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INTERRELIGIOUS INTIMACY IN MEDIEVAL SPAIN

by

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**B.A. SUMMA CUM LAUDE, HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF
NEW MEXICO**

THESIS

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By

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**B.A., SUMMA CUM LAUDE, HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO
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ABSTRACT

The field of Spanish historiography has overwhelmingly been shaped by theories of Convivencia or anti-Convivencia, of total harmony or complete violence. The interpersonal connections made between individuals of different faiths—Islam, Judaism, and Christianity—often contravene institutional regulation that prohibited sexual and familial connections and dissuaded casual camaraderie, complicating and disagreeing with historiographic (anti-)Convivencia traditions. In place of an (anti-)Convivencia framework, modern theories of sexuality, as first championed by Michele Foucault, can explain discrepancies between individual action and institutional regulation through a matrix of power, identity, and interaction. Even as institutional rule prohibited interreligious sexuality—and to some extent, even casual interreligious interaction—intimacy between individuals remained frequent and revealed a complex society that allowed for simultaneous persecution and compassion. This framework of intimacy, building on Foucauldian theory, suggests that interactions between Jews, Muslims, and Christians were inherently tied to, governed by, and enacted through a matrix of ruling power that still did not fully prevent interreligious sex and interaction.

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Introduction

In 1304, a sex worker named Aliscend de Tolba met a group of shepherds at camp near Xivert and offered her services. A Christian man named Lorenç Pastor encouraged his friend, a Muslim named Aytola, to lie to Aliscend and say he was a Christian man named Johan and that he was “from the port,” in an attempt to get Aliscend to sleep with him.¹ Disregarding hundreds of years of Christian religious doctrine and secular law codes prohibiting sex between a Muslim man and Christian woman, Lorenç lent Aytola the money he needed to have sex with Aliscend; Aytola—similarly ignoring both Islamic and Christian doctrine and legislation forbidding this illicit sex—attempted to sleep with Aliscend. Aytola’s and Lorenç’s ploy was very nearly successful, and Aliscend was only able to avoid committing sin and crime because she “recogniz[ed] he [Aytola] was a Moor in his member,” or due to his circumcision.² The story of Aliscend, Lorenç, and Aytola, like many stories of attempted and successful interreligious sex, is one that requires additional and new scholarship. Aliscend, Lorenç, and Aytola represent a severely understudied phenomenon in medieval Spain, one where interreligious interactions were both interpersonally driven and institutionally governed.

The hotly debated concept of Convivencia in medieval Spanish scholarship generally features as a black-and-white concept that either denotes total toleration of religious difference and harmony between peoples of different religions in the Convivencia framework, or a vicious landscape of complete violence and hatred for the religious other in the anti-Convivencia framework. Both views, in their dichotomous

¹ David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015), 147.

² Nirenberg, 147.

corners, encourage Spanish exceptionalism and limit the complexity of identity, power, and sexual dynamics in medieval Spain. Particular understandings of identity in this complex Spanish power-sex matrix, however, can be achieved with the use of Michel Foucault's theories of power and sexuality from his works in the *History of Sexuality*. Instead of understanding interreligious interactions in terms of (anti-)Convivencia, interreligious interactions can be viewed through "the intimate" as a way to emphasize their direct and interpersonal importance, without disregarding the role of institutional violence and repression.

Few theoretical analyses have been posited about the Middle Ages in a historical context as premodern historians generally shy away from using modern theory to describe premodern phenomena. This is generally with good reason, as improperly applied theory runs the risk of simplifying or misrepresenting the Middle Ages with modern ethics or power structures. At the same time, however, theoretical perspectives can enrich historical understandings of the Middle Ages and offer new critical perspectives about medieval gender, sexuality, identity, power, and the intersections that arise between these ideas. Foucault's theories of power cannot be applied to all aspects of medieval Spain, and every suggested instance of Foucauldian dynamics in the Middle Ages must be rigorously interrogated to avoid misrepresentation of religious boundaries.

Nonetheless, using Michel Foucault's ideas about power and sexuality reveal a medieval Spanish landscape that was overwhelmingly concerned about maintaining religious and secular power. The "formation of sciences" that recognize sexuality, "the systems of power that regulate its [sexuality's] practice," and the ability for an individual to "recognize themselves as subjects of this sexuality" all demonstrate the ways in which

institutional legislation, such as religious doctrine, intellectual thought, secular law, and court documents regulated interreligious interactions, both licit and illicit.³ Whereas Foucault refers to the natural sciences that understand sexuality as a biological imperative and impulse, this idea can be adapted to religious doctrine that understood sexuality as a partially-biological imperative that nonetheless could not be separated from sin.⁴ Interreligious Spanish sex, as analyzed through these sex-power dynamics suggest that interreligious sex occurred not only in *subversion* of the ruling religion's power, but as an *indication* of that power. The institutional prohibition on interreligious sex means that simply "speaking about [illicit sex] has the appearance of a deliberate transgression" of institutional law and religious doctrine.⁵ While Foucault's power-sex discourse provides an approach to understanding interreligious sex and sexuality, non-sexual illicit interactions allow a deeper understanding of medieval Spanish society and must not be ignored. Non-sexual intimacy can reveal the ways that power dynamics envelop everyday life and casual interpersonal interactions, countering the (anti-)Convivencia approach that often ignores social histories in favor of institutional histories.

Historian Ann Stoler, while a modernist, has developed a model of intimacy and the realm of 'the intimate' as a method of analysis for oppressors and oppressed peoples in a contentious society. Her 2010 book, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* opens on the connections between the Dutch ruling class of Dutch colonial Java and the subjugated Javanese people. She explores the

³ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality Volume 2: The Use of Pleasure*, transl. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage Books, 1985), 4.

⁴ Foucault, *The History of Sexuality Volume 2: The Use of Pleasure*, 4.; José Vicente Cabezuelo Pliego, "Placer, pecado, delito. Sexualidad y violencia sexual en la frontera meridional valenciana a fines de la Edad Media. Algunos ejemplos" *Mirabilia / MedTrans* 10 (2019), 235. My translation.

⁵ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality Volume 1: An Introduction*, transl. Robert Hurley (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 6.

“cultural boundaries between servants and sentiments, and between illicit sex...and race emerging as central concerns of state at the heart of colonial politics.”⁶ While it would be inaccurate to apply colonial politics and colonialism as a whole to medieval Spain, there is value in Stoler’s approach to the intimate as a method of analyzing power dynamics, and on some level her ideas about colonial power and rule reflect a similarity to medieval Spain.

Stoler describes the intimate as a “marker of the familial and the essential *and* of relations grounded in sex,” ultimately concluding that “sexual desires transgressed...boundaries [and] incited prurient desires” that cross the lines and boundaries of culture and category.⁷ While Stoler’s methodology has flaws, and her research is confined to nineteenth and twentieth century colonial Java, her ideas about intimacy are successful and relevant enough to warrant consideration in medieval Spain, where illicit sex frequently featured in all social classes, and throughout the Middle Ages. Beyond sexuality, however, Stoler’s understanding of the intimate can be expanded into a variety of interpersonal interactions. Stoler references, for instance, food as a form of intimacy. Food, she argues, is “remembered as a principal arena in which Dutch fears about contact and contamination were played out,” because food can, and often does, represent acculturation.⁸ So too can shared meals be indicative of intimacy, especially when they transcend the aforementioned cultural or religious boundaries at play. In this

⁶ Ann Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 8.

⁷ Stoler, 11.

⁸ Ibid., 199.

way, sexual and non-sexual intimacy are not only “opposed to and subversive of power” but indicative of it.⁹

This thesis will argue that the interactions between Jews, Muslims, and Christians in medieval Spain were characterized by various forms of intimacy that were in turn inherently tied to conceptions of ruling power. These interactions and their ties to power represent neither *Convivencia* nor anti-*Convivencia*, but instead suggest a society where individuals navigated interreligious relationships amidst strict, binaristic legislation. Preceding the analysis sections, I give a brief paradigmatic breakdown to better explain Foucault’s theories of power and sexuality and how they pertain to this work. This prelude will tie foucauldian thought to scriptural text to demonstrate the relevance of this theoretical paradigm in how Judaism, Islam, and Christianity understood one another and themselves.

The first analytic section of this thesis addresses forms of interreligious intimacy, both sexual and non-sexual, in al-Andalus, with an emphasis on how religious thought dictated standards for interreligious interactions, social and moral purity, and the maintenance of Islamic power. The sexual discussion of this section will center institutional legislation, public moral regulation, and the role of non-Muslim women within Muslim families, such as in the Umayyads, who were frequently described as having “blond [hair] like their [Christian] mothers and...blue” eyes, despite Islamic ethicists warning about the sexuality of Christian women.¹⁰ Within this first section, I argue that Al-Andalus was concerned with preserving Muslim power and cultivating a

⁹ Stoler, 145.

¹⁰ D. Fairchild Ruggles, “Mothers of a Hybrid Dynasty: Race, Genealogy, and Acculturation in al-Andalus,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 34, no. 1 (2004): 69.

perfection of Islamic “masculine ethics.”¹¹ With what little material is available in English and Spanish scholarship, this section also evaluates non-sexual intimacy, such as interreligious market relations, cohabitation, and conversion.

The second section acts as a bridge between the first and third sections. Using art and architecture, this bridge evaluates the degree to which certain palaces, objects, and carvings demonstrate a sense of artistic acculturation while also symbolizing the dominance of one religion over another. This section emphasizes Muslim and Christian constructions and how these constructions reflected their royal authority. Analyses of Jewish architecture, such as the Synagogue of Santa María la Blanca are used to demonstrate the effects of intimate architecture on groups that do not wield power. Focusing primarily on fourteenth century architecture, and a variety of items from both the Andalusi and Christian periods, I suggest that structures such as the Palacio de Tordesillas and the Real Alcázar de Seville illustrate acculturation—or possibly appropriation—and close contact between Muslims and Christians while also representing religious conquest and dominance.

The third and final section discusses the particulars of interreligious interactions in Christian Spain and as with the first section will analyze how Christian legislation understood sexual encounters between members of different religions in an intimate framework. Using documents like the *Siete Partidas* and municipal fueros, this section will bring important institutional context into the Christian understanding of interreligious intimacy. In terms of non-sexual intimacy, this section will examine

¹¹ Zahra M. S. Ayubi, *Gendered Morality: Classical Islamic Ethics of the Self, Family, and Society* (New York: Columbia University Press: 2019), 117.

bathing and bath house encounters, dress, and foodways to analyze the ways that religious and secular power influenced every aspect of interreligious interactions.

The Andalusī period (711 to 1492) has been described as a period in which “Muslim ascendancy was seldom challenged successfully by the Christians” but this assertion ignores intercommunity and interpersonal forms of resistance.¹² While it is true that forms of Christian resistance, such as the Córdoba Martyr Crisis (850-859), were unsuccessful in accumulating any kind of tangible ruling power for Christians, neither was the Muslim rule of Spain stable. Sources regarding Muslim power and rule show a fear of losing both religious and secular power; a fear that was often expressed through anxieties about interreligious intimacy. For some Islamic ethicists and thinkers, a proximity with Judaism and Christianity—even in a non-sexual context—could lead to corruption or ritual impurity for Muslims. This affected the ruling strength of Islam, such as expressed in Ahmad al-Wansharīsī’s (1430-1508) legal treatise, which asserted that Jewish traditions infiltrated and corrupted Islamic practices.¹³ For others, like Maliki jurist Al-Lakhmi (1006-1095), close contact with Jews was no more corrupting than any other action a Muslim might take.¹⁴ These two conflicting views offer a glimpse into the complexities of religious power and the many varying perspectives that Islamic ethicists and authorities held on how to best maintain religious power. This Muslim fear of losing religious cohesion and power was even more severe when concerning Christians, with the

¹² Joseph F. O’Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1975), 91.

¹³ Janina M. Safran, *Defining Boundaries in al-Andalus: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Islamic Iberia* (Ithaca: Cornell, 2013), 126. That Jewish tradition being blowing the *shofar* during Yom Kippur or as an announcement of the Sabbath, a practice that was adopted by Muslims to symbolize the end of daily fasting during Ramadan.

¹⁴ Safran, 139. That contact being sustained use of the same well. Al-Lakhmi argued that “the water was not polluted by the Jews any more than it was polluted by the activities of the Muslims themselves.” (139)

Al-Diyarat, attributed Abu al-Faraj al-Isfahani (897-967), featuring a story where a Muslim ascetic nearly converts to Christianity because of the lust he feels for a Christian slave girl.¹⁵ In a framework of intimacy, these—sometimes sexually charged—anxieties suggest a fear of losing religious power, and losing territory, religious rule, or secular rule as a result.

The Christian period of Spain spanned from approximately 1212 at the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, to the present day, though pockets of Christian control existed in northern Spain throughout the Andalusí period. This period features Christian authorities similarly obsessed with maintaining power. With the Christian Reconquista necessitating a unified Christian front against Islam, interreligious interactions were inherently suspect. For thinkers like Peter the Venerable, who released two detailed polemics against Muslims and Jews, Islam and Judaism were inherently sinful.¹⁶ Notably, Peter remarks on the supposedly sexual nature of Islam, reporting that Muslim paradise “promises the embrace and sexual satisfaction of the most beautiful women and virgins,” enforcing a sexual aspect into the power dynamics between Christianity and Islam.¹⁷ Alternatively, Christian intellectuals, like Johannes Teutonicus (c. 1180-1252), the fourth master of the Dominican Order, wrote that “the Jews and Saracens are our neighbors” and that Christians “should love them as we love ourselves.”¹⁸ Like Spanish Muslims, Spanish

¹⁵ Nadia Maria El Cheikh, *Women, Islam, and Abbasid Identity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, London: Harvard University Press, 2019), 7.

¹⁶ Petrus Alfonsi, *Dialogue against the Jews*, trans. Irvén M. Resnick, The fathers of the church, medieval continuation (Washington, D.C: Catholic University of America Press, 2006).; Peter the Venerable, *Writings against the Saracens*, trans. Irvén M. Resnick, vol. 16, The Fathers of the Church, Medieval Continuation (Washington, D.C: Catholic University of America Press, 2016).

¹⁷ Petrus Alfonsi, *Writings against the Saracens*, 43.

¹⁸ James A. Brundage, “Intermarriage between Christians and Jews in Medieval Canon Law,” *Jewish History* 3, no. 1 (1988): 26. Though Johannes Teutonicus does mention that conversion “through love” should still be considered in interreligious interactions (26).

Christians feared a loss of their—at times tenuous—hold on medieval Spain. Anxieties about which religion had the most cohesion, ruling power, and authority, both generally and among Spanish people, led to Christian rulers strictly legislating against interreligious interaction.

Part I: Paradigms and Theory

Michel Foucault's most basic theory about power is its omnipresence. Power "can be found in all social interactions," and all interactions between individuals are governed by expressions of power.¹⁹ While Foucault generally focuses on the Victorian bourgeoisie and Classical Greek thought to explore this idea, the same concept can be applied to aspects of medieval Spain. For instance, institutional power governed the daily life of a Jew in late 13th century Christian Spain on multiple levels. The Christian Church dictates sumptuary laws require them to be "marked off in the eyes of the public from other peoples through the character of their dress," making their clothing a site of Church power.²⁰ They might need to pass through town on Good Friday and be prohibited by secular law that requires Jews to "remain shut up until Saturday morning," lest Christians be given free rein to harm or "dishonor" them.²¹ This thirteenth century Jew might attend synagogue and notice it needs to be repainted, which was again, prohibited by secular law.²² While at synagogue, they might hear about the Paris Talmud trials, and how Pope Gregory IX commanded authorities to "seize all available copies of "Jewish books.""²³ At every turn, this Jewish individual in thirteenth century Spain encounters the

¹⁹ Dianna Taylor, *Michel Foucault: Key Concepts* (London : New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2011), 15.

²⁰ "Twelfth Ecumenical Council: Lateran IV 1215, Canon 68" from H. J. Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils: Text, Translation and Commentary*, (St. Louis: B. Herder, 1937), hosted by Fordham University, <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/basis/lateran4.asp>.

²¹ *Las Siete Partidas, Volume 5: Underworlds: The Dead, the Criminal, and the Marginalized (Partidas VI and VII)*, transl. Samuel Parsons Scott, ed., Robert I. Burns, S.J. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 1434.

²² *Las Siete Partidas, Volume 5*, 1434.

²³ Robin Vose, *Dominicans, Muslims and Jews in the Medieval Crown of Aragon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 140.

institutional ruling power of Christianity. The same might be said for a Muslim living under Christian rule, or a Jew or Christian living under Islamic rule.²⁴

To further complicate matters, gender affected the way individuals could access power, or were shaped by it. Women, for instance, were “analyzed—qualified and disqualified [from access to power]—as being thoroughly saturated with sexuality” in Foucault’s work, a sentiment that is echoed in Judaism, Islam, and Christianity. Avraham Grossman writes that Jewish intellectuals, such as Rabbi Nissim of Kairouan (990-1062) thought that “many women possess negative qualities and only a small number are fit and deserving” of marriage.²⁵ As in Ben-Sira, women have an inclination towards sexual promiscuity, “sit[ting] down before every tent peg and open[ing] her quiver for every arrow” if she is not strictly managed.²⁶ As a result, interreligious interactions became a site where women’s rampant sexuality could pose a danger to the unity and strength of Judaism, and the body becomes a site for power and intimacy. Jewish Talmudic law strictly legislated interreligious sex as a manner of halakhic purity. As recorded in the Kiddushin of the Nashim (family law) section of the Talmud, a Jewish man should not “make marriages with” a gentile woman and that doing so is “halakhically meaningless” and thus not recognized as a legitimate marriage under Jewish law.²⁷ As a result, any child born from a gentile-Jewish union is considered illegitimate and that, for a Jewish

²⁴ This description seeks to avoid overcomplicating Foucauldian theory for scholars otherwise unfamiliar with modern theory. Foucault understands institutional power the “terminal forms that power takes,” not as power itself. (Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality Volume 1: An Introduction*, transl. Robert Hurley (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 92.) It is important to understand that instructional power—that is, the “sovereignty of the state, the form of the law, and the over-all unity of a domination” are inherent or natural practices (92). Rather, power is funneled to religious institutions, secular law, and royal authority. These institutions themselves are not ‘power’ in a Foucauldian framework, they only wield it.

²⁵ Avraham Grossman, *Pious and Rebellious: Jewish Women in Medieval Europe*, transl. Jonathan Chipman (Waltham; Lebanon: Brandeis University Press (University Press of New England), 2004), 35.

²⁶ Ben Sira 26:12. Grossman points out that these words, and the Ben-Sira’s stance on women more generally, was frequently “quoted in support by medieval sages.” (17)

²⁷ Kiddushin 68b.

man, his “son from a gentile woman is not called [his] son, but her son.”²⁸ The same holds true if a Jewish woman engages in interreligious sex. Any offspring from a Jewish woman and gentile man is considered *mamzer* (estranged) and the child’s birth is considered “the result of a transgression” with the child “considered disqualified” from the Jewish community.²⁹ This law establishes an express emphasis on religious purity in marriage.

For Foucault, micro-level relations, that is, the interpersonal interactions between one person and other, are the base level for expressions of power. For Jews, the case of the Jewish prostitute Oro de Par can reveal this micro-level relation. As described by David Nirenberg, Oro de Par frequently slept with Muslim and Christian men in fourteenth century Christian Spain. While this was not institutionally regulated—Christian Spain did not have widespread legislation forbidding interreligious sex between a Christian man and a minority woman—this illicit sex was interpersonally regulated. As a result of her transgressions, the representatives from the “Jewish aljama asked the king to have her disfigured and exiled.”³⁰ Interpersonal and intercommunity forms of violence and power, in the Foucauldian framework, are always enacted unequally. While these forms of power “constantly engender states of power” for some individuals, this power is “always local and unstable.”³¹ Just because a select few representatives of the Jewish aljama gained nebulous power over Oro de Par by having her disfigured and exiled did not change the general lack of power held by Jews collectively in fourteenth century Spain. Foucault’s understanding of power is multifaceted. As such, the power dynamics

²⁸ Kiddushin 68b.

²⁹ Kiddushin 68b.

³⁰ Nirenberg, 137.

³¹ Foucault, *The History of Sexuality Volume 1*, 93.

reflected in the case of Oro de Par are “immanent,” and “exist only within a certain domain or discourse,” and not in the broader society.³²

The emphasis on women’s sexuality and the dangers it poses are similarly echoed by Muslim authorities. Al-Musabbihī (977-1030), an ethicist from Egypt, wrote that women were “endowed with dangerous sexuality that was so socially disruptive” that it could lead to *fitna* or social and moral disorder.³³ Al-Musabbihī, like other “Muslim jurists, scholars, moralists, chroniclers and...authorities,” heavily regulated women’s movement and “access to public space” in an attempt to avert the *fitna* that their sexuality could bring.³⁴ In Foucauldian thought, the legislation of women’s movement and fear of *fitna* both demonstrated the power of Islamic authorities and the threat women posed to that power. In depriving women of free movement, not only did women’s sexuality become dangerous and illicit, women themselves became illicit.³⁵

Royal interreligious sex is complicated by this supposed danger and illicitness. While women—both Christian and Muslim—were heavily policed in Islamic Spain, D. Fairchild Ruggles has noted that many Umayyad caliphal heirs were “blond...and predominantly blue-eyed,” due to their Christian mothers.³⁶ Men of the Umayyad dynasty

³² Taylor, 21.

³³ Yaacov Lev, “Women in the Urban Space of Medieval Muslim Cities,” in *Developing Perspectives in Mamluk History: Essays in Honor of Amalia Levanoni*, ed. Yuval Ben-Bassat and Amalia Levanoni (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2017), 151.

³⁴ Lev, 151.

³⁵ Lev mentions Musabbihī’s *History of Egypt*, of which few fragments survive, and also mentions the 1023 edict of the Fatimid dynasty that regulated “the appearance of women and the way Muslim and non-Muslim festivals were celebrated” (150), which can in turn be tied to the Iberian experience in Alexandra Cuffel, “From Practice to Polemic: Shared Saints and Festivals as ‘Women’s Religion’ in the Medieval Mediterranean” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 68, no. 3 (2005).

³⁶ See Ibn ‘Abdūn, “*Hisba Manual*” transl. Bernard Lewis in *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslims, and Jewish Sources*, ed. Olivia Remie Constable (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012) for examples of regulation and prohibition for Muslim and Christian women in 13th century Seville.; D. Fairchild Ruggles, “Mothers of a Hybrid Dynasty: Race, Genealogy, and Acculturation in al-Andalus,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 34, no. 1 (2004): 69.

frequently had sex with Christian concubines, despite the danger their sexuality might pose to the strength of Islam.³⁷ This exception to typical Islamic notions of sexuality and interreligious sex can be explained by Foucault's conception of power. While power can be expressed on the interpersonal level (as with Oro de Par), it can also be expressed, in different and similar ways, at the royal level. Foucault writes that "there is no binary and all-encompassing opposition between rulers and ruled at the root of power relations and serving as a general matrix."³⁸ Therefore, we "cannot reduce all sorts of power to one model;" caliphal expressions of power may differ from interpersonal expressions of power, but they still overlap and intertwine based on religious and social ideology.³⁹

This is echoed further in Christian philosophy. Biblically, women were conceived of as lesser to men, with 1 Corinthians 11:3-9 stating that "the head of every man is Christ, and the head of the woman is man," that "man did not come from woman, but woman from man," and that "neither was man created for woman, but woman for man."⁴⁰ Added to this conception of women as lesser was the idea that women were inherently wicked, sinful, or sexual beings. Heinrich Kramer (1430-1505), quoting Ecclesiasticus XXV, remarks that women are more inclined to copulate with the devil because "all wickedness is but little to the wickedness of women" because "the lust of women leads them into all sins."⁴¹ This inferiority and lustfulness makes women a danger to the

³⁷ For dangers, see above, the *Al-Diyarat* story of a Muslim ascetic nearly converting to Christianity out of lust for a Christian woman.

³⁸ Foucault, *The History of Sexuality Volume 1*, 94.

³⁹ Taylor, 22.; Foucault refers to this as the "microphysics" of power, the idea that a solely top-down or bottom-up approach to power dynamics is insufficient to explore "complex webs of interwoven relationships." (22). For more, see Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, 2nd Vintage Books ed (New York: Vintage Books, 1995).

⁴⁰ 1 Corinthians 11:3-6.

⁴¹ Heinrich Kramer, "Part I Question VI" *Malleus Maleficarum*, transl. Montague Summers (1928), hosted by Sacred Texts, <https://www.sacred-texts.com/pag/mm/>.

strength of Christianity, as they might be tempted by illicit sex, such as interreligious sex. As interreligious marriage “undermined the ecclesiological integrity of the Christian community,” women—who were more susceptible to sexual sins—had to be regulated to avoid interreligious contact.⁴²

One aspect of Christian power and sexuality can be understood with Foucault’s conception of “macroforms,” or the “system-level, rather than individual-level, understanding of power relations.”⁴³ The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 is one example of a macroform expression of power. The Fourth Lateran Council is one expression of Church power but is also the result of a “concatenation of many micro-events.”⁴⁴ Furthermore, the canons of the council are not “the direct result of any *particular* individual action or choice,” but a culmination of many.⁴⁵ Canon 69 of the Fourth Lateran Council, for instance, states that “Jews are not to be given public offices,” as they might use those offices to be “most troublesome to the Christians.”⁴⁶ The fear of Jews having power over Christians is not the direct result of the Fourth Lateran Council, or even Pope Innocent III who called for the council. There are echoes of this fear in the Third Lateran Council, where Canon 26 states that “Jews and [Muslims] are not to be allowed to have Christian servants in their houses, either under pretence of nourishing their children or for service or any other reason,” as “Jews ought to be subject to Christians.”⁴⁷ The fear or

⁴² Lev E. Weitz, *Between Christ and Caliph: Law, Marriage, and Christian Community in Early Islam*, Divinations: Rereading Late Ancient Religion (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), 204.

⁴³ Taylor, 22.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 23.

⁴⁵ Ibid.,.

⁴⁶ “Twelfth Ecumenical Council: Lateran IV 1215, Canon 69” from H. J. Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils: Text, Translation and Commentary*, (St. Louis: B. Herder, 1937), hosted by Fordham University, <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/basis/lateran4.asp>.

⁴⁷ “Third Lateran Council – 1179 A.D.” from Norman P. Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils* (Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1990), hosted by Papal Encyclicals, <https://www.papalencyclicals.net/councils/ecum11.htm>.

hatred of Jews in Christian thought was not new, and can be traced back to antisemitic Visigothic law, and even to ancient Rome.⁴⁸ The Fourth Lateran Council, then, is an example of the longevity of belief and power that manifests in a macroform.

Foucauldian power dynamics allow for the aforementioned theories to exist at the same time. Micro-level power relations—such as Jewish representatives interacting with Oro de Par—exist alongside conflicting power relations, such as the Umayyad’s interreligious sex and blond heirs. These all exist in a greater macroform, such as Christian rhetoric that discriminates against Jews.⁴⁹ Interpersonal, intercommunity, intra-community, and institutional expressions of power are variable and yet all serve to reinforce the dominant form—the macroform—of sexual power. At the same time, amidst all expressions of power, Foucault understands that “where there is power there is resistance.”⁵⁰ The very need for laws regulating sexuality and sexual encounters—with those laws revived and revised throughout the Middle Ages—suggests that interreligious sex was enough of an issue to necessitate legislation, and that interreligious sex took place repeatedly despite its prohibition.⁵¹ Sex was at once an avenue for religious tension, indicative of interpersonal tolerance, representative of both interpersonal and intra-community intimacy, and a form of resistance to the dominant power structures of both Al-Andalus and Christian Spain.

⁴⁸ See Jean Juster, “The Legal Condition of the Jews under the Visigothic Kings - Part I,” *Israel Law Review* 11, no. 2 (April 1, 1976): 259–87.

⁴⁹ Of course, all these manifestations of power existed in different time periods. For the Andalusí period, interpersonal/micro-level power relations might in a Muslim man purchasing sex from a Christian prostitute. The macroform in this instance could be Islamic ethicist thought, the Qur’an, or Umayyad law.

⁵⁰ Foucault, *The History of Sexuality Volume 1*, 95.

⁵¹ For instance, in Christian Spain, there were several different laws, both religious and royal, that prohibited interreligious sexuality, all from different time periods. Though it cannot be definitively stated that these laws required refreshing or revising due to repeated offenses, it is a distinct possibility.

All aforementioned particulars of power can be understood at the same time in the case of the Christian prostitute Aliscend de Tolba, Lorenç Pastor the Christian shepherd, and Aytola the Muslim shepherd, mentioned at the beginning of the thesis introduction. Interpersonal or micro-level relations are at the core of this case, with Aliscend, an individual, approaching the shepherds as individuals. Lorenç engages in intra-community relations by lending Aytola money and offering him a lie so that he may sleep with Aliscend. Lorenç also indirectly engaged in gendered and intercommunity power relations by setting up a situation where Aliscend might be raped. Aytola engaged in gendered intra-community power relations, and also subverted the institutional prohibition of interreligious sex, by attempting to sleep with Aliscend. Lastly, Aliscend engages with institutional power by reporting Aytola to the authorities and also reflects an intra-community engagement with Muslims by her ability to recognize Aytola as a Muslim through his circumcised penis.

The intimate as it relates to power, is at once “a descriptive marker of the familiar, and the essential *and* of relations grounded in sex.”⁵² Similar to Ann Stoler, this thesis identifies “the political stakes lodged in what is defined as public or private,” as well as what is defined as licit or illicit, what is defined as legitimate or heretical, and the fungibility of these definitions based on time period, religion, geographic location, individual, community standards, law, and circumstance.⁵³ Foucault’s understanding of power’s omnipresence, immanence, and comprehensiveness are reflected in the multifaceted power dynamics of medieval Spain. Various forms of power reflect, for

⁵² Stoler, 9.

⁵³ Ibid.,.

instance, why some intimate sites in some contexts were more ethically, religiously, and politically charged than in others.

Part II: The Islamic Period

The Islamic period in Spain (711-1492), can be analyzed through the lens of intimacy as an alternative to the frequently utilized (anti-)Convivencia theory. Scholars like María Rosa Menocal have reinforced a narrative of Convivencia in the Andalusian period, as in her book *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain*, while scholars like Darío Fernández-Morera reinforce a notion of severe anti-Convivencia as seen in his book *The Myth of the Andalusian Paradise: Muslims, Christians, and Jews under Islamic Rule in Medieval Spain*. Both texts evade the more complex and nuanced view of Islamic Spain where great harmony and tolerance can exist alongside great intolerance and hatred. Hatred, violence, love, and camaraderie were present and intertwined throughout Islamic Spain, much in the way that seemingly opposing values and attitudes are able to exist in other premodern and modern societies. Brian A. Catlos's book, *Kingdoms of Faith: A New History of Islamic Spain*, takes a more moderate approach to the debate, generally concluding that Islamic Spain was not a religiously motivated society, but instead a space where "realpolitik trumped religious identity, and political struggles would take place...across religious lines."⁵⁴ Referencing the Latin *Chronicle of 754*, Catlos points out that the Arab commanders conquering Spain were "referred to in the same morally neutral terms as Christian rulers," and "praised if their actions were just and condemned if they were not."⁵⁵ As a deviation from the (anti-)Convivencia tradition, Catlos

⁵⁴ Brian A. Catlos, *Kingdoms of Faith: A New History of Islamic Spain*, First edition (New York: Basic Books, 2018), 36.

⁵⁵ Catlos, 34.

understands Islamic Spain as a “land of *conveniencia*” or non-religious pragmatism and convenience.⁵⁶

Both the “*conveniencia*” and the (anti-)Convivencia approaches have limitations and lack a modern, theory-driven analysis of medieval Spain. The rose-tinted Convivencia approach can distract from the real suffering Christian and Jewish people—especially women—faced in Islamic Spain, while anti-Convivencia approaches can risk simplifying interreligious interactions to one-dimensional, negative, and even harmful conclusions.⁵⁷ Even the middle-ground approach in Catlos’s “*conveniencia*” can dismiss the importance of religion, identity, and distinction, leading to an unnuanced understanding of the period.

By using intimacy as a theoretical approach, Islamic Spain can be understood in terms of power, interaction, and identity, complicating the often-superficial analysis seen with (anti-)Convivencia as well as the dismissal of identity and religion in “*conveniencia*” approaches. An intimate Islamic Spain allows for the existence of oppressive legislation and religious fanaticism while still maintaining the possibility of camaraderie or sexual encounters between individuals of different religions. For instance, the Pact of Umar, a piece of legislation dated to the seventh century, centers both conversation between Syrian Christians and the caliph Umar ibn al-Khattāb, and regulations between Muslims and Christian *dhimmī* following the Islamic conquest of the

⁵⁶ Ibid., 429.

⁵⁷ In some cases, as with *The Myth of the Andalusian Paradise*, these limitations can reinforce problematic or harmful understandings of medieval Spain. Fernández-Morera’s popular history work suggests the nature of the Islamic faith is inherently violent, oppressive, or cruel. See: unchecked myth of cannibalism and Muslim savagery, 46; the *dhimma* as a “gangster-like “protection racket”” 210; and his reading of premodern sources with modern morals and values, something he cautions against (54): 46, 48, 58, 76, 93, 106, and more.

Iberian Peninsula.⁵⁸ Despite the assertion that the Pact of Umar originated from Umar ibn al-Khattāb, some scholars have noted that the “none of the textual versions...can be dated earlier than the tenth or eleventh century.”⁵⁹ Other scholars still have argued that the pact exists as a continuation of earlier Islamic conquest agreements, as its structure follows that of earlier *ṣulḥ* agreements like the hadith of Ibn ‘Abbās (619– 687) or the more complex *ḥadīth* outlined by *Abd-al-Razzāq* (744-827.)⁶⁰ The text is written in a blend between literary and legal style, with the writings of Christians to al-Khattāb, as well as al-Khattāb’s response recounted in prose, and the tenets of the pact itself relayed with more formal structure.

The Christians promise al-Khattāb that, in return for “safe-conduct (*amān*)” for their persons, family, property, and community, they will show proper deference to the ruling Muslims class and Islam as a dominant religion.⁶¹ Most notably, Christians were prohibited from building new religious buildings or repairing existing religious buildings in “the quarters of the Muslims,” from preaching or blaspheming in public, from dressing or speaking like a Muslim, and prohibited from burying the Christian dead near the Muslim dead.⁶² Additionally, the pact requires various shows of respect and deference to Muslims, such as providing food and lodging for Muslim travelers, giving up seats for Muslims who wish to sit, and wearing the distinctive belt, the *zunār*, to denote *dhimmī*

⁵⁸ As Jews were also People of the Book, it can be assumed that the contents of the Pact of Umar extended to Jewish *dhimmī* as well. For more, see “The Legal Position of Jews in Islam” in Mark R. Cohen, *Under Crescent and Cross: The Jews in the Middle Ages*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 2008).

⁵⁹ Matthias B. Lehmann, “Islamic Legal Consultation and the Jewish-Muslim “Convivencia”: A1-Wansharis’s Fatwā Collection as a Source for Jewish Social History in al-Andalus and the Maghrib,” *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 6 no. 1 (1999): 29.

⁶⁰ Milka Levy-Rubin, *Non-Muslims in the Early Islamic Empire: From Surrender to Coexistence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 64.

⁶¹ “The Pact of Umar,” transl. Bernard Lewis in *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslims, and Jewish Sources*, ed. Olivia Remie Constable (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 43.

⁶² “The Pact of Umar,” 44.

status. There is an emphasis on maintaining distinctive religious and cultural boundaries in the pact, seen with the restrictions on Christian dress and the use of “Arabic inscriptions” on Mozarabic seals.⁶³

The Pact of Umar illustrates one of the ways that *dhimmī* and Muslims may have interacted after the Muslim conquest of the Iberian Peninsula. This source is difficult to definitively date and may not authentically represent Mozarabic ideology. Nonetheless, it does demonstrate how Muslims expected Mozarabs to act on a legal level and the legal protections Mozarabs were granted in return. Contradictorily, the pact both dissuades intimacy between Christians and Muslims—such as disallowing Christians to bury their dead alongside Muslims and being disallowed to “resemble the Muslims”—while also seemingly excusing other forms of intimacy.⁶⁴ For instance, the Mozarabs promise to “keep [their] gates wide open” for Muslim travelers and “give board and lodging to all Muslims who pass,” which provides temporary cohabitation between Muslims and Christians, and also implies shared meals.⁶⁵ This dissonance in intimacy and acculturation is explained by the accompanying tenets, nearly all of which focus on Christians showing proper respect—or even implied subservience—to Muslims, such as the insistence that a Mozarab will “rise from [their] seat when [Muslims] wish to sit.”⁶⁶

⁶³ Ibid.,.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 44.; Miguel Ángel Cau Ontiveros et al., “Christians in a Muslim World? Radiocarbon Dating of the Cemetery Overlaying the Forum of Pollentia (Mallorca, Balearic Islands),” *Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences* 9, no. 7 (October 2017): 1529–38, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12520-016-0325-0>. Ontiveros et al.’s carbon-dating and archeological analyses suggest that the prohibition of interreligious burial and cemetery practices were enforced as, in a cemetery dated to the Islamic occupation of Majorca, the “graves were not is Islamic character” and “no corpses were found in the lateral position as is the norm for Muslim inhabitants.” (1536).

⁶⁵ Ibid., 43.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 44.

This emphasis on deference could be a literacy fabrication, intended to cast the Syrian Christians as grateful *dhimmī* completely accepting Muslim rule. Despite the pact supposedly originating from Mozarabic Christians, the plea made by the Christians emphasizes and benefits the Muslims conquerors, not the protections the Christians were granted in turn. As the pact was originally an Arabic text, it is possible that the protections of the *dhimmī* were considered familiar enough to a reader that the Christians within the pact did not need to reiterate their protections. Even so, the focus of the pact is almost entirely on what is forbidden to Christians, and how exactly they must show deference. As such, the pact counters what might be typically expected of newly conquered religious groups.⁶⁷

The Pact of Umar represents the complexities of multireligious Iberia and conquest. The Christians of the text, whether real or fabricated, list the various ways in which they must navigate life in post-conquest Iberia. The emphasis on deference to Muslims, with little text spared for the protections *dhimmī* receive, could point to the Mozarabs in the pact being a fictional narrative intended to show how Christians should act towards the Muslim conquerors.

At a glance, the pact suggests a rigid relationship where Muslims and *dhimmī* must be separated and culturally distinct, with particular dress codes for *dhimmī* as an attempt at avoiding visual acculturation. The concern with dress and appearance is one echoed in other Islamic accounts of interreligious interactions. In Ibn Jubayr's account of his journey from Baghdad to Mosul, he recounts the sight of two Muslim princesses who

⁶⁷ What may typically be expected of a newly conquered religious group could be something more akin to Eulogius of Córdoba's vocal hatred of the poll tax (*jizyah*) and call for Christian resistance.

traveled in opulence with “gilded caparisons.”⁶⁸ One princess wears a “golden headband” and is accompanied by handmaidens on “gold-worked saddles,” all of which lead Jubayr to conclude that the procession was “such pride of feminine sovereignty” and “such ceremony of rank” that it “should shake the earth” with its glory.⁶⁹ The appearance of Muslim women is so important and indicative of Islam’s glory, that Ibn Jubayr is awestruck at the opulence of the princess’ procession. Ibn Jubayr’s description of the princess’ father’s exploits as a powerful Muslim king reinforces the connection between appearance and power, an element that echoes the Pact of Umar and its emphasis on dress as status.

Proximity too is of concern to Ibn Jubayr and the Pact of Umar. The pact maintains that a *dhimmī* must “give board and lodging to all Muslims who pass,” and Ibn Jubayr describes the city of Messina as one where the “Christians treat these Muslims well and ‘have taken them to themselves as friends,’” but this proximity and intimacy is suspect.⁷⁰ In describing King William’s possessions and the royal splendor of Messina, Ibn Jubayr remarks that he hopes “God in His favor preserve the Muslims from this seduction.”⁷¹ *Fitna*, a concept often associated with moral or social disorder, conflict, or temptation is translated as seduction here, giving an intimate connotation to the proximity between Christians and Muslims. As described by Joshua C. Birk, *fitna* was used in a way that signaled a spectacle or exotic threat that “threatened to cause Muslims to deviate

⁶⁸ Muḥammad Ibn-Aḥmad Ibn-Ḡubair, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr: Being the Chronicle of a Mediaeval Spanish Moor, Concerning His Journey to the Egypt of Saladin, the Holy Cities of Arabia, Baghdad the City of the Caliphs, the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, and the Norman Kingdom of Sicily*, trans. Roland Broadhurst (New Delhi: Goodword Books, 2007), 239.

⁶⁹ Ibn Jubayr, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, 240.

⁷⁰ “The Pact of Umar,” 44.; Ibn Jubayr, 339.

⁷¹ Ibn Jubayr, 341.

from their faith.”⁷² For Ibn Jubayr, public intimacy between Christians and Muslims is both friendly and dangerous and complicates the cohabitation tenet in the Pact of Umar. Not only does Ibn Jubayr pray that Muslims resist the temptations from Christian proximity, he also hopes that God “protect[s] the Muslims from his [William II’s] hostility and the extension of his power,” reinforcing the connection between intimacy and power.⁷³ Regardless of the friendliness between the Sicilian Muslims and Christians, Ibn Jubayr’s conversations with the page ‘Abd al-Masih reveal the ways that intimacy can mean danger. Friendliness in Messina exists alongside crypto-Muslims who “conceal [their] faith” and are “fearful for [their] lives.”⁷⁴ In an intimate framework, this is not a contradiction, but reveals the importance of power dynamics in interreligious interactions. In Islamic Spain, proximity between Muslims and non-Muslims is as not dangerous or seductive as in Christian Sicily because Spanish Muslims wield institutional power, though this too necessitates further analysis.

Centrally important to the Pact of Umar are the power dynamics between the Muslim rulers and their *dhimmī* subjects, but the Pact is written generally, making it difficult to adequately address the importance of power and intimacy in interreligious interactions. As mentioned in the introduction, sexuality is one point where power and intimacy meet, making it an important facet of Islamic society to explore through a foucauldian lens. As suggested by Foucault, “sexuality exists at the point where body and population meet. And so it is a matter for discipline, but also a matter for

⁷² Joshua C. Birk, “Crucible of Faith: Fitna in the Travels of Ibn Jubayr,” in *Rethinking Norman Italy*, ed. Joanna H. Drell and Paul Oldfield, Studies in Honour of Graham A. Loud (Manchester University Press, 2021), 113. Birk writes that *fitna* as a concept was not inherently negative and instead indicated a moment “in which God test[ed] the faith of unity.” (114) This concept relates *fitna* to power dynamics and religious cohesion, an idea that will be discussed below.

⁷³ Ibid.,.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 342.

regularization.”⁷⁵ While the discipline mandated by the Pact of Umar is both nonsexual and unconcerned with regulating sexuality, it does set a legal precursor for the later period *Hisba Manual*.

The *Hisba Manual* is an intersection between sexuality, gender, non-sexual interactions, and the way these elements reflect power. Ibn ‘Abdūn (1050-1135) wrote the twelfth century *Hisba Manual* and included regulatory standards for the markets of Seville that reveals a great deal about the power and intimacy expectations of Spanish Muslims, Jews, and Christians. The *Hisba Manual* is not only concerned with the daily functioning of society—such as what meats or fish may be sold in a market—but of the “moral administration of the city” governing how Christians and Jews should interact with Muslims and with each other.⁷⁶ The *Hisba Manual* and *ḥisba* style legislation more broadly are considered inherently public pieces of legislation. Instead of regulating, for instance, interreligious sex specifically, the *Hisba Manual* instead regulates “offenses committed “in the open”” and such offenses are found “without an active search for transgressions committed beyond public view.”⁷⁷ As such, the legislation in the *Hisba Manual* are enduringly considered with the functions of public society and public intimacy.

In terms of non-sexual intimacy, the *Hisba Manual* asserts that a Muslim “must not massage a Jew or a Christian nor throw away his refuse nor clean his latrines,” condemning any kind of interreligious touch that places a Muslim in subservience to a

⁷⁵ Michel Foucault et al., *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975-76*, 1st Picador pbk. ed (New York: Picador, 2003), 251.

⁷⁶ Olivia Remie Constable, *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslims, and Jewish Sources*, ed. Olivia Remie Constable (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 227.

⁷⁷ Yaron Klein, “Between Public and Private: An Examination of *Ḥisba* Literature,” *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review* 7 (2006): 41.

Christian.⁷⁸ The *Hisba Manual* does not ban public interreligious touch entirely, as it states that the “Jew or the Christian are better fitted for such trades” while emphasizing the “vile” nature of cleaning refuse and giving massages.⁷⁹ This section of the *Hisba Manual* directly ties certain intimate actions and services between Muslims and *dhimmi* to power. A Muslim is not allowed to “attend to the animal of a Jew or of a Christian...nor hold his stirrup” because doing so implies a subservience of the Muslim in question to the *dhimmi* and upsets the Islamic macroform of power previously outlined in the Pact of Umar.⁸⁰ This maintenance of power dynamics is so central to the *Hisba Manual* that a Muslim known to engage in a deferential interreligious intimacy with a Jew or Christian “should be denounced.”⁸¹

The evocation of the senses with the “vile” cleaning of another’s “refuse” and “latrines” suggests bodily intimacy, an idea further reiterated by the prohibition of Muslims giving massage. As mentioned in the paradigmatic breakdown, the body is often a site where microforms of interreligious interactions reveal the intricacies of institutional power dynamics. In this section of the *Hisba Manual*, power dynamics are expressed through concerns about the “moral cleanliness”—both metaphorically with the power of a Muslim of the *dhimmi* and literally with the filth associated with cleaning refuse—of the “social body” of Islam.⁸² At each turn, the nonsexual forms of intimacy regulated in the *Hisba Manual* seek to reinforce Islam’s institutional power in twelfth century Seville.

⁷⁸ Ibn ‘Abdūn, “*Hisba Manual*,” 230.

⁷⁹ Ibid.,.

⁸⁰ Ibid.,.

⁸¹ Ibid.,.

⁸² Foucault, *The History of Sexuality* Vol 1, 54.

While the *Hisba Manual* primarily emphasizes non-sexual and public intimacy, there is still an intense condemnation of interreligious sexuality and sexual contamination. For instance, Ibn ‘Abdūn remarks that Muslim women must not enter a Christian church, as “the priests are evil-doers, fornicators, and sodomites” that may corrupt good Muslim women.⁸³ This connection to illicit sexuality and Christianity is further remarked upon when the manual forbids Christian women from entering the church outside of religious service or festival time as “it is their habit to eat and drink and fornicate with the priests,” before reaffirming the salaciousness of priests with the insistence that, among these Christian priests, “there is not one who has not two or more women with whom he sleeps.”⁸⁴ Christian priests and Christian women become bodily suspect and from this manual it can be inferred that, for the Muslim perspective, it is not only interreligious sex that is illicit, but Christian sexuality itself.

Additionally, Ibn ‘Abdūn’s regulations reflect a fear of female sexuality, both Christian and Muslim. Yaacov Lev, in an analysis of Islamic juristic thought in Egypt, addresses the reports of al-Musabbihī (977-1030), who wrote on the behaviors of women. Al-Musabbihī’s conclusions on the behaviors of women are clearly evident in Ibn ‘Abdūn’s regulations. For instance, al-Musabbihī’s work reveals that women were “endowed with dangerous sexuality that was so socially disruptive” that it could lead to *fitna*.⁸⁵ Directly tying to the *Hisba Manual*’s prohibition of women’s movement, al-Musabbihī, like other “Muslim jurists, scholars, moralists, chroniclers and...authorities”

⁸³ Ibn ‘Abdūn, “*Hisba Manual*,” 230.

⁸⁴ Ibid.,.

⁸⁵ Yaacov Lev, “Women in the Urban Space of Medieval Muslim Cities,” in *Developing Perspectives in Mamluk History: Essays in Honor of Amalia Levanoni*, ed. Yuval Ben-Bassat and Amalia Levanoni (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2017), 151.

heavily regulated women's movement and "access to public space" in an attempt to avert the *fitna* that their sexuality could bring. Sarah Davis-Secord, in her chapter "Bearers of Islam: Muslims Women Between Assimilation and Resistance in Christian Sicily" in *Gender in the Premodern Mediterranean* suggests that "proximity, and especially friendly interaction, might seduce weak or vulnerable Muslims... into conversion to Christianity."⁸⁶ The anxieties stemming from power and sexuality are tied to *fitna*, with conversion "from Islam to Christianity represent[ing] the ultimate chaos and upending of the proper order of things" in Davis-Secord's analysis.⁸⁷ Using Ibn Jubayr's travelogue to Christian Sicily as her primary text, Davis-Secord shows how *fitna* and interreligious interactions could be understood as "cultural seduction" that put the "cultural identity of the Muslim community...at risk."⁸⁸

In foucauldian thought, the legislation of women's movement and fear of *fitna* both demonstrated the power of Islamic authorities and the threat women posed to that power. In depriving women of free movement—whether to particular churches or festivals as in the *Hisba Manual*, or to the way women moved in Fatimid public in al-Musabbiḥī's work—not only did women's sexuality become dangerous and illicit, women themselves became illicit.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ Sarah Davis-Secord, "Bearers of Islam: Muslims Women Between Assimilation and Resistance in Christian Sicily," in *Gender in the Premodern Mediterranean*, ed. Megan Moore, vol. 539, Medieval & Renaissance Texts and Studies (Tempe, Arizona: Arizona Center for Medieval & Renaissance Studies, 2019), 74. While Davis-Secord's analysis focuses on women in Sicily, her insights are still applicable to medieval Spain and the medieval Mediterranean more broadly.

⁸⁷ Davis-Secord, 66.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 74. It must be noted that Davis-Secord's analysis centers the minority Muslim population in Christian Sicily. While this thesis section analyzes a Spanish Muslim macroform, juristic ideas about religious identity and assimilation seem to overlap in these particular examples.

⁸⁹ Lev mentions Musabbiḥī's *History of Egypt*, of which few fragments survive, and also mentions the 1023 edict of the Fatimid dynasty that regulated "the appearance of women and the way Muslim and non-Muslim festivals were celebrated" (150), which can in turn be tied to the Iberian experience in Alexandra Cuffel, "From Practice to Polemic: Shared Saints and Festivals as 'Women's Religion' in the Medieval

This is partly due to the Islamic construction of “masculine ethics” as defined by Zahra M.S. Ayubi.⁹⁰ Women, in this ethicist construction, are objects, and the “relationship between men and women is merely a site of the man’s ethical refinement” wherein he can and should exercise control over her to ensure her adherence to a proper life.⁹¹ With this in mind, it could be suggested that the fear of Muslim women entering Christian spaces with salacious priests—and the fear of women’s movement more broadly—is just as much a power anxiety as it is an anxiety about interreligious sex. This fear of both power and sex is further emphasized by the ethicist view that “sexual appetite (*shahwat*)” is “amplified in women,” making them more inclined than men towards illicit or ill-advised sexual encounters that undermine Islamic power and lead to *fitna* in society.⁹² The salacious priests Ibn ‘Abdūn mentions not only pose a sexual threat to Muslim women, but a threat to the sanctity and piety (and therefore the power) of Muslim rule. The fear of women’s movement mentioned by al-Musabbihī doubly threaten the moral order of society, and the cohesion of Islamic rule.

The “masculine ethics” of Islam are quite similar in construction to Foucault’s ideas about premodern “male ethics.”⁹³ While Foucault’s focus is exclusively Christian, and severely limited by this, his conception of power-sex dynamics function alongside those defined by Ayubi. The simultaneous figuring of women “only as objects” (or at best, as “trainable partners”) and the emphasis on sexual austerity as contributing to power are reminiscent of Ayubi’s “masculine ethics.”⁹⁴ While the examples Foucault

Mediterranean” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 68, no. 3 (2005).

⁹⁰ Ayubi, 117.

⁹¹ Ibid., 115.; Ibid., 143.

⁹² Ibid., 82.

⁹³ Foucault, *The History of Sexuality Volume 2: The Use of Pleasure*, 22.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 22.; Ayubi, 117.

uses to support this theory are tenuous at best and cannot be applied to *shahwat* and power in the Islamic context, some parallels can be drawn. Firstly, as with Foucault, Ayubi shows that, “traditional [Islamic] legal sources have gendered ideas about sexual needs” that are constructed through the aforementioned “masculine ethics.”⁹⁵ There are also ties between these gendered ethics, sexuality, and power, as Ayubi shows with the *Akhlaq* texts that center on the ways in “which men compete with one another for power.”⁹⁶ In the *Akhlaq* texts, Ayubi points to gendered and sexual violence towards women as emerging primarily when “men have a lack of power in relation to other men,” in turn showing that “male power is maintained” sexually and domestically as a reflection of how “male power is maintained... institution[ally].”⁹⁷ With this in mind, the *Hisba Manual* prohibitions on Muslim women’s movement suggests a fear of losing power, which manifested as a gendered, sexual anxiety.

In the same vein, a Christian woman’s sexuality was dangerous and threatened the power structure of Islamic society if it was not constrained by legislation. Nadia Maria El Cheikh recounts a story from the *Al-Diyarat*, attributed Abu al-Faraj al-Isfahani (897-967), wherein a Byzantine Christian slave girl inspired such lust and love in a traveling Muslim ascetic that he was eventually beaten to death for his continued pursuit of the beautiful girl.⁹⁸ Dangerously, a Christian woman could inspire “a desire so irresistible that [a] man abandons his fellow Muslim ascetics to fall prey to an uncontrollable attraction” as in the *Al-Diyarat* story.⁹⁹ When the Christian slave girl promises to marry

⁹⁵ Ayubi, 139.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 67.

⁹⁷ Ibid.,.

⁹⁸ Nadia Maria El Cheikh, *Women, Islam, and Abbasid Identity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, London: Harvard University Press, 2019), 7.

⁹⁹ El Cheikh, 7.

the ascetic if he converts to Christianity, he refuses and is beaten to death, but the very mention of conversion is reason enough to suggest a Christian woman could tempt a Muslim to take the “road to perdition” and reject Islam.¹⁰⁰

Religiously, Christian women represent temptation away from Islam, enough that an ascetic is seduced by their sexuality. For this reason, the *Hisba Manual* disallowing Christian women from moving freely is a fear of the danger female Christian sexuality posed to Islam through their promiscuity and possible seduction of Muslim men. This fear is not unfounded as, pointed out by D. Fairchild Ruggles, the mothers of “Umayyad heirs were predominantly Christian women from the north” with the Umayyad caliphs frequently having “blond [hair] like their mothers and...blue” eyes.¹⁰¹ Women were therefore able to reinforce their own personal power by requesting conversion from a potential Muslim lover or by rising to the rank of royal mothers, and possibly able to symbolically reinforce the power of Christendom through their sexuality as imagined by conservative Islamic thinkers.

The same can be said of Jewish sexuality under Islam, though in a way distinct from Christian sexuality. The Qur’an explicitly groups Jews with Christians in terms of their enmity to Islam. Qur’an 5:51 implores Muslims to “not take the Jews and the Christians as allies. They are [in fact] allies of one another” and even warns that “whoever is an ally to them among you - then indeed, he is [one] of them.”¹⁰² While it may be suggested that Jews did not represent a challenge to Islamic power comparable to that of Christians—after all, it was not the Jews that Muslims fought in the Spanish

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 8.

¹⁰¹ D. Fairchild Ruggles, “Mothers of a Hybrid Dynasty: Race, Genealogy, and Acculturation in al-Andalus,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 34, no. 1 (2004): 69.

¹⁰² Qur’an 5:51.

north—the role of Jews in the sexual-power matrix of medieval Spain must not be understated.

Judaism was frequently seen as a corrupting religion, much like Christianity. For instance, Ahmad al-Wansharīsī (1430-1508), an Islamic jurist from Granada, wrote that the blowing of the *shofar* horn—symbolizing the end of daily fasting during Ramadan—was imported from Jewish traditions and a Jewish corruption of the Islamic faith.¹⁰³

Beforehand, however, the Maliki jurist Al-Lakhmi (1006-1095) wrote that, in the case of Muslims and Jews sharing a well, “the water was not polluted by the Jews any more than it was polluted by the activities of the Muslims themselves,” which refutes the supposed corrupting influence of Judaism on Islam in areas of sustained contact.¹⁰⁴ To further complicate matters, Yahya ibn ‘Umar al-Kinani (828-901), an intellectual and moralist who lived in Córdoba, wrote extensively on market regulations, like Ibn ‘Abdūn. In his regulations, he writes that “a Jew who imitates Muslims in dress and does not wear a distinguishing belt or sash” should be “punished with lashes and imprisonment” and furthermore, “paraded in the places where Christians and Jews gather,” at the very least arguing for a distinction between Jews and Muslims, irrespective of their corrupting nature.¹⁰⁵ Jews occupied a nebulous space in Islamic Spain. Clothing prohibitions and requirements might suggest a fear of interreligious sex and a need for visual distinctions between religions. Additionally, the emphasis on Judaism and Jews ‘corrupting’ aspects

¹⁰³ Janina M. Safran, *Defining Boundaries in al-Andalus: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Islamic Iberia* (Ithaca: Cornell, 2013), 126. That Jewish tradition being blowing the *shofar* during Yom Kippur or as an announcement of the Sabbath.

¹⁰⁴ Safran, 139.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 162-3.

of Islam and daily Muslim life suggest that Muslims might somehow lose religious power by its interaction with Judaism.

Sura 5:51 of the Qu’ran reinforces this notion of power-based anxieties, stating that a Muslim should not “take the Jews and the Christians as allies” as they are “allies of each other,” and that God “guides not the wrongdoing people.”¹⁰⁶ This passage reveals a fear of becoming Jewish or Christian as well, with the assertion that “whoever is an ally to [Jews and Christians] ...is [one] of them.”¹⁰⁷ Potentially, this reveals the fear that acculturation or interreligious alliance could lead to a loss of power for Islam, a fear that is reflected in *dhimmī* legislation banning Christians and Jews from taking public office if under Muslim rule.¹⁰⁸

Despite institutional power banning *dhimmī* from taking public office, a number of Jews were able to occupy high-ranking positions in the Islamic government such as Samuel the Nagid ibn Nagrela (d. c. 1056) in taifa period Granada. The Nagid achieved the position of vizier for the king of Granada, Bādīs (1002-1073), and is remembered for his patronage and “protection of scholars” and Talmudic commentaries.¹⁰⁹ He is described by Abraham ibn Daud (d. 1181) as “highly versed in Arabic literature and style” and “competent to serve in the king’s palace.”¹¹⁰ Perhaps more in line with Catlos’s idea of “*conveniencia*,” the Nagid’s ability and fluency in Arabic—likely a result of acculturation, which as discussed previously reflects interreligious intimacy—

¹⁰⁶ Qu’ran, Sura 5:51.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.,.

¹⁰⁸ Mark R. Cohen, *Under Crescent and Cross: The Jews in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 2008), 66.

¹⁰⁹ O’Callaghan, 325.

¹¹⁰ Abraham ibn Daud, “Book of Tradition,” transl. Gerson D. Cohen in *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslims, and Jewish Sources*, ed. Olivia Remie Constable (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 128.

seemingly exempts him from the prohibition of *dhimmī* in public office as outlined by the Pact of Umar.

The “*conveniencia*” of the Nagid can only explain his position to a certain extent. Unlike the non-religious pragmatism described by Catlos, the Nagid reportedly “provided material benefits out of his own pockets for students of the Torah” and became a patron to “whoever wished to devote full time to the study of the Torah,” suggesting that the Nagid never disregarded his religion.¹¹¹ Instead, as reflected by Ibn Daud’s account, the Nagid was a highly religious individual, to the point of “earn[ing]...the crown of Torah” for his piety and good works.¹¹² Along with the Nagid’s many Talmudic writings and Hebrew poetry, it is clear that his faith was central to his identity and that it did not bar him from occupying the position of vizier in the Granada court.

In part, the Nagid’s position as vizier could be explained by the generally more lenient enforcement of Islamic doctrine and legislation by the eleventh century *taifa* kings. While the *taifa* kings were generally considered more lenient in their enforcement of Islamic doctrine, as pointed out by Raymond P. Scheindlin, the Nagid would still be unable to usurp royal authority because of his *dhimmī* status.¹¹³ Even in the context of the *taifa* kings, the Nagid’s position demonstrates the power dynamics at play in interreligious interactions. Because the Nagid was a *dhimmī*, he was “dependent on the ruler’s favor,” and required to be compliant with Bādīs’s rule or face dismissal, punishment, or persecution.¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ Abraham ibn Daud, “Book of Tradition,” 129.

¹¹² Ibid., 130.

¹¹³ Raymond A. Scheindlin, “‘The Battle of Alfuentes’ by Samuel the Nagid,” in *History as Prelude: Muslims and Jews in the Medieval Mediterranean*, ed. Joseph V. Montville (Lanham, Md: Lexington Books, 2011), 55.

¹¹⁴ Scheindlin, 55.

Scheindlin shows that the Nagid's *The Battle of Alfuentes* poem defends "the Nagid's own position within the court," an element of the text that is "directed at critics within the Jewish community."¹¹⁵ While the majority of the poem is used to describe the titular battle, Scheindlin argues that the core focus of the poem is Nagid's understanding of "the problematic status of a Jewish courtier in a Muslim court," as evidenced by his immediate emphasis on his "high rank" and how the Nagid is "privileged over Muslim folk."¹¹⁶ *The Battle of Alfuentes* reflects, as Scheindlin points out, a distinct implication that the Nagid has "total dependence, as an outsider, on [Bādīs's] loyalty," with his Jewishness separating him from the dominant Muslim macroform.

The Nagid, as an individual, is able to transcend the prohibitive power dynamics of Islamic Spain, but his community was still largely restricted to *dhimmī* privileges alone. This is reinforced by the way the Almerians "attempted to use the Nagid's [*dhimmī*] status not only to justify" attacks against him but also Bādīs's authority as king of Granada.¹¹⁷ In the case of Samuel the Nagid ibn Nagrela, his microform interactions with king Bādīs were set upon a backdrop of macroform institutional prohibition and intra-community violence that reinforce an intimate view of Islamic Spain.

Power can extend further beyond this individualized and intra-community expression and into more cultic and community-based action. Often overlooked by scholars purporting Convivencia—and perhaps overzealously emphasized by scholars using anti-Convivencia approaches—the Córdoba Martyr Crisis (850-859) reveals a

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 56.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.,; Samuel ibn Naghrela, "The Battle of Alfuentes (1038)" transl. Raymond P. Scheindlin in *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslims, and Jewish Sources*, ed. Olivia Remie Constable (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 110.

¹¹⁷ Scheindlin, 57-8.

series of conflicts between power, intimacy, and religious identity in Islamic Spain. Understood by the martyr movement leaders Palus Alvarus (800-861) and Eulogius (d. 857) as a “reaction to the seductions of Christians by Islamic Córdoba,” the martyr movement saw forty-eight Christians executed by the Umayyad government for repeated blaspheming against the prophet Muḥammad.¹¹⁸ Alvarus is known for his 854 spiritual admonishment of Christian youth, which contained a prosaic scolding for Christian ignorance “of the beauty of the Church.”¹¹⁹ In his admonishment, Alvarus repeatedly criticizes Mozarab youth regarding their language choices, noting how they are “fluent of [the Muslim] tongue” and their high regard “for their ability to speak Arabic.”¹²⁰ This apparent connection between language and faith speaks to the broader fears of acculturation between Christians and Muslims that would lead to later period restrictions on intermarriage, dress, and interaction. Acculturation in language, Alvarus seems to believe, leads to an inherent dismissal of Latin from young Mozarabs, which in turn leads to a fragmentation of Christendom. If one is unable to understand Latin, one is unable to “send correct letters of greeting to a brother” of Christ, and is therefore unable to fully participate in or be a part of the wider Christian community.¹²¹

Jessica A. Coope describes Alvarus’s anxieties as stemming from a one-sided acculturation. As “Christians in al-Andalus were absorbing Arabic high culture,” their Muslims rulers “were not absorbing Latin high culture.”¹²² There are possible power-

¹¹⁸ Jessica A. Coope, *The Martyrs of Córdoba: Community and Family Conflict in an Age of Mass Conversion* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 8.

¹¹⁹ Paul Alvarus, “Description of the Christian Youth,” transl. Edward P. Colbert in *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslims, and Jewish Sources*, ed. Olivia Remie Constable (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 62.

¹²⁰ Alvarus, 61.; *Ibid.*, 61-2.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 62.

¹²² Coope, 8.

anxieties in this one-sided acculturation. If, as Alvarus feared, Christians forgot their religious and cultural values, they might convert, leading to a loss of power for Christendom.

This fear was not entirely one-sided, as the Muhammedan Law of Marriage and Divorce contains a gendered law forbidding interreligious marriage. Ahmed Shukri shows that marriage “between a Muhammedan [Muslim] girl and a Christian or Jew is illegal” because “there would be a likelihood of her being converted to the faith of her husband.”¹²³ The intimacy and prolonged, private contact between individuals of different religions became viewed as particularly dangerous for its potential for acculturation and conversion. Despite this fear of acculturation through intimacy existing in both Muslim and Christian thought, it features more prominently in Christian thought (such as Alvarus’s writings,) due to social and institutional dominance of Muslims at this time.

In addition to this fear of intimacy leading to acculturation, the Córdoba Martyr crisis “struggled with questions of identity and differentiation” that was exacerbated not only by one-sided acculturation, but also by “interfaith marriage and conversion.”¹²⁴ As with one-sided acculturation, an intimacy-based framework can demonstrate how illicit sexuality exacerbates anxieties about losing power. Referencing Artemidorus (ca. second c.), Foucault describes the power-domination often associated with illicit sex, with it “first and foremost [acting] as a game of superiority and inferiority” with penetration

¹²³ Ahmed Shukri, *Muhammedan Law of Marriage and Divorce*, 2nd ed. (New York: AMS Press Inc., 1966), 30. This law does not apply to men in the same way, as “a marriage between a Christian or a Jewish woman and a Muhammedan is perfectly valid” (30).

¹²⁴ Janina M. Safran, “Identity and Differentiation in Ninth-Century al-Andalus,” *Speculum* 76, no. 3 (2001): 573, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2903880>.

especially placing “the two partners in a relationship of domination and submission.”¹²⁵

In line with both Christian and Muslim gender ethics, penetration was indeed of utmost concern to interreligious sex. Islamic Spain allowed Christian women to have sex with, marry, and raise children for Muslim men, as evidenced especially well by the Umayyad heirs, many of which are described as blond and fair-skinned.¹²⁶ Abū Muḥammad ‘Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn Sa‘īd ibn Ḥazm (994-1064), an Andalusian historian for the Umayyad dynasty even wrote poetry on the sexual appeal of a blond Christian woman:

They criticized her to me on account of the bloneness of her hair,
And I told them: “This is exactly what makes her look pretty to me!”
They blame the color of light and gold in great error,
On account of a most stupid, extremely mistaken opinion!
Has anyone ever blamed the color of freshly-unfolded narcissus?
Or the colors of stars blossoming forth in the distance?¹²⁷

The sexual attractiveness of Christian women is not at odds with the prohibition against interreligious sex. Instead, only Muslim women in Islamic Spain were barred from interreligious sex.¹²⁸ If taken in conjunction with the foucauldian construction of sex and penetration as reflections of power, this inconsistent prohibition becomes clearer. If the politics of penetration are understood as “victory on one side, defeat on the other,” Muslim power (as the penetrator) is not threatened, but strengthened by male-Muslim/female-Christian sex, while Christianity (as the penetrated) is weakened.¹²⁹ This power-sex dynamic is reinforced in Christianity as well, with Mozarabic Christians

¹²⁵ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Vol. 3: The Care of the Self*, trans. Robert Hurley, Vintage Books ed (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), 30.

¹²⁶ Ruggles, “Mothers of a Hybrid Dynasty,” 73. Ruggles refers to Subh, the “most famous of the Christian concubine-mothers” who gave birth to two sons for al-Hakam II and wielded “enormous political sway at court” (73).

¹²⁷ Abū Muḥammad ‘Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn Sa‘īd ibn Ḥazm, *A Book Containing the Risāla Known as The Dove’s Neck Ring about Love and Lovers*, ed. D.K. Pétrof, trans. A.R. Nykel (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1931), 41.

¹²⁸ Shukri, 30.

¹²⁹ Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, Vol. 3, 30.

similarly dissuading interreligious sex between a Muslim man and a Christian woman, and later period Christian legislation in Christian Spain seemingly unconcerned with the politics of penetration between a Christian man and Muslim woman.

Interestingly, the martyr accounts recorded by Eulogius are unconcerned with power-sex dynamics and far more concerned with power-religion dynamics. Much unlike the pragmatic “*conveniencia*” of Catlos’s work, identity and religion are the emphasis of Eulogius’s *Memoriale*. The martyred virgin sisters Nunilo and Alodia, who Eulogius recorded as dying October 851 in his biographical sketches, reveal the tension between public and private intimacy and how religious identity factored into power dynamics. Nunilo and Alodia were “born indeed to a heathen [Muslim] father and Christian mother,” reinforcing the notion that interreligious sex could be accepted in Muslim-ruled Córdoba if it reinforced Muslim rule and power dynamics over Christians.¹³⁰ After the death of their father, and their mother’s remarriage to another Muslim man, Nunilo and Alodia are said to have lived with a Christian maternal aunt, who fostered their Christian faith until their “holiness had filled almost the entire province.”¹³¹ The sisters were martyred shortly after. For Eulogius, the most important facet is Nunilo’s and Alodia’s personal religious identity, not their legal or familial faith.¹³² Furthermore, Eulogius does not remark on the inter-religiosity of Nunilo’s and Alodia’s parents, despite their relationship suggesting a kind of power loss for Christianity. In a Foucauldian framework, it could be suggested the Nunilo’s and Alodia’s defiance and martyrdom represented an

¹³⁰ Eulogius, *Memoriale*, 2.7, trans. Aymenn Jawad Al-Tamimi, November 6, 2020. <https://www.aymennjawad.org/24714/mozarabic-writings-eulogius-of-cordoba-memoriale>.

¹³¹ Eulogius, *Memoriale*, 2.7.

¹³² In Islamic law, the faith of the father is legally considered to be the faith of his children. This is why in Islamic records, Nunilo and Alodia are considered Muslim apostates, not Christian martyrs (Coope, 24).

ideological domination of Christian faith over Islam for Eulogious, as he makes no mention of their Muslim father and writes favorably about the women's' piety in the face of persecution.¹³³

In the *Memoriale*, Eulogious applauds Nunilo and Alodia for rejecting their father's faith and loudly proclaiming their Christianity, despite its punishment.¹³⁴ Nunilo and Alodia—and other martyrs from mixed-faith families—represent the complex intimacy between Christians and Muslims in both the legal sphere and the familiar sphere. Their Christian mother and Muslim father are allowed to legally marry and have children despite religious doctrine banning or disapproving of interreligious sex and marriage, demonstrating a legally condoned form of interreligious intimacy. Despite some public conventions, such as the *Hisba Manual* banning particular forms of interreligious intimacy, the relationship between Nunilo's and Alodia's mother and father is legally acceptable, likely as a result of the previously discussed masculine ethics and gendered legislation as seen in the Muhammedan Law of Marriage and Divorce.

Just as the Muhammedan Law of Marriage and Divorce prohibits interreligious marriage, the Christian Synod of Elvira (305-6) held in Granada, sets a similar precedent for the prohibition of interreligious marriage. Canon fifteen of this Synod is as follows:

Christian girls are not to marry pagans, no matter how few eligible men there are, for such marriages lead to adultery of the soul.¹³⁵

¹³³ While later Christian period Spain saw individuals from Jewish or Muslims families as suspect, 9th century Córdoba was imminently more concerned with any conversion to Christianity than one's family religion. For more on later period suspicion and anti-converso/morisco attitudes, see: Mayte Green-Mercado, *Visions of Deliverance: Moriscos and the Politics of Prophecy in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2019).

¹³⁴ That punishment being death for blaspheming against the Prophet (for Christians) or lapsed faith/apostasy (for people legally classified as Muslims, such as Nunilo and Alodia).

¹³⁵ Ken Pennington, "The Council of Elvira, ca. 306," *Journal Repository for the Catholic University of America, Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law* (website) accessed January 12, 2022, <http://legalhistorysources.com/Canon%20Law/ElviraCanons.htm>. For more, see: F.J.E. Boddens Hosang, *Establishing Boundaries : Christian-Jewish Relations in Early Council Texts and the Writings of Church Fathers*, Jewish and Christian Perspectives Series (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

The prohibition of interreligious marriage to “pagans”—a word often used to describe Muslims, such as in the *King of Tars* romance (ca. 1330) and the Pelagius Chronicle (ca. 1121)—evidently did not dissuade Nunilo’s and Alodia’s mother from marrying and having children with their Muslim father. Christian institutional doctrine and private engagements with interreligious intimacy are at odds in this case. This reflects the foucauldian analysis of sexuality and intimacy as facets of human behavior that cannot be effectively prohibited or regulated with institutional law or doctrine. The parents of Nunilo and Alodia both engage in restricted intimate behavior—with their mother engaging in a much greater betrayal of Christian doctrine—while Nunilo and Alodia themselves can be understood as women who intentionally subverted their personal familial and legal identities despite punishment.

In many ways, the Córdoba Martyr Crisis reflects power anxieties, which were *exacerbated* by interreligious intimacy rather than power anxieties that *stemmed* from interreligious intimacy. The restricted rights and movement of Christians in Umayyad Córdoba, along with Alvarus’s description of a diminishing Christian population and culture suggests an anxiety about the numbers of Christians in Córdoba, instead of concerns about any interreligious intimacy. In an environment where Christians lack institutional power, an engagement with Muslims may have been excused as an act of survival. As shown by Ruggles, marriage “was a protective status” for women, and even concubinage could offer a Christian woman “certain rights” and freedoms, such as

“permanent residence” or manumission.¹³⁶ This could explain Eulogius’s disregard of Nunilo’s and Alodia’s parentage and his emphasis instead on their personal piety.

For Islamic Spain, the legal and religious regulation of interreligious intimacy—both sexual and nonsexual—did not always reflect the nature of interpersonal interreligious interactions. The Christian women who mothered blond caliphal heirs and the Christian mother of Nunilo and Alodia represent the ways that individuals could and would subvert religious doctrine condemning interreligious sex. So too do these women demonstrate the subversion of Islamic juristic thought and practice as seen with the representation of Christian women’s sinful sexuality in the *Hisba Manual* and *Al-Diyarat*.

Intimacy as a theoretical approach to understanding Islamic Spain reveals the complications between interreligious sexuality, institutional power, religious identity, and both public and private interactions. Institutional forms of power—religious doctrine, intellectual tractates, and laws—attempt to manage the microforms of human interactions. As revealed by, for instance, Nunilo’s and Alodia’s parents, this management was not always successful on both the Christian and Muslim enforcement. The Pact of Umar, with its prohibition of acculturated practices—namely dress and speech—is not sufficient to bar Mozarabic Christians from engaging in Arabic culture. Palus Alvarus’s “Description of the Christian Youth” suggests that one-way acculturation occurred with young Christians, regardless of both Christian religious and intellectual thought and Muslim law prohibiting it. A foucauldian understanding of intimacy sees The Pact of Umar and the actions of the Christians in Alvarus’s admonishment not as

¹³⁶ Ruggles, “Mothers of a Hybrid Dynasty,” 71.; Ibid., 72.

irreconcilable or paradoxical, but as the result of interreligious intimacy, which cannot be effectively regulated or controlled, regardless of legislation.

Interreligious sexuality was heavily regulated in both public spheres with the *Ḥisba Manual* and private spheres with Islamic juristic thought, Muhammedan Law, and Christian synods or biblical conclusions. Nonetheless, writers like Abū Muḥammad ‘Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn Sa‘īd ibn Ḥazm wrote elaborate poetry relishing the sexual appeal of Christian women, Umayyad caliphs had sex with blond Christian concubines, and Christian mothers, like that of Nunilo and Alodia, made families with Muslim men. As Foucault writes, the Umayyad government, Islamic jurists, and Christian doctrine as institutional forms of power “employ[ed] nothing more than a law of prohibition” for illicit interreligious sexuality, using power to constrain sex as a taboo.¹³⁷ As seen with the blond Umayyad heirs and Nunilo and Alodia, however, these taboos could be and were transgressed.

Non-sexual intimacy and power extended into the realm of acculturation and identity, while still holding the contradiction of institutional prohibition and enactment of the prohibition. For Palus Alvarus, acculturation meant a loss of Christian identity, which could lead to the dissolution of Christian culture and a loss of power for Christendom. Eulogius’s *Memoriale* seems to echo this concern, with no remarks about multi-religious families, with instead an emphasis on the personal identity of the Córdoba martyrs and symbolic strength they represented to Christianity. Despite Christian doctrine forbidding multi-religious families and figures like Alvarus fearing the loss of Christian power, Nunilo and Alodia came from an interreligious family.

¹³⁷ Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, Vol. 1, 84.

The power dynamics of public, private, sexual, and non-sexual intimacy are governed by a variety of institutional powers. Despite regulation and prohibition, individuals still engaged in interreligious sex, still formed mixed-faith families, still engaged with one another in public spaces, and individuals like Samuel the Nagid ibn Nagrela could still attain powerful offices. Micro-level relations, such as those between Nunilo's and Alodia's parents, still occurred in the greater macroform of Islamic legislation and juristic thought and Christian doctrine. The repeated and varied instances of interreligious interaction suggest a familiarity between members of different faiths and the greater institutional governance of those interactions. Islamic Spain was an intimate space where individuals could and did transcend legislation and regulation, while still ultimately operating within its macroform.

Part III: Architectural Analysis

Spanish art historiography has frequently utilized Convivencia as an analytic framework to explain acculturation and stylistic similarities between Muslim and Christian architecture in medieval Spain. An intimacy-informed approach can be used instead of Convivencia to understand the ways that architecture in Islamic and Christian Spain reflected acculturation, artistic appreciation, and artistic conquest while still operating within a macroform of power.

While scholars like D. Fairchild-Ruggles have attempted to bring nuance into the field's Convivencia-centric understanding of fourteenth century Spain with ideas like "cultural hybridity," Spanish art still widely relies on Convivencia as a means for explaining artistic development.¹³⁸ This approach can be somewhat flawed. While public architecture can reflect ideas stylistic appreciation and blending, the political atmosphere of Spain was complex, with institutional regulation preventing a true sense of Convivencia among individuals.

This architectural use of intimacy is not the same intimacy as that suggested by Jerrilynn D. Dodds, María Rosa Menocal, and Abigail Krasner Balbale in *The Arts of Intimacy: Christians, Jews, and Muslims in the Making of Castilian Culture*. While Dodds et al. emphasize the "study of hybridization in medieval Spanish history," their book generally avoids engagement with institutional regulation that affected the relationships between culture, power, and art, and instead emphasizes a purely stylistic and artistic hybridity that generally ignores the power dynamics of medieval Spain.¹³⁹

¹³⁸ D. Fairchild Ruggles, "The Alcazar of Seville and Mudejar Architecture," *Gesta* 43, no. 2 (2004): 87.

¹³⁹ Jerrilynn D. Dodds, Maria Rosa Menocal, and Abigail Krasner Balbale, *The Arts of Intimacy: Christians, Jews, and Muslims in the Making of Castilian Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 6.

Complicating a stylistic analysis with Foucauldian power theory reveals the way in which institutional power structures both influenced and were unable to influence artistic stylization. Using an intimate framework allows for conquest elements and acculturated elements to exist alongside one another and operate within both the Islamic macroform and Christian macroform without detracting from prohibitive legislation or artistic appreciation.

It would be reductive to use the term “Islamic architecture” to describe the Umayyad dynasty’s architectural constructions. While there are certain stylistic overlaps in for example, the Umayyad Madīnat az-Zahrā and the Nasrid Alhambra, it would be inappropriate to classify constructions from different periods, dynasties, and locations, under one homogenous label. The specification of style allows for greater nuance and a more in-depth analysis of architecture and acculturation. As such, the styles discussed here will be described as adhering to the Hispano-Umayyad or Granada-Nasrid style or, for later period constructions such as those by Pedro I of Castile, finding inspiration from the aforementioned styles.

The Hispano-Umayyad style can be defined by its “novel and traditional” qualities, as defined by Richard Ettinghausen and Oleg Grabar.¹⁴⁰ The Umayyad capital of Damascus and previous architectural constructions (from either the Umayyad family or other Meccan, Syrian, or Arabian elites) demonstrates emphasis on consistent architectural style and reflects what may be considered “traditional” elements of Umayyad architecture, such as horseshoe arches, garden spaces. For instance, horseshoe arches feature frequently in Hispano-Umayyad architecture in Spain, such as in the

¹⁴⁰ Richard Ettinghausen and Oleg Grabar, *The Art and Architecture of Islam 650-1250*, The Pelican History of Art (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 26.

Mezquita-Catedral de Córdoba discussed below, but are representative of an earlier, ‘traditional’ horseshoe arch element that can be seen in places like the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus which may in turn have been influenced from earlier Roman constructions, creating a sense of acculturated visuality and stylistic hybridity even in the use of arches.¹⁴¹ Alongside the presence of traditionally inspired elements is a religiously motivated emphasis on repetition, plaster motif, and garden spaces that frequently feature in Umayyad architecture throughout the world.

The core elements of the Hispano-Umayyad style, harkening from their Syrian roots with the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus, are present throughout the Andalusí period of Spain. The Umayyad Mosque of Damascus (fig. 1) shows the way composite capitals topped slender columns and ended in horseshoe arches. As with the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus and the Madīnat, intricate carvings that emphasize vegetal motif, and complex detail and intentionally designed garden and water spaces constituted a kind of “traditional” Umayyad architecture, that would both shift and remain consistent in various ways, suggesting a kind of artistic acculturation in Spain that occurred between Christians and Muslims—and Jews, to a lesser extent—despite changes in leadership, religion, and power more broadly.¹⁴²

As argued by Ettinghausen and Grabar, however, the Umayyads were also “novel in [their] search for intellectual, administrative, and cultural forms to fit new people and

¹⁴¹ Mariam Rosser-Owen, *Islamic Arts from Spain* (London: V&A Publishing, 2010), 22-3.; François-Auguste De Montéquin, “Arches in the Architecture Of Muslim Spain: Typology And Evolution,” *Islamic Studies* 30, no. 1/2 (1991): 67–82.

¹⁴² It could be suggested that because Jews never maintained a macroform of power in medieval Spain, their particular architectural styles did not influence Islamic or Christian constructions. As Christians and Muslims did maintain macroforms of power, their architectural styles are more likely to have influenced Jewish constructions.

new ideas and attitudes” and fit into a kind of architectural hybridity as a result.¹⁴³ For Hispano-Umayyad architecture, the adoption of space, architectural elements, or motif was not restricted by culture or religion, as seen in the Mezquita-Catedral of Córdoba, where the Umayyad Mosque was built on an older Christian temple and incorporated spolia or repurposed stone and foundation as partially evidenced by the recovered Visigothic “mosaics that made up the pavement in some rooms” in the Mezquita-Catedral’s sublevels, dated to the sixth century.¹⁴⁴ In part, this adoption is practical, as reincorporating existing stone or foundation into a new structure is less labor intensive and less expensive than mining, transporting, and cutting new stone. It must also be noted, however, that whenever using spolia or building a new, Islamic structures on previously non-Muslim temple sites, as in the case of the Mezquita-Catedral of Córdoba, suggests intention. Whether that intention is motivated by visual depictions of strength and conquest (as in the case of later Castilian-Christian kings,) or by some form of intellectual and cultural respect as suggested by Ettinghausen and Grabar is debatable. What remains clear is that works like the Mezquita-Catedral reflects a kind of architectural hybridity just as it reflects a strong attachment to traditional forms of Umayyad architecture.

The best-preserved Hispano-Umayyad construction is the Madīnat az-Zahrā outside of Córdoba. Built in the tenth century at behest of Abd al-Rahman III (890-961), the Madīnat is perhaps the best example of this novel and traditional Hispano-Umayyad style. Unlike the Mezquita-Catedral or various Spanish palaces, the Madīnat used a “wide

¹⁴³ Ettinghausen and Grabar, 27.

¹⁴⁴ Sebastián Herrero Romero, “Félix Hernández y La Restauración de La Mezquita-Catedral de Córdoba,” *Archivo Español de Arte* 88, no. 349 (March 1, 2015): 1–18, <https://doi.org/10.3989/aearte.2015.01>.

range of materials...from around the city,” including limestone from the Santa María de la Albaida quarry, the southern zones of the Sierra Morena mountains, and even including rarer white marble from Almadén de la Plata and Estremoz in modern day Portugal.¹⁴⁵

The Madīnat as a city was rectangular and walled and built on a slope to allow for “deliberate graduation of the ground in terraces,” in turn creating a “hierarchical structuring” of the city, with the alcázar at the highest point, and the medina (city) on the lower terraces.¹⁴⁶ The aljama (main) mosque was located halfway between the alcázar and the medina and incorporated typical Hispano-Umayyad elements, particularly its carved capitals, decorative arches and battlements, and garden spaces.¹⁴⁷

The carved capitals of the Madīnat az-Zahrā are incredibly intricately detailed. These capitals (fig. 2) are thought to originate from the house of the royal vizer, Ya’far, and were likely carved with drills, just like the capitals in the caliph’s palace.¹⁴⁸ These capitals were carved in white marble and reflect the great skill of Umayyad craftsmen as well as an appreciation of nature and organic forms. As reflected by the inscription wrapping around the tops of the capitals, these particular capitals were commissioned by Abd al-Rahman III’s son, Al-Hakam II, from 972-3 CE.

These capitals can be classified as composite styled capitals, with some common elements to their Roman predecessors. Acanthus leaves curl over the capital, once from the top, just beneath the volute decorations, and once halfway down the capital.¹⁴⁹ The

¹⁴⁵ “Los materiales de construcción y su procedencia,” Medina Azahara - Conjunto Arqueológico Madinat al-Zahra. Museum panel. Córdoba, Spain, 2021.

¹⁴⁶ “La planificación de la ciudad” Medina Azahara - Conjunto Arqueológico Madinat al-Zahra. Museum panel. Córdoba, Spain, 2021.

¹⁴⁷ “La Mezquita Aljama” Medina Azahara - Conjunto Arqueológico Madinat al-Zahra. Museum panel. Córdoba, Spain, 2021.

¹⁴⁸ Museum panel

¹⁴⁹ R. A. Jairazbhoy, *An Outline of Islamic Architecture*, Rev. ed (Karachi, Pakistan: Oxford University Press, 2003), 48. Jairazbhoy identified these leaves as acanthus leaves.

volute themselves are intricately carved with drilled holes, adding a layer of visual complexity to the capitals that melts into vine patterns showing small portions of uncarved interstices on the capital. As mentioned, the abacus shows detailed approbations for al-Hakam that wrap around the capital. These capitals reflect the importance of nature in Islam, the great skill and attention to detail, particular artistic choices, such as the drilled holes on the volute decorations, and the way Hispano-Umayyad carved architecture emphasizes visual complexity, repetition, and tessellation, while still taking a great deal of inspiration from earlier Greek and Roman capitals in their general structure and use of acanthus leaves.

Many of the elements from these capitals can similarly be found in the decorated arches of the Madīnat az-Zahrā. One particular arch (fig. 3) is a blind arcade horseshoe arch made out of limestone from 944-5CE. As with the capitals, acanthus leaves are carved into one of the voussoirs decorating the arch (third extant voussoir from the left). Like the acanthus leaves on the Ya'far capitals, the leaves on this arch look Roman, and are quite similar to the Roman composite capitals of Ephesus, with their thick center stem and identical leaves that gradually decrease in size (fig. 4). Architecturally, the presence of Roman-style acanthus leaves implies a possible sense of artistic fluidity and hybridity or, at the very least, that the Hispano-Umayyads were inspired by Roman art.

Lastly, and most importantly for the Hispano-Umayyad architectural style, is the use of garden spaces and water at the Madīnat az-Zahrā. Set up as unequal quadripartite gardens (fig. 5) with narrow walkways between them, the gardens at the Madīnat az-Zahrā reflected the importance the Umayyads placed on the natural world, an extension

of the importance of appreciating God’s creation in Islam.¹⁵⁰ The gardens of the Madīnat az-Zahrā, and the Madīnat as a whole, were likely inspired by Abbasid gardens, which were “keenly sensitive to the placement of architecture in landscape.”¹⁵¹ On one hand, the beautiful view reinforced an appreciation for the divine creation, with Ruggles’s theory of miradors—a terrace viewing platform—at the Madīnat supporting this idea.¹⁵² At the same time, Ruggles demonstrates the importance of beauty and architecture in consolidating and maintaining caliphal power. The grandiose gardens and pools at the Madīnat az-Zahrā necessitated constant access to water, made possible only with the repair and reintegration of older Roman aqueducts. Water could represent power and control, with the caliph domesticating and controlling water to suit his needs. The entwining of water and gardens furthers this relationship between power and the natural world, with Ruggles describing garden water as “a visible sign of the nurturing capacity of water” that could simultaneously be received as “an object of spectacle and delight.”¹⁵³ Just as the use of water was central to an Umayyad expression of power, so too were the use of fruit trees, which had the potential to act as an expression of royal power.¹⁵⁴

In terms of royal power, the Alhambra de Granada, and particularly its Court of the Lions (fig. 6), reflects 14th century Granada-Nasrid authority while also acting as

¹⁵⁰ D. Fairchild Ruggles, *Islamic Gardens and Landscapes*, Penn Studies in Landscape Architecture (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 45-6.

¹⁵¹ D. Fairchild Ruggles, “The Mirador in Abbasid and Hispano-Umayyad Garden Typology,” *Muqarnas* 7 (1990): 81, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1523122>.

¹⁵² Ruggles, “The Mirador in Abbasid and Hispano-Umayyad Garden Typology,” 75.

¹⁵³ Ruggles, *Islamic Gardens and Landscapes*, 26-7.

¹⁵⁴ The importance of fruit as expressions of royal power are explored in the case of Charlemagne and his peach trees by Noah Blan, “Charlemagne’s Peaches: A Case of Early Medieval European Ecological Adaptation,” *Early Medieval Europe* 27, no. 4 (November 2019): 521–45, <https://doi.org/10.1111/emed.12374>.

stylistic inspiration for later period, Christian structures.¹⁵⁵ As an evolution from Hispano-Umayyad architecture, the Granada-Nasrid style as seen in the Alhambra clearly demonstrates a fascination with sebka patterns and intense detail carved into the courtyard façades (fig. 6). The sebka motif resembles lace, with repeating and tessellating shapes that coalesce into a “stepped-lozenge pattern” and is present in many Christian period constructions in a display of acculturation, and can be seen on the Court of the Lions paneling.¹⁵⁶ Muqarnas, a kind of honeycomb like plaster vaulting, decorate the interior portion of the Court of the Lions, and would become a core facet of later period constructions, both Christian and Islamic.¹⁵⁷ Robert Irwin argues that the Court of the Lions, and the Alhambra more broadly, is a direct result of the architectural style of the Moroccan Marinid Madrasa of Abu al-Hasan (fig. 7), which can be seen in the similarly small sizes, rounded, central patio, and center water-features.¹⁵⁸ It is also clear that some elements of the Hispano-Umayyad as reflected by the Madīnat az-Zahrā are similarly present in the Alhambra, such as the ornate carvings, water features, horseshoe arches, and vegetal motifs.¹⁵⁹

If the Granada-Nasrid style can be understood as an extension and evolution of the Hispano-Umayyad style, the presence of its core stylistic elements in later period, Christian-Castilian architecture—most notably the muqarnas, multifoil arches, and intricate carvings—raises questions about the cultural meaning and value of non-Christian

¹⁵⁵ While the palace complex as a whole continued construction into the mid-15th century, the aspects of the palace most relevant to this thesis—namely the Halls of Justice—were completed in the 14th century.

¹⁵⁶ Rosser-Owen, *Islamic Arts from Spain*, 31.

¹⁵⁷ Cynthia Robinson and Simone Pinet, “Introduction,” *Medieval Encounters* 14, no. 2–3 (2008): 154, <https://doi.org/10.1163/157006708X366236>. It must be noted that muqarnas are not an invention of the Nasrid dynasty in Granada, as many examples are evident in earlier architecture (such as the domed Qubba Imam al-Dawr).

¹⁵⁸ Robert Irwin, *The Alhambra* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2004), 90.

¹⁵⁹ Irwin, 90.

art. Some of these elements feature in the Sephardi synagogue architecture of both the Andalusí and later, Christian period. While a majority of Spanish architectural analysis centers the tension between ‘Islamic’ and ‘Christian’ constructions, Jewish synagogue architecture can reveal just as much about the nature of interreligious intimacy. The synagogues of medieval Spain can reflect cultural hybridity and the artistic and visual closeness between Islamic and Jewish art styles while not conveying or changing the legal or societal insecurities Jews could face under Islamic rule. Architectural and artistic value could be independent of political and religious conflicts, even when politics and religion are imbued into the commission, construction, and purpose of a particular building.

One such synagogue, the Synagogue of Santa María la Blanca in Toledo, was constructed in 1180 by Muslim architects. The Santa María la Blanca is a five-aisled synagogue with a plain exterior and twenty-four interior piers, each topped with an intricately carved capital. As Carol Herselle Krinsky notes, the layout of the Santa María la Blanca is unique, with no other European synagogue having five aisles.¹⁶⁰ The inner aisles are decorated with plaster spandrels (fig. 8) which are reminiscent of the spandrels at the Madīnat az-Zahrā (fig. 3). Both are intricately carved, with areas of detail sectioned off with thick lines carved in geometric patterns. The Santa María la Blanca spandrels, while smaller and less ornate, similarly feature vegetal motifs and small sections of interwoven vines and plant life at the top of the spandrels, beneath the later period reproductions of the original multifoil arches. While it is clear that the Santa María la

¹⁶⁰ Carol Herselle Krinsky, *Synagogues of Europe: Architecture, History, Meaning*, Architectural History Foundation Books 9 (New York, N.Y. : Cambridge, Mass: Architectural History Foundation ; MIT Press, 1985), 333.

Blanca is far more geometric and less decorated than the remnants of the Madīnat az-Zahrā, the same basic carving styles are utilized in both.

Additionally, the column capitals at the Santa María la Blanca are particularly noteworthy as reflecting the Hispano-Umayyad style. While not a perfect stylistic match, the capitals at the Madīnat az-Zahrā and at the Santa María la do show the ways that Hispano-Umayyad stylistic elements transcended religion and space. As with the Madīnat az-Zahrā capitals (fig. 2), the capitals at Santa María la Blanca feature curling vegetal volutes at the top of the capital (fig. 9). The interwoven vines, while protruding more in the Santa María la Blanca capitals than the Madīnat az-Zahrā capitals, still weave through one another, adding to the visual complexity of the capital. Additionally, like the Madīnat az-Zahrā capitals, the capitals at the Santa María la Blanca utilize the same drilled holes to complicate both the volutes and the interweaving vine motif. The busy, intricate, and interwoven carving styles reflected in these capitals are not purely ‘Islamic’ in design, or else they would not be present in a Jewish synagogue.

Many of the aforementioned elements are similarly present in the Sinagoga de Córdoba, constructed in 1315. The Sinagoga reads as a visual and stylistic evolution of the Santa María la Blanca, much as the Granada-Nasrid Alhambra reads as an evolution of the Hispano-Umayyad Madīnat. Like Santa María la Blanca, the Sinagoga employs heavy use of intense plaster carvings and detailing on all of its walls. The west wall for example (fig. 10), utilizes the tessellating sebka motif above a multifoil arch. These are both elements that draw inspiration from earlier, Hispano-Umayyad and even demonstrate a similarity to contemporary Granada-Nasrid architecture, possibly because, as suggested by Krinsky, some synagogue artisans were Muslim or working exclusively

in the ‘Islamic’ style.¹⁶¹ In particular, the Sinagoga’s use of multifoil arches, ornate carvings, interwoven vegetal motif, and use of the tessellating sebka motif above the multifoil arches reflect—at the very least—inspiration from Hispano-Umayyad and Granada-Nasrid style, if not direct modeling after Islamic architecture elements.

Both the Sinagoga de Santa María la Blanca in Toledo and the Sinagoga de Córdoba in Córdoba reflect a kind of architectural cultural intimacy. Contrary to the Convivencia school of thought, and perhaps contrary some conclusions drawn from the stylistic similarity between Hispano-Umayyad and Synagogue architecture, Islamic Spain was not always a stable and harmonious place for Jews. The *Sefer ha-Qabbalah*, written by Abraham ibn Daud (ca.1110-1181) in 1161, reveals the tenuous position Jews held in Hishām’s Umayyad court. The chronicle recounts the story of two Jewish brothers, Jacob and Joseph ibn Jau who produced great silks for the caliph. While initially “very fond” of the brothers, and issuing a “document placing [Jacob] in charge of all the Jewish communities...of his realm,” al-Manṣūr (acting as regent for Hishā) later threw Jacob into prison without warning.¹⁶² According to ibn Daud, al-Manṣūr anticipated “great profits” from the Ibn Jau brothers, and when they failed to deliver, kept them in prison for a year.¹⁶³ While Jacob was eventually released by Hishām, and later restored to his office with fewer powers, the precarious position Jews had at the end of the Umayyad period as demonstrated by the *Sefer ha-Qabbalah* suggest that one cannot take the architectural

¹⁶¹ Krinsky, 46.

¹⁶² Abraham ibn Daud, “*Book of Tradition*” transl. Bernard Lewis in *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslims, and Jewish Sources*, ed. Olivia Remie Constable (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 92.

¹⁶³ Ibn Daud, 92.

similarities between Hispano-Umayyad constructions and Jewish Synagogues as reflective of a perfectly stable, tolerant society.

This holds true for Jews under Christian rule as well. Due to restrictive Christian legislation, it is impressive that both the Santa María la Blanca and Sinagoga de Córdoba are such well-kept and robust constructions. The thirteenth century Castilian law code, the *Siete Partidas*, explicitly bans the construction of new synagogues “except by our [Christian] order” and further bans any extensive restoration or aesthetic improvement to existing synagogues.¹⁶⁴ There is a degree of power-based anxiety in the law regarding Jewish synagogues, even outside of their stylistic similarity to Islamic constructions. The *Siete Partidas* forbids synagogues from being “made any larger or raised to any greater height, or...painted,” likely as a way of maintaining the architectural aesthetics in line with Christian dominance.¹⁶⁵ If a synagogue is built to be grander or larger than a Christian church, the architecture may imply a Jewish dominance over Christians or a dominance of Judaism over Christianity, an anxiety perhaps further exacerbated by the Hispano-Umayyad and Granada-Nasrid elements present in these synagogues. While the very existence of structures like the Santa María la Blanca and Sinagoga exist alongside Christian architecture at all is impressive and suggests a kind of public intimacy, this intimacy is limited by institutional legislation and power dynamics. Power and dominance are central to this law and the ways synagogues were legislated. If a Jew built an unauthorized synagogue or renovated an existing synagogue to a lavish extent, it was seized “and [would] belong to the principal church of the locality where it [was] built,”

¹⁶⁴ Robert I. Burns, ed., *Las Siete Partidas, Volume 5: Underworlds: The Dead, the Criminal, and the Marginalized (Partidas VI and VII)*, trans. Samuel Parsons Scott, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 1435.

¹⁶⁵ *Las Siete Partidas*, 1435.

suggesting that architectural ‘conquest’ was one way in which Christian Spain asserted institutional power over Jewish people.¹⁶⁶

Architectural conquest as a form of institutional power is similarly evident in the Mezquita-Catedral of Córdoba, a space with a contested history of conquest and acculturation. Sub-level mosaics support the thought that a Visigothic structure existed before the Islamic conquest, though this claim is disputed by some scholars.¹⁶⁷ The structure was then converted to a mosque by the Umayyad caliph ‘Abd al-Rahman I in 785-87, with eleven initial aisles constructed in the mosque.¹⁶⁸ Interestingly, many of the columns in the Mezquita-Catedral have maker’s marks carved into the columns, which show that some Jewish and Christian stoneworkers worked alongside Muslims to construct this Islamic, holy space (fig 11.1/11.2).

If the Mezquita-Catedral were to be understood in a Convivencia framework, such as that of Maria Rosa Menocal, the surviving Visigothic elements could be interpreted as a demonstration of “the Umayyads’ care not to destroy the multiethnic and religiously pluralistic state” and a space that was “typically Andalusian” with “part adaptation of local, vernacular forms and part homage to Umayyad Syria, forever the source of hereditary legitimacy.”¹⁶⁹ This does not adequately address the intention behind the Mezquita-Catedral, however, and Menocal hurries over how Abd al-Rahman “bought out

¹⁶⁶ *Las Siete Partidas*, 1434

¹⁶⁷ Rose Walker, *Art in Spain and Portugal from the Romans to the Early Middle Ages : Routes and Myths*, Late Antique and Early Medieval Iberia: 1 (Amsterdam University Press, 2016), 125. The source of this claim, in addition to the mosaic and other archeological evidence held at the Mezquita-Catedral, is the Arabic writing by Ibn ‘Idhāri, ca. 1300., which reports that the mosque was “constructed within a church dedicated to San Vincente” (Walker, 125).

¹⁶⁸ Ruggles, *Islamic Gardens and Landscapes*, 90.

¹⁶⁹ Maria Rosa Menocal, *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain*, 1st Back Bay paperback ed (Boston: Little, Brown, 2002), 89.; Menocal, *The Ornament of the World*, 87.

the Christian half, [and] demolished the older church structure.”¹⁷⁰ Were the Mezquita-Catedral a space of Convivencia and total religious harmony, the church likely would not have been partially destroyed and reconstructed into an Islamic space.

By the last Islamic iteration of the space, just before the Christian conquest of Cordoba in 1236, a new mihrāb, a western bridge to the caliph’s palace, a prayer hall and courtyard expansion, and a new minaret were added to the mosque.¹⁷¹ The mosque contains Hispano-Umayyad architectural styles within it, seen in its striped, red and white voussoirs (fig. 12) which are similar in shape and structure to the Hispano-Umayyad arches at the Madīnat az-Zahrā. These horseshoe arches end at capitals decorated with curling acanthus leaves (fig. 13) further evoking typical Hispano-Umayyad elements.¹⁷²

After the Christian conquest of 1236, the mosque was seized and converted into a Christian cathedral by Ferdinand III of Castile (1199-1201). It would be easy to suggest this conversion follows what Ruggles refers to as “triumphalist rationale,” but this explanation does not fully explain the continued presence of ‘Islamic’ mosque elements in a now-Christian space.¹⁷³

Despite the conquest, the Mezquita-Catedral does not fit into a strict anti-Convivencia framework either. Its stylization is, as stated by Menocal, an impressive blend of period-typical Islamic mosque architecture and “local, vernacular forms,”¹⁷⁴ with both the period-typical Islamic elements and the local forms maintained when the Mezquita-Catedral was converted to a Christian cathedral. While a kind of conquest

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 86.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 91.

¹⁷² It is important to note that there is evidence that horseshoe arches, like those at the Mezquita-Catedral, were also used occasionally in Visigothic architecture. See: Rosser-Owen, *Islamic Arts from Spain*, 22-3.

¹⁷³ D. Fairchild Ruggles, “The Alcazar of Seville and Mudejar Architecture,” *Gesta* 43, no. 2 (2004): 87–98, <https://doi.org/10.2307/25067097>, 90.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 89.

rationale is one possible explanation for the maintenance of Islamic elements in the cathedral, this theory does not account for the overwhelming prevalence of religious Islamic facets, such as the mihrābs—both the correctly facing and incorrectly facing mihrāb—or inscriptions from the Qur'an (fig. 14). It could be that the opulence and beauty of the Islamic elements were considered aesthetically valuable enough to outweigh their religious purpose, which suggests a kind of architectural intimacy. A shared appreciation for beauty, despite religious difference could be interpreted as a kind of public interreligious intimacy.

Public forms of intimacy can exist despite regulations prohibiting it, as mentioned in the second section of this thesis with regards to intercommunity acculturation and interfaith families. The same can hold true for artistic intimacy, with public intimacy—in this case, the presence of interreligious styles and elements—existing alongside prohibitive Christian legislation. The *Siete Partidas* is one such example, with Law I of Title XXV prohibiting Muslims from having “mosques in Christian towns” or openly practicing Islam.¹⁷⁵ The law also states that any mosque already built inside a Christian town—like the Mezquita-Catedral—is considered property of the king to give “to whomsoever he wishes.”¹⁷⁶

Institutional legislation in the Christian macroform would suggest the Christian conversion of the Mezquita-Catedral was meant to reinforce Christian dominance and power in Córdoba. This triumphalist rationale, however, does not explain why the Christians decided to keep and maintain the undeniably Islamic elements of the mosque. The contested history of the Mezquita-Catedral, in conjunction with its maintained

¹⁷⁵ *Las Siete Partidas*, 1438.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*,.

miḥrābs and Quranic inscriptions suggests that the structure reflects public facing forms of intimacy, where conquest and artistic appreciation can exist at the same time. The conversion of the Mezquita-Catedral from mosque to cathedral is one that reflects both triumphalist rationale and cultural appreciation, situating it within an intimate framework.

This tension between triumphalist rationale and cultural appreciation is similarly present in the 999 Toledo Mezquita del Cristo de la Luz, a small mosque that was later converted into a Christian church. The structure is almost entirely in line with typical Hispano-Umayyad mosque elements, including “caliphal-type horseshoe trellis arch on the street façade” (fig. 15), a “southeast orientation,” and typical Charbagh-style gardens.¹⁷⁷ Basilio Pavón Maldonado argues that the Mezquita del Cristo contains a “pre-caliphate oratory” that reused supports from the Visigoth and Roman period, which would suggest that the Umayyad architects engaged with Visigothic, Christian architecture pragmatically, just as in the Mezquita-Catedral.¹⁷⁸ It is notable that this pragmatism apparently endures even in spaces as sacred as mosques and perhaps evokes Catlos’s “*conveniencia*,” though pragmatism alone cannot fully describe visual acculturation.

In its conversion to a church, Maldonado notes that the Mezquita del Cristo retained its core structural elements. While it is very likely that this was pragmatic at least in part, the maintenance of the miḥrāb—which mimics the layout of the Mezquita-Catedral’s miḥrāb—is curious in a Christian space, especially considering Maldonado’s assertion that the Mezquita del Cristo underwent heavy modifications by later period

¹⁷⁷ Basilio Pavón Maldonado, “El Cristo de La Luz de Toledo. Dos Supuestas Mezquitas En Una,” *Al-Qanṭara* 21, no. 1 (February 15, 2019): 158. My translation.; Maldonado, 157.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 163.

Christians, with walls constructed on the domed qubbāt, which was initially “open on all four sides.”¹⁷⁹ Additionally, the maintenance of the interlacing arches on the Mezquita del Cristo’s façade is likely due to the beauty of the stonework, with no heavy alterations of the visibly Hispano-Umayyad elements by later period Spanish Christians. In its maintenance of Hispano-Umayyad stylization and its simultaneous conquest modification, the Mezquita del Cristo represents a kind of intimacy that reflects both artistic appreciation and institutional modification to better serve the needs of the Christian macroform.

Architectural constructions in the Christian context blend expressions of power with artistic appreciation in similar ways. The Palacio de Tordesillas, modernly known as the Real Monasterio de Santa Clara, was the first residence of Pedro I de Castile (1334-1369) and exemplifies the stylistic intimacy inherent in mudejar art. The Palacio employs aspects from the Granada-Nasrid style, which in turn harkens back to the Hispano-Umayyad style, with extensive decoration and design in the Palacio’s layout, gardens, and arches.¹⁸⁰ The layout of the Palacio reflects the Granada-Nasrid inspiration behind its construction, and in turn the intimate relationship between Islamic and Christian art styles in medieval Spain.

Antonio Almagro has shown that the Palacio’s bathing quarters mimic those of typical Granada-Nasrid style baths found in the Alhambra. The Salón del Aljibe in particular mimics this style in its positioning and layout while also incorporating a more typically Christian style in its use of doors and windows. The Salón del Aljibe sits to the east of the Claustro del Vergel and generally resembles a traditional Islamic bathing

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 169.

¹⁸⁰ Mariam Rosser-Owen, *Islamic Arts from Spain* (London: V&A Publishing, 2010), 83.

space, despite its location in a Christian palace. The Salón del Aljibe also has multiple windows in the room, an element that Almagro notes is distinctly mudejar in nature, with true Islamic baths possessing a single door as the only connection “between the inside and the outside.”¹⁸¹ This Christian element, in a space that otherwise follows more typically Islamic orientation, suggests an intentional form of artistic hybridity, incorporating visual aesthetics with the practical needs of the dominant macroform.

The aforementioned Alhambra de Granada has a very similar bathing quarters to that of the Palacio, with partitioned baths, multiple entrances, and multiple rooms inside the bathing quarters for lounges and baths of varying temperatures. These elements were popular in both Hispano-Umayyad and later Granada-Nasrid architecture and reflect the importance of cleanliness in Islam. Their inclusion here reflects a sense of cultural intimacy through both knowledge about and adoption of Islamic bathing custom.¹⁸² The Salón del Aljibe in the Palacio was constructed in the same way, with the current room of the Salón likely constituting only the “central section of a much larger partitioned room,” similar to the baths of the Alhambra de Granada.¹⁸³ The windows of the Salón del Aljibe mirror parts of the Coro Largo de la Iglesia, the ‘Long Choir’ stretch of stone on the north wall of the Claustro del Vergel, suggesting that the Coro Largo could have once been part of the Salón del Aljibe.¹⁸⁴ The Coro Largo shares a similar archway to that of the Salón

¹⁸¹ Antonio Almagro, “El Palacio de Pedro I en Tordesillas: realidad e hipótesis” *Reales Sitios* 163 (2005): 5. “en la que sólo existe la puerta como hueco de comunicación entre el interior y el exterior”

¹⁸² These baths were referred to as the “*al-bayt al-bārid*, *al-bayt al-waṣṭānī*, and *al-bayt al-sakhūn*” in Arabic and “*frigidarium*, *tepidarium*, and *caldarium*” in Latin. For more see: Olivia Remie Constable, “Cleanliness and Convivencia: Jewish Bathing Culture in Medieval Spain” in *Jews, Christians and Muslims in Medieval and Early Modern Times: A Festschrift in Honor of Mark R. Cohen*, ed. Arnold E. Franklin, et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 257-269.

¹⁸³ Sancho, “El claustro del Vergel del Real Monasterio de Santa Clara en Tordesillas,” 429.

¹⁸⁴ Almagro, 6.; Jose Luis Sancho, “El claustro del Vergel del Real Monasterio de Santa Clara en Tordesillas,” *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología* 57 (1991): 430.

del Aljibe as well, with the 15th century construction of the antechoir likely blocking or transforming a space that may have previously been an additional bathing quarters.¹⁸⁵

Additionally, the Salón del Aljibe allows access from the bathing quarters to the gardens, an aspect of design reminiscent of the Salon Rico built by al-Hakam II in the Madīnat az-Zahrā. The Salón Rico, like the Salón del Aljibe, connects to “two parallel walkways,” and has restricted access with only a few points of entry.¹⁸⁶ Connection to the garden is prominent in both Almagro’s interpretation of the Salón del Aljibe and in the Salón Rico, speaking to the importance of gardens as representational of both appreciation of Allah’s creation and the desire to “experience on earth the paradise that the Qur’an describes as a verdant and shady garden with four flowing streams.”¹⁸⁷

As with the verdant gardens at the Madīnat az-Zahrā, the Palacio’s gardens were likely an expression of royal authority. The Patio Árabe is the most notable of these patio gardens due to its luxurious use of plaster carvings (fig. 16). In addition to Granada-Nasrid inspired carvings, the Patio Árabe utilizes a Roman-Gothic atrium layout, again reflecting the stylistic hybridity at play. The slender columns, and partial shelter of the Patio Árabe are more Roman than Granada-Nasrid or Hispano-Umayyad in nature and can be seen, for instance, in the Villa San Marcos atrium from the Augustan period of Rome (fig. 17). Both structures balance sheltered space with unsheltered space and likely included some form of garden or water feature in their unsheltered center.¹⁸⁸ The arches

¹⁸⁵ Almagro, 6.

¹⁸⁶ D. Fairchild Ruggles, *Gardens, Landscape, and Vision in the Palaces of Islamic Spain* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 81.

¹⁸⁷ Fairchild Ruggles, *Gardens, Landscape, and Vision in the Palaces of Islamic Spain*, 3. Such appreciation would arise only as a result of the political stability of the Umayyad dynasty, according to Ruggles.

¹⁸⁸ See: “Villa San Marco,” Pompeii Sites, Archaeological Park of Pompeii, <http://pompeiiisites.org/en/stabiae-en-2/villa-san-marco/>. It is noteworthy too that the multifoil arches at the Patio Árabe emphasize natural imagery, as it lends credence to theory that the Patio Árabe was a small

framing the open area in the Patio Árabe are either simple horseshoe arches—either Hispano-Umayyad or Roman in design—on the east and west walls, and more complex multifoil arches on the north and south walls. Perpendicular to each set of horseshoe arches in the Patio are the aforementioned multifoil arches. These arches have multiple smaller arches carved into the lower arch that are curved inward, with the spaces between those smaller arches appearing edged.¹⁸⁹

Artistic evolution can also be seen in the exterior main façade of the Palacio. Located on the outer walls of the Palacio, above the door to an atrium, there is a detailed relief constructed in the sebka motif style (fig. 18).¹⁹⁰ The sebka patterning is organic, with each individual shape resembling leaves and stretching from the top of the Palacio to the beginning of two windows, which in turn are each topped with a small multifoil arch. The motif adds a degree of opulence through its detailed repetition, and its placement above the main entrance to the Palacio is noteworthy. Not only does the Palacio utilize the typically Granada-Nasrid sebka motif, but the Palacio utilizes it in a very public way by its placement on the main façade. This open display of Islamic art in a Christian palace suggests a form of public visual intimacy.

garden or water feature space, marrying together the natural world with a stone carving of the natural world.

¹⁸⁹ They seem to borrow also from the more highly decorated examples of multifoil arches from the 11th century Aljafería Palace in Saragossa, with more dramatic curving than those of the Great Mosque. It is likely that the plainer horseshoe and multifoil arches at the Great Mosque evolved into the sharper-looking and more decorated multifoil arches at the Aljafería Palace, which in turn influenced the vegetal, florid multifoil arches at the Patio Árabe. Nonetheless, there are clear architectural similarities between the Patio Árabe arches and the Mezquita-Catedral arches.

¹⁹⁰ *Sebka* ornamentation is generally associated with the main palace façades due to its use of “highlighting spaces of special importance” (Francine Giese and Ariane Varela Braga, “The Hybridization of *Sebka* Ornament” in *Mudejarismo and Moorish Revival in Europe: Cultural Negotiations and Artistic Translations in the Middle Ages and 19th-century Historicism*, ed. Francine Giese (Boston: Brill, 2021), 434.)

Because of the historical context surrounding the Palacio, parts of it prove challenging to date, particularly due to later period renovations. Nonetheless, some information can be gleaned from the architecture itself. Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza points to parts of the Palacio that contain column inscriptions praising Alfonso XI (1311-1350). These inscriptions “make allusions to the military campaigns of Alfonso XI” that he enacted against the Muslims, though many of the words remain illegible.¹⁹¹ Ruiz Souza remarks that the inscriptions in question are commemorative in design and likely written by Pedro I (1320-1367), despite the *Convivencia* historiography surrounding Pedro.¹⁹² It is also noteworthy that scholars such as Almagro and Ruiz Souza suggest that the Palacio was constructed in sections, with some areas attributed to Alfonso XI.¹⁹³ With this in mind, cultural intimacy—which allows for simultaneous violence and admiration—becomes a more accurate way to describe the conflicting historical and artistic history of the Palacio rather than viewing the Palacio’s history and art through *Convivencia*.

Alfonso XI’s reign in Castile is one marked by conquest. His most famous campaign against Yusuf I in 1340 ended with decisive Christian victory, and the subsequent seizure of various war goods, “including the emir’s harem.”¹⁹⁴ Alfonso XI participated in on-going crusades against the Muslims in Spain, at points even receiving papal aid, denoting the religious motivations behind the campaigns.¹⁹⁵ Alfonso XI’s conquest and seizure of the harem demonstrates great violence against Muslims, while

¹⁹¹ Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, “Santa Clara de Tordesillas: Nuevos datos para su cronología y estudio: la relación entre Pedro I y Muhammad V,” *Reales Sitios: Revista del Patrimonio Nacional* (1997): 32. “Es evidente que [las inscripciones] se hace alusión a las campañas militares de Alfonso XI, aunque son muchas las palabras perdidas.”

¹⁹² Jerrilyn D. Dodds, María Rosa Menocal, and Abigail Krasner Balbale, *The Arts of Intimacy: Christians, Jews, and Muslims in the Making of Castilian Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 247-8.

¹⁹³ Almagro, 4.

¹⁹⁴ Joseph F. O’Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975), 413.

¹⁹⁵ O’Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain*, 412.

also demonstrating a continued and intimate proximity with Muslims by keeping Yusuf I's harem. With this in mind, the use of Islamic architectural stylization and inscriptions lauding Alfonso XI's crusading accomplishments suggest a form of conquest architecture, with Alfonso XI, "siez[ing] and appropriat[ing] Islamic culture" just as he "had seized and appropriated Islamic territory."¹⁹⁶ Alfonso XI's use of Islamic style in the Palacio de Tordesillas therefore suggests domination and a display of Christian power, rather than a genuine appreciation for Islamic art and culture. As mentioned, however, this does not negate the idea of cultural intimacy, as the inclusion of Islamic art—even when representative of conquest—in royal Christian living spaces shows continued private closeness between Muslims and Christians through architecture.

The Palacio de Tordesillas borrows heavily from previously existing Muslim mosques and spaces, despite the *Siete Partidas* barring Muslim mosques and religious spaces from existence in Castile. This reveals the complex nature of the Christian-Muslim relationship in medieval Spain and suggests a society that does not fall into the perfect tolerance of the Convivencia model. There cannot be a perfect religious coexistence in medieval Castile if the *Siete Partidas* requires Muslims to construct mosques outside of the city. Further, the use of Hispano-Umayyad/Granada-Nasrid stylistic elements in the Palacio, in light of the *Siete Partidas*, suggests that the style was appropriated by Christian rulers in an expression of what D. Fairchild Ruggles calls "triumphalist rationale."¹⁹⁷ At the same time, the very presence of these mosque-inspired architectural styles in Christian spaces demonstrates cultural intimacy through Christian appreciation and implementation of these styles.

¹⁹⁶ D. Fairchild Ruggles, "The Alcazar of Seville and Mudejar Architecture," 90.

¹⁹⁷ D. Fairchild Ruggles, "The Alcazar of Seville and Mudejar Architecture," 90.

Simply discussing Alfonso XI's impact on both the Palacio and Castile as indicative of Convivencia ignores the influences of his successor Pedro I, who was the main resident at the Palacio.¹⁹⁸ Pedro I's alliance and warm relationship with the Muslim caliph-king Muhammad V of Granada (1339-1391) is well documented, and has lent a reputation of tolerance to Pedro's reign. In the same vein, Pedro's appointment of a Jewish man, Samuel ben Meir Ha-Levi Abulafia (ca. 1320-1360) to the position of royal treasurer has been used as evidence for the supposed peace and religious harmony under Pedro's rule. Samuel ben Meir Ha-Levi Abulafia, however, while an impressive figure in his own right, was not exceptional for being a Jewish treasurer under a Christian king, as it was not uncommon for Christian kings to appoint Jews in their court to the position of "envoys or officials with authority," such as treasurers.¹⁹⁹ The appointment of Samuel ben Meir Ha-Levi Abulafia does not imply Convivencia because Abulafia's position in the Castilian court did not hinder anti-Jewish rhetoric in Castile, nor stop anti-Jewish violence in the 1360s.²⁰⁰ At the same time, the tradition of appointing Jewish court officials demonstrates at least some form of interpersonal intimacy by nature of the trust and proximity in these appointments.

For the Muslims of medieval Castile, Pedro's close relationship and military alliance with Muhammad V did not hinder the anti-Muslim rhetoric. For instance, despite the *Sietes Partidas* stipulating that Christians "should endeavor to convert the Moors"

¹⁹⁸ As mentioned previously, it is difficult to definitively date which sections of the Palacio de Tordesillas coincide with which ruler's reign. Antonio Almagro has argued, however, that a majority of the Palacio was likely constructed by Pedro I, with only some sections having been constructed earlier.

¹⁹⁹ O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain*, 466.

²⁰⁰ For more, see Maya Soifer Irish, "Towards 1391: The Anti-Jewish Preaching of Ferrán Martínez in Seville" in *The Medieval Roots of Antisemitism: Continuities and Discontinuities from the Middle Ages to the Present Day* ed. Johathan Adams and Cordelia Heß (New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2020), 306-319.

through peaceful means, and though figures like Ramon Llull preached conversion in Arabic, it is the very act of attempted conversion that is violent.²⁰¹ Ramon Llull and his preaching are excellent examples of the complexities in Muslim-Christian interactions. His fluency in Arabic and attempts at preaching conversion through reasonable argument—as opposed to violence—may suggest that he fits into the Convivencia framework. Attempted conversion, however, is still conversion and still violent regardless of what form it takes. For instance, in one of Llull’s preaching texts from the slightly earlier period *Blanquerna*, he suggests that “God gave grace to all the Jews and Saracens of [Spain] so that they were converted and baptized” and that, in order to fully appreciate this grace, Jews and Muslims should be taught “Latin and... the Scriptures.”²⁰² Llull continues to write that, for those who do not learn Latin and Christian scripture, “there shall follow punishment.”²⁰³ While Llull’s preaching is not as overtly violent as a religious crusade—such as the ones enacted by Alfonso XI—the language used within his preaching does not reflect Convivencia. Requiring converts or possible converts to learn Latin or else face punishment evidences the need for a linguistic, and therefore cultural, rejection of Arabic and Islam. Even Llull’s knowledge of Arabic does not suggest Convivencia, as he learned it only to aid in his conversion missions.²⁰⁴ Llull and the *Siete Partidas* do not represent Convivencia and, considering their influence, suggest that late thirteenth and early fourteenth century Castilian society—and therefore, Castilian architecture—did not embody perfect religious tolerance and harmony. At the same time,

²⁰¹ *Las Siete Partidas*, 1438.

²⁰² Ramon Llull, *Blanquerna* trans. E.A. Peers, in *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Sources* ed. Olivia Remie Constable (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012.), 414.; Llull, *Blanquerna*, 412.

²⁰³ Llull, *Blanquerna*, 412.

²⁰⁴ O’Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain*, 504.

Llull's knowledge of, and ability to learn Arabic indicates a close relationship between Christian and Muslim Spaniards. Were there no sense of cultural intimacy, Llull would face difficulty learning and teaching Arabic, and would likely feel uncomfortable using Arabic for Christian matters, like Palus Alvarus in the previously mentioned "Description of the Christian Youth." Like Castile and Spain more broadly, Llull's use of Arabic reflects a complex relationship with Islamic culture with both intolerant conversion and intentional linguistic acculturation showcasing interreligious and intercultural intimacy.

To return to visual intimacy, the Real Alcázar de Seville, like the Palacio de Tordesillas, demonstrates a confusing mix of Granada-Nasrid and Christian stylization in its Hispano-Umayyad charbagh gardens, Granada-Nasrid arches, and culturally hybridic column capitals. Dating various parts of the Alcázar proves easier than attempting to date the Palacio. The Alcázar was built by Abd Al-Rahman III, caliph of Andalusia in 913, but was partially torn down and remade by Pedro in 1366, giving it a tension between appreciation and appropriation similar to the aforementioned Mezquita del Cristo de la Luz.²⁰⁵

The gardens of the Alcázar clearly utilize charbagh designs in its gardens. Despite the "confusing mixture of taifa, Almohad, and Christian building" in the Alcázar, it is nonetheless clear that "a significant portion of the complex was dedicated to open courtyards and gardens" like those in the Madīnat az-Zahrā with its "cross-axial plan" and resultant symmetry, both of which are a staple of the quadrilateral charbagh design.²⁰⁶ The charbagh here, as in the Madīnat az-Zahrā, has a quadrilateral division

²⁰⁵ Miguel Ángel Tabales Rodríguez, "La transformación Palatina del Alcázar de Sevilla, 914-1366," *Anales de Arqueología Cordobesa* 12 (2001): 196.

²⁰⁶ Fairchild Ruggles, *Gardens, Landscape, and Vision in the Palaces of Islamic Spain*, 144.

acting as a “symbol of the Quranic gardens of paradise.”²⁰⁷ Like with the Patio Árabe at the Palacio de Tordesillas, the Alcázar gardens have an emphasis on water (fig. 18). Water is widely considered “the single most valuable and defining element in an Islamic garden” due to its religious representation of paradise and and historical scarcity in Middle Eastern desert climates, bringing Islamic values into this space of Christian authority.²⁰⁸

The continued emphasis on water in the Patio de las Doncellas after the Reconquest gives the space a sense of cultural hybridity. The Alcázar gardens utilize sunken garden beds, which are thought to have grown in popularity as a result of producing optimal irrigation for gardens in desert climates, therefore marking them as historically culturally significant to Islamic design.²⁰⁹ This lends credence to the theory that the gardens of the Alcázar were at least partially original to the space, possibly having been constructed by Abd Al-Rahman III. The Patio de las Doncellas showcases both a water feature and sunken gardens, with a long pool positioned in between two sunken beds. The continued maintenance of these water features and garden beds in a Christian space further illustrates cultural intimacy.

Additionally, the Patio de las Doncellas utilizes both Granada-Nasrid and Christian stylization in its stone architecture, further solidifying the space as culturally intimate. The most impressive and most relevant stone architecture of the Patio de las Doncellas takes the form of multifoil arches and decorative column capitals (fig. 19). These arches and columns wrap around the garden and upon first glance, may seem

²⁰⁷ Emma Clark, *The Art of the Islamic Garden* (Ramsbury: The Crowood Press, 2004), 31.

²⁰⁸ Clark, *The Art of the Islamic Garden*, 88.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., 52.

entirely Granada-Nasrid in design. There are multifoil arches, topped with a detailed and repeating sebka motif plasterwork. The pattern and intricacy of the sebka create a feeling of eternity and opulence—fitting for this royal space—while the multifoil arches seem to climb higher than they do by nature of their step-like curves. At the joint where two arches and two sebka walls meet, there are groupings of slender stone columns. These columns are grouped together in a way that resembles the Roman fasces and are topped with capitals that, like the capitals at the Madīnat az-Zahrā, are stylistically ambiguous and reflect both Umayyad and Roman qualities. The capitals of the Patio de las Doncellas resemble composite capitals, with acanthus leaf ornamentation stretching from the bottom of the capital to the top and curling over. The capitals are topped with stone carved to resemble swirls, or volutes, further demonstrating their hybridity. That these ambiguous columns are situated immediately under and next to typically Granada-Nasrid multifoil arches and sebka plastering suggests cultural intimacy in the Alcázar's design.

With the amount of Hispano-Umayyad and Granada-Nasrid architectural stylization in the Christian constructed Alcázar, and the presence of Roman elements mingling with Islamic elements, it can be tempting to understand the Alcázar's cultural hybridity in terms of Convivencia. As mentioned, however, the presence of artistic overlap does not necessarily indicate perfect religious tolerance and harmony.

The fourteenth century, despite Pedro I's later alliance with Muhammad V, was generally antagonistic between Christians and Muslims. The *Chronicle* of Ramon Muntaner, for instance, describes an Aragón-Castilian Christian alliance against the Muslims of Granada and subsequent Castilian seizure of Gibraltar in 1309. When the Aragonese king, Jaume II and the Castilian king, Fernando IV, reached their agreement,

Jaume II set out to “attack the Saracens, namely the King of Granada” who previously “had broken” a Muslim-Christian truce.²¹⁰ The alliance entailed “march[ing] resolutely against the King of Granada” with Castile set to “go and besiege Algeciras de Alhadra,” which Muntaner writes as having been successful, with “innumerable Moors” dying in “the greatest fear ever done and the greatest victory.”²¹¹ This earlier fourteenth century chronicle does not reflect *Convivencia*. The military conquest of Gibraltar and attempted conquest of Granada, despite being earlier in the period than the construction of the Palacio or the Alcázar, illustrates a pervasive militarism and anti-Muslim rhetoric in rulers and chroniclers alike.

At the same time, Pedro’s close relationship with Muhammad V and apparent compassion for the Jewish people in Castile was enough to allow his half-brother, Enrique de Trastámara the ability to “discredit [Pedro]...by assigning him bastard origins and Jewish blood,” likely as a way to distract from Enrique de Trastámara’s own illegitimacy.²¹² Pedro’s closeness with Muslims and Jewish people allowed Enrique to proclaim Pedro a “wicked tyrant, enemy of God and of the Holy Mother Church,” through the supposed influence Muslims and Jews had over Pedro’s rule which ultimately resulted in their enrichment.²¹³ Enrique’s contemporary and later period anti-Pedro propaganda possibly contributed to an exaggerated reputation for Pedro’s sympathy towards Muslims and Jewish people. Teofilo F. Ruiz, in discussion about Alfonso X,

²¹⁰ Ramon Muntaner, “Chronicle” trans. Anna Goodenough, in *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Sources*, 304.

²¹¹ Muntaner, “Chronicle,” 206.

²¹² Clara Estow, “What’s in a Name?: Reflections on, and Echoes of, the Reign of Pedro I of Castile,” *La corónica: A Journal of Medieval Hispanic Languages, Literatures, and Cultures* 45, no. 2 (2017): 274.

²¹³ Maya Soifer Irish, “Towards 1391: The Anti-Jewish Preaching of Ferrán Martínez in Seville” in *The Medieval Roots of Antisemitism: Continuities and Discontinuities from the Middle Ages to the Present Day* ed. Johnathan Adams and Cordelia Heß (New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2020), 309.

wrote that Alfonso X could simultaneously “maintain cordial and protective relations with Muslim and Jewish scholars and with his lordly Moorish vassals at his court” while also sponsoring and drafting “harsh anti-Jewish and anti-Muslim legislation” as seen in the *Siete Partidas* and in Castilian fueros.²¹⁴ Pedro himself may have experienced or contributed to a kind of cordiality or tolerance in his relationship with Muhammad V and Samuel ben Meir Ha-Levi Abulafia, but that cordiality and tolerance was not present in the still active *Siete Partidas*.

The contradictory tensions between Pedro’s apparent camaraderie with Muhammad and Abulafia, and the enforcement of legal and ecclesiastical doctrine that marginalized Jews and Muslims can be explained through cultural intimacy. The close relationship between Muhammad and Pedro was intimate and was not weakened by the broader oppression faced by Muslims. At the same time, the oppression of Muslims under Castilian law did not hinder Pedro’s ability to ally himself with Muhammad and did not stop Muhammad from allying himself with Pedro. While these conflicting displays of tolerance do not fit into the historic and art historic trend of *Convivencia*, they can be understood through intimacy. The existence of the *Siete Partidas* and the sixty-eighth canon implies that Muslims, Jewish people, and Christians interacted and intermingled so frequently that it necessitated legislation regarding dress, sex, and defining which days were appropriate for interaction, in turn suggesting that medieval Castile was an intimate space for interreligious interactions.

Artistic intimacy can be reflected through physical space just as strongly as it can be reflected through legislation or chronicles. The construction of architecture under a

²¹⁴ Teofilo F. Ruiz, *Spain's Centuries of Crisis: 1300 – 1474* (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 155.

particular rule can reflect the values of that rule and act as an expression of institutional power. When those power expressions blur, whether through conquest—as with the Mezquita-Catedral de Córdoba and Mezquita del Cristo de la Luz—or through non-violent acculturation or appreciation—as with the Sinagoga de Córdoba and the Palacio de Tordesillas—public and visual displays of power reveal the ways that microform interreligious interactions could impact constructions of the greater macroform.

Hispano-Umayyad styled constructs, such as the Madīnat az-Zahrā and the Mezquita-Catedral de Córdoba, and Granada-Nasrid styled architecture like the Alhambra de Granada show the importance of specific architectural elements in Islamic expressions of institutional power. These stylistic elements are present even in architecture intended to express Christian power, including the later-period Mezquita-Catedral, the Palacio de Tordesillas, and the Real Alcázar de Seville. Even when the architecture is intended to serve an individualized community within an external macroform, such as the Sinagoga de Santa María la Blanca and the Sinagoga de Córdoba, institutional power is reflected in architecture. Intimacy in architecture reveals the ways in which acculturation and institutional persecution can exist simultaneously.

The Sinagoga de Córdoba, for example, demonstrates Umayyad stylization, suggesting a kind of artistic and cultural hybridity, while the Islamic macroform of twelfth century Córdoba regulates the actions of Jews like Abraham ibn Daud. The Real Alcázar de Seville reflects a Christian fascination and appreciation with Umayyad and Nasrid stylizations—including specifically Islamic stylizations—in a macroform that intensely regulates the movement and action of Muslims with the *Siete Partidas* and other repressive legislation. Power can be both reflected and complicated in Spanish

architectural stylization and exhibits an intimate space of acculturation, appreciation, and conquest.

Part IV: The Christian Period

While pockets of Christian control existed in Spain throughout the Islamic period, this analysis of intimacy will center primarily from the twelfth century and the implementation of municipal Christian *fueros* to mid-fourteenth century legislation in order to understand interreligious interactions against a backdrop of institutional Christian power. While Christian Spain has not been subjected to (anti-)Convivencia frameworks as frequently as Islamic Spain, certain unnuanced perspectives of Christian Spain can be complicated with an intimate framework. Scholars like David Nirenberg emphasize general conclusions about the violence and tolerance of medieval Iberia, with Nirenberg's 1996 book, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* arguing for "central and systemic" violence and generally neglecting to address instances of interreligious tolerance, camaraderie, or general non-violent interaction.²¹⁵ Nirenberg's approach is more legal and systemic in nature and, while a useful way for understanding the function of religion in society, does not allow for variation when discussing intimate microforms or interactions between individuals, as individuals, in the macroform of Christian rule.

For an intimate framework, Christian Spain can be analyzed at an institutional level, an intercommunity level, and intra-community level, and an interpersonal level and can explain discrepancies between action and legislation. Interreligious sexual intimacy reveals discordant attitudes between institutional prohibition and specific individual interaction, with non-sexual intimacy giving a greater understanding of how individuals function more generally against a restrictive macroform.

²¹⁵ David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996), 9.

An interpersonal analysis of Christian Spain, with an emphasis on how individuals operated within a macroform is evident in María Fuente's article, "Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Women in Late Medieval Iberia," wherein she explores the way in which women both controlled and maintained the realm of the intimate. In terms of interreligious intimacy, Fuente notes that "women were in charge of teaching the children, [and] especially the girls" of the house, thus passing on the religion-specific "rituals, customs, and festivities related to birth, marriage...death and religious observances."²¹⁶ By maintaining their religious traditions and customs, Fuente argues that Jewish and Muslim women "safeguarded the cultural identity of their communities," as seen with Jewish women having charge of preparing the *adafina*—a traditional Jewish stew—and for preparing the home for the Sabbath.²¹⁷ Though not explicitly addressed by Fuente, the way she analyzes micro-relations interactions fits into an intimate framework. Fuente suggests that interreligious interactions could warp or undermine the ways that women upheld or maintained their religious rituals, thus creating instances of acculturation or assimilation in spite of institutional prohibition. In a similar vein, Sarah Davis-Secord's analysis on the intersection of gender, religion, and culture addresses how central women were to "the shaping and transmission of distinct religio-cultural identities" while still playing a "pivotal rol[e] as the bearers and preservers of a minority religious culture" that may be considered dangerous to a macroform of power.²¹⁸

In the aforementioned laws of the Kiddushin of the Nashim, Jewish Talmudic law condemns interreligious marriage and others offspring from interreligious unions while

²¹⁶ María Fuente, "Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Women in Late Medieval Iberia," *Medieval Encounters* 15, no. 2/4 (2009): 321.

²¹⁷ Fuente, "Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Women in Late Medieval Iberia," 324-5.

²¹⁸ Davis-Secord, 64-65.

not explicitly addressing interreligious sex itself. With this omission in mind, keeping concubines could be a convenient way for Jews to avoid breaking religious purity prohibitions on interreligious sex. In Christian Spain, some Jews maintained Muslim concubines to engage in interreligious sex without technically breaking Talmudic law. For instance, as mentioned by Yom Tov Assis, wealthy Jews in thirteenth and fourteenth century Christian Spain “kept Muslim concubines while in the Muslim south...[they] had Christian ones.”²¹⁹ Assis mentions the thirteenth century report by Rabbi Moses of Coucy (1200-1260) who wrote against the apparently rampant concubinage of Spain, stating that “he who has sexual intercourse with a Gentile woman is considered as if he were married to idolatry” and that this concubinage practice represented the “exile of Jerusalem that is in Spain.”²²⁰ In terms of Jewish-Muslim concubinage, the poetry of Todros ben Judah Halevi Abulafia (1247-post 1300) reveals his appreciation and power over his Muslim concubines and lovers, writing that one:

. . . should love an Arab girl
Even if she’s not beautiful and pure.
But stay far away from a Spanish girl
Even if she’s radiant as the sun!²²¹

The insinuation here is that, in Christian Spain, a Jew should avoid a ‘Spanish’—or Christian—woman when engaging in casual, interreligious sex, as the prohibitions on and punishments concerning Christian/non-Christian sex were severe. An ‘Arab’—or Muslim—woman, however, not only know about sex, but occupies a sexually accessible

²¹⁹ Assis, Yom Tov, *The Golden Age of Aragonese Jewry: Community and Society in the Crown of Aragon, 1213-1327* (London: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2008), 265.

²²⁰ R. Moses of Coucy, *Sefer Mitsvot ha-Gadol*, Prohibition 112, no. 3. In Yom Tov Assis, “Sexual Behaviour in Mediaeval Hispano-Jewish Society” in *Jewish History: Essays in Honour of Chimen Abramsky* ed., Ada Rapoport-Albert and Steven J. Zipperstein (London: Peter Halban, 1988), 37.

²²¹ Brann Ross, *The Compunctious Poet: Cultural Ambiguity and Hebrew Poetry in Muslim Spain* (Baltimore; London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 145.

position in the Christian macroform.²²² Not only was Muslim/Jewish sex legislated by unclear laws that led “the outcome [of these interactions] more subject to negotiation” as proposed by David Nirenberg, but the very status of a Muslim woman is seen as sexually and powerfully inferior to that of the Jewish or Christian man.²²³ The Muslim woman is naked in the quoted poem, denoting symbolic lack of power and reinforcing her sexual availability. In combination with her lack of clothing, Abulafia’s poem suggests that Muslim women were seen as inherently sexual beings, who know “all about fornication” and are “adept at lechery.”²²⁴

The close mention of the powerlessness and sexual availability of Muslim women in this poem suggests that the power-sex dynamic in Christian Spain was alive and noteworthy even amongst religious minorities. This is especially true considering there was no Christian legislation regarding minority sex. At least in this singular poem, it is clear that Muslim-Jewish sex transcended the ways in which “sex [was] placed by power in a binary system: licit and illicit, permitted and forbidden” on an institutional level because, as mentioned, there was no royal legislation regarding Muslim-Jewish relations.²²⁵ At the same time, however, Abulafia’s poem does demonstrate “power’s hold on sex” as “maintained through language” and articulation.²²⁶ The very existence of this poem, despite the Qur’an forbidding interreligious sex, and the Talmud forbidding interreligious marriage—and dissuading interreligious sex through shunning children of interreligious unions—reflects complicated Jewish relationships with power and

²²² Ross, 145.

²²³ David Nirenberg, “Love Between Muslim and Jew in Medieval Spain: A Triangular Affair” in *Jews, Muslims, and Christians in and Around the Crown of Aragon: Essays in Honour of Professor Elena Lourie* ed., Harvey J. Hames (Leiden, London: Brill, 2004), 132.

²²⁴ Ross, 145.

²²⁵ Foucault, *The History of Sexuality* Volume 1, 83.

²²⁶ Ibid.,.

sexuality. They, like Muslims, are both a ‘conquered’ people, held as beneath and ‘other’ to Christians. At the same time, Jews could engage in sexual forms of domination and power over Muslims, as in the case of Abulafia’s poem. As such, in Christian Spain, Muslim-Jewish sex could be understood as an engagement with religious power while under the seemingly unconcerned sexual legislation of Christianity.

Interreligious sex with Christians, on the other hand, was heavily legislated by officials. Both kingdom-wide legislation and church doctrine addressed sex both directly and indirectly, leading the institutional expression of Christian power to permeate all parts of the macroform. For kingdom legislation, laws concerning interreligious sexuality were a means to establish authority and dominance over their non-Christian subjects. For church doctrine, not only was interreligious sex an unthinkable sin, sex itself was considered “demonically inspired” and originating “with lust, which as a sin had to be prevented.”²²⁷ The prevention of carnal sin would manifest as an expression of church power in the region.

The 1215 Fourth Lateran Council is one of the most influential church doctrines concerning interreligious interactions which concludes that interreligious sex was both a religious concern for Christianity and a concern of power for the Christian rulers of Spain. Though more often known for the crusading elements, the Fourth Lateran Council reveals early thirteenth century Christian ideas about Muslims, Jews, and the interactions Christians might have with them. Canon 68 begins with the assertion that, while some places require Jews and Muslims to dress differently from Christians, that there are others that have no such legislation and as a result, “such a confusion has grown up that they

²²⁷ Cabezero Pliego, 235.

[Jews and Muslims] cannot be distinguished by any difference.”²²⁸ One such place may have been medieval Spain where, as noted by Olivia Remie Constable, a lack of legislation in *fueros* (municipal law) and sumptuary laws suggests that “the visual distinction between Muslims and Christians was not perceived as a legal problem in Christian Spain before the later thirteenth century.”²²⁹

While sumptuary laws and a desire for visual depictions of power are undoubtedly a motivating factor in this canon, it is also clearly stated that, on occasion, and “through error” Christian men “have relations with the women of Jews or Saracens, and Jews and Saracens with Christian women,” with a suggested dress code to remedy the issue.²³⁰ Both men and women are included in this canon, with the specification that Jews and Muslims “may not, under pretext of error of this sort, excuse themselves in the future for the excesses of such prohibited intercourse” with Christians.²³¹

Recalling the introductory anecdote about Aliscend de Tolba and the Muslim shepherd Aytola reveals several important facets about interreligious sex and religious boundaries. Firstly, it must be noted that despite this incident occurring in 1304, nearly a hundred years after the 68th canon of the Fourth Lateran Council, Aytola is not mentioned as dressing in a way that distinguishes him as a Muslim. In fact, despite some of the shepherds mentioning that there was “only ‘un moro’” or Muslim remaining in the

²²⁸ “Twelfth Ecumenical Council: Lateran IV 1215, Canon 68” from H. J. Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils: Text, Translation and Commentary*, (St. Louis: B. Herder, 1937), hosted by Fordham University, <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/basis/lateran4.asp>.

²²⁹ Olivia Remie Constable, *To Live Like a Moor: Christian Perceptions of Muslim Identity in Medieval and Early Modern Spain* ed. Robin J. E. Vose (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), 28. As Jews were often legislated in similar ways to Muslims—a facet of which will be described below in the *fueros* of Sepúlveda—it could be suggested that, as with Muslims, Jewish dress was similarly disregarded by Christian Spanish legislators.

²³⁰ “Twelfth Ecumenical Council: Lateran IV 1215, Canon 68.”

²³¹ *Ibid.*,

shepherd camp that might be interested in having sex, Aliscend is unable to visually determine his religious difference.²³² Though a minor aspect of this case, the lack of visual difference in dress suggests that, despite the Fourth Lateran Council's canons, interreligious sex continued to happen, and at the same time, the supposedly vital visual distinctions were not widely enough adopted to prevent this case's presence in the archive.

It is remarkable that the case of Aliscend and Aytola exists at all. It is only due to Aliscend recognizing Aytola's religion through his penis, *and* Aliscend's refusal to have sex with him because of his religion, *and* her reporting this incident to the courts that this instance of attempted interreligious sex (and rape, as Aytola intended to lie to Aliscend to have sex with her) exists in the archives at all. It must be stated that this singular instance—in conjunction with the strict legislation of religious doctrine and royal law—does not exist in a vacuum. It is entirely likely, though not entirely documented, that Jewish or Muslim men had sex with Christian prostitutes, or Christian men with Jewish or Muslim prostitutes, regardless of the 68th canon.

One such instance, the case of the Jewish prostitute, Oro de Par, reveals the way that Jews accessed power in the Christian macroform and regulated their own communities using multiple forms of institutional law. Oro de Par was disfigured and exiled for sleeping with a Muslim, and her case demonstrates the complex ways that marginalized people interacted with oppressive power dynamics.²³³ Oro de Par “of the Jews and Zaragoza” was said to have “continuously and incessantly” committed “crimes

²³² Ibid.,.

²³³ Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 182-3.

of adultery.”²³⁴ She was accused “openly and privately lust[ed] with Christians, Jews, and Muslims, mixing herself carnally.”²³⁵

This document demonstrates how individuals could and did subvert legislation prohibiting interreligious sex all the while operating within a macroform of power. Firstly, Oro de Par was regulated by her community, with Jewish representatives of her *aljama* deciding to punish her for her engagement with interreligious sex. This intercommunity regulation reflects the omnipresence of power. In particular, Oro de Par is regulated by her community in terms of gendered power (as seen in how women are described in the Ben-Sira) and faith-based power (as seen in the emphasis of ritual purity in the Kiddushin). This document, which records the “Jewish *aljama* ask[ing] the king” to have Oro de Par punished, also shows engagement with the Christian macroform of power.²³⁶ The persecution of Jewish people ensured that Jewish intercommunity regulation must first be approved by the dominant macroform. The case of Oro de Par, then, shows not only the ways communities regulated power and sexuality, but also the way this regulation was dependent on greater macroform regulation.

Oro de Par was punished through “bodily mutilation of the members and through the manner of exile” for her crime of engaging in interreligious sex.²³⁷ The enforcement of Jewish law takes on a gendered aspect in Oro de Par’s punishment. As mentioned previously, Todros ben Judah Halevi Abulafia’s poetry suggests that sex between a Jewish male and a Muslim (or Christian) female was considered licit in terms of power

²³⁴ Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Cancillería Registros 691.127r. “...comittat continue et incessanter multa criminia adulteria” My transcription and translation.

²³⁵ ACA 691.127r. “...luxurias palam et occulte cum xpianos etiam judis et sarracenis se carnaliter inmiscendo.” My transcription and translation.

²³⁶ Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 137.

²³⁷ ACA 691.127r. “Personum ipsius jude corporaliter per mutilationum membrorum vel per modum exili.” My transcription and translation.

and not punished as a result. Oro de Par's gender, vulnerable position as a sex worker, and repeated engagement with interreligious sex had her governed by multiple forms of power at once. She was governed by her community, by the institutional Christian macroform, and governed in a a gendered way. Her position in the archive is a precious resource for scholars of Spanish sexuality just as it is a reminder of the brutality faced by sex workers, women, and Jewish people in the Middle Ages. At every turn, the case of Oro de Par reveals the way that power dynamics operated within an oppressive macroform.

The 68th canon, taken in conjunction with the cases of Aliscend and Aytola and Oro de Par show some of the many ways sexuality and power were connected in medieval Spain. This case's existence shows that, despite the legislation repressing interreligious sex, "it has the appearance of a deliberate transgression" in a foucauldian framework.²³⁸ Despite the religious law intentionally legislating and attempting to "constitute desire," people like Aytola and Oro de Par attempted—either successfully or unsuccessfully—to engage in illicit sex.²³⁹ Foucault might suggest that the "essentially juridical" power model of the 68th canon is one that "only has the force of the negative on its side, a power to say no."²⁴⁰ While this may seem to eschew the importance of religion in medieval life, Ruth Mazo Karras's work on medieval sexuality offers evidence that could support this power-based approach. Karras writes that the upper echelons of society often "chafe[d] at the restrictions on their [sexual] behavior," and that the Middle Ages

²³⁸ Foucault, *The History of Sexuality Volume 1*, 6.

²³⁹ Ibid., 85.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.,.

broadly contained wildly conflicting ideas about sex and sexuality.²⁴¹ The ‘weakness’ of the 68th canon’s “paradox of...effectiveness,” only holding a power over others that is based on the negative and on obedience, pairs well with Karras’s wry observation that in a world where “a normative religious discourse taught that sexuality was something sinful and evil,” there existed “large segments of the society [which] chose to ignore that teaching.”²⁴²

While some might contest the longevity of the Fourth Lateran Council’s ideas, Constable has traced multiple resurgent councils, laws, and Spanish *cortes* dealing with the same religious distinction and dress issues as the 68th canon. The Council of Tarragona in 1239, the *Cortes* of Seville in 1252, the *Cortes* of Jerez in 1268, and the later *Cortes* of Madrigal in 1476 all demonstrate that the Church’s preoccupation with dress and visible sexual boundaries did not end with the Fourth Lateran Council.²⁴³ In fact, sexual legislation would grow more defined in the coming centuries, with a strict code of conduct and clearly outlined punishments added to the prohibitions, as with the *Siete Partidas*.

Legislated across all of Castile by Alfonso X ‘el Sabio’ (1221-1284), the *Siete Partidas* were a statutory code meant to establish a singular law code for 13th century Spain. The *Partidas* are lengthy, but the most relevant sections for this analysis are contained within Title XXIV and Title XXV from the seventh *Partida*, respectively titled “Concerning the Jews” and “Concerning the Moors.” Like much kingdom-wide

²⁴¹ Ruth Mazo Karras, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe: Doing unto others* (New York and London: Routledge, 2005), 20.

²⁴² Karras, 21.

²⁴³ Constable, *To Live Like a Moor*, 30.; Ibid., 41. These dress requirements for sexual boundaries may have originated with the Fourth Lateran Council, as Constable notes that the 12th century Spanish *fueros* make no mention of dress and that “the visual distinction between Muslims and Christians was no perceived as a legal problem in Christian Spain before the later thirteenth century.” (28)

legislation, it is difficult to determine exactly how strictly or effectively the contents of the *Partidas* were enforced. Nonetheless, Titles XXIV and XXV demonstrate that interreligious sex was a feared possibility on the institutional level, despite their unknown local enforcement.

Title XXIV, “Concerning the Jews” understands medieval Jews as people who “insult His [the Christian god’s] name and deny the marvelous and holy acts which He performed,” including the holiness and actions of Christ.²⁴⁴ For the *Siete Partidas*, Jewish existence in Christian society is described as being “because they always lived...in captivity,” thus “dwell[ing]...with Christians” despite their alleged ancestral crucifying of Christ.²⁴⁵ The *Siete Partidas* makes it clear that Jews were a people separated from wider Christian society for this crucifixion, with a variety of laws legislating their behavior, employment, worship, movement, property, conversion, habitation, and sexual behaviors.²⁴⁶ Each law, while incredibly restrictive and anti-Jewish, also reveals underlying intimacy and power dynamics in medieval Spain.

Speaking to the casual interactions between Jews and Christians, Law II legislates the way that Jews must act in daily life, namely “quietly and without disorder,” while also refraining from any behavior that might be considered preaching, such as “exalting his own belief and disparaging [Christianity].”²⁴⁷ This aspect of the law suggests that Christians and Jews were in frequent and direct contact with one another, to the point where casual conversation about their beliefs might arise. While it is clear that Christians

²⁴⁴ *Las Siete Partidas, Volume 5: Underworlds: The Dead, the Criminal, and the Marginalized (Partidas VI and VII)*, transl. Samuel Parsons Scott, ed., Robert I. Burns, S.J. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 1433.

²⁴⁵ *Las Siete Partidas, Volume 5*, 1433.

²⁴⁶ For behavior see Law II; employment, Law III; worship, law IV; movement, Law II; property (slaves), Law X; conversion, Law VI; habitation, Law VIII; and sexual behaviors, Law IX.

²⁴⁷ *Las Siete Partidas, Volume 5*, 1433.

and Jews were of unequal institutional status within the Christian macroform, this law might suggest an environment that allowed for interpersonal daily interactions between Jews and Christians that are not completely affected by institutional legislation. Notably, however, the interpersonal interactions that are implied in this law are enforced to an extreme degree, with a Jew being “put to death in a disgraceful manner” if they violate, for example, a stipulation prohibiting their movement on Good Friday.²⁴⁸ It is not that the interactions between Christians and Jews can be labeled as ‘tolerant’ in Law II, but that there was a potential for Christian-Jewish conversation and interaction in a way that resisted institutional legislation “everywhere in the power network.”²⁴⁹

More strikingly, Law III states that “no Jew can hold any office or employment by which he may be able to oppress Christians,” with their rejection of Christianity and Jesus Christ as the reason for this particular law.²⁵⁰ The law directly blames a Jew’s Jewishness and their supposed ancestral killing of Christ (“by shamefully putting Him to death on the cross”) for their loss of “all said honors and privileges.”²⁵¹ This law understands the Jewish faith as something to be regulated and punished. Quite the opposite from Catlos’s “*conveniencia*,” the *Siete Partidas* reflects the highly contentious and religious nature of medieval Spain.²⁵² Law III reflects not only the religiosity of the period, but also the degree to which power dynamics occupied the forefront of

²⁴⁸ Ibid.,

²⁴⁹ Foucault, *The History of Sexuality* Vol. 1, 95.

²⁵⁰ *Las Siete Partidas*, Volume 5, 1434.

²⁵¹ Ibid., 1434.

²⁵² Catlos only utilizes “*conveniencia*” for Islamic Spain, but similar approaches to Christian Spain are prevalent in Spanish historiography. For examples, see: Simon Barton, *Conquerors, Brides, and Concubines: Interfaith Relations and Social Power in Medieval Iberia*, 1st ed, Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015) which generally emphasizes sexual practicality in Christian society.

interreligious interactions. Jews were not allowed to hold office over, punish, or “in any way oppress” a Christian, ensuring that the Christian macroform remained unchallenged and individual Christians maintained institutional dominance. In this law, there is a tension between intimacy and bigotry. Perhaps inspired by figures such as Moses ben Nachman—better known as Nachmanides (1194-1270), who was able to successfully defend his faith at the Disputation of Barcelona (1263)—this law represents a Christian fear of not only Jews generally, but specifically of Jewish power over Christians. It is not only the gain of Jewish power that this law seems to fear, but a loss of Christian power as a direct result. In an intimate framework, this law reflects the way that power (in this case, Christian power) manifests as prohibition, “affirming that such a thing”—the thing being Jewish power—“is not permitted” and “preventing it from being said.”²⁵³ The last part of this theory can be defined by Foucault’s logic of censoring, wherein a ruling power “affirm[s] that such a thing [i.e., Jewish power] is not permitted while also “denying that it exists,” creating a contradiction that is apparent in Law III, which is contingent on a fear of possible Jewish power.²⁵⁴ The law explains that for “the treason they [Jews] committed in killing their lord, they should lose all said honors and privileges,” explicitly tying Jewish power to religion.²⁵⁵

In this vein, Law VII, “What Penalty a Christian Deserves Who Becomes a Jew” demonstrates the extent to which religion and fear of Jewish power could relate to Christian power and intimacy. This law’s existence suggests that the contact between Christians and Jews was sustained, and that these interactions were intimate enough to

²⁵³ Richard A. Lynch, “Foucault’s Theory of Power,” in *Michel Foucault: Key Concepts*, ed. Dianna Taylor (London; New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2011), 17.

²⁵⁴ Lynch, 17.

²⁵⁵ *Las Siete Partidas*, Volume 5, 1434.

allow for discussions of faith and even conversion. The punishment for Christian conversion to Judaism is “death just as if [the Christian] had become a heretic,” which entails death by fire.²⁵⁶ Law VII legislates “transgression and punishment, with [the] interplay of licit and illicit.”²⁵⁷ Licit interactions between Jews and Christians allowed for illicit interactions—possibly conversations about religion or conversion—making legislation necessary to maintain Christian power.

This fear of intimacy and loss of power is even more evident in the following laws. Laws VIII and IX, which legislate interreligious cohabitation and interreligious sex, reveal the ways in which Jewish sexuality fit into the sexual-power framework of medieval Spain, and suggests the Jewish role in interreligious sex was just as much about power as it was about religious boundaries. Law VIII, “No Christian, Man or Woman Shall Live with a Jew” stipulates that no Jew may “keep Christian men or women in his house, to be served by them” and further forbids “any Christian man or woman to invite a Jew or a Jewess, or to accept any invitation from them, to eat or drink together, or to drink any wine made by their hands.”²⁵⁸ It could be suggested that the intimacy and proximity of cohabitation would be a feasible avenue towards interreligious sex.

Additionally, this law reflects power and religious dynamics between Christians and Jews in 13th century Castile. That Jews are forbidden from keeping Christians as servants in their home is seen in the earlier Title XXI, Law VII, “Neither a Jew Nor a Moor Can Hold a Christian as a Slave,” which stipulates any Jewish or Muslim who does

²⁵⁶ *Las Siete Partidas*, Volume 5, 1435.; *Ibid.*, 1443.

²⁵⁷ Foucault, *The History of Sexuality* Vol. I, 85.

²⁵⁸ *Las Siete Partidas*, Volume 5, 1433.

own a Christian slave forfeits their life and property.²⁵⁹ In a Christian kingdom, a Jew wielding power over a Christian undermines and subverts the institutional power of the Christian macroform, as seen with Law III. Cohabitation breaks down the imagined boundaries established by religious, racial, ethnic, and political identities, allowing for interpersonal interactions to take precedence over systemic enforcements of power.

The fear of interpersonal intimacy is made explicitly sexual in Law IX, “What Penalty a Jew Deserves Who Has Intercourse with a Christian Woman,” which concerns the intersections between sexuality, religion, and power dynamics. Not only is a Jewish man put to death for his sexual power over a Christian woman, but the Christian woman may eventually be put to death as well. A Christian woman, the law notes, is “spiritually the wi[fe] of Our Lord Jesus Christ because of the faith and the baptism which they receive,” making the transgression of interreligious sex not only dangerous for the sexual boundaries and stability of society, but also a kind of spiritual adultery that immediately threatens the power Christianity was expected to hold over its flock and its conquered, non-Christian subjects.²⁶⁰

The laws in the *Siete Partidas* concerning Jews are numerous and portray a Christian macroform that is obsessively concerned with maintaining power in all aspects of society. While the *Partidas* themselves are institutional documents, the laws within are concerned with interpersonal and intercommunity relations as well, echoing Foucault’s assertion that “power is ‘always already there.’”²⁶¹ No individual, Jewish, Muslim, or

²⁵⁹ *Las Siete Partidas, Volume 4 Family, Commerce, and the Sea: The Worlds of Women and Merchants (Partidas IV and V)* transl. Samuel Parsons Scott, ed., Robert I. Burns, S.J. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 979.

²⁶⁰ *Las Siete Partidas, Volume 5*, 1436.

²⁶¹ Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977.*, trans. Colin Gordon et al., 1st American ed. (Pantheon Books, 1980), 144.

Christian is ‘outside’ this omnipresent power and “there are no ‘margins’” for the “inescapable form of domination or...absolute privilege” of the macroform.²⁶²

Title XXV, “Concerning the Moors” draws similar conclusions to Title XXIV about the power dynamics of Christian Spain. Islam, much like Judaism, is defined as an “insult to God” and Muslims were legislated against just as strictly as the Jews in terms of movement, habitation, conversion, and interreligious sex. Law X, “What Penalty a Moor or a Christian Woman Deserve Who Have Intercourse with One Another,” like Law IX, Title XXIV, punishes a Muslim by stoning and death if he is caught or convicted of having sex with a Christian woman.²⁶³ The Christian woman’s punishment varies depending on her marital status, with the notable inclusion of a married woman being “placed in the power of her husband who may burn her to death, or release her, or do what he pleases with her” as punishment.²⁶⁴ While this law—and the title overall—are direct expressions of Christian power over Muslims, it also contains reference to the gendered power a Christian man holds over his wife. In Joan Young Gregg’s analysis of gendered ethics in medieval Christendom, she notes that women became “embodiments of carnality and sexual peril,” and understood “female sexuality as the one powerful weapon of an otherwise unempowered gender.”²⁶⁵ Foucault’s construction of male ethics is quite similar to this reading of Christian gender dynamics. Women “figured only as objects...[to] train, educate, and watch over when one had them under one’s power,” and as such, Law X’s stipulated outcome for married women engaging in interreligious sex

²⁶² Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*, 144.

²⁶³ Ibid., 1441.

²⁶⁴ Ibid., 1442.

²⁶⁵ Joan Young Gregg, *Devils, Women, and Jews: Reflections of the Other in Medieval Sermon Stories* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997), 85.; Gregg, 97.

factors into a gendered sex-power dynamic just as it factors into the greater institutional power structure forbidding interreligious sex. That both Title XXIV Law IX and Title XXV Law X both feature death (for Muslim men) or loss of power, property, status, or eventually life (for Christian women) reveals the uniformity of the institutional sex-power discourse and the ways in which “the exercise of power” is “formulated in terms of law.”²⁶⁶ The *Siete Partidas*, in their punishing of Christian women and emphasis on the spiritual marriage of a Christian woman and Christ, contribute to a maintenance of the gendered power structure of Christianity. In their punishing of Jews and Muslims, the *Partidas* reinforce the authority and power that Christians have over Spanish Jews and Muslims both legally and sexually.

The municipal laws in the *Fueros de Sepúlveda*, a law code confirmed in 1076 by Alfonso VI de León, feature a similar condemnation. Title 68, “Of the Muslim that is found with a Christian woman” is perhaps the best example of this.²⁶⁷ Reminiscent of the *Siete Partidas*, and nearly identical to its Jewish-Christian counterpart in title 71, title 68 determines the appropriate course of action to persecute a Muslim found having sex with a Christian woman, with a few notable differences from the far broader *Siete Partidas*.

The law in its entirety is as follows:

Furthermore, all Muslims that are found with Christian women are put down [thrown from a cliff], and she is burned; And if they deny that it wasn’t done, proving with two Christians and with a Muslim, who know it in truth or saw it, carries out the justice. Just as aforementioned.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁶ Foucault, *The History of Sexuality Volume 1*, 84.; Ibid., 87.

²⁶⁷ Saez Emilio et al., eds., *Los fueros de Sepúlveda: edición crítica y apéndice documental*, Publicaciones históricas de la Excma. Diputación Provincial de Segovia. Ser. 1, Colección de Documentos para la Historia de Segovia ; 1 (Segovia, 1953), 89. “Titulo [69] De cómo deve acotar el christiano al moro.” My translation.

²⁶⁸ *Los fueros de Sepúlveda*, 89. “Otrossí, todo moro que con christiana fallaren sea despennado et ella quemada ; et si lo negare que lo non fizo, provádoio con dos christianos et con un moro, que lo saben en verdat o que lo vieron, sea complida la iusticia, assí como sobredicho es.” My translation. See n71 for the translation “thrown from a cliff.”

As with the *Siete Partidas*, a Muslim caught with a Christian woman is put to death. The first of two particularly prominent differences arises in the execution of the Christian woman. While the *Partidas* call for a woman's death only after her second instance of sex with a Muslim, this title immediately calls for the woman to be burned. Interestingly, the Sepúlveda title makes no mention of the woman's marital status, leaving the husband's role in her execution undefined. Nonetheless, the husband's exclusion here, whether meaningful or not, relays a feeling of greater severity for interreligious sex in Sepúlveda. Whereas a woman could potentially be released or spared in the *Partidas*, there is no such mercy available to the woman in Title 68. Title 71, "Of the Jew that is found with a Christian woman" has a nearly identical composition to Title 68, only with a Jewish man found guilty instead of a Muslim man and with a Jew needed to corroborate an account for punishment instead of a Muslim.²⁶⁹

The *Los Fueros de Sepúlveda* also convey a similar fear of interreligious intimacy between Christians and Jews seen in title 71, "Of the Jew that is found with a Christian woman."²⁷⁰ The law in its entirety is as follows:

All Jews found with a Christian woman are put down [thrown from a cliff], and she burned; if they deny that it wasn't done, proving with two Christians and one Jew, that they know the truth or saw it, carries out the justice, just as aforementioned.²⁷¹

²⁶⁹ *Los fueros de Sepúlveda*, 90. "Título [71]. Del iudío que con christiana fallaren." My translation.

²⁷⁰ "Título 71. Del iudío que con christiana falleren" *Los Fueros de Sepúlveda : Edicion Critica y Apendice Documental.*, Publicaciones Históricas de La Excma. Diputación Provincial de Segovia. Ser. 1, Colección de Documentos Para La Historia de Segovia: 1 ([publisher not identified], 1953), 90.

²⁷¹ "Todo iudío con christiana fallaren sea despennado et/y ella quemada; si lo negare que lo non fizo, provándogelo con dos christianos et/y con un iudío, que lo saben en verdat o lo vieron, sea complida la iusticia, así como robredicho es." *Los Fueros de Sepúlveda : Edicion Critica y Apendice Documental.*, Publicaciones Históricas de La Excma. Diputación Provincial de Segovia. Ser. 1, Colección de Documentos Para La Historia de Segovia: 1 ([publisher not identified], 1953), 90.

This method of execution is a suggested translation from Emma Montanos Ferrin, "Specific Aspects of Coexistence among Jews and Muslims in Medieval Spain: Between *iura propria* and *ius commune*" in *Jewish-Muslim Relations: Historical and Contemporary Interactions and Exchanges*, ed., Ednan Aslan and Margaret Rausch (Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 2019), 124.

As with the *Siete Partidas*, any Jew found having sex with a Christian is put to death, suggesting that the *Siete Partidas* are not a result of intensified persecution in the later period, nor solely relegated to royal legislation. Like the *Siete Partidas*, the very existence of this law suggests that Jewish-Christian sex was widespread enough to warrant repeated legislation. This law also ties together sexuality and power. Legislation, in a foucauldian framework, can act as a device that both “isolat[es]” sexuality while also “stimulating and provoking it” and “forming it into focuses of attention discourse, and pleasure.”²⁷² The laws of the *Siete Partidas* and *Los Fueros de Sepúlveda* both condemn Jewish-Christian sex *and* draw attention to its existence and frequency. This paradox is a staple of the foucauldian intimacy of medieval Spain: sexuality is at once illicit, taboo, unspeakable, and given intense, legislated attention.

These titles are situated within the same power-sex dynamics for non-Christians as those mentioned in the *Siete Partidas* but have a markedly different outcome for the Christian woman who has sex with a non-Christian. Instead of a loss of property or being given to one’s husband for punishment, the Christian woman in the *fueros* is immediately put to death by burning. It could be that this specification and immediate punishment is due to a stronger condemnation of interreligious sex in Sepúlveda, but there is no additional evidence to suggest this. Regardless, it is clear that the aforementioned fear of women’s sexuality undermining the stability of Christian society, paired with the fear of Jews and Muslims sexually dominating and infiltrating Christendom.

²⁷² Foucault, *The History of Sexuality Volume I: An Introduction*, 72.

While sexuality and illicit sex clearly demonstrate instances of paradoxical intimacy in medieval Spain, non-sexual intimacy similarly reveal the ways interreligious interactions could operate in discourse of power and pleasure. Bathing is perhaps the greatest example of this intimacy as bathing was religiously charged and heavily legislated because bathhouses were a sites that could inspire both fear and arousal in their capacity for interreligious interactions. Olivia Remie Constable, in “Cleanliness and *Convivencia*: Jewish Bathing Culture in Medieval Spain” from *Jews, Christians and Muslims in Medieval and Early Modern Times: A Festschrift in Honor of Mark R. Cohen* demonstrates the various ways that bathing and bathhouse legislation explain non-sexual interreligious intimacy. Bathing in Christian Iberia was heavily influenced by the Andalusí period and borrowed heavily from Islamic bathing customs, seen most immediately in the presence of public bathhouses.²⁷³ These bathhouses, which Constable demonstrates were common enough to warrant presence in multiple travelogues and geographic chronicles, could be spaces for interreligious interaction.²⁷⁴ This can be seen during the Andalusí period, where there were “no rulings regarded mixed or segregated bathing” in legal texts.²⁷⁵ Post-Reconquest bathhouses were just as common, with municipal records, economic records, and municipal *fueros* indicating continued use not only of the existing Andalusí bathhouses, but of newer bathhouses built by Christians.²⁷⁶ Constable’s work indicates a sense of interreligious acculturation and accepted public intimacy in Islamic Spain. The religious connotations behind bathing for Jewish people

²⁷³ Olivia Remie Constable, “Cleanliness and *Convivencia*: Jewish Bathing Culture in Medieval Spain” in *Jews, Christians and Muslims in Medieval and Early Modern Times: A Festschrift in Honor of Mark R. Cohen*, ed. Arnold E. Franklin, et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 258.

²⁷⁴ Constable, *To Live Like a Moor*, 90.

²⁷⁵ Constable, “Cleanliness and *Convivencia*,” 259.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 261.

and Muslims, as well as the continued use of bathhouses in the Christian period by Christians, also seem to accept this form of acculturation, but in a much more strictly legislated manner. During the Christian period, laws regarding segregated baths and bathing times as discussed below indicate that bathing affected gendered, religious, and sexual regulation. Shared bathing habits indicate that Christians (and to a lesser extent Jewish people) acculturated to Islamic customs and were therefore intimate with Islamic culture.²⁷⁷

James F. Powers also explores Spanish bathing culture in his article, “Frontier Municipal Baths and Social Interaction in Thirteenth-Century Spain.” Powers, like Constable, remarks that the “public bath-house stands out as a vital social enterprise” and traces the importance of bathing culture in Islam, while also suggesting that Christians adopted this bathing culture as a part of their Roman heritage.²⁷⁸ Unlike Constable, Powers focuses on women and municipal bathing laws concerning women, while also giving similar attention to the intricacies of Jewish-Muslim-Christian bathing. After the conquest of Cuenca and Teruel, Christians “segregated the sexes” in the same way Muslims did, by setting aside different bathing times for men and women.²⁷⁹ Most relevant to the examination of cultural intimacy in Spain is Powers’s discussion of the bathing customs and legislation for Jewish people and Muslims. Powers shows that the Cuenca municipal bathing charters—which stretched across Castile—granted bathing privileges to Jewish people, but not to Muslims, implying that medieval Christian

²⁷⁷ Constable shows that while the Spanish Jewish community was influenced by Islamic bath culture, bathing and cleanliness were inherent parts of Jewish identity as demonstrated by the *mikveh* bathing ritual (257).

²⁷⁸ James F. Powers, “Frontier Municipal Baths and Social Interaction in Thirteenth-Century Spain,” *American Historical Review* 84, no. 3 (1979): 650.

²⁷⁹ Powers, “Frontier Municipal Baths and Social Interaction in Thirteenth-Century Spain,” 657.

Spaniards understood Jewish people as culturally different to Muslims, and legally more deserving of bathing on Fridays and Saturdays.²⁸⁰ The charters of Teruel, Albarrancin, Valencia, and Tortosa, however, permitted both Muslims and Jewish people to use bathhouses, with Valencia and Tortosa specifically allowing bath house use “without express limitation as to time and day.”²⁸¹ The stringency of Christian bathing laws, Powers suggests, evidence Christian anxieties about interreligious interactions and possible interreligious sex or intimacy.²⁸² Being an intimate space and an intimate action, bathhouses and bathing could potentially allow for “an acculturation process that could integrate” Christian, Muslim, and Jewish cultures. This in turn, could “encourage cultural diffusion through contact.”²⁸³ This is a unique interpretation of Christian intimacy anxieties, and differs from more militaristic interpretations of this anxiety, which generally posit a fear of apocalypse or Christian subjugation.²⁸⁴ Powers’s analysis of municipal bathhouses ultimately understands bathhouses as spaces that created “special opportuniti[es] for acculturation” while also generating “hostilities and suspicions” due to the intimate nature of the houses.

The legislation of bathhouses in later period, Christian Spain can further push Constable’s and Powers’s analyses into the realm of the ‘intimate’ instead of Convivencia or acculturation. As established by Constable and Powers, medieval Spanish bathhouses were regulated to ensure people of different sexes and religions bathed on specific days. The *Fuero de Teruel*, law 319 “Regarding the Baths,” specifies general bathers on “the

²⁸⁰ Ibid., 661.

²⁸¹ Ibid.,

²⁸² Ibid., 663.

²⁸³ Ibid., 665.

²⁸⁴ For more, see: Brett E. Whalen, *Dominion of God: Christendom and Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009).

day of Tuesday and the day of Thursday and Saturday,” while women “furthermore use the bath on the days of Monday and the days of Wednesday.”²⁸⁵ Rape, sexual assault and virginity are likely the reason for the gender division in this law, with Constable referencing the Synod of Guadix and its recommendation that baths close at night “in order to prevent “offenses and abominations.””²⁸⁶

This law continues to legislate non-Christian bathing, stipulating that “if the Jews or the Muslims bathe on another day, not on the day of Friday [their designated bathing day], any of the [offending] bathers pay 30 *sueudos* to the judge or the magistrates,” suggesting that the non-sexual proximity between Jews, Muslims, and Christians of the same gender was of similar concern to sexual assault and sexual mixing.²⁸⁷

Legislation on bathhouses reflects these ideas and blurs the line between the sexual and non-sexual. The *Fuero de Coria* (ca. 1208-1210) contains a law pertaining not only to the regulation of bathing days—presumably to avoid illicit encounters—but also more mundane regulation, like the cost of entering a bathhouse for licit bathing. Like the *Fuero de Teruel*, women in the *Fuero de Coria* are only allowed to bathe on certain days. In law 118, “Of the women who enter the baths”, the *fuero* stipulates that “women enter [use] the baths on the day of Sunday, on the day of Tuesday, the day of Thursday” while

²⁸⁵ “El Fuero de Teruel (Édition Critique)” ed. Max Gorosch (Stockholm, Almqvist & Wicksell, 1950), WorldCat.org, <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:su:diva-74896> urn:nbn:se:su:diva-74896, 225. My translation. “Encara, los bannyadores eayan al bannyo comunal mjentre en el día del martes et en el día del juenes et del sábado, segunt del fuero. Mas las mugeres otrosí uayan al uannyo en el día del lunes et del mjércoles”

²⁸⁶ Constable, *To Live Like a Moor*, 65.

²⁸⁷ “El Fuero de Teruel (Édition Critique),” 225. My Translation. “Otrosí, si los judíso o los moros en otro día se bannyarán sino en el día del ujernes, qual qujere de los bannyantes peche XXX sueudos al júdez...”

men “enter it on the other days,” with a penalty of a *maravedi* if a man enters the baths “from dawn to dusk” on the women-bathing days.²⁸⁸

A similar law in the *Fueros de Sepúlveda*, Law 111, titled “Of the baths,” records both gendered and religiously organized bath schedules. Any “man that enters the baths on the women’s day...pays ten *maravedi*” with a similar penalty in place for women who enter the bath on the men’s day.²⁸⁹ This law then legislates the movement of Jews, with any “Christian [who] enters the baths on the Jewish day” and any Jew who enters on a Christian day, are not protected from harm by the group legally occupying the bathhouse.²⁹⁰

The gendered and religious divisions of medieval Spanish bathhouses suggests an institutional fear of sexuality—whether licit between a man and woman of the same religion or illicit with interreligious sex—that affected the ways individuals could interact with one another. Constable, in her analysis of bathing in *To Live Like a Moor: Christian Perceptions of Muslim Identity in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, references a synod at Lérida in 1280 which “promised excommunication to any Christian who shared the bathhouse with a Muslim bather.”²⁹¹ Taken in conjunction with the aforementioned *Siete Partidas* law VIII in title XXIV, which orders that “no Jews shall fare to bathe in company with Christians,” it can be argued that bathing and bathhouses, though generally

²⁸⁸ *El Fuero de Coria* (Instituto de Estudios de Administración Local, 1949), 44. My translation. “Las mugieres entren en banno en día del domingo, en día del martes, el día del jueves; e los varones entren en los otros días. Todo ome que entrare en banno el día de las mugieres de sol a sol, peche un maravedi al conçejo; e así lo fagan las mugieres”

²⁸⁹ *Los fueros de Sepúlveda*, 103. My translation. “Otrossí, si el varón entrare en el banno el día de las mugeres, o en alguna casa del banno, peche X mrs. Otrossí, si alguna muger entrare en el banno el día de los varones, o la fallaren y de noche, y la escarneçieren o la forçaren, non pechen por ende calonna ninguna, ni salga enemigo...”

²⁹⁰ *Los fueros de Sepúlveda*, 103. My translation. “Otrossí, si christiano entrare en banno el día de los iudíos o el iudío el día de los christianos, y los iudíos firieren al christiano o los christianos al iudío, o lo mataren, non aya callonna ninguna.”

²⁹¹ Constable, *To Live Like a Moor*, 82.

nonsexual actions and generally nonsexual spaces, were conceived of as sexually-charged and subjected to legislation and regulation, just like laws about interreligious sex. Fears of interreligious intimacy created a Christian macroform that exercised power over sex “in a uniform and comprehensive manner” that operated “according to the simple and endlessly reproduced mechanisms of law, taboo, and censorship” with enforcement ranging from “state to family.”²⁹² For an intimate Christian Spain, bathing was regulated exhaustively, in part due to the suspicion that bathhouses were a site for interreligious sexuality. These regulations were reproduced frequently throughout reigns and regions, all as a way to enforce the Christian macroform in institutional manners—like the regulation of prices and schedules—and in interpersonal manners as an attempt to dissuade sex.

The way that these laws—the *Fuero de Coria*, the *Fuero de Teruel*, the *Fueros de Sepúlveda*, and the *Siete Partidas*—enforced bathing schedules and outlined punishments for transgressions, suggests that these laws were concerned with “transgression and punishment” as to how they related to the “interplay of licit and illicit.”²⁹³ Christian-Christian sex is licit, but becomes illicit if a Christian man enters the bathhouse on the day for Christian women. Christian-male and Jewish-female sex is legally licit but becomes illicit if she enters the bathhouse on a Christian men’s day.

The licit made illicit is present throughout all macroform regulation, including the Christian legislation that governs foodways, trade, markets, and other general, public interactions. Akin to *ḥisba* style legislation, Christian public regulation can demonstrate interreligious intimacy operating within a restrictive macroform. In the case of municipal

²⁹² Foucault, *The History of Sexuality* Vol. 1, 84.

²⁹³ *Ibid.*, 85.

law, the *Fuero de Cuenca* (ca. 1190) reveals the way that public interpersonal interactions between Muslims, Jews, and Christians were regulated in Castilian frontier towns. Frontier towns like Cuenca, which hosted large Muslim and Jewish populations, were intensely regulated to reinforce the Christian macroform. On the public level, the *Fuero de Cuenca* legislates foodways to a violent extent, with anyone who “sells or gives weapons or food to the Muslims...hurled from the city’s cliffs.”²⁹⁴

David Freidenreich explored the ways that food could act as a site of interreligious interaction and power in his article “Food-Related Interaction Among Christians, Muslims, and Jews in High and Late Medieval Latin Christendom,” wherein he argued that “buying, preparing and eating food...forge a sense of community” that frequently involved individuals outside of one’s own religious group.²⁹⁵ This can be seen in Jewish law, for instance, where there was a “strong impetus for meat-related interaction between Jews and their (frequently Christian) neighbors” so that all parts of an animal were eaten and the kosher meat did not increase in price due to waste, a point that Constable echoes in her own work.²⁹⁶ Being an essential part of daily life, food transcends the particular boundaries emphasized in the Christian macroform, to the extent that its regulation could punish transgressions with death. The Council of Vannes (465) shows an early form of this regulation and “repeatedly forbade [Christians from] sharing meals with Jews or Muslims, expressing concern that such behavior undermines the Christian faith.”²⁹⁷ Jewish authorities quickly followed suit with this forbiddance, citing

²⁹⁴ “Fuero de Cuenca” transl. James F. Powers in *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Sources* ed. Olivia Remie Constable (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 223.

²⁹⁵ David M. Freidenreich, “Food-Related Interaction Among Christians, Muslims, and Jews in High and Late Medieval Latin Christendom,” *History Compass* 11, no. 11 (2003): 958.

²⁹⁶ Freidenreich, 959.; Constable, *To Live Like a Moor*, 119.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 961.

that sharing meals was “conducive to fostering relations that might result in mixed marriages.”²⁹⁸

The severity of punishment in the *Fuero de Cuenca*, taken in conjunction with the idea of food as a means to acculturate and intermarry, fits into an intimate framework. Despite intense institutional legislation, individuals of different religions have intersecting foodways and engage with one another to make these foodways more accessible, as with Freidenreich’s description of meat-related interaction. Constable too has shown the ways in which interreligious food interactions were defined by “pragmatism, consumerism, and inconsistent legislation,” with Jaume I prohibiting the sale of meat by any Christian, Jew, or Muslim in 1249, and the later 1359 Synod of Tortosa inconsistently and “explicitly allow[ing] Christians to buy meat from Jewish and Muslim butchers.”²⁹⁹

The realm of food blurs the distinction between private intimacy and public intimacy. While certain degrees of interreligious intimacy might be admissible in private—such as a Christian man sleeping with an enslaved Muslim woman—public intimacy threatened the strength of the macroform through subversion of both church doctrine and secular legislation that forbade intimacy. Food straddles this line between admissible and forbidden as seen with Constable’s note about the inconsistency of foodway legislation. The blurring of private, public, admissible and forbidden creates a complex environment that centered power as a way of navigating interreligious interactions.

²⁹⁸ Ibid.,.

²⁹⁹ Constable, *To Live Like a Moor*, 116.; Ibid., 121.

This is clearly displayed by María Fuente's aforementioned article, where she shows how women maintained their own religious rites and traditions as a way to control and preserve culture in private spaces while engaging with and acculturating to women of other religions in public. In fact, Fuente, using legal cases, shows how "daily custom and religious tradition" were so "intimately connected" that "there was some confusion between the two," citing a case of a woman named Isabel López.³⁰⁰ Isabel, who was "accused of preparing meat according to the Jewish custom," defended herself from the accusations by asserting that the practice was "more a matter of sanitation than a crime or heretical transgression."³⁰¹ The blurring between public and private intimacy, and the illicit nature of Isabel's food transgressions, indicates interpersonal micro-relations that challenged the established authority of the macroform. An intimate reading Fuente's work, and Isabel specifically, suggests that Isabel and her Jewish neighbor—intentionally or otherwise—engaged in microform resistance. Their interactions, like sharing sanitary customs for meat, challenged the Christian macroform's exercise of power which forbade intersections between foodways.³⁰²

Foodways could act as a contestation of Christian power. The cultural mixing and the blending between private and public food customs threaten the hegemony and strength of Christian culture, and therefore the stability of the Christian macroform. Isabel López's engagement with Jewish custom made her suspect to a macroform that emphasized uniformity and cohesion with Christian doctrine and legislation. The severity

³⁰⁰ Ibid., 325.

³⁰¹ Ibid.,. It is unclear if Isabel learned this practice from a Jewish woman, from another Christian who learned from a Jewish woman, or if the cleaning in question was halakhic at all.

³⁰² For more on micro-relations acting as microform resistance to macroforms, see: Foucault, *The History of Sexuality* Vol. 1, 94-6.

of foodways as paths for interreligious intimacy were such that the *Fuero de Cuenca* punished those selling food to Muslims with death. The *Fuero de Cuenca* and Isabel López reveal the extent to which public, non-sexual intimacy threatened Christian rule and expressed a Christian fear of acculturation and casual interreligious interaction.

For Christian Spain, macroform power dictated the way individuals could legally engage with one another in both the private and public spheres. Despite intense institutional regulation from legal sources—such as municipal *fueros* and the *Siete Partidas*—and religious sources—such as the Jewish Kiddushin law, the Qur'an or the 1215 Fourth Lateran Council—individuals of different religions interacted with each other in intimate ways. Sexually and privately, interreligious intimacy reveals the way that microlevel relations operated even when prohibited.

The legal and religious regulation of interreligious sexuality reveals a contradictory manner of classifying licit and illicit encounters. Interreligious sex between Jews and Muslims did not threaten the Christian macroform of power, and so the sexually suggestive poetry from Todros ben Judah Halevi Abulafia was considered permissible by Christian authorities while it was potentially suspect to Jewish authorities like Rabbi Moses of Coucy. The case of Oro de Par similarly reflects a complex web power that saw individual communities regulating themselves in a series of microrelations that intersected with the regulations of the greater Christian macroform. The conflicting means of power and regulation extended to interreligious sex with Christians. Only sex with Christian women was explicitly legislated from codes like the *Siete Partidas*, pointing to a gendered understanding of illicit sexuality and penetration that is reinforced by the story of Aliscend de Tolba and the Muslim shepherd Aytola.

Non-sexual intimacy, too, was governed according to the power needs of the Christian macroform, with dress, bathing, and foodways manifesting as public forms of interreligious intimacy and acculturation that needed to be regulated to maintain Christian power. The *Siete Partidas* and the Fourth Lateran Council show a fear of acculturation through dress, with dress indicating not only the religious identity of an individual, but their place and power in the macroform. Food operated in a similar way, with Isabel López's preparation of meat suggesting a kind of public intimacy with Jewish women, either by Isabel herself, or by other Christians Isabel interacted with. While dress signaled visual acculturation, foodways represented a deeper and habitual acculturation that undermined the macroform's cohesion and standards for daily life meant to reinforce its own power.

Bathing straddled the line between sexual and non-sexual intimacy for medieval Christians and was heavily legislated to prevent both interreligious sex and forms of acculturation through habit as revealed by the Synod of Guadix. The *Fueros de Sepúlveda* and *Fuero de Teruel*, show how bathing was legislated in both gendered and religious ways, with the Christian macroform reinforcing the impermissibility of intimate interaction through religious regulation like the Synod of Guadix and giving fines to individuals who entered bathhouses on days not assigned to their gender. In an intimate framework, this intense regulation of non-sexual action relates to the foucauldian discipline of action and the body. With Jews and Muslims being religiously suspect, the Christian "control of activities," through legislation is exacerbated, creating a macroform

that discordantly legislated mundane, non-sexual behaviors as if they were sexual and illicit.³⁰³

Despite institutional power dynamics in Christian Spain, interreligious interactions—both sexual and non-sexual—occurred and subverted the macroform's regulation. People of different religions still had sex with one another, as seen with Oro de Par. The repeated dress legislation from the Fourth Lateran Council and the many *cortes* throughout the 13th and 14th century suggest that Jews, Christians, and Muslims dressed alike even when prohibited legally and religiously. Similarly, the fixation on segregated bathing implies a Christian fixation with stopping sexual and non-sexual acculturation in intimate spaces, with repeated legislation potentially suggesting repeated offenses of non-segregated bathing. Foodways, too, resisted regulation, with figures like Isabel López contravening both Christian and Jewish doctrine as well as municipal law and secular kingdom legislation. Christian Spain was filled with interreligious intimacy despite widespread institutional governance and expressions of the Christian macroform's power.

³⁰³ Lynch, 30.

Conclusion

The tendency to classify medieval Spain in both the Islamic and Christian periods as a place of total tolerance or complete oppression undermines the complexity of the period, the macroform space, and the individuals. Limiting human interactions to representations of Convivencia or anti-Convivencia ignores the potential for nuance, shades of grey, and human complexity. Just as great hatred exists alongside great camaraderie and toleration in modernity, acts of institutional violence against religious minorities in medieval Spain could exist alongside compassionate or friendly interpersonal interactions.

Utilizing theories of power can explain this discrepancy. Intimacy as a critical framework inspired by the works of Michel Foucault situates interreligious interactions within a matrix of power, control, and physicality. Sexuality is perhaps the best manifestation of how the power of the governing macroform expresses itself into all facets of life, with Ann Stoler describing sexuality and sexual desire as something that “transgressed...boundaries [and] incited prurient desires” in individuals.³⁰⁴ Just as the intimacy of colonial Java transgressed the boundaries of the ruling Dutch, so too did individuals in medieval Spain, even when the issue of interreligious sexuality became “a public issue” as a means of control and the consolidation of power.

The implicit and explicit violence of institutional expressions of power—such as those of the *Hisba Manual*, Islamic jurist constructions of masculine ethics, the *Siete Partidas*, and municipal *fueros*—serve to “relocate the intimacies,” in this case, of interreligious interactions, into “nondomestic space as they are open to intimate injuries

³⁰⁴ Stoler, 11.

of a wholly different affective register.”³⁰⁵ An intimate framework, as posited by Stoler, allows for the blend of public and private spaces, seen in the heavy legislation of women’s movement in the *Hisba Manual* and the strict specifications of bathhouse use in municipal *fueros*. Expressions of macroform power necessitate the intense regulation of private and public spaces and of both licit and illicit actions as a way to reinforce the macroform’s power and stability.

For medieval Spanish macroforms, intimacy was an “immediate violation” of the religious doctrine and legal regulation, “and...crushingly close” as a result of the sustained contact between Christians, Jews, and Muslims in both the Islamic and Christian periods.³⁰⁶ The fear that arose from intimate interreligious interactions manifested as strict and violent governance to defend against threats to hegemonic power, “either external or internal, to the population and for the population.”³⁰⁷

In Islamic Spain, interreligious intimacy—market relations, sex, and family structures—were set against a backdrop of strict legislation and masculine ethics as defined by Islamic jurists. Illicit micro-relations between individuals still thrived despite both Christian and Islamic doctrine forbidding or dissuading interreligious sex and family. Intercommunity relations too resisted regulation, with Samuel the Nagid ibn Nagrela rising to vizier of the taifa king Bādīs, despite the prohibition in the Pact of Umar. The blurring of public and private spheres, as seen in the *Hisba Manual* which legislated how individuals could move and interact with one another in marketplaces and

³⁰⁵ Ibid., xvii.

³⁰⁶ Ibid., xxiii.

³⁰⁷ Foucault, “Society Must be Defended,” 256. While Foucault classifies this imperative as an expression of biopower—due to the racial analysis present in this particular essay—it is more accurately described as a religionized power in medieval Spain, with an early form of a biopower system coming into play with the growing racialization of religious groups in the late 15th century and onward.

public spaces, but also the “moral administration of the city” more generally, a facet of the manual that extended into private spaces.³⁰⁸ Power expressions and power dynamics permeated into all social interactions and into every level of society of Islamic Spain, and created a macroform that regulated the actions of individuals, communities, and institutions in order to reinforce the Islamic rule and doctrine.

A similar kind of power-oriented regulation described Christian Spain. Intimacy could take the form of poetry, sex, bathing, market relations and foodways, and dress and was repeatedly legislated by both secular law codes and religious doctrine. Todros ben Judah Halevi Abulafia’s racy poetry reflects the way that intercommunity sexuality—between Jews and Muslims—could exist and be considered institutionally licit if it did not threaten the macroform. Similarly reflected in the lack of legislation in the *Siete Partidas*, a Christian man sleeping with a Muslim or Jewish woman allows for the continued power of Christian rule through the alleged power associated with penetration. Instances that did threaten macroform power were strictly legislated even when involving non-sexual intimacy, such as blurred foodways as seen in the *Fuero de Cuenca* and clothing choices seen in the thirteenth century *cortes*. Bathing, too, threatened the power structure of Christian Spain, with bathhouses strictly legislated to prevent their use as a potential site for interreligious sex, casual interaction, or violence.

Beyond microform interactions, architectural analysis reveals that the power dynamics and expressions of institutional power could convey a sense of intimacy between artistic styles while also reflecting the prohibitions of the macroform. Acculturation can be challenging to determine by law codes alone as it is impossible to

³⁰⁸ Constable, *Medieval Iberia*, 227.

determine the exact extent to which individuals challenged or subverted restrictive laws. With architecture, however, degrees of artistic acculturation are visually apparent in spite of legislation like the *Siete Partidas* which restricted construction for Muslims and Jews in Christian Spain. In both public spaces, like the Sinagoga de Córdoba, and private spaces, like the Real Alcázar de Seville, artistic intimacy is exhibited through architecture and shows how conquest and acculturation can blur in a restrictive macroform.

Intimacy acts as “a descriptive marker of the familiar, and the essential” and operates within a greater macroform even when strictly prohibited and widely legislated³⁰⁹ Licit and illicit actions and public and private spheres become blurred in an intimate framework and are legislated by a ruling power that seeks to reinforce its own rule and institutional power. In medieval Spain, a theoretical analysis of power reveals the interpersonal and intimate ways that Muslims, Jews, and Christians interacted with one another, even in the face of restrictive legislation.

³⁰⁹ Stoler, 9.

Figures:



Fig. 1. Ross Burns, Umayyad Mosque in Damascus, prayer hall from the west. 2014. Color photograph. <www.monumentsofsyria.com> This is the interior of the Great Umayyad Mosque at Damascus. Composite capitals, similar to those of Ephesus and the Madīnat az-Zahrā are seated at either end of horseshoe arches.



Fig. 2: Morrison, Hero. “Arquería ciega decorativa.” Color photograph. Córdoba, Spain. Madīnat az-Zahrā collection. Composite-style capital, white marble carved with trepan, dated to 972-973 AD. December, 2021.³¹⁰

³¹⁰ Epigraphic: In the name of Allah complete blessings of Allah, general health, perennial glory and continuing joy for the Imam, the servant of Allah, al-Hakam- al-Mustanşir bi-Llāh, Prince of Believers. May Allah lengthen his stay! [This is] what he ordered made.



Fig. 3: Morrison, Hero. Color photograph. Córdoba, Spain. Madīnat az-Zahrā collection. Decorative blind arcade made out of limestone and carved with chisel, dated to 944-945 AD. December, 2021.



Fig. 4: Meskens, Ad. “Composite capital with acanthus leaves.” Ephesus, Greece. 2008. Color Photograph.
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Corinthian_capital1.jpg#/media/File:Corinthian_capital1.jpg (accessed January 25, 2022).



Fig. 5. Construction begun in mid-10th century; destroyed in 1010. Cruciform Garden.
https://library.artstor.org/asset/ASITESPHOTOIG_10312742348. (accessed January 20, 2022).

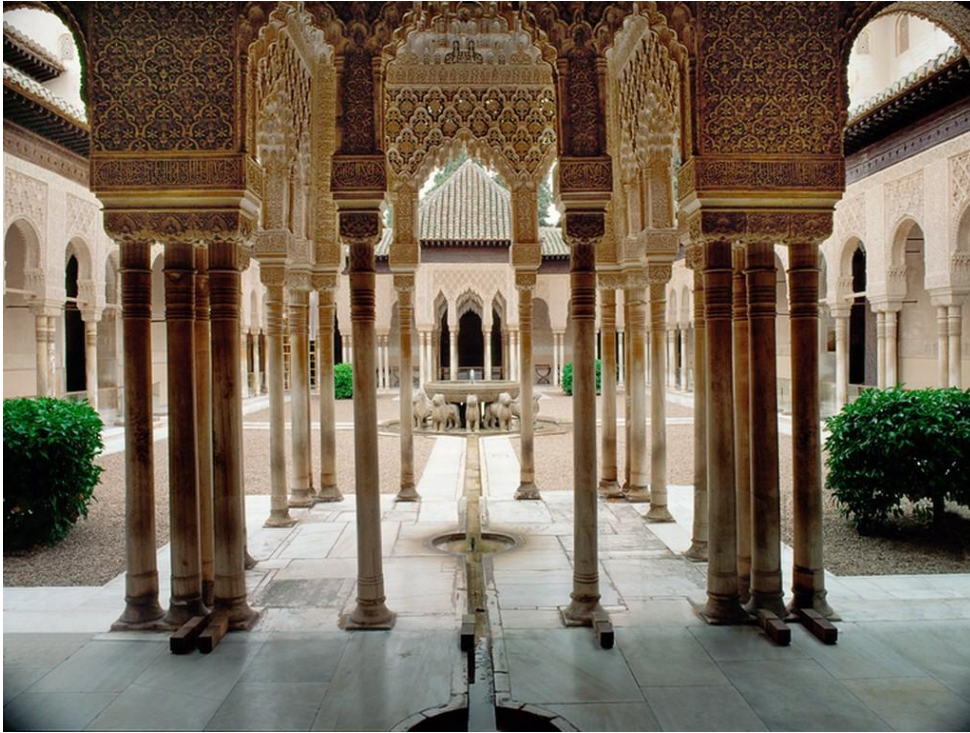
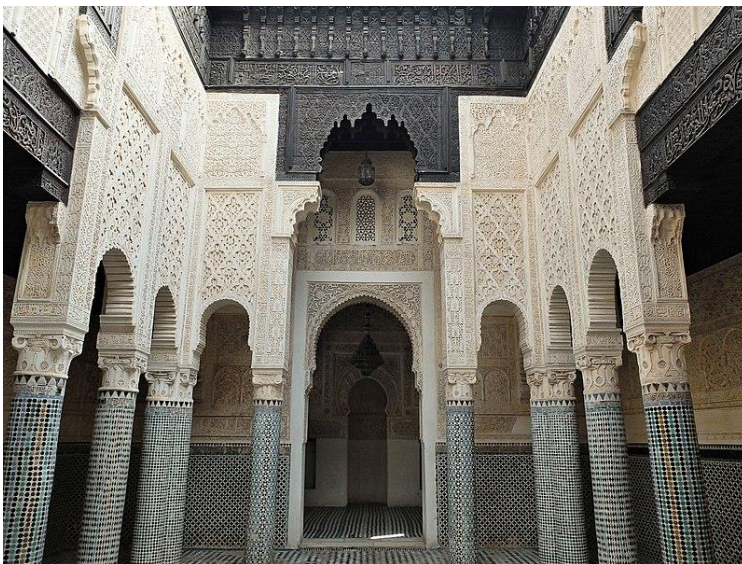


Fig. 6. *Alhambra: Court of the Lions*. n.d. Images.
<https://jstor.org/stable/community.18121810>. (accessed January 20, 2022).



(fig. 7. Prazeres, R. “Courtyard of the Madrasa of Abu al-Hasan, Marinid period, in Salé. Looking towards the mihrab (middle).” Color photograph. Salé, Morocco. 2014. Wikimedia Commons.
 <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sal%C3%A9_Madrasa_DSCF6645.jpg>
 (accessed March 3, 2021).



Fig. 8. Morrison, Hero. “La Sinagoga de Santa María la Blanca.” Color photograph. Toledo, Spain. December, 2021.



Fig. 9, Morrison, Hero. "Santa María la Blanca Capitals." Color photograph. Toledo, Spain. December, 2021.



Fig. 10. "Sinagoga de Córdoba wall." Color photograph. Córdoba, Spain. December, 2021.

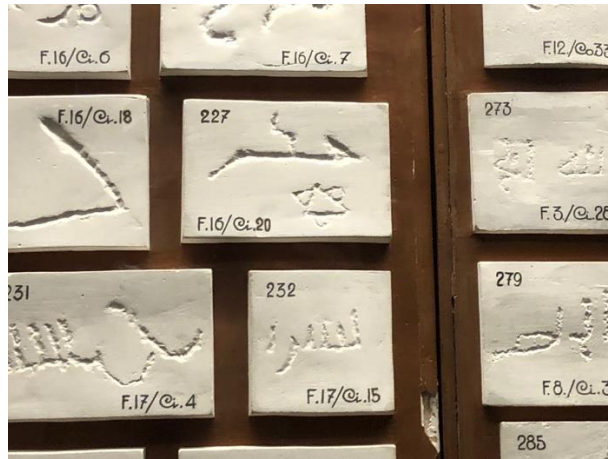


Fig. 11.1. Morrison, Hero. “Mezquita-Catedral Maker Marks.” Color photograph. Córdoba, Spain. December, 2021.³¹¹



Fig. 11.2. Morrison, Hero. “Mezquita-Catedral Maker Marks.” Color photograph. Córdoba, Spain. December, 2021.³¹²

³¹¹ Maker mark 227 F.16 has a Star of David carved into it.

³¹² Maker mark 255 f.16 has what may be a cross carved into it.



Fig. 12. Morrison, Hero. “Mezquita-Catedral Arches.” Color photograph. Córdoba, Spain. December, 2021.



Fig. 13. Morrison, Hero. “Mezquita-Catedral Capital.” Color photograph. Córdoba, Spain. December, 2021.



Fig. 14. Morrison, Hero. “Mezquita-Catedral Mihrāb.” Color photograph. Córdoba, Spain. December, 2021.



Fig. 15. Morrison, Hero. “Mezquita del Cristo de la Luz, outer façade with interlacing arches.” Color photograph. Toledo, Spain. December, 2021.



Fig. 16. Filpo Cabana, José Luis. "Patio Árabe, Palacio de Pedro I de Castilla (Tordesillas)." Color photograph. 2017. Wikimedia Commons.
<[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Patio %C3%81rabe, Palacio de Pedro I de Castilla \(Tordesillas\).](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Patio_%C3%81rabe,_Palacio_de_Pedro_I_de_Castilla_(Tordesillas).)> Accessed April 30, 2021.



Fig. 17. F. Tronchin, Tetrastyle atrium, room 44, Villa San Marco, Stabiae. 2012. Color photograph. <<https://www.flickr.com/photos/frenchieb/7938041328>.> Accessed March 24, 2022.



Fig. 18. Pérez. “Tordesillas Monasterio Santa Clara fachada.” Color photograph. Wikimedia Commons. <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:01_Tordesillas_Monasterio_Santa_Clara_fachada_Ni.JPG.> (accessed April 5, 2021).

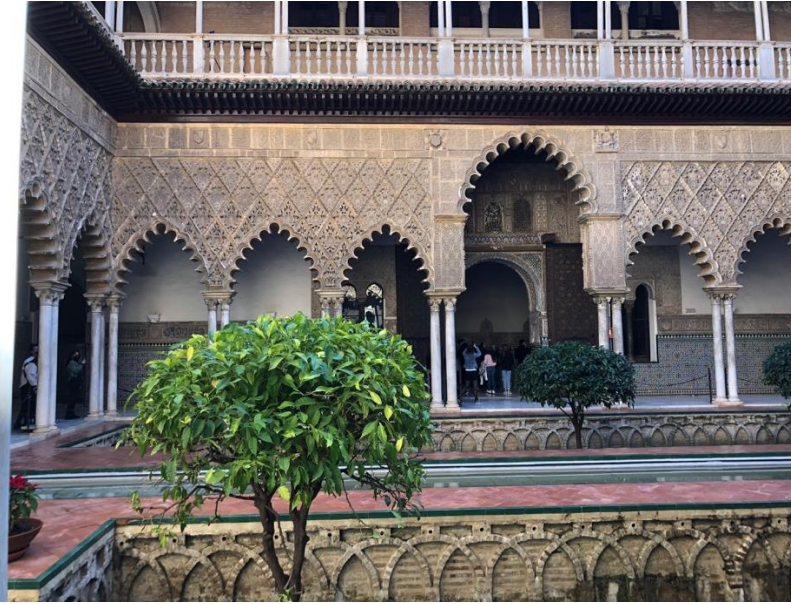


Fig. 19. Morrison, Hero. "The Patio de las Doncellas at the The Real Alcázar de Seville." Color photograph. Seville, Spain. December 2021.

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