

ROBERT IGNATIUS BURNS

# Islam Under the Crusaders

*Colonial Survival in the  
Thirteenth-Century Kingdom of Valencia*



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ISLAM UNDER THE  
CRUSADERS

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# ISLAM UNDER THE CRUSADERS

*Colonial Survival in the Thirteenth-Century  
Kingdom of Valencia*

Robert Ignatius Burns, S.J.

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We cannot sell the Moors and Mooresses,  
Yet beheading them would gain us nothing.  
Let them live among us, since we hold the sovereignty;  
We'll be guests in their houses, and they will serve us.

*Song of the Cid*  
(canto i)

I have many Saracens in my country. My dynasty kept them formerly in Aragon and Catalonia; I keep them in the kingdoms of Majorca and Valencia. All retain their Law just as well as if they were in the country of the Saracens.

King James I, *Book of Deeds*  
(ch. 437)



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## PREFACE

SEEN IN THEIR full range, the crusades were far more than the brief and localized outbursts which tend to monopolize the term. They comprised a sustained confrontation between East and West, inherited to a surprising degree from distant Hellenic times, though restated in terms of its legatees, the religious communities of Islam and Christendom. At one time or another they raged around the whole inner perimeter of the Mediterranean world. While less important to the vast Islamic cosmos, they became Europe's history as viewed from one vantage. After the manner of a musical theme, recurring in multiple idioms, they underwent the wildest transpositions of extrinsic form and mood in their millennial evolution. At their heart, below the brave campaigns or the barbaric idiosyncrasies at once foreign and fascinating to the modern mind—the romantic froth which became the stuff of novels and drama—the crusades represented an encounter between two Mediterranean societies, fellow inheritors of the Hellenic past, drawn together at almost every level, yet simultaneously repelled by their respective, engulfing ideologies.

As if they were a battling married couple, basically incompatible yet unable to disengage, the two worlds lived side by side, erupting or subsiding in eccentric schedule. The drama changed its locale, replaced its cast, varied its costuming and scenery, translated its language, and provocatively paraphrased its script, like some frantic experimental theater, yet clung to its identity. No dialogue of cultures, no chapter of "race" prejudice or persecution so combines intense feeling, unremitting action, broad but shifting scale, and expanse of time as does this perennial seesaw of conquest between Cross and Crescent.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> With men like Ramón Menéndez Pidal and Johannes Vincke, I find the traditionalist concept of crusade or holy war as excluding Spain to be inadequate both to historical facts and to logic. Like Muḥammad 'Inān (Enan), dean of modern Muslim historians on Spain and the Christian-Islamic conflict, I see more sense in the above position, though it distresses the traditionalists. The evolution of the concepts of crusade and holy war, and their applicability to the early phases of the struggle or to Spain, has inspired its own bibliography. The point at which Islam and Christendom became opposed cultures, as distinguished from areas divided by religious differences or clashing in almost wholly political wars, is not

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The inner reality of crusades as confrontation consequently lies as much in their colonial interims as in the brave show of battlefields. Like the overt military story, this colonial development metamorphosed into a hundred shapes from generation to generation and according to the changing complexion of the communities involved. To appreciate it, one must seize upon a circumstanced moment, freezing and dissecting it painstakingly in the historian's laboratory. Strangely, the Holy Land does not seem to offer a proper specimen. Such able specialists as Richard, Munro, and Prawer separately experimented there without bringing away more than bare outlines of the subjected society and its interaction with the conquerors.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps Cahen's observation helps explain the failure—that its Muslims and Christians experienced relatively little interpenetration or mutual understanding, and less social intermingling than in Sicily or Spain.<sup>3</sup>

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easy to fix. The Valencian crusade, of course, was formally proclaimed by the papacy, involved the usual crusade privileges, attracted many foreign combatants, and received its share of the Holy Land Tithe.

<sup>2</sup> Jean Richard, *Le royaume latin de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1953), ch. 10. Dana C. Munro, *The Kingdom of the Crusaders* (Port Washington, [1935] 1966), ch. 5. Emmanuel Guillaume Rey, in his *Les colonies franques de Syrie au xième et xiième siècles* (Paris, 1883), devoted ch. 5 to Muslims and other natives, excluding the Christian natives treated in ch. 4, yet could muster only ten pages, and those drawn largely from Ibn Jubayr. Claude Cahen, in *La Syrie du nord à l'époque des croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche* (Paris, 1940), found that a chapter sufficed to cover the question of contact and interpenetration (part 2, ch. 5; but see below, n. 3). Joshua Prawer's studies, like "The Settlement of the Latins in Jerusalem" (*Speculum*, xxvii [1952], 490-503), his "Colonization Activities in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem" (*Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, xxix [1951], 1063-1118), his "Étude de quelques problèmes agraires et sociaux d'une seigneurie croisée au xiiième siècle" (*Byzantion*, xxii [1952], 5-61, xxiii [1953], 143-170), and the brief chapter in his *Histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem* (rev. and trans. G. Nahon, 2 vols. [Paris, 1969-1970], 1, 502-535) with its sequel *The Crusaders' Kingdom: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1972), pp. 46-59, have little to offer about Muslim subjects of the crusaders. Some excellent accounts of the crusader kingdom virtually ignore its Muslim population. The most ambitious effort to date, Aharon Ben-Ami's *Social Change in a Hostile Environment: The Crusaders' Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Princeton, 1969), is able to do little more than point up the conclusions of standard authors in the framework and terminology of the sociologist, concentrating on changes introduced within both independent politico-cultural systems because of the confrontation rather than penetrating the problem of colonial imposition on a subject people.

<sup>3</sup> Claude Cahen, "Crusades," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2d edn. rev., 4 vols. to date (Leiden, 1960ff.), II, 66; R. C. Smail agrees, discussing at length the school of

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The fallen Valencian kingdom on Spain's eastern coast (roughly the same size as the kingdom of Jerusalem in its prime)<sup>4</sup> during the central thirteenth century does offer such an opportunity. The expanse of territory taken raises the Valencian experience above mere local history, while its compact organization allows exploration in exhaustive nuance. The period catches the urbanized Mediterranean West at a moment of technological advance, intellectual sophistication, administrative competence, aggressive expansionism, and self-consciousness, in patterns which differentiated it ever more sharply from its companion civilization, Islam; crusader Aragon was swirling along on these currents of change. The time span enters as a factor here—one generation or some fifty years of evolution; the story comes to a close when the crusaders are old men, watching their sons taking over their world. The deaths of Peter III of Aragon (1285), Alfonso X of Castile (1284), and Abū Yūsuf of Marinid Morocco (1286) mark the end of an era. Finally, Valencia's maximum Mudejarism affords the genuine colonialist amalgam—a dissident majority intimidated by an alien conqueror's military-administrative overgrid and reduced to near invisibility by the dominant

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French historians which defends the contrary point of view, in *Crusading Warfare (1097-1193)* (Cambridge, 1956), ch. 3, esp. parts 1 and 4. H. G. Preston came to the same conclusion in *Rural Conditions in the Kingdom of Jerusalem during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Philadelphia, 1903), pp. 26-30. After his *Syrie du nord*, Cahen explored the scanty materials on landlord-peasant relationship in "Notes sur l'histoire des croisades et de l'orient latin: le régime rural syrien au temps de la domination franque," *Bulletin de la faculté des lettres de Strasbourg*, xxix (1951), 286-310, and in "La féodalité et les institutions politiques de l'orient latin," *Atti del convegno di scienze morali, storiche, e filologiche* (Rome, 1957), 167-197. The problems of interpretation and of insufficient documentation underlay his "Indigènes et croisés, quelques mots à propos d'un médecin d'Amaury et de Saladin," *Syria*, xv (1934), 351-360.

<sup>4</sup> Palestine from Tyre and Dan in the north to below Gaza and Beersheba is 150 miles, and from above Beirut to Gaza some 180 miles; the width varies from 28 miles (Acre to the sea of Galilee) to 55 miles (Gaza to the Dead Sea), increasing very much, of course, beyond the Jordan. In comparison, Valencia from its northern border down to Murcia city—the area conquered by James I—is 180 miles; the width varies from 40 to 60, both measurements being typical. The Holy Land of the crusaders had withered to a much smaller remnant by the thirteenth century and was about to die. At its best it had never been so purely Islamic in its population as Valencia, since it accommodated large and dynamic non-Muslim minorities, particularly in the cities.



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minority's quiet arrogance in intruding, as a superior norm, their own social and religious patterns.

This book approaches Islam's predicament under a crusader regime, and the mystery of its acculturative devolution from a proud, celebrated community into a provincial appendage of Aragon, by analyzing the elements of its survival in a series of steps. First, it sketches Islamic Valencia's political, geographical, economic, and social contours at the moment of the crusaders' impact; these preliminary adumbrations take on detailed substance as the work progresses. Secondly, it places the community in its postcrusade constitutional setting—a framework which surrounded all its social and individual life—proposing the result to be at once traditional and unique in Spanish Mudejarism. Thirdly, it pursues this analysis of social processes and dynamic forms down through the religious, educational, and juridical matrices. Finally it dwells upon the Mudejar in his political dimension as he finds his place in the Christian feudal order at the nobiliary and patrician levels; and culminates with a chapter which probes below the political sphere to reveal the interlocking “establishment” comprising the community's inmost strength.

Though the book covers a great deal of ground, economic realities have reduced its original version by half, stripping away extraneous themes like Muslim-Christian relations and brutally excising a welter of detailed subthemes like Mudejar dress, diet, and language, the role of the Jews as intermediaries between the two societies, and the process by which town *moreñas* formed. The essential story of how the subject Islamic majority survived as a society, and on what terms, now stands uncluttered. The achievement has exacted its price. It has necessitated the amputation of all consideration of tax records, which not only reveal the revenue structure and economic life of town and country Moors of all classes, especially the farmer majority at their immemorial rounds, but which also disclose myriad homely glimpses of Mudejar life. Early chapters merely adumbrate these topics, reserving their details to two companion volumes in preparation: *Medieval Colonialism* and *The Crusader-Muslim Predicament*. This book must also refrain from plunging into the correlative phenomena of emigrants and immigrants, the hemorrhage of Muslim population to North Africa

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versus their deliberate importation into Valencia. A major subject by itself, population movement raises in turn the moot problem of expulsion and requires construction of an interpretative chronology of the several Valencian revolts. The present work may reflect some attitudes implicit from knowledge of the patterns by which Mu-dejar presence diminished.

Above all, though this book never ceases to deal with an inter-meshing of two peoples and their social forms, it has no room to do so explicitly. It focuses on the Islamic society and especially on its more obvious boundary-maintaining mechanisms. It omits the darker story of prejudice and persecution, mutual tensions and alienations, restrictive legislation, acculturative intrusion, osmotic interborrowings, movements of conversion and apostasy within each camp, the kingdom-wide riots at the end of King James's reign, and all the assimilative-antagonistic milieu. Such omissions demand an ascetic response from the reader, a reasonable willingness to forego subsidiary themes of real importance, abstaining so as to build in orderly progression the essential context.<sup>5</sup> Christian-Muslim confrontation will provide yet another sequel in this series.

My previous book, *The Crusader Kingdom of Valencia: Reconstruction on a Thirteenth-Century Frontier*,<sup>6</sup> showed how the conquerors managed to prescind from Muslim omnipresence and to lay down a psychological base for the colonialist regime by means of the handy "church"; this term church covered a congeries of institutions, services, centers, and personnel, representing a multitude of disparate, autonomous energy sources and acting as a nucleus which embodied the settlers' values, customs, aspirations, and springs of action. Here the institutional, symbolic, and human planes converged with formidable dynamism to stamp the conquered land as both Christian and European. *Crusader Kingdom* approached the settlers' total social order—not excluding crop variety, theater, or abortive university—as observable from a particularly well-docu-

<sup>5</sup> For this reason, too, the spirited debate over Hispanic-Islamic cultural exchange and interpenetration enters this book only tangentially; its escalating bibliography is still dominated by older authors like Asín Palacios, Castro, Menéndez Pidal, and Sánchez-Albornoz. The same is true of the western-approaches-to-Islam bibliography, so ably represented by writers like d'Alverny, Daniel, Kritzeck, Malvezzi, Southern, Sweetman, and Monneret de Villard.

<sup>6</sup> 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1967).

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mented vantage point. Though readers of the present study would profit from familiarity with that background, they can also dispense with it. *Islam under the Crusaders* is designed to stand by itself, requiring no previous initiation as long as the reader remains conscious of the complex European society hovering at the Mudejar perimeter, pressing and distorting Islamic activity. Eventually this series will culminate in a volume on the colonial society itself, at which point the full range of interacting factors can be appreciated. Meanwhile it has been a privilege to rescue the people we are about to meet and to give them passports into our own lives. They have much to say to us.

MUDEJAR studies proper are scanty, the later Morisco problem absorbing the attention of historians from Janer (1857) and Boronat (1901) through Halperín Donghi (1956) and Lapeyre (1959) to Fuster (1962) and Reglá (1964). Morisco studies have enjoyed a special renaissance during the past two decades.<sup>7</sup> Nineteenth-century historians did occupy themselves now and again with Mudejarism—Circourt (1846), Pedregal Fantini (1898), and especially the solid Fernández y González (1866)—laboring with sparse materials and unsatisfactory results. In our own day Cagigas attempted an overview of the subject, unfortunately losing himself in the allied politico-military encounter.<sup>8</sup> Though the task seemed formidable,

<sup>7</sup> Florencio Janer, *Condición social de los moriscos de España, causas de su expulsión y consecuencias que este produjo en el orden económico y político* (Madrid, 1857). Pascual Boronat y Barrachina, *Los moriscos españoles y su expulsión, estudio histórico-crítico*, 2 vols. (Valencia, 1901). Tulio Halperín Donghi, "Un conflicto nacional: moriscos y cristianos viejos en Valencia," *Cuadernos de historia de España*, xxiv-xxv (1955), 5-115, and xxv-xxvi (1957), 82-250; "Recouvrements de civilisation: les morisques du royaume de Valence au xv<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Annales, économies, sociétés, civilisations*, xi (1956), 154-182. Henri Lapeyre, *Géographie de l'Espagne morisque* (Paris, 1959). Juan Fuster, *Poetes, moriscos, y capellans* (Valencia, 1962). Juan Reglá Campistol, *Estudios sobre los moriscos* (Valencia, 1964). See also the complementary volume by Juan R. Torres Morera, *Repoblación del reino de Valencia después de la expulsión de los moriscos* (Valencia, 1969). Rachel Arié surveys the flowering of Morisco studies after the appearance of Fernand Braudel's brilliant *La méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (Paris, 1949), in "Les études sur les morisques en Espagne à la lumière de travaux récents," *Revue des études islamiques*, xxxv (1967), 225-229.

<sup>8</sup> Isidro de las Cagigas, *Los mudejares*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1948-1949). A. [Anne M.J.A.], comte de Circourt, *Histoire des mores, mudejares et des morisques, ou des arabes d'Espagne sous la domination des chrétiens*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1845-1848). José Pedregal y

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interest always remained high, expressing itself largely in journal publication. Macho Ortega examined the early Renaissance Mudéjars of upland Aragon proper, confining himself to two articles, later reissued in separate cover (1922). Estenaga published an address on Toledo's subject Moors (1924); and López Martínez confectioned a light work on those of Seville (1935). The Tortosa region along Valencia's northern border attracted some attention from Font y Rius (1953), and from Liauzu using Lacarra's documents (1968), but especially from Bayerri, whose eight-volume history of Tortosa offered animadversions from time to time on the Mudéjar minority (1933-1960). Orti Belmonte, editing the Cordova code of 1241 that was so influential in Andalusia, especially in its Sevillian form, added comments on provisions affecting the minorities, but allowed only some ten pages to the thirteenth-century Mudéjar (1954). Researching the Murcian conquest and settlement, Torres Fontes compiled an article on its Mudéjars (1961), supplementing his more general excursion into the later Mudéjar-Morisco problem (1960). Mobarec Asfura essayed a juridical interpretation of the Mudéjar condition (1961). Recently Ledesma Rubio has commented briefly on Mudéjarism in western Aragon (1968), while Ladero Quesada has treated more extensively the late fifteenth-century situation in Castile (1969), and Lourie has offered an article on the free Mudéjars of the Balearics (1970). Special topics like Mudéjar costume have focused the efforts of scholars like Arié, while Sanchis Guarner and Vernet have opened fresh linguistic vistas. Little by little, though rarely with an eye on the thirteenth century, preliminary studies about the Spanish Mudéjar are accumulating.<sup>9</sup>

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Fantini, *Estado social y cultural de los mozárabes y mudéjares españoles* (Seville, 1898). Francisco Fernández y González, *Estado social y político de los mudéjares de Castilla, considerados en sí mismos y respecto de la civilización española* (Madrid, 1866).

<sup>9</sup> Francisco Macho y Ortega, "Condición social de los mudéjares aragoneses (siglo xv)," *Memorias de la facultad de filosofía y letras de la universidad de Zaragoza*, 1 (1922-1923), 137-231, and his "Documentos relativos a la condición social y jurídica de los mudéjares aragoneses," *Revista de ciencias jurídicas y sociales*, v (1922), 143-160, 444-464. Narciso Estenaga Echevarría, "Condición social de los mudéjares en Toledo durante la edad media," *Real academia de bellas artes y ciencias históricas de Toledo*, vi (1924), 5-27. Celestino López Martínez, *Mudéjares y moriscos sevillanos: Páginas históricas* (Seville, 1935). José M. Font y Rius, "La comarca de Tortosa a raíz de la reconquista cristiana (1148), notas sobre su fiso-

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On the most promising sweep of territory, Valencia, a handful of articles holds the field. Gual Camarena, drawing especially from the *cartas pueblas* and ranging from the thirteenth up into the sixteenth centuries, contributed two able essays (1949, 1959), matched in quality by Piles Ros's social study of crown Moors in the fifteenth century (1949) and Roca Traver's review of the first century of Mudejarism (1952). For northern Valencia, García y García compiled a seven-page appendix to his book on Christians from data in Mudejar charters (1943). García Sanz published a brief companion-piece for Castellón (1952) and Grau Monserrat a larger article on the same area, unfortunately derivative in its thirteenth-century parts. I have explored aspects of the story in ten articles, containing much material not included in this book (1960-1971).<sup>10</sup> This meager

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nomía político-social," *Cuadernos de historia de España*, xix (1953), 104-128. Jean-Guy Liauzu, "La condition des musulmans dans l'Aragon chrétien au xie et xiiie siècles," *Hespéris-Tamuda*, ix (1968), 185-200. Enrique Bayerri y Bertoméu, *Historia de Tortosa y su comarca*, 8 vols. to date (Tortosa, 1933ff.). Miguel Ángel Orti Belmonte, "El fuero de Córdoba y las clases sociales en la ciudad: mudéjares y judíos en la edad media," *Boletín de la real academia de Córdoba*, xxv (1954), 5-94. Juan Torres Fontes, "Los mudéjares murcianos en el siglo xiii," *Murgetana*, xvii (1961), 57-90, and as repaged offprint. Norma Mobarec Asfura, "Condición jurídica de los moros en la alta edad media española," *Revista chilena de historia del derecho*, ii (1961), 36-52. M. L. Ledesma Rubio, "La población mudéjar en la vega baja del Jalón," *Miscelánea ofrecida al ilmo. sr. Dr. J. M. Lacarra y de Miguel* (Zaragoza, 1968), 335-351. M. A. Ladero Quesada, *Los mudéjares de Castilla en tiempo de Isabel I* (Valladolid, 1969). Elena Lourie, "Free Moslems in the Balearics under Christian Rule in the Thirteenth Century," *Speculum*, xlv (1970), 624-649. Work currently in progress includes a doctoral dissertation on the riverine Mudejars of thirteenth-century Tortosa by Roser Argeni de Ribó; some attention to the neo-Mudejars of Málaga in a study of the local *Repartimiento* by the archivist Francisco Bejarano Robles; a volume on Christian attitudes toward the Mudejars of Aragon by Elena Lourie; and an article by Pierre Guichard on the Mudejar barony of Crevillente, a Castilian enclave which entered the kingdom of Valencia at the end of the thirteenth century and lost its Mudejar lord early in the fourteenth.

<sup>10</sup> Miguel Gual Camarena, "Mudéjares valencianos, aportaciones para su estudio," *Saitabi*, vii (1949), 165-190; "Los mudéjares valencianos en la época del Magnánimo," *IV Congrés d'història de la corona d'Aragó* (Palma de Mallorca, 1959), pp. 467-494. Leopoldo Piles Ros, "La situación social de los moros de realengo en la Valencia del siglo xv," *Estudios de historia social de España*, i (1949), 225-274. Francisco A. Roca Traver, "Un siglo de vida mudéjar en la Valencia medieval (1238-1338)," *EEMCA*, v (1952), 115-208. Honorio García y García, *Estado económico-social de los vasallos en la gobernación foral de Castellón* (Vich, 1943), pp. 70-76. Arcadio García Sanz, "Mudéjares y moriscos en Castellón," *BSCC*, xxviii

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direct bibliography for early Valencia can be fleshed out with subsidiary, fragmentary, incidental, or derivative exercises such as my notes and bibliography cite. Thus Rodrigo y Pertegás described the topography of the later *morería*, Arribas Palau a fifteenth-century piratical episode, Danvila and Ardit Lucas the fifteenth-century sack of the capital's *morería*, and Mateu y Llopis some numismatic and nomenclatural sources, while Glick touched tangentially on Mudejar irrigation.<sup>11</sup> The list of offerings is very short, and its quality uneven. Roca Traver rightly comments that, while Valencian Mozarabs and Jews have received ample attention, her Mudejars "have been the most neglected" group. Lapeyre's monograph on Spanish Moriscos complains particularly that Valencia's thirteenth-century Mudejar development, "the decisive" stage, "has not yet been completely elucidated," to the detriment of Morisco studies.<sup>12</sup> Little wonder that modern historians, unable to avoid comment on so large a piece of the Spanish story, have generalized unwisely on attendant problems of Mudejar Valencia like expulsion, tolerance, and the root identity of both peoples.

Meanwhile, researches into precrusade Islamic Valencia, fragmentary at best, have resulted in articles by men like Chabás, Gui-

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(1952), 94-114. Manuel Grau Monserrat, "Mudéjares castellonenses," *BRABLB*, xxix (1961-1962), 251-275. Robert Ignatius Burns, see esp., "Journey from Islam: Incipient Cultural Transition in the Conquered Kingdom of Valencia (1240-1280)," *Speculum*, xxxv (1960), 337-356; "Social Riots on the Christian-Moslem Frontier: Thirteenth-Century Valencia," *American Historical Review*, lxvi (1961), 378-400; "Irrigation Taxes in Early Mudejar Valencia: The Problem of the *Alfarda*," *Speculum*, xlv (1969), 560-567; "Baths and Caravanserais in Crusader Valencia," *Speculum*, xlv (1971), 443-458; and "Christian-Islamic Confrontation in the West: The Thirteenth-Century Dream of Conversion," *American Historical Review*, lxxvi (1971), 1386-1434.

<sup>11</sup> José Rodrigo y Pertegás, "La morería de Valencia, ensayo de descripción topográfico-histórica de la misma," *BRAH*, lxxxvi (1925), 229-251. Mariano Arribas Palau, *Musulmanes de Valencia apresados cerca de Ibiza en 1413* (Tetuán, 1955). Manuel Danvila y Collado, "Saco de la morería de Valencia en 1455," *El archivo*, iii (1889), 124-129. Manuel Ardit Lucas, "El asalto a la morería de Valencia en el año 1455," *Ligazas*, ii (1970), 127-138. Felipe Mateu y Llopis, "La repoblación musulmana del reino de Valencia en el siglo xiii y las monedas de tipo almohade," *BSCC*, xxviii (1952), 29-43; and his "Nómina de los musulmanes de las montañas de Coll de Rates del reino de Valencia en 1409," *Al-Andalus*, vi (1942), 299-335. Thomas F. Glick, *Irrigation and Society in Medieval Valencia* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970).

<sup>12</sup> Roca Traver, "Vida mudéjar," p. 116: "el mas descuidado." Lapeyre, *Géographie de l'Espagne morisque*, p. 27.

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chard, Ribera Tarragó, Torres Balbás, and Vernet, together with the surveys of Piles Ibars and Sanchis Guarner, but they have tended to stop short of the murky Almohad twelfth and thirteenth centuries.<sup>13</sup> Huici laments this "sad" lack, as well as the paucity of source materials on institutions and society, in his multivolume history of Islamic Valencia (1969-1970). The pattern of available Arabic sources confines his own account almost exclusively to a dynastic-military chronicle at the most elevated ruling levels; in this respect his hundred closing pages devoted to the Almohad period can only continue the annalistic data of his excellent political history of the Almohad empire (1956-1957).<sup>14</sup> This period consequently awaits any illumination the early Mudejar era can cast back on the pre-crusade generation. Around these several shores washes an ocean of Islamic researches, while from Hispanist ports have gone forth exploratory studies like Dufourcq's recent opus concerning external relations between Hispanic and Islamic countries.<sup>15</sup> The study of all these areas may draw benefit from the Valencia story.

THE TASK OF excavating early Mudejar Valencia falls to the Hispanist rather than to the Arabist. Pertinent Arabic documents are rare to the point of being negligible. Survivals such as the marriage contract or the rebel's surrender agreement cited at appropriate

<sup>13</sup> Multiple articles by Chabás, Ribera y Tarragó, and Torres Balbás will be cited in footnotes; Guichard's theories will receive special attention. The standard older work by Andrés Piles Ibars, *Valencia árabe* (Valencia, 1901), was never completed. Manuel Sanchis i Guarner displaces it with his "Época musulmana," last segment of the symposium *Història del país Valencià*, ed. Miquel Tarradell Mateu, 1 vol. to date (Barcelona, 1965).

<sup>14</sup> Ambrosio Huici Miranda, *Historia musulmana de Valencia y su región, novedades y rectificaciones*, 3 vols. (Valencia, 1969-1970); *Historia política del imperio almohade* (Tetuán, 1956-1957); on the deficiency of primary and secondary materials, see I, 8-10.

<sup>15</sup> Charles Emmanuel Dufourcq, *L'Espagne catalane et le Maghrib aux xiii<sup>e</sup> et xiv<sup>e</sup> siècles, de la bataille de Las Navas de Tolosa (1212) à l'avènement du sultan mérinide Abou-l-Hasan (1313)* (Paris, 1966). The standard authors on North Africa and Islamic Spain appear in my footnotes. The only good general history of Islamic Spain, by Évariste Lévi-Provençal, comes to an end with the fall of the early caliphate; I cite its Spanish version in preference to the French because it has been revised in translation and is more accessible in libraries: *España musulmana hasta la caída del califato de Córdoba (711-1031 de J.C.)*, trans. Emilio García Gómez, 2 vols., in *Historia de España*, ed. Ramón Menéndez Pidal, 12 vols. to date (Madrid, 1957ff.), IV and V.

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places in the text do little more than add frills to the substance already in hand. Careful Arabists like Ribera and Huici have gone over the ground minutely, and a generation of archivists has kept a sharp eye out for these precious relicts, to no great avail. This is not surprising. Islam did not organize in the corporative way of the West, where archives consequently proliferated. Her Spanish sector dissolved into tumult and death in the thirteenth century, even the Granada rally not serving to recoup the loss. Beyond the Mudejar pale, Muslims seemed unconcerned with the inner life of their lost brothers; a sufficiency of fragmentation and disaster distracted their own attention. The Valencian silence nonetheless seems more encompassing than one expects after the finds elsewhere in Spain. Literary exercises do exist—rhetorical letters, histories, geographies, and poems. They contribute something to this study, but their content, often conventional and inflated, is soon exhausted and in any case largely applies to background or mood. By way of background, too, extraneous materials can serve. Because the Islamic world differed strikingly from place to place, however, one cannot merely transfer apparently similar terms or institutions; but with due caution comparative material about Muslims and their institutions from the Islamic East, Christian Sicily, and especially cognate North Africa may illumine a practice or supply an analogy.<sup>16</sup>

The researcher, foiled on the Islamic side, finds himself thrown back upon Christian sources, which prove unexpectedly rich. Archival originals by the hundreds, law codes, privileges, Dominican reports, trial records, tax lists, memoirs, and treaties lie at hand. The variegated picture of Mudejar life which emerges tempts one to give a running comparison with the similar status of Christians under Islam, whether to indicate a model for crusader attitudes or to demonstrate a parallel mentality common to Mediterranean politics whose foundations antedated both peoples. Though mutual causality and osmotic imitation were surely at work on this Muslim-Christian frontier, extension of inquiry in that direction would overburden a book already heavily laden. Finally, though the documentation at hand demands of its interpreter expertise concerning

<sup>16</sup> Numbers of poets, historians, geographers, and the like are cited for example in the first five chapters; very few of these voices come from within the Mudejar community, and some are distant in place or time.



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the Arago-Catalan medieval scene, the discussion must nevertheless touch on myriad aspects of medieval Islamic life; one or other interpretation will inevitably reveal hidden chasms of nescience. No man can be omniscient; Islamologists must content themselves with the Hispanic plenty.

PROCEDURAL minutiae demand a word. I shall not recapitulate the paleographical and chronological problems discussed in the preface to *Crusader Valencia*, except to note that the nativity and incarnational calendars coincided from December 25 to March 25, rendering many dates ambiguous. The complex question of the several moneys current and their relative values is less pertinent here; the most common unit was the Valencian solidus, of which about 370 comprised a knight's annual revenue. Something over three solidi equaled a silver besant. Land measures varied according to extrinsic factors like productivity or water supply; the most common of these variables was the fanecate (831 square meters), six of which made a cafiz, with six cafizes comprising a jovate. My conviction that the Valencian Mozarabs had disappeared as a community in Islamic Valencia, though some do not share it, explains the infrequent reference to them.<sup>17</sup> The bracketing dates of about 1235 or 1245 to about 1285 are guidelines rather than straitjackets; Mudejar materials from much earlier or later periods are marked lest they mislead. Similarly, occasional parallels or analogies come from contemporary conquests, from Valencia's neighbors the Balearics and Murcia; less frequently they are drawn from alien quarters like Castile.

A number of puzzling terms such as sheik, *faqīh*, or notable, when they occur casually either before the appropriate place for discussing them or so long afterward as to strain the memory, can be clarified if necessary by using the index. Some useful and rather obvious words have been adopted or Anglicized—notably huerta for an intensely irrigated plain, aljama for a community, Mudejar<sup>18</sup> for the normally privileged Moorish subject, solidus, Hadith, and Ifriqiya. Some Arabic words are already commonly received and

<sup>17</sup> See Chapter I, n. 17.

<sup>18</sup> On the origin and meaning of *mudéjar* (Catalan *mudèixar*), its accent problem, and its relation to the terms Moor and Saracen, see p. 64 and note.

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ensconced in English dictionaries, such as imam, Koran, muezzin, sheik, Sufi, and Sunna. The Hafsid, Marinid, and Nasrid dynasties lose their marks, assimilating more comfortably to their Anglicized predecessors the Almoravids and Almohads. Tunisia appears indifferently for Hafsid Ifriqiya, which in fact was a larger entity. In these arbitrary choices I have tried to keep to a minimum the suffering of opposing classes of readers—specialists, purists, the plain human, and medievalists of varied stripe disadvantageously scattered over a broad spectrum of interest.

Names pose a problem to which any resolution seems unsatisfactory. I continue the practice described in *Crusader Valencia*. Geographical names usually appear in their modern Spanish forms, since most maps give them thus; exceptions include the Guadalaviar River and Murviedro for which I have retained the medieval names rather than the Roman-cum-modern ones, Turia River and Sagunto. Some common English forms replace their Spanish counterparts (Cordova, Seville, but not the less universally accepted Saragossa). Following a practice usual enough among historians today, I prefer to Anglicize the given names (James rather than Catalan Jaume and Jacme or the Castilian Jaime; Peter rather than Pere or Castilian Pedro). One does reach a dubious borderland, so I am willing to accept Blasco and compelled to accept Jazpert. Alfonso (Alfons, Castilian Alfonso) seems firmly established in popular usage for the Castilian kings, to whom it is largely confined in this book; consequently it can serve also for the occasional Catalan king or other bearer; if the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* has recently retreated from Alphonso to Alfonso, who can stand? To retain the surname's accent in the resultant combinations, though bad usage ordinarily, is acceptable in technical works and has its advantages. In the debatable land of surnames, especially when joined by the connective de, I follow a common practice of Anglicizing them (Godfrey of Bouillon, William of Tyre, Raymond of Penyafort), unless a consecrated form already holds the field beyond all cavil (Thomas Aquinas, Hernando de Talavera). This usage, with its illogical but regularized results, was inculcated by an apprenticeship in confecting eighty biographies for five encyclopedias; it offends some but on balance seems a reasonable precedent to follow. Some Catalan surnames call for the less distracting Castilian version under which

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numerous Catalan families have entered Spain's modern history (Alagón for Alagó, Pérez for Pèrç); the knowledgeable reader can easily render these back into Catalan. In the mixed result, I have retained the surname's accent as probably more helpful than distracting to the reader.

Muslim names raise a different problem, and here I defer to the practice of many Islamologists. In a host of recent studies they have accustomed us to their arsenal of diacritical marks. An older school stands firm against the tide. (Sir Ernest Gowers in the latest Fowler's *Usage* decries it, but he also inveighs against any spelling except Mahomet, having a passionate go at this bugaboo twice.)<sup>19</sup> I shall allow myself to be carried by the tide, even retaining an isolated Muḥammad or 'Alī for the sake of uniformity. A rare name, widely established, may retain another form (Saladin). Good authors unabashedly throw not only names but Arabic words into the English possessive, an awkward appearance I avoid as far as feasible, as also the making of bastard plurals. In transliterating Arabic—in this case Middle Arabic with some departures from the classical—seven national systems contend within an international set of equivalents, further confused by occasional idiosyncratic preferences. Ibn Khaldūn may appear for example as Jaldūn or (international) Ḥaldūn. I follow the international program but spare the reader several of its more cumbersome devices, choosing dh over ḍ, gh over ġ, j over ġ (Spanish *ŷ*), kh over ḫ, and sh over š. With a few exceptions—notably th for ṭh, j for dj (international *ġ*), and q for *ḳ*—the equivalences coincide with the widely used scheme of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. The elision of al- with words beginning in d, dh, n, r, s, š, sh, t, ṭ, z and *ẓ* (ash-Shaqundī, aṭ-Ṭanjī) is a speech pattern, which may be reproduced or disregarded in writing; I have kept it, as useful for correlating the Latin and Romance distortions with the Arabic.

The reader should know that a Muslim's personal name could carry as embellishment a selected group of ancestors, especially his father, linked by the repetitious ibn or its abbreviation b., "son of"; sometimes ibn introduces a family name, even of place or quality. On the other hand the personal name might be extended by a pa-

<sup>19</sup> H. W. Fowler, *A Dictionary of Modern English Usage*, ed. Sir Ernest Gowers, 2d edn. (Oxford, 1965), pp. 129, 348-349.

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ternal or possessive *abū* complex, "father of," "possessed of," or "referable to." Sometimes more important than either was the ultimate appendage, one or more epithets denoting his or his family's social, economic, or geographic origins, or supplying a description, nickname, or honor. Thus the anti-Almohad hero Ibn Hūd was in full: *Abū 'Abd Allāh* (his *kunya*), *Muḥammad* (his personal or given name) *b. Yūsuf b. Hūd* (his ancestry), *al-Mutawakkil 'ala Allāh* ("he who trusts in God"), with the formal titles *Amīr al-Mu'minīn* ("commander of the faithful") and *Nāṣir ad-Dīn* ("defender of the faith"). He could be addressed *inter alia* as *Ibn Hūd*, or *Abū 'Abd Allāh*, or *al-Mutawakkil*, or occasionally as *Muḥammad*. The bar in *Abu* before 'l, retained by some authors, should disappear as the vowel shortens in elision; the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* excluded the bar in such combinations as *Abu 'l-* and *Dhu 'n-*, though the current edition prefers to retain it. Spanish names displayed quirks of their own. Gothic forms perdured, such as *Ibn Garsiya* (*García*), *Ibn Mardanīsh* (perhaps *Martínez*), *Bashkuwāl* (*Pascual*), and *Zidri* (*Isidro* in the genitive). *Ibn Yannaq* (*Iñigo*, Latin *Ennecus*) died at *Játiva* in 1153, and a wealthy *Mudejar* subject of King James bore the mixed name *Abyhuc aben Rodrich*—probably *Ibn Hūd b. Rudhriq*. Common Romance names remained popular in translation, as with *Sa'īd* for *Felix*. *'Abd ar-Raḥmān Shanjwilo* or *Sanchuelo* was a pretender to the caliphate. The Latin diminutive *-ellus* could affix itself, as in *Muḥammadāl* for *Muḥammad-ellus*. The augmentative *-on* reinforced or added to the similar Semitic augmentative, so that names like *'Abdūn* for *'Abd Allāh*, *Georges Colin* tells us, were more common in Spain than anywhere else in *Islam*. Latin *-ensis* survived faintly, yielding oddities like *al-Gharnāṭishī* for "the *Granadan*" instead of a more orthodox *al-Gharnāṭī*.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup> *Lévi-Provençal* sees the *Banū Qaṣī* as deriving from the Roman *Cassius* clan, but this is improbable. It is common to follow *Dozy* in making *Mardanīsh* the genitive *Martinis*, rather than *Codera's* Byzantine *Mardonios* or something from the excremental root *merda*; *Huici*, while not endorsing *Dozy*, concludes it must be of Romance origin. *Simonet's* and *Slane's* *Banū "Chica Lola"* is moot (see *M. J. Rubiera Mata*, "El significado del nombre de los *Banū Ashqilūla*," *Al-Andalus*, xxxi [1966], 377-378). An *el* ending was diminutive or belittling; the ending *-un* or *-on* could be an augmentative or honorific. Of particular interest in the search for Romance and other origins is *Francisco Codera y Zaidín*, "Apodos ó sobrenombres de moros españoles," *Mélanges Hartwig Derenbourg* (Paris, 1909), 323-334.

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Most Islamic names in the Valencian story belonged to people now obscure. They entered the Catalan ear of the local scribe, passed out onto his paper in one or several Latin approximations, and then suffered the vagaries of multiple transcription, even when spared the modern reading of an editor. Reconstituting such names etymologically is often impossible. The Hispanist can proceed from the analogy of known names, similarly deformed, to a reasonable reconstruction, though an especially recalcitrant garble can reduce him to guessing. Reconstituted names provide their original within the text, allowing the reader equipped with a sufficiency of contemporary Spanish variants to try his own hand at the puzzle. One important name requires comment; the Arabist Cagigas has misled many by calling Valencia's last Muslim king Abū Sa'īd, instead of Abū Zayd. A Jew might have both a Hebrew and a Romance name; King James's celebrated subject Rabbi Moses b. Nahman (Nahmanides) of Gerona was also Bonastruc de Porta. He could have an Arabic form as well, often cognate to the Hebrew, thus confusing the unwary reader. Those serving the crown of Aragon I assimilated to that realm, Anglicizing the given names and leaving some surnames in unaccented Romance mood (David Almarsarān, Moses Alconstantini, Judah b. Manasseh). In keeping with this distinguishing pattern, Ibn Vives becomes, less equivocally for the average reader, Ben Vives.

This book took shape over many years, five of them in the archives of Europe. I began it in 1955, innocent of how extensive its ramifications would soon prove. By 1960 it was obvious that the church-as-frontier theme, by reason both of its thousands of documents and its unique impact, had to be amputated as a separate work. A 1963-1964 Guggenheim fellowship allowed me to return to Spain, partly to put finishing touches to *Crusader Valencia* but mostly to research the final stages of the present work. In 1970 a National Endowment for the Humanities grant, supporting a sequel to *Islam under the Crusaders*, similarly permitted finishing touches in Spain's archives and libraries to this parent volume. Two faculty grants from my own university aided pilot projects which were eventually absorbed into the larger work. A fellowship from the American Council of Learned Societies in 1971, and an appointment to the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, both involving a

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further project, supported the final editorial stages of this book. For this generous assistance I express my gratitude. Many other hands have aided in the construction of the book, including the unfailingly helpful staffs at the various European manuscript collections specified in detail in my *Crusader Valencia*, but especially Felipe Mateu y Llopis, director of the Biblioteca Provincial in Barcelona; José Martínez Ortiz, director of the Archivo Municipal in Valencia; Ramón Robres Lluch, canon and director of the Archivo Catedral at Valencia, and his fellow-canon and historian Vicente Castell Maiques; Rosa Rodríguez Troncoso de Tormo, director of the Archivo General del Reino in Valencia; and most notably Federico Udina Martorell and all his colleagues at the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón at Barcelona. Michel Mazzaoui and Philip Hitti (emeritus), of Princeton University's Near Eastern Studies department, gave technical help during final editing.

A number of Arabists have been kind enough to give the finished manuscript a careful reading: Claude Cahen of the University of Paris, his colleague Rachel Arié, H.A.R. Gibb, now retired from Oxford and Harvard Universities, Ira Lapidus and James Monroe of the University of California at Berkeley, Felix Pareja, S.J., of the University of Madrid and the Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura, and Gerard Salinger of the University of California at San Diego. I have incorporated many of their valuable suggestions. Their names appear here solely to convey my gratitude for this arid service; the themes of the book, its interpretations, conjectural reconstructions, and data must all stand on their own feet.

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*Valencia*  
1972



## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ACCV</i>	<i>Anales del centro de cultura valenciana</i>
<i>AEM</i>	<i>Anuario de estudios medievales</i>
<i>AHDE</i>	<i>Anuario de historia del derecho español</i>
Aldea Charter	Carta puebla de Aldea, February 12, 1258
Alfandech Charter	Carta puebla de Alfandech, April 15, 1277
Arch. Cat.	Archivo de la Catedral de Valencia
Arch. Cat. Tortosa	Archivo de la Catedral de Tortosa
Arch. Crown	Archivo de la Corona de Aragón
Arch. Mun.	Archivo Municipal de Valencia
Arch. Nac. Madrid	Archivo Histórico Nacional
Arch. Reino Val.	Archivo General del Reino de Valencia
Arch. Vat.	Archivio Segreto Vaticano
<i>Aureum opus</i>	<i>Aureum opus regalium priuilegiorum ciuitatis et regni Valentie</i>
Bibl. Univ. Barc.	Biblioteca, Universidad de Barcelona (MSS)
Bibl. Univ. Val.	Biblioteca, Universidad de Valencia (MSS)
<i>BRABLB</i>	<i>Boletín de la real academia de buenas letras de Barcelona</i>
<i>BRAH</i>	<i>Boletín de la real academia de la historia</i>
<i>BSCC</i>	<i>Boletín de la sociedad castellonense de cultura</i>
Chelva Charter	Carta puebla de Chelva, August 17, 1370
Chivert Charter	Carta puebla de Chivert, April 28, 1234
<i>Colección diplomática</i>	A. Huici, ed., <i>Colección diplomática de Jaime I</i>
<i>Congrés (I, III, IV, or VII)</i>	<i>Congrés d'història de la corona d'Aragó</i>
<i>EEMCA</i>	<i>Estudios de edad media de la corona de Aragón</i>
<i>EP<sup>1</sup>, EP<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , old and new editions
Eslida Charter	Carta puebla de Eslida, May 29, 1242
<i>Fori</i>	<i>Fori antiqui Valentiae</i> (1967, Latin text)
<i>Furs</i>	<i>Fori regni Valentiae</i> (1548, Catalan text)
<i>Itinerari</i>	J. Miret y Sans, <i>Itinerari de Jaume I</i>
Játiva Charter	Carta puebla de Játiva, January 23, 1251 or 1252
<i>Llibre dels feyts</i>	James I, <i>Crònica</i> (autobiography)
<i>RIEEIM</i>	<i>Revista del instituto egipcio de estudios islámicos en Madrid</i>
Second Eslida Charter	Rephrased Carta puebla de Eslida, June 27, 1276
Tales Charter	Carta puebla de Tales, May 27, 1260
Tortosa Charter	Carta puebla de Tortosa, December 1148
Tudela Charter	Carta puebla de Tudela, March 1115
Uxó Charter	Carta puebla de Uxó, August 1250
Valencia Capitulation	Surrender Treaty for Valencia City, September 28, 1238





The Kingdom of Valencia  
 Showing Major Natural Divisions as Grouped Administratively in the  
 Tomás López Map of 1788

THE PHYSICAL-HISTORICAL  
MILIEU



## CHAPTER I

### The King's Other Kingdom

CAPITAL OF A princely realm, Valencia stood like a giant among the cities of Islamic Spain. Muslim poets risked blasphemy to apply to Balansiya the Koranic themes of Paradise. Christians as far away as England spoke of it with awe as "famed Valencia" and "Valencia the great." It rose abruptly from a flat green countryside laced with irrigation canals, framed by the Mediterranean and by a far circle of austere hills. The broad Guadalaviar—the Wādi 'l-abyaḍ or White River—wound along the city's northern flank to the sea. Within its walls a teeming populace thrived on commerce with far-flung ports of the Islamic world. Valencia's name evoked memories of great men of letters, mystics, and voyagers. Ash-Shaqundī (d. 1231) praised its inhabitants as compassionate to strangers, constant in friendship, and valiant in repulsing "the closeness of the enemy" Christians. Ibn 'Idhārī in 1224 admired its peculiarly light-filled air. All agreed that Valencians lived with grace in a land of high prosperity.

Serpents come, and paradises must end. On the eve of Valencia's tragedy, her poet Ibn Ḥarīq (d. 1225) reflected contemporary unease in his wryly humorous verses:

"Valencia is the dwelling of all beauty."  
This they say both in the East and in the West.  
If someone protests that prices there are high,  
And that the rain of battle falls upon it,  
Say: "It is a paradise surrounded by  
Two misfortunes: famine and war!"<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muhammad al-Makhzūmī, called Ibn Ḥarīq, teacher of Ibn al-Abbār, in *Hispano-Arabic Poetry and its Relations with the Old Provençal Troubadours*, trans. A. R. Nykl (Baltimore, 1946), p. 331. Ismā'il b. Muhammad Abu 'l-Walīd ash-Shaqundī, *Elogio del Islam español (Risāla fī faḍl al-Andalus)*, trans. Emilio García Gómez (Madrid, 1934), p. 115. Ibn 'Idhārī al-Marrākushī, *Al-Bayān al-mugrib fī ijtīṣār ajbār muluk al-Andalus wa al-Magrib: Los almohades*, trans. Ambrosio Huici, 2 vols. (Tetuán, 1953-1954), I, 302-303. On "Magna Valentia" as a term used by contemporaries, see Robert Ignatius Burns, *The Crusader*

## THE PHYSICAL-HISTORICAL MILIEU

The year Ibn Ḥarīq died, Christian crusaders invaded his homeland, harbingers of its downfall a decade later. The capital itself surrendered on a fall day, the seventeenth of the month of Šafar in the year 636 from the Hegira, or in the infidels' calendar Tuesday, the vigil of the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, September 28, 1238. By a few strokes of the pen, the peace of defeat descended upon Balansiya, a brooding atmosphere soon carried over into the letters and poems of its population in exile.<sup>2</sup>

## THE SURVIVORS

The red and gold bars of Aragon flew from the massive north-eastern tower called 'Alī Buḫāt. The stone battlements, which al-'Udhri had admired as among the most formidable in Spain, now

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*Kingdom of Valencia: Reconstruction on a Thirteenth-Century Frontier*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), II, 370, with citations to Matthew Paris and the Cistercian statutes. "Valencia famosa civitas" is the expression in *Crónica latina de los reyes de Castilla* (ed. M. D. Cabanes Pecourt [Valencia, 1964]). Some idea of Valencia's creative past may be gained from Julián Ribera y Tarragó, "Moros célebres valencianos en literatura y viages," *El archivo*, I (1886-1887), 136-140; Pascual Meneu, "Moros célebres de Onda," *El archivo*, II (1887-1888), 175-186; Francisco Pons, "Escuela de Abú Alí en Játiva," *El archivo*, II, 2-5.

<sup>2</sup> The story and bibliography of the crusade is given briefly in my *Crusader Valencia*, I, 1-9, II, 307-308, 370-372. Surveys are in Huici, *Historia musulmana de Valencia*, III, 252-270; Ferran Soldevila, *Història de Catalunya*, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1934-1935), I, 225ff.; rev. edn. (3 vols., 1962), I, 279ff., 290ff.; J. Lee Shneidman, *The Rise of the Aragonese-Catalan Empire, 1200-1350*, 2 vols. (New York, 1970), I, 128ff.; Ferran Valls-Taberner and F. Soldevila, *Historia de Cataluña*, trans. Nuria Sales, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1955-1957), in *Obras selectas de Fernando Valls-Taberner*, ed. Ramón d'Abadal and J. E. Martínez-Ferrando, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1952-1957), III (double volume), I, 159-160; and Martínez-Ferrando in Miguel Tarradell *et alii*, *Història dels Catalans*, 3 vols. to date (Barcelona, 1961ff.), II, part 2. See also R. B. Merriman, *The Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and in the New*, 4 vols. (New York, 1918-1936), I, 293ff.; H. J. Chaytor, *A History of Aragon and Catalonia* (London, 1933), ch. 6; Ferdinand Lot, *L'art militaire et les armées au moyen âge en Europe et dans le proche orient*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1946), II, 302-307; Teodoro Llorente, *Valencia*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1887-1889), I, chs. 3 and 4; Vicente Boix y Ricarte, *Historia de la ciudad y reino de Valencia*, 3 vols. (Valencia, 1845-1847), I, 118ff. and 505ff. See also Miguel Gual Camarena, "Reconquista de la zona castellanense," *BSCC*, xxv (1949), 417-441; J. M. Font y Rius *et alii*, *La reconquista española y la repoblación del país* (Zaragoza, 1951), pp. 85-126. The new history of Valencia by Tarradell *et alii* has only reached the crusade. See too the biographies of the king listed below in n. 11, and Muslim writers in n. 4.

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stood empty of soldiers. In the maze of streets below, the clangor of armed men had given way to the bustle of civilians preparing for exile. All the efforts of the past months had come to nothing—the flame and catapults, the bloody sallies, the secret embassy to north Africa, followed by the heartbreak of watching a Tunisian relief fleet repulsed, and finally the deathwatch as Christendom's army fastened its grip while famine decimated the populace. In the end Abu 'l-Hamlāt, the ruler's nephew, had to ride out to the pavilion of Aragon's king—Jāqmo, "the tyrant born to rule Spain"—to bargain for the lives of Valencia's people. The terms, though minimal, spared the population a mass sack such as these armies had recently loosed upon Majorca's capital. Evacuation of the city had to be accomplished within five days, the exiles bearing away whatever their backs could hold; safe passage without search or harassment prevailed south to Cullera for a period of twenty days. A seven years' truce stabilized the Christian-Muslim battlefront along the line of the Júcar River.<sup>3</sup>

For three days Valencia city churned with hasty preparations. Muslims sacrificed their nonportable treasures for whatever money the crusaders cared to offer, "rich quilts of samit and fine drapings and sumptuous coverlets and much fair cloths of silk and gold and caparisons."<sup>4</sup> On the third day the city emptied itself in a great flux

<sup>3</sup> The Valencia Capitulation is conveniently at hand in Fernández y González, *Mudejares de Castilla*, appendix, doc. 15; Jaime Villanueva, *Viage literario a las iglesias de España*, 17 vols. in 22 (Madrid, 1803-1852), xvii, 331; Charles de Tournou, *Don Jaime I el Conquistador, rey de Aragón, conde de Barcelona, señor de Montpellier, según las crónicas y documentos inéditos*, 2d edn. rev. and trans. Teodoro Llorente y Olivares, 2 vols. (Valencia, 1874), 1, 379-380, doc. 15; Janer, *Moriscos de España*, p. 192; *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, ed. Martín Fernández Navarrete, Miguel Salvá, Pedro Sáinz de Baranda, et alii, 112 vols. (Madrid, 1842-1896), xviii, 84-86, doc. 26. Before the surrender, Valencia's poet-ambassador pleaded for help at Tunis on August 17 (Joaquín Vallvé Bermejo, "Un privilegio granadino del siglo xiii," *Al-Andalus*, xxix [1964], 233-242), returning through the siege lines again. James began the siege on or before April 26. See the *Itinerari de Jaume I "el Conqueridor"*, ed. Joaquín Miret y Sans (Barcelona, 1918), p. 131. Contrast the Muslims' dates below in Chapter II, n. 13. On Abu 'l-Hamlāt, see Chapter XIII, n. 19. For the "great number" who perished of famine and for the "tyrant," see Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères et des dynasties musulmanes de l'Afrique septentrionale*, trans. Baron de Slane, rev. edn., Paul Casanova and Henri Pérès, 4 vols. (Paris, 1925-1956), p. 311.

<sup>4</sup> Bernat Desclot, *Crònica*, ed. Miquel Coll y Alentorn, 4 vols. (Barcelona, 1949-1950); trans. F. L. Critchlow, *Chronicle of the Reign of King Pedro III of Aragon*,

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of humanity—men, women, and children of all ages and every status. King James estimated the throng at fifty thousand, a gross exaggeration which conveys his sense of wonder at so immense a mob. The Conqueror himself, “with knights and armed men about me,” punctiliously escorted the fugitives out onto the open fields stretching south between the city and the suburb of Ruzafa.<sup>5</sup> Brutal incidents marred the occasion’s military correctness. The prospect of helpless Muslims carrying their wealth roused the greed of escorting soldiers; some set about robbing their charges, even spiring

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2 vols. (Princeton, 1928-1934), ch. 49: the few direct quotations will be from the version by F. L. Critchlow, whose chapter numbers do not always correspond to those of the standard editions as used here. The very early historians of Valencia like Beuter and Escolano provide colorful but inaccurate accounts. On the Islamic side an eyewitness account of the surrender ceremonies is in “Un Traité inédit d’Ibn al-Abbār à tendance chiïte,” ed. A. Ghedira, *Al-Andalus*, xxii (1957), 31-54, esp. 33n. For Valencia’s fall, from a near-contemporary view, written ca. 1312, see Ibn ‘Idhārī al-Marrākushī, *Al-Bayān al-mugrib*, I, 306, 321, II, 124-125. Less detailed is Muhammad b. ‘Abd al-Mun‘im al-Himyarī, *Kitāb ar-raud al-mi‘tār fī ḥabar al-aḳtār*, in *La péninsule ibérique au moyen-âge*, ed. and trans. Évariste Lévi-Provençal (Leiden, 1938), pp. 40-42; also translated by M. P. Maestro González (Valencia, 1963), pp. 72-74, the version hereafter cited. See Ibn Khaldūn, a compilation made a century later, *Histoire des Berbères*, II, 306-312; and the early modern history of Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Maqqarī (d. 1631), *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, 2 vols. (London, [1840-1843] 1964), II, book 8, ch. 4, which represents an abridged adaptation by Pascual de Gayangos rather than a translation. The recent history by Muhammad ‘Abd Allāh ‘Inān (Enan), *The Age of the Almoravides and Almohads in Maghreb and Moslem Spain*, English title, Arabic text, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1964-1965), includes the conquest of Valencia and eastern Spain in the latter part of the second volume; ‘Inān continues his political survey in *The End of the Moorish Empire in Spain and the History of the Moriscos*, 2d edn. rev. (Cairo, 1958). ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb an-Nuwayrī (d. 1332), in reviewing the loss of Valencia and the other five main cities captured by crusaders in the thirteenth century, laments the consequent break in historical narrative materials, so that little remains but their date of conquest; of Valencia he knows the details of siege and terms. An-Nuwayrī devotes several pages to the fall of the Almohads; see his *Historia de los musulmanes de España y África*, trans. Mariano Gaspar Remiro, 2 vols. (Granada, 1917-1919), II, 198-249, esp. pp. 245ff.; Valencia on p. 277. See also Huici, *Historia musulmana de Valencia*, III, 259-260; and Muslims like Ibn al-Khaṭīb cited below in Chapter II, n. 13.

<sup>5</sup> James I, *Llibre dels feyts*, ed. as *Crònica* by Josep M. de Casacuberta, 9 vols. in 2 (Barcelona, 1926-1962), ch. 283; translations, when not my own, are from the version by John Forster, *The Chronicle of James I, King of Aragon, Surnamed the Conqueror (Written by Himself)*, 2 vols. (London, 1883). A useful variant in Latin (1313) by Pere Marsili is among the Bibl. Univ. Barc. MSS. The original version was put together in two parts, part 1 at Játiva in 1244 and part 2 at Barcelona in 1274.

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away women and children for sale as slaves. Angry at this affront to his honor, the Conqueror incontinently executed the culprits. More enterprising crusaders bypassed the convoy, penetrating into the Islamic zone beyond the point of safeguard so as to fall upon the refugees in the mountain passes. The exodus rolled on, many Muslims purchasing passage by sea on Barcelona merchantmen but most making their way overland, a long line creeping like a wounded serpent toward the safety of Cullera.

The grief of Valencia's population found eloquent expression as they abandoned their green country, their homes, bazaars, farms, graveyards, mosques, and places holding memories. Their letters and poems, lamenting the homeland, convey a stunned sense of loss. "Is it a dream?" asks a refugee. "No, never in a dream could such a reality be seen." One outcast mourns "this immense woe," as though a "sea of sadness swells its waters," while "Valencia becomes the residence of an infidel leader." The lost city had been "lovely, a garden." "Tears show in every eye and cries of sorrow rise on all sides," the victims write; friends are scattered and brothers dead, and "a deluge of affliction has burst on us." All that was gracious, all that was sound is lost.

Ibn al-Abbār, vizier to Valencia's exiled ruler, cried out in pain: "Where is Valencia and its homes, its warbling birds and the moan of its doves?" Forever gone is its fresh, green countryside, like time long passed. "Has Valencia committed some crime," he asked, "that such should be its fate?" The Valencian intellectual Abu 'l-Muṭarrif b. 'Amīra bewailed the choice of slavery or death. "What friends have gone away, what companions have left their fatherland," he declaimed. "Everywhere one hears only mourning and weeping"; in every eye one reads suffering. Evil has pierced to the heart of our country; the hawk has seized its prey; the lion has slain our brothers, whose loss makes us weep. "Valencia the beautiful, the elegant, the brilliant!" The infidels have silenced in it the call to prayer and have stifled the breath of Islam's faith. Valencia, "metropolis of the coast, capital of sea and land, admiration of the gifted, which shone with rays of beauty and of light"—Valencia is gone!

The anguish echoed abroad. In the south the poem of al-Qarṭājannī (d. 1285) had the rivers of Moorish Spain running tears, Va-



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lencia's Guadalaviar matching the woe of Seville's Guadalquivir, while the Júcar below Valencia turned mad with grief. In ar-Rundī the elegiac note swelled to organ tones:

A curse smote her Muslims and the bane gnawed her,  
Until vast regions and towns were despoiled of Islam.  
Ask Valencia what became of Murcia,  
And where is Játiva, or where is Jaén?

To some extent these were poetical conceits, an arabesque of conventional images, belonging to a fall-of-cities theme adopted by Hispano-Muslim poets since the conquest of Barbastro in the eleventh century. The tragedy of Valencia's fall supplied occasion for evoking platonic nostalgia, a thirst for the One beyond transitory creation. For the exiles, however, the tragedy was real.<sup>6</sup>

While literary Muslims indited these laments, Christian notaries briskly listed the deserted properties, assigning them to crusaders or immigrants. Approximating as best they could the odd Arabic names, they rudely gave away the pleasure gardens of Avixelo, of Habenadin, and of Dolonseri; the small house of Aladip and the larger one of Alahant; and the complex of buildings owned by Alboegi. Barons and bishops fell heir to the proud establishments of Valencian aristocrats, while shoemakers and soldiers took over homes belonging to displaced persons of humbler station whose lowly names and sorrow are perpetuated down the centuries on

<sup>6</sup> See the letters and poems gathered in Lévi-Provençal, *Péninsule ibérique*, pp. 61-67, and Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz y Menduina, *La España musulmana según los autores islamitas y cristianos medievales*, 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1946), II, 335-338. See also Adolfo Federico von Schack, *Poesía y arte de los árabes en España y Sicilia*, 2d edn., 3 vols. (Madrid, 1872), I, ch. 5, esp. pp. 139-141. Nykl supplies a translation of the long lament by Šāliḥ Abu 'l-Baqā' ash-Sharīf ar-Rundī, as well as a Spanish version of the brief verses by Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ḥāzim b. Muḥammad b. Ḥāzim al-Anṣārī al-Qartājannī (d. 1285), in his *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp. 334-335, 337-339. As background to my own selection of poet's texts, see the general study of specifically Valencian themes by Elías Terés Sádaba, "Textos poéticos árabes sobre Valencia" (*Al-Andalus*, xxx [1965], 291-307), including the application of Koranic lines on paradise by Ibn az-Zaqqāq, among others, and the unkind revelation by al-Gharnāṭī of a flaw: "something intolerable, the mosquitoes." The great traveler Ibn Jubayr "the Valencian," born at Valencia or Játiva to a high functionary in 1145 (d. 1217), gives keen expression to the homesickness and attachment to place he and his shipmates felt as they approached Valencia's shores (*Voyages*, trans. Maurice Gaudiefroy-Demombynes, 4 vols. [Paris, 1949-1965], III, 407).

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these lists. In the countryside, especially, many properties continued to function as before, their Muslim tenants accommodating themselves to the Christian heirs. The *Repartimiento* or book of land division represents an inventory of such local treasures as a dovecote, an orchard, a park, a villa, and a garden around "a large palm tree." To run through the catalogue of transferred properties, with one faceless 'Alī or Muḥammad succeeding another, becomes a poignant experience.<sup>7</sup>

The fall of Valencia was merely the most dramatic episode in a long crusade against the Islamic kingdom of Valencia. The clearing of the city and partitioning of its surrounding territory create an impression of victory and Christian presence belied by the facts. The illusion is fortified by the continuing conquests in the south, by the imposition of Christian institutions ecclesiastical and civil throughout the conquered kingdom, and by the circumstance that the mass of documentation from this time forward virtually ignores the resident Muslims. So much was this true that it is possible to write a considerable history of Christian Valencia with no more than an infrequent glance at the Muslim remnant. From the start a handful of Christians assumed possession of the main cities, ports, and defenses, inaugurating a dynamic life in which Mudejars persisted largely as labor force and social problem. Bemused by the process, an earlier generation of scholars entertained the strange idea that the Muslims had been "expelled," or that only the rural or seignorial categories remained, or at best that Muslims stayed on as oppressed serfs, except for isolated communities whose strategic position had won them fairer terms. On the contrary, the majority of the conquered remained in the kingdom, their society and institutions wounded and withdrawn but still omnipresent. What is more, they remained as organized communities and as a respectable

<sup>7</sup> *Repartiment de Valencia*, facsimile edn., ed. Julián Ribera y Tarragó (Valencia, 1939). The standard but badly done edition is by Próspero de Bofarull y Mascaró, *Repartimiento de Valencia*, in the *Colección de documentos inéditos del archivo general de la corona de Aragón*, 41 vols. (Barcelona, 1847-1910), xi, 143-656; see, e.g., the *viridarium* and *palumbarium* on p. 195, and the *orticulum* "in quorum uno est quedam magna palma" on p. 488. Occasionally a famous name appears; in 1242 the Christian lord of Rebollet succeeded to the Denia property of the Banū Maymūn, who had supplied a long line of admirals there (see Huici, *Historia musulmana de Valencia*, III, 116).

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military force. This dissident majority formed a sea on whose sullen surface Christian immigrants at first had to cluster like infrequent atolls.

Valencia continued to look much like other Islamic lands; when the muezzin called over the countryside, it even sounded much the same. Islamic courts passed judgment; Moorish officials administered affairs as usual. Arabic names, uneasy on the Catalan tongue, defined the realm from top to bottom and obtruded at many turnings within the cities. External landmarks tended to persist—boundaries of political units, roads, baths, ovens, mills, vineyards, merchants' inns, markets, and even the kinds of houses.<sup>8</sup> Many customs carried over. "Ancient Moors" were cited to court to settle precedents for Christians. "As was the custom in the former days of the Saracens" became a repetitious formula in the royal registers, for Christians as well as Moors. The crown prescribed irrigation procedure "as anciently was the custom in the time of the Saracens." The Burriana irrigation system functioned, according to its 1235 Christian charter, "just as it was in the time of the Saracens." The irrigation networks in the central part of the realm were assigned to the control of Valencia city a year after the conquest, "so that with them you can irrigate according as was anciently the custom."<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Examples of such continuities are documented in succeeding chapters. Many vineyards, mills, ovens, baths, and the like can be indexed from the *Repartimiento*. Any number of Arabic place names paradoxically had Romance origins; the Low Latin diminutive *Silvella* ("little woods") entered Arabic as *Xilvella*, becoming the crusaders' *Chiribella*; *Penacatella* became *Benicadell*; conversely, Arabic names sometimes turned into pseudo-Romance, like *Montaverner* or *Cebolla*; the Romance *Boayal* acquired the Arabic prefix *al*, as *Albal*. Julián Ribera Tarragó gives further examples in his *Disertaciones y opúsculos* (Madrid, 1928), II, 355-357. Even when a locale changed hands, its elements often perdured, as at Segorbe where the Christian market was placed "in illo loco quo antiquitus tempus" the Moors had theirs (*Itinerari*, pp. 378, 380, documents of September and October 1265).

<sup>9</sup> Arch. Crown, James I, Reg. Canc. 15, fol. 90 (April 10, 1268): "ad rigandum illos quattuor campos . . . prout antiq[ui]us tempore sarracenorum fuit consuetum." El "*Repartiment*" de *Burriana y Villarreal*, ed. Ramón de María (Valencia, 1935), p. 41: "sicut fuerunt in tempore sarracenorum" (Burriana). *Aureum opus regaliū priuilegiū ciuitatis et regni Valentie* (Valencia, 1515), doc. 8, fol. 2r, v (Dec. 29, 1239): "ita quod ex eis possitis rigare secundum quod est antiquitus consuetum." A property dispute between two Játiva townsmen, the physician Baldwin and Cresque or Crescas of Gerona, was settled by consulting the previous Moorish situation (Arch. Nac. Madrid, Ords. Milit., Montesa, privs. reales, no. 130). A long disagreement over boundaries, carried on by Oropesa with its neighbors, was even-

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Despite the imposition of a Valencian money and a Christian calendar, the Islamic calendar served the domestic needs of the Muslim majority, and Arabic coins continued to be minted here by the Christian king.

Beneath the surface of the kingdom of Valencia lay a submerged kingdom much more populous—King James's other realm, his Muslim vassals and subjects. What were to be the relations between the two peoples? How would James manage his Islamic kingdom and how would he fit it into his realm? He could not simply treat Valencians like the negligible Muslim minorities back in Aragon and Catalonia; on the other hand, he did not dare regard his conquest as a remote tributary appendage. Valencia was a special kingdom, for which the king had special plans.

## THE CRUSADERS

James I of Aragon controlled a mixed set of realms. Aragon proper, whence his royal title derived, comprised a feudal upland region not unlike its neighbor Castile. Catalonia, a progressive mercantile coastland with modified feudal survivals, belonged to the urban world of Languedoc, Provence, and Italy. The two areas were unevenly yoked, differing in psychology, resources, social structure, institutions, and even languages. The Catalans, speaking a language related to Limousin, formed an integral part of the troubadour culture. Many parts of lower Languedoc were bound to the Catalan king by feudal links. But the Roussillon region, and Montpellier with its university, belonged more directly to King James's realms, as much as Catalonia or the Pyrenean counties. All these entities, with their multiple law codes, privileges, and parliaments, found their center of unity only as part of the "Crown" of Aragon. To the distress of those who inherited the more dominant or Catalan culture, historians speak loosely of all as Aragonese and of their realms as Aragon.<sup>10</sup>

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tually settled by appeal to antecedent Moorish custom. The first Christian laws of Valencia forbade interfering with or changing "vie antique, quibus itur ad hereditates, vineas, alquerias seu ad alia quelibet loca" (*Fori antiqui Valentiae*, ed. Manuel Dualde Serrano [Valencia, 1967], rub. II, no. 7).

<sup>10</sup> The standard histories are in n. 2. On Catalan literary culture see Martín de Riquer and Antonio Comas, *Història de la literatura catalana*, 4 vols. to date (Barce-

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Though the king was the essential symbol and key of unity, he did not reign unchallenged. Like contemporary kings he liked to surround himself with Roman lawyers, affecting the imperial prerogatives and trappings of a true monarch. Neither the feudal barons, who saw him rather as a first-among-equals suzerain, nor the townsmen, who accepted him more as a partner and a guarantor of communal semiautonomy, acquiesced completely in the royal vision. The political regime of the crown of Aragon was a *modus vivendi*, a constant readjustment of relationships between the several self-views held by its component parts. This may explain why King James (1213-1276) was not merely a man of letters and the author of an excellent autobiography but preeminently, in the best sense of the word, a politician. He was also a passionate defender of the Christian religion, a notorious womanizer, and a formidable crusader. Attended by a retinue of lawyers and counselors, he wandered restlessly back and forth over his unwieldy realms, spending a third of the last forty years of his rule within the kingdom of Valencia.<sup>11</sup>

Unlike his father, Peter the Catholic (1196-1213), who had lost his life fighting to retain control of Languedoc against the encroaching Albigensian crusade, James the Conqueror reserved his military strength for expansion into the Mediterranean world, first to the east to absorb the Balearics, then south to annex Valencia. The time

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lona, 1964). The expression "Crown of Aragon" for the several realms may represent a late (1286) formulation; and "feudalism" in the context of James's kingdom should be understood less in the socioeconomic sense of northern Europe than as a loose suzerain-baronage-vassal set of relations (see below, Chapter XII).

<sup>11</sup> Biographies of James I include C. R. Beazley, *James of Aragon* (Oxford, 1890); Ferran Soldevila, *Els grans reis del segle xiii, Jaume I, Pere el Gran* (Barcelona, 1955), his later *Vida de Jaume I el Conqueridor* (Barcelona, 1958), and his *Els primers temps de Jaume I* (Barcelona, 1968); F. D. Swift, *The Life and Times of James the First, the Conqueror, King of Aragon, Valencia and Majorca, Count of Barcelona and Urgel, Lord of Montpellier* (Oxford, 1894); and Tourtoulon, *Jaume I*. Ambrosio Huici has edited a *Colección diplomática de Jaime I, el Conquistador*, 3 vols. (Valencia, 1916-1922). Joaquín Miret y Sans has constructed a day-by-day documentary in his *Itinerari de Jaume I*. Specialists in the era assembled essays on aspects of James's reign as the symposium *Congrés d'història de la corona d'Aragó, dedicat al rey en Jaume I y a la seua época*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1909-1913). F. Elías de Tejada clarifies the political trends in *Las doctrinas políticas en la Cataluña medieval* (Barcelona, 1950); see also Percy Schramm, "Der König von Aragon, seine Stellung im Staatsrecht (1276-1410)," *Historisches Jahrbuch*, LXXIV (1955), 99-123; and Ferran Valls-Taberner, "Les doctrines politiques de la Catalogne medieval," *Estudios histórico-jurídicos*, in his *Obras selectas*, II, 210-216.

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spared from feudal or foreign wars and from other business he devoted to these conquests and their troublesome consolidation. In the enterprise of Valencia James associated his son and successor, the troubadour king Peter the Great (1276-1285). James was an Homeric figure, larger than life both in physique and in exploits; Peter gained more substantial fame as heir to the Hohenstaufen, by blunting French expansion during the War of the Sicilian Vespers and by absorbing Sicily. For both men, the same thrust toward Mediterranean empire appears in the creation of an extensive North African sphere of influence.<sup>12</sup>

The peoples who together comprised the crown of Aragon in the thirteenth century stood among the most advanced in Europe, panoplied in commerce, finance, and the varied contrivances of urban prosperity. The forward-looking elements of their commonwealth were enclaved in towns which amounted to semiautonomous city-states, each governing itself and its dependent villages by an elected complex of legislative council, executive jurates, and judicial justiciar. In this century the realms boasted one of the greatest universities of Europe at Montpellier, incomparably the greatest lawyer in Penyafort, a famous scholastic philosopher in Lull, and a mature vernacular literature. The towns of northern Italy sought the leadership of James against Emperor Frederick II; southern Italy found its champion in Peter. Even the Mongol khan, knowing Aragon's strength, courted alliance. The men of this federated realm were a courtly and successful people whose armies and navies moved across the central stage of world affairs in this and the following century.

When they invaded the kingdom of Valencia they brought with

<sup>12</sup> Besides the brief Soldevila biography of Peter in the *Els grans reis* above, see his larger *Vida de Pere el Gran i d'Alfons el Liberal* (Barcelona, 1963), but especially his ample work in progress, *Pere el Gran*, 4 vols. (Barcelona, 1950-1962). Two outstanding contemporary historians wrote lengthy works on the reigns of James and Peter: the Valencian Ramón Muntaner (1265-1336), a diplomat and crown administrator; and Bernat Desclot, probably the royal functionary Bernard Escrivá (d. 1289), prominent in Valencian affairs (see above and below, nn. 4 and 20). For Peter's Italian wars see Steven Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers: A History of the Mediterranean World in the Later Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1958), passim. Charles Dufourcq surveys Aragonese relations with North Africa, 1212-1331, in *L'Espagne catalane et le Maghrib*. For the episodes of the khan and Frederick II see my *Crusader Valencia*, I, 1-2.

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them this atmosphere of dynamism and color, promptly creating an extension of their world of communes and commerce, of hospitals and elementary schools, of Gothic art, guilds, parliaments, scholasticism, and modern financial techniques. No sooner had they installed themselves than they confected for the conquered kingdom the first fully practical Romanized law code of Europe and established a university. They organized their proliferating religious institutions at the center and south into a diocese of Valencia; those at the north became part of the diocese of Tortosa; an intervening fragment struggled briefly to survive under Castilian auspices as the unwelcome diocese of Segorbe. Since Muslims so outnumbered immigrants from Catalonia, Aragon, and southern France, success in altering the appearance and atmosphere of Moorish Valencia provides a lesson in colonial technique.

The crusade itself can be summarized in a few paragraphs. King James's predecessors had ambitioned Valencia's conquest and raided it without notable success. The memory of the Cid's exploit had lured them on. James's grandfather had advanced his frontier down around the arid western flank of the kingdom as far as Teruel; at the north he had pushed, by mid-century, just beyond Tortosa. Here the power of Aragon had bogged, surrounding the upper part of the Islamic principality but shut out from its wealth and beauty. The kings took care now, by treaties with Castile in 1151 and 1179, to reserve Valencia as their own zone of conquest. Through the terrible days after Islam's victory over the allied Christian kingdoms at Alarcos in 1195, and through the glorious days after Las Navas de Tolosa—the Christian victory which countered Alarcos in 1212—the Arago-Catalans never forgot Valencia. Peter the Catholic could effect little, because of his involvements in Languedoc, but James dreamed of this conquest from the time he was a child. As early as 1225 the seventeen-year-old king led his first crusade south against Peñíscola, an offshore Gibraltar in northern Valencia. The result was a failure so painful that James wiped it from his memory and memoirs. From the debacle he salvaged a promise of tribute and a needed lesson in caution. Comparing the king's memoirs with the documentation, an historian recently concluded that James never entertained realistic hopes of taking the Valencian kingdom; he encouraged his barons to raid and occupy frontier zones, continuing

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the traditional seesaw interaction along the Christian-Islamic frontier, until internal circumstances and the fortunes of war revealed the dazzling opportunity of acquiring a kingdom.<sup>13</sup> Insurmountable obstacles, realistically appraised, do not cancel out dreams however; the jealous greed demonstrated by the treaties with Castile, together with the wild ambition confessed in the memoirs, kept the dream alive and later transmuted opportunity into conquest.

Valencia by its nature resisted annexation. It extended over a considerable portion of the Spanish peninsula's eastern coastline, comprising today the provinces of Castellón, Valencia, and northern Alicante. By its acquisition James's mainland domain was to increase from 87,000 to over 104,000 square kilometers. Valencia's coastal plains, displaying a series of irrigated huertas, river valleys, and prosperous towns, lay secure within bastions of bleak highlands and mountain ranges. By the easiest routes an unimpeded traveler required over a week to cover the length of the kingdom. Much of the northern country formed a rough borderland difficult for troops to operate against; at the southern extreme, where the kingdom was widest, a tumble of imposing sierras called the Alcoy massif also favored the defense. Valencia bristled with some fifty castles and strongholds. Its ports allowed provisioning from the sea or relief by the allied fleets of North Africa. Its south was buttressed by the kingdom of Murcia, itself backed against the bulwark of Granada. The armies of Islamic Valencia, as the crusade proved, equaled those of Arago-Catalonia in bravery, skill, and weapons.<sup>14</sup>

No other area of Islamic Spain, not even Granada, boasted such a combination of wealth, manpower, natural defenses, fortifications, and amplitude of territory. Shortly after its conquest, while acting as neutral arbiter for a royal inheritance dispute, the lawyer-pope Innocent IV summed up the findings of his experts: Valencia "in

<sup>13</sup> Antonio Ubieta Arteta, "La conquista de Valencia en la mente de Jaime I," *Saitabi*, XII (1962), 117-139.

<sup>14</sup> Geographical and allied detail on the area formerly comprising the kingdom of Valencia will be found abundantly in the massive volumes *Geografía general del reino de Valencia*, ed. Francisco Carreras y Candi, 5 vols. (Barcelona, 1920-1927). The estimate of seven days' travel is in *Llibre dels feyts*, ch. 128; al-Mar-rākushī, a Spanish traveler writing in 1224, reckoned the distance from Peñíscola to Valencia as three days, from there to Játiva two days and to Denia a full day, and from Játiva to Murcia three days.



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revenues and income much exceeds the county of Barcelona.”<sup>15</sup> He wrote this when the Catalan county of Barcelona, the central portion of the realms of Aragon, was in its glory, playing a significant role in international commerce. In short, the crusaders had set out in 1232 not to annex a province but to swallow whole a powerful realm. It is not too much to say that the acquisition of the Balearics and Valencia was the turning-point in Arago-Catalonia’s history, making possible its extraordinary maritime and commercial expansion.<sup>16</sup>

King James had to rely on an army which operated by brief, bold strikes and then melted into oblivion. Feudal levies owed only a short service; town militias and the supply of foreign crusaders were an unpredictable quantity; money for expensive adventures was desperately hard to come by; and rebellious turmoils distracted the royal strength at home. Stubbornly James persisted. First he removed the flanking strength of the Balearics, taking Majorca in 1229 and neutralizing Minorca in 1231. He then settled down grimly to a fifteen-year struggle of intermittent campaigns against Valencia—fighting, intriguing, besieging, negotiating, acquiring supplies by trickery or pressure, mustering support by appeals to every available motive, and in the end inexorably moving forward. From 1229, when he intruded into a Valencian civil war by joining the more legitimate Muslim faction, until 1245, when Biar fell in the south, the new Cid clung to the kingdom like a bulldog. In 1232, while heady from his successful Majorca crusade, James publicly announced his determination to win Valencia. The north—the modern province of Castellón—he gained from 1232 to 1235. The major event among these early campaigns was the siege and fall of Burriana in 1233; the city’s Muslims gained by their heroic defense only the concession of mass emigration.

External factors distracted the king and contributed to the lengthening of the crusade—especially his attempt to annex Navarre, his taking of a new wife, and his embroilments in Languedoc. In 1236

<sup>15</sup> Arch. Vat., Reg. Vat. 22, Innocent IV, fol. 88v, curiales, ep. 46 (March 5, 1251): “quod in redditibus et proventibus comitatum barchinonensem multum excedit.”

<sup>16</sup> This is the conviction also of Gonzalo de Reparaz, “L’Activité maritime et commerciale d’Aragon au xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle et son influence sur le développement de l’école cartographique de Majorque,” *Bulletin hispanique*, XLIX (1947), 422-451.



Thirteenth-Century Spain  
 (Reprinted from *The Crusader Kingdom of Valencia* by Robert I. Burns, S.J.,  
 Harvard University Press)

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a fresh phase of the crusade opened. James rallied support in a general parliament at Monzón, and as symbol of his new determination adopted the title "King of Valencia." In the same year he encamped his crusaders at Puig, a strategic hillock rising above the huerta within sight of Valencia city. After enemy assaults had failed to dislodge the Christian garrison, the Conqueror strengthened morale by vowing not to return north until the capital city had fallen. Town by town he cleared the zone just above the Guadalaviar. As crusaders poured south he put the capital city under siege, repelled the Tunisian relief fleet, and with relentless violence tightened his grip by the month. The Muslims watched their cause grow dimmer, their sallies fewer and less vigorous, their doom more sure. Like Burriana they neglected to surrender in time and in 1238 had to settle for the same fate of mass expulsion.

The Moors' battle line retreated now to run along the Júcar River, while their whole camp fell into confusion. King Zayyān retreated to Alcira, then to Denia, to Murcia, and finally to Alicante. At the end he pleaded for tributary governorship over Minorca in exchange for Alicante; James refused on the ground that Alicante lay within the zone already conceded to Castilian conquest. By January 1244 King James had thrown a strangling siege around Játiva, keystone to the south. Next year Biar, the southernmost effective stronghold, collapsed. Demoralized and outflanked, the last Moorish castles still sustaining the war hastened to surrender, from the Júcar down to the borders of Murcia.

The spectacle of a crusade led jointly by a Christian king and a deposed Almohad governor might seem bizarre—a crusade undertaken for a Muslim ruler, with Muslim and Christian contingents fighting side by side. Such a program fitted comfortably enough, however, into the wider history of Spain, which was not merely a story of Cross versus Crescent but a complex interplay of ideological struggle and expediency. King James was at home in this shifting world of international power politics, and played the game constantly and with skill. His negotiations with the Mongol khan, his attempt from about 1260 to capture the Egyptian trade, and his alliances with the Tunisian caliph in the 1260's and 1270's were all part of that interplay.

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### CONSOLIDATION AND RECONSTRUCTION

James set about reorganizing and garrisoning his new kingdom, bringing settlers, parceling out lands, promulgating a law code, and arranging jurisdictions, taxes, and new money. Merchant ships crowded into the ports. Craftsmen set up their workbenches. Dioceses appeared, busily arranging their parish networks. An array of religious orders descended, to intrude their monasteries and priories. Churches and town halls were devised from abandoned mosques. Schools opened. Gothic edifices arose. Communal officers were sworn and electoral machinery created. Islamic Valencia drifted peacefully into its new orbit.

One element which might have eased this raw transfer of power and styles was missing. In the conquered kingdom no Mozarabic community remained. Had this Christian residue, immemorially assimilated to Islamic culture, interpreted Muslim to Christian and facilitated the take-over, Valencian history might have followed a less bitter and tumultuous course. The Mozarabs had long disappeared, however, melted away in the crucible of Almohad persecution, their remnants having fled into exile in the wake of Christian raiders. Whatever family units remained were statistically negligible. Some historians have argued that an inconsiderable nucleus still huddled around St. Vincent's shrine outside the south walls of Valencia city; the evidence is flimsy and unconvincing. King James never mentions such a group in all his voluminous records or autobiography. The closest research has not yielded a half-dozen individuals, though a scattering must have survived. James's clergy had to consecrate anew the Mozarabic church of St. Vincent's, just as they did the other mosques requisitioned for Christian use. Northern Christians had played a role in the Moorish kingdom's commercial life, and a small quarter stood reserved for their use; the crusade tumult seems to have emptied this.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Sanchis Guarner argues that the Mozarabs were "virtually annihilated" in the twelfth century here, and therefore practically invisible to the historian; he accepts the St. Vincent's group ("Època musulmana" in Miguel Tarradell, *Història del país valencià*, 1, 338). He presents interesting linguistic deductions bearing on the problem in his *Introducción de la historia lingüística de Valencia* (Valencia, 1950), pp. 135ff., 147-148. The "carraria illa quam mercatores christiani uti tem-

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Troubles disturbed the Christian camp. Just as the Majorcan crusade proved a field of exploitation for the seafaring Catalans, so Valencia represented opportunity for the landlocked people of Aragon proper. The Aragonese did expand across the Valencian border to some extent, but the mass of settlers fanning out over the kingdom were Catalans. Lérida and Urgel sent many families south, while others came from troubled Languedoc. The Catalans even advanced beyond Valencia, populating the Castilian area, so that cities like Murcia and Cartagena became as Catalanized as Orihuela and Alicante. The solid Catalan presence in Valencia, flaunting its own language, laws, sociopolitical forms, and peculiar psychology, constituted an affront to the Aragonese.

The Castilians for their own reasons resented the rapid advance of King James, though Castilian armies had not been idle. Town for town, the Castilian reconquest had surged forward parallel to that of Aragon. Cordova fell in 1236, Jaén in 1246, and Seville in 1248; Murcia yielded in 1243-1244, at least as garrisoned protectorate. Suspecting that Aragon might slyly continue south into Murcia, reserved by treaty to Castilian conquest, the future Alfonso X precipitated its premature surrender himself, consequently becoming entangled in a border dispute within Valencia. Difficulties were resolved by a treaty drawn at Almizra near Orihuela in 1244, sealed later by James's neighborly restoration of rebellious Murcia. At the

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pore sarracenorum sollebant" appears in a property transaction of 1240, apparently located outside the Boatella gate (Arch. Cat., perg. 1,308, Oct. 21, 1240). The evidence for a Mozarabic community, based on the conventional phrase "place or church" in a grant of 1232 along with (anticipated) tithes there, can be seen in Roque Chabás y Lloréns, *Episcopologio valentino, investigaciones históricas sobre el christianismo en Valencia y su archidiócesis, siglos i a xiii*, 1 vol. only (Valencia, 1909), I, 64-66. See also Francisco Fernández y González, "Ampliación sobre los mozárabes valencianos," *El archivo*, v (1891), 28-30; Chabás, "Los mozárabes valencianos," *El archivo*, v (1891), 6-28, in *BRAH*, xviii (1891), 19-49, and as an appendix to Josef Teixidor, *Antigüedades de Valencia: Observaciones críticas donde con instrumentos auténticos se destruye lo fabuloso dejando en su debida estabilidad lo bien fundado*, 2 vols. (Valencia, [1767] 1895), I, 391-420; L. Torres Balbás, "Mozarabías y juderías de las ciudades hispano-musulmanas," *Al-Andalus*, xix (1954), 172-199. Cagigas, *Los mozárabes* (2 vols., Madrid, 1947) does not reach our period but furnishes useful background and a sound general bibliography. For older general works like Simonet, see my Bibliography. For the tangled case of St. Peter Pascual, perhaps a Valencian Mozarab at this time, see my *Crusader Valencia*, p. 309 and bibliographical note.

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turn of the century, James II was to acquire the Alicante-Orihuela region, but for the present the work of reconquest in Valencia had to be essentially consolidation and reconstruction.

To place Valencia beyond jealous interference by Aragon proper, and beyond a too obvious link with Catalonia, King James set it up as a distinct kingdom. Its urbanism acted as a lever for royal against baronial power, while its wealth and extent made it a compensating balance for political reverses in Aragon. The Roman law fostered by King James conferred title to all the conquered territory to the crown; feudal precedent and practical considerations dictated his sharing with fellow crusaders and with the copowers of his realms. This sharing fulfilled the crusade promises of reward, gave his subjects a stake in the new project, and rendered local government possible. Important barons received estates, which they managed almost like little kings; dioceses, religious and military orders, and clerics of all kinds secured similar estates, graced also with a measure of exemption and independent power. In contrast to these seignorial domains were the regalian or crown lands, including most of the cities. Property-holding was diversified; the lord who presided over his nearly independent barony might also hold warehouses, residences, and farms on regalian territory. García y García, who has studied in depth the politico-economic organization of the northern part of the Valencia kingdom, reckons that the barons and church (who were at their strongest in that segment) held respectively 900 and 2,800 square kilometers out of a total of 5,000, while the king kept 1,300.<sup>18</sup>

Each of these three classes of landholder could improve an estate by attracting settlers. Piecemeal distribution to individuals, crowned by issuance of a local integrating charter or a set of privileges, sometimes proved less effective than previous issuance of a charter to an entrepreneurial agent or company who then lured settlers to some small locality and divided its available free land. Whether the contract or constitution was individual, communal-antecedent, or communal-prior, the lord might in feudal fashion stress such factors as military service and homage or else in capitalist spirit orient the arrangement rather toward maximum income. The king as largest landholder did not necessarily rule directly, through

<sup>18</sup> García y García, *Estado económico-social de Castellón*, pp. 26-27.