



## Marriage across frontiers: sexual mixing, power and identity in medieval Iberia

Simon Barton

**To cite this article:** Simon Barton (2011) Marriage across frontiers: sexual mixing, power and identity in medieval Iberia, *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies*, 3:1, 1-25, DOI: [10.1080/17546559.2011.556700](https://doi.org/10.1080/17546559.2011.556700)

**To link to this article:** <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17546559.2011.556700>



Published online: 22 Mar 2011.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



Article views: 1062



View related articles [↗](#)



Citing articles: 4 View citing articles [↗](#)

## Marriage across frontiers: sexual mixing, power and identity in medieval Iberia

Simon Barton\*

*Department of History, University of Exeter, Exeter, UK*

This article explores the functions that interfaith marriages and other sexual liaisons fulfilled within the overall dynamic of Christian–Muslim relations in the medieval Iberian Peninsula. While in the aftermath of the Islamic conquest exogamous marriages served to consolidate Muslim authority over the region, such alliances later became a tool of diplomacy for the Umayyads and other élite families in their relations with the emerging Christian states of the North. The taking of a Christian bride or slave concubine by a Muslim potentate was in part a dynastic defence mechanism, designed to forestall the danger that a Muslim wife’s family might at some point stake its own claims to power; it was also regarded as symbolic of Islamic political and military hegemony. Here, the marriage alliance that was arranged between Princess Teresa Vermúdez of León and a certain “pagan king” of Toledo at the beginning of the eleventh century is investigated and it is argued that the ruler in question could have been the *ḥājib* [chief minister] ‘Abd al-Malik al-Muzaffar or his brother ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Sanchuelo, heir to the caliphal throne. By *c.* 1100 a convergence of political and cultural factors – not least the marked shift in the peninsular balance of power – condemned the practice of interfaith marriage to a swift decline. However, the “cultural memory” of such liaisons was to carry a powerful resonance within Christian society thereafter, helping to reinforce community identity and define social and cultural boundaries between the faiths.

**Keywords:** Christian–Muslim relations; sex, marriage and concubinage; diplomacy; identity formation; al-Andalus; Kingdom of León

The various restrictions that were placed on interfaith sexual mixing in the Medieval Iberian Peninsula, and the extent to which those highly charged boundaries were transgressed, have been the focus of significant scholarly scrutiny in recent years. Strongly led by David Nirenberg, some of the most important research has analysed the extent to which Christian prostitutes in the late medieval Crown of Aragon became the focal point for collective anxiety about sexual mixing with Muslim and Jewish men.<sup>1</sup> Other significant studies have examined the eroticised literary representations of Muslim women, as well as of those thirteenth-century Christian female court

---

\*Email: s.f.barton@ex.ac.uk

<sup>1</sup>Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, chap. 5; Nirenberg, “Religious and Sexual Boundaries;” Nirenberg, “Conversion, Sex, and Segregation.” For a different perspective, see Boswell, *Royal Treasure*, 343–53; Meyerson, “Prostitution of Muslim Women;” Lacarra Lanz, “Changing Boundaries;” and Catlos, *Victors*, 305–12.

entertainers called *soldadeiras*, whose licentious lifestyle and supposed cross-border sexual encounters with Muslim men made them the target of numerous scurrilous songs.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile, the process by which sexual boundaries between the faiths were erected and guarded in al-Andalus has been subjected to careful and revealing analysis.<sup>3</sup> By marked contrast, however, the interfaith marriages and other sexual liaisons that took place between elite Muslim men and Christian brides or slave-concubines, and their wider political, religious and cultural implications, have yet to receive the sustained attention that they warrant.<sup>4</sup>

The objectives of this paper are threefold. First, it will examine the rationale and circumstances that prompted elite Muslim men to enter into marriage alliances with high-born Christian women or to take Christian concubines between the eighth and eleventh centuries. Particular attention will be paid to one such union that was arranged c. 1000 and was recorded a century later by Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo in his *Chronicle of the Kings of León*. Second, the article will discuss why the practice of cross-border intermarriage between Muslims and Christian women seemingly passed into desuetude from the mid-eleventh century onwards. Finally it will seek to explain why the cultural memory of such interfaith liaisons was to carry such a powerful resonance within Christian society thereafter.

The practice of intermarriage between Muslims and Christians in the Iberian Peninsula appears to have become established in the immediate aftermath of the Islamic invasion of the region in 711.<sup>5</sup> According to the tenets of classical Islamic law, intermarriage between a Muslim man and a Christian or Jewish woman was entirely permitted, so long as any children born to the couple were also brought up as Muslims: "Lawful to you are the believing women and the free women from among those who were given the Scriptures before you, provided that you give them their dowries and live in honour with them, neither committing fornication nor taking them as mistresses."<sup>6</sup> As Jessica Coope has noted, "underlying this rule is the assumption that the husband, as head of the family, would be likely to convert his wife, whereas the wife, as the subordinate partner, would be unable to convert her husband to her religion."<sup>7</sup> That said, there is some evidence from other parts of the Islamic world to suggest that in comparison to men Christian women were more likely to resist conversion.<sup>8</sup> Meanwhile, marriage or indeed any sexual relations between a Muslim woman and a Christian or Jewish man were strictly outlawed.<sup>9</sup> For its part, the Christian Church had traditionally expressed hostility to those who engaged in sexual intercourse with non-Christians. Saint Paul had been forthright on the matter: "Do not

<sup>2</sup>Mirrer, *Women, Jews, and Muslims*, chap. 1. On the *soldadeiras*, see Filios, "Jokes on *soldadeiras*;" Filios, *Performing Women*; Liu, "'Affined to Love the Moor';" Liu, *Medieval Joke Poetry*; Doubleday, "Ghost of María Pérez."

<sup>3</sup>Safran, "Identity and Differentiation;" Fernández Félix, *Cuestiones legales*, 436–92.

<sup>4</sup>The interfaith reproductive strategies of the Umayyad ruling dynasty are subjected to revealing scrutiny by Ruggles, "Mothers of a Hybrid Dynasty." A bare catalogue of some, but by no means all, interfaith liaisons is compiled by El-Hajji, "Intermarriage." There are also some useful observations in Guichard, *Al-Andalus*, 181–6, 231–4; Marín, *Mujeres*, 141–8, 539ff.

<sup>5</sup>On the Islamic conquest, see in particular Collins, *Arab Conquest*; Chalmeta Gendrán, *Invasión e islamización*; Manzano Moreno, *Conquistadores*.

<sup>6</sup>Qur'ān 5:5 (trans. N.J. Dawood). For an overview, see Schacht, *Introduction to Islamic Law*, 130–3. See also Shatzmiller, "Marriage, Family, and the Faith," 243–4; Safran, "Identity and Differentiation."

<sup>7</sup>Coope, *Martyrs of Córdoba*, 12.

<sup>8</sup>Shatzmiller, "Marriage, Family, and the Faith," 236–7.

<sup>9</sup>Thus, a ninth-century legal pronouncement from Córdoba ordered that any Christian found guilty of having sexual intercourse with a Muslim woman should receive corporal punishment and life imprisonment; other legal authorities prescribed the death penalty for such transgressors. See Lagardère, *Histoire et société*, 72; al-Qayrawnī, *Risala*, 193. See also Safran, "Identity and Differentiation;" and Fernández Félix, *Cuestiones legales*, 436–92.

unite yourselves with unbelievers; they are no fit mates for you. What has righteousness to do with wickedness? Can light consort with darkness?” (2 Corinthians 6:14). These prohibitions had been amplified in numerous pieces of conciliar and secular legislation promulgated during the period of the Later Roman Empire and beyond.<sup>10</sup> In the aftermath of the Muslim invasion and conquest of the Peninsula, however, such concerns in some quarters on the Christian side appear to have been temporarily laid to one side.

Interfaith marriage brought with it two clear advantages for the Muslim élite that sought to consolidate its power in Iberia in the decades after the conquest. First, it provided a means to legitimise the imposition of new lords over the Hispano-Gothic population at a time when the pacification of the Peninsula was still precarious and the number of Muslim settlers was relatively small.<sup>11</sup> In this way, the Christian women of al-Andalus could be regarded as potential “peace-weavers” in the consolidation of Islamic rule, in the same way that intermarriage between Norman lords and local heiresses was later to provide a means to bind conquerors and conquered more closely together in the wake of the eleventh-century Norman conquest of England.<sup>12</sup> Our sources give the impression that the lead in this matter was taken by ‘Abd al-Azīz b. Mūsā, who succeeded to the governorship of al-Andalus in 714 and is reported to have wed the widow – who is referred to in the Christian *Chronicle of 754* as Egilona, and by Muslim writers as Aylū or Umm ‘Āṣim – of the recently deceased Visigothic King Roderic.<sup>13</sup> But the Arab governor is reported to have gone even further, using his marriage to a member of the Visigothic ruling class as means to associate himself with indigenous traditions of government, including perhaps crown-wearing, as part of an ambitious if ultimately doomed attempt to create a personal monarchy for himself in Iberia.<sup>14</sup> As it transpired, those ambitions, and reports that Egilona had even persuaded ‘Abd al-Azīz to convert to Christianity – or so it was later alleged – were enough to prompt a group of prominent Arab conspirators to assassinate the governor while he was at prayer.

The second advantage offered by marriage alliances between Muslim lords and Christian noblewomen was that they represented a means through which much of the landed wealth of the Visigothic magnate class could legitimately be channelled into Muslim ownership. Whereas property conquered by force of arms [*anwatan*] had passed automatically into the hands of the invaders, there were still large swathes of the country – such as in the Southeast of the Peninsula, where the local lord Theodemir had drawn up a treaty with the Muslims in 713 – where Islamic authority had been recognised through a pact [*ṣulḥan*], and where the invaders had no such rights of ownership over these lands.<sup>15</sup> Interfaith marriage offered a solution to that problem, in that the children born to such alliances stood to inherit the property of their

<sup>10</sup>Usefully summarised by Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 129–33. In Iberia, for example, the synod of Elvira held c. 300–09, along with a series of church councils celebrated in Toledo under the authority of the Visigothic monarchy during the sixth and seventh centuries, outlawed intermarriage between Jewish men and Christian women (Martínez Díez and Rodríguez, *La colección canónica hispana*, IV: 247, 267). For the Visigothic prohibitions, see III Toledo, canon 14; IV Toledo, canon 63; X Toledo, canon 7, in Martínez Díez and Rodríguez, *La colección canónica hispana*, V: 120–1, 239–40, 551.

<sup>11</sup>Collins, *Arab Conquest*, 37.

<sup>12</sup>Searle, “Women and the Legitimation of Succession,” 169.

<sup>13</sup>López Pereira, *Crónica mozárabe*, 78. For later Muslim perspectives on the same events, see, among others, the account of Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, in Melville and Ubaydli, *Christians and Moors*, 14–17; cf. Lafuente y Alcántara, *Akhbār majmū‘a*, Arabic, 20, Spanish, 31–2; Ibn al-Qūṭīya, *Ta’rīkh*, 36–7; trans. James, *Early Islamic Spain*, 53.

<sup>14</sup>Collins, *Arab Conquest*, 37–8. On the governorship of ‘Abd al-Azīz b. Mūsā, see Chalmeta Gendrán, *Invasión e islamización*, 242–54.

<sup>15</sup>Chalmeta Gendrán, *Invasión e islamización*, 202–13. For the pact of Theodemir and ‘Abd al-Azīz b. Mūsā, see Melville and Ubaydli, *Christians and Moors*, 10–13.

Visigothic grandfathers, through their mother, as well as those lands that their Muslim fathers might have won as the fruits of conquest. An account of how such arrangements might have worked out in practice is provided by the historian Ibn al-Qūṭīya (d. 977), who relates how his ancestor Sara, granddaughter of King Wittiza of the Visigoths (702–10), whose sons had reportedly conspired against King Roderic at the time of the Muslim invasion in return for the protection of their lands, married one ‘Īsā b. Muzāḥim at the instigation of the caliph Hishām I (724–43). When later widowed in 755, Sara married again, this time to ‘Umayr ibn Sa’īd al-Lakhmī, a member of one the Syrian *junds* [military regiments] that had arrived in the Peninsula in 742 to help prop up Umayyad authority in the wake of a major Berber revolt.<sup>16</sup> It was through this second marriage, which was said to have been arranged by the first independent emir of al-Andalus, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān I (756–88), that the family of the Banū Ḥajjāj later came to enjoy extensive wealth and power in the region of Seville.<sup>17</sup> Ibn al-Qūṭīya’s reliability as a historian has frequently been called into question and his colourful account of how Sara travelled to Damascus to raise her case with the caliph raises all manner of doubts.<sup>18</sup> Be that as it may, a similar process of property transmission can be glimpsed in the case of the daughter of Theodemir of Murcia, who is reported to have married ‘Abd al-Jabbār b. Khaṭṭāb, another member of the Syrian army that arrived in the Peninsula in 742.<sup>19</sup> It was thanks to this alliance that the groom’s family was able to establish itself as one of the wealthiest and most powerful kin-groups in the Southeast, whose power was to endure for generations.<sup>20</sup>

There remains the possibility, however, that interfaith marriage pacts of the kind outlined above might simply have been a short-term phenomenon born of political and economic expediency. Indeed, in his pioneering work on Islamic society in the Peninsula, published in 1976, Pierre Guichard argued forcefully that far from mixing extensively with the Hispano-Gothic population the Arab and Berber families who had undertaken the conquest, keen to preserve their pure breeding and lineage, consciously sought to avoid intermarriage with the locals, be they Christians, Jews or even *muwallads* [converts to Islam].<sup>21</sup> They did this, Guichard posited, by maintaining “Eastern” patterns of kinship, according to which patrilineal lineage and endogamous marriage (that is, within the kin-group) remained the norm. His theory seemed to be corroborated, as far as the Arabs were concerned, at least, by writers such as the Andalusī polymath Ibn Ḥazm (d. 1064), whose *Kitāb Jamharat ansāb al-‘Arab*, a genealogical account of the Arab tribes who had settled in al-Andalus after the Islamic conquest, consistently privileged the agnatic – that is to say, the male lineages of these families over the female ones.<sup>22</sup> This alleged reluctance of some Muslims to intermarry with other faiths may have been reinforced by fears – articulated most powerfully by followers of the Malikite school of religious

<sup>16</sup>Wittiza’s sons’ estates reputedly totalled some 3000 properties spread across Spain (Ibn al-Qūṭīya, *Ta’rīkh*, 29–32; trans. James, *Early Islamic Spain*, 49–51).

<sup>17</sup>Guichard, *Al-Andalus*, 187–92.

<sup>18</sup>See Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 158–83; Manzano Moreno, *Conquistadores*, 44–6.

<sup>19</sup>According to the chronicler al-Udhri, ‘Abd al-Jabbār b. Khaṭṭāb received two villages from his bride by way of dowry, at *Tarsa* near Elche and *Tal al-Khaṭṭāb* near Orihuela (al-Udhri, *Tarṣī al-akḥbār*, 15; trans. Molina López, “La cora de Tudmīr,” 85–6). See further Molina, “Los Banū Jaṭṭāb,” 289–90 and n. 6.

<sup>20</sup>Guichard, *Al-Andalus*, 192–6; Manzano Moreno, *Conquistadores*, 107–8.

<sup>21</sup>Guichard, *Al-Andalus*, 20–3, 55–85, 181–240.

<sup>22</sup>Ibn Ḥazm, *Kitāb Jamharat*; partial trans. Terés, “Linajes árabes,” and de la Granja, “La Marca Superior,” 532–4. On the purposes of the work, see Coope, “Marriage, Kinship, and Islamic Law,” 165–8. Ibn Ḥazm also provides a number of examples of what he considers “unequal marriages” between Arab men and women of lesser social rank in his *Naqt al-‘arūs*, 94–5 (Spanish), 160–1 (Arabic). The names of those who “married down” in this way included the vizir to the emir Muhammad I, Tammām b. ‘Amīr al-Ṭaqafī, who married a daughter of the Christian Jalaf b. Rūmān.

jurisprudence – of “corruption” by Christians or Jews, because it was believed that by her customs and morals the wife and mother might ultimately undermine the faith of her offspring, particularly if she had lived within what was termed the *dār al-ḥarb* [the “abode of war”] – that is, the territories not under Islamic rule.<sup>23</sup> This helps partly to explain why in their accounts of the Muslim conquest of the Peninsula Malikite scholars such as Ibn ‘Abd al-Hakam and ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb chose to give such prominent coverage to the doomed marriage of ‘Abd al-Azīz and his Christian wife, and even to echo the claim that ‘Abd al-Azīz had converted to Christianity.

In recent years, however, several elements of the Guichard thesis have been called into question. It has been pointed out, for example, that the French scholar’s research was based upon an extremely small sample of texts, drawn from only a handful of Andalusī writers active during the tenth and eleventh centuries, and that he did not take into account the ideological concerns that underpinned those writings.<sup>24</sup> The endogamous “Eastern” tribal structures that Guichard claimed to see across the ages may have been no more than a reflection of the political discourse of the age, which sought to emphasise the “Arabness” of the leading peninsular families, not least that of the Umayyad caliphs of al-Andalus. The reality was that not only were many leading families ethnically hybrid, but also that most of the genealogies that were compiled during the tenth and eleventh centuries were replete with errors and imaginative inventions. As Ann Christys has observed, “many of the genealogies were more illustrious in their reconstructions than in actuality and the subject of ethnicity in al-Andalus became hopelessly confused.”<sup>25</sup> In short, the racial and ethnic “purity” that Guichard claimed to detect among the leading Muslim kin-groups of al-Andalus may be no more than a mirage.<sup>26</sup>

At the same time, the evidence of the various texts generated by the so-called Christian “martyrdom movement” of the 850s suggests that interfaith marriage may have been relatively frequent at lower levels of society in al-Andalus. Thus, at least twelve of the Christians who were executed on charges of apostasy by command of the Umayyad authorities during this period were said to have come from religiously mixed families. The martyr Felix, for example, was described by Eulogius of Córdoba as belonging to *natione Gaetulius*, which probably denotes that he was of Berber extraction, while Adulphus, John, and Aurea were reportedly born into Arab families.<sup>27</sup> Not only that, the accounts also suggest that in some cases – in clear contravention of Islamic law – the children born to those couples had not been raised as Muslims at all.<sup>28</sup> So commonplace indeed did the practice evidently become that in a letter he composed some time between 785 and 791 Pope Hadrian I (772–95) expressed dismay that so many daughters of Catholic parents in the Peninsula had been given in marriage to non-Christians.<sup>29</sup> These concerns were to be further amplified at the ecclesiastical council that was held at Córdoba in 839, when the assembled Christian clerics, echoing previous pronouncements of

<sup>23</sup>Safran, “Identity and Differentiation,” 583–4.

<sup>24</sup>Martínez-Gros, *Identité Andalous*, 115–66.

<sup>25</sup>Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 171. For her part, Jessica Coope has further challenged the Eastern kinship model defended by Guichard, arguing that bilateral kinship, which allowed women to inherit property, was established well before the late tenth century (Coope, “Marriage, Kinship, and Islamic Law;” see also Coope, *Martyrs*, 13).

<sup>26</sup>A riposte to Martínez-Gros may be seen in Guichard, “A propos de l’identité;” this was in turn followed by Martínez-Gros, “Comment écrire l’histoire.”

<sup>27</sup>Eulogius, *Memoriale Sanctorum*, in Gil, *Corpus Scriptorum Muzarabiorum*, 445, 456.

<sup>28</sup>Coope, *Martyrs*, 11–31. For an analogous case, see the *fatwā* [legal ruling] attributed to the jurist Abū Ibrāhīm Ishāq bin Ibrāhīm of Córdoba (Lagardère, *Histoire et société*, 53–4).

<sup>29</sup>Gundlach et al., *Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini Aevi*, I: 643.



the Visigothic ecclesiastical authorities, were at pains to denounce “the impious marriage of various faithful with the infidel, sowing crimes among our morals.”<sup>30</sup>

Furthermore, even if it were true that many Muslims at the level of the political and social élite were eschewing marriage with Christians – and the patchiness of the surviving records from al-Andalus makes empirical testing on this matter difficult in the extreme – it is striking that a significant number of influential Andalusi men went out of their way to seek brides who were not Muslims, and that in some cases they even did so by arranging marriage alliances with the emerging Christian-dominated realms that lay to the north of the Peninsula or even beyond.<sup>31</sup> The earliest recorded example of an interfaith marriage pact of this sort was the one arranged by the Berber warlord known as Munnuza, the leading military figure in the Northeast of the Peninsula, who rebelled against the Umayyad governor ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ghafiḳī in around 731 in protest against the treatment of his countrymen by Islamic administrators in Libya.<sup>32</sup> It is reported by the *Chronicle of 754* that after Munnuza had raised the flag of rebellion, he had sought to bolster his position in the Northeast by marrying the daughter of the Frankish Duke Eudo of Aquitaine. The latter, having already suffered several attacks by Muslim forces, presumably saw the marriage as a means to forestall further aggression. Yet little good did the alliance do either of them. Munnuza was tracked down by the emir’s forces to Cerdanya in the eastern Pyrenees and forced to flee to the mountains, where he finally threw himself to his death from a high crag. His unfortunate bride – who is referred to in later sources by the name of Lampégie – was subsequently sent to the caliph’s court in Damascus.

Even more striking was the case of the Banū Qasī family, which dominated the area of the Upper Ebro valley from at least the late eighth century to the early tenth.<sup>33</sup> The Banū Qasī were *muwallads*, supposedly descended from a Visigothic count named Cassius, who is said to have reached an accommodation with the Muslim authorities at the time of the eighth-century conquest, made his way to Damascus to pledge allegiance to the Umayyad caliph, al-Walīd I, and subsequently converted to Islam.<sup>34</sup> How much credence should be accorded to this account of the family’s origins is uncertain. Roger Collins has speculated that it may belong to “the spurious antiquarianism that became fashionable in the later Umayyad period,” doubts which have been echoed more recently by Jesús Lorenzo Jiménez and Maribel Fierro.<sup>35</sup> Even so, it is not inconceivable that a Visigothic lord in the Upper Ebro might have brokered a pact with the Muslim invaders, just as Theodemir of Murcia is known to have done with ‘Abd al-Azīz b. Mūsā in 713, and that he or his successors later converted to Islam. The fact that some members of the Banū Qasī are later said to have renounced Islam and embraced Christianity serves to reinforce the impression that this was a *muwallad* family whose Islamic ties remained in some cases fragile. Whether or not the power of the Banū Qasī in the Ebro region predated the Muslim conquest, from their powerbase at Tudela the family came to enjoy a substantial degree of autonomy over the neighbouring districts of Zaragoza and Huesca, and even – towards the end of the ninth century – as far west as Toledo. The power of one of the most prominent members of the dynasty, Mūsā b. Mūsā (d. 862), was such that he reputedly styled himself

<sup>30</sup>Gil, *Corpus Scriptorum Muzarabicorum*, I: 136.

<sup>31</sup>El-Hajji, “Intermarriage;” cf. Guichard, *Al-Andalus*, 181–6.

<sup>32</sup>For what follows, see López Pereira, *Crónica mozárabe de 754*, 96–8.

<sup>33</sup>For an overview, see Cañada Juste, “Los Banu Qasi;” Cañada Juste, “El posible solar originario de los Banū Qasī.” See also Collins, *Basques*, 123–4, 140–3; Manzano Moreno, *La frontera de al-Andalus*, 110–24, 293–304.

<sup>34</sup>Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 502; trans. de la Granja, “La Marca Superior,” 532.

<sup>35</sup>Collins, *Arab Conquest*, 204. Cf. Collins, *Early Medieval Spain*, 188, and *Basques*, 141; Lorenzo Jiménez, “La dawla;” Lorenzo Jiménez, “Algunas consideraciones;” Fierro, “El conde Casio.”

“the third king of Spain.”<sup>36</sup> In the pursuit of greater autonomy, members of the Banū Qasī wove a complex web of diplomatic contacts with neighbouring states, most notably with the Basque Arista family of the embryonic Christian kingdom of Pamplona-Navarre, with whom they forged numerous marriage alliances.<sup>37</sup> For example, we are told by the late tenth-century Christian *Roda Codex* that Mūsā b. Mūsā himself married Assona, daughter of Íñigo Arista, founder of the Pamplonan royal dynasty; meanwhile, the chronicler al-‘Udhri records that Mūsā b. Mūsā’s son, Muṭarrif b. Mūsā, married Velasquita, a daughter of one Sancho “lord of Pamplona” (d. 873).<sup>38</sup> A similar matrimonial strategy was pursued by another *muwallad* kin-group, the Banū Shabrīṭ (and its close relatives the Banū Amrūs) whose centre of power lay in the Central Pyrenees around Huesca.<sup>39</sup> Thus, it is recorded that one of the family members, Muḥammad al-Ṭawīl (d. 913), married Sancha, daughter of Count Aznar Galindo II of Aragon.<sup>40</sup>

For their part, the Umayyad rulers of al-Andalus may have been keen to emphasise their pure Arab descent along the male line from the family of the Prophet Muḥammad, but they, too, regularly sought Christian women from across the frontier.<sup>41</sup> In his celebrated love treatise *The Dove’s Neckring* Ibn Ḥazm went so far as to assert that with only one exception the Umayyad caliphs were “disposed by nature to prefer blondes [...] Every one of them has been fair haired, taking after their mothers, so that this has become a hereditary trait with them [...] I know not whether this was due to a predilection innate in them all, or whether it was in consequence of a family tradition handed down from their ancestors, and which they followed in their turn.”<sup>42</sup> Clearly, as Coope has observed, “their mothers’ background [...] in no way compromised their identity as Umayyads and as Arabs.”<sup>43</sup> It should be pointed out, however, that the majority of these women were not legitimate wives at all, but *jawārī* (singular *jāriya*), slaves of Iberian or other origin who had been purchased from traders or taken as war booty and recruited to the emir’s harem (along with Berbers, Arabs and others) as concubines on account of their beauty or their abilities as singers, dancers or reciters of poetry.<sup>44</sup> A female captive who bore a child to her Muslim master assumed the status of *umm walad* [mother of a child], which meant that she could not be sold, would enjoy permanent residence in her master’s household, and would be manumitted on his death, if not sooner, while their child would be regarded as a free, legitimate heir, whose legal and social status was equal to that of any siblings born to their father’s free wives. We know the names of a few of the slave concubines who had been captured in this way.<sup>45</sup> One was Qalam, a woman of Christian Navarrese origin, who had been enslaved at a relatively young age and joined the harem of the emir ‘Abd

<sup>36</sup>Gil Fernández, Moralejo, and Ruiz de la Peña, *Crónicas asturianas*, 146–7.

<sup>37</sup>Guichard, *Al-Andalus*, 231–2. The extensive marriage ties of the Banū Qasī with their neighbours are usefully displayed in the table compiled by Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire*, II: between 388 and 389.

<sup>38</sup>Lacarra, “Textos navarros,” 229. On the content of the *Codex* and its depiction of Muslims, see Sénac, “Note sur les musulmans.” On Muṭarrif b. Mūsā, see al-‘Udhri, *Nuṣūṣ ‘an al-Andalus*, 62; trans. de la Granja, “La Marca Superior,” 516.

<sup>39</sup>On the Banū Shabrīṭ and the Banū Amrūs, see Viguera, *Aragón musulmán*, 76–8, 96–7, 105, 112–15, 122–4, with genealogy at 114.

<sup>40</sup>Lacarra, “Textos navarros,” 243–4.

<sup>41</sup>Ruggles, “Mothers of a Hybrid Dynasty.”

<sup>42</sup>Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-Ḥamama*, 48–9; trans. Arberry, *Ring of the Dove*, 61–2.

<sup>43</sup>Coope, “Marriage, Kinship, and Islamic Law,” 166.

<sup>44</sup>On the institution of Islamic concubinage, see Schacht, “Umm al-Walad;” Brunschvig, “‘Abd;” Marmon, “Concubinage, Islamic;” Bousquet, *L’éthique sexuelle*, chap. 6; Gordon, *Slavery*, 43–4. On the position of female slaves in al-Andalus, see Guichard, *Al-Andalus*, 170–6; Marín, *Mujeres*, 125–40; de la Puente, “Entre la esclavitud y la libertad,” 344–8; de la Puente, “Límites legales;” and ‘Athamina, “How Did Islam.”

<sup>45</sup>Ruggles, “Mothers of a Hybrid Dynasty,” 70–3.



al-Raḥmān II (822–52), where she won renown as a skilled singer and dancer, as well as an outstanding calligrapher and storyteller.<sup>46</sup> Another was Ailo, who as concubine to Muḥammad I (852–86) bore him his son and successor al-Mundhir (886–88).<sup>47</sup> By far the best known of the *jawārī*, however, was the Navarrese woman known as Ṣubḥ (d. 998).<sup>48</sup> Recruited to the harem of al-Ḥakam II (961–76), she bore the caliph two sons, and it was reputedly through her influence that one of them later succeeded his father to the throne as Hishām II (976–1013).<sup>49</sup> Even after Hishām’s accession to the throne, Ṣubḥ retained an influential role within the machinery of royal government in Córdoba, effectively acting as regent on account of her son’s young age. However, in 996 she was sidelined from power by the caliph’s *ḥājib* [chief minister] Muḥammad b. Abī ‘Āmir, better known by his honorific al-Manṣūr, whose own career she had earlier helped to further.

Not all the Christian women who joined the harems of the Umayyad rulers were necessarily *jawārī*, however. A few were free noblewomen who belonged to Christian families of the highest rank and power. Thus, the *Roda Codex* records that the emir ‘Abd Allāh (888–912) married Oñega – known to Muslim writers as Durr – who was the widow of Aznar Sánchez of the Arista family; their son Muḥammad fathered ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III (912–61), the self-styled caliph of al-Andalus, by a slave of Christian origin called Muznah in the Arabic sources.<sup>50</sup> In this, the example of the Umayyads was later followed by al-Manṣūr, who married a daughter of Sancho Garcés II of Navarre (970–94) in 983;<sup>51</sup> and another such cross-border marriage alliance was agreed between the Leonese princess Teresa Vermúdez and an unnamed “pagan king of Toledo” at the beginning of the eleventh century, about which we shall have more to say shortly.

Sadly, we know precious little about the lives of these women.<sup>52</sup> Members of the harem were not expected to participate in political activity and those that did, like Egilona in the eighth century or Ṣubḥ in the tenth, were invariably portrayed as ambitious schemers, who used their feminine wiles to feather their own nests or those of their kin.<sup>53</sup> It is probably safe to assume that for the most part freeborn Christian brides were not party to the negotiations that preceded such matrimonial pacts and that their consent was rarely sought, although that did not necessarily mean that all female members of the family were completely excluded from such deliberations.<sup>54</sup> Although none of them would have been obliged to renounce their faith, most probably became thoroughly Arabised and they would have been required to abide by Islamic social practices, such as those concerning ritual purity and dietary laws, and their children would have been brought up as Muslims. The social pressures to convert to Islam may have been considerable and it is likely that many women – legitimate wives and *jawārī* alike – did so, particularly those who had borne children.<sup>55</sup> One woman who is known to have converted in this way was al-Manṣūr’s royal bride,

<sup>46</sup>Guichard, *Al-Andalus*, 173.

<sup>47</sup>Al-Maqqarī called her “Athl,” that is, “tamarisk”: *History of the Mohammedan Dynasties*, II: 131.

<sup>48</sup>Bariani, “De las relaciones,” Marín, “Una vida de mujer,” Mourtada-Sabbah and Gully, “‘I Am by God’,” 191–5; Sénac, *Al-Mansūr*, 18–20, 29–30, 32–3, 61, 70–395.

<sup>49</sup>In 964, the caliph gave Ṣubḥ an exquisite ivory box as a gift, which may now be seen in the National Archaeological Museum in Madrid.

<sup>50</sup>Lacarra, “Textos navarros,” 231. “Muznah” may be a corruption of the Romance Marta or María (Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire*, II: 2).

<sup>51</sup>Molina, *Una descripción anónima*, I: 187, II: 198; Molina, “Las campañas de Almanzor,” 246–7. The princess is called ‘Abda in some sources (El-Hajji, “Intermarriage,” 4, n. 9).

<sup>52</sup>The best guide to the position of women more generally is Marín, *Mujeres*.

<sup>53</sup>Viguera, “Aşluḥu li’l-ma’ālī,” 717–18. For a similar perspective in an ‘Abbasid context, see El Chekh, “Gender and Politics.”

<sup>54</sup>Marín, *Mujeres*, 564–5 and n. 597.

<sup>55</sup>Marín, *Mujeres*, 143–4; Rodríguez, *Captives and Their Saviors*, 50.

known as ‘Abda, of whom it was later said by the historian Ibn al-Khaṭīb that “she became a good Muslim, she was of all al-Manṣūr’s wives the staunchest in faith and of most gentle birth.”<sup>56</sup> She bore the *ḥājib* a son, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān – nicknamed Shanjūl (Sanchuelo) after his paternal grandfather – who was to play a key role in the events that led to the fall of the Umayyad caliphate in the early eleventh century.

One is prompted to ask why the Umayyad rulers of al-Andalus and other Muslim élite families were so willing to take Christian wives and concubines at a time when, if Guichard is right, the majority among the Andalusi upper class supposedly sought to avoid sexual mixing of this sort. In the case of the Banū Qasī and the Banū Shabrīt, marriage ties with Christian lords appear to have been designed to bolster their autonomy and security *vis-à-vis* other regional powers, be they the Umayyad emirs to the south or the Christian Franks and Asturians to the east and west respectively, all of whom, at one time or another, had sought to impose their authority on the region of the Upper Ebro. For the Umayyads, as well as for the *ḥājib* al-Manṣūr, exogamous marriages with freeborn noblewomen also functioned partly as a tool of diplomacy, as a means to help stabilise relations with the sometimes fractious Christian states to the north. This is very much what the anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss had in mind when he declared that,

a continuous transition exists from war to exchange, and from exchange to intermarriage, and the exchange of brides is merely the conclusion to an uninterrupted process of reciprocal gifts, which effects the transition from hostility to alliance, from anxiety to confidence, and from fear to friendship.<sup>57</sup>

Yet peacemaking was only part of the equation. From another perspective, Umayyad policy in this regard provides a classic example of an “aggressive” marriage strategy that seems to have been a characteristic feature of many pre-modern Mediterranean societies.<sup>58</sup> In the words of Julian Pitt-Rivers,

Marriage strategy can be either conciliatory, defensive or aggressive. To give women in exchange for political protection and/or economic advantage involves accepting domination and profiting from its counterpart [...] A more defensive strategy attempts to reserve its women within the group and avoid outside involvement. But the aggressive strategy aims both to deny its women to outsiders and take in their women [...] Competition for women, however it may be conceptualised by the people themselves, is competition for power.<sup>59</sup>

Ruth Karras puts it more baldly: “Penetration symbolizes power. For men of one group to have sex with women of another is an assertion of power over the entire group.”<sup>60</sup> Muslim societies were by no means unique in this respect, but it was the case that in early Islamic and even pre-Islamic culture it had been considered honourable for a man to acquire a wife from another kin-group through force or persuasion, by conquest or alliance, and women were regarded as particularly valuable prizes of conquest.<sup>61</sup> Echoes of such attitudes were found in al-Andalus too. The sexual dominance of a Muslim ruler over a Christian woman – be she a freeborn princess or a slave concubine – was portrayed by some as symbolic of Islamic political and military hegemony, as well as a humiliating reminder to the Christians themselves of their subordinate

<sup>56</sup>Dozy, *Recherches*, I: 191–2.

<sup>57</sup>Lévi-Strauss, *Elementary Structure*, 67–8.

<sup>58</sup>See, for example, the collected papers in Cohen and Westbrook, *Amarna Diplomacy*, in particular 79–83, 162–4, 165–73, 180–3, 197–8. See also Pitt-Rivers, *Fate of Shechem*, 166–7.

<sup>59</sup>Pitt-Rivers, *Fate of Shechem*, 166.

<sup>60</sup>Karras, *Sexuality*, 25.

<sup>61</sup>Guichard, *Al-Ándalus*, 85–6; ‘Athamina, “How Did Islam.”

status.<sup>62</sup> Seen from this perspective, given that a woman's very reputation and status rested upon her honour and chastity, the sexual use of female captives or even freeborn wives could be said to have been designed as a means to destroy the social cohesion of the Christian enemy.<sup>63</sup> Sex was, perhaps, the ultimate colonising gesture.

At the same time, as far as the Umayyads were concerned at least, the taking of slave concubines or intermarriage with Christian princesses apparently served as an important dynastic defence mechanism. Marrying a freeborn Muslim woman necessitated the paying of a dowry and even the providing of favours to her family, while divorce might lead to a costly property settlement.<sup>64</sup> More important still, in marrying a Muslim woman, a man had to consider the possibility that his wife's kin-group might at some time in the future entertain its own competing dynastic claims. Marrying a Christian princess or, even more preferable, procreating with *jawārī*, forestalled that danger. What is more, as D. Fairchild Ruggles has argued, in the case of the Umayyads there is enough evidence to suggest that "a deliberative procreative program was in effect whereby wives were denied the sexual services of their royal husbands at least until a successor (or two) had been born to a slave concubine."<sup>65</sup> This impression is strongly reinforced by the fact that all the Umayyad males who came to assume the rank of emir or caliph in al-Andalus between the eighth and the tenth centuries were born to slave consorts, many of them Christian, rather than to married mothers. A similar pattern of reproductive politics can be glimpsed in other regions of the Islamic world, where royal dynasties – such as the 'Abbasid caliphs or the Ottoman sultans – went out of their way to choose slave concubines to bear their children.<sup>66</sup> The matrimonial policy that was adopted by the *ḥājib* al-Manṣūr is also instructive in this regard. Early on in his career, he sought to consolidate and further his political influence by entering into advantageous marriage alliances with other powerful Muslim aristocratic families. It is striking, however, that once he held the reins of power in al-Andalus he preferred to distance himself from the local Muslim aristocracy and underline his peninsular hegemony, in his case by marrying the daughter of Sancho Garcés II of Navarre.<sup>67</sup>

One is also bound to question why it was that the Christian royal dynasties chose to enter into such interfaith marriage alliances, when the Church had traditionally preached against sexual mixing of this kind. We have already noted that at the ecclesiastical council that was held at Córdoba in 839 the assembled clerics, echoing previous church pronouncements, had been at pains to denounce the marriage of Christians with the infidel; but if similar edicts were issued at church councils held in the Christian-dominated territories to the north of the Peninsula no record of them has survived.<sup>68</sup> It is entirely possible that the Muslim conquest had so utterly disrupted the apparatus of church government in Northern Iberia that pastoral guidance for the laity, of the kind that had earlier been provided at regular church councils under the Visigoths, was in notably short supply. It was equally the case that prior to the eleventh century papal contacts with the bishops and churches of the Peninsula, as in most of the Latin West at this time, remained limited in the extreme and there is no evidence that any of the popes after Hadrian I

<sup>62</sup>As the court poet Ibn Darrāj al-Qaṣṣālī (d. 1030), who trumpeted the military deeds of al-Manṣūr and his son 'Abd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, was only too keen to point out (Ibn Darrāj, *Diwān*, nos. 103–5). See also in this context Guichard, *Al-Andalus*, 185–6; Marín, *Mujeres*, 142, 553–4. Cf. Peirce, *Imperial Harem*, 36–7.

<sup>63</sup>Rodríguez, *Captives and Their Saviors*, 49–50.

<sup>64</sup>Gordon, *Slavery*, 88.

<sup>65</sup>Ruggles, "Mothers of a Hybrid Dynasty," 72.

<sup>66</sup>On the 'Abbasid harem, see Kennedy, *Court of the Caliphs*, 167–8, 172–99; on the Ottomans, see Peirce, *Imperial Harem*, 28–56.

<sup>67</sup>Marín, *Mujeres*, 555–7; see above n. 51.

<sup>68</sup>See above n. 30.

took much interest in the spiritual welfare of their Iberian flock, let alone that they voiced any concerns about the practice of interfaith marriage.<sup>69</sup> As Bishop Arnulf of Orléans pithily declared at the synod of Rheims in 991, “Spain knows nothing of papal decisions.”<sup>70</sup> Probably even more important than this, the decidedly weak political and military position in which the Christian monarchs found themselves for much of the tenth century, during which time the North was subjected to a series of devastating raids by Umayyad armies, probably meant that they had precious little room for manoeuvring.<sup>71</sup> In the circumstances, interfaith marriage alliances may have represented an indispensable, if unpalatable, means to achieve both peace and dynastic survival.

By marked contrast, it is notable that very few Muslim women are known to have crossed the frontier in the opposite direction and taken Christian husbands. True, a number of the female members of the Banū Qasī are recorded to have married prominent Christians, such as the daughter of ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad (d. 915–16), known to the Christians as Urraca, who was married off to King Fruela II of León (924–25).<sup>72</sup> But in this the family may have constituted something of a special case, in that it was only relatively recently Islamised – indeed, Ibn Ḥazm records the names of a number of family members who renounced Islam<sup>73</sup> – which may have prompted the clan to play fast and loose with the strictures of Islamic law regarding mixed marriages. Moreover, the family’s peculiar geopolitical position, sandwiched between several competing powers, seems to have led it to be far more pragmatic in its marriage policy than was the case in other regions of al-Andalus. For the most part, however, it appears that cross-border marriages between Muslim women and Christian men occurred only rarely and were often acts of desperation. Thus, when the Berber Maḥmūd ibn ‘Abd al-Jabbār of Mérida (d. c. 845), a longstanding rebel against Umayyad authority who had found political asylum in the kingdom of Alfonso II of Asturias (791–842), was killed in the course of a skirmish with the king’s forces, the Christian nobles of the region competed to marry his surviving sister Jamīla “on account of her ancestry, beauty and valour,” according to Ibn Ḥayyān. In the end, the nobles reportedly drew lots to win her hand, whereupon she converted to Christianity and married.<sup>74</sup> Another Muslim woman *in extremis* was the princess known in Christian sources as “Zaida,” who after the death of her husband, al-Faṭḥ al-Ma’mūn, killed in the course of the Almoravid attack on Córdoba on 26 March 1091, and the subsequent deposition of her father-in-law, al-Mu’tamid b. Abbād, ruler of the *taifa* kingdom of Seville, fled to the Christian north and became the concubine of Alfonso VI of León-Castile (1065–1109), whom she may later have married.<sup>75</sup>

To sum up thus far, the various strands of evidence that have survived suggest that sexual relations between Muslim lords and women of Christian origin – be it through a formal marriage with a freeborn princess or the acquisition of a slave concubine – were relatively commonplace in the Iberian Peninsula between the early eighth and early eleventh centuries and were driven by a complex range of political and cultural factors, including considerations of diplomacy, propaganda, and dynastic security. Unfortunately, however, our sources have practically nothing to tell us about the circumstances that gave rise to such liaisons. No marriage contracts survive,

<sup>69</sup>See, for example, Fletcher, *Episcopate*, 181–2. For the wider picture, see Tellenbach, *Church*, 72–3.

<sup>70</sup>Cited by Fletcher, *St. James’s Catapult*, 192.

<sup>71</sup>For an overview of the political situation, see Collins, *Early Medieval Spain*, chaps. 6–7.

<sup>72</sup>Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 503; trans. de la Granja, “La Marca Superior,” 534.

<sup>73</sup>Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 502–3; trans. de la Granja, “La Marca Superior,” 533–4.

<sup>74</sup>Ibn Ḥayyān, *Crónica de los emires*, 304–6; Christys, “Crossing the Frontier.”

<sup>75</sup>Lévi-Provençal, “Hispano-Arábica;” Montaner Frutos, “La mora Zaida.” The name “Zaida” derives from the Arabic *sayyida*, the title by which Muslim noblewomen were known (Rubiera Mata, “Un insólito caso,” 342).

nor are we left with even a description of how, in the case of freeborn Christian women, the undoubtedly delicate negotiations that preceded the marriage might have been conducted between the two parties.

One striking exception to this historiographical drought is provided by the brief and idiosyncratic *Chronicle of the Kings of León*, which was composed by Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo some time between 1121 and 1132.<sup>76</sup> In his unremittingly hostile account of the reign of Vermudo II of León (982–99) the bishop makes reference to the marriage alliance that was subsequently arranged between the king's daughter, Teresa Vermúdez, and an unnamed Muslim king of Toledo, by her brother Alfonso V (999–1032):

After the death of her father, Teresa was given away in marriage by her brother Alfonso to a certain pagan king of Toledo for the sake of peace, although she herself was unwilling. But as she was a Christian, she said to the pagan king: "Do not touch me, for you are a pagan. If you do touch me the Angel of the Lord will slay you." Then the king laughed at her and slept with her once and just as she had predicted he was immediately struck down by the Angel of the Lord. As he felt death approaching, he summoned his chamberlains and his councillors and ordered them to load up camels with gold, silver, gems and precious garments, and to take her back to León with all these gifts. She stayed in that place in a nun's habit for a long time, and afterwards she died in Oviedo and was buried in the monastery of San Pelayo.<sup>77</sup>

The story of the plucky Princess Teresa and the Muslim king is shrouded by a fog of uncertainty and raises a number of intriguing questions. Are we really to believe that this tale, embroidered as it undoubtedly was, was based on historical events, and if so why did the bishop consider it worthy of inclusion in his chronicle? How much trust can we place in the testimony of Pelayo, a man who is best known for having indulged in a large-scale programme of forgery in defence of the rights and privileges of his episcopal see?<sup>78</sup> More broadly, what can the account tell us about twelfth-century Christian attitudes towards interfaith sexual mixing?

For all its brevity, Pelayo's tale of Princess Teresa and the Muslim king came to enjoy a long and vigorous literary life. His account passed mostly word-for-word into the late twelfth-century anonymous *Crónica Najerense*; a few decades after that it was incorporated into Lucas of Tuy's *Chronicon Mundi*, and from there into Archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez's *De rebus Hispanie*.<sup>79</sup> Drawing on these accounts, the story was subsequently reproduced by the compilers of Alfonso X's vernacular *Estoria de Espanna*, which placed the events – erroneously, as we

<sup>76</sup>Pelayo, *Crónica*; trans. Barton and Fletcher, *World of El Cid*, 74–89. For an introduction to the life and works of Pelayo, see Javier Fernández Conde, *Libro de los Testamentos*, 35–80; Barton and Fletcher, *World of El Cid*, 65–74.

<sup>77</sup>"Ipsam uero Tarasiam, post mortem patris sui dedit frater eius Adefonsus in coniugo ipsa nolente, cuidam pagano regi Tholetano pro pace. Ispa autem ut erat christiana, dixit pagano regi: 'Noli me tangere, quia paganus es, si uero me tetigeris, angelus Domini interficiet te.' Tunc rex derisit eam, et concubuit cum ea semel, et statim sicut predixerat, percussus est ab angelus Domini. Ille autem ut sensit mortem propinquam adesse sibi, uocauit cubicularios et consiliarios suos, et precipit illis honorare camellos auro et argento, gemis et uestibus preciosis, et adducere illam ad Legionem, cum totis illis muneribus. Quo loco illa in monachali habitu diu permansit, et postea in Ouetu obiit, et in monasterio Sancti Pelagii sepulta fuit" (Pelayo, 63–5). There are biblical resonances here. The phrase "do not touch me" [*noli me tangere*] is an echo of the same words Jesus is said to have pronounced when rebuking Mary Magdalene after his resurrection (John 20:17). I am grateful to Alun Williams for drawing this to my attention.

<sup>78</sup>Fernández Conde, *Libro de los Testamentos*, *passim*; Barton and Fletcher, *World of El Cid*, 69–71. Pelayo has been dubbed the "prince of falsifiers" by Peter Linehan ("Religion, Nationalism and National Identity," 162).

<sup>79</sup>Estévez Sola, *Chronica Naierensis*, 147–8; Lucas, *Chronicon Mundi*, 274–5; Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, *De rebus Hispanie*, 167.



shall see – in the year 984.<sup>80</sup> The tale also later resurfaced in a number of popular early modern ballads and even in a stage play, *El labrador venturoso* (1635), written by the celebrated playwright Lope de Vega.<sup>81</sup>

It is worth noting that Lucas of Tuy's version of events, written a full century after Pelayo's and two centuries after the episode it purports to describe, differs in a few significant details. First, it records that the Muslim king's name was Abdella (that is, 'Abd Allāh), and that he had been attacking the Leonese kingdom at the time the marriage alliance was brokered. Second, it shifts the blame for the decision to marry off Teresa from King Alfonso V to his advisors, emphasising that he was but a boy at the time the marriage was agreed and that he was acting on the advice of his nobles. Third, Lucas justifies the decision to betroth Teresa to the Muslim by alleging that the ruler in question had hoodwinked the Leonese monarch by pretending to be a Christian and had even sworn to provide military support to Alfonso V against other Muslims.<sup>82</sup> Archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez does not add a great deal of further detail to this account, although he attributes the decision to allow Teresa to be married to the Muslim ruler to be part of "a treaty that had been agreed against the king of Córdoba."<sup>83</sup>

This much we do know: documentary sources confirm that there was indeed a Princess Teresa born to Vermudo II and his second wife Elvira García of Castile. She can first be traced in the records on 18 August 1017, when she confirmed a grant made by her mother Queen Elvira to Bishop Vistruario and the chapter of Santiago de Compostela; on 17 December of that same year, with her sister Sancha Vermúdez, she engaged in a lawsuit with one Osorio Froilaz over the monastery of Santa Eulalia de Fingoy.<sup>84</sup> On 1 March 1028, Teresa granted some property of her own in the city of León to the church of Compostela; and on 27 January 1030, again with Sancha Vermúdez, she gave an estate at Serantes to the see.<sup>85</sup> These Compostelan documents were later copied into the twelfth-century cartulary known today as *Tumbo A* and a painting of the two sisters was added.<sup>86</sup> In both donations Teresa made to the see of Compostela she was styled *Christi ancilla*, which demonstrates that by 1028 she had joined a religious community, perhaps that of San Pelayo de Oviedo, as Pelayo tells us, which is where she died on Wednesday 25 April 1039, according to her epitaph.<sup>87</sup>

Bishop Pelayo's brief account of the betrothal of Princess Teresa to the Muslim king has thoroughly divided historians. One of the first to consider the episode was the Dutch Arabist Reinhardt Dozy.<sup>88</sup> It is probably fair to say that Dozy was something of a sceptic when it came to medieval writers, particularly Christian writers – "plus crédules encore que pieux" he noted tartly – yet he nonetheless believed that literary legends were often based on historical

<sup>80</sup>Menéndez Pidal, *Primera Crónica General*, II: 731.b–733.a.

<sup>81</sup>For the ballad "Casamiento se hacía / que a Dios ha desagradado," see Wolf and Hofmann, *Primavera y flor de romances*, II: 356, no. 27; cf. Odd, "Women of the Romanceros," 361. Lope de Vega, *El labrador venturoso*.

<sup>82</sup>"Tamen dum [Alfonso V] esset puerulus et Abdella rex Toletanus Legionense regnum hostiliter infestaret, inito consilio nobiles regni dederunt Tharasiam sororem Regis Adefonsi barbaro pro coniuge, ipsa nolente eo, quod occulte se simulabat Christianum et auxilium contra Agarenos ceteros regi Adefonso se prestatum iuramento firmavit" (Lucas, *Chronicon Mundi*, 274–5).

<sup>83</sup>"Hic autem Aldefonsus in reprobum sensum datus, cum esset puer, dedit Tharasiam sororem suam in uxorem Abdalle regi Toleti sub pacto auxilii contra principem Cordubensem, ipsa penitus reclamante" (Rodrigo Jiménez, *De rebus Hispanie*, 167).

<sup>84</sup>Lucas Álvarez, *La documentación*, 229–31; Fernández del Pozo, "Alfonso V," 243–4.

<sup>85</sup>Lucas Álvarez, *La documentación*, 235–7, 237–8.

<sup>86</sup>See Fournes, "Iconologie des infantes."

<sup>87</sup>Grassotti, "Vindicación de doña Teresa," 453.

<sup>88</sup>Dozy, *Recherches*, I: 184–92.

foundations.<sup>89</sup> In the case of Bishop Pelayo's account, Dozy thought it unlikely that the unnamed *rex* of Toledo could have been some minor kinglet of the *taifa* period that succeeded the collapse of the Umayyad Caliphate in 1009. Instead, he argued that the king in question could have been none other than al-Manṣūr, the all-powerful *ḥājib* to the caliph Hishām II.<sup>90</sup> Dozy pointed out that this was corroborated by the historian Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406), who had recorded that al-Manṣūr had married a daughter of Vermudo II in 993.<sup>91</sup> Dozy further speculated that it was in 1003 – the year after the death of al-Manṣūr, when his son and successor as *ḥājib*, ‘Abd al-Malik al-Muzaffar, made peace with Alfonso V – that Teresa must have returned to León and later entered the convent of San Pelayo in Oviedo, as Bishop Pelayo states.<sup>92</sup>

Not all scholars have been convinced by Dozy's reasoning, however. Emilio Cotarelo, Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, Hilda Grassotti, and José María Fernández del Pozo have all considered it impossible on chronological grounds that Teresa could have married al-Manṣūr.<sup>93</sup> Given that Vermudo II had only married his second wife Elvira of Castile in 992, their daughter Teresa could have been only a babe in arms at the time of her supposed betrothal to al-Manṣūr, if indeed she had been born at all. Cotarelo and Grassotti both argued, rather, that the unnamed daughter of Vermudo II, who according to Ibn Khaldūn had married al-Manṣūr, was actually the daughter of King Sancho Garcés II of Navarre, whose betrothal to the *ḥājib* was recorded by other sources.<sup>94</sup> Accordingly, it must have been the memory of that marriage agreement that reached Bishop Pelayo at the beginning of the twelfth century and was subsequently transformed into legend.

Before dismissing Bishop Pelayo's account of the marriage of Princess Teresa and the Muslim king once and for all, however, it is worth pausing for thought. First, although Cotarelo and others were undoubtedly right to question on chronological grounds Dozy's suggestion that the princess had been betrothed to al-Manṣūr, it is only fair to point out that Pelayo himself did not make such a claim. Instead, he spoke – vaguely, it is true – of a marriage alliance between Teresa and a certain “pagan king of Toledo,” a man Lucas of Tuy and Rodrigo Jiménez would later identify as one ‘Abd Allāh. But if this designation is accurate, then who was it that Pelayo might have had in mind?

One thing is clear: the political situation in Iberia during the first quarter of the eleventh century was volatile in the extreme. The decision taken late in 1008 by the caliph Hishām II to appoint al-Manṣūr's son, the *ḥājib* ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Sanchuelo, as heir apparent to the caliphal throne triggered a revolt by members of the Umayyad house in February of the following year. In the course of the uprising, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān was murdered, Hishām II was forced to abdicate, and another member of the Umayyad clan, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-Mahdī, was installed in his stead. The latter's grip on power proved short-lived, however, and despite defeating a family rival to the caliphal throne, Sulaymān b. al-Ḥakam b. Sulaymān, he too was overthrown and executed in June 1010. In the aftermath, the state army fragmented, unitary political authority evaporated, to the extent that the caliphate itself was abolished in 1031, and al-Andalus dissolved into a plethora of independent kingdoms better known as *taifas*.<sup>95</sup>

<sup>89</sup>Dozy, *Recherches*, I: 184.

<sup>90</sup>Dozy, *Recherches*, I: 186–7.

<sup>91</sup>Dozy, *Recherches*, I: 101, 186. See also Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire*, II: 243–4.

<sup>92</sup>Dozy, *Recherches*, I: 187. His view was supported by Pérez de Urbel, “Los primeros siglos,” 173.

<sup>93</sup>Cotarelo, “El supuesto casamiento;” Sánchez-Albornoz, “El ejército y la guerra,” 421 n. 450; Grassotti, “Vindicación;” Fernández del Pozo, “Alfonso V,” 38; Fernández del Pozo, *Alfonso V*, 29–33. Ramón Menéndez Pidal also discussed the episode, although he did not pass judgement on the reliability of Pelayo's account: Menéndez Pidal, *Historia y epopeya*, 18–21.

<sup>94</sup>See above n. 51; Cotarelo, “El supuesto casamiento,” 54–5; Grassotti, “Vindicación,” 451.

<sup>95</sup>The process is charted in detail by Scales, *Fall of the Caliphate*; Wasserstein, *Rise and Fall*.

Meanwhile, the political situation in the neighbouring Christian kingdom of León might have been somewhat less cataclysmic than that unfolding in al-Andalus, but Alfonso V's grip on power was initially tenuous nonetheless. Alfonso was but five years old when he succeeded to the throne of León on the death of his father Vermudo II in 999, with the result that power was initially entrusted to a regency council. During this period, the young king faced a number of challenges to his authority, including a series of aristocratic revolts and a wave of attacks on the Galician coastline by Viking marauders.<sup>96</sup> Not only that, but the kingdom was also subjected to two major offensives by the forces of al-Manṣūr's son 'Abd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, in 1002 and 1005 respectively, as a result of which the Christians were forced to seek peace.<sup>97</sup> Is it conceivable that it was after the second of these campaigns, by which time Princess Teresa could still have been no more than thirteen years old, that she was betrothed to al-Muẓaffar *pro pace*, only returning to León after his untimely death late in 1008?

Another, equally intriguing, possibility, is that the bridegroom in question was none other than al-Muẓaffar's brother and successor as *ḥājib*, 'Abd al-Raḥmān Sanchuelo. We are told by the early fourteenth-century chronicler Ibn Idhārī al-Marrākushī, drawing on a range of earlier sources, that shortly after assuming power on his brother's death on 20 October 1008 'Abd al-Raḥmān dispatched a letter to an unnamed "infidel king" – in all likelihood Alfonso V of León, in light of subsequent events – "in the same way that his brother had written to him previously."<sup>98</sup> This letter is likely to have sought to renew the "pact of submission" with the Leonese that had been agreed at the start of al-Muẓaffar's term in office as *ḥājib* six years earlier, and it was probably accompanied by a demand for contingents of Christian troops to supplement the caliphal army, in the same way that Leonese and Castilian forces had been required to assist al-Muẓaffar on his raiding expedition to Catalonia in 1003.<sup>99</sup> In January 1009, despite rumblings of discontent among some of the Umayyad aristocracy, who were affronted both by his recent nomination as successor to the caliphate and his increasing reliance on the Berber military, 'Abd al-Raḥmān proclaimed a *jihād* and led an army of Berber mercenaries and a few volunteers from Córdoba to Toledo, from where he planned to invade the Leonese kingdom. Accompanying the expeditionary force was a group of Christians led by the Leonese Count Sancho Gómez, as well as a reported seventy members of 'Abd al-Raḥmān's extensive harem.<sup>100</sup> However, 'Abd al-Raḥmān's plans soon unravelled. Shortly after he reached Toledo he was forced to abort the expedition when news reached him that Córdoba had been taken over by a group of Umayyad conspirators on 15 February 1009, the caliph Hishām had been deposed and replaced by the leader of the rebels, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Mahdī, and the palace at Madinat al-Zāhira, which had been built by al-Manṣūr, had been sacked. Given these multiple setbacks, 'Abd al-Raḥmān opted to return south, but support for his cause soon began to crumble and he was deserted by his Berber mercenaries. Leaving the women of his harem at his palace at Armilāt (Guadalmellato) to the north of Córdoba, 'Abd al-Raḥmān fled with Count Sancho and a force of only fifty horsemen with the intention of escaping north. However, he was soon tracked down by supporters of

<sup>96</sup>Fernández del Pozo, "Alfonso V," 41–50, 69–78, 84–7.

<sup>97</sup>Fernández del Pozo, "Alfonso V," 54–6. A charter of 5 February 1003 records that it had been drawn up "in presentia qui ibi fuit zachascorta Eben Bacri quando uenit de Cordoba pro pace confirmare ad Romanos in Domnos Sanctos" (Herrero de la Fuente, *Colección diplomática*, 22–3).

<sup>98</sup>Ibn Idhārī al-Marrākushī, *Al-Bayān al-mughrib*, III: 39; trans. Maíllo Salgado, *La caída del Califato*, 44.

<sup>99</sup>Ibn Idhārī al-Marrākushī, *Al-Bayān*, III: 5; Maíllo Salgado, *La caída del Califato*, 13–14.

<sup>100</sup>On Count Sancho Gómez, see Torres Sevilla-Quiñones de León, "Un tradicional ejemplo;" Torres Sevilla-Quiñones de León, *Linajes nobiliarios*, 255. For an alternative identification, see Scales, *Fall of the Caliphate*, 53–4.

the new caliph Muḥammad and killed, along with the count, at a nearby Christian monastery on 5 March 1009. The women of his harem were sent back to Córdoba.<sup>101</sup>

It seems clear enough that like his father and brother before him ‘Abd al-Raḥmān had sought an early military success against the Christians as a means to win personal prestige and thereby shore up his political authority at home. Whether he further attempted to emphasise his dominance over the Christians by engineering a marriage alliance with a Leonese princess, in this case Teresa Vermúdez, in the same way that his father al-Manṣūr had done when he had sought the hand in marriage of Sancho Garcés II’s daughter (‘Abd al-Raḥmān’s mother) in 983, is a moot point. The presence of Count Sancho Gómez on the expedition leads one to wonder whether he might have acted as a go-between in any diplomatic negotiations with the Leonese, while ‘Abd al-Raḥmān’s own status as heir to the caliphate and his Christian background on his mother’s side might also have helped to seal a peace deal.<sup>102</sup> This might explain why it was later claimed by Christian writers, such as Lucas of Tuy, that the Muslim king had “pretended to be a Christian” and had sworn to provide military support to Alfonso V.<sup>103</sup> Furthermore, it is noteworthy that Toledo was ‘Abd al-Raḥmān’s main base of operations during the campaign against the Christians in 1009 and that after the Umayyad palace coup, faced by large-scale opposition to his authority, he apparently intended to make the city his powerbase from which to launch a counterattack against the rebels in Córdoba.<sup>104</sup> This might explain Archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez’s otherwise opaque comment that the “king of Toledo” sought a political alliance with León *against* Córdoba.<sup>105</sup> Alternatively, however, one might speculate that the ruler was the Umayyad pretender Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-Mahdī, who when ousted from Córdoba by Sulaymān b. al-Ḥakam b. Sulaymān in 1010 briefly took refuge in Toledo, or even one of the various notables who sought to establish themselves as independent dynasts in Toledo in the years immediately after the fall of the caliphate.<sup>106</sup> Yet if that were the case it is unlikely that the Leonese would have been intimidated by the far more meagre military resources available to any of those petty dynasts compared with the substantial caliphal armies at the disposal of al-Muẓaffar or ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Sanchuelo.

Even if we cannot prove categorically that either ‘Abd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, his brother ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Sanchuelo, or indeed any of the other competing notables was the “pagan king” to whom Teresa Vermúdez was betrothed, it is easy to see why a Muslim leader even temporarily based in Toledo might later have been transmogrified into a king of that city by Christian chroniclers writing long after the event. It is highly conceivable, moreover, that at some point during the first decade of the eleventh century, at a time when the entire edifice of the Umayyad state was

<sup>101</sup>On the expedition and death of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, see Ibn Idhārī al-Marrākushī, *Al-Bayān*, III: 49–50, 66–74; Maíllo Salgado, *La caída del Califato*, 53–5, 68–74. See also the account of al-Nuwayrī, in Gayangos’ translation of Al-Maqqarī, *History of the Mohammedan Dynasties*, II: 486–90.

<sup>102</sup>According to Ibn ‘Idhārī, one of the arguments that had been employed by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān when he persuaded Hishām II to appoint him his heir was to remind him that they were both born to Navarrese mothers (Ibn Idhārī al-Marrākushī, *Al-Bayān*, III: 42; Maíllo Salgado, *La caída del Califato*, 47).

<sup>103</sup>See above, n. 82. Conversely one of the accusations flung at ‘Abd al-Raḥmān by his enemies within al-Andalus was that he was not a proper Muslim at all (Ibn Idhārī al-Marrākushī, *Al-Bayān*, III: 68; Maíllo Salgado, *La caída del Califato*, 70).

<sup>104</sup>The importance that he attached to the city can be seen from the fact that once he had been forced to suspend the campaign and return south towards Córdoba he sent a letter to the citizens of Toledo urging them to show loyalty to the caliph Hishām II. Subsequently, Count Sancho is said to have advised ‘Abd al-Raḥmān to escape north and ally himself with Wāḍiḥ, the governor of the Middle March, whose chief city was Toledo (Ibn Idhārī al-Marrākushī, *Al-Bayān*, III: 69–70; Maíllo Salgado, *La caída del Califato*, 71).

<sup>105</sup>See above n. 83.

<sup>106</sup>Wasserstein, “Emergence of the Taifa Kingdom of Toledo.”

beginning to totter and when the Leonese monarchy's own grip on power was uncertain, that Alfonso V, or the nobles who wielded power on his behalf, might have sought to broker a marriage alliance with a Muslim potentate, just as other hard-pressed Christian kings had done in the past. Equally, one can imagine why a leading Muslim with designs on the caliphal throne, like 'Abd al-Rahmān Sanchuelo, keen to reinforce his own power and prestige, might have embraced such an alliance. Even if Bishop Pelayo's account clearly contains some fantastical elements, it is unlikely to be a complete fiction.

Embroidered or not, Pelayo's tale of the betrothal of Princess Teresa to the Muslim king was suffused with immense symbolic significance, which would not have been lost on his contemporaries, just as its long and varied literary life – from Latin ecclesiastical chronicle to popular vernacular ballad and dramatic work – speaks volumes for its enduring resonance and appeal. The bishop was writing at a time when Christian attitudes towards the Islamic world, both in Iberia and elsewhere in the Latin West, were undergoing a remarkable transformation. It was not just that the collapse of the Umayyad caliphate in the early eleventh century had given rise to a dramatic shift in the balance of power in the Peninsula, which had enabled the Christian kingdoms to make spectacular territorial gains at the expense of the Muslim South (notably with the capture of Toledo in 1085 and Zaragoza in 1118); nor that the subsequent annexation of al-Andalus by the Berber Almoravids between 1090 and 1110 had prompted unprecedented levels of antagonism between Christians and Muslims.<sup>107</sup> Equally significant was the emergence of the crusading movement in the wake of Pope Urban II's call to arms at the Council of Clermont in 1095, which had set in train a major reconfiguration of Christian–Muslim relations, whose impact was eventually to be felt the length and breadth of the Mediterranean world.<sup>108</sup> In the meantime, partly as a response to the incorporation of sizeable communities of Muslims and Jews under Christian rule in the wake of the territorial conquests carried out in the Peninsula and the Holy Land, canon lawyers were busily drawing up strict injunctions against those Christians who married or engaged in other sexual contact with infidels, pronouncements that were soon to be amplified in numerous Iberian secular law codes, from Sepúlveda to Tortosa.<sup>109</sup> And all of this occurred at a time when, thanks in large part to the impetus provided by the papal reform movement, the Iberian Church was undergoing a thorough overhaul. French churchmen more attuned to the reformist agenda pursued by Rome were being appointed to top jobs in the ecclesiastical hierarchy and, together with the papal legates who after c. 1050 became regular visitors to the Peninsula, were helping to sweep away what they saw as outmoded attitudes and customs.<sup>110</sup> In such a climate, the thoroughly pragmatic cross-border arrangements of times past, which had seen Christian brides sent to join the harems of the emirs, caliphs and other nobles of al-Andalus, came to be considered not just unorthodox, but godless and immoral.

As a consequence of this convergence of political, religious and cultural factors, the practice of élite interfaith marriage was condemned to a swift decline. Andalusí rulers simply no longer enjoyed the same level of political and military dominance over the Northern kings that had once enabled them to demand the hands of Christian princesses in marriage as the price of

<sup>107</sup>For a general overview of these changes, see Barton, "Spain in the Eleventh Century."

<sup>108</sup>On the impact of crusading ideology on Iberia, see Fletcher, "Reconquest and Crusade;" Bull, *Knightly Piety*, chap. 2; O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*; Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, chaps. 5–6.

<sup>109</sup>Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society*, 195–6, 207, 238, 267–8, 340, 361, 380, 461–2. See also Bussi, "La condizione giuridica;" Herde, "Christians and Saracens." On the Iberian legislation, see Dillard, "Women in Reconquest Castile," 85–6; Nirenberg, *Communities*, 131–3; Catlos, *Victors*, 306–7.

<sup>110</sup>For an introduction to these trends in the west of the Peninsula, see Fletcher, *Episcopate*, chaps. 3–5; Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult*, chaps. 8–9. See also Cowdrey, *Cluniacs*, 214–47; O'Callaghan, "Integration of Christian Spain."



peace, although the recruitment of Christian slave women to the harems of Islamic potentates continued unabated.<sup>111</sup> For their Christian counterparts, meanwhile, interfaith marriage had become politically unnecessary, as well as culturally and ideologically beyond the pale. Be that as it may, at least two later sources would have us believe that the custom may not have entirely disappeared. In his *Chronica* (completed in 1201), the Englishman Roger of Howden, or perhaps a later editor, included the colourful tale of how the daughter of “Boiac, Emperor of the Africans” (that is, the Almohad caliph, Ya’qūb al-Manṣūr 1184–99), having heard of the outstanding qualities of Sancho VII of Navarre (1194–1234), “fell so deeply in love with him that she passionately wished to have him as her husband.” Not only that, but she proposed to convert to Christianity.<sup>112</sup> Whether or not the princess was granted her wish and married the king we are not explicitly told, but it hardly needs saying that it is unlikely in the extreme that she would have taken the lead in proposing such a marriage alliance or that the caliph would have consented to an action that ran so contrary to Islamic law. In fact, the Saracen queen or princess who falls in love with a Christian lord and subsequently converts to Christianity was a popular trope of twelfth- and thirteenth-century literature, which served in part to vindicate Christian colonial expansion.<sup>113</sup> Besides, the chronicler’s claim that Sancho spent three years in North Africa fighting on behalf of the caliph’s son Muḥammad is not borne out by the near-contemporary account provided by Archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez, nor by the evidence of Sancho’s own chancery.<sup>114</sup>

In April 1223, shortly after these events are supposed to have occurred, Pope Honorius III dispatched a letter to the archbishop of Tarragona and his suffragans, in which he denounced the custom of those Christian kings and nobles, who – so the bishop of Zaragoza had informed him – were in the habit of handing over their noblewomen to the Muslims as a guarantee for monetary loans.<sup>115</sup> It is a startling claim. Are we to take this papal admonition at its face value? Or was the pope’s letter a reflection of those same ideological concerns that underpinned the story of Princess Teresa and others like it? The timing of the missive, which was sent at the very moment when the theme of interfaith sexual mixing was enjoying a particular literary vogue in the Peninsula, strongly suggests the latter. If Christian brides of élite families were still being trafficked across the frontier into al-Andalus in the 1220s we do not hear of it from any other sources.

To conclude, the story related by Bishop Pelayo and amplified by other chroniclers matters to us not simply because it sheds some light on the particular circumstances under which cross-border matrimonial pacts were agreed by the Christian and Muslim political élites in Iberia shortly after the millennium, but also because it demonstrates that ideas about sexual mixing and religious identity in the Iberian Peninsula did not remain fixed throughout the centuries of the Islamic settlement and occupation. On the contrary, they were highly dynamic. There was a shift in attitudes and custom from the mid-eleventh century onwards that was closely tied to events unfolding on either side of the Pyrenees. Pelayo’s account mirrors the same anxieties

<sup>111</sup> Thus, it is reported that no fewer than five of the sultans of Nasrid Granada were born to Christian slave concubines (Al-‘Abbadī, *El reino de Granada*, 161). See also Marín, *Mujeres*, 129; Rodríguez, *Captives and Their Saviors*, 48–9 and references therein.

<sup>112</sup> Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica*, III: 90–2. The Latin text and English translation of Roger’s account is also provided by Smith, *Christians and Moors*, 6–11.

<sup>113</sup> See Kinoshita, *Medieval Boundaries*, chap. 2. See also Warren, “Enamoured Moslem Princess;” Knudson, “La thème de la princesse;” Combarieu, “Un personnage épique;” Ramey, *Christian, Saracen and Genre*.

<sup>114</sup> Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, *De rebus Hispanie*, 254. For an alternative account, see Charlo Brea, *Chronica Latina Regum Castellae*, 50–1. See the discussion in Lino Munárriz y Velasco, “Viaje del rey don Sancho,” 30; and Barbour, “Relations of King Sancho VII.”

<sup>115</sup> Canellas López, *Monumenta diplomática aragonensia*, II: 563.

about confessional boundaries and feminine sexual honour that were being extensively articulated by ecclesiastics and others – in laws, as well as in literary texts – in much of the Christian West by the early twelfth century. As David Nirenberg has observed, in the context of his illuminating study of Christian–Jewish relations in the Peninsula, the determination to uphold the purity of women, by erecting barriers against other faiths, not only served to establish an explicit link between female sexuality and familial and communal honour, but it was also a means by which the identity of the Christian community as a whole could be both defined and reinforced.<sup>116</sup> In Pelayo's account, the Muslim king, by sleeping with a Christian princess – who by her very baptism could be considered to be a bride of Christ – had transgressed the social, cultural, and confessional boundaries that separated the faiths and had paid the ultimate price.<sup>117</sup> For her part, the hapless yet determined Teresa, in standing up to the king, could be seen to be defending both her personal honour and that of the wider Christian community. Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada's account of the episode, in which Teresa is made to declare, "I am a Christian woman and I abhor foreign marriages," neatly summed up the prevailing mood.<sup>118</sup>

The cross-border interfaith marriage alliances that appear to have been relatively commonplace at the very highest echelons of peninsular society between the ninth and eleventh centuries came to be seen by later Christians as a sign of humiliation and weakness, unless, of course, – as occurred in the case of Zaida and Alfonso VI – they concerned a Muslim princess who converted to Christianity, in which case the reverse was true. It is probably no coincidence that shortly after Bishop Pelayo laid down his pen other literary accounts of such interfaith liaisons began to circulate widely. Most celebrated and influential of all was the legend of the *Tributo de las cien doncellas*, which claimed that in the late eighth century King Mauregato of Asturias (783–88) and his successors had been compelled by the Muslim emirs of al-Andalus to deliver an annual tribute of 100 Christian maidens, half of them of noble birth. According to the legend, which appears to have been concocted in Santiago de Compostela in the mid-twelfth century, it was not until Ramiro I (842–50), with the timely assistance of St James, won a spectacular victory over the Muslims on the battlefield of Clavijo in 844 that the Christian kings were delivered from this humiliating levy once and for all and in gratitude vowed to pay a new tribute to the shrine of the Apostle.<sup>119</sup> The legend, like the story of Princess Teresa before it, not only tapped into deep-rooted contemporary anxieties about interfaith sexual mixing, but it also constituted a stark warning from the past, and even a call to arms.<sup>120</sup> Like the numerous tales that surrounded the demise of Roderic, the last king of the Visigoths, they served to remind Christians of all ranks that the consequences of military failure against the armies of Islam had been and always would be dire, and would be paid for not only in the currency of lives, lands and castles, but also in that of feminine sexual honour, which would in turn

<sup>116</sup>"The sexualized boundaries inscribed on the bodies of women in order to demarcate familial honor could be generalized to heighten the cohesion of larger units of society" (Nirenberg, "Conversion, Sex, and Segregation," 1071). On the importance of the concepts of honour and shame in Mediterranean modes of thought, see in particular the collected essays in Peristiany, *Honour and Shame*; Pitt-Rivers, *Fate of Shechem*; Schneider, "Of Vigilance and Virgins."

<sup>117</sup>Cf. Nirenberg, "Conversion," 1068.

<sup>118</sup>"Christiana sum et aborreo connubia aliena." Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, *De rebus Hispanie*, 167. There are Biblical echoes here: see, for example, Deuteronomy 7:3, Ezra, 9–10; Nehemiah, 13. Similar arguments were marshalled by the Carolingians in their attempts to prevent exogamous marriages: see Pohl, "Alienigena coniuga."

<sup>119</sup>Roca Franquesa, "La leyenda;" Manzanares de Cirre "Las cien doncellas;" Milans del Bosch y Solano, "Santiago caballero;" Francomano, "Legend." On the wider impact of the legend, see Rey Castelao, *La historiografía*; Rey Castelao, *El Voto de Santiago*.

<sup>120</sup>Francomano, "Legend," 15, 20.

impinge directly on the collective honour and identity of the Christian people as a whole. It would be up to the warriors of the Christian realms to ensure that the memory of that past shame be avenged and that the barriers that had latterly been erected between the faiths could never be breached again.

## Bibliography

- Al-'Abbadī, Ahmad Muḥtar. *El reino de Granada en la época de Muhammad V*. Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Islámicos, 1973.
- 'Athamina, Khalil. "How Did Islam Contribute to Change the Status of Women: The Case of the *jawārī*, or the *Female Slaves*." *Al-Qanṭara* 28 (2007): 383–408.
- Barbour, Nevill. "The Relations of King Sancho VII of Navarre with the Almohads." *Revue de l'Occident musulman et de la Méditerranée* 4 (1967): 9–21.
- Bariani, Laura. "De las relaciones entre Ṣubḥ y Muḥammad Ibn Abī 'Āmir al-Manṣūr, con especial referencia a su 'ruptura' (waḥṣa) en 386–388/996–998." *Qurṭuba* 1 (1996): 39–57.
- Barton, Simon. "Spain in the Eleventh Century." In *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. IV, part 2, ed. David Luscombe and Jonathan Riley-Smith, 154–90. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Barton, Simon, and Richard Fletcher. *The World of El Cid: Chronicles of the Spanish Reconquest*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000.
- Boswell, John. *The Royal Treasure: Muslim Communities under the Crown of Aragon in the Fourteenth Century*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1977.
- Bousquet, Georges Henri. *L'éthique sexuelle de l'Islam*. Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1966.
- Brundage, James. *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1987.
- Brunschvig, Robert. "'Abd." In *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. I, ed. P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel and W.P. Heinrichs. Leiden: Brill, 1960–2009.
- Bull, Marcus. *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Bussi, Emilio. "La condizione giuridica dei musulmani nel diritto canonico." *Rivista di storia del diritto italiano* 8 (1935): 459–94.
- Cañada Juste, Alberto. "Los Banu Qasi (714–924)." *Príncipe de Viana* 48–49 (1980): 5–95.
- Cañada Juste, Alberto. "El posible solar originario de los Banū Qasī." In *Homenaje a José María Lacarra en su jubilación del profesorado: Estudios Medievales*, vol. I, 33–8. Zaragoza: Anubar, 1977.
- Canellas López, Ángel, ed. *Monumenta diplomática aragonensia: Los cartularios de San Salvador de Zaragoza*. 4 vols. Zaragoza: Ibercaja, 1990.
- Catlos, Brian A. *The Victors and the Vanquished: Christians and Muslims of Catalonia and Aragon, 1050–1300*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Chalmeta Gendron, Pedro. *Invasión e islamización: La sumisión de Hispania y la formación de al-Andalus*. 2nd ed. Jaén: Universidad de Jaén, 2003.
- Charlo Brea, Luis, ed. *Chronica Latina Regum Castellae*. In *Chronica Hispana Saeculi XIII. Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis*, vol. LXXIII, ed. Luis Charlo Brea, Juan A. Estévez Sola, and Rocío Carande Herrero, 7–118. Turnhout: Brepols, 1997.
- Christys, Ann. *Christians in al-Andalus, 711–1000*. Richmond: Curzon Press, 2002.
- Christys, Ann. "Crossing the Frontier of Ninth-Century Hispania." In *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*, ed. David Abulafia and Nora Berend, 35–53. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002.
- Cohen, Raymond, and Raymond Westbrook. eds. *Amarna Diplomacy: The Beginnings of International Relations*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000.
- Collins, Roger. *The Arab Conquest of Spain 710–797*. Rev. ed. Oxford: Blackwell, 1994.
- Collins, Roger. *The Basques*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Blackwell, 1990.
- Collins, Roger. *Early Medieval Spain: Unity in Diversity, 400–1000*. 2nd ed. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995.
- Combarieu, Micheline de. "Un personnage épique: La jeune musulmane." In "Mélanges de langue et littérature françaises du Moyen-Âge offerts à Pierre Jonin." Special Issue, *Senefiance* 7 (1979): 181–96.
- Coope, Jessica A. "Marriage, Kinship, and Islamic Law in al-Andalus: Reflections on Pierre Guichard's *al-Andalus*." *Al-Masāq* 20 (2008): 161–77.
- Coope, Jessica A. *The Martyrs of Córdoba: Community and Family Conflict in an Age of Mass Conversion*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1995.

- Cotarelo, Emilio. "El supuesto casamiento de Almanzor con una hija de Bermudo II." *La España Moderna* 169 (1903): 42–55.
- Cowdrey, H.E.J. *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970.
- Dillard, Heath. "Women in Reconquest Castile: The Fueros of Sepúlveda and Cuenca." In *Women in Medieval Society*, ed. Susan Mosher Stuard, 71–94. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1976.
- Doubleday, Simon. "The Ghost of María Pérez: Phantoms, Fantasies and Fictions of Thirteenth-Century Spain." *Society for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies Bulletin* 29, nos. 2–3 (2004–5): 4–19.
- Dozy, Reinhardt. *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne pendant le Moyen Age*. 3rd ed. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1881.
- El Chekh, Nadia Maria. "Gender and Politics in the Harem of al-Muqtadir." In *Gender in the Early Modern World: East and West, 300–900*, ed. Leslie Brubaker and Julia M.H. Smith, 147–61. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- El-Hajji, Abdurrahman Ali. "Intermarriage between Andalusia and Northern Spain in the Umayyad Period." *Islamic Quarterly* 11 (1967): 3–7.
- Estévez Sola, Juan Antonio, ed. *Chronica Naierensis. Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis*. Vol. LXXIA. Turnhout: Brepols, 1995.
- Eulogius. *Memoriale Sanctorum*. In *Corpus Scriptorum Muzarabicorum*, ed. Juan Gil, 2 vols., vol. II, 363–461. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1973.
- Fernández Conde, Francisco Javier. *Libro de los Testamentos de la catedral de Oviedo*. Rome: Iglesia Nacional Española, 1971.
- Fernández Félix, Ana. *Cuestiones legales del islam temprano: La 'Utbiyya y el proceso de formación de la sociedad islámica andalusí*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2003.
- Fernández del Pozo, José María. "Alfonso V, rey de León." In *León y su historia: Miscelánea histórica*, vol. V, 9–262. León: Centro de Estudio e Investigación "San Isidoro," 1984.
- Fernández del Pozo, José María. *Alfonso V (999–1028). Vermudo III (1028–1037)*. Burgos: La Olmeda, 1999.
- Fierro, Maribel. "El conde Casio, los Banu Qasi y los linajes godos en al-Andalus." *Studia Histórica: Historia medieval* 27 (2009): 181–9.
- Filius, Denise K. "Jokes on *soldadeiras* in the *Cantigas de escarnio e de mal dizer*." *La corónica* 26 (1998): 29–39.
- Filius, Denise K. *Performing Women in the Middle Ages: Sex, Gender, and the Iberian Lyric*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
- Fletcher, Richard A. *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978.
- Fletcher, Richard A. "Reconquest and Crusade in Spain, c. 1050–1150." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, 37 (1987): 31–47.
- Fletcher, Richard A. *St. James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984.
- Fournes, Ghislaine. "Iconologie des infantes (*Tumbo A* et *Tumbo B* de la cathédrale de Saint-Jacques de Compostelle et *Tumbo* de Touxos Outos)." *e-Spania*. <http://e-spania.revues.org/index12033.html> (accessed February 16, 2011).
- Francomano, Emily C. "The Legend of the *Tributo de las cien doncellas*: Women as Warweavers and the Coin of Salvation." *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos* 32 (2007): 9–25.
- Gil, Juan, ed. *Corpus Scriptorum Muzarabicorum*. 2 vols. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1973.
- Gil Fernández, Juan, José L. Moralejo, and Juan I. Ruiz de la Peña, eds. *Crónicas asturianas*. Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo, 1985.
- Gordon, Murray. *Slavery in the Arab World*. New York: New Amsterdam Books, 1989.
- Grassotti, Hilda. "Vindicación de doña Teresa." In Hilda Grassotti *Estudios medievales españoles*, 449–58. Madrid: Fundación universitaria española, 1981.
- Guichard, Pierre. "A propos de l'identité andalouse: Quelques éléments pour un débat." *Arabica* 46 (1999): 97–110.
- Guichard, Pierre. *Al-Andalus: Estructura antropológica de una sociedad islámica en occidente*. Barcelona: Barral Editores, 1976.
- Gundlach, Wilhelm, Ernst Dümmler et al., eds. *Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini Aevi*, vol. I. (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Epistolae*, vol. III). Berlin: Weidmann, 1892.
- Herde, Peter. "Christians and Saracens at the Time of the Crusades: Some Comments of Contemporary Canonists." *Studia Gratiana* 12 (1967): 359–76.

- Herrero de la Fuente, Marta, ed. *Colección diplomática del monasterio de Sahagún (857–1230): II (1000–1073)*. León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación “San Isidoro,” Caja de Ahorros y Monte de Piedad, Archivo Histórico Diocesano, 1988.
- Ibn Darrāj al-Qaṣṭallī. *Diwān*. Ed. Maḥmūd ‘Alī Makkī. Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1969.
- Ibn Ḥayyān. *Crónica de los emires Alḥakam I y ‘Abdarrahmān II entre los años 796 y 847 [Almuqtabis II-I]*. Trans. Maḥmūd ‘Alī Makkī and Federico Corriente. Zaragoza: Instituto de Estudios Islámicos y del Oriente Próximo, 2001.
- Ibn Ḥazm. *Kitāb Jamharat ansāb al-‘Arab*. Ed. ‘Abd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn. Cairo: Dār al-Ma‘ārif, 1962. Partial trans. Elías Terés in “Linajes árabes en al-Andalus, según la ‘Yamhara’ de Ibn Ḥazm” (*Al-Andalus* 22 [1957]: 55–112); and Fernando de la Granja in “La Marca Superior en la obra de al-‘Udri” (*Estudios de Edad Media de la Corona de Aragón* 8 [1967]: 447–545, at 532–4).
- Ibn Ḥazm. *Naqt al-‘arūs*. Ed. C.F. Seybold. Trans. Luis Seco de Lucena. Valencia: Anubar, 1974.
- Ibn Ḥazm. *Tawq al-Ḥamama fi al-ulfā wa-al-ullāf*. Ed. Al-Tahir Ahmad Makki. 3rd ed. Cairo: Dār al-Ma‘ārif, 1980. Trans. A.J. Arberry as *The Ring of the Dove by Ibn Hazm: A Treatise on the Art and Practice of Arab Love* (London: Luzac Oriental, 1953).
- Ibn Idhārī al-Marrākushī. *Al-Bayān al-mughrib fī akhbār al-Andalus wa’l-Maghrib*. Ed. Évariste Lévi-Provençal, Georges S. Colin, and Iḥsān ‘Abbas. 4 vols. Paris: Geuthner, 1930; Leiden: Brill, 1948–51; Beirut: Dār al-Thaqāfah, 1967. Partial trans. Felipe Maíllo Salgado in *La caída del Califato de Córdoba y los Reyes de Taifas (al-Bayān al-Mugrib)* (Salamanca: Estudios Árabes e Islámicos, Universidad de Salamanca, 1993).
- Ibn al-Qūṭīya. *Ta’rīkh iftītāḥ al-Andalus*. Ed. Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī. Cairo: Dār al-Kitāb al-Miṣrī; Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-Lubnānī, 1982. Trans. David James as *Early Islamic Spain: The History of Ibn al-Qutiya* (London: Routledge, 2009).
- Karras, Ruth Mazo. *Sexuality in Medieval Europe: Doing unto Others*. London: Routledge, 2005.
- Kennedy, Hugh. *The Court of the Caliphs: The Rise and Fall of Islam’s Greatest Dynasty*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2004.
- Kinoshita, Sharon. *Medieval Boundaries: Rethinking Difference in Old French Literature*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006.
- Knudson, Charles A. “La thème de la princesse sarrasine dans la *Prise d’Orange*.” *Romance Philology* 22 (1969): 449–62.
- Lacarra, José María. “Textos navarros del Códice de Roda.” *Estudios de Edad Media de la Corona de Aragon* 1 (1945): 194–283.
- Lacarra Lanz, Eukene. “Changing Boundaries of Licit and Illicit Unions: Concubinage and Prostitution.” In *Marriage and Sexuality in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia*, ed. Eukene Lacarra Lanz, 158–94. New York: Routledge, 2002.
- Lafuente y Alcántara, Emilio, ed. and trans. *Akhbār majmū’a fī fath al-Andalus*. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1867.
- Lagardère, Vincent. *Histoire et société en occident musulman au moyen age: Analyse du Mi’yār d’al-Wanṣarīf*. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez; Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1995.
- Lévi-Provençal, Évariste. “Hispano-Arábica: la ‘Mora Zaida,’ femme d’Alphonse VI de Castille et leur fils l’infant D. Sancho.” *Hespéris* 18 (1934): 1–8.
- Lévi-Provençal, Évariste. *Histoire de l’Espagne Musulmane*. 3 vols. Paris and Leiden: G.-P. Maisonneuve & Co/ Brill, 1950–53.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude. *The Elementary Structure of Kinship*. Ed. Rodney Needham. Trans. James Harle Bell, John Richard von Sturmer, and Rodney Needham. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1969.
- Linehan, Peter. “Religion, Nationalism and National Identity in Medieval Spain and Portugal.” In *Religion and National Identity*, ed. Stuart Mews, 161–99. *Studies in Church History* 18. Oxford: Blackwell/ Ecclesiastical History Society, 1982.
- Lino Munárriz y Velasco, Pedro. “Viaje del rey don Sancho al África.” *Boletín de la Comisión de monumentos históricos y artísticos de Navarra*, segunda época, año 3 (1912): 5–39.
- Liu, Benjamin. “‘Affined to Love the Moor’: Sexual Misalliance and Cultural Mixing in the *Cantigas d’escarnho e de mal dizer*.” In *Queer Iberia. Sexualities, Cultures, and Crossings from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance*, ed. Josiah Blackmore and Gregory S. Hutcheson, 48–72. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999.
- Liu, Benjamin. *Medieval Joke Poetry: The Cantigas d’Escarnho e de Mal Dizer*. Cambridge, MA: University Department of Comparative Literature, Harvard University Press, 2004.
- Lope de Vega. *El labrador venturoso*. Charleston, SC: BiblioBazaar, 2007.
- López Pereira, José Eduardo, ed. and trans. *Crónica mozárabe de 754*. Zaragoza: Anubar Ediciones, 1980.



- Lorenzo Jiménez, Jesús. "La dawla de los Banu Qasi: Orígen, auge y caída de un linaje muladí en la Frontera Superior de al-Andalus." PhD diss., Universidad del País Vasco, 2008.
- Lorenzo Jiménez, Jesús. "Algunas consideraciones acerca del conde Casio." *Studia Histórica: Historia medieval* 27 (2009): 173–80.
- Lucas Álvarez, Manuel, ed. *La documentación del Tumbo A de la catedral de Santiago de Compostela: Estudio y edición*. León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación "San Isidoro," Caja España de Inversiones, Caja de Ahorros y Monte de Piedad, Archivo Histórico Diocesano, 1997.
- Lucas, Bishop of Tuy. *Chronicon Mundi*. Ed. Emma Falque. *Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Mediaevalis*, vol. LXXIV. Turnhout: Brepols, 2003.
- Manzanares de Cirre, M. "Las cien doncellas: Trayectoria de una leyenda." *PMLA* 81 (1966): 179–84.
- Manzano Moreno, Eduardo. *Conquistadores, emires y califas: Los omeyas y la formación de al-Andalus*. Barcelona: Crítica, 2006.
- Manzano Moreno, Eduardo. *La frontera de al-Andalus en época de los Omeyas*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1991.
- Al-Maqqarī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad. *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*. Trans. Pascual de Gayangos. 2 vols. London: Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland, 1840–43.
- Marín, Manuela. *Mujeres en el-Ándalus. Estudios onomástico-biográficos de al-Andalus*. Vol. XI. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2000.
- Marín, Manuela. "Una vida de mujer: Šubḥ." In *Biografías y género biográfico en el occidente islámico. Estudios onomástico-biográficos de al-Andalus*, vol. VIII, ed. María Luisa Ávila and Manuela Marín, 425–45. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1997.
- Marmon, S.E. "Concubinage, Islamic." In *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, vol. III, ed. Joseph R. Strayer, 527–9. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1983.
- Martínez Díez, Gonzalo, and Félix Rodríguez, eds. *La colección canónica hispana*. Vol. IV, *Monumenta Hispaniae Sacra*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1984.
- Martínez Díez, Gonzalo, and Félix Rodríguez, eds. *La colección canónica hispana*. Vol. V, *Concilios hispanos: Segunda parte*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1992.
- Martínez-Gros, Gabriel. "Comment écrire l'histoire de l'Andalus? Réponse a Pierre Guichard." *Arabica* 47 (2000): 261–73.
- Martínez-Gros, Gabriel. *Identité Andalouse*. Paris: Sindbad, 1997.
- Melville, Charles, and Ahmad Ubaydli, ed. and trans. *Christians and Moors in Spain*. Vol. III, *Arabic Sources*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1992.
- Menéndez Pidal, Ramón. *Historia y epopeya*. Madrid: Junta para Ampliación de Estudios e Investigaciones Científicas; Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1934.
- Menéndez Pidal, Ramón, ed. *Primera Crónica General de España*. 2 vols. Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1977.
- Meyerson, Mark. "Prostitution of Muslim Women in the Kingdom of Valencia: Religious and Sexual Discrimination in a Medieval Plural Society." In *The Medieval Mediterranean: Cross-Cultural Contacts. Medieval Studies at Minnesota*, ed. M.J. Chiat and K.L. Reyerson, vol. III, 87–95. St. Cloud, MI: North Star Press of St. Cloud, 1988.
- Milans del Bosch y Solano, José Joaquín. "Santiago caballero y el legendario tributo de las cien doncellas." In *III congreso internacional de asociaciones jacobitas: Actas del congreso celebrado en Oviedo del 9 al 12 de 1993*, 343–9. Oviedo: Gobierno del Principado de Asturias, 1994.
- Mirrer, Louise. *Women, Jews, and Muslims in the Texts of Reconquest Castile*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996.
- Molina, Luis. "Los Banū Jaṭṭāb y los Banū Abī Ŷamra (siglos II–VIII/VIII–XIV)." In *Estudios onomástico-biográficos de al-Andalus*, ed. Manuela Marín and Jesús Zanón, vol. V, 289–307. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1992.
- Molina, Luis. "Las campañas de Almanzor a la luz de un nuevo texto." *Al-Qanṭara* 2 (1981): 209–63.
- Molina, Luis, ed. and trans. *Una descripción anónima de al-Andalus*. 2 vols. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1983.
- Montaner Frutos, Alberto. "La mora Zaida, entre historia y leyenda (con una reflexión sobre la técnica historiográfica alfonsí)." In *Historicist Essays on Hispano-Medieval Narrative In Memory of Roger M. Walker*, ed. Barry Taylor and Geoffrey West, 272–352. London: Maney Publishing; Modern Humanities Research Association, 2005.
- Mourtada-Sabbah, Nada, and Adrian Gully. "'I Am by God Fit for High Positions': On the Political Role of Women in al-Andalus." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 30 (2003): 183–209.

- Nirenberg, David. *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Nirenberg, David. "Conversion, Sex, and Segregation: Jews and Christians in Medieval Spain." *American Historical Review* 107 (2002): 1065–93.
- Nirenberg, David. "Religious and Sexual Boundaries in the Medieval Crown of Aragon." In *Christians, Muslims, and Jews in Medieval and Early Modern Spain: Interaction and Cultural Change*, ed. Mark D. Meyerson and Edward D. English, 141–60. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2000.
- O'Callaghan, Joseph F. "The Integration of Christian Spain into Europe: The Role of Alfonso VI of León-Castile." In *Santiago, Saint-Denis, and St. Peter*, ed. Bernard F. Reilly, 101–20. New York: Fordham University Press, 1985.
- O'Callaghan, Joseph F. *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003.
- Odd, Frank L. "Women of the Romanceros: A Voice of Reconciliation." *Hispania* 66 (1983): 360–8.
- Peirce, Leslie P. *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Pelayo, Bishop of Oviedo. *Crónica del Obispo Don Pelayo*. Ed. Benito Sánchez Alonso. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1924.
- Pérez de Urbel, Justo. "Los primeros siglos de la Reconquista (Años 711–1038)." In *España cristiana: Comienzo de la Reconquista (711–1038)*. *Historia de España [dirigida por Ramón Menéndez Pidal]*, vol. VI, ed. Justo Pérez de Urbel and Ricardo del Arco y Garay, 3–351. Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1956.
- Peristiany, John, ed. *Honour and Shame: The Values of a Mediterranean Society*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1965.
- Pitt-Rivers, Julian. *The Fate of Shechem, or The Politics of Sex: Essays in the Anthropology of the Mediterranean*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.
- Pohl, Walter. "Alienigena coniuga: Bestrebungen zu einem Verbot auswärtiger Heiraten in der Karolingerzeit." In "Die Bibel als politisches Argument," ed. Andreas Pečar and Kai Trampedach. Special Issue, *Historische Zeitschrift*, Beiheft 43 (2007): 159–88.
- Puente, Cristina de la. "Entre la esclavitud y la libertad: Consecuencias legales de la manumisión según el derecho māliki." *Al-Qanṭara* 21 (2000): 339–60.
- Puente, Cristina de la. "Límites legales del concubinato: Normas y tabúes en la esclavitud sexual según la *Bidāya* de Ibn Ruṣd." *Al-Qanṭara* 28 (2007): 409–33.
- Purkis, William J. *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia c. 1095–c. 1187*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008.
- Al-Qayrawnī. *Risala ou traité abrégé de Droit Malékite et Morale Musulmane*. Trans. Edmond Fagnan. Paris: Geuthner, 1914.
- Ramey, Lynn Tarte. *Christian, Saracen and Genre in Medieval French Literature*. New York: Routledge, 2001.
- Rey Castelao, Ofelia. *La historiografía del Voto de Santiago: Recopilación crítica de una polémica histórica*. Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 1985.
- Rey Castelao, Ofelia. *El Voto de Santiago: Claves de un conflicto*. Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 1993.
- Roca Franquesa, José María. "La leyenda 'El tributo de las cien doncellas'." *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Asturianos* 5 (1948): 129–63.
- Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada. *De rebus Hispanie sive Historia Gothica*. Ed. Juan Fernández Valverde. *Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Mediaevalis*, vol. LXXII. Turnhout: Brepols, 1987.
- Rodríguez, Jarbel. *Captives and Their Saviors in the Medieval Crown of Aragon*. Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2007.
- Roger of Hoveden. *Chronica Magistri Roger of Hovedon*. Ed. William Stubbs. *Rolls Series* LI. 4 vols. London: Longmans, 1868–71.
- Rubiera Mata, María-Jesus. "Un insólito caso de conversas musulmanas al cristianismo: Las princesas toledanas del siglo XI." In *Las mujeres en el cristianismo medieval. Imágenes teóricas y cauces de actuación religiosa*, ed. Ángela Muñoz Fernández, 341–8. Madrid: Asociación Cultural Al-Mudayna, 1989.
- Ruggles, D. Fairchild. "Mothers of a Hybrid Dynasty: Race, Genealogy, and Acculturation in al-Andalus." *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 34, no.1 (2004): 65–94.
- Safran, Janina M. "Identity and Differentiation in Ninth-Century al-Andalus." *Speculum* 76 (2001): 573–98.

- Sánchez-Albornoz, Claudio. "El ejército y la guerra en el reino asturleonés, 718–1037." *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo* 15 (1968): 293–428.
- Scales, Peter. *The Fall of the Caliphate of Córdoba: Berbers and Andalus in Conflict*. Leiden: Brill, 1994.
- Schacht, Joseph. *An Introduction to Islamic Law*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964.
- Schacht, Joseph. "Umm al-Walad." In *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., ed. P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, and W.P. Heinrichs, vol. X. Leiden: Brill, 1960–2009.
- Schneider, Jane. "Of Vigilance and Virgins: Honor/Shame and Access to Resources in Mediterranean Societies." *Ethnology* 10 (1971): 1–24.
- Searle, Eleanor. "Women and the Legitimation of Succession at the Norman Conquest." In *Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1980*, ed. R. Allen Brown, 159–70. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1981.
- Sénac, Philippe. *Al-Mansûr: Le fléau de l'an mil*. Paris: Perrin, 2006.
- Sénac, Philippe. "Note sur les musulmans dans les *Généalogies* de Roda." In *Poétique de la Chronique: L'écriture des textes historiographiques au Moyen Âge (Péninsule Ibérique et France)*, ed. Amaia Arizaleta, 37–46. Toulouse: Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, 2008.
- Shatzmiller, Maya. "Marriage, Family, and the Faith: Women's Conversion to Islam." *Journal of Family History* 21 (1996): 235–66.
- Smith, Colin, ed. and trans. *Christians and Moors in Spain, II: 1195–1614*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1989.
- Tellenbach, Gerd. *The Church in Western Europe from the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century*. Trans. Timothy Reuter. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Torres Sevilla-Quiñones de León, Margarita. *Linajes nobiliarios de León y Castilla (Siglos IX–XIII)*. Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, Consejería de Educación y Cultura, 1999.
- Torres Sevilla-Quiñones de León, Margarita. "Un tradicional ejemplo de confusión genealógica: A propósito de la muerte de Abd al-Rahman «Sanchuelo» y Sancho ibn Gómez (1009)." *Estudios humanísticos. Geografía, historia, arte* 19 (1997): 67–73.
- Al-Udhri. *Tarṣī al-akhbār wa-tanwī' al-āṭār wa l-bustān fī gharā'ib al-buldān*. Ed. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Ahwani. Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Islámicos, 1965. Partial trans. Emilio Molina López, "La cora de Tudmīr según al-'Udhri (s. XI): Aportaciones al estudio geográfico-descriptivo del SE. peninsular" (*Cuadernos de Historia del Islam* 3 [1972]: 1–113).
- Viguera, María Jesús. *Aragón musulmán: La presencia del Islam en el valle del Ebro*. Zaragoza: Mira Editores, 1988.
- Viguera, María Jesús. "Aṣluḥu li'l-ma'ālī: On the Social Status of Andalusī Women." In *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, ed. Salma Khadra Jayyusi, 2 vols, vol. II, 709–24. Leiden: Brill, 1992.
- Warren, F.M. "The Enamoured Moslem Princess in Orderic Vital and the French Epic." *PMLA* 29 (1914): 341–58.
- Wasserstein, David. "The Emergence of the Taifa Kingdom of Toledo." *Al-Qanṭara* 21 (2000): 17–56.
- Wasserstein, David. *The Rise and Fall of the Party-Kings: Politics and Society in Islamic Spain, 1002–1086*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985.
- Wolf, Fernando José, and Conrado Hofmann, eds. *Primavera y flor de romances o Colección de los más viejos y más populares romances castellanos*. 2 vols. Berlin: A. Asher and Company, 1856.