

# *Islam and Mozarabs*<sup>\*</sup>

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## **The Gharb al-Andalus – three decades of historiographical renewal**

The relative weakness of Arab studies in Portugal, and particularly of the historiography dedicated to the territories of the western part of al-Andalus, which the Portuguese kingdom under construction had to incorporate, concentrating the best of its energies, has become an almost obligatory *topos* of reference in recent decades, above all since the seminal publication of *Portugal na Espanha Árabe* (Portugal in Arab Spain) by António Borges Coelho called the attention of both academics and the educated reader to the desert of reflection and knowledge that existed concerning the impact of the Arab Andalusian civilisation on Portuguese identity<sup>1</sup>. The year was 1972 and the Marcelist Spring had already exhausted its best hopes of preparing the political change that was approaching. It was not by chance that this call to attention took place outside of the academy, coming from a historian trained in the solid critical tradition of the group at the Faculdade de Letras at Lisbon<sup>2</sup>, but ideologically hostile to the regime. Across the Atlantic, almost simultaneously, a young professor at odds with the same institution,

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<sup>1</sup> COELHO, António Borges (org., preface and notes), *Portugal na Espanha Árabe*, 4 vols. [Lisbon], Seara Nova, 1972-1975; 2nd ed., 2 vols., Lisbon, Caminho, 1989; 3rd revised ed., Lisbon Caminho, 2008.

<sup>2</sup> A. Borges Coelho had graduated there in History / Philosophy in the 1960s but was always on the fringes of the academic world until 25 April 1974, after which he started his career in the FL-UL. The most important medieval history group that existed, led by Virgínia Rau, maintained a distanced position in that period with regard to Arab studies.

A. H. de Oliveira Marques, published a *History of Portugal*<sup>3</sup> which did not limit itself to a mere prologue on the subject of the formation of the kingdom, as with the contribution of the great Arabist David Lopes for the “História de Barcelos”<sup>4</sup>. Instead, the discourse on the Gharb al-Andalus played a fundamental role in that formation, understood as a process of osmosis between the Christian North and the Islamic south. The rupture with historiographical tradition that this change in perspective enabled could not have been greater. Rather than a mere process of territorial expansion, with all the essential elements present in a primitive northern module, to which the Reconquest had simply provided geographical consistency and the scale necessary for survival, the national entity appeared through processes of fusion between the young principality, born from the political accidents of the Reconquest, and the richest cities of the Islamic south. In this way, the Gharb al-Andalus acquired a value in itself, not just as a beaten opponent, but also as a constituent part of actual Portuguese identity. This slippage in perspective would be decisive for the construction of a history and archaeology of Western Iberia during the Islamic period, while at the same time redefining the mythical relationship of Portuguese society with its origins, replacing the arcane Reconquest paradigm, which had ruled until the *Estado Novo*, both in the populist published works on Portuguese history<sup>5</sup> and in the medievalist academic community<sup>6</sup>, with models more attentive to its Mediterranean roots and to the depth and ancestry of the processes of easternisation, often considered from the almost timeless perspectives of anthropology.

It is precisely the corrosive potential of this shift in perspective that justifies locating its starting point, and in an unconnected manner, in what had been the margins of the system. It is also, I believe, one of the factors to take into account in explaining the anaemic nature of Arab studies in Portuguese historiographical and philological traditions, compared with the Spanish, French, English, or even Dutch or

<sup>3</sup> MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, *History of Portugal*, 2 vols., New York, Columbia University Press, 1972; IDEM, *História de Portugal: desde os tempos mais antigos até ao Governo do Sr. Marcelo Caetano*, 2 vols., Lisbon, Ágora, 1972-1973.

<sup>4</sup> LOPES, David de Melo, “O Domínio Árabe”, in PERES, Damião (dir.), *História de Portugal. Edição Monumental Comemorativa do 8º Centenário da Fundação da Nacionalidade*, Barcelos, Portucalense Editora, 1928, vol. 1, pp. 391-431.

<sup>5</sup> On the survival of the ideology of the Reconquest in the formation of the romantic and post-romantic national identity see, throughout, MATOS, Sérgio Campos, *História, mitologia, imaginário nacional: a história no curso dos liceus (1895-1939)*, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 1990; IDEM, *Historiografia e memória nacional no Portugal do século XIX: 1846-1898*, Lisbon, Colibri, [1998]; IDEM, *Consciência histórica e nacionalismo (Portugal – séculos XIX e XX)*, [Lisbon], Livros Horizonte, [2008].

<sup>6</sup> The dependence of medieval historiography on the model of the Reconquest is both a result of the historical circumstances of the formation of the kingdom as well as the ideological formulations that emerged from or were directly inspired by it. This had been the case, I believe, since the first critical Portuguese historiography, the Alcobacense of the seventeenth century. It would be indolent to cite examples in this context.

Italian examples. We cannot exclude, of course, the absence of a Portuguese colonial presence in the Arab area, common to many but not all, of these countries at the time of the formation of the European colonial empires, which nurtured not only the public interest in “oriental” material, but also the actual “orientalist” academic discourse at the heart of the establishment of most of the schools of Arab studies<sup>7</sup>. These were, in many ways, both pillars of a discourse about the non-European other, and also training centres for the colonial bureaucracy. It should not be a surprise, then, that the start of modern Arabic studies in Portugal, to which its birth certificate should be attached, was the “Study Plan” prepared by Manuel do Cenáculo in 1776 for the *Ordem Terceira da Penitência*, also connected to the group of the *Academica das Ciências*, but linked directly to the Pombaline policy of redefining relations with the Sharifian kingdom of Morocco, leading to the abandonment of the direct presence and neutralisation of the endemic piracy through active diplomacy, for which the setting up of this body was considered as a tool<sup>8</sup>. From this initiative, Portuguese Arabistics emerged, initially in the hands of João de Sousa and then José de Santo António Moura, and already taking account of all of its future themes – philological interest in the Arabic roots of Portuguese vocabulary, along with translations, essentially of Maghreb or Andalusian texts of interest for Portuguese history – but which also carrying out pragmatic functions in the area of international politics<sup>9</sup>. In one way or another, this would last until the Liberal period, receiving a strong rebuff through the triple influence of the closure of the religious brotherhoods, the decline of Portuguese political interest in the Maghreb, reversed only in the last decade, and the triumph of a romantic vision of the Middle Ages that, in the case of the Peninsula, viewed the kingdoms emerging from the Reconquest process as the matrix of origin for nationalities. It is true that in the Portuguese case, Herculano made very effective use of the then young Arabist tradition, turning them to profit in a vision of the history of Portugal that drew as much as possible on Arab andalusian

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<sup>7</sup> Although it deals almost exclusively with the French and English situations, the most important work on this continues to be that of SAID, Edward W., *Orientalism. Western Conceptions of the Orient*, London, Penguin Books, 1995 [1978].

<sup>8</sup> FIGANIER, Joaquim, *Fr. João de Sousa. Mestre e Intérprete da Língua Árábica*, Coimbra, FL-UC / Instituto de Estudos Históricos Dr. António de Vasconcelos, 1949. Cf. also AFONSO, António Jorge, *Portugal e o Magrebe nos finais do Antigo Regime*, master’s dissertation in the History of the Discoveries and the Portuguese Expansion submitted to FL-UL, Lisbon, 1999.

<sup>9</sup> SOUSA, Fr. João de, *Vestígios da Língua Arabica em Portugal [...]*, Lisbon, Academia Real das Ciências de Lisboa, 1789; IDEM, *Documentos Arabicos para a Historia Portugueza copiados dos originaes da Torre do Tombo*, Lisbon, Academia Real das Ciências de Lisboa, 1790; IDEM, *Compendio da Grammatica Arabiga*, Lisbon, Academia Real das Ciências de Lisboa, 1795. Cf. also BRAGA, Isabel M.R. Mendes Drumond, *Missões Diplomáticas entre Portugal e o Magrebe no século XVIII. Os Relatos de Frei João de Sousa*, Lisbon, 2008. MOURA, Fr. José de Santo António (translation and notes), *História dos soberanos mahometanos das primeiras quatro dynastias, e de parte da quinta, que reinarão na Mauritània, escrita em Arabe / por Abu-Mohammed Assaleh*, Academia Real das Ciências de Lisboa, 1828.

sources – so much so that the most solid contribution of Portuguese Arabists to the history of Gharb al-Andalus in the century following his death would have the title, and substance, *Os Árabes nas Obras de Alexandre Herculano*<sup>10</sup>. Not so with his followers: on the one hand, the perennially weak Portuguese Arabists redirected his interests to relations with Islam during the period of Expansion, starting with David Lopes and ending with António Dias Farinha<sup>11</sup>, while on the other, the restricted work on the area of Gharb al-Andalus had zero effect on Portuguese medieval studies. The characteristic problems of the period, namely, arguments about the origin of municipal institutions and the presence of feudalism in Hispania, illustrate precisely this immunity to Arabist contributions. Which was, indeed, mutual.

Thus, the re-centering produced by the sudden availability of an almost totally unknown corpus of Portuguese medievalist work, such as that compiled by A. Borges Coelho, in an atmosphere of accelerated political change, in which a new generation had emerged from exile or the Colonial War, seeking alternatives to the vision of the past dominated by the exaltation of the history of Fatherland and the Overseas Expansion, could only have dramatic consequences, both inside and outside of the academy. Historiography based on the idea of the Reconquest had been forcefully appropriated by the *Estado Novo* and the Right, and as such the recuperation of the place of the Gharb al-Andalus in the formation of national identity was carried out by the Left; having been based on the winners, it would now take on the cause of the losers. The first fruits, harvested in the Mértola experiment (Campo Arqueológico de Mértola – CAM), headed by Cláudio Torres under the intellectual aegis of Borges Coelho, along with the whole experience of the resulting three decades, are the most authentic consequence of that radical re-centring of perspective. Hence the breakdown of barriers between archaeology and history, which of course had other sources of inspiration, even recent ones, in the models proposed, also in the 1970s, by Toubert and Barceló<sup>12</sup>. Hence the recourse to anthropology and ethnography, which put the chronology into relief, putting an end to the timelessness of an approach in which history was taken as static. Hence, finally, the social aspect of the historiographical / archaeological experience, capable of direct action on the

<sup>10</sup> LOPES, David de Melo, *Os árabes nas obras de Alexandre Herculano. Notas marginaes de lingua e historia portuguesas*, Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional, 1911, offprint from the *Boletim da segunda classe*, vol. 3, no. 1, 1910.

<sup>11</sup> For example, IDEM, *Textos de aljama portuguesa: documentos para a historia do dominio português em Safim extrahidos dos originaes da Torre do Tombo*, Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional, 1897; and IDEM, *História de Arzila durante o dominio português (1471-1550 e 1577-1589)*, Coimbra, IUC, 1924; FARINHA, António Dias (ed. and notes), *Crónica de Almançor, sultão de Marrocos (1578-1603), de António de Saldanha [Chronique d'Al-Mansour, sultan du Maroc (1578-1603)]*, de António de Saldanha, French translation by Léon Bourdon, Lisbon, Instituto de Investigação Científica e Tropical, 1997.

<sup>12</sup> See throughout, a discussion on the contribution of the authors in BARCELÓ, Miquel, and TOUBERT, Pierre (eds.), *'L'Incastellamento'. Actas de las Reuniones de Girona (26-27 November 1992) y de Roma (5-7 Mayo 1994)*, Roma, École Française de Rome / Escuela Española de Historia y Arqueología en Roma, 1998.

populations which transcended the mechanisms of the formation of a historical memory which came to interfere in its economic and cultural daily life. Using different models, the multiplication of historical and archaeological studies over the last thirty years in various urban centres in southern Portugal, in Silves, Tavira, Alcácer do Sal, Moura, Santarém and Lisbon, to mention only the most significant, have been inspired by that genetic foundation. The outcome of this work may be found in another chapter in this book, written by one of its protagonists<sup>13</sup>.

In this framework, the role of history, understood here deliberately and artificially in a narrow sense, like that produced mainly from written sources, is still relatively peripheral, being smaller in volume and impact than the contributions published *stricto sensu* within archaeology. A number of reasons have contributed to this. First, of course, is the absence of a sound philological tradition, which would allow historians to work directly with the texts, as well as to compile a corpus of translations not so strictly dependent on the choices of a very vigorous and productive Spanish Arabist community. Second is the contingency of the historical absence of testimonies to the Arab presence in Portugal: with the latter hidden from the public, the gradual unveiling of a number of archaeological sites and the consequent formation of a corpus of emblematic artefacts has inevitably focused the history of the Gharb al-Andalus on archaeological results rather than on work carried out on its texts. Third is the actual process of the genetic construction of the Archive – understood here as a set of historical processes capable of configuring a written or material record of the past – which dictated, in the case of al-Andalus and, by extension, the Gharb in particular, a corpus structure in which the archaeological sources show greater potential in providing answers to the list of questions. This is due mainly to the almost complete absence of records of daily activities, such as those notarial sources have provided for Christian Hispania, and to the concentration of sources in some genres such as the historiographical, biographical dictionaries, geographical works or, less in number, the collections of fatwas, which constitute a rich corpus but limited in scope. It follows that problems, such as the organisation of space or the structures of cities for which the written sources emanating from the Christian kingdoms provide plenty of evidence, can only be resolved in the case of Gharb al-Andalus through a systematic use of archaeology

It is thus not surprising that this is present even within the historiography that, in the last three decades, has tried to decipher the history of the Gharb starting from written records. Its most significant feature is perhaps the priority given to syntheses of monographs, made necessary by the hitherto very incomplete nature

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<sup>13</sup> See Santiago Macias, “Islamic Archeology in Portugal”, in the “Islamic and Christian Medieval Archeology” chapter.

of knowledge about the Gharb society and the lack of sets of texts, the most recent being the weak essay by David Lopes for the *História de Portugal* “de Barcelos”<sup>14</sup>, where little attention is given to the regional particularities of the Gharb. The first and most important of these syntheses, presented as doctoral thesis in the 1980s, but published, in a revised version very different from the original, only in 2000<sup>15</sup>, owed much to the school of French Arabism. This is revealing, firstly, of the insipience of Portuguese medieval studies in this domain at the time, secondly, of the relative lack of interest of Spanish Arabism in the western periphery of Gharb al-Andalus, less appealing than the central regions which later would become Andalusia, but lying, above all, clearly outside the geographical spectrum of the myriad of regional monographs written after the Transition in Spain, through the sudden increase in the autonomous regions.

Reconstructing a narrative about regional history inside al-Andalus, while placing giving a great deal of emphasis on its structural aspects, Christophe Picard’s book places the Gharb within the dominant debates concerning the historiography of al-Andalus and the Western Mediterranean concerning the evolution of habitats and of militarisation (though with the lack of extensive archaeological work comparable to that carried out in the Sharq, the conclusions here are more tentative), and focusing on social evolution in the cities, leading to the establishment of a literate oligarchy. What is absent is any evaluation of how the system was radically transformed by the impact of Christian pressure and the consequent militarisation of society. Overall, Picard’s text remains, ten years after its publication and nearly thirty since its first version, the most ambitious synthesis yet produced. Only an accumulation of monographic studies, still in large part to be undertaken, will enable its substitution to be contemplated – especially as *Le Portugal Musulman* is just the first panel of a diptych, the second being the monumental study of the Islamic Atlantic Ocean, integrating the Gharb within its actual historical complex, linking it to the Andalusian and North African territories which come together in the Hispanic-Maghreb Gulf<sup>16</sup>. This is less cited, since it relates to a reality far more fluid than the territory, perhaps even more vital in the sense that it allows us to reconnect Portuguese history after 1415 with its earlier state of permanent ties to the Western Maghreb, both from the point of view of trade and of the fight for control of access to the Straits and the Gulf.

<sup>14</sup> LOPES, David de Melo, “O Domínio Árabe”..., pp. 391-431.

<sup>15</sup> PICARD, Christophe, *Le Portugal Musulman (VIII-XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle). L’Occident d’al-Andalus sous domination islamique*, Paris, Maisonneuve et Larose, 2000.

<sup>16</sup> IDEM, *L’océan Atlantique musulman: de la conquête arabe à l’époque almohade: navigation et mise en valeur des côtes dal-Andalus et du Maghreb occidental*, Paris, Maisonneuve et Larose, 1997.

Further syntheses were produced, though of a scope conditioned by the fact that they were all commissioned to form part of various histories of Portugal of a collective nature published in the 1990s, in an atmosphere of optimism and of a renewal of the national self-image following the crisis of 1973-1985. They are identified here through the names of their co-ordinators. The closest to the innovation movement begun by Borges Coelho is, in this respect, the *História* by Mattoso, the chapter on the Gharb being written by one of his disciples, Cláudio Torres, who from the outset was the head of CAM. The anthropological tone of the text, openly taking the long view, attempting a synthesis between archaeology and a markedly civilizational history, which is able to include the Gharb in the orientalisation currents that flow from the Mediterranean; the domain of events, which is the responsibility of Santiago Macias, forms a relatively autonomous corollary<sup>17</sup>. In all subsequent CAM material, monographs, catalogues and exhibitions, this point of view continued as a leitmotif.

In the *Nova História*, directed by Oliveira Marques, the text on the Gharb was divided into two volumes. In the former<sup>18</sup>, the author outlined, in a more informative than reflective manner, a structural overview of the history of the Gharb that provided a significant counterpoint to the work of Picard, until then unpublished, and taken as the most extensive contribution before the publication of the latter. In the second volume<sup>19</sup>, by the same author with Hermenegildo Fernandes and Francisco Pato de Macedo, analysis of structures gave place to the study of events between the entry of the Almoravids in al-Andalus and the end of the Almohad period, glossing the topic of “Muslim area” as a necessary part of understanding the “Christian area” and as such of the formation of the kingdom. An essential part of this joint analysis outlined the link between the dynamics of the political and military relationship on the one hand, and the fiscal crises, cyclical fluctuations and social crises on the other. The chapter concerning the Gharb in the *História*<sup>20</sup> directed by Medina, authored by the archaeologist Helena Catarino, crossed political history with data from an archaeology of the Gharb, then still in its infancy. Children of the same historiographical explosion of the 1990s, but born into the sphere of very

<sup>17</sup> TORRES, Cláudio, and MACIAS, Santiago, “O Gharb al-Andaluz”, in MATTOSO, José (dir.), *História de Portugal*, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 1992, vol. 1, pp. 363-437.

<sup>18</sup> MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, “O ‘Portugal’ Islâmico”, in MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, and SERRÃO, Joel (dirs.), *Nova História de Portugal*, vol. 2: *Portugal das Invasões Germânicas à ‘Reconquista’*, Lisbon, Editorial Presença, 1993, pp. 121-249.

<sup>19</sup> MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, FERNANDES, Hermenegildo, and MACEDO, Francisco Pato de, “O Campo Muçulmano”, in MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, and SERRÃO, Joel (dirs.), *Nova História de Portugal*, vol. 3: *Portugal em Definição de Fronteiras (1096-1325). Do Condado Portucalense à Crise do século XIV*, Lisbon, Editorial Presença, 1996, pp. 64-88.

<sup>20</sup> CATARINO, Helena, “A Ocupação Islâmica”, in MEDINA, João (dir.), *História de Portugal*, vol. 3: *Portugal Medieval*, Amadora, Ediclube, 1993, pp. 47-92.

different projects, all these texts include syntheses still useful despite the natural aging resulting from the passing of almost two decades since they were written, which matters more for information stemming from archaeological data than for studies based on written sources.

Very recently, three new histories of Portugal have been added, between 2009 and early 2010, with very different contributions on the history of the Gharb. Disney<sup>21</sup> devotes some twenty pages, almost entirely supported by general English literature about the al-Andalus, with scant consideration of the specific nature of the Gharb, while B. Vasconcelos e Sousa's chapter in the History organised by Rui Ramos<sup>22</sup>, voluntarily considers only the relationship between the Gharb and the Portuguese Kingdom under formation, in accordance with the aims and scope of the book. However, the History published by A. Borges Coelho<sup>23</sup> clearly re-asserts his honour as the modern founder, in expanding his thesis about the centrality of the Gharb in the formation of Portugal, through a methodology of which he is one of most avid users in Portugal, micro-historical analysis intersecting with a discourse that keeps in constant view the historical sources and actors.

With the exception of the Borges Coelho *História*, the scarce presence of the Gharb al-Andalus in the other two texts, I believe, illustrates the limited progress made since the 1990s by a historiography founded on written sources, large part due, as has been shown, to the actual limitations of the published corpus of sources. Most of the results of the major project for the publication of sources on the Gharb al-Andalus, funded by Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia (FCT) and headed by the Arabist linguist and historian Adel Sidarus<sup>24</sup>, of the University of Évora, are still awaited. When this finally sees the light of day, we will have the embryo of a suitable corpus. Decisive, for example, would be the publishing of the translation of the work of the great western Islamic polygraph of Ibn Bassam al Shantarini who, along with *Al Mann bil-Imam* by Ibn Sahib al-Sala, already translated by Huici Miranda, are two of the most important sources for the history of the Gharb written by regional authors. It is rather, however, the specification and stabilisation of a corpus of sources, preferably in a bilingual edition, than the individual contribution of any of these, that will provide the necessary leap forward in the work of historians. The example to be followed belongs more to the past than the present, being mainly focused on

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<sup>21</sup> DISNEY, Anthony R., *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009, vol. 1, pp. 51-69.

<sup>22</sup> RAMOS, Rui, SOUSA, Bernardo Vasconcelos e, and MONTEIRO, Nuno Gonçalo, *História de Portugal*, Lisbon, A Esfera do Caos, 2009, pp. 39-44.

<sup>23</sup> COELHO, António Borges, *História de Portugal*, vol. 1: *Donde Vimos*, Lisbon, Editorial Caminho, 2010, pp. 123-200.

<sup>24</sup> There is a presentation of the preliminary results in SIDARUS, Adel (ed.), *Fontes da História de al-Andalus e do Gharb*, Lisbon, Centro de Estudos Africanos e Asiáticos, 2000.

the reconstruction of a poetic corpora<sup>25</sup>: of note are the direct translations from Arabic, which in some cases are the first Western language versions of fragments of *Takmila* by Ibn al-Abbar, of *Kitab A'mal al-a'lam* by Ibn al-Khatib and of Ibn Sahib al-Sala, all the work to David Lopes<sup>26</sup>, or the *al-Hulla al-Siyara*, also by Ibn al-Abbar, of *Ta'rih 'Ulama' al-Andalus*, by Ibn al-Faradi and of *Kitab al-Sila*, by Ibn Bashkuwal, which constitute essential work by Martim Velho<sup>27</sup>, carried out under the auspices of the Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian. These translations include key narrative texts and a particular *koyné* Arabic genre of the Abbasid and post-Abbasid period, the biographical dictionaries, an absolutely central source for social history because they were themselves related to the increasing importance of literate individuals as political agents and spiritual leaders of the community. Here again, recent contributions to the enlargement of the corpus have come from the work of Spanish Arabism through the Madrid Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (CSIC) group, responsible for the publication of the *Estudios Onomástico Biográficos de al-Andalus* (EOBA) begun by Manuela Marín and Maribel Fierro, many of the volumes already published containing vital information on the Gharb<sup>28</sup>. In two other textual areas, epigraphy and numismatics, at the intersection of history and archaeology, the situation was unequally structured: with regard to the former, the corpus of inscriptions set up by Nykl<sup>29</sup> was updated by Labarta and Barceló<sup>30</sup>, and then by Goulart<sup>31</sup>, although with limited scope in terms of historiography, since a significant proportion of the entries were funeral in nature, and therefore extremely repetitive. With regard to the latter, the important findings of Islamic numismatics made over time did not produce a sufficiently wide-ranging set of

<sup>25</sup> Due mainly to Doina Zugravescu and Adalberto Alves, some of which have been collected together in *Rosa do Mundo. 2001 Poemas para o Futuro*. Lisbon, Assírio e Alvim, 2001. André Simões and Nadia Ben Tahar of the Centro de Estudos Clássicos at Faculdade de Letras of the University of Lisbon, have a project underway to publish a poetic corpora from the Gharb al-Andalus.

<sup>26</sup> LOPES, David de Melo, *Os Árabes nas Obras de Alexandre Herculano...*, pp. 98-129 and also, with regard to Ibn Sahib, IDEM, "O Cid português: Geraldo Sem Pavor (novas fontes árabes sobre os seus feitos e morte)", *Revista Portuguesa de História*, vol. 1 (1941), pp. 93-109. The author has also translated other fragments of 'Abd al-Wahid al-Marrakushi, of Ibn al-Athir and Ibn Sa'id, in IDEM, "Cousas árabe-portuguesas", *O Archeologo Portugues*, vol. 1 (1895), pp. 273-279.

<sup>27</sup> VELHO, Martim, "Excertos da obra de Ibn al-Abbar 'Al-Hulla al-Siyara' [...]", *A Cidade de Évora*, yr. 22-24 nos. 48/50 (1965-1967), pp. 93-102; IDEM, "Varões Árabes Ilustres do Andaluz Ocidental. Biografias traduzidas das obras de Ibn alFaradi e Ibn Bashkuwal", *Boletim da Junta Distrital de Évora*, no. 7 (1966), pp. 35-96; IDEM, "Trabalhos apresentados no Simpósio Internacional da Reconquista cristã na Península Ibérica", *ibid.*, pp. 97-152.

<sup>28</sup> *Estudios Onomástico-biográficos de al-Andalus*, vols. 1-15, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1988-2008.

<sup>29</sup> NYKL, Alois Richard, *Arabic inscriptions in Portugal*, s. l., s. n., 1946.

<sup>30</sup> BARCELÓ, Carmen and, LABARTA, Ana, "Inscripciones Árabes portuguesas: situación actual", *Al Qantara*, vol. 8 (1987), pp. 395-420.

<sup>31</sup> BORGES, Artur Goulart de Melo, "Epigrafia Árabe no Gharb", in TORRES, Cláudio and MACÍAS, Santiago (eds.), *Portugal Islâmico. Os últimos sinais do Mediterrâneo*. Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, 1998, pp. 27-255.

studies to establish them as a source for the history of economic patterns and their relationship with the established powers. José Rodrigues Marinho<sup>32</sup>, however, has in recent decades undertaken significant work in this area

Despite what has been said about the gaps in terms of the stabilisation of a heuristic corpus, a certain number of monographs, based at least partially on textual sources, have allowed some reformulation of perspectives in specific areas of the history of the Gharb, which may be grouped into three main thematic areas, namely, political, military history and fortified settlements; urban history and land organisation; and social history and elites. These are the themes that make up the profile of the historiography of al-Andalus as practised by contemporary French and Spanish Arabists, a fact demonstrating that the relative Portuguese weakness in this field does not arise from any lack of questions to be addressed.

The first stems simultaneously from the old theme of the intersection of the Arabist dedicated to al-Andalus, and the Medievalist focussed on the Reconquest, with the more recent historiographical debate about the regional variants of the process of “*incastellamento*” in the Western Mediterranean, to which the Gerona and Rome Colloquia (1992-1994)<sup>33</sup> gave fresh impetus, in a context of growing dependence on results from archaeology. This intersection has given rise to a series of monographs, linking the military circumstances of the historic conflict between the two societies present in the West of the Peninsula with reflection on the political circumstances. The period of the caliphate was studied by Pedro G. Barbosa, above all with regard to the Simancas campaign, but also in general terms concerning military organisation<sup>34</sup>. The battle for Lisbon, during the dissolution of the Almoravid empire, was the subject of a master’s dissertation, as yet unpublished, in which Inês Lourinho conducted a month-by-month analysis of the Islamic perspective over the two years that led to the city’s loss<sup>35</sup>. The campaigns for the conquest of the south of the Gharb, beginning with the loss and recovery of the Shilb kingdom by the Almohads and ending decisively with its incorporation into the Portuguese kingdom have been covered by A. Castro Henriques in a study more widely disseminated than normal for the collection in which it was published<sup>36</sup>. Finally, a contribution towards the military history of the Gharb was provided by

<sup>32</sup> For example, MARINHO, José Rodrigues, “Moedas de Ahmad ibn Qasi batidas em Silves”, *O Arqueólogo Português*, 4th ser., vol. 3 (1985), pp. 177-196; IDEM, *Moedas muçulmanas de Beja e de Silves (Um achado monetário no concelho de Sesimbra)*, Lisbon, IN – CM, 1968 and, above all, IDEM, “A moeda no Gharb al-Ândalus”, in TORRES, Cláudio, and MACÍAS, Santiago (eds.), *Portugal Islâmico...*, pp. 175-187.

<sup>33</sup> See footnote 12 above.

<sup>34</sup> BARBOSA, Pedro Gomes, *Reconquista Cristã. Séculos IX-XII*, Lisbon, Êsquilo, 2008.

<sup>35</sup> LOURINHO, Inês, *1147: Uma conjuntura vista a partir das fontes muçulmanas*, master’s dissertation in Medieval History submitted to the FL-UL, Lisbon, 2010.

<sup>36</sup> HENRIQUES, António Castro, *Conquista do Algarve (1189-1249). O Segundo Reino*, Lisbon, Tribuna da História, 2003.

Fernando Branco Correia's thesis, presented in the summer of 2010, concerning military structures and fortified settlements in the Gharb, solidly backed up by written sources and providing an analytical corpus it will be difficult to surpass<sup>37</sup>. More varied in perspective and wide-ranging in theme have been the colloquia organised over the past decade by the Palmela Town Council, with presentations by Isabel Cristina Fernandes, alone or in collaboration with Mário Barroca and Fernando Branco Correia. One dedicated to fortifications in the Iberian Peninsula and the Maghreb, was undoubtedly a landmark in Portuguese historiography and the archaeology of the Gharb<sup>38</sup>, concerning the territorialisation and militarisation of frontier society<sup>39</sup>.

A second topic on which there has been significant recent progress concerns the history of cities and the organisation of the territory under their control. A major work of synthesis exists for this topic, written on the scale of al-Andalus, but with the Gharb very well represented. This is obviously the self-evidently Christine Mazzoli Guintard's work<sup>40</sup>, on which, I believe, all attempts to describe the urban history of the Gharb should be based. This is because here, above all, and more than in the political field, we are situated within an urban network unaffected by the geographical boundaries between the western territories and the rest of al-Andalus. The most significant monographs written from this perspective have come from Santiago Macias, who after studying the fortress of a secondary *madina*, Mértola, devoted himself to rebuilding its relations with the *kura* to which it belonged, namely Beja, studying it and its territory even beyond the period when the relationship was no longer operational<sup>41</sup>. Studies by Rosa Varela Gomes and Maria José Gonçalves on Silves, although based significantly on archaeology, have also provided important contributions to urban history<sup>42</sup>. The same could be said of the archaeological work carried out in Lisbon

<sup>37</sup> CORREIA, Fernando Branco, *Fortificação, guerra e poderes no Gharb al-Andalus (dos inícios da islamização ao domínio norte-africano)*, doctoral thesis in History submitted to the University of Évora, Évora, 2010.

<sup>38</sup> FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F., *Mil Anos de Fortificações na Península Ibérica e no Magrebe (500-1500)*, proceedings, Lisbon, Edições Colibri / Câmara Municipal de Palmela, 2002.

<sup>39</sup> Published before and after the foundation of GEOS (1997), the proceedings of the "Encontros sobre Ordens Militares" I-V (1991-2009). Proceedings of the VI Encontro, in preparation.

<sup>40</sup> MAZZOLI-GUINTARD, Christine, *Villes d'al-Andalus, L'Espagne et le Portugal à l'époque musulmane (VIII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 1996.

<sup>41</sup> MACIAS, Santiago, *Mértola Islâmica. Estudo Histórico-Arqueológico do Bairro da Alçáçova (séculos XII-XIII)*, Mértola, Campo Arqueológico de Mértola, 1996; IDEM, *Mértola. O último porto do Mediterrâneo*, 3 vols., Mértola, Campo Arqueológico de Mértola, 2005.

<sup>42</sup> GOMES, Rosa Varela, *Silves (Xelb), uma cidade do Gharb al-Andalus. Território e Cultura*. Lisbon, Instituto Português de arqueologia, 2002; EADEM, *Silves (Xelb), uma cidade do Gharb al-Andalus: a Alçáçova*. Lisbon, Instituto Português de arqueologia, 2004; GONÇALVES, Maria José, *Silves Islâmica: a muralha do arrabalde oriental e a dinâmica de ocupação do espaço adjacente*, 2 vols., master's dissertation in Theory and Methods of Archaeology submitted to the Faculdade de Ciências Humanas e Sociais of the University of Algarve, Faro, 2008.

(Ana Gomes, Alexandra Gaspar, Jacinta Bugalhão), Santarém (Catarina Viegas), Alcácer do Sal (Marisol, António Carvalho, Ana Catarina Cabrita)<sup>43</sup>, Palmela (Isabel Cristina Fernandes)<sup>44</sup>, Sintra (Maria Catarina Coelho), Moura (Santiago Macias)<sup>45</sup>, Tavira (Manuel and Maria Maia)<sup>46</sup>, Faro and Loulé (Isabel Luzia)<sup>47</sup>. In the complex of the urban centres of the Gharb, one seems left out, through circumstances linked to the particular conditions concerning the interaction between the urban fabric of the Islamic city and its Christian successor: Évora<sup>48</sup>.

This list contrasts sharply with the wilderness of thirty years ago. It could, however, be enriched. In many cases, archaeological excavations have not resulted in syntheses or even monographs, and there has been scarce utilisation of this work by historians. The map of the Islamic sites in Lisbon recently unveiled by Jacinta Bugalhão represents a reversal of that trend, which had already been attempted in monographic sketches of Santarém, Sintra and Coruche by Hermenegildo Fernandes and in the former case, by Adel Sidarus<sup>49</sup>, and above all, in more systematic manner, in Fernando Branco Correia's thesis on medieval Elvas, which included a precious monograph on the Islamic Yelbash<sup>50</sup>. At the time of writing, three master's dissertations are in progress at Faculdade de Letras of the University of Lisbon (FL-UL), Filipa Santos on the territory of the Middle Tagus, André Leitão on the

<sup>43</sup> Lisbon, Santarém and Alcácer are well represented in LACERDA, Manuel, et al. (eds.), *Garb. Sítios Islâmicos do Sul Peninsular*, Lisbon / Badajoz, Instituto Português do Património Arquitectónico / Junta de Extremadura, 2001. Lisbon was the subject of a thematic issue of the Campo Arqueológico de Mértola journal, *Arqueologia Medieval*, no. 7. Santarém was the focus of the exhibition catalogue, ARRUDA, Ana, VIEGAS, Catarina, and ALMEIDA, Maria José de (eds.), *De Scallabis a Santarém*, Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, 2002. Regarding Alcácer do Sal the theses by António Rafael de Carvalho and Ana Catarina Cabrita are awaited with great interest.

<sup>44</sup> FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F., *O Castelo de Palmela: do islâmico ao cristão*. Lisbon, Edições Colibri / Câmara Municipal de Palmela, 2004.

<sup>45</sup> It is hoped that the excavation of the fortress, now underway, will provide very significant results about a large scale *hisn*.

<sup>46</sup> MAIA, Maria, et al., *Tavira. Território e Poder*, Lisbon / Tavira, Museu Nacional de Arqueologia / Câmara Municipal de Tavira, 2003.

<sup>47</sup> A look at the state of the art in terms of Islamic sites in the current Algarve is provided in GÓMEZ-MARTÍNEZ, Susana, "Reflexão crítica sobre o estado da investigação para o período medieval islâmico no Algarve", *Xelb*, no. 10 (2010), pp. 497-508.

<sup>48</sup> VILAR, Hermínia Vasconcelos, and FERNANDES, Hermenegildo, "O urbanismo de Évora no período medieval", *Monumentos*, no. 26 (2007), pp. 6-15.

<sup>49</sup> FERNANDES, Hermenegildo, "Em torno de Shantaran. Posição e funções", in ARRUDA, Ana, VIEGAS, Catarina, and ALMEIDA, Maria José de (eds.), *De Scallabis a Santarém...*, pp. 47-59; IDEM, "Mar Adentro: Sintra e a organização do território entre Lisboa e o Oceano depois da conquista cristã", in MACIEL, M. J., et al., *Contributos para a História Medieval de Sintra*, Sintra, Câmara Municipal de Sintra, 2008, pp. 77-98; IDEM, "Quando o Além-Tejo era 'fronteira': Coruche da militarização à territorialização", in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (ed.), *As Ordens Militares e as Ordens de Cavalaria na construção do Mundo Ocidental. Actas do IV Encontro sobre Ordens Militares*, Lisbon, Edições Colibri / Câmara Municipal de Palmela, 2005, pp. 451-483. SIDARUS, Adel, "Shantaran/Santarém, fronteira ambi-valente islamo-cristã", in SIDARUS, Adel, et al., *Santarém na Idade Média*, Santarém, Câmara Municipal de Santarém, 2007, pp. 319-335.

<sup>50</sup> CORREIA, Fernando Branco, *Elvas na Idade Média*, master's dissertation in Medieval History submitted to the FCSH-UNL, Lisbon, 1999.

territory between Lisbon and Santarém, and Luís Gonçalves on the peri-urban area in Western Lisbon, as well as the doctoral thesis by Manuel Fialho, concerning the topography of Lisbon between the twelfth century and 1325, each representing an attempt to contribute to an urban history that takes off retrospectively from written Christian and Muslim sources but always takes account of the contribution of archaeology. A further way to enrich this line of research relates to a consideration of the spaces belonging to the area of influence of a *madina*, which were fashioned into a typology of rural settlements. Here, however, the gaps are much greater than in the field of urban history, with much work to be done, both in terms of what is possible for historians, namely the retrospective inventory of sites from Portuguese and Latin sources, and the mammoth task of the extensive archaeology, indispensable to the study of the sites. Important exceptions include the work carried out by Boone at the Alcaria Longa site<sup>51</sup>, the excavation of a neighbouring *alcaria* at Palmela by Isabel Cristina Fernandes, the probings by Mathieu Grangé in the Mira basin and, of course, the monumental work carried out by Helena Catarino in the Western Algarve *serra*<sup>52</sup>, which has by far been the most significant contribution to clarifying questions of the transition between the settlement models in the Gharb al-Andalus.

Finally, a third topic of research, perhaps the one with the most distance still to be travelled and certainly the most immune to the ubiquitous contribution of archaeology, relates to the regional history of social structures and elites. The decisive contribution has come from Spain, despite the translations of Martin Velho having opened an area never really exploited beyond the almost anecdotal and localist linking of the literate individuals listed in the dictionaries to their areas of origin, enabling the folkloric search for an Arab past to feature in local histories without the semblance of a full explanation, much less an interpretative model. Having passed the scrutiny of social history, however, both these sources and the quite analytical nature of the narratives provide a relevant counterpoint to the family reconstitutions permitted by contemporary Christian sources, though almost always restricted to nobility. The explorative work performed by the EOBA has revealed exactly that. It is not surprising, therefore, that some of the most recent and relevant contributions to the social history of the Gharb come from Madrid, through the work of Manuela Marín and her studies on the *ulemah* of Beja<sup>53</sup>, together with Teresa Garulo, who

<sup>51</sup> BOONE, James, "The first two seasons of excavations at Alcaria Longa", *Arqueologia Medieval*, no. 1 (1992), pp. 51-64.

<sup>52</sup> CATARINO, Helena, "O Algarve oriental durante a ocupação islâmica. Povoamento rural e recintos fortificados", *Al-'Ulya*, no. 6, 3 vols. (1997-1998).

<sup>53</sup> MARÍN, Manuela, "Los Ulemas de Beja. Formación e desaparición de una elite urbana", in BARATA, Filipe Themudo (ed.), *Elites e redes clientelares na Idade Média, problemas metodológicos*, Lisbon, Colibri / CIDEHUS, 2001, pp. 27-44.

has mainly considered the authors of poetic texts<sup>54</sup>. The path of a social history of culture, where the number of Portuguese devotees dedicated to the history of the Garb continues to dwindle, is thus laid out. From this point of view, consideration of the text as a literary witness is left to the historians of literature, leaving the historian to assess the role of knowledge as a determinant in conferring status in medieval Islamic society. Along the same lines, Natália Nunes is conducting post-doctoral research at the Centro de História at FL-UL on “profane and mystical literature of the Gharb al-Andalus”. Other scattered pieces have examined elites, the synthesis by Picard cited earlier being the only text taking an integrated view of the problem. A master's dissertation, submitted in 2011 by Ana Luisa Miranda, returned to the problem of the impact of tribalisation on Western Andalusian society<sup>55</sup>. Picard and Sidarus pored over the period of the first *Fitna* and the meaning of the *muwalladun* regional dynasty<sup>56</sup>. In a thesis yet to be published, Hermenegildo Fernandes outlined an interpretation of the social contradictions that obstructed Gharb society in the second half of the twelfth century<sup>57</sup>. Some islands in an ocean yet to be explored.

It is precisely here, then, that the first priority area for study should be located. Thoroughly enlightened by the biographical dictionaries, the eleventh and twelfth centuries have emerged as a potentially fertile period for studying the dimensions of the processes of urbanisation in Gharb society confirmed, moreover, by data as diverse as that which the Working Group on Gharb al-Andalus ceramics has been collecting, showing that a notable phenomenon in the period involved concentration around the urban centres and a reduction / simplification of the territorial network<sup>58</sup>. Who was managing this process and who benefited from it are questions that only a prosopographic-based social history can answer. In this sense, the study of the *ulemah* and the *fuqaha* will be working as a gateway to the world and to an aristocracy starting to suffer the effects of militarisation. It will be necessary to measure this effect, as well as to determine its social penetration and to evaluate the possible distinctions between Andalusian and Berber elements.

<sup>54</sup> For example, SARA, Ibn, *Poemas del Fuego y otras Casidas*, editing, translation and study by Teresa Garulo, Madrid, Hiperión, 2001.

<sup>55</sup> MIRANDA, Ana Luisa Sérvalo, *O sudoeste do Gharb al-Andalus nos séculos VIII e IX: relações sociais e território*, master's dissertation within the specialisation area of Iberian and Mediterranean South submitted to the FL-UL, Lisbon, 2010.

<sup>56</sup> PICARD, Christophe, “Le Renouveau urbain en Occident Ibérique aux IX-X siècles sous l’impulsion des seigneurs Muwalladun”, offprint from *Les Primes et les Pouvoirs au Moyen Âge*, Paris, Publications de la Sorbonne, 1993, pp. 49-67. SIDARUS, Adel, “Amaya de Ibn Marwan: Marvão”, *Ibn Marwan*, no. 1 (1991), pp. 13-26; IDEM, “Um texto árabe do século X relativo à nova fundação de Évora e aos movimentos muladi e berbere no Ocidente Andaluz”, *A Cidade de Évora*, nos. 71-76 (1994), pp. 7-37.

<sup>57</sup> FERNANDES, Hermenegildo, *Entre Mouros e Cristãos. A sociedade de fronteira no sudoeste peninsular interior (séculos XII-XIII)*, doctoral thesis in Medieval History submitted to the FL-UL, Lisbon, 2000.

<sup>58</sup> GOMES, Ana, et al., “CIGA: Projecto de sistematização para a cerâmica islâmica do Gharb al-Andalus”, *Xelb*, no. 10 (2010), pp. 455-476.

A second, almost entirely unexplored area is the period of the first Taifas in the Gharb. While it is true that almost all syntheses devote considerable attention to it, the lack of monographic studies is total, at least for the Taifas that have no relation with current Spanish territory. If the Taifas of Badajoz and Seville are well known, the south-western, more ephemeral ones are deserving of monographic studies, despite the obvious limitations of the written sources in this regard. It is also relevant to follow these territories in the processes of becoming part of their powerful neighbouring Taifas and their characteristics during the Almoravid period, concerning which the information vacuum is perhaps even greater. Therefore, the priority in terms of time would be the period extending from the end of the Fitna until the Almoravid decline in the 40s. Part of these circumstances will be considered in Inês Lourinho's doctoral thesis, still at an early stage, on the "West of al-Andaluz: area of confrontation between Christians and Almoravids (1093-1147)".

Finally, a third area of potential research would focus on the transition between the Christian and Muslim societies, which in the West meant the end of the Gharb al-Andalus as a separate society and its inclusion into the Portuguese kingdom. It is precisely the forms of that inclusion that are far from having been clarified by historiography. We know enough about the political and military history of the Portuguese Reconquest but, on the contrary, rather little about the Gharb society in the epoch of the conquest, especially because, in terms of its duration as a frontier and the inevitable ensuing processes of militarisation, the mechanical transposition of the earlier structures would certainly have led to anachronism. As such it is through the direct path of that society as well as indirectly through the contact processes that took place in the earlier period further north, that the legacy of the Gharb enters into the genetics of the formation of the kingdom. And it is there, in that time period and through the Latin and Romance sources that bear witness to this, where the road stands open for us to follow.

## The Mozarabs in the Western Iberian Peninsula

### *Foreword*

Before presenting the historiography of the Mozarabs, it may be useful to indicate the delimitation of this work. The designation “Mozarab”, may be either a noun or an adjective, and so in languages like Portuguese and English it has a double meaning: the first, as used in academic circles, is very accurate and satisfactory; the second, found in current school textbooks and reference tools on paper or on the Internet, is imprecise, dubious, and often down-right wrong. At times, there is no good grasp of what is, in fact, being designated. It is also the case that both the concept and the profile of the Mozarab, are in a certain stage of reassessment, even in Portugal, but especially outside, with the academic community not completely immune to that reality.

As for the studies under review, it should be noted that, given the chronology established for this work, that is, starting as far as possible from 1950, we would refer those who want an overview of the historiography of the Mozarab issue in Portugal, to the synthesis “Os Moçárabes”, by José Mattoso, which presents, on the basis of the bibliography available in 1985, a general overview of the Christians who were Arab speakers from the Gharb al-Andalus<sup>59</sup>. Although this study is nearly three decades old, it continues to indicate general lines of research, some of which have only very recently been broached for the first time. This essay, then, will consider mainly historiographical work (in history, archaeology and history of art) undertaken during these six decades, though, as also pointed out by José Mattoso, this task requires a wholly multidisciplinary approach. In fact, for the study of the Mozarabs, as a human mass cut off from the exercise of power, both during the Islamic period, and later, in the period of the Reconquest, when the Iberian monarchies definitively devoted themselves to the creed of Rome and abandoned their “Mozarab identity”, the documentation most commonly utilised by the historian became increasingly sparse. All contributions that in the future can supplement the general picture, whether from linguistics, anthropology or archaeology, will undoubtedly be welcome.

It remains to explain my adoption of the title “The Mozarabs in the Western Iberian Peninsula”, which seems more accurate, given the pressures on space, and

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<sup>59</sup> MATTOSO, José, “Os Moçárabes”, *Revista Lusitana*, n. s., no. 6 (1985), pp. 5-24; reedited in MATTOSO, José, *Fragmentos de uma Composição Medieval*, 2nd ed. [1st ed., 1987] Lisbon, Estampa, 1993, pp. 19-34.

is not intended to minimise the continuity of Christian inheritors of the Visigothic Rite, as fully part of the Gharb al-Andalus, and afterwards as subjects of the novel kingdom of Portugal.

### *Before 1950*

For about a century, from Alexandre Herculano, in the mid-nineteenth century until 1950, and even beyond, Portuguese researchers who worked on this subject were predominantly linguists. Their main goal was to try and specify exactly what had been the contribution of the Mozarabs to the formation and early evolution of the Portuguese language<sup>60</sup>, though some historiographical analyses had also been developed around the possible importance of the Mozarabs for the emergence of the Portuguese "nation"<sup>61</sup>. A sign and direct consequence of this approach is the fact that José Pedro Machado<sup>62</sup>, the author of the entry "Moçárabes" in the *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, first published in 1961, was a disciple of David Lopes, and as such a man whose training was linguistically-based.

### *Post – 1950*

Between 1950 and 1980, the Mozarab question was studied mainly as a secondary issue, although some pioneering work stands out. The lack of academic work may be attributed firstly to the proximity between the ideology of the *Estado Novo* and the more conservative currents of the Catholic Church, which tended to reject anything to do with Arabs and Mozarabs; later, in the years following the 25 April 1974, historians were predominantly interested in economic history. These two factors hindered any significant alteration in this regard.

In 1958, Manuel Viegas Guerreiro published the fourth volume of *Etnografia Portuguesa*, which dealt extensively in which the Mozarabs from an ethnographic perspective, but which managed in a decisive manner to give real substance to that group, not limited to listing scattered dates, place names or sets of words. The artistic component, and especially an initial version of the "cartography" of the

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<sup>60</sup> It is sufficient to review the comments on works mentioned in the previous footnotes to understand that goal and the training of the respective authors, through their titles. The main names of this period were David Lopes, Leite de Vasconcelos and Adolfo Coelho.

<sup>61</sup> SOARES, Torquato de Sousa, *Contribuição para o Estudo das Origens do Povo Português*, Universidade de Luanda, Sá da Bandeira, 1970, in particular pp. 178-182 and nn. 70-76.

<sup>62</sup> MACHADO, José Pedro, "Moçárabes", in SERRÃO, Joel (dir.), *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, 4 vols., Lisbon, Iniciativas Editoriais, 1961-71 (2nd impression, 6 vols., s. l., Iniciativas Editoriais, 1979; 2nd ed., 6 vols., Oporto, Figueirinhas, 1989). This entry does not show signs of any later revision, concerning the innovative works published in the meantime, not even for the 2nd impression (1979), nor, later, for the 2nd edition (1989).

Mozarab communities within Portugal, helped to bring greater clarity to the socio-cultural reality of the Christians who had lived under the Islamic authorities<sup>63</sup>. In the late 1960s, Pedro Cunha Serra detected Mozarab presences in the northwest of the Peninsula using toponymical information<sup>64</sup>. A few years later, in 1972, the priest Avelino de Jesus da Costa addressed the relationship between the martyr Saint Iria, her worship and the place name “Santarém”<sup>65</sup>, making it clear that this name, of Christian origin, substituting the former “Scalabis”, survived throughout the Islamic period, and that the current form is phonetically derived from the Arab language<sup>66</sup>. Finally, mention should be made of the key study by Gérard Pradalié, published in 1974, about the instability of Coimbra at the turn of the eleventh and twelfth century<sup>67</sup>.

Several institutional changes in Portuguese universities followed the 25 April 1974, and what is especially interesting is the one that led to archaeology, formerly part of the history curriculum, becoming autonomous in terms of training and research. The interest in excavations, as well as new alternatives to traditional research in archives and libraries, helped change the overall approach to the medieval period: medieval archaeology was undertaken, and not only as hitherto on prehistoric and Roman sites. Interest in the Islamic-Arab period, or perhaps better, Hispano-Arab, brought by extension interest in the Mozarabs.

Monastic documentation proved a valuable source of knowledge in this area. One should emphasise, as a pioneer in the late 1970s, the attention given by Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho, in her study of the Arouca monastery, to the relationship of the monastery with the Mozarabs<sup>68</sup>. In a more continuous form, and also under the framework of studies that, from the end of the 1960s, would renew knowledge of the origins of the Portucalense and then Portuguese nobility, José Mattoso began to recognise, throughout the 1980s, a certain degree of “Mozarabisation” of those

<sup>63</sup> VASCONCELOS, José Leite de, and GUERREIRO, José Viegas, “Moçárabes”, in *Etnografia Portuguesa*, (10 vols., 1933-1989) vol. 4, Lisbon, IN-CM, 1958, pp. 254-298. These new studies were so important and substantial that they took up 28 (pp. 271-298) of the 44 pages of the chapter, that is, practically 2/3 of the total.

<sup>64</sup> SERRA, Pedro Cunha, *Contribuição topo-antroponímica para o estudo do povoamento no Noroeste peninsular*, Lisbon, Centro de Estudos Filológicos, 1967. It is possible that this corpus has not yet been fully exploited, or even linguistically re-evaluated and historiographically contextualised.

<sup>65</sup> COSTA, Avelino de Jesus da, “Santa Iria e Santarém”, *Revista Portuguesa de História*, no. 14 (1972), pp. 9-63, 521-530. Contributions to be taken into consideration concerning the question of Saint Irene, Irina or Iria, are to be found in SOBRAL, Cristina, “Santa Iria, virgem e trágica”, *Colóquio-Letras*, no. 142 (1996), pp. 137-146; and also reconsidered in EADEM, *Adições Portuguesas no Flos Sanctorum de 1513 (estudo e edição crítica)*, doctoral thesis submitted to the FL-UL, Lisbon, 2001.

<sup>66</sup> REI, António, “Santarém e o Vale do Tejo na geografia árabe”, *Arqueologia Medieval*, no. 9 (2005), pp. 61-75, particularly appendix III: “O topónimo arabisado de Santarém”, p. 74.

<sup>67</sup> PRADALIÉ, Gérard, “Les faux de la Cathédrale et la crise à Coïmbre au début du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle”, *Mélanges de la Casa de Velazquez*, vol. 10 (1974), pp. 77-97.

<sup>68</sup> COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, *O Mosteiro de Arouca do século X ao XIII*, Coimbra, Centro de História da Universidade, 1977 (2nd ed., Arouca, Câmara Municipal de Arouca, 1988).

noblemen<sup>69</sup>. This line of research was pursued with regard to the gentlemen of *Entre Douro e Mondego*, some years later, in 1989, in the study drawn up by the same historian, with Luis Krus and Amélia Andrade<sup>70</sup>. In addition to these works, it is worth mentioning again, and due to its importance, the synthesis that José Mattoso, around the same time, devoted to the Mozarabs, who were directly considered as an object of study<sup>71</sup>. From this point on, nothing would be as before.

From the 1980s, academic literature on the subject increased significantly from the 1980s, and the term “Mozarab” began to appear explicitly in the titles of works, something hitherto uncommon until. Let us mention some of the more important authors of this period: António Losa, with several studies between 1983 and 1986 on monetary circulation in the region of Coimbra<sup>72</sup>; the works of Gerard Pradalié, returning to the Mozarab Coimbra; and Carlos Alberto Ferreira de Almeida, on Mozarab art<sup>73</sup>.

In the 1990s, the growth was accentuated as several foreign researchers, mainly French who were already studying this theme in Spain, extended their work to include what is nowadays Portugal. Another factor was a greater diversity of approaches: art history began to be addressed, in itself or in combination with archaeology, and definitively entered this subject area. Among the Portuguese, besides António Losa<sup>74</sup>, one can highlight the name of Manuel Real<sup>75</sup>, and amongst

<sup>69</sup> MATTOSO, José, *Ricos – Homens, Infanções e Cavaleiros*, Lisbon, Guimarães & C<sup>a</sup>. Editores, 1982; and IDEM, *Identificação de um País*, 2 vols., Lisbon, Estampa, 1985.

<sup>70</sup> MATTOSO, José, KRUS, Luís, and ANDRADE, Amélia Aguiar, *O Castelo e a Feira. A Terra de Santa Maria nos séculos XI a XIII*, Lisbon, Estampa, 1989.

<sup>71</sup> See above footnote 59.

<sup>72</sup> LOSA, António, “A moeda entre os moçárabes nos séculos X e XI (Segundo o Liber Testamentorum de Lorvão)”, *Revista de Guimarães*, vol. 93 (1983), pp. 219-229; IDEM, “The money among the Mozarabs of Portuguese territory (Data obtained from the Livro Preto of the See of Coimbra)”, in MARQUES, Mário Gomes (ed.), *Problems of Medieval Coinage in the Iberian Area. An International Symposium*, Santarém, Instituto Politécnico de Santarém, 1984, pp. 283-294; IDEM, “Moçárabes em território português nos séculos X e XI: contribuição para o estudo da antroponímia no Liber Testamentorum de Lorvão”, in SIDARUS, Adel (ed.), *Islão e arabismo na Península Ibérica: Actas do XI Congresso da União Europeia de Arabistas e Islamólogos* (Évora, Sept.-Oct. 1982), Évora, Universidade de Évora, 1986, pp. 273-289 + est. I-III [also published in: SIDARUS, Adel (ed.), *Islão e arabismo em terra lusitana: contribuições portuguesas para o XI Congresso da União Europeia de Arabistas e Islamógrafos*, Universidade de Évora, 1986, pp. 39-55].

<sup>73</sup> PRADALIÉ, Gérard, “Du Portugal mozarabe au Portugal romanisé: l'exemple de Coimbre”, in AUBIN, Jean (dir.), *Histoire du Portugal, Histoire européenne: Actes du Colloque, Paris 22-23 Mai 1986*, Paris, Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian / Centre Culturel Portugais, 1987, pp. 15-17; ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de, “Arte Moçárabe e da Reconquista”, in ALMEIDA, Carlos Alberto Ferreira de, *História da Arte em Portugal*, vol. 2: *A Arte da Alta Idade Média*, Lisbon, Alfa, 1988, pp. 95-146.

<sup>74</sup> LOSA, António, “O desabrochar duma nacionalidade: retalhos de herança árabe e moçárabe”, in *Actas do 2º Congresso Histórico de Guimarães 'D. Afonso Henriques e a sua época'*, Guimarães, Câmara Municipal de Guimarães / Universidade do Minho, 1997, vol. 3, pp. 255-273.

<sup>75</sup> REAL, Manuel Luís, “Inovação e resistência: dados recentes sobre a antiguidade cristã no Ocidente Peninsular”, in GURT ESPARRAGUERA, Josep Maria, and TENA, Núria (eds.), *IV Reunió d'Arqueologia Cristiana Hispànica* (Lisboa, 1992), Monografies de la Secció Històrico-Arqueològica, 4, Barcelona, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1995, pp. 17-68. IDEM, “Os moçárabes de Gharb português”, in MACIAS, Santiago, and TORRES, Cláudio (coords.), *Portugal islâmico. Os últimos sinais do Mediterrâneo*, Lisbon, Instituto Português de

the French that of Christophe Picard<sup>76</sup>. Also worthy of note are two other studies, one by A. Brito Cardoso, on Coimbra after the 1064 conquest<sup>77</sup>, and the other, by Tarquínio Hall, concerning the Lourosa church<sup>78</sup>.

The *Histórias de Portugal*, published in the mid-1990s sought to give a new visibility to the Mozarabs, who ceased to have linguists as their main spokespersons. The change that had come about was such that in those *Histórias*, the chapters on the Mozarabs began to be written by archaeologists<sup>79</sup> or by historians<sup>80</sup>, more usually the former.

The first decade of the present century can be divided into two periods for the purpose of this theme: until 2005 and from 2005 until the time of the writing.

Between 2000 and 2005, a strong presence was the consistent work of Manuel Real<sup>81</sup>; Paulo Almeida Fernandes emerged, with several essays following a similar approach, poised between the history of art and archaeology, and in 2002, presented his master's dissertation on Mozarab art<sup>82</sup>. But other authors became prominent, with articles synthesising the Mozarabs in the sphere of religious history, such as

Museus / Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, 1998, pp. 35-56.

<sup>76</sup> PICARD, Christophe, "Quelques aspects des relations entre chrétiens et musulmans dans les zones de confins du Nord-ouest de la Péninsule ibérique (IXe-XIe siècles)", in *Études d'Histoire*, Saint-Étienne, Centre de Recherches Historiques, Université de Saint-Etienne, 1990, pp. 5-26; IDEM, "Les mozarabes dans l'Occident ibérique", *Revue des Études Islamiques*, vol. 51 (1992), pp. 77-88; IDEM, "Minorités religieuses et pouvoirs au Portugal: mozarabes et mudéjars à Lisbonne et Santarém", in DURANTON, Henri, GIRAUD, Jacqueline, and BOUTER, Nicole (eds), *Maisons de Dieu et Hommes d'Église*, Saint-Étienne, Centre Européen de Recherches sur les Congrégations et Ordres Religieux, Université Jean Monnet, 1992, pp. 165-178; IDEM, "Sanctuaires et pèlerinages chrétiens en terre musulmane: l'Occident de l'Andalus (Xe-XIIIe siècles)", in *Pèlerinages et croisades. 118e Congrès des Sociétés Savantes* (Pau, 1983), Paris, Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques (CTHS), 1995, pp. 235-247; IDEM, "La mémoire religieuse des lieux: des cultes chrétiens aux cultes musulmans sur les rivages d'al-Andalus", in CAROZZI, Claude, and TAVIANI-CAROZZI, Huguette (dirs.), *Faire Mémoire. Souvenir et commémoration au Moyen Âge*, Aix-en-Provence, Université de Provence, 1999, pp. 259-275.

<sup>77</sup> CARDOSO, António de Brito, "Coimbra após a segunda Reconquista: a Escola da Catedral", *Munda* no. 26 (1993), pp. 59-68;

<sup>78</sup> HALL, Tarquínio, "Igreja moçárabica de Lourosa", *ibid.*, pp. 47-50.

<sup>79</sup> TORRES, Cláudio, "Cristianismo e islamismo", in MATTOSO, José (coord.), *História de Portugal*, vol. 1: *Antes de Portugal*, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 1992, pp. 405-409; CATARINO, Helena, "A ocupação islâmica", in MEDINA, João (coord.), *História de Portugal...*, vol. 3, pp. 47-93, particularly 71-72.

<sup>80</sup> MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, "Comunidades cristãs e judaicas" and "A fé cristã", in MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, and SERRÃO, Joel (dirs.), *Nova História de Portugal...*, vol. 2, pp. 180-181 and 201-205.

<sup>81</sup> REAL, Manuel Luís, "Portugal: cultura visigoda e cultura moçárabe", in CABALLERO ZOREDA, Luis, and MATEOS CRUZ, Pedro (coords.), *Visigodos y Omeyas: un debate entre la Antigüedad tardía y la alta Edad Media*, proceedings of the International Symposium [Mérida, 1999], *Anejos del Archivo Español de Arqueología*, vol. 23 (2000), pp. 21-75.

<sup>82</sup> FERNANDES, Paulo Manuel Almeida, *A Igreja pré-românica de São Pedro de Lourosa*, master's dissertation submitted to the FL-UL, Lisbon, 2002; IDEM, *A Mesquita-Catedral de Idanha-a-Velha*, Lisbon, Centro de Ciência das Religiões – Universidade Lusófona de Humanidades e Tecnologias, 2001; IDEM, "O ajimez moçárabe reaproveitado no castelo de Soure", in FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina F. (coord.), *Mil anos de fortificações...*, pp. 796-801; IDEM, "A marginalidade do lado cristão: o breve exemplo dos moçárabes de Lisboa", in FONSECA, Luís Adão da, et al. (eds.), *Os reinos ibéricos na Idade Média – Homenagem ao Professor Doutor Humberto Baquero Moreno*, Oporto, Livraria Civilização Editora, 2003, vol. 3, pp. 1231-1237.

Joaquim Lavajo, Filomena Barros, and Maria de Lurdes Rosa<sup>83</sup>. Amongst the French, in addition to Picard, the work of Jean-Pierre Molénat should be highlighted<sup>84</sup>.

We would also draw attention to two main features of the second phase. Firstly, the fact that various researchers, from different and very differentiated beginnings, ended up studying the Mozarab theme, with the principal names to be cited including Pedro Picoito, Maria Isabel Dias, Armando Pereira, Ana Pagará, Isabel Alves Moreira, Manuel Fialho Silva, Inês Lourinho and Adel Sidarus<sup>85</sup>.

Secondly, and worthy of mention because they are still in progress or recently concluded, is a set of in-depth academic studies on the Mozarab topic. In 2006, Maria Luísa Marques de Azevedo presented her doctoral thesis in Portuguese Linguistics, analysing place names in the former *Condado Conimbricense*<sup>86</sup>; and in 2008, Mário de Gouveia's master's dissertation in Medieval History dealt with

<sup>83</sup> LAVAJO, Joaquim Chorão, "Os moçárabes portugueses", in AZEVEDO, Carlos Moreira de (dir.), *História Religiosa de Portugal*, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores / Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 2000, vol. 1, pp. 92-102; BARROS, Maria Filomena Lopes de, "Moçárabes", *ibid.*, vol.: J-P [2001], pp. 246-249; ROSA, Maria de Lurdes, "A religião no século: vivências e devoções dos leigos", *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 423-510.

<sup>84</sup> PICARD, Christophe, "Les chrétiens mozarabes: encadrement religieux et déclin. (L'exemple du Gharb al-Andalus)", in BRESC, Henry, and VEAUUVY, Christiane (dirs.), *Mutations d'identités en Méditerranée. Moyen Âge et époque contemporaine*, Paris, Bouchène, 2000, pp. 97-110; IDEM, "Les mozarabes de Lisbonne: le problème de l'assimilation et de la conversion des chrétiens sous domination musulmane à la lumière de l'exemple de Lisbonne", *Arqueologia Medieval*, no. 7 (2001), pp. 89-94; MOLÉNAT, Jean-Pierre, "Mozarabes et mudéjars du Gharb al-Andalus devant la conquête chrétienne", in GAMITO, Teresa Júdice (ed.), *Portugal, Espanha e Marrocos - O Mediterrâneo e o Atlântico: Actas do Colóquio Internacional* (Faro, 2000), Faro, Centro de Cultura Árabe, Islâmica e Mediterrânea (CCAIMed) / Universidade do Algarve, 2004, pp. 207-212; IDEM, "Los mozarabes entre al-Andalus y el Norte peninsular", in VACA LORENZO, Angel (coord.) *Minorías y migraciones en la Historia*, XV Jornadas de Estudios (Salamanca, 2003), Salamanca, Universidad de Salamanca, 2004, pp. 11-24; IDEM, "La fin des chrétiens arabisés d'al-Andalus. Mozarabes de Tolède et du Gharb au XIe siècle", in AILLET, Cyrille, PENELAS, Mayte, and ROISSE, Philippe (coords.), *¿Existe una identidad mozarabe? Historia, lengua y cultura de los cristianos de al-Andalus (siglos IX-XII)*, Madrid, Casa de Velázquez, 2008, pp. 287-297.

<sup>85</sup> PICOITO, Pedro, "A trasladação de São Vicente. Consenso e conflito na Lisboa do século XII", *Medievalista* [online], yr. 4, no. 4 (2008), available at: [www2.fcsh.unl.pt/iem/medievalista/MEDIEVALISTA4/medievalista-picoito.htm](http://www2.fcsh.unl.pt/iem/medievalista/MEDIEVALISTA4/medievalista-picoito.htm); IDEM, "Identidade e Resistência. São Vicente e os Moçárabes de Lisboa", *Xarajib*, no. 7: *Actas do I Colóquio Internacional sobre Moçárabes* [IEM/CELAS] (2009), pp. 21- 34; IDEM, "Santos Moçárabes na Reconquista Portuguesa (Sécs. XII-XIII). Os casos de Santarém, Lisboa, Évora", in *Actas do II Colóquio Internacional sobre Moçárabes* [IEM / CELAS], in press; DIAS, Maria Isabel, *Culto e Memória Textual de S. Vicente*, doctoral thesis submitted to the University of Algarve, Faro, 2003; PEREIRA, Armando, *Geraldo Sem Pavor. Um guerreiro de fronteira entre cristãos e muçulmanos*, Oporto, Fronteira do Caos, 2008; IDEM, "Sobrevivências cristãs no Gharb: o caso do milagre da Virgem de Faro", in *Actas do II Colóquio Internacional sobre Moçárabes...*; PAGARÁ, Ana, SILVA, Nuno Vassallo e, and SERRÃO, Vítor, *Igreja de Vera Cruz de Marmelar*, Portel / Lisbon, Câmara Municipal de Portel / Páginas Editores, 2006; PAGARÁ, Ana, "Análise histórico-arquitectónica da Igreja de Vera Cruz de Marmelar (Portel)", in *Actas do II Colóquio Internacional sobre Moçárabes...*; MOREIRA, Isabel Alves, "Nos traços dos moçárabes: para uma investigação de hagiotoponímia no espaço português", *Xarajib*, no. 7... , pp. 105-114; EADEM, "O termo 'moçárabe' e equívocos circundantes", in *Actas do II Colóquio Internacional sobre Moçárabes...*; SILVA, Manuel Fialho, and LOURINHO, Inês, "O hibridismo na sociedade olisiponense pós-1147", *ibid.*; SIDARUS, Adel, *Arabismo e Traduções árabes em meios luso-moçárabes*, Artigos LusoSofia [online], Covilhã, Universidade da Beira Interior, 2009 (23 pp.), available at: [www.lusosofia.net/textos/sidarus\\_adel\\_arabismos\\_e\\_traducoes\\_mossarabes.pdf](http://www.lusosofia.net/textos/sidarus_adel_arabismos_e_traducoes_mossarabes.pdf)

<sup>86</sup> AZEVEDO, Maria Luísa Seabra Marques de, *Toponímia Moçárabe do antigo Condado Conimbricense*, doctoral thesis in Portuguese Linguistics submitted to the FL-UC, Coimbra, 2006.

Mozarabism in the Coimbra region<sup>87</sup>. He had earlier published two works in the same area in 2007, the first on the cult of Saint Michael amongst the Mozarabs and the second regarding the cult of the Holy Martyrs of Lisbon<sup>88</sup>, and has since maintained a good rhythm<sup>89</sup>. Paulo Almeida Fernandes continued working in the same area of research as earlier<sup>90</sup>. A chapter of António Rei's doctoral thesis dealt with Mozarab chronicles, and he has begun to focus more closely on this subject<sup>91</sup>.

As part of his post-doctoral research, António Rei has promoted an international colloquium implemented over several years, to bring together Portuguese and foreign researchers working in the area in the hope that the Colloquium become a regular event on the international calendar in Mozarab studies. Since 2009, there has been held in Portugal the "Colóquios Internacionais sobre Moçárabes", jointly organised by the Instituto de Estudos Medievais (IEM) and by the Centro de Estudos Luso-Árabes de Silves (CELAS), under the scope of a protocol between the two institutions that has existed since 2004. The Committee has organised two further meetings, 2009 and 2010 coordinated by António Rei (IEM) and by Ana Maria Mira (CELAS). Present were researchers

<sup>87</sup> GOUVEIA, Mário de, *O limiar da tradição no moçarabismo conimbricense: os Anais de Lorvão e a memória monástica do território de fronteira (séc. IX-XII)*, master's dissertation in Medieval History submitted to the FCSH-UNL, Lisbon, 2008.

<sup>88</sup> IDEM, "S. Miguel na religiosidade moçárabe (Portugal, séc. IX-XI)", in BOUET, Pierre, OTRANTO, Giorgio, and VAUCHEZ, André (coords.), *Culto e santuari di san Michele nell'Europa medievale / Culte et sanctuaires de saint Michel dans l'Europe médiévale*, Biblioteca michaelica, 1, Bari, Casa Editrice Edipuglia, 2007, pp. 81-112; IDEM, "O culto dos santos mártires de Lisboa na fronteira ocidental do reino de Leão (séc. X-XI)", in KRUS, Luís, OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, and FONTES, João Luís (coords.), *Lisboa medieval – Os Rostos da Cidade* (proceedings of the 2nd Colloquium "Nova Lisboa Medieval", Lisbon, 9-11 Dec. 2004), Lisbon, IEM / Livros Horizonte, 2007, pp. 388-399.

<sup>89</sup> GOUVEIA, Mário de, "Os Moçárabes de Coimbra na frente de resistência à Monarquia Leonesa (sécs. XI-XII)", *Xarajib*, no. 7..., pp. 35-48; IDEM, "Entre o prestígio e o mistério: o património mobiliário do mosteiro de St<sup>a</sup>. Maria de Guimarães", in *Actas do II Colóquio Internacional sobre Moçárabes...*

<sup>90</sup> FERNANDES, Paulo M. Almeida, "Os moçárabes de Lisboa e a sua importância para a evolução das comunidades cristãs sob domínio islâmico", in KRUS, Luís, OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, and FONTES, João Luís (coords.), *Lisboa medieval...*, pp. 71-83; IDEM, "A Igreja de São Pedro de Lourosa e a sua relação com a arte asturiana", *Arqueologia Medieval*, no. 10 (2008), pp. 21-40; IDEM, "Novos elementos sobre a arte moçárabe em território português", *Xarajib*, no. 7..., pp. 71-104; IDEM, "Uma arte sem nome. Acerca da evolução do conceito de Arte Moçárabe", in *Actas do II Colóquio Internacional sobre Moçárabes...*

<sup>91</sup> REI, António, *O Louvor da Hispânia na Cultura Letrada Peninsular Medieval. Das suas origens discursivas ao apartado Geográfico da Crónica de 1344*, unpublished doctoral thesis in Cultural History and Medieval Mentalities, submitted to the FCSH-UNL, Lisbon, 2007, chapter 2: "4. Contribuições Moçárabes (Séculos VIII-XII)", pp. 138-157. IDEM, "Literatura Moçárabe. Memória de uma cultura de resistência (Séculos VIII-XII)", *Medievalista* [online], yr. 4, no. 4 (2008), available at: [www2.fchsh.unl.pt/iem/medievalista/MEDIEVALISTA4/PDF4/rei-PDF.pdf](http://www2.fchsh.unl.pt/iem/medievalista/MEDIEVALISTA4/PDF4/rei-PDF.pdf); IDEM, "A Cronística Moçárabe (Séculos VIII-XII)", *Xarajib*, no. 7..., pp. 49-70; IDEM, "Recensão: ¿Existe una identidad mozárabe? Historia, lengua y cultura de los cristianos de al-Andalus (siglos IX-XII)", Estudios reunidos por Cyrille Aillet, Mayte Penelas y Philippe Roisse, Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2008, 334 pp.", *Medievalista* [online], yr. 5, no. 6 (2009), available at: [www2.fchsh.unl.pt/iem/medievalista/MEDIEVALISTA6/medievalista-recensao-rei.htm](http://www2.fchsh.unl.pt/iem/medievalista/MEDIEVALISTA6/medievalista-recensao-rei.htm); IDEM, "Ascendências Moçárabes nas Linhagens do 'Livro Velho'", in *Actas do II Colóquio Internacional sobre Moçárabes...*

from Spain, such as María Jesús Viguera<sup>92</sup> (2009), Mayte Penelas<sup>93</sup> and Fernando González Muñoz<sup>94</sup> (2010), and from Italy, Giuseppe Mandalà<sup>95</sup> (2010). At the third Colloquium, envisaged for 2011, various foreign researchers have been invited, including Fernando González Muñoz (University of A Coruña) and Cyrille Aillet (University Lumière-Lyon 2), author of some of the most recent syntheses and assessments with regard to all Mozarab issues, besides devoting a chapter of his doctoral thesis to the Coimbra area<sup>96</sup>. The presence of these researchers and the contacts that the Colloquium establishes with Portuguese historiography, will fortify ties of research around open-ended questions, such as occasional specificities concerning the Mozarab area in the far west of the Peninsula.

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<sup>92</sup> VIGUERA, María Jesús, "Apuntes sobre Mozárabes y Cristianos Andalusíes", *Xarajib*, no. 7..., pp. 9-20.

<sup>93</sup> PENELAS, Mayte, "Un valioso testimonio de la circulación de obras cristianas orientales de apologética entre los cristianos de al-Andalus", in *Actas do II Colóquio Internacional sobre Moçárabes...*

<sup>94</sup> GONZÁLEZ MUÑOZ, Fernando, "El origen mozárabe de la leyenda de Muhammad y el obispo Osius", *ibid.*

<sup>95</sup> MANDALÀ, Giuseppe, "Arabi per lingua, greci per 'nazione': ricerche sugli arabo-cristiani a Palermo nei secoli XII e XIII", *ibid.*

<sup>96</sup> AILLET, Cyrille, *Les Mozarabes. Christianisme, islamisation et arabisation en Péninsule Ibérique (IX<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, Casa de Velázquez, Madrid, 2010. The region of Coimbra, its realities and issues during that long period are considered in chapter 7: "Histoire et mémoire d'une coexistence: la situation mozarabe dans les marges du Mondego (IX<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècle)", pp. 281-308.