

This process might be described by the term "Self-fulfilling Prophecy," now much in vogue among psychologists and sociologists. Starting with W. I. Thomas's theorem: "If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences," Robert K. Merton described it as ". . . a false definition of a situation, evoking a new behavior, which makes the originally false conception come true."²⁸ Ethnic and racial prejudices produce the very "facts" which can be observed. The New Christians of Portugal, an ethnic out-group, were automatically suspected of heretical religious tendencies, which then indeed resolved themselves, in some cases, into emigration followed by a return to the faith of their remote ancestors. (News of Portuguese New Christians observing Judaism in foreign parts was transmitted to the Inquisition in Lisbon and helped to justify, to the officials themselves, the persecution of New Christians at home as potential heretics.)

Among a few Portuguese intellectuals, new religious positions were created, differing as widely among themselves as those of the French-born Isaac La Peyrère, the founder of modern biblical criticism²⁹; of Uriel da Costa, the founder of modern deism³⁰; of Menasseh ben Israel, the propagator of modern rabbinical Judaism³¹; of Spinoza, born in Amsterdam, but a product of heterodox and heretic New Christian influences originating in the Peninsula, who proposed the most radically anti-Judeo-Christian views that the modern world has ever seen.³²

Thus, as a result of Inquisitional persecution, a part of the Portuguese intelligentsia was radically alienated from Catholic dogma and lost belief in the salvific function and mission of Jesus Christ, both as Messiah in the Jewish sense and as Redeemer in the Christian sense.³³ "Thanks" to their Inquisition, the Portuguese made major contributions both to modern orthodox Judaism³⁴ and to the European rationalistic revolution of the 17th century.

BASIC ELEMENTS OF ISLAMIC PORTUGAL: A SURVEY

by Geoffrey Luiz Gomes

Conquered shortly after the initial Moorish invasion of the Iberian Peninsula in 711, Portugal formed at the time the western extremity of Visigothic Spain.¹ Less than five centuries later, Portugal would be one of several Christian kingdoms gradually extending their boundaries southward until the last remnant of al-Andalus² finally capitulated in 1492. Thus ended nearly eight centuries of almost continual Muslim-Christian conflict. For Portugal, however, the Reconquest was a less protracted affair than for the other Christian kingdoms of the Peninsula. Portuguese independence is traditionally set at 1139 or 1140, when Afonso Henriques first assumed the title "King of Portugal."³ A status approximating independence can be seen as early as 1094 or 1095, when the "County of Portugal," consisting of the territory between the Minho and Tejo Rivers, was governed by Henrique de Borgonha (Henry of Burgundy) as a vassalage of Afonso VI of León. It was then that Portugal was severed from Galicia and emerged, for the first time, as a separate political entity.⁴ By contrast, the kingdoms of León and Navarre could trace their independence to the 8th century and Castile to the 10th century.⁵ Hence,

the reconquest, a preoccupation to Spain of close on eight centuries, was to Portugal a matter of a century and a half. Its conclusion endowed the young kingdom with full nationhood and unity, and allowed it thereby to set itself to the defining

and working out of a national purpose and destiny, more than two hundred years before Spain⁶ (in 1250).

The Moorish conquest of Portugal was effected circa 714 by the Arab commander Abd-al-Aziz.⁷ But Galicia was never effectively occupied, and by the end of the 8th century the Moors had withdrawn to the south bank of the Douro River in northern Portugal.⁸ This withdrawal had less to do with Christian resistance in Galicia than with the Moorish preference for the milder southern climate.⁹ Even more significant, however, is the fact that the original occupation of the area was undertaken by Berbers. Besides being relatively few in numbers to begin with, they were drawn away from the region by Berber revolts against Arab hegemony.¹⁰

The bases of Berber discontent with the Arab elite during the first three centuries of Muslim rule in Iberia are easily discernible. First of all, "the invaders. . . belonged to two Hamitic groups of very vague ethnic affinity, very different in culture, and as yet little intermingled, their contact being very recent."¹¹ Simply stated, the Arabs regarded the North African Berbers as their inferiors. The cultural level of the Berber was deemed of a low order by the more sophisticated Arab, who had conquered North Africa and converted the Berbers to Islam as recently as the late 7th century.¹² Another historian attributes Arab-Berber rivalry during this period to the unfulfilled expectations that conversion to Islam had produced among the Berbers:

Conversions to Islam among the Berbers were so extensive as to compromise the relationship between conquerors and vanquished. . . . Arabs looked down upon the Berbers, who upon becoming Muslims anticipated equality with the proud Arab. When the expected treatment was not forthcoming, rebellion burst out everywhere.¹³

More specifically:

The rivalry and hatred between Arab and Berber were great. The Berbers considered themselves, not without reason, the real conquerors of Spain; . . . the Arabs had arrived when all was over; yet they had taken the best part of the spoils, the most important posts, and the most fertile land. They divided fair Andalusia among themselves and dismissed the Berber . . . to the wastes of La Mancha and Extremadura, the wild mountains of León, Asturias, and Galicia, entrusting them with the thankless task of defending the frontier against the Christians.¹⁴

Berber grievances were ultimately redressed when the Almoravids,¹⁵ after conquering the Maghreb, reinvaded the Iberian Peninsula in 1086 and overthrew what remained of the Arab elite, by now dispersed among several weak, disunited kingdoms (taifas) in the southern half of the Peninsula.¹⁶ The Almoravids would in turn be overthrown by the Almohads¹⁷ in the middle of the 12th century, again via the Maghreb. The destruction of Almohad military power after 1212 opened the way for the reconquest of the Algarve and the territorial consolidation of Portugal.¹⁸

There is an interesting sidelight to the history of the Portuguese Algarve during this tumultuous period. In 1143-1144 the Muslims of Iberian descent of the Algarve revolted against the Almoravid amir. They were led by one Ibn Qasi, who claimed to be the Mahdi, the expected messiah of Muslim tradition. Being defeated, Ibn Qasi fled to North Africa and there obtained the aid of the Almohad leader, Abd-al-Mu'min. The latter invaded the Algarve in 1146 and installed the would-be Mahdi as governor. The Almohads then went on to overthrow the disintegrating Almoravid state. A decade later, Ibn Qasi

would meet an ignominious death at the hands of a rebellious mob.¹⁹

Of the social patterns that developed in Islamic Portugal and throughout al-Andalus, it can be said that

the social elements of which the state was composed were quite heterogeneous, and it was never possible to fuse them, as the incessant struggles among them indicate. These populations were Muslim on the one hand and non-Muslim on the other. To the former belonged the Arabs, the peninsular converts, and the Berbers; to the latter the Mozarabs and the Jews.²⁰

In this heterogeneity were the seeds of social disintegration and political anarchy. Such irreconcilable diversity subjected the Muslim state to centrifugal forces that would have been serious enough even if the external pressure of the Reconquest had not been present. The resultant discord and civil strife could only benefit the Christian reconquerors, who took every advantage of such intramural conflicts to strengthen their military and political positions on the Peninsula vis-à-vis the Muslims:

The diverse Muslim races that had come successively to colonize Spain remained separated, each in their own districts, and the envy among them was the principal cause of these civil wars. The whole Peninsula was divided into various factions And in the meantime the Christian monarchy . . . , taking advantage of these revolts, won over new forces.

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Indeed, as the civil wars multiplied, threatening to destroy the unity of the Muslim empire in Spain, the Christian monarchy . . . expanded and acquired forces, to the point where it could fight advantageously²¹

Certainly the Christian kingdoms of the Peninsula, including Portugal, were susceptible to the internecine conflicts as well.²² Fortunately for the factious Christians, the Muslims were even more disunited, and the Reconquest progressed steadily, albeit with occasional setbacks.

As previously noted, the Muslim community was divided into three basic groups: Arabs, Berbers, and peninsular converts. It should be understood that within each of these groups were various subgroups--a condition that further exacerbated the internal conflicts within the Muslim community. Among the Arabs, for example, were counted Egyptians, Syrians, and Yemenites. At this point, however, it would be well to mention the peninsular converts or *renegados*. Most of the original indigenous converts to Islam came from among the slaves and serfs of the vanquished Visigoths, who saw in conversion a means of bettering their lot, the conditions of servitude being less harsh under Muslim rule. It was even possible, under certain conditions, for a slave or serf to obtain his freedom in this manner. Not all the Iberians who became Muslims were slaves or serfs, however, for there were other tangible benefits to be derived from conversion: exemption from tributary taxes, social advancement, and superior legal and political rights.²³ The Arabs and Berbers distinguished between actual converts (*maulas*), their descendants (*muwallads*), and those of partial Iberian parentage who professed the religion of their Muslim parent (*muladíes*).²⁴ Furthermore, these neo-Muslims seldom attained complete social and political equality with the Arabs and Berbers and were, as a result, the source of frequent civil disturbances.²⁵ Nonetheless, some did rise to positions of prominence.²⁶

The Muslims forced conversion upon no one. "The natives of the country could freely choose, according to their own conveniences or inclinations, between adopting Islam or keeping their former religion, be it Christian or Jewish."²⁷ Non-Muslims who submitted to Muslim

rule were accorded dhimmi status, that is, "paying taxes or tribute to the Muslims but enjoying internal autonomy."²⁸ They had to pay a special tributary tax, graduated according to wealth, the prosperous paying more. "From this tax only conversion to Islam could free them; but women, cripples, beggars, and slaves were exempt."²⁹ It is easy to see, therefore, why the Muslims did not actively proselytize: "Their interest was to preserve the religion of the conquered and with it their own revenue derived from taxation."³⁰ For the most part, the Christians were "left in enjoyment of their property provided that they paid their taxes."³¹ As was their custom, the conquering Muslim armies had accorded favorable treatment to those communities that offered no resistance. If there was resistance, once it was quashed the lands of the recalcitrant were confiscated and divided among the Muslim soldiers, one-fifth being set aside for the state.³² Later, some of the state lands were distributed among Muslims newly arrived to the Peninsula. The Egyptians, for example, were settled in the central Algarve around Beja,³³ while those who populated Silves in the southern Algarve were Yemenites.³⁴

The Christians living under Muslim rule, while remaining faithful to their religion, were nevertheless greatly influenced by their conquerors. In time, many "began to learn Arabic. In addition they copied Arab manners and customs, though they did not embrace Islam."³⁵ These Arabized Christians, or Mozarabs,

formed a little world of their own in the Moslem cities, with their churches and cloisters of monks and nuns, their own civil authorities . . . , their judges, their laws . . . , and their language; but none of this kept the Moslems from dealing with them in the affairs of daily life, nor did it prevent the reciprocal influence of each race on the other.³⁶

In short, the Mozarabs took an active part in the cultural,

economic, and political life of al-Andalus and provided a valuable link between the Muslims and Christian Europe.³⁷

Unfortunately, the condition of Christians living under Muslim domination was not always idyllic. Not all Christians adapted to Muslim rule as readily as the Mozarabs:

A section of fanatic Christians known as Zealots abused the Arabised Christians and ridiculed them as turncoats. The hatred of the Zealots for such Arabised Christians grew in strength and they kept on fanning the flames of discontent. They derived so many undue advantages from the existing freedom of expression that they entered the mosques at prayer times and repeated their maledictions against Islam. Owing to the misconduct of their fanatic coreligionists the Mozárabs were also suspected of treachery. In order to avoid suspicion, a large number of Mozárabs embraced Islam of their own accord.³⁸

Deliberately seeking martyrdom, many fanatical Christians were executed, further jeopardizing the position of the Mozarabs.³⁹

As a general rule, it can be said that "as the Christians advanced in their conquests, the life of Mozarabs in Muslim territory became more difficult."⁴⁰ Intolerance combined with fear of fifth-column activity. Periodic Mozarab uprisings sparked by the harsh treatment directed at them only served to vindicate Muslim suspicions. The destruction of Christian churches and the expulsion of Mozarabs became commonplace.⁴¹

The Arabs had brought to al-Andalus "a spirit of toleration and culture which the African Islamite could not approve. His fanaticism protested against moderation

and against philosophy."⁴² It is noteworthy that religious intolerance and persecution were especially rife after the ascendancy of the Berbers. The religious revivalism that characterized the Almoravid and Almohad movements left little room for the Muslim principle of tolerance for subject peoples.

The second major non-Muslim group were the Jews. Under the Christian Visigoths they had been "cruelly persecuted by the government and by the mob; and . . . hoped that their lot would be improved under the rule of a kindred race and under a religion which was tolerant in principle."⁴³ The Jews welcomed the Moorish invasion and aided it considerably.⁴⁴ As *dhimmis*, with the same rights and obligations as the Mozarabs, they too played a vital role in the cultural, economic, and political life of al-Andalus. And like the Mozarabs, the Jews would later chafe under the rule of the intolerant Almoravids and Almohads, who attempted to force their conversion to Islam on penalty of expulsion.⁴⁵

Both Muslim and Christian rulers found it to their advantage to accord at least grudging toleration to the Jews. Jewish capital and commercial expertise made them indispensable to the young Portuguese state.⁴⁶ Concentrated in ghettos (*judiarias*), Jewish communities were granted basically the same internal autonomy they had enjoyed under Muslim rule, upon payment of tribute to the Portuguese crown. At the same time, however, "under Christian authority their condition became more precarious,"⁴⁷ for anti-Semitism was intense among Christians at this time, and all Jews refusing baptism were expelled from Portugal in 1496.⁴⁸

As the Reconquest progressed, it was inevitable that Muslims should come under Christian rule as Christians earlier had fallen subject to the Muslims. Muslim prisoners of war were usually enslaved, as was the custom.⁴⁹ More numerous were the Muslim serfs of the countryside and Muslim city dwellers concentrated in Moorish ghettos

(*mourarias*). *Mudéjares*, that is, Muslims living in the Christian zone, were frequently granted a degree of internal autonomy and religious freedom similar to that permitted *dhimmis* under Muslim rule. Such guarantees were effected by means of royal charters (*cartas de foral*.) For example, the Muslims of Lisbon were granted such a charter after the city was reconquered in 1147.⁵⁰ There was a major difference, however: "Muslim protection . . . emanated directly from the religious law of the invaders. Christian protection . . . depended exclusively on the will of the sovereign."⁵¹ The *Mudéjares* owed their status to payment of tribute, to the conditions of surrender, and to mutual necessity. The alternative to coexistence was expulsion of the Muslims from reconquered territory--an impracticality. In many cases, this would have resulted in the depopulation of whole regions. Christians from the north and Mozarab refugees were too few to replace the Muslim population:

To think that the new conquests could be repopulated exclusively with Christians . . . was, of course, impossible. To dream that the vanquished Muslims would become Christians en masse to merge with the reconquerors crossed no one's mind. It was necessary, then, to come to terms with the natives of different religion and to offer them royal protection to preserve their usages, customs, language, religion, hierarchies, organization, and independence of life in the captured territories or cities . . .

Plainly, the victorious troops did nothing more than adapt to the necessities of the moment the Koranic doctrine of protection.⁵²

As with the Jews, however, the *Mudéjares* would later be given the choice of conversion to Christianity or expulsion.⁵³

That Christians and Muslims fought each other for

centuries is but a truism. Yet they also frequently lived side by side in harmony, influencing one another in innumerable ways: "The character of the Christian peoples of the Peninsula was forged . . . not so much in opposition to the Arabs as in constant and subtle interaction with them."⁵⁴ Should a comparison be made of the Reconquest and the present era, we might perhaps conclude that

if one takes into account the many centuries of coexistence with the Islamic world, one will recognize that there was a tolerance that not even in contemporary times has been enjoyed by men of distinct race and religion in countries presumed enlightened.⁵⁵

PORTUGUESE PLAIN ARCHITECTURE:
BETWEEN SPICES AND DIAMONDS, 1521-1706

by George Kubler

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reviewed by Hellmut Wohl

"In Portugal," George Kubler writes near the beginning of this book, "many architectural marvels are among the scheduled attractions, but they are opulent works in lacy stone or gilded wood, being Manueline or Joannine, medieval or Rococo . . . Yet on that same narrow track there are uncharted elements of an entirely different architectural geography, where clarity, order, proportion, and simplicity mark the contours of another aesthetic. It often is lost to view between the ostentatious ornament of the reigns swollen with the wealth of either India or Brazil, and it needs to be studied for its own striking merits."

The architectural aesthetic which is the subject of this book sets in with the accession of John III (1521) and the sharp decline in profits from the Indian spice trade, continues through the years of Spanish rule (1580-1640) and of the Restoration, and comes to a close with the accession of John V (1706) and the beginning of the wealth reaped from the Brazilian diamond trade. In dealing with this period Mr. Kubler has written "less a conventional or rectilinear history of architecture than a collection of studies seeking to determine the nature of Portuguese building during an age when resources were scarce." He has thus sought to trace "the shifting pattern of taste,

Adventists; Mormons; etc. The recent conversion to Judaism of an entire village in Southern Italy demonstrates that Old Testament readings may lead fundamentalists to a form of Judaism without the benefit of Jewish ancestry.

25. Révah, "Les Marranes," REJ, CXVIII, p. 55.
26. This interpretation is based on my study in *Studia Rosenthaliana* (cit. *supra*, note 22); on Edward Glaser's conclusions (art. cit. *supra*, note 16); and on some excellent suggestions by Professor and Mrs. Martin A. Cohen.
27. A factor such as the wave of philo-semitic messianism which swept all Western Europe during the 17th century and affected Portugal in a special way must also be taken into account. Cf. A. J. Saraiva, "António Vieira, Menasseh ben Israel et le Cinquième Empire," *Studia Rosenthaliana*, VI, 1, January, 1972, pp. 25-56. The Jewish "providential" propaganda (God was using the Portuguese Inquisition to punish the New Christians for not having observed Judaism), spread by rabbis among the Portuguese emigrés, found its way back to Portugal. Cf. my study in *Studia Rosenthaliana*, V, 2, pp. 185-186. However, Professor Révah's estimate of "tens of thousands of New Christians who left Portugal to return to Judaism" (*Diário de Lisboa*, May 6, 1971) is greatly exaggerated. Most expatriates in Antwerp, for instance, never "returned" to Judaism. It is unlikely that the total number of Portuguese who adopted Judaism in such centers as Leghorn, Amsterdam, London and Hamburg, from the end of the 16th to the end of the 18th centuries, exceeded 6,000 individuals. Professor Saraiva has shown that this was not always done out of zeal. Refusal to join the Synagogue often meant ostracism and isolation in a strange environment. Moreover, Catholicism was prohibited in Amsterdam, and it is doubtful whether the municipality would have tolerated the Portuguese immigrants as Protestants, because of the economic threat to the monopoly of the Guilds, from which, as Jews, they were permanently excluded.
28. Cf. *The Antioch Review*, VIII, 1948, pp. 193-210. The idea had already been aptly formulated by Pierre-Paul Royer-Collard (1763-1845); "Ne persécutez jamais un honnête homme pour une opinion qu'il n'a pas: vous la lui donneriez."
29. He believed in the conversion of all Jews to a modified form of Catholicism and their subsequent return to Zion. Cf. Myriam Yardeni, "La Religion de La Peyrère et 'Le Rappel des Juifs'," *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses*, LI, 1971, pp. 245-259. Professor Saraiva's doubt about La Peyrère's Portuguese origin (*Studia Rosenthaliana*, VI, 1, p. 39, note 35) is unfounded.
30. Cf. I. S. Révah, "La Religion d'Uriel da Costa, Marrane de Porto," *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, CLXI, 1, 1962, pp. 45-76.

31. Cf. A. J. Saraiva's study in *Studia Rosenthaliana* (*supra*, note 27); Cecil Roth, *A Life of Menasseh Ben Israel*, 1934.
32. Cf. I. S. Révah, "Aux origines de la rupture Spinozienne," *Revue des Etudes Juives*, CXXIII, 3-4 (1964), pp. 359-431.
33. The Portuguese Inquisition narrowed the divergence between Christianity and Judaism down to one point: the Jews' refusal to recognize Jesus as their Messiah. Trinitarianism, Mariology and Ecclesiology were not deemed worthy of attention. Cf. Edward Glaser, (art. cit., *supra*, note 16), pp. 328-329.
34. Cf. Richard H. Popkin, "The Historical Significance of Sephardic Judaism in 17th century Amsterdam," *The American Sephardi*, V, 1-2, 1971, pp. 18-27.

Basic Elements of Islamic Portugal: A Survey

1. The Visigoths were a Germanic tribe that subjugated most of the Iberian Peninsula in the fifth century. Here and elsewhere, "Spain" is synonymous with Iberia. It is only after the Reconquest that Spain refers exclusively to non-Portuguese Iberia.
2. Arabic for "land of the Vandals." The Vandals were a Germanic tribe that occupied Iberia early in the fifth century. They migrated en masse to North Africa in 429, leaving Iberia to the Suevi or Swabians (also Germanic), who were in turn overwhelmed by the Visigoths.
3. A. Herculano, *Historia de Portugal*, Vol. I (Lisbon: Casa da Viuva Bertrand e Filhos, 1863), pp. 512-515.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 191-196.
5. J. P. de Oliveira Martins, *A History of Iberian Civilization* (London: Oxford University Press, 1930), pp. 122-129.
6. William C. Atkinson, *A History of Spain and Portugal* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1965), p. 73.
7. José Terrero, *Historia de España* (Barcelona: Editorial Ramón Sopena, S. A., 1958), p. 96.
8. Dan Stanislawski, *The Individuality of Portugal: A Study in Historical-Political Geography* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1959), pp. 139-140.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 140.

10. H. V. Livermore, *A New History of Portugal* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1967), pp. 33-36.
11. Isidro de las Cagigas, *Los Mozárabes*, Vol. I (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1947), p. 52: "Los invasores, los que acababan de adueñarse del país gracias a un audaz golpe de mano, a una política sagaz y a una indudable supremacía militar, pertenecían a dos grupos hamíticos de muy vagas afinidades étnicas, muy diferentes en cultura y poco compenetrados aún, por ser muy reciente su contacto: el beréber y el árabe. Los primeros llegaron, casi en su totalidad, acaudillados por Tariq b. Ziyad. Los segundos, vinieron algo después, mandados por el amir Musa b. Nusayr. Entraron, por tanto, en etapas diferentes. Su disasociación quedó así perfectamente marcada desde el mismo momento de su llegada al país invadido."
12. Sydney Nettleton Fisher, *The Middle East: A History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968), pp. 71-72.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 73.
14. Oliveira Martins, *op. cit.*, p. 95.
15. A religious-military brotherhood originating in the Senegal in the middle of the eleventh century.
16. Terrero, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-101: "Abolido el Califato (1031), el Estado musulmán se fracciona en otros pequeños y numerosos, llamados reinos de taifas, de tribus or banderías. Estos reinos fueron un notable contraste: políticamente son débiles, pero su adelanto intelectual y material es maravilloso. Llegaron a ser veintitrés; en unos dominaron jefes eslavos, en otros berberiscos y en otros aristócratas árabes. Vivieron en constante rivalidad, por el deseo del predominio. . . Las contiguas guerras entre estos reinos fueron aprovechadas por los cristianos, que hicieron avanzar grandemente la Reconquista."
17. A Muslim reform movement originating in Morocco in the 12th century.
18. Rafael Altamira y Crevea, *Historia de España y de la Civilización Española*, Vol. I (Barcelona: Herederos de Juan Gili, 1913), pp. 359-362.
19. Livermore, *op. cit.*, pp. 56, 63.
20. David Lopes, "O Domínio Árabe," Damião Peres (ed.), *História de Portugal*, Vol. I (Barcelos: Portucalense Editora, Lda., 1928), p. 407: "Os elementos sociais que compunham o Estado eram bastante heterogêneos e nunca foi possível fundi-los, como o mostram

as incessantes lutas que sustentaram entre si. Estas populações eram muçulmanas umas e não muçulmanas outras. As primeiras pertenciam os Árabes, os Conversos peninsulares e os Berberes; as segundas os Moçárabes e os Judeus."

21. Herculano, *op. cit.*, pp. 61, 88: "As diversas raças de mussulmanos que tinham vindo successivamente colonisar a Hespanha estanceavam separadas, cada uma em seus districtos, e a emulação entre ellas era a causa principal destas guerras civis. Toda a Peninsula estava dividida nas varias facções de arabes do Yemen, de modharitas, de egypcios, de assyrios, de berbers. E entre tanto a monarchia christan . . . , aproveitando estas revoltas, ganhava novas forças.

 De feito, as passo que as guerras civis se multiplicavam ameaçando destruir a unidade do imperio mussulmano de Hespanha a monarchia christan . . . dilatava-se e adquiria forças, a ponto de lutar vantajosamente."
22. Altamira y Crevea, *op. cit.*, pp. 252-261.
23. Cagigas, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-56: "Las ventajas a los que abjurasen de su credo eran bastante tentadoras: el converso no estaba sujeto a tributación especial.

 Los islamizados fueron adoptando con gran rapidez las costumbres, lengua y traje oriental para así distinguirse mejor de los hispanos no convertidos, a los que empezaron a considerar como de condición inferior. Para comprenderlo hoy no hay que olvidar nunca que en la España musulmana, como en las otras conquistas árabes, existió constantemente--más o menos acentuada--una diferenciación social básica entre musulmanes y no musulmanes que marcaba más especialmente a la población indígena."
24. Angel González Palencia, *Historia de la España Musulmana* (Barcelona: Editorial Labor, S. A., 1945), pp. 123-124; Altamira y Crevea, *op. cit.*, pp. 264-265.
25. Altamira y Crevea, *op. cit.*, pp. 243-244: "Los renegados ocupaban, en efecto, en la sociedad musulmana, una situación inferior. Salvo algunos que supieron ganarse la confianza de los emires, la mayoría estaba excluida de los cargos públicos y era despreciada y sospechosa para los mahometanos de abolengo."
26. S. M. Imamuddin, *Some Aspects of the Socio-Economic and Cultural History of Muslim Spain, 711-1492* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965), pp. 26-30.
27. Cagigas, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-55: "Al llegar los invasores a nuestra Península no se forzó nadie para su conversión. Los naturales del

país pudieron elegir libremente, según sus propias conveniencias o inclinaciones, entre adoptar el islamismo o conservar su religión anterior, fuese ésta cristiana o judía."

28. W. Montgomery Watt and Pierre Cachia, A History of Islamic Spain (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1967), p. 3.
29. Oliveira Martins, op. cit., p. 94.
30. Ibid., p. 109.
31. J. B. Trend, Portugal (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1957), p. 45.
32. Lopes, op. cit., p. 407.
33. Ibid.
34. Dan Stanislawski, Portugal's Other Kingdom: The Algarve (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1963), p. 10.
35. Imamuddin, op. cit., p. 27.
36. Rafael Altamira y Crevea, A History of Spain (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1949), p. 98.
37. Imamuddin, op. cit., p. 37: "The Christian subjects of Muslim Spain were not prohibited from keeping up relations with the rest of the Christian world nor from accepting contributions for the establishment of their monasteries. They took active part in the economic life of the country and carried on trade between Muslim Spain and Christian parts of Europe."
38. Ibid., p. 27.
39. Jean Descola, A History of Spain (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963), pp. 123-126.
40. González Palencia, op. cit., p. 125: "A medida que avanzaban los cristianos en sus conquistas, se hacía más difícil la vida de los mozárabes en territorio musulmán."
41. Ibid.
42. Oliveira Martins, op. cit., p. 97.
43. Ibid., p. 90
44. Imamuddin, op. cit., pp. 13-14: "About 694 A.D. the aggrieved Jews planned a general revolt against the Gothic King with the help

of their Berber coreligionists of North Africa and their brethren, who had taken refuge in the land across the Straits of Gibraltar, but their plan proved abortive and their failure met with dire consequences."

Herculano, op. cit., p. 51: "Os judeus, mui numerosos na Península e oprimidos pelos godos, unindo-se aos vencedores ajudavam-nos a apoderarem-se das povoações que combatiam. Toledo ao aproximarem-se os sarracenos abriu-lhes as portas, enquanto os principaes da cidade . . . fugiam para as montanhas do norte." Descola, op. cit., pp. 98-99: "The invaders treated slaves gently and invested Jews with the responsibility of policing the conquered cities."

45. González Palencia, op. cit., p. 124.
46. António José Saraiva, História da Cultura em Portugal, Vol. I (Lisboa: Jornal do Fôro, 1950), pp. 71-72: "A rede comercial que formavam e a técnica do negócio e do capital de que tinham o segredo tornaram-nos indispensáveis aos rudes reconquistadores."
47. Ibid.: "Sob o domínio cristão as suas condições tornam-se mais precárias e são vítimas de perseguições."
48. Livermore, op. cit., pp. 133-135.
49. Trend, op. cit., pp. 62-66.
50. Livermore, op. cit., pp. 69-70; Saraiva, op. cit., pp. 60-61: "Os reis procuravam atrair colonos para regiões despovoadas, com as regalias reconhecidas aquelas agremiações. O pacto onde ficavam estabelecidas as regalias desses proprietários, legalizados os seus usos e costumes, definidas as relações com o Poder central, chamava-se carta de foral. As agremiações reconhecidas pelas cartas de foral eram os concelhos. Mediante as cartas de foral (de que havia tipos variados) os concelhos tornavam-se unidades políticas com governo próprio. Todo aquele que se acolhesse ao território do concelho ficava sujeito a jurisdição deste, garantido contra a opressão dos senhores e dos oficiais do próprio Rei." Trend, op. cit., pp. 66-70: The charter or foral was . . . a document creating a municipal council, a conselho. It regulated the rights and duties of the inhabitants of a town or village."
51. Isidro de las Cagigas, Los Mudéjares, Vol. I (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1948), p. 9: "El sentimiento mudéjar nacia de la fuerza coercitiva del momento; no de una fuerza anterior a la necesidad misma. La protección musulmana, la dimma, emanaba directamente de la ley religiosa de los invasores. La protección

cristiana, el mudejarismo, dependía exclusivamente de la voluntad de un soberano cuando no de la conveniencia de alguno de sus súbditos."

52. Ibid.: "Pensar que las nuevas conquistas pudiesen repoblarse exclusivamente con los cristianos de la zona norteña era, desde luego, imposible. Soñar que los vencidos musulmanes cristianizaran en masa para fundirse con los reconquistadores no pasó por la mente de nadie. Había, pues, que pactar con los indígenas de diferente religión y ofrecerles la protección real conservándoles usos, costumbres, lengua, religión, jerarquías, organización propia e independencia de vida dentro de los territorios o en las ciudades En puridad, las tropas victoriosas no hicieron más que adaptar a las necesidades del momento la doctrina coránica de la protección. El mudejarismo no fué, en esencia, más que una creación española, traducida directamente de una de las concepciones mas hábiles de sus enemigos seculares."
53. Livermore, op.cit., p. 134.
54. Atkinson, op.cit., p. 61.
55. Terrero, op.cit., p. 107: "Si se tiene en cuenta los muchos siglos de convivencia con el mundo islámico, se reconocerá que hubo una tolerancia que ni en los tiempos contemporáneos han disfrutado los hombres de distinta raza y religión en países que presumen de cultos."

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