

## IMPACT OF RECONQUISTA ON THE MUSLIM COMMUNITY OF MEDIEVAL SPAIN: A HISTORIOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS

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### ABSTRACT

*Reconquista*- a vicious series of campaigns in the Iberian peninsula between 8<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries by Christians to get back the Spanish land from Muslims (Moors), is usually considered a crusading attempt. However, medieval Andalusian population was multiethnic and pluralistic in its very nature remarked with the establishment of Convivencia- a period of mutual tolerance and peaceful inter-communal relationship. The living of different faith communities in Andalusia made it a worthwhile subject of studying interfaith relationship, the area less studied in historical enterprise. No less significant is to study the relationship between *Reconquista*, Christianization of Iberian Peninsula and its impact on non-Christian natives of medieval Andalus. Using historiographical analysis as a strategy, this paper studies *Reconquista*, its ideology and its aftermaths on Muslim community. It points out that Church unification and reformation along with Iberian colonization were the main factors which gradually Christianized almost the whole Iberian land. Additionally, it is also emphasized that *Reconquista* was an actual event and not a myth as considered by some historians.

**KEYWORDS:** *Reconquista*, Convivencia, Muslims in Spain, medieval interfaith relationship, crusade and colonization

### INTRODUCTION

*“It was the necessity of struggling for very existence  
Against the Muslims that made Christian Spain great.  
In the Reconquista Spain found its soul.”<sup>1</sup>*

*Reconquista* is a Spanish word which means re-conquest of medieval Spain (Andalusia) comprising of a series of war that was

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waged by Christians against Muslims during 718-1492CE to get back their rule. It is a Catholic Christian connotation to define their liberation attempts while its historical coining is debated among historians. The arrival of Muslims in Christian Hispania (711CE) and their eight hundred years long rule which was ended by the fall of Nasarid kingdom of Cordova (1492CE) were considered a remarkable period in the Iberian history, impacted the socio-political, religious as well as the cultural life of medieval Europe quite deep. The rise and fall of Muslims in Iberian peninsula has been analysed as a consequence of various factors such as Crusading medieval drive supported by the Roman emperors and the Catholic church alike. However, along with multiple Christian military attempts, Muslim's internal conflicts, ethnic differences, and their alliance with Christian troops against opponent Muslim ruling clan resulted in the loss of land and power of Muslims in Al-Andalus. *Reconquista* had been interpreted by different scholars in different ways and impacted the medieval Andalusian population subsequently.

### **1.1 Reconquista**

The very first organized Christian encounter to Muslims in Andalusia that has marked the beginning of *Reconquista*, was launched by the Asturian king Pelagius<sup>2</sup> after the fall of Visigothic Hispanian kingdom in 711 CE when he defeated the Umayyad army in the battle of Covadonga (718/722CE)<sup>3</sup>.

The notion of *Reconquista* has been found as early as in the Codex Aemilianensis produced in the age of Asturian King Alfonso III<sup>4</sup> which substantively included the Prophetic chronicle<sup>5</sup> and the chronicle of Albelda<sup>6</sup>. In addition to Codex Aemilianensis, a pair of 12th-century manuscripts, Biblioteca Nacional (the *Liber Complutensis*) and its identical twin provide the basic historical evidence of the *Reconquista* in the ninth and tenth centuries.<sup>7</sup> However, The *Reconquista* debate has been initiated in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, during Franco's<sup>8</sup> regime, in an attempt to validate the national historical identity amid both of the Hispania national and Catholic ideologies. Franco's decades long rule facilitated in establishing the Catholic perspective that the Muslims conquest of Iberian land had been a coincidence in history through which divine providence worked to reunite all Christians as a Spanish nation on one platform to counter the invading Arab-Berber forces.<sup>9</sup>

The *Reconquista* is used as an historical term for Christian reconquest of Spain in addition to identifying Spanish Visigothic and catholic past to reaffirm its political, social and ideological foundations. Spanish Scholars *Ramón Menéndez Pidal*, *Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz*, and *Menéndez Pelayo* were proponents of *Reconquista* theory. Whereas social scientists such as John Tolan views that *Reconquista* seems a big threat to the Spanish historical identity. Muslim Andalusian heritage has brought a radical change in Spanish society and it had an indigenous effect on Muslim populations which seems distinct in every region of the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>10</sup> The renaissance which had paved the way for modernity, has undoubtedly benefitted from the translations of early Greek texts to Arabic and then from Arabic to Hebrew, Greek and Latin done during the *Convivencia*<sup>11</sup> in Andalusia. The resemblance between the architecture of mosques and synagogues is another example.

Nevertheless the study is significant in order to understand the relationship between Muslims and Christians of the medieval Muslim West as if it was *Reconquista* drive, which had been resulted in the end of long Muslim rule and finally their complete abolishment from Andalusia. How was the exemplary coexistence of the three Abrahamic faiths in Andalusia- *La Convivencia* was halted by the *Reconquista*? Whether *Reconquista* was fueled up by the crusading ideology of expanding Catholicism and had increased animosity among Jewish-Christian-Muslim communities or there were other factors played as well.

### **1.2 Beginning and End of Reconquista:**

Muslims invaded the land of the Iberian Peninsula in 711. The *Reconquista* started in 718-722 when Christians defeated Muslims in the battle of Covadonga. Later, it appeared as an organized campaign which was fought against Muslims forces.<sup>12</sup>

However, historians differ in declaring when actually the *reconquista* began. Some historians viewed that it began in the 9<sup>th</sup> century while some staunchly believed that the serial warfare against Muslims was initiated with the decline of Umayyad Caliphate in 11<sup>th</sup> century. Richard Fletcher has mentioned that the *Reconquista* did not begin in the 9<sup>th</sup> century because Muslims invaded Spain in 711 and destroyed the old Visigothic dynasty. At that time, Christians were not powerful enough to launch a military campaign against Muslims. Roger Collins has also viewed that the

age of transformation had been started in Spain in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries which brought many drastic changes in Iberian land. Due to transformation, the ideology of *Reconquista* emerged and became real.<sup>13</sup>

The *Reconquista* started in 718 could not get a momentous advancement until it appeared as an organized campaign that was fought against Muslim forces after the 11th century.<sup>14</sup> During the 12<sup>th</sup> century, Christians became powerful and moved toward the south of the Iberian Peninsula to recapture the central region from Muslims which was invaded in 711 at the borders of France. The series of *Reconquista* started from Toledo which was captured by King Alfonso VI in 1085 after seven-years siege, and became Christian's first state capital. Valencia was conquered after Toledo in 1238. Coastal area of Zaragoza was next.<sup>15</sup> Later, they attacked city of Seville which was seized for one year. Muslim empire seemed to be extinct in Iberian land where only small Muslim Tai'fa states existed.<sup>16</sup>

The Christian armies attacked several times on the last Muslim city-state Granada, which was finally captured in 1492, consequently ending the series of Iberian *Reconquista*.

### **1.3 Reconquista is a Myth or Not:**

The historiographical approach was based on discussing if *reconquista* really happened or it was a myth, created with the help of falsely crafted preconceptions, prejudice, and chronological error.

*Reconquista* was considered a warfare with particular objectives, and political zeal. The historians are divided in two groups on declaring it a historical reality; liberalism and conservatism. The Muslim's invasion brought knowledge of science and arts which contributed towards the prosperity in the Iberian Peninsula. But it had a great threat for survival of Christians. When Muslim's period is compared with the idea of *Reconquista* it is concluded that Convivencia society was lost with the diminishing Muslim Andalusia. Revisionist liberals maintained that myth is associated with history making it a real historical occurrence. Myth contained an influential story in the society which had a great impact on the behavior of people and contributing role to modify its identity. For the Spanish nation, *Reconquista* was recognized as an essential myth. During the middleages of Spain, native Christians and intruding Muslims had a lot of conflicts and contradictions

according to the historical context which would be interpreted falsely if it is considered a mythology. Thus, Spanish history shows that reality was identified with this myth with the passage of time. The myth related to Muslim Spain was shaped as an exclusionary myth that provoked Muslims' expulsion from Spain and inclusively from society.<sup>17</sup> Thus it can be truly justified that Christianization of Iberian peninsula was a historical event, not a myth.

#### **1.4 Reconquista's Ideology:**

*Reconquista* is recognized as a victory of Christian over Muslims but it is debated if it had been driven by territorial political zeal of the heirs of visigothic throne or it was fueled by the crusading theological motivation. The Asturian chronicles portrayed a providentialist perspective of fighting a war in the name of Christ for sake of Virgin Mary to be won with miraculous divine intervention. It led some scholars to claim religious cause rather than the political gains behind the *reconquista*. Isidore explained *Reconquista's* ideology declaring it was a holy war which shows Christian military response to Islam. However, the recent writings to explore the complex relationship between Muslims and Christians in Iberian Peninsula viewed differently. Vicente Cantarino has expounded that in the beginning it was territorial war in the Northeast of Iberia at Asturias, Leon and Castile, which was later transformed into religious and it manifests the changing Christian attitude towards Islam in Europe.<sup>18</sup>

Before the invasion of Muslims, Visigoths Arian Christians ruled the land of Iberian Peninsula who believed in one God (Unitarian) that they were waiting for arrival of Messiah.<sup>19</sup>

The theory of the holy war was not emerged until the period of Alfonso VI (1040-1109)- the King of Leon and Castile, who patronized the agreement between Abbey of Cluny and the Spanish royalty. The treaty was formally announced in the Council of Burgos in 1080 before the recapturing Toledo in 1085. Interestingly the theological claims of the victory of cross were equally made by Cluny and the increasing papal involvement in the Iberian politics. *Reconquista* is thus associated with the medieval Crusading movement which was a series of warfare in order to defend the holy Christendom as well as to protect both of the Visigothic political and Catholic cultural, religious and ethnic identity. Crusades were declared a means of salvation

theologically. The crusading ideology has been intertwined with political regaining after the Almoravids ended the reign of Alfonso in 1109. The North African Muslims Almoravids, (1086), the Almohads (1146) and the Marinids (1275) who ruled Andalusia from eleventh to thirteenth centuries, halted the Christian reconquest for about three centuries. Hence, majority of historians validated the former opinion that *Reconquista* was initially led with a political zeal and afterwards got the crusading theological impetus where cultural and religious differences between Muslims and Christians were highlighted to ignite the religious fervour of the believers.

The *Reconquista* upsurge had unified all Christians and turned it into a holy cause followed by a set of colonized patterns in various areas of Iberian Peninsula. Christians dominated in the conquered land while Muslims lost their rule and became minority as the conquest continued after the fall of Marinids sultanate in Andalusia (1344)<sup>20</sup>. Moreover, feudalism had been a strong socio-economic stratum which became a legitimate form of agricultural medieval society.<sup>21</sup> Capturing land, agricultural revenue and economy had added in the variety of ideological factors that drove the Spanish reconquest. Muslim's cultivated lands were seized as well as all their markets were captured along with their towns and settlements.

The conquest of Granada which had finally rolled over the Muslims in Andalusia was achieved by inevitable union of Castile and Aragon leadership of Ferdinand and Isabella.

Christian rulers had adopted another policy where they had aimed to enlarge the size of their kingdoms. They motivated their soldiers and raised their social status to capture the Muslim-held lands and establish their control in Al-Andalus. Before the first *Crusade*, the idea of land expansion was prevailing among Christian rulers which had been reflected in the writings of their Muslim counterparts as well. The King of Granada, Abdullah mentioned in his commentary the desire of Christians to get back the land of Andalusia. Hence, *Reconquista* was not considered only a political territorial war, but it had a religious character and transformed into a holy war with significant crusading outburst.<sup>22</sup>

### **1.5 Factors behind the *Reconquista***

It has been aforementioned that various political as well as religious factors have led the *reconquista*. Here the ideological analysis of such causes is

glimpsed to encapsulate the the process of *Reconquista* in the Northern Christian kingdoms.

- **Reformation and Unification**

The main ideological factor behind the *Reconquista* seems to be the urge of roman catholic church to extend her bounds in Iberia. She sent the unification missions to Mozarabe<sup>23</sup> and attempted to Latinize the laity and clergy during 8-11<sup>th</sup> centuries. However, in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, Pope Gregory VII<sup>24</sup> started the movement of church unification with a different philosophy and tried more to assimilate the Iberian's Christian culturally, religiously and socially. All such endeavors were not always welcomed but were thought dubious as well by the Spanish Christians.<sup>25</sup>

A Marian cult<sup>26</sup> emerged in the frontier area during the process of *Reconquista*. Through this cult, Christianity revived with some saints in the land of the Iberian Peninsula in which new churches and monasteries were built and occupied. They considered Muslims as heretics, which became the cause of the Spanish inquisition and fall of Granada.<sup>27</sup>

These reforms and unification led to the process of *Reconquista* in Spain. It was affecting the economy and society of the Iberian Peninsula as well as Christian expansion increased towards the Southern region. At the conquest of Granada, Muslims were in significant numbers which could not easily acculturated with Christian rule over many generations. Both Ferdinand and Isabella struggled for proto nationalism in Spanish society which contained ethnic homogeneity.<sup>28</sup>

- **Iberian Colonization**

Iberian Colonization was another factor behind the process of *Reconquista* which aimed to increase the Christian power and population in the whole land. It was social and economic expansion towards the southern peninsula along with the colonized conquered region. Through the process of colonization, the drastic socio-economic transformation started which created a warfare situation in the land. This colonization was totally different from other medieval colonization that helped to develop Spanish national identity. It had direct link with *Reconquista* which affect the pattern of society. The purpose of colonization was not only to kill or expel Muslims from their land but to destroy and to get control the economy. The process of colonization was slow in the beginning but with the passage of time it gradually effected the whole peninsula's economy and geography. The invading Christians occupied the land and the property of native Arabs

and Mozarabes by offering them monetary incentive in the beginning and then forcibly took their lands. With the passage of time, the process of colonization proceeded with *Reconquista*.

### **Foreignness and Xenophobia**

History had contained many dark chapters which are interpreted quite differently by each faction. There are Spanish historians and political scientists who have denied the brutal treatment in the 15<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries in which a lot of forceful conversions, murders, systematic tortures, and large-scale expulsion of the Muslim community occurred. They maintained that those incidents occurred where security was threatened, which resulted in large scale expulsions and refused any other atrocities committed against Muslims. A Portuguese politician, *Ribeiro e Castro* had tried to justify historical *Reconquista* in a narrative way. As Muslims conquered the Iberian Peninsula in 711, on the other hand, Christians conquered the whole land of Al-Andalus in 1492. So, the Iberian history would be constructed by the event of *Reconquista*, which had contained a deep aspect of the political and cultural history of Iberia. He emphasized on term “foreignness” which is considered an essential element in the study of demographic, cultural and social aspects of identity. Muslims as Arab and Berber were considered as foreigner in this land who belonged to a different culture and language from the natives of Iberian. With the passage of time, these Muslims exchanged their cultural values with native people, built a unique society where Arabic language became dominant creating bilingual culture in Iberian society. To justify the *Reconquista*, *Ribeiro e Castro* used the notion of Xenophobic in diplomatic way.<sup>29</sup> According to him, Islam ruled in the land of Iberian Peninsula with its power, but created many problems due to ethnic conflicts which were noticeable in certain area of Iberian Peninsula where Xenophobia was influential factor behind *Reconquista*.

### **1.6 Aftermath of the *Reconquista***

After *Reconquista*, Muslims were expelled from Iberian cities on a large scale, and Christians were settled there to increase their population in the land. The massive massacre of Muslims and their forceful conversion brought a drastic change in the population of Christian and Muslims. Almost 300,000 people were expelled from Iberian land<sup>30</sup> Moreover, geographical structure was also affected

by military striking in the cities which was consistent during *Reconquista*.<sup>31</sup>

A surrender Pact was made between people of Granada and Castile king. The agreement consisted of 18 strong and strict clauses. The main clauses of this agreement were that the people of Granada could live in their native place with peace and protection had been provided to them by the authorities. They were free to do their religious practices. But after *Reconquista*, Christians violated the agreement.<sup>32</sup>

When Granada was captured by Christians, a new capitulation was founded which was comprised of 67 articles. The main section of this capitulation was that life and property security should be provided and residents of Granada could live there. They could practice their law as they did before Christian conquest. Their religious places remain existed as they existed before. It was prohibited for Christians to go to Muslims' homes and mosques. Those Christians who had Christian forefathers should not be forced to give up their religion.<sup>33</sup>

After accomplished Granada's *Reconquista*, those people who converted from Christianity to Islam had no problem in the city but when Castile ruler reached there. They did not tolerate any thing with converse and established frontier Christendom. Later after the fall of Granada, a Catholic ruler *Hurtado de Mendoza* was appointed as governor of the Granada Kingdom, and *Ferando de Talevera* was appointed as bishop. Governor had established friendly relations with Muslims, and Arabic was used by the bishop during his preaching. Christians were brought there to resettle in this land, which would create some problems for Muslims and their relations became worse day by day. *King Ferdinand* intervened and the situation worsened day after day. Many noble families migrated to other Muslim countries because they had a lack of trust in Catholic rulers. In 1499, the great mosques of Granada as well as other mosques were converted into cathedrals, and their priests forced Muslims to convert into Christianity.<sup>34</sup> After *Reconquista*, Christian established an exclusively theocratic state where non-Christians were not allowed to live in their territory. If they wanted to reside there, they must be converted to Christianity.

In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Muslim religious identities were considered as heretical, and inquisition had been started which announced a war

against Granada. At the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the Christian government violated their agreement and failed to give protection to Muslims. They forced Muslims to be converted in Christianity especially those Muslims whose natives were Christian. Many forceful baptisms occurred at that time. Moreover, they captured Muslims and forcefully baptized them. If someone denied doing, they would be either arrested or killed.<sup>35</sup>

Spanish Christian attitudes had been changed towards Muslims which led to prejudice and adopted intolerant behaviors against Muslims. The ideology of the Inquisition had been based on nationalism<sup>36</sup> and considered as a historical phenomenon which was done under an authoritarian state to demolish minorities' faith by orthodox Christian. Spanish Inquisition violated humans' rights on a large scale and reached the peak of violence and brutality which created fear in the atmosphere of Spain. In 1499, the process of the Inquisition started which was led by Cardinal Cisneros, the main purpose was to expand the Christian charge into Islamic territory with full power.<sup>37</sup>

At the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the relationship between Christian and Muslims became hostile and untrustworthy. In the first phase of the century, the Christian ruling class and lawyers were brought there to set a new administrative structure. A new document was imposed who had ordered to eliminate Muslims from this land as soon as possible, but there was an exception for ex-Muslims. There was the second conquest of Granada in 1500, after finishing the rebellion in the city.<sup>38</sup>

In 1501, Christian rulers gave the order to burn all Arabic books; and thousands of books were turned into ashes in the towns and cities of Al-Andalus. Moreover, the use of the Arabic language was banned. At that time, the inquisition had been started by the Catholic Church through which they removed the traces of Islam from the Iberian Peninsula. Muslims were burnt alive with their families where cruelty had been exceeded from its limit and forced people to accept the Christian faith. Granada's defeated Muslims had no power to fight the Christians and they tried to sought help from other Muslim lands. Some of them accepted the Christian faith and were known as Moriscos. During this tragic situation, they struggled to maintain Islamic faith and cultural values, but Catholic Christians ordered that Islamic dresses were prohibited, and they had to pay tax. Those who violated these laws were burnt

alive or expelled or imprisoned.<sup>39</sup> Moreover, they were forced to change their cultural values and language.

Political causes were equally working behind the religious persecution, which wished to extinct Muslims in that land. In 1569, third conquest of Granada occurred which brought many destructions in society.<sup>40</sup> During the construction of Granada's new Cathedral, in March 1588, Archbishop *Juan Mendez de Salvierra* gave instruction to destroy the minaret of mosques.<sup>41</sup> At the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the Spanish state and Catholic Church had tried to destroy Moorish Muslims completely or to finally expel them from Spain. In 1609, the Spanish king ordered Muslims to leave the country within three days; otherwise, they would be imprisoned or killed. Between 1609 and 1614, approximately 330,000 Muslims were expelled from Spain. That was the biggest Muslim expulsion in the history of Spain.

Later, the condition of Granada city got devastatingly violent day by day. Granada's governor introduced new law and made a new police force through which Muslims were restricted to raise their children as Muslim and Christian children would be raised under the teaching of church. The revolt was out broken in many localities, beginning in the Vega of Granada against the Castile monarch. Muslims sent their secret delegations to Morocco and Algeria for seeking military support and money. The Muslims from Granada, Malanga and Almeria supported the revolt under the leadership of Muhammad ibn Umayyah and about 45,000 people joined the war in 1569. However, it was a failed attempt and consequences led to more and more hostility between Muslims and Christians. In response of Granada's revolt, almost 7,000 Moriscos were expelled from the city. On the other hand, Christian rulers settled 50,000 Christians in Granada and set up a new society with Christians.<sup>42</sup>

In that troubled times, some Maliki *ulamā* issued a fatwa that Muslims were not allowed to live in the war territory. Trade is permissible, but if it affects their religious identity, they must leave the land.

### **Conclusion**

This paper has discussed the causes, ideology and aftermath of the *Reconquista* on the Muslim community in the Iberian Peninsula. *Reconquista's* debate had been started in the 20<sup>th</sup> century by various historians, intellectuals, and scholars, where they evaluated

*Reconquista*'s ideology. Some scholars argued whether it was a myth or a historical reality. Historians also depicted the picture of Spanish Muslims that was considered as a great treat as well as a heretic for Christian rulers who tried to extinct the Muslim nation from Iberian land. They struggled to get back their land from Muslim rulers who had once conquered it. The goal of the Crusade and *Reconquista* were quite similar to each other which focused on unifying all Christian against Muslim nation and getting back their land from foreign invaders. There were factors behind the process of *Reconquista* like xenophobia, the unification of churches under Roman papacy, Iberian colonization etc.

A peace treaty was made between Christian ruler and the people of Granada that they lived with their religious belief, but when *Reconquista* occurred, another Christians governor was appointed there, who violated the peace agreement. At last, religious persecution started through forceful conversion, expulsion, imprisonment and inquisition. Consequently, Muslims started to migrate from Granada to North Africa and other safe Muslim states. Muslim religious places were converted into churches, and some mosques were destroyed. Christian Muslim relation became worsened at the dawn of the modern period.

Such forceful acts had changed the population pattern and ratio of the Iberian inhabitants and affected the economy of Spain as well as its geographical structure. Moreover, during the inquisition Muslims were considered as infidels and heretic, negatively affected Christian Muslim Relations in history afterwards. After the fall of Granada, the age of exploration started resulting in the discovery of the new world-Americas by Columbus and the history has turned another shift beginning the Spanish Renaissance period.

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<sup>2</sup> Pelagius was the Visigothic chieftain who found the Asturian kingdom after the success in the battle of Covadonga. Asturian kingdom remained there till 924 CE when it finally transitioned to the kingdom of Leon.

<sup>3</sup> The battle is remarkable to begin the reconquista. It was fought between Ummayyads and Pelagius the Visigoth in 718/722CE, resulted in the Christian victory and establishment of the Asturian Kingdom.

<sup>4</sup> **Alfonso El Magno**, (c. 838-910), who was king of Leon, Asturias from 866 to 910. The codex is considered one of the primary sources of medieval Spanish history. The manuscript has been rediscovered in

<sup>5</sup> The Prophetic Chronicle was a written account of Muslim (Saracens) arrival in Spain by an anonymous Christian author in the ninth century CE (c.883 CE). It is based on the prophecy of Ezekiel foretelling the fall of Saracens.

<sup>6</sup> A collection of various genealogical, geographical and historical texts produced in the late ninth century (976 CE) presumably by a monk with the Oviedan royal court, associated with the Riojan region, León and Toledo.. It includes the lists of Visigothic kings as well as Muslim rulers (*umarā*) of that time.

<sup>7</sup> The sources were historically expounded by John Wreglesworth in his thesis submitted to the University of Leeds See: John Wreglesworth, “The Chronicles of Alfonso III and its Significance for the Historiography of the Asturian Kingdom 718-910AD: A Critical Study of the Content, Purpose and Theme of a Late 9<sup>th</sup>-Century Historical Text”, PhD diss., (University of Leeds, 1995).

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<sup>8</sup> Francisco Franco was leader of nationalist force who ruled over Spain as dictator after the Spanish Civil war in 1939 to his death (1975).

<sup>9</sup> Alejandro Garcia-Sanjuan, “Rejecting Al-Andalus , Exalting the Reconquista : historical memory in contemporary Spain”, Journal of Medieval Iberian studies (2016 ): <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/17546559.2016.1268263?journalCode=rib> s20 (Accessed on April, 22, 2019)

<sup>10</sup> *ibid*

<sup>11</sup> *Convivencia* is a Spanish terminology introduced by a Spanish philologist Americo Castro, to describe the idealized view of interfaith harmony and religious tolerance in Muslim Andalusia where cultural interplay among Muslim, Christian and Jewish communities had invoked the concept. The period had begun in 711CE with the Umayyad conquest of Hispania until the expulsion of Jews from Cordova in 1492 by victorious Catholics.

<sup>12</sup> Roberto Marin- Guzamn, “Crusade in Al-Andalus: The Eleventh Century Formation of the Reconquista as an Ideology”: 287.

<sup>13</sup> Joseph F. O' Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*, 18.

<sup>14</sup> Marin-Guzamn, “Crusade in Al-Andalus”, 287.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid* : 436, 437.

<sup>16</sup> Abdul Rehman ibn Khaldun, *Tārīkh ibn Khāldun: AmīrēAndulusaurKhūlfā' ē Miaṣr.*, trans. Ahmed Husain ala Abadi, (Karachi: NafesseAcademy, May 1983)5.:438.

<sup>17</sup> Jesús Torrecilla, “Spanish Identity: Nation, Myth and History”, Los Angeles, *Studies in 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century literature*, 33.2, (2009): 210- 212. <https://newprairiepress.org/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=https://www.google.com/&httpsr edir=1&article=1699&context=sttcl> (accessed on April,20 2019)

<sup>18</sup> Xenia Bonch-Bruevich, “Ideologies of the Spanish Reconquest and Isidore’s Political thought”,

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<sup>19</sup> Ariadne de Villa, “On Language, Culture and Diversity in Spain”, *Sino-US English Teaching*, 15.1 (2018): 32. [https://www.academia.edu/36373627/2018.1\\_Sino-US\\_English\\_Teaching.pdf](https://www.academia.edu/36373627/2018.1_Sino-US_English_Teaching.pdf) (Accessed on Dec,23 2018 )

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- <sup>21</sup> Roberto Marin- Guzamn, “Crusade in Al-Andalus: The Eleventh Century Formation of the Reconquista as an Ideology “, *Islamic Studies Journal*, 31.3, (1992): 303.
- <sup>22</sup>Joseph F. O' Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*, 9.
- <sup>23</sup> Arabic speaking Spanish Christians during 8-11<sup>th</sup> centuries
- <sup>24</sup>Pope Gregory VII (1073-1080 ) was also a member of Cluny order.
- <sup>25</sup>Marin-Guzamn, “Crusade in Al-Andalus”, 292
- <sup>26</sup>Marian Cult was a Roman Catholic tradition. It was developed from veneration of the blessed Virgin Mary by catholic church’s members. They believe that God’s incarnation in Son through Mary is basis for calling her the Mother of God, which was declared a dogma at the Council of Ephesus in 431. She was declared Mother of the church in 2<sup>nd</sup> Vatican Council.
- <sup>27</sup> Marin- Guzamn, “Crusade in Al-Andalus”: 290 – 296.
- <sup>28</sup>Mark T. Abate, *Convivencia: Conquest and Co-existence In medieval Spain*” from *Handbook of Medieval Culture: Fundamental Aspect and Conditions of the European Middle Ages*, ed. Albrecht Classen, (Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter GmbH, 2015)1.; 271, 272.
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- <sup>38</sup> Harvey, *Muslim in Spain*: 45, 206 , 221.
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