CRUSADE IN AL-ANDALUS: 
THE ELEVENTH CENTURY FORMATION 
OF THE RECONQUISTA AS AN IDEOLOGY

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I. INTRODUCTION

In the rapid expansion and spread of Islam, the Muslims conquered almost the whole Iberian Peninsula in a matter of years, from CE 711 to 718. The Visigothic Christian Kingdom was defeated and its last king, Rodrigo, apparently killed. As Muslims consolidated their dominion, the Visigothic Christians moved north and formed the Northern Christian Kingdoms of the Peninsula. It has been often pointed out that the Reconquista by the Christians started almost as soon as they were defeated by Muslim forces. The battle of Covadonga has been understood as the first Christian victory in the eight-century Reconquista process. However, the Reconquista as an ideology, as an organized movement, and as an international army against Muslims in Spain, started only after the eleventh century. The purpose of this essay is to analyse the origins of the Reconquista as an ideology, its military formation, the international participation of French religious orders, the pope's preaching of a Crusade in Spain, the French military involvement in the Crusade, the expansion of feudalism in the Peninsula, an aggressive and military movement in conquest of new Muslim lands and the creation of the Military Orders in Spain which, with its international support, tipped the balance in favour of the Christians against the Muslims in al-Andalus.

This essay also studies the formation of the two antagonistic and controversial ideologies in this war: Crusade versus Jihād. For the comprehension of this issue, it is absolutely essential to analyse the political, social and economic developments in both regions, the Christian Kingdoms and al-Andalus. This is why this essay also considers the popular and social dimensions of the Christian expansion to the south, which occurred in the eleventh century, as well as the political fragmentation of al-Andalus after the fall of the Umayyad caliphate in 1031. It further considers the contract of the rapid population-growth in the north, which accelerated the repopulation process south of the Ducre river in the frontiers of no man's land.
This movement south, with international support, helped the Christian *Reconquista* against the Muslims. Finally, this paper analyses the importance of the international Christian participation as one of the major events which tipped the balance in favour of the Christians.

II. THE FORMATION OF THE *RECONQUISTA* AS AN IDEOLOGY

It would be a serious mistake to think that profound ethnic and social divisions stood in the way of the creation of a common Islamic culture and the consciousness of being Muslims and also being politically different from the rest of the Islamic empire. Despite the ethnic divisions, Muslims of al-Andalus were culturally unified. For Muslims, Islam became the unifying element and the base for a common culture. Berbers, Arabs and the *muwalaṭ* mixed with each other through marriage, and had close dealings and relationships in daily economic life. They all shared the same faith, the same judicial system (the Malikite madhhab was almost all the time the only one accepted), the same organization, structure and ideology of the State, the same government and the same Islamic traditions. They were able to have their own identity as a Muslim society—specific, peculiar, with its own characteristics—different from the rest of the Muslim empire. To identify themselves as different and separate from the 'Abbasids of the East or the Fatimids of North Africa, al-Andalus became, with 'Abd al-Rahmān III, an independent and distinct caliphate in the year 929. Despite the political differences between the Umayyads in al-Andalus and the 'Abbasids in the Mashriq (east), the Umayyads kept the name of the 'Abbāsid caliphs of Baghdad for some time in the *khutbah* in the same way that the last Umayyad wālī of al-Andalus, al-Fihri, had kept it. Arabic sources mention that the *khutbah* in Cordoba replaced the 'Abbāsid names by the Umayyads of al-Andalus, at an early stage during the reign of 'Abd al-Rahmān I al-Dākhil. However, it was not until the declaration of al-Andalus as caliphate by 'Abd al-Rahmān III in the year 929, that al-Andalus really became completely autonomous, because the show of all loyalty to the 'Abbāsid caliphs of Baghdad ceased. The late Muslim historian Muhammad ibn Abū'l-Qāsim al-Qayrawānī, known as Ibn Abū Dīnār (d. 1698) in his *Kitāb al-Mu'nis fi Akhbār Ifriqiyyah wa Tūnis* has brilliantly summarized he whole process.³

It is important to keep in mind that before 'Abd al-Rahmān III, all the Umayyad Umarā' of al-Andalus were loyal to the 'Abbāsid caliphs of Baghdad, even though they were politically independent. When 'Abd al-Rahmān III proclaimed himself as caliph and took the name of Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh and Amīr al-Mu'mīnīn, all loyalty to the 'Abbāsids as caliphs was suspended. The major question to raise here is what the *khutbah* really
meant. There is no doubt that until 'Abd al-Rahmān III, the Umayyads recognised the 'Abbāsid caliphate and never claimed the title of Amīr al-Mu'minīn. The khutbāḥ, as the proclamation of the name of the caliph in the mosque in the Juma’ah prayers had been substituted by that of the Umayyad rulers since a very early period, after the Umayyad conquest of al-Andalus by 'Abd al-Rahmān I. However, it was not until 'Abd al-Rahmān III that the Umayyads of al-Andalus stopped recognising the 'Abbāsid caliphs as Amīr al-Mu'minīn, even if their names were not proclaimed in the mosques of al-Andalus.4

Several Muslim historians explained in detail these issues of the khutbāḥ and the autonomy of al-Andalus. Among them is Ibn Khaldūn, who affirms that the khutbāḥ was changed by the Umayyads at an early stage, even before the time of 'Abd al-Rahmān III. Other major Andalusian authorities like Ibn Ḥazm, Ibn al-Abbar and al-Maqqarī pointed out that the khutbāḥ in the name of the 'Abbāsid caliphs was kept for a very short time after the arrival of 'Abd al-Rahmān I al-Dākhil, who was responsible for its change. Ibn Ḥazm, for example, in his Naqt al-‘Arūs5 has stated that it was continued for several years until 'Abd al-Rahmān I stopped it. Ibn al-Abbar in his Kitāb al-Ḥillah al-sīrah6 stated that 'Abd al-Rahmān I kept the khutbāḥ in the name of 'Abbāsid caliph Abū Ja'far al-Mansūr. In this respect, the words of al-Maqqarī, who followed Ibn Ḥayyān and explains the continuation of the relations and connections between the Umayyads and the 'Abbāsids, are very important:7

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III. THE ROLE OF THE POPE AND THE FRENCH CLUNY AND CISTERCIAN RELIGIOUS ORDERS

Muslims established a powerful emirate in al-Andalus which became a caliphate in 929 with 'Abd al-Rahmān III, responding to local and international events.8 Despite internal divisions, owing to social classes, ethnic
groups and political parties, al-Andalus had great moments in political administration, development of the art, sciences, philosophy and agricultural and industrial techniques and became one of the major culturally advanced lands in the world during the Middle Ages. Al-Andalus was able to face and solve the various problems which a state could face at that time. However, it is important to analyse that the major threats to the structure of the state came from outside, at the international level, especially after the fall of the Umayyad caliphate of Cordoba in 1031. The purpose of this section is to study the origins and impact of the Christian *Reconquista* as an ideology: its international support and its impact and threats to the Muslim identity and specificity, as well as the political and military threats to al-Andalus, from the eleventh century onwards, which had the support of the pope and the Christian states, first mainly through the specific works of the Cluny Order and later on through the Cistercians.

The road to Santiago de Compostela and the pilgrimage to the tomb of the apostle James (Santiago) were important elements for the formation of the *Reconquista* ideology, since it brought a sense of unity of the Church and of all Christians against Islam, their common enemy. The transformation in the character of this saint, from a peaceful apostle to a warrior who kills Moors, ready to fight on the Christian side against Muslims, shows the change in Church ideology, in favour of a universal mission, to be directly involved in the *Reconquista* process in Spain.

The Church and, particularly, the papacy, emphasised the spiritual relevance of the apostle and the importance of the pilgrimage to his tomb. Massive propaganda was organized in favour of the apostle James and several books were written at that time concerning his actions. Among those works were the one supposedly written by Pope Callistus II, which should be only attributed to him, under the title *Liber Sancti Jacobi, Codex-Calixtius*. This book aimed at developing a special devotion to the saint and encouraging the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela.

There is no doubt that in these issues one can easily recognise that the pilgrimage, the roads to Santiago, the defence of the pilgrims, the commerce required to fulfil all their needs, the hospitality in the monasteries, the hotels and other activities always encouraged by the Church as a way of helping the pilgrims, really meant a way of penetration and self-defence of Christianity against Islam. This penetration, which took religion as an important means, also contributed to religious unity and eventually led to the creation of stronger unified Christian armies against the Muslims.

The papacy had a special interest in uniting the Christians of the Iberian Peninsula under the Roman Church as a first step to successfully
face the Muslims. At that time Rome thought that Christian Spain was isolated from the rest of the Christian world; proof of this was the existence of the mozarab's own liturgy which was considered a "national religious rite". Even though the kings and the clergy in Spain recognised the authority of the pope, his intervention in the Peninsula from the ninth to the eleventh centuries was almost nil, to the point that Marcelin Defourneaux, an authority in the field wrote:

Un des aspects les plus caractéristiques de l'isolement de l'Espagne par rapport au reste de la chrétienté jusqu'au XI siècle réside dans l'existence d'un véritable "nationalisme religieux". Si les royaumes chrétiens de la péninsule reconnaissent l'autorité dogmatique de la papauté romaine, c'est un fait que l'intervention pontificale en Espagne est pratiquement nulle entre le IX et le XI siècles. Après l'intervention de Charlemagne contre l'hérésie adoptionsite, l'Église d'Espagne mène une existence autonome, fondée sur les traditions et les pratiques de l'ancienne Église Wisigothique. Elle a conservé en particulier sa liturgie (dite liturgie mozarabe) qui lui est commune avec celle des Églises chrétiennes vivant sous le joug musulman. Ce particularisme liturgique apparaît suspect à la papauté et l'unification de la liturgie sera l'un des premiers objectifs des grands papes réformateurs du XI siècle.

One of the major leaders in Rome in the eleventh century was Pope Gregory VII (1073—1080), former Hildebrand of the Cluny Order, who had a special interest in the total unification of the Church and the suppression of all local or "national" movements in Christianity. He exercised considerable pressure on the mozarab Church to force it to quit the traditional rituals and practices and to follow those universal ones implemented by the pope in Rome. His interest was not only in the rites and practices, but also in the control of all Churches.

These centralized and unifying movements had a tremendous impact on the Spanish Church. In the ensuing years several reforms were imposed on this Church attempting to replace the mozarab or local ritual with the universal rites. These reforms were enacted through the role played by the Cluny Order in Spain. Next to these reforms, Spain was penetrated, through the Cluny monks, by the cultural, artistic and architectural influences of the rest of Europe, leading to unite Spain with the rest of Christian Europe. The cultural unity was on its way in the form of religious penetration, which was the mask for centralization, unity and control. This process started first in Cataluña, where France had a strong influence and connections for many years. From Cataluña it expanded to other regions in Christian Spain, following the reforms of the popes from Gregory VII on, who used the
Cluny Order for this purpose and for the purpose of uniting Christian Spain with the rest of Christendom, obviously a slow process, even though the popes desired a faster pace. Some clergy members in Spain, from various congregations including the Cluny Order, opposed the imposition of Roman unification.  

The political leadership of the kingdoms in Christian Spain clearly understood the impact of these reforms and the relation and unity with the Church as a means to fight the Muslims. This is portrayed in the letter written by the Castellan king Alfonso VI to Hughes, Abbot of Cluny, requesting him to send a monk to Castilla to introduce such reforms, from which the kings would benefit. Hughes sent Robert, whom Alfonso VI appointed Abbot of Sahagúin in 1079. The reforms started almost immediately, under the Cluny influence. In order to obtain the support of the Cluny Order for his political leadership, the king granted the monks various endowments; the most special being the monastery of San Isidro de las Dueñas in Castilla. Other Spanish kings were also aware of the importance of the Cluny Order and the ecclesiastical reforms taking place in the Peninsula, and they granted the Cluny Order monasteries and properties, like García II of Navarra who had donated the monastery of Santa María de Nájera in 1052.  

The reforms of the monasteries in Spain, following the Cluny line, had a tremendous impact on the Spanish Church, similar to the effect it had on the Church in the rest of Europe. The Cluny monasteries in Spain became real emporiums, and important economic centres for the people on the pilgrimage route to Santiago. Sahagúin, for example, which was an important centre for devotion and spiritual life, was also an extremely successful centre for agricultural enterprise and for commercial activities. These reformed monasteries also became important centres in the process of the Reconquista.  

Even though the reforms were taking place, Gregory VII was not content with the slow process and he called for a faster pace. On the other hand, some clergymen and some members of the Cluny Order even opposed the pope's unification plans; among them was Robert of Cluny, whom Gregory VII went as far as to call a "pseudo monk". The pope could not tolerate any opposition to his orders and even threatened King Alfonso VI to nullify his second marriage, on the basis of an alleged kinship between the king's first wife Agnès d'Aquitaine with Constance, his second wife, unless he would accelerate the reform process and stop opposition to the Abbot of Sahagúin. As a result, the king and his new wife enforced the reform process and supported the Council of Burgos (1080?), which abolished national liturgy in Spain, thus pleasing Gregory VII. In turn the pope withdrew his threats of declaring the king's marriage void. Although the pope
and the king were again on good terms after these events, the *mozarab* "national" liturgy continued to be practised and survived for a while.

When Alfonso VI conquered Toledo, he stopped the traditional *mozarab* practice of appointing their own Archbishop of Toledo, which further weakened this local church. The king appointed Bernard de Sédirac, a French monk of the Cluny Order, at that time Abbot of Sahagún, to that post. It can thus be observed that the king complied with the pope's orders. Both the king and the pope believed that the church of Toledo was a superstition, *superstition toletanae*. They did not agree to the right of the local clergy to appoint the Archbishop of Toledo for economic and political reasons, since the monarchy would benefit from the spiritual and political unity of the Peninsula, as much as the pope in Rome. Bernard had the difficult task of imposing the Roman rites in Spain, in opposition to the *mozarab* rituals and practices, even though the Council of Burgos (1080?) had already abolished them at least in theory. Still in the time of Pope Urban II (1088–1099) reforms were in progress. Urban II frequently wrote to Bernard encouraging him and advising him to be strong in his task: "*operam te dante, te dare non pigeat ne romanum officium in terrauestra susceptum decidat, sed auxiliante Domino conualescat.*" 20

In order to bring Spain under the leadership of Rome, Pope Paschal II (1099–1118), also a former member of the Cluny Order like Gregory VII, declared that a Crusade against the Muslims in Spain was as valid as were the Crusades in Palestine. This had a tremendous impact on the Christian community and caused the unity of many Christians against Islam. The spread of a strong ideology for the *Reconquista* was on its way. However, even though in several Councils and on several occasions the *mozarab* rituals had been abolished, Rome remained concerned, throughout the twelfth century, both about the practice of the *mozarab* ritual, which had not been eradicated from the Peninsula, and the disobedience of the Spanish Church to the pope's reformation orders. This concern is evident from the fact that Raimundo (1126–1152), the famous Archbishop of Toledo, sent a letter to the pope, complaining that the church and the people of Spain did not accept, and did not comply with, the instructions to follow the Roman rituals and practices, as ordered in the past by various popes, and that most of the Christians in Spain were still attached to the old *mozarab* liturgy. Pope Eugene III (1145–1153), in response to Raimundo's letter ordered everybody in Spain to follow the Archbishop and the universal Church, and to stop the *mozarab* rites and practices. 22 It was not until the second half of the twelfth century that the *mozarab* rituals and practices, opposed by the pope, the Spanish clerical leadership, and the Spanish rulers, and allegedly abolished by the Council of Burgos, lost influence and were gradually replaced by the universal Roman rite. This unification of the Spanish Church
under the leadership of Rome led to a rapid expansion of the ideology of the *Reconquista*, with the influence and support of the Cluny Order in the eleventh century and the Cistercian Order in the twelfth century. These were relevant issues in favour of a strong ideology and attitude against Muslim rule in Spain, and were the reasons that tipped the balance in favour of the Christians after the eleventh century.

Early in the twelfth century, the Cluny Order and the monasteries under its influence in Spain started to decay due to corruption, loss of its previous prestige and royal support and encouragement. This made the famous Pierre le Vénérable, abbot of the Cluny Order in France, undertake a trip to Spain in order to reorganize the monasteries under the Cluny influence, stop all corruption, strengthen their influence and regain royal support. However, his trip was unsuccessful regarding his plans to reorganize the monasteries. This failure shows the problems that the Cluny monasteries encountered in Spain and the difficulties in any possible reorganization. The failure of Pierre le Vénérable's trip to Spain further weakened the position of the Cluny Order in the Peninsula.23

Early in the twelfth century, Bernard of Clairvaux founded a new religious order, in reaction to some of the practices and ideas of Cluny. Bernard's new Order, named the Cister Order (Cistercians) called for a direct involvement of the monks in the production process, contrary to the economic practices of the Cluny monks of being landlords and having serfs in their dominions for agricultural production to meet the monasteries' needs. The Cister Order claimed a more austere life visible in every aspect: the architectural styles, nourishment, clothing and involvement in agricultural production. The founder of this Order frequently asserted that the monks who followed his rules should produce what they eat. These new ideas and practices were understood by some Spanish kings as more effective than those of Cluny in colonising conquered Muslim lands and the *Reconquista* process. As a result of the weakening of the Cluny monasteries in the Peninsula, various Spanish kings granted special donations to the Cistercians, which became very popular monasteries.24 Alfonso VII of Castilla in 1143 donated the village of Moreruela to Ponce de Cabrera with the purpose of establishing a monastery of the Cistercian Order. The *Carta Puebla* even mentioned that the village was at that time uninhabited.25 One has to notice the important socio-economic role played by these monasteries in colonising several regions in Spain and that the Cluny monasteries, later substituted by the Cistercians, became strongholds in the process of *Reconquista* and colonisation of conquered lands. The reference in the *Carta Puebla* that the village was uninhabited clearly reveals its condition and leads towards the understanding that the mission of the monastery was to repopulate and to become a point of advancement in the *Reconquista* process. The monasteries,
as described earlier for the Cluny Order, valid also for the Cistercians, became emporiums of economic activity, and were also actively involved in the Reconquista process.

Alfonso VII of Castilla went as far as to give Ponce de Cabrera two Cistercian monks, Pedro and Sancho, who were previously sent to France to study in the Cistercian Order. This new Order extended to many other places in the Iberian Peninsula: Galicia, Salamanca, Zamora. Alfonso VII donated two more villages (also deserted and uninhabited, as the Cartas Pueblas mention) in order to found a monastery, called Nuestra Señora de Valparaiso.26

The Castellan King, Alfonso VII, was known for his support of the Cistercian Order and his generosity towards these monks, in a manner similar to that in which his grandfather Alfonso VI helped and supported the Cluny in Spain.27 The same assistance was provided for the creation of monasteries for women, for example, the San Clemente in Toledo, Nuestra Señora de Fuencaliente in the diocese of Osma, Nuestra Señora de Las Huelgas, near Burgos.

Some other Spanish rulers like those of Navarra, Barcelona and Aragón also supported the Cistercians in Spain. King Garcia of Navarra helped the monastery of Oliva founded in 1149 by Raimundo de Barcelona. Berenguer IV of Barcelona also supported the Cistercians, and later in time, Pedro I of Aragón also provided assistance, which shows the spread of the new order in various parts of the Iberian Peninsula. Padro I even asserted that among all orders, the Cistercian Order was the most sincere, and the most attached to the religious life and to the apostolic mission.28

The Cistercians, as successors of Cluny, were also very active in the struggle against Muslims in Spain in the twelfth century. The Council of Lateran in 1123, called by Pope Callistus II (1119–1124) as other popes had done before, declared that the Crusade of Reconquista of Spain was equal to the Crusade in the Holy Land. This was repeated by Pope Clement III (1187–1191) in 1188 in a long letter sent to Gonzalo (Gundisaluo) Pérez, Archbishop of Toledo, in which he first lamented the struggles for power and the political fragmentation of the Christians in Spain. In this letter, the pope called for an effective unity and the creation of a strong army to fight the Muslims, and he emphasised that the Christian struggle in Spain against Muslims, to whom the pope called infidels, was equal to the Crusades in the Holy Land. Clement III affirmed that it was in the hands of the priests and the Archbishop of Toledo to gather all economic help for the Crusade. The pope also urged Christians to make donations or special contributions for this purpose.29 The historical reason for all these developments and the
pope's fresh call for a Crusade, was the recapture of Jerusalem in 1187 by Saladin (Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī). 30

Due to the failure of the Spanish Archbishops to stop the infighting among the various Christian kingdoms, Pope Celestine III (1191–1198), at the end of the twelfth century, was still lamenting that the Church had not been able to put an end to these political problems among the Christian kings, and that they still had connections and pacts with the Muslims. The pope called for radical measures, and for a total end of the pacts between the Christian kings and the Muslims rulers, which shows his desire for the separation between the two religions, cultures and empires. Celestine III asserted that Christians should work together in the struggle against Muslims for the conquest and Christian control of Jerusalem, which the pope termed “liberation of the Holy City”. 31

The failure of the Christian kingdoms in Alarcos against the Almoravids in 1195,32 made Pope Celestine III call for a new Crusade against the Muslims in Spain and yet another one against them in the east. This double Crusade had the intention of regaining the lost territories and hegemony for the Christians. But neither the first nor the second was successful. The sudden death of the pope also impeded the progress of these Crusades.33

Aside from the religious and ideological reasons, and international support, another factor which likewise contributed to the success of the Reconquista process was the faster population growth that the Northern Christian Kingdoms of the Peninsula experienced when compared to al-Andalus, mainly after the eleventh century.34 Al-Andalus, since Almanzor’s death in 1002, was in a process of political stagnation and fragmentation and was unable to resist the Christian thrust. The Cartas Pueblas given by the various rulers recognised and supported colonisation of Muslim lands and emphasised the fact that they were free, which encouraged many more to move.35 The new settlements also included some Frenchmen who had participated in the Reconquista process, as is clearly explained in some of the Cartas Pueblas (mainly for Sahagun and Toledo) granted by various kings in several regions, despite conflicting opinions of historians in this respect.36 The Reconquista was not only a political and military happening but also an economic and social event: the Christian expansion towards the south in the Iberian Peninsula also demanded the hard work of colonising the conquered regions.37 The French presence in Spain had economic implications, not only for the Reconquista war, but also along the camino de Santiago. This foreign presence in Spain reveals that in the later centuries of the European Middle Ages, people moved constantly for different reasons—commerce, business, pilgrimage, war, Crusades, new settlements,
and also due to hard economic and political conditions which made life intolerable in some areas. Because of the hardships of life, different people made alliances in search of better conditions. The practice of alliances seeking a better life, however, explains only in part the reasons for the great social movements in Europe during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

IV. THE ROLE AND SOCIAL DIMENSIONS OF THE FOREIGN ARMIES

One more issue in social history that should be brought up at this point concerns the assimilation of the French participants in the *Reconquista* process, in colonising conquered Muslim territories devastated by the wars. Next to these French participants, one should include those French who settled along the road to Santiago.

The French are called by the Christian sources with the generic name of Franks. However, some documents apply this term to all foreigners in the Peninsula, and this term had different connotations in several *Fueros* and in many cities: at times it refers to foreign people and frequently to a social condition as in the case of the *Fuero de Logroño* in Castilla, given by King Alfonso VI in 1095. In this document the term *Francigenus* refers mainly to a social condition, while the other term of *Franci* alludes mainly to their foreign origin.

The assimilation process and the discussion of the possible non-assimilation of foreign populations is a major and controversial issue in social history, since the sources provide evidence to prove either argument for the centuries of the *Reconquista*. One should keep in mind that the sources explain the existence of quarters in several cities or a street called the street of the Franks, like those in Pamplona and Toledo, which proves that even if the number of Franks was not relevant, at least they lived in the same neighbourhood. However, the question that arises here is whether they really formed a separate community and if any discrimination took place. These issues are difficult to determine and the final words are still to be written. Evidence proves that the Franks never constituted a separate community, at least from a legal point of view. However, generalizations are always dangerous, and exceptions are frequently found especially if different regions of Christian Spain are under consideration.

The process of assimilation seems to have been more difficult in Navarra, where the various privileges granted to them created a sense of separation. In several cities of Navarra the French people lived in specific parts of the city, while the local people inhabited others, as is the case in
San Juan de Estella (granted a *Carta Puebla* in 1187) and Arenal de Estella (granted a *Carta Puebla* in 1188) where the existence of separate neighbourhoods was mainly due to the special privileges offered by the king to the Franks. However, the Fueros of these cities clearly specified that all residents were equal before the law and in all economic and commercial matters, which shows that discrimination was probably rare. In other cities, like in Toledo, for example, the French people were granted important privileges, but because they probably were not that numerous, assimilation was possible. One of the major exceptions in this process of assimilation was San Jerónimo, where the Franks constituted the majority of the population and they were even granted some autonomy by having their own municipality.

In the thirteenth century, the legislation allowed the Franks to become citizens after some years of residence: after two years according to the *El Espéculo*, and ten years of residence according to *Las Partidas* of King Alfonso X el Sabio. Whatever the case may be, it is possible to notice that the foreign populations were assimilated, because the official policies were inclined towards assimilation. To accomplish this the nationality was granted.

The "hispanization" of the Bourguignonne dynasties of Castilla and Portugal in fact shows and proves the rapid assimilation process. This "hispanization" also reveals that probably the French who came to the Peninsula were not numerous. Due to their limited numbers, it is possible to expect their assimilation into the Spanish culture, even though the French presence brought new ideas, institutions and socio-economic transformations to the Peninsula. Their presence was influential and substantial, as explained before, for the role of the Cluny and the Cistercian Orders in the reform movements, the centralization of the Church under the direction of the pope, and the spread of the ideology of the *Reconquista*. The leadership of the French in some armies to fight the Muslims; the direction of the religious reform movements and the appointment of French monks as Abbots in Sahagún and other Spanish monasteries, as well as in leading clerical positions such as the Archbishop of Toledo, reveal the impact and the significance of their presence, even though they were not numerous.

The acquisition of new land for a fast growing population, new farming techniques and irrigation systems, brought into the Christian kingdoms by the immigrant *mozarab* and *Jewish* populations from al-Andalus during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries during the reigns of the Berber dynasties of the Almoravids (1090–1145) and Almohads (1145/1170–1223/1269) helped the Christian expansion over the Muslim territories. The creation of the Military Orders since the second half of the twelfth century also assisted in this process: the *Orden de Calatrava* which was established in 1158 and recognised by the pope in 1164 followed the organization model of the Cister...
Order since it was founded by two Cistercian monks;\textsuperscript{43} the Orden de Santiago which was founded in 1161; the Orden de Avis founded in 1164; the Orden de Alcánfara founded in 1156 by Don Suero Fernández Barrientos and recognised by the pope in 1177.\textsuperscript{44} These various Military Orders had the purpose of fighting against the Muslims and they united ideological and military elements to accomplish their objectives. They clearly show the military aspect of the Reconquista, which is even more clearly seen in the presence of French Crusade soldiers. The foundation of the Mendicant Orders during the thirteenth century as well as the spread of the mesta institution for the expansion of cattle, also favoured the conditions for success of the Christian kingdoms over al-Andalus, and led them towards victory over the Muslims.

Simultaneous to the pope’s interests in participating in the Iberian Peninsula for the unity and control of the mozarab church under the indisputable direction of Rome, foreign armies participated in the Reconquista process along with Spanish troops. The Christian culture triumphed for several reasons. One of them was the fact that it became better and more strongly organized than the Muslim counterpart. According to Arabic sources, the Castellans organized a powerful army under the direction of, whom some Arabic sources called with the obscure name of al-Baytin. To this army one should add the armies coming from France (al-Ard al-Kabirah).\textsuperscript{45} The preaching of Crusades in al-Andalus was an ideological argument of great relevance to unite the Christians against the Muslims who were, in contrast, at that time politically weak and in the process of fragmentation in the Ta’ifah period. In this Crusade, international help was received in Spain. As explained before, French armies were involved and participated since the first Crusade in Spain in 1063, besieging Barbastro in 1064.\textsuperscript{46} According to Arabic and Christian sources, the city of Barbastro surrendered after forty days of siege. A treaty between the defeated Muslims and the successful Christians established that the latter would respect the Muslim lives and properties, but in fact did not respect this pact. Christian soldiers killed many Muslims and confiscated their properties, as described by Ibn Hayyān.\textsuperscript{47} This Crusade had considerable consequences since it shows the interest of the victorious armies in acquiring booty, the control of cities and fortresses and the abuses of power. The Christians also took advantage of the internal problems that weakened al-Andalus especially after the end of the strong ‘Amirid period, when a serious fitmah (uprising, civil war) ruined the harmony and drained the strength of the caliphate of Córdoba. The participation of French armies reveals the foreign interest—meaning European Christian powers—in unifying the Iberian Peninsula with the European Christian culture and regaining political control of the Peninsula. The ideology of the Reconquista as a Crusade in Spain had, obviously, a military international support.
The Christian rulers took advantage of these historical events which weakened the Muslim power in al-Andalus. The process then dramatically reversed. Just a few years before, the Christians were defeated and forced to pay tribute to the rulers of al-Andalus, mainly during the ‘Amirid period of Almanzor. After the fall of the caliphate of Córdoba, the situation changed drastically and various Muslim kings during the Ta’ifah period had to pay tributes to the Christian kings, Alfonso VI of Castilla being the major one.

Several Arabic sources explain in detail the economic problems various Muslim rulers faced to raise the money required to pay those heavy tributes to Alfonso VI. Among them in Mudhákkiārāt, written by ‘Abd Allāh, the last Zirid king of Granada, explaining the serious problems faced in order to meet these requirements. The major question he raised was the one concerning the levying of more taxes on his people in order to pay the tributes to the Christian king. In his understanding this was a major contradiction. He feared his people could complain to the Berber leader of North Africa and request him to come to al-Andalus to save them from the extreme exploitation to which their Berber king of Granada was subjecting them, by levying and increasing his taxes to give more money to the Christian king Alfonso VI.48

In these difficult times, some of the party-kings of al-Andalus went as far as to seek the support and military help of Castilla or any other Christian kingdom to solve their own political and territorial disputes, about which Arabic sources have abundant information. The major accomplishment for the Reconquista during that century was the conquest of Toledo in 1085 by Alfonso VI. Undoubtedly this military success proved a turning point in favour of the Christians and shaped the whole Reconquista process, mainly due to the fact that Toledo, one of the major cities of that time, never fell again under Muslim control. After the Christian conquest of Toledo, some Arabic sources even mentioned what seems to have been a prophecy, that the presence of the Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula was getting close to its end.49

After the conquest of Toledo, the Christian leaders had to face the difficult issue of how to deal with the Muslim population of the city and the considerable number of Jews, who formed a very influential community. At first they decided to apply a similar way of treatment to Muslims and Jews, as Muslims had given them in the dhimmah system. Muslims and Jews were then considered separate communities in Christian Toledo. Those Muslims then under Christian control were known with the name of mudéjares. The pact between Christians and Muslims established peace between the two communities. The Christian leaders promised to respect the persons and properties of the Muslims and their mosque.50 Sisnando was the person
appointed by the king Alfonso VI to administer the city of Toledo. He represented the good will, the desire for peace and understanding between the two groups. However, much opposition rose against him and his conciliatory policy which was considered weak and obsolete by many Christians at that time. The respect and peace between the two communities came to an end when a group of Christians, supposedly with the acquiescence of the Archbishop and the Queen, occupied the mosque and converted it into a Christian church. This was the beginning of struggles, persecutions, killings of Muslims, and profound religious rivalries and separations.

As far as the Jews were concerned, they had been successful in collecting taxes and tributes, for King Alfonso VI, who did not replace them by Christians. The king also appointed some of them as ambassadors to the Ta'ifah kingdoms to collect the tributes, usually called parias. The case of the Jew, Ibn Shalib, ambassador of Alfonso VI to collect the parias of the ‘Abbadid kingdom of Sevilla and killed because he complained about the low quality of the silver that the king of Sevilla gave him, is well-known and does not need any further comment.

Jews were not only different from the mozarab population of Toledo in religion, but also in the economic level. Since they collected the taxes, they were hated by the people, who could not understand the reasons why they were so successful and why the king favoured them so much. Christians also discriminated against them and persecuted them. In 1108, for example, the Christians of Toledo persecuted the Jews, killed many of them and confiscated their properties. These issues have passed into the folklore and to the Spanish poetry, mainly in the works of Gonzalo de Berceo. Jews were also numerous and successful in other places under Christian control such as Tlascala, Talavera, Calatrava and Zorita. However, there is no evidence that they were persecuted in those places. Even though it is difficult to determine with precision the reasons for the opposition of the Jews of Lucena to the kingdom of Granada led by the Zirid dynasty, as described by ‘Abd Allāh in his memoirs, these events reveal the Jewish discontent, the popular opposition to the Jews, and also shows the persecutions that the Jews had to face.

The Berber dynasties of the Almoravids and the Almohads that united almost the totality of al-Andalus, with the exception of Toledo and the northern cities, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, were characterized by strong religious beliefs and plans to recover the lost influence and territories in al-Andalus, took strong actions against Christians and Jews. Many of them fled the persecution and found refuge in the famous city of Toledo and also in the fortress of Calatrava, from where they made their way to Castilla. Anywhere they went they took with them their knowledge and
skills, which they had learned in the prosperous and scientifically and technically advanced al-Andalus. Because of these mozarabs and Jews the School of Translations of Toledo was possible later in the twelfth century, mainly during the time of the Archbishop Raimundo and later in the thirteenth century during the time of Alfonso X.\textsuperscript{58}

V. RECONQUISTA AND FEUDALISM:
A POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL CONTROVERSY

Another important issue to analyse in this essay is the impact of the French Feudal system in Spain and its contribution to the Reconquista process. The study of these issues leads to socio-economic analysis and the detailed study of the Marxist theories in the economic-social formations as well as the analysis of the tributary feudal system, that is, the feudal census or feudal rent. The role played by the French presence in the Iberian Peninsula during the Reconquista process, as the major influence to bring the feudal institutions into Spain, has not been emphasised by scholars in their academic research. The purpose of this section is to analyse the ways feudalism was brought into the Peninsula by French monks, soldiers and landlords. In this section, emphasis is placed on the spread of the feudal institutions in Spain as a result of the French penetration. A close study of the Repartimientos after the Reconquista, and the colonisation process clearly show the spread of the feudal institutions. Land distribution and the tributary system, with the exceptions which have been discussed by various specialists, were mainly feudal and helped to spread those institutions and eventually to defend the conquered lands and to spread the Reconquista process, since feudal institutions are more militarily "aggressive".\textsuperscript{59} The major topics of these academic discussions have been summarized by Pierre Guichard in a recent work, in the following lines:

\ldots divers auteurs interessés par le problème des structures sociales andalouses ont développé l'idée que l'on pouvait rattacher la formation hispano-musulmane aux systèmes auxquels la réflexion marxiste (ou néo-marxiste) a donné le nom de "tributaires", pour les différencier des systèmes féodaux dans lesquels une classe de grands possesseurs du sol s'approprie également les droits sur les hommes relevant normalement de la puissance étatique, en arrivant même à menacer l'existence même de cette dernière. Dans le système andalou, les deux réalités fondamentales seraient l'organisation étatique d'une part, et les communautés rurales et urbaines d'autre part, le rapport entre les deux s'établissant principalement par le biais de l'impôt ou tribut. La classe aristocratique n'a guère d'autonomie par rapport à l'état, Elle possède sans doute des terres, mais cette emprise foncière
resté limitée; elle ne jouit pas de droits de type “banal” sur la population des campagnes, et tire en fait une bonne part de ses revenus de son insertion dans les structures étatiques.  

As one can easily infer from the previous text, the discussion mainly concerns the tributary feudal system for al-Andalus, and not really the spread of the feudal institutions during and after the Reconquista. It is to this last issue, which has been neglected by most scholars, that this section is devoted.

There are, however, some materialistic interpretations of these events which emphasise the socio-economic issues over the political and ideological. They mainly explain the economic-social formations. This means the replacement of the mercantile-monetary economy of the Muslim empire in al-Andalus, with the feudal mode of production. One of the first leading works in this interpretation was Samir Amin’s Le développement inégal, which was a major source for many other scholars to interpret the spread of the tributary system in Spain, that is, the feudal system with its characteristic social relations. These ideas have been followed by a number of scholars who have tried to analyse the feudal institutions in al-Andalus, but not so much the spread of this system after the Reconquista. Some researchers have questioned if feudalism really spread in Spain in all the lands conquered by the Christians as a result of the Reconquista process from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries. Among them is Manuel González Jiménez who, in his research, has proved the problems and limitations of the spread of the feudal system in Andalucía. His analysis and new conclusions on feudalism in Spain during and after the Reconquista have been a great contribution in the controversy on the spread of feudalism in the Iberian Peninsula. He proves that only in a limited way the feudal institutions spread in Andalucía, mainly in Sevilla and Jerez, where the repartimientos were close to the traditional feudal system. He affirmed, proven by evidence, that for Andalucía the seigneurial system was atypical for this region, and that the seigneurial rents were marginally feudal, since the commerce practised provided them with high income. The rural workers, on the other hand, were not attached to feudal institutions and the typical feudal exploitation. The workers were hired and they worked for a landlord for a salary if they wanted or if they could. They were not obliged, either, to the corvées and other impositions of the feudal system. He wrote:

Las relaciones entre los grupos dominantes y los menos favorecidos se establecen no a través de un entramado de dependencias y de usos más o menos onerosos de tipo feudal, sino desde la libertad jurídica. Y desde esta perspectiva, solo cabían relaciones contractuales, que se extienden incluso a las relaciones señorvasallo. Este lo es por decisión propia y, en la práctica, existía un contrato tácito en virtud
del cual se producía una mutua aceptación: el señor aceptaba al vasallo y éste a su señor. El vasallo tiene plena libertad de movimiento sin tener por ello que desprenderse de sus bienes ni menos aún correr el riesgo de que el señor se incaute de ellos. Por otra parte, como han puesto de relieve las investigaciones realizadas hasta el momento, el régimen señorial andaluz se sustentaba sobre presupuestos un tanto atípicos. De entrada, las rentas feudales eran muy poco feudales. El comercio, las actividades pesqueras, la exportación de aceite, jabón, trigo y vino les proporcionaban, directa o indirectamente, saneados ingresos.  

These ideas really show the dimensions and the numerous exceptions in the imposition of feudalism in Spain, which leads us to take a careful approach to this topic, by explaining the general process and analysing the various exceptions and particular cases. In his opinion, despite the distribution of land to the noblemen and soldiers who fought for the Reconquista, those donations in a very short period of time changed hands and became property of the Military Orders and of the Church, and did not remain in the hands of the landlords.  

Reyna Pastor de Togneri attempted to study this economic and social transformation in the mode of production in the Iberian Peninsula, following some of the ideas explained by Samir Amin and other researchers. Even though she emphasised the economic-social formations, the fragmentation of al-Andalus, the creation of some institutions (such as the role played by the Church) and the replacement of the mercantile-monetary economy by a feudal system, her study lacks evidence and coherent arguments to prove this controversial point. The possible development of a feudal system in the lands conquered by the Christian Kingdoms in al-Andalus, and the role played by the French presence in the Peninsula as monks (Cluny and Cistercians) and as soldiers, as well as the expansion of the feudal institutions from France brought by the French presence in the Peninsula, are not fully analysed or clearly explained in her book. Reyna Pastor de Togneri did not interrelate the various elements for a cogent argument, and she studied only the “tributary” system. On the whole, the lack of evidence in her book, the failure to study the various exceptions in the process, the clumsy choice of events, the lack of cogent arguments and the weak analysis and understanding of these difficult issues which did not prove her points, constitute, undoubtedly, major flaws in her work.  

Some other works, even older and not under the economic interpretation of history, and far from being materialistic studies, have been more successful in explaining the economic-social formations and the expansion of the feudal system from France to the Iberian Peninsula. One of the major
and more complete accounts of these events is Marcelin Defourneaux's *LesFrancais en Espagne aux XIè et XIIè siècles*, whose profound analysis demonstrates the expansion of feudalism in the Iberian Peninsula. The interest that the popes and the French kings had in conquering al-Andalus, also brought the French institutions into Spain. Among them were the feudal institutions and developments from the late eleventh century onwards. According to the sources, it is possible to notice a considerable number of French participants in the Christian armies for the conquest of Toledo. It is possible to think that this was the beginning of the feudal expansion into the Peninsula, exemplified in the feudal colonisation of Barbastro, the first place where the French armies went in 1064. In this French participation in the Peninsula, which constituted the first Crusade in al-Andalus, the various documents clearly show the expansion of the feudal system and the importance of the land. This process also continued in the twelfth century through the land acquisition and distribution and through the creation of feudal institutions after the conquest of Zaragoza and Tudela. The new land owners became feudal landlords and many French feudal landlords moved to the Iberian Peninsula to start new settlements in territories of Aragón and Navarra, between 1114 and 1134. Probably from here the feudal system spread to other areas in the twelfth century, mainly to Castilla, since Cataluña, under a strong French influence for several centuries, had developed a feudal system similar to the French. The expansion of feudalism also continued in the Iberian Peninsula in the thirteenth century, following the new conquests.

In order to have a clear understanding of the expansion and consolidation of the feudal system in Spain as a result of the French penetration during the eleventh century, one has to analyse particular cases, such as the monastery of Sahagún, and the expansion of what in Spain was called *cargas banales* (duties charged for various services), from French feudalism. The monastery of Sahagún was donated to the Cluny monks by the Castellan king Alfonso VI, as explained before. The donation of this monastery was also made with the purpose of creating a new town around it. The *Cartas Pueblas* donated by Alfonso VI clearly reveal these issues, and they also show that not only people from León and Castilla were granted privileges and land, but also many Frenchmen. The social relations between people and the monastery were undoubtedly feudal, as well as the social relations between the various social layers in society.

The social relations between the people in the new town and the monastery of Sahagún were the same as those that characterized the monasteries and the feudal landlords with the common people in France. The imposition of heavy duties for various activities was also developed and practised in those lands of Spain. Sahagún played the same role as any feudal
nobleman. People in the surrounding areas of the monastery were forced to work for the monastery, as one of the cargas banales (the duties charged for the services, or in this case the labour obligations), as it was also practised during the feudal system in other places of Europe. Undoubtedly, this is part of the same traditional situation of the serfs in other parts of Europe. The monastery also monopolized the use of the mills and imposed heavy duties on peasants who needed the mills to grind the cereals and other products. The same also happened for the use of ovens for which the monastery had heavy charges.

In the Iberian Peninsula, in contrast to the rest of feudal Europe, the use of mills had not been monopolized before. It was considered by the local people a foreign imposition when the monastery of Sahagún monopolized their use and heavily charged the local population. The tradition in Medieval Spain seems to have been that the mills were of popular use, not an exclusive right of the nobility or the powerful. In this respect a passage from El Poema del Mio Cid reveals this practice and how popular the use was in the Iberian Peninsula to the point that the Infantes de Carrión even despised the Cid as the one who usually ran a mill. This undoubtedly means that it was not a privilege of the nobility in Spain, but apparently a popular privilege. This passage reads:

Oh, señores de la corte, ¿cómo se oyó cosa tal?  
¿Quién le manda a él con los do Carrión casar? 

Early in the twelfth century the peasant population rebelled against the monastery of Sahagún. This rebellion can be portrayed as part of the more generalized social protests and upheavals in Spain and France. These various rebellions in Spain became a general movement against the cargas banales, and the imposition of different and foreign traditions and practices, such as the monopoly of the mills. 

The peasants allied with the social and economic group of the merchants and professional urban population, among them carpenters, tailors, tanners, armourers and others. All can be included in a group which, keeping in mind the limitations and possible anachronisms, could be considered the beginnings of the bourgeoisie. This group of the bourgeoisie very skillfully defended their own interests and with the general peasant revolt managed to oppose the heavy duties and services charged in the cargas banales. Although they obtained the suspension of the oven duty, all other duties charged were still collected and remained in practice. After Alfonso VI's
death, the rebellion became even stronger and more challenging against the monastery of Sahagún. Peasants cut trees from the forest allotted to the monastery, destroyed several constructions and even threatened the monks. Rulers interfered and even the pope was concerned about the consequences of this revolt. He sent a messenger to stop the violence in the region. The pope's threat of excommunication had an extremely important impact. At that time, however, the authorities had already expelled many town-dwellers and it was not until the Council of Burgos in 1118 that an end was really put to this revolt, allowing the return of those inhabitants already expelled.

These rebellions show the social tensions caused by the development of the new economic-social formations of the feudal system, which before the French presence in the Peninsula had been hardly spread in Spain. The creation and development of the institutions, the law and the ideology, next to the social practice and tensions in the economic-social formations are relevant issues that Defourneaux analysed in detail with the important examples and evidence; issues lacking in Pastor de Togneri's description. The religious involvement of the Cluny Order in Spain helped the spread of feudal French institutions in the Iberian Peninsula, since the Church and especially this Order, was essentially feudal in its organization and one of the major feudal institutions. The study of the monastery of Sahagún is fundamental in this respect.

The substitution of the Cluny Order by the Cistercians was also an important element that deserves special attention, because it reveals the consolidation of a more dynamic feudal system in the Iberian Peninsula and more aggressive consolidation of the Reconquista.

However, it is important to keep in mind that the feudal system in Spain, which spread rapidly with the French presence from the eleventh century onward, was limited because of the strong Berber dynasties of the Almoravids and the Almohads which managed to stop the Reconquista process for about a century and a half. When land confiscation by the Christian kingdoms and allotments to the noblemen and warriors were restricted due to the end of the conquest at that time, the feudal system started a process of consolidation in the Christian lands. Because of lack of evidence, it is possible to suppose that it did not spread to regions under Muslim control during those centuries. It is not until the beginning of the thirteenth century, after the Almohads were defeated in the famous battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212, that the Christian kings were able to reactivate the Reconquista process, and to be successful in new conquests in al-Andalus. The confiscation of more and new land from the conquests to be granted to their noblemen as payment for their military services in the Reconquista, contributed to reactivate the rapid expansion of the feudal system in those newly
At this point, one has to raise the question of whether feudalism was unknown in the Peninsula before the already explained French presence. The feudal system has two types of relations—juridical and economic. Juridical relations, that is, the relations of vassalage, existed in Spain even before French presence. The vassals owed vassalage to the feudal landlords and to the king. This is also portrayed in the *El Poema del Mio Cid*. When after the Castellan king Alfonso VI deported El Cid from his dominions, the Cid’s vassals suffered the same fate and left Castilla with their lord Ruy Díaz de Vivar.  

The second or economic relations of the feudal system refers to the servitude obligations of the serfs to their lord. The serfs were not allowed to leave the lands, or to relinquish their servitude obligations such as the payment of the *cargas banales*, and the obligatory work in the lands of the feudal landlord. The new conquered territories in the *Reconquista* by the Christian kings from the thirteenth century onwards caused enormous economic and social transformations in the new territories, since the feudal system as a new mode of production was imposed and replaced the Muslim mercantile-monetary system. These changes can be seen as a consequence of the French presence, because it was the French monks, pilgrims and soldiers who brought this new economic, social and political system to the Peninsula.

For the Christian leaders of that time the expansion south towards al-Andalus faced several challenges such as land distribution after the conquest, the imposition of feudal social relations and consolidation of that system. Another relevant challenge was the colonisation of conquered lands. What is important to bear in mind is the fact that the most relevant changes took place in the economic level and the social relations, in other words, the imposition of the feudal system as predominant.

There are several modern and excellent studies about the process of expansion of the feudal system in the territories gained in the *Reconquista* from the thirteenth century onwards, which prove the importance of land distribution through the *Repartimientos* (allotments of lands, properties, houses, mills and other goods as explained by the sources) and the colonisation activities after the conquests.

The conquest of the island of Mallorca (1229–1230) was the first consequence of the battle of *Las Navas de Tolosa* (1212). This conquest shows the process of expansion of the feudal centralized monarchies of northern Spain against al-Andalus, and the important economic and social
transformations that took place in this island after the conquest. These transformations are contained in the famous *Llibre del Repartiment de Mallorca*, a major source for the study of these issues. It shows the expansion of the feudal system, which was imposed on the island through the *repartimiento* (allotment) of lands and other properties to the noblemen as payment for their military services, and the imposition of the feudal rents or *cemw*. These nobles and military men, as it was the case in other places of Europe, were obliged to defend the island and to be loyal to, and vassals of, the king. The same happened in other areas of Spain. By means of all this information in the *Llibre del Repartiment de Mallorca*, which is a good example because it was the first of its kind, it is possible to picture the general framework in the expansion of feudalism which came along with the *Reconquista*, after the *Reconquista* became an ideological weapon against Muslims in Spain.

What happened in the land distribution, allotments to the noblemen, defence of the island and other economic and social changes in Mallorca can also be extended to other areas conquered by the Christian armies in the Peninsula, with the exceptions explained above. The spread of the feudal system, the social relations and the economy were the constant in that period of the *Reconquista*, which reveals the expansion of the feudal institutions. This expansion was accomplished through the feudal seigneurs who were granted special privileges such as administration of the territories and of the law, and through the predominance of the feudal-vassal relations in the production, administration and social structure. This is also valid for other regions of Spain such as the Denia region and Valencia.79

The Christian leaders in the conquest of Mallorca also made their noblemen swear loyalty to them and, through various pacts of vassalage, managed to keep their loyalty to the Crown. Those who had been allotted land were obliged to help the king with armies in case of war. This is the same feudal structure that existed in other areas of Europe, with the same obligations for the noblemen and the people.79

To these allotments one should add those practised in favour of the Church, as shown in the *Llibre de Repartiments de Mallorca*. The Church constituted a major institution in the consolidation and expansion of the feudal system in Spain, and also in the *Reconquista* process. No wonder that the Templars and other religious orders were also granted lands in this island. In other parts of the Peninsula, the Church was granted several territories and special donations, such as the case of the *repartimientos* of Murcia. The king also donated territories to the Military Orders, during the process of the *Reconquista*, which were extremely important for the organization of armies.
Taking the case of the conquest of Mallorca as a major example of the expansion of the feudal system, it is possible to extend the process to other areas of Spain. Anywhere the feudal system went in the Peninsula, it emphasised the agricultural activities supported by a leading class of feudal character, for which land conquests and donations were important. Land control influenced the kind of economic relations as well as the social relations that took place in this island, and by extension, in similar ways in other conquered areas in Aragón, León and Castilla, and in the repartimiento of Murcia, Lorca and Orihuela. In addition, the feudal expansion also changed the production, agriculture and the landscape. This is why the process of colonisation started almost immediately, and those who were granted territories enriched themselves very rapidly and were able to control more land. This caused several social upheavals and protests all over the Peninsula due to the unequal land distribution. In Mallorca, the Christian leaders colonised those lands with the help of Spanish Christians, mozarabs (even though it has been proved that the mozarabs lacked numerical strength), of foreigners as in the case of Italians for Mallorca, and of French mainly for Castilla. During these centuries of Reconquista, the Christian kings all over the Peninsula also encouraged Jews and counted on their help for the colonisation process and the sources of finance for these projects.

VI. CONCLUSION

Despite the strong Muslim administration of al-Andalus, and its cultural, scientific and literary splendour, Muslims weakened themselves in constant upheavals and struggles for power. After the fall of the Umayyad caliphate in al-Andalus in 1031, this territory was fragmented in several small kingdoms during the period of the Ta’ifahs. Despite internal, social, ethnic and political divisions, the major threat to the existence of al-Andalus came from outside: from international Christian armies and the conformation of the Reconquista as an ideology from the eleventh century onward. As it was demonstrated in this essay, the organization of the Reconquista as an ideology was essential for the Iberian Christians to be able to defeat the Muslims. On top of these events, the role played by the colonisation of conquered land was also explained. Eventually, these new colonies formed cultural, political and military units to face the Muslims.

The Church leadership used various sources for ideological unity, such as the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela and all sorts of penetration through the activities that took place on the road to Santiago. Even though Muslims tried to survive in Spain, the conformation of the Reconquista as an ideology also involved the pope, the French Cluny Order, later the Cistercian Order, and the French armies. The direct pontifical interference in the organization of the Crusade for the Reconquista was also essential in
favour of the Christians, since the pope also requested his bishops and clergymen in Spain that funds be collected to finance the Reconquista. On the whole, this international Christian involvement and support tipped the balance in favour of the Christians against the Muslims in al-Andalus. The establishment of several strong and very active monasteries all over the Christian dominions, which were real economic emporiums counting on pontifical support and French help, also led towards a stronger Christian unity against Muslims.

The conformation of the Reconquista as an ideology united the Christians of the Peninsula with the pope and with the rest of Christianity, especially after he was able to impose the Roman liturgy and practices in Spain, and to replace the old mozárab liturgy. The pope then preached a Crusade for the Reconquista of Spain, and asserted that it was equally valid to the Crusade for the Holy Land. These practices even led the Church towards a direct involvement in political activities. When the pope came to know about political fragmentation and political problems between Christians, he sent orders and representatives to stop the divisions and to preserve the unity. This unity of the Christians was important as a reason for their success when facing the Muslims.

Next to all these ideas, this essay also explained the French military involvement in the Reconquista wars, which became a major international assistance in favour of the Christians. The fact that these Frenchmen were assimilated into the Spanish population strengthened even more the Reconquista as an ideology, as a national aspiration, and emphasised the dimensions of international involvement. The Spanish also organized themselves in several armies and produced important military leaders in the eleventh century, mainly Alfonso VI. The foundation, later in the twelfth century, of several Ordenes Militeres, as well as the Mendicant Orders and the institution of the mesta, also contributed to tip the balance in favour of the Christians.

The French presence in the Iberian Peninsula also brought several institutions to this area as, among them the feudal institutions. Further explained in this essay was the importance of the feudal land system, the cargas banales, the role of the mills and other feudal practices introduced into the Peninsula by the French. The feudal institutions also helped in the Reconquista wars, since it usually formed warriors and gave extreme importance to the military activities, as explained in this essay. To these military actions was added the role of the monks in spreading the new ideas. The change of the Cluny by the Cistercians meant the change from contemplative monasteries to those more actively involved in the socio-economic developments, and a more dynamic feudal system.
All these historical events contributed to the success of the Crusade against al-Andalus, based on local support as well as international Christian assistance.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. In relation to the Reconquista and its economic and social importance see: Pierre Vilar, Historia de España, (Barcelona: Critica Grijalbo, 1986), passim, especially pp. 21–39. See also Abilio Barbero and Marcelo Virgil, Sobre los orígenes sociales de la Reconquista (Barcelona: Editorial Ariel, 1984), passim, especially pp. 13–98, where they affirm that the Reconquista as a historical process was the continuation of the natural and constant opposition of thevascones as against any foreign rule—Romans, Visigoths, Arabs. See also Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, Orígenes y destino de Náyara, Trayectoria histórica de Vasconia. (Barcelona: Planeta, 1983), passim, especially pp. 11–31.


3. Muhammad ibn Abú'l-Qāsīm al-Qayrawānī (Ibn Abū Dinár), Kitāb al-Mu'nis fi Akhbaṣr Iffriqiyah wa Tunis (Tunis, n 1286), pp. 44–45, and also p. 98, where he explains these same issues. About the Fatimids in North Africa and their declaration of a caliphate, and the reaction of 'Abd al-Rahmān III by declaring a separate caliphate in al-Andalus, see Qayrawānī (Ibn Abū Dinár), Mu'nis, p. 45.

4. About 'Abd al-Rahmān III adopting the title of Amir al-Mu'minin in January 16, 929 see Ibn al-Kardabūs, Ta'rākh al-Andalus, edited by Ahmad Mukhtar al-Abbādi (Madrid: Ma'had al-Dīrāsāt li-l-Islāmiyyah, 1971), pp. 60–61. Una Crónica Anónima de 'Abd al-Rahman III al-Nasir, edited and Spanish translation by É. Lévi-Provençal and Emilio García Gómez (Madrid, Granada: Instituto Miguel Asfa, 1950), pp. 78–80. See also Sirāj al-Dīn Abū Hafs 'Umar ibn al-Muẓaffar ibn al-Wardī, Khaḍrāt al-'Ajā'ib wa Farāda al-Gharābīb, manuscript no. 2406 (Mixt 825) in the österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, f. 12, where the author also described the city of Córdoba, the capital of the caliphate, as a major city. The author wrote the following lines: “Dār al-Khīlafah al-Islāmiyyah wa ḥyu mādīnah 'azīmah.” In this respect other manuscripts expressed similar ideas, for example Shams al-Dīn Abūl-'Bagkārat Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Iyas al-Ḥanāfī, Kītāb Nashq al-Azhārī ft 'Ajā'ib al-Aqṭār, manuscript number 2407 (Mixt 1228) in the österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, ff. 10–12, and also f. 219 for a good description of Córdoba as the capital of the caliphate.

5. Ibn Hazm, Naqāt al-'Arās, p. 75.


11. Defourneaux, Les français en Espagne, p. 12. About the mozarab liturgy and religious practices see the following manuscripts: Manual Antigo de Orações que usa la Iglesia, manuscript no. 10175, in Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid. Missalis Mozarabi, manuscript no.
13830, in Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid. Missales Gothicos, manuscript no. 13413, in Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid. Breviariun Mozarabicum, manuscript no. 10001, in Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid. Breviariun Mozarabicum, manuscript no. 10110, in Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid. Liber Misticus, manuscript no. 13052, in Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid. Himnos Litúrgicos visigoticos, manuscript no. 10029, in Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid. Libros Mozarabicos, manuscript no. 626–30, in Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid. Litúrgia Visigótica, manuscript no. 35.6, in Cathedral of Toledo. Litúrgia visigótica, manuscript no. 35.3, in Cathedral of Toledo. Litúrgia visigótica, manuscript no. 35.4, in Cathedral of Toledo. Litúrgia visigótica, manuscript no. 35.5, in Cathedral of Toledo. Litúrgia visigótica, manuscript no. 44.2, in Cathedral of Toledo.

12. Defourneaux, Les françois en Espagne, p. 12. About the new Roman liturgy imposed in Spain by the pope, see the following manuscripts in the Cathedral of Toledo: 34.9, 34.10, 34.11, 34.15, 34.17, 34.43, 34.44, 34.54, 34.64, 34.65, 34.66, 34.71. Missale, manuscript no. 9719, in Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid. Missale, manuscript no. Vtr—20–8, in Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid. Libro de Horas, manuscript no. Res 189, in Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid. Libro de Horas, manuscript no. Res 192, in Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid. Libro de Horas, manuscript no. Res 197, in biblioteca Nacional de Madrid. For the general Christian religious Councils see the manuscript in Arabic preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, Canonum Ecclesie Hispanie—Codex, manuscript no. 4877, in Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid. See also manuscript no. 1623 (Casiri 1618) in Real Biblioteca de el Escorial, Madrid. About this important manuscript in Arabic, preserved in the famous library of El Escorial, near Madrid, Casiri wrote the following lines: “Hinc liquet preterea Collectionem huysmodi Canonum Arabicam, alias prorus esse a Conciliorum Collectione quam laudari Eupra codices, aliique plures vulgo complectuatur; siquidem ibi contineri videa Concilia & Epistolae Decretales integras, perpetuasque; hic Canones tantum ac Sententias ex ipsis Concilii ac Decretalibus excerptas atque in suos Titulos, sua Capita, tanquam in certos rerum locos, aptissime digestas . . .” Michael Casiri, Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana Escurialensis (Madrid, 1760–1770), vol. I, p. 542.


16. For more information and details see Defourneaux, Les francs en Espagne, pp. 23–24.

17. See Defourneaux, Les francs en Espagne, p. 27. In this respect he wrote the following lines:

Les nombreux dons en terre que requrent les monastères réformés en firent souvent 
des maisons riches qui devinrent d’importants centres de vie économique (par exemple Sahagôn, à la fois grande exploitation agricole et bourg aux marchés très actifs).


26. Defourneaux, Les frances en Espagne, p. 50. For more details about the Cister Order and its rules see Definiciones de la Orden del Cister, manuscript no. 10164 in Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid.

27. Defourneaux, Les frances en Espagne, p. 51. About King Alfonso VII of Castilla, and his
assistance to the Cistercians, Defourneaux wrote: "Son nom est associé à la création de la plupart des maisons cisterciennes qui apparaissent sous son règne, soit qu'il ait provoqué lui même la foundation, ou la réforme soit qu'il ait doté largement en terres et en privilèges, les maisons nouvelles fondées par les grands de son royaum."

28. Defourneaux, Les français en Espagne, p. 52. Many other Spanish kings donated monasteries to various religious orders in the ensuing centuries, for example Jaime I from 1272 to 1275 and Pedro I in the fourteenth century. See also Registro de las gracias que hicieron los Reyes Jaime I, de 1272 a 1275, Pedro I y Alfonso II, manuscript 10160, in Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, f. 58, ff. 69–74, and ff. 95 and ff.

29. River Recio, Iglesia, p. 224. See also the full document in Appendix Number 4. See also Pastor de Togneri, Del Islam and Cristianismo, En las fronteras de dos formaciones económicosociales (Barcelona: Ediciones Peninsula, 1985), pp. 125–126.

32. River Recio, Iglesia, pp. 40–43.
35. Defourneaux, Les français en Espagne, p. 11.
36. Defourneaux, Les français en Espagne, pp. 240 ff. for a detailed analysis of these controversies.

37. Defourneaux, Les français en Espagne, pp. 238–239, who wrote the following lines: L’oeuvre de Reconquête chrétienne des Xle et XIe siècles n’a pas été seulement, on vient de le voir, une entreprise guerrière, visant à arracher, morceau par morceau, ville par ville, l’Espagne à l’Islam. Elle présente aussi un aspect économique, du fait que l’avance chrétienne s’est accompagnée d’un travail de repeuplement et de restauration des régions dévastées par la guerre.

41. Defourneaux, Les français en Espagne, p. 243. See also Alfonso X, Espéculo, manuscript no. 10123 in Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid.


44. Defourneaux, Les français en Espagne, p. 58. For more details about the Orden de Alcántara see De la manera de rezar de la orden y cavallería de Alcántara, manuscript no. 879, in Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid.
45. In this respect Ibn al-Kardābīs wrote (Ta’rīkh, p. 69):

وخرج أيضا من الأرض الكبيرة جيوش كبيرة، فانتشر جيئهم على الجزيرة وتبنيو وأسرون إلى أن إنهوا إلى بلنسية
However, it is difficult to determine the real origin of the name al-Baytín. Some scholars believe that it could be Pedro, a common name among the rulers of Castilla. However, at that time the rulers of Castilla were Sancho el Mayor of Navarra (1000-1035), and Fernando I (1035-1065), so the controversy is still on about this name and whether or not it was Pedro. In Arabic sources there are some variations of the same name, for example, Ibn 'Idhári, al-Bayyán al-Mughrib, III, p. 225. Ahmad Mukhtar al-'Abbádi interprets that al-Baytín could have been the commander of the Normandy army, which controlled the Islamic fortress of Barbastro, 60 km north of Zaragoza, in 1064 (see his notes to the Arabic edition of Ibn al-Kardabíis' Ta'ríkh al-andalus, pp. 69-71). Al-'Abbádi followed the various Arabic and Christian sources very carefully to reach his conclusions. He also explains that some Latin sources mention the presence of a powerful French army led by Robert Cripsin, which penetrated al-Andalus. The controversy could still continue if Crespin is the same al-Baytín of Arabic sources, and if he was the ruler of Castilla or only the commander of the army. The discussion now is if he was French. These historical events of the penetration of a powerful French army in the Iberian Peninsula are also clearly explained in Arabic sources; among them Ibn al-Kardabíis Ta'ríkh al-andalus, p. 71, who wrote:

The presence of French troops continued supporting the Christians against the Muslims in the coming years. Alfonso el Batallador, king of Aragón received the assistance of French troops to defend some fortresses in Navarra, as reported by Pierre d'Andouque, one of the major French leader of the military resistance of Christians against Muslims. He wrote to Alfonso el Batallador: “Sciatis Domine quod Castrum Sti Stephani stabilivisti sicut vos dixistis mihi; omnes navarros expulsi, in eorum locum introduxi frances, et super eos tres milites qui nunquam exeat de castro, quod nobis fidelissimos scimus; atque super omnes archiarchaconum nepotentem meum qui teneat castrum ad honorem Bestae Mariae et nostrum ad fidelitatem vestram.” (quoted by Defourneaux, Les français en Espagne, pp. 38-39.)


47. Quoted by Defourneaux, Les français en Espagne, pp. 133-134.

48. Mudhakkirát, p. 125. ‘Abd Alláh expressed his concerns with this short sentence:

أَخْذُ اِسْمَاءَ وَأَعْطَاهَا لِلنَّسَرِي

‘Abd Alláh was also concerned about raising the tribute of 30,000 mithqál, as explained before, without increasing the taxes on his own people. When he raised the money without new taxes, he proudly wrote:

وَأَنَا جَدِرَ أَنْ أَعْطِي ذَلِكَ مِنْ بَيْتِ مَالِي، بِحَتَى يَسْلَمَ الْبَلْدَةُ، وَبِحَتَى نَشْكَرَ الْرَّعْيَةُ بِمَدَافِعِهَا، وَنَكِلَفَهَا شِيَّاً، وَلَا تَنَفَّضَ النِّسَاءُ؛ فَقُلْتُ ذَلِكَ، وَأَرْسَلْتُ إِلَى الْلَّهِ الْفَضْلَانِ الْفَاتِحَ، لَا أَرْزُ أَحَدًا عِنْدَهَا.

See also the anonymous, Ta’ríkh al-Khulafá’, manuscript no. 5391 in Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, for the Almoravide conquest of Granada and the end of the Zirid dynasty. There are many sources about the fall of Toledo to Christian rule. See Mudhakkirát, pp. 76-77, and pp. 101-102, where the author analyses that the conquest of this city by Alfonso VI had a tremendous impact on the population of al-Andalus. ‘Abd Alláh, the last Zirid king even mentioned that many people thought that it was impossible for them to live in the Peninsula any longer. He wrote the following lines:

فَوْقُ مِنْ ذَلِكَ فِي الْأَنْدَلُسِ رُجُحًا عَظِيمًا، وَأَنْسَبُ أَهْلُهَا لَحْمًا وَقَطَعَ رَجَاءً مِنْ أَسْتَبِطَانِهَا.

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About what Pope Eugene III wrote to the Church of Toledo see Rivera Recio, Iglesia, p. 209. The document says:

Significatum nobis est quod quidam, qui muzarabes nuncupantur, venerabili fratri nostro archieпископo toletano obedientiam denegantes, ecclesias de laicorum manu recipiant et in sacramentis missarum et alii diuinis officis, tosura quoque clericali, uestimentis suam antiquam consuetudinem consequentes ab Apostolica Sede diuera sentire presumant. Quia igitur Apostolice Sedii tanta est a Domino collata potestas ut quod pro sanis dogmatibus fideiun moribus diuerno temporé scriptis hodie tenatur acceptum et quod illa repulit hactenus ineficax habeatur, quanto magis quod ob reuerentiam catholicii fidei in sacramentis missarum et alii diuinis officiis instituisse dicosit, omni debetur honore perseveri et ab omnibus prorsus reuerenter assumi, uniuer sitatis uestre per presens scriptum mandamus quantius eos districtus monetae ut in sacramentis missarum et alii diuinis officis a catholica ecclesia dissentiat de cetero non presumant et memorato fratri nostro obedientiam debitam exhibentes, si in ipsius provinicia remanere voluerint, eius monita et pecepta reuerenter suspiciant et obscuerunt.

50. Rivera Recio, Iglesia, p. 207, where the author analysed the various treaties between Christians and Muslims.

51. Defourneaux, Les français en Espagne, p. 34.


60. See Ricard Soto I Company, “Repartiment i ‘Repartiments’: L’ordonació d’un espai de colonització feudal a la Mallorca del segle XIII”, in Manuel Sánchez Martínez, De al-Andalus a la societat feudal: los repartimientos bagomeditavales (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones científicas. Institución Milà i Fontanals, 1990), pp. 1–51, especially p. 5. For more details about the origins and developments of the feudal system in Spain see Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, En tomo a los orígenes del feudalismo español (Buenos Aires,
Espasa Calpe S.A., 1972), passim.


63. See Manuel González Jiménez, “Repartimientos andaluces del siglo XIII. Perspectiva de conjunto y problemas”, in Sánchez Martínez, De al-Andalus a la sociedad feudal, pp. 95–117. See also Sánchez Albornoz, En torno a los orígenes, passim.


66. Pastor de Togneri, Del Islam al Cristianismo, passim.

67. Pastor de Togneri, Del Islam al Cristianismo, passim.


72. Defournaux, Les français en Espagne, p. 232. King Alfonso VI of Castilla gave the privilege to the inhabitants in 1087 and clearly expressed the role that the French would play in the settlements and population of the town. the document, quoted by Defournaux, Les français en Espagne, p. 232 reads: “. . . dedi foros per quos ibi homines viverent quos tam ex exteriern nationibus quam de moe regno et diversis aliiis partibus agregavi.”

73. See the Poema del Mio Cid, p. 229.


76. See Poema del Mio Cid, p. 15. In this respect the book says:

"Envío a buscar a todos sus parientes y vasallos, y les dijo\qué el rey le mandaba salir de todas sus tierras y no le \daba plazo más que nueve días y que quería saber quién\de ellos querían ir con él y quiénes quedarse\. A los que conmigo vengan que Dios les dé muy buen pago;\habló entonces Alvar Fáñez, del Cid era primo hermano:\"\Con vos nos iremos, Cid, por yermos y por poblados;\no os hemos de faltar mientras que salud tengamos\y gastaremos con vos nuestras mulas y caballos\y todos nuestros dineros y los vestidos de paño,\siempre querremos servirnos como leales vasallos.\"\Aprobación dieron todos a lo que ha dicho don alvar.\MUCHO que agradece el Cid aquello que ellos hablan.\el Cid sale de Viver, a Burgos va caminando,\allí deja sus palacios yermos y desheredados."

77. see Sánchez Martínez, De al-Andalus a la sociedad feudal, passim.

78. See Soto, “Repartimiento”, passim, especially pp. 10–11. About these issues Soto wrote the following lines: “Així, dels tres factors esmentats (estructura reial, estructura feudo-vassal·lítica i estructura urbano-mercantil) és el segon el que pesa més que els altres i que, per tant, els determina” (p. 7). See also François Ganshof, Le Moyen Age (París: Librairie Hachette, 1953), passim, especially pp. 157–187. See also Guichard, “Structures sociales dans le Shark al-Andalus”, pp. 66 ff.
79. Soto, “Repartiment”, pp. 14–15. In this respect Soto wrote:

Llavors, en realitat, hi hauria tantes porcions com senyors. Quant al rei, devia exercir una sobirania política sobre aquestes porcions, però rendes i drets devien pertànyer als diversos senyors, així com l'administració de justícia. Llur relació amb el rei segurament passava a través d'una infedacació que es trasllueix en el servei obligatori de contribuir amb cavalls armats a la defensa de l'illa. (p. 11)

See also Ganshof, Moyen Age. In this respect Ganshof wrote the following lines:

A partir du XIle siècle, une forme particulière de cette dernière convention a fréquemment été usitée: la concession, moyennant prestation de foi et d'hommage, d'un “fief-rente” ou “fief de bourse”, c'est-a-dire d'un fief consistant en un revenu annuel. Le but pouvait être militaire: s'assurer les services d'un prince ou d'un seigneur important disposant de chevaliers; -ou politique: s'assurer l'appui, voire même la neutralité, d'un prince, ou d'un seigneur puissant; -ou encore à la fois militaire et politique. (pp. 135–136).

For more details see also: François L. Ganshof, El Feudalismo (Barcelona: Editorial Ariel, 1982), passim, especially pp. 41–88, for an excellent analysis of the feudal institutions, mainly the servitude and the vassalage systems, as well as the vassals' obligations and rights.


81. See Soto, “Repartiment”, p. 16. In this respect he wrote:

Aspectes tals com el predomini de topònims tribals i clànics o'origen sobretot berber, la composició racial dels indígenes de Mayurqa i Manurqa i l’existència de mesquites rurals, palesant un tort grau d’islamització arreu de l'illa permeten dubtar molt seriósament en l'existència de “mossarabés”, i tot que l'existència de cristians de fora de Mayurq (mercenaris francs com Ibà al-Rubartayr, mercaders italians, etc), és indubtable. (p. 16)


82. Soto, “Repartiment”, p. 16.

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