divide historical Arabian peninsular society into three camps: the true Arabs, or 'arab 'āriba (عرب عاربة), the nine tribes that claim descent from Aram, son of Shem, son of Noah – these tribes are the 'Ād, Thamūd, Umayyim, 'Abīl, Ṭasm, Jadīs, 'Imliq, Jurhum, and Wabār. The second group is labelled *muta'arriba*, and encompasses all those thought to be the descendents of the biblical Yaqtān (*Genesis* 10:25), the Banū Khaḥṭān (بنو خحطان) in Arabic, since they were not of true Arabian origin, but had settled in the peninsula and adopted the Arabic language. The third caste was the *musta'ariba*, the North Arabian tribes descended from Ishmael through Ma'add ibn 'Adnān, including the Prophet's own Banū Qurāish. See: *E.J. Brill's First Encyclopaedia of Islam (1913-1936) Volume VII: S-ṬAIBA* edited by Martijn Theodoor Houtsma, A.J. Wensinck, H.A.R. Gibb, W. Heffening, and E. Lévi-Provençal (Leiden: Brill, 1987), 771, 776.

<sup>44</sup> Ximénez de Rada:

*dicti sunt mixti Arabes, eo quod mixti Arabibus convivebant, quorum hodie apud nos  
nomen perseverat et genus  
because they lived mixed with the Arabs, and their name and race has persevered  
among us until today*

(*De Rebus Hispaniae*.III.22 in *Roderici Ximenii de Rada, Opera Omnia Pars I: De Rebus Hispaniae Sive Historia Gothica* edited by Juan Fernández Valverde (Turnhout: Brepols, 1987), 107.

<sup>45</sup> Diego Adrián Olstein offers a comprehensive investigation of Toledan mozarabism, see: *La era mozárabe: los mozárabes de Toledo (siglos XII y XIII) en la historiografía, las fuentes y la historia* (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad, 2006). On mozarabism in the North, see: Aguilar, Victoria, 'Onomástica de origen árabe en el reino de León (siglo X)', *Al-Qanṭara* 15.2 (1994), 351-63; Fernández Conde, Javier, 'The Mozarabs in the kingdom of León: 8<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> Centuries', *Studia Historica. Historia Medieval. Los mozárabes: entre la cristiandad y el islam* 27 (2009), 53-69; Sánchez Badiola, Juan José, 'Mozarabismo y poblamiento en el León altomedieval: el valle de Ardón' in *La península ibérica en torno al año 1000: VII congreso de estudios medievales* (León: Fundación Sánchez-Albornoz, 2001), 311-22. For an in-depth discussion of Arabised Christians in both Muslim south and Christian north, see: Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*. Simonet offers a survey of the term's use in the Latin and Castilian documentation (*Historia de los mozárabes*, ix-xvii).

<sup>46</sup> The term rendered here as *tiracero* comes from the Arabic *ṭirāz* (طراز) meaning 'embroidery, style, fashion'; thus 'weaver' would probably be an appropriate translation, though 'tailor' sounds more regal. There are two surviving copies of the document: the earlier, in Visigothic script, in the Cathedral of

themselves embroiled in a legal dispute with the monastery of San Ciprián of Valdesalce.<sup>47</sup> Between 1101 and 1174 we find *muzarabe* and variants in the *fueros* or charters of privilege granting rights and land to settlers coming to Castilian Toledo and Aragonese territory from the Muslim-controlled South.<sup>48</sup>

In the mid-twelfth century, the author of the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* applied *muzarabe* to Arabised Christian inhabitants of Muslim territory.<sup>49</sup> Following this lead, Alfonso X's *Estoria de España*, based in part upon Ximénez de Rada's *De Rebus Hispaniae*, does the same:

the Christians mixed with the Arabs had the name Mozarabs from then on because they lived around them, and this name and its lineage endures today among the Toledans<sup>50</sup>

Both *Estoria de España* and *De Rebus Hispaniae* explicitly apply the term to all southern Christians from the conquest on as well as those then living in Toledo. At this point, Toledan mozarabism was still alive, though not especially well. According to archdeacon Jofré de Loaysa, in 1285 Archbishop Gonzalo García Gudiel (1280-99) ordered the parish churches (*eglesias moçaraues*) of San Sebastián, San Torquato, and Santa Justa to observe the Hispanic rite that had been established in the newly-

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León's archives, number 918 (Zacarías García Villada, *Catálogo de los códices y documentos de la Catedral de León* (Madrid: Imprenta Clásica, 1919), 128). The latter is a late-twelfth century copy included in the *Tumbo Legionense* (f° 154r-v) and has been published by José Manuel Ruiz Asencio in *Colección documental del archivo de la Catedral de León (775-1230): tomo III (986-1031)* (León: C.S.I.C.-CECEL, 1987), 399, and by Manuel Gómez-Moreno in *Iglesias mozárabes: arte español de los siglos IX a XI* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1919), 117n1. Richard Hitchcock doubts whether these men should be called Christians or even Andalusī, and debates the point at length (*Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, 69-74).

<sup>47</sup> For further details on the documentation and the dispute itself, see: Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, 69-71.

<sup>48</sup> Besides Ruiz Asencio's *Colección documental*, see: *Los cartularios de Toledo: catálogo documental* edited with a detailed study by Francisco J. Hernández (Madrid: Fundación Ramón Areces, 1985); *Colección de fueros municipales y cartas pueblas de los reinos de Castilla, León, corona de Aragón y Navarra* edited by Tomás Muñoz y Romero (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1970), 360-9, 375-6, 380-3, 503-4; *Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación del valle del Ebro I* compiled by José María Lacarra (Zaragoza: Anubar, 1982), 141-2.

<sup>49</sup> *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*.II.45:

*Christianos, quos uocant Muzarabes, qui habitabant ab annis antiquis in terra Agarenorum*  
the Christians who had lived in the land of the Hagarenes since ancient times are called Mozarabs

(edited by Antonio Maya Sánchez in *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis LXXI: Chronica Hispana Saeculi XII Pars I* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1990), 216; Flórez divided the text differently: II.64, *España sagrada XXI: contiene la Iglesia de Porto de la Galicia antigua, desde su origen hasta hoy* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Madrid: Oficina de la Viuda é Hijo de Marín, 1797), 373.

<sup>50</sup> *Estoria de España*.559 (f° 193):

*Los cristianos mezclados con los alaraues, et aquellos ouieron nombre dalli adelante moçaraues por que uiuien de buelta con ellos, e este nombre et el linnage dura oy en dia entre los toledanos*

(edited by Ramón Menéndez Pidal under the title *Primera crónica general del España* (Madrid: Bailly-Bailliere é Hijos, 1906), I.313b).

conquered city two centuries previously by Alfonso VI of León-Castile.<sup>51</sup> The term *muzarabe* appears to have lapsed into disuse in Toledo after this, until its revival in the early sixteenth century by the antiquarian interests of two men: Juan Vázquez de Cepeda, Bishop of Segovia, who founded a mozarabic chapel and confirmed its privileges in his will of 28 October 1436<sup>52</sup>, and Francisco Ximénes de Cisneros, Archbishop of Toledo and later of Granada, who gave privileges to the *iglesias mozárabes* in 1497<sup>53</sup>, published the mozarabic liturgy in 1500<sup>54</sup> and the breviary in 1502<sup>55</sup>, and established a mozarabic chapel of Corpus Christi within the Cathedral of Toledo and a college for its study. In twelfth-century Aragón, however, *muzarabe* is adopted as a proper name. One finds a slew of individuals surnamed with all manner of variations on *muzarabe*: one of the earliest is one Domingo Mozarab who bought property in the town of Cinegia on 13 November 1135<sup>56</sup>; there are also Stephanus Mozaraví<sup>57</sup>, Guillermo Mozaravi<sup>58</sup>, Pedro Moçaravi and Dominico Mozavi.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Toledo, Biblioteca de Catedral, ms 38-25 (Código Toletano), f° 70r-v. See also: González Ruiz, Ramón., 'El Arcediano Joffre de Loaysa y las parroquias urbanas de Toledo en 1300' in *Historia mozárabe: ponencias y comunicaciones al I Congreso de Estudios Mozárabes, Toledo, 1975* (Toledo: Instituto de Estudios Visigótico-Mozárabes, 1978), 91-148.

<sup>52</sup> Meseguer Fernández, Juan, 'El Cardenal Jiménez de Cisneros, fundador de la capilla mozárabe' in *Historia mozárabe: ponencias y comunicaciones al I Congreso de Estudios Mozárabes, Toledo, 1975* (Toledo: Instituto de Estudios Visigótico-Mozárabes, 1978), 150-2 (document of donation reproduced, 183-8). See also: Bosch, Lynette M.F., *Art, Liturgy, and Legend in Renaissance Toledo: The Mendoza and the Iglesia Primada* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 61.

<sup>53</sup> See the charter of privilege dated 5 October 1497, reproduced by Meseguer Fernández in 'El Cardenal Jiménez', 194-5.

<sup>54</sup> Cisneros entrusted the work to Canon Alfonso Ortiz, from whom he received a letter dated 9 January 1500 declaring work on the *Missale Mixtum Secundum Regulam Beati Isidori* complete:

*tandem sic factum est. Nam dispersis in ordinem redactis, viciis abrais dubiisque enucleata veritate lustratis et ceu abolita multa resarciens tuo iussu, ut valui, omnia lustravi*

at last it is done. For what was scattered is now redacted in order, faults and doubts scratched out and the unadulterated truth made clear; repairing many things lost, at your order, I have brought everything to light as far as I was able

(Meseguer Fernández, 'El Cardenal Jiménez', 197. See also: Pinius, Johannes, *Tractatus historico-cronologicus de liturgia antiqua hispanica gothica, isidoriana, mozarabica, toletana mixta* (Antwerp, 1949), 61a-b, and *Liturgia Antigua Hispanica Gothica Isidoriana Mozarabica Toletana Mixta Illustrata: adiectis vetustis monumentis cum additionibus, scholiis et variantibus lectionibus tomus primus* (Rome: Typis et Sumptibus Hieronymi Mainardi, 1746).

<sup>55</sup> Ortiz wrote another letter dated 25 October 1502 informing Cisneros that the *Breviarum Secundum Regulam Beati Isidori* was ready:

*Antea namque confusa pene omnia in libris veteribus atque hactenus incognita iacuisse penes eruditos palam est. Nunc vero suis locis queque reposita officia aptaque reperies, characteribus atque periodicis distincta, verbis atque sententiis dilucida* [what] was previously almost entirely disordered in old books and has lain unknown until now, is now set out clearly for the erudite. Now you shall find the offices reset and joined in their places, with their characters and punctuation made clear, words and meanings made plain

(Meseguer Fernández, 'El Cardenal Jiménez', 203; Pinius, *Tractatus histórico-cronologicus*, 61-2).

<sup>56</sup> *Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación*, I.263; Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, 107.

<sup>57</sup> Arco y Garay, R. del, *Huesca en el siglo XII: notas documentales* (Huesca: J. Martínez, 1921), 41.

<sup>58</sup> Cartulario San Pedro el Viejo, f° 97v.



*Musta'rib* also served as a proper name in the East: Fāris al-Dīn Aqṭāy al-Musta'rib was a key figure in the thirteenth-century *mamlūk*<sup>60</sup> court of Cairo.<sup>61</sup>

Modern scholarship has been equally free with its use of Mozarab, following the confusion laid by the medieval chroniclers and by Simonet, though it is increasingly accepted that the term's original and very specific meaning, in the short period of its use – what one might call the mozarabic age of migration from the eleventh to the thirteenth century – should be upheld for the sake of clarity despite its imprecision. There is still no definitive consensus on the proper use of Mozarab<sup>62</sup>, but Richard Hitchcock, who has dedicated much energy to the study of mozarabism, and whose word should be considered as authoritative, writes:

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<sup>63</sup>

The current work subscribes to Hitchcock's definition of the term, and draws a distinction between those Christians who stayed in al-Andalus and those who left their

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<sup>59</sup> Balaguer, F., 'Notas documentales sobre los mozárabes oscenses', *Estudios de Edad Media de la Corona de Aragón* 2 (1946), doc. VIII.

<sup>60</sup> *Mamlūk* (مملوك) from plural *mamālik* (ممالك): literally 'slave, possession'. The *mamālik* or Mamluks were slave soldiers, often originally of Turkish ancestry, in the service of the caliphs between the ninth and sixteenth century; though they were bought as slaves, as the caliphal bodyguard they enjoyed great prestige. After the death of the Egyptian Sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb in November 1249, the *mamālik* seized control of Egypt and Syria establishing the Mamluk Sultanate which survived until their downfall in the early sixteenth-century advent of the Ottomans. See: *The Historiography of Islamic Egypt (c.950-1800)* edited by Hugh Kennedy (Leiden: Brill, 2001); Chamberlain, Michael, 'The crusader era and the Ayyūbid dynasty', Northrup, Linda, S., 'The Bahrī Mamlūk sultanate, 1250-1390', and Garcin, Jean-Claude, 'The regime of the Circassian Mamlūks' in *The Cambridge History of Egypt Volume I: Islamic Egypt, 640-1517* edited by Carl F. Petry (Cambridge: CUP, 1998), 221-41, 242-89, 290-317.

<sup>61</sup> Holt, Peter Malcolm, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260-1290): Treaties of Baybars and Qalāwūn with Christian Rulers* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 21-3, 42; Humphreys, R. Stephen, *From Saladin to the Mongols: The Ayyubids of Damascus, 1193-1260* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1977), 345; Northrup, Linda, *From Slave to Sultan: The Career of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn and the Consolidation of Mamluk rule in Egypt and Syria (678-689 A.H./ 1279-1290 A.D.)* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1998), 72; Rabbat, Nasser O., *The Citadel of Cairo: A New Interpretation of Royal Mamluk Architecture* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 96.

<sup>62</sup> The problem has been noted by a number of scholars in recent decades, including Thomas Burman and the Urvoys, but the more generalised use of Mozarab persists. See: Burman, Thomas E., *Religious Polemic and the Intellectual History of the Mozarabs, c.1050-1200* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 8; Urvoy, Dominique, 'La pensée religieuse des mozarabes à face de l'Islam', *Traditio* 3 (1983), 419; Urvoy, Marie-Thérèse, 'La culture et la littérature arabe des chrétiens d'al-Andalus', *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* 92 (1991), 259.

<sup>63</sup> Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, 129. See also other articles by Hitchcock: '¿Quiénes fueron los verdaderos mozárabes? Una contribución a la historia del mozarabismo', *Nueva revista de filología hispánica* 30.2 (1981), 574-85; 'Los mozárabes: ¿una minoría religiosa?' in *Marginalismo-s (Actas del 3º Symposium Internacional del Departamento de Español de la Universidad de Groningen 15, 16, y 17 de octubre de 1984)* edited by José Luis Alonso Hernández (Groningen: Rijksuniversiteit Te Groningen, 1990), 27-33; 'Los musta'ribūn: ¿comunidad marginada en al-Andalus a principios del siglo XII?' in *Actas del primer congreso anglo-hispano III: historia* edited by Hitchcock and R. Penny (1995), 251-60. Hitchcock identifies the 1024 charter as the beginning of the mozarabic age – the Leonese mozarabic epoch ('¿Quiénes fueron los verdaderos mozárabes?', 581).

ancestors' land to settle in Toledo and Aragón and become Mozarabs; its focus settles exclusively on the former.

### Arabic Christian designations

As has been noted, the Iberian Muslims did not at any point call their Arabised Christian compatriots *musta'ribīn*. Instead they used a range of very specific terms capable of distinguishing nuances and developments of identity. The most widely-applied, and most vague, is *'ajam* (عجم), 'foreigner' or 'non Arabic-speaker', which simply designates a non-Arab, but not necessarily non-Muslim, regardless of religious affiliation. We have already seen the general terms *ahl al-kitāb* and *ahl al-dhimma*. The most common term designating an indigenous Andalusī Christian subject to the *dhimma* is *naṣrānī*<sup>64</sup>, sometimes qualified as *naṣrānī dhimmī*, as opposed to *rūm*<sup>65</sup> which originally meant Byzantine and indicates hostility. *Naṣrānī* stood as the norm until the twelfth century when the term *mu'āhid*<sup>66</sup> – meaning 'keeper of the pact (*ahd*)' – superseded it<sup>67</sup>, perhaps in order to stronger define boundaries in a time of increasing conflict as the Castilian-Leonese and Aragonese kingdoms expanded irreversibly further south. The word *mu'āhid* drew the line very definitely between those who were allied citizens of the Muslim state and those who were its enemies, internal or external, the *rūm*. Less frequently used terms include the epithets *athīl* (اثيل) or *tathlīth* (تثليث) meaning 'trinitarian', *sāmarī* (سامري) 'Samaritan', *'īsawī* (عيسوي) 'follower of Jesus', and *masīḥī* (مسيحي) 'Messiah-follower'.

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<sup>64</sup> *Naṣrānī* (نصراني), plural *naṣrā* (نصارى). For further discussion of the Arabic terms used in relation to the Christians of the Iberian Peninsula, see Eva Lapiedra Gutiérrez's *Cómo los musulmanes llamaban a los cristianos hispánicos* (Alicante: Instituto de Cultura "Juan Gil-Albert", 1997), and pages 149-50 of Mikel de Epalza's article 'Mozarabs: an emblematic Christian minority in Islamic al-Andalus' in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain* edited by Salma Khadra Jayyusi (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 149-70.

<sup>65</sup> *al-Rūm* (الروم): Byzantium, from the contemporary term by which the Eastern empire of Constantinople was known – *Rōmania* (Ρωμανία).

<sup>66</sup> *Mu'āhid* (معاهد), plural *mu'āhidīn* (معاهدین).

<sup>67</sup> It has been argued that *mu'āhid* came to be used exclusively to designate Christians, leaving *dhimmī* to refer to the Jews. See: Burns, Robert Ignatius and Paul Edward Chevedden, *Negotiating Cultures: Bilingual Surrender Treaties in Muslim-Crusader Spain* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 205; Fattal, Antoine, *Le Statut légal des non-musulmans en pays d'Islam* (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1958), 73.

The current work is not a history of the Mozarabs or of mozarabism in the Castilian or Aragonese North, but of indigenous Christianity in the Muslim territory of the Andalusī South. In the interests of clarity, the term ‘Mozarab’ itself will be avoided, used only when quoting another’s use of it; the various Arabic terms will be kept in translation and quotation, rather than homogenising and obscuring their nuances with ‘Christian’. Reference will be made to Andalusī or indigenous Christians, reflecting the nuanced terminology used by the sources.

### **The place of indigenous Christianity in the historiography**

#### (i) Ignored by the founding studies of Andalusī history

The modern study of al-Andalus effectively began in 1820 with the posthumous publication of José Antonio Conde’s (1766-1820) three-volume *Historia de la dominación de los árabes en España*, only the first of which was edited by the author before his death. Andalusī Christians play no part in Conde’s history, and so Andalusī studies began by ignoring the indigenous Christian in favour of the grand edifice of Andalusī Islam. They fared somewhat better in the multi-volume works of the Dutch Arabist Reinhart Pieter Anne Dozy (1820-83) – *Recherches sur l’histoire et la littérature de l’Espagne pendant le Moyen Âge*, first published in 1849, and *Histoire des musulmans d’Espagne* (1861) – who fiercely rejected Conde’s scholarship.<sup>68</sup>

Dozy’s two major works became key texts, but are nevertheless padded out with just the kind of imaginative leaps for which he condemned Conde. Dozy’s text reads like an historical novel, typically romantic of his time, albeit a rather dry and lengthy one – Wasserstein dubs this ‘the dashing school of Spanish historiography’<sup>69</sup>. Dozy invented direct speech and described the thought processes of his protagonists as though

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<sup>68</sup> Dozy:

*Suppléant par une imagination extrêmement fertile au manqué des connaissances les plus élémentaires, il a, avec impudence sans pareille, forgé des dates par centaines, inventé des faits par milliers, en affichant toujours la prétention de traduire fidèlement des textes arabes*

Compensating for a lack of the most elementary knowledge with an extremely fertile imagination, he has, with unparalleled impudence, forged dates by the hundred and invented facts by the thousand, claiming all the while to be faithfully translating the Arabic texts

(*Recherches*, I.xii).

<sup>69</sup> Wasserstein, David, J., ‘Inventing tradition and constructing identity: the genealogy of Umar ibn Hafsun between Christianity and Islam’, *Al-Qanṭara* 23 (2002), 270.



they were literary characters. He thus claims that the late-ninth-century *muwallad*<sup>70</sup> rebel ‘Umar ibn Ḥafṣūn spoke Spanish, making him a model of nineteenth-century Spanish nationalism:

‘We’ve got it: the herd of cattle!’ said he in Spanish to Ibn Mastana<sup>71</sup>

Dozy’s interests lie – as his title *Histoire des musulmans d’Espagne* suggests – exclusively in Islamic history. His engagement with Andalusī Christians, who appear just three times, is indifferent or disdainful. He was inclined to tidy up history and find neat solutions, preferring to ignore or distort what little evidence survives to fit an anachronistic narrative of the ‘Spaniards’ struggle’.<sup>72</sup> He thus identified the martyr Argentea from the anonymous tenth-century *Vita Argenteae et Comitum*<sup>73</sup> as Ibn Ḥafṣūn’s daughter on the basis of the phonetic similarity between their two homes, *Bibistrense* in the Latin *vita* and *Bubashtru* of the Arabic chroniclers – neither of them conclusively identified<sup>74</sup> – and presumably the fact that Ibn Ḥafṣūn is widely associated with apostasy to Christianity in the Arabic sources<sup>75</sup>, though none mentions a daughter

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<sup>70</sup> *Muwallad* (موالد) means ‘client, adopted son’. The term is religiously neutral and was, María Isabel (Maribel) Fierro Bello believes, used by the earlier Muslim chroniclers to mean the same thing as *muzarabe* in eleventh and twelfth-century Latin chroniclers and charters: ‘Arabised’. It was not until later that it came to be used to denote Muslims of a lower social order because of their recent conversion or non-Eastern roots (Fierro, ‘Four questions in connection with Ibn Ḥafṣūn’ in *The Formation of al-Andalus Part I: History and Society* edited by Manuela Marín in two volumes (Aldershot: Variorum, 1998), 309, 328. See also Fierro’s article ‘*Mawālī* and *Muwalladūn* in al-Andalus (Second/ Eighth-Fourth/ Tenth Centuries)’ in *Patronate and Patronage in Early and Classical Islam* edited by Monique Bernardes and John Nawas (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 228-31.

<sup>71</sup> Dozy:

« *Nous le tenons, le troupeau de bœufs! dit-il en espagnol à Ibn Mastana...* »

(*Histoire des musulmans d’Espagne: jusqu’à la conquête de l’Andalousie par les Almoravides (711-1110)* (Leiden: Brill, 1861), I.278; Lévi-Provençal, *La civilización árabe en España* translated from the French by Isidro de las Cagigas (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Buenos Aires: Espasa-Calpe, 1953), 64).

<sup>72</sup> Lévi-Provençal points out one of Dozy’s shortcomings:

*tan breves y confusas eran éstas [indicaciones históricas], que inspiraron a Dozy, el historiador bien conocido de la España musulmana, un cuadro del reinado de ‘Abd ar-Rahman II, al que hoy no sólo se lo tiene por anticuado sino que se le considera muy frecuentemente inexacto en cuanto a sus conclusiones*

so brief and confused were the historical sources that they inspired in Dozy – the well known historian of Muslim Spain – a picture of ‘Abd al-Rahmān II’s reign which today is not only held to be antiquated but which is considered very often incorrect as far as his conclusions go

(*La civilización árabe en España*, 64).

<sup>73</sup> See: *Pasionario hispánico: siglos VII-XI* edited by Ángel Fábrega Grau (Barcelona: C.S.I.C., 1955), II.382-7.

<sup>74</sup> Simonet’s identification of Bobastro with a ruined complex housing a church at Las Mesas de Villaverde roughly two miles east of Ardales, 20 miles northwest of Málaga has long been debated (*Historia de los mozárabes*, 515n1).

<sup>75</sup> Ibn Ḥayyān:

أظهر اللعين عمر بن حفصون النصرانية وباطن العجم نصرى الذمة واستخلصهم بالكلمة وأيدهم  
وفضلهم وتعصب على المسلمين

amongst his sons, and the *vita* names Argentea's father as King Samuel. Ann Christys wryly calls Dozy 'an indefatigable connector of bits and pieces of evidence'<sup>76</sup>, but many continue to make this link.<sup>77</sup>

Political and military history dominates the field. When the Christians of the Muslim peninsula do appear, the focus is firmly on the martyrs of Córdoba, on which subject Dozy accepts Eulogius' account, though he dismisses those involved as wilfully ignorant fanatics given an outlet by the death of Perfectus on 18 April 850.<sup>78</sup> Dozy would hardly allow indigenous Andalusī Christianity a role beyond the ninth century; he was an early and influential advocate of quick mass conversion.<sup>79</sup> He envisaged a

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the abominable 'Umar ibn Ḥafṣūn made public his Christianity and hid non-Arab Christian *dhimmīs*, he dedicated himself to them with words and helped them and favoured them and plotted against the Muslims

(*al-Muqtabis V* edited by Pedro Chalmeta Gendrón, Federico Corriente and Maḥmūd Ṣubḥ (Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura, 1979), 215).

<sup>76</sup> Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 101.

<sup>77</sup> Dozy's influence has been long-lived. See: García-Villada, Zacarías, *Historia eclesiástica de España* (Madrid: Compañía Ibero-Americana de Publicaciones 1936), III.165f; Colbert, *The Martyrs of Córdoba, 850-859: A Study of the Sources* (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1962), 382; Wolf, Kenneth Baxter, *Christian Martyrs in Muslim Spain* (Cambridge: CUP, 1988), 34-5). Coope advances the idea that Argentea and her accomplice the Frankish monk Vulfura – clearly delineated as such and in so many words, surrounded by masculine adjectives and pronouns – 'may have been the daughters of the *muwallad* rebel 'Umar ibn Ḥafṣūn' (Coope, *The Martyrs of Córdoba: Community and Family Conflict in an Age of Mass Conversion* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 97n60). See also: Aillet, *Les « Mozarabes »: Christianisme islamisation et arabisation en péninsule ibérique (IX<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2010), 102; Menéndez Pidal, 'Mozárabes y asturianas en la cultura de la Alta Edad Media', 162).

<sup>78</sup> Dozy introduces Perfectus' martyrdom:

*mais les prêtres surtout étaient mécontents. Ils avaient pour les musulmans une haine instinctive et d'autant plus forte qu'ils avaient des idées tout à fait fausses sur Mahomet et sur les doctrines qu'il avait prêchées. Vivant au milieu des Arabes, rien ne leur eût été plus facile que de s'instruire à ce sujet; mais... ce n'est pas dans les écrits arabes qu'Euloge, un des prêtres les plus instruits de cette époque et sans doute assez familiarisé avec l'arabe pour pouvoir lire couramment un ouvrage historique écrit dans cette langue, va puiser des renseignements sur la vie de Mahomet; au contraire, c'est dans un manuscrit latin que le hasard lui fait tomber sous les mains dans un cloître de Pampelune... pendant que les chrétiens zélés de Cordoue étaient livrés aux pénibles rêves d'une ambition nourrie dans l'ombre, aigrie dans l'inaction, un événement se passa qui doubla, s'il était possible, leur haine et leur fanatisme...*

but the priests were the most unhappy of all. They had an instinctive hatred for the Muslims and it was all the stronger for they had completely false ideas about Muḥammad and the doctrines he preached. Living among the Arabs nothing could have been simpler than to instruct themselves on the subject, but... it is not to the Arabic writings that Eulogius turned to draw information on Muḥammad's life, though he was one of the most learned priests of that period and doubtless was sufficiently familiar with Arabic to be able to fluently read an historical work written in that language. On the contrary, it was a Latin manuscript that by chance fell into his hands in a monastery at Pamplona... while the Christian zealots of Córdoba gave themselves up to tiresome dreams of an ambition harboured in the shadows, embittered in their inaction, something happened that doubled – if that is possible – their hatred and their fanaticism...

(*Histoire des musulmans d'Espagne*, I.ii.105-6... 20).

<sup>79</sup> Dozy:

*dès le IX<sup>e</sup> siècle, les conquérants de la Péninsule suivaient à la lettre le conseil du calife 'Umar, qui avait dit assez crûment: « Nous devons manger les chrétiens et nos*

complete cultural assimilation to Andalusī Islamic culture by the rise of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III’s Cordoban Caliphate, after which Christianity was a negligible minority.<sup>80</sup>

(ii) ‘Mozarabs’ briefly become a valid subject

While the modern school of Andalusī history was born with Conde’s *Historia de la dominación*, one could say that Simonet’s *Historia de los mozárabes* – first published in two volumes between 1897 and 1903), and at odds with its Arabist predecessors – inaugurated the study of the Andalusī Christians. He has been called ‘*padre de los estudios mozárabes*’<sup>81</sup>. Simonet was not the first to dedicate himself to the subject of Andalusī Christianity – in 1740, Pedro Camino y Velasco published *Noticia historico-chronologica de los privilegios de las nobles familias de los mozárabes de la imperial ciudad de Toledo*<sup>82</sup>; in 1847, Miguel Lafuente Alcántara published *Condición y revoluciones de algunas razas españolas y especialmente de la mozárabe*<sup>83</sup>; and in 1854 José Amador de los Ríos produced the article ‘Mozárabes, mudéjares, moriscos’<sup>84</sup>. Simonet’s *Historia*, however, is the work that provided a foundation for subsequent scholarly references to the subject and effectively introduced the term *mozárabe* to the discourse (it is absent from Conde and Dozy). The Arabists’ derogatory attitude to al-

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*descendants doivent manger les leurs tant que durera l’islamisme »... ce n’étaient pas les chrétiens qui se plaignaient le plus de la domination arabe, un siècle après la conquête. Les plus mécontents, c’étaient le renégats, ceux que les Arabes appelaient les muwallad... la profession de foi une fois faite, disons nous, le renégat... était musulman pour toujours... Les renégats ne se résignèrent pas à de tels traitements. Ils avaient le sentiment de leur dignité et de la force matérielle dont ils disposaient, car ils formaient la majorité de la population*

from the ninth century the conquerors of the peninsula followed the advice of Caliph ‘Umar to the letter; he had said rather bluntly that ‘We must devour the Christians and our descendents must devour theirs so long as Islam lasts’... a century after the conquest, it was not the Christians who complained most about the Arab domination. The most discontent were the renegades, those whom the Arabs called *muwallads*... the profession of faith once made, the renegade was forever Muslim... The renegades did not resign themselves to such treatment. They were aware of their dignity and material strength, for they formed the majority of the population

(*Histoire des musulmans d’Espagne*, I.ii.50).

<sup>80</sup> Dozy, *Histoire des musulmans d’Espagne*, I.ii.351.

<sup>81</sup> Sebastián, Víctor Aguilar and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, ‘Antroponimia de origen árabe en la documentación leonesa (siglos VIII-XIII)’ in *El reino de León en la Alta Edad Media VI* (León: Caja España de Inversiones, Caja de Ahorros y Monte de Piedad y Archivo Histórico Diocesano de León, 1994), 506. Olstein likewise lauds Simonet as the founder of mozarabic studies (‘El péndulo mozárabe’, *Anales toledanos* 39 (2003), 37 and *La era mozárabe*, 15).

<sup>82</sup> Camino y Velasco, Pedro, *Noticia historico-chronologica de los privilegios de las nobles familias de los mozárabes de la imperial ciudad de Toledo* (Toledo: Los capellanes, curas, y beneficiados de las seis Iglesias Mozarabes de Toledo, 1740).

<sup>83</sup> Lafuente Alcántara, Miguel, *Condición y revoluciones de algunas razas españolas y especialmente de la mozárabe, en la Edad Media* (Madrid: Imprenta de El Faro, 1847).

<sup>84</sup> *Revista española* (1854), 1001-20.

Andalus' Christians, and Dozy's focus of it on ninth-century Córdoba, required a balance: in Conde and Dozy they were overwhelmed and ignored. What it got was a work defined by the Christianity of its author, for whom critical engagement with the Cordoban texts is tantamount to blasphemy:

It is sad to see how Mr Dozy's blind incredulity is turned against the Church's authority, accusing it of having sanctioned suicide<sup>85</sup>

Simonet did not focus solely on Eulogius and his martyrs; he put the phenomenon of Andalusī Christianity centre-stage. By examining a great wealth of diverse written evidence, from north and south, Arabic as well as Latin, he managed to show that Christianity in the southern peninsula had not succumbed to the fate of early conversion his predecessors had assigned it. Simonet recognised that such a broad approach is the only way to study an historical community whose voice had been silenced: 'the history of the Mozarab Christians [is] scarce, [to be found] in documents and references'<sup>86</sup>. Simonet's tome is indispensable for the breadth of its scope and the lengths to which the author went to unearth the story of the Andalusī Christians. However, he too was a product of his age. A combination of fervent Catholicism and reactionary politics dominated the minds of Simonet's Spanish generation:

one fixed idea dominates all his works: Catholicism. Simonet was Catholic before he was an Arabist, before he was a professor, and before all else<sup>87</sup>

Besides his religious conservatism, Simonet was also politically conservative. He was a follower of the traditionalist counter-revolutionary Carlist movement which championed traditional Catholic values in the face of the Enlightenment that swept across the rest of Europe in the eighteenth century, and proposed a constitution based upon tradition – as opposed to enlightened philosophy – and the teachings of the Church after the Napoleonic occupation (1808-14).<sup>88</sup> These influences led Simonet to offer a

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<sup>85</sup> Simonet:

*Es triste ver cómo la ciega incredulidad de M. Dozy se revuelve contra la autoridad de la Iglesia, acusándola de haber canonizado el suicido*

(*Historia de los mozárabes*, liii n2).

<sup>86</sup> Simonet:

*la historia de los cristianos mozárabes, escasa en documentos y noticias*

(*Historia de los mozárabes*, 629).

<sup>87</sup> Manuela Manzanares del Cirre writes of Simonet in her biographical work:

*en toda su obra domina una idea fija: el catolicismo. Simonet fue católico antes que arabista, antes que profesor y antes que nada*

(*Arabistas españoles del siglo XIX* (Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura, 1971), 133).

<sup>88</sup> Manzanares:

*su juventud y niñez coincidieron con los principios del carlismo en España, ideas que, sin duda, le fueron inculcadas por su familia, o en el Seminario, y esto puede explicar el fervor y el entusiasmo con que siguió siempre las normas de este partido. El, como muchos católicos españoles de su tiempo, las tuvieron como profesión de fe político*

politically-charged portrait that made the Christians of al-Andalus champions of the Catholic cause weathering the onslaught of Muslim persecution; in doing so he made the Andalusī period a temporary and ephemeral blot on the uninterrupted history of Spanish Christianity and was the first modern historian to uncritically glorify Eulogius and his ‘martyrs’. His prologue betrays his vested interests:

it is my intention to write the history of those Spaniards who, under the yoke of Islam, but not without honourable pacts and capitulations, preserved through many centuries the religion, the national spirit, and the culture of the ancient Romano-Visigothic and Christian Spain, braving many trials, persecutions and calamities with fortitude, earning the most noble laurels and palms of heroes, learned men and martyrs, contributing with their help and their knowledge to the restoration and to the progress of the New Spain<sup>89</sup>

Simonet’s approach to his subject was determined by his view of Spain as a nation chosen by God to become the conduit of Christianity in the new world, a nation forged in the Roman Empire, unchanged and undiluted by the arrival and settlement of the Goths, Arabs, or Berbers.<sup>90</sup> He writes of Divine Providence and Spain’s ‘higher destiny’,<sup>91</sup> championing the romantic idea of an unbroken line of divinely-ordained

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his youth and childhood coincided with the principles of Carlism in Spain – ideas that were doubtless inculcated by his family, or by the seminary, and which could explain the fervour and enthusiasm with which he always followed the laws of that party. Like many Spanish Catholics of his time, he regarded these laws as a political profession of faith

(*Arabistas españoles del siglo XIX*, 133).

<sup>89</sup> Simonet:

*es nuestro propósito escribir la historia de aquellos españoles que, subyugados por la morisma, mas no sin honrosos pactos y capitulaciones, conservaron constantemente por espacio de muchos siglos la religión, el espíritu nacional y la cultura de la Antigua España romano-visigótica y cristiana, arrostrando con entereza muchos trabajos, persecuciones y calamidades, ganando nobilísimos lauros y palmas de héroes, de doctores y de mártires, contribuyendo con su ayuda y su saber á la restauración y progresos de la nueva España*

(*Historia de los mozárabes*, vii).

<sup>90</sup> He had already sought – in his *Glosario de voces ibéricas latinas usadas entre los mozárabes* (1888) – to deny that eight centuries of Islamic government and Arabic high culture made any impression on the Visigoths’ descendents:

*Los mozárabes de España nunca llegaron a olvidar el idioma de sus antepasados, su idioma religioso, literario y nacional*

The Mozarabs of Spain never lost the language of their ancestors – their religious, literary, and national language

(*Glosario de voces ibéricas latinas usadas entre los mozárabes, precedido de un estudio sobre el dialecto hispano-mozárabe* (Madrid: Fortanet, 1888), xxvi-xxvii).

<sup>91</sup> Simonet:

*Si el azote musulmán hirió menos gravemente a otras naciones europeas sumidas en semejantes ó mayores vicios, séanos lícito atribuir esta diferencia á los designios de la Providencia divina, que por medio de mayores pruebas quiso elevar á nuestra nación á mayores merecimientos y más altos destinos. Mucha alabanza debemos á los directores y moderadores de la España visigoda, á su Iglesia y Monarquía, porque luchando esforzadamente contra la corrupción pagana, la barbarie gótica y la dominación extranjera, habían procurado, no solamente apuntalar y sostener el edificio ruinoso de la antigua sociedad hispano-romana, sino echar firmes cimientos para la futura grandeza española. No debía ser perdida para lo porvenir la obra de*



descent from the Catholic province of Roman Hispania to Nasrid Granada's final surrender to Fernando and Isabel and conversion after 1492. The subject is very personal for Simonet; echoing the anonymous *Chronica Muzarabica*, he describes the invasion of 711 as Visigothic Hispania's 'total ruin... this catastrophe' (*su total ruína... esta catástrofe*)<sup>92</sup>. He litters his text with the phrase 'our Mozarabs' (*nuestros mozárabes*), beloved symbols of a national struggle. Simonet's unwavering focus on the Christians pre- and post-conquest allows him to create a narrative of an unbroken Spanish Christian continuum, extolling the virtues of the heroic torch-bearers of the Spanish national character. He goes too far in many respects, setting the foundations for a series of nationalistic and more or less ahistorical histories, imbuing Iberian medieval history with a political agenda which still pervades regional history, particularly in the Levant, where Catalan and Valencian separatist ideology remains strong.<sup>93</sup> Thus in this arena one finds oneself torn between two extreme positions. On one side Mikel de Epalza has produced a handful of articles – including one article specifically focused on Valencia<sup>94</sup> – flatly denying that Christian communities existed

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*restauración y regeneración acometida tan tenazmente por Reyes y Prelados con sus leyes y doctrina; pero debía caer aquella sociedad vieja y quebrantada para levantarse en su lugar, en medio de los azares y luchas de muchos siglos, otra España más acepta á Dios y más ordenada á los altos fines de su providencia. Porque predestinada nuestra nación de un modo singular para caudillo y adalid de la Religión católica, extendiéndola hasta los más ignorados y remotos confines de la tierra*

If the Muslim scourge hurt other European nations plunged in similar or greater vices less seriously, we could attribute this difference to the designs of Divine Providence, which by means of greater tests wished to elevate our nation to greater worthiness and a higher destiny. We must give praise to the directors and moderators of Visigothic Spain, to the Church and the monarchy, for in fighting strongly against pagan corruption, gothic barbarism and foreign domination they tried not only to prop up and sustain the ruinous edifice of their ancient Hispano-Roman society, but to set firm foundations for future Spanish greatness. The work of restoration and regeneration undertaken so tenaciously by kings and prelates with their laws and doctrines must not be forgotten; but that old and broken society did have to fall that another Spain could rise in its place amidst the chances and fights of many centuries – a Spain more acceptable to God and more in accord with the lofty aims of his providence. For our nation was singularly predestined to bear the leadership and command of the catholic religion, and spread it to the most unknown and remote ends of the earth

(*Historia de los mozárabes*, 10-11).

<sup>92</sup> Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, 11-4.

<sup>93</sup> As Glick writes:

The issue of the Valencian 'Mozarabs' is a highly polemical one, doubly so because any stance for or against their existence marks the author politically. The regional right, particularly during the Franco period, argued the distinctiveness of Valencian language and culture by asserting that the region's language antedated the Aragonese and Catalan conquest

(*From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle: social and cultural change in medieval Spain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 54). For a survey of the ideological forces at work in Spanish medieval historiography in the last few decades, see Glick's preface, xiiff.

<sup>94</sup> See: Epalza and Enrique Llobregat, '¿Hubo mozárabes en tierras valencianas? Proceso de islamización del Levante de la Península (Shark al-Andalus)', *Revista del Instituto de Estudios Alicantinos* 36 (1982), 7-31.

beyond the eighth century<sup>95</sup>; on the other, Leopoldo Peñarroja Torrejón has filled an entire book with meticulous and wide-ranging evidence to the contrary, proving sustained Christian presence in the Valencian region up to its thirteenth-century conquest.<sup>96</sup>

In his desire to condemn Dozy's negligence and overturn his dismissive attitude to the Andalusī Christians, Simonet goes further than his evidence strictly allows and stretches the definition of Mozarab to include Arabised Christians no matter their origins.<sup>97</sup> His closing paragraphs show his fiercely partisan colours and tendency to exaggeration:

So obscure and scarce are the last notices of the Spanish Christians submitted to the Muslim yoke who, withstanding around eight centuries of captivity and oppression, were neither extinguished nor disappeared totally up to the moment when Christian Spain, restored and free, ejected the last Muslims from the land, lifting itself up stronger, more magnificent and glorious than before the Saracen invasion. They were tolerated sometimes, [but] oppressed and harassed almost continuously, and always unhappy. Contributing with their number, their faith, and the wealth of their literature to the progress of free Christian Spain, and preserving the light of our holy religion under the shadows of Islamism, the Mozarabs showed themselves to be worthy of the race to which they belonged.

The various interesting events of their long history form a principal part of our rich annals, and reveal the wonders of Providence [bestowed] upon the Spanish nation,

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<sup>95</sup> Epalza and Llobregat declare that

*Los cristianos valencianos desaparecieron como cristianos, igual que en el norte de África, a la segunda generación, principalmente por falta de episcopado*  
The Valencian Christians disappeared as Christians in the second generation – just as in North Africa – principally for want of an episcopal order

(‘¿Hubo mozárabes en tierras valencianas?’, 10).

<sup>96</sup> *Cristianos bajo el Islam: los mozárabes hasta la reconquista de Valencia* (Madrid: Gredos, 1993).

<sup>97</sup> Glick, ‘Spain: Islamic’ in *The Encyclopedia of Historians and Historical Writing* edited by Kelly Boyd (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 1999), II.1125. Epalza criticises Simonet's willingness to make general assumptions on the basis of material peculiar to one place and time, and to make claims that are not substantiated by the evidence he presents:

*extendiendo o extrapolando implícitamente a toda ese sociedad las pequeñas luces documentadas puntualmente sobre presencia cristiana... es la metodología del libro clásico de Francisco Simonet... acumulando todos los datos posibles sobre presencia de cristianos, extendiendo la información que traen esos datos en el espacio y en el tiempo, sin examinar siquiera los argumentos que obligarían a ser suspicaces y críticos ante esas extrapolaciones espacio-temporales*

Stretching or implicitly extrapolating the small specific documented lights on Christian presence to the whole society... is the methodology of Francisco Simonet's book... accumulating all the data possible on the presence of Christians, stretching the information offered by these data in space and time, without even examining the arguments that would oblige one to be suspicious and critical of such spatio-temporal manipulations

(‘Falta de obispos y conversión al Islam de los cristianos de al-Ándalus’, *Al-Qanṭara* 15.2 (1994), 387n6).

which was called to such great political and religious destinies that could not be realised without that captivity and eight centuries of struggle<sup>98</sup>

Simonet's conclusions regarding the 'literary wealth' of the indigenous Christian community are untenable today; the Andalusī cultural wealth that contributed so greatly to Castilian Spain and beyond was of course the Arabic, Hebrew and *aljamiado*<sup>99</sup> produced by Muslims and Jews. His whole thinking on the matter was driven by romanticism; he naturally finds what he seeks, ignores what does not suit his tastes. Despite these eccentricities, Simonet's work offers a wealth of material for the student of Andalusī Christianity. One may gain much from the evidence gathered therein even as one takes his zealous pronouncements and patriotic conclusions with a pinch of salt.

Simonet's work did not generate a great deal of imitators, or effect any noticeable change in the approach to the study of Andalusī society. One exception, though, was Isidro de las Cagigas (1891-1956), who shared Simonet's nationalist agenda.<sup>100</sup> He did so without Simonet's dedication to engaging with the materials, however, and his work, the two-volume *Los mozárabes* (1947-8), is no more than a footnote in the historiography. Cagigas portrays the various uprisings against the central Muslim government staged by the citizens of Toledo and Mérida, by 'Umar ibn Ḥafṣūn, even the Cordoban martyrs as acts of nationalist revolt: his third to sixth chapters boldly bear the headings *Rectificación energética nacionalista* and *El nacionalismo hispánico del siglo IX*. He does at least recognise to some extent that the

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<sup>98</sup> Simonet:

*Tan oscuras y escasas son las últimas noticias de los cristianos españoles sometidos al yugo musulmán, los cuales, arrojando cerca de ocho siglos de cautiverio y opresión, no se extinguen ni desaparecen del todo hasta el momento mismo en que la España cristiana, restaurada y libre, arrojando de su suelo á los últimos musulmanes, se levanta más fuerte, magnífica y gloriosa que antes de la invasión sarracena. Tolerados á veces, oprimidos y vejados casi de continuo y siempre infelices, contribuyendo con su número, su fe y su caudal literario á los progresos de la España cristiana libre y conservando bajo las tinieblas del islamismo la luz de nuestra santa religión, los mozárabes se mostraron siempre dignos de la raza á que pertenecían.*

*Los varios é interesantes sucesos de su larga historia forman una parte principal de nuestros ricos anales y revelan las miras de la Providencia sobre la nación española, llamada a tan altos destinos políticas y religiosos que no hubiese podido realizar sin la cautividad y lucha de ocho siglos*

(*Historia de los mozárabes*, 795).

<sup>99</sup> *Aljamiado* is the practice of writing one language in the alphabet of another; most often a Hebrew-Arabic combination in al-Andalus, with Arabic written in Hebrew characters.

<sup>100</sup> Cagigas wrote:

*solamente la minoría mozárabe va a conservar ahora aquellos depósitos sagrados de la raza, y a través de ella volverán a incorporarse elementos culturales que estaban condenados a su total desaparición*

only the Mozarab minority preserves now those sacred deposits of the race, and through this they will return to incorporate the cultural elements that were condemned to total disappearance

(*Minorías étnico-religiosas de la edad media española: los mozárabes* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1947), 441).



Andalusī interval left its mark upon modern Spain<sup>101</sup>, but due to its content as much as the tone, Cagigas' work is rendered utterly obsolete.

(iii) Andalusī Christians once more sidelined in history of conquerors' culture

After Simonet, the next important Andalusī scholar was Évariste Lévi-Provençal (1894-1956). He was not especially interested in the Christians of al-Andalus, being an Arabist by training. His monumental three-volume *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane* (1944, 1950, 1953), considered the standard work on the early period up to the fall of the Caliphate<sup>102</sup>, reports Christian figures and activity, but only when they entered the political sphere – one finds martyrs lay, ecclesiastic, and monastic defying the court, and ecclesiastics serving it as interpreters and ambassadors. Lévi-Provençal thus perpetuated the tendency to sideline the *ahl al-dhimma* in favour of the better-documented cut and thrust of the Islamic state. It should be noted, however, that the citation of primary Arabic sources is significantly clearer than in previous works.

Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz y Menduñña (1893-1984), the Argentina-based historian and leader of the Spanish Republican government in exile from Franco's Spain, continued where Simonet and Cagigas left off though he shows little interest in the Mozarabs themselves. He too viewed Iberian history through the prism of catholic nationalism, and thus argued, wholly unconvincingly, for the existence of some inherent Iberian character that survived unchanged and untouched by al-Andalus.<sup>103</sup> Sánchez-

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<sup>101</sup> Cagigas:

*La alta y baja edad media española presentan, como es bien sabido de todos, un proceso interesantísimo de luchas raciales que solamente tuvieron transcendentales consecuencias para formar y modificar la etnografía nacional, sino que influyeron después muy curiosamente en el cuadro de la cultura española*

The high and low Middle Ages in Spain present, as everyone well knows, a most interesting process of racial struggles that had only transcendental consequences for forming and modifying the national ethnography, but had a very curious influence later in the picture of Spanish culture

(*Los mozárabes*, I.8.

<sup>102</sup> Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain*, 303.

<sup>103</sup> Sánchez-Albornoz y Menduñña:

*La contextura vital hispana no pudo arabizarse... La estructura funcional de los peninsulares estaba ya firmemente acuñada cuando en 711 pusieron pie en Gibraltar los berberiscos de Tariq. Lo árabe-islámico era todavía fluido e impreciso. Llegaron a España muchos grupos humanos recién convertidos al Islam y todavía sin arabizar. Lo hispano pre-muslim perduró vigoroso. Fue lentísima la arabización cultural de los españoles sometidos al señorío del Islam y su arabización vital o se realizó muy tarde o no se realizó jamás. Se diferenciaron por ello, claramente, lo islámico-oriental y lo islámico-español. Fueron esporádicas y nada fáciles las posibilidades de comunicación entre las musulmería y la cristiandad españoles. No pudo ésta recibir de aquélla sino una forma de vida mestiza. Y fué por tanto muy difícil*

Albornoz even tries to claim that not only were the indigenous Christians of al-Andalus long un-Arabised, but that the Muslims continued to speak a Romance dialect into the tenth century, and even ventures that Visigothic culture influenced the Andalusī.<sup>104</sup> His disdain for Islam is clear to see, and his conclusions are predetermined. He did not, however, share Simonet's love for the indigenous Christians of al-Andalus; his view was far more pessimistic. Reyna Pastor de Togneri sums up the resulting division in Hispanophone Andalusī or 'Mozarab' studies:

The historiography devoted to the Mozarabs always has a bias, either praising or disparaging. They are considered as 'the sole representatives of the ancient Spain, its traditions, nobility, and glory', or 'a minority made feeble by five centuries of servitude'<sup>105</sup>

This extreme dichotomy gave way to a new focus with the direction of attention to Eulogius' 'Cordoban Martyr Movement'.

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*que lo musulmán de Oriente penetrara hasta la España cristiana e influyera en ella decisivamente*

The vital Hispanic substance could not be Arabised... The functional structure of the peninsular peoples was already firmly established when in 711 Ṭāriq's Berbers set foot on Gibraltar. What was Arabic-Islamic was still fluid and vague. Many groups came to Spain as recent converts to Islam not yet Arabised. What was pre-Muslim Hispanic endured vigorously. The cultural Arabisation of the Spanish under Islamic rule was very slow, and their vital Arabisation was either realised very late or never. There was clearly a difference between what was Oriental-Islamic and what Spanish-Islamic. The possibilities for communication between Spanish Muslims and Christians were sporadic and not at all easy. The one could not receive anything from the other but a form of mixed life. And it was very difficult for the Muslim culture of the Orient to penetrate as far as Christian Spain and have a decisive influence upon it

(*España: un enigma histórico* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1962), I.189).

<sup>104</sup> Sánchez-Albornoz:

*Durante el reino del califa 'Abd-al-Rahman III (912-966), todos en la España musulmana hablaban el romance, incluso el califa y los nobles de estirpe oriental, quienes al cabo de más de dos siglos de enlaces sexuales con las mujeres peninsulares, apenas si tenían algunas gotas de sangre no española... todavía en el siglo X algunos islamitas ignoraban en España la lengua de los conquistadores*

During 'Abd al-Rahmān III's reign (912-66), everyone in Muslim Spain spoke Romance, including the caliph and the nobility of Eastern stock who, after two centuries of sexual liaisons with peninsular women, had hardly a drop a non-Spanish blood... in the tenth century some Islamites in Spain still did not know the language of their conquerors

(*España: un enigma histórico*, I.143. See also the same author's *La España musulmana según los autores islamitas y cristianos medievales* (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1974), 222.

<sup>105</sup> Reyna Pastor de Togneri:

*L'historiographie consacrée aux Mozarabes a toujours un partipris, ou louangeur ou dénigrant. On les considère, soit comme «les seuls représentants de l'ancienne Espagne, de ses traditions, de sa noblesse, de sa gloire», soit comme « une minorité anémiée par cinq siècles de servitude »*

('Problèmes d'assimilation d'une minorité: les Mozarabes de Tolède (de 1085 à la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle)', *Annales-Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 25.2 (1970), 351). Togneri quotes Simonet (*Historia de los mozárabes*, 685), and Sánchez-Albornoz (*España: un enigma histórico*, I.183).

(iv) Andalusī Christians seen through Eulogius and his martyrs of Córdoba

Anglophone scholarship entered the fray in the mid-twentieth century, with two influential works on the martyrs of Córdoba and the related writings of Eulogius and Albar. The first of these, Carleton Sage's *Paul Albar of Cordoba: Studies on his Life and Writings* (1943) dealt almost exclusively with Albar's *Confessio* and *Vita Eulogii*; the second, Edward Colbert's *The Martyrs of Córdoba (850-859): A Study of the Sources* (1962), presented the social scene through the texts of Eulogius, Albar and their contemporary the abbot Samson. Both are doctoral theses published by the Catholic University of America, and both treat the martyrs and their chroniclers in an entirely uncritical way, while extending Islam a disdain unacceptable today, using the pejorative term 'Mohammedans'. Sage's work is less open to these criticisms since his focus is on the more personal of Albar's works; Colbert's angle is social history. Regardless of these faults, Colbert in particular continues to exert a great deal of influence over scholarly attitudes to the subject. He calls for a 'critical re-examination' to rid the field of bias<sup>106</sup>, but it is abundantly clear that Colbert's own pro-martyr bias drives every aspect of his work, as Wolf notes:

it is quite clear that Colbert's aim from the outset was to vindicate the martyrs and mozarabic culture as a whole after what he regarded as a century of deprecation beginning with the work of Dozy<sup>107</sup>

To this end he offers bland praise for his subjects. There is no critical commentary, barely a discussion, merely a recounting, in direct quote and paraphrase, of what Eulogius, Albar and Samson wrote. Colbert's conclusion betrays his prejudice, presenting a defence and eulogy of Eulogius and a terse rejection of Arabic and Islamic culture:

many historians have devoted attention to the study of Mozarabic Spain in the ninth century. Almost all authors are critical of the cultural level of the Christians, and a number are even hostile to the Christian martyrs and authors... Eulogius is deserving of respect for his humility and scrupulosity of conscience, which prevented him from offering himself as a martyr, and should not be maligned as one who had not the courage to practice what he preached... Eulogius' thesis, which comprises a comprehensive study of the subject of voluntary martyrdom, is theologically sound... His writings show a profound perspective of history and understanding of life. He was wise, prudent, distinguished by piety and humility, and not at all the fanatic some would

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<sup>106</sup> Colbert writes:

bias for and against the martyrs is so pronounced in many of the [previous historians'] writings that a critical re-examination of the sources is needed

(*The Martyrs of Córdoba*, v).

<sup>107</sup> Wolf, *Christian Martyrs*, 43.

make him out to be... In the light of the evidence presented by Eulogius and Albar it is difficult to take the part of the Moslems against the Christians in the religious persecution. The intellectual and spiritual culture of the Mozarabs was both vigorous and solid. Their society was virtuous and important, and their martyrs were blessed and genuine. Further study of their history and literature should produce a yet more favourable picture of the Mozarabs<sup>108</sup>

Colbert's appraisal of Albar is hardly less uncritical than that of Eulogius; he elevates Albar with claims for his historical significance that are made completely without base.<sup>109</sup> Albar undoubtedly had some prominent contacts – including his bishop Saul<sup>110</sup>, the physician Romanus<sup>111</sup>, and the Frankish apostate and convert to Judaism, Eleazar (né Bodo), who had served the Emperor Louis the Pious as palace deacon<sup>112</sup> – for he was a landed noble, but one cannot argue with the fact that his Cordoban contemporaries Samson and Leovigildus do not mention him. Sage likewise exonerates Albar of the faults that constitute his distinguishing features.<sup>113</sup>

Colbert brought Eulogius (and Albar) to the centre of Christian studies and made a subject of the so-called 'Cordoban Martyr Movement'; his extensive use of the very difficult original texts has proved useful for many in the Anglophone world who have quoted his translations, even as many recognise his weaknesses.<sup>114</sup> The continued prevalence of this practice indicates the abiding influence of another ideological scholar.

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<sup>108</sup> Colbert, *The Martyrs of Córdoba*, 396... 400... 415-6.

<sup>109</sup> Colbert:

He came into contact with every known figure of the period and participated in almost every series of events known... Albar is the author of almost all the Latin poetry extant from the period. He prefigures in some ways the universal man of the Renaissance... [he was] the dean of Latin letters in Córdoba

(*The Martyrs of Córdoba*, 148... 149... 398). The known figures of this period of Cordoban history can be counted on both hands, but Colbert's claim is not true, for Albar cannot be linked to Samson, Leovigildus, or the prominent figures mentioned by Samson. Albar features in almost every known episode because he or his friend Eulogius is responsible for reporting them.

<sup>110</sup> The three letters of the extant correspondence between Albar and Bishop Saul can be found in Gil's *CSM* 1:221-6.

<sup>111</sup> Albar, *Epistulae*.IX.*Ad Romanum*, *CSM* 1:211-4.

<sup>112</sup> Albar, *Epistulae*.XIV-XX, *CSM* 1:227-70. For more biographical information on Bodo-Eleazar, see Riess, Frank, 'From Aachen to Al-Andalus: the journey of Deacon Bodo (823-76)', *Early Medieval Europe* 13.2 (2005), 131-57.

<sup>113</sup> Sage claims that Albar's 'fundamental earnestness and sincerity saved him from bombast, and usually preserved him in real dignity' (*Paul Albar of Cordoba: Studies on his life and writings* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1943), 216).

<sup>114</sup> Colbert's translations are quoted by many later scholars, including: Coope, *The Martyrs of Córdoba*, and 'Muslims and Christians in Spain' in *Expanding Empires: Cultural Interaction and Exchange in World Societies from Ancient to Early Modern Times* (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 2002), 115-28; Dodds, Jerrilynn Denise, *Architecture and Ideology in Early Medieval Spain* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994); Gallego, María Ángeles, 'The Languages of Medieval Iberia and their Religious Dimensions', *Medieval Encounters* 9.1 (2003), 127; Safran, Janina M., 'Identity and differentiation in ninth-century al-Andalus', *Speculum* 76.3 (2001), 597; Wasserstein, 'A Latin lament on the prevalence of Arabic in ninth-century Islamic Cordoba' in *Arabic Felix: Luminosus Britannicus, essays in honour of A.F.L Beeston on his Eightieth Birthday* edited by Alan Jones (Reading: Ithaca Press, 1991), 1-7.

(v) The debate over Arabisation and Islamisation

The majority has long preferred, despite Simonet's work, to dismiss the difficult question of Andalusī Christianity with claims to early mass conversion – likely following the pessimism of Eulogius and Paul Albar, who famously complained bitterly about the Cordoban youth's love of literary Arabic<sup>115</sup> – thereby disposing of a question deemed unanswerable with the usual socio-political historical model. Scholars have been understandably unwilling to engage with the diverse materials necessary to do justice to the study of Andalusī Christianity, and so it has long been an unknown quantity to some extent, as Kennedy concedes:

we can be sure that before 711 there were no Muslims in the [peninsula] and that by the twelfth century the Christians of al-Andalus were a small minority, but there is little direct evidence for the change<sup>116</sup>

The gaps in the historical record are thus filled in with supposition. Lévi-Provençal assumes, and his language – *il semble* – indicates his uncertainty, that mass conversion occurred very early in the Andalusī period:

the Muslim conquest had practically been achieved before the assassination, in 716 (AH 97), of Mūsā ibn Nuṣāīr's son and heir, 'Abd al-'Azīz... It appears too that at the same time quite a large number of the inhabitants abjured their Christianity and became Muslims in order to enjoy a more favourable personal status... Without hesitation, many Spaniards, whom the Visigothic regime had stripped and reduced to misery, chose conversion, in public at least, to Islam<sup>117</sup>

There are, however, two opposing schools of thought regarding the survival of Christianity in the Muslim peninsula. The other, which has arisen and gained momentum only in recent decades, though it has not recovered Simonet's extremely favourable outlook, acknowledges that a notable Christian presence remained until the early twelfth century, when numbers in their thousands are recorded as having emigrated north to Toledo and Aragón and south to Morocco.

So much about the history of al-Andalus – particularly of the fate of the indigenous population post-conquest, and of Christianity under Islam in the peninsula –

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<sup>115</sup> Albar, *Indiculus Luminosus*.35.46-64, CSM 1:314-5.

<sup>116</sup> Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, 67.

<sup>117</sup> Lévi-Provençal:

*la conquête musulmane avait été pratiquement achevée avant l'assassinat, en 716 (97), du fils et successeur de Musa ibn Nusair, 'Abd al-'Aziz... Il semble aussi qu'en même temps une assez grande proportion d'habitants abjurèrent d'eux mêmes le christianisme et se firent musulmans, afin de jouir d'un statut personnel plus favorable... Beaucoup d'Espagnols, que le régime wisigothique avait dépouillés et réduits à la misère, optèrent sans hésiter pour une conversion, au moins apparente, à l'Islam*

(*Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, I.65-6... 74... 81).

is based on deduction and an argument from silence. Richard Bulliet sought to remedy this situation by forging a new approach. In 1979 he published the innovative statistical study *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period: An Essay in Quantitative History* wherein he offered a new methodology for measuring what for conventional historiography is immeasurable: demographic change. Bulliet concluded that the process of conversion in al-Andalus reached its halfway point in the mid-tenth century, and 90% by the last quarter of the twelfth.<sup>118</sup> His methodology – and rather more so, its interpretation since its publication – is not without problems, however, as Bulliet himself openly concedes, stressing repeatedly his work’s experimental nature.<sup>119</sup> Bulliet’s methodology and findings will be discussed in more detail in a later chapter; suffice it to say here that the majority now accepts what it understands of this model, though as Glick notes, the majority of Bulliet’s critics found fault with his conclusions for making conversion too slow.<sup>120</sup>

The theory of rapid Islamisation has lost ground in the last two decades though the tendency, particularly in Spanish research, is towards small-scale localised studies eschewing the grand schemes in which the monumental histories of the nineteenth and early twentieth century specialised. Implied by Dozy, this theory was championed in regional history by Mikel de Epalza, who argues that majority conversion took place within the first two centuries of Muslim presence<sup>121</sup>, that, as a consequence of the disruption to Visigothic society caused by invasion, conquest and political change-over,

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<sup>118</sup> Bulliet, Richard W., *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period: An Essay in Quantitative History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), Graph 22.

<sup>119</sup> Bulliet points again and again to the fact that his statistical work is an essay – as even its subtitle indicates – rather than a study bearing concrete conclusions:

it flies the colors of an essay because it represents an initial, tentative effort... at formulating an integrated conceptual approach to the subject... the theory of conversion that has been put forward is a heuristic one, that is, one that is valuable for empirical research but unproved or incapable of proof... Even in the most straightforward instances, the absence of independent quantifiable corroborative data is an insuperable obstacle to proof. Yet if one cannot put complete trust in the precise details of a particular graph, one may yet find it a stimulating guide for thinking about history

(*Conversion to Islam*, 1... 128).

<sup>120</sup> Glick, ‘Review: Jessica A. Coope, *The Martyrs of Córdoba*’, *Speculum* 72.1 (1997), 134.

<sup>121</sup> Epalza:

*La conversión de los hispanos al Islam fue rápida y casi total en los territorios de gobierno directo musulmán*

The conversion of the Iberians to Islam was rapid and almost complete in the territories of direct Muslim rule

(‘La islamización de al-Andalus: mozárabes y neomozárabes’, *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid* 23 (1985-6), 177). Epalza reiterates the point with more specificity:

The conversion of Peninsular Christians to Islam was a collective phenomenon, with religious and political structural causes, and was globally produced during the 2<sup>nd</sup>/ 8<sup>th</sup> century

(‘Mozarabs: an emblematic Christian minority’, 159, and reproduced in *The Formation of al-Andalus Part 1*, 193.



the vast majority became Muslim once Muslim rule was established because ‘they had no other political or religious option in terms of the political law of Islam to which al-Andalus was then subject’<sup>122</sup>. This theory is based upon the supposition that the Visigothic Church lost so much of its hierarchy to emigration that it could not maintain itself through the most basic means: monasteries and bishops. For without monasteries there can be no ecclesiastical training of bishops; without bishops there can be no ordination of priests or bishops, and thus no baptism to confirm the laity in the faith.<sup>123</sup> The disruption of conquest, however, appears to have been minimal, for as elsewhere in the expansion of the *Dār al-Islām*, the conquering forces established themselves in the place of the vanquished ruler but left the existing infrastructure intact. Glick would counter that ‘[t]he received view is that the Arab and Berber invaders, few in number, were absorbed into the indigenous social structure which continued unchanged’<sup>124</sup>.

Most do not care to put a figure on conversion, though the few that do are rarely in accord. In the mid-eighties Miguel Barceló Perelló claimed that over 70% of the indigenous population had converted by the mid-ninth century – presumably because Albar’s alarm at Arabisation requires a dramatic figure – based on the presence of Muslim taxpayers in Cordoban fiscal records.<sup>125</sup> Needless to say, one Muslim taxpayer does not a Muslim village make. In the early nineties Bernard Reilly asserted both that 30% of Christians remained faithful at the end of the eleventh century<sup>126</sup> and then that

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<sup>122</sup> Epalza, ‘Mozarabs: an emblematic Christian minority’, 160-1.

<sup>123</sup> Epalza:

the rite of baptism normally requires a priest and the use of holy oil consecrated by a bishop, and the continued existence of Christian communities in al-Andalus therefore depended on sufficient priests to baptise the children of Christians and Mozarabs. Both priests and bishops are necessary to maintain the continuity of Christendom, since without bishops no baptism can be carried out and no priests can be ordained... Moreover, to create new bishops it is necessary to be sure of an “abundance” of bishops in the country, as the rite of consecrating a new bishop requires the presence of three other bishops, besides the candidate himself. It was equally important to maintain monasteries where new bishops were prepared for their duties; for, as is the case in most Christian churches in the East, only monks could be consecrated as bishops

(‘Mozarabs: an emblematic Christian minority’, 154). Epalza stresses the need for an ‘abundance’ of bishops, though he requires only three. See also: Epalza, ‘Falta de obispos’; García Villada, *Historia eclesiástica de España II* (Madrid: Compañía Ibero-Americana de Publicaciones, 1933), II.56-61. For comparable problems with bishops’ ordination in the North African Church of the ninth century see: Talbi, Mohamed, ‘Le christianisme maghrébin de la conquête musulmane à sa disparition: une tentative d’explication’ in *Conversion and Continuity: indigenous Christian communities in Islamic lands, eighth to eighteenth centuries* edited by Michael Gervers and Ramzi Jibran Bikhazi (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1990), 323-5.

<sup>124</sup> Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain*, 185.

<sup>125</sup> Barceló Perelló, Miguel, ‘Un estudio sobre la estructura fiscal y procedimientos contables del Emirato Omeya de Córdoba (130-300/ 755-912) y del Califato (300-366/ 912-976)’, *Acta historica et archaeologica medievalea* 5-6 (1984-5), 51.

<sup>126</sup> Reilly, Bernard F., *The Contest of Christian and Muslim Spain, 1031-1157* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 17-21.

they constituted ‘the great mass of the population of al-Andalus, perhaps a majority as late as the eleventh century’.<sup>127</sup>

A similar picture of Christian survival up to the twelfth century is presented by Richard Hitchcock’s study *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (2008), in which he offers a survey of Andalusī Christian society up to the mid-tenth century before turning his attention to migration and the Arabised Christians of Aragón, León and Toledo. The work is not intended as a study of the Andalusī Christian *per se*, but of the phenomenon of so-called mozarabism – those Arabised people living in Christian-controlled territory – and the study of Christians in al-Andalus during the early centuries is a bonus. Hitchcock, however, is circumspect in the extreme, and refuses to make definite identification of these Arabised individuals in the northern kingdoms, or indeed those identified by Muslim chroniclers in the twelfth century as Christians. Such caution is admirable in a field in which scholars have traditionally stretched great prejudged conclusions from very little or no material, but in this case serves only to obscure Andalusī Christian society. It is an example of the tendency to keep the Andalusī Christians at arm’s length, whether one acknowledges them or not, a tendency identified by Henri Bresc:

researchers have focused their attention mainly on the Jewish and Muslim communities, with their outstanding economic, fiscal, and cultural roles, and neglected the Arabised Christian minority under the power of the Muslims, nowadays still victims of suspicion<sup>128</sup>

This distrust, and the disinterest found in the vast majority of the major works on the subject of medieval Iberia, has left modern scholarship displaying a casual disregard for even those that are well-represented. Eulogius has been variously dubbed ‘Bishop Eulogius of Cordova’<sup>129</sup> and ‘Bishop of Toledo’<sup>130</sup> following Albar’s uncorroborated claim in the *Vita Eulogii* that Eulogius was elected to that office *in absentia*<sup>131</sup>, and his

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<sup>127</sup> Reilly:

the great mass of the population of al-Andalus, perhaps a majority as late as the eleventh century, were the Mozarabs. They retained their distinctive religion and the Vulgar Latin which would slowly evolve into the Romance tongues. So far as it related to its working, the land was overwhelmingly theirs... there was a gradual breakup of the great Visigothic *latifundia* after the conquest... Yet in the church they continued to have a wider organization

(*The Medieval Spains* (Cambridge: CUP, 1993), 60-1).

<sup>128</sup> Bresc, Henri, ‘Arab Christians in the Western Mediterranean (XIth – XIIIth Centuries)’, *Library of Mediterranean History* 1 (1994), 3.

<sup>129</sup> Reilly, *The Medieval Spains*, 74.

<sup>130</sup> Lawrence Barnett Phillips describes Eulogius as ‘Archbishop of Toledo and martyr’ in *The Dictionary of Biographical Reference* (Sampson Low, Son & Marston, 1871), 370; Patrick Geary describes Eulogius as ‘Bishop of Toledo’ in *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 165.

<sup>131</sup> Albar:



associate ‘Petrus Albarus’<sup>132</sup>, and ‘Peter Alvar’<sup>133</sup>. The two are sometimes confused for each other: the Jewish apostate Bodo-Eleazar is claimed to have held correspondence with Eulogius when in truth it was with Albar<sup>134</sup>; elsewhere it is Albar who is proclaimed a sainted martyr.<sup>135</sup>

The publication of Juan Gil’s two-volume *Corpus Scriptorum Muzarabiorum* (CSM) in 1973 made Eulogius and Albar’s texts more accessible, though it did not resolve errors such as those above, many of which were published subsequently. The CSM presents an improved edition of these texts, and with them all the known Latin texts produced in Córdoba in the eighth and ninth centuries. Gil’s work superseded Jacques-Paul Migne’s nineteenth-century editions in the *Patrologia Latina*, and was the basis of most subsequent studies. Dominique Millet-Gérard’s *Chrétiens mozarabes et culture islamique*, published 11 years later, was essentially a study of the socio-cultural and intellectual environment in which Eulogius and Albar wrote, via Gil’s edition, but has been adjudged as offering little new.<sup>136</sup> Gil’s edition then served as the basis for Castilian translations of both Eulogius and Albar, in Pedro Herrera Roldán’s *Obras completas* (2005), and Feliciano Delgado León’s *Álvaro de Córdoba y la polémica contra el Islam: El Indiculus Luminosus* (1996).<sup>137</sup>

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*nec illud omittendum huic operi reor, quod post diuine memorie Uuistremiri Toletane sedis episcopi in eandem sedem ab omnibus conprouincialibus episcopi electus et dignus est abitus et per relatu omnium comprobatus*

I reckon this must not be left out of this work: that after Wistremirus of divine memory, he [Eulogius] was elected to the same episcopal see of Toledo by all the bishops of the province, and turned out to be deemed worthy by judgement of all

(*Vita Eulogi*.10, CSM 1:336).

<sup>132</sup> Catlos, *The Victors and the Vanquished*, 34n55; Elter, Anton, *Donarem pateras (Horat.carm.4, 8). Programm zur Feier des Geburtstages seiner Majestät des Kaisers und Königs am 27.Januar 1905. Dass.1906. Programm zur Feier des Gedächtnisses Königs Friedrich Wilhelm III zugleich mit dem Bericht* (Bonn: C. Georgi, 1907), 40; Haye, Thomas, *Das lateinische Lehrgedicht im Mittelalter: analyse einer Gattung* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 164n137; Szövérfy, Joseph, *Iberian Hymnody: Survey and Problems* (Wetteren: Classical Folia, 1971), 55.

<sup>133</sup> Jennings, A.C., *A Manual of Church History* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1887), 115. See also: Robertson, James Craigie, *History of the Christian Church* (London: John Murray, 1862), II.381. Here Robertson also wrongly describes Eulogius as ‘a monk and priest of Toledo’, presumably also following Albar’s claim above.

<sup>134</sup> Catlos, *The Victors and the Vanquished*, 32.

<sup>135</sup> Altamira, Rafael, *A History of Spanish Civilization* translated by P. Volkov (London: Constable, 1930), 55.

<sup>136</sup> Richard Fletcher’s critical review describes *Chrétiens mozarabes* as ‘a conscientious but unenterprising study... The conclusions cautiously reached are rather too familiar, and no new solutions are proposed... One cannot help feeling that the approach here adopted to these texts is something of a worked-out seam’ (*The English Historical Review* 103, no. 407 (1988), 469-70).

<sup>137</sup> Herrera Roldán, Pedro, *Obras completas* (Madrid: Akal, 2005); Feliciano Delgado León, Feliciano, *Álvaro de Córdoba y la polémica contra el Islam: el Indiculus Luminosus* (Córdoba: Publicaciones Obra Social y Cultural Cajasur, 1996).

In placing Eulogius and Albar side by side with their Cordoban predecessors and contemporaries, Gil's collection made the idiosyncrasies of the martyrologists clear, though those who so wished still chose to ignore it. Eventually, the realisation that Eulogius and Albar were unusual began to gain traction, and they have been recognised by some as unrepresentative of their own community, and unacceptable as witnesses of Andalusī Christianity as a whole. In the 1960s, Norman Daniel's work on the history of relations between Islamic East and Christian West contained an early critical appraisal. He rejected Eulogius and the martyrs he tried to promote, of whom he observes that the epithet 'martyr' 'was not deserved'<sup>138</sup>, but was more interested in the place Eulogius and Albar occupied in the tradition of Christian apologetic against Islam, and the Iberian Peninsula's role as a conduit for information on Islam and polemic models.<sup>139</sup>

As Rincón Álvarez observes, the ideological zeal that founded modern Andalusī studies in nineteenth-century Spain has since benefited from distance, and been tempered by other points of view less emotionally connected to the matter:

The martyrial pronouncements unleashed in Córdoba after 18 April 850, the date the youth Perfectus voluntarily accepted his sacrifice, are not easy to interpret in today's light. The initial interpretations, Catholic, nationalist, and romantic, have lost force in face of other more modern ones from Spanish authors and also from Anglo-Saxon or German sources, which seek to understand the events of ninth-century Córdoba from a much more rational perspective<sup>140</sup>

Notable among this new generation of reinterpreters can be found, principally, Kenneth Wolf, Jessica Coope, and Ann Christys. Coope's *The Martyrs of Córdoba: Community and Family Conflict in an Age of Mass Conversion* (1995), sought to vindicate Bulliet's curve of conversion by looking at the evidence for acculturation and conversion in Eulogius' works. In doing so, she confirmed Eulogius' claims to authenticity with Bulliet's data though she, like so many others, misunderstood it; scholarly reception

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<sup>138</sup> Daniel, Norman, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (4<sup>th</sup> ed. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1980), 5.

<sup>139</sup> Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (revised and expanded edition, Oxford: Oneworld, 1993), 15-20, 22.

<sup>140</sup> Rincón Álvarez:

*Los pronunciamientos martiriales que se desencadenaron en Córdoba a partir de aquel 18 de abril del 850, fecha en la que el joven Perfecto aceptó voluntariamente el sacrificio, no son fáciles de interpretar a la luz de hoy; las iniciales versiones católicas, nacionalistas y románticas han perdido fuerza frente a otras más actuales procedentes de autores hispanos y también de fuentes anglosajonas o alemanas, que intentan entender unos acontecimientos de la Córdoba del siglo IX bajo una óptica mucho más racionalista*

(*Mozárabes y mozarabías*, 79).

holds that the book adds little to the debate.<sup>141</sup> The others' work mined more constructive seams: Wolf's *Christian Martyrs in Muslim Spain* (1988) is important because it breaks with tradition in its approach of accepting the fact that Eulogius' martyrs were problematic and that there had been no great persecution in their making. Instead Wolf seeks to explain why Eulogius tried to defend this new kind of martyrdom in the wider context of socio-political change in the mid-ninth century. The only criticism that might be levelled at Wolf's approach is that he accepts Eulogius' hagiography as a source of social history at Córdoba – a trust that Christys' research would later warn against<sup>142</sup> – though Colbert attacked Wolf for his criticisms of Eulogius.<sup>143</sup> Despite Collins' criticism of what he perceives as Wolf's narrow compass, *Christian Martyrs* is the most valuable study of Eulogius and his martyrology.<sup>144</sup>

The book of Ann Christys' thesis, *Christians in al-Andalus, 711-1000* (2002), in particular lays the foundations for a more critical approach to the subject of Andalusī Christianity, not to mention to the standard views on the subject, a 'source-critical

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<sup>141</sup> Roger Collins' review is bluntly critical of a work that says little that has not been said before, and damns with faint praise, concluding:

but as a teaching book, providing an introduction to and an overview of the mid-ninth-century Córdoba Martyr Movement, this reasonably priced volume will be of value

(Collins, 'Review: Jessica A. Coope, *The Martyrs of Córdoba*', *The English Historical Review* vol. 112, no. 447 (1997), 698). Kenneth Wolf's review reiterates Collins' criticism:

Coope's well-written and very readable book provides a useful overview of an important episode in the history of Christian-Muslim interaction. It does not, however, offer any new data nor does it break new ground in terms of its approach

(Wolf, 'Review: Jessica A. Coope, *The Martyrs of Córdoba*', *The Catholic Historical Review* 83.2 (1997), 307).

<sup>142</sup> Wolf asserts that

we can trust Eulogius at least to identify the martyrs and to inform us of the circumstances surrounding their deaths

(Wolf, *Christian Martyrs*, 23).

<sup>143</sup> Colbert offers a rather self-serving review:

This brief book, which might better have been a long article, seeks to, and probably does, throw new light on the martyrs of Córdoba... One should be familiar with the sources, too, to evaluate Wolf's arguments, which require constant alertness. "Zelum iustitiae" becomes "zeal of righteousness" (p. 24). Sabigotho's penitence becomes "irrevocable" (p. 115), but only if one accepts Wolf's hypothesis about the nature of the penitence. Wolf belittles Eulogius for electing to be beheaded when he is sentenced to be "whipped" (p. 61); "whipped to death" is what the text says... [the] problem of authenticity is studied in Appendix V of the 1962 book by E.P. Colbert, which also gives the fullest exposition of the sources in English. Although out of print, Colbert's work is still available from the author

(Colbert, 'Review: Kenneth Baxter Wolf, *Christian Martyrs in Muslim Spain*', *The Catholic Historical Review* 75.1 (1989), 136-8). One has the impression that Colbert does not feel adequately valued, and perceives criticism of Eulogius and his martyrology as personal slights.

<sup>144</sup> Collins:

To put it simply, Kenneth Baxter Wolf's *Christian Martyrs in Muslim Spain* is far too short for its subject... When the author tries to perform the sleight of hand of turning a study of one man's perceptions into an explanation of the actual causes of these events, the narrowness of his approach is revealed. The patent inadequacy of the solutions offered stand in direct relationship to the limited scope of the book

('Review: Kenneth Baxter Wolf, *Christian Martyrs in Muslim Spain*', *The English Historical Review* vol. 106, no. 419 (1991), 431-2).

approach... sorely-needed' in the words of Roger Collins, that 'may upset those Arabists whose attitude to their sources is slavishly reverential, but will prove liberating to others who are trying to develop a more mature methodology'.<sup>145</sup> Collins' review also points a spotlight on the general unwillingness in academic circles to hear Eulogius dismissed, though there are some very strong reasons – as shall be laid out in chapters I and II – which Collins prefers to downplay as 'some relatively minor discrepancies in his narrative'.<sup>146</sup> The 'relatively minor discrepancies' uncovered by Christys' critical eye are anything but – they pinpoint an important problem with Eulogius' version of events, and more besides will be added to them in the pages that follow. No longer can Eulogius' or Albar's testimony be accepted at face-value, as Roger Wright suggests<sup>147</sup>, nor can we accept Eulogius' martyrs as genuine expressions of piety or as ambassadors for an oppressed minority group, as modern historiography has made them. Wolf put too much emphasis on the collective in his analysis, focussing on the anxieties that drove the confessors to their deaths, as Eulogius tells it; what Christys indicates, and the first part of this thesis will attempt to show decisively, is that attention should be directed to Eulogius as the man who wrote the only account of these events, his motives for doing so, and his influences.

Though many scholars have touched upon the subject of the indigenous Christians of al-Andalus, but a very few have been dedicated to the subject itself, and, as has been seen, the canonical texts on Andalusī history barely engage with the Christians. These many contiguous studies take the form of articles and chapters in collections focused on a vast array of medieval Iberian subjects, which means that the secondary literature pertaining to the history of indigenous Christianity in al-Andalus is scattered as disparately as the primary sources. They are too numerous to list here, but deserving of special mention are two works on the huge corpus of Andalusī and Maghrebī juridical literature: Vincent Lagardère's *Histoire et société en occident musulman au Moyen Âge* (1995) and Ana Fernández Félix's *Cuestiones legales del islam temprano* (2003), both of which have rendered accessible the imposingly vast and

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<sup>145</sup> Collins, 'Review: Ann Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus, 711-1000*', *The English Historical Review* vol. 118, no. 476 (2003), 469.

<sup>146</sup> Collins, 'Review: Ann Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*', 469.

<sup>147</sup> Loth to write off the only Latin sources for the mid-ninth century, though he is aware of the problems, Wright wrote

the martyrs of the 850s are not typical; we should beware of extrapolating from the works of Eulogio, Álvaro and Sansón to draw general conclusions about the whole Christian community there

He suggested that 'we can take Álvaro's famous complaint of 854 as literal truth' ('The end of written Ladino' in *The Formation of al-Andalus: Part 2: Language, Religion, Culture and the Sciences*, edited by María Fierro & Julio Samsó (London: Variorum, 1998), 21... 23).

typically poorly indexed collections of *masā'il* and *fatāwā*<sup>148</sup>, which are a rich source of socio-historical data. Lagardère offers fully cited excerpts from the encyclopaedic *Kitāb al-Mi'yār* by fifteenth-century Moroccan Malīkī jurist Aḥmad al-Wansharīsī whose rulings bear upon a variety of socio-religio-political areas, many specifically dealing with the (inter-)actions of Christians. Fernández's study of the ninth-century Cordoban jurist al-'Utbī's *al-'Utbīyya* lists 280 *masā'il* specifically relating to Christians.

(vi) Focus returns to mozarabic studies

The relative paucity of Andalusī material has diverted many scholars of Arabised Christianity in recent years to the question of 'mozarabism', and to the study of Arabic and Latin manuscripts bearing marginal annotations in both languages.<sup>149</sup> The Arabised Christians integrated into the milieu of the Northern kingdoms are a more attractive prospect than the far less well-documented Arabised Christians actually in al-Andalus.<sup>150</sup> Since the turn of the millennium, several major Francophone and Hispanophone works have been published on the Mozarabs and mozarabic culture. In some, notably Diego Adrián Olstein's *La era mozárabe: Los mozárabes de Toledo (siglos XII y XIII en la historiografía, las fuentes y la historia)*, (2006), the focus is strictly

<sup>148</sup> *Masā'il* (مسائل), 'question'; *fatāwā* (فتاوى) plural of *fatwā*, 'juridical ruling'.

<sup>149</sup> See, among others: Aillet, 'Recherches sur le christianisme arabisé (IX<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècles): les manuscrits hispaniques annotés en arabe' in *¿Existe una identidad mozárabe? Historia, lengua y cultura de los cristianos de al-Andalus (siglos IX-XII)* edited by Aillet, Mayte Penelas and Philippe Roisse (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2008), 91-134; Braga, Gabriella, Bartolomeo Pirone and Biancamaria Scarcia Amoretti, 'Note e osservazioni in margine e due manoscritti Cassinesi (Cass.4e19)' in *Studi sulle società e le culture del Medioevo per Girolamo Arnaldi* edited by Ludovico Gatto and Paola Supino Martini (Florence: Edizioni All'Insegna del Giglio, 2002), 57-84; Casciaro Ramírez, José María, 'Las glosas marginales del *Codex visigothicus legionensis* de la Vulgata', *Scripta theologica* 2 (1970), 303-39; Díaz y Díaz, Manuel Cecilio, *Las primeras glosas hispánicas* (Barcelona: Universidad Autónoma, 1978); Levi della Vida, 'Manoscritti arabi di origine spagnola nella Biblioteca Vaticana' in *Studi e Testi* 220 (1954), 133-87; López López, Ángel Custodio, 'Las glosas marginales árabes del *Codex visigothicus legionensis*' in *Codex biblicus legionensis: veinte estudios* (León: Universidad de León, 1999), 303-18; Morata, Nemesio, 'Las notas árabes del Cod. & I-14'; Vivancos Gómez, Miguel C., *Glosas y notas marginales de los manuscritos visigóticos del monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos* (Santo Domingo de Silos: Abadía de Silos, 1996).

<sup>150</sup> See, for example, the proliferation of works on the Arabic-speaking Christians of post-1085 Toledo in particular: Bencheikh, Omar, 'Documents mozarabes de Tolède des XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles: nouveaux apports au lexique arabe andalou' in *Mélanges David Cohen: Études sur le langage, les langues, les dialectes, les littératures, offertes par ses élèves, ses collègues, ses amis présentées à l'occasion de son quatre-vingtième anniversaire* (Paris: Maisonnouve et Larose, 2003), 77-89; Cabanelas, Darío, 'Un documento de los mozárabes de Toledo (siglo XIII)', *Awrâq Jadida* 7-8 (1984-5), 7-15; *Los mozárabes de Toledo en los siglos XII y XIII* compiled by Ángel González Palencia (Madrid: Instituto de Don Juan, 1926-30); González Ruiz, Ramón, 'Toledo, último reducto del mundo mozárabe' in *Los mozárabes: una minoría olvidada* (Seville: Fundación El Monte, 1998), 47-86; Olstein, *La era mozárabe*.



on northern mozarabism, the inheritance of Andalusī migration. In others – the volume *Existe una identidad mozárabe? Historia, lengua y cultura de los cristianos de al-Andalus (siglos XI-XII)* overseen by Cyrille Aillet, Mayte Penelas and Philippe Roisse (2008), the articles in which deal almost exclusively with Andalusī Christianity – the term Mozarab is stretched to denote ‘Arabised Iberian Christian’ in all its permutations. In late 2009 the journal *Studia Historica* published an edition edited by Iñaki Martín Viso and Ana Echevarría Arsuaga, dedicated to Arabised Iberian Christianity entitled *Los mozárabes: entre la cristiandad y el islam*, wherein the integration of the indigenous Christians to an Arabised and Islamised milieu, and Arabised Christians in the Latinate north, is investigated from a variety of approaches: the purely documentary, archaeological, and legal.

In December 2005, Aillet completed a doctoral thesis entitled *Les Mozarabes: Christianisme et arabisation en Al-Andalus (IX<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, a revised version of which is due to be published soon under the title *Les « Mozarabes »: Christianisme, islamisation et arabisation en péninsule ibérique (IX<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècle)* – whose sophisticated analysis should be considered one of the key treatises on Arabised Christianity in the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>151</sup> Aillet also uses Mozarab as a generalised term designating ‘Arabised Christian’; his interest lies less in the presence of Christians in al-Andalus than in the ‘phenomenon of contact at the crossroads of Latin and Arabic culture’<sup>152</sup> which stimulated the development of an Arabised Christian cultural identity that would flourish in Toledo and elsewhere particularly after 1085.<sup>153</sup> Aillet’s attention is directed

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<sup>151</sup> I would like to express my gratitude to Dr Aillet for sending me a copy of the proofs of this book, which was due to be published two months into the process of post-viva corrections, and also for the aid he gave me while I was conducting research.

<sup>152</sup> Aillet:

*un phénomène de contact au croisement des cultures latine et arabe*

(*Les « Mozarabes »*, 33).

<sup>153</sup> Aillet writes:

*Les chemins de l’exil et la route des migrations projettent donc dans les espaces septentrionaux l’histoire de ce christianisme arabisé, dont la présence diffuse peut également être appréhendée en dehors des frontières d’al-Andalus. Les enjeux de cette enquête sont importants. Il s’agit tout d’abord d’évaluer la force du facteur migratoire dans l’évolution générale du christianisme méridional. Il s’agit aussi de réfléchir à la présence dans certaines régions du Nord de ces populations chrétiennes marquées — selon des gradients d’intensité variable — par le contact avec la culture arabe méridionale. En effet, loin de pouvoir se réduire au seul phénomène des projections migratoires, cette « situation mozarabe » relève de facteurs multiples qui contribuent à replacer le christianisme andalou dans le contexte plus large des interactions entre Islam méridional et sociétés chrétiennes du haut Moyen Âge ibérique*

The paths of the exile and the route of migrations thus project in southern spaces the history of this Arabised Christianity, whose diffuse presence can be apprehended outside the frontiers of al-Andalus too. The stakes of this inquiry are important. It is a matter first of all of evaluating the significance of the migratory factor in the general evolution of southern Christianity. It is also a matter of reflecting upon the presence in



towards an understanding of what he calls the ‘Mozarab situation’ (*la situation mozarabe*) in whose pursuit he does not distinguish between southern Andalusī and northern Mozarab Christian, though he does distinguish between the arenas of al-Andalus and ‘the lands of migration’<sup>154</sup>. For Aillet’s purposes, this geographic distinction between Andalusī and Mozarab is unnecessary; it is central, however, to the present work, which is predicated upon the insistence of differentiating between Andalusī as indigenous, southern, of Visigothic descent, and Mozarab as migrant or descended from migrants settled in Christian territory. Hitchcock’s strict definition of Mozarab is adhered to, as opposed to Simonet’s, for whom all Christians in al-Andalus were Mozarabs regardless of their origins. When the Andalusī Christian crosses the

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certain regions of the North of these Christian populations, marked – according to gradients of varying intensity – by contact with the southern Arabic culture. Indeed, far from being reducible to a single phenomenon of migratory projections, this ‘mozarabic situation’ raises many factors that contribute to placing Andalusī Christianity in the wider context of the interactions between southern Islam and Christian societies in the high Iberian Middle Ages

(*Les « Mozarabes »*, 241).

<sup>154</sup> Aillet defines the parameters of his research:

*On ne réduira pas la situation mozarabe à l'étude d'un groupe délimité par un territoire (al-Andalus) ou par un statut (la Dhimma). La tentation du plan fixe, c'est-à-dire de la monographie communautaire, échoue devant un triple constat: la focalisation des sources sur Cordoue, la disparition de tout récit communautaire à partir des années 860, et la nature éclatée et indirecte des sources disponible dispersées reflétant différents aspects d'un même phénomène, sans pour autant forcément converger. Elles nous obligent à restituer non pas le portrait illusoire d'une population, mais le portrait d'une situation d'interaction. Cette situation se déploie dans deux espaces bien distincts: al-Andalus, où l'on peut s'interroger sur la formulation d'une « identité » chrétienne dans un contexte d'islamisation et d'arabisation; les terres de migration du Nord, où la question « mozarabe » se résume à l'expression d'un rattachement à la culture à la culture méridionale dans un contexte chrétien et latin. Par « identité » nous entendons le phénomène dynamique par lequel un groupe définit sa place dans une société donnée en élaborant ses propres signes d'identification. La formulation d'une identité arabo-chrétienne en péninsule Ibérique entre IX<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècle polarise cette recherche*

We shall not reduce the *Mozarab situation* to the study of a group defined by a territory (al-Andalus) or by a status (the *Dhimma*). The attempt of a set plan, that is to say of a community monograph, fails before a triple report: the focus of the sources on Córdoba; the complete disappearance of community narrative after the 860s; and the scattered and indirect nature of the sources available after that date. Our sources are in effect like a shattered mirror, diffuse fragments reflecting different aspects of the same phenomenon, without necessarily converging. They oblige us to reconstruct not the portrait of a people, but the portrait of a situation of interaction. This situation unfolds in two thoroughly distinct spaces: al-Andalus, where one can investigate the formulation of a Christian identity in a context of Islamisation and Arabisation; and the northern lands of migration, where the Mozarab question boils down to the expression of a connection to the culture of the South in a Christian, Latin, context. By ‘identity’ we mean the dynamic phenomenon by which a group defines its place in a given society by developing its own signifiers of identity. The focus of this research is the formation of an Arabo-Christian identity in the Iberian Peninsula between the ninth and twelfth centuries

(*Les « Mozarabes »*, 34).

*thughr*<sup>155</sup> and settles, he becomes a Mozarab. The present work functions as something like a response to the problems Aillet cites as reasons not to attempt a *monographie communautaire*, his ‘shattered mirror of Andalusī Christian historiography’, to do just that – and to take it further than the early-mid-twelfth century, which many, Aillet included<sup>156</sup>, designate Andalusī Christianity’s end.

Like Aillet’s thesis, the present work seeks to redress the imbalance caused by Eulogius and Paul Albar’s dominance of the documentary record<sup>157</sup>; in Albar’s complaint and in the cross-faith marriages and bilingual martyrs of Eulogius’ hagiography, Aillet sees the first signs of the acculturation – both Arabisation and Islamisation – that would birth *une identité mozarabe*. Here, the Cordobans are given more direct attention, if only to make the case for their disregard as historical sources, which has been tentatively recognised in the last 15 years but could go further. An investigation into the pre-Christian influences that shaped their martyrology and apology and the dire images therein aims to explain why they wrote in the arresting way they did long before voluntary martyrdom became an accepted concept.

Where Aillet takes several regional case studies for the cultural and social aspects of the indigenous Christians’ acculturation, the present work takes their adoption of the dominant group’s cultural modes for granted – Latinate or Arabised, they are equally valid for it is their very presence which is valued – and seeks to bring together as much as possible of the extant evidence for their continued presence inside the Muslim-governed borders of al-Andalus, whether they be Latinate or Arabised, so long as they are indigenous, and on their basis reassess the stages of Andalusī Christian history.

In sum, the modern historiography of Andalusī Christianity was founded in the nineteenth century upon certain problematic principles: the focus on Eulogius and the ‘Martyrs of Córdoba’ and the entrenched view that indigenous Christianity did not long survive the imposition of Islamic government and Arabic culture, which has become

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<sup>155</sup> *Thughr* (ثغر): ‘border’, literally, ‘front tooth’.

<sup>156</sup> Aillet, *Les « Mozarabes »*, *passim*, 2, 27,34, 38, 45, 69 *inter alia*.

<sup>157</sup> Aillet writes of Eulogius’ martyrs:

*Une mémoire qui peut néanmoins s’avérer envahissante, comme celle des martyrs de Cordoue qui occupe l’essentiel d’un panorama par ailleurs trop restreint*

A memory that can nevertheless prove invasive, like that of the martyrs of Córdoba, who occupy the bulk of a vista which is too limited

(*Les « Mozarabes »*, 311).

more nuanced of late, designating the mid-twelfth century as *terminus ad quem*. These are the two themes which the present work aims to address.

Part I addresses the matter of Latinate Christianity in al-Andalus, which inevitably hinges in large part on the works of Eulogius and Albar. Chapter I deals with the imagery of martyrial Córdoba as seen (primarily) in Eulogius' writings, and tries to explain why it did not have the support of his contemporaries. This discussion introduces the idiosyncratic nature of Eulogius' hagiographical history, which affect its historical value. Chapter II examines a number of problematic aspects of Eulogius' testimony of 850s Córdoba, the difficulties of navigating hagiographical material, inconsistencies internal and discrepancies with contemporaries both Christian and Muslim, (which indicate no persecution) and the posthumous manipulation of the manuscript transmission. Chapter III then attempts to provide some insight into why Eulogius sought to create his picture of persecution and conflict in their absence; it is argued that in his attempt to foster unity in the – still a vast majority – Christian community, Eulogius took inspiration from the classical and late antique texts he famously took from Navarrese monasteries in the late 840s, chief among them Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, Vergil's *Aeneid*, Horace's *œuvre*, and Juvenal's *Saturae*, which gave him a framework for conceiving the Arab the better to attack him, and the heroic active martyr with which to make that attack. Chapter IV looks at the influence of the pagan classics; chapter V at the value of hagiography and Augustine's influence.

The works of Eulogius, Albar and Abbot Samson are generally held to be the last gasp of Latin in al-Andalus. Chapter VI seeks to show that while the production of new works of original literature in Latin did indeed disappear from the historical record in the late ninth century, Latin's continued use into the thirteenth century can be proven with extant epigraphic evidence.

Part II addresses the ephemeral yet controversial matter of conversion to Islam and the survival of indigenous Christianity. Chapter VII discusses Richard Bulliet's conversion curve with a re-evaluation of its significance, showing that it has not been properly understood in the 30 years since its publication. It is then argued that in light of this new understanding, certain assumptions on the extent of conversion and the disappearance of Christianity should be revised. There follows a chronologically-ordered evaluation of the health of indigenous Andalusī Christians – not northern Mozarabs – charting their presence through the caliphal tenth century, the *taifa* period, the dynastic Almoravid and Almohad periods, and finally the Naṣrid kingdom of

Granada, outlining the major developments and vicissitudes of this group in each of these discreet eras. To this end I have attempted to unite the various strands of historical research – histories literary, documentary, political, and archaeological – in which a great wealth of material on the indigenous Christian sector of Andalusī society may be found. Chapters VIII and IX present the tenth and eleventh centuries as a period during which an Arabised Christianity developed its Arabised religious identity and enjoyed a cultural peak while remaining a numerical majority. Chapter X details the decline of Andalusī Christianity in parallel to the decline of al-Andalus itself under the onslaught of the victorious Christian armies in the period of Almoravid, Almohad and then Naşrid rule. This last chapter shows that Christians were still present across Muslim territory, maintaining hierarchical communities until reconquest in many of the major Iberian cities and in rural regions beyond the imposed mid-twelfth-century *terminus ad quem*. Furthermore it is argued that the nature of the evidence – often of monastic or ecclesiastical communities – indicates that numbers were larger than is generally allowed. Finally, it presents what seems to be a valid late sighting of indigenous Christianity just 60 years before the final conquest of Granada.

Note: All translations are the author’s own, unless otherwise stated. All scriptural quotation in English is taken from the King James Bible. Any inconsistencies in the presentation of Latin quotations are due to my decision to faithfully reproduce the language as it appears in the sources; Gil’s editions of the Cordoban works, and some others, substitute *u* for *v*, and use *i* in all cases, never *j*, following classical Latin convention. Likewise, many works in Castilian up to the mid nineteenth century follow different conventions regarding accents; these have not been ‘corrected’ to adhere to modern convention. Arabic transliteration varies from work to work, and language to language, but in order to maintain consistent representation of the Arabic alphabet and diacritics, the present work renders the Arabic *yā’* (ﻱ) as *ī*, not *y* when functioning as a vowel – for instance referring to al-Şārafī instead of al-Şayrafī – unless the name or term is well-known, in which case the popular spelling is used to avoid confusion: sheikh for *shaīkh*, caliph for *khalīfa*. As for the personal names of individuals appearing in the primary sources shall, in the interests of easy reading, be presented as they appear in the original document unless there is a direct equivalent in English – thus, for instance, the reader will find John of Gorze instead of Johannes, and Paul

Albar instead of Paulus Albarus/ Alvarus, while Eulogius remains unmodified. All initial references shall be given with Latin names and titles in full, thereafter titles shall be given in abbreviated form, and names in the form of common usage, if different.

# **PART I**

## **LATINATE CHRISTIANITY IN AL-ANDALUS**



# Chapter I

## *The ecclesia destituta*

Córdoba.

Distant and alone<sup>1</sup>

Though it was not his intention, these words from García Lorca describe the long-prevailing view of the indigenous Christians of al-Andalus rather well: they and their communal life are an unknowable quantity accessed principally through mid-ninth-century Córdoba. This is the problem at the centre of Andalusī Christian history, for the image we have inherited of this city and this time is the construct of two men – Eulogius and Paul Albar – the one a priest, the other a lay man, both dedicated polemicists. The image they fashioned was central to the defence of the martyrs whose cult Eulogius nurtured: a church oppressed – an *ecclesia destituta* (though neither man used this phrase) whose hierarchy is dismantled, its buildings abandoned – an image which came to exert great influence over posterity’s perception of the period and of the Christian experience as a life of oppression, though in no other field would one find such reliance on hagiographical literature as an historical source (it might be argued that few fields are so barren that such recourse is necessary).<sup>2</sup> The Bollandist Jesuit Hippolyte Delehaye warned that there is ‘a distinction between hagiography and history. The

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<sup>1</sup> Federico García Lorca:

*Córdoba.*

*Lejana y sola*

(*Canción de jinete*.1-2, *Obras completas* edited in three volumes by Arturo del Hoyo (3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Madrid: Aguilar, 1957), I.308).

<sup>2</sup> It is a commonplace that hagiography is not a historical genre, though there is debate on how far one can accept the details therein. Hippolyte Delehaye devotes two chapters to discussing the problems and historical weaknesses of hagiographical works (*Les légendes hagiographiques* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Bruxelles: Bureaux de la Société des Bollandistes, 1906), 14-67, 68-120, 251-6).

hagiographer's work might be historical, but it is not necessarily so<sup>3</sup>. In the words of Warren Brown, the lives of saints were 'propaganda pieces' designed to serve the interests of the Church or lay nobility.<sup>4</sup> Between them, Eulogius and Albar represent both.

### **Eulogius' (and Albar's) modern reception as historical source**

It is a truism that early medieval texts pose their modern readers problems of interpretation.<sup>5</sup> It is particularly true of Eulogius, with his blending of genres now deemed incompatible. There is historical material in his hagiography and apologetic, but the norm is to accept Eulogius' words as history with religious elements, rather than hagiography with an unusual amount of what purports to be historical detail, and to ignore the usual caveats applied to hagiography. Though their reception has gone

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<sup>3</sup> Delehayé:

*Ce qu'il importe d'accentuer des le début, c'est la distinction entre l'hagiographie et l'histoire. L'œuvre de l'hagiographe peut être historique, mais elle ne l'est pas nécessairement*

(*Les légendes hagiographiques*, 2). Elizabeth Castelli writes:

Even the use of purportedly documentary evidence by early Christian writers, both in relation to persecution and martyrdom and in relation to other elements of the Christian past, served the rhetorical interests of creating a persuasive and continuous narrative about this history

(*Martyrdom and Memory: Early Christian Culture Making* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 25). See also: Momigliano, Arnaldo, 'Pagan and Christian Historiography in the Fourth Century A.D.' in *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century: Essays* edited by Momigliano (Oxford: OUP, 1963), 89f.

<sup>4</sup> Warren Brown:

Hagiography has its dangers as a source genre... Saints' lives were designed not to provide accurate historical information but rather to portray their subjects as models for either emulation or adulation by the faithful... they therefore drew heavily on stereotypes of saintly behaviour, stereotypes that frequently go back to the earliest days of Christianity. In addition, both the authors and later copyists or editors of saints' lives almost always constructed and reconstructed them as propaganda pieces in order to further their own interests or those of a particular church or aristocratic family

(*Unjust Seizure: Conflict, Interest, and Authority in an Early Medieval Society* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 22). For further discussion of the historical value of hagiographical literature, see also: Geary, 'Saints, Scholars, and Society: the Elusive Goal' in Geary's collection *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 9-29; Lewis, Katherine J., 'History, Historiography and Re-writing the Past' in *A Companion to Middle English Hagiography* edited by Sarah Salih (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006), 122-41.

<sup>5</sup> Walter Pohl writes of the need solve the problem of 'the relationship between text, knowledge, or discourse on the one side and social reality on the other':

Language does not simply reflect the world as it is; it is a medium of its construction. For early medievalists, this has led to a troublesome question: do we have access to an 'objective' reality through our texts, or are these texts the only reality that we can grasp?

('The construction of communities and the persistence of paradox: an introduction' in *The Construction of Communities in the Early Middle Ages: Texts, Resources and Artefacts* edited by R. Corradini, M. Diesenberger and H. Reimitz (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 2).

through phases of criticism and praise, the historical veracity of Eulogius' martyrs had never seriously been questioned before Ann Christys' *Christians in al-Andalus*. Changing attitudes in hagiographical research and the prominence of Eulogius and Albar in an otherwise near nonexistent literary record have conspired to bring an undue degree of attention upon them. Though Thomas Heffernan wrote in the late 1980s that '[the] term hagiography is now virtually impossible to read except as an epithet signifying a pious fiction or an exercise in panegyric'<sup>6</sup>, the attitude of Delehaye and his empirical contemporaries had been superseded in the mid-twentieth century by a wave of scholars who viewed hagiographical literature as a legitimate, though oblique, source of social history.<sup>7</sup> Thus Eulogius is accepted as a source of social history and his martyrs' deaths as historical incidents, though only a handful of them were accepted and accorded a place in the liturgical calendar; Christys remains alone in questioning this.

The focus on Eulogius and Albar is the result of the long-established belief that the sources for indigenous Christianity in the Muslim-governed peninsula are virtually non-existent. The surviving works of abbot Samson are more voluminous as Eulogius' and, as Colbert notes, offer a better – and less dramatic – view of their society, yet he is overlooked because the martyrs made a stronger impression on centuries of religious scholars.<sup>8</sup> Dozy, whose monumental *Histoire des musulmans d'Espagne* virtually defined how scholars approached al-Andalus long after its publication in the mid-nineteenth century, allowed the indigenous Christians but three appearances post-conquest: the martyrs of Córdoba, Ibn Ḥafsūn's Christian-*muwallad* rebellion, and their supposed eclipse in the aftermath of the 1125-6 clash between Alfonso I of Aragón and the North African Almoravids. The Cordoban works of Eulogius, Albar and Samson are the only indigenous Christian sources Dozy used, and he accepted Eulogius' account at face value, considering it of great value<sup>9</sup>, though he had little time for his morbid

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<sup>6</sup> Heffernan, Thomas J., *Sacred Biography: Saints and Their Biographers in the Middle Ages* (New York: OUP, 1988), 16.

<sup>7</sup> Geary discusses this development in hagiographical research following the innovative approaches to hagiographical texts by scholars like Peter Brown in the 1960s: *Living with the Dead*, 9-29.

<sup>8</sup> Colbert writes that 'Samson describes the social scene perhaps better than Eulogius and Albar' (*Martyrs of Córdoba*, 358).

<sup>9</sup> Dozy:

*Dans les dernières années du règne d'Abdérame, les chrétiens de Cordoue tentèrent une révolte d'une nature tout à fait exceptionnelle... les auteurs latins du milieu du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle nous fournissent beaucoup d'indications, non-seulement sur cette révolte, mais encore sur le mode d'existence, les sentiments et les idées des chrétiens de Cordoue, et nous nous attacherons à reproduire fidèlement les détails pleins d'intérêt qu'ils nous donnent*

fanaticism.<sup>10</sup> He clearly followed Eulogius in claiming that the Visigothic Church was already in ruins in the late eighth century:

besides the Cathedral dedicated to Saint Vincent, the Christians had kept nothing; all the other churches had been destroyed, but they were guaranteed possession of the cathedral by treaty. Later, in the year 784, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān I wanted the Christians to sell the other half<sup>11</sup>

Similarly, citing Albar in particular, Jacques Fontaine alleged great waves of conversion in the ninth century and proclaimed an organised effort to destroy the peninsular church from the 850s on, the only survivor of the holocaust being Bobastro<sup>12</sup>, though Hitchcock cautions that evidence for church demolition is ‘slender, at best’.<sup>13</sup>

Dozy and Fontaine are not even supported by their sources: Eulogius, if we can trust him, laments the demolition of church buildings ‘often over 300 years old’ (*paene trecentorum... excedebant annorum*)<sup>14</sup>; the physician Ibn Juljul refers to the ancient church of Saint Acisclus in the mid-tenth century.<sup>15</sup> Thus the author of one of the major histories, whose arguments and translations of the Arabic sources are still quoted – and who claimed, following Albar, that ‘more than half-Arabised, the Christians of Córdoba adapted to the foreign domination very well’<sup>16</sup> – considers Christianity in the southern

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In the last years of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān’s reign, the Christians of Córdoba tried to mount a rebellion of a totally exceptional nature... the Latin authors of the mid-ninth century furnish us with many insights, not only into this revolt, but also into the manner of existence, the feelings and thoughts of the Christians of Córdoba, and we shall strive to faithfully report the exceedingly interesting details they offer us

(*Histoire des musulmans d’Espagne*, II.101-2).

<sup>10</sup> Dozy calls Eulogius and what he perceives to be a group around him as ‘fanatics’ (*passim*):  
*ce qui enflammait principalement l’imagination malade des prêtres, c’était l’exemple de ces saints hommes... insensés... porter eux-mêmes leur tête au bourreau... les pauvres fous qui allaient se faire couper la tête sans rime ni raison... des malheureux qu’ils regardaient comme des aliénés... Ce parti exalté et fanatique*  
[whose] morbid imaginations were inflamed by those holy men... madmen presenting their own heads to the executioner... poor fools who were going to get their heads cut off without rhyme or reason... poor wretches [whom the Muslim judges] regarded as lunatics... this hysterical and fanatical party

(*Histoire des musulmans d’Espagne*, II.111-2... 136... 138... 174-5).

<sup>11</sup> Dozy:

*les chrétiens n’avaient conservé que la cathédrale, dédiée à saint Vincent; toutes les autres églises avaient été détruites, mais la possession de la cathédrale leur avait été garantie par un traité... plus tard, dans l’année 784, ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān I<sup>er</sup> voulut que les chrétiens lui vendissent l’autre moitié... les chrétiens cédèrent la cathédrale pour la somme de cent mille dīnārs, après avoir obtenu la permission de rebâtir les églises qui avaient été détruites*

(*Histoire des musulmans d’Espagne*, I.281-2).

<sup>12</sup> Fontaine, Jacques, *El mozárabe* (Madrid: Ediciones Encuentro, 1978), 18...61-3.

<sup>13</sup> Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, xiv.

<sup>14</sup> Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*.III.3.8, CSM 2:441

<sup>15</sup> Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’ wa al-ḥukamā’* edited by Fu’ād Sayyid under the title *Les générations des médecins et des sages* (Cairo: L’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1955), 96.

<sup>16</sup> Dozy:

*plus qu’à demi arabisés, les chrétiens de Cordoue s’accommodaient donc fort bien de la domination étrangère*

peninsula a subject unworthy of study beyond noting two extreme early episodes of cross-faith conflict and marking its coda, and bequeaths an inaccurate picture, as Lévi-Provençal observed.

Influenced by the canonical stature of the founding texts of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Dozy foremost among them, by the relative paucity of extant evidence of Christian presence for which the period is well-known, modern historiography has made Eulogius and Albar significant spokesmen for Andalusī Christianity, and effectively for the whole eight centuries of *dhimmī* status, speaking of persecution and assumed swift conversion. Their accounts of mid-ninth-century Córdoba were elevated for the simple reason that they, along with the abbot Samson's *Apologeticus*, are the only works that purport to reflect the realities of *dhimmī* life in any depth. But they had already been forgotten by the sixteenth century and might never have had a voice at all had the lone surviving manuscript of Eulogius' *Memoriale Sanctorum* (since lost) not been rediscovered by chance. Inquisitor General and Bishop of Plasencia, Pedro Ponce de León (1520-84), made the discovery in the library of Oviedo Cathedral – whither Eulogius' remains and part of his library were transferred in 883 by the Toledan priest Dulcidius<sup>17</sup>, though there is little evidence he was known there for long – and passed it on to the Cordoban priest-scholar Ambrosio de Morales (1513-91) in 1572, who studied and published it in 1574.<sup>18</sup> González Muñoz asserts that Eulogius' martyrs were forgotten within a generation and links this to the transition from Latin to Arabic<sup>19</sup>; Wolf notes the difference in the attention paid to Eulogius and

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(*Histoire des musulmans d'Espagne*, I.104).

<sup>17</sup> *Chroniques asturiennes (fin IX<sup>e</sup> siècle)* edited with parallel French translations by Yves Bonnaz (Paris: CNRS, 1987), 30. According to the *Crónica Albeldense*, Alfonso III sent Dulcidius to Córdoba in an ambassadorial capacity in September 883:

*rex noster legatum nomine Dulcidium Toletane urbis presuiterum cum epistolas ad Cordouensem regem direxit Septembrio mense*

(*Crónica Albeldense*.XV.13, edited by D.W. Lomax, 'Una crónica inédita de Silos' in *Homenaje a Fray Justo Pérez de Úrbel* (Burgos: Abadía de Silos, 1976), I.333). The relics were enconced below the altar of the Capilla de Santa Leocadia of Oviedo, according to the *Breviarius Antiquus* of the same, on 9 January 884:

*Quibus receptis, et in capsam cypressinam translatis, et in Capella S. Leocadiae sub arae tabula conditis... Quae translatio facta fuit die IX. Januarij*

(*España sagrada X: de las Iglesias sufraganeas antiguas de Sevilla: Abdera, Asido, Astigi, y Cordoba* (Madrid: Oficina de Antonio Marin, 1753), 457).

<sup>18</sup> Morales, Ambrosio, *Corónica general de España que continuaba Ambrosio de Morales coronista de Rey nuestro señor Don Felipe II tomo VIII* (Madrid: Oficina de Benito Cano, 1791), XV.39.

<sup>19</sup> Fernando González Muñoz:

*Una generación después a la de Álvaro y Eulogio, el episodio de los mártires había quedado olvidado, la arabización lingüística y cultural siguió progresando de forma imparable, y el estilo de argumentación polémica se hizo más abierto y dialogante en los escritos redactados en árabe Ḥafṣ b. Albar al-Qūṭī*

A generation after that of Albar and Eulogius, the episode of the martyrs had been forgotten; the linguistic and cultural Arabisation continued to progress unstoppably, and

Albar before and after Morales.<sup>20</sup> Samson aside, Eulogius and Albar are certainly the most accessible Christian sources bearing on social history, for they are the only substantial original Latin texts in a sea of miniscule inscriptions and *marginalia* in stylised, rudely abbreviated and ungrammatical epigraphic Latin and in artful Arabic, which serve only to prove a continued Christian presence and indicate their cultural vitality. The result has been the promotion of Eulogius' Córdoba to a position of central – and long-unassailable – importance to the study of Andalusī Christianity – and even the claim of a significant impact on Western Christendom. Jean Flori claimed that Eulogius' martyrs 'had a profound impact on the Christian West'<sup>21</sup>; Janet Nelson and

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the style of polemic argumentation became more open and responsive in the Arabic writings of Ḥafṣ ibn Albar al-Qūṭī

('En torno a la orientación de la polémica antimusulmana en los tornos latinos de los mozárabes del siglo IX' in *¿Existe una identidad mozárabe? Historia, lengua y cultura de los cristianos de al-Andalus (siglos IX-XII)* edited by Cyrille Aillet, Mayte Penelas and Philippe Roisse (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2008), 28). This is certainly a view supported by the silence of extant documentation, though al-Qūṭī's place in 'the next generation' is up for discussion. Writing on the same theme in the same volume, Cyrille Aillet writes of Eulogius and Albar's 'disappearance'

*Les premiers efforts de traduction des textes religieux essentiels, comme les Psaumes, se manifestèrent peu après la disparition d'Euloge et d'Alvare*

The first efforts at translation of essential religious texts like the *Psalms* appeared shortly after the disappearance of Eulogius and Albar

('Recherches sur le christianisme arabisé', 92).

<sup>20</sup> Wolf:

the abundant attention that the martyrs of Córdoba have attracted in the last four hundred years stands in marked contrast to the relative neglect they suffered in the first seven centuries after their deaths

(*Christian Martyrs*, 36).

<sup>21</sup> Flori bases his claim on the false premise that Usuard and Odilard went to the peninsula in search of Eulogius' martyrs' relics when in fact they were sent, expressly so, according to their chronicler Aimoin, to obtain those of Vincent of Zaragoza:

*ce bref et dramatique épisode eut un profond retentissement dans l'Occident chrétien. La preuve en est que, avant 858, deux moines de l'abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Prés furent envoyés à Cordoue pour en ramener... les reliques des trois martyrs de 852*

this brief and dramatic episode had a profound impact on the Christian West. The proof is that before 858 two monks of the Abbey of Saint-Germain des-Prés had been sent to Córdoba to bring back the relics... of three martyrs from 852

(*La première croisade: l'Occident chrétien contre l'Islam* (Brussels: Éditions Complexe, 1992), 186). By Aimoin's account:

*agente Incarnationis Domini nostri Jesu Christi annorum cursu octingentesimo quinquagesimo octavo, regni vero Caroli, gloriosi Ludovici imperatoris filii, duodevigesimo... apud monasterium Sanctae Crucis beatique Vincentii martyris, ubi pretiosus confessor Dei sanctus Germanus Parisiorum pontifex virtutum fulget honore, pervulgatum est quod ejusdem sancti martyris et Levitae corpus a Valentia, in qua passus est civitate, facile posset haberi, propter videlicet miserabilem ipsius civitatis a Sarracenis vel Mauris factam desolationem... ingrediuntur aliquando pagum Uzecensem, ubi ab episcopo viro religioso nomine Walefrido comperiunt (quod Vivarias quoque civitate jam audierant) corpus memorati almi Vincentii martyris a supradicta urbe Valentia Beneventum esse transmissum... Indolebant utique nostri anxie collacrymantes tanto itineris spatio elaborato, se vacuos redituros... Interea contigit ut idem Sunifridus de enormi fidelium interfectione, sub Abdiramae regis Cordubae persecutione nuper facta sermonem sumeret...*

in the eight hundred and fifty-eighth year after the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the twenty-second of the reign of Charles [II the Bald] the glorious son of the Emperor Ludovicus [Louis]... at the monastery of the Holy Cross of the Blessed Martyr Vincent



James Waltz impute influence on *reconquista* ideology.<sup>22</sup> Similarly, Cutler claims a part for Eulogius in influencing every major Christian-Muslim clash in the West from the contemporary Toledan rebellion against Muḥammad I to St Francis of Assisi's missionary left wing and much in between including: the doomed incursion of 854 which ended in heavy defeat at Guadacelete for Ordoño I of León; the Banū Qasī's alliance with Alfonso III against Muḥammad I in the 870s; Ibn Marwān's rebellion in Badajoz in 875 and Ibn Ḥafṣūn's in the Ronda from the 880s; the depiction of the Prophet Muḥammad and Muslims in the *Chansons de geste*; Pope Innocent III's appeal to crusade in 1213 – all this happened, Cutler thinks, because 'the ideals of the martyrs and their leaders lived on'<sup>23</sup>. María Fierro hints that she conceives of the 'martyr movement' as part of a wider *muwallad*-'Mozarab' uprising against the expansion of the Islamic state as a cultural as well as political force in the peninsula, and against increased taxation and the diminution of former Visigothic prestige and autonomy.<sup>24</sup>

There are dissenting voices, though: Norman Daniel concludes that 'on the whole', Eulogius and his martyrs have 'no close literary ties with later Western writers'<sup>25</sup>. Bonnie Effros has shown that Eulogius' saints were not popular, being

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– where the precious confessor of God, holy Germanus the Bishop of the Parisians, shone with the honour of his virtues – it was well-known that the body of this same holy martyr and deacon from Valencia, where he suffered, could be easily had because of the misery of that city made desolate by the Saracens or Moors... at some point they reached the region of Uzés, where they learned from the bishop, a religious man named Walefridus (they also heard that Viviers was now a city) that the body of the martyr Vincent, of restorative memory, had been transported from the aforementioned city of Valencia to Benevento... Terribly aggrieved at this, our men wept anxiously that having made such a great journey, they would return empty-handed... Meanwhile it happened that Sunifridus took up the tale of an enormous slaughter of the faithful recently carried out under 'Abd al-Raḥmān King of Córdoba...

(*De Translatione Sanctorum Martyrum Georgii Monachi Aurelii et Nathaliae, ex Urbe Corduba Parisios*.1-4, *PL* 115, col.941B-C... 942B... C... 943A).

<sup>22</sup> Nelson:

[the translation of George, Aurelia and Sabigotho's relics to Paris] ensured that the Cordoban martyrs found their place in the permanent liturgical memory of Latin Christendom. Those martyrs' fates probably helped to establish prejudices of lasting significance to foreshadow the ending of attitudes that favoured convivencia in Spain; and to shape the new and distinctly bloody-minded vengefulness of the Christian West thereafter

('The Franks, the Martyrology of Usuard, and the martyrs of Cordoba', *Martyrs and Martyrologies* edited by Diana Wood (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), 80). James Waltz writes:

The culmination of this historical and ideological development was holy war... the acts and writings of those few Cordoban Christians, and the ideas and attitudes those acts and writings expressed, came to form an important strand of ideology which... provided the motivation for the crusades

(Waltz, 'The Significance of the Voluntary Martyrs' Movement of Ninth-Century Córdoba', *Muslim World* 60 (1970), 326).

<sup>23</sup> Cutler, Allan Harris, 'The Ninth-Century Spanish Martyrs' Movement and the Origins of Western Christian Missions to the Muslims', *The Muslim World* 55 (1965), 332-8.

<sup>24</sup> Fierro, 'Four questions in connection with Ibn Ḥafṣūn', 315.

<sup>25</sup> Daniel, *Islam and the West*, 6.

selectively included in only four martyrologies of the ninth and tenth centuries besides Usuard's influential *Martyrologium*.<sup>26</sup> It was not until after Morales' edition that Eulogius wielded a measure of significance. Waltz calling Eulogius and Albar 'Christian leaders',<sup>27</sup> is simply a sign of the weight of tradition in this field; one gets the sense, despite their dominance of their period, that Eulogius and especially Albar were rather marginal figures in a rather underwhelming series of events that have been blown out of all proportion simply because of that very documentary dominance.

The only – potential – evidence that Eulogius or Albar were remembered in Córdoba, is purely conjectural and comes from a manuscript of Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* from San Millán de Cogolla, now held by the Biblioteca de la Real Academia de Historia in Madrid, which was copied from a Cordoban codex of the latter ninth-century and appears to reproduce even its marginalia. One of these notes, Manuel Díaz has proposed, was inked by Albar himself: *probabiliter et vere christianissime Platonici locuti sunt*.<sup>28</sup> Whether or not this is the case, a second annotation, made in response after 865, Díaz thinks, names an Albar, though it must be said the quality of the annotator's Latin is rather poor, the sense far from clear, and that there is no reason to suppose that this is the same Albar:

This is published to your long memory, Albar, for you say that what the Platonists said was very Christian-like and after your death they were not ashamed to speak out otherwise in the council of Córdoba and to say that God is in men through subtle creation, not through His own substance<sup>29</sup>

Of Eulogius' Cordoban readership there is no sign before Morales. Some believe that Eulogian influence can be seen in the Christian north of the peninsula. Colbert I.

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<sup>26</sup> Effros identifies the tenth-century copy of the *Martyrology of Ado (Family II)* from Ferrières in western Belgium (includes 18); two versions of the *Calendar of Silos* written before 1039 and in 1052, respectively (both include only Rudericus and Salomon); the (probably) tenth-century *Calendar of Córdoba* (Emilius and Perfectus). Further, only the two Calendars of Silos name Eulogius himself. See: 'Usuard's Journey to Spain and Its Influence on the Dissemination of the Cult of the Cordovan Martyrs', *Comitatus: A Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 21.1 (1990), 30.

<sup>27</sup> Waltz, 'The Significance of the Voluntary Martyrs', 226. Roberto Marín-Guzmán also describes Eulogius as 'one of the leaders of the movement' ('The Causes of the Revolt of 'Umar ibn Ḥaḥṣūn in al-Andalus (880-928): A Study in Medieval Islamic Social History', *Arabica* 42.2 (1995), 187).

<sup>28</sup> Madrid, Biblioteca de la Academia de la Historia, ms 29, folio uncited in Díaz y Díaz, 'Los mozárabes: una minoría combativa' in *¿Existe una identidad mozárabe? Historia, lengua y cultura de los cristianos de al-Andalus (siglos IX-XII)* edited by Aillet, Mayte Penelas and Philippe Roisse (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2008), 5.

<sup>29</sup> The marginal note reads:

*Quid prode est tibi diu ad memoria, Albare, quod dicis christianissime Platonici locuti sunt et post tuum obitum non erubuerunt in Cordubense consilium predicare aliter et dicere Deus subtilem creaturam est in hominibus non per propriam substantiam*

(Díaz y Díaz, 'Los mozárabes: una minoría combativa', 5). Díaz believes that the council referred to is that mentioned by Samson held in 864:

*Es evidente que se trata del Concilio de Córdoba de 864, cuyas actas no conocemos más que a través de los comentarios siempre malintencionados del abad Samsón*

('Los mozárabes: una minoría combativa', 5).

Nepaulsingh speculates that the author of the last part of the *Poema del mio Cid*, known since Menéndez Pidal's 1913 edition as the *Afrenta de corpes*, may have had access to Eulogius and Albar's work.<sup>30</sup> Ron Barkai and John Williams attribute an influence on the chronicles commissioned by Alfonso III of León (866-910).<sup>31</sup>

The central theme of Eulogius' work is indeed that of martyrdom – his martyrs of Córdoba are, after all, directly referenced in the title of each of his compositions: the *Memoriale Sanctorum*, the *Documentum Martyriale*, and *Liber Apologeticus Martyrum*, which, as their titles (the *Memorial of the Saints*, *Martyrial Document* and *Defence of the Martyrs*) suggest, comprise little more than a literary record of those contentious deaths – but it is the trope of the *ecclesia destituta* to whose emotive power he returns time and again. This is Eulogius' real legacy. It is this conceit that the following chapter seeks to investigate, first with an unfolding of Eulogius and Albar's social testimony, and then in Chapter II with an unpicking of its problems.

### **Persecution of the individual**

Though the opposite has been accepted as true by some since Wolf's *Christian Martyrs*<sup>32</sup>, Eulogius describes his life in a 'savage time of unbound fear' (*terrore et immanitate seuissimi temporis*)<sup>33</sup> in 'desolate' (*desolationem*)<sup>34</sup> Córdoba, where laws are passed to restrict Christians' movement – Albar tells us that 'the emir's anger introduced compulsion with laws, hindering free will'<sup>35</sup> – and bind the populace to respect for Islam and the alien *sharī'a*:

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<sup>30</sup> Nepaulsingh, 'The Afrenta de Corpes and the Martyrological Tradition', *Hispanic Review* 51.2 (1983), 205-21 and 'Abbat, Per' entry in *Dictionary of the Literature of the Iberian Peninsula: A-K* edited by Germán Bleiberg, Maureen Ihrie and Janet Pérez (London: Greenwood Press, 1993), 3-4.

<sup>31</sup> Barkai, Ron, *El enemigo en el espejo: Cristianos y musulmanes en España medieval* translated into Castilian by M. Bar-Kochba and A. Komay (Madrid: Ediciones RIALP, 1984), 53; Williams, John, 'Purpose and Imagery in the Apocalypse Commentary of Beatus of Liébana' in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* edited by Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 229.

<sup>32</sup> Wolf, *Christian Martyrs*, 96-104.

<sup>33</sup> Albar, *Epistulae*.X.2.38-40, *CSM* 1:216.

<sup>34</sup> Eulogius, *Documentum Martyriale*.9.3, *CSM* 2:466.

<sup>35</sup> Albar:

*ira quoque regis contra nos deseuiens legibus necessitatem induxerat et liuerum arbitrium interpolans*

(*Vita Eulogii*.6.7-9, *CSM* 1:334).

Behold! Public law is suspended and a legal order circulates throughout their kingdom, whereby he who blasphemes is whipped, and he who strikes is killed<sup>36</sup> Christians lose their positions at court<sup>37</sup>, among them Eulogius' brother Joseph<sup>38</sup>, and clerics and ecclesiastics are incarcerated<sup>39</sup>. 'Are we not', Albar asks rhetorically, 'resigned to the yoke of slavery, weighed down by an unbearable census, stripped of our affairs, oppressed by the taxes of our aggressors, turned to proverbs and chants, made entertainment for all the Gentiles?'<sup>40</sup>. Albar's complaints of heavy taxation, also voiced by Eulogius<sup>41</sup>, echo the letter Louis the Pious sent to the rebels of Mérida in 830, in which he sympathises over the 'unjust censuses and taxes' (*injustis censibus ac tributis*)<sup>42</sup> he supposes are levied upon them. But complaint at oppressive tax and legislation is commonplace under unwelcome rule. Linehan suggests that the *jizya* levied on the *ahl al-dhimma* 'may not have been significantly greater than what had been due to the last Visigothic king'<sup>43</sup>; according to Albert Hourani, and the treaty made by Theodemir, the *jizya* was to some extent means-tested<sup>44</sup>.

The nine years between Perfectus' death and Eulogius' own are described 12 times as a 'storm' whose elemental violence also defines the persecution of the Roman

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<sup>36</sup> Albar:

*Ecce enim lex publica pendet et legalis iussa per omni regno eorum discurrit, ut qui blasphemauerit flagelletur, et qui percusserit occidatur*

(*Indiculus Luminosus*.6.5-7, CSM 1:278).

<sup>37</sup> Eulogius:

*Mahomad... Xpianos omnes palatio abdicans indignos aulae principali ministerio promulgauit*

Muhammad removed all the Christians from the palace and made it known that they were unworthy of office at the principal court

(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.III.1.1... 3-5, CSM 2:439).

<sup>38</sup> Eulogius:

*Joseph, quem saeva tyranni indignatio eo tempore a principatu deiecerat*  
at that time the tyrant's savage indignation threw Joseph out of the court

(*Epistulae*.III.8.3-4, CSM 2:500).

<sup>39</sup> Eulogius:

*crudelitas nos tyranni carceralibus mancipauit aerumnis*  
the tyrant's cruelty has sold us like slaves to the distressing prison

(*Documentum Martyriale.epistulae praeuiaie Eulogius Albaro*.7-8, CSM 2:459).

<sup>40</sup> Albar:

*Numquid non sumus iugo seruitutis addicti, inportauili censu grauati, rebus nudati, contumeliorum fascibus pressi, in prouerbium et cantico uersi, theatrum uniuersis gentilibus facti?*

(*Indiculus Luminosus*.3.30-5, CSM 1:275).

<sup>41</sup> Eulogius complains of a monthly tribute (*lunariter tributum*) (*Memoriale Sanctorum*.I.21.1-7, CSM 2:385), see below.

<sup>42</sup> Einhardus, *Epistola XXXIX.Ad Emeritanos, in persona Hludovuici Imperatoris*, PL 104, col.525A.

<sup>43</sup> Linehan, Peter, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain* (New York: OUP, 1993), 73).

<sup>44</sup> Hourani notes in his *History of the Arab Peoples* that the *jizya* was 'graded roughly according to their [non-Muslims'] wealth' (*A History of the Arab Peoples* (London: Faber, 2002), 35). The copy of Theodemir's *amān* recorded by al-Ḍabbī specifies that his followers pay half the rate of their lord (وعلى العبد نصف ذلك) (*Bughyāt al-multamis*, 274).

martyrs – ‘in those most frequent storms of the persecutions long ago’ (*quibus olim tempestatibus persecutionum crebrissimis*)<sup>45</sup> and draws parallels between the two.<sup>46</sup> The language Eulogius uses when referring to the emir also harks back, fitting him distinctly in the mould of the rapacious classical Barbarian Other – ‘savage tyrannical frenzy blazing against the Church of God’ (*exardescens saeuus aduersus Dei ecclesiam furor tyrannicus*)<sup>47</sup> – a devastating irrational force overturning the order of Western society, transforming the Church’s house of peace and authority into a dark dungeon – the Church made a prison, or the prison made a church. In an argument with Bishop Saul conducted by letter, Albar refers to the stifling constraints felt in ‘the tempest of the age and the calamity of our time’ (*procella seculi et calamitas temporis nostre*)<sup>48</sup>:

the harshness of our straits and the immensity of our lashings has closed the font of eloquence and with its great mass snatched away the occasion to speak<sup>49</sup>

Eulogius catalogues the daily humiliations directed at the clergy:

none of our people walks safely among them, no one passes through in peace, no one crosses their neighbourhood without being dishonoured. Indeed, when the necessity of personal matters forces us to go out in public, and pressing domestic needs drive us to rush from our cottage’s calm, it is not long until they turn their attention to the badges of our holy order. They attack with cries of derision like madmen and fools, and besides that there are the daily mockeries of the boys, for whom it is not enough to offer a cry of the tongue, to heap upon us the disgrace of jeers: they do not even stop at throwing stones at our backs. I recall what insult they offer the honoured sign, when time comes for the singing of psalms and we must signal the faithful and the approaching hour of prayer demands that we make the accustomed call to the people. It is not long before the clamour of ringing metal catches the ear of the mob who, seduced by the superstition of falsehood, do not hesitate to set their tongues to pronouncing every kind of curse and insult... often and incessantly we are slandered by them and because of [our] religion we endure their savagery everywhere, for many of them judge us unworthy of touching their clothing and curse if we come too close. They consider it a great pollution if we mix in any of their affairs<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*.I.37.30-1, CSM 2:395.

<sup>46</sup> Two terms meaning ‘storm’ appear in Eulogius and Albar’s work: *tempestas* and *procella*. *Tempestas* is used seven times (*Memoriale Sanctorum*.II.1.5.13, III.11.2.11, III.14.1, III.17.1.1, CSM 2:400, 453, 455, 456; Eulogius, *Epistulae*.III.10.14, CSM 2:501; Albar, *Epistulae*.XIII.4.8, CSM 1:226; *Indiculus Luminosus*.15.43, CSM 1:288); *procella* five times (*Memoriale Sanctorum*.III.praefatio.28, III.11.2.11, CSM 2:439, 453; Albar, *Epistulae*.XI.1.1, CSM 1:221; *Indiculus Luminosus*.14.6, 28.31, CSM 1:286, 303).

<sup>47</sup> Eulogius, *Epistulae*.III.10.6-7, CSM 2:501.

<sup>48</sup> Albar, *Epistulae*.XI.1.1-2, CSM 1:221.

<sup>49</sup> Albar:

*acerbitas angustiarum et inmanitas flagellorum eloquentje fontem conclusit et dicendi materiam sua mole retrusit*

(*Epistulae*.XI.1.3-4, CSM 1:221).

<sup>50</sup> Eulogius:



Albar seconds this and extends the abuse to the lay flock, and brings our attention to the fact that the oppression cannot be as harsh as Eulogius will go on to claim, for church bells still call the faithful to prayer, despite the *dhimma*'s interdiction:

when they hear the basilica's signal – that is, the sound of ringing in the air – with which the canonical hour is struck to bring together the church's assembly, they gawp with derision and contempt, wagging their heads, repeating unspeakable things time and again; they attack and deride Lord Christ's whole flock, both sexes and every age, not with uniform insult, but with a thousand ill-spoken curses<sup>51</sup>

Albar contributes much to Eulogius' picture, often exceeding him in his customary hyperbole:

in those days it seemed that everyone was sold by force and power, subjected by royal order, joined to the unjust enemy, and those who in the previous uprising had stood upright against him, then, struck by terror, clung on like familiars – not in their minds, but in their bodies, not out of the heart's delight, but from terror's compulsion, and so that [the emir] would not be given further cause to do harm. Also, raging against us,

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*nemo nostrum inter eos securus ingreditur, nemo quietus permeat, nemo saeptum eorum nisi dehonestatus pertransit. Etenim cum nos cuiuslibet rei familiaris necessitas ire in publicum coegerit et instante domestica necessitate ex angulo tugurii nostri in forum prosilire contigerit, mox ut stigmata in nobis ordinis sacri aduertunt, acclamatione derisionis ut amentes et fatuos impetunt, praeter illa puerorum quotidiana ludibria, quibus non satis est inferre linguae conuicium, turpia exaggerare scurrilitatum, uerum etiam tergo nos lapidibus insectari non desinunt. Quid illud memorem, quod in contumeliam signi uenerabilis proferunt, quod cum forte competens tempus psallendi signum fidelibus dare compulerit et imminens hora obsecrationis indicium populis facere consuetum poposcerit, mox ut illectum superstitione mendaci uulgus clangorem tinnientis metalli aure captauerit, in omnem maledictionem et spurcitiam linguam admouere non differt... saepe ab eis et incessanter calumniamur causaque religionis eorum saeuitiam ubique perpetimur, adeo ut multi ex eis tactu indumentorum suorum nos indignos diudicent propiusque sibimet accedere exsecrentur*

(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.I.21.18-31... 32-5, CSM 2:385-6). One should note that such excerpts represent only a partial reflection of Eulogius' (and Albar's) complaints, which are of such great volume that they cannot be fully presented or referenced in the present work. Writing on conversion, Coope claims that Eulogius 'complained that children delighted in singing indecent songs (*carmina inhonesta*) in his presence', clearly under the assumption that these children cannot be Christian because only Muslims or heretics are capable of vulgarity. The phrase *carmina inhonesta*, however, is nowhere to be found at *Memoriale Sanctorum*.I.21, which Coope offers as her reference; nor, according to the online *Patrologia Latina* database, does it feature at all in any of Eulogius' works, nor Albar's for that matter (see Coope's 'Religious and Cultural Conversion to Islam in Ninth-Century Umayyad Córdoba', *Journal of World History* 4.1 (1993), 51).

<sup>51</sup> Albar:

*quum uaselicè signum, hoc est, tinnientis eris sonitum, qui pro conuentum ecclesie adunandum horis homnibus canonicis percutitvr, audiunt, derisione et contemptui iniantes, mobentes capita, infanda iterando congeminant, et omnem sexum uniuersamque etatem, totjusque Xpi Domini gregem non uniformi subsannio, set milleno contumiarum infamio maledice impetunt et deridunt*

(*Indiculus Luminosus*.6.33-8, CSM 1:278-9). Jerrilynn Dodds and John Tolan note the oppositional imagery of church demolitions and rising minarets, and the ringing of church bells and the call of the muezzin, respectively, as emblematic of culture clash, symbols of the competition for the soul of Córdoba. See: Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology*, 69; Tolan, 'A Dreadful Racket: The Clanging of Bells and the Yowling of Muezzins in Iberian Interconfessional Polemics' in *Sons of Ishmael: Muslims Through European Eyes in the Middle Ages* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2008), 151-5).



the king introduced compulsion by laws, hindering free will and subjected all to the ferocious enemy... so at that time when the savage tyranny of the Arabs was devastating the whole territory of Hispania wretchedly with the craft of cunning, when King Muḥammad decided with unbelievable frenzy and unchecked conscience to wipe out the race of the Christians from the roots, many feared that cruellest of kings and strove to curb his madness, by a harsh act of wicked will they tried to tempt the Christian flock with diverse and exquisite opportunities. And many committed themselves to the precipice by denying Christ: some were impelled, shaken by hard torments; others besides were steadfast, grounded by flourishing virtue. At this time, as we have said, the testimony of the faithful shone forth gleaming and the error of the deniers was as inconstant as the tide<sup>52</sup>

The source of this episode seems to be Eulogius who, some years previously, had written that Muhammad had wanted to kill all Christians, but was talked out of it by his advisors.<sup>53</sup> Albar adds that ‘the truth of this story shall be set out more clearly in another work’<sup>54</sup>, but it does not survive if he did.

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<sup>52</sup> Albar:

*ipsis diebus cuncti et ui et potestate addicti, iussu regio subditi iniquo uidebatur hosti adiuncti, et qui priori insurrectjone aduersi et erecti contra eum steterant, tunc terrore concisi quasi familiares herebant, non mente, set corpore, nec dilectjone cordis, sed compulsione terroris et ne aditum ei nocendi daretur in amplius. Ira quoque regis contra nos deseuiens legibus necessitatem induxerat et liuerum arbitrium interpolans omnes truci subdiderat hosti... tempore igitur quo seua dominatjo Harabum calliditatis astu omnes fines Hispaniae misere deuastabat, quo rex Mohomad incrediuili rabie et effrenata sententja Xpicolum genus delere funditus cogitabat, multi terrore cruentissimi regis metuentes eiusque insaniam modificare nitentes per trucem uoluntatis iniquae officium diuersis et exquisitis occasionibus gregem Xpi inpetere temtauerunt. Plerique Xpm negando se precipitio commiserunt, alii duribus tormentibus agitati commoti sunt, porro alii florenti uirtute stauiliti sunt et fundati, in cuius ut diximus tempore martyria fidelium coruscando resplenduit et horror negantium fluctuabit*

(*Vita Eulogii*.6.3-9... 12.1-10, CSM 1:334-7).

<sup>53</sup> Eulogius:

*iusserat etiam omnes Xpianos generali sententia perdere feminasque publico distractu dispergere, praetor eos qui sprete religione ad cultum suum diuerterent. Et nisi hoc edictum consultu satrapum quassaretur*

[Muḥammad] ordered in a universal judgement that all Christian men be killed and the women be torn apart in public and scattered, except those who would reject their religion and turn to his cult. But this edict was quashed on the advice of the military officials' counsel

(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.III.7.8-11, CSM 2:445).

<sup>54</sup> Albar:

*cuius storiæ ueritatem in alio opera enucleatjus disseretur*

(*Vita Eulogii*.6.9-10, CSM 1:334).

## Destruction of church buildings

Eulogius depicts Islam as a destroyer of Christianity, falsely claiming that the non-missionary faith sought to convert by force; the demolition of ecclesiastical buildings by Muḥammad I is a key part of Eulogius' imagery:

the prince's savage plotting against God's flock was on the increase and more and more often he struck out at Christians everywhere, but they did not all rush to his rite in universal flight as he believed they would. [So] he ordered churches recently built to be destroyed and whatever newly-worked object glittered in the ancient basilicas was dashed to pieces in the times of the Arabs, and set to some barbaric mould. Captured then by the satraps of the shadows, even the roofs were stripped from temples which were erected by the endeavour and industry of our fathers in a time of peace, often they were more than 300 years old... he devoted himself to the ruin of the churches<sup>55</sup>

Visigothic Corduba apparently disintegrates as Andalusī Qurṭuba flourishes. Albar presents a changing landscape as basilicas and spires are torn down and minarets take their place:

behold! Every day at all hours of day and night they curse the Lord in their towers and shadowy palaces, while they exalt their impudent, lying, rabid seer and their unjust lord in unanimous testimony<sup>56</sup>

It is true that a *fatwā* issued by the *shūrā* or Council of *fuqahā'* in the early tenth century, to judge by its signatories<sup>57</sup>, does prohibit the building of new *dhimmi* houses of worship<sup>58</sup>, but this cannot be applied retrospectively to the mid-ninth century; nor do

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<sup>55</sup> Eulogius:

*cum saepius contra Dei cateruam saeua principis conspiratio inolesceret affligeretque ubique Xpícolas, et nec sic omnes generali dilapsu, ut fidebat, ad ritum suum proruerent, iubet ecclesias nuper structas diruere et quidquid nouo cultu in antiquis basilicis splendebat fueratque temporibus Arabum rudi formatione adiectum elidere. Qua occasione satrapae tenebrarum inde capta, etiam ea templorum culmina subruunt quae a tempore pacis studio et industria patrum erecta paene trecentorum a diebus conditionis suae numerum excedebant annorum... ecclesiarum operabatur ruinas*

(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.III.3.1-8... 4.7-9, CSM 2:441). The implication of attempted conversion shows how little Eulogius knows about Islam, that he assumes it to be a missionary faith like his own, or an heretical offshoot of the same.

<sup>56</sup> Albar:

*ecce et cotidie horis diurnis et nocturnis in turribus suis et montibus caligosis Dominum maledicunt, dum uatem impudicum, periurum, rabidum et iniquum una cum dominum testimonii uoce extollunt*

(*Indiculus Luminosus*.6.7-10, CSM 1:278). See: Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology*, 102-3.

<sup>57</sup> This *shūrā* comprised 'Ubaīd Allāh ibn Yaḥyā, Muḥammad ibn Lubāba, Ibn Ghālib, Ibn Walīd, Sa'd ibn Mu'ādh, Yaḥyā bin 'Abd al-'Azīz, Ayyūb ibn Sulāimān, Sa'īd ibn Ghubaīr. Perhaps the best-known of these is Ibn Lubāba who died in 926, thereby placing the council and *fatwā* most likely in the first two decades of the tenth-century.

<sup>58</sup> Al-Wansharīsī reports the ruling, crediting it to Ibn Lubāba:

وليس في شرائع الاسلام إحداث أهل الذمة من اليهود والنصارى كنائس ولا شنوغات في مدائن  
الاسلام ولا بين ظهرانيهم

It is not in the law of Islam [that] the *ahl al-dhimma* – being the Jews and the Christians – can build new churches or synagogues in the cities of Islam or in their midst

*fatāwā* bear the force of law: they simply reflect the opinion of a respected member of the community, available to the authorities at their discretion.<sup>59</sup> Elsewhere, Eulogius indicates that the mosque Rogellius and Servio Deo enter to preach the Gospel and harangue the Muslims at prayer in 852 is the only mosque in Córdoba – ‘that temple of the sacrilegious’, (*fanum illud sacrilegorum*)<sup>60</sup> – which would make it the Great Mosque or Mezquita.<sup>61</sup> Nevertheless, despite the apparent infancy of Cordoban Islam, Eulogius would have us think that this is the beginning of the end, for he considered the rival faith’s *raison d’être* to be nothing less than the destruction of Christianity:

the governor’s madness was weighing heavily upon us in Córdoba – once a patrician city, but now the greatest flourishing city of the Arabic kingdom. He destroyed several of the basilicas’ towers; he ruined the arches of the temples, and tore down the heights of the spires. These are the burdens of the signs given every day to the canonical assembly of Christians. And then in order to realise the longed-for will of its father – that by whatever means and men he could, he would infest the Church of God – the race of shadowy offspring shall carry out with the fiercest will every effort of cruelty against the sons of light, and think himself less worthy unless he has been inflamed by the greatest frenzy towards the overthrow of the faithful<sup>62</sup>

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(*al-Mi’yār al-mu’rib wa-l-jāmi’ al-mughrib: ‘an fatāwā ahl Ifrīqīyah wa-l-Andalus wa-l-Maghrib* (Rabat: Wizārat al-Awqāf wa-al-Shu’ūn al-Islāmīyya, 1981), II.246). For a French translation of this and a large collection of other rulings on matters of religious, economic and juridical custom in al-Andalus and North Africa, see: Lagardère, Vincent, *Histoire et société en occident musulman au Moyen Âge: analyse du Mi’yār d’al-Wanšārīsī* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 1995), 55.

<sup>59</sup> There has been debate over the historical value of juridical literature. The prevailing sentiment appears to be that while *fatāwā* may be of value to the theoretical study of legal rather than to social history, the specific requests of juridical *masā’il* (or questions), which take the form of question and answer, reflect the concerns of a specific time and place. See: Adang, Camilla, ‘Fatwās as a source for the study of relations between Muslims and non-Muslims in the Islamic West’ in *The Three Religions: Interdisciplinary Conference of Tel Aviv University and Munich University, Venice, October 2000* edited by Nili Cohen and Andreas Heldrich (Munich: Herbert Utz Verlag, 2002), 169-88; Fernández Félix, *Cuestiones legales del Islam temprano: la ‘Utbiyya y el proceso de formación de la sociedad islámica andalusí* (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 2003), 410-3; Fadel, Mohammad, ‘Fatwas and Social History’, *Al-‘Usur al-Wusta: the Bulletin of Middle East Medievalists* 8.2 (1996), 32-3, 59; Shatzmiller, ‘On Fatwas and Social History’, *Al-‘Usur al-Wusta* 9.1 (1997), 20-1.

<sup>60</sup> Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*.II.13.1.10, *CSM* 2:432. No study appears to have looked at enumerating the mosques of Córdoba so it is impossible to say how many mosques might have been built or when and hence confirm or deny Eulogius’ apparent insinuation. Susana Calvo Capilla has written on the construction of early mosques of al-Andalus but focuses on the very earliest edifices and does not go further than the late eighth century (‘Las primeras mezquitas de al-Andalus a través de las fuentes árabes (92/ 711-170/ 785)’, *Al-Qanṭara* 28.1 (2007), 143-79.

<sup>61</sup> On competing and fabulous Muslim claims regarding the number of mosques in Córdoba between the eighth and eleventh centuries, see: García Sanjuán, *Till God Inherits the Earth: Islamic Pious Endowments in al-Andalus (9-15<sup>th</sup> Centuries)* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 224.

<sup>62</sup> Eulogius:

*grauiter in nos praesidialis grassabatur insania, ita ut nonnullis apud Cordobam, olim patricia, nunc autem florentissiman ciuitatem regni Arabici urbem, basilicarum turres euertet, templorum arces dirueret et excelsa pinnaculorum prosterneret, quae signorum gestamina erant ad conuentum canonicam cotidie Xpicolis innuendum. Denique cum exoptatum patris sui libitum progenies iniqua cognosceret, ut quibuscumque modis ac uiribus posset Dei ecclesiam infestaret, omnem crudelitatis adnsum erga filios lucis*

The very existence of another, younger religion is a denial of Christianity's catholic claims for universality and its messianic claims for finality:

Behold! The people have yielded to such great deceptions and the leader of such great impiety, and many do not fear censure in the name of the pious faith. They declare that those recruits [the martyrs], the soldiers of our times, were killed by men who worship God and possess the Law. They are marked by no prudence whatsoever, for with the minimum of prescient thought they would realise that if such a cult or law is to be called true, the strength of the Christian religion will be weakened<sup>63</sup>

Eulogius felt that Islam's very existence was part of God's retribution, in effect a persecution in and of itself; to accept Islam's legitimacy is to reject Christianity's claims to final revelation.

### **The burden of Visigothic sin**

Eulogius' work is suffused with the imagery of the *ecclesia destituta*. It appears in almost every extant piece, and not only the large-scale polemical material, for the most detailed and extensive lament of Islamic tyranny comes in a letter to Wiliesindus Bishop of Pamplona:

I groan, stationed in Córdoba under the wicked rule of the Arabs – but you who are at Pamplona are worthy to be watched over by a Christian prince – always struggling amongst themselves with grave conflict on all sides, [the Arabs] deny free passage to travellers... and indeed in the present year [851], which is the Era 889, tyrannical frenzy overturns all. Burning savagely against the Church of God, it lays waste to everything, throwing into jail the bishops, priests, abbots, deacons and all the clerics and whoever else it could catch in that storm; [the tyrant] plunged them, bound in iron, into subterranean dungeons like the dead. Among them I, your lovable sinner, am bound, and as one we suffer the frightful squalor of the prisons. [The tyrannical frenzy] has deprived the Church of its sacred ministry, robbed it of its prayer, estranged it from its office and there is no sacrament for us at this time, nor mass, nor incense, nor place of the primates, by which we might placate our Lord, but with contrite mind and

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*tenebrosa proles alacriori uoto exercet minusque se putat adipisci meritum, nisi summo furore exarsit in eursionem fidelium*

(*Liber Apologeticus Martyrum*.22.1-10, CSM 2:488-9).

<sup>63</sup> Eulogius:

*Ecce qualibus praestigiis deditum uulgus quantaque impietatis duces plerique non metuunt sub nomine piae religionis censer. Asserentes quod ab hominibus Deum colentibus et legem habentibus isti tirones nostrorum temporum milites occisi fuere, nulla discreti prudentia, ut saltem prouido cogitamine aduertant quia si talium cultus aut lex uera dicenda est, pro certo uigor Xpianae religionis infirmabitur*

(*Liber Apologeticus Martyrum*.17.1-7, CSM 2:486).

humble spirit we offer Christ praise, so that while the assembly has ceased the psalmodist's song, the depths of the prison resound with the holy murmur of hymns<sup>64</sup>

Eulogius compares the Sees of Pamplona and Córdoba, and finds the latter wanting. Pamplona *deserves* to live in freedom – ‘at the monastery of Leyre... men still fear God’<sup>65</sup> – while Córdoba and the rest of the southern territory lost in 711 deserve their punishment. The phrase *in anima contrita* – as does Albar’s observation ‘we are atoning in this place’ (*pensemus hoc in loco*)<sup>66</sup> – reflects the notion that the Andalusi Christians were paying for the sins of their Visigothic forefathers – a reaction common to what Bulliet dubs ‘remnant communities’<sup>67</sup>. This is a theme that would be developed later in the North at least as far as the fourteenth century.<sup>68</sup> In the *Vita Johannis*

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<sup>64</sup> Eulogius:

*ego Cordubae positus sub impio Arabum gemam imperio, uos autem Pampilona locati Xpicolae principis tueri meremini domino, qui semper inter se utrique graui conflictu certantes liberum commeantibus transitum negant... etenim anno praesenti, qui est aera octingentesima octuagesima nona, exardescens saeuus aduersus Dei ecclesiam furor tyrannicus omnia subuertit, cuncta uastauit, uniuersa dispersit, retrudens carcere episcopos, presbyteros, abattes, leuitas et omnem clerum et quoscumque illa tempestate capere potuit ferro deuinctos quasi mortuos saeculi subterraneis specubus immersit. Inter quos ego ille peccator amabilis uester deuinctos sum et una pariter omnes horridos ergastulorum luimus squalores. Viduauit ecclesiam sacro ministerio, priuauit oraculo, alienauit officio et non est in hoc tempore nobis oblatio neque sacrificium neque incensum neque locus primitiarum, quo possimus placare Dominum nostrum, sed in anima contrita et in spiritu humilitatis reddimus Xpo uota laudationis, ita ut a conuentu desinente psalmodiae cantu resonent penetralia carceris murmure sancto hymnorum*

(*Epistulae*.III.9.1-5... 10.5-23, CSM 2:500-1).

<sup>65</sup> Eulogius:

*apud Legerense monasterium... in Deo timore uiros ibidem manere*

(*Epistulae*.III.2.8-9, CSM 2:498).

<sup>66</sup> Albar, *Indiculus Luminosus*.15.28-9, CSM 1:289. On the theory of conquest as divine punishment for Visigothic sin, see: García Moreno, Luis Alonso, *El fin del reino visigodo de Toledo, decadencia y catástrofe, una contribución a su crítica* (Madrid: Universidad Autónoma, 1975), especially 22-9, 140-212; García Sanjuán, ‘Las causas de la conquista islámica de la península Ibérica según las crónicas medievales’, *Miscelánea de estudios árabes y hebraicos. Sección Árabe-Islam* 53 (2004), 103ff. See also: Martin, Georges, ‘La chute du royaume visigothique d’Espagne dans l’historiographie chrétienne des VIII<sup>e</sup> et IX<sup>e</sup> siècles: sémiologie socio-historique’, *Cahiers de linguistique hispanique médiévale* 9.9 (1984), 207-33.

<sup>67</sup> Bulliet, ‘Process and Status in Conversion and Continuity’ in *Conversion and Continuity in Islamic Lands: Eighth to Eighteenth Centuries* edited by Michael Gervers and Ramzi Jibran Bikhazi (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1990), 2.

<sup>68</sup> The fourteenth-century *Crónica del Rey don Rodrigo*, like the *Crónica geral de Espanha de 1344* and the thirteenth-century *Poema de Fernán González* before it, formulated the conquest of 711 as divine retribution for the lustful sin of last Visigothic king Rodericus and his rape of the daughter of Count Julian and breaking the seal of the legendary Tower of Hercules. James Donald Fogelquist writes:

Rodrigo’s usurpation of the throne, his violation of the taboo of the palace of Hercules, and his taking of La Cava’s virginity are all acts of transgression against the will of God, symptoms of the abuse of worldly power, manifestations of the sin of *superbia*, the failure to observe sacrosanct boundaries

(‘Pedro de Corral’s Reconfiguration of La Cava in the *Crónica del Rey don Rodrigo*’, *eHumanista: Monographs in Humanities* 3 (2003), 20. See also: Christys, ‘The transformation of Hispania after 711’ in *Regna and Gentes: The Relationship between Late Antique and Early Medieval Peoples and Kingdoms in the Transformation of the Roman World* edited by Hans Werner Goetz, Jörg Jarnut and Walter Pohl with Sören Kaschke (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 223-4; Corral, Pedro de, *Crónica del rey don Rodrigo: postremero rey de los godos (Crónica sarracina)* edited by James Donald Fogelquist (Madrid: Editorial



*Gorziensis* written by John of Saint-Arnoul at Metz around 994<sup>69</sup>, John of Gorze is told in the 860s by Bishop John of Córdoba that ‘We are reduced to this for our sins, subject to the pagans’ power’<sup>70</sup>. What these sins were neither man says, though Eulogius will allow that:

the Goths’ republic fell from power because it was shackled to villainy, having once prospered happily in a Hispania of churches – when the priests had authority with the greatest dignity – it was steered by these restrained men, [but] by God’s hidden and just judgement it passed to the privilege of that unspeakable seer’s followers, and all this on account of our sins<sup>71</sup>

Later Iberian chroniclers were more forthcoming; from them we learn that Eulogius’ *ecclesia destituta* is far from a new development: the Visigothic kingdom was a far cry from a utopian Christian state.<sup>72</sup> The *Crónica profética*, completed in 883 by an

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Castalia, 2001), I.7-9; Grieve, Patricia E., *The Eve of Spain: Myths of origins in the history of Christian, Muslim and Jewish Conflict* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2009), 21-4; Weiss, Julian, *The ‘Mester de Clerecía’: Intellectuals and Ideologies in Thirteenth-Century Castile* (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2006), 143-8.

<sup>69</sup> Johannes Sancti Arnulfi Metensis abbas:

*exitit inter palatina officia Recemundus quidam, adprime catholicus, et litteris optime tam nostrorum quam ipsius inter quos versabatur linguae Arabicae institutus... Ecclesia aliqua forte vacua recens erat episcopo. Hanc munus eius petit laboris. Facile optentum, atque ex laico episcopus repente processit*

prominent among imperial offices was a certain Recemundus, [though] first of all a catholic, and very highly-educated in letters, he was versed as much in ours as in the Arabic tongue... by considerable chance a church was newly lacking a bishop. He sought this as reward for his labours. It was easily achieved, and he rose instantly from the laity as bishop

(*Vita Johannis Gorziensis*.128-9 (f° 94), edited with a French translation by Michel Parisse in *La Vie de Jean de Gorze* (Paris: Picard, 1999), 154-7; *MGH Scriptores IV* edited by Georg Heinrich Pertz (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1963), 374-5; *PL* 137, col.306C... 307B). The text of the *Vita Johannis Gorziensis* survives in one manuscript: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms lat.13766, f° 49-96. On the date of composition see: Nelson, Janet L., ‘Rulers and Government’ in *The New Cambridge Medieval History III: c.900-c.1024* edited by Timothy Reuter (Cambridge: CUP, 1999), 126.

<sup>70</sup> Johannes Metensis: *Peccatis ad haec devoluti sumus, ut paganorum subiaceamus ditioni* (*Vita Johannis Gorziensis*.122 (f° 92), Parisse, 148-9; *MGH Scriptores IV*, 372; *PL* 137, col.302C-303A).

<sup>71</sup> Eulogius:

*pro eo quod praepediente facinore elapsa a ditione Gothorum res publica, quae olim in Hispanis aucta felicitate ecclesiarum et summa dignitate pollente sacerdotum ab eis moderantibus gubernabatur, in istius nefandi cultorum priuilegium uatis occulto iustoque Dei iudicio transueta est. Quoniam quaecunque Dominus nobis intulit in uero iudicio fecit et haec omnia propter peccata nostra*

(*Documentum Martyriale*.18.7-12, *CSM* 2:470).

<sup>72</sup> Jerrilyn Dodds writes:

the land that would be the theatre for a seven-century struggle between Muslims and Christians was, a century before the Islamic invasion, already shot through with the same tensions that would distinguish it under Islamic occupation. Repeated invasions, cultural diversity, foreign rule, exchange and resistance: none of the events or concerns that pervades the study of the Iberian Peninsula during its years of Muslim rule was new to that land when it was first seized by Islamic forces in 711

(*Architecture and Ideology*, 7). Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo and Simonet both envisage the Visigothic elite as inherently irreligious:

*no era arriana ni católica, sino escéptica y enemiga de la Iglesia*  
it was neither Arian nor Catholic, but sceptical and an enemy of the Church



anonymous author close to the court of Alfonso III, declared that ‘all the beauty of the Gothic race died through fear or by the sword, for they had performed no penance worthy of their trespasses’<sup>73</sup>. The same king’s early tenth-century *Crónica de Alfonso III* blames Witiza (702-10) and his successors, particularly the usurper Rodericus (710-11)<sup>74</sup>; the eighth-century *Chronica Muzarabica* had likewise juxtaposed conquest with the immorality of Rodericus and his allies.<sup>75</sup> The early twelfth-century author of the *Historia Silense* conceived Christian sin as the cause of the conquest, and key to Muslim victory even into the late tenth century:

Divine Providence saw that Witiza, King of the Goths, had long lurked among the Christians like the wolf among the sheep, and lest the whole race be stained again by ancient indulgence, it allowed barbarian peoples to occupy Hispania, as it had flooded the earth for the caprices of Noah’s time, with few Christians spared... Indeed in the days of [Vermudo II of León]’s reign, the great multitude of the Saracens prospered because of the Christian people’s sins<sup>76</sup>

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(*Historia de los heterodoxos españoles* (Madrid: Librería católica de San José, 1880-2), 213-4. See also: Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, 11).

<sup>73</sup> *Crónica profética*:

*Omnis decor gotice gentis pabore uel ferro periit. Quia non fuit in illis pro suis delictis digna penitentia*

(edited by Manuel Gómez-Moreno in the article ‘Las primeras crónicas de la Reconquista: el ciclo de Alfonso III’, *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 100 (1932), 625). For an English translation by Kenneth Wolf, part of the Medieval Texts in Translation series published online at:

[http://sites.google.com/site/canilup/chronica\\_prophetica](http://sites.google.com/site/canilup/chronica_prophetica)

<sup>74</sup> *Crónica de Alfonso III (Rotense)*:

*Iste quidem probrosus et moribus flagitiosus fuit. Concilia dissoluit. Cannones sigillauit. Huxores et concubinas plurimas accepit. Et ne aduersus eum concilium fieret, episcopis, presbiteris seu diaconibus huxores abere precepit. Istut namque Spanie causa pereundi fuit... Postquam Uitiza fuit defunctus, Rodericus in regno est perhunctus, cuius tempore adhuc in peiore nequitia creuit Spania. Anni regni illius tertio, ob causam fraudis filiorum Uitizani, Sarrazeni ingressi sunt Spaniam*

This one was indeed ignominious and profligate by nature. He dissolved the councils; he sealed the canons; he took many wives and concubines; and lest there be a council convened against him he made the bishops, priests and deacons take wives. This was the cause of Hispania’s fall... After Witiza died, Rodericus was established as king. In his time the worst iniquity threw in Hispania. In the third year of his reign the Saracens entered Hispania on account of the crime of the sons of Witiza

(edited with parallel Ovetense and Rotense versions by Antonio Ubieto Arteta (Valencia: Anubar, 1971), 27... 29).

<sup>75</sup> The anonymous *Chronica Muzarabica* has very little to say on Witiza’s blasphemous rule, instead blaming the Visigoths’ defeat on deceit and cowardice in Rodericus’ reign:

*prelio fugatum omnem Gothorum exercitum, qui cum eo emulanter fraudulenterque ob ambitionem regni aduenerant, cecidit*

in battle the whole army of the Goths who had come with the king [Rodericus] fraudulently and on account of ambition, fled, and he fell

(*Chronica Muzarabica*.43.11-2, CSM 1:31).

<sup>76</sup> *Historia Silense*.6... 30:

*divina providentia Victicam, Gotorum regem, inter christicolos quasi lupum inter oves diu latere prospiciens, ne tota soboles prisco voluptabro rursus macularetur, more temporum Noe ut diluuium terram paucis christianorum reservatis, barbaras gentes Yspaniam ocupare permisit... In diebus uero regni eius propter peccata populi christiani creuit ingens multitudo sarracenorum*

(edited by Justo Pérez de Urbel and Atilano González Ruiz-Zorrilla (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1959), 126... 172).

Ximénez de Rada also identified Witiza as a corrupting influence in his *De Rebus Hispaniae*.<sup>77</sup> Egica (688-702) lamented the effects of his predecessors' actions: an *ecclesia destituta* 160 years before Eulogius. In his address at Toledo XVI (693) he introduces the trope of blaming current sufferings on the sins of the ancestors and the cosmic justice of divine punishment:

indignant at such great evils, God flogs the earth daily, and fouls it with great plagues  
or with the wicked acts of treacherous men, I reckon that our paternity is not unknown<sup>78</sup>

The last 50 years in particular saw the consolidation of an apparently profound schism between Church and monarchy.<sup>79</sup> Correspondence between bishops Ildefonsus of Toledo (657-67) and Quiricus (or Cyricus) of Barcelona (659-69) alludes to an atmosphere of ecclesiastical repression under Recceswinth (649-72). Ildefonsus writes:

I would like to say more, if the pressure of our miseries allowed it... but the necessity  
of the times so erodes the powers of the mind that life no longer pleases on account of  
looming evils<sup>80</sup>

After the third of his nineteen-year reign, Recceswinth did not call or allow a single church council. Jamie Wood notes disharmony in relations within the Church and between Church and laity in the seventh century.<sup>81</sup> The *ecclesia destituta* was a long-standing state of affairs, not a new development with the Muslims' arrival. Considering

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<sup>77</sup> Ximénez de Rada:

*iam nunc luxus impudicitiam publicat in aperto, et laxatis habenis, nulli vitio se subtrahit. Et utinam solus in suis sordibus periisset, ne nobilitatem Gothorum cleri et populi suis immunditiis infecisset. Ad tantae enim perditionis et dissolutionis pervenit cumulum, ut plures uxores, et concubinas ad satietatem libidinis simul detineret. Et exemplo simili viros illustres et potiores Gothorum ad similia facinora inducebat, quorum exemplo in minoribus populi peccata similia inundabant*

debauchery openly made shamelessness public then and, with the reins loosed, there was no vice from which he held back. Oh! wish that he had alone had perished in his squalid deeds, that he had not infected the nobility of the Goths, both clergy and people, with his impure acts. For he reached a summit of such great perdition and dissolution that he held many wives and mistresses at the same time to satiate his desire. And by this example he led the illustrious and most glorious men of the Goths to similar crimes, and by their example the same sins flooded the lesser people

(*De Rebus Hispaniae*.III.15, Fernández Valverde, 96).

<sup>78</sup> *Tomus Egicani regis*:

*quantis denique malis indignante Deo terra quotidie vapulet, quantisque plagis uel perfidorum sceleribus contabescat, paternitati vestrae non reor esse incognita*

(*Tomus Egicani Regis Concilio Oblatus in MGH Legum Sectio I. Legum Nationum Germanicarum Tomus I: Leges Visigothorum* (Hannover and Leipzig: Hahn, 1902), 481).

<sup>79</sup> P.D. King strongly calls the conquest 'a coup de grace for a demoralised and disintegrating kingdom bent on self-destruction' (*Law and Society in the Visigothic Kingdom* (Cambridge: CUP, 1972), 22).

<sup>80</sup> Hildefontus Toletanus episcopus:

*dicere plura vuellem si miseriarum pressura sineret... sed ita necessitas temporum vires atterit animorum, ut nec delectet vita propter imminencia mala*

(*Epistula ad Quiricum*. I.2... II.2, PL 96, col.194D-6C).

<sup>81</sup> Wood, Jamie, 'Elites and Baptism: Religious 'Strategies of Distinction' in Visigothic Spain' in *Elite and Popular Religion: Papers read at the 2004 Summer Meeting and the 2005 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* edited by Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), 3-4.

the Arian-Catholic schism and the continued flourishing of heterodoxy (notably Adoptionism)<sup>82</sup> after their nominal reconciliation in 587, and the apparently widespread magic and pagan practices deplored and ruled against by Church Councils from the first Council or Synod of Elvira (c.305) to the last council whose acts survive – Toledo XVII in 694 – it is perhaps unlikely that the Catholic Church ever enjoyed a position of unhindered spiritual authority in the pre-Andalusī peninsula.<sup>83</sup>

### ***Ecclesia fracta: contemporary martyrdom rejected***

In the same letter, Eulogius openly presents the deaths he claims as martyrdoms as voluntary – a significant point, for it is one of the reasons the Cordoban Church disowned them:

for individuals among the priests, deacons, monks, virgins and the laity confuted the enemy of the faith, going down to the forum armed with the sudden zeal of divinity, execrating and cursing those peoples' sinful and wicked seer Muḥammad... they say, furthermore, that those who are not dragged to martyrdom with violence, but come of their own accord bringing their clamour to those who have done them no harm, should not be considered martyrs; they consider the ruin of the basilicas no harm, nor abuses of priests or the monthly tribute we pay with deep sorrow. So it is that the mercy of death would be better for us than the laborious danger of the poorest of lives<sup>84</sup>

Eulogius makes no effort to hide or defend the nature of the deaths, because the *ecclesia destituta* is itself Eulogius' justification for martyrial action.<sup>85</sup> It is also true to say that

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<sup>82</sup> See: Cavadini, J.M., *The Last Christology of the West: Adoptionism in Spain and Gaul 785-820* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993).

<sup>83</sup> For further discussion of the state of the Visigothic Church and of its failure to supplant pre-Christian practice, see: Hillgarth, J.N., 'Popular Religion in Visigothic Spain' in *Visigothic Spain: New Approaches* edited by Edward James (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 3-60; McKenna, Stephen, *Paganism and Pagan Survivals in Spain up to the Fall of the Visigothic Kingdom* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1938), 108-46.

<sup>84</sup> Eulogius:

*quidam enim presbyterorum, diaconorum, monachorum, uirginum et laicorum repentino zelo diuinitatis armati in forum descendentes hostem fidei reppulerunt, detestantes atque maledicentes nefandum et scelerosum ipsorum uatem Mahomat... aiunt praeterea non debere esse martyres aut haberi qui non uiolenter tracti sunt ad martyrium, sed sponte sua uenientes his conuicium intulerunt qui eos in nullo molestia affecerint, nullam opinantes esse molestiam diruptiones basilicarum, opprobria sacerdotum et quod lunariter soluimus cum graui maerore tributum, adeo ut expeditius sit nobis compendium mortis quam egentissimae uitae laboriosum discrimen*

(*Epistulae*.III.11.3-6... *Memoriale Sanctorum*.I.21.1-7, CSM 2:501... 385).

<sup>85</sup> Eulogius calls upon the confessors Flora and Maria to meditate on the martyrs as both symbols of persecution and as a precedent:

*proponunt certe uobis expugnatores sancti propositi eremitatem ecclesiarum, compeditionem sacerdotum, dispersionem ministrorum et quod non est nobis in hoc*

Eulogius' martyrology – or his perception that there was a need for it – is in turn a justification for crying 'persecution'. Eulogius may have expected Wiliesindus to be more receptive to his ideas, removed as he was from Cordoban politics. He addresses all of his erstwhile hosts, whom he flatters with personal thanks<sup>86</sup> – which makes his third epistle read like an open letter of pro-martyr propaganda<sup>87</sup>; he makes much of contrasting the peace of the South with the suffering of the North, and appends a list of the saints he had claimed thus far.<sup>88</sup>

Eulogius' reception at home was far from positive. His open hostility towards the authorities breaks with hagiographical tradition, which is capable of charity: Cyprian, in the *acta* of his martyrdom, tells the proconsul Paternus 'night and day we pray for ourselves and all men and for the health of the emperors themselves'<sup>89</sup>. This use of hagiography as polemic condemning the Muslims through his martyrs, all but ensured that their reception at home would be muted at best. Indeed, Eulogius writes

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*tempore sacrificium 'Nec holocaustum nec oblatione nec incensum', cuncta uastante sacrilega manu omniaque turbante furore tyrannice*

the holy conquerors set before you display the desertion of the churches, the shackling of the priests, the scattering of the ministers and that which is not a sacrifice for us at this time 'nor burnt sacrifice, nor an offering, nor incense', when all is laid waste by sacrilegious hand and everything thrown into disorder by tyrannical frenzy

(*Documentum Martyriale*.16.1-5, CSM 2:469). Quote from *Daniel* 3:38.

<sup>86</sup> Eulogius:

*Sane saluationum officia, quae dudum alias proferendo omnisimus, nunc cernua mente persoluimus uosque feliciori serie temporum uigere exposcimus, petentes et salua honoris reuerentia non dedignemini nobis salutare amabiles et carissimos patres nostros, id est, Fortunium Legerensis monasterii abbatem, cum omni collegio suo, Athilium Cellensis monasterii abbatem cum omni collegio suo, Odoarium Serasiensis monasterii abbatem cum toto agmine suo, Scemenum Igalensis monasterii abbatem cum omni collegio suo, Dadilanem Hurdaspalensis monasterii abbatem cum omni collegio suo. Salutamus etiam ceteros patres, quos in peregrinatione nostra tutores et consolatores habuimus omnemque scholam dominicam in osculo sancto*

Now let us render with downcast mind the offices of salvation which we have long omitted offering for others, and implore you to flourish in happier times, seeking both that, with the sound reverence of your honour, you do not deem us unworthy of greeting as our friends and dearest fathers, that is, Fortunius Abbot of the monastery of Leyre and all his colleagues, Abbot Athilius of the monastery of Cillas and all his colleagues, Abbot Odoarius of the monastery of Siresa and all his flock, Abbot Scemenus of the monastery of Igal and all his colleagues, Dadilano Abbot of Urdax and all his colleagues. We greet the other fathers too, whom we had as tutors and consolors on our journey, and every learned friar, with a holy kiss

(*Epistulae*.III.13.1-12, CSM 2:502).

<sup>87</sup> Jerrilynn Dodds believes that Eulogius was engaging in propaganda in his correspondence with Wiliesindus (*Architecture and Ideology*, 74). See also: Franke, Franz R., 'Die freiwilligen Märtyrer von Cordova und das Verhältnis der Mozaraber zum Islam (nach den Schriften von Speraindeo, Eulogius und Alvar)', *Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft* 13 (1953), 104.

<sup>88</sup> Eulogius lists his first 12 martyrs from Perfectus on 18 April 850 to Theodemirus on 25 July 851 (*Epistulae*.III.13.13-35, CSM 2:502-3).

<sup>89</sup> *Acta Proconsularia Sancti Cypriani*.1:

*deprecamur diebus ac noctibus pro nobis et pro omnibus hominibus et pro incolumitate ipsorum imperatorum*

(*Acti e passioni dei martiri* edited by A. A. R. Bastiaensen (Vicenza: Fondazione Lorenzo Valla, 1987).

that ‘a battle line of the demon-possessed and men has risen against us’<sup>90</sup>; contemporary martyrdom faced resistance from all quarters of the Cordoban community:

everyone, the clergy as much as the laity... slandered and cursed them, and declared both those who did such things and those who favoured them to be authors of a great crime... it is this that presses me to insist in this work<sup>91</sup>

Córdoba suffered not only an *ecclesia destituta* but an *ecclesia fracta* too; and while it may be that the former was a construct of Eulogius’ imagination, the latter was the result of his promoting it. These new hagiographies stemmed not from persecution but from schism, for Eulogius writes in defence against Christian, not Muslim, criticism, for though the basic elements of martyrdom – interrogation, public profession, imminent death, and free choice – are in place they are either not in the right order, or not driven in a way that could be accepted.<sup>92</sup> It is often noted that Eulogius’ martyrs are marked as different by their voluntary nature – they are professors rather than confessors. Voluntary martyrdom would become accepted form on the continent and had not been unknown in the first Christian centuries (though the voluntary aspect was criticised in early hagiographic texts and has generally been suppressed)<sup>93</sup>, but to judge from

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<sup>90</sup> Eulogius:

*acies daemoniorum et hominum contra nos insurgentium*

(*Documentum Martyriale. oratio eiusdem Eulogii ad supradictas uirgines. 17-8, CSM 2:475*).

<sup>91</sup> Eulogius:

*omnes tam clerici quam laici... detrahunt, maledicunt auctoresque magni sceleris esse et eos qui talia agunt et qui eis fauent annuntiant... qua de re nisus sum huic insistere operi*

(*Memoriale Sanctorum. epistula Eulogii ad Albarum cordubensem. 4... 10-11, CSM 2:364*). Albar elaborates to identify the repudiators more precisely as the entire church hierarchy:

*nonne ipsi qui uidebantur columnae, qui putabantur ecclesiae petrae, qui credebantur electi, nullo cogente, nemini prouocante iudicem audierunt et in presentia cynicorum, immo epicureorum, Dei martires infamauerunt? Nonne pastores Christi, doctores ecclesiae, episcopi, abbates, presbiteres, proceres et magnati, hereticos eos esse publice clamauerunt et publica professione sine desquisitione, absque interrogacione, que nec imminente mortis sententia erant dicenda spontanea uoluntate, et liuero mentis arbitrio, protulerunt?*

Have not those who appeared to be the columns, who were thought to be the rocks of the Church, who were believed to be the elect, under no compulsion, at no one’s challenge, attacked the judge and in the presence of the Cynics, or rather of the Epicureans, have slandered the martyrs of God? Have not the shepherds of Christ, the doctors of the Church, the bishops, abbots, priests, the nobles and magnates, publicly cried out that they [the martyrs] are heretics, and cited that, in public profession, and without investigation, without interrogation, that they had expressed their sentiments without imminent death, spontaneously of their own will, and with free choice?

(*Indiculus Luminosus. 14.7-15, CSM 1:286*).

<sup>92</sup> Patrick Henriët remarks that the normal schema in the development of cultus is ‘distorted from the off’:

*Dans le cas des martyrs de Cordoue, ce schéma se trouve faussé dès le départ*

(‘L’espace et le temps hispaniques vus et construits par les clercs (IX<sup>e</sup>-XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle)’ in *A la recherche de légitimités chrétiennes: représentations de l’espace et du temps dans l’Espagne médiévale (IX<sup>e</sup>-XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle)* edited by Henriët (Lyon: ENS Éditions-Casa de Velázquez, 2003), 84).

<sup>93</sup> Cyprian saw voluntary martyrdom as trouble, an unnecessary source of tension, and Eulogius would seem to prove him right:



Eulogius' critics, it was not the norm in the conservative Iberian Church, certainly not in the South where the celebration of civil disobedience and insulting Islam threatened the Christian community's position.<sup>94</sup> It is difficult to place Eulogius in terms of hagiographical context, for though the study of hagiography has yielded a vast bibliography, including much on contemporary Carolingian France, the medieval Iberian Peninsula is relatively under-represented, and the South acutely so beyond the Visigoths.<sup>95</sup> One can say, however, that efforts to stop the promotion of new saints had

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*Vos autem, fratres charissimi, pro disciplina quam de mandatis Dominicis a me semper accepistis... quietem et tranquillitatem tenete, nec quisquam vestrum aliquem tumultum fratribus moveat, aut ultro se gentilibus offerat. Apprehensus enim et traditus loqui debet; siquidem in nobis Dominus positus illa hora loquatur, qui nos confiteri magis voluit quam profiteri*

Dearest brothers, dedicate yourselves to the Lord's teachings you have always received from me... stay quiet and peaceful. Let none of you cause a disturbance for his brothers or offer himself on his own initiative. He who is arrested and handed over should talk, indeed the Lord will speak within us at that time; He wants us to confess rather than profess

(*Epistulae.LXXXIII.Ad Clerum et Plebem de suo Secessu Paulo ante Passionem*, PL 4, col.432A). Also published as number LXXXI in William Hartel's edition *Opera Omnia in Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (CSEL) III* (Vienna: Gerold, 1868-71). Voluntary martyrdom was a pursuit condemned by even the earliest passion texts. In the *Martyrium Sancti Polycarpi*, the hagiographer Evarestus addresses his audience to forbid it:

ἀδελφοί, οὐκ ἐπαινοῦμεν τοὺς προσιόντας ἑαυτοῖς, ἐπειδὴ οὐχ οὕτως διδάσκει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον

brothers, we do not give approval to those who go forward of their own accord since the Bible does not teach such a thing

(*Martyrium Sancti Polycarpi*.4, modern edition in *Acti e passioni dei martiri*, 371-81). The author of the *Acta Proconsularia Sancti Cypriani* paraphrases the above passage from the epistles of the Bishop of Carthage, making him tell his interrogator the proconsul Aspasius Paternus the same thing: 'Our teachings forbid that anyone should offer himself up' (*disciplina prohibeat nostra ne quis se ultro offerat*). Clement of Alexandria writes that the martyr dies 'having received an honourable pretext he had not provided himself to reveal what he is' (πρόφασιν εὐλογον λαβὼν ἦν οὐκ αὐτὸς παρέσχεν ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδειξάι ὅς ἐστι). See: Clementus Alexandrini, *Stromata*.IV.iv.14, edited by Reinhold Klotz in the volume *Titi Flavi Clementis Alexandrini: Opera Omnia* (Leipzig: E.B. Schwickert, 1831), II.286.

<sup>94</sup> Leading scholars of the early Church have long noted the prevalence of voluntary martyrdom in the Roman persecution narratives as a factor contributing to and even catalysing Roman actions. See: Bowerstock, Glen Warren, *Martyrdom and Rome* (Cambridge: CUP, 2002), 2-3; Gibbon, Edward, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (London: T. Tegg, 1827), II.362, 394ff; Ste Croix, *Christian Persecution, Martyrdom, & Orthodoxy* edited by Michael Whitby and Joseph Streeter (Oxford: OUP, 2006), 131-3, 155ff, and 'Why were the early Christians persecuted?', *Past and Present* 26 (1963), 21-4; Wolf, *Christian Martyrs*, 97-9. Maud Burnett McInerney suggests that Eulogius 'established' the practice of celebrating contemporary deaths (*Eloquent Virgins from Thecla to Joan of Arc* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 151). On the conservatism of the Iberian Church regarding martyr cult in the pre-Andalusī period, see: Thacker, Alan, 'Loca Sanctorum: The Significance of Place in the Study of the Saints' in *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West* edited by Thacker and Richard Sharpe (Oxford: OUP, 2002), 23-4.

<sup>95</sup> Thomas Head offers a comprehensive survey of scholarship up to the year 2000, complete with extensive bibliography (*Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology* (New York, Garland Publishing, 2000), xxvi-xxxviii). Since then a great deal of attention has continued to be directed to medieval hagiography, but the focus is primarily later and further north than the Iberian Peninsula – in her study of martyr cult, Caroline Walker Bynum bypasses the entire early medieval period, jumping from the fifth century to the twelfth; Alan Thacker's overview of the cult of the saints in Western Europe from the fourth to the eighth century offers three paragraphs on the Iberian Peninsula and, by comparison, 7 pages on France – though the great deal of research on the Carolingian Church potentially offers a contemporary comparison with Eulogius. Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995); Thacker, 'Loca Sanctorum', 23-31. See also in particular the



been in effect on the other side of the Pyrénées from the previous century, and though Carolingian reforms led to new ways of writing hagiography, their production was tightly controlled and authorised.<sup>96</sup>

It is generally thought that this voluntary sacrifice is the reason for the church's rejection of these martyrs, for Eulogius and Albar remain silent on another important aspect – their very contemporaneity. From the fifth century until the eleventh, the men and women revered as saints in western Christendom were for the most part locals who had died centuries before.<sup>97</sup> By invoking contemporary death as a road to sanctity, Eulogius subverted accepted hagiographical norms which edified the present with recourse to virtuous examples of the past and posed a threat not just to the religio-political *status quo* in effect in Córdoba and the rest of the southern peninsula, but to the Church's control of worship.<sup>98</sup> He also broke with tradition in claiming sanctity for men and women without existing cult.<sup>99</sup> When in the twelfth century new

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following footnote; the work of Julia M.H. Smith, Rosamond McKitterick, and Thomas Head in particular sheds light on attitudes to saints and their reverence in the eighth and ninth centuries.

<sup>96</sup> On the Carolingian reform as it pertained to the cult of saints, see: Fouracre, Paul, 'The origins of the Carolingian attempt to regulate the cult of saints' in *The Cult of Saints in Late antiquity and the Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown* (Oxford: OUP, 1999), 145, 161ff; Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints: The Diocese of Orléans, 800-1200* (Cambridge: CUP, 1990), 1-9, 20-57 and 'The Early Medieval Transformation of Piety' in *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe: New Directions in Early Medieval Studies* edited by Jennifer R. Davis and Michael McCormick (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 155-60; Lifshitz, Felice, *The Name of the Saint: The Martyrology of Jerome and Access to the Sacred in Francia, 627-827* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), 117-32; Schulenburg, Jane Tibbetts, *Forgetful of their Sex: Female sanctity and society, ca. 500-1100* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 4; Smith, Julia M.H., 'The Problem of Female Sanctity in Carolingian Europe c.780-920', *Past and Present* 146 (1995), 3-57.

<sup>97</sup> Geary, *Furta Sacra*, 25-30; Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints*, 5; Kleinberg, Aviad M., *Prophets in their own Country: Living Saints and the Making of Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 24; Thacker, 'Loca Sanctorum', 41.

<sup>98</sup> Henriët investigates the conception of sanctity or religious legitimacy on the axes of time and space, whereby the past is elevated above the present and al-Andalus is not deemed an arena of martyrdom ('L'espace et le temps hispaniques', 81-6).

<sup>99</sup> Hagiography was traditionally the last stage in a process beginning with popular cult. In Julia Smith's words, 'sanctity is in the eye of the beholder... it was negotiated, contested and shaped as much by the needs of the audience as by the experiences of the saint in question', and conflict was not unknown even over the early imperial period (Smith, 'The Problem of Female Sanctity', 5). Cyprian wrote a letter to one Antonianus (presumably a bishop) arguing for the sanctity of the deceased Pope Cornelius I (pontiff 521-3) though he had not endured the martyr's trial and execution and may have died in ignominy:

*Nonne hic, frater carissime, summo virtutis et fidei testimonio praedicandus est, nonne inter gloriosos confessores et martyras deputandus, qui tantum temporis sedit expectans corporis sui carnifices... etiamsi majestas Domini protegentis et bonitas sacerdotem quem fieri voluit factum quoque protexit, tamen Cornelius, quantum ad eius devotionem pertinet et timorem, passus est quidquid pati potuit... Quod autem quaedam de illo inhonesta, et maligna jactantur, nolo mireris... explorasse autem collegas nostros scias et verissime conperisse nulla illum libelli, ut quidam jactitant, labe maculatum esse, sed neque cum episcopis qui sacrificaverint communicationem sacrilegam miscuisse*

Surely, dearest brother, this man must be proclaimed with the greatest praise for his virtue and faith; he must surely be counted amongst the glorious confessors and martyrs, for he sat for so long awaiting the executioners of his body... even though the priest majesty and goodness of the Lord our protector who wished him to be made a priest

contemporary martyrs began to be named and revered in popular cult, the Church hierarchy was so alarmed it moved to assert its control.<sup>100</sup> Around 1170 Pope Alexander III (1159-81) stated that no saint could be declared without Rome's assent; in 1234 Gregory IX (1227-41) established the legal process of canonisation by which the papacy appropriated all rights in recognising and naming saints.<sup>101</sup>

Eulogius' voluntary martyrdoms are a form of persecution – the driving force is in the person of the martyr, not the state official<sup>102</sup> – aimed at Christian resignation to the reality of non-Christian domination, though Albar denies it. He records their opponents' accusations: 'alas for us, we use the Gospel against the Gospel... we are persecutors of the worshippers of Christ'<sup>103</sup> and seeks to exculpate them from such a scandalous charge:

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protected him too, Cornelius suffered as much as he could suffer as far as his devotion is concerned... But I do not want you to wonder that shameful and malicious stories are being circulated about him... though you should know that our colleagues have investigated and truly determined that he has been stained by no *libellus* as certain people are saying, nor has he mixed with those bishops who sacrificed in sacrilegious communion

(*Epistulae*.LV.9, CSEL III.2). The accusation against Cornelius is that he is one of the lapsed who offered pagan sacrifice to avoid trouble with the imperial authorities. It is unclear how he died; it may have been in exile and of natural causes, between 251 and 253, long after the so-called Decian persecution). On Cornelius, see: Clarke, Graeme, 'Third-century Christianity' in *The Cambridge Ancient History XII: The Crisis of Empire, A.D. 193-337* edited by Alan K. Bowman, Peter Garnsey and Averil Cameron (Cambridge: CUP, 2005), 636.

<sup>100</sup> See: Rubin, Miri, 'Choosing Death? Experiences of Martyrdom in Late Medieval Europe' in *Martyrs and Martyrologies: Papers read at the 1992 Summer Meeting and the 1993 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* edited by Diana Wood (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), 154; Vauchez, André, *La sainteté en occident aux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge: d'après le procès de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Rome: École Française de Rome, 1988), 20-9.

<sup>101</sup> Bartlett, Robert, *The Hanged Man: A Story of Miracle, Memory, and Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 13; Barton, Stephen C., *Holiness Past and Present* (London: T&T Clark, 2003), 327; Head, *Medieval Hagiography*, xxiii; Molinari, Paul, 'Canonization of Saints (History and Procedure)' in *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), III.55-9.

<sup>102</sup> It has become recognised increasingly widely in recent years that Eulogius' martyrs forced the hands of the Muslim authorities. See: Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 52ff; Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology*, 68; Drees, C.J., 'Sainthood and Suicide: The Motives of the Martyrs of Cordoba, A.D. 850-859', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 20 (1990), 74ff; Gross, Abraham, *Spirituality and Law: courting Martyrdom in Christianity and Judaism* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2005), 25; Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, 27ff; Larsson, Gören, *Ibn García's Shu'ūbiyya Letter: Ethnic and Theological Tensions in Medieval al-Andalus* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 20; Tolan, 'Reliques et païens: la naturalisation des martyrs de Cordoue à Saint-Germain (IX<sup>e</sup> siècle)' in *Aquitaine-Espagne (VIII<sup>e</sup>-XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle)* edited by Philippe Sénac (Poitiers: Centre d'Études Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale, 2001), 40 and *Saracens*, 88f; Waltz, 'The Significance of the Voluntary Martyrs' Movement', 226ff. Even Colbert and Sage recognise that the martyrdoms were voluntary, though for them it diminishes neither the martyrs' piety nor Eulogius'.

<sup>103</sup> Albar:

*uę nobis, contra euangelium euangelio usi sumus... nos persecutores Xpicolarum*  
(*Indiculus Luminosus*.15.27... 33, CSM 1:287-8).

it is not against the community of the faithful that we rise up, bound by spite, rather we despise those from the lands of the Chaldaeans who toss their horns in the air [i.e.: wage war]<sup>104</sup>

Waltz argues that Eulogius and Albar aim their apologetics and polemics at fellow Christians ‘for the purpose of informing, instructing and uniting them’<sup>105</sup>, but, while this might be applied successfully to Eulogius, Albar takes a far sterner line that is both divisive and rather less than sympathetic. The attitude of the majority is not all *laissez-faire*; fear and anger play a significant part, all too human reactions for which they earn condemnation as faithless traitors:

There are some who are unworthy of spiritual fervour, cold in their love of the faith, terrified with an earthly fear of the sword’s blow, who with a voice not suppressed, but with raucous throat and with loose lips, with twisted tongues slander the deeds of the martyrs of our time with less than becoming invective, and revile them, and – as far as is in their power – they would not object to handing the palm of victory to the devil... whoever denies there is persecution in these parts today, or, fast asleep, bears the yoke of weak-minded servitude, or exalts in the footsteps of the proud heathen, tramples Christ’s oppressed recruits... they say this is not a time of persecution; for my part, I tell the naysayers in the region that our times are deadly<sup>106</sup>

We see a great gulf of understanding between those pro-martyrdom and those against. Eulogius, and the few supporters he may have had, see persecution in Islam’s very existence, in its position over Christian society; they see a schematic parallel with the early Church under Rome, and in such circumstances they think themselves justified in calling the capital punishment of Christians ‘martyrdom’. Their opposition does not see Muslim persecution, Eulogius tells us, but rather a way of life threatened by acts of dissidence. They consider Eulogius’ martyrs untraditional, and to some extent un-Christian:

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<sup>104</sup> Albar denies fighting his fellow Christians in the first chapter of the *Indiculus Luminosus*:  
*nec contra communes fidei uincendi liuore insurgimus set e regione Caldeorum cornua uentilantes terrestria conculcamus*

(*Indiculus Luminosus*.I.14-6, CSM 1:272). Albar echoes the martial imagery of Eulogius’ cry that ‘a battle line of the demon-possessed and men has risen against us’ (*Documentum Martyriale.oratio eiusdem Eulogii ad supradictas uirgines*.17-8, CSM 2:475).

<sup>105</sup> Waltz, ‘The Significance of the Voluntary Martyrs’ Movement’, 228.

<sup>106</sup> Albar:

*set quia siti sunt nonnulli ferbore spiritali indigni, amore fidei frigidi, pauore terreno et hictu gladii territi qui non pressa uoce, set rauca fauce, dissoluta lauua, obtorta lingua martirium nostro tempore gestum inuectjone minus idonea detraunt uel sugillant et diabolo, quantum in eis est, palmam uictorie tradere non recusant... quisquis his partibus terre persecutjonem odie negat, aut dormiens iugum serbitutis somno socordie portat, aut elatus cum ethnicis pede superuie subiectos Xpi tirunculos calcat... illi dicunt non esse persecutjonis tempus, ego reclamantibus e regione profero mortifera nos tempora inuenisse*

(*Indiculus Luminosus*.2.1-5... 3.30-3... 36-7, CSM 1:273-5).

with blasphemous mouths they disparage the martyrs of our times, and do not accept that they are the same as the first [Roman] martyrs. For they call this paganism, [as] was once dedicated to the devotions of idols and occupied with the various sacrileges of images<sup>107</sup>

Indeed, Hitchcock notes a ‘ring of heresy’ in the words Eulogius puts in Isaac’s mouth – when struck by the *qāḍī*, he responds ‘Dare you strike a face like the image of God?’ (*consimilem imagini Dei uultum audes ferire?*)<sup>108</sup>. Christys suggests that it was this potentially ‘unorthodox’ air that ensured the Cordobans’ consequent seven centuries in obscurity.<sup>109</sup> Eulogius attempts to defend voluntary martyrdom and the problematic spattering of *sponte* throughout his hagiography, and his claims to legitimacy, with recourse to the Old Testament book of *Judges*:

in voluntary advance they resisted the enemy of justice and the adversary of the Church with free words, speaking about the proofs of the Lord in the king’s presence and respecting him not at all, of their own accord they chose the death of the flesh because they considered its death nothing other than eternal life, offering God the sacrifice of their willing souls. For them the prophecy was sung with a just voice: ‘You who willingly offered your souls to danger for Israel’s sake, praise the Lord’<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Eulogius:

*qui ore blasphemo horum temporum martyribus derogantes non esse illos consimiles prioribus martyribus uolunt. Illa denique, aiunt, gentilitas olim simulacrorum cultibus dedita uariisque imaginum sacrilegiis occupata*

(*Liber Apologeticus Martyrum*.3.1-5, CSM 2:477).

<sup>108</sup> Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*.I.praefatio.3.6-7, CSM 2:367. Hitchcock writes that this ‘would have the ring of heresy in any other context’ (*Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, 30).

<sup>109</sup> Christys:

Whatever the circumstances of the martyrs’ protest, it seems that either the way in which Eulogius wrote about them or the man himself were so unorthodox that his works could not be read by his own and subsequent generations

(*Christians in al-Andalus*, 61).

<sup>110</sup> Eulogius:

*liberis uocibus inimico iustitiae et aduersario ecclesiae Dei progressu ultroneo restiterunt, loquentes de testimoniis Domini in conspectu regum et nihil uerentes, quia nihil aliud mortem suam quam uitam perpetuam existimantes sponte interitum carnis exoptant, uoluntarium Deo animarum suarum sacrificium offerentes. Quibus recte prophetica uoce cantatur: ‘Qui sponte obtulistis de Israel animas uestras ad periculum, benedicite Dominum’*

(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.I.6.40-6, CSM 2:375); *Judges* 5:2. This is my own translation – the King James version does not express the Latin’s meaning:

Praise ye the Lord for the avenging of Israel, when the people willingly offered themselves

Albar attempts to defend the martyrs against the twin criticism that there was no persecution at Córdoba, and that voluntary sacrifice does not equal martyrdom:

*Et licet plerosque persecutio seua incursaret, tamen, quod non potestis negare, innumerauiles uoluntarie legitis decertasse, illud summo opere adimplentes quod dicitur: ‘Uoluntarie sacrificauo tibi, Domine’. Adicitis: ‘Tempus persecutionis non est’. Immo ego plus dico: ‘Tempus apostolorum non est’*

And indeed savage persecution struck against many but – and it cannot be denied – many entered the struggle willingly, fulfilling what is written in the greatest work: ‘I will freely sacrifice unto thee’. But you say: ‘It is not a time of persecution’. On the contrary, I say: ‘It is not a time of Apostles’

(Albar, *Indiculus Luminosus*.3.19-24... 30-3, CSM 1:275). Quote from *Psalms* 54:6.

The passage comes from the fifth chapter of the book of *Judges*, also known as the *Song of Deborah*, which details the Israelites' victory of Deborah and Barak over the Gentile forces of Jabin, King of Canaan. It deals with military warfare, not the spiritual war of the *miles Christi*; those who 'offered themselves' were neither Christian nor martyrs, though Eulogius' martyrs readily entered the forum like career soldiers. The quotation would be puzzling therefore, were it not for Albar's assertion that Christians are the true Israelites on account of their acceptance of the Messiah<sup>111</sup>, and Eulogius' drawing a parallel with the plight of the Israelites in Pharaoh's Egypt:

just as the Egyptians savaged Moses fiercely for his interview with the Pharaoh on behalf of God's people, and burdened the subjected people with the unbearable calamity of the heaviest work, so it is with us, the saints go down to battle to say the name of our Lord Jesus Christ before the king and make their profession to the councillors and judges, revealing the true Gospel and the falsehood of their unjust seer<sup>112</sup>

Accusations are followed by counteraccusations. The naysayers are fools: 'deceived by this cruel error' (*cuius errore decepta crudeli*)<sup>113</sup> and 'stupid' (*hebes*)<sup>114</sup>; the Church is guilty of standing by in silence, unworthy of the redemption held out to the martyr (in this case the confessors Flora and Maria):

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<sup>111</sup> Albar's odd contention that he has greater claim to be an Israelite than the Frankish convert to Judaism Eleazar, né Bodo:

*Quis magis Srahelis nomine censere est dignus, tu, qui, ut dicis, ex idolatria ad summi Dei cultu reuersus es et non gente, set fide Iudeus es an ego, qui et fide et gente Hebreus sum? Set ideo Iudeus non uocor, quia 'nomen nobum' mici inpositum est 'quod hos Domini nominauit'. Nempe pater meus Abraam est, quia maiores mei ex ipsa descenderunt traduce. Expectantes enim Messiam uenturum et recipientes uenientem magis illi uidentur Srahel esse quam qui expectabant et uenientem respuerunt nec tamen eum spectare cessarunt. Expectatis enim huncusque quem certum est iam uos reppulisse*

Who is more worthy of the name of Israel? You who, as you say, have turned from idolatry to the cult of God most high and are Jew not by race but by faith, or I, Hebrew by faith and race? But I am not called Jew because a 'new name' has been given to me 'which the mouth of the LORD shall name'. Certainly Abraham is my father, for my ancestors descend from that branch. For in waiting for the Messiah to come and receiving him when he came, they seem to be Israel more than those who waited and rejected him when he came and have not stopped waiting for him. For you are waiting for one you have already rejected

(Albar, *Epistulae*.XVIII.16-26, CSM 1:249). Scripture quoted from *Isaiah* 62:2.

<sup>112</sup> Eulogius:

*sicut ob interuentum Moysis ad Pharaonem pro populo Dei acrius Aegyptii desaeuiunt et operum grauissimorum importabili calamitate subditos opprimunt; ita quoque et nos ex eo quo sancti ad praelium descenderunt ut loquerentur ex nomine Domini nostri Iesu Xpi coram rege et profiterentur consulibus et iudicibus euangelicam ueritatem proderentque falsitatem uatis iniqui*

(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.II.1.6-15, CSM 2:436). See also: *Documentum Martyriale*.18.16-25, CSM 2:470, and *Documentum Martyriale*.oratio ad supradictas uirgines.13-7, CSM 2:475.

<sup>113</sup> Eulogius, *Liber Apologeticus Martyrum*.3.9-10, CSM 2:477.

<sup>114</sup> Eulogius, *Liber Apologeticus Martyrum*.3.15, CSM 2:477.



will you be guiltless in this contract if, in common with our Church, you make do with silence in this matter and do not publicly detest him [the Prophet Muḥammad] with frequent secret attack of blasphemy? Will God not hold you to account for what you feel in your heart?<sup>115</sup>

The church itself may have stood by mute, but some of its members did act – against the martyrs.

### Clergy imprisoned

Reccafredus, named as Bishop of Córdoba and Cabra in the acts of the Council of 839<sup>116</sup>, is assumed to have chaired a council of bishops<sup>117</sup> ordered by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān II shortly before his death and convened by a certain administrative official – whom Eulogius never named but who has since been identified, though not conclusively, as Ibn Antunyān, a *kātib* or chief secretary of Muḥammad’s court mentioned by the tenth-century historian Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-’Azīz, known by his *laqab* or nickname Ibn al-Qūṭīya<sup>118</sup> – in which the martyrs were condemned:

a certain government secretary of that time who was pre-eminent in vices and riches, a Christian by name only but pardoned for his deeds by God and the angels, hostile towards the struggles of the blessed [martyrs] from the beginning, [he was] their detractor, disparager and accuser; [he was] unjust, swollen, arrogant, proud and wicked. Flapping his tongue at the recent council of the bishops he heaped much abuse upon me, and reflecting upon such things he determined to anathematise the holy [martyrs], he ordered that they be cursed... he even ordered that it be pronounced that they were acting wickedly against the people<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> Eulogius:

*quo pacto inculpabiles essetis, si communi cum nostra ecclesia silentio in hac re uteremini, non detestando publice quem frequenti impugnacione blasphematis occulte, nec statueret uobis dominus ad reatum quod sola cordis meditatione... ?*

(*Documentum Martyriale*.18.1-4, CSM 2:470).

<sup>116</sup> Among the episcopal signatories of the council, one finds *Reccafredus Cordobensis seu Egabrensis episcopus* (*Concilium Cordubense*.9.30, CSM 1:141).

<sup>117</sup> Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, 32; Valencia, Rafael, ‘Islamic Seville: Its Political, Social and Cultural History’ in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain* edited by Jayyusi (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 138.

<sup>118</sup> Ibn al-Qūṭīya:

كاتبتهم العظيم قومه النصراني ابن أنتنيان

The chief secretary was the Christian *qūmis* Ibn Antunyān

(*Tār’ikh iftītāḥ al-Andalus* edited by Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-Lubnānī; Cairo: Dār al-Kitāb al-Miṣrī, 1982), 96). The identification is made by Colbert, *The Martyrs of Córdoba*, 245; Coope, *The Martyrs of Córdoba*, 87; Dozy, *Histoire des musulmans d’Espagne*, II.137; Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, 32.

<sup>119</sup> Eulogius:



As the council's chairman, Albar holds Reccafredus directly responsible for this imprisonment:

Bishop Reccafredus launched himself upon the churches and clerics like a violent tornado, binding in prison fetters all the priests that he could... bishops, priests, clerics and wise men of Córdoba advanced by a devious path concerning the recent martyrdom, and with fear's impulse, nearly denied Christ's faith, if not with words then by a nod<sup>120</sup>

Meanwhile, as the Cordoban Church wandered from the straight and narrow path, the laity suffered the depredations of their fellow Christians. Albar relates that certain *Romani* attacked his family estate, the very place he said he had hoped to escape them (*illum locum... inquietudinem Romanorum fugens*)<sup>121</sup>. Albar provides no further information on these *Romani*, and we find them nowhere else in the Cordoban corpus. Flórez, followed by Gómez Bravo, supposed that the *Romani* could have been mercenaries of Frankish origin – and thus part of the Carolingian Roman Empire – employed by the court<sup>122</sup>; Gil designated them the emir's guard (*excubiae Cordubensis regis*) in his indices.<sup>123</sup> One might note then that Muslims were not directly responsible for all the problems facing Cordoban Christians, though Eulogius avers that the court

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*quidam illius temporis publicae rei exceptor praepotens uitii et diuitiis, solo Xpianismi nomine denotatus, operibus autem Deo et angelis eius ignotus, a principio certaminibus beatorum infensus, detractor, derogator et infamator eorum, iniquus, tumidus, elatus, superbus et improbus, quodam die praesenti concilio episcoporum multas aduersum me linguam commouens exagerauit contumelias; anathematizare sanctos decernit talia meditantes, maledicere imperat... uerum etiam praedicare sinistrum esse quod agunt in populis praecepit*

(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.II.15.5-12, CSM 2:435).

<sup>120</sup> Albar:

*Reccafredus episcopus super ecclesias et clericos quasi turuo uiolentus insiluit omnesque sacerdotes quos potuit carcerali uinculo alligabit... episcopi, sacerdotes, clero et sapientes Cordubę in martirio nuper exorto deuio calle incederent ac timoris impulsu pene fidem Xpi, si non uerbis, nutu tamen negarent*

(*Vita Eulogii*.4.1-3... 5.2-5, CSM 1:332-3).

<sup>121</sup> Albar:

*et creberunt rapine et priuilegia Romanorum, qui transilientes limites agrorum nostrorum uniuersum minitabant inuadere locum*  
and the robberies and impunity of the *Romani* intensified; crossing the boundaries of our fields they threatened to invade the whole place

(*Epistulae*.IX.4.16-7, CSM 1:213).

<sup>122</sup> These are *al-khurs* (الخرس) recruited first by al-Ḥakam I, whose name, meaning 'the silent ones', points to their foreign origins as men who could not speak Arabic (Bennison, Amira K., 'Power and the city in the Islamic West from the Umayyads to the Almohads' in *Cities in the Pre-Modern Islamic World: the urban impact of religion, state and society* edited by Bennison and Alison L. Gascoigne (Oxford: Routledge, 2007), 70n23; *E.J. Brill's First Encyclopaedia of Islam VIII: Ṭa'if-Zūrkhāna* edited by Martijn Theodoor Houtsma, A.J. Wensinck, H.A.R. Gibb, W. Heffening, and E. Lévi-Provençal (Leiden: Brill, 1987), 1006). See: *España sagrada XI: Contiene las vidas y escritos, nunca publicados hasta hoy, de algunos Varones ilustres Cordobeses, que florecieron en el Siglo nono* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Madrid: Oficina de la Viuda é Hijo de Marin, 1792), 39; Gómez Bravo, Juan, *Catálogo de los obispos de Córdoba y breve noticia histórica de su Iglesia catedral y obispado* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Córdoba: Oficina de D. Juan Rodríguez, 1778), I.140; Sage, Paul Albar, 33.

<sup>123</sup> Gil, CSM 2:755.

was responsible for acts of wanton destruction similar to those of the mercenaries in its employ.

We have already seen Eulogius in prison in his letter to Wiliesindus, it is a scene he employs several times as key to his motifs of *ecclesia destituta* and *fracta*. Eulogius frames the Muslim subjugation of Hispania as a tragedy of biblical proportions, comparing it to the Babylonian conquest of Judea and the destruction of the First Temple in 586 BCE<sup>124</sup>, which he references with a quote:

the depths of the prison are filled with crowds of clerics; the Church is bereft of the bishops' sacrament and of the priests' duty; the divine tabernacles bristle in squalid solitude, as a spider covers the temple, all together they hold silence. The priests are scattered, and the ministers of the altars, as 'the stones of the sanctuary are poured out in the top of every street'<sup>125</sup>; and while the hymns of heavenly chants have stopped in the monastery, the depths of the prison resound with the holy whisper of the psalms. The cantor does not perform the divine song in public; the psalmist's voice does not ring out in the choir; the reader delivers no speech from the pulpit; the deacon does not evangelise among the people; the priests do not bear the censer to the altars. Because, with the shepherd transfixed, the enemy of the Catholic flock caused a scattering: the Church is deprived of every ministry<sup>126</sup>

The use of Old Testament imagery to equate Andalusī *dhimmī* Christians to the ancient Jews is a common motif, one to which Eulogius turns several times, once in the *Memoriale Sanctorum*<sup>127</sup> and twice in the *Documentum Martyriale*.<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> *The Jewish Study Bible: Jewish Publication Society Tanakh Translation* edited by Adele Berlin, Marc Zvi Brettler and Michael A. Fishbane (Oxford: OUP, 2004), 1587.

<sup>125</sup> *Lamentations* 4:1.

<sup>126</sup> Eulogius:

*repleta sunt penetralia carceris clericorum cateruis; uiduata est ecclesia sacro praesulum et sacerdotum officio; horrent diuina tabernacula squalidam solitudinem, aranea textit templum, tenent cuncta silentium. Confusi sunt sacerdotes, et ministri altaris, quia 'dispersi sunt lapides sanctuarii in capite omnium platearum'; et desinentibus in conuentu hymnis cantionum coelestium, resonant abdita carceris murmure sancto psalmodum. Non promit cantor diuinum carmen in publico, non uox psalmistae tinnit in choro, non lector concionatur in pulpito, non leuita euangelizat in populo, non sacerdos thus infert altaribus. Quia, percusso pastore, dispersionem intulit aduersarius gregi catholico, priuata prorsus ecclesia omni sacro ministerio*

(*Documentum Martyriale*.11.4-14, CSM 2:467).

<sup>127</sup> Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*.II.1.6-15, CSM 2:436.

<sup>128</sup> Eulogius, *Documentum Martyriale.epistulae praeuiaae, Eulogius Albaro.7-8... oratio ad supradictas uirgines*.13-7, CSM 2:459-75.

## Chapter II

### Problems and internal contradictions in Eulogius' *ecclesia destituta*

Several years ago, Christys identified certain aspects of Eulogius' *passiones* which led her to question them. She doubted the legitimacy of Flora and Maria, noting formal parallels between their twin passion and that of Huescan sisters Nunilo and Alodia<sup>1</sup> – whom she establishes were not only not Cordoban, but were also not contemporary, being named in a Leyre charter dated 842<sup>2</sup> – which Eulogius presumably included to show that Andalusī persecution was universal.<sup>3</sup> Christys questioned the chronology of

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<sup>1</sup> Nunilo and Alodia's Huescan origins are a matter of debate. Eulogius relates his discovery with unknown toponyms, which could be translated as follows:

*Referente uiro sanctissimo ac uenerandae paternitatis Uenerio Complutensi episcopo didicimus in urbe Bosca apud oppidum Barbitanum duas sorores uirgines fuisse, quarum una Nunilo, altera uocabatur Alodia*

In the city of Huesca I heard from that most holy man and reverend father Bishop Venerius of Complutum that there had been two virgin sisters in the town of Barbitanum, the one Nunilo, the other called Alodia

(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.II.7.2.1-4, CSM 2:406). Ambrosio de Morales identified *Bosca* as *Oca*, locating the passion of Nunilo and Alodia at Castroviejo roughly six miles southeast of Nájera in the Rioja Alta, 110 miles west of Huesca. Ramón López Domech argues that Nunilo and Alodia were in fact southern martyrs from somewhere near Málaga, a town he identified as *Oscá* in Baetica province between the Guadalquivir and the southern coast by Pliny the Elder in the first century. Christys gives an overview of the problem (68-70). See: Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*.III.1.10 translated by H. Rackham in *Pliny: Natural History, Libri III-VII* (London: Heinemann, 1947), 10; López Domech, 'De nuevo sobre las dos mártires mozárabes Nunilo y Alodia', *Qurṭuba: Estudios andalusíes* 5 (2000), 125; Morales, *Corónica general de España tomo VII*, XIII.205-7. See also: López Domech, 'Las santas Nunilo y Alodia de Huesca, Huéscar (Granada) y Bezares (la Rioja): ensayo bibliográfico', *Antigüedad y cristianismo: monografías históricas sobre la Antigüedad tardía* 16 (1999), 379-96.

<sup>2</sup> Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 71.

<sup>3</sup> Antonio Yelo Templado notes Eulogius' use of non-Cordoban martyrs in generalising the persecution ('El monacato mozárabe: aproximación al oriente de al-Andalus', *Antigüedad y cristianismo: Monografías históricas sobre la Antigüedad tardía* 10 (1993), 458-9).

Aurea's life, and distrusted the extreme brevity of Sanctius' *passio*.<sup>4</sup> She concluded that:

Eulogius' passions become increasingly more suspect the more one looks at them... Not only did he include martyrs from other parts of the peninsula, but also saints who died before the 850s and people who may not have been martyrs at all... Some of these briefest passions could be little more than lists of christians who died in Cordoba in a variety of circumstances about which Eulogius could not afford to be too clear<sup>5</sup>

To impugn a hagiographical text for empirical untruth or plagiarism makes little sense, for it is a genre in which symbolic, and therefore formulaic, representation was the goal.<sup>6</sup> Eulogius' hagiography, however, contains an unusually high level of what has been accepted as socio-historical detail, and as such any doubt about the veracity of his historical witness should be investigated. Scholars of hagiography accept that it is not a historical genre, that the early *passiones* were propaganda pieces, even 'romances', written years, even centuries, later, with little or no information beyond a name attached to a cult.<sup>7</sup> Eulogius, however, is considered to write history, and it is only as history that his hagiography can be criticised; it should be taken for granted that Eulogius' martyrs, like those of the original *acta*, are unlikely to satisfy an empirical approach.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 78.

<sup>5</sup> Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 78.

<sup>6</sup> The passion text is mimetic in nature since at its heart is the martyr's death echoing and reaffirming the crucifixion by *imitatio Christi*. Its focus is not recording events but presenting symbols. Heffernan writes:

For actions (*res*) narrated in the lives of the saints to be binding for the community, they had to be an *imitatio Christi*... In this narrative frame, action becomes ritual... For sacred biographers, there existed a veritable thesaurus of established approved actions which they could employ in their texts. The repetition of actions taken from Scripture or from earlier saints' lives (often this practice extended to appropriating the exact language) ensured the authenticity of the subject's sanctity

(*Sacred Biography*, 6). Aviad Kleinberg adds that 'all saints were specific manifestations of one prototypical life' – i.e.: Jesus' life (*Prophets in their own Country*, 23). See also: Geary, *Furta Sacra*, 10.

<sup>7</sup> Kate Cooper writes of the *Passio Sebastiani*, which she calls a 'martyr romance':

Though the account purports to describe a martyrdom under Diocletian and Maximian, both of whom abdicated in 305, it is likely to have been written in the fifth or even the early sixth century. Therefore it is as a document of the imagination, rather than of the historical record, that it concerns us... There has long been a consensus among scholars and theologians that the post-Constantinian *passiones* of the martyrs were the product of fertile literary imaginations, based in at least some instances on names remembered in undifferentiated lists

('Ventriloquism and the Miraculous: Conversion, Preaching, and the Martyr Exemplum in Late Antiquity' in *Signs, Wonders, Miracles: Representations of Divine Power in the Life of the Church: papers read at the 2003 Summer Meeting and the 2004 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), 34-5).

<sup>8</sup> Herbert Musurillo, one of the more recent editors of the early *acta martyrum*, though a defender of the martyrs' historicity, has nevertheless acknowledged the difficulty of reconciling the details contained in the *vita* or *passio* of a saint with modern conceptions of historicity and objective truth:

The question of ultimate historicity, or how far our documents reflect the actual events of the period of persecution, leaves the scholar in an embarrassing dilemma. For without external confirmation of the facts (apart from the evidence of Eusebius) we are reduced to retaining merely those texts which seem least objectionable from the

Christys' criticism of Eulogius for producing pious fiction based on the deaths of 'people who may not have been martyrs at all' fails to recognise that a martyr is anyone who is celebrated as a martyr.<sup>9</sup> Anyone called *sanctus* is a saint by definition, while the martyr needs only a cult as justification. In this respect, then, many of Eulogius' martyrs were not.

We know that Christians did publicly denounce Islam, for others uninterested in exploiting hagiography have reported them: Samson condemns the *comes* Servandus for enraging Muḥammad I by alerting him to the fact that the bodies of people he had executed were being revered as martyrs, and mentions his involvement in an incident in 863 where a confessor implicated him and the bishop Valentius as accomplices<sup>10</sup>; Arabic sources report a very few confessors, some successfully martyred, others humiliated and sent home, in the first decades of the following century. Of course, Eulogius was not writing centuries later, like some of the early hagiographers, but he was writing in a genre known to be both rhetorical and fictional. Eulogius' proximity to objective record largely depends upon his purpose in writing. The Cordoban Church rejected contemporary martyrdom, whether on theological or pragmatic grounds, and so it is possible if not likely that he did not intend to address a local audience as Samson did, which would free him to be as idealistic regarding martyrdom and excessive in his anti-Muslim sentiment as he wished.

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historical point of view... One might say that in all Christian documents which purport to be historical, the border line between history and edification is too often obscure

(*The Acts of the Christian Martyrs* (Oxford: OUP, 1972), liv... lvii).

<sup>9</sup> Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 77-8.

<sup>10</sup> Samson:

*ne uel ipsis parcere uideretvr, corpora, ut fuerant sub aris Dei posita, e suis oculis insignis uespilio traxit et fidelibus regis ut fuerant ancipiti ense truncata monstrauit, ut hoc facto animos regios in nostrorum perniciem excitaret... Sed et dum quidam Xpianus ob blasfemiam in illum quem gens Caldea profetam colunt esset puniendus, ille uenenato sermone Ualentium et Samsonem incitatores eius infitiatus est fore*

nor was the rogue seen to refrain from dragging out from their distinguished places and displaying bodies that had been deposited by the faithful under God's altars, those who were beheaded by the king's double-edged sword, so that with this deed he roused the royal thoughts to our calamity... when a certain Christian had to be punished because he had insulted him whom the Chaldaean race worship as a prophet, with poisonous speech he accused Valentius and Samson at court of being the instigators of his action

(*Apologeticus.II.praefatio.5.20-3... 9.7-8, CSM 2:551-4*).

## Eulogius and Albar as unrepresentative witnesses

Accepting the *ecclesia destituta* as a true reflection of mid-ninth-century Córdoba is a pre-requisite to accepting the deaths Eulogius recorded, promoted, and defended, as martyrdoms. His view that Islam's very existence constitutes an assault on Christianity creates a circular argument. For religious historians of post-medieval centuries it was not such a great leap to accept Eulogius' account as representative of Christian experience in al-Andalus as a whole. Though Roger Wright asserted that 'we can take Álvaro's famous complaint of 854 as literal truth'<sup>11</sup>, and that 'we can hardly doubt that the martyrs movement did exist'<sup>12</sup>, it has in recent years been recognised by some (notably Wright himself) that one cannot extract a reliable insight into Christian experience elsewhere in al-Andalus from this Córdoba-centric material.<sup>13</sup> Albar's testimony to Arabisation is an 'overblown exaggeration' (*una exageración declamatoria*) in the estimation of Ramón Menéndez Pidal<sup>14</sup>; Dominique Urvoy similarly regards the 'martyr movement' as 'blown out of proportion' by posterity<sup>15</sup>; Wright also stresses that Albar and Eulogius are not even representative of Córdoba.<sup>16</sup> Manuel Rincón Álvarez notes that Eulogius' complaints of public abuse speak only of it being visited upon the clergy, which likely only applies to extremists like Eulogius himself.<sup>17</sup> At odds with his church and with the Christian laity and engaged in writing

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<sup>11</sup> Wright, 'The end of written Ladino', 23.

<sup>12</sup> Wright, 'Language and religion', 122.

<sup>13</sup> Roger Wright urges caution against the assumption that Eulogius and Albar and their opinions are representative of Andalusī Christianity:

the surviving evidence is somewhat distorted in that almost all of it comes from the city of Córdoba, and the Christians of Córdoba were almost certainly unrepresentative of the Christians in al-Andalus as a whole. In particular, the martyrs of the 850s are not typical; we should beware of extrapolating from the works of Eulogio, Álvaro and Sansón to draw general conclusions about the whole Christian community there

(Wright, 'The end of written Ladino', 21). See also: Catlos, *The Victors and the Vanquished*, 24.

<sup>14</sup> Menéndez Pidal, *El idioma español en sus primeros tiempos* (9th ed. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1979), 32.

<sup>15</sup> Dominique Urvoy writes:

*L'épisode si célèbre des « martyrs de Cordoue » (milieu du IX<sup>e</sup> s.), qui a été monté en épingle comme l'image-type de cette communauté*

The very famous episode of the 'martyrs of Córdoba' (mid-ninth century), has been blown out of proportion as the archetypal image of that community

(*'Les aspects symboliques du vocable « mozarabe »*', 122).

<sup>16</sup> Wright:

they are not representative of Córdoba as a whole. We have to remember that the severe views they expressed were not shared by the majority of their fellow-Christians... Córdoba was not representative of all Al-Andalus, either, and Toledo, which was still the primatial see of the whole Peninsula, did not apparently participate in the martyrdoms

(*'Language and religion'*, 122).

<sup>17</sup> Rincón Álvarez:

*Ahora bien, Eulogio habla en nombre solo de los eclesiásticos y, probablemente, no en el de todos sino solamente en el de los mas radicales. Pero surge todavía una pregunta clave: las presiones y limitaciones religiosas a las que, indudablemente, estaban*



his own defence, Eulogius cannot be accepted as a spokesperson even for his clerical colleagues. Nor can Albar, whose prose often betrays an overwrought tone and descends to hyperbole and ‘bitter and abusive invective’ as even Colbert concedes.<sup>18</sup> Diego Olstein rejects Albar’s writings because of the rhetorical and polemical use to which his words are put.<sup>19</sup> Wolf’s approach is based upon the inherent understanding that Eulogius was in a minority, but accepts the martyrs as historical reality<sup>20</sup> and attempts to understand them independent of Eulogius.<sup>21</sup> He does not – nor does any of the above – seem to acknowledge that the primary reason one should not take Eulogius and Albar at face value is that they are religious writers of hagiography and polemical apologetic – Albar may have been a layman but his writing is certainly steeped in Scripture and theological argument as much as Eulogius’, perhaps more so. A hagiographer and a polemicist engaged in apologetic during a crisis for which they are the sole witnesses are not ideal sources for social history though this is the use to which they have been put. As has been said, hagiography in particular, be it composed in the ninth century or the fourth, is a problematic source for the social historian since it is essentially a symbolic myth-making literary exercise not intended in the first instance as an objective chronicle. Eulogius’ contemporaneity complicates things further because it breaks with tradition and seeks only or primarily to present the writer’s social milieu and thus offers much of socio-historical value though one must separate it from his rhetorical and symbolic hagiographic material.

This chapter is an attempt to go deeper into the problematic aspects of Eulogius’ work – his hagiography – which diminish its authority as an historical source, looking at it in isolation and in conjunction with the few contemporary sources that refer to, or deal with, Eulogius, martyrdom and contemporary Córdoba. The intention is to suggest that the circumstances of the *Andalusī dhimmī* in this period were not defined by persecution as Eulogius and Albar suggest. In light of the antipathy between pro- and

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*sometidos los cristianos ¿fueron suficientes como para justificar la oleada de martires voluntarios que se desencadenaron en ese año y los siguientes?*

Eulogius only speaks in the name of the ecclesiastics and, probably, not for all, but only for those most radical. Nevertheless a key question arises: were the pressures and religious limitations to which the Christians were doubtless submitted enough to justify the great wave of voluntary martyrs that were unleashed in that year and those following?

(*Mozárabes y mozarabías*, 80).

<sup>18</sup> Colbert, *The Martyrs of Córdoba*, 150.

<sup>19</sup> Olstein, ‘El péndulo mozárabe’, 41.

<sup>20</sup> Wolf:

Alvarus’ purpose was much the same as that of Eulogius: to present Muhammad and Islam in such a way as to justify the martyrs’ suicidal behavior

(*Christian Martyrs*, 93).

<sup>21</sup> Wolf, *Christian Martyrs*, 107-19.

anti-martyr camps among the Christians – and the latter’s rejection of the allegation of Muslim persecution – one might suggest that the irreverence suffered by the clergy may not necessarily have been at the hands of Muslims as one might assume. Except for one instance where they are clearly Muslim, jeering at church bells, the abusers are not qualified beyond ‘them’, and could have been lay Christians who did not appreciate the social tension engendered by Eulogius’ stance. It would thus be a Christian backlash against troublemakers rather than part of a Muslim persecution. Furthermore, boys laughing and throwing stones at priests would not be out of place in any catholic country today, and we should avoid characterising the medieval period as an age of greater piety than the present – the difference is that the written word, and therefore society’s presentation to posterity, is overwhelmingly secular today and was then almost exclusively written by ecclesiastics and monastics.<sup>22</sup>

The accusation that Eulogius constitutes an unreliable witness is given further foundation by the contradictory elements that crop up at various points of his vast three-volume project. Despite claiming to be ‘weighed down by sorrows’<sup>23</sup>, for instance, Eulogius still managed to write three extensive works as well as engage Christians outside of al-Andalus in lengthy epistolary communication, while imprisoned and though he claims further, apparently without irony, that he is forced to be brief in his letter to Wiliesindus, he is at this point already on his one hundred and sixty-first line, and goes on another 80 before signing off:

avoiding my dislike of rough speech let us confine my document to its limits, lest in measure its brevity should overstep a letter’s sketch<sup>24</sup>

Córdoba’s troubles are not so great as to keep him from his desk.

Eulogius evidently – and understandably – had difficulty governing the flow of his arguments and the consistency of his images over the vast course of his work; stretching its composition over almost a decade could not have helped. Having

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<sup>22</sup> John H. Arnold writes:

there has been a long-standing tradition that claims that unbelief, in the sense of cynicism, atheism, irreligion and so forth, was ‘impossible’ in the pre-modern period; that prior to the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, nobody was mentally capable of thinking outside the accepted framework of religion. This is simply not true... this is not to imply that the medieval laity were really all either pagans or humanists – they were not. But it is to emphasize that assertions of homogenous conformity must be treated with suspicion

(*Belief and Unbelief in Medieval Europe* (London: Hodder Arnold, 2005), 4).

<sup>23</sup> Eulogius, *Epistulae*.III.10.24-5, *CSM* 2:501. Eulogius declares ‘we are weighed down by misery on all sides’ (*nos partim maerore depressi*).

<sup>24</sup> Eulogius:

*fastidium impolitae orationis uitantes suis limitibus schedulam coarctauimus, ne in modum commentarii breuitas transiret epistolaris*

(*Epistulae*.III.10.25-7, *CSM* 2:501).

laboured so doggedly to defend his martyrs, Eulogius undermined himself with the following points, some trifling, others rather more damning.

### Chronology

The *ecclesia destituta* is the foundation of Eulogius' martyrological assault, but such an extreme and divisive image should not to be taken at face value, for the Eulogius-Albar axis is the sole source for these events, and Eulogius' chronology appears compromised. Under closer inspection it becomes apparent that the persecution Eulogius claims actually post-dates the majority of his 'martyrdoms'; his idiosyncratic concept of active, aggressive, martyrdom not only turns the martyrial paradigm of passive victimhood on its head – Perfectus engineers this change, 'turning the necessary to the voluntary' (*necessitatem in uoluntatem conuertens*), in Eulogius' own words<sup>25</sup> – it puts the cart of Christian suffering before the horse of Muslim hostility, if the reader will pardon such a clumsy metaphor. This is another reason to question Eulogius' testimony, his motives, and his reasons for writing in the way that he did; Christys' revelations regarding the origins of certain of his martyrs' stories have cast the seeds of doubt, from which Eulogius has until recently been immune, and made possible a reassessment of this testimony, and – resting almost entirely upon it – the historical understanding of this period of Iberian history.

The *Memoriale Sanctorum* is where Eulogius first engaged in martyrology, its first two books deal with the earliest events. It begins with a discussion of the Roman martyrs designed to give the contemporary deaths authority by association, then chronicles those new deaths and some of the actions of the court. The first two books were probably written in 851 and 852 respectively, certainly no earlier, since the latest, indeed the only, date given in the first is that of Isaac's death on 3 June 851<sup>26</sup>, and the latest in the second book is 16 October 852 (*XVI Kalendas Octobris, aera qua supra*<sup>27</sup>, that is, of 'the above-mentioned' *aera octingentesima nonagesima*)<sup>28</sup>. In the first book Eulogius describes his Church as *oppressa* under 'Abd al-Raḥmān II.'<sup>29</sup> But *oppressus*

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<sup>25</sup> Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*.I.9.32-3, CSM 2:378.

<sup>26</sup> Eulogius:

*tertio Nonas Iunias, feria quarta, aera octingentesima octuagesima nona*  
(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.I.praefatio.3.28-9, CSM 2:368).

<sup>27</sup> Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*.II.13.3.6, CSM 2:433.

<sup>28</sup> Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*.II.9.12, CSM 2:415.

<sup>29</sup> Eulogius:

is a very open term, and covers a great spectrum from ‘submitted to alien rule’ to ‘actively persecuted by legislation and force’. Eulogius has already shown that he regards Islam’s very presence as a grave persecution, but one can see the development of a picture of persecution in Perfectus’ two appearances in the *Memoriale Sanctorum*, in books one and two. Their treatment indicates that Eulogius changed his approach, probably due to the sceptical and hostile reception afforded his first book. Initially Perfectus’ church is disparaged in words, ‘the members of the Church are often and incessantly falsely accused’ (*saepe et incessanter ecclesiae membra calumniantur*)<sup>30</sup>; by the second book, when Eulogius returned to Perfectus for a full *passio* in 852, these insults have become a terrible subjugation: Perfectus is seen groaning at the suffering of his Church ‘under a yoke most grave’ (*sub eius grauissimo iugo ecclesia orthodoxorum gemens*)<sup>31</sup>. But there is no talk of a church standing empty, or of an ecclesiastical hierarchy divided, in the first two books of the *Memoriale Sanctorum*. In the *Documentum Martyriale*, ostensibly written in prison in November 851, some ten months before the death of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān II, Eulogius’ words imply that nothing has yet happened to the Cordoban Church:

God will defend his Church from the molestation of the destroyer, and us too, just as he wishes; he will tear off these chains with invincible power and guard and restore the wretched to their own homes<sup>32</sup>

However, Eulogius’ letter to Bishop Wiliesindus of Pamplona – dated 17 December 851<sup>33</sup>, and therefore written before the second volume of the *Memoriale* – contains not only his most detailed and extensive passage on the *ecclesia destituta* motif, but one of the most emotive (‘stationed in Córdoba under the wicked rule of the Arabs, I groan...’). It appears that at this time Eulogius wants to send a far stronger message to the Christian North than he is prepared to do in his full-scale works, no matter their

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*patule ea quae sancta sunt confitentes, quae nunc etiam omnis ecclesia Hispaniae, quanquam clandestinis, ut oppressa, praedicat uocibus*  
the saints confessed these things openly, which now the whole Hispanic Church preaches, though secretly, for it is oppressed

(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.I.6.50-2, CSM 2:375).

<sup>30</sup> Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*.I.20.10-1, CSM 2:383.

<sup>31</sup> Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*.II.1.11, CSM 2:398.

<sup>32</sup> Eulogius:

*Deus enim ecclesiam suam a molestia uastatoris defendet, nos quoque, sicut uoluerit, inuicta potestate de uinculis istis eruet et custodiet sedibusque propriis misertus restituet*

(*Documentum Martyriale*.17.8-11, CSM 2:470).

<sup>33</sup> Eulogius:

*data decimo septimo Kalendas Decembris per Galindum Enniconis uirum illustrem, aera octingentesima octuagesima nona*

[this letter will be] given to the illustrious Galindo Iñiguez 17 December, Era 889

(*Epistulae*.III.13.34-5, CSM 2:503).

intended audience, which, considering the impossibility of acceptance by his cotemporary Cordobans, is likely either the Universal Church or future generations, or both; if indeed he wrote for future generations in a bid to thwart his contemporary detractors, it worked. All this changes with the third and last volume, however, which opens with the succession of Muḥammad I following the death of his father ‘Abd al-Raḥmān II in late 852<sup>34</sup>; Muḥammad is characterised from the start as ‘an enemy of God’s Church and a malevolent persecutor of Christians’ (*hostem ecclesiae Dei et Xpianorum maliuolum persecutorem*)<sup>35</sup> in a way that his father was not. This is where Eulogius sets the persecution in motion, as he emphasises Muḥammad’s hostility, after the deaths of 29 martyrs<sup>36</sup>:

as is noted at the end of the second volume, having obtained his father’s power, Muḥammad dashed forth against us without delay in manifest hatred on the very day he ascended the throne about to rule adorned with the highest office; throwing all the Christians out of the palace he made it public that they were unworthy of the political office of the court... so unbearable grief and grim persecution meets us on all sides and sinks many in the snares of transgression<sup>37</sup>

It would hardly be surprising that Muḥammad might start his reign in such a way, considering that Eulogius – whom Albar claims, dubiously, was prominent enough to be unanimously elected Bishop of Toledo<sup>38</sup> – had already composed passion texts and presumably circulated 29 separate and potentially highly inflammatory accusations of murderous persecution against the state in the form of *passiones*, whose stories were a

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<sup>34</sup> Muḥammad I’s succession is dated 852 by Ibn Ḥayyān (*al-Muqtabis* edited by Maḥmūd ‘Alī Makkī (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī, 1973), II.267). The *Encyclopaedia of Islam* dates ‘Abd al-Raḥmān’s death to 22 September 852 (*Encyclopaedia of Islam I: A-B* edited H.A.R. Gibbs, J.H. Kramers, E. Lévi-Provençal and J. Schacht (Leiden: Brill, 1979), 83).

<sup>35</sup> Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*.II.16.2.13-4, CSM 2:436.

<sup>36</sup> Chronologically: Perfectus, John, Isaac, Sanctius, Walabonsus, Sabinianus, Wistremirus, Habentius, Jeremiah, Sisenandus, Paul, Theodemirus, Nunilo, Alodia, Flora, Maria, Gumesindus, Servus Dei, Aurelius, Sabigotho, Felix, Lilio, George, Christopher, Leovigildus, Emila, Jeremiah, Rogellius and Servus Dei.

<sup>37</sup> Eulogius:

*ut in fine secundi operis annotatum est, adepto Mahomad patris imperio, confestim in promptum odium contra nos prorumpens ipso die quo fascibus infulatus solium regnaturus conscendit, Xpianos omnes palatio abdicans indignos aulae principali ministerio promulgauit... sic quoque maeror importabilis et persecutio truculenta undique nobis obuians, plerosque praeuaricationis laqueo immergebat*

(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.II.1.1-5... 12-4, CSM 2:439-40).

<sup>38</sup> Albar writes:

*Nec illud omittendum huic operi reor, quod post diuine memorie Uuistremiri Toletane sedis episcopi in eandem sedem ab omnibus conprouincialibus et confinitimus episcopis electus*

I reckon it should not be left out of this work that after the death of the Bishop Wistremirus (of divine memory) of the Toledan See, [Eulogius] was elected to that very same see by all the provincial and neighbouring bishops

(*Vita Eulogii*.10.1-3, CSM 1:336). Though Albar is the sole source for this claim, it is still being repeated as historical fact in 2010.

big part of popular cult.<sup>39</sup> He had certainly written at length of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān’s tyrannical cruelty and the Cordoban Christians’ burden of sorrow<sup>40</sup> in his letter to Wiliesindus. Had Eulogius been a well-known figure, it would have been not inconceivable that the emir would have feared that such works as these might inflame the hearts and minds of the Christian populace, which was still at this point a vast numerical majority, and of the rebellious Christians in the Marches, sparking further unrest in the style of William of Septimania. But Eulogius was rather an obscure priest, albeit of lofty descent which may have got him some exposure.<sup>41</sup>

### Portrait of emir Muḥammad I

Despite having claimed that Muḥammad ‘dashed forth against us without delay’ on ascending to the seat of power and Córdoba suffered the ‘threat of his boundless fury’, creating a perfect atmosphere for martyrdom<sup>42</sup>. Eulogius misses the opportunity and calls no martyrdoms for eight months – from Rogellius and Servus Dei’s executions on 16 October 852 to Anastasius, Felix and Digna’s on 14 June 853. Muḥammad’s violent

<sup>39</sup> Pedro Herrera Roldán asserts that Eulogius’ works could well have circulated under the authorities’ radar because of the Muslims’, and the general populace’s, total ignorance of Latin:

*La mejor prueba de esa ignorancia de la lengua latina por parte de los musulmanes se encuentra en el hecho de que, cuando los insultos a la religión coránica y a su profeta Mahoma se castigaban con la muerte, en la misma Córdoba pudieran escribirse y circular numerosas obras con injurias y blasfemias gravísimas contra el Islam*

The greatest proof of the Muslims’ ignorance of the Latin language is found in the fact that while insults to the Qur’ānic religion and its Prophet Muḥammad were punished by death, in the same Córdoba, numerous works containing insults and the gravest of blasphemies against Islam could be written and circulated

(‘La decadencia de las letras latinas en Al-Ándalus’ in *Actas de la V y VI jornadas de humanidades clásicas organizadas por el IES “Santiago Apóstol”* co-ordinated by Carlos Manuel Cabanillas Nuñez and José Ángel Calero Carretero (Mérida: Junta de Extremadura, Consejería de Educación, Dirección General de Política Educativa, 2008), 56-7). It is unlikely, however, that the court could remain unaware of Eulogius’ works if they were being circulated for they could only pass amongst the Latin-literate higher strata of the Christian community, and it was from this group that the court had until recently recruited its administrators, and whence it still attracted men like counts Ibn Antunyān and Servandus, and Bishop Ostegesis of Málaga, whose allegiances lay closer, we are told, to the Islamic court than to their fellow Christians. It is more likely, furthermore, that if Eulogius’ words had any real circulation it would have been in the vernacular of popular culture for which the saints were so important.

<sup>40</sup> Eulogius:

*Habdarraghmanis regis Arabum tyrannidem... nos partim maerore depressi*

(*Epistulae*.III.1.7-8... 10.24-5, CSM 2:497-501).

<sup>41</sup> Albar:

*beatus martir Eulogius, nobili stirpe progenitus, Cordobe ciuitatis patricie senatorum traduce natus*

the blessed martyr Eulogius, offspring of noble stock, born of the vine of the senators of the patrician city of Córdoba

(*Vita Eulogii*.2.1-2, CSM 1:331).

<sup>42</sup> Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*.II.16.1-2, CSM 2:435-6.



accession ushered in eight months of peace. Eulogius' appraisal of Muḥammad could not be more at odds with every other. Even Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Umar – or Ibn al-Qūṭīya, 'the Son of the Goth', as he is better known – paints a rather different picture of Muḥammad I a century after the event, though one might expect him to mention Christian civil disobedience, due to his evident (relative) interest in the Christians whose ancestry he claims. He describes the emir as 'a man of patience and without haste, [who] refrained from [meting out] punishment', a man of culture, learning and generosity: 'eminent men, be they men of learning, clients, or military men, were treated with honour'<sup>43</sup>. Neither Eulogius nor his martyrs' persecution are remembered in the thirteenth century by Alfonso X's great *Estoria de España*, which purports to record Iberian history in its entirety from *Genesis* to the death of Fernando III in 1252. 'Abd al-Raḥmān II's reign is notable therein only for his building program and his efforts at quelling internecine conflict; Muḥammad I's is marked by the rebellion of Toledo.<sup>44</sup> There are no Andalusī Christians outside of Toledo in this part of the Alfonsine narrative.

Eulogius claims that Muḥammad I ordered church buildings destroyed, but nowhere else does one read of anything like this happening in Córdoba at this time. Eulogius presents Muḥammad as trying – and, importantly, failing – to force conversion to Islam by making the worship of Christianity impracticable: 'they did not all rush to his rite as he believed they would, in universal flight'<sup>45</sup>. He thereby contradicts scholarly expectations of early mass conversion built on Albar's lament, with its implication that Christians were not abandoning Christianity even as they may have been drawn to Arabic literature. If Muḥammad did order the actions Eulogius claims, they were intended not to force conversion but to punish those who were breaking their pact with the authorities, putting the balance of Cordoban society at risk. Quite apart from the practical, fiscal, benefits of maintaining the *dhimmī* tax-base, and the Qur'ānic ordinances binding him to respect the *ahl al-dhimma*, we have a reference by the tenth-century Cordoban physician Ibn Juljul naming two Christian doctors, of whom one

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<sup>43</sup> Ibn al-Qūṭīya:

ثم ولي الأمير محمد، رحمه الله، وكان من أهل الأناة، وقلة العجلة، والتنزه عن العقوبة، مكرماً  
لأعلام الناس من أهل العلم والموالي والأجناد، متخيراً لعماله

(*Tār'ikh iftītāḥ al-Andalus*, 86).

<sup>44</sup> *Estoria de España*.624, 632, 637-8 (f° 28), Menéndez Pidal, *Primera crónica general*.II, 357a-b, 362a-b, 364a-365a.

<sup>45</sup> Eulogius:

*nec sic omnes generali dilapsu, ut fidebat, ad ritum suum proruerent*

(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.III.3.2-3, CSM 2:441).

Jawād was employed by Muḥammad, a fact that rather argues against Eulogius' portrait of a tyrant bent on Christian blood.<sup>46</sup> Muḥammad clearly trusted Christians in his court and with his life; his contention with Christians, if Eulogius' account can be trusted so far, was with those who threatened the *status quo*.

It seems to have been in the reign of Muḥammad that Eulogius began to dedicate himself to the *ecclesia destituta* and persecution as a focal point and as justification for calling new martyrs. But when one studies the documents against each other, one discovers that the chronological appearances of figures and motifs do not present a consistent image.<sup>47</sup>

### The relationship between historical truth and hagiographical persecution

Since Eulogius viewed Islam itself as a persecution by dint of its usurpation of Christianity's claim to final revelation, it follows that he would view any Christian executed by the Muslim rulers as a martyr. Eulogius knew, as Albar did, that Islam demanded capital punishment for blasphemy. Here then is at least a partial explanation for Eulogius' active martyrdoms: in order to write a *passio* without persecution in mid-ninth-century emiral Córdoba he had to present unprovoked blasphemy as witness. If we are to believe Eunapius of Sardis (c.345-420)<sup>48</sup> – a man who lived through the last years of Imperial cult, and one of the few pagans to mention Christianity<sup>49</sup> – Eulogius

<sup>46</sup> Ibn Juljul:

جواد الطيب النصراني  
كان في أيام الأمير محمد، وله اللعوق المنسوب إلى جواد، وله دواء الراهب، والبسونات المنسوبة  
إليه وإلى حمدين

Jawād, the Christian doctor:

He lived in the time of the emir Muḥammad. An electuary is attributed to him, and the monk's remedy; some potions are attributed to him and to Ḥamdīn

(*Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, 93).

<sup>47</sup> Besides Christys' explicit criticism, intimation of Eulogius' creative approach to fact can be found in Wolf's observation that 'Eulogius attempted to create a sense of Christian persecution' though he does not question the martyrs' historicity (*Christian Martyrs*, 100).

<sup>48</sup> On Eunapius' date, see: Blockley, R.C., *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire: Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus, and Malchus* (Liverpool: F. Cairns, 1983), 1ff; Grant, Michael, *From Rome to Byzantium: The Fifth Century A.D.* (Oxford: Routledge, 1998), 189; Rohrbacher, David, *The Historians of Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Routledge, 2002), 64-72.

<sup>49</sup> Tacitus (c.55-c.117) and Pliny (c.60-c.113) are other exceptions, though they are notable for their ignorance. Tacitus reports

*invisos vulgus Christianos appellabat. Auctor nominis eius Christus Tiberio imperitante per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio adfectus erat*  
a hated group the people called Christians, whose leader named Christus was executed in Tiberius' reign by Procurate Pontius Pilate

would not be straying far from tradition. Eunapius states that criminals executed by the Imperial state made martyrs for the Christian cause:

they establish the worship of slaves – and not even honest ones – instead of the true gods. For they collect the bones and skulls of those condemned for numerous crimes whom the city court of justice had punished; they made them out to be gods, and prostrated themselves, and supposed that they became better by defiling themselves at their tombs. They were called witnesses, and ministers of a sort, and ambassadors of requests of the gods<sup>50</sup>

It would be foolish to suggest that Eunapius' disparaging statement is entirely without bias; he was after all part of a generation that saw its traditional culture and its values usurped by these people. But Eunapius' words show knowledge of Christian practices including the founding of churches on martyrs' burial sites<sup>51</sup>, and fit with academic assessments of the pragmatism at the heart of martyr cult.

The original Roman persecutions are now thought to be a product of later generations and their pens, the martyrs a product of the stories told about them later, not of actual historical incident. Lucy Grig writes:

The persecution of the Christian Church was very much a persecution complex. Persecution was constructed, amplified and multiplied through a vast body of material: apologetic, martyr acts, sermons and all manner of treatises which then became accepted as history<sup>52</sup>

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(*Annales*.XV.44, edited by Erich Koestermann as *Cornelii Taciti Libri qui Supersunt tomus I: Ab Excessu Divi Augusti* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1965), 356). Pliny, in his capacity as Propraetor (governor) of Bithynia province, was confronted with Christians who refused to sacrifice and was charged with interviewing them and executing those that refused. We learn a great deal of Rome's early official response to Christianity from letters exchanged between Pliny and the Emperor Trajan. See: Pliny, *Epistulae*.X.96ff *Pliny: Epistulae, Books 8-10, Panegyricus* translated by Betty Radice (London: Heinemann; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969), 284-92.

<sup>50</sup> Eunapius:

ἀντὶ τῶν νοητῶν θεῶν εἰς ἀνδραπόδων θεραπείας, καὶ οὐδὲ χρησῶν, καταδήσαντες τὸ ἀνθρώπινον. Ὅσα γὰρ καὶ κεφαλὰς τῶν ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ἀμαρτήμασιν ἐαλωκότων συναλίζοντες, οὓς τὸ πολιτικὸν ἐκόλαζε δικαστήριον, θεοῦ τε ἀπεδείκνυσαν, καὶ προδεκαλινδοῦντο τοῖς καὶ κρείττους ὑπελάμβανον εἶναι μολυνόμενοι πρὸς τοῖς τάφοις. Μάρτυρες γοῦν ἐκαλοῦντο καὶ διάκονοί τινες καὶ πρέσβεις τῶν αἰτήσεων παρὰ τῶν θεῶν

(*Vitas Sophistarum et Fragmenta Historiarum* unmarked text edited by Jean Francois Boissonade and Daniel Albert Wytttenbach (Amsterdam: Pieter den Hengst, 1822), II.45).

<sup>51</sup> Joyce E. Salisbury confirms Eunapius' claims:

By 360, burial shrines of martyrs were a central part of Christian worship... Cemeteries outside the walls that had been ignored by pious Romans became centers of the ecclesiastical life of pious Christians. Martyrs' bodies were buried with great ceremony to become centers of worship

(*The Blood of the Martyrs: Unintended Consequences of Ancient Violence* (Oxford: Routledge, 2004), 52). On the building of churches over the grave sites of martyrs, see: *Cyclopaedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature* edited by John McClintock and James Strong (New York: Harper, 1880), 381.

<sup>52</sup> Grig, Lucy, *Making Martyrs in Late Antiquity* (London: Duckworth, 2004), 14. Elizabeth Castelli states:

whether a particular martyr actually died in a particular spot on a particular date matters much less than the work that the *memory* of that event does at later points

Though the majority of pagan emperors treated the Christians with ‘studied sobriety’<sup>53</sup> – despite general concern that Christianity threatened Rome’s relationship with her gods – and pagan writers were in the main indifferent to Christians and ignorant of their beliefs and practices, the abundance of highly emotive Christian reports has made a stronger impression and established a different picture as standard.<sup>54</sup> Eulogius also stands out against a documentary drought.

T.D. Barnes writes that ‘many of the transmitted *acta* or *passiones* of pre-Decian martyrs are neither contemporary nor authentic records of what actually happened... there is a mere handful whose genuineness as a whole has not been successfully impugned’<sup>55</sup>. Cyprian’s letters to the Carthaginian clergy indicate that there was little restriction placed on the observance of Christian ritual during the Decian persecution, for he instructs his priests in their duties in his absence:

I am relying on your love and devotion to duty... to administer to those things in my ward that religious administration requires to be done<sup>56</sup>

Decius was interested in reviving imperial ritual.<sup>57</sup> It was to this end that he made his call to sacrifice – an attempt to unite the *imperium* in allegiance to Rome and normalise the ritual observance which was central to political life. This was a period of intense demographic change, in which the immense empire became increasingly difficult to govern, and provincial cultus of every kind was diluting the authority of the official rite. Any Christian casualty was purely incidental.<sup>58</sup> Because their ‘behaviour owed

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(*Martyrdom and Memory*, 29). R.A. Markus agrees that ‘the cult of the martyrs came into its own when martyrdom was a thing of the past’ (Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity* (Cambridge: CUP, 1990), 92).

<sup>53</sup> Berchman, Robert M., *Porphyry against the Christians* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 33-4.

<sup>54</sup> Ste Croix writes:

The ordinary Christian who did not insist on openly parading his confession of faith was most unlikely to become a victim... The so-called Great persecution has been exaggerated in Christian tradition to an extent which even [the staunch critic Edward] Gibbon did not fully appreciate

(‘Aspects of the “Great” Persecution’, *The Harvard Theological Review* 47.2 (1954), 104).

<sup>55</sup> Barnes, T.D., ‘Legislation against the Christians’, *The Journal of Roman Studies* 58.1-2 (1968), 44. See also Barnes’ article ‘Pre-Decian *Acta Martyrum*’, *Journal of Theological Studies: New Series* 19 (1968), 509ff).

<sup>56</sup> Cyprian:

*Fretus ergo et dilectione et religione vestra... vice mea fungamini circa gerenda ea quae administratio religiosa deposcit*

(*Epistulae.V.Ad Presbyteros et Diaconos.2, PL* 4, col.232B; XIV in *CSEL* III.2).

<sup>57</sup> An inscription from the colony of Oescus on the Danube describes Decius thus:

*REPARATOR DISCIPLINAE MILITARIS, FVNDATOR SACR[orum] VRBIS, FIRMATOR SP[ei]*

The restorer of military discipline, founder of the rites of the city, confirmer of hope

(*Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* compiled by H. Dessau (Berlin: Wadmann, 1892-1914), number 8922).

<sup>58</sup> James B. Rives writes:

Decius enacted no specific measures against the hierarchy or Church property, nor did he forbid Christians from meeting or even practising their rites in prison. As for the evidence of contemporary Christian writers, it is understandable that they saw the order

everything to God and nothing to society'<sup>59</sup>, while the state religion was 'all-pervasive and central to the life of society'<sup>60</sup>, Christians would have died for refusing the call to sacrifice; but so would the followers of any number of local cults. *Libelli*<sup>61</sup> show that the edict did not target Christians. One of the 46 extant, all dating from late 249 to 250 CE, pertains to an Egyptian woman named Aurelia Ammounis, 'priestess of the god Petesouchos, the great, the mighty, the immortal, and priestess of the gods in the Moeris quarter'<sup>62</sup>; had she refused she too would have been executed. And yet, Gregory of Tours would call Decius specifically a persecutor of Christians:

Truly under Emperor Decius many wars arose against the name Christian, and such a slaughter of believers was there that they cannot be counted<sup>63</sup>

### **Conflicting claims for 857: mass public martyr veneration during renewed persecution**

An overlooked but quite striking contradiction comes at the end of the account of the *passio* of layman Salomon and priest Rudericus in Eulogius' latest work, the *Liber Apologeticus Martyrum*, which he dates 13 March 857. Eulogius undermines his lamentations for a church forsaken by proudly depicting the mass celebration of Rudericus' funeral by both clergy and lay faithful:

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to sacrifice as tantamount to an order to apostatize, and interpreted the pressure put on them to comply as a persecution. Their views, however, were not necessarily those of Decius himself. There is in fact no convincing evidence the he was particularly hostile to Christianity *per se*

('The Decree of Decius and the Religion of Empire', *Journal of Roman Studies* 89 (1999), 142). See also: Ste Croix, 'Why Were the Early Christians Persecuted?', 6-38, and 'Why Were the Early Christians Persecuted? – A Rejoinder', *Past and Present* 27 (1964), 28-33; Sherwin-White, 'The Early Persecutions and Roman Law Again', *Journal of Theological Studies* 3.2 (1952), 199-213, and 'Why Were the Early Christians Persecuted? – An Amendment', *Past and Present* 27 (1964), 23-7; Millar, Fergus, 'The Imperial Cults and the Persecutions' in Willem den Boer's *Le culte des souverains dans l'empire romain* (Genève: Fondation Hardt, 1973), 145-64.

<sup>59</sup> Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity from Marcus Aurelius to Muhammad* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1972), 53.

<sup>60</sup> Berchman, *Porphyry against the Christians*, 31.

<sup>61</sup> A *libellus* was an official certificates attesting to the performance of sacrifice.

<sup>62</sup> Rives, 'The Decree of Decius and the Religion of Empire', 140. See also: Horsley, G.H.R., *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* (North Ryde, NSW: Macquarie University, 1982), 181; Keresztes, P., 'Decian *libelli* and Contemporary Literature', *Latomus* 34 (1975), 761-81; Knipfing, John R., 'The *Libelli* of the Decian Persecution', *The Harvard Theological Review* 16.4 (1923), 345-90; Lee, A.D., *Pagans and Christians in Late Antiquity: A Sourcebook* (Oxford: Routledge, 2000), 50-1. For an example of a family *libellus* see: MacLennan, H., *Oxyrhynchus* (Amsterdam: AM Hakkert, 1968), 31.

<sup>63</sup> Gregorius Turonensis episcopus:

*Sub Decio vero imperatore multa bella adversum nomen Christianum exoriuntur, et tanta strages de credentibus fuit, ut nec numerari queant*

(*Historia Francorum*.I.18, PL 71, col.175A).

a huge crowd of the faithful gathered... since they were eager to pay the respects owed to the greatest conqueror who feared not to undertake such great things for his God as an example for the Catholics<sup>64</sup>

A 'huge crowd' of the lay faithful willing and able to show public adoration for a man recently executed is not exactly what one has come to expect having read Eulogius thus far. He continues, and the ecclesiastical hierarchy joins the fray:

And the venerable bishop was there, crowded round by an army of happy clergy hurrying to take part in the funeral processions with the most ardent devotions. They soon approached the holy relics and the illustrious father uncovered the head and brushed the holy limbs with kisses<sup>65</sup>

Sage identified this bishop as Saul, the *praesul* whom Eulogius and Albar tell us presided over Perfectus' burial in May 850<sup>66</sup>, and was imprisoned twice for his support of Eulogius' martyrology, first in Reccafred's crackdown in 851<sup>67</sup> and again after Muḥammad's accession to the emirate in late 852.<sup>68</sup> It certainly cannot have been Reccafred. It is not clear, however, where Saul stood on the matter of Eulogius and his martyrs, for in the twelfth letter of Albar's correspondence Saul makes a damning remark that – considering our limited knowledge of the time and place, and wary of making educated guesses – can only refer to Albar's association with Eulogius. He suggests that Albar 'should avoid the company of perverse men':

For as it is said: 'He that toucheth pitch shall be defiled with it'<sup>69</sup>, [so] what absolution can these sought-after sacraments offer you if tomorrow you are seen associating with a pseudo-bishop?<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Eulogius:

*ingens fidelium turba occurrit, utpote summo triumphatori debitum honorem dependere anhelans, qui talia pro Deo suo in exemplo catholicorum non contempserit sustinere*

(*Liber Apologeticus Martyrum*.33.5-9, CSM 2:493).

<sup>65</sup> Eulogius:

*Adest et uenerabilis pontifex felicium stipatus agmine clericorum, uotis ardentioribus talibus interesse festinantes exequiis. Qui mox sanctas reliquias adeunt et inclitus papa caput detegit et oculis sancta membra demulcet*

(*Liber Apologeticus Martyrum*.34.1-4, CSM 2:493).

<sup>66</sup> Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*.II.1.5.14-5, CSM 2:400. Sage, *Paul Albar*, 38.

<sup>67</sup> Albar:

*omnesque sacerdotes quos potuit carcerali uinculo alligabat. Inter quos ut electus aries ducitur et cum pontifice suo*

[the emir] bound all the priests he could in the prison's chains. Among these [Eulogius] was led like a chosen ram, and his bishop with him

(*Vita Eulogii*.4.2-4, CSM 1:332). Eulogius refers to this period of incarceration in the *passio* of Flora and Maria (*Memoriale Sanctorum*.II.8.14, CSM 2:414), in the *Documentum Martyriale (uiduata est ecclesia sacro praesulum)* (11.4-5, CSM 2:467); and in his third letter (*retrudens carcere episcopos, presbyteros, abattes, leuitas et omnem clerum... capere potuit*) (*Epistulae*.III.10.8-9, CSM 2:501).

<sup>68</sup> Eulogius writes that on the death of his father, Córdoba suffered the threat of Muḥammad's boundless fury (*immani furore comminatio principis*) and 'the bishop was handed over to the horrid sight of the prison' (*pontifex horribili carcerum specui traderetur*) (*Memoriale Sanctorum*.II.16.1.2... 2.2-3, CSM 2:435-6).

<sup>69</sup> *Ecclesiastes* 13:1.

<sup>70</sup> Albar:



This last remark must be a reference to Albar's claim that Eulogius was elected to the Toledan see, and would seem to rubbish it as Albar's fantasy. Saul had clashed with Eulogius when he had refused to lead mass to spite Reccafred, threatening him with anathema unless he promised to return to his office.<sup>71</sup> Despite Saul's evident antipathy, he is placed at the head of his martyr's devotees.

This is a time of persecution, Eulogius writes – a time when Muḥammad I is depicted as once more destroying church buildings as he had on succeeding his father five years earlier<sup>72</sup> – and the authorities were going to every length to stop a martyr cult before it started, throwing not only Rudericus and Salomon's corpses into the Guadalquivir, but also every stone upon which their blood had dripped.<sup>73</sup> But still the lay faithful and churchmen are said to flock openly – no hint that any of this is done in secret or by stealth – and *en masse* in great pomp to celebrate Rudericus' funeral:

and so with the attendance of the priests and religious men, the priests carrying the holy body out of the small cell to be buried at the church all gave a great cry of the heavenly hymns, the mouths of the assembled faithful resounded with song, everyone roared the euphony of divine chant, the atria of the Lord filled with the holy murmur of the psalms and the praise of the faithful, everyone performed the song as if from one mouth. And in sweet harmony, with all resounding, with the great heat of the lights penetrating the whole palace with their glow, the militia attending Christ the king entered bowing their heads at that sight for the saints' funeral rites<sup>74</sup>

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*prauorum consortja euitetis. Nam quum dictum sit: 'qui tetigerit picem, quoinquinauitur ab ea', que uobis absolutjo ad sacramenta percipienda poterunt inesse, si pseudoaepiscopo in crastinum uideamini coco pacto adnecti?*

(*Epistulae*.XII.2.27-31, CSM 1:223-4).

<sup>71</sup> Albar:

*eum anathemate ferire non uereretur nisi citjus redire promitteret*

he did not shrink from striking him with anathema unless he swiftly promised to return

(*Vita Eulogii*.7.25-6, CSM 1:334).

<sup>72</sup> Eulogius:

*Per idem ergo tempus grauiter in nos praesidialis grassabatur insania... basilicarum tures euerteteret, templorum arces dirueret et excelsa pinnaculorum prosterneret*  
At this same time the madness of the ruler was falling heavily upon us... he knocked down the basilicas' towers, destroyed the churches' arches, and cast down the tops of the spires

(*Liber Apologeticus Martyrum*.22.1-2, CSM 2:488).

<sup>73</sup> Eulogius:

*Nonnulli etiam e turba gentilium uenientes sumebant lapillos fluminis, qui cruore martyrum erant asperse, et lymphis abluentes proiciebant in pelago, ne Xpianis in emolumentum existerent lipsanorum*

Several even came from the Gentile crowd picking up pebbles from the river which were sprinkled with the martyrs' gore, and threw them into the water washing them clean lest they profit the Christians as relics

(*Liber Apologeticus Martyrum*.32.1-3, CSM 2:492).

<sup>74</sup> Eulogius:

*sicque sacerdotum et religiosorum officio sanctum corpus e cellula sacerdotis humandum ecclesiae inferentes dant cuncti hymnorum caelestium clamorem egregium, resonant ora fidelium congruenti carmine melos, praestrepunt omnes diuinae cantionis euphonium, implentur atria Domini murmure sancto psalmorum felicitumque laudum*

## No place for the miraculous?

It is widely noted that Eulogius' martyrs lack the miraculous *signa* vital to proving their sanctity, and that while the Cordoban relics of Aimoin's Frankish *De Translatio* narrative produce an abundance of miracles once past Béziers, they are credited with none at all inside al-Andalus.<sup>75</sup> Nevertheless, the episode of Rudericus and Salomon's twin *passio* is notable not only for this anomalous public reverence when elsewhere it seems martyrdom has few supporters; Eulogius invests it with an uncharacteristic abundance of the miraculous. Wolf has noted that various ominous phenomena had attended other deaths among his martyrology – spectators of Perfectus' execution are drowned by *divina pietas*<sup>76</sup>, and the same martyr had successfully prophesied the death of his antagonist the eunuch Naşr<sup>77</sup>; a sudden storm marked the deaths of Emila and Hieremias<sup>78</sup>; and Digna<sup>79</sup>, Sabigotho<sup>80</sup> and Sisenandus<sup>81</sup> had visions relating to their

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*odam omnes quasi ex uno ore persoluunt. Et suavi concentu omnibus percrepantibus  
largoque fomite luminum totius aulae penetrantibus relucens, regem Xpm militia  
comitante caelicolum ad spectaculum illud exequis innuebat interesse sanctorum*

(*Liber Apologeticus Martyrum*.34.10-9, CSM 2:493-4).

<sup>75</sup> Effros, 'Usuard's Journey to Spain', 1, 26; Tolán, 'Reliques et païens', 47-9. Kenneth Wolf dedicates a chapter to examining Eulogius' Martyrdom with miracles' (*Christian Martyrs in Muslim Spain*, 77-85).

<sup>76</sup> Eulogius:

*Ipso die quo decidit, diuina pietas fuerit operata... Nam celerem ad uindictam sui  
militis ultionem effundens nonnullos de pessimorum caterua gurgite fluuiali immersit...  
Uix inde nando sex euadentibus bini naufragio perierunt*

On the very day he died, divine compassion was at work... For pouring forth swift  
revenge in vindication of its soldier, it cast several of the worst men all together into the  
river's depths... Scarcely six escaped by swimming, two men perished in the shipwreck

(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.II.1.5.2... 3-5... 10, CSM 2:400).

<sup>77</sup> Eulogius:

*'Hunc quem hodie super omnes Hiberiae primates fastus principatus extollit... reuoluto  
uenturi anni curriculo ipsum quo me prosterni die decreuerit non attinget'... Illudque  
prophetismum diuinitus ore eius prolatum de proconsule eunucho clauiculario Nazar  
ita Deo dispensante impletum est*

'May this man who today raised himself above all the primates of Iberia... who decreed  
today that I be destroyed, may he not live out the year'... And that inspired prophecy  
about the governor's jail keeper the eunuch Naşr uttered from his mouth was fulfilled  
with God's dispensation

(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.II.1.3.32... 5... 5.16-8, CSM 2:399-401).

<sup>78</sup> Eulogius:

*Gladio uindice peremerunt... subito eadem hora qua decollati sunt uehemens  
tonitruorum fragor exurgens*

they died by the liberating sword... suddenly at the very same hour that they were  
decapitated the violent crash of thunder claps rose up

(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.II.12.15... 16-7, CSM 2:432).

<sup>79</sup> Digna is visited by an angelic girl who identifies herself as Agatha, a martyr who passes the martyrial baton to her: *nunc ueni partem tibi purpurei muneris huius conferre* (Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*.III.8.2.9, CSM 2:446).

<sup>80</sup> Sabigotho is visited in a dream by Flora and Maria, who tell her that her martyrdom was preordained and divinely arranged:

*Martyrium denique uobis a constitutione mundi diuinitus praefixum et praedestinatum  
est*

And your martyrdom was divinely marked and predestined by the order of the world

own deaths – but these were for the most part mere signs from God, not full-blown miracles performed *post mortem* by the martyrs.<sup>82</sup> There are, however, several other miraculous episodes. Eulogius also proclaims his release from prison as proof of Flora and Maria's sanctity and of their power of intercession<sup>83</sup>, and reports 'miraculous signs' attributed to the corpses of Nunilo and Alodia<sup>84</sup>.

Raised on the theology of Augustine, who wrote that 'all natural things are filled with the miraculous'<sup>85</sup>, the medieval mind perceived traces of the miraculous everywhere, and must have been particularly receptive in the proximity of the sacred.<sup>86</sup> Consequently, one of the criticisms lodged against the confessors, we are told, is that they were 'not the same as the first martyrs' (*non esse illos consimiles prioribus*

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(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.II.10.13.5-6, CSM 2:421). And again by a beautiful virgin who tells her that her victory is at hand: *Instat namque iam uobis tempus exsequendae uictoriae* (*Memoriale Sanctorum*.II.10.20.12-3, CSM 2:424).

<sup>81</sup> Sisenandus foresees the hour of his execution while in prison: *Qui dum in carcere religatus maneret, tradunt quod prophético illustratus spiritu patibuli sui horam praescius* (Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*.II.5.6-7, CSM 2:404).

<sup>82</sup> Wolf dedicates the sixth chapter of *Christian Martyrs in Muslim Spain* to discussing the various signs Eulogius attributed to his confessors, noting that they are minimal in both number and magnitude when compared to the miracle-laden *passiones* of early hagiography. He refers also to the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great as a possible influence and precedent for minimising the importance of the miraculous (*Christian Martyrs*, 77-85).

<sup>83</sup> Eulogius:

*honorem et gloriam nostrarum uirginum celebrauimus cunctique nos illarum patrocinio tutandos fouendosque commisimus. Et quia uniuersorum spes non perfunctorie in earum meritis collocata est, ideo, sicuti cernitis, fauens Xps earundem uictoriis et interuentibus gloriosis post sextum diem quo illae coronatae sunt nos uinculis absoluit et carcerali claustro exemit... qui confortauit in certamine sanctas uirgines suas Floram et Mariam et uicerunt, nosque per digna illarum merita liberauit in pace*

we celebrated the honour and glory of our virgins and all committed ourselves to their protection to be watched over and supported. And the hope of everyone was not carelessly collected in their worth for, as you have seen, Christ favoured their victories and glorious interventions, and the sixth day after they were crowned by him, he loosed us from our chains and delivered us from the closed prison... he comforted his holy virgins Flora and Maria in their struggle, and they were victorious; and he set us free in peace for their worthy merit

(*Epistula* I.3.12-17 ...22-4, CSM 2:496).

<sup>84</sup> Eulogius:

*Ferunt tamen quod illa uirginalia cadauera in loco, quo ab ethnicis altis scrobibus magis abscondita quam humata sunt, signis et miraculis coruscant*

They say that the virginal corpses shone with signs and miracles in that place where they had been buried, or rather hidden, by the heathens, in deep ditches

(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.II.7.2.56-8, CSM 2:408).

<sup>85</sup> Augustine: *omnis natura rerum tam sit plena miraculis* (*Epistulae*.CII.5, PL 33, col.372).

<sup>86</sup> Peter Brown judges Augustine 'a central figure in the development of Western thought' (*Religion and Society in the Age of Augustine* (London: Faber and Faber, 1972), 9). Benedicta Ward writes that the miraculous was a 'basic dimension of life':

Events called *miracula* permeated life at every level... closely woven into the texture of Christian experience... Throughout the Middle Ages miracles were unanimously seen as part of the City of God on earth

(*Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, record and event (1000-1215)* (London: Scolar Press, 1982), 1-2).

*martyribus*)<sup>87</sup>. One of the most immediate ways in which Eulogius' confessors differed from those of the Roman persecution narratives, apart from their active mission to find death, is in the dearth of miraculous proofs. Eulogius reports the criticism 'Why do you not invest your accomplices with any terror of prodigies at all, why do you not brandish even any small miracles at bystanders?'<sup>88</sup> Faced with the criticism that his saints die 'without any virtue of miracles' (*neque ulla uirtute miraculorum*)<sup>89</sup>, Eulogius takes recourse to Gregory the Great's *Moralia* – wherein the pope writes in apocalyptic tones identifying miracles as part of a previous age, denying them a place at the end of days, and favours faith that does not need miracles<sup>90</sup> – to defend his assertion that 'miracles of virtuous deeds are not given to all, nor are they done hither and yon in every age'<sup>91</sup>. Eulogius drops the apocalypticism but likewise denies that sanctity needs the miraculous:

Do you not see, O you whoever you are that rises up against [us], that... now in this time you should believe in Truth and not in prodigies and portents, but in the integrity of the faith and the constancy of the profession the most excellent martyrs made, and what can only be wondered at in them, that with strong mind they accepted death for Christ, who

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<sup>87</sup> Eulogius, *Liber Apologeticus Martyrum*.3.3, CSM 2:477.

<sup>88</sup> Eulogius:

*quare non satellibus qualemcumque prodigiorum infertis terrorem uel quibuslibet adstanti uulgo signaculis coruscates?*

(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.I.12.18-9, CSM 2:379).

<sup>89</sup> Eulogius:

*Et ob hoc ipsum plerisque nostrorum paruipendulis uerum non esse uidebatur martyrium, quod non ad confusionem incredulorum uel roborationem fidelium aliquod ostentaret miraculum*

On account of this [lack of miracles] it is true that this is not considered martyrdom by many naysayers among us, because it does not display any miracle for the joining of the faithless and the strengthening of the faithful

(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.I.13.1-3, CSM 2:379).

<sup>90</sup> Gregorius Magnus papa:

*Terribili quippe ordine dispositionis occultae, priusquam Leviathan iste in illo damnato homine quem assumit appareat, a sancta Ecclesia uirtutum signa subtrahuntur... miraculorum prodigia tolluntur. Quae quidem nequaquam superna dispensatio funditus subtrahit, sed non haec sicut prioribus temporibus aperte ac multipliciter ostendit... Dum enim subtractis signorum uirtutibus sancta Ecclesia uelut abjectior apparet, et bonorum praemium crescit, qui illam pro spe coelestium, et non propter praesentia signa uenerantur*

Indeed by the terrible course of the hidden dispensation, before this Leviathan should appear in the doomed man he possesses, the signs of power are taken from the Holy Church... the prodigies of miracles are abrogated. Assuredly the supernatural dispensation by no means removes them entirely, but it does not display them openly or in great number as in former times... For when the Holy Church seems more abject with the removal of its signs of power, the good – who respect her in hope of heaven, and not because of visible signs – earn a greater reward

(*Moralia Librum sive Expositio in Librum Beati Job*.34.3.7, PL 76, col.721A-B; paraphrased by Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*.I.13.5-7... 9-12... 13-6, CSM 2:379).

<sup>91</sup> Eulogius:

*Signa namque uirtutum nec omnibus data, nec passim quocumque tempore sunt exercenda*

(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.I.13.18-9, CSM 2:379).

said: 'He that loseth his life for my sake shall find it in eternal life'... One should not put much faith in the signs of prodigies, many of which have been performed by infidels, as is written in *Exodus*: 'And the sorcerers did like Moses with their incantations'... Whether God's witnesses shine with miracles or proceed to the blessed struggle without prodigies, it makes no difference when the heavenly author wishes only that they bravely complete their suffering without deserting the constancy of their hope<sup>92</sup>

Nevertheless, Eulogius does pander to his critics' demand for the miraculous, bookending his hagiography with more traditional prodigies.<sup>93</sup> He defends Isaac's martyrial status in the preface of the *Memoriale Sanctorum*, wherein his spiritual greatness is marked by a number of prodigies and miracles:

it is necessary to describe those signs and prodigies by which blessed Isaac was marked in infancy so that we might thus believe that he was divinely chosen for the crown of martyrdom, by which he gave his parents a terrifying shock when in his mother's uterus; for he was witnessed speaking three times in one day, shortly before he was born. The woman, terrified nearly to death by this freak occurrence, could not understand the meaning of the words at all. Another time, when he was seven years old, he had a vision in which he saw a maiden descend from heaven in a circle of light; and in the crowd of everyone standing around he alone saw a length of light extend from her hands and he drank in all its clarity in his mouth; then happy and truly blessed [he was] proclaimed worthy of such a gift by all these things. These are the prodigies and miracles of his childhood which showed him worthy of martyrdom long before [the event]<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Eulogius:

*Uidesne, o tu quisquis ille es qui contra adsurgis, quod... ut ex hoc nunc iam te in ueritate credere oporteat non prodigiis atque portentis, sed integritate fidei et professionis constantia excellentiores fieri martyres, illudque tantummodo in eis sit admirandum, quod animo fortiori mortem exceperunt propter Xpm, qui dixit: 'Qui perdidit animam suam propter me, in uitam aeternam inueniet eam'... Nec magnopere de prodigiorum insignibus confidendum est quae plerumque ab infidelibus exercuntur, ut in Exodo scribitur: 'Fecerunt et malefici per incantationes sicut et Moyses'... Siue enim Dei testes miraculis emicent siue absque prodigiis beatum certamen expediant, nihil interest, cum ab eis hoc caelestis auctor solummodo expetat, ut usque ad finem constantiam spei suae non deserentes uiriliter agonem consumment*

(*Liber Apologeticus Martyrum*.9.1... 3-8... 10.1-3... 5-8, CSM 2:480-1). Eulogius paraphrases *Matthew* 10:39, adding *in uitam aeternam*, and *Exodus* 7:11. He makes the same argument more or less verbatim in *Memoriale Sanctorum* following his referencing of Gregory, but the above passage is the more direct of the two and addresses his critics more effectively. The other passage reads:

*Miraculorum uero signa ideo olim per seruos suos Dominus congruenti tempore praestabat mundo.... Nam quia non omni tempore, ut supra relatum est, signorum exercitium congruat neque omnes coelestium contemplatione uirtutum digni existunt*  
In truth the Lord used to manifest the signs of miracles in the world through his servants at the appropriate time... Not every age, as is said above, is suited to the production of miracles. Nor is everything that is manifest worthy of being contemplated as heavenly virtues

(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.I.14.1-2...10-12, CSM 2:380).

<sup>93</sup> Haines notes this contradiction and views it as detrimental to Eulogius' case (*Christianity and Islam in Spain (756-1031)* (London: Kegan Paul, 1889), 63-4).

<sup>94</sup> Eulogius:



The last *passio* Eulogius wrote is also full of miraculous incident. Rudericus' sanctity is manifest in a heavenly glow enveloping his corpse – of which Eulogius avows he is an eyewitness<sup>95</sup> – in its perfect preservation despite being hurled into the Guadalquivir and washed up near a village outside Córdoba<sup>96</sup>, in the eclipse that greets his remains' return to the city (which makes the Christians' massed lamp-lit vigil all the more conspicuous)<sup>97</sup>, and in their enduring sweet scent<sup>98</sup>. Some time after Rudericus' exequies, a vision led to the discovery of Salomon's body near the village of Nymphianum.<sup>99</sup> Eulogius thus emphatically introduces and closes a miracle-free

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*necesse est exponere quibus indiciis uel prodigiis hic beatus Isaac extiterit in infantia denotatus, ut ex eo diuinitus ad coronam martyrii illum fuisse credamus electrum, ex quo in matris utero positus terribilem ualde parentibus stuporem intulerit; tribus namque uicibus una die, paulo antequam nasceretur, uisus est loqui, cuius rei nouitate perterrita mulier paene mortua uim uerborum nequaquam potuit intelligere. Alio etiam tempore, cum adhuc septennis existeret, uirgo quaedam cernit per uisionem globum luminis e caelo descendere; et inter omnium praestolantium turbam solus hic ulnas extendens minibus lumen excepit totamque eius claritatem ori suo iniectam ebibit, felicem tunc et uere beatum omnibus tali condignum munere nuncupantibus. Haec sunt infantiae eius prodigia et signa, quae illum dignum martyrio longe antea protenderunt*

(*Memoriale Sanctorum.praefatio.4.1-13, CSM 2:368*).

<sup>95</sup> Eulogius claims to have been a front-row witness of Rudericus' execution:

*Ego peccator Eulogius... uegetatus audacia adii ac propius quam cetera spectantium turba accedere non ueritus sum. Et testis est Redemptor meus, qui hoc commentarium discussurus est, quia non mentior quod tanta decoris pulchritudine decisa illa cadauera fulgebant*

I, the sinner Eulogius... did not fear to approach closer than the rest of the crowd of spectators for I was inspired with boldness. And my Redeemer is my witness that this memorandum shall be torn asunder for I do not lie when I say that that corpse was aglow with such beauty

(*Liber Apologeticus Martyrum.31.1... 4-7, CSM 2:492*).

<sup>96</sup> Eulogius:

*incolumia litoribus exponuntur... Et ideo alibi uertex et alibi corpus iactatum unoque in loco sabulo opertum ab accolis uiculi... reperitur*

[his remains] were discovered by the inhabitants of a village lying exposed [but] unharmed on the shore... And there lay the head and the body in the same spot covered in sand

(*Liber Apologeticus Martyrum.32.9-10... 11-2... 13, CSM 2:493*).

<sup>97</sup> Eulogius:

*defectu solis crassum tenebrarum chaos illabebatur totumque mundi aspectum nox caeca mutauerat, ministerio obuiantium populorum multimoda lampadum face tenebrosus horror expellitur*

in an eclipse of the sun a deep darkness of shadows fell and blind night changed the whole aspect of the world, gloomy horror was driven out by the light of many torches at the service of the people coming together

(*Liber Apologeticus Martyrum.33.9-12, CSM 2:493*).

<sup>98</sup> Eulogius:

*redolent secreta cubiculi, quo prius beatum corpus sacerdos intulerat, miro suauitatis odore cunctaque cellulae pauimenta etiam ablato puluere ferunt aliquandiu suauissimi odoris olfactum respirasse*

[the sacred remains] filled with scent the cubicle into which the priest had first brought the blessed body, and all the tiling of the small cell had a wondrous odour of sweetness even when the dust was cleaned, and gave off a smell of the sweetest perfume for some time

(*Liber Apologeticus Martyrum.34.4-7, CSM 2:493*).

<sup>99</sup> Eulogius' Latin here is very obscure and he seems to miss out the vital details of who it was that sought out the martyr's remains, a *sacerdos* is introduced with *praedictum sacerdotem* (35.11), suggesting, in the



martyrology with a host of prodigies whose exposition is vital (*necesse est*), and goes on to defend the stance that miracles do not make the martyr.

### **Córdoba, seat of Latin learning**

While they labour over the vision of Córdoba as a place where the practice of Christianity was suppressed and curtailed by an intolerant government, the city emerges from Eulogius and Albar's works as a centre of Latin and Christian learning. In the letters exchanged between Albar and John of Seville, which bear a great number of self-conscious quotes from learned and literary texts, the latter clearly defers to Eulogius as a respected scholar.<sup>100</sup> He requests copies of works on metrics and linguistics, which he attributes to Eulogius, in exchange for a glossary apparently entitled *Ephimerides*<sup>101</sup> he had previously lent Albar:

If you are unable to send that book of lord Eulogius or those verses that are in order, that is, *a* followed by this and that, produced and collected; and in the same way, *e* to *u*, and then *ba be bi bo bu* and the rest up to the end of the work; if you cannot send that book, write out those verses for me and send them with all haste, and may Christ bestow comfort upon you and grant continuous good things. Amen<sup>102</sup>

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absence of any other individuals introduced, that it is the same priest who had brought Rudericus' remains back to Córdoba. Nor is it clear exactly how the information was relayed; it must be assumed that the speaker indicated by *inquit* is Salomon himself:

*Cumque sacerdos monentem de loco sui latibuli sciscitaretur seseque instrui quaereret quod explorandi tenere debuisset indicium, 'In illa', inquit, 'ripa fluminis, quae uico Nymphiano adsciscitur, ibi a commeanibus inter fruteta tamaricum proiectus caespitis limosi perfruor uili sepulchro'. Pergit securus ad locum sibimet diuinitus demonstratum ille sacerdos nec aliter quam quod ei reuelatione ostensum est repperit*  
And when the priest asked about his hiding place, and sought to be told what information he needed in his search, he said 'On that bank of the river that bears the village of Nymphianus, there among the tamarisk shrubs in a mound of muddy turf I enjoy a mean burial'. This priest safely reached the spot divinely shown to him, and found exactly what had been manifest in the revelation

(*Liber Aplogeticus Martyrum*.35.12-7, CSM 2:494).

<sup>100</sup> Letters I-VI of the Albar correspondence are part of an exchange between the two men, though evidently parts of the extended conversation are missing (CSM 1:144-201). The identity of this John of Seville has been the subject of supposition for over three centuries, during which time it has been supposed that he was a bishop (see: Antonio, Nicolas, *Bibliotheca Hispana Vetus* (Rome: Typographia Antonii de Rubeis, 1696), I.355; Baudissin, Wolf Wilhelm Graf von, *Eulogius und Alvar. Ein Abschnitt spanischer Kirchengeschichte aus der Zeit der Maurenherrschaft* (Leipzig: Grunow, 1872), 43; Serrano, Luciano, 'La obra Morales de San Gregorio en la literatura hispanogoda', *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* 24 (1911), 494; Aillet, *Les « Mozarabes »*, 214). John could not have been a bishop, however, for, as Carleton Sage points out, he was a married man (*Paul Albar*, 18n87). Albar asks John to pass on his greetings to his wife, 'the grace of your house', in the second letter of their correspondence: *Obto per te decorem domui uestre salutare (Epistulae.II.34-5, CSM 1:153)*.

<sup>101</sup> Albar, *Epistulae.II.3.5, CSM 1:153*.

<sup>102</sup> Iohannes Hispalensis:

This picture of scholarly activity among the secular elite is mirrored in Eulogius' *Memoriale Sanctorum*, undermining his *topos* of the *ecclesia destituta* by presenting Córdoba attracting several of his martyrs – Petrus, Walabonsus, Sisenandus, Gumesindus, Fandila, and Amator – as clerical students from all over the South and further afield.<sup>103</sup> He also names four basilicas functioning as schools in the city – those of Acisclus, Cyprian, Sanctorum Trium, Zoilus, and Christopher. Perfectus, Sisenadus and Anastasius studied at the Basilica of St Acisclus<sup>104</sup>; Paul at the Basilica of St Zoilus<sup>105</sup>; Gumesindus at the Basilica of Sanctorum Trium<sup>106</sup>; Emila and Hieremias at St Cyprian<sup>107</sup>. Beyond these, Paul and Servus Dei are said to be buried at the Basilica of St Christopher, and Eulogius names three other basilicas in the suburbs – Cosma and Damian, Eulalia, Genesius – which could also have offered teaching.<sup>108</sup> Simonet recognised mid-ninth-century Córdoba's learning, indeed it fit perfectly into his programme of tracking the unbroken survival of *nuestros mozárabes'* cultural wealth; what he does not point out is the clash with Eulogius' vision, nor does he attempt to reconcile the two.<sup>109</sup>

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*Si illum librum domini Eulogii dirigere non potestis uel illas sillabas que in hordine sunt, id est, .a. sequente illut et illut [.a.] producitur aut corripitur; similiter .e. usque ad .u., et deinceps .ba. .be. .bi. .bo. .bu. et reliquas usque ad finem huius operis, si illum biblum dirigere non potestis, istas sillabas nobis scribite et festinanter dirigere precipite, sic Xps uobis commoda conferat et bona crebro concedat. Amen*

(*Epistulae*.VI.10.1-6, CSM 1:201).

<sup>103</sup> Eulogius:

*Petrus sacerdos in urbe Astigitana progenitus et sanctus Walabonsus diaconus ab Eleplensi ciuitate exortus... Cordubam studio meditandi adeuntes... denique leuita sanctissimus Sisenandus ex Pacensi oppido ortus Cordubam intuitu discendi aduectus... sanctus Gumesindus presbyter ex oppido Toletano olim cum utroque parente puer adhuc paruulus Cordubam ueniens uotiuo genitorum affectu per sacrum clericatus ordinem caelesti adscriptus... digna paedagogorum educatione in Dei timore clarescit... Fandila... hic itaque ex urbe Accitana progenitus Cordubam discendi gratia ueniens... quidam presbyter adulescens nomine Amator, qui olim ex oppido Tuccitano cum genitore et fratribus suis Cordubam discendi gratia aduentarat*

Petrus the priest born in Écija and Walabonsus the deacon born in Niebla... came to Córdoba with the intention of studying... then the most holy deacon Sisenandus, born in the town of Beja, came looking to learn... holy Gumesindus the priest came from the town of Toledo with both his parents when he was still a little boy and at their fervent desire he was admitted to the sacred clerical order of heaven... his fear of God showed him evidently worthy of his teachers' education... and so, Fandila, born in the city of Guadix, came to Córdoba with a desire to study... there was a certain young priest named Amator, who came to Córdoba from the town of Tucci with his father and brothers with a will to learn

(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.II.4.2.1-3... 5.1-2... 9.1-6... III.7.3-7... 13.1-3, CSM 2:403, 404, 415, 445, 454-5).

<sup>104</sup> Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*.II.1.1.13-4... 5.2-3... III.8.1.2-3, CSM 2:398... 404... 445.

<sup>105</sup> Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*.II.6.4-5, CSM 2:405.

<sup>106</sup> Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*.II.9.3-4... 5-6, CSM 2:415.

<sup>107</sup> Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*.II.12.3-4, CSM 2:431.

<sup>108</sup> Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*.II.9.13-4, CSM 2:415.

<sup>109</sup> Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, 339.

Eulogius also writes of a large circle of educated Christians who joined him to engage in a scholarly war of words with Islam, pitting ‘the surer word of prophecy’ (*firmiorem propheticum sermonem*) ‘as a light that shineth in a dark place’ (*quasi lucernae lucenti in caligoso loco*)<sup>110</sup> against the dark Antichristian error of Andalusī Islam:

many of the most learned men convene with me... turning such things from the holy Scriptures against him [the Prophet Muḥammad] and his vain followers... they would certainly betray nothing about our condemnation of him, whom they would see fought with all the authority of the Fathers<sup>111</sup>

A glimpse of this group’s reading matter is offered by the *ex libris* of the seventh-century *Codex Miscellaneus Ovetensis*, commonly known as *Codex Ovetense*, now at the Escorial – which left Andalusī territory in Era 920/ 882 CE, when Eulogius’ remains were translated to Oviedo, of which Eulogius is believed to be the former owner since he is named in a marginal note on an earlier folio.<sup>112</sup> The *Codex Ovetense* lists an inventory of more than 40 books, and confirms the library of the basilica of St Zoilus as a hub of Latin learning.<sup>113</sup> Colbert sees this learned circle as the nucleus whence sprang a ‘renaissance of Latin letters’<sup>114</sup>, though there is little material evidence for such a claim. Eulogius and Albar between them wrote five polemical treatises, ten poems and a clutch of letters. We can connect them only to the Sevillan John, who knew them personally and asked to read the fruits of their study, but from whom nothing has come down to the present. A handful of original works and verse was produced in Latin in the decades that followed. In or after 864 the abbot Samson produced his two-volume *Apologeticus*<sup>115</sup>, the pamphlet the *De Gradibus Consanguinitatis Tractatulus*<sup>116</sup> and a

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<sup>110</sup> Eulogius, *Liber Apologeticus Martyrum*.12.39-40, CSM 2:482. Eulogius quotes II *Peter* 1:19.

<sup>111</sup> Eulogius:

*conuenire multi peritissimorum mecum... tanta de sanctis scripturis contra eum eiusque sequipedas frustra... aduertunt... nihil certe de nostra in eum exprobatōne arguerent, quem tot patrum auctoritate impugnari cernerent*

(*Liber Apologeticus Martyrum*.13.3... 4-5... 7-8, CSM 2:483).

<sup>112</sup> Eulogius is named in an exhortatory note reading *Eulogii mementote peccatori* – ‘remember the sinner Eulogius’ (San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio, ms R.II.18, f<sup>o</sup> 6v). Ángel Custodio Vega Rodríguez argued for Toledan origins; Agustín Millares Carlo for Cordoban. Gonzalo Menéndez Pidal had previously assumed that Eulogius’ books would have gone with him to Oviedo, thus making a link between Eulogius and the *ex libris* of the *Codex Ovetense*. See: Vega Rodríguez, ‘El « *Liber de Haeresibus* » de San Isidoro de Sevilla y el Códice Ovetense’, *Ciudad de Dios* 171 (1958), 159-72; Millares Carlo, *Manuscritos visigóticos: notas biográficas* (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1963), 21-3; Menéndez Pidal, ‘Mozárabes y asturianos en la cultura de la Alta Edad Media’, 155.

<sup>113</sup> San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio, ms R.II.18, f<sup>o</sup> 95; Aillet, *Les « Mozarabes »*, 145.

<sup>114</sup> Colbert, *The Martyrs of Córdoba*, 157.

<sup>115</sup> Samson, *Apologeticus* in CSM 2:505-658.

<sup>116</sup> Samson, *De Gradibus Consanguinitatis Tractatulus*, CSM 2:659-63.

table entitled *De Predictus Adfinitatibus Generis Humani*.<sup>117</sup> A cleric named Leovigildus wrote the *De Habitu Clericorum Liber*<sup>118</sup> probably in the 860s or 870s on the significance of priestly dress. There is an anonymous dialogue entitled *Quaestiones de Trinitate*<sup>119</sup>, and ten poems, four of which are attributed by Gil to an archpriest Ciprianus. The general quality of the Latin is fairly low, but proves that the works of Eulogius and Albar were no last gasp for Latin letters in the Andalusī capital. Their writings are rather among the last extant examples of original and long-form literature in Latin; there is no way of knowing what came later and was lost. That mid-ninth-century Córdoba sustained a Latin cultural life for some decades to come beyond Eulogius' extended circle can be seen in Ciprianus' allusion to a donation made by one Count Adulphus to the basilica of Acisclus:

This work shines on the illustrious Count Adulphus,  
Who renewed the bookcase with specially chosen books...  
Count Adulphus, certainly foretold by God, made his offering  
To the memory of the bountiful martyr Acisclus<sup>120</sup>

The linguistic level is uniformly rather uninspired and uninspiring in these poems, but they are at least indicative of literary interests among certain circles possessed of fine libraries, as in this effort by Albar:

There are many sacred things here, bright with the true dogma,  
Which shine with the wealth of the deity on the winds of the world,  
Here new and old are equally beautiful,  
The golden sayings of God, the prudence of the highest Father,  
Which the whole world celebrates in every quarter...  
The vigour of Leovigildus brought this back to one forthwith,  
Sending 72 books under a bargain[?],  
Who shines with Getic light and speaking  
With shoot or tongue he exhibits riches through the ages<sup>121</sup>

<sup>117</sup> Samson, *De Predictus Adfinitatibus Generis Humani*, CSM 2:663-4.

<sup>118</sup> Leovigildus, *De Habitu Clericorum Liber*, CSM 2:667-85.

<sup>119</sup> *Quaestiones de Trinitate*, CSM 2:695-705.

<sup>120</sup> Ciprianus:

*hoc opus illustris comitis clarescit Adulfi,  
qui sumptis propriis librorum teca nouauit...  
obtulit nempe Deo predictus comes Adulfus  
memoriam penes Aciscli martiris almi*

(*Carmina*.I.1-2... 13-4, CSM 2:685).

<sup>121</sup> Albar:

*sunt hic plura sacra, sunt uero docmate clara,  
que Deitatis ope fulgent per cardina mundi,  
hic noba cum uetera pariter sunt clare decora,  
aurea dicta Dei, summi prudentja Patris,  
que totus celebrat quadrato uertice mundus...  
hec Leobegildi uigor obiter in uno rededit,*

Albar's contrived and impenetrable verse somewhat detracts from the overall picture, it must be said.<sup>122</sup> In the following decade abbot Samson would mock his enemy Ostegesis, Bishop of Málaga, for his poor Latin:

Hurry to me, all you skilled in Latin, I beg you, and restrain from laughing if you can, though I cannot... O admirable eloquence, O fearful pomp of words! – for I'll remain silent on the rest... anyway, hearing such unusual changes of the cases with furrowed brow, nose pinched and eyebrow raised, who would not dare – and it's a fair conclusion – to call you an idiot on the spot?<sup>123</sup>

But Samson made no mention of his contemporary Eulogius or his contributions to contemporary Latin culture, though he too is evidently interested in maintaining Latin literacy.

### **Eulogius' hagiography**

Eulogius' claims regarding persecution and the desolation of the Church are not the only aspect of his work open to criticism; the details of his *passiones* are no less vulnerable to scrutiny for they include abundant data purporting to be historical. Many, however, are rather threadbare, often containing only the bare minimum of information and failing to include the customary *topoi*.<sup>124</sup> Several of the more minimal entries even lack that vital ingredient of early *passiones*: interaction with a hostile authority.<sup>125</sup>

First, Christys' doubts regarding Aurea and Sanctius should be responded to. Her criticisms of Aurea's *passiones* cannot all be upheld. Christys believes Aurea – whose name is notably symbolic ('Golden'), like the tenth-century Argentea ('Silver') –

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*septuaginta duos mittens sub bargina biblos,  
qui Getica luce fulgit uel copia fandi  
germine uel lingua claret per tempora secli*

(*Carmina*.IX.1-5... 144-7, CSM 2:350... 54).

<sup>122</sup> Michel Banniard notes that Albar's penchant for linguistic complexity often turns his Latin into a series of riddle (*logogriphe*s). See: Banniard, *Viva voce: communication écrite et communication orale du IV<sup>e</sup> au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle en Occident latin* (Paris: Éditions Brepols, 1992), 437.

<sup>123</sup> Samson:

*huc mecum occurrere, oro, omnes Latinitatis gnari, et si ualetis, quod nequeo, risum  
cohibite... o admiranda eloquentia, o expauenda, ut de aliis modo taceam, uerborum  
pompa... quis etiam mutationes casuum tam insolitas audiens non ilico rugata fronte,  
contracto nasu, abducto supercilio iusta determinatione te idiotam audeat appellare?*

(*Apologeticus*.II.7.2.1-4... 3.4-7, CSM 2:569-70).

<sup>124</sup> Wolf concedes that:

Though for the most part faithful to the ancient paradigm, Eulogius was forced by the peculiarities of the Cordoban situation to adapt or even omit certain time-honored motifs

(*Christian Martyrs*, 67-8).

<sup>125</sup> Baraz, Daniel, *Medieval Cruelty: Changing Perceptions, Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 54.

may be nothing more than a useful fiction that allowed Eulogius the association with her brothers the Sevillian martyrs John and Adulphus, who died in 822.<sup>126</sup> This is a valid criticism for it bears upon the historicity of Eulogius' work. Christys objects to the term *virgo* applied to Aurea, 'somewhat implausibly' implying she was still a girl 30 years after her brothers' deaths.<sup>127</sup> *Virgo*, however, denotes a nun in medieval Latin, and does not necessarily bear the connotation of youth as in its classical usage, while retaining its aspect of virginity. Sanctius' *passio* is indeed very spare at only 41 words. Eulogius essentially dates his death and makes up for the dearth of information by rendering Sanctius' death – like his name – highly symbolic: he is crucified (*prostratus est, et affixus*)<sup>128</sup>. Brevity is not suspicious in itself, but since Eulogius is claiming to present contemporary events, is sensitive to the fact that he is not getting the reception he hoped for, and supplies a great deal of detail for a number of other *passiones* (but not all) when he offers a new saint with only a scrap of data one wonders why.

There are a number of other *passiones* not looked at by Christys that undermine the historicity of Eulogius' hagiographical work. Fandila's *passio* contains a biography satisfyingly full of hagiographical commonplaces, but is bereft of a date. Fandila is a handsome youth (*epebus aspectu decorus*)<sup>129</sup> in possession of all the requisite traits – 'commendable for his honest life, holy and reverent... he was of the greatest humility and the utmost obedience'<sup>130</sup> – who could not hold himself back from martyrdom – 'his devout mind burning, he could not rest' (*ardens deuota mens requiesere non poterat*)<sup>131</sup>.

The twin *passio* of Gumesindus and Servus Dei suffers from extreme brevity (64 words), offering only Gumesindus' Toledan origins (*presbyter ex oppido Toletano*)<sup>132</sup> and his education:

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<sup>126</sup> Christys:

Eulogius may have wanted to include Joannes and Adulphus in his martyrology but they were too well known; their feast is listed in the Calendar of Cordoba. They could not contribute to Eulogius' picture of a crisis of the 850s. Aurea, on the other hand, was not known and it is possible that she is Eulogius' invention. By linking the bona fide saints with the martyr Aurea he legitimised her passion and the movement he was trying to defend. Eulogius may also have included men and women with no claims to sanctity

(*Christians in al-Andalus*, 78).

<sup>127</sup> Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 78.

<sup>128</sup> Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*.II.3.5, CSM 2:402.

<sup>129</sup> Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*.III.7.1.3, CSM 2:444.

<sup>130</sup> Eulogius:

*honestate uitae probabilis, sanctus et timoratus... summae humilitatis magnaue oboedientiae erat*

(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.III.7.1.3-4... 2.1, CSM 2:444).

<sup>131</sup> Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*.III.7.1.10-11, CSM 2:444.

<sup>132</sup> Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*.II.9.1, CSM 2:415.



he was joined to the heavenly militia as a cleric at the basilica of the three saints, where the [ancient] martyrs Faustus, Januarius and Martialis rest... as an adolescent he was put under the authority of the priests of a church at La Campiña near Córdoba<sup>133</sup>

The ‘blessed monk’ (*beato monacho*) Servus Dei is a non-entity. All Eulogius tells us is that he met Gumesindus in the basilica (*in supradicto sanctuario... manebat*)<sup>134</sup> and that they both died on 13 January 851 and were buried in the basilica of St Christopher.<sup>135</sup>

Digna’s *passio*, appended to that of Anastasius and Felix, is notable only for Eulogius’ *jeu de mot*:

this girl... never allowed herself to be called Digna, saying through tears: ‘Do not wish to call me Worthy, but rather Unworthy, because I deserve that; I am distinguished in name only’<sup>136</sup>

The word-play would have been particularly ambiguous to the eyes and ears of a Latinate reader.

In the 38 words he allows Benildis, Eulogius writes only that she was inspired by the sacrifices of Anastasius, Felix and Digna in the preceding chapter (*hos sequens Benildis femina aetate iam prouecta*)<sup>137</sup> and died on 17 July 853, her cremated remains scattered on the river.<sup>138</sup>

Abundius’ *passio* is conspicuous because it does not fit Eulogius’ usual approach, bringing our attention to the *Memoriale Sanctorum*’s lack of uniformity. A priest from the village of Ananellos outside Córdoba<sup>139</sup> – identified as Hornachuelos

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<sup>133</sup> Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*.II.9.3-4... 5... 7-8:  
*clericatus ordinem caelesti ascriptus militiae apud basilicam sanctorum trium, qua Faustus, Ianuarius, et Martialis martyres... quiescunt... cuiusdam campaniae Cordubensis ecclesiae sacerdos adolescens praeficitur*  
(CSM 2:415).

<sup>134</sup> Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*.II.9-10, CSM 2:415.

<sup>135</sup> Eulogius:  
*occubere Idibus Ianuarii, aera octingentesima nonagesima... quorum corpora furtim a Xpianis sublata, in basilica sancti Xpophori martyris*  
(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.II.9.11-2... 12-3, CSM 2:415).

<sup>136</sup> Eulogius:  
*haec autem puella... numquam tamen appellari se Dignam patiebatur, dicebatque cum lacrimis: nolite me Dignam uocare, sed magis Indignam; quia cuius meriti sum etiam nomine debeo insigniri*  
(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.III.8.3.1... 3-5, CSM 2:446).

<sup>137</sup> Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*.III.9.1, CSM 2:446.

<sup>138</sup> Eulogius:  
*occubuit XVII Kalendas Iulii, aera qua supra... cadauera... concremata incendio, ad ultimum fluuuii proiecta, dispersa sunt*  
(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.III.9.2-3... 4-5, CSM 2:446-7).

<sup>139</sup> Eulogius:  
*quidam presbyter, Abundius nomine, de uico Ananellos, qui est in montana Cordubensi, exortus*  
(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.III.12.1-3, CSM 2:454).

around 30 miles west of the city<sup>140</sup> – Abundius is said to have died and been left exposed on 11 July 854, echoing Eulogius’ *vita* of Muḥammad.<sup>141</sup> But Abundius was not a voluntary martyr; his death matches that of Isaac, who found himself set on the path to martyrdom without having actively sought it: ‘he was dragged to martyrdom by some fabrication or fraud of the Gentiles’<sup>142</sup>. His *passio* is ten lines long, so not the shortest by a long shot, but there is not much substance; this is the first of a series of thin *passiones* towards the end of the *Memoriale Sanctorum*, and it seems like Eulogius is padding.

Eulogius gives scarcely any information on Amator, Peter and Louis in another short entry in the third book. All he tells us is Amator’s birthplace (*presbyter adolescens... ex oppido Tuccitano*)<sup>143</sup>, and the burial sites of Peter and Louis, whose remains were discovered some days after being thrown into the river, but declines to disclose Amator’s grave though he reports those of his companions’:

sunk in the whirling river waters, their bodies were exposed on the shore some days later, by God’s favour... blessed Peter was buried in the monastery of Piñamelaria, Louis rests with dignity in a village in the province of Itálica called Palma, which sits above the river Genil<sup>144</sup>

Beyond this, Eulogius tells us only that they joined Paul to preach, thus securing their swift demise on 30 April 855.<sup>145</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> Ramírez de Arellano, Rafael, *Ensayo de un catálogo biográfico de escritores de la provincia y diócesis de Córdoba con descripción de sus obras* (Madrid: Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, 1921), I.307.

<sup>141</sup> Eulogius:

*canibus et bestiis deuorandus exponitur V Idus Iulii, aera DCCCXCII*

(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.III.12.9-10, CSM 2:454). Eulogius inserts a biography of the Prophet he says he found in Leyre, in which his corpse is eaten by dogs (*canes ingressi, latus eius deforauerunt*) (*Liber Apologeticus Martyrum*.16.54, CSM 2:485).

<sup>142</sup> Eulogius:

*ferunt quorundam commento, uel fraude gentilium, ad martyrium fuisse pertractum*

(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.III.12.3-4, CSM 2:454).

<sup>143</sup> Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*.III.13.1-2, CSM 2:454.

<sup>144</sup> Eulogius:

*quorum corpora fluuijalibus immersa gurgitibus, Deo fautore, post aliquot dies littori exponuntur... beatus Petrus in Pinnae Mellariensis coenobio tumulatur, Hludouicus in uico Italicensis prouinciae, nomine Palma, quae Singilio flumine praesidet, digniter requiescit*

(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.III.13.8-9... 11-3, CSM 2:455).

<sup>145</sup> Eulogius:

*et Petrus monachus, ac Hludouicus contribulis noster, et frater Pauli diaconi... uno se foedere colligantes ad praedicandam euangelicam ueritatem aptarunt... professione perempti sunt II Kalendas Maias, aera DCCCXCIII*

and Peter the monk, and our fellow Cordoban Louis, and brother Paul the deacon... gathering together in a compact, prepared to preach the true message... they were killed for their profession on 30 April, Era 893

(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.III.13.3-4... 5-6... 7-8, CSM 2:455).

Witesindus' *passio* is another short one at 59 words. Eulogius sketches the end of an elderly apostate from Cabra, 40 miles southeast of Córdoba:

a man from the province of Cabra already advanced in age... had long fallen from the holy faith because of I know not what persecution... having but recently been encouraged to practice the cult [of Islam], he denied that he had been infected from abiding in this sacrilege, that he had been suddenly caught up either by the weakness of the flesh or by the Devil's deceit. No sooner had he said such things, than he was killed by swift indignation, in the Era above<sup>146</sup>

The phrase 'in the Era above' (*sub aera qua supra*) is used elsewhere, but starts to attract misgivings when completely shorn of any date, for it obscures a matter of some import – the saint's *dies natalis*.

The triple *passio* of Helias, Paul, and Isidore looks like an afterthought: it is as though Eulogius didn't think he had enough martyrs, and so slipped three more in towards the end. The entirety of its 37 words run as follows:

Meanwhile the priest Helias, already an old man, from the province of Lusitania, and the monks Paul and Isidore, still in the bloom of youth, were destroyed on 15 May 856 for the [same] profession as those who went before. Their bodies were raised on the gibbets; after many days they were conducted to the haven of Baetica<sup>147</sup>

In place of details, Eulogius attempts to forge a link between the Cordoban *ecclesia destituta* and the Roman martyrs with the phrase *priorum professione* by employing the *topoi* of the third-century martyrs<sup>148</sup>; Albar does likewise (*quasi uetustate temporis*)<sup>149</sup>. Eulogius refers explicitly to the Roman martyrs as *priori*, 'those who came before', throughout the *Liber Apologeticus Martyrum*.<sup>150</sup>

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<sup>146</sup> Eulogius:

*uir aetate iam plenus, ex prouincia Egabrensi... qui nescio ob quam persecutionem dudum fidei sanctae lapsus... dum ad exercitium nuper indepti cultus exhortaretur, abnegat se eiusmodi sacrilegio manere infectum, quod uel carnis infirmitate uel circumuentione diaboli subito sibi susceptum est. Illo momento cum talia fateretur, sub celeri indignatione peremptus est, aera qua supra*

(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.III.14.1-2... 2-3... 3-4... 5-7, CSM 2:455).

<sup>147</sup> Eulogius:

*praeterea Helias presbyter iam senex ex prouincia Lusitania, cum Paulo et Isidoro monachis adhuc iuuenili aetate florentibus, sub priorum professione perempti sunt XV Kalendas Maii, aera DCCCXCIV. Quorum corpora patibulis eleuata, post multos dies Baetico sinu conduntur*

(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.III.15.1-4, CSM 2:455).

<sup>148</sup> Tolán notes Eulogius' attempt to equate Roman and Cordoban martyrdom ('Reliques et païens', 42).

<sup>149</sup> Albar, *Indiculus Luminosus*.3.61, CSM 1:276.

<sup>150</sup> Eulogius:

*non, ut prioribus, his quoque reuerentiam martyribus exhibendam esse decernunt... non esse illos consimiles prioribus martyribus uolunt... dicunt... non ut priorum martyrum horum martyria ueneranda sunt*

they do not think that reverence should be offered to these martyrs as to those who went before... they do not want them to be the same as the martyrs of old... they say that the witness of these men and women should not be venerated as that of those who went before

Argimirus – like Isaac and Abundius – did not seek martyrdom. It is thus strange that Eulogius does not seek to highlight this point in defence of contemporary martyrdom. He skips to Argimirus’ brief encounter with the judge and his death. Argimirus was a noble who had held the office of censor at court (*uir nobilis... censor a rege praefectus extiterat*)<sup>151</sup> but had left to pursue a monastic life of peaceful contemplation.<sup>152</sup> We are not told which monastery. At some point after this he is accused of slandering the Prophet.<sup>153</sup> Thus ensnared, Argimirus accepts both false charges and his fate.<sup>154</sup>

Eulogius appears to be conscious that he is not writing in the traditional format – he was certainly aware that his new martyrs were not well-received and had no cult to legitimise them – and attempts to ameliorate the problem by adding patchy details to locate his martyrs in the present and in various locales in and around Córdoba. If Eulogius were simply writing *passiones*, he could supply as much data as was required to create a satisfying narrative, to establish the sanctity of his martyrs and legitimise their cult. If Eulogius were writing history, the same rule would apply, since Eulogius’ ninth-century understanding of historicity and objectivity was markedly different from our own twenty-first-century understanding.<sup>155</sup> Instead, Eulogius presents an

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(*Liber Apologeticus Martyrum.prologus.4-6... 3.3... 12.1-4, CSM 2:475-81*).

<sup>151</sup> Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*.III.16.1... 3, CSM 2:455-6.

<sup>152</sup> Eulogius:

*semotus ab administratione iudicii, otium coenobii incolet quietus*

removed from the judge’s administration, he lived at peace and leisure in a monastery

(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.III.16.3-4, CSM 2:456).

<sup>153</sup> Eulogius:

*quorundam ethnicorum dolo uel odio circumuentus, accusatur coram iudice de subsannio uatis sui*

surrounded by the trickery and hatred of certain heathens he was accused before the judge of insulting their prophet

(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.III.16.4-5, CSM 2:456).

<sup>154</sup> Eulogius:

*exprobratur de professione diuinitatis Filii Dei, quodque isto omnipotentiore nullum alium fateatur, et illum uanitatis auctorem, ducemque asserat perditorum... quem coram se post aliquot dies iubens assistere, dum suis adhortationibus et lenociniis quoddam uerborum profano ritui mancipare studet nec praeualet, pertinacem in sancto proposito militem Xpi equuleo uiuentem imposuit, ensequē transfossum peremit IV Kalendas Iulias, aera DCCCXCIV*

he was charged with professing the divinity of the Son of God, and having said there was no other than the most Almighty, and having asserted that man [the Prophet Muḥammad] was an author of vanity and a leader of the damned... after a number of days [the judge] ordered that he stand trial before him, at which point he tried to convert him to the profane rite with encouraging and pandering words, [but] he did not prevail, [so] he put Christ’s unyielding soldier – who lived for a holy purpose – on the rack, and he died by the sword 4 July 856

(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.III.16.6-8... 10-2, CSM 2:456).

<sup>155</sup> Wojtek Jezierski writes:

historicity and rationality are modern inventions, valid neither universally nor eternally, and to require these standards from medieval authors is absurd

incomplete passionary which he, and Albar too, was then obliged to defend at great length over eight years. Since voluntary martyrdom was not officially condoned, the variety of his *passiones* suggests a historical record of events, for which the narrator could not possibly know all the details – but no corroboration for persecution or martyrdom at this time can be found.

### External contradictions

Further points are raised by contemporary texts from Córdoba and further afield. In the *Memoriale Sanctorum*, Eulogius describes the Palestinian George as ‘expert in Greek, Latin and Arabic’<sup>156</sup>. It is unlikely however that he would have been very skilled in Latin, since, apart from a Latin-speaking monastic community established on the Mount of Olives around the turn of the fifth century by Melania the Younger (c.382-439)<sup>157</sup>, the languages of Levantine Christianity were the scholarly Greek of the Orthodox Liturgy and the Syriac and Arabic of the ‘Abbāsīd Empire.’<sup>158</sup> Another copy of the

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(‘Taking Sides: Some Theoretical Remarks on the (Ab)Use of Historiography’ in *The Medieval Chronicle V* edited by Erik Kooper (Amsterdam: Rodopi B.V., 2008), 100).

<sup>156</sup> Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*.II.10.23.29-30, CSM 2:426.

<sup>157</sup> See: *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies* edited by Susan Ashbrook Harvey and David G. Hunter (Oxford: OUP, 2008), 506; Harmless, William, *Mystics* (New York: OUP, 2007), 137; Patrich, Sabas, *Leader of Palestinian Monasticism: A Comparative Study in Eastern Monasteries, Fourth to Seventh Centuries* (Washington, D.C.: Harvard University Press, 1995), 5. See also the Syriac biographies *Vita Petri Iberi*.28 edited and translated into German by Richard Raabe in *Petrus der Iberer. Ein Charakterbild zur Kirchen und Sittengeschichte des funften Jahrhunderts. Syrische Übersetzung einer um das Jahr 500 verfassten griechischen Biographie* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1895), and Gerontius, *Vita Sanctae Melaniae Iunioris* edited by Denys Gorce under the title *Vie de Sainte Mélanie* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1962), translated into English by Elizabeth A. Clark under the title *The Life of Melania the Younger: Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (New York: E. Mellen Press, 1984).

<sup>158</sup> Latin was already very rare in Palestine in the fourth and fifth centuries; with the passing of centuries under exclusively Greek-speaking rulers of Constantinople and then Arabic-speaking governors, Latinity in the ninth century would be highly unlikely. Egeria (also Aetheria) of Galicia recorded her travels in Palestine around 381-4 CE, reporting that

*Sane quicumque hic latini sunt, id est qui nec siriste nec grece nouerunt, ne contristentur, et ipsis exponitur eis, quia sunt alii fratres et sorores grecolatini, qui latine exponunt eis*

Certainly there are some Latins here – that is, those who know neither Syriac nor Greek – who do not despair for there are other Graeco-Latin brothers and sisters who explain things to them in Latin

Cyril of Scythopolis (c.525-558) identifies the monk Gabriellus superior of St Stephen of Jerusalem as a speaker of Latin, Greek and Syriac. John Binns asserts that knowledge of Latin among Palestinian monastics was so rare as to be noteworthy – as in the case of Gabriellus; Griffith concurs that such abilities ‘truly were exceptional’. See: Cyril of Scythopolis, *Lives of the Monks of Palestine* edited by Eduard Schwartz in the first volume of *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1939), I.56; Egeria, *Itinerarium Egeriae*.II.xlvii.4, edited by Wilhelm Heraeus under the title *Silviae vel potius Aetheriae peregrinatio* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter’s Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1908). An alternative English translation can be found in Wilkinson, J., *Egeria’s Travels to the Holy Land* (London: Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 1971; reproduced Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1981). See also:



*passiones* of Aurelius, Felix, George, Sabigotho, and Lilioasa says that George could not express himself well in Latin.<sup>159</sup> This is a ninth-century excerpt paraphrasing the tenth chapter of the second book of the *Memoriale Sanctorum* which had belonged to the Abbey of Saint-Germain des-Prés of Paris, and is believed by some to have been written by Eulogius himself for his contemporary the monk Usuard of Saint-Germain.<sup>160</sup> If Eulogius is the author of both works, he contradicts himself to proffer something highly unlikely in order that he might elevate his martyr higher in praise.

This Usuard is the author of the *Martyrologium Per Anni Circulum*<sup>161</sup>, which includes 26 of Eulogius' martyrs.<sup>162</sup> His attitude towards them is pragmatic, and he appears uninterested in the martyrs' origins. Beyond locating the passions in Córdoba, he gives them short shrift. There is no indication of when or how these martyrs were supposed to have died; there is no mention of *Sarraceni* or *Arabes* to indicate Umayyad Qurtuba, though Usuard habitually provides context for others, noting for instance the emperor in whose reign earlier established martyrs had died. Usuard simply states 'at Córdoba, holy Perfectus, priest and martyr'<sup>163</sup>, thereby obscuring their Andalusī (and

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Binns, *Ascetics and Ambassadors of Christ: The Monasteries of Palestine, 314-631* (Oxford: OUP, 2002), 114, 195; Griffiths, 'From Aramaic to Arabic: The Languages of the Monasteries of Palestine in the Byzantine and Early Islamic Periods', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 51 (1997), 15.

<sup>159</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms Latin 13760, f<sup>o</sup> 74v. See: Levy-Rubin, Milka and Benjamin Kedar, 'A Spanish Source on Mid-Ninth-Century Mar Saba and a Neglected Sabaite Martyr' in *The Sabaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present* edited by Joseph Patrich (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), 68.

<sup>160</sup> Jiménez Pedrajas asserts Eulogius' authorship of this *passio*, as does Tolan, but Christys posits the idea that Usuard found his Eulogian text in France and did not receive it directly from Eulogius himself, which would indicate a diffusion of Eulogius' work during his lifetime beyond John of Seville:

It was arguably here, rather than in Spain, that Usuard made his fine collection of Spanish saints... [t]he monasteries of the Rhône Valley were home to refugees from Spain, who left their names and their Visigothic script in the products of the *scriptoria*

(Christys, 'St-Germain des-Prés, St Vincent and the martyrs of Cordoba', *Early Medieval Europe* 7.2 (1998), 211... 16). Christys follows Rosa Guerreiro ('Le Rayonnement de l'hagiographie hispanique en Gaule pendant le Haut Moyen Âge: circulation et diffusion des Passions hispaniques', in *L'Europe héritière de l'Espagne wisigothique: colloque international du CNRS tenu a la Fondation Singer-Polignac (Paris, 14-16 mai 1990)* edited by Jacques Fontaine and Christine Pellistrand (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 1992), 152). See also: Jiménez Pedrajas, Rafael, 'San Eulogio de Córdoba, autor de la Pasión francesa de los mártires mozárabes cordobeses Jorge, Aurelio y Natalia', *Anthologica Annua* 17 (1970), 465-583; Tolan, 'Reliques et païens', 39.

<sup>161</sup> Usuardus Sangermanensis monachus, *Martyrologium per Anni Circulum*, PL 123, col.599-0987 and continued in PL 124, col.9-857.

<sup>162</sup> Usuard appropriated 26 of Eulogius' 46 martyrs: Salomon (VI *Idus. Die* 8 February), Helias, Paul and Isidore (XV *Kal. Die* 17 April), Perfectus (XIV *Kal. Die.* 18 April) (*Martyrologium*, PL 123, col.739, 941, 945); Isaac (*Pridie Non. Die* 4 June), Peter, Aventius (Eulogius' Habentius), Hieremia (Eulogius' Ieremias), and 'three others' (VII *Idus Die* 7 June), Abundius (VI *Idus Die* 8 June), Fandila (*Idibus Die* 13 June), Paul (XIII *Kal. Die* 20 July), Leovigildus and Christopher (XIII *Kal. Die* 20 August), George, Aurelius, Felix, Nathalia (Sabigotho), and Lilioasa, all of whom Usuard moved from 27 July to 27 August, probably for logistical reasons (VI *Kal. Die* 27 August), Emilianus (who appears as Emila in Eulogius) and Hieremia (Eulogius' other Ieremias), both of whom are moved from 15 to 18 September (XIV *Kal. Die* 18 September), Flora and Maria (VIII *Kal. Die* 24 November), (PL 124, col.117, 129, 131, 149, 277, 379, 405, 477, 729).

<sup>163</sup> The entry for 18 April runs as follows:



contemporary) provenance. He mined Eulogius' passionary to enhance his own *Martyrologium*, assigning some martyrs arbitrarily to more convenient dates and altering some of their names.<sup>164</sup> Of the 26 saints Usuard appropriated, he moved seven: George, Aurelius, Felix, Nathalia and Lilia were transferred *en masse* from 27 July to 27 August.<sup>165</sup> Usuard renamed Sabigotho with the less Gothic and more universally symbolic Nathalia (emblematic of the Christian nativity); he slightly altered others too – Emilianus appeared as Emila in Eulogius and Hieremia as Ieremias, both moved from 15 to 18 September.<sup>166</sup> He made Eulogius himself a saint, but moved him from 11 March, the *obitum* Albar gives him, to 20 September.<sup>167</sup>

Usuard's colleague Aimoin, also of Saint-Germain, shows marginally more interest in the origins of Eulogius' martyrs. He wrote the *De Translatione Sanctorum Martyrum Georgii Monachi, Aurelii et Nathaliae ex Urbe Corduba Parisios* around eight years after the event<sup>168</sup>, in which he related a mission undertaken by Usuard and his companion Odilard in the last year of Eulogius' life to acquire the relics of their monastery's patron saint, Vincent of Zaragoza (also of Huesca, his birthplace) whose

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*apud Messanam Apuliae civitatem, natalis sanctorum martyrum Eleutherii episcopi et Anthiae matris ejus, qui cum esset et sanctimonia vitae, et miraculorum virtute illustris, sub Adriano principe lectum ferreum ignitum, craticulam et sartagine, oleo, pice, ac resina ferventem superans, leonibus quoque projectus, sed ab his illaesus, novissime una cum matre jugulatur. Romae, beati Apollonii senatoris, qui sub Commodus principe a servo proditus, quod Christianus esset, insigne volumen composuit, quod in senatu legit, ac deinde sententia senatus, pro Christo capite truncatus est. Cordubae, sancti Perfecti presbyteri et martyris*

At the town of Messina in Apulia, the birthplace of the holy martyr Bishop Eleutherius and his mother Anthia, he who was glorious both in the sanctity of his life and in the power of his miracles under the Emperor Hadrian. Overcoming the coffin, the sword, the fire, the branding iron and the frying pan, burned with oil, pitch and resin, he was thrown to the lions too, but he was unharmed by them; finally he and his mother had their throats cut together. At Rome blessed senator Apollonius [the Apologist] was revealed by a slave to be a Christian in the reign of Emperor Commodus. He had composed a distinguished volume which he read in the Senate, then by the Senate's decree he was beheaded. At Córdoba, [there was] holy Perfectus, priest and martyr

(Usuard, *Martyrologium*, PL 123, col.945).

<sup>164</sup> Usuard does not reserve this treatment for the Cordobans, however, for he is noted for his habit to abridge and otherwise alter the *passiones* he inserted into his *Martyrologium*. See: Dubois, Jacques, *Les martyrologues du Moyen Âge latin* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1978), 45.

<sup>165</sup> Usuard, *Martyrologium*.Aug.VI Kal.Die 27, PL 124, col.405.

<sup>166</sup> Usuard, *Martyrologium*.Sept.XIV Kal.Die 18, PL 124, col.477.

<sup>167</sup> Albar, *Vita Eulogii*.15.60, CSM 1:340; Usuard, *Martyrologium*.Sept.XII Kal.Die 20, PL 124, col.487.

<sup>168</sup> Aimoin:

*quod minime in circuli octo et in eo amplius annorum volubilitate provenerat* (*De Translatione*.6, PL 115, col.943D). Very little has been written on Aimoin's *De Translatione*; Aimoin is a fixture of biographical dictionaries but his text has not been taken up as a worthy subject in and of itself, rather it is referenced as illumination for contemporary history or documents. Notable exceptions are articles by John Tolan ('Reliques et païens'), Janet Nelson ('The Franks, the Martyrology of Usuard, and the martyrs of Cordoba'), and Ann Christys ('St-Germain des-Prés, St Vincent and the martyrs of Cordoba'); Philippe Sénac devotes a few pages to the monks of Saint-Germain and their Andalusī relics in which he references all of the above (*Les Carolingiens et al-Andalus (VIII<sup>e</sup>-IX<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 2002), 107-9). On the whole, the approach tends to be from the Frankish point of view rather than the Andalusī.

death in Valencia is placed in 304 under Diocletian.<sup>169</sup> This objective was denied them but the mission was rescued by their diversion to Córdoba and procuring (partial) relics of the three Eulogian martyrs of the title, which they brought back the following year. Aimoin introduces the motive for this diversion as ‘a persecution recently carried out under ‘Abd al-Raḥmān King of Córdoba’<sup>170</sup>, but once at Córdoba itself, Eulogius’ persecution fails to materialise. Aimoin makes no specific pronouncement on Islam; he writes simply that these people died as martyrs in a great persecution, and that their relics were at Córdoba:

the bodies of the holy martyrs George and Aurelius were brought out from Córdoba... whose souls, adorned in the happy war, have crossed to the heavens to join the company of the martyrs<sup>171</sup>

In this way Eulogius’ persecution conspicuously fails to appear, despite Aimoin’s knowledge of – and Usuard’s alleged personal contact with – Eulogius, and despite the

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<sup>169</sup> Aimoin:

*agente Incarnationis Domini nostri Jesu Christi annorum cursu octingentesimo quinquagesimo octavo, regni vero Caroli, gloriosi Ludovici imperatoris filii, duodevigesimo... apud monasterium Sanctae Crucis beatique Vincentii martyris, ubi pretiosus confessor Dei sanctus Germanus Parisiorum pontifex virtutum fulget honore, pervulgatum est quod ejusdem sancti martyris et Levitae corpus a Valentia, in qua passus est civitate, facile posset haberi, propter videlicet miserabilem ipsius civitatis a Sarracenis vel Mauris factam desolationem*

in the eight hundred and fifty-eighth year after the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the twenty-second of the reign of Charles [II the Bald] the glorious son of the Emperor Ludovicus [Louis]... at the monastery of the Holy Cross of the Blessed Martyr Vincent – where the precious confessor of God, holy Germanus the Bishop of the Parisians, shone with the honour of his virtues – it was well-known that the body of this same holy martyr and deacon from Valencia, where he suffered, could be easily had because of the misery of that city made desolate by the Saracens or Moors

(*De Translatione.1, PL 115, col.941B*).

<sup>170</sup> Aimoin:

*indolebant utique nostri anxie collacrymantes tanto itineris spatio elaborato, se vacuos redituros. Cujus moestitiae morbo, dum apud Barcinonem castrum morantes (ut sic eorum verbis eloquar) diutino quasi languore demolirentur... interea contigit ut idem Sunifridus de enormi fidelium interfectione, sub Abdiramae regis Cordubae persecutione nuper facta sermonem sumeret, exponens eorum quosdam et maxime quos tenemus Georgium atque Aurelium, ea ipsa tempestate nobiliter passos, ac sanguine triumphali acie passionis coruscante, magnifice laureatos, aeterni Regis palatium victorioso subiisse*

our men were certainly lamenting anxiously, weeping together that they would return empty-handed after such a long journey. While they lingered in Barcelona they were long drained by this affliction of sorrow (as they told me in their own words) as if by faintness... meanwhile it happened that this man Sunifridus started to talk about an immense slaughter of the faithful in a persecution recently carried out under ‘Abd al-Raḥmān King of Córdoba, explaining that certain of them, whom we now hold – George and Aurelius – suffered nobly in that storm, and gleaming in the bloody suffering of the triumphant front-line, magnificently crowned in victory, had victoriously entered the palace of the eternal king

(*De Translatione.2, PL 115, col.942C*).

<sup>171</sup> Aimoin:

*sanctorum martyrum corpora Georgii atque Aurelii educta Corduba... quorum animas felici bello decoras ad coelos martyrum sociandas collegio transisse*

(*De Translatione.1-8, PL 115, col.941B-945A*).

use of distinctly Eulogian terminology – *persecutio*, *tempestas* and *enormi fidelium interfectione* – to introduce emiral Córdoba. There is no hint of tension between Muslim and Christian; the only difficulties arise between Frankish and Andalusī Christian. Usuard and Odilard are dismayed when the custodian of the eponymous martyrs, one Samson – who is called both priest and abbot<sup>172</sup>, and may be the author of the *Apologeticus* – flatly refuses to relinquish the remains (*hoc nullatenus concedi posse tristes existimarent*)<sup>173</sup>. They go over his head, to Bishop Saul.<sup>174</sup>

Usuard and Odilard are understood from one passage to have met Eulogius himself, though there is no such meeting in the text.<sup>175</sup> Aimoin’s text actually indicates that, while they entered Córdoba during Eulogius’ lifetime, the Frankish monks learned about the martyrdoms and their relics from Eulogius’ text, not the man himself:

they learned [from Sunifridus] about the very beautiful faithful text of their passions which the memorable priest Eulogius – he who was worthy of God, and who himself was handed up later to glorious martyrdom: by true account the consummate soldier sought Christ the King – related to us and informed through many words already written<sup>176</sup>

The phrase key to the assumption is *ut ipse nostris retulit*, which could just as accurately read ‘as he himself told us’ or ‘as it [the text] itself told us’.<sup>177</sup> One would expect Aimoin to make much of a meeting between his relic-seekers and their relics’ hagiographer. Eulogius’ appearance should be feted, but it is not and his name does not

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<sup>172</sup> Aimoin:

*eiusdem civitatis presbytero bonae indolis, vocabulo Samson... claustris arcani sacerdoti relectis, beatorum reliquias Georgii Bethlehemitae monachi, atque Aurelii Cordubensis viri popularis*

a priest of that city, a man of good nature, called Samson... in [this] trusty priest’s open cloisters [were] the relics of the blessed monk George of Bethlehem and Aurelius, a man of the Cordoban people

(*De Translatione*.8, PL 115, col.944C-D).

<sup>173</sup> Aimoin, *De Translatione*.9, PL 115, col.945A.

<sup>174</sup> Aimoin:

*quapropter admodum tristes effecti, quosdam fidelium ad episcopum eiusdem urbis virum modestum, nomine Saulem, dirigunt, postulantes ut sanctorum corpora quae illis Samson abbatis, suaque benignitate concessa fuerant*

made so sad on this account, they went directly to the bishop of that city, a modest man by name of Saul, asking that the saints’ bodies this abbot Samson [held], might be removed with his [Saul’s] kindness

(*De Translatione*.10, PL 115, col.945C).

<sup>175</sup> See: *Medieval Iberia: an encyclopedia* edited by E. Michael Gerli (New York: Routledge, 2003), 312; Tolán, *Saracens*, 101; Wallace-Hadrill, John Michael, *The Frankish Church* (Oxford: OUP, 1983), 355.

<sup>176</sup> Aimoin:

*pulcherrimo passionis eorum textu firmante didicerant; quam memorabilis et Deo dignus sacerdos Eulogius, qui et ipse postea glorioso donatus martyrio, Regem Christum consummatus miles ovando petivit, veraci relatione, plurimis ut ipse nostris retulit praetermissis litteris informavit*

(*De Translatione*.8, PL 115, col.944D-945A).

<sup>177</sup> Christys notes that the text ‘implies a reliance on [Eulogius’] writings’ only (‘Saint-Germain des-Prés, St Vincent and the martyrs of Cordoba’, 210).

appear again. One might equally expect Albar to have made mention of such an encounter and its consequences for Eulogius' fame abroad in the *Vita Eulogii*.

In place of the *ecclesia destituta* we have a Christian community which has no trouble travelling through Andalusī territory even in times of civil unrest.<sup>178</sup> Aimoin is given to understand and tells us that faith need not be a barrier, and that political friendships were maintained between Muslim officials and their Christian counterparts inside and out of al-Andalus. Nor is being a Muslim an obstacle to goodness: one Abdiluar 'scrupulously obeyed his friend [Hunifrid's] requests, though he was a barbarian'<sup>179</sup>. Usuard and Odilard encounter bilingual, Arabised Christians including one Leovigild, also known as Abadsolomes (probably an attempt to render 'Abd al-Salām), whose dual identity did not stop him being 'a man well-versed in Christian laws and customs'<sup>180</sup>. The boundary between Christian and Muslim, Latinate and Arabised, which was so polemical in Eulogius' hands, is not for Aimoin a point of contention or an uncrossable line.

Usuard's apparent disinterest in the origins of the martyrs is echoed in the *Annales Bertiniani*, which report the arrival of their relics at Esmans, 45 miles to the south of Saint-Germain, at some point in mid-late November 858:

meanwhile a certain monk from the monastery of St Vincent the martyr, also of St Germanus the confessor, returning from the city of Córdoba, brought with him the bodies of the blessed martyrs George the deacon, Aurelius, and the head of Nathalia, and set them in the house of Esmans to be preserved in coffins<sup>181</sup>

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<sup>178</sup> Usuard and Odilard depart under the aegis of the emir's army as he sets out to quell the uprising at Toledo, then allied with Ordoño I against Córdoba:

*parant a civitate regis supramemorati Mahomath procedente exercitu egredi*  
they prepared to leave the city with the army of the abovementioned Muḥammad which  
was moving out

(*De Translatione*.13, PL 115, col.946C).

<sup>179</sup> Aimoin:

*Abdiluvar... parat, quamvis barbarus, religiose amicis obedire mandatis*

(*De Translatione*.2, PL 115, col.943D).

<sup>180</sup> Aimoin:

*virum christianis legibus sanctisque moribus eruditum... praefatus Leovigildus,*  
*cognomento Abadsolomes*

(*De Translatione*.5... 7, PL 115, col.943C... 944B-C). There is no indication that this Leovigildus Abadsolomes was a churchman – in fact, the lack of such an indication in this context could be taken as fairly conclusive proof that he was not – yet Aillet identifies him as the cleric author of the *De Habitu Clericorum* of the CSM (*Les « Mozarabes »*, 76, 139). Luís A. García Moreno identified this Leovigildus with that praised for his scholarly pursuits in Albar's ninth poem. See: 'Spanish Gothic Consciousness among the Mozarabs in Al-Andalus (VIII-Xth Centuries)' in *The Visigoths: Studies in Culture and Society* edited by Alberto Ferreiro (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 307n19.

<sup>181</sup> Prudentius Trecensis episcopus:

*pridie Idus Nouembris... interea quidam monachus ex monasterio S. Vincentii martyris,*  
*uel S. Germani confessoris a Corduba ciuitate Hispaniae rediens, corpora beatorum*  
*martyrum Georgii diaconi, et Aurelii, caputque Nathaliae secum detulit, atque in uilla*  
*Acmano in loculis seruanda collacauit*

Eulogius' Cordoban persecution is not mentioned; these could be fourth-century martyrs. It is not that the chroniclers are ignorant of Andalusī matters, for they record the death of 'Abd al-Raḥmān II and succession of Muḥammad I in 852<sup>182</sup>, and regularly refers to events in *Hispania* between 851 and 859, and to 'Saracen' activity, in Italy particularly – they simply show no knowledge of persecution at Cordoba in the 850s.

### **Manuscript transmission and concluding comments**

On close reading it becomes clear that Eulogius and Albar's testimony regarding persecution and martyrdom is damaged by polemic, inconsistencies and a lack of corroboration from contemporary documents. The only contemporary Latin works in a position to substantiate Eulogius' vision of Umayyad Qurṭuba and Christian suffering do not do so, despite the fact that they stood to gain from propagating such imagery. Aimoin acknowledges the source of the relics discovered in Córdoba as 'a great slaughter of the faithful', but stops there; he is using a formula to glorify his brothers' acquisitions and authenticate the relics. He reports no Muslim hostility towards Usuard and Odilard even as they seek Christian martyrs at the tail end of what Eulogius – and the majority of subsequent modern historiography – claimed to be a momentous and epoch-shaping series of events. Usuard took only what he wanted from the Cordoban passionary with little regard for the saints' origins. Aimoin and Usuard looked on the Cordoban passionary with the same pragmatic eye that the Cordoban Church did; rather than reject it outright like those who sought to preserve their community, the Parisians had no such risk to consider and took whatever profited their personal ventures. Aimoin sought to claim the protective patronage of new saints for his monastery against the Vikings' raids<sup>183</sup>; Usuard wanted to further his own pious literary endeavour. Neither engages in any meaningful polemic, even when they are putatively influenced by Eulogius himself. No Arabic works complain about or condemn any comparable discord caused by Christians in Córdoba during this period.

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(*Annalium Bertinianorum Pars Secunda*.858, *MGH Scriptores I: Annales et Chronica Aevi Caroli* edited by Georg Heinrich Pertz (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1963), 452).

<sup>182</sup> Prudentius:

*Abdirhaman, rex Sarracenorum in Hispania consistentium, Cordubae moritur,  
regnumque eius filius ipsius adsequitur*

(*Annalium Bertinianorum Pars Secunda*.852, *MGH Scriptores I*, 447).

<sup>183</sup> Tolán, 'Reliques et païens', 46.



The *ecclesia destituta* is an image that rests solely on the words of Eulogius and Albar, a motif to strengthen Eulogius' martyrological claims in the eyes of the future generations he repeatedly references. As we have seen, 29 of 46 deaths had already been counted by Eulogius before he claimed Muḥammad I's great persecution got underway, and he claimed only 17 further martyrs in the next seven years before his death – of which 12 are suspicious – hardly the hail of persecution we are intended to imagine. The instinct to accept Eulogius' words is so ingrained, so long- and well-established by the devout Catholic faith and nationalistic sentiment of so many scholars on the subject up to the middle of the twentieth century, that to question them is all but unthinkable. The factors outlined above warn that there is less historical basis in his claims of persecution than is widely accepted.

Despite their obvious faults, due to their polemical nature, the texts that have come down to us from Eulogius and Albar do offer a wealth of information on the wider society in which they lived, when read between the lines, such as the testimony regarding the practice of cross-faith marriage and Arabisation.<sup>184</sup> Though it is essentially hagiographical in nature, Eulogius' work is potentially valuable as a historical source for, as Susan Ashbrook Harvey writes, hagiography offers an insight into 'the tenor of the times' – even if this tenor is that of the minds of a very few.<sup>185</sup> What we learn from Eulogius and Albar's texts has less to do with historical facts than with perceptions and attitudes – attitudes regarding the Muslim Other, and conceptions of him, and of what it meant to be Christian, particularly in an environment that was beginning to undergo rapid cultural change. On this count both Eulogius and Albar have a great deal to offer, regardless of any reservations one might have about their ideas on martyrdom and on what would now be referred to as multiculturalism.

The mid-ninth century was clearly a time of great change, with a level of integration – with an outside culture that was not clearly recognised as non-Christian, but was certainly alien – that was shocking to some, and had great potential to divide.

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<sup>184</sup> Evelyne Patlagean broke with the prevailing scholarly tradition of the mid-twentieth century of disregarding hagiography due to the 'great contrast in the categories of space and time in historical and hagiographical works' (*Telle est l'opposition des catégories d'espace et de temps entre les œuvres d'histoire et d'hagiographie* (123)) to argue for the value of incidental detail in hagiographical texts in her article 'Ancienne hagiographie byzantine et histoire sociale', *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 23.1 (1968), 106-26.

<sup>185</sup> Susan Ashbrook Harvey writes:

What made hagiography important was not its capacity to convey historical facts, but rather, its ability to represent the tenor of its times as people felt and experienced them ('Martyr Passions and Hagiography' in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies*, 612). Henriët describes Eulogius and Albar's work as 'rich texts' from a historical point of view (*riches textes sous l'angle des représentations du temps et de l'espace chrétien*) ('L'espace et le temps hispaniques', 83).



The great majority do not seem to have shared this anxiety: the upper echelons as they benefited from new modes of dress and literature, the masses who were probably not much affected by the changes at the top in the political class, whose experience of these changes may not have gone much further than the acquisition of a new language.<sup>186</sup> Eulogius and Albar both give us to understand that acculturation to Arabic, if not to Islamic, culture was beginning to make itself felt amongst the educated nobility whence came the majority of Eulogius' bilingual or Arabised martyrs and all of those said to be of a mixed-faith background.<sup>187</sup> Garbled transliterations of a number of Islamic terms and phrases – including Eulogius and Albar's separate, and particularly in the case of the former, fairly accurate, attempts to render the Islamic formula 'May God bless the Prophet and grant him peace'<sup>188</sup> – indicate that even those who utterly rejected Arabic culture were touched by it and knew something of it – which also shows that their condemnations of Islam were deliberate manipulations of details with which they were familiar.<sup>189</sup> Dozy considered Eulogius Arabised.<sup>190</sup>

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<sup>186</sup> Hitchcock writes that

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

(*Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, 11).

<sup>187</sup> Isaac was 'steeped in the Arabic language' (*erat apprime litteris arabicis imbutus*) and insults Islam and his judge in Arabic (*Arabice dans illi responsum*) (*Memoriale Sanctorum.I.praefatio.2.13-4*, CSM 2:367). Perfectus is said to be known for his command of Arabic (*ex parte linguae Arabicae cognitus*) (*Memoriale Sanctorum.II.1.1.15*, CSM 2:398). Aurelius had studied Arabic literature (*Arabica erudiendus litteratura traderetur*) (*Memoriale Sanctorum.II.10.1.6-7*, CSM 2:416). Emila and Hieremias are both 'highly skilled in Arabic eloquence' (*uterque Arabico insigniter praepollebat eloquio*) (*Memoriale Sanctorum.II.12.5-6*, CSM 2:431). All of the martyrs born of Muslim and Christian parents are from the monastic or lay nobility.

<sup>188</sup> Eulogius:

*Hoc autem genere benedictionis semper ad honorem eius utuntur: 'Zalla Allah Halla Anabi Ua Zallen', quod Latine dicitur 'Psallat Deus super prophetam et saluet eum'*  
They always use this kind of benediction to honour [Muḥammad]: 'Zalla Allah Halla Anabi Ua Zallen', which in Latin means: 'May God praise the Prophet and preserve him'

(*Memoriale Sanctorum.II.1.3.12-3*, CSM 2:399). The phrase should be rendered, in modern Latin transliteration, as *ṣallā Allāhu 'alā al-nabī wa sallamuhu* (صلى الله على النبا وسلمه). Albar offers a slightly different translation to Eulogius:

'Psallat Deus', ayunt, 'super eum et salbet'

They say: 'May God sing over him and save him'

(*Indiculus Luminosus.28.29*, CSM 1:303). Millet-Gerard interprets these and other faulty transcriptions as proof not of Eulogius and Albar's familiarity with Arabic, but of their ignorance of it; there is no question, however, that the above rendering of *ṣallā Allāhu 'alā al-nabī wa sallamuhu* is accurate and betrays not ignorance but comprehension. See: Millet-Gérard, *Chrétiens mozarabes*, 73-6. Wasserstein writes that Albar's use of Arabic

certainly tell[s] us something important about the degree of acculturation to Islam and relations with the Muslims on the part of the Christians of Spain in the ninth century

('The Language Situation in al-Andalus' in *The Formation of al-Andalus Part 2*, 9).

<sup>189</sup> Janna Wasilewski goes so far as to interpret his rendering of Arabic as proof that Eulogius could speak it ('The 'Life of Muhammad' in Eulogius of Córdoba: some evidence for the transmission of Greek polemic to the Latin west', *Early Medieval Europe* 16.3 (2008), 346). Wolf, on the other hand, credits Albar with a sophisticated understanding of Islamic tradition and makes the important but rarely, if ever,

The notices of linguistic acculturation are borne out in Samson's role as translator to the court<sup>191</sup> and in the Arabic *marginalia* of two manuscripts that left al-Andalus at or shortly before the turn of the tenth century – the *Codex Ovetense*, which bears Arabic annotation in its margin dated to the late ninth century and placed at Córdoba by Aillet<sup>192</sup>, and a ninth-century palimpsest from a seventh-century manuscript containing Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica* held by the Cathedral of León<sup>193</sup>, which was annotated either in the late ninth or early tenth century, again according to Aillet.<sup>194</sup>

One criticism does threaten to undermine Eulogius' credibility as a source of social history, however, and it poses a potentially significant obstacle to Eulogius' reception: the manipulation of the *Memoriale Sanctorum* by its over-zealous editor. Ambrosio Morales' act saved the Eulogius from oblivion, but his integrity has been questioned before<sup>195</sup>, and his treatment of the text raises questions, for he admits to having made changes that went beyond mere editing. His justification for normalising the text was that neglect and creative neologisms had dulled and obscured its sense (*sed verborum et totius sermonis neglectu egregios conatus doleas retundi et obscurari*)<sup>196</sup>. Morales blamed medieval copyists for wide-ranging orthographical faults which do not distinguish it from any other extant contemporary or eighth-century texts or the evident

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acknowledged point that in order to appreciate Albar's use of Islamic details in his polemic, his audience among the educated lay and clerical elite had to have shared this high level of familiarity ('Muhammad as Antichrist in Ninth-Century Córdoba' in *Christians, Muslims, and Jews in Medieval and Early Modern Spain: Interaction and cultural change* edited by Mark D. Meyerson and Edwards D. English (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2000, 13).

<sup>190</sup> Dozy:

*ce n'est pas dans les écrits arabes qu'Euloge, un des prêtres les plus instruits de cette époque et sans doute assez familiarisé avec l'arabe pour pouvoir lire couramment un ouvrage historique écrit dans cette langue,*

it is not to the Arabic writings that Eulogius turned to draw information on Muhammad's life, though he was one of the most learned priests of that period and doubtless was sufficiently familiar with Arabic to be able to fluently read an historical work written in that language.

(*Histoire des musulmans d'Espagne*, II.105-6).

<sup>191</sup> Samson:

*epistolę regis Hispanię ad regem Francorum essent sub era DCCCCIa dirigendę, appellatvs ex regio decreto ego ipse, quatenus, ut pridem facere consueueram, ex Caldeo sermone in Latinum eloquium ipsas epistolas deberem transferre, adfui et feci* when letters were sent by the King of Hispania to the King of the Franks in the Era 901 [863 CE], I was summoned by royal decree to translate – as I have long been accustomed to do – these letters from the Chaldaean speech to eloquent Latin; I went and I did it

(*Apologeticus*.II.praefatio.9.1-5, CSM 2:554).

<sup>192</sup> San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio, ms R.II.18, f° 15r, 18v, 55v *inter alia*.

<sup>193</sup> León, Archivo de la Catedral, ms 15, f° 120; Aillet, *Les « Mozarabes »*, 158-9.

<sup>194</sup> Aillet, *Les « Mozarabes »*, 158-60.

<sup>195</sup> J.N. Hillgarth refers to the 'admittedly somewhat uncertain authority of Morales' in his article 'St. Julian of Toledo in the Middle Ages', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 21.1-2 (1958), 13.

<sup>196</sup> Morales, *Excerpta ex Ambrosio Moralis*, PL 115, col.917B.

decline in epigraphic Latin from the late Visigothic period. He thus implied that his work somehow returned Eulogius' text to its original form and quality:

reverently touched by a certain sense of what is right, I wanted to emend nothing, [but] so great was the catalogue of new and made-up words and phrases that I came to consider it necessary... confused genders, wrong cases, the number of nouns and verbs neglected; also the whole structure of the Latin is incoherent, the fault is with the transcribers, not the author, that much is clear. Thus I made changes to all of it, since I have neglected nothing in what was left to us<sup>197</sup>

Morales' claim that copyists had violated Eulogius' text is echoed by that of Albar's first editor: Flórez expressed his surprise that Albar's Latin is so poor, blaming its 'many degenerate aspects' on 'the barbarian scribe'.<sup>198</sup> Morales was clearly unwilling to accept that Eulogius the Catholic champion (*el Santo Doctor*)<sup>199</sup> was not a writer of perfect Latin, so he made him the writer he felt he should have been. This was the age of *reconquista* justification, only 85 years after the fall of Granada, for the first generations born into a united Christian Spain, when military campaigns – chronicled with scant mention of the Christians of al-Andalus – were justified as religious warfare and recast as the saving of the peninsula from Islam.

Morales protested his innocence rather too much. He makes one last confession as though ashamed: 'and one more alteration, I tell you in truth: hispanicisms'<sup>200</sup>. He offers a list of around 60 of Eulogius' neologisms and grammatical idiosyncrasies (*Monachorum vitam oblectans, pro oblectari vita monachorum etc.*). The list does not seem to bear much relation to the reference to hispanicisms, so one must assume that Morales means he inserted hispanicisms into the text to make it clearer to the later sixteenth-century reader, such as the *si* which sometimes clearly bears the Castilian affirmative sense, as well as correcting grammatical mistakes. The result of Morales'

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<sup>197</sup> Morales:

*nos religione quadam reverenter tacti, nihil emendare voluimus: tantum fictorum et novatorum verborum et phraseon catalogum hic apponere duximus necessarium... genera confusa, casus perversi, numeri in nominibus et verbis neglecti: et tota inde Latini sermonis structura dissipata, describentium; non auctoris fuisse vitia, est manifestum. Idcirco nos omnia ejusmodi emendavimus, cum in reliquis nihil nobis permiserimus*

(*Excerpta ex Ambrosio Moralis*, PL 115, col.917B... 918B).

<sup>198</sup> Flórez:

*es mas de extrañar el vér en este Autor alguna propiedad, que hallar muchas decadencias. El barbaro Escribiente de la Copia Gothica, es el que desfiguró las cosas, trocando, juntado, apartando, viciando, y omitiendo letras, y dicciones*  
what is more surprising to see in this author of some quality than to find many degenerations. It is the barbarous scribe of the gothic copy who disfigured these things, changing, joining, separating, marring, and omitting letters and constructions

(*España sagrada XI*, iv).

<sup>199</sup> Morales, *Corónica general de España*, V.117.

<sup>200</sup> Morales, *Excerpta ex Ambrosio Moralis*, PL 115, col.917B.

editorial work is, as Milka Levy-Rubin and Benjamin Kedar put it, a text whose Latin looks more sixteenth-century than ninth.<sup>201</sup> Because it is a sixteenth-century text: Morales admits that ‘I made changes to all of it’. Unfortunately, the copy he worked with subsequently disappeared, so it is impossible to gauge the true extent of Morales’ interference, but he clearly had a significant impact on its form and it would perhaps not be too much to suggest that he took a mediocre early medieval work and made it fit for a Catholic champion, and that in so doing, he compromised the integrity of a text which was already questionable in content and rendered the Latin a near-impenetrable farrago of post-Visigothic and post-Renaissance registers. Ideological sentiment did not stop skewing the picture in the sixteenth century. In several instances, Colbert and Sage, who effectively introduced Eulogius and Albar to the Anglophone world, affected Anglophone scholarship’s view by translating *martyrio* not as ‘martyrdom’ but as ‘persecution’.

It remains to determine why Eulogius and Albar wrote in this way about their society; the next section aims to reopen a debate.

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<sup>201</sup> Levy-Rubin and Kedar:

The textual transmission of the text published by Morales is problematic: he based his edition on one manuscript that later disappeared. The edition’s reliability is questionable, as the language resembles the Latin of Morales’ days more than that of authentic ninth-century texts; indeed, Morales himself admits that he emended the grammatical irregularities (though not the quaint vocabulary) he found in the manuscript. It is somewhat difficult, therefore, to rely with certainty on the information provided by the text

(‘A Spanish Source on Mid-Ninth-Century Mar Saba’, 64).

## Chapter III

### Eulogius' motivation and influences

The lack of corroboration of the cross-faith conflict of Eulogius' Córdoba among contemporary Christian and Muslim writers is striking – less so from the Muslims, for their indifference towards the *ahl al-dhimma* is a key characteristic of Andalusī historiography, but certainly in the case of the Christians. The problem may have been the disjunction between their understanding of the term *persecutio* and Eulogius'. Eulogius clearly begrudged the disenfranchisement of his church above all else, saw some parallel with the position of the early Church under Roman law, and attempted a fusion of the two. The result is unconvincing, determined as it is by his inversion of the martyr act – the voluntary, active, nature of the deaths Eulogius calls martyrdoms transforms the traditional roles in a way that was unprecedented in the peninsula. It makes the martyr the persecutor of the judge unwilling but bound by law to punish those who break the blasphemy laws, of which Albar shows himself aware (*qui blasfemauerit flagelletur, et qui percusserit occidatvr*)<sup>1</sup> – and one would assume, Eulogius was equally *au fait*. Both men thus describe the court's response to a martyrdom assault as 'persecution' through necessity – to call martyrdom without persecution would be a nonsense.

It has been established that many aspects of Eulogius' testimony regarding Córdoba in the 850s present problems, not least of which being the martyrdoms themselves. The objective of this chapter and the two following is to establish why he

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<sup>1</sup> Albar, *Indiculus Luminosus*.6.5-7, *CSM* 1:278.

wrote about martyrdom in the way that he did. The peculiar circumstances of al-Andalus, and the anomaly of a reappearance of the tropes of persecution and martyrdom in the ninth century, required manipulation of the accepted norms and formulae. They affected the way Usuard and Aimoin responded to martyrdom in this new arena.

The idiosyncrasies of Eulogius' works and the circumstances of their composition render them difficult to interpret; it is not clear who his audience is, or what he seeks to achieve. This chapter is an attempt to outline factors that may have motivated Eulogius to write as he did, his intentions as far as they can be made out, and the possible sources for some of his more contentious and striking themes. What follows can essentially be divided into two parts: Why Eulogius Wrote, and Why Eulogius Wrote Hagiography. Some background to the *ecclesia destituta* will be set out, and present some theories regarding the purpose and intentions behind the creation of a ninth-century passionary. Firstly, there is the apocalyptic theory championed by Allan Cutler<sup>2</sup>, which is now widely dismissed but has a parallel in contemporary apocalypticism among the Andalusī *fuqahā'*. Next, the idea that Eulogius wished to raise the level of Latin and to effect something like a Latin Christian renaissance in mid-ninth-century Córdoba will be explored. It will then be argued that Eulogius and Albar turned to classics of pagan and patristic literature to respond to the flourishing of Islamic culture in the emiral capital, which was beginning to have a recognisable effect on the cultural fabric of Cordoban society, or was producing anxiety of such. Two inter-related explanations will be proffered for this, both based on connecting the works Eulogius and Albar wrote with those we know they read. Eulogius and Albar, it will be argued, mounted a martyrological literary campaign in order to inspire the Christian majority to embrace their religious identity, and raise Latin literacy, and that the ancient texts taken from Navarra were key to these endeavours.

### **Division and conflict in the *Dār al-Islām***

Eulogius' position meant justifying martyrdom instead of simply glorifying it. In order to do this he exploited the emotive imagery of an *ecclesia destituta*. While such destruction of ecclesiastical foundations as Eulogius records is uncorroborated, it would not be without precedent, nor is it outside of the law. The mid-ninth-century Andalusī situation bears direct comparison to the early Eastern Caliphate's seeking to establish

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<sup>2</sup> Cutler, 'The Ninth-Century Spanish Martyr's Movement', 321-39.



itself in territory taken from and bordering Christians. Sporadic drives to promote the proper Islamisation of a Muslim society in the East culminated in the statutes known as the Pact or Covenant of ‘Umar regulating *dhimmī* activity.<sup>3</sup> ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān (646-705)<sup>4</sup> and his immediate successors in the Eastern Caliphate began to dictate terms to the *ahl al-dhimma* as they introduced the first Islamic currency in the 690s and in 700 made Arabic the official language of the Umayyad state.<sup>5</sup> ‘Umar II (717-20) restricted non-Muslim religious activity:

He ordered that those of their churches that were new be destroyed... and he forbade them from displaying crosses on their Palm Sunday and the performance of Jewish rites in the road<sup>6</sup>

Under Hishām (724-38), boundaries remained blurred. Having risen to the Iraqi governorship, Khālīd al-Qasrī built a church in Kūfa for his Christian mother; subsequently his own faith was questioned.<sup>7</sup> The mid-ninth century would see the ‘Abbāsīd Caliphate take further steps to secure Muslim power as conflict with neighbouring Constantinople intensified.<sup>8</sup> In the interests of security, in 806-7 Harūn al-Rashīd (786-809) ordered frontier churches destroyed and decreed that the *dhimmī* of

<sup>3</sup> The Pact of ‘Umar is generally attributed to ‘Umar II more by convention than historical certainty of either authorship or date. A version of the Covenant can be found in the sixteenth-century jurist Aḥmad ibn Yahyā al-Wansharī’s collection of Maghrebī and Andalusī *fatāwā* (*al-Mi‘yar al-mu‘rib*, II.239-40). The earliest extant version was recorded in the early twelfth century by the jurist Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Walīd al-Ṭurṭushī (*Sirāj al-mulūk* uncredited editor (Cairo: al-Dār al-Miṣriyya al-Lubnāniyya, 1994), 229-30). On the obligations imposed by the Pact see: *Encyclopedia of Religious Freedom* edited by Catharine Cookson (Oxford: Taylor & Francis, 2003), 82-4; Blankinship, Khalid Yahya, *The End of the Jihād State: The Reign of Hishām Ibn ‘Abd al-Malik and the Collapse of the Umayyads* (Albany: SUNY, 1994), 95; Cohen, Mark R., *Under Cross and Crescent: The Jews in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 54ff; Wolf, *Christian Martyrs*, 9ff.

<sup>4</sup> Fishbein, Michael (translator), *The History of al-Ṭabarī Volume XXI: The Victory of the Marwānids* (Albany: SUNY, 1990), 53n217.

<sup>5</sup> Blankinship, *The End of the Jihād State*, 94.

<sup>6</sup> Al-Ṭabarī:

وأمر بهدم بيعهم الحدة... ونهى ان يظهروا في شعائنيهم صليبا وان يشمعلوا في الطريق

(*Akhbār al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, edited by Michael Jan de Goeje under the title *Annales quos scripsit Abu Djaḥfar Mohammed Ibn Djarir at-Ṭabarī* (Leiden: Brill, 1881), III.1390). See also: Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī al-Rāzī Jaṣṣāṣ, *Kitāb aḥkām al-Qur’ān* (Istanbul: Maṭba‘at al-Awqāf al-Islāmīya, 1916), II.35-6. On the destruction of crosses see the Egyptian *muftī* or Islamic scholar Ibn Naqqash’s rulings: Belin, M., ‘Fetoua relatif à la condition des Zimmis et particulièrement de chrétiens en pays musulmans, depuis l’établissement de l’Islamisme, jusqu’au milieu du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle de l’hégire, traduit de l’arabe’, *Journal Asiatique* 18 (1851), 417-516 and 19 (1852), 97-140.

<sup>7</sup> Ibn Khallikān:

وكان خالد يتهم في دينه، وبين لأمه كنيسة تتعبد فيها

There were insinuations about Khālīd’s faith because he had built a church for his mother to worship in

(*Wafayāt al-‘ayān wa anbā’ abnā’ al-zamān* edited by Iḥsān ‘Abbās (Beirut: Dar al-Thaqāfa, 1968), II.228).

<sup>8</sup> Mansouri puts the enforcement of dress rules on the *ahl al-dhimma* in context, showing that it was not a manifestation of persecution or oppression but a matter of political and security expediency in wartime (*Du voile et du zunnār*, 128).

Baghdad make themselves known with distinctive dress.<sup>9</sup> In 849-50, al-Mutawakkil (847-61) further mandated divisions between Muslim and *dhimmī*: non-Muslims were driven once more from public office<sup>10</sup> and the dress codes extended throughout the *Dār al-Islām*.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Al-Ṭabarī:

وفيهما امر الرشيد بهدم الكنائس بالثغور وكتب إلى السندي بن شاهد يأمره بأخذ أهل الذمة بمدينة السلام بمخالفة هيئتهم هيئة المسلمين في لباسهم وركوبهم

In this [year, 191/ 806] al-Rashīd ordered the churches in the borderlands to be destroyed, and wrote to al-Sindī bin Shāhid ordering him to urge the *ahl al-dhimma* in the City of Peace to make their appearance so that, in their attire and the animals they ride, they stand out from the Muslims

(*Akhbār al-rusul wa al-mulūk*.III.712). For an alternative English translation with annotation, see: *The History of al-Ṭabarī Volume XXX: The 'Abbāsīd Caliphate in Equilibrium* translated by C.E. Bosworth (Albany: SUNY, 1989), 268.

<sup>10</sup> Al-Ṭabarī:

ونهى ان يستعان بهم في الدواوين واعمال السلطان التي يجرى احكامهم فيها على المسلمين ونهى ان يتعلم اولادهم في كتابيب المسلمين ولا يعلمهم مسلم ونهى ان يظهروا في شعائهم صليبا وان يشمعلوا في الطريق

He forbade [the *ahl al-dhimma*] employment in government offices and on official business where they should have authority over Muslims. He forbade their children learning in the primary schools of the Muslims, and Muslims from teaching them. He forbade them from displaying their cross on Palm Sunday and from gathering in [processions in] the road

(*Akhbār al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, III.1390). Al-Qalqashandī, in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, reports the same thing:

ورأى أن يكتب إلى عماله على الكور والأمصار، وولاية الثغور والأجناد، في ترك أستعمالهم لأهل الذمة في شىء من أعمالهم وأمورهم، والإشراك لهم في أماناتهم، وما قلدهم أمير المؤمنين وأستحفظهم إياه

He decided to write to his officers in the provinces and cities, and to the governors of the frontiers and the army, to refrain from employing the *ahl al-dhimma* in any of their work or their affairs, nor be their associates in kindness, and take care not to entrust to [a *dhimmī*] what the Commander of the Faithful entrusted to them

(*Ṣubḥ al-a'shā* (Cairo: Wizārat al-Thaqāfah, 19), XIII.368). Such steps were not unprecedented; legislation had been passed denying Jews similar positions of civic influence, see: Cameron, Averil, *The Later Roman Empire, AD 284-430* (London: Fontana Press, 1993), 76. For an annotated English translation of the passage quoted from al-Ṭabarī, see: *The History of al-Ṭabarī Volume XXXIV: Incipient Decline* translated by Joel L. Kraemer (Albany: SUNY, 1989), 90-1.

<sup>11</sup> Al-Ṭabarī:

وفي هذه السنة أمر المتوكل باخذ النصارى وأهل الذمة كلمهم بلبس الطيبالسة العسلىة والزنانير... وبتصيير زرين على قلانس من لبس منهم قلنسوة مخالفة لون القلنسوة التي يلبسها المسلمون... ومن لبس منهم عمامة فكذلك يكون لونها لون العسلى ومن نسايتهم فبرزت فلا تبرز الا في ازار عسلى

in that year [235; 850 AD] al-Mutawakkil decided that all the Christians and *ahl al-dhimma* were to wear honey-coloured cloaks and girdles... and attach two buttons to the caps of those that wear them, and to wear caps of a different colour to those worn by Muslims... those of them that wear turbans must likewise wear honey-coloured turbans. And those of their women shall not adorn themselves except with a honey-coloured head scarf

It is uncertain how much impact such laws, promulgated in Damascus and later Baghdad, had in the distant and breakaway Western Emirate of al-Andalus. The extent to which any and every law was enforced largely depended on the temperament of the ruler and the tenor of the times. The Umayyad Muḥammad I's ejection of *dhimmī* officials from his Cordoban court may not have been directly related to identical action in the 'Abbāsīd East, considering the two dynasties' (murderous) antipathy, but simply a manifestation of a certain level of development in the Islamic society post-conquest at which Muslims infiltrated and occupied the positions thus far held by an indigenous *dhimmī* bureaucracy. Despite the nominal restrictions on the building and renovation of church buildings, such work continued in both East and West.<sup>12</sup>

The *dhimmī* dress code was apparently observed throughout much of the Andalusī period, however.<sup>13</sup> Eulogius reports his martyr Aurelius dressed in 'golden material' (*fimbris aureis*) in July 852<sup>14</sup>, while his contemporary Leovigildus' censure of the decline of clerical discipline may be an oblique reference to the imposition of *dhimmī* dress code: 'the dignity of the clergy's appearance has died because of the

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(*Akhbār al-rusul wa al-mulūk*.III.1389-90). Even Christians' slaves were to be distinguished by their clothing:

ويتصير رفعتين على ما ظهر من لباس ممالكهم مخالف لونهما لون الثوب الظاهر الذي عليه وان  
تكون إحدى الرفعتين بين يديه عند صدره والاخرى منهما خلف ظهره وتكون كل واحدة من  
الرفعتين قدر اربع اصابع

Two yellow patches shall be attached to the back of the clothing of their slaves – of a different colour to that of the fabric of the distinguishing [i.e.: yellow] material, and one of the patches should be on his chest, the other on his back, and the patches should all measure four fingers

(Al-Ṭabarī, *Akhbār al-rusul wa al-mulūk*.III.1389). See also Kraemer's annotated translation: *The History of al-Ṭabarī Volume XXXIV*, 89-90. On the implementation of and concepts concerning differentiation by clothing, see: Mansouri, *Du voile et du zunnâr*, 126-8.

<sup>12</sup> See: Caballero Zoreda, Luís, 'Un canal de transmisión de lo clásico en la Alta Edad Media española: arquitectura y escultura de influjo omeya en la Península Ibérica entre mediados del siglo VIII e inicios del siglo X', *Al-Qanṭara* 15 (1994), 321-51, and 16 (1994), 107-24; Fierro, 'El paso de la antigüedad tardía al Islam temprano: a propósito de dos publicaciones recientes con un *excursus* sobre al-Andalus', *Al-Qanṭara* 14 (1993), 490; Garen, S., 'Santa María de Melque and church construction under Muslim rule', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 51 (1992), 288-306; Piccirillo, Michele, *The Mosaics of Jordan* (Amman: American Center for Oriental Research, 1993); Talbi, 'Le christianisme maghrébin', 313-51. See also: Piccirillo, 'The Mosaics at Um er-Rasas in Jordan', *Biblical Archaeologist* 51.4 (1988), 208-13 and 227-31.

<sup>13</sup> The role of political expediency in a time of conflict may not be limited to the first ordering of *dhimmī* dress regulations in the Eastern Caliphate. Just as the Baghdad-ruled empire was threatened by raids from neighbouring Christian Byzantium in the eighth and ninth century, al-Andalus' borders were in a state of near flux for much of its eight-hundred-year history, particularly after the fall of the Caliphate and the internecine conflict of the *taifas* allowed the Christian principalities of the northern peninsula to win territory. In such circumstances, it could well be that Andalusī rulers wished to be able to distinguish between Muslim and Christian, especially in border regions and in the political centre, hence al-Ḥakam II marking out his Christian guards at his administrative centre at Madīnat al-Zahrā'.

<sup>14</sup> Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*.II.10.2.14, *CSM* 2:416.

Ishmaelite oppression'<sup>15</sup>. There does not appear to be any explicit assertion, by either Christian or Muslim, that ecclesiastics' dress was affected, however, and Wolf argues against the implementation of these laws at this time.<sup>16</sup> Ibn Ḥayyān indicates that Caliph al-Ḥakam II's mid-tenth-century retinue at Madīnat al-Zahrā' was manned at least in part by Christians dressed in the prescribed manner:

Reach[ing] the gate of Madīnat al-Zahrā' [one] passed between concealed rows of men and archers, free-born men and white slaves, people of royal crafts, dressed in yellow colours and Christian archers<sup>17</sup>

The role of political expediency in a time of conflict may not be limited to the first ordering of *dhimmī* dress regulations in the Eastern Caliphate. Just as the latter was threatened by raids from neighbouring Byzantium in the eighth and ninth centuries, al-Andalus' borders were in a state of near flux for much of its eight-century history, particularly after the fall of the Caliphate and the internecine conflict of the *taifas* allowed the Christian principalities of the northern peninsula to win territory. In such circumstances, it could well be that Andalusī rulers wished to be able to distinguish between Muslim and Christian, especially in border regions and in the political centre, hence al-Ḥakam II marking out his Christian guards at his administrative centre at Madīnat al-Zahrā'. Inscriptions and scribal *marginalia* show that the practice continued into the mid- to late-twelfth century for Arabised Christians were identifying themselves as *al-Ṣufr*, 'the Yellow Ones'<sup>18</sup>, even after their land was reconquered by the Christians of the North as in Toledo. In this way the Arabised Mozarabs of Toledo sought to differentiate themselves from their northern coreligionists, with whom they shared

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<sup>15</sup> Leovigildus:

*ob Smaelitarum oppressionem... per uniuersam Esperiam Xpicolarum cerneret defuere alacritas, per quam discernere quiuissent auctoritatem habitus clericorum*

(*De Habitu Clericorum Liber.praefatio.1.2-4*, CSM 2:668). Leovigildus has not been positively identified; it is assumed that he and the three Leovigilds praised in verse by Albar (*Carmina.IX*, CSM 1:350-4), Samson (*Apologeticus.II.4*, CSM 2:561-2), and Aimoin (*De Translatione.5-15*, PL 115, col.943C-48A), are one and the same. See: Gil, CSM 2:667; Serrano, Luciano, 'De Habitu Clericorum: obra inédita del presbítero cordobés Leovigildo (siglo IX), publicada según un manuscrito visigodo, único que se conserva', *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 54 (1909), 496.

<sup>16</sup> Wolf, *Christian Martyrs*, 12-3.

<sup>17</sup> Ibn Ḥayyān:

فلما انتهوا إلى باب مدينة الزهراء ساروا بين صفي رجالة المستترين والرماة الأحرار والمماليك أهل لصناعات السلطانية قد لبسوا المدارع الملونة وتكبو القسي الاعجمية

(*al-Muqtabis fī akhbār balad al-Andalus* edited by 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Alī al-Hajjī (Beirut: Dār al-Shaqāfa, 1965), 197).

<sup>18</sup> For inscriptions and translations into French, see: Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne* (Leiden: Brill, 1931), 78, 79; and Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, 721, 752-3.

neither culture nor liturgy, for more than a century after the city fell to Alfonso VI of Castile in 1085.<sup>19</sup>

Though ‘Abd al-Raḥmān II is widely believed to have treated the non-Muslim majority well<sup>20</sup>, our Cordoban sources would have us understand that Muḥammad I was more rigorous than his predecessors, and immediate successors, in following the letter of the (*dhimma*) law. Be that as it may, the extent to which Muḥammad acted to Andalusī Christianity’s detriment remains uncertain, though there can – or should – be little doubt that any such repressive steps were less severe than Eulogius and Albar claim, and is likely one of a host of contributing factors in the making of his *ecclesia destituta*. Without authoritative martyrdom or persecution, Eulogius must have had other reasons to write as he did. The picture we get of mid-ninth-century al-Andalus from various sources, both Latin and Arabic, is of a state in flux; it was still essentially a Christian society ruled by a tiny military Muslim minority, both sides striving to establish boundaries of culture and identity. The ecclesiastic community was divided by doctrinal disputes over Trinitarian heterodoxy and a desire to delineate social boundaries in reaction to the blurring of identity among the laity – between Christians and Jews and, after 850, between Christians and Muslims. The correspondence of

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<sup>19</sup> An example of the Toledan Mozarabs’ grip on their Andalusī heritage can be seen in the epitaph of a woman who died in 1160:

لتاريخ الصفر  
هذا القبر لشمسي ابنة  
ابن الشيخ رحمها الله...  
وجعل الجنة ماواها  
[...] بيوم اربع  
وعشرين لشهر اغشت  
ثمانية وتسعين ومئة

In the time [Era] of the *Ṣufr*, this is the tomb of *Shamsī* [My Sunshine], daughter of Ibn Sheikh – God have mercy on her... 24 *Aghushtu* [August], 198 [i.e.: Era 1198] (Yahuda, Abraham Shalom, ‘La lápida bilingüe de Toledo’, *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 66 (1915), 584; Fita Colomé, Fidel, ‘El epitafio bilingüe de Toledo’, *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 66 (1915), 585-7).

<sup>20</sup> Imamuddin writes:

The punishment for abusing the Prophet of Islam or dishonouring a Muslim lady was death, but generally this law was not strictly observed, as during the time of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān II, when many Christian Zealots went unpunished for having vilified the Prophet Muḥammad

(*Muslim Spain 711-1492*, 40).



Bishop Felix of Córdoba, dated to 764, exemplifies the concern with the former problem – ‘I would suggest’, he writes, ‘that all those occupying themselves [with such things] should stop acting Jewish’ lest they look like schismatics.<sup>21</sup> Islam did not seem to pose the same threat: the Bishop of Toledo Elipandus (c.783-808) appears to condone or even defend the breaking of bread with Muslim in his *Epistula in Migetium*.<sup>22</sup>

Eulogius and Albar define the shift in concern away from the ever-present Judaism to Islam as a new threat – not that it was recognised as a distinct religion at that point.<sup>23</sup> Eulogius and Albar were an anomaly though; the resolution of internal disputes was the primary concern of Andalusī Christianity, and a significant concern of Andalusī Islam.<sup>24</sup> Those groups who had entered the peninsula as conquerors – the Muḍarīs and the Yemenīs of southern Arabia, and the North African Berbers – ostensibly brothers in the fold of Islam, were no more united than those they had subdued. The peninsular Arabs maintained their political supremacy over the North Africans, whose radical

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<sup>21</sup> Felix:

*anni presenti, in era hoctungentesima secunda... suggero ut ista omnia pertractantes desinant homines iudaizare et discant ueritati ecclesie concordare, ne uideantur per uarietate obserbatjonem sismatica diuisione in diuersas sectas errare*

In the present year, Era 802... I would suggest that all those men occupying themselves [with such things] should stop acting Jewish and learn how to harmonise with the true Church, lest they seem through the variety of their observance to stray into diverse sects in schismatic division

(*Frustulum epistulae incerti auctoris, forsan Felicis*.1... 26-8, CSM 1:58).

<sup>22</sup> Elipandus:

*Tu e contrario de cordis tui sanguineo intellectu asseris quod cibus infidelium polluat mentes fidelium, qum etiam apostolus dicat: ‘Omnia munda mundis. Quinquaginta autem et infidelibus nihil est mundum’*

You, out of the contrary thought of your bloody heart, assert that the food of the infidels pollutes the minds of the faithful, though even the Apostle wrote: ‘Unto the pure all things are pure: but unto them that are defiled and unbelieving is nothing pure’

(*Epistula in Migetium*.11.4-7, CSM 1:76). Quote from *Titus* 1:15.

<sup>23</sup> Islam was not recognised as a distinct religion in itself; there appears to have been no formally accepted way of approaching the subject. Those Christians who did so hedged their bets. Sometimes it was treated as a Christian heresy and precursor to Antichrist; sometimes the terminology of the Gentiles or paganism was used to conceptualise the new phenomenon. Muḥammad was seen as a pseudo-prophet of the kind warned of by the Gospels, but the Muslims were variously attributed classical and Old Testament names – *Arabes, Chaldaei, Agareni*. The closest Eulogius or Albar get to the term ‘Muslim’ is *Mamentiani* or *Mahometiani*, equivalent of the pejorative term *Muhammadan* that has only recently fallen out of favour, and is used by Colbert and Sage. The abbot Samson appears to be the first in the West to have accepted Muslims on their own terms, as *Muzlemite* (*Apologeticus*.II.praefatio.3.7), though he does not use any term that might reflect an acceptance of Islam as a distinct faith in its own right. Samson could afford to make this gesture because the targets of his polemic were the Christians whom he perceived as having sided against their own kind in allying themselves with the Islamic court. For conflicting attitudes and definitions of Islam and Muslims, see: Wolf, ‘Christian Views of Islam in Early Medieval Spain’ in *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam: a book of essays* edited by John Victor Tolan (Oxford: Routledge, 2000), 85-108.

<sup>24</sup> Wright notes that

in the Early Middle Ages, which in a Hispanic context means before the 1080s, arguments between different kinds of Christian, and between different groups of Muslims, usually tended to be more bitter than those between Christian and Muslim

(‘Language and religion’, 124).



Khārijī principles<sup>25</sup> led them to question this hegemony and revolt against it, beginning around 740, and continuing until the Caliph Hishām ibn ‘Abd al-Malik (691-743) sent a Syrian army of some 30,000 men to deal with them. But the Arabs also struggled amongst themselves, Mudarīs and Yemenīs contesting power, the former using the Berber tribes to shore up their position. The arrival of the Syrians added a further layer of conflict for once they had fulfilled their purpose the governor of al-Andalus, ‘Abd al-Malik ibn al-Qatan al-Fihri, expected them to leave; instead the Syrians deposed al-Fihri and proclaimed their general Balj ibn Bishr governor in his place.<sup>26</sup> The conflict between Arab and non-Arab Muslims would linger on, later illustrated in the mid-eleventh-century *shu‘ūbīya* movement – of which the *muwallad* Ibn Gharsīya Bashkunsī’s *Risāla (Letter)* is the best known exponent – and the Arab responses it drew.<sup>27</sup> While the Arab elites could not communicate directly with their subjects, and

<sup>25</sup> The Khārijī school of theology appealed particularly to ethnic non-Arab Muslims within the *Dār al-Islām* for it preached absolute equality of the faithful and rejected the claims to authority made by those descended from the Prophet’s Quraīshī tribe. The movement had gained momentum in North Africa and spread by violent means under the leadership of Maīsara al-Haqīr, and then Khālid ibn Ḥumaīd al-Zanāfī, who won a decisive victory over Arab forces in the Shalaf Valley in 741. It is likely that Andalusī Berbers were inspired by these events to make a bid for their own emancipation. See: Makki, ‘The Political History of al-Andalus’, 14.

<sup>26</sup> Makki, ‘The Political History of al-Andalus’, 12ff. See also: chapter four of Glick’s *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Middle Ages*, 139ff.

<sup>27</sup> Ibn Gharsīya’s *Risāla* was part of the *Shu‘ūbīya* movement which sought equality for non-Arab Muslims, whose name, *al-Shu‘ūbīya* (الشعوبية), derives from the Arabic *al-shu‘ūb* (الشعوب), meaning ‘the peoples, nations’, found in the Qur’anic *sūra* 49:13 (*al-Hujurāt*), a passage often used to argue for equality and peace among peoples:

يا ايها الناس انا خلقناكم من ذكر وانثى وجعلناكم شعوبا وقبائل لتعارفوا ان اكرمكم عند الله اتقاكم ان الله عليم خبير

O mankind! We created you from a male and a female, and made you into nations [*shu‘ūb*] and tribes, so you might know each other. Indeed the most noble among you in the sight of God is the most pious among you. And verily God is the Omniscient and the Knowing

Ibn Gharsīya’s name points to his Christian origins: Abū ‘Āmir ibn Gharsīya al-Bashkunsī, ‘Abū ‘Āmir the son of García the Basque’. Captured in his childhood and brought up Muslim in the *taifa* of Denia under Mujāhid al-‘Āmirī, he became a master of Arabic and ‘one of the wonders of his age’ (من عجائب

دهره) in the estimation of ‘Alī bin Mūsā ibn Sa‘īd (*al-Mughrib fī ḥulā al-Maghrib* edited by Shawqī Ḍaīf (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Cairo: Dār al-Ma‘ārif, 1964), II.406-7). Written between 1051 and 1076, judging from internal evidence, the *Risāla* addresses the fundamental issues of identity, status, and unity within the Muslim *umma*. It disavows the Arabs their nobility, describing them as the true barbarians, ‘hostile Bedouin tribes’ (معشر البداءة العداة), ‘owners of mangy camels’ (ذوى أيتق حرب), a race whose mixed lineage from

Nu‘mān and Ghassān he likens to ‘two bowls of milk diluted with water to make urine’ (قعبان من لبن شيبا)

(بماء فعادا بعد أبوالا). In response, the Malagan Abū al-Hajjāj Yūsuf ibn Sheīkh al-Balawī equates criticism of the Arabs with heresy. See: Ibn Gharsīya, *Risāla* in *Nawādir al-Makhṭūṭāt* edited by ‘Abd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1972), I.250.9; I.247.2; I.251.5; (al-Balawī, *Kitāb Alif-Bā*’ unknown editor (Beirut: ‘Ālam al-Kutub, 1977). See also: Larsson, *Ibn García’s Shu‘ūbiyya Letter* and ‘Mangy Camels, Noble Stallions and the Disreputable Tail Fat of Lizards. Animals in Ibn

were unlikely to have had any desire to learn how, some believe that the Berber majority of the invading forces still bore the stamp of the Vandal settlement in North Africa, and spoke a Latin-derived vernacular.<sup>28</sup>

More recently, in the decade preceding Eulogius' *florilegium*, Viking raids added to 'Abd al-Raḥmān II's troubles: they sacked Seville and set fire to the roof of its Great Mosque in 844<sup>29</sup> (they would later return again during Muḥammad's reign and the last few years of Eulogius' life and actually capture Algeciras, burning its mosque).<sup>30</sup> Meanwhile 'Abd al-Raḥmān's centralised power was dealt a significant blow from within that presaged the devolution of the *taifas*: Mūsā ibn Mūsā of the *muwallad*

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García's Epistle on the *Shu'ūbiyya*, *al-Qanṭara* 29.2 (2008), 495-503, especially 500-3; Monroe, James T., *The Shu'ūbiyya in al-Andalus: The Risāla of Ibn García and Five Refutations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970) for an essay on the *Risāla* as well as an English translation of the *Risāla* and five Arab responses.

<sup>28</sup> Wright is a proponent of the idea that the Vandals left their mark on Berber North Africa, he writes:

many, perhaps most, of the eighth-century Berbers who came from North Africa as mercenaries in the invading armies could communicate straightforwardly with the native Hispano-Romans, in the vernacular which they shared, the Early Romance (Late Latin) of their time. Berbers also spoke Berber, but there were and are some forty Berber languages, which were and are not all mutually intelligible, and their lingua franca on both sides of the Straits is likely to have been Romance

('Language and religion', 117). See also: Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, xvi.

<sup>29</sup> Ibn al-Qūṭīya, *Tār'ikh iftītāḥ al-Andalus*, 59. Archbishop of Toledo Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada records the same events:

*Anno autem Arabum CCXXVIII, regni autem eius XXIII, nunciatum est ei LIII naves et LIII galeas in Vlixbone littore applicasse... Sequenti anno plures naves et maior potencia Hispalensi litore advenerunt et diebus XIII Hispalim obsederunt et congressus cum Arabibus habuerunt et pluribus interfectis captivos et spolia plurima abduxerunt. Inde Zelziram, Cadiz et Assidonam cum suis classibus adierunt et confertis preliis pluries cum Arabibus pugnaverunt, et terras eorum cede et incendio vastaverunt et predas multiples abduxerunt. Et iterum Hispalim sunt reversi et... indenderunt*

In the two hundred and twenty-ninth year of the Arabs, the twenty-third of his reign, it was announced to ['Abd al-Raḥmān II] that 54 ships and 54 galleys had landed on the shore at Lisbon... In the following year many ships and a greater force reached Seville's banks and besieged Seville for 13 days and fought with the Arabs, and with many left dead, they abducted captives and a lot of booty. Then they went to Alcegiras, Cadiz and Medina Sidonia with their fleets and joined many battles with the Arabs, and they devastated their land with slaughter and fire and they carried off much plunder. And again they returned to Seville and... they set it aflame

(*Historia Arabum*.XXII, Fernández Valverde and Estévez Sola, 122-3).

<sup>30</sup> Ibn al-Qūṭīya, *Tār'ikh iftītāḥ al-Andalus*, 61. See also: Dozy, *Recherches*, II.271ff; Hajjī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Alī, *Andalusian diplomatic relations with Western Europe during the Umayyad period (A.H.138-366/A.D. 755-976): an historical survey* (Beirut: Dār al-Irshad, 1970), 160f; Imamuddin, *Muslim Spain*, 70; Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, I.218-25. In the forty-third *maqāma* of the twelfth-century collection of picaresque fiction *al-Maqāmāt al-Luzūmīyah*, Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Saraqusṭī relates a nine-generations-past reminiscences of the Norman raids:

إذ خرج عليهم من هذا البحر الطامى غرائب من الأمم وطوائف

Then, out of that peaceful sea, a nation and troop of foreigners arose against them (al-Saraqusṭī, *al-Maqāmāt al-luzūmīyah* edited by Badr Aḥmad Ḍā'if (Alexandria: al-Hay'at al-Miṣrīyat al-'Āmma li-l-Kitāb, 1982), 528). For detailed study and English translation, see: Monroe, *al-Maqāmāt al-luzūmīyah* by Abū l-Ṭāhir Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Tamīmī al-Saraqusṭī ibn al-Ashtarkūwī (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

dynasty the Banū Qasī<sup>31</sup> – who had helped the Cordoban emir defend Seville from the Vikings<sup>32</sup> – also allied himself with his half-brother King Iñigo Arista of Pamplona<sup>33</sup> establishing themselves so firmly that ‘Abd al-Raḥmān was forced to recognise Mūsā ibn Mūsā as *wālī*<sup>34</sup> of Tudela in 844<sup>35</sup> and, the *Crónica de Alfonso III* contends, he was given to calling himself the ‘third King of Spain’ after Alfonso and the emir.<sup>36</sup> Córdoba was also being drawn into Frankish power plays, for the rebellious Mūsā also had dealings with Charles ‘the Bald’<sup>37</sup>, then King of West Francia, against whom William of Septimania (826-50) – son of Bernard, whom Charles had executed in 844<sup>38</sup> and an ally

<sup>31</sup> The Banū Qasī were a noble *muwallad* clan descended from a – possibly fictional – Visigothic or Ibero-Roman ancestor by the name of Cassius, hence the name Sons of Cassius, from *filiī Cassii*. See further: Cañada Juste, Alberto, ‘El posible solar originario de los Banū Qasī’ in *Homenaje a José María Lacarra de Miguel en su jubilación del profesorado: Estudios medievales* (Zaragoza: Anubar, 1977), I.33-8 and ‘Los Banu Qasi (714-924)’, *Príncipe de Viana* 48-9 (1980), 5-95; Collins, *The Basques* (2nd ed. Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), 123-4, 140-3; Fierro, ‘El conde Casio, los Banu Qasi y los linajes godos en al-Andalus’, *Studia Histórica: Historia medieval* 27 (2009), 181-9; Lorenzo Jiménez, Jesús, ‘Algunas consideraciones acerca del conde Casio’, *Studia Histórica: Historia medieval* 27 (2009), 173-80; Manzano Moreno, Eduardo, *La frontera de al-Andalus en época de los Omeyas* (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1991), 110-24, 293-304; Martínez Díez, Gonzalo, *El Condado de Castilla, 711-1038: la historia frente a la leyenda* (Madrid: Junta de Castilla y León, Marcial Pons, 2005), *passim* 173-262; Mínguez, José María, *La España de los siglos VI al XIII: Guerra, expansión y transformaciones* (San Sebastián: Editorial NEREA, 2004), 99-105; Miranda García, Fermín and Yolanda Guerrero Navarrete, *Medieval territorios, sociedades y culturas* (Madrid: Silex Ediciones, 2008), 50, *passim* 56-77; Pavón Benito, Julia, ‘Muladíes. Lectura política de una conversión: los Banū Qāsī (714-924)’, *Anaquel de Estudios Árabes* 17 (2006), 189-201.

<sup>32</sup> Kennedy, ‘The Muslims in Europe’ in *The New Cambridge Medieval History II c.700-c.900* edited by Rosamond McKitterick, David Abulafia, Timothy Reuter and C.T. Allmand (Cambridge: CUP, 1995), 266.

<sup>33</sup> Ibn Ḥayyān and al-‘Udrī make the family link, see Lévi-Provençal and Emilio García Gómez, ‘Textos inéditos del *Muqtabis* de Ibn Hayyan sobre los orígenes del Reino de Pamplona’, *Al-Andalus* 19 (1954), 296-316; Martínez Díez, Gonzalo, *Sancho III el Mayor: Rey de Pamplona, Rex Ibericus* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2007), 23; Sánchez Albornoz, C., ‘El tercer rey de España’, *Cuadernos de Historia de España* 49-50 (1969), 5-49.

<sup>34</sup> *Wālī* (والي): ‘governor’.

<sup>35</sup> See: Kennedy, ‘The Muslims in Europe’, 266; Reilly, *The Medieval Spains*, 80.

<sup>36</sup> *Crónica de Alfonso III* (Rotense):

*Muzza quidam nomine, natione Gotus, sed ritu mamentiano... contra Cordobensem [regem] reuellauit, eique multas ciuitates, partim gladio, partim fraude inuasit... unde obtanti uictorie causam tantum in superuia intumuit, ut se ad suis tertium regem in Spania apellari precepit*

A certain man by the name of Mūsā, a Goth by race but of the Muḥammadan rite... he puffed up in arrogance, because of this great victory, to such an extent that he ordered his men call him the Third King in Hispania

(Ubieto, 49). The text is also published in: *Chronicon Sebastiani.25* edited by Flórez in *España sagrada XIII: de la Lusitania antigua en comun y de su Metropóli Mérida en particular* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Madrid: La Oficina de D. José del Collado, 1816), 490-1. See also: Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles*, 411.

<sup>37</sup> The *Crónica de Alfonso III* indicates Mūsā and Charles’ alliance, noting that the latter had sent Mūsā ‘battle supplies and gifts’:

*bellici adparatus, siue et munera* (Ovetense)/ *uellice adparatum, siue et munera* (Rotense)

(Ubieto Arteta, 48-50).

<sup>38</sup> Prudentius, *Annalium Bertinianorum Pars Secunda.852, MGH Scriptores I*, 440.

of Pépin II of Aquitaine (823-864) – had allied himself to Córdoba.<sup>39</sup> Ibn Ḥayyān writes that in 847 the emir dispatched William, whom he calls Ghilyālimu bin Barnāṭ, to the Marches to fight Charles and those compatriots who rebelled against Córdoba’s authority.<sup>40</sup> Eulogius was certainly aware of William’s exploits in the Marches, for he experienced the subsequent chaos first-hand on a journey of great import to his action’s in the following decade:

when the dire fortune of our age – which led my brothers Alvarus and Isidore away from their native soil almost to the furthest reaches of Gallia Togata, and kept them in exile with King Louis of Bavaria – compelled me too to go to different regions for their sake and follow unfamiliar and difficult paths because at that time the roads were crowded with bandits and all *Gothia*<sup>41</sup> was thrown into chaos by the deadly incursion of Wilhelmus who – attacking his adversary Charles, King of the Franks, with the support of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, King of the Arabs – had rendered all impassable and inaccessible. Diverted towards Pamplonan territory, I thought I would take myself there<sup>42</sup>

Eulogius could have seen opportunity in this conflict and the proximity of Frankish military power during the last years of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān’s rule. He may have had similar thoughts when registering the disapproval and dissent that quickly marked Muḥammad I’s emirate as potentially vulnerable. He is keen to highlight it:

<sup>39</sup> *The Routledge Companion to Medieval Warfare* edited by Jim Bradbury (Oxford: Routledge, 2004), 116; Sénac, *Les carolingiens et al-Andalus*, 101-2.

<sup>40</sup> Ibn Ḥayyān:

وفيها استأمن غليالم بن برنات بن غليالم أحد عظماء قوامس إفرنجة على الأمير عبد الرحمن بقرطبة، فأكرمه أحسن إليه وإلى أصحابه، وصرفه معهم إلى الثغر لمغاورة الملك لذويق بن قارلة بن بيبين صاحب الفرنجة

And in [that year, 847] Ghilyālimu bin Barnāṭ son of the first Ghilyālimu the great count of the Franks gave his loyalty to the emir ‘Abd al-Raḥmān in Córdoba, and so [the emir] ennobled him and honoured him and his companions splendidly, and sent him to the Marches to carry out raids on King Ludhwīqu bin Qārla bin Bibīn [Louis, son of Charles, son of Pépin] sovereign of the Franks

(*al-Muqtabis*, Makki 1973 edition, 2).

<sup>41</sup> Aimoin uses the term *Gothia* to refer to what is now the Languedoc; it likely designated the area under Visigothic control at the turn of the eighth century prior to Ṭāriq and Mūsā’s conquest, which included the province of Septimania stretching across the Pyrénées, corresponding to the Roman imperial province of Gallia Narbonensis and the modern Languedoc-Rousillon region. Eulogius clearly means the southern side of the Pyrénées. See Roger Collins’ *Visigothic Spain, 409-711* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), 244.

<sup>42</sup> Eulogius:

*cum dira saeculi fortuna, que fratres meos Aluarum et Isidorum a genitali solo abducens paene in ulteriores Togatae Galliae partes apud Hludouicum regem Baioariae exulare fecit, cum me etiam propter eos diuersas adire regiones et ignota atque laboriosa itinera subire compelleret, quoniam stipata praedonibus uia et funeroso quondam Wilhelmi tota Gothia perturbata erat incursu, qui aduersum Carolum regem Francorum eo tempore auxilio fretus Habdarraghmanis regis Arabum tyrannidem agens inuia et inadibilia cuncta reddiderat, ad partes Pampilonenses deuersus putaueram me inde cito migraturum*

(*Epistulae*.III.1.1-9, CSM 2:497).

And so rebellions arose on all sides and wars brought [Muḥammad] great injury for he impudently assumed the privilege of ruling all the cities of Hispania that his father had tamed and blockaded through the vigour of his power and the strength of his great intellect, acquiring abundant tribute of rewards; especially [bold] when from several places he saw his army slaughtered and put to flight and on all sides diminished and everywhere groaning, turned to the worse... he is hated universally and by all, drawing curses even on the domestic front, for they say that he is even assailed with hatred and cursed by his concubines. Truly it is written: 'The king by judgement establisheth the land; but he that receiveth gifts overthroweth it'<sup>43</sup> – burning for power with unheard of cupidity, this one slashed the soldiers' yearly allowance, he enforced a monthly tribute and reduced the circulation of privileges<sup>44</sup>

Jacques Fontaine has posited the idea that the brothers mentioned by Eulogius had gone to seek the aid of siblings Louis II and Charles against the Muslims.<sup>45</sup> Janet Nelson believes that Eulogius' own movements in the North were politically motivated and aimed at connecting with Charles against the emir.<sup>46</sup> It is possible that Eulogius

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<sup>43</sup> *Proverbs* 29:4.

<sup>44</sup> Eulogius:

*Et quia undique dibellonium insurgentia bella magnam ei molestiam inferebant, nam libere in cunctis Hispania urbibus, quas uigore potestatis et egregii potentia intellectus largoque munere praemiorum pater suus acquirendo domauerat et obsederat, hic priuilegium dominandi gerebat, praesertim cum et ex aliquibus locis caesum et fugatum exercitum suum cernens ubique imminui ubique se gemeret in deteriora conuertit... eum cunctis odibilem, uniuersis exosum omnibusque execrabilem reddens etiam domestico et, ut ferunt, paelicum suarum odio uel maledicto impetitur. Uerum scriptum est: 'Rex iustus erigit terram, uir autem auarus destruit eam', hic idem inauditum cupiditatem fascibus ardens militum annonas demutilat, tributorum coarctat donaria lunaremque praemiorum discursum imminuit*

(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.III.4.1-7... 5.4-10, CSM 2:441-2).

<sup>45</sup> Fontaine writes:

*ne seraient-ils pas venus, de la part des chrétiens opprimés de Cordoue – et des plus « résistants » parmi les mozarabes –, prier Louis de reprendre, avec Charles le Chauve, la politique offensive de Charlemagne en Espagne pour la libération des chrétiens, et, pour cela, de commencer par l'assister contre le rebelles des marches d'Espagne appuyés par le calife?*

*Cette hypothèse serait plus cohérente avec la destinée et les idées d'Euloge... De toute manière, la lettre de 851, et déjà le voyage d'Euloge en 848, pourraient bien avoir été politiquement moins désengagés qu'on ne l'avait cru jusqu'ici en raison de sa demi-discrétion de prisonnier sur les événements politiques, diplomatiques et militaires des années 848 à 851*

Could they not have come on behalf of the oppressed Christians of Córdoba – the most resistant of the Mozarabs – to beg Louis to take up once more, with Charles the Bald, Charlemagne's offensive policy in Spain for the liberation of the Christians, starting with help against the rebels of the Marches who were aided by the Caliph?

This hypothesis would be the most consistent with Eulogius' destiny and ideas... In any case, the letter of 851, and before that Eulogius' journey, could well have been less politically disengaged than was previously believed due to the prisoner's half-discretion regarding the political, diplomatic and military events of the years 848-51

('Mozarabie hispanique et monde carolingien: les échanges culturels entre la France et l'Espagne du VIII<sup>e</sup> au X<sup>e</sup> siècle' in *Anuario de estudios medievales* 13 (1983), 28-9). Fontaine cites the incitement to rebellion in the communication of Louis the Pious with the people Mérida in 826 as precedent.

<sup>46</sup> Nelson, 'The Franks, the Martyrology of Usuard, and the Martyrs of Cordoba', 73-6.



saw opportunity in the Frankish-Andalusī conflict. Following the Carolingian reforms, it is apparent from several early ninth-century capitularies and conciliar canons that every Frankish altar was to house a relic.<sup>47</sup> Demand for such items was huge throughout the vast Carolingian empire to the extent that by the ninth century it was not uncommon for one church to steal corporeal relics from another.<sup>48</sup> Could it be that in making contacts in the North and naming new and lengthily-defended saints, Eulogius sought to take advantage of the Carolingians' relic-centric piety and military proximity, to attract their attention with his ability to satisfy their reliquary demand in the hope of some kind of support, military or otherwise? Michel Banniard has observed the emphasis on high erudition in the preface of the *Memoriale Sanctorum* and the frequency with which Eulogius used phrases indicating the literacy of his audience – *lectores mei... prudens lector... lectoribus praesentibus et futuris* – indicating in his view that Eulogius aimed his words at 'an educated public' which certainly fits Carolingian France better than the Christian community of Córdoba.<sup>49</sup>

The problems Eulogius encountered in Córdoba would not necessarily trouble the Carolingians. They were free to appreciate, or be moved to action by, his hagiographical polemic against the Muslims. It is true that hagiography traditionally does its work after the relics of a saint and his cult are in place. Without these, i.e.: in al-Andalus, Eulogius' texts are nothing but emotive and troublesome essays against Muslim rule. If he could find an audience in the North, through his acquaintance with Wiliesindus or the abbots to whom he sends greetings, this problem could perhaps have been sidestepped. The monks of Saint-Germain had no problems in this department, the origins of their relics mattering not at all – as proven by the plethora of miracles attributed to them between Béziers and Esmans.<sup>50</sup> They wrote their own hagiography after the acquisition of what for them were new relics and a new cult.<sup>51</sup> That nothing

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<sup>47</sup> Geary points to the capitulary of Aix (801-3), another capitulary produced circa 802, and the acts of the Council of Mainz (813), which all indicate an assumption that every church was or should be in possession of holy relics (*Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages*, 184-5, and 185ff). On the Carolingian reform and appetite for relics, see also: Nelson, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789-895* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977); Snoek, Godefridus J.C., *Medieval Piety from Relics to the Eucharist: A process of mutual interaction* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 17ff, 185.

<sup>48</sup> See: Geary, *Furta Sacra*; Smith, 'Old Saints, New Cults Roman Relics in Carolingian Francia' in *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West: Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 319.

<sup>49</sup> Banniard, *Viva voce*, 454-5.

<sup>50</sup> Tolán, 'Reliques et païens', 47-8, and *Saracens*, 101-4.

<sup>51</sup> Julia Smith writes:

The act of removing relics from one place to another generated new memories and new written expressions of those memories. It might also generate a new commemorative



came of this – had Eulogius intended and managed to make such contact – might be explained by the random farrago that his *passiones* presented. Would the Carolingians have recognised the *Memoriale Sanctorum* as a bona fide passionary? Usuard severed all links with Eulogius; the only thing linking the two men’s writing is Aimoin’s *translatio*.

### Apocalypticism in al-Andalus?

The lasting instability of the Andalusī political scene certainly could have seemed like an opportunity for Eulogius to rally the Christian congregation and draw stronger lines of demarcation between it and the Muslim community while that other was weak or distracted, but why at the beginning of the 850s? The Arabic sources tell us that recent decades had suffered the devastation of various natural phenomena, which Eulogius could have taken as portents, potentially apocalyptic, had he been so inclined. First off, two – apparently total – solar eclipses extraordinarily close together. Ibn al-Qūṭīya’s report offers an indication of the dread produced by uncanny natural phenomena:

The sun was eclipsed in the days of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān [III]. It became [so] terrifyingly dark that the people gathered in the Great Mosque at Córdoba and the *qādī* Yahyā bin Mu‘ammar said a prayer for them; neither before that nor since has there been prayer at an eclipse in al-Andalus<sup>52</sup>

Another eclipse occurred in 840, though it appears to have gone unreported by the chroniclers.<sup>53</sup> A few years later, the harvests failed:

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identity focused around that saint, and could effect a radical redistribution of sacred authority... translation transformed a saint into something different

(‘Old Saints, New Cults’, 326).

<sup>52</sup> Ibn al-Qūṭīya:

وكسفت الشمس في أيام عبد الرحمن كسوفاً مربعاً جمع الناس له في الجامع بقرطبة وصلى بهم  
القاضي يحيى بن معمر ولم يكن قبله ولا بعده صلاة كسوف بلأندلس

(*Tā’rīkh iftītāḥ al-Andalus*, 81-2). Ibn ‘Idhārī:

وفي ٢١٨، كان الكسوف العظيم، الذي توارت معه الشمس، وبدا لإظلام؛ وكان ذلك قبل  
زوال الشمس، في أواخر رمضان

in the year 218 [833-4] there was a great eclipse, which hid the sun and manifest shadows; it was before the setting of the sun in the last days of Ramaḍān

(*al-Bayān al-mughrib fī akhbār al-Andalus wa al-Maghreb* edited by Iḥsān ‘Abbās (Beirut: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1980), II.83-4). Ibn Ḥayyān also records the eclipse and the *qādī* Yahyā bin Mu‘ammar’s prayer (*al-Muqtabis*, Makki 1973, 57).

<sup>53</sup> James, David, *Early Islamic Spain: The History of Ibn al-Qūṭīya* (Oxford: Routledge, 2009), 106n32; Nombela, Julio, *Crónica de la provincia de Navarra* (Madrid: Editorial MAXTOR, 1868), 23; Oppolzer, T.R. von, *Kanon der Finsternisse* (Vienna: Kaiserlich-Königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckere, 1887), 196.

In this [year, 232 AH/ 847-8] a famine engulfed all al-Andalus; cattle died, the vines were scorched, locusts multiplied thus adding to the starvation and anguish of life<sup>54</sup>

From one extreme to another: in 850 the rain-swollen waters of the Guadalquivir, Genil and Tajo caused great destruction. The anonymous *Dhikr bilād al-Andalus* (*Description of the Land of al-Andalus*), Ibn 'Idhārī's *al-Bayān al-mughrib* (*The Extraordinary Story of the History of the Kings of al-Andalus and the Maghreb*), and Ibn Ḥayyān's *al-Muqtabis* all record that disastrous flooding brought chaos to a vast area of the southern peninsula from Córdoba southwest to the coast. Ibn 'Idhārī wrote:

In that [year] there was a great flood in the Andalusī peninsula. The River Genil rose and destroyed two arches of the bridge at Écija and the dams and mills. The flood annihilated 16 villages among the satellites of Seville. The River Tajo rose too, and destroyed 18 villages, and its edges stretched out 30 miles wide<sup>55</sup>

As Ibn Ḥayyān tells it, the raging cataract devastated the fifty-mile stretch of the Guadalquivir between Seville and the sea on the Bay of Cádiz.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Ibn Ḥayyān:

وفيهما كان القحط الذى عم الأندلس، فهلكت المواشى، واحترقت الكروم، وكثر الجراد، فزاد في  
المجاعة وضيق المعيشة

(*al-Muqtabis*, Makki, 143).

<sup>55</sup> Ibn 'Idhārī:

وفيهما، كان سيل عظيم بجزيرة الأندلس، حمل وادى شنيل، وخرب قوسين من حنايا قنطرة  
إستجة، وخرب الاسداد والأرحاء. وذهب السيل بست عشرة قرية من قرى إشبيلية على النهر  
الاعظم. وحمل وادى تاجه؛ فأذهب ثمان عشرة قرية؛ وصار عرضه ثلاثين ميلاً

(*al-Bayān al-mughrib*.II.89). The *Dhikr bilād al-Andalus* offers an almost identical report:

وفي سنة ٢٣٥ في شهر ينير منها كان بالأندلس سيل عظيم حمل وادي شنيل وخرب قوسين من  
حنايا قنطرة أستجة وخرب السداد والأرحي، وذهب السيل بست عشرة قرية من قرى اشبيلية  
التي على النهر الأعظم، وحمل وادي تاجه فأذهب ثمان عشرة قرية وصار عرضه ثلاثين ميلاً

And in the year 235 [850] in the month of January there was a great flood, the River Genil rose and destroyed two arches of the bridge at Écija, the dams and mills; the flood utterly destroyed 16 villages among the satellites of Seville... and the River Tajo rose and destroyed 18 villages and its banks spread to be 30 miles apart

(Molina, *Una descripción anónima*, 119).

<sup>56</sup> Ibn Ḥayyān:

وفيهما سيلان عظيمان بنهر قرطبة في شهر رجب القمري الموافق لشهر ينير الشمسي رأس سنة  
العجم بالأندلس، عدا في أمهات السيول، وحمل وادى شنيل أيضاً، وطغى مده، وأخرب حنيتين  
من قنطرة مدينة استجة، وأبطل عدداً من أرجائها، وطمى السيل أيضاً بكورة إشبيلية التي بها  
قراره، فذهب مده في مجتمعه هناك بست عشرة قرية ما بين البحر وحاضرة إشبيلية

In this [year, 850] there was a great flood in the river of Córdoba in the month of *Rajab* of the lunar calendar which corresponds to the month of January in the solar year, the beginning of the year for the Christians in al-Andalus. The floodwaters sped along [the Guadalquivir] and the River Genil bore them too, and its rising flood raged excessively. It destroyed the arches of the bridge at the city of Écija and paralysed a great deal of the surrounding region. The river also overflowed in the district of Seville, but settled

The *faqīh* ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Ḥabīb (died 853), and his contemporary Ibn Waḍḍāḥ (c.814-900), certainly saw in these disasters, natural or otherwise, the forebodings of apocalypse in his own time that would have called to Eulogius to act urgently had he been so minded.<sup>57</sup>

The early ninth century was not just a time of anxiety for the Christian demographic of al-Andalus; the Muslims felt it too, and for the same reasons.<sup>58</sup> Assimilation and conversion, and especially inter-marriage, threatened the minority Muslim community of the province<sup>59</sup>:

Maliki jurists treated the Christian as a serious threat to ritual purity and [there was] concern about boundaries among Maliki scholars anxious about the integrity of Islam and the Muslim community in a multiconfessional polity, a concern perhaps accentuated in the ninth century by social flux in al-Andalus<sup>60</sup>

Ibn Waḍḍāḥ’s apocalyptic text warns:

It is said the temptations will come with the Companions of the Book [i.e.: the Christians and Jews], and they will be because of them<sup>61</sup>

It has been suggested that the expansion of the Islamic state played a part in the eschatological mood and that the *muwallad*-Christian rebellions led by ‘Umar Ibn Ḥafṣūn and his heirs from 883 in protest at the encroachment on their rights by Arab-

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down here; then the deluge annihilated the communities, 16 villages, in that area between the sea and the metropolis of Seville

(*al-Muqtabis*, 146). *Rajab* (رجب) is the seventh month of the Islamic calendar.

<sup>57</sup> Janina Safran wrote:

Ibn Ḥabīb’s text... specifically anticipates the collapse of Umayyad rule and associates the political crises of the mid-ninth century with the social disorder, natural disasters, and moral turpitude that presage the End Times

(‘Identity and Differentiation in Ninth-Century al-Andalus’, 576). On apocalypticism in early Islam and natural disasters as signs of impending apocalypse, see Bashear, Suliman, ‘Muslim Apocalypses and the Hour: A Case-Study in Traditional Reinterpretation’ in *Israel Oriental Studies XIII* edited by Joel L. Kraemer (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 75-99. See also: Christys, ‘Muslims and Christians in Umayyad Cordoba: the formation of a tolerant society?’, *Rivista di Storia del Cristianesimo* 4 (2007), 45-6.

<sup>58</sup> For a brief discussion of the eschatological preoccupations of eighth- and ninth-century Christians, Jews and Muslims, see: Alfonso, Esperanza, *Islamic Culture through Jewish Eyes: Al-Andalus from the tenth to twelfth century* (Oxford: Routledge, 2008), 85-6.

<sup>59</sup> Safran, ‘Identity and Differentiation in Ninth-Century al-Andalus’, 575ff.

<sup>60</sup> Safran, ‘Rules of Purity and Confessional Boundaries: Maliki Debates About the Pollution of the Christian’, *History of Religions* 42.3 (2003), 199.

<sup>61</sup> Ibn Waḍḍāḥ:

يقال تخرج الفتن من عند أصحاب الكتاب وإليهم تعود

(*Kitāb al-bida*‘.11.9a in *Tratado contra las innovaciones* edited by María Isabel Fierro (Madrid: CSIC, 1988), 205).

dominated Córdoba<sup>62</sup>, had a messianic tone, and that Ibn Ḥafṣūn himself was something of a messianic figure.<sup>63</sup>

Eulogius, however, did not share the apocalyptic concerns of Ibn Ḥabīb and Ibn Waḍḍaḥ. Though he uses the imagery of the Antichrist, he does so only as character assassination to denigrate the Prophet Muḥammad and reject his prophetic claims as Albar does. While Albar relies upon imagery of Antichrist and apocalypse in his polemic throughout the *Indiculus Luminosus*<sup>64</sup> and it is true that Eulogius condemns the Prophet as an Antichrist, the imagery of apocalypse is used only for the weight it adds to their rhetoric and polemic.<sup>65</sup> Cutler and Southern both contend however that

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<sup>62</sup> See: Ación Almansa, Manuel, *Entre el feudalismo y el Islam: 'Umar ibn Ḥafṣūn en los historiadores, en las fuentes y en la historia* (Jaén: Universidad de Jaén, 1994), 111ff.

<sup>63</sup> For imagery surrounding Ibn Ḥafṣūn, see: Fierro, 'Four questions in connection with 'Umar ibn Ḥafṣūn', 322-7. See particularly Dozy's fairytale treatment of Ibn Ḥafṣūn's origins and destiny in *Histoire des musulmans d'Espagne*, II.12-22; Ación Almansa, *Entre el feudalismo y el Islam*, 121; Gil, Juan, 'Judíos y cristianos en Hispania (siglos VIII y IX)', *Hispania Sacra* 31 (1978-9), 9-80.

<sup>64</sup> Particularly at 21, and 35.1-14 (CSM 1:293-4... 313). Interpreting the book of *Daniel*, Albar calculated that the Second Coming was but 16 years away:

*in hoc incarnatjonis Domini anno octingentesimo quinquagesimo quarto et era que currit octingentesima nonagesima secunda anni Arabum lunares ducenti computantvr quadraginta, solares uero anni ducenti XXVIII, ex qua summa superant annos solares sedecim*

this year of the Lord's incarnation 854, the Era 892, is counted as 240 of the Arabs' lunar years – actually 229 solar years – from which sum 16 solar years are left

(Albar, *Indiculus Luminosus*.21.63-6, CSM 2:294-5). In order to reach this figure, in contradiction of Jerome's *Commentarius in Danielem*, he had to manipulate the admittedly unscientific data: taking the three and a half periods from *Daniel* 7:25, he uses *Psalms* 90:10 for a figure of 70 years per period to give the fourth kingdom a count of 245 years. See: Wolf, *Christian Martyrs*, 93-4. Cutler and Abraham Gross erroneously put Albar's Second Coming in 863 (Cutler, 'The Ninth-Century Spanish Martyrs' Movement', 329; Gross, *Spirituality and Law*, 20).

<sup>65</sup> Wolf discusses the inconsistency with which the two Cordobans apply the imagery of Antichrist and apocalypse, and concludes that Albar used the imagery of the book of *Daniel* only for its polemical potential against the Prophet Muḥammad:

The fact that Eulogius used the term *praecursor antichristi* without even alluding to its apocalyptic implications is difficult to explain if he really was convinced that the martyrs were engaged in some sort of cosmic millenarian conflict. Even Alvarus, who spilled a great deal of ink substituting Muhammad for Antiochus, the behemoth, and the leviathan, carefully avoided extending the analogy to any speculation about the nature of the new age or the events that would usher it in... he cut off his treatment of *Daniel* 7 after verse 25, leaving the succeeding passages, which pertained to the rendering of judgement after the fall of the eleventh horn, untouched. It would seem that Alvarus regarded the numerical calculation, like the identifications of the three displaced kings, as just one more means of identifying Muhammad with the Danielan antagonist, so that he could take advantage of the passages that seemed particularly appropriate for riddling Muhammad's character

(*Christian Martyrs*, 93-4). In his article 'Muḥammad as Antichrist in Ninth-Century Córdoba', Wolf points to a passage that proves indisputably that Albar was using apocalyptic imagery to denigrate the religious and moral claims of Islam, not to claim the end of days was at hand. Albar argues that the Church Fathers would have considered the Prophet Muḥammad and his sect were anti-Christian:

*Et puto quod qui Antjocum et Neronem et alios quos beati doctores replicant Antixpi preuios firmare, hunc Antixpo organum dicerent si in hec nostra tempora deuenirent*

I think the fact that the blessed doctors considered Antiochus and Nero and others to be precursors of Antichrist, confirms that if they visited our times, they would say this man was an instrument of Antichrist

Eulogius and the martyrs' actions can be explained from an apocalyptic viewpoint. Cutler's theory that the Christian deaths Eulogius recorded were an organised manifestation – a 'martyrs' movement' with 'apocalyptic preoccupations' – of some general anticipation of an impending 'Messianic war'<sup>66</sup>, and not one held by a tiny minority of extremists, is tenuous:

the martyrs seem to have hoped to be able to provide successive martyrdoms until every Christian in Spain should be so roused against the Saracens that he would rise up in rebellion and begin the final Messianic war... their immediate goal... was the attempt to create a great rebellion against the Saracen regime in Spain as the necessary prelude to the inauguration of the Messianic Era<sup>67</sup>

Southern likewise asserts that Eulogius and Albar both viewed Islamic rule as 'preparation for the final appearance of Antichrist'<sup>68</sup>. It is abundantly clear, however, from Eulogius' own words that he did not have an impending apocalypse on his mind for he wrote time and again of the future and specifically of his martyrs' exemplary value to future generations, echoing Cyprian's martyrological pronouncement 'he who advances in the struggle has been made an example of virtue for his brothers'<sup>69</sup>. He does so in the *Memoriale Sanctorum*:

I am pressed to compose the succinct mediocrity of this little book that it shall give its testimony about us to future generations... so that a future generation might partake of our joys too<sup>70</sup>

and in his letter to Bishop Wiliesindus of Pamplona:

but this age must be illustrated for future generations so that they might become well-acquainted with our tribulations and hardships; we might at least closely touch some few among many<sup>71</sup>

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(*Indiculus Luminosus*.34.6-7, CSM 1:312). See: Wolf, 'Muhammad as Antichrist in Ninth-Century Córdoba', 14-7.

<sup>66</sup> Cutler, 'The Ninth-Century Spanish Martyrs' Movement', 339.

<sup>67</sup> Cutler, 'The Ninth-Century Spanish Martyrs' Movement, 339-40.

<sup>68</sup> Southern, Richard William, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), 22.

<sup>69</sup> Cyprian:

*qui in congressione praecedens exemplum virtutis fratribus factus est*  
(*Epistulae*.XXV.*Ad Moysen et Maximum et Caeteros Confessores*.1, PL 4, col.288B; XXVIII in CSEL III.2).

<sup>70</sup> Eulogius:

*nisum sum... succinctam huius mediocritatem formare libelli: ut suum de nobis reddens futuris generationibus testimonium... ut nostri quoque gaudii futura generatio particeps fiat*

(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.I.*epistula ad Albarum*.13-6... II.1.6.16-7, CSM 2:364-401).

<sup>71</sup> Eulogius:

*propter futurarum autem generationum saecula illustranda, et ut expertes nostrarum tribulationum et aerumnarum non fierent, saltem uel pauca e plurimis perstringamus*

(*Epistulae*.III.11.1-3, CSM 2:501).

In the *Documentum Martyriale*, Eulogius combines an appeal to future generations with the apparently apocalyptic overtones of military imagery in his appeal to the confessors Flora and Maria:

may this [work] by chance give testimony to our faith in [the martyrs'] victory to future generations... this proem offers a humble prayer to present and future readers, that the sincere might study with a penetrating mind what simple language has produced and simple intention composed... May this little work of your instruction... rise up to witness both now and in the future... the [military] standard of your labours gives to everyone a document of pious actions... and displays a symbolic example of dying for Truth to the universal Church<sup>72</sup>

So, then, it is evident that the martyrs were to play a central part in Eulogius' revival of Christian spirits, but it is not clear what this part might be. Cutler's mistake is to assume that martyrdom must be apocalyptic and that hagiography constitutes a genuine historical expression; his theory of 'Messianic war' is perhaps born of Eulogius' use of martial imagery. In one passage of the *Memoriale Sanctorum* he quotes from the book of *Judges*, depicting the Muslim community as an army (*cohors*)<sup>73</sup> and drawing a parallel between Christian martyr and Israelite soldiers who 'willingly offered [their] souls to danger' (*sponte obtilistis... animas uestras ad periculum*)<sup>74</sup>. Cutler does not even reference said passage, preferring to use Albar, to whom Eulogius shows great deference, but who does not appear to have played an active role in relation to the martyrs, beyond the counsel Eulogius claims he offered Aurelius.<sup>75</sup> Cutler claims that the public professions of Eulogius' martyrs are to be seen as missionary activity, and not simply the means of obtaining martyrdom.<sup>76</sup> He bases his argument on two false

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<sup>72</sup> Eulogius:

*quod forte et nostrae credulitatis de uictoria eorum futuris generationibus redderet testimonium... hoc prooemium et praesentibus et futuris precem humilem defert lectoribus, ut simplici student percurrere animo quod simplex depromit oratio simplexque dictauit intentio... Paruum hoc opus instructioni uestrae... et nunc et in futuro examine surget in testimonium... laboris uestri uexillum dat omnibus piae operationis documentum... et uniuersae ecclesia specimen pro ueritate moriendi exhibendo signiferum*

(*Documentum Martyriale.epistula ad Albarum.12-3... prooemium.17-8... 1.1... 3-4... 10-11... 13-4, CSM 2:460-2*).

<sup>73</sup> Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*.I.6.38, *CSM 2:375*.

<sup>74</sup> *Judges 5:2*.

<sup>75</sup> Seeking Albar's help with certain exegetical problems (*scripturarum problematibus*), Eulogius describes Albar and martyr as teacher and pupil:

*Quodam namque die cum atrium serenissimi praeceptoris nostri Albari... petiuissem, repperi coram eo militem Xpi Aurelium consultum agonizandi quaerentem et quatenus arriperet martyriale auspicium implorantem*

One day when I sought the atrium of my most serene teacher Albar... I found there Aurelius the soldier of Christ seeking advice on the contest and begging to be given a good omen for his martyrial [ambitions]

(Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*.II.10.18.8-9... 11-3, *CSM 2:423*).

<sup>76</sup> Cutler:



premises. First: the idea of a unified and orchestrated ‘martyr movement’ whose members had a shared purpose and not simply a number of disparate individuals grouped together and given uniformity in sanctity by Eulogius’ hagiographer’s pen. Second: the idea that the more or less explicitly missionary actions of five of these unrelated individuals constitute a concerted missionary programme involving 46 people. Eulogius had Isaac<sup>77</sup>, Columba<sup>78</sup>, and Pomposa<sup>79</sup> engage in theological debate with the *qāḍī*, and Rogellius and Servio Deo preach in a mosque.<sup>80</sup>

Cutler’s thesis is based on a literal acceptance of Eulogius’ testimony that now, in the light of its problematic nature, cannot be accepted. Since his church disavowed his contemporary hagiography, independent witnesses to Córdoba do not corroborate the picture he paints, and Arabic Muslim texts are silent on the matter, one might

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some of the martyrs, and especially the leaders of the movement, Eulogius and Alvarus, seem to have had some interest in converting the Saracens as well as being killed by them... We can discern definite missionary feelings also in some of the other voluntary martyrs... for unfortunately, preaching Christianity and denouncing Muhammad were considered two sides of the same coin in [Eulogius’] own mind and that of the other martyrs

(‘The Ninth-Century Spanish Martyrs’ Movement’, 325-6).

<sup>77</sup> Having branded the Prophet a liar (*mentitus*) whose teachings drag his followers to hell (*tantum agmina perditorum inuasit secumque inferorum barathro mancipavit*), Isaac demands of his judge:

*Quare uos scientia praediti a talibus non abdicatis periculis? Quare non, renuntiantes ulcus pestiferi dogmatis perennem fidei Xpianae euangelicam sospitatem optatis?*

Why do you, furnished with this knowledge, not reject such perils? Why do you not renounce the sore of your pestilential dogma and choose the eternal health of the Christian faith?

(Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*.I.praefatio.2.18-21, CSM 2:367).

<sup>78</sup> Columba informs the *qāḍī* of his need of Christ in his life:

*Quamobrem relictā uanitate uerum euangelii ducem requirite, quo melius filii lucis quam genimina tenebrarum mortisque soboles appellemini. Ille etenim dixit: ‘Qui sequitur me, non ambulabit in tenebris’, et ‘omnis qui uiuit et credit in me non morietur in aeternum’*

So, vanity cast aside, you require the true leadership of the Gospel, by which you might be driven by the light of the Son better than the fruits of the shadows and the offspring of death. For he said: ‘He that followeth me shall not walk in darkness’, and ‘Whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die’

(Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*.III.10.11.17-20, CSM 2:451). Scriptural quotes from *John* 8:12 and 11:26.

<sup>79</sup> Pomposa gladly approaches the judge:

*seseque obtutibus iudicis praesentari non differt. Ad quem sanctae fidei rationem proponens, uatemque impudicum simplici exhortatione confundens*

she did not hang back from presenting herself to the judge’s gaze. Setting out the way of the holy faith to him, she confounded the shameless seer with sincere exhortation

(Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*.III.11.4.11-3, CSM 2:454).

<sup>80</sup> Rogellius and Servio Deo head for the mosque (*fanum illud sacrilegorum petentes*) – *illud* suggesting that there is only one mosque in Córdoba at this time – and having entered (*transcendunt limina*):

*turmis se ingerunt, praedicant Euangelium, sectam impietatis subsannant, arguunt coetum. Appropinquasse regnum coelorum fidelibus, infidelibus autem gehennae proponunt interitum, quem proculdubio ipsi incurrerent, nisi ad uitam recurrerent*

they threw themselves upon the crowd: they preached the Gospel, they mocked the sect of impiety, they censured the assembly. They pronounced that for the faithful the kingdom of heaven had drawn nigh, but for the faithless the ruin of Gehenna, into which they would surely fall unless they should revert to life

(Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*.II.13.12-5, CSM 2:432).

consider that Eulogius had some other, not specifically hagiographical, or apocalyptic, aim in composing a vast and dense body of work. He does not call for an uprising against the Muslim powers, but rather hopes for deliverance, possibly at the hands of the Carolingians, perhaps through martyrial agency, as shall be discussed later.

### **The rise of Arabic culture and the blurring of cultural boundaries**

Despite the military skirmishes suffered by Andalusī society, and the apocalyptic brooding of some, the Córdoba in which Eulogius produced his lament of an *ecclesia destituta* was becoming a vibrant centre of Arabic culture. After near-constant conflict on every front, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān II achieved a relative peace which inaugurated al-Andalus’ cultural ascendancy.<sup>81</sup> The poet-emir could afford to extend his patronage to the arts;<sup>82</sup> outmoded Syrian traditions of the Umayyad past were swept aside by new currents from the ‘Abbāsīd East.<sup>83</sup> One man has come to personify the cultural heights reached by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān’s court: the Persian<sup>84</sup> renaissance man and cultural arbiter ‘Alī bin Nāfī’, better known as Ziryāb (‘blackbird’) on account of his gifts as a singer, who entered al-Andalus in 822<sup>85</sup>, the year ‘Abd al-Raḥmān succeeded the throne. Ziryāb is credited with bringing many Eastern innovations; he is acclaimed a pioneer in the field of music, the man who added a fifth string to the oud or lute and developed new rhythms and melodies, but is held to have had a profound impact on every facet of

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<sup>81</sup> Lévi-Provençal writes:

*Dans l’histoire trop souvent chaotique de l’Espagne musulmane avant la période du califat, le règne du fils et successeur d’al-Ḥakam I<sup>er</sup>, ‘Abd al-Rahman II, marque, pour un peu plus d’un quart de siècle, sinon un arrêt complet, du moins une accalmie sensible de la crise intérieure qui, jusque-là, avait agité les provinces et les zones des confins du royaume umayyade*

In the history of Muslim Spain, so often chaotic, before the period of the Caliphate, the reign of al-Ḥakam I’s son and successor, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān II, marks, for a little over a quarter of a century, if not a complete stop, then at least a noticeable calming of the internal crisis that until then had shaken the provinces and border regions of the Umayyad realm

(*Histoire de l’Espagne musulmane*, I.193-4).

<sup>82</sup> ‘Abd al-Raḥmān II is held to have been a poet of some talent, see: *Medieval Iberia: an encyclopedia*, 6; *The Encyclopaedia of Islam IX: Supplement* edited by Clifford Edmund Bosworth, E. van Donzel, B. Lewis and Charles Pellat (Leiden: Brill, 1980), 20.

<sup>83</sup> Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l’Espagne musulmane*, I.195.

<sup>84</sup> Dozy claims Persian origins for Ziryāb (*Persan d’origine, ce semble*) ‘without sufficient proof’ according to *E.J. Brill’s First Encyclopaedia of Islam volume VII: S-ṬAIBA*, 266. See: Dozy, *Histoire des musulmans d’Espagne*.II.89.

<sup>85</sup> Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l’Espagne musulmane*, I.270; Stillman, Norman A., *Arab Dress: A Short History from the Dawn of Islam to Modern Times* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Leiden: Brill, 2003), 90.

cultural life in the Western Emirate.<sup>86</sup> Lapidus credits the birth of the so-called ‘Mozarab’ identity entirely to the growth of imported culture under ‘Abd al-Raḥmān’s patronage, and one can certainly argue that the rise of a distinct Islamic culture put a new onus on the existing Christian society.<sup>87</sup> Religious Islam did not really emerge until the canonisation and codification of the Qur’ān, *ḥadīth* literature and *sharī‘a* law in the eighth and ninth century.<sup>88</sup> It has been said that in the chronicles of the early conquests ‘*islam* seems to have been employed as an instrument of government... in little more than a political sense’<sup>89</sup>. Merrills thus argues that the seventh-century ‘conversion’ of North Africa was ‘nothing of the sort’<sup>90</sup>. Several scholars have suggested that, far from being appreciably Islamised, the Berber of North Africa – who constituted the overwhelming majority of the conquerors and settlers, and may have remained so until the early ninth century – were speakers of a Latinate vernacular.<sup>91</sup> It is thus possible that ‘Abd al-Raḥmān’s reign, with the quick elevation of the minority tongue Arabic, brought about a sudden realisation of what the *Sarraceni* represented. It is a reign that has been described as ‘a critical epoch of transition... ending a formative “paleo-andalusī” period’<sup>92</sup> and ‘unanimously regarded as the moment at which Andalusī cultural life truly came into its own’<sup>93</sup>. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān made of al-Andalus a real Muslim state and seat of high culture rather than a military dictatorship. His political and social reforms united Muslim territory in the peninsula and centralised power

<sup>86</sup> E.J. Brill’s *First Encyclopaedia of Islam volume VIII: Ṭa’if-Zūrkhāna*, 266; Makki, ‘The Political History of al-Andalus’, 24ff. See also: Hillenbrand, Robert, “‘The Ornament of the World’: Medieval Córdoba as a Cultural Centre’ in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain* edited by Jayyusi (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 117; Imamuddin, *Muslim Spain*, 28.

<sup>87</sup> Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies*, 313.

<sup>88</sup> See: Ghazzal, Zouhair, ‘The ‘Ulama’: Status and Function’ in *A Companion to the History of the Middle East* edited by Youssef M. Choueiri (Malden: Blackwell, 2005), 72-3; Graham, William Albert, *Divine Word and Prophetic Word in Early Islam: A Reconsideration of the Sources with Special Reference to the Divine Saying or Ḥadīth Qudsī* (The Hague: Mouton & Co, 1977), 81ff; Motzki, Harald, *The Origins of Islamic Jurisprudence: Meccan Fiqh Before the Classical Schools* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 255; Ouyang, Wen-chin, *Literary Criticism in Medieval Arabic-Islamic Culture: The making of a tradition* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), 97ff; Reynolds, Gabriel Said, ‘Introduction: Qur’ānic studies and its controversies’ in *The Qur’ān in its Historical Context* edited by Reynolds (New York: Routledge, 2008), 11; Wansbrough, John E., *Quranic Studies: Sources and Methods of Scriptural Interpretation* (Oxford: OUP, 1977), 50-1, and *The Sectarian Milieu: Content and Composition of Islamic Salvation History* (Oxford: OUP, 1979), 98-129.

<sup>89</sup> Brett, Michael, ‘The Arab Conquest and the Rise of Islam in North Africa’, in *Cambridge History of Africa* edited by J.D. Fage (Cambridge: CUP, 1978), II.512.

<sup>90</sup> Merrills, Andrew H., *Vandals, Romans and Berbers: New Perspectives on Late Antique North Africa* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 302.

<sup>91</sup> On the Berbers’ language, see: Gallego, ‘The Languages of Medieval Iberia’, 119; López-Morillas, Consuelo, ‘Language’ in *The Literature of al-Andalus* edited by María Rosa Menocal, Raymond P. Scheindlin and Michael Sells (Cambridge: CUP, 2000), 40-1; Wasserstein, ‘The Language Situation’, 4. On the Berbers outnumbering the Arabs in the peninsula long after conquest, see: Guichard, *Structures sociales “orientales” et “occidentales” dans l’Espagne musulmane* (Paris: Mouton, 1977), 248-9

<sup>92</sup> Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages*, 25.

<sup>93</sup> Introduction to *The Formation of al-Andalus Part 2*, xxx.

around a greatly increased administrative class<sup>94</sup>, laying the foundations for al-Andalus' golden period. 'Abd al-Raḥmān changed the face of al-Andalus too, giving it a distinctly Islamic aspect, and he acted quickly. In 825 he founded the Muslim city of Murcia as a military and political base<sup>95</sup>; the Great Mosque of Seville was built in 829-30<sup>96</sup>, while 833 saw the foundation of the Great Mosque of Jaén<sup>97</sup> and the beginning of a fifteen-year project to extend the Great Mosque of Córdoba.<sup>98</sup> Ibn 'Idhārī writes:

He was the first one to aspire to the customs of the caliphs in finery and outward appearance, and the organisation of service. And he decorated the caliphate: he built palaces, and brought water to them. He constructed the quay and built roofed galleries above it; he built great mosques in al-Andalus; he constructed irrigation upon the quay. He established new fashions and devised their production. He established the mint at Córdoba. And he made his kingdom magnificent<sup>99</sup>

<sup>94</sup> See: Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain*, 29; Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies*, 311.

<sup>95</sup> Al-Ḥimyarī writes:

بناها الأمير عبد الرحمن بن الحكم، واتخذت داراً للعمال، وقراراً للقواد

'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥakam built [Madīna Mursīya] and designated it a residence for governors and generals

(*Rawḍ al-mi'tār*, 539). Imamuddin gives the date 825 (*Muslim Spain 711-1492*, 201).

<sup>96</sup> See also: Fernández-Puertas, Antonio, 'Calligraphy in al-Andalus' in *Legacy of Muslim Spain*, 641.

<sup>97</sup> Ibn 'Idhārī writes:

وفي ٢١٠، أمر الأمير عبد الرحمن ببنان الجامع بمدينة جيان

And in the year 210 [833] the emir 'Abd al-Raḥmān ordered the construction of the mosque of Jayān

(*al-Bayān al-mughrib*, I.82).

<sup>98</sup> Ibn 'Idhārī again writes:

وفيهما، قامت الزيادة في المسجد الجامع بقرطبة من الأرجل التي بين السواري إلى القبلة... زاد عبد الرحمن بن الحكم بن هشام بن عبد الرحمن الداخل الزيادة المنتظمة بالأرجل، طولها خمسون ذراعاً، وعرضها مائة وخمسون، وعدد سواريها ثمانون سارية؛ وكان الفراغ من هذه الزيادة في جمادى الأولى سنة ٢٣٤

And in that year [218/ 833], he oversaw the extension of the Great Mosque of Córdoba from the pillars between the walls to the *qibla*... the extension by 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥakam ibn Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān *al-Dākhil* consisted of a rearrangement of the columns: [it was] 50 cubits long by 150 wide, and the number of columns between [the walls] was 80. And this extension was completed in *Jumādā* I of the year 234 [December 848]

(*al-Bayān al-mughrib*, II.84... 230). *Jumādā* (جمادى) I and II are the fifth and sixth months of the Islamic calendar. Ximénez de Rada appears to refer to these same building works, though he dates them to 852, in his account of 'Abd al-Raḥmān II's reign:

*Anno Arabum CCXXXVI, regni autem sui XXX, precepit plateas Cordube pavimento lapideo solidari et aquam a montanis plumbeis fistulis derivari et fontes iuxta mezquitam et iuxta presidium et in aliis locis eductione nobili emanare*

In the 236<sup>th</sup> year of the Arabs, the thirtieth of his reign, ['Abd al-Raḥmān II] ordered that broad avenues be laid with paving stones in Córdoba, and water drawn from the mountains with lead pipes, and flow by famous expulsion from fountains by the Great Mosque and palace, and in other places

(*Historia Arabum*.XXVII, Fernández Valverde and Estévez Sola, 123).

<sup>99</sup> Ibn 'Idhārī:

This cultural surge was having a definite effect on the city's social fabric: Christians were drawn into the expanded bureaucracy in greater numbers which resulted in their inevitable acculturation.<sup>100</sup> Eulogius worried that the Christians of the bureaucratic classes were being tainted by their proximity to the centre of Islamic politics and culture, and interprets their association with the court as a betrayal:

The wickedness of certain Christians predisposed to being [the emir's] helper – if indeed they should be called Christians and not rather Workers of Iniquity – who, in order to obtain the privilege of soliciting deed papers, selling the land and the assembly of the Lord's faithful to the king by bail-bond or crime, they aggravate the necks of the wretched with the insupportable burden of a census, they oppress the Lord's people daily<sup>101</sup>

The acculturation of those close to the court is indicated by the striking similarity in their depiction and the language applied generically to the Muslim other: Eulogius describes Ibn Antunyān – who was said to have converted, but was still identified by both Ibn al-Qūṭīya and al-Khushanī as 'the Christian' (*al-naṣrānī*)<sup>102</sup> – as 'pre-eminent

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وهو أول من جرى على سنن الخلفاء في الزينة والشكل، وترتيب الخدمة. وكسى الخلالة؛ فشيء القصور، وجلب إليها المياه، وبنى الرصيف، وعمل عليه السقائف؛ وبنى المساجد الجوامع بالأندلس؛ وعمل السقاية على الرصيف، وأحدث الطرز، واستنبت عملها؛ واتخذ السكة بقرطبة. وفخم ملكه

(*al-Bayān al-mughrib*, II.91). See also: al-Nuwaīrī, *Nihāya al-arab fī funūn al-adab* edited and translated into Castilian by M. Gaspar Remiro under the title *Historia de los musulmanes de España y Africa* (Granada: Centro de estudios históricos, 1917), 42.

<sup>100</sup> Herrera Roldán pinpoints 'Abd al-Raḥmān II's emirate as a period in which Arabisation 'advanced vertiginously' (*acentuó vertiginosamente*) ('La decadencia de las letras latinas', 61).

<sup>101</sup> Eulogius:

*Quorundam Xpianorum eius optioni fauente nequitia, si tamen Xpiani et non magis operarii iniquitatis appellandi sint, qui ut priuilegium chirographa exigendi obtineant, sortem Domini fideliumque conuentum suo uadimonio uel crimine a rege mercantes importabili census onere colla aggrauant miserorum, cotidie plebem Domini pessimantes*

(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.III.5.16-20, CSM 2:442).

<sup>102</sup> Ibn al-Qūṭīya described Ibn Antunyān as 'the Christian Count' (*qūmis naṣrānī*), but also states that he was only offered his position in court on the condition that he convert to Islam:

قال الأمير محمد: لو أن القومس كان مسلماً ما استبدلناه، فلما بلغه لخبر أشهد على إسلامه، فولاه الكتابة

the emir Muḥammad said that if the *qūmis* were a Muslim he would not exchange him for another. When he heard this, he professed his submission. He was then given the authority of the office of *kātib*

(*Tār'ikh al-iftitāh*, 95). It was claimed by his enemies, however, that Ibn Antunyān's conversion was not sincere, and that he died a Christian:

فلما مات قومس بن انتيان طالب هاشم... وآثار الشهادات من كل جانب، وأقام محتسباً تقدم إلى القاضي سليمان بن أسود فقال له: إن قومس بن انتيان مات على النصرانية



in vices and wealth... unjust, swollen, arrogant, proud and wicked'<sup>103</sup>; while the Prophet Muḥammad is similarly 'filled by the swelling of pride' (*repletus esset tumore superbiae*) and is labelled *iniquus* several times.<sup>104</sup> The Muslims as a whole are 'the unjust army of the Gentiles' (*cohors iniqua gentilium*)<sup>105</sup>, and their faith *iniquum dogma*.<sup>106</sup> This acculturation of the Christian community's most vital members is seen as part of God's retribution for the sins of the Visigoths: Samson asserts similarly that Servandus obtained the office of *comes* or Count of Córdoba 'as punishment for the people's sins' (*propter peccata populi*)<sup>107</sup>, and defines his character with distinctly un-Christian virtues 'uncultivated and insolent, haughty and arrogant, greedy and rapacious, cruel and unyielding, proud and bold against the Lord'<sup>108</sup>.

Though there is some debate regarding its objective value<sup>109</sup>, Albar's famous lament expresses the same concerns as his school-friend Eulogius.<sup>110</sup> It makes plain that there was a sector of Christian society, however peripheral, that feared the blurring of boundaries between Christian and Muslim as converts remained part of Christian families, and as Arabic culture began the trajectory that would see the Arabic language overtake Latin in the course of the next century.<sup>111</sup> It is interesting to note that though the mixed-faith family background of many of Eulogius' martyrs – Walabonsus, Nunilo, Alodia, Flora, Maria, Sabigotho, Rudericus, Aurea, Adulphus, and John – is testament to the erosion of Christian society, Albar's lament makes no mention of this

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When *qūmis* Ibn Antunyān died, Hāshim [ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz] made a petition... and produced witnesses from all sides and the *muḥtasib* raised the matter with the *qāḍī* Sulāimān ibn Aswad claiming that Ibn Antunyān died in the Christian faith

(al-Khushanī, *Qudat Qurṭuba*, uncredited editor (Cairo: al-Dār al-Miṣriya lil-Ta'lif wa-al-Tarjama, 1966), 76). The *muḥtasib* is a supervisor most often connected to the running of trade, his duty is to insure that *sharī'a* law is followed in the transactions of public business.

<sup>103</sup> Eulogius:

*praepotens uitii et diuitiis... iniquus, tumidus, elatus, superbus et improbus*

(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.II.15.6... 9, CSM 2:435).

<sup>104</sup> Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*.I.6.28, II.16.1.14, CSM 2:374, 436; *Documentum Martyriale*.18.6, CSM 2:470.

<sup>105</sup> Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*.I.6.38, CSM 2:375. Various individual Muslims are condemned with the epithet *iniquus* or the superlative *iniquitissimus* throughout Eulogius' works.

<sup>106</sup> Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*.III.10.11.2, CSM 2:451. See also *Liber Apologeticus Martyrum* (.12.12, CSM 2:482) where Eulogius calls Islam the 'mystery cult of iniquity' (*iniquitatis mysterium*).

<sup>107</sup> Samson, *Apologeticus*.II.5.5, CSM 2:551.

<sup>108</sup> Samson:

*stolidus et procax, elatus et arrogans, auarus et rapax, crudelis et pertinax, superbus et super Dominum audax*

(*Apologeticus*.II.praefatio.5.2-3, CSM 2:551).

<sup>109</sup> Wright proclaims that Albar's lament can be accepted as 'literal truth' ('The end of written Ladino', 23), though Coope is far more objective in her assessment that Albar 'always seems on the verge of complete hysteria' (*Martyrs of Córdoba*, 62) and is therefore hardly a reliable witness.

<sup>110</sup> For the full text of Albar's lament, and a discussion, see Appendix I.

<sup>111</sup> Aillet sees the mid-ninth century as a turning point in peninsular culture. For his discussion of the porous nature of the boundaries between Christian and Muslim in the mid-ninth century and the simplicity of the conversion process under the prevailing Malikī juridical school, see *Les « Mozarabes »*, 95-9.



potentially disastrous dilution of the Christian base. Instead, he appears to liken the acceptance of *dhimmī* status to a kind of ‘mental circumcision’ or circumcision by proxy:

For now under their rule there is none to be found among our people who buys and sells without being bound to the most ferocious name of the beast... For while we refuse circumcision on account of the ignominy of the reproaches, [circumcision] of the heart is commanded to be despised above all<sup>112</sup>

Their inner Islamisation is proven for Albar by their external Arabisation. Christians are adopting the trappings of Eastern culture, and allegedly betraying their fellows for political gain:

They amass most abundant riches out of forbidden slavery and work [*ministerio*] that is to be cursed: glittering things, fragrant, providing an opulent wealth of clothes and diverse things... for the sake of worldly honours we accuse our brothers to the impious kings and enemies of God most high we present the Lord’s flock to be cut down by the sword of savage vengeance<sup>113</sup>

This would appear to be a rebuke aimed specifically at laymen in the employ of the court (*inlicito serbitjo*), the term *ministerio* used in the older secular sense of political ministry rather than clerical, though simony amongst the latter also attracts Albar’s ire – ‘we buy a ministry with cash’ (*et ministerium ad ipsut facinus exercendum pecuniis emimus*)<sup>114</sup>. Most famously, the laity’s fondness for Eastern material culture is matched by an interest in the Arabic language and literature of the now long-established conquerors. The Christian youth’s avid engagement with Arabic texts is something of a double betrayal for Albar. Not only is it not for the spiritual purposes of polemic or apologetic, but for the purely secular pleasure of their aesthetic beauty:

while the most excellent duties of the saints and the name on the altars are neglected, we follow the pestilential sects of the gentile factions... And while we are seduced into devotion for their verses and Milesian fables<sup>115</sup> and accommodating those most vile

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<sup>112</sup> Albar:

*Nullus enim nostrum hunc tempore sub eorum repperitur regnum qui emat aut uendat immunis nomine ferocissime bestie... Dum enim circumcisionem ob inproperantjum ignominiam deuitandam, despecta cordis que principaliter iussa est*

(*Indiculus Luminosus*.35.14-6... 21-3, CSM 1:313-4).

<sup>113</sup> Albar:

*ex illicito serbitjo et exsecrando ministerio abundantiores opes congregantes, fulgores, odores uestimentorumque siue opum diuersarum opulentjam... et dum ob onores seculi fratres cum crimine regibus impiis accusamus et inimicis summi Dei ad occidendum gregem Domini gladium seue ultjonis porrigimus*

(*Indiculus Luminosus*.35.27-9... 33-5, CSM 1:314).

<sup>114</sup> Albar, *Indiculus Luminosus*.35.35-6, CSM 1:314.

<sup>115</sup> The Milesians, inhabitants of the city of Miletus in Caria, now southwest Turkey, were proverbial for their depravity in classical Latin literature (*A Latin Dictionary founded on Andrew’s edition of Freund’s Latin dictionary*, revised, expanded and reworked by Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short (Oxford: Clarendon, 1879), *ad loc.*).

[people] we pay a price... And so while we seek to learn about their sacraments and the sects of the philosophers – or rather the boasters – we gather, our holy readings ignored, not in order to convince them of their errors, but for their elegance of charm and richly expressed speech – what else but the numbers of his name do we set up in our chambers just as idols?<sup>116</sup>

What Albar and Eulogius fear, and Albar articulates here, is acculturation to the point where Christian identity is entirely absorbed by the Islamic, a level of cultural miscegenation whose terrible consequences can be seen centuries later in the account of the capture of Lisbon in 1147<sup>117</sup>, and in the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*' account of the capture of Coria around 1113:

Coria was handed over to the Saracens by wicked men who claimed to be Christians but were not<sup>118</sup>

Albar clearly cannot differentiate between secular Arabisation, which admittedly is confused to some extent by the adoption of the holy language of the Qur'ān, and spiritual Islamisation. His problem is thus not just with the rejection of Latin culture for Arabic secular culture, as deplored by the most oft-quoted section of his lament, but with the rejection of the Christian religious culture in favour of Islamic. The challenge Arabic presented Latin is its offer of a secular expression unavailable in the exclusively religiously-flavoured contemporary Latin. That conversion was occurring by the mid-ninth century is not a matter of debate; though the rate at which it was taking place is far from definite. Wright wonders whether the confused text closing Albar's lament refers to the practice of appending *aljamiado* Romance *kharja* to the end of Arabic *muwashshah*:

many crowds are to be found that eruditely unfurl Chaldaean processions of words, so that together they might decorate their final clauses with crowded letters with the more erudite metrical song of that race and with beauty more sublime<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> Albar:

*dum consuetudines sanctorum neglectas probatissimas partum pestiferas sectas gentilium consecramus, et nomen in frontibus... Et dum eorum uersibus et fabellis Milesiis delectamus eisque inseruire uel ipsis nequissimis obsecundare etjam premio emimus... Sic et dum illorum sacramenta inquirimus et filosoforum, immo filocomporum sectas scire non pro ipsorum conuincendos herrores, set pro elegantiam leporis et locutionem luculenter dissertam neglectis sanctis lectionibus congregamus, nicil aliut quam numerum nominis eius in cuiculo nostro quasi idola conlocamus...?*

(*Indiculus Luminosus*.35.18-20... 39-43, CSM 1:313-4).

<sup>117</sup> The anonymous epistolary account known as the *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi* shows the difficulty of telling Christian from Muslim in twelfth-century al-Andalus. See: David, Charles Wendell, *The Conquest of Lisbon* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).

<sup>118</sup> *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*.II.13:

*a malis hominibus qui dicebantur se esse Christianos, et non erant, tradita est Sarracenis Cauria*

(II.13 in Maya Sánchez; II.48 in *España sagrada XXI*, 361).

<sup>119</sup> Albar:

If so, this would certainly indicate a high level of cultural assimilation, not to mention that it would be the earliest reference – and only reference in Latin – to the *muwashshah* poetic genre.<sup>120</sup>

Christian ecclesiastics were not the only ones who feared the corrupting influence of the Other; Muslims also had grounds for concern, for according to Eulogius, Christians and Muslims were intermarrying against *sharī‘a* law. Maria and Walabonsus were the children of a Christian father and a Muslim mother who was to some extent converted, and clearly brought up as Christians.<sup>121</sup> Thirteen more of Eulogius’ martyrs were apostates, eight of them children of mixed-faith families: Adulphus and John, Nunilo and Alodia, Flora, Aurelius, Sabigotho, both Felixes, Lilioa, Witesindus, Aurea and Leocritia. The ninth century was evidently a time when religious identity was not obvious, and this ambiguity caused concern on both sides.<sup>122</sup> Ibn Ḥayyān recounts how Muḥammad I’s *wazīr* Hāshim ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz was forced to interrogate captives because he could not differentiate between Muslim and Christian:

When they captured a fort from the lamenting *muwallads* the sultan’s army would enter, and Hāshim order [the people of the fort] be gathered... he would then begin to call each man, and when the men came to him he would ask them: ‘Are you Muslim or Christian?’<sup>123</sup>

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*multiplies turbas qui erudite Caldaicas uerborum explicet pompas ita ut metricae eruditiori ab ipsis gentibus carmine et sublimiori pulcritudine finales clausulas unius littere coartatione decorent*

(*Indiculus Luminosus*.35.56-9, CSM 1:315).

<sup>120</sup> The strophic verse genre *muwashshah* is believed to be an invention of the early tenth-century. Stern notes that ‘our authorities place the invention of the *muwashshah* at about A.H. 300 (A.D. 912)’ (*Hispano-Arabic Strophic Poetry* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974). 54). See: *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature* edited by Julie Scott Meisami and Paul Starkey (London: Routledge, 1998), II.563; Rosen, Tova, ‘The Muwashshah’ in *The Literature of al-Andalus* edited by María Rosa Menocal, Raymond P. Scheindlin and Michael Sells (Cambridge: CUP, 2000), 165-89.

<sup>121</sup> Eulogius:

*Huius pater ex oppido Eleplensi non infimus prosapia, Xpianus tamen, huc aduentasse perhibetur. Qui ex genere Arabum coniugem ducens totius impietatis errore eam emundans Xpi fidei consignauit... ex ea suscepit, Walabonso scilicet et Maria* [Maria’s] father had been allowed to come here from the town of Elepla, not of the lowest stock, but Christian. He married a wife from the Arabs’ race, cleansing her of her entire error of impiety, he consigned her to the faith of Christ... she bore him Walabonsus and Maria

(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.II.8.9.6-9... 13, CSM 2:412).

<sup>122</sup> Fierro, ‘Four questions in connection with Ibn Ḥafṣūn’, 317.

<sup>123</sup> Ibn Ḥayyān:

فبادروا بالهبط من الحصن بأولادهم وعبائهم، وصاروا في عسكر السلطان، فأمر هاشم بجمعهم...  
فإذا تقدم إليه الرجل منهم قال له هاشم: مسلم أنت أم أعجمي؟

(*al-Muqtabis*, Makki edition, 362).

The captives' lives depended on their ability to display credible knowledge of Qur'ānic and *ḥadīth* material. It was thus possible for Christians to infiltrate and benefit from the Islamic state if armed with sufficient knowledge.

Muslim juridical texts of al-Andalus and the Maghreb also express concern about the maintenance of religio-social boundaries.<sup>124</sup> The contemporary Malikite jurist Yaḥyā bin 'Umar al-Kinānī (828-901)<sup>125</sup> matches Eulogius' *fimbris aureis*, referring to the sartorial distinguishing between faiths – Christians and Jews required to wear *riqā'* (badges) and *zunnār* (belts), though he does not mention distinctive yellow colouration as in the pseudo Pact of 'Umar:

The market overseer of Qairuwān [Kairouan] wrote to Yaḥyā bin 'Umar about Jews and Christians whom he had come across looking exactly like Muslims with neither badges nor belts upon them.

So [Ibn 'Umar] wrote to him: 'I reckon that they should be punished with a beating and imprisonment each, and be displayed in the places where the Jews and Christians live as a warning.

Abū al-'Abbās 'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Abī Ṭālib wrote to one of his *qāḍīs* about the Jews and Christians – that their belts should be wide, conspicuous [enough] to distinguish their clothing and be known by it<sup>126</sup>

As in the contemporary East, efforts were made to set boundaries. Eulogius claims that the Christians are branded as untouchables:

many of them judge us unworthy of touching their clothing and curse if we come too close. They consider it a great pollution if we mix in any of their affairs<sup>127</sup>

<sup>124</sup> Ana Fernández Félix has identified 280 *masā'il* or questions relating specifically to Christians in the eponymous collection compiled by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-'Utbī (died 869) known as the *al-'Utbīyya*; this means that around 3% of the total work is concerned with the creation and maintenance of boundaries of ritual and custom, and of establishing the place of the non-Muslim in a Muslim peninsular society. See: *Cuestiones legales del Islam temprano*, 433-92. For an overview of *dhimmī* status in the juridical collections of al-Wansharīsī, the primary source here, see: Idris, H.R., 'Les tributaires en occident musulman médiéval d'après le « Mi'yār » d'al-Wanšārīšī' in *Mélanges d'islamologie: volume dédié à la mémoire de Armand Abel par ses collègues, ses élèves et ses amis* edited by Pierre Salmon (Leiden: Brill, 1974), 172-96.

<sup>125</sup> Islahi, Abdul Azim, *Contributions of Muslim Scholars to Economic Thought and Analysis (11-905 A.H./632-1500 A.D.)* (Jeddah: King Abdulaziz University, 2004), 20n24.

<sup>126</sup> Al-Wansharīsī:

كتب إلى يحيى بن عمر صاحب سوق القيروان في اليهود كذا والنصراني يوجد، وقد تشبه بالمسلمين وليس عليه رقع ولا زنار. فكتب إليه أرى أن يعاقب بالضرب والحبس، ويطاق به في مواضع اليهود والنصارى ليكون ذلك تحذيراً لمن رآه منهم وزجراً. وكتب عبد الله بن أحمد بن أبي طالب إلى بعض قضاته في اليهود والنصارى: أن تكون الزنابير عريضة، مغيرة في وجوه ثيابهم ليعرفوا بها

(*al-Mi'yār*.VI.421). Also published in Castilian translation by Emilio García Gómez, 'Unas « ordenanzas del zoco » del siglo IX', *Al-Andalus* 2 (1957), 253-316.

<sup>127</sup> Eulogius:

But it is not until much later, in the early twelfth century, that tension and resentment would drive such wedges between faith groups with Andalusī borders disintegrating under the encroaching Christian states. So concerned with the pollution of the *umma*<sup>128</sup> was the sevillano *muḥtāsib* Ibn ‘Abdūn – a man Richard Fletcher described as ‘a fussy, interfering, humourless killjoy’<sup>129</sup> – that he would call for the prohibition of even verbal contact with Jews and Christians, though this would of course have been unenforceable:

They should be detested and avoided. Do not wish peace upon them for they have been possessed by al-Shaīṭān [Satan], and so they have forgotten God. They are the troops of al-Shaīṭān! And indeed are not the troops of al-Shaīṭān the losers?<sup>130</sup> They must have upon them a mark by which means they are made known and ignominy brought upon them<sup>131</sup>

The threat of ritual cross-over was a real concern. The mid-ninth-century jurist Abū al-Aṣḡagh ‘Īsā bin Mūsā al-Ṭuḡlī<sup>132</sup> categorically forbids Muslim involvement in the celebration of Christmas:

Yaḥyā bin Yaḥyā al-Laīṭhī<sup>133</sup> said: ‘Gifts are not permitted at the Birth [Christmas] from either a Christian or a Muslim, nor is the agreement to an invitation for it, nor is making preparations for it...’<sup>134</sup>

*multi ex eis tactu indumentorum suorum nos indignos diiudicent propiusque sibimet accedere exsecrentur, magnam scilicet coinquinationem existimantes si in aliquo rerum suarum admisceamur*

(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.I.21.34-7, CSM 2:386).

<sup>128</sup> *Umma*, often written *ummah* (أمة): ‘the Muslim nation, community’.

<sup>129</sup> Fletcher, *The Quest for El Cid* (Oxford: OUP, 1991), 170.

<sup>130</sup> Ibn ‘Abdūn paraphrases the Qur’ān, from *Sūra* 58:19 (*al-Mujādila*):

إستحوذ عليهم الشيطان فأنسهم ذكر الله أولئك حزب الشيطان ألا إن حزب الشيطان هم الخسرون  
al-Shaīṭān has gained mastery over them and has made them forget the observance of God. They are the troops of al-Shaīṭān. And indeed the troops of al-Shaīṭān are the losers.

<sup>131</sup> Ibn ‘Abdūn:

يجب أن يمتقوا، ويهجروا؛ ولا يسلم عليهم لأنهم إستحوذ عليهم الشيطان؛ فأنساهم ذكر الله؛  
أولئك حزب الشيطان! ألا إن حزب الشيطان. هم الخاسرون؟ يجب أن تكون لهم علامة  
يعرفون بها على سبيل الخزي لهم

(*Risālat Ibn ‘Abdūn fī al-qaḏā’ wa al-ḥisba* edited by Lévi-Provençal under the title *Trois traités hispaniques de Ḥisba/ Thalāth risā’il andalusīya fī ādab al-ḥisba wa al-muḥtasib* (Cairo: L’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1955), 51). For a French translation, see Lévi-Provençal’s *Séville musulmane au début du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle: le traité d’Ibn ‘Abdun sur la vie urbaine et les corps de métiers* (Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 1947); a Castilian translation was published a year later by Lévi-Provençal with Emilio García Gómez as *Sevilla a comienzos del siglo XII: el tratado de Ibn ‘Abdūn* (Madrid: Moneda y Credito, 1948). A partial English translation of this passage has been published by Bernard Lewis in *Islam from the Prophet Muhammad to the Capture of Constantinople* (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), 165, reprinted by Olivia Remie Constable in *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Sources* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 179.

<sup>132</sup> Also known as ‘al-Tamīlī’. See the chapter ‘Co-existence in the Medieval Spanish Kingdoms (ninth to twelfth centuries)’ in *Colonial Latin America: A Documentary History* edited by Kenneth R. Mills, William B. Taylor and Sandra Lauderdale Graham (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002), 28ff.

So Muslims, many or most of them likely still recent converts or part of mixed-faith extended families, were mixing on a cultic level with both Christians and Jews at the time Albar was complaining that secular or intellectual acculturation was moving in the other direction. Mixed-faith families need not necessarily undermine the faith of their Christian members. Muḥammad al-‘Utbī’s (died 868) contemporary legal collection, known eponymously as the *al-‘Utbīyya*, rules in favour of protecting the rights of Christian members of mixed-faith families: asserting the right of Christian wives to consume wine and attend church, and allowing the Muslim to accompany his Christian mother to church so long as he neither enters himself nor make a donation.<sup>135</sup>

While jurists apparently distinguished between religious interaction, or interaction which impacted upon religious duties or observance, and that which did not, and were more concerned with regulating the former, members of the general public, Muslim and Christian alike, may not have been conscious of any impropriety in it. Thus Ibn Muzaīn (died 873) had to inform a Muslim who had no idea of the rule that he could not pray in clothing he bought from a Christian:

I told a Muslim who bought an item of Christian clothing that he could not pray while wearing it. He replied that he did not know that<sup>136</sup>

A range of rulings in various circumstances show that *fatāwā*, and the attitudes enshrined therein, were far from set in stone; they were not laws, rather statements representative of attitudes among the *umma*’s intellectuals. Eulogius’ religious works may have been his attempt to draw the line.<sup>137</sup>

Besides the cultural and religious threat posed by Andalusī Arabic-Islamic culture, both Eulogius and Albar – as we have seen – must have been very conscious of

<sup>133</sup> The Berber jurist Yaḥyā bin Yaḥyā al-Laīthī died in 849, and was thus a contemporary of Eulogius and Albar.

<sup>134</sup> Al-Wansharīsī:

يحيى بن يحيى الليثي قال: لا تجوز الهدايا في الميلاد من نصرايين ولا من مسلم، ولا إجابة الدعوة فيه،  
ولا استعداد له

(*al-Mi‘yār*, XI.151). See also: Lagardère, *Histoire et société*, 476. For an extensive survey of the crossover of Muslim and Christian ritual celebration, see: Fernando de la Granja’s twin articles ‘Fiestas cristianas en al-Ándalus (materiales para su estudio)’, *Al-Andalus* 34.1 (1969), 1-53, and ‘Fiestas cristianas en al-Ándalus (materiales para su estudio) II: Textos de Turtusi, el cadí Iyad y Wansarisi’, *Al-Andalus* 35.1 (1970), 145-76.

<sup>135</sup> Al-‘Utbī, *al-‘Utbīya* preserved by Ibn Rushd al-Jadd, *al-Bayān wa-l-taḥṣīl* edited by Muḥammad Hajjī (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1984-7), IV.208, XII, 381.

<sup>136</sup> Al-Wansharīsī:

وسئل ابن مزين عن من اشترى ثوب نصرايين فقبل له: لا تصلي به حتى تغسله. فقال ما علمت أنه  
كذلك

(*al-Mi‘yār*, VI.53). See also: Lagardère, *Histoire et société*, 168.

<sup>137</sup> Daniel, *The Arabs and Mediaeval Europe* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: Longman, 1979), 37, 48.



their personal interests, and the threat to their families' social and political standing. Albar's property was under threat because he was at odds with his church and, having been given last rites for an illness from which he recovered, was not in a position to defend it himself. Eulogius shared his friend's noble ancestry, as Albar in the opening sections of the *Vita Eulogii*, he thus had his own links with the court from which his brother Joseph was ejected.<sup>138</sup> Both men and their families thus stood to lose a great deal in the Islamic city they feared: religious autonomy and socio-political standing.

### **A war of words against Arabic culture: studying for a Latin renaissance**

It is impossible to gauge the impact exerted upon Eulogius and his urge to write by the vicissitudes of a changing Andalusī society. What can be said with certainty is that in the late 840s Eulogius travelled north and came into possession of a new library, which furnished him with ample literary models for the central themes of his and Albar's work: a new medieval passionary and anti-Islamic polemic.<sup>139</sup> He had discovered the

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<sup>138</sup> Albar writes that one of the emir's advisors, who was very well-known by Eulogius (*regis consiliarios... unus ex ipsis illi familiarissime notus*) attempted to talk him out of confronting the court and condemning himself:

*Audi me, obsecro, et ne precipiti casu corruas. Rogo, dic tantum uerbo in hora huius tue necessitatis et postea tua ubiubi potueris utere fidem*

Listen to me, I beg you, do not run in headlong fall. I ask you to say whatever word is necessary at this moment so that afterwards you can profit by your faith wherever

(*Vita Eulogii*.15.39-40, CSM 1:340).

<sup>139</sup> There is no scholarly consensus on the date of Eulogius' movements in Navarra and Aragón, though proposals are at least limited to 840-50. Morales proposed 840; Flórez, following the lead of Gómez Bravo, proposed 844; Agustín Millares Carlo decided upon the year 845, as did Pérez de Urbel; Elie Lambert, Gonzalo Menéndez Pidal, and Sage place Eulogius' trip in 848; Lambert postulates that he returned at the end of that year or in the next; Auzias proposes 849, while Wolf prefers Colbert's proposal of 850. See: Auzias, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne, 778-987* (Toulouse & Paris: E. Privat and H. Didier, 1937), 264; Colbert, *Martyrs of Córdoba*, 185; Flórez, *España sagrada V: de la provincial carthaginense en particular. Tratase de sus Limites y Regiones, con lo que pertenece al estado antiguo, Ecclesiastico y Politico de su Capital Civil: y de la Santa Iglesia de Toledo. Justificado todo con Escritores de buena fé, y algunos Documentos ineditos* (Madrid: Oficina de Antonio Marín, 1750), 365; Gómez Bravo, *Catálogo de los obispos*, I.117; Lambert, 'Le voyage de Saint Euloge dans les Pyrénées en 848' in *Estudios dedicados a Menéndez Pidal* (Madrid: C.S.I.C., Patronato Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, 1953), IV.557-67; Menéndez Pidal, 'Mozárabes y asturianas en la cultura de la Alta Edad Media', 158; Millares Carlo, *Nuevos estudios de paleografía española* (Mexico City: La Casa de España, 1941), 94; Morales, *Corónica general de España tomo VII*, XIV.393-396; Pérez de Urbel, *San Eulogio de Córdoba* (Madrid: Editorial Voluntad, 1928), 155f; Sage, *Paul Albar*, 18; Wolf, *Christian Martyrs*, 54.

The matter has puzzled historians rather than interested them: the Arabists have no interest in the travels or literary acquisitions of a Christian priest, and the Latinists would rather occupy themselves with the far greater, and readily-available, wealth of Latin and Castilian sources concerning the northern kingdoms. For the record, since Eulogius mentions that his path was diverted by the uprising of William of Septimania it would have been some time between William's invasion of Catalonia and capture of Barcelona in 848 and his death there in 850, as dated by Prudentius:

*passio* of Nunilo and Alodia in Navarra, and would have received that of the Sevillian brothers Adulphus and John directly from the hagiographer, his teacher Speraindeo.<sup>140</sup> He also owned Prudentius' *Liber Peristephanon*<sup>141</sup> – whose influence has been detected in both Eulogius' language and style<sup>142</sup> – wherein 23 Iberian saints are celebrated, among whom the Cordobans Januarius, Faustus and Martial, the 'three crowns' (*tresque coronas*) of Córdoba, who invited death circa 304 by publicly challenging the governor.<sup>143</sup> He also had a biography of the Prophet Muhammad.<sup>144</sup> Eulogius' time in Navarra had a significant impact upon him, though the influence of those classical works Albar lauded him for bringing back has not been considered.<sup>145</sup> The Eastern

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*Guilhelmus, filius Bernardi, Impurium et Barcinonam dolo magis quam vi capit... Guilhelmus, Bernardi filius, in marca Hispanica Aledramnum et Isembardum comites dolo capit, sed ipse dolosius captus, et apud Barcinonem interfectus est*

William son of Bernard captured Ampurias and Barcelona, more through deceit than strength... William son of Bernard captured the allies Aledramnus and Isembard by deceit in the Spanish marches, but he himself was deceitfully captured and was killed at Barcelona

(*Annalium Bertinianorum Pars Secunda*.848... 850, *MGH Scriptores I: Annales et Chronica Aevi Caroli*.443-4). Following this, a year on, Eulogius threw himself wholeheartedly into his hagiographical and apologetic project.

<sup>140</sup> Eulogius:

*Adulphum scilicet, et Ioannem... quorum... gesta micantia... senex et magister noster, atque illustrissimus doctor... beatae recordationis et memoriae Speraindeo abbas stylo latiori composuit*

our teacher the aged and most illustrious doctor of blessed memory, the abbot Speraindeo, took up his stylus and wrote about the brilliant deeds of Adulphus and John as you may know

(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.II.8.9.25-6... 27... 28-9... 30-1, *CSM* 2:412).

<sup>141</sup> The inventory of the *Codex Ovetense* tells us that Eulogius (if indeed he was the owner) had 'two of Prudentius' books in one volume' (*Prudentii Libros II corpore uno*) which would probably have been, considering Eulogius' reported interest in metrics, the verse works *Liber Cathemerinon* and *Liber Peristephanon* (San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio, ms R.II.18, f<sup>o</sup> 95).

<sup>142</sup> Jessica Coope shows that Eulogius' *passio* of Pomposa follows Prudentius' *passio* of Eulalia of Mérida closely (*Martyrs of Córdoba*, 41-2). Jacques Fontaine identifies linguistic and stylistic parallels as does Igor Pochoshajew. See: Fontaine, 'La literatura mozárabe "extremadura" de la latinidad cristiana antigua' in *Arte y cultura mozárabe: ponencias y comunicaciones presentadas al I Congreso internacional de estudios mozárabes, Toledo 1975* (Toledo: Instituto de estudios visigóticos-mozárabes, 1979), 110; Pochoshajew, *Die Märtyrer von Cordoba: Christen im muslimischen Spanien des 9. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt: Verlag Otto Lembeck, 2007), 53.

<sup>143</sup> Prudentius, *Liber Peristephanon*.IV.20, *PL* 60, col.360A.

<sup>144</sup> Eulogius:

*Cum essem olim in Pampilonensi oppido positus et apud Legerense coenobium demorarer... subito in quadam parte cuiusdam opusculi hanc de nefando uate historiam absque auctoris nomine repperi*

When I was in the town of Pamplona and lingering at the monastery of Leyre... I suddenly came upon this history of the cursed seer by an unnamed author in another work

(*Liber Apologeticus Martyrum*.15, *CSM* 2:483).

<sup>145</sup> Roger Collins sees the classical and late antique works Eulogius acquired in the north as the starting point of any study of poetry in the peninsula in this period. It is with their arrival in Cordoba that comes the first manifestations of poetic writing in Spain since the fall of the Visigothic kingdom... That the arrival of these texts in Cordoba should coincide with a period of poetic composition unparalleled in the peninsula since the seventh century can hardly be coincidental

Christians' *kalām*<sup>146</sup> has been posited as an influence on Eulogius' anti-Islamic polemic, through the Palestinian George and Eastern Servus Dei, but cannot be definitively proven beyond known Eastern parallels, and requires that Eulogius' hagiographies be taken at face value.<sup>147</sup> The following chapters seek to investigate the influence of the specific works we know the Cordobans had an appetite for, and consumed – the classical poets and Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*.

Cutler's apocalyptic thesis has been outlined and dismissed. On the point of Eulogius' aims, the pious Morales did not venture an opinion, for to him Eulogius was simply a font of hagiographical truth<sup>148</sup>; likewise, Wolf relies heavily on Eulogius' words, believing that behind hagiographer and his subjects there was genuine zeal and 'acute spiritual anxiety on the part of the confessors' in a time of change and uncertainty.<sup>149</sup> The general consensus, however, is that Eulogius hoped to defend Latin

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('Poetry in ninth-century Spain' in *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar IV. ARCA Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Monographs, 11* edited by Francis Cairns (Liverpool: Francis Cairns, 1984), 183... 184). He does not, however, follow this insight further to its significance for non-poetic forms produced by Eulogius' Cordoban circle, for his interest in the work excerpted lies solely in the production of poetry, not prose.

<sup>146</sup> *Kalām* (كلام) means literally 'word' or 'speech', and is the term used to translate the Greek *logos* by early Islamic translators in its various meanings of 'word', 'reason' and 'argument'. *Kalām* is thus the name given to Islamic philosophy or science of dialectic ('*alam al-kalām*) in search of theological principles; its exponent are *mutakallimūn* or 'religious controversialists', as Sidney Griffiths has it ('The First Christian *Summa Theologiae* in Arabic: Christian *Kalām* in Ninth-Century Palestine' in *Conversion and Continuity*, 16n2). See also: Wolfson, Harry Austryn, *The Philosophy of the Kalam* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 1f.

<sup>147</sup> Colbert and Wolf have suggested that an Eastern influence may have been in play; Levi della Vida and Monferrer Sala speculate on the circulation of Nestorian texts in the peninsula; Janna Wasilewski investigates further, looking at textual parallels, particularly with John of Damascus' *De Haeresibus* (whom Elipandus referenced with a quote in the 780s) and the Qur'ān, and citing the Eastern martyrs George and Servus Dei, and commercial ties between the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa, as possible conduits. Wolf has also argued that Eastern influence was not necessary by the mid-ninth century since the Christians had been living with Islam for two and a half centuries ('Muhammad as Antichrist in Ninth-Century Córdoba', 9). See: Elipandus, *Epistula in Migetium*.10.33-43, *CSM* 1:76; Colbert, *Martyrs of Córdoba*, 335; Levi della Vida, 'I Mozarabi tra Occidente e Islam' in *L'Occidente e l'Islam nell'Alto Medioevo: 2-8 aprile*, 1964 (Spoleto: Presso la sede del Centro, 1965), I.677ff; Monferrer Sala, Juan Pedro, 'A Nestorian Arabic Pentateuch used in western Islamic lands' in *The Bible in Arab Christianity* edited by David Thomas (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 351-3; Wasilewski, 'The 'Life of Muhammad' in Eulogius of Córdoba', 341-53; Wolf, 'The Earliest Latin Lives of Muhammad' in *Conversion and Continuity in Islamic Lands: Eighth to Eighteenth Centuries* edited by Michael Gervers and Ramzi Jibran Bikhazi (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1990), 91. See also: Aldana García, María Jesús, 'La polémica teológica cristianismo-islam en el « *Memoriale sanctorum* » de San Eulogio y su posible influencia oriental', *Alfinge: Revista de filología* 8 (1997), 11-22; Delgado, Feliciano, 'Albaro y la polémica contra el Islam', *Axarquía* 12 (1984), 237-48; Lapiedra-Gutiérrez, Eva, 'Los mártires de Córdoba y la política anticristiana contemporánea en Oriente', *Al-Qanṭara* 15.2 (1994), 453-63. On *kalām* itself, see Griffiths, 'The First Christian *Summa Theologiae* in Arabic'.

<sup>148</sup> Wolf, *Christian Martyrs*, 37.

<sup>149</sup> Wolf shows that he assumes Eulogius' martyrs were real and not constructs of hagiographic propaganda when he writes:

This [acute spiritual anxiety] is, in fact, the only explanation with any kind of a textual basis... The combination of spiritually insecure Christians and a spontaneous martyr was a volatile one

(*Christian Martyrs*, 116-9).

culture in al-Andalus against Arabic's incursions – as deplored by Albar – by raising its level. Wright puts it succinctly:

Eulogio wanted to acquire impressive written Latin works from both a Christian and a Classical background in order to compete with the allure of the works that kept arriving in Córdoba from the East for the attention of the young<sup>150</sup>

There are precedents for such an endeavour, it might even be said that it is symptomatic of periods like the Middle Ages defined by military and social upheaval. This is certainly true of the Iberian Peninsula, whose population had not known an indigenous peninsular power since the foundation of the imperial province of Hispania in March 218 BCE<sup>151</sup>, but had instead been subject to a series of foreign powers: the Romans, the Visigoths, the Arabs and Syrians, the Berber Almoravids, Berber Almohads – even the Castilians, Leonese and Aragonese were foreign to those they conquered. The product of such circumstances is an educated elite painfully aware of a growing chasm between past glory and present misery. Eulogius and his countryman Isidore of Seville (c.560-636) were products of this instability, educated men who set themselves to work on what John Henderson calls 'a project in cultural mnemonics'<sup>152</sup>: men who recovered and transmitted antiquity's high culture through the conviction that only through the impact of revived and revitalising ideas can their society be righted.

Isidore effected what might be termed a renaissance in the early seventh century with the vast encyclopaedic *Etymologiae Sive Origines* (*Etymologies or Origins*) wherein he epitomised what was known of every school of learning from Scripture, exegesis and the Latin and Greek pagan classics; highly popular – 'perhaps *the* best seller of the Middle Ages' as Tolán puts it – the *Etymologiae* was so widely respected, with 967 manuscripts extant<sup>153</sup>, that it essentially founded a curriculum for the medieval

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<sup>150</sup> Wright, 'Language and Religion', 121.

<sup>151</sup> Brennan, T. Corey, *The Praetorship in the Roman Republic* (Oxford: OUP, 2000), 154-5; Richardson, J.S., *Hispaniae: Spain and the Development of Roman Imperialism, 218-82 BC* (Cambridge: CUP, 2004), 10.

<sup>152</sup> Henderson, John, *The Medieval World of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge: CUP, 2007), 210.

<sup>153</sup> This number was reached by the research of the indefatigable Anspach, and published after his death by José María Fernández Catón, who catalogued and excerpted each one (*Las Etimologías en la tradición manuscrita medieval estudiada por el Prof. Dr. Anspach* (León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación San Isidoro, 1966), 32-278). It must be recognised that this figure represents only those manuscripts that survived the vicissitudes of near-constant medieval and modern warfare between rival European powers; there may have been many others besides. Within a century, the *Etymologiae* had entered libraries across Europe, in Italy, France, Germany, Luxembourg, and England. Testament to Isidore's wide distribution and extensive influence is given in the prolegomena to the eighteenth-century Jesuit Faustino Arévalo's (1747-1824) edition of the *Etymologiae*, with a list of medieval authors' praise of Isidore, including Gregory the Great (c.540-604), the obscure seventh-century chronicler Fredegarius, Alcuin (c.730-804), William of Malmesbury (c.1085-1143), Martin of León (c.1130-1203), Vincentius of Beauvais (c.1190-1264) (*Isidoriana, sive in Editionem Operum S. Isidori Hispalensis Prolegomena. De Vita, Rebus Gestis, et Doctrina S. Isidori. Deque Editionibus Omnia Ejusdem Opera Complectentibus: Isidori laudes ex quibusdam ueteribus scriptoribus collectae*.cap.33, PL 81, col.198A-205D).

West – on a revival of ancient learning.<sup>154</sup> The *Etymologiae* were also a response to the long slow stagnation of secular knowledge in the Iberian Peninsula, its content ‘the dead remnants of secular learning’<sup>155</sup>.

More recently, the courts of Charlemagne and Louis I on the other side of the Pyrénées had been the centre of a concerted and lastingly successful revival of Latin learning which

played a decisive role, shining out like a beacon in the surrounding darkness. It bore fruit in a large part of Europe and lay at the origin of medieval humanism<sup>156</sup>

Eulogius’ catalogue of polemic martyrology and apologetics was perhaps an attempt to emulate the success of these earlier Latin renaissances in order to counter the Arabic renaissance of ‘Abd al-Rahmān II – it may even have benefited directly from the Carolingian renaissance since Pamplona and Leyre had been under Frankish rule for a significant part of the previous century.<sup>157</sup> Judging by Eulogius and Albar’s Latin, a Cordoban Latin renaissance was sorely needed. Where the great success of the seventh-century Isidorean renaissance left its mark on the intellectual life of all Western Christendom, however, Eulogius failed in his endeavour to effect a ninth-century renaissance of Latin *belles lettres*.<sup>158</sup> For while nigh on 1000 manuscripts of the *Etymologiae* survive to this day, Eulogius’ Cordoban martyrology survived seven centuries in a single manuscript and was veiled in silence. Though highly ambitious, their writing displays (particularly in Albar) a damning ignorance of Latin grammatical structures. Though Albar heaps great praise on Eulogius’ learning – ‘[you] are decorated with eloquence equally divine and human’ (*eloquentia pariter diuina*

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<sup>154</sup> See: *Medieval Science, Technology, and Medicine: An Encyclopedia* edited by Glick, Steven John Livesey and Faith Wallis (Oxford: Routledge, 2005), 277; Henderson, John, ‘The creation of Isidore’s *Etymologies or Origins*’ in *Ordering Knowledge in the Roman Empire* edited by Jason König and Tim Whitmarsh (Cambridge: CUP, 2007), 151; Tolán, *Saracens*, 5.

<sup>155</sup> See: Brehaut, Ernest, *An Encyclopaedist of the Dark Ages, Isidore of Seville* (New York: Burt Franklin Reprints, 1972), 16.

<sup>156</sup> Hubert, Jean, ‘Introduction’ in *The Carolingian Renaissance* edited by Jean Hubert, J. Porcher and W.F. Volbach and translated by J. Emmons (New York: George Braziller, 1970), xii. See also: Cantor, Norman F., *The Civilization of the Middle Ages: a completely revised and expanded edition of Medieval history, the life and death of a civilization* (London: HarperCollins, 1993), 190; Contreni, John J., ‘The Carolingian Renaissance: Education and Literary Culture’ in *The New Cambridge Medieval History II c.700-c.900* edited by Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: CUP, 1995), 709-57.

<sup>157</sup> Collins, ‘Spain: The Northern Kingdoms and the Basques, 711-910’ in *The New Cambridge Medieval History II: c.700-c.900*, 284ff; also: Collins, *Early Medieval Spain: Unity in Diversity, 400-1000* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1995), 246ff.

<sup>158</sup> There are dissenting voices, however. Though he declines to justify it, Juan Vernet for one writes: *la rapidísima difusión de las obras de Eulogio y Alvaro por la Europa occidental, difundidas por los mercaderes cordobeses – uno de ellos, probablemente, hermano de Eulogio*

the very rapid diffusion of Eulogius and Albar’s works through Western Europe by Cordoban merchants – one of them, probably, Eulogius’ brother

(‘El romano de Alvaro de Córdoba’, *Oriens: Journal of the International Society for Oriental Research* 35 (1996), 106).



*humanaque ornatus*)<sup>159</sup> – and his own dense, ungrammatical, and nigh-on untranslatable complaint is proof that by 854 Eulogius’ classical education had not had the desired effect even on his own circle. That the *Vita Eulogii*, written several years later, is easier to read for being far less polemical is no vindication. Echoing his first editor, Henrique Flórez, Albar’s most recent editor, Juan Gil, wrote:

The ruin of the case system could not be more complete, therefore, and it is hardly surprising that Albar complains that very few of his fellow citizens know how to write in a modest Latin given that abyss that separated the spoken language from the cultured<sup>160</sup>

Wright reckons the final sections of Albar’s lament ‘too obscure’ for translation and ‘almost unintelligible’<sup>161</sup>. Morales’ criticism of Eulogius says much the same thing: ‘the whole structure of the Latin is incoherent’<sup>162</sup> (*tota inde Latini sermonis structura dissipata*) – though he blames not Eulogius but the scribes (*describentium; non auctoris fuisse vitia, est manifestum*)<sup>163</sup>; Wright contends that Eulogius is more likely the culprit.<sup>164</sup> Epigraphic evidence indicates that the general level of Latin literacy was both not particularly good and highly variable in the last century of the Visigothic

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<sup>159</sup> Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum. I. rescriptum Albari ad Eulogium*.8, CSM 2:365.

<sup>160</sup> Gil, Juan:

*La ruina del sistema casual no puede ser más completa, por lo tanto, y no es de extrañar que Albaro se queje de que muy pocos de sus conciudadanos sepan redactar en un latín discreto, dado el abismo que separaba la lengua hablada de la culta*

(‘Apuntes sobre la morfología de Albaro de Córdoba’, *Habis* 2 (1971), 201). Elsewhere Gil makes reference to the ‘overly forced construction’ (*construcción demasiado forzada*) of Albar’s Latin (‘Para la edición de los textos visigodos y mozárabes’, *Habis* 4 (1973), 192). Flórez, in the context of discussing the works of the mid-ninth century Cordobans, namely Samson and Eulogius, wrote:

*El tiempo que estos Manuscritos (especialmente el de Alvaro) me han llevado; la atención que sus dudas y obscuridad han perdido; la paciencia que ha sido necesaria, para sufrir su barbarie; no es fácil de explicar: pues el continuo lidiar con mil dificultades sobre descubrir un sentido, congruente, donde ni hay gramática, ni partición legítima de voces... y como no tenemos más que un Manuscrito, es preciso sufrir muchos disgustos: porque siendo a veces el desorden general, y complicante; si se corrige una cosa, suele descomponerse otra*

It is not easy to describe the time these manuscripts have taken me – especially that of Albar; the attention that its doubts and obscurity have demanded; the patience that has been necessary to suffer its barbarism: for the continual fight with 1000 difficulties over finding a coherent sense where there is neither grammar nor legitimate distinguishing of the voices... as we have only one manuscript it is necessary to endure many upsets: for such is the general disorder and complexity at times that if one thing is corrected, something else is ruined

(*España sagrada XI*, iv – prologue, pages unnumbered). On the impoverishment of Latin in mid-ninth century Córdoba, see: Herrera Roldán, ‘La decadencia de las letras latinas’, 63ff.

<sup>161</sup> Wright, Roger, *Late Latin and Early Romance in Spain and Carolingian France* (Liverpool: Francis Cairnes, 1982), 158-9.

<sup>162</sup> Morales, *Excerpta ex Ambrosio Moralis*, PL 115, col.918B.

<sup>163</sup> Morales, *Excerpta ex Ambrosio Moralis*, PL 115, col.918B.

<sup>164</sup> Wright, *Late Latin and Early Romance*, 156.



kingdom, so the lure of Arabic cannot be blamed if, as Albar claims, the Cordoban youth had a poor grasp of Latin.<sup>165</sup>

As has been noted in the second chapter, Eulogius himself announces his involvement in activities that could constitute an attempt to contrive a renaissance. In the *Liber Apologeticus Martyrum* he refers to his involvement in exegetical meetings with like-minded Christian intellectuals who had begun to engage Christian Scripture seriously as a weapon against Islam. It is unclear when these meetings gathered; the *Liber Apologeticus* was probably Eulogius' last work, completed sometime after March 857, but present and imperfect verbs – *aduertunt, arguerent* – indicate that this was an ongoing and well-established project. Colbert refers to this effort, and the writing that resulted from it, as a 'renaissance of Latin letters'<sup>166</sup>, but from what Eulogius and Albar write, there seems to be a definite lack of cultivated Latin letters to whose study they might return. Eulogius thus excuses his faults, with the false modesty so common in literary prefaces from the classical Roman world on<sup>167</sup>, on the grounds that Córdoba was not a city of culture:

I have not girded the material of [my] book with the grace of eloquence, which is absent from my town, I have not lent the charm of elegant discourse to its composition<sup>168</sup>

This is the false modesty of the zealous student; by this point Eulogius had been engaged in serious literary study for some years. There can be little doubt that it can be traced back to his acquisition of classical and late-antique manuscripts from Navarra, for Albar observes that these were 'scarcely heard of'<sup>169</sup> in Córdoba. He also

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<sup>165</sup> See: *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae* compiled by Ernst Hübner (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1975); Fita, 'Lápidas visigóticas de Guadix, Cabra, Vejer, Bailén y Madrid', *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 28 (1896), 403-26. See also: Appendix II: Inscriptions.

<sup>166</sup> Colbert, *The Martyrs of Córdoba*, 157.

<sup>167</sup> The claim of intending to express oneself plainly and simply as Eulogius does several times over, is a common hagiographical trope, used 'as a way of underlining distance from "rhetorical" ancient texts and presenting the saints as a more accessible model, as *exempla* whose paths were very clear for the *fideles*' (Castellano, Santiago, 'The Significance of Social Unanimity in a Visigothic Hagiography: Keys to an Ideological Screen', *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 11.3 (2003), 395).

<sup>168</sup> Eulogius:

*non facundiae nitore, quae mihi oppido deest, materiam libri succinxi, non leporem uenusti sermonis in ex tructione eius intendi*

(*Documentum Martyriale.prooemium.10-12, CSM 2:461*).

<sup>169</sup> Eulogius confirms that the monastic library at Leyre possessed Latin works unheard of in Córdoba:

*apud Legerense coenobium demorarer cunctaque uolumina quae ibi erant gratia disgnosendi incomperta reuoluerem*

[while] I lingered at the monastery at Leyre I read over all the volumes which were unknown [here, but] were free to be discovered there

(Eulogius, *Liber Apologeticus Martyrum.15.1-3, CSM 2:483*).

corroborates the theory that Eulogius set out to procure classical manuscripts because ‘It was not enough for him to visit [just] the monasteries of his own country’<sup>170</sup>:

he took to the road and, reaching beyond the territories of Pamplona, he entered the monastery of St Zacharias and other convents in those parts... In these places he discovered many volumes of books obscure and almost unheard of by many here, and returned to us with them clasped to his most holy breast. In that place he enjoyed conversation with blessed Odoarius who ruled over 150 monks. Then he brought with him the book of the *City* of most blessed Augustine, and the *Aeneid* of Vergil, the metrical books of Juvenal, the abundant poems of Horace, the elaborate miniature works of Porphyry and the epigrams of Adhelm, as well as the metric *Fabulae* of Avienus, glorious songs of catholic hymns, and many ingenious works on the smallest of subjects<sup>171</sup>

By the time Eulogius composed the *Documentum Martyriale* he had been in possession of these works for as long as three years. He certainly appears to have conducted a systematic search of the libraries of the North, to have been deeply impressed by his reading there, and to have returned intending to put it to use. It is possible then that Eulogius effectively went shopping for books, perhaps without any specific volumes in mind, but on the lookout for Latin works of ancient provenance and high-quality Latin. Christys intimates as much<sup>172</sup>; Waltz<sup>173</sup> and Wright concur<sup>174</sup>.

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<sup>170</sup> It is rather interesting that either man would see al-Andalus as ‘his country’ and the Christian territories in the Northwest as a different land, and one not their own. Both Latin and Arabic writers used one term to denote the peninsula as a whole – Hispania and al-Andalus, respectively – and tend not to apply a distinguishing name for the other’s territory. The only explanation of Albar’s expression is that Córdoba is Eulogius’ ancestral home and the South his land, irrespective of who the present ruler might be.

<sup>171</sup> Albar:

*Nec sufficit monasteria patrię suę inuisere... uiam arripuit et Pampilonensium territoria ultro progrediens sancti monasterium Zaccarie ingressus et aliorum cenobia ipsarum regionum... In quibus locis multa uolumina librorum repperiens abstrusa et pene a multis remota hic remeans suo nobis in sacratissimo pectore conlocauit. Ibi beati Odoarii est fruitus conloquio, cui centum quinquaginta regulares monaci militabant. Inde secum librum Ciuitatis beatissimi Agustini et Eneidos Uergilii siue Iubernalis metricos itidem libros atque Flacci saturata poemata seu Porfirii depincta opuscula uel Adhelelmi epigrammatum opera necnon et Abieni Fabule metricę et Ymnorm catholicorum fulgida carmina cum multa minutissimarum causarum ingenia*

(*Vita Eulogii*.9.7-17, CSM 1:335-6).

<sup>172</sup> Christys writes:

Heading for Catalonia, Eulogius was forced to turn back because of the warfare in the region... Yet the impression of an unfortunate man wandering in the foothills of the Pyrenees which Eulogius gave must be false... The itinerary gives the impression of an intensive tour of a small number of neighbouring monasteries, rather than an improvised alternative to a foiled visit to Francia

(*Christians in al-Andalus*, 57-8).

<sup>173</sup> Waltz:

[Eulogius and Albar] constructed a positive program designed to uphold the values and demonstrate the superiority of Latin-Christian culture to their fellow Christians. Eulogius furthered one portion of the program, the attempt to revive, stimulate, and enhance the study and pursuit of Latin literature... These Christian leaders, then, had

Eulogius' journey north pre-dates by at least two years the earliest death he celebrated – Perfectus, whose death on 18 April is not generally thought to be part of the 'martyr movement', which began proper with Isaac, though Usuard added him to the *Martyrologium* as a saint.<sup>175</sup> In the meantime, as he makes a point of saying, Eulogius was researching for material to use against the Muslims; armed with this learning he found a subject in hagiography, perhaps combining the Huescan and sevillano models of Nunilo and Alodia, and John and Adulphus. It is a mark of just how lost Eulogius thought his post-Visigothic community had become under Islamic government that he would consider it necessary to make such an arduous journey to reconnect with its cultural roots – Pamplona is some 400 miles northeast of Córdoba, no matter whether it was safe for the clergy to travel, as he and Aimoin both suggest. Albar clearly feels this journey, and the study it made possible, was a matter of sufficient significance to warrant inclusion in Eulogius' *Vita*, and the Latin renaissance theory is in accord with Albar's presentation of Eulogius as a polymath seeking out lost knowledge for his fellow Christians:

For what volumes were not open to him? What geniuses of the Catholics, philosophers, heretics, even Gentiles, could evade him? Where were the books of metrics, of prose, of history, that escaped his enquiry? Where the verse works whose music he knew not? Where the hymns, or foreign pamphlets, that his most beautiful eye did not peruse? For he daily brought to light hidden treasure troves as if he were digging up new things eminently to be admired from fields and ditches... gathered not for his own private use, but to share with his most eager students<sup>176</sup>

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devised and were implementing by 850-51 (before the martyrdoms!) a careful, comprehensive program calculated to enhance and maintain Latin-Christian culture among Cordoban Christians. Their aims neither required nor anticipated the martyrdoms

(‘The Significance of the Voluntary Martyrs’, 155... 226).

<sup>174</sup> Wright:

It is possible that the acquisition of such texts was actually one of the reasons for wanting to go to the Frankish lands in the first place, since the Christian hierarchy in Córdoba were clearly both impressed and worried by the great upsurge that Muslims in Al-Andalus were experiencing at that very period, largely because of imported contacts from Baghdad. That is to say, Eulogio wanted to acquire impressive written Latin works from both a Christian and a Classical background in order to compete with the allure of the works that kept arriving in Córdoba from the East for the attention of the young

(Language and Religion’, 121).

<sup>175</sup> Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*.II.1, CSM 2:397-401; Usuard, *Aprilis.XIV.Kal.Die* 18, PL 123, col.945.

<sup>176</sup> Albar:

*Que enim illi non patuere uolumina, quae potuerunt eum latere ingenia catholicorum, filosoforum, haeticorum necnon et gentilium? Ubi libri erant metrici, ubi prosatici, ubi storici qui eius inuestigationem effugerent? Ubi uersi quorum ille ignoraret canora, ubi ymni uel peregrina opuscula que eius non percurreret pulcherrimus oculus? Cotidie enim noua et egregie admiranda quasi a ruderibus et fossis effodiens tesaurus elucidabat inuisos... congregata non priuatim sibi, sed comuniter*

Above mapped out are the myriad potential reasons Eulogius might have responded to emiral rule with a vast series of apologetic works in a Latin so elevated he himself was incapable of writing it, let alone finding an audience capable of reading it with satisfaction; why he wrote a new and contentiously innovative martyrology unendorsed by the Church when there appears to have been neither need nor desire for one outside his own circle. What now needs to be considered is the link between Eulogius' literary ambitions, his martyrological ambitions, and the texts we know he studied.

Dozy was the first to make an explicit link between the manuscripts Eulogius procured in the libraries of Navarra and the manuscripts he subsequently wrote. Colbert would later note that 'there is reason to believe that Albar in his letters makes use of material brought back from the north of Spain by Eulogius'<sup>177</sup>, but takes the thought no further. With typical prolixity and hyperbole, Dozy places the pagan classics at the centre of an attempted renaissance:

He even found enough calm and freedom of spirit to compose a tract on metrics.<sup>178</sup> He did so because he wished to wake up the dormant patriotism of his fellow citizens and inspire in them a taste for ancient literature which should have been cherished as a national institution for a town that had seen the birth of both Seneca and Lucan... Eulogius believed that in the Romans' literature he had found a powerful counterweight to that of the Arabs, about which the Cordobans were so passionate. He had already been very lucky to be able to bring them Latin manuscripts he had known how to get hold of in Navarra, manuscripts of Vergil, Horace and Juvenal; and now, struck by the contempt that men of taste showed for rhythmic verse, he wished to teach his fellow citizens the learned rules of Latin prosody, so that they might set themselves to compose verses based upon those of the Augustan age<sup>179</sup>

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*studiosissimis inquisitoribus reportavit, fulgoremque operis et coruscationem ingenii resplendentibus semitis presentialiter cunctis presentibus et usualiter sequentibus specificis ostentans indicibus et luminosis deducens uestigiis, ubique lucidus gradiens, undique fulgidus rediens, limpidus, dulcorosus, nectareus Xpi coronatus emicabat omnibus famulus*

(*Vita Eulogii*.8.7-14... 9.15-21, CSM 1:335-6).

<sup>177</sup> Colbert, *The Martyrs of Córdoba*, 154.

<sup>178</sup> This could be that grammatical or linguistic work referred to by John of Seville, or one like it (Iohannes Hispalensis, *Epistulae*.VI.10.1-5, CSM 1:201).

<sup>179</sup> Dozy:

*Il trouva même assez de calme et de liberté d'esprit pour composer un traité de métrique. Il le fit parce qu'il voulait réveiller le patriotisme endormi de ses concitoyens en leur inspirant le goût de la littérature ancienne, laquelle, pour la ville qui avait vu naître les deux Sénèque et Lucain, devait être une littérature nationale... Euloge croyait avoir trouvé dans la littérature des Romains un puissant contre-poids à celle des Arabes, dont les Cordouans étaient si engoués. Auparavant déjà, il avait été fort heureux de pouvoir leur apporter des manuscrits latins qu'il avait su se procurer en Navarre, des manuscrits de Virgile, d'Horace, de Juvénal, et maintenant, frappé du mépris que les hommes de goût témoignaient pour les vers rythmiques, il voulait enseigner à ses concitoyens les savantes règles de la prosodie latine, afin qu'ils se missent à composer des vers calqués sur ceux du siècle d'Auguste*

Dozy allows that Eulogius used the classical manuscripts and the lessons on grammar and high Latin style therein simply to enable the Cordoban bourgeoisie to appreciate the ‘national institutions’ of Iberian Latin heritage; that he references the Spaniards Seneca and Lucan shows that he is speaking generally, he says nothing of the content of the Pamplonan manuscripts or their significance to Eulogius and his future literary enterprise. The low level of Latin on display does not mean that their literary study made no impact on Eulogius and Albar; their own authorial limitations do not preclude their absorption of the ideas and imagery contained in the Navarrese manuscripts.

It is the Augustinian, Vergilian, Horatian and Juvenalian works that are of particular interest here, in part for the purely pragmatic reason that they are easily identifiable and readily available, but also because the Cordobans engage explicitly with them, and because they deal with ideas highly relevant to mid-ninth-century Córdoba: ideas about heroic active martyrdom (Augustine) and the image of the East (Vergil, Horace, Juvenal especially).<sup>180</sup> Eulogius approached these texts following the influential example of St Basil the Great (c.330-79), taking from them much that remained universally relevant in a world still intellectually centred on the Mediterranean. In his essay *To Young Men, On How They Might Derive Profit From Pagan Letters*, the influential Basil wrote:

It is entirely according to the simile of the bees that we must partake of the [pagan, ancient] literature. For neither do they visit every flower equally, nor do they fly to them, snatching all they offer: they take as much as is suitable for their purpose, they leave the rest to fair well. We too, if we are prudent, having gathered from them as much as is proper for us and is related to truth, shall pass over the rest. And just as we avoid the thorns when plucking the flower of the rose, from such writings as these we shall reap the benefit of everything useful and guard against what is harmful. So one should examine each of their teachings and harmonise it with the present purpose, according to the Doric proverb ‘bringing the stone to the rope’<sup>181</sup>

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(*Histoire des musulmans d’Espagne*, I.344-5).

<sup>180</sup> It must be said that it is possible Albar used Aldhelm as a poetic model. Gil has identified three allusions to the *De Laudibus Virginum* (Albar, *Carmina*.IV.7-9... IX.125... 145, CSM 1:346-54) two of which are clear:

Albar:	Aldhelm:
<i>sicque pauus uarie paulescens uoce resultat, qui pennis rutilat fuluis et murice cycli</i>	<i>quamquam versicolor flavescat penna pavonis et teretes rutilent plus rubro murice cycli</i>
(Albar, <i>Carmina</i> .IV.7-9, CSM 1:346; Aldhelmus Schireburnensis episcopus, <i>De Laudibus Virginitatis Sive de Virginitate Sanctorum</i> .227-8, PL 89, col.242D).	

*septuaginta duos mittens sub bargina biblos septuaginta duos recludens bargina biblos*  
(Albar, *Carmina*.IX.145, CSM 1:354; Aldhelm, *De Laudibus Virginitatis*.1626, PL 89, col.266D).

<sup>181</sup> Basilus Magnus:

κατὰ πάσαν δὴ οὖν τῶν μελιττῶν τὴν εἰκόνα τῶν λόγων ὑμῖν μεθεκτέον. ἐκεῖναί τε γὰρ οὔτε ἅπασι τοῖς ἄνθεσι παραπλησίως ἐπέρχονται, οὔτε μὴν οἷς ἂν ἐπιπτῶσιν, ὅλα φέρειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν, ἀλλ’ ὅσον αὐτῶν ἐπιτήδειον πρὸς τὴν ἐργασίαν λαβοῦσαι, τὸ λοιπὸν χαίρειν ἀφῆκαν. ἡμεῖς τε, ἦν σωφρονῶμεν, ὅσον

Like Basil's bees, Eulogius browsed, took what was suitable for him and his circumstances, fashioned a vast catalogue of polemic and apologetic, and disregarded the rest.

Identification of Porfirius' and his 'elaborate little works' is not certain; Morales' identification with the pagan Neoplatonic philosopher Porphyry of Tyre<sup>182</sup> cannot be upheld for, as the author of *Adversus Christianos* among other things, he was a staunch and formidable opponent of Christianity who was well-read in Scripture and had rejected it, whose error Augustine tackled in the *Civitate Dei*.<sup>183</sup> Bishop Fulgentius of Ruspe – modern Thelepte (*Thalīfti*) in Tunisia – (c.462-533) also made obscure reference to a Porfirius, whom Merrills identifies tentatively as Publilianus Optatianus Porfirius, a fourth-century author of Latin acrostic panegyrics to the emperor Constantine which match Albar's description 'elaborate little works' far better.<sup>184</sup> Adhelelmus and his *epigrammatum opera* present less of a problem: Eulogius is declared the former owner of a copy of a poetic work by the bishop Aldelhelmi (*Item ex opusculis poetarum... Aldelhelmi episcopi*) in the *ex libris* of the *Codex Ovetense*, which is held to have left Córdoba with Eulogius' remains in 883.<sup>185</sup> This can only be Aldhelm (c.635-709) Abbot of Malmesbury Abbey and later Bishop of Sherbourne (705-9), who wrote the treatise *On the Praises of Virginité or On the Virginité of the Saints* among other things and made the earliest link extant between James the Apostle and the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>186</sup> Avienus is tentatively identified with Postumius Rufius

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οἰκεῖον ἡμῖν καὶ συγγενες τῇ ἀληθείᾳ παρ' αὐτῶν κομισάμενοι, ὑπερβησόμεθα τὸ λειπόμενον. καὶ καθάπερ τῆς ροδωνιάς τοῦ ἄνθους δρεψάμενοι τὰς ἀκάνθας ἐκκλίνομεν, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων λόγων ὅσον χρήσιμον καρπωσάμενοι, τὸ βλαβερὸν φυλαξόμεθα. εὐθὺς οὖν ἐξ ἐπισκοπεῖν ἕκαστον τῶν μαθημάτων καὶ συναρμόζειν τῷ τέλει προσήκε, κατὰ τὴν Δωρικὴν παροιμίαν τὸν λίθον ποτὶ τὰν σπάρτον ἄγοντας

(*To Young Men, On How They Might Derive Profit From Pagan Letters*, I.4.8-10 edited and translated by Roy J. Deferrari and M.R.P. McGuire in *Basil: The Letters 249-368; On Greek Literature* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: Heinemann, 1950), 390-2. Introducing the work, this editor remarks that Basil's attitude towards the value of the pagan classics carried great weight with future generations:

[*To Young Men*] has exercised a unique influence in the history of education, whether through being employed as a guide and defence for the study of pagan literature or through being read for its own worth as a Christian classic

(*Basil: Letters 249-368*, 371).

<sup>182</sup> Morales, *Excerpta ex Ambrosio Moralis*.III, PL 115, col.725C.

<sup>183</sup> See: Berchmann, *Porphyry Against the Christians*, 113-7.

<sup>184</sup> Merrills, *Vandals, Romans and Berbers*, 111. See also: Barnes, 'Publilius Optatianus Porfyrius', *The American Journal of Philology* 96.2 (1975), 173-86.

<sup>185</sup> San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio, ms R.II.18, f<sup>o</sup> 95.

<sup>186</sup> Breeze, Andrew, 'The transmission of Aldhelm's writings in early medieval Spain', *Anglo-Saxon England* 21 (2007), 5. For the Santiago tradition, see: Aldhelm's *Carmina Ecclesiastica*.IV.iv.In *Sancti Iacobi*, edited by Rudolf Ehwald in *MGH Auctorum Antiquissimorum Tomus XV* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1919), 23.



Festus<sup>187</sup> a late fourth- or early fifth-century African proconsul and composer of moralising fables who exalted Rome's past greatness by presenting scenes from Vergil, and apparently also Livy, in iambic verse.<sup>188</sup>

Eulogius' work is essentially bipartite in nature – his purpose, from which Albar benefited and to which he contributed, was to craft a twin assault on the Islamic culture of al-Andalus by both intellectual and spiritual means. Eulogius sought to incite a revolution of Latin Christian renewal on two distinct but parallel planes: the purely intellectual and the popular. Eulogius' classical and late-antique texts, particularly those of Augustine, Vergil, Horace and Juvenal, constituted a base for that ambitious program. On the intellectual level their Latin style might encourage a return to the higher register of Latin expression and intellectual vigour that marked a bygone age; on the popular level, they sought to energise and inspire a renewed sense of Christian identity in the general masses of the laity in order to redress the blurring of cultural and cultic boundaries feared by both Muslim and Christian thinkers. Eulogius' hagiography was central to this popular shift intended to counter the specifically Islamic culture which inevitably became a stronger presence on the back of an established and increasingly sophisticated secular Arabic culture. The discussion of Eulogius' Navarrese literary finds and Dozy's recognition of their significance brings us to their application to his problem.

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<sup>187</sup> Avienus has also previously been identified as Flavius Avianus and Sextus Rufius Avienus; manuscript variation and corruption have led to long debate on the matter. See: Cameron, Alan, 'Macrobius, Avienus and Avianus', *The Classical Quarterly* 17.2 (1967), 394, and 'Avienus or Avienus?', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 108 (1995), 252–262; Ellis, Robinson, *The Fables of Avianus*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1887), 11-21; Morales, *Excerpta ex Ambrosio Moralis*.III, PL 115, col.725D-6A.

<sup>188</sup> According to the celebrated late-fourth, early-fifth century grammarian Servius, Avienus rewrote the entire *Histories* of Livy in iambic pentametre (*Avienus tamen, qui totum Livium iambis scripsit*). See: Servius, *Commentarius in Aeneidos* edited by Georg Thilo and Hermann Hagen in three volumes under the title *Servii Grammatici qui ferunter in Vergilii carmina commentarii* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1881-1902), 433.13; Murgia, Charles E., 'Avienus's Supposed Iambic Version of Livy', *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 3 (1970), 185.

## Chapter IV

### The pagan classics on the Eastern Other: a framework for Christian apologetic and anti-Islamic polemic

Basil the Great's apianial simile presented Christian thinkers with precedent for an approach to the pagan classics. He acknowledged that there were moral lessons to be taken from the pagan canon, that classical education was 'certainly not without grace' (οὐκ ἄχαρὶ γε)<sup>1</sup>, and offered the ethical foundation and intellectual apparatus necessary to tackle Scripture:

a contest lies before us, which must be the greatest of all contests, for which we must do everything and toil to prepare our hardest, and we must consort with poets and prose writers and orators and with all men from whom there might be some source of gain in the treatment of the soul... if the glory of the Good is to remain with us indelible for all time, first take instruction from these external means, then we shall understand the sacred and the secret teachings<sup>2</sup>

Much as the ancients themselves, Basil saw pagan literature as exemplary by nature, and he litters his own works with references and quotes from a wide variety of pagan classics:

when they [the pagan poets] present you with the deeds or words of good men, love them and emulate them, and try to be them as much as possible; but when they talk of

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<sup>1</sup> Basil, *To Young Men*.III.2; *Basil: Letters 249-368*, 384).

<sup>2</sup> Basil:

καὶ ἡμῖν δὴ οὖν ἀγῶνα προκεῖσθαι πάντων ἀγῶνων μέγιστον νομίζειν χρεῶν, ὑπερ οὗ πάντα ποιητέον ἡμῖν καὶ πονητέον εἰς δύναμιν ἐπὶ τὴν τούτου παρασκευὴν, καὶ ποιηταῖς καὶ λογοποιοῖς καὶ ῥήτορσι καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὁμιλητέον, ὅθεν ἂν μέλλῃ πρὸς τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιμέλειαν ὠφέλειά τις ἔσεσθαι.... εἰ μέλλοι ἀνέκπλυτος ἡμῖν ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον ἢ τοῦ καλοῦ παραμένειν δόξα, τοῖς ἔξω δὴ τούτοις προτελεσθέντες, τῆνικαῦτα τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ ἀπορρήτων ἐπακουσόμεθα παιδευμάτων

(*To Young Men*.II.7-8, *Basil: Letters 249-368*, 384-5).

wicked men one must flee from such imitation, stopping our ears not unlike they say of Odysseus when he took precautions against the Sirens<sup>3</sup>

Basil was not the first, though he may be the best known early redeemer of pagan literature. A very particular idea of truth – or Truth – survived from antiquity: the *topos* that ‘truth is older than error’. Tertullian affirmed that

the Truth always exists before the representation of it; the imitation comes later... our teaching is more ancient than all [heresies] and therein is the evidence of its truth<sup>4</sup>

It was thus that Christian scholars justified the use of pagan culture – God (and therefore Christianity) is more ancient than the pagan error, thus the classical canon may be sifted critically for Christianity’s edification.<sup>5</sup> This notion can be traced back at least to the mid-fourth century BCE, when Plato wrote ‘the ancients were greater than we, for they lived closer to the gods’<sup>6</sup>. In the last years of the Roman Republic – around 43 BCE – Cicero recorded the same belief:

Today, to preserve reverence of the family and the ancestors, is to protect a religion handed down by the gods, since antiquity was closer to the gods<sup>7</sup>

A century later Lucian (c.125-80) pointed to the essentially moralistic nature of much of pagan literature:

two things can be taken from the ancients: the ability to speak and to act as one should, by emulating the best and fleeing the worst<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Basil:

ὅταν μὲν τὰς τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν πράξεις ἢ λόγους ὑμῖν διεξίωσιν, ἀγαπᾶν τε καὶ ζηλοῦν, καὶ ὅτι μάλιστα πειρᾶσθαι τοιούτους εἶναι· ὅταν δὲ ἐπὶ μοχθηροῦς ἄνδρας ἔλθωσι, τὴν μίμησιν ταύτην δεῖ φεύγειν, ἐπιφρασσομένους τὰ ὅσα, οὐχ ἦττον ἢ τὸν Ὀδυσσεῖα φασὶν ἐκεῖνοι τὰ τῶν Σειρήνων μέλη

(*To Young Men*.IV.1-2; *Basil: Letters* 249-368, 386-8). Basil himself is steeped in the classics. Besides referencing Odysseus, he denounces the adulteries of Zeus (*To Young Men*.IV.5, *Basil: Letters* 249-368, 388), and echoes or quotes passages from Hesiod, Homer, Theognis, Euripides, Plato, all of whom he names, as well as the expected host of Scriptural borrowings.

<sup>4</sup> Tertullian:

*in omnibus veritas imaginem antecedit, post vero similitudo succedit...posterior nostra res non est, immo omnibus prior est, et hoc erit testimonium veritatis*

(*De Praescriptione Adversus Haereticos*.29, *PL* 2, col.41B).

<sup>5</sup> Wilken, Robert Louis, *The Myth of Christian Beginnings* (London: SCM Press, 1979), 47-8.

<sup>6</sup> Plato:

οἱ μὲν παλαιοὶ κρείττονες ἡμῶν καὶ ἐγγυτέρω θεῶν οἰκοῦντες

(*Philebus*.16C, translated and edited by Harold North Fowler and W.R.M. Lamb in the volume *Statesman, Philebus, Ion* (London: Heinemann, 1925), 220).

<sup>7</sup> Cicero:

*Iam ritus familiae patrumque servare id est, quoniam antiquitas proxime accedit ad deos, a dis quasi traditum religionem tueri*

(*De Legibus*.II.xi.27, edited and translated by Clinton Walker Keyes in *On the Republic; On the Laws*, Loeb Classical Library 213 (9<sup>th</sup> ed. London: William Heinemann, 1977), 402).

<sup>8</sup> Lucian:

δυοῖν δὲ ὄντων ἅττ’ ἂν παρὰ τῶν παλαιῶν τις κτήσαιτο, λέγειν τε δύνασθαι καὶ πράττειν τὰ δέοντα ζήλω τῶν ἀρίστων καὶ φυγῆ τῶν χειρόνων

(*The Ignorant Book-Collector*.19, edited by A.M. Harmon under the title *Lucian volume III* as part of the Loeb Classical Library series (5<sup>th</sup> ed. London: Harvard University Press, 1995), 94).

Thus, in studying the classics, not only was Eulogius following patristic precedent but was succumbing to the draw of antiquity instinctive to the intellectual and spiritual heirs of the classical Mediterranean.

First, we must identify the classical works we are dealing with. Albar tells us that Eulogius studied the *Aeneid* of Vergil, the *metricos libros* of Juvenal, Horace's *saturata poemata*. He names the *Aeneid* but appears less familiar with the rest, and it may be that he confused the Horatian and Juvenalian works: *saturata poemata* would seem to suit Juvenal's *Satires* better than *metricos libros*, since the three books of *Saturae* (*Satires*) are the only Juvenalian work extant; meanwhile *metricos libros* fits the Horatian corpus which comprises verse of various genres in various metres (including satire). The *ex libris* of the *Codex Ovetense* confirms that Eulogius possessed the five books of the *Satires* extant today (*Iuuenalis Libros V corpora uno*); it lists nothing by Horace.<sup>9</sup>

Assuming that Albar is correct in his account, it could be argued that *saturata poemata* when applied to Horace means not just his *Satirae* or *Sermones*, but a collection of some or all of Horace's output. The crux of the problem is the term *saturata*: one should be wary of assuming that it means simply 'satires'. The generic term *satiralis satura* lacks satisfactory definition and has been the subject of debate even since the late classical period. The fourth-century Latin grammarian Diomedes Grammaticus shows that *satura* functioned as an adjective rather than a noun: 'in a *satura* song, many poems are collected together' (*satura carmine multa simul poemata comprehenduntur*)<sup>10</sup>. Diomedes pondered the ambiguity surrounding *satura* in his *Ars Grammatica* and offered four different interpretations, but it is clear that the element of mixture or compilation is at the forefront of classical thinking on this point.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio, ms R.II.18, f<sup>o</sup> 95.

<sup>10</sup> Diomedes, *Artis Grammaticae*.III in *Grammatici Latini* edited by Heinrich Keil (Hildesheim: Olms, 1961), I.486. See also: Coffey, Michael, *Roman Satire* (London: Methuen & Co, 1976), 11ff.

<sup>11</sup> Diomedes:

*et olim carmen quod ex variis poematibus constabat satira vocabatur... satira autem dicta sive a Satyris, quod similiter in hoc carmine ridiculae res pudendaeque dicuntur, quae velut a Satyris proferuntur et fiunt: sive satura a lance quae referta variis multisque primitiis in sacro apud priscos dis inferebatur et a copia ac saturitate rei satura vocabatur... sive a quodam genere farciminis, quod multis rebus refertum saturam dicit Varro vocitatum... alii autem dictam putant a lege satura, quae uno rogatu multa simul comprehendat*

the song that was composed of various poetic styles was called *satira*... *satira* is either named after the Satyrs, because in this poetry ridiculous and shameful things are said, as if they were produced and done by Satyrs; or after a full dish, stuffed with many and various first-fruits and offered to the gods in a ritual among the ancients, which was called *satura* because of its abundance and fullness... or after a certain kind of sausage

There is little sense in limiting our study to Horace's satirical poems, for other elements of his *œuvre* bear pertinent material, and Albar himself shows that he had access to these other works. It seems likely that Albar is less than exact about Vergil than at first he appeared, and that the Vergilian manuscript contained other works besides the *Aeneid*, since Albar and Samson both quote or paraphrase from the *Eclogues* as well as the *Aeneid*. Albar's assertion that these works had been lost is borne out, for Albar and Samson are the only men in Gil's Cordoban corpus to show any knowledge of Vergil at all, both post-dating Eulogius' trip north – though as Roger Collins notes, Vergilian references, relatively few and unimportant here, could have been taken from an epitomised work like Isidore's *Etymologiae*.<sup>12</sup> What is certain however, is that the wide range of metrical forms on display in Horace's *œuvre*, the hexameter rhythm of the *Aeneid* and Juvenal's *Saturae* – in which the oldest literature of the West, the Homeric epics, were composed – offered a venerable model of style, form and content to satisfy the interest in classical metrics that we are told exercised Eulogius' intellectual hunger.<sup>13</sup>

We know that Eulogius and Albar were interested in classical Latin style. Horace is credited with introducing various Greek metrical forms to Latin literature; his skill with these different forms was masterful.<sup>14</sup> Albar's attempts at verse are rather amateurish and self-indulgent – by even Sage's account 'poor specimens of drawing-room verse'<sup>15</sup> – though they are roughly metrical: he attempted to work with hexameter

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filled with many things which Varro says was called *satura*... others though, think that it is named after the *Lex Satura* (Satura Law) which included many laws in one bill

(*Artis Grammaticae*.III, *Grammatici Latini*.I.485-6).

<sup>12</sup> Collins, 'Poetry in ninth-century Spain', 186.

<sup>13</sup> Albar:

*ibi metricos, quos adhuc nesciebant sapientes Hispanię, pedes perfectissime docuit, nobisque post egressionem suam hostendit*

[in prison] he learned perfectly those metrical feet which until now the intellectuals of Hispania knew not, and after he got out he showed them to us

(*Vita Eulogii*.4.15-7, *CSM* 1:333).

<sup>14</sup> Halporn, James W., Martin Oswald and Thomas G. Rosenmeyer, *The Meters of Greek and Latin Poetry* (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1994), 94.

<sup>15</sup> Sage, *Paul Albar*, 6. Colbert corroborates Sage's verdict: 'The consensus of opinion is that the meter of all the verse is rather bad' (*The Martyrs of Córdoba*, 164). Max Manitius wrote:

*Albars Gedichte sind fast sämtlich im Hexameter geschrieben, nur wenig Distichen finden sich, und ein einziges Gedicht, ein Hymnus auf den Eulogius, verwendet die asklepiadeische Strophe nach dem Vorgang des Spaniers Prudentius; so ist das formale Element ein sehr einfaches*

Albar's poems are nearly all written in hexameter; only a few couplets are found, only one poem, a hymn to Eulogius, uses the asclepiad strophe after the Spaniard Prudentius; the form is very simple

(*Geschichte der Lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters: Erster Band Von Justinian bis zur Mitte des 10.Jahrhunderts* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1974), 422).

for the most part, branching out to include elegiac couplets and asclepiads – nothing that does not appear in Eulogius’ manuscripts.<sup>16</sup>

As for Juvenal, satire as a Latin genre is particularly suited to Eulogius and Albar’s purposes for it deals unsparingly with contemporary morality, with the erosion of imperial Roman society’s integrity; as Diomedes describes it, the polemic and apologetic potential of classical satire is clear:

satire is the name given to a certain kind of poetry among the Romans that is now abusive and for the purpose of reviling the vices of men<sup>17</sup>

Juvenal’s narrative voice – like Albar’s, prone to anger<sup>18</sup> – links this lapse of traditional values with the erosion of the city’s purity, by incoming provincials from across the empire, in particular the Greeks and Levantine Easterners. An interlocutor is warned:

You might turn out to be father of an Ethiopian,  
Soon your discoloured heir would take over your will,  
He who should never be seen in daylight<sup>19</sup>

The physically darker foreigner is inherently morally defective; when he also represents a rival faith the potential for universal East-West polemic is obvious. Parallels with al-Andalus would have suggested themselves to Eulogius as he read them, for the thrust of his work, and Albar’s lament, makes the connection between Christian lapse and the influence of imported ‘Chaldaean’ culture. Incidentally, Juvenal names the Chaldaeans as part of the corrupting Eastern influence.

In a sense, then, the Cordoban polemical apologetics against the passivity and compromise of their fellow Christians could be designated as satire: Braund’s description of the first Juvenalian satire as ‘a broad attack on the moral spinelessness of contemporary society’<sup>20</sup> could be applied to Albar’s biting condemnation of his contemporaries. One can find the evidence of Eulogius and Albar’s classical reading in

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<sup>16</sup> Sage, *Paul Albar*, 10; Colbert, *The Martyrs of Córdoba*, 164. See also: Traube’s edition of Albar in *MGH Poetarum Latinorum Medii Aevi Tomus III* edited by Ludwig Traube (Berlin: Wiedmann, 1896), 124.

<sup>17</sup> Diomedes:

*satira dicitur carmen apud Romanos nunc quidem maledicum et ad carpenda hominum vitia*

(*Artis Grammaticae*.III, *Grammatici Latini*.I.485).

<sup>18</sup> Susanna Morton Braund writes: ‘The first and lasting (though perhaps not last) impression of Juvenal is of indignation’, (*Juvenal: Satires Book I* (Cambridge: CUP, 1996), 17).

<sup>19</sup> Juvenal:

...esses  
*Aethiopsis portasse pater, mox decolor heres  
impleret tabulas numquam tibi mane videndus*

(*Saturae*.VI.599-601).

<sup>20</sup> Braund, *Juvenal*, 14.



works littered with references to figures of classical Graeco-Roman history and myth; Gil devotes a separate index to the subject, filling nearly two pages.<sup>21</sup>

There follows a survey of the ideas and attitudes pertinent to Eulogius' situation and purpose contained and transmitted by the classical corpus and in particular by those works we can place in Eulogius' possession; these are ethnographic ideas regarding the pre-Islamic Arab, his inherent inferiority, his lack of any of the defining qualities of the West: perfect material for apologetic and polemic.

### ***Oriens barbarus: the Graeco-Roman image of the East***

The arrival of Islam and the success of Muslim rule in the Iberian Peninsula is one of a long series of hostile encounters between East and West in which the West expressed a fear of annihilation – a clash of civilisations that has been reformulated time and again in Western minds, following which the differences between East and West are intensely felt and examined. Bulliet cites Crusader Jerusalem's fall to Salah al-Dīn in 1187, Constantinople's fall to the Ottomans in 1453, and Vienna's close escape from the same in 1529 as precursors in a chain of incidents leading to 9/11.<sup>22</sup> But this hostile East-West dichotomy has far more distant roots, in the classical pagan Mediterranean.

First expressed in Attic Greece under the shadow of ruin by the infinitesimally greater forces of the Persian satrap Darius and his son Xerxes the Great, the model of polarised East and West and the *oriens barbarus* or 'barbarian East' has been taken up by every Western society culturally descended from Greece via Rome and the Roman curriculum via Isidore. The *Oxford Classical Dictionary* defines the term 'barbarian' as follows:

With Aeschylus' *Persians* (performed 472 BCE), a consistent image of the barbarian appears in Athenian literature and art. Apart from a lack of competence in Greek, the barbarian's defining feature is an absence of the moral responsibility required to exercise political freedom: the two are connected, since both imply a lack of *logos*, the ability to reason and speak characteristic of the adult male citizen. Barbarians are marked by a lack of control regarding sex, food, and cruelty... Absence of political freedom entails rule by tyrants<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Gil, *CSM* 2:748-9.

<sup>22</sup> Bulliet, *The Case for Islamo-Christian Civilization* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 7.

<sup>23</sup> *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* edited by Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth (3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Oxford: OUP, 1996), 233.

The barbarian was thus effectively anyone who was not Greek, someone who did things differently. The classical world was conceived through a racial or cultural polarity which posits Us at the exalted centre and Them at the periphery. This is a worldview founded on the ‘mirror of Herodotus’<sup>24</sup> and related ideology emerging in the fifth century BCE in which (Greek) Western identity was conceived in opposition to the Persian enemy: an ideology that furnished the West with a pre-constructed ‘image of the Arabs in the mirror of Graeco-Roman historiography’<sup>25</sup>. The ‘mirror’ as a means of systematising the position of the East was not lost with the disintegration of pagan authority in the Graeco-Roman world, nor is it – as Tolan sees it – a medieval invention born of the encounter of Christianity and Islam<sup>26</sup>, nor, as Edward Said would suggest<sup>27</sup>, an authentic invention of Northern European colonialism. It was perpetuated in the classics of Latin and Greek literature and their students, men like Isidore, Eulogius and Albar.

An inhabitant of Persian-conquered Halicarnassus (modern Bodrum) on the Aegean coast of south-western Turkey, Herodotus would have been acutely aware of the Persian as hostile foreign agent. He wrote his *Histories* in the aftermath of the conflict to explain its origins, but it grew so inclusive as to become an ethnographic map of the known world divided solely between the civilised Western Self and the strange Eastern Other, as in Herodotus’ opening lines:

The researches of Herodotus of Halicarnassus are here put forth, so that the deeds of men may not be erased by time, and that the great and wondrous deeds of Greeks and of barbarians may not be without glory, especially the reason they fought each other<sup>28</sup>

Egypt held a particularly powerful fascination among the Greeks and is proffered as a paradigm of eastern otherness:

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<sup>24</sup> See: Hartog, François, *The mirror of Herodotus: the representation of the other in the writing of history* translated by Janet Lloyd (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).

<sup>25</sup> Shahīd, Irfan, *Rome and the Arabs: a prolegomenon to the study of Byzantium and the Arabs* (Washington, D.C.: Harvard University Press, 1984), xix.

<sup>26</sup> Tolan, *Saracens*, 67.

<sup>27</sup> See Edward Said’s seminal work *Orientalism*, in which he discusses the pejorative view of the East as an exotic curio held, propagated and maintained primarily by the colonial and modern West through cultural and political means and its lingering influence on modern scholarship. See: *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).

<sup>28</sup> Herodotus:

Ἡροδότου Ἀλικαρνησέως ἱστορίας ἀπόδεξις ἦδε, ὡς μήτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα γένηται, μήτε ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θαυμαστά, τὰ μὲν Ἕλλησι τὰ δὲ βαρβάροισι ἀποδεχθέντα, ἀκλεᾶ γένηται, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ δι’ ἣν αἰτίην ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοισι

(*Histories*.1.1, translated by A.D. Godley under the title *The Persian Wars: Books I-II* (London: Heinemann, 1920), 2).

In the same way the Egyptians have a climate peculiar to themselves, and their river is different in its nature to all others, so have they made most of their customs and laws different to all other men<sup>29</sup>

Among the myriad descriptions of every race within the Persian Empire, Herodotus inevitably came to offer a definition of Greek-ness constituting four points: community of blood, language, religion, custom.<sup>30</sup> As relatively limited conversion had occurred by this point, and only a very few individual converts are singled out by Eulogius, Albar and Samson for this betrayal, the vast majority of Muslims in the peninsular would have been of foreign origin – these four points still held true in mid-ninth-century al-Andalus.

Euripides' *Medeia*, premiered a century after Herodotus' *Histories* in 431 BCE, clearly demarcates a West established on law and reason and implies an East defined by their opposites. Jason berates Medea for her anger:

You are living on Greek soil instead of barbarian  
Land and you have experienced justice and enjoyed  
Laws without recourse to violence<sup>31</sup>

Medea eponymously and aetiologically represents the violence of the East: the Greek noun *Mēdeia* functioned originally as a feminine adjective meaning 'Median' or 'woman from Mēdia', Mēdia being an empire encompassing eastern Anatolia to north-western Iran between the eighth and sixth centuries BCE.<sup>32</sup> Medea is defined by extremes of emotion: 'beware her wild nature and hateful disposition'<sup>33</sup>; she despairs

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<sup>29</sup> Herodotus:

Αἰγύπτιοι ἅμα τῷ οὐρανῷ τῷ κατὰ σφέας ἔοντι ἑτεροίῳ καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ φύσιν ἀλλοίην παρεχομένῳ ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι ποταμοί, τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ἔμπαλιν τοῖσι ἄλλοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι ἐστήσαντο ἥθεα τε καὶ νόμους

(*Histories*.2.35, Godley, *The Persian Wars: Books I-II*, 316).

<sup>30</sup> Herodotus:

Greek-ness [lies] in sharing the same blood and speech, and [in] the shrines of common gods and sacrifices, and the same way of life  
τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐὼν ὁμαίμον τε καὶ ὁμόγλωσσον καὶ θεῶν ἰδρύματα τε κοῖνα καὶ θυσίαι ἥθεά τε ὁμότροπα

(*Histories*.8.144, Godley, *The Persian Wars: Books 8-9* (London: Heinemann, 1925), 153).

<sup>31</sup> Euripides:

Ἑλλάδ' ἀντὶ βαρβάρου χθονὸς γαῖαν κατοικεῖς  
καὶ δίκην ἐπίστασαι νόμοις τε χρῆσθαι μὴ πρὸς  
ἰσχύος χάριν

(*Medea*.536-8, edited and translated by David Kovacs in the volume *Euripides: Cyclops, Alcestis, Medea* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 330).

<sup>32</sup> Herodotus shows that in the fifth century BCE Medea was understood to be the eponym of Mēdia:

οἱ δὲ Μῆδοι... ἐκαλέοντο δὲ πάλαι πρὸς πάντων Ἄριοι, ἀπικομένης δὲ Μηδείης τῆς Κολχίδος ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ἐς τοὺς Ἄριους τούτους μετέβαλον καὶ οὗτοι τὸ οὐνομα. αὐτοὶ περὶ σφέων ὧδε λέγουσι Μῆδοι

The Medians... were in ancient times called Arians by everyone but, when Medeia the Colchian returned to these Arians from Athens, they changed their name. This is what the Medians themselves say

(*Histories*.VII.62, Godley, *The Persian Wars: Books V-VII* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed. London: Heinemann, 1938), 376).

<sup>33</sup> Euripides:

ἀλλὰ φυλάσσεσθ' ἄγριον ἦθος στυγερὰν τε φύσιν

(*Medea*.102-3, Kovacs, 294).

(δυσθυμουμένη)<sup>34</sup>, her glance is savage (ὄμμα νιν ταυρουμένην)<sup>35</sup>; she calls herself a 'loathsome mother' (στυγεράς ματρός)<sup>36</sup>. She willingly surrenders to passion: 'she will not check her wrath... she stirs it up' (οὐδε πάυσεται χόλου... κινεῖ δε χόλον)<sup>37</sup>. She is not just volatile but proud too and ungovernable:

What will her proud spirit – so hard to check – do when stung by ills?<sup>38</sup>

In Medea all the failings of man are ascribed to the East. On the other hand, Cicero – who enjoyed a measure of approval from the Church Fathers – locates all of western man's virtues firmly within the religio-political sphere alien to the East:

Whence comes piety and from whom religion? Whence civil law... justice, honour, fairness? Whence shame, restraint, flight from disgrace, desire for praise and honesty? Surely it is from those who confirmed these taught disciplines in customs, or enforced them by laws<sup>39</sup>

The West is thus just and moral while the East is amoral and dangerous.

The (pre-Muslim) Arab is unequivocally linked to religious and moral alterity by Eusebius, whom Eulogius and Albar both reference via a Latin version.<sup>40</sup> The mystical prophet Mani is 'a barbarian in speech and deed'<sup>41</sup>. Arabia is a hotbed of heterodoxy: Beryllus, Bishop of Bostra, 'perverted the Church's canon' (τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν παρεκτρέπων κανόνα)<sup>42</sup>; 'Again others arose in Arabia introducing a doctrine alien to

<sup>34</sup> Euripides, *Medea*.91, Kovacs, 292.

<sup>35</sup> Euripides, *Medea*.92, Kovacs, 292.

<sup>36</sup> Euripides, *Medea*.113, Kovacs, 294.

<sup>37</sup> Euripides, *Medea*.93-4... 99, Kovacs, 292.

<sup>38</sup> Euripides:

τί ποτ' ἐργάσεται  
μεγάλοςπλαγχνος δυσκατάπαυστος  
ψυχή δηχθείσα κακοῖσιν;

(*Medea*.108-10, Kovacs, 294).

<sup>39</sup> Cicero:

*Unde enim pietas aut a quibus religio? Unde ius... iustitia, fides, aequitatis? Unde pudor, continentia, fuga turpitudinis, adpetentia laudes et honestatis? Nempe ab his qui haec disciplina informata alia moribus confirmarunt, sanxerunt autem alia legibus*

(*De Res Publica*.I.ii.2, Walker Keyes, 14).

<sup>40</sup> Eulogius purports to quote an unidentifiable passage of Eusebius:

*De quorum constantia, simplicitate, et fortitudine, discretione, et prudentia Eusebius Caesariensis episcopus rerum ecclesiasticarum historiam texens, ait: 'Erant ergo martyres Christi inter fratres humiles, inter persecutores elati, suis mites, aduersariis terribiles, Christo subjecti, diabolo erecti'*

Composing his history of Church matters, Bishop Eusebius of Caesaria said of their constancy, straightforwardness, bravery, discretion and prudence: 'So there were martyrs of Christ among the humble brethren, among the arrogant persecutors [who are] mild to their own and terrible to their enemies, who are cast down by Christ, raised up by the devil'

(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.I.21.61-5, CSM 2:386-7). Albar references Eusebius in *Epistulae*.IV.23.4-12, CSM 2:177-8) and *Epistulae*.XVI.10.15-7, CSM 2:241).

<sup>41</sup> Eusebius: βάρβαρος δῆτα τὸν βίον ἀτῶ λόγῳ καὶ τρόπῳ (*Historia Ecclesiastica*.VII.31, PG 20, col.720C).

<sup>42</sup> Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*.VI.33, PG 20, col.593A.

Truth, they said the human soul dies...'<sup>43</sup>. Arabia is an enemy of the Church, a killer of the 'wonderful martyrs' (θαυμασίων μαρτύρων)<sup>44</sup>. In the twilight of the pagan Mediterranean, the Arab was vilified as the 'worst of races': the pagan Byzantine historian Zosimus (*floruit* c.490-510) described the Emperor Philip the Arab (c.244-9) – whose candidacy for first Christian emperor has been widely and successfully suppressed since in favour of the more iconic Constantine<sup>45</sup> – as 'come from Arabia, the worst race' (ὀρμώμενος γὰρ ἐξ Ἀραβίας, ἔθνους χειρίστου)<sup>46</sup>. Two centuries later, bridging the gap between the antique Graeco-Roman-Arab and medieval Christian-Muslim dichotomies is John of Damascus' connection of the Muslim Arabs to *Genesis*' depiction of Ishmael – 'And he will be a wild man; his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him'<sup>47</sup> – via a demonstrably false etymology of the Arabic term *sāraqīn*, whence comes *Saraceni*:

now a shadowy misleader of the people controls the Ishmaelites, a precursor of Antichrist. It is said they are descended from Ishmael, born of Hagar by Abraham: thus they are known as Hagarenes and Ishmaelites. They call themselves Saraceni, from Σάρρα κενούς, because Hagar said to the angel: 'Sara [Σάρρα] sent me away empty-handed [κενήν]'<sup>48</sup>

The Greek *sarakēnos* (σαρακηνός; Latin *sarracenus*) is a direct transliteration of the Arabic plural *sāriqīn* (سارقين) – singular *sāriq* (سارق) – meaning 'thief', a term applied by the urban Arabic speaker of the eastern Roman provinces to the nomadic raiders beyond the *limes* or imperial frontier.<sup>49</sup> That connection existed before and is attested in the

<sup>43</sup> Eusebius:

Ἄλλοι δ' αὖ πάλιν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀραβίας ἐπιφύονται ἀλλοτρίου τῆς ἀληθείας εἰσηγηταί, οἱ ἔλεγον τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν ψυχὴν συν ἀποθνήσκειν

(*Historia Ecclesiastica*.VI.37, PG 20, col.597B).

<sup>44</sup> Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*.VIII.12, PG 20, col.769A-B.

<sup>45</sup> York, John M., 'The Image of Philip the Arab', *Historia* 21.2 (1972), 320; Shahîd, *Rome and the Arabs*, 65-94, especially 155.

<sup>46</sup> Zosimus, *Historia Nova*.I.18.3, most recently edited, with parallel French translation, by François Paschoud as *Histoire Nouvelle* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2000), 20. For an English translation, see Ridley, Ronald T., *Zosimus: New History* (Sydney: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1982), 6.

<sup>47</sup> *Genesis* 16:2.

<sup>48</sup> John of Damascus:

ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν κρατοῦσα λαοπλάνος σκεία τῶν Ἰσμηλιτῶν, πρόδρομος οὖσα τοῦ Ἀντιχριστοῦ. κατὰ γὰρ ἀπὸ Ἰσμαήλ, τοῦ ἐκ τῆς Ἀγάρ τεχθέντος τῷ Ἀβραάμ· διόπερ Ἀγαρηνοὶ καὶ Ἰσμηλίται προσαγορεύονται. Σαρακηνοὺς δὲ αὐτοὺς καλοῦσιν, ὡς ἐκ τῆς Σάρρας κενούς, διὰ τὸ εἰρησθαι ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀγάρ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ· Σάρρα κενήν με ἀπέλυσεν

(*De Haeresibus Liber*.101, PG 94, col.764).

<sup>49</sup> Several etymologies for *sarakēnos/sarracenus* have been put forward in the last century. David F. Graf sets out the various proposals, among which only *sāriqī* satisfies; Graf himself rejects *sāriqī* on the grounds that the Romans and Greeks used equivalent terms *latro* and *lēistēs* (ληστής), respectively. However, it is neither unlikely nor impossible that an urban Arabic speaker would label an Arabian 'bandit'. See: Graf, 'The Saraceni and the Defense of the Arabian Frontier', *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 229 (1978), 14-5. C.C.R. Murphy also rejects *sāriqī* ('Who were the

fourth century – Ammianus Marcellinus (c.325-91) refers to ‘the tent-dwelling Arabs, whom we now call Saracens’<sup>50</sup> – but John of Damascus gave it the enduring religious aspect. Once the terms *Arabs* and *sarracenus* are compounded in the Christian imagination, the Muslim is definitively set without the frontiers of the Christian world. He is the nomadic, primitive, immoral, eastern and damned converse of the urban, politically advanced, moral, western and saved Roman Christian. Isaac and Abundius’ trials are thus formulated as clashes between Christian reason (*ratio*) and Muslim violence. Having been struck, Isaac threatens his judge with divine reckoning (*rationem*), while Abundius expounds upon the *rationem fidei* for his judge’s edification.<sup>51</sup> In the *Indiculus Luminosus*, Albar condemns the Arabic tongue itself as a perverse language of unreason, with which Muḥammad’s ‘jaded men render praiseworthy speech senseless’<sup>52</sup>. The defining qualities of the Muslim in Eulogius’ eyes are those of unchecked violence: the Muslim is ‘roused by the greatest frenzy’ (*summo furore exarsit*)<sup>53</sup>; the emir is routinely named tyrant and characterised by violent passion (*furor tyranni*)<sup>54</sup> and savagery and deception (*saeua principis conspiratio... saeua tyranni indignatio*)<sup>55</sup>.

The notion that the East is fundamentally predisposed to moral turpitude and naturally less civilised than the Western cultures of Greece and Rome forms the primary and lasting basis for Western self-definition: the white man is better than the black.

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Saracens?’, *Asiatic Review* 41 (1945), 190). Several scholars have favoured *sāriqī*: Kammerer, André, *Pétra et la Nabatène: L’Arabie Pétrée et les arabes du nord dans leur rapports avec la Syrie et la Palestine jusqu’à l’islam* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1929), I.263; Shahīd, *Rome and the Arabs*, 125-35; Winckler, Hugo, ‘Saracenen’, *Altorientalische Forschungen* 2.1 (1898), 74-6.

<sup>50</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus wrote *scenitas Arabas, quos Sarracenos nunc appellamus* (*Rerum Gestarum*.XXII.15.2, translated in three volumes by J.C. Rolfe under the title *Ammianus Marcellinus: History, Books 20-26* (London: Heinemann; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940), 278-80).

<sup>51</sup> Eulogius:

*redditurus sis rationem... intrepida responsione rationem fidei pandens*

(*Memoriale Sanctorum*. I.praefatio.3.6-7... III.12.7, *CSM* 2:367... 454).

<sup>52</sup> Albar condemns Arabic as a language of folly, forging an awkward connection between the Prophet Muḥammad and the beast Behemoth:

‘Nerbos habens testicularum perplexos’, *liuidinibus profluos et germinatjone saturos, seu predicatorum contra humanitatem Dei et Domini nostri acuminis assertjone robustos*. ‘Ossa eius quasi fistule heris’. *Omnes robusti illius insensiuilem reddentes lingue Harabice plausiuilem sonum*

‘The sinews of his testicles are wrapped together’, overflowing with desires and satiated with ejaculation, they cry out against the human nature of God [i.e.: Jesus] and are robust in their confirmation of our Lord’s subtlety. ‘His bones are pipes of brass’. All his jaded men render praiseworthy speech senseless with the Arabic tongue

(*Indiculus Luminosus*.27.1-5, *CSM* 1:301). Scriptural quote from *Job* 40:12-3. Colbert considers the beast a suitable comparison for the illiterate Prophet (*Martyrs of Córdoba*, 293). The term *germinatio* is rather obscure and clearly euphemistic in this context, literally signifying ‘sprouting forth’.

<sup>53</sup> Eulogius, *Liber Apologeticus Martyrum*.22.10, *CSM* 2:489.

<sup>54</sup> Eulogius, *Epistulae*.III.10.7, *CSM* 2:501.

<sup>55</sup> Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*.III.3.1... *Epistulae*.III.8.3, *CSM* 2:441... 500.



Juvenal uses the language of modern racism when he equates darkness of skin with innate ugliness and malignant intention:

A Gaetulian<sup>56</sup> waiter will hand you a goblet,  
Or the bony hand of a dark Moroccan  
Whom you would not want to meet in the middle of the night<sup>57</sup>

The Moroccan is not only dark, he is sinister and suspected of being a mugger. Braund's commentary on the satire states that the Moroccan's

ugly and threatening appearance evokes a sordid picture of robbery or possibly a ghost... a black creature might seem more frightening at night because invisible and an omen of doom<sup>58</sup>

This is surely grist to the mill of Eulogius' rhetoric: the demonic dark-skinned man is then a physical and a spiritual threat. Juvenal's narrator condenses this ideology: 'the white man should mock the burnt-face' (*derideat Aethiopem albus*)<sup>59</sup>. A century after Eulogius, the Frankish canoness Hroswitha of Gandersheim (c. 935-1002) used exactly the same image of the Ethiopian as inherently bad in her drama *Dulcitius*: a mad man covered in soot is described by one character, Irena (Peace), as 'like an Ethiopian' (*similitudinem Aethiopsis exprimat*), to which another, Agape (Love), replies 'How fitting that he should appear so in body, for his mind is possessed by the devil'<sup>60</sup>.

The pagan classics do not deal directly with Islam, of course, but they do engage with the pre-Islamic Arabs of the Eastern provinces, and present a worldview that Eulogius and Albar would have valued. Vergil's *Aeneid*, in the great *ekphrasis* of the Shield of Aeneas – commissioned for him by his mother Venus and fashioned by her

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<sup>56</sup> *Gaetulus*: 'Tunisian'. Eulogius uses the term *Gaetulus* to designate his martyr Felix' Berber origins:

*Felix monachus ex oppido Complutensi progenitus, natione Gaetulus*

The monk Felix was born in the town of Complutum, Gaetulian by race  
(Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*.III.8.1.8-9, CSM 2:445). The term *Gaetulus* can be found in the works of all three Romans under study here: Horace's *Odes* (I.23.10 and II.20.15) and *Epodes* (II.2.181), Juvenal (VIII.26), and features as an eponymous Moroccan figure in the fourth and fifth books of the *Aeneid* (V.192, 351).

<sup>57</sup> Juvenal:

...tibi pocula cursor  
*Gaetulus dabit aut nigri manus ossem Mauri*  
*et cui per mediam nolis occurrere noctem*

(*Saturae*.V.52-4).

<sup>58</sup> Braund, *Juvenal*, 286. See also: Hall, J., 'A black note in Juvenal: Satire V 52-5', *Proceedings of the African Classical Association* 17 (1983), 108-13.

<sup>59</sup> Juvenal, *Saturae*.II.23. 'Ethiopian' – from the Greek *aithiops* (αἰθίοψ) – means, literally, 'burnt face'. While 'Ethiopian' is a term we have inherited shorn of its original meaning by the crossing of linguistic borders, for the Latin- and Greek-speaker of the classical and late antique periods it retained its literal sense. This is not the place for a discussion of whether such designations constitute the beginning of Western racism, a point debated comprehensively elsewhere. See: Isaac, Benjamin, *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

<sup>60</sup> Hroswitha:

*decet, ut talis appareat corpore, qualis a diabolo possidetur in mente*  
(*Dulcitius*. Scene 4, PL 137, col.997A-B).

husband the god Vulcan – maps out the Roman world and its illustrious future: a world very definitely split between the known and familiar Western Mediterranean of Rome and the East, the antipathy between them expressed through Octavian’s defeat of Antony and Cleopatra at Actium (31 BCE).<sup>61</sup> Vergil posits it as a conflict between Western virtue and Eastern vice:

Here Augustus Caesar leads the Italians into battle  
 With the Senate and the people, the Penates and the great gods...  
 There is Antony with barbaric wealth and various forces,  
 Victor from the people of the dawn and the red shore<sup>62</sup>,  
 He brings with him Egypt and the might of the East and furthest Bactria...  
 Actian Apollo sees this and draws his bow  
 From above: all Egypt and India,  
 Every Arab, all the Sabaeans turn their backs to this terror<sup>63</sup>

The East in general is an unknown quantity, a great land mass divided among a handful of vaguely defined peoples: Egyptians, Arabs, Sabaeans and Bactrians. According to this model, the barbarian East clearly comprises the modern Middle East, with its ultimate boundary set in Bactria, modern Afghanistan. It betrays a studied ignorance toward the East and its peoples, for classical knowledge of geography was surprisingly vague. Here the East is divided amongst only four peoples; Juvenal goes further still, to divide the known world into three: *Romanus, Graiusque et Barbarus* (Roman, Greek and barbarian), elevating his own by differentiating Roman from Greek.<sup>64</sup> Eulogius and Albar would appear to divide the world into three too: Christian, Jew and schismatic.

The East is explicitly associated with wealth and barbarism (*ope barbarica*) and opposed to the piety of the West (*magnis dis*). This is a commonplace, even a cliché, to be found scattered throughout literary and documentary texts of every genre and purpose in the Greek and Latin classical canons, and a vital part of the legacy upon which the Christian West could draw in times of conflict with Eastern powers. The vast

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<sup>61</sup> Vella, Horatio Caesar Roger, ‘Vergil’s *Aeneid* VIII and the Shield of Aeneas: Recurrent Topics and Cyclic Structures’, *Studia Humaniora Tartuensia* 5 (2004), 2.

<sup>62</sup> This is not the biblical Red Sea, but the Indian Ocean.

<sup>63</sup> Vergil:

*hinc Augustus agens Italos in proelia Caesar  
 cum patribus populoque, penatibus et magnis dis...  
 hinc ope barbarica variisque Antonius armis,  
 victor ab Aurorae populis et litore rubro,  
 Aegyptum viresue Orientis et ultima secum  
 Bactra vehit...  
 Actius haec cernens arcum tendebat Apollo  
 Desuper: omnis eo terrore Aegyptus  
 Et Indi, omnis Arabs, omnes vertebant terga Sabaei*

(*Aeneid*.VIII.678-70, 704-6).

<sup>64</sup> Juvenal, *Saturae*.X.138.

conglomerate of eastern provinces were the source of Roman luxury, products from incense and spice to silk (Asia) to the bulk of basic foodstuffs (North Africa, Egypt) – Horace refers to ‘rich Asia’ (*ditem Asiam*)<sup>65</sup> and ‘fertile Africa’ (*fertilis Africae*)<sup>66</sup> – so much so that the East became synonymous with these resources and the kind of lifestyle they fuelled in the West:

Would you swap what rich Achaemenes<sup>67</sup> had  
Or the Mygdonian<sup>68</sup> wealth of fertile Phrygia<sup>69</sup>,  
Or the well-stocked homes of the Arabs  
For a lock of Licymnia’s hair?<sup>70</sup>

The East is a proverbial measure of wealth, epitomised by figures like the Lydian King Croesus. For Horace, the successful lover is ‘richer than the king of the Persians’<sup>71</sup>. Horace is a treasure trove of such imagery, referencing Anatolian marble (*Phrygius lapis*), Phoenician dye (*purpurarum Sidone*) and Persian aromatic oil (*Achaemeniumque costum*) in one ode alone.<sup>72</sup>

A perfect example of the trope can be found in the simple association of the Arab with myrrh, the height of luxury, made in Vergil’s *Ciris: Arabae myrrhae*<sup>73</sup>, an association made five centuries previous by Herodotus:

Arabia is the last of the inhabited countries to the south, and it is in this country alone that frankincense is produced, and myrrh too, cassia and cinnamon and gum-mastich... there comes from Arabia a smell so indescribably sweet<sup>74</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Horace, *Satirae*.I.7.19.

<sup>66</sup> Horace, *Odes*.III.16.31.

<sup>67</sup> Achaemenes: the eponymous founder of the Persian Achaemenid dynasty, sixth century BCE.

<sup>68</sup> Mygdonia: a central Macedonian district, also a Mesopotamian district.

<sup>69</sup> Phrygia: territory of central Anatolia, modern Turkey.

<sup>70</sup> Horace:

*num tu quae tenuit dives Achaemenes  
aut pinguis Phrygiae Mygdonias opes  
permutare velis crine Licymniae,  
plenas aut Arabum domos...?*

(*Odes*.II.12.21-4).

<sup>71</sup> Horace:

*donec gratus eram tibi  
nec quisquam potior bracchia candidae  
cervici iuvenis dabat,  
Persarum vigui rege beatior  
As long as I pleased you and  
No one preferable put his arms  
Round your white neck,  
I thrive, Richer than the king of the Persians*

(*Odes*.III.9.1-4).

<sup>72</sup> Horace, *Odes*.III.1.41ff.

<sup>73</sup> Vergil, *Ciris*.238.

<sup>74</sup> Herodotus:

πρὸς δ’ αὖ μεσαμβρίας ἐσχάτη Ἀραβίη τῶν οἰκομενέων χωρέων ἐστί, ἐν δε ταύτῃ λιβανωτός τε ἐστὶ μόνῃ χωρέων πασέων φύμενος καὶ σμύρνη καὶ κασίη καὶ κινάμωνον καὶ λήδανον... ἀπόζει δε τῆς χώρας τῆς Ἀραβίης θεσπέσιον ὡς ἡδύ

This would be dutifully and influentially perpetuated many centuries later by Isidore, who mentions Arabs and Arabia in connection with aromatic opulence:

Spices are whatever India or Arabia or other regions produce with a fragrant scent... frankincense is a huge and well-branched tree of Arabia... myrrh is a tree of Arabia five cubits tall... the storax is a tree of Arabia whose branches ooze sap through their pores at the rise of the dog-star<sup>75</sup>... the bdellium is a tree of India and Arabia, of which the Arabian juice is the best... aloe is produced in India and Arabia, a tree with a very sweet and noble scent... cassia is grown in Arabia<sup>76</sup>

Isidore also credits the Arabian Peninsula with a monopoly on frankincense (quoting Vergil's *Georgics*).<sup>77</sup> This is an association that transmitted the pejorative association of the Eastern man with luxury throughout Catholic Christendom due to Isidore's huge popularity, and lastingly informed Western imaginings of the Muslim. With this great material wealth comes the inevitable corollary: decadence. The men of the East were thus condemned for their supposed embodiment of those characteristics shunned by the stoic Roman ideal of virtuous simplicity:

I hate sumptuous Persian stuffs, my boy,  
Crowns woven from the linden-tree displease...  
I am anxious that you do not toil at all over simple myrtle<sup>78</sup>

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(*Histories*.III.107-13, Godley, *The Persian Wars: Books 3-4* (London: Heinemann, 1921), 134).

<sup>75</sup> The dog-star is Sirius, the brightest star in the night sky, whose heliacal rising marks the height of summer; the Greeks thus named it *ho Seirios* (ὁ Σείριος) meaning 'The Scorcher'. It is called 'the dog-star' because of its prominent position in the constellation of Canis Major, and is thus used by both Greeks (κύνωστρος) and Romans (*canicula*) as a metonym for 'summer', whence comes the phrase 'dog days of summer' (κύνωλ/*canicularis*) used at least since the fourth century BCE – an early example is to be found in Book 1 of Aristotle's *Physics* (199a2, translated by Philip Henry Wicksteed and Francis Macdonald Cornford in the volume *Aristotle: Physics, Books 1-4* (London: Heinemann, 1957), 170.

<sup>76</sup> Isidorus Hispalensis episcopus:

*Aromata sunt quaequae fragrantis odoris India vel Arabia mittit, sive aliae regiones...  
Thus arbor Arabiae immense atque ramosa... Myrrha arbor Arabiae altitudinis  
quinque cubitorum... Storax arbor Arabiae... cujus virgulae inter caniculae ortum  
cavernatim lacrimam fluunt... Bdellium Indiae et Arabiae arbor, cujus lacryma melior  
Arabica... Aloa in India atque Arabia gignitur, arbor odoris suavissimi ac summi...  
Casia nascitur in Arabia*

(*Etymologiae*.XVII.8.1-12, PL 82, col.620B-22C).

<sup>77</sup> Isidore:

*solis est thuraea virga Sabaeis... Ipsi sunt et Arabes... commercia Arabes undique  
subvehunt*  
'The branch of Frankincense is the Sabaeans' alone'... These [the Sabaeans] are also  
[known as] the Arabians... the Arabs take their commerce everywhere

(*Etymologiae*.IX.2.14... 2.49... XV.1.35, PL 82, col.329C... 332C... 531B; Vergil, *Georgicon*.II.117).

<sup>78</sup> Horace:

*persicos odi, puer, apparatus,  
displicent nexae philyra coronae...  
simplici myrto nihil adlabores  
sedulus curo*

(*Odes*.I.38.1-2... 5-6).

These stereotypical vices were of course found among the Romans but had no part in their idealised self-image. Horace associates drunkenness more than once with Eastern vanity and debauchery, though without censure:

Pompeius, first of my comrades,  
 With whom I often subdued the waning day with wine,  
 Crowned with hair shining  
 With Syrian ointment  
 ...Why not  
 Lie here without design,  
 Drinking while we may,  
 Our white heads scented  
 With roses and Assyrian nard-oil?  
 Bacchus sends gnawing worries packing.  
 What boy will quickly quench the burning of the Falernian  
 With a cup from the river flowing past?<sup>79</sup>

How does this schema relate to the situation of the Andalusī Christians? Like the fifth-century Greeks, Eulogius felt threatened by a government culturally other though ill-defined, and marginalised by an expanding community of the linguistically, culturally, and religiously other. The only real difference is that Attic and Roman culture were flourishing cultural centres who stood vulnerable along their Eastern frontiers to a less sophisticated but immeasurable enemy, while the increasingly peripheral Andalusī Christians were in possession of a literary and intellectual culture on the wane and threatened from within by a minority with a far more vigorous culture.

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<sup>79</sup> Horace:

*Pompei, meorum prime sodalium,  
 cum quo morantem saepe diem mero  
 fregi, coronatus nitentes  
 malobathro Syrio capillos?  
 ...cur non  
 ...iacentes sic temere et rosa  
 canos odorati capillos,  
 dum licet, Assyriaque nardo  
 potamus uncti? Dissipat Euhius  
 curas edacis. Quis puer ocius  
 restinguet ardentis Falerni  
 pocula praetereunte lympa?*

(*Odes*, II.7.5-8... 11.13-20).

## Christian-Muslim moral antithesis

Steeped in the classics, Eulogius and Albar perpetuate the diametric opposition of Graeco-Roman and Eastern barbarian with Christian and Muslim, a dichotomy that would later become key to conceptions of Islam in the medieval and modern West but was probably a uniquely Cordoban enterprise at this time as far as the Iberian Peninsula is concerned<sup>80</sup>, and the Andalusī Muslim would continue to be represented as the inverse of the Christian ideal by the chroniclers of the Northern Iberian kingdoms and beyond.<sup>81</sup>

The Muslim is thus characterised by the lust and treachery characteristic of his Eastern forebears the ‘faithless, treacherous Persians’ (*infidive Persae*)<sup>82</sup>, and is thus denounced by Eulogius as a member of a ‘sect of perversity’ (*sectae peruersitatis*)<sup>83</sup> and a sinful community (*impio Arabum imperio*)<sup>84</sup> in direct contradistinction to the central Christian tenets of truth, love and chastity. One can see the influence of Eulogius’ reading in his synthesis of explicitly classical and Christian images in his portrait of Muḥammad I as ‘the Satrap of the shadows’ (*satrapae tenebrarum*)<sup>85</sup>, ‘Satrap’ being a specifically Persian term, and the conflict of light and shadow an obviously Christian metaphor. Even the pre-Islamic East of the late-fourth and early-fifth century was formulated as a hotbed of anti-Christianity because the nomadic Arabs of the frontier had been a thorn in the side of the settled urban Empire, as Jerome shows:

The star of your god, which is called Chocab in Hebrew, is Lucifer’s, whom the Saracens worship<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Svetlana Luchitskaya writes that this extreme symbolic opposition ‘played a central role in the medieval consciousness’ (‘Muslims and Christian Imagery of the Thirteenth Century: The Visual Code of Otherness’, *al-Masāq* 12 (2000), 37).

<sup>81</sup> As Ron Barkai puts it:

*los calificativos con que las crónicas cristianas apodan a los musulmanes como grupo se basan principalmente en nombres que tienen una connotación negativa, tomados de las Sagradas Escrituras o de la literatura sagrada cristiana, por ejemplo: agarenos, moabitas, asirios, babilonios, ismaelitas, amorritas, caldeos y sarracenos, supuestos de ser descendientes de Sara. Tales denominaciones son parte de la « imagen del espejo »*

the expressions with which the Christian chronicles refer to the Muslims as a group are based principally upon names that bear a negative connotation, taken from Holy Scriptures or sacred Christian literature, for example: Hagarenes, Moabites, Assyrians, Babylonians, Ishmaelites, Amorrites, Chaldaeans and Saracens, alleged descendents of Sara. Such denominations are part of the ‘image of the mirror’

(*El enemigo en el espejo*, 286).

<sup>82</sup> Horace, *Odes*.IV.15.23.

<sup>83</sup> Eulogius, *Epistulae*.I.2.14, CSM 2:496.

<sup>84</sup> Eulogius, *Epistulae*.III.9.2-3, CSM 2:500.

<sup>85</sup> Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*.III.3.6, CSM 2:441.

<sup>86</sup> Hieronymus Stridonensis:

*Sidus dei vestri, quod hebraice dicitur Chocab, id est Luciferi, quem sarraceni hucusque venerantur*

(*Commentarium in Amos Prophetam*.II.25, PL 25, col.1055B).



The rhetoric of binary opposition dominates and determines the form of Eulogius and Albar's Christian-Muslim discourse in ninth-century al-Andalus, as Tolan notes<sup>87</sup>:

Time and again, Eulogius and Alvarus insist on two key faults of the Muslim other: their lust and violence<sup>88</sup>

Eulogius quotes from *Romans*, cataloguing the Sodomites' every fault, making it a list of every Muslim defect of personality and morality:

being filled with all unrighteousness, fornication, wickedness, covetousness, maliciousness; full of envy, murder, debate, deceit, malignity; whisperers, backbiters, haters of God, spiteful, proud, boasters, inventors of evil things, disobedient to parents, without understanding, covenantbreakers, without natural affection, implacable, unmerciful<sup>89</sup>

Albar issues his own condemnation of the Muslim as a negative image of the Christian, in whom are housed all the failings of Christian sin and none of his aspiration to virtue:

Truly they are swollen with pride, exalted with inflamed heart, languid in the pleasure of carnal acts, excessive in consumption, invaders in their seizure of things and eager for the pillaging of the poor, selfish without piety, liars without shame, false without discretion, bold without modest thought, cruel without mercy, invaders without justice, honour or truth, oblivious to feelings of kindness. They know not the deference of piety, they are faddish, trendy, sly, cunning, defiled with the dregs of every kind of impiety, not moderately but overwhelmingly so. They mock humility as senselessness, reject chastity as though it were filth, disparage virginity as an unclean squalid thing, and trampling the virtues of the soul with the vices of the body, they indicate their own mores in their deeds and dress<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Millet-Gérard sees a dichotomy specifically between martyr and Muslim:

[Il y a] les martyrs, d'une part, et les musulmans d'autre part, dans deux mondes opposés. La vie éternelle est pour les premiers, le saeculum pour les seconds. De ces deux mondes totalement distincts, l'un doit être à tout prix recherché, l'autre absolument rejeté

[There were] the martyrs on the one hand, and the Muslims on the other, in two opposed worlds. Eternal life for the former, the physical life for the latter. Of these two totally distinct worlds, the one must be sought at all costs, the other absolutely rejected

(*Chrétiens mozarabes et culture islamique*, 123).

<sup>88</sup> Tolan, *Saracens*, 94.

<sup>89</sup> *Romans* I:29-33; Eulogius:

*repletos omni iniquitate, malitia, fornicatione, auaritia, nequitia, plenos inuidia, homicidiis, contentione, dolo, malignitate, sussurrone, detractores, Deo odibilis, contumeliosos, superbos, elatos, inuentores malorum, parentes non oboedientes, insipientes, incompositos, sine affectione, absque foedere, sine misericordia*

(*Liber Apologeticus Martyrum*.12.28, CSM 2:482).

<sup>90</sup> Albar:

*Sunt etenim in superbia tumidi, in tumore cordis elati, in delectatione carnalium operum fluidi, in comestione superflui, in conquisitione rerum et direptione pauperum inuasores et cupidi, absque pietate tenaces, sine rubore mendaces, sine discretione fallaces, absque modestia mentis procaces, sine misericordia crudeles, sine iustitia inuasores, sine honore absque ueritate, benignitatis nescientes affectum. Ignorantes pietatis conflexum, troposi, ornati, callidi, uersuti, uel cunctarum impietatum faecibus non medie, sed principaliter, sordidati. Humilitatem uelut insaniam deridentes,*

Albar seems to betray some knowledge of Islam, perhaps even Arabic, in his condemnation of Muslim piety: for the term he uses for deference – *conflexum* – meaning literally ‘bowing’ or ‘bent’, evokes the prostrations of Muslim prayer as well the submission that identifies *al-muslim* as ‘one who submits’ to God.<sup>91</sup> Albar attacks those facets of Islamic identity most dear.

Eulogius follows the classical paradigm to its logical conclusion and makes sure to fit Muḥammad in the mould of the dissolute barbarian Other: Jesus’ office as Messiah and last and greatest prophet is balanced by Muḥammad the pseudo prophet; Christ is matched by Antichrist or a precursor thereof; Christ’s divine truth is balanced by Muḥammad’s diabolic falsehood, his revelation directly from Satan:

Muḥammad was born in the time of the emperor Heraclius... [he was] a lustful money lender... and soon the Spirit of Error, appearing to him in the shape of a vulture showing its golden mouth, said it was the angel Gabriel and ordered him to appear to his people as a prophet... a pseudo-prophet<sup>92</sup>

Eulogius balances Perfectus’ profession of his faith in Christ with his condemnation of the Prophet:

He was ordered to offer his testimony about Christ and the prophet Muḥammad before [the judge]. In a seamless stream of words from his mouth he openly confessed the power of divine Christ and preached that God was a blessing upon all people for all the ages... ‘This man, your prophet, is an enemy of old among others anticipated in certain prophecies. He was seduced by the fictions of demons, dedicated to the sacrileges of wicked men, corrupting the hearts of many disgraced people with lethal poison, he has sold [them] into the chains of eternal perdition. Thus set apart by no spiritual prudence, he accommodates their faith in Prince Satan, with whom he will suffer the cruellest torments, and you followers too will burn with him; he is destined for the inextinguishable flames of the furnace. For by what covenant is he considered to be among the prophets, and how is he not punished by heavenly curse, he who, blinded by her beauty, and in barbaric custom, took Zaīnab, the wife of his slave Zaīd, just like a

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*castitatem quasi spurcitiam respuentes, uirginitatem seu sordes scrabedinum detrahentes, et uirtutes animi corporis uitio percalcantes, gestu habituque mores proprios indicantes*

(*Indiculus Luminosus*.31.62-73, *CSM* 1:310-1).

<sup>91</sup> On proposals for the etymology of the Arabic term *islām* and of *muslim*, see: Baneth, D.Z.H., ‘What did Muhammad mean when he called his Religion “Islam”? The Original Meaning of Aslama and its Derivatives’, *Israel Oriental Studies* 2 (1972), 183-90.

<sup>92</sup> Eulogius:

*exortus est namque Mahomet haeresiarches tempore Heraclii imperatoris... cupidus faenerator... moxque erroris spiritus in speciem uulturis ei apprensus os aureum sibi ostendens angelum Gabrielem esse se dixit et ut propheta in gente sua appareret imperauit... pseudopropheta*

(*Liber Apologeticus Martyrum* 16.1-2... 10, .15-7... 30, *CSM* 2:483-4). Tolan and Wolf have both noted the approach of demonising Islam by depicting Muḥammad as an Antichrist or inversion of Christ. See: Tolan, ‘Reliques et païens’, 41; Wolf, ‘Muḥammad as Antichrist’, 6.

horse or a mule, in whom there is no intellect, and he joined her to himself in adulterous ties, and claimed that he had done so by an angel's order?<sup>93</sup>

Albar also takes great pains to characterise Islamic culture as depraved and inherently sexual, clearly demonstrating that he too knew enough about his enemy's beliefs to twist them. When remonstrating with the apostate Bodo-Eleazar, he suggests that Islam would be more suited to his lustful tastes than the austerity of Orthodox Judaism:

if wantonness pleases you, and blossoming chaste virginity makes you shudder, look not to the Jews but the followers of Muḥammad, where you might shine according to the mirror [like a mirror?] and take not one but many wives, and like a horse off the reins you might rush here and there in every direction in your eagerness for females, where you might satiate your libidinous habit in the brothel and wickedly befoul [yourself] with the stains of censurable voracity and even gorge yourself in the incestuous manner of concubines<sup>94</sup>

In the *Indiculus Luminosus* Albar returns to his – euphemistically graphic, and classically flavoured – theme:

They claim in their teachings, prattling in unfit exclamation as though it were something wonderful, that their seducer, occupied with the task of chasing skirt, had obtained the strength of Aphrodite beyond other men; and the will of Venus was given him by his god more abundantly than all others; and he had more juice than others for the most impure activities; he could distribute his flow with less effort, and he had been given vigour in coitus and the strength of over 40 men to exercise his appetite for women. What foul and decadent abundance of rank loin. [It came] not from God, father of all, as the most unjust predator dreamed, but from Venus the wanton wife of Vulcan – that is, the wife of Fire. She is called Aphrodite after the foamy liquid; the action of loves is assigned to her, whom that same lewd one called *al-Kaufeit*<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> Eulogius:

*Suumque coram eis de Xpo et propheta Mahomet testimonium proferre iubetur. Qui continuo diffuso ore diuinitatis Xpi potentiam profitens et esse Deum super omnia benedictum in saecula praeconans... E quibus inter ceteros summus hic propheta uester hostis antiqui praestigiis occupatus, daemoniorum figmentis illectus, maleficiorum sacrilegiis deditus, multorum paruipendentium corda letali ueneno corrumpens aeternae perditionis laqueis mancipauit. Sic nulla spiritali discretus prudentia, principi Satanae eorum fidem accommodat, cum quo ipse asperrima inferorum luiturus tormenta uos quoque sequipedas secum arsuos inextinguibilis camini deputauit incendiis. Nam quo pacto inter prophetas reputabitur aut quare non maledictione caelesti plectetur, qui Zeinab uxorem uernaculi sui Zaid specie decoris eius obcaecatus iure barbarico auferens, sicut equus et mulus in quibus non est intellectus, adulterina sibi copula nexuit seseque ex iussu angeli hoc egisse praedixit?*

(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.II.1.2.4-6... 17-28, CSM 2:398).

<sup>94</sup> Albar:

*si te liuido delectat et uirginitas floridaque castitas horret, non Iudeos, set Mamentjanos inquire, ubi secundum speculum fulgeas et non hunam uxorem, set plures adsummas et uelut equus infrenis passim feminalium auiditate in diuersa feraris, ubi lupanario more liuidine satjeris et male castigate uoracitatis sordibus inquineris adque concuinarum incestuoso tramite sagineris*

(*Epistulae*.XVIII.16.17-23, CSM 1:258).

<sup>95</sup> Albar:

Albar fills two chapters of the *Indiculus Luminosus* with this attack on Islamic morality, and moves on with the promise that he would dedicate an entire work to the subject ‘if God gives me the life’.<sup>96</sup> He and Eulogius thus labour to impute all of Christian man’s failings to the Muslim.<sup>97</sup>

The classical association of excessive sexuality led inevitably to accusations of effeminacy. It was not merely a consequence of a decadent lifestyle; it was an inherent weakness – a racial characteristic. One could tell a barbarian, apparently, by his displays of un-Roman vanity, such as the wearing of jewellery by a proto-Iraqi:

I was born on the Euphrates, a fact which  
The effeminate holes in my ear proclaims<sup>98</sup>

The Greeks were, typically, a model of effeminacy and homoeroticism, but they are nothing compared to the barbarian of the East:

And yet one Armenian, Zalaces, is said to be more  
Effeminate than all the Greek boys put together<sup>99</sup>

It matters not whence comes the barbarian, the simple fact that he is such – neither Roman (nor Greek) by custom or colour – means that he is predisposed to immorality.

*Tradunt enim et quasi exclamatio egrigia inportunis garrunt disciplinis hunc illorum amasium femellario opere occupatum pre ceteris hominibus Afrodise obtinuisse uirtutem et abundantjorem omnibus a Deo suo illi pro munere datam Ueneris uoluntatem licoremque spurcissimi operis et largiorem ceteris habuisse et faciliiori effectu ab aliis digessisse fluxumque in coytum et uigorem, immo copiam in femineam libidinem exercendam quadraginta uirorum a superis illi fuisse delatam. Quam spurcam pinguemque habundantjam olidi lumbi non a rerum parente Deo, ut predo iniquissimus somniauit, set a Uenere ludibriosa Uulcani coniuge, id est, ignis uxorem, que est propter spumosum licorem Afrodin dicta est, cui et opus uenerium adsignatur, alkaufeit idem impudicus nominauit*

(*Indiculus Luminosus*.23.3-14, CSM 1:296-7.

<sup>96</sup> Albar:

*Que omnia in alio opere enucleatjus et limatjori inuectjone, si Deus uitam concesserit, disseremus*  
I shall set out all of this very clearly and with really elegant attack in another work, if  
God gives me the time

(*Indiculus Luminosus*.24.18-9, CSM 1:298). Quite how Albar intended to go about this ‘really elegantly’ is an intriguing mystery, for he never did so, or he did but the work was since lost.

<sup>97</sup> For an extended and detailed discussion of medieval Christian use of all that was considered sinful or disgraceful in behaviour and about the human body in anti-Islamic polemic, see the first two chapters of Alexandra Cuffel’s *Gendering Disgust in Medieval Religious Polemic* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007). See also: Daniel, ‘Spanish Christian Sources of Information about Islam (Ninth-Thirteenth Centuries)’, *Al-Qanṭara* 15.2 (1994), 366-73.

<sup>98</sup> Juvenal:

*natus ad Euphraten, molles quod in aure fenestras  
arguerint*

(*Saturae*.I.104-5). Compare with Isidore’s assertion that only the Arabs pierce their ears (*pertundunt Arabes aures, Etymologiae*.XIX.23.7) to get a sense of the conflation of Eastern geography in the minds of the West.

<sup>99</sup> Juvenal:

...et tamen unus  
Armenius Zalaces cunctis narrator ephebis  
Mollior

(*Saturae*.II.163-5).

We are told, in Juvenal's sixth satire, that the Moor and the Indian 'know' about perversion:

...but all  
The Moroccans and Indians know about that 'harp-girl'  
Who brought a penis bigger than two of Caesar's *Anti-Catos*  
Into the place where every picture  
Representing the figures of the opposite sex must be covered,  
That place whence flees the mouse, fearing for his testicles<sup>100</sup>

The reference is to the philanderer Publius Clodius Pulcher's profanation of the Bona Dea's mystery rites in 62 BCE by infiltrating the all-female congregation dressed as a woman. Beyond illustrating a clear and established association of the Eastern or dark-skinned man with sexual – and blasphemous – immorality, it is difficult to see just how else these texts could have appealed to Eulogius. The sixth satire, specifically, deals with such ungodly subjects as the sexual degeneracy of Roman society, but it obviously does contain a good many gems of sufficient use to the Andalusī priest that he deemed it worthy of transporting 400 miles and of further study. Might he have seen potential for attacking and depicting the manifold sin of the false prophet and his followers in Juvenal's details on Eastern debauchery? It would appear so, for Eulogius presents Muḥammad – through the mouth of the *qāḍī* of Córdoba no less – as a preacher of gluttony and indulgence; the Islamic heaven is presented in Muḥammad's words as 'full of feasts and rivers of women' (*regnumque caelorum plenum epulis et fluxibus feminarum edocuit*)<sup>101</sup>. That Juvenal explicitly associates the Chaldaeans, reviled by Albar, with the black arts of astrology, while also sarcastically depicting them as credulous fools, could not but add further attraction:

But there's more faith in the Chaldaeans:  
Whatever the astrologer says, they believe it<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> Juvenal:

...sed omnes  
noverunt Mauri atque Indi quae psaltria penem  
maiores quam sunt duo Caesaris anticatonas  
illuc, testiculi sibi conscius unde fugit mus,  
intulerit, ubi velari pictura iubetur  
quaecumque alterius sexus imitata figures

(*Saturae*.VI.336-41).

<sup>101</sup> Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum.praefatio*.2.10-1, CSM 2:367.

<sup>102</sup> Juvenal:

Chaldaeis sed maior erit fiducia: quidquid  
dixerit astrologus, credent

(*Saturae*.VI.553-4).

Another Juvenalian passage whose sentiment Eulogius was sure to have appreciated pertains to foreign decadence and the immorality of immigrants, and reflects a situation closely mirroring his own:

Dirty money first brought in foreign customs,  
And effeminate riches penetrated our era  
With foul luxury<sup>103</sup>

One final reference from Juvenal's sixth satire – providing Eulogius was aware of the personages mentioned in it – could well have sealed Eulogius' image of the Eastern barbarian in whose midst he lamented. It refers to the alleged incestuous affair of Marcus Julius Agrippa II:

this most famed diamond  
Barbarous Agrippa gave to his incestuous sister<sup>104</sup>

Born in 27-8 CE, he was the nephew of Herod the Great of Matthew's Gospel, whose lineage made him not only Jewish but an Idumaeen Arab through his (Herod's) father, Antipater.<sup>105</sup> Agrippa II is rumoured to have engaged in an incestuous relationship with his sister Berenice, and is thus tainted on three counts: he is a barbarian, and thus racially inferior; he is an Arab (and a descendent of Herod, which cannot surely have counted in his favour!), and therefore naturally to be associated with the Islamic emirate, but he is also a Jew. His incestuousness would probably have seemed a natural consequence of the first two.

Juvenal's *Saturae* – while a surprising item to find in the possession of an ecclesiastic, considering their colourful, often pornographic, contents – are a rather illuminating source for our purposes, and certainly could have shown Eulogius how to

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<sup>103</sup> Juvenal:

*prima peregrinos obscena pecunia mores  
intulit, et turpi fregerunt saecula luxu  
divitiae molles*

(*Saturae*.VI.298-300).

<sup>104</sup> Juvenal:

*adamans notissimus...  
barbarus incestae, dedit hunc Agrippa sorori*

(*Saturae*.VI.158).

<sup>105</sup> Eusebius and Josephus give us Herod the Great's Arab lineage, which is not stressed in the Gospel accounts. Josephus writes of his parents: 'He was Idumaeen from Antipater... Cyprus was of distinguished Arabian origins' (Ἀντιπάτρῳ... γένος δ' ἦν Ἰδυμαῖος... τῶν ἐπισήμων ἐξ Ἀραβίας, Κῶπρον) (Josephus, *Jewish War*.I.123... 181, edited by G.P. Goold with parallel translation by Henry St J. Thackeray (Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: Heinemann, 1997), 58-84. Following Josephus' lead, Eusebius writes:

τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους Ἡρώδου πρώτου τὸ γένος ἀλλοφύλον διειληφότος τὴν βασιλείαν... ὡς μὲν Ἰώσηπος παραδιδωσαν, Ἰδυμαῖος ὢν κατὰ πατέρα τὸ γένος Ἀράβιος δε κατὰ μητέρα

Herod was the first foreigner to hold sovereignty of the Jewish nation... he was, as Josephus relates, Idumaeen on his father's side, and Arab on his mother's

(Eusebius *Historia Ecclesiastica*.I.6, PG 20, col.85B).



treat the Muslim Eastern Other: his inferiority is preserved in Islam's inferiority to Christianity, conversion being a 'change for the worse'<sup>106</sup>. Juvenal's stylised tirades against the ills of his own society go some way to defining classical attitudes to the foreign; in fact, of anything that is not the Republican Roman norm. The first satire in particular could be the inspiration for Albar's scatologically venomous *gentilium fece*. Its narrator represents the Roman attitude that the Easterner is so far from being worthy of dignity that even the wealthy man – whose wealth alone would command respect were he truly 'Roman' and not provincial – is the object of contemptuous, not to mention unsanitary, abuse:

And some Egyptian mogul – I don't know who –  
Has dared to put up his titles among the triumphal statues.  
At his effigy it's fine to do more than piss<sup>107</sup>

Consequently, Leocritia's Muslim origins are condemned by Albar with the phrase 'begotten of Gentile dregs and born from wolf's flesh'<sup>108</sup> – though she herself overcame this handicap through spiritual greatness. In his *Documentum Martyriale*, Eulogius describes the confessor Flora as saved 'from the wolves' jaws' by her faith<sup>109</sup>, and exhorts her to rise above her tainted origins as daughter of a Muslim father (and Christian mother), and prevail to attain the ultimate prize, though 'born of a wolfish union' (*ex lupino creata coitu*)<sup>110</sup>.

The bestial imagery continues with Eulogius equating the Arab (*brutos Arabes*) with dumb animals (*brutis animalibus*).<sup>111</sup> Eulogius and Albar draw on Aesop's fable of the wolf in sheep's clothing via *Matthew 7:15* – 'Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves' – likening the

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<sup>106</sup> Eulogius describes an anonymous convert as *in deteriora conuersus* (*Memoriale Sanctorum*.III.2.14, CSM 2:440).

<sup>107</sup> Juvenal:

*atque triumphales, inter quas ausus habere  
nescio quis titulos Aegyptus atque arabarches,  
cuius effigiem non tantum meiere fas est*

(*Saturae*.I.129-31).

<sup>108</sup> Albar:

*ex gentilium fece progenita et ex luporum uisceribus prodita*

(*Vita Eulogii*.13.2, CSM 1:337).

<sup>109</sup> Eulogius:

*mulier illa luporum erepta faucibus, in fide Christi perseuerans post nonnullum tempus  
in Domino requieuit*

persevering in her trust in Christ, that woman was snatched from the wolves' gullets  
and not long after, she rested in the Lord

(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.II.8.9.14-6, CSM 2:412).

<sup>110</sup> Eulogius, *Documentum Martyriale*.20.9, CSM 2:445.

<sup>111</sup> Eulogius, *Liber Apologeticus Martyrum*.16.13, 18, CSM 2:484.

Muslims to a pack of wolves attacking the flock, as had Basil and Augustine.<sup>112</sup> Albar bemoans the ‘rabid wolf stealing crumbs from God’s table’ (*Domine...rabidum lupum ex mense tue micis cibare*)<sup>113</sup> and fears that ‘the wolves are raging around the sheepfold’ (*lupi qui circa caulas seuiunt*)<sup>114</sup>. Eulogius laments that ‘wolves have invaded my sheep’ (*oues autem meas lupi inuaserunt*)<sup>115</sup>.

### Cordoban engagement with the classics

Albar appears somewhat conflicted in his attitude towards the pagan classics; on one page he will flaunt his learning, on another express contempt for all things pagan. Sage has commented that ‘The correspondence with John of Seville embodies a full-length debate on the value of heathen rhetoric to Christians’<sup>116</sup>. Thus he paraphrases Vergil a number of times – Gil identified six instances – and twice self-consciously quotes him directly, almost exclusively in his letters directed against the apostate Bodo-Eleazar:

as Vergil says, ‘he is neither easy on the eye nor easy on anyone’s ear’<sup>117</sup>... of such things Vergil said:

‘They are accustomed by Teutonic rite to brandish barbed spears’<sup>118</sup>

Bodo-Eleazar counters in kind with the Latin learning of his Carolingian origins to call Albar a self-righteous idiot:

In response to your lying letter we can quote this line of Vergil:

‘Do we believe, or do lovers create their own dreams?’<sup>119</sup>

and elsewhere:

‘He who hates not Bavius, let him love your songs, Maevius,  
And may they yoke foxes and milk billy goats’<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> The marauding wolf is a *topos* of heretic threat – Eulogius and Albar show no clear defined understanding of Islam, often apparently conceiving of it as a Christian heresy – applied to the Arians, whom Basil refers to as ‘those who have clothed themselves in sheep’s skin’ (οἱ δε την δοραν του προβατου περιβεβλημενοι). See: Basil, *Letters*.263, *Basil: Letters 249-368*, 90-1. Augustine commends Bishop Ceretius for guarding his flock against Priscillian wolves (*Epistulae*.CCXXXVII.*Ad Ceretio, de Priscillianistarum fraude in Scripturis*.9, *PL* 33, col.1038).

<sup>113</sup> Albar, *Indiculus Luminosus*.prologue.28, *CSM* 1:271.

<sup>114</sup> Albar, *Indiculus Luminosus*.10.51, *CSM* 1:283.

<sup>115</sup> Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*.I.1.19, *CSM* 2:370.

<sup>116</sup> Sage, *Paul Albar*, 215.

<sup>117</sup> Vergil, *Aeneid*.III.621.

<sup>118</sup> Albar:

*ut Uirgilius ait, ‘nec uisu est facilis nec auditu affabilis ulli’... de qualibus Uirgilius dicit:*

*Tautonico ritu soliti torquere cateis*

(*Epistulae*.XVIII.2.4-5... 19.6, *CSM* 1:244-62). Albar quotes Vergil, *Aeneid*.VII.741.

<sup>119</sup> Vergil, *Eclogues*.VIII.108.

<sup>120</sup> Bodo quotes Vergil’s *Eclogues*.III.90-1:

In response to this erudition, Albar turns not only to Vergil once more, but also to Cato and Lucan, to bolster his own nonsensical Latin. The trouble is, his Vergilian reference comes from an unidentified quote in Isidore's *Historia de Regibus Gothorum* which may hail from a lost work or be a fake; Albar comes across as rather ludicrous:

Though you do not know what to say, you cannot stay quiet, and, as the fables tell, listening with wolves' ears you cannot hold nor forsake, so the poet sings appropriately about you:

'Try what you can, lest pressed by your work's burden  
Labour oppresses and you abandon your vain attempts'<sup>121</sup>.

But so that you know who I am and better owe me silence, hear Vergil:

'Having praised the wound, the Getae despise death'<sup>122</sup>

And this too: 'The Getae', he says, 'proceed with equanimity'<sup>123</sup>. Whence comes this from the poet:

'Let the Dacian press on this side, let the Getae attack there'<sup>124</sup>

Responding to a reference – evident from Albar's reaction, but no longer extant – made by Bodo-Eleazar regarding a verse rendering of the Gospels by Juvencus, Albar pours scorn on the pagan classics for their self-conscious artistry, which he brands 'absurd and frivolous' (*inepta sunt hec et fribola*)<sup>125</sup>:

*Pro hac kartula tua falsiloqua possumus illut Uirgilii dicere:  
Credimus an qui amant ipsi siui somnia fingunt?  
et alibi:*

*Qui Uabium non odit, amet tua carmina, Meui,  
Adque idem iungat uulpes et mulgeat ircos*

(*Epistulae*.XIX.6-11, CSM 1:269). The abbot Samson quotes the same Vergilian couplet in his own war of words with Ostegesis Bishop of Málaga:

*quia qui se a uitiiis non nouit seruare nec nitorem Romani sermonis sufficit inuenire;  
unde cum Uirgilio dicendum est illi:*

*Qui Fabium non hodit, amet tua carmina, Moeue,  
atque idem iungat uulpes et mulgeat hircos*

he who does not know how to save himself from errors will not be capable to attaining the luminosity of Roman speech; so with Vergil one must say to him:

'He who hates not Bavius, let him love your songs, Maeuius,  
And may they yoke foxes and milk billy goats'

(Samson, *Apologeticus*.II.7.5.35-9, CSM 2:572).

<sup>121</sup> Cato, *Disticha*.III.14, edited with critical notes by Marcus Boas and Hendrik Johan Botschuyver (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1952), 169.

<sup>122</sup> Isidore, *Historia de Regibus Gothorum, Wandalorum et Suevorum*.67, PL 83, col.1075C.

<sup>123</sup> Isidore, *Historia de Regibus*.69, PL 83, col.1076A.

<sup>124</sup> Albar:

*dum loquere nescis, tacere non uales adque, ut fabule ferunt, lupum auribus retinens  
nec tenere potes nes uales dimittere, ideo tiui abte canit poeta:*

*Quod potes id temta, operis ne pondere pressus  
Incumbat labor et frustra temtata relinquo.*

*Set ut me qui sim ipsi cognoscas et amplius me tacendo deuities, Uirgilium audi:*

*Mortem contemnunt laudato uulnere Getes,*

*Necnon et illut 'Getes', inquit, 'quo pergit equo'. Unde et illut extat poete:*

*Hinc Dacus premat, inde Getes occurrat*

(*Epistulae*.XX.3-13CSM 1:269-70). Albar quotes Lucan's *Pharsalia*.II.54 in the last line. See: *Lucan: The Civil War* translated by J.D. Duff (London: Heinemann, 1997), 60.

<sup>125</sup> Albar, *Epistulae*.IV.9.17-9, CSM 1:168.

at that time whoever put his work into verses for the sake of eloquence's charm and the opportunity for wit, was enslaved to the error of the Gentiles, for as they read Vergil's *Aeneid* and wept at Dido dead on the point of the sword, or the injury of beauty spurned, there were also the honours for the snatched Ganymede, Minerva's treacherous gift, and the deception of unjust Juno. Lest Christians be polluted by these errors and filthy things, it was decided that [poets] would sing the miracles of Christ in verse so that the people might not be enticed by sweet metrics and lies but rather cling exclusively to Truth, sipping [its] mellifluous flavour, and spitting out the filthy and most unclean stench of the foreigners<sup>126</sup>

He points out that while the Cretan seer Epimenides may have recorded his moments of (diabolical) inspiration in verse, the apostle Paul certainly did not – his inspiration was pure in its simplicity:

indeed Paul was not, as you say, devoted to the rules and feet of the Gentiles' metres, but Epimenides was used by another author for his verse<sup>127</sup>

He condemns the classics for their profanity and ungodly inspiration and rebukes John of Seville for suggesting the opposite:

But would anyone of sound mind have said, while he rendered his work in metre: 'I will hear what Lord God will speak'<sup>128</sup>? It is rather more appropriate that he should say: 'I will hear what profane Donatus tells me'. Unless perhaps you are saying that Vergil and Homer and the other poets were spoken to by the Holy Spirit and you assert that idols were praised through divine inspiration, thus denying that idols are equal to gods<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> Albar:

*eo tunc tempore magis quisquis uersibus operam dabat propter eloquii uenustatem et per occasionem dissertitudinis, gentilium serbiebat errori, dum legerent Uirgilii Eneydos et flerent Didonem extinctam ferroque extremo seqvutam uel spretam iniuriam forme et rapti Ganimedidis honores, fallacem donum Minerue, et dolum Iunonis inique, ne his horroribus sordibusue inquinarentur Xpiani preuisum est ut metrica miracula canerent Xpi, ut inlecti metrica dulcedine simul et non mendatjo, set ueritate proprius inhererent mellifluum libando saporem et etnicorum respuerent sordidum spurcissimumque fetorem*

(*Epistulae*.IV.10.4-12, CSM 1:168-9).

<sup>127</sup> Albar:

*Paulus uero non metrorum gentilium legibus pedibusue, ut dicis, serbiuit, set Epimoenides uersiculo usus fuit ab alio condito*

(*Epistulae*.IV.9.19-20, CSM 1:168).

<sup>128</sup> *Psalms* 85:8.

<sup>129</sup> Albar:

*Aut quispiam sano cerebro dixerit, dum metri operam dederit, 'Audiam quid loquatur in me Dominus Deus?' Immo plus congruit ut dicat: 'Audiam quid loquatur in me Donatus profanus'. Nisi forsitan Uirgilium et Homerum uel ceteros poetas Spiritu Sancto dicas esse locutos et per spiratjonem diuinam asseras idola fuisse laudatos hac sic equales oppleta negare diuinis*

(*Epistulae*.IV.15.2-9, CSM 2:172-3).

He fulminates against the liberal arts and the artistry of the classical canon<sup>130</sup>, despite their constituting the foundations of his own knowledge and models for his attempts at eloquence:

we desire not to sprinkle bundles of ornamental words, but express to you sentences of simple and pure [words], so that our assertion might not be coloured by a double cloak nor the utterance of its style reek of Attic wit, but that my speech might flow with a colloquial and accessible eloquence. Thucydides and Sallust do not provide the way to knowledge here, but Jacob and David draw down obstacles to the passage; Cyrus does not lead the army into battle, rather, having spoken, Moses turns aside the phalanxes of the Amalacites with his raised hands. But we do not sing Memmonic hymns or agree with the verses of the *Aeneid*'s song, nor do I draw from Livy's milky river or sing the order of the *Iliad*. For Demosthenes' viper's tongue is far from me<sup>131</sup>

Albar maligns 'Livy's milky flow' (*lacteum Libii amnem*) despite his own praise for this exact quality (*lacteus Liuii amnis*) in Eulogius' *Memoriale Sanctorum*. Albar's source in this case is the grammarian Quintilian on Livy:

nor will that milky richness of Livy teach satisfactorily him who seeks not the appearance of an explanation but confidence<sup>132</sup>

Albar's condemnations are rather odd pronouncements coming from a man who also hyperbolically praised Eulogius for his classical learning in his *vita*, especially since he himself peppered his letters with ostentatious quotes of pagan verse, and even went so far as to painstakingly – evidently so, and with scant success – construct verses of his own in various *recherché* metres, of which ten examples are extant.<sup>133</sup> The use to which Albar puts the classics is often rather immodest: laboured name-dropping to add weight to his argument and show how deeply cultured he (thought he) was.

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<sup>130</sup> Laistner, M.L.W., *Thought and Letters in Western Europe: A.D. 500 to 900* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1957), 212.

<sup>131</sup> Albar:

*non uerborum cupimus faleratorum adspargere fasces, set simplicium et puralium tiui promere uoces, nec diploide nostra bifario coloratur assertjo uel sale Attico huiusce redolet dictjonis oratjo, set plebeio et ut ita dicam communi currit eloquio. Non hic Tuccidides uel Sallustius tramitem scientjam digerunt, set Iacob et David obiculas ad caulas deducunt; non hic Cirus pugnando exercitum ducit, set Moyses erectis manibus Amalacitarum falangas orando diuertit. Set nec Memmonicos canemus imnos aut Eneydarum carmine incidimus uersos nec lacteum Libii amnem deduco nec Iliadum celeuma decanto. Procul enim a me est lingua uiperea Demostenis*

(*Epistulae*.XIV.2.5-16, CSM 1:227).

<sup>132</sup> Quintilianus:

*neque illa Livi lactea ubertas satis docebit eum qui non speciem expositionis sed fidem quaerit*

(*Institutiones Oratoria*.X.1.32, edited and translated by Donald A. Russell under the title *The Orator's Education* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 268).

<sup>133</sup> Albar, *Carmina*, CSM 1:344-61.

The correspondence with Bodo-Eleazar was undertaken in 840<sup>134</sup>, more than a decade before Eulogius' championing of martyrdom; the *Vita Eulogii* was composed during or soon after 859. It is possible that here we see an arc in Albar's attitudes to language roughly sketched. In 840 he rebukes an apostate for elevating style over the content of the Gospels, by 859 he had been inspired to take up Latin letters and write at great length and in high style. He was by then evidently so comfortable with the linguistic sophistry he had formerly condemned that he earnestly and perhaps proudly details his efforts in the apostrophic address to Eulogius with which he closes the *Vita*:

I have written in order that the delectable memory of your name flourishes forever in the world and in lasting splendour, in heaven as in life... for I have constructed a monument to your glory more lasting than bronze, which neither the rainy tornado nor hailstone can destroy, nor funeral pyre melt in its flames. I have built a memorial to your name from pure gold and every sort of precious stone, which not [even] the most violent tyrant could demolish like a bandit. I composed the fabric of your gable, and raised aloft the tower of your habitation, so that you might be a beautiful beacon henceforth for all travellers. I have decorated the inscription of your beauty with the wonderful brilliance of strung pearls and shining topaz, so that it may blaze to all the ends of the earth<sup>135</sup>

Albar shows Eulogius what he learned from him, paraphrasing the opening lines of a Horatian ode:

I have raised a monument more lasting than bronze  
 And taller than the regal site of the pyramids,  
 Which storm cannot devour, and the north wind is powerless  
 To destroy, or the innumerable flow of years and the flight of time<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> Albar:

*era hoctingentesima septuagesima octaua que nunc agitur, anno incarnatjonis Domini hoctingentesimo quadragesimo*

(*Epistulae*.XVI.6.10-12, CSM 1:239).

<sup>135</sup> Albar:

*ut nominis tui delectauilis semper in mundo memoria floreat et perenni splendore, sicut in cęlo uita... dedicaui. Construxi enim here perennius monumentum glorię tuę, quod nec nimbosus turbo grandoque lapidea dextruat, nec rogos flammarum quocumque igne liquescat. Edificabi nomini tuo memoriam ex auro obrizo et lapidibus omnigenis pretjosis, quam nullus uiolentissimus ualeuit diruere predonis more tirannus. Conposui fabricam culminis tui et in sublime turrem habitatjonis tue erexi, ut sis speciosa pharus cunctis uiantibus hinc inde relucens. Ornabi titulum decoris tui unionibus miro candore niuentibus, et topazione fulgente, ut uniuersis emicet finibus terre*

(*Vita Eulogii*.19.6-14, CSM 1:342-3).

<sup>136</sup> Horace:

*exegi monumentum aere perennius  
 regalique situ pyramidum altius,  
 quod non imber edax, non Aquilo inpotens  
 possit diruere aut innumerabilis  
 annorum series et fuga temporum*

(*Odes*.III.30.1-5).



Horace meditates here on the immortality of the written word, through which he seeks to secure his own memory, just as Albar seeks to immortalise Eulogius and his deeds – and in language even more elaborate and florid. It seems fair to say, however, that neither man would have appreciated the saying attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad that ‘the ink of the scholar is holier than the blood of the martyr’<sup>137</sup>.

Despite his – probably rhetorical – declarations against the pre-Christian world, it is clear from his repeated interaction with it that Albar has a great appreciation for classical imagery, and cannot resist appropriating its richness for his own ends. His rather nice, if somewhat laboured, paraphrasing of Horace shows that Albar is not limited to clumsy and self-conscious quotation. A detailed survey would likely reveal a great many less conspicuous paraphrases. One more catches the eye because of Apollo’s unexpected presence:

Look, wretch, for Phoebus’ rays penetrate the sewer but neither do they lose their own light, nor take on the taint of the sewer<sup>138</sup>

Albar owes a clear debt to Tertullian’s declaration ‘As he casts his rays into the sewer, of course the sun is not defiled’ (*sane, sol et in cloacam radios suos defert nec inquinatur*)<sup>139</sup>. Though the Christian Tertullian is the likely source, it cannot be denied that Albar made a conscious choice to give the image a decidedly classical flavour by adding the Olympian personification of the sun, Phoebus Apollo. Such imagery crossed from late-antiquity to the early medieval period in the work of Boethius (c.475-526 CE), a man who bridged the gap between pagan antiquity and Christian late-antiquity, who, alongside his contemporary and father-in-law Symmachus (died 526), ‘had succeeded in combining a genuine Christian faith with a devotion to all that was pagan in Roman tradition’<sup>140</sup>. Boethius was a thinker whose horizons encompassed the Greek and the Roman, pagan and Christian<sup>141</sup>, and who, like Eulogius and Albar after him, found inspiration in classical pagan culture. So much so that some have questioned his

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<sup>137</sup> Dohnanyi, Klaus von, ‘Opening speech’ in *Euro-Arab Dialogue: The relations between the two cultures. Acts of the Hamburg symposium, April 11<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> 1983* edited by Derek Hopwood (Oxford: Taylor & Francis, 1985), 11. For the Arabic text see: *Kashf al-Khafa’* edited by Isma’il b. Muḥammad al-‘Ijlouni (Cairo/Aleppo, N.D.), number 2276.

<sup>138</sup> Albar:

*intuere, miser, quod Febi radii cloacam penetrent nec tamen aut lumine proprio carent  
aut immunditiam cloace sumunt*

(*Epistulae*.XVIII.11.9-10, CSM 1:254).

<sup>139</sup> Tertullianus, *De Spectaculis*.XX, PL 1, col.652B.

<sup>140</sup> Momigliano, Arnaldo, ‘Cassiodorus and Italian Culture of his Time’ in his *Secondo contributo alla storia degli studi classici* (Rome: Associazione don Giuseppe De Luca, 1984), 198.

<sup>141</sup> Momigliano, ‘Cassiodorus and Italian Culture’, 205.

Christianity: Momigliano wrote that ‘his Christianity collapsed – it collapsed so thoroughly that perhaps he did not even notice its disappearance’<sup>142</sup>.

Boethius uses the anthropomorphism of Phoebus Apollo a number of times in the metrical verse sections of his philosophical treatise *The Consolation of Philosophy* (*Consolatio Philosophiae*), three of which specifically feature Albar’s imagery of *Phoebi radii*:

When the constellation of Cancer [summer] burns  
Gravely with Phoebus’ rays...  
There is but one father of things, one attends to all things  
He gave Phoebus his rays...  
Whoever can describe this Light  
Shall deny the rays of Phoebus<sup>143</sup>

It is possible that beyond the small circle we can identify – Eulogius, Albar, the Sevillano John – there were others who benefited from the fruits of Eulogius’ labours. Abbot Samson may also have been a beneficiary, though there is no overt connection with either Eulogius or Albar. In the midst of Trinitarian heresy, he pictures the Cordoban Church of the 860s as Aeneas’ ship besieged by the monster Scylla and the whirlpool of Charybdis<sup>144</sup>:

I would be able, with your help [Lord], to respond to those heretics who strive perpetually to undermine Jerusalem’s walls and to devour the galley of the Church caught between Charybdis’ rocks and a Scylla-like mouth<sup>145</sup>

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<sup>142</sup> Momigliano, ‘Cassiodorus and Italian Culture’, 201.

<sup>143</sup> Boethius:

*cum Phoebi radiis graue  
cancris sidus inaestuat...  
unus enim rerum pater est, unus cuncta ministrat.  
ille dedit Phoebus radios...  
hanc quisquis poterit notare lucem  
candidos Phoebi radios negabit*

(*Philosophiae Consolationis Libri Quinque*.I.6... III.6... 10, edited by Rudolf Peiper (Leipzig: Teubner, 1871), 20... 63... 77). The Christian halo finds pagan precedent in Phoebus Apollo’s, here signifying the divine ancestry of Latinus king of Latium in the last book of the *Aeneid*:

*Latinus... cui tempora circum  
aurati bis sex radii fulgentia cingunt,  
Solis aui specimen*  
Latinus... round whose temple  
The brilliance of twice six golden rays encircles  
A sign of his grandfather the Sun

(Vergil, *Aeneidos*.XII.161-4).

<sup>144</sup> Vergil, *Aeneidos*.III.420-687.

<sup>145</sup> Samson:

*ęreticis... queam te amminiculante illis respondere, qui nituntur ęternę Iherusalem  
muros suffodere et Scillaico ore inter scopulos Caribdamque sitam liburnam eęlesię  
lacerando consummere*

(*Apologeticus*.II.praefatio.1.3... 12-4, CSM 2:547).

Despite his failure to reference or make use of Eulogius' classical texts, or make reference to Eulogius himself, Samson's work does bear the mark of classical scholarship. He uses mythological figures, and shows familiarity with the classic pagan works and their authors. Samson echoes Eulogius' reassurances against the Furies, below, when he calls up and dismisses three phantoms of the pagan past, the *lemures* and *larvae*, both malevolent ghosts of the evil dead, and the *bubo* or screech owl whose cry – rather like the Celtic banshee (*bean sídhe* or *bean sí*) – foretold a death:

should I be afraid of shades [*lemures*] and ghosts [*larvae*], the shadows of the night and the screech-owl with its dire song?<sup>146</sup>

The *bubo* can be found throughout the Roman mythological canon; of these we can link Vergil's *Aeneid* directly to Eulogius. The following passage vividly expresses the supernatural character of the *bubo* as it presages Dido's death and is associated with the voices of the dead:

Voices were heard there and words, as it seemed,  
In her [dead] husband's voice, when dark night held the earth;  
The solitary screech owl on the roofs with its feral song  
Bewailed over and over, cried long laments  
And many omens spoken by the seers of old  
That frighten with terrible warning<sup>147</sup>

Had he not had the opportunity to study Eulogius' copy of the *Aeneid*, Samson would likely have been familiar with the *bubo* from a passage of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* quoted by Isidore in his *Etymologiae*: 'The cowardly screech-owl, terrible omen for dead men' (*ignavus bubo, dirum mortalibus omen*)<sup>148</sup>. Samson turns to mythological imagery again when he insults Ostegesis, calling him a 'mumbling centaur'. It is evident from his phrasing that Samson is referencing a mythological beast of proverbial erudition:

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<sup>146</sup> Samson:

*lemmurarum ac laruarum terrendus sum umbris uel noctuarum bubonemque modulationibus diris*

(*Apologeticus.II.praefatio.10.9-11, CSM 2:555*).

<sup>147</sup> Vergil:

*hinc exaudiri voces et verba vocantis  
visa uiri, nox cum terras obscura teneret;  
solaque culminibus ferali carmine bubo  
saepe queri et longas in fletum ducere voces  
multaque praeterea vatum praedicta priorum  
terribili monitu horrificant*

(*Aeneid.IV.460-5*).

<sup>148</sup> Ovid, *Metamorphoses.V.550*, edited by G.P. Goold with parallel translation by Frank Justus Miller (3<sup>rd</sup> ed. London: Heinemann, 1994), 276; quoted by Isidore at *Etymologiae.XII.7.39, PL 82, col.464B*.

I have demonstrated in very few words that this mumbling – rather less than loquacious  
– centaur knows nothing<sup>149</sup>

Samson must have in mind Chiron. The son of Kronos (the Latin Saturn) and the nymph Philyra, Chiron is just such a centaur, he is also the only one of his kind to be given a name.<sup>150</sup> Taught by Apollo and Artemis (the Roman Diana), he was an all-round master of those arts most highly esteemed by the classical and pre-classical Greeks: hunting, medicine, music, gymnastics, and prophecy. In turn, he would later tutor the greatest heroes of Greek and Latin myth – Achilles, Aeneas, Ajax, Diomedes, Dionysius, Heracles, Jason, Peleus, and Theseus among them.<sup>151</sup> Plato calls him ‘most wise Chiron’ (σοφωτάτου Χείρωνος)<sup>152</sup>. Primarily a figure of Greek myth, Chiron is nevertheless well-attested in Latin works, notably some of those with which Eulogius and Albar, and hence Samson, are likely to have been familiar.<sup>153</sup> Vergil calls Chiron ‘the teacher’ (*magister*)<sup>154</sup> in his *Georgics*. The mythical and the monstrous fascinated the Middle Ages just as much as their pagan forebears, featuring in great illustrated bestiaries, Panotii, Cynocephali, Monopods and pygmies among them.<sup>155</sup>

Eulogius does not shy away from displaying his classical pagan learning in writing of specifically Christian religious matters either. He appears – for the passage is rather ambiguous due to Latin’s lack of both definite articles and distinction between upper and lower cases – to reassure Flora and Maria not to fear the Furies. He writes: ‘Fear not the pursuit of the Furies, my sisters, nor be afraid at facing them’<sup>156</sup>. It could be a simple reference to the frenzied Muslim authorities, though there had been and would be no pursuit; a reference to the Muslim would be expected to be qualified with

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<sup>149</sup> Samson:

*huius murmurantis potius quam loquentis Centauri, quem utique sub breui textu sermonum nil scire monstraui*

(*Apologeticus*.II.8.1.1-2, CSM 2:572).

<sup>150</sup> Apollodorus, *Library*.I.2.4, II.5.4, II.5.11, III.4.4, III.10.3, III.13.3-6, III.13.8; Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*.II.1231; Ovid, *Fasti*.V.378; *Metamorphoses*.VI.126, VII.352; Pindar, *Pythian Ode*.III; Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*.VII.197; Vergil, *Georgics*.III.92-4, 549-50.

<sup>151</sup> Apollodorus also lists the lesser figures Capaneus, Lycurgus, Hippolytus, Tyndareus, Hymenaeus, Glaucus (Apollodorus, *Library*.III.10.3), Actaeon (III.4.4), besides Achilles, Asclepius and Phoenix (III.13.8). On Chiron as teacher: Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*.II.18; Homer, *Iliad*.XI.832f; Pseudo-Hyginus, *Fabulae*.274.

<sup>152</sup> Plato, *Hippias Minor*.371d.

<sup>153</sup> Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*.VII.197; Propertius, *Elegiae*.II.1.60; Statius, *Silvae*.I.4.98.

<sup>154</sup> Vergil, *Georgics*.III.549.

<sup>155</sup> Bartlett, Robert, *The Natural and the Supernatural in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: CUP, 2008), 94. See also: Friedman, *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981); Jones, Timothy S., *Marvels, Monsters, and Miracles: Studies in the Medieval and Early Modern Imaginations* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2002); Wittkower, Rudolf, ‘Marvels of the East: A Study in the History of Monsters’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942).

<sup>156</sup> Eulogius:

*Ne terreamini, sorores, furoribus persequentium neque formidetis a faciebus eorum*

(*Documentum Martyriale*.12.1-2, CSM 2:468).

some denigratory epithet. If indeed Eulogius is using classical mythological imagery, it would suggest that ninth-century Iberian Christians still felt the vestigial traces of pagan ideas that were apparently still strong in the Visigothic kingdom;<sup>157</sup> it would reaffirm that these martyrdoms were viewed as illegitimate and therefore as suicidal and sinful.

Eulogius even ornaments his *ecclesia destituta* with what appears to be a Graeco-Roman mythological allusion:

the depths of the prison are filled with crowds of clerics; the Church is bereft of the bishops' sacrament and of the priests' duty; the divine tabernacles bristle in squalid solitude, as a spider covers the temple, all together they hold silence<sup>158</sup>

The image of the spider weaving her web in the desolation of a Church abandoned by both man and an angry God, in its combination of desolation, the shame of Visigothic guilt, and divine retribution, recalls the tale of Arachne, weaver and daughter of Idmon, a wool dyer of the Lydian city of Colophon, alluded to by Vergil:

...hated by Minerva,  
The spider hangs her loose snares in gateways<sup>159</sup>

With this image of desolation Eulogius illustrates his scattered allusions to the guilt of the Visigothic ancestors for whose crimes their Andalusī descendents are, in Albar's words, paying penance. Arachne's story is a moral lesson of pride and hubris, her crime was her 'ignorance of the limits of humanity'<sup>160</sup>, for such was her pride in her skills at the loom that she challenged even the goddess of art and craft Minerva (Athena) to a contest. She won, for Minerva could find no flaw, though she tried (*Pallas, non illud carpere livor possit opus*)<sup>161</sup> – and in a jealous rage struck the girl:

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<sup>157</sup> The Church Councils of Toledo held in the sixth century indicate that paganism was rife among clergy as much as the laity. Divination and magic were widely practiced, and not just amongst the lay population and had been legislated against at least since the *Lex Romana Visigothorum* or *Breviarum Alaricianum* issued in 506 by Alaric II. See: Hillgarth, 'Popular Religion in Visigothic Spain'; McKenna, *Paganism and Pagan Survivals*, 121. See also the acts of the Council of Agde in 506 in *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio VIII* edited by Giovanni Domenico Mansi (Paris: Hubert Welter, 1901), col.323ff.

<sup>158</sup> Eulogius:  
*repleta sunt penetralia carceris clericorum cateruis; uiduata est ecclesia sacro praesulum et sacerdotum officio; horrent diuina tabernacula squalidam solitudinem, aranea textit templum, tenent cuncta silentium*  
(*Documentum Martyriale*.11.4-6, CSM 2:467).

<sup>159</sup> Vergil:  
*...invisa Mineruae  
laxos in foribus suspendit aranea cases*

(*Georgics*.IV.246-7). See also: Ovid, *Metamorphoses*.VI.129-45; Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*.VII.56.196.

<sup>160</sup> Barkan, Leonard, *The Gods Made Flesh: Metamorphosis & the Pursuit of Paganism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 2. Ovid has Minerva pronounce the unwritten natural law of divine retribution or *lex talionis*:

*numina nec sperni sine poena nostra sinamus*  
let us not allow our godhead to be spurned without punishment

(Ovid, *Metamorphoses*.VI.4).

<sup>161</sup> Ovid, *Metamorphoses*.VI.129-30.

And holding her staff from the boxwood mountain

[Minerva] thrice and four times beat the brow of Arachne, daughter of Idmon<sup>162</sup>

Arachne's response is despair and suicide: 'The unhappy one could not bear it, and overwhelmed by emotion, she tied a noose round her throat' (*non tulit infelix laqueoque animosa ligavit guttura*)<sup>163</sup>, but the goddess takes pity and saves her life, though she makes an example of her:

...moved to pity, Pallas lifted up the hanging girl

And spoke thus: 'Live then, but hang, impudent one.

And the law of this penalty, lest you be saved in the future,

Let it be spoken of by distant generations of your race'<sup>164</sup>

Arachne's fate, paradigmatic exemplar of hubris and its corollary despair, mirrors that of the Visigoths, whose sin is similarly punished by divine law. Arachne's suicide might be interpreted as offering some parallel to Eulogius' death-seeking martyrs in its undertaking and conclusion, suicide for the Roman being an honorable way to escape shame or dishonour: Arachne's last act earns her forgiveness by the deity. The martyr of Eulogius' hagiography offers his or her life in atonement for the sins of an earlier generation that the Church might be reconciled with God and reinstated, the Muslim threat removed. He tells Flora and Maria:

you dedicated warriors, O blessed virgins, after you have leapt up to the public struggle and repelled the enemy of justice with your fearless confession in the eyes of the kings and princes of the world... so that you shall restore the rule of the pious Father<sup>165</sup>

These excerpts, the paraphrasing and more oblique references identified by Gil<sup>166</sup>, represent the dissemination of classical learning praised by Albar in his *Vita*, and, in combination with John of Seville's requests for Eulogian material, and Saul's evident knowledge of some of the same works, show that the literary haul from Navarra did

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<sup>162</sup> Ovid:

*utque Cytoriaco radium de monte tenebat,  
ter quater Idmoniae frontem percussit Arachnes*

(*Metamorphoses*.VI.132-3).

<sup>163</sup> Ovid, *Metamorphoses*.VI.134-5.

<sup>164</sup> Ovid:

*...pendentem Pallas miserata levavit  
atque ita 'vive quidem, pende tamen, improba' dixit  
'lexque eadem poenae, ne sis segura futuri,  
dicta tuo generi serisque nepotibus esto'*

(*Metamorphoses*.VI.135-8).

<sup>165</sup> Eulogius:

*at uos, beatæ uirgines, postquam strenuæ bellatrices ad publicum prosilistis certamen  
et coram regibus et principibus mundi intrepida confessione reppulistis iustitiæ  
hostem... ut pii patris praeceptum reponas*

(*Documentum Martyriale*.19.1-3... 20.6, CSM 2:471).

<sup>166</sup> Albar paraphrases *Aeneid*.X.640 at *Epistulae*.II.2.2, as well as Vergil's *Eclogues* several lines previous at *Epistula* II.1.30; *Aeneid*.II.31 at *Epistulae*.IV.10.8.



indeed have an influence on the thought and writing of Eulogius' circle in and beyond Córdoba, though to a very limited degree, and no further than Seville.

## Conclusion

Eulogius' pursuit of the classics likely played a great part in the way that he and Albar conceived, and wrote about, the Muslim. Like Isidore, Eulogius and Albar display a striking dependence on the pagan classics, which rival Scripture in the scale of their contribution. The *Etymologiae* contain some 14 citations of Horace<sup>167</sup>, eight of Juvenal<sup>168</sup>, and a staggering 189 separate citations of Vergil's *Aeneid* across some 20 books. Compare this last figure with the 202 citations from the entire body of orthodox Scripture<sup>169</sup>, both Testaments of the Bible, which are infinitely greater in volume than the *Aeneid*, but apparently of less value in defining the phenomena of a temporal and changing world. Likewise, Augustine's *Civitate Dei* provides Isidore with just one quote.<sup>170</sup> This discrepancy between Eulogius' interest and Isidore's might be explained by looking at motives. Isidore wished to epitomise everything for posterity at a time when Augustine was widely available; three centuries later Augustine was lost and Eulogius assimilated ideas of race, identity and the East as a means of dealing with the threat of Islamic al-Andalus. We will see that certain aspects of Augustine's theology of martyrdom gave Eulogius the means to create a new active martyrology long after the age of martyrdom and pagan persecution had come to an end. The classics at his disposal offered a comprehensive model for Islam's denunciation. Eulogius' classical studies are far from unique: Augustine and Isidore both engaged actively with the literature and thought of pagan Rome. Hroswitha, who would later deal with the same idea as Eulogius – Andalusī martyrdom – in the *passio* of Pelagius, was also a student of the classical masters. She shows herself to be familiar with many of the same works as Eulogius, including Vergil's *Aeneid* and *Eclogues*, and also Ovid's

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<sup>167</sup> Horace's *Ars Poetica* is cited at *Etymologiae*.VIII.7.5; his first epistle at X.A.9, XII.1.25, and XIX.14.11; his various *Epodes* at I.39.24, XVI.5.19, and XIX.1.25; the *Odes* at IV.12.6, VIII.11.104, XI.2.14, XV.2.4, XV.8.6, XIX.12; the first Horatian satire at XX.12.4.

<sup>168</sup> See: Isidore, *Etymologiae*.I.36.11, III.22.12, XII.2.21, XIV.8.13, XV.5.4, XVIII.7.8, and two separate quotations at XIX.31.12.

<sup>169</sup> For both Vergilian and scriptural citations see the indices of *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* edited and translated in full by Stephen A. Barney, W.J. Lewis, J.A. Beach, and Oliver Berghof (Cambridge: CUP, 2006).

<sup>170</sup> Isidore, *Etymologiae*.XVI.4.2, PL 82, col.564B.

*Metamorphoses*.<sup>171</sup> Her dramatic works owe a particularly great debt to the comedies of Terentius (c.185-159 BCE), better known as Terence.<sup>172</sup> Hroswitha also mirrors Eulogius' *modus operandi* in taking formal inspiration from classical pagan material whose content's moral tone was deemed decidedly unedifying by medieval Christendom, in order to elevate the Latin style of contemporary hagiography, 'to imitate' them by writing edifying Christian counterparts', as Ernst Dronke writes.<sup>173</sup> This medieval practice of ignoring the content for the context is illuminated by the biographer Ruotger Colonensis, who wrote about how his lord Bruno I, Bruno the Great, Archbishop of Cologne (953-65), approached the 'unseemly jests and mimetic matter in comedies and tragedies' (*scurrilia et mimica, quae in comoediis et tragoediis*), 'first and foremost those of Terence'<sup>174</sup>:

while certain people cry out at these, shaking with endless laughter, he always read them seriously: pondering upon the material only minimally, he valued most the power in the words' composition<sup>175</sup>

While Eulogius appropriated the style and ideas that suited his purpose from Juvenal's often obscene invective, Hroswitha turned to the low comedy of Terence, who 'in particular never disappears from educated literacy'<sup>176</sup> due to his literary and linguistic worth, despite his claimed objective in the prologue to *The Eunuch*: 'to offend many men very little' (*minime multos laedere*)<sup>177</sup>. Hugo Kuhn frames Hroswitha's selective use as 'a refutation of Terence in terms of content, a Christian victory over him in his own field'<sup>178</sup>. It is tempting to think of Eulogius attempting to kill two birds with one stone: literary victory over the pagan classics through usurpation while depicting a martyrial victory over Andalusī Islam by dissidence.

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<sup>171</sup> Head, *Medieval Hagiography*, 138.

<sup>172</sup> Head, *Medieval Hagiography*, 138; Jenkyns, *The Legacy of Rome: A New Appraisal* (Oxford: OUP, 1992), 247; Bullough, Vern L., Brenda Shelton and Sarah Slavin, *The Subordinated Sex: A History of Attitudes Toward Women* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988), 134; Gibbs, Marion E. and Sidney M. Johnson, *Medieval German Literature: A Companion* (Oxford: Routledge, 2000), 431.

<sup>173</sup> Dronke, Ernst Peter Michael, *Women Writers of the Middle Ages: A Critical Study of Texts from Perpetua to Marguerite Porete* (Cambridge: CUP, 1984), 55.

<sup>174</sup> Dronke, *Women Writers of the Middle Ages*, 57.

<sup>175</sup> Ruotger Colonensis:

*quidam concrepantes risu se infinito concutiunt, ipse semper serio lectitabat: materiam pro minimo, auctoritatem in verborum compositionibus pro maximo reputabat*

(*Vita Sancti Brunonis*.8, PL 134, col.946D-947A; *MGH Scriptores IV*, 252-75.)

<sup>176</sup> Jenkyns, *The Legacy of Rome*, 247.

<sup>177</sup> Terentius, *Eunuchus*.prologus.2. See: *Publii Terentii Comoediae VI. Publius Terentius Afer* edited by M.A. Edward St. John Parry (London: Whitaker and Co., 1857).

<sup>178</sup> Hugo Kuhn:

*ist eine inhaltliche Widerlegung des Terenz, ein christliche Sieg über ihn auf seinem eigenen Feld*

(*Dichtung und Welt im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1959), 100).

It is interesting then to contemplate the significance of the parallels between the means and ends pursued by the two hagiographers: both Eulogius and Hroswitha take inspiration from deeply unchristian sources in order to write deeply pious Christian works; both concern themselves with contemporary, or very near contemporary, medieval martyrdom at the hands of the Andalusī state, and present it in the same terms. Both present the reluctant conferral of martyrdom by capital punishment as persecution rather than as the penalty called-for by known and established laws. If anything, the medieval martyrs of Eulogius' hagiography are the persecutors, in the original sense of the Latin root – 'to follow, imitate, seek to obtain, accomplish, set forth' – this medieval theory of martyrdom coalesces around all these meanings: the confessor seeks death in *imitatio Christi*, describing Christianity's superiority and Islam's falsity.

## Chapter V

### **Eulogius' Cordoban hagiography: a Christian revival**

Eulogius and Albar may have benefited personally from the former's study of the Latin classics – though his, and Albar's, own language is so tangled and ungrammatical that it still evades translation in places – for they (perhaps Albar more so) littered their texts with classical references, paraphrases and quotes. If a raising of awareness was what Eulogius sought, then he could be said to have done so with his exegetical club and literary studies which drew interest from Seville. But this success is severely limited, and one effected through other lost attributed works, not the apologetics and passionaries into which the two put so much energy. It is broadly accepted that Eulogius' aim was to unite the Christians of Córdoba against Islam and inoculate them against the allure of the alien culture then making inroads into their daily lives. He certainly could not have reached many by such lofty and exclusive means as a series of lengthy and dense martyrological and polemical treatises seasoned with erudite allusions to the pagan classics.

#### **The limited appeal of monumental Latin polemical tracts**

Besides Albar, we can identify only two contemporary individuals who read his work: the Sevillian John who knew (of) him through Albar, and Usuard – both members of the intellectual-religious elite. Only Albar (and Aimoin, fleetingly, but not Usuard) wrote in his praise; Eulogius' writing was not celebrated, nor did the wave of renewed interest

in literary Latin last long or stretch further than a handful of poems that cannot with any certainty be linked to Eulogius.

In order to counter the lure of ‘Abd al-Rahmān II’s sophisticated legacy, which was both artistic and spiritual, he had to appeal to a mass audience with common cultural reference points from the Christian heritage. Eulogius needed to bridge the gap between his educated clerical-political elite and the unlettered majority; he needed a focus for the imagination of popular culture, religious belief being a particularly dynamic and dynamising aspect of culture. He found it in the person of the martyr, whose benefits had been sung, notably by the fathers of the North African Church, since the second century. In late 197 CE, Tertullian coined the renowned expression that ‘the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church’<sup>1</sup>; Cyprian praised their manifold gifts to the Church<sup>2</sup>; Augustine hailed the ‘hundred-fold fruitfulness of martyrdom’ (*martyrio centenum fructum*)<sup>3</sup>. Eulogius himself designated the martyrs the *prima rudimenta fidei*:

these were the first elements of our faith: at the instigation of these virtuous ones, just like the infancy of suckling babes, whose tenderness is both fostered and nourished, just so does the ministry of miracles both increase the crowd of the faithful and strengthen the faith of the believers. And they were like the iron instruments through which ornaments from gold or silver – rings to be sure, necklaces, and diadems of kings – are connected, fitted, joined together, and shaped... Indeed [martyrdom] is the root of all

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<sup>1</sup> Tertullian:

*Plures efficimur, quoties metimur a vobis; semen est sanguis christianorum*

we are made greater in number whenever we are made to fear you [Rome]; the blood of Christians is [our] seed

(*Apologeticus Adversos Gentes pro Christianis*.50, *PL* 1, col.535A). It is a sentiment also expressed numerous times by Eulogius.

<sup>2</sup> Cyprian:

*vere evangelii testes et vere martyres Christi radicibus eius innixi... disciplinam cum virtute junxistis, ad timorem Dei caeteros provocastis, martyria vestra exempla fecistis*  
truly witnesses of the Gospel and truly martyrs of Christ leaning for support upon his roots... you have joined discipline with virtue, you have called others forth to the fear of God, you have made your martyrdoms as examples

(*Epistulae*.XV.*Ad Moysen et Maximum et Caeteros Confessores*.4, *PL* 4, col.268B; XXXVII in *CSEL* III.2).

<sup>3</sup> Augustine, *De Sancta Virginitate*.46, *PL* 40, col.423. Augustine reiterates the benefits of martyrdom to the Church:

*mortuus est Christus, non peribit nomen eius; mortui sunt martyres, multiplicata est magis ecclesia, crescit per omnes gentes nomen Christi*

Christ is dead, [but] his name shall not die; the martyrs are dead, and the Church is expanded, and the name of Christ prospers among every people

(*Enarrationes in Psalmos. In Psalmum XL Enarratio. Sermo ad Plebem*.1, *PL* 36, col.454). In this sense, he argues, persecution is also a Good:

*non solum perniciosa non est, sed etiam utilis invenitur ecclesiae, ut martyrum numerus impleatur*

not only is persecution not pernicious, but it is even found to be useful to the Church, for it fills the count of the martyrs

(Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*.X.21, *PL* 41, col.298-9).

virtues and that which produces the foundations of the faith, which sustains the fighters, crowns the victors and rewards certain ones with a heavenly gift<sup>4</sup>

The martyrs are the tools of God's trade; they are also the means by which the clerical hagiographer builds his Church. If the ordinary Cordoban could not engage intellectually with the solecistic complexity of his narrative, Eulogius knew that in theory he could do so with the imagery at its heart.<sup>5</sup> In stark contrast to his verbose apologetic tracts, Eulogius' *passiones* take inspiration from Augustine and Gregory of Tours (c.538-94) in putting simple actions above polished words.<sup>6</sup> The martyr represented a symbol both potent and relevant – for classical martyrdom, like Eulogian, is inextricably linked with social crisis under a foreign power – and certainly far more accessible than the 45,000-word bulk of Eulogius' *œuvre*. That he evidently failed to draw local interest in his martyrs is down largely, as Wright has stated, to the complexity of his Latin.<sup>7</sup> One could argue that Eulogius was lost because he was an

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<sup>4</sup> Eulogius:

*haec prima fidei nostrae rudimenta fuerunt: harum exercitatione uirtutum, quasi lactantium paruulorum auspicia, teneritudo eius et confota est et nutrita; ut ministerio signorum uel augetur multitudo fidelium, uel roboraretur fides credentium; ac ueluti quaedam instrumenta ferramentorum fuerunt, per quae ornamenta ex auro argentoue, torques scilicet, monilia, regumque diademata componenda, aptanda, et compingenda, formata sunt... Sane omnium uirtutum radix ac fundamentum fides est, quae certantes adiuuat, uincentes coronat et caelesti dono quosdam... remunerat*

(*Liber Apologeticus Martyrum*.7.20-6... 9.1-10, CSM 2:480-1). On the role of miraculous sights and deeds in the spreading of early Christianity, see: Ward, Benedicta, 'Monks and Miracles' in *Miracles in Jewish and Christian Antiquity: Imagining Truth* edited by John C. Cavadini (Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 1999), 127-38.

<sup>5</sup> Roger Wright affirms that the recitation of saints' passions could reach all strata of society:

the reading aloud in public of homilies and saints' lives... united the literate reader and illiterate listener

('The end of written Ladino', 23). Thomas Heffernan asserts that

It is fair to assume that virtually everyone on the Middle Ages was exposed to the lives of the saints in one form or another

(*Sacred Biography*, 14).

<sup>6</sup> Augustine speaks of the advantage of actions over words in promoting the Church's message:

*Ita pleraque in uerbis intelligere non ualentes, in factis sanctorum colligimus quemadmodum oporteat accipi, quod facile in aliam partem duceretur, nisi exemplo revocaretur*

for the most part [when we] cannot understand in words, we comprehend how it should be taken from the actions of the saints, which could easily be led to the other side if it were not recalled by example

(*De Mendacio*.15.30. *PL* 40, col.508). Gregory of Tours stood at the head of a hagiographical tradition which put the emphasis on dramatic action rather than complex and alienating theological disputation. See: Heffernan, *Sacred Biography*, 5.

<sup>7</sup> Roger Wright has argued – and he is surely correct in his assertions – that any effect Eulogius and Albar may have hoped to bring about in their society through their great literary campaign was precluded by its literary nature itself – in hoping to raise the knowledge and use of Latin to the level of high culture from what they feared was its grave, Eulogius and Albar aimed far too high, effectively alienating those whom they sought to embrace:

rather than raising the level of Latin culture, all that Eulogius and his colleagues achieved was to make themselves so recondite and recherché, in the vocabulary and grammar that they deliberately adopted after 851, that they were largely incomprehensible outside their own immediate circle



obscure eccentric, but then what are we to make of Albar's claim that Eulogius was unanimously elected the Bishop of Toledo *in absentia*? Albar was many things, much given to hyperbole and invective, was he also a fantasist? According to both Albar and Eulogius himself, he was allegedly visible enough to be imprisoned for clashing with his ecclesiastical and political superiors, and to be abused by the *comes* Ibn Antunyān at the council of 852. Nevertheless the once-favoured conception, built upon details like this, that Eulogius was the eminent head of a large and organised movement, must be abandoned.

### Intercession and redemption

It has already been seen that Eulogius and Albar both conceived of Andalusī Islam as the agent of divine wrath which they suffered for Visigothic failings. The increasingly Islamic character of the upper strata of Cordoban society under 'Abd al-Raḥmān II likely seemed to them to be a tightening of the screws and a presage of a new and worse stage in their punishment, not – as Cutler would have it – an eschatological end in sight.<sup>8</sup> Eulogius turned to hagiography, though there was little or no state pressure put on the Christian majority worthy of the name 'persecution', because the martyr represented a personal remedy: a friend or patron with whom one might cultivate a personal relationship and to whom one might make petition for aid.<sup>9</sup> Every letter Cyprian wrote to the Carthaginian confessors as they awaited their execution is laden with blandishments and closes with the following appeal:

I beg you, most brave and most blessed brothers, forever fare well and remember me<sup>10</sup>

Augustine preached the same station of intercession, citing as proof Felix's protection of his home town Nola from the Vandals.<sup>11</sup> Eulogius' situation bears direct comparison

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(Wright, 'The end of written Ladino', 28).

<sup>8</sup> Cutler, 'The Ninth-Century Spanish Martyrs' Movement', *passim*; especially 326-30.

<sup>9</sup> The Roman patron saint was a composite product of the Christianisation of Graeco-Roman mythological and Roman socio-political traditions: the Greek invisible companion (ἀόρατος φίλος) and the Roman patron (*patronus*) with whom one cultivated an intimate relationship according to the frameworks of imperial Roman society, that of friendship or fellowship (*amicitia* or *sodalitas*). The doctrinal idea of human intercession from beyond the grave is present by the mid-third century. See: Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (London: SCM Press, 1981), 51-60.

<sup>10</sup> Cyprian wrote:

*opto vos, fortissimi ac beatissimi fratres, semper bene valere et nostri meminisse*

(*Epistulae, passim*).

<sup>11</sup> Augustine:

*verum etiam ipsis hominum aspectibus confessorem apparuisse Felicem, cujus iniquitatum pie diligis, cum a barbaris Nola oppugnaretur, audivimus, non incertis rumoribus, sed testibus certis*

with Cyprian's, specifically his communication with the imprisoned confessors Flora and Maria, as documented in his *Documentum Martyriale*, wherein Eulogius precedes a final prayer with an extended petition that the girls remember him when they are in heaven:

So I beg you, my most holy sisters... that when you reach the tabernacle of the Lord, deign to remember me; when you approach the chamber of your groom and you yield to his unending embrace with a bride's joy, watch over me with prayers, protect me with glorious favours<sup>12</sup>

Eulogius gives ample indication that personal redemption was of great concern. The frequency with which he broaches the subject shows that it was something he sought as a reward for his glorification of martyrdom:

I hope for a remedy for my transgressions in return for such efforts, with no doubt about the Redeemer's clemency<sup>13</sup>

This redemptive hope finds expression in every Eulogian work extant; his expectations are justified with Scripture in both the *Liber Apologeticus Martyrum*<sup>14</sup> and *Documentum Martyriale*, writing in the latter:

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for it is true we have heard from sure witnesses, not from doubtful rumours, that Felix the confessor – in whose sojourn you delight – appeared in the sight of men when Nola was attacked by the barbarians

(*De Cura pro Mortuis Gerenda ad Paulinum*.19, PL 40, col.606).

<sup>12</sup> Eulogius:

*Unde obsecro uos, sanctissimae sorores meae... quando tabernacula Domini intraueritis, ut mei memores esse dignemini; dum thalamum uestri adieritis sponsi eiusque amplexibus incessabili merueritis fruitione coniugi, tuemini me precibus, defensate meritis gloriosis*

(*Documentum Martyriale*.25.1-6, CSM 2:474).

<sup>13</sup> Eulogius:

*quia non dubii de clementia redemptoris non solum culparum talibus studiis remedium speramus*

(*Liber Apologeticus Martyrum*.2.3-4, CSM 2:477). He also seeks the prayers of his readership as support in his bid for redemption:

*quapropter hanc praefationem in capite uoluminis posui, ut inter laudes uituperationesque sanctorum me discurrentem, interdum etiam auctori profano obuiam uenientem lectores mei facilius intelligerent, precibus expiarent, orationibus adiuuarent et tam de illis quam de me ipsis fauente iudicium propitium et nunc et ante Dominum ferrent... Et sicut me indignum tanto opera fateor, ita quoque sui perfectione non solum erui culpis confido, uerum etiam poenis abstractus praestantiorum gratiam interuentu eius apud Dominum inuenire spero, ut est illud philosophicum:*

*'hoc opus, hoc olim forsitan me substrahet igni'*

So, I have placed this preface at the head of this volume so that as I roam amongst the praises and vituperations of the saints, sometimes coming up against a profane writer, [my] readers might understand me more easily, might expiate me with their prayers, help with their speech, and bear a favourable judgement, as much of them [the martyrs] as of me, both now and before the Lord... and since I confess that I am unworthy of such a task, and I am confident that I shall be rescued from my sins by its perfection, truly I even hope to find more distinguished grace with the Lord, withdrawn from punishment by his intervention, as that philosopher [said]:

'This work will perhaps pull me out of the fire'

(Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum.praefatio*.6.9-14... I.3.32-6, CSM 2:369-71). The philosopher's quote is Juvenecus, *Evangelica Historia*.IV.praefatio.30, PL 19, col.60A.

somehow through the worth of this pen I might be able to appease God and absolve myself of the charges against me, for it is written: 'he who would convert the sinner saves his soul and buries a multitude of sins'<sup>15</sup>, and also: 'those who would teach many in justice shall shine like stars for ever and ever'<sup>16</sup>

It is in the *Documentum Martyriale* that Eulogius openly requests intercession from the two confessors Flora and Maria, exactly as Cyprian did; indeed the *Documentum*, closing with a prayer, is purpose-built – Eulogius urges the virgins to make the ultimate sacrifice and puts in his requests, and leaves behind a work proving his piety. He inserts his demands throughout the work, in an increasingly desperate, sometimes threatening, tone, and more often than not using his own writing about them as part of a binding bargain – 'you knew what I sought from you'.<sup>17</sup> Eulogius declares that they

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<sup>14</sup> Eulogius:

*dicente Domino*: 'Qui uos diligit, me diligit, et qui uos recipit, me recipit; et qui recipit prophetam in nomine prophetae mercedem prophetae accipiet, et qui recipit iustum in nomine iusti mercedem iusti accipiet'

as the Lord said: 'he that pleaseth you pleaseth me, and he that receiveth you receiveth me, and he that receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet shall receive a prophet's reward; and he that receiveth a righteous man in the name of a righteous man shall receive a righteous man's reward'

(*Liber Apologeticus Martyrum*.2.3-8, *CSM* 2:477). Eulogius is paraphrasing *Matthew* 10:40-1. His version removes God the Father from the picture, focussing instead upon the martyred Christ as the origin and leader of the martyrs.

<sup>15</sup> *Jacob* 5:20.

<sup>16</sup> Eulogius:

*quomodo per huius instrumenti uirtutem Deum possem propitiari meoque me reatu absoluere, quoniam scriptum est*: 'qui conuerti fecerit peccatorem, saluat animam eius et suorum cooperit multitudinem peccatorum', *et iterum*: 'qui ad iustitiam erudiunt multos, fulgebunt quasi stellae in perpetuas aeternitates'

(*Documentum Martyriale.prooemium*.10-19, *CSM* 2:461). The second quote is taken from *Daniel* 12:3.

<sup>17</sup> Eulogius:

*quod Deo fauore uobis fiet proficium mihique et nunc et in futuro examine surget in testimonium... propterea non discedat laus uestra de ore hominum usque in saeculum... quod in laudibus uestris prout potui me uersaui. Uos nostis quid a uobis petierim, quid caritatis intuitu uobis indixerim, ut digno interuentu uestro omni uitio caream, culpis exuar nesciamque delinquere, quo fideli famulatu omnipotenti Deo meo cohaerens fruar post transitum tam uestrum quam dominorum meorum consortio, in quorum defensione et laude opus condidi memoriale sanctorum... Opitulationem sane perparuam uoluminis in fine adieci, quam et uerbis simplicibus edidi et uestro necessarium proposito fore percensui, ut crebra meditatione uestris eam memoriis alligantes... nostrique mentionem, prout textus orationis poscit, loco ultimo faciatis*

let this [the *Documentum Martyriale*] profit you and me both, both now and in the future – may it stand as a testament... your praise will never drop from the lips of men... because I turned myself to your praises as best I could. You knew what I sought from you, what I proclaimed in consideration of my esteem for you, so that with your deserved intervention I might be free from all sin, [that] I might be stripped of guilt and that I might be ignorant of committing sin, clinging to this faithful service of my Almighty God may I enjoy after my death the fellowship of your and my lords, in whose defence and praise I wrote the work *Memoriale Sanctorum*... I have discreetly set a little assistance near the end of the volume, which I edited with clear words and reckoned necessary for your public plan, so that, in abundant consideration, holding it fast in your memories... you might make mention of me in that final place as the weave of my text demands

(*Documentum Martyriale*. 1.3-4 ...14-5... 25.11-21 ...23-4, *CSM* 2:462-74).

shall be rewarded in heaven with all those pleasures they had denied themselves in life.<sup>18</sup> Such earthly pleasures are unexpected, though there is less literal precedent in *Matthew* 19:21 – ‘If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast... and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come and follow me’ – and leave Eulogius open to criticism considering his condemnation of such earthly things in his Islamic heaven as brothel.<sup>19</sup> One notes that encouragement of this kind would not be necessary if life in al-Andalus were the living nightmare Eulogius declared it to be, and if the confessors’ zeal were genuine. Perhaps there is something in Drees’ association of martyrdom and despair<sup>20</sup>; both Albar and Eulogius had their own troubles from which martyrial intercession might free them. The Eulogius of Albar’s *Vita* is a man despairing of life and yearning for death, possessed by a rather manic spiritual or emotional restlessness:

he often rushed to the most holy flocks of the monasteries, but lest he be thought to disdain his own order, he returned to the clergy; there he stayed for some time, but lest the strength of his mind be enervated by secular cares, he sought out the monasteries again... he trod life’s path sorrowing and anxious, and weighed down by the burden of the body he wished every day that he could fly to heaven... driven by heavy grief... he exhausted himself with deep groans and was afflicted inwardly by profound sorrow, as

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<sup>18</sup> Eulogius:

*Rogo uos, sanctae sorores, ne desistatis a coeptis, ne cessetis ab incohatis, ne resiliatis a proeliorum auspiciis, quia non incohantibus praemium, sed perseuerantibus datur... festinate ad mercedem laboris uestri uos accingere... etiam purpureo martyrii aspersa cruore sertis diadematum uictrix amicta comitatur... inenarrabilia sunt, sorores meae, praemia uestra, egregia multum nimis reposita munera. Accipietis enim a Domino fructum uirginitatis centesimum et gloriosi martyrii inenarrabile commodum*

I beg you, holy sisters, do not abandon what you have begun, nor cease what is unfinished, nor shrink from the beginning of battle, for the prize is given not to the ones who start, but to those who persevere... hurry to take the reward for your labour... even as the martyr’s purple gore is spilt, the victor is accompanied, in sacred vestment and crowned with garlands... indescribable are your rewards, my sisters, many fantastic gifts beyond measure are laid aside [for you]. For you will receive from the Lord the fruit of your virginity a hundredfold and the indescribably privileged stipend of the glorious martyr

(*Documentum Martyriale*.12.9-11... 13-4... 17.7-8... 23.1-3, *CSM* 2:467-73).

<sup>19</sup> He writes that Muḥammad, ‘that author of perverse dogma, proposed feasts in paradise and pleasures of the flesh’ (*idem peruersi dogmatis auctor... comessiones quoque in paradiso, et carnis proposuit uoluptates*) (Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*.I.7.1... 10-11, *CSM* 2:375), and, purporting to quote Speraindeo, he denounces the Islamic heaven:

*Futuro, aiunt, in saeculo cuncti mulieres concessae pulchrae et supra hominum naturam speciosissimae atque nobis in uoluptatem praeparatae. Nequaquam ergo uestri in paradiso beatitudinis obtinebunt statum, si eorum uterque sexus uacauerit exercitio fluxae libidinis. Hoc non erit paradisu, sed lupanar*

In the coming age, they say, there are beautiful women – most beautiful beyond human nature – granted to all and trained in pleasuring us. Thus they do not obtain the state of beatitude in paradise by any means if sex, the exercise of their libido, is available all around them. This is no paradise, but a whorehouse

(Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*.I.7.16-22, *CSM* 2:375-6).

<sup>20</sup> Clayton Drees applies psychological analysis in his discussion of the Cordoban martyrs, though one might argue the merits and demerits of such an approach to medieval hagiographic texts (‘Sainthood and Suicide’, 83-9).

we have said... as though struck by a great wound he dragged up a deep sigh from his heart<sup>21</sup>

Eulogius describes his state of mind thus:

when a manifold grief will not allow me to stay in one place, it pleases me to visit the places of the saints, where I might soothe my mind which is downcast with the greatest of sorrows<sup>22</sup>

He presents himself to Wiliesindus of Pamplona as a man broken by life's vicissitudes.<sup>23</sup> Judging by the way he writes about Flora, it may be that he was also suffering the heart-break of a man who could not act on his feelings, duty-bound to drive the object of his affections to her death. As Dozy puts it, he was a man driven to despair not just by the problems around him, but by urges prohibited to him:

His situation was very painful; he had to endure a severe test. To encourage her whom he loved, without confessing it, to mount the scaffold, was enough to make the coldest indifference shrink back<sup>24</sup>

Daniel considers Eulogius' 'unhealthy' description of Flora more suited to 'the lurid cover of a bookstall paperback rather than hagiography'<sup>25</sup>, an impression not helped by Dozy's nineteenth-century romanticism.<sup>26</sup> There is certainly a marked contrast in the

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<sup>21</sup> Albar:

*currebat sepius ad cenobiorum sacratissimos greges, sed ne proprium ordinem contemnere putaretur, ad clerum iterum remeabat; in quo dum aliquod tempus persisteret, ne uirtus animi curis secularibus eneruaretur, itidem monasteria repetebat, hic doctrina oris ecclesia ornans, illic uitam propriam exculpando decorans... uiam seculi merens incedebat et anxius, et quotidie ad celestia uolare cupiens corporeo sarcino grababatur... grabi instinctu doloris... se graui adterere gemitu magnoque intrinsecus, ut diximus, mactari dolore... ingenti uulnere quasi percussus, ab intimo corde trahens suspiria*

(*Vita Eulogii*.3.17-19... 7.2... 6-7... 16-7, CSM 1:332-4).

<sup>22</sup> Eulogius:

*cumque me uno residere loco multiplex dolor non sineret, libuit mihi loca uisitare sanctorum, quo deiectum summis maeroribus animum releuarem*

(*Epistulae*.III.1.25-27, CSM 2:498).

<sup>23</sup> Eulogius:

*Sed utroque uulnere percussus cor meum tu iam mederi non poteris, cui et peregrinatio fratrum et desolatio domesticorum cotidianum afferebant lamentum*  
but you cannot cure my heart now, struck by wounds on all sides: the journeys of [my] brothers and the desolation of [our] daily domestic affairs have loaded it with lamentation

(*Epistulae*.III.5.3-6, CSM 2:499).

<sup>24</sup> Dozy:

*Sa situation était bien pénible; il avait à supporter une rude épreuve. Encourager celle qu'il aimait sans l'avouer à monter sur l'échafaud, c'était de quoi faire reculer le désintéressement le plus hardi*

(*Histoire des musulmans d'Espagne*, II.145).

<sup>25</sup> Daniel:

[Eulogius] seems to be in love with his earlier convert Flora, and not quite in a healthy way

('Spanish Christian Sources', 371).

<sup>26</sup> Dozy even casts Eulogius in the role of love-struck 'youth':

*Il y avait alors à Cordoue une très-belle jeune fille nommée Flora, dont le caractère avait avec celui d'Euloge de mystérieuses affinités... La beauté de Flora, l'irrésistible*

reception Eulogius gives Flora and Maria in their twin text: he lauds Flora's beauty – 'a girl blossoming excessively with a beautiful face and charming body' – and introduces Maria with the respectful but flat 'venerable girl of tender years'.<sup>27</sup> His focus on Flora contains what can only be called an excess of – often violent – sexual imagery for a passion text, though sexual violence and rape was an occasional feature of classical martyr texts.<sup>28</sup> Flora is gravely beaten by her judge and several days later Eulogius fawns awkwardly over her still-raw wounds:

tearing open her head with a terrible blow, [the judge] persisted a long while with the lashes, until locks of her hair were torn from the skin, the bone of her skull laid bare... And I, I, sinner that I am, I, rich in iniquity, who from the beginning of her martyrdom enjoyed her friendship, joining my hands to her delicate and most reverent head, I touched her wounds, when her virginal head had slipped away from the whips' blows<sup>29</sup>

This is all rather Freudian.<sup>30</sup> In the *Documentum Martyriale* Eulogius shares these reminiscences with Flora in what could almost be an inept declaration:

And then at the time of your persecution I had seen the skin of your venerable head torn off by the whips' blows, and the tear whence your beautiful hair had once flowed down, which you showed, deeming me worthy with the purity of your reverence as though to a

*séduction de ses paroles et de ses manières, ses aventures romanesques, sa fermeté inébranlable au milieu des souffrances, sa piété tendre et son exaltation mystique, tout cela exerça une puissance vraiment électrique sur l'imagination du jeune prêtre... Il conçut pour Flora une amitié exaltée, une sorte d'amour intellectuel, un amour tel qu'on le connaît au séjour des anges, là où les âmes seules brûlent du feu des saints désirs*

There was a very beautiful girl in Córdoba called Flora, whose character had mysterious affinities with that of Eulogius... Flora's beauty, the irresistible seduction of her words and manners, her romantic adventures, her unshakeable steadfastness in the midst of suffering, her tender piety and her mystical elation, all this exercised a truly electric power over the young priest's imagination... He conceived a love such as one might know in the company of angels, where souls alone burn with the fire of holy desires

(*Histoire des musulmans d'Espagne*, II.113-8).

<sup>27</sup> Eulogius:

*specie decoris et uenustate corporis nimium florens uirgo... uenerabilis puella tenerrimis annis*

(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.II.8.3.1-2... 13-4, CSM 2:409).

<sup>28</sup> Coope points to Agnes' martyrdom in the *Peristephanon* of Prudentius (2.338-45) and another, which she does not name, in Ambrose of Milan's *De Virginitibus* (PL 15, col.187-232B) (*The Martyrs of Córdoba*, 42).

<sup>29</sup> Eulogius:

*diroque uerbere caput eius pertundens, tandiu flagris insistit, quousque decisa cum caesarie cute, os uerticis nudum pateret... Et ego, ego ille peccator, ego diues iniquitatum, qui a principio martyrii sui amicitia eius fruitus sum, combinatis manibus meis cicatrices reuerentissimi et delicati illius uerticis attractaui, cum ictibus flagellorum uirginalis coma elapsa fuisset*

(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.II.8.7.17-8... 8.14-8, CSM 2:411-2).

<sup>30</sup> On the Freudian concept of 'the female sex as wound' see: Paradis, Kenneth, *Sex, Paranoia, and Modern Masculinity* (New York: SUNY, 2006), 92.



very close father. And I touched with caressing<sup>31</sup> hand because I did not believe that wound should be stroked with kisses. After I had taken my leave of you, I sighed long and deeply, thinking to myself. You lay open before my eyes, in the heavenly grace of your face, the magnitude of your sorrows and the descent of the dangers pressing upon you...<sup>32</sup>

The girls' second appearance before the *qāḍī* is, in Tolan's view, a 'twisted sexual fantasy'<sup>33</sup>, wherein Eulogius has Flora and Maria confronted with the animal frenzy of their judge and threatened with prostitution.<sup>34</sup> Couple this with Eulogius' wildly offensive assertion that in the Qur'ān the Prophet Muḥammad states his intention to rape the Virgin Mary – 'a rape that exists only in Eulogius' fevered imagination'<sup>35</sup> – and one gets the impression of a man whose human nature struggled against the chastity of his order.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>31</sup> The adjective *blandus* has a range of meanings, from 'flattering, fawning, caressing' to strong sensual and sexual connotations – 'enticing, alluring, charming, seductive'.

<sup>32</sup> Eulogius:

*Denique euulsam ictibus flagellorum uenerabilis tui uerticis cutem rimamque qua caesaries pulchra defluxerat ego persecutionis tuae tempore intuitus sum, dignante te illud mihi ostendere ueluti proximo patri puritate reuerentiae tuae. Et blanda manu atrectans, quia osculis ipsa uulnera non crederem esse demulcenda, postquam a te discessi, diu alteque memet reputans suspirauit. Exponente uero coram me diffusa coelitus gratia oris tui ingentia dolorum tuorum casusque periculorum, qui te pressant...*

(*Documentum Martyriale*.21.4-11, CSM 2:472).

<sup>33</sup> Tolan, *Saracens*, 93.

<sup>34</sup> Eulogius:

*saeuissimus arbiter uesano concitatus furore sub uoce illa terribili frendens, uirginale propositum asperrimo deterret boatu, minis exprobrat, clamoribus arguit, adiciens carceris squalorem et contubernium scortorum*

roused by wild fury, gnashing his teeth at [Maria's] venerable words, the most savage judge trampled their virginal resolution with the harshest bellowing, reproached them with threats, accused them with shouts, threatening the squalor of the prison and the army's brothel tent

(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.II.8.13.12-5, CSM 2:414). Such action is not without precedent, the prefect Dulcitus attempts to break Irene's resolve by ordering that she 'be placed naked in the [soldiers'] brothel' (εἰς πορνεῖον στῆναι γυμνὴν κελεύω). See: *Martyrium Sancti Agapae, Irenae, et Chionae*.5.11, Musurillo, *Acts of the Christian Martyrs*, 290. In terms of edition and commentary, Musurillo's *Acts* have been eclipsed by Bastiaensen's edition *Acti e passioni dei martiri*, but Musurillo's book includes many more passion texts – 28 to eight in Bastiaensen *et al.* The latter does not include the *Martyrium Sancti Agapae, Irenae, et Chionae* but is the edition of choice for those texts that appear in both collections.

<sup>35</sup> Tolan, *Saracens*, 93n94.

<sup>36</sup> Eulogius portrays the Prophet as an unholy rapist:

*Taceam sacrilegum illud et totis catholicorum auditibus immane facinus respuendum, quod de beatissima uirgine mundi regina, sancta et uenerabili Domini et Saluatoris nostri genetrice Maria canis impurus dicere ausus est. Protestatus enim est – salua loquor reuerentia tantae uirginis – quod eius foret in saeculo uenturo ab se uiolanda uirginitas*

I shall remain silent, repelling from the ears of the Catholics that immeasurable sacrilegious crime which that impure dog dared to say about the most blessed virgin, queen of the world, Maria the holy mother of the venerable Lord and our Saviour. For he declared – I speak with sound reverence for the great virgin – that in the next life he would violate her virginity

(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.I.7.27-32, CSM 2:376).

If Eulogius despaired, he was not alone. Albar had had trouble defending his estate and would suffer hardships both physical and spiritual towards the end of his life – though it is impossible to date in relation to his writings – when he recovered from what was thought to be a fatal illness and despaired to find himself effectively excommunicated having received the Sacrament of Penitence on his supposed deathbed.<sup>37</sup> He wrote the *Vita Eulogii* to openly bargain for redemption; closing with a prayer to Eulogius for intercession:

So, my dear Eulogius, I have glorified the memory of your name as much as I could... so you, venerable lord, you make things equal and pay me my reward so that... together with you I – who am tormented here by earthly straits with tears and groans and long drawn out sighs – might deserve to possess unending joys, and so that, though it is not my fate to shine with equal glory, I might at least be pardoned for my failings, so that I should not grieve sunk in the penal abyss, but that, delivered, I might rejoice in rest in heaven with you and my other lords, your companions<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Albar:

*et nunc, quando penitentje lex miserrimum curbat et deuilitas iam iamque moriturum incursat, ianuam mici uite precluderem et in antro baratri lapsu precipiti currerem?*

And now? When the law of penitence cripples the wretched and weakness assails one about to die any minute, am I to close the door on my life and rush in headlong fall to the chasm of the abyss?

(*Epistulae*.IX.3.7-10, CSM 1:212). Albar wrote to his bishop, Saul, for permission to return to communion:

*iterum humiliter cupio inplorare. certe ab ipso egritudinis tempore usque in hodie a salutari exclusus mansi remedio, et licet reconciliatjonem aliunde ualerem frui, si uellem, tamen ea que auctoritate patrum sacrata sunt implere desiderans permissum uestrum inquirere uolui adque per iussionem paternitatis uestre ad comunionem reditum habere disposui... unde rogo et lacrimosis precibus queso... quia tanto tempore a corpore Dei mei et sanguine priuatus stare non ualeo*

once again I wish to tearfully beseech [you]. Certainly from that time of sickness until today I remain denied wholesome salvation, and it is right that I might be able to enjoy reconciliation from elsewhere, if I wished, but longing for this matter which is the preserve of the fathers to be decided, I wished to ask for your permission and I am determined to have a return to communion through your order, father... so I ask and I beg with tearful prayers... because I cannot bear being deprived so long of the body and blood of my God

(*Epistulae*.XI.2.2-7, CSM 1:221). Albar's determination and accusatory tone indicate a rift with his putative spiritual father – by now the martyrologists' have lost their most high profile supporter. Albar prostrates himself before his bishop though only for form's sake and to achieve his goal; he demands, he does not beg. Nor does he get his wish as far as the record shows. He closes the correspondence with bitter and self-pitying resignation:

*Et quum nos pure et simpliciter manu propria remedia anime inpetrantes scribamus, uos e contrario mordaciter et subdole non ex uestra mente, set ex stomaco multis potjonibus sauciato nobis non pocula uite, set uenena porrigitis*

When I wrote with my own hand plainly and simply begging for the cures for my soul, you on the other hand [responded] biting and deceitfully, not with your mind but with your drunken gut; you offered me not the cup of life but poison

(*Epistulae*.XIII.1.3-7, CSM 1:224). See: Sage, *Paul Albar*, 34-6.

<sup>38</sup> Albar:

*Ego autem, mi dulcis Eulogie, memoriam nominis tui quantum potui inlustravi... tu ergo, uenerauilis domine, equiperando nobis redde mercedem, ut... merear ita celestia indisrupta communiter tecum possidere gaudia, sicut hic pari fletu et gemitu terrene maceratus angustia traxi diuturna et longa suspiria, ut, etsi non equali datum est mici*

Albar's wish to be freed from his 'earthly straits' and 'the penal abyss', his assertion in the *Indiculus Luminosus* that 'we are atoning in this place'<sup>39</sup>, and the long *Confessio* he would pen later<sup>40</sup>, make clear that he, like Eulogius, sought exculpation by pious acts. They see the martyr as a means of escape from the Islamic rule they believe to be punishment for the Visigoths' sin. They seek deliverance in appealing to martyrs with whom they had formed a personal relationship. In creating martyr-saints, Eulogius forged a direct line to Christ, an intermediary in heaven capable of securing that redemption. One can identify the personal reasons Eulogius attempted to cultivate a new martyrology, and why Albar defended it. What is less easy is to ascertain – from the vague allusions Eulogius made, and the way he portrayed the martyrs and martyrdom – is what he sought to achieve more generally for his community. He intimates to Flora and Maria that their sacrifice will effect the liberation of the larger faithful community of the Church:

you will free the crowd of the faithful as much as yourselves from eternal perdition...  
Most holy sister Flora, as you receive with a calm ear the word of my friendship that must be concealed in your secret heart, may you commit our advice to your dedicated thoughts, so that you might restore the law of the pious Father<sup>41</sup>

But Eulogius declines to elucidate further. His words fall short of suggesting an apocalyptic release; given his repeated references and overtures to future generations, he could not have envisaged an impending revelation. Mindful perhaps of the *Martyrium Polycarpi*, wherein the early martyr is credited with ending a persecution 'through his own witness as though it were a seal'<sup>42</sup>, Eulogius seems to mean simply a release from Islamic rule by intercession. If he had intended to connect with the Carolingians,

*fulgere gloria, saltem uel delictorum meorum michi inlata sit uenia, quatenus non penali doleam baratro mersus, sed celesti gaudeam requiem tibi uel ceteris dominis meis sociis tuis condonatus*

(*Vita Eulogii*.19.1-2... 20.1-2... 7-13, CSM 1:342-4).

<sup>39</sup> Albar, *Indiculus Luminosus*.15.28-9, CSM 1:289.

<sup>40</sup> Albar, *Confessio*, CSM 1:315-30.

<sup>41</sup> Eulogius:

*et tam uos quam cateruam fidelium a perditionis aeternae laqueis eruatis... Flora sanctissima soror, ut nostrae familiaritatis uerbum auditu placido captans secretario cordis recondendum admittas nostrumque consultum sanctificatis mentibus tuis ut pii patris praeceptum reponas*

(*Documentum Martyriale*.2.2-3... 20.4-6, CSM 2:462-3... 471). The Latin construction *tam... quam* expresses the equivalence of the two objects *uos* and *cateruam*.

<sup>42</sup> *Martyrium Polycarpi*.1.1:

μακάριον Πολύκαρπον, ὅστις ὡσπερ ἐπισφραγίσας διὰ τῆς μαρτυρίας αὐτοῦ κατέπαυσε τὸν διωγμὸν

(*Acti e passioni dei martiri*, 371). Eusebius puts much emphasis on the importance of the text of Polycarp's passion. He dubs the martyr 'a disciple of the apostles' (τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁμιλητῆς) (*Historia Ecclesiastica*.III.36, PG 20, col.288B) and reports Irenaeus Bishop of Lyon's *Contra Haereses* as describing him as 'instructed by the apostles and acquainted with many who had personally seen Christ' (ὑπὸ ἀποστόλων μαθητευθεὶς καὶ συναναστραφεὶς πολλοῖς τοῖς τὸν κύριον ἑορακόσιν) (*Historia Ecclesiastica*.IV.14, PG 20, col.337B; Irenaeus, *Contra Haereses*.III.3, PG 7a, col.851C).

Eulogius was hedging his bets or guaranteeing with hagiography. It could be the work of later copyists or editors, but Eulogius' third letter, addressed to the Bishop of Pamplona and various Navarrese abbots, is written in a more classical Latin than the rest of his works, preserving the diphthong *ae* in *saeculi, quae, paene, praedonibus*, and in genitive feminine suffixes. If this is a faithful reproduction of Eulogius' words, it seems he was using a higher register of Latin than that in use in the South, either to impress his northern brethren who would have benefited from the Carolingian reforms of Latin, or in an attempt to speak on what he perceived to be their level.

In order to challenge Islamic rule, the Christian community needed to be rallied and Christianity made a force to be reckoned with in Córdoba. Hagiography held the key to creating a centre of Christian power through providing the inspiration of virtuous exemplars.

### **Christian unity around martyrial *exempla***

It is a truism that religious texts, not least hagiographic, are concerned primarily with the projection of 'the image of unanimity', and that it is a *topos* often turned to in times of conflict and change.<sup>43</sup> The reverence of a deceased bishop, for instance, was central to the maintenance of unity during crises of succession in Merovingian France<sup>44</sup>, whose hagiographers, like Eulogius, 'were more often creating new cults than feeding off old ones that is, they were inventing, rather than simply responding to, tradition'<sup>45</sup>. What Eulogius wanted, with his exhortations to the universal Church and to future generations was, as he says very clearly, to leave a testament to its existence in what he may have feared were its last days, to signal that that post-Visigothic Christian society still preserved (modest) cultural sophistication though he saw that things were changing

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<sup>43</sup> Contemplating Visigothic hagiographical practices, Santiago Castellanos writes:

hagiography served concrete interests... Everyone that has read hagiographical texts knows very well that the image of unanimity is a hagiographical *topos*, and that in many cases we have conflicts beyond the consensus projected by the texts

('The Significance of Social Unanimity', 388-9). Franz R. Franke identifies Christian unity as a point of great import in the writing of both Eulogius and Albar ('Die freiwilligen Märtyrer von Cordova', 168-70).

<sup>44</sup> Peter Brown:

the establishment of a new cult, which reasserted the "presence" of the dead bishop both in Paradise and among his flock (a cult frequently instituted by the persons most implicated in the recent dissensions), was supposed to mark the end of strife

('The End of the Ancient Other World: Death and Afterlife between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages' (Lectures presented at Yale University, October 23 and 24, 1996 as part of the Tanner Lectures on Human Values in conjunction with the Tanner Humanities Center, University of Utah), 44). Available online: <http://www.tannerlectures.utah.edu/lectures/documents/Brown99.pdf>.

<sup>45</sup> Fouracre, Paul, 'Merovingian History and Merovingian Hagiography', *Past & Present* 127.1 (1990), 8.

around him, to assert the unity of a universal Christian community and his post-Visigothic community's part of that greater commonwealth. The *Documentum Martyriale* would seem to support this hypothesis, for though it is ostensibly addressed to the confessors Flora and Maria, their virtuous actions are explicitly posited as models directed to the 'Universal Church'.<sup>46</sup> It is, furthermore, rather implausible that two girls from their backgrounds – both products of mixed, and therefore legally Muslim, households – would have received an education in Latin letters sufficient to comprehend Eulogius' dense prose.<sup>47</sup>

Hagiography is a link to the past, a means of shoring up the community against the crises and depredations of social change with a symbol of constancy which anchored that community to its more glorious past, creating the archetypal 'image of unanimity' in the hope that life would imitate art, for imitation is at the core of martyrdom, with the martyr's *imitatio Christi*.<sup>48</sup> Eulogius peppers his texts with the terms *exemplar* and *exemplum* and the idea of the martyr as an exemplar for the whole Church.<sup>49</sup> Perfectus, the first to be accorded the dignity of the title *sanctus*, is held up as an example for all:

holy Perfectus the priest showed everyone a model of execrating the enemy of the faith<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Four times in the *Documentum Martyriale* Eulogius exhorts the confessors Flora and Maria to consider the symbolic value of their passions to the 'Universal Church' (*uniuersae ecclesiae*) and 'the whole Catholic Church' (*omnis catholica ecclesia, ecclesiam catholicam, totius ecclesiae catholicae*). See: *Documentum Martyriale*.1.13, 15.5, 19.10, 25.23, CSM 2:462, 469, 471, 474).

<sup>47</sup> Christys makes the same observation, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 76. Coope considers the *Documentum Martyriale* 'aimed primarily at Flora', and points out that she was the scion of Christian nobility on her mother's side, though Eulogius' Latin does not necessarily say as much, but it is perhaps unlikely even so that she would have received much of an education in Latin letters, being both female and legally Muslim (Coope, *The Martyrs of Córdoba*, 26).

<sup>48</sup> Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity*, 92.

<sup>49</sup> Eulogius acclaims Flora and Maria:

*Praecipuis meritorum uestrorum exemplaribus ecclesiam catholicam informatis*

With the extraordinary examples of your merits you educate the Catholic Church (*Documentum Martyriale*.19.9-10, CSM 2:471). Eulogius appeals to all those whose deaths he has sanctified and praises them as models:

*restat iam nunc, expeditis apologeticis beatorum, ut aliquid de uictoriis eorum ad aemulationem catholicae plebis pandamus... Ecce patroni mei reuerendissimi, milites Xpi, testes idonei, bellatores egregii, uictores potissimi, tutores gregis catholici... gesta quoque uictiarum uestrarum ad exemplum fidelium ordinaui*

it remains now for me, in a published defence of the blessed [martyrs], to make known something about their victories for the emulation of the catholic people... Behold, my most reverend patrons, soldiers of Christ, witnesses of what is right, exceptional warriors, most powerful victors and guardians of the catholic flock... I have set out the actions of your victories as an example of faith

(*Liber Apologeticus Martyrum*.21.1-2 ...35.23-4 ...25-6, CSM 2:488-94).

<sup>50</sup> Eulogius:

*sanctus Perfectus presbyter exemplar detestandi fidei hostem omnibus exhibuerit*

(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.I.9.1-2, CSM 2:377).



Exemplary martyrdom was established early in the North African Church, sister and forebear of the Visigothic. Cyprian's letters to Carthaginian confessors feature *exempla* prominently:

you who win in this struggle, shall take your glory for persevering with bravery and virtue... he who steps forward in the struggle is made an example of virtue for his brothers<sup>51</sup>

Cyprian also bequeathed Eulogius the *topos* of persecution as *tempestas*.<sup>52</sup> There are issues worth noting with regard to Eulogius' use of *exempla*: the moral tone of the Visigothic past was dubious and he must thus break with tradition to offer the present as a potential time of Christian excellence. Furthermore, though he writes much on the exemplary value of martyrdom, many of Eulogius' *passiones*, as has been noted, are too spare to afford any *exempla* beyond the baldly stated repudiation of Islam and affirmation of Christ.

In martyrdom's model of behaviour and morality is embodied an unbroken continuity in the transition from the Roman *imperium* to medieval Christendom, and reiterates the importance of the pre-Christian tradition to Eulogius' endeavours. Roman education (*paideia*) essentially instilled a morality system based on *exempla*.<sup>53</sup> The first-century historian Livy testifies to history's moral value:

in the study of things this is particularly healthy and fruitful: the documents of every example are brought before you in an illustrious monument; then you can choose for yourself and your society what to imitate, and shun what is shameful in inception and shameful in result<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Cyprian:

*hac congressione vicistis, gloriam vestram forti et perseveranti virtute teneatis... qui in congressione praecedens exemplum virtutis fratribus factus est*

(*Epistulae.VI.Ad Rogatianum Presbyterum et Caeteros Confessores.2... XXV.Ad Moysen et Maximum et Caeteros Confessores.1, PL 4, col.236A... 288B*). Letter VI is also published as XIII in CSEL III.2. Cyprian's biography bears a striking resemblance to Eulogius' – he was disgraced for his actions under persecution, wrote to confessors in prison while the lapsed rushed to pledge allegiance to the culture of a pagan government, and would finally die a martyr's death at Carthage, his *dies natalis* given as 14 September 258. See: *The Catholic Encyclopedia volume IV* edited by John Chapman (New York: Robert Appleton, 1908).

<sup>52</sup> Cyprian, *Epistulae.V.Ad Presbyteros et Diaconos.1, 2, PL 4, col.232A, 232C; VI.1, col.236A; VII.4; XXVI.1, 6; XXXI.2; XXXVII.2; LVI.4; Ad Turasium Presbyterum, col.434D*.

<sup>53</sup> Susanna Morton Braund:

the Homeric epics were – and still are – seen as encapsulating the most important issues about human life and in Roman times readers were invited to use Homeric characters as positive and negative role models. In prose literature the top position was held by historiography... Ancient historiography, despite its claims to objectivity, has a strong moral agenda

(*Latin Literature* (London: Routledge, 2002), 20).

<sup>54</sup> Livy:

*Hoc illud est praecipue in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in inlustri posita monumento intueri; inde tibi tuaeque rei publicae quod imitere capias, inde foedum inceptu foedum exitu quod vites*



In the following decades, Valerius Maximus harked back to the idealised morality of the Republic, producing a large compilation of exemplary stories covering such subjects as piety, temperance, responsibility, compassion, known today as *Memorable Doings and Sayings* expressly for the student's edification.<sup>55</sup> Inherited via Isidore and others, the classical curriculum rendered Eulogius an 'heir to a long historiographical tradition reaching back through Polybius to Isocrates, a tradition that saw history's value in helping its students improve themselves in virtue'<sup>56</sup>.

### **The martyr's *locus potentiae***

The martyr created a sacred *locus* through the symbiotic relationship between martyr and Christ that can be found in both canonical Scripture and the Patristics, as conceived by Origen:

If a Christian is condemned, not for his crimes, nor for any other reason but for the fact that he is Christian, Christ himself is condemned<sup>57</sup>

The martyr's violent death is a reiteration of Christ's death and a reaffirmation of it. In the anonymous fourth-century Donatist tract known as the *Acts of the Abitinian Martyrs*, one can see the confessor's ascent toward deity:

already near to the Lord through their merits and confession... with the Devil defeated and prostrate, they [the martyrs] were filled with God bearing the palm of victory in their suffering<sup>58</sup>

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(*Ab Urbe Condita.praefatio*.10, edited with parallel translation by B.O. Foster under the title *Livy: History of Rome, Books 1-2* (London: Heinemann, 1998), 6).

<sup>55</sup> Valerius states his intention in the opening lines of his work:

*Urbis Romae exterarumque gentium facta simul ac dicta memorata digna, quae apud alios latius diffusa sunt quam ut breviter cognosci possint, ab illustribus electa auctoribus digerere constitui, ut documenta sumere volentibus longae inquisitionis labor absit*

I determined to arrange the deeds and sayings chosen from illustrious authors of the city of Rome and foreign races which are worthy of being remembered but which are very widely scattered amongst other works so that they can be discovered quickly, to do away with the toil of a long search for those who want to lay their hands on examples

(*Factorum ac dictorum memorabilium libri IX.I.praefatio* published with parallel English translation by D.R. Shackleton Bailey in *Valerius Maximus: Memorable Doings and Sayings* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), I.12.

<sup>56</sup> Mueller, Hans Friedrich, *Roman Religion in Valerius Maximus* (London: Routledge, 2002), 9. For Isocrates' principles of *imitatio* and excellence, see Gabba, E., *Dionysius and the History of Archaic Rome* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 33; Hariman, Robert, 'Civic Education, Classical Imitation and Democratic Polity' in *Isocrates and Civic Education* edited by Takis Poulakis and David Depew (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), 217-34; Haskins, Ekaterina V., *Logos and Power in Isocrates and Aristotle* (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 2004), passim and particularly 31-56.

<sup>57</sup> Origen:

οὐκοῦν κἀν δικάζεται Χριστιανός, οὐ δι' ἄλλο τι, οὐ διὰ τὰς ἰδίας ἀμαρτίας, ἀλλ' ὅτι Χριστιανός ἐστι, Χριστός ἐστιν ὁ δικάζόμενος

(*In Jeremiam Homilia XIV.7*, PG 13, col.412D).

Christ is evoked in the person of the martyr, as in the anonymous *passio* of the Donatist bishop Marculus: ‘in that purification he called forth the great presence of Christ in himself’ (*tantum purificatione illa Christi in se praesentiam provocavit*)<sup>59</sup>. Despite Augustine’s caveat that ‘the martyr of Christ is far from being the equal of Christ’ (*martyr Christi longe impar est Christo*)<sup>60</sup>, there are passages in Eulogius’ work suggestive of equivalence, most explicitly in his address of Flora and Maria. Here, in his attempt to secure their martyrdom, he promised that by imitating Christ, the martyr becomes a *christos*:

[Christ] chose you to undertake this contest, and having overcome the torments of adversities in it, he shall allow you to co-rule with him with eternal law for all time<sup>61</sup>

Eulogius marks this equivalence by addressing both martyr and Christ as *dominus*<sup>62</sup>, and later conflates the martyr and Christ when he declares ‘the witness is my redeemer’<sup>63</sup>.

Augustine likens the martyr in persecution to an edifice ‘built upon the foundation of Christ’ (*super Christum fundamentum... esse constructum*)<sup>64</sup>. In John’s

<sup>58</sup> *Acta Martyrum Saturnini Presbyter, Felicis, Dativi, Ampelii et Aliorum*.18... 2: *meritis iam Domino et confessione vicini... quique pleni Deo, devicto atque prostrato diabolo, victricem palmam in passione gestantes*

(in *Monumenta Vetera ad Donatistarum Historiam Pertinentia*, PL 8, col.701A... 690B-C).

<sup>59</sup> *Passio Benedicti Martyris Marculi*, PL 8, col.763A. Alexander Schemann writes that the martyr’s acceptance of suffering in the *imitatio Christi* is said to evoke the very presence of Christ at the site of execution:

The setting apart of the bodies of the martyrs for special liturgical veneration was rooted... in the early Church’s faith that Christ appeared (was revealed) in the martyr in a special way, bearing witness (μαρτυρία) through the martyr to His own power and victory over death

(*Introduction to Liturgical Theology* translated by Asheleigh E. Moorhouse (New York: St Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1986), 187). See also: Tilley, Maureen A., *Donatist Martyr Stories: The Church in Conflict in Roman North Africa* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1996).

<sup>60</sup> Augustine, *In Joannis Evangelium Tractatus*.84.2, PL 35, col.1847. Augustine elaborates; the martyr may imitate the sacrifice of Christ but this sacrifice has none of the redemptive force of the crucifixion:

*etsi fratres pro fratribus moriantur, tamen in fratrum peccatorum remissionem nullius sanguis martyris funditur, quod fecit ille pro nobis: neque in hoc quid imitemur, sed quid gratularemur contulit nobis. Quatenus ergo martyres pro fratribus sanguinem suum fuderunt, hactenus talia exhibuerunt, qualia de mensa dominica perceperunt. In caeteris enim quae dixi, quamvis nec omnia dicere potui, martyr Christi longe impar est Christo*

though brothers die for brothers, no martyr’s blood flows for the remission of the brothers’ sins, which He did for us. In this did he did not give us something that we might imitate, but something in which we might rejoice. So, to the extent that the martyrs let their blood flow for their brothers, they were displaying such things as they saw from the Lord’s table. As to the rest, as I have said, though I cannot speak of everything, the martyr of Christ is far from being the equal of Christ

(*In Joannis Evangelium Tractatus*.84.2, PL 35, col.1847).

<sup>61</sup> Eulogius:

*qui uos ad hunc peragendum agonem elegit, quo devictis aduersitatum stimulis secum iure perenni conregnare faciat temporibus infinitis*

(*Documentum Martyriale*.13.4-6, CSM 2:468).

<sup>62</sup> Eulogius, *Liber Apologeticus Martyrum*.2.1, CSM 2:477.

<sup>63</sup> Eulogius, *Liber Apologeticus Martyrum*.31.5-6, CSM 2:492.

<sup>64</sup> Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*.XXI.26.3, PL 41, col.745.

Gospel we are presented with an allegorical figure not present in *Matthew*, *Mark* or *Luke*, apparently almost entirely overlooked, but which seems to confirm martyrdom's central place in Christian theology in the crucifixion.<sup>65</sup> This is Nicodemus, the symbolic significance of whose name is instantly recognisable for he is a 'ruler of the Jews' bearing a Greek name which in the original Greek of the New Testament means 'victory of the people'<sup>66</sup>. He appears three times, illustrating the path from unbelief to conversion and redemption through the veneration of martyrdom. He first tentatively approaches Jesus by cover of night, calling him *Rabbi*, but is rebuked for not understanding Jesus' teachings<sup>67</sup>; four chapters later he openly argues before the Sanhedrin in support of Jesus and against the injustice of the Pharisees<sup>68</sup>; finally Nicodemus helps Joseph of Arimathaea prepare Jesus' body for proper burial.<sup>69</sup> The proper veneration of the example of martyrdom thus brings 'victory to the people'. Jesus' death was the first testimony to the Christian conception of God; Nicodemus' role prefigures and informs Eulogius' hagiographical actions. Nicodemus' public defiance and withdrawal from the governing body of the Sanhedrin can perhaps be seen as mirroring or presaging the confessors' rejection of Roman authority. Further, the

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<sup>65</sup> Nicodemus is something of an enigmatic figure, and rather overlooked by academia considering his role in the crucifixion and its aftermath, and his canonisation by both Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches – his saint's day is 3 August in the Catholic calendar, while 2 August marks the discovery of his relics in the Eastern liturgy. Some attempt has been made to identify him historically; one scholar has described him thus:

rather like the Man in the Macintosh in James Joyce's *Ulysses*, Nicodemus makes a series of appearances that seem to be fraught with significance, but the nature of that significance remains elusive

(Bassler, Julette M., 'Mixed Signals: Nicodemus in the Fourth Gospel', *Journal of Biblical Literature* 108.4 (1989), 635), though others would excise his third appearance completely (Mendner, Siegfried, 'Nikodemus', *Journal of Biblical Literature* 77.4 (1958), 293-323). Friedrich Büchsel identifies Nicodemus with the wealthy noble Naqdemon ben Gorion of the *Talmud* in his *Das Evangelium nach Johannes* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1949), 51.

<sup>66</sup> Nicodemus (Νικόδημος) from the combination of νίκη (*nikē*, 'victory') and δῆμος, (*dēmos*, 'the community, of a city or group'). The *dēmos* represents the universality of victory or redemption in the reverence of the martyr's sacrifice.

<sup>67</sup> *John* 3:1-12:

There was a man of the Pharisees, named Nicodemus, a ruler of the Jews: the same came to Jesus by night, and said unto him, Rabbi, we know that thou art a teacher come from God... Nicodemus answered and said unto him, How can these things be? Jesus answered and said unto him, Art thou a master of Israel, and knowest not these things? ...and ye receive not our witness. If I have told you earthly things, and ye believe not, how shall ye believe, if I tell you of heavenly things?

<sup>68</sup> *John* 7:50-1:

Nicodemus saith unto them, (he that came to Jesus by night, being one of them,) Doth our law judge any man, before it hear him, and know what he doeth?

<sup>69</sup> *John* 19:38-40:

And after this [the crucifixion] Joseph of Arimathaea, being a disciple of Jesus, but secretly for fear of the Jews, besought Pilate that he might take away the body of Jesus: and Pilate gave him leave. He came therefore, and took the body of Jesus. And there came also Nicodemus, which at the first came to Jesus by night, and brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about an hundred pound weight. Then took they the body of Jesus, and wound it in linen clothes with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury.

Sanhedrin, a council whose jurisdiction was restricted to matters of religious law, parallels the Cordoban *qāḍī*'s court.

The emergence of the theology of martyrdom marks the shift of the *locus* of holy power from place to person between the second and fifth century, whereby the holy man (or saint) of late antiquity became a focal point of divine authority and of religious veneration<sup>70</sup>; the *locus*, the martyr's grave, constituted a nucleus around which a Christian community could coalesce. Origen's fourth homily testifies to the power of the martyrial *locus*:

truly they were believers then, when the acts of witness took place among our children,  
when the martyrs were sent forth from their bedchambers, we came to our assemblies,  
and the whole Church stood together, undestroyed<sup>71</sup>

This is what Eulogius' voluminous writings were meant to achieve – Christian unity around the inspirational core of martyrdom, a unity fostered by the 'studiously all-inclusive ceremonial'<sup>72</sup> of the cult of saints – indicated with the ambiguous phrase *expleta igitur functione sanctissimi Ruderici* which may be read two ways: 'thus the performance – or the execution – of most holy Rudericus was fulfilled', for he drew the faithful together.

### **Hagiography as a means of culture-building**

Martyrdom is an image found throughout the New Testament, from the crucifixion, to the death of the Apostle Paul for the Gospel's sake, to a *Revelation* soaked in the 'blood of the saints and the blood of the martyrs of Jesus'<sup>73</sup>; it is 'a quintessential legacy of early Christian discourse'<sup>74</sup>. Martyrdom became central to Christian cultural identity

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<sup>70</sup> Brown, *The Making of Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), 11-3. Brown uses the term 'holy man' rather than saint because his field of late antiquity had not yet seen a formalisation of the process of canonisation; however these figures are saints in a literal sense because they are treated as such, the saint is merely a person upon whom special status is conferred. (See: Cameron, Averil, 'On defining the holy man' in *The Cult of the Saints in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Essays on the contribution of Peter Brown* edited by James Howard-Johnston and Paul Antony Hayward (Oxford: OUP, 1999), 27).

<sup>71</sup> Origen:

ἀλλὰ τότε ἦσαν πιστοὶ, ὅτε τὰ μαρτύρια τῇ γενεᾷ ἐγίνοντο, ὅτε ἀπὸ τῶν κοιμητηρίων, προπέμψαντες τοὺς μάρτυρας, ἤρχόμεθα ἐπὶ τὰς συναγωγὰς, καὶ ὅλη ἡ Ἐκκλησία μὴ ἐκτηκομένη παρεγίνετο

(In *Jeremiah Homilia*.IV.3, PG 13, col.288D-290A).

<sup>72</sup> Brown, *The Cult of Saints*, 99.

<sup>73</sup> *Revelation* 17:6.

<sup>74</sup> Penner, Todd and Caroline Vander Stichele, 'The Tyranny of the Martyr: Violence and Victimization in Martyrdom Discourse and the Movies of Lars von Trier' in *Sanctified Aggression: Legacies of Biblical*

very early on, in what Elizabeth Castelli dubs ‘processes of reinscription’ whereby the celebration of the martyrs preserved and established fundamental Christian teachings.<sup>75</sup> The veneration of martyrdom is therefore a self-reflexive exercise in identity creation, a discourse in which ideas of what it is to be a Christian are crystallised. The composition of hagiography was a literary act of creating a symbol and decking it with attributes that were not necessarily historical:

construction [of the martyr] was not just a matter of harnessing the mysterious, pre-existing charisma of the martyr. The martyr had to be ‘made’. This ‘making’ was a matter of representation: of text and image. The story made the martyr... in many ways, questions about the making of martyrs are also questions about power... the power of the martyr was an important weapon in the process of Christianisation... in a range of contests... the persecution of the Christian Church was very much a persecution complex. Persecution was constructed, amplified and multiplied through a vast body of material: apologetic, martyr acts, sermons and all manner of treatises which then became accepted as history<sup>76</sup>

Martyrdom and the written word are intertwined in the creation of Christian identity and community. While there is a great wealth of Christian testimony to martyrdom, pagan Rome’s silence on the matter is overwhelming. This, writes Grig, ‘should alert us to the fact that we are dealing with a huge disjunction between different groups’ perceptions of history and reality’<sup>77</sup>. Martyrdom is about power struggle, the written word about authority.<sup>78</sup> This would seem to make martyrdom a symbol meaningful only for the

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*and Post Biblical Vocabularies of Violence* edited by Jonneke Bekkenkamp and Yvonne Sherwood (New York: Continuum International Publishing, 2005), 175. See also: Baraz, *Medieval Cruelty*, 29ff.

<sup>75</sup> Castelli:

Processes of reinscription had been taking place in the preservation of the martyrs’ stories from the start... the memory work done by early Christians on the historical experience of persecution and martyrdom was a form of culture making, whereby Christian identity was indelibly marked by the collective memory of the religious suffering of others... martyrdom was a critical building block of Christian culture... various ideas coalesce around the facts of violence and the feelings of marginalization and oppression... in the process of making sense of fact and feeling, of generating a collectively liveable story, culture is produced

(*Martyrdom and Memory*, 3-4... 33). See also: Boyarin, Daniel, *Dying for God: Martyrdom and the Making of Christianity and Judaism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 94.

<sup>76</sup> Grig, *Making Martyrs in Late Antiquity*, 1-14. Judith Perkins writes:

groups strongly valuing suffering and martyrdom might well foment their own persecution, enduring it gratefully and promulgating it as the legitimation of their world view... Christian emphasis on persecution, rather than reflecting an actual situation, reflects instead the place of suffering and death in the shared “symbolic universe” of second-century Christian society

(‘The Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles and early Christian Martyrdom’, *Arethusa* 18.2 (1985), 221).

<sup>77</sup> Grig, *Making Martyrs in Late Antiquity*, 14.

<sup>78</sup> Grig:

in many ways, questions about the making of martyrs are also questions about power... the power of the martyr was an important weapon in the process of Christianisation... in a range of contests

(*Making Martyrs in Late Antiquity*, 1).



intelligentsia.<sup>79</sup> Veneration of the martyrs was a big part of popular ritual, however, and the analogy between patron saint and certain aspects of hero cult – a popular cult stretching back to archaic Greece and beyond – meant that the martyr and his or her station was firmly entrenched and readily comprehensible.<sup>80</sup> In celebrating Christian deaths as holy martyrdoms Eulogius could potentially unite not only secular indignation against a foreign dictatorship but spiritual feeling, and *en masse*. Already engaged in serious study in order to combat Islamic erosion of the Christian community, Eulogius chanced upon the idea of martyrdom in the *passiones* of Nunilo and Alodia, and John and Adulphus, and realised the potential of a new passionary for his own times – for he clearly saw Rome, that classical paradigm of persecution, in the Islamic court. If his church had been an underground organisation without rights, as it had been prior to Constantine’s Edict of Milan of 313 and the later realised Peace of the Church, his community might have concurred.

Cyprian sets out all the facets of the martyr: the symbolic and schematic connection with the crucifixion; the martyr as model of moral excellence; as inspiration to conversion in pagans, and to piety in Christians. These are Eulogius’ reasons for

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<sup>79</sup> Such accusation could be levelled at theological thought in general, abstract and philosophical as it is: Christianity found itself committed to complex beliefs, whose full understanding and accurate formulation had always assumed a level of culture which the majority of the members of the Christian congregations were known not to share with their leaders

(Brown, *Cult of the Saints*, 18-9.).

<sup>80</sup> Glen W. Bowersock links Christian martyr cult to archaic hero cult as expressions of ‘a conceptual system of posthumous recognition and anticipated reward’ (*Martyrdom and Rome*, 5). The link between Christian martyr-saint and pagan hero is dismissed – though ‘only so far’ – by Peter Brown:

the practice of “heroization,” especially of private cult offered by the family to the deceased as a “hero” in a specially constructed grave house, has been invoked to explain some of the architectural and artistic problems of the early Christian *memoria*. But after that, even the analogy of the cult of hero breaks down. For the position of the hero had been delimited by a very ancient map of the boundaries between those beings who had been touched by the taint of human death and those who had not: the forms of cult for heroes and for the immortal gods tended to be kept apart... The martyr was the “friend of God”. He was an intercessor in a way which the hero could never have been

(Brown, Peter, *Cult of Saints*, 6). Delehaye also rejects the link between hero-cult and the cult of saints, but his argument is religiously motivated and unconvincing (*Les légendes hagiographiques*, 181ff, especially 187). But just as Tertullian is widely paraphrased as having said that ‘the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church’, so Walter Burkert – long pre-eminent in the study of ancient and archaic Greek belief and practice – wrote that reverence of the dead formed a foundation for shared identity:

*Für die Identität der Familie bleibt der Totenkult Grundlage und Ausdruck; wie man die Vorfahren ehrt, erwartet man gleiches von den Nachkommen: aus der Rückwendung zu den Toten wächst der Wille zum Fortbestand... Im späteren Sprachgebrauch dagegen ist der ‘Heros’ ein Toter, der von seinem Grab aus im guten oder Bösen mächtig wirkt und entsprechende Verehrung fordert*

The cult of the dead remains the foundation and expression of family identity: the honour accorded to forebears is expected from descendents: from the remembrance of the dead grows the will to continue... In later usage, the hero is a deceased person who exerts from his grave a power for good or evil and who demands appropriate honour

(Burkert, Walter, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche* (Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1977), 299-300... 312; in English translation by John Raffan under the title *Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985) 194... 203).



devoting himself to hagiography, Eulogius wished to make Córdoba a focal point of Christian faith and consciousness, and inspire his fellow Christians to embrace their religious identity and culture more fully in order to combat the rise of Arabic and Islamic culture. But there is one more factor of great personal importance to Eulogius, and to Albar; one closely related to the martyr's proximity to Christ: the sainted martyr's role as intermediary between God and man. Eulogius brought all these concepts (and his reading of the classics) to bear at the beginning of the 850s, beginning with his elevation of the death of Perfectus. There were two obstacles in Eulogius' way, however: first, in writing about the present he lacked the authority of the past, which was key to the creation of classical martyr texts; second, he was missing a persecution, a fact he could have masked with the benefit of distance enjoyed by his hagiographic predecessors – though in any case, his reporting that his martyrs were rejected serves to heighten his own piety. The success of his martyrology lay in overcoming these obstacles. The key can be found in Augustine.

### **Augustinian influence in the Iberian Peninsula**

The late-antique and early medieval culture of the West was built upon the foundations of libraries of canonical, patristic, and pagan Latin literature, through which it would be perpetuated, without which superseded. The Visigothic kingdom was close to losing that battle in Eulogius' mind and he set about rectifying the situation. The classical poets of Rome represent one strand of the legacy, equipping the Iberians with a framework for conceiving the far distant and hitherto unknown world of the East. Augustine (354-430) – Bishop of Hippo Regius, modern 'Annāba in northeast Algeria – was something of a founding father of Hispanic Christianity, the last great thinker the North African Church produced before the upheaval of the Vandal conquest<sup>81</sup>, and 'a central figure in the development of Western thought'<sup>82</sup>. It is worth noting that Augustine is not the only North African in Eulogius' library: both Avienus and Porfirius were also North African, and as has been seen, the fathers of the North African Church had much to say in connection to martyrdom. Augustinian thought was established in the Iberian Peninsula upon a wave of ecclesiastic immigrants in the late-sixth century

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<sup>81</sup> Merrills, *Vandals, Romans and Berbers*, 19.

<sup>82</sup> Brown, *Religion and Society*, 9.

who sought refuge from theological conflict with Constantinople<sup>83</sup>, bringing monasticism with them.<sup>84</sup> Augustine's legacy was freed of competing external influences in the peninsula when Suintila (621-31) routed the Byzantines in 624.<sup>85</sup> Around this time Isidore was compiling his *Etymologiae* 'in an atmosphere dominated by the thought of Augustine and Gregory'<sup>86</sup>. McWilliam even argues that 'a case could be made that Augustine's influence survived in less diluted form in Spain than anywhere else'<sup>87</sup>. Albar, in Sage's estimation, 'had a strong Augustinian tinge'<sup>88</sup>, and his Church is known for one thing:

martyrdom and its cult was a dominating feature in the life of the North African Christians. Throughout its 500 years existence the Church of North Africa was a Church of the Martyrs<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> This was the Monophysite Christological controversy, which had raged in the Eastern Empire since the first decades of the fifth century. See: *Cambridge Ancient History XIV. Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors, AD 425-600* edited by Averil Cameron, Bryan Ward-Perkins and Michael Whitby (Cambridge: CUP, 2000), especially Hugh Kennedy's chapter therein, 'Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia' (588-611), and Pauline Allen's 'The Definition and Enforcement of Orthodoxy' (811-34).

<sup>84</sup> Collins, *Visigothic Spain*, 149-53.

<sup>85</sup> Isidore dates the expulsion of imperial forces to 621:

*Aera DCLIX, anno imperii Heraclii X, gloriosissimus Suintila gratia divina regni suscepit sceptrum.... Postquam vero apicem fastigii regalis conscendit, urbes residuas quas in Hispaniis Romana manus agebat, praelio conserto obtinuit, auctamque triumphum gloriam prae caeteris regibus felicitate mirabili reportavit. Totius Hispaniae infra Oceani fretum monarchia regni primus idem potitus, quod nulli retro principum est collatum. Auxit eo praelio virtutis ejus titulum duorum patritiorum obtentus, quorum alterum prudentia suum fecit, alterum virtute praelii sibi subiecit*

In the Era 659, the tenth year of Heraclius' rule, the most glorious Suintila by God's grace took up the sceptre of the kingdom... After he rose to the apex of royal rank, he took those cities in Hispania that remained in Roman [Byzantine] hands, and with wondrous fortune won a glory of triumph greater than the kings before him. He was the first to have taken possession of all Hispania to the straits of Ocean – which none had united before him

(*Historia Regibus*.62, PL 83, col.1074A-B). The anonymous *Chronica Muzarabica* alludes to Suintila's success against the Eastern Empire, also placing it in 621, though its author offers rather less detail, perhaps because his chronicle was meant as a continuation not usurpation of Isidore's:

*Huius Eraclii temporibus Suintila in era DCLVIII, anno imperii eius decimo, Arabum IIII, regnante in eis Mammet, digne [gubernacula] in regno Gothorum suscepit sceptrum X annis regnans. Hic ceptum bellum cum Romanis peregit celerique victoria totius Ispanie monarchiam obtinuit*

In the time of Heraclius, in the Era 659, the tenth year of his rule, the fourth of the Arabs, under Muhammad's rule, Suintila worthily took up the sceptre in the kingdom of the Goths, ruling for ten years. He concluded the war which had been taken up with the Romans, and in a quick victory obtained single rule over the whole of Hispania

(*Chronica Muzarabica*.13, CSM 1:20).

<sup>86</sup> Davis, D. Scott, 'Early Medieval Ethics' in *A History of Western Ethics* edited by Lawrence C. Becker and Charlotte B. Becker (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Oxford: Routledge, 2003), 47.

<sup>87</sup> McWilliam, Joanne E., 'The Context of Spanish Adoptionism: A Review', in *Conversion and Continuity: Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands Eighth to Eighteenth Centuries* edited by Michael Gervers and Ramzi Gibran Bikhazi (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1990), 77.

<sup>88</sup> Sage, *Paul Albar*, 227.

<sup>89</sup> Frend, W.H.C., 'The North African Cult of Martyrs: From Apocalyptic to Hero-worship', *Jenseitvorstellungen in Antike und Christentum* 9 (1982), 154.

Martyrdom is central to the North African Church, key to the image it wished to propagate of its experiences under Roman rule. Augustine himself asked rhetorically ‘Is not Africa filled by the bodies of the martyrs?’<sup>90</sup>. Cyprian held martyrdom to be central to their developing liturgy, a proof of Christianity’s redemptive claims:

flatteries cannot deceive the incorruptible strength of faith, nor threats terrify, nor pain and torment defeat, ‘because he who is in us is greater than he who is in the world’, nor is earthly punishment any more able to cast down than divine protection to raise. This matter is proved in the glorious struggle of the brothers<sup>91</sup>

Eulogius’ work is entirely centred on the theories of martyrdom inherited from the North Africans; his vast martyrological corpus was itself an attempt to make the Andalusī Church a martyr’s church. The Iberian Church already boasted many martyrs of its own, among them Zoilus, Acisclus, Justus, Pastor, Leocadia, Eulalia, Servandus and Germanus, Engratia and Agapius, all claimed as victims of Diocletian between 303 and 305.<sup>92</sup>

The theology of Augustine then, was a significant formative influence on Christian thought in Visigothic Hispania, but it was not conceived in a vacuum: the issues with which Augustine grappled had been exercising the minds of his North African predecessors for over a century. What Augustine contributed was the idea of the martyr as a hero capable of defeating the enemy of the Church – an idea whose implications for Eulogius are clear, and whose influence can be seen in the late-ninth or early tenth-century Cordoban epitaphs of the ecclesiastic Valentinianus and the monk Martin, which declares them ‘borne aloft to the heroes’ (*ad eroas latus est*)<sup>93</sup>. Warren Brown defines hagiography as ‘the biography of religious heroes and heroines’<sup>94</sup>.

Augustine wrote the *De Civitate Dei Contra Paganos* (*On the City of God against the Pagans*, henceforth simply *Civitate Dei*) between 412 and 426.<sup>95</sup> By far the

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<sup>90</sup> Augustine:

*numquid non et Africa sanctorum martyrum corporibus plena est?*

(*Epistulae*.78.3, *PL* 33, col.269).

<sup>91</sup> Cyprian:

*incorruptam fidei firmitatem non blanditiae decipiant, non minae terreant, non cruciatus ac tormenta devincant, ‘quia major est qui in nobis est quam qui est in hoc mundo’, nec plus ad dejiciendum potest terrena poena quam ad erigendum tutela divina. Probata res est certamine fratrum glorioso*

(*Epistula*.VIII, *PL* 4, col.246A-B). Quote from I *John* 4:4.

<sup>92</sup> See the *Book of the Saints* edited by the Benedictine monks (London: A & C Black, 1947), *ad loc.*

<sup>93</sup> Valentinianus’ epitaph is missing a date, broken off at the third line, but is likely to hail from the latter ninth century or early tenth. Martin’s inscription is dated 931. See Appendix II: Inscriptions.

<sup>94</sup> Brown, Warren, *Unjust Seizure*, 22.

<sup>95</sup> Brown, Peter, ‘Saint Augustine’ in *Trends in Medieval Political Thought* edited by Beryl Smalley (Oxford: Blackwell 1965), 1; also reprinted in Brown’s *Religion and Society in the Age of St. Augustine* (London: Faber & Faber, 1972), 25. The date of composition remains obscure, but can safely be placed

longest of the works that Albar reports amongst Eulogius' Navarrese discoveries – its 22 books run to seven volumes in the Loeb Classical Library edition, while the next biggest, Vergil's *Aeneid*, at 12 books, fills only two volumes in the same imprint – the *Civitate Dei* is perhaps the most important too. It bears more than a passing resemblance to Eulogius' body of work in terms of historical context and conception. Augustine states that the *Civitate Dei* was written as a defence of orthodox Christianity beleaguered by heterodoxy, and as an explanation of its relation to the competing cults and philosophies still prevalent in the early fifth-century empire – principally the Donatist Christological heresy and the pagan Egypto-Hellenic cosmic theology attributed to the mythical Hermes Trismegistus:

[the city of God] lives as a stranger among the ungodly... in this work, and in payment of my promise to you, my dearest son Marcellinus, I have undertaken to defend [the city of God] against those who prefer their own gods to its founder<sup>96</sup>

Peter Brown has described the *Civitate Dei* as 'a fight carried on in twenty-two books against nothing less than the whole of the pagan literary culture available to him'<sup>97</sup>; one might similarly characterise Eulogius' work as 'a fight carried on in three major works against Islam and Arabic culture with the aid of nothing less than the whole of the pagan literary culture available to him'. Augustine makes clear that the martyrs were central to this struggle:

[God] overthrew superstitions through Christ's deepest humility, through the Apostles' preaching, through the faith of the martyrs dying for Truth and living in Truth, through their glad service, not only in the hearts of the religious, but even in the temples of the superstitious<sup>98</sup>

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after the Vandals' sack of Rome in 410, for Augustine refers to the Romans spared by the barbarians' piety because they sought refuge in churches:

*ferrum hostile fugientes, in sacratis ejus locis vitam, de qua superbiunt, invenirent. An non etiam illi Romani Christi nomini infesti sunt, quibus propter Christum barbari pepercerunt?*

fleeing the sword of the enemy, they found the life of which they boast in the sacred places. Are not these Romans hostile to the name of Christ, though the barbarians spared them for Christ's sake?

(Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*.I.1, PL 41, col.14).

<sup>96</sup> Augustine:

*[civitas Dei] inter impios peregrinatur... hoc opere instituto et mea ad te promissione debito defendere adversus eos qui conditori ejus deos suos praeferunt, fili charissime Marcelline, suscepi*

(*Civitate Dei*.I.praefatio, PL 41, col.13).

<sup>97</sup> Brown, 'Saint Augustine', 26.

<sup>98</sup> Augustine:

*superstitiones... per altissimam Christi humilitatem, per Apostolorum praedicationem, per fidem martyrum pro veritate morientium et cum veritate viventium, non solum in cordibus religiosis, verum etiam in aedibus superstitiosis libera suorum servitute subvertit*

(*De Civitate Dei*.IV.30, PL 41, col.137).

It is a characteristic of early – and medieval – Christian historiography that motifs of struggle and hostile encounters were formed in such a way that they could be universally applied to any number of situations that had the potential to disturb the balance of orthodoxy, thus the Eastern Other could be reconfigured as the Muslim.<sup>99</sup> The label *superstitiones* can be applied to the dogma of any competing group, be it paganism, heresy or Islam.<sup>100</sup> The pagan classics gave Eulogius ways of categorising the Muslim Other and thus attacking it. What made the *Civitate Dei* highly useful to Eulogius is the way in which Augustine writes about the martyr, specifically in the tenth book, which may represent the theological basis of Eulogius' voluntary martyrdom.

What follows is an investigation into the concept of martyrdom as found in Augustine and his attitude to antiquity, and how Eulogius made use of both. Reference will be made to Augustinian works besides the *Civitate Dei*, for it is possible that, as with the Horatian, Eulogius' manuscript contained more than one work: Eulogius and his contemporaries Albar and Samson make 82 references to, and take paraphrases or quotes from, 17 other Augustinian works.<sup>101</sup> What concerns us here is understanding Eulogius' use of the martyr and the act of martyrdom to foster in the Christian community a strong sense of cultural identity and unity when there was little or no persecution to warrant a martyr. Reconnecting with Cordoban Christianity's lost heritage was crucial to this enterprise. Without effective study of the classics Eulogius could no more communicate his ideas than his audience could understand them. Eulogius recognised this fact, as did Isidore, and his colleague Braulio, Bishop of Zaragoza (c.638-51), whose preface to the *Etymologiae* explicitly acknowledges the importance of the classical foundations of Christian culture:

Isidore [was] a great man... in whom antiquity reasserted itself... God raised him up in most recent times after the many reverses of Hispania (to revive, I believe, the works of the ancients so that we might not grow completely senile with rusticity), as though he appointed [him] as such a support. Not without justification do we apply to him [Isidore] [the words of] that philosopher [Cicero] who said 'We were wandering and

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<sup>99</sup> See: Manetti, Giovanni, *Theories of the Sign in Classical Antiquity* translated by Christine Richardson (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 162.

<sup>100</sup> Wolf thus asserts that:

it should come as no surprise that Medieval views of Islam bear a strong structural resemblance to earlier views of the "other"... from a medieval Christian perspective, Islam was only one species of a genus that included every perceived threat to Christendom from the very beginning of Christian history

(‘Christian Views of Islam’, 86).

<sup>101</sup> See: Gil's indices, *CSM* 2:724-5.

going astray so much like strangers in our own city, [but] your books led us home so to speak: so that at last we might recognise who and where we were'<sup>102</sup>

That Augustine himself knew the importance of the classics to apologetics is demonstrated by the 38 references to Vergil in the *Civitate Dei* alone. Augustine recognised this relationship between Christianity and the pagan past in the *Retractiones*, wherein he also acknowledges both Christianity's place in the evolution of esoteric thought and the universality of ideas:

I have said that 'The religion for our times is Christian, to recognise and to follow which is most secure and most certain salvation', it is so called according to the name, not according to the thing itself, whose name it is. For the very thing which now is called the Christian religion existed among the ancients. Nor has it been absent from the dawn of mankind, and those to whom Christ himself came in the flesh – whence comes the true religion which exists now – began to be called Christian<sup>103</sup>

The way in which antiquity reasserted itself in Augustine and Eulogius is in the figure of the voluntary martyr.

### **Augustine's martyr: a Christian hero**

The martyr was not a new nucleus for a new community; Christianity did not blossom in a desert, but attracted adherents from a Graeco-Roman world populated by anthropomorphic elemental deities and deified heroes. Despite Peter Brown's reservations on linking the two phenomena<sup>104</sup>, Augustine equates the martyrs with the pagan heroes, whose place they explicitly usurp in the establishment of his Christian cosmological schema:

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<sup>102</sup> Braulio Caesaragustae episcopus:

*Isidorus vir egregius... in quo quiddam sibi antiquitas vindicavit... congrua vero opportunitate loci incomparabili eloquentia clarus... Quem Deus post tot defectus Hispaniae novissimis temporibus suscitans (credo ad restauranda antiquorum monumenta, ne usquequaque rusticitate veterasceremus), quasi quamdam apposuit destinam. Cui non immerito illud philosophicum a nobis aptatur: Nos, inquit, in nostra urbe peregrinantes errantesque tanquam hospites, tui libri, quasi domum reduxerunt: ut possimus aliquando qui et ubi essemus agnoscere*

(*Praenotatio librorum D. Isidori in Testimonia de S. Isidoro Hispalensi*, PL 82, col.66C... 7C-D).

<sup>103</sup> Augustine:

*item quod dixi, 'Ea est nostri temporibus Christiana religio, quam cognoscere ac sequi securissima et certissima salus est', secundum hoc nomen dictum est, non secundum ipsam rem, cujus hoc nomen est. Nam res ipsa quae nunc Christiana religio nuncupatur, erat apud antiquos, nec defuit ab initio generis humani, quosque ipse Christus veniret in carne, unde vera religio quae iam erat, coepit appellari christiana*

(*Retractiones*.XIII.3, PL 32, col.603).

<sup>104</sup> Brown, *The Cult of Saints*, 5-6.



At measured and pre-ordained moments, power is even permitted to daemons, so that through the men they have possessed and roused up, they might tyrannically exercise their enmity for the City of God. They take sacrifices not only from those who offer, they seek them from the willing, and truly they even extort them violently pursuing the unwilling. Not only is this not harmful, it is found useful to the Church, for the count of the martyrs is filled... if ecclesiastic custom allowed, we might much more elegantly call these martyrs our heroes. For this name is said to be taken from Juno, because in Greek Juno is called Hēra<sup>105</sup>, and thus according to the fables of the Greeks one of her sons – I do not know which – was called Hēros. Of course, the mystery behind the significant fable goes like this: they assert that the heroes lived with the daemons in the air which was allotted to Juno, by which name – hero – they call the souls of certain worthies among the dead. But, on the contrary, our martyrs would be called heroes if, as I said, that usage were permitted in ecclesiastic speech – not because they are allied to those aerial daemons, but because they have overcome those same daemons, that is to say those aerial forces, and besides them, Juno herself, whatever she is thought to symbolise... Our heroes, if it were allowed to call them such, overcome Hēra not with supplicants' gifts, but with divine virtues<sup>106</sup>

Firstly, it goes without saying that the demonically possessed tyrants here are the Roman emperors: alien political overlords whose parallel to the emir and his court is obvious, and would have seemed so to Eulogius, who uses identical terminology, describing the emir as *tyrannus* throughout his compositions. Passages such as this would have shown Eulogius the power of the martyr in a social situation that mirrored

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<sup>105</sup> Hēra, Juno to the Romans, sister and wife of Zeus/ Jupiter, queen of the Olympian pantheon, primarily represented and protected women in childbirth and marriage. She was widely worshipped throughout the Greek-speaking world as a Great Goddess. Though Augustine's etymology is patently false, cases have been made in support of the same: Pötscher argues that *hēra* signifies nothing but the feminine of the masculine term 'hero' in an adjectival function. Thus Hēra is the Mistress, denoting her function as queen and mother among the gods (Pötscher, Walter, 'Hera und heros', *Rheinisches Museum* 104 (1961), 302-55; 'Der Name der Göttin Hera', *Rheinisches Museum* 108 (1965), 317-20. For further information on Hēra, her functions and representations in art, see: Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 131ff.

<sup>106</sup> Augustine:

*Moderatis autem praefinitisque temporibus, etiam potestas permissa daemonibus, ut hominibus quos possident excitatis, inimicitias adversus Dei civitatem tyrannice exerceant, sibi que sacrificia non solum ab offerentibus sumant, et a volentibus expectant, verum etiam ab invitis persequendo violenter extorqueant, non solum pernicioosa est, sed etiam utilis invenitur Ecclesiae, ut martyrum numerus impleatur... Hos [martyres] multo elegantius, si ecclesiastica loquendi consuetudo pateretur, nostros heroas vocaremus. Hoc enim nomen Junone dicitur tractum, quod Graece Juno Ἥρα appellatur, et ideo nescio quis filius ejus secundum Graecorum fabulas Heros fuerit nuncupatus, hoc videlicet veluti mysticum significante fabula, quod aer Junoni deputetur, ubi volunt cum daemonibus heroas habitare, quo nomine appellant alicujus meriti animas defunctorum. Sed a contrario martyres nostri heroes nuncuparentur si, ut dixi, usus ecclesiastici sermonis admitteret, non quo eis esset cum daemonibus in aere societas, sed quod eosdem daemones, id est aerias vincerent potestates et in eis ipsam, quidquid putatur significare, Junonem... Non omnino, si dici usitate posset, heroes nostri supplicibus donis, sed virtutibus divinis Heran superant*

(*De Civitate Dei*.X.21, PL 41, col.298-9).

his own, and suggested the potential of a passionary for his time, in which the martyr played the active part of hero rather than passive victim.

Secondly, Augustine's claim of ignorance regarding classical mythology is unconvincing, for though the son of a Catholic mother, Monica, his father Patricius was pagan and Augustine had an excellent education in pagan philosophy, and in rhetoric, which he then went on to teach. He did not convert to Catholicism until a personal crisis in the wake of his mother death drove him to retire in his thirty-third year.<sup>107</sup> Augustine was unquestionably steeped in the culture of his father. Augustine's claims of ignorance are disingenuous for he shows his familiarity with classical pagan tropes in another reference to heroes, *Lares* and *Genii*.<sup>108</sup> His definition of the martyr clearly has a lot in common with Socrates' *daimōn* as defined in Plato's *Cratylus* (subtitled *Or on the Correction of Names*): 'when someone good comes to an end, he has a great destiny and honour and becomes a *daimōn*',<sup>109</sup>.

Augustine's manipulation of the mythological tradition of hero-worship and equation of the pagan hero with an aerial demonic force between human and divine planes of existence allows Augustine to praise the martyr with the title 'hero', and in the

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<sup>107</sup> Augustine:

*multi mei anni mecum effluxerant, forte duodecim anni ex quo ab undevigesimo anno aetatis meae, lecto Ciceronis Hortensio, excitatus eram studio sapientiae... Arripui, aperui, et legi in silentio capitulum, quo primum conjecti sunt oculi mei: 'Non in comessationibus et ebrietatibus, non in cubilibus et impudicitis, non in contentione et aemulatione; sed induite Dominum Jesum Christum, et carnis providentiam ne feceritis in concupiscentiis'. Nec ultra volui legere; nec opus erat. Statim quippe cum fine hujusce sententiae quasi luce securitatis infusa cordi meo, omnes dubitationis tenebrae diffugerunt... Convertisti enim me ad te*

with many of my years passed, perhaps 12 years since I was 19, I was roused with a desire for wisdom, reading Cicero's *Hortensius*... I snatched up [the volume of the apostles] I opened it, and in silence I read the first chapter I set eyes upon: 'Not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying. But put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof'. I did not want to read further, nor was there need to. Indeed, at the end of this sentence my heart was infused as it were by a light of security, every shadow of doubt scattered... You converted me to you

(*Confessionum*.8.17... 29... 30, *PL* 32, col.757... 62). Scriptural quote: *Romans* 13:13-4.

<sup>108</sup> Augustine also refers to the belief in aerial deities in Book VII, attributing it to Varro and 'many philosophers':

*inter lunae vero gyrum et nimborum ac ventorum cacumina aereas esse animas, sed eas animo, non oculis videri; et vocari heroas, et lares, et genios*

between the orbit of the moon and heights of the clouds and winds, there are aerial souls, but they are seen with the mind, not with the eye, and they are called Heroes, and *Lares* and *Genii*

(*De Civitate Dei*.VII.6, *PL* 41, col.199). The *Lares* were minor tutelary deities often termed 'household gods' since they overlooked domestic affairs. The *Genius* is the divine aspect in all things, persons and places; it can thus be used to designate inspiration or innate intelligence as in the modern English usage of the term 'genius'.

<sup>109</sup> Plato:

ἐπειδὴν τις ἀγαθὸς ὢν τελευτήσῃ, μεγάλην μοῖραν καὶ τιμὴν ἔχει καὶ γίγνεται δαίμων

(*Cratylus*.398B-C). Hesiod expresses the same idea in *Works and Days*.121-3.

process make the martyr accessible to potential converts. In his pronouncement that the martyr has prevailed over the hero – *vincerent* – he claims that the idea of Christian martyrdom had been sufficiently established in the common psyche by this time that such a figure evoked the name ‘martyr’, and no longer ‘hero’. This is far from so, however. Augustine defined the position of the martyr in the Christian schema because in his lifetime the line drawn between pagan and Christian practise was evidently not clear enough. He probably did so in response to accusations of the Manichaean Bishop Faustus of Milevis’ – Augustine’s former spiritual teacher – that Catholicism was essentially Roman paganism by any other name, likening the martyrs and their veneration to the statues of the gods. Around 397, Augustine composed the vast *Contra Faustum Manichaeum*<sup>110</sup>, in which he purports to present Faustus’ accusations in his own words:

A breakaway changes either nothing, or not much, from that whence it came: so you, who broke away from the Gentiles... you turn their sacrifices into love-feasts and their idols into martyrs, whom you worship with the same gifts; you appease the shades of the dead with wine and feasts; you celebrate the Gentiles’ festival days with them, such as the kalends and solstices. Regarding lifestyle you have certainly changed nothing; you are clearly a schism differentiated from your source only by your [separate] assembly<sup>111</sup>

While Faustus’ argument is directed at the Catholic masses, Augustine’s response is a rather trite expression of orthodoxy as theorised and practiced by the clerical elite:

we recommend the worship of the invisible Creator of all these things, in whom alone man can find the happiness which all allow that he desires<sup>112</sup>

He could hardly do otherwise, for he was well aware of popular paganising. Several years before, Augustine had addressed a letter to the recently-ordained Bishop Aurelius of Carthage in or around 392<sup>113</sup>, in which he expressed his concerns about the nature of

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<sup>110</sup> Caner, Daniel, *Wandering, Begging Monks: Spiritual Authority and the Promotion of Monasticism in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 120n171.

<sup>111</sup> Augustine:

*Schisma vero aut nihil immutare debet ab eo unde factum est, aut non multum: ut... vos, qui desciscentes a Gentibus... sacrificia vero eorum vertistis in agapes, idola in martyres, quos votis similibus colitis: defunctorum umbras vino placatis et dapibus; solemnes Gentium dies cum ipsis celebratis, ut calendas, et solstitia: de vita certe mutastis nihil; estis sane schisma, a matrice sua diversum nihil habens nisi conventum*

(*Contra Faustum Manichaeum*.XX.4, PL 42, col.370).

<sup>112</sup> Augustine:

*eisque colendum horum omnium conditorem Deum invisibilem suademus, cujus solius participatione beatus homo fieri potest; quod omnes velle nemo ambigit*

(*Contra Faustum*.XX.5, PL 42, col.371).

<sup>113</sup> On the date of the letter, see: Heidl, György, *Origen’s Influence on the Young Augustine: A Chapter of the History of Origenism* (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2003), 51n15; Plumer, Eric, *Augustine’s Commentary on Galatians: Introduction, Text, Translation, and Notes* (Oxford: OUP, 2006), 83-4.

popular celebration, lamenting the celebration of the martyrs' *diei natalis* in the manner of pagan festivals:

For bacchanals and drunken parties are thought to be allowed and lawful, so they are celebrated in honour of the blessed martyrs, not only on solemn days – which itself must be regarded as lamentable by anyone who looks not with a carnal eye – but every day even... it is customarily believed by the carnal and ignorant masses that these drunken and luxurious parties in the cemeteries offer not only honour to the martyrs, but also solace to the dead<sup>114</sup>

This worship of dead men persists because it is central to religious expression, hence Augustine's need to defend the martyr's position in Christian thought:

Impious men stumble over mountains with such blindness and they do not want to see the things that reach their eyes, so they pay no attention to the fact that in all the literature of the pagans there are found no gods, or scarcely any, who were not men who had been bestowed divine honours in death<sup>115</sup>

Augustine references an assertion he attributes to the scholar Marcus Terentius Varro (116 BCE-27 CE), that for the pagans 'all dead men are gods for whom sacred rites are performed'<sup>116</sup>, and Trismegistus' testimony that 'the gods of Egypt are dead men' (*deos Aegypti, homines mortuos esse testatur*)<sup>117</sup>, but, he explains, this was done by the ancestors through great error, incredulity and without thought (*multum errantes... incredulos et non animadvertentes*)<sup>118</sup>. He spells out the station of the martyr very clearly:

We do not found temples to the martyrs, nor priesthoods, rites or sacrifices, because not they but God is our god – and theirs<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> Augustine:

*Comessationes enim et ebrietates ita concessae et licitae putantur, ut in honorem etiam beatissimorum martyrum, non solum per dies solemnes (quod ipsum quis non lugendum videat, qui haec non carnis oculis inspicit), sed etiam quotidie celebrentur... istae in coemeteriis ebrietates et luxuriosa convivia, non solum honores martyrum a carnali et imperita plebe credi solent, sed etiam solatia mortuorum*

(*Epistulae*.XXII.3... 6, *PL* 33, col.91-2).

<sup>115</sup> Augustine:

*Tanta enim homines impii caecitate in montes quodammodo offendunt, resque oculos suos ferientes nolunt videre, ut non attendant in omnibus litteris paganorum aut non inveniri, aut vix inveniri deos, qui non homines fuerint, mortuisque divini honores delati sint*

(*De Civitate Dei*.VIII.26.1, *PL* 41, col.253).

<sup>116</sup> Augustine:

*Varo dicit, omnes ab eis mortuos existimari Manes deos, et probat per ea sacra, quae omnibus fere mortuis exhibentur*

(*De Civitate Dei*.VIII.26.1, *PL* 41.col.253).

<sup>117</sup> Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*.VIII.26.2, *PL* 41, col.253.

<sup>118</sup> Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*.VIII.26.2, *PL* 41, col.253.

<sup>119</sup> Augustine:

*Nec tamen nos eisdem martyribus templa, sacerdotia, sacra et sacrificia constituimus: quoniam non ipsi, sed Deus eorum nobis est Deus*

(*De Civitate Dei*.VIII.27.1, *PL* 41, col.255).

In so doing, however, either inadvertently or because he cannot conceal the facts when laying them out, Augustine indicates just how close early fifth-century Christian practice was to the paganism it had officially usurped a century before:

We honour their memories as holy men of God... to make the true religion known, and refute the false and fictions<sup>120</sup>

Augustine's apologetic smacks of sophistry for his defence is that when the pagans did these things which Christians do now in slightly modified form, they were impious, but Christians are not because their true conception of God makes them right. He argues that the priesthood do not confuse the Christian and the pagan, though he admits and passes over the confusion of the two in popular practice; they are not confused by the 'better Christians' (*quod quidem a christianis melioribus non fit*)<sup>121</sup>:

Who has ever heard a priest of the faithful standing at the altar – built over the holy body of a martyr to the honour and worship of God – say in his prayers 'I offer you sacrifice, O Peter, or Paul, or Cyprian'? For offerings are made in their memory to God, who made them both men and martyrs, and who allied them in honour with his heavenly angels... So, whatever honours are offered by religious people at the martyrs' places are decorations to their memories, not sacred rites or sacrifices made to dead men as though they were gods<sup>122</sup>

The boundaries between Christian, Jew, and Muslim would be similarly blurred by their proximity in Andalusī society. Eulogius' own defence against the accusation that his martyrs do not fit the mould and constitute paganism is likewise presaged by Augustine's.

Augustine's repeated caveat that the Greek heroes are not the same as Latin Christian martyrs rings somewhat hollow: they are not the same because the Church will not allow the potential for association produced by using the same nomenclature. They are different because they have a different name; yet they are the same because they inhabit the same space in the cosmology of popular belief. Peter Brown rejects the

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<sup>120</sup> Augustine:

*Honorem sane memorias eorum tanquam sanctorum hominum Dei... ut innotesceret vera religio, falsis fictisque convictis*

(*De Civitate Dei*.VIII.27.1, PL 41, col.255).

<sup>121</sup> Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*.VIII.27.1, PL 41, col.255.

<sup>122</sup> Augustine:

*Quis autem audivit aliquando fidelium stantem sacerdotem ad altare etiam super sanctum corpus martyris ad Dei honorem cultumque constructum, dicere in precibus, 'Offero tibi sacrificium, Petre, vel Paule, vel Cypriane'; cum apud eorum memorias offeratur Deo, qui eos et homines et martyres fecit; et sanctis suis angelis coelesti honore sociavit... Quaecumque igitur adhibentur religiosorum obsequia in martyrum locis, ornamenta sunt memoriarum, non sacra vel sacrificia mortuorum tanquam deorum*

(*De Civitate Dei*.VIII.27.1, PL 41, col.255).

equivalence of Christian saint and pagan hero, citing differences of proximity to deity.<sup>123</sup> But both are intermediaries and patrons, not inhabitants of the same cosmological plane as deity – except in the case of Heracles, but he is notoriously difficult to place.<sup>124</sup> The hero is the son of deity and thus has real power in his own right; the martyr is purely human and acts as a messenger, but is endowed with the ability to work miracles. Brown is arguing against Augustine himself, who specifically overturns the idols of the pagan heroes in order to set up the martyrs in their place, and elsewhere identifies the invisible aerial souls whose place the martyrs usurped as ‘those called heroes, *Lares* and *Genii* by many philosophers’ (*vocari heroas, et lares, et genios... multis philosophis*)<sup>125</sup> just as Brown, on the subject of late-antiquity’s ‘invisible companion’, writes ‘directly beneath the divine... late-antique men placed an invisible protector... presented as the personal *daimon*, the *genius*, or the guardian angel’<sup>126</sup>. Two of these terms are of pagan origin, and as Helen Parish writes, ‘the cult of the saints and their relics was often the embodiment of the very beliefs and practices that the saint had rejected’<sup>127</sup>. So Brown rejects classical ritual parallels on the basis that the saints’ relationship to a higher divinity differs from that of the heroes, but the words and parallels chosen by Augustine, and by Eulogius and Albar, speak for themselves. The thought patterns, for instance, displayed in Eulogius and Albar’s work regarding the Barbarian or Eastern Other and its medieval incarnation as the Saracen Arab are directly inherited from the pagan cultures that went before, even as they might be theorised differently. Once again I would place great importance on the cultural and historical context of the ideas expressed at Córdoba. Eulogius does not use the term *heros*; to do so would have given further fodder for those who were already accusing him of paganism<sup>128</sup>, but nor was it necessary: Albar did it for him, several times, and the courage of the hero is plain to see in the voluntary witnesses.

In the letter appended to the beginning of the *Memoriale Sanctorum*, ostensibly a private communiqué but clearly an *encomium* intended to be read, Albar marries the classical pagan with the Christian when he describes Eulogius’ martyrs in both the

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<sup>123</sup> Brown, *The Cult of Saints*, 5-6.

<sup>124</sup> Pindar calls Heracles ‘hero god’ (ἥρωος θεός) in his third Nemean Ode (III.22). Joseph E. Fontenrose writes: ‘[Heracles] occupies every point in the religio-mythical spectrum from mortal hero through demigod and chthonian deity to Olympian god’ (*Python: A Study of Delphic Myth and Its Origins* (New York: Biblio & Tannen, 1974), 321). See also: *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* edited by K. van der Toorn, Bob Becking, Pieter Willem van der Horst (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999).

<sup>125</sup> Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*.VII.6, PL 41, col.199.

<sup>126</sup> Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*, 51.

<sup>127</sup> Parish, Helen L., *Monks, Miracles and Magic: Reformation Representations of the Medieval Church* (Oxford: Routledge, 2005), 9.

<sup>128</sup> Eulogius, *Liber Apologeticus Martyrum*.3.1-5, CSM 2:477.



traditional athletic and military terms and as ‘heroes armed for the fight, made ready for glory, and led to everlasting crown by the Holy Spirit’<sup>129</sup>. In response to the passivity of the masses in accepting Islamic rule, Albar champions this resistance:

Not only do we accept poison, we drink the draught and consume the death-bearing shoots [i.e.: hemlock] with joyful mind, serene acceptance, modest regard... And it is certainly more fitting for me to fight like Elias with the sword than turn to the tongue as our heroes<sup>130</sup>

The certain reference to Socrates’ death ties Albar’s attempts at eloquence to the classical legacy. A line of Albar’s verse – again difficult to decipher – from a poem which describes the contents of the Old Testament, appears to describe Jesus, the first martyr<sup>131</sup>, as a hero:

Jesus the boatman typifies the hero by name<sup>132</sup>

Albar may be cleverly blending intertextual references here, acknowledging the source of *nostris heroes*, for Navigius, here meaning ‘boatman’, was Augustine’s brother: he

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<sup>129</sup> Albar:

*Ille enim qui aetatis nostrae huius miseratus errorem athletarum suorum suorum occultum propalavit agonem... eloquentia pariter diuina humanaque ornatus et in hortatione martyrii primus accurrens et in defensione ecclesiae ante alios milites palaestrae aeternae desudans... Vere namque ille spiritus corda uestrae prudentiae tetigit, qui olim missus apostolis ecclesiam diuersis donis ornauit; et qui heroes, de quibus loquimur, armauit ad pugnam*

For he who was wretched at the error of our times made public the hidden struggle of his athletes... equally endowed with divine and human eloquence and first in praise of the martyr’s run, striving in defence of the Church in the company of the other soldiers of the eternal wrestling school... For truly that spirit which was once sent and decorated the Church with diverse apostolic gifts has touched upon the heart of your prudence, and armed the heroes, about whom we are speaking, for the battle

(*Memoriale Sanctorum.I.rescriptum Albari ad Eulogium.4-5... 8-13, CSM 2:365.*)

<sup>130</sup> Albar:

*Et non solum mente iucunda, acceptione serena, respectjone modesta uenena recipimus, potjones liuamus, germina letifera pregustamus, set... Et certe plus est iuxta nos ut Elias gladio decertare quam lingua ut nostri heroes aduersare*

(*Indiculus Luminosus.6.13-5... 18-9, CSM 1:278.*)

<sup>131</sup> In discussing the ‘supreme and true sacrifice’ of Christ (*summo ueroque sacrificio; De Civitate Dei.X.20, PL 41, col.298B*), Augustine implies that Christ was martyred:

*huius [crucificationi] veri sacrificii multiplicia variaeque signa erant sacrificia prisca sanctorum, cum hoc unum per multa figuraretur, tamquam uerbis multis res una diceretur, ut sine fastidio multum commendaretur*

the former sacrifices of the saints were the manifold and various signs of that true sacrifice, when this one thing is symbolised by many, as much as when one thing is called by many words, that it might be commended greatly without monotony

(*De Civitate Dei.X.20*). Augustine implies the same in the eighteenth book:

*praedicatum est toto orbe euangelium... ut populi gentium credentes in eum, qui pro eorum redemptione crucifixus est, christiano amore uenerarentur sanguinem martyrum, quem diabolico furore fuderunt*

the Gospel was preached to the whole world... so that, believing in Him who was crucified for their redemption, the peoples of the nations might venerate with Christian love the blood of the martyrs

(*De Civitate Dei.XVIII.50, PL 41, col.612.*)

<sup>132</sup> Albar:

*Heros Nauegius figurat a nomine Ihesus*

(*Carmina.IX.12, CSM 1:350.*)

identifies him in *De Beata Vita (On the Blessed Life): Navigius frater meus*<sup>133</sup>. Christ the boatman is also an image taken directly from Augustine, who developed the idea of the Church as the Ark of Salvation from the equation of the Church with Noah's ark in the first general epistle of Peter<sup>134</sup>, and by Tertullian<sup>135</sup>:

this is certainly a figure of the City of God wandering in this world, that is, of the Church, which is rescued by the wood on which hung the Mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus<sup>136</sup>

Albar goes on to push the classical link further with the flattering comparison of Eulogius' writing with that of Cicero, Livy, Cato, Demosthenes and Quintilian. It is no coincidence that Simonet's prologue to *Historia de los mozárabes*, his nationalist tribute to the indomitable Iberian spirit, refers to heroes and martyrs in the same breath when writing of Eulogius' Cordobans as the embodiment of Spanish fortitude:

resisting persecutions and calamities with integrity, the national spirit and the culture of ancient Romano-Visigothic and Christian Spain wins the most noble laurels and palms of heroes – of doctors and martyrs<sup>137</sup>

Augustine's idea of the martyrs as heroes of the Church suggested to Eulogius the possibility of rewriting the passive but ultimately fearless victim of the mainstream martyr, who needed a state-enforced persecution to set his *passio* in motion, to make it suitable for a social milieu in which the Christian Church was subordinated to the secular power of a non-Christian government, but in which he had to go to great lengths to promote the idea that there was persecution in what Albar later indicates, without conceding the point, is essentially a restriction on freedom of speech and the governing

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<sup>133</sup> Augustine, *De Beata Vita*.1.6, *PL* 32, col.962.

<sup>134</sup> I *Peter* 3:20-1:

when once the longsuffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was a preparing, wherein few, that is, eight souls were saved by water. The like figure whereunto even baptism doth also now save us.

<sup>135</sup> Tertullian:

*columba sancti Spiritus advolat, pacem Dei afferens, emissa de coelis, ubi Ecclesia est arca figurata*

the dove of the Holy Spirit flies out, bringing the peace of God, sent out from the heavens where the Church is typified as an ark

(*De Baptismo Adversus Quintillam*.8, *PL* 1, col.1209A)

<sup>136</sup> Augustine:

*procul dubio figura est peregrinantis in hoc saeculo civitatis Dei, hoc est Ecclesiae, quae fit salva per lignum, in quo pependit Mediator Dei et hominum homo Christus Jesus*

(*De Civitate Dei*.XV.26.1, *PL* 41, col.472).

<sup>137</sup> Simonet:

*el espíritu nacional y la cultura de la antigua España romano-visigótica y cristiana, arrostrando con entereza muchos trabajos, persecuciones y calamidades ganando nobilísimos lauros y palmas de héroes, de doctores y de mártires*

(*Historia de los mozárabes*, vii).

body's legitimate demand for respect of the culture it did not impose. The passive victim, whose fear of death was overcome in the final act, therefore became the active soldier – the imagery of *militia Christi* takes on a rather more literal sense with Eulogius' voluntary martyrdom – whose fear was already conquered when he strode purposefully into the forum and called the death penalty down upon himself. Augustine's martyr-hero is not the only explanation for Eulogius' controversial theology of voluntary martyrdom. There had been voluntary martyrs celebrated before, but always in a time of persecution, when such strong-willed Christians would have been caught out anyway in a call to sacrifice.

The active dynamism of the pagan hero is embodied in the Eulogian martyr's purposeful striding towards death and their manipulation of Islamic blasphemy and apostasy laws to ensure that outcome. Suicide is of course a mortal sin, and a subject which Augustine tackled in the first book of the *Civitate Dei*. He is careful not to condemn the suicide of rape victims because they are revered as martyrs by popular opinion:

But, they say that in the time of persecution, in order to escape those who pursued their modesty, certain holy women threw themselves into a river that would seize them and kill them; having died in this way their deaths are celebrated as martyrdoms in the Catholic Church with very popular veneration. On this matter I dare make no rash judgement, for I know not whether divine authority prompted the assembly with proofs worthy of faith that their memory should be honoured thus, and it is possible that it is so<sup>138</sup>

Augustine uses a military metaphor in attempting to justify the bestowal of sanctity on suicides – or to mollify those who did so, and those who chose to revere them, thus opening a complex debate making it possible for Eulogius to claim sanctity for a Christian who brought about his or her own death in the absence of the normal persecution:

For when the soldier kills a man, obeying the power to which he is legitimately stationed, he is not accused of murder by any law of his state; rather if he should do anything but, he is accused of desertion and contempt for the law. If he should do it of

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<sup>138</sup> Augustine:

*Sed quaedam, inquit, sanctae feminae tempore persecutionis, ut insectatores suae pudicitiae devitarent, in rapturum atque necaturum se fluvium projecerunt; eoque modo defunctae sunt, earumque martyria in catholica ecclesia veneratione celeberrima frequentantur. De his nihil temere audeo judicare. Utrum enim ecclesiae aliquibus fide dignis testificationibus, ut earum memoriam sic honoret, divina persuaserit auctoritas, nescio: et fieri potest ut ita sit*

(*De Civitate Dei*.I.26, PL 41, col.39).

his own accord and authority, then he has stumbled into the crime of spilling human blood... If it is so with a general's order, then how much more so with the Creator's order? He who hears that it is not lawful to kill oneself, may do so if he whose order cannot be despised orders it, only let him see with no uncertainty whether the divine command assents<sup>139</sup>

Eulogius may have seized upon this, he certainly liberally scatters conciliatory phrases like *fauente Deo, fauente Xpi, fauente Domino* and *quod a Deo iustificatum est* throughout his texts as justification for his martyrs' forwardness. But Augustine's circumlocution cannot be taken as an endorsement of choosing death, for he is careful to prohibit suicide as being death without divine ruling:

This we say, this we assert: no man should take his life out of desire for the better life which is hoped for after death, because he who stands accused of his own death shall not receive the better life after death<sup>140</sup>

Augustine defines the circumstances in which martyrdom is truly martyrdom, to which the majority of Eulogius' *passiones* cannot be reconciled:

a choice is offered to the holy martyrs by their persecutor: either they desert the faith or endure death<sup>141</sup>

Eulogius' use of his sources was selective – and had to be, considering the pagan origins of some – for while Augustine's heroes of the faith could conceivably be the foundation of Eulogius' voluntary martyrdom, Augustine wrote in ways that explicitly precluded this active seeking of death through the agency of another.

Augustine's concession to classical continuity tempts one to go further in linking the martyr's death to pre-Christian thought: it could be seen as a Christian expression of themes arising from the socio-political and mythological ideas of hero-cult and scapegoating: an act of liberating and cathartic ritual to be revered by a community linked by ritual practice. Frazer's description of the scapegoat in the seminal *Golden Bough* fits Eulogius' persecution for Visigothic sins and his heroic martyrs perfectly:

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<sup>139</sup> Augustine:

*Nam et miles cum obediens potestati, sub qua legitime constitutus est, hominem occidit, nulla civitatis suae lege reus est homicidii; imo nisi fecerit, reus est imperii deserti atque contempti. Quod si sua sponte atque auctoritate fecisset, in crimen effusi humani sanguinis incidisset... Quod si ita est jubente imperatore, quanto magis jubente Creatore? Qui ergo audit, non licere se occidere, faciat, si iussit cuius non licet iussa contemnere: tantummodo videat, utrum divina jussio nullo nutet incerto*

(*De Civitate Dei*.I.26, PL 41, col.39-40).

<sup>140</sup> Augustine:

*Hoc dicimus, hoc asserimus... neminem velut desiderio vitae melioris, quae post mortem speratur; quia reos suae mortis melior post mortem vita non suscipit*

(*De Civitate Dei*.I.26, PL 41, col.40).

<sup>141</sup> Augustine:

*in sanctis martyribus, quibus alterutrum a persecutore proponitur, ut aut deserant fidem, aut sufferant mortem*

(*De Civitate Dei*.XIII.4, PL 41, col.380).

the accumulated misfortunes and sins of the whole people are sometimes laid upon the dying god, who is supposed to bear them away for ever, leaving the people innocent and happy... such devices are amongst the most familiar facts in folk-lore<sup>142</sup>

In re-evaluating the crucifixion in sociological terms, the Archbishop of Canterbury Rowan Williams offers an appraisal of Jesus as ‘the unique divine scapegoat’<sup>143</sup>. It is beyond the scope of the present study to go into further detail regarding the pre-Christian analogues to martyrdom, voluntary or otherwise, but suffice it to say that the connections made by Augustine and the parallel beliefs and practices of the pre-Christian Mediterranean show that the idea of martyrdom appealed to a deep-seated part of humanity which still produces a strong and instinctive emotional response. This is why Eulogius wrote hagiography, whether it was aimed at contemporary Cordobans, Franks, or future generations. Augustine’s heroic martyr suited his situation by compensating for the lack of persecution: it forced a response that could be interpreted as persecution. That Eulogius’ hagiographic efforts can be judged a failure is down to the obscure sublimity he strove to reach in his writing, to his marginal position, to his church’s opposition, to the absence of the truly miraculous, and to his stretching of Augustine’s imagery beyond the limits of accepted modes at a time when widespread and multifarious Iberian heresy had long made deviation from the norm a very sensitive subject.

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<sup>142</sup> Frazer, J.G., *The Golden Bough* (London: Macmillan, 1900), III.1.

<sup>143</sup> Williams, Rowan, ‘We live in a culture of blame – but there is another way’, *The Observer*, 23 March 2008, 33.

## Chapter VI

### Inscriptions: a window into Latin literacy

With the end of the ninth century comes a dramatic shift in the extant documentary record. Though we cannot know how much is lost and unattested, the production of new Latin literature appears to have been eclipsed totally after the ambitious efforts at Córdoba between 851 and the 870s as catalogued by Juan Gil. Sociolinguists Wasserstein and Wright both reckon al-Andalus solely Arabic literate by end of the ninth century, though Wasserstein indicates his ignorance of Latin works produced ‘after roughly the middle of the tenth century’<sup>1</sup>. Wright sees the departure of Eulogius’ manuscripts in 883 – among them the *Liber Glossatum* and *Liber Conlationum artis grammaticae*, perhaps one of the works Eulogius himself wrote, which John of Seville wanted to study – as a sign that the Christians of Córdoba had no further interest in cultivating sophisticated Latin.<sup>2</sup> Otto Zwartjes ignored Samson and Leovigildus when he claimed that ‘[a]fter the year 860, there was no Christian left in al-Andalus who was able to write Latin, which explains the lack of documents in Latin from that period’<sup>3</sup>. Aillet sees this death of Latin as the birth of Arabic, but acknowledges that there is evidence for Latin as a read language for two more centuries.<sup>4</sup> Though one hesitates to

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<sup>1</sup> Wasserstein, ‘The language situation’, 7-8; Wright, ‘End of written ladino’, 34 and ‘Bilingualism and diglossia in Medieval Iberia’, 338.

<sup>2</sup> Wright, ‘Latin Glossaries in the Iberian Peninsula’ in *Insignis Sophiae Arcator: Medieval Latin Studies in honour of Michael Herren* edited by Gernot R. Wieland, Carin Ruff and Ross G.Arthur (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 228.

<sup>3</sup> Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus: History, Structure, and Meaning of the Kharja* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 18.

<sup>4</sup> Aillet posits the emergence of Arabic as part of the same movement that abandoned Latin, but clarifies that the death of Latin as a medium for contemporary expression is not the same as the death of Latin literacy, at least in clerical circles:



resort to an *argumentum ex silentio*, we have noted the desecration of Latin grammar to be witnessed at Albar's hand and the inadequacy of Eulogius' Latin in Morales' eyes.<sup>5</sup> Albar was a poor if zealous student; the clarity of Eulogius' own Latin – post Morales – is somewhat better; Samson's rather more so, his interest in Latin literacy demonstrative – besides finding fault with *Ostegesis*, he voices the hope that the 'cloud of ignorance' that had blinded Andalusī Christians to the joys of Latin might be lifted.<sup>6</sup> If the Latin verse attributed to the late ninth century is unimpressive in terms of style, it is to some extent so because its authors aimed high without the safety net of a long tradition behind them. Colbert used Samson's overt interest in maintaining high standards of Latin literacy, and his humiliation of *Ostegesis*' for failing to meet his standards, as proof of 'the vitality of Latin letters in Córdoba' in the late ninth century.<sup>7</sup> Wright points out, however, that Samson cannot be wielded as proof for Cordoban Latin because he was in exile in Martos.<sup>8</sup> Whether either argument holds up is debatable, for though Samson may not have been in Córdoba at the time of writing his *Apologeticus*, it was nevertheless at Córdoba that he received his education in Latin, and in Málaga that *Ostegesis* put Latin through a mangle.

To reiterate, we cannot know how much Christian production is lost to us, but considering the highly successful creative efforts (to be discussed) of Arabised scribes

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*Les premiers efforts de traduction des textes religieux essentiels, comme les Psaumes, se manifestèrent peu après la disparition d'Euloge et d'Alvare... en plein cœur du X<sup>e</sup> siècle, au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle encore, à l'époque des Taifas, à Tolède et ailleurs en al-Andalus, les clercs copient toujours des ouvrages latins, les consultent et les étudient... le remplacement des volumes latins par des traductions arabes ne semble pas avoir abouti, et les rayons des bibliothèques ecclésiastiques contiennent encore, sans doute, une majorité de livres en latin... L'arabe ne chasse pas non plus complètement le latin des pratiques de lecture et d'annotation. Il continue à remplir les marges, mêlé à l'arabe, ou bien en solitaire*

The first efforts at translation of essential religious texts like the *Psalms* appeared shortly after the disappearance of Eulogius and Albar... in the heart of the tenth century, in the eleventh too, in the *taifa* period, in Toledo and elsewhere in al-Andalus, clerics were constantly copying Latin works, consulting them and studying them... Arabic translations do not appear to have replaced Latin volumes, and without doubt, the shelves of ecclesiastic libraries still held a majority of books in Latin... Arabic did not completely drive out Latin from the practices of reading and annotation either. Latin continued to fill the margins, mixed with Arabic, or on its own

(‘Recherches sur le christianisme arabisé’, 92... 100).

<sup>5</sup> Gil, ‘Apuntes sobre la morfología de Alvaro de Córdoba’, 201. Haines also singles out Albar, and Elipandus – late eighth-early ninth century Archbishop of Toledo, *CSM* 1:68-78 – as an example that Latin ‘had considerably degenerated’ (*Christianity and Islam in Spain*, 77n7).

<sup>6</sup> Samson:

*Crede mihi quia hæc ignorantie tenebrę abolebuntur quandoque et adhuc reddetur Hispanie notitia artis grammaticę*

Believe me, this cloud of ignorance shall be dispersed and knowledge of the grammatical arts shall be restored to al-Andalus [Hispania]

(*Apologeticus*.II.7.5.26-8, *CSM* 2:572).

<sup>7</sup> Colbert, *Martyrs of Córdoba*, 369.

<sup>8</sup> Wright, ‘The end of written Ladino’, 32.

in reworking the *Canons* in the middle of the eleventh century and of Arabised poets in the *taifa* courts of the same century, one cannot state definitively that the Christians of al-Andalus stopped producing new original works altogether. Indeed, the translation and profound adaptation of the *Canons* completed in 1050 proves that churchmen were still well-versed in Latin.<sup>9</sup> There must be a substantial lacuna in the historical record – a record marked more by disappearances than survivals.

It is generally assumed or implied, that the natural corollary of the rise of Arabic was the fall of Latin, as if the two could not co-exist in the same space<sup>10</sup>; Enrique Flórez blamed the slide of Latin on Arabic's influence but, as shall be seen, Latin had been suffering a decline long before the arrival of Arabic in the peninsula.<sup>11</sup> This is another example of the reflexive desire to equate Arabisation and Islamisation (as Albar did) and to see it act quickly on the indigenous population, and no counter-argument is to be found in the literary or documentary record, though study of *marginalia* reveals that both were employed as written and read languages – Arabic annotations in Latin manuscripts and vice versa – in different periods and places in the southern peninsula.<sup>12</sup> If one turns to the epigraphic evidence, rarely touched upon in any real depth with regard to the indigenous Christians of al-Andalus and never in any real depth, one finds

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<sup>9</sup> This point on the survival of Latinity into the mid-eleventh century is made by Simonet and Jareer Abu-Haidar. See: Abu-Haidar, Jareer, 'A Document of Cultural Symbiosis: Arabic MS. 1623 of the Escorial Library', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 2 (1987), 229-30; Simonet, *Glosario de voces ibéricas*, xxxii.

<sup>10</sup> Aillet overstates the Islamisation of the masses, who are, at any rate, invisible to a very great extent in the documentary record, and links the birth of Arabised Christianity with the death of Latinate Christianity:

*il existe une réelle convergence entre la chronistique arabe et les sources latines du milieu du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle dans le portrait d'une société en transition, où la majorité de la population autochtone est devenue musulmane... Ce sursaut possède donc toutes les caractéristiques d'une sorte de chant du cygne de la littérature latine en al-Andalus, dont on constate l'extinction dès la fin du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle... le IX<sup>e</sup> siècle, période qui produisit d'ailleurs, à Cordoue, les premières traductions chrétiennes du latin à l'arabe*

there is a real convergence between the Arabic chroniclers and the Latin sources of the mid-ninth century in the portrait of a society in transition where the majority of the indigenous population became Muslim... this burst [of literary activity in 850s Córdoba] has all the qualities of a sort of swan-song of Latin literature in al-Andalus, whose extinction one can place at the end of the ninth century... the ninth century [is the] period that produced at Córdoba the first Christian translations from Latin to Arabic

(*Les « Mozarabes »*, 95... 139... 157).

<sup>11</sup> Flórez wrote:

*No extraño la poca cultura de las voces; antes bien admiro la locucion latina, que à veces se descubre con alguna energía; pues en el miserable estado de cautiverio entre gentes de lengua peregrina, todos pierden, ò desfiguran la suya*

I do not wonder at the lack of cultivation in the words: certainly I admire the Latin phrasing, which at times before could be found in possession of some energy; then in the wretched state of captivity among peoples of a foreign language, they lost everything or disfigured it

(*España sagrada XI*, iv).

<sup>12</sup> Aillet, 'Recherches sur le christianisme arabisé', 100.

that Arabic's penetration of peninsular culture actually coincides with an improvement in the level of Latin.

Epigraphy, the science of interpreting and classifying inscriptions, has long been a primary archaeological tool in the study of literate cultures, and can tell us much about a given society.<sup>13</sup> In the case of Andalusī Christianity, inscriptions offer insight not just into the levels of Latin – and Arabic – literacy, but also into the development of written language, and the preservation of ritual practices. Epigraphic data can be used to clarify a picture based primarily on palaeographic<sup>14</sup> literary and documentary evidence. The historiographical landscape of al-Andalus is different in many ways from other Iberian periods, and from the rest of contemporary Europe; it is far more sparsely populated. The present study can thus do away with the usual caveat that epigraphic samples derived from one demographic to the detriment of others cannot be taken as representative of the broader population. Naturally a universal distribution of Latin inscriptions – through the centuries and across class barriers and the religious-lay divide – would be preferable, but due to the relatively very poor distribution of any material, especially of a more substantial nature, relating to the indigenous Christians of al-Andalus, one cannot afford to be so fastidious. Nor does one need to be, for one can argue that the fact that the vast majority of inscriptions come from the ecclesiastic/clerical and monastic community is a limitation that should be ignored in the interests of collecting as much data as possible, and that, in any case, the presence of a church or monastic foundation is a fairly reliable indicator of a wider Christian community. Unfortunately, the early medieval period marks a general low-point in the production of public and monumental inscriptions, and this difficulty is exacerbated in the study of a minority group.<sup>15</sup>

The scarcity of other documentary material makes these inscriptions all the more valuable, for they offer independent witness to individuals and episodes both named or unnamed by historical documents, thereby corroborating and supplementing the historical record. The insight afforded by this kind of material is often much more

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<sup>13</sup> For the importance of epigraphic evidence for the social history of Roman Hispania, see: José Luis Ramírez Sábada, 'La reconstrucción de las estructuras socioeconómicas y culturales a través de la epigrafía', *Actas de las V y VI jornadas de humanidades clásicas organizadas por el IES "Santiago Apóstol"* co-ordinated by Carlos Manuel Cabanillas Nuñez and José Ángel Calero Carretero (Mérida: Junta de Extremadura, Consejería de Educación, Dirección General de Política Educativa, 2008), 71-84.

<sup>14</sup> Palaeography: from the Greek *παλαια* (*palaia*) and *γραφη* (*graphē*), meaning literally 'ancient writing'. Palaeography is the sister science of epigraphy, both of which are concerned with the study of the written word: the former with the hand-written word preserved on perishable materials like paper, parchment, papyrus; the latter with words carved upon durable materials like metal or stone.

<sup>15</sup> Bodel, John P., 'Epigraphy and the ancient historian' in *Epigraphic Evidence: Ancient History from Inscriptions* edited by Bodel (London: Routledge, 2001), 181n10.

penetrating than that in a chronicle or other literary document, for it mostly takes the form of commemoration, recording a public event or work in the place it happened, or an event in a person or community's life. Epigraphy is, as Roger Collins notes, a resource 'almost completely neglected by all scholars of the period'<sup>16</sup>, either despite or because of the fact that these inscriptions contradict received wisdom and give Latin a longevity far beyond that generally admitted:

[inscriptions] testify unequivocally to the survival of sophisticated and original composition in Latin by otherwise Arabic-speaking Christians in al-Andalus as late as the opening decades of the twelfth century<sup>17</sup>

In fact, as shall be seen here, the extant epigraphic evidence tells us that the indigenous Christian population was commemorating members of their church and monastic hierarchies in Latin, and building works, into the first decades of the thirteenth century. These inscriptions can be used to argue against prevailing attitudes towards the Arabisation and Islamisation of peninsular society.<sup>18</sup>

The largest corpus of Latin Andalusī inscriptions previously collated, by Emil Hübner in *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae* (1871), numbers 56, and is simply catalogued with minimal commentary on readings and provenance where data is available. The second appendix to the present work comprises an annotated catalogue of 92 Latin and Arabic inscriptions of Andalusī Christian provenance with English translation where possible – many are fragmentary or poorly preserved in the extreme. Two-thirds of these are, in the absence of a date in the text, dated roughly according to orthographic style and other measures. The inscriptions discussed here are for the most part drawn from the securely dated. Refer also to the graph appended for a visualisation

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<sup>16</sup> Collins, 'Review: Ann Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*', 469. Joaquín María de Navascués made the same observation half a century ago, and it still holds true:

*hay todavía mucha tierra virgen por cultivar, a pesar de las múltiples publicaciones que en el curso del tiempo han florecido en ella. Aún queda mucha tarea, tanta que es inasequible a las fuerzas y a la vida de un solo individuo*  
there is still much virgin territory to cultivate, despite the many publications that have flourished in it over time. But much work remains to be done, so much that it is beyond the power and life of one man

(*Epígrafes cristianos latinos de Mérida. Siglos IV al VIII-X* (Madrid: unpublished, 1948), prologue; available at the website of the Universidad de Alcalá:

[http://www2.uah.es/imagenes\\_cilii/Epigrafistas/textos/navascues.htm](http://www2.uah.es/imagenes_cilii/Epigrafistas/textos/navascues.htm)

<sup>17</sup> Collins, 'Review: Ann Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*', 469.

<sup>18</sup> Collins:

Despite the unchallenged dominance of Arabic as the literary language of al-Andalus, a considerable number of Christians continued to erect Latin funerary inscriptions. What is striking is... the quality of the epigraphy and the sophistication of many of the texts employed in these inscriptions. A skilled stone cutter may not have to be able to read what he is carving, but the interest of his clients in such monuments presupposes the continued existence of people capable of reading them

(‘Literacy and the laity in early medieval Spain’ in *The Uses of Literacy in Early Mediaeval Europe* edited by Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: CUP, 1992), 113-4).

of the temporal distribution of surviving Christian epigraphy. A perusal of the catalogue will show that while Latin remained in use as a medium of public self-expression until the early thirteenth century in the region of Seville, it did not have a monopoly on the expression of Christian identity. Arabic did indeed begin to make encroachments on Christian consciousness in the century after Albar's complaint, and Latin literature suffered, but Latin did not degenerate as a direct consequence of Arabic's infiltration in all media. Arabic does not appear to have infiltrated Christian epigraphy until the early twelfth century, and then, according to the extant evidence, did so only partially.

### Highs and lows of literary Latin to the eleventh century

The extant epigraphic evidence indicates that the level of Latin was relatively poor in the late Visigothic period, and subsequently improved some time after the conquest, though the standard – in terms of orthography, grammar and syntax – varied from good to nonsensical from one inscription to another and from one place to another in all periods.<sup>19</sup> In the first century of Muslim presence, Latin epigraphy ranges from the nonsensical to perfectly legible, but never aims to be more than robustly practical. In 700, for instance, we read *bokatus* in place of *vocatus* in the region of Madrid<sup>20</sup>; while Tavira on the south Portuguese coast offers two inscriptions two centuries apart which display little appreciable difference in quality, and little deterioration. The cleric Adulteus died in 729:

ADVLTEV[s]  
 CLERICV[u]S VI[xit]  
 AN[nos] XR[equie]V[it]  
 IN P[a]C[e] DI[e] III  
 ED[us] IAN[uaris]  
 DCCLXVII<sup>21</sup>

The bishop Julian in 987:

<sup>19</sup> Roger Collins recognises this point in reference to the documentary record, and more specifically the works of mid-ninth century Córdoba relative to the Visigoths' literary output:

It may seem paradoxical that better evidence of lay literacy can be found in the surviving small corpus of Christian Latin writing produced in the south of the peninsula in the period of the Arab Umayyad dynasty than in the voluminous literary remains of the preceding Visigothic period. However, this is the case

(‘Literacy and laity’, 120).

<sup>20</sup> Fita, ‘Lápidas visigóticas de Guadix, Cabra, Vejer, Bailén y Madrid’, 420.

<sup>21</sup> *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae: Supplementum* [299], 5. Numbers in square parentheses relate to the number Hübner attached to the inscription.

*HIC REQVIESCVNT*  
*ME[m]BRA IVLIANI EPISCOPI*  
*QVI OBIIT DIE XII K[a]L[enda]S APR[i]L[e]S*  
*ERA XXIII POST T*  
*QV[a]ESO LECTOR EO ORARE*  
*NON ABNVAS SIC XP[istu]M D[o]M[inu]M*  
*PROTECTORE[m] HABEAS<sup>22</sup>*

Both are fairly heavily abbreviated and simple in design, but nonetheless clear in execution, almost completely grammatically correct and easily legible. At the other end of the spectrum one finds an inscription of Alcalá la Real, assigned to the eighth century by Hübner, whose content is obscure in the extreme:

*OLORVI II*  
*OIRAL ID[u]S IVLIAS*  
*X[ris?]TO RTL RTS IANV-*  
*E[a] C[cl]ESIARVM*  
*TOI ID[u]S FEBRV[arii]<sup>23</sup>*

In 773 Abbot Gundericus of Carmona died and was honoured with a burial beneath the monastery. He was commemorated by an epitaph marked by the illiteracy of the engraver. Many words are rendered phonetically, but inconsistently so: *REKIEXCIT* for *REQVIESCIT*, *CENOBION* for *COENOBIVM*, *BITAM* for *VITAM*, *BICSIT* for *VIXIT*, *SERBOM* for *SERVVM*.<sup>24</sup> All of which indicates a corruption of Latin as a Romance vernacular precursor to Castilian pronunciation took precedence over the written Latin of high culture. Thus we find an equivalence of sounding between *qu* and *k*, *v* and *b*, and of *x* with *s* but also *cs*.

A century later, in 877, a priest believed to be learned in medical science was buried in Córdoba. He is identified by his Latin epitaph as *ITEPIPO* which, as Santos Gener posits, is a phonetically sound rendering of the Arabic *al-Ṭabību*, ‘the doctor’.<sup>25</sup> The Latin of this man’s epitaph mirrors that of Albar’s roughly contemporary literary works in its chaotic grammar, and only a tentative attempt at translation is possible. The one real orthographic error is, ironically, *ECCLECCI* approximating *ecclesiae*. There is further irony in the Cordoban inscription of 890 purported to be the epitaph of the highly literate abbot Samson, whose syntax is unusual and sense obscure in the first

<sup>22</sup> Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, 367; *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, [210], 69.

<sup>23</sup> *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, [107], 30.

<sup>24</sup> *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae: falsae vel suspectae*, [22], 95.

<sup>25</sup> Castejón Calderón, Rosario, ‘Los mozárabes del siglo VIII al X’, *Boletín de la Real Academia de Córdoba, de Ciencias, Bellas Letras y Noble Artes* 51.102 (1981), 227; Santos Gener, Samuel de los, ‘Nueva lápida mozárabe’, *Boletín de la Real Academia de Córdoba* 58 (1947), 125.



half, though the second is clear and offers the rather poetic ‘he died famous far and wide, and full of days’:

*QVIS QVANTVSVE FVIT SAMSON CLARISSIMVS ABBA  
CVIVS IN VRNA MANENT HAC SACRA MEMBRA IN AVLA  
PERSONAT ESPERIO ILLIVS FAMINE FOTA  
FLECTE DEVM PRECIBVS LECTOR NVNC FLECTE PERORO  
AETHERA VT CVLPIS VALEAT CONSCENDERE TERSIS  
DISCESSIT LONGE NOTVS PLENVSQVE DIERV  
SEXUTILIS NAMQVE MENSIS DIE VICESIMA PRIMA  
SEXUTILIS NAMQVE MENSIS PRIMO ET VICESIMO SOLE  
ERA DCCCCXXVIII<sup>26</sup>*

It is likely, however, that the confusion of the first three lines is not necessarily the product of poor literacy in the writer or the engraver – for the orthography is of a high standard – but because, as Hübner and Gil both observe, the inscription is composed in heroic metrical verse. The bizarre syntax is thus the result of trying to accommodate the metre. Like his own writings, Samson’s epitaph – if indeed it is the same abbot Samson – shows there was a capacity for achieving sophisticated Latin, and is indicative of a knowledge of classical poetic style, though the actual epigraphic execution is not of the same standard.

While there is the occasional item that defies interpretation and translation – either through being nonsensical or fragmentary – in subsequent centuries, the general trend does seem to be towards improved literacy. From the late ninth century, and with increasing sophistication in the tenth, and up to the early eleventh, Christians across the southern peninsula (in Badajoz, Granada, Lucena, Córdoba) began to employ highly cultivated classical Latin devices – acrostics and other poetic affectations and imagery, and classical references feature frequently.

The epitaph recording the death in 958 of the cantor Samuel of Comares, 20 miles northeast of Málaga, features rhyming consonance closing the first eight lines:

*[hic] RECVBAT EXIMIVS SAMVEL INLVSTRISIMVS  
[ele]GANS FORMA DECORVS STATVRA CELSA COMMODVS  
[q]VI CANVIT OFICIVM MODVLATIO[ne?] CARMINVM  
BLANDENSQVE CORDA PLEVIV[m] CVNTORVM AVDIENTVM  
VIXITQVE ANNOS NVMERO SEX DENOS NEMPE ET OCTO  
VISITATVS A DOMINO PROBATVS IN HOC SECVLO  
SIC MIGRABIT E SECVLO DIE ETENIM SABBATO  
DORMIBITQVE IN DOMINO SEPVLTVS IN HOC TVMVLO<sup>27</sup>*

<sup>26</sup> Gil, *CSM* 2:687; *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, [219], 72; Martínez Gázquez, José, ‘Epitafios mozárabes’, *Mittellateinische Biographie und Epigraphik* (2005), 83.

In 1004 the twin epitaph of Speciosa and her daughter ‘the holy virgin’ Tranquilla (who died 39 years earlier in 965) from the church of San Andrés in the former arrabal de los Marmolejos of central Córdoba was composed in rare iambic or Archilochian dimetre, whereby two different iambic metrical feet are used in the same line.<sup>28</sup> The death of an anonymous bishop in 1010, in Casabermeja, north of Málaga, bequeaths us a fragmentary inscription which, Fita and Gómez-Moreno assert, was composed in trochaic metre; the content is too fragmentary to give a full appraisal of the quality of the Latin, what remains is not clear.<sup>29</sup>

The earliest extant acrostic is thought to be from the latter half of the ninth century; Gil includes this in the second volume of the *CSM* and attributes it to Samson:

*OFFILO HIC TENVI VERSVS IN PVLVERE DORMIT  
FALLENTEM MVNDVM OLIM QVI MENTE SVBEGIT  
FRAGLANTESQVE DAPES TEMPSIT ET POCVLA FVLVA  
INFESTVM VIRGO MALENS VITARE C[a]ELID[a]R[i]VM  
LAVDETVR TALIS MVLTORVM LINGVA SACERDOS  
OBTETVR ILLI ET C[a]ELI PORTIO DARI<sup>30</sup>*

The Latin is clear, which must have suggested the connection with Samson, whose Latin is the best of the Cordobans in Gil’s corpus. The imagery is bizarre but rather poetic in its way – the old priest Offilo is compared in his piety and flight from earthly temptations to a girl avoiding the carnal dangers of the *ḥamām* bathhouse.

Next comes a far less complete acrostic from 923, once more from the arrabal de los Marmolejos. It commemorates the death of a martyr on 26 March and spells out *EVGENIA MARTIS*, either alluding to the month of her demise (Eugenia of March), or to her membership of the *militia Christi* (Eugenia of Mars, or Well-born woman of War):

*[E...]BOX QVOQVE N[ost]RA  
VICTRIX [et turbas carnis] POST IRE SOPITAS  
GENV[...perag]ENS TRVCVLENTVM*

<sup>27</sup> Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, 366; *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, [214], 70; Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, 624.

<sup>28</sup> Amador de los Ríos, José, *Historia crítica de la literatura española* (Madrid: Imprenta de José Rodríguez, 1862), II.334; Castejón Calderón, ‘Los mozárabes del siglo VIII al X’, 231; *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, [222], 73; Morales, *Divi Eulogii Cordubensis, Martyris, Doctoris et Electi Archiepiscopi Toletani Opera* (Alcalá de Henares: Juan Iñíguez de Lerquerica, 1574), f<sup>o</sup> 132; Riesco Terrero, A., ‘Tres lápidas funerarias con epígrafes latinos de los siglos IX-XI conservadas en la Alcazaba de Málaga’, *Mainake* 10 (1988), 185-211; Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, 624.

<sup>29</sup> Fita, ‘Epitafios poéticos de Badajoz, Granada y Málaga en los años 1000, 1002 y 1010’, *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 70 (1917), 91; Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, 368; *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, [216], 71; Simonet offers more or less the same reading as Hübner, adding *v* to *NES* of the first line (*Historia de los mozárabes*, 636).

<sup>30</sup> Gil, *CSM* 2:665; Martínez Gázquez, ‘Epitafios mozárabes’, 78.

*EXC[... ]RI[s]QV[e] FECVNDA  
 NOBIS HIC [...]EBIS [...] SV[b]RIP[e]RE TENTAT  
 IN C[a]ELO DEHINC MERITA PER S[a]ECULA VIBENS  
 ADIVNCTA POLLET CVRIE S[an]C[t]ORVM IN ARCE  
 MER[c]REDE PVLISO RVTILI SVB SOLE CORVSCAT  
 AMBIENS SACRI GL[ori]AM DE MERCE CRVORIS  
 REX TRIBVIT CVI CORONAM PER S[ae]C[u]LA FVTVRA  
 TV ITAQ[ue] NVTIBVS MARTIR NOS MANDA DIVINIS  
 IDEM SVB ERA NOBIES CENTVM IVGVLATVR  
 SEXAGIES ET VNO SEPTEM DE KALENDIS  
 [...horam?] S[e]PTA[m] APRIL[i]S<sup>31</sup>*

Presumably the epitaph's composer could find no way of ordering the details of his text to allow the acrostic *EVGENIA MARTIR*, and saved it by luck or inspiration. He certainly met with great difficulty, which he did not fully overcome, in striking a balance between arranging the text to fit the required pattern and to retain its sense.

Another unsatisfying acrostic – a successful acrostic bolted onto a text it confounds – survives from the year 1000, dedicated to Daniel the Bishop of Badajoz:

*DESERIT FVNERA DANIEL ORRIDA  
 ATLETIS IVNGITVR RITE CELESTIBVS  
 NEXVS MILITIBUS QVI FVIT OPTIMVS  
 INMVNIS POPVLIS AC VENERABILIS  
 EN IACENT PRAESVLIS MEMBRA PVRIFICI  
 LISIMATHI ECCE TECTAQ[ue] CESPITE  
 EXCEPTVS SPIRITVS ARCE DOMINICA  
 PISCATOR OBIIT PRILVLA FER[v]ITVS  
 CORVSCO FRVITVR CAELITVS GAVDIO  
 OBTVTV DOMINI MENSE IANVARIO  
 PR[a]ECEPS DVCITVR AERAE MILLESIMO  
 IN ET TRICESIMO BIS QVATER ADDITO<sup>32</sup>*

The Latin is difficult to decipher, but this specimen is far more complete (less abbreviated), and complex, than that of 923, mixing classical style with the scriptural allusion. The text, according to Fidel Fita, is metrical, constructed from three four-verse strophes of minor asclepiads. Woven into four lines of this rhythm are biblical references: in line two, one finds parallels with *Luke 2:13* and Paul's epistles I

<sup>31</sup> Castejón Calderón, 'Los mozárabes del siglo VIII al X', 229-30; Flórez presents a slightly different but still very fragmentary reading, *España sagrada* X, 462-3; *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, [220], 72; Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane Tome 2: Le Califat umayyade de Cordoue* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1950), 21n1.

<sup>32</sup> Fita, 'Epitafios poéticos de Badajoz, Granada y Málaga', 87-9; Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, 367; *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, [213], 69; Martínez y Martínez, Matías Ramón, *Historia del reino de Badajoz durante la dominación musulmana* (Badajoz: Librería de Antonio Arqueros, 1904), 313.

*Corinthians* 9:24, *Philippians* 3:14, and I *Timothy* 2:3; in lines five and six, *Matthew* 5:8-9; *Matthew* 5:18 and *Mark* 1:17 in line eight; and I *John* 3:2 in line ten.<sup>33</sup> Overall, though the language is difficult, this inscription is a prime example of Andalusī Christians fostering very sophisticated Latin in a milieu from whose quotidian life Latin was long and entirely removed, and in whose lettered classes Arabic had supplanted Latin even as the scriptural medium several decades previous.

A third acrostic inscription, of 1002, records the death of a young man named Ciprianus from Atarfe, northwest of Granada, and also incorporates sophistication of form and content:

[*cubat nunc camp*]IS CIPRIANVS IN C[a]ELESTIBVS ALMIS  
 IS NOBILIS MVNDOQUE PVRVS ET NATVS ELIANIS  
 PACIFICVS DVLCIS GENITVS PARENTIBVS ALTIS  
 RORE C[a]ELI TINCTVS XP[ist]I LATICIBVS AMNIS  
 IOVIS ENIMQVE DIE HIC SIVIT CORPORA ARVIS  
 A TER QVINQVE IANI DEIBVS QVOQVE MENSE DIC[tis]  
 NAM QVADRAGENI IN MILLENI TEMPOR[e actis]  
 IS MVNDI VIXIT TER DENIS BIS QVATER ANNIS<sup>34</sup>

Here is another metrical epitaph, this time in hexameter, whose every line ends with the rhyming consonance of *-is*. Here, though the constraints of the acrostic structure require unusual syntax, the result is not difficult to read; rather, it is well within the bounds of what one might find in the classical Latin verse of Catullus or Vergil. Within the text we find some very poetic language: in the opening phrase ‘Ciprianus sleeps now in the bountiful celestial plains’ (*cubat nunc campis Ciprianus in caelestibus almīs*), and in ‘He was baptised by heaven’s dew’ (*rore caeli tinctus*) in line four.

The other extant examples of acrostics are undated, believed to be tenth-century in origin, and are in every case too fragmentary or badly written to make much sense. They are not necessarily without merit, however. One dedicated to a Cordoban nun

<sup>33</sup> Fita, ‘Epitafios poéticos de Badajoz, Granada y Málaga’, 88-9.

<sup>34</sup> Fita, ‘Epitafios poéticos de Badajoz, Granada y Málaga’, 89-91; Gómez Moreno, Manuel, *Cosas granadinas de arte y arqueología* (Granada: Imprenta de La Lealtad, 1888), 192, and *Iglesias mozárabes*, 367; *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae: Supplementum* [456], 101 (Hübner also published a fragment of the same in as [291], 119); Navascués, ‘Nueva inscripción mozárabe de la Alhambra (Granada)’, *Archivo español de arqueología* 43 (1941), 276; Oliver Hurtado, M. and Manuel Gómez-Moreno, *Informe sobre varias antigüedades descubiertas en la Vega de esta ciudad, Informe sobre varias antigüedades descubiertas en la Vega de esta ciudad* (Granada: Imprenta D. Indalecio Ventura, 1870), 22; Pastor Muñoz, Mauricio, and Angela Mendoza Eguaras, *Inscriptiones latinas de la provincia de Granada* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1987), 288; Pastor Muñoz, *Corpus de inscripciones latinas de Andalucía volumen IV: Granada*, (Sevilla: Junta de Andalucía, 2002), 82-3; Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, 635.

reading *MARIA SVM*<sup>35</sup>, and another of Bishop Leovigildus of Lucena reading *EPISCOP[us]*<sup>36</sup>, are rather inconsequential. A second from Córdoba, more specifically from el Cortijo de Chinales, appears to be some kind of double acrostic, though it is so fragmentary as to be utterly indecipherable:

[...]  
*CVIVS NITESCIT[?] ...]VIRTVÆ* u  
*A PATRIC[i?]VS P[...]TIA* s  
*FELIC[i]TER PER SAECVLA* a  
*RAPTVSQ[ue] MORTI O[c]T[o]BRE* d  
*VICENN SIT OMNIA* f<sup>37</sup>

A last but noteworthy example, dated to the late tenth century, hails from Granada:

*RECO SINDI ABBA HIC LATET VRNVLA*  
*EXIVIT AEVO DORMIT CV[m] PATRIA*  
*CORPVM SVVM FVLG[e]NS VELVT LVCINIA*  
*OBTIM[u]S EGREGIVS DECENS IN S[ae]C[u]LA*  
*SECVRV[m] MISIT COR S[...]*  
*I[...]*  
*N[...]*  
*D[...]*  
*[I...]*<sup>38</sup>

Before it peters out in the middle of the fifth line, abbot Recosindus' epitaph offers reason to believe that the original article was a work of fine literary Latin. Like Ciprianus in 1002, Recosindus' death is formulated as an eternal sleep (*aevo dormit*); unlike Ciprianus, his reverend body 'shining like glow worms' – perhaps an allusion to the martyr's halo, for it is possible that such is the meaning of the broken fifth line 'he sent his heart safe...'.<sup>38</sup>

The early years of the eleventh century mark the peak of Latinate epigraphic sophistication; the tenth century had been the peak period in terms of quantitative

<sup>35</sup> Castejón Calderón, 'Los mozárabes del siglo VIII al X', 228-32; *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres* edited by Ernst Diehl (Berlin: Weidmann, 1961), [1675], I.325; Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, 369; *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, [130], 39. Hübner follows Juan Tamayo de Salazar in this regard, see *Martyrologium Hispanum. Anamnesis sive commemoratio omnium sanctorum Hispanorum* in six volumes (Lyon: Philippe Borde et Laurent Arnaud, 1651-59), VI.524.

<sup>36</sup> Castejón Calderón, 'Los mozárabes del siglo VIII al X', 232; Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, 368-9; *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, [128], 39; Riesco Terrero, 'Tres lápidas funerarias', 189; *Inscripciones cristianas de la España romana y visigoda* compiled by José Vives (Barcelona: C.S.I.C., 1942), number 274. See also: *Inscripciones latinas del museo de Málaga* compiled by Encarnación Serrano Ramos and José María Atencia Páez (Málaga: Ministerio de la Cultura, 1981).

<sup>37</sup> Castejón Calderón, 'Los mozárabes del siglo VIII al X', 228.

<sup>38</sup> Mariner Bigorra, Sebastián, 'Epitafio versificado y acróstico del abad mozárabe Recosindo', *Ampurias: Revista de prehistoria, arqueología y etnología* 22-3 (1960-1), 321-2; Pastor Muñoz, *Corpus de inscripciones latinas de Andalucía volumen IV: Granada*, 81; Pastor Muñoz, and Mendoza Eguaras, *Inscripciones latinas de la provincia de Granada*, 286; Vázquez de Parða, L., 'Fragmento de epitafio mozárabe del Abad Recosindo', *Memorias de los museos arqueológicos* (1958-61), 42-3.

production, as can be seen in the graph appendix. From this point on, passing into the eleventh century, epigraphic Latin – when examples are complete enough to tell – does deteriorate in that it is less ambitious and sophisticated in terms of style, and the language is less pure. The earliest bilingual epitaph comes from Córdoba in 1109; though the Latin takes precedence of place over the Arabic, it is workman-like, and the Arabic gives more detail:

*IN HOC TVMVL[o] REQVIES-*  
*CIT C[o]RPVS IOANNI XP[is]TICO-*  
*LI SIT ILLI BEATA RECVIE[s]*  
*OBIIT DIE DOMINICO XIIM*  
*KALENDAS MARTIAS*  
*IN ERA MILESIMA*  
*CENTESIMA QVADRA-*  
*GINTA SEPTIMA*

في هذا [أ] القبر استقر جسد  
 عبد آمن تمام توفي صباح  
 بيوم الأحد في إحدى عشر يو-  
 م بقين لشهر مرس من سنة  
 سبع واربعين ومائه والـ الف امن  
 تاريخ الصفر<sup>39</sup>

While the Latin (which is of good, clear quality) describes John only as ‘worshipper of Christ’, the Arabic indicates that he was an ecclesiastic or monastic, for it calls him ‘a servant of complete peace’. It seems clear that more is invested in the Arabic here, reflecting the dominance of Arabic in almost all other means of written expression at this time. Latin dominates the extant epigraphic cache however, the examples in Arabic amounting to four in a catalogue of 92.

This boost in Latinity may well have been stimulated by the challenge posed by Arabic, and by its adoption and use to a high standard by religious Christians from the mid-tenth century. The orthography of the eleventh century is much clearer than that of the ninth, though some proto-hispanicisms show the continued influence of vernacular Romance pronunciation – what would become the Castilian equivalence of *b* and *v* can be seen in *dibino* and *octabo* (1010); further Romance influence can be seen in *recuies* with its Castilianate rendering of the phoneme /kw/ in the Latin *requies* (1109). In the early years of the twelfth century, the oldest extant examples of Christian epitaphs

<sup>39</sup> Castejón Calderón, ‘Los mozárabes del siglo VIII al X’, 232-3; Ocaña Jiménez, M., ‘Lápida bilingüe hallada en Córdoba. Epitafio de un mozárabe fallecido en 1109’, *al-Mulk* 2 (1961-62), 158-9.



engraved in Arabic appear; the acculturation is not complete though, for the text of John's 1109 Cordoban tomb is bilingual, but the Arabic text accurately expresses the content of the Latin, with some additional detail, each presenting the date with different calendrical systems. It must be said that those inscriptions that most defy interpretation are in general highly fragmentary; without this second obstacle their apparently garbled language may have made a great deal more sense.

### **Latin use in a ritual context into the thirteenth century**

Latin may have lost out to Arabic as a means of (palaeographical) literary expression at some point in the closing decades of the ninth century as Aillet believes, and as the medium of a similarly ambitious Latin in epigraphic expression towards the early eleventh century, but it did not disappear altogether. Latin continued to be used in a ritual setting for another two centuries at least; Latin epigraphy can be traced as far as the early thirteenth century – as much as a century later than Andalusī Christianity is believed to have dwindled and disappeared in the mass evictions carried out by the Almoravid Berbers in 1126.

In 1120 the nun Maria was given a Latin epitaph whose Latin is heavily abbreviated but not grammatically compromised, which is actually of a better orthographic standard than many inscriptions produced in the preceding two or three centuries:

*I[n] N[o]M[in]E D[omi]NI  
N[o]S[tr]I IH[es]V XP[ist]I  
OBIT FAMVLA D[e]I  
MARIA IN ME[n]SE  
AVGVSTVS IN ERA  
M[i]L[lesim]A CLVIII<sup>40</sup>*

At around the same time, believes Pedro Marfil Ruiz, in the early twelfth century, a sarcophagus containing the relics of Roman-era martyrs in the Iglesia de San Pedro (then the Iglesia Catedral de los Tres Santos) in Córdoba, was inscribed with the legend *TITVLVS DEPOSITIONIS RELIQVIARVM* (Headstone of the relics' repository).<sup>41</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Navascués, 'Nuevas inscripciones mozárabes de la Alhambra (Granada)', 268; Pastor Muñoz, *Corpus de inscripciones latinas de Andalucía volumen IV: Granada*, 72; Pastor Muñoz and Mendoza Eguaras, *Inscripciones latinas de la provincia de Granada*, 290.

<sup>41</sup> Marfil Ruiz, Pedro, 'Los mártires cordobeses de época romana y el testimonio arqueológico e histórico', *Iglesia en Córdoba* 35 (2005), 6b.

In 1155, another nun, this time bearing the archaic Iberian name Justa, was buried in Córdoba. The Latin of her epitaph is straightforward, echoing the Visigothic model in both style and content, and is as good as any inscription of the ninth century, with only four letters lost to abbreviation and no errors:

*IN HOC LOCO REQVIESCIT  
CORPVS FAMVLAE DEI  
IVST[a]E QV[a]E OBI[i]T  
IN ERA TXCC IIIa  
IIII NONAS SEPTE[m]BRIS<sup>42</sup>*

This epitaph, and that of Maria, show that Latinate monastic communities unheard of in the documentary record were still living and working in the south (and presumably drawing their members from a wider local community), even after the expulsion of 1126, and using good, albeit simple and formulaic, Latin in an age when study of the documentary record would have us believe that indigenous Christianity had been long and completely Arabised, not to mention gone. Both epitaphs strongly resemble those of the Visigothic era in terms of formulaic content and thus indicate the preservation of a cultural link unbroken by the arrival of Islamic power and the establishment of Arabic.

Other inscriptions indicate the very likely unbroken use of Latin by Christian populations around the peninsula, for they bear dates within decades (at most) of the known dates of Christian conquest. In 1111, seven years before Alfonso I of Aragón and Navarra (1104-34) captured the territory of Zaragoza, the church of Santa Maria in Luna (around 35 miles north) erected an inscription celebrating the building's consecration by Bishop Vincent of Zaragoza:

*VLTIMA DOMINICA MENSIS SEPTEMBRIS CONSECRATA FVIT ECCLESIA ISTA A  
DOMNO VINCENTIO CAESARAVGVSTANO EPISCOPO ANNO AB INCARNATIONE  
DOMINI MCXI<sup>43</sup>*

Andalusī Christians disappear from the epigraphic record for nigh on a century after this inscription, to reappear in Puebla del Prior in Badajoz province, 20 miles southeast of Mérida, having produced an inscription – according to Hübner – in the latter twelfth or early thirteenth century. Adorning the facade outside the church, it reads:

*MORTE OPVS HOC CESSAT PORTE DVRA DIRAQVE  
SPLENDIDA NVNC MANET TEMPORE PLVRIMO<sup>44</sup>*

<sup>42</sup> Castejón Calderón, 'Los mozárabes del siglo VIII al X', 229.

<sup>43</sup> *España sagrada XXX: contiene el estado antiguo de la santa Iglesia de Zaragoza* compiled by Manuel Risco (Madrid: Imprenta de Don Antonio de Sancha, 1775), 227; Fuente, Vicente de la, *Historia eclesiástica de España* (2nd ed. Madrid: Compañía de Impresores y Libreros del Reino, 1873), IV.529n2; Quadrado, Josep Maria, *Recuerdos y bellezas de España: Aragón* (Barcelona: R. Indar, 1844), 300n1; Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, 740.

Though it is unknown when the region of Puebla del Prior came into Christian control, it is known that the town was granted a *fuero* in 1256. Alfonso IX of León took Zafra, 30 miles southwest, in 1229, and Mérida and Badajoz, 20 miles to the north and 40 northwest respectively, in the year 1230. It is thus probable that the inscription is of Andalusī rather than Leonese provenance since the timeframe proffered by Hübner (*litteris altis... quae videntur saec. XII vel XIII esse*) falls short of the region's conquests. If Hübner is right, this inscription indicates indigenous Christians producing public works in the Almohad period, which long after the Almoravids – seen as less fanatically hostile to non-Muslims – are held to have effectively killed off the Christian population.

The latest extant Latin inscription of al-Andalus bears the date 1214 (Era 1252). Like the previous inscription, it indicates that Christians were allowed to renovate church buildings or erect public works in a time when Christians are thought to have been long-since persecuted into extinction. Thirty-four years before Fernando III conquered the region, the Christians of Sanlúcar la Mayor, ten miles west of Seville, had undertaken building work on their church:

*XP[istu]S VIVIT XP[istu]S VINCIT XP[istu]S INPERAT  
 PER CRVCIS HOC SIGNVM  
 FVGIAT PRO[cul omn]E MALIGNVM  
 EN ERA DE MCCLII TOME  
 ACABO DE LABRAR  
 ESTA EGLESIA<sup>45</sup>*

These inscriptions challenge the received wisdom of Andalusī historiography which is primarily based on palaeographic documentary and literary evidence, to the detriment of the archaeological, and particularly the epigraphic – from which it certainly stands to

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<sup>44</sup> This is the reading published by the Marqués de Monsalud, who does not offer a date, (Solano Gálvez de San Pelayo y Villalpando, Mariano Carlos, 'Nuevas inscripciones cristianas de Extremadura y Andalucía', *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 36 (1900), 519). See also: Hübner's reading is defective and not based on certainty for the image he publishes of the inscription is extremely unclear '*supplementa incerta sunt; cogitavi de*' (*Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae: Supplementum*, [452], 98).

<sup>45</sup> Caro, Rodrigo, *Antigüedades y principado de la Ilustrísima ciudad de Sevilla y corografía de su convento jurídico o antigua Chancillería* (Seville: Andrés Grande, 1634) (Simonet cites what appears to be an 1851 edition in article form (as seen): *Adiciones al libro de las antigüedades y principado de Sevilla* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1851), I.779 and n2); Flórez, *España sagrada IX: de la provincia antigua de la Betica en comun, y de la Santa Iglesia de Sevilla en particular. Dedicado à los Santos de esta Diecesi* (Madrid: Oficina de Antonio Marin, 1752), 121; Llaguno y Amírola, Eugenio, *Noticias de los arquitectos y arquitectura de España desde su restauración* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1829), I.40; Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, 779. See also: Bevan, Bernard, *History of Spanish Architecture* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1938), 34; Menéndez Pidal, Ramón, *Orígenes del español: estado lingüístico de la península ibérica hasta el siglo XI* (5<sup>th</sup> ed. Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1964), 427; Serrano Ortega, Manuel, *Monumentos de los pueblos de la provincia de Sevilla* (Seville: Francisco de P. Díaz, 1911), 150.

benefit. The epigraphic record also serves to vindicate the historicity of Jacques de Vitry's *Historia Orientalis sive Hierolosimitanae et Occidentalis*,<sup>46</sup> begun in 1219 and an unexpected source for Andalusī Christians as well as the latest outside reference, which identifies them as contemporary Latinate Christians living under the Saracens:

Indeed the Christians who remain in Africa and Hispania among the occidental Saracens are called Mozarabs; they use Latin letters and Latin speech in their writings<sup>47</sup>

His appraisal of the Andalusī Christians is surprisingly positive. They are, he says, still using Latin in their church services though the order of the services themselves is different, with seven or ten parts to the Eucharist, and prayers said at the middle and end of the service instead of at the beginning.<sup>48</sup> Despite this ritual heterodoxy, and the proximity of the Saracens, Vitry commends the Andalusīs' robust piety (*est natio valde devota*), noting in particular that their womenfolk are 'never joined to another but remain in perpetual chastity once dismissed from their first husband'<sup>49</sup>.

The palaeographic record tells us that Andalusī emigrés in North Africa were reading Latin in the 1120s. A *fatwā* issued by Ibn Rushd al-Jadd (died 1126) responds to the discovery of 'a building like a church' (بيت شبه الكنيسة) within the property of a convert suspected of apostasy, which, when searched revealed itself to be a place of Christian worship complete with altar and Latin Scriptural texts:

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<sup>46</sup> The *Historia Orientalis*' editor, John Frederick Hinnebusch, declared the work 'not completely trustworthy... its weaknesses as a history are evident' (*The Historia Occidentalis of Jacques de Vitry: A Critical Edition* (Fribourg: The University Press, 1972, 12).

<sup>47</sup> Jacques de Vitry:

*illi vero christiani qui in Africa et Hispania inter occidentalis Sarracenos commorantur, Mozarabes nuncupati latinam habent litteram et latino sermone in scripturis utuntur*

(*Historia Orientalis* edited by Jacques Bongars in *Gesta Dei per Francos* (Hanover: Wechelius, 1611), 1095). See also: Cannuyer, Christian, 'Sur une reprise de l'*Historia orientalis* de Jacques de Vitry', *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 200.4 (1983), 407-12; Macler, F., 'Notes latines sur les Nestoriens, Maronites, Arméniens, Géorgiens, Mozarabes', *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 7 (1918), 245). Aillet believes that the early twelfth-century, with its evacuations, emigrations and massacres, marks the end of Andalusī Christianity and wonders if Jacques can really mean contemporary Christians living under the late Almohads; the answer, as seen in the evidence set out in the pages that follow, is yes: Andalusī Christianity coexisted with Islam for some time yet (*Les « Mozarabes »*, 7).

<sup>48</sup> Jacques de Vitry:

*Isti enim utuntur in sacramentis vel in divinis officiis lingua Latina... certas habent orationes minus prolixas quas non dicunt more latino, nam quod latini dicunt in principio ipsi in fine vel in medio dicunt sacramentum aliqui in septem aliqui in decem dividunt partes*

They use the Latin language in the sacraments and in the divine offices... they have certain shorter prayers which they do not say in the Latin manner, for what the Latins say at the beginning, they [the Mozarabs] say at the end and in the middle, and they recite the sacrament divided in seven or in ten parts

(Cannuyer, 'Sur une reprise', 410; Macler, 'Notes latines', 245).

<sup>49</sup> Jacques de Vitry:

*femina, amisso primo marito, nunquam coniunguntur alteri sed permanet in castitate perpetua*

(Cannuyer, 'Sur une reprise', 410; Macler, 'Notes latines', 245).

in it were many ancient hanging lamps, candles, a millenary in its housing, books written in the script of the Christians [*naṣārā*], many [more] candles, a slab on four feet... a staff topped with a cross... small flat and very dry biscuits, on each one a mark<sup>50</sup>

Al-Idrīsī's mid-twelfth-century accounts of Qafṣa (Gafsa) refers to its inhabitants as 'Berberised and many of them speak in the African-Latin language'<sup>51</sup>.

The epigraphic evidence extends the history of Latinate Andalusī Christianity by four centuries, albeit in a crude and incomplete manner. It shows that though apparently thoroughly Arabised by the tenth century according to the documentary record – which comprehensively fails to report original Latin works from the end of the ninth – Andalusī Christian communities remained faithful to the Latinate institutions of their Visigothic ancestors for a century longer than is generally allowed by a scholarship that has neglected to consult the epigraphic tradition to complement the palaeographic.

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<sup>50</sup> Al-Wansharīsī:

وفيهما قنديل معلق وآثار كثيرة ألصقت فيها شموع، وألفي في مسكنه بخطوط النصرارى كتب  
وشموع كثيرة ولوح على أربع قوائم... وعصى على رأسها عمود مصلب... وأقراص صغار من  
عجين قد جففت وفي كل واحدة منها طابع

(*al-Mi'yār*.II.349). See also: Lagardère, *Histoire et société*, 65.

<sup>51</sup> Al-Idrīsī:

وأهلها متبربرون واكثرهم يتكلم بالسان اللطيني إفريقي

(*Kitāb nuzhat*, 278. On the Christians in North Africa, Latinate or no, see: Dufourcq, 'La coexistence des chrétiens et des musulmans dans Al-Andalus et dans le Maghrib du X<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Occident et Orient au X<sup>e</sup> siècle. Actes du IX<sup>e</sup> Congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public, Dijon, 2-4 juin 1978* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1979), 209ff.

## **PART II**

### **THE SURVIVAL OF ANDALUSĪ CHRISTIANITY**



## Chapter VII

### Bulliet's Conversion Curve and its significance for the history of Andalusī Christianity

The martyrs of Córdoba and the *ecclesia destituta* have dominated the history of Christians in al-Andalus since the rediscovery of Eulogius' works by the Bishop Pedro Ponce de León and their publication in 1574 by his friend the humanist teacher, priest, and official chronicler of Philip II of Spain (1556-98), Ambrosio Morales, under the title *Divi Eulogii Opera*<sup>1</sup>; Morales was dubbed the 'father of Spanish history' for his efforts.<sup>2</sup> Both were men of the cloth who had links with the Inquisition, Ponce de León in particular, as Inquisitor General, and the reading of Eulogius and Albar's words was thus inevitably established from a staunchly Catholic, pro-martyr, anti-Islamic stance. The Inquisition was finally abolished in 1834, 14 years after the birth of modern Andalusī studies with Conde's *Historia de la dominación de los arabes*.<sup>3</sup> The field was thus established on strongly ideological interpretations of the peninsular past, and would come to focus on the Eulogian persecution as a microcosm of the Andalusī Christian experience, and, despite the lack of any quantifiable evidence, scholars from Dozy onwards, with the notable exception of Simonet, tended towards the idea that conversion to Islam moved quickly and *en masse*; a view that has been revised in light of the few well-known notices to allow Andalusī Christianity the benefit of the doubt to

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<sup>1</sup> Morales, *Divi Eulogii Cordubensis, Martyris, Doctoris et Electi Archiepiscopi Toletani Opera* (Alcalá de Henares: Juan Iñíguez de Lerquerica, 1574).

<sup>2</sup> Henrion, Mateo Ricardo Augusto, *Historia general de la Iglesia desde la predicación de los apóstoles, hasta el pontificado de Gregorio XVI* amended by Antoine-Henri de Bérault-Bercastel and translated from French to Castilian by Epifanio Díaz Iglesias Castañeda (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Madrid: Imprenta de Ancos, 1852), II.599; Roscoe, Thomas, *The Life and Writings of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra* (London: Thomas Tegg, 1839), 257.

<sup>3</sup> Rawlings, Helen, *The Spanish Inquisition* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 20.

the mid-twelfth century.<sup>4</sup> The martyrs' hold on scholarship has loosened in the last two decades, as scholars began to question the dogmatic schema and dismantle the previous century's legacy of entrenched nationalist and Catholic attitudes. The instinct to accept Eulogius' idiosyncratic hagiography as history, inculcated by ideological scholarship from the sixteenth to the early twentieth century, remains difficult to shift. Many sought – and still seek – to reinforce the old assumptions regarding oppression and early conversion with recourse to an innovative statistical survey published in 1979 – Richard Bulliet's *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period: an essay in quantitative history*. Pascal Buresi specifically references Bulliet in supporting his assumption that the silence of the Arabic sources and the Almoravid deportations of 1126 ended indigenous Christianity in the southern peninsula:

Whether through conversion or voluntary or forced displacement, the Mozarab community of al-Andalus disappeared almost completely. Arabic authors, and the historians who follow them, agree in affirming that this process was practically achieved by the end of the twelfth century<sup>5</sup>

Those who argue that Andalusī Christianity was wiped out by conversion and emigration have traditionally done so by citing the silence of most of the well-known sources whether they assign a tenth- or twelfth-century *terminus ad quem*. This documentary silence on the subject of the Christian *dhimmī* cannot be taken as proof of non-existence, but rather of the indifference of the writer in question, for it is possible in many instances to see that it is a selective silence. Nor can Bulliet be used as a prop for such opinions, for his work has been misunderstood by almost everyone in the field.

Bulliet conjectured that conversion, or the adoption of Islam, could be equated with the adoption of any new development, and that its progress through a society thus followed the model of innovation diffusion. With data gleaned from biographical

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<sup>4</sup> Glick writes:

The easy conquest of the peninsula is generally assumed by historians to have been followed by a rapid Islamization of the indigenous population, although the evidence for such an assertion is wholly inferential

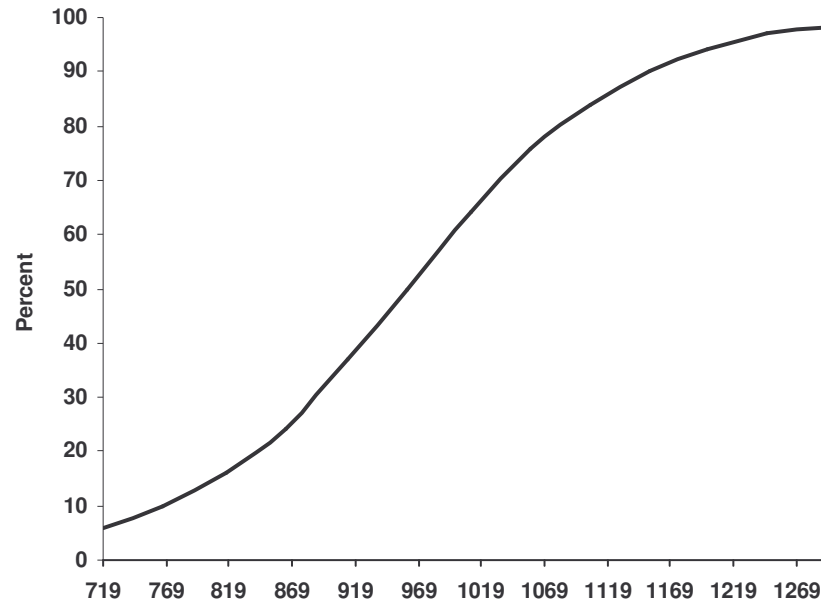
(*Islamic and Christian Spain*, 22).

<sup>5</sup> Pascal Buresi:

*Que ce soit par conversion ou bien par déplacement volontaire ou forcé, la communauté mozarabe disparaît presque entièrement d'al-Andalus. Les auteurs arabes, et les historiens à leur suite, s'accordent pour affirmer qu'à la fin du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle ce processus est pratiquement achevé*

(‘Nommer, penser les frontières en Espagne aux XI<sup>e</sup>-XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles’ in *Identidad y representación de la frontera en la España medieval (siglos XI-XIV): seminario celebrado en la Casa de Velázquez y la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid (14-15 de diciembre de 1998)* edited by Carlos de Ayala Martínez, Pascal Buresi and Philippe Josserand (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez/ Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 2001), 72).

dictionaries – a major Arabic literary genre in the *Dār al-Islām* from the ninth century<sup>6</sup> – Bulliet plotted what he called his ‘curve of conversion’, a cumulative curve of logarithmic growth mapping the rate of Andalusī conversion:



Adapted from Bulliet’s cumulative curve of Iberian-Andalusī conversion (Graph 22)

Bulliet made his study manageable by limiting it to the appearances of five ‘distinctly Muslim names’ in the genealogical register which, he argues, indicates the conversion of that or the previous generation:

over two-thirds of the sons of converts were given names that fall into two categories: obviously Muslim names with strong religious significance, to wit, Muhammad, Ahmad, ‘Alī, al-Hasan, and al-Husain, or names that occur in biblical as well as Quranic tradition, such as Ibrāhīm (Abraham), Ismā‘īl (Ishmael), Yūsuf (Joseph), and so forth... there is every reason to believe that a genealogy beginning with a non-Arabic name followed by a string of Arabic names indicates the generations of conversion to Islam<sup>7</sup>

It must be stated that Bulliet’s analysis is not intended to illustrate or measure the conversion process *per se* in any quantifiable way, but to offer a probable pattern for the pace at which it may have moved. The conversion curve represents only a projected timeline relating to those who would convert, and only those among the elite deemed

<sup>6</sup> See: *Medieval Islamic Civilization: An Encyclopedia volume I, A-K, INDEX* edited by Josef W. Meri and Jere L. Bacharach (Oxford: Taylor & Francis, 2006), 110.

<sup>7</sup> Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam*, 65... 116.

worthy by later generations of inclusion in a biographical dictionary.<sup>8</sup> Bulliet makes the very important point that conversion, and his curve, cannot reach 100% with the admission that the curve ‘makes no allowance for the unknown percentage of Christians who never converted at all’<sup>9</sup>. Such an allowance is impossible with the material evidence:

how can one tell, particularly for the medieval period, when or at what rate the faceless masses converted to a new religion or adopted a new idea? The routes of missionaries can be traced and the creation of new bishoprics recorded, but there is no way of knowing what percentage of the population the missionary contacted, much less converted...<sup>10</sup>

Bulliet’s conclusions are thus rather more nuanced, and open-ended, than has been realised – one reviewer admits to being ‘greatly baffled by flights of statistical fancy’<sup>11</sup> – for he couches his conclusions in terms of percentage of a data set representing an elite minority, not as a percentage of the population as a whole, which would be impossible. Only two responses to Bulliet indicate that the true import of his study was understood, Bernard Reilly<sup>12</sup> and the reviewers Ray L. Cleveland and K.B. Leyton-Brown<sup>13</sup>. The misunderstanding arose even while Bulliet was in the process of writing his book, and has not yet been recognised and rectified.<sup>14</sup> For 30 years, scholars have been mistaken to cite Bulliet as proof, most frequently quoted, that 50% of the Andalusī peninsula was Muslim by 960 and 80% by the mid-eleventh century.<sup>15</sup> What Bulliet’s

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<sup>8</sup> Bulliet acknowledges that his ‘primary data relate mostly to religiously important individuals’ (*Conversion to Islam*, 15).

<sup>9</sup> Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam*, 102.

<sup>10</sup> Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam*, 4.

<sup>11</sup> Sanneh, Lamin, referring to Bulliet’s *Conversion* in a review of Nehemiah Levtzion’s collection *Conversion to Islam in Journal of Religion in Africa* 12.1 (1981), 73-4.

<sup>12</sup> Reilly, *The Contest of Christian and Muslim Spain*, 18n13.

<sup>13</sup> Ray L. Cleveland and K.B. Leyton-Brown:

the graphs at first glance would seem to represent total regional populations. However, it must be stressed that because of the nature of the data, 100 percent on the graphs refers only to those who eventually converted. This is significant, especially if a large number of people (as Spain) never converted or if significant minorities at the end of the period in view (as Syria and Egypt) had not acquiesced

(‘Review of *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period*’, *The International History Review* 4.3 (1982), 460).

<sup>14</sup> Professor Bulliet confirmed this to me himself in private correspondence dated 23 October 2009.

<sup>15</sup> Those who quote such figures with reference to Bulliet, or clearly indicate them, include: Aillet, ‘Identité chrétienne’, 76n74; ‘La question « mozarabe »’, 310; Bruce, Travis, ‘An Intercultural Dialogue between the Muslim Taifa of Denia and the Christian County of Barcelona in the Eleventh Century’, *Medieval Encounters* 15 (2009), 29; Burman, *Religious Polemic*, 19n26; Catlos, *The Victors and the Vanquished*, 28; Coope, *The Martyrs of Córdoba*, 10; Coope, ‘Muslims and Christians in Spain’, 122; Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 3; Decter, Jonathan P., *Iberian Jewish Literature: Between al-Andalus and Christian Europe* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), 217n19; Domínguez Ortiz, Antonio, *España: tres milenios de historia* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2007), 63; Epalza, ‘Mozarabs: an emblematic Christian minority’, 158; Fernández Félix, *Cuestiones legales del islam temprano*, 408; Fletcher, *Moorish Spain*, 37-8; García Arenal, Mercedes, ‘Jewish Converts to Islam in the Muslim West’

results indicate, rather, is that by 960 around 50% of those who would convert – of the ultimate unquantifiable total of converts – had done so: that the process had reached its halfway point. There is thus no way to extrapolate any quantifiable data or to identify the point at which Muslims became a numerical majority and Christians a minority. It is merely assumed, for lack of evidence to the contrary, that this happened at all.

### **Bulliet's reception and problems with his methodology**

The response to Bulliet's findings was mostly positive, though there are problems with his methodology, he himself readily admits at various points, emphasising the experimental nature of the project. While many recognised these problems, they nonetheless welcomed a fresh approach as a stimulus to further innovation<sup>16</sup>, which is exactly how Bulliet himself envisaged the work:

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in *Israel Oriental Studies XVII. Dhimmis and Others: Jews and Christians and the World of Classical Islam* edited by Uri Rubin and David J. Wasserstein (Tel Aviv: Eisenbrauns, 1997), 232; García Sanjuán, Alejandro, *Till God Inherits the Earth*, 68; Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain*, 22-3; Glick, *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle*, 52; Guichard, *Al-Andalus frente a la conquista cristiana* (Madrid: Editorial Biblioteca Nueva, 2001), 216; López de Coca Castaner, José E., 'Cristianos en al-Andalus (siglos VIII-XII)' in *Cristiandad e Islam en la Edad Media hispana: XVIII semana de estudios medievales, Najera, del 30 de julio al 3 de agosto de 2007* edited by José Ignacio de la Iglesia Duarte (Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2008), 272; Marín, Manuela, introduction to *The Formation of al-Andalus, Part 2*, xvii; Marín Guzmán, Roberto, *Sociedad, política y protesta popular en la España musulmana* (San José, Costa Rica: Editorial UCR, 2006), 109; Mazzoli-Guintard, Christine, 'Urbanisme islamique et ville en al-Andalus: autour de nouvelles propositions méthodologiques' in *II Congreso Internacional: La ciudad en al-Andalus y el Magreb* co-ordinated by Antonio Torremocha Silva and Virgilio Martínez Enamorado (Granada: Fundación El Legado Andalusi, 2002), 67n91; Molénat, 'L'autre de chaque côté de la frontière: mozarabes et mudéjars dans la péninsule Ibérique médiévale (VIII<sup>e</sup>-XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles)' in *Grenzräume und Grenzüberschreitungen im Vergleich: der Osten und der Westen des mittelalterlichen Lateineuropa* edited by Klaus Herbers and Nikolas Jaspert (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2007), 194; Morony, Michael G., 'The Age of Conversions: A Reassessment' in *Conversion and Continuity: Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands Eighth to Eighteenth Centuries* edited by Michael Gervers and Ramzi Gibran Bikhazi (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1990), 136; Sénac, *La frontière et les hommes (VIII<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècle): Le peuplement musulman au nord de l'Ebre et les débuts de la reconquête aragonaise* (Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 2000), 133; Tolan, *Saracens*, 39.

<sup>16</sup> Guichard likes it – '*cet ouvrage séduisant*' ('Les mozarabes de Valence et d'al-Andalus entre l'histoire et le mythe', *Revue de l'Occident musulman et de la Méditerranée* 40 (1985), 23), as does Molénat – '*lo cual nos parece muy posible*' ('Los mozarabes, entre al-Andalus y el norte peninsular' in *Minorías y migraciones en la historia* edited by Molénat, Pascual Martínez Sopena, Antonio Malpica Cuello, Ángel Vaca Lorenzo (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad, 2004), 13); Glick's views on the Islamisation of peninsular society consciously support Bulliet's (*From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle*, xii), and elsewhere offers up a ringing endorsement:

Bulliet's description of the conversion process provides a compelling framework for analyzing the dynamics of social, political, and cultural change in the emergent Islamic societies of the middle ages and, at the same time, offers a standard by which to assess such developments in any one Islamic society in comparative perspective

(*Islamic and Christian Spain*, 23). Hugh Kennedy describes the work as 'a bold and exciting attempt to use new sorts of evidence to come to grips with an intractable problem' (review, *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 13.2 (1981), 251); James Waltz's review in *Speculum* 56.2 (1981), asserts that '[Bulliet's] work is important for its methodology and exciting in its challenges to accepted

Graphs and figures are not used to belabor the obvious or to corroborate previously accepted ideas; they give rise to fresh ideas that may serve to stimulate further research even if they do not ultimately prove to be correct in all particulars<sup>17</sup>

Jessica Coope, whose *Martyrs of Córdoba* is the first systematic response to Bulliet by the Latinist school, 16 years later<sup>18</sup>, shows enough confidence in the ‘reasonable hypotheses’ allowed by Bulliet’s supposed conversion rates for the mid-ninth century, to use them as a starting point for a reading of the Cordoban ‘Martyr Movement’ which explains them as a genuine response to significant demographic change.<sup>19</sup> Coope’s study vindicates both Bulliet and Eulogius against their critics, but it is predicated on a false reading of Bulliet’s statistical work. Chief among the reasonable hypotheses Coope set herself to test is Bulliet’s contention that five ‘distinctly Muslim names’ in a sample of just 154 genealogies can tell us something meaningful about demographics at large in al-Andalus. This choice to restrict himself to just five ‘distinctly Muslim names’ – all of which, it must be said, were also present in the Arabic-speaking world before Islam, and were thus Christian and pagan before they were Muslim – is an attempt to reduce the risk of fabricated genealogies, a problem of which Bulliet is again aware.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, in a bid to ensure great reliability, Bulliet does skew his material. The assumption that a miniscule sample from the religious elite is capable of offering a representative view of a whole society is, in Lapidus’ opinion, ‘totally unexamined and not entirely plausible’<sup>21</sup>. Christys is probably the most vocal critic, dismissing Bulliet’s reliance on scant data as ‘rather like making conclusions about the population of Britain in the twentieth century from a study of *Who’s Who*’<sup>22</sup>. Mayte

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interpretations’ (360); Christian Décobert’s review calls it ‘*brillant et important*’ (*Studia Islamica* 58 (1983), 182); John O. Voll writes that ‘Bulliet provides a stimulating new perspective’ (*Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 11.3 (1981), 522). Similarly positive responses, though not without some reservations, can be found in the reviews of Ira Lapidus (*The American Historical Review* 86.1 (1981), 187-8), Umar Abd-Allāh (*Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 44.3 (1985), 239-41).

<sup>17</sup> Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam*, 5.

<sup>18</sup> In his review of Coope’s *The Martyrs of Córdoba: Community and Family Conflict in an Age of Mass Conversion*, Glick writes: ‘While many historians have complained about Bulliet’s time line, no one has bothered to test it until Coope’ (135).

<sup>19</sup> Coope, *The Martyrs of Córdoba*, 10f.

<sup>20</sup> Bulliet:

the practice of fabricating Arabian genealogies is known to have been followed to some extent, and in most cases there is no way of detecting such fabrications

(*Conversion to Islam*, 19).

<sup>21</sup> Lapidus, ‘Review: Richard W. Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period*’, 187.

<sup>22</sup> Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 3. The elitist bent of Bulliet’s sources is all too clear from their titles, which are, in chronological order:

Ibn al-Faraḍī’s *Kitāb tā’rīkh ‘ulamā’ al-Andalus (History of the Eminent Men of al-Andalus)*;

Ibn Bashkuwāl’s *Kitāb al-ṣila (fī tā’rīkh a’imma al-andalus wa ‘ulamā’ihim wa muhaddithihim wa fuqahā’ihim wa udabā’ihim)* or (*The Supplement (On the History of the Umma of al-Andalus and their Eminent Men, Speakers, Jurists, and Men of Letters)* which is a continuation of another work by al-Faraḍī – the *Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā’*;



Penelas also questions the reliability of the biographical dictionary as historical source.<sup>23</sup>

Certainly, the value of any conclusions regarding concrete measurements of conversion, as the majority reads them, based on such a limited range of raw data is negligible. A cache of five names in 154 elite family lines in a peninsula whose population is estimated to have been around the seven to nine million mark towards the end of the Visigothic period<sup>24</sup> – and whose capital alone is estimated to have been home to between 100,000 and 450,000 at its peak around the year 1000<sup>25</sup> – represents an infinitesimally small fraction of the population. Furthermore, the appearance of ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Ḥassān, Bishop of Elvira in 941<sup>26</sup> would rather put paid to Bulliet’s onomastic theory, as would ‘Ubaīd Allāh ibn Qāsim<sup>27</sup> and ‘Abbās ibn al-Mundhir<sup>28</sup>, Archbishops of Seville in 941 and 971 respectively, and ‘Īsā ibn Mansūr, Bishop of

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al-Dhabbī’s *Bughyat al-multamis (fī tār’ikh rijāl ahl al-Andalus)* (*A Desire to Enquire (into the History of the People of al-Andalus)*);

Ibn al-Abbār’s two biographical efforts, the *al-Mu’jam fī aṣḥāb al-qāḍī al-imām Abī ‘Alī al-Ṣadaḍī* (*A Dictionary of the Companions of the Judge and Imām Abī ‘Alī al-Ṣadaḍī*) and *al-Takmila li-kitāb al-ṣila* (*The Supplement to the Book of the Supplement*), a continuation of Ibn Bashkuwāl’s continuation of al-Faraḍī;

Ibn Farḥūn’s *al-Dībāj al-mudhahhab fī ma‘rifat ‘ulamā’ al-madhhab* (*The Gilded Composition on the Knowledge of the Learned Men of the Faith*);

Ibn al-‘Imād’s *Shadharāt al-dhahab* (*Nuggets of Gold*).

In their favour, most of the compilers were actually Andalusī, though half of them rather late: Al-Faraḍī (962-1013) was a Cordoban native, Ibn Bashkuwāl (1101-1183) a Cordoban, al-Dhabbī (died 1202-3) was born in Vélez, Ibn al-Abbār (1199-1259) was Valencian, Ibn Farḥūn (died 1396-7) from Uiyān, a village west of Jaén. The Syrian Ibn al-‘Imād died in 1678.

<sup>23</sup> Penelas:

Later studies have revealed that some information provided by biographical dictionaries or other kinds of sources – such as historical chronicles or juridical sources – although does not invalidate Bulliet’s method, does suggest that there should be some reservation in accepting the results he obtains... we cannot know for certain which member of the genealogical sequence was the convert to Islam unless the source provides information in this respect, which the biographical dictionaries do hardly ever [sic]

(‘Some remarks on conversion to Islam in al-Andalus’, *Al-Qanṭara* 18.1 (2000), 193... 200).

<sup>24</sup> See: Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology*, 8; Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain*, 23; Herrin, Judith, *The Formation of Christendom* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987), 221; O’Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975), 70; Tāha, ‘Abdulwāḥid Dhanūn, *The Muslim Conquest of North Africa and Spain* (London: Routledge, 1989), 36.

<sup>25</sup> John Urquhart Marshall describes Córdoba as ‘exceeding 100,000’ in his *The Structure of Urban Systems* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), 29; as does Hugh Kennedy in *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, 107; Gerli and Armistead quote 100,000 in their *Medieval Iberia: an encyclopedia*, 235; Christys quotes 100,000 in ‘Cordoba in the *Vita vel Passio Argenteae*’ in *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages* edited by Mayke de Jong, Frans Theuws and Carine van Rhijn (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 122, and one million in ‘Picnic at Madīnat al-Zahrā’ in *Cross, Crescent and Conversion: Studies on Medieval Spain and Christendom in Memory of Richard Fletcher* edited by Simon Barton and Peter Linehan (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 87. Tertius Chandler estimates Córdoba’s population at 450,000 around the turn of the millennium (*Three Thousand Years of Urban Growth: An Historical Census* (New York: Academic Press, 1974), 98).

<sup>26</sup> Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muqtabas* V, 467.

<sup>27</sup> Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muqtabis fī akhbār balad al-Andalus*, al-Ḥajjī edition, 64.

<sup>28</sup> Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muqtabas* V, 467.

Córdoba in 971.<sup>29</sup> Though these latter three do not bear one of Bulliet's five Islamic names, they too show that it was possible to be culturally Arabised while remaining profoundly Christian.<sup>30</sup> None of these eminent ecclesiastics bear 'Christian' names, so why should the lay aristocracy? The epigraphic evidence has already shown us that widespread and long-established Arabisation did not stop Christians using Latin. What of parents who named their children from the Arabic or supposedly Islamic onomasticon, not because they wanted to display their Muslim identity, but because they were Arabised, Muslim or not, and admired an 'inherently Islamic' name for its meaning in the language they spoke? Such an eventuality would skew the figures for larger, earlier, conversion. Though Bulliet admits that the application of statistical methodology to medieval history is controversial<sup>31</sup>, he asserts that his data is able to 'reflect the general course of religious conversion... [and] does appear to correspond rather closely to the generally accepted course of Islamic history'<sup>32</sup>. Since this is all he sought to do, the criticism that his data can only give a general idea would seem more than a little unjust.

Those that do not criticise Bulliet's methods, criticise his results – for slowing down conversion.<sup>33</sup> Barceló claims that 77.44% of the villages around Córdoba were entirely Muslim in the early ninth century on the grounds that they appear in Muslim poll-tax lists<sup>34</sup> – an approach wide open to criticism, for Muslim presence does not necessarily mean an exclusively Muslim village, and the Muslims were a small minority at this point.<sup>35</sup> The flaws of Bulliet's study, such as they are, are the flaws of Andalusī historiography as a whole: conjectural conclusions for want of hard or persuasive evidence.<sup>36</sup> Ideologically-motivated manipulation of the source material, and a selective

<sup>29</sup> Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muqtabis fī akhbār balad al-Andalus*, al-Hajjī edition, 64.

<sup>30</sup> On the significance of names as carriers of cultural identity in mixed-faith society, with a case study of ethnic Chinese Christians bearing 'non-Christian names' in Singapore, see: Joseph, John E., *Language and Identity: National, Ethnic, Religious* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 176-81.

<sup>31</sup> Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam*, 5.

<sup>32</sup> Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam*, 4... 12.

<sup>33</sup> Barceló, M., 'Un estudio sobre la estructura fiscal', 57-8; Epalza, 'La islamización de al-Andalus', 172; Guichard, 'Otra vez sobre un viejo problema: orientalismo y occidentalismo en la civilización de la España musulmana', *En torno al 750 aniversario. Antecedentes y consecuencias de la conquista de Valencia* (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 1989), 86.

<sup>34</sup> Barceló, 'Un estudio sobre la estructura fiscal', 46-52.

<sup>35</sup> Luís Alonso García Moreno criticises Barceló's approach ('Spanish Gothic Consciousness among the Mozarabs', 320n84).

<sup>36</sup> Tolan notes that

*Le manque de documentation a beaucoup contribué à la virulence du débat puisque l'historien se trouve obligé de recourir à la spéculation*

The lack of documentation has greatly contributed to the virulence of the debate since the historian finds himself obliged to resort to speculation

('L'infériorité sociale des minorités religieuses: *dhimmis* et *mudejares*' in *L'Europe et l'islam: quinze siècles d'histoire* by Henry Laurens, Tolan, Gilles Veinstein (Paris: Odile Jacob, 2009), 57).

approach to it, has meant that conjecture has defined the history of Andalusī conversion to a great extent<sup>37</sup>; Bulliet's statistical work, however, was an inspired attempt to respond to this problem – doubtless an original approach, and an unprecedented attempt to obtain data on the obscure matter of historical religious conversion – but his endeavour to introduce the alien disciplines of documentary medieval history and mathematics led to his work being misunderstood and unwittingly misused for three decades to support pre-existing ideas.

### **An argument for reassessing indigenous Andalusī Christian survival in light of Bulliet's true import**

Since almost every comment on conversion to Islam made in the last 30 years has cited a confused reading of Bulliet's curve of conversion, it seems appropriate to call for a re-assessment, because it bears upon our perception of circumstances which cannot be fully elucidated by other means. The distinction between population *in toto* and a sample of noble converts would hardly matter if everyone had converted to Islam or been persecuted with death and exile. While this has been assumed or implied since Dozy, Bulliet did not seek to map out the process of conversion to any ultimate conclusion; his expert position – as the expert, albeit in a field of one – is that conversion never reaches 100%: there is always a sector of the population that never converts. Islamisation affected only a portion of *dhimmī* society; for the rest, acculturation stopped at Arabisation. If Bernard Reilly is correct in according the Christians a majority in the eleventh century<sup>38</sup>, and the large numbers attested in the following century suggest he cannot be far wrong, the Muslim demographic may never have reached much more than 60% – if the Christian represented a minimum of 51% in the middle of the century, when the process of conversion was 80% complete.<sup>39</sup> Of

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<sup>37</sup> Christys:

many see in the Islamic conquest of Hispania the imposition of oriental tribal patterns of settlement. It is assumed, although there is little evidence for this, that the indigenous population were absorbed into this new social structure. Neither in 'Spanish Islam' nor in tribal al-Andalus is there room for the Christians to play any role other than that of converts to Islam and clients of the new rulers

(*Christians in al-Andalus*, 4).

<sup>38</sup> Reilly, *The Medieval Spains*, 60.

<sup>39</sup> If the *ahl al-dhimma*, the majority of which was Christian, had the smallest numerical majority possible – 51% – when the process of conversion was around 80% complete, they would still constitute a very large minority of 38.75% when the process reached completion, leaving the Muslims with a majority of 61.25%. But conversion never reaches 100% in Bulliet's view. Thanks to Tom van Delft of Camborne Schools of Mines for help with the maths.

course, the population was not static, there are other factors competing in the reduction of Christian numbers: the capture of territory and populace by the armies of the Christian north, and migration, both of which are impossible to gauge.

The general consensus that the second half of the ninth century was a pivotal moment in cultural and demographic terms, with Christianity being overwhelmed on both counts, has taken Bulliet as proof.<sup>40</sup> The standard reading of Bulliet's conversion curve for the Andalusī Peninsula gives one to understand that more than one in five of the population was Muslim when Albar lamented the desertion of Latin for Arabic. We know now, however, that Bulliet's graph indicates only the likelihood that around 20% of conversion among the political and high-cultured urban classes had occurred by this point. Since we have no idea how many converted, this would perhaps account for little more than the ten martyrs of mixed parentage – all of whom were of the educated nobility, and eight of them members of the clergy or monastic community – and the assimilated administrative classes like the *kātib* Ibn Antunyān and wealthy men like Bishop Ostegesis' father, Auvarnus – men of high birth who allied themselves culturally to the court in order to gain professionally, or for reasons of expediency.<sup>41</sup> There were also those who converted to avoid taxes levied exclusively on the *ahl al-dhimma* (the *jizya*), whose numbers are impossible to estimate, though it could be that this reason pertains more to the wealthy if, as Theodemir's treaty and Albert Hourani suggest, this levy was relative to one's resources. Samson indicates that this happened, but his exaggeration that his reviled enemy the *comes* Servandus drove 'an endless number of Christians' to apostasy with excessive taxation means little.<sup>42</sup> We have no way of

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<sup>40</sup> See: Aillet, *Les « Mozarabes »*, 95; Barceló, 'Un estudio sobre la estructura fiscal', 51; Dozy, *Histoire des musulmans d'Espagne*, I.283-4; Millet-Gérard, *Chrétiens mozarabes*, 49.

<sup>41</sup> Samson reports Auvarnus' apostasy and less than sincere conversion to Islam to escape the jurisdiction of the *Forum Iudicum*:

*dum Deo permittente ad soluendas traheretur penas pro nequitia fraudis suę, ad apostasin suffragium uersus Muzlemitam se dixit futurum esse ac deinde, ut mos est ipsius sectę, omnia per ordinem cepit implere. Sicque iam, ut auditu comperi, canescentem pectinem nudans et senilia pudenda puero circumcisorī tractanda manibus inuerecendus caniser non denegans, cum magno labore durissimam preputii pellem caruit et uulnus*

when with God's leave he was to be dragged off to take the punishment for his wickedness, he declared he was going to choose apostasy to Islam, and then he began to put everything in order in accordance with the customs of that sect. And so, as I have heard it, he uncovered his hoary 'comb' and without shame he did not refuse to allow his aged privates to be handled by the young circumcisor, and after a great effort he was wounded and left without the tough skin of his foreskin

(*Apologeticus.II.praefatio.3.4-11*, CSM 2:550).

<sup>42</sup> Samson:

*Infinitem Xpianorum numerum preuaricationis dispendio subderet. Illos uero... uectigalia soluere Smaelitis regibus compulit*

knowing the extent of conversion at this time – nor its nature. Bulliet envisages an uninstitutionalised process essentially no more demanding of reflection than a recitation of the *shahāda*, ‘There is no god but God and Muḥammad is the messenger of God’, which only constituted real conversion – what Bulliet terms social conversion – if the individual then changed the society he kept and actively left his *dhimmī* community for the Muslim, a significant factor of which was the adoption of the sacred Arabic language – though it was evidently the norm for Christian, Muslim and Jew to live in mixed communities.<sup>43</sup> Arabic was the language of the pre-Islamic Arabs and the *lingua franca* of their empire, to which every conquered group eventually became acculturated. It certainly does not follow, then, that the young men Albar condemned for learning Arabic were Muslim, or that they would necessarily become so.

Many of Bulliet’s critics seized on the point that his data set is not representative, that it reflects only the highest strata of society – men of political, intellectual and artistic spheres. They are also all urban, all men, and likely all Cordoban. The city is only a small island surrounded by vast tracts of country whose population far outstrips it in numbers, but the rural population does not generally figure in history because history is written by lettered urban or monastic men and the cyclical agronomical monotony of rural life does not make interesting chronicling. The religious status of the ahistorical rural population is harder to pinpoint even than their urban compatriots.<sup>44</sup> When chroniclers do mention the Andalusī populations outside urban centres, however, they tend to be Christian and in great numbers – and not only in the early centuries when the numerical majority of Christians in the countryside as elsewhere was inevitable.

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He brought an infinite number of Christians to the evil of transgression. Truly he...  
drove them to the Ishmaelite kings to free themselves of the tax

(*Apologeticus*.II.praefatio.5.16-7... 18-9, CSM 2:551).

<sup>43</sup> Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam*, 33-7. On mixed communities, see: Torres Balbás, Leopoldo, ‘Mozarabías y juderías de las ciudades hispanomusulmanas’, *Al-Andalus* 19.1 (1954), 172-96.

<sup>44</sup> Timothy Parsons contends that conversion was unnecessary for those outside the city:

The majority of rural Iberians did not need to become Muslims. Their overlords may have shifted from Christianity to Islam and then back again, but the rural population escaped the full weight of imperial oppression because medieval empires were relatively weak

(*The Rule of Empires: Those who built them, those who endured them, and why they always fall* (Oxford: OUP, 2010), 109). Hitchcock on the other hand, denies that a religious label can be applied to the faceless ahistorical masses of the countryside:

The *rūm baladiyyūn* were not Christians, but members of the indigenous population, of no ascertainable religious allegiance, who were country-dwellers. They were Arabicized, and no doubt keen to welcome a change in overlordship from the oppressive intransigence of the Almoravids

(*Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, 103).



These large numbers are seen very clearly in accounts of the *muwallad*-Christian rebellions spearheaded from the fort of Bobastro by ‘Umar ibn Ḥaḥṣūn between c.883 and 917, purported among the Arabic sources (he does not surface in any Latin source) to be a descendent of Visigothic nobility, his descent variously traced back to an Alfonso or to a Marcellus.<sup>45</sup> He was widely claimed, on his death around 917, to have been an apostate to Christianity<sup>46</sup>, and Bobastro is unequivocally associated with

<sup>45</sup> Ibn ‘Askar (c.1188-1239), in a work continued by his nephew Muḥammad al-Mālaqī, gives several generations Ibn Ḥaḥṣūn’s lineage back to one Alfonso:

عمر بن حفص المعروف بحفصون بن عمر بن جعفر بن شنتم بن دميان ابن مرغلوش بن أذفونش

‘Umar ibn Ḥaḥṣ, known as Ḥaḥṣūn, son of ‘Umar, son of Ja‘far, son of *Sh-n-t-mu*, son of Damyān [Damian], son of Marghilūshu [Marcellus], son of Adhifūshu [Alfonso]

(al-Mālaqī, Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, *Maṭla‘ al-anwār wa nuzhat al-baṣā’ir wa al-abṣār* edited by Ṣalāḥ Jarrār (‘Ammān: Dār al-Bashīr, 1999), 342-3). At the turn of the fourteenth century, the Moroccan Ibn ‘Idhārī presents a slightly different genealogy, substituting *Sh-t-y-mu* for *Sh-n-t-mu*, and *Dhubyān* for *Damyān* (*al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, II.106). Simonet renders *Sh-n-t-mu/ Sh-t-y-mu* ‘Septimio’ (*Historia de los mozárabes*, 513). The fourteenth-century historian Ibn al-Khaḥīb (1313-74) offers the same lineage, except he puts *Kasmasmu* (كسمسم) [? = Cosma? Cosmismo?] in place of *Sh-n-t-mu/ Sh-t-y-mu*, and

Farghilūshu (فرغلوش) – which could correspond to the Visigothic name Fregellus – in place of Marghilūshu (*al-Iḥāta fī akhbār Gharnāta* edited by Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh ‘Inān (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 1978), IV.38). It is likely that neither account is particularly accurate, and that the chroniclers, so distant in time from their subject, invented a genealogy using non-Arabic Christian names familiar to them, like Alfonso, and garbled ideas barely recognisable from their Arabic consonantal roots, like *K-s-m-s-m* and *F-r-gh-lūsh* for *M-r-gh-lūsh*, the initial letters, fairly similar in a medieval hand without diacritical marks, being mistaken somewhere along the manuscript tradition. See further: Vallvé Bermejo, J., ‘Una fuente importante de la historia de Al-Andalus: la ‘Historia’ de Ibn Askar’, *Al-Andalus* 31 (1966), 247. The genealogies reported by Andalusī Muslim chroniclers have been questioned in recent years. See: Wasserstein, ‘Inventing tradition and constructing identity’, 269-98. On the socio-economic motivations behind the Christian-*Muwallad* uprisings, see: Marín-Guzmán, ‘The Causes of the Revolt of ‘Umar ibn Ḥaḥṣūn’.

<sup>46</sup> Ibn Ḥayyān:

وكشف الله من غيب الملحد عمر بن حفصون... وأبان من تذبذبه بعد إظهار الإسلام، وتشبته بالنصرانية والتباس أمره على مرّ الأيام... فأنكشفت دفنة جثته الحبيثة عن سنة مدفوني النصارى غير شك، لأنه أصيب ملقى على ظهره، مستقبلاً وجهه المشرق بوجهه، موضوعاً ذراعه على صدره، كما يتدافن النصارى

God revealed the secret of the heretic ‘Umar ibn Ḥaḥṣūn... and made plain his vacillation after he had proclaimed Islam, that he had clung to Christianity and confusion led him with the passage of time... And the burial of his wicked body was revealed to be without doubt according to the custom of Christian interment: he was lying on his back, his head oriented to the East, his forearms placed on his chest, as the Christians bury their own

(*al-Muqtabas* V, 216). The poet Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih (860-940) calls Ibn Ḥaḥṣūn ‘the apostate’ (علج) and his son Sulaīmān ‘the Goliath of apostasy and envy’ (جالوت النفاق والحسد). See: Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, *Kitāb al-‘iqd al-farīd* edited by Aḥmad Amīn (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī, 1962), IV.505, 521. For English translations and parallel Arabic texts of this and many other examples of Andalusī Arabic verse, see James Monroe’s *Hispano-Arabic Poetry: A Student Anthology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974). There are dissenters on this point. Pedro Chalmeta doubts Ibn Ḥaḥṣūn’s Christianity, see: ‘Precisiones acerca de ‘Umar Ibn Ḥaḥṣūn’, *Actas de las II Jornadas de Cultura Árabe e Islámica* (1980) (Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura 1985), 163-75. Fierro writes of the difficulty of distinguishing between Muslim and Christian in the late-ninth century:



Christianity in a text which Ibn Ḥayyān identifies as a circular released by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III to announce Ibn Ḥafṣūn’s defeat:

The city of Bubashtru was a seat of polytheism, a home to godlessness and falsehood; it was an honour to Christianity and its refuge... where [Christians] could go and be protected, where they might seek safety and peace<sup>47</sup>

The punitive measures taken against Ibn Ḥafṣūn’s followers reveal a widespread network of powerful Christian centres stretching from the mountainous area northeast of Málaga west to Cádiz:

The defender of God’s religion went to the fortress of Shantu Bīṭru and also to other fortresses of the unbelievers nearby and punished them, felling their trees and uprooting their vines and destroying their livelihood... The governor of Málaga, ‘Abd al-Malik ibn al-‘Aṣī... conquered the fortress of Aīrush and others nearby allied to the accursed Ibn Ḥafṣūn, and encroached upon their borders... Sa‘īd ibn al-Mundhir al-Qurashī went to the people of the fortress of Shantu Bīṭru, Comares and Jotrón and the unbelievers’ other strongholds and made them come down from their mountains, and scattered them across the plain. He investigated their fortresses which he had torn to pieces, leaving not a single fortress or inhabited refuge for Christianity in that area, and he treated the district of Rīyah [El Río?] to the same hostility<sup>48</sup>

Rīyah district’s fortified towns were destroyed because they were *dhimmī*-founded and thus constituted a contravention of the *dhimma*.<sup>49</sup> ‘Abd al-Raḥmān gives the same attention to the forts of Takurunnā and Maghīla and those in Cádiz province<sup>50</sup>, and

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The environment in which Ibn Ḥafṣūn lived was not one where there was always a clear dividing line between being and not being a Muslim, for in many cases Islamicisation was not a radical change but rather a slow process, during part of which time the religious affiliation of individuals remained ambiguous. The sources abound in accounts from the third/ ninth century showing that “Is he a Muslim or Christian?” was a common enough question

(‘Four questions in connection with Ibn Ḥafṣūn’, 317).

<sup>47</sup> Ibn Ḥayyān:

وكانت مدينة بيشتر قاعدة الشرك، ودار الكفر والإفك، ومكان عزّ النصرانية وموئلهم... الذى من صار فيه اعتصم، ومن عاذ بها سلم

(*al-Muqtabas V*, 228).

<sup>48</sup> Ibn Ḥayyān:

أم الناصر لدين الله حصن شنت بيطر، وما قرب منه من حصون الكفرة، فنازلهم وقطع أشجارهم واحتت كرومهم وحطم معاشهم... وولى مدينة مالقة عبد الملك بن العاصي... وافتتح حصن أيرش وما اتصل به من حصون اللعين بن حفصون وتحيف أطرافه... فاستنزل سعيد أهل حصن شنت بيطر وبمارش وخطرون وغيرها من معقل الكفرة، وأهبطهم من أجبلهم، ففترقوا في بساطهم، واستقصى الحصون خراباً ونسفاً، فلم يبق للنصرانية في تلك الجهة حصن مذكور ولا معقل معمور، فعادت بذلك كورة ريه

(*al-Muqtabas V*, 210... 210-11... 218).

<sup>49</sup> Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muqtabas V*, 236.

<sup>50</sup> Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muqtabas V*, 218.

Shanta Ulālīya, Shanta Marīya and Ṣuhaīb<sup>51</sup>, many of which – considering the *Shanta/Shantu* element – would appear to be Christian though they are not identified explicitly as such. According to al-Rāzī, though, Jotrón, Comares, Santopitar, and another unidentified place named *Sh-dh-līya*<sup>52</sup>, are entirely Christian:

All of [Jotrón's] people were Christians, not a single Muslim among them, and likewise the aforesaid fort of Comares, and its sisters Shantu Bīṭru and *Sh-dh-līya*<sup>53</sup>

From this episode, then, we learn that the remote areas of the central South are Christian to a great extent, with several areas identified as solely Christian. The Mesopotamian geographer Ibn Ḥawqal (*floruit* c.943-77) testifies to Christians' considerable rural presence in the *hijra* year corresponding to 958-9:

I arrived at the beginning of the year 337... and there are others in the countryside of al-Andalus: thousands who are not an urban, cultivated, people, who are of the Roman Christian religion<sup>54</sup>

These large numbers are not restricted to the first two centuries of Muslim presence, but would seem to be a lasting feature of Andalusī demographics. In recounting the episode of the events of 1125-6 when Alfonso I of Aragón made a sortie south – in order to take Granada at the treacherous call of the grenadine Christians and with their help, according to the Arabic sources. Ibn al-Khaṭīb would write that in 1126 the Christian population of Granada and its environs was capable of producing over 12,000 battle-ready men, and go on to make a passing reference to their descendents in his own – latter fourteenth-century – day:

But when [Alfonso] delayed, [the Christians of Granada] sent him a list comprising 12,000 brave fighters, not counting old men or the inexperienced. And they advised him that those they named for him were those they knew by sight in the vicinity, while there were uncounted other men from further afield, but it would become clear when they showed themselves to him. They thus got the undivided attention of his ambition and roused his greed, and inflamed him by extolling the virtues of Granada... today

<sup>51</sup> Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muqtabas* V, 234.

<sup>52</sup> *Shadhilīya*? Could this be Sedella, roughly ten miles northeast of Vélez-Málaga?

<sup>53</sup> Ibn Ḥayyān:

وكان جميع أهله نصارى لا مسلم فيهم، وكذلك حصن. بمارش المتقدم ذكره، وإخوته شنت بيطر  
وشذلية

(*al-Muqtabas* V, 223).

<sup>54</sup> Ibn Ḥawqal:

ودخلتها في اول سنة سبع وثلاثين وثلاثمائة... وبالأندلس غير ضيعة فيها الألو ف من الناس لم  
تمدن، وهم على دين النصرانية روم

(*Sūrat al-ard*, 106). See also Johannes Kramers and Gaston Wiet's French translation *Configuration de la terre (kitab surat al-ard)* (Paris: Editions G.-P. Maisonneuve et Larose, 1964), and María José Romani Suay's Castilian translation *Configuración del mundo: fragmentos alusivos al-Magreb y España* (Valencia: Anubar, 1971).

there remains a small group to whom the pact was accorded, long familiar with meekness<sup>55</sup>

Ibn al-Khatib draws an unbroken line between the rural Christian population of the mid-eighth century and that of the early twelfth:

When the people of Islam had established themselves in that noble region, the emir Abū al-Khaṭṭār settled the northern Arab tribes [Syrians] there, divided among them a third of the pact-makers' [*mu'āhidīn*] wealth, and their dwellings remained among the great numbers of Christians [*rūm*] who occupied themselves with the cultivation of the land and inhabited the villages led by elders of their religion. These chiefs were sophisticated, wise, and they knew the fixed collections. The latest of them was a man known by the name of Ibn al-Qallās, who had renown and prestige, and standing with the emirs there<sup>56</sup>

Because of the division between lettered urban and monastic centres and unlettered rural sprawl at this period, the former dominate history as its writers and its subjects while the latter languishes in obscurity. So much so that Hitchcock questions whether one can talk of Christianity as a rural phenomenon in al-Andalus when there is little evidence of its existence.<sup>57</sup>

### Eastern *dhimmi* survival belies inevitability of mass conversion

The impossibility of quantifying medieval demographics, and the incomplete nature of conversion, can be illustrated by looking at Egypt and the Levant, which remain home to Arabised Christian minorities. The eyewitness accounts of the geographers Ibn

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<sup>55</sup> Ibn al-Khaṭīb:

فلما أبطأ عنهم، وجهوا إليه زماماً يشتمل على إثني عشر ألفاً من أنجاد مقاتليهم، لم يعدوا فيها شيخاً ولا غراً، وأخبروه أن من سموه، ممن شهرت أعينهم لقرب مواضعهم، وبالبعد من يخفى أمره، ويظهر عند ورود شخصه، فاستأثروا طمعه وابتعثوا جشعة، واستفززوه بأوصاف غرظة...  
إلا صابةً لهذا العهد قليلة، قديمة المذلة

(*al-Iḥāta fi akhbār Gharnāṭa*, I.109-14).

<sup>56</sup> Ibn al-Khaṭīb:

ولما استقرت بهذه الكورة الكريمة أهل الإسلام، وأنزل الأمير أبو الخطار قبائل العرب الشاميين بهذه الكورة، وأقطعهم ثلث أموال المعاهدين، استمر سكانهم في غمار من الروم، يعالجون فلاحه الأرض، وعمران القرى، يرأسهم أشياخ من أهل دينهم، أولو حنكة ودهاء ومدارة، ومعرفة بالجبابة اللازمة لرؤوسهم. وأخرهم رجل يعرف بابن القلاّس، له شهرة وصيت، وجاه عند الأمراء بها

(*al-Iḥāta fi akhbār Gharnāṭa*, I.106-7).

<sup>57</sup> Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, xiv, 55.

Ḥawqal and the Palestinian al-Muqaddasī (born c.945), who visited Egypt in the mid- and late tenth century respectively, both present Egypt as largely Christian at a time when, according to Bulliet's curve, conversion was 80-90% complete.<sup>58</sup> Ibn Ḥawqal unambiguously describes Faṭimid-Egypt as Coptic:

the people of Egypt are Christian Copts, they have very many abundant churches and indeed many of them are magnificent<sup>59</sup>

Fifty years later, Egyptian demographics seem not to have evolved far; al-Muqaddasī writes that Muslim centres are few and far between, Muslims clearly making up a minority:

the customs of the Copts are foremost here... the towns of Egypt are not numerous for the people of the land are Coptic and according to our thinking without a *minbar* there is no city<sup>60</sup>

Ibn Ḥawqal notes that there are few mosques in Palestine when Levantine conversion was three-quarters complete:

in Palestine there are roughly 20 *minbar* pulpits, small and unimpressive, though I do not have authoritative knowledge of their full number<sup>61</sup>

He declines in this case to consider what the scarcity of Muslim places of worship might mean about the general populace, but identifies only five churches in the whole Levant: one in Bethlehem housing a relic of Mary<sup>62</sup>, one 'known as al-Fīja' (بيع تعرف بالفيجة)<sup>63</sup>,

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<sup>58</sup> Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam*, 97 (Graph 17).

<sup>59</sup> Ibn Ḥawqal:

وأهلها نصارى قبط، ولهم البيع الكثيرة الغزيرة الواسعة وقد حارب منها الكثير العظيم

(*Ṣūrat al-Ard*, 150).

<sup>60</sup> Al-Muqaddasī:

ورسوم القبط به عاليه... ولم تكثر مدائن مصر لان اكثر أهل السواد قبط ولا مدينة في قياس علمنا هذا إلا بمنبر

(*Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī ma'rifat al-aqālīm* edited by Michael Jan de Goeje under the title *Descriptio Imperii Moslemici auctore Shams ad-dīn Abū Abdallah Mohammed ibn Ahmed ibn abī Bekr al-Bannā al-Basshāri al-Moqaddasi* (Leiden: Brill, 1906), 193. For an English translation, see: Collins, Basil, *The Best Divisions for Knowledge of the Regions* (Reading: Garnet, 2001).

<sup>61</sup> Ibn Ḥawqal:

وبفلسطين نحو عشرين منبراً على صغر موقعها ولا أحيط بأجمعها

(*Ṣūrat al-Ard*, 159). See Bulliet's Graph 19. It may be noted that while Ibn Hawqal specifies Palestine, Bulliet's data speaks to Syria. The Islamic geographer's understanding of Syria is peculiar in incorporating the entire Levant, Jordan, Lebanon and Palestine, the latter becoming synonymous with Syria. Zakariyeh Mohammed writes:

in the Arab-Islamic era... the Palestinian identity was equivalent to the Syrian (*Shāmī*) identity and sometimes encompassed it

('Maqdisi: An 11<sup>th</sup> Century Palestinian Consciousness', *Jerusalem Quarterly* 22-3 (2004), 87). Ibn Ḥawqal and al-Muqaddasī thus treat the Levantine as an homogenous Syrian whole.

<sup>62</sup> Ibn Ḥawqal:

بييت لحم... يقال أن في بيعة منها بعض النخلة التي اكلت منها مريم وهي مرفوعة عندهم

one at Damascus<sup>64</sup>, Ḥomṣ (modern Hims)<sup>65</sup>, and ‘one of the wonders of the world’ in Edessa<sup>66</sup>. Al-Muqaddasī, however, presents the same region as home to prominent *dhimmi* professional classes:

the scribes here are – like Egypt – Christian, for [the Muslims] rely on their flair and do not trouble themselves with discipline like the non-Muslims. When I was present at a congress of the head *qāḍī* in Baghdād, I was embarrassed at how greatly ungrammatical was his speech, but they do not consider that a disgrace here.

The majority of the great minds, the dyers, bankers, and tanners in that region are Jews; while most of the medical doctors and scribes are Christian<sup>67</sup>

يصونونها

in Bethlehem... it is said that in a certain church there is part of the date palm that Mary ate, which is venerated among them and they care for it

(*Surat al-Ard*, 158-9).

<sup>63</sup> Ibn Ḥawqal, *Surat al-Ard*, 161.

<sup>64</sup> With his identification of a church at Damascus, Ibn Ḥawqal offers a narrative of Christianity’s supersession by Islam in the Holy Land, without a single reference to the Christians of the day:

وبها مسجد ليس في الاسلام احسن منه ولا اقين بقعة، فأما الجدار والقبعة التي فوق المحراب عند المقصورة فمن ابنية الصائين، وكان مصلاًهم ثم صار في ايدي اليونانيين وكانوا يعظمون فيه دينهم، ثم صار لليهود وملوك من عبدة الاصنام والاثوان، وقتل في ذلك الزمان يحيى بن زكرياء عليهما السلام، فنصب رأسه على باب هذا المسجد المسمى باب جيرون، ثم تغلبت عليه النصرارى فصارت في ايديهم بيعة لهم يعظمون فيها دينهم، حتى جاء الاسلام فصار المكان للمسلمين واتخذوه مسجداً

and in [Damascus] is a mosque, and there is no better in all of Islam, nor a more beautifully preserved site, for the walls and the dome which stands above the *mihrāb* near the *maqṣūra* are creations of the Sabaeans, and it was their prayer hall; then it fell into the hands of the Greeks and they honoured their religion in it; then it fell to the Jews and kings who worshipped images and idols, and Yaḥyā bin Zakarīā’ was killed in that period – peace be upon him – and his head was set up above the door of that mosque named the Bāb Jaīrūn; then the Christians took possession of it and in their hands it became their church and they honoured their religion in it. When Islam came, it became the Muslims’ possession and was made a mosque

(*Surat al-Ard*, 161).

<sup>65</sup> Ibn Ḥawqal:

وبها بيعة بعضها مسجد الجامع وشطرها للنصارى، فيه هيكلهم ومذبحهم ويعتبرهم من أعظم بيعة الشام. ودخلها الروم وقتنا هذا فأتوا على سوادها وأحربوها

in [Ḥomṣ] there is a church attached to the Great Mosque which is shared with the Christians, within is their temple and their altar; it is one of the most magnificent churches of Syria. The *Rūm* [Byzantines] entered the city in our time, they attacked and devastated the countryside

(*Surat al-Ard*, 162).

<sup>66</sup> Ibn Ḥawqal:

المثل فيقال: من عجائب الدنيا كنيسة الرها وقنطرة سنجة

the proverb says: among the wonders of the world are the church of Ruhā’ [Edessa] and the bridge of Sanja

(*Surat al-Ard*, 166).

<sup>67</sup> Al-Muqaddasī:

In al-Muqaddasī's report his native Palestine appears to be something of a thriving Christian centre:

Jerusalem has its shortcomings though... the learned are few, the Christians many, and it is loathsome to be among them in public... indeed the Christians and Jews are overwhelming in [the city] and the mosque devoid of congregations and assemblies... few are the learned, though the protected *dhimmī* are many<sup>68</sup>

He adds several Christian centres to those mentioned by Ibn Ḥawqal, in close proximity to Muslim centres, to be found in the scriptural spots of the valley of Gehenna, the Mount of Olives, Bethlehem and Ludd.<sup>69</sup>

الكتبة به وبمصر نصارى لانهم اكلوا على لسانهم فلم يتكلفوا الادب كالأعاجم وكنت اذا حضرت مجلس قاضى القضاة ببغداد اخجل من كثرة ما يلحن ولا يرون ذلك عيباً واكثر الجهابذة والصباغين بهذا الاقليم يهود اكثر الاطباء والكتبة نصارى

(*Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, 182-3).

<sup>68</sup> Al-Muqaddasī:

إلا ان لها عيوباً... قليلة العلماء كثيرة النصارى وفيهم جفاء على الرحبة... قد غلب عليها النصارى واليهود وخلا المسجد من الجماعات والمجالس. قليل العلماء كثير الذمة

(*Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, 167... 179).

<sup>69</sup> Al-Muqaddasī:

وادی جهنم على قرنة المسجد إلى آخره قبل الشرق فيه بساتين وكروم وكنائس ومغائر وصوامع ومقابر وعجائب ومزارع وسطه كنيسة على قبر مريم ويشرف عليه مقابر فيها شداد بن اوس الخزرجى وعبادة بن الصامت. وجبل زيتا مطل على المسجد شرقى هذا الوادى على راسه مسجد لعمر نزله ايام فتح البلد وكنيسة على الموضع الذى صعد منه عيسى عم وموضع يسمونه الساهرة وحدثونا عن ابن عباس ان الساهرة هى ارض القيامة، بيضاء لم يسفك عليها دم، وبيت لحم قرية على طرف فرسخ من نحو حبرى بها ولد عيسى وثم كانت النخلة وليس يرطب النخيل بهذا الرستاق ولكن جعلت لها آية وبها كنيسة ليس بالكورة مثلها... وبها كنيسة عجيبة على بابها يقتل عيسى الدجال

The valley of Jehennam [Gehenna] [runs] from the corner of the mosque to the furthest point towards the East: in the valley are gardens and vineyards, churches, grottoes, hermitages, burial grounds, wondrous things, and cultivated lands. Amongst all this is a church over the tomb of Maryam, and overlooking it [the valley] are tombs, among [those of] Shaddād bin al-Khazrajī and 'Ubāda bin al-Sāmit<sup>69</sup>. And Jabal Zeītā [the Mount of Olives] stands over the mosque east of this valley; on its summit is a mosque [dedicated] to 'Umar, who stayed there some days at the conquest of the region. There is also a church on the spot from which Jesus ascended – peace be upon him. And there is a place they call al-Sāhira [the Plain] and I was told by Ibn 'Abbās that al-Sāhira is the site of the resurrection – it is clean, blood has never been spilt upon it. And Bethlehem is a village a *farsakh* away in the direction of Hebron, in which Jesus was born, and then there was also the palm, though palm trees do not produce ripe dates in this district but a miracle made it happen here. There is also a church here, nothing like it in the district... In [Ludd] there is a remarkable church at whose door Jesus shall destroy the devil

(*Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, 171-2... 176). The *farsakh* is a measure of distance whose value is a matter of debate; it is also a term used to denote a measure of time. See: al-Ḥamawī, *The Introductory Chapters of Yāqūt's Mu'jam al-buldān*, translated and annotated by Wadie Jwaideh (Leiden: Brill, 1959), 54-5.



Arabised Christians have constituted large minorities to the present, and even majorities into the last century, in these territories at the heart of the *Dār al-Islām*. The Egyptian Copts remain a large minority for which figures vary: official government figures stand at 6-7% – though the latest official census in 2006 offers no data regarding religious affiliation<sup>70</sup> – while alternative sources quote as high as 20%.<sup>71</sup> That is to say that, in concrete terms, there are as many as 16 million Copts among a total population estimated in July 2008 at 81.7 million.<sup>72</sup> The Copts are an example that *dhimmi* populations need not exist in an inevitable state of decline, though they may be mistreated by the authorities: census figures show their numbers increased by an average of 3.45% in Egypt's four largest cities between 1927 and 1947.<sup>73</sup> The Copts, who in the mid-twentieth century constituted 45% of the civil service at a time when they represented only 7.1% of the populace, also show how important a part the *dhimmi* demographic can play – as they must have in the first centuries of al-Andalus, though chroniclers understandably failed to take an interest for the most part.<sup>74</sup>

Christian *dhimmi* numbers elsewhere in the Eastern Mediterranean likewise remained high into the twentieth century.<sup>75</sup> Palestine's Christian community accounted for around 17% of the total population before a great number emigrated after the *Nakba*<sup>76</sup> in 1948 and the Israeli occupation of Gaza and the West Bank during the Six

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<sup>70</sup> See the website for the Arab Republic of Egypt Central Agency for Public Mobilisation and Statistics:  
<http://www.msrintranet.capmas.gov.eg/pls/fdl/tst12e?action=&lname=>

<sup>71</sup> Servas, Nicolas, 'The Coptic Church: Religion and Politics in Modern Egypt' in *Christianity in the Middle East: Studies in Modern History, Theology and Politics* edited by Anthony O'Mahony (London: Melisende, 2008), 69. Monir Dawoud, president of the American Coptic Association and also of the International Christian Union, claimed there are 16 million Copts in Egypt in 2007. See: Puder, Joseph, 'Christian Persecution in the Middle East: A first-hand account of intolerance in Islam', article posted on the website of the American Copts Association:

<http://www.copts.com/english1/index.php/2007/06/22/christian-persecution-in-the-middle-east-a-first-hand-account-of-intolerance-in-islam/>

<sup>72</sup> Iskander, Milad, 'The Coptic Struggle after the Revolution of 1952' in *Copts in Egypt: A Christian Minority under Siege. Papers presented at the First International Coptic Symposium, Zurich, September 23-5, 2004* edited by Martyn Thomas, Adly A. Youssef, Heinz Gstrein and Paul Meinrad Strässle (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 41. For the 2008 estimate see the Central Intelligence Agency profile for Egypt:

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/eg.html>

<sup>73</sup> Baer, Gabriel, *Population and Society in the Arab East* translated from the Hebrew by Hanna Szöke (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1964), 97.

<sup>74</sup> Baer, *Population and Society*, 96-7.

<sup>75</sup> Nehemia Levtzion offers a different view, based upon medieval Arabic and Christian sources, which give the impression that Christian numbers in the Levant were lower than modern census-based figures quoted here. See: 'Conversion to Islam in Syria and Palestine and the Survival of Christian Communities' in *Conversion and Continuity: Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands Eighth to Eighteenth Centuries* edited by Michael Gervers and Ramzi Gibran Bikhazi (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1990), 289-311.

<sup>76</sup> *Nakba* (نكبة): 'catastrophe'. For more than 60 years, *nakba* has been used as shorthand for the Palestinian exodus of 1948 in the wake of the creation of Israel.

Day War of May-June 1967, leaving, it is estimated, between 2% and 12% in the first decade of the twenty-first century.<sup>77</sup>

One might ask why occidental al-Andalus should be any different from these similarly war-torn regions in the Orient; it too suffered centuries of prolonged conflict, though neither Egypt nor the Levant suffered permanent conquest after Islam's arrival. If the Christian conquests had never materialised, a twenty-first-century al-Andalus might have been home to a comparably large Christian population. While it is true that Christian demographics do not seem to have survived in comparable numbers in other regions of the former Roman Empire incorporated into the *Dār al-Islām*, it is also true that ideological aversion and the argument *ex silentio* have conspired to keep Andalusī Christian numbers low – minimal from the eleventh or even the tenth century, and nonexistent from the mid-twelfth. The universal misreading of Bulliet suggests that by the latter date the non-Muslim element had all but disappeared from Andalusī society and thus easily annihilated by the events of 1126.<sup>78</sup>

## Introduction to Part II

The intention of the second part of this thesis is to trace the demographic that resisted or did not feel compelled to convert to Islam. It is to some extent an attempt to pursue the story of Christian-Muslim co-existence in al-Andalus as comprehensively as possible in the timeframe of a UK PhD – though the term *convivencia* is consciously avoided due to the burden of romantic idealism and controversy it has accrued since Américo Castro first coined it.<sup>79</sup> The survival of Andalusī Christianity is a field of study that has not

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<sup>77</sup> Leonard Marsh states 2%; Mehran Kamrava quotes 10-12%. See: Kamrava, *The Modern Middle East: A Political History Since the First World War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 225-6; Marsh, 'Palestinian Christians: Theology and Politics in Contemporary Israel' in *Christianity in the Middle East: Studies in Modern History, Theology and Politics* edited by Anthony O'Mahoney (London: Melisende, 2005), 216.

<sup>78</sup> As recently as 2007, the understanding that Andalusī Christianity disappeared altogether still prevailed:

*Es de sobra sabido que la minoría cristiana fue cada vez menos numerosa, hasta desaparecer por completo en el siglo XII*

It is well-known that the Christian minority became smaller and smaller until it disappeared completely in the twelfth century

(Carmona, Alfonso, 'Una década (1997-2007) de trabajos sobre textos religiosos y jurídicos de al-Andalus', *Medievalismo* 17 (2007), 309).

<sup>79</sup> Castro, Américo, *España en su historia: cristianos, moros y judíos* (Buenas Aires: Editorial Losada, 1948), 211. A prime example of the idealisation of al-Andalus as a bastion of cosmopolitan tolerance is María Rosa Menocal's *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews and Christians created a culture of tolerance in medieval Spain* (Boston: Little, Brown, 2003). *Convivencia* has received less favourable attention, particularly in recent years. Serafin Fanjul has dedicated two books to dismantling the myth of *convivencia*; in a series of previously published articles brought together in *Al-Andalus contra España: la*

been explored *in toto* since Simonet, though a great deal of material has surfaced since his groundbreaking *Historia de los mozárabes*, and a great deal of the ideological baggage has fallen by the wayside.

The main obstacle to proper study of the indigenous Christians of al-Andalus is that the scattered and fragmentary nature of the material evidence, because they either produced little or their documents did not survive in great number, and the *ahl al-dhimma* were of little interest to those who wrote the histories of the peninsula. Muslim and Christian chroniclers alike were concerned with the machinations and great achievements, military, political and cultural, of their coreligionists and patrons, and though Christian leaders were ostensibly intent on the reunification of Christian Hispania they seem little concerned with the rescue of the actual Christians under the Saracens' yoke. Andalusī Christians crop up in Muslim histories only when they play a notable or unusual part in political or military events – we thus find bishops and metropolitans engaged as interpreters in the emiral and caliphal courts while their flock is resolutely out of the picture, and are suddenly confronted in the early twelfth century with very large Christian communities in Granada province which had lain dormant and all but invisible for the previous 400 years. To further complicate matters, these far-flung reference points are known, but are scattered among diverse articles and footnotes which are often not concerned with their import for the history of Christians in al-Andalus.<sup>80</sup>

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*forja del mito* (Madrid: Siglo XXI de España Editores, 2000), he attacks *convivencia* specifically as a product of Islamic tolerance, and seeks further to bring an end to ahistorical idealism in *La quimera de al-Andalus* (Madrid: Siglo XXI de España Editores, 2004). See also: the section 'La supuesta convivencia idílica' in Rosa María Rodríguez Magda's *Inexistente Al Ándalus: do cómo losintuetales reinventan el Islam* (Oviedo: Ediciones Nobel, 2008), 42-54; Soifer, Maya, 'Beyond *convivencia*: critical reflections on the historiography of interfaith relations in Christian Spain', *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 1.1 (2009), 19-35; Tolan, 'Une *convivencia* bien précaire: la place des juifs et des musulmans dans les sociétés chrétiennes ibériques au Moyen Âge' in *La Tolérance: Colloque international de Nantes, mai 1998, Quatrième centenaire de l'édit de Nantes*, edited by Guy Saupin, Rémy Fabre and Marcel Launay (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, Centre de Recherche sur l'histoire du Monde Atlantique, 1999), 385-94. For a defence of the continuing relevance of *convivencia* as a category of scholarly analysis, see: Glick and Oriol Pi-Sunyer, 'Convivencia: An Introductory Note' in *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain*, edited by Vivian B. Mann, Thomas F. Glick and Jerrilynn D. Dodds (New York: George Braziller, 1992), 1-10.

<sup>80</sup> Aillet:

*Les zones obscures qui peuplent l'histoire du christianisme arabisé des IX<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècles rendent nécessaire la collecte des témoignages les plus divers, des indices les plus ténus. Il s'agit de reconstituer des fragments de sens, et non de prétendre rétablir la fresque tout entière*

The obscure areas that fill the history of Arabised Christianity during the ninth-twelfth centuries render it necessary to collect the most diverse testimonies, the most tenuous clues. It is a matter of piecing together fragments of sense, not of trying to establish a complete fresco

('Recherches sur le christianisme arabisé', 93).

It shall be argued that while the data are numerically minimal particularly for later centuries, the numbers to which they pertain are not – wider communities around monasteries and churches – and are capable of challenging the received wisdom regarding the timetable of Arabisation, and of decline based erroneously on Bulliet’s conversion curve which assigns Andalusī Christianity a terminal point in the mid-twelfth century at the latest. The data can also vindicate the true findings of Bulliet’s statistical work – essentially to show that a peak in conversion in the mid-tenth century is not the same thing as the emergence of a general numerical Muslim majority; nor does it mean that we should expect the sudden dwindling of Christianity. It will be seen that, in purely numerical terms, the early to mid-twelfth century – though widely held to mark the final evanescence after two centuries of near invisibility – is the apex of indigenous Andalusī Christianity in the historical record, with very significant populations reported in southern Portugal and Granada province. Guichard asks a pertinent question regarding the visibility of the indigenous Christians of the South, specifically in this case those of Toledo who are notable for their absence in Ibn Ḥayyān’s account of that formerly rebellious city’s submission to Córdoba in 932:

Should one admit that their almost total Arabisation integrated [the Christians] into the cultural unity of al-Andalus so much that they passed practically unseen from then on?<sup>81</sup>

In light of the example of Granada province cited above (and discussed below) Guichard’s question begs the answer ‘yes’ – though he himself is sceptical of Christian survival on any real scale and is inclined to accept the theory of early conversion and the contrary answer. Though indigenous Christians may regularly crop up in one region up to a certain point, it does not necessarily follow that that point represents their demise; equally, and more obviously, when in another region they are not mentioned once for centuries only to appear in large numbers, it does not mean that they were not there before. The latter is proven by the case of Valencia, as Guichard observes:

In certain regions, like the Murcian and Valencian Levant, the sources are practically silent and offer us practically no information on the existence of any possible Christian communities for the first centuries of the Muslim era. It is only after the mid-eleventh century that one finds references to Christians living in the *Sharq al-Andalus* in the *taifa* period and during the Almoravid regime<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Guichard:

*Faut-il admettre que son arabisation pratiquement totale l’intègre alors suffisamment dans l’unité culturelle andalouse pour qu’elle passe désormais pratiquement inaperçue...?*

(‘Les mozarabes de Valence et d’al-Andalus entre l’histoire et le mythe’, 24).

<sup>82</sup> Guichard:

There is much the historical record leaves out. Where Christians are mentioned at all it is for a reason capable of overcoming the predisposition for reticence in both northern Christian and Muslim chroniclers.

The emigration of southern ecclesiastics to the North has – in conjunction with Eulogius' *ecclesia destituta* and Albar's complaint of the secular elite's Arabisation – formed the foundation for claims regarding the rapid disintegration of post-Visigothic Christianity in the peninsula. Leonese commemoration of monastic immigration from Córdoba in the early years of the tenth century would seem to support such ideas: one abbot Adefonsus led many of his monastic brothers to San Miguel de Escalada in 913<sup>83</sup>, and an abbot John arrived in San Martín de Castañeda in 921.<sup>84</sup> We know however that

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*Dans certaines régions, comme la zone levantine murcienne et valencienne, les sources sont pratiquement silencieuses, et ne nous apportent pratiquement aucune information sur l'existence d'éventuelles communautés chrétiennes pour les premiers siècles de l'époque musulmane. C'est seulement à partir du milieu du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle que l'on trouve quelques références textuelles à des chrétiens vivant dans le Šarq al-Andalus à l'époque des taïfas et pendant le régime almoravide*

(‘Les mozarabes de Valence et d'al-Andalus entre l'histoire et le mythe’, 22).

<sup>83</sup> Monumental inscription from San Miguel de Escalada:

*HIC LOCVS ANTIQVITVS MICHAELIS ARCHANGELIS HONORE DICATVS  
BREVI INSTRVCTVS POST RVINIS ABOLITVS DIV MANSIT DIRVTVS  
DONEC ADEFONSVS ABBA CVM SOCIIS ADVENIENS CORDVBENSI PATRIA  
EDIS RVINAM EREXIT SVB VALENTE SERENO ADEFONSO PRINCIPE  
MONACHORVM NVMERO CRESCENTE DEMVM HOC TEMPLVM DECORVM  
MIRO OPERA E FVNDAMINE EXVNDIQVE AMPLIFICATVM ERIGITVR  
NON IVSSVS IMPERIALI VEL OPPRESSIONE VVLGI  
SED ABBATIS ADEFONSI ET FRATRVM INSTANTE VIGILANTIA  
DVODENIS MENSIBVS PERACTA SVNT HAEC OPERA,  
GARSEA SCEPTRA REGNI PERAGENS MVMADONNA CVM REGINA ERA DCCCCLI  
SACRATVMQVE TEMPLVM AB EPISCOPVM IENNADIVM XII KAL DECEMBRIVM*

This ancient place is dedicated to the honour of the archangel Michael, built quickly, after it had long remained in ruins, until abbot Adefonsus came with his companions from the land of Córdoba and erected a building from the ruins made possible by the serene prince Adefonsus. While the number of monks increased this temple was finally raised up, enhanced on all sides by wondrous work of decorations from its foundations up. Neither by order of the prince nor by the oppression of the people, but by abbot Adefonsus and his brothers standing vigilant, these works were completed in 12 months during García [I of León]'s reign with queen Mumadonna [Muniadonna] in the Era 951; the temple was consecrated by bishop Iennadius on 21 December

(*Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, [107], 469).

<sup>84</sup> Antonio Viñayo González:

*[hi]C LOCVS ANTIQVITVS MARTINVS SANCTVS HONORE  
DICATVS BREVI OPERE INSTRVCTVS DIV MANSIT BIRVTVS  
DONEC IOHANNES ABBA A CORDOBA VENIT ET HIC TEMPLVM LITAVIT  
EDIS RVGINAM A FVNDAMINE EREXIT ET ACTE SAXE EXARABIT  
NON IMPERIALIBVS IVSSVS ET FRATRVM VIGILANTIA INSTANTIBVS  
DVO ET TRIBVS MENSIBVS PERACTI SVNT HEC OPERIBVS  
HORDONIVS PERAGENS SCEPTRA ERA NOBI ET SEMIS CENTENA NONA*

This ancient place dedicated to the honour of holy Martin was built with quick work and lay long in ruins until the abbot John came from Córdoba and consecrated this temple, erected the ruined building from its foundations and dug the stone in place, not by imperial decree, but with his brothers standing watchful, these works were completed in five months in Ordoño [II of Galicia and León]'s reign, Era 959



Córdoba was not deprived as a result of these movements: in the mid-950s John of Metz encountered ‘a certain Bishop Johannes’<sup>85</sup>, and in 961-2, according to Ibn Khaldūn, the bishopric was held by Aṣḥab̄h ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Nabīl, whom he grandly calls *jāthulīq* or primate rather than the usual *usquf*.<sup>86</sup>

In the fragmented fields of Andalusī and medieval Spanish history, sweeping statements have been made without checking all avenues, since they are too many, not immediately obvious, nor certain to yield anything of value. But peninsular history – and by extension, beleaguered Andalusī Christianity – has a real need for a holistic approach, as Christys observes:

Until more Hispanists are prepared to consider the evidence for medieval Iberia as a whole, al-Andalus will remain in the realm of the fabulous<sup>87</sup>

The difficulty is in balancing the broad view with detail. What follows – having attempted to show the unreliability of judgements on conversion and the state of Christian populations in al-Andalus based upon a faulty reading of Bulliet’s curve of conversion – constitutes an attempt to address these problems and trace the history of the indigenous Christians of al-Andalus through the centuries following the controversy of the Cordoban martyrs. The following chapters attempt to weave together as many of the disparate sources as possible to update the work done by Simonet – Latin and Arabic chronicles, Arabic poetry of both Muslim and Christian extraction, datable *marginalia* and references in manuscripts themselves, funerary and monumental inscriptions in both Latin and Arabic, charters of donation, privilege and sale, and papal *communiqués*. Of course, it is important not to fall into the same trap as Simonet did, driven by the ideologies of Catholicism and Carlist nationalism, making claims unsubstantiated even by the wealth of data he accumulated.<sup>88</sup>

A point worth making here is that *al-Andalus* was a geographical term signifying the Iberian Peninsula as a whole. Our understanding of the term today tends to be defined by religious and political dimensions – our historical perspective thus

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(*L’ancien royaume de León roman* translated into French by Norbert Vaillant (La Pierre-qui-Vire: Zodiaque, 1972), 334.

<sup>85</sup> John of Metz writes that John of Gorze met *episcopus quidam Johannes* (*Vita Johannis Gorziensis*.122 (f° 91v), Parisse, 148-9; *MGH Scriptores IV*, 371; *PL* 137, col.302B).

<sup>86</sup> Ibn Khaldūn names Aṣḥab̄h ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Nabīl as archbishop (أصبغ بن عبد الله ابن نبيل الجاثليق) under al-Ḥakam II in 961-2 (*Kitāb al-‘ibar wa dīwān al-mubtadi*’ edited by anonymous in seven volumes (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-Lubnānī, 1958), IV.315).

<sup>87</sup> Christys, ‘Picnic at Madīnat al-Zahrā’’, 88.

<sup>88</sup> On the subject of Simonet and others’ creative or fantastic use of evidence, see Guichard’s article ‘Les mozarabes de Valence et d’al-Andalus entre l’histoire et le mythe’.



distinguishes as much between the discreet religio-political regions of the Christian principalities of the Iberian North as between Christian North and the southern territory under Muslim governance. But the geographical understanding is important because it impacts upon another term whose meaning has shifted since its genesis, but which is key to determining the parameters of the present work – the term Mozarab.

Though, strictly speaking, a term pertaining to the specific geographical space of the Latinized northern kingdoms of León-Castile and Aragón, and to the historical period of the eleventh to thirteenth century, Mozarab was not used with much specificity then – and no more now. Following Richard Hitchcock, ‘Mozarab’ should be understood as a term referring to Arabised Christians living under Latinized Christian rule, and we shall stick unswervingly to this definition here. In the second half of the mozarabic period, from the twelfth century, northern Christian writers deviated from this original usage, starting a trend that would persist to this day. None of them were Andalusī, some not even Iberian: the Anglo-Norman Orderic Vitalis in the twelfth century, the second volume of the anonymous *Anales toledanos*, the Alfonsine *Estoria de España*, and Jacques de Vitry of Argenteuil in the diocese of Paris in the thirteenth, evidently saw the linguistic-cultural factor as decisive and expanded the term applying it also to the group that originated the Mozarabs of the north – the Andalusī Christians. This practice has continued though in many cases the people designated Mozarabs were not, or not totally, Arabised – as has been seen, Jacques de Vitry explicitly identifies the Mozarabs as a Latinized group. The Christians of mid-ninth-century Córdoba are routinely identified as Mozarabs, but they certainly cannot be said to have been Arabised to any significant degree. Eulogius talks of Arabic knowledge among the administrative and monastic classes; Albar of Arabic verse among the educated youth. Aimoin makes no mention of the language or cultural affectations of the Christians Usuard met in al-Andalus; the few named are all ecclesiastics or monastics and – bar one exception, Leovigildus, who seems to have been a layman, also went by the name ‘Abd al-Salām – all bear Latinized names: Bishop Senior of Zaragoza; Eulogius; Abbot Samson; Bishop Saul.

Amongst the myriad works on the mozarabic period, particularly at Toledo, the distinction between Mozarabs and Andalusī Christians has been blurred and lost. Because the documentation pertaining to the Toledan Mozarabs so heavily outweighs that attesting to the Andalusī *naṣārā*, the latter are often treated as a minor annexe to the phenomenon of Arabised Christianity in the Iberian Peninsula which truly flourished in the North, though they constitute its source. The documentary dearth has, combined

with ideological and religious pressures in the field's formative years up to the early twentieth century, led to a general tendency towards neglecting or downplaying the significance and even the presence of a group deemed less within reach and thus less worthy of attention. Most recently, Cyrille Aillet's important work on the development of the phenomenon of mozarabism – *Les « Mozarabes »: Christianisme, islamisation et arabisation en péninsule ibérique (IX<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècles)* – gives a great deal of attention to the indigenous Andalusī Christians up to the self-imposed *terminus ad quem* of the mid-twelfth century, which he considers, like so many others, to mark the demise of Andalusī Christianity, leaving the Mozarabs of the North as the sole bearers of an Arabised Christian culture. But we have seen that conversion may not have been as extensive as is thought.

Since the ultimate object of Aillet's attention is northern mozarabism, he studied the Andalusī Christians only in so far as their interaction with the Arabic language and their absorption of Middle Eastern culture form the foundations of mozarabism; to this end Aillet need not distinguish between Mozarab and Andalusī, for cultural-linguistic phenomenon does not respect geographical boundaries. Where Aillet contemplates both northern and southern, and ultimately focuses on the northern phenomenon, this work is determinedly and exclusively Andalusī-centric.

The second part of this thesis seeks to complement the aspect of Aillet's work that bears upon the Andalusī Christians, with some different emphases and interpretations, and expand upon it beyond the mid-twelfth century. The thesis essentially asks two questions: Did Latin die in al-Andalus? and Did Christianity die in al-Andalus? Having concentrated on Latinity and its survival in Part I, Part II focuses on the survival of Christianity itself, to show that in the mid-twelfth century the indigenous Christians constituted not a (historiographically) ephemeral but a considerable minority, and demonstrate that even the extremely impoverished historical record attests to continued survival far beyond this point and, potentially, into the fifteenth century. Where it overlaps with Aillet's work, in covering the earlier period, it does so with a different purpose and from a different angle, and offers re-evaluations of certain important dates which bear upon the progress of Arabisation. The remaining Andalusī era is divided in two: the caliphal and *taifa* periods are envisaged as a literary flourishing of Arabised Christianity though Aillet considers the latter a 'greater rupture'

than the ninth century<sup>89</sup>, while the Almoravid, Almohad and (tentatively) Naşrid Granada frame the survival of Christianity.

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<sup>89</sup> Aillet:

*l'époque des Taïfas, qui constitue localement une rupture apparemment bien plus notable que celle du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle*

the *taifa* period, which constitutes a local rupture apparently even more notable than that of the ninth century

(*Les « Mozarabes »*, 80).

## Chapter VIII

### The Flourishing of Arabised Andalusī Christianity Part I: the Caliphate (929-c.1031)

After the classical studies, the profusion of martyrological, apologetic, polemic and poetic works produced in the second half of the ninth century, the Christians of Córdoba and of al-Andalus produced scarcely any literary material besides the epigraphic discussed above, and might thus appear to be a suddenly diminished presence in the early tenth century, though they are attested as a rural phenomenon in the same period in the Arabic record, with the insurgency of Ibn Ḥafṣūn and his Christian allies in the South, and Ibn Ḥawqal's report at the end of the 950s. They return in the middle of the century as producers of literary documents with a wave of works indicating the profound Arabisation of the lettered classes. Some could speak Arabic and were studying Arabic literature in the mid-ninth century; enough were fully Arabised by the mid-tenth to warrant Scripture's translation into Arabic. Eulogius reported that many of his martyrs were bilingual and implied that three – Perfectus, Emila and Hieremias – studied Arabic in the 850s, presumably at their *alma maters* the monastery of St Acisclus and basilica of St Cyprian, but it appears to have been in the tenth century that the lettered Christians' engagement with Arabic bore fruit in the rise of an Arabised Christianity and Arabised Scripture.

In his recent study on the Arabisation of al-Andalus, Cyrille Aillet rightly cites the ninth century as a pivotal point in the development of an Arabised-Islamic Andalusī culture, but he goes further, as have others, to argue that Latin Christian literature died and Arabic Christian literature was born in the autumn years of that century.<sup>1</sup> The tenth

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<sup>1</sup> Aillet asserts, *passim*, that the ninth century was a turning point, and that the pivotal point itself can be seen in the protest of the Cordoban 'martyr movement':

century has been proposed elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> Aillet's interest lies in the cultural matrix of Arabised Christianity that would be preserved and expressed in Toledo and elsewhere in the northern peninsula. Once the (heavily documented) flourishing of mozarabic Toledo eclipsed them, Aillet turned away from the indigenous Christians of the Muslim south who developed it; since northern mozarabism is his primary focus, he focuses primarily on the earlier period of transition in the south and appears to favour earlier dating in uncertain though highly significant cases.<sup>3</sup>

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*le mouvement des martyrs de Cordoue exprime le sentiment d'une rupture avec l'ordre social préexistant... Celui-ci semble avoir traversé une étape décisive au cours du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle, comme le confirment des données convergentes. C'est alors qu'émergent des discours que l'on peut qualifier d'identitaires, car ils témoignent d'une prise de conscience des évolutions sociales qui réduisent désormais l'élément chrétien à un rôle minime au sein d'une société massivement islamique: conversions, mariages interconfessionnels, attraction des élites vers l'islam, érosion des ressources de la communauté par la fiscalité omeyyade*

the movement of the martyrs of Córdoba expresses the feeling of a rupture with the pre-existing social order... [Andalusī Christianity] seems to have passed a decisive milestone in the course of the ninth century, as the convergent sources confirm. The discourse then emerging can thus be described as one focussed on identity, for it testifies to a realisation of social developments that from that point on reduced the Christian element to a minimal role in the midst of an overwhelmingly Islamic society: conversions, interfaith marriages, the elite's attraction to Islam, the erosion of the community's resources by Umayyad taxation

(*Les « Mozarabes »*, 37-8... 312). See also: Kassis, 'The Mozarabs II' in *The Literature of al-Andalus* edited by María Rosa Menocal, Raymond P. Scheindlin and Michael Sells (Cambridge: CUP, 2000), 420; Monferrer Sala, 'Unas notas sobre los 'textos árabes cristianos andalusíes'', *Asociación Española de Orientalistas* 38 (2002), 157. H.D. Miller also sees Albar's lament as witness of Arabic's deposing Latin as the language of Christian high culture in the mid-ninth century ('The Mozarabs' in *The Literature of al-Andalus*, 419).

<sup>2</sup> Gallego puts the loss of Latin and linguistic Arabisation in the tenth century ('The Languages of Medieval Iberia', 130).

<sup>3</sup> An example of Aillet's preference for early dates is the matter of Ximénez de Rada's Bishop John of Seville:

*Et in isto medio fuit apud Hispalim gloriosus et sanctissimus Ioannes Episcopus, qui ab Arabibus Caeit almatran vocabatur, et magna scientia in lingua Arabica claruit, multis miraculorum operationibus gloriosus efulsit, qui etiam sacras Scripturas catholicis expositionibus declaravit, quas in formationem posterorum Arabice conscriptas relinquit*

At this time there was at Seville the glorious and most holy Bishop John, who was called *sa'īd al-matrān* by the Arabs, and who shone with his great knowledge of the Arabic language, shone glorious in his many workings of miracles, who even revealed the sacred Scriptures which he left written in Arabic

(*Historia de Rebus Hispaniae*.IV.3, Fernández Valverde, 118). The identity of this bishop is disputed, for the context is far from clear, though it does suggest the Almoravid or Almohad scene. Dominique Urvoy puts John in the eleventh century; Gildemeister and Lagarde both identify John as a twelfth or thirteenth-century bishop whose death the latter dated 1237. Tisserant and Roberto Marín Guzmán put him in the ninth century, as does Aillet, also positing this bishop John as the *initiateur du mouvement d'arabisation* and the John who corresponded with Albar. This cannot be so for Albar sends his greetings to John's wife (*Epistulae*.II.3.4-5, *CSM* 1:153). One would not expect him to be close to a man who busied himself with translating Scripture into Arabic; Albar, who condemned the pursuit of Arabic for secular purposes, would not have cultivated such a close friendship as that evident in the letters. He could not have praised his erudition, he would have excoriated him. See: Aillet, *Les « Mozarabes »*, 214-5; Gildemeister, Johann, *De Evangeliiis in Arabicum e Simplicis Syriaca Translatis Commentatio* (Bonn: Adolph Marcus, 1865), 45; Lagarde, Paul Anton de, *Die vier Evangelien arabisch aus der Wiener Handschrift herausgegeben von Paul de Lagarde* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1864), xii-xvi; Marín Guzmán, *Sociedad, política y protesta popular*, 114; Tisserant, Eugène, 'Une feuille arabo-latine de l'épître aux Galates',

Aillet based his judgement on Arabisation in part on the polemical testimony of Eulogius and Paul Albar regarding mixed marriage and acculturation; on the Arabic annotation in the *Codex Ovetense* and the palimpsest containing Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica*, which both left Andalusī territory in the late ninth century or early tenth<sup>4</sup>; and on an important identification which has long had more to do with convenience than sound historical fact – namely that of the priest translator and poet Ḥafṣ ibn al-Barr al-Qūṭī. One immediate response would be to note that the dating of *marginalia* is by no means an exact science, as can be seen in the variances of centuries between one researcher's judgement and another. Consider the gulf of opinion between Aillet and Koningsveld on the matter of an extended Arabic note in the margins of Archdeacon Evantius of Toledo's letter *Contra eos qui immundum putant esse sanguinem* in a ninth-century codex of the Escorial<sup>5</sup>: Aillet placed it in ninth-century Andalusī Córdoba, Koningsveld in twelfth-century mozarabic Toledo.<sup>6</sup>

There is further evidence of Arabic-monickered individuals in the North prior to the movement of the *Codex Ovetense*, again of the political-religious class: on 5 March 874 a layman bearing the name Zāhid signed a charter of donation in León<sup>7</sup>; four years later in Astorga, ten Arabised men, including one priest, *Aiuf*, signed a document drafted on 6 June 878.<sup>8</sup> As for Albar's famous and over-used lament, the most recent

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*Revue biblique* 19 (1910), 327; Urvoy, Dominique, *Pensers d'al-Andalus: la vie intellectuelle à Cordoue et Seville au temps des empires berberes (fin XI<sup>e</sup> siècle – debut XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 1990), 27.

<sup>4</sup> Aillet, *Les « Mozarabes »*, 158-60.

<sup>5</sup> San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio, ms &.I.14. For the text of the annotation see: Morata, 'Las notas árabes del Cod. & I-14', 635-9.

<sup>6</sup> Aillet, *Les « Mozarabes »*, 162-3; 'Recherches sur le christianisme arabisé', 120-1; Koningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic Glossary of the Leiden University Library: a contribution to the study of Mozarabic manuscripts and literature* (Leiden: New Rhine Publishers, 1977), 50.

<sup>7</sup> Bishop Fronimius of León's charter of donation:

*Factum testamenti die tertio nonas Mrs. discurrente Era DCCCCXII regnante Domino nostro Domino Adefonso in Asturiam... Fronimius licet indignus Eps. in hoc testamentum quod fieri volui manu mea... Zahed ts.*

(*Colección documental del archivo de la catedral de León (775-1230): I (775-952)* edited by Emilio Sáez (León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación « San Isidoro» (C.S.I.C.-CECEL); Caja de Ahorros y Monte de Piedad; Archivo Histórico Diocesano, 1987), 13-4 (no. 6); *España sagrada XXXIV: contiene el estado antiguo de la Santa Iglesia esenta de Leon* compiled by Manuel Risco (Madrid: Imprenta de Don Pedro Marin, 1784), 430). On the ninth-century migration of Arabised folk, see: Aillet, *Les « Mozarabes »*, 271-3; Aguilar Sebastián, Victoria, and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, 'Antroponimia de origen árabe en la documentación leonesa (siglos VIII-XIII)' in *Estructura social de la ciudad de León (siglos XI-XIII)* edited by Carlos Estepa Díaz (León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación « San Isidoro » - Caja España de Inversiones - Archivo Histórico Diocesano, 1977), 588-598; Fernández Conde, Javier, 'Poblaciones foráneas: mozárabe, musulmana y judía en el reino de León' in *Monarquía y sociedad en el reino de León. De Alfonso III a Alfonso VII. Congreso Internacional, León 25-28 de octubre de 2006* (León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación « San Isidoro » - Caja España de Inversiones - Archivo Histórico Diocesano, 2007), 1.763-891.

<sup>8</sup> Arabic-named signatories of the document drawn up by the notary Argimirus for Bishop Indisclus of Astorga on 10 November 878, five months after its agreement on 6 June:



pronouncements on the matter utterly dismiss the widespread use of Albar's lament as credible historical record because of the showy rhetorical and viciously polemical use to which his words are so often put.<sup>9</sup>

This chapter is intended to argue that the 850s are too early to place the large-scale and profound Arabisation and Islamisation Aillet and others envisage, for it is a development not indicated beyond a smattering of individuals in lettered monastic-ecclesiastical and urban political circles in Eulogius, Albar, Samson or Ibn al-Qūṭīya's work (to this group can be added doctors, who were exclusively Christian until 'Abd al-Raḥmān II's emirate)<sup>10</sup> – these are the groups expected by sociolinguists to adopt the tongue of the ruling classes because their careers could benefit from Arabisation.<sup>11</sup>

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*Dominum Indisclum Episcopum in Civitate Astorica IIII.id.Novembris in Era DCCCCXVI... Aiuf Presbyter confirmat... Taref confirmat. Alef confirmat... Mutarrafe confirmat. Ababdella confirmat. Abderahana confirmat. Taurel confirmat. Alualit confirmat... Aiza confirmat. Bindup confirmat*

(Quintana Prieto, Augusto, *El obispado de Astorga en los siglos IX y X* (Astorga: Archivo Diocesano de Astorga, 1968), 33-5; *España sagrada XVI: de la Santa Iglesia de Astorga* (Madrid: Imprenta de Don Gabriel Ramírez, 1762), 426).

<sup>9</sup> Diego Olstein writes:

*El carácter retórico de este documento no nos permite extraer conclusiones determinantes acerca del empleo del árabe*

The rhetorical nature of this document does not permit us to extract any firm conclusions about the use of Arabic

(‘El péndulo mozárabe’, 41). See also: Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 10. Marie Thérèse Urvoy rightly notes that, despite the problems it poses, Albar's lament has become central to the vexed debate concerning Christian conversion and cultural assimilation:

*Toute la question sur l'arabisation des chrétiens d'al-Andalus a tourné, jusqu'à présent, autour d'un célèbre passage de l'Indiculus Luminosus d'Álvaro de Cordoue*

The whole question of the Arabisation of the Christians of al-Andalus has turned, until the present day, upon a celebrated passage of Albar of Córdoba's *Indiculus Luminosus*

(*Le Psautier mozarabe de Hafis le Goth* (Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 1994), xiv).

<sup>10</sup> Ibn Juljul tells us that

كان يعول في الطب بالأندلس، على كتاب مترجم من كتب النصارى، يقال له الأبريشم... وكان

قوم من النصارى يتطيّبون، ولم تكن لهم بصارة بصناعة الطب والفلسفة والهندسة في أيام عبد

الرحمن بن الحكم

medical science in al-Andalus relied upon the book called *al-Abrīshim*, translated from the Christians' books... and the Christians [alone] practiced medicine, but in the days of 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥakam knowledge of the vocation of doctor, philosopher, and engineering [was no longer] their secret

(*Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, 92). Sayyid identifies this *al-Abrīshim* as the *Aphorismoi* of Hippocrates (*Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, 7). See also: Castells, Margarita, 'Medicine in al-Andalus until the fall of the Caliphate' in *The Formation of al-Andalus Part 2*, 395 (translated by Michael Kennedy from the original 'La medicina en al-Andalus (hasta la caída del Califato)' in *El legado científico andalusí: Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid, abril-junio 1992* edited by Juan Vernet and Julio Samsó Moya (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1992), 41-51).

<sup>11</sup> Researchers of sociolinguistics note the expectation that acculturation should come first amongst those who stood to gain professionally and financially. David Hanlon notes that the Christian medics included in the biographical work of Ibn Juljul are a perfect example of Arabic's lure on the upper strata of Cordoban society:

None gives any indication of the language of the masses. If – and it is perhaps doubtful – he wrote for a home audience, the fact that Eulogius produced a body of hagiographical texts in Latin would suggest that the Christian nobility remained Latinate and perhaps that the masses, for whom the lives of the saints were a staple of popular cult, still spoke a vernacular Latin tongue that they could benefit from his Latin passionary.

Islam and Arabic do not seem to have stamped their mark on Andalusī society heavily enough to have effected widespread acculturation by the mid-ninth century; ‘Abd al-Raḥmān II’s patronage of Arabic arts was just the beginning, the moment when Christians like Eulogius and Albar sat up and took note of the otherness of the ruling classes and of those who had entered the peninsula. Still, they did not know what to make of it; Samson was the first to use the term Muslim, rendering it, in the biblical tradition, as ‘Muslimite’ (*muzlemita*).<sup>12</sup> Eulogius even appears to identify the Mezquita as the only mosque in Córdoba.<sup>13</sup> Albar’s bitter complaint about the young Christian elite taking up Arabic poetry is famous. The contempt in which he holds Muslims and the Arabic language – which Eulogius calls *lingua fallax*<sup>14</sup> and Albar himself condemns as the language of unreason<sup>15</sup> – is palpable. Ḥafṣ al-Qūfī, Albar’s putative son, refers to earlier substandard attempts to render Scripture in Arabic; if he were indeed ninth-century, and Albar’s contemporary churchmen had been immersing themselves in Arabic without prejudice and employing it as a medium for Scripture, we would expect him to have reacted with the furious hyperbole that so often dominates his tone. He remains silent, however, and it seems reasonable consequently to suppose that there were no such endeavours at that time. One might also point to the chasm between Eulogius and Albar’s garbled Islamic formulae and al-Qūfī’s sophisticated classical Arabic verse. It might also be noted that Aimoin has precious little to say about Islam in his *De Translatione*; it seems to have made little impression on his witnesses Usuard and Odilard in 857-8; they were not ignorant for they had direct contact with Samson

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It was only natural for the young and upwardly-mobile of Córdoba to imitate the fashions and linguistic habits of the ruling classes, and regard their native Romance traditions with scorn. We have biographical sketches of a number of these individuals, especially those who embarked on careers as physicians in the ninth and tenth centuries (Hanlon, David, ‘A sociolinguistic view of *hazl* in the Andalusian Arabic *muwashshaḥ*’, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 60.1 (1997), 39). See also: Gallego, ‘The Languages of Medieval Iberia’, 126.

<sup>12</sup> Samson uses *Muzlemita* at least seven times, the first instance being *Apologeticus.II.praefatio.3.7*, *CSM* 2:551.

<sup>13</sup> Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum.II.13.1.10*, *CSM* 2:432.

<sup>14</sup> Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum.I.praefatio.2.7*, *CSM* 2:367.

<sup>15</sup> Albar, *Indiculus Luminosus.27.1-5*, *CSM* 1:301.

and Saul among others, and knew something of the Muslims' religious alterity, calling them *Sarraceni*, *Mauri*, *pagani*, *ministri diaboli*.<sup>16</sup> If this was truly the pivotal point at which cultural assimilation was having a profound impact, with Arabic overtaking Latin and Islam outstripping Christianity, we would expect the Parisians to report something of the disgust that we find in John of Gorze's encounters a century later, or indeed that of Eulogius and Albar.

This chapter argues that the developments of literary, and specifically scriptural, theological, Arabisation which Aillet locates in the mid-ninth century, played out in the mid-to late tenth century, and that despite Eulogius and Albar's fears, the Christian demographic remained large, active and culturally vital.

### **Urban rebellion in Córdoba: post-Eulogian martyrdom**

Ibn Ḥafṣūn did not have a monopoly on tenth-century civil unrest. Recourse was still being made to spiritual rebellion too. Where the recording of ninth-century martyrdom was an exclusively Latin preserve – Eulogius' martyrs went unattested except by Aimoin and Usuard, none of them are mentioned in the Arabic record<sup>17</sup> – the tenth century finds Arabic writers engaging with Christian martyrdom, while the Christian voice, both Latin and Arabic, for the most part remains silent. Three martyrs and a failed attempt all in the voluntary Eulogian mould are reported in the first decades of the tenth century.

Though he offers no reference, Lévi-Provençal reported the martyrdom of a woman named as Dhabha during reign of the emir 'Abd Allāh (888-912). She had denounced Allāh and Muḥammad and was condemned to be burned at the stake by the *qāḍī*, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ziyād al-Lakhmī (died 924). Christys has doubts,<sup>18</sup> and it is possible that the name Dhabha is symbolic: it does not strike one as either very Visigothic or Ibero-Roman, and could be derived from the Arabic root *dh-b-ḥ* whence

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<sup>16</sup> Aimoin, *De Translatione*.1, 11, 12, PL 115, col.941B, 946A. Tolan notes that 'Whatever the two may have learned about Islam on their trip to Córdoba he does not deem it worth reporting' (*Saracens*, 101).

<sup>17</sup> See: Fernández Félix, *Cuestiones legales del Islam temprano*, 471; Fierro, 'Andalusian *fatāwā* on blasphemy', *Annales Islamologiques* 25 (1991), 104.

<sup>18</sup> Christys:

This brief reference to Dhabha comes from a legal text comprising a collection of judgements compiled some fifty years later and it is not clear whether Dhabha suffered the prescribed punishment, or whether this is just a textbook example

(*Christians in al-Andalus*, 81). See also: Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, I.231-2. Wolf mentions the woman, whom he names as Dhabba, citing Lévi-Provençal as his source (*Christian Martyrs*, 34).

comes *dhabḥ* (ذَبَحَ) ‘slaughter’ and *dhibḥ* (ذَبِحَ) ‘sacrificial victim’. This may be the same episode as that recorded by Abū Aṣḥbagh ‘Īsā ibn Sahl (died 1093) in his *al-Ahkām al-kubrā* (*Major Rulings*), in which an unnamed Christian woman (نصرانية) who declared her Christianity before witnesses in the court of the same *qāḍī*, and presumably insulted Islam, was executed.<sup>19</sup>

The contemporary Tunisian *faqīh* al-Khushanī (died 981) reports two further incidents in the second decade of the tenth century. A man was foiled in his attempted martyrdom by a bemused chief *qāḍī* Aslam ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (in office 913-22):

I heard someone say that a man among the Christians came seeking his own death. Aslam reprimanded him, saying: ‘Woe unto you! Who tempted you with your life so that you would end it though you have committed no crime?’ For he was influenced by the folly and ignorance of the Christians to win advantage for himself, though no such thing was established by Jesus son of Miryam – may God bless Muḥammad and him! [The Christian] said to the *qāḍī*, ‘Do you think that when you kill me I will be dead?’ The *qāḍī* said to him, ‘So who will killed?’ He said: ‘My likeness will light upon any old body, it is that which you will kill; as for me, in that moment I shall rise up to heaven’

Aslam shows the man the error of his ways by demonstrating the unity of body and soul:

He ordered him to be whipped, and when the lashes overcame him he began writhing and shouting. Aslam said to him: ‘On whose back do these lashes fall?’ And he said, ‘On my back’. Aslam said to him: ‘And thus, by God, the sword shall fall on your neck, so fantasise no more’<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> See the excerpted text of Ibn Sahl, *Mustakhraja min makḥṭūṭ al-ahkām al-kubrā* ‘li-l-qāḍī Abī al-Aṣḥbagh ‘Īsā ibn Sahl edited by Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Wahhāb Khallāf (Cairo: al-Maṭba‘a al-‘Arabīya al-Ḥadītha, 1980), 28. Many thanks to Ann Christys for this information. See also: Safran, ‘Identity and Differentiation’, 589. Safran does not offer a reference.

<sup>20</sup> Al-Khushanī:

وسمعت من يحكى أنه جاء رجل من النصارى مستقتلا لنفسه فوبخه أسلم وقال: ويلك من أغراك بنفسك أن تقتلها بلا ذنب، فبلغ من سخف النصارى وجهله إلى أن انتحل له فضيلة لم يقرأ لمثلها لعيسى بن مريم صلى الله على محمد وعليه، فقال للقاضى: وتتوهم إذا قتلتنا أنا المقتول؟ فقال له القاضى: ومن المقتول؟ فقال له: شبهى يلقى على حسد من الأجساد فتقتله وأنا فأرفع في تلك الساعة إلى السماء... أمر بضربه فلما أخذته الشياط جعل يقلق ويصبح فقال له أسلم: في ظهري من تقع هذه الشياط؟ فقال: في ظهري قال له أسلم: وكذلك السيف والله في عنقك تقع فلا تتوهم غير ذلك

(*Quḍāt Qurṭuba*, 106-9). An English translation of this passage can be found in Melville, Charles and Ahmad Ubaydli, *Christians and Moors in Spain Volume III: Arabic Sources* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1992), 40-1.

Around the same time a woman named as Dalja<sup>21</sup> by al-Wansharīsī was rather more successful:

The leaders of the Council of Córdoba were questioned about a Christian woman named Dalja who asserted her right as a Christian, and then began to deny the divinity of God the Exalted and Glorious. And she said that Jesus is God – God is so much higher than what she said – she went on to say that Muḥammad lied when he called himself a prophet – may God bless him and grant him salvation! ... her lies... certainly make her deserving of death, and of being brought quickly to the fire, may God’s curse be upon her<sup>22</sup>

It is impossible to date these incidents with any certainty beyond the lifetimes of those *qāḍīs* involved, but they go some way to show that, preceded by some, Adulphus and John among them, and succeeded by others, Eulogius’ martyrs were not the epoch-defining phenomenon they have been built up to be. In April of 923 the Christians reclaimed martyrdom. A fragmentary epitaph discovered in 1544 by Morales in central Córdoba celebrates the death of one Eugenia, ‘our victorious one’ who ‘deservedly flourishes henceforth in heaven for all time... [for] seeking the glory of the sacred reward for her bloodshed’<sup>23</sup>. Two years later, a nobleman named John appears to be presented as another martyr, for his epitaph, dated 6 August 925, says that he is ‘set in the heavens, ruling with Christ’, echoing Eulogius’ designation of the martyr as Christ’s co-regent.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Emilio García Gómez sees Dalja as an Arabisation of Dulcea, which seems plausible (‘Dulce, mártir mozárabe de comienzos del siglo X’, *Al-Andalus* 19.2 (1954) 451-4).

<sup>22</sup> Al-Wansharīsī:

وسئل شيوخ الشورى بقرطبة عن نصرانية تسمت بدلجة زعمت انها نصرانية، فاستهلت بنفي الربوبية عن الله عزّ وجلّ، وقالت إن عيسى هو الله، تعالى الله عما قالت علواً كبيراً، وخرجت إلى أن قالت وإن محمداً كذب فيما ادعاه من لنبوة صلى الله عليه وسلم تكذيبها... قد وجب عليها القتل وتعجيلها إلى نار الحامية، عليها لعنة الله

(*al-Mi‘yār al-mu‘rib*), II.344. An alternative English translation of this passage can be found in Melville and Ubaydli, *Christians and Moors in Spain Volume III*, 40-3.

<sup>23</sup> The epitaph attributed to Eugenia reads:

[...]BOX QVOQVE N[ost]RA  
VICTRIX...  
IN C[a]ELO DEHINC MERITA PER S[a]ECULA VIBENS...  
AMBIENS SACRI GL[ori]AM DE MERCE CRVORIS...  
IDEM SVB ERA NOBIES CENTVM IVGLATVR  
SEXAGIES ET VNO SEPTEM DE KALENDIS  
[...] S[e]PTA[m] APRIL[i]S

(Castejón Calderón, ‘Los mozárabes del siglo VIII al X’, , 229-30; Flórez presents a slightly different but still very fragmentary reading, *España sagrada X*, 462-3; *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, [220], 72; Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l’Espagne musulmane*, II.21n1).

<sup>24</sup> John’s epitaph reads:

...IOHANNES EXIMIVS...  
CVM CHRISTO REGNET PIVM QVEM COLVIT D[ominu]M  
EXPLEBIT CVRSVM OCTABO IDVS A[u]GVSTAS

## Christians of standing and influence in tenth-century society

The indigenous Christians remained a numerical majority, without doubt a dominant force in the countryside; they were also still represented by an educated urban elite who, despite the inflammatory actions of a few malcontents, maintained a prominent position in society in the emiral – and then early caliphal – capital.<sup>25</sup> Several tenth-century Christians receive honourable mention in the physician Ibn Juljul's (943-c.994) biographical dictionary of his medical colleagues, the *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā' wa al-ḥukumā'* (*Generations of Physicians and Wise Men*), completed in 987.<sup>26</sup> Despite their *dhimmi* status these men clearly represent the highest levels of medical learning and practice and enjoy the same status they had in the previous century.<sup>27</sup> The entries of Ibn

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SEXDENVM ET SEPTEM [a]ETATIS VIT[a]E PERAGENS  
NVNGENTESIMA SEX DECIES VEL TRIA SVB ERA

Castejón, 'Los mozárabes del siglo VIII al X', 230; Fernández-Guerra, Aureliano, 'Nuevas inscripciones de Córdoba y Porcuna', *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 11 (1887), 175; Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, 365; *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae: Supplementum* [455], 100; Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, 834-5. See Eulogius' encouragement of Flora and Maria to take the step from confessor to martyr:

*qui uos ad hunc peragendum agonem elegit, quo deuictis aduersitatum stimulis secum iure perenni conregnare faciat temporibus infinitis*

Christ] chose you to undertake this contest, and having overcome the torments of adversities in it, he shall allow you to co-rule with him with eternal law for all time

(*Documentum Martyriale*.13.4-6, *CSM* 2:468).

<sup>25</sup> See: Kassis, 'A glimpse of openness in medieval society: Al-Ḥakam II of Córdoba and his non-Muslim collaborators' in ...*The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways... festschrift in Honor of János M. Bak* edited by Balázs Nagy and Marcell Sebök (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1999), 160-6.

<sup>26</sup> For more on Ibn Juljul and his work, see: Pioreschi, Plinio, *A History of Medicine Volume IV: Byzantine and Islamic Medicine* (Omaha: Horatius Press, 2001), 340-3.

<sup>27</sup> Albar had written a fawning letter to one *Romanus medicus* whom he praises as *Serenissimo homnium catholicorum summo domino meo* (*Epistulae*.IX.address, *CSM* 1:211). Sage and Colbert take this as indication that Romanus had held the post of *comes*, the highest civil office (*honnium catholicorum summo*) of the Christians (Sage, *Paul Albar*, 33; Colbert, *Martyrs of Córdoba*, 107). Ibn Juljul identifies another mid-ninth-century Cordoban doctor, named Khālir ibn Yazīr ibn Rūmān, of international standing and apparently the scion of a medical family:

خالر بن يزير

[بن] رومان النصراني: كان بارعاً في الطب، ناهضاً في زمانه فيه، وكان سكناه بيعة شنت اجلج

.وكانت داره، الدار المعروفة بدار ابن الشطجيري الشاعر. وكسب بالطب الأموال والعقار، بنى

الحمام المنسوب إليه الذي يجنب داره، وكان صانعا بيده، عالماً بالأدوية الشجارية، وظهرت منه

في البلد منافع، وكتب إليه نسطاس بن جريج الطبيب المصري، رسالة في البول. وأعقب إنا سماه

يزيد، ولم يرع في الطب براعة أبيه

He stood out in the exercise of medicine and was pre-eminent among his colleagues in this art. He lived near the church of Shantu Ajliju [Saint Acisclus] and his house was known as 'the house of al-Shaṭjīrī the poet'. Thanks to medicine he acquired wealth and property, and built, next to his house, the bathhouse that took his name. He was skilful; he knew much about herbal drugs, whose advantages were manifest in the city thanks to Naṣṭās ibn Juraīj, the Egyptian doctor, to whom he wrote a letter about urine. He had a son whose name was Khālir, but he did not have such fame as his father



Malūka and Ishāq offer a view of a still-integrated society in which Christians were respected by their Muslim colleagues into the 960s at least:

Ibn Malūka the Christian:

His house was known as the house of Khalaf the post master, which is on the riverbank. He lived in the last days of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān [III] al-Nāṣir’s reign. He worked with his own hand and practiced the opening of veins. Inside the door of his house there were 30 chairs for people to sit...

Ishāq the doctor:

The father of the *wazīr* Ibn Ishāq, he lived near the mosque of Ṭāhir. He was Christian. He operated with his own hand, an experienced man. His works are considered great and his deeds wondrous. His experience exceeded that of all his contemporaries. He lived during the reign of the emir ‘Abd Allāh, then he was known in the reign of the defender of the faith of God, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad<sup>28</sup>

Ibn Juljul also offers anecdotal evidence for monastic learning in the medical field, and of interaction between monastic houses and Muslim elements of society. He relates that when ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III – called *amīr al-mu’minīn* or Emir of the Faithful (أمير المؤمنين), so placing the incident pre-929 and the declaration of the Cordoban Caliphate – was suffering from an ear infection – ‘otitis that has resisted the [Muslim] doctors’ (أذنه أعيا) – (الاطباء) – it was to a monastic house that the court turned:

the *wazīr* and *qā’id* of Badajoz [Yaḥyā bin Ishāq] headed down the road to one of the Christian monasteries and asked for one of the learned men. A man advanced in years

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(*Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, 96; Ibn Abī Uṣā’ibī’a, *Uyūn al-anbā’ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’* edited by August Muller (Farnborough: Gregg International, 1972), 486. So respected was Ibn Rūmān that a Coptic treatise on urine was (a dubious honour perhaps) dedicated to him in the ninth-century, possibly by this Nastās ibn Juraīj. See: Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain*, 361; Aillet, ‘Identité chrétienne, arabisation et conversion à Cordoue au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle’ in *Les chrétiens dans la ville* edited by Jacques-Olivier Boudon and Françoise Thelamon (Mont-Saint-Aignan: Publications des Universités de Rouen et du Havre, 2006), 73.

<sup>28</sup> Ibn Juljul:

ابن ملوكة النصراني

كانت داره، الدار المعروفة بدار خلف صاحب البرد، التي بالجرف. وكان في آخر أيام الأمير عبد الله، وأول دولة الأمير عبد الرحمن الناصر. وكان يصنع بيده، ويفصد العروق، وكان على باب داره ثلاثون كرسيًا لقعود الناس...

إسحاق الطبيب

والد الوزير ابن إسحاق وكان سكناه بقرب مسجد طاهر، مسيحي النحلة. وكان صانعًا بيده، مجرنا. تحكى له منافع عظيمة، وآثار عجيبة، وتحنك فاق به جميع أهل دهره. وكان في أيام الأمير عبد الله، ثم ظهرت دولة الناصر لدين الله عبد الرحمن بن محمد

(*Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, 97-8); Ibn Abī Uṣā’ibī’a, *‘Uyūn al-anbā’ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, 485-6).

was called; [Ibn Ishāq] asked him: ‘Do you have experience treating otitis?’ The old man replied: ‘Warm dove’s blood’<sup>29</sup>

In the *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’* and *Maqāla thāmina (The Eighth Treaty)*<sup>30</sup>, a continuance of Dioscurides’ *De Materia Medica*, Ibn Juljul uses passages of Jerome<sup>31</sup>, Orosius<sup>32</sup>, and Isidore<sup>33</sup>, leading Christys to consider him ‘an intermediary between Latin and Arabic scholarship’<sup>34</sup>. It is necessary to assume that he worked with indigenous Christians capable of reading and communicating technical details at a high level in both Latin and Arabic – perhaps his contemporary Ibn Maluka. Similar intersections were made between Christian and Muslim in the fields of theoretical science. In Zaragoza, it was acceptable for members of the learned Muslim ‘*ulamā*’<sup>35</sup> to take instruction from Christian ecclesiastics. According to Ibn Abī ‘Uṣaībi‘a’s biographical work ‘*Uyūn al-anbā’*’, the physician Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Kattānī trained in philosophy under a bishop, in the latter half of the tenth century:

The *qāḍī* al-Sā‘d says: ‘He was a man of penetrating intellect, sharp of mind, faultless of perception, outstanding in his profession of the unity of God and the glorification of God...’, he says: ‘I read in one of his volumes that he learned the vocation of the dialectician from [among many others]... Bishop Abū al-Ḥarith, student of the philosopher Bishop Rabī‘ ibn Zaīd’<sup>36</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Ibn Juljul:

فخرج في طريقه إلى بعض أديار النصارى، وسأل عن عالم هالك فوجد رجلا مسنا مسأل هل عندك من تجربة لوجع الاذن؟ فقال له الشيخ الراهب دم الحمام حارا

(*Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, 95-6).

<sup>30</sup> Also known as the *Maqāla fī dhikr al-adwīyat allatī lam yadhurkā Diyūsqrīdis fī kitābihi*, and the *Maqāla nadhkuru fīhā mā qaṣṣara Diyūsqrīdis ān dhikrihi fī kitābi*. For a study containing the Arabic text and a Castilian translation, see: *Ibn Yulyul: Tratado octavo* translated by Ildefonso Garijo Galán (Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba, 1992).

<sup>31</sup> Ibn Juljul twice refers to the authority of *Yarūnīmu al-tarjumān* or ‘Jerome the translator’ (*Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, 3, 36).

<sup>32</sup> Orosius is cited as an authority three times (*Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, 11, 12, 36).

<sup>33</sup> Ibn Juljul quotes Isidore’s *Etymologiae*.VI.xi.1 on the matter of the kings of Pergamum and the invention of parchment (*Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, 41).

<sup>34</sup> Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 139. See also: Le Coz, Raymond, *Les chrétiens dans la médecine arabe* (Paris: L’Harmattan, 2006), chapter six.

<sup>35</sup> ‘*Ulamā*’ (علماء): the community of learned scholars, from ‘*ālim* (عالم), ‘scholar’.

<sup>36</sup> Ibn Abī ‘Uṣaībi‘a:

قال القاضي الصاعد... إنه كان دقيق الذهن، ذكي الخاطر، جيد الفهم، حسن التوحيد والتسييح... قال وقرأت في بعض تأليفه انه أخذ صناعة المنطق عن... وابي الحرث الاسقف تلميذ ربيع بن زيد الاسقف الفيلسوف

(‘*Uyūn al-anbā’ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, 491-2). For a French translation, see: Jahier, Henri and Abdelkader Noureddine, *Sources d’informations sur les classes des médecins* (Algiers: Librairie Ferraris, 1958), 34-5. See also: Koningsveld, Peter Sjoerd van, ‘Christian Arabic Literature from Medieval Spain: an attempt at periodization’ in *Christian Arabic Apologetics during the Abbasid Period (750-1258)* edited by Samir Khalil Samir and Jørgen S. Nielsen (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 215; ‘La literatura cristiano-árabe de la España medieval y el significado de la transmisión textual en árabe de la “Collectio conciliorum”’ in *Actas del*

So we have a Muslim well-respected among the *fuqahā'* for his piety and intellect which qualities were in no way prejudiced by the fact of his having studied under non-Muslim teachers who were even high-ranking members of the Church.

A bishop Rabī' is thought to have served 'Abd al-Raḥmān III in an embassy Ibn Idhārī reports being sent to Emperor Otto I in 953.<sup>37</sup> Ibn Khaldūn identifies the head of the delegation as a bishop whom he names Rabī' (ربيع), though a variant manuscript names him Rīffā' (ريفاء).<sup>38</sup> Since 1866 this Rabī' has been routinely identified with Recemundus, a bishop who features in the contemporary *Vita Johannis Gorziensis*, which closes with an account of John's embassy to Córdoba which began in late 953 or spring 954.<sup>39</sup> Liudprand of Cremona, whom Recemundus had met at Otto's court confirms his office, dedicating his *Historia Gestorum* to 'Lord Recemundus, Bishop of the Church of Elvira' (*domno Recemundo, Liberritanae ecclesiae episcopo*)<sup>40</sup>; Lévi-Provençal believed that this title was purely titular, considering the peripatetic nature of

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*Concilio III de Toledo: XIV centenario (589-1989)* (Toledo: Arzobispado de Toledo, 1991), 702; Urvoy, Dominique, *Ibn Rushd (Averroes)* translated from the French by Olivia Stewart (London: Routledge, 1991), 6, and 'La pensée religieuse des mozarabes', 421-25ff.

<sup>37</sup> Ibn 'Idhārī reports the embassy:

وفي سنة ٣٤٢، قدمت رسل هوتو ملك الصقلية على الناصر

In the year 342 [953-4] emissaries of Hütū [Otto] King of the Europeans came to ['Abd al-Raḥmān] al-Nāšir

(*Kitāb al-bayān al-mughrib* edited by G.S. Colin and Évariste Lévi-Provençal under the title *Histoire de l'Afrique du nord et de l'Espagne musulmane* (Leiden: Brill, 1951), 218). See also: Al-Hajjī, *Andalusian diplomatic relations*, 211, 215. The year 953 is quoted by the majority of modern scholars: Coope, *The Martyrs of Córdoba*, 67; Fletcher, *Moorish Spain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 67; Shipley Duckett, Eleanor, *Death and Life in the Tenth Century* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1988), 215; Thiébaux, Marcelle, *The Writings of Medieval Women* (Oxford: Routledge, 1994), 173). Tolan has 969 (*Saracens*, 97).

<sup>38</sup> Ibn Khaldūn:

وبعث مع رسل الصقلية ريفا الاسقف إلى ملكهم هوتو، ورجعوا بعد سنتين

And ['Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nāšir] sent the bishop Riffā with the ambassadors to their King Hütū [Otto], and they returned after two years

(*Kitāb al-ibar*, IV.310). Also quoted verbatim in the seventeenth century by al-Maqqarī in *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, I.342. Al-Hajjī reasons that Ibn Khaldūn means that Rabī'/ Rīffā' returned not in two years, but in the second (*Andalusian Diplomatic Relations*, 220n3).

<sup>39</sup> Dozy, and Simonet, following his lead, are responsible for popularising the identification of Rabī' and Recemundus. Dozy bases his opinion on al-Maqqarī – though his testimony is very late, only two centuries before Dozy himself – who followed Ibn Khaldūn (also late) in referring to a work he called *Kitāb taḥṣīl al-Rumān wa muṣālih al-abdān* (*The book of the Grenadine's detailed exposition of the seasons*), which we know as *The Calendar of Córdoba* since Dozy, was dedicated to al-Ḥakam II by the bishop Rabī' ibn Zaīd. See: Dozy, 'Die Cordovaner 'Arib ibn Sa'd der Secretar und Rabi' ibn Zeid der Bischof', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 20 (1866), 595-609; Simonet, *Historia de los mozarabes*, 606. On the problems with the *Calendar of Córdoba*, see below and Appendix III.

<sup>40</sup> Liutprandus Cremonensis episcopus, *Historia Gestorum Regum et Imperatorum Sive Antapodosis*.I.1, PL 136, col.789D.

the ambassadorial profession<sup>41</sup>, but that does not mean it is not indicative of a Christian community worthy of an episcopate, for the Christians of Elvira and Granada province more generally are notable by their presence into the mid-fourteenth century, as shall be seen.

In the *Vita Johannis Gorziensis*, we see a Christian community living under a caliph ‘in whose kingdom they freely practice their divine rites’<sup>42</sup>. Another bishop, John, presents the freedom born of *dhimmī* compromise:

This man was more reasonable, saying in response: ‘Consider the conditions under which we live. We are reduced to this for our sins, subject to the pagans’ power. We are forbidden by the Apostle’s word from resisting those in power. The one piece of solace left is that in the evil of such calamity they do not forbid us the use of our own laws; and when they see diligent people observing their Christianity, they honour and embrace them, at the same time they are pleased to be living in their company, [for] they are deeply horrified by the Jews. For the time being, therefore, we should be seen to bear in mind that since nothing of our religion need be given up, we should obey them in other things, and comply with their commands, in so far as these do not hinder our faith. So, it would be much better for you now to keep silent on these matters... There is no need to make a stand...’<sup>43</sup>

We have here an early expression of the much-maligned concept of *convivencia* that envisages Christians and Muslims living together in harmony: the Latin which John of Metz uses is unambiguous – the perfect passive participle *convictus* from the verb *convivere* ‘to live together, to spend one’s time in company, to dine together’<sup>44</sup>. John of Gorze does not appreciate the situation and his angry response belies his belief that this

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<sup>41</sup> Lévi-Provençal:

*Il semble que le titre d’évêque d’Elvira attribué à Recemundo fut simplement honorifique, car ses voyages successifs pour le compte du calife cordouan ne lui laissèrent guère le temps d’administrer effectivement son diocèse*

(*Histoire de l’Espagne musulmane tome 3: Le siècle du Califat de Cordoue (912-1031)* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1967), 222-3).

<sup>42</sup> Johannes Metensis:

*qui regno eius libere divinis suisque rebus utebantur*

(*Vita Johannis Gorziensis*.124 (f° 92v), Parisse, 150-1; *MGH Scriptores IV*, 373; *PL* 137, col.304A).

<sup>43</sup> Johannes Metensis:

*Ille ad haec temperatior: Considerate, ait, sub qua conditione agamus. Peccatis ad haec devoluti sumus, ut paganorum subiaceamus ditioni. Resistere potestati verbo prohibemur apostoli. Tantum hoc unum relictum est solatii, quod in tantae calamitatis malo legibus nos propriis uti non prohibent; qui quos diligentes christianitatis viderint observatores, colunt et amplectuntur, simul ipsorum convictu delectantur, cum Judaeos penitus exhorreant. Pro tempore igitur hoc videmur tenere consilii, ut quia religionis nulla infertur jactura, cetera eis obsequamur, jussisque eorum in quantum fidem non impediunt obtemperemus. Unde tibi multo satius nunc de his reticere... nulla instante necessitate, perniciosissimum concitare*

(*Vita Johannis Gorziensis*.122 (f° 92), Parisse, 148-9; *MGH Scriptores IV*, 372; *PL* 137, col.302C-303A).

<sup>44</sup> *Oxford Latin Dictionary* edited by P.G.W. Glare (3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), *ad loc.* For more on the controversial concept of *convivencia*, see: *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims and Christians in Medieval Spain* edited by Vivian B. Mann, Glick, and Dodds (New York: George Braziller, 1992); Menocal, *The Ornament of the World*; Soifer, ‘Beyond *convivencia*’, 19-35.

convivial atmosphere had already led to the adoption of circumcision among Cordoban Christians.<sup>45</sup>

The ecclesiastical elite had become Arabised enough to infiltrate and enjoy prestige in the Islamic court circles of intellectuals; they also had access to the political arena, though only in an auxiliary capacity. According to al-Rāzī – via Ibn Ḥayyān – ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III and al-Ḥakam II routinely employed ecclesiastics as ambassadors and interpreters in contacts with the Christian North. In *Sha‘bān*<sup>46</sup> / May of 941, the ‘foremost bishops of the *ahl al-dhimma* (أكابر من أساقفة أهل الذمة), *jāthulīq* (Archbishop) ‘Abbās ibn al-Mundhir of Seville, Bishop of Pechina Ya‘qūb ibn Mahrān, and ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Ḥassān Bishop of Elvira, were required to mediate with Ramiro II of León for the release of the governor of Zaragoza, Muḥammad ibn Hāshim.<sup>47</sup> On 6 *Dhū al-Ḥijja*<sup>48</sup> / Saturday 30 September 971, Cordobans *qādī* Aṣḡagh ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Nabīl, Bishop ‘Īsā bin Mansūr, *qūmis* Mu‘āwiya bin Lubb, and ‘Ubaīd Allāh ibn Qāsim, the Archbishop of Seville, joined the negotiations with ambassadors from León, Navarra, Pamplona, and Castile.<sup>49</sup> Two years later, the same Ibn Nabīl and Ibn Qāsim attended a

<sup>45</sup> Johannes Metensis:

*Ad hoc et quod omni catholicae ecclesie detestabile est et nefarium, ad ritum eorum vos audio circumcisos, cum fortis sententia apostoli reclamet: ‘Si circumcidamini, Christus vobis nihil proderit’*

and add to this that which for the whole Catholic Church is detestable and a crime. I have heard that according to their rite you people are circumcised, when the Apostle’s robust judgement declares: ‘If ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing’

(*Vita Johannis Gorziensis*.123, (f<sup>o</sup> 92), Parise, 148-9; *MGH Scriptores IV*, 372; *PL* 137, col.303A). Quotation from *Galatians* 5:2.

<sup>46</sup> *Sha‘bān* (شعبان): the eighth month of the Islamic calendar.

<sup>47</sup> Ibn Ḥayyān:

فورد كتاب محمد بن هاشم في شهر شعبان منها من جليقية إلى الناصر لدين الله، يسأله توجيه أكابر من أساقفة أهل الذمة بالأندلس للاستيثاق له من الطاغية رذمير في فدائه، فأمر الناصر لدين الله بإحضار عباس بن المنذر، جاثليق، أسقف إشبيلية، ويعقوب بن مهران، أسقف بجانة، وعبد الملك بن حسان، أسقف إلبيرة

In the month of *Sha‘bān* Muḥammad ibn Hāshim sent a letter from Jillīqīya [Galicia] to the defender of God’s faith [‘Abd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir] asking him for the guidance of the foremost bishops of the *ahl al-dhimma* in al-Andalus on whom he was relying for his ransom from the tyrant Rudhmīr. So the defender of God’s faith sent for ‘Abbas ibn al-Mundhir the *Jāthulīq* [Archbishop] of Seville, Ya‘qūb ibn Mahrān the Bishop of Pechina, and ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Ḥassān the Bishop of Elvira

(*al-Muqtabas V*, 467).

<sup>48</sup> *Dhū al-Ḥijja* (ذو الحجة): the twelfth month of the Islamic calendar.

<sup>49</sup> Ibn Ḥayyān:

وتوصل مع العجم كبار نصارى قرطبة قاضيهم أصبغ بن عبد الله ابن نبيل واسقفهم عيسى بن المنصور وقومسهم معاوية بن لب ومطران اشبيلية عبید الله بن قاسم يترجمون عنهم ولهم



meeting on 12 *Ṣafar*<sup>50</sup> 363/ 17 November 973, as interpreters for a Galician embassy.<sup>51</sup> Al-Maqqarī adds that a decade earlier, Ordoño IV [958-60], having usurped and been deposed by Sancho I of León, had engaged the services of one Walīd ibn Khaīrūn (or Khaīzūn, or Khaīzurān)<sup>52</sup>, *qāḍī* of the Cordoban Christians, likely Ibn Nabīl's predecessor, as well as 'Ubaīd Allāh ibn Qāsim, whom he indicates had previously held the office of Archbishop of Toledo.<sup>53</sup>

According to a contemporary Greek document, it was still possible for a Christian to wield autonomous power outside of the central court, to be a wealthy land owner despite Andalusī Muslim power having attained what would be its zenith after a century of Islamic culture-making. The *vita* of St Dounala, published a century ago by Fita, describes its subject, a descendent of Visigothic nobility, as just such a man before his calling:

holy and ever memorable confessor Dounala, surnamed Stephanos because he professed the sacrosanct and angelic life of the monks... ruled a certain island near Cádiz that some call Ēbertis and others Beroē<sup>54</sup>

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the foreigners were received along with some important Christians from Córdoba: its *qāḍī* Aṣḅagh ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Nabīl, Bishop 'Īsā ibn Mansūr, Count Mu'āwiya ibn Lub, and the Metropolitan of Seville, 'Ubaīd Allāh ibn Qāsim, who acted as interpreters

(*al-Muqtabis*, al-Ḥajjī edition, 64). See also: al-Rāzī, *Anales palatinos del Califa de Córdoba al-Hakam II por 'Isa ibn Ahmad al-Razi* translated into Castilian by Emilio García Gómez (Madrid: Sociedad de Estudios y Publicaciones, 1967), 32.

<sup>50</sup> *Ṣafar* (صفر): the second month of the Islamic calendar.

<sup>51</sup> Ibn Ḥayyān:

رسل حلويره... ترجمه نصاً عنهم أصبغ بن عبد الله ابن نبيل قاضي النصارى بقرطبة.. أحمد ابن عروس الموروي المتفقه بالخروج إلى حليقية رسولاً إلى العليجة حلويره... وضم إليه عبيد الله بن قاسم المطران المترجم

Aṣḅagh ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Nabīl *qāḍī* of the Christians of Córdoba translated for the Galician ambassadors... Metropolitan 'Ubaīd Allāh ibn Qāsim was the interpreter for Aḥmad ibn 'Arūs al-Mawrūrī, the juridical scholar sent as messenger to the Christian [Princess Regent] Elvira in Galicia

(*al-Muqtabis*, Ḥajjī edition, 146-70; *Anales palatinos*, 185-6.

<sup>52</sup> Gayangos, *History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, II.162n14.

<sup>53</sup> Al-Maqqarī:

وقد حفته جماعة من نصارى وجوه الذمة بالأندلس يؤنسونه ويصرونه، فيهم وليد بن خيرون قاضي النصارى بقرطبة وعبيد الله بن قاسم مطران طليطلة وغيرهما... ووصل بوصولهم وليد بن خيرون قاضي النصارى بقرطبة، فكان الترجمان عن الملك أردون ذلك اليوم

And in his party was a gathering of the prominent Christians of the *dhimma* in al-Andalus who kept him company and interpreted for him, among them Walīd ibn Khaīrūn, *qāḍī* of the Christians at Córdoba, and 'Ubaīd Allāh ibn Qāsim the Archbishop of Toledo, and others... and among them came Walīd ibn Khaīrūn, *qāḍī* of the Christians at Córdoba, who was King Urdūnu's [Ordoño's] translator that day

(*Nafḥ al-ḥib min ghuṣn al-Andalus al-raḥīb*, I.366... 367).

<sup>54</sup> *Vita of Dounala*:



Though the preceding study of Eulogius has shown the necessity of caution in dealing with hagiographical texts, the details above do appear to be borne out by al-Ḥimyarī's description of eleventh-century Saltés – the island below Huelva at the mouth of the confluence of the rivers Tinto and Odiel – with which Fita identified this Ēbertis/ Beroē, as a community of Christians with an ancient church.<sup>55</sup> The geographically-distant origins of the *vita* text, and its hagiographic nature, call for critical scrutiny, but the case for its authenticity is made by the faithful rendering of the Visigothic name whose variants Dunila, Danila, and the more Roman/ Latinate Donellus are attested between the seventh and tenth centuries.<sup>56</sup>

### Scriptural translation

Besides the continued standing in the medical and political fields, the tenth century witnessed the Christian intellectual elite developing new talents, engaging increasingly urgently with the Arabic language as a medium of spiritual communication in the wake of the declaration of the Cordoban Caliphate in 929 and with it the establishment of a

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τοῦ ὀσίου καὶ ἀειμνήστου ὁμολογητοῦ Δουναλαῖ, τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἀγίῳ καὶ ἀγγελικῷ ἐπονομασθέντος Στεφάνου... Ἦρχε δε νήσου τινός, ἢ παρὰ μὲν τισι Ἡβερτίς λέγεται, παρ' ἄλλοις δε Βερόη, πλησίον οὖσα Γαδήρων

(Fita, 'San Dúnala, prócer y mártir mozárabe del siglo X', *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 55 (1909), 29).

<sup>55</sup> Al-Ḥimyarī:

وكان بهذه الجزيرة بيع للأول، واتخذت في الفتنة مدينة... و يسكنها جماعة من النصارى

There was an ancient church on this island... A community of Christians lived there (*Rawḍ al-mi'tār*, 344).

<sup>56</sup> *Shalīsh/ Saltés (Huelva): une ville médiévale d'al-Andalus* edited by Andrés Bazzana, Patrice Cressier, Yves Montmessin, and Philippe Sénac (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 1989), 33; Fita, 'San Dúnala', 439. The Bishop of Málaga is named as one Dunila or Tunila in the acts of Council of Toledo VI in 638, VII in 646, and VIII in 653 (Flórez, *España sagrada XII: de las Iglesias sufraganeas antiguas de Sevilla, Egabro, Elepla, Eliberi Italica, Malaga, y Tucci* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Madrid: Oficina de Pedro Marin, 1776), 329-30; García Moreno, Luís, *Prosopografía del reino visigodo de Toledo* (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1974), 111). One comes Danila was a signatory of the Council of Toledo XVI in 693 (García Moreno, *Prosopografía del reino visigodo*, 44). Another Danila added his signature to an Asturian *sententia* nominating bishop Indisclus and comes Gatón in 878 (Flórez, *España sagrada XVI*, 426; Cabero Domínguez, María Consolación, *Astorga y su territorio en la Edad Media (s. IX-XIV): evolución demográfica, económica, social, político-administrativa y cultural de la sociedad astorgana medieval* (León: Universidad de León, 1995), 209). A Danila is credited as the scribe responsible for a three-columned bible at La Cava (Baldinger, Kurt, *La formación de los dominios lingüísticos en la península ibérica* translated by Emilio Lledó Iñigo and Montserrat Macau (Madrid: Gredos, 1972), 168; Bischoff, Bernard, *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages* translated by Dáibhí Ó Cróinín and David Ganz (Cambridge: CUP, 1990), 99). A Donellus, Archdeacon of Carcassonne was a signatory of the Council of Toledo IV presided over by Isidore in 633 (Alzog, Johannes Baptist, *Historia eclesiástica de España ó adiciones á la historia general de la iglesia* (Barcelona: Librería Religiosa, 1855), I.382).

peninsular Islamic identity – the title caliph (*khalīfa*)<sup>57</sup> is more specifically Islamic than the purely military *amīr*, and the caliph a religious as well as a political leader. Al-Andalus thus graduated from being a rogue Umayyad state standing outside the ‘Abbāsīd empire, ruled by an Islamic politico-military class, to an Islamic state with pretensions to rival the ‘Abbāsīds’ claims to succession of the Rightly-Guided Patriarchal Caliphs and the Prophet.<sup>58</sup>

In the increasingly Arabic-speaking society of the tenth century, the issues of language and communication (and their impact upon religious integrity) came to occupy the thoughts of the ecclesiastic lettered classes. Haines makes the link between illiteracy and error: ‘The neglect of Latin was accompanied by an increasing indifference to the doctrinal basis of Christianity’<sup>59</sup>. The Church had to move with the times to survive; Latin Scripture’s place in an Arabised milieu would become increasingly tenuous with fewer and fewer clerics able to read it. From the middle of the tenth century, Christian biblical texts start appearing in Arabic. A fragment of a bilingual Arabic-Latin manuscript was discovered in Sigüenza in 1910<sup>60</sup> bearing parts of the *Epistle to the Galatians* (*al-Risāla ilā ahl Ghalāzīya*) in parallel columns, preceded by the usual *argumentum* (*al-ṣadr* (الصدر) or ‘the beginning’), which Eugène Tisserant dated to the early tenth century – ‘before 946’.<sup>61</sup> Tisserant believed that though the two columns were contemporary, the Arabic had precedence, and was written first; the photograph he appends to his article seems to confirm this: while the Arabic is written with a large and orderly right-hand margin (enough and more for four lines of notes in Visigothic script), the Latin is far more cramped, requiring a great deal of abbreviation. The Arabic’s precedence, however, is not yet a sign of the integration

<sup>57</sup> *Khalīfa* (خليفة): literally ‘the successor’, meaning ‘the successor to the Prophet’ as the spiritual and political leader of the universal *umma*.

<sup>58</sup> The first four men to succeed the Prophet in his role as spiritual and political head of the *Dār al-Islām* are revered as the Rightly-Guided or Patriarchal Caliphs. They were: Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq (632-4), ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (634-44), ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Affān (644-56), and ‘Alī bin Abī Ṭālib (656-61). See: Kennedy, ‘The Caliphate’ in *A Companion to the History of the Middle East* edited by Youssef M. Choueiri (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), 53.

<sup>59</sup> Haines, *Christianity and Islam in Spain*, 78.

<sup>60</sup> Sigüenza, Biblioteca Capitulare de la Catedral, ms 150, f<sup>o</sup> 1-2v. The Arabic translation here is identical to that found in a manuscript held in Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, ms 4971, f<sup>o</sup> 90b-164b. Aillet questions a tenth-century dating on the basis of calligraphic style in the Arabic and the use of abbreviation in the Latin, and suggests an eleventh or twelfth century provenance though he notes that the low level of Islamisation evident in the text could indicate an earlier date (*Les « Mozarabes »*, 192-3).

<sup>61</sup> Tisserant:

*Un fait est du moins certain, c’est qu’il y avait avant 946, c’est-à-dire avant la traduction des Évangiles par Isaac de Cordoue*

One fact is certain at least: that it was before 946, that is to say that it was before Isaac of Córdoba’s translation of the Gospels

(‘Une feuille arabo-latine’, 335).

of that language or its triumph over Latin, for it does not constitute a good translation of the Latin.<sup>62</sup>

In 946 the Cordoban Ishāq ibn Balashk completed a translation of the Gospels in which Islamic influence is striking<sup>63</sup> – he may also be the translator of a collection of councils dated 962.<sup>64</sup> Not only did Ibn Balashk write in Arabic but he used the language of Islam, heading each of the four Gospels with a *basmala* – ‘In the name of God the most Gracious, the most Merciful’ (بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ) – in clear imitation of Qur’ānic structure, and using other typically Islamic phrases.<sup>65</sup> He twice referred to the Gospels with the term used by Muslims to refer to the Qur’ān – *al-muṣḥaf*<sup>66</sup>, and to the

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<sup>62</sup> Tisserant, ‘Une feuille arabo-latine’, 324. Tisserant’s article is preceded by a photographic plate at unnumbered double-page, and appended with a transcription of both Latin and Arabic columns.

<sup>63</sup> Ibn Balashk signed and dated his work on Luke’s Gospel thus:

ترجم سنة ست واربعين وتسعمائة على بدى اسحق بن بلشك القرطبي

Translated in the year 946, made plain by Ishāq ibn Balashk al-Qurtubī  
Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, 752; Tisserant, ‘Une feuille arabo-latine’, 328n2. There are at least six extant copies of Ibn Balashk’s Gospels, and their influence was long-lived: we have a third-generation copy made in Fes in 1145 by a deacon ‘Amr for one Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Abd al-Masīh, a thirteenth-century copy now in the British Museum (London, British Museum, Add. 9061), and a fourteenth-century copy dated 1335 made by one ‘Abd al-Masih Shamas Yalshansa, at the Cathedral of León (León, Archivo del Catedral de León, ms 35). Koningsveld believes that the original text is that contained in the British Museum’s manuscript, though it is not the earliest.

Tisserant identifies two surviving manuscripts of Ibn Balashk’s Gospels, now held in Munich (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, ms. arab. 238 (codex Aumer)) and the Cathedral of León (León, Archivo del Catedral de León, ms 35), though he gives no details on the latter. Hitchcock adds one at Monaco (Aumer 238), though this seems to be confused with the Munich. Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala identifies six manuscripts, including the Leonese (cod. 35 of the Archivo Catedralicio de León); the rest are: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, cod. ar. 234; London, British Museum, add. 9061; Fes, Ḥizānat al-Qarawiyyīn, ms. 730; Leipzig, Universität Leipzig, Oriental Library, cod. or. 1059B. See: Tisserant, ‘Une feuille arabo-latine’, 328; Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, 50n28; Koningsveld, ‘Christian-Arabic manuscripts from the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa: a historical interpretation’, *Al-Qanṭara* 15.2 (1994), 426n12; Monferrer Sala, ‘Manuscritos árabes cristianos en España: notas preliminares’ in *Los manuscritos árabes en España y Marruecos: Homenaje de Granada y Fez a Ibn Jaldún* edited by María Jesús Viguera and C. Castillo (Granada: Fundación El Legado Andalusi, 2006), 199-200). See also: Roisse, Philippe, ‘Los Evangelios traducidos de latín al árabe por Ishāq b. Balašk al-Qurtubī en 946 d.C.’ in *Estudios árabes dedicados a D. Luis Seco de Lucena en el XXV aniversario de su muerte* edited by Concepción Castillo Castillo, Inmaculada Cortés Peña and Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1999), 147-64.

<sup>64</sup> One Velasco is named translator of a codex containing 71 Church Councils and 92 decretals. See: Andrés, Gregorio de, ‘Un valioso códice árabe de concilios españoles recuperado por El Escorial’, *La Ciudad de Dios* 179 (1966), 682; Maser, Matthias, ‘Übersetzung und Identität. Überlegungen zu Intentionen und Kontexten des Iberischen Übersetzungswerkes im Mittelalter’ in *Grenzüberschreitungen im Vergleich: Der Osten und der Westen des mittelalterlichen Lateineuropa* edited by Klaus Herbers and Nikolas Jaspert (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2007), 247; Urvoy, Dominique, ‘Les aspects symboliques du vocable « mozarabe »’, 143.

<sup>65</sup> Burman, *Religious Polemic*, 16; Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 155; *Los mozárabes de Toledo: volumen preliminar*, 43; Koningsveld, ‘Christian Arabic literature’, 216-7; Urvoy, Dominique, *Pensers d’al-Andalus*, 27.

<sup>66</sup> *al-Muṣḥaf* (المصحف): meaning literally ‘the volume, book’, and thus used as shorthand to mean the Qur’ān, also known as the Noble Book or *al-muṣḥaf al-sharīf* (المصحف الشريف) in the same way Christians refer to the Good Book.

people of Israel – *populum meum Israel* in the Vulgate<sup>67</sup> – as the *umma* of Israel, *Isrā’īl ummatī* (إسرائيل أمية).<sup>68</sup> Hitchcock describes Ibn Balashk’s translation as being ‘a literal one, sometimes in faltering Arabic’ and suggests that its ‘readership may have been tiny’<sup>69</sup>, though Koningsveld considers the language more elegant than in other Arabic scriptures and believes that Ibn Balashk’s translation is that used by Ibn Ḥazm in his anti-Christian polemic, though Monferrer Sala asserts that the Old Testament texts to which Ibn Ḥazm refers are of oriental origin.<sup>70</sup> Perhaps Ibn Balashk’s efforts represent the first steps at integrating Christian Scripture and the Arabic language.

### **Ḥafṣ al-Qūṭī and internal conflict over the Arabisation of Scripture**

In the very late tenth century we are confronted with another proponent of the translation effort: the controversial figure of the highly-Arabised and highly-educated Christian translator Ḥafṣ al-Qūṭī. Al-Qūṭī’s date has become problematic though he locates himself in the milieu of the late tenth century using the *abjad*<sup>71</sup> numerical system to present the year 989 with the letters ط ف ظ indicating that:

[this was] written in the age of the Messiah, Lord of those souls on the right path, in 9 and 80 and 900<sup>72</sup>

He was duly assigned to the tenth century by those few who mentioned him at all in the first century of modern scholarship<sup>73</sup> but by few since then.<sup>74</sup> At a certain point in the

<sup>67</sup> *Matthew* 2:6.

<sup>68</sup> Koningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic Glossary*, 55; ‘Christian Arabic literature’, 217.

<sup>69</sup> Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, 50-1.

<sup>70</sup> Koningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic Glossary*, 55; Monferrer Sala, ‘*Yā-btā l-lādī fī l-samāwāt... notas sobre antiguas versiones arabes del « Padre Nuestro »*’, *al-Qanṭara* 21.2 (2000), 284. See also: Baumstark, Anton, ‘Markus Kap. 2 in der arabischen Übersetzung des Isaak Velasquez Veröffentlicht und unter dem Gesichtspunkt des Zusammenhangs mit dem Diatessaron gewürdigt’, *Oriens Christianus* 31 (1934), 232-3.

<sup>71</sup> *Abjad* numerical systems apply numeric values to each letter of the alphabet, used in Arabic since the eighth century, and comparable to Hebrew *gematria* and the ancient numeric systems of Greece. *Abjad* (أبجد) simply means ‘alphabet’ in standard Arabic.

<sup>72</sup> Ḥafṣ al-Qūṭī:

خطت لتاريخ المسيح السيد هذه النفوس للطريق الأرشد وفي الطاء ثم الفاء ثم الظاء

(*Urjūza*.127-8, Urvoy, *Le Psautier mozarabe*, 20).

<sup>73</sup> Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l’Espagne musulmane*, III.219; Simonet, *Historia de los mozarabes*, 622-3. David James, in his translation and critical edition of Ibn al-Qūṭīya’s *Tā’rīkh al-iftitāh*, is one of the few modern scholars to assign al-Qūṭī a tenth-century date, though accepts other scholars’ claims for his descent from Albar (*Early Islamic Spain*, 55n12).

<sup>74</sup> See: Ferreiro, Alberto, *The Visigoths: studies in culture and society* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 306n15; James, *Early Islamic Spain*, 55n12; Kassis, ‘The Mozarabs II’, 423-4. Roger Collins is presumably

mid-twentieth century, opinions were revised and al-Qūṭī is usually now placed in the late ninth century because of his moniker, for his full name – as it is generally rendered – Ḥafṣ ibn Albar al-Qūṭī. His editor Marie-Thérèse Urvoy argued that al-Qūṭī could have been using an alternative system peculiar to the Maghreb – which would make the date 889 – but there does not seem to be adequate reason for such a claim and it seems more likely that al-Andalus would follow the eastern system<sup>75</sup>; her husband Dominique Urvoy favours 989.<sup>76</sup> Aillet argues that the late provenance of the surviving manuscript favours the Maghrebi *abjad* and 889, though it is not possible to make any pronouncement on the basis of the manuscript, since the sole surviving copy was made in 1625 by the Scot David Colville (died 1629).<sup>77</sup> To assign al-Qūṭī to the ninth century thus feels like a laboured attempt to connect Ḥafṣ and Paul Albar, in the interests of neatness. Every piece of evidence offered in support of a ninth-century date is also open to question if not completely unfounded, and though it is widely acknowledged that the dating is not certain, they have never been questioned.

Al-Qūṭī's bishop, whom he names as *Balans* (بلنس)<sup>78</sup>, has been identified with one Valentius, who was consecrated in 862 – ‘the only known bishop of that name’ as

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thinking of Ḥafṣ al-Qūṭī when he designates the late tenth century as ‘a period of considerable literary and intellectual activity’ for both Jews and Christians (‘Literacy and the laity’, 111.).

<sup>75</sup> Urvoy weighs up the meaning of both dates, but seems to be too stuck on the Paul Albar connection:

*Si on lit la datation comme du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle, il pourrait s'agir de son fils; si on la lit comme du X<sup>e</sup> siècle, ce serait son petit-fils ou son arrière petit-fils. Dans un cas comme dans l'autre, ce fait n'est pas négligeable car, comme nous le verrons, on peut percevoir la réalisation de ce Psautier en vers arabes comme une réponse à Álvaro... Si on opte pour le X<sup>e</sup> siècle, Hafṣ aurait été un juge de sa communauté qui a été mentionné par les chroniqueurs musulmans (notamment son presque homonyme Ibn al-Qūṭīya)*

If one reads the date as of the ninth century, it could be a question of his [Albar's] son; if one reads it as of the tenth century he could be his grandson or great-grandson. In either case, the fact is not negligible for, as we shall see, one can see the composition of the Psalter in Arabic verse as a response to Albar... If one opts for the tenth century ‘Ḥafṣ would have been the judge of his community mentioned by the Muslim chroniclers – notably his near-namesake Ibn al-Qūṭīya

(*Le Psautier mozarabe*, v). In an article published the same year, Urvoy dates the Psalter ‘either from 889 or 989’ (*datée soit de 889 soit de 989*) (‘Influence islamique sur le vocabulaire d'un psautier arabe d'al-Andalus’, *Al-Qanṭara* 15.2 (1994), 509). See also: Urvoy's ‘Que nous apprend la poésie arabe de chrétiens d'al-Andalus?’ in *¿Existe una identidad mozárabe? Historia, lengua y cultura de los cristianos de al-Andalus (siglos IX-XII)* edited by Aillet, Mayte Penelas and Philippe Roisse (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2008), 162.

<sup>76</sup> Dominique Urvoy dates the Psalter ‘from the tenth century, or perhaps even the ninth’ (*Le Psautier versifié datant du X<sup>e</sup> siècle, ou peut-être même du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle*) (‘Les aspects symboliques du vocable « mozarabe »’, 144-5).

<sup>77</sup> Aillet writes: ‘*le manuscrit d'origine, tardif, suivait vraisemblablement la tradition maghrébine*’ (*Les « Mozarabes »*, 179). The manuscript may be late, but the original work in it is not.

<sup>78</sup> Ḥafṣ al-Qūṭī:

خير أسقف للبيعة بلنس ذي المناقب الرفيعة

أفضل من كان من الأساقفة في عصره، وفي العصور السالفة

The Church's best bishop, Balans, a man possessed of great qualities



Urvoy puts it.<sup>79</sup> But this is not the same name: an Andalusī Arabic speaker would not render Valentius as *Balans*, but rather *Balanshīsh* or *Balansīs*. Inscriptions from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries bear the names Salvatus, Vincentius, Iohannes and Mattheus rendered as *Shilbāṭush* (شلباطش), *Binjinshīsh* (بنجنشيش), *Yuwānish* (يوانش) and *Mathā'ūsh* (مناوش) respectively.<sup>80</sup> Written classical Arabic, unlike later Castilian, preserves the *-es* and *-us* nominative noun-ending of the Latin in *-ish* and *-ush*, or *-is* and *-us*. What *Balans* transliterates is *Valens*. The historical record for the occupants of the Cordoban See is very incomplete, with a ninety-year hole after Valentius' successor Stephanus, named by Samson in 864<sup>81</sup>, and John whom John of Gorze met in 954<sup>82</sup>; beyond that year a John – the same man? – is named in 988 in the colophon of the *Biblia Hispalense*.<sup>83</sup> It is conceivable, if these two Johns are one long-serving bishop, that Valens-*Balans* could have succeeded him in the following year. To claim that Valentius is the only man *Balans* could refer to in this instance is misleading. So, the evidence for Koningsveld's grand claim that Ḥafṣ al-Qūṭī 'actually was *the* celebrity of the Christian Arabic literature in ninth-century Spain' is thin on the ground.<sup>84</sup>

Douglas Dunlop was the first to suggest a link between al-Qūṭī and Albar, in the 1950s. He read the Arabic patronymic as Ibn Albar (ابن البر), which understandably suggested a link between Ḥafṣ and the famous man whose name and his shared consonants. It is an assumption fuelled further, no doubt, by the geographical proximity

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The most favoured of all bishops of his time or of times past

(*Urjūza*.106-7, *Le Psautier mozarabe*, 19).

<sup>79</sup> Urvoy:

*le seul évêque de ce nom qui soit connu fut sacré en 862*

(*Le Psautier mozarabe*, v). Our sole source for Valentius' existence is Samson's *Apologeticus*:

*post ordinationem domini mei Valentii episcopi, quem Cordobensis egleisia sub era DCCCCa meruit rectorem suscipere...*

After the ordination of my lord Bishop Valentius, who deserved to take the helm of the church of Córdoba in Era 900...

(*Apologeticus*.II.praefatio.7.3-5, *CSM* 2:552). The same identification is offered in *España sagrada X*, 287; Koningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic Glossary*, 54, and 'Christian Arabic Literature from Medieval Spain', 209; Penelas, 'A possible translator of the Arabic translation of Orosius' *Historiae*', *Al-Masāq* 13 (2001), 126.

<sup>80</sup> Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, 628, 720; Fita, 'Mateo Miguélez Aben Furón. Su epitafio toledano (4 enero de 1249) en la parroquia de Santa Leocadia', *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 54 (1909), 104-5, and 'Obispos mozárabes, refugiados en Toledo á mediados del siglo XII', *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 30 (1897), 529. There are of course exceptions, one being the rendering of the Latin Matthew *Mattheus* as *Matā* (منا) in a mid-twelfth century translation of the Gospels hailing from Fes (Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, 752-3).

<sup>81</sup> Samson, *Apologeticus*.II.praefatio.8.22-3, *CSM* 2:553.

<sup>82</sup> Johannes Metensis, *Vita Johannis Gorziensis*.122 (f<sup>o</sup> 92), *Parisse*, 148-9; *MGH Scriptorum IV*, 372; *PL* 137, col.302C-303A); Flórez, *España sagrada X*, 284-5.

<sup>83</sup> Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, ms Vit.13.1, f<sup>o</sup> 375; Flórez, *España sagrada X*, 286.

<sup>84</sup> Koningsveld, 'Christian Arabic Literature from Medieval Spain', 212.



of the two, by Albar's high visibility, and by his lament over Cordoban youths' pursuit of Arabic eloquence. Such an argument has the amusing bonus of rendering Paul Albar an indignant father complaining bitterly at his son's betrayal of his values – an irony whose embrace is tempting even for those who dismiss the Eulogius-Albar axis. It is an association that is accepted – with very little resistance<sup>85</sup> – because it is convenient, as many explicitly admit from Dunlop on, and allows a nice narrative flow from the crisis of Albar's complaint over the youth's Arabisation to his son's own; it also bolsters the Cordoban 'martyr movement' and saves it from being an anticlimax.<sup>86</sup> In Dunlop's two published articles on al-Qūṭī (the second is technically an open letter), one can clearly see the manipulation of the data to fit Ḥafṣ into the neat scheme that placed Eulogius and Albar's Cordoba at the centre of Andalusī Christian history. At first Dunlop describes the date of 989 as 'incontrovertible' and Ḥafṣ as Albar's grandson.<sup>87</sup> A year on, he has changed his position and is open about the greater convenience of making Ḥafṣ Paul Albar's son:

The verse intro to the Arabic Psalter in the Ambrosian MS.&120 appears to be dated precisely to A.D. 989, but if it could be shown to have been written in the previous century, this would make the circumstances somewhat clearer<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Alberto Ferreiro is in a tiny minority when he asserts that 'it is wrong to affirm a family link between Alvar and the famous mozarab Hafs b. Albar' (*The Visigoths*, 306n15). He is joined only by David James, who also joined Ferreiro in disputing the ninth-century dating of Ḥafṣ (*Early Islamic Spain*, 55n12).

<sup>86</sup> Aillet recognises that the identification with Paul Albar and the allocation of al-Qūṭī to the ninth century is not without problems – how and why would the Andalusī Christians produce a sophisticated Psalter more than 60 years before they translated the Gospels. He resolves it not by questioning al-Qūṭī but by positing the production of lost Gospel translations pre-dating Ibn Balashk's:

*Fallut-il vraiment attendre 946 pour qu'une traduction andalouse voit le jour à Cordoue, sous la plume d'un certain Ishāq b. Balašk? Les chrétiens d'al-Andalus auraient-ils disposé de Psaumes en arabe dès les années 860-880 sans pouvoir consulter les Évangiles dans cette même langue? Voilà qui serait surprenant... Faute d'études et d'éditions, la reconstitution de ce puzzle s'avère très hypothétique, mais il est bien possible que la traduction d'Ibn Balašk n'ait été que le maillon le plus notable d'une chaîne plus longue*

Was it really necessary to wait until 946 for an Andalusī translation born of a certain Ishāq ibn Balashk's pen? Could the Christians of al-Andalus have possessed Psalms in Arabic in 860-80 without being able to consult the Gospels in that same language? This would be surprising... For lack of studies and editions, the solving of this puzzle proves to be very hypothetical, but it is certainly possible that Ibn Balashk's translation is only the most significant link in a very long chain

(*Les « Mozarabes »*, 189). The existence of such works is very possible, particularly considering the threadbare nature of the Andalusī Christians' historical record, but there is insufficient evidence either to support the identification of Ḥafṣ as Albar's son (or grandson) or to assert that Arabised religious were translating Scripture at a time when such activity would have been condemned in the strongest terms by Eulogius and Albar, and at least mentioned by Samson, whose commentary on Arabising and acculturation in the Church's hierarchy is strong. The importance of the Psalter in education, and therefore in the instruction of novices and the study of the Bible, is dealt with below.

<sup>87</sup> Dunlop, Douglas Morton, 'Ḥafṣ b. Albar – the Last of the Goths?', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 3-4 (1954), 147-9.

<sup>88</sup> Dunlop, 'Sobre Ḥafṣ ibn Albar al-Qūṭī al-Qurṭubī', *Al-Andalus* 20 (1955), 211.

Dunlop then goes on to identify Ḥafṣ as Albar's son, because it made a nicer fit.<sup>89</sup> Perhaps the irony of a scenario in which Paul Albar's nightmare was manifest in his son was too tempting for Dunlop to resist for long.

It must be stated, however, for it has not been considered, that *ibn Albar* is not the only way one might render the Arabic characters *i-b-n a-l-b-r* in the Latin alphabet. One could just as easily read *Ibn al-Barr*, as one does in the case of Ḥafṣ' fellow Cordoban, and known Muslim, the prolific Sunnī Malikī *muḥaddith* (*ḥadīth* scholar) Yūsuf ibn 'Abd al-Barr (978-1070)<sup>90</sup>, a source for Ibn Ḥayyān's *al-Muqtabis*<sup>91</sup> and named in Ibn al-Khaṭīb's *A'māl al-a'lām*<sup>92</sup>, in whose case there has been no attempt to claim descent from Paul Albar.<sup>93</sup> *Al-barr* (البر) means 'devout, pious, godly, upright', and would thus be an appropriate choice of name for an Arabised Christian to give his child if he did not see an Arabised Christianity as a betrayal of the faith; *Al-Barr* is even one of the 99 names of God in the Qur'ān.<sup>94</sup> What *a-l-b-r* is not, is a faithful transcription of either the Latin *Albarus/ Alvarus* – both of which appear in the Eulogian works – which would be transliterated as *Albarush* (البرش), *Albarus* (البرس), comparable to the renderings of Salvatus and Mattheus above, or of the vernacular *Albarol/ Alvaro*, which would be rendered as *Albaruh* (البره), as in the case of the Toledan Álvaro/ Albaruh al-Faṣṣāl (البره الفصال) named in a bill of sale in 1206.<sup>95</sup> *Albarus/ Alvarus*, though, is thought to be a Gothic name<sup>96</sup>; Ibn al-Qūṭīya links Ḥafṣ explicitly to the Visigothic monarchy as a descendent of Witiza through his son named as Romulus (though this is not proof of a link), who

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<sup>89</sup> Dunlop, 'Sobre Ḥafṣ ibn Albar al-Qūṭī al-Qurṭubī', 212.

<sup>90</sup> *Classical Islam: A Sourcebook of Religious Literature* edited by Norman Calder, Jawid Ahmad Mojaddedi and Andrew Rippin, (Oxford: Routledge, 2003), 178-9.

<sup>91</sup> Makki's edition of *al-Muqtabis*, 57.

<sup>92</sup> Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Kitāb a'māl al-a'lām* edited by Lévi-Provençal under the title *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane* (Beirut: Dār al-Makshūf, 1956), 218.

<sup>93</sup> Nor has any attempt been made to link Paul Albar to Ibrāhīm 'Abd al-Barr, *wazīr* of the Naṣrid Sultans of Granada from Muḥammad IX (who ruled intermittently between 1419 and 1453) to the short-lived reign of Muḥammad XI (1453-4). See: Harvey, L.P., *Islamic Spain, 1250 to 1500* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 262; Torres Delgado, Cristóbal, 'Liberacion de cautivos del reino de Granada. Siglo XV', *En la España medieval* 3 (1982), 644.

<sup>94</sup> *Al-Barr* (البر): 'The Most Kind and Righteous' (Sūra 52:28).

<sup>95</sup> *Los mozárabes de Toledo*.348.

<sup>96</sup> Piel, Joseph M. and Dieter Kremer, *Hispano-gotisches Namenbuch der Niederschlag des Westgotischen in den alten und heutigen Personen- und Ortsnamen der Iberischen Halbinsel* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1976), 69; Ferreiro, *The Visigoths*, 306n15.

came to own a thousand estates in the East of al-Andalus, and chose Toledo as his residence. His descendents include: Ḥafṣ ibn al-Barr, judge of the Christians<sup>97</sup>

Cyrille Aillet proffers this passage as part of his argument for locating al-Qūṭī in the ninth century, claiming that Ibn al-Qūṭīya writes of him in the past tense rather than as a contemporary.<sup>98</sup> But the phrase in question reads very literally ‘And among his progeny: Ḥafṣ ibn al-Barr, judge of the ‘*ajam*’, and is too spare to be open to interpretation. It seems telling that, despite his apparent esteem for his own Christian ancestors, as seen in his alias ‘son of the Goth’, Ibn al-Qūṭīya does not mention the nobleman Albar or make Dunlop’s connection a millennium before Dunlop. It is possible that Ibn al-Qūṭīya might have known only Ḥafṣ because he was a contemporary (he died around 12 years before Ḥafṣ composed his Psalter) and a political figure while Paul Albar was long dead, Latinate, and had apparently lived a scholarly life outside the political arena. Albar may claim descent from the Goths, but he is either deemed unworthy of attention, as the Christians generally were, or is simply, and more likely, unknown. Even if Ḥafṣ were *ibn Albar* and not *ibn al-Barr*, the profusion of Spanish families bearing variations of the equivalent patronymic Álvarez today – Álvarez itself is the fifteenth most common<sup>99</sup> – and in the medieval Castilian and Aragonese realms, warns against the tendency to assume that Paul Albar was the sole bearer of that name in mid-ninth-century Córdoba.

Ḥafṣ al-Qūṭī’s part in the historical record signals just how much is potentially missing from our picture of Christian Andalusī society. He was evidently an important figure (Koningsveld feels moved to attribute to him ‘great popularity’)<sup>100</sup>, quoted by

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<sup>97</sup> Ibn al-Qūṭīya:

وصار لوقيلة ألف ضيعة بشرق الأندلس، وكان أثر سكنى طليطلة. ومن نسله: حفص ابن البر،  
قاضى العجم

(*Tarīkh al-iftitāh al-Andalus*, 31.

<sup>98</sup> Aillet writes:

*L’historiographe se référant manifestement à lui au passé, Ḥafṣ b. Albar ne peut avoir achevé sa traduction qu’en 889*

The historian manifestly refers to him in the past; Ḥafṣ b. Albar cannot only have completed his translation in 889

(*Les « Mozarabes »*, 179). Marie-Thérèse Urvoy identifies al-Qutiya’s Hafṣ as his tenth-century contemporary (*Le Psautier mozarabe*, v).

<sup>99</sup> Mateos, Pablo and D. Ken Tucker, ‘Forenames and Surnames in Spain in 2004’, *Names: A Journal of Onomastics* 56.3 (2008), available online at:

[http://209.85.229.132/search?q=cache:G5RHEA\\_w\\_fwJ:www.casa.ucl.ac.uk/pablo/papers/Mateos%2520and%2520Tucker%2520\(2008\)%2520Forenames%2520and%2520Surname%2520in%2520Spain%2520in%25202004.pdf+alvarez+%E2%80%98Forenames+and+Surnames+in+Spain+in+2004%E2%80%99&cd=1&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=uk&client=firefox-a](http://209.85.229.132/search?q=cache:G5RHEA_w_fwJ:www.casa.ucl.ac.uk/pablo/papers/Mateos%2520and%2520Tucker%2520(2008)%2520Forenames%2520and%2520Surname%2520in%2520Spain%2520in%25202004.pdf+alvarez+%E2%80%98Forenames+and+Surnames+in+Spain+in+2004%E2%80%99&cd=1&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=uk&client=firefox-a).

<sup>100</sup> Koningsveld, ‘Christian Arabic Literature from Medieval Spain’, 209.

Christians, Muslims, and Jews within and without al-Andalus<sup>101</sup>, but lamentably little is known about him. Thus some have felt obliged to force him to fit the scheme of known figures. Al-Qūṭī was long-esteemed: in the twelfth century his Psalter was quoted by Moses ben Ezra in his *Poetica*<sup>102</sup>, and in an anonymous Arabic manuscript dated to the sixteenth century.<sup>103</sup> The verse Psalter may be the only work to reach us, but it is apparent that al-Qūṭī produced much else besides. In the eleventh century, the Jewish poet and philosopher Solomon Ibn Gabirol (c.1021-70) quoted several maxims he attributed to an al-Qūṭī whom Koningsveld identified as Ḥafṣ.<sup>104</sup> In the thirteenth-century, the anonymous Cordoban *faqīh* al-Qurṭubī repeatedly referenced a number of works – ‘...in one of the teachings of Ḥafṣ ibn al-Barr...’ (حفص ابن البر منهم في اقواله)<sup>105</sup> – which expound upon the subjects of fasts and feasts<sup>106</sup>, and many other articles of the faith. Koningsveld believes that al-Qurṭubī names the work in question when he refers to a *Kitāb al-masā’il al-sab’ wa al-khamsīn* (كتاب المسائل السبع والخمسين) or *The Book of 57 Questions*.<sup>107</sup>

<sup>101</sup> See: Kassis, ‘The Mozarabs II’, 424; Koningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic Glossary*, 54, n248, n 249, and ‘Psalm 150 of the translation by Ḥafṣ ibn Albar al-Qūṭī (fl. 889 A.D. [?]) in the Glossarium Latino-Arabicum of the Leyden University Library’, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 29.516 (1972), 277-280 and ‘New quotations from Ḥafṣ al-Qūṭī’s translation of the Psalms’, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 30 (1973), 315.

<sup>102</sup> Moses ben Ezra, *Kitāb al-muḥādara wa al-mudhākara*, Oxford, Bodleiana ms Neubauer 1974, 128r. See also: *Kitāb al-muḥādara wa al-mudhākara/ Liber Discussionis et Commemorationis (Poetica hebraica)* edited and translated into Hebrew by Abraham Solomon Halkin (Jerusalem: Mekize Nirdamim, 1975), 42, 244; Neubauer, A., ‘Hafṣ al-Qouti’, *Revue des Études Juives* 30 (1895), 66.

<sup>103</sup> Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms Borg.arab.161. See: Levi della Vida, ‘Manoscritti arabi di origine spagnola nella Biblioteca Vaticana’, 162; Löfgren, Oscar and Renato Traini, *Catalogue of Arabic manuscripts in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana* (Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1975), I.24-5 (number XXIII).

<sup>104</sup> Ibn Gabirol, *Ethics* edited with an English translation by Stephen Samuel Wise under the title *The Improvement of the Moral Qualities: an ethical treatise of the eleventh century by Solomon Ibn Gabirol, printed from an unique Arabic manuscript, together with a translation, and an essay on the place of Gabirol in the history of the development of Jewish ethics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1902), 22, 28, 29, 40, 42, 44 of the Arabic text, 62, 72, 74, 92, 95, 99 of the English translation.

<sup>105</sup> Al-Qurṭubī, *al-I’lām bi-mā fī dīn al-naṣārā min al-fasād* edited by Aḥmad Ḥijāzī al-Saqqā (Cairo: Dār al-Turāth al-‘Arabī, 1980), 58; Koningsveld, ‘Christian Arabic Literature’, 210-12.

<sup>106</sup> Al-Qurṭubī:

وقال حفص ابن البر منهم في بعد كتبه وقد سأله سائل عن صيامهم... قال حفص فان الذي

اردت علمه من العياد السبع التي أمر القنون بصيانتها فهي معروفة

And moreover Ḥafṣ ibn al-Barr said in one of his books that he was asked a question about their fasts... Ḥafṣ said that he who wanted his knowledge of the seven festivals which the Canons command be kept, and which are recognised...

(*al-I’lām*, 422... 424).

<sup>107</sup> Al-Qurṭubī, *al-I’lām*, 60, 80, 81, 432; Koningsveld, ‘Christian Arabic Literature’, 210. Based on indications of its content, Aillet proposes the generic title *Traité sur les rites du christianisme* (Aillet, *Les « Mozarabes »*, 180).

## Ḥafṣ al-Qūṭī's Psalter

Al-Qūṭī is known for his Arabic Psalter – which, like so many other Andalusī Christian texts, survived in a single manuscript<sup>108</sup> – a self-consciously erudite work combining several different styles: a prologue in a laboured, weighty Arabic perhaps comparable to the state of Latin in the late ninth century<sup>109</sup>, particularly that of his putative father, Paul Albar; a 143-line poem in the *rajaz*<sup>110</sup> metre outlining the reasons behind the translation; the 150 psalms in the same metre, each with its own summary *argumentum* in the Latin tradition. His prologue opens with a distinctly Christian version of the Islamic *basmala*:

In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, one God<sup>111</sup>

This might not even be called a *basmala* proper, since it is a classically Christian formula, though it shows the common roots of the Abrahamic faiths. A far more recognisably Islamic *basmala* adorns the verse introduction to the Psalms:

In the name of God, creator of the universe, the only, the all-powerful, the incomparable, creator of [all] things from nothing, he who breathes life into all living beings. He is neither describable nor restricted: in him is found the possessor of no limit. He has neither body nor dimensions that one might perceive his sight<sup>112</sup>

Each one of the epithets applied to the deity here is distinctly Islamic and features in Qur'ānic formulae and among the 99 names of God. *Al-Khāliq*<sup>113</sup>, 'the Creator', appears throughout the Qur'ān; *al-Wāḥid*<sup>114</sup>, 'the One, the Only', appears four times, *al-*

<sup>108</sup> The sole remaining copy of Ḥafṣ al-Qūṭī's Psalter is now held by the Biblioteca Ambrosiana di Milano (ms & 120 sup.).

<sup>109</sup> Urvoy, *Le Psautier mozarabe*, iii.

<sup>110</sup> *Rajaz* (رجز) is a metrical form with a maximum of 12 syllables per verse, with rhymes; the poem written in *rajaz* rhythm is the *urjūza* (ارجزة). See: Allen, Roger M.A., *An Introduction to Arabic Literature* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000), 80.

<sup>111</sup> Ḥafṣ al-Qūṭī:

باسم الاب والابن والروح القدس إله وأحد

(Urvoy, *Le Psautier mozarabe*, 1). For further discussion of the Islamic influences on al-Qūṭī's vocabulary, see Urvoy's 'Influence islamique', 509-17.

<sup>112</sup> Ḥafṣ al-Qūṭī:

بِاسْمِ الْإِلَهِ خَالِقِ الْجَمِيعِ      الْوَاحِدِ الْمُقْتَدِرِ الْبَدِيعِ  
مَبْتَدِعِ الْأَشْيَاءِ مِنْ لَا شَيْءٍ      مَعْطِي حَيَاةٍ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ حَيٍّ  
لَيْسَ بِمَوْصُوفٍ وَلَا مَحْدُودٍ      بِمَا بِهِ يَوْجَدُ ذُو الْحُدُودِ  
وَلَا بِذِي جِسْمٍ وَلَا أَفْطَارٍ      كَبَعْضِ مَا يَدْرِكُ بِالْأَبْصَارِ

(*Urjūza*.1-4, *Le Psautier mozarabe*, 14).

<sup>113</sup> *Khāliq* (خالق), 'The Creator', features prominently in addresses to, and descriptions of, God; it appears many times as one of the names of Allāh, and also in the phrase 'Creator of the Universe' as it appears here. See, among others *sūras* 6:102, 13:16, 15:86, 24:45, 36:81, 39:62, 40:62, 59:24.

<sup>114</sup> *Al-Wāḥid* (الواحد), 'The One, The Unique, The Manifestation of Unity' appears at 2:163, 5:73, 9:31, 18:110.

*Muqtadir*<sup>115</sup>, ‘the Almighty’, thrice; *al-Badī*<sup>116</sup>, ‘the Incomparable’, twice. The references to sublimity and infinity mirror the epithets *al-Bāqī*, ‘the Unending, Ever-Enduring and Immutable’<sup>117</sup>, and *al-Bāṭin* and *al-Wāsi*’, ‘the All-Encompassing’<sup>118</sup>. It is interesting to note that the cross-over between faiths and formulae is such that Allāh is even named King of Kings once in the Qur’ān.<sup>119</sup> Similar intertextuality is in evidence in an unattributed Arabic Psalter in prose pre-dating al-Qūfī’s which, in a prominent folio-heading, describes the Son of the Trinity in inescapably Qur’ānic language:

The Son is the Word which created the heavens and the earth and that which is between them<sup>120</sup>

This intertwining of Latin and Arabic formulae was perhaps a necessity, or an inevitability, as a consequence of Arabic supplanting Latin as the medium of high culture and high office. Al-Qūfī exemplifies the efforts of the educated elite to engage properly with Arabic in order to ensure that Christianity survived the process of secular Arabisation; Urvoy calls him a true Mozarab (*un véritable must‘arib*) for he represents the struggle between traditionalism and pragmatism.<sup>121</sup>

But there is a debate consuming the late tenth-century Andalusī Church. Ḥafṣ’ has critics who fear that to translate Scripture is to change the word of God, to risk losing

<sup>115</sup> *Al-Muqtadir* (المقتدر), ‘The All-Determiner, The All-Powerful’: 18:45, 54:42, 54:55.

<sup>116</sup> *Al-Badī* (البدیع), ‘The Incomparable, The Originator’: 2:117, 6:101.

<sup>117</sup> *Al-Bāqī* (الباقی), ‘The Unending, Ever-Enduring and Immutable’: 20:73, 55:27.

<sup>118</sup> *Al-Bāṭin* (الباطن), ‘The Hidden, The All-Encompassing’: 57:3; *al-Wāsi* (الواسع), ‘The Vast, The All-Encompassing’: 2:268, 3:73, 5:54.

<sup>119</sup> *Mālik al-Mulk* (مالك الملك): ‘King of Kings’ (3:26).

<sup>120</sup> Prose Psalter, possibly Cordoban:

والابن هو الكلمة التي خلق السموات والأرض وما بينهما

(Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. arab.5, f<sup>o</sup> 1r). Compare *Sūra* 32:4 (*al-Sajda*):

الله الذي خلق السموات والأرض وما بينهما

God is the one who created the heavens and the earth and that which is between them  
For a photograph of said folio, see Heinrich Goussen’s *Die christlich-arabische Literatur der Mozaraber* (Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1909), 28. For further discussion of the Psalter, see Burman, *Religious Polemic*, 17n16, and Koningsveld’s *The Latin-Arabic Glossary*, 52-4. Biblical texts filled with specifically Qur’ānic turns of phrase, and what effectively amounts to quotation, challenge Aillet’s suggestion that Latin, whose use continued into the eleventh century at least judging by the scribal annotation extant, had a monopoly on the preservation of specifically Christian language. Aillet writes:

*Le latin permettait à l’Église de conserver sa distance – vis-à-vis des fidèles et vis-à-vis de la culture islamique – par des usages linguistiques spécifiques*

Latin allowed the Church to maintain its distance – from the faithful and from Islamic culture – by specific uses of language

(‘Recherches sur le christianisme arabisé’, 101).

<sup>121</sup> Urvoy, ‘Que nous apprend la poésie arabe’, 163.



something of its essence, risk rendering it vulnerable to accusations of heterodoxy or even falsity, like that issued around 995 by the Baghdad-based Iranian Mu‘tazilī scholar and *qāḍī* ‘Abd al-Jabbār (935-1025) in his *Tathbīt dalā’il al-nubuwwa* or *Confirmation of the Proofs of Prophethood*.<sup>122</sup> Ḥafṣ’ Psalter is, of course, a translation of a translation; the Vulgate is not an original document either, though it bears the authority of tradition. Through that weight of tradition, Latin had become the sacred language of the Western Church and a fundamental marker of Christian identity, so naturally the Church would have been keen to preserve it.<sup>123</sup> That there were people engaged in the arduous task of translating such vast works does, however, indicate that there was urgent need for such change.<sup>124</sup>

The dangers of failing to preserve unhindered access to Scripture could be seen a century earlier in Samson’s attack on Ostegesis of Málaga.<sup>125</sup> The latter is ridiculed for his loose grip on Latin grammar and condemned for his heretical views. Samson purports to quote Ostegesis’ heresy in his own words and goes on to dissect every facet of his ignorance<sup>126</sup>; Ostegesis falls into error when trying to express complex yet subtle theological matters because of his illiteracy:

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<sup>122</sup> ‘Abd al-Jabbār wrote (in Miklos Stern’s translation):

Those who had made an agreement with the Romans took counsel what to substitute for the gospels which they could not obtain [from the Jews]... they wrote a number of gospels... None of these gospels is, however, in the language spoken by Christ... People said to them: ‘the Hebrew language was abandoned in order to enable your early authorities to introduce false doctrines and to cover up their lies...’ ...All this shows that the Christians have forsaken the religion of Christ

(Stern, ‘‘Abd al-Jabbār’s account of how Christ’s religion was falsified by the adoption of Roman customs’ in Stern’s collection *History and Culture of the Medieval Muslim World* (London: Variorum, 1984), III.135-6... 152).

<sup>123</sup> Latin was used more or less exclusively for religious Christian writing, so once Latin was lost in favour of Arabic, Christianity lost its one ‘distinctive feature’ that set it, and Christians, apart from their Muslim and Jewish neighbours (Wright, ‘Language and religion’, 123). On the part played by language in identity, and the religio-linguistic factors of identity, with a case-study of modern Lebanon, see: Joseph, *Language and Identity*, 172-6, 194-223.

<sup>124</sup> As Wasserstein writes, ‘Translations of this sort are not made without reason; they answer some sort of need’ (‘The Language Situation in al-Andalus’, 8). Aillet discusses the relativism of language, the necessity for and the conflict over the Arabisation of Scripture (*Les « Mozarabes »*, 181-5). Concerns over the sacredness of language and the detrimental effects of translation were not restricted to Arabising Christians. Moses ben Ezra lamented the loss of Hebrew to the same process. See: Schippers, A., ‘Ḥafṣ al-Qūfī’s Psalms in Arabic *rağaz* Metre (9<sup>th</sup> Century): A Discussion of Translations from Three Psalms’ in *Law, Christianity and Modernism in Islamic Society: Proceedings of the Eighteenth Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants held at the Katholieke Universiteit (September 3-September 9, 1996)* edited by Urbain Vermeulen and J.M.F. van Reeth (Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 1998), 133-4.

<sup>125</sup> Charles Haines makes the link between illiteracy and error: ‘The neglect of Latin was accompanied by an increasing indifference to the doctrinal basis of Christianity’ (*Christianity and Islam in Spain*, 78).

<sup>126</sup> Samson:

*Ubi si Latinitatem quis querat, difficile poterit inuenire, si orthografię disciplinam, nullam sentiet esse, si sensum discutiat, insane capitis uerba mox poterit censere... Quamobrem ignorantię tuę consulendum est tibi, et sub pallam silentii tuas debes nugas occulere. Qui enim uitia et scema nescis, quur docere presumis? Quur adolatoribus,*

O you are overcome by every fallacy... I shall muster all the weapons of my eloquence against the things he criminally thinks of God, and wanted to say but could not because, having been turned to chaff, his drivel is banished from the threshing floor of my Lord by the winnowing fork<sup>127</sup>

The potential link between illiteracy and theological error was recognised in the early 860s. By the 980s, when the Gospels had been read in Arabic for at least 40 years, when lettered lay and church men had been Arabised for over a century, the potential for miscommunication and adulteration of the Latin faith was serious. Al-Qūṭī's work, which Urvoy describes as an 'attempt to find the Truth of ecclesiastic Latin in Arabic'<sup>128</sup>, is necessary but unwelcome, as he well knows:

The glory of this work will not be understood...  
 For I am certainly aware that among the ignorant,  
 The obstinate and the empty-headed  
 To whom I did not turn for advice,  
 Whom I ignored, to whom I did not ally myself,  
 There are those who will resent what I have done  
 And dedicate themselves to [finding] fault with it<sup>129</sup>

These naysayers reject Arabic as a medium for Christian Scripture because it is the holy tongue of Islam and therefore gravely inappropriate, but Latin was just as alien to the clergy, let alone the masses, of late tenth-century al-Andalus – a fact al-Qūṭī notes twice:

*immo derisoribus tuis effetus sensu credis et non potius magistro te subdens que quandoque docere ualeas discere studes?*

If someone were to seek Latinity, he should not easily find it there. If it is the discipline of orthography he shall notice none. If he should investigate the sense, he would soon make out the words of a disturbed mind... For this reason you should be told of your ignorance, and you should hide your gibberish under a cloak of silence. Why do you presume to teach, when you know not the faults and figures of speech? Have you taken leave of your senses to trust those who flatter you – mock you, rather – rather than submit to a teacher to learn how to teach?

(*Apologeticus*.II.7.1.9-11... 7.4.1-5, *CSM* 2:569...570-1).

<sup>127</sup> Samson:

*o omni fallacia subdite... ad ea que Deo male sentiens, etsi non ualuit, tamen maluit dicere, omnia harma colligam eloquii mei, quatenus nuge illius in fabillam uerse uentilabro pellantur crucis ab area Domini mei*

(*Apologeticus*.II. 7.4.12... 7.5.41-3, *CSM* 2:571... 573).

<sup>128</sup> Urvoy:

[al-Qūṭī] *prétend retrouver dans l'arabe la vérité du latin ecclésiastique*

(*Le Psautier mozarabe*, xvii).

<sup>129</sup> Al-Qūṭī:

وقد صنيع ليس يدري عزه...  
 وقد عملت أن في الجهال وفي ذوي العنود والمحال  
 ممن تركته فلم أشاوره ومن جهلته فلن أو ازره  
 قوما سيسخطون ما فعلت ويولعون عيب ما عملت

(*Urjūza*.92... 108, *Le Psautier mozarabe*, 18-9).

[the Psalms' verses] are written in the language of the foreigners [*'ajam*]...

It is a pleasant metre for singing, called 'iambic' among the foreigners<sup>130</sup>

He goes on to defend the Arabic-literate as 'our scholars and the honourable men of our religion' (حبر عندنا وموثوق به في ديننا).<sup>131</sup> Al-Qūṭī's desire to preserve the link between Scripture and the faithful is underlined by his assertion that the metre of his translation matches the Latin iambic – he writes 'the rhythm is correct in Arabic, as it is in the foreigners' tongue'<sup>132</sup> – and by his dismissal of an earlier attempt to translate the Psalter that failed to preserve the original sense:

So it came to pass that he who translated it into prose  
Ruined its arrangement and interpretation  
So that he changed the teaching of its words  
And abandoned the beauty of its order.  
For he wished to translate it into Arabic  
Doing it badly, word by word.  
Indeed he annihilated the meaning  
In his struggle to impose order on the language,  
Thus the presentation is upset and the word-order confused.  
And he did not understand what he had translated,  
Because its meaning was not translated,  
And what was in the translation was incomprehensible,  
Its sense and wisdom were not found sweet<sup>133</sup>

<sup>130</sup> Al-Qūṭī:

وهن طراً في اللسان الأعجمي...

وهو عروض في الغناء مونق عند الأعاجيم يسمى ينبق<sup>ُ</sup>

(*Urjūza*.24... 44-5... 7, *Le Psautier mozarabe*, 15-6).

<sup>131</sup> Al-Qūṭī, *Urjūza*.100, *Le Psautier mozarabe*, 17-8.

<sup>132</sup> Al-Qūṭī:

ونقره في العربي المحكم كنقره في الأعجمي الأعجم

(*Urjūza*.50, *Le Psautier mozarabe*, 16).

<sup>133</sup> Al-Qūṭī:

فصار من ترجمه منشور أفسد منه النظم والتفسير  
حتى إستحال مذهب الكلام وزال عنه رونق النظام  
إذ رام أن يخرج في العربي لفظاً بلفظ فعل غير معجب  
من أنه قد طبع المعاني بجهد شرائط اللسان  
فالتزم التقديم والتأخير في اللفظ حتى أفسد التفسير  
فصار ما ترجمه لا يفهم إذ لم يكن مراده يترجم  
ولم يكن يفهم ما في الترجمة من إستحالة المعاني المحكمة

(*Urjūza*.28-34, *Le Psautier mozarabe*, 15).

The Psalms had been central to the curriculum of the Visigothic kingdom; al-Qūṭī's decision to tackle them in the midst of such controversy suggests that they remained an important part of the education of the Visigoths' heirs.<sup>134</sup> Without an Arabic Psalter one could not learn to read an Arabic Gospel. Without the work of highly educated and integrated Arabised Christians like Ḥafṣ al-Qūṭī, the Andalusī Church would have swiftly collapsed, intellectually crippled by the growing gap between Latin Scripture and Arabophone reader. Al-Qūṭī and the other scriptural translators bear witness to the folly of Sánchez-Albornoz' nationalist proclamations regarding Romance and Latin suppressing Arabic even among the Muslim ruling classes into the tenth century.<sup>135</sup>

### **The Calendar of Córdoba: a Christian text?**

Al-Qūṭī is perhaps the definitive Christian figure of the tenth century, but there is one other text that must be mentioned in a survey of tenth-century Andalusī Christianity, though its origins are far from certain. It is somewhat controversial, or should be, for it is widely assumed to be a tenth-century Christian document on flimsy evidence. The controversy over the dating and attribution of authorship is so convoluted and confused that it would be beyond the scope of the current chapter to do the matter justice without a major deviation from the subject at hand. For fuller discussion, see Appendix III; suffice it to say at this point that following the idiosyncratic – ideological, romantic, prejudiced – approach to history pursued by both Simonet and Dozy, who were the first to work with the text<sup>136</sup>, the authorship of Recemundus the bishop met by John of

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<sup>134</sup> Pierre Riché writes:

*Dès que l'élève connaît les lettres, on lui remet, sans autre transition, le premier livre, le psautier. Cette méthode qui vient des traditions monastiques s'est généralisée pour tous, aussi bien dans les écoles que dans l'enseignement privé. Savoir lire, c'est connaître son psautier*

Once the student knows the letters, one gives him his first book – the Psalter. This method, which comes from monastic traditions, was generalised for all as well as in private schools. To know how to read is to know your Psalter

(*Éducation et culture dans l'Occident barbare: VI<sup>e</sup>-VIII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1962), 515-6).

<sup>135</sup> Sánchez-Albornoz, *España: un enigma*, I.143.

<sup>136</sup> Simonet, 'Santoral hispano-mozárabe escrito en 961 por Rabi ben Zaid, Obispo de Iliberis', *Ciudad de Dios* 5 (1871), 105-16, 192-212, reproduced in *España sagrada LVI: de la santa Iglesia apostólica de Iliberri (Granada)* compiled by Ángel Custodio Vega (Madrid: Imprenta Editorial Maestre, 1957), 123-59; Dozy, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue de l'année 961. Texte arabe et ancienne traduction latine* (Leiden: Brill, 1873), reproduced in Castilian translation as 'Artículo de Dozy sobre Recemundo de Córdoba' in *España sagrada LVI*, 181-96.

Gorze<sup>137</sup>, and the arbitrary date of 961, have been widely accepted for over a century and a half.<sup>138</sup> Christys has shown this to be a matter of convenience over fact.<sup>139</sup> The *Calendar of Cordoba* as it is known today is a composite work consisting of an Arabic text titled *Kitāb al-anwā'* or *Book of the Astrological Cycles* written in *aljamiado*<sup>140</sup> Hebrew characters hailing from the ninth or tenth century, and a twelfth-century Latin text which is clearly a translation of an Arabic original and is considered a translation of the same Arabic text though there are major differences in content, believed to have been translated by Gerard of Cremona.<sup>141</sup> Neither text bears the name of Recemundus, while only the Latin defines the author as a bishop: the Arabic *aljamiado* text names its author as 'Abū al-Ḥasan 'Arīb ibn Sa'd the secretary' (ابو الحسن عريب بن سعد الخاتب); the Latin text's *Harib filii... Zeid episcopi* represents a fairly good phonetic transliteration of the former.<sup>142</sup> But Recemundus was not a secretary; he is named only as ambassador and Bishop of Elvira. The Latin text names him bishop, two centuries later, but this anomaly does not seem to have attracted much attention. Though it has been decreed as such since Dozy and Simonet, the original Arabic *Calendar of Córdoba* is unlikely to have been written by a Christian, for the author quotes the Qur'ān explicitly as the word of God. He does so to explain an obscure astronomical point:

*al-Naw'* means the decline of a house in the West with the dawn, thus it is said that 'This star sets in the West' or 'inclines'; and God – may he fortify the fearful – said: 'the keys of which would weigh down the mighty band'<sup>143</sup>, that is 'they stagger with its load'<sup>144</sup>

<sup>137</sup> Johannes Metensis, *Vita Johannis Gorziensis*.128-9 (f<sup>o</sup> 94), Parisse, 154-7; *MGH Scriptores IV*, 374-5; *PL* 137, col.306C... 307B.

<sup>138</sup> See, among others: Azar, Henry, *The Sage of Seville: Ibn Zuhr, His Time, and His Medical Legacy* (Cairo: American University of Cairo Press, 2008), 8; Fück, Johann, 'Zum Kalendar von Cordoba vom Jahre 961', *Orientalische Literaturzeitung* (1965), 333-7; Horden, Peregrine and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), 153; Lagardère, *Campagnes et paysans d'Al-Andalus: VIII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> s.* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1993), 74; Koningsveld, 'Christian Arabic Literature from Medieval Spain', 213; Vallvé Bermejo, *Al-Andalus: sociedad e instituciones* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1999), 214.

<sup>139</sup> Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 108-34.

<sup>140</sup> *Aljamiado* is the practice of writing one language in the alphabet of another; most often a Hebrew-Arabic combination in al-Andalus. On the genre of *kutub al-anwā'*, see: Burnett, Charles, 'Learned Knowledge of Arabic Poetry, Rhymed Prose, and Didactic Verse from Petrus Alfonsi to Petrarch' in *Poetry and Philosophy in the Middle Ages: A Festschrift for Peter Dronke* edited by John Marenbon (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 40-1.

<sup>141</sup> Martínez Gázquez, José and Julio Samsó, 'Una nueva traducción latina del calendario de Córdoba (siglo XIII)' in *Textos y estudios sobre astronomía española en el siglo XIII* edited by Juan Vernet (Barcelona: Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona, 1981), 9.

<sup>142</sup> *Le Calendrier de Cordoue* edited by Dozy and translated into French by Charles Pellat (Leiden: Brill, 1961), 3.

<sup>143</sup> *Sūra al-Qaṣaṣ* 28:76. Translation by Majid Fakhry, *The Qur'an: A Modern English Version* (4<sup>th</sup> ed. Reading: Garnet, 2005), 246.

<sup>144</sup> *Calendar of Córdoba*:

Despite the high level of Arabic acculturation evidently undergone by the most educated circles inhabited by Ḥafṣ al-Qūṭī, the jump from using adapted Islamic, even Qur’ānic, formulae in a Christian context as he does, to using the Islamic revelation as an authority – and accepting that its authority is from God – is too great.<sup>145</sup> Certainly a Christian living in Christian territory in the twelfth century, like the translator Gerard of Cremona, would have held possibly radically different views of Islam to those of a highly assimilated tenth-century Andalusī Christian and had purposes to which ends a quote of the Qur’ān was necessary, but it does not seem likely that any Andalusī Christian, outside of Albar’s worst nightmare, would quote the Qur’ān in any context other than polemic. The Latin translation – if it was a translation or adaptation of the same text, by Gerard of Cremona or no – omits the passage in question. The Arabic text makes limited reference to the activities of local Christians, but rather offers astronomical information and the agricultural calendar. A Christian would not refer to the Judaic Old Testament (*al-tūrāh*) as the authority for celebrating Jesus’ circumcision on 1 January, as the compiler of the *Kitāb al-anwā’*:

And on this day the ‘*ajam* have the feast of the Messiah’s circumcision, according to the tradition of the Torah<sup>146</sup>

It is an error not repeated in the Latin version, which reads ‘And on this day is the Latins’ feast of the circumcision of Jesus’. The use of the pejorative ‘*ajam* to designate Andalusī Christians rather than *naṣrānī*, and its equivalent *Latini* in place of *Christiani* in the Latin text, is further suggestive of a non-Christian author.

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ومعنى النوء سقوط أحد المنازل في المغرب مع الفجر، فيقال: ناء ذلك النجم للمغرب أى مال؛  
وقال الله عزّ وجل (ما إن مفاتحه لتنوء بالعصبة أوى القوة) أى: لتميل بها من ثقلها

(*Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 6-7).

<sup>145</sup> Burman has shown that passages of the Qur’ān would be used much later in medieval and renaissance Western Europe, though always for polemic purposes, and never as an authority. Knowledge of the Qur’ān, and use of its contents in a Latin translation, of varying quality and honesty, gave authority to one’s refutation of Islam. Burman cites a sixteenth-century copy of Robert of Ketton’s Latin Qur’ān (Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, ms 120b) bearing what he calls a ‘nonpolemical table of contents’, flagging up various points where Islamic belief and Christian doctrine diverge – the sensuality of Islamic paradise, the nature of Jesus – without comment, though he admits that

Of course, the polemicist on the hunt for good material could tell even from these restrained entries that here were Qur’anic teachings that needed refuting

(*Reading the Qur’ān in Latin Christendom, 1140-1560* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 101). There is, however, a vast gulf between an Arabic work of scientific interest written in tenth-century al-Andalus and a Latin work designed for polemic use produced six centuries later somewhere in distant Northern Europe.

<sup>146</sup> *Calendar of Córdoba*.1/1:

وفيه للعجم عيد ختان المسيح بسنة التوراة

(Dozy and Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 26-7). Charles Pellat translates the phrase *bil-sunnat al-tūrāh* as ‘*d’après la tradition biblique (exact.: du Pentateuque)*’ but makes no comment on the inaccuracy (26).



Nevertheless, both versions of the calendar contain information on the festivals and seasonal agricultural activities of the Christians of al-Andalus. Unsurprisingly, the Latin text tells us far more, which poses problems: can we take it for a witness to the tenth or twelfth century? Judging by the awkwardly rendered Arabic terms in the Latin text, one might be tempted to prefer an earlier provenance. The details certainly fit with what we know of the Christian communities in and around Córdoba in the ninth and tenth centuries from other sources, like Eulogius and al-Rāzī.

The *Calendar* offers a long list of Christian monasteries, churches and locales specifically identified as Christian centres in and around Córdoba, which contradicts Aillet's assertion that there remained only one place of worship.<sup>147</sup> Besides the familiar Piñamelaria<sup>148</sup>, there are eight other monasteries located in the city and its environs: they are listed as that of Ielinas<sup>149</sup>, that at Gerisset<sup>150</sup>, Catinas<sup>151</sup>, Nubiras/ Anubaris<sup>152</sup>,

<sup>147</sup> Aillet claims that St Cyprian is the only religious foundation in the city (*À l'intérieur des murailles, les sources ne signalent qu'un seul lieu de culte chrétien: la basilique de Saint-Cyprien*) but the *Calendar* lists at least three, four if one counts the church and the monastery of St Cyprian as two. There are also the unnamed churches associated with the tombs of Zoilus and Esperaindeo in the weaver's district which may or may not be the same building, and that of the parchment-makers. See: Aillet, *Les « Mozarabes »*, 76).

<sup>148</sup> *Calendar of Córdoba.6/1:*

*Et in es est Latinis festum baptismi in quod baptizatus est Christus... et festum eius est in monasterio Pinnamellar*

The Latins celebrate the baptism of Christ on this day... his feast is held in the monastery of Piñamelaria

(Dozy and Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 28-9).

<sup>149</sup> *Calendar of Córdoba.7/1:*

*monasterium Ielinas, cognominatum Album, in monte Cordube*

the monastery of Ielinas, known as the White, in the Cordoban mountains

(Dozy and Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 28-9).

<sup>150</sup> *Calendar of Córdoba.1/5:*

*Et in eo est Christianis festum Torquati et sociorum eius, et sunt septem nuncii, et festiuitas eius est in monasterio Gerisset, et locus Keburiene*

And on this day the Christians have the feast of Torquatus and his companions, and the seven messengers, and his festival is held in the monastery of Gerisset in Keburiene

(Dozy and Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 80-1). Neither monastery nor location has been identified.

<sup>151</sup> *Calendar of Córdoba.3/5:*

*Et in ipse Christianis festum crucis... Et festum eius est in monasterio Pinnamellar et monasterio Catinas*

And on this day is the Christians' feast of the Cross... And its feast is [celebrated] in the monastery of Piñamelaria and the monastery of Catinas

(Dozy and Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 80-1).

<sup>152</sup> *Calendar of Córdoba.29/6... 10/8:*

*Et in ipso Christianis festum duorum apostolorum... Et festum amborum est in monasterio Nubiras... In ipso est Christianis festum Syxti episcopi et Laurentii archidiaconi et Ypoliti militis, interfectorum in ciuitate Roma, et aggregatum in ea est in monasterio Anubaris*

On this day is the Christians' feast of the two apostles... And their feasts are both [celebrated] in the monastery of Nubiras... On this day the Christians have their feast of Bishop Syxtus and Archdeacon Laurentius, and soldier [of Christ] Hippolytus, killed in the city of Rome and attached to the monastery of Anubaris

(Dozy and Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 102-3... 124-5). The designation Nubiras/ Anubaris does not match any known locations; Simonet identifies it with Colubris, a Cordoban suburb (*Historia de los mozárabes*, 331).

Auliato<sup>153</sup>, an unnamed foundation *in monte Cordube*<sup>154</sup>, Armilat<sup>155</sup>, and one devoted to St Cyprian inside the city itself.<sup>156</sup> The six named churches of Córdoba include that of St Paul to the north of the city<sup>157</sup>, that in the town of Tarsil in La Campiña which hosted three saints' feasts<sup>158</sup>, another in the Cordoban district known as the 'village of the weavers', an area associated with the feasts of the Roman martyrs Zoilus and Secundinus<sup>159</sup>, that of another district devoted to the production of parchment<sup>160</sup>, and

<sup>153</sup> *Calendar of Córdoba*.29/6... 17/7:

*Et in ipso est Latinis festum Iuste et Rufine interfectarum... in Yspali. Et festum ambarum est in monasterio Auliati*

And on this day the Latins have their feast of Justa and Rufina who were killed in Seville. And both of their feasts are held in the monastery of Auliatus

(Dozy and Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 112-3). Simonet identifies Auliatus as Aulia, a village on the outskirts of Córdoba (*Historia de los mozárabes*, 150).

<sup>154</sup> *Calendar of Córdoba*.6/8:

*In ipso est Christianis festum Iusti et Pastoris... Et festum utriusque est in monasterio in monte Cordube*

On this day the Christians have their feast of Justus and Pastor... And their feasts are [celebrated] in a monastery in the Cordoban mountains

(Dozy and Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 124-5).

<sup>155</sup> *Calendar of Córdoba*.18/11:

*In ipso est Christianis festum Asiscli... Et festum eius est in ecclesia facientum pergamena in Corduba, et in monasterio Armilat*

On this day the Christians have their feast of Acisclus... And his feast is in the church of the parchment-makers in Córdoba and in the monastery of Armilat

(Dozy and Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 166-7). Again, recourse to Simonet, who identifies Armilat with modern Guadalmellato, 30 miles north of Córdoba, on the Armilata or Armillato river (*Historia de los mozárabes*, 334).

<sup>156</sup> *Calendar of Córdoba*.22/11:

*Et in ipso est festum Cecile et sociarum eius interfectorum in ciuitate Roma. Et festum earum est in monasterio sancti Cipriani in Corduba*

This is the feast day of Cecil [Caecilius?] and his companions killed in Rome, is in the monastery of holy Cyprian in Córdoba

(Dozy and Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 168-9).

<sup>157</sup> *Calendar of Córdoba*.18/6:

*In ipso est festum Quiriaci et Paule interfectorum in ciuitate Cartagena et festum utriusque est in montanis sancti Pauli in iufi Cordube*

This is the feast day of Quiriacus and Paul who were killed in Cartagena, and their feast is held in the mountains [in the church] of St Paul to the north of Córdoba

(Dozy and Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 98-9). The odd term rendered *iufi* in the Latin is corrected as *uifi*, a mistake for *uici* ('village') by both Libri and Dozy. Simonet proposes that it is a Latinisation of the Arabic *jūfī* (جوفي) meaning 'north', which makes perfect sense phonetically given the interchangeable nature of Latin *i* and *j* (*Historia de los mozárabes*, 335).

<sup>158</sup> *Calendar of Córdoba*.26/6... 11/11... 30/11:

*In ipso est festum Pelagi, et sepultura eius est in ecclesia Tarsil... Et festum eius est in Tarsil Alcanpanie... Et festum eius est in uilla Tarsil*

This is the day of the feast of Pelagius, whose tomb is in the church of Tarsil... And the feast of [Bishop Martin] is [celebrated] in Tarsil in La Campiña... And the feast [of the Apostle Andrew] is held in the town of Tarsil

(Dozy and Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 102-3... 164-5... 170-1).

<sup>159</sup> *Calendar of Córdoba*.27/6:

*In ipso est festum sancti Zoili, et sepultura eius est in ecclesia uici Tiraceorum*

This is the feast day of holy Zoilus, whose tomb is in a church in the district of the weavers

the very active church of St Cyprian, presumably adjoining the monastery of the same saint, within the city walls.<sup>161</sup> It is not clear, but there may have been another church associated with the martyrs Saturninus and Columba in ‘a town called Cassas Albas, near the town of Kerillas’<sup>162</sup>. This number seems on the low side, but the calendar also identifies several places where festivities are held with no mention of churches, though it would not be too optimistic to assume that there were churches in at least some of these locations. There is the feast of Christopher, celebrated in a ‘wonderful garden in the other part of Córdoba, across the river’<sup>163</sup>, the feast of Felix in the ‘village of Ienisen in the Cordoban mountains’<sup>164</sup>, the feasts of Servandus and Germanus in ‘a town called Quartus, one of the towns [around] Córdoba’<sup>165</sup>, the feast of Perfectus celebrated at an

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(Dozy and Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 102-3). The Latin *Tiraceorum* is an attempted Latinisation of the Arabic *Ṭarrāzīn* (طرازين) – ‘weavers’. The village also hosts the feasts and tombs of Secundinus (20/4) and of Esperaindeo (7/5):

*et in ipso est festum Secundini martyris in Corduba in uico Tiraceorum... In eo est Latinis festum Esperende et interfectio eius, et est in Corduba. Et sepulchrum eius est in ecclesia uici Atirez*

and on this day is held the feast of the martyr Secundinus in Córdoba, in the district of the weavers... on this day is the Latins’ feast for Esperaindeo and his killing, and it is [celebrated] in Córdoba. His tomb is in the church of the weavers’ district

(Dozy and Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 72-3... 82-3).

<sup>160</sup> *Calendar of Córdoba*.18/11: see footnote above for Acisclus’ feast (Dozy and Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 166-7).

<sup>161</sup> *Calendar of Córdoba*.26/7... 14/9... 9/12:

*Et festum eius [Christine uirginis] est in ecclesia sancti Cipriani in Corduba... Et festum eius [Cipriani sapientis episcopi] est in ecclesia sancti Cipriani in Corduba...*

*Et in ipso est Latinis festum Leocadie sepulte in Toletto [فيه للعجم عيد لقادية المقبورة*

*بطليلة]. Et festum est in ecclesia sancti Cipriani in Corduba*

And the virgin Christina’s feast is held in the church of St Cyprian in Córdoba... And the feast of Cyprian the wise bishop is in the same Cordoban church... And this is the Latins’ feast of Leocadia who is buried in Toledo. Her feast is held in St Cyprian’s too

(Dozy and Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 116-7... 138-9... 178-9).

<sup>162</sup> *Calendar of Córdoba*.29/11... 31/12:

*In ipso Christianis est festum Saturnini martyris. Et festum eius est in Candis in uilla Cassas Albas, prope uillam Kerillas... Et festum eius est in Casis Albis prope Kerilas in monte Cordube*

(Dozy and Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 170-1... 184-5). Simonet identifies this *Kerillas/ Kerilas* with *Fragellas* (*Historia de los mozárabes*, 332).

<sup>163</sup> *Calendar of Córdoba*.10/7:

*Et festum eius est in orto mirabili qui est in alia parte Cordube, ultra fluuium, ubi sunt infirmi*

(Dozy and Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 110-1).

<sup>164</sup> *Calendar of Córdoba*.1/8:

*Et festum eius est in uilla Ienisen in monte Cordube*

(Dozy and Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 122-3). ‘Ienisen’ is unknown. Simonet identifies it with Froniano on the grounds that the latter has both a monastery and a church dedicated to Felix (*Historia de los mozárabes*, 333).

<sup>165</sup> *Calendar of Córdoba*.23/10:

*festum eorum est in uilla Quartus ex uillis Cordube*

(Dozy and Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 154-5).

unnamed location in the city<sup>166</sup>, the feast of Eulalia in ‘the town of Careilas near Córdoba’<sup>167</sup>. Catluira, the venue of a feast celebrating the appearance of Gabriel to Mary<sup>168</sup>, is identified by Simonet with Cuteclara, ‘a village not far from Córdoba, to the East’ as Eulogius described it, which housed a monastery dedicated to Mary.<sup>169</sup>

The *Calendar*’s scope is not confined to the capital. It also tells us of celebrations in Granada<sup>170</sup>, Écija<sup>171</sup>, Seville<sup>172</sup>, Évora<sup>173</sup>, Itálica<sup>174</sup>, and refers to another monastery at ‘Lanitus’, which is presumably another southern locale.<sup>175</sup> We also learn

<sup>166</sup> *Calendar of Córdoba*.30/4:

*Et in ipso est festum sancti Perfecti et sepulchrum eius est in ciuitate Corduba*

And on this day is the feast of Perfectus whose tomb is in the city of Córdoba

(Dozy and Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 74-5).

<sup>167</sup> *Calendar of Córdoba*.10/12:

*Et festum eius est in uilla Careilas prope Cordubam*

(Dozy and Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 74-5). *Careilas* is another spelling of *Kerillas* and *Kerilas*, see above.

<sup>168</sup> *Calendar of Córdoba*.18/12:

*festum apparitionis Marie matris Iesu super quam sit salus. Et festum eius est in Catluira*

the feast of the apparition to Mary mother of Jesus – health be upon her. And the feast is celebrated in Catluira

(Dozy and Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 180-1).

<sup>169</sup> Eulogius:

*monasterio sanctae et gloriosae uirginis Mariae... uico Cuteclara non longe ab urbe in parte occidentali*

(*Memoriale Sanctorum*.II.4.2.5-7, CSM 2:403).

<sup>170</sup> *Calendar of Córdoba*.24/4:

*In ipso est festum sancti Gregorii in ciuitate Granata*

This is the day of holy Gregory’s feast in the city of Granada

(Dozy and Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 72-3).

<sup>171</sup> *Calendar of Córdoba*.4/5... 20/11:

*In eo est Latinis festum Treptecis uirginis in ciuitate Estiia... In ipso est Christianis festum Crispini sepulti in monasterio quod est in sinistro ciuitatis Astige*

[فيه للعجم عيد قرشيين المقبور في الدير بجوفي مدينة استجة]

On this day the Latins hold their feast of the Virgin in the city of Écija... And on this day the Christians have their feast of Crispinus, buried in a monastery to the north of the city

(Dozy and Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 80-1... 168-9).

<sup>172</sup> *Calendar of Córdoba*.12/5:

*In eo est festum Victoris et Basilii in Yspali*

Today is the feast of Victor and Basil in Seville

(Dozy and Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 82-3).

<sup>173</sup> *Calendar of Córdoba*.21/5:

*In ipso est festum Mantii in Yspania in Elbore*

This is the day of the feast of Mantius/ Mancio in Hispania, in Évora

(Dozy and Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 86-7).

<sup>174</sup> *Calendar of Córdoba*.26/8:

*In ipso est festum Geruncii episcopi in Talica*

This is the day of Bishop Geruntius in Itálica

(Dozy and Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 128-9).

<sup>175</sup> *Calendar of Córdoba*.17/6:

*et ingreditur tempus estatis secundum intentionem Arabum. Et in ipso est festum in monasterio Lanitus*

and summertime starts [now] according to the Arabs’ calculations. And on this day a feast is held in the monastery of Lanitus

(Dozy and Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 98-9).

of the agricultural rhythms governing the lives of the Andalusī Christians in the two annual harvests (since the rural labourers – and possibly, judging by the Ibn Ḥafṣūn episode, the landowners – would have been Christian as per Ibn Ḥawqal’s account). The tenth of January is the time to start pruning the vines in la Campiña<sup>176</sup>; late May sees the first barley harvest collected by the people of Málaga, Córdoba, Sidona, Murcia<sup>177</sup>, and another sown.<sup>178</sup> Early October sees another harvest sown in ‘Trujillo, Campo Glandium [Llano de los Pedroches] and the Cordoban mountains’, and late October the sowing of another near Córdoba.<sup>179</sup> The *Calendar of Córdoba* presents a lively and diverse Christian network comprising urban and rural enclaves suggestive of the great numbers reported by Ibn Ḥawqal.

### Latin documentation after the Arabisation of Scripture

Though the best-known Christian figures of the century – Ḥafṣ al-Qūṭī and Recemundus – are models of the benefits of Arabising, Arabic did not yet overwhelm Latin – as the discussion of inscriptions and Appendix II show – it merely superseded its place as the language of high culture. While Arabic was being developed as the new liturgical tongue, there were others of whom Ḥafṣ’ critics could approve still copying Latin

<sup>176</sup> *Calendar of Córdoba*.10/1:

فيه يبدأ بزبر كروم السهلة بغربي قرطبة، ويختار لتركيب الكروم في السهل والجبال إلى آخر الشهر  
*In eo est inceptio putationis vitium planicie in occidente Cordube. Et eligitur ad componendum vites in monte et planicie usque ad finem mensis*

On this day begins the pruning of the vines on the plain west of Córdoba; the end of the month is selected for the grafting of the vines on the plain and in the hills

(Dozy and Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 28-9). The Arabic term *b-z-b-r* is obscure and *rakiba* technical. Pellat translates the former as *la taille*, hence ‘pruning’.

<sup>177</sup> *Calendar of Córdoba*.5/5:

فيه ابتداء أهل السواحل بالحصاد كمالقة وقرطبة وشدونة وتدمير وشبهها

*In ipso incipiunt illi qui sunt in maritimis Cordube et Malache et Sudune et Mursie, metere ordeum*

(Dozy and Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 82-3).

<sup>178</sup> *Calendar of Córdoba*.25/5:

فيه يبدأ بحصاد الشعير بقنفانية قرطبة وغيرها

*In ipso incipiunt secare ordeum in campestribus Cordube et aliis*

On this day they begin to cut the barley in the fields of Córdoba and other places

(Dozy and Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 86-7).

<sup>179</sup> *Calendar of Córdoba*.20/10:

فيه يبدأ أهل قنفانية قرطبة وغيرها بالزريعة العامة

*In ipso incipiunt illi qui sunt in campestribus Cordube et aliis seminare communiter*

On this day those who live in the fields of Córdoba and other places sow together

(Dozy and Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 152-3).



ecclesiastical works. A codex of Church Canons known as the *Hispana Chronologica* was begun two years after Ibn Balashk's Gospels, in January 948.<sup>180</sup> At some point between 961 and 976, Orosius' *Historiae Adversum Paganos* was translated into Arabic, expanded up to Tāriq's conquest and with a great number of extended insertions from Scripture and other Latin sources. Ibn Khaldūn reports that its translator was one 'Qāsim ibn Aṣḡagh, the judge and translator of the Christians'<sup>181</sup>; Penelas conjectures, based on an unclear reference from al-Bakrī (1014-94), that Ḥafṣ al-Qūṭī was the translator, as does Wright, and both date the Psalter to 889, but it seems a stretch to claim that he was still undertaking huge projects under a caliph who ruled 72 years later.<sup>182</sup> In 988, the year before Ḥafṣ' produced his Psalter, Bishop John of Córdoba bequeathed to his native See of Seville a beautiful illuminated bible commonly known as the *Biblia Hispalense*, written in gothic script on the commission of his friend Servandus Bishop of Écija. The dedicatory colophon is interesting because it also functions as a eulogy of John, and in giving his biography identifies a number of

<sup>180</sup> The *Hispana Chronologica* dated by its colophon:

*Inquoatus est liber iste XIII kal[endas] febr[uaris] era DCCCCLXXXVI*

This book was started 19 January in the Era 986

(Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, ms 10,041). Also reproduced by Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, 714.

<sup>181</sup> Ibn Khaldūn:

هروشيوش مؤرخ الروم في كتابة الذي ترجمه للحكم المستنصر من بني أمية قاضي النصارى  
وترجمانهم بقرطبة، وقاسم بن أصبغ

Hurūshiyūsh the historian of Rome, in the book that was translated for al-Ḥakam al-Mustanṣir of the Banī Umayya by Qāsim ibn Aṣḡagh, the judge and translator of the Christians

(*Kitāb al-‘ibar*.II.169. For a recent edition with parallel Castilian translation, see: Penelas, *Kitāb Hurūshiyūsh (traducción árabe de las Historiae adversus paganos de Orosio)* (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 2001). Only one, thirteenth or fourteenth century, Arabic copy of Orosius' *Historiae* survives (New York, Columbia University Library, ms X893.712 H). Orosius was not unknown in the original as were other important Christian works; the *ex libris* inventory of the *Codex Ovetense* lists a Latin copy (*Libros Orosii*). Elsewhere, Ibn Khaldūn describes Orosius' translators as 'two Muslims' (*Kitāb al-‘ibar*.II.401-2) but it is highly unlikely that any Muslims were sufficiently versed in Latin and scriptural works to undertake such a project (Orosius' *Historiae* fills 123 folios in the Arabic manuscript at Columbia) without Christian input at a time when bishops and metropolitans were routinely engaged as ambassadors and interpreters, and a century before Ibn Ḥazm displayed an intimate knowledge of non-Muslim scripture that is notable for its rarity. For the debate regarding the translator's identity, see: Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 139; Koningsveld, 'Christian Arabic literature'; Kuḡayla, 'Ubāda, 'Kitāb al-Tawārīkh li-Bāwlus Ūrūsiyūs wa-tarjamatu-hu al-andalusiyya', *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos* 23 (1985-6), 119-37; Levi della Vida, 'La traduzione araba delle storie di Orosio', *Al-Andalus* 19 (1954), 261-2. On the Columbia manuscript, see: Martinovitch, Nicholas N., 'Arabic, Persian and Turkish Manuscripts in the Columbia University Library', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 49 (1929), 224-5. See also: Penelas, 'El *Kitāb Hurūshiyūsh* y el « Texto mozárabe de historia universal » de Qayrawān: Contenidos y filiación de dos crónicas árabes cristianas' in *¿Existe una identidad mozárabe?*, 135-57, especially 142-3 on form and content.

<sup>182</sup> Penelas aids her argument by supposing that the Orosius translation could have been produced for al-Ḥakam before he acceded to the caliphate ('A possible translator', 119-29 and 'Modos de reutilización en la historiografía andalusí. El *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik* de la-Bakrī' in *Remploi, citation, plagiat: conduites et pratiques médiévales (X<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècle)* edited by Pierre Toubert and Pierre Moret (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2009), 29); Wright, 'Language and Religion', 121-2.



bishops and bishoprics across the southern peninsula: Seville, Servandus of Écija, Stephanus of Medina Sidonia, Cartagena, Córdoba, all functioning and clearly in close contact with one another.<sup>183</sup> The bible may have been copied in Latin, but its readership in the following century came to be predominantly Arabised, as it went on to accrue 201 marginal notes in Arabic, according to Aillet, some of which are contemporary or nearly to the bible's production.<sup>184</sup> This Arabised readership was still well-versed in Latin, though, for they left notes pointing out the copyist's mistakes.<sup>185</sup> The huge amount of time, energy, and money required to produce such a vast and ornate work, however, is testament to the great value still ascribed to Latin scripture at the end of the tenth century.

Latin was also used in an official capacity throughout the century. On 1 April 987 (*kalendas Aprilis, sub aera MXXV*) a Latin legal document (though it is possible that an Arabic copy was also made, or that Arabic was the original language) was written recording the settlement of a dispute between the men of Aguinalú and Juseu (*homines de kastro Aquilanido et homines de Jonsedh*) in what is now Aragón over the

<sup>183</sup> Dedication of the *Biblia Hispalensis* on the final folio:

*In nomine Domini salvatoris nostri Jesucristo autor possessorq[ue] huius libri in quo vetus novumq[ue] omne sacrum testamentum continetur Servandus dive memorie fuit. Qui enimvero natus eruditusq[ue] in beata Spalensis sede postea cathedram Bastigitani meruit tenere.*

*A quo inclito viro concessus est hic codex Johanni sodali intimoq[ue] suo qui etiam post quam in hanc eximiozem sedem Spalensis nutritus et a patruo suo beate memorie Stefano sapientissimo luculentissimoq[ue]... Asidonensis ep[iscop]o eruditus ac sacerdotii ordine dedicatus ad Cartaginem sedem missus est e[pi]sc[opus?] et item ecinde translatus Cordube magne regieq[ue] sedis presul electus ex qua sede egregie incolomis corpore ac mente decrevit hunc codicem compe perfectum d[omi]no Deo offerre in suprafata Spalensis sede penes memoriam s[an]c[t]e semperq[ue] virginis Marie decimo k[a]l[en]d[ar]u[m] januaris era millesima XXVI*

In the name of the Lord, our Saviour Jesus Christ, the author and owner of this book, in which is held the whole sacred testament, both Old and New, was Servandus of divine memory.

He was born and educated in the blessed See of Seville, and later was worthy of occupying the bishop's throne in Écija.

This codex was given by this glorious man to his close friend John who was also brought up in this most distinguished See of Seville, and by his most wise and most splendid uncle Stephanus of blessed memory the Bishop of Medina Sidonia. [John] was educated and consecrated to the order of priest, and sent to the See of Cartagena as bishop, and then he was brought to Córdoba and elected patron of the great region and of the see, from which eminent seat he determined, with sound body and mind, that this codex be fully arranged to offer it to the Lord God in the aforementioned See of Seville in memory of the holy and ever-virgin Mary, 23 December, Era 1026

(Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, ms Vit.13.1, f<sup>o</sup> 375). Flórez, *España sagrada VII: de las Iglesias sufraganeas antiguas de Toledo: Acci, Arcavica, Basti, Beacia, Bigastro, Castulo, Compluto, Dianio, Elotana, Ilici, Mentesa, Oreto, y Osma, segun su estado antiguo* (Madrid: Antonio Marín, 1751), 92.

<sup>184</sup> Aillet, *Les « Mozarabes »*, 322, 164.

<sup>185</sup> Aillet, *Les « Mozarabes »*, 171-2.

rights to a salt-pit (*puteo salinarum*). The names of those involved bear witness to the full range of Arabic assimilation (I have offered the Arabic names where obvious):

These were their names: Fortún son of Aberla, Faīrūz son of Hecca, Guisandi son of Christopher, Nunnus son of Hondemar, Endura son of Ramio, Exipio son of Ramio, Altemir son of Axenci, Rechesendi son of Oriulf, Albin son of Hichila, Uddi son of Savila, and Rechesindi son of Altemir... And they made their oaths in the Church of St Sebastian...<sup>186</sup>

There are men with Gothic or Romance names who gave their sons Arabic names and vice-versa; among the witnesses of the settlement we also have Comparati son of Aquila, Exebi (which could be ‘Ashabī) the priest and son of Bia, and Bonofilio son of ‘Umar. Collins has noted the influence of Arabic and Islamic cultural formulae in the strict monotheism lacking the Son of the opening phrase *In nomine Domini Dei eterni*.<sup>187</sup> We see though that Christians, and in particular, clerics, still held administrative or political positions more than a century after Eulogius and Samson complained of such things:

They made these oaths on the order of the priest Fortún, judge of all the Christians of Lérida under the rule of Zamega the *wazīr*<sup>188</sup>

Not only have these late tenth-century Christians held onto literacy in their former tongue of high culture but – likely a consequence of their continued great numbers, likely still a majority – a certain degree of their legal autonomy too.<sup>189</sup>

The rise of Arabophone Christianity in al-Andalus in the tenth century does not mark the death of Latin, as Ḥafṣ al-Qūṭī’s critics feared, but rather the emergence of a bilingual high culture, fully Arabised and capable of competing on an artistic level with

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<sup>186</sup> The claimants in the kastro Aquilanido-Jonsedh dispute, 987:

*Hec sunt nomina illorum: Fertunio filius Aberla, et Ferruzo filius Hecca, et Guisandi filius Christofo, et Nunnus filius Hondemar, et Endura filius Ramiro, et Exipio filius Ramio, et Altemir filius Axenci, et Rechesendi filius Oriulf, et Albin filius Hichila, et Uddi filius Savila, et Rechesindi filius Altemir. Et fecerunt sacramenta isti homines supra nominati, in domum sancti Sebastiani...*

(*Catalunya carolíngia III: Els comtats de Pallars i Ribagorça* edited by Ramón d’Abadal i de Vinyals (Barcelona: Institut d’Estudis Catalans, 1955), 427. See also: Sénac, *La Marche supérieure d’al-Andalus et l’occident chrétien* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 1991), 153.

<sup>187</sup> Collins, ‘Visigothic law and regional custom in disputes in early medieval Spain’ in *The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe* edited by Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracre (Cambridge: CUP, 1992), 97.

<sup>188</sup> Aquilanido-Jonsedh:

*Et fecerunt ista sacramenta per iussionem de Fertunio presbitero, iudicem cunctis christianis Leridense, sub imperio Zamega aluazir*

(*Catalunya carolíngia III*, 427).

<sup>189</sup> Saker Anwar Nusseibeh writes further that:

Among other things, the document shows a certain amount of legal independence given to the Christian population, which would suggest that the population was large enough for the Muslim authorities to court its loyalty

(*A Comparative Study of Ta’ifa States c.1018-c.1094 with Special Reference to Valencia and Zaragoza* (PhD thesis, King’s College London, 1993), 61.

the Islamic while simultaneously maintaining a link with the Visigothic Latin patrimony. In the following century this flourishing of Arabised peninsular Christianity would transcend the theological-religious sphere to encompass secular culture in verse.

## Chapter IX

### The Flourishing of Arabised Andalusī Christianity Part II: the *taifa* kingdoms (c.1031-c.1086)

When the Cordoban Caliphate disintegrated in the first decades of the eleventh century, its central authority devolved to the *taifa* kings (*mulūk al-ṭawā'if*)<sup>1</sup> who laid claim to small principalities competing for territory and security. Wasserstein identifies 38 more or less substantial fiefdoms and five *taifas* that were little more than fortresses and their environs.<sup>2</sup> Though Wasserstein describes the Christians of this time as ‘a forgotten community’ that ‘emerge[s] as playing no more than a very minor role in *taifa* politics’<sup>3</sup>, their role was more prominent than it had been in the previous century, possibly down to their complete secular Arabisation by this time, which can be seen in Ibn Ḥazm’s (994-1064) observation that ‘many [of the Christians] living amongst Muslims today are circumcised’<sup>4</sup>. The *taifa* courts offered opportunities for the *ahl al-dhimma* and employed a number of indigenous Christians in very prominent political roles – though Jews tended to outnumber them. It is the intention of this chapter to present the sustained literary flourishing of Andalusī Christians into the *taifa* age. The translation of religious works in the previous century is now balanced by the emergence of a

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<sup>1</sup> *Mulūk al-ṭawā'if* (ملوك الطوائف), ‘kings of the *taifas*’; *taifa* being the common form in modern western usage of the Arabic term *ṭā'ifa* meaning ‘part, swarm, faction, party’, usually rendered as either *taifa*, ‘party king’ or ‘petty king’.

<sup>2</sup> Wasserstein, *The Rise and Fall of the Party Kings: Politics and Society in Islamic Spain, 1002-1086* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 83-99.

<sup>3</sup> Wasserstein, *Rise and Fall of the Party Kings*, 224.

<sup>4</sup> Ibn Ḥazm:

واكثر من بين اظهر المسلمين منهم اليوم محتونون

(*Kitāb al-fīṣal fī al-milal* edited by Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Karīm Shahrastānī (Beirut: Dār al-Ma‘rifa, 1975), II.70).

secular poetic voice, which it could be argued, is a sign of greater vitality than the adaptation of existing works from one tongue to another, in that it is an original expression, and one constructed upon complex rules of metre and rhyme.

The Christian demographic undoubtedly constituted a numerical majority at the beginning of the *taifa* period and continued to exert its influence on Andalusī society, though conversion was now between 60% and 80% complete according to Bulliet. There is much material that Wasserstein disregarded when he devoted 25 pages to the Christians in his chapter on *taifa* society in *The Rise and Fall of the Party-Kings*, stating that only two Christians held court positions, and that few Christians were employed high up because the Christian sector of society was not highly educated or culturally sophisticated, unlike in the East.<sup>5</sup> It should become clear from what follows that the Christians maintained a stratified community, for several of both lay and ecclesiastic/monastic elites were prominent and gifted enough to stand out among their Muslim peers both politically and artistically. Many more besides must have been lost to posterity. The religious among these writers would of course have received a monastic education; the lay men were either wealthy enough to hire their own tutors or able to benefit from attending Muslim schools.

### **Christians serve *taifa* courts**

Ibn al-Khaṭīb (1313-74) – historian and *wazīr* to Granada’s Naṣrid *sulṭān* Muḥammad V, admittedly a late witness – offers a curious insight into the strata of Andalusī urban society during the reign of Hishām (II) al-Mu’ayyad ibn al-Ḥakam (ruled 976-1009, 1010-13), which spanned the last years of the caliphate and the civil war that destroyed it, placing Christians amongst its upper echelons:

The next category of the people... [are those who] respect the opinions of the Muslim people in the countries’ capitals. Among them are the slaves, servants, the eunuchs (both kinds), the Christians who may be called upon to act as translators, children and women. These are the most noble of our lower [non-ruling classes], the most significant in terms of power... And they are the majority of the people, among them the jurists and learned men, and the distinguished masses<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Wasserstein, *Rise and Fall of the Party-Kings*, 245-6.

<sup>6</sup> Ibn al-Khaṭīb:

وصنف من أهل الدنيا والآخرة... واعتبروا بمن رأس الأمة المسلمة في أمهات البلدان، من الفتيان والغلمان، والطواشية والخصيان، والأعجم التي تخاطب بالترجمان، والصبية والنسوان. وهم

With the devolution of caliphal power, the value of this still numerous and apparently influential *dhimmī* community became clear. After the collapse of the caliphal system, it was to them – primarily the Jews – that the *taifa* leaders turned.<sup>7</sup> More Jews were appointed than Christians because it was safer: they had no chance of using this power collectively against the Muslims because they were relatively few, while the Christians, as a majority or huge minority, could potentially do so.<sup>8</sup> The *taifas* also turned, as the Banū Qasī had done in the previous century, to the expanding Christian principalities in the North for treaties of peace and for mercenaries in order to secure their borders. Muslim jurists and poets, among them philosopher, poet and *faqīh* Ibn Ḥazm condemned such actions as a debasement of Islamic dignity, fearing that it made a fractured al-Andalus vulnerable. He writes of the *taifas* as barely Muslim:

[Abū Muḥammad said:] ‘What do you say about a ruler [who] made the Jews his masters, and the Christians [*naṣārā*] his army, and ties up the Muslims with a poll-tax...?’<sup>9</sup>

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أشرف أوطانا، وأعظم سلطانا... وهم جمهور الناس من الفقهاء والعلماء، والخاصة والدهماء

(*A‘māl al-a‘lām*, 46-7).

<sup>7</sup> Abdelilah Ljami:

*juste après la chute de Cordoue, les rois de taifas faisaient approcher les juifs de leurs palais et nommaient quelques-uns d’entre eux vizirs ou conseillers dans l’Etat musulman*

upon Córdoba’s fall, the kings of the *taifas* approached the Jews of their palaces and appointed some of them among their vizirs or counsellors in the Muslim state

(*Ibn Ḥazm et la polémique islamo-chrétienne dans l’histoire de l’islam* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 37-8).

<sup>8</sup> Ross Brann reckons that

In contrast with the Jews of eleventh-century al-Andalus, far fewer Christians were appointed to government posts partly because of their more significant numbers in the general population

(*Power in the Portrayal: Representations of Jews and Muslims in Eleventh and Twelfth Century Islamic Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University, Press, 2002), 87).

<sup>9</sup> Ibn Ḥazm:

ما تقولون في سلطان جعل اليهود اصحاب أمره والنصارى جنده والزم المسلمين الجزية

(*al-Fisal*, IV.175. Ibn Ḥazm reiterates his anger on this point in letters:

والله لو علموا أن في عبادة الصليبان تمشية أمورهم لبادروا إليها، فنحن نراهم يستمدون النصارى

فيمكنونهم من حرم المسلمين وأبنائهم ورجلهم يحملونهم أسارى إلى بلادهم

By God, if they discovered that their position would improve by worshipping the cross, they would rush to it! For we ourselves see them seeking help from the *naṣārā* Christians, indeed they give the Christians the Muslims’ sacred things, their children and their men, and they take them to their land

(*Rasā’il Ibn Ḥazm* edited in four volumes by Iḥsān ‘Abbās (Beirut: al-Mu’assasah al-‘Arabīyah lil-Dirāsāt wa-al-Nashr, 1980-83), III.176). Ibn Bassām records the Grenadine poet Abū al-Qāsim ibn Khalaf al-Ibīrī al-Sumāsīr expressing the same criticism:

وقال في ملوك الأندلس:

ناد الملوك وقل لهم ماذا الذي أحدثتم

أسلمتم الإسلام في أسر العدا وقعدتم



Pulcini seeks to explain Ibn Ḥazm's hostility towards Muslim-Christian ties as a response to demographic change's recently production of a Muslim majority, which should have rendered unnecessary a reliance on non-Muslims in positions of authority.<sup>10</sup> According to Bulliet, however, conversion had already begun to slow down by this point (Graph 20), having passed 60% (Graph 22), and since we do not know how many converted, 60% does not represent 60% of the population.

Andalusī historians took far less interest than their Eastern counterparts in recording any activity on the part of the Christians<sup>11</sup>, but still they are a visible presence in the *taifa* courts throughout the eleventh century. Aḥmad ibn Sulaīmān (al-Muqtadir) ibn Hūd of Zaragoza (1046-81) employed Bishop Paternus of Tortosa in 1064 as interpreter and ambassador to Fernando I of León-Castile (1037-65) and sent him to Santiago de Compostela<sup>12</sup>, and the poet Abū 'Umar ibn Ghundishalbu (i.e.: *filius Gundisalvus*) as *dhū al-wizārataīn* or 'holder of the two (civil and military) portfolios' – one of only five Arabised Andalusī Christian poets named in the historical record.<sup>13</sup> In

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وجب القيام عليكم إذ بالنصاري قمتم  
لا تنكروا شق العصا فعصا النبي شققتم

And he spoke to the kings of al-Andalus:

He criticised the kings and said to them: 'What injury have you committed?

Have you delivered Islam into the command of the enemy, and sat back?

We must rise up against you because the *naṣārā* Christians have swept you aside.

You have refused to do anything about it, you have renounced allegiance to the community, so that you have oppressed the community of the Prophet

(*al-Dhakhīra fī mahāsīn ahl al-jazīra* edited by Iḥsān 'Abbās (Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1979), I.2.885).

<sup>10</sup> Pulcini, Theodore, *Exegesis as Polemical Discourse: Ibn Ḥazm on Jewish and Christian Scriptures* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), 139-41.

<sup>11</sup> See: Ljamai, *Ibn Ḥazm et la polémique islamo-chrétienne*, 38.

<sup>12</sup> A document composed by Sisnando Davídez, at the time Count of Coimbra, tells of his encountering Paternus and his political mission: dated 1086:

*Deinde rex predictus reversus est ad locum sancti Iacobi apostoli orationis causa et invenit domnum Paternum episcopum venientem ad se missum a rege Cesarauguste urbis qui suprafactus episcopus eo tempore Tortuosane urbis sedem tenebat... Facta testamenti karta idus aprilis era Millesima centesima vicesima quarta. Ego Sisnandus predictus consul manum meam scripsi et roboravi*

Then the aforesaid king [Fernando I] returned to Santiago de Compostela because of a request, and found his lordship Bishop Paternus coming (who at that time held the See of the city of Tortosa) sent to him by the king of Zaragoza... This charter of witness was made 13 April, Era 1124

(*Portugaliae monumenta historica a saeculo octavo post Christum usque ad quintum decimum [PMH], Scriptores* compiled by Alexandre Herculano de Carvalho e Araújo and José da Silva Mendes Leal (Lisbon: Typis Academicis, 1856), I.392-3, document DCLVII).

<sup>13</sup> Al-Maqqarī names Ibn Ghundishalbu, Ibn al-Margharī and Ibn Martīn, but one could include the tenth-century Ḥafṣ al-Qūṭī and his fellow translator the eleventh-century Binjinshīsh (Vincentius, see below) who both worked in verse or incorporated verse into their work. See: al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb min ghuṣn al-Andalus al-raṭīb* edited by Dozy, G. Dugat, L. Krehl and W. Wright under the title *Analectes sur l'histoire et la littérature des Arabes d'Espagne par al-Makkari* (Amsterdam: Oriental Press, 1967), I.350-1, II.276, 350-1). On the three Christian poets, see also: Catlos, *The Victors and the Vanquished*, 30; Menéndez Pidal and García Gómez, 'El conde mozárabe Sisnando Davídez y la política de Alfonso

his autobiography *Kitāb al-tibyān* (*The Book of Exposition* or *The Exposition of the Downfall of the Zīrid Dynasty in Granada* to give it the full title as attributed by al-Nubāhī)<sup>14</sup>, the last Zīrid emir ‘Abd Allāh ibn Buluqqīn (ruled 1073-90, often called Buluggīn or ‘Abd Allāh) writes explicitly of indigenous Andalusī Christians in three places, making it clear that there were notable populations within the borders of his *taifa*. He states outright that two towns – Riana and Jotron – are entirely Christian<sup>15</sup>, and suggests that Aledo and its environs were home to a largely if not exclusively Christian population, many of whom crowded the fortress to protect themselves from the advance of Ibn Buluqqīn and al-Mu‘tamid-ibn ‘Abbād’s Sevillian forces against Alfonso VI’s Castilian garrison stationed there.<sup>16</sup> Ibn Buluqqīn also mentions two Christians in positions of power: Muḥammad ibn al-Martīn served al-Mu‘tamid-(1039-95) as *qā’id*<sup>17</sup>, and Abū al-Rabī‘ held the office of *kātib ḥasham*<sup>18</sup> and later *wazīr* for Ibn Buluqqīn’s predecessor Bādīs ibn Ḥābbūs (ruled Granada 1038-72), and was still politically active in Ibn Buluqqīn’s day.<sup>19</sup> When Abū al-Rabī‘ fled Granada in December 1066 following violence in which the *ahl al-dhimma* were targeted, he spent

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VI con los taifas’, *Al-Andalus* 22 (1947), 30-6; Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, 660; Urvoy, Marie-Thérèse, ‘Que nous apprend’, 160.

<sup>14</sup> The fourteenth-century Grenadine *qāḍī* Ibn al-Ḥasan al-Nubāhī provides the title *al-Tibyān ‘an al-ḥāditha al-kā’ina bi-dawlat banī Zīrī fī Gharnāta* for the work whose manuscript was discovered untitled by Lévi-Provençal in the early 1930s. See: Ṭībī, Amīn Tawfīq, *The Tibyān: Memoirs of ‘Abd Allāh b Buluggīn, Last Zīrid Amīr of Granada* (Leiden: Brill, 1986), 7-8; Lévi-Provençal, ‘Deux nouveaux fragments des “Mémoires” du roi ziride Abd Allah de Grenade’, *Al-Andalus* 6 (1941), 1-64.

<sup>15</sup> ‘Abd Allāh ibn Buluqqīn:

رُبِينة وجرطرون... رعيته نصرارى

Ruyīna and Joṭrūn... their citizens are Christian

(*al-Tibyān* edited by Amīn Tawfīq al-Ṭībī (Rabāt: Manshūrāt ‘Ukāz, 1995), 116.

<sup>16</sup> Ibn Buluqqīn:

وهو قد امتلأ برعية، كلها من نصرارى، وأعدون فيه ما يحتاج من كل شيء

And Aledo was filled with the local people, all of whom were Christians, who had prepared everything they might need

(*al-Tibyān*, 127).

<sup>17</sup> *Qā’id* (فائد): ‘leader, high-ranking officer, general’. On Ibn al-Martīn, see: Ibn Buluqqīn, *al-Tibyān*, 98; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *A’māl*, 149-58; al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭīb*, II.350-1.

<sup>18</sup> *Kātib ḥasham* (كاتب حشم), roughly translates as ‘secretary for the troops’; *ḥasham* in al-Andalus denotes the body of foreign mercenary soldiers like Albar’s *Romani*, like the Cid and the Catalan general Reverter.

<sup>19</sup> Ibn Buluqqīn:

أبي الربيع النصراني، وكان فيما مضى كاتب حشم، قد عرف خدمة اليهود

Abū al-Rabī‘ the Christian had been a secretary of the *ḥasham* and is known to have been in the service of the Jew

(*al-Tibyān*, 94). The Jew was Ibn Shālīb, ambassador of Alfonso VI of León-Castile. He was killed by al-Mu‘tamid because he refused to accept devalued currency as the *taifa*’s *paria* or tribute. See also: al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭīb*, VI.90f).

a number of years in Denia until being recalled.<sup>20</sup> He may have gone to Denia because it was home to a large Christian population that provided the *taifa* king ‘Alī Iqbāl al-Dawla bin Mujāhid (ruled 1044-75) with a Latin-literate scribe who translated a letter to countess Almodis, wife of Ramón Berenguer I of Barcelona between 1052 and 1056.<sup>21</sup> A treaty of 1058 with Guislabert, Bishop of Barcelona (1035-62), whose authenticity is disputed<sup>22</sup>, indicates a substantial Christian community in Denia province.<sup>23</sup> If genuine, the treaty, with its assertion of *ecclesiae* in the plural and a hierarchy, would certainly rebut Guichard’s ‘reasonable and prudent position’ that there was an indigenous Christian community without ecclesiastical framework in the region of Denia in the

<sup>20</sup> Ibn Buluqqīn:

وأناه المذكور من دانية، إذ كان بها من وقت قتل اليهودي

the aforesaid [Abū al-Rabī‘] came from Denia, where he had been for a long time after the murder of the Jew

(*al-Tibyān*, 95).

<sup>21</sup> Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, pergaminos de Ramón Berenguer I, number 182; published by Ferran Valls i Taberner in *Recull de documents i estudis* (Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona, 1923), I.214-6. See also: Bruce, ‘An Intercultural Dialogue’, 25.

<sup>22</sup> The authenticity of the document recording ‘Alī bin Mujāhid and Barcelona’s agreement is discussed and questioned by Barceló in his article ‘La qüestió dels documents d’un suposat accord entre ‘Ali b. Mujahid de Daniya i el bisbe Guislabert de Barcelona’, *Revista del Instituto de Estudios Alicantinos* 39 (1983), 7-29. Barceló dismisses the treaty because of discrepancies between the Arabic and Latin versions (7); Bruce argues however, that ‘texts in bilingual treaties were habitually dissimilar’ and offers the example of al-Azraq of Valencia’s treaty of surrender to Jaume I and Prince Alfonso in 1245 (‘An Intercultural Dialogue’, 27). For the two texts of this agreement, see Burns and Chevedden, *Negotiating Cultures*, 35-49). More recently, Cyrille Aillet has rejected the treaty document as a thirteenth-century fraud produced for propaganda purposes by the church of Barcelona because of the late date of the surviving copies and because of the inclusion of a papal bull in the same collection, now known to be fake (*Les « Mozarabes »*, 54). It is certainly noteworthy that the Latin document refers to the Muslims with the pejorative *Ismaelitas*, but this does not necessarily prove or indicate a later provenance for small details like the supply of an earlier date for the Arabic document drawn up by the *taifa* of Denia, and Paternus’ signature, point to the document’s authenticity.

<sup>23</sup> Epalza argues that any Christians found in the region at this time were so-called ‘néo-mozárabes’, that is, immigrants from the North, slaves, prisoners of war, itinerant merchants – anything but indigenous Christians of local descent (‘Les mozarabes: l’état de la question’, *Revue du monde musulman et de la Méditerranée* 63-4 (1992), 41-5; see also ‘Falta de obispos y conversion al Islam’). María Jesús Rubiera Mata argues the same point, displaying the assumption that *taifa* al-Andalus was an homogenous state:

*cristianos que vivían en un estado islámico, al que habían acudido por diferentes razones: saqáliba militares de la tropa que guardaban su religión, de origen catalán, vasco o de las costas mediterráneas de Italia y Francia; víctimas de las razzias musulmanas y de la piratería; esclavas cristianas que podían conservar su religión aun casadas con personajes importantes... comerciantes europeos, catalanes, pisanos, genoveses...*

the Christians who lived in an Islamic state were there for various reasons: indentured soldiers who maintained their religion, of Catalan or Basque origin, or from the Mediterranean coasts of Italy and France; victims of Muslim raids and piracy; Christian slaves who could preserve their religion even if they were bound to important persons... European merchants – Catalan, Pisan and Genovese...

(*La Taifa de Denia* (Alicante: Instituto Juan Gil-Albert, Diputación Provincial de Alicante, 1985), 103). In ‘Mozarabs: An Emblematic Christian Minority’, Epalza explains this theory of the evanescence of indigenous Christianity in Andalusī territory as the result of a disintegrating ecclesiastic structure and a lack of bishops to baptise and consecrate new bishops (388-90). The treaty’s numerous references to bishops and denominational Christians, and its very existence, rebuts such a theory; both Latin and Arabic parts of the charter make explicit reference to churches in the plural – *omnes ecclesias* and *بيعهم*.

eleventh century.<sup>24</sup> The bilingual treaty accorded the See of Barcelona spiritual authority over the ecclesiastical infrastructure within Denia's borders at Guislabert's personal request (*insistentibus... Gislaberti intercessibus*).<sup>25</sup> In return for this gift, the Arabic text stipulates that 'Alī be named in the weekly sermon in the province's churches.<sup>26</sup> Politics may not have been the only motive, however, for 'Alī had rather closer ties with the Christian North than the treaties of his fellow *taifas*: his mother was

<sup>24</sup> Guichard, *Les musulmans de Valence et la reconquête (XI<sup>e</sup>-XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1990), I.176.

<sup>25</sup> 'Alī's declaration of the treaty reads:

*anno Dominice Incarnationis LVIII post millesimum... In Dei omnipotentis nomine. Ego Ali dux urbis Denie et insularum Balearum, Mugehid iam dicte urbis olim ducis proles, assensu filiorum meorum et ceterorum ismaelitarum in meo palatio maiorum, contrado atque largior Sedi Sancte Crucis Sancteque Eulalie barchinonensi et predicto presuli omnes ecclesias et episcopatum regni mei, que sunt in insulis Balearibus et in urbe Denia, in perpetim abinceps maneat sub diocesi predictae urbis barchinonensis et ut omnes clerici, presbiteri et diachoni, in locis prefatis comorantes, a minimo usque ad maximum, a puero usque ad senem, ab odierno die et tempore minime conentur deprecere ab aliquo pontificum ullius ordinationem clericatus, neque crismatis sacri confectionem, neque cultum aliquem ullius clericatus nisi ab episcopo barchinonensi aut ab ipso cui ille preceperit. Si aliquis, quod absit, hoc largitione donum improbo nisu annullare uel disrumpere conatus fuerit, celestis regis iram incurrat et ab omni lege penitus exors fiat... Facta carta donationis VII kalendas ianuarii, anno prescripto apud urbem Deniam, iussu Ali et assensu filiorum suorum maiorumque suorum inferius corroboratorum*

In the year of the Lord's incarnation 58 after the millennium... In the name of Almighty God. I, 'Alī – ruler of the city of Denia and of the Balearic islands, son of Mujāhid the former ruler of said city, with the assent of my sons and of the other great Ishmaelites in my palace – render and bestow upon the See of the Holy Cross and St Eulalia of Barcelona, and proclaim it patron of all the churches and bishops of my realm, on the Balearic islands and in the city of Denia, so that they might remain hereafter under the diocese of said city of Barcelona in perpetuity, and so that all the clerics, priests, and deacons who stay in said places, from the least to the greatest, from boy to elder, from this day, should they undertake to ask one of their bishops to be ordained to a clerical office, [there will be] neither preparation of the sacred chrism nor whatever cult of any clerical office unless from the Bishop of Barcelona or from him whom he instructs [to act in his stead]. If anyone – God forbid – should try to annul or break off this granted gift with wicked effort, he shall incur the wrath of the heavenly king and shall be punished, unprotected by any laws... This charter of donation was made 26 December of the year aforementioned in the city of Denia by order of 'Alī and with the assent of his sons and his leading men and lesser supporters

(Archivo de la Catedral de Barcelona, pergaminos n.3-3-8). Document published in *Diplomatari de l'Arxiu Capitular de la catedral de Barcelona. Segle XI* edited by Carme Batlle i Gallart, Josep Baucells i Reig, Àngel Fàbrega Grau, M. Riu Riu, J. Hernando i Delgado (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 2006), III.doc.977, 1554-8; and also by Peñarroja Torrejón, *Cristianos bajo el Islam*, 76-9. Another version, with minor variations, is held by the Archivo Segreto Vaticano di Roma, *Archivum Arcis, Arm. I-XVIII*, n.2222 (piece 21). The original document is lost, but survives in a copy made by the notary Petrus de Bagès in 1230. Peñarroja Torrejón, *Cristianos bajo el Islam*, 76; Puig y Puig, Sebastián, *Episcopologio de la Sede Barcinonense* (Barcelona: Biblioteca Balmes, 1929), 388-91.

<sup>26</sup> 'Alī to be named by Denia province priests:

اجاب غلبرت الاسقف برشلونة إلى ان يكون سذكورا في خطب النصارى في بيعهم بجميع

Bishop Ghilbirt of Barcelona consented that the Christians shall mention him in their sermons in the assemblies of their churches

(*Diplomatari de l'Arxiu Capitular*, III.doc.977, 1554-8). The Arabic text was composed before the Latin, in the month of *Shawāl* 449 (شوال سنة تسع واربعين واربعاء).

Christian (أمه النصرانية)<sup>27</sup> and, following his father's disastrous attempt to capture Sardinia in 1016, he had spent 16 years, from the age of 14, as a diplomatic hostage of the Holy Roman Emperor Henry II [1014-24] and then the Pisan magnate Ildeberto Albizone. As a result he was open to the criticism of being more Christian than Muslim, as Ibn al-Khaṭīb puts it:

he spoke the language of the *rūm* among whom he had been brought up; he was the same as them in his dress and expressed himself with their speech<sup>28</sup>

In the same year, the new Cathedral of Barcelona was endowed, and one of the charter's signatories was Paternus, a man of religion and letters who had served, from 1040-77, as Bishop of Zaragoza.<sup>29</sup> In 1080 he was elected Bishop of Coimbra, and died ten years later, still in office, as attested by a Latin document recording the donation of his books:

In the year 1090 from the Lord's birth: the death of his lordship Bishop Paternus, who gave this church a copy of Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, a book of chronicles with Isidore's *Etymologiae*, a canonical book written in Arabic, and two astrolabes<sup>30</sup>

Peñarroja believes there were two Paternuses, one the Bishop of Tortosa, the other of Zaragoza, and warns against confusing the two<sup>31</sup>, but it seems odd that al-Muqtadir would engage the services of Paternus of Tortosa, 100 miles away, while Paternus of Zaragoza was on his doorstep. The association with Tortosa comes from the pen of Sisnandus (also known as Sinsnado Davídez, at that time ambassador and administrator of Fernando I of León-Castile), but his words imply that Paternus was responsible for Tortosa for a short period only (*eo tempore Tortuosane urbis sedem tenebat*), he does

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<sup>27</sup> Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *A'māl al-a'lām*, 219.

<sup>28</sup> Ibn al-Khaṭīb:

يتكلم بلسان الروم الذين ربي فيهم، ويتزيا بزيهم، ويقول بقولهم

(*A'māl al-a'lām*, 221). For further background see: Bruce, 'The Politics of violence and trade: Denia and Pisa in the eleventh century', *Journal of Medieval History* 32.2 (2006), 138, and 'An Intercultural Dialogue', 22.

<sup>29</sup> *España sagrada* XXX, 218-26.

<sup>30</sup> Document of donation of Paternus' library to the See of Coimbra, 1088:

*Ano a nativitate Domini M.<sup>o</sup> .XC<sup>o</sup>.: Obitus domni Paterni episcopi, qui dedit hic ecclesie librum Augustini De Civitate Dei et librum Chronicarum cum Etymologiis Isidori et librum canonicum arabice scriptum et duo strolabia*

(*Liber Anniversariorum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Colimbriensis (Livro das kalendas da sé de Coimbra)* edited by Pierre David and Torquato de Sousa Soares (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1947-8), II.122; Peñarroja Torrejón, *Cristianos bajo el Islam*, 257n65).

<sup>31</sup> Peñarroja Torrejón writes:

*La curiosa biografía de este personaje no ha de confundirse con la de su homónimo Paterno, obispo de Zaragoza, que asistió al Concilio de Jaca en 1063*

The curious biography of this person should not be confused with that of his namesake Paterno the Bishop of Zaragoza, who attended the Council of Jaca in 1063

(*Cristianos bajo el Islam*, 256).



not call him bishop of that town outright.<sup>32</sup> Sisnandus also associates Paternus with Zaragoza, linking him to the *taifa* king, and recalling that he met him in that city.<sup>33</sup> It would make more sense that one Paternus, Bishop of Zaragoza, had responsibility for two sees, and had been closely associated with Tortosa for a period.

### Christian Arabic verse

Christians were able to flourish in both politics and the arts in the eleventh century, particularly at Seville, under the patronage of the aforementioned al-Mu‘tamid-ibn ‘Abbād, who ruled that *taifa* for 23 years (1069-92) and captured and lost Córdoba more than once during the 1070s. Reports of three secular Christian *taifa* poets survive thanks to al-Maqqarī; two of them were residents of al-Mu‘tamid’s Seville – *qā’id* Muḥammad ibn Martīn, already named by al-Buluqqīn (who may be the Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Martīn of Seville, an example of whose verse is recorded by Ibn

<sup>32</sup> Sisnando Davídez is an important figure of the eleventh century. Born in Tentúgal near Coimbra, he was captured by the *taifa* of Seville ‘Abbād II al-Mu‘taḍid, whom he served as administrator and ambassador until leaving for an identical post with Fernando I of León, advising and leading the conquest of Coimbra, for which he was rewarded with the countship south of the Douro and the title *aluaçir de Coimbra*. The *Historia Silense* reports (.90):

*Sesnandum quendam consiliis illustrem... Is namque a Benahabet Bethice prouincie rege cum alia preda ex Portugale olim raptus, multis preclaris commissis, inter barbaros insudando in tantam claritatem peruenerat, vt pre omnibus totius regni barbaro regi carior haberetur... Ceterum vbi, relicto Benahabet Sesnandus, ad Fernandum regem profectus est, his supradictis artibus et nobis insignis et barbaris vsque ad extremum diem maximo terrori fuit*

Sisnandus was distinguished in counsel... For he had once been captured, along with other booty, by Ibn ‘Abbād king of Baetica province, in Portugal. Having done many remarkable things, he achieved such renown among the barbarians that he was more dear to the barbarian king than anyone of his whole kingdom... Moreover, when he made his way to King Fernando, having left Ibn ‘Abbād, with his aforementioned skills he was eminent among us and the greatest terror to the barbarians to his dying day

(Pérez de Urbel and Ruiz-Zorrilla, 193-4). See: Menéndez Pidal and García Gómez, ‘El conde mozárabe Sisnando Davídiz’, 30-1, 36; Reilly, *The Kingdom of Leon-Castilla under King Alfonso VI, 1065-1109* (Philadelphia: Princeton University Press, 1988), 22, 173.

<sup>33</sup> Sisnando Davídez offered Paternus the bishopric of Coimbra under Fernando I of León-Castile’s instruction and associates him with Zaragoza, as recalled in a document entitled *Carta de vinca de villa mendica et vincis sancti Martini*, dated 1088:

*Ego Sesnandus, Colimbrie consul, elegi te Paternum episcopum quando eram in Cesaraugustam civitatem missum a rege Adefonso, glorificet eum Deus, ut ad me venires, sicut prius cum rege domno Fredenando, cui sit beata requies, locutus fueras sicut et fecisti, qua de causa, gavisus fui... Ego Sesnandus manu mea scripsi et roboravi. Facta testamenti carta kalendas marcias. Era M<sup>a</sup>C<sup>a</sup>XX<sup>a</sup>VI<sup>a</sup>*

I, Sisnandus, Count of Coimbra, elected you, Bishop Paternus to come to me, when I was in Zaragoza, sent there by King Alfonso – may God make him glorious – just as I had been sent by King Fernando I – may his rest be blessed. I rejoiced when I was told you had done it... I, Sisnandus, wrote this with my own hand and confirmed it. Charter of witness made 1 March, Era 1126

(*PMH*, I.419-20, document DCC).



Sa‘īd<sup>34</sup>), and official court poet Ibn al-Mir‘izzī – al-Maqqarī calls him Ibn al-Margharī the Christian, and preserves an example of his half-rhymed verse:

I have seen no diversion for the master of the hunt,  
 Nothing enough for the eager winner,  
 Like a young galloping creature with a slender neck,  
 Curved in shape but piercing the quarry like an arrow,  
 That submits to the guidance of her nose  
 Which leads her to what is hidden and difficult to find.  
 Send her after a flash of lightning,  
 For the lightning will find no refuge from her<sup>35</sup>

Around the same time, in 1049, perhaps in Seville or Córdoba<sup>36</sup>, a priest named Binjinshīsh (Vincentius) oversaw the completion of an Arabic codex of Church Councils, which he calls *Jama‘ al-qawānīn al-muqaddas* (*Collection of the Holy*

<sup>34</sup> Ibn Sa‘īd attributes the following verse to one Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Martīn of Seville:

كيف لي بعد كم بطيب الهجوع      وجفوني مملوءة بدموعي  
 كل شيء يتسبب منه إذا ما      بنتم غير عبرتي وولوعي  
 ولكم قد شكوت مما ألقى      غير أن أشكو لغير سميع

(*al-Mughrib fī ḥulā al-Maghrib*, I.248).

<sup>35</sup> Ibn al-Mir‘izzī:

لم أر ملهى لذي اقتناصٍ      ومقنع الكاسب الحريص  
 كمثل خطأ ذات جيد      أعيد تبرية القميص  
 كالفوس في شكلها، ولكن      تنفذ كالسهم القنيص  
 إن أخذت أنفها دليلاً      دل على الكامن العويص  
 أو أرسلوها وراء برق      لم يجد البرق من محيص

(Ibn Sa‘īd, *al-Mughrib fī ḥulā al-Maghrib*, I.269; al-Maqqarī, *Analectes*, II.350-1).

<sup>36</sup> The location and identity of this priest Binjinshīsh is obscure and has inspired little in the way of debate. Pedro Luís Blanco suggests the old province of Baetica:

*por ser allí donde floreció incomparablemente más que en el resto de España el estudio  
 de la lengua árabe, y porque en aquel país no era inusitado el nombre de Vicente*  
 the study of the Arabic language flourished there incomparably more than in the rest of  
 Spain, and in that region the name Vincent was not unused

Despite his critical failings, Blanco may not be far off the mark. Book I chapter 51 appears to suggest that the bishop ‘Abd al-Mālik named as recipient of the manuscript was Bishop of Seville, though it is possible, as Kassis admits, that we are dealing with a ‘Mozarab’ community resettled in one of the Northern kingdoms. Dominique Urvoy opines that the Arabic *Canons* ‘probably hailed from Córdoba’ (*émanant vraisemblablement de Cordoue*). Gonzálo Martínez Díez seems to be alone in arguing for a northern origin, dubbing Binjinshīsh’s manuscript ‘Catalana-Mozárabe’. See: Blanco, *Noticia de las antiguas y genuinas colecciones canónicas inéditas de la Iglesia española, que de orden del Rey nuestro Señor, se publicarán por su Real Biblioteca de Madrid* (Madrid: La Imprenta Real, 1798), 148; Kassis, ‘Arabic-speaking Christians in al-Andalus in an age of turmoil (fifth/ eleventh century until A.H. 478/ A.D. 1085)’, *Al-Qanṭara* 15.2 (1994), 413-4; Koningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic Glossary*, 60; Martínez Díez, Gonzálo, ‘Un tratado visigótico sobre la penitencia’, *Hispania sacra* 19 (1966), 89; Urvoy, ‘Les aspects symboliques du vocable « mozarabe »’, 142.

*Canons*).<sup>37</sup> Binjinshīsh appended two quatrains to his work; the first, added to the colophon of Book VII, is a verse dedication to the work's recipient:

A book for 'Abd al-Mālik, bishop-elect,  
Kind, generous with gifts in times of poverty,  
Magnanimous, sharp in intuition, unique in his time,  
Learned, noble, possessed of patience and of reason,  
God's grace has been renewed among us by his merit;  
He has spread the Lord's way to all those who sleep  
So he did not abandon the glory of the universal God,  
[As] the earth continues to drink from the fallen rain

He then closes Book VIII with a verse prayer:

I wrote [this] and I am sure, no doubt, that  
The day my hand becomes old, what it wrote will remain unchanged.  
For there is peace and comfort in eternal life  
Or there is hellfire that cannot be endured.  
So take refuge from it in God and seek his presence,  
Which is sweet, and his sweet reward  
So may he who reads our writing after us,  
Entrust a prayer to God as to approach him daily as befits him.

Amen<sup>38</sup>

<sup>37</sup> San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio, ms arab. 1623, f° 1-435. Formerly Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, ms. 4879. Binjinshīsh names himself and dates the completion of the *Canons* in the colophon of Book VIII:

تم المصحف

تمت واكملت انا بنجنشيش القس الخاطى عبد عبيد المسيح هذا الجز الثامن من القانون المقدس  
يوم الأحد في الوقت الثامن من ذلك النهار وهو أول أحد من الصيام الاربعيني الذى يتلا فيه خبر  
المرأة السامرية التى استسقاها سيدنا المسيح الما في بير يعقوب

End of the volume.

I, Binjinshīsh, priest, sinner, servant of the servants of the Messiah brought to an end and completed this eighth section of the sacred *Qānūn* on Sunday at the eighth hour of daylight, the first Sunday of Lent [literally 'the 40[-day] fast'] in which is read the story of the Samaritan woman who asked our Lord the Messiah for water at Ya'qūb's well (San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio, ms arab. 1623, f° 394). For an appraisal of the manuscript's history and study, see Abu-Haidar, Jareer, 'A Document of Cultural Symbiosis', 223-5.

<sup>38</sup> Binjinshīsh's quatrains in the colophon of Book VII:

كتاب لعبد المالك الاسقف الندب جواد نبيل الرفد في الزمن آجذب  
همام ذكى الحدس وأحد عصره عليم كريم ذى حلوم وذى لب  
يجدد فضل الله فينا بفضله وعم به كل الانام هدى الرب  
فلا زال في عز من الله شامل مدى انهل مزن في قرى الارض بالسكب

Colophon to Book VIII:

كتبت وايقنت لا شك اننى ستبلى يدي يوما وييقا كتابها  
فاما نعيم في الجلود وراحه واما جحيم لا يطاق غذابها

This codex is not simply a translation of a Visigothic *Instituta vel Excerpta Canonum* as Simonet assumed<sup>39</sup>, but a sophisticated Arabic work in its own right for it diverges from that earlier model in both form and content.<sup>40</sup> They have also been modified for a society governed by *sharī'a* rather than the Visigothic *Forum Iudicum*<sup>41</sup>; seven of ten books open with a *basmala*; one reader notes in the margin: ‘We do not find this chapter in the Latin volume’<sup>42</sup>. The numerous appearances of distinctly Islamic phrasing indicate the great extent to which religious Christians had assimilated to Arabic linguistic usage after the efforts of Ḥafṣ al-Qūṭī, Ibn Balaskh, and others whose names and works are lost. Binjinshīsh applies the Muslim political label *al-ṣufr* (الصفرة) in dating his work according to ‘the chronology of Yellow Ones’ for the Spanish Era in the Visigothic tradition<sup>43</sup>, and peppers his text with unmistakably Qur’ānic phrases.<sup>44</sup>

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فاعوذ بالله منها وابغى لديه      الذى طابت وطاب ثوابها  
فمن قرا كتابنا من بعدنا      فليدعوا لله دعوة كابينه يوما عساه يجابها  
امين

(San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio, ms arab. 1623, f<sup>o</sup> 333r... 394v). See also: Aillet, *Les « Mozarabes »*, 203; García Villada, *Paleografía española*, I.111; Koningsveld, ‘Christian Arabic literature’, 221; Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, 721-3; Urvoy, ‘Que nous apprend’, 161).

<sup>39</sup> Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, 721.

<sup>40</sup> Kassis:

the compiler Vincentius and his team were creative jurists rather than mere translators... the order of each entry in our Arabic text appears to parallel that of Muslim traditions (the structure of entries of *ḥadīth* literature): first the source is cited (*isnad*), then the substance (*matn*)

(‘Arabic-speaking Christians in al-Andalus’, 416). On the extensive Arabisation and Islamisation of the *Canons*’ text, see: Abu-Haidar, ‘A Document of Cultural Symbiosis’, 226-31.

<sup>41</sup> See Ana Echevarría Arsuaga’s study ‘Los marcos legales de la islamización: el procedimiento judicial entre cristianos arabizados y mozárabes’, *Studia Historica* 27 (2009), 37-52.

<sup>42</sup> An anonymous reader notes the originality of what he is reading in the left margin:

ليس نجد هذا الباب في المصحف اللطني

(San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio, ms arab. 1623, f<sup>o</sup> 246v).

<sup>43</sup> Binjinshīsh dates with the Iberian Era, but describes it in the language of the Islamic government:

تم المصحف السابع بهمد الله وعوده وتأييده وذلك يوم الثلث لاربع عشرة ليلة بقيت من شهر  
اكتوبر الذى من سنة الف وسبع وثمانين من التاريخ الصفري يتلوه المصحف الثامن على بركة الله  
المويد لمن يشا

The seventh volume comes to an end, praise be to God, and his favour and help, this the third day, 14 nights remaining of the month of Uktūbri [Octubre/ October] in the year 1087 in the dating of the Yellow Ones

(San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio, ms arab. 1623, f<sup>o</sup> 333r). See also: Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, 721. For a discussion of the debate over the origins and relationship of *ta’rīkh al-ṣufr* and the Spanish Era, see: Levi della Vida, ‘The “Bronze Era” in Moslem Spain’.

<sup>44</sup> Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, 728. Kassis, who gives the impression of having studied the manuscript far more deeply than Simonet, points out that in translating the acts of old church councils, Binjinshīsh retrospectively applies the Arabic linguistic modulations of his generation to the old text, in effect adapting it or updating it for a new cultural milieu rather than straight translating it. He inserts the *basmala* into the speech of King Reccared I (586-601) that opens the acts of Toledo III in 589 (Kassis, ‘Arabic-speaking Christians’, 418).

Kassis and Abu-Haidar credit Binjinshīsh and his scribes with a ‘remarkable mastery of the Arabic language’<sup>45</sup>, and Marie-Thérèse Urvoy rates this verse as highly as anything else produced by the Muslim poets of the *taifa* period:

[Binjinshīsh’s work is] perfectly in accord with the rest of that epoch’s poetry: the metres *madīd*, *khafīf* and *sarī* are used correctly and without gaps, in verse of good workmanship... excellent language, a rich vocabulary, skilful versification (metres *ṭawīl* and *ṭawīl maqbūd*)... With Binġinsius we have a priest who has assimilated the technique of *šī’r* [Arabic poetry], understood it in his most modern soul, and was not afraid of showing it in a religious work<sup>46</sup>

The consonantal rhyme – around the final syllable ب- and the feminine possessive marker *-ābihā* (أبها), plain to see in the original Arabic – is testament to Binjinshīsh’s linguistic dexterity. So Arabised is Binjinshīsh’s milieu that his manuscript uses *al-muslim* for *christianus*, stripped of Islamic signification, meaning simply ‘one submitted [to God]’, and regularly refers to Christ as ‘the Muslim Messiah’ (المسيح المسلم), meaning simply ‘the pious Messiah’, and the *Pater Noster* as ‘the prayer the Messiah commanded for the Muslim’ (صلاة المسيح التي امر بها المسلم)<sup>47</sup>.

The same codex also contains a catalogue, headed with a full *basmala*, of 62 episcopal sees in six pre-Andalusī provinces – under the Metropolitan sees of Tarragona, Toledo, Mérida, Braga, and Seville (as well as the old Visigothic See of Languedoc-Roussillon region under Narbonne) – each of which, it is specified, was occupied.<sup>48</sup> Of these 62, 36 fall within Andalusī borders at the time of Binjinshīsh’s work; it is not absolutely certain, however, whether this list is a copy of an earlier one contemporary to, or appropriate to be included with, the conciliar material, as Manuel Luís Real has noted, or whether it faithfully represents the mid-eleventh-century

<sup>45</sup> Kassis, ‘Arabic-speaking Christians’, 413; Abu-Haidar rates Binjinshīsh’s verse as ‘impeccable’ and concludes that ‘[h]is skill in Arabic prosody leaves little room for exaggeration’ (‘A Document of Cultural Symbiosis’, 225, 226).

<sup>46</sup> Urvoy:

*parfaitement en accord avec le reste de la poésie de l’époque: mètres madīd, ḥafīf et sarī, correctement employés et sans lacunes, dans des vers de bonne facture... langue excellente, richesse du vocabulaire, versification savante (mètres ṭawīl et ṭawīl maqbūd)... Avec Binġinsius... nous avons un prêtre qui a assimilé la technique du šī’r, y compris peut-être dans son esprit le plus moderne et n’a pas peur de le montrer dans un ouvrage religieux*

(‘Que nous apprend’, 160... 161... 164).

<sup>47</sup> San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio, ms arab. 1623, f<sup>o</sup> 164.

<sup>48</sup> San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio, ms arab. 1623, f<sup>o</sup> 4v; Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, 809-12.

reality.<sup>49</sup> The great efforts Binjinshīsh and his scribes had made to reformulate the vast *Canons* for a *sharī'a* state could be submitted as an argument that they would have extended the same care to an episcopal list.

### Religio-cultural boundaries: Christian influence still felt

The Christian community appears to be flourishing to such an extent that into the second half of the eleventh century it still exercised an allure over the Muslims – many of whom would perhaps have been recent converts or the children of converts who still had ties with the old religion – and concerned the *fuqahā'* enough for 'Iyād ibn Mūsā to issue decrees against cross-faith interaction:

To do all these things is to commit an act of unbelief: the worship of idols, the sun and the moon, the cross and the fire, and ceremonies in churches and monasteries with the people who lurk inside them<sup>50</sup>

It was perhaps an attempt to neutralise the fascination of the other by enforcing homogeneity from the disparate elements of his city that al-Mu'taḍid 'Abbād (died 1069) demanded circumcision for Christians, as reported by Ibn 'Abdūn early in the following century:

They [priests] must be forced to circumcise, as al-Mu'taḍid 'Abbād ordered for them, for they follow, or so they claim, the *sunna* of Jesus – God bless him and grant him salvation – and Jesus was certainly circumcised, and they celebrate the day of his circumcision, an important festival, but they themselves have abandoned it!<sup>51</sup>

In Córdoba we may have no report of Christian civil servants, but we do know that there was a substantial community in that *taifa*, for Ibn al-'Abbār (1199-1260) tells

<sup>49</sup> Real, Manuel Luís, 'Os Moçárabes do Gharb português' in *Portugal Islâmico. Os últimos sinais do Mediterrâneo* (Lisbon: Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, 1998), 36.

<sup>50</sup> 'Iyād ibn Mūsā:

وكذلك فكفر بكل فعل... كالسجود الصنم، وللشمس والقمر، والصليب والنار، والسعى إلى الكنائس والبيع مع أهلها بزيهم

(*al-Shifā' bi-ta'rīf ḥuqūq al-muṣṭafā* edited by 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bajāwī in two volumes (Cairo: 'Isā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1977), II.1072).

<sup>51</sup> Ibn 'Abdūn:

يجب أن يجبروا على الختان، كما كان يفعل بهم المعتضد عباد؛ فإنهم متبعون بزعمهم لسنن عيسى - صلعم - وعيسى قد اختتن، وهم في يوم اختتانه عيد يعظمونه، ويتركون ذلك!

(*Thalāth rasā'il*, 49). José Ramírez del Río supposes that Sisnandus' betrayal may have played a part in al-Mu'taḍid's decision to demand this kind of cultural assimilation ('Los mozárabes en Sevilla: el final de una minoría' in *Exclusión, racismo y xenofobia en Europa y América* edited by Ernesto García Fernández (Bilbao: Universidad del País Vasco, 2002), 93).

us that the poet and diplomat Ibn Zaīdūn (1003-70) was given the duty of overseeing the *dhimmī* population.<sup>52</sup> His verse reflects this, and presents a Muslim living by the Christian cultic calendar:

And the days of our lovers' reunion were spent in the canyon,  
Not at the time of the 'Īd, but of Easter<sup>53</sup>

His older contemporary and fellow Cordoban Ibn Ḥazm was also a poet. In one of his verses he marks the time of day by the call to prayer, but not the muezzin's call:

You came to me when the crescent moon was rising in the sky  
Before the Christians rang their bells<sup>54</sup>

Poetry is a significant source for Andalusī Christianity in the eleventh century. The surviving remnants of secular Christian verse are negligible, but Muslim poetry, though its historical value is questioned by some, proves a useful – and underexploited – means by which to access them.<sup>55</sup> Reflecting a move away from religious dogmatism, the *taifa* poets discarded the religious themes that had previously dominated Muslim Arabic verse in favour of less pious and more earthy subjects, drinking songs and the love of Christians chief among them.<sup>56</sup> Ibn Zaīdūn combines the two:

He has a wild nature, a charming character  
And an elegance like the sweet fragrance or intoxication of wine<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Ibn al-Abbār:

وعينه النظر على أهل الذمة في بعض الأمير المعترضة

He was entrusted with responsibility over the *ahl al-dhimma* in the reign of the emir indicated [Abū al-Ḥazm ibn Muḥammad ibn Jahwar (1031-43)]

(*I'tāb al-kuttāb* edited by Ṣāliḥ al-Ashtar (Damascus: Majmua' al-Lughat al-'Arabīya bi-Damashk, 1961), 216-7). See also: Escorial codex 1726, 46-60; Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, 649n2.

<sup>53</sup> Ibn Zaīdūn:

وأيام وصل بالعقيق اقتضيته      فألا يكن ميعاده العيد فالفصحا

(*Diwān Ibn Zaīdūn wa risā'iluhu* edited by 'Alī 'Abd al-'Aẓīm (Cairo: Maktaba Naḥḍa Miṣr, 1957), 159).

<sup>54</sup> Ibn Ḥazm:

أتيتني وهلال الجو مطلع قبيل قرع النصاري للنواقيس

(*Tawq al-ḥamama fī al-ulfah wa al-ullāf* edited by Ḥasan Kāmil al-Ṣayrafī (Egypt: al-Maktabat al-Tijārīyah al-Kubrā, 1964), 133).

<sup>55</sup> Henri Bresc writes:

Everywhere Arabic poetry evoked a Christian presence which was a vector for transgression and eroticism

(‘Arab Christians in the Western Mediterranean’, 7).

<sup>56</sup> Fierro writes:

During the 5<sup>th</sup>/ 11<sup>th</sup> century there was in al-Andalus a current of religious scepticism and relativism that led to the doctrine of the « equivalence of proofs » (*takāfa' al-adilla*)

(‘Religious dissension in al-Andalus: ways of exclusion and inclusion’, *al-Qanṭara* 22.2 (2001), 482-3). See also: Fierro, ‘La religión’ in *Historia de España Menéndez Pidal VIII.1: Los reinos de taifas, Al-Andalus en el siglo XI* (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1994), 480.

<sup>57</sup> Ibn Zaīdūn:

له خلق عذب وخلق محسن      وظرف كعرف الطيب أو نشوة الخمر

(*Diwān Ibn Zaīdūn*, 123; *Ibn Zaydūn: poesías* edited with parallel Castilian translation by Maḥmūd Ṣubḥ (Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura, 1979), 50-1). See: Pérès, Henri, *La Poésie andalouse en*



Though some scholars now reject the idea that the interactions of Christian and Muslim presented in *taifa* verse reflect contemporary society, it is clear that the poets' fellow Muslims read them as such. In the tenth century, the court poet of al-Manṣūr (*ḥājib*<sup>58</sup> to Hishām II and *de facto* ruler, 976-1002), Cordoban Yūsuf ibn Hārūn al-Ramādī (926-1022), had written of his Christian lover. In his literary history *Maṭmaḥ al-anfus*, the Seville native al-Faṭḥ ibn Muḥammad ibn Khāqān (died 1140-1) wrote disapprovingly of such things, considering it tantamount to apostasy:

He was in love with a young Christian. He thought it nice to wear the *zunnār* and [spend] eternity with him in the fire, and he slipped out of his clothing for his lover's worn-out sackcloth and relished his acceptance of the Messiah<sup>59</sup>

Al-Ramādī's verse appears to confirm Ibn Khāqān's fears, though he is perhaps availing himself of poetic licence in this instance:

I kissed him before his priest and drank cups of wine sanctified by him,  
My heart beats like the church bells at the thought of my love, which exceeds all bounds<sup>60</sup>

Ibn Khāqān also preserves a poem by the eleventh-century poet Ibn Shuhaīd (992-1035) that professes to be an eyewitness account of a Christian ceremony in early eleventh-century Córdoba, and clearly gives it the same credence as he had al-Ramādī's work of the previous century:

And he spent a night in one of the churches of Córdoba decked with bunches of myrtle and roofed over with joy and geniality. He was delighted to hear the ringing of the bells, and the wine was fine and lit him up. Then the priest stepped out amongst the worshippers of the Messiah adorned with a most amazing ornamental sash, and then they abandoned their celebrations and rejected pleasure, he tells [us]... he stood amongst them drinking wine rather like he was drinking juices from a red lip, and the wine exhaled upon him the sweetest fragrance as he sipped the sweetest torments, then after he left he declared:

And in the monastery's tavern liqueur I smelled  
The wine of youth, befuddled by its unadulterated extract,

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*arabe classique au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle: ses aspects généraux, ses principaux thèmes et sa valeur documentaire* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1953), 98.

<sup>58</sup> Ḥājib (حاجب): *wazīr* or governor.

<sup>59</sup> Ibn Khaqān:

وكان كلفا بفتى نصران استحسن لباس زناره والخلود معه في ناره وخلع بروده لمسوحه واساغ  
الاحذ عن مسيحه

(*Maṭmaḥ al-anfus wa-masraḥ al-ta'annus fī mulah ahl al-Andalus* unknown editor (Istanbul: Maṭba'at al-Jawā'ib, 1884), I.71).

<sup>60</sup> Ibn Khaqān:

قبلتها قدام قسيسها      شربت كاسات بتقدسه  
يقرع قلبي عند ذكرى له      من فرط شوقى قرع ناقوسه

(*Maṭmaḥ al-anfus*, I.74).

Among the noble youth they make joy their watchword,  
 They are made slaves humbled by its magnitude.  
 And when the priest wished to draw out our service  
 He called for a return and led us in the Psalms.  
 He bestowed upon us all the pallid wine...  
 The charming folk receive communion from him and the drink  
 Of their forebears and the dish of pork<sup>61</sup>

Ibn Shuhaīd's verse, the object of the aforementioned scholarly opprobrium, offers a glimpse into an Andalusī Christian mass, though he is clearly not completely familiar with all he sees. Cynthia Robinson, however, asserts that *taifa* poetry, particularly that of Ibn Shuhaīd, gave expression not to personal experience of contemporary eleventh-century life, but to a nostalgic longing for the glory days of the caliphate.<sup>62</sup> Aillet dismisses the poem in passing as a 'frivolous reminiscence'<sup>63</sup>, but one cannot really speak of reminiscing about Christians who are still present, for though the evidence is scarce for the Cordoban community, there are three epigraphic witnesses to monastic communities and ecclesiastic foundations in the following century: a reliquary of the

<sup>61</sup>Ibn Khāqān:

وبات ليلة بإحدى كنائس قرطبة وقد فرشت باضغات آس، وعرشت بسرر، واستئناس، وقرع  
 النواقيس ييهج سمعه، ويرق الحميا يسرج لمعه، والقس قد برز في عبدة المسيح، متوشهاً بالزنانير  
 أبدع توشيح، قد هجروا الأفراح، وأطرحوا النعم كلَّ إطراح، شعر... وأقام بينهم يرشف حميا،  
 كأنما يرشف من شفة لميا، وهي تنفح له بأطيب عرف، كلما رشف أعذب رشف، ثم ارتحل بعد  
 ما ارتحل، فقال:

ولرب حان قد شممت بديره      خمر الصبي مرجت بصرف عصيره  
 في فتية جعلوا السرور شعارهم      متصاغرين تخشعا لكبيرة  
 والقس مما شاء طول مقامنا      يدعو بعود حولنا بزبوره  
 يهدى لنا بالراح كلَّ مصفر...  
 يتناول الظرفاء فيه وشربهم      أسلافهم والاكل من خنزيره

(*Maṭmah al-anfus*, I.18-9).

<sup>62</sup> Robinson, Cynthia, 'Ubi Sunt: Memory and Nostalgia in Taifa Court Culture', *Muqarnas* 15 (1998), 20-31. Robinson's opinion regarding Ibn Shuhaīd's poem above appears to be based on a divergent version for which she cites al-Maqqarī (*Analectes*, I.345), whose first line she translates as 'Oh, ruins in whose cloister I tarried...' (22).

<sup>63</sup> Aillet writes:

*Le fait que Simonet ait rangé cette évocation facétieuse parmi ses documents sur les « mozarabes » traduit bien sa quête fiévreuse des traces du christianisme. Or, ces mêmes traces se font très rares à Cordoue à partir de l'époque des Taïfas, qui constitue localement une rupture apparemment bien plus notable que celle du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle*

The fact that Simonet lined up this facetious evocation among his documents on the 'Mozarabs' reflects his feverish quest for traces of Christianity. These traces, however, are very rare in Córdoba from the *taifa* period, which constitutes a local rupture apparently even more notable than that of the ninth century

(*Les « Mozarabes »*, 80).

Iglesia de San Pedro inscribed in the early twelfth century; the monk John (1109) buried in Ciudad de Jardín; the nun Justa (1155) buried in Campo de la Verdad south of the Guadalquivir.<sup>64</sup> Ibn Khaqān, whose own city, Seville, seems to have been home to a notable Christian element in his lifetime, clearly believes that the tale is genuine. In giving the same credence to, and condemnation of, such cross-faith fraternisation in the tenth and eleventh centuries, Ibn Khāqān indicates (as can also be seen in Ibn ‘Abdūn) that the same situation of intimate daily contact between Christian and Muslim obtained and was censured in the first half of the twelfth century.

The verse of Abū ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ḥaddād (died c.1088) engages with Christian elements much more fully than Ibn Shuhaīd’s but has not drawn the same – or any – response from scholars:

Among the followers of the Messiah I have a Samaritan<sup>65</sup>,  
 [But] she is far away in accordance with orthodox love, though she be close  
 She humbles herself before the Trinity and God has indeed made her beauty unique,  
 And so love for her and sorrow double in my heart<sup>66</sup>

Ibn Ḥaddād was a native of Guadix who spent most of his life at the court of al-Mu‘taṣim ibn Ṣumādiḥ of Almería (1051-91) whom he served as *wazīr*. Several of his verses speak of passion for a Christian girl whom he named Jamīla (Beautiful), and also Nūwaīra (Little Light), and have been held up as reflections of the poet’s experience by Henri Pérès in his classic *La Poésie andalouse*. One poem in particular offers an extraordinarily vivid picture of the Christian community – presumably of Almería – in the mid-late eleventh century led by an ecclesiastical hierarchy able to openly carry out ceremonial rites towards the end of the *taifa* period:

My heart is in the possession of the Trinitarian girls, [it is] subject to caution and fear.  
 For they wend their way in her direction – even if they are unjust – towards the object of my desire

<sup>64</sup> See Appendix II for transcriptions and commentary.

<sup>65</sup> The Samaritan features in the Qur’ān as a man cursed by Moses as an untouchable for leading the Israelites astray:

قال فاذهب فإن لك في الحياة أن تقول لا مساس وإن لك موعدا لن تخلفه

[Moses] said: ‘Begone, and it shall be your lot in life to declare yourself untouchable, and you shall have an engagement that can never be broken [i.e.: punishment in the next life]

(*Sūra* 20:97 (*Tā Hā*)). The Samaritan’s curse is an infectious fever; the poet thus depicts love for an unobtainable Christian as a curse and a fever. See: Anderson, Robert T. and Terry Giles, *The Keepers: An Introduction to the History and Culture of the Samaritans* (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 2002), 69ff.

<sup>66</sup> Ibn al-Ḥaddād:

وبين المسيحيات لي سامرية بعيد على الصب الحنيفي أن تدنو  
 مثلثة قد وحد الله حسنهما فثني في قلبي بها الوجد والحزن

(*Diwān Ibn al-Ḥaddād al-Andalusī al-mutawaffā sannat 480 H* edited by Yūsuf ‘Alī Tawīl (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmīya, 1990), 256.

My anguish and my fear are stopped at night among piles of sand and flowery hills,  
 Crippled, O my youth, obsessed with girls who follow Jesus.  
 Among the Christians I have a girl that takes refuge in the churches.  
 I love her madly, but that love has me wandering between the monasteries and the churches.  
 For among the gazelles of the desert there are those who scorn the gazelles of the city.  
 I celebrate their Easter day alone, among the bushes and many-branched trees.  
 And so they come to the arranged place, and gather there at the appointed time,  
 A perfumed lamp and crosier are clasped in the hands of the presiding bishop,  
 And all the priests make plain their piety with signs both spoken and hidden.  
 And his eyes gaze into theirs like the wolf that wants to kill ewes.  
 And indeed what man is safe from longing in contemplating those gazelles?  
 Whose cheeks are moons upon frames of boughs,  
 And so, reading aloud the page of their Gospels with beautiful barbarous airs and melodies<sup>67</sup>

A division is drawn between city and country, the rural Christian scorning the urban infidel, suggesting that in eleventh-century Almería the rural-urban dichotomy alluded to by Ibn Ḥawqal prevailed, though that is not to say that Christianity was a solely rural phenomenon. Ibn Ḥaddād even depicts interaction between Muslim and clergy:

<sup>67</sup> Ibn al-Ḥaddād:

قلبي في ذات الأثيلات رهين لوعات وروعات  
 فوجها نحوهم إنهم - وإن بغوا - قبله بغياي  
 وعرسا من عقداً اللوى بالهضبات الزهريات  
 وعرجا يا فتية عامر بالفتيات العيسويات  
 فإن بي للروم رومية تكنس ما بين الكنيسات  
 أهيم فيها، والهوى ضلة بين صوامع ويعات  
 وفي طباء البدو من يزدرى بالطيبات الحضريات  
 أفصح وحدي يوم فصح لهم بين الأريطى والدويمات  
 وقد أتوا منه إلى موعد واجتمعوا فيه لميقات  
 بموقف بين ياي أسقف ممسك مصباح ومنساة  
 وكل قس مظهر للتعق بآي إنصات وإخبات  
 وعينه تسرح في عينهم كالذئب يبغي فرس نعجات  
 وأي مرء سالم من هوى وقد رأى تلك الطيبات؟  
 فمن حدود قمريات على قدود غصنيات  
 وقد تلوا صحف أناجيلهم بحسن ألحان وأصوات

(*Diwān*, 156-9. For a Castilian translation see: Ramón Guerrero, Amelina, *Ibn al-Haddād (s.XI) y otros poetas arabes de Guadix (s.XII)* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1984), 36-7. Ibn al-Ḥaddād uses the term *rūm* – usually denoting a Christian of non-Andalusī origins – referring to his inamorata but this should not necessarily be taken as a sign that this is a love that crosses borders as well as religious bounds, for he ostentatiously uses a whole range of terms including Trinitarian (*al-athīla* or *al-tathlīth*), Samaritan (*al-Sāmariya*), follower of Jesus (*al-‘isawiya*), Messiah-follower (*al-masīhiya*). Not once does he use the legalistic *dhimmi*, perhaps not wanting to demean the object of his affections.

I must tell my story to a priest,  
 For it befits him to rain help down on the weak  
 For though Jesus did not come to them from below,  
 She is merciless and delights in tormenting me...  
 It befits you, by the truth of your Jesus, to soothe my injured heart,  
 For truly beauty has entrusted my life and my fate to you,  
 And inflames my desire for the cross with the monks and ascetics,  
 I would never come to the churches out of passion for them if not for you...  
 Though you flee from me, Nuwāira, I love you<sup>68</sup>

These cross-faith relations threaten the Muslim soul as Ibn Khāqān feared:

In the law of the Trinity she is unique in her charms,  
 And reveals the Law of Love in her glance.  
 I neglect myself in my passion for a Christian girl,  
 Because of her my soul has wandered astray from the true faith<sup>69</sup>

If autobiographical, these verses speak of a society, even a community, wherein Christian and Muslim are intimately acquainted.<sup>70</sup> Pérès believes the themes of Muslim-Christian love to be more than a motif subject to artistic licence; he argues that so vivid, detailed and sustained is the depiction in Ibn al-Ḥaddād's verse, 'one has the impression that he has observed reality'<sup>71</sup>. In several frontier regions this intimate

<sup>68</sup> Ibn al-Ḥaddād:

ولا بد من قصي على القس قصتي عساه مغيث المدنف المتغوث  
 فلم يأتيهم عيسى بدين قساوة فيقسو على مضني...  
 عسك بحق عيساك مريحة قلبي الشاكي  
 فإن الحسن قد ولاك إحيائي وإهلاكي  
 وأولعي بصلبان ورهبان ونسك  
 ولم آت الكنائس عن هوى فيهن لولاك...  
 نوية إن فليت فإني أهواك أهواك

(*Diwān*, 171... 241).

<sup>69</sup> Ibn al-Ḥaddād:

وفي شرعة التثليث فرد محاسن تنزل شرعة الحب من طرفه  
 وأذهل نفسي في هوى عيسوية بها ضلت النفس الحنيفية

(*Diwān*, 306).

<sup>70</sup> Though his judgement appears questionable at times, and many of his claims are based on late 'Mozarabs' living in reconquered towns, Leopoldo Torres Balbás makes claims for mixed society in 16 towns and cities: Málaga, Seville, Cádiz, Niebla, Toledo, Tudela, Huesca, Catalayud, Sigüenza, Daroca, Lérida, Tortosa, Valencia, Alcira, Murcia, Almería ('Mozarabías y juderías', 172-89). Pastor de Togneri argues likewise that Christians and Muslims mixed in Toledo, Córdoba and Zaragoza:

*A Tolède, comme à Cordoue et à Saragoisse, les chrétiens se mêlaient aux Maures*

(*'Problèmes d'assimilation d'une minorité'*, 363).

<sup>71</sup> Pérès:

*on a l'impression qu'il a observé directement la réalité: la jeune fille qu'il aime et dont il fait le portrait est une paysanne (le poète veut marquer la différence qui peut exister*

balance would be brought to an end in the second half of the century by northern conquest.

### Christian Conquests

The collapse of central caliphal power may have reopened the gates to *dhimmi* participation in politics, but it also created discord and instability out of unity; Andalusī borders were left vulnerable as the *taifa* realms occupied themselves with internecine conflict. The *taifa* period thus witnessed the first great wave of the Christian ‘reconquest’. As many cities fell or surrendered to the northern kings from the eleventh century we catch glimpses of indigenous Christian communities that survived al-Andalus to be reconnected with Christian rule across the peninsula.

#### *Gharb al-Andalus: Coimbra, 1064*

Fernando I of León took Coimbra, having besieged it to exhaustion over six months, on 9 July 1064. Ximénez de Rada transmits a rewrite of the *Historia Silense*’s early twelfth-century account of the siege of Coimbra which puts a spotlight on the nearby monastery of Lorvão, reconfiguring it as the saviour of Fernando’s campaign and thereby absolving its community of centuries of compromised acceptance of Islamic rule:

The siege was prolonged because the city was surpassing in bravery and magnitude. But there were religious monks under the Arabs’ rule, in that remote place called Lorvano to this day. They pursued manual labours, and without the Arabs’ knowledge they preserved a treasure trove of corn, barley, millet, and rye, and kept all this secret for their own nourishment. Then because the protracted siege required victuals, a withdrawal was agreed by all. Hearing this, the monks opposed it, and generously

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*entre la bourgade de Guadix où la vie est restée rustique et les grandes villes comme Alméria qui est toute proche...); ce qui lui confère de la couleur locale, c’est le costume qu’elle porte et qui, quoique incomplet, n’en est pas moins caractéristique: elle est coiffée de ce foulard noir (hîmâr) qui reste aujourd’hui en usage dans les campagnes andalouses et dans le Levant*

the young girl he loves and whose portrait he paints, is a country girl (the poet wants to show the difference between the small town of Guadix where life remained rustic, and the big towns like Almería which is very close...); what he offers of the local colour is the costume that she wears and which, though incomplete, is no less characteristic: she wears the black headscarf still in use in the Andalusī countryside and the Levant

(*La Poésie andalouse*, 282).



brought to the king and the besieging army what they had been saving for so long. And with these supplies the army was much strengthened, and their long suffering was brought to an end, and with reviving foods they pressed the attack upon the city stronger day by day, until the besieged surrendered with utterly weary spirits, driven by hunger and the fight<sup>72</sup>

This version of events was then given the seal of authority by its repetition in the Alfonsine *Estoria de España*<sup>73</sup> and the Portuguese *Crónica geral de Espanha de 1344*<sup>74</sup>. Official documentation recording transactions of acquisitions and sales between 998 and 1051 show that the monastery not only survived but was a wealthy and flourishing foundation in the period leading up to the conquest of Coimbra despite Islamic rule<sup>75</sup>, but that there was a lay Christian community around it whose situation had remained largely unaffected by the region's vacillation between Christian and Muslim rule.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Ximénez de Rada:

*quia civitas fortitudine et magnitudine praeeminebat, obsidionem contigit diutius protelari. Erant autem sub Arabum potestate monachi religiosi in loco arcto, qui Lorvanum adhuc hodie appellatur. Hi laboribus manuum insistentes, thesauros frumenti, hordei, et milii, et siliginis, ignorantibus Arabibus, conservarant, haec omnia proprio victui substrahentes. Verum quia protracta obsidio victualibus indigebat, de recessu ab omnibus tractabatur. Sed audientes monachi, occurrunt, et quae a longis temporibus conservarant, Regi et obsidioni liberaliter obtulerunt. Et his victualibus exercitus confortatus, longanimis est effectus, et cibis refocillati, impugnationi urbis de die in diem viriliter institerunt, donec obsessi, fame et pugna coacti, elanguidis animis marcuerunt*

(*De Rebus Hispaniae*.VI.xi). On the fabrication, see: Aillet, 'El monasterio de Lorvão y los confines de la Beira (siglos IX-XII). Apuntes sobre le memoria histórica de un espacio de contacto', *Studia Historica* 27 (2009), 89-92 and *Les « Mozarabes »*, 306.

<sup>73</sup> *Estoria de España*.807 (f<sup>o</sup> 133v-134):

*Et auie estonces alli en tierra de los moros et en su poder dellos un monasterio de monges que dizen oy en dia Loruano; et aquellos monges uiuien alli de lauor de sus manos, et tenien y condesado trigo et ordio et mijo et legumbres non lo sabiendo los moros. Et tanto se allongaua ya la prision de la çibdad que non tenien ya uianda los de la hueste del rey don Fernando, et querien desamparar la cerca et yrse; mas los monges quando esto oyeron, uinieron priuado al rey et dixieronle lo que tenien alçado et condesado de luengo tiempo pora su uianda, et que lo tomasse el et fiziesse ende como el quisiesse*

(Menéndez Pidal, *Primera crónica general*, II.487a).

<sup>74</sup> *Crónica geral de Espanha de 1344*.CDLVI (f<sup>o</sup> 191c):

*E em esse logar de Coymbra, que era em poder dos mouros, avya huñ moesteiro de monges que chamavõ Lorvaõ, os quaaes vyvyam de trabalho de suas mãos e tiinhã muyto pam de triigo e de orjo e de milho e legumhas assaz. E, por que avya muyto tempo que os da hoste jouverõ sobre o logar e nõ podyñ aver vyandas, quiserasse el rey levantar do cerco. E, quando os mōges esto souberon, foronsse a el rei e diseronlhe que nõ descercasse a vylla, ca elles lhe dariã vyã da que tiinhã guardada de longo tempo. E daquella vyanda foy avondada a hoste ataa que os da vylla enfraqecerom, ca nõ avyam que comer*

(edited by Luís Filipe Lindley Cintra (Lisbon: Editora Gráfica Portuguesa, 1961), III.313).

<sup>75</sup> See: *PMH, Diplomata et Chartae* (Lisbon: Typis Academicis, 1867), 93, 96-7, 102, 115-6, 143, documents 148, 154, 165, 189, 229-30; Aillet, 'El monasterio de Lorvão', 80-3.

<sup>76</sup> Aillet declares 'definite continuity in the population' (*cierta continuidad en el poblamiento*) as seen in the documentation of the *PMH*:

*La documentación refleja el mantenimiento, después de la reconquista amirí, de las principales instituciones eclesiásticas y de la mayor parte de los núcleos de poblaciones autóctonas cristianas*

*Meseta central*: Toledo, 1085

For a city idealised as the home of *convivencia*, where indigenous Christian numbers have been estimated at 15-25% of the Toledan population at the time of conquest<sup>77</sup>, their absence from the chronicles is remarkable. José Miranda Calvo asserts that they aided Alfonso VI in his campaign to capture the city, though there is no mention of them even in the chronicles he cites (the *Historia Silense*, Ximénez de Rada's *De Rebus Hispaniae*, and Lucas of Tuy's *Chronicon Mundi*).<sup>78</sup> Similarly, Pastor avers that while a minority aided Alfonso, the majority did not and many were so antipathetic that they emigrated south.<sup>79</sup> Toledo's Christians merit little attention from the chroniclers of the reconquest, though we know that there was a Bishop Paschal in 1058 who was probably the same Paschal named as archbishop in 1067.<sup>80</sup> It seems likely, then, that the Toledan

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The documentation shows the maintenance of principal ecclesiastic institutions and of the majority of the cores of indigenous Christian populations after the 'āmirī conquest ('El monasterio de Lorvão', 81).

<sup>77</sup> Reilly, Bernard F., *The Kingdom of Leon-Castilla*, 172. Julio González González estimates that Christians made up one fifth of Toledo's population ('Los mozárabes de Toledo desde el s.XI hasta el cardenal Cisneros' in *Historia mozárabe: ponencias y comunicaciones al I Congreso de Estudios Mozárabes, Toledo, 1975* (Toledo: Instituto de Estudios Visigótico-Mozárabes, 1978), 85-6). See also: González Ruiz, 'The Persistence of the Mozarabic liturgy in Toledo after A.D. 1080' in *Santiago, Saint-Denis, and Saint Peter: the reception of the Roman liturgy in Leon-Castile in 1080* edited by Bernard Reilly (New York: Fordham University Press, 1985), 157-86; González, Julio, *Reploblación de Castilla la Nueva* (Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1976), I.90, II.90-1.

<sup>78</sup> Miranda Calvo, 'La ayuda mozárabe en la reconquista de Toledo' in *Simposio Toledo Hispanoárabe: Colegio Universitario 6-8 mayo 1982* (Toledo: Colegio Universitario, 1986), 153-66, especially 162ff.

<sup>79</sup> Reyna Pastor de Togneri writes:

*quand Alphonse VI prend Tolède, la situation antérieure est renversée. Mozarabes toledans – qui n'étaient plus une minorité si l'on pense à la fuite des Musulmans et par rapport à l'ensemble de la population – ont dû faire face aux chrétiens « conquérants » à partir d'une situation très ambiguë, étant donné que, sauf une minorité qui désirait la domination castillano-léonaise et travaillait dans ce sens, la plupart des Mozarabes refusaient cette domination, à tel point que beaucoup d'entre eux quittèrent la ville en même temps que les Musulmans. Un grand nombre, il est vrai, restèrent plus ou moins indifférents ou au moins inactifs devant le conflit de pouvoirs*

When Alfonso VI takes Toledo, the previous situation is reversed. The Toledan Mozarabs – who were no longer a minority if one considers the flight of the Muslims and in comparison to the general population – had to face the conquering Christians from a very ambiguous position given that, except for a minority that wanted Castilian-Leonese rule and worked in that direction, the majority of the Mozarabs refused that rule, to the extent that many among them left the city at the same time as the Muslims. A great number, it is true, remained more or less indifferent or at least failed to address the conflict of powers

('Problèmes d'assimilation d'une minorité', 386).

<sup>80</sup> Paschal is named archbishop in a copy of Ildefonsus' treatise on Mary's virginity the *De Perpetua Virginitate Mariae Contra Tres Infideles* dated to 1067:

*Ego miser Salomonis Arcipresbiter, seruus Dei indignus et peccatore, scripsi hoc libellum de Virginitate Sancte Marie Virginis et genetricis Domini. Ad finem usque compleui in civitate Toledo, in eglise sancte Marie Virginis sub metropolitane sedis domino Paschalis archiepiscopi. Notum sub die VI feria, ora tertia in diem sancti Cypriani episcopi, XVIII kalendas octobris in era millesima centena quinquet...*

I, wretched Salomon, archpriest, unworthy servant of God and sinner, wrote this little book on the virginity of holy Mary the Virgin and mother of the Lord. I completed it in the city of Toledo, in the church of the holy Virgin Mary while his lordship Archbishop

Church had an archbishop upon Alfonso's arrival. Ximénez de Rada appears to refer to Andalusī Christians when he writes 'the Christian population rejoiced' and that the Cluniac Bernard de Sedirac was ordained archbishop 'over the indigenous clergy'<sup>81</sup> in the aftermath of the conquest. We know that there were a large number of parish churches, mostly outside the conurbation itself. The conqueror Alfonso VI of León-Castile confirmed the Visigothic *Forum Iudicum* as the official law code in a charter of 1101<sup>82</sup>, and exempted a number of churches in the city from the Cluniac reform sweeping his kingdom, presumed to be six (or seven)<sup>83</sup> since Ximénez de Rada mentions *sex parochiis Toletanis* in which 'those who chose to live in Hispania, sold into servitude to the barbarians, were permitted to use their law and ecclesiastic institutions'<sup>84</sup>. Unfortunately Ximénez clarifies that these six parishes are only those that 'flourish today' (*viget hodie*) meaning 1243, not 1085. These six churches are formally identified four decades later, in a charter dated 1 May 1285, ordered by Archbishop Gonzálo García Gudiel and compiled by Archdeacon of Toledo Joffré de Loaysa, as San Sebastián, San Torquato, Santa Justa (y Rufina), San Lucas, San Marcos, and Santa Eulalia.<sup>85</sup> To these six, Torres Balbás adds the churches of *Omnium*

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Paschal [held] the Metropolitan See. Noted on the sixth feast day, at the third hour on the day of St Cyprian, 14 September in the Era 1105

(Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, ms. Ashburnham 17, colophon). The original copy is now lost, but the colophon is preserved in the papers of the eighteenth-century Jesuit scholar Andrés Burriel, held in the Biblioteca Nacional de España (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, ms. 13,062, f° 165r-78v). See: Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 27; Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, 80; Millares Carlo, A., *Los códices visigóticos de la catedral toledana: cuestiones cronológicas y de procedencia* (Madrid: Ignacio de Noreña, 1935), 45-6; Rivera Recio, Juan Francisco, *La Iglesia de Toledo en el siglo XII (1086-1208)* (Toledo: Diputación Provincia 1966-76), I.62n5; Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, 670.

<sup>81</sup> Ximénez de Rada:

*laetatur populus christianus... Urbanus Papa secundus... venerabilis Primas Bernardus de clericis indigenis toletanam ecclesiam ordinavit*

(*De Rebus Hispaniae*.VI.25-6, Fernández Valverde, 208-9).

<sup>82</sup> *Fuero* of 1101 confirms *Forum Iudicum* for southern settlers:

*et si inter eos ortum fuerit aliquod negotium de aliquo iudicio, secundum sententias in libro iudicum antiquitus constituto discutiatur*

and if there should arise among them any kind of business requiring some kind of judgement, it shall be determined according to the rulings in the ancient Book of Judgements

(*Colección de fueros municipales y cartas pueblas*, 360-2). See also: Collins, 'Visigothic law and regional custom in disputes', VI.96.

<sup>83</sup> Molénat reckons on 'six ou sept paroisses mozarabes' (*Campagnes et monts de Tolède du XII<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 1997), 41).

<sup>84</sup> Ximénez de Rada:

*clerus et Christiani... qui in Hispaniis servituti barbaricae mancipati elegerunt degere sub tributo, permissi sunt uti lege et ecclesiasticis institutis... et viget hodie in sex parochiis Toletanis*

(*De Rebus Hispaniae*.IV.3, Fernández Valverde, 118).

<sup>85</sup> Joffré de Loaysa, Codex Tol.38-25, f° 70r-v. The charter is dated in the Spanish Era:

*Dada en Toledo primer dia del mes de mayo Era de mill et CCC et XXIII anos*

(f° 71r).

*Sanctorum*, Santa María de Alficén, and San Cosme y Damiam<sup>86</sup>, and Santa Leocadia.<sup>87</sup> According to Molénat a further 20 rural parish churches around Toledo continued to use the Visigothic-mozarabic rite.<sup>88</sup>

The scale of the indigenous Christian population can only be guessed at by studying the vast documentary materials available. The vast array of legal documentation extant indicates that the chroniclers obscured a sizeable community: 59% of Christian names immediately after the conquest were Arabic.<sup>89</sup> If the *naṣārā* of a city like Toledo were glossed over so easily, the effect of chroniclers' editorial decisions could be profound for those of other regions less synonymously associated with Arabised Christianity.

#### *Sharq al-Andalus: Valencia and Albarracín, 1094*

Rodrigo Díaz, el Cid Campeador, took Valencia 15 June 1094, but the Almoravid general Mazdalī seized Valencia back in 1102 and Balansīya it remained until Jaime I's final victory in 1238.<sup>90</sup> One must take recourse to a wider variety of documentation than in the other cases here, but they identify with certainty the presence of an established indigenous Christian population where Epalza, Llobregat, and Guichard have argued there was none.<sup>91</sup> Guichard managed to not mention them once in his

<sup>86</sup> Torres Balbás, Leopoldo, *Ciudades hispano-musulmanas* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Madrid: Dirección General de Relaciones Culturales: Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura, 1985), I.200n22.

<sup>87</sup> Torres Balbás, 'Mozarabías y juderías de las ciudades hispanomusulmanas', 178.

<sup>88</sup> Molénat, *Campagnes et monts de Tolède*, 41. Hitchcock believes these six urban churches to be the only survivors not to be destroyed during Andalusī rule (*Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, 79).

<sup>89</sup> Olstein, 'El péndulo mozárabe', 59.

<sup>90</sup> Ibn al-Kardabūs:

وفي سنة أربع وتسعين أربعمئة جاز الأمير مزدي في جيش عرمرم وقصد بنسبة منازل ومحاصرا  
لهم فاقام عليها سبعة اشهر فلما رأى الفنش ما حلَّ برجاله، من المر الحصار واهواله، وصل بمحلته  
الذميمة اليها، واخرج جميع من كان فيها من الروم لديها، واضرمها نارا، وتركها آيةً واعتبارا

In the year 494 [1101-2] general Mazdalī came with a huge army and made for Balansīya [Valencia], which they assaulted and besieged, and he attacked it for seven months. When Alfonso saw what had befallen the men of Valencia in the blockade and its horrors, and he came with his reprehensible army, and he left with the many Christians who lived there. And he set fire to the city, leaving it as a sign and something to be reflected upon

(*al-Iktifā' fī akhbār al-khulafā'* edited by Aḥmad Mukhtār al-Abbādī (Madrid: Ma'had al-Dirāsāt al-Islāmīya, 1971), 109-10; *Tārīkh al-Andalus* selections from the *al-Iktifā' fī akhbār al-khulafā'* edited and translated into Castilian by Felipe Maíllo Salgado (Madrid: Akal, 1986), 135-6).

<sup>91</sup> Epalza and the classical archaeologist Enrique A. Llobregat claim that Valencia had never been a Christian enclave in the first place, so at the Islamic conquest the population was obliged to convert to Islam quickly and *en masse* because as pagans they could not expect a share of the *dhimma*. They go on

study of the conquest of Valencia, though the sources show a bishopric and a wider community.<sup>92</sup>

The Valencian bishopric is witnessed five years before the Cid. Archdeacon John of Bari's *Historia Parva* relates that shortly after the translation of St Nicholas' relics to Bari in October 1089<sup>93</sup>, 'the Bishop of Valencia reached Bari having left his city by boat with various compatriots to visit the tomb of the Lord'; there, the bishop mentions the 'many difficulties' and 'the great responsibility of my bishopric and the affairs of my province', indicating a wider church infrastructure throughout the region.<sup>94</sup> The aged bishop, whom Pietro Zampieri identifies as Teudovildo<sup>95</sup>, does not complete his pilgrimage; he ails and dies in Bari, and is buried there in the church of Blessed Nicholas.<sup>96</sup> His see however, did not languish in his absence; the Valencian Church

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to suggest that indigenous Valencians were thus entirely Islamic a few generations after 711 (see: '¿Hubo mozárabes en tierras valencianas?'). Epalza makes the same statements in his own later article 'Mozarabs: an emblematic Christian minority', wherein he alleges that any Christians present were not indigenous but recent arrivals from outside, whom he dubs 'neo-mozarabs', whose presence 'does not imply the existence of earlier Christian communities' (185). See also: Guichard, 'Les mozarabes de Valence et d'al-Andalus entre l'histoire et le mythe', 17-27.

<sup>92</sup> Guichard, *Al-Andalus frente a la conquista cristiana: los musulmanes de Valencia (siglos XI-XIII)* (Valencia: Editorial Biblioteca Nueva, 2001).

<sup>93</sup> The *Vita* of Pope Urban II by Thierry Ruinart (1657-1709) confirms the deposit of the St Nicholas' body at Bari in October 1089:

*Intravit Urbanus papa in civitate Bari pridie Kal. Octobris: et in Kal. Octobris aedificavit confessionem sancti Nicolai. Eadem ferme habet Lupus Protospata ad annum 1089*

Pope Urban entered the city of Bari on 14 October, and on 15 October he built a reliquary for St Nicholas. Primate Lupus says that all this happened in the year 1089

(*Vita Beati Urbani II*, LV, PL 151, col.59C). Simonet erroneously dates the Valencian bishop's pilgrimage to 1087, and has been widely followed in doing so. See: Cagigas, *Mozárabes*, 464; Chabás Lloréns, Roque, *Episcopologio valentino, investigaciones históricas sobre el cristianismo en Valencia y su archidiócesis, siglos I a XIII* (Valencia: Imprenta F. Vives Mora, 1909), 241f; Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, S.A., 1956), II.547; Sanchis Sivera, J., *La diócesis valentina: nuevos estudios históricos* (Valencia: La Voz Valenciana, 1921), 303. Peñarroja Torrejón gives the correct date, citing Ruinart's *Vita* (*Cristianos bajo el Islam*, 104-6).

<sup>94</sup> Joannes Bariensis arcediaconus:

*Non multis evolutis temporibus a collocatione corporis beatissimi Nicolai in ipsius Bariensi basilica, accidit ut episcopus Valentinae civitas Barium veniret, cum aliqua navi dictae civitatis cum suis compatriotis sepulchrum Christi pergeret ad visendum...*

(*Historia Parva Sive Relatio Translationis Brachii Sancti Thomae Apostoli ac Brachii Sancti Vincentii Martyris quae in Ecclesiam Sancti Nicolai Translata Fuerunt*, Bibliothèque Royale d'Albert I<sup>er</sup> de Belgique, Bruxelles, ms. 8979/82 (f<sup>o</sup> 186-9v). Text quoted in Castilian translation by Peñarroja Torrejón, *Cristianos bajo el Islam*, 104-5).

<sup>95</sup> This satisfyingly gothic name comes from an epitaph discovered in the crypt of St Nicholas of Bari, which names its occupant as *TEVDVIL[do] EP[iscop]O TYREDEO*. Zampieri's study is unpublished, but is cited by Peñarroja Torrejón (*Cristianos bajo el Islam*, 109n60).

<sup>96</sup> The bishop was over 60 years old at the time of death, as he is reported to have told Elias, Archbishop of Bari: 'I had passed the age of 60 when I made my resolution [to make the pilgrimage]' (*tempus meae resolutionis, quod ex quo sexagenarius fueram concopivi*). John of Bari tells us that three days after his audience with Elias, the Valencian bishop died and was buried in the crypt of the church of Blessed Nicholas:

*Tertio die post haec spiritus episcopi ad caelum. Corpus nimia cum honorificentia in ecclesia beati Nicolai deducitur; atque celebratis, ut mos est Christianorum, officiis, in pace sepultus est*



consecrated another in his place, for there are several sightings of an indigenous episcopate in the intervening five years before the Cid's conquest.

Valencia had already been a subject of the Cid for a number of years prior to its surrender; its governor, Yaḥyā al-Qādir, the Cid's vassal since 1088 by Gonzalo Martínez's reckoning.<sup>97</sup> According to the *Estoria de España*, in the autumn of 1090 the Cid exacted annual tribute not just for himself, but also for the city's bishop, whose indigenous Andalusī identity is indicated by his Arabic title: the phrase *çæet almatran* is a faithful rendering of the Arabic *sa'īd al-maṭrān* (سعيد المطران) meaning 'the lord archbishop'.<sup>98</sup> If he were a northern bishop, he would be simply *el obispo don*, like the Cluniac monk Jérôme of Périgueux, who was appointed to the See of Valencia in 1097-8; Peñarroja asserts the illogic of claiming a man bearing an Arabic appellation could be Castilian.<sup>99</sup> In order to explain this bishop's appearance – and an indigenous bishopric best kept quiet? – the *Poema de mio Cid* (composed by 1207) identified him as Jérôme<sup>100</sup>, though there is no indication of this *çæet almatran* having been installed by

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(*Historia Parva* f<sup>o</sup> 189v).

<sup>97</sup> *Historia Roderici*.31:

*misit legatos suos cum maximis muneribus et donis innumerabilibus ad Rodericum et factus est tributarius eius*

[al-Qādir] sent his ambassadors to Rodrigo with the greatest gifts and countless presents, he became a tributary

(edited with a Castilian translation by Gonzalo Martínez Díez under the title *Historia latina de Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar* (Burgos: Caja de Burgos, 1999), 66 of Latin text).

<sup>98</sup> *Estoria de España*.896 (f<sup>o</sup> 198v):

*de Valencia tomaua el Çid XII mill marauedis cada anno, et dauante demas por cada mil marauedis C marauedis poral obispo que dizien çæet almatran alla por su arauigo*  
the Cid took 12,000 maravedís from Valencia each year, and besides that, for each 1000 maravedís they gave 100 to the bishop, whom they called *çæet almatran* in their Arabic

(Menéndez Pidal, *Primera crónica general*, II.565a). This Arabic terminology entered the *Estoria de España* because the work was partly based upon the chronicle of Ibn 'Alqama, a Valencian contemporary of the Cid. See: Fernández-Ordoñez, Inés, 'El *Mio Cid* a través de las crónicas medievales' in *Ochocientos años del Mio Cid: una visión interdisciplinaria* edited by Emiliano Valdeolivas (Madrid: Ministerio de Educación y Cultura, 2008), 171-3; Porrinas González, David, 'Una interpretación del significado de *Campeador: el Señor del Campo de Batalla*', *Norba. Revista de historia* 16.1 (1996-2003), 263-7; Viguera Molins, María Jesús, 'El Cid en las fuentes árabes' in *El Cid, poema e historia: actas del congreso internacional (12-16 de julio, 1999)* co-ordinated by César Fernández Alonso (Burgos: Ayuntamiento de Burgos, 2000), 55-92.

<sup>99</sup> Peñarroja Torrejón: 'illógico ese apelativo entre los castellanos del Cid' (*Cristianos bajo el Islam*, 94). Menéndez Pidal and Ambrosio Huici Miranda, however, aver what Peñarroja disavows, and identify this *çæet almatran* with another Castilian bishop whom the *Estoria de España* referred to simply as *vn obispo que era del rey don Alfonso* (See: Menéndez Pidal, *Primera crónica general de España*, I.390; Huici Miranda, *Historia musulmana de Valencia y su region: novedades y rectificaciones* (Valencia: Anubar, 1970), II.39; *Estoria de España*.896 (f<sup>o</sup> 200), Menéndez Pidal, *Primera crónica general*, II.565b).

<sup>100</sup> The *Poema de mio Cid* places Jérôme's arrival in Valencia four or five years earlier than it really happened to make sense of the occupied but anonymous bishopric:

*Reçebidas las dueñas a vna grant ondrança  
El obispo don Iheronimo a delant se en traua  
Ydexaua el cauallo pora la capiella adelinaua  
The ladies welcomed him with great honour,  
The Bishop Jérôme went ahead,*



the Cid or by León-Castile, and the later *Estoria de España* makes no connection with the Castilians; nor is there any indication of a titular but remote bishop being elected. In January 1094 (by Peñarroja's reckoning), some six months before he took Valencia, the Cid was welcomed by the same Valencian bishop:

And the bishop went out to receive [the Cid] with a company of knights, and they went there with the great men of the Cid's company, and they flattered him and honoured him<sup>101</sup>

It seems fair to assume from their behaviour and the company they keep, that the bishop's companions are Christian nobles, representatives of the local community.

After the Cid's siege forces Valencia to capitulate and he enters the city on 15 June 1094, the particulars of its mixed population are brought to light. The *Estoria de España* relates that the country is populated with 'Christian rural labourers of the Mozarabs' who are 'believers in the land of the Moors, who speak like them and know their manners and customs'<sup>102</sup>, indistinguishable from their Muslim neighbours. The Cid puts indigenous Christians on guard duty because of this common cultural ground:

He said to the Moors that all those who were guarding the towers and the city gates which he held, had not been put there to damage their possessions and homes; they were prudent and ready for anything, and furthermore they were believers among the Moors and they spoke like them and knew their ways and customs, and he had chosen them for this reason and put them in that position, and ordered them to honour the

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There he left his horse, and proceeded to the chapel  
(*Poema de mio Cid*, 1578-80, Per Abbat, *Poema de mio Cid*, Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, sig. v.7-17).  
Compare *Estoria de España*.924 (f<sup>o</sup> 222):

*el mucho onrrado don Ieronimo adelantrosse a la cibdat de Valencia, et saliolos a rescebir con muy grant procession*  
the much honoured lord Jérôme went ahead to the city of Valencia, and they set out to receive him with a very big procession

(Menéndez Pidal, *Primera crónica general*, II.595b). See also: Peñarroja Torrejón, *Cristianos bajo el Islam*, 1993), 98-9. On the date of the *Poema de mio Cid*, see: Duggan, Joseph J., 'Medieval Epic and History in the Romance Literatures' in *Epic and History* edited by David Konstan and Kurt A. Raaflaub (Oxford: Blackwell, 2010), 286.

<sup>101</sup> *Estoria de España*.912 (f<sup>o</sup> 210v):

*et salliol a resçibir el obispo con conpanna de caualleros, et yuan y de los mayorales de la conpanna del Çid, el falagauanle et onrrauanle mucho*

(Menéndez Pidal, *Primera crónica general*, II.580b).

<sup>102</sup> The Cid makes Musa *alguazil/al-wazīr* of Valencia as guardian of its inhabitants:

*fuesse alguazil de la villa vn moro que auie nombre Muça... et fizieral el Çid alcayat de vn castiello et fallol siempre leal, et por esto querie que touiesse este las puertas de la villa et que fuesse guardador dellas con los almocadanes et con peones cristianos de los almoçaraues que eran criados en tierra de moros*

[the Cid] made a Moor named Mūsā the governor of the city... and he had made him chief of a castle and found him constantly loyal, and so he wished to take the city gates and be their guardian with the captains of the foot soldiers and the Christian labourers, the Mozarabs who were believers in the land of the Moors

(*Estoria de España*.916 (f<sup>o</sup> 215), Menéndez Pidal, *Primera crónica general*, II.587a).

Moors, and greet each one who passed and be humble, make way for them and say ‘Our lord the Cid orders us to respect you, and your sons just the same’<sup>103</sup>

It has been argued that these ‘believers in the land of the Moors’ could be from anywhere in the Muslim South – or Christian North.<sup>104</sup> The declaration that they spoke Arabic and kept Andalusī customs argues that they were not northern. That they are local Valencians is implied by the lack of any notice that the Cid had brought them with him, and by Ibn ‘Idhārī’s placing *rūm baladdiyān* in his account of the same scene: ‘the gates were in the hands of the Christians of the region’ (وتكون الأبواب بأيدي الروم البلديين)<sup>105</sup>.

Interestingly though, the North Africa Ibn ‘Idhārī also considers el Cid to be a *naṣrānī*, that is, an Andalusī Christian, not one of the *rūm* like Alfonso VI – who is described as ‘the great tyrant of the *rūm*, Adhifūnshu bin Fardhiladu’ (طاغية الروم الاعظم اذفونش بن (فردلذ)<sup>106</sup>. His use of very specific terminology is fast and loose and has been criticised.<sup>107</sup> Any doubt created by this inexactitude can be assuaged with recourse to

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<sup>103</sup> *Estoria de España*.917 (f° 216v):

*Et dixo a los moros que aquellos omnes que guardauan las torres et aquella puerta de la villa que el tenie, que non los pusiera y por mengua que el auie de los de su casa, et sessudos et sabidores pora quequier, mas porque fueran criados con los moros et fablauan assy como ellos et sabien sus maneras et sus costumbres, et que por esso los escogiera et los pusiera en aquel lugar, et que les mandaua et les rogaua que fiziessen mucha de onrra a los moros et que cada que passassen los saludassen et seles humillassen et les diessen la carrera, et que dixiessen: « nuestro sennor el Çid nos manda que uos fagamos onrra, assy commo a su cuerpo mesmo o commo a su fijo »*

(Menéndez Pidal, *Primera crónica general*, II.588b).

<sup>104</sup> Ubieto Arteta, Antonio, *Orígenes del reino de Valencia: cuestiones cronológicas sobre su reconquista* (Valencia: Anubar, 1975), 111-2.

<sup>105</sup> Ibn ‘Idhārī, from a previously unknown passage of *al-Bayān al-mughrib* edited by Lévi-Provençal and presented in his article ‘La toma de Valencia por el Cid’, *Al-Andalus* 13.1 (1948), 123 of Arabic text, 145 of French translation). It should be noted that the term *rūm* generally denotes non-Andalusī Christians, but that in later usage in al-Andalus and the Maghreb it came to be used to designate Christians who lived (and perhaps always had) in Andalusī territory, but were not viewed as loyal subjects. Besides Lévi-Provençal, Dozy and Huici Miranda both render these *rūm baladiyyān* as indigenous local Christians (*Recherches*, II.177; Huici Miranda, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib: nuevos fragmentos almorávides y almohades* (Valencia: Anubar, 1963), 93). Hitchcock disagrees, denying that a religious label may be applied to the faceless ahistorical masses of the countryside:

The *rūm baladiyyūn* were not Christians, but members of the indigenous population, of no ascertainable religious allegiance, who were country-dwellers. They were Arabized, and no doubt keen to welcome a change in overlordship from the oppressive intransigence of the Almoravids

(*Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, 103). One wonders, though, if one can deny a handle on the belief systems of such people, but be sure of their cultural or religious affiliations. The fact that they are understood by the Muslims to be culturally equivalent to the *rūm* of the Holy Roman Empire and described as such, rather than as uncouth Muslim farmers betraying their faith, rather argues that they should be taken on these terms as Christians.

<sup>106</sup> Ibn ‘Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib fī akhbār al-Andalus wa al-Maghreb* edited by Iḥsān ‘Abbās (Beirut: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1980), IV.50).

<sup>107</sup> On the subject of Islamic expansion into North Africa in the early ninth-century, Michael Brett describes ‘Ibn ‘Idhārī’s weaknesses: ‘[he] is late, and his terminology may be suspect’ (‘The Arab conquest and the rise of Islam in North Africa’, 511).

Ibn ‘Alqama, Valencian native and contemporary chronicler (c.1036-1107), and source of Ibn ‘Idhārī. Ibn ‘Alqama recounts Muḥammad ibn Tāshufīn’s swift dispatch by his uncle the emir Yūsuf to take Valencia back at the new moon of *Shawwāl*<sup>108</sup> in October 1094, and identifies the people of the city as *mu‘āhidīn*<sup>109</sup> which can only be translated as indigenous Andalusī Christians. Ibn ‘Alqama may not have been there at the time of the Almoravid army’s failed attempt to wrest back Valencia, but as a native son, he knew the people.

In passing, we find a reference to Christians at the small town of Albarracín, 12 years prior to conquest, when one of their number, a member of the Cid’s *almoçaraues* (*muzarabes*) is killed by the soon-to-be-overthrown Yaḥyā al-Qādir and his retinue in 1092:

They killed a Christian who was guarding the gate and another who was from Santa María de Albarracín, guarding one of the towers on the wall. This was one of the principal reasons why Valencia was lost and the Cid won its people<sup>110</sup>

There is no indication as to the size of this community, and though it is perhaps unlikely to have been large, considering the size of Albarracín itself, it is likely to have been significant. The town being known to the Andalusīs, as the *Poema de mio Cid* and *Estoria de España* indicate, as *Shanta Mārīyya ibn Razīn*, alluding to its ruling Berber *taifa* clan *al-banū Razīn* (‘the sons of Razīn’)<sup>111</sup>, suggests that it was known for its Christians, or at least bore their imprint.

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<sup>108</sup> *Shawwāl* (شَوَّال): the tenth month of the Islamic calendar.

<sup>109</sup> Ibn ‘Alqama:

ومن كان بالمدينة من النصارى المعاهدين

Those Christian *mu‘āhidīn* who were in the city

(*al-Bayān*, IV.40; Lévi-Provençal, ‘La toma de Valencia’, 125 of Arabic text, 147 of French translation.

<sup>110</sup> *Estoria de España*.897 (f° 200v-201):

*Et mataron a un cristiano que guardava la puerta, et otro que auie de Sancta Maria de Aluarrazin que guardava vna de los torres del muro. Esta fue una cosa de las prinicipales por que se perdió Ualencia et toda su gente fasta que la gano el Çid*

(Menéndez Pidal, *Primera crónica general*, II.566b).

<sup>111</sup> The *Estoria de España* identifies the eponymous Ibn Razīn, as does the *Poema de mio Cid*:

*Abenrrazin, que era sennor de Santa Maria de Aluarrazin, auiel a pechar X mill marauedia por la postura*

Ibn Razīn, lord of Santa María de Albarracín, had to pay [the Cid] 10,000 maravedís for his position

(*Estoria de España*.896 (f° 198v); Menéndez Pidal, *Primera crónica general de España*, II.565a). *Poema de mio Cid*.2644-5 (f° 53v):

*Pienssan se de yr los yfantes de Carion,  
por Sancta Maria dalua Razin fazian la posada*

The princes of Carrión thought to go,

They made for the inn of Santa María of Albarracín

(Per Abbat, *Poema de mio Cid*, Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, sig. v.7-17).

## Conclusion

Despite all these sightings of Christians both lay and clerical, and of ecclesiastic and monastic structures, available to those that seek them out, the tendency to ignore them, or to be oblivious to them, is the norm. Wasserstein, who includes a section on the Christians in his history of the *taifas*, expresses a common view:

The strength and vitality which the Spanish church had been able to display in the face of Muslim rule during the third/ ninth century had largely disappeared during the fourth/ tenth century, and is nowhere in evidence in the taifa period<sup>112</sup>

He focuses on apologetic production as an indicator of Christian spiritual vitality to the dereliction of any other specifically Christian production, like scriptural translation and copying, which also indicate intellectual vitality, not to mention secular and religious verse and a new canon of religious law. Presumably the ninth-century 'strength and vitality' to which he refers is Eulogius' highly visible output.

Indigenous Christian communities nonetheless produced sophisticated members of the eleventh-century political and artistic elite. Kassis writes:

What we witness in the turbulent decades of the eleventh century that preceded the arrival of the Almoravids is not a Christian community that may have dwindled in numbers or that was no longer capable of the administration of its initiating sacraments (baptism and communion), but rather a community that has been thoroughly arabicized, and, indeed, culturally islamicised, beyond recognition<sup>113</sup>

Proof positive of this fine ritual health can be found in the admittedly patchy archaeological record, which nevertheless offers four datable and highly literary Latin funerary inscriptions from the first half of the century, and scribal notes in both Latin and Arabic dated between 1034 and 1070. Bishop Daniel of Badajoz died in 1000<sup>114</sup>, two years later the aristocrat Ciprianus died young at only 34 in Elvira.<sup>115</sup> Both men's epitaphs are fairly sophisticated, reflecting their status, bearing the verse acrostics *DANIEL EPISCOPI* and *CIPRIANVS* respectively; Fita identified the metre as minor asclepiads for Daniel and rhymed hexameter for Ciprianus. A third verse epitaph,

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<sup>112</sup> Wasserstein, *Rise and Fall of the Party-Kings*, 236.

<sup>113</sup> Kassis, 'Arabic-speaking Christians in al-Andalus', 419-20.

<sup>114</sup> Fita, 'Epitafios poéticos de Badajoz, Granada y Málaga', 87-9; Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, 367; *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, [213], 69.

<sup>115</sup> Fita, 'Epitafios poéticos de Badajoz, Granada y Málaga', 89-91; Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, 367 and *Cosas granadinas de arte y arqueología*, 192; Hübner, *Supplementum* [456], 101; Hübner also published a fragment of the same as [291], 119; Navascués, 'Nuevas inscripciones mozárabes', 276; Oliver Hurtado and Gómez-Moreno, *Informe sobre varias antigüedades*, 2ff; Pastor Muñoz, *Corpus de inscripciones latinas de Andalucía volumen IV: Granada*, 82-3; Pastor Muñoz and Mendoza Eguaras, *Inscripciones latinas de la provincia de Granada*, 288; Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, 635.

anonymous but dated 1010 from just outside Málaga is arranged in trochaic metre.<sup>116</sup> In 1034 the Toledan priest Julian finished the codex *Hispana Chronologica* (Simonet's *Toledano gótico*)<sup>117</sup>; three years later, on 21 August 1047, the priest Dominic completed a copy of Isidore's *Etymologiae* in Zaragoza.<sup>118</sup> We have already seen the Arabic verse colophons Binjinshīsh appended to his codices of canon law on 17 October 1049 and the 'first Sunday of Lent' 1050. A year later Florita's epitaph marks her death in Padul, south of Granada.<sup>119</sup>

In 1070 a Toledan priest Vincentius – potentially Binjinshīsh, though it is impossible to verify – names himself the copyist of a Latin codex including Elipandus' letters, Justus' commentaries on chants, a *Carmen Paschale* in hexameter verse, poems on redemption of original sin, and a gloss of the Pater Noster.<sup>120</sup> An interesting point to note is that all these individuals bear Latin-derived names, more than two centuries after the first Arabic-monikered Christians are attested, and that their works and epitaphs employ highly cultured Latin, whether new and original or copied in the century after the production of an Arabised Scripture phased out Latin in original literary composition. The eleventh century fostered a peak of Christian literary production that

<sup>116</sup> Fita, 'Epitafios poéticos de Badajoz, Granada y Málaga', 91; Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, 368; *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, [216], 71; Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, 636.

<sup>117</sup> Julian's signature closes the codex *Hispana Chronologica*:

*Explicit liber iste XXIII idus kalendas aprilis era MLXXII. Iulianus presbyter indignus qui scripsit in honore sanctae Mariae et sancti Genesii martyri. Pro memoria ut pro me orare iubeatis ad dominum si Deus pro nobis*

This book is finished 24 April, in the Era 1072. Julianus the unworthy priest wrote [it] in honour of Holy Maria and Genesius the martyr. May you wish to pray to the Lord for [their] memory as for me, if God is for us

(Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, ms 10,041). See also: Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, 714. Though the formulaic language has been preserved, the Roman kalends system clearly has not: there is no twenty-fourth of the Ides, just as there are no Ides of the Kalends. One must assume that Julian means 24 April.

<sup>118</sup> Dominic signs his work in the colophon on the final page of a gothic codex from the church of Our Lady of Pilar (Nuestra Señora del Pilar) containing Isidore's *Etymologiae*:

*Explicit liber feliciter Deo gratias. Dominico presbiter fecit. XII k[a]l[enda]s sept[embrii] era MLXXXV*

The book is finished happily thanks to God. The priest Dominico made it. 21 August, Era 1085

(San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio, ms &.J.3, f° 242). See also: Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, 717.

<sup>119</sup> Gómez-Moreno, Manuel, *Guía de Granada* (Granada: Imprenta de D. Indalecio Ventura, 1892), 195; Hübner, *Supplementum* [458], 103, Gómez-Moreno, 368; Pastor Muñoz and Mendoza Eguaras, *Inscripciones latinas de la provincia de Granada*, 305. For text see Appendix II: Inscriptions.

<sup>120</sup> Vincentius signs his work:

*Perscriptus est liber iste Deo auxiliante sub die XVIII kalendas februarias era MCVIII orate pro Vincentio praesbytero scriptore se Christum dominum abeatis protectorem. Amen*

This book was written with God's help on 14 January in the Era 1108. Pray for Vincentius the priestly scribe, if you depart to the Lord Christ the Protector. Amen

(Toledo, Biblioteca Capitular, ms 14.23). See also: García Villada, Zacarías, *Paleografía española precedida de una introducción sobre la paleografía latina* (Madrid: Publicaciones de la Revista de filología española, 1923), I.124; Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, 729).

– apparently for the first, and last, time since the Visigothic seventh century<sup>121</sup> – properly spanned the secular and religious divide, and arguably more vital in the former. Beyond this, the Christians produced nothing of a literary nature that survived; the only written testimony that remains from the Christians of the post-*taifa* period comes from funerary and commemorative inscriptions, deed papers of monastic foundations and *marginalia*, which, supplemented by the chronicles of Latinate North and Arabic South, charters, and a few rare reports from outside the peninsula, provide our means of accessing the indigenous Christians of al-Andalus in the following four centuries.

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<sup>121</sup> On the secular literary culture of the Visigothic kingdom, including verse attributed to two Visigothic kings, Sisebut (612-21) and Chintila (636-9), see: Collins, ‘Literacy and the laity’, 114-5, and *Visigothic Spain*, 161-73.



## Chapter X

### An age of upheaval: Almoravids, Almohads and Naṣrid Granada (c.1086-1492)

This chapter is intended to counter established ideas regarding the experience – and ultimately the survival or rather extinction – of indigenous Christians under the North African Berber dynasties which succeeded the *taifa* states, in a period in which al-Andalus suffered great and irreversible territorial losses. It is my intention to show that though Andalusī Christianity necessarily declined in parallel with al-Andalus' decline as they, and its territory, were absorbed into Castilian-Leonese, Aragonese and Portuguese territory, Christian communities lived on in great numbers much longer than is generally accepted in this late climate of increasing conflict and supposed persecution, continuing to witness conquest by the above kingdoms.

Following the disintegration of peninsular Muslim power in the late *taifa* period, the advent of Berber dynastic rule under the Almoravids (c.1086-1147)<sup>1</sup> and their usurpers the Almohads (c.1147-1232)<sup>2</sup>, is generally held to be the end for Andalusī Christianity.<sup>3</sup> There is no real consensus, but the year 1126, with the great betrayal of the *dhimma* by the Christians of Granada province and the consequent movement of alleged tens of thousands north to Aragón and south to Morocco, is widely considered a

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<sup>1</sup> For an overview of the period of Almoravid power in North Africa, see the section 'Almoravids and Almohads' in Nehemia Levtzion's chapter 'The western Maghrib and Sudan' in *The Cambridge History of Africa: Volume 3 c.1050 to c.1600* edited by Roland Oliver (5<sup>th</sup> ed. Cambridge: CUP, 2001), 331-9; the chapter 'The Almoravid and the Almohad Empires and Their Successor States' in Phillip C. Naylor's *North Africa: A History from Antiquity to the Present* (Austin: University of Texas, 2009), 89-108.

<sup>2</sup> For an overview of the period of Almohad power in North Africa, see Levtzion, 'Almoravids and Almohads', 339-48; Naylor, *North Africa*, 89-108.

<sup>3</sup> Molénat declares that after 1147 there are no Christians left, then qualifies that pronouncement with the admission that there are a few further minor sightings ('Sur le rôle des Almohades dans la fin du christianisme local au Maghreb et en al-Andalus', *al-Qanṭara* 18.2 (1997), 402, 410).

pivotal point<sup>4</sup>, though ironically it is precisely at this moment that the indigenous Christians appear in their greatest numbers in the entire record. Much has been made of the increasing tendency towards intolerance under the Berbers, with whom the term ‘fanatical’ is frequently associated in western minds.<sup>5</sup> As Roth has observed, even the

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<sup>4</sup> Alejandro García-Sanjuán recently wrote:

In al-Andalus, the Almoravid period (1086-1147) has traditionally been considered a decisive moment in regard to the situation of the Jews and Christians – the *ahl al-dhimma*, or “protected people”... Traditional historiography explains this situation as a direct consequence of Almoravid fanaticism

(‘Jews and Christians in Almoravid Seville as portrayed by the Islamic Jurist Ibn ‘Abdūn’, *Medieval Encounters* 14 (2008), 78-9). Epalza even claims ‘the extinction of Christian Mozarabs was caused by Almoravid and Almohad persecution in the 6<sup>th</sup>/ 12<sup>th</sup> century’ (‘Mozarabs: an emblematic Christian minority’, 158). Aillet also concludes that indigenous Christianity’s ‘fragile situation’ became untenable and it disappeared in the twelfth century (*Les « Mozarabes »*, 3, 316). Molénat writes:

*Quoi qu’il en soit, il est clair que l’expédition d’Alfonse le Batailleur, qui se révéla impuissant à prendre les grandes villes de la région, aboutit finalement à la disparition des communautés mozarabes andalusiennes*

It is clear that Alfonso the Battler’s expedition, in which he showed himself unable to take the big towns of the region, led finally to the disappearance of the Andalusī Mozarab communities

(‘La fin des chrétiens arabisés d’al-Andalus: mozarabes de Tolède et du Gharb au XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle’, *¿Existe una identidad mozárabe? Historia, lengua y cultura de los cristianos de al-Andalus (siglos IX-XII)* (Madrid: Casa de Velasquez, 2008), 288). Mercedes García-Arenal writes:

*El año 1125 fue decisivo para la situación de las comunidades cristianas que vivían en al-Ándalus*

The year 1125 was decisive for the situation of the Christian communities living in al-Andalus

(*La diáspora de los andalusíes* (Barcelona: Icaria Editorial, 2003), 32). Fierro writes the same thing: ‘The year 519/1125 was decisive for the situation of Christian communities in al-Andalus’ (‘Christian Success and Muslim Fear in Andalusī Writings during the Almoravid and Almohad Periods’ in *Israel Oriental Studies XVII. Dhimmis and Others: Jews and Christians and the World of Classical Islam* edited by Uri Rubin and David J. Wasserstein (Tel Aviv: Eisenbrauns, 1997), 155). See also: Ramírez de Ríó, ‘Los mozárabes en Sevilla’, 94n17.

<sup>5</sup> Dozy established the idea of the Almoravids’ inherent fanaticism, condemning them as ‘harsh and fanatical warriors from the Sahara’ under whom ‘civilisation gave way to barbarity, intelligence to superstition, tolerance to fanaticism’ (*rudes et fanatiques guerriers du Sahara... La civilisation céda la place à la barbarie, l’intelligence, à la superstition, la tolérance, au fanatisme*) (*Histoire des musulmans d’Espagne*, III.124... *Recherches*, I.343). Decades later, Simonet echoed these sentiments (and quoted them) decrying the Almoravids as a swarming plague from the desert – ‘barbarian warriors, fanatic and countless...’ (*los almoravides: guerreros bárbaros, fanáticos é innumerables*) (*Historia de los mozárabes*, 733) much like, and as ideologically charged as, the swarm of rats in Heraclius’ dream heralding the advent of the Muslims (*Chronica Muzarabica*.5, CSM 1:18). Molénat goes so far as to compare the demographic movement of the early-twelfth century to modern-day genocide:

*A fines del siglo XI, y sobre todo durante el XII, se produjeron en la Península Ibérica transferencias de poblaciones que evocan las operaciones de « purificación étnica » de la Europa del siglo XX*

At the end of the eleventh century, and above all in the twelfth, population movements were caused in the Iberian Peninsula that evoke the operations of ‘ethnic cleansing’ of twentieth-century Europe

(‘Los mozárabes, entre al-Andalus y el norte peninsular’, 20). He also notes Dozy’s role in the association of the Berbers with fanaticism (‘Sur le rôle des Almohades dans la fin du christianisme’, 391). See also: Tapia Garrido, José Ángel, *Historia de Almería y su provincia* (Almería: Caja de Ahorros, 1976), II.342. The association of the Almoravids and Almohads with violence and fanaticism can be found in the following, among others: Pines, S. ‘Philosophy’ in *The Cambridge History of Islam: volume 2B* edited by P.M. Holt, Ann K.S. Lambton and Bernard Lewis (Cambridge: CUP, 1977), 815; Schacht, J., ‘Law and Justice’, 567 in the same volume; Lomax, D.W., *The Reconquest of Spain* (Birmingham: Longman, 1978); O’Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain*, 208; Roth, *Jews, Visigoths, and Muslims in Medieval Spain* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 66.

patronymic of the first Almoravid leader to enter the peninsula, Yūsuf ibn Tāshufīn (ruled c.1061-1106), signals violence, being derived from the verb *shafā* denoting vengeance.<sup>6</sup> It is often noted that in 1099 he had a church destroyed.<sup>7</sup> Though Ibn al-Khaṭīb calls it merely ‘renowned’, Guichard contends that it was the ‘main Mozarab church of Granada’ and posits it as a ‘symbolic’ act humbling the Christians.<sup>8</sup> Enrique Sordo wrongly declares it the end of Christianity in the region, proclaiming ‘[t]he last remaining Christian church, on the Paseo del Triunfo, had been destroyed in 1099, and Granada became even more Moorish’.<sup>9</sup> Ibn al-Khaṭīb offers no reason for the demolition, and it appears to have been an isolated incident. It should be noted that the Almoravids had been in the peninsula for almost 15 years before this first recorded act of aggression towards indigenous ecclesiastical institutions. Kassis’ suggestion that the church was a recent construction built without permission acknowledges both the possibility of an active Christian community and that the demolition was a specific response to an infringement of the *dhimma*, not part of any general ideologically-motivated Almoravid persecution of the *ahl al-dhimma*.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, it has been recognised by four other scholars in recent years that all the measures taken against *dhimmi* groups were in line with the *dhimma*, and where Christians or Jews suffered it was not because of their faith but because they violated the pact.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> *Shafā* (شَفَى): ‘satisfy one’s thirst for revenge, vent one’s anger on someone; to take revenge’; *tashaffin* (تَشَفَّى), ‘gratification of one’s thirst for revenge’. See: Roth, *Jews, Visigoths, and Muslims in Medieval Spain*, 65.

<sup>7</sup> Ibn al-Khaṭīb:

تجاه باب البيرة في اعتراض الطريق إلى فوججر، كنيسة شهيرة... أمر بهدمها الأمير يوسف بن

تاشفين

Near the Gate of Elvira opposite the road to Qūljar [Guejar Sierra], was a renowned church... the emir Yūsuf ibn Tāshufīn ordered it torn down

(*al-Iḥāta fī akhbār Gharnāṭa*, I.107). See also: Guichard, ‘The Social History of Muslim Spain from the Conquest to the End of the Almohad Regime (Early 2<sup>nd</sup>/8<sup>th</sup>-Early 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> Centuries)’ in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain* edited by Salma Jayyusi (Leiden, 1992), 688; Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, 100; Serrano Ruano, Delfina, ‘Dos fetuas sobre la expulsión de mozárabes al Magreb en 1126’, *Anaquel de estudios árabes* 2 (1991), 164.

<sup>8</sup> Guichard, ‘The Social History of Muslim Spain’, 688. Hitchcock makes a similar interpretation, seeing it as a symbolic and political act in a time of instability (*la destrucción de la iglesia – símbolo cristiano en tierras musulmanas – se debe a razones políticas, propias de la inestabilidad de la época*) (‘Los musta ‘ribūn: ¿comunidad marginada?’’, 252).

<sup>9</sup> Sordo, Enrique, *Moorish Spain: Cordoba, Seville, Granada* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: Elek Books, 1963), 141.

<sup>10</sup> Kassis, ‘Arabic-speaking Christians in al-Andalus’, 402-3.

<sup>11</sup> Fierro makes this point in three articles: ‘La religión’, 466-96 and ‘Christian Success and Muslim Fear’, 157-8; ‘La religión’ in *Historia de España Menéndez Pidal: VIII.2: El retroceso territorial de al-Andalus. Almorávides y Almohades. Siglos XI al XIII* edited by María Jesús Viguera Molins (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1997), 524-6. See also: Benremdane, A, and B. El Kadiri Boutchich, ‘Los mozárabes de al-Andalus y la cuestión de la tolerancia bajo los almorávides’ in *III Estudios de Frontera. Convivencia, defensa y comunicación en la frontera (Alcalá la Real, 18 a 20 de noviembre de 1999)*. *Actas* (Jaén:

In 1147, the Almohads entered the peninsula having defeated the Almoravids and captured their empire across the Straits. Considered even more fundamentalist than the Almoravids, the Almohads – or *al-Muwahhīdūn* (الموحدون), meaning ‘monotheists’ or ‘unitarians’ – are credited with ushering in a new level of antagonism between Muslim and Christian. The Almohads’ rise to power is assumed to be the end of Christianity in North Africa and the Andalusī Peninsula, bringing slaughter and migration.<sup>12</sup> Their supposed attitude towards the non-Muslim is exemplified by the emir ‘Abd al-Mu’min’s ultimatum for the *ahl al-dhimma* of Tunis:

al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī bin Yaḥyā bin Tamīm ibn al-Mu‘izz ibn Bādīs al-Ṣanhājī reached Tūnis 24 *Jumādā* II [14 July] of the year [554/ 1159]... he proposed Islam to the Jews and Christians [*naṣārā*] there. Those who submitted were unharmed; those who refused were killed<sup>13</sup>

Al-Nuwaīrī’s account has ‘Abd al-Mu’min give three choices, the third being the opportunity of safe passage to a Christian land.<sup>14</sup> Molénat points to these accounts as proof of a systematic erasure of Christianity from Almohad territory,<sup>15</sup> and it is true that the Almohads were instinctively antagonistic towards enemy combatants of Christian Iberia to the North and siege hostages who resisted them, but this was in time of invasion and conflict; their *dhimmī* subjects did not suffer universally. Almohad policy towards the *ahl al-dhimma* cannot be as straightforward as is dictated by consensus. The fate of Tunis was punishment for resisting the Almohad advance; Seville did likewise, only to become their peninsular capital without any such ultimatum served to a Christian community that would go on to outlast Almohad rule. It is certainly true that an apparently large movement of northbound migration is attested in Toledan

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Diputación Provincial de Jaén, Area de Cultura, 2000), 141; García-Sanjuán, ‘Jews and Christians in Almoravid Seville’, 80; Lewis, B., *The Jews of Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 41-3.

<sup>12</sup> Molénat:

*Tout change un peu avant 1150, à partir de 1146 exactement, avec une immigration massive vers Tolède de mozarabes provenant du Sud de la Péninsule*

Everything changed a little before 1150, from 1146 to be exact, with a massive Mozarab emigration from the south of the peninsula towards Toledo

(*Campagnes et monts de Tolède*, 47, and ‘Note sur les traducteurs de Tolède’, *Cahiers d’études arabes* 2 (1988), 42). Adrian Hastings simply writes that ‘the end came’ with the Almohads (*The Church in Africa: 1450-1950* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2004), 64).

<sup>13</sup> Ibn al-Athīr:

الحسن بن علي بن يحيى بن تميم بن المعزّ بن باديس الصنهاجي... وصل إلى مدينة تونس في الرابع

والعشرين من جمادى الآخرة من السنة... وعرض الإسلام على من بها من اليهود والنصارى،

فمن أسلم سلم، ومن امتنع قتل

(*al-Kāmil fī al-tar’ikh* edited by Carl Johann Tornberg (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1966), XI.242.

<sup>14</sup> Al-Nuwaīrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, XXIV.320-1. See also: Ḥasan ‘Alī Ḥasan, *al-Ḥaḍāra al-islāmīyya fī al-Maghrib wa-l-Andalus*. ‘*Aṣr al-Murābiṭīn wa-l-Mawahhīdīn* (Cairo, 1980), 368.

<sup>15</sup> Molénat, ‘Sur le rôle des Almohades dans la fin du christianisme’, 399-401.

documentation from the mid-twelfth century and that this has cast the Almohads in a bad light. But they arrived as invaders: Christian movement was not necessarily a bid to escape persecution, it could have been a move to avoid the chaos of conflict, and would have been encouraged in no small part by the flourishing of mozarabic Toledo and the ever-strengthening Christian kingdoms of the North.

### **Indigenous Christians fade as holy war consumes the historical discourse**

The Berbers may not deserve their fearsome reputation, and may not have routinely persecuted their *dhimmī* subjects into extinction – their *jizya* payments were valuable, after all, in a time of regular conflict – but it is a fact that Andalusī Christians are increasingly unlikely to appear in either Muslim Arabic or Christian Latin and Castilian texts from the mid-eleventh century onwards. The ideology of holy war had been gaining prominence on both sides of the frontier since the late eleventh century, changing attitudes to those Christians living in Muslim-controlled territory and focussing attention on the enemy.<sup>16</sup> Ibn al-Kardabus, writing in the late twelfth century, talks of *jihād* when reporting the Almoravids' arrival, effectively making the loss of Toledo the point when the tide turned.<sup>17</sup> When Yūsuf ibn Tāshufīn entered the peninsula in 1099 he did so explicitly in the interests of *jihād*, as a warrior (*mujāhid*).<sup>18</sup> The Cid's Valencian charter of the previous year casts him as a conquering agent of God's will and spreader of the faith.<sup>19</sup> In the verse of Ibn Quzmān (c. 1078-1160), one

<sup>16</sup> Lagardère, 'Évolution de la notion de *ḡihād* à l'époque almoravide (1039-1147)', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 41 (1998), 3-16. Hanna Kassis outlines the appearance of feelings of being trapped and hemmed in by increasingly powerful and successful Christian foes to the north towards the end of the *taifa* period, and of the turn to more hardline Islamic principles with the emergence of the Almoravids as a peninsular power ('Roots of Conflict: Aspects of Christian-Muslim Confrontation in Eleventh-Century Spain' in *Conversion and Continuity: Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands Eighth to Eighteenth Centuries* edited by Michael Gervers and Ramzi Gibran Bikhazi (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1990), 151-60).

<sup>17</sup> Ibn al-Kardabūs, *Tārīkh al-Andalus*, 90.

<sup>18</sup> Ibn al-Kardabūs:

وفي سنة ثلاث وتسعين وأربعمائة، جاز الأمير يحيى بن أبي بكر بن يوسف بن تاشفين إلى الأندلس  
مجاهداً

In the year 493 [1099] the emir Yaḥyā bin Abī Bakr ibn Yūsuf ibn Tāshufīn crossed to al-Andalus as a warrior [*mujāhidān*]

(*Tārīkh al-Andalus*, 108).

<sup>19</sup> The charter of Valencia, 1098:

*Pater... invictissimum principem Rudericum Campidoctorem obprobrii servorum suorum suscitavit ultorem et christiane religionis propagatorem*  
the Father... raised up the most invincible prince Rodrigo Campeador as avenger of his servants' shame and as a propagator of the Christian religion



sees Christians dubbed *ahl al-kitāb* where once they were *ahl al-dhimma*, *dhimmī*, or latterly *mu'āhidīn*; they are recognised simply as People of the Book rather than as protected minorities, or as *rūm* – as the enemy within rather than faithful subjects.<sup>20</sup> The North African Ibn 'Idhārī refers to the Christians of pre-conquest Valencia as *rūm*, though they are described as *mu'āhidīn* by contemporary Valencian native Ibn 'Alqama.<sup>21</sup>

The same ideology can be seen influencing the Christian north at around the same time, both in their own words and actions and in the way they are seen from the Muslims' point of view.<sup>22</sup> The fourteenth-century account of Ibn Abī Zar' bears the unmistakable tone of holy war; he writes of 'the *jihād* against the polytheists' (الجهاد) <sup>المشركين</sup><sup>23</sup> and conceives of Alfonso VIII of León-Castile's preparations for war as a religious endeavour:

An army of 10,000 of the best men was chosen by the accursed and blackened Alfonso – for his judgement is warped – and the bishops said Christian prayers and sprinkled baptismal water upon them in purification, and they swore upon their crosses that they would not return as long as a single Muslim were left standing. But God gave his assent to the Muslims and made them strong and dignified, and he watched over them closely and their forces triumphed<sup>24</sup>

A succession of popes – Urban II (1088-99), Paschal II (1099-1118), Calixtus II (1119-24) and Eugenius III (1145-53) – offered the same remission of sins to those who fought the Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula as those who went to the East; consequently

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(*Documentos de los Archivos Catedralicio y Diocesano de Salamanca (s. XII-XIII)*) edited by José L. Martín Martín, Luis Miguel Villar García, Florencio Marcos Rodríguez and Marciano Sánchez Rodríguez (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad, 1977), 79-80).

<sup>20</sup> On the evidence of changing attitudes towards the *ahl-al dhimma*, see: Fierro, 'Christian Success and Muslim Fear', 161-4.

<sup>21</sup> Ibn 'Idhārī, from a previously unknown passage of *al-Bayān al-mughrib* edited by Lévi-Provençal and presented in 'La toma de Valencia por el Cid', 123 of Arabic text, 145 of French translation; Ibn 'Alqama, *al-Bayān*, IV.40.

<sup>22</sup> See: Cantarino, Vicente, 'The Spanish Reconquest: a Cluniac Holy War Against Islam?' in *Islam and the Medieval West: Aspects of intercultural relations* edited by Khalil I. Semaan (Albany: SUNY, 1980), 82-109.

<sup>23</sup> Ibn Abī Zar', *al-Anīs al-maṭarrīb rawḍ al-qirṭas* edited in two volumes by Carl Johann Tornberg with a Latin translation under the title *Annales Regum Mauritaniae: a condito Idrisidarum imperio ad annum fugæ 726* (Upsalia: Litteris Academicis, 1843), I.210.

<sup>24</sup> Ibn Abī Zar':

وكانوا نحو العشرة الاف زعيم انتخبهم الفنش اللعين الدهيم برايه الدميم وصلت عليهم الاقساة  
صلاة النصارى ورشوا عليهم ماء العمودية في الطهر وتحالفوا بالصلبان الا يفروا حتى لا يتركوا من  
المسلمين انسانا فصدق الله عز وجل المسلمين وعده ونصر جنودهم

(*Rawḍ al-qirṭas*, I.150).



several crusaders also joined the efforts against al-Andalus.<sup>25</sup> The campaign waged by Alfonso I of Aragón-Navarra against Zaragoza was aided by Gaston IV de Béarn<sup>26</sup> and Rotrou de Perche – who had taken part in the siege of Antioch on the First Crusade.<sup>27</sup> A decade later, Alphonse Jourdain, Comte de Toulouse, and Guillaume VI de Montpellier allied themselves as vassals to Alfonso VII the King-Emperor of León-Castile (1126-57) in his campaigns against the Almoravids.<sup>28</sup> In return for the pope's remission of his sins, Alfonso VII offered the Toledan clergy exemption from tax for 'defending my kingdom and all Christianity from every enemy'<sup>29</sup>. Afonso Henriques' success at Lisbon in 1147 was also aided by northern crusaders on their way to the Holy Land. The Christians' victories at Almería, Tortosa, Lisbon, Fraga, Lérida and Mequinenza – all won over three years in 1147-9 – were considered successes of the crusades that were concurrently failing in the East.<sup>30</sup>

Among the ideological considerations of holy war, the indigenous Christian population is increasingly unlikely to appear, unless directly involved in the various conflicts that defined and dominated the extant chronicles of this period. Their notable appearances in the early twelfth century are not to be repeated in the Latin record for, in

<sup>25</sup> Barton, Simon, 'A Forgotten Crusade: Alfonso VII of León-Castile and the Campaign for Jaén (1148)', *Historical Research* 73 (2000), 313-4, 319; Bull, Marcus, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: the Limousin and Gascony, c.970-c.1130* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), 70ff; France, John, *The Crusades and the Expansion of Catholic Christendom, 1000-1714* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 100-2; O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 35; Purkis, William J., *Crusading spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c.1095-c.1187* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008), 121ff. For the letter entitled *Divina Dispensatione (II)* issued by Eugenius on 11 April 1147, in which the pope unambiguously compares the military expansion in the Iberian Peninsula with the Eastern Crusade, see: Eugenius III, *Epistolae et Privilegia*.CLXVI*Ad expeditionem sacram adversus Slavos in Pomerania populos excitat. Regem Hispaniarum quoque scribit contra Saracenos Iberiae comparare*, PL 180, col.1203A-4A.

<sup>26</sup> O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, 36-7; Stalls, Clay, *Possessing the Land: Aragon's expansion into Islam's Ebro frontier under Alfonso the Battler, 1104-1134* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 124.

<sup>27</sup> Riley-Smith, Jonathan, *The First Crusaders: 1095-1131* (Cambridge: CUP, 1997), 144ff; Stalls, *Possessing the Land*, 127-9.

<sup>28</sup> O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain*, 223, and *Reconquest and Crusade*, 41.

<sup>29</sup> Privilege conferred upon Toledan clergy by Alfonso VII el Emperador:

*Ego Adefonsus Dei gratia hispanie imperator, una cum coniuge mea Regina Dompna Berengaria, facio hanc cartam confirmationis omnibus meis clericis Toletanis pro anime mee et parentum meorum redemptione et peccatorum meorum remissione, ut Deo tantum militent et serviant secundum quod decet suum ordinem... et in sacrificiis que offerunt Deo postulent ut Deus det mihi virtutem, sapientem et potentiam qua possim recte et sapienter regnum meum regere et omnem christianitatem a cunctis inimicis potenter defendere*

I, Adefonsus, Emperor of Hispania by the grace of God, with my wife Queen Berengaria, make this charter of confirmation to all the Toledan clergy in return for the redemption of mine and my parents' souls, and the remission of my sins, that they might make war for God and serve as is appropriate to their order... and in their prayers they might ask God to give me the virtue, wisdom and strength to rule my kingdom rightly and wisely, and strongly defend all Christianity from all enemies

(*Colección de fueros municipales y cartas pueblas*, 370).

<sup>30</sup> Barton, 'A Forgotten Crusade', 312-3; Phillips, Jonathan, *The Second Crusade: Extending the Frontiers of Christendom* (London: Yale University Press, 2007), 244-68.

some instances as Aillet notes, the conquerors rewrote history, engaging in a desertification of southern territories to obscure centuries of cohabitation and to set the stage for Christian restoration, whose symbolic force would have been diminished (and their pious justification made harder) were it recognised that Christians continued to live under Muslim rule.<sup>31</sup> Ximénez de Rada is a case in point; his disdain for the *muzarabes* of Toledo is palpable in the *De Rebus Hispaniae*, where he bestows upon them the spurious and pejorative derivation *mixti Arabes*.<sup>32</sup> He made little mention of their coreligionists outside Toledo, for he did not consider the *muzarabes* worthy of a place in the annals of Catholic Spain, though he did rewrite, or transmitted a manipulated version of, the siege of Coimbra to exonerate the monastery of Lorvão for a perceived complicity in living under Islamic rule. It might also be remembered that the thirteenth-century chronicles excise all mention of ninth-century Christians, including those involved with Ibn Ḥafṣūn and Eulogius.

In general the only *muzarabes* visible are those who resettled in the northern territories and were there interested parties in charters and transactions or signatories thereof; they do not appear again in the South of the Latin record. The difficulty of distinguishing Andalusī Christian and Muslim after four centuries of cultural influence would have the effect of obscuring the former, and could partially explain their departure from the Latin chronicles at this point. These chronicles make clear that Andalusī Christians and Muslims were all but indistinguishable in the eyes of the northern armies since the late eleventh century: in Valencia in 1094, Coria in 1113, and Lisbon in 1147, disaster struck the Christians on one side or the other as a consequence. The few exceptional appearances of Andalusī Christians in the Latin chronicles serve to highlight the inherent cruelty of the Muslims, such as Orderic Vitalis' report of the

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<sup>31</sup> On the conception of Andalusī territories as a *tabula rasa* in the literature of the northern conquerors' chroniclers, see Aillet, 'El monasterio de Lorvão', 75 and *Les « Mozarabes »*, 285; David, Pierre, *Études historiques sur la Galice et le Portugal du VI<sup>e</sup> au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Lisbon-Paris: Livraria portuguesa, 1947), 170-4.

<sup>32</sup> Ximénez de Rada offers an etymology for the term Mozarab:

*subiecti Arabibus viverent sub tributo... et isti dicti sunt mixti Arabes, eo quod mixti Arabibus convivebant, quorum hodie apud nos nomen perseverat et genus*  
they lived subjected to pay tribute to the Arabs... and they are called *mixti arabes*, since they lived mixed in with the Arabs; the name and race of these people has persevered among us to this day

(*De Rebus Hispaniae*.III.22, Fernández Valverde, 107). Aillet writes:

*les « mozarabes » n'avaient aucune place dans la mémoire hispanique... L'exaltation de la mission de « reconquête » initiée par les rois d'Oviedo imposait à Ximénez de Rada d'occulter la coexistence d'une partie du christianisme ibérique avec l'Islam*  
the Mozarabs had no place in Spanish memory... The glorification of the 'Reconquest' initiated by the kings of Oviedo required Ximénez de Rada to hide a part of Iberian Christianity's coexistence with Islam

(*Les « Mozarabes »*, 2).

Almoravids' ill-treatment of the Christians left behind by Alfonso I of Aragon in 1126, and the Almohads' siege of Seville in 1147 in the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*. The Arabic chroniclers do, on the whole, make clear distinction between *rūm* and *mu'āhidīn*, so that it is possible to continue observing the Andalusī Christians.

### An age of Christian movement

Whether or not the North African dynasties deserved their reputation, the twelfth century saw a series of Christian displacements, north in emigration and south in forced exile. This wave of movement started with the allure of a nascent mozarabic Toledo after 1085. In 1101 Alfonso VI of León-Castile evacuated Valencia, whence he returned with a company of *Muztarabes* whom he granted a *fuero* in Toledo.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>33</sup> *Fuero* of Toledo 1101:

*Ego Adefonsus Dei gratia, Toletani imperii Rex, et magnificus triumfator... facio hanc cartam firmitatis ad totos ipsos Muztarabes de Toledo, caballeros et pedones... ut uos omnes, quos in hac urbe semper amaui et dilexi, seu de alienis terris ad populandum adduxi, semper habeam fideles et amatores*

I, Adefonsus, by grace of God king of the territory of Toledo and magnificent conqueror... make this charter of steadfastness to all the Mozarabs of Toledo, both nobles and commoners... so that I might always have all of you – those whom I have always loved in this city, and those whom I brought from foreign lands to populate it – as faithful friends

(*Colección de fueros municipales y cartas pueblas*, 360-1). *Alfonso VI: cancellería, curia e imperio. II: Colección diplomática* edited by Andrés Gamba (León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación San Isidoro, 1998), [163], II.424-8. The twelfth-century *Historia Roderici* says that upon the Cid's death, which it dates July 1099, his wife Ximena called Alfonso VI to help against the Almoravids, but unable to defend the city, he decided to evacuate:

*Illius quidem morte audita, omnes sarraceni, qui in partibus marinis habitabant, congregato exercitu non modico, super Valentiam continuo uenerunt eamque ex omni parte obsederunt obsessamque VII mensibus undique expugnauerunt... Quo audito, rex cum exercitu suo Valentiam ueloci cursu peruenit... ut sibi et cunctis christianis, qui cum ea erant, succurreret, supplicauit... uxorem Roderici cum corpore uiri sui et cunctos christianos, qui tunc aderant, cum suis diuitiis et substantiis, secum ad Castellum reduxit. Egressis autem omnibus ab urbe, totam urbem igne cremari rex precepit et cum his omnibus Toletum peruenit*

Indeed [when the news of] his death was heard, all the Saracens across the seas gathered a great army and marched to Valencia without hesitation. And they besieged it from all sides and attacked for seven months... Having heard [Ximena's appeal], the king quickly reached Valencia with his army... She begged him to help her and all the Christians with her... So he returned to Castile wife Rodrigo's wife and her husband's body, and all the Christians who lived there, along with all their wealth and possessions. When they were all out of the city, the king ordered the entire city be burned, and he reached Toledo with all these people

(*Historia Roderici*.75-6, Martínez, 98-9 of Latin text). The anonymous early-thirteenth century *Anales toledanos II* also reports:

*El Rey D. Alfonso dexó deserta à Valencia en el mes de Mayo, Era MCXL*

King Alfonso left Valencia deserted in the month of May, Era 1140 [1102 CE]

(*España sagrada XXIII: continuación de las memorias de la Santa Iglesia de Tuy. Y colección de los chronicones pequeños publicados, è ineditos, de la Historia de España* (Madrid: Antonio Marín, 1767), 386).

Alfonso's tour took in much of the far South, including Guadix and Granada, according to Ibn 'Idhārī, who offers no date but specifies that these movements occurred in the lifetime of Yūsuf ibn Tāshufīn – so before 1106.<sup>34</sup> For this year, the *Anales toledanos* give an enigmatic notice that 'a host of Mozarabs left Málaga', which has widely been assumed to be the first of several deportations to North Africa<sup>35</sup>, though Molénat and Peñarroja Torrejón would amend the date to 1126, thereby making it an emigration north.<sup>36</sup> Ramírez del Río believes this to be a mercenary army dispatched to North Africa as is attested later<sup>37</sup>; Pastor believes it refers to movements in 1138.<sup>38</sup> It is widely recognised that all these movements demonstrate the very large numbers of indigenous Christians across the southern peninsula, but they are probably only a fraction of a wider community that did not leave al-Andalus.

In 1125 Alfonso I of Aragón made a famous foray south, reported differently by both Christian and Muslim sources, which resulted in two mass Christian movements, considered the death knell of Andalusī Christianity. The sole Latin source, contemporary Anglo-Norman chronicler Orderic Vitalis' *Historia Ecclesiastica*, completed around 1141, promotes the idea that the outcome was the removal of every Christian; the Muslim source, Ibn al-Khaṭīb (much later but a Granada native), gives a more nuanced view. Orderic presents Alfonso as saviour of 'around 10,000 *muzarabes*' who approached him:

<sup>34</sup> Ibn 'Idhārī:

فقصد أرض وادي آش من نظر اغرناطة... وحمل جملة من رعيته المعاهدة لعمارة أرض طليطلة

He proceeded to the territory of Wādī Āsh [Guadix] within sight of Gharnāṭa... and picked up a crowd of its Christian inhabitants whom he took to his estate in the territory of Ṭulaṭāla [Toledo]

(*al-Bayān al-mughrib*, IV.36).

<sup>35</sup> Arié, Rachel, *España musulmana (siglos VIII-XV)* (Barcelona: Labor, 1982), 191; Codera y Zaidín, Francisco, *La decadencia y desaparición de los almorávides* (Zaragoza: Comas Hermanos, 1899), 214; Menéndez Pidal, *Orígenes del español*, 425; Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, 737; Torres Balbás, 'Mozarabías y juderías', 173.

<sup>36</sup> *Anales toledanos I*:

*Fue la hueste de Malaga, quando exieron los Mozarabes de Malaga, Era MCXLIV*

(*España sagrada XXIII*, 386); Molénat dismisses the *Anales*' report as '*une date erronée*' (*Campagnes et monts de Tolède*, 50); Peñarroja Torrejón offers his justification as a possible confusion of the Roman numerals from MCLXIV [1126] to MCXLIV [1106]:

*evidentemente encierra una transcripción de fecha: XL por LX, corregida, da exactamente la de la expedición de Alfonso (año 1126). Huelga discutir error tan manifesto*

[this] obviously contains a transposition of the date: XL for LX, which, when corrected, gives exactly the date of Alfonso's expedition (1126). There is no need to discuss so manifest an error

(*Cristianos bajo el Islam*, 134).

<sup>37</sup> Ramírez del Río, 'Los mozárabes en Sevilla', 93.

<sup>38</sup> Pastor's argument shows a misreading and confusion of the dates ('Problèmes d'assimilation', 365 and n6).

They said: 'We and our forefathers were raised among the Gentiles to the present day; we are baptised and freely uphold Christian law, though we have never been able to study the perfect dogma of the divine religion. For because of the subjection of the infidels, by whom we have long been oppressed, we have not dared to seek out the Roman or Gallic learned men whom we once obeyed, nor have they come to us, for fear of the barbarism of the pagans. But now we are completely filled with joy by your arrival, and we wish to emigrate with you, leaving behind our native soil with our wives and possessions',<sup>39</sup>

Alfonso assented<sup>40</sup>, and in June of the same year granted them their own charter to settle in the Ebro valley.<sup>41</sup> According to Orderic, then, the *Muceranii* were the beneficiaries

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<sup>39</sup> Orderic Vitalis:

*Tunc Muceranii fere decem millia congregati sunt, ac regem Hildefonsum humiliter adierunt. 'Nos', inquit, 'et patres nostri hactenus inter gentiles educati sumus, et baptizati christianam legem libenter tenemus; sed perfectum divinae religionis dogma nunquam ediscere potuimus. Nam neque nos pro subiectione infidelium, a quibus jamdiu oppressi sumus, Romanos seu Gallos expetere doctores ausi fuimus, neque ipsi ad nos venerunt propter barbariem paganorum, quibus olim paruimus. Nunc autem adventu vestro admodum gaudemus, et, natali solo relicto, vobiscum migrare cum uxoribus et rebus nostris optamus'*

(*Historia Ecclesiastica*.13.6 edited by Marjorie Chibnall, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1978), VI.404; *PL* 188, col.928A). There seems to have been a scribal error changing *u* of *Muceraui* to *n*; Floréz suggests as much in his edition which reads *Muceranij*: 'Id est: *Mucarabes*. Scriptum fortè erat: *Mucerauij*' (*España sagrada* X, 583n1). Presumably when Orderic writes that the *Muceranii* had 'never been able to study the perfect dogma', he means that they had not in living memory been able to study Scripture in the sacred tongue of Latin. Richard Hitchcock questions whether these people were actually Christians, though it hardly seems likely Alfonso would have taken Muslims as anything other than captives, let alone give them privileges:

[in] the mid-nineteenth century... the identification of Mozarab with Christian was not questioned, but further nuances are, I believe, not only possible but essential... 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... If this entailed the outward adoption of Christianity, then this would have been a small price to pay... It was evidently politically expedient for those *mu'āhidūn* 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

(*Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, 105-6).

<sup>40</sup> Orderic Vitalis:

*Muceranis itaque rex quod petebant annuit. Magna igitur eorum multitudo de finibus suis exivit, et pro sacrae legis amore, ingenti penuria et labore afflictis exsulavit. Aragones enim ut remeaverunt, totam regionem bonis omnibus spoliata invenerunt, nimisque penuria et fame antequam proprios lares contigissent, vehementer aporiati sunt*

The king approved what the *Muceranii* sought. So a great multitude of them left their lands and out of love for the sacred law they went into exile, afflicted by great poverty and hardship. For as the Aragonese went back they found the whole region spoiled of all its goods, and before they reached their own homes they were violently impoverished by excessive want and hunger

(*Historia Ecclesiastica*.13.6, Chibnall, VI.406; *PL* 188, col.928B).

<sup>41</sup> Charter granted at Alfaro, June 1126:

*Ego Adefonsus, Dei gratia, imperator, facio hanc cartam donationis et ingenuitatis ad uos totos cristianos mozarabes quos ego traxi cum Dei auxilio de potestate sarracenorum et adduxi in terras christianorum. Placuit mihi libenti animo et spontanea uoluntate et propter amorem Dei et sanctae christianitatis, et quia uos pro Christi nomine et meo amore laxastis uestris casas et uestras hereditates et uenistis*



of Alfonso's kindness, simply hitching a ride north, while those who stay – who chose to remain – are punished without apparent reason, victims of the Muslims' innate barbarity:

the Cordobans and others among the Saracens were much angered to see the *Muceranii* leave with their families and possessions. They rose up by common decree against those left behind, cruelly deprived them of all their possessions, harassed them gravely with beatings and chains and many injuries. Many perished from horrendous torture; all the others they banished to Africa across the Atlantic strait, condemned them to grim exile through hatred of Christians, the great party accompanied by [the Muslims]<sup>42</sup>

To the Muslims, both Christian parties were traitors. Ibn al-Khaṭīb wrote:

When the winds of change roused the brute Ibn Rudhmīr, enemy of God, against his treaty with the Almoravid state (before God curbed the bravura for which he is well-known), the hopes of the Christians among the *mu'āhidīn* in that region were raised –

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*mecum populare ad meas terras, dono uobis fueros bonos in tota mea terra... Facta carta in mense iunio era M<sup>a</sup>C<sup>a</sup>LX<sup>a</sup>III<sup>a</sup>; in uilla que dicitur Alfaro fuit hec carta facta*

I, Adefonsus, Emperor by the grace of God, make this charter of donation and liberation to all you Christian Mozarabs whom, with God's help, I dragged free from the Saracens' power and led to the Christians' lands. It pleases me, with willing mind and spontaneous volition, and out of love for God and holy Christianity, and because for Christ's name and love of me you left your homes and your patrimony and came with me to populate my lands; I give to you good tribunals in all my land... This charter was made in the month of June, Era MCLXIV, in the town called Alfaro

(*Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación*, I.141-2); also published by Ángel Canellas López, *Colección diplomática del Consejo de Zaragoza I: años 1119-1276* (Zaragoza: "Cátedra Zaragoza" en la Universidad, 1972), no.3; and Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, 824-5. See also: Durán Gudiol, Antonio, 'Francos, pamplonesos y mozárabes en la Marca Superior de al-Andalus' in *La marche supérieure d'al-Andalus et l'occident chrétien* edited by Sénac (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 1991), 141-7; Guichard, *L'Espagne et la Sicile musulmanes aux XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 1990), 156-7. Jerónimo Zurita recorded these events in his *Anales de la corona de Aragón* which was first published in 1562:

*de las entradas que hizo en tierra de moros, sacó de su poder gran número de cristianos que vivían debajo de su servidumbre y los llamaban mozárabes. Y así con mucha razón no sólo le llamaron el batallador, pero él se honró del título del imperio, como príncipe a quien Dios dio tan señaladas y grandes victorias... Siendo vuelto el emperador a sus reinos, estando en la villa de Alfaro por el mes de junio del año de 1126 dio a los mozárabes grandes exenciones y franquezas*

from the incursions [Alfonso] made in the land of the Moors, he dragged free from its rule a great number of Christians called Mozarabs who lived under them in slavery. And thus quite rightly did they not only name him *el batallador*, but he was honoured with the title of the empire, as a prince to whom God gave such signal and great victories... Having returned to his kingdom, the emperor spent the month of June of 1126 in the town of Alfaro and gave the Mozarabs great exemptions and generous gifts

(*Anales de la corona de Aragón*.I.xlvii, edited by Ángel Cañellas López (Zaragoza: Institución 'Fernando El Católico', 1967), 156-7).

<sup>42</sup> Orderic Vitalis:

*Porro Cordubenses, aliique Sarracenorum populi valde irati sunt, ut Muceranios cum familiis et rebus suis discessisse viderunt. Quapropter, communi decreto contra residuos insurrexerunt, rebus omnibus eos crudeliter exspoliaverunt, verberibus et vinculis multisque injuriis graviter vexaverunt. Multos eorum horrendis suppliciis interemerunt, et omnes alios in Africam ultra fretum Atlanticum relegaverunt exsilioque truci pro Christianorum odio, quibus magna pars eorum comitata fuerat, condemnauerunt*

(*Historia Ecclesiastica*.13.6, Chibnall, VI.406; PL 188, col.928B-C).



hopes of attaining wealth, and ambition for power. So they contacted Ibn Rudhmīr from that region, sent word to him and drew him in with their messengers' beseeching and invitations luring him to enter Granada... the negotiations and invitation of the Christians of Granada became clear, and their plan to bring him was uncovered<sup>43</sup>

They had not simply appealed to Alfonso when he happened to be passing, as the Latin account suggests, but actually called him and his great military engine ('4,000 of his elite knights from the land of Raghūna [Aragón] and their followers',<sup>44</sup> according to Ibn al-Khaṭīb, following Ibn al-Ṣārafī, and 5,000 knights and 15,000 men according to Ibn 'Idhārī<sup>45</sup>) down upon the Muslim territories, affording them the opportunity to ravage great swathes of territory over several months, facilitating his attacks on Valencia, Alzira<sup>46</sup>, Dénia, Xàtiva, Murcia, Vera, Almanzora, Purchena, Guadix, Sened<sup>47</sup>, 'raiding and launching attacks in each district in his path' (وشنّ الغارة على كل قطر مرّ)<sup>48</sup> before the Almoravid forces met him. It is also averred, by Ibn Sammāk, that others in the region joined Alfonso's forces:

Alfonso passed close to Valencia... and while he fought against [that city] a great number of the protected Christians joined him as fugitives to increase the numbers of

<sup>43</sup> Ibn al-Khaṭīb:

ولما تحركت لعدو الله الطاغية ابن رذمير ربح الظهور، على عهد الدولة المرابطية، قبل أن تخضد الله شوكته على إفراغة بما هو شهور، أملت المعاهدة من النصارى لهذه الكورة إدراك الثرة وأطمعت في الملكة، فخاطبوا ابن رذمير من هذه الأقطار، وتوالت عليه كتبهم وتواترت رسلهم، ملحة بلاستدعاء مطمعة في دخول غرناطة... فبدأ ببحث المعاهدة بقرنطة في استدعائه، فافتضح تدبيرهم باحتلابه

(*al-Ihāta fī akhbār Gharnāta*, I.108-9... 110).

<sup>44</sup> The version of Ibn al-Khaṭīb's text presented by Dozy in his *Recherches*, features extra details taken from the fourteenth-century chronicle *al-Hulal al-mawshīya* (long thought anonymous, and sometimes attributed to Ibn al-Khaṭīb, but now attributed to Ibn Sammāk, completed in 1381) which he presents in parentheses. The description of Alfonso's forces comes from such an interpolation from *al-Hulal*:

اربعة الاف فارس اختارها من بلاد رغوثة بتوابعهم

(Dozy, *Recherches*, I.lxvi). For further details on *al-Hulal al-mawshīya* see: Brill's *Encyclopaedia of Islam Volume III: H-Iram* edited by B. Lewis, V.L. Ménage, Ch. Pellat and J. Schacht (Leiden: Brill, 1979), 570.

<sup>45</sup> Ibn 'Idhārī:

خمسة آلاف فارس وخمسة عشر الف راجل

(*al-Bayān al-mughrib*, IV.69).

<sup>46</sup> Alzira was at this time home to a Christian population:

*Cette importante ville, dont il ne parvient pas à s'emparer, était peuplée de chrétiens mozarabes résidant dans l'un de ses faubourgs appelé « al-Kanīsa »*

This important town, which [Alfonso] did not manage to take, was inhabited by Mozarab Christians living in one of the suburbs named 'The Church'

(Lagardère, 'Communautés mozarabes et pouvoir almoravide almoravide en 519 H/ 1125 en Andalus', *Studia islamica* 67 (1988), 102).

<sup>47</sup> For Valencia, Murcia, Vera, Almanzora, Purchena and Guadix, see Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Ihāta fī akhbār Gharnāta*, 109.

<sup>48</sup> Ibn Sammāk, *al-Hulal al-mawshīya*, *Recherches*.I.lxvi.

his multitude, to show him the path, to tell him the right way to achieve his plan for the Muslims, and which might be of use in this regard<sup>49</sup>

It is possible that these are Orderic's *muceranii*. So many joined Alfonso that by the time he prepared to face the Almoravids, his train is claimed to number 50,000 (كان معه )

(خمسون الفا).<sup>50</sup> The realisation of these betrayals shocked the Almoravids, who sought to protect themselves of this internal threat with deportation:

it became clear to the Muslims that they had been deceived by their neighbours the *mu'āhidīn*, and this matter frightened them and false rumours overwhelmed them, and they were furious in their hearts, and they turned to strengthening their position, and the *qādī* Abū al-Walīd ibn Rushd set himself to their punishment, he undertook the crossing and joined the emir 'Alī bin Yūsuf ibn Tāshufīn in Marrakech to tell him the state of affairs in al-Andalus... that they had thus violated the treaty and rejected the *dhimma*, and he reached a legal opinion in favour of banishing them... and so a great number of them were taken to the shore during *Ramaḍān* of the same year [September-October 1126]<sup>51</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Ibn Sammāk, *al-Hulal al-mawshīya*:

واجتاز على بلنسية... يقاتلهم مدة وفي اثناء ذلك وصله عدد وافر من النصارى المعاهدين يكثر  
سواده ويدلون على الطريق وينبهون على المرشد التي تصرّ المسلمين وتنفعه

(Dozy, *Recherches*, I.lxvi).

<sup>50</sup> Ibn Sammāk, *al-Hulal al-mawshīya*, *Recherches*, I.lxviii. While Serrano Ruano calls the figure of 50,000 as typical exaggeration from the chroniclers (*las crónicas dicen – con las exageraciones habituales*), Lagardère suggests that the great numbers claimed can be explained by Alfonso's rather indirect route and inexplicable movements around Granada and Guadix, for he believes that these areas were Christian centres and Alfonso was picking up recruits:

*Son itinéraire ne fut pas choisi au hasard des rencontres avec l'ennemi, mais en corrélation avec l'existence de communautés mozarabes fortes dans les villes et régions traversées, permettant de renforcer les effectifs du corps expéditionnaire ou d'évacuer les populations chrétiennes désireuses de s'installer dans le nord de l'Espagne*

His itinerary was not chosen at random through his encounters with the enemy, but in correlation with the existence of big Mozarab communities in the towns and regions crossed, allowing him to pick up reinforcements or evacuate the Christian populations that wished to be settled in the north of Spain

(‘Communautés mozarabes et pouvoir almoravide’, 100). See also, Serrano Ruano, ‘Dos fetuas sobre la expulsión de mozárabes al Magreb en 1126’, 165-6.

<sup>51</sup> Ibn al-Khaṭīb:

ولما بان للمسلمين من مكيدة جيرانهم المعاهدين، ما أجلت عنه هذه القضية، أخذهم الإرجاف،  
ووغرت لهم الصدور. ووجه إلى مكانهم الحزم ووجه القاضى ابو الوليد بن رشد الأجر، وتشم  
المجاز، ولحق بالأمير على بن يوسف بن تاشفين بمرآكش، وفيين له أمر الأندلس... وما في ذلك  
من نقض العهد، والخروج عن الذمة، وأفقت بتغريبهم... وأزعج منهم إلى بر العدو، في رمضان  
من العام المذكور، عدد جم

(*al-Iḥāta fī akhbār Gharnāta*, I.113-4). Ibn Rushd's judgement is reported by al-Wansharīṣī:

ابن رشد رحمه الله، فإنه هو الذى أفقت بإخلاء المعاهدين من الأندلس لما مالوا الكفرة الحربيين على  
المسلمين

Ibn 'Idhārī also reports these events and, like Orderic, claims that 'all the *mu'āhidīn* of the renowned land of al-Andalus' were deported for 'helping Ibn Rudmīr, and in this way breaking the pact'.<sup>52</sup> Even so, it will be seen that these events did not extinguish Granada's Christians.

It is acknowledged that the Almohads' arrival and the chaos engendered in their conquest of Almoravid territory – the second such disruption in 60 years – sparked a period of migration, although whether this was the result of persecution, as is often assumed, is not altogether clear. It is certainly true that the possibility of joining the Arabised communities absorbed by the expanding Christian kingdoms, and particularly mozarabic Toledo, then at its cultural height, must have exerted a certain allure. As ever, the migration's documentary evidence only represents the lay and ecclesiastic nobility, people in a position to leave their mark on charters and bills of sale – those with the potential to profit from relocating. We have no way of knowing how many of the faceless masses made the journey north. Perhaps the *naṣrānī al-dhimma* situation might hold up to comparison with the *mudéjar*<sup>53</sup> experience, in which wealthy Muslims of conquered territories chose to migrate south, leaving behind those of the artisanal and labouring classes, whose position was less affected and who lacked the means to do so, elected to remain.<sup>54</sup> It might be argued that the fact that the wealthy chose to leave

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Ibn Rushd – God have mercy on him – is the one who issued a *fatwā* in favour of evacuating the *mu'āhidīn* from al-Andalus because they aided the unbeliever soldiers against the Muslims

(*al-Mi'yār*, II.151). See also: Lagardère, *Histoire et société*, 64.

<sup>52</sup> Ibn 'Idhārī:

استدعاء ابن ردمير، وما في ذلك من نقض العهد... جميع بلاد الاندلس باجلاء المعاهدین إلى  
العدوة

(*al-Bayān*.IV.72-3).

<sup>53</sup> The origins of the Castilian *mudéjar* are obscure and several etymologies have been put forward: O'Callaghan favours *mudajjan* (مدجن), as does Burns, which the former translates as 'those allowed to remain'; Francisco Fernández y González first suggested *mudājala* (مداجلة) which he defined as 'one who enters into a deal'. The term *mudajjan* is translated as 'domesticated, tamed, habituated' in Hans Wehr's classic dictionary: it is a pejorative term indicating, much like Ximénez de Rada's *mixti Arabes*, a distaste for the compromise of living under a religiously other power. See: Burns, Robert I., *Islam under the Crusaders: Colonial Survival in the Thirteenth-Century Kingdom of Valencia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), 64 and 'Muslims in the Thirteenth-Century Realms of Aragon: Interaction and Reaction' in *Muslims under Latin Rule, 1100-1300* edited by James M. Powell (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 59; Fernández y González, *Estado social y político de los mudéjares de Castilla: considerados en sí mismos y respecto de la civilización española* (Madrid: Imprenta a cargo de Joaquin Muñoz, 1866), 3; O'Callaghan, 'The Mudejars of Castile and Portugal in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries' in *Muslims under Latin Rule, 1100-1300* edited by James M. Powell (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 13.

<sup>54</sup> On the elite character of the *mudéjares* who migrated to Andalusī or North African territory and the largely low status of those who stayed, see: Burns, 'The Crusade against Al-Azraq: A Thirteenth-Century

indicates a major change in the position of Andalusī Christians had occurred by the mid-twelfth century; it could equally be argued that major changes were occurring in the rapidly expanding northern territories, especially in and around Toledo, fostering notable and vital Arabised Christian communities.

Around the middle of the twelfth century, Bishop Clemens of Seville (Flórez dates his ordination ‘around 1144’)<sup>55</sup> was one of five Andalusī ecclesiastics who, according to Ximénez de Rada, left their sees seeking refuge from the Almohads:

There was another elected there by name of Clemens, who had fled from the Almohads to Talavera and he died there having lingered a long while; I remember seeing his contemporaries. Three bishops came, one from Medina Sidonia [Cádiz], one from Elepla [Niebla], and another from Marchena, and also a certain very holy archdeacon through whom the Lord worked miracles, who was called *Archiquez* in Arabic. And they stayed until their deaths in the royal episcopal city, and one of them is buried in the Cathedral<sup>56</sup>

This anonymous bishop of Marchena may be the John named in the will of one Domingo Antolín, *alguazil*<sup>57</sup> of Toledo, dated 29 December 1161.<sup>58</sup> It is interesting to

Mudejar Revolt in International Perspective’, *The American Historical Review* 93.1 (1988), 88; Echevarría Arsuaga, Ana, ‘La “mayoría” mudéjar en León y Castilla: legislación real y distribución de la población (siglos XI-XIII)’, *En la España Medieval* 29 (2006), 13; Miller, Kathryn A., *Guardians of Islam: Religious authority and Muslim communities of late medieval Spain* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 48-9; Nirenberg, David, ‘Muslims in Christian Iberia, 1000-1526: varieties of mudejar experience’ in *The Medieval World* edited by Peter Linehan and Janet L. Nelson (London: Routledge, 2001), 65; O’Callaghan, ‘Mudejars of Castile and Portugal’, 18-9; O’Connor, Isabel A., *A Forgotten Community: The Mudejar Aljama of Xátiva, 1240-1327* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), *passim*.

<sup>55</sup> Flórez: ‘*electo cerca del año 1144*’ (*España sagrada IX*, 246).

<sup>56</sup> Ximénez de Rada:

*Fuit etiam ibi alius electus nomine Clemens, qui fugit a facie Almohadum Talaveram, ibique diu moratus vitam finivit, cuius contemporaneos memini me vidisse. Venerunt etiam tres episcopi, Asidonensis et Eleplensis et alius de Marchena (et quidam archidiaconus sanctissimus, pro quo etiam Dominus miracula operabatur, qui archiquez arabice dicebatur); et usque ad mortem in urbe regia permanserunt episcopalia exercentes et unus eorum in ecclesia majori est sepultus*

(*De Rebus Hispaniae*.IV.3, Fernández Valverde, 118).

<sup>57</sup> *Alguazil* or *alguacil*, latinisation of the Arabic *al-wazīr*, ‘minister, governor’.

<sup>58</sup> Domingo Antolín’s will:

وأمر شفاه الله أن يعطى المطران الاجل اكرمه الله خمسة مثقال والسقف دمنه يوانش المرشان  
مثقال

And he ordered – may God grant him health – that the very great Metropolitan – God have mercy on him – have five *mithqāl*, and his lordship the Bishop Yuānish [Iohannes] of Marchena one *mithqāl*...

(Fita, ‘Obispos mozárabes, refugiados en Toledo’, 529). *Mithqāl* (مثقال) is or was a generic but obscure measure of weight:

In general usage it denotes the weight of a piece of gold weighing 20 *qīrāṭs*. A *qīrāṭ* is the weight of 5 medium-sized grains of barley whose husk has not been removed but whose projecting ends have been cut off. The *mithqāl* is then 100 grains

(Aghnides, Nicolas P., *Mohammedan Theories of Finance – with an introduction to Mohammedan Law and a bibliography* (Reprinted, Alcester: Read Country Books, 2006), 264n1). In Egyptian usage the *mithqāl* equals 4.68g (*The Hans Wehr Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, 104).

note that John is still accorded his episcopal title of Bishop of Marchena, suggesting that he remained titular bishop of those who stayed. Aillet and Luis García Moreno announce the departure of the last bishop of al-Andalus in the middle of the century with no real proof that Clemens of Seville was the last episcopal worthy officiating in the South beyond the fact that he is the last reported in a barely-existent documentary record.<sup>59</sup> There is continued evidence of lay Christian communities and active ecclesiastical structures at the very least at the parish church level. Lagardère refers to a third deportation to Morocco around 1170, but gives no further information.<sup>60</sup>

According the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, as the Almohads wreaked havoc on the Almoravids in North Africa, thousands of the exiled sought out Toledo around 1147:

At that time many thousands of Christian soldiers and infantry, with their bishop and with a great party of clerics – who were from the house of King ‘Alī and his son Tāshufīn – crossed the sea and came to Toledo<sup>61</sup>

These Christians, who appear surnamed al-Marrākushī in Toledan, Castilian, and Aragonese records from 1150<sup>62</sup>, were presumably descendents of both Andalusīs and northerners, since in 1138 ‘Alī had left the peninsula with Christian captives to defend his capital Marrakech from the Almohads.<sup>63</sup> That these Christians came from as far

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<sup>59</sup> Aillet, *Les « Mozarabes »*, 309; García Moreno, ‘Spanish Gothic Consciousness among the Mozarabs in al-Andalus’, 323.

<sup>60</sup> Lagardère, ‘Communautés mozarabes et pouvoir almoravide’, 99.

<sup>61</sup> *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*.II.110:

*Quo tempore multa millia militum et peditum christianorum cum suo episcopo et cum magna parte clericorum, qui fuerant de domo regis Hali et filii eius Texufini, transierunt mare et venerunt Toletum*

(Maya Sánchez in *Chronica Hispana*, 248; *España sagrada XXI*, 399).

<sup>62</sup> The settler Petro Didaci de Marrocos (i.e.: Pedro Díaz of Marrakech) is named in the donation of the towns Bel and Ciruelos in 1150 (Calatrava, Archivo Histórico Nacional, carp.417/R-8); in 1183 we find a Juan Almaracosí (*Los mozarabes de Toledo*, I.169). Aragonese documents introduce us to Martín Marroquí in 1175, Don Pelay de Marrochos in 1188, and Eximius Marrochí in 1198, among others (*Colección diplomática de la catedral de Huesca* compiled by Antonio Durán Gudiol (Zaragoza: Escuela de Estudios Medievales, Instituto de Estudios Pirenaicos, 1969), doc.292).

<sup>63</sup> *Chronica Imperatoris*.II.8... 45:

*‘fili, subverte gladio Toletum... quia Toletani contempserunt me, et paraverunt bellum contra me; sed viros bellatores Christianorum, et mancipia, et pueros, et mulieres honestas, et puellas quascumque ceperis, mitte trans mare’... deinde abiit trans mare in civitatem suam, quae dicitur Marrocos in terra Moabitarum, et duxit secum omnes Christianos captivos, quoscumque captivavit, et omnes captivos quos potuit invenire in totam terram Agarenorum viros et mulieres transtulit secum in Marrocos... rex Texufinus abiit transmare in civitatem, quae dicitur Marrocos in domum patris sui regis Hali, et transtulit secum multos Christianos, quos uocant Muzarabes, qui habitabant ab annis antiquis in terra Agarenorum: et item tulit secum omnes captivos, quos inuenit in omnem terram, quae erat sub dominio eius, et posuit eos in urbibus, et in castellis cum ceteris Christianis*

‘My son, overthrow Toledo with the sword... for the Toledans despise me, and arm themselves for war against me; then send across the sea both fighters and civilians from the Christians, and boys and respectable women’... then he left across the sea to his city



afield as Seville is indicated by a *fatwā* issued by the Grenadine *faqīh* Ibn Ward in reference to the ‘Christian pact-makers [*mu‘āhidūn*] deported from Seville to Miknās al-Zeītūn [Meknes]’<sup>64</sup>.

The above departures were not isolated events: amongst the legal documentation of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Toledo one finds a slew of lay and clerical nobles who made the move and abandoned Andalusī Christian enclaves all over the southern peninsula.<sup>65</sup> From the vast corpus of Toledan legal documentation collected and edited by Ángel González Palencia between 1926 and 1930, it is possible to draw a map of Andalusī Christian centres.

The southern Levante lost members of both ecclesiastic and lay elites from Denia<sup>66</sup>, Murcia<sup>67</sup>, Lorca<sup>68</sup>, Villena<sup>69</sup>. The appearance of Pedro Gonzálvo/ Bīṭru

which is called Marrakech in the land of the Almoravids, and he led with him all the Christian captives and whoever else he had captured, and he transported all the prisoners he could find around the land of the Hagarenes [al-Andalus] – both men and women – to Marrakech... King Tāshufīn left to cross the sea to the city called Marrakech, to the house of his father King ‘Alī, and he took across with him many Christians who they called Mozarabs, who had lived in the Hagarenes’ land from ancient times; and he also took with him all the prisoners he had caught in al-Andalus which was under his dominion, and placed them in cities and forts with other Christians

(Maya Sánchez in *Chronica Hispana*, 199... 216; II.64 in *España sagrada XXI*, 359... 373).

<sup>64</sup> Al-Wansharīsī:

النصارى المعاهدون المنقولون من اشبيلية الحاصلون بمكناسة

(*al-Mi‘yār*. VIII.56).

<sup>65</sup> See: Molénat, *Campagnes et monts de Tolède*, 45ff.

<sup>66</sup> An anonymous bishop is named as owner of property in a village named as Cidocostiella in a charter of donation made by one Pelagius Calvus to Alfonso VII of León (1126-57) around 1150:

*Carta Pelagii Calvi in qua tradidit Imperatori, aldeam que dicitur Cidocostiella... Inter illam hereditatem que fuit episcopi Denie... Facta carta quando Imperator tenebat Cordubam circumdatam*

Charter of Pelagius Calvus in which he gave the Emperor the village which is called Cidocostiella... in which lies the estate of a bishop from Denia... This charter was made when the Emperor held Córdoba besieged

(*Los cartularios de Toledo: catálogo documental* compiled by Francisco Javier Hernández (Madrid: Fundación Ramón Areces, 1985), 76). See also: Chabás y Llorens, Roque, ‘Obispo de Denia en el siglo XII’, *El archivo* 7 (1893), 140. In 1157 one Yahyā bin ‘Abd al-Malik al-Dānī (يحيى بن عبد الملك الداني)

acts as document signatory (*Los mozárabes de Toledo*.1036. This and all subsequent data from González’ work is presented as they appear therein; numbers refer to documents, except regarding preliminary volume, where numbers refer to pages). In 1176 Doña Shamsī (دونة شمسي), who had two sons, one

apparently Castilianised the other not – Juan and Alfunshu – with her late husband Mīqā’il al-Dānī (ميقايل (ابن عبد السلام); sells land in Olías which Mīqā’il inherited from his grandfather Ibn ‘Abd al-Salam

the two sons also act as witnesses signing in Latin and Arabic – ‘Alfunshu ibn Mīqā’il al-Dānī, witness’ (الفنش بن ميقاتيل الداني شاهد) and ‘Joan Micaele, testis’ (Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, clero, codex 1963, document number 41; *Los mozárabes de Toledo*.127; Pons Boigues, *Apuntes sobre las escrituras mozárabes toledanas que se conservan en el Archivo Histórico Nacional* (Madrid: Tipográfico de la Viuda é Hijos de M. Tello, 1897), doc. 41).

<sup>67</sup> Domingo Gonzalbo/ Duminquh Ghunṣālbuh al-Mursī (دمنقه غنصالبه المرسى) was a document witness in October 1171 (*Los mozárabes de Toledo*.100).



Ghunṣālbu al-Dānī (بيطر غنصلب الدان) in 1285 allows us to assert that Arabised Denian Christians might have remained *in situ* on Jaime I's conquest in 1244.<sup>70</sup>

The Christians of the South, what is now Andalucía, are naturally more numerously attested in the Toledan records, since it was they – living deeper in Almohad territory – whose desire to flee conflict was the greater. Toledo received and resettled immigrants from all over this region. They migrated from Almería<sup>71</sup> and Málaga on the south coast<sup>72</sup>; from Baeza<sup>73</sup>, Andújar<sup>74</sup> and Jaén<sup>75</sup> in the East; from

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<sup>68</sup> In June 1177, the witness 'Alī bin Ya'īsh ibn Ghanīya (علي بن يعيش بن غنية) came from Lorca:

هو اللورقي الساكن بمقربة شنت مرية

this man of Lorca lives in the vicinity of Shanta Marīya (Albarracín)

(*Los mozárabes de Toledo*.134).

<sup>69</sup> Ghālib al-Bilyānā (غالب البليان) is identified in the document confirming the sale of some property in the village of Kabīsha conducted by his wife (*Los mozárabes de Toledo*.106).

<sup>70</sup> *Los mozárabes de Toledo*.1172.

<sup>71</sup> Molénat identifies Pedro/ Bīṭruh bin Sulaīman al-Mashriqī (بيطره بن سليمان المشرقي), who died in 1177 as a native of Almería (*Los mozárabes de Toledo*.976, 1015; Molénat, *Campagnes et monts de Tolède*, 47).

<sup>72</sup> 'Alī al-Mālaqī (علي الملقى) is identified through the documents charting his children's movements in the 1170s through to the 1190s: Yaḥyā bin 'Alī al-Mālaqī (يحيى بن علي الملقى) (*Los mozárabes de Toledo*.157, 158; Hernández, *Los cartularios de Toledo*.230, 242), Yaḥyā al-Mālaqī (يحيى الملقى), perhaps the same man, who sold his house in the San Ginés quarter of Toledo (Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, caja 1965, núm. 35; *Los mozárabes de Toledo*.103), 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Mālaqī (عبد العزيز الملقى) (*mozárabes de Toledo*, 130). On 4 November 1154 Archdeacon of Málaga Michael and a number of men bearing Arabised names received the *aldea* of Pastor, east of Toledo in the Valdecarábanos from Alfonso VII (Cepeda Adán, José, *Notas para el estudio de la repoblación en la zona del Tajo: Huerta de Valdecarábanos* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1955), 35-6; Pastor de Tognieri, *Del Islam al Cristianismo* (Barcelona: Provenza, 1975), 160-1).

<sup>73</sup> From Baeza came 'Abd al-Malik al-Bayāshī (عبد الملك البياشي), who is named in a will of 1156 (Archivo Histórico Nacional, caja 1963, núm. 19; *Los mozárabes de Toledo*.1013). Domingo Pérez/ Duminqu Bīṭrish al-Bayāshī (دمنق بيطرش البياشي), signatory in 1167 (Archivo Histórico Nacional, caja 1963, núm. 26; *Los mozárabes de Toledo*.82; Pons Boigues, *Apuntes sobre las escrituras mozárabes toledanas*.26). Leocadia/ Lūqādīya bint Yaḥyā al-Bayāshī (لوقادية بنت يحيى البياسي), daughter of Yaḥyā al-Bayāshī, married in 1173 (Archivo Histórico Nacional, caja 1964, núm. 129; *Los mozárabes de Toledo*.108; Pons Boigues, *Apuntes sobre las escrituras mozárabes toledanas*.129). Another Juan/Yuwān ibn 'Umar al-Bayāsī (يوان ابن عمر البياسي), or perhaps the same man, was a witness in 1181 (*Los mozárabes de Toledo*.154). García/ Gharsīya bin Martín al-Bayāsī (غرسية بن مرتين البياسي), a witness in 1212 (*Los mozárabes de Toledo*.747).

<sup>74</sup> From Andújar came Abū al-Ḥasan 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Andurjanī (أبي الحسن عبد الله بن عبد الملك الاندرجني), who sold his property in Olías in November 1185 (*Los mozárabes de Toledo*.178), and the anonymous grandfather of Álvaro/ Abaruh al-Faṣṣāl (البره الفصال) who sold his house in Toledo in 1206, referred to only as *al-Andujārī* (*Los mozárabes de Toledo*.348).

Córdoba<sup>76</sup>, Écija and Osuna<sup>77</sup> in the interior; from the Almohad's capital at Seville<sup>78</sup>, and from Estepa 50 miles east<sup>79</sup>; from the south, Guadix<sup>80</sup> and Granada<sup>81</sup>.

It is impossible to gauge the health of the Christian communities left behind by these churchmen and land-owners, but the survival of Granada's Christians shows that the impact of migration and deportation on the Christian communities concerned need not necessarily have been fatally severe.

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<sup>75</sup> From Jaén, the deacon Domingo/ Duminquh al-Hīyāqan ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Jayānī (دمنقه الحياقن بن) (عبد العزيز الجياني) witnessed and signed a document in 1196, and priest Duminquh Abad/ Abāt ibn al-Jayānī (دمنقه اباط بن الجياني) is named as the owner of a vineyard in the Daravengaz quarter in 1231 (*Los mozárabes de Toledo*.266, 506).

<sup>76</sup> From Córdoba came Miqā'il al-Qurṭubī, whose wife Layla sold a vineyard in the market quarter Azuquieca (*al-sūqaīqa*, السوقيقة) in 1186 (Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, caja 1964, núm. 34; *Los mozárabes de Toledo*.181), and Pedro/ Bīṭruḥ al-Qurṭubī (بيطره القرطبي), whose grandson Don Zakarīyā' (دون زكريا) is named as the owner of property in Olías in 1191 and 1207 (*Los mozárabes de Toledo*.218, 357).

<sup>77</sup> Juan Esteban/ Yuwān Ashtāban al-Ushūnī (يوان اشتابن الاشوني) came from Osuna, south of Écija, and his daughter, Doña Colomba/ Dunah Qulumba (دونه قلمبة), married in 1222 (Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, caja 1967, núm. 174; *Los mozárabes de Toledo*.465).

<sup>78</sup> Johannes Sibili is named as a beneficiary in a charter from Campo Rey made by Alfonso VII of León in 1146 (González González, *Repoblación de Castilla la Nueva*, I.216; *Los mozárabes de Toledo, volumen preliminar*, 94; Hernández, *Los cartularios de Toledo*.54; Pastor de Togneri, *Conflictos sociales y estancamiento económico en la España medieval* (Barcelona: Ariel, 1973), 234). Dūn Bisāntu/ Don Vincent ibn Yaḥyā al-Ishbīlī (دون بسانت ابن يحيى الاشبيلسي) is attested in and around Talavera between 1177 and 1185 (Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, caja 1992, núm. 557; *Los mozárabes de Toledo*.132, 177, 224; Pons Boigues, *Apuntes sobre las escrituras mozárabes toledanas*.60).

<sup>79</sup> A man is identified in 1202 only as 'child of Estepa' or *walad al-Ishtabbī* (ولد لاشتبي) and uncle of Lope/ Lubb ibn Khāliṣ al-Ḥaḍrabī (لب بن خالص الحضري) (*Los mozárabes de Toledo*.315).

<sup>80</sup> Duminquh bin Sulaīman al-Wādīyāshī (دمنقه بن سليمان الوادياشي) sold a house in the San Antolín quarter of Toledo in 1157; Esteban ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Wādīyāshī, son of 'Abd Allāh, is attested in 1190 (Molénat, *Campagnes et monts de Tolède*, 47, and 'Note sur les traducteurs de Tolède', 109-44).

<sup>81</sup> Granada lost several Martins to the North: Martin Granadeli was a settler of the town of Lacabín beyond the Tagus (Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional: Uclés, carp.243/1; Martín, José Luís, *Orígenes de la Orden militar de Santiago (1170-1195)* (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1974), 22; Molénat, *Campagnes et monts de Tolède*, 47). Martino Granadixil settled the *aldea* of Aloyón in the Valdecarábanos in 1155 (*Los cartularios de Toledo*.107), and Martīnu ibn Ya'ish al-Gharnā'īshī (مرتین ابن يعش الغرناطيشي) witnessed a document in 1182 (*Los mozárabes de Toledo*.162). One grenadine found in the Toledan documents of the 1170s and 1180s is Pedro/ Bāṭruḥ bin 'Umar ibn Ghālib ibn al-Qallās (باطره بن عمر بن غالب القلاس) whose grandfather, Ghālib, could, Molénat proposes, be the Ibn al-Qallās named by Ibn Ṣārafī, Ibn al-Khaṭīb and Ibn 'Idhārī (*Los mozárabes de Toledo*.105, 143, 148, 149, 151; Molénat, *Campagnes et monts de Tolède*, 49). Other possible illustrious sons of the South include two Ibn Ḥafṣūns: Cebrián/ Sibrīyān/ Jibrīyān ibn Ghālib (سبريان\ جبريان بن غالب بن) (ميقال بن يحيى بن حفصون) and Miqā'il ibn Yaḥyā (ميقال بن يحيى بن حفصون) who were witnesses in 1134 and again in 1157 (*Los mozárabes de Toledo*.54, 727, 1067).

## Granada post-1126

The Latin and Arabic accounts do not agree on the details of what occurred between the Andalusī and Aragonese Christians, but they are in accord in presenting the former in very large numbers – which, it should be noted, do not represent the same group. Orderic Vitalis named 10,000 refugees from an unnamed locale; according to Ibn al-Khaṭīb, indigenous Christian numbers in the district of Granada were far larger:

When [Alfonso] delayed, [the Christians of Granada] sent him a list comprising 12,000 brave fighters, not counting old men or the inexperienced. And they advised him that those they named for him were those they knew by sight located nearby, while there were uncounted others from afar, but it would become clear when they presented themselves to him. And thus they got the undivided attention of his ambition, and roused his greed, and inflamed him by extolling the virtues of Granada<sup>82</sup>

Ibn al-Khaṭīb's 12,000 and Orderic's 10,000 are undoubtedly exaggerations intended to elevate a threat overcome on one hand, and glorify Alfonso as a pious saviour on the other. Tertius Chandler quotes a figure of 60,000 for the city of Granada in 1103, though quite how he reached this is unclear.<sup>83</sup> It does not seem utterly improbable that the rebels represented a sixth of the province's populace, given that, as Bulliet's curve implies, the Muslims may not have represented much more than 55% among the educated urban elite at this point. The faceless rural masses remain numberless, as do the urban rabble. Those men capable of taking part in conflict would have represented only a fraction of the Christian population, those between 15 and 50. If so, then the indigenous Christian community would have constituted a vast numerical majority in the Sierra Nevada.

According to Ibn al-Khaṭīb, these deportations did not eliminate the Christians. They survived, and even thrived for another generation, before the battle of al-Sabīka (usually dated 1162) again reduced their numbers.<sup>84</sup> They survived this too for, as is

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<sup>82</sup> Ibn al-Khaṭīb:

فلما أبطأ عنهم، وجهوا إليه زماماً يشتمل على إثني عشر ألفاً من أنجاد مقاتليهم، لم يعدوا فيها شيخاً ولا غراً، وأحبروه أن من سموه، ممن شهرت أعينهم لقرب مواضعهم، وبالبعد من يخفى أمره، ويظهر عند ورود شخصه، فاستأثروا طمعه وابتعثوا جشعة، واستفزّوه بأوصاف غرظة

(*al-Iḥāta fī akhbār Gharnāta*, I.109).

<sup>83</sup> Chandler, *Three Thousand Years of Urban Growth*, 99. Chandler cites Miguel Lafuente Alcántara, though the only information therein is the statement that 3,000 troops were stationed at Granada. See: *Historia de Granada comprendiendo la de sus cuatro provincias Almería, Jaén, Granada y Málaga, desde remotos tiempos hasta nuestros días* (Paris: Baudry Librería Europea, 1852), I.273.

<sup>84</sup> Ibn al-Khaṭīb's date is two years out; the majority follows the contemporary Ibn Ṣāhib al-Ṣalā (died c.1200), who dates the slaughter to 28 *Rajab*/ Friday 13 July 1162:

little acknowledged, Ibn al-Khaṭīb draws an unbroken line between the rural Christian population of the eighth century and that of the fourteenth:

When the people of Islam had established themselves in that noble region, the emir Abū al-Khaṭṭār settled the northern Arab tribes [Syrians] there, divided among them a third of the pact-makers' [*mu'āhidīn*] wealth, and their dwellings remained among the great numbers of Christians [*rūm*] who occupied themselves with the cultivation of the land and inhabited the villages led by elders of their religion. These chiefs were sophisticated, wise, and they knew the fixed collections. The latest of them was a man known by the name of Ibn al-Qallās, who had celebrity and prestige, and standing with the emirs there... the [Christians] stayed and increased in number until the year 559 [1164], when a battle was joined and cut them down. Nevertheless there remains a small group [today] to whom the pact was accorded, long familiar with meekness<sup>85</sup>

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فاما كان يوم الخميس السابع والعشرين من رجب الفرد عام سبعة وخمسين وخمسة مائة جمع  
الشيخ المرحوم أبو يعقوب جميع الشياخ الموحدين... الجمعة الذي كان الفتح في صباحه الثامن  
والعشرين من رجب

On the Thursday 27 of *Rajab* in the year 557 [1162] the [now] late sheikh Abū Ya'qūb gathered the chiefs of the Almohads... that Friday was the day of the conquest, on the morning of 28 *Rajab*

(*Ta'riḫ al-mann bi al-imāma 'alā al-mustaḍ'afīn* edited by 'Abd al-Hādī al-Tāzī (Beirut: Dār al-Andalus, 1964), 197). See also Huici Miranda's Castilian translation under the title *Al-Mann bil-imāma: estudio preliminar, traducción e índices* (Valencia: Anubar, 1969), 44; Jones, Linda G., "The Christian Companion": A rhetorical trope in the narration of intra-Muslim conflict during the Almohad epoch', *Anuario de estudios medievales* 38.2 (2008), 793-829; Makki, 'The Political History of al-Andalus', 71.

Ibn Abī Zar' also reports the battle, twice, which he calls *al-Jallāb*, dating it vaguely to the year between 30 November 1164 and 6 November 1165:

وفي سنة ستين كانت وقعة الجلاب بين السيد أبي سعيد بن عبد المؤمن وجيش الروم مع ابن  
مردنيش وكان الروم ثلاثة عشر الفا فهزم ابن مردنيش وقتل من كان معه من الروم... وفي سنة  
ستين كانت وغزوة الجلاب قتل فيها كثير من الروم

In the year 560 was the Battle of *al-Jallāb* in al-Andalus, between the lord Abū Sa'īd ibn 'Abd al-Mu'min and the Christian [*rūm*] troops of Ibn Mardānīsh, who were 13,000 men. Ibn Mardānīsh was routed and all the Christians with him died... in the year 60 was the conquest of *al-Jallāb*, in which many of the Christians were killed

(*Rawḍ al-qirṭas*, I.137... 177). Like Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Ibn Abī Zar' refers to the Christians involved as *rūm*. These are no longer *mu'āhidīn* as they have betrayed the *dhimma*; there are also northern Christians – true *rūm* – involved.

<sup>85</sup> Ibn al-Khaṭīb:

ولما استقرَّ بهذه الكورة الكريمة أهل الإسلام، وأنزل الأمير أبو الخطار قبائل العرب الشاميين بهذه  
الكورة، وأقطعهم ثلث أموال المعاهدين، استمر سكناهم في غمار من الروم، يعالجون فلاحه  
الأرض، وعمران القرى، يرأسهم أشياخ من أهل دينهم، أولو حنكة ودهاء ومداراة، ومعرفة  
بالجباية اللازمة لرؤوسهم. وأخرهم رجل يعرف بابن القلاّس، له شهرة وصيت، وجاه عند  
الأمراء بها... فأمرّوا وأكثروا إلى عام تسعة وخمسين خمسمائة، ووقعت فيهم وقعة احتشتمهم،  
إلا صابة لهذا العهد قليلة، قديمة المذلة

(*al-Iḥāta fī akhbār Gharnāṭa*, I.106-7... 114).

Hitchcock casts doubt on Ibn al-Qallās' Christianity though Ibn al-Khaṭīb specifically identifies him with the rural Christians he refers to as *rūm* because of their betrayal, introducing him as 'the latest of the elders of their religion'.<sup>86</sup> That the grenadine exiles were Christian is proved by their being permitted to establish churches and monasteries in their new home, as a *fatwā* copied by al-Wansharīsī relates:

Each [group] of Christian [*naṣārā*] exiles [on the other] shore may build monasteries and churches in the place they were settled<sup>87</sup>

That they were allowed to do so shows they were still covered by the *dhimma* which, Lagardère points out, proves they had their own ecclesiastic hierarchies, for the *dhimma* was only granted to a Christian community with such an infrastructure headed by a bishop.<sup>88</sup> This also counters Epalza's view that bishoprics quickly disappeared.<sup>89</sup> Granada certainly maintained a large and sophisticated Christian community, among whom were some still Latinate, including the nun Maria, whose epitaph, dated 1120 CE in the Era of the Visigoths, was discovered on the site of the Alhambra.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Hitchcock:

[Ibn al-Ṣāīrafī] singles out a major non-Muslim political figure in Granada at the beginning of the twelfth century, one Ibn al-Qallas... is described as *mu'āhid*, a practice followed by Ibn 'Idhārī 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... 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

(*Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, 101).

<sup>87</sup> Al-Wansharīsī:

ما طلبه النصرارى الداخلون من العدو من بناء بيع وكنائس في موضع استقرارهم

Each [group] of Christian [*naṣārā*] exiles [on the other] shore may build monasteries and churches in the place they were settled

(*al-Mi'yār*, II.489). See also: Lagardère, *Histoire et société*, 66.

<sup>88</sup> Lagardère writes:

*Ce dont nous sommes sûrs, c'est que du point de vue musulman, s'il ne peut y avoir de communauté chrétienne bénéficiant de la Dhimma (Protection) sans évêque, l'expulsion et la réimplantation des communautés mozarabes compromises au cours de cette expédition de 519 H/1125 ne pouvaient donc concerner que des communautés encadrées par leur propre clergé*

Of one thing we are certain: that from the Muslim point of view, if there could be no Christian community to benefit from the *dhimma* without a bishop, the expulsion and resettlement of the Mozarab communities compromised in the course of this expedition of 519 AH/ 1125 CE could only concern communities flanked or organised by their own clergy

('Communautés mozarabes et pouvoir almoravide', 117)

<sup>89</sup> Epalza, 'Falta de obispos'.

<sup>90</sup> See Appendix II: Inscriptions.



## Exiles in North Africa

Further proof that Christians were able to maintain sophisticated communities under Berber Muslim rule beyond the mid-eleventh century can be seen in their documented presence in North Africa to the late fourteenth century – and possibly into the early fifteenth. The *Crónica Adefonsi Imperatoris* avows that the peninsular Christians were also well treated in Africa by the Almoravids<sup>91</sup>, and they may well have been easily assimilated into the established indigenous Church which, while not exactly flourishing, nevertheless survived for some time.<sup>92</sup> The archbishopric at Carthage survived at least until 1192, the last year it is mentioned by the *Liber Censuum*<sup>93</sup>, as did the community at Marrakech, which we know included Andalusī exiles – Celestine’s bull of 4 June 1192 addressed to the archbishopric of Toledo the pope’s concern for Christian communities of Marrakech (and Seville) who remain ‘strong and firm in our faith and in the sacraments of the Church’ and calls for a bilingual priest to be sent for their edification.<sup>94</sup> Celestine envisaged a great number of Christians – enough to concern a

<sup>91</sup> *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, II.11:

*senuit autem rex Hali... Regnavitque rex Texufinus filius eius pro eo: fecitque bonum Christianis cunctis diebus uitae suae, sicut rex Hali pater eius*

but King ‘Alī grew old... his son Tāshufīn ruled in his place, and he did well by the Christians every day of his life, just as his father King ‘Alī had

(Maya Sánchez in *Chronica Hispana*, 200; II.46, *España sagrada XXI*, 360).

<sup>92</sup> It has been claimed that North African Christianity ‘disappeared fairly rapidly’ after the advent of Islam, though there is plenty of evidence to the contrary. John O. Hunwick writes:

When we speak of *dhimmīs* in North Africa, we are, to all intents and purposes, speaking about the Jews. The Christian communities of the former Byzantine provinces disappeared fairly rapidly following the Muslim conquests of the period 670-710

(‘The rights of the *dhimmīs* to maintain a place of worship: a 15th century *fatwā* from Tlemcen’, *Al-Qanṭara* 12.1 (1991), 135). For North African Christians to the eleventh century, and a number of Latin funerary inscriptions, see: Seston, William, ‘Sur les derniers temps du christianisme en Afrique’, *Mélanges d’archéologie et d’histoire* 53.1 (1936), 101-24.

<sup>93</sup> *Le Liber censuum de l’Église romaine* edited by Paul Fabre (Paris: Ernest Thorin, 1889), volume 1 fasc.2, 243. See also: Mas Latrie, Louis de, *Relations et commerce de l’Afrique septentrionale ou Magreb, avec les nations chrétiennes au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Didot, 1886), 127; Richard, Jean, ‘The Eastern Churches’ in *The New Cambridge Medieval History Volume IV, c.1024-c.1198 Part 1* edited by David Luscombe and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Cambridge: CUP, 2004), 592.

<sup>94</sup> Bull of Celestine III, Rome 4 June 1192:

*Cum igitur peticio nobis ex parte christianorum, qui in quibusdam civitatibus sarracenorum hispanie habitant, valde honesta et possibilis sit porrecta, fraternitati tue presentium auctoritate mandamus, quatenus aliquem presbiterum latina et arabica lingua instructum, bone opinionis et literature virum invenias, cui dummodo secure ire valeat et redire, auctoritate nostra et tua in mandatis diligenter iniungas, ut Marrochios, hispalim et alias sarracenorum civitates, in quibus christiani degunt, in nomine Christi fiducialiter adeat; et ubi eos in fide nostra et sacramentis ecclesie fortes ac firmos invenerit, fraterna benignitate confortare et confirmare laboret. Verumtamen, in quibus eos minus sufficientes vel aliqua superstitione deceptos invenerit, studiose instruat et informet, consuetudines pravas et fidei catholice inimicas de medio removens, et bonas atque sancte ecclesie constitutis amicas cum omni vigilantia et sollicitudine introducens*

So it is for me to request on behalf of the Christians who live in certain of the Saracens’ cities, very honourable and stretched as far as may be, we entrust your fraternity with the authority in the present matter to find a priest trained in the Latin and Arabic



pope – who were faithful to orthodoxy and possessed some form of organised worship. The dangers involved precluded preaching and conversion, and missionary activity was restricted to the pastoral care of existing Christians.<sup>95</sup> That some communities may have lacked a fully-manned clerical hierarchy at this point seems clear, and would counter Epalza's claims that Andalusī Christians disappeared or simply ceased to be Christians once their episcopal networks broke down – he also argues that this happened more than a century earlier.<sup>96</sup> Celestine's successors continued to concern themselves with North African Christians into the late thirteenth century, with the three bulls Honorius III issued in 1225 regarding Marrakech or Morocco more generally<sup>97</sup>, and

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tongues, a man of good judgement and lettered, who is thus able to go and return safely. You shall assign him his orders by my authority and yours, that he should confidently go in the name of Christ to Marrakech, Seville and other cities of the Saracens where Christians endure; and where he finds them strong and firm in our faith and the sacraments of the Church, he shall offer comfort with fraternal kindness and work to strengthen them. He should carefully instruct and mould those [found] less sufficient or deceived by some kind of superstition, removing crooked habits and abolish enemies of the catholic faith and setting an example with all vigilance and care to those established among the good friends of the Holy Church

(published by Fidel Fita, 'Noticias', *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 11 (1887), 455-6. Celestine's predecessors Eugenius III and Adrian IV (1154-9) had expressed similar concerns for the Christians in Andalusī Muslim territory whose episcopal infrastructure had lapsed, and entrusted them to Toledo as titular episcopacy, apparently without much success, for Adrian's bull repeats Eugenius almost verbatim. Eugenius' *Bula Potestatem Ligandi*:

*Porro illarum dioceses civitatum, quae Saracensis invadentibus, metropolitanos proprios amiserunt, eo tenore vestrae subijcimus ditioni; ut quoad sine propriis exstiterint metropolitanis, tibi ut proprio debeant subiacere*

Henceforth we entrust to your rule the dioceses of those towns that lost their archbishops after the Saracens invaded, so that those without an archbishop of their own might be subject to you

(Eugenius III, *Epistolae et Privilegia. Epistola DLXXI. Ad Joannem Toletanum Archiepiscopum*, PL 180, col.1586B. See also: *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, XXI, col.671). Adrian IV's *Bula quantae dignitatis*:

*Illarum etiam civitatum dioceses, quae, Saracenis invadentibus, metropolitanos proprios perdiderunt, vestrae ditioni eo tenore subjecimus; ut quoad sine propriis exstiterint metropolitanis, tibi, ut proprio, debeant subiacere*

(Hadrianus IV, *Epistolae et Privilegia, Epistola LXXXVI. Joanni Archiepiscopo Toletano paroeciam Complutensem, Hispaniae primatum, pallii usum asserit*, PL 188, col.1451B; *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, XXI, col.817).

<sup>95</sup> Robin Vose writes:

Dominican and other friars were left, then, with the nearly exclusive task of teaching theological truth, eliminating doctrinal error and otherwise ministering to the spiritual needs only of those Christian expatriates – and perhaps indigenous Christians as well in some cases – who actively sought out their services

(*Dominicans, Muslims and Jews in the Medieval Crown of Aragon* (Cambridge: CUP, 2009, 194).

<sup>96</sup> See: Epalza, 'Falta de obispos'.

<sup>97</sup> An Apostolic See in *regno Marrocano* is named by Honorius III's *Vineae domini custodes* (10 June 1225), a 'Bishop Dominicus living in the kingdom of the *amīr al-mu'minīn*' (*Dominico episcopo in regno Miramolini commoranti*) in *Gaudemus de te* (27 October 1225), who was then later referred to as *rector* in *Ea que super* (8 November 1225). See: Rome, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, reg.13. f° 70v, 95; *La documentación pontifica de Honorio III* edited by Demetrio Mansilla (Rome: Instituto Español de Estudios Eclesiásticos, 1965), 416-7, 442-3, 444-5; Vose, *Dominicans, Muslims and Jews*, 200-3.

bishops of Fes named in 1233<sup>98</sup>, Marrakech in 1237-46<sup>99</sup>, and Ceuta in 1266<sup>100</sup>, some of them titular, as probably in the latter case.

The Christians in exile had something of a figurehead in the Catalan Reverter, who found great favour with the Almoravids and served them as general for several years, according to both Latin and Arabic sources:

Among King 'Alī's captives was found a certain noble decurion of Barcelona by the name of Reverter, a man just, sincere, and God fearing. The king put this man at the head of the Christians military prisoners, and the barbarians too, so that he was the general of all 'Alī's wars<sup>101</sup>

<sup>98</sup> *Bullarium Franciscanum Romanorum pontificum* edited in seven volumes by Giovanni Giacinto Sbaraglia (Rome: Typis Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fidei, 1759), I.106-7.

<sup>99</sup> *Bullarium*, I.255, 444; López, Atanasio, *Obispos en el África septentrional desde el siglo XIII* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Tangiers: Instituto General Franco, 1941), 15-7, 152.

<sup>100</sup> López, *Obispos en el África septentrional*, 42-53, 182-3; Linehan, *The Spanish Church and the Papacy in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: CUP, 1971), 202-4; Vose, *Dominicans, Muslims and Jews*, 206-7.

<sup>101</sup> *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, II.11:

*Inter captiuos eius regis Hali inuentus est quidam nobilis decurio Barcinonensis, nomine Reuerter, uir iustus, et simplex, et Deum suum timens; hunc praeposuit rex captiuis Christicolis militibus, ac barbaris, ut esset dux omnium bellorum suorum*

(Maya Sánchez in *Chronica Hispana*, 200; II.46, *España sagrada XXI*, 360). Ibn 'Idhārī specifies that Reverter's forces were largely Andalusī Christian (*naṣārā*):

وفي سنة اربع وثلاثين وخمسمائة خرج تاشفين بعسكر كبير من لمتونة والحشم وزناتة لقتال  
الموحدين ومعه جمع من التصارى مع قائدهم الربرتر... وفي سنة تسع وثلاثين خرج قائد الروم  
الربرتر بعسكر لمتونة والحشم، فهزمهم الموحدون وقتل القائد المذكور وتبدد عسكره

In the year 534 [1139] Tashufin left with a great strong host and a retinue equal to the murderous Almohads and with him he had the Christians [*naṣārā*] with their leader Ribirtīr... and in the year 39 [1144] Ribirtīr the leader of the *rūm* set out with his strong army and retinue and made the Almohads tremble, but he was killed and his army overcome

(*al-Bayān al-mughrib*, IV.98-103). On Reverter, see: Catlos, *The Victors and the Vanquished*, 79; Kennedy, 'Muslim Spain and Portugal: al-Andalus and its neighbours' in *The New Cambridge Medieval History IV, c.1024-c.1198 Part 1* edited by David Luscombe and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Cambridge: CUP, 2004), 610; *The Second Crusade: Scope and Consequences* edited by Jonathan P. Phillips and Martin Hoch (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 72. Simon Barton identifies Reverter as the Viscount of Barcelona and Lord of La Guardia de Monserrat ('Traitors to the Faith? Christian Mercenaries in al-Andalus and the Maghreb, c.1100-1300' in *Medieval Spain: Culture, Conflict, and Coexistence* edited by Roger Collins and Anthony Goodman (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 27). See also: Benet Ribas i Calaf, *Història de Montserrat (888-1258)* (L'Abadia de Montserrat, 1990), 129; Clément, François, 'Reverter et son fils, deux officiers catalans au service des sultans de Marrakech,' *Medieval Encounters* 9.1 (2003), 79-106; Frank, Istvan, 'Reverter, vicomte de Barcelone (vers 1130-1145)', *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 26 (1954-6), 195-204; Giménez Soler A., 'Caballeros españoles en África y africanos en España', *Revue hispanique* 12 (1905), 299-372 and *Revue hispanique* 14 (1907), 56-69; Huici Miranda, *Historia política del imperio Almohade* (Tetuán: Editora Marroquí, 1956), I.117-20, 123-6, 128-9, 131-2; Sobrequés Vidal, Santiago, *Els Barons de Catalunya* (Barcelona: Editorial Teide, 1957), 31-2; Serrano Ruano, 'Dos fetus sobre la expulsión de los mozárabes', 168-9.

When Reverter died leading Tāshufīn's Christian forces against the Almohads in 1144, he was mourned by his Muslim lord as much as by his fellow Christians, according to the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*.<sup>102</sup>

The Almohads' bloody take-over did not spell the end of Christianity in North Africa. Reverter's son, 'Alī bin Ribirtīr, succeeded him and served the Almohad dynasty as general in North Africa and emissary to Mallorca.<sup>103</sup> Nothing is said of 'Alī's faith<sup>104</sup>, but Christian soldiers would continue to serve North African rulers long after the Almohads: the Marinids 'Umar al-Murtaḍā (1248-66)<sup>105</sup>, Abū al-Rabī' Sulaīmān (1308-10)<sup>106</sup>, and Abū al-Ḥasan (1331-48)<sup>107</sup> all commanded Christian forces, though their origins are unclear and probably mixed.<sup>108</sup> In 1386, one Sancho

<sup>102</sup> *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*.II.101:

*Et dum ista bella geruntur in terra Agarenorum, Reberter dux populi Christiani captiui qui erat trans mare in domo regis Texufini, mortuus est; et omnis populus captiuus Christianorum spargens puluerem et lutum super se, lugebat et dicebat: 'O domine Reberter dux noster, scutum, et lorica! Cur nos deseris, aut quibus nos desolatos derelinquis? Modo inuadent nos Muzmoti, et occident nos, et uxores nostras, filiosque pariter'. Et rex Texufinus, et omnis domus eius planxit super Reberter*

During that war waged in al-Andalus, Reverter, general of the captive Christian people, who was brought across the sea to the house of King Tāshufīn, died. And the whole captive community of Christians threw dust and mud over themselves, lamenting and saying: 'O lord Reverter, our general, our shield, our armour! Why do you desert us and leave us forsaken? Now the Almohads might invade and kill us and our wives and children'. King Tāshufīn and every man in his house beat his breast in lamentation over Reverter

(Maya Sánchez in *Chronica Hispana*, 244; *España sagrada XXI*, 396).

<sup>103</sup> Ibn al-Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'ibār*, VI.508-9.

<sup>104</sup> Charles-Emmanuel Dufourcq asserts that 'Alī converted to Islam (*L'Espagne catalane et le Maghrib aux XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles: de la bataille de Las Navas de Tolosa (1212) à l'évènement du sultan mérinide Abou-l-Hasan (1331)*) (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1966), 160.

<sup>105</sup> Ibn Abī Zar':

وجيش المرتضى من العرب والروم والموحدين

And al-Murtaḍā's army was made up of Arabs, *rūm*, and Almohads

(*Rawḍ al-qirtas*, I.202).

<sup>106</sup> Ibn Abī Zar':

سنة ثمان وسبع مائة... بنى مرين والعرب والأندلس والاعزاز والروم

In the year 708... [his army] was comprised of the Banū Marīn [Marinids], Arabs, Andalusīs, raiders, and *rūm*

(*Rawḍ al-qirtas*, I.272).

<sup>107</sup> Ibn Abī Zar':

فخرج من حضرة مراکش في جيوش لا تحصى من الموحدين والعرب والروم

He left civilised Marrakech with innumerable forces of Almohads, Arabs, and *rūm*

(*Rawḍ al-qirtas*, I.171).

<sup>108</sup> For further discussion of Christians in the service of the North African Muslims, see: Gual Torrella, M., 'Milicias cristianas en Berberia', *Boletín de la Sociedad Arqueológica Luliana* 89 (1973), 54-63; Burns, 'Renegades, Adventurers, and Sharp Businessmen: The Thirteenth-Century Spaniard in the Cause of Islam', *Catholic Historical Review* 58 (1972), 341-66; Montoya Martínez, Jesús, 'El frustrado cerco de Marrakech, 1261-1262', *Cuadernos de Estudios Medievales* 8-9 (1980), 183-92; Batlle i Gallart, Carmen, 'Noticias sobre la milicia cristiana en el Norte de África en la segunda mitad del Siglo XIII' in *Homenaje al profesor Juan Torres Fontes* (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia y la Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, 1987), I.127-37; Salicrú Lluch, Roser, 'Mercenaires castillans au Maroc au début du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle' in *Migrations et diasporas méditerranéennes (X<sup>e</sup>-XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles): actes du colloque de Conques (octobre 1999)*

Rodríguez, a spokesperson for 50 Christian mercenaries in Marinid Morocco known as the Farfanes<sup>109</sup>, petitioned King Juan I of Castile-León (1379-90) for the right to return to the peninsula. Juan negotiated their settlement in Seville in 1390<sup>110</sup>; in 1394 Juan's son and successor Enrique III (1390-1406) confirmed these Christian knights' privileges.<sup>111</sup>

### North African exiles copy Arabic Scripture

The people exiled to North Africa were subject to the same laws as their peninsular relatives, and enjoyed the protection of the *dhimma* despite their betrayal of it. They may have been forcefully deported but they were allowed to order their society as it had been in the peninsula and construct monastic and ecclesiastic buildings.<sup>112</sup> Two twelfth-century manuscripts from Fes bear witness to the continued intellectual pursuits of the clerical and ecclesiastic classes among the exiles, indicating at the same time that the

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edited by Michel Balard and Alain Ducellier (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, Centre de Recherches d'Histoire et de civilisation Byzantines, 2002), 417-34.

<sup>109</sup> On the Farfanes, see: López, Atanasio, *Obispos en el África septentrional desde el siglo XIII* (Tangiers: Instituto General Franco, 1941), xi-xiii; Maíllo Salgado, Felipe, 'Precisiones para la historia de un grupo étnico-religioso: los farfanes', *Al-Qanṭara* 4 (1983), 265-82 and *Vocabulario de historia árabe e islámica* (2nd ed. Madrid: Ediciones Akal, 1999), 82-3; Sánchez Saus, Rafael, *La nobleza andaluza en la Edad Media* (Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2005), 156ff.

<sup>110</sup> The contemporary *Crónica del Rey Don Juan primero de Castilla é de León* of Pero López de Ayala (1332-1407) mentions the Farfanes (edited by Cayetano Rosell in *Biblioteca de autores españoles* (Madrid: Atlas, 1953), LXVIII.143). See also: Ortiz de Zúñiga, Diego, *Anales eclesiásticos y seculares de la muy noble y muy real ciudad de Sevilla* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1795), II.246-7.

<sup>111</sup> Mercenaries' privileges confirmed by Enrique III:

*En él por fazer bien, è merced à vos Alonso Perez, Capitan, è à vos Alonso Lopez, Capitan, è Fernando Perez, è Anton Miguel, è Pero Alonso, è Iuan Diaz, è Martin Fernandez, è Berenguel Fernandez, è Mateo Diaz, è Assensio Gonçalez, è Lorenço Perez, è Garcì Alonso, è Diego Rodriguez, è Diego Yañez, è Fernando Alonso, Caualleros Farfanes de los Godos; por quanto venistis de los Reynos de tierra de Moros, ende erades naturales, à viuir en los nuestros Reynos, por servicio de Dios, è por salir de tierra de los enemigos de la Fè, è porque os lo embiò à rogar, è mandar el Rey Don Iuan mi padre, è mi Señor, que Dios dè Santo Paraiso, prometiendo vos por ello muchas mercedes, por ende romoros en mi guarde, è defendimiento...*

In order to do well by you and grant favour to you, Captain Alonso Pérez, and to you, Captain Alonso López, and Fernando Pérez, Anton Miguel, Pedro Alonso, Juan Díaz, Martín Fernández, Berenguel Fernández, Mateo Díaz, Assensio González, Lorenzo Pérez, García Alonso, Diego Rodríguez, Diego Yañez, and Fernando Alonso, the *Farfanes* knights of the Goths, for you came from the land of the Moors, where you were living, to live in our realm in the service of God, and protect the land from the enemies of the Faith, and because you sent someone to ask King Juan, my father and my lord, to whom God gave Holy Paradise, who ordered it, thus promising you many favours; consequently I bring you into my guard and defence...

(Ortiz de Zúñiga, *Anales eclesiásticos y seculares*, II.245). See also: Alemany, J., 'Milicias cristianas al servicio de los sultanes musulmanes del Almagreb' in *Homenaje a D. Francisco Codera* (Zaragoza: Mariano Escar, 1904), 154-5.

<sup>112</sup> Al-Wansharīsī, *al-Mi'yār*, II.489. See also: Lagardère, *Histoire et société*, 66.

communities whence they were sundered also possessed a cultural vitality unattested by peninsula material, and that their church preserved a stratified hierarchy. We have note of an Arabic Gospel of John completed in June of 1137 by Bishop Miqā'īl ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz for one 'Alī bin 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān<sup>113</sup>, whose colophon dedication was faithfully reproduced by whoever made a copy from it in the fifteenth century:

This transcript was finished on the morning of the nineteenth of the Christian June of the year 1421 of the birth of the Messiah; it was copied from an ancient [copy] written on parchment, at the end of which was written that in it was transcribed [and] completed the fourth part of the Gospel according to Yaḥyā [John] son of Sabdā'ī [Zebedee] the Apostle who set it down within 50 years of the Messiah's ascension to heaven and with its completion ended the four sacred Gospels of Matā [Matthew] and Markā [Mark] and Lūqā [Luke] and Yaḥyā contained in this book; and great praise be to God.

Bishop Miqā'īl ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, the servant of the servants of the Messiah the Word of God the Eternal Father wrote [this] for 'Alī bin 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān the learned – may God make him happy and guide him – and he completed it by his own hands on Friday 23 July in the year 1175 in the reckoning of the Yellow Ones, in the city of Fes of the Western shore in the eleventh year since the deportation of the Andalusī Christians – may God restore them to it – and he wrote in the fifty-seventh year of his life – may God have mercy on him and on him who reads it and prays for mercy for its writer. Amen. The wise translator Yerūnīmu [Hieronymus/ Jerome] translated it from the original Latin – may God be pleased with him. End<sup>114</sup>

Eight years later, deacon Abū 'Umar ibn Yuwān ibn 'Aīshūn completed a copy of Ibn Balashk's Canonical Gospels:

<sup>113</sup> The original is in Fes (Khizānat al-Qarawiyyīn, ms. 730).

<sup>114</sup> Colophon at the end of Miqā'īl ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz's copy of *John*:

كان الفراغ من نسخه صبيحة اليوم التاسع عشر من يونيه الأعجمي من عام لع كه من ميلاد المسيح وذلك من نسخة عتيقة مكتوبة في الرق وكان في اخرها مكتوب ما نصه تم الجزء لرابع من الانجيل قول يحيى بن سبداى الحواري مما وضع إلى خمسين سنة من ارتفاع المسيح إلى السما وبتمامه تمت الاربعة الانجيل المقدسة لمتا ومركا ولوقا ويحيى المشتملة في هذا الكتاب والحمد لله كثيراً كتبه عبد عبيد المسيح كلمة الاب الله الازلي ميقايل الاسقف بن عبد العزيز لعلى بن عبد العزيز بن عبد الرحمن الحابر اسعده الله ووقفه وكمل على يديه يوم الجمعة الثالث وعشرين من شهر يولييه من سنة خمس وسبعين ومائة والى من تريخ الصفر بمدينة فاس غرب العدو في السنة الحادية عشر من رحلة نصارى الأندلس اليه جبرهم الله وكتبه في سنة سبع وخمسين من عمره رحم الله من قرا فيه ودعا بالرحمة لكاتنه امين وقوبل من الام اللطينية ترجمة يروتم القس العلم الترجمان رضى الله عنه انتها

(Archivo de Catedral de León, ms. 35). See: Koningsveld, 'Christian-Arabic manuscripts', 427-8 (Arabic text reproduced in Latin character transliteration, 428n21). Simonet presents a flawed reading of the Arabic text (*Historia de los mozárabes*, 752-3).



End of the fourth volume of the Gospel taught by Yaḥyā [John] son of Sabdāʿī [Zebedee] the disciple which he set down 50 years from the Messiah's ascension to heaven – great praise be to God – and so end the four sacred Gospels by Matā, Markā, Lūqā, and Yaḥyā contained in this book which the deacon Abū 'Umar ibn Yuwān ibn 'Aīshūn wrote for Ibrāhīm ibn Khaīr, servant of the servants of the Messiah, the Word of the living eternal God, in the city of Fes – may God protect her. He completed it with his own hands on Friday 30 March of the year 1145 in the reckoning of the Lord Messiah<sup>115</sup>

If like its model, the copy of the Gospel of Miqā'īl ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz was produced in Fes, as Koningsveld believes, it offers concrete proof that Moroccan-Andalusī Christianity survived at least three centuries after the deportations. While it is clear that Miqā'īl and the author of the Pauline epistle are both part of the Andalusī diaspora, Abū 'Umar makes no reference to al-Andalus or her loss, though Koningsveld believes him to be an Andalusī. Such manuscript production continued. The Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris holds a seventeenth-century manuscript<sup>116</sup> made from an eleventh-century original containing a biography of Paul, the Book of Apocalypse, and Paul's Letter to the Colossians, and dated by the latter to 15 March 1151.<sup>117</sup>

It is not the intention of this chapter to deny that the twin movement of migration north and exile south constituted a 'fundamental change in the demography of al-Andalus' as Hitchcock puts it, but between them, Tāshufīn and the Aragonese

<sup>115</sup> Abū 'Umar ibn Yuwān ibn 'Aīshūn's colophon:

تم الجزء الرابع من الإنجيل قول يحيى ابن سبداى الحواري مما وضع إلى خمسين سنة من ارتفاع  
المسيح إلى السماء والحمد لله كثيراً وبتمامه تمّة الاربعة الاناجيل المقدسة لنا ومركا ولوقا ويحيى  
المشتملة في هذا الكتاب الذي كتبه ابو عمر الدياقن ابن يوان ابن عيشون لابراهيم ابن خير عبد  
عبيد المسيح كلمة الله الحي الازلي بمدينة فاس حرسها الله وكمل على يديه يوم الجمع في ثلاثين  
يومن من شهر مارس سنة خمس واربعين والى من تريخ المسيح السيد والحمد لله كثيراً كما هو  
أهله

(Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Cod. Aumer 238, f<sup>o</sup> 90). See: Koningsveld, 'Christian-Arabic manuscripts', 429n28).

<sup>116</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fonds arabe 80.

<sup>117</sup> Letter to the Colossians:

هذا ما وجد في نسخة رسائل ترجمة يرونم من اللطيني الفرنجى إلى العربى بخط مغربى تاريخها خامس عشر

مرس سنة 'αρν' لمولد المسيح تلو رسالة قولاسايس ما نسخته وهذا رسالة الحواري إلى أهل لودوجية

This is what is found in the manuscript of the epistles of Yerūnim [Jerome] translated from the Frankish Latin to Arabic in Maghrebī script 15 Mars [March] in the year 1151 after the birth of the Messiah. Here follows the Epistle to the Colossians which I copied, and this is the Epistle of the Apostle to the people of Lūdhūjīya [Laodicea]...

(Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms lat. 12,900, f<sup>o</sup> 1-1v). Tisserant, 'La version mozarabe de l'Épître aux Laodicéens', *Revue biblique* 19 (1910), 251. The use of the classical Greek numeral system shows a certain level of sophistication as well as antiquarianism in these North African exiles.



Alfonso did not displace the whole community, of Granada, much less of al-Andalus – numbers were too great for that.<sup>118</sup> Indigenous Christianity prevailed in both town and country, and survived the Almoravids in the peninsula, despite the dismissive claims of many scholars not interested in proving their presence.

The survival of the voluntary and enforced movements supposed to have destroyed Christianity, and the maintenance and manning of churches, until the late 1360s (when Ibn al-Khaṭīb composed his *al-Iḥāta fī akhbār Gharnāṭa*) and the cultural vitality of the exiles in North Africa, show that the conventional view of Andalusī Christianity is too negative. What follows is intended to show that, as in the latter *taifa* period, the moment of conquest reveals the survival of Christian communities across the peninsula. In chronological order, these conquests – in Zaragoza (1118), in Portugal at Lisbon (1147) and in the Algarve (1250), Valencia (1238), Murcia (1243), Seville (1248) – not only expose indigenous Christians, but show their numbers were still high, their communities and religious remained active and free of any institutionalised harassment, as far as one can tell, up to the end of Almohad control. Apart from a bishop killed during the taking of Lisbon, no indigenous Christians are mentioned in the Latin or Castilian chronicles recounting these cities' conquests; the record is supplemented by other means: inscriptions, charters and deeds of sale among them.

### **North marches: Zaragoza, 1118**

The Christian line endured unbroken at Zaragoza. It is traceable through its clergy and churches.<sup>119</sup> Some of the available data, that pertaining to the relics of St Braulio and the extramural monastery of las Santas Masas, has been rejected as eighteenth-century forgeries. A will signed 26 June 987 in Vallvidrera, now a district of Barcelona, refers

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<sup>118</sup> Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, 108. Lagardère writes:

*Ces divers départs, soit vers le nord, soit vers le sud, n'ils n'avaient pas encore fait disparaître tous les Mozarabes de la péninsule, loin de là... Vers 1147, il y avait encore de nombreux Mozarabes dans la région, par exemple des citadins à Grenade et des cultivateurs, petits propriétaires, dans la Vega grenadine, ce qui conduit à constater que les Mozarabes n'étaient pas seulement cantonnés dans les villes*

Neither of these various departures, either to the North or the South, removed all the Mozarabs in the peninsula – far from it... Towards 1147 there were still numerous Mozarabs in the region, for example citizens in Granada and farmers, smallholders, in the grenadine Vega, which leads us to observe that the Mozarabs were not confined to the towns

(‘Communautés mozarabes et pouvoir almoravide’, 108-9).

<sup>119</sup> Christys claims that the See of Zaragoza is one of five that disappeared, the others being Almería, Cuenca, Guadix and Sigüenza (*Christians in al-Andalus*, 3).

to Santa María and Santas Masas, as beneficiaries of the will of one Motion of Barcelona.<sup>120</sup> The same Santa María is described as ‘ancient’ in a document pertaining to the discovery of St Braulio’s tomb, dated February 1249.<sup>121</sup> These documents are both disproved by Aillet, leading him to assert that Zaragoza’s Christians disappeared from the record in the *taifa* period for he trusts no evidence later than 893<sup>122</sup>, but these foundations are named elsewhere. Las Santas Masas’ claim to antiquity is corroborated by a bull produced by Gregory VII in 1063.<sup>123</sup> A charter of privileges dated 10 December 1118 describes Santa María as ‘liberated’, having ‘long been subjected to the rule of the perfidious Saracens’<sup>124</sup>.

Several other churches in the archdiocese of Zaragoza were maintained up to, or very close to, Alfonso I of Aragón’s conquest. In 1093, Sancho Ramírez of Aragón

<sup>120</sup> Legal document of recognition for Motion’s will:

*Annus Domini DCCCCLXXXVI anno XXXI regnante Leutario Rege, die kalend Julii, quarta feria, obcesa est Barchinona civitate a Sarracenis; et permittente Deo et impediante peccato nostro, in eodem mense II nonas capta est ab eis... captivus ductus est usque in Cordoba, quos iam ductus est et hunc Motionem filium Fruia quondam... Sed prelibatus Motion, auxiliante Deo reversus est a Cordoba usque in Çaragotia et ibidem infirmatus est infirmitate unde obiit... In primis concessit ut donare fecissent ad sancta Maria, qui est sita in Çaragotia, et ad sanctas Massas qui sunt foris muros solidatas centum... Late conditiones VI kalend Julii anno II Regnante Ludovico Rege, fili Leutarii Regi*

Year of the Lord 986, the thirty-first year of King Lothair’s reign, 15 July, fourth holy day, Barcelona was besieged by the Saracens; with God permitting it and shackled by our sins, they took the city on the sixth of that month... Motion, son of Fruia, was captured and led as far as Córdoba... But with God’s help this Motion retraced his steps to Zaragoza, where he became sick, and died of his illness... Firstly, he wished 100 *solidi* be donated to Santa María which is in Zaragoza, and to Santas Masas which is before the city walls... These terms were upheld 27 June in the second year of the reign of King Louis, son of King Lothair

(Fita, ‘El templo del Pilar y San Braulio de Zaragoza: documentos anteriores al siglo XVI’, *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 44 (1904), 439-41).

<sup>121</sup> *De Revelatione Episcopi in limine ecclesie Beate Marie jacentis:*

*Altare Dei genetricis et virginis Marie... in ecclesia ab antiquis temporis ad honorem ipsius in urbe constituta... ERA M.<sup>a</sup>CC.<sup>a</sup>lxxx.<sup>a</sup>vii.<sup>a</sup> mense febroarii*

The altar of the mother of God, Virgin Mary... in the church built in the city in ancient times in her honour... February, Era 1287

(Fita, ‘El templo del Pilar y San Braulio de Zaragoza’, 426-7).

<sup>122</sup> Aillet, *Les « Mozarabes »*, 63-4.

<sup>123</sup> Bull of Gregory VII:

*Super haec omnia addimus Sanctarum Massarum monasterium, quod a Paterno Caesaraugustano episcopo, favente suo clero, Jaccensi ecclesiae collatum fuisse cognovimus*

To all this we add the monastery of Santas Massas which we recognise has been joined to the church of Jaca by Bishop Paternus of Zaragoza with the favour of its clergy

(*España sagrada* XXX, 222).

<sup>124</sup> Document recording indulgences granted to newly-conquered Zaragoza by Pope Gelasius II:

*Caesaraugustanam urbem christianis manibus subiugari ac beate et gloriose uirginis Marie ecclesiam, que diu, pro dolor! subiacuit perfidorum sarracenorum ditioni, liberari satis audiuistis*

You have been bold enough to subjugate the city of Zaragoza to Christian hands, and to liberate the church of the blessed and glorious Virgin Mary which has – oh sorrow! – lain under the perfidious Saracens’ power for so long

(*Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación*, I.68).

(1063-94) and Navarra (1076-94) entrusted the churches and chaplaincies of Valtierra (taken 1110) and Tudela (1119), to the supervision of the monastery of Saint-Pons de Thomières in the Languedoc.<sup>125</sup> In 1097, five decades before the region's conquest in 1148, Ramón Berenguer, third Count of Barcelona (1082-1131) and count of Provence (1112-31), awarded control of 'all the churches in the whole kingdom of Tortosa' to the monastery of San Cugat, 6 miles northwest of Barcelona.<sup>126</sup>

The bishopric of Zaragoza itself is attested as occupied up to the last decade of Muslim rule. Julian is named as bishop in 1077<sup>127</sup>; bishop Vincent is named in 1111 in an inscription from a church in Luna, 40 miles north of Zaragoza, which is likely to have been in Christian hands at this time, since Tauste to the south was taken in 1106 and Ejea to the west in 1110.<sup>128</sup> In 1112 a charter of privilege made by Alfonso I of Aragón names Bishop Petrus of Zaragoza as a signatory; various instruments, according

<sup>125</sup> Charter of donation to the monastery of Saint-Pons de Thomières, 3 May 1093:

*ecclesias et capellanas de castro quod vocatur Salos, quod est iuxta Terragonam cum omni ecclesiastico suo et pertinenciis suis... ecclesiam et capellaniam de Tortosa civitate, si Deus omnipotens eam mihi dederit, scilicet ipsas ecclesias que ibidem sunt modo et in antea erunt cum capellania vel capellanis que ibidem sunt aut erunt, cum omni ecclesiastico suo et cunctis suis pertinenciis*

the churches and chaplaincies of the fort called Salóu, which is near Tarragona, with all its ecclesiastics and possessions... the church and chaplaincy of Tortosa, if Almighty God should give it to me, certainly these churches are in the same state [now] as they were before [the Muslim conquest] with a foundation and chaplaincies that are the same as they were, with every ecclesiastic and their possessions

(Archivo de la Seo de Zaragoza, Cartulario Grande, f<sup>o</sup> 23r-v; Cartulario San Pedro el Viejo, f<sup>o</sup> 1v; *Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista*, I.25-6).

<sup>126</sup> Document of Berenguer's donations to the monastery of San Cugat, 1097:

*Ego Raymundus Berengarii, comes Barchinonen[sis], et marchio, recognoscens monasterium beati Cucufatis, et ejusdem loci abbatem Berengarium, cum sibi commissu congregatione... dono, et concedo Domino Deo, et praedicto monasterio Sancti Cucufatis martyris, et tibi domino Berengario, ejusdem loci abbati, et tuis successoribus, perpetuo jure habendum... ecclesiam Sancti Sepulcri de Emposta, cum omnibus suis pertinentiis... Simili etiam modo concedo omnes ecclesias, quae sunt, vel fuerint in omni regno Tortuosae, cum illorum pertinentiis... Facta ista carta donationis secundo nonas Maij, anno millesimo nonagesimo septimo*

I, Ramón Berenguer, Count of Barcelona and marquis, recognising the monastery of blessed Cucufat, and Abbot Berenguer in the same place and the congregation joined to him... I give, and concede to Lord God, to the aforesaid monastery of the martyr St Cucufat, and to the lord Berenguer, abbot of that place, and to all your successors, to be held in perpetuity... the church of San Sepulcro de Amposta along with all its possessions... Similarly I concede all the churches that are and will be in the kingdom of Tortosa, and their possessions... This charter of donation was made 6 May 1097

(*España sagrada XLII: las antigüedades civiles y eclesiásticas de las ciudades de Dertosa, Egara y Emporias* compiled by Risco (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Madrid: Imprenta de José Rodríguez, 1859), 280-2).

<sup>127</sup> Julian is attested in a charter of donation Manuel Risco located in the archive of the monastery of Santa María de Alao which opens *In nomine Domini. Ego Julianus gratia Dei episcopus Caesaraugustanae sedis* (*España sagrada XXX*, 226).

<sup>128</sup> The church of Luna bears the inscription:

*Ultima dominica mensis septembris consecrata fuit ecclesia a domino Vincentio Caesaraugustano episcopo anno ab incarnatione Domini MCXI*

This church was consecrated by his lordship Bishop Vincentius of Zaragoza on the last Sunday of September in the year of the Lord's incarnation 1111

(*España sagrada XXX*, 227).

to Risco, name bishop Bernardus in the following year<sup>129</sup>, though a concession charter from 1118 names another Petrus as ‘his lordship Bishop of Zaragoza’, and in giving him and his successors rights to the tithe and church taxes, indicates that many Zaragoza churches survived to see the return of Christian rule.<sup>130</sup> Ibn al-Kardabus identifies the tanner’s district as a Christian quarter at the time of Alfonso’s conquest.<sup>131</sup> The larger diocese of Zaragoza maintained some formal cohesion too: the church of San Pedro of Huesca is an ancient foundation that remained active until reconquest. Two charters, one pre-, and the other post-conquest – both dismissed by Aillet on the grounds that ‘there is no evidence to confirm the maintenance of Christian places of worship’<sup>132</sup> – name ‘the ancient church of San Pedro of Huesca’. In 1097, Bishop Pedro transferred *ecclesiam sancti Petri illam antiquam* to Abbot Frotardo of San Ponce de Tomeras;<sup>133</sup> in 1119, Iñigo Sanz de Laves sold his estate to the church, which is described as *Sancti Petri Vetuli de Oscha*.<sup>134</sup>

### **Gharb al-Andalus: Lisbon, 1147**

The year 1147 saw al-Andalus suffer attack and conquest on both fronts, by both Muslim and Christian aggressors. In both arenas indigenous Christians are uncovered and suffer violence. In January the Almohads took Seville, killing ‘its nobles and the

<sup>129</sup> *España sagrada XXX*, 227-8.

<sup>130</sup> Alfonso I’s concession to Petrus, Bishop of Zaragoza:

*Ego Adefonsus, Dei gratia rex, dono... dompno Petro Cesaraugustano episcopo... et successoribus eius ibidem Deo seruiantibus, decimas et primicias omnium ecclesiarum quas in episcopatu suo sub proprio iure tenet uel in antea tenebit*

I Alfonso, king by the grace of God, grant his Lordship Petrus Bishop of Zaragoza... and the servants of God his successors likewise, the tithes and first fruits of all the churches that he holds under his authority in his bishopric and held before

(*Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista*, I.70-1).

<sup>131</sup> Ibn al-Kardabūs:

وحاصر ابن ردمير البلد (يقصد سرقسطة) شهوراً وأذاق أهله ويلاً وثبوراً، إلى أن صالحه أهلها

على أن يسلموا البلد إليه... يسكن الروم المدينة والمسلمون رضى الدباغين

Ibn Rudmīr blockaded the country for months (he aspired to capture Zaragoza), and its people suffered affliction and ruin until they reached a settlement with him and surrendered the land to him... the city’s Christians [*rūm*] and Muslims living in the district of the tanners

(*Tārīkh al-Andalus*, 117-8).

<sup>132</sup> Aillet:

*aucun élément ne permet d’affirmer le maintien de lieux de culte chrétiens*

(*Les « Mozarabes »*, 61).

<sup>133</sup> Balaguer, Federico, ‘Notas documentales sobre los mozárabes oscenses’, 399, (documents 7 and 8); Torrès Balbás, ‘Mozarabías y juderías’, 179-80.

<sup>134</sup> *Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista*, I.67.

Christians called Mozarabs' according to the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*<sup>135</sup>; in October, Afonso (Henriques) I of Portugal (1139-85) conquered Lisbon at the head of an alliance of Portuguese and Anglo-Norman, Flemish, and German crusaders.<sup>136</sup> The Christian community of Seville survived the Almohads' bloody arrival, as we shall see, though Molénat claims otherwise.<sup>137</sup> In Lisbon we do see the definitive end of Andalusī Christianity; the same moment, however, marks the lisboeta community's survival of the period of Andalusī control to become Portuguese Mozarabs, the great irony being that they died by the hands of their putative saviours.

In 1109 Lisbon is said to have been half Christian<sup>138</sup>, upon its conquest 38 years later, Lisbon had a sizeable Arabised Christian population whose unnamed bishop played a prominent diplomatic role:

at signals from both sides, the *al-qā'id* himself standing upon the city wall with the bishop and the chiefs of the city, a peaceful cessation of hostilities was mutually sanctioned so that they could say what they wished to say<sup>139</sup>

Treachery among the Flemish and German forces leads to indiscriminate slaughter:

<sup>135</sup> *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*.II.109:

*gentes quas vulgo vocant Muzmotos, venerunt ex Africa, et transierunt mare Mediterraneum... impetu bellando praeoccupaverunt Sibilliam, et alias civitates munitas... et occiderunt nobiles ejus, et Christianos quos vocabant Muzarabes*  
the peoples called Muzmoti by the masses came from Africa and crossed the Mediterranean... and seized Seville and other walled cities with a violent assault... and they killed [Seville's] nobles and the Christians called Mozarabs

(Maya Sánchez in *Chronica Hispana*, 247; II.101, *España sagrada XXI*, 398-9).

<sup>136</sup> The central source for the crusader siege of Lisbon is a document known as the *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, written in faux epistolary form by an individual identified only as R. to Osbertus of Baldreseia (Osbert of Bawdsey). It survived to the present in but one manuscript – no. 470 at Corpus Christi, Cambridge – and is closely contemporary, dating to the 1160s. The author, R., is presumed to be a French Norman priest active in the crusade itself, on the grounds that he makes apparent use of early French words such as *garçiones* (*garçio* signifies a man of low status, this diminutive sense retained in the modern French *garçon*), and the fact that the detail of his narrative represents a credible eyewitness testimony; his use of the Anglo-Saxon term *worma* (also *verma*, a natural scarlet dye, hence *vermilion*), however, could just as well support the hypothesis that he was in fact an English cleric. For the Latin text, an English translation and commentary, see: David, *The Conquest of Lisbon* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).

<sup>137</sup> Molénat:

*qui à la fois mettent en évidence la survie jusqu'à cette date de communautés mozarabes organisées dans ces deux centres, et leur disparition violente*  
[the conquerors] show the survival of organised Mozarab communities in these two centres until that date at the same time as [they show] their violent disappearance

(‘La fin des chrétiens arabisés d'al-Andalus’, 290).

<sup>138</sup> The fifth chapter of the *Saga of Sigurd the Crusader and his Brothers Eystein and Olaf* composed by the monk Thjodrek and included by the Icelandic chronicler Snorri Sturluson (1179-1241) in his *Heimskringla* collection. Lee Milton Hollander's translation of the relevant passage reads:

Thereupon King Sigurth and his fleet proceeded to Lissabon. That is a great city in Spain, half Christian and half heathen

(*Heimskringla: History of the Kings of Norway* (4<sup>th</sup> ed. Austin: University of Texas Press for the American-Scandinavian Foundation, 2002), 691).

<sup>139</sup> *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, 114... 164-6:

*dato utrimque signo, ipso civitatis alcaie super murum cum episcopo et primiceriis ciuitatis stantibus pax induciarum, ut quid velint dicant, utrimque sancitur*

(David, *The Conquest of Lisbon*, 114).



Then the men of Cologne and Flanders, seeing so many temptations at hand, disregarded the ties of their oath and faith. They rushed here and there; they pillaged; they tore down doors... they even killed the city's very elderly bishop, against human and divine law, cutting his throat<sup>140</sup>

The bishop's murder is a sign of the profound secular or cultural Arabisation of Andalusī Christian society: he died because the crusaders could not tell the difference between *lisboeta* Christian and Muslim. Despite the bishop's noted role in proceedings, the narrative fails to mention his flock once. Or rather denies them, for whatever reason, since it is clear that when it speaks of *Mauri* it is describing *Christiani*. The urban population is explained not in religious terms, but by the irreligion of the Andalusī compromise:

the reason for such a great multitude was that there was no organised religion among them; for each man was a law unto himself, so that the most dissolute had flowed together from every part of the world as if into a ship's bilge, a breeding ground for every kind of lust and filth<sup>141</sup>

It seems that the crusaders knew not what kind of people lived within the city gates, and that though their chronicler did, he was unsure how to treat them. It is nevertheless clear that a considerable part of them were Christian, for their response to the devastation of their land is recorded in terms that can only be described as extreme Christian piety:

there then followed such a pestilence among the *Mauri* that throughout the wasted open spaces, throughout the vineyards and the villages and streets and the ruined houses untold thousands of corpses lay exposed to beast and bird, and living men like bloodless things traversed the earth, embracing the sign of the cross which they kissed like suppliants, declaring blessed Mary mother of God to be good, so that they punctuated every act and speech, even at the point of death, with the words 'Maria bona, bona Maria', and cried out wretchedly<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, 174-6:

*Colonenses igitur et Flandrenses, visis in urbe tot adminiculis cupiditatis, nullam iurisiurandi uel fidei religionem observant. Hinc illinc discurrunt; predas agunt; fores effringunt... episcopum vero civitatis antiquissimum, preciso iugulo, contra ius et fas occidunt*

(David, *The Conquest of Lisbon*, 176).

<sup>141</sup> *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, 94:

*causa tante multitudinis erat quod nullus ritus religionis inter eos erat; nam quisque sibi lex erat, utpote qui ex omnibus mundi partibus flagitiosissimi quique quasi in sentinam confluerant, totius libidinis atque immunditie seminaria*

(David, *The Conquest of Lisbon*, 94).

<sup>142</sup> *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*.180:

*subsequuta est deinceps tanta Maurorum lues ut per heremi vastitates, per vineas et per vicos et plateas domorumque ruinas innumera cadaverum milia feris auibusque iacerent exposita, exanguibusque similes vivi super terram gradirentur, signumque crucis supliciter amplectentes deoscularentur, beatamque Dei matrem Mariam bonam*



These people are indisputably Christians. The likelihood that they are Muslims possessed of an intimate knowledge of Latin Christian formulae is slim, considering the general disinterest towards the subject Christians displayed throughout the extant Andalusī Muslim literature and documentation and the long-Arabised nature of that Christianity by this point.<sup>143</sup> Some have denied any Christian presence, arguing even that the murdered bishop was in fact the *qāḍī*; Molénat argues that the author of *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi* appears too well-informed to make such a mistake.<sup>144</sup> The presence of vineyards suggests Christian viticulture by Christian vintners, though the consumption of wine could be defended with recourse to the Qur’ānic *Sūra al-Nahl*:

And in the fruits of the date-palm and the vine you obtain an intoxicant and wholesome food. In this are signs for those who understand<sup>145</sup>

Wine consumption among Andalusī Muslims is attested even in the supposedly greater austerity of the post-*taifa* period under the influence of the Almoravids and Almohads. Twelfth-century verse continued to celebrate the joys of intoxication.<sup>146</sup> Seville

*predicarent, ut ad omnes actus vel sermones etiam in extremis agentes Mariam bonam, bonam Mariam intermiserent, miserabiliterque reclamarent*

(David, *The Conquest of Lisbon*, 180).

<sup>143</sup> Molénat argues for the *lisboetas*’ Christianity (‘Fin de les chrétiens arabisés’, 290), but on the basis that they called Mary ‘mother of God’; it is the chronicler who refers to Mary in this way, only putting the words ‘Bona Maria’ in the mouths of the vanquished (‘Sur le rôle des Almohades dans la fin du christianisme’, 393).

<sup>144</sup> See: Ricard, Robert, ‘Le prétendu évêque mozarabe de Lisbonne (1147)’ in Ricard’s *Études sur l’histoire morale et religieuse du Portugal* (Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian – Centro Cultural Português, 1970), 32-41, and ‘Episcopus et cadi. L’évêque mozarabe de Lisbonne (1147)’, *Revue du Moyen Âge latin* 7.2 (1951), 111-22; Dufourcq, Charles-Emmanuel, ‘Les mozarabes du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle et le prétendu “évêque” de Lisbonne’, *Revue d’Histoire et de Civilisation du Maghreb* 5 (1968), 125-30. Molénat argues against these assertions:

*Nous ne croyons pas vraisemblable que l’auteur de la lettre, quelle que fût son ignorance des choses de l’Islam, qu’il ne faut d’ailleurs pas exagérer, ait pu qualifier d’episcopus un dignitaire musulman... après le prise de la ville, les prétendus Maures, frappés par une épidémie, se traînent sur le sol en invoquant le nom de Sainte Marie Mère de Dieu, nous paraît sans équivoque sur la foi chrétienne de ces victimes*

We do not believe it plausible that the author would have designated a Muslim dignitary as *episcopus*, however great his ignorance of Islamic matters might have been, a point one should not exaggerate... after the town’s capture the supposed Moors, struck by an epidemic, crawled on the ground invoking the name of Holy Mary Mother of God, which shows us unequivocally the Christian faith of the victims

(‘Fin des chrétiens arabisés’, 290-1. These arguments were refuted before Molénat by Stéphane Boisselier, ‘Réflexions sur l’idéologie portugaise de la reconquête. XII<sup>e</sup> – XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles’, *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 30.1 (1994), 152; Hillenbrand, Carole, ‘A Neglected Episode of the Reconquista: A Christian Success in the Second Crusade’, *Revue des Études Islamiques* 54 (1986), 169-70.

<sup>145</sup> Qur’ān 16:67 (*al-Nahl*):

ومن ثمرات النخيل والأعناب تتخذون منه سكرًا و رزقًا حسنًا إن في ذلك لآية لقوم يعقلون

See further: Kathryn Kueny’s *The Rhetoric of Sobriety: wine in early Islam* (Albany: SUNY, 2001).

<sup>146</sup> Otto Zwartjes writes that the stricter North African dynasties did not affect the appetite for sensual themes in verse and song:

Andalusi poets were always the example for others and ‘local’ Maghribi poets could not compete with the Andalusis. In these periods, ‘traditional’ themes were never abandoned. Wine themes and erotic poetry were very popular

produced three notable agronomists in Abū ‘Umar Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Hajjāj, Abū al-Khaīr al-Ishbīlī, and Ibn al-‘Awwām, who all wrote treatises on local viticulture in the late eleventh century, early twelfth, and late twelfth to early thirteenth century respectively.<sup>147</sup> The fourteenth-century jurist Abū Ishāq al-Shāṭibī of Játiva (died 1388) was asked to judge whether it was licit to supply wine-drinking Muslims with the means to stopper their bottles.<sup>148</sup> Nonetheless, the name one would expect to hear from the lips of Muslims in extreme distress, wine-drinkers or no, is not the Virgin’s.

The inability of the northern chronicler to distinguish between Andalusīs of different faiths might explain the absence of Christians in so many conquest accounts, especially those, like Toledo, where their absence is rather striking. Also, the chronicles are only interested in political and military action, hence the huge numbers of Christians suddenly appearing from nowhere in the Almoravid era simply because they entered the political-military fray.

A second encounter between Afonso I and Arabised Christians, reported in the late-twelfth or early thirteenth-century *Vita Sancti Theotonii*, sees the latter hardly faring any better:

when Alfonsus, noble prince of Portugal, marched against the more remote parts of Hispania near the metropolis called Hispalis [Seville] he ravaged the whole of the Saracens’ province with his army. Amongst limitless spoil, his fighters captured certain Christian folk, whom the masses call Mozarabs, trapped there under the pagans’ power but somehow observing Christian ritual, and they took them as slaves according to *ius bellandi*... [Theotonius] set out to meet the king and his whole army, and said: ‘O king, and all you barons who are the sons of the Holy Mother Church, why do you subjugate your brothers as slaves? In this you are sinning against the Lord your God’<sup>149</sup>

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(‘Berbers in al-Andalus and Andalusis in the Maghrib as reflected in *tawshīh* poetry’ in *Poetry, Politics and Polemics: Cultural transfer between the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa* edited by Zwartjes, Geert Jan van Gelder and Ed de Moor (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996), 52).

<sup>147</sup> Lagardère, ‘Cépages, raisin et vin en al-Andalus (X<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)’, *Médiévales* 16.33 (1997), 81. See also: Zaimèche, Salah, *Seville* (Manchester: Foundation for Science Technology and Civilisation, 2005).

<sup>148</sup> Al-Wansharīsī:

وهل يصنع الشمع ويبيعه من عطار يعلم أنه يبيعه من كافر وشارب خمر مسلم أم لا؟

Can one make wax and sell it to a hardware dealer who will sell it on to unbelievers or to wine-drinking Muslims?

(*al-Mi‘yar*, V.213). See also Lagardère’s excerpted French translation: *Histoire et société*, 194.

<sup>149</sup> *Vita Sancti Theotonii*.17:

*cum Alfonsus, nobilis infans Portugalis, uersus remotiores hispanie partes, que metropoli adiacent, que hispalis dicitur, ducto exercitu, pene totam sarracenorum prouinciam depredatus fuisset; uiri bellatores eius inter infinitam predam, quandam christianorum gentem, quos uulgo mozarabes uocitant, inibi sub ditone paganorum detentos, sed tamen utcumque christiani nominis ritum obseruantes, pariter captiuarunt, atque iure bellantium seruituti subrogarunt... egressus obuiam regi, et cuncto exercitui, dixit: O rex, et cuncti barones, qui sancte matris ecclesie filii estis, cur*

The *vita* provides no date for these events, but they can be placed between the fall of Lisbon in 1147 and the death of Theotonius in 1162.

### Valencia, 1238

The Battle of al-Sabīka in 1162 saw ‘Abd al-Mu’min defeat the ruler of Murcia and Valencia Ibn Mardanīsh (whose name shows his Christian roots: Ibn Martínez) and his son-in-law Ibrāhīm ibn Hamushk (al-Athīr swaps the roles)<sup>150</sup>, who had taken control of Granada, Jaén and Córdoba and set themselves up as new *taifas* while Almohad energies were focused elsewhere. These new Levantine *taifas* were intimately linked with Christians from both sides of the border in their adventures in the South and Ibn Mardanīsh’s religious affiliation was suspect as a result.<sup>151</sup> An undated letter to Ibn Mardanīsh from Pope Alexander III (1159-81), which postdates his defence and loss of Granada (it was written between Alexander’s ordination in 1159 and Ibn Mardanīsh’s death in 1172), could be read as proof of his good relations with the Christians of his Valencian base, though it is difficult to sift facts from flatteries and politics in diplomatic correspondence:

Rumour has reached us that, though your highness has not received the sacraments of the Christian faith, you esteem Christ’s worshippers and faithful and honour them with special privilege, and you are known to show them not a little grace of friendship<sup>152</sup>

Whether or not Ibn Mardanīsh was truly a beneficent lord, a Christian community persisted in Valencia. It was not entirely uprooted in the flight from the Almoravids in 1102 as the *Historia Roderici* and *Anales toledanos* claim, for one can follow Valencian monastic communities throughout the period between the Christian conquests of 1094 and 1238. In 1129 the Almoravids accused the monastery of San Vicente of

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*fratres uestros uobis in seruos et ancillas subiugatis? Peccatis enim super hoc domino deo uestro*

(*PMH: Scriptores I*, 84-5.

<sup>150</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-tar’ikh*, XI.283.

<sup>151</sup> Fierro, ‘Religious dissension in al-Andalus’, 467; Guichard, *Les musulmans de Valence et de la reconquête*, I.116-22.

<sup>152</sup> Letter of Alexander III to Ibn Mardanīsh:

*licet sacramenta fidei cristianae minime tua celsitudo suscepit, tamen sicut ad nos usque fama pervenit, cultores et fideles Christi quadam speciali praeogativa diligis et honoras, et eis familiaritatis gratiam nosceris non modicam exhibere*

(The original Vatican document is now lost, but was interpolated into the *Imagines Historiarum* by Ralph of Diceto, dean of St Paul in London (1180-1202), which was published by Sir Roger Twysden in his *Historia Anglicanae Scriptores Decem ex Vetulis Manuscriptis Nunc Primum in Lucem Dediti* (London: Typis Jacobi Flesher, 1652), I.602). The admission that this correspondence was undertaken in order to request the release of Christian prisoners should not detract from the fact that Ibn Mardanīsh is clearly held to be on good, if not favourable, terms with the Christians of his territory.

collaboration with Alfonso I of Aragón, and evicted some or all of its monks.<sup>153</sup> But the monastery did not remain empty or inactive for long, as its relations with the Aragonese and Castilian monarchies testify. On 3 February 1167, Alfonso VIII of León-Castile gave it a great deal of land:

So, I, Aldefonsus, king by grace of God, give to God and the most precious martyr of Christ, Vincent of Valencia, and all the brothers who serve the same martyr's church, present and future... those villages called Fons Domine and Estremera, with that settlement next to the ford of Alfarella with its lands, rivers, mills, fishing, irrigation works, and especially that water mill under the walls of the castle at Alfarella, the mountains, fountains, groves and pastures...<sup>154</sup>

In 1177, Alfonso II of Aragón (1162-96) granted the church of San Juan de Peña jurisdiction over the flourishing foundation, and rights to its tithe and first fruits.<sup>155</sup> San Vicente weathered the supposedly persecutory Berbers to greet Aragón's final victory with its conquest by Jaime I (1213-76) in 1238. In 1212, Pedro II of Aragón (1196-1213) confirmed his father Alfonso II's donation.<sup>156</sup> Six years before this date – in

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<sup>153</sup> Peñarroja Torrejón, *Cristianos bajo el Islam*, 60.

<sup>154</sup> Charter of donation by Alfonso VIII:

*Ea propter ego Aldefonsus, Dei gratia rex, dono et concedo Deo et preciosissimo martiri Christi Vincencio de Valencia, et omnibus fratribus eiusdem martiris ecclesie servientibus, presentibus atque futuris... aldeas illas quarum altera Fons Domine vocatur, altera vero Estremera nuncupatur, cum illa albergaria que est iuxta vadum de Alfarella, cum villariis circumadiacentibus. Sunt etiam iste aldeas in termino de Alfarella, cum terris, rivis, molendinis, piscariis, zudis, et nominatim cum illa zuda que est sub muro istius castelli de Alfarella, montibus, fontibus, cum sotis et pascuis... Facta carta in Toletu X<sup>o</sup> III<sup>o</sup> kalendarum febroarii, era X<sup>ta</sup> CC<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup>*

(Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional de España, codex 1242, f<sup>o</sup> 55r-56v).

<sup>155</sup> Alfonso II of Aragón grants the church of San Juan de Peña control of San Vicente de Valencia, and the rights to tax its produce:

*Ego Ildefonsus, Dei gratia rex Aragonum, comes Barchinone et marchio Provincie, facio istam cartam donationis, Domino Deo et ecclesie Sancti Iohannis de Pinna, et tibi, Dodoni, eiusdem loci abbati, et successoribus tuis in perpetuum. Placuit mihi... quod dono atque in perpetuum concedo Domino Deo et iam dicto monasterio Sancti Iohannis de Pinna, et fratribus ibidem Deo servientibus, presentibus atque futuris ecclesiam Sancti Vincencii de Valencia cum omnibus directis suis que modo habet et habere debet et cum decimis et primiciis, ut sit semper libere et absolute de iure Sancti Ihoannis de Pinna... Facta carta apud Therol, mense octobris, in reditu de Lorca, era millesima CC XV*

I, Ildefonsus – by grace of God King of the Aragonese, Count of Barcelona and Marquis of Provence – make this charter of donation to Lord God and the church of San Juan de Peña, and to you, Dodón, abbot of that place, and to your successors in perpetuity. It pleases me... that I give and concede in perpetuity the church of San Vicente of Valencia to Lord God and now to said monastery of San Juan de Peña, and the brothers in God's service there, present and future, with all its rights, such as it has and should have, and the tithe and the first fruits, so that it should be freely and absolutely under the rule of San Juan de Peña... This charter was made in Teruel in the month of October, having returned from Lorca, Era 1215

(Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, codex 494B, f<sup>o</sup> 43). Published in *Alfonso II Rey de Aragón, Conde de Barcelona y Marqués de Provenza. Documentos (1162-1196)* edited by Ana Isabel Sánchez Casabón (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, C.S.I.C., 1995), 332-3 (no. 241).

<sup>156</sup> Pedro II confirmed his father's donation to San Juan de Peña. His signature adorns the same charter:

anticipation of his conquest, as Peñarroja has it – Jaime granted jurisdiction over the estate of San Vicente, comprising the monastery, church, and grounds, to the monastery of San Victorián de Asán.<sup>157</sup> In the year following his triumph, Jaime was granted Pope Gregory IX's (1227-41) permission to carry out building plans involving the grounds of the church of San Vicente.<sup>158</sup> One could argue that the existence of a church-monastery complex is not proof of a larger Christian community, but it would be very strange to find a solitary island of Christian religious in a Muslim region. Equally, Aillet has indicated the dangers of fraudulent ecclesiastical and royal charters, but the pope's involvement vindicates Valencia's claims for monastic presence, without any indication of persecution.

### Murcia, 1243

Many have noted the survival of Christian worship in Murcia too. Lagardère asserts that it remained a noteworthy Christian centre<sup>159</sup>, for Alfonso X's (auto-)biographical

*Signum Petri, Dei gratia regis Aragonum et comitis Barchinone, qui hanc cartam genitoris mei laudo et confirmo, era MCCL*

(Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, codex 494B, f<sup>o</sup> 43).

<sup>157</sup> Jaime donates San Vicente to the Benedictines at San Victorián de Asán:

*cum hac carta, cum cognoscamus nos existere debitores monasterio Sancti Victoriani in omni honore et beneficio conferendis, per nos et omnes successores nostros donamus, concedimus et laudamus vobis, dilecto nostro A. abbati et toti coventui monasterii Sancti Victoriani et vestris successoribus in eternum, per propriam hereditatem liberam et francham, locum illum sive ecclesiam, que est apud Valentiam, laudabilem civitatem, qui locus sive ecclesia vocatur et dicitur Sanctus Vincencius*

with this charter we recognise that we are indebted to the monastery of San Victorián and must grant it every honour and kindness, we and all our successors donate, concede and praise you, it is our pleasure to give freely and frankly, to the abbot and the whole monastery of San Victorián and your successors forever, that place and church called San Vicente in Valencia, a praiseworthy city

(Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, codex 494B, f<sup>o</sup> 1; Peñarroja Torrejón, *Cristianos bajo el Islam*, 209).

<sup>158</sup> The pope's response to Jaime's request is dated 9 January 1239:

*assensu ius patronatu quod idem ecclesia Sancti Vincentii et hospitali vix Valentiam et quibuslibet aliis ecclesiis et monasteriis Regni Valentie que construxisti atque dotasti de novo optines tibi successoribus confirmamus... Datum Laterani V idus ianuarii anni duodecim*

we confirm this same right by patronly assent for the church of San Vicente and the hospital in Valencia, and whichever churches and monasteries you have constructed and endowed recently in the Kingdom of Valencia... Given to the Lateran 9 January of the twelfth year [of Gregory's pontificate]

(Rome, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Register 19, f<sup>o</sup> 68). See also: *Les registres de Grégoire IX* compiled by Lucien Auvray (Paris Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 1955), n<sup>o</sup> 4705; Vincke, *Documenta*, n<sup>o</sup> 6.

<sup>159</sup> Lagardère wrote:

*Des Mozarabes subsistaient assez nombreux dans le royaume de Murcie en 1243 quand les Castillans y établirent leur protectorat, ce qui permet d'attester leur présence dans*



*Cantigas de Santa María* identify the ‘ancient church’ of Santa María in the *al-Rashāqa* or ‘elegant’ district:

This is a miracle performed by Holy Mary for her church  
in the *Arreixaca* of Murcia, when the Moors  
were intent on destroying it, but never managed...  
The ancient church, which, it is agreed, has  
Always been there, of the peerless Queen,  
In the *Arreixaca*, and they go there to pray,  
The Genoese, Pisans and others from Sicily<sup>160</sup>

The same *cantiga* described the church as ‘freshly-painted’ (*de novo pintadilla*)<sup>161</sup>, but also explicitly states and qualifies its antiquity. It hardly seems likely that a plot of the size necessary to house a church would have stood dormant for long in a Muslim-governed town, particularly at this tense time in which the greater part of Andalusī territory was swallowed up within five years (1243-8). It seems far more probable that it was a functioning church of pre-Andalusī origins attended by indigenous Christians – whom, it must be said, Alfonso’s other works were loath to mention elsewhere – but which was also frequented by Italian merchants and had recently been refurbished, much like the church of Sanlúcar de Mayor in 1214. The ancient church of Santa María

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*cette même région à l’époque almoravide. Leur faubourg s’appelait al-Rašāqa et Alphonse X signalera dans un de ses Cantigas qu’il y avait à Arreixaca (al-Rašāqa) une église ancienne, consacrée à Santa Maria, où l’on rendait un culte à une image de la Vierge, protectrice des Génois, des Pisans et des gens de Sicile qui venaient la prier*  
Fairly large numbers of Mozarabs subsisted in the kingdom of Murcia in 1243 when the Castilians established their protectorate there, which allows us to attest their presence in the same region in the Almoravid period. Their district was called *al-Rashāqa* and Alfonso X indicated in one of his *Cantigas* that there was an ancient church in *al-Rashāqa* consecrated to Santa María, where an image of the Virgin was revered, protector of the Genoese, Pisans and the people of Sicily who came to pray there

(‘Communautés mozarabes et pouvoir almoravide’, 103). Burman references Lagardère and Dufourcq in this matter (*Religious Polemic*, 21). See also: Dufourcq, ‘Le Christianisme dans le pays de l’Occident musulman des alentours de l’an mille jusqu’aux temps almohades’ in *Études de civilisation médiévale (IX<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècles): mélanges offerts à Edmond-René Labande* (Poitiers: Centre d’études supérieures de civilisation médiévale, 1974), 240; García Soriano, Justo, *Vocabulario del dialecto murciano* (Madrid: Bermejo, 1932), xxvi-xxxiii; Moxó, Salvador de, *Repoblación y sociedad en la España cristiana medieval* (Madrid: Ediciones Rialp, 1979), 372-3; Torres Fontes, Juan, ‘El poblamiento murciano en el siglo XIII’, *Murgetana* 19 (1962), 90, 94.

<sup>160</sup> *Cantiga* 169.1-3... 13-6:

*Esta é dun miragre que fezo Santa Maria por hũa sa eigreja  
que é ena Arreixaca de Murça, de como foron mouros  
acordados de a destruir e nunca o acabaron...  
Dũa eigrej’ antiga, de que sempr’ acordar  
S’ yan, que ali fora da Reña sen par  
Dentro na Arreixaca, e yan y orar  
Genoeses, pisãos e outros de Cezilla.*

(*Cantigas de Santa María* edited in two volumes by Walter Mettmann (Coimbra: Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra, 1961), II.174). See also: Lagardère, ‘Communautés mozarabes’, 103. On the *Cantigas* as biography or autobiography of Alfonso X, see: O’Callaghan, *Alfonso X and the Cantigas de Santa Maria: A Poetic Biography* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 1-13.

<sup>161</sup> *Cantiga* 169.46, *Cantigas de Santa María*, II.1745.



survived because Andalusī Muslims were not consumed with the urge to pursue the Christian *dhimmi*, who were ignored while they respected Islam.

### Seville, 1248: *ḥisba* literature on Almoravid control of Christian population

Almoravid Seville possessed a notable Christian community which would remain *in situ* until reconquest ended the city's tenure as the Almohad capital despite the incidents alluded to above. Ibn 'Abdūn indicates that early twelfth-century Seville, like Granada, was home to a number of churches, and that though the Christians were subject to Muslim opprobrium, they clearly enjoyed a great deal of liberty and vitality. Ibn 'Abdūn's *ḥisba*<sup>162</sup> manual called for a stronger enforcement of the *dhimma*'s distinction between Muslim and non-Muslim, and in doing so, groups the Christian with all that was potentially polluting:

The clothing of the sick, the Jew, and the Christian must not be sold, unless it be known as such, likewise that of the debauched<sup>163</sup>

He also calls for stricter regulation of Christian-Muslim interaction and a ban on church bells:

Muslim women must be stopped from entering those abominable churches, for the priests are immoral, fornicators, and pederasts. Christian women must be prevented from entering church except on special or festival days, for they eat and drink and fornicate with the priests – there is not a single one among the clergy who does not have

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<sup>162</sup> *Ḥisba* (حسبة): literally meaning 'verification', it is the name given to the doctrine of order which commands observance of *sharī'a*, and to *ḥisbat al-sūq*, the genre of practical literature concerned with the proper supervision of trade in the marketplace.

<sup>163</sup> Ibn 'Abdūn:

يجب أن لا يباع ثوب لمريض، ولا ليهودي، ولا لنصراني، إلا أن يعرف به، ولا لخلع أيضاً

(*Thalāth rasā'il*, 50). Juridical opinion, by its nature, was not uniform. Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Qabbāb (died 1310) judged it permissible to wear such clothing even though it is believed to be processed in some way with forbidden pig fat:

سئل الفقيه الحافظ سيدي ابو العباس أحمد القباب عن حكم الصلاة بالملف الذي نسجه النصارى  
قبل غسله، وذلك انه قيل انهم يجعلون فيه شحم الخنزير، وبعد الغسل لما يبقى فيه من الرطوبة  
الناشئة عن الشحم، والماء لا يزيلها

The *faqīh* al-Ḥāfiẓ Saīdī asked Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Qabbāb whether it is forbidden to wear clothes of fabric woven by *naṣārā* Christians before it is washed, for it is said that they put it in pig fat...

He said: 'One may wear them after washing them with a lot of water'

(al-Wansharīsī, *al-Mi'yār*, I.3). See also: Lagardère, *Histoire et société*, 45.

two or more women with whom he sleeps... It is necessary to silence the striking of church bells in the land of Islam; they are struck in the land of the unbelievers<sup>164</sup>

Ibn ‘Abdūn reveals that the Christians of Seville were still engaging in serious study and practical science to the extent that – he feels – it posed a threat to Muslim science. Though they have not been mentioned since Ibn Juljul in the late tenth century, Andalusī Christians continued to be, or perhaps were again, physicians with some prestige in Almoravid society. Ibn ‘Abdūn calls for a ban on the selling of learned books to Jews and Christians ‘except those that concern their own laws’ on the grounds that

they will translate them and attribute them to their people and their bishops, though they are the work of Muslims. It is best that no Jewish or Christian [*naṣrānī*] doctor be allowed to give treatment to Muslims, for they do not act in good faith towards the Muslim, they only seek to heal the people of their own faith. How can one entrust one’s life to one who cares not for a Muslim’s well-being?<sup>165</sup>

Another *ḥisba* manual, the *Risāla* or *Letter* of Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf – of whom nothing is known and on whose date there is no consensus, a significant number assign him to the twelfth century, though the majority assigns him to the tenth<sup>166</sup> – issues similar warnings about the threat of a Christian majority for the

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<sup>164</sup> Ibn ‘Abdūn:

يجب أن يمنع النساء المسلمات دخول الكنائس المشنوعة؛ فإنّ القسيسين فسقة زناة لوطة. يجب أن تمنع الإفرنجيات من الدخول في الكنيسة، إلا في يوم فضل أو عيد؛ فإنهنّ يأكلن ويشربن ويزنين مع القسيسين، وما منهم واحد إلا وعنده منهن اثنتان أو أكثر، يبيت معهن... يجب أن يقطع بلاد الإسلام ضرب النوقيس؛ وإنما تضرب في بلاد الكفر

(*Thalāth rasā’il*, 48-9... 55). This would appear to be a reference to the widespread practice of Catholic clergy keeping mistresses or even wives despite their vow of celibacy and the Gregorian reform of the eleventh century. See: Otis-Cour, L., *Historia de la pareja en la edad media: placer y amor* (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 2000), 43-4. An interesting point to note is that Ibn ‘Abdūn appears to use the standard term *al-naṣārā* interchangeably with *al-Franj* – the French – which normally denotes outsiders only, and denoted crusaders in the East. This may be because of his own clear antipathy to the Christians, or because of a more general hardening of attitudes in a time when relations between Christian North and Muslim South were becoming increasingly strained. On this last note, the evolution of the Christians’ position in al-Andalus after the end of the *taifas*, see: Valencia, R., *Sevilla musulmana hasta la caída del califato: contribución a su estudio* (Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1988), 759-79, 787-8.

<sup>165</sup> Ibn ‘Abdūn:

يجب أن لا يباع من اليهود، ومن النصارى، كتاب علم، إلا ما كان من شريعهم؛ فإنهم يترجمون كتب العلوم، وينسبونها إلى أهلهم وأساقفتهم، وهي من تواليف المسلمين؛ وكان الحسن أن لا يترك طبيباً يهودياً، أو نصرانياً، أن يجلس ليطلب المسلمين: فإنهم لا يرون نصيحة مسلم، إلا أن يطيّبوا أهل ملتهم، ومن لا يرى نصيحة مسلم، كيف يوثق على المهج؟

(*Thalāth rasā’il*, 57).

<sup>166</sup> Opinion ranges from the mid-ninth to early twelfth century. Ibn ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf cites ninth-century authorities – ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Ḥabīb (died 853) Muṭarrif ibn ‘Abd Allāh (died 835) and Ibn al-Majishūn (died 818) (Ibn ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf, *Risāla*, edited by Lévi-Provençal in *Trois traités*, 94) – and J.D. Latham

blurring of Muslim-Christian boundaries. Ibn ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf is concerned with enforcing observance of Islam’s alimentary proscriptions, condemning the buying of meat and wine from Christians:

It is forbidden for Muslims to undertake to buy meat from the butchers of the *ahl al-dhimma*... Ibn Ḥabīb said ‘There is no problem with them having their own butchers but they are forbidden from selling to Muslims... And if a Muslim buys wine from a Christian [*naṣrānī*], any wine that is found in his possession shall be taken and disposed of<sup>167</sup>

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accordingly puts him ‘not earlier than the second half of the ninth century’ (‘Ibn ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf on the Law of Marriage: A Matter of Interpretation’, *The Islamic Quarterly* 25.1, (1970), 3). The majority of commentators dates Ibn ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf to the tenth century. Chalmeta proved this for some with recourse to Ibn ‘Idhārī’s *Bayān al-mughrib* though the text he presents as a quote cannot be reconciled with the Arabic text of the edition he cites. Chalmeta writes:

*El primero del mes de ḡumādā al-awal del año 319/ 931, Aḡmad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf pasó de zalmedina a visir...*

On the first of *Jumāda al-awal* in the year 319/ 931, Aḡmad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf moved from [the office of] senior magistrate to that of *wazīr*...

(*El « señor del zoco » en España: edades media y moderna* (Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura 1973), 382). The Ibn ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf named by Ibn ‘Idhārī does not bear the same *nasab* (نسب) or patronymic lineage, nor does the passage strictly match:

وفيهما، عزل أحمد بن عبد الوهاب بن عبد الرؤوف عن المدينة، وقدم إلى الوزارة

And in [this year, i.e.: 319/ 931] Aḡmad ibn ‘Abd Wahhāb ibn ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf was removed from the city, and appointed to the ministry

(Ibn ‘Idhārī, *Bayān al-mughrib*, II.205). Chalmeta is seconded, though not all cite him, by Olivia Remie Constable, Alejandro García Sanjuán, Jean-Pierre van Staëvel, Göran Larsson, Claudia Kicking, James T. Monroe, Maya Shatzmiller. François Clément hedges his bets between the eleventh and twelfth century. David Abulafia, Charles Melville and Ahmad Ubaydli, Mahmoud Makki, and John Tolan prefer a twelfth-century *florilegium*. See: Constable, Olivia Remie, *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain: The commercial realignment of the Iberian Peninsula* (Cambridge: CUP, 1994), 64; *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World: Lodging, Trade, and Travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: CUP, 2003), 98; García Sanjuán, Alejandro, *Till God Inherits the Earth*, 16; Staëvel, Jean-Pierre van, ‘Les fondements de l’ordre urbain dans le monde arabe médiévale: réflexions a propos de Cordoue au XI<sup>e</sup> s.’, *Géocarrefour* 77.3 (2002), 229; Larsson, *Ibn García’s Shu’ūbiyya Letter*, 80; Kicking, Claudia, ‘The Significance of Customary Law in the Traditional Urban Market: A Contribution on the Administration of Justice in the Pre-Modern Arab World’ in *Shattering Tradition: Custom, Law and the Individual in the Muslim Mediterranean* edited by Walter Dostal and Wolfgang Kraus (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005), 65; Monroe, ‘Improvised Invective in Hispano-Arabic Poetry and Ibn Quzman’s “Zajal 87” (When Blond Meets Blonde)’ in *Voicing the Moment: Improvised Oral Poetry and Basque Tradition* edited by Samuel G. Armistead and Joseba Zulaika (Reno: University of Nevada Centre for Basque Studies, 2005), 138; Shatzmiller, Maya, *Labour in the Medieval Islamic World* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 72; Clément, François, ‘Catégories socioprofessionnelles et métiers urbains dans l’Espagne musulmane’ in *Regards sur al-Andalus (VIII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)* edited by François Géal (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2006), 99; Abulafia, David, ‘*Nam Iudei servi regis sunt, et semper fisco regio deputati*’: the Jews in the municipal fuero of Teruel (1176-7)’ in *Jews, Muslims, and Christians In and Around the Crown of Aragón: Essays in Honour of Professor Elena Lourie* edited by Harvey J. Hames (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 120; Melville and Ubaydli, *Christians and Moors in Spain III*, 110-1; Makki, ‘The political history of al-Andalus’, 85; Tolan, ‘L’infériorité sociale des minorités religieuses’, 60.

<sup>167</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf:

وينهى المسلمون أن يتعمدوا شراء اللحم من مجازر أهل ذمة... قال ابن حبيب: ولا بأس أن تكون

لهم مجزرة على حدة وينهون عن البيع من المسلمين... وإذا اشترى مسلم من نصراني خمرًا كسر

من وجدت بيده منها

The *ḥisba* is a generic socio-economic document offering guidance on the management of the marketplace and there is debate whether one should expect it to reflect issues particular to the time and place of its application.<sup>168</sup> Ibn ‘Abdūn’s is a genre-bending text, however, and the wealth of incidental detail is enough to convince that he was writing in response to his society and its perceived contemporary problems. He thus calls for segregation and observation of *dhimma* norms because there is little or none in effect in Almoravid Seville.<sup>169</sup> Ibn ‘Abdūn is a valuable source for the continued permanence of this community, though Alejandro García Sanjuán argues that in his anti-Christian opinions one can see the mechanics of a persecution that would render it extinct in the twelfth century.<sup>170</sup> His numerous references to Christians indicate a large Christian population in Seville, though due to dating difficulties it is impossible to tell whether that would be pre- or post-Almoravid deportations.<sup>171</sup> The Christians of Seville also roused the ire of Hugh de Saint Victor (1096-1141). Echoing John of Gorze, Hugh reproaches Archbishop John of Seville for the compromise necessary to the *dhimmi* position:

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(*Risāla*, edited by Lévi-Provençal in *Trois traités*, 94-5). An English translation of this passage can be found in Melville, Charles and Ahmad Ubaydli, *Christians and Moors in Spain Volume III*, 112-5, reproduced by Mills and Taylor in *Colonial Latin America*, 32-3.

<sup>168</sup> There is some debate – because of the treatise’s generic form – as to whether the *Ḥisba* accurately reflects the milieu of early-twelfth century. Molénat writes:

*Il faut évidemment prendre garde à ce type de traité et se poser la question de savoir si ses prescriptions reflètent effectivement la situation de la ville au moment où il a été écrit, ou s’il ne répète, de manière routinière, des textes antérieurs*

One must of course be careful with this type of treaty and it poses the question of knowing if its prescriptions really reflect the situation of the town at the moment of its composition, or if it does not repeat earlier texts in a routine way

(Molénat, ‘La fin des chrétiens arabisés d’al-Andalus’, 290). Nevertheless, the virulence of the verbal abuse Ibn ‘Abdūn aims at the indigenous Christians would suggest that the *Ḥisba* does indeed reflect the reality of early twelfth-century Sevillian society as the lines were increasingly drawn between Muslims and the Christians whose faith inevitably associated them in the minds of the former with the northern aggressors of León and Castile. On *ḥisba* literature and the question of its historical value, see: Glick, ‘Muḥtasib and mustasaf: a case study of institutional diffusion’, *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 2 (1972), 67.

<sup>169</sup> Ibn ‘Abdūn’s work does not focus exclusively on the marketplace, its first half owes a debt to the medieval genre known as the Mirror for Princes which is concerned with the art of governance more generally. See: ESSID, Yassine, *A Critique of the Origins of Islamic Economic Thought* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), especially chapter two (62ff). García-Sanjuán writes:

In spite of its clearly moral and theoretical nature, Ibn ‘Abdūn’s treatise reveals clear connections to its historical context... there are three comments concerning the dhimmis which reveal the close connection between the author and his historical context

(‘Jews and Christians in Almoravid Seville’, 89... 96-7).

<sup>170</sup> García Sanjuán, ‘Declive y extinción de la minoría cristiana en la Sevilla andalusí (ss. XI-XII)’, *Historia, instituciones, documentos* 31 (2004), 269.

<sup>171</sup> Ibn ‘Abdūn’s *Ḥisba* was dated to the beginning of the twelfth century by Lévi-Provençal, which possibly puts it before the Almoravid-enforced deportations. See: Lévi-Provençal, ‘Un document sur la vie urbaine et les corps de métiers à Séville au début du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Le traité d’Ibn ‘Abdūn publié avec une introduction et un glossaire’, *Journal asiatique* 224 (1934), 177-299 and *Séville musulmane au début du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Le traité d’Ibn ‘Abdūn sur la vie urbaine et les corps de métiers* (Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 1947).

You say 'I know my conscience, no one can frighten me: the tongue does not make a Christian, but the conscience'... so how can you expect salvation if you do not make the profession of faith?<sup>172</sup>

### Almohad conquest of Seville

In January 1147 the Almohads took Seville<sup>173</sup>, thereby revealing a large population of Christians in that province, though it is unclear whether they were rural or still urban as in Ibn 'Abdūn's day a generation previous. According to the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*:

In the same year that the aforementioned victory at Córdoba was brought to bear by God, the people whom the masses call the Muzmoti [Almohads], came from Africa and crossed the Mediterranean sea, and having made an ingenious machine, they stormed Seville and occupied it, and other walled cities and towns both around Seville and far off, and they inhabited them; and they killed the towns' nobles, the Christians whom they called Mozarabs, and the Jews who had been there since ancient times, and they took their wives and homes and riches<sup>174</sup>

This is overstated rhetoric, for several disparate sources indicate the survival of a Christian community with a functional church hierarchy at Seville far beyond this point. On 4 June 1192, Celestine III issued a bull, possibly in response to ecclesiastic migration to Toledo, alluding to Christian communities at Seville and other places,

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<sup>172</sup> Hugh de Saint Victor:

*dicis: ego conscientiam meam novi. Nemo me terreat: Christianum non facit lingua, sed conscientia... quomodo ergo salutem habere putas, si confessionem non habes?*

(*Epistolae.III.Ad Iohannem Hispalensi archiepiscopum*, PL 176, col.1014). In closing, Hugh urges John reproachfully to be more demonstrative in his faith:

*erubescere, miserere, et confundere. Christianorum oculi in te sunt. De longe videris. Non potes latere. Error tuus te notum fecit. Non potes euadere confusionem, nisi ostendas confessionem*

blush, wretch, and feel shame. The eyes of the Christians are upon you. You are seen from afar. You cannot hide. Your error makes you known. You cannot escape confusion unless you show your confession of faith

(*Epistolae.III.Ad Iohannem Hispalensi archiepiscopum*, PL 176, col.1018).

<sup>173</sup> E.J. Brill's *First Encyclopaedia of Islam, Volume VII: S-TAIBA*, 236.

<sup>174</sup> *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*.II.109:

*Eodem vero anno quo supradicta victoria Cordubae a Deo facta est, gentes quas vulgo vocant Muzmotos, uenerunt ex Africa, et transierunt mare Mediterraneum, et facto magno ingenio, impetu bellando praeoccupaverunt Sibilliam, et alias Civitates munitas, et oppida in circuitu, et a longe, et habitaverunt in eis, et occiderunt nobiles eius, et Christianos quos vocabant Muzarabes, et Judaeos, qui ibi erant ex antiquis temporibus, et acceperunt sibi uxores eorum, et domos, et divitias*

(Maya Sánchez in *Chronica Hispana*, 247; *España sagrada XXI*, 398-9). It is interesting that the author of this work claims that the origin of Mozarab is Andalusī, that the Muslims applied it to the indigenous Christians, for there is no evidence for its use within Muslim territory at any point.



including as seen above, Marrakech. He describes them as ‘strong and firm in our faith and in the sacraments of the Church’ but suspects that they may need guidance.

The Christians of Seville’s environs are attested within a generation of Fernando III’s conquest in 1248 by an inscription dated 1214 in the church of Sanlúcar la Mayor, ten miles southwest of Seville:

Christ lives, Christ conquers, Christ commands  
 May all evil flee far from this sign of the Cross  
 Tomé completed work on this church in Era 1252<sup>175</sup>

The Christians of Seville and its environs were, like their grenadine brethren, numerous enough to survive Almoravid deportations and Almohad attack. Those who had been deported must have been punished thus for infringement of the *dhimma*, for while Ibn Ward’s *fatwā* of the same year claims their conversion and massacre in the wake of 1126<sup>176</sup>, the inscription of Sanlúcar shows that the Christians of Seville province were not uniformly or routinely abused by the North Africa dynasties. They were allowed to build a new church even in a firmly established atmosphere of religious conflict under one of the last Almohad caliphs, the young Abū Ya‘qūb Yūsuf II (1213-24), who succeeded his father the year following the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa where Almohad power was dealt a crushing blow by the united Christian front of Alfonso VIII of Castile, Sancho VII of Navarra, Pedro II of Aragón and Afonso II of Portugal, and the subsequent loss of most of the Almohads’ peninsular territory.

<sup>175</sup> The inscription is a 50-50 mixture of Latin and Castilian, which does suggest, along with the fact that it is carved in Latin characters and the patent martial imagery of the first line, that it may be a post-conquest work; nevertheless, it seems unlikely that the Castilian-Leonese would wish to falsify the content:

*XPS VIVIT XPS VINCIT XPS INPERAT  
 PER CRVCIS HOC SIGNVM FVGIAT PRO[cul omn]E MALIGNVM  
 EN ERA DE MCCLII TOME ACABO DE LABRAR ESTA EGLESIA*

(Flórez, *España sagrada IX*, 121; Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, 779). This inscription single-handedly quashes Ramírez del Río’s assertion that the Almohads finished off indigenous Christianity in Seville (‘Los mozárabes en Sevilla’, 99).

<sup>176</sup> Al-Wansharīsī records Ibn Ward’s judgement and the authorities taking a firm stance towards the Sevillian Christian community:

وكذلك ورد علينا كتاب ابنا أبى بكر اعزه الله بتقواه مضمنا أن قوماً من النصارى المعاهدين  
 اسلموا في اشبيلية حرسها الله وأن جماعة يسيرة من النصارى المتقدم ذكرهم فروا إلى بلاد العدو  
 دمرهم الله فتبعتهم الخيل من هناك، فهلك بعضهم وسبق البعض إلى اشبيلية وسجنوا بها

a letter has come to us from our brother Abū Bakr – may God grant him strength – which tells us that the Christians of the pact [*naṣārā al-mu‘āhidīn*] in Seville – may God preserve her – have become Muslim, and that a small group of the aforesaid Christians fled to the land of the enemy – may God destroy them – they were pursued there by our horsemen and some of them were killed, the rest brought back to Seville and imprisoned there

(*al-Mi‘yār*.VIII.56).



## ***Gharb al-Andalus: the Church of the Crow***

The Church of the Crow is famous from al-Idrīsī's *Nuzhat al-mushtāq*, completed in 1154 for Roger II of whose Sicilian court he was official royal geographer from 1145, but lesser-known reports among the Arabic sources allow us to trace its survival beyond the Algarve's conquest in 1249-50 by Afonso III of Portugal (1248-79).<sup>177</sup> Al-Idrīsī's account is generally accepted without comment; those that follow are assumed to be fantasy or taken from him, though the minor details differ.<sup>178</sup> The crows have identified the church with St Vincent<sup>179</sup> and it has been located on the modern Cabo do São Vicente though this does not fit al-Idrīsī's directions.<sup>180</sup> The church, he says, was a thriving ancient foundation:

This church has not changed at all from the time of the *rūm* to today. It is wealthy, [for] donations are made to it: noble-minded Christians [*rūm*] visit making offerings. It is on a headland pointing into the sea, and upon the church's spire are ten crows, and no one knows of them leaving nor has anyone witnessed it... the church is served by priests and monks and has accumulated wealth and power, and is enriched by very many donations from the lands of the East which are spent on the church itself and its servants, and the crowd of people connected to it are generous to it, as well as those visitors who receive hospitality, great or small<sup>181</sup>

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<sup>177</sup> See: *Other Routes: 1500 Years of African and Asian Travel Writing* edited by Tabish Khair, Martin Leer, Justin D. Edwards, Hanna Ziadeh and Amitav Ghosh (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), 85. See also: Ahmad, S. Maqbul, 'Cartography of al-Sharīf al-Idrīsī' in *The History of Cartography Volume 2 Book 1: Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies* edited by J.B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 156-74; Picard, Charles, 'Les mozarabes de l'Occident ibérique' (VIII<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècles), *Revue des études islamiques*, 51 (1983), 77-88. For the date of completion see also Dozy and Goeje's *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne* (Amsterdam: Oriental Press, 1969), iv. On the *Tabula Rogeriana* see: *Cartography and Art* edited by William Cartwright, Georg Gartner and Antje Lehn (Heidelberg: Springer-Verlag, 2009), 160-1; *Medieval Islamic Civilization: An Encyclopedia*, 379; *Medieval Science, Technology, and Medicine: An Encyclopedia*, 261; Thrower, Norman Joseph William, *Maps and Civilization: Cartography in Culture and Society* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 48.

<sup>178</sup> Aillet references al-Idrīsī, but none of the later geographers; Giles Constable suggests al-Idrīsī as a source; Abū al-Fidā's translator, Mac Guckin de Slane, rejects reports of the Church of the Crow as material for collections on wondrous things (*recueils musulmans de choses singulières*). See: Aillet, *Les « Mozarabes »*, 68; Constable, Giles 'The Crow of St Vincent: on the Continuity of a Hagiographical Motif' in *Institution und Charisma* edited by Franz J. Felten, Annette Kehnel and Stefan Weinfurter (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2009), 323n20; *Kitāb taqwīm al-buldān* edited by M. Renaud and Mac Guckin de Slane under the title *Géographie d'Aboulféda* (Baghdad: Maktabat al-Muthannā, c.1963), 241n2.

<sup>179</sup> On the legend of St Vincent and the connection with crows, see: Constable, 'The Crow of St Vincent', 319-23.

<sup>180</sup> Al-Idrīsī locates the church only very vaguely:

من شلب... إلى كنيسة الغراب ٧ اميال... ومن كنيسة الغراب إلى القصر مرحلتان

The Church of Crows is seven miles from Silves... and two days' journey from al-Qaṣr [Alcácer do Sal]

(*Nuzhat al-mushtāq*, 544). For identification with Cabo do São Vicente, see: Lagardère, 'Appropriation des terres, maîtrise des eaux et paysages agraires dans le district (*iqḷīm*) de Silves (X<sup>e</sup>-XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)' in *La maîtrise de l'eau en al-Andalus: paysages, pratiques et techniques* edited by Patrice Cressier (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2006), 90.

<sup>181</sup> Al-Idrīsī:

Al-Idrīsī's older contemporary the traveller-geographer Abū Ḥāmid-al-Andalusī, also known as al-Gharnāṭī and al-Qaīsī (c.1080-1170), cited here by the geographer Ibn al-Wardī (1292-1349), presents a model of so-called *convivencia*, a church-mosque complex:

Abū Ḥāmid-al-Andalusī said that on this peninsula is a cliff above the shore of the dark sea. Hollowed from the rock on the cliff is a magnificent dome, and upon this dome a crow stands watch and never withdraws. Opposite this is a mosque which the Muslims visit. They say that the prayer made there is heard and granted. It is the duty of the people of this church to receive those who visit that mosque as guests, those Muslims even, whenever they visit the mosque, to show them the crow in the church's spire, and to cry out the number of those Muslims who visit this mosque – 'One' if it was one, 'Two' if they were two, or 'Ten' if they were ten, without making any exception. So the church's people grant hospitality to [those who visit] whatever their number, they are never too many nor too few. And the priests say they always see that crow, though they never found out where he eats or drinks. This church is known as the Church of the Crow<sup>182</sup>

In 1173 Afonso I had Vincent's relics moved to the monastery of São Vicente de Fora in Lisbon, accompanied, according to legend, by two crows which were then incorporated into the emblem of Lisbon – two crows facing each other from opposite

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وهذه الكنيسة من عهد الروم إلى اليوم لم تتغير عن حالها ولها اموال يتصدق بها عليها وكرامات يحملها الروم الواردون عليها وهي في قرطيل خارج في البحر وعلى راس الكنيسة عشرة اغربة لا يعرف أحد فقدها ولا عهد زوالها... والكنيسة في ذاتها كنيسة عامرة بالقسيسين والرهبان وبها اموال مدخرة واحوال واسعة واكثر هذه الاموال محبسة عليها في اقطار الغرب وبلاده وينفق منها على الكنيسة وخدامها وجميع من يلون بها مع ما يكرم به الاضياف الواردون على الكنيسة المذكورة قلوا او كثروا

(*Nuzhat al-mushtāq*, 544).

<sup>182</sup> Ibn al-Wardī:

جزيرة الكنيسة: ذكر أبو حامد الأندلسي أن بهذه الجزيرة جبلاً على شاطئ البحر الأسود عليه منقورة في الصخر، في الجبل وعليها قبة عظيمة وعلى تلك القبة طائر غراب، يطير ويحيط ولا يزال عليها. ومقابل القبة مسجد يزوره المسلمون ويقولون إن الدعاء فيه مستجاب. وقد شرط على أهل تلك الكنيسة ضيافة من يزور ذلك المسجد من المسلمين. فإذا قدم زائر للمسجد أدخل الغراب رأسه إلى داخل الكنيسة وصاح صيحات بعدد الزوار، إن كان واحداً فواحدة، أو اثنين فاثنتين، أو عشرة فعشرة، لا يخطئ أبداً. فينزل أهل تلك الكنيسة بالضيافة إليهم على عدتهم لا يزيدون ولا ينقصون. وذكر القسيسون أنهم ما زالوا يرون ذلك الغراب ولا يدرون من أين

مأكله ومشربه؟ وتعرف تلك الكنيسة بكنيسة الغراب

(*Kharīdat al-'ajā'ib wa farīdat al-gharā'ib* edited by Anwar Maḥmūd Zanātī (Cairo: Maktabat al-Thaqāfat al-Dīniya, 2008), 239-40; passage reproduced with a great number of errors by Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, 814).

ends of a ship.<sup>183</sup> It is possible that the church continued to be in service, *sans* relics, into the mid-late thirteenth century, for Abū al-Fidā' (1273-1331) cites renowned geographer-historian 'Alī bin Mūsā bin Sa'īd al-Maghribī (1213-86) on the subject, and there is no mention of either its dereliction or destruction in the admittedly vague reference:

Ibn Sa'īd spoke of an important building in the sixth region above the surrounding sea:  
the famous Church of the Crow of the coastal people<sup>184</sup>

These Muslim reports undeniably have an air of the legendary about them and perhaps cannot be taken as objectively true, but reflect an enduring association of Christianity with the location.

### The swift end of Almohad control

The Almohads' grip on al-Andalus did not last much longer than a half century, and slipped following their defeat at the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa on 16 July 1212 – a pivotal event in Muslim Andalusī history known thereafter as *al-'Iqāb*, (العقاب) 'the punishment'.<sup>185</sup> After this humiliating defeat the Almohads quickly dwindled, and nearly all of what remained of Muslim peninsular territory was lost as the Christians

<sup>183</sup> Flórez, *España sagrada VIII: de las iglesias que fueron sufraganeas de Toledo, Palencia, Setabi, Segovia, Segobriga, Segoncia, Valencia, Valeria y Urci, segun su estado antiguo* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Madrid: Imprenta de José Rodriguez, 1860), 188-9; Marques, José, 'Os Santos dos Caminhos Portugueses', *Revista da Faculdade de Letras: Historia series III.7* (2006), 251; Mexia de Matos Caeiro, Baltazar, *Os conventos de Lisboa* (Sacavém: Distri Editora, 1989), 133.

<sup>184</sup> Abū al-Fidā':

قال ابن سعيد واول عمارة في الاقليم السادس على البحر المحيط كنيسة الغراب المشهورة عند  
أهل البحر

(*Kitāb taqwīm al-buldān* edited by M Renaud and Mac Guckin de Slane under the title *Géographie d'Aboulféda* (Baghdad: Maktabat al-Muthannā, c.1963), 169).

<sup>185</sup> Ibn Abī Zar':

وكانت هذه الكاينة المليمة والرزية العظيمة يوم الإثنين خامس عشر من صفر وهي سنة تسع  
وست مائة فذهبت قوّة المسلمين بالأندلس من تلك الهزيمة ولم تنصر لهم راية بها

This great calamity occurred in this blameworthy place on Monday 15 *Ṣafar* 609. The Muslims' power in al-Andalus went into decline from that rout, and their banners won no more victories

(*Rawḍ al-qirṭas*, I. 159). Abī Zar' reiterates the shock of this encounter later on in the work, using the term *waqa'a* (وقعة) to designate the event, which ranges in meaning – 'fall, drop, blow, shock, incident, battle' – all of which convey the impact upon Muslim peninsular power:

وقعة العقاب التي كانت في سنة تسع وست مائة

the shocking battle of *al-'Iqāb* was in the year 609

(*Rawḍ al-qirṭas*, 199).

pushed southward, seizing one important city after another in quick succession, notably Fernando III *el Santo*'s victories at Úbeda in 1233<sup>186</sup>, Córdoba in 1236<sup>187</sup>, Murcia in 1243 (with his son and successor Alfonso X)<sup>188</sup>, Jaén in 1246<sup>189</sup>, Seville in 1248<sup>190</sup>. From 1232, Muslim power remained only in scattered pockets of new *taifas*, and from 1248 only the hands of the Naṣrid dynasty, who made Granada their seat of power in the 'red fortress' of the Alhambra or *qal'at al-Ḥamrā'* (قلعة الحمراء).<sup>191</sup>

The two great Spanish works dedicated to the Christians of al-Andalus came to conflicting conclusions regarding their ultimate survival. Simonet made great claims for them enduring in Granada to 1492<sup>192</sup>; Isidro de las Cagigas, by contrast, took his study *Los mozárabes* no further than 1086. Neither did much to substantiate their assertions. Simonet based his claims not on any Andalusī or North African source, but on the seventeenth-century chronicle of Francisco Bermúdez de Pedraza, the *Historia*

<sup>186</sup> The *Estoria de España* confuses the dating, simultaneously placing it in the second year of Fernando III's rule of León (i.e.: 1232-3) and in 1235:

*Esto pasado, al segundo anno que el rey don Fernando fue apoderado en el reyno de Leon, fue çercar Hubeda... Et ganada la uilla de Vbeda et puesta en recabdo*

(*Estoria de España*.1045 (f<sup>o</sup> 328), Menéndez Pidal, *Primera crónica general*, II.729a).

<sup>187</sup> *Estoria de España*.1046 (f<sup>o</sup> 328):

*Este rrey don Fernando, desde priso a Vbeda dos annos depues de la muerte de su padre don Alfonso rey de Leon, fue muy apoderado et echose sobre Cordoua et cercola; et fue en la era de mill et dozientos et setenta et quatro annos, et andaua el anno de la Encarnacion del Sennor en mill et dozientos et treynta et seys annos*

After the capture of Úbeda two years after the death of his father, King Alfonso of León, King Don Fernando was very powerful and went to Córdoba and encircled it, and it was in the Era 1274, the year 1236 of the Incarnation of Our Lord

(Menéndez Pidal, *Primera crónica general*, II.729b).

<sup>188</sup> O'Callaghan, *Alfonso X and the Cantigas de Santa Maria*, 61, 121. The surrender of Murcia is recorded by the *Estoria de España*, but no date is offered:

*los moros entregaron el alcaçar de Murçia al infante don Alfonso, et apoderaronle en todo el sennorio*

the Moors delivered the Alcazar of Murcia to Prince Alfonso [later X, *el sabio*] and gave him control over all the region

(*Estoria de España*.1060 (f<sup>o</sup> 336v), Menéndez Pidal, *Primera crónica general*, II.742a).

<sup>189</sup> *Estoria de España*.1069 (f<sup>o</sup> 339v), Menéndez Pidal, *Primera crónica general*, II.745b-746a.

<sup>190</sup> *Estoria de España*.1123 (f<sup>o</sup> 354v):

*En la era que desuso es dicha de mill et dozientos et ochenta et seys, quando andaua el anno de la Encarnacion del Sennor en mill et dozientos et quarenta et ocho annos, pues que los moros vieron que ninguna otra cosa no podian*

In Era – which is in disuse – called 1286, which was 1248 of the Incarnation of the Lord, the Moors saw that there was nothing else they could do

(Menéndez Pidal, *Primera crónica general*, II.766b-766a).

<sup>191</sup> For an overview of the Nasrids, see: Abulafia, David, 'The Nasrid Kingdom of Granada' in *The New Cambridge Medieval History V: c.1198-c.1300* edited by Abulafia (Cambridge: CUP, 1999), 636-43.

<sup>192</sup> Simonet:

*Ello es cierto que, de ésta ó de la otra procedencia, nunca faltó en la ciudad de Granada y en otras de su reino gente Cristiana*

It is certain that the city of Granada and other cities in its province never lacked for Christians, of this or any other origin

(*Historia de los mozárabes*, 791). Simonet thus allows that the Christians one would have found in the Naṣrid kingdom of Granada might not have been of indigenous grenadine stock, though he passes over the point with no other comment.

*eclesiástica de Granada*, wherein the author identifies a Christian district in the barrio del Mauror.<sup>193</sup> No date is offered and Simonet openly bases his judgement on assumption, writing that ‘it is to be supposed’ that at least some of the Christians in Naşrid Granada were indigenous.<sup>194</sup> There is, however, one potential notice of indigenous Christians in Granada province, in the fifteenth century. Ibn al-Khaţīb, it should not be forgotten, said explicitly that indigenous grenadine Christianity was still represented in his lifetime, the late fourteenth century.

### **Last potential sighting: Granada province, 1431**

Indigenous Christian presence may well be indicated for the early fifteenth century by legal documentation’s references to pig farming in Naşrid Granada<sup>195</sup>, which could only have been the business of Christians. According to López Ortíz, Muḥammad al-Anşārī al-Saraqusţī (1382-1461) blamed lost harvests on drought, excess rain, and the damage caused to sown land by birds and pigs, while Ibn Sirāj (died 1444) noted the importance of pig-farming in the region.<sup>196</sup>

The foremost scholar on the Naşrid sultanate, however, Rachel Arié, states that a Christian population was maintained in the district of Granada only by a continuous

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<sup>193</sup> Francisco Bermúdez de Pedraza:

*el Rey Alhama... edificó este Rey las torres Bermejas, por lomenos una de llas, que por ser mas principal esta oy en pie encima del barrio del Maurō. Siruieronle de cimientos las ruinas de otra fortaleza antigua, que los primeros Reyes Moros de Granada hizieron en aquel sitio, para sujetar el barrio de los Christianos, que estaua inferior, como arriba dixen*

King al-Hama [Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ‘Boabdil’ XII]... built the towers called Bermejas, or at least one of them, which stands above the barrio del Mauror. Its foundations come from the ruins of another ancient fortress built on that site by the first Muslim kings of Granada, to hold the district of the Christians, which was inferior, as I have said before

(*Historia eclesiástica, principios, y progresos de la ciudad y religión católica de Granada* (Granada: Imprenta Real, 1639) facsimile reprint with prologue by Ignacio Henares Cuellar (Granada: Universidad de Granada Editorial Don Quijote, 1989), III.xviii, fº 116-7; Arié, ‘Algunas reflexiones sobre el reino naşri de Granada en el siglo XV’, *Boletín de la Asociación Española de Orientalistas* 21 (1985), 169, reproduced in the collection *Études sur la civilisation de l’Espagne musulmane* (Leiden: Brill, ), 46.

<sup>194</sup> Simonet writes:

*Es de presumir que todos estos cristianos no fuesen cautivos, sino en parte restos de los antiguos mozárabes y en parte refugiados y mercaderes que pasaban allí de toda le España cristiana*

It is to be presumed that not all these Christians were prisoners, but in part the remnants of the ancient Mozarabs and in part refugees and merchants that went there from all over Christian Spain

(*Historia de los mozárabes*, 791).

<sup>195</sup> Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l’Espagne musulmane*, III.286.

<sup>196</sup> López Ortíz, J., ‘Fatwās granadinas de los siglos XIV y XV’, *Al-Andalus* 6 (1941), 73-127.



stream of captives from cross-border raids, by rustics and merchants who saw opportunity in the major cities of late-period al-Andalus:

Christian presence was maintained for more than two and a half centuries in the kingdom of Granada through numerous captives from raids by land and sea or even taken from the field of battle. In the course of their incursions across the frontier, the grenadines captured humble shepherds and hunters, gardeners, mule drivers, labourers surprised in their daily tasks<sup>197</sup>

It does not strike one that much of a presence could be maintained by such a motley crew. If these groups are more visible than the indigenous, might it not be because their presence – and that of others who increasingly set up temporary residence or passed through from the eleventh century on – is out of the ordinary and therefore noteworthy, while the indigenous Christians were entirely ordinary and of no interest unless involved in some remarkable incident – quite apart from the ideological issues discussed above? Arié muddies the water with her use of the term Mozarab, applying it to a thirteenth-century Valencia-born Bishop of Jaén, Pedro Pascual, whose three years he spent preaching in Arjona before being executed do not qualify him.<sup>198</sup>

Manuel Riu argues counter to Arié, asserting that what he calls ‘archaising names’ (*nombres arcaizantes*) in toponymy, and the apparent survival of old architectural styles, prove that the Alpujarras were still home to indigenous Christians in the fifteenth century.<sup>199</sup> These may be the very same attested in the text of a treaty recorded at Ardales on Sunday 16 September 1431 – what could be the latest sighting of Andalusī Christianity. This treaty was made between the Naşrid Sultan Muḥammad IX (1419-27, 1430-1, 1432-45, 1448-53 between oustings) and Diego Gómez, *adelantado*<sup>200</sup> of Juan II of Castile (1406-54), with whose help he recovered the throne

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<sup>197</sup> Rachel Arié:

*La présence chrétienne fut maintenue pendant plus de deux siècles et demi dans le royaume de Grenade par de nombreux captifs provenant de razzias sur terre ou sur mer ou bien ramenés du champ de bataille. Au cours de leurs incursions frontalières, les Grenadins capturaient d’humbles pasteurs et chasseurs, des jardiniers, des muletiers, des terrassiers, des laboureurs surpris dans leurs tâches quotidiennes*

(‘Les minorités religieuses dans le royaume de Grenade (1232-1249)’, *Revue du monde musulman et de la méditerranée* 63.1 (1992), 52); on toponymy see also 132-3. Arié reiterates this position in her book *L’Espagne musulmane au temps des Naşrides (1232-1492)* (Paris: Éditions E. de Boccard, 1973), 314-28, translated into Castilian by the author as *El reino nasrí de Granada (1232-1492)* (Madrid: MAPFRE, 1992), 133-45. See also: Rodríguez, Jarbel, *Captives and their Saviors in the Medieval Crown of Aragon* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2007).

<sup>198</sup> Arié, ‘Les minorités religieuses dans le royaume de Grenade (1232-1249)’, 52.

<sup>199</sup> Riu Riu, Manuel, ‘Poblados mozárabes de al-Andalus. Hipótesis para su estudio: el ejemplo del Busquístar’, *Cuadernos de estudios medievales* 2-3 (1974-5), 20.

<sup>200</sup> *Adelantado* was a military title particular to the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries. In the Iberian Peninsula it signified a royally-appointed general with the right to play governor or justice of the regions he conquered. Gómez is described as *adelanto de la frontera*.



in 1432.<sup>201</sup> The Old Castilian copy of the text, which has not hitherto been considered in this connection, seems to make overt reference to a sector of grenadine society whose name is suggestive of indigenous Christians – *cristianos naturales* – who were sufficiently numerous to warrant having part of a treaty dedicated to their rights:

In the name of God the compassionate, may God's forgiveness have mercy on our lord and our elder Muḥammad. May [these] things be known to all those who are here now, or will be later: I, Abū Bhagis Yūsuf, emir of the Muslims, King of Granada Ibn al-Ra'īs Abū 'Ādil Muḥammad Ibn al-Mawd, complying with the many rewards and honours and much help that I found in you, my lord Don Juan King of Castile, Toledo, León, Galicia, Seville, Córdoba, Murcia, Jaén, the Algarve, Algeciras, lord of Vizcaya and Molina; I have granted a contract of vassalage and certain other things... We promise that we and those who shall come after us and inherit the aforementioned kingdom shall not consent that any Christian, native and subject of the kings of our dominion will be made to become a Moor in the aforesaid kingdom of Granada<sup>202</sup>

It would appear that the indigenous Andalusī Christians thus enjoy a renewal of their *dhimma*, albeit at the bidding of the Castilian authorities rather than the volition of the Andalusī. It could well be argued that, due to the myriad movements of peoples that had taken place by this date and the factors cited by Arié, these people are unlikely to be

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<sup>201</sup> The treaty offers the dates of its draft agreement and ratification:

*de lo qual todo nos el sobredicho rey D. Yuçaf Aben Almaul por nos é por los dichos nuestros herederos que despues de nos heredaren el dicho reyno, é yo el D. Diego Gomez, Adelantado por el dicho señor rey é en nombre suyo dos cartas en un tenor, la una es escripta en letra castellana é la otra en lengua árábica, fecha en Ardales, villa del dicho reyno de Granada, domingo 16 dias de septiembre, año del nasciminetto del nuestro señor Jesucristo de 1431 años... é firmolo de mi letra é séllolo con mi sello pendiente en filos de seda, fecho en el Alfambra de Granada 27 dias del mes de enero, año del nascimiento de 1432 años*

all of which we, the aforementioned King Yūsuf ibn al-Maul for us and for our heirs who will inherit the kingdom after us, and I, Lord Diego Gómez, governor of the aforementioned lord king and in his name [agreed] two identical charters, one written in Castilian letters, the other in the Arabic tongue, made in Ardales, a town of the aforesaid kingdom of Granada, Sunday 16 September, in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ 1431... and I signed and sealed my draft in the Alhambra of Granada 27 January in the year 1432

(Benavides, Antonio, *Memoria sobre la Guerra del Reino de Granada, y los tratos y conciertos que precedieron á las capitulaciones de la ciudad, leida en la Real Academia de la Historia en los dias 22 y 28 de marzo de 1845* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1845), 44-5). See also: Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, 792.

<sup>202</sup> The copy made in 1604 held by the archives of Simancas reads:

*En el nombre de Dios el piadose, apiádese la perdonanza de Dios sobre nuestro señor en nuestro mayor Mahomad. Conocida cossa sea á todos los que agora son ó serán de aqui adelante como yo Almir Almies Lemin Abubbagis Yuçaf rey de Granada Abenarraís Abaudile Mahomad Aben-Almaud acatando á las muchas Mercedes é honras é ayuda, que yo fallé en vos mi señor D. Juan rey de Castilla, de Toledo, de Leon, de Galicia, de Sevilla, de Cordova, de Murcia, de Jaen, del Algarve, de Algecira, señor de Vizcaya é de Molina, ove otorgado un contrato de vasallage é de otras cosas... Otrosi prometemos por nos é por los que despues de nos vinieron e heredaren el dicho reyno de no consentir que ningun cristiano natural é súbdito de los reynos de nuestros señoríos se tornado moro en dicho reyno de Granada*

(Benavides, 'Memoria sobre la Guerra del reino de Granada', 41-3).

descendants of southern Christians who had never left their native soil. It is impossible to know definitively, it is not even certain what is meant by the term *naturales*, but the emphatic assertion that they are both *cristianos naturales* and *cristianos subditos* indicates that they were native citizens of Andalusī territory viewed as *ahl al-dhimma*. Their very presence proves that Christians could live even under Naṣrid rule. The treaty of Granada's final surrender, dated 30 December 1491<sup>203</sup>, makes no such mention of native Christians, and there are no further sightings in the intervening 60 years. No great claims can be made for unseen Christians in the meantime, but nor should the possibility of their existence between sightings be dismissed *ex silentio*. Indigenous Christianity – whose monastic and ecclesiastic communities indicate a widespread survival and until the first half of the thirteenth century – effectively disappears from the Andalusī record after Ibn al-Khaṭīb, with but one (potential) further appearance. To what extent this is a reflection of their actual absence or a result of Muslim attention being held by other matters and by Castilian rewriting of history is a moot point – or should be, rather than ignored. Ximénez de Rada was part of a process of remoulding history as a pious narrative of Christian restoration which included the writing out of Andalusī Christians; his namesake Ximénez de Cisneros was responsible for destroying much of the legacy of the Andalusī Muslims, ordering the burning of Arabic books and manuscripts.

When Fernando and Isabel entered Granada on Friday 6 January 1492<sup>204</sup> their policy towards the Muslims was initially one of rapprochement, yet the Christianisation of Granada is inextricably associated with intolerance. In 1499, Cardinal Ximénez de Cisneros' election as Archbishop of Granada signalled a change of direction from predecessor Hernando de Talavera's conciliatory approach, towards confrontation and compulsion.<sup>205</sup> Cisneros sought to erase Islam and instigated a policy of forced conversion. His efforts to obliterate al-Andalus' Islamic legacy may very well have

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<sup>203</sup> The treaty is dated:

*Dado en nuestro Real de la Vega de Granada, a treinta dias de el mes de Diziembre, año del Nacimiento de nuestro Señor Iesu Christo de mil quatrocientos y nouenta y uno*

(Pedraza, *Historia eclesiástica*.III, xlix (f<sup>o</sup> 167-9)).

<sup>204</sup> Mariana, Juan de, *Historia general de España compuesta, enmendada, y añadida por el padre Juan de Mariana* edited by José Sabau y Blanco (Madrid: Imprenta de D. Leonardo Núñez de Vargas, 1819), XIII.112-7.

<sup>205</sup> Coleman, David, *Creating Christian Granada: Society and Religious Culture in an Old-World Frontier City, 1492-1600* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 83-4; Harvey, *Muslims in Spain, 1500-1614* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 28; Martínez Medina, Francisco Javier, 'Estudio preliminar' in *Vida de Fray Fernando de Talavera: primer arzobispo de Granada* edited by Félix G. Olmedo (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1992), xv-xvi. In recent years some have questioned Talavera's reputation of peace, love, and *convivencia*, and it has been suggested that he was complicit in his successor Cisneros' aggressive policy. See: Ladero Quesada, *Granada después de la conquista: repobladores y mudéjares* (Granada: Diputación Provincial de Granada, 1988), 342-3.

destroyed any testimony of Arabised Christianity among the Arabic works condemned to the fire in Granada, estimates of whose numbers from a few thousand to over one million.<sup>206</sup> Alvar Gómez de Castro, one of Cisneros' early biographers, reports 5,000, amongst which some medical works were saved due to their value.<sup>207</sup> These medical works could have been very few – 30 to 40, according to Canon of Sigüenza Juan Vallejo (died c.1547), who had served Cisneros as an apostolic notary, and was thus perhaps the earliest biographer.<sup>208</sup> If so little that was Arabic was allowed to survive, one must surely consider the possibility that much that was Christian was also lost in the conflagration.

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<sup>206</sup> Robles, Eugenio:

*Y entre otros fue, juntar todos quãtos Alcoranes de Mahoma pudo aver à las manos, y otros muchos libros tōcates á su secta, que pasaron de un cuento y cinco mil volumines, y quemarlos publicamente*

And among others, he gathered as many of Muḥammad's Qur'āns as he could get his hands on, and many other books relating to his sect, which came to a million, five thousand volumes, which he burned publicly

(*Compendio de la vida y hazañas del cardenal don fray Francisco Ximenez de Cisneros y del Oficio y Missa Muzarabe* (Toledo: Pedro Rodríguez, 1604), 104).

<sup>207</sup> Alvar Gómez de Castro:

*Ergo Alfaquinis ad omnia obsequia eo tempore exhibenda promptis, Alchoranos, id est suę superstitionis grauissimos libros, & omnes cuiuscunq; authoris, & generis essent Mahumetanę impietatis codices, facilè sine edicto, aut vi, vt in publicũ adducerẽtur impetrauit. Quinq; millia voluminum sunt ferme congregata, quae varijs vmbilicis, punica arte, & opere distincta, auro etiam, & argento exornata, non oculos modo, sed animos quoque spectantium rapiebant... Ignibus omnia, publica in pra, ad vnum exuri, præterquam aliquot ad rem medicam pertinentia, cuius gens illa, non sine magno profectu studiosissima semper fuit, quae propter saluberrimae artis dignitatẽ, ex incẽdio illo liberata, in Bibliotheca Cõplutensi nuc seruãtur*

Thus at that time the learned men had to show every compliance in public, the Qur'āns – that is: the most grave books of their superstition – and all the books of the Muhammadan impiety of whatever author and kind, easily and without either edict or force, so that he had them brought out in public. Five thousand volumes were gathered in the open, set apart by Punic skill and work, decorated in various gems, silver and even gold, snatching not only the eyes but the souls of those watching... They were all burned in public on a single pyre, except for some pertaining to medical matters – which subject had always been the most studious and not without great advances – which, for the sake of the dignity of that most salutary of arts, were saved from that fire, and are now preserved in the Biblioteca Complutense

(*De Rebus Gestis a Francisco Ximeno Cisnerio Archiepiscopo Toletano Libri Octi* (Alcalá: Andrea de Angulo, 1596), I.fº 30).

<sup>208</sup> Juan Vallejo:

*los libros de mediçina, que avía muchos y se hallaron, que éstos mandó que se quedasen; de los quales su señoría mandó traher bien XXX ó XL volúmines de libros, y están oy en día puestos en la librería de su insigne collegio é universidad de Alcalá*

[Cisneros] ordered that the books of medicine, of which many had been found, be left alone; his lordship ordered that some 30 to 40 volumes be looked after, and today they are held by the library of his distinguished college and university of Alcalá

(*Memorial de la vida de fray Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros* edited by Antonio de la Torre y del Cerro under the title *Memorial de la vida de fray Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros* (Madrid: Bailly-Bailliere, 1913), 35). Pedro de Aranda Quintanilla y Mendoza names Juan Vallejo as *Canonigo de Sigüenza*, and records a document bearing the signature of one *Iuan de Vallejo Apostolico Notario* (*Archivo Complutense in Archetypo de virtudes, espejo de prelados el venerable padre y siervo de Dios F Francisco Ximenez de Cisneros* (Palermo: Nicolas Bua, Impressor del Officio de la Inquisición, 1653), 46.

## Conclusion

The question of Andalusī Christianity has always been shaped by two things: the extreme limitations of the evidence, both external and, particularly that produced by the Christians themselves, and the consequent dominance of impassioned works of Eulogius and Paul Albar, and the potent ideological sentiment that they have inspired in successive generations of those who have studied them since their sixteenth-century rediscovery. To the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Hispanophone and Francophone scholars, Eulogius, Albar and the martyrs they defended were models of nationalist and/or Catholic steadfastness whose testimonies are unimpeachable; to the late twentieth century they are recognised as outsiders and unrepresentative voices for their time and place but remain a mine of socio-historical data, the difficulties and implications posed by their hagiographical nature largely ignored. To many the Andalusī Christians are a mere footnote to eight centuries of Islamic civilisation. The Hispanophone school produced exponents of each extreme, a century apart. Simonet espoused unbroken continuity for his nationalist heroes (*nuestros mozárabes*) though he could not prove it; Epalza dismissed them and was consequently obliged to invent the *neo-mozárabes* to counter evidence for a continued presence after his arbitrary tenth-century *terminus ad quem*.

The present study relied on data unavailable to Simonet to show that continuance is certain or very likely in many places across the peninsula. Like Simonet, much space has been devoted to Eulogius and his martyrs of Córdoba, but in an attempt to turn the focus away from these rather unreliable testimonies coloured by the rhetorical aims of hagiography, apologetic and polemic. The dating of Ḥafṣ al-Qūṭī is of fundamental importance to how one conceives the narrative of Christianity in al-Andalus. Re-analysing Eulogius and Albar's writings and affirming Ḥafṣ al-Qūṭī's dating to 989 does away with the pivotal point of profound Arabisation some see in

Albar's lament and leads us to reinterpret the ninth century not as a peak – whence Andalusī Christianity entered a relentless decline that led swiftly to obscurity and then to disappearance in the twelfth century – but as the threshold of a cultural peak period spanning the tenth and eleventh centuries during which Christians continued to copy and study Latin works while producing works of Arabic prose and verse of a quality far higher than anything written in Latin in the ninth century. That they did not match their ancestors in quantity has counted against them unduly. The Arabisation and Islamisation of Christian language is not *forcement* a sign of decline or corruption of Christianity. It gave Andalusī Christianity a vital lifeline through whose link to contemporary society the Church and the faith could ensure its survival.

The period of Berber dynastic rule can indeed be seen as the beginning of the decline, but persecution cannot be blamed for Christian numbers were henceforth continually undercut as al-Andalus itself shrank, the Christian conquests gathering momentum from the mid-eleventh century, and additionally by migration, voluntary or otherwise from the early twelfth. The decline of Andalusī Christianity in this period parallels that of al-Andalus itself; they disappeared at a local level as military conquest made Mozarabs of them. Where Christians received harsh treatment under the Almoravids, as in 1126, it was punishment for treason and the desecration of the *dhimma* that had allowed them a potentially great deal of autonomy – as can be seen in the complaints of Ibn ‘Abdūn.

The Almohads brought chaos to the southern peninsula by waging war on the Almoravids – even as the Christian principalities to the north had already taken possession of more than half the peninsula and were growing in strength, driving Andalusī Christians of the lay and ecclesiastical elites (and an unknowable proportion of the lower classes) to seek the stability and opportunity of the mixed society of Toledo and other Castilian-Leonese and Aragonese territories.

To lament the lack of Christian documentation from the Andalusī period has become a cliché and goes hand-in-hand with the indictment of the quality of the little that survives in relation to the literary canon produced by their eastern brethren. The lack of a Christian memory of al-Andalus is rarely if ever linked to the generally low but variable level of late Visigothic literacy, whose imprint can be seen in the epigraphic data discussed in Chapter IV and in the fractured Latin of some of the eighth-century works in volume one of Gil's *CSM*. Compared to the Christians of the Syrian Levant, who enjoyed an unbroken relationship with the learning of the Greek

classics, the Christians of al-Andalus did not inherit a tradition of literary aspiration in the same way that their Muslim and Jewish neighbours did. Aside from a clutch of verse from the latter ninth century and *taifa* poets of whose verse next to nothing survives – and nothing would without the Muslims’ interest in literature – the Visigoths and their heirs appear to have had no culture of secular art to speak of. Such a tradition would undoubtedly shed more, and perhaps a great deal of, light on the life of Christians in al-Andalus.

The consensus preference for early dating of Christians in al-Andalus – either for ideological reasons like those held by Epalza in particular, or responding to the temptation of neatly interconnecting the few figures known, as in the case of Ḥafṣ al-Qūṭī and Paul Albar – has resulted in an artificial front-loading of Andalusī Christian history and can only result in reinforcing the assumption of mass conversion (as seen in the reading of Bulliet’s statistical curve of conversion as proof of conversion *in toto* though it was not). Many forget to add the caveat that there are more gaps in our knowledge than there is data, as though we were dealing with a full historical record for Christians in al-Andalus, making decisions about their disappearance from the peninsula rather than from a remarkably patchy record. The low profile of the Christians is also simply symptomatic: despite the greater literary legacy of the Muslims and Jews, al-Andalus as a whole is markedly less well-documented than the contemporary north. The indigenous Christians can be glimpsed in the penumbra of a fractured memory, but it is possible to draw a provisional narrative for their experience of al-Andalus.

The Latin works of mid-ninth-century Córdoba have thus come to be given an importance they do not merit, and did not enjoy, beyond a select few, in their own time – one intellectual in Seville and an apparently short-lived prestige in Oviedo. There is valuable data on an evolving society in Eulogius’ hagiography and apologetic but one must read with circumspection, for the very claims regarding persecution and martyrdoms are borne out by no contemporary source. The question of why Eulogius wrote of persecution when (it appears) there was none is difficult to answer since it is not altogether clear who is his intended audience – Cordoban or Andalusī Christians, Christians of the North and the Carolingians, the ‘future generations’ to whom he refers are all candidates. To some extent, the answer to why he wrote as he did – formulating the martyr as an active and unprovoked force, a notion not without precedent but lacking mainstream approval, and fitting the Muslim in the mould of the classical Arab as the Christian *contra* – can be found in the classical works Eulogius studied.



Albar lamented the lure of Arabic verse and the distinct lack of original Latin literature within a generation of his comments appeared to confirm them and the Arabisation of al-Andalus by the close of the ninth century. Epigraphic evidence indicates that, while Arabic would become the vehicle of a secular culture that Latinate Visigothic society had not provided, Latin remained the language of funerary and memorial epigraphic expression among Christians until at least the early thirteenth century. Scattered evidence of the translation and study of Latin manuscripts shows that a wider literacy in Latin was cultivated in monastic circles into the twelfth century.

Central to the argument for ninth-century Arabisation is the dating of Ḥafṣ al-Qūṭī to 889, though there is no sound evidence for this stance beyond the possibility that al-Qūṭī employed Maghrebi gematria instead of the more likely Eastern system. Given the conservative resistance of the Church he himself criticises, it makes sense to place al-Qūṭī and profound Arabisation in the tenth century. For it is not until 864 that Christian intellectuals even show they knew who they were ruled by, with the earliest extant use of the term ‘Muslim’ (*muzlemītae*) in Samson’s *Apologeticus*. In this vital and dynamic milieu the Arabic language became a status symbol among the Christians of the educated classes, though the number of bilingual Christians explicitly identified in the Latin literature is small and restricted to satellites of the political sphere.

Rather than a marked decline amid-Arabisation and conversion, the tenth century saw the development an Arabised identity capable of expressing itself in sophisticated language. The Arabisation of the Church, with its development of an Arabic Christian idiom, marks the completion of peninsular Christianity’s assimilation. The following century produced poetic works that rivalled contemporary Muslim verse in sophistication, and bear no comparison whatsoever with the faltering Latin poetry turned out by Albar and others in the second half of the ninth century. The caliphal and *taifa* periods, with their poetic heights and the adaptation of canon law to *sharī‘a* society, show an attainment of a cultural identity eclipsing the Visigothic heritage and possessed of great cultural sophistication before the Christian voice fell silent, cut off by a break in the literary record in the second half of the eleventh century.

Though a few have acknowledged the presence of indigenous Christians in the late Almohad period (Murcia in 1243) they neglect to acknowledge that a sighting at this very late stage – in either Latin/ Castilian or Arabic sources – is very rare and in each case significant, since both (re)conquerors and *dhimma* enforcers are marked by a desire to avoid mention of the indigenous Christian or disinterest, respectively. A church building visible in whatever source is necessarily a centre of a larger community,

and more so a monastery or convent, as Aillet recognises in the case of Lorvão in 1064 – though perhaps only because a plentiful documentary archive is demonstrative in this case, and because of the early date. There appears to be an inclination to disregard or depreciate any sighting of Andalusī Christians beyond the events of 1126. One of the very few modern scholars who offers a more nuanced view is Vincent Lagardère, perhaps the leading authority on the Almoravids, who allows the grenadine Christians another generation before their numbers are severely undermined. Lagardère writes only of Granada province; many choose to see this conflict in Granada as the end of Andalusī Christianity as though Granada was already its last redoubt, though there is sufficient evidence to the contrary, in Lisbon, Valencia, Seville, Murcia into the middle of the next century, and possibly Granada in the fifteenth. That we possess such proofs from such a fractured record cannot be underestimated.

# **APPENDICES**

## APPENDIX I

### Albar's lament in full

Paul Albar's complaint, about the noble Christian youth of Córdoba pursuing an interest in Arabic poetry, has been cited so often that it has become 'Albar's famous lament', but it is never quoted fully. The same section has served time and again to illustrate the perception that the Arabisation of the peninsula started in the ninth century and that conversion and the disappearance of Christianity happened very quickly. Often the complaint appears in Colbert's translation. Such an image is misleading, like much else claimed by Albar and Eulogius, for there is no other evidence of Christians engaging with Arabic until the mid-tenth century with Ishāq ibn Balashk's Gospel, and Ḥafṣ al-Qūfī tells us that before himself, in the late tenth century, these first forays in Arabic literary endeavour – a century after Albar – were not very good.

The passage from chapter 35 of Albar's *Indiculus Luminosus*, when taken as a whole, and not excerpted in the usual manner, is not purely a lament about the younger generation's betrayal of their roots, lured in by the sophisticated beauty of Arabic verse. It leads on from Albar's extended argument identifying the Prophet Muḥammad with Antichrist and his denunciation of Islam, which he clearly conceives to be a Christian heresy; the chapter opens with a quotation from Hilarius Bishop of Poitiers' mid-fourth-century anti-Arian treatise *Contra Arianos vel Auxentium Mediolanensem*, in which the latter warns that 'from the teaching of the Apostle John, we know that there are many Antichrists', and 'whoever denies what is preached about Christ by the Apostles, is an

Antichrist'<sup>1</sup>. Albar writes that he wants the prudent among his audience to consider this point, and to note what the Church Doctors had to say about the Antichrist returning to re-establish Mosaic Law. He interprets this to mean the reinstating of rituals like circumcision, to which he knows the Muslims adhere, and goes on to condemn such practices and their adoption in Iberian society, which go hand in hand, he believes, with the dereliction of Christian traditions. The lament is not just directed at a perceived eclipsing of Latin literary culture by Arabic, but at a general and more serious threat posed by new and resurfacing trends.

Albar's words are presented here in parallel text for ease of reading. The Latin, particularly towards the end, where Albar rails against Arabic poetics is convoluted to the point of defying translation.

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<sup>1</sup> Hilarius Pictaviniensis episcopus:

*Antichristos plures esse, etiam apostolo Joanne praedicante, cognovimus. Quisquis enim Christum, qualis ab apostolis est praedicatus, negavit, antichristus est* (*Contra Arianos vel Auxentium Mediolanensem*.I.2, PL 10, col.610; Albar, *Indiculus Luminosus*.35.1-2, CSM 1:313; I *John* 2:18).

*'Antixpos plures esse', inquit, 'etjam apostolo predicante cognouimus. Quisquis enim Xpm qualis ab apostolis est predicatus negauit Antixps est. Nominis Antixpi proprietates est Xpo esse contrarius'. In transitum uero operis positus hoc considerandum prudenti lectore notamus, quod ea que de Antixpo multi dixerunt doctores, eo quod ueniens Mosaycem legem repriorare sataget, dum circumcisionis iniuriam ob firmitate fidei exercendam instituat, hic ex parte uisus est renouasse, circumcisionis cultrum plausiuiliter acuens et a carnes suillas proibens cultores secte impie uel coercens. Quod autem de Apocalipsin promissimus exponenda nostro huic pretenui operi congrua, licet, ut crebro dixi, Antixps in se presentjaliter exiueat tota, tamen si spiritu ducante, ut consuetudo ecclesiastica celeberrime retinet, hec ipsa tractemus, ex parte impleta super iam dictum hostem euidentissime disseremus; et pro hoc nullum loquacem malibolum duuitamus. Nullus enim nostrum hunc tempore sub eorum repperitur regnum qui emat aut uendat immunis nomine ferocissime bestie. Omnes enim receptaculum ei in fronte, id est, in principale cordis, uel in manu, id est, in opera segniter iniando, frequentissime prebent, notam eius habentes, dum consuetudines sanctorum neglectas probatissimas partum pestiferas sectas gentilium consecramus, et nomen in frontibus, dum oblitterato crucis uexillo ipsius nefandi utimur argumento. Dum enim circumcisionem ob inproperantjum ignominiam deuitandam, despecta cordis que principaliter iussa est, cum dolore etjam non medio corporis exercemus, quid aliud quam eius notam in mente et membro portamus? Et dum eorum uersibus et fabellis Milesiis delectamus eis que inseruire uel ipsis nequissimis obsecundare etjam premio emimus et ex hoc uitam in seculo ducimus uel corpora saginamus, ex illicito serbitjo et exsecrando ministerio abundantiores opes congregantes, fulgores, odores uestimentorumque siue opum diuersarum opulentjam in longa tempora nobis filiisque nostris adque nepotibus preuidentes nomenque nefande bestie cum honore et precamine illis solitum uice eorum nostris manibus prenotantes, numquid non patule nomen bestie his affectibus in manu dextra portamus? Sic et dum ob onores seculi fratres cum crimine regibus impiis accusamus et inimicis summi Dei ad occidendum gregem Domini gladium seue ultjonis porrigimus ducatumque eorum et ministerium ad ipsut facinus exercendum pecuniis emimus, quid aliud quam cum bestie nomine et caracterem crudelissime ferre nundinas exercemus et oues Domini luporum dentibus nostre mercimonie malo exponendo peccamus? Sic et dum illorum sacramenta inquirimus et filosoforum, immo filocomporum sectas scire non pro ipsorum conuinciendos herrores, set pro elegantjam leporis et locutjonem luculenter dissertam neglectis sanctis lectjonibus congregamus, nicil aliud quam numerum nominis eius in cuiuculo nostro quasi idola conlocamus. Quis, rogo, odie sollers in nostris fidelibus laycis inuenitvr, qui scripturis sanctis intentus uolumina quorumquumque doctorum Latine conscripta respiciat? Quis euangelico, quis profetico, quis apostolico ustus tenetur amore?*



[Hilarius] said: ‘We know from the Apostle’s teaching that there are many Antichrists. For whoever denies what is preached about Christ by the Apostles, is an Antichrist. To be contrary to Christ is to bear the name of Antichrist’. Verily, let us observe in passing that the prudent reader should consider this point, which many learned men have made about the Antichrist, who in his coming here shall endeavour to return Mosaic law to authority, and institute the practice of the outrage of circumcision against the strength of the faith – and this is seen to have been brought back to some extent – sharpening the butcher’s knife to applause, banning pigs, and coercing adherents to the impious sect. But we promise to set out what is relevant about the Apocalypse in our slender work here, although, as I have said continually, the Antichrist will present himself fully presently, but with the spirit leading, so that the most distinguished ecclesiastic custom holds fast – let us discuss this, we shall now argue fully against the aforesaid enemy; we do not waver at all in the face of any malevolent babbling. For at this time under their rule there is none to be found among our people who buys and sells without being bound to the most ferocious name of the beast. For all have a refuge in their altar, that is, in the depths of their heart, or in their hand, that is, in undertaking actions sluggishly. While the most excellent duties of the saints are neglected we follow the pestilential sects of the gentile factions, and the name on the altars [is neglected too], while we use the forgotten standard of the cross to prove his [Muhammad’s?] impiety. For while we refuse circumcision on account of the ignominy of the reproaches, [circumcision] of the heart is commanded to be despised above all; when we do not practise it of the body even in the midst of anguish, what other than his mark do we bear in our mind and member? And while we are seduced into devotion for their verses and Milesian fables and accommodating those most vile [people] we pay a price, and so we lead a life in this world and fatten our bodies, amassing most abundant riches out of forbidden slavery and service that is to be cursed, glittering things, fragrant, providing an opulent wealth of clothes or of diverse things for us and our sons and grandsons for the long term, and attending the name of the abominable beast with honour and prayer and marking with their hands, their custom having usurped ours – with these sympathies do we not publicly carry the name of the beast in our right hand? And thus for the sake of worldly honours do we make accusations against our brothers to the impious kings, and present the Lord’s flock and their leadership to the enemies of God most great to be struck down by the sword of savage vengeance, and with monies we buy a ministry to carry out this villainy. How else than with the name of the beast and the letter branded by the cruellest iron might we run the market, and sin by wickedly exposing the sheep of the Lord to the teeth of the wolves for our reward? And so while we seek to learn about their sacraments and the sects of the philosophers – boasters more like – we gather, our holy readings abandoned, not in order to convince them of their errors, but for the sake of their elegant charm and splendidly expressed speech – nothing but the number of his name do we set up in our chambers just as idols. What clever man, I ask, is to be found in our faithful laity who, absorbed in the Holy Scriptures, has regard for the volumes of any of the doctors written in Latin? Who is set aflame by evangelical, or prophetic, or apostolic love?

*Nonne homnes iubenes Xpiani uultu decori, lingue disserti, habitu gestuque conspicui, gentilici a eruditioni preclari, Harabico eloquio sublimati uolumina Caldeorum hauidissime tractant, intentissime legunt, ardentissime disserunt et ingenti studio congregantes lata constrictaque lingua laudando diuulgant, ecclesiasticam pulcritudinem ignorantes et ecclesiae flumina de paradiso manantja quasi uilissima contemnentes? Heu pro dolor, legem suam nesciunt Xpiani et linguam propriam non aduertunt Latini, ita ut omni Xpi collegio uix inueniatur unus in milleno hominum numero qui salatorias fratri possit ratjonauiliter dirigere litteras, et repperitur absque numero multiplices turbas qui erudite Caldaicas uerborum explicet pompas ita ut metricae eruditjori ab ipsis gentibus carmine et sublimiori pulcritudine finales clausulas unius littere coartatjone decorent et iuxta quod linguae ipsius requirit idioma, quae omnes uocales apices commata claudit et cola, rithmice, immo ut ipsis competit, metricae uniuersi alfabeti littere per uarias dictjones plurimas uariantes uno fine constringuntur uel simili apice. Multa et alia erant quae nostrae huic expositjone exiberent firmitatem, immo quae ipsam patule in lucem producerent<sup>2</sup>*

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<sup>2</sup> Albar, *Indiculus Luminosus*.35.1-64, CSM 1:313-5.

Are not all the young Christian men beautiful in appearance, fluent of tongue, conspicuous in dress and deed, remarkable for their knowledge of Gentile culture, distinguished in their eloquent Arabic, most eagerly handling Chaldaean volumes, reading them most intently, discussing them most keenly, and gathering with great zeal share in praise of their expansive and structured fluency, are they not ignorant of the beautiful Church and despise the flowing river of paradise as if it were the vilest thing? O for shame, the Christians do not know their law, they do not heed their own Latin language, so that in the society of all the Christians scarcely one may be found in a thousand men who can properly address salutatory words to his brother, while from [the same] number many crowds are to be found that eruditely unfurl Chaldaean processions of words, [and?] so that together they might decorate their final clauses with crowded letters with the more erudite metrical song of that race and with beauty more sublime, and equally what the idiom of this language requires, that commas and metrical measures frame all the long vowels/speeches, with rhythm, nay indeed that it might be suitable in these, the metrical letters of the whole alphabet change through many different inflections, constructed with one ending or likewise an accent. And many others of us erred, who showed skill in this expression, indeed who openly bring it forth into the light.

## APPENDIX II

### Inscriptions

Iberian epigraphy has traditionally been treated as a minor part of the greater field of Latin, or Christian, or more generally, of ancient epigraphy. Those few studies and catalogues that have concentrated on purely Iberian inscriptions have neglected the Andalusī Christian, in favour of the general<sup>1</sup> or, because of the level of specialist training required, undertaken to study very specific areas in both the Latin<sup>2</sup> and the Arabic Muslim<sup>3</sup> fields. It must be said that such technical training is not absolutely necessary – certainly not for a simple compilation of materials such as that which follows – and in any case, from the contention over dating many of the items below, it would appear that epigraphy is far from an exact science at the best of times. It may also be that most of those who have published inscriptions were not epigraphers or palaeographers but historians who have chanced upon something of interest and examined it with the tools available.

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<sup>1</sup> See: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* compiled by various editors in 17 volumes (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1862-1963). For a survey of the collections of Iberian inscriptions and their merits or otherwise, see: Favreau, Robert, *Les Inscriptions médiévales* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1979), 108-11.

<sup>2</sup> See: *Inscripciones romanas del país valencià. 1a-1b. Saguntum I el seu territori* edited by Josep Corell and Xavier Gómez Font (Valencia: Universitat de Valencia, 2002); *Las inscripciones de San Miguel de Escalada: estudio crítico* edited by Vicente García Lobo (Barcelona: El Albir, 1982).

<sup>3</sup> See: *Inscripciones árabes de Granada procedidas de una reseña histórica y de la genealogía detallada de los reyes Alahmares* edited by Emilio Lafuente y Alcántara and María Jesús Rubiera Mata (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2000); *La escritura árabe en el país valenciano: inscripciones monumentales* edited in two volumes by María del Carmen Barceló Torres (Valencia: Área de Estudios Árabes e Islámicos, Universidad de Valencia, 1998).

This catalogue of inscriptions represents an attempt to unite all of the disparate items published in French, English, and Spanish books and articles over the last century and a half. It has been collated from a large array of sources – though it cannot claim to be comprehensive – the basis being Ernst Hübner’s *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, first published in Berlin in 1871 and expanded with a supplement in 1890. Hübner did not focus on any particular period of Iberian history, and his catalogue is a mixture of Roman, Byzantine, Visigothic, Andalusī, Asturian, Castilian, Leonese, Aragonese, collated geographically by the old Roman provinces, not in chronological order. Hübner included 56 items of Andalusī origin. This corpus is here supplemented with almost 40 items published mostly in articles by Spanish historians in what seems to have been a burst of interest or activity in archaeology around the turn of the twentieth century, and here and there over the following century, again mostly by Spanish researchers. Many of these articles were available in this country through various means, including visits to Cambridge University Library, the rest obtained on a tour of the museums of Andalucía – including the Museo Arqueológico y Etnológico de Córdoba, where I was given access to the curator’s library – and the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid.

Epigraphic evidence, in the form of funerary and commemorative inscriptions, is offered here in chronological order to complement the hand-written palaeographic evidence of literary and official documentation, which dominates the present work. Though the items collated here can only be a tiny fraction of what the Christians of al-Andalus produced, this collection can at the very least give us some sense of the distribution of Christians around the peninsula through the centuries; it also has much to tell us, as is discussed in Chapter VI, about linguistic developments, literacy, and the state of Latin. The map appended shows that the majority of the surviving evidence is concentrated in the South, in the area that roughly corresponds with the modern province of Andalucía, which makes sense when one considers both that this is the most heavily populated region of Spain and it was here that al-Andalus and Andalusī Christianity with it, lasted longest. The graph indicates the temporal spread of inscriptions both dated and undated; in both cases it is the tenth century which has the highest incidence by far, and one notes that the two centuries following this peak bear greater numbers than the two preceding it – complementing the documentary record’s testimony, in which the indigenous Christians’ greatest visibility comes in the early twelfth century.

Translations are given for the majority of the inscriptions, tentatively so for the more fragmentary items. The latter are offered as guidelines and rough interpretations only.

## DATED INSCRIPTIONS

1

**Tavira, roughly 20 miles northeast of Faro on the south coast of Portugal**

729

*ADVLTEV[s]  
CLERICV[u]S VI[xit]  
AN[nos] X R[equie]V[it]  
IN P[a]C[e] DI[e] III  
ED[us] IAN[uarias]  
DCCLXVII<sup>4</sup>*

The cleric Adulteus lived [surely more than] ten years; he died 11 January, 767

2

**Guadamur, around 10 miles southwest of Toledo**

743

*QVISQVIS HVNC TABVLE  
[lege]RIS TITVLVM HVIVS  
[ecc?]E LOCVM RESPICE SITVM  
[cerne? v]ICINVM  
MALVI ABERE [locum sacr]VM [...]  
ANNIS SEXSA[ginta p]EREGI[t?] TEMPORA [vite]  
[n?]VPE[r] PERFVNCTVM S[an]C[t]IS  
[com]MENDO TVENDVM  
[ut cu]M FLAMMA VORAX VE[n]IET CONBVRERE TERRAS  
C[o]E[ti]BVS S[an]C[t]ORVM MERITO  
SOCIATVS RESVRGAM*

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<sup>4</sup> *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae: Supplementum* [299], 5. Numbers in square parentheses relate to the number Hübner attached to the inscription.



*HIC VITE CVRSO ANNO FINITO  
CRISPINVS PR[e]SB[i]T[er] PECCATOR  
IN CHR[ist]I PACE QVIESCO ERA DCCL  
XXXI<sup>5</sup>*

Whoever you are reading this tablet's inscription, look! Gaze upon the site. See the vicinity. I preferred to leave the sacred place [? ...] I lived 60 years, having been commended on my death to be guarded by the saints, so that when the voracious fire should come to destroy the earth, I might rise again as a worthy ally of the saints' assembly. Life having run its course in this year, I, Crispinus, priest, sinner, now rest in peace in Christ, Era 781

The Latin is difficult or defective in the first few lines, syntactically, with repetitious sequences, words rudely abbreviated. The conventions of funerary epigraphy are played with here, the first-person address of the deceased to the passer by or mourner subverting the more traditional anonymous exhortation to pray for the tomb's inhabitant.

### 3

#### Carmona, roughly 20 miles east of Seville

773

Discovered in the foundations of the monastery.

*HIC REKIEXCIT IN DOMINO N[ostro?] GVNDE-  
RICVS AB[b]AS ISTE C[o]ENOBION SERBOM CHR[ist]I  
QVI RECESSIT IN A[u?]LIA BITAM ETAS ANN[orum]  
XCVI CVM BICSIT ISTIC ANN[os] LXXX  
MES[es] V DIES XXVII ERA DCCCXI  
DIE NONAS IANVARIAS ANNO DE ECIRA CLVI  
FERIA III · ORA PRO ILLO<sup>6</sup>*

Here he rests in our Lord: Gundericus abbot of this monastery, he was a servant of Christ who died having lived there in the house for 80 years, five months, 27 days of his 96 years of his other life, in the Era 811, 5 January, in the 156<sup>th</sup> year of the *Hijra*, the third day of the holiday. Pray for him.

<sup>5</sup> Gómez-Moreno reads the Era date as *DCCLXXXI* (*Iglesias mozárabes*, 11); though Hübner makes it *DCC cu[m] XXXI*, his reproduction of the inscription leaves a lot to be desired at this point in the text – among others – and there is a possibility that what Hübner reads as *CV* could in fact be *CLV* or *CLX*, or even *CCV* or *CCX*, any of which would place the inscription well into the Andalusī period rather than the Visigothic. See: *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, [158], 50.

<sup>6</sup> *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae: falsae vel suspectae*, [22], 95.

It is curious that Hübner should number this inscription among those he did not wholly trust, for it offers a wealth of information absent from the vast majority of the rest of his collection. Perhaps that is why. Firstly there is evidence of the phonetic influence of early Romance or proto-Spanish vernacular in *REKIEXCIT* for *REQVIESCIT* in the opening line, *SERBOM* for *SERVVM* in the second, *BICSIT* for *VIXIT* in line four, and *MESES* for *MENSES* in line five; it is possible too that the spelling of *CENOBION* (for *C[O]ENOBIUM*) in line two indicates Greek influence, for it veers from the proper Latin spelling to match a transcription of the original Greek term κοινοβίον.

Besides these linguistic points, there is a very rare (accurate) use of the Islamic dating system parallel to the Spanish Era, as used in the *Chronicle of 754*. *ECIRA* is Hübner's reading; it could be that damage or a square capital C obscured the intended term *[h]EJIRA*.

#### 4

#### Córdoba

#### 877

Discovered in the Barrio de Las Marritas when a trench was made. Lápida 7212 in the Museo Arqueológico de Córdoba.

[obitus v]VLNERI ITEPIPI VENERABILI ISTI  
EST CERNENS HOC SARCOFAGVM PAVIMENTO DERICTV-  
RO ANTEPOSTO FLEI EI QVIESCENTE IN IPSO  
D[i]VI ECCLECCI FVIT NITEMQVE SACERDOS  
ET FLORIDA [a]ETATE OBIT ABITQVE SENILI  
SVB NOBIES CENTENA ET TERNI QVINQVIES ERA  
[pos]TVLATA MEREATVR PERFRVI SEMPER AMEN<sup>7</sup>

This venerable man Itecipus died of an injury; this sarcophagus separates [him?] from the level ground set first for this resting lamented one in it[??], he was a brilliant priest of the divine Church [?] and he died in the bloom of youth and he escaped old age in the Era 915. Ask that he deserves to be fulfilled always. Amen

Santos Gener conjectures that this *ITECIPVS* could be an attempt to spell *Tepipo* (though it should be transcribed *Atepipo*), that is, a phonetic transliteration of the Arabic

<sup>7</sup> Castejón Calderón, 'Los mozárabes del siglo VIII al X', 227; Santos Gener, 'Nueva lápida mozárabe', 125.

*al-Ṭabību* (الطبيب), meaning ‘medical doctor’.<sup>8</sup> As in the above inscription, the letter read as *C* in *ITECIPVS* could have been a *P* with a diminished loop.

## 5

### Córdoba

890

*QVIS QVANTVSVE FVIT SAMSON CLARISSIMVS ABBA  
CVIVS IN VRNA MANENT HAC SACRA MEMBRA IN AVLA  
PERSONAT ESPERIO ILLIVS FAMINE FOTA  
FLECTE DEVM PRECIBVS LECTOR NVNC FLECTE PERORO  
AETHERA VT CVLPIS VALEAT CONSCENDERE TERSIS  
DISCESSIT LONGE NOTVS PLENVSQVE DIERVM  
SEXTILIS NAMQVE MENSIS DIE VICESIMA PRIMA  
SEXTILIS NAMQVE MENSIS PRIMO ET VICESIMO SOLE  
ERA DCCCCXXVIII<sup>9</sup>*

Who and how great a man was Samson the most glorious abbot, whose remains rest in this urn? His tomb resounds with hunger kept warm by [?!]. Reader, I ask that you bow in prayer before God, bow now, so that he might be able to ascend to the heavens, his guilt expiated. He died famous far and wide, and full of days, 21 June, Era 928

Written in heroic metrical verse, according to Gil and Hübner, this epitaph displays sophisticated knowledge of classical Latin literary and poetic style, matched by a higher level of grammatical and orthographical precision than most of the other inscriptions collected here, though there is evidence of the contemporary Latin being written to coincide with the early Romance of everyday speech, in *ESPERIO* presumably for *EXPERIO*. The actual language is confused and confusing though.

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<sup>8</sup> Santos Gener, ‘Nueva lápida mozárabe’, 124.

<sup>9</sup> Gil, *CSM* 2:687; *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, [219], 72; Martínez Gázquez, ‘Epitafios mozárabes’, 83.

## 6

## Córdoba, suburbs of Medīnat al-Zahrā'

906

*Q[u]ISQ[u]IS ADVENERIT NOMENQ[ue] LEGE[n]DO  
 BASILISS[a]E HVIVS COMMENDET D[omi]NO PRECIBVS  
 SP[iritu]MVE VALDE PIIS MENTE CONDOLET SI  
 IAMQ[ue] BENIGNA PROPOSITVM SERVABIT  
 VIRGO MODESTA OBIIT NAMQ[ue] SVB DIE  
 VI ID[u]S F[e]BR[uar]a]S ERA DCCCCQ[ue]XLIIIa<sup>10</sup>*

Whosoever should come here and read the name of this Basilissa, may he commend her vigorously to the Lord with pious prayers and have pity on her spirit, for the kind girl served his design, and died a modest virgin, 8 February, Era 944

Alejandro Recio Veganzones reckons this 'one of the best preserved verse inscriptions of its kind, as much from the Visigothic era as the Mozarab'.<sup>11</sup>

## 7

## Córdoba

923

Found in the area known as los marmolejos, now central Córdoba.

*[E...]BOX QVOQVE N[ost]RA  
 VICTRIX [et turbas carnis] POST IRE SOPITAS  
 GENV[...perag]ENS TRVCVLENTVM  
 EXC[...]RI[s]QV[e] FECVND  
 NOBIS HIC [...]EBIS [...] SVRIP[e]RE TENTAT  
 IN C[a]ELO DEHINC MERITA PER S[a]ECULA VIBENS  
 ADIVNCTA POLLET CVRIE S[an]C[t]ORVM IN ARCE  
 MER[c]REDE PVLSO RVTILI SVB SOLE CORVSCAT  
 AMBIENS SACRI GL[ori]AM DE MERCE CRVORIS  
 REX TRIBVIT CVI CORONAM PER S[ae]C[u]LA FVTVRA  
 TV ITAQ[ue] NVTIBVS MARTIR NOS MANDA DIVINIS  
 IDEM SVB ERA NOBIES CENTVM IVGVLATVR  
 SEXAGIES ET VNO SEPTEM DE KALENDIS  
 [...horam?] S[e]PTA[m] APRIL[i]S<sup>12</sup>*

<sup>10</sup> Recio Veganzones, Alejandro, 'Cinco inscripciones de Córdoba y su provincia', *Corduba Archaeologica* 14 (1983-4), 72.

<sup>11</sup> Recio Veganzones:

*Es esta una de la inscripciones versificadas mejor conservadas en su género, tanto de época visigoda como mozárabe*

('Cinco inscripciones', 67).

...and our champion stunned the crowds [of flesh?] after anger[?] harassing the cruel race [? ...] fertile [...] tried to snatch away our youths. The worthy woman lives henceforth and forever in heaven, she thrives, joined to the court of the saints in the heavens. Struck with her reward, she shone under the yellow sun [?!] Courting the glory of the sacred reward for her bloodshed, the king bestowed upon her the crown of everlasting life. And so, you, martyr, deliver us with divine assent. She was beheaded in the Era 961, 26 March, at the seventh hour

Gómez-Moreno states that the woman celebrated here is one Eugenia, ‘*mártir desconocida, redactado en catorce versos acrósticos*’<sup>13</sup>; Flórez supplied a hypothetical *e* to the first line. The acrostic spells out *EVGENIA MARTIS*, ‘Eugenia of March’ referencing the month of her death, or ‘of Mars’, that is the holy war of the *militia Christi*.

As Flórez points out, the fact that the inscription identifies a martyr about whom nothing else is recorded, suggests that there may have been many martyrs about whom we know nothing at all.

## 8

### Córdoba

#### 925

Church bell discovered ‘three leagues from Córdoba’, now on display in the Museo Arqueológico de Córdoba.

*OFFERT HOC MVNVS SAMSON ABBATIS IN DOMVM S[anc]TI  
SABASTIANI MARTIRIS CHR[is]T[i] ERA DCCCCLXIII*<sup>14</sup>

Samson offers this gift to the abbot in the house of Saint Sebastian,  
martyr of Christ, in the Era 963

Simonet claims that this is the same Samson who wrote the *Apologeticus* and whose epitaph dates 890, above. It is far from certain that the Samsons are one and the same, however, nor does Simonet make any attempt to account for the tenth-century date on the bell’s inscription.<sup>15</sup> Note that while the words *Samson* and *abbot* appear side by side they do not go together; it is Sabastianus that holds the office of abbot.

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<sup>12</sup> Castejón Calderón, ‘Los mozárabes del siglo VIII al X’, 229-30; Flórez presents a slightly different but still very fragmentary reading, *España sagrada X*, 462-3; *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, [220], 72; Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l’Espagne musulmane*, II.21n1.

<sup>13</sup> Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, 365.

<sup>14</sup> Castejón Calderón, ‘Los mozárabes del siglo VIII al X’, 226; Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, 386; *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, [221], 73;.

<sup>15</sup> Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, 499.

HOC NEPOS LOCO TENETVR MAXIMI VIRI  
 ATANA QVEM PRISCA VOCABANT S[a]ECULA ILDVM  
 SINDE PATRE GENITVS MIRO BAETI[c?]A RVRE  
 IOHANNES EXIMIVS EX FONTE VOCATVS  
 SAPIENS BENIGNVS QVIN ETIAM ORE MODESTVS  
 FLORENS ECCLESIA[e] DECENTER MENTE QUIETA  
 CATHOLICVS STRENVVS PRECLARVS MENTE QVI FVIT  
 ALVMNVS ORTODOXVS LEGITIME ABTVS  
 [a]ETHEREIS IVNGATVR SORTE BEATA LOCATVS  
 CVM CHRISTO REGNET PIVM QVEM COLVIT D[ominu]M  
 EXPLEBIT CVRSVM OCTABO IDVS A[u]GVSTAS  
 SEXDENVM ET SEPTEM [a]ETATIS VIT[a]E PERAGENS  
 NVNGENTESIMA SEX DECIES VEL TRIA SVB ERA<sup>16</sup>

The grandson of the great man whom the previous age called Athanagildus, fathered by Sindemirus in rural Baetica, the exceptional John, named after his baptism[?], a wise man, kind, and also modest of speech, flourishing nobly in the Church, with a peaceful mind, he was a strenuous Catholic who was renowned for his intellect, an orthodox alumnus joined legitimately [?]. May he be joined in a blessed exit, he is set in the heavens, ruling with Christ, the pious Lord whom he worshipped. He finished the course on the 6 August, having lived 67 years, in the Era 963

Could this John be another martyr? He is said to ‘rule with Christ’, in much the same way that Eulogius promises Flora and Maria in the *Documentum Martyriale*. Gómez-Moreno asserts that his name is Iohannes Eximius, though it is not clear if *EXIMIVS* functions as an adjective or a noun.

The second and third lines bear a bizarre attempt at sophistication, two halves of the names Athanagildus and Sindemirus bookending the lines bearing their descriptions.

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<sup>16</sup> Castejón Calderón, ‘Los mozárabes del siglo VIII al X’, 230; Fernández-Guerra, ‘Nuevas inscripciones de Córdoba y Porcuna’, 175; Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, 365; *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae: Supplementum* [455], 100; Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, 834-5.



10

**Adamuz, 15 miles northeast of Córdoba**

930

Epitaph of Abbot Daniel; discovered in 1911 in los Conventillos, possible site of the monastery of Armilatense.

*PR[e]SBIT[e]R HIC DANIEL LATITAT  
ABBAS ET INCLITVS EN MONACHIS  
HVMILIS AC BONVS HIC OBIIT  
MILES ISTE DEI FAMVLVS  
[pa]TER AC REGENS MONACH[os]  
SIT PARADISVS EI REQVIEVIT  
F[eria] I N[o]N[a]S MARTIAS ERA DCCCCLXVIII<sup>17</sup>*

The priest, Daniel, lies hidden here. Behold! the glorious and good abbot died here among the humble monks. This soldier, servant of God, father, ruling the monks. May he be in paradise. He came to rest on the holiday, 7 March, Era 968

11

**El Monedero, roughly eight miles northwest of Córdoba, near Nava de Serrano**

931

Discovered in 1729 in the hills around Córdoba, now in the museum at Málaga, ‘among various others from the Cordoban Villacevallos collection’ according to Gómez-Moreno.

*CLARI TECTA ANTESTIS MAR[t]IN[i] Q[uo]Q[ue] MEMBRA  
HIC BVSTORVM SACRA MORE PONTIF[icis] ET AVLA  
QVI CHR[ist]O FAMVLANS PETIT VITAM ADOLESCENS  
MONASTICAM POLLENSQ[ue] REGVL[ar]I[t]ER [...]  
ASTIGITANAM EPISCOPII [rexit in a]RCE  
ECLESIAM AD EROAS LATVS [e]ST ILICO NEMPE  
SC[u]LPTAM IN MAR[more era nobies centesima]  
SEXAGES[ima nona maiarum III] IDVS  
LECTOR COM[m]E[n]DA SACRA [...]ARE ORANDO<sup>18</sup>*

<sup>17</sup> Castejón Calderón, ‘Los mozárabes del siglo VIII al X’, 230; Fita, ‘Alcaracejos, Adamuz y Córdoba. Nuevas inscripciones’, *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 65 (1914), 560-2; Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, 365; Santos Gener, ‘Nueva lápida mozárabe’, 122.

<sup>18</sup> Castejón Calderón, ‘Los mozárabes del siglo VIII al X’, 230; Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, 366; *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, [223], 74; Martínez Gázquez, ‘Epitafios mozárabes’, 82n34; Riesco Terrero, ‘Tres lápidas funerarias’, 190.

This is the home of the glorious and distinguished Martin's remains, the palace of the bishop's ashes, as is the sacred custom. Serving Christ, as an adolescent he sought out the monastic life and operated according to the rule, he led the church of Écija in the episcopal palace. Assuredly he was borne up to the heroes at once. Engraved in marble in the Era 969, 13 May. O reader, commend the sacred [...] with a prayer

The depiction of the saints as heroes shows the Augustinian influence upon Spanish theology; the verse form indicates sustained interest and a fairly high proficiency with the Latin language 70 years after the last extant Latin documentation.

## 12

### Córdoba

#### 936

Discovered among the ruins of the ancient monastery of Saint Eulalia, together with fragmentary stones dedicated to Justa and Rufina, who died in 948 and 977, respectively.

*OBII ANNOSA NEMPE IKIL-  
LIO VELAMINE SACRO  
HERENS OPERTA DEO VELA-  
TARVM GENETRIX FACTA*

*DIE XIII K[a]L[en]D[a]S D[e]C[e]MBR[e]S ERA DCCCCLXXIIIa<sup>19</sup>*

Ikillio assuredly died of old age, holding fast to her sacred veil, covered, she was made mother[superior?] of the veiled [nuns] by God. [She died] 18 November, Era 974

Epitaph of the Abbess Ikillio [Iquillio] – or Killio according to Gómez-Moreno and Gil.

## 13

### Córdoba

#### 948

*† RELIGIOSA HIC RECVBAT NOMINE  
EX FONTE I[u]STA DEPOSITA SVBITO  
LANGORE HVC MIGRAVIT E SECVLO  
CENTENA DECIES DEMPTIS BIS SEBTE[m] IN ERA  
SEXTILIS MENSIS NONO KALENDIS ENIM<sup>20</sup>*

<sup>19</sup> Castejón Calderón, 'Los mozárabes del siglo VIII al X', 230; Fita, 'Alcaracejos, Adamuz y Córdoba', 557-8; Santos Gener, 'Nueva lápida mozárabe', 122.

A religious by the name Justa rests here, suddenly laid low by a stillness from the source, she migrated from this world in the Era 986 [literally ‘100 tens with twice seven taken away’], 23 June[?]

Epitaph of Justa, discovered, along with the epitaph of Rufina, below, on the site of an ancient convent of Saint Eulalia to the south of Córdoba, in the same place as that of Ikillio, above. The phrase *ex fonte* as translated above seems to bear the classical sense of ‘from the divine source’<sup>21</sup>, the source being the deity.

14

### Castañeda, monastery of San Martín

952

*HIC LOCVS ANTIQVITVS MARTINVS SANCTVS EST HONORE DICATVS  
BREVI OPERE INSTRVCTVS DIV MANSIT DIRVTVS  
DONEC IHOANES ABBA A CORDVBA VENIT ET HIC TEMPLVM LITAVIT  
EDIS RVINAM A FVNDAMENTIS EREXIT ET ACTE SAXE EXARAVIT  
NON IMPERIALIBVS IVSSIS SED FRATRVM VIGILANTIA INSTANTIBVS  
DVO ET TRIBVS MENSIBVS PERACTA SVNT HAEC OPERIBVS  
ORDONIVS PERAGENS SCEPTRA ERA NOVIES CENTENA NOVIES DENA<sup>22</sup>*

This ancient place is dedicated to the honour of Saint Martin, erected quickly it remained long in ruins, until Abbot John came from Córdoba and consecrated this temple. He raised the ruin from the foundations and dug it out from the stone driven not by imperial decrees but by the vigilance of his two brothers standing by. These works were completed in three months in Ordoño’s rule, in the Era 990

Though technically not an Andalusī inscription – not by any means, Castañeda lies ten miles from the Bay of Biscay – this item does nevertheless offer insight into Andalusī Christian society; in this case the emigration north of ecclesiastics and clerics. It is as good as an Andalusī inscription, for the abbot John proves that there were monasteries active in Córdoba, despite Eulogius’ – and Dozy’s – claims to the contrary, after the ‘persecutions’ of the 850s.

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<sup>20</sup> Castejón Calderón, ‘Los mozárabes del siglo VIII al X’, 230-1; Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, 366; Naval y Ayerve, Francisco, ‘Lápidas mozárabes de Córdoba’, *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 65 (1914), 467.

<sup>21</sup> See: Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*.III.52, translated by H. Rackham in the volume *Cicero: De Natura Deorum; Academica* (London: Heinemann, 1967), 332.

<sup>22</sup> *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, [275], 87; Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, 619.

15

**Comares, around 20 miles northeast of Málaga**

958

[hic] RECVBAT EXIMIVS SAMVEL INLVSTRISSIMVS  
[ele]GANS FORMA DECORVS STATVRA CELSA COMMODVS  
[q]VI CANVIT OFICIVM MODVLATIO[ne?] CARMINVM  
BLANDENSQVE CORDA PLEVIV[m] CVNTORVM AVDIENTVM  
VIXITQVE ANNOS NVMERO SEX DENOS NEMPE ET OCTO  
VISITATVS A DOMINO PROBATVS IN HOC SECVLO  
SIC MIGRABIT E SECVLO DIE ETENIM SABBATO  
DORMIBITQVE IN DOMINO SEPVLTVS IN HOC TVMVLO  
ORA DIEI TERTIA IN ERA NVNGENTESIMA  
SEXTA ETA ET DENAS NOBIES NON[as] K[a]L[en]D[a]S DECEMBRES  
QVISQVIS NOBIT SVPRAFATVM HVNC MAGNVMQVE PR[e]SB[itu]M  
MVNDVM TOTVM DESPICIAD ET SESE IPSVM CORRIGAD<sup>23</sup>

Here lies the distinguished, the most illustrious Samuel, elegant, becoming in beauty, kind in lofty stature; he sang the office of the songs in time, charming the hearts of all the people listening, and indeed he lived 68 years, visited by the Lord he was proven good in this life, thus he left life truly on the Sabbath day, and he sleeps in the Lord buried in this tomb at the third hour in the Era 996, 23 November. Whoever knows this abovementioned and great priest, may he despise impurity and better himself

The use of *eta* perhaps indicates a Greek influence (*etos* (ἔτος), ‘year’) to express, literally, ‘nine hundred and six years and ten nines’, i.e.: 996.

16

**Córdoba**

977

Marble funerary inscription discovered at the same site as Justa’s epitaph, a convent to the south of the city.

OCCVLTA MANENS  
IN ANTRO NEMPE  
DEI FAMVLA RVFINA  
SVB DIE XVII K[alendas] F[e]BR[uaris]S ERA TXV<sup>24</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, 366; *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, [214], 70; Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, 624.

<sup>24</sup> Castejón Calderón, ‘Los mozárabes del siglo VIII al X’, 231; Gil, ‘Para la edición de los textos visigodos y mozárabes’, 221; Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, 367; Naval, ‘Lápidas mozárabes’, 468.

Staying hidden in this grotto is Rufina, assuredly a servant of God. [She died] 16

January in Era 1015

Naval argues from the two inscriptions he published in 1914 that indigenous Christians preserved the religious and Latin literary traditions of the Visigoths to the end of the tenth century.<sup>25</sup>

**17**

**Córdoba**

**981**

Discovered near Villaviciosa. Lápida 417 in the Museo Arqueológico Provincial de Córdoba.

[in] HOC TVMVLO RE[quiesc]IT ERESVIDE [?] IN[lustrus?]  
PRESBITER CVIVS VITA [h]ONESTISSIME FVIT IN [liminibus?]  
COTIDIE RECESSIT Q[ui]ESCI[t] DIE XVIII IVLIES [?] ERA TXVIII<sup>26</sup>

In this tomb rests Eresuida, illustrious priest, whose life was most honest; he retired to his abode every day. He died 18 of July, in the Era 1019

**18**

**Córdoba**

**982**

Found near the city in 1870. Now held by the Museo Provincial de Sevilla.

HIC REQVIESCVNT  
MEMBRA SALVATI  
CRISMATIS VNCTA  
RITE SEPVLTA  
ERA MILLENA XX  
LXXV E[t]OS Q[u]I VIXIT<sup>27</sup>

---

<sup>25</sup> Naval:

*los mozárabes conservaban fielmente las tradiciones religiosas y literarias latino-visigodas, pues aun á fines del siglo X de nuestra era cristiana*

(‘Lápidas mozárabes’, 469).

<sup>26</sup> Castejón Calderón, ‘Los mozárabes del siglo VIII al X’, 226-7; Gil, ‘Para la edición de los textos visigodos y mozárabes’, 191; Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, 367; *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae: Supplementum*, [461], 104.

Here lie the remains of Salvatus, baptised in unguent, in the Era 1020; he lived 75 years  
 Connected to this epitaph, Simonet believes, is a twelfth-century (so dated by Aillet)  
 note written in the margin of the colophon of the *Biblia Hispalensis* which names one  
 Salvatus as Metropolitan of Seville:

حبس على فاعدة شنت  
 مرية باشبيلية حرسها الله  
 فاله شلباطش المطران الاصغر<sup>28</sup>

Dedicated to the See of Santa María of Seville – may God watch over her – and look  
 kindly upon [?] Shalbātush, Metropolitan most meek

Simonet, who wrote the nonsensical فاعدة in place of قاعدة ‘seat’, favours identifying this  
 as these two Salvatuses.<sup>29</sup> The reference to baptismal unguent in the inscription offers  
 counter argument to Epalza’s claims that ecclesiastical infrastructure crumbled within a  
 few generations.

## 19

### Málaga

#### 982

Discovered in the grounds of a monastery ‘three leagues north of Málaga’ according to  
 Hübner, in the midst of the great mountain ranges that circle Antequera, on the hill of  
 Jotrón.

*IN HOC LOCO RECONDITVS AMANSVINDV[s] MONACVS  
 ONESTVS ET MAGNIFICVS ET KARITATE FERVIDVS  
 QVI FVIT MENTE SOBRIVS CHRISTI DEI EGREGIVS  
 PASTOR SVIQVE OBIBVS SICVT BELLATOR FORTIBVS  
 REPELLIT MVNDI DELICIA[s] ANNOS VIBENS IN TEMPORE  
 QVATTVOR DENIS ET DVO HABENSQVE IN CENOBIO*

<sup>27</sup> Castejón Calderón, ‘Los mozárabes del siglo VIII al X’, 231-2; Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, 367; *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae: Supplementum*, [464], 105; Solano Gálvez, ‘Nuevas inscripciones cristianas de Extremadura y Andalucía’, 520.

<sup>28</sup> Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, ms. Vit.13.1, colophon. See: Aillet, *Les «Mozarabes»*, 164-5; Koningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic Glossary*, 44-5; Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, 628.

<sup>29</sup> Simonet:

*Esta última línea nos da noticia de un nuevo Arzobispo de Sevilla, Salvato, que debiera colocarse al final del siglo X. Un sacerdote Salvatus, algo anterior, consta haber muerto en Córdoba en 982*

This last line tells us about a new Archbishop of Seville, Salvato, who should be located at the end of the tenth century. A priest named Salvatus, sometime earlier, is said to have died in 982

(*Historia de los mozárabes*, 628).



*REQUIET IN HVNC TVMVLO MIGRAVITQVE A SECVLO*  
*CONLOCATVS IN GREMIO CVM CONFESSORVM CETVO [for coetu?]*  
*KALENDAS IANVARIAS DECIMO INTER TERTIAS*  
*HORA PVLLORVMQVE CANTV[s] DORMIVIT DIE VENERIS*  
*HOC ET IN ERA CENTIES DECEM BISQVE DECIES*  
*REGNANTE NOSTRO DOMINO IHESV CHRISTO ALTISSIMO*<sup>30</sup>

In this place the monk Amansuindus is buried; honest and noble and fervent in grace, he was very sober of mind, a distinguished pastor of Christ God and like a warrior for his brave sheep. He resisted the delights of the world, living for a period of 42 years in the monastery; he rests in this tomb and left this life, for the confessors' embrace; he went to sleep 23 December, during the third hour at the cock-crow, in this Era 1020 in the reign of our Lord Jesus Christ the most high

The reference to 'the confessors' embrace' suggests that this Amansuindus, who bore a decidedly retro Gothic name long after the secular Arabisation of the peninsula, including other high-ranking churchmen, might have been a martyr.

**20**

**Córdoba**

**982**

Found in the wall of the threshold of the ancient church of saints Acisclus and Victoria.

*OBIIT*  
*FAMVLA*  
*DEI VITE*  
*DIDICVS*  
*SARACI-*  
*NI VXOR*  
*ERA TA*  
*VICES[i]M[a]*

*VA K[a]L[enda]S A[u]G[usta]S*<sup>31</sup>

A dedicated servant of God, Vita, the wife of the Saracen died in the Era 1020, 28 July

Not the wife of any Muslim, Morales reads *VI[olan]TE DOMINICI SARACINI*, which later scholars followed, making this obscure woman the wife of one (later sainted)

<sup>30</sup> Escovar, Joaquín María Díaz de, 'La Victoria de Málaga. Monumentos epigráficos', *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 38 (1901), 147; Fita, 'El epitafio malagueño del abad Amansvindo', *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 69 (1916), 399; *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, [215], 70; Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, 625-6.

<sup>31</sup> Castejón Calderón, 'Los mozárabes del siglo VIII al X', 232; Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, 367; *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, [226], 75; Morales, *Corónica general de España*, X.88; Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, 626-7.

Domingo Sarracenus, captured by al-Mansūr's forces in the conquest of Simancas and taken back to Córdoba in 980.<sup>32</sup>

21

**Córdoba**

987

*HIC REQESSIT CORP[i?] F[a]M[u]LOR[um]  
DEI AGOBLASTO ABEATARE[?]  
[s]VS OBIIT MENSE IV-  
NIO ERA TXXV  
[...]<sup>33</sup>*

Here rest the bodies of servants of God, Agoblasto [and...?] ...died in the month of June in the Era 1025...

The above transcription is taken from Hübner, whose reading leaves the full name of Agoblasto incomplete; Santos Gener reads *ABEN* where Hübner sees *ABEA* – very plausibly, given the potential formal similarity of capitals *A* and *N*. This individual is thus identified as the Arabised clergyman Agoblasto ibn Ṭāriq. The epitaph explicitly refers to more than one servant of God – *FAMVLORVM*. This plural refers also to Maria and Teudefredus, whose stones are held by the Museo Arqueológico Provincial de Córdoba (lápida 23,290), and in Málaga, respectively. They are not contemporary however.

22

**Tavira, roughly 20 miles northeast of Faro, on the south coast of Portugal**

987

*HIC REQVIESCVNT  
ME[m]BRA IVLIANI EPISCOPI  
QVI OBIIT DIE XII K[a]L[enda]S APR[i]L[e]S  
ERA XXIIIII POST T  
QV[a]ESO LECTOR EO ORARE  
NON ABNVAS SIC XP[istu]M D[o]M[inu]M*

<sup>32</sup> Morales, *Corónica general de España*, XVII.iv.

<sup>33</sup> Castejón Calderón, 'Los mozárabes del siglo VIII al X', 232; Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, 367; *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, [228], 75.

*PROTECTORE[m] HABEAS*<sup>34</sup>

Here rest the remains of Bishop Julian, who died 21 March in the Era 1025. I ask, my reader, that you do not refuse to pray for this man, so may you have the Lord Christ as your protector

**23**

**Badajoz**

**1000**

*DESERIT FVNERA DANIEL ORRIDA  
ATLETIS IVNGITVR RITE CELESTIBVS  
NEXVS MILITIBUS QVI FVIT OPTIMVS  
INMVNIS POPVLIS AC VENERABILIS  
EN IACENT PRAESVLIS MEMBRA PVRIFICI  
LISIMATHI ECCE TECTAQ[ue] CESPITE  
EXCEPTVS SPIRITVS ARCE DOMINICA  
PISCATOR OBIIT PRILVLA FER[v]ITVS  
CORVSCO FRVITVR CAELITVS GAVDIO  
OBTVTV DOMINI MENSE IANVARIO  
PR[a]ECEPS DVCITVR AERAE MILLESIMO  
IN ET TRICESIMO BIS QVATER ADDITO*<sup>35</sup>

Daniel abandons his terrible funeral rites, he is joined by ritual to the heavenly athletes, bound to the soldiers [of Christ]. He was a very great man, pure, and venerated by the people. Behold! the limbs of the protector lie purified, and look! housed in the soil. The fisherman has drawn out his breath from its Sunday stronghold [?]. He died and he eagerly delights in his profit with tremulous joy. Our prince was led into the sight of the Lord in the month of January, Era 1038

Discovered in 1520, this verse acrostic (three strophes in lesser asclepiad metre) – which yields *DANIEL EPISCOPI* – is yet another example of the Andalusī Christians nurturing a very high level of knowledge and skill with the classical Latin poetics, though the Latin text itself, full of allusions to Biblical texts (lines 2, 5,6 and 8), is nigh on untranslatable. Fita attempted a Castilian translation, but it is very free<sup>36</sup>; his

<sup>34</sup> Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, 367; *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, [210], 69.

<sup>35</sup> Fita, ‘Epitafios poéticos de Badajoz, Granada y Málaga’, 87-9; Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, 367; *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, [213], 69; Martínez y Martínez, *Historia del reino de Badajoz durante la dominación musulmana*, 313.

<sup>36</sup> Fita translated Daniel’s inscription as follows:

*Del obispo Daniel (epitafio).  
Los fúnebres horrores de la muerte  
Dejó detrás de sí; pues ya se junta*

commentary is very informative however. There is disagreement whether this inscription is genuine. Flórez and Aillet reject it as a fraud.<sup>37</sup>

24

### Atarfe, six miles northwest of central Granada

1002

Discovered in 'Los Secanos', Atarfe, on November 25 1870 on the site of Medina Elvira, November 1869 in the monastery of the Incarnation, according to Hübner. Now on display in the Museo Arqueológico de Granada (N.R.228).

*[cubat nunc camp]IS CIPRIANVS IN C[a]ELESTIBVS ALMIS  
IS NOBILIS MVNDOQUE PVRVS ET NATVS ELIANIS  
PACIFICVS DVLCIS GENITVS PARENTIBVS ALTIS  
RORE C[a]ELI TINCTVS XP[ist]I LATICIBVS AMNIS  
IOVIS ENIMQVE DIE HIC SIVIT CORPORA ARVIS  
A TER QVINQVE IANI DEIBVS QVOQVE MENSE DIC[tis]  
NAM QVADRAGENI IN MILLENI TEMPOR[is]  
IS MVNDI VIXIT TER DENIS BIS QVATER ANNIS<sup>38</sup>*

Ciprianus sleeps now in the bountiful celestial plains, he was born to noble and upright Eliano; peaceful and kind, he was begotten by noble parents. Baptised by heaven's dew, by the fluid rivers of Christ. And on Thursday 15 January he laid his body in the

---

*Justamente á los héroes, que en el cielo  
Blasonan de haber sido, acá en la tierra,  
Óptimo y venerable  
Lazo de santidad á muchas gentes.  
Helos aquí debajo de la gleba  
Los despojos mortales;  
De aquél que, pescador como San Pedro,  
Las almas apresaba, y difundía  
Do quier la paz y luz del Evangelio.  
De Cristo en el alcázar soberano  
Goza la clara vista del Eterno  
Su espíritu inmortal, cuyo principop  
En el remate aconteció de Enero,  
El año mil de la Era y treinta y ocho*

(‘Epitafios poéticos de Badajoz, Granada y Málaga’, 88).

<sup>37</sup> Flórez, *España sagrada XIV: de las Iglesias de Abila, Caliabria, Coria, Coimbra, Ebora, Egitania, Lamego, Lisboa, Osonoba, Pacense, Salamanca, Viséo, y Zamora, según su estado antiguo* (2nd ed. Madrid: Oficina de Pedro Marin, 1786), 264-6; Aillet, *Les «Mozarabes»*, 66.

<sup>38</sup> Fita, ‘Epitafios poéticos de Badajoz, Granada y Málaga’, 89-91; Gómez-Moreno, *Cosas granadinas de arte y arqueología*, 192, and *Iglesias mozárabes*, 367; *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae: Supplementum* [456], 101 (Hübner also published a fragment of the same in as [291], 119); Navascués, ‘Nueva inscripción mozárabe de la Alhambra (Granada)’, 276; Oliver Hurtado and Gómez-Moreno, *Informe sobre varias antigüedades descubiertas en la Vega de esta ciudad*, 22; Pastor Muñoz and Mendoza Eguaras, *Inscriptiones latinas de la provincia de Granada*, 288; Pastor Muñoz, *Corpus de inscripciones latinas de Andalucía volumen IV: Granada*, 82-3; Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, 635.

field here, and in the same month [...] for in the Era 1040, he lived 38 years in this world

Gómez-Moreno identifies Ciprian as *hijo de Ellano*. Simonet offers different suggestions for the lacunae: [*considen*]S in line one, DIC[*endis*] in the sixth, and TEMPOR[*e actis*] in the penultimate. Fita offers [*claru*] for the first line, making CLARVS CIPRIANVS.

Though the sense is lost completely towards the end, this hexameter acrostic composed with rhyming consonance, indicates at least a knowledge of, if not real skill in, poetic style.

## 25

### Córdoba

#### 1004

Found in 1544 in the region of the arrabal de los Marmolejos, today central Córdoba; today it is in the museum of Málaga.

HIC SPECIOSA CONDITA  
SIMVL CVBAT CVM FILIA  
TRA[n]QVILLA SACRA VIRGINE  
QVE NOVIES CENTESIMA  
QVINTAQVE SEXAGESIMA  
I[n] ERA SVBIVIT FVNERA  
POSTQ[uam] MATER MILLESIMA  
QVARTA RECESSIT VLTIMA<sup>39</sup>

Buried here, Speciosa sleeps together with her daughter, the holy virgin Tranquilla, who died in Era 965; later, [her] mother departed for the last time in 1004

Composed in iambic dimetre, this item indicates sophisticated study of classical Latin poetics. Where Hübner reads I[n] ERA in the sixth line, for which he must supply the *n*, Romero Barros sees simply IERA which, he conjectures, was informed by Arabic influence on the Latin/ Romance dialect of the caliphal period:

in *iera*, the *i* represents a *j*, and is perhaps introduced as a reminiscence of *hijra*<sup>40</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Amador de los Rios, *Historia crítica de la literatura española*, II.334; Castejón Calderón, 'Los mozárabes del siglo VIII al X', 231; *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, [222], 73; Morales, *Divi Eulogii Cordubensis Opera*, f<sup>o</sup> 132; Riesco Terrero, 'Tres lápidas funerarias', 185-211; Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, 624.

<sup>40</sup> Romero Barros, Rafael:

en *iera*, la *i* está por ج; y quizá se introdujo como reminiscencia de هجرة (hégira)

Barros does not, however, speculate on the significance of such a date; if this were a post-*hijra* calculation, the inscription would then hail from the early seventeenth century, a period of Spanish history not known for its use of the Islamic calendar.

## 26

### Casabermeja (Málaga)

#### 1010

Discovered, according to Hübner, in the region of Casabermeja, around seven miles north of Málaga, in the Aves Marias estate of Don Juan Barreros (*tres leguas al norte de Málaga en la hacienda de D. Juan Barreros nombrada de las Aves Marias, partido de Jotron*).

...ARDI ALTISSIMI<sup>41</sup>  
IVDEXQ[ue] ET PONTIFICI ET DIBINO NES[...]  
CONCLVSIT VITA TERMINV[m] SVV[m] PRECEPIT DEBITV[m?]  
MEDIA DIE SABBATO DIEBUS SEBTEM IENVARIO  
HOC ET IN ERA CENTIES DECEM ET IIIIor DECIES  
ET OCTABO IN SERIE CONFLATOS ET IN ORDINE<sup>42</sup>

...of the most high, judge and [...] to the divine bishop [...], he came to the end of his life, he foresaw his debt [...] in the middle of the Sabbath day, 7 January. This was in Era 1048 in the sequence kindled[?] and in [the?] order

Dated to 1002 by Hübner. Gómez-Moreno and Fita point out that it is composed in the trochaic metre.

## 27

### Córdoba

#### 1037

Discovered in Campo de la Verdad in the old Segunda district of the city, the Latin of Maria's epitaph is mostly illegible, though Castejón Calderón remarks that what can be

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(‘Lápida del siglo X, recién hallado en Córdoba’, *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 20 (1892), 206 n4).

<sup>41</sup> Transcribed thus by Hübner, but read as [Alb]AR D[e]I ALTISSIMI by Fita, ‘Epitafios poéticos de Badajoz, Granada y Málaga’, 91.

<sup>42</sup> Fita, *Epitafios poéticos de Badajoz, Granada y Málaga*, 91; Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, 368; *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, [216], 71; Simonet offers more or less the same reading as Hübner, adding *v* to *NES* of the first line (*Historia de los mozárabes*, 636).



seen of the lettering bears caliphal characteristics. Juan Gil renders the text as follows, deciphering a date of 1037:

*OBIIT MARIA BEATE MEMORIE  
SERVIDEI FILIA NOCTE SABBATI  
IBSIVS NOCTIS MEDIO ATQVE  
DECEM DIEB[us] PRETEREVNTIBVS  
MENSIS NOVEMBRIS SV[b] ERA  
TXXXVIIMA SEBTIMA<sup>43</sup>*

Maria of blessed memory, daughter of Servideus, died in the middle of the night of Saturday, 10 November, Era 1037, seventh...

28

### El Padul, ten miles south of Granada

1051

*OBIIT FA-  
MVLA DE-  
I FLORITE  
DIVE M[em]ORI-  
E ERA TRES M  
VIII [...] LIII<sup>44</sup>*

Hübner's fractured date makes no sense, but Gómez-Moreno reads:

*OBIIT FA-  
MVLA DE-  
I FLORITE  
DIVE M[em]ORI-  
ERA [mil]ES[ima]  
LXXXVIII  
[...] M[ar]T[ias]<sup>45</sup>*

Florita, servant of God, of divine memory, died in the Era 1089

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<sup>43</sup> Castejón Calderón, 'Los mozárabes del siglo VIII al X', 229; Gil, 'Para la edición de los textos visigodos y mozárabes', 226.

<sup>44</sup> Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, 368; *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae: Supplementum* [458], 103; Navascués, 'Nueva inscripción mozárabe de la Alhambra', 269n2; Pastor Muñoz and Mendoza Eguaras, *Inscripciones latinas de la provincia de Granada*, 305.

<sup>45</sup> Gómez-Moreno, *Guía de Granada*, 195; Pastor Muñoz, *Corpus de inscripciones latinas de Andalucía volumen IV*, 87.

Discovered in 1957 in the area of la Ciudad Jardín de Córdoba.

*IN HOC TVMVVL[o] REQVIES-  
CIT C[o]RPVVS IOANNI XP[is]TICO-  
LI SIT ILLI BEATA RECVIE[s]  
OBIIT DIE DOMINICO XIIM  
KALENDAS MARTIAS  
IN ERA MILESIMA  
CENTESIMA QVADRA-  
GINTA SEPTIMA*

في هذا [أ] القبر استقر جسد  
عبد آمن تمام توفي صباح  
بيوم الأحد في إحدى عشر يو-  
م بقرين لشهر مرس من سنة  
سبع واربعين ومائه والـف امن  
تاريخ الصفر<sup>46</sup>

[Latin] In this tomb rests the body of John the worshipper of Christ, may his rest be blessed. He died on Sunday 18 February in the Era 1147.

[Arabic] In this tomb lies the body of a servant of complete peace. He died on the morning of Sunday the eleventh day from the beginning of the month of Mars [March] in the year 1147 in the chronology of the Yellow Ones

This John lived at a time when the situation of the Andalusī Christians is assumed to have become intolerable, the end of their presence in Muslim territories as a consequence of the policies of religious intolerance instituted by the Almoravid Caliph ‘Alī bin Yūsuf.

<sup>46</sup> Castejón Calderón, ‘Los mozárabes del siglo VIII al X’, 232-3; Ocaña Jiménez, ‘Lápida bilingüe hallada en Córdoba’, 158-9.

## 30

### Zaragoza

1111

*VLTIMA DOMINICA MENSIS SEPTEMBRIS CONSECRATA FVIT ECCLESIA ISTA A  
DOMNO VINCENTIO CAESARAVGVSTANO EPISCOPO ANNO AB INCARNATIONE  
DOMINI MCXI<sup>47</sup>*

On the last Sunday of the month of September this church was consecrated by Lord Vincent, Bishop of Zaragoza, in the year 1111 after the Lord's incarnation

Latinate Christians must have seen in the conquest of Zaragoza in 1118, for it seems unlikely that some catastrophe befell them in the intervening seven years. The use of *anno domini* dating perhaps indicates strong links to the Aragonese church. Alternatively, the inscription could be the work of Aragonese commemorating pre-conquest events in an Andalusī church.

## 31

### Granada

1120

*I[n] N[o]M[in]E D[omi]NI  
N[o]S[tr]I IH[es]V XP[ist]I  
OBIIT FAMVLA D[e]I  
MARIA IN ME[n]SE  
AVGVSTVS IN ERA  
M[i]L[lesim]A CLVIII<sup>48</sup>*

In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ; Maria the servant of God died in the month of August in the Era 1158

Discovered in an old house in the Alhambra opposite the palace of Carlos V, this inscription shows that the Christian community – possibly under the leadership of Ibn al-Qallās at this point – was still using Latin in a ritual capacity at a time when they are believed by many not only to have been on the cusp of disappearing but to have been long completely Arabised.

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<sup>47</sup> *España sagrada* XXX, 227; Fuente, *Historia eclesiástica de España*, IV.529n2; Quadrado, *Recuerdos y bellezas de España: Aragón*, 300n1; Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, 740.

<sup>48</sup> Navascués, 'Nueva inscripciones mozárabes de la Alhambra (Granada)', 268; Pastor Muñoz, *Corpus de inscripciones latinas de Andalucía volumen IV: Granada*, 72; Pastor Muñoz and Mendoza Eguaras, *Inscripciones latinas de la provincia de Granada*, 290.

32

**Córdoba**

1155

Discovered in Campo de la Verdad; lápida 23,291 at the Museo Arqueológico Provincial de Córdoba.

*IN HOC LOCO REQVIESCIT  
CORPVS FAMVLAE DEI  
IVST[a]E QV[a]E OBI[i]T  
IN ERA TXCC IIIa  
IIII NONAS SEPTE[m]BRIS<sup>49</sup>*

In this place lies the body of the servant of God, Justa, who died 2 September in the Era 1193

The Latin here is as good as that of the ninth century, if not better, with only four letters lost to ellipsis.

33

**Sanlúcar la Mayor, ten miles west of Seville**

1214

*XP[istu]S VIVIT XP[istu]S VINCIT XP[istu]S INPERAT  
PER CRVCIS HOC SIGNVM  
FVGIAT PRO[cul omn]E MALIGNVM  
EN ERA DE MCCLII TOME  
ACABO DE LABRAR  
ESTA EGLESIA<sup>50</sup>*

Christ lives, Christ conquers, Christ commands.

May all evil flee far from this sign of the Cross.

Tomé completed work on this church in Era 1252

According to this inscription, the Christians of Sanlúcar la Mayor were allowed to build a new church by the authorities under the last Almohad Caliph Abū Ya‘qūb Yūsuf II (1212-24). It is thus highly unlikely that the church could have been lost before the region around Seville fell to Fernando III’s Christian forces in 1248: an active and

<sup>49</sup> Castejón Calderón, ‘Los mozárabes del siglo VIII al X’, 229.

<sup>50</sup> Caro, *Antigüedades y principado de la Ilustrísima ciudad de Sevilla* (Simonet cites what appears to be an 1851 edition in article form (as seen): *Adiciones al libro de las antigüedades y principado de Sevilla* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1851), I.779 and n2); Flórez, *España sagrada IX*, 121; Llaguno y Amírola, *Noticias de los arquitectos y arquitectura de España desde su restauración*, I.40; Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, 779. See also: Bevan, *History of Spanish Architecture*, 34; Menéndez Pidal, *Orígenes del español*, 427; Serrano Ortega, *Monumentos de los pueblos de la provincia de Sevilla*, 150

sophisticated Christian community survived even the supposed persecutors the Almoravids and Almohads, and was even allowed a great degree of freedom by the latter. It is true that the words bear evidence of Spanish vocabulary – *acabo de labrar* – suggesting to some the possibility of a later date or of northern Christian work. This latter seems to be partly right: the architect or overseer is named in line three as Tomé, a variant of Thomas of Spanish and Portugal usage; Serrano Ortega confuses matters by designating Tomé *muzárabe*. It could be that the project of restoration was managed by an outsider; this would not change the fact that this is an Andalusī church enjoying privileges from the Almohads.

Rodrigo Caro claimed in the early seventeenth century to have seen a flagstone in the parish church of San Ildefonso in Seville bearing the funerary inscription of a man who had died and been buried there seven or eight years before the triumphant arrival of Fernando; he made a copy of it, but, it is claimed, both copy and original stone disappeared. It is tempting to believe the account, but one cannot be sure whether Caro was driven by the same nationalist exuberance to see things that were not there and make grand claims; in any case it must be discounted as apocryphal though worth mentioning. While these scholars, and Llaguno y Amírola, believe that this inscription is the work of indigenous Andalusī Christians – ‘Christians who lived among the Moors’ (*entre los moros vivian algunos cristianos*, to quote the latter) – the authenticity of the inscription has been doubted in some quarters. Julio González suspected that a later date of 1314 is obscured by a missing C, making it a Castilian inscription<sup>51</sup>; he had not seen the inscription for himself, however, and thus could not possibly base his judgement on anything but his unwillingness to admit that Andalusī Christianity lasted this long. Billy Russell Thompson, in his doctoral thesis, concludes that it ‘is certainly Castilian and bears no resemblance to Mozarabic construction’<sup>52</sup>.

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<sup>51</sup> González, Julio, *Repartimiento de Sevilla* (Seville: Signatura Ediciones de Andalucía, 1998), I.306n8.

<sup>52</sup> Thompson, Billy Russell, *Bilingualism in Moorish Spain* (PhD thesis, University of Virginia, 1970), 100.

## UNDATED INSCRIPTIONS

34

### **Povoa de Lanhoso, roughly seven miles northeast of Braga**

Assigned to seventh or eighth century by Hübner (*Cuius temporis sit incertum, sed non video cur non possit saeculi esse septimi octavive*); discovered in the castle, on the gate near the western tower.

[...] PETRUS AEP[iscopu]S [...] <sup>53</sup>

...the Archbishop Peter...

35

### **Saltiponce, northern outskirts of modern Seville**

Assigned to seventh or eighth century by Hübner (*Litterae sunt saeculi septimi vel octavi*); indescipherably fragmentary marble tablet.

[...ho]OROLOGIV[m?]

[...] D[omi]NI

[s]CI[...] STEFEN <sup>54</sup>

...the sundial [or waterclock]... [...]of the Lord... [...]of Saint Stephen[?]...

36

### **Usagre, southeast of Villafranca de los Barros, Badajoz province**

Assigned by Hübner to the seventh or eighth century (*titulus videtur esse saeculi septimi vel octavi*); a marble tablet containing gothic letters among Roman anaglyphs, discovered in the frontispiece of the church's portico.

S[an]C[t]IS ONOR SVMMVS MODEFREDI MEMORIA IVGIS

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<sup>53</sup> *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, [135], 43.

<sup>54</sup> *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, [63], 20.



*FLOREAD SPORTIS CARA CVM CONIVGE SACRIS*<sup>55</sup>

The greatest honour of the saints, joined with the memory of Modfredus [?]

May he flourish with his dear wife in the sacred letters [?]

**37**

**Alcalá la Real**

Very partial inscription of unknown context, assigned to the eighth century by Hübner.

*OLORVI II*

*OIRAL ID[u]S IVLIAS*

*XTO RTL RTS IANV-*

*E C[cl]ESIARVM*

*TOI ID[u]S FEBRV*<sup>56</sup>

[...] the door of the churches [...] 13 February

**38**

**Braga**

Assigned to the eighth century by Hübner.

*[...]POST EVANGELICVM BISSENI DOGMA SENATVS[...]*<sup>57</sup>

**39**

**Espejo, 20 miles southeast of Córdoba**

Eighth century, likely post conquest.

*IN HVNC TV-*

*MVLVM REQVI-*

*ESCIT CORPVS*

*BELESARI FA-*

*MVLI XPI CONDI-*

*TORI HVIVS BASE-*

*LICE QVI VIXIT IN*

*HOC S[e]C[u]LO AN[no]S*

<sup>55</sup> *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, [55], 18.

<sup>56</sup> *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, [107], 30.

<sup>57</sup> *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae: Supplementum*, [379], 65-6.

PLVS MINVS [...]  
RECESSIT IN PACE D[i...]  
ERA DCC[...]<sup>58</sup>

in this tomb rests the body of Belesarius, a servant of Christ and the founder of this basilica, who lived more or less [...] years in this life. He died in peace on [...]day in the Era seven hundred [and ...?]

## 40

### Évora

Assigned to eighth century by Hübner (*litterae sunt saeculi, nisi fallor, octavi*).

FLECTE GENV EN SIGNVM PER QVOD VIS VICTA[t] TIRANI  
ANTIQVE ATQVE EREBI CONCIDIT IMPERIVM  
HOC TV SIVE PIVS FRONTE[m] SIVE PECTORAL SIGNES  
NEC LEMORVM INSIDIES EXPECTARA[nt]QVE VANA TIME<sup>59</sup>

On bended knee behold the sign through which [one's] strength might defeat the tyrant, and destroy the empire of ancient Erebus. Make this sign upon your forehead and your chest, and the insidious shades of the dead shall be powerless with dread

The references *EREBI* and *LEMORVM* indicate the survival of pagan thought and belief, since Erebus, from the Greek *Erebos* (Ἔρεβος), was the pagan Hades, realm of the dead, or, personified, a figure analogous to the lord of the Underworld, Dis, Hades or Pluto; the *lemures* were the Roman 'spirits of the night', what should have been considered demonic powers in the eighth century.

## 41

### Granada

Assigned to the eighth century by Hübner (*litteris... saeculi ut videntur VIII*).

HIC REQ[uiet]IT ANNI QVI VISQVIT ANNOS SEX QVINQVE MENSES IN PACE<sup>60</sup>

Here Anni, who lived six years five months, lies in peace

<sup>58</sup> *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, [99], 28; *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinorum pars V: Conventus Astigitanus* (II<sup>2</sup>/5) edited by Géza Alföldy, Marc Mayer Olivé, Armin U. Stylow, and Manfred G. Schmidt (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1998), 5,482; *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres*, [1818], I.357.

<sup>59</sup> *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres*, [1625], I.314; *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, [10], 5.

<sup>60</sup> *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae: Supplementum*, [453], 99; Navascués, 'Nueva inscripción mozárabe de la Alhambra (Granada)', 269n2; Pastor Muñoz, *Corpus de inscripciones latinas de Andalucía volumen IV: Granada*, 70-1.

Discovered in 1871 in the calle del Agua in the Albaicín. Now on display at the Museo Arqueológico de Granada (N.R.224).

42

**Toya, roughly 40 miles east of Jaén**

Hübner assigns it to the eighth century (*Titulum christianum saeculi octavi*); found in 1862 by Emanuel de Góngora in a southern tower of the castle.

† ANTE † ERAVIO<sup>61</sup>

43

**Mérida**

Assigned to the eighth century by Hübner (*Litteratura videtur esse saeculi fere octavi exeuntis*).

[i]H SIT NOME[n...]  
VIVIF[i]CAT ET MOR[t...]  
PAVSET IN SEPVLIC[ro... SIMEON FI-]  
LIVS DE REBBISE[...]  
SVP[er] ORANS IN SOR[te?]  
[... ]TVS INLIGATORIVM [...]  
CISA PERITI PORTA[...]  
INGREDE CVM PACE [m...]  
LXIII REPLETVS SA[pienta?]  
PR[a]EDVCENS ARTE MI[...]  
EGO SIMEON FILIVS DE REBBISA[...]<sup>62</sup>

May [his?] name [...] restores to life and the dead [...] in the tomb [is?] Simeon, son of Rebbisa [...] ...entered in peace in the month of [?...] [he died at the age of?] 63 full of wisdom [...] leading with skill [?...] I, Simeon, son of Rebbisa[...]

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<sup>61</sup> *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, [173], 55.

<sup>62</sup> *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, [34], 11.

44

**Toledo**

774+

Found in the church of San Thyrso.

*TEMPLVM HOC DOMINE CIXILA CONDIDIT  
DIGNAM HIC HABEAT SORTEM IN AETHERA  
CVM SVMMIS CIVIBVS CANTICA PRAECINAT  
GAVDENS PERPETVIS SAECVLIS OMNIBVS*<sup>63</sup>

Cixila founded this temple for the Lord – may he have a worthy destiny in the skies;  
may he sing the canticles with the greatest citizens, rejoicing for all time

The date would coincide with Cixila's episcopacy (774-83), assuming the inscription is a dedication to work ordered, though apparently not seen completed, by him.

45

**Rute, 10 miles southeast of Lucena**

787

Discovered high in the castle wall, this inscription tells us almost nothing, but testifies simply to the use of Latin in this location.

*DCCC P[us] XXV*<sup>64</sup>

Hubner is suspicious of this inscription because of what he sees as a redundant *P* – his reading is simply *DCCCPXXV*, which makes no sense. It was common practice, however, to use *P* as shorthand for plus, as in the phrase 'he lived more or less 60 years' (*vixit plus minus sexaginta annos*), which would have been engraved as, among other variations, *VIXIT PM SEXAG ANNOS*.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae: Supplementum*, [393], 75.

<sup>64</sup> *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae: falsae vel suspectae*, [26], 96.

<sup>65</sup> See: Sandys, John Edward, *Latin Epigraphy: An Introduction to the Study of Latin Inscriptions* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Cambridge: CUP, 1919), 63.

46

**La Torre de Miguel Sesmero, 20 miles southeast of Badajoz**

Assigned to eighth or ninth century by Hübner.

[...]ETO[...]

[...]DE[...]<sup>66</sup>

47

**Beja, around 100 miles southeast of Lisbon**

Discovered in a wall at the gate of myrtle (*portam Myrtilensem*) according to Hübner, who assigned it to the eighth or ninth century – *Cuius tempore sit incertum est; puot octavo nonove saeculo.*

AECLESIAE [...]E [...]OB[...]

PRO INCOLOMETATE IN[...]<sup>67</sup>

Of/ to/from the Church [...] for the sake of security [...?]

48

**Toledo**

Assigned to eighth or ninth century by Hübner (*Litterae videntur esse saeculi octavi nonive*); from the gate of the monastery of San Clemente.

C[hris]T[u]S I[hesus] EST MIKI VERVM MANE PERENNE<sup>68</sup>

Jesus Christ is my true perennial morning [?]

Gómez-Moreno assigns to the tenth century.

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<sup>66</sup> *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae: Supplementum*, [351], 36.

<sup>67</sup> *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, [5], 4.

<sup>68</sup> *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, [156], 49; Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, 369.

**Trevélez, in the Alpujarras, 20 miles southeast of Granada  
(852-86)**

[...]REG-  
NANTE MAMMET RE-  
GEM SARRACENORV[m]  
FLORIESINVS D[ia]C[o]NVS  
FECIT HANC SCRIBTA[m]<sup>69</sup>

...in Muḥammad's reign as king of the Saracens, the deacon Floriesindus wrote this  
Gómez-Moreno renders *Floriesindus* as *Floresindus*, and his reproduction of the  
inscription clearly substantiates his reading.

**Córdoba**

Assigned to the mid-ninth century by Hübner.

SUPER TVMVLVM S[ancti] IOANIS CONFESSORIS  
CARCERES ET DIRA IOANNES FERREA VINCLA  
CHRISTI AMORE TVLIT HAC FVNCTVS IN AVLA QVIESCIT<sup>70</sup>

Above the tomb of the holy confessor John, with Christ's love John bore the prison and  
the awful iron fetters; he served in this palace; he sleeps [?]

Hübner dates this item tentatively to 851, though he offers no reason to do so.  
Presumably he is attempting to suggest that this John was among those Christians who  
worked in administrative posts in the court (*aula*) and were reportedly driven out by  
Muḥammad I in 852.

<sup>69</sup> Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes* 365; *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae: Supplementum* [454], 100; [292]; Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, I.290; Navascués, 'Nueva inscripción mozárabe de le Alhambra', 269n2; Pastor Muñoz, and Mendoza Eguaras, *Inscripciones latinas de la provincia de Granada*, 317; Pastor Muñoz, *Corpus de inscripciones latinas de Andalucía*, 90; Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, 541.

<sup>70</sup> Gil, *CSM* 2:687; *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, [217], 71; Martínez Gázquez, 'Epitafios mozárabes', 84-5.



## 51

### Córdoba

Dated to mid-ninth century.

*SECLA DEI NATE FRVARIS CONSORTIO SERBVS  
HIC NOMINE TVO MISTO DINOSKERIS ESSE  
TE QVOQVE VIVIDO DOCILIS CORDE AMATVR  
SEPE DIV ERIS SI SEPE A XPO QVERERIS  
SACRO TVO POSCO OBTAVILI ESSE ORATV  
VT VALEAM TERGI A NVGIS QVE PROPRIIS EGI<sup>71</sup>*

May you delight in fellowship for the ages as a Servant of God, may you be distinguished by this compound name, and may he be loved by you also by the animated heart of the docile [?]. . . you will often live by day if you are often lamented by Christ[?]. I desire that through your holy prayer I might be able to be cleansed from the trifling things I have done

Martínez Gázquez published this inscription, which he dated to 851, without giving any indication of its source. He identifies it as an epitaph for a Servus Dei, though he is circumspect and does not identify this individual outright with that claimed as a martyr by Eulogius. The Latin is rather nonsensical in places, enough to obscure the meaning of almost every line.

## 52

### Córdoba

Late ninth century.

*EPITAPHIVM S[an]C[t]I EVLOGII  
HIC RECVBAT LEPIDVS MARTIR DOCTORQVE REFVLGENS  
AEVLOGIVS LVMEN DVLCE PER SAECVLA NOMEN  
QVI ZELO FIDEI RVTLANS VIRTVTE PROIRVM  
ACCENSIT ANIMOS MAGNO FVLGORE VIRORVM  
HIC MACTE CELEBER LIBRIS PRECONATVS ET YMNIS  
ET VITA RIGIDVS ET FINE SOLE CORVSCVVS  
QVI TEMNENS FLVIDA CONSCENDIT LVCIDA CAELI  
NEC MORTE PERIIT SED VIBIT SEDE PERHENNI  
CREDITE QVESO MIHI VIBIT PER SAECVLA VIBIT  
QVISQVIS CELESTI LETATVR GLORIA REGNI<sup>72</sup>*

<sup>71</sup> Martínez Gázquez, 'Epitafios mozárabes', 85.

<sup>72</sup> Gil, *CSM* 1:361; *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, [218], 71; Martínez Gázquez, 'Epitafios mozárabes', 73.

Epitaph of holy Eulogius

Here lies the charming martyr and shining doctor, the name Eulogius is a sweet light through life; glowing red with the zeal of faith [and] the virtue of our forefathers, he inflamed the minds of men with [his] great glory. He is celebrated for his sacrifice and praised for his books and hymns, upright in life and shining like the sun in his end, scorning the indolent [life?] he ascended to the light of heaven; he was not destroyed by death, but lives on in the eternal kingdom. Believe me, I implore [you], he lives through the ages, he lives, every man who dies for the glory of the heavenly kingdom

53

Córdoba

Late ninth century.

*ORATIO ALBARI*

*NVNC TE ROGO SANCTE RECOLAS VT NOMEN AMICI  
QVEM TVA HIC TENVIT DVLCIS AMICITIA FIXVM  
ALBARI EXTREMI QVI MVLTA CLADE REATI  
INFECTVS VITIIS PERGIT PER DEVIA MVNDI  
PREX TVA HVNC TENEAT LAP SVM AD PASCVA VITAE  
VT SOLITE SANCTO DIGNO NECTATVR AMORE  
QVO TIBI CONIVNCTVS MANSIT PER SECVLA CARVS  
PRESTA DEVS DEORVM REGNANS PER SECVLVS AMEN<sup>73</sup>*

Albar's address

Now I ask you, holy one, remember the name of your friend whom your sweet friendship held transfixed, Albar who stands most vilely accused of many massacres [?], undone by vices, he proceeds along the by-way[s] of the world. May your prayer hold fast this fallen man to the pasture of life so that he may be joined to [your?] holy dignity by [your] accustomed love, may he remain beloved, joined to you for all time; O be present, God of gods reigning through the ages. Amen

Hübner tentatively dates these twin inscriptions to the year 868, and again gives no indication of where he got that date from.

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<sup>73</sup> Gil, *CSM* 1:361; *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, [218], 71.

54

**Córdoba**

Late ninth century.

*NOBILIS HIC EXTAT HERMILDIS IN BVSTO LOCATA  
QVE CRISTO FAMVLANS TEMPNENDO SECVLI POMPAM  
HINC IVBILANS PLAVDENSQVE EROVM CONSCENDIT IN AVLAM<sup>74</sup>*

[The remains] of noble Hermildo are located in this tomb; he served Christ, despising the ostentation of the age, and for this reason he ascended to the palace of the heroes rejoicing and clapping

Gil asserts that this epitaph comes from the same source as that of Abbot Samson above in 890, and thus belongs to the late ninth century. Again, reference is made to the martyrs as heroes of the faith.

55

**Córdoba**

Late ninth century.

*OFFILO HIC TENVI VERSVS IN PVLVERE DORMIT  
FALLENTEM MVNDVM OLIM QVI MENTE SVBEGIT  
FRAGLANTESQVE DAPES TEMPSIT ET POCVLA FVLVA  
INFESTVM VIRGO MALENS VITARE C[a]ELID[a]R[i]VM  
LAVDETVR TALIS MVLTORVM LINGVA SACERDOS  
OBTETVR ILLI ET C[a]ELI PORTIO DARI<sup>75</sup>*

Offilo sleeps here, turned to fine dust.

Once he overcame the false world with his mind,  
And provocative feasts and goblets put him to the test,  
Like a virgin, he preferred to avoid the unsafe steam bath  
May he be praised by man men's words as a great priest  
May it be hoped that he is given a share of heaven

Gil attributed this inscription to Abbot Samson (*item epitaphium Samsonis abbate editum*), and appends it to the abbot's works in the *Corpus Scriptorum Muzarabicorum*; it is thus likely that it hails from the latter half of the ninth century, c.860-90. The acrostic naming the deceased, Offilo, fits Samson's self-professed interest in good use of language – though the fourth line is strange. The transposition of *r* and *l* making *fraglantes* of *flagrantes* is familiar to readers of Eulogius. The fourth line proves

<sup>74</sup> Gil, *CSM* 2:687; Martínez Gázquez, 'Epitafios mozárabes', 84.

<sup>75</sup> Gil, *CSM* 2:665; Martínez Gázquez, 'Epitafios mozárabes', 78.

difficult to translate because of the last word, *CELIDRVM*. It can only be a misspelling of *calidarium*, the hot room at the Roman baths; in this context it is surely a reference to the *ḥamām* or bathhouses which so offended Christian sensibilities in later centuries after the final surrender of Granada.<sup>76</sup> The line is also difficult to read because of the odd comparison of the pious priest with a young girl avoiding the dangers of the sinful bathhouse.

## 56

### Córdoba

Assigned to the ninth century by Hübner; tenth by Gómez-Moreno. Lápida 419, Museo Arqueológico Provincial de Córdoba.

*MARTINVS HV[c lapid]E TECTVS  
CHR[isti]COLVS ET CRISMATE VNCTVS  
[...] VSQVE RECTVS<sup>77</sup>*

Martin is covered by this stone, he was a follower of Christ and anointed in the baptismal oil... and upright[...?]

Perhaps *VSQVE MORTVI* would be a better reading in terms of sense, though the photograph provided by Hübner cuts the line of rather abruptly to the right and bottom. Gómez-Moreno suggests this inscription be dated to the tenth century.<sup>78</sup>

## 57

### Lucena, around 40 miles south southeast of Córdoba

Epitaph of the bishop Leovigildus, discovered 1735, now held by the museum of Málaga.

*[E...]S CELSVM DOMINVM ME[n...]  
POSCIT ET VENIAM CHR[ist]I FLE[bi...]  
INCLITE QVEM DIGNVS TVMVLA[bi...]  
S[an]C[tu]S ET INLVSTRIS HERVS LE[o ...]*

<sup>76</sup> Lea, Henry Charles, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain* (New York: Macmillan, 1907), III.332, 336; Prescott, William H., *History of the Reign of Philip the Second, King of Spain* (London: Routledge, Warnes & Routledge, 1859), III.13-4.

<sup>77</sup> Castejón Calderón, 'Los mozárabes del siglo VIII al X', 227; Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, 368; *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae: Supplementum* [463], 105.

<sup>78</sup> Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, 368.

*CVNCTIS QVOD PROFVIT AD SPE[m ...]  
 OB QVOD CONTINVE LECTOR D[om...]  
 ...CENS VT VENIA MANEAT [e...]  
 [...at perpetua vita ma...]  
 [...era DCCC...]<sup>79</sup>*

Gómez-Moreno suggests a tenth-century date; all commentators note that the full inscription bore the acrostic *EPISCOPVS*. Riesco Terrero proposes to fill the gaps and flesh out the acrostic, naming the Bishop Leovigildus instead of Leo:

*[ex] CELSVM DOMINVM ME[um memento?]  
 POSCIT ET VENIAM CHR[ist]I FLE[bilis ...]  
 INCLITE QVEM DIGNVS TVMVLABE[re honoribus ...]  
 SANCTVS ET INLVSTRIS HERVS LE[ovigildus ...]  
 CVNCTIS QVOD PROFVIT AD SPEM [eternam ...]  
 OB QVOD CONTINVE LECTOR DOM[inum...]  
 [pos]CENS VT VENIA MANEAT [in eterno et...]  
 [vivat perpetua vi]TAM AMEN  
 [sepultus in era DCCC...]<sup>80</sup>*

...my lofty Lord [? ...] the weeping man asks for Christ's grace [...] the holy and illustrious hero Leovigildus [...] because he benefited [in every way?] to eternal hope [? ...] because, O reader, he continually asks the Lord [...] that [his] grace might last forever [and.... ] may he live forever, Amen. He was buried in Era 800[+...]

The text is either far too fragmentary or badly written to make much sense.

## 58

### Córdoba

Discovered in 1586, date unknown, but assigned to the tenth century by Morales, followed by Tamayo and Hübner.

*MEMBRA FVLGENT HIC VRNA  
 ANVS RELIGIOS[a]E  
 RITE CARNE DEVICTA  
 IN SOBRIA FAMA CASTA  
 ARCE C[a]ELESTI ET AVLA  
 SVM TECTA HIC SAXEA CAVA<sup>81</sup>*

<sup>79</sup> Castejón Calderón, 'Los mozárabes del siglo VIII al X', 228; Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, 368-9; *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, [128], 39.

<sup>80</sup> Castejón Calderón, 'Los mozárabes del siglo VIII al X', 232; Riesco Terrero, 'Tres lápidas funerarias', 189; *Inscriptiones cristianas de la España romana y visigoda*, number 274.

The remains of an old religious woman shine in this jar, the flesh duly overcome,  
renowned for her virtuous sobriety. I am housed in the heavenly tower and palace, this  
hollow rock [?]

An acrostic provides the name of the old woman: *Maria sum*. Style over substance: in  
accommodating the acrostic pattern, the sense is lost in the last lines.

## 59

### Córdoba

Date unknown, but assigned to the tenth century by Gómez-Moreno. Discovered in the  
calle de los Deanes; now in Museo Arqueológico Provincial de Córdoba, lápida 416.

*INH DNI IESV XP  
OIMHEN PE EAbIvV  
DEI // RIA EXPI ...E  
TI // ...ESV ...S  
TBICINIA DVvMI  
BABITA RhOE  
TOS ERTIM°DE  
S - IVLVTVS<sup>82</sup>*

Hübner declines to make any estimate based upon this very unclear transcription.  
Gómez-Moreno evidently saw a better transcription or the inscription itself – for he  
states that it is, or was, at the turn of twentieth century, held by the museum at Córdoba  
– and offers the reading:

*IN NOMINE DOMINI NOSTRI IHESV XPISTI OBIIT NEMPE FAMVLA DEI MARIA  
EXPLETIS [vite] SV[e ann]IS TRIGINTA DVO MIGRABIT AB OC SECCLO SEPTIMO  
DECIMO KALENDAS IVLIAS...*<sup>83</sup>

In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, Maria, servant of God died having lived 32 years;  
she left this life, 15 June...

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<sup>81</sup> Castejón Calderón, 'Los mozárabes del siglo VIII al X', 232; *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres*, [1675], I.325; Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, 369; *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, [130], 39. Hübner follows Juan Tamayo de Salazar in this regard, see *Martyrologium Hispanum*, VI.524.

<sup>82</sup> *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae: Supplementum*, [462], 105.

<sup>83</sup> Castejón Calderón, 'Los mozárabes del siglo VIII al X', 226; Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, 368.



**Location unknown**

Assigned to tenth century. Now held by the Museo Arqueológico de Granada.

OBIIT D[e]I FAMV-  
LVS D[omi]NICVS DI  
LI[...]E MORIE E[s]T BE-  
ATE REQ[uiesc]IT E SVB  
SEM[...] ET [...]  
[...]  
[...]  
[...]  
[...]<sup>84</sup>

Gómez-Moreno cited the extreme wear of the stone in his tentative suggestion of tenth-century provenance; the geographical provenance is unknown (*'ni consta tampoco la procedencia, seguramente andaluza'*)<sup>85</sup>. Hübner's transcription is much clearer:

OBIIT D[e]I FAOMVLVS D[omi]NICVS DIVE M[em]ORIE ET  
BEATE REQVIE[vit] SVBSENIE[n]TE ETATE DEPOS[itus] TER  
QV[i]NTIBVS [k]ALEND[is] FEBRV[ariis]<sup>86</sup>

**61****La Zubia, ten miles south of Granada**

There is disagreement on the period of this item: it is assigned to the eighth or ninth century by Hübner; Gómez-Moreno thinks it belongs to the tenth century; Mendoza Eguaras favours the rather less precise timeframe of eighth to tenth.

PAVPERES VOBISCVM  
ABEBITIS, ME AVTEM SENPER VO-  
BISCVM NON AVEBITIS TV QVI LE-  
GIS INTELLIGE<sup>87</sup>

'For the poor always ye have with you; but me ye have not always'. You who read this, understand.

<sup>84</sup> Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, 369.

<sup>85</sup> Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, 369.

<sup>86</sup> Hübner, *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae: Supplementum*, [459], 103.

<sup>87</sup> Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, 369; *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae: Supplementum*, [375], 61; Mendoza Eguaras, 'Inscripción mozárabe de la Zubia (Granada)', *Cuadernos de prehistoria y arqueología*, 13-14 (*Homenaje al Prof. Gratiniano Nieto volumen II*) (1986-87), 278; Navascués, 'Nueva inscripción mozárabe de la Alhambra', 269n2; Pastor Muñoz, *Corpus de inscripciones latinas de Andalucía*, 92; Pastor Muñoz, and Mendoza Eguaras, *Inscripciones latinas de la provincia de Granada*, 316-7; Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, 541.

This quote from *John* 12:8. Now on display at the Museo Arqueológico de Granada (N.R.10,016).

## 62

### Córdoba

TECTA VALENTIANI MEMBRA HEC CONTINET AVLA  
QVI CRISTO FAMVLANS ORNATVS VESTE SACRATA  
AD EROAS LATVS EST SCVLPTA EN MARMORE ERA [...]<sup>88</sup>

This roofed space holds the remains of Valentinianus, who, serving Christ dressed in his sacred vestments, has been borne up to the heroes; carved in marble in the Era...

Gil includes this item in his *CSM*, along with other inscriptions from the latter half of the ninth century, though he gives no indication of its provenance, either chronological or geographical. It would be wrong to assume the same provenance for this piece, and there is some indication that it may hail from the early tenth century: Martínez Gázquez points out the parallel in the opening line with the epitaph of Martin, dated 931, in the imagery of a roof (*tecta*) for the remains (*membra*) of the deceased<sup>89</sup>; both epitaphs also employ the rather grand term *aula* (classically speaking, a ‘palace’) for the tomb; both use the phrase *qui Christo famulans*; both present the image of the dead ecclesiastic ‘borne up to the heroes’ (*ad eroas latus est* in both inscriptions) and the phrase *sculpta(m) in marmore*. Far from conclusive, but this could indicate a style employed by one engraver or guild in the late-ninth to early tenth century, a date which is certainly possible if not probable.

## 63

### Córdoba

Assigned to the early tenth century. Discovered in 1891 by Romero Barros half a kilometre northeast of the railway station, towards the Albayda.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Gil, *CSM* 2:665; Martínez Gázquez, ‘Epitafios mozárabes’, 81.

<sup>89</sup> Martínez Gázquez, ‘Epitafios mozárabes’, 82.

<sup>90</sup> Romero Barros:

*Hace pocos meses se encontró á medio kilómetro de la estación del ferrocarril, en dirección Noroeste hacia el castillo de la Albayda, un fragmento de lápida de mármol blanco, que ha venido á este Museo provincial, y cuyo calco envió*

(‘Lápida del siglo X, 205).

*[dum] CAE[li stringent  
a]STRORV[m] FLE[xibus orbem]  
[l]VCIFER AETHE[reis]  
[e]ÖGLOMERATVS [eris]  
[dicite]VICTVRAS  
[laudes per secla futura  
martiris et palmam  
purpureumque decus]<sup>91</sup>*

When the skies pass over the earth with the movements of the stars, you, Lucifer, will become round in the heavens. Speak the martyr's praises throughout future ages; and the palm and the purple ornament [?]

Romero Barros believed his discovery to be early tenth century on the grounds that the palaeographic style compares closely to that of 925.<sup>92</sup> The reference to Lucifer as the Morning Star (Venus) indicates familiarity with pre-Christian tradition.

## 64<sup>93</sup>

### Córdoba

Discovered in the modern Electromecánica district of Córdoba. Now in Museo Arqueológico Provincial de Córdoba, number 4349.

*[...]VERE[...]II  
[...]CAROIV[...]CIVS  
[...]F[rfe?] CONVERTAM  
[...]MR TVLIT  
[...]A[...]CEDE POSC[ere?]<sup>94</sup>*

<sup>91</sup> Castejón Calderón, 'Los mozárabes del siglo VIII al X', 232; Romero Barros, 'Lápida del siglo X', 205; Santos Gener, 'Nueva lápida mozárabe', 123.

<sup>92</sup> Romero Barros:

*La inscripción de la campana del abad Sansón (año 925) tiene exactamente el mismo tipo paleográfico*

('Lápida del siglo X', 205).

<sup>93</sup> Items 67-81 are all assigned to the period spanning the eighth to tenth centuries by Castejón, though not on an individual basis, and are kept together here due to the impossibility of assigning a date with any more precision.

<sup>94</sup> Castejón Calderón, 'Los mozárabes del siglo VIII al X', 227.

65

**Córdoba**

Discovered in el Marrubial. Lápida 8964 at the Museo Arqueológico Provincial de Córdoba.

† DOMINICVS TECTVM  
SACERDOTEM[?] VI[...]*S* HONORE DEO  
SERVIENS IH[esu]*S* HV[...]*MODICIS*  
SI[...]*CR*[...]*VEM*[...]*CR*[...]*VITES E*[...]*LO SVBITO*  
[...]*MENDAL*[...]*TO R*[...]*RRECIR*[...]*ON*[?]  
[...]<sup>95</sup>

66

**Córdoba**

Found on the plain of Vista Alegre; lápida 10,675 at the Museo Arqueológico Provincial de Córdoba.

[...*pus*]?  
[...]*VO FE*[...]  
[...]*VI*[? ...]<sup>96</sup>

67

**Córdoba**

This fragmentary inscription was also found on the plain of Vista Alegre; the two lines of lettering, which measures 3cm tall, are illegible. This and many of those that follow were not transcribed for publication by Castejón Calderón. It is now lápida 10,686 at the Museo Arqueológico Provincial de Córdoba.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Castejón Calderón, 'Los mozárabes del siglo VIII al X', 228.

<sup>96</sup> Castejón Calderón, 'Los mozárabes del siglo VIII al X', 228.

<sup>97</sup> Castejón Calderón, 'Los mozárabes del siglo VIII al X', 228.

**68**

**Córdoba**

Fragmentary inscription on which only one line is partially preserved, though not legible. Discovered in the Camino Viejo de Almodóvar in central Córdoba. Lápida 11,546 at the Museo Arqueológico Provincial de Córdoba.<sup>98</sup>

**69**

**Córdoba**

Discovered in Campo Santo de los Mártires, 100m west of the Mezquita. Lápida 11,645 at the Museo Arqueológico Provincial de Córdoba.

[...]

VIXIT ENIM A[...]E H[?]

INDE<sup>99</sup>

**70**

**Córdoba**

This is a very small interior fragment bearing part of two lines of text. It was found in el Cortijo de Chinales, west of Córdoba; now lápida 12,538 at the Museo Arqueológico Provincial de Córdoba. It measures 13x7.5x3 (cm), letters 3.5cm tall though not legible.<sup>100</sup>

**71**

**Córdoba**

This fragment, also found in el Cortijo de Chinales, bears no legible content; lápida 12,608 at the Museo Arqueológico Provincial de Córdoba. Measurements are 18x15x4; letters 4cm tall.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Castejón Calderón, 'Los mozárabes del siglo VIII al X', 228.

<sup>99</sup> Castejón Calderón, 'Los mozárabes del siglo VIII al X', 228.

<sup>100</sup> Castejón Calderón, 'Los mozárabes del siglo VIII al X', 228.

<sup>101</sup> Castejón Calderón, 'Los mozárabes del siglo VIII al X', 228.





75

Córdoba

931

OCCVLIT ABBATIS MAGNI HEC VRNA FABILAS  
QVEM ATANA PRISCA VOCITABANT SECVLA GILDVM  
HVNC LECTOR ROGITO DOMINO COMENDA ROGANDO  
ABLATVS EST SVBITO SCRIPTA IN MARMORE ERA DCCCCLXIX<sup>105</sup>

This urn conceals the ashes[?] of the great abbot whom the previous generation called Athanagildus. Reader, I ask that you commend this man to the Lord with a prayer [?], [for] he was taken away suddenly. Written in marble in the Era 969

Gil's reading offers *COMENDA ORANDO* at the end of line three, and renders the date *ERA DCCCXXXVIII*, i.e.: 960 CE; Martínez Gázquez also has *COMENDA ORANDO*, but read the date as *DCCCCLXVIII*, i.e.: 930 CE, thereby highlighting the difficulty that can be encountered in deciphering the late-Visigothic orthography.

76

Córdoba

Assigned to the mid-tenth century.

HIC TEVDEFREDI CONDITA  
MEMBRA QVIESCENT ARIDA  
CVIVS ORIGO FVLGIDA  
[br]EBE REFVLSIT INCLITA  
[ill]E SVBIVIT FVNERA  
...]S ENTIES  
SVPER<sup>106</sup>

The remains of Teudefredus lie preserved and dry here, his glorious ancestor shone brightly but briefly. He died...

Hübner did not try to date this fragment, noting only that it could hail from the seventh to tenth century (*tam septimi octavive quam noni decimive saeculi esse potest*). Gómez-Moreno, however, notes that the engraving is *de tipo califal*, and places it between 963 and 966. Santos Gener states firmly that Teudefredus' epitaph is a part of a larger communal memorial including that of Agoblastus above.<sup>107</sup> Santos also asserts that the

<sup>105</sup> Gil, *CSM* 2:665; *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae: Supplementum* [460], 104; Martínez Gázquez, 'Epitafios mozárabes', 80.

<sup>106</sup> Castejón Calderón, 'Los mozárabes del siglo VIII al X', 232; Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, 366; *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, [132], 40.

<sup>107</sup> Santos Gener, 'Nueva lápida mozárabe', 123.

fragment published by Romero Barros in his article ‘Lápida del siglo X’, and dated by him, above, to the 920s, is another part of the same.

77

**Córdoba**

**962, at earliest estimate**

Found around 1670, at the house of Bernardo Gamiz de Cabrera (*apud Bernardum Gamiz de Cabrera*). There are two readings:

a)

*HIC LATENS EST MILENA  
EPISCOPVS BITERRAE  
SE[...]  
[...]  
SERVVIBAT PATRIA  
[...] ERA MILLESIMA*

b)

*HIC LATET NOMIEMB[...]  
EPISCOPVS BITERRE  
SEM [...]LOIMNA  
FLA[...]FE[...]SI TERRA  
SERVVIBAT PATRIA  
E DECV[...]IMS[...]CA  
[...] ERA MILLESIMA  
[...n?]EMPE[...]<sup>108</sup>*

Both partial readings can be served by the same translation:

Here lies Milena the Bishop of Biterra... he served his land... in the Era 1000+

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<sup>108</sup> Castejón Calderón, ‘Los mozárabes del siglo VIII al X’, 232; Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, 369; *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, [227], 75.

78

### Córdoba

Discovered in 1749 in the calle de los Pabas.

*OBIIT NE[m]PE*

*FAMVLVS DE[i]*

*MATHEVS PA[r-]*

*VVLVS ERA TI*<sup>109</sup>

little Matthew, assuredly a servant of God, died in the Era 1001

Hübner reads *ERA TI* in the last line as indicating the numeral date 1001, but it is also possible that the *t* follows *era* to make *erat*, and thereby making the final two lines read ‘little Mathew was i[n?]....’. Recio Vezanzones reads the date as *era TIII*, potentially dating it to 965.<sup>110</sup>

79

### Córdoba

960s

Discovered in 1586 in the hermitage of Santa María de Villaviciosa in the mountains seven leagues from Córdoba, according to Hübner; number 418 at the Museo Arqueológico Provincial de Córdoba, according to Santos Gener.

*OBIIT FAMVLVS*

*DEI CISCLVS*

*SVB DIE III*

*K[a]L[en]D[a]S APR[i]L[e]S*

*ERA T[i? v?]*<sup>111</sup>

Cisclus, servant of God, died 30 March in the Era 1000[+?]

Hübner reads the Era date as *TI* (1005), Simonet as *TV* (1005), assigning it to 962-7.

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<sup>109</sup> Castejón Calderón, ‘Los mozárabes del siglo VIII al X’, 231; Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, 366; *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, [225], 74.

<sup>110</sup> Recio Vezanzones, ‘Cinco inscripciones de Córdoba’, 76.

<sup>111</sup> Castejón Calderón, ‘Los mozárabes del siglo VIII al X’, 227; Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, 366; *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, [224], 74; Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, 624.

**Granada**

Assigned to the end of the tenth century.

*RECO SINDI ABBA HIC LATET VRNVLA*  
*EXIVIT AEVO DORMIT CV[m] PATRIA*  
*CORPVM SVVM FVLG[e]NS VELVT LVCINIA*  
*OBTIM[U]S EGREGIVS DECENS IN S[ae]C[u]LA*  
*SECVRV[m] MISIT COR S[...]*  
*I[...]*  
*N[...]*  
*D[...]*  
*[I...]<sup>112</sup>*

The urn of Abbot Recosindus lies here. He died and sleeps forever with his body under his homeland, shining like glow-worms. The best of men, excellent, decent in life, he sent his heart safe[?]....

Now on display in the Museo Arqueológico de Granada. Another acrostic identifying the deceased, and a nice poetic touch.

**Albarracín**

Assigned to the end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century by Almagro.

Discovered in the edge of a wall beneath the cathedral.

ليلة حلت من يونيه سنة خمس  
 [...] شهر [...] وثلاثة ايام  
 وهو ابن [...] تسع سنين واربعة<sup>113</sup>  
 ...nights of June passed in year five...  
 ...the new moon ...and three days  
 and he is the son of [...] and nine years and four...

I include this item for one reason: the Latin/ Romance word *Junio* featured in phonetic Arabic transliteration, *Yūniyuh*. Albarracín was the capital of the *taifa* of the Banū

<sup>112</sup> Mariner Bigorra, 'Epitafio versificado y acróstico del abad mozárabe Recosindo', 321-2; Pastor Muñoz, *Corpus de inscripciones latinas de Andalucía*, 81; Pastor Muñoz and Mendoza Eguaras, *Inscripciones latinas de la provincia de Granada*, 286; Vázquez de Parda, 'Fragmento de epitafio mozárabe del Abad Recosindo', 42-3.

<sup>113</sup> Almagro Basch, Martín, 'Una curiosa lápida en árabe procedente de Albarracín', *Homenaje a Millás-Vallcrosa volumen I* (Barcelona: C.S.I.C., 1954), 17.

Razīn until the Almohads relieved them of it in 1104<sup>114</sup>; it would thus have been in Andalusī territory – though the *taifa* then paid tribute to Castile – in the period to which its epigraphic style assigns it.<sup>115</sup> Potentially we thus have a Christian inscription from a church building that survived into the dark years of al-Andalus’ internal disintegration, and perhaps into the late twelfth century when, in 1170, Pedro Ruiz de Azagra captured the city.<sup>116</sup> Wasserstein believes the inscription is the epitaph of a Christian child.<sup>117</sup>

## 82-3

### Málaga, las Mesas de Villaverde

Two very partial inscriptions assigned to either the tenth or eleventh century by Hübner; Gómez-Moreno suggests the tenth. Donated to the Museo Arqueológico de Granada by Simonet.

a)

[...]IVS[?]  
 [...] IN CVNCTIS  
 [...]IBVS VIXIT

b)

[...] CEDENS  
 ANNIS TERVE QVINQVE  
 EGENIS CVNCTIS  
 PAVPERIBVS ALENS  
 ATQVE GVBERNANS<sup>118</sup>

...giving up 15 years for all the needy, feeding the poor, and governing...

<sup>114</sup> Kennedy, ‘Muslim Spain and Portugal: al-Andalus and its neighbours’, 603.

<sup>115</sup> Almagro Basch:

*Sus letras, bien esculpidas en alto relieve, son epigráficamente de las postrimerías del siglo X o comienzos del XI*

(‘Una curiosa lápida en árabe procedente de Albarracín’, 17).

<sup>116</sup> Fuentes, Primitivo, *Guía del Estado Eclesiástico y los dominios de s.m. en América y Asia para el año de 1849* (Madrid: Redondo Calleja, 1848), 339.

<sup>117</sup> Wasserstein, *Rise and Fall of the Party-Kings*, 234n32.

<sup>118</sup> Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, 368; *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae: Supplementum* [457], 102.

## 84

### Córdoba

Possibly eleventh century, tentatively assigned to the tenth century by Recio Veganzones.

...m]ISERQ[ue]  
... an]NO INCIPIENTEQ[ue]  
mort]E MILLENO ET IEP[=SEP?]  
m]NIUM OBIT<sup>119</sup>

...and wretched... and he died at the beginning of the year, in [the Era?] 1007[?]

This very bitty fragment, thought to be an epitaph written in verse, does not offer enough for translation. Recio Veganzones is very hesitant to assign a definitive reading of the third line in particular, leading him to date the inscription to the tenth century; he does however point out the possibility of an eleventh-century date.<sup>120</sup>

## 85

### Quéntar, roughly seven miles east of Granada

Assigned by Munoz and Mendoza Eguaras to the end of the tenth or early eleventh century

RECQVI-  
SINDI<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> Recio Veganzones, 'Cinco inscripciones de Córdoba', 76.

<sup>120</sup> Recio Veganzones:

*Insistimos una vez más en la dificultad que nos ofrece la penúltima línea; pues separando la E inicial de la M, y añadiendo esta última letra a las tres siguientes, nos daría mil, cosa que no creemos probable. Después de la última palabra conservada de la segunda línea actual hay un signo de dudosa transcripción*

('Cinco inscripciones de Córdoba', 76-7).

<sup>121</sup> Pastor Muñoz, *Corpus de inscripciones latinas de Andalucía*, 90; Pastor Muñoz and Mendoza Eguaras, *Inscripciones latinas de la provincia de Granada*, 307.



**Almeria**

Dated to the eleventh century by Lirola Delgado. Museo Provincial de Almeria, number 82,388.

... الموت لا محـ...  
 ... الله عزّ وجلّ...  
 ... [م]—ن خلقه هذا [قبر]...  
 ... [مح] حمد بن عيسى العـ...  
 ... عه رحمته وهو يشـ [هد]...  
 له به ملائكته...<sup>122</sup>  
 [...] death [is] not[?...]  
 [...] may God fortify and exalt him [...]  
 [...] among his creations. This is the tomb [of...]  
 [...] Muḥammad ibn ‘Īsā al-‘A[...]  
 [...] his mercy and he [testified?]  
 [...] his angels [...]

Lirola Delgado describes this as *un epitafio muy extraño*, for it does not start with a *basmala*. He identifies a *shahāda* in *yash*[...] in the penultimate line and assumes the inscription Islamic, though the verb *yashādu* could refer to the act of Christian witness. The lack of *shahāda* or any overt Qur’ānic quote also leaves open the possibility that this is a Christian epitaph, though the extreme fragmentary nature of the text renders any further argument impossible.

**Córdoba**

Assigned to the beginning of the twelfth century by Marfil Ruiz.

*TITVLVS DEPOSITIONIS RELIQVIARVM*<sup>123</sup>

Headstone of the relics’ repository

An inscription in letters described as ‘Mozarab’ by Marfil Ruiz carved upon a sarcophagus containing the relics of martyrs from the Roman era; found in the Iglesia

<sup>122</sup> Lirola Delgado, Jorge, ‘Inscripciones árabes inéditas en el Museo Provincial de Almería’, *al-Qanṭara* 21.1 (2000), 111-3.

<sup>123</sup> Marfil Ruiz, ‘Los mártires cordobeses de época romana’, 6b.

de San Pedro which was the Iglesia Catedral de los Tres Santos at the time of the Christians' expulsion by the Almoravids.

## 88-9

### Coimbra

Assigned to the early twelfth century by Nykl.

Inscription in the northern wall of the old cathedral of Coimbra attributed to 'most likely a Mozarab mason':

كُتِبَتْ وَقَدْ أَبْقَيْتَهُ لَشُكَايَتِي سَتَفْنَا يَدِي يَوْمًا وَيَبْقَا كَبِيرٌ<sup>124</sup>

I wrote [this] as a record of my suffering;

my hand will perish one day, but greatness will remain

Nykl also identifies a fragmentary one-word inscription on another stone – برس (*Biris*) – as “Perec” or “Pires”, possibly that of the Mozarab mason<sup>125</sup>, though it should be noted that what would become the Castilian Pérez, and regional variants thereof, was rendered *Ibn Bītrush* following the formal Latin *filius Petrus* in Toledan documents of the twelfth century. It could be that *Biris* represents the vernacular form, something akin to Pérez with its swallowed *t*, though the same body of legal documents from ‘mozarabic’ Toledo renders Pedro as *Bītru*, retaining the double consonant *tr*.<sup>126</sup> It could be that the alveolar trill *r* [R] had already emerged by the twelfth century as a regional linguistic marker, which might have put emphasis on the *r* such that the *t* was unsounded.

## 90

### Puebla del Prior, 20 miles south of Mérida

Assigned to twelfth or thirteenth century by Hübner (*litteris altis... quae videntur saec. XII vel XIII esse*).

*MORTE OPVS HOCCE S[ile]t auctoris triste relictum*

<sup>124</sup> Nykl, Alois Richard, ‘Arabic Inscriptions in Portugal’, *Ars Islamica* 11-2 (1946), 169.

<sup>125</sup> Nykl, ‘Arabic Inscriptions in Portugal’, 169; Nykl, *Diario de Coimbra*, August 23, 1940; ‘A Inscrição de Sé-Velha’, *Al-Andalus* 5 (1940), 408-11.

<sup>126</sup> See: Archivo del Convento de San Nicolás, Toledo, number 3; *Los mozárabes de Toledo*.1172.

*SPLENDIDA NVNC [tibi lux sanctorum laude paratur...]*<sup>127</sup>

This author's work, sadly left behind by death, is silent; now brilliant light is prepared for you by the saints' esteem[?]

The text is barely comprehensible and must be fleshed out by conjecture in Hübner's reading. The Marques de Monsalus offers a variant reading which is less grammatically correct:

*MORTE OPVS HOC CESSAT PORTE DVRA DIRAQVE  
SPLENDIDA NVNC MANET TEMPORE PLVRIMO*<sup>128</sup>

This work on the facade was stopped by harsh and cruel death; now it remains noble for the longest time

Alfonso IX of León took Mérida and Badajoz, to the north and northwest respectively, in the year 1230. Presumably Hübner had in mind a terminus of the early thirteenth century, which would place the inscription south of the frontier.

## UNDATABLE INSCRIPTIONS

### 91

#### Córdoba

Lápida 418, Museo Arqueológico Provincial de Córdoba. Dated to the tenth century by Castejón, but to the Almohad period [1147-1238] by Simonet.

*S[an]C[t]ORVM  
MARTYR[...]  
XP[ist]I IH[es]V  
FAVSTI IA-  
NVARI ET  
MARTIA[lis]  
[...] ZOYLI  
[...] ET ACISCLI  
[...]ARITA[...]  
[...]ATS[...]  
[...]N[...]*<sup>129</sup>

<sup>127</sup> *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae: Supplementum*, [452], 98.

<sup>128</sup> Solano Gálvez, 'Nuevas inscripciones cristianas de Extremadura y Andalucía', 519.

[here lie the remains?] of the holy martyrs [...] of Jesus Christ: Faustus, Januarius and Martial; [...] Zoilus, [...] Acisclus, [...]

Simonet writes that the paving stone bearing the above inscription was laid over the relics of the martyrs named, as well as the bones of many other unknown individuals in the church of Saint Peter, the old basilica of the Three Saints (*Basílica de los Tres Santos*), which were moved for their protection at some point during the Almohad period.

## 92

### Évora

Engraved into a flagstone that served as a doorjamb.

ما شاء الله لا قوة الا بالله حسبى الله وهو الرحيم [من]

Whatever God wishes; there is no strength except with God; God is enough for me, and he is [merciful]<sup>130</sup>

Codera published a very brief notice about the inscription for the Real Academia de Historia, but concluded that it could not be dated.<sup>131</sup> Nor does he hazard any conclusions regarding its origins. I, however, would like to suggest that this is in fact a Christian inscription, though it is carved in Arabic and bears phrases of typically Islamic usage. There are precedents for the use of such phrasing by the Arabised Andalusī Christians in specifically Christian religious and theological contexts. As scriptural exegesis shows, there are several parallels from the New Testament, all regarding Christ. The phrase *mā shā' Allāh* corresponds more or less directly to the crusaders' cry of *Deus lo vult*. The phrase 'no strength except with God' is echoed in *Romans*

for there is no power but of God<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> Ramírez de Arellano, Rafael, *Historia de Córdoba desde su fundación hasta la muerte de Isabel la Católica* (Ciudad Real: Tipografía del Hospicio Provincial, 1917), III.107; Castejón Calderón, 'Los mozárabes del siglo VIII al X', 233; Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes*, 776.

<sup>130</sup> Codera y Zaidín, Francisco, 'Inscripción árabe del museo de Évora', *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 39 (1901), 412.

<sup>131</sup> Codera:

*corta y de escasa importancia por su contenido... Bajo el punto de vista paleográfico quizá tuviera más importancia, si pudiera fijarse por otras consideraciones la época en que fue labrada la inscripción*

short and of scant value for its contents... From the paleographic point of view perhaps it could have more importance, if by other considerations one could fix the date at which the inscription was worked

('Inscripción árabe del museo de Évora', 412).

<sup>132</sup> *Romans* 13:1:

οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐξουσία εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ θεοῦ  
*sit non est enim potestas nisi a Deo.*

The idea of sufficiency expressed by the phrase ‘God is enough for me’ crops up twice in *Corinthians*, in chapters three and 12:

Not that we are sufficient of ourselves to think any thing as of ourselves; but our sufficiency is of God... For this thing [the buffetings of Satan’s messenger], I besought the Lord thrice, that it might depart from me. And he said unto me, My grace is sufficient for thee, for my strength is made perfect in weakness<sup>133</sup>

If further proof be needed, the eleventh-century priest Binjinshīsh also uses the Qur’ānic formula ‘He is enough for me, and truly the best councillor’ (وهو حسي ونعم الوكيل)<sup>134</sup>, a number of times in his Arabic translation of the *Holy Canon*.<sup>135</sup> This phrase echoes the prophecy of the Messiah’s coming at *Isaiah* 9:6 in which one can see the conflation of Christ and the God of the Old Testament:

For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given: and the government shall be upon his shoulder: and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace<sup>136</sup>

### **Architectural inscriptions**

Manuel Luís Real catalogues eight decorated plaques which adorned ecclesiastic and monastic buildings in the Lisbon area and which he dates between the ninth and eleventh centuries. These items show a lisboeta Christian community active and able to refurbish, and perhaps even to build, religious edifices a decade before their monastic. They were found in the Monastery of the Chelas district, the site of the Casa dos Bicos in the Alfama district, the Rua dos Bacalhoeiros by the bank of the Tagus, in the Sé Catedral or Santa Maria Maior de Lisboa, in Quinta dos Passarinhos, the Igreja de São João Evangelista in the Alfange district of Santarém, 50 miles northeast of Lisbon.<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> II *Corinthians* 3:5... 12:8-9.

<sup>134</sup> *Sūra* 3:173 (*Āl-‘Imrān*).

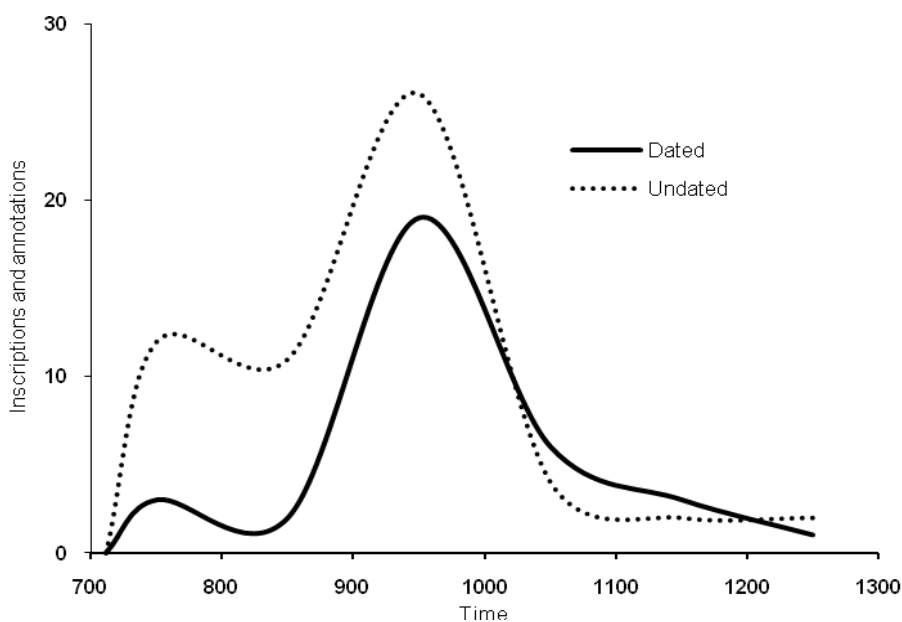
<sup>135</sup> Koningsveld, ‘Christian Arabic Literature’, 222.

<sup>136</sup> *Isaiah* 9:6.

<sup>137</sup> Real, ‘Os Moçárabes do Gharb português’, 80-6.

## Graphs

Below are plotted the inscriptions extant, both those that have been securely dated and those which are less definitely placed by aspects of style etc.



One can see here that the incidence of extant Christian epigraphy peaks in the tenth century, in which period the majority of scholars believe that indigenous Andalusī Christianity was on the wane and – based on a misunderstanding of the significance of Bulliet’s analysis – claim that the conversion of the entire peninsula had reached and passed the halfway point, and would pass 60% before the century’s end. From the late tenth century, the archaeological record of inscriptions becomes thinner, tailing off quickly before a slow decline beyond the mid-eleventh into the thirteenth. We know that the production of inscriptions at least cannot have stopped, for the Andalusī



Christians continued to make appearances indicating their great numbers for another two centuries before they began to disappear from the documentary record too. Christians were still burying their dead, but it is likely that the record for those post-dating the tenth century has fallen victim to the upheaval of the Christian kingdoms' military progress southwards, the establishment of their identity over the Andalusī, and centuries of antagonistic attitudes towards the Andalusī past – still visible in the calls for '*mata al islam*' daubed on the walls of modern Cordoba's old town eight and a half centuries after its capture and re-Christianisation.



## APPENDIX III

### The Calendar of Córdoba

These few pages are intended to clarify the problems with the so-called *Calendar of Córdoba*, a text which offers a great deal of information on the locations and ritual celebrations of Christians in al-Andalus. It is not certain which period it illuminates, however, for the details of chronology and authorship are mired in controversy – it seems likely, from the content, however, that it hails at least in part from the tenth century.<sup>1</sup> The entity commonly referred to as the *Calendar of Córdoba* is not one single work but a pair of potentially unrelated calendrical works that have been conflated in the academic consciousness by their equation and publication together by Dozy. Originally, a Latin calendar – bearing the title *Liber Anoe* from the Arabic *Kitāb al-anwā'* meaning *Book of the Astrological Cycles* – was discovered in the early nineteenth century; this was clearly either translated from Arabic or written by a bilingual Andalusī for its author presented a number of Arabic terms in Latin transliteration. This Latin version was published by the scientist and notorious book thief Guglielmo Libri Carucci dalla Sommaja (1803-69)<sup>2</sup>, who dated it to the thirteenth century for – incomprehensible – astronomical and cultural reasons, and because the dedication read ‘composed for the

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<sup>1</sup> Christys dedicated a chapter of *Christians in al-Andalus* to a detailed and clear examination of the problems surrounding the text of the calendar and its authorship (108-34). See also Manuel Rincón Álvarez’s appendix ‘Apéndice – El Calendario de Córdoba’ in his *Mozárabes y mozarabías*, 207-14.

<sup>2</sup> Libri, *Histoire des sciences mathématiques en Italie depuis la renaissance des lettres jusqu’à la fin du dix-septième siècle* (Paris: Jules Renouard, 1838), I.393-464.

emperor Mustanşir' (*composuit Mustansir imperatori*), which he believed meant al-Mustanşir the last Almohad caliph and the year 1227:

The first Mustanşir, who died 29 May 862 having ruled less than six months, could not have received the dedication of a calendar in which the epact of 1 January was equal to one, since the epact of 861 is equal to 6, and the epact of 862 is equal to 17. Meanwhile, in the reign of the second Mustanşir (from 1226 to 1243), one finds the epact equal to one in 1227. Besides, in Mustanşir I's time, the Arabs had certainly not introduced the Christians' festivals and months into their calendar... in the ninth century the Arabs were too knowledgeable in astronomy to say that the equinox was 16 March among the Arabs and 20 March among the Hindus (*it is equal among them*). Everything in this calendar announces decadence and everything relates to the thirteenth century<sup>3</sup>

This 'first Mustanşir' was Caliph of Baghdad (861-2). Just why an Andalusī work should be dedicated to such a man, and why he did not consider the Andalusī Mustanşir, is not explained by Libri.

Over 30 years later another document, written in *aljamiado* Arabic in Hebrew letters and with numerous but minor differences in content from the Latin was discovered in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, in 1866. This text was published by Simonet<sup>4</sup> (with partial Castilian translation) and Dozy<sup>5</sup>, who both dated it very precisely to 961, the year in which al-Ḥakam II al-Mustanşir became Caliph of Córdoba. Al-Maqqarī, quoting Ibn Sa'īd, provided their justification, writing:

As for astronomy, Ibn Zaīd, the Bishop of Córdoba, wrote books about it. He belonged to the favoured inner circle of al-Mustanşir ibn al-Nāşir al-Marwānī, for whom he wrote the book *Subdivision of the Seasons and the Welfare of the Body*, in which he described the phases of the moon and related matters<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Libri:

*Le premier Mostansir, qui, après avoir régné moins de six mois, mourut le 29 Mai de l'année 862 de l'ère chrétienne, ne pouvait recevoir la dédicace d'un calendrier dans lequel l'épacte du premier Janvier était égale à un, puisque l'épacte de l'année 861 est égale à 6, et l'épacte de l'année 862 est égale à 17. Tandis que sous le règne du second Mostansir (depuis 1226 jusqu'à 1243 de l'ère chrétienne), on trouve pour l'année 1227, l'épacte égale à un. D'ailleurs, du temps de Mostansir I<sup>er</sup>, les Arabes n'auraient certainement pas introduit dans leur calendrier les fêtes et les mois des chrétiens... au neuvième siècle les Arabes étaient trop savants en astronomie pour dire (comme le fait l'auteur de ce calendrier) que le jour de l'équinoxe était le 16 Mars chez les Arabes et le 20 Mars, chez les Hindous (et est equalitas apud eos). Tout, dans ce calendrier, annonce la décadence et tout s'y rapporte au treizième siècle*

(*Histoire des sciences mathématiques*, I.461... 2-3).

<sup>4</sup> Simonet, 'Santoral hispano-mozárabe', 105-16, 192-212.

<sup>5</sup> Dozy, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue de l'année 961. Texte arabe et ancienne traduction latine* (Leiden: Brill, 1873).

<sup>6</sup> Al-Maqqarī:

واما التنجيم فلان زيد الاسقف القرطبي فيها تصانيف وكان مختصن بالمستنصر ابن الناصر المرواني  
وبه الف كتاب تفصيل الازمان ومصالح الابدان وفيه من ذكر منازل القمر وما يتعلق بذلك

Al-Maqqarī's title matches that given at the end of the Arabic text of Dozy's edition which also identifies the work as the *Subdivision of the Seasons*<sup>7</sup>, an example of the genre of *Anwā'*, a practical almanac presenting the astronomical cycles after which it is named – the rising and setting, or *anwā'*<sup>8</sup>, of the constellations – with seasonal information on festivals, meteorological phenomena, and agricultural activity. As such, it has the potential to tell us a great deal about the life of the society that produced it.

This Bishop Ibn Zaīd named by Ibn Sa'īd is widely identified with Recemundus, whom John of Metz and Liutprand of Cremona recorded as serving al-Ḥakam's father 'Abd al-Raḥmān III as ambassador; Ann Christys and Ulf Krämer are conspicuous in not following this practice.<sup>9</sup> According to its opening line, however, the Arabic calendar was produced by one Abū al-Ḥasan 'Arīb ibn Sa'd.<sup>10</sup> Charles Pellat, in his re-edition of Dozy's work, renamed Ibn Sa'd as Ibn Sa'īd, not questioning the identification made by Simonet and Dozy. The waters are muddied further by Ibn Khaldūn, another of al-Maqqarī's sources, who identified the bishop as Rīfā' (ريفاء) not Rabī' (ربيع).<sup>11</sup>

The Latin document, whether it be a translation of the Arabo-Hebrew *aljamiado* or no, is generally supposed to be a production of the translation workshops of mozarabic twelfth-century Toledo, and is attributed to Gerard of Cremona (c.1114-87).<sup>12</sup> Two other Latin texts hailing from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, have been identified as versions of the Arabic-Hebrew *Kitāb al-anwā'* by Martínez Gázquez and Julio Samsó. The first bears the title *Liber Regius sive descriptio temporum anni*

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(from the first part of the *Nafh al-ṭīb*, Dozy, Dugat, Krehl and Wright, *Analectes*, II.125-6).

<sup>7</sup> *Calendar of Córdoba*:

تم كتاب عريب في تفصيل الأزمان ومصالح الأبدان

Here ends the book on the subdivision of the seasons and the welfare of the body (Dozy, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 187).

<sup>8</sup> *Anwā'* (انواء) from the verb *nā'a* (ناء), meaning 'to fall, sink down'.

<sup>9</sup> Johannes Metensis, *Vita Johannis Gorziensis*.128-9 (f<sup>o</sup> 94), Parise, 154-7; *MGH Scriptores IV*, 374-5; *PL* 137, col.306C... 307B. Liutprand dedicated his general chronicle to Recemundus (Liutprandus Cremonensis episcopus, *Historia Gestorum Regum et Imperatorum Sive Antapodosis*.I.1, *PL* 136, col.789D). Krämer refers not to Recemundus but to *den Bischof von Granada (Johannes von Gorze on Córdoba: studienarbeit* (Munich: GRIN Verlag, 2003), 13, 24).

<sup>10</sup> The first line of the Arabic calendar reads:

قال ابو الحسن عريب بن سعد الكاتب عفا الله عنه وعننا

Abū al-Ḥasan 'Arīb ibn Sa'd the secretary – may God pardon him, and pardon us (Dozy, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 3.

<sup>11</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'ibar*, IV.310.

<sup>12</sup> Burnett, 'Learned Knowledge of Arabic Poetry', 41; Martínez Gázquez and Samsó, 'Una nueva traducción latina del calendario de Córdoba (siglo XIII)', 9.

and its production is dated between 1228 and 1235 by internal evidence<sup>13</sup>; nothing about the second, which is fragmentary, is known<sup>14</sup>. Both differ from each other and from that attributed to Gerard of Cremona; the *Liber Regius* of Vic bears Catalan influence and follows a Catalanian calendar based on the Roman rite, not the mozarabic of both al-Andalus and twelfth-century Toledo.<sup>15</sup>

In light of this confusion, our best course of action is to accept that the *aljamiado* Arabic calendar was composed in the mid or second half of the tenth century and that both it and the twelfth-century Latin text – since its focus is predominantly southern and Andalusī – can serve us as sources for Andalusī Christianity in the late tenth century, or up to that period.

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<sup>13</sup> Vic, Museo Episcopal, ms 167, f° 1-8.

<sup>14</sup> Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, ms 6036.

<sup>15</sup> Fradejas Rueda, José Manuel, ‘*Shadhāniqāt al-Balansiyya or Shadhāniqāt al-Bahriyya*: On the Arabic text and the Latin translations of the *Calendar of Cordova*’ in *Science Translated: Latin and vernacular translations of scientific treatises in medieval Europe* edited by Michèle Goyens, Pieter de Leemans and An Smets (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2008), 62-3.



## APPENDIX IV

### Lasting testament to Christian presence in Iberian toponymy

It has been argued that the many toponyms clearly derived from Arabised Christian terms in Granada province is a lasting testament to well-established pockets of Christian communities in the region. There is Monachil (three miles southeast of Granada) from the Latin *monasterium*, and Aldeyr (around 25 miles east of Granada) from the Arabic *al-daīr* (الدير), also meaning ‘the monastery’ or ‘the convent’.<sup>1</sup> The twelfth-thirteenth-century local historian Abū al-Qāsim al-Mallāhī (1154-1222), quoted by Ibn al-Khaṭīb, tells us that one of the 33 *iqālīm* (regions)<sup>2</sup> of the province of Granada was known as *al-Kanā’is* (الكنائس) or ‘The Churches’ due to the concentration of Christians there<sup>3</sup>, and the

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<sup>1</sup> Martínez Ruiz, Juan, ‘Huellas de las tres religiones (cristiana, musulmana, judía) en la toponimia medieval granadina’ in *Homenaje al profesor Darío Cabanelas Rodríguez, o.f.m., con motivo de su LXX aniversario* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1987), 54-6.

<sup>2</sup> *Iqālīm* (اقالم), from the singular *iqlīm* (اقليم) meaning ‘region, province’.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn al-Khaṭīb:

يرجع إلى هذا الوطن الشريف من الإقاليم ثلاثة وثلاثون إقليمياً منها... والكنائس ذكر ذلك أبو

القاسم الملاحى

They say that in this distinguished land there are 33 regions, among which... [is] The Churches; Abū al-Qāsim al-Mallāhī described these things

(*al-Lamḥat al-badrīya fī al-dawlat al-naṣrīya* edited by Muḥibb al-Dīn (Beirut: Dār al-Āfāq al-Jadīda, 1978), 28... 30). For a Castilian translation of the *al-Lamḥat al-badrīya* see: José María Casciaro Ramírez’ *Historia de los reyes de la Alhambra: el resplandor de la luna llena (al-Lamḥa al-badrīyya)* with a study by Emilio Molina López (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1998). One must be aware that the reading *Kanā’is* does not appear in every extant manuscript, that produced by Muḥibb al-Dīn in Cairo in 1928 reads *Kanābis* though Casciaro believes this to be a scribal error in the application of the

same probably holds true in the case of the *Kanīsa al-mā* (كنيسة الماء) or ‘Church of the Water’ during Muḥammad I’s ninth-century emirate, the district of Valencia known to the Cid as Alcanitia.<sup>4</sup>

In the whole of the peninsular region that had experienced Muslim-Arabic rule, there are 15 locations that still bear the name *kanīsa* in the various regional tongues of modern Iberia.<sup>5</sup> The Cid alludes to a region bearing this toponym in Valencia province, which he committed to the authority of Jérôme at Santa María in 1098.<sup>6</sup> There was *Muntu Shāqru* (منت شافر) or Monte Sacro near Niebla<sup>7</sup> reported by Ibn al-Qūṭīya, and also by Ibn Ḥayyān<sup>8</sup>, who likewise reported *Muntu Shantu* (منت شنت), now Monte Santo.<sup>9</sup> In the late eleventh century, Ibn Buluqqīn and al-‘Udhri both reported a fortified town known as *Shantu Aflīju* – Santo/ San Felix? (شنت افليج) – near Elvira<sup>10</sup>, while the latter also reports a fortified town called *Shantu Bīṭru* (شنت بيطر) or San Pedro,

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diacritical marks often absent in medieval works: الكنائس for الكنائس; a simple mistake for someone so far distant from the peninsula, though the latter makes far more sense (Casciaro Ramírez, *Historia de los reyes*, 20n62). Simonet also reads *Kanā’is*, whether through wishful thinking or because the manuscript he used (copied by Miguel Casiri from the Escorial) read that way is unclear – there are at least three others, one in Marrakech, and two in Qairouan. See: Simonet, *Descripción del reino de Granada sacada de los autores arábigos, 711-1492* (Amsterdam: APA-Oriental Press, 1979), 13; Casiri, Miguel, *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana Escorialensis, sive Librorum omnium manuscriptorum quos Arabicè ab auctoribus magnam partem Arabo-Hispanis compositos, Bibliotheca Cænobii Escorialensis complectitur, Recensio et Explanatio* (Madrid: Antonio Pérez de Soto, 1760-70).

<sup>4</sup> The Cid’s will refers to *villas de Alcanitia omnes* (Salamanca, Archivo de la Catedral de Salamanca, caja 43, leg. 2, núm. 72).

<sup>5</sup> *Quinicia* in Granada; *Ses Canessies* and *Alconásser* in the Balearics; *Conesa* and *Avacaniçellas* in Catalunya; *Alconeza* in Soria; *Alcuneza* in Guadalajara; *Alquinicia* near Coimbra; *L’Alquenensia* near Alcira, referred to as *al-Kanīsa* by al-Ḥimyarī (*Rawḍ al-mi‘ṭār*, 350. Al-Ḥimyarī here quotes from the verse of the Valencian poet Ibn Khafāja (1058-1139)); *Alcanissia* is a deserted town of the Valle de Pop in Alicante province; there are two locales called La Canessia near Alicante – one a ravine, the other an abandoned site in Orcha; *Els Canissis* in the Valle de Novelda; formerly populated *Quenensia* near Turis, Valencia province; the rural area *L’Alquenizia* in Valle d’Uxo. See: Peñarroja Torrejón, *Cristianos bajo el Islam*, 280.

<sup>6</sup> Endowment charter signed by the Cid:

*Anno siquidem incarnationis Dominice LXXXX<sup>o</sup> VIII<sup>o</sup> post millesimum ego Rodericus Campidoctor... donamus... matri nostre ecclesie sedi videlicet Valentine et venerabili pastori nostro Ieronimo pontifici, villam que dicitur Pigacen... Similiter quoque villas de Alcanitia omnes*

In the year 1098 of the Lord’s incarnation, I, Rodericus Campidoctor... donate the town called Pigacen... and all the towns called Alcanitia... to the church of Our Lady of the See of Valencia and to our venerable shepherd Bishop Jérôme, the town called Pigacen... and likewise all those towns of Alcanitia

(Salamanca, Archivo de la Catedral de Salamanca, caja 43, leg. 2, núm. 72).

<sup>7</sup> Ibn al-Qūṭīya, *Tarīkh al-iftitāh al-Andalus*, 102.

<sup>8</sup> Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muqtabis* (Ḥajjī edition), III.116.

<sup>9</sup> Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muqtabis* (Ḥajjī edition), III.121.

<sup>10</sup> Ibn Buluqqīn, *al-Tibyān*, 99.

40 miles from Molina in the Levant, a *Maur Bīṭru* (مور بيطر) which would appear to be similarly related to Peter, 30 miles from Lorca, and a *Shantjiyāla* (شنتجیالة), which could be Santa Julia.<sup>11</sup> This *Shantjiyāla* may be the same place the anonymous *Akhbār Majmū‘a* refers to as *Shantu Ajlaḥu* or *Ajilluḥu*<sup>12</sup>, which has been identified as Saint Acisclus.<sup>13</sup> *Shanta Yāla*, between Córdoba and Écija, has preserved its name to this day: Santaella.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> al-‘Udhri, *Nuṣūs ‘an al-Andalus* edited by al-‘Azīz al-Ahwānī (Madrid: Ma‘had al-Dirāsāt al-Islāmīya, 1965), 10.

<sup>12</sup> *Akhbār majmū‘a fī fath al-Andalus* edited and translated into Castilian by Emilio Lafuente y Alcántara (Madrid: La Real Academia de la Historia, 1867), 12.

<sup>13</sup> Dozy, *Recherches*, I.54n1; Lévi-Provençal, ‘Les ‘Mémoires’ de ‘Abd Allāh, dernier roi Zīride de Grenade’, *Al-Andalus* 6 (1941), 34n12.

<sup>14</sup> al-Idrīsī:

حصن شنت يالة... منه إلى استجة في غرب ١٥ ميلا، ومن حصن شنت يالة إلى قرطبة ٢٣ ميلا

Éjica is 15 miles from Shanta Yāla to the West, Córdoba 23 miles away (*Nuzhat al-mushtāq*, 572).

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