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0521822343 - The Victors and the Vanquished: Christians and Muslims of Catalonia and Aragon, 1050-1300

Brian A. Catlos

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## THE VICTORS AND THE VANQUISHED

This is a revisionary study of Muslims living under Christian rule during the Spanish “reconquest.” It looks beyond the obvious religious distinction and delves into the subtleties of identity in the thirteenth-century Crown of Aragon, uncovering a social dynamic in which sectarian differences comprise only one of the many factors in the causal complex of political, economic, and cultural reactions.

Beginning with the final stage of independent Muslim rule in the Ebro valley region, the book traces the transformation of Islamic society into *mudéjar* society under Christian domination. This was a case of social evolution, in which Muslims, far from being passive victims of foreign colonization, took an active part in shaping their institutions and experiences as subjects of the Infidel. Using a diverse range of methodological approaches, this book challenges widely held assumptions concerning Christian–Muslim relations in the Middle Ages, and minority–majority relations in general.

BRIAN A. CATLOS is Assistant Professor of History at the University of California, Santa Cruz.

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# THE VICTORS AND THE VANQUISHED

*Christians and Muslims of Catalonia and Aragon, 1050–1300*

BRIAN A. CATLOS



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نورية

*n., fem.:* luminary, bright, brilliant, radiant

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## NOTE ON THE CITATION OF SOURCES, DATES, PLACES, AND NAMES

In the course of my archival research I examined systematically and in their entirety the various collections cited in the Bibliography. Where I am aware of an edition of a document which I have consulted in the original, this has been noted; documents cited only by the edited version were consulted only in published form. When I was led to a source by a secondary study I have indicated the work in question. Otherwise, I hope my readers will understand that I am not endeavoring to lay any special claim to the “discovery” of documents which have been used by others.

The languages of the documents used in this study include Arabic, Latin, Old Spanish, Old Catalan, Old Aragonese, and other intermediate and imprecise “Romance” dialects. The Latin itself ranges from elevated registers to severely bastardized orally influenced forms. In extracts from unedited documents I have added only punctuation and capitalization; spellings have been transcribed verbatim. Scribal inconsistencies are not noted, except where they affect clarity (in which case a [*sic*] may be interposed). The consonantal “i” and “u” are favored over “j” and “v,” except in personal and place names which customarily use the latter. Italicized foreign words which appear in the text are presented in their standard Latin, Catalan, or Castilian forms (e.g. *aljama*, *universitas*), unless they are drawn directly from sources, in which case they appear according to their usage in the document in question. Dates of documents have been converted to the modern calendar for consistency (and thus may differ from dates noted in other publications). All translations into English are mine, unless otherwise noted. In these excerpts I have opted to convey the sense of the original rather than following literally the sometimes awkward constructions.

Place names of towns are rendered according to the standard modern forms (e.g. Lleida, Zaragoza), except in cases where the accepted English version varies markedly from the original (e.g. Mecca instead of al-Makka). Names of countries and regions are presented according to current English usage; the term “Crown of Aragon” is preferred over

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“Catalano-Aragonese Crown” to refer to the dynastic federation ruled by the descendants of the ruling house of Barcelona. Kings of Aragon before the dynastic union of 1150 are indicated by their Aragonese enumeration with Castilian spelling (e.g. Alfonso I “the Battler”). The successors of Ramon Berenguer IV, the count-kings of Barcelona-Aragón (and many other titles), are enumerated and named according to their modern Catalan form (e.g. Alfons II “the Liberal,” rather than Alfonso III). Occidental honorifics are translated, Arabic ones are not, and popes’ names are given in English. Major figures of the age who appear in the documentation are referred to according to standard modern forms (e.g. “Blasco de Alagón” for “Blascus de Alagone,” and “Roger de Llúria” for “Rogerius de Loria”), while lesser figures bear the names (typically Latin forms) by which they are referred to in the documents (e.g. “Raymundus Martini” rather than “Ramon Martines” or “Ramón Martínez”). This is justified by the fact that the overwhelming majority of the documents are in Latin, and because many individuals straddled the Catalan-Aragonese cultural and linguistic divide. Likewise, names of lesser Muslim and Jewish personages appear according to their form in the Christian documents. In such cases, apart from within excerpts from documents, individuals are named consistently, according to the dominant variant (e.g. a “Muḥammad” may appear as either “Mahomet,” “Mahoma” or “Mafomet”). The words “Muslim” and “Islamic” are used interchangeably as adjectives whereas “Moorish” is avoided as antiquated and misleading.

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## GLOSSARY

*açuna* (or *assunna*, *zunna* or *sunna*, Lat., Rom; from Ar. *al-sunna*):

Muslim or Jewish law as recognized by and practiced under Christian domination in Iberia.

*adelantati* (Lat., sing. *adelantatus*): popular representatives of the *aljama* (normally two or four in number), elected by its members, and with responsibility for taxation and certain minor criminal offenses.

*alaminus* (Lat.; Rom. *alamin* or *alamí*, from Ar. *al-amīn*): *mudéjar* judicial official, sometimes designating the local community leader.

*albaranum* (Lat., pl. *albarana*; from Ar. *al-barā'a*): receipt or contract showing that the royal tax had been paid on the purchase of a slave.

*alcadi* (Lat., Rom. *alchadi*; from Ar. *al-qāḍī*): *mudéjar* Islamic magistrate, possibly designating local community leader.

*alcaydus* (Lat.; Rom. *alcait*; from Ar. *al-qā'id* or *al-qāḍī*): *mudéjar* community leader, and frequently, magistrate.

*alcudia* (Lat.): the jurisdictional and/or geographic competency of an *alcaydus*.

*alfaquinatus* (Lat.): the jurisdictional and/or geographic competency of an *alfaquinus*.

*alfaquinus* (or *alfaquí*, Lat., Rom. *alfachis*; from Ar. *al-faqīh*): *mudéjar* jurist, sometimes designating the community leader.

*alfundicus* (*alfondech* or *fundicum*, Lat.; Rom. *alfondega*, *alfondica*; from Ar. *al-funduq*): (1) a merchants' inn, storehouse and market; a caravanserai; (2) a Christian trade and diplomatic embassy in Islamic territory.

*alguazir* (Lat., Rom., from Ar. *wazīr*): (1) in some locales, a *mudéjar* official; (2) (Cast. *alguacil*) a lower-level judicial officer.

*aljama* (Lat., Rom.; from Ar. *al-jamī'*): a Muslim or Jewish community in Christian Iberia.

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*amān* (Ar.): a treaty extended by Muslim military commanders to enemies who surrender.

*ʿamma* (Ar.): in Islamic society, the mass of the population as distinguished from the aristocracy, or *khaṣṣa*.

*azemila* (Lat.; from Ar. *al-zāmila*): a head tax on mules in the Crown of Aragon.

*azofra* (or *sofra minuta*, Lat., Rom.; from Ar. *al-ṣufra*): in the Crown of Aragon, an obligation for subjects of a feudal lord to perform labor services, such as wood and water transport.

*baiulus* (Lat.; Cat. *batlle*): a royal or seigniorial rent collector, with jurisdiction over a single municipality and its dependent villages.

*baiulus sarracenorum* (Lat.): a royal or seigniorial official with jurisdiction over an *aljama*.

*baptizatus* (Lat.): a convert to Christianity.

*capeleuator* (Lat.): one who posts bail for another.

*carta-puebla* (Cast.): a charter issued by a king or other feudal authority determining the terms of settlement of a village and the reciprocal obligations of the lord and inhabitants.

*cartelegium* (Lat.): a tax or toll on the transport of goods.

*caualcata* (Lat.): an obligation for royal subjects to render military service.

*çauaquem* (or *çauaquenus*, Lat.; from Ar. *ṣāhib al-ḥukm*?): *mudéjar* judicial official and *aljama* administrator; a term used primarily in Catalonia.

*çauaquenia* (Lat.): the jurisdictional and/or geographic competency of a *çauaquem*.

*cavalleria* (Lat.): the fiscal unit representing the cost of supporting one cavalryman.

*cena* (Lat.): the hospitality which communities were required to extend to the king; gradually converted into a regular tax and extended to figures of lesser rank.

*chirograph*: a medieval contractual document which was drawn up in duplicate on a single parchment, often with a series of letters (e.g. “ABC”) separating the texts. On execution the document would be cut with a knife, leaving each party with one of the interlocking copies.

*concilium* (Lat.): town council, administering the whole town or the Christian community therein.

*converso* (Rom.): a convert to Christianity.



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*corts* (Cat.; Cast. *cortes*): the parliament in the Crown of Aragon; convened periodically, either kingdom by kingdom or all together.

*corvée* (Fr.): the obligatory labor, such as road repair, which tenants were required to perform for their feudal lord.

*dār al-Islām* (Ar.): the “abode of Islam”; that portion of the world under the political control of Islamic regimes.

*decimas* (Lat.): the annual tax of ten per cent levied on produce by the Church.

*dhimma* (Ar.): the “pact of protection” extended to non-Muslim subject populations by Islamic regimes.

*don* (Cast.; from Lat. *dominus*): a term indicating respect, similar to “Mister.”

*elongamentum* (Lat.): a loan extension.

*exaricus* (Lat.; Rom. *exaric*; from Ar. *al-shārik*): a sharecropper.

*exercitus* (Lat.): an obligation for royal subjects to render military service, eventually converted into a regular tax.

*faqīh* (Ar.): a specialist in Islamic law.

*fatwā* (Ar.): a legal/theological *responsum* or opinion regarding a hypothetical or actual scenario, dictated by an Islamic jurist.

*fideiussor* (Lat.): a guarantor.

*fitna* (Ar.): “struggle,” usually denoting civil war or war between Islamic regimes.

*franquitas* (Lat.): an exemption from the obligation to pay standard royal taxes.

*fuero* (Cast.; Cat. *fur*; Lat. *forum*): a law or legal code.

*funduq* (Ar.): see *alfondicus*.

*ghazw* (Ar.; Rom. *razzia*): a raid.

*guidaticum* (Lat.): a letter of protection or safe transit issued by the king.

*hājib* (Ar.): “chamberlain”; the title favored by the *taifa* kings.

*ḥisba* (Ar.): public morality, including sexual behavior and commercial law.

*ḥisn/qarya* (Ar.): a settlement structure of villages and a strong-point or fortress, characteristic of northern and eastern al-Andalus.

*homicidium* (Lat.): the fine for the charge of murder.

*homines* (Lat., sing. *homo*): literally, “men,” used to refer to the inhabitants, frequently the Christian inhabitants, of a locale.

*honor* (Lat., Rom.): an administrative/fiscal grant given in exchange for military service.

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*hubūs* (Ar.): a pious endowment typically in service of charity.

*huerta* (Cast.): a market-garden.

*imām* (Ar.): an Islamic prayer-leader.

*infante* (Cast.; Cat. *infant*): a prince; a child, uncle or brother of the king.

*infanzon* (Cast., Lat.; Cat. *cavaller*; Rom. *ynfançon*): a member of the broad Aragonese nobility, a group which enjoyed special legal and fiscal status.

*jenetus* (Lat.; Rom. *jenet*; Cat. *genet*; from Ar. Banū Zanāta): Muslim mercenary; light cavalryman.

*jihād* (Ar.): moral struggle; “Holy War.”

*jizya* (Ar.): the poll-tax paid by non-Muslim subjects to Islamic rulers in lieu of military service.

*judería* (Cast.; Cat. *call*): Jewish neighborhood or ghetto, often contiguous with but not equivalent to *aljama*; cf. *morería*.

*judex* (Lat.): a judge.

*juratus* (Lat.): a juror, a sworn member of a council or tribunal.

*jurisperitus* (Lat.): a jurist, a legal expert.

*justicia* (Lat.): judge appointed by royal order from among the *infanzones* of a town, over whom he had jurisdiction.

*justicia de Aragón* (Cast.): originally the chief magistrate of Zaragoza; after the *Privilegium generale* (1287), became protector of the Aragonese nobility’s rights vis-à-vis the king.

*khaṣṣa* (Ar.): the aristocracy in Islamic society; a loosely defined class to be distinguished from the *‘amma*.

*kharja* (Ar.): a rhyming couplet, typically in the vernacular, which closes a poem.

*kunya* (Ar.): an agnomen or surname.

*lezda* (Lat., Rom.; Cat. *leuda*): a tax on the transport of goods.

*madhhab* (Ar.): a school of interpretation of Islamic law; medieval Sunni Islam recognized four such schools as legitimate.

*maṣjid al-jāmi‘* (Ar.): congregational mosque, used for Friday prayers; also commonly site where Islamic justice is dispensed, where the community treasury is kept.

*merinus* (Lat.): a royal or seigniorial official who enforced judicial sentences.

*merum et mixtum imperium* (Lat.): civil and criminal jurisdiction.

*monetaticus* (Lat.; Cat. *monetatge*): an extraordinary royal tax levied on the occasion of minting coinage.

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- morería* (Cast.): Muslim neighborhood or ghetto, often contiguous with but not equivalent to *aljama*; cf. *judería*.
- mostassaf* (Lat., Rom.; from Ar. *muḥtasib*): a market official in the Crown of Aragon.
- muḥtasib* (Ar.): Islamic public morality officer and/or market inspector; see *ḥisba*.
- mudejarismo* (Cast.): the modern study of *mudéjares*.
- muftī* (Ar.): Islamic scholar and legist.
- muwallad* (Ar.): a convert to Islam in the post-Conquest period.
- nisba* (Ar.): an element in traditional Arabic personal name which refers to place of origin, profession, etc.
- parias* (Lat., Rom.): tribute paid by *taifa* rulers to neighboring Christian princes.
- peyta* (Lat., Rom.): a tax assessed on movable and immovable property.
- portaticum* (Lat.; Cat. *portatge*; Rom. *portazgo*) a tax on the transport of goods.
- porterius* (Lat.): literally, “gate-keeper”; an agent of the king.
- primicias* (Lat.): “first fruits” tax levied by the Church.
- procurator* (Lat.; Rom. *procurador*): an agent or representative.
- qā'id* (Ar.): local military commander in al-Andalus.
- qāḍī* (Ar.): Islamic magistrate.
- qaṣba* (Ar.): settlement type characteristic of the Atlas mountains and the western Sahara.
- quinta* (Lat.): “the fifth,” a tax levied on war booty.
- raval* (Rom.; from Ar. *al-rabad*): an extra-mural suburb, often denoting the neighborhood where Muslims were required to relocate after conquest.
- realenchus* (Lat.; Rom. *realengo*): adjective describing property held directly from the king.
- redemptio exercitus* (Lat.): a monetary payment made in lieu of *exercitus* service.
- religiosus* (Lat.): a member of the clergy.
- ribāṭ* (Ar.): an Islamic “fortress-monastery,” typically located in frontier zones, where Muslims could temporarily lead an ascetic life and fulfill duty of *jihād*.
- sabasala* (Lat., Rom.; from Ar. *ṣāhib al-ṣalāh*): a *mudéjar* official.
- sabasalanía* (Lat.): the jurisdictional and/or geographic competency of a *sabasala*.

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*ṣadaqa* (Ar.): Islamic alms tax.

*sayon* (Rom., Lat. *sagio*): a “sargeant-at-arms,” at the service of the municipal judiciary, who sometimes served as executioner.

*scribania* (Lat., Rom.): the office and competencies of the scribe.

*scriptor* (Lat.): an officially appointed scribe.

*sharī‘a* (Ar.): Islamic law.

*shirka* (Ar.): one of a number of sharecropping arrangements permissible under Islamic law.

*subbaiulus* (Lat.): a subordinate or deputy of the local *baiulus*.

*sulṭān* (Ar.): in Islam, secular political authority.

*sunna* (Ar.): the “tradition” which forms one of the basis of Islamic belief and law.

*superiunctarius* (Lat.): a regional magistrate, a sub-official of the *justicia de Aragón*.

*taifa* (Cast.; from Ar. *mulūk al-ṭawā’if*): any one of the small principalities which came into being with the disintegration of the Caliphate of Córdoba.

*thaghr* (Ar., pl. *thughūr*): a frontier zone, typically between the Islamic and non-Islamic worlds.

*tributus* (Lat.): a tax.

*‘ulamā’* (Ar., sing. *‘ālim*): learned or erudite Muslims.

*universitas* (Lat.): the community of inhabitants of a given place.

Frequently referred to Christians only.

*‘ushr* (Ar.): an Islamic 10 per cent income tax.

*vicarius* (Lat.; Cat. *veguer*): a judge with civil and criminal jurisdiction appointed on comital (later royal) authority over one of eighteen *veguerías* in Catalonia.

*waqf* (Ar.): see *hubūs*.

*wazīr* (Ar.): prime minister, vizier.

*zalmedina* (Lat., from Ar. *ṣāhib al-madina*): a municipal official in Christian administration, whose competencies resembled those of the *muḥtasib*.

# ABBREVIATIONS

ACA	Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó
ACB	Arxiu de la Catedral de Barcelona
ACTo	Arxiu Capitular de Tortosa
ACTu	Archivo Capitular de Tudela
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional
AHPZ	Archivo Histórico Provincial de Zaragoza
AHTo	Arxiu Històric de Tortosa
Ar.	Arabic
BMA	María Blanca Basáñez Villaluenga, <i>Las morerías aragonesas durante el reinado de Jaime II</i> (Teruel: Instituto de Estudios Turolenses, 1999)
C.	Cancillería/Cancelleria Reial
ca.	caja/capsa
CAI	<i>Chronica Adefonsi imperatoris</i>
carp.	carpeta
Cast.	Castilian
Cat.	Catalan
CFCP	T. Muñoz y Romero, <i>Colección de fueros municipales y cartas pueblas de las [sic] reinos de Castilla. León. Corona de Aragón y Navarra</i> (Valladolid: Lex Nova, 1977 [1847])
CISPV	Cartulario de San Pedro el Viejo
Cod.	Códice/Còdex
CODOIN	P. de Bofarull y Mascaró, <i>Colección de documentos inéditos de la Corona de Aragón</i> (Barcelona: José Eusebio Montfort, 1847–1910)
COR	<i>Crónica de once reyes</i>
CR	Cartes Reials/Cartas Reales
CRD	Cartes Reials Diplomàtiques
CSIC	Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas
EP	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> (new edition)
ET <sup>CD</sup>	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> (CD-ROM)
f.	folio: (r)ecto and (v)erso

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*Abbreviations*

<i>Fori</i>	<i>Fori Aragonum</i> (Lichtenstein: Topos Verlag, 1979)
<i>Fuero</i>	Gunnar, Tilander ed., <i>Los fueros de Aragón</i> (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1937)
GP	Gran Priorat
Lat.	Latin
<i>leg.</i>	<i>legajo</i>
mod.	modern
no.	number
OM	Órdenes Militares/Ordres Militars
<i>PCG</i>	<i>Primera crónica general</i>
pergs	pergaminos/pergamíns
RAH	Real Academia de la Historia
reg.	registro/registre
Rom.	Romance
sec.	section
sing.	singular
pl.	plural
UZ	Universidad de Zaragoza
<i>Vidal</i>	Gunnar Tilander, ed. <i>Vidal mayor</i> (Lund: Håkan Ohlssons Boktryckeri, 1956)