Understand that the church is in the form in which it was built then, because though some things have been built inside, they have not removed anything from the old building, nor from its form and ordinance.1

Ambrosio de Morales, Las Antigüedades de las Ciudades de España (1575)

There are few medieval monuments with historical narratives as familiar as that of the Great Mosque of Córdoba. Indeed, some five hundred known works have been written about it since the tenth century.2 This material allows one to chart the changing fortunes of the building, the evolution of its religious and scholarly discourse, and the shifting geographical locus of its continuing narrative. Paradigms for studying the Great Mosque have also shifted, but perhaps not enough: there is a certain sedimentation in contemporary approaches.

In his monumental 1932 publication, Early Muslim Architecture, K. A. C. Creswell was the first to present a historical model for the Great Mosque to an English-reading public.3 His well-known scheme, derived from the work of nineteenth-century scholars such as Rodrigo Amador de los Ríos, comprised seven major stages of morphological growth: from 711 to 912 under the patronage of the Umayyad emirs, from 951 to 967 under the Umayyad caliphs, in 987 under the vizier al-Mansur, and from 987 to 1618, what he called the “later history of the mosque.” Creswell claimed that after the tenth century, the mosque remained static until the conquest of Córdoba by Fernando III (1236), when it was consecrated as a cathedral. Later developments included the installation of the chapel of San Clemente at an “unknown date,” the insertion of a “beautiful Gothic church” into al-Hakam II’s extension in 1486–96, the completion of the Capilla del Crucero in 1607, and the construction of a new campanile in 16184 (fig. 1).5

A number of problems in Creswell’s discourse can be identified at the outset: there are obvious gaps in his sequence, especially after the tenth century; the shifts in local patronage are not analyzed sufficiently; and finally, the multiple layers of the building—even as it was in the 1930s—are not adequately acknowledged. Called into question is whether what Julian Raby has dubbed Creswell’s “monolinear” approach is an adequate framework for studying any building with a complex, continuous history, particularly if that building has lost its morphological and ideological purity.6

The monolinear approach reduces buildings to a catalogue of foundational events that gives an illusion of precision and primary intentions: the Ur-structure. The illusion here is that the materiality of the Great Mosque can be easily uncoupled to reveal its construction by addition and subtraction. The often-reproduced plans that subtract its “Christian” elements miss the point that the “original” building is not attainable, even by the most careful draftsman.7

The Great Mosque has been subjected to limitless campaigns of extension, transformation, and restoration since its murky birth. The physical evidence for many of its structures or modifications has not survived, is obscured under layers of younger restoration, or is perhaps misunderstood through inadequate study of the historical record. A perceived integrity of the mosque—or mosque-plus-cathedral—is due in part to modern restoration and effects: a leveled floor, artificial lighting, restored mosaics, the removal and paving over of tombs, shifted inscription panels, a restored ceiling, and a replanted and repaved garden. Older campaigns of restoration that have ensured the survival of the building are less obvious; they even eluded Philip II’s chronicler, Ambrosio de Morales, in the sixteenth century.

Creswell’s sequencing of foundational events parallels the accounts of the automythopoetic Umayyads but is uncritical toward its sources. In particular, there is a lack of discrimination, manifested as prejudice,
Fig. 1. Ground plan of the Great Mosque of Córdoba, 1879, by Rodrigo Amador de los Ríos: the earliest rendering of the sequential, historical narrative of the Great Mosque by means of addition and subtraction. (Plan: from *Inscripciones Árabes de Córdoba* [Madrid, 1879], p. 76.)
in Creswell’s sparse discussion of what he called the “later history.” He cites the well-known but spurious response of Charles V in 1526 to the building of the Capilla del Crucero, “If I had known what you wished to do, you would not have done it, because what you are carrying out is to be found everywhere, and what you had formerly does not exist anywhere else in the world.” This theatrical quote casts Spanish monarchs as the protectors of the mosque/cathedral and clerics as its destroyers. The drama is illusory, as monarchs and clerics, Christians and Muslims alike, were protective, destructive, and transformative agents in the “later history” of the mosque.

Granted, Creswell’s access to documentary and literary sources was limited to those known in the early 1930s; more sources have since become available, although not all periods are equally illuminated. Surely, then, his model should now be reappraised through critical analysis of a broader range of source material and refined through a better understanding of the intentions of its agents.

This paper will expand part of Creswell’s collapsed sequence between the tenth and thirteenth centuries on the basis of literary and documentary sources, some recently discovered. It will examine cycles of destruction and restoration of the mosque/cathedral in this period, and the shifting perceptions of its patrons and congregants. Furthermore, it will demonstrate that the local juncture between “Muslim” and “Christian” in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was not necessarily delineated by form, nor by time, but rather by intention. Muslim craftsmen continued to play both a constructive and a restorative role in the mosque/cathedral well into the fourteenth century, even as their patrons shifted from Muslim to Christian.

THE GREAT MOSQUE IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

The changes that occurred in the Great Mosque from the 1030s to the early 1140s have not yet been adequately documented. The mosque suffered damage during the period of the first fitna (ending around 1030), but little is known about the physical state of the building during a century of Jahwarid, Abbadid, and Almoravid control. The Almoravids, for example, restored the congregational mosques of Granada and Almeria, but interventions in Córdoba itself have not been noted.

Nevertheless, two significant factors point to Almoravid interest in the Great Mosque; both illuminate Almoravid perceptions of Córdoba’s symbolic religious and political authority. First is the sumptuous minbar, probably commissioned by ‘Ali b. Yusuf b. Tashufin in 1137 for his mosque at Marrakech, but made in Córdoba and most likely modelled on that of the Great Mosque. Jonathan Bloom has estimated that the minbar took five years to build, based on the precedent of al-Hakam’s minbar in Córdoba, and so perhaps it was completed in 1142. Meanwhile, Stefano Carboni, writing about the minbar, muses that “the advent of the Almoravids brought a new stability to the Córdoban workshops.” In fact, the local context is difficult to read. Throughout the 1120s and 1130s, the Córdobans regularly rebelled against their foreign rulers—particularly against their taxes—and preferred the authority of local, religious elites. The Córdobans’ anti-Almoravid feelings culminated in the temporary ouster of Almoravid power in 1145. Thus, instead of reading the minbar as a sign of stable Almoravid rule in Córdoba, one can equally surmise that its commissioning was a measure of legitimating propaganda directed outside the Peninsula at the time when Almoravid rule was most decadent in al-Andalus. Another external reason for the commission may have been ‘Ali b. Yusuf’s designation of his son, Tashufin, as heir, and thus the minbar may have been intended to consolidate the perception in Marrakech of Almoravid power in preparation for the accession of a new sultan.

In any case, the minbar demonstrates that, however unpopular the Almoravids may have been locally, there were master craftsmen in Córdoba willing to work for them on a major project, even one loaded with political and religious connotations. Likewise, if the minbar at the Qarawiyyin mosque in Fez, dated Sha‘ban 538 (February 1144) was also made in Córdoba, as Henri Terrasse and others have argued on stylistic grounds, it would have been made at a time of extreme political dissolution, of Almoravid rule by proxy, and of internal rebellion and external military challenges. Thus, it is even more likely to represent, not a religious endorsement or a stable empire, but rather a lucrative commission for Córdoba’s master carpenters.

The second factor is Almoravid reuse of marble columns and capitals brought from Córdoba—though not necessarily from its Friday mosque—in the rebuilding of the Friday mosque of Granada (1116–17) and the Qarawiyyin mosque (1134–44). The Córdob-
ban *spolia* at the Qarawiyin mosque, still extant, was employed at strategic points in the building: in the funerary mosque and at the mihrab. Thus, while the Almoravids may not have conducted restoration or rebuilding at the Great Mosque of Córdoba itself, they made efforts, as with the minbars, to demonstrate elsewhere their control of the building, its city, and its message of unity and legitimacy—particularly in the 1130s and 1140s, when their political authority in al-Andalus was most threatened.

Political rule in Córdoba became very muddled in the 1140s during a period of dissolution of the central power into smaller city-states, the so-called post-Almoravid *tā’īfa* states. In 1145, the Córdoban qadi, Abu Jaʿfar b. Hamdīn, led a popular rebellion and expelled the representatives of the waning Almoravid dynasty, the Banū Ghaniya. In the same year, Yahya b. ʿAli b. Ghaniya (d. 1149) appears to have regained Córdoba, only to face a siege attack by Alfonso VII of Castile, who conquered the city briefly.

Arabic, Latin, and Castilian sources for this event have survived. The earliest was written by Muhammad b. Ayyub b. Ghalib, a little-known twelfth-century Grenadine geographical historian who compiled a detailed description of the city of Córdoba. The final part of his description contains a report on the Great Mosque. On the effects of this early Christian conquest he wrote:

The Christians entered this venerated mosque when they conquered Córdoba in the year 540 [1145–46], at the time of the second *fitna*. Then God permitted their departure approximately nine days later. And they carried off the golden and silver appurtenances that were on the minaret, and about half of the minbar, leaving the rest. The fittings and silver chandeliers [*awalukhu wa-thunayyit al-fadlu*] were plundered at the time of their invasion. On the other hand, the golden door from the maqṣura was pilfered along with the treasury of the mosque during the first *fitna* [1089–10]. A trustworthy person from Córdoba told me, “I entered with a group of people into the mosque the second day after the departure of the Christians from Córdoba. We gathered around what remained of the minbar in order to lower it from that place. When we moved it, we found underneath a quantity of white sand in the amount that two beasts of burden could transport. The sand looked like silver filings. We wanted to remove it in order to clean the place, but a knowledgeable shaykh told us that the sand was from Galicia—may God annihilate it—and that Ibn Abi ‘Amir had transported it. So, we let it be.”

This text provides circumstantial evidence for a potent image of Ibn Abi ‘Amir al-Mansur (de facto rule 976–1002) as imām-mansūr, preaching from the Umayyad minbar over a pile of sand from Santiago de Compostela. It also records that, by the mid-twelfth century, the Great Mosque had been despoiled twice: once by Muslims during the first *fitna*, and again by Castilians during the second. Everything of value, including ornaments of precious metals and lamps, disappeared.

The Latin and Castilian sources, by contrast, avoid any mention of plunder. Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, archbishop of Toledo (d. 1247), wrote that Ibn Ghaniya (Abengancia), surrendered quickly to Alfonso VII’s attack, offering the keys to the city and swearing loyalty on the “libro de Mahomat, a que dizen ell Alcoran” (the book of Muhammad, which they call the al-Qurʾān). Lucas, bishop of Tuy (d. 1249), explained that a deal was struck with Alfonso VII as part of the surrender pact: “and the Muslims came out to him and gave him the city with this condition, that the Muslims would live in it [Córdoba], and the Christians would be in the tower of that city.”

The walled city was composed of the two adjacent walled core sectors known as the City (*al-madīna*) or the Old Citadel (*al-qasaba al-ʿātiqa*), and the Eastern Quarter (*al-jiha al-sharqiyya*), the Great Mosque being located on the southern, fluvial side of the Old Citadel. When he wrote “the tower,” Lucas must have meant the Old Citadel, indicating that the city, each group in its own sector, was to be shared, although not its major place of worship. Lucas wrote that the archbishop of Toledo, don Raimundo, accompanied by Alfonso VII, celebrated a mass in the congregational mosque, an event also recalled in the Primera Crónica General. Thus, the Muslims of Córdoba ceded their congregational mosque in exchange for the right to remain in their city. This arrangement echoes the precedent set by Alfonso VI’s capture of Toledo in 1085, when the Muslim population was not expelled but lost its Friday mosque; how much Lucas, writing a century later, may have elided the account of the first Christian conquest of Córdoba with the earlier case of Toledo is not entirely clear.

That Alfonso VII’s conquest was short-lived is also emphasized in the Castilian sources: according to Jiménez de Rada, he left the city in the hands of Ibn Ghaniya because he did not have enough soldiers to control it himself. In 1149, Ibn Ghaniya, who had reverted to supporting the Almoravids and consequent-
ly faced repeated attacks by Alfonso VII, surrendered Córdoba to the Almohad general Abu Ishaq Barraz b. Muhammad al-Massufi, signaling the end of Almoravid rule. It is striking that the brief conversion of the mosque to a church seems to have had no lasting juridical resonance for the Córdobans or for the Almohads.

Damage to the Great Mosque was met with restoration at the beginning of the Almohad period. It took some time, however, because Almohad sovereignty was seriously challenged by local, post-Almoravid warlords including Ibn Mardanish and his son-in-law Ibn Hamushk, who sought to carve out an al-Andalus independent of their Castilian and Moroccan challengers. By 1162, because of the recurring sieges of Ibn Hamushk, the Almohad chronicler Ibn Sahib al-Salah (d. 1198) recalled that the population of Córdoba had been reduced to eighty-two men, an abject crowd dressed in tattered garments who came out to greet the Almohad caliph 'Abd al-Mu'min's sons, who had been sent to Córdoba from Marrakech with orders that Córdoba should be prepared as the seat of their father’s caliphate in al-Andalus.25 Recalling the potency and legitimacy of the Umayyads, the new rulers brought in architects and masons, including Ahmad b. Baso, the architect of the future congregational mosque in Seville, to whom the chronicler attributes the single-handed restoration of the city of Córdoba. 26 He writes that Ibn Baso repaired and restored its palaces, houses, and fluvial port, in addition to “raising its domes” (wa-a‘dath ‘alā tarfi‘i qibbih).27 Which buildings were restored Ibn Sahib al-Salah does not clarify, but it is unlikely that the Ummayad mosque would have been ignored. The rib-vaulted clerestory dome known as the Capilla de Nuestra Señora de la Villaviciosa shows signs of restoration or reconstruction that may have resulted from this campaign.28 Presumably the minbar was also restored at this time, as it remained in the mosque well into the sixteenth century, when Ambrosio de Morales seems to have seen it.29 There is also an intriguing passage in Ibn Ghalib’s Farhat al-anfus that states, “The number of marble columns [in the Great Mosque] is one thousand two hundred and seventy-three, and more are buried under the earth. Some of these were discovered when Abu [Sa‘id] Uthman b. ‘Abd al-Mu‘min planted different types of trees in the patio.”30 While this passage does not speak of restoration, it provides evidence for Almohad interest and intervention in the building, at least in improving the sahn. Almohad practices in cities conquered from the Almoravids generally included purification of their mosques from the contamination of what they perceived as innovations.31

Córdoba never fulfilled its potential as the Almohad capital after ‘Abd al-Mu‘min’s death eight months later in 1163. His son and successor, Abu Ya‘qub Yusuf, ordered the removal of the court to Seville, the city that he had governed since 1155. Almohad perceptions of the legitimacy of the Umayyad caliphate and the memory of its capital at Córdoba were extended to Seville in the form of architectural spolia reused in new Almohad structures, paralleling the earlier Almoravid practice.32

The major interventions in the Great Mosque in the two decades from 1145 to 1163 were made by outsiders with different intentions but similar perceptions. ‘Ali b. Yusuf b. Tashufin, Alfonso VII, and ‘Abd al-Mu‘min recognized Córdoba as materially and symbolically the most important city in al-Andalus—“la mayor que en ell Andaluzia auie.” All sought to seize it, benefit from it, purify its major mosque from perceived contamination, and preach a different kind of salvation from its minbar. That the Castilians deplored it and the Almohads improved it seems to put Christians and Muslims on opposite sides of an equation, but as we have seen, it had been already ransacked by Berber troops, and it would soon be restored by a Castilian king.

THE GREAT MOSQUE IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

In June 1236, Fernando III conquered Córdoba, an event that undeniably marked a watershed in the history of the building.33 A complicated truce stipulated the evacuation of the city’s Muslim inhabitants, whose lives and moveable goods were safeguarded.34 According to the anonymous, contemporary Crónica Latina, they abandoned their houses, “hungry, weeping, ululating, and wailing,” as their leader, the Almohad prince Abu l-Hasan, handed over the keys of the gates to Fernando III.35 This expulsion changed the demography and geography of Córdoba forever; its former Muslim inhabitants either emigrated to cities still under Muslim control or bided their time outside the city until permitted to inhabit it again, although the mechanism of their return has not been well studied.36
The city was held over the summer by only a small number of combatants, as most of the original forces returned to their own lands after the conquest. But by September, according to the often-quoted and often-exaggerating Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, Christian settlers came to Córdoba "as if to a royal wedding" (quasi ad regales nuptias). Julio González has argued that these settlers were from Castilla la Vieja, Castilla la Nueva (Toledo), Extremadura, León, Asturias, Galicia, Portugal, and Navarra. Like their Castilla la Nueva (Toledo), Extremadura, León, As-

The Installation of the First Cathedral

According to Jiménez de Rada, the congregational mosque of Córdoba was converted to the new cathedral almost immediately after the evacuation of the Muslim population. His second-hand account included the rather purple description:

Once the filth of Muhammad had been removed, and it was sprinkled with the holy water of purification, he [Juan de Osma] converted it into a church, raised an altar in honor of the Holy Virgin, and celebrated a solemn mass; and with the sermon of divine exhortation that he gave in accordance with the wisdom he had been granted, and with grace overflowing from his lips, he pierced in this way the hearts of all who heard him. Comforted with the joy of penitence, they offered to the Lord the sacrifices of their repentant hearts and the supplications of their lips.

The other two accounts, one contemporary and one after Jiménez de Rada, are slightly different. The Primera Crónica General paraphrases Jiménez de Rada, while the Crónica Latina, thought to have been written by Juan Domínguez, Bishop of Osma, narrates:

...the Bishop of Osma, and with him the master Lope [de Fitero, first bishop of Córdoba], who placed for the first time the sign of the cross on the tower, entered into the mosque, and preparing what was necessary so that the mosque could be made a church, expelled the Muhammadan superstition or abomination, sanctifying the place by the dispersion of holy water with salt; and what was a diabolical lair before, was made into a church of Jesus Christ, called by the name of his glorious Mother.

The ritual of consecration of new churches was described in detail in the thirteenth-century Siete Partidas, copying the Liber Pontificalis dating to the reformist papacies of Gregory VII and Urban II. There were seven elements, which are partially described in the above accounts: first, the hanging of three crosses on each of the four interior walls of the church, higher than where they could be reached by hand; second, the removal of all corpses and skeletons of the dead who were excommunicated or from another faith; third, the raising up of twelve candles and the placing of them in holders centered on the crosses; fourth, the mixing of ashes, salt, water, and wine into a paste to spread around the church in order to cleanse it, accompanied by the prayers of the bishop; fifth, the bishop’s writing in the paste with his crosier the Greek and Latin alphabets in the form of a cross across the length and breadth of the church floor; sixth, the anointing of the crosses with chrism and holy oil; and finally, the perfuming of the church with incense.

It is always assumed that the earliest altar and processional nave were installed under the clerestory dome of the Villaviciosa and the fifteen bays preceding it on its western side. While there is little information on the reconstruction of this parcel of the mosque in the thirteenth century, it is known to have been rebuilt in the fifteenth century, when it was covered with a buttressed, vaulted roof; the intervening columns may have been removed at this point. Most of the ritual activity took place, then, in the southwestern quadrant of the building. According to Manuel Nieto, other sites privileged in 1236 included the baptistery (now the Capilla de la Concepción), located in the westernmost nave of the mosque nearer to the courtyard, and the mihrab, which was apparently adopted as the chamber where the host was stored. The minbar remained in its chamber on the left side of the mihrab, perhaps as a kind of war trophy, although conceivably it might have been used as an episcopal pulpit (fig. 2).

The loci of the three—processional nave and altar, mihrab/sacrarium, and baptistery—show that the Castilians attempted to concentrate ecclesiastical activities in a reduced area of the former mosque; whether this area was considered adequate for the number of settlers is not known. If the processional nave was at the center, the mihrab and baptistery are approximately equidistant from it on either side. Also on the western side is the portal known as the Puerta del Palacio, which was linked to a vaulted passage.
Fig. 2. Portion of the plan of the Mosque-Cathedral surveyed and drawn by the architect Félix Hernández in 1930. (Plan: courtesy of the Archive of the Cathedral of Córdoba.)
the sábät, forming a bridge to the episcopal (formerly caliphal) palace. In the absence of any contemporary testimony, one can surmise that in this church-within-a-church it was the sábät, still intact in the sixteenth century, that determined the installation of the altar in the southwestern quadrant of the building. Morales described it as a tall and magnificent bridge in the lowest part of the southern corner of the western wall that served as a covered passageway to the palace and the house of the bishop. One can also guess that the splendid, domed clerestory vaults in this quadrant—three in front of the mihrab, and the Capilla de la Villaviciosa—appealed to these first Christian planners, not least because of the light they provided.

Early Castilian appreciation of the magnificence of the Great Mosque is manifest in the chronicles, where it is called “the most perfect and most noble mosque that the Moors have in Spain.” In the description of the submission of Córdoba in the thirteenth-century Crónica Latina, there is a curious passage stating that the Córdobans had decided to commit suicide and destroy or hide their most valuable assets if their conditions were not met. These assets are detailed as “the mosque and the bridge, the gold and the silver, the textiles from Syria, and the whole city.” At least by the fourteenth century, if not earlier, the Castilians were also perfectly aware that the magnificent south-western sector of the Great Mosque was built by the caliph al-Hakam as a “mosque-within-a-mosque.”

What made sense to the thirteenth-century bishops of Córdoba was lost on their sixteenth-century counterparts: Pedro Ponce de León, a Sevillan nobleman and precentor of the cathedral of Córdoba, complained that the choir was located “in the corner of the church,” the main argument supporting the construction of a new choir in the center of the cathedral at this time. Ponce de León must have been thinking about the placement of the choir in Seville, where a different approach was taken from the start. In Seville, Alfonso X divided the prayer hall of the Almohad congregational mosque in half along its main axial nave. In one half, the royal chapel was installed in a square formed by seven aisles parallel and seven aisles perpendicular to the qibla wall. In the other half, the high altar and choir occupied a smaller enclosure formed by three aisles parallel and six aisles perpendicular to the qibla wall. The enclosures were centered in the two equal halves of the prayer hall, and thus were never “in the corner.”

In the decades following the Castilian conquest of Córdoba, altars and chapels were erected around the interior perimeter of the cathedral. Most appear to have been funerary structures built by private patrons beginning in the 1250s; most also occupied the western side of the former mosque, confirming the importance of this side of the building in the perception of the early church. As there is little architectural evidence, all the chapels have been identified in documents. In 1252, a chapel dedicated to San Salvador and San Ambrosio was installed in a bay between the western riwaq of the courtyard and the baptistery, and an altar dedicated to San Blas was founded in the mihrab nave, also near to the courtyard. In 1255, an altar dedicated to San Miguel was founded by Lope García, one of the conquerors of Córdoba, as a burial site for his family. In 1258, the first of the securely dated chapels built along the western side of the qibla wall was constructed by Domingo Muñoz the Adalid (military general) and dedicated to San Felipe and Santiago. These chapels, where mass was celebrated on designated days, were a source of endowment income for the church. Other structures that have been considered thirteenth-century additions—such as the Capilla Real and the vestiges of stucco ornamentation from the chapel of San Pedro—need to be pushed forward to the fourteenth century, based on documentary evidence.

From the physical point of view, then, one cannot argue as did Creswell that the mosque/cathedral was morphologically static in the thirteenth century. Rather, the building was subjected to substantive interior and exterior changes. Some of these changes, such as the installation of chapels and processional aisles, can be charted in the surviving physical building; the demolition of exterior structures is less easily perceived. Castilian agency, as we shall see, was not limited to reducing the enormous interior of the mosque/cathedral into small stations for prayer or burial. Mechanisms for restoration and reconstruction were also instituted, mainly because the building was on the verge of collapse. A point of importance is that Muslim workmen were largely responsible for its maintenance (fig. 3).

Restoration of the Cathedral Fabric: The Role of Mudéjar Craftsmen

The restoration of the cathedral of Córdoba was intimately tied to its endowment. Fernando III’s first
Fig. 3. Earliest ground plan of the Cathedral of Córdoba. Commissioned in 1741 by bishop Pedro de Suárez y Gongora, it illustrates the condition and perception of the cathedral before the eighteenth-century restorations or attempts to “re-Islamicize” the building. All the tombs built into the floor, in addition to the tomb in the chapel of St. Pedro, identified by Morales as the burial place of the Counts of Alcántara, in front of the mihrab, are indicated. At present, most of these tombs have been paved over, and the chapel along the qibla wall has been removed. The plan also shows some of the locations of the earliest altars and chapels, which must have already disappeared by this time. (Plan: courtesy of the Archive of the Cathedral of Córdoba.)
endowment was made in 1238, two years after the conquest.\footnote{53} The archives are silent about the interim, but behind the scenes there must have been a good deal of administrative activity, as Fernando III gave the church his “tithe of the almojarafaje and other royal tax-income in Córdoba.”\footnote{54} If these taxes were not taken over from a pre-existing apparatus, they would have to have been instituted, organized, and collected. The endowment deed does not mention the waqf endowments of the former congregational mosque, and thus the cathedral of Córdoba’s endowment did not follow the precedent set by Alfonso VI’s endowment of the cathedral of Toledo, which was based on pre-existing endowment structures.\footnote{55} It is impossible to determine if the omission was an oversight, or if the waqf properties lacked extant documentation or were not researched, or even if the idea of basing the new endowment on previous ones had been rejected as impractical because of the depopulation of the city and rural areas.\footnote{56}

The chronicles are not very useful for dating campaigns of restoration. For example, the Primera Crónica General recounts, “Fernando, when he had won the city of Córdoba, thought about how to improve it, and later he began in the church; [he] remade it and repaired it, and afterward endowed it.”\footnote{57} That Fernando III gave the new church of Santa María of Córdoba an endowment is certain, but it is unlikely that restorations were carried out during his reign.\footnote{58} The Primera Crónica must have conflated the activities in the church during Fernando III’s reign with later repairs carried out during the reign of his son, Alfonso X.

The earliest indication of the need for repairs in the cathedral is a papal concession dated May 3, 1252, twenty-seven days before Fernando III’s death. In it, at the request of the bishop of Córdoba, Innocent IV grants 100 days of indulgences to the faithful of the archbishopric of Toledo, who would visit the cathedral of Córdoba, “in other times, temple of the Muslims,” in order to help the bishop and chapter pay for the repairs that they wished to carry out.\footnote{59}

Pious donations from these visiting pilgrims were apparently insufficient for the chapter’s plans. Alfonso X and his successors devised other strategies of endowment for the express purpose of restoring the fabric of the cathedral. Their endowments granted the right to collect certain taxes in money, materials, and labor. Concessions of money and materials were collected by both the state and the church from Christians, Jews, and Muslims, but the crown’s concession of labor to the church was specifically the labor hours of mudéjar craftsmen. This tax was unique to Córdoba.\footnote{60}

A renewed campaign of restoration in the cathedral is evident in 1260, when Alfonso X authorized the bishop to hire a lime burner from Córdoba to produce lime exclusively for the church: “You (the local civil authorities) should know that we order the bishop of Córdoba to take on a lime burner (calero) from those of your town who will produce lime for the works of the cathedral church of Santa María” (see Doc. A). One assumes that the lime would have been used to produce mortar, although perhaps it was also used for stucco ornaments. A confirmation of this concession in 1290 by Alfonso’s son, Sancho IV, clarifies that the lime burner was, in fact, a moro, or Muslim: “You should know that the chapter of the church of Córdoba sent me charters of the king, don Alfonso, my father, in which he ordered that the church of Santa María of Córdoba should have a Moorish lime burner (un moro calero) and another, a roof-tile and brick maker (e otro tejero, for the works)” (Doc. C). The Alfon-sine charter concerning the tejero has not survived.

In the following year, 1261, Alfonso X was approached in Seville by a consortium comprising the bishop and chapter of Córdoba, Dominican and Franciscan friars (frayres predicadores, frayres menores), the civil magistrates (alcaldes), and worthy subjects (omnes bonos) of Córdoba to make some concession toward funding the preservation of the former mosque. So that the necessary restoration work might be financed, he responded with a charter (Docs. E–F) guaranteeing a temporary restitution of the third of the ecclesiastic tithes, which was normally designated for the upkeep of the fabric, but which had been appropriated by his father.\footnote{61} This document provides an impression of the dilapidated state of the building: “...in the above-mentioned church of Santa Maria, there was much damage in the woodwork, and...it needed to be repaired in many ways, and...there is a need for us to impose some remedy there in the case that it should be lost because, if not, the ruin of such a noble church would be a loss.”

Throwing money at the problem did not appear to have brought the desired results. In part, the failure was due to the difficulties of collecting tithes in the bishopric (Doc. G), but it also seems that the church could not afford to pay enough craftsmen to shore up the collapse. In 1263, Alfonso X imposed a labor tax on specific types of Muslim craftsmen in
Córdoba. His charter (Doc. H) states, "It pleases us greatly that the noble church of Santa María of the city of Córdoba should be better protected and not collapse, nor anything belonging to it be destroyed. I judge it to be appropriate and order that all the Moorish carpenters, masons, and sawyers that there are in Córdoba should work, each one of them, two days of the year in the works of the above-mentioned church. And any Moor who would like to be excused from this, we order the magistrates and the chief of police that they arrest him and that they make him do it." To facilitate their labor, the church fed the artisans during their two days at work.62

A few days later, Alfonso X ordered the restoration and maintenance of the Umayyad conduit system for water distribution in Córdoba, which had its central focus at the former Great Mosque, stating "...because we understand that it is a great honor of the town of Córdoba that the water there still flows through the pipes as it used to flow in the time of the Moors, we want the waters to flow from now on and henceforth in all of those places in which it used to flow" (Doc. N). Each of the social groups in Córdoba—the church, the city council, the Jews, and the Muslims—were ordered to pay different amounts each year, probably in proportion to their corresponding levels of distribution.63 This project had a clear precedent in Seville some years earlier in the repair of the well-known Caños de Carmona, where the work had been carried out by mudéjar masons dedicated exclusively to the task.64 Ambrosio de Morales's description of some of the surviving features of the conduit system, which he saw at the mosque in the sixteenth century, includes mention of a massive cistern built underneath the courtyard, a central fountain in the courtyard, and a circular font of blue marble, twelve feet in diameter, exterior to the eastern wall.65

A complete picture of the tax obligations of mudéjars under Castilian authority has not emerged from the contemporary documentation, and some scholars have extrapolated from limited regional documentation (especially the documentation from the kingdom of Aragón) to describe the situation in the Peninsula as a whole.66 Thus, according to Manuel González Jiménez, the range of taxes to which mudéjars were subject included tithes on agricultural and livestock production, the poll tax, daily fees for market stalls, land tax, and ecclesiastical tithes on lands rented from Christians. In exchange, mudéjars were guaranteed the conditions stipulated in the surrender pacts dating from the conquests: the rights to their own law and legal representatives; the right to communal access to necessary establishments including baths, shops, public ovens, mills, and warehouses; and the right to the same fiscal schedule they had had under Almohad administration.67

Guaranteed access to mosques differed from place to place, and notably only in Toledo in the eleventh century is it clear that neighborhood mosques for mudéjars were preserved rather than converted to other purposes.

Despite the efforts of the Castilian kings to maintain their fiscal agreements with their mudéjar subjects, there were obviously difficulties that account for the genesis of the charters concerning the restoration of the cathedral. For example, Alfonso X’s charter of 1260 concerning the taxed lime burner (Doc. A) instructs the magistrates and city council of Córdoba to protect the lime burner and his product from seizure or impediment in order to safeguard the concession to the church. Twenty-one years later, Sancho IV’s charter on this matter (Doc. B), written while he is still heir to the throne of an ailing father, reconfirms the lime burner’s relationship with the bishop, and grants him the same special tax-free status granted previously to all the other lime burners in Córdoba, “just as is each one of the other lime burners there, of the town.” This phrase must refer to a pact made between Alfonso X and this particular group of artisans for which no documentation survives; clearly these artisans and their product were of special value to the Castilian settlement in Córdoba.

In each case, the written confirmation of previous agreements appears to be generated by a breakdown in the system, most likely the illegal taxation of mudéjar subjects or non-compliance with an obligation. Thus, in Sancho IV’s secret charter from 1290 (Doc. C) he explains that his father had obliged a lime burner and a maker of bricks and roof tiles to work for the church, and “now they [the church] send to me saying that they are going against these charters and that they [the mudéjars or the civil authorities] do not want to comply with what the charters say.” In order to protect the church’s rights “just as they always have had them,” Sancho IV orders his vassal, Johan Gil, to read his father’s charters and ensure that they are fulfilled. In this case, it is not clear whether the mudéjars refused to comply with the tax obligation, or whether they were impeded by the local civil authorities. Some clarification is provided by a charter drafted toward the end of the century (Doc. D, 1296), in which Fernando
IV dictates, “there are some who do not want to allow that they [the church] take on this lime burner” and orders the magistrates, the judge, and fifteen good men “that they must rectify the situation there in the town” by reading the previous charters and complying with them. There may have been competition from Christian craftsmen for what was an enviable tax-free contract with the major patron in town.

In an article published in 1936, Leopoldo Torres Balbás concluded that the mudéjar craftsmen who paid the labor tax in Córdoba worked mainly on the wooden ceiling of the former mosque; he based his conclusion on Alfonso X’s statement that “there was much damage in the woodwork,” and on the labor tax levied on carpenters and sawyers. Certainly the restoration of the ceiling must have been one of the major tasks facing the cathedral chapter, but Alfonso’s fear that the building was on the verge of collapse shows that there was more at stake. Muslim masons were also taxed, and lime burners and brick and tile makers were employed in the restoration project by grants of a tax-free status. The presence of these varied artisans points to a more complete building operation, which would have included work on the ceiling and roof, work on the masonry, construction and decoration of interior chapels and burial vaults, and restoration of the hydraulic distribution system in the courtyard and under the streets of Córdoba.

In 1281, an additional exterior project is documented: the removal of the shops surrounding the former mosque (Doc. P). These shops, which must have abutted the building on all sides, were granted as an endowment to the cathedral by both Fernando III and Alfonso X. Alfonso X ordered their demolition “in its honor and in honor of the great standing of the town,” and in exchange granted to the church two payment of tribute stipulated by the terms of sur-

The labor tax imposed on Muslim artisans in Córdoba appears to have been unique in Andalucía in the thirteenth century. According to the Fuero (legal code) of Toledo granted to Córdoba by Fernando III in 1241, the obligation to perform communal statute labor explicitly excluded the clergy, Jews, and Muslims. As the Fuero of Toledo was the most widespread of the legal codes granted to the conquered cities of Andalucía, and as the labor tax was apparently not imposed elsewhere, Alfonso X’s decision to contradict the Fuero was unusual. It calls into question issues such as why mudéjar artisans might have been preferred for reconstruction work in the cathedral, and why these craftsmen were taxed rather than simply hired.

Both the poverty of the cathedral treasury and the apparent, extensive damage in the structure may account for the tax on Muslim artisans; in addition, there may not have been any skilled masons and carpenters among Córdoba’s Christian settlers. If mudéjars represented the main pool of skilled workers, they may have been unwilling to work in their former mosque, or at least, not willing to work in it for free. The earlier calero and tejero who manufactured materials for the church were clearly willing to work for Christian patrons, but with the financial incentive of a tax-free status. But the anticipated resistance to the labor tax that is encoded in Alfonso’s charter—“And any Moor who would like to be excused from this, we order the magistrates and the chief of police that they arrest him and make him do it”—shows that mudéjars would obviously resist forced labor that offered no compensation and no chance to compete for privileges. Alfonso, on the other hand, protected the resisting craftsman from harm, stating that he would take action against the magistrates and chief of police if they did anything more than enforce the tax with arrests.

The size of the Muslim community of Córdoba in 1263 is not known, nor is the percentage of masons and carpenters among them, although it is likely that the estimates put forward thus far are too low. The earliest indication of a significant post-conquest mudéjar community in Córdoba is the tax known as the pecho de los moros, first documented in Córdoba in 1254 (Doc. K). What is noteworthy on this occasion is that Alfonso X transfers to the city council the payment of an annual tribute that he has already been collecting himself, and that probably represents a payment of tribute stipulated by the terms of surrender compacted by his father in 1236. The value of the tribute, 500 maravedis, is nonetheless useful for estimating the size of the mudéjar community in the 1250s, as it seems to have been levied at one mara-

vendi per head, probably counting only adult males.
tribute of 2000 maravedís paid in 1294.76 Thus the taxed labor-hours of artisans may have increased four-fold or more during these decades. In the 1280s or perhaps slightly earlier, the labor tax appears to have been extended to all “free Moors” in Córdoba, regardless of their professions, in addition to the artisans stipulated as carpenters, masons, smiths and “all of the others who work in the works of the...church two days a year” (Doc. I). The inclusion of the “free Moors” —Muslims who were not enslaved captives—in the tax appears to have confused the mudéjars, who were apparently not adequately notified of this obligation. Their numbers are not known, but this stipulation can be read as an intensification of restoration activities at the cathedral.77

In addition to the artisans and “free Moors” who fulfilled the labor tax, the church appears to have maintained for some years an additional small corps of mudéjar craftsmen for whom a tax-free status was negotiated in exchange for labor in the cathedral (Docs. L–M). These artisans—two masons and two carpenters—first appear in an Alfonsine charter dated 1280, although this charter refers to an earlier, undated agreement. Both charters referring to the corps of four—the first by Alfonso X, and the second by Sancho IV—seek to ensure the artisans’ privileged tax-free status when challenged by local tax collectors. In these charters, the two kings protect not only their own agreements but also the interests of the church—“there are those who go against the charter ...thus very much impairing the works of the church”—and the well-being of the artisans—“no tax collector nor any other man might dare to arrest the four Moors...whom the chapter would choose to labor in the works of the church.” Whether or not the retention of a permanent corps of craftsmen for the upkeep of the church was modeled on earlier Islamic practice is not known.

Over the next half-century, the population of the Muslim community must have increased, as registers of accounts from the reign of Sancho IV record a tribute of 2000 maravedís paid in 1294.76 Thus the taxed labor-hours of artisans may have increased four-fold or more during these decades. In the 1280s or perhaps slightly earlier, the labor tax appears to have been extended to all “free Moors” in Córdoba, regardless of their professions, in addition to the artisans stipulated as carpenters, masons, smiths and “all of the others who work in the works of the...church two days a year” (Doc. I). The inclusion of the “free Moors” —Muslims who were not enslaved captives—in the tax appears to have confused the mudéjars, who were apparently not adequately notified of this obligation. Their numbers are not known, but this stipulation can be read as an intensification of restoration activities at the cathedral.77

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Muhammad I, claims that "...because of this peace, they say that a quantity of Moors who lived in Córdoba are gone to the lands of the Moors, and for this reason they do not have such good Moorish craftsmen as they used to have until now." 79 The trouble is that carpentry in particular was a speciality of Muslim craftsmen—mudéjar carpenters held a monopoly in Castilian cities such as Burgos and Valladolid—but most of their work, such as the stucco Capilla Real at Córdoba, is dated to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. 80 As in the cathedral in Córdoba, those parish churches with par y nudillo ceilings covering the naves and ribbed domes in the apses—work typically identified with mudéjar craftsmen—are difficult to date, but not one is securely documented as having been built in the thirteenth century. 81 Likewise, the synagogue built in a mudéjar style in Córdoba is dated to 1314–15 in its foundational inscription. 82

The Capilla Real appears to have been planned and constructed over a long period of time. In 1312, Fernando IV’s wife, Constanza, endowed a royal chapel, appointing chaplains and servants for its upkeep. However, it was not until 1371 that Alfonso XI’s remains were entombed there by his illegitimate son, Enrique II, who is named in its foundational inscription. The inscription states that the chapel was commissioned by Enrique II, and completed in the “era” of 1409 (the “era of Caesar” was thirty-eight years more advanced than the Julian calendar). 83 The stucco Capilla is covered with a poly-lobed, ribbed clerestory dome that recalls the plan of the Villaviciosa but adds muqarnas stalactites in the central square and in the pendentives between the ribs; it is archaizing in principal but not in execution. The date of its inscription shows that mudéjar craftsmen were at work in the cathedral at least until the last quarter of the fourteenth century, but what is unclear is whether their artisanship represented a continuum or a disjuncture with that of the thirteenth-century mudéjars. These questions may be resolved by further examining the chapels and ceiling beams, by investigating fourteenth- and fifteenth-century documentation of the cathedral, and by refining current understanding of the relationship between mudéjar style and technique and the identity of the craftsmen who continued to work in these modes.

Finally, adding to present difficulties in perceiving the sequence of post-conquest restorations, additions, and demolitions is the fact that the cathedral has to a certain extent been “re-islamicized”: twenty-first-century restorers have removed medieval sarcophagi and other structures from around the mihrab area and along the qibla wall, erected a sort of maqsura structure around the same area, and replaced the ceiling with one based on that of the Great Mosque of Qayrawan. The sarcophagi, floor tombs, and structures along the qibla wall are still evident in the plan of the cathedral from 1741 (fig. 3). More recently, hanging lamps resembling the Byzantine-style poly-candelons excavated in Spanish mosque sites have been installed. Improbably, perhaps, the sensitivities of modern restoration can be misleading.

Creswell’s sequential model, which perceives the Great Mosque of Córdoba as a building that can be broken down into clean phases of Islamic foundation, has been the prevalent English-language discourse on this structure for many years. There is an obvious naïveté in this approach that assumes, as Morales did earlier, that apart from a few catalogued “Christian” additions, the underlying Islamic structure of the mosque has remained largely untouched “como estaua en tiempo de los moros” (as it was in the time of the Moors.) The surviving textual evidence and, in some cases, the physical evidence make clear that prior to and following the definitive Christian conquest of Córdoba in the thirteenth century, there are few clean breaks. Muslim agency in the mosque did not cease with the conquest, and Christian agency preceded it. The differences, of course, were in the intentions of the agents, to whom the mosque represented spoils of war, legitimacy of rule, recollection or extirpation of the past, and preservation and transformation of what was perceived as the most noble and sacred building that the Muslims had erected in Spain. It is hoped that, in the future, more catholic—in the broadest sense of the word—approaches to the Great Mosque of Córdoba will seek to deepen the current discourse of what Morales called “one of the most marvelous buildings in the world.”

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DOCUMENTARY APPENDIX

The documents provided here are listed chronologically according to subject matter. Most are from MS 125 of the Cathedral Archive in Córdoba. This register, dated 1318 and entitled Libro de las Tablas en que esta copiados varios instrumentos antiguos de derechos
CONCESSION FOR A LIME BURNER (CALERO),
DOCS. A–D (1260, 1281, 1290, 1296)

Doc. A. Friday, February 5, 1260, Toledo [era 1298]
Translation: On Alfonso, by the grace of God king of Castile, Toledo, León, Galicia, Seville, Córdoba, Murcia, Jaén, and the Algarve. To the city council and the magistrates of Córdoba: greetings and grace. You should know that we order the bishop of Córdoba to take on a lime burner from those of your town who will produce lime for the works of the cathedral church of Santa María. Therefore, I order you to allow him to take him on and that you not impede him nor seize the lime that he will produce, because we would take action against whoever might do so. And we order the magistrates that they not consent to allow anyone to take it nor to seize it. Delivered in Toledo, the king ordered it, Friday, the fifth day of February, Alfonso Martínez drew it up in the era of one thousand two hundred and ninety-eight years. 

Doc. B. December 27, 1281, Córdoba [era 1319]
Source: Archivo de la Catedral de Córdoba, MS 125, fol.17v.
Text: Infante don Sancho, fijo mayor e heredero del muy noble don Alfonso, por la gracia de Dios, rey de Castilla, de Toledo, de León, de Galizia, de Sevilla, de Córdoua, de Murcia, de Jahen/ et del Algarue. A los alcalles de Córdoua: salut e gracia. Sepades que

y propiedades del Cabildo, is an anthology of mainly thirteenth-century royal charters addressed to the civil authorities concerning ecclesiastical jurisdiction over certain properties and payments of tribute. These charters were compiled by an ecclesiastical scribe in order that the church would have a record of its entitlements. For the individual documents that have been published, I provide a reference to the most recent publication, in most cases the Diplomatario Andaluz de Alfonso X (Seville, 1991). In the Diplomatario, all references to earlier publications can be found. All translations to English, as in the rest of this study, are my own.
Now they send to me saying that they are going
to the king of Castile, of Toledo, of León, of Galicia, of Seville, of Córdoba, of Murcia, of Jaén, and of the Algarve. To you, Johan Gil, my man: greetings and grace. You should know that the chapter of the church of Córdoba sent me charters of the king, don Alfonso, my father, in which he ordered that the church of Santa María of Córdoba should have a Moorish lime burner and another, a maker of roof tiles and bricks, for the works. And moreover, that all the free Moors and carpenters and masons and sawyers should work in the church two days of the year, and the Moorish lime burner should be quit and free of all tax obligation and of all communal statute labor, just as are any of the other lime burners there in the town.

Now they send to me saying that they are going against these charters, and that they do not wish to comply with what the charters say. And they requested a concession from me that I would order it and would consider it to be appropriate; hence, I order you that you study the charters that they have from the king, my father, in this regard, and that you comply with them in such a way that the church would have its rights, just as it always had them. And do not do anything else; once the charter is read, surrender it. Delivered in San Sebastián, the third day of April, era one thousand three hundred and twenty-eight years. This charter, I send you sealed with my secret seal. I, Sancho Martinez, put it into writing by order of the king.

Doc. D. August 6, 1296, Valladolid

Source: Archivo de la Catedral de Córdoba, MS 125, fols. 28v–29r.
Registered: Corpus Mediaevale Cordubense 3, doc. 1311;
Catálago de los manuscritos, p. 228, doc. 104
Translation of Synopsis (from Corpus): Fernando IV, at the petition of Juan Perez, precentor and employee of the cathedral of Córdoba, in which he recalled the charters of Alfonso X and of Sancho IV from when he was prince, in which was conceded to the cathedral a lime burner of the town who would make lime for the works of the cathedral church of Santa María, and another charter of Fernando IV himself, in which he confirmed all of the privileges of the same and affirmed that "and there are some who do not wish to allow that they would take on this lime burner," ordering the magistrates, the judge, and the fifteen good men "that they must rectify the situation there in the town," that they see the cited charters and comply with them. "Delivered in Valladolid, the sixth day of August, era one thousand three hundred and thirty-four years."
"Per Alfonso put it into writing. Juan Bernal. Juan González."

TAXES IMPOSED BY ALFONSO X TO PAY FOR THE REPAIRS, DOCS. E–F (1261)

Doc. E. Wednesday, July 20, 1261, Seville [era 1299]
Published: Diplomatario, p. 276, doc. 248.
Translation: Let it be known to whoever should see this charter that we, don Alfonso, by the grace of God [are] king of Castille, of Toledo, of Leon, of Galicia, of Seville, of Córdoba, of Murcia, of Jaén, and of the Algarve. Don Fernando, bishop of Córdoba, told us, and the chapter of this same church sent to us saying [the same], and the Dominican friars and the Franciscan friars, and the magistrates and good men of the town, that in the above-mentioned church of Santa María, there was much damage.
in the woodwork, and that it needed to be repaired in many ways, and that there is a need for us to impose some remedy there in the case that it should be lost, because if not, the ruin of such a noble church would be a loss. And because the bishop and chapter request of us and ask for our concession, we would like that it should have a tithe from each church from the whole bishopric for the works of the above-mentioned church and with this, it would have something to maintain it. We, in order to do well by and have mercy on them, defend it as such. Therefore, we order that they should have from all the churches in the bishopric of Córdoba, for the works of the above-mentioned church, a tithe from each, which should not be from the great [tithes], having taken out the two, [but] which would be the third, and of these [tithes], they would take possession of them forever, thus from our part as from the other parts. And we order all the tercios, clerics, and laymen of the above-mentioned bishopric, and those who must collect our tercias, and those who must see to the works of the above-mentioned church, that they allow this above-mentioned tithe to be taken [out of their accounts]. And we forbid that anybody dare to seize it or to contradict it, or maltreat it, as whoever does so will incur our wrath and pay us the established penalty of a thousand maravedís, and to them [the bishop and chapter], all damages [must be paid] double. And so that this might be more firm and secure, we order this charter sealed with our lead seal. The charter was written in Seville, by our command, on Wednesday, the twentieth day of the month of July, in the era of one thousand two hundred and ninety-nine years. I, Johan Martínez put it into writing.

Doc. F. Thursday, July 21, 1261, Seville [era 1299]
Published: Diplomatario pp. 276–77, doc. 249.
Translation: Don Alfonso, by the grace of God, king of Castile, Toledo, León, Galicia, Seville, Córdoba, Murcia, Jaén, and the Algarve. To all of the town councils and magistrates and chiefs of police, and all who must see to justice for me in the bishopric of Córdoba who see this, my charter: greetings and grace. You should know well that the bishop and the chapter of Córdoba have complained to me that there are men in the bishopric who do not pay the tithes to such as them [the bishop and chapter]; that they do not want to pay them, nor can they obtain it from them. And I do not consider this to be appropriate or legal. Therefore, I order each one that he pay his tithes well and according to the law of the holy church demands. And do not do any other thing, as this thing that one must
pay by law, no one must hold it back, and moreover [if you do so], I lose my rights thereby to the tercías, which I ought to have. And whoever does otherwise, I order the judges and the chiefs of police and the justices that, [with regard to] those who said that they do not want to pay the tithes or hinder them, they arrest them and make them pay double. And if not, I will take action against them [the judges, etc.]. Delivered in Córdoba, the king ordered it, Friday, the twenty-third day of November, era of one thousand three hundred and six years. I, Johan Martinez put it into writing.

THE CONCESSION OF MUSLIM ARTISANS FOR WORK IN THE CATHEDRAL, DOCS. H–J

(1263, 1282, 1296)

Doc. H. Thursday, December 13, 1263, Sevilla [era 1301]

Published: Diplomatario, p. 300, doc. 273.

Translation: It should be known to all the men who see this charter that we, don Alfonso, by the grace of God, king of Castile, Toledo, León, Galicia, Seville, Córdoba, Murcia, Jaén, and the Algarve—are greatly pleased that [in order that] the noble church of Santa María of the city of Córdoba should be better protected and not collapse, nor anything belonging to it be destroyed, we judge it to be appropriate and order that all the Moorish carpenters, masons, and sawyers that there are in Córdoba should labor, each one of them, two days of the year in the works of the above-mentioned church. And any Moor who would like to be excused from this, we order the magistrates and the chief of police that they arrest him and that they make him do it. And that they should not do any other thing, or we will take action against them for it. And we judge it to be appropriate that in these two days in which they [the carpenters, etc.] carry out the works of the church, that they [the church] feed them (que les den a comer). Delivered in Seville, the king ordered it, Thursday, the thirteenth day of December, era of one thousand, 300, and one year. Johan Martinez drew it up by order of Master Ferrand Garçía, archdeacon of Niebla.

Doc. I. October 25, 1282, Córdoba [era 1320]

Source: Archivo de la Catedral de Córdoba, MS 125, fol. 18r.

Registered: Corpus Mediaevale Cordubense 3 (in press), doc. 1052; Catálogo de los manuscritos, p. 224, doc. 65; and see Miguel Angel Orti Belmonte, “El fuero de Córdoba,” Boletín de la Real Academia de Córdoba 70 (1954): 5–94 (esp. 41) and 87 (1965): 5–25.

Text: Infante don Sancho, fijo mayor e heredero del muy noble don Alfonso, por la gracia de Di-/ os rey de Castiella, de Toledo, de León, de Gallizia, de Sevilla, de Córdoua, de Murcia, de Jahen/ e del Algarbe. A los alcaldes e al alguazil de Córdoua: salut e gracia. El cabildo de la eglesia de Santa María/ me mostraron una carta del rey en que mandaua que todos los moros forros e annaiares e aluannes/ e ferradores e todos los otros que labrassen en la lauor de la eglesia sobre dicha dos dias en el anno e ago-/ ra el cabildo de la eglesia de Santa María querellosseme que los moros que no son maestros que non quiere y/ labrar porque dizen que lo non dizia en la otra carta que les el rey dio permamiente. Et despues que gelo/ mostraron e que les mando dar su carta con su sello colgado e mando que tambien los moros maestros/ commo todos los otros de la Villa fuesen labrar dos dias en el ano en la lauor de la eglesia e que ay al-/gunos que lo non quiere fazer e por ello que se menoscaba muncho el lauor de la eglesia e que me pidien/ merçed que mandasse y lo que touiesse por bien. Onde uos mando uista esta mi carta que ueades la/ carta que el cabildo tiene del rey con su seello colgado en esta razon, e conplid gela en todo segund/ que en ello dize.Et non fagades ende al ca non es mi uoluntad que se meno- scabe ninguna cosa de la lauor de la eglesia. Dada en Córdoua XXV de octubre, era de mille e CCC e veynte annos. Yo, Roy Diaz,/ la fiz escreuir por mandado del Infante. Johan Martinez.

Translation: Infante don Sancho, elder son and heir of the very noble don Alfonso, by the grace of God, king of Castile, of Toledo, León, Galicia, Seville, Córdoba, Murcia, Jaén, and the Algarve. To the magistrates and the chief of police of Córdoba: greetings and grace. The chapter of the church of Santa María showed me a charter of the king in which he ordered that all the free Moors, and Moorish carpenters, masons, and smiths, and all of the others labor in the works of the above-mentioned church two days a year. And now the chapter of the church of Santa María complains to me that the Moors who are not master craftsmen do not want to work there, because they say that it is not stipulated in the other charter that the king gave them permanently. And after they showed it to me, I order them to hand over their charter with its pendant seal, and I order additionally that the Moorish master craftsmen, just like all of the others
of the town, must work two days of the year in the works of the church, and that there are some who do not wish to do it, and by [refusing] they very much impair the works of the church, and they [the chapter] requested my concession that I should order [them to do it] there, and I judged it to be appropriate. Hence, I order you [the judges and chief of police] that, once you have seen my charter, you study the charter with its pendant seal that the chapter has from the king regarding this matter, and comply with it in every aspect according to what it says. And do not do any other thing, because it is not my wish that anything should impair the works of the church. Delivered in Córdoba, the 25th of October, era of one thousand and 300 and twenty years. I, Roy Díaz, put it into writing by the order of the Infante. Johan Martínez.

Doc. J. August 6, 1296, Valladolid [era 1324]
Source: Archivo de la Catedral de Córdoba, MS 125, fol.28v.
Registered: Corpus Mediaevale Cordubense 3 (in press), doc. 1310; Catálogo de los manuscritos, p. 228, doc. 103.
Translation of Synopsis (from Corpus): Fernando IV, at the petition of Juan Pérez, precentor of the cathedral of Córdoba and employee of the same, in which Fernando recalled the charters of Alfonso X and of Sancho IV when he was prince, in which they conceded to the cathedral that all the free Muslims, carpenters, masons, and smiths were obliged to labor two days a year in the works of the same, and another charter of Fernando IV in which he confirmed all of the privileges of the cathedral and manifested that “there are some Moors who do not wish to do it,” ordering the magistrates (alcaldes), the judge (juez), and the “fifteen good men,” that they “should straighten out the matters of the said city” (por que se endereça fecho de la dicha cibdat), that they should see the relevant charters and comply with them. “Delivered in Valladolid, sixth day of August, era of one thousand, three hundred and thirty four years.” “Per Alfonso put it into writing. Juan Bernal. Juan González.”

THE CITY WALL AND THE “PECHO DE LOS MOROS” OF CÓRDOBA, DOC. K (1254)

Doc K. March 18, 1254, Toledo [era 1292]
Published: Diplomatario, p. 118, doc. 119.
Translation: Let it be well known to all the men who see this charter that I, don Alfonso, by the grace of God, king of Castile, Toledo, León, Galicia, Seville, Córdoba, Murcia, and Jaén, give and grant to the town council (concejo) of Córdoba—to those who are now [members] and to those who will be [members], forevermore—five hundred maravedis every year to work on the walls (para labrar los muros) of the town of Córdoba, and I put those [maravedis] that they should have every year in my tribute (pecho), which the community of Moors of Córdoba have to pay me. And I order the Moors of the above-mentioned community to pay them [the town council] each year on the feast of San Miguel, just as they paid them to me. And I order and firmly forbid that anyone may dare to go against this charter of my donation, or to annul it or diminish it in any way, as whoever does [go against it] will incur my wrath and pay me a thousand maravedis in penalty, and to them [the town council] double the damage. And so that this, my donation, would be more secure and more stable, I ordered this charter to be sealed with my lead seal. The charter was drawn up in Toledo by the order of the king, the 18th day of the month of March, in the year of one thousand two hundred and ninety-two years. Aluar García of Frómesta wrote it in the second year that the king don Alfonso reigned.

FOUR MUSLIM ARTISANS RELIEVED OF THE OBLIGATION TO PAY TAXES, DOCS. L–M (1280–1282)

Doc. L. June 25, 1280, Córdoba
Published: Diplomatario, p. 493, doc. 465.
Translation: Don Alfonso, by the grace of God, king of Castile, Toledo, León, Galicia, Seville, Córdoba, Murcia, Jaén, and the Algarve. To the town council (concejo), and to the magistrates (alcaldes), and to the chief of police (alguazil) of Córdoba, and to all of the aportellados88 of this same place: greetings and grace. You should know that the chapter of the church of Santa María of Córdoba sent to me, explaining how I had deemed it appropriate to acquit four Moors, who would labor in the works of this above-mentioned church, of all tax obligation, and that they had lost the charter that I had given them concerning this matter. And they showed me another of my charters, which made mention of the first one that ordered that, in place of two Moors who were not able to work, they substitute another two in the works, and that they would be quit of all tax obligation, just as the other two were. And as they could not show me the other, my first charter, these four Moors were obliged to pay all the
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taxes the other Moors were obliged to pay. And they requested a concession from me that would order it [what they wanted in the first place] and that would judge it appropriate.\textsuperscript{89} And so I judge it appropriate and order that four Moors—two masons and two carpenters—whom they will take on for the work of this above-mentioned church, would be quit of all tax obligation. Therefore, I order and firmly defend that no parish tax collector (\textit{cogedor})\textsuperscript{90} nor any other man may dare to demand taxes from them, nor impound any of their possessions in their stead. And if anyone wishes to demand it from them, I order you not to consent to it. And do not do any other thing, for if you do, I will take action against you for it. Delivered in Córdoba, the twenty-fifth day of June, era of one thousand, 300, and eighteen years. I, Martin Royz, put it into writing by order of the king.

Doc. M. October 24, 1282, Córdoba [era 1320]
\textit{Source}: Archivo de la Catedral de Córdoba, MS 125, fol. 18r.
\textit{Registered}: Corpus Mediaevale Cordubense 3, doc. 1051; Catálogo de los manuscritos, p. 224, doc. 64.
\textit{Text}: Infante don Sancho fijo mayor e heredero del muy noble don Alfonso por la gracia de di- / os rey de Castiella, de Toledo, de León, de Gallizia, de Seuilla, de Cordoua, de Murcia, de Ja- /én e del Algarbe. Al conceio, los alcalles e al alguazil de Cordoua e a todos los aporte- /llados desse mismo logar: salut e graçia. Sepades que el cabildo de la eglesia de Santa María de Cordo- /ua me mostraron una carta del rey, mio padre, en que dizie que quitauan de todo pecho a quatro mo- /ros que labrassen en la lauor desta eglesia sobredicha. Et por razon que auian perdido la carta que les el / rey diera permanentemente que auie y algunos de los que cogien los pechos que peyndrauan a aquellos quatro / moros que labrauan en el lauor de la eglesia. Et sobre esto que los mostraron al rey e que les mando dar su / carta con su seello colgado en que defendia que ningun cogedor nin otro omne non fuese osado de prendar / quatro moros, los dos annaires e los dos aluannes que les el cabildo escogies- sen que labrassen en la la- /ur de la eglesia e que ay algunos que les passan contra la carta que dio el rey al cabildo en este razon / e que se menoscabaua muncho en la lauor de la eglesia e que me pidien merçed que mandasse y lo que touie- / esse por bien. Onde uos mando vista esta mi carta que ueades la carta del rey que el cabildo tiene en / esta razon. E non consintades a cogedor nin a otro ninguno que passe contra ella en ninguna manera / ca non es mi uoluntad que se menoscaba ninguna cosa de la lauor de la eglesia. Dada en Córdoua ueynte / e quatro dias de octubre. Era de mille e trezientos e ueynte annos. Yo, Roy Dias, la fiz / escriure por mandado del Infante. Johan Martinez.

\textit{Translation}: The infante don Sancho, elder son and heir of the very noble don Alfonso, by the grace of God, king of Castile, Toledo, León, Galicia, Seville, Córdoba, Murcia, Jaén, and the Algarve. To the town council, and the magistrates and the chief of police of Córdoba, and to all the other aportellados of this same place: greetings and grace. You should know well that the chapter of the church of Santa María of Córdoba showed me a charter of the king, my father, in which it says that four Moors who labor in the works of this above-mentioned church were quit of all tax obligation. And [this is] because they [the chapter] had lost the charter they had that the king had given permanently, and because some of those who collect the taxes had arrested these four Moors, who labor in the works of the church, and regarding this they had shown it to the king, who ordered them to deliver their charter with his pendant seal, which forbade that any tax-collector or any other man might dare to arrest four Moors—two of them carpenters and two of them masons—whom the chapter would choose to labor in the works of the church, and that there are those who go against the charter that the king gave to the chapter concerning this matter, thus very much impairing the works of the church. And they have requested a concession from me that I order it [to be as it should be], and that I would judge it to be appropriate. Therefore, I order you to see this, my charter, and that you should see the charter of the king that the chapter has concerning this matter, and that you not consent that any tax-collector or any other person may go against the charter in any manner, as it is not my will that anything of the works of the church should be impaired. Delivered in Córdoba, the 24th day of October, era of one thousand three-hundred and twenty years. I, Roy Díaz, put it into writing by order of the infante. Johan Martínez.
TAXES FOR THE RESTORATION AND MAINTENANCE OF THE UMAYYAD WATER CONDUITS IN CÓRDOBA, DOC. N (1263)

Doc. N. Monday, December 17, 1263, Seville [era 1301]
Published: Diplomatario, p. 301, doc. 274.
Translation: All who see and hear this charter should know that we [are] don Alfonso, by the grace of God king of Castile, Toledo, León, Galicia, Seville, Córdoba, Murcia, Jaén, and the Algarve. Because we understand that it is a great honor of the town of Córdoba that the water there still flows through the pipes as it used to flow in the time of the Moors, we want the waters to flow from now on and henceforth in all those places in which it used to flow. And because this will not be able to be maintained if not for a rent recognized each year from which the pipes are repaired, we well defend therefore, that this is in favor of all of those of the town communally, that they might there pay this rent each year in this manner:

The bishop and chapter: thirty maravedís.
The town council: a hundred maravedís.
The community of the Jews: a hundred maravedís.
The Moors: thirty Alfonsine maravedís.

And we order that they pay the above-mentioned from here henceforth each year on the day of Saint Michael just as it is. And those of them who do not want to pay, we order the chief of police of Córdoba, that he arrest them and make them pay. The charter was written in Seville, by order of the king, on Monday, the 17th of December, era of one thousand three hundred and one years. I, Gonzalo Díaz, put it into writing.

THE REMOVAL OF THE SHOPS SURROUNDING THE GREAT MOSQUE, DOCS. O–Q (1278, 1281, 1287)

Doc. O. May 24, 1278, Peñafiel [era 1316]
Published: Diplomatario, pp. 462–63, doc. 440.
Translation: Don Alfonso, by the grace of God king of Castile, Toledo, León, Galicia, Seville, Córdoba, Murcia, Jaén, and the Algarve. To the magistrates (alcaldes) and the chief of police of Córdoba: greetings and grace. The dean and the chapter there of Córdoba sent to me complaining, and they say that the king don Ferrando, my father, my God forgive him, gave them the shops that surround Sancta María, which had pertained to his almoxerifadgo. Furthermore, I gave them the other shops that are at one end of them for the anniversaries of my father and mother. And now they say that there are men in the town who had shops and who rented them out [more readily?] than the [church’s] shops, and thus they do not observe the tax status (franqueza) that they ought to have by reason of my almoxerifadgo, and because of this they consequently lose their rights, and I do not judge this to be appropriate. Therefore, I order you that you make them observe the tax-status that the shops of my almoxerifadgo have, as they [originally] belonged to the same [group]. And do not do any other thing, for if you do, I will take action against you for it. Delivered in Peñafiel, the 24th day of May, era of one thousand, 300, and 16 years. I, Roy Martínez, put it into writing by order of the king.

Doc. P. July 25, 1281, Córdoba [era 1319]
Published: Diplomatario, pp. 511–13, doc. 482.
Translation: Let it be known to all who see and hear this charter of privilegio, that we [are] don Alfonso, by the grace of God, king of Castile, Toledo, León, Galicia, Seville, Córdoba, Murcia, Jaén, and the Algarve, at once with the queen, doña Yolant, my wife, and with my sons, the infante don Sancho—elder son and heir—and don Pedro and don Johan and don Jaymes: In order to do well by and make a concession to don Pascual, bishop of Córdoba, and to the chapter of this same place, we give them and grant them in exchange for the shops that surround Santa María of this same place, which we order to be torn down in its honor and in honor of the great standing of the town, all the posts (tablas) of the two meat markets (carnecerias) of the Christians with their shops, except for the right to the alabala, which we reserve for ourselves. And one of the meat markets in the parish of Santa María is bordered on the one side by the wine cellar (bodega) of the archdeacon, don Sebastian, and on the other by the houses of the church, which are in front of the wine cellar (bodega) that belonged to the queen, doña Johanna, and that now belongs to the monastery [convent] of Santa Catalina, and on the other two sides by the plaza, which is called the Malcocinado (“the tripe shop”) and by our street. And the other meat-market with its shops is in the parish of San Andrés and has bordering it on the one side the wall between the town (villa) and the Xarquía; and on the other side our corral where they take the cows, which is on the street that goes away from the Puerta del Rencón and from Sancta María; and on the other side, our street, which comes from the town (villa) by the Puerta
del Moro,96 near to San Salvador, which goes away from Sant Andrés... And all these [properties] mentioned above, we give you freely and quit [of any previous claim] forever, in order to do what you would like with them as a bishop and a chapter ought to do with properties of their church. And we forbid that anyone might dare to go against this privilege in order to annul it or diminish it in any way, as anyone who does so will incur our wrath and will have to pay us five thousand maravedís of the new coinage in penalty and, to the bishop and chapter, the damage doubled. And so that this would be more firm and stable, we order you to deliver this our privilege, sealed with our lead seal. The privilege made in Córdoba, Friday, the 25th day of the month of July, in the year of one thousand three hundred and nineteen years... [Names of all the witnesses]. Johán Pérez, son of Millán Pérez, put it into writing by order of the king in the thirtieth year that the above-mentioned king reigned.

Doc. Q. April 13, 1287, Almazán [era 1325]
Source: Archivo de la Catedral de Córdoba, MS 125, fol. 20r and v.
Registered: Corpus Mediaevale Cordubense 3, doc. 1121 (in press); Catálogo de los manuscritos, p. 226, doc. 75; Mercedes Gaibrois, Historia del Reinado de Sancho IV (Madrid, 1928), vol. 1, p. 143, n. 5 (cited with mistaken date); J. Padilla González, “El conflicto de las carnicerías de cristianos de Córdoba o el fracaso de

ALFONSO X DONATES SHOPS AROUND THE GREAT MOSQUE OF SEVILLE, DOC. R (1254)

Doc. R. December 30, 1254, Burgos97
Published: Diplomatario, p. 154, doc. 143
Translation: Let it be a known thing to all the men who see this charter that I [am] don Alfonso, by the grace of God, king of Castile, Toledo, León, Galicia, Seville, Córdoba, Murcia, and Jaén. It pleases us greatly to do well by the church of Seville and to carry her forward, and because she would be better served, and for the honor of the very noble king don Ferrando, my father, who lies buried there, and for his soul and for the remission of my sins and so that they would make a feast for the day of San Clemente.98 I give and grant to the chapter of the church of Santa María of Seville all my shops adjacent to the church, that they possess them freely and quit [of any previous claim] forevermore. And I order and forbid that anyone may dare to seize them or to contradict them, as whoever does so will incur my wrath, and pay me a thousand maravedís in penalty, and to [those of the church], the damage doubled. And so that this charter might be more secure, I ordered it to be sealed with my lead seal. The charter was drawn up in Burgos, by order of the king, the 30th day of the month of December, in the era of one thousand two hundred and ninety-two years. Johán Pérez of Cuenca wrote it.

NOTES

Author's note: A very early version of this paper was presented at the International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds, in July 1997. I am grateful to a number of individuals, including Padre Manuel Nieto for his hospitality and help with viewing material from the archive of the cathedral of Córdoba, my teacher and friend Julian Raby for his insightful and inspiring observations, my readers at Muqarnas, David Hogge, and many other colleagues who helped to pave the way.

1. Ambrosio de Morales, Las Antigüedades de las Ciudades de España (Alcalá de Henares, 1575, rpt. facsm. Valencia, 1996), fol. 120r and v (Madrid, 1792), p. 51, “Y hase de entender, que está agora la Iglesia en la misma forma que fue edificada entonces. Porque algunas cosas, que dentro despues acá se han labrado, no han quitado nada de todo el casco antiguo, ni de la forma y ordenanza dél.” Morales was a native of Córdoba.

2. Creswell himself provided a bibliography of some 180 works. One good bibliography, from 970–1991, is in Manuel Nieto Cumplido and Carlos Luca de Tena y Alvear, eds., La Mezquita de Córdoba: planos y dibujos, (Córdoba, 1992), pp. 171–75. More recent studies include N. N. Khoury, “The


13. It has been assumed that these architectural elements must have come from Madinat al-Zahra’, and yet some of the capitals clearly predate the caliphal style developed in the tenth century. Terrasse dated them to the ninth century. Terrasse, La Mosquée, pl. 82.


16. The “apples” were described in the twelfth century by the geographer al-Idrisî (d. 1166), who studied in Córdoba, and the historian and biographer Ibn Bashkuwâl (d. 1183), a Córdoban native. Ibn Bashkuwâl describes a pinnacle of three orbs—two of gold and one of silver—skewered by a copper pole and surmounted by a hexagonal lily and a small gold pomegranate. Al-Idrisî describes three golden and two silver apples with leaves of a lily. Curiously, both must have known that the apples of the ornament had been stolen before mid-century, although they do not seem to have mentioned it. Ibn Bashkuwâl’s account was preserved in work by Ibn Sa’id al-Maghribî compiled by the seventeenth-century historian al-Maqqari. Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Maqqari al-Tilmâsî, Nafîf al-tîl min ghun al-Andalus al-ratîl, ed. L. Abbás, vol. 1 (Beirut, 1968), pp. 562–63; Abu ‘Abd Allah Muhammad al-Idrisî, Waqî al-majíd al-jumî li-Qurtuba: Description de la Grande Mosquée de Cordoue, trans. A. Dessus Lamare (Algiers, 1949), pp. 10–13. As for the minbar, the early descriptions of it cite nine steps, whereas Ambrosio de Morales’s description from the third quarter of the sixteenth century cites only seven. The partial dismantling of the minbar in the twelfth century may account for this. Regarding Morales’s text, see note 29, below. For a study of the minbar, see Félix Hernández Giménez, “El almimbar
18. Al-Mansur apparently collected dust from the battlefields of his victories throughout his life, so that it could be used to cover his shroud at his funeral. One medieval author wondered whether the dust was sprinkled over al-Mansur’s cadaver or baked into a brick that was buried with it. Cristina de la Puente, "La caracterización de Almanzor: entre la epopeya y la historia," Biografías y Género Biográfico en el Occidente Islámico, ed. María Luisa Ávila and Manuela Marín (Madrid, 1997), pp. 388–89, and personal communication, Mariam Rosser-Owen.
22. Ramón Menéndez Pidal, ed., Primera Crónica General de España, vol. 2 (Madrid, 1955), chap. 977, pp. 655–56. The Primera Crónica is a Castilian chronicle from the second half of the thirteenth century. M. Nieto has indicated that the symbolic parallel between don Raimundo and his predecessor in Toledo, Bernardo de Sédirac, who consecrated the congregational mosque of Toledo as a church in 1086 in violation of the surrender pacts, would have had a great deal of resonance at the time. Nieto, Historia de la Iglesia, p. 56.
27. The importance of the Almohad campaign to elevate Córdoba in 1162, evinced by the presence of the caliph’s two sons and the expenditure of sending at least one of the court’s leading architects, has been underestimated in the literature. The problem has been one of identifying both textual and architectonic evidence of the activities of the caliphal task force. Jesús Zanón has provided a reference to the only later palace known to have been constructed by the Almohads in Córdoba: Qasr Abi Yahya, built on the river bank outside the city by Abu Yahya, son of Abu Ya’qub Yusuf, and brother of the caliph Abu Yusuf Ya’qub al-Mansur. See Zanón, Topografía de Córdoba, pp. 80–81.
28. This structure is always assumed to be caliphal in date and patronage. It shows strong divergences from caliphal architectural point that to later construction or reconstruction using caliphal architectonic elements. This is not to say that al-Hakam did not insert a domed vault in this location in his mosque—but it was unlikely to have been the Villaviciosa. The main differences between it and the three caliphal domes are its proportions, its size and rectangular shape, the spacing between its columns, the configuration of the ribs of its dome and the dome ornaments, the awkwardness and heaviness of its interlaced arcades, the ugly placement of its impost blocks, and the large polylobed arches, which have little to do with caliphal architecture but rather point to Rabat. Its dark arcade structures in particular give an impression of "shoring up" rather than of lightness and permeability, which seem to be the intended effects of the caliphal arcades around the mihrab. The question of the Villaviciosa cannot be settled here, however, and will be addressed in a separate study. One recent study deals with the exterior structure of the dome, not necessarily in terms of the points above; the author agrees with Terrasse’s opinion that the dome was “built by decorators and not by architects,” for whatever that is worth. Pedro Marfil Ruiz, “Nuevos datos para el conocimiento del lucernario de al-Hakam II en la capilla de la Villaviciosa de la mezquita de Córdoba,” Quattro 3 (1998): 252–55.
29. Antigüedades (1575), fol. 124a (1792), p. 65. Morales wrote, “Inside the first chapel already mentioned [the capilla de San Pedro, in al-Hakam’s extension], there was in a chamber that they called ‘the seat of the king Almanzor’; and it was a ‘cart’ with four wooden wheels of the most rich construction, and one ascended it on seven steps. A few years ago they disassembled it for I do not know what purpose, and thus perished that antique thing.”
30. Ibn Ghalib, Farhat al-anfus, p. 298; Joaquín Vallvé, La descripción de Córdoba, p. 672. Why the sabe had become a graveyard of unused columns is not explained, although it is tempting to guess that they were the columns from the old qibla walls replaced by each extension, or from the eastern wall of the mosque replaced by al-Mansur.
31. In some cases they also corrected deviant qiblas; the best-known example of this is the destruction of ‘Ali b. Yusuf’s mosque in Marrakech on the pretext that the qibla was off, and the founding of the first Kutubiyya mosque there. Mariel Fierro, “Las practicas religiosas,” in El Retroceso Territorial de al-Andalus: Almorávides y Almohades, Siglos XI al XIII, vol. 8 of Historia de España, ed. R. Menéndez Pidal (Madrid, 1997), p. 515.
32. Some caliphal capitals and columns from Córdoba or Madinat al-Zahra’ are still extant in the upper story of the Almohad minaret, for example.
33. Fernando III’s conquest of Córdoba was the result of a series of accidents rather than the outcome of a planned campaign. The main sources that narrate the conquest are the Crónica de España; the Crónica Latina de los Reyes de Castilla;
De Rebus Hispaniae, and the Primera Crónica General. According to these chronicles, some towers in the Ajarquía (al-jiba al-shargiya) were taken at night by a group of rogue Christian mercenaries, the almorávides, in early 1236. They held the towers by shooting down at the population below. Word was sent to Fernando III in León; he arrived in February with his nobles and the armies of the bishops of Cuenca and Baena and of the local concejos. These combined forces laid siege to the madina until the end of June, when a complicated truce was declared as a result of a six-year peace treaty between Fernando III and Ibn Hud, amir al-muslimin in Murcia from 1228 to 1238. See Lucas de Túy, Crónica de España, cap. 94, pp. 428–31; Jiménez de Rada, De Rebus Hispaniae, lib. 9, cap. 16, pp. 297–99; Jiménez de Rada, Historia de los Hechos, lib. 9, cap. 16, pp. 349–50; Luis Charl Brea, ed. and trans., Crónica Latina de los Reyes de Castilla (Cádiz, 1984), pp. 93–102; Primera Crónica General, vol. 2, cap. 1046, pp. 729–33; Ana Rodríguez López, La Consolidación Territorial de la Monarquía Frugal Castellana: Expansión y Fronteras durante el Reinado de Fernando III (Madrid, 1994), p. 124; María Jesús Viguera Molins, “Taifas post-almohades,” El Retrato Territorial de al-Andalus: Almoravides y Almohades, Siglos XI al XIII, vol. 8 of Historia de España, ed. R. Menéndez (1997), cap. 4, pp. 115–19. It is interesting to note that the bishop of Cuenca, Gonzalvo Juanes, was a mozarab and the maternal uncle of Gonzalvo Pérez, the mozarab archbishop of Toledo until 1299 (personal communication, Peter Linehan).


36. Mudéjar communities continued to live in the countryside around Córdoba, known as the Campiña, where they probably formed the majority of farmers.


41. Crónica Latina, p. 100; Primera Crónica General, vol. 2, cap. 1047, p. 734: “...Johan, bishop of Osma, with the aforementioned other bishops, the filth of Muhammad already thrown out, circled around the whole of the mosque, sprinkling holy water on it just as it should be done; and other additional things that the law of the holy church orders, they restored it in this manner, and “restoring it” means something like “converting it to the service of God.” That bishop, don Johan, in the voice of the archbishop of Toledo, carried out that cleaning before the other bishops, turning that mosque of Córdoba into a church, and praised and honored the Blessed Virgin Mary, mother of God; and sang the mass there loudly as if on a high holiday and with much honor, and gave a sermon, according to the knowledge that he had and the grace that God put in his lips; and in this manner he gave affection to all the faithful and solace to their hearts, and all felt as if they had been given refuge and made their prayers there and offered their offerings great and good, each one according to what he reciprocated and desired.” Jiménez de Rada explicitly states in his text that, as he was at the Holy See in Rome, he could not perform this ritual and that Juan, bishop of Osma, substituted for him. As archbishop of Toledo, he should have performed the ritual, as he was responsible for the incorporation of newly conquered cities into the province of Toledo. This responsibility originated in a papal bull—Cunctis sanctorum (All the Holy Places)—issued in 1088 by Urban II, which confirmed Bernard of Sédirac as archbishop of the new cathedral of Toledo and granted him the right to take charge of the “restoration” of the Mozarabic/Visigothic bishoprics in the whole of the Peninsula captured from the Muslims until the metropolitan see was restored in the Muslim territories. See Juan Francisco Rivera Recio, La Iglesia de Toledo en el siglo XII (1086–1208), vol. 1 (Rome, 1966), pp. 295–315. The curious gloss on the term “restore” by the author of the account in the Primera Crónica may indicate an awareness of the earlier conqueror or may reflect the fact that the Castilians knew the mosque had never been a church.

42. The Siete Partidas, commissioned by Alfonso X and written between 1251 and 1265, represent an erudite attempt to replace the inadequate and inconsistent local legal codes in the kingdoms of Castile and León. As a text, they constitute one of the most important documentary sources for thirteenth-century Spanish society; see Nieto, Historia de la Iglesia, pp. 61–64, 80; Manuel Nieto Cumplido, La Catedral de Córdoba (Córdoba, 1998), pp. 333–38; Teresa Laguna Paúl, “La aljama cristianizada: Memoria de la catedral de Santa María de Sevilla,” in Metropolis Totius Hispanicæ: 750 Aniversario Incorporacion de Sevilla a la Corona Castellana, (exhib. cat.), ed. Alfredo J. Morales (Seville, 1998), p. 42.


44. Creswell, Early Muslim Architecture, vol. 2, p. 143, n. 8; Morales, Antigüedades, fol. 124a. According to Nieto, the mihrah remained until 1586 as the area for the “cure of souls of the parish of Santa María,” later known as the Sacrament. In the sixteenth century, the mihrah was called the “capilla del Zancorrón ó del Alcorán,” and the “chapel of St. Peter” and appears to have been maintained largely intact, although it was damaged enough to have been restored in 1772 and again from 1815 to 1818. Nieto, La Catedral de Córdoba, 366; Leopoldo Torres Balbás, “Nuevos datos sobre la mezquita de Córdoba cristianizada,” Al-Andalus 16 (1949): 455–57.

45. There is an obvious naïveté in Morales’s understanding of the functions of Islamic religious architecture. He wrote, “The whole building is a square, which is six hundred and twenty feet long, and four hundred and forty feet wide. The length runs from north to south, and the width from east to west. And although this is the case, the principal altar of the mosque was to the east, as we shall see in due course. This square, for the sake of majesty and better enjoyment of the building, is completely isolated on all sides and sur-
rounded by four streets of more than eighty feet in width, so that [the mosque] does not impede or touch any other building, except for a bridge that traverses one of the streets as a passageway and entrance for the king from the palace, so that he could arrive dry and better covered." Morales, Antigüedades (Alcalá de Henares, 1575), fol. 120v (Madrid, 1792), pp. 52–53. Morales mentions the sibāt once more in his description of the western wall of the mosque: "The other, final wall, which is opposite this one [the eastern wall], which is to the west, is composed of the same ashlar masonry and even has towers that act as buttresses like the ones already described, and a small interconnecting path or walkway like the one mentioned earlier. Moreover, almost the whole wall is smooth and does not have more than three doors, similar in every way to those we have just described. And in the lowest part of this wall on the southern corner, there is the bridge that traverses the street and serves as a passageway for the palace and the house of the bishop. It is of the same ashlar masonry and very tall and magnificent," Antigüedades (Alcalá de Henares, 1575), fols. 121v–122r (Madrid, 1792), p. 57.

46. Crónica Latina, p. 98.

47. In the 1330s, Don Juan Manuel included in his mirror for princes, El Conde Lucanor, a parable (example 41) called "On What Happened to a King of Córdoba Called Alhaqem." In the moralizing tale, Patronio informs the Count that a king is obliged to do great things so that he will be praised during his life and remembered after his death. To illustrate the story he quotes a refrain that he claims is commonly used among Muslims to praise a great deed, or to describe a minor deed with irony: wa-hābīlā sīyādat al-Hakam (and this is the extension of al-Hakam). The Count is advised to do something as great as the construction of the extension to the Great Mosque if he wants to receive sincere praise. Don Juan Manuel, El Conde Lucanor, ed. Alfonso Sotelo (Madrid, 1980), pp. 241–45; A. R. Nykl, "Arabic Phrases in El Conde Lucanor," Hispanic Review 10 (1942): 12–17; Diego Marín, “El elemento oriental en don Juan Manuel: sinétisis y revaluación,” Comparative Literature 7 (1955): 1–14; P. Gayangos, ed., Libro de Patronio, in Escritores en prosa anteriores al siglo 15 (Madrid, 1860), pp. 367–439; Angel González Palencia, ed. (study and notes), El Conde Lucanor, vol. 51 of Biblioteca de autores Españoles (Saragossa, 1940), rpt. 1965; Khoury, “Meaning of the Great Mosque”; 83.

48. A catalogue of these structures is included in Nieto, La Catedral de Córdoba. They have also been studied by María Ángeles Jordano Barbudo, Arquitectura Medieval Cristiana en Córdoba (desde la reconquista al inicio del Renacimiento) (Córdoba, 1996) pp. 155–67, based on documents published by Nieto, Corpus Mediaeval Cordubense, vols. 1–5.

49. Nieto, La Catedral de Córdoba, pp. 111, 115, 345–46, 479, 508. The altar dedicated to San Blas is also documented by a charter of Pope Innocent IV, dated March 5, 1252, which granted forty days of indulgences to those who visited it on the feast day of the saint.


51. Nieto, La Catedral de Córdoba, pp. 311, 365–66. Domingo Muñoz seems to have participated in the conquest of Seville in 1248 and figured prominently in the Libro de Repartimiento de Seville, which is dated to 1253—five years earlier than the foundation of this chapel.

52. The Capilla Real is a funerary chapel that, according to documentary evidence, was endowed by Constanza, the wife of Fernando IV, but completed in 1271 by Enrique II when he buried the remains of his father, Alfonso XI, there. It is located to the West of the Capilla de la Villaviciosa, and its ribbed, clerestory dome is a scaled replica of the latter. The documents belie the myth that the chapel was built by Alfonso X in the thirteenth century. See Barbudo, Arquitectura Medieval Cristiana, pp. 157–60; Rafael López Gazzmán, Arquitectura Mudéjar: Del sincretismo medieval a las alternativas Hispánicoamericanas (Madrid, 2000), pp. 289–90.


54. The almogàrfaro was a royal import-export tax collected on certain types of (mainly agricultural) goods such as oil, wine, and fags; the Castilians took it over from the Almohads. The Castilian office of the almogàrfaro was derived from an Islamic administrative post, al-mushrif (official or inspector in charge of local tax collection), and the title came to signify a royal appointee who was responsible for collecting royal rents, tribute payment from the Kingdom of Granada, entrance and exit taxes at ports and harbors, taxes for importing and exporting goods, and a multitude of fines, and who in addition served as treasurer of the funds collected. These funds represented the almogàrfaro. See Jacinto Bosch Vila, "The Administrative History of al-Andalus: an Approach," in Régimen y Verzualización del Vorderen Oriente En Islamischer Zeit, vol. 2 (Leiden, 1988), pp. 71–152.

55. In 1086, Alfonso VI reendowed, among other properties, the new cathedral with "all the estates or houses and shops that it had in the time when it was a mosque of Muslims."

56. For a discussion of the repartimiento of Córdoba—the surveying, division, and concession of land and urban property to settlers—see Ecker, "From Masjid to Casa-Mezquita," pp. 79–89.


58. The endowment is attested in surviving charters of privilege and papal bulls, which confirm Fernando III’s requests for concessions, and is also cited by Alfonso X in a charter of 1278 (see documentary appendix, doc. O, above). Manuel Nieto, "La restauración de la diócesis de Córdoba en el reinado de Fernando III el Santo," Córdoba: Apciones para su Historia, ed. Antonio Domínguez Ortiz et al. (Córdoba, 1981), pp. 135–48; Demetrio Mansilla Reoyo, Iglesia castellano-leonesa y Curia Romana en los Tiempos del Rey San Fernando (Madrid, 1945), pp. 309–10, doc. 43. One of Fernando III’s most dramatic acts in the mosque/cathedral was to return the church bells taken from Santiago de Compostela in the tenth century by al-Mansur; they had been made into lamps for the Great Mosque. Jiménez de Rada, De Rebus Hispaniae, lib. 9, cap. 17, pp. 299–300; Jiménez de Rada, Historia de los hechos, p. 351.

59. Nieto, Historia de la Iglesia, p. 143; Manuel Nieto Cumplido, ed., Corpus Mediaeval Cordubense, vol. 1 (1106–1255) (Córdoba, 1979), p. 402. This was not the first time that Innocent IV helped the Bishop of Córdoba monetarily. In 1246, Innocent authorized him, because of his many expenses, to borrow the same amount of money for four years as the Bishop of Burgos. The cause of these expenses was not named. See Mansilla Reoyo, Iglesia castellano-leonesa, p. 333, doc. 61.
60. It is a mistake to extrapolate from the case of Córdoba, as some historians have done, that statute labor was always demanded of the mudéjars in Andalucia. Muslims, Jews, and clerics were generally excluded from the taxes imposed on the Christian laity, except when their interests or properties converged. Conversely, Muslims and Jews were subject to exceptional taxes not paid by the rest of the population. Likewise, the Carta de Fuero, granted to the mudéjars of Palma de Río in 1371 by Ambrosio Bocanegra, vassal of Enrique II, should not be used to generalize about the tribute-paying relationship between mudéjars and monarchs in the thirteenth century.

61. Doc. G (1268), in the documentary appendix above, is concerned with those churches in the bishopric that, seven years after the original charter, refused to pay this tithe. Their refusal may have been due to depopulation of—and hence a diminished revenue from—the countryside, particularly after the mudéjar rebellion four years earlier.

62. This tax should not be confused with enslavement. While one can compare the Umayyad and Amirid policy of funding foundations in the mosque from war-booty—which might be considered as an involuntary tax on subjected peoples—with Alfonso X’s taxation of mudéjar craftsmen.


64. Docs. of March 22 and March 27, 1254, Toledo. See Manuel González Jiménez, Diplomataio Andalus de Alfonso X (Seville, 1991), p. 124, doc. 121: “...para adobar e para labrar los cannos de Seuilla...” See also Isabel Montes Romero-Camacho, “El trabajo de los mudéjares en el abastecimiento de agua á la Sevilla bajomedieval: los mores cañeros y el acueducto de los Caños de Carmona,” in Actas del VI Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo (Teruel, 1995), pp. 240–45.


66. See for example, González Jiménez, Diplomatorio, lii–liv.

67. In the documentation from Córdoba included in the documentary appendix to this study, a number of mudéjar tax obligations come to light: the pecho (Latin: pactum), an annual poll tax that could also be a tax on goods and properties; the havendera, a community-wide obligation to perform convé labor, probably repairing city walls, bridges, and roads; desemvos, or tithes; a labor tax on Muslim craftsmen (carpenters, masons, and sawyers or smiths), including master craftsmen, to work two days a year in the former mosque; an annual tribute for the restoration and maintenance of the Umayyad water conduits in Córdoba; and an excuse tax, the alqubala, of obvious Islamic origin (Arabic: al-qubala, a tax owed to the state treasury), which represented a certain percentage of the price of a sale. Other taxes are mentioned but not specified in the documents.


69. On May 24, 1278, Alfonso X responded to the complaints of the cathedral of Córdoba regarding their rights over the shops surrounding the cathedral, confirmed Fernando III’s donation of the shops, and donated several more [see documentary appendix, doc. O, above]. On July 5, 1281, Alfonso X ordered the demolition of the same shops and gave the bishop and chapter other properties—two meat markets in the Madina and the Eastern Quarter—in exchange for them, thus setting off a century-long conflict between the church and the butchers (see documentary appendix, docs. P and Q, above). The Almohad mosque in Seville was also surrounded by shops, which Alfonso X donated to the cathedral in 1254 (documentary appendix, doc. R). A year earlier, on December 16, 1253, he had already conceded one of these shops to Pedro Fernández, judo-converso. See J. González, Repartimiento de Sevilla, vol. 2, p. 320.

70. Rafael Córime Ramos’s statement (in La Iglesia de Santa María de Sevilla [Seville, 1993], p.19) that “after the mudéjar rebellion of 1264, Alfonso X’s attitude toward the subjected Muslims experienced a radical change and it seems possible that he used them as slaves in the construction of religious and secular buildings” cannot be sustained. The documentation from Córdoba is the only surviving evidence of a mudéjar labor tax dedicated to the restoration of a church, and it predates the rebellion. There are other, different cases in which mudéjar craftsmen worked under the patronage of Alfonso X; don Ali, for example, built a basilica on a mosque site in Puerto de Santa María. It has no bearing on the labor-tax in Córdoba.

71. Damián González Arce, “Ordenanzas y fuero concedido a la ciudad de Córdoba por Fernando III,” Cuadernos de Estudios Medievales y Ciencias y Técnicas Historográficas 17 (1992): 406: “And when it happens that the city council of Córdoba has to pay for something because of the things that happened to them, they should fix the communal collection at 10,000 maravedís, and up to this amount, each should pay correspondingly, and from this no one is excused and all must pay, apart from clergy and Jews and [Muslims], and the same applies with regard to communal statute labor.” (Et quando acaece que el concejo de Cordoua an de ppear alguna cosa para las cosas que les acaecen, fazen la cabeza de diez mil mar., e fasta en esta contia pecha cada vno por lo que a complimiento de la cabeça que an de pechar, et en esto non se escusa ninguno mas todos las pechan salvo clerigos e judios e [moros] e esto mismo en las fazenderas.) A prob-
lem here is that the word “moros” is an interpolation of González Arce, but it seems to be a logical one.

72. Before their forced conversion at the end of the fifteenth century, mudéjar appearances have to visit their former great mosques openly. Nieto offers an elegant, story, unknown of the cathedral of Córdoba by Enrique IV in 1469: “the great and sumptuous buildings are famous in the said church, which belonged at first to the infidel Moors, enemies of the holy catholic faith, and who today still respect with great reverence this said church as the most important house of worship that they constructed.” Nieto, La Catedral de Córdoba, p. 321. Jerónimo Múñzer (Hieronymus Metarius), writing in 1495, saw Muslims in the Sea of Saragossa: “The church is spacious, beautiful, and immaculately built by Benedict XIII. It was in the past a mosque of the Saracens, and still today, in the cloister, there is an ancient and solid mosque, very venerated by the Saracens with their visits, although now it is a chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin.” Jerónimo Múñzer, Viaje por España y Portugal, 1494–1495 (Madrid, 1991), p. 291. Also see J. Peña Gonzálvo, “La Seo del Salvador de Zaragoza (análisis e hipótesis de su evolución constructiva desde su origen como mezquita-aljama hasta el siglo XVI),” Turismo 7 (1987): 87.


74. The poll tax was transferred to the city council toward the payment of repairs to the city walls: see documentary appendix, doc. K, above. (…Do et otorgo al conceio de Córdova…). Irrespective of the size of the mudéjar community, the poll tax remained on the books for quite a while. Fernando III confirmed the Fuero of Toledo in 1222 and granted it to Córdoba in 1241. Its terms were reiterated in a 1516 copy of this Córdoban Fuero made for the city of Lorca when the representatives of the city council there asked who built and repaired the towers and walls of the city of Córdoba. The answer was that the city council of Córdoba had received a privilege of certain royal taxes for the maintenance of the city wall and towers, including the tribute of the Muslims. See González Arce, “Ordenanzas y fuero,” p. 407. “…Et otroto a lo que demandan que las torres e los adarves de la villa quien los faze o quien los adoba, Córdoua ha por prinípielo que el muro que se adobe de sus rentas del rey, e da a Córdoua para esto el montadgo de los ganados e el pecho de los moros, e desto labran el muro e las torres de la villa.”


76. By contrast, the Jewish community of Córdoba paid a poll tax of 38,335 maravedis in the same year. Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, Historia del reinado de Sancho IV de Castilla, vol. 3 (Madrid, 1928), p. ccxcvi; González Jiménez, En torno á los orígenes, p. 77; O’Callaghan, “The mudéjars,” p. 41; Manuel González Jiménez, “Los mudéjares andalucés (ss. XIII–XV),” Andalucía entre Oriente y Occidente (1236–1492): Actas del V Coloquio Internacional de Historia Medieval de Andalucía (Córdoba, 1988), p. 548. If indeed it ever existed, the pecho de los moros in Seville, which still had a sizeable mudéjar population in the thirteenth century, particularly in the surrounding villages of the Aljarafe and in fortified towns such as Alcalá de Guadiara, was not used for repairing the city wall. Rather, the ordinances of Seville specify collection of a special tax on the residents of each parish of the city for repairs to civic works.

77. The proportions and numbers of free and enslaved Muslims in Córdoba are not known. There must have been a slave market, however: a charter of Alfonso X, dated in 1279, states, “[Regarding] all the captive moros and moras of the Jews who go into the churches [in order to] become Christians: they should be freed (foros), without other obligation (libres e quitos), having been in the church for the amount of time that they used to be [there] in the time of the king, don Ferrando, my father.” González Jiménez, En torno á los orígenes, p. 76. These Muslims must have been captured on the frontier and sold into slavery; it is unlikely that they were mudéjars from Córdoba itself.


79. González Jiménez, “Los mudéjares andalucés,” p. 547: “…En esta paz dizen que son ydos a tierras de moros pieza de moros que y moravan en Córdova, e por esta razón que non puedes aver tan buenos moros maestros como solíen aver fasta aquí.”

80. Fernando Gutiérrez Baños, Las Empresas Artísticas de Sancho IV el Bravo (Burgos, 1997), p. 100.

81. See Jordano Barbudo, Arquitectura Medieval Cristiana, and López Guzmán, Arquitectura Mudéjar, pp. 241–45. One exception may be the convent of San Pablo, where a coin dating to the reign of Fernando IV (1295–1312) was discovered in a pier during a recent restoration effort. Neither López Guzmán nor Jordano Barbudo gives the date of the coin or identifies the pier with the work of mudéjar masons. Thus, the convent provides inconclusive evidence for the work of this group of craftsmen in Córdoba.


84. It is noteworthy that three of the terms used in this charter and in some of the other documents are written in Castilianized Arabic: foros (from hurra, free, not enslaved), annajar (al-najjãr, carpenter, cabinetmaker), albannes (al-banna, builder, mason, or bricklayer). The word annajar did not survive in modern Castilian, while albanna became the modern albañil. It is not clear if the final term, repeated a number of times in the documentation, refers to ferredores (heredores), smiths; or to serredores, sawyers. The orthography of the f and s are similar, and in this case confused. The
According to Linehan, "The grant of Omnes apportellados —the third part of the ecclesiastical tithe normally earmarked for the upkeep of the church’s fabric—which Alfonso felt able to use for purely political purposes, had been made to Alfonso’s father, Fernando III, by Innocent IV in April 1247 as a contribution towards the cost of the Seville Campaign." Peter Linehan, The Spanish Church and the Papacy in the Thirteenth Century (Cambridge, Eng., 1971), p. 111. See also Giles Constable, Monastic Tithes from Their Origins to the Twelfth Century (Cambridge, 1964), pp. 47ff. See also Mansilla Reoyo, Iglesia castellano-leonesa del siglo XIII, p. 152. It seems here that Alfonso X temporarily returned the third of the ecclesiastical tithes to which he was entitled to the Cathedral of Córdoba so that it could pay for the necessary restoration work.

Torres Balbás mentioned another document dated December 8, 1263, in which Alfonso X obliges every “Moorish vassal” to work two days a year in the cathedral, citing a document in the Colección Fernández Guerra, leg. XVIII, fol. 150r, Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid. Torres Balbás, "Reparación de la techumbre," p. 173, n. 17. Unlike the situation in Andalucía, the tax obligations of mudéjars in the kingdom of Aragón, according to Boswell, were similar to those of Christian vassals and serfs. In this sense, mudéjar vassals in Riala owed the king six labor-days each year, during which time he would feed them, as in Córdoba. Their tasks appear to have been agricultural, as they were asked to bring their own goats and oxen. As for architecture, the Aragonese mudéjars were obliged to repair the city walls, in Játiva they were asked to bring their own goats and oxen. As for architecture, the Aragonese mudéjar laborers were compelled to work on the cathedral. John Boswell, The Royal Treasure: Muslim Communities under the Crown of Aragón in the Fourteenth Century (New Haven, 1977), pp. 166–71.

Omnes apportellados, according to the Diccionario de Autoridades, was an honorific title with an attendant jurisdiction, but it is not clear what this jurisdiction was.

This document refers to two others, which are not extant. The first (of unknown date), which made the same concession to the church—that four Muslim craftsmen who worked in the restorations would be free of tax obligation—was lost by the church itself, as is stated here. The second charter, which is also of unknown date, seems to have stated that two of these four Muslim craftsmen who could no longer work (perhaps because they were too old) might be replaced by two others, who would be similarly free of tax obligations.

Cogedor, a parish tax collector who collected the cogechas, civil taxes, for the town council (concejo). The dictionary of the Spanish Royal Academy defines the term as a person who collected royal rents and tribute payments. Terms such as these varied in meaning according to the moment and the geographical area, and it is not always possible to be precise. The important point is that these four mudéjar craftsmen were not obliged to pay ecclesiastical or civil taxes, which implies that they enjoyed a privilege equivalent to that of the nobility in exchange for their permanent contract to work on the cathedral.

The shops surrounding the mosque/cathedral of Córdoba must have been trading in goods that came under the jurisdiction of almojarifazgo and thus fell under the fiscal control of Fernando III, in the same way as the Alcazería (al-qayrawiyya), a luxury-goods market that traded particularly in textiles, was always a royal monopoly in the Islamic world. Fernando III donated this part of his almojarifazgo and its collection to the church. See above, note 54, on this tax and its ecclesiastical endowment.

The sale of meat in medieval Andalucía was controlled by the state. The butchers’ tables were tribute-paying posts that gave them the right to sell meat in that particular place. For more, see David Nirenberg, Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages (Princeton, 1996), pp. 169–73.

Malcocinado, literally “badly cooked,” figuratively refers to tripe, liver, and lungs of mutton or veal, or to the place where these are sold.

The villa in Córdoba, as mentioned previously, was equivalent to the pre-conquest madina. It was surrounded by a wall with two gates, which separated it from the eastern suburb, the Rabah al-Sharqi or al-Sharqiyya, which became the Castilianized Xarchia.

The Puerta del Rencón (Gate at the Inner Corner) is still a current place-name in Córdoba; it corresponds to the gate that Zanón tentatively identified as the Bab al-Faraj. See Zanón, Topografía de Córdoba, pp. 55–56 and figs. 1–2.

The Puerta del Moro (Moor’s Gate) can be identified as the gate known in Arabic sources as the Bab Tulaytula (Toledo gate) or Bab’Abd al-Jabbar. See Zanón, Topografía de Córdoba, pp. 46–47, and fig.2.

A year earlier, on December 26, 1253, Alfonso X granted one of these shops to a converted Jew, Pedro Fernández: “...I give and grant to Pedro Ferrández, who was a Jew and who turned Christian, a shop in Seville adjacent to the church of Santa María the Great, and this shop is the first one next to the gate, because men enter the church on the side of the Alcáceria, on the left-hand side...” González Jiménez, Diplomataria, pp. 100–101, doc. 98.

Seville was conquered in 1248, on the feast day of San Clemente.