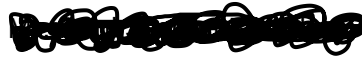




The formation, evolution and influence of Mozarabic identity under *al-Andalus* and *la Reconquista*



Supervised by: Dr. Timothy Robert Baylor

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Contents

Chapter 1: Mozarabism as Nationalism.....	8
Introduction	8
Part 2: Continuing Gothicism.....	13
Part 3: Arabism	15
Part 4: Mozarabic Gothicism	19
Chapter 2: Mozarabism as Religious Identity	27
Introduction	27
Part 1: Adoptivist Controversy.....	28
Part 2: Toledo.....	32
Part 3: Crusade and Jihad	35
Part 4: Stalemate	39
Chapter 3: Mozarabism in Racial Conflict.....	42
Part 1: Granada.....	42
Part 2: New and Old Christianity	43
Part 3: Legacy of Purity of Blood	46
Chapter 4: Hitchcock's Type Theory	47
Part 1: Leonese-type.....	48
Part 2: Toledan-type	49
Part 3: Proposal for Catalan and Granadine-types.....	51
Chapter 5: Mozarabism in Retrospect	52
Part 3: 19th Century Reconsiderations.....	53
Part 4: Israel and the Iberian Civil Wars	56
Conclusion.....	59
Asturleon.....	61
Iberia	61
Spania.....	61

Dedications

May this paper be to the glory of the LORD Jesus Christ, to whom with God the Father and God the Holy Ghost be ascribed all the power, all the wisdom and all the glory, now and forever. Amen!

May I speak well of his servants:

Ss. Abbot Ardo Smaragdus, Abbot Benedict-Witiza, Apostle James the Greater, King Reccered, Alcuin of York, Prince William of Gothia, Isidore of Seville, Beatus of Liébana, Felix the Martyr, Paul Alvar, Eulogius of Córdoba, Cecil and the other Apostolic Men.

As well as:

The Blessed Charlemagne, Servant of God Hernando de Talevera and the Ven. Mary of Ágrede

And those Christians who worked well for the Church, but have not been formally recognised:

Ḥafṣ ibn Albar al-Qūṭī al-Qurṭubī, John and Teudula of Seville, Gilbert of Hastings, Juan de Zumárraga and Kings Pelayo and Alfonso the Brave

I also want to thank the LORD for my parents the Rev. Dr. Paul Robert Blackham and the soon to be Rev. Elizabeth Hasnip Blackham who have always encouraged me to study all my life, first the Bible and then history; for my grandparents, especially for Grandad for assuring me that I am brighter than I look; for my older brother for looking after me, and my little sister for cheering me up; for my chapel community here in Lampeter and the congregation at Mount Carmel; for Jonathan, Darryl, Sue, Aubrey and Andy for being better friends to me than I deserved.

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Abbreviations:

WRE = Western Roman Empire

ERE = Eastern Roman Empire/Byzantine Empire

HRE = Holy Roman Empire

Abstract

The aim of this work is to understand Mozarabism, a non-Islamic Arabised identity in Medieval Iberia. The last century has seen so much work on understanding new facets of Mozarabism, but no history like Simonet's seminal *History of the Mozarabs* from 1897-1903 has been written. So, many of the implications of these new findings and theories have not been fully considered and integrated into a unified understanding of Mozarabism. Much focus is given to the Mozarabs of Toledo or the Duero Basin during and after its depopulation, but Mozarabs are to be found all throughout the peninsula. The Mozarabs were consistently misunderstood and oppressed in *al-Andalus* in racial and religious terms and in Spain and Portugal largely in cultural ways. They were thought to be fifth columns, dangerously superstitious and heretical; but in fact, they were fiercely loyal to the Visigothic Institutions they inherited: the Faith, Rite and Law, which they upheld in adversity more consistently than their coreligionist neighbours. How they and their history are understood is central to how one understands the origins of Spain and Portugal, so Mozarabism remains a hotly debated topic mired in political controversy. In this dissertation, I will look at definitions of Mozarabism as a national, religious or racial group, as well as more specific subcategories of Leonese or Toledan-types. I will seek to construct a more precise definition of Mozarabism and discuss whether its definition should be broadened or changed to accommodate new information about the Mozarabs as a whole and in their particular regions. Finally, I will engage with Mozarabism's historiography and influence from the Early Modern period to the present day.

Keywords: Mozarabs, Mozarabism, Reconquista, *al-Andalus*

Mozarabism is a non-Islamic Arabised identity that developed from Visigothic Hispanism. Despite possibly including heretical or Jewish elements, Mozarabs were mostly Catholic.¹ In this dissertation, I will examine Mozarabism's formation and development from 711-1614 and its influence and reception after integrating into the wider Iberian identities.

By 711, the Catholic Visigothic Kingdom of *Spania* encompassed Iberia and extinguished paganism and heresy.² Catholicism was central after the reign of King St. Reccared I.³ From 711-715, the *Mawla* Tariq conquered Iberia (killing King Roderick in the process) and established *al-Andalus*. Another King, Agilo II, reigned in Tarraconensis and Septimania (*Spanian* Gaul) until 713, while his successor, Ardo, ruled only in Septimania until c.718.⁴ Muslim elites governed Iberia until Pelayo's 718 Asturian uprising, beginning *la Reconquista*, a several centuries-long attempt to re-establish *Spania*. This lasted until the 1609-1614 Morisco Expulsion. The reconquered states (Andorra, Spain and Portugal) were in many ways unlike *Spania*. Mozarabism was perhaps the most distinct new element and proved robust enough to outlast religious and cultural suppression.

The dissertation is divided into five chapters: three covering the main ways Mozarabism was perceived: nationally, religiously or racially. These dominated during the Early Medieval, High Medieval and Early Modern periods respectively. The final two chapters will look at the legacy and historiography of Mozarabism.

¹ Yasmine Beale-Rivaya, "The History and Evolution of the Term" Mozarab"." *Imago temporis: medium Aevum* (2010): 51-71, p.52.

² Simon Barton, *A History of Spain*. (New York City: Macmillan International Higher Education, 2009) pp.20-21.

³ Jamie Wood, *The politics of identity in Visigothic Spain: religion and power in the histories of Isidore of Seville*. (Leiden: Brill, 2012) p.226; Nathan P. Chase, "From Arianism to Orthodoxy: The Role of the Rites of Initiation in Uniting the Visigothic Kingdom." *Hispania Sacra* 72.146 (2020) 427-438, p.433.

⁴ Luis A. García Moreno, "Los últimos tiempos del reino visigodo." *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 189.3 (1992): 425-460, pp. 444-446.

Chapter 1: Mozarabism as Nationalism

Introduction

People of non-Roman descent often understood themselves to be nationally Roman even after the collapse of the WRE.⁵ Christian Romanised Greeks called pagans *Hellenoi*, i.e. Greeks, and themselves as *Rhomaioi*, i.e. Romans, (heretics were also described as nationally other) yet they did not extend Romanism to Arab and Slavic coreligionists.⁶ Nationality therefore included belonging to a state or the beliefs that upheld that state.

Early Mozarabism followed Late Antique nationhood. Law indicating Nation was common in Late Antique Europe as ethnic Romans became citizens of the Huns or Visigoths.⁷ Mozarabs identified as Visigoths, despite many not being of Gothic descent and few speaking Gothic or Latin.⁸ The Visigothic faith, rite and law united Mozarabism during their first centuries. The Visigothic Rite was more important to Mozarabs than to other post-Visigoths.⁹ The Asturleonese and Occitanoromance abandoned the Visigothic Rite following Carolingian religious reforms, so it became the Mozarabic Rite.¹⁰

Mozarabs did not recognise *Al-Andalus* as a legitimate successor-state to *Spania* so Emirs governed them through intermediaries of royal Gothic descent called counts, *qadis* or

⁵ Most notably, St. Sidonius Apollinarius, see: John Drinkwater and Hugh Elton, eds. *Fifth-century Gaul: a crisis of identity?*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p.286.

⁶ Georgios Steiris, "History and Religion as Sources of Hellenic Identity in Late Byzantium and the Post-Byzantine Era." *Genealogy* 4.1 (2020): 16, p.4.

⁷ Stefan Esders, "Roman Law as an Identity Marker in Post-Roman Gaul (5th–9th centuries)." *Transformations of Romanness in the Early Middle Ages: Regions and Identities* (2018): 325–44, p.262.

⁸ Ingmar Söhrman, "Wulfila, Arianism and the Gothic Language in Visigothic Spain." *International Symposium*. (2013), pp.203–205.

⁹ Susan Boynton, "Restoration or Invention? Archbishop Cisneros and the Mozarabic Rite in Toledo." *Yale Journal of Music & Religion* 1.1.3 (2015) 5–30, p.7.

¹⁰ Boynton, (2015), p.5.

Alcaldes, with King Witiza's son Ardobast being first Count of the Christians of *al-Andalus*.¹¹

Alcaldes upheld Visigothic Law until their Reconquest and during the 1085 Toledan *Reconquista* the continued practice of their law was one of their main requests to King Alfonso.¹²

These are useful identifiers for Mozarabic sources, but they were not thought of as different elements by the Mozarabs. The Visigothic Code was theocratic and included *Spania*'s Canon Law.¹³ The Visigothic Rite was compiled by a Royal Council, giving it a legal element.¹⁴ As *Spania* was a Sacral Monarchy, adherence to the faith was indistinguishable from adherence to the Law.¹⁵ Gothicism was a holistic way of life and the Mozarabs strove to adhere to all of it.

¹¹ Francisco Javier Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes en España deducida de los mejores y más auténticos testimonios de los escritores cristianos y árabes* vol. 4 (Córdoba: Almuzara Febrero, 1983), pp. 197, 247.

¹² Ann Rosemary Christys, "Educating the Christian Elite in Umayyad Córdoba." *Die Interaktion von Herrschern und Eliten in imperialen Ordnungen des Mittelalters*, Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter (2018): 114-124., p.116; Francisco Maria Botelho Barata Isaac, *Sesnando Davides-Alvazil, Cônsul, Estratega e Moçárabe*. Diss. Universidade De Lisboa (2014), p.94.

¹³ Flora Gusmão, "The Role of the Bishop According to the Liber Iudiciorum (Lex Visigothorum)." *Visigothic Symposium*. 1. (2016), p.90.

¹⁴ E. Michael Gerli, *Medieval Iberia: an Encyclopedia*. (Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge, 2013), p.229.

¹⁵ Jason Matthew Osborne, "The development of church/state relations in the Visigothic Kingdom during the sixth century (507-601)." Diss. University of Iowa (2016), p.17.

Part 1: Pre-Islamic Gothicism



16

To understand Iberian identity in 711, one must understand the Visigoths. While some historians contrast *al-Andalus* with Roman Hispania or see *Spania* as "Roman Hispania under new and improved management",¹⁷ this represents little of the upheaval of identity and governance under Visigothic rule.¹⁸ Mozarabs never identified as Romans but many expressed strong Visigothic connections.¹⁹

In some scholarship, *Spania* is sub-Roman; a product of Germano-Celtic failure to replicate Classical civilisation.²⁰ Recent discoveries show Visigothic Romanism was

¹⁶ Map is my own work

¹⁷ Robert Portass and Simon Barton. *Beyond the Reconquista: New Directions in the History of Medieval Iberia (711-1085)* (Leiden: Brill, 2020), p.58; J. Esteban Hernández Bermejo and Expiración García Sánchez. "Tulips: an Ornamental Crop in the Andalusian Middle Ages." *Economic botany* 63.1 (2009): 60-66, p.62; J. Esteban Hernández Bermejo, "Neglected crops of Al-Andalus." *BOCCONEA*–23: 115, p.115.

¹⁸ Roger Collins, *Visigothic Spain 409-711*. Vol. 2 (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2008), pp.245-246.

¹⁹ Roger Collins, "Visigothic law and regional custom in disputes in early medieval Spain." *The settlement of disputes in early medieval Europe* 85 (1986): 104, p.91.

²⁰ Peter Heather, ed. *The Visigoths from the migration period to the seventh century: an ethnographic perspective*. Vol. 4. (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 2003), p.117.

intentionally superficial as ethnic Goths distanced themselves from Romans publicly.²¹ Tokenistic Romanism pacified Hispano-Romans long enough to Gothicise them.²²

The Visigoths transformed one of Rome's least productive provinces into an economically self-sufficient kingdom.²³ Visigoths had little Roman nostalgia.²⁴ Goths retained their ancient laws in their kingdom, which Jordanes, relating it to the Getic Kingdom believed to be 2,000 years old, although St. Isidore made the kingdom older by relating the Getae to the Scythians.²⁵ Even Spaniards of Roman descent, such as St. Isidore of Seville, identified with the Visigoths over their fellow Romans, even dedicating his *Historia* to the Visigothic victory against Rome.²⁶

According to some scholars, after King Leovegild allowed intermarriage between Romans and Goths, the Visigothic Code rejected Gothicism and Romanism in favour of a Hispanism that included both ancestries.²⁷ The persistence of Gothic identity in *al-Andalus* and during the Reconquista suggests that Hispanism in *Spania* retained its Gothic character. Mozarabs used terms denoting Gothicism and Hispanism interchangeably.²⁸ Both elements were important to Mozarabism as Hispanism was geographic while Gothicism was cultural and religious. Rather than establish themselves as a foreign ruling class, Visigothic elites styled Gothicism in Hispanic terms. They continued using geographical terms locals were

²¹ Collins, 2008, p.245.

²² Elena Shadrina, "The Impact of the Rise of the Visigothic Kingdom in Spain on the Disappearance of Roman Imperial Presence in the West." *Journal of the classics students' union*: 37 (2016) 37-46, p.38.

²³ Shadrina, p.39.

²⁴ Collins, 2008, p.242.

²⁵ Arne Soby Christensen, *Cassiodorus, Jordanes and the history of the Goths: studies in a migration myth* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2002), pp.8-10; Erica Buchberger, *Shifting ethnic identities in Spain and Gaul, 500-700: from Romans to Goths and Franks*. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017), p.59.

²⁶ Wood, p.60; Buchberger, 2017, pp. 58-59.

²⁷ Maxim Tabachnik, "Ethnic/Civic Proto-National Consciousness in Pre-Modern Spain." *Forum of EthnoGeoPolitics*. 4.1 (2016) 35-48, p.40; Buchberger, 2017, p.26.

²⁸ Buchberger, "The Growth of Gothic Identity in Visigothic Spain: The Evidence of Textual Sources." *Identidad y etnicidad en Hispania: propuestas teóricas y cultura material en los siglos V-VIII* (Leioa: University of the Basque Country, 2015): 87-100, p.18.

comfortable such as Hispania or *Spania*, but they used Germanic imagery and monographs on coins and other artefacts to represent these areas.²⁹

Visigothic practices, gradually introduced on a large scale, enforced Spanish identity. The practice for Visigothic kings to found at least one new city was not purely economic based on discoveries from two excavated cities: Reccepolis and Eio, which likely reflect wider trends; the names of other Visigothic foundations have not been located.³⁰ Cities such as Reccopolis took royal names and their success drove Iberians to identify with these new wholly Visigothic settlements.³¹ Appropriation proved similarly successful. Although Toledo was a major city under the Romans, it became known as the Royal City of the Goths.³²

Numerous identities divided Roman Hispania but no united secessionist movement like the *Reconquista* opposed the Romans, suggesting there was no pre-Gothic Iberia-wide identity.³³ The Latin *Hispania* and Greek *Iberia* were only geographical. Without being aware of the native groups recognised through recent findings: Aquitano-Basque, Iberian, Celtiberian, Lusitanian and Tartessian (Strabo conflated the Aquitani, Tartessians and Iberians), they were careful to distinguish Iberians, Celts and Punic colonisers.³⁴ The Visigothic duchies of Asturias, Cantabria and Galicia (areas never controlled well under the Romans) were well integrated and are now believed to be important to the rise of the Kingdom of Asturias.³⁵

²⁹ Buchberger, 2017, p.24; Javier G. Williams, "Las acuñaciones reales visigodas." *XIII Congreso Internacional de Numismática, Madrid, 2003: actas-proceedings-actes*. (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 2005), p.1269.

³⁰ Michael J. Kelly, et al. *Urban Interactions: Communication and Competition in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*. (Santa Barbara: Punctum Books, 2020), p.189.

³¹ Kelly, 2020, p.189.

³² Kelly, 2020, pp.184-187.

³³ Wood, p.40.

³⁴ Oliver Simkin, "Language contact in the pre—Roman and Roman Iberian Peninsula." *Multilingualism in the Graeco-Roman Worlds* (2012): 77, p.80; Joaquín Gorrochategui, "The Basque language and its Neighbors in Antiquity." *Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science Series 4* (1995): 31-6, p.39; Strabo, *Geography*, 3.1.6.

³⁵ Payne, Stanley G. "Visigoths and Asturians Reinterpreted: The Spanish Grand Narrative Restored?." *Medieval Iberia: Changing Societies and Cultures in Contact and Transition* 247 (2007): 4, p.52.

Part 2: Continuing Gothicism



Mozarabs were not the only group with Gothicism post-711. *Spania* was the last Gothic state to fall, and was the longest-lasting in a former Roman province (possibly excluding Crimean Theodoro which fell in 1475 and whose people spoke Gothic into the late 18th Century).³⁷ *Al-Andalus* spanned Iberia only from King Achila II's defeat in 714 to Pelayo's revolt in 718, so their northern impact was not meaningful.³⁸ Continuing Gothicism in non-Mozarabic areas is important to understand Gothic identity fully.

Carolingians joined the Reconquista by establishing the Gothian Principality in Septimania.³⁹ The Prince was often Frankish (as was its founder St. William), but most Counts who governed the Principality identified as Goths who had only agreed to join Gothia if they could retain Gothic law, which they did until at least the 11th Century.⁴⁰ St. Ardo Smaragdus, in his *Vita Benedictae*, establishes Benedict of Aniane's nobility by saying he was 'from Getic descent and was born in Gothic parts... since his father was Count of Magdalona'.⁴¹

³⁶ Maps are my own work

³⁷ Ștefan Constantin, "Difficulties in international travelling for residents of areas with undefined political status. Case study: Crimea." *Junior Scientific Researcher* 2.1 (2016): 16-29, p.17.

³⁸ Jorge Sánchez Delgado, "El final del regne visigot (710-725)." *Annals de l'Institut d'Estudis Gironins* (2013): 297-326, pp.305.

³⁹ Narciso Blanch e Illa, *Gerona histórico-monumental: noticias históricas de esta ciudad y descripción artística de sus antiguos monumentos*, (Valladolid: Maxtor D.L., 2010), pp.21-22.

⁴⁰ J. A. Jarrett, "The Carolingian Succession to the Visigothic Fisc on the Spanish March." *46th International Congress on Medieval Studies* (2010), p.1, 3.

⁴¹ Jacques-Paul Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. CIII (1864)

Ardo's recognition of Magdalona's Gothicism is important as Ardo was proudly Visigothic. While St. Benedict changed his name from Witiza (the name of a Gothic King) to Benedict (the name of his monastic role model), St. Ardo continued to use his birth name which he shared with the final Visigothic King. While most chronicles list Roderic as the final king, the Gothian city of Girona's list has Achila II and Ardo (likely children of Witiza) after him.⁴² The children of Witiza are, therefore, the most steadfast opposers of al-Andalus, in contrast to the Asturleonese traditions which blames the conquest on the "Sons of Witiza".⁴³

Roderic was immortalised in Asturleon as a tragic figure who suffered because of Visigothic wrongdoings, but was nevertheless legitimate, so the Asturleonese claimed relation to him, but Ardo's recognition demonstrates another tradition alongside conflicting Mozarabic traditions, passed down through the Banu-l-Qutiyya which saw their ancestor Witiza as the last legitimate king (making Roderick an illegitimate force whose deposition justified their invasion) and Asturleonese accounts.⁴⁴ Some claim Gothicism was strongest around Toledo and was weaker in the north, but Septimanian Gothicism challenges this.⁴⁵ The linguistic similarity between Catalan, Valencian and Occitan shows cultural ties remained strong.⁴⁶ Their regions formed the Visigothic Kingdom of Tolosa, the pre-*Spanian* phase of the Visigothic Kingdom, and was therefore the region that had the longest-lasting Gothicism.⁴⁷ Catalans,

⁴² Dolores Castro and Michael J. Kelly. "Isidore's Sententiae, the Liber Iudiciorum, and Paris BnF Lat. 4667" *Visigothic Symposium*. 4 (2020), p.149.

⁴³ Kenneth Baxter Wolf, ed. *Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain*. Vol. 9. (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999), p.48.

⁴⁴ Elizabeth Drayson, "Ways of seeing: the first medieval Islamic and Christian depictions of Roderick, last Visigothic king of Spain." *Al-Masaq* 18.2 (2006): 115-128, p.128; Julia Montenegro and Arcadio Del Castillo. "The Alfonso II Document of 812, the Annales Portugalenses Veteres and the Continuity of the Visigothic Kingdom of Toledo as the Kingdom of Asturias." *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 87.2 (2009): 197-214, pp.200-203; Sara Gottardi, "Visigothic Division and Muslim Preservers of Order." *Hispanófila* 178 (2016): 221-232, p.231; Denise K. Filios, "Playing the Goth Card in Tenth-Century Córdoba: Ibn al-Qūṭīya's Family Traditions." *La corónica: A Journal of Medieval Hispanic Languages, Literatures, and Cultures* 43.2 (2015): 57-84, p.65.

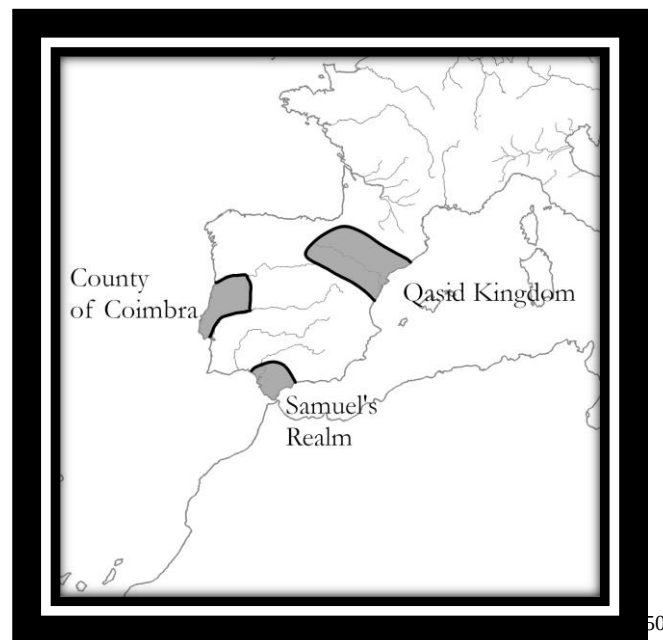
⁴⁵ Beale-Rivaya, "On the Relationship between Mozarabic Sibilants and Andalusian Seseo." *eHumanista: Journal of Iberian Studies* 14 (2010): 40-56, p.52.

⁴⁶ Mathew L. Juge, "Catalan's Place in Romance Revisited." *Catalan Review* 21.1 (2007): 257-277, p.269.

⁴⁷ Kelly, *Isidore of Seville and the Liber Iudiciorum: The Struggle for the Past in the Visigothic Kingdom*. (Leiden: Brill, 2021), p.1.

Valencians and Occitans were all called Catalans at the time.⁴⁸ Most theories about the origin of the term Catalan (including theories dating from the Medieval Period) take it to be derived from Gothia or Gotlandia.⁴⁹

Part 3: Arabism



The identity of the invaders themselves, and the effect it had on the population, is heavily debated. Iberians, Christian or Muslim, did not identify this group as Muslim but as Arabs and Moors.⁵¹ The conquest is described as national, rather than religious in early sources.⁵² This is likely because of the role Arabism had in early Islam.

⁴⁸ Eloi Bellés, "Vicente Lledó-Guillem. The Making of Catalan Linguistic Identity in Medieval and Early Modern Times." *Marges, Els: revista de llengua i literatura* 1.117 (2019): 120-121, pp.120-121.

⁴⁹ Climent Forner, "The Birth of the Catalan People." *Catalònia* (1991): 7-10, p.8.

⁵⁰ Map is my own work

⁵¹ In Latin: *arabes, sarraceni, Ishmahelorum* or *mauri*, see: Wolf, "The Earliest Spanish Christian Views of Islam." *Church History* 55.3 (1986): 281-293, p.283.

⁵² Wolf, 1986, p.283.

Umayyad policy treated Arabs better than others.⁵³ Genealogies proved descent either from Adnan or Qahtan to legitimise one's Arabism.⁵⁴ The debate about whether one could become an Arab tended to conclude that one could not.⁵⁵ Complex terminology developed to decide how Arabic someone was, with race and descent being a crucial factor, alongside the use of language.⁵⁶ Non-Arabs might become adopted into an Arabic tribe, becoming a *Mawla*, but this did not guarantee equal treatment.⁵⁷ Throughout the Islamic World, Garrison Towns were established. These settlements were designed to favour Arab Muslims, with more disadvantaged areas being determined by a lack of Arabism or Islam.⁵⁸ There was essentially a racial and religious caste system.

The Arabic language was venerated because of the Qur'an.⁵⁹ Amongst those who believed one could become an Arab, the use of the Arabic language was central to the process.⁶⁰ This is one of the reasons why Arabic became so pervasive unlike the Gothic language. Arabs maintained their identity as invaders distinguishing themselves with natives, and even "Syrian" Arabs who did not take part in the conquest, a non-racial distinction that demonstrates how important the invasion was to *Andalusí* identity.⁶¹ Their military success was a point of national pride dependent on a lack of Hispanism. This put them at odds with Mozarabs who frequently

⁵³ Akbar S. Ahmed, *Discovering Islam: Making Sense of Muslim History and Society* (London: Routledge, 2002.), pp.41-42.

⁵⁴ Hayat Kabasakal and Muzaffer Bodur. "Arabic cluster: a bridge between East and West." *Journal of World Business* 37.1 (2002): 40-54, p.45.

⁵⁵ Peter Webb, *Imagining the Arabs*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016), pp. 180-181.

⁵⁶ Webb, p. 180.

⁵⁷ Monique Bernards and John Abdallah Nawas, eds. *Patronate and patronage in early and classical Islam*. Vol. 61. (Leiden: Brill, 2005), p.25.

⁵⁸ Nezar Alsayyad "Fustat-Misir: The City of Arab Islam" in *Cairo* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011), p.42.

⁵⁹ Kees Versteegh, *Arabic language*. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), p.322.

⁶⁰ Webb, p. 180.

⁶¹ Göran Larsson, *Ibn García's Shu'ūbiyya Letter: Ethnic and Theological Tensions in Medieval Al-Andalus*. Vol. 16. (Leiden: Brill, 2003), p.19.

criticised the "Muslim triumphalist view of history" through art depicting Jesus' coming judgement and through polemic.⁶²

Despite the Berber *Mawla* Tariq's centrality to the establishment of *al-Andalus*, an Arab called Mūsá ibn Nuṣayr was appointed governor.⁶³ The side-lining of Berbers caused numerous revolts, and began the sect of the Kharijite's who promised to abolish all racial and tribal distinctions within Islam.⁶⁴ Racial policy was made more inclusive under the Abbasid Caliphate, but after Abderramán I removed the Caliph from the list of prayer recipients in 757, *al-Andalus* was independent.⁶⁵

Andalusí racial ideology became stronger and, writing in the 11th Century, Ṣā'id al-Andalusī wrote that Black people were intellectually inferior due to their darker skin, a fate that Indians managed to avoid based on their connection to the planet Mercury.⁶⁶ He distinguishes Berbers from Black people but asserts that Allah nevertheless provided Berbers and Iberians 'with despotism, ignorance, enmity and violence'.⁶⁷ Al-Andalusī's work proved extremely popular, not just in al-Andalus, but throughout the Islamic World.⁶⁸

Berbers were treated better when the Almoravids and Almohads, two Berber dynasties, conquered the Iberian peninsula, but *Muwallads* and Jews were not. Jews had not taken part in the mass exodus to the north like the Leonese-type Mozarabs had, but most Jews moved to the north beginning in 1086, with the remaining *Andalusí* Jewish communities being dismantled

⁶² Mustafa Ghani, "The Narrative Assault on Islam." *Constellations* 3.2 (2012), p.134.

⁶³ Sarah Bowen Savant, ed. *Genealogy and Knowledge in Muslim Societies: Understanding the Past*. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), p.79.

⁶⁴ Elizabeth Savage, "Berbers and Blacks: Ibādī slave traffic in eighth-century North Africa." *Journal of African History* (1992): 351-368, p.362.

⁶⁵ Ahmed, p.42.

⁶⁶ Sa'id al-Andalusī, *Science in the medieval world "Book of the Categories of Nations"*. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010), pp.11-12.

⁶⁷ al-Andalusī, p.8.

⁶⁸ Helaine Selin, ed. *Encyclopaedia of the History of Science, Technology, and Medicine in non-Western Cultures* (Heidelberg: Springer Science & Business Media, 2013), p.1911.

by the middle of the 12th Century.⁶⁹ Maimonides lived during this time, and he claimed that there were no worse persecutors of the Jews in the world than the Arabs.⁷⁰

The continued second-class citizenship caused a series of revolts by *Muwallad* rulers such as Musa ibn Musa ibn Qasi, who established his own state: the Third Kingdom in Spain.⁷¹ *Muwallads* never gained equal rights with Arabs and were never accepted as Arabs, but *Muwallads* could be accepted as Goths as can be seen in their alliances with Christian Gothic powers.⁷² One *Muwallad*, Umar ibn Hafsun, took Bobastro and established his own kingdom, with widespread support from Mozarabs and *Muwallads*, even before Umar adopted Christianity and took the name Samuel.⁷³

Not every *Muwallad* or Mozarab faced discrimination, and those that claimed pre-Islamic noble descent fared better than the lowborns, especially the *Banu-l-Quti*, (male-line descendants of Witiza).⁷⁴ St. Beatus joked that whenever Mozarabs needed help, they claimed descent from Witiza (a practice so common that Luis A. García Moreno calls it Witizanism).⁷⁵ The Arab Muslim *ibn al-Qutiyya* was careful to show that his descent from Witiza was distant and maternal and therefore did not affect his Arabism (describing Witizanism “in dynastic, not ethnic, terms”), but nevertheless shows how highly Arabs thought of royal Goths.⁷⁶ Witizanism gained its prevalence as a way to circumnavigate the racial restrictions placed on Goths.

⁶⁹ Esperanza Alfonso, *Islamic culture through Jewish eyes: al-Andalus from the tenth to twelfth century*. Vol. 20. (London: Routledge, 2007), pp.1-2.

⁷⁰ Maimonides. tr. Avraham Yaakov Finkel, *Rambam: Selected letters of Maimonides: letter to Yemen: discourse on martyrdom*. (Scranton: Yeshivath Beth Moshe, 1994), p.58.

⁷¹ Richard A. Fletcher, *Moorish Spain*. (Berkeley: Univ of California Press, 2006), p.49.

⁷² Roberto Tottoli, ed. *Routledge handbook of Islam in the West* (Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge, 2014), p.24.

⁷³ David J. Wasserstein, "Inventing Tradition and constructing Identity: The Genealogy of c Umar Ibn Ḥafṣūn between Christianity and Islam." *Al-Qanṭara* 23.2 (2002): 269-297, p.293.

⁷⁴ Guadalupe, Inmacualda García. "El tesoro mejor guardado de Tombuctú." *Istor: revista de historia internacional* 8.31 (2007): 27-41, p.22.

⁷⁵ Alberto Ferreiro, ed. *The Visigoths: studies in culture and society*. Vol. 20. (Leiden: Brill, 1999), p.305.

⁷⁶ Filios, p.67.

One historian wrote that the only difference between Mozarabism and Arabism was the use of the Visigothic Rite, however, the fact that Mozarabs who converted to Islam were never accepted as Arabs, neither did they seek to become Arabs, shows that there was a national or racial divide between themselves and Arabs.⁷⁷ While the Arabs never accepted Visigoths because of their ancestry, it should not be assumed that the lack of intent to become Arabs was racial. As has been discussed in pre-Islamic Gothicism, racialism was not present in that pre-Islamic Gothicism. Given the quantity of Gothic elements that survived in *Muwallad* and Mozarab communities, the adoption of this element of Arabism should not be assumed.

Even the influence of Arabism on Mozarabs is questionable. As Arabism was racial, linguistic and religious, it is noteworthy that the concept of a nation being defined by religion was likely the only overlap, and the Mozarabs likely inherited this from the Visigoths.

Part 4: Mozarabic Gothicism

Hispanism divided post-711AD but the *Reconquistador* endonyms *Hispani* and *Español* and the Mozarabic equivalent *Espanesco* point to a shared origin.⁷⁸ The strength of *Andalusí Espanesco* identity suggests that it was strong by the fall of *Spania*. Whereas it was common for conquered Christians to identify as *al-Rûmi* or Romans, conquered Iberian Christians identified as *al-Qūṭī*.⁷⁹

In fact, Gothicism seemed stronger under Mozarabism than under the *Reconquistadores*. Early *Reconquistadores* used the term *Hispani* rather than *Español*. *Español* was derived from *Hispaniolus* which was a term likely used by the Visigoths. Mozarabs were

⁷⁷ Howard Delgin Miller and Hanna E. Kassis. "The Mozarabs." *The Literature of Al-Andalus* (2000): 417-34, p.418.

⁷⁸ Américo Castro, *The Spaniards: An introduction to their history*. (Berkeley: Univ of California Press, 1971), p.16.

⁷⁹ Ferreiro, p.308.

known to identify as *Espanescos*.⁸⁰ –*Esco* endings derive from the Gothic –ISRS, whereas the most common Spanish identifier in the north, *Hispani* is standard Latin.⁸¹ The consciously Gothic tone of –*Iscus* endings can be seen in the use of *Theodiscus* and similar terms to describe Germanic peoples.⁸² –*Iscus* endings overshadowed normal forms in Late Antiquity, so their continued use suggests a continued sense of identity in contrast to the standard Latin of the north.⁸³ The forms *Hispani* and *Espanol* were loaned from other regions, likely Provence, or simply represented standard or popular Latin.⁸⁴

While it was important for the first Asturian King Pelayo to be descended from the Visigothic King Chindaswinth, few other nobles could provide as detailed Gothic genealogies as Mozarabs of lesser status.⁸⁵ Strong Celtic elements in Asturian folklore, along with the Basque independence may suggest Gothic Hispanism was weaker in the north and strongest around Toledo.⁸⁶

Not every member of the *Banu-l-Quti* could prove their descent, but the main line was probably legitimate as they served as hereditary *Alcaldes*.⁸⁷ Most Mozarabs could not flee to the main *Reconquista* state of Asturias, so treaties were brokered to allowed Christian autonomy.⁸⁸ Christian Counts (qumis, also called judges, *qadis* and later *Alcaldes* represented

⁸⁰ Américo Castro, pp.10-13.

⁸¹ Alfred Bammesberger, "Die gotischen Adjektiva auf-(w)-isk." *Historische Sprachforschung/Historical Linguistics* 108.1. H (1995): 93-101, pp.38-39; Albert Morey Sturtevant, "The Suffix-sk-in Old Norse Elska." *The American Journal of Philology* 49.2 (1928): 188-195, p.189; Joseph HD. Allen Jr "Portuguese word-formation with suffixes." *Language* (1941): 3-143, p.84.

⁸² E. Blochet, "Les germaniques sujets de Darius." *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 21.4 (1924): 157-166, p.159.

⁸³ Christin M.L. Wilson, *Variation and Text Type in Old Occitan Texts*. Diss. The Ohio State University, 2012, p.98; Allen Jr, p.84.

⁸⁴ Américo Castro, pp.11-12.

⁸⁵ Andrew Devereux, "Royal Genealogy and the Gothic Thesis in Medieval Iberian Historiography." *Foundations* 2.1 (2006): 3-26, p.9.

⁸⁶ R. Barroso Cabrera and J. Morín de Pablos. "Los yacimientos de Tinto Juan de la Cruz-Pinto, Madrid (ss. I al VI d. C.) Reflexiones en torno a dos problemas de la historia medieval española: Las necrópolis visigodas y el neogoticismo astur." *Estudios de Prehistoria y Arqueología Madrileñas* 12 (2002): 145-174, p.167.

⁸⁷ María Isabel Fierro Bello, "Mitos y realidades del Toledo islámico." *Tulaytula: Revista de la Asociación de Amigos del Toledo Islámico* 12 (2005): 29-60, p.59.

⁸⁸ Alfonso Carmona, "Lorca y la formación de Tudmir." *Clavis* (2008): 4-5, p.23.

Mozarabs and oversaw daily cases, without exempting them from *Jizya* or ritual humiliation.⁸⁹ This simple pacification measure relied on the *Alcalde*'s legitimacy, so they were chosen from Visigothic royalty. Their power was significant as Hermenegild Gutiérrez, *Alcalde* of Coimbra, took his entire region when he defected to Asturias.⁹⁰ Hermenegild is remembered as a *Reconquistador* and *Repoplador* but he inherited most of his domain from his Mozarabic ancestors.⁹¹

Alcaldes could not have simply governed the land, however, as the chief *Alcalde* was the *Alcalde* of Cordoba, the capital of *al-Andalus*. This was Ḥafṣ ibn Albar al-Qūṭī al-Qurṭubī's position.⁹² There was an *Alcalde* in Toledo during its reconquest in 1085 who remained under as the *Alcalde de los Mozárabes de Toledo*.⁹³ The Mozarabs requested that they remained under a separate series of laws and were judged by their *Alcalde* separately.⁹⁴ So, it seems that the *Alcalde* had complete authority only over their coreligionists. Their regional power therefore depended on the extent of Christianity in that region, so Hermenegild's defection was possible due to Coimbra's Mozarabic majority.

Scepticism around *Andalusí Gothic* dynasties cite Umar ibn Hafsun, who claimed descent from a Goth named Alfonso, took the name Samuel and joined the *Reconquistadores*.⁹⁵ Contemporary Muslim Andalusí sources, most notably the poet ibn Rabbihi, refer to him as a

⁸⁹ Howard Delgin Miller, *According to Christian Sunna: Mozarabic Notarial Culture in Toledo, 1085-1300*. Diss. Yale University, 2003, p. 8.

⁹⁰ Amancio Isla Frez, "Nombres de reyes y sucesión al trono (siglos VIII-X)." *Studia historica. Historia medieval* 11 (1993) 9-34, p.27.

⁹¹ Gonzalo Martínez Díez, "La emigración mozárabe al Reino de León, siglos IX y X." *Antigüedad y Cristianismo* 28 (2011): 99-117, p.104.

⁹² David James, *Early Islamic Spain: The History of Ibn Al-Qutiyah* (Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge, 2009), p.55.

⁹³ Ḥafṣ ibn-Albar al-Qūṭī, tr. Pieter Sjoerd Koningsveld, *The Arabic Psalter of Ḥafṣ ibn Albar al-Qūṭī: Prolegomena for a Critical Edition*. (Leiden: Brill, 2016), p.82.

⁹⁴ Aaron Michael Moreno, *Arabicizing, Privileges, and Liturgy in Medieval Castilian Toledo: The Problems and Mutations of Mozarab Identification (1085-1436)*. Diss. UCLA, 2012, pp.58-59.

⁹⁵ Adam Malik Khan, "Reconquesta: the Muslim-Christian Conflict in Spain." *VFAST Transactions on Islamic Research* 1.1 (2013): 40-46, p.42.

Sawada, a Black African.⁹⁶ This was probably to undermine his claim to Visigothic nobility and a "good family".⁹⁷ The acceptance of a Black man as a Visigoth by Mozarabs and Reconquistadores is remarkable. He was given a Visigothic funeral, for example.⁹⁸

Members of other races (notably King Erwig, son of the Armenian Ardobast) filled every level of *Spanish* society, self-identified as Goths and used Gothic names.⁹⁹ The fact that the name Ardobast became popularised as Ardo shows the extent to which Ardobast was accepted. There may have been a Black African named Alfonso, or an ethnic Goth named Alfonso who may have married a Black African. St. Beatus' aforementioned joke about Witizanism shows there was doubt behind claims of royal descent, but there does not seem to be the same level of scepticism surrounding claims of Gothic descent.¹⁰⁰

The reason that the issue of forgery is so important, is due to the claim that Gothicism only became important after the Muslim conquest and was a reaction to Islamic racialism.¹⁰¹ Arabs and Berber converts to Christianity in Spain, most notably St. Felix, were crucial to Mozarabic martyrologies.¹⁰² When Toledan Mozarabs were autonomous, Arabo-Berber Mozarabs ("New Mozarabs") expressed these freedoms equally with their ethnically Gothic counterparts.¹⁰³ The acceptance ethnically Gothic Mozarabs had for Arabo-Berber Mozarabs makes racial Mozarabism unlikely in the Medieval period, despite Arabic support.

⁹⁶ Antonio Olliz-Boyd and Gabriel Asoanab Abudu. "Afro Iberian Identity in the Early Literature of Spain." *Imagination, Emblems, and Expressions: Essays on Latin American, Caribbean, and Continental Culture and Identity* (1993): 283, p.291.

⁹⁷ Olliz-Boyd, p.291.

⁹⁸ Anna Braverman, "Medina Azahara: Abd al-Rahman III's Testament to Time." *History of al-Andalus* (2018), p.5; Carlos Enríquez, et al. "The UAS-based 3D image characterization of Mozarabic church ruins in Bobastro (Malaga), Spain." *Remote Sensing* 12.15 (2020): 2377, p.13.

⁹⁹ Inti Yanes Fernandez, *The Cross and the Sword: Political Myth-Making, Hegemony, and Intericonicity in the Christianization of the Iberian Peninsula and Britain*. Texas A&M University Diss. 2018, p.85.

¹⁰⁰ Ferreiro, p.305.

¹⁰¹ Filios, pp. 63-64; or perhaps only to the Asturleonese after this point, see: Anne Grete Kolås Cennane, *La España perdida: El discurso sobre moros y cristianos*. MS thesis. 2014, p.75.

¹⁰² Wolf, *Christian martyrs in Muslim Spain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p.31.

¹⁰³ H.D. Miller and Hanna E. Kassis, p.418.

Mozarabic Romance or *Romandalusí* may not have been unique to Christians.¹⁰⁴ It should be noted however that *Judeoaragonés* and *Judeoespañol* are related to but not thought to be descendants of *Romandalusí* so Jewish speakers were unlikely.¹⁰⁵ *Romandalusí* shows that Mozarabs did not embrace Arabism entirely, although famous Mozarabs such as Hafs ibn Albar were noted for their preference for Arabic. Mozarabism was not monolithic and included a spectrum from highly Arabised individuals such as ibn Albar to the less Arabised such as the Aragonese.

Part 5: *Repoblación*



Early *Reconquistadores* focused on consolidating power and developing their sparse territory. Beginning c. 850 was the *Repoblación*, a response to a Mozarabic exodus so severe that the Duero Basin became depopulated. The *Depoblación* is often doubted,¹⁰⁷ and while a complete

¹⁰⁴ Federico Corriente, "Andalusí Romance (Formerly 'Mozarabic'): A Language in Contact Poorly Transmitted and Translated." *Lenguas en contacto: el testimonio escrito* 46 (2004): 281, p.282.

¹⁰⁵ Jakub de Chyży, "Sephardim and their language: Judeo-Spanish or Ladino?" *Językoznawstwo* 13.1 (2019) 93-108.

¹⁰⁶ Map is my own work

¹⁰⁷ Julio Escalona Viso and Iñaki Martín. "The Life and Death of an Historiographical Folly: The Early Medieval Depopulation and Repopulation of the Duero Basin." *Beyond the Reconquista: New Directions in the History of Medieval Iberia (711-1085)*. (Leiden: Brill, 2020). 21-51, p.24.

desertion seems unlikely as settlements have been found, they were small and based around local churches rather than centralised governments, making the *Depoblación* and later *Repoblación* real phenomena.¹⁰⁸ Mozarabic migrants and the Asturleonese were previously unaware of their cultural differences so they coined Mozarab from the *Musta'rabi*, meaning Arabised. The fact that they deformed *Musta'rabi* the way they did suggests the Asturleonese popularised the term, as when Toledan-type Mozarabs borrowed Arabic terms, they adhered closer to standard *Andalusí* forms.¹⁰⁹ Mozarabism itself predates this migration as primary sources show Mozarabs had a developed Arabised culture. The migration only caused the term to be created, not the identity.

The Asturleonese were attempting to establish themselves as the sole successors to *Spania* at this time.¹¹⁰ 9th and 10th Century chronicles established Asturleonese monarchs as heirs to Visigothic Royalty and the Duchies of Asturias and Cantabria, which are claimed to be Visigothic institutions.¹¹¹ The Desert of the Duero was gradually repopulated by Christians who defended their renewed settlements from Islamic attacks.¹¹² The construction of castles to defend *Repobladores* is believed to be the origin of the name Castile from the Arabic *al-Qila*, meaning the castled region.¹¹³ The region was formerly called *Bardulia* after a Celtic tribe.¹¹⁴ The use of Arabic terminology over indigenous forms demonstrates the extent to which Mozarabs affected northern culture.

¹⁰⁸ Kelly L. Watt, "Medieval churches on the Spanish frontier: how elite emulation in architecture contributed to the transformation of a territorial expansion into Reconquista." *Diss. University of Louisville* (2011), p.27.

¹⁰⁹ Christophe Picard, "Les chrétiens mozarabes: encadrement religieux et déclin. L'exemple du Gharb al-Andalus." *Mutations d'identités en Méditerranée* (2000): 97-110, pp.97, 124-125.

¹¹⁰ María de la Paz Estevez, *The "Other" Christians. The Mozarab Population of Toledo and the Reconquest*, (Buenos Aires: Universidad de Buenos Aires), p.14.

¹¹¹ Viso, "Family Memories. Inventing Alfonso I of Asturias." (2004), pp.238, 252.

¹¹² Mickey Abel "Strategic Domain: Reconquest Romanesque Along the Duero in Soria, Spain." *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture* 2.2 (2007): 1-57, p.14.

¹¹³ Manuel Antonio Quirós, "Castilla y el castellano; Origen de un lugar, un idioma y un nombre." *Revista de Filología y Lingüística de la Universidad de Costa Rica* 6.1-2 (1980): 81-97, p.89.

¹¹⁴ Quirós, p.89; Georges Martin, "LA INVENCION DE CASTILLA (Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, Historia de rebus Hispaniae, V). Identidad patria y mentalidades políticas." (2006), p.2.

More noticeable is the Mozarabic effect on art. Asturian architecture was visibly Visigothic and Mozarabic architecture can be easily distinguished from it as it closely resembles the kind of Arabic architecture in Cordoba, the *Andalusí* capital.¹¹⁵ Despite Asturian architectures' similarity to Visigothic architecture, Mozarabs referred only to their own architecture as Gothic or *Spanian*.¹¹⁶ Asturians positively received Mozarabism and elements were added to their own culture and language.¹¹⁷

Although it is doubtful whether it was an *Andalusí* 'Golden Age' this period left a large body of *Andalusí* literature. *Andalusí* Muslims were unlike their non-European co-religionists due to Abd ar-Rahman I's of independence from the Abbasid Caliphate.¹¹⁸ Unlike most parts of the Islamic world, *al-Andalus* had spent less than forty years under Caliphal control and so it spent its formative years as a state separately.

Hitchcock referred to the Mozarabs who remained in *al-Andalus* during the *Repoplación* as the Toledan-type Mozarabs, and those that fled to Asturias-Leon as the Leonese-type.¹¹⁹ Toledo had been the Visigothic capital and cultural centre and remained important to Mozarabs, who felt that they had a special claim there.¹²⁰ The *Andalusí* Emirs established Cordoba as the new capital, leaving Toledo a majority Mozarabic city only loosely controlled before the Tenth Century.¹²¹ While Mozarabism existed elsewhere, the Cathedral of Toledo's Chapter Archive contains thousands of documents, 1,300 of which are in Arabic,

¹¹⁵ Gregory B. Kaplan, "The Mozarabic Horseshoe Arches in the Church of San Román de Moroso (Cantabria, Spain)." *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture* 3.3 (2012): 1-18, pp.10-12.

¹¹⁶ Cennamo, p.16 n.20.

¹¹⁷ Danny Rorabaugh, "Arabic influence on the Spanish language." *Research paper, Seattle Pacific University*. <https://mast.queensu.ca/~rorabaugh/docs/ArabicInfluence.pdf> (2010), p.4.

¹¹⁸ Janina M. Safran. *The Second Umayyad Caliphate: the articulation of caliphal legitimacy in al-Andalus*. Vol. 33. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard CMES, 2000), p.19.

¹¹⁹ Richard Hitchcock, *Mozarabs In Medieval And Early Modern Spain: Identities And Influences*. (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2013), p.76.

¹²⁰ Aaron Michael Moreno, pp.60-61.

¹²¹ Christys, "Made by the ancients': Romanness in al-Andalus." *Transformations of Romanness* (2018): 379, p.384.

relating to Mozarabism.¹²² Toledan Mozarabs may be overrepresented, but we have no other sources that are so extensive and well preserved.

In the north, the Mozarabs accepted the *Reconquistadores* to some extent, but they used the term *Spania* only to refer to Andalusía. *Reconquistadores* referred to Moorish architecture and artefacts as Mozarabic but Mozarabs used the term *Espanesco* (or *Spanescho*, derived from the same source).¹²³ This would be inevitable, given the fact that the Mozarabs based their Hispanic identity on their adherence to Visigothic Law and Religion, but as the Visigothic Rite fell out of favour in the north Asturian statehood looked less Visigothic.¹²⁴ *Reconquistadores* did not fit Mozarabs' understanding of *Spanian* nationhood. This is why they were considered to be a privileged class in Toledo before the 16th Century.¹²⁵

While Paul Alvar exhorted other early Mozarabs to continue using Latin as part of Gothicism, Hafs ibn Albar's Arabism shows how unimportant Latinity could be for Gothicism.¹²⁶ They continued to have an interest in Latin literature, but they would annotate and translate works in Arabic in order to do so.¹²⁷ As Gothic Bibles were still produced and used in the 8th-Century and laws were written in Gothic as Latin into Recceswinth's reign, it seems likely that Visigoths during and shortly after the Muslim conquest understood the Gothic language and could identify with it.¹²⁸

Latin was only adopted in a limited sense to appeal to popular Latinity, so limited Arabism was similar. Mozarabs saw the *Reconquistadores*' adoption of Frankish norms as

¹²² Howard Delgin Miller, 2003, p.i; Aaron Michael Moreno, p.12.

¹²³ Américo Castro, pp.16-17.

¹²⁴ Boynton, p.5.

¹²⁵ Yasmine Beale-Rivaya, 2010, p.56.

¹²⁶ Thomas E. Burman, *Religious Polemic and the Intellectual History of the Mozarabs: c. 1050-1200*. (Leiden: Brill, 1994), p. 157.

¹²⁷ Burman, p.35.

¹²⁸ Chris Bishop, "Assessing Visigoth latinity in the late sixth century: The contribution of Reccared's letter to Gregory I." *Journal of the Australian Early Medieval Association* 12 (2016): 35-52, p.41; Michael Kelly, "Recceswinth's Liber Iudiciorum: History, Narrative and Meaning." *Visigothic Symposium*. Vol. 1. 2016, p.114.

more contrary to Gothicism than Arabism. While the Visigothic-style architecture of the Asturian kingdom is often seen as evidence of a continued identity,¹²⁹ the early Mozarabic adherence to Visigothic Law and Rite make Mozarabs adhere closer to Visigothic nationalism.

Chapter 2: Mozarabism as Religious Identity

Introduction

Religious trends across Europe penetrated into Iberia on both sides of the conflict. During and after the Iron Century, Christian wars waged against unbelieving neighbours (Vikings and Magyars in the north; Arabo-Berbers in the south) were considered holy.¹³⁰ Even before the Crusades began, the Reconquista was justified as a holy war by the Pope.¹³¹

Al-Andalus spent most of the Iron Century as the Cordovan Caliphate, whose Caliphs renewed Jihad in Iberia.¹³² Almost all known *Muwallad*-Christian alliances are from the 8th-10th Centuries.¹³³ Basque-*Muladi* political unions, especially with the Banu-l-Qasi (likely the most powerful *Muwallads*), were the strongest across religious lines, and their collapse cemented the conflict as wholly religious.¹³⁴

As *Reconquistadores* depended on extra-peninsular support, some became embarrassed by Mozarabism.¹³⁵ Alfonso the Brave unsuccessfully attempted to suppress the Mozarabic rite

¹²⁹ Jerrilynn Denise Dodds, *Architecture and ideology in early medieval Spain*. Penn State University Press, 1990, p.31.

¹³⁰ Declan Mills. "The Tenth-Century Collapse in West Francia and the Birth of Christian Holy War" Newcastle University Postgraduate Forum E-Journal, Edition 12 (2015), p.28.

¹³¹ Meghan Lanter, "La Reconquista: The First, the Last, and the Most Successful Constellation of Crusades." *The Hanover Historical Review* 15 (2020).

¹³² Robert Hillenbrand, "*The ornament of the world*": *Medieval Cordoba as a Cultural Centre*. na, 1992, p.117.

¹³³ Alessandro Vanoli, *The Borders of Muslim Spain*. (London: Routledge, 2014), p.24.

¹³⁴ Barton, "Marriage across frontiers: sexual mixing, power and identity in medieval Iberia." *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 3.1 (2011): 1-25, p.7.

¹³⁵ Maria do Rosário Barbosa Morujão, "The Coimbra see and its chancery in medieval times." *e-Journal of Portuguese History* 2 (2006), p.2.

and Visigothic and Mozarabic architecture were replaced by Gothic.¹³⁶ A popular legend claimed that Alfonso the Brave's attempt failed because he threw both the Roman and Mozarabic Rites into a fire and only the Mozarabic survived.¹³⁷ While all Christians under Muslim rule were characterised as Mozarabs, Leonese-type Mozarabism became a movement that opposed Papal overextension, as will be shown.

Muslims also began to rely on extra-peninsular support. As *Andalusís* looked to the Berber dynasties of the Almoravids and Almohads, who took part in *ghazwa* and *aceifa* warfare (small-scale conflicts for the purpose of expanding Islam territorially or through forced conversion), monasteries like San Pedro de Valeránica in Cordoba, that functioned since Visigothic times and maintained their use of religious imagery and Latin, disappeared *en masse*.¹³⁸

Part 1: Adoptivist Controversy

Even before the Iron Century, the religious element of Mozarabism was called into question. Mozarabism was made known to the wider world during the Felicianist or Adoptivist controversy of the 8th Century (not to be confused with the earlier Adoptionist controversy).¹³⁹ The Adoptivi were Mozarabs who described Jesus as having 'adopted' a human nature, rather than becoming Human so that he could only be described as the Son of God in his Divine Nature.¹⁴⁰ Communication between Mozarabs and wider Christendom was difficult but when Gothia reconquered Catalonia, Gothian priests noticed some Catalonians' lack of orthodoxy

¹³⁶ Ryan Evan Schwarzrock, "Conflict and Chronicle in Twelfth-Century León-Castile: a literary study of the first *Crónica anónima* of Sahagún." Ph.D. Diss. University of Exeter (2012); Elsa de Luca, "Royal misattribution: monograms in the León Antiphoner." *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 9.1 (2017): 25-51, p.25.

¹³⁷ Boynton, p.26.

¹³⁸ José Julio Martín Barba, "La fortuna del Smaragdo de Córdoba desde su creación hasta la almoneda de los bienes de Isabel I de Castilla." *De medio Aevo* 13.1 (2019): 177-212, p.352.

¹³⁹ Stanley G. Payne, *Spanish Catholicism: an Historical Overview*. (Madison: Univ of Wisconsin Press, 1984), p.8.

¹⁴⁰ Luanna Klísia de Amorim Mendes, "Justa Substantial de Cristo: uma contenda sobre discordância conceitual da interpretação Migueciana e Adocionista." *Coordenação Geral*: 111, pp.115-117.

(most notably Bishop Felix of Urgell) and other priests who strongly reacted against these new teachings (most notably St. Beatus).¹⁴¹

The Council of Frankfurt under St. Alcuin's guidance determined that Adoptivism was a new form of Nestorianism made to appease Islamic authorities.¹⁴² This appraisal is still widely held, but it has come into question. Mozarabs within a century of the conquest, write about Muslims with barely any understanding of Islamic theology.¹⁴³ The Muslim elite at this early stage was focused on maintaining purity of Islam in garrison towns by isolating Muslims from Christians and Jews, which also made Mozarabs ignorant of Muslim belief.¹⁴⁴ The likelihood of a complex reiteration of the Christian faith to be inoffensive to Islam therefore seems slim. Additionally, the classification of Adoptivism as Nestorian has come into question.¹⁴⁵

On the other hand, *Andalusí* jurisprudence required Christians to believe that Muhammad was a prophet of God and allowed prosecution of Christians for contradicting certain Islamic teachings.¹⁴⁶ At one point this was thought to have been an overreaction from Christian polemicists such as Paul Alvar, but in one instance recorded only by Muslims, the Muslim *Qadi* sought a Christian woman out and she testified that she was a Christian, that Jesus is God and Muhammad lied about being a prophet (alleging nothing else against Muhammad) and for that she was burned to death.¹⁴⁷ A full understanding of Islam was not

¹⁴¹ Cullen J. Chandler, *Carolingian Catalonia: Politics, Culture, and Identity in an Imperial Province, 778–987*. Vol. 111. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), p.88.

¹⁴² Chandler, p.89, 92.

¹⁴³ Wolf, 1986, p.282.

¹⁴⁴ Wolf, pp.285-286.

¹⁴⁵ John M. McCulloh, "The Last Christology of the West: Adoptionism in Spain and Gaul, 785-820." *Speculum* 70.2 (1995): 350-352, pp.350-351.

¹⁴⁶ Safran, *Defining Boundaries in al-Andalus: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Islamic Iberia*. Cornell University Press, 2013, pp.96-97.

¹⁴⁷ Safran, p.96.

needed, as some teachers may have capitulated only on teachings that were considered criminal.

From Mozarabic sources, we find that Adoptivism began as a reaction to the heresy of Migecius. Migecius taught that the Father incarnated as King David and the Holy Ghost as the Apostle Paul, and that Jesus was only the Son of the Father because he was the Son of David.¹⁴⁸ When Migecianism spread throughout the Mozarabic Church, Metropolitan Elipand of Toledo called a council in Seville in 784.¹⁴⁹ Elipand replied that Jesus was the Son of David according to the flesh, and therefore only in His human nature, but he was the natural Son of God the Father by His Divine Nature.¹⁵⁰ Adoptivism was therefore formulated in reaction to heresy and not Islam.

Rather than capitulating to Islam, these beliefs may have developed from the popularity of Nestorian texts in Mozarabic communities. Pre-711 Arabic Christian texts were largely Nestorian.¹⁵¹ By connecting themselves with a wider Arabic-speaking tradition of refuting Islam, Mozarabs had more resources to resist conversion and make converts.¹⁵² Nestorianism predated Islam and while the distance between Jesus' Divine and human natures may have appeased Islamic authorities, it was not caused by them.

Nevertheless, there was a Mozarabic backlash that criticised Elipand for introducing the concept of the double filiation of Christ, already condemned as heresy in Ecumenical Councils, when he as their primate was meant to guard them from heresy.¹⁵³ The non-Hispanic

¹⁴⁸ Mendes, pp.115-117.

¹⁴⁹ Kevin R. Poole, "Beatus of Liébana: Medieval Spain and the Othering of Islam." *End of Days: Essays on the Apocalypse from Antiquity to Modernity* (2009): 47-66, p.50.

¹⁵⁰ Agnieszka Kijewska, "El concepto de la primera causa en el segundo libro del Periphyseon de Juan Escoto Eriúgena." (2012), p.42.

¹⁵¹ Burman, p.195.

¹⁵² Burman, p.195.

¹⁵³ de Amorim Mendes, p.119

backlash was broader as Mozarabism was brought into ill repute in the rest of Europe.¹⁵⁴ Carolingian Gothia was clearly separated from the Mozarabic hierarchy from this point; despite Felix of Urgell's attempt to remain connected with the Metropolitan of Toledo, his see was placed under the authority of the Archbishop of Narbonne.¹⁵⁵ Although the national connections between Gothians and Mozarabs were recognised, their churches were becoming ever more disparate.

For Mozarabs, the theological battle was won through Mozarabism. St. Beatus' Commentary on Revelation contains clear anti-Adoptivist language.¹⁵⁶ Outside of *al-Andalus* illuminated Beatus manuscripts were common amongst Mozarabs.¹⁵⁷ Paul Alvar only discusses the efforts of Mozarabic clergy, such as Archbishop Teudula of Seville, as contributing to the defeat of Adoptivism.¹⁵⁸ Mozarabism was the emblem of Catholic orthodoxy to its adherents, leading to its rapid integration into Asturleon beginning in Alfonso II's reign but it was now seen as dubious by Christian outsiders.¹⁵⁹ This led to Mozarabism as being a particularist church opposed to the overextension of Papal authority. When it was especially particularistic, Popes often referred to Mozarabism as the Toledan Superstition.¹⁶⁰

The phraseology adopted by Adoptivists can be seen in texts long after the controversy itself, often alongside turns of phrase developed to attack Adoptivism.¹⁶¹ The cultural impact

¹⁵⁴ John France, *The Crusades and the expansion of Catholic Christendom, 1000-1714*. (Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge, 2006), p.36

¹⁵⁵ Barton Sholod, *Charlemagne in Spain: the cultural legacy of Roncesvalles*. (Paris: Librairie Droz, 1963), p.66.

¹⁵⁶ Kenneth B. Steinhauser, "Narrative and illumination in the Beatus Apocalypse." *The Catholic historical review* 81.2 (1995): 185-210, p.186.

¹⁵⁷ John Williams, *Visions of the end in Medieval Spain: catalogue of illustrated Beatus commentaries on the apocalypse and study of the Geneva Beatus*. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017), p.42.

¹⁵⁸ Pedro Herrera Roldán, "La Iglesia andaluza bajo el islam: entre la resistencia y la integración." *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia andaluza* 3 (2010): 35-64, p.363.

¹⁵⁹ Adeline Rucquoi, "Adversus Elipandum. El reino de Oviedo y el culto a Santiago." *Ad Limina* 8.2017 (2017): 19-37, p.35.

¹⁶⁰ Estevez, p.2.

¹⁶¹ William R. Moore, *Religious language and the construction of royal power: León, 1037-1126*. (New York City: Columbia University, 2009), p.137.

of Elipand's teachings was enduring and can be seen in the Late Medieval forgeries of the Leaden Books of Sacromonte discussed later.

Part 2: Toledo

The best documented example of Mozarabism under Christian control was the Kingdom of Toledo, part of the Crown of Castile. Toledo was captured by Alfonso the Brave in a bloodless war, leaving the population intact.¹⁶² Despite this, many Mozarabs left in protest of King Alfonso's suppression of Mozarabism in the Kingdom of Castile.¹⁶³

Reconquistadores developed of the Crown system, wherein each monarch governed several kingdoms, each with its own laws and customs (called *fueros*), leaving the monarch as the sole unifying entity.¹⁶⁴ Alfonso transformed the *taifa* of Toledo into a kingdom within Castile's Crown.¹⁶⁵ Despite Alfonso's personal distaste for Mozarabism, he respected Mozarabic laws and their *Alcalde*, even establishing six Mozarabic parishes which exclusively used their Rite and granting all Mozarabs ('whom he "always loved"') *caballero* status.¹⁶⁶

Toledan Mozarabism grew as documents from this period show its adoption by non-Christians and non-Mozarabic Christians. Miller's Neo/New Mozarab distinctions did not exist at the time. Mozarabs embraced believers of all backgrounds, whilst retaining their distinctive religious and cultural practices rigorously.

¹⁶² Aaron Michael Moreno, p.4.

¹⁶³ H. D. Miller and Hanna E. Kassis, p.418.

¹⁶⁴ Max Deardorff, "Republics, their Customs, and the Law of the King: Convivencia and Self-Determination in the Crown of Castile and its American Territories, 1400–1700." *Rechtsgeschichte-Legal History* 26 (2018): 162-199, p.167.

¹⁶⁵ Enrique Rodríguez-Picavea Matilla, *La corona de castilla en la edad media*. Vol. 80. (Madrid: Ediciones AKAL, 2001), p.4.

¹⁶⁶ Jean-Pierre Molénat, "Toledo, siglos XII-XV. La coexistencia de cristianos (latinos y mozárabes), musulmanes y judíos. Una síntesis." *Al-Qanṭara* 40.2 (2019): 385-405, pp.386-287; Aaron Michael Moreno, pp.62-63.

The Archbishop of Toledo was restored to Metropolitan status and given primacy over all Iberia by the 1088 bull *Cunctis Sanctorum*.¹⁶⁷ Most Metropolitans actively supported Mozarabism, and they serve as the leader of the *Hermandad Mozarabe* to this day.¹⁶⁸ The head of Iberian Catholicism's support and leadership would cement the movement's perception as a legitimate Catholic movement.

While H. D. Miller claims that the Mozarabic Rite was 'the single characteristic that distinguishes Mozarabism from Arabism', there was also a complex series of laws inherited from the Visigoths that Mozarabs adhered to.¹⁶⁹ The complete rejection of Islamic Aniconism caused Mozarabic art to develop over this period distinct from Visigothic, Asturian and *Andalusí* art.¹⁷⁰

Having reassessed pre-Reconquest Mozarabism in the last chapter, changes following 1085 need to be reassessed accordingly. The use of Romance language, inclusion of outsiders, political power (under the *Alcaldes*) and strong anti-Islamic polemic were preceded. The main change was that the *Alcalde* was now the highest legal authority for Mozarabs.¹⁷¹

The Crown's new conquests and repopulations were added to the Kingdom of Toledo.¹⁷² Success was partly due to Toledan Mozarabism and allowing Mozarabic governors, such as Sisnando Davides and the Vanigómez dynasty (Count Ferran Gomez was noted among

¹⁶⁷ Miguel Ángel Dionisio Vivas. "El Archivo Diocesano de Toledo. Hacia una descripción de sus fondos." *Toletana: cuestiones de teología e historia* 24 (2011): 371-407, p.160.

¹⁶⁸ Manuel Rincón Álvarez. *Mozárabes y mozarabías*. Vol. 123. (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 2003), p.59.

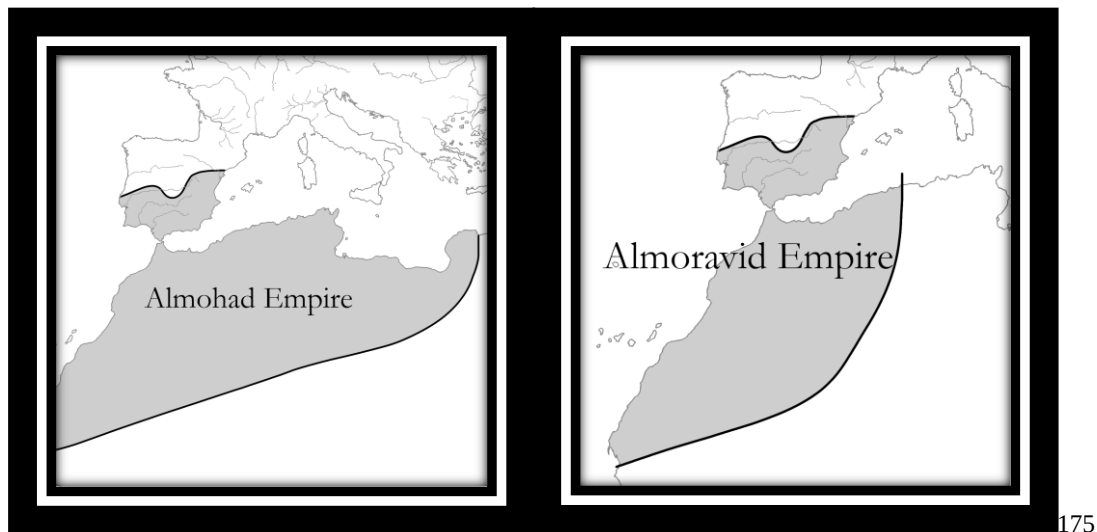
¹⁶⁹ H. D. Miller and Hanna E. Kassis, p.418.

¹⁷⁰ John Williams, p.42.

¹⁷¹ Aaron Michael Moreno, pp.59-60.

¹⁷² Alfonso Franco Silva, "La fundación de pueblas en tierras situadas al noroeste del reino de Toledo a fines del siglo XIII." *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos*, 1990,(17): 31-53 (1990), p.32.

the Mozarabs who returned to Carrión in 1070), to define policy in Arabised territory.¹⁷³ The same would define their policy in Coimbra (again under Sisnando's governance).¹⁷⁴



175

¹⁷³ Francisco de Borja García Duarte, *Mozarabes en el origen de los reinos cristianos*. (Córdoba: Editorial Almuzara, 2017), Chapter 6 [pages not given]; Isaac, p.60.

¹⁷⁴ Isaac, p.5.

Part 3: Crusade and Jihad



175

It is debated if the Reconquista was a Crusade for its entirety, but from 1063 onwards indulgences were given to *Reconquistadores*.¹⁷⁶ The period in which crusading indulgences took place followed the *Repoblación* as the depopulated regions were now some of the highest developed areas in the peninsula and all rulers, Christian or Muslim, accepted Ferdinand the Great as the first Emperor of the Spains and his successor Alfonso the Brave, as Emperor of the Two Religions.¹⁷⁷

“The Spains” is a reference to the many different identities, Christian and Muslim, following the initial Islamic conquest.¹⁷⁸ The northern Christian states and the southern Muslim state had undergone partition for primarily dynastic reasons, but these new, essentially artificial divisions became focal points for identities and there were now dozens of states across Iberia that claimed their own traditions, laws and customs that made straightforward political union unfeasible.¹⁷⁹ Ferdinand and Alfonso recognised this, and this is why they pursued a

¹⁷⁵ Maps are my own work

¹⁷⁶ Ane Bysted *The crusade indulgence: spiritual rewards and the theology of the crusades, c. 1095-1216*. (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp.57-58.

¹⁷⁷ Moore, pp.17, 121-122; Angus MacKay and M'hammad Benaboud. "Yet again Alfonso VI, the Emperor, Lord of [the Adherents of] the Two Faiths, the Most Excellent Ruler": A Rejoinder to Norman Roth." *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies (Liverpool)* 61.2 (1984): 171, p.171.

¹⁷⁸ Devereux, pp.21-22.

¹⁷⁹ William M. Malczykcki, *Reaching A New Understanding of The Andalusí Ulama' of the Taifa Kings Era (1013-1086)*, Diss. The University of Utah, 2001, pp.50-52.

decentralised approach to their unification that allowed Muslim rulers to continue governing their *taifa* states.

This tense situation collapsed following the bloodless conquest of Toledo, bloodless because Alfonso promised to conquer Valencia for the former Toledan ruler al-Qadir, which he did following the Valencian ruler, Abu-Bakr's death.¹⁸⁰ The Taifa of Zaragoza stopped paying tribute and began fostering revolts in Valencia, so Alfonso undertook a punitive campaign.¹⁸¹ The other Taifas were threatened by this perceived aggression, and appealed to the Almoravid dynasty to defend them, leading to the Almoravid conquest of *al-Andalus* beginning in 1090.¹⁸² The result was two military movements comparable to the Crusades and Jihads occurring in their religions at large, centralised in Iberia. Whereas in previous centuries, there was a complex mix of ethnicity, ideology and religion that defined Mozarabic identity, the role of religion was now greatly the most important factor.

Of note is the participation in the Reconquista of individuals who took part in the First Crusade such as Raymond Monoculus.¹⁸³ His successors in Toulouse would continue to fight in Iberia and the Levant. English Crusaders would continually fight for the Portuguese until they finished their portion of the conflict.¹⁸⁴ English *Reconquistadores* took part in the complex issue of the *Repovoação* as English families moved into the area, with an English Repoblador, Gilbert of Hastings, serving as Lisbon's first post-Reconquest bishop.¹⁸⁵ He replaced the elderly Mozarabic bishop who was murdered by Germans and Flemings after the siege.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁰ Pierre GUICHARD (1989). «capítulo 4: los nuevos musulmanes». *Historia de España/ 3, al-Ándalus: musulmanes y cristianos (siglos VIII - XIII)*. Planeta, p.500; Malczycki, p.59.

¹⁸¹ Malczycki, p.60.

¹⁸² Malczycki, pp.60-61.

¹⁸³ Miroslav Hroch and Věra Hrochová. *Křižáci v Levantě*. Mladá fronta, 1975, p.30.

¹⁸⁴ Jonathan Wilson, "Tactics of attraction: saints, pilgrims and warriors in the Portuguese Reconquista." *Portuguese Studies* 30.2 (2014): 204-221, p.205.

¹⁸⁵ Wilson, p.205.

¹⁸⁶ Osbernus. "Osbernus: De expugnatione Lyxbonensi, 1147 [*The Capture of Lisbon*]". *Internet Medieval Sourcebook*. Fordham University available at: <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/cap-lisbon.asp>.

The Crown of Aragon also connected with non-Iberian *Reconquistadores* such as the Genoese, who aided in the Almerian and Tortosan *Reconquistas*.¹⁸⁷ In turn, they aided Italians in Latinocrat Greece and governed a part of those Crusader states.¹⁸⁸ The establishment of Alghero in Sardinia has given that city an Iberian identity to this day.¹⁸⁹ Almost all of the Almoravid's, and their successors the Almohad Caliphate's, territory was in Africa and their ideology and identity was uniquely African.¹⁹⁰ During this period, almost all Muslims in Iberia were advocating for a foreign occupation of their territory.

Although the works of Isidore of Seville show that pilgrimage to a site dedicated to St. James existed from Visigothic times, the Way of St. James reached unprecedented heights in the Crusades' Era.¹⁹¹ This affected the Crowns of Castile and Navarra as 500,000 Northern Europeans passed through them each year.¹⁹² This brought about the end of Visigothic and Mozarabic architecture as Gothic styles imported from the north were widely adopted into the Spanish mainstream as the Santiago de Compostela Cathedral led the way.¹⁹³ Whereas elements of Mozarabic culture were points of pride for Spaniards previously, the Spanish elites (especially Alfonso the Brave) reacted against Mozarabism due to Papal pressure.¹⁹⁴

Papist reforms were both helpful and challenging. The Iberian churches had been governed by their monarchs since Visigothic times and it was still the monarchs that called

¹⁸⁷ Lucas Villegas-Aristizábal, *Norman and Anglo-Norman participation in the Iberian Reconquista c. 1018-c. 1248*. Diss. University of Nottingham, 2007, p.196.

¹⁸⁸ Senén A. García "The territorial and economic expansion of the crown of Aragón in Romania, and venetian response to catalan domination of Athens, 1311-1331." *Medievalia* 11 (1994): 7-30, p.9.

¹⁸⁹ Joan A. Argenter, "L'Alguer (Alghero), a Catalan linguistic enclave in Sardinia." (2008): 205-217, p.212.

¹⁹⁰ Amira K. Bennison, *Almoravid and Almohad Empires*. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016), p.131.

¹⁹¹ Franciszek Mróz and Łukasz Mróz. "Pilgrimage and Religious Tourism on the Way of St. James—the First European Cultural Route." *Series Geography* 43.2 (2013) 366–379, p.368; Katherine Elliott van Liere, "The missionary and the Moorslayer: James the Apostle in Spanish historiography from Isidore of Seville to Ambrosio de Morales." *Viator* 37 (2006): 519-543, p.522.

¹⁹² Mróz and Mróz, pp. 368-369.

¹⁹³ Jean Bony, *French Gothic Architecture of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* 20. (Berkeley: Univ of California Press, 1983), p.21.

¹⁹⁴ Susan Boynton, p.5.

councils and appointed bishops.¹⁹⁵ The first major change to this was in the establishment of the Kingdom of Portugal under the auspices of the Papacy.¹⁹⁶ The bishop of Braga was raised to metropolitan status, as it had been in Seuvia before it was integrated into Spania.¹⁹⁷ Portugal would have a much closer relationship to the Papacy than Castile or Aragon throughout its history (with a notable break of Luso-Papal dependence during the Iberian Union).¹⁹⁸

To avoid Papal interference, the Crown of Aragon simultaneously accepted the Primacy of Toledo as First Among Equals and collegial leader whilst upholding the Metropolitan of Tarragona as their *de facto* spiritual leader.¹⁹⁹ Central to their legitimisation was their support for Valencian Mozarabs by establishing new Mozarabic churches even in *al-Andalus*.²⁰⁰ The Toledans, in contrast, saw their legitimacy through their preserved Mozarabic churches and criticised Tarragona's sponsored *Andalusí* churches saying "Muslims cannot establish churches".²⁰¹ Both churches, therefore, reacted against the political elites' anti-Mozarabism. The loss of the Mozarabic Rite beginning in the 11th Century was a major point of contention as it not only stopped Spaniards from hearing the liturgy in their own language but was seen as caving to Papal and Cluniac demands.²⁰²

¹⁹⁵ Stanley G. Payne, 1984, p.8.

¹⁹⁶ Simon John, "The papacy and the establishment of the kingdoms of Jerusalem, Sicily and Portugal: twelfth-century papal political thought on incipient kingship." *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 68.2 (2017): 223-259, pp.237-242.

¹⁹⁷ Harold Victor Livermore, *A new history of Portugal*. Vol. 571. (Cambridge: CUP Archive, 1966), p.27.

¹⁹⁸ Anthony David Wright *The Early Modern Papacy: From the Council of Trent to the French Revolution 1564-1789*. Routledge, 2014, p.15.

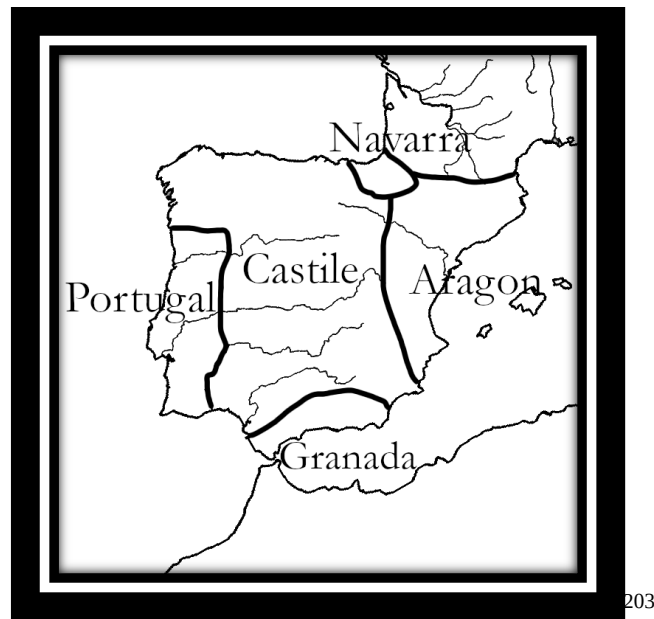
¹⁹⁹ Lawrence J. McCrank "Seeing history differently: Toledo vs. Tarragona in the reconstruction of the hispanic church." *Butlletí Arqueològic. Reial Societat Arqueològica Tarraconense* 36-37 (2015): 147-198, p.158.

²⁰⁰ McCrank, p.182.

²⁰¹ McCrank, p.182.

²⁰² Morujão, pp.2-3; Aaron Michael Moreno, p.41.

Part 4: Stalemate



After successfully integrating all Muslim Iberian states except Granada, there was an unprecedented 240-year period of peace from 1252 to 1492 because the Granadine *Taifa* had been a vassal of the Crown of Castile from its foundation.²⁰⁴ Granada was under similar conditions to *al-Andalus* during Alfonso the Brave's for a longer period.

This period in Granada produced few Christian works, but one corpus produced its own field of study: the *Plúmbeos* or Leaden Books of Granada. These books give an account of the history of Granada and the deeds of the Apostles and their successors. The books were found in a series of buildings and caves over a period of years, and they claim to be written by different individuals from Gabriel to James' disciples.²⁰⁵

The first *Plúmbeo* was discovered in 1588, as a minaret was destroyed to accommodate renovations in the Cathedral, but most were found years later in the caves of the Valparaíso

²⁰³ Map is my own work

²⁰⁴ David Nirenberg, "Muslims In Christian Iberia." *The Medieval World* 10 (2001): 60, p.60.

²⁰⁵ Alejandra Guzmán, "The Classical Legacy: Identity, Memory and Heritage." *Universitat Internacional de Catalunya-Quaderns de la Mediterrània* 13 (2010): 37-43, p.40.

Hill now called Sacromonte.²⁰⁶ The *Plúmbeos* were written in Arabic, Spanish and an unknown language, recognised by Moriscos as “Solomonic” characters.²⁰⁷ Moriscos were employed to translate the *Plúmbeos*.²⁰⁸ The “Solomonic” characters are simply stylised forms of Arabic.²⁰⁹ They were unable to translate one of the *Plúmbeos*, the Mute Book, possibly written in a different community. At the time, Francisco Bermúdez de Pedraza suggested the Mute Book was prophetically written for a language that had not yet developed, simultaneously explaining why the texts might have been written in Spanish and Arabic.²¹⁰

The Abbey of the Sacromonte was founded to accommodate the finds, and became a renowned institution for manuscripts as a result.²¹¹ Lebanese and Kurdish scholars working for the Papacy identified the texts as Morisco forgeries.²¹² The concept of forgeries as historiography should rehabilitate their use as primary sources.

Forgeries receive legitimacy based on established beliefs in their target communities. A large amount of the traditions relayed in the *Plúmbeos* are attested to outside of the texts themselves. For example, native Christians believed that St. Cecil (the protagonist of much of the *Plúmbeos*) died in Granada and was buried in the mountains surrounding the city.²¹³ The Seven Apostolic Men, including St. Cecil, were highly venerated in the Mozarabic liturgy from early times.²¹⁴ While many phrases were seen as belonging to “Muslim Arabic” by Papal

²⁰⁶ Francis Fukuyama “Thymos and the Chariot.” *Don Quixote Among the Saracens: A Clash of Civilizations and Literary Genres* (2011): 162, p.176.

²⁰⁷ Mercedes García-Arenal “The religious identity of the Arabic language and the affair of the Lead Books of the Sacromonte of Granada.” *Arabica* 56.6 (2009): 495-528, pp.497, 516.

²⁰⁸ García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano. “Jerónimo Román de la Higuera and the lead books of Sacromonte.” *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond* 1 (2009) 243-268, p.243.

²⁰⁹ García-Arenal, 2009, p.496.

²¹⁰ Zamora, Juan Guerrero. ““El libro mudo” y su larga gestación.” *Sharq Al-Andalus: Estudios mudéjares y moriscos* 16 (1999): 229-240, p.234

²¹¹ Pedro Pablo Fuentes González “Contexto y descripción de los códices griegos de la Abadía del Sacromonte (Granada).” *Kalos kai agazos aner. Didascalou paradeigma: homenaje al profesor Juan Antonio López Férez*. Ediciones Clásicas, 2013, p.285.

²¹² García-Arenal, 2009, pp. 495, 520.

²¹³ A. Katie Harris “The Sacromonte and the geography of the sacred in early modern Granada.” *Al-Qanṭara* 23.2 (2002): 517-543, p.525.

²¹⁴ Juan Gil Fernández “De Alta Edad Media hispana.” *Habis*, 44, 359-366 (2013), p.365.

scholars, such phrases can actually be seen in otherwise Catholic Mozarabic texts.²¹⁵ While we should be critical of the claims of the *Plúmbeos*, we should also be critical of its critics who, as the primary representatives of Arabic Catholicism whose position was being threatened by Mozarabism, had strong reasons to undermine the texts.²¹⁶

Their discovery close to each other and shared properties, such as being written on lead, may evince that they were forged by one person or group. However, each element did not occur spontaneously, but were pre-existing parts of Granadine culture, especially in magic or prophecy. Talismans, known as *herçes*, contained written phrases to protect its user.²¹⁷ Inquisitors saw *herçes* as Crypto-Islamic, but many phrases were Christian.²¹⁸ In 1571, a series of lead *herçes* were confiscated from a Morisco, showing the importance of lead.²¹⁹ Other leaden magical artefacts have since been found.²²⁰ The language in many of these *herçes* are very similar to the "Solomonic" characters of the *Plúmbeos*.²²¹ These similarities were noticed by some of the earliest critics of the *Plúmbeos* who saw them not as Crypto-Islamic, but as necromantic, alchemical, occultist or belonging to popular prophecy.²²²

If the *Plúmbeos* are Morsico, they show a shift from the Muslim invader-based identity to a Christian native one; if they are Mozarabic they show a shift from Gothicism to Arabism. This means they represent either an attempt by Moriscos to join Mozarabism or an attempt by Mozarabs to redefine Mozarabism to accommodate new converts. After the *Plúmbeos*' translation, Granadines of all backgrounds adopted them into their self-identity. Even long after

²¹⁵ García-Arenal, 2009, pp.498, 519-520.

²¹⁶ Mercedes García-Arenal, "The religious identity of the Arabic language and the affair of the Lead Books of the Sacromonte of Granada." *Arabica* 56.6 (2009): 495-528, p.524.

²¹⁷ Abigail Krasner Balbale, "Magical Words: Arabic Amulets in Christian Spain." *Religious Materiality in the Early Modern World* (2019): 211, pp.2-3.

²¹⁸ Balbale, p.3.

²¹⁹ Harris, A. Katie. *From Muslim to Christian Granada: inventing a city's past in early modern Spain*. (Baltimore: JHU Press, 2007), p.32.

²²⁰ Balbale, pp. 8-11.

²²¹ Harris, p.32.

²²² Balbale, p. 14.

the Expulsion of the Moriscos, Arabic language and culture was seen as equally native as Castilian forms and even seen as holy.²²³ In contrast to the Reconquest of Toledo which re-established Toledo's status as the Royal City of the Goths and the Centre of Iberian Catholicism, the Reconquest of Granada reinforced a concept of Granadine identity alien to Gothicism.

Traditions received from early Mozarabism prove, Arabised Christianity in post-Reconquista Granada was descended from Visigothic Christianity. Despite the influx of Muslim converts and non-Mozarab migrants, the church was Mozarabic. The Moriscos and Castilians parallel the New/Neo-Mozarabs of Toledo. Granadine Mozarabism could be seen as a type of Mozarabism that grafted Arabo-Moorish identity into itself.

Chapter 3: Mozarabism in Racial Conflict

Part 1: Granada

The Christian reconquest of Granada created a situation like the original Arab conquest, however the Dueran depopulation was voluntary, while the Moriscos were forcibly expelled across Iberia.²²⁴ The Depoblacion was *ad hoc* and land-based, while the Expulsion of the Moriscos, despite being surprisingly mostly uncoercive, was forced and required naval organisation.²²⁵

While historians have retroactively placed the Granadine Reconquest and the Expulsion as the beginning and end of a clear movement opposed to the Moriscos, it should be noted that recent historians have asserted the initial genuineness of the Catholic Monarchs' attempts to

²²³ Balbale, p. 15.

²²⁴ Wiegers, Gerard. "Managing Disaster: Networks of the Moriscos during the Process of the Expulsion from the Iberian Peninsula around 1609." *Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures* 36.2 (2010): 141-168, p.141

²²⁵ Jónsson, Már. "The expulsión of the Moriscos from Spain in 1609-1614: the destruction of an Islamic periphery." *Journal of Global History* 2.2 (2007): 195, p.196.

make their new Moorish subjects equal citizens to their northern counterparts, even granting Muslims their own *qadi* practice *Sharia*.²²⁶ The similarities to the actions of Alfonso the Brave, suggests similar intentions. *Boabdil*, the last Granadine Emir, was treated with respect (he kept much of his land, and all of his personal possessions).²²⁷ The Christians would only appease the Moors if they intended to co-exist with them.

Part 2: New and Old Christianity

Moriscos did not integrate like Old Christians, and they revolted against Spain several times.²²⁸ These ultimately led to their permanent expulsion. All Moors did not become Moriscos, but only those who had converted following the post-Reconquista sectarian conflicts.²²⁹ Christians (hidden or otherwise), along with less zealous Muslims and Jews, had joined the Spanish Church immediately after the Reconquest and so the population of Granada remained largely of African descent and Moorish identity.²³⁰

The First Rebellion of the Alpujarras responded to Archbishop Cisneros of Toledo's bribed certain Muslim rulers to convert and imprisoned *elches*, Christians who converted to Islam.²³¹ There was now a large population of crypto-Muslims who publicly refused to apostatise from their newfound faith. While many were genuine converts, many were avoiding further persecution.²³²

The existence of large crypto-Muslim communities fuelled public paranoia and created the risk of further public acts of violence. To avoid this, at first King Philip III made the Arabic

²²⁶ Harris, p.10; David Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada: Society and religious culture in an old-world frontier city, 1492–1600* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013), p.6.

²²⁷ Josef Ženka, "A Manuscript of the Last Sultan of al-Andalus and the Fate of the Royal Library of the Nasrid Sultans at the Alhambra." *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 9.2-3 (2018): 341-376, p.366.

²²⁸ Anwar G. Chejne, *Islam and the West: the Moriscos* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1983), p.19.

²²⁹ Chejne, p.7.

²³⁰ van Duijn, I. B. *El mozárabe Auge y decadencia de un dialecto*. BA Thesis. 2013,p.8.

²³¹ Coleman, p.38; Chejne, p.7.

²³² David E. Vassberg, *The Village and the Outside World in Golden Age Castile: Mobility and Migration in Everyday Rural Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). p. 142.

language illegal in the hope of suppressing Morisco culture, but ultimately it was decided that the Moriscos would be expelled.²³³ The edict of expulsion was not effective at removing all Moriscos as many avoided expulsion and others returned when the edicts expired, but those that stayed were unlikely to be crypto-Muslims and no further revolts occurred.²³⁴

The creation of the Morisco class, whose Christianity was in doubt on racial terms stopped Mozarabs from integrating them the way they had integrated Toledan Muslims. This was not due to racial homogeneity in High Medieval Toledo, as there were Arabo-Moorish converts there. Spanish opinion of Muslim converts had changed as a result of crypto-Islam. Mozarabs and *Reconquistadores* were grouped together under the category of Old Christians, whereas the Moriscos and Jewish Conversos were classed as New Christians.²³⁵ For many, however, only Christians who had not lived under Arab rule or Arabised in any sense could be called Old Christian.²³⁶

These terms originally had religious connotations, but theories about the role of race in Iberian Church History led to the concept of ‘Ancestral Christianity’ taking strong racial overtones, with one’s Christianity was seen as stronger when they intermarried with Old Christians and “whitened” their descendants.²³⁷ The most obvious symptom of this was in Limpieza de Sangre tests, one of which required the tested individual to bare their arm to reveal

²³³ Francois Soyer, "Faith, culture and fear: comparing Islamophobia in early modern Spain and twenty-first-century Europe." *Ethnic and Racial studies* 36.3 (2013): 399-416, pp.5-6.

²³⁴ Manuel Ardit i Lucas, "The expulsion of the Moriscos from the Catalan Countries: ideology and history." *Catalan Historical Review* (2009): 65-81, p.65.

²³⁵ Luis Carlos Barragan Castro, *Tropical Mudejar: Mosque-type Chapels in Mexico and Their Role in Early Spanish America*. Diss. American University in Cairo, 2017, p.23; Kevin Ingram ed. *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond: Departures and Change*. Vol. 1. (Leiden: Brill, 2009), p.336.

²³⁶ Luis Carlos Barragan Castro, p.23.

²³⁷ María Elena Martínez, "The Black Blood of New Spain: Limpieza de Sangre, Racial Violence, and Gendered Power in Early Colonial Mexico." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 61.3 (2004): 479-520, p.485.

whether their skin was pale enough to show blue blood vessels if they could not provide written documents showing that their pre-Reconquest ancestors had been Christians.²³⁸

Mozarabs were now used to justify racism as they were seen as evidence of the importance of race over culture and professed religion because they were culturally Arabic but believed to be racially Gothic and ancestrally Christian.²³⁹ It was not without criticism as Miguel de Cervantes, in *The Siege of Numantia*, discusses the meaning of blood to identity and concludes that the Blood of Christ in the Eucharist is the blood that unites Spain, not racially defined "blood".²⁴⁰ Groups that carried out Purity of Blood tests could be prosecuted as their ability to undermine reputations could severely damage society, as was the case with the *linujados del poyo* in 1654.²⁴¹

The Mozarabic clergy reacted sternly against the poor treatment of New Christians, with Don Pedro Vaca de Castro, Archbishop of Seville saying "Morisca women who are married to Old Christians and their children are Old Christians, like their fathers and grandfathers" in reaction to the proposed expulsion.²⁴² De Castro's ideal was similar to the Postandalusí Toledan ideal. The popularity of *Limpieza de Sangre* may reflect how non-Mozarab Old Christians saw Mozarabs, but it may not reflect how Mozarabs saw themselves. The Mozarab Servant of God Hernando de Talevera, Archbishop of Granada, learned New

²³⁸ Ivan Ivlampie, "FAMOUS CRIMINAL PHRASES: LIMPIEZA DE SANGRE." *International Multidisciplinary Scientific Conference on the Dialogue between Sciences & Arts, Religion & Education*. 3.3 (Târgoviște: IFIASA, 2019), p.65

²³⁹ Christys, "Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain. Identities and Influences." *Journal of the Medieval Mediterranean* 21 (2009): 336-338, p.387.

²⁴⁰ Rachel L. Burk, "Salus erat in sanguine: *Limpieza de sangre* and Other Discourses of Blood in Early Modern Spain." *Publicly Accessible Penn Dissertations*. 1550.(2010), pp.37-39.

²⁴¹ Michel Cassan, *Les sociétés anglaise, espagnole et française au XVIIe siècle*. (Saint-Lambert, PQ: Editions Sedes, 2006), p.75.

²⁴² Sandra Curley, "'Altogether un-European': Morisco decorative art and Spain's hybrid culture, 1492-1614." (2014), p.17.

Christian customs and encouraged the clergy to learn Arabic.²⁴³ The Mozarabic belief that New Christians could become Old Christians and Mozarabs shows that they rejected racial ideology.

Part 3: Legacy of Purity of Blood

Limpieza de Sangre was not popular in the north, and in fact certain groups such as the Maragatos of León falsified Moorish ancestry to explain the various customs they had that were unlike their neighbours.²⁴⁴ Even in the south, historians continued to claim that Granada had a Moorish origin, as per the *Plúmbeos*. The *Plúmbeos* had the full support of the archbishop of Granada, Pedro de Castro.²⁴⁵

The involvement of Andalusians in the colonisation of the New World led to New Spain's policies often being racialised, with the Native Americans being conflated with Arabo-Moors. Columbus believed that it was likely that he would encounter Arabic-speakers during his voyage, so he had two Arab interpreters on his ship.²⁴⁶ Francisco López de Gómara said natives "live like sodomites, speak like Moors and look like Jews".²⁴⁷ These attitudes prevailed because many *Conquistadores* were veterans of the *Reconquista* who saw the Conquest of the Americas as the final stage of the *Reconquista*.²⁴⁸ Racial terminology used in the Americas is often thought to have derived from *Reconquistador* terms, with Mulatto connected with *Muwallad*.²⁴⁹

²⁴³ Patricia Giménez-Eguibar and Daniel I. Wasserman Soler. "La Mala Algaraba: Church, Monarchy and the Arabic Language in 16th-century Spain " *The Medieval History Journal* 14.2 (2011): 229, p.230.

²⁴⁴ Mónica Amenedo Costa. "Construction of Spanish Identities in the Eighteenth-Century English Press." *Forum Filologiczne ATENEUM*. 2014, pp.46-47; Pascual Riesco Chueca "De nuevo sobre el nombre de los maragatos: una revisión." *Argutorio: Revista de la Asociación Cultural "Monte Irato"* 17.33 (2015): 59-67, p.62.

²⁴⁵ García-Arenal and Mediano, 2009, p.245.

²⁴⁶ Luis Carlos Barragan Castro, p.29.

²⁴⁷ Luis Carlos Barragan Castro, p.30.

²⁴⁸ Luis Carlos Barragan Castro, p.32.

²⁴⁹ Josep Lluís Mateo Dieste, "Are there 'mestizos' in the Arab world? A comparative survey of classification categories and kinship systems." *Middle Eastern Studies* 48.1 (2012): 1-14, p.5.

While the effects of this line of thought were largely negative, there were some admirable, if often misinformed and heavy-handed, attempts at reconciliation caused by understanding Native Americans to be part of a group that had been reconciled to Spanish Christian identity. Many early churches were built to be identical to mosques as colonisers believed they were accommodating their local customs.²⁵⁰

As colonisers realised Native Americans were not Arabs, some nevertheless pursued Hernando de Talavera's methods of conversion. Juan de Zumárraga explicitly said that he wanted to replicate what Talavera did in Granada.²⁵¹ Zumárraga and his co-workers learnt Nahuatl and Quechua and ultimately a Nahuatl translation of the Mozarabic Rite and a Nahuatl Catachism was produced.²⁵² In the same way that racially oppressive concepts were adapted into the New World context, so were methods of accepting those of other races. H.D. Miller claims that the Rite was the most important identifier for Mozarabism. If this is true, then because Mozarabs included Native Americans, even after they realised they were not Arabo-Moors, Early Modern Spanish racialism seems to have not influenced Mozarabism.

Chapter 4: Hitchcock's Type Theory

Professor Richard Hitchcock is one of the foremost scholars of the Mozarabs in English and he developed the idea that there were significant differences to the type of Mozarabs found in Asturleon and post-1085 Toledo. He considered them 'so different as to tempt one to suggest that there is no link at all with the so-called 'Leonese Mozarabism''.²⁵³ In this section I will examine Leonese and Toledan-type Mozarabs as Hitchcock defines them and discuss whether

²⁵⁰ Luis Carlos Barragan Castro, p.4.

²⁵¹ Luis Carlos Barragan Castro, p. 38.

²⁵² Christensen, Mark Zinn. "Nahua and Maya Catholicisms: Ecclesiastical texts and local religion in colonial central Mexico and Yucatan." (2009), Diss. Pennsylvania State University p.80.

²⁵³ Hitchcock, p.76.

they are so different, and whether there are more types of Mozarabs as different from each other as the Leonese and Toledan.

Part 1: Leonese-type

When Mozarabs migrated to Asturleon, they did not call themselves Mozarabs. The first reference to Mozarabs is from 1024.²⁵⁴ They can be recognised by their Arabic names, Moorish architecture and preference for *Andalusí* artisanry, but they did not believe this made themselves a separate nation and the Asturleonese agreed.²⁵⁵

The term Mozarab was first used to describe three Leonese-types in San Cipriano de Valdesalce, a monastery with strong Mozarabic connections.²⁵⁶ These Mozarabs were integrated into Asturleonese society and were producing clothes for the royals.²⁵⁷ One was referred to as Abiahia, likely a transliteration of the Arabic Abu Yahya.²⁵⁸ While some writers make a Christian vs. Arabic distinction in names,²⁵⁹ it seems that Mozarabs saw Arabic names as potentially equally Christian to Latin names. There are even members of the clergy with Islamic-origin names, such as the surname Abbas, (after Muhammad's uncle), Abdallah (after Muhammad's father), or Muhammad.²⁶⁰ Using Qur'anic names shows how little a hold over the Arabic language Mozarabs felt Islam had.

The Leonese-type Mozarabs had a strong sense of Gothicism which tied them closer to their Asturleonese brethren as Gothic heritage was a shared feature. Before the 11th Century, the Visigothic Rite was still used in Asturleon and Visigothic Law was still cited until the 10th

²⁵⁴ Beale-Rivaya, 2010, p.58.

²⁵⁵ Beale-Rivaya, 2010, p.59.

²⁵⁶ Beale-Rivaya, 2010, p.58.

²⁵⁷ Beale-Rivaya, 2010, p.59.

²⁵⁸ Beale-Rivaya, 2010, p.58.

²⁵⁹ Beale-Rivaya, 2010, p.59.

²⁶⁰ Witcombe, Teresa. "Maurice and the Mozarabic charter: a cross-cultural transaction in early thirteenth-century Toledo." *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 10.2 (2018): 234-256, pp.8-9; Aaron Michael Moreno, p.29; Hanna Kassis, "Arabic speaking Christians in Al-Andalus in an age of turmoil (Fifth/Eleventh Century until AH 478/AD 1085)." *Al-Qantara* 15.2 (1994): 401, p.413.

Century.²⁶¹ The adoption of new rites and laws in Asturleon inevitably would have affected Leonese-type Mozarabs. Leonese-type Gothicism united, rather than divided, the different people groups as it had under the Visigoths.

The language that most Leonese-type Mozarabs spoke was *Romandalusí*, a Romance language that developed under Muslim rule.²⁶² *Romandalusí* was once thought to be spoken by Jews as well, but linguists tend to classify *Judeoespanol* and *Judeoaragones* as their own languages which are not descended from *Romandalusí*.²⁶³ The importance of Arabic to Muslims seems to have made *Romandalusí* mostly spoken by Mozarabs, so it is often called Mozarabic Romance.²⁶⁴

Part 2: Toledan-type

The Mozarabs of Toledo underwent centuries of Arabisation more than their Leonese counterparts. They wrote and signed their legal documents in the Arabic language, which they referred to as the Mozarabic language.²⁶⁵ Earlier scholarship assumed that Toledan Mozarabs used *Romandalusí* alongside Arabic, but there is no evidence for this and this theory is now disproven.²⁶⁶

The length of time Toledan-types spent under Muslim rule affected their culture and thought much more noticeably than it had for Leonese-types. While early *Andalusí* policy was to restrict the flow of information between religious communities, Toledan-types were much

²⁶¹ Ryan Evan Schwarzrock, p.8; de Luca, p.25.

²⁶² Aissaoui, Souad. "Los mártires mozárabes de Córdoba del siglo IX entre la aculturación y la resistencia The Arabist martyrs of Cordoba in the 9th century Between the phenomenon of Arab culture and Resistance." *Oussour al-jadida: Scientific Revue Edited by the History of Algeria Laboratory Research* 9.3 (2019): 391-416, p.397.

²⁶³ Corriente, "Arabismos peculiares del judeo-español (de Salónica)." *EDNA, Estudios de dialectología norteafricana y andalusí* 4 (1999): 65-81, pp.65-66.

²⁶⁴ Corriente, 2004, pp.281-282.

²⁶⁵ Yasmine Beale-Rivaya, "The History and Evolution of the Term" Mozarab"." *Imago temporis: medium Aevum* (2010): 51-71, p.62.

²⁶⁶ Yuliya Miteva, "Arabic Vs. Castilian: The Linguistic Situation in Toledo Postandalusi (11th-15th C.) I. The Mozarab Community." *Research Papers* 56.1.A (2018), p.385.

more aware of Islam and even borrowed Islamic terminology. Toledan-types were skilled at translating concepts across cultures, for example describing their traditional laws as Christian *Sunna* rather than *fueros*.²⁶⁷ Christian and Qur'anic terminology could be used simultaneously, for example Metropolitan John of Seville (not John Hispalensis) was called *sayyid al-matrân*, the noble metropolitan, where the word *sayyid* typically refers to a descendent of Muhammad.²⁶⁸

While Toledan-types had been cautious to avoid Islamising their faith, they had taken on much more Arabism than others and were clearly a separate cultural construct than the *Reconquistadores*. The existence of the Mozarabic *Alcalde* was a *Reconquistador* invention, but it reflected a Mozarabic need that did not previously exist. Toledan-types were separate and had no intention of becoming culturally closer to *Reconquistadores*. Documents proving Mozarabic descent and ceremonies that inducted newcomers into the Mozarabic community all served to separate Toledan Mozarabs from the *Reconquistadores*.²⁶⁹

Toledan Mozarabs were more likely to feel that they were more Gothic than their neighbours. Mozarabic institutions such as the *Hermandad Mozarabe* can also be called the *Hermandad Gothia*, showing that Toledans felt Mozarabism and Gothicism were interchangeable.²⁷⁰ Unlike with Leonese-types where the use of the term Mozarab is difficult to trace, Toledan-types used the term often and clearly self-identified as Mozarabs.²⁷¹

²⁶⁷ Howard Delgin Miller, 2003, p.3.

²⁶⁸ Jesús Brufal Sucarrat, "Nuevas aportaciones de jóvenes medievalistas. Lleida 2014." *Reproducció digital del document publicat en format paper* (2014), p.152.

²⁶⁹ Raúl Gómez-Ruiz, *Mozarabs, Hispanics and Cross*. (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2014), chapter 1 [pages not given].

²⁷⁰ Ruiz, Antonio Moreno. "De Godos y Bizantinos: temperamento y continuidad." *La Razón histórica: revista hispanoamericana de historia de las ideas políticas y sociales* 30 (2015): 134-142., p.141.

²⁷¹ Hitchcock, p.76.

Part 3: Proposal for Catalan and Granadine-types

If we take Toledan and Leonese-types to be separate based on their preferred language, time spent under Muslim rule, understanding of Islam, use of Gothicism and integration, then the kind of Mozarabs found by the Catalans and Aragonese in the east of Iberia must form another type. This group seems to have preserved *Romandalusí*, isolated themselves from Islam and quickly integrated themselves into the Crown of Aragon as fellow Goths. Their influence on Catalan is debatably overstated, but it seems that a Romance-speaking group of Christians did exist in the Països Catalans and that they integrated into Catalan society around them enough to influence the language somewhat.²⁷²

The spread of Mozarabic texts in Gothia and Gothic texts in Catalan countries demonstrates a shared identity and culture.²⁷³ Details in chronicles, such as Ardo being the last King of the Goths, also show a shared sense of history.²⁷⁴

The majority of Granadines, even before the Expulsion, were considered to be Old Christians and also exhibited many Arabised behaviours such as veiling their women and speaking Arabic along with Spanish, making them appear to be Mozarabs but of yet another type.²⁷⁵ The *Plúmbeos* not only justify the Arabic language, but also Spanish, but they never use *Romandalusí*.²⁷⁶ They established a native identity but rejected Gothicism. Their engagement with Islam went beyond translating concepts and borrowing terms, but Granadine Mozarabs engaged with Islamic concepts, such as Solomon's role in the end of al-Andalus, the

²⁷² Juan A. Sempere, "The Valencian linguistic heterodoxy." *Catalan Review* 9.2 (1995): 97-124, pp.109-111.

²⁷³ Ainoa Castro Correa, "Visigothic script versus Caroline minuscule: the collision of two cultural worlds in twelfth-century Galicia." *Mediaeval Studies* 78 (2016): 203-42, p.208.

²⁷⁴ Dolores Castro, p.149.

²⁷⁵ Harris, 2007, pp.31-32; Laura R. Bass and Amanda Wunder. "The Veiled Ladies of the Early Modern Spanish World: Seduction and Scandal in Seville, Madrid, and Lima." *Hispanic Review* (2009): 97-144, p.105 n.11.

²⁷⁶ Drayson, *The Lead Books of Granada*. (Heidelberg: Springer, 2016), p.17.

holiness of the Arabic language and possibly some phrases (although this last point is debated).²⁷⁷

Hitchcock's Type Theory manages to recognise the differences and similarities between two communities of Mozarabs, but his two types cannot account for all of them. By adding the concept of the Granadine and Catalan types, one can engage with a wider set of sources to understand how Christians Arabised under Muslim rule.

Chapter 5: Mozarabism in Retrospect

Part 1: Golden Century and the *Ilustración*

The 17th Century is often thought of as Spain's Golden Century, although Spain's Golden Age is often extended back to 1492.²⁷⁸ For Mozarabs, the century was the first in which the Arabic language was outlawed and it became important for them to redefine themselves in order to survive as they once did under al-Andalus.²⁷⁹ The anti-Arabism throughout Iberia made Spaniards reconsider their connections to Mozarabism.²⁸⁰ Having survived centuries of religious oppression, Mozarabs now had to withstand cultural oppression.

The 18th-Century *Ilustración*, or Spanish Enlightenment, was unlike the Enlightenment in the rest of Europe. Most notably, it had a strongly religious character and was focused on reattaining Medieval greatness.²⁸¹ The Scientific Method and critical analyses of texts were adopted, but they were not applied anti-clerically as they were elsewhere.²⁸²

²⁷⁷ Harris, 2007, p.32.

²⁷⁸ Ignacio García Aguilar, "El Siglo de Oro: Genios y figuras." *Andalucía en la historia* 50 (2015): 68-69, p.68.

²⁷⁹ Claire Gilbert, *The politics of Language in the Western Mediterranean c. 1492-c. 1669: Multilingual Institutions and the Status of Arabic in Early Modern Spain*. Diss. UCLA, 2014, p.202.

²⁸⁰ García-Arenal, p.499.

²⁸¹ Miriam Cera, "Spanish Identity, Between The Center And The Periphery. The Role Of The History Of Architecture." *Dieciocho* 6 (2020) pp.18-19.

²⁸² Payne, p.62; John Dowling, "The Crisis of the Spanish Enlightenment: Capricho 43 and Goya's Second Portrait of Jovellanos." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 18.3 (1985): 331-359, p.333.

Pro-Mozarabic histories were frequently undermined, beginning with the criticism of *los Plúmbeos*, which they commonly used.²⁸³ Chroniclers sought to understand Spain's origins using Mozarabic sources, but as these chronicles were denounced, so were their sources.²⁸⁴ New histories failed to understand Mozarabs as being continuers of the Visigothic tradition and important for understanding Gothicism. Iluminismo Gothicism caused Francisco Xavier Martínez Marina's *castellanocentrismo*, which not only sidelined Mozarabs, but the Aragonese and Portuguese as well.²⁸⁵ However, the Bourbon Dynasty itself tended to support the Mozarabic Rite to establish continuity between their regime and the Visigoths.²⁸⁶

The Portuguese *Iluminismo*, was affected by the English Enlightenment and resulted in the expulsion of the Jesuits.²⁸⁷ The movement's origins with secular thinkers, such as Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, led to a different reaction against Mozarabism.²⁸⁸ Rather than anti-Arabist, it was anti-Clerical.²⁸⁹ Mozarabism was relegated to a footnote in the origin of Portugal as their adherence to the Church was considered less important than it had been.

Part 3: 19th Century Reconsiderations

Mozarabic historiography was reconsidered in the 19th Century. Simonet's interpretation defined the Spanish reception of Mozarabism as an important precursor to Hispanism, whereas Alexandre Herculano de Carvalho e Araújo (whose *História de Portugal* is still widely used) saw the expansion of Portugal as opposed to *Andalusí* cultures and makes no mention of

²⁸³ Harris, 1999, p.959.

²⁸⁴ Harris, p.966.

²⁸⁵ M^a Concepción Castrillo Llamas, "D. FRANCISCO MARTÍNEZ MARINA: EL HOMBRE Y SU OBRA." *Medievalismo* 2 (1992), p.224.

²⁸⁶ Boynton, *Silent Music: Medieval Song and the Construction of History in Eighteenth-Century Spain*. (New York City: OUP USA, 2011), p.16.

²⁸⁷ Samuel J. Miller *Portugal and Rome c. 1748-1830: an aspect of the Catholic Enlightenment*. Vol. 44. (Rome: Gregorian Biblical BookShop, 1978), p.393.

²⁸⁸ Samuel J. Miller, p.111.

²⁸⁹ Samuel J. Miller, p.393.

Mozarabs.²⁹⁰ Simonet's continued interest in Mozarabs was linked to the continued Mozarabism of Toledo.²⁹¹

Outside of Spain it became common to assert that Jews were treated better in *al-Andalus* than under the *Reconquistadores*. This concept seems to come from Denis Dominique Cardonne an 18th-Century Huguenot Orientalist whose *Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne sous la domination des Arabes* was the first major work available in a European language to give a full history of *al-Andalus* which portrayed *al-Andalus* as much more tolerant than its Christian neighbours.²⁹² Jewish scholars from the 19th and 20th Centuries criticised German anti-Semitism by providing *al-Andalus* as a tolerant counterpart.²⁹³

These assumptions about *Andalusí* tolerance of Judaism came from the Medieval conflation of Islam and Judaism, seen in Asturleonese art from the 11th Century onwards.²⁹⁴ While this concept opposed Judaism originally, the reverse effect came from Orientalism. Orientalism was often associated with Hispanophobia, and histories of *al-Andalus* reflected both biases.²⁹⁵

The first post-Visigothic pogroms occurred in *al-Andalus* around 1000AD (Marrocco has shown traditional estimates of 3,000 killed are likely understatements), while the first major

²⁹⁰ Sharon R Roseman; Shawn S Parkhurst, "Race and Space in Interpretations of Portugal." *Recasting Culture and Space in Iberian Contexts*: 205 (Albany: State University of New York, 2008), p.209.

²⁹¹ Diego Adrián Olstein, *La era mozárabe. Los mozárabes de Toledo (siglos XII y XIII) en la historiografía, las fuentes y la historia*. Vol. 135 (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 2006), p.15.

²⁹² Ernest Schonfield, "Heine and Convivencia: Coexistence in Muslim Spain." *Oxford German Studies* 47.1 (2018): 35-50, p.12; E. Natalie Rothman, "Epilogue." *The Dragoman Renaissance*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2021). 241-256, p.252

²⁹³ Ruth Tolédano-Attias, "Le concept d'ÂGE D'OR arabo-andalou: MYTHE ou RÉALITÉ?." *Controverses* 9 (2008), p.113.

²⁹⁴ Pamela Anne Patton, *Art of Estrangement: Redefining Jews in Reconquest Spain*. (University Park: Penn State Press, 2012), p.106.

²⁹⁵ Yolanda Rodríguez Pérez, "Introduction: on hispanophobia and hispanophilia across time and space." *Literary Hispanophobia and Hispanophilia in Britain and the Low Countries (1550-1850)*. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2020) 11-46. 11-46, p.20; Raphaël Ingelbien, "Historical Fiction, Cultural Transfer and the Recycling of the Black Legend between the Low Countries and Britain: A Nineteenth-Century Case Study." *Literary Hispanophobia and Hispanophilia in Britain and the Low Countries (1550-1850)* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2020), p.321.

pogrom under the *Reconquistadores* occurred towards the end of the 14th Century (one in 1035 killed 70 Jews, but firm legislation against anti-Semitism followed).²⁹⁶ In response to the pogroms, the typical Orientalist response was to say that the Almoravids or Almohads caused it to end.²⁹⁷ It is commonly assumed that Visigothic anti-Semitism continued in the Reconquista states, but as we have seen, much of the Visigothic state continued in *al-Andalus* and not Asturias. In light of all the inconsistencies between Visigothic and *Reconquistador* rule, without evidence of anti-Semitism, it cannot be taken for granted.

The fact that Bodo the Deacon, upon his conversion to Judaism fled to *al-Andalus*, not Asturias, indicates that *al-Andalus* was more tolerant of Judaism, however, Bodo had committed treason against the HRE (Carolingians saw apostates as treasonous), which was an important ally in the Reconquista.²⁹⁸ Asturleon would rarely reject HRE demands even if the criminal was a Christian.²⁹⁹ Bodo's avoidance of Asturias was more related to Frankish than Iberian attitudes.

It is noteworthy that *Reconquistador* chroniclers speak unfavourably of Visigothic pogroms as they followed Isidore's contemporary denunciation of Sisebut's anti-Semitic policies.³⁰⁰ The most respected Visigothic king in Asturleon was the popular saint Reccared who was thought of as anti-Semitic by 19th Century Orientalists, who thought that his union of church and state inevitably led to anti-Semitism.³⁰¹ In fact, Reccared repealed a number of laws

²⁹⁶ Sarr Marroco, Bilal. "La mayoría de los habitantes de Granada y de los agentes fiscales eran judíos. Algunas reflexiones sobre la Granada judía (Siglos VIII-XI)." *Estudios Sobre Patrimonio, Cultura Y Ciencias Medievales*, 19 (2017), p.1351; Martínez soPena, Pascual. "The war in Leon and Castile (Ca. 1110-1130). Internal crisis and imaginary of violence." *Imago temporis: medium Aevum*, 2015, núm. 9, p. 125-144 (2015), p.132 n.15.

²⁹⁷ Tolédano-Attias, p.117.

²⁹⁸ Matthew Bryan Gillis, *Heresy and Dissent in the Carolingian Empire: The Case of Gottschalk of Orbais* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), p.6.

²⁹⁹ Viso, 2004, p.227.

³⁰⁰ Rodrigo Furtado, "Reassessing Spanish Chronicle Writing before 900: The Tradition of Compilation in Oviedo at the End of the Ninth Century." *The Medieval Chronicle 11* (Leiden: Brill, 2017) 171-194., p.8. Wood, p.59.

³⁰¹ Jane S. Gerber, *Jews of Spain: A History of the Sephardic Experience*. Simon and Schuster, 1994, pp.11-13; Flannery, Edward H. *The anguish of the Jews: Twenty-three centuries of antisemitism*. Paulist Press, 1985, p.75;

disadvantaging Jews, such as a death penalty for proselytising.³⁰² Many anti-Semitic laws were pre-Gothic.³⁰³ His legal code does not fit a modern liberal standard, but the Orientalist claim that *Reconquistadores* esteemed Reccared because of his anti-Semitism is incorrect.

Shephardis were known to gather in the same places as Christians, Muslims identified them as *ahl-adh-dhimmah* (people of the treaty) or *ahl-al-Kitab* (people of the Book) and as late as the 14th Century, Abul-Walid ibn Nasr of Granada described Iberians and Jews as belonging to the same race.³⁰⁴ Jews were included in the deportation of the Mozarabs to North Africa, where they were forcibly converted to Islam (including Maimonides, who later escaped and returned to Judaism).³⁰⁵ Jews willingly participated in the *Repoblación* and *Reconquista*, especially from the 11th Century onwards, as they reacted against *Andalusí* oppression.³⁰⁶ The fact that Muslims often grouped Christians and Jews together, and Jews frequently sided with Christians, undermines the Orientalist vision of Jews and Muslims in league.

Part 4: Israel and the Iberian Civil Wars

In Portugal, Joaquim Teófilo Fernandes Braga (President of the Provisional Republican Government of Portugal) reconsidered the role of Mozarabs in the formation of Portuguese identity.³⁰⁷ He wanted to create a version of Portuguese identity that was not dependent on the dynastic disputes that lead to the Portuguese state, but was populist instead. He believed that Mozarabic racial nationalism was the basis of Portuguese identity.

Leon Poliakov, *The History of Anti-Semitism, Volume 2: From Mohammed to the Marranos*. Vol. 2. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), p.17; Paula Fredriksen and Oded Irshai. "Christian anti-judaism: polemics and policies." *The Cambridge History of Judaism* 4 (2006): 977-1034, p.1023.

³⁰² Bernard S. Bachrach "A Reassessment of Visigothic Jewish Policy, 589-711." *The American Historical Review* 78.1 (1973): 11-34, p.14.

³⁰³ Buchberger, "Gothic Identity and the 'Othering' of Jews in Seventh-Century Spain." *Inclusion and Exclusion in Mediterranean Christianities, 400-800*. 2019. 199-216, p.209.

³⁰⁴ Christys, *Christians in Al-Andalus (8th-10th centuries)*. Diss. University of Leeds, 1999, p.192.

³⁰⁵ José Luis Lacave, *Judaísmo hispano: estudios en memoria de José Luis Lacave Riaño*. Vol. 1. (Madrid: CSIC Press, 2002), p.457.

³⁰⁶ Gerber, pp.92-94.

³⁰⁷ Sérgio Campos Matos, "Portugal: the nineteenth-century debate on the formation of the nation." *Portuguese Studies* 13 (1997): 66-94, pp.77-80.

Braga's theory was widely criticised but Portuguese historians now understood Mozarabism as a stage in Portuguese history. Other writers saw Mozarabism as a 'moral nationalism' rather than an ethnic one. This reaction was partly caused by the war against Prussia, which made any connection with a Germanic group such as the Goths unpopular. Even before the war, the possibility of dependence on Arabic identity was met with unease.

During Franco's governance of Spain, *Andalusí* historiography was highly politicised and inconsistent. Franco portrayed his party as restoring a Reconquista mindset, this time with *Antiespaña* (internal forces opposed to Spain) in the Moors place.³⁰⁸ Nevertheless, Franco was careful not to demonise *al-Andalus* as he hoped to make Spain an ally of the Islamic World.³⁰⁹ Franco developed the concept of *Convivencia* to be emblematic of Spanish Christian and Muslim coexistence.³¹⁰ At the same time, Spanish Republicans, especially Prime-Minister-in-exile Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz y Menduiña's, abandoned *convivencia* and portrayed the history of *al-Andalus* as oppressive (possibly projecting their opinions about Franco).³¹¹

Although the *Hermandad* insisted that they represented true Gothicism, Francoists and Republicans saw only the Asturleonese Kingdom as continuing from the Visigoths.³¹² This was Menduiña's central thesis in his *Orígenes de la Nación Española* which saw Asturian continued

³⁰⁸ Aurora Morcillo Gómez, *En cuerpo y alma: ser mujer en tiempos de Franco* (Madrid: Siglo XXI de España Editores, 2015), Chapter 1 [pages not given].

³⁰⁹ Eric Calderwood, "Franco's Hajj: Moroccan Pilgrims, Spanish Fascism, and the Unexpected Journeys of Modern Arabic Literature." *PMLA/Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 132.5 (2017): 1097-1116, p.1098.

³¹⁰ Alfons Aragoneses, "Uses of convivencia and filosefardismo in Spanish legal discourses." *Rechtsgeschichte Legal History*. 2018; 26: 200-19 (2018), p.213; Eduardo Manzano Moreno, "Qurtuba: algunas reflexiones críticas sobre el Califato de Córdoba y el mito de la convivencia." *Awraq: Estudios sobre el mundo árabe e islámico contemporáneo* 7 225-246. (Madrid: Dirección General de Relaciones Culturales y Científicas, 2013), pp. 228-229; Hayley Rabanal, "Courting Convivencia: Hispano-Arab Identity and Spanish Women's Orientalism in the Franco Regime's Years of "unbearable solitude" (1946-1950)." *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 19.3 339-364 (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), p.5.

³¹¹ Alejandro García Sanjuán "al-Andalus en la historiografía nacionalcatólica española:: Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz." *eHumanista: Journal of Iberian Studies* 37 (2017): 305-328, pp.308-310.

³¹² Raúl Gómez-Ruiz, *Mozarabs, Hispanics and Cross* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2014), Chapter 1 [pages not given].

Gothicism as central to Hispanism.³¹³ Francoists instead took Hispanism to be a melting pot of many cultures, and understood Mozarabism to be part of either Arabism or Latinity.³¹⁴

Re-evaluations against the concept of *convivencia* began to take place amongst Jewish scholars following a Muslim backlash to the creation of the Modern State of Israel, and in Spain following the end of the Francoist regime.³¹⁵ Jewish re-evaluations focused on anti-Semitism, but ideas, such as Dhimmitude developed by Bat Ye-or, had clear utility for Christians as well.³¹⁶ The Spanish and French re-evaluation began with Menduiña's return after Franco's death.³¹⁷ Menduiña's 1983 *De la Andalucía Islámica a la de Hoy* warned of "Islamising whims that not a few suffer today".³¹⁸

From the 1990s onwards, yet another perspective emerged. Criticism of Israel often led to a positive vision of *al-Andalus* as an alternative.³¹⁹ Although *The Ornament of the World* was popular in Jewish circles, Maria Rosa Menocal is not Jewish and her work popularised *al-Andalus* around the world.³²⁰ It provoked heavy criticism, from scholars who claimed she portrayed a "black-and-white" vision in a more complicated reality, to David Nirenburg's perspective which saw life in *al-Andalus* as consistently violent.³²¹

Works discussing Mozarabism often appear in works that discuss *al-Andalus* or the Reconquista overall.³²² Nevertheless there has recently been an influx of works solely

³¹³ Mariano Peset, "SÁNCHEZ-ALBORNOZ, C.:" El Reino de Asturias. Orígenes de la nación española"[Reseña]." (1975), p.206.

³¹⁴ Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, "Culture, Identity and Civilisation: The Arabs and Islam in the History of Spain." *Islam and the Politics of Culture in Europe: Memory, Aesthetics, Art* (2014): 41, p. 47.

³¹⁵ Jonathan Ray, "Beyond Tolerance and Persecution: Reassessing Our Approach to Medieval" *Convivencia*." *Jewish Social Studies* (2005): 1-18, p.2.

³¹⁶ Mark R. Cohen "The "Golden Age" of Jewish-Muslim relations: myth and reality." *A History of Jewish-Muslim Relations: From the Origins to the Present Day* (2013): 28-38, pp.29-30.

³¹⁷ Sanjuán, p.320.

³¹⁸ Sanjuán, p.314.

³¹⁹ Ben Gidley, "Cousin trouble: Jewish and Muslim ideas of the Other." *Critical Muslim* 2 (2012): 123-136, pp.3-4.

³²⁰ Gidley, p.2; Morgan Reyes, "Consulting the past: a comparison of relations between Abrahamic religions in medieval Spain and its reflection in today's Israel-Palestine relations." MA Diss. (2018), p.12.

³²¹ Reyes, pp.13-15.

³²² Jean-Pierre Molénat; Howard Delgin Miller and Hanna E. Kassis.

interested in Mozarabism,³²³ with interesting individuals, especially Hafs ibn Albar or Samuel ibn Hafsun, often being a focal point.³²⁴

Conclusion

Mozarabism was an identitarian movement that grew out of Gothic Hispanism. It became distinct from *Reconquistador* Hispanism due to the Arabic influence received under Islamic rule. The movement was robust enough to include Jewish members at first, despite the difficulties that they faced under Visigothic rule.

What defined Mozarabism in its early years was an awareness of Gothic heritage, without necessarily wanting to restore the old *Spanian* status quo. Medieval Hispanism was nostalgic for this period and there was a constant drive toward restoration, whereas the Mozarabs (despite the cultural differences they had attained) felt more comfortable that they were the continuation of the Gothic *Spanians*. They expressed much more ability to adapt than their northern counterparts, who nevertheless failed to restore Iberia to a single sovereign state, united by one identity and sacral monarchical church hierarchy.

Later Mozarabism was divided between acceptance and rejection of Gothic heritage. The desire to reject Gothicism was stronger in regions ruled by Muslims for longer. The desire to create a non-Gothic Hispanism was too ambitious, and it was reacted against with the Old and New Christian divide that separated Gothic from non-Gothic Mozarabism at the beginning of the Modern Period. Gothic Mozarabism was merged with mainstream Hispanism, which resulted in the creation of the modern Spanish and Portuguese identities that could come to

³²³ Burman; Álvarez; Duarte; Gómez-Ruiz,

³²⁴ Hafs ibn-Albar al-Qūṭī, 2016; Douglas Morton Dunlop, "Hafs b. Albar: The Last of the Goths?," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 3/4 (1954): 137-151.; Jussi Taavetti Seppälä, "Andalusialaisen Psalmtarin Kristus: Semanttinen analyysi Hafs ibn Albar al-Qūṭīn mozarabialaisen Psalmtarin Jeesus-kuvasta." MA Thesis Helsinki University (2020); Wasserstein, pp. 269-297.

terms with their Arab cultural elements as parts of Mozarabism, which itself would be seen as a part of Gothicism.

Glossary

Asturleon

The term Asturleon is a portmanteau of Asturias and León. The Kingdom of Asturias was renamed to Leon after 910, when the capital was moved to the city of León. I use the term throughout the dissertation to refer to the continuum of civilisation begun by Asturias, rather than any specific kingdom or crown. It is to be distinguished from the Basque, Frankish and Mozarabic continua, which were responsible for the kingdoms of Pamplona/Navarra, Aragon and Toledo respectively.

Iberia

Iberia was a geographic term used first by Greeks, but it was rarely used by people in the peninsula itself. It is, therefore, a useful term to describe the peninsula, as Hispania can suggest an amount of Castillianocentrism. The term can be confusing if the Caucasus is discussed, as there is a region there that is also called Iberia, but I have not discussed the Caucasus in this paper.

Spania

The term *Spania* is preferred over the Visigothic Kingdom or the Kingdom of Toledo. *Spania* is a term that was used at the time (in its various forms) but was only used afterwards by Mozarabs. Using the term Visigothic underestimates the effect that *Spanian* identity had on the non-Gothic population. The term Kingdom of Toledo would confuse *Spania* with the Mozarabic Kingdom of Toledo that formed part of the Crown of Castile which is featured elsewhere.

Hispanism

The term Hispanism is usually used by Hispanics in the Americas, advocating for unity not only in Spain, but between Spain and its former colonies. The term Spain began to be used to describe the Union of the Crowns of Castile and Aragon from the time of the Catholic Monarchs onwards as they believed themselves to be inheritors of *Spania*. The term Iberianism is therefore technically more geographic and would avoid Hispanocentrism, but it strictly refers to the desire to see a united Portugal and Spain, which does not reflect Hispanism as I have used it. Hispanism is used in its original sense of having a shared identity across the Iberian peninsula that hearkens back to *Spania*.

Gothicism

The term Gothicism was coined by Late Medieval authors, such as Nils Ragvaldsson, to refer to Gothic identity in Sweden. Following the 19th Century, Spanish historians used the term, or sometimes its relative Neo-Gothicism, to refer to Asturleonese civilisation's claims to inherit what was left of *Spania*. Neo-Gothicism can only be used of post-Visigoths, but I discuss both pre and post-conquest realities, and I have not drawn a clear line between where *Spanian* identity ends and where Neo-Gothicism begins. Gothicism conveys the strong sense in which Mozarabs, Asturleonese and Gothians felt themselves to be successors to *Spania*.

Iron Century

The Iron Century was a term coined by Ven. Cardinal Cæsar Baronius, developing Lorenzo Valla's wordier phrase 'the Century of Lead and Iron' in reference to the 10th Century. It is a term that can be

used like ‘the Long 19th Century’ to refer to a slightly wider period. Many of the movements I refer to as belonging to the Iron Century can be found shortly before or after the 10th Century.

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