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From Islam to Christianity: Urban Changes in Medieval Portuguese Cities

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Abstract

Focusing on the Islamic urban pattern in the actual Portuguese territory, the present study underlines the confrontation with the Christian urban model in the period post-Reconquista. Emphasizing both the complexity and variability of Muslim presence in Gharb al-Andalus and the Christian take over process, this chapter goes through two different situations: the appropriation and adaptation of the most important symbolic or strategic places — *alcáçova* and *medina* — where properties massively changed hands and the compulsory resettlement of the Muslim previous inhabitants in peripheral and closed quarters known as *mourarias*.

Under different pressures and obeying distinct necessities both situations suggest the eventual disappearance of the Islamic pattern, which recent archaeology proves to have existed especially from river Tejo to the south according to the social, political and military framework that from the very beginning, but in particular through the 11th to the 13th centuries, marked the southern territories.

Even though Portuguese archaeological investment in the urban medieval context is still rare – with the exception of Mértola, Silves Tavira or Lisbon – the most recent conclusions suggest an evident proximity to the evolution already studied in Spanish towns with similar historical processes such as Murcia, Valencia or Toledo, where, besides the final result, the transformation process can be followed step by step being therefore an important base for understanding the fossilization of the Islamic pattern in Portuguese territory.

Incidindo sobre a questão da matriz urbana islâmica no território actualmente português, a presente análise tem por objectivo aferir o resultado do confronto com o modelo cristão no período pós-reconquista. Destacando a complexidade e variabilidade do quadro de implantação do Islão no Gharb al-Andalus a par do processo de conquista cristã, a análise parte de duas realidades distintas: a apropriação e adaptação dos espaços nobres e estratégicos —Alcáçova e Medina — onde se verifica uma transferência maciça de propriedades e a reinstalação em bairros próprios e de forma compulsiva dos contingentes muçulmanos que, embora submetidos, optaram por permanecer no reino.

Sujeitas a pressões e necessidades diferentes ambas as situações sugerem, no entanto, o de-saparecimento da matriz islâmica que a arqueologia comprova ter existido sobretudo nas regiões a sul do Rio Tejo, de acordo com o quadro social, politico ou estratégico-militar que desde o início, mas com especial incidência no decorrer dos séculos XI a XIII, marcou os territórios meridionais.

Se no primeiro caso as necessidades da população cristã levam, pelo menos numa primeira fase, à apropriação da esmagadora maioria de estruturas e edifícios singulares — circuitos defensivos, alcáçovas e mesquitas — ainda que genericamente adaptadas e transformadas, o tecido urbano residencial, inadequado e incompreendido pelos conquistadores cristãos, parece, invariavelmente, ser sujeito a uma de duas opções: o abandono puro e simples das estruturas existentes — reocupadas as áreas já em finais da Idade Média mas raramente recorrendo à sua reutilização ou a sua ocupação condicionada a um conjunto de transfor-mações que inevitavelmente determinaram a desestruturação do modelo mediterrânico e consequente fossilização da matriz islâmica.

Pese embora as ainda raras, e por regra pontuais investigações arqueológicas — com excep-ção para os casos de Silves, Mértola, Tavira ou Lisboa — as conclusões apresentadas suge-rem uma clara aproximação à evolução registada em várias cidades espanholas referentes ao mesmo período e a conjunturas muito similares, caso de Múrcia, Valência ou Toledo, onde para alem do resultado final, todo o processo de transformação tem vindo a ser minu-ciosamente registado.

No segundo caso, correspondente às Mourarias, analisa-se em paralelo o conjunto de pressões decorrentes da Reconquista e reinstalação — com implicações evidentes na esfera social, de-mográfica ou regime de propriedade — e os traços materiais que a escassez documental ou os vestígios cadastrais remanescentes deixam, apesar de tudo, transparecer. Uma vez mais, os resultados sugerem uma ausência generalizada do que possa ser considerado matriz urbana islâmica revelando, pelo contrário, uma progressiva adaptação aos costumes cristãos e a conse-quente assimilação pela maioria à semelhança do que foi já comprovado para o quadro social.

The analysis of the medieval Portuguese city inevitably includes the confrontation be-tween two different cultures and urban patterns: the Islamic, which dominated the territory for five centuries (711-1249), and the Christian which, from North to South and following the *Reconquista* progression, imposed a new socio-political organization with obvious repercussions for urban space.

Within this process, of all the urban sections, the *alcáçova*[1] was the one which immedi-ately changed hands due to its strategic location and symbolism. In contrast, in the *Me-dina*[2], subjugation took different forms. If the town capitulated without offering effec-tive resistance, the previous inhabitants were allowed to keep, amongst other privileges, their properties. Differently – and in the most common situation in the Portuguese *Reconquista* – military conquest implied the expulsion of the defeated population from the city walls while their possessions were distributed amongst the conquerors, as Raul, the English crusader, described in relation to the fall of Lisbon[3].

After being expelled from the inner cities, *mudejares*[4] were compulsorily confined inside peripheral walled quarters called *mourarias*.

As a result, Portuguese medieval cities were forced into a significant set of adjustments, which, in a short time, resulted in a different urban pattern. These material changes, intimately connected and directly dependent on the discrimination/tolerance and ultimate integration/expulsion[5] processes towards the Muslim minority, are the focus of the present analysis, particularly the way the Christian pattern was imposed over the Islamic, and how the Muslims, constrained by the strategies pursued for their resettling, eventually attempted to resist.

In order to understand the incompatibility of the two patterns, and the reason changes were unavoidable following the conquest, it is important to emphasize, in a necessarily brief way, the fundamental structure of an Islamic town[6].

Included in the Mediterranean model, the prevailing Islamic pattern[7] was the result of a religious, juridical and social paradigm materialized through three decisive aspects: reduced state involvement in the urban setting, the supremacy of private initiative and the massive adoption of central courtyard houses within exclusively residential areas[8]. Taken together, these factors forced the urban pattern to assume the most visible characteristics of an Islamic town: a dense and saturated fabric of close knit domestic structures mostly only accessed by a *cul-de-sac* or blind alley.

These characteristics, which marked the residential fabric, were the ones where changes, even if made slowly, were most visible after the Christian conquest, while individual equipment and buildings such as the *alcáçova*, mosque and defences, immediately consecrated, were promptly adopted as instruments of propaganda of the new Christianized city[9].

Contrary to the Christian town, the Islamic one was perceived exclusively as a pragmatic association of people joined together by convenience, so that any mystic origin or sacred aspiration was disregarded[10]. State involvement in the urban setting was, therefore, in most cases, confined to individual buildings and structures of manifest religious-political symbolism or military interest, such as the *alcáçova*, the congregational mosque (*aljama*) and the city walls[11]. Not recognizing it as a religious entity, the state left the major part of the town layout, and particularly the residential areas, almost entirely in the hands of private individuals.

While state interference in the global city layout was reduced to a minimum, private initiative was maximized by the equally absent conceptualization of the town as a juridical entity, which justified the non-existence of any political-administrative structure capable of imposing regulating mechanisms upon the community[12]. Furthermore, unlimited individual action was supported and strengthened by the prevalence of the private property regime. In fact, within a very varied parcelling, where the shape and size depended exclusively on financial capability, each and every property-owner was able to freely dispose of, and use, his parcel. The progressive construction, according to needs, resulted in a dense fabric which eventually saturated the blocks completely. The only

limit was the Qur'an prescription which preached the duty of practising good while rejecting evil. As Betran Abadia underlines, this meant the defence of private interests until they were shown to be damaging similar neighbour's rights, a rule upheld by the market officer, known as *sahib al-suq* or *muhtasib*[13].

Finally, spontaneity was reinforced due to the prevailing domestic structure — the enclosed central courtyard house — which was adopted on a widespread level as a response to the extensive family social structure[14].

Organized in patrilineal clans, lineage cohesion and solidarity depended on the practice of endogamic matrimonial alliances[15] and secluded women. The typology of the Mediterranean house was an adequate answer[16] to the principles of the Qur'an regarding the defence of the family honour because it preserved the sacredness of the *harem* by finding the cool and curtained space needed for the women's privacy in the central courtyard [17].

When allied to non-invasive public management, this domestic typology had deep implications in the way residential areas extended and, therefore, also in the urban mesh[18]. Ignoring the façade concept (as a result of maintaining privacy and hiding the owner's wealth) and capturing all the required light and air through an open central patio, the Mediterranean house presented blind walls to the city. Houses belonging to members of the same clan, or related people (by origin or ethnicity)[19], placed their walls touching the next one since the non-existence of windows did not imply any particular *ambitus* or space in between[20]. As a consequence of this principle of adjoining wall-to-wall dwellings, houses expanded indefinitely while open space was reduced through progressive infilling. Blocks merged together into solidly built superblocks. The only restriction made was to ensure access, which was done through the *adarves* (*durûb*, sing. *darb*)[21], narrow, dead-end streets that, in fact, were progressively and spontaneously shaped according to needs. They entered the heart of the residential quarters and served as access corridors for several doors[22], and they were the result of private initiative on private property. This explains why they were also considered private at the juridical level.

Summing up, the Islamic city acted in accordance with religious, juridical and social rules. The essence of the Islamic urban pattern and the core differences with the Christian model lay in the absence of a strong and active administration defending the public space, combined with full rights over private property structured in accordance with the central courtyard model.

The Courtyard House as an indicator

If vestiges of *alcáçovas,* mosques and defences[23] scarcely survived on Portuguese territory, and were mostly reduced to a vague memory, the same cannot be said of the Islamic urban mesh which seems to have completely vanished – at least, on the surface. This is contrary to what happened in several Spanish towns, where it is still openly visible.

Two main explanations can be given for the Portuguese case:

- the Islamic character was tenuous in the first place, partly because the Muslims occupied the pre-existing urban network[24], and partly because they did not stay long in some regions;

- the changes were systematically eliminated by the subsequent Christian occupation.

Regarding the first aspect, it is worth emphasising that the Muslim occupation was far from being an homogeneous process. It depended, to a large extent, on three factors: the geographic, social and ideological origin of the invaders, their demographic weight and the time they controlled the region.

Coimbra illustrates a situation where the Islamic influence in shifting the previous urban pattern must have been weak. Essentially occupied by recently-Arabized, North African Berbers, numerically limited to a reduced military contingent and at least initially settled in *husun*, outside the urban nucleus, the city was, throughout the period of Islamic domination, one of the most important *moçarabe*[25] centres, suggesting, therefore, significant cultural and material continuity. Under the domination of Islamic troops from 714 to 878 and again from 987 to 1064, it was only in the late 10th century, with the rise of *al-Mansur*, that Coimbra fell effectively under the centralised military and administrative control of Cordova. In accordance with this new role as a strategic military base for Muslim movements against the Christians, along with a forced Islamisation process, a massive investment was made in the construction of the defences. This also happened in the *alcáçova*, being completed in the first years of the 11th century, just a few decades away from the Christian take over[26]. Considering the completely different construction and maturation times of architecture and urbanism, this interval, long enough to enforce isolated material marks on the territory, was insufficient to transform the pre-existing urban network in a permanent manner.

Setting aside the controversial thesis of a dichotomy between the deeply Islamised South in opposition to the North, which lacked such influence[27], the southern regions' historical context was indubitably favourable for engraving a deeper Islamic urban pattern. To the Yemenite origin of the occupier[28], the owner of urban properties since the very beginning, we must add the demographic influence of the continuous influx of Muslim contingents pushed out by the Christian advance, particularly during the 12th and 13th centuries. During this latter period, the *Gharb* was perceived to be of major strategic importance by the Islamic central authorities, and therefore the focus of attention and military investment. As Cristophe Picard underlines, the global Islamic feature of *Gharb* cities, where the *madina*, the *qasaba* and the mosque stand out, occurred from the 11th century onwards[29], just a few decades before the *Reconquista* reached the river Tejo.

That is why the present approach concentrates on the southern region, whereas the perfect setting for the emergence of the Islamic city was previously defined.

This is confirmed by archaeology. Silves[30], Mértola[31], Tavira and Lisbon[32] are the most

representative examples, where evidence of central courtyard houses – a potential indicator – is increasingly present.

In Mértola, a set of 30 houses matching the Mediterranean type, either in structure or materials, was discovered in an area transformed after the Christian conquest into a cemetery. In Silves, evidence brought to light proves the broad adoption of the central courtyard domestic structure throughout.

What archaeology reveals happened after the Christian conquest is of greatest significance to our purpose. In all cases we find one of two situations:

- An occupational gap between the second half of the 13th century and the end of the 15th century, matching the discarding of Islamic domestic structures and a new reestablishment, by the end of the Middle Ages, over the previous structures, while scarcely ever reusing them;

- The reuse of Islamic houses by covering and, hence, neutralizing the central courtyard.

In either circumstance, the result is similar: the eradication of typical Islamic houses.

All late-medieval written sources support this thesis, as do the occasional material sources that have survived where the traditional Mediterranean courtyard house is consistently absent[33]. In fact, it is now agreed that the advance of the northern conquerors was the cause of a progressive shift in the ancestral way of life demanded by the pressure of the new culture and social system[34], and subsequently the new urban pattern. This new urban pattern can be recognized in the medieval plot, narrow and deep, where the façade systematically faces the street along with the implementation of the ever-present backyard.

If the abandonment of Islamic domestic structures is a perfectly clear process, the same cannot be said of the appropriation and progressive adaptation of former structures, especially of how the documented isolated and circumstantial changes, such as the covering of the courtyard, could eventual lead to the disappearance of the Islamic urban grid.

In this particular case, recent Spanish historiography, mostly concentrated on Murcia, Valencia and Toledo[35] allows us to contextualise the, as yet, sparse Portuguese results.

Despite local examples, which differ case by case, there is a whole set of general aspects which can be explained through the differences between the Islamic and Christian urban models, and which are therefore also valid for the Portuguese territory.

On a broader and understandable scale, these latest pieces of research point out two essential and combined aspects: the abandonment or transformation of Islamic plots and the consequent assimilation/disappearance of a relevant part of the street system; that is, the typical *adarves* or dead end alleys.

In Spain, as in Portugal, the conquest of Muslim cities determined a massive transfer of property over a few decades. Dividing the city territory and keeping a part to them-

selves, Iberian kings[36] rewarded those who participated in the conquest with lands and properties. Christian settlers, recruited from diverse origins, were also included.

The redistribution of properties and the subjecting of the plots to different needs, caused a profound change in the urban pattern, albeit at differing speeds, eventually inducing the fossilization of the Muslim city.

A whole set of differences between the two cultural models explains their incapacity to share the same town layout. In fact, contrary to the Islamic social structure, the Christian one is based on a restricted family founded on the matrimonial cell[37]. Furthermore, the active role of women discard the obsessive need for privacy, looking for, whenever possible, direct contact with the street (used as a natural extension of the house and social area). As a result, the central courtyard completely lost its meaning. The generalised trend of facing the street naturally obliged house owners to adopt narrow fronts, considered the most valuable and expensive space. The houses were therefore built as elongated rectangles in a compact row with sidewalls. In such a system the only possible extra source of lightning and ventilation was the small backyard. Since each and every house fronted the street, the *adarve* was no longer needed and was therefore assimilated within the plots, divided into small sections and used as a backyard for several bordering houses[38].

The shift in urban patterns was also encouraged by another significant aspect. Family plots were private property and built according to needs until saturation in the Islamic city, but in Christian towns, most of the land plots belonged to powerful and demanding owners (crown, church, nobility), and obeyed a very precise configuration, shape and size which was avidly ensured by the landlords. As a result, the Christian city often appeared as a rigid and long-standing mesh, where residential quarters were bordered by open and fluid streets protected from private initiative by active and interfering local authorities.

Finally, the Islamic city observed the principle of separation between different functional areas, keeping the residential quarters exclusive. The trade area was located near the mosque or throughout the one or two most important axes that crossed the urban space and connected the town gates. After the Christian conquer towns had to adapt to a different model where artisans' and merchants' trade and living spaces were commonly found in the same building. The quiet, narrow and private accesses to the former residential areas were no longer suitable for the new functionally complex areas forcing the street grid to change.

This transformation process has been the focus of several pieces of research carried out in the past 20 years in various Spanish towns. Murcia is, in this context, a paradigmatic example, with archaeology increasingly proving the existence, partly adapted or simply abandoned, of the Islamic mesh below the medieval city[39]. Step by step, the details of the changes, while adapting the old pattern to the Christian needs, is now, to a great extent, clear.

One example, matching Portuguese archaeological results, is enlightening. It is that of the reuse of Islamic houses by covering and, therefore, neutralizing the central courtyard, which, in spite the continuity of use, implies a profound and meaningful restructuring of the whole scheme. As already mentioned, besides social and religious needs, the courtyard was the pivot of the entire construction as it was the only real point of entry for air and light to the interior. By closing it, the new inhabitants were obliged to open the outer walls, fitting windows as an alternative to the key function of the central courtyard. The emergence of a façade, directly connected to the street, also had an impact on the street system, making the *adarves* obsolete.

What seemed to be a small adjustment introduced a sequence of meaningful changes, all of them contrary to Islamic logic.

If we consider the few archaeologically proven cases in Lisbon or Silves and extrapolate them to the larger scale that occurred in Spain, it is possible to understand how a whole urban system was put in danger following the Christian occupation, which found the central yard, and everything it stood for, incomprehensible. The process was not immediately widely adopted. It was dependent on the new occupiers, and nothing suggests it was part of a conscientious political strategy. In fact, it was the result of a sequence of individual actions especially focused on the architectural level.

Contrastingly, on the urban level, the Christian authorities seem to have taken a more active role, concentrating their efforts on the opening, regularisation and enlargement of the street grid, while facing a new set of demands. The street was not just a place for circulation. It was, by then, a place of encounter, work, trade and definitely one of the urban elements most capable of expressing power and wealth, either through the display of ornate façades, or as stage for religious processions and civil parades[40].

Once again, Spanish sources enlighten us about the process. Royal and communal decrees from Valencia, Murcia, Granada or Toledo attested to the necessity, during the 14th and 15th centuries, albeit slowly, of improving the street grid. These changes were noted in written documents, explicitly indicating the negative perception the Christian authorities had of the Islamic city. In 1393, the Council of Valencia blamed the Islamic origin of the city for its feature "*estreta a meçquina, ab molts carrers estrets voltats e altres deformitats*"[41] [narrow and wretched with a multiplicity of intricate and tight alleys and other deformities]. The differences between the Islamic and Christian models are openly suggested in terms such as *carrer mourisc* [Moorish street], *casa mourisca* [Moorish house] and *obra mourisca* [Moorish work]. A document from 1322 refers to a house still Moorish[42].

Francesc Eiximenis also expressed a similar opinion in 1383, while advising the Valencia authorities on how to rule public affairs, by stressing the urgent need to Christianize the town plan and cultural habits: *Dotzenament, car com la ciutat sia encara quasi morisca, per la novitá de sa preso, per tal vos coué vetlar que es repare en murs, e en valls, e en carreres, e en places, en cases, e en armes, en guisa que per tot hi apareixca ésser lo crestiá regiment e les crestianes maneres...*"[43].

Underneath an apparently continuous occupation, to which the reutilization of some equipment or buildings (usually called 'urban mudejarism'[44]) contributes, there hides a deep fracture in which the Islamic pattern makes no sense to the new inhabitants. The Christian conquerors dismantled the Islamic city, the pace of change depending upon the city concerned.

This process, comprising the result of the appropriation and adaptation of an urban plan and equipment to a new cultural, social and political context, cannot be mistaken for the one designated as "mudejare urbanism"[45] and used in relation to the neighbourhoods assigned to the defeated Moorish population. These *mourarias*, although built under Christian rule, could, theoretically, resist the conquerers' model, thereby preserving the Islamic pattern in small areas of the town plan.

It is precisely this potential autonomy in setting up their quarters that we intend to assess.

Mourarias [Moorish Quarters]

The advance of the Christian troops forced the retreat of the Islamic population. If the escape toward the southern regions, seeking refuge in territories still under Muslim control, or the definitive migration to North Africa were the most frequent options, an unknown number of Muslims chose to stay, although they were relocated in areas peripheral and allegedly inappropriate to the Christian majority, as assigned by the authorities[46].

From what documentary sources reveal, the transfer did not affect all Muslims since some of them went on living in their former properties within what from that moment on was called and perceived as "Christendom". Although the extension of this scattered presence was not quantified, it decreased significantly after 1361 when segregation laws were strongly pursued by King Pedro I[47].

Although segregated, the Moorish presence was tolerated and even protected by the Iberian kings. Apart from representing an important income to the Crown as they were heavily taxed Muslim communities an extra urban and rural labour force[48]. For that reason, they received charters where obligations and rights were clearly balanced[49]. In return for high taxation, they were allowed to keep, to a certain extent, jurisdictional and religious autonomy, and thus their identity within the Christian society.

The Portuguese *mourarias* were mainly concentrated in the southern part of the country in towns such as Lisbon, Santarém, Elvas, Évora, Moura, Beja, Silves, Loulé, Tavira and Faro. In fact, the Moorish quarter of Leiria — known from a brief reference in a document dated 1303[50] is, up to now, the only one with a northern location.

Such geographic distribution of *mourarias* did not necessarily mean the absence of a Moorish population in the north. Proved to exist through documentary sources, their number was, however, far from sufficient to demand organized communities or the need for exclusive quarters.

In fact, the Moorish presence was neither homogeneous throughout the country, nor did it follow the same pattern of evolution[51]. In the northern regions, where Muslims were taken as slaves by the Christian armies, their conversion, liberation and assimilation occurred in an extremely prompt way. Such processes are undoubtedly attested by the Royal Inquiries dated 1220 and 1256. From the first to the last, the number of references to Christian names followed by a Moorish surname doubled, thus denouncing Muslim origin. Moreover, four of these cases were identified as clerics in spite their Muslim background[52].

In the southern cities, taking the river Tejo as a borderline, the reality was completely different. Numerous, and considered free by law, *mouros forros* lived in officially authorized communities, being, therefore, able to preserve their identity.

The different Moorish circumstances relating to the northern and southern regions were acutely identified and summed up by Filomena Lopes de Barros through the expression "Moorish of the land" and "Land of Moorish"[53].

It is therefore not surprising that mudejar urbanism, as described above, can only be found in Portugal's southern areas. But to what extent?

The question looks at the capability of resistance towards the pressures due to the conditions imposed by the conquerors with emphasis on the compulsory retreat from the *medinas* and subsequent lost of properties, the dispersion of families and clans caused by intensive mobility (slavery, escape, death), the marginalized resettlement, the new tenant conditions and, finally, the eventual interference of landlords in planning the area, plots and residences.

Would it have been possible after all the above-mentioned factors for the Islamic population to persist with the ancestral model? The answer to this question is not clear, although some aspects can be used as potential indicators.

The weakness of the Portuguese Moorish population can be indirectly assessed by the *mourarias'* dimension as well as their demographic evolution. Generally occupying a small area — limited to a street in Évora and Silves —the largest one in the Kingdom, as expected located in Lisbon, did not exceed, at its origin, one hectare in area[54]. Even when taking into account those who settled in the immediate rural suburbs, the total population remained small. In fact, recent studies, based on the occupied area, estimate a total of less than 500 people living in the Lisbon Moorish quarter at the end of the 15th century[55].

Regarding demographic evolution, Portuguese Moorish quarters experienced a broad depopulation process due to the initial exodus, progressive assimilation, damage inflicted by the plague and the constant escape throughout the 14th and 15th centuries.

While the Moorish populations of Avis, Estremoz, Palmela, Almada, Leiria, Alenquer and Coimbra just disappeared over the course of the centuries, all the others, with the exception of Lisbon, corroborated the decline.

Written documentation of the 14th century explicitly mentions Moorish migration to North Africa as well as to neighbouring kingdoms such as Castile, Aragon, Andalusia and Granada, mostly caused by the excessive duties and services demanded by the local councils, even though they were against the Crown's orders[56].

Lisbon was once again the only exception, not because of the natural increase of the original inhabitants, but because it acted as a magnet to the Portuguese Moorish population as the documented migration movements towards the capital prove.

As significant as this demographic weakness was the capability to preserve the extended family, as seen above, one of the aspects which most strongly influenced the layout of residential areas.

In fact, the social structure of Portuguese *mudejares* is not yet completely clear. Along with the dispersion of family members and boundaries caused by the conquest, in the following centuries increased contact with the majority, and the progressive assimilation must have pressured the Islamic minority to adapt the Christian social model, based on the nuclear family. Even though polygamy was considered in the *Ordenações Afonsinas*[57] [code of law], allowing the four legitimized wives permitted by the Qur'an, it was possible, as Maria José Tavares Ferro underlines, that "Christian monogamy lead to a prevalence of the western model whenever the matrimony proved to be fecund"[58]. This same opinion is shared by Maria Filomena Lopes de Barros who found in the marriage practice pursued by *mudejares*, during the 14th and 15th centuries, a significant sign of the increasing minority subjection to the common practices and general laws of the kingdom[59].

Along the same line of thought, and equally essential to the characteristic Islamic town plan, was the full ownership of urban property and its resulting use without restriction.

Contrary to this situation, even though *mudejares'* private property is documented, the relocation of the minority occurred predominantly in rented properties, thus limiting their autonomy in organizing and freely using the space.

Examples can be found in the Moorish quarter of Santarém where several houses belonged to the church of S. Salvador, while in *Rua da Ramada* some of the buildings rented to Moorish people were property of the monastery of Chelas[60].

In Évora, various institutions owned houses in the *mouraria* located in the S. Mamede suburb: the local council, the monastery of S. Domingos, the church of S. Tiago and the hospitals of Jerusalem and S. Bartolomeu. Also, the crown rented five houses near the *Porta Nova*, in a place called *Olarias,* probably named after the most common Moorish occupation, the manufacturing of clay pots[61]. In Leiria, the only known document refers to a house owned by Domingos Moniz, an ecclesiastic from the Coimbra cathedral[62]. In Silves, where the *mouraria* was limited to a single street, the Crown possessed seven houses and four plots, as claimed by the inquiry known as *Livro do Almoxarifado* in 1474[63].

All these examples reveal the need to adapt to a predefined house structure and land partition. In the case of Silves, the king's properties' descriptions included in the *Livro do Almoxarifado* demonstrate that the central courtyard organization was not followed in the *mouraria*, at least, by the end of the15th century.

To a great extent, the features of Portuguese *mourarias* are still an *incognita*. Along with the rare archaeological excavations carried out in medieval contexts, the elusive character of the written sources hardly allows much more than a register of the public equipment such as walls, mosque and baths, in most cases with a difficult location within the quarter. The houses' structure and the inner street grid is almost always absent.

The Moorish quarter from Lisbon is an exception since its relevance justified a larger number of references[64].

Located in the northern part of the town on the castle foothill, and enclosed by walls, the Moorish quarter included two mosques, a school, a prison, baths, a corral and butchery.

In accordance with Islamic religious concepts, the cemetery, or *almocavar,* was located outdoors on the *Santa Maria da Graça* slope. During the course of the 15th century, the original quarter spread out to this area in response to the population growth. Both quarters, the original one and the later one, known as the *Arrabalde Novo* [New Suburb], covered an area of around five hectares, although part of it was occupied with cultivated farms and yards. Furthermore, the new extension was not exclusively taken up by Moors since the presence of Christian residents has been frequently detected.

Two streets, identified as *Direitas* (literally straight, but meaning direct), crossed the neighbourhood acting as structural main roads. Surprisingly, in both cases, they were dead-ends, a feature also detectable in the *Rua da Dentro* (inner street), or *Carniçaria,* that linked the two mentioned central streets. This has been frequently taken as an obvious Islamic characteristic[65]. However, in this particular case, the interruption did not fulfil the same function as in the Muslim pattern. As already mentioned, dead-end alleys did not occur randomly. They existed to give access to the interior of residential quarters, permitting the entrance to one or more private buildings. As such, they were simple passages, quiet and narrow, privately used and private property accepted by law. On the contrary, main streets (*shari*) commonly crossed the town in the straightest and widest manner, connecting two of the most important gates. Crowded and commercial by nature, they usually attracted public buildings and equipment towards them. Regarding circulation, they allowed, and compelled, outsiders to move across the city without entering the residential neighbourhoods[66]. In the case of the Lisbon Moorish quarter, the three dead-end main paths must have had a different explanation, probably related to the topography, the reduced dimensions of the neighbourhood and its expansion toward the walls of the quarter.

The characteristics of the house structure are almost unknown. The study carried out by Luís Filipe Oliveira and Mário Viana[67] identified three residential buildings with

front-yards which, in our opinion, far from being a significant sample, do not match, in concept or function, the Mediterranean type.

Concerning the materials, the general formula used throughout medieval documentation is equivalent to the one used by the majority, systematically clustering a whole set of different elements such as stone, wood, tiles, lime and nails[68].

The way the evidence seems to point to a similar context within the Christianity framework is reinforced by other data. The public baths, located near the mosque, rented to a Christian since 1301 and used both by *mudejares* and Christians, were shut down by the end of the 14th century, while the building was adapted as a residence. The same occurred with the *madraza* [school], which was closed before the middle of the following century[69]. The premature closure of these structures, equally essential to the Muslim way of life, seems to assert a progressive weakness of Islamic practices at the same time that Christian ones were assimilated.

The process was stressed by the close daily contact between the followers of the two creeds' the followers of despite all the legal measures in use since D. Pedro's reign, to a great extent, because of pressure by the church[70].

From the middle of the 14th century onward, laws attempting to confine the minority were increasingly triggered. In addition to prohibiting residences outside Moorish quarters and the limiting walls, there were penalties for Moorish people found outside the neighbourhood after sunset, and the interdiction of those quarters to Christian women. The restraining strategy was reinforced and expanded by D. João I by denying the ancestral Islamic use of a public call to prayer, imposing the use of Islamic clothes as an immediately recognizable sign and, finally, banning the use of Arab in legal acts[71].

Nevertheless, as Filomena Lopes de Barros highlights, daily proximity surpassed legal and physical barriers while sharing the same business areas (Santarém and Lisbon), living scattered amongst Christians (Coimbra, Évora, Campo-Maior, Olivença) and even sharing the, at least theoretically, restricted Moorish quarters with Christian inhabitants (Lisbon, Elvas).

Cultural permeability stood out in the use of *aljamia,* an adaptation of the Islamic linguistic code to western characters, and in the enthusiasm for Moorish music, dances, traditional clothes and architectural decorations amongst the Christians[72].

In fact, the Islamic minority gradually and naturally became diluted in the course of the 14th and 15th centuries.

The integration process was partially helped by a lack of hostility from the Christian majority towards the Muslims. Decreasing in number, socially discreet and economically dependent on agriculture or common manufactures, occupying peripheral and unattractive residential areas, the Moorish people, unlike the Jews, did not arouse the resentment of the majority, and therefore required less attention from the political power.

Assimilation, Integration and Exclusion

This explains why legal decrees relating to the Jewish minority were much more profuse. In fact, in the 15th century, the code of law known as *Livro das Leis e Posturas*, while having five resolutions concerning both the Moors and Jews, had thirty-one exclusively applicable to the latter. Also, all the segregation measures explicitly assumed that those applying to Islamic people should follow those that had been decided for the Hebraic population, clearly implying the priority of controlling the Jews, who the Christian majority increasingly felt threatened by[73] in a similar manner to that which happened in other Iberian Christian kingdoms[74].

Easily tolerated and accepted within the Christian society, the Moorish population, by nature more permeable than the Jewish community, was gradually integrated and eventually assimilated.

While using Spanish examples and concluding that the process for dealing with the Islamic pattern was similar, a question remains: why did the Islamic urban pattern completely vanish from the surface of Portuguese territory in contrast to what happened in the southeast regions of Iberia?

On the one hand, neither the dimension nor the significance of the Muslim towns in question are comparable[75]. Even in Andaluzia Betica, where the *mudejare* population was forced to migrate after the mutiny of 1264 (the ones who stayed did not exceed 0,05% of the total population) thus suggesting a drastic change of the towns' landscape, the towns' dimensions associated with the problems facing the Christian repopulation process, close to what some authors consider a failure, resulted in a necessarily slow transformation of the urban pattern. As J. Abellán Pérez highlights, "*el corte radical de la sociedad hispano-musulmana en esta region, su sustitución por otra nueva, que en ningún momento la iguaría en número, hace difícil pensar en transformaciones immediatas...*". The most visible changes occurred through the rebuilding of mosques and the adaptation of the residential areas, whilst defences, perimeter and various equipment necessarily prevailed. The slow rhythm of the process partly explains the permanence of the Islamic mark through the following centuries on towns such as Sevilla, Cordoba or Jérez de la Frontera[76].

On the other hand, *Gharb* towns, geographically peripheral from the political centres and lacking central administrative control for a long time, included throughout the period of Islamic domination, without any exceptions to the south, a significant percentage of *moçarabes* presence that necessarily balanced the Muslim cultural and material influence. To refer to just one example, in 1109, Lisbon was described by Norwegian crusaders as a town "half Christian, half pagan"[77].

But other important aspects can be added such as the different rhythms of the *reconquista*. While Coimbra was conquered in 1064, Lisbon and Santarém in 1147 and Évora in 1165, the Portuguese *reconquista* concluded in 1248-49 with the fall of Silves and Faro, to refer to just some of the most important *Gharb* urban centres. In the neighbouring Christian kingdoms, the same process occurred considerably later (Cordoba, 1236; Valencia, 1238; Murcia, 1243; Sevilla, 1248), only to be concluded by the end of the 15th century with the fall of Granada, the capital of the *nazari* kingdom.

Moreover, the Muslims were expelled from Portugal in 1496 along with the Jews. In "Spain", this same process occurred separately since the Catholic Kings decree from 1492 only affected the Jewish community. While the *mudejares'* compulsory conversion was ordered in 1502, it was only much later, in 1609-1614 during the reign of Felipe III, that the *moriscos* expulsion was decided. In addition, from 1500 to 1609, the minority evolution was not homogeneous from one region to another. In Castile, the *moriscos*, descendants from the *mudejares,* easily assimilated the Christians habits, while in oriental Andaluzia, on the contrary, they kept their beliefs and culture strongly alive. This explains the mutiny of 1568, refusing to accept the previous year's royal decree by which they were forbidden to speak, read or write in Arabic, use Muslim names or dress according to tradition, measures perceived by the minority as a threat to their identity until then but almost untouched by the frequent laws imposing the Christian way of life.

Incomparably more numerous (according to Garzia de Cortázar, the expulsion decree affected approximately 300,000 people)[78] with a much stronger cultural tradition, and expelled more than one hundred years later, "Spanish Muslims" engraved the urban space they left in an enduring way.

CONCLUSION

Trying to understand the confrontation and its consequences between two different urban models the present approach focuses on the urban changes originated by the Christian conquest of Islamic towns. Gathering all the available data from the still insufficient archaeological investment in the Portuguese territory and the scattered knowledge from medieval Moorish quarters, we must conclude that there was a progressive and inevitable eradication of the former Islamic pattern. The disappearance of the central courtyard house structure due to the conquerors' different culture has been unanimously accepted, but the same did not occur with the urban pattern still commonly mistaken with plain spontaneous urban mesh. We tried to prove that the Islamic pattern materialized within a coherent system where one element automatically affected another. Adapting the residential structures affected unavoidably the corresponding street grid. The contrary nature of the Islamic and Christian models explains why the Islamic model could not prevail after the Christian takeover.

Using recent Spanish approaches to similar historical contexts – which Murcia and Valencia best illustrate – allowed us to clarify, step by step, the shifting process of the Islamic pattern and, in a more radical way, its prompt discard.

Concerning the *mourarias* or Moorish quarters, all the available data point to a progressive adaptation of the Islamic population to the way of life of the majority thus contributing to the disappearance of the Muslim town in the Portuguese territory.

Notes

1   From *qasaba*, the centre of political and administrative power, always strategically located.

2   From *Madinat,* signifying the area within the walls.

3   *Conquista de Lisboa aos Mouros em 1147. Carta de um cruzado ingles*, trans. J. Alves, Lisbon 2004, p. 38. On the attribution of urban lands to the Christian conquerers of Lisbon see J. Matos, *Lisboa Islâmica* in *Actas do Colóquio Lisboa encruzilhada de muçulmanos, judeus e cristãos (850º aniversário da conquista de Lisboa). Arqueologia Medieval*, Oporto, 7, 2001, p. 83.

4   From the Arab *mudajjan*, the one who stays under Christian domain. Called "sarrains" in Catalonia and Valencia, "moros" in Castille and "mouros forros" in Portugal. J. Molénat, *Unité et diversité des communautés Mudéjares de la Péninsule Ibérique médiévale* in A. Sidarus (ed.), *Islão minoritário na Península Ibérica*, Lisbon 2001, pp. 20-21.

5   For details of these concepts, see this same volume, B. Borstner, S. Gartner, *The Conceptual Analysis of Assimilation and Integration.*

6   For the Islamic town concept, see R. Betran Abadia, *La forma de la ciudad. Las ciudades de Aragon en la Edad Media,* Zaragoza 1992 and P. Jiménez Castillo, J. Navarro Palazón, *El urbanismo islámico y su transformación después de la conquista Cristiana: el caso de Murcia*, in J. Passini (ed.), *La ciudad medieval: de la casa al tejido urbano*, Cuenca 2001.

7   Prevailing but certainly not exclusive: Islam planned and founded orthogonal towns whenever required. The round cities of Baghdad, Aqaba, Anyar and Madinât al-Zahra and the suburb known as El Forti, in Denia, best illustrate it. Castillo, Palazón, *El urbanismo islámico* cit.*,* pp.75-76; C. Torres, S. Macias, *A islamização do Gharb al-Andalus* in *Memórias Árabo-Islâmicas em Portugal*, Lisbon 1997, pp. 36-37.

8   The Islamic town abides with the principle of functional separation with the trading areas set apart from the residential quarters.

9   After the Christian conquest, the *alcáçovas* of Coimbra, Lisbon and Silves were reused and progressively transformed over the course of the following years. Mosques were sacred, and transformed into churches until financial resources were made available for a global renewal, which happened in Lisbon and Coimbra. In Mértola, however, the mosque remained almost unchanged until the 16th century.

10 Besides the pragmatic concept of *Umma* (community), the absence of a sacred constructed town prototype – the promised Paradise was in fact a garden, the garden of Genesis – justified the minimal state role in the global town layout. Actually the mosque was the only sacred building. Betran Abadia, *La forma de la ciudad* cit, p. 25.

11 A. Frey Sánchez, *El Jardín de Al-Andalus. Origen e consolidación de la Múrcia Islámica*, Murcia 2002, p. 76. An example of this limited interference can be found in the description of the foundation of Badajoz in 885, on the order of the emir Abd Allâh. Previous decisions had been made on the mosques, *alcáçova*, baths and ramparts. Town planning, however, was not mentioned. Castillo, Palazón, *El urbanismo islámico* cit.*,* p. 84. On this subject, see also C. Mazzoli-Guintard, *Ciudades de al-Andalus. España y Portugal en la época musulmana (s. VIII-XV),* Granada 2000, pp. 304-310.

12 The equalitarian theocracy, implying the omnipotence of the caliph, God's single representative, justified the discarding of any other political-administrative structure such as a town council, which, while representing the citizens, could simultaneously impose regulating mechanisms on the community.

13 Y. Khiara, *Propos sur L'Urbanisme dans la jurisprudence musulmane* in *Arqueologia Medieval*, Oporto, 3, 1993. Abadia, *La forma de la ciudad* cit., p. 33. L. Provençal, E. García Gómez, *Sevilla a comienzos del siglo XII: el tratado de Ibn Abdun*, Madrid 1948.

14 P. Guichard, *Al-Andalus. Estructura antropológica de una sociedad islámica en occidente*, Granada 1998, pp. 55-103.

15 The perfect matrimonial alliance was the one which united direct cousins through father's lineage. Guichard, *Al-Andalus* cit., p. 102.

[16] Apart from being an appropriate space to carry on the daily activities and management of an extensive family, the courtyard or Mediterranean typology is, as its designation implies, the perfect response to the Mediterranean climate, largely in Islamic hands.

[17] As Cláudio Torres underlines, "in the Islamic city the street belongs to men (...) in this male world each woman's step is perfectly limited to the mosque's paths, to the passage through *marabu*, where the devotion saint serves as confident, the sporadic visit to the cemetery, where she worships her dead. Weekly and always at the same hours of the day, to avoid any promiscuity with the male users, she spends the afternoon in the public baths". C. Torres, *O Garb-Al-Andaluz*, in J. Mattoso (ed.), *História de Portugal,* Lisbon, vol. I, 1992, p. 382.

[18] J. García y Bellido, *Principios y reglas morfogenéticas de la ciudad islámica*, Jaén 1998, pp. 59-86.

[19] T. Bianquis, *La famille en Islam arabe*, in A. Burguière, C. Klapisch-Zuber, M. Segalen, F. Zonabend (eds.), *Histoire de la famille*. Paris, I, 1986, pp. 590-592 and pp. 595-596.

[20] Abadia, *La forma de la ciudad* cit., p. 113; J. T. Abad*, El urbanismo múdejar como forma de resistencia. Alquerias y morerias en el reino de Valencia (siglos XIII-XVI),* in *Actas del Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo*, Teruel 1995, pp. 535-598.

[21] This explains the later Portuguese use of the term *adarve* in reference to the upper path of a defensive structure allowing troop movements. In fact, as with the previous term, it means an access in the form of a tight corridor, partially between walls.

[22] Castillo, Palazón, *El urbanismo islámico* cit*.,* pp. 77-78.

[23] Examples can be found in Coimbra, Lisboa, Silves, Mértola, Évora or Elvas.

[24] Islamic *ex novo* foundations are not documented in the actual Portuguese territory.

[25] *Moçarabe*, from the Arabic term *musta'rib,* meant "the one who took Arabic appearance", and was applied to the Christians living under Muslim control. S. Gomes, *Os grupos étnico-religiosos e os estrangeiros* in M.H. Coelho, A. Homem e A. Marques (eds.), *Portugal em definição de fronteiras: do condado Portucalense à crise do século XIV*, Lisbon 1996, p. 340. See also C. Picard, *Le Portugal musulman (VIIIe-XIIIe siècle). L'Occident dál-Andalus sous domination islamique*, Paris 2000, pp. 230-231. For a deep overview on Coimbra see A. Pimentel, *A morada da sabedoria. I – O paço real de Coimbra das origens ao estabelecimento definitivo da Universidade,* Coimbra 2006, pp. 137-147.

[26] Pimentel, *A Morada da Sabedoria* cit., pp. 165-169.

[27] Regarding this false dicothomy, see A. Alves, *Qalbi Arabi: o património árabo-islâmico em Portugal* in *Memórias Árabo-Islâmicas em Portugal*, Lisbon 1997, pp. 57-60.

[28] In the middle of the 8th century, Silves received an important contingent of Yemenite origin, from the core region in the birth of Islamic civilization. R. Gomes, *O Barlavento Algarvio nos finais da islamização* in *Portugal islâmico: os últimos sinais do Mediterrâneo*, Lisbon 1998, p. 134. On the various tribes settled in the Algarve, see J. Domingues, *Portugal e o Andalus*, Lisbon 1997, pp. 70-74.

[29] C. Picard, *Le changement du paysage urbain dans le Gharb al-Andalus (X-XIIe siècle): les signes d'une dynamic,* in M. Barroca, I. Fernandes (eds.), *Muçulmanos e cristãos entre o Tejo e o Douro (séculos VIII a XIII),* Palmela 2005, p. 138. H. Fernandes, *Fronteiras e Reconquista* in *Portugal islâmico: os últimos sinais do Mediterrâneo*, Lisbon 1998, pp. 273-274.

[30] On Silves, see *Arqueologia em Silves – resultados e perspectivas* in *Palácio almóada da alcáçova de Silves*, Lisbon 2001; R. Gomes, *Da Silves islâmica à Silves da Expansão* in *Monumentos*, Lisbon, 23, 2005; R. Gomes, *A conquista cristã – o fechar de um ciclo?* in *Palácio almóada da alcáçova de Silves*, Lisbon, 2001, pp. 139-141.

[31] Bibliography on Mértola is very extensive. Among others also referred to throughout this analysis, see: Torres, *O Garb al-Andaluz* cit., pp. 378; S. Macias, C. Torres, *Arqueologia islâmica em Mértola,* in *Memórias Árabo-Islâmicas,* Lisbon 1997; S. Macias, *Casas urbanas e quotidiano no Gharb al-Ândalus,* in *Portugal islâmico*: *os últimos sinais do Mediterrâneo*, Lisbon 1998; S. Macias, Cláudio Torres, *Contri-*

butos da arqueologia medieval para o conhecimento do processo urbanístico e territorial da passagem do Garb al-Andalus para o reino de Portugal, in *Universo Urbanístico Português 1415-1822,* Lisbon 2001; S. Macias, *Mértola. O último porto do Mediterrâneo*, Mértola 2006.

[32] J. Covaneiro, S. Cavaco, *Casas islâmicas da Cerca do Convento da Graça - Tavira. Nota preliminar,* in *Arqueologia Medieval*, Oporto, 9, 2005. On Lisbon see A. Gaspar, A. Gomes, *Resultados preliminares das escavações arqueológicas no Castelo de S. Jorge,* in *Actas do Colóquio Lisboa encruzilhada de muçulmanos, judeus e cristãos (850º aniversário da conquista de Lisboa), Arqueologia Medieval*, Oporto, 7, 2001, pp. 95-102; A. Gomes, M.J. Sequeira, C*ontinuidades e descontinuidades na arquitectura doméstica do período islâmico e após a conquista da cidade de Lisboa: escavações arqueológicas na Fundação Ricardo Espírito Santo Silva,* in *Actas do Colóquio Lisboa encruzilhada de muçulmanos, judeus e cristãos (850º aniversário da conquista de Lisboa). Arqueologia Medieval*, Oporto, 7, 2001, pp. 103-110.

[33] L. Trindade, *A casa corrente em Coimbra. Dos finais da Idade Média aos inícios da Época Moderna*, Coimbra 2002, p. 75; S. Macias, *Moura na Baixa Idade Média: elementos para um estudo histórico e arqueológico,* in "Arqueologia Medieval"*,* 2, Oporto, 1993, pp. 195-196 .

[34] Torres, Macias, *A islamização do Gharb al-Andalus* cit., p. 43.

[35] A synthesis of the historiography and archaeological progress in an Islamic context verified in Spain, between 1970 and 1990, can be seen in J. Abellán Pérez, *Del urbanismo musulmán al urbanismo Cristiano. I. Andalucía occidental* in *La ciudad islámica*, Zaragoza 1991; M. Espinar Moreno*, Del urbanismo musulmán al urbanismo Cristiano. II. Andalucía oriental in La ciudad islâmica,* Zaragoza 1991; Castillo, Palazón, *El urbanismo islámico* cit.*,* pp. 71-129; J. Passini, *Casas y casas principales urbanas. El espacio domestico de Toledo a fines de la Edad Media*, Madrid 2004*;* J. Passini*, Algunos aspectos del espacio doméstico medieval en la ciudad de Toledo,* in *El Espaço Urbano en la Europa Medieval,* B. Arízaga Bolumburu, J. Solórzano Telechea (eds.) Logroño 2006; T. *Pérez Higuera, De la ciudad hispanomusulmana a la ciudad mudejar: el ejemplo de Toledo,* in A. Casamento, E. Guidoni (ed.), *La Città Medievali dell'Italia Meridionale e Insulare,* Rome 2002.

[36] Regarding the official *repartimentos,* see J. Font Y Rius, *El repartimiento de Orihuela (notas para el estúdio de la repoblación levantina),* in *Homenaje a Jaime Vicens Vives*, I, Barcelona 1965, pp. 419-422. Concerning Andalucía Betica, González Jimenez underlines the massive transfer of properties following the expulsion of *mudejares* ordered by Afonso X after the mutiny in 1264. The extinction of the *mudejar* population meant a complete rupture with the past and the emergence of *ex novo* social, political and demographic structures. M. González Jimenez, *El Poblamiento de La andalucia Betica (siglos XIII a XV) Andalucía Medieval*, Cordoba 1979, p. 4. On the transfer process see also M. González Jimenez, *En torno a las origenes de Andalucia*, Sevilla 1988.

[37] Torres, *O Garb-Al-Andaluz* cit., p. 376.

[38] Castillo, Palazón, *El urbanismo islámico* cit.*,* p. 117.

[39] On the Islamic Múrcia see Sánchez, *El Jardín de Al-Andalus* cit. The transformation process is analysed by Castillo, Palazón, *El urbanismo islámico* cit.*,* pp. 91-94, 103, 114.

[40] A. Andrade, *A paisagem urbana medieval portuguesa: uma aproximação* in *Colectânea de Estudos Universo Urbanístico Português, 1415-1822*, Lisbon 1998.

[41] M. Cárcel Ortí, J. Trenchs Odena, *El consell de Valencia: disposiciones urbanísticas (siglo XIV)* in *La ciudad hispanica durante los siglos XIII a XVI,* t. II, 1985, pp.1428-1497.

[42] Abad, *El urbanismo múdejar* cit.*,* pp. 538-539.

[43] A. Serra Desfilis, *Orden y decorum en el urbanismo valenciano de los siglos XIV y XV,* in A. Casamento e E. Guidoni (eds.), *La Città Medievali dell'Italia Meridionale e Insulare*, Rome 2002, pp. 41-42.

[44] Besides buildings such as mosques or baths, ramparts or hydraulic installations were also frequently reused during the following centuries, as happened with the Silves cistern, whose capacity and distribution mechanism was still valuable in the 17th century. F. Botão, *Silves capital de um reino medievo*, Silves 1992, p. 34.

[45] Abad, *El urbanismo múdejar* cit., p. 543.

[46] In the second half of the 15th century, the council of Elvas, with the king's approval, assigned a new location for the *mudejar* graveyard. The place is described as steep and stony, and therefore perceived as unsuitable for any Christian use. F. Correia, *Elvas na Idade Média*, Lisbon 1999, p. 345.

[47] *Cortes Portuguesas. Reinado de D. Pedro I (1357-1367),* Lisbon 1986, p. 52.

[48] F. Barros, *Génese de uma minoria. O período formativo das comunas muçulmanas em Portugal,* in A. Sidarus (ed.), *Islão minoritário na Península Ibérica*, Lisbon 2001, p. 34.

[49] Published by P. Azevedo in *Do Areeiro à Mouraria, Topographia histórica de Lisboa* in *O Archeologo Português*, V, 1899-1900, pp. 212-224, 257-278. Added in the course of the following centuries, the rights and duties of the minority were codified in another text published in *Portugaliae Monumenta Histórica, Leges et Consuetudines*, vol. I, Lichtenstein 1967, pp. 98-99.

[50] In the case of Leiria, the Moorish contingent probably did not correspond to previous inhabitants, but to the slaves captured and brought to the north by Christian troops. S. Gomes, *A Mouraria de Leiria. Problemas sobre a presença moura no Centro do País,* in *Estudos Orientais. II. O legado cultural de Judeus e mouros*, Lisbon 1991, pp. 162-163.

[51] For information about the extremely variable *Mudejar* condition within different Iberian political entities, see J. Molénat, *Unité et diversité des communautés Mudéjares de la Péninsule Ibérique médiévale* in A. Sidarus (ed.), *Islão minoritário na Península Ibérica*, Lisbon 2001, pp. 19-28.

[52] F. Barros, *Mouros da Terra e Terra de Mouros,* in M. Barroca, I. Fernandes, (eds.), *Muçulmanos e cristãos entre o Tejo e o Douro (séculos VIII a XIII),* Palmela 2005, p. 169.

[53] Barros, *Mouros da Terra* cit., pp. 170-171.

[54] A. Marques, *A persistência do elemento muçulmano na História de Portugal após a Reconquista. O exemplo da cidade de Lisboa,* in *Novos ensaios de História Medieval Portuguesa*, Lisbon 1988, pp. 99-101.

[55] L. Oliveira, M. Viana, *A Mouraria de Lisboa no século XV,* in "Arqueologia Medieval", 1993, 2, p. 201.

[56] Botão, *Silves* cit., p. 48.

[57] *Ordenações Afonsinas, Lisbon, 1984,* liv. IV, tit. LI, pp. 184-185.

[58] M.J. Tavares, *Judeus e Mouros: que culturas?* in *Judeus e Árabes da Península Ibérica: encontro de religiões, diálogo de culturas,* Lisbon 1994, p. 98.

[59] F. Barros, *A comuna muçulmana de Lisboa (séculos XIV e XV),* Lisbon 1998, pp. 130-133.

[60] A. Beirante, *Santarém medieval*, Lisbon 1980, pp. 221-222.

[61] Id., *Évora na Idade Média*, Lisbon 1995, p. 90, 94, 100, 105, 109 e 80.

[62] Gomes, *A Mouraria de Leiria* cit., p. 162.

[63] *Livro do Almoxarifado de Silves*, trans. M. Leal, J. Domingues, Silves 1984.

[64] On the *Mouraria de Lisboa* see Marques, *A persistência* cit., p. 103; Oliveira, Viana, *A Mouraria de Lisboa* cit., pp. 191-209; Barros, *A comuna muçulmana* cit., pp. 141-144.

[65] Barros, *A Comuna muçulmana* cit., p. 143.

[66] On the Islamic street grid, see L. Torres Balbás, *La Edad Media,* in Resumen historico del urbanismo en España, Madrid 1968, pp. 78-80; E. Guidoni, *La Ville européenne. Formation et signification du quatrième au onzième siècle*, Brussels 1981, pp. 59-61; Castillo, Palazón, *El urbanismo islámico* cit., p. 87.

[67] Oliveira, Viana, *A Mouraria de Lisboa* cit., p.196.

[68] *Ibid.,* p. 201 compare with Trindade, *A casa corrente* cit., p. 75.

[69] Barros, *A comuna muçulmana* cit., p. 142.

[70] Correia, *Elvas* cit., pp. 341-345. In this case – the attempt to move the Islamic graveyard to a different place – besides the church complaining about the proximity to the monastery of S. Domingos, other

interests from the town council are evident, such as the will to convert a field to a cereal storage area or, 20 years later, the need to expand the town.

[71]   F. Barros, *Mouros e Mourarias* in *Portugal Islâmico. Os últimos sinais do Mediterrâneo,* Lisbon 1988, pp. 289-294. J. Vasconcelos, M. Guerreiro, *Mouros,* in *Etnografia portuguesa*, Lisbon, IV, 1984, pp. 299-350.

[72]   The extensive and transversal appropriation of Moorish dances and songs by Portuguese society as witnessed in popular festivities or in their involvement in the Corpus Christi procession was, within the royal court and higher nobility, part of a broader inclination to exotic themes resulting from contact with the Orient and North Africa and consciously used as a form of marking an "Iberian difference", particularly visible in the use of architectural motifs. P. Pereira, *A obra Silvestre e a esfera do rei,* Coimbra 1990, pp. 77-80.

[73]   M.J. Tavares, *Judeus e mouros em Portugal dos séculos XIV e XV (tentativa de estudo comparativo),* in *Revista de História Económica e Social,* Lisbon, 9, 1982, p.79. See also L. Trindade, *Jewish Space in Late-Medieval Portuguese Cities,* in *Religion, Ritual and Mythology. Aspects of Identity Formation in Europe*, Pisa 2006, pp. 61-81.

[74]   As discussed in Rita Rios' contribution to this same volume. R. Ríos de la Llave, *The Discrimination Against the Jewish Population in Medieval Castile and León.*

[75]   In spite of the enormous disparity regarding the estimates of 10th century Cordova inhabitants— from 100,000 up to 1,000,000, and even if we accept the lowest data, the difference to Gharb al-Andalus towns is still immense: in the middle of the 12th century, apart form Lisbon with probably 25, 000 inhabitants, Coimbra and Santarém would have had around 4,000 or 5,000, while other the important cities Gharb, such as Elvas, Alcácer, Évora, Beja, Mértola, Silves and Faro, never exceeded 2,000 to 3,000. Guidoni, *La Ville européenne* cit., p. 65; Torres, *Lisboa muçulmana,* in *Lisboa Subterrânea,* Lisbon 1994, p.83. Following Christine Mazzoli-Guintard's estimates of the walled towns' dimensions, it is worth comparing the 11,31 ha in Lisbon with the 89,91 in Cordova, the 267 in Sevilha and even the 52,66 in Valencia. Mazzoli-Guintard, *Ciudades de al-Andalus* cit., p. 458.

[76]   Abellán Pérez, *Del urbanismo musulmán al urbanismo Cristiano* cit., pp. 197-198. González Jimenez, *El Poblamiento de La andalucia Betica* cit.*,* pp. 3-5.

[77]   Vasconcelos, Guerreiro, *Mouros* cit., pp. 281. On the moçarabe population see J. Mattoso, *Os moçárabes* in *Fragmentos de uma composição medieval e outros textos*, Lisbon 2001, pp. 15-27; M. Real, *Os Moçarabes do Gharb português* in *Portugal Islâmico. Os últimos sinais do Mediterrâneo*, Lisbon 1988, pp. 35-56. Gomes, *Os grupos étnico-religiosos* cit., pp. 340-347.

[78]   F. Garzia de Cortázar; J.González Vesga, *Breve Historia de España*, Madrid, 1995, pp. 253-256.

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