

## MEDIEVAL MUSLIM COMMUNITIES OF THE SIERRA DE ESPADAN, KINGDOM OF VALENCIA

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### MUSLIM MINORITIES IN POST-RECONQUISTA SPAIN

In the years 711–715 almost all of Spain was conquered by Muslim forces composed of Arab leaders and Berber soldiery. By 756 a political structure, centered on Córdoba, had emerged. Repeated immigration of Berbers from the Maghreb<sup>1</sup> and arabization of the Hispano-Roman resident population<sup>2</sup> had, by the late eleventh century, created an overwhelmingly Islamic society in those areas not controlled by the Christian kingdoms of the north. With the disintegration of the Omayyad caliphate of Córdoba into petty principalities after 1021,<sup>3</sup> the Christian Reconquista gathered momentum, leading to the conquest of Toledo in 1085. This provoked Maghrebi intervention and the reorganization of Islamic Spain by dynasties of

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<sup>1</sup>C. E. Dubler, "Über Berbersiedlungen auf der iberischen Halbinsel," *Romanica Helvetica* 20 (1943) 183–196; P. Guichard, *Structures sociales "orientales" et "occidentales" dans l'Espagne musulmane* (Paris 1977).

<sup>2</sup>T. F. Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages* (Princeton 1979) 185–191. R. W. Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period: An Essay in Quantitative History* (Cambridge, Mass. 1979) 114–127, applies Hägerstrand's sigmoidal diffusion curve to the process of conversion. Such a heuristic device renders long-term trends more coherent but, as an explicit model, it also cannot claim to cover each test case adequately. One of the merits of a model is to draw attention to case-specific divergences that demand special attention, and Bulliet's conversion curve for Spain is patently skewed by the data of the Andalusian heartland. The differences for eastern Spain seem to spring from the ineffective Christianization of the backcountry and the weakness of the Christian, urban middle class (M. de Epalza and E. A. Llobregat, "Hubo Mozárabes en tierras valencianas? Proceso de islamización del Levante de la Península (*Sharq al-Andalus*)," *Revista del Instituto de estudios alicantinos* 36 [1982] 7–31). However the Christians of Valencia city demonstrably were a military force to be reckoned with as late as 1094 (siege of El Cid) and 1125–1126 (expedition of Alfonso el Batallador), at which time Bulliet's curve would quite reasonably place conversion between the eighty and ninety percent marks.

<sup>3</sup>W. Hoehnerbach, *Islamische Geschichte Spaniens: Übersetzung der A'māl al-A'lām und ergänzender Texte* (Zurich 1970) 241–259; for eastern Spain, P. Guichard, "La Valencia Musulmana," *Nuestra historia* (Valencia 1980) 2.245–256, and A. Huici Miranda, *Historia musulmana de Valencia y su región* 1 (Valencia 1969).

Berber fundamentalists, the Almoravids and Almohads. The Reconquista was temporarily halted, but during 1212–1265 lower Andalucía was progressively lost to Castile, and in 1229–1248 Aragón incorporated the Balearic Islands and the eastern coastlands from the Ebro to Alicante.<sup>4</sup>

A process of Christian resettlement began, during which the Muslim population either was reduced to a subservient minority or emigrated to North Africa or to the remnant Islamic state of Granada. There is little evidence of sizable Muslim minorities surviving in Castile, although there may well have been some assimilation prior to the fall of the Granadine Kingdom 1485–1492.<sup>5</sup> In Aragón, despite initial Muslim revolts and later pogroms, the crown attempted to implement a pluralistic policy.<sup>6</sup> As a result, when the forcibly converted “Moriscos” of Spain were expelled in 1606–1610, some 130,000 people—representing about 32% of the population of the Kingdom of Valencia—were expatriated, killed, or dispersed.<sup>7</sup> Another 56,000 were expelled from Catalunya and Aragón proper,<sup>8</sup> compared with only 92,000 from all of Castile.<sup>9</sup> The latter were almost exclusively the descendants of Granadine Muslims dispersed across Castile after the bloody revolt of 1568–1570.<sup>10</sup>

Particularly during the century prior to 1609, the teaching of Arabic was not tol-

<sup>4</sup>J. M. Lacarra, ed., *La reconquista española y la repoblación del país* (Zaragoza 1951); S. de Moxó, *Re-población y sociedad en la España cristiana medieval* (Madrid 1979). A. Ubieto Arteta, *Orígenes del Reino de Valencia* (Valencia 1975) 25–29; F. Arroyo Illera, “Blasco de Alagón y el comienzo de la Reconquista valenciana,” *Estudios de edad media de la Corona de Aragón* 11 (1973) 71–99; and M. Gual Camarena, “Precedentes de la Reconquista valenciana,” *Estudios valencianos* 1 (1952) 167–246, deal with the abortive twelfth-century penetration of northern Valencia.

<sup>5</sup>M. A. Ladero Quesada, *Los Mudéjares de Castilla en tiempos de Isabel I* (Valladolid 1969); J. González, in Lacarra (n. 4 above) 163–206; H. Lapeyre, *Géographie de l'Espagne morisque* (Paris 1959) chap. 5; J. Caro Baroja, *Los Moriscos del Reino de Granada* (Madrid 1957).

<sup>6</sup>R. I. Burns, *Islam under the Crusaders: Colonial Survival in the Thirteenth-Century Kingdom of Valencia* (Princeton 1973); idem, *Medieval Colonialism: Postcrusade Exploitation of Islamic Valencia* (Princeton 1975); idem, *Muslims, Christians, and Jews in the Crusader Kingdom of Valencia* (Cambridge 1984); J. Boswell, *The Royal Treasure: Muslim Communities under the Crown of Aragon in the Fourteenth Century* (New Haven 1977); P. Guichard, “Un seigneur musulman dans l'Espagne chrétienne: Le ‘ra’is’ de Crevillente (1243–1318),” *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 9 (1973) 283–333.

<sup>7</sup>Lapeyre (n. 5 above) chap. 2, and F. Udina Martorell and E. Belenguier Cebriá, *La Expulsión de los Moriscos de Valencia y Cataluña según el comisario de embarque Don Cristóbal Sedeño* (Barcelona 1980), have meticulously screened the documentation, and derived a figure of 117,464 embarcations; to this should be added an estimated 500 Moriscos enslaved in the galleys, 5,500 killed in uprisings, 2,000 who fled into the hills, at least 1,000 children held back by the authorities, and about 3,000 illegal embarcations. Three estimates for the total population of Valencia ca. 1600 are 101,792, 96,300 and 92,400 households (J. Reglà, *Estudios sobre los Moriscos* [Valencia 1964] 38), which Lapeyre (op cit.) 25 converts to inhabitants by a factor of 4.5. Lapeyre 23, 30, 203–204 opts for about 30,000 households of Moriscos prior to the expulsion, at a time when he estimates the total population at 96,730 households. Although Udina and Belenguier (above) provide data suggesting 4.9 Moriscos per household, other data would suggest that 4.5 persons per household is a little high; see J. Casey, *The Kingdom of Valencia in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge 1979) 24, 26. Our own study of the seventeenth-century parish registers of Alcudia de Veo and Veo indicates a ratio of 4.5 people per family in 1646, a time of high mortality among the early Christian resettlers. We also assembled data for 90 Muslim families with children emigrating from Aragón 1502–1522, and the number of children averages 2.77 per couple (Archivo del Reino de Valencia, Real Patrimonio [hereafter abbreviated as ARV-Real] 633). The 4.5 figure consequently represents a conservative minimum.

<sup>8</sup>Lapeyre (n. 5 above) chap. 3 (recalculated).

<sup>9</sup>Ibid. 205.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid. 121–130.

erated, and writings in that language or script were repeatedly destroyed.<sup>11</sup> The surviving body of literature provides valuable insights into the culture and mentality of the Muslim minorities, but little information on any single community.<sup>12</sup> On the other hand there is a mass of documentation in various Spanish archives dealing with the externalities of Muslim *convivencia*, from the perspective of the majority, but these resources have only recently become the focus of increasing interest.<sup>13</sup> Excavations have provided little complementary evidence, since medieval archaeology in Spain has until recently been dominated by traditional methodologies and directed towards architectural remains and luxury pottery. This pattern has also begun to change.<sup>14</sup>

It is in the former Kingdom of Valencia that studies concerned with Islamic and post-Reconquista Muslim settlement and economy have progressed most substantially. Beyond the historical context,<sup>15</sup> attention has turned to the economic records<sup>16</sup> as well as to archaeological survey and occasional excavation of medieval "domestic" and military sites.<sup>17</sup> A great deal has been learned about site distribution in space

<sup>11</sup>Censorship of Muslim books was ordered in 1511 (A. Domínguez Ortiz and B. Vincent, *Historia de los Moriscos* [Madrid 1978] 100), and in 1526 the Quranic books of the Sierra de Espadán were burned (G. Escolano, *Décadas de la Insigne y Coronada Ciudad y Reyno de Valencia*, ed. J. B. Perales [Valencia 1879] 2.729). The use of Arabic was forbidden in Valencia in 1561 (P. Boronat y Barrachina, *Los Moriscos españoles y su expulsión: Estudio histórico-crítico* [Valencia 1901] 1.525), although the edict apparently remained a dead letter.

<sup>12</sup>A corpus of Arabic texts and inscriptions from eastern Spain has recently been published by M. C. Barceló Torres, *Minorías islámicas en el país valenciano: Historia y dialectos* (Valencia 1984), who deals authoritatively with the linguistic situation among the Muslim population; also P. L. Harvey, "The Arabic Dialect of Valencia in 1595," *Al-Andalus* 36 (1971) 81–117. Far more common are texts written in Romance dialects but with Arabic script (*aljamiado*, Sp.; *'ajamīyya*, Ar.). These generally date to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and derive primarily from urban contexts in Aragón where, in contrast to Valencia (see Barceló, above, chap. 3), even colloquial Arabic had become uncommon (see Boswell [n. 6 above] 381–385). The majority of the *aljamiado* texts deal with religious instruction, the Quran, and polemic tracts; others comprise historical legends as well as commercial documents. See A. R. Nykl, "El rekontamiento del rrey ališand(e)re," *Revue hispanique* 77 (1929) 409–611; A. G. Chejne, *Historia de la España musulmana* (Madrid 1980) 342–362, and especially his *Islam and the West: The Moriscos, a Cultural and Social History* (Albany 1983); also L. Cardaillac, *Moriscos y Cristianos: Un enfrentamiento polémico (1492–1640)* (Madrid 1979); for a review of the rapidly growing literature on the Moriscos, see M. García-Arenal, "Últimos estudios sobre Moriscos: Estado de la cuestión," *Al-Qantara* 4 (1983) 101–114.

<sup>13</sup>So, for example, C. Domingo Pérez, *La Plana de Castellón: Formación de un paisaje agrario mediterráneo* (Madrid 1983); E. Císcar Pallares, *Tierra y señorío en el país valenciano (1570–1620)* (Valencia 1971) 88–113, 297–324; and T. F. Glick, *Irrigation and Society in Medieval Valencia* (Cambridge, Mass. 1970), in regard to land use. Casey (n. 7 above) 25–34 provides a rare demographic glimpse of two Morisco communities 1575–1608. Political and social organization of a Muslim town are analyzed by M. V. Febrer Romaguera, "Instituciones y vida de los Mudéjares de la Sierra de Eslida," *Tesina de Licenciatura* (Valencia 1980).

<sup>14</sup>So, the range of papers at the *Colloquio internacional de arqueologia medieval*, Toledo, October 1981, unfortunately still unpublished. Also the works cited in n. 17 below, and forthcoming proceedings of the Third International Congress on Medieval Ceramics in the Western Mediterranean, Siena, October 1984.

<sup>15</sup>See n. 6 above, and Barceló (n. 12 above).

<sup>16</sup>See n. 13 above.

<sup>17</sup>P. Guichard, "Le peuplement de la région de Valencia aux deux premiers siècles de la domination musulmane," *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 5 (1964) 49–118; A. Bazzana and P. Guichard, "Recherches sur les habitats musulmans du Levant espagnol," *Atti del Colloquio internazionale di archeologia medievale* (Palermo 1976) 3–44; B. Pavón Maldonado, "Contribución al estudio del arabismo

and time, although explicit economic or social hypotheses have not been tested in these excavations. Above all, there has been no serious effort to link the documentary and archaeological records—the ideal goal of an historical archaeology.<sup>18</sup>

In 1979 the authors, in collaboration with Ismael Miralles, formulated a project to study the cultural landscape and historical archaeology of the Sierra de Espadán, a mountainous area centered some sixty kilometers north of Valencia (fig. 1). Lying between the Palancia and Mijares rivers, this region harbored a cluster of over a dozen major villages with an exclusively Muslim population until the Expulsion of 1609.

Our initial interdisciplinary survey of 1980, directed to the area demarcated by figure 2, sought to identify the imprint of successive phases of settlement in a relatively undisturbed, “traditional” cultural landscape, on the assumption that relict features and surface archaeology would allow a first approximation of the configuration of medieval Muslim settlement. Instead, this survey and an exploration of the historical sources showed that the “traditional” villages and agricultural landscapes of the Sierra de Espadán are in fact relatively modern, the products of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when settlement densities were greater than during any previous occupation. Apart from a few ruined castillos, traces of ancient irrigation works, and irregular street layouts in some of the village nuclei,<sup>19</sup> there were no diagnostic surface “relicts” of the medieval period.

de los castillos de la Península Ibérica,” *Al-Andalus* 42 (1977) 207–225; A. Bazzana, “Las excavaciones en la Magdalena de Castellón,” *Cuadernos de prehistoria y arqueología castellonense* 4 (1977) 175–202; A. Bazzana and P. Guichard, “Les tours de défense de la Huerta de Valence au XIIIe siècle,” *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 14 (1978a) 73–105; A. Bazzana and P. Guichard, “Un important site refuge du haut moyen âge dans la région Valencienne: Le despoblado de Monte Mollet,” *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 14 (1978b) 485–501; A. Bazzana, “Les villages désertés de l’Espagne orientale: Etat présent et perspectives d’une recherche archéologique,” *Archéologie médiévale* 8 (1978) 165–223; idem, “Céramiques médiévales: Les méthodes de la description analytique appliquées aux productions de l’Espagne orientale,” *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 15 (1979) 135–185 and 16 (1980) 57–95; idem, “Eléments d’archéologie musulmane dans al-Andalus: Caractères spécifiques de l’architecture militaire arabe de la région valencienne,” *Al-Qantara* 1 (1980a) 339–363; I. Montmessin, “Description analytique de la céramique commune du Testar de Onda (Castellón),” *Cuadernos de prehistoria y arqueología castellonense* 7 (1980) 243–288; C. Aranegui and A. Bazzana, “Vestiges de structures défensives d’époque romaine tardive et d’époque musulmane au Peñon d’Ifac (Calpe, Province d’Alicante),” *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 16 (1980) 421–441; A. Bazzana, “Premiers éléments d’une carte archéologique du Sharq al-Andalus (Espagne orientale) à l’époque musulmane,” *Archéologie médiévale* 10 (1980b) 309–331; A. Bazzana, S. Climent, and P. Guichard, “Le site médiéval de San Antoni de Oliva (Valencia),” *Archivo de prehistoria levantina* 16 (1981) 561–574; A. Bazzana and others, *Habitats fortifiées et organisation de l’espace en Méditerranée médiévale* (Lyon 1983); K. W. Butzer, I. Miralles, and J. F. Mateu, “Urban Geoarchaeology in Medieval Alzira (Prov. Valencia, Spain),” *Journal of Archaeological Science* 10 (1983) 333–349; K. W. Butzer, E. K. Butzer, J. F. Mateu, and I. Miralles, “Una alquería islámica medieval de la Sierra de Espadán, Reino de Valencia,” *Boletín: Sociedad castellonense de cultura* 61 (1985), forthcoming. Pottery from ongoing excavations by J. V. Lerma in the Islamic levels of the city of Valencia has been outlined in A. Bazzana, J. V. Lerma, J. Navarro, and M. P. Soler, *La cerámica islámica en la Ciudad de Valencia 1: Catálogo* (Valencia 1983), vol. 2 in preparation.

<sup>18</sup>For an introduction to the competing viewpoints in an as yet poorly formulated field, see R. L. Schuyler, ed., *Historical Archaeology: A Guide to Substantive and Theoretical Contributions* (Farmingdale, N.Y. 1982). An overview of such approaches as applied to research in the Mediterranean Basin can be obtained from *World Archaeology* 12 (1981) no. 1 (*Classical Archaeology*) and 14 (1983) no. 3 (*Islamic Archaeology*), as well as from R. Hodges and D. Whitehouse, *Mohammed, Charlemagne and the Origins of Europe* (Ithaca 1983).

<sup>19</sup>Concerning irrigation, K. W. Butzer, J. F. Mateu, and E. K. Butzer, “Irrigation Agrosystems in



During 1981–1982 the research strategy was focused on one municipality, Ahín, where ethnoarchaeological study was begun in the modern community, concurrent with research in the archives of Valencia and Castellón de la Plana (E. K. Butzer). Excavations were simultaneously carried out at the nearby abandoned satellite village of Benialí, which was located on the basis of historical references and local informants. Conducted in collaboration with the Universidad de Valencia (K. W. Butzer and I. Miralles), these excavations were practicable because the site did not lie beneath a modern village. In 1983 the archival and ethnoarchaeological aspect of the project continued, while study of modern land use, irrigation, and historical village growth (J. F. Mateu and K. W. Butzer) was essentially completed. Finally, the archival research was continued in 1985 (E. K. Butzer), simultaneous with excavations in the castle of Ahín (K. W. Butzer); all three authors collaborated in a systematic search for and exploration of other abandoned villages (*despoblados*) of the area.

The present paper attempts an interim synthesis of the archival and archaeological information, focused on the municipality of Ahín, but analyzed and interpreted in the broader context of the Sierra de Espadán. Although the analytical work continues, we believe that the available materials for the first time allow a detailed interdisciplinary delineation of rural Muslim communities in post-Reconquista Spain.

#### SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONTEXT OF THE MEDIEVAL SIERRA DE ESPADAN

Islamic archives relevant to the rural hinterland of Valencia have long been lost, and the first documents for the Sierra de Espadán deal with land grants shortly after the local Reconquista, in 1237–1238. In conjunction with the royal charter of 1242 for Eslida, these sources specify all but one of the existing villages of the area as well as several that have disappeared since (Annex 1).<sup>20</sup> This shows that the basic settlement

Eastern Spain: Roman or Islamic Origins?" *Annals: Association of American Geographers* 75 (1985) 479–509. Of the villages we eventually mapped, Artana, Eslida, Ahín and, to a lesser degree, Veo, give evidence for such a medieval core, but Xóvar, Alcudia de Veo, Xíquer, and Benitandús do not. The latter, together with Tales, Suera, and Algimia de Almonacid, were rebuilt on a rectangular grid in the eighteenth century according to the norms of the Enlightenment; the more archaic village plans were expanded on regular lines at that time and then attained composite forms. For an overview of the settlement geography of the region of Valencia, see A. López Gómez, *Geografía de las tierras valencianas* (Valencia 1977) 46–54; J. Mateu Belles, "Aprofitament del territori i evolució del poblament," in J. F. Mira, ed., *Temes d'etnografia valenciana* 1 (Valencia 1983) 17–118.

<sup>20</sup>The first Aragonese grant involving Ahín dates 9 March 1238: "Beo (Veo) cum totum vallem et alqueriam d'Ayn (Ahín)"; see M. D. Cabanes Pecourt and Ramon Ferrer Navarro, eds., *Libre del repartiment del regne de València* 1 (Zaragoza 1979) no. 0148 (hereafter cited as *Libre*). Also, A. Ferrando i Francés, ed., *Llibre del repartiment de València* (Valencia 1979). The Eslida Charter includes Eslida, Ain, Veo, Sentgueir (Xíquer), Pelmes (possibly a garbled Romance transcription for Pellinos, see below), and Zuela (Suera); see ARV-Real 611, fol. 238r–v, with transcriptions published in F. Janer, *Condición social de los Moriscos de España: Causas de su expulsión* (Madrid 1857) 194–196, and as "Colección de Cartas Pueblas LXIII," *Boletín: Sociedad castellonense de cultura* 18 (1943) 159–160. Incorrect or inconsistent spelling of place and personal names is common throughout the medieval documents due to problems of transliteration from the Arabic originals to the subsequent official Latin or Valencian-Catalan translations deposited in the archives (see M. C. Barceló Torres, "L'Alfondegulla y Castro: La situación de los Mudéjares castellonenses en el Siglo XIII," *Boletín: Sociedad castellonense de cultura* 56 [1980] 126–137). Other towns and villages of fig. 2 are first mentioned in *Libre* 1 as follows: Tales (21 Sept. 1237, no. 0071), Artana (1238, 0934), Almedíxar (Almexixer 1238, 0440), Vall de Almonacid (Almonecir 1238,

network of the sierra was already well established prior to the Reconquista, a point that appears to find confirmation in the surviving pre-Islamic place names of Artana, Eslida, Tales, Veo, and of several lost villages or *despoblados*, such as Xinquet, Lloret, and Mosquera.<sup>21</sup> The designation *castro*, linked to the three corporate entities of Eslida, Alfondeguilla, and Suera, may also be significant, since Guichard<sup>22</sup> argues that it refers to fortified refuges used during the many episodes of insecurity plaguing rural Valencia between the fifth and ninth centuries. It is therefore probable that a

0296), Mosquera and Pellinos (1238, 0572), Bellota (Beilota 1238, 0571), Lloret (Lauret 1238, 0820), and Xinquet (Chinquer 1239, 1450). The fortress Castro of Alfondeguilla (Alfandegua of Vall d'Uxó) surrendered to Jaime I in 1238; see F. Soldevila, ed., "Llibre dels Feits," in *Les quatre grans Cròniques: Revisió del text, pròlegs i notes* (Barcelona 1971), chap. 249. As a settlement, Castro is first referred to in the context "Castro, Espadan, Veho et Ain" in 1279 (J. E. Martínez Fernando, ed., *Catálogo de la documentación relativa al antiguo Reino de Valencia existente en los registros de la Cancillería Real* 2 [Madrid 1934] no. 586—here abbreviated as *Catálogo*). Fanzara is first verified in 1259 (Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Real Cancillería 11, fol. 159v—hereafter abbreviated as ACA-Cancillería). Xóvar or Chóvar (Sova, Xova) comes up in 1250 (ARV-Real 611, fol. 229v.; published in "Colección de Cartas Pueblas XXXVII," *Boletín: Sociedad castellonense de cultura* 13 [1932] 168–170, and Janer, above, 196–199). Algimia de Almonadit probably appears as "Almonacit y Alfanan" in 1280 (*Catálogo* 2 no. 1095). Benalbux or Benalbug (now Vilambuch) is first mentioned in 1337 (ARV-Real 614, fol. 141v). Benialí (Vilahalín) is first mentioned in 1342 (see M. de Vicianá, *Crónica de la inclita y coronada Ciudad de Valencia* [repr. Valencia 1972, from 1564–1566 ed.] 2.72, 118). Lleuxa (Leuxa) is verified as early as 1345 (ARV-Real 611, fol. 218). The first references to Alcudia de Veo, Benitandús (Benicandut), and Alfara are from 1365 (ACA-Cancillería 1209, fol. 44, published in Boswell [n. 6 above] 365). Alamaxaraca is unequivocally listed in 1414 (ARV-Real 624, fols. 18v, 22v), but the garbled name Guairaga for a dependency of Eslida given in 1276 (ACA-Cancillería 38, fol. 3v, published in Burns 1985 [n. 6 above] 289) is suggestive. The *despoblados* we have studied are further documented in Annex 4.

<sup>21</sup>The toponyms of the Valencian region have been reviewed by M. Sanchís Guarnier, *Introducción a la historia lingüística de Valencia* (Valencia 1948), and by P. Guichard, "Toponimia y geografía musulmana de Valencia," *Temas valencianos* 36 (1979) 1–24. Since the local non-Arabic names are all documented during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, long before any Christian Hispanic settlement in the area, there is no doubt that they are pre-Arabic. The etymology of Arabic place names is more comprehensively treated in M. C. Barceló Torres, *Toponimia aràbiga del País Valencià: Alqueries i castells* (Jàtiva 1982). Our classification of pre-Arabic versus Arabic place names follows Barceló, as does the original form of the latter.

<sup>22</sup>Guichard 1979 (n. 21 above) and Bazzana and Guichard 1978b (n. 17 above). The *castros* in question (see also Annex 4) are: (1) Castro de Alfondeguilla (or de la Sierra de Eslida), where a *despoblado* is located far below the castillo on an adjacent valley side; it is documented as a settlement from 1279 to 1602, but was not reoccupied by Christian settlers. (2) Castro of the Vall de Suera, recorded as a settlement between 1415 and 1563, refers to Suera Alta, where late medieval pottery was found cemented in a wall of ruins dating to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; the argument can be made in part on surviving place names of the adjacent Barranco de Castro, a land designation or *partida* further up the valley, as well as location next to the remains of the forbidding mountaintop castillo de Suera or Manz; in 1500 the community of Suera was collectively represented by three *jurats* from Castro, Benisuleimen, and Sanden (see P. L. Llorens, "Los Sarracenos de la Sierra de Eslida y Vall d'Uxó a fines del Siglo XV," *Boletín: Sociedad castellonense de cultura* 43 [1967] 53–67); the site was in ruins in 1596 (see Clement VIII, papal bull of 1402, "Confirmatio erectionis, et dotationis parochialium ecclesiarum in locis Dioecesis Dertusensis (Tortosa)," *Bullarum privilegiorum ac diplomatum Romanorum Pontificum amplissima collectio* 5 [1753] pt. 2.423–437), but reoccupied by Christian settlers after 1609. (3) Mention should also be made of a *partida* on the mountainside 1 km east of Eslida, next to the barranco of the same name and coincident with the recent chalet development known as La Costera; no documentation of late medieval settlement exists and the name probably derives from the barranco and ultimately from the Castro of Alfondeguilla, which is just beyond the watershed. It is, however, uncertain whether Guichard's argument is valid, because the original Sierra documents of the thirteenth century applied the Latin *castrum* to Islamic castles, possibly to those formerly called *qasr*, e.g. Castro Novum for Castelnou (*Libre* 2. 0367).

number of population nuclei persisted in the sierra prior to the assimilation of the Hispano-Roman population of eastern Spain during the tenth and eleventh centuries.<sup>23</sup> Equally plausible, in view of the existing thirteenth-century villages with Arabic toponyms such as Ahín (ʿAyn), Suera (?Ṣukhāyra), Almonacid (wād al-Munastīr), Almedixar (al-Majāšīr), Bellota (Ballūṭa), Xóvar (Jūwwa), and Alfondeguilla (al-Khāndaq),<sup>24</sup> is that there was substantial expansion of Islamic settlement in the sierra during several centuries prior to 1237.

Many of key communal utilities or monopolies that were formally taxed, both in the Christian seignorial system and under Islamic law,<sup>25</sup> are attested for the sierra in the Eslida Charter; they include grain mills, bread ovens, *operatoris* (?workshops), fonduks, public baths,<sup>26</sup> and, by 1377, a tavern.<sup>27</sup> Many of these represented unique functions of Eslida, the functional center of the sierra, because the grant of Ahín mentions only bread ovens and a mill.<sup>28</sup>

The record of agricultural activities for the sierra given by the Eslida Charter<sup>29</sup> is ample. Irrigated and nonirrigated fields (*regadío* versus *secano*) are distinguished, as are worked and nonworked land; gardens, vineyards, fruit orchards, tree plantings,<sup>30</sup> and, indirectly, pasture and fuel wood are identified. Crops included *triticum* (winter wheat), *panicum* (foxtail millet), barley, *miliun* (broomcorn millet),<sup>31</sup> flax, vege-

<sup>23</sup>See Butzer et al. (n. 19 above). Thus far there is no archaeological evidence for Roman settlement in southern Castellón beyond the early fifth century, e.g., the two villas excavated near Vall d'Uxó: F. Gusi and C. Olaria, "La villa romana de Benicató (Nules, Castellón)," *Cuadernos de prehistoria y arqueología castellonense* 4 (1977) 101-144, and P. P. Ripolles Alegre, "Los hallazgos numismáticos de la excavación de Sant Josep, Vall d'Uxó," *Cuadernos de prehistoria y arqueología castellonense* 5 (1978) 391-394. An inscription found along the road between Algimia de Almonacid and Alcudia de Veo reads *Iter privatum M Baebi Severini* (F. Arasa Gil, "La inscripción rupestre de Algimia de Almonacid," *Llansol de Romaní* 3[4] [1982-1983] 27) and suggests a Roman villa in or near Algimia. Our working hypothesis is that the surviving population nuclei of the early medieval period represented similar villas, modified in the socio-economic context of the times. See E. A. Llobregat Conesa, "Historia antigua de Valencia," *Nuestra historia* (Valencia 1980) 2.196-199 on possible late Roman to early Islamic settlement patterns in eastern Spain, and J. Percival, *The Roman Villa: An Historical Introduction* (Berkeley 1976) on the range of variation of villa form and function over time.

<sup>24</sup>Barceló 1983 (n. 21 above).

<sup>25</sup>Burns 1975a (n. 6 above) 41-78.

<sup>26</sup>"Molendinis, furnis, operatoris, alfondicis, balneis . . ." (ARV-Real 611, fol. 238). The fonduk of the period included many functions, such as lodging, market-day stables, storage depot, and even that of a market; see C. E. Dufourcq, *L'Espagne catalane et le Maghrib aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles* (Paris 1966) 70, and D. F. Eickelman, *Moroccan Islam: Tradition and Society in a Pilgrimage Center* (Austin 1976) 76.

<sup>27</sup>In the 1377 report of the apostolic delegate, reference is made to Christian *taverners* (*tabernarii*) in Eslida; see Anonymous (F. A. Aguilar), *Noticias de Segorbe y de su obispado* (Segorbe 1890; repr. 1975) 1.146.

<sup>28</sup>"Ayn cum furnos et molendino" (*Libre* 1.0148).

<sup>29</sup>ARV-Real 611, fol. 238, or as reiterated in 1342, ARV-Real 630, fols. 222v-223v.

<sup>30</sup>The charter for Alfondeguilla and Castro is more specific and mentions figs and carobs (ARV-Real 611, fol. 229v; Barceló [n. 20 above]).

<sup>31</sup>Unfortunately the exact nature of the wheats and millets is often ambiguous. The designations *triticum*, *panicum*, and *miliun* differ in meaning between classical and medieval Latin, and their later counterparts *trigo*, *panico*, and *mijo* may differ in their medieval and modern usage, to the extent that their use varies today in Valencia, Catalunya, and Castile. A. López Gómez, "La introducción del maíz en Valencia y la sustitución de otros cereales," *Estudios geográficos* 35 (1974) 147-156, provides a terse but convincing argument that *panico* (Valencian *panis*) is *Setaria italica* (foxtail millet), and *mijo* (*mill*) is *Panicum miliaceum* (broomcorn millet) in "traditional" Valencian context. P. Ponsot ("Les Morisques, la

tables, and gourd plants (*cucurbitae*).<sup>32</sup> The only animals specified are cattle and bees, although Jaime I in 1238 presented the capitulating Muslims of Castro de Alfondeguilla with an unspecified number of sheep and goats,<sup>33</sup> presumably collected in the general area, while the charter for Alfondeguilla and Castro further specifies chickens and eggs.<sup>34</sup> The Tales charter of 1260 emphasizes goats and sheep, but also mentions cattle, donkeys, mules, horses, and bees.<sup>35</sup>

The second comprehensive picture of the rural economy of the Sierra de Espadán dates to the mid-sixteenth century in the form of an unsigned report in Italian describing the traversibility, resources, and population from a strategic perspective.<sup>36</sup> The text, in translation, is as follows:

The mountains are denuded of trees and there are not 200 feet of wood in all; trees are absent both below and above, and there is nothing but rosemary and other, similar thorny shrubs, in small quantity; they now provide firewood but no longer any charcoal.

The mountains proper do not provide grain; food is extracted with greatest industry from little valleys and stream embayments; (the inhabitants) harvest *grano* (wheat)—but only a little, *panico* (?sorghum), *melega* (millet), figs, grapes, some olives, honey, carobs, and so many fruits through their thriftiness; and they do not have alfalfa, that is to say fodder, to give to their beasts all year round; these are mules, used to plow and for transport.

They keep some pigs but very many goats, as well as lambs for food, not having much good pasture.

The ambiguous list of crops in this report is clarified by an inventory of debts by residents of Suera, Fanzara, and Benitandús owed to merchants of Onda in 1417;

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culture irriguée de blé, et la problème de la décadence de l'agriculture espagnole au XVIIe siècle," *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 7 [1971] 237–262) notes that two Arabic terms were used for wheat, *gazā* for summer wheat (*rubión*, Castilian, or *forment*, Valencian) and *darmāqa* for hard or winter wheat (*candéal*); however, *aljamiado* and Castilian recognized five additional varieties of unknown botanical import. The medieval Valencian *dacça* (from Arabic *daqsa*) meant sorghum (see López, above, and Glick [n. 2 above] 81), although *dacsa* survives today in the *huertas* of Valencia for maize but as *adaza* for sorghum in Castilian. P. Pérez Puchal has kindly placed a document of 1628 at our disposal that clarifies the differences between *dacsa* (sorghum) and *panis* or *dacsa de les Indies* (millet) (ARV-Maestre Racional 5824 [hereafter abbreviated as ARV-MR]).

<sup>32</sup>Probably melons and cucumbers; see Janer (n. 20 above) 158. The 1242 charter's organization into trees, vegetables, roots, and gourd plants reflects the traditional Islamic classification; see Ibn Baṣṣāl, *Libro de agricultura*, trans. J. M. Millás Vallicrosa and M. Aziman (Tetuan 1955).

<sup>33</sup>Soldevila [n. 20 above].

<sup>34</sup>"Colección de Cartas Pueblas, XXXVII" (n. 20 above); Barceló (n. 20 above).

<sup>35</sup>"Colección de Cartas Pueblas, LXXXIV," *Boletín: Sociedad castellonense de cultura* 28 (1952) 437–438. Direct evidence is also available for the Sierra. In 1426 the administrator of Veo was ordered to pay for the cost of 14 goats he had misappropriated from the Muslim villagers, under the threat of a fine of 100 gold florins (ARV-Bailía 1145, fol. 401v). Similarly, in 1425 a deed records litigation in Eslida in regard to an unspecified number of sheep and goats (ARV-Bailía 1146, fol. 301v).

<sup>36</sup>Archivo de Simancas-Estado 329, no. 1, kindly placed at our disposal by Pere M. Ors and Eliseu Clement (Valencia). The language contains archaic Italian as well as Spanish forms, and the contents are focused on military and engineering concerns, suggesting an officer from Aragonese Italy. Undated, the internal evidence, namely references to ruling lords such as Jaume de Centelles, Luis de Ferrer, the conde de Oliva, and the duque de Segorbe, indicate a date between 1568 and 1575. It is probable that this report was commissioned immediately after the revolt of the Granadine Muslims (1568–1570) to evaluate the possibility of a similar uprising in the Sierra de Espadán.

almost all are for *dacça* and barley.<sup>37</sup> Also available for comparison are the crops left untended in the fields of Valencia after the sudden eviction of the Muslims: a decree of 20 October 1609, although not specific to the sierra, enumerates sorghum (*dacçes*), millet (*paniso*), rice, various fruits, figs, raisins, and many olives.<sup>38</sup> More specifically for the lower Palancia winter wheat (*forment*), barley, millet (*mill*), sorghum (*dacça*), vegetables, vineyards, olives, and figs are mentioned in a similar context 1610.<sup>39</sup> Directly at the margin of the sierra, in the Vall d'Uxó, the key Muslim crops had been winter wheat, sorghum, millet, alfalfa, and mulberry trees (for silkworms).<sup>40</sup> The values of the Morisco harvests collected in the dry-farming area west of Villarreal in 1610 were as follows: carobs 3540 sueldos (shillings), olives 1632s, other fruits 1242s, millet/sorghum 1083s, beans 452s, barley 255s, wheat 187s, and spelt 80s.<sup>41</sup> The high variability in terms of dominant crops from one location to another suggests that the size of irrigated *huertas*, the abundance of water, and the competition of fruit trees and livestock for intermediate-quality *secano* will all have played a role in determining the selection and importance of crops in any one area. In this regard the 1242 charter probably gives the most representative overall picture for the sierra proper. The Italian report of about 1570 appears to exaggerate the scarcity of trees, since the new Christian settlers in the Vall d'Uxó in 1613 encountered potential timber;<sup>42</sup> however, it leaves unequivocal the inference that goats and sheep were considered more important than timber and charcoal.

Muslim holdings in the sierra appear to have been small, judging by information from the peripheral areas. Shortly before the Expulsion, 99% and 81% respectively of the holdings around Segorbe and Vall d'Uxó (the *huertas* of large communities) were under one hectare,<sup>43</sup> while in 1607 in Nules, with a mix of *regadío* and *secano*, 27.5% of the landowners held less than one hectare; for Bechí in 1566 this figure was 15.3%.<sup>44</sup> Property was also highly fragmented.<sup>45</sup> With such small holdings in a mountainous region with little good soil, it is no wonder that staple foods had

<sup>37</sup>ARV-Bailía 1305, fols. 3v–18. For a reference to *dacça* in Eslida, ARV-Bailía 1151, fol. 604v, 1452. An external reference of 1410, from Benaguacil (ARV-MR 9654, fol. 2), is also pertinent, listing summer wheat (*forment*), barley, oats (*avena*), millet (*paniz*), sorghum (*dacça*), *tramella* (?) and "tots alt. blats qui cullem (?) en lo terme."

<sup>38</sup>Janer (n. 20 above) 320–322. This general list can be usefully compared with an interdiction of 1429, forbidding the export of key produce in a time of war (ARV-Bailía 1147, fol. 88r–v): wheat, oats, barley, sorghum, millet, spelt, carobs, rice, olives, broad and string beans, quinces, and lentils; explicitly not covered by the order were figs, raisins, and almonds.

<sup>39</sup>ARV-MR 5851. Another 1597 document from Sagunto adds alfalfa (ARV-MR 5850, fol. 3v). Immediately after the expulsion in 1611, the first new colonists around Tales harvested *rubiñ* wheat (*forment*), millet (*panis*), olives, figs, and carobs (ARV-MR 10.096), or sorghum (*dacça*), *panis*, *forment*, turnips, alfalfa, carobs, and vines in the Segorbe area (F. Palau García, "La situación histórica del Morisco en el Reino de Valencia en el tránsito del Siglo XVI–XVII," *Hispania* 41 (1981) 515–562.

<sup>40</sup>L. Peñarroja Torrejón, *Moriscos repobladores en el Reino de Valencia: La Vall d'Uxó (1525–1625)* (Valencia 1984) 1.255–259.

<sup>41</sup>ARV-MR 10.124, fol. 7 (1611).

<sup>42</sup>Archivo de los Duques de Medinaceli (ADM) (Sevilla) 62–5, no. 2743.

<sup>43</sup>See Císcar (n. 13 above) 79, and Peñarroja (n. 40 above) 252–253.

<sup>44</sup>Domingo (n. 13 above) 184–186.

<sup>45</sup>Palau (n. 39 above), although Barceló (n. 12 above) 82 finds less fragmentation in the area east of Artana.

to be imported on a large scale during bad years, as in 1450, when the sierra communities purchased 40 *cabices* (7960 liters) of wheat from Aragón.<sup>46</sup> There also is considerable documentation that the communities of Castro and Alfondeguilla, Benitandús and Alfara, and Suera and Fanzara were dependent on grain purchases in Burriana and Onda.<sup>47</sup>

The basic socio-political organization was characterized by an administrative hierarchy of settlements as well as of officials. Eslida was the politico-economic center for the three corporate villages of Ahín, Veo, and Suera—collectively known as “Eslida y la Serra d’Espadà” and under the judge or *alcadi* (Arabic, *qāḍī*) of Eslida.<sup>48</sup> These four towns or villages, known as *villas* or *aljamias*, in view of their exclusively Muslim population (as guaranteed by the Eslida Charter), each had an elected local administrator, the *alamī* (Ar., *amīn*); each was juxtaposed with a castle garrisoned by Christians and commanded by a Christian military administrator, the *alcayt* (Ar., *qāḍī*).<sup>49</sup> The Muslim *alamī*, effectively a mayor, was normally seconded by two *jurats* or *vells* (Ar., *shaikh*).<sup>50</sup> Many of the municipalities meriting an *alamī* had adjacent or outlying satellite villages or *alquerías* (Ar., *qarya*),<sup>51</sup> the more important of which had one or two *jurats*. The *alcadi* and the *alamīs*, primarily responsible for the administration of Islamic law and the collection of taxes, commonly appear to have been nominated by the notables or council of the community, and then chosen from a list by the king’s representative in Valencia on the advice of the military administrator.<sup>52</sup>

This Muslim hierarchy of officials and settlements was fully developed in the

<sup>46</sup>ARV-Bailía 1151, fol. 76.

<sup>47</sup>See Annex 4 for details.

<sup>48</sup>L. Piles Ros, “La situación social de los moros de realengo en la Valencia del Siglo XV,” *Estudios de historia social de España* 1 (1949) 225–274; Boswell (n. 6 above) 77–92, 103–106; Barceló (n. 12 above) 52–57.

<sup>49</sup>On the role of the *alamī*, see Burns 1973 (n. 6 above) 376–386 and 1975 (n. 6 above) 248–254. The Second Eslida Charter of 1276 (ACA-Cancillería 38, fol. 3r–v) specifies “Et alaminus sit de aliama vestra, et eligatur ad cognitionem sarracenorum vestrorum.” A long string of documents pertaining to the *alcayts* of the key castles confirms that these were always granted to Christian nobility. Selected examples related to the *alcayts* of Eslida can be cited for 1277 (*Catálogo* 2.215) or 1434 (ARV-Bailía 1147, fol. 597v); for Castro de Alfondeguilla and Castro de Suera, see Annex 4. The authority of the *alcayt* is discussed by Burns 1973 (n. 6 above) 370–371 and 1984 (n. 6 above) 27–32. The independence of Ahín, Veo, and other municipalities from the *alcayts* of Eslida is confirmed in 1365 by ACA-Cancillería 1209, fol. 44 (abstracted in Boswell [n. 6 above] 365).

<sup>50</sup>On the variable status of the *jurats*, see Burns 1973 (n. 6 above) 386–394. Both the *jurats* and *alamīs* received annual salaries for their charges, apparently in some proportion to the size of their *aljama*. So, in 1576, the two *jurats* of Ahín received 75 sueldos, compared with 112s for Eslida, 103s Fanzara, 50s Suera, 27s Castro de Alfondeguilla, and 146s Alcudia de Veo and Veo (4 *jurats*) (ARV-MR 9723, fol. 16). In 1412 the *alamī* of Eslida received 200s (ARV-Bailía Apéndice 61, fol. 322v).

<sup>51</sup>The *alquerías*, as an expression of settlement dispersal in medieval Valencia, are discussed by Guichard (n. 21 above) and Barceló (n. 21 above) 42–47. See also Annex 4.

<sup>52</sup>In the context of the small towns of the Sierra, the body of documentation supports the interpretation of the *alcadi* and *alamī* as intermediaries between the traditional Islamic communities and the king, although Boswell (n. 6 above) 88–90 points to a minimal role of the *alamī* in the urban centers of Aragón. The pattern in the Sierra is explicitly defined in the appointment of an *alamī* in Eslida 1425, as well as later years (ARV-Bailía 1146, fol. 180), in Castro de Alfondeguilla 1455 (ARV-Bailía 1152, fol. 1190v), and in Fanzara 1475 (ARV-Bailía 1155, fols. 364v–365). The intervention of the military administrator in the appointment of the *alcadi* of Eslida in 1383 is illustrated in ARV-Real 667, fols. 61, 78r–v.

sierra by 1383<sup>53</sup> and is elaborated in documents of 1445<sup>54</sup> and 1500.<sup>55</sup> Jaime I had, by deliberately equating these community structures with Catalan communal councils, institutionalized and accelerated the development of their more ambiguous Islamic counterparts.<sup>56</sup> The new, semiautonomous *aljamas* became, in effect, communes led by administrators, elders, and notables with well-defined municipal responsibilities and privileges. Unlike the leaders of the pre-Reconquista sierra communities, who presumably would not have dared to register complaints at the unpredictable Almohad court, the *alcadi*, *alamís*, and other representatives of the late medieval *aljamas* had, and frequently exercised, the privilege to petition to the highest levels of Aragonese government.<sup>57</sup>

The Alcadiazgo of Eslida,<sup>58</sup> comprising four municipalities in the mountains, and during the late fourteenth century incorporating distant Fanzara on the Mijares River (fig. 1), had a configuration as irregular as any feudal domain in medieval France or Germany. The population of this specific territory, hereafter referred to as "the Sierra" (in contradistinction to the wider sierra) for the sake of convenience, can be approximated for several periods (Annex 2).

(1) A number of inventories of 1386–1390 include a total of 229 proper names for the different towns and villages (Annex 1).<sup>59</sup> These certainly represent heads of households and landowners, and are probably biased in favor of notables, especially those of Eslida, which had a more urban character and was in the most direct association with the outside. Some 24 different names can be identified for Ahín, representing a minimum number of households for that village.

(2) The number of *casas* in each settlement can be more satisfactorily inferred from the detailed lists of *morabatí*, a household tax, for the years 1415, 1427, and 1451 (Annex 2).<sup>60</sup> Although the population of Ahín and its main dependency, Benialí, remained fairly stable during these years, the total population of the Sierra

<sup>53</sup>ARV-Real 667, fol. 9v, which gives an *alamí*, one *jurat*, and eleven notables for Ahín, compared with 1390, ARV-Real 667, fols. 150–151v, which gives two *jurats*.

<sup>54</sup>ARV-Real 668, fols. 6v–11, giving an *alamí* and only one *jurat* for Ahín. See also P. López Elum, "Proceso de incorporación a la corona real de Vall de Uxó, Sierra de Eslida y Segorbe en 1445," *Boletín: Sociedad castellonense de cultura* 50 (1974) 51–65.

<sup>55</sup>Archivo de la Catedral de Segorbe (ACS), Pergamino 32; published by Llorens (n. 22 above). At this time Ahín had an *alamí*, a *lugarteniente* (deputy *alamí*) and two *jurats*, while Benialí is listed as an *alquería* with one *jurat*.

<sup>56</sup>Burns 1973 (n. 6 above) chap. 17; R. I. Burns, "Spanish Islam in Transition: Acculturative Survival and Its Price in the Christian Kingdom of Valencia, 1240–1280," in S. Vryonis, ed., *Islam and Cultural Change in the Middle Ages* (Wiesbaden 1975) 87–106; Boswell (n. 6 above) 103–106.

<sup>57</sup>See, for example, Piles (n. 48 above).

<sup>58</sup>Barceló (n. 12 above) 59–62.

<sup>59</sup>Signatures were required by commissioners sent to extract *censals* or taxes on land; see ARV-Real 667, fols. 2, 45, 46v, 76, 82, 84, 103, 150v–151v.

<sup>60</sup>For 1415, ARV-MR 10.870, fols. 14–18, 40; for 1427, ARV-MR 10.872, fols. 19v–22v; for 1451, ARV-MR 10.874, fols. 26–28v. This household tax was set at a sueldo per *casa* for Muslims but at 4 sueldos 6 dinars for Christians (Císcar [n. 13 above] 96, 102). An earlier approximation of relative populations for the various sierra communities is probably given by the intriguing 1278 tax list (Annex 1). For the Alcadiazgo this total was 1050 sueldos. The figures are divisible into round numbers by rates of either 2 or 5s per family. Since marginal settlement like Mosquera and Bellota never had more than perhaps a dozen families (see Annex 4), it is at least possible that the Sierra population was as low as 210 families after the 1276–1277 revolt.

declined steadily from 619 households in 1414, to 544 in 1427, and 476 in 1451. In fact the population had peaked in 1418, when the number of *casas* reached 629,<sup>61</sup> a level not reached again until the late eighteenth century.

(3) During the first half of the fifteenth century the archives were bombarded with *franquicias*, tax-exemptions granted to individuals in regard to specific activities. Talled for the different communities, the number of these exemptions is roughly proportional to the number of proper names of a generation earlier (Annex 3).<sup>62</sup> If the corresponding number of exemptions 1414–1421 are assumed to be in proportion to the economically active population, Ahín's share represents 13.8%. Applied to the 619 total in 1415, this would be 85 *casas*. However, the actual number of households of Ahín and its dependencies was 71, suggesting that Ahín's economic role was above average, for example in comparison with Suera or the various dependent *alquerías* (Annex 3). Converting 71 households by a conservative factor of 4.5,<sup>63</sup> this yields at least 320 inhabitants.

(4) The number of *casas* in the Sierra had fallen from 629 to 433 in 1512,<sup>64</sup> a 31% decline probably reflecting local and regional socio-economic trends, discussed further below. For the year 1500 we also have the names of signatories to a royal document who probably represent most of the landowners in the key *aljamas*. The numbers are 37 for Eslida, 24 Ahín, 47 Alcudia and Veo, 17 Suera, and 76 Fanzara.<sup>65</sup> The total of 201 is barely half the 433 households enumerated in 1512. More accurate and detailed figures are available, however. For a number of years between 1530 and 1585 data are available for the seignorial taxes in the Sierra towns, as discussed further below. The dues for *morabatí* and *mesquitas* remain constant and were logically fixed before the mosques were closed in 1525 and prior to the population loss during the Sierra revolt of 1526. That household count is 437,<sup>66</sup> almost identical with the number in 1512, lending considerable confidence to the argument that it represents a real figure established at some point between 1512 and 1525. For Ahín and dependencies (Annex 2) the number of *casas* is 47, representing a 33% decline since 1451.

(5) For 1563 there are lists of the owners of arms confiscated during the systematic weapons roundup of that year.<sup>67</sup> Since not all families would have had weapons, which were illegal—significantly, no *alamís* are included in the inventory—these figures (Annex 2) will have been lower than the actual number of *casas*. They indicate a minimum of 39 families for Ahín and 329 for the Sierra. The patently

<sup>61</sup>ARV-MR 9659, fol. 2v; this number may subsequently have been "fixed" in order to maintain tax levels as the population declined, e.g. ARV-MR 9660, fol. 1v for 1419 and MR 9662, fols. 1r–v, 3v for 1421.

<sup>62</sup>For earlier conversions of these exemptions into relative household numbers, see Febrer (n. 13 above). The economic implications of the exemptions are discussed below.

<sup>63</sup>See n. 7 above.

<sup>64</sup>See ARV-Real 514 bis, fol. 318. This census appears to be updated from the inventory of households and livestock of 1510, see ARV-Real 514 tres, fol. 5.

<sup>65</sup>See n. 55 above.

<sup>66</sup>Based on the most complete list of 1576 in ARV-MR 9723, excluding Alfondiguilla and Castro. For 1530, see ADM 62-1, nos. 563–566; for 1585, ARV-MR 9734.

<sup>67</sup>ARV-Real 562, fols. 573–575v, 599–602, 628–631, 646–647v, 634–642, 653–654, 707–710, and 715–718v. The data for the other communities of Annex 2 are also included in this volume. Our data differ slightly from those of Lapeyre (n. 5 above) by virtue of eliminating double entries.



rounded-off numbers of *casas* of about the year 1572, which total 385,<sup>68</sup> are nonetheless useful in this regard: the actual population figure was probably somewhere between these two sets of figures in 1563. They indicate a net loss of roughly 15% between about 1520 and 1563.

(6) The last reasonably reliable censuses of 1596 and 1602<sup>69</sup> indicate that on the eve of the expulsion the Sierra had regained its 1512/1524 level. Ahín had grown from about 40 to 60 *casas* (50%) (Annex 2).

(7) A generation after Christian resettlement in the completely evacuated Sierra, the number of households in 1646 was only 192 (Annex 2) and Ahín had shrunk to 22 *casas*, a drop of 73%.<sup>70</sup> Only the early modern demographic expansion brought population levels above the 1418 medieval peak, and in 1791 the Sierra had 727 *casas*, Ahín 72.<sup>71</sup>

These data give a semiquantitative population framework for the Sierra that suggests close to 2900 inhabitants in 1418, declining steadily during the late fifteenth century to about 1950 people on the eve of the bloody revolt of 1526. Ahín may have had some 320 inhabitants in 1418, but only 212 about 1520. If the same numerical relationships between names and *casas* of 1500–1512 are applied to the 1386–1390 list of names, a minimum number of about 500 households can be tentatively suggested for the Sierra, implying a substantial population increase in 1390–1418; this can be interpreted as a demographic recovery following the fourteenth-century bubonic plague<sup>72</sup> and the disastrous war of 1356–1366,<sup>73</sup> and possibly involved a doubling of the population between 1365 and 1418. This volatile demographic framework will be discussed further below.

The taxes imposed upon the Sierra shed considerable light on the economic system, although the full range of fiscal liabilities is beyond the scope of this study. The data are too fragmentary, in part because many “customary” taxes are never specified, while too many terms and variables remain ambiguous in the complex and fluid mosaic of tithes, rents, taxes, and tariffs.<sup>74</sup>

The 1242 and 1276 Eslida Charters<sup>75</sup> specify “traditional,” that is, Islamic tithes on grain mills, bread ovens, fonduks, and baths, as well as a livestock tax, probably

<sup>68</sup>Lapeyre (n. 5 above) 20–21, 33–35.

<sup>69</sup>The 1596 census (see Clement VIII [n. 22 above]) was prepared in the Morisco, i.e., nominally Christian villages of the diocese of Tortosa, and notarized in each parish during that year; the wealth of credible detail on each village inspires considerable confidence. The 1602 Morisco census (ARV-MR 10.009, fol. 6; also Lapeyre [n. 5 above] 22, 33–35), prepared for taxation purposes, is equally detailed and, as expected, differs little from that of 1596. Not quoted here are the figures of the general Morisco census of 1609 which was apparently obtained from absentee landlords living in Valencia (Lapeyre 23–25); these numbers are lumped and rounded off, as well as implausibly higher than those of 1596–1602.

<sup>70</sup>The 1646 census, critically published by Lapeyre (n. 5 above) 68–69, 86–87, should however be derived from its lists of heads of households rather than from the unreliable summary data. For Ahín, see ARV-Generalidad 4829, fols. 264–265 (no. 76), for Eslida 4829, fol. 262 (no. 75), for Veo 4829, fol. 102 (no. 32), for Alcudia de Veo 4826, fol. 120 (no. 256), and for Suera 4825, fol. 100 (no. 122).

<sup>71</sup>See A. J. Cavanilles, *Observaciones sobre la historia natural, geografía, agricultura, población y frutos del Reyno de Valencia* (Madrid 1795–1797; repr. Zaragoza 1958) 2.397–404.

<sup>72</sup>A. Rubio, *Peste Negra, crisis y compartimientos sociales en la España del Siglo XIV: La Ciudad de Valencia (1348–1401)* (Granada 1980).

<sup>73</sup>Boswell (n. 6 above) 236–249.

<sup>74</sup>Burns 1975 (n. 6 above) devotes almost an entire volume to taxation of the Muslims of Valencia.

<sup>75</sup>ARV-Real 611, fol. 238r–v, and ACA-Cancillería 38, fol. 3r–v.

amounting to a dinar (penny) per head.<sup>76</sup> Agricultural rents on grains, fruits, olive oil, grapes (and wine?), and vegetables amounted to a tenth,<sup>77</sup> to be paid prior to storage, although garden vegetables, root crops, gourd plants, figs, and raisins intended for home consumption were exempt, as were trees and vinestalks per se. Labor service, dues in lieu of military service, as well as inheritance taxes, were explicitly exempted, although contributions to the upkeep of traditional Muslim religious institutions were confirmed. Excluding the tithes on agricultural produce, the Sierra was liable for 4200 sueldos<sup>78</sup> per year—of which 1200 were paid to the king, in cash, in two installments in August and October, absolving the inhabitants of land rents,<sup>79</sup> community income tax, and other dues. Presumably part of the difference was applied to the salaries of the *alcayts*, the *alcadi*, and the *alamís*.

Although the tax burden of the Sierra was initially light, it was increasingly augmented by irregular but substantial fines or compulsory contributions, for example, in retaliation for revolts, as obligatory gifts on the occasion of coronations or royal weddings, and as levies in times of war.<sup>80</sup> These took on massive proportions by 1400, at a time when regular tax exactions were also diversified and intensified. So, in 1402, the municipalities of the Sierra were forced to pay 26,700 sueldos for unspecified "crimes, delicts and faults,"<sup>81</sup> and in 1405 they had to produce the enormous sum of about 275,000 sueldos (25,000 gold florins) to support the king's imperial ambitions in Sicily.<sup>82</sup> In 1413 the Sierra paid 7700 sueldos to defray the king's expenses in the siege of Bunyol,<sup>83</sup> and in 1415 Jérica, Liria, Vall d'Uxó, and the Sierra had to produce 550,000 sueldos to pay off the king's creditors in Barcelona who had financed his previous expedition to Sicily.<sup>84</sup> In 1419, 5500 sueldos were levied to pay for suppression of a revolt in Sardinia,<sup>85</sup> and in 1424 the king thanked the Sierra for the request of 3000 sueldos "graciously granted to the subvention and aid of his successful fleet."<sup>86</sup> That same year the Sierra contributed 4950 sueldos to the coronation of Alfonso V.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>76</sup>So, for example, in the Tales Charter (Colección de Cartas Pueblas [n. 35 above]): "pro unaquaque capra quod habueritis unum denarium . . . et de ovibus, arietibus, et yrcis similiter."

<sup>77</sup>Agricultural rents in both Islamic and Christian Spain more commonly were set at one-fifth—see Burns 1975 (n. 6 above) 108–120.

<sup>78</sup>Wherever possible, currency has been converted to the *sueldo real*. See Boswell (n. 6 above) 25–26. During the thirteenth century an infantryman earned as little as 24 sueldos a year (Burns 1975 [n. 6 above] 31) compared with 30–40 sueldos during the mid-fourteenth century (J. M. Doñate Sebastián, "Salarios y precios durante la segunda mitad del Siglo XIV," *Actas: VII Congreso de historia de la Corona de Aragón* [Barcelona 1962] 2.417–506), and well over 100 sueldos a century later.

<sup>79</sup>In Tales in 1260 (Colección de Cartas Pueblas [n. 35 above]) the separate land rent—as distinct from the tithe on agricultural produce—amounted to about 2 sueldos per *tafulla* (roughly a ninth of a hectare): "quod qualibet tafulla terre vigintii denarios."

<sup>80</sup>W. Küchler, "Besteuerung der Juden und Mauren in den Ländern der Krone Aragons während des 15. Jahrhunderts," *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens* 24 (1968) 227–256.

<sup>81</sup>ARV-Real 678, fols. 114v–115.

<sup>82</sup>ARV-MR 9654, fol. 118r–v.

<sup>83</sup>ARV-MR 34, fol. 55v.

<sup>84</sup>ARV-MR 36, fol. 37v. In 1392 these same areas had been liable to a payment of 772,400 sueldos for the same purpose; see H. García García, *Notas para la historia de Vall de Uxó* (Vall de Uxó 1982) 58.

<sup>85</sup>ARV-MR 36, fol. 86, 89.

<sup>86</sup>ARV-MR 44, fol. 221v.

<sup>87</sup>ARV-MR 44, fol. 226. In 1415 Tales, and presumably also Eslida, had contributed 5500s toward the

By 1413 the annual load of fixed taxes and rents had inflated to 23,500 sueldos,<sup>88</sup> and by 1418 a new head tax of 20 sueldos per household, totaling 12,580 sueldos,<sup>89</sup> was regularly being extracted. Beyond the "tenth" on produce, this suggests an average regular tax and rent burden of over 57 sueldos per household, representing roughly a third of the annual income of an average farmer. Yet the Sierra was relatively fortunate in that it did not become burdened with additional church taxes, with which Vall d'Uxó was threatened in 1302–1322,<sup>90</sup> and on account of which the Vall de Almonacid had to pay 9500 sueldos annually to the monastery of Vall de Cristo and its friars in 1412.<sup>91</sup> Just how ruinous this regular and peremptory taxation was can be gauged from the complaint of the *alamís* of Eslida and Ahín to the Bailiff General during the war of 1430, that in March of that year alone they had to pay 31,500 sueldos.<sup>92</sup>

Following a long break in the accessible tax documentation, in 1569 Ahín was liable for 1680 sueldos in fixed land rents and community tax (*mesades*), 160 in rent surcharges (*sobremesades*), 47 in head tax (*morabati*), 45 in contributions to the mosque, and 1726 in tithes (*regalías*) on mills, ovens, butchery, and shop (*tenda*).<sup>93</sup> Assuming a population of about 40 *casas*, this implies an average annual fiscal burden of 89 sueldos per household, excluding the tithes on agricultural produce, which would approximately double this amount.<sup>94</sup> Ironically, since fixed taxes appear to have remained essentially unchanged in the Sierra 1530–1585,<sup>95</sup> the relative tax

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king's wedding. The custom had a long tradition because in 1349 Vall d'Uxó had paid 6600s for the wedding of Pedro IV; see García (n. 84 above) 60.

<sup>88</sup>ARV-Bailía Apéndice 61, fols. 321–323. This sum included 1500s for the salary of the *alcayt* of Eslida and 1000s for that of Castro de Suera, 200s for the *alamí* of Eslida, as well as pensions and salaries for 18 other individuals in Valencia and Barcelona.

<sup>89</sup>ARV-MR 9659, fol. 2v.

<sup>90</sup>P. Guichard, "La repoblación y la condición de los musulmanes," *Nuestra historia* (Valencia 1980) 3.43–82.

<sup>91</sup>ARV-Bailía Apéndice 61, fol. 319. Until 1411 these sums, constituting two-thirds of Almonacid's fixed payments, had been due to the monastery of San Juan; see ARV-MR 9654, fol. 5r–v.

<sup>92</sup>ARV-Real 678, fols. 114v–115.

<sup>93</sup>ARV-MR 10.187, fols. 6v–8; fol. 22, for 1569. The yield on *regalías* varied from year to year, ranging from 1350 to 1600 sueldos annually for Ahín during 1576–1585 (ARV-MR 9723 [1582], 10.189 [1577], 9725 [1578], 9726 [1578], 9728 [1580], 9729 [1581], 9730 [1528], and 9734 [1585]). Annual fluctuations ultimately reflected the quality of the harvest, but the details consistently reported for Eslida show that dues on ovens and on butchery fluctuated inversely, with the shop tithes in no relation to either. This shows that more goats were slaughtered during years when the grain harvest was poor.

<sup>94</sup>In 1561 the district of Jérica provided a seigniorial income of 9062s from agricultural tithes—a third of the total, with the remainder to the king—out of 16,672s (Císcar [n. 13 above] 96), namely 54%. The full agricultural tithes (set at 10% in Jérica; see M. Salvá and P. Sáinz de Baranda, *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España* [Madrid 1851] 18.137) were 27,186s or 78% of 34,796s for lord and king. No direct figures on tithes are available for the Sierra but in 1576 nearly 25,000s of the agricultural tithes collected by the duke of Segorbe from the Sierra plus Vall d'Uxó went to pay his various creditors (ARV-MR 9723, fols. 32v–39v); with slightly over 700 families at the time, this alone averaged 35s per family. However, since Vall d'Uxó paid its tithes at a rate of one-sixth and the sierra at one-tenth, that partial amount would have fallen somewhat lighter on the sierra, some 25s per family.

<sup>95</sup>Points of comparison are offered by the contributions to the castle *alcayt* of Eslida (1500 sueldos in 1530 and 1569–1585, and unchanged since 1413—see n. 88 above) and the *sobremesades* (those of Veo-Alcudia, Suera, and Fanzara collectively, rose from 461 to 573 sueldos), while the mosque taxes remained at 1167 sueldos.

burden decreased steadily because the cost of living increased 118% during these same years.<sup>96</sup>

This brief historical analysis of the taxation issue pinpoints the great fiscal crunch in the Sierra between 1402 and 1430, although a broader examination of Aragonese tax revenues shows that, allowing for inflation, these had already increased by 30% between 1330 and 1365, despite a marked population decline after 1350.<sup>97</sup> The Sierra data suggest that tax demands tended to stabilize during the second half of the fifteenth century and that, in view of the inflation of the sixteenth century, the actual fiscal burden improved after 1530.

The tax exemptions provide insight into another aspect of the Sierra economy. Several were explicitly made out to individuals identified as *portadors*,<sup>98</sup> merchants evidently engaged in the transport of commodities. The basic formula of all the exemptions is more or less the same, a blanket privilege that the holders "are free of tolls on merchandise, transit, weights and measures, carriage, passage, threshing, embarking, grazing, and butchering, and whatsoever other duties."<sup>99</sup> The context of this royal decree of 1410 reaffirms and specifies privileges first given in the Eslida Charter and periodically repeated thereafter: the inhabitants of the Sierra were granted freedom of movement within their territories for commercial purposes, freedom to buy and sell property and to close contracts outside of their villages, freedom to visit their families wheresoever in the kingdom, as well as the rights to graze livestock freely within the municipality's boundaries, as in former times.<sup>100</sup> The com-

<sup>96</sup>See H. Lapeyre, "Economía y sociedad en los países de la Corona de Aragón durante el Siglo XVI," *Actas del VII Congreso de historia de la Corona de Aragón* (Valencia 1973) 3(1).9-34; E. Císcar Pallares, "Demografía, economía y sociedad," *Nuestra historia* (Valencia 1980) 4.91-118. If only 22% of the total seigniorial and royal tax and tithe burden of the Sierra came from revenues other than the agricultural tenth, as at Jérica, the latter would have been about 404s per family, implying a gross annual income of 4000s during the later sixteenth century. Adding the ecclesiastical taxes and tithes of 66s per family (see n. 309 below), the total burden in the case of Ahín would have averaged 559s or only 14% of gross income, a ratio as improbably low as the income is high. During the mid-sixteenth century the annual income of a laborer in Valencia was set between 700 and 1050s (Císcar [above]), and it seems improbable that a hard-working farmer would have earned much more than double that amount. This cautions against accepting the known or estimated variables in the tax-tithe and income equation at face value, but it does leave open the possibility that the tax burden in the Sierra did not exceed 30% during the late 1500s.

<sup>97</sup>Boswell (n. 6 above) 198-199, 218-238. Concomitantly, commodity prices in Aragón jumped 58% 1450-1473 and urban wages about 30%. See E. J. Hamilton, *Money, Prices and Wages in Valencia, Aragón and Navarre (1351-1500)* (Cambridge, Mass. 1936) 69, 191, 202. After 1380 commodity prices in Valencia trended gently downward until 1500, with the value of agricultural produce 5% to 10% higher 1414-1447 than during 1448-1468 (*ibid.* 53-63).

<sup>98</sup>So, for example, ARV-Real 624, fols. 13v-14v, 37v, 41v, for 1414-1418.

<sup>99</sup>ARV-Real 624, fols. 6-9v: "Privilegis . . . per los quals los vehins e habitants de la Serra de Eslida son franchs de leuda, peatge, pes, mesuratge, portatge, passatge, sacra, ribatge, erbatge e carneratge e tot altre qualsevol dret." For the range and rates of tolls on merchandise (*lezda*) and transit (*peaje*) on raw materials, livestock, produce, and finished goods in medieval Valencia, see A. Santamaría Arández, *Aportación al estudio de la economía de Valencia durante el Siglo XV* (Valencia 1966); M. Gual Camarena, "Arancel de lezdas y peajes del Reino de Valencia (Siglo XV)," *Anuario de historia económica y social* 1 (1968) 657-690; L. Piles Ros, *Apuntes para la historia económico social de Valencia durante el Siglo XV* (Valencia 1969) 24-29.

<sup>100</sup>See ARV-Bailía, fol. 238v, "possint ire per totos terminos suos ad pertractanda negotia sua," "sar-raceni, qui extra villam suam contrahere voluerint, possint sine contrario," "possint ire visum parentes

ponents of these exemptions do apply to farmers but more emphatically to vendors and traveling merchants, as stated in a reaffirmation of 1398 for *venders aut portadors*,<sup>101</sup> "sellers and carriers."

Merchants from Eslida not only had direct contacts with Valencia but also with distant Morella in 1374,<sup>102</sup> and in 1401 at least three families with fifteen people from Eslida embarked in the harbor of Valencia for Granada.<sup>103</sup> At the same time Eslida was an important market center, judging by the presence of a *mustaqaf* or market overseer in 1500.<sup>104</sup> It also had a widely reputed school of Islamic learning. The presence of a Quranic school with religious scholars as well as a Muslim religious foundation (*waqf*) is confirmed in 1242, 1276, and 1409.<sup>105</sup> It is therefore not surprising that a later historian should mention the learned men once drawn to medieval Eslida.<sup>106</sup> Another comment on the window to the outside world is implicit from the presence of a number of Algerian families in Eslida, Alcudia, and Fanzara in 1421.<sup>107</sup>

Land in Islamic and Christian Valencia was typically held under hereditary leases.<sup>108</sup> The tenant-farmer was not, at least initially, bound to the land<sup>109</sup> and could

ubicumque fuerint," and "[sic] fuit] agnatum eorum pascat in terminis suis universis, sicut consuevit tempore paganorum."

<sup>101</sup>ARV-Real 624, fol. 10v. That *franquicias* were given only to men of distinction is supported by Boswell (n. 6 above) 213: "Franchitas were always granted for service to the Crown."

<sup>102</sup>M. Grau Monserrat, "Mudéjares castellonenses," *Boletín: Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 29 (1962) 251–273 (docs. 4 and 9). Also, in 1374, five citizens from Eslida and Suera were resident in Castellón. See J. Sánchez Adell, "Castellón de la Plana en la baja edad media," *Boletín: Sociedad castellonense de cultura* 51 (1975) 16–46.

<sup>103</sup>ARV-MR 20, fol. 23v. Also, J. Hinojosa Montalvo, "Las relaciones entre los reinos de Valencia y Granada durante la primera mitad del Siglo XV," in *Estudios de historia de Valencia* (Valencia 1978) 23–80.

<sup>104</sup>See Llorens (n. 22 above). On the role of the *mustaqaf* in enforcing work ordinances, the accuracy of weights and measures, the quality of produce and products, the removal of garbage, and the maintenance of open streets, see F. Sevillano Colom, "De la institución del *mustaqaf* de Barcelona, de Mallorca y de Valencia," *Anuario de historia del derecho español* 23 (1953) 525–538; F. Roca Traver, "El *Mustaqaf* de Castellón y el 'Libre de la *Mustaqaffia*,'" *Boletín: Sociedad castellonense de cultura* 48 (1972) 33–64; P. Chalmeta Gendron, *El "Señor del Zoco" en España: Edades media y moderna* (Madrid 1973) 583–601. The considerable authority of the *mustaqaf* and the limited number of such institutions in the kingdom (Cafí, Castellón, Valencia) suggest that the market functions of Eslida were substantially more important than its size might suggest. It seems reasonable to postulate that Eslida served as a secondary urban center within a loosely integrated, provincial central-place network.

<sup>105</sup>Thus in the Eslida Charter (ARV-Bailía 611, fol. 238): "possint docere scholares Alcora et libros omnes de Alhadet [the Hadith] secundum legem suam et Alcopzi sint de mezquitis suis," and in the Second Charter (ACA-Real 38, fol. 3v): "pretere alchaream de ( . . . ) arraqa sicut consuevistis habere in hereditates meschitarum." In 1409 (ARV-Real 611, fol. 203) it is put as "que puxats tenir (vostra) secta o ley e dir (vostres) oracions e fer la acala en (vostres) mezquites e mostrar o fer mostrar a (vostres) filis (*sic*) e altres scolans sarrahins lo Alchora e lo libre de Alhadet segons (vostra) ley e lalcopzi." The significance of Alcopzi is controversial, but probably refers to estates willed to the mosque (Ar. *hubs*, Sp. *habíz*); courtesy of M. C. Barceló, personal communication, and Burns 1973 (n. 6 above) 199, 212–213.

<sup>106</sup>Writing in 1611 and referring to the period prior to the Reconquista, Escolano (n. 11 above) 2.343: "en aquel tiempo residian en la sierra de Eslida algunos alfaquies, estimados por grandes filósofos y médicos . . . tenían en aquella sierra públicas escuelas, con estraño concurso de moros que acudían de todo el reino a deprender letras y religión; tanto era su crédito y autoridad."

<sup>107</sup>ARV-Bailía 212, fols. 345, 360v, 361.

<sup>108</sup>Burns 1973 (n. 6 above) 101–105; 1975 (n. 6 above) 110; 1984 (n. 6 above) 39–48.

<sup>109</sup>The residential mobility of Muslims was progressively limited. By the 1350s it was common practice

buy, sell, and inherit his property freely—except to Christians, as stipulated in the Eslida Charter. Land ultimately belonged to the king or the feudal lord, but proprietor-farmers at the local level could have contract-tenants or share-croppers of their own. At the bottom of the economic ladder were the landless, daily wage-laborers.<sup>110</sup> The Sierra records implicitly support such a hierarchy. The 1242 charter hints at the existence of large landowners with properties outside of the Sierra<sup>111</sup> and, on the whole, only about half of the heads of households are listed in the inventories related to land rents or guarantees of community responsibility.<sup>112</sup> Our study of the names of individuals from Ahín and Benialí who were sufficiently prominent to receive tax exemptions or to attest to key documents shows that such status tended to be inherited from father to son and was restricted to a limited number of families.<sup>113</sup> These implications of an unequal distribution of property fit within the larger picture of inequality in both Islamic and Christian Spain.<sup>114</sup>

One of the last themes requiring discussion is whether transhumance was relevant to the economy of the Sierra. Figure 2 shows the traditional trails, whereby sheep from Valdelinares, Linares de Mora, and other points in Aragón were segregated on diverse winter pastures on the northern slopes of the Espadán, rather than being driven further down from the main Mijares route to Castellón.<sup>115</sup> The 1242 Eslida Charter notes that cattle and, by implication, livestock could graze throughout the

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to confiscate the goods of families attempting to relocate to another feudal territory (e.g., ARV-Real 687, fol. 21r-v [1351]), and in 1362 it was formally prohibited to change residence without a license, upon pain of confiscation (Boswell [n. 6 above] 298–300). At issue here was the loss of rents and revenues, and the cost of a license included an indemnity to the local lord as well as a tax and fee for the king, amounting to 321 sueldos per person in 1401 and 400 in 1598 (ARV-MR 20, fols. 23v–24v, and ARV-Real 633, fol. 1). Another concern was the threat of large-scale emigration of the Valencian labor force to Granada which was limited by the high cost as well as by the difficulties of obtaining such licenses (Boswell [n. 6 above] 302–310; Barceló [n. 12 above] 70–71). In 1412 a Muslim of Eslida was apprehended traveling without a license, perhaps in Sagunto, for which the *alcayt* collected a fine of 825s (ARV-MR 35, fol. 49).

<sup>110</sup>Burns 1973 (n. 6 above) 104–105.

<sup>111</sup>“Et sarraceni dictorum castrorum recuperent haereditates suas ubicumque fuerint excepto in Valencia et Burriana” (see ARV-Bailía 611, fol. 238v).

<sup>112</sup>See the *censals* of 1383–1390 (n. 59 above) and the documents of 1445 (n. 54 above) and 1500 (n. 55 above).

<sup>113</sup>Of 14 people obtaining exemptions in Ahín 1414, four had the surname Alfaqui and two Aladif (ARV-Real 624, fols. 6v–9v). In 1500, of 21 legible names for Ahín (ACS-Pergamino 32) one occurs three times (Xilenxi) and three twice (Halil, Çale, Eça.) Equally, there were underprivileged people; so, for example, 9 of the 71 households in Ahín and Benialí in 1451 could not pay the *morabatí* and presumably were indigent (ARV-MR 10.874, fol. 27r–v). Some 160 heads of households are documented for Ahín 1383–1563 (Annex 5) and the implications of this body of data are discussed further below.

<sup>114</sup>Burns 1973 (n. 6 above) 100–101; Boswell (n. 6 above) 42; T. Halperin Donghi, *Un conflicto nacional: Moriscos y Christianos viejos en Valencia* (Valencia 1980) 80–81, 86–87; Barceló (n. 12 above). The limited documents from the Sierra in regard to social institutions have been studied by Febrer (n. 12 above), but they do not add substantially to the more general picture already delineated by Piles Ros (n. 48 above); M. Gual Camarena, “Mudéjares valencianos: Aportaciones para su estudio,” *Saitabi* 7 (1949) 165–199; F. A. Roca Traver, “Un siglo de vida mudéjar en la Valencia medieval (1238–1338),” *Estudios de edad media de la Corona de Aragón* 5 (1952) 115–208; M. C. Barceló Torres, “La Morería de Valencia en el reinado de Juan II,” *Saitabi* 30 (1980) 49–71; Barceló (n. 12 above); and Burns 1973 (n. 6 above), chaps. 5, 10–12, 16–17.

<sup>115</sup>Medieval transhumance on the coastal plain is described by J. Sánchez Adell, “La ganadería valenciana en el Siglo XVI,” *Saitabi* 27 (1977) 79–102; idem, “Datos para la historia de la transhumancia

municipal territory, as in former times, but that others could not use their pastures without prior contract.<sup>116</sup> This seems to refer to transient or wintering flocks, which were subject to a tithe.<sup>117</sup> The intricacies of grazing rights are illustrated by a major dispute in Fanzara in 1382, when much of the herd of Berthomeu Adoves, a Christian, was confiscated by the irate citizens of that town.<sup>118</sup> Adoves claimed that he and his father and their ancestors had had uncontested rights to day and night grazing (?during the winter months [*mallada*]), because he was a *vehin* of Fanzara and paid the customary tithes on his animals as well as the *morabatí*, just like the Muslims of that town. An array of witnesses as well as the *alamí* and *jurats* pointed out that he and his predecessors had only had the right to graze on uncultivated Fanzara lands (*dehesa*) from dawn to dusk. The judge agreed with the *aljama* and enjoined Adoves to corral his herds at night, either on his farmstead (*mas*)<sup>119</sup> in Fanzara or that in the Christian *termino* of Lucena; otherwise his herds were liable to being slaughtered with impunity, as was customary.

South of the crest of the Espadán there is clear evidence for more local transhumance. The 1250 charter for Vall d'Uxó explains that the herds of Uxó and the area between Nules and Almenara would be allowed to continue to graze freely in the territories of Uxó, Alfondeguilla, and Xóvar *segons que a ells era ja legut*.<sup>120</sup> Similarly, a 1321 document reconfirmed an earlier privilege of 1256 that the herds of Segorbe could graze free of charge in the territories of Almonacid, Almedíxar, Azuébar and Xóvar, as well as south to beyond Gatova, as they had been able to do in Islamic times.<sup>121</sup> These privileges presumably refer to winter pasturage that provided economic and ecologic parity between stubble grazing in exchange for dung (*mallada*) left in the fields. They further imply that Aragonese, interregional transhumance (with Christian shepherds) was restricted to the Mijares drainage, in favor

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ganadera castellonense en la baja edad media," *Actas del Primer congreso de historia del país valenciano* (Valencia 1983) 2.821–826; V. Fontavella, "La transhumancia y la evolución ganadero-lanar en la provincia de Valencia," *Estudios geográficos* 12 (1951) 773–805. For a wider discussion of medieval transhumance in Spain, see J. Klein, *The Mesta: A Study in Spanish Economic History, 1273–1836* (Cambridge, Mass. 1920); C. J. Bishko, *Studies in Medieval Spanish Frontier History* (London 1980); also R. Aitken, "Routes of Transhumance on the Spanish Meseta," *Geographical Journal* 106 (1945) 59–69; D. Zobl, "Die Transhumanz der europäischen Mittelmeerländer im Mittelalter," *Berliner geographische Studien* 10 (1983) 2.1.

<sup>116</sup>"Ne aliquis paschua ipsorum sine ganatum contrariet," ARV-Real 611, fol. 238.

<sup>117</sup>A more specific allusion is cited for the Vall de Almonacid in 1268 by R. I. Burns, *The Crusader Kingdom of Valencia: Reconstruction of a Thirteenth Century Frontier* (Cambridge, Mass 1967) 1.145.

<sup>118</sup>ARV-Real 611, fols. 207v–209v. The case, heard before the *alcayt* of Castro de Suera, is also interesting because he requested that the many witnesses limit themselves to a summary of its history to spare him the need to listen to the detailed narrative—and, by implication, the legality of precedents embodied in the rich fabric of oral tradition.

<sup>119</sup>This is the earliest reference to a *mas*, still characteristic in the area of dispersed settlement north of the Mijares. The term appears to derive from the Roman concept *massa fundorum*, "group of estates" (see Percival [n. 23 above] 129; A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284–602* [Oxford 1964] 781, 786).

<sup>120</sup>ARV-Real 611, fol. 229v and *Documentos* 347.

<sup>121</sup>ARV-Fondos en Depósitos (Pergaminos) caja 17, no. 16. In 1242 the new settlers of Valencia were also authorized, according to existing tradition, to move or graze their herds free of any charges or tolls anywhere within the kingdom (*Documentos* 2.305), and a similar privilege was extended to the monastery of Benifazá in 1247 (*Documentos* 2.456).

of intraregional transhumance patterns (with Muslim shepherds) further south. In effect, there were two types of livestock herding, the first a matter of small, locally-owned herds grazing within the limits of each *termino* on communal or private pastures, the second involving large flocks, with shepherds, crossing the municipal boundaries to graze on unimproved pastures or on field stubble during winter. Then, as in the past century, the shepherd or owner was responsible for any crop damage by his animals.<sup>122</sup>

A unique livestock inventory of 1510, although not specific as to what kinds of animals, lists 6772 *bestiars* or *caps* for the Sierra;<sup>123</sup> this is a much lower ratio of animals per household than that of areas to the west and north, but higher than on the coastal plain, indicating that local livestock were moderately important. The inverse relationship between grain mill and butchery income in the Sierra communities 1569–1585<sup>124</sup> argues that meat was used more heavily during poor harvest years, serving to complement the subsistence strategy in hard times.

A final point is irrigation, referred to marginally in the 1242 charter. One key medieval document in this regard concerns a forty-year dispute between Eslida and the Vall d'Uxó, resolved by Jaime I in 1260 in accordance with earlier, Islamic rulings.<sup>125</sup> It appears that a canal serving the Vall d'Uxó derived waters from an area rightfully claimed by Eslida, presumably south of the mountain watershed, perhaps near Castro de Alfondeguilla.<sup>126</sup> In 1310 citizens of Tales claimed the rights to waters entrained by the ancient diversion dams (*azuts antichs*) according to earlier confirmation of Saracen customs,<sup>127</sup> thus documenting both traditional water rights and the existence of an irrigation system. In 1342 we learn that a man was murdered "en lo Riu del Carvon sobre lacut veyll terme del dit castell [Xóvar]." <sup>128</sup> The physical record of medieval irrigation in the Sierra includes long-abandoned, animal-driven waterwheels (*cenias*) near Xóvar, Benitandús, Almedíxar and Artana, *shadufs* near Xóvar and Artana, the original, buttressed storage dam at Xóvar, and arcuate, buttressed water tanks (*balsas*) at Bellota and Lloret.<sup>129</sup> Traditional water rights in-

<sup>122</sup>In 1426 a court case dealt with *bestiars* (probably goats) from Vall d'Uxó that damaged fig plantings and vineyards belonging to farmers of Eslida. During the nineteenth century local herds belonging to farmers of Ahín sometimes numbered 40–100 head and were moved from one private land parcel to another that belonged to their owner. The Aragonese shepherds on the other hand were restricted to four herds of 100 head each on four large *partidas* that lacked *regadío*. The transhumance season was limited from 1 November to 3 May, and the dung left behind provided the payoff as manure.

<sup>123</sup>ARV-Real 514 tres., fol. 5; also published by R. García Carcel, "El censo de 1510 y la población valenciana de la primera mitad del Siglo XVI," *Cuadernos de geografía (Universidad de Valencia)* 18 (1976) 49–66.

<sup>124</sup>See n. 84 above.

<sup>125</sup>R. Chabás Lloréns, "Zahen y los moros de Uxó y Eslida," *El Archivo* 1 (1887) 262–263; Burns 1973 (n. 6 above) 255–257.

<sup>126</sup>Castro appears to have been partly within the jurisdiction of Eslida during the thirteenth century (Annex 4), and both Castro and Alfondeguilla belonged to the Alcadiazgo during the sixteenth century (see ARV-MR 9723).

<sup>127</sup>Glick (n. 13 above) 240, 374. An earlier reference to the *huerta* of Onda is given in Miret (cited in n. 141 below) 185–186.

<sup>128</sup>ARV-Real Justicia 806, fol. 118. The case, tried before the lieutenant-governor of the Vall d'Uxó, received attention because of a conflict over criminal jurisdiction between the *alamí* on the one hand and the *alcayt* and the lord of Xóvar on the other.

<sup>129</sup>Butzer et al. (n. 19 above) and unpublished.



clude fixed days and sequences of turns (*tanda*) in Ahín, Alcudia, Veo, and Xóvar, as well as informal *tandas* in Benitandús and Almedíxar.<sup>130</sup> Collectively this information suggests that the traditional irrigation systems, notwithstanding changes in detail, go back to the centuries before 1238.<sup>131</sup>

With this background information it is now possible to develop the historical documentation directly relevant to Ahín and Benialí for the period A.D. 1238–1609.

#### THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY: HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA

Relatively little is known about events directly affecting the Sierra communities before or during the Reconquista. The Cid and his forces were active in Onda, Segorbe, and Almenara during the years 1090–1099, but there are few facts and the sierra does not appear to have been affected.<sup>132</sup> From 1179 to 1185, the Aragonese struck deep into Valencia from Teruel via the Palancia route, and in 1210 they began to attack and secure border towns,<sup>133</sup> evidently times when the sierra lay directly in the frontier zone. But the eventual Christian conquest was made possible only by civil war in Valencia, when the legal Almohad governor Abū Zayd was ousted from the capital while the descendant of an indigenous dynasty, Zayyān, revolted in Onda to be subsequently enthroned in Valencia (January 1229).<sup>134</sup> Abū Zayd retained the support of the mountain-frontier towns between the Mijares and Alpuente; he fled to Segorbe and then entered into a compromising alliance with Aragón that included his secret conversion to Christianity. As a result, the sierra initially remained quiet during the first stage of the Reconquista, and possibly even received Christian garrisons in some of its castles.<sup>135</sup> But at some point after formalization of Abū Zayd's alliance with Jaime I (May 1236) and prior to the decisive battle of Puig (August 1237), the *faqīhs* in Abū Zayd's sphere of influence raised a fanatical revolt. Thousands of Muslim footsoldiers from the sierra and the upper Mijares filled

<sup>130</sup>See n. 128 above. An invaluable body of adjudications from 1535 in Vall d'Uxó, which had a mixed time and volume system, is published in Peñarroja (n. 40 above) 2.521–526.

<sup>131</sup>The simplification for Benitandús of the mixed time and *fila* system found upstream in Veo probably relates to the founding of Alfara and Benitandús during the fourteenth century (see Annex 4). The presumably new *huerta* of Benitandús received the excess water from Alcudia and Veo collected by a dam at the distal end of the *huerta* of Veo and Alfara, to feed *acequias* on either side of the river. Although Alcudia and Veo divided their waters on a six- and seven-day cycle (north and south bank respectively), Benitandús simply followed an untimed upstream-to-downstream sequence, first on the northwest then the southeast bank, with each cultivator down the line using water as long as necessary. Whereas Alcudia and Veo have a regulated irrigation season from 24 June to 18 October, Benitandús does not, although its flexible *tanda* is always initiated on 24 June. The details of each community system are different, presumably reflecting local ecologic circumstances, the period when a system was effectively developed, and the necessary compromises within and between communities.

<sup>132</sup>A. Huici Miranda, *Historia musulmana de Valencia y su región* (Valencia 1970) 2.77–81; P. Guichard, "La Valencia musulmana," *Nuestra historia* (Valencia 1980) 2.256–258.

<sup>133</sup>Gual (n. 4 above) 200–201, 208–212; M. C. Barceló Torres, "El Sayyid Abū Zayd: Principe musulmán, señor cristiano," *Awraq* 3 (1980) 101–109; Burns 1973 (n. 6 above) 27–37.

<sup>134</sup>Huici (n. 131 above) 3.229–234, 252–254.

<sup>135</sup>Escolano (n. 11 above) 2.343. Shortly after Christmas 1235, Jaime I sent his captain Pero Cornell against Onda, Nules, and Vall d'Uxó with a hundred knights, but without tangible results (Soldevila [n. 20 above] chap. 189).

Zayyān's front ranks in the valiant but disastrous assault on the Christian army at Puig.<sup>136</sup> Subsequently Juan de Valterra and Lupi de Peracelz appear to have conquered the mountains between the Palancia and Mijares, an event that must have preceded the succession of detailed land grants between September 1237 and October 1238,<sup>137</sup> and presumably concluded with the surrender of Vall d'Uxó, Castro, and Alфондеguilla to King Jaime in April 1238.<sup>138</sup> Jaime's visit to Artana in May 1242, with proclamation of the generous Eslida Charter, may have been designed to put an end to smouldering unrest in the area.<sup>139</sup>

Peace was short-lived. In 1247–1248 Vall d'Uxó was in open revolt and, led by a *faqīh* named Ali, the sierra Muslims attacked various points in the upper Palancia region. An army of 3000 inexperienced Christians from the lower Ebro penetrated the mountains but were ambushed in some mountain pass near Eslida. They were routed and lost almost 500 men.<sup>140</sup> The sierra was soon pacified again, as implicit from the royal charter granted in April 1248 to repopulate the abandoned Muslim quarters of Onda and Tales with 300 Christian families and another in August 1250, establishing a new concordat with the Muslims of Vall d'Uxó, Alфондеguilla, and Castro.<sup>141</sup>

It can be presumed that Ahín and its neighboring *aljamas* were deeply involved in the events of 1236–1242 and 1247–1250, but the record is obscure. However, we are better informed about revenues. From 1244 to 1249 the tithes of Ahín and Veo were received by the Hungarian crusader count Dionisius,<sup>142</sup> and 1247–1258 the Templars assumed fiscal management of the castles of Ahín, Veo, and Eslida in return for a loan to the king.<sup>143</sup> From before 1255 to 1260 Eslida was also held in lieu by Galceran de Moncada, who appears to have served as local bailiff.<sup>144</sup> In 1259 the custody of Suera and Fanzara, together with their castles and *alquerías*, was given to Teresa Gil and her son, Jaume de Jérica; Ahín, Veo, and Eslida and their castles were added to this grant in 1260.<sup>145</sup>

While these manipulations continued in Barcelona and Valencia, the Muslims of

<sup>136</sup>Soldevila (n. 20 above) chaps. 217–219; Escolano (n. 11 above) 2.343–344.

<sup>137</sup>See n. 20 above. In March 1238 F. Periz de Pina was granted Ahín and Veo (*Libre* 1.0148), the latter transferred to R. Berengarii de Ager in October of the same year (*Libre* 2.0094).

<sup>138</sup>Soldevila (n. 20 above) chaps. 249–253.

<sup>139</sup>H. García García, "La Sierra de Espadán," *Boletín: Sociedad castellonense de cultura* 20 (1944) 126–135 and "El Alcadiazgo de Eslida," *Boletín: Sociedad castellonense de cultura* 18 (1943) 161–165.

<sup>140</sup>Soldevila (n. 20 above) chap. 370; Escolano (n. 11 above) 2.314. Escolano, who usefully complements the sparse thirteenth-century records with what appears to have been oral tradition, indicates the ambush took place near Eslida, possibly in the narrow valley stretch just east of Ahín.

<sup>141</sup>*Documentos* 2.475, 547, and 706. García (n. 84 above) 50–51 lists the royal donations made in Vall d'Uxó between April 1248 and August 1249, following an edict of expulsion (? 6 January 1248) that seems to have been partially executed in Onda and Tales, while the issue of expelling Muslims from Burriana and Segorbe remained in dispute a year later; see J. Miret i Sans, *Itinerari de Jaume I "el Conqueridor"* (Barcelona 1918) 194–195; and R. I. Burns, pers. comm. It appears that the basic revolt was under control early in 1248, but one or other castle may have held out until the beginning of 1250.

<sup>142</sup>*Libre* 1.1708, 2.0878.

<sup>143</sup>Burns 1975 (n. 6 above) 305; *Catálogo* 162; *Documentos* 2.466.

<sup>144</sup>*El Archivo* 1 (1886–1887) 247–248; *Catálogo* 1.162, 169, 273.

<sup>145</sup>*Catálogo* 260 and, as renewed for fifty years in 1272, Miret (n. 141 above) 462; R. I. Burns, "Rehearsal for the Sicilian War: Pere el Gran and the Mudejar Countercrusade in the Kingdom of Valencia, 1276–1278," *Atti: XI Congresso di storia della Corona d'Aragona* (Palermo 1983) 2.259–287; Burns

the Sierra prepared for another revolt. In June 1276 the Muslims of Eslida were negotiating a surrender agreement with the future king Pedro of Aragon that led to the second Eslida Charter, but the subsequent death of Jaime led to a renewal of bitter hostilities. The new monarch found himself in a drawn-out siege that was only terminated in March 1277 on the same terms.<sup>146</sup> The new charter, unlike the old, obligated the residents to supply the castle and its Christian *alcayt* with water and fuel;<sup>147</sup> it did not address Ahín and the other *aljamas*, either because they did not rebel or because they had been removed from Eslida's authority.<sup>148</sup> In 1278 all the sierra communities were assessed a special tax (Annex 3), possibly fines to recompense the kings' military expenses.<sup>149</sup> Noteworthy is that the entry for Ahín adds "probatum est quod non fuerunt in guerra."<sup>150</sup> Ahín's apparently singular abstention from the revolt may reflect a lesson learned from substantial losses during the rising of 1247–1248. However, the castle of Ahín, which is last mentioned in the final will of Jaime I in 1272,<sup>151</sup> is never mentioned again. Unless the various references to that castle between 1248 and 1272 are assumed to be rhetorical, it would appear that it was destroyed in 1276 while being defended by Muslims from other communities.

This comprises the effective thirteenth-century written documentation for the Sierra communities. It is highly general and frustratingly impersonal. In the broader socio-economic context developed earlier, it basically demonstrates the military subjugation of the Sierra in three, and possibly four, phases between 1236 and 1277. The principles of fiscal and legal administration had also crystallized, with their critical adjunct of cultural autonomy. Defeated but unbowed, the Muslim communities were apparently now ready to accommodate with the externalities of subjugation, given the guarantees for persistence of their traditional lifeways in the private sphere. This picture is complemented by the archaeological evidence established for the castle of Ahín.

also (1975 [n. 6 above] 99) suspects that the special tax of 1257 (Annex 1) and the 1259 donation of Suera and Fanzara reflect another abortive rising in the Sierra. The Sierra remained under the overall administration of Jérica until the death of Prince Juan Alfonso in 1369 (Escolano [n. 11 above] 330). The holding of the Sierra by a secondary royal lineage 1260–1369 did not effectively change its status as crown land (*realengo*), but it did prepare the way for final creation of the semiautonomous duchy of Segorbe in 1478, following a century of uncertainty during which the Christian military administrators, the Christian townsmen of Jérica and Segorbe, and the Muslims of the sierra attempted to remain under the king's less onerous jurisdiction through financial appeasement and occasional protest, especially after 1431 (see Escolano [n. 11 above] 2.330–333; H. García García, "Orígenes del Ducado de Segorbe," *Boletín: Sociedad Castellonense de cultura* 14 [1933] 466–489).

<sup>146</sup>Burns 1984 (n. 6 above) 62–63, 289–290.

<sup>147</sup>Burns 1984 (n. 6 above) 63–67. Local resistance to obligatory labor (*zofra*) for the castle is implicit and in 1365 the *aljama* apparently protested again while the other communities of the Sierra attempted to avoid work on the necessary castle repairs at Eslida by asking for a separate castle of their own. See Boswell (n. 6 above) 363–365. Regarding the Christian *alcayt* or castellan of Eslida, see Burns (n. 117 above) 77, 409; a Ramon Calvera was appointed to the post in 1277 (*Catálogo* 215). It is apparent that the functions of the Muslim *qa'id* had been subsumed with that of the *alcadi* (Burns 1973 [n. 6 above] 382). The fourteenth-century castellans of Castro de Alфонdegulla as well as of Suera also were Christian (see Annex 4).

<sup>148</sup>Burns 1984 (n. 6 above) 63–67.

<sup>149</sup>Burns (n. 144 above); the levies had not yet been paid in June 1279 (*Catálogo* 584).

<sup>150</sup>Burns (n. 144 above) 266.

<sup>151</sup>ARV-Real 613, fol. 189: "et in castris et villis de Veho et de Ahin."

The castillo is located one kilometer south of the village of Ahín on a steep and narrow ridge that rises some eighty meters above the adjacent valley floors (fig. 3). The architectural remains indicate two episodes of construction, one a massive round tower linked to a triangular enclosure by three walls of mortared stone, the other a trapezoidal frame of concrete walls enhanced by two corner bastions facing north (fig. 4). The west and east walls are flanked by low parallel ramparts (*glacis*) of mortared stone, while the northern perimeter is defined by similar ramparts that outline the indirect access toward the portal in the northeast bastion. A square watchtower is situated eighty meters south of the castle to provide a view towards the southern approaches, which are less steep and cannot be seen from the castle.

The round central tower is emplaced on bedrock and has an average height of 8.5m. The walls average 1.6m in thickness, tapering off in stages that represented four different floors. The topmost level was open for active defense, with a wall 1.6m high. The interior walls of the castle were 75 to 100cm thick and stood 3 to 3.5m above the adjacent surfaces, enclosing a concrete lined cistern with a capacity of 14m<sup>3</sup>. The exterior concrete walls, which generally imbed masses of rock, were 75cm thick; they were poured in the North African *tābiya* method, known as *tapial* in Spanish, in courses 92 to 95cm high.<sup>152</sup> The basic walls consisted of two such courses (1.9m), on top of a prepared quasi-horizontal platform. At the southwestern and southeastern corners there were tall thin pylons that consisted of seven courses, providing an elevation of 6.6m above the platform. The bastions consisted mainly of *tapial*, with some segments constructed of rock or terminated by rock lines. In the northwest bastion the relative elevation was 6m, in the northeast 5m. The cement impressions of cut beams that average 19cm in diameter<sup>153</sup> indicate two stories, although the southern, interior side of neither bastion is adequately preserved; the northeastern bastion had an internal area of about 25m<sup>2</sup>. Excavation into the platform, which averages 1.5 to 2m in elevation, showed a thickness of 60 to 80cm of cut mortared rock, behind which was a stony fill with reworked occupation debris that covered a highly irregular dolomite slope; stabilization was assured by an intermediate level of cementation and a cemented surface (*piso*). The ramparts of the several *glacis* also consist of mortared stone, the thickness of which depends on the bedrock configuration and never exceeds 65cm. The height of the *glacis* depends on the micro-topography: those to the west and east of the castle average 50cm and, with a minimum of fill, enclose surfaces sloping at about 15°; the northern *glacis*, on the other hand, was designed as an entrance route and may be up to 1.5m high, with a fill area sloping at about 5°. The preserved sandstone doorjamb of the portal indicates a gate post up to 14cm in diameter. Finally, the external square watchtower, 7m high, had two floors, with walls 120cm thick.

With an enclosed area of 650m<sup>2</sup>, this castillo was small by the standards of better-known castles in eastern Spain,<sup>154</sup> but relatively strong. The interior walls averaged a clearance of over 3m, the exterior walls of over 4m, while the south wall was supported by a sheer bedrock face to give 5 or 6m of clearance. Properly manned, this

<sup>152</sup>See Pavón (n. 17 above) and Bazzana 1980 (n. 17 above).

<sup>153</sup>The beams above the entrance to the round tower or keep have a mean diameter of 17cm.

<sup>154</sup>For example, J. M. Segura Martí and J. Torro Abad, *Torres i castells de l'Alcoià-Comtat* (Alcoy 1985); R. Azuar Ruíz, *Castellología medieval alicantina: Area meridional* (Alicante 1981); Guichard (n. 3 above) 264–270; Bazzana 1977 (n. 17 above).

castle could defy hostile forces not equipped with siege instruments. Excavation showed that the round central tower and the cistern were built first, but essentially simultaneously with the interior walls. The platform for the *tapial* constructions was built later, since the fill abuts the base of the inner walls. The square watchtower was probably also built at this time. Finally, the *tapial* structures, including the two-story bastions and the pylons, were erected upon the platform. The *tapial* castle had at least two small living units, built against the inner wall just south of the northeast bastion, on the more pleasant sun side of the castle complex. Within the interior walls, the bedrock surface was regularized by a series of low, narrow "step-walls," and there is no evidence of former enclosures here.

A total of 42m<sup>2</sup> was excavated and 24m<sup>3</sup> of dirt were moved, with detailed stratigraphic control provided by one-meter squares, multiple "natural" levels, continuous micro-stratigraphic profiles, and seventy-two sediment or mortar samples. All potsherds, animal bone, snails, charcoal, metal pieces, and glass were recovered, with the aid of sieving. A flexible strategy of exploratory trenches and pits, deep soundings, and extensive surficial clearance was employed. A total of 1939 sherds were found *in situ*, with densities of up to 197 pottery pieces per cubic meter in the occupation area A8-A11. Large quantities of charcoal and animal bone were recovered in this same area, tentatively identified as goat, cow, chicken, rabbit, and another type of bird. Metal finds were relatively frequent; they include a gilded brass tunic clasp, a barbed crossbow bolt, a slender 16cm-long brass point for a longbow arrow, pieces of sixteen large or small nails, parts of two muleshoes, and chunks of iron slag in six excavation units. The primarily "domestic" nature of the archaeological inventory is underscored by the pottery types, which range from porous water containers or storage vessels, to glazed table dishes, to fire-resistant kitchen and storage vessels (primarily unglazed) and, finally, pottery vats or containers for storage or transport (Annex 6). Fragments of roof tile were recovered from eighteen excavation units.

Four general archaeological levels can be identified for the excavation as a whole, based on stratigraphic contacts between various major and minor walls as well as the several cemented floors (*pisos*):

(1) Materials incorporated into the platform fill or the Basal Piso that was laid out in relation to this platform. This Platform Fill dates from its construction but includes substantial earlier occupation debris from the interior precinct. It therefore precedes the *tapial* castle, and currently represents the oldest medieval archaeological level documented in the sierra. The 713 potsherds come primarily from water containers, kitchen and storage vessels that suggest longer term use by soldiers or local residents of modest means. Diagnostic luxury pottery (such as *cuerda seca*) is absent, but the forms and glazes suggest a generalized (mid?) twelfth-century date.

(2) Materials incorporated in the lower occupation soil, between the Basal Piso and the first rubble horizon. This lower Soil represents the duration of use of the completed *tapial* castle. The economic status of the small garrison had improved, judging by almost double the proportion of glazed table and storage wares, but *cuerda seca* remains absent. The 499 sherds show a systematic shift in function and technological "taste," such as a greater preference for jugs or pitchers with pink (rather than beige) slips; the introduction of low-stannous, turquoise glazes; fewer yellowish green glazes; a greater preference for greenish brown rather than reddish brown glazed kitchen wares; much more "reduced" cooking wares; and very few,

hand-made impressions on storage/transport vessels. A clear temporal shift is consequently indicated, perhaps of several generations. In Denia, stannous turquoise glazes extend from the end of the twelfth to the mid or late thirteenth centuries,<sup>155</sup> and logically precede the bluish green, stannous enamels of Teruel or Paterna-Manises that appear towards the end of the thirteenth century.<sup>156</sup> The *tapial* castle was therefore occupied during no more than fifty years prior to the Christian conquest of the sierra in 1237–1238. This is in agreement with the *tapial* construction method used, since rock reinforcement was characteristic of only the last few decades of Islamic Valencia.<sup>157</sup>

(3) Materials incorporated into the rubble levels, which contain *tapial* debris, as well as the subsequent soil wash; this horizon rests on top of the Lower Soil and frequently is covered by the Upper Piso. This Post-Tapial Debris represents systematic destruction of the castle and minimal compaction indicates very rapid accumulation; it incorporates much “domestic” material such as animal bone from food refuse, in association with lenses of collapse rubble of all sizes that include *tapial*. The 601 sherds, which presumably also incorporate earlier materials, are strikingly different from those of the *tapial* occupation (Lower Soil) in functional rather than stylistic terms. There were many water containers, and substantially fewer glazed plates or cooking vessels (Annex 6). This is consonant with lower economic status and a more temporary occupation, such as one might expect during systematic defense of the castle by sierra villagers. Below the Post-Tapial Debris is a sharp unconformity that lacks surface sherds, and below which the sediment is far more compact and noticeably more calcified; this suggests a break in occupation that, judging by the continuity in pottery styles (Annex 6), was brief, no more than one generation. The topmost centimeters of the Post-Tapial Debris are essentially sterile and show a distinct reddish weathering horizon; this argues for a long hiatus, with abandonment of the castle, perhaps over a century or two.

(4) Materials related to substantially later reoccupation and remodeling of the castle. The remains of the exterior wall were spanned by low courses of rough mortared rock while extensive surfaces of the inner precinct and around the former living area were crudely plastered down with cement (Upper Piso). The round tower was rebuilt and a gateway was opened in the inner wall, toward the old northeast bastion, while the inner precinct was subdivided by three low poorly-constructed walls, suggestive of animal pens. Judging by the low density of pottery above the Upper Piso and even the absence of hearth features, occupation was minimal. A watchpost with two policemen, in analogy with the traditional Guardia Civil, is suggested. The

<sup>155</sup>Materials dated by and seen through the courtesy of J. Gisbert. His color description is “verde claro.”

<sup>156</sup>See F. Amigues, “La céramique émaillée: Témoin des relations entre le Languedoc-Rousillon, la Catalogne et le pays valencien (XIVe, XVe, et XVIe S),” thèse doct. 3e cycle (Université de Montpellier III, 1984); P. López Elum, *Los orígenes de la cerámica de Manises y de Paterna (1285–1335)* (Valencia 1984); K. W. Butzer, “Traditional Pottery Clays and Medieval Wares in the Valencia Area,” report submitted to NSF; J. V. Lerma et al., “Sistematización de la loza gótico-mudéjar de Paterna/Manises,” forthcoming in *III Congreso internazionale sulla ceramica medievale nel Mediterraneo occidentale* (Siena 1985).

<sup>157</sup>See Bazzana 1980 (n. 17 above). The problem of functional interpretation of the sierra castles is distinct from that of the *tours de défense* in the backcountry of Valencia (see Bazzana and Guichard 1978a [n. 17 above]), where a different ecology and settlement history are characteristic.

153 sherds include reworked Islamic materials as well as Teruel and Manises wares, including a piece of faded lusterware with elaborate "acacia leaf" scrolls, characteristic of the mid-fifteenth century. Subsequently parts of the inner wall and the round tower were destroyed, the castle lying abandoned until the Civil War, when the Republican forces converted it into a strong point along their defense line through the sierra in the summer of 1938.

In terms of broader preliminary evaluation, the central tower and the related walled enclosure existed during the mid-twelfth century. Its function is obscured by the later *tapial* castle. Construction of the more elaborate castle on a more sophisticated plan and with more universal methods suggests that Ahín now represented a low-order link in a larger Islamic plan of defense for the mountains along the Aragonese frontier. This *tapial* castle did not provision the corralling of animal herds, but was planned exclusively in military terms.<sup>158</sup> The two-story bastions, the living structures, the tile roofs, and the table wares all argue for a small but permanent garrison. Lack of luxury pottery precludes a resident officer of any status. The age of the pottery is further consonant with construction in the wake of the border warfare initiated in 1179 or even 1210. The castle was subsequently vacated without a fight, presumably in the aftermath of a capitulation, involving Ahín or several other communities during 1237–1238. A few years later the unused castle was hurriedly reoccupied by a large number of sierra Muslims and besieged by Christian forces. Damage was concentrated along the western wall and, to a lesser extent, the eastern, suggesting a systematic assault rather than razing after surrender. We would therefore argue that the castle was taken by storm and so badly damaged as to be considered unusable thereafter. The earlier documentation suggests either 1247–1248 or, more probably, 1276 for this event.

The archaeological significance of the castle of Ahín transcends the military his-

<sup>158</sup>The military role of the small and large medieval castles along the west-east spine of the Sierra de Espadán was illustrated in June–July 1938 when they were integrated into the Republican "XYZ" Line to defend the perimeters of Valencia (see J. M. Martínez Bande, ed., *La ofensiva sobre Valencia* [Madrid 1977] 185, 265–287). The castillo of Castro de Alfondoguilla was assaulted five times 7–10 July by the 84. Division of the elite Nationalist "Enlace" Army, with such bloody losses that it had to be replaced by the 4. Division on 14 July (*ibid.* 166–167). The castle of Ahín played an appropriately minor role as a machine-gun position studded with foxholes and new stone huts, as well as an underground munitions cache. In the case of very small medieval armies, R. I. Burns and P. Chevedden ("El tractat de rendició d'al-Azraq amb Jaume I i l'infant Alfons en 1245," *L'Espill* 17–18 [1983] 231–257) point out the difficulties posed by "extensive networks of relatively passive defenses." These arguments for an explicitly military conception of the sierra castles contrast with the overgeneralization that late Islamic castles of Valencia were designed primarily as refuges for nearby towns and villages and their herds; see P. Guichard, "Los castillos musulmanes del norte de la provincia de Alicante," *Anales: Universidad de Alicante (historia medieval)* 1 (1982) 29–46, and "El Castillo y valle de Pop durante la edad media," *ibid.* 2 (1983) 19–32; A. Bazzana, P. Guichard, and J. M. Segura Martí, "Du *hiss* musulman au *castrum* chrétien: Le château de Perpuchent," *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 18 (1982) 449–465; and Bazzana 1980 (n. 17 above). We do not argue that none of the Sierra castillos were built as refuges, since castles such as Castro de Suera, Xinquar, Alcudia de Veo, Artana, and Castro de Alfondoguilla did enclose large unencumbered spaces of 700m<sup>2</sup>, 650m<sup>2</sup>, 1425m<sup>2</sup>, 3050m<sup>2</sup>, and 2300<sup>2</sup>, respectively; of these, Artana is unique in that it has well-preserved attached animal enclosures. Each of these was evidently suitable to harbor the adjacent village populations. However, Xóvar's "castle" was nothing more than a small tower, and Eslida's castillo, which served as Christian headquarters for the Sierra throughout the later military ages, is a strictly military complex of only 525m<sup>2</sup>. Evidently there were two distinct kinds of castle at the time of the Reconquista, one strictly military, the other with dual military and refuge functions.

tory of the region. The food residues, when expert study has been completed, will provide a view of basic diet, in which goat played a significant role.<sup>159</sup> The clear impression in cement of pine logs with diameters of 15 to 25cm indicates that twenty-to forty-five-year-old trees were being felled locally, much as they are in the mature stands of modern slope forests. The presence of abundant cork slabs suggests their use between roof beams and tiles, much as they were in traditional Ahín. Living quarters of less than 10m<sup>2</sup> coincide with the evidence from fifteenth-century Benialí that houses were invariably small. Preliminary examination of the pottery fabrics indicates that different functional categories were obtained from different pottery centers. Comparison of the pottery functions with those of the hamlet of Benialí (Annex 6) indicates similar proportions of water containers and kitchen/cooking vessels, but fewer storage wares and more table dishes in the castle. The Benialí sample compares best with that of the pre-*tapial* castle, perhaps implying that the first structures here were locally erected and maintained. Finally, the transport of masses of lime, sandstone mix, and water up the steep slopes during the several construction phases must have represented a much greater burden of voluntary labor or of *zofra* than the relatively minor but more humiliating task of provisioning and maintaining the castle of Eslida after 1276. In effect, this castillo provides a surrogate record of the material culture and perhaps even of "community" as shared by the twelfth- and thirteenth-century villagers of Ahín.

#### FROM THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY TO THE REVOLT OF 1526: ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTATION

Salient features of the fourteenth century in the Sierra were the expansion of settlement and the Castilian invasion of 1363–1365.

An argument for population growth during the fourteenth century seems, at first sight, to be implausible. High medieval demographic expansion<sup>160</sup> came to an abrupt halt in northwestern Europe with the disastrous crop failures of 1315–1316,<sup>161</sup> and population throughout Europe declined catastrophically during the years of the Black Death. In Valencia 1348 was the worst plague year, with severe recurrences in

<sup>159</sup>By way of comparison, we have a list of provisions from 1430 that was recommended for all Valencian castles in the eventuality of a siege (ARV-Real 643, fol. 370r-v). This inventory includes salt, vinegar, pepper and other spices, salted pork, marinated fish, cheese, oil, wheat and flour, barley, millet and *panis*, vegetables, acorns, and good wine; repeated emphasis is made of foods that store well. Chickens for roasting are also mentioned. In addition, there should be a cistern, a stone fireplace, a good stock of pine fuel, candles, wax, and lanterns, linen and wool cloth, and hides for making clothes. Finally, the evidence for metallurgy is corroborated by the mandate to have a smith as well as abundant iron and wood. An inventory of the nonmilitary supplies in the major castle of Biar, dated the same year, refers to wheat, beans, salted pork, marinated sardines, oil, Castilian cheese, and a dovecote, presumably to supply pigeons (ARV-Real 625, fol. 16).

<sup>160</sup>On rural demographic growth in southwestern France, see C. Higounet, "Zur Siedlungsgeschichte Südwestfrankreichs vom 11. bis zum 14. Jahrhundert," in W. Schlesinger, ed., *Die deutsche Ostsiedlung des Mittelalters als Problem der europäischen Geschichte*, Vorträge und Forschungen 18 (Sigmaringen 1975) 657–694.

<sup>161</sup>D. B. Grigg, *Population Growth and Agrarian Change: An Historical Perspective* (Cambridge 1980) 64–82.



1362, 1374–1375, 1385, 1395, and 1401.<sup>162</sup> There also were natural disasters: severe droughts in 1321, 1326, 1335, 1347, 1356–1359, 1374, 1384, and 1401–1402, while much of Valencia was destroyed by a violent flood in 1358.<sup>163</sup> Equally significant were repeated assaults on Muslim quarters or villages by Christian mobs in 1309, during the 1330s, and in 1347, with wholesale abandonment of Muslim settlements during the war with Castile 1357–1365, such that many villages had to be repopulated with Christians 1366–1370; Muslim emigration reached such proportions that it had to be prohibited 1382–1408.<sup>164</sup>

Yet in the Sierra new settlements were founded during the 1330s and 1340s at Lleuxa, Benitandús and Alfara, Benialí, Benalbux, and possibly Castro de Suera (Annex 4). Alcudia de Veo, not a *despoblado*, is also first mentioned in conjunction with Alfara in 1365.<sup>165</sup> These were “open” villages, established in well-chosen locations that brought existing or potential *huertas* into closer walking distance for farmers, increasing the time-distance efficiency of agricultural exploitation.<sup>166</sup> Eight further hamlets were founded during the last decade or two of the fourteenth century: Almaxaraca, Benisada, Alfeig, Silim, and Ampadars of Eslida, Almaxaraquella of Ahín, and Benisabdon and Maurell of Castro de Alfondoguilla (Annex 4). All these sites were within 750m of existing villages, and appear to have been built next to the water-distribution nodes of existing autonomous irrigation networks. Unlike the new settlements of the 1330s and 1340s, which indicate a measure of local agricultural intensification, that is, *huerta* extension, those of the 1380s and 1390s represent dispersal of rural settlement, a process typically linked to population growth and a reasonable degree of security. These new sites were undefended and varied from fewer than ten to over forty *casas* (Annex 7); together with the growth of a new nucleus at Sanden, next to Suera (Annex 4), this is indeed best explained by demographic growth and reduced priorities for large defensible sites. Peak population was in fact, as argued above, reached in 1418. Both generations of new settlements contrast with the secluded location of those *despoblados* already present in 1238 (Annex 4), all of which were located off the key commercial routes, possibly to avoid detection by marauding foreign troops.

Internal colonization (“filling in”) was consistently favored by the kings of Aragón since the twelfth century by privileges designed to encourage new settlements “ad populandum et edificandum.”<sup>167</sup> Such new *alquerías* would increase the area of cultivation, the irrigation of potential *huertas*, demographic growth, and, hence,

<sup>162</sup>Rubio (n. 72 above); J. Trenchs Odena, “El Reino de Valencia y la peste del 1348: Datos para su estudio,” in *Estudios de historia de Valencia* (Valencia 1978) 23–80.

<sup>163</sup>Glick (n. 13 above) 256–359; J. M. Fontana, *Historia del clima en el litoral mediterráneo: Reino de Valencia mas Provincia de Murcia* (Javea 1978) 92–101; Escolano (n. 11 above) 3.326; Boswell (n. 6 above) 354; Rubio (n. 72 above) 20–21, 35, 42, 53.

<sup>164</sup>Barceló (n. 12 above) 64–67.

<sup>165</sup>ACA-Cancillería 1209, fol. 44v.

<sup>166</sup>Explicit appreciation of the concept is expressed in Jaime I's 1268 principle of boundary definition for a new *alquería* as the distance a farmer could walk back and forth to his fields and still carry out a full day's work (Burns 1985 [n. 6 above] 222 and n. 29).

<sup>167</sup>J. M. Font Rius, *Cartas de población y franquicia de Cataluña* (Barcelona 1969) 1.xxii–xxiii. An example of such an event is given by the charter of the lord of Penaguila to resettle Christians in the abandoned Muslim village of Benifalim (Alicante) in 1316, the attraction being their rights to the existing houses, orchards, fields, and *huerta* (Salvā and Sáinz de Baranda [n. 94 above] 103–105).

agricultural productivity and the royal income. In 1329 King Alfonso sought to stimulate such colonization by conferring civil and criminal jurisdiction to lords who founded new settlements with at least seven families of Muslims in areas of mixed crown and feudal administration,<sup>168</sup> such as the Sierra. The 1345 charter that was granted to the new *alquería* of Lleuxa by the count of Jérica carried its own inducement for settlers by exempting them from community taxes and forced labor for three years.<sup>169</sup>

These circumstances seem to explain the more obscure creation of Benialí, within the *termino* of Ahín in 1342. Included in an ambiguous and disjointed sixteenth-century statement is a reference to privileges by Pedro IV of Aragón (1336–1387) granted to the castles of Eslida, to Benialí, and to the inhabitants of the town of Eslida.<sup>170</sup> It implies the first settlement of Benialí, apparently by settlers from Eslida.

Nothing more is heard of Benialí during the fourteenth century and the site may have been abandoned as a consequence of the destructive war between Castile and Aragón 1356–1366. In its early years this peninsular conflict probably only cost the Sierra money, but in early 1363 the whole region fell to the king of Castile during a rapid campaign, over Teruel and Segorbe to Sagunto and the gates of Valencia. The Aragonese organized a counterattack in 1364, and in March 1365 negotiated a new charter with the Sierra Muslims, who had evidently joined the invaders.<sup>171</sup> The Muslims now switched their allegiance back to Aragón, but had to put all their able-bodied men into military service. On April 1, “the Espadán” (excluding Eslida, probably in reference to Ahín, Veo-Alcudia, and Suera) was ordered to send 200 men (half of them archers, half lancers) to participate in the siege of the castle of Almonacid, with (another?) 100 to garrison it after its fall. A further 100 men were commandeered on May 29—to assist in the burning of the crops around Segorbe—and yet another 30 “well-armed men” on June 21.<sup>172</sup> Nothing is known about losses of life and property, but in March 1365 the Muslims of the Espadán were obligated to provide labor to rebuild the castle of Eslida because they took refuge in it.<sup>173</sup> This implies that the castles of Ahín and Alcudia de Veo had fallen into disrepair at some point after 1272, when they were last mentioned. Theoretical

<sup>168</sup>ARV-Real 613, fols. 77–78; see also Barceló (n. 12 above) 70, and J. M. Iborra Lerma, *Realengo y señorio en el Camp de Morvedre* (Sagunto 1981) 211–212.

<sup>169</sup>ARV-Real 611, fol. 218.

<sup>170</sup>“Mas los Castillos de Eslida, y Villahalit, el Rey Don Pedro con su Privilegio a 7 el Henero de (1342) dio la Población de Eslida de los Pobladores de ella” and “los Castillos de Eslida, y Vilahalín. Eslida fue poblada por el Rey don Pedro, a 7. de Henero año 1342 segun parece por el privilegio otorgado a los moradores della”; see Viciano (n. 20 above) 2.72, 118. The unspecified original documents have not yet been located. According to M. C. Barceló [(n. 21 above) 100 and pers. comm.], the toponym Benialí derives from Banu Khalim or, more probably, Khalil. Phonetically transliterated into Catalan/Valencian, the guttural *bā* was either rendered as an unsatisfactory, aspirate h or as an f; the final *dāl* was soft and variously given as t, m, n, or l, and ultimately dropped entirely (Barceló, pers. comm.). Consequently equivalent forms include Benihalit, Benihelil, Benielil, Benifallil, and Benifallim. Finally, for the speakers of the two competing languages, Beni-suffixes appear to have been interchangeable with Vila-(Catalan) or Villa-(Castilian), hence Vilahalit or Villahalit.

<sup>171</sup>ACA-Cancillería 1209, fol. 44v; Boswell (n. 6 above) 336–337, 362–365, 391–398. At this point Castile was still holding prominent Muslims hostage in the castles of Eslida and Segorbe, where they appear to have suffered from starvation under siege.

<sup>172</sup>Boswell (n. 6 above) 188–190.

<sup>173</sup>ACA-Cancillería 1209, fol. 44v.

mobilization of at least 330 men by these four villages seems very high,<sup>174</sup> but may reflect the approximate number of households on the tax rolls prior to the war or even prior to 1348.<sup>175</sup>

Benialí is referred to again in a document of 1417 that cites privileges given by Martín I (1396–1410) to the “castell e vall de Castro e lo loch de Beniffalil.”<sup>176</sup> Since Castro de Alфондеguilla and Benialí were both clearly older, King Martín’s privileges may have been linked to revitalization of two sites temporarily abandoned as a consequence of the hostilities 1363–1365. Subsequently, Benialí is mentioned repeatedly. Mahomat Coraix (Muḥammad Quraysh), cited for unpaid inheritance tax in 1424,<sup>177</sup> is identified as a resident of Benielil in that year but was already included in exemptions granted to Ahín in 1414, 1419, and 1420.<sup>178</sup> An Ali Coraix, probably his son, received an exemption in 1440.<sup>179</sup> Similarly, Cilim Halil (Salīm Khalil), *jurat* of Benialí in 1500, was already granted an exemption in 1442 while Momi (Muḥmīn) Halil, probably his father, had received one in 1419.<sup>180</sup> Other presumed members of the family were Mahomat, given an exemption in 1451, and Famit (Ḥamid), a notable in 1500.<sup>181</sup> Another family with members in Benialí were the Mañors (Mañšūr). Mahomat Mañor received exemptions in 1417, 1438, and 1451,<sup>182</sup> the second specifying “moro del loch de Benifallil”; his son, ben Mahomat Mañor, received an exemption in 1473<sup>183</sup> and another Mañor, Famet, possibly his grandson, was a notable in 1500.<sup>184</sup> It is in fact probable that the Quraysh, Khalid, and Mañšūr families were entirely resident in Benialí from before 1414 to after 1500 (Annex 8).

Another exemption was given to an Abdurazis Aben Real (ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Riyāl) of Benichalit, in 1435.<sup>185</sup> Surprising, perhaps, is that one of the early families of Benialí was Jewish: a Jucef bar-Robe (Yūsuf bar-Robī), granted an exemption in 1418, translates as Joseph, son of the rabbi.<sup>186</sup> An interesting document of 1459 refers to a conflict between Amet Faytoni (Aḥmad Ḥaytūn of Ahín) and a certain Aboccale over a mill and an access road near Benialí.<sup>187</sup> In 1475 several obscure commercial documents link a Mohamat Yazit (Yazīd) “del loch de Benifallin” and two men

<sup>174</sup>Levies for Artana had totaled 210 men; for Benitandús and Xinquar 20 each. See Boswell (n. 6 above) 188–189.

<sup>175</sup>Boswell (n. 6 above) 191–192.

<sup>176</sup>ARV-Real 611, fol. 217. This same document lists Lleuxa and Benalbux together with old established places such as Ahín, Veo, and Lauret.

<sup>177</sup>ARV-Bailía 1146, fol. 81v.

<sup>178</sup>ARV-Real 624, fols. 25, 43v, 44v.

<sup>179</sup>ARV-Real 624, fol. 59v.

<sup>180</sup>ARV-Real 624, fols. 43v, 61; see also n. 55 above. Since new villages in the early fourteenth century were frequently named after their founders (Barceló [n. 21 above] 32–33), it is probable that Benialí was named after the Khalils.

<sup>181</sup>ARV-Real 624, fol. 65v, and n. 55 above.

<sup>182</sup>ARV-Real 624, fols. 39v, 56v, 65v.

<sup>183</sup>Ibid. fol. 71.

<sup>184</sup>See n. 55 above.

<sup>185</sup>ARV-Real 624, fol. 55.

<sup>186</sup>Exemption granted to “Jucef bar-Robe moro del loch de Benihelil de la dita Serra” (ibid fol. 42). The advice of Norman Golb on this point is appreciated.

<sup>187</sup>“Amet Faytoni moro de aqueixa Serra ha comprat un moli en terme de Ahin e de Benifelin” (ARV-Bailía 1152, fol. 1634). Two of the five traditional mills of Ahín were located near Benialí, namely the Molí Guinsa (Caritat) and the Molí de Dalt (fig. 3).

from Ahín with obligations in Valencia.<sup>188</sup> In sum, this documentation serves to show that at least six families of some prominence lived in Benialí during the fifteenth century. It implies an element of commercial activity as well as a renewed lease on prosperity for the settlement after the 1390s.

In Ahín proper, different families were prominent during this period (Annex 5). Ali Alfaig (al-Ḥājj) was *alamī* in 1383,<sup>189</sup> and probably his grandson, Cilim, in 1445;<sup>190</sup> Mohamet Almordi (Muḥammad al-Murdi) was *alamī* in 1390,<sup>191</sup> Taher Çale (Ṭāhir Ṣalīḥ) in 1445,<sup>192</sup> and Ali Xilenxi (Shilanshī) in 1500.<sup>193</sup> *Jurats* included Ali Obeyt (Ubayd) in 1383, Abduçalem Araffia (ʿAbd al-Salām al-Rafīʿa) and Jayhahia Hazm (Yaḥyā Ḥazm) in 1390, Jucef Yahuda (Yūsuf Yahūda, i.e. Joseph the Jew) in 1445, and Çahat Almalaged (Saʿd al-Milsad) and Famet Abizeyt (Ḥāmid Abī Zayd) in 1500. Another Hazm, Famet Ozme, was lieutenant *alamī* in 1500.

Ahín's links to the outside world are demonstrated by an incident in 1451, when an Ali Abolaix (ʿAbu'l-ʿAysh) paid a substantial sum to bail out Abdalla Fagig, a Muslim of distant Paterna, with Pere de Vilaragut, a merchant-gentleman of Paterna, serving as intermediary.<sup>194</sup> This, in combination with the prominent Jews in both Ahín and Benialí, with Yazīd's business relations between Benialí and Valencia, and with the number of potentially commercial exemptions to members of two seemingly isolated Sierra villages, makes an important point. Medieval Muslim villages were less "rural" than their eighteenth- and nineteenth-century counterparts, suggesting a more fluid rural/urban continuum. It is tempting to relate this to an Islamic social structure based upon ordered relationships not of groups of persons, but of persons.<sup>195</sup>

During the early fifteenth century Eslida was a bustling emporium: fine clothes were imported from Valencia and the coast, together with fish and cheese, while hemp was obtained from the coastal plain to be converted into footwear by local craftsmen; at the same time, iron, lead, and tin from the local mines were exported to adjacent towns.<sup>196</sup> By comparison, Ahín and Benialí were modest villages, but the available evidence has shown that it would be misleading to consider them as simple rural farm communities. Some of their families will have included artisans and craftsmen, others shopkeepers, and others still, merchants. Even in Benialí six families were persistently engaged in some form of commerce, even if only on a part-time basis.

The Sierra population declined 24% between 1418 and 1451, and another 9% between 1451 and 1512 (Annex 2). Furthermore, five villages disappeared during the mid or late fifteenth century: Mosquera and Pellinos, Almaxaraquella, Silim,

<sup>188</sup> ARV-Bailía 1296, fols. 101v, 107v, 108, 125, 462v.

<sup>189</sup> ARV-Real 556, fol. 9.

<sup>190</sup> See n. 49 above.

<sup>191</sup> ARV-Real 667, fol. 150.

<sup>192</sup> See n. 54 above.

<sup>193</sup> See n. 55 above. Xilenxi (earlier versions include Alelenxi and Axelenci) derives from the town of Jalance (Valencian, Xalans). We are indebted to M. C. Barceló for advice on this and other problems of transliteration.

<sup>194</sup> ARV-Bailía 1151, fol. 196.

<sup>195</sup> Eickelman (n. 26 above) 120.

<sup>196</sup> Febrer (n. 13 above).

Maurell, and Benisada (Annex 4). All of these were small places, particularly vulnerable to demographic decline and problems of insecurity. Both the rapid decline of these dispersed settlements and the demographic collapse of the Sierra in general after 1420 would appear to be symptomatic of a serious socio-economic malaise or repeated epidemics, or both.

In Castellón de la Plana, the number of households decreased from 1015 in 1419 to 569 in 1438, subsequently fluctuating between 500 and 700 until 1572, despite massive in-migration 1449–1463.<sup>197</sup> In Castellón the sharp drop after 1419 can be attributed to the disastrous plagues of 1427 and 1429. The negative oscillation from 687 *casas* in 1463 to 533 in 1478 cannot be attributed to epidemics, although it coincides with a period of lower wheat prices. The subsequent decline from 630 *casas* in 1485 to 514 in 1510 probably reflected the plague of 1497–1501. Quite comparable trends are apparent in the northern town of San Mateo, where the number of *casas* dropped from 659 in 1427 to 401 in 1439, and 264 in 1463.<sup>198</sup> In this context, the trends in the Sierra were evidently not unique.

Nonetheless, fundamental economic changes were taking place in the Sierra. We have already outlined the unrealistic fiscal pressures documented for the first three decades of the fifteenth century. In 1415 Eslida was the primate town of the Sierra, with the lion's share of the *franquicias*. The population of Eslida and its dependencies declined 56%, from 203 to 86 *casas*, between 1415 and about 1520, while that of Fanzara and its satellites increased 9% from 165 to 180 *casas*. During the 1440s, the number of *franquicias* granted to Fanzara matched those for Eslida, and after 1450 they were greater (Annex 3). In effect, by 1451 Fanzara was both larger and more prosperous than Eslida, and this dominance was maintained until the time of the Expulsion.

Natural calamities during the early fifteenth century may have aggravated the economic pressures. In the autumn of 1412 torrential floods destroyed the grain crops of Castro de Alfondiguilla, so that rents were reduced.<sup>199</sup> In 1420–1421 harvests were poor in southern Castellón province and in 1425 there again was drought and hunger.<sup>200</sup> In the spring of 1428 a catastrophic flood of the Mijares River destroyed 20 of the 48 hectares of irrigated land below Fanzara, and a total of 47 hectares of land were rendered uncultivable after being covered by rocks and sand. To prevent abandonment and encourage restoration, the annual land rent was reduced

<sup>197</sup>For population and information on plagues, see Sánchez (n. 102 above) and his "La inmigración en Castellón de la Plana durante los Siglos XV, XVI y XVII," *Cuadernos de geografía (Valencia)* 19 (1976) 67–100. Additional data on plagues are given by J. Nadal and E. Giralt, *La población catalana 1553 à 1717* (Paris 1960) 38. The plagues of 1427 and 1429, as well as those of 1450, are hinted at in temporary declines of Muslim revenues in Valencia 1420–1430 and 1445–1452 (see Barceló [n. 114 above]), although Valencia is one of the few cities characterized by substantial population growth during the fifteenth century (see M. Häuptle Barceló, "Getreideversorgung und Getreidehandelspolitik im Valencia des 15. Jahrhunderts," *Spanische Forschungen* ser. 1, 30 [1982] 193–353).

<sup>198</sup>M. D. Cabanes Pecourt, "Un siglo de demografía medieval: San Mateo, 1373–1499," *Estudios de edad media de la Corona de Aragón* 11 (1973) 371–432. After a minor rise from 267 *casas* in 1469 to 314 in 1481, there were only 257 households in 1493 and 268 in 1499.

<sup>199</sup>ARV-MR 9654, fol. 51r–v. There is no local evidence for the regional floods experienced in Valencia and Villarreal in 1406 (Glick [n. 13 above] 260; B. Traver García, *Historia de Villarreal* [Villarreal 1909] 498), nor of the catastrophic drought around Valencia in 1412–1413 (Glick 137–144).

<sup>200</sup>Glick (n. 13 above) 258; Fontana (n. 162 above) 100–101.

from 1760 to 1000 sueldos. The difference had to be paid by the other communities of the Sierra for at least five years.<sup>201</sup>

Military pressures were also not inconsiderable. In 1410 King Martín died without heirs and, until the Compromise of Caspe two years later, Valencia began to slide into civil war, with intervention by Castile.<sup>202</sup> There were problems of unrest and insecurity to the extent that there was danger of settlement abandonment and, in general, war was expected.<sup>203</sup> The castles of Eslida, Castro de Alfondeguilla, and Almonacid were evidently in poor condition as they required extensive rebuilding, as well as provisioning with arms and food.<sup>204</sup> Large quantities of wheat, salt, oil, beans, and other vegetables, as well as hides were supplied to the castle of Eslida at a partial cost of 882 sueldos, and during 1410–1412 the community was charged 7493 sueldos for repairs and armaments.<sup>205</sup> Castro de Alfondeguilla had to pay for 1200 sueldos in costs during 1411 and another 900 sueldos in 1412.<sup>206</sup> In the case of Almonacid, we learn that the Muslims were subjected to forced labor to bring gypsum, lime, wood, and water up to the castle, in addition to paying 1301 sueldos in 1412–1413.<sup>207</sup> The *alcayds* had assumed such authority in dealing with the *aljamas* that the new king, Fernando, in 1413 had to reprimand the military governors of Eslida, Castro de Suera, and Vall d'Uxó to the effect that "executive jurisdiction" was solely the perquisite of the Bailiff General of Valencia.<sup>208</sup>

The next military crisis came in 1429 when a new war loomed with Castile. On 29 July repairs were commissioned on the castle of Eslida at a cost of 550 sueldos, and mobilization within fifteen days was ordered on 30 October, a command repeated 16 November.<sup>209</sup> Then, on 23 January 1430, the Sierra was informed of a special war tax of 4929 sueldos.<sup>210</sup> On 6 March the *alamís* of Eslida and Ahín appeared before the Bailiff General in Segorbe to appeal against a demand for fifty well-armed crossbowmen to be sent to the front near Benaguacil; eventually they had to provide half that number under threat of confiscation of their property if they did not comply.<sup>211</sup> In Segorbe the Muslims were—illegally—forced to hold the nightwatch in the castle.<sup>212</sup> All in all, the pressures of this wartime emergency stretched demands and resources to the breaking point.

Tensions between Christians and Muslims frequently ran high. The fifteenth century saw a complete social segregation as a result of explicit legislation, apartheid as

<sup>201</sup>ARV-MR 9827, fol. 93, dated 9 May 1428. The sum of 1000 sueldos was still being extracted in 1431 (ARV-MR 9674, fol. 2).

<sup>202</sup>J. Hinojosa, "Los aspectos políticos," *Nuestra historia* (Valencia 1980) 3.119–144.

<sup>203</sup>The Muslims of Almonacid formally requested that their castle be repaired and alternatively they asked for permission to move to another domain providing protection (ARV-MR 9654, fols. 74v–75). The "fear of war" is cited in several Eslida documents.

<sup>204</sup>On the abysmal condition of Castro de Suera, see Annex 4.

<sup>205</sup>ARV-MR 9654, fols. 38v, 51r–v, 76–77.

<sup>206</sup>ARV-MR 9654, fols. 7, 79.

<sup>207</sup>ARV-MR 9654, fols. 74v–75.

<sup>208</sup>ARV-Real 611, fol. 212r–v.

<sup>209</sup>ARV-Bailía 1147, fols. 61, 84, 87v. The standard weapons for castle defense in 1430 were bombards and crossbows; see ARV-Real 643, fol. 370r–v.

<sup>210</sup>ARV-Bailía 1147, fol. 100.

<sup>211</sup>ARV-Real 625, II mano, fols. 10–11. The hostilities ultimately did not spill over to the Sierra, but were limited to the southern half of Valencia; see Santamaría (n. 99 above).

<sup>212</sup>ARV-Real 625, fol. 22r–v.

Barceló calls it,<sup>213</sup> that reduced urban Muslims to second-class citizens. On 1 June 1455, Christian mobs destroyed the *morería* of Valencia, including the administration building of Mahomat Belvis, *alcadi* of Eslida and Valencia.<sup>214</sup> Muslim unrest spread to Segorbe<sup>215</sup> and the Sierra within days. Orders for repairs to the castles of Castro de Suera and Eslida met with passive resistance: the workers were unruly, procrastinated in their tasks, and did their job poorly. On 28 June and 2 July, the Bailiff General was constrained to warn the Muslims of Eslida that they owed loyalty and service to their king, and that the castle belonged to their royal lord and had to be taken care of and provided for.<sup>216</sup>

The fifteenth-century roster of court cases and summonses helps illuminate both the social and economic life of the Sierra. The cases fall into several categories:

(a) Debts unpaid. For 1417 we have six claims for payments due on purchases of sorghum by residents of Suera in Onda, and two for barley, while beans and barley were to be paid for by a man of Fanzara.<sup>217</sup> In 1500 we learn that a *vehin* of Veo had purchased 966 liters of millet and another 966 liters of sorghum, while a second person had purchased 199 liters; in Suera one such purchase amounted to 224 liters.<sup>218</sup> These and other cases from smaller villages (Annex 4) indicate that large amounts of grain, and occasionally oil or vegetables, were purchased on credit in the markets of Onda. They verify that the Sierra was not self-sufficient in staples, and the large amounts suggest that the grain was subsequently sold by local merchants. Also interesting is a 44 sueldo debt of Hamet Mañor of Benialí to a Christian apothecary in Onda.<sup>219</sup> Such summonses were usually addressed to the local *alamí* to secure payment. It requires no emphasis that there also were frequent demands from Valencia for payments still outstanding on individual or community rents or taxes.

(b) Thievery. Abdolaziz Elcaçer of Benialí apparently had many chickens that tempted a Muslim of Veo to steal some of them on one occasion in 1418, and Çaat ben Maçot and Mahomat Çale of Benialí on another.<sup>220</sup> We learn that a man of Lloret stole a goat in 1412, a man of Fanzara a dagger in Onda in 1415, a man of Veo several beehives in 1419, a man from Almaxaraca stole from a house in Valencia in 1424, while a woman's home in a village (name illegible) was burglarized in 1454.<sup>221</sup>

(c) Sexual offenses. In 1413 Ascux, the daughter of Abdalla Abinyolin of Fanzara, was fined 400 sueldos for adultery, and in 1420 Nuza, the wife of Çaat Abifahma of Fanzara 770 sueldos, also for adultery.<sup>222</sup> In 1424 a Muslim of Veo was fined 5500 sueldos for raping a Christian woman in Onda.<sup>223</sup> In 1418 in Alcudia de

<sup>213</sup>Barceló (n. 114 above) 62.

<sup>214</sup>Barceló (n. 114 above); M. Ardít Lucas, "El asalto a la morería de Valencia en el año 1455," *Ligazas* 2 (1970) 127–130.

<sup>215</sup>Barceló (n. 114 above) 64.

<sup>216</sup>ARV-Bailía 1152, fols. 1040v–1041 (24 June 1455); fol. 1039 (28 June 1455); fol. 1042r–v (2 July 1455).

<sup>217</sup>ARV-Bailía 1305, fols. 3v, 9v, 11, 14r–v, 17, 18.

<sup>218</sup>ARV-Bailía 1325, fols. 104v–105.

<sup>219</sup>ARV-Bailía 1325, fols. 81v, 98v.

<sup>220</sup>ARV-MR 37, fols. 64v, 67v.

<sup>221</sup>ARV-MR 35, fol. 44v; ARV-MR 36, fol. 58v; ARV-MR 39, fol. 146; ARV-MR 44, fol. 124v; ARV-Bailía 1152, fol. 949v.

<sup>222</sup>ARV-MR 34, fol. 52v; ARV-MR 40, fol. 112.

<sup>223</sup>ARV-MR 44, fol. 124v.

Veo, three brothers with their servant killed their sister and were fined 660 sueldos,<sup>224</sup> obviously for defending the "family honor." Possibly also a crime of passion was the brutal slaying of a man in front of his wife in Xóvar 1357: the victim's skull was crushed by two sword blows to the head and followed by three more in the back; the *alamí* insisted on trying the case, but the Christian administration took over.<sup>225</sup> Public prostitutes were legally registered (or illegally active) in Eslida, Fanzara, and Vall d'Uxó, as well as in smaller places such as Suera and Almedíxar.<sup>226</sup> In general one has the impression of compromise and conflict between Muslim and Christian precedents and pragmatism.

(d) Robbery and murder. In 1415 a Muslim of Eslida was fined 275 sueldos for giving refuge to his son who, with several other men, had murdered a friar and robbed the church of Santa Maria.<sup>227</sup> In 1452 two Jews were murdered in the Sierra by three bandits who had previously stolen arms in Gandía,<sup>228</sup> and in 1454 the *alcayt* of Gaibiel was robbed of 750 sueldos and a woman on the road near Ahín had silver bracelets taken from her.<sup>229</sup> In 1474 several ruffians from Alcudia de Veo came to kill a farmer in the Vall de Almonacid.<sup>230</sup> In 1412 there also were seven cases in regard to unspecified "crimes" by men from Veo, Alcudia de Veo, Suera, and Fanzara, possibly also robberies.<sup>231</sup>

(e) Other violence and treason. Such cases include items such as a fine of 176 sueldos for injuring a mule (Veo 1419) and a fine of 220 sueldos for hitting a man (Alcudia de Veo 1420),<sup>232</sup> as well as a more interesting case of a young man from Lleuxa wounding another in the arm so that the victim drew his dagger—the first was fined 88 sueldos, the second only 22, probably a case of "justifiable" blood revenge.<sup>233</sup> Curious is a 1530 incident where a Çahat Ragil of Fanzara assaulted a young woman having an argument with an Ahmet Abraham; Ragil was fined 168 sueldos and his companion Azan another 147 sueldos.<sup>234</sup> More serious was the attempt by Azmet Benguahep of Eslida to knife the *alcayt* of Castro de Suera in 1417; he received 45 lashes.<sup>235</sup> The immense sum of 26,700 sueldos collectively levied on all the communities of the sierra in 1402 concerned unspecified crimes of two brothers from Fanzara, presumably high treason.<sup>236</sup>

Although this sample suggests little out of the "ordinary," banditry was evidently getting out of hand in 1449, when the *alamís* of the Sierra were requested to apprehend the criminals roaming the area and to provide restitution to their victims.<sup>237</sup>

<sup>224</sup>ARV-MR 38, fol. 57.

<sup>225</sup>ARV-Real Justicia 806, fol. 118. See also n. 128 above.

<sup>226</sup>ARV-MR 26, fol. 169 and ARV-Bailía 1144, fol. 237v (1408); ARV-MR 34, fols. 42r-v, 52v (1413); ARV-MR 70, fol. 199 (1460). The license fee was 18s.

<sup>227</sup>ARV-MR 36, fol. 52v.

<sup>228</sup>ARV-Bailía 1151, fol. 576.

<sup>229</sup>ARV-Bailía 1152, fols. 949, 950. One of the brigands involved was a Hamet Maymo (Aḥmad Maymūn) of Ahín, perhaps the black sheep of a notable family.

<sup>230</sup>ARV-Bailía 1155, fol. 166v.

<sup>231</sup>ARV-MR 35, fols. 41v-49.

<sup>232</sup>ARV-MR 39, fol. 82; ARV-MR 40, fol. 100v.

<sup>233</sup>ARV-MR 39, fol. 94.

<sup>234</sup>ADM 62-1.

<sup>235</sup>ARV-MR 37, fol. 72v.

<sup>236</sup>ARV-Real 678, fols. 114-115v.

<sup>237</sup>ARV-Bailía 1150, fol. 392v.



This suggests a partial explanation for the population decline or abandonment of small, open settlements during the mid-fifteenth century. This breakdown of law and order is paralleled by a report that robberies were taking place daily in Segorbe in 1478.<sup>238</sup> It is possible that rural banditry and urban crime were symptoms of economic stress, because in 1448 we hear of a couple from Xinquet who became fugitives when unable to repay a large debt.<sup>239</sup> The unenlightened and repressive policies of the period depressed the Iberian economy in general,<sup>240</sup> but they fell particularly hard on the Muslim minority. Ultimately, the social and economic malaise of the Sierra must be attributed to the spiraling demands of the Aragonese government, the scale of which grew exponentially after 1400.<sup>241</sup>

During the early sixteenth century the fate of the Muslim minorities in the Sierra came increasingly into the shadow of forced conversion, ethnic strife with the Christian population, and expulsion. A wave of pogroms in 1521–1522 left some 5000 urban households empty, with perhaps 25,000 Muslims fleeing to North Africa or to safer rural areas by 1525.<sup>242</sup> On 16 November 1525, the mosques of the Sierra were ordered closed, and on 8 December the emperor decreed that all Muslims must convert or emigrate. The mandate changed on 15 January 1526 to enslavement and confiscation of all property.<sup>243</sup> A revolt broke out among the Muslims of Benaguacil, spreading to the Sierra in late March 1526. Bands sallied out of the hill country to rob Christians and Christian villages. In April the duke of Segorbe with 4000 men attacked through the Almonacid valley, stoutly defended by a small number of Muslims armed with crossbows and muskets, who threw down large rocks on the invaders. After sustaining 260 casualties, the duke's infantry broke and ran; reduced to fewer than 1000 men, the army promptly retired to Segorbe.<sup>244</sup>

A second, royal army of almost 4000 assembled at Onda in July to attack the Sierra from the north. Some 300 Muslims had established themselves on the mountain slopes east of Tales, where they skirmished repeatedly along a chain of fortified positions with heavy losses on both sides. A Christian assault was mounted on 21 July 1526, and the mountain taken with light losses. The Muslims fled and were pursued up the Veo valley to Ahín and Benialí. Here "the rebels were strong, dispersed in

<sup>238</sup>See S. García Martínez, *Bandoleros, corsaris i Moriscos* (Valencia 1980) 23–24 on crime in Segorbe and Valencia. However, the socio-economic factors provoking urban unrest in the coastal cities ca. 1475–1560 were not identical to those of the Sierra. The social revolution that swept the Christian rural and urban areas in 1521 (the *Germanías*) was rooted in similar economic problems (R. García Carcel, "La revuelta agermanada," *Nuestra historia* [Valencia 1980] 4.70–90).

<sup>239</sup>ARV-Bailía 1150, fols. 280r–v, 345v–346; see also Annex 4.

<sup>240</sup>See J. Vicens Vives, with J. Nadal Oller, *An Economic History of Spain* (Princeton 1969) 179–180, 229–232. The demographic impact on Aragón and Valencia is shown by F. Arroyo Illera, "La población aragonesa a primeros del Siglo XV," *Estudios geográficos* 35 (1974) 185–235, and P. Pérez Puchal, "La población del país valenciano hasta la época estadística," *Cuadernos de geografía* (Valencia) 10 (1972) 1–30. On the disproportional demands placed on Muslims, see Piles (n. 48 above).

<sup>241</sup>An inverse correlation between the centralization of government and demographic growth has been shown for modern states by A. Organski et al. *Births, Deaths, and Taxes* (Chicago 1984).

<sup>242</sup>Viciano (n. 20 above) 450; E. Salvador, "Sobre la emigración mudéjar a Berbería," *Estudis* 4 (1975) 39–68.

<sup>243</sup>R. García Carcel, "La revuelta morisca de Espadán," *Al-Andalus* 41 (1976) 121–146.

<sup>244</sup>F. Beneyto, "Extractum ex libro memoriarum Francisci Beneyto, militis, ab ipso conscriptarum tempore vitae suae," in P. M. Diago, *Apuntamientos para continuar los Anales del Reyno de Valencia desde el Rey Pedro III hasta Felipe II* (Valencia 1946) 2.132–141.

seven different positions which they had previously fortified, with abundant stones to defend themselves, and with great determination."<sup>245</sup> The castle of Ahín, which appears to have suffered damage at this time, probably was one of these strong points.

This official account is amplified by Escolano, who specified that the Muslims of Ahín had raised large entrenchments and works ("grandes trincheras y reparos"), but were defeated; some were captured, the remainder taking refuge at higher elevation, leaving behind booty worth 30,000 ducats.<sup>246</sup> That this battle was fought right at Benialí is made clear by Viciano, a direct participant, who notes that a certain knight from Morella was "killed at my side in the locality of Benialí" during the fighting of 6–26 July in the Sierra de Espadán.<sup>247</sup> Similarly, the councillors of Valencia wrote to the emperor on 30 July that after the breakthrough at Tales, the Christian forces occupied Ahín and Alcudia de Veo and then "took another place called Benihalli in which they found much wheat and other foods, and clothes which were looted," resulting in a dispute between the victorious knights and gentlemen on the one hand, and the royal officials and Friar Yohan of Salamanca on the other, as to their disposal.<sup>248</sup>

The rebellion did not end at this point, because the Muslims withdrew to the steep crests of the Sierra where they built elaborate fortifications and repeatedly repulsed assaults with considerable losses for the Christians. We have located the remains of one mortared structure here, its date confirmed by Manises blue-on-white and luster pottery with highly elaborate floral designs (Annex 7).<sup>249</sup> The presence of considerable pottery and the participation of women suggests that the Muslims were prepared for a long siege, and that their cause enjoyed strong community support.<sup>250</sup> The Christian forces, on the other hand, were demoralized by their losses, their irregular pay, and insufficient rations, to the extent that they were deserting in large numbers. Three letters written from Ahín by the lieutenant-governor, Hierónimo de Cavanilles (July 30, August 10 and 14), pleaded for flour and other essential supplies, suggesting use of the road from Eslida, which was shorter and better.<sup>251</sup> In their frustration, the hordes of Christian soldiers roamed the countryside, publicly executing or imprisoning any Muslims they found.<sup>252</sup>

Finally, on 19 September, two columns of over 7000 troops, including 3000 German veterans of the emperor, attacked simultaneously from Almedíxar and Ahín. As many as 2000 Muslims, including the *faqih* of Castro de Suera, were slaughtered,

<sup>245</sup>Ibid. 141: "Hicieronse fuertes los rebeldes, no todos juntos en un puesto sino en siete diferentes que de días atrás los tenían ya fortificados con piedras bastantemente para defenderse, siendo ellos muy asperos de suyo."

<sup>246</sup>Escolano (n. 11 above) 2.726.

<sup>247</sup>Viciano (n. 20 above) 3.288, writes: "En la Sierra de Espadán donde 6–26 de Julio año 1526 matar a mi lado en el lugar de Villa elin a mosen Joan de Ciurana."

<sup>248</sup>Boronat (n. 11 above) 1.420: "Los nostres prengueren dos lochs que stan al peu de la serra ques dieu (*sic*) 'ahin' e la alcudia de veo, y apres pregueren altre loch ques diu benihalli en lo qual trobaren molt forment y altres virtualles e roba los quals foren saquejats."

<sup>249</sup>The site is located southeast of the Penya Pastor, near the head of the Barranco del Tír. Unfortunately the area is intensively disturbed by Civil War fortifications and trenches.

<sup>250</sup>See Alcudia de Fanzara in Annex 4 in regard to women who died in the mountains.

<sup>251</sup>ARV-MR 9878, fols. 7–9. Some 120 knights were lodged in Ahín at this time.

<sup>252</sup>Not all the Muslim rebels were locked up in the high sierra because one force attacked the castle of Castro de Suera in August (see Annex 4).

and an equal number taken prisoner to the victory parade in Valencia.<sup>253</sup> The Sierra was finally disarmed, the mosques demolished, Quranic books burned, and the inhabitants forced to submit to evangelization.<sup>254</sup> No subsequent fines are recorded for the Sierra, from which up to 200,000 ducats worth of booty had been removed, but surrounding communities either had to pay penalties or were deprived of their lands and crops.<sup>255</sup>

#### THE ALQUERIA OF BENIALÍ: ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

The archival records indicate that Benialí was probably founded about A.D. 1342. An absence of other direct mention, until a further privilege was granted 1396–1410, suggests that the settlement failed, possibly 1363–1365. A flourishing village of twenty to twenty-seven families (Annex 2) is documented 1415–1451, and eight of these are known by name (Annex 8): Khalil, Ṣalīḥ, Masʿūd, Quraysh, Maṣṣūr, al-Qāsr, Riyāl, and Yazīd. Of these, six were engaged in some form of commercial or craft activity. Four of the families—the Quraysh, Khalil, Maṣṣūr, and Riyāl—suggest distinguished, if possibly fictitious, Arab lineages. The second occupation persisted until the revolt of 1526. The retreating Sierra rebels fortified themselves in and around Benialí, where they were besieged and routed, 20–26 July of that year. The village was sacked and apparently abandoned, because it is not mentioned again.<sup>256</sup>

This summary sketch can now be tested against the archaeological record.<sup>257</sup>

#### The Settlement

Benialí was located with the help of local informants amid a set of agricultural terraces on the steep slope directly east of the castle of Ahín (fig. 3), in a *partida* of the same name. Visible at the surface are remains of cemented regular walls preserved within the complex of rough dry walls supporting the successive tiers of small fields that girdle the mountain slope from the olive and almond groves below, well into the bush and woodland of cork oak and pine above. In all, twenty-two areas were tested or more substantially excavated in 1981–1982, each representing part of a different house structure. Several other original walls not yet tested indicated that a major part of the settlement remains to be examined. The schematic distribution of houses shown in figure 3 represents the structures verifiable at this time and gives a realistic impression of the loose and irregular layout of this “open” hamlet.

The first season already indicated that several houses had been reoccupied several

<sup>253</sup>Escolano (n. 11 above) 2.720. García Carcel (n. 243 above) gives Christian losses as 300 and Muslim as 1000, without supporting evidence.

<sup>254</sup>Escolano (n. 11 above) 2.729.

<sup>255</sup>During the sixteenth century a *ducat* (guinea) comprised 21 sueldos. Regarding fines and confiscations in Vall d'Uxó, see Boronat (n. 11 above) 2.657, 662. Concerning land confiscated in Onda, ARV-MR 10.283, fols. 6–8. For other areas, see García Carcel (n. 162 above), and Peñarroja (n. 40 above) 67–73 and doc. 8.

<sup>256</sup>So, for example, in Escolano's list of *despoblados* (n. 11 above) 2.314.

<sup>257</sup>For more detail see Butzer et al. (n. 17 above).

times, and for relatively brief periods, judging by successive mortared floors separated by mineral soil. The second season struck more substantial occupations in the central and eastern parts of the site, where two distinct phases on settlement can be demonstrated on the basis of two sets of walls, with different alignments and of different quality, separated by a sterile horizon that is over a meter thick. Micro-stratigraphic correlation of the several horizons of distinctive soil wash across the site complex shows that most of the houses in the western third of the area belonged to the earlier occupation, the residues of which are invariably thin, due both to greater erosion and briefer occupations. In general, the older wall segments, even if ephemeral, were better constructed. Alignments are straighter, the local rock more carefully fitted, and faces better trimmed. The mortar used to bind the rock also tended to be higher in lime content and of greater durability. In one instance, herringbone structure (*opus spicatum*), more common in classical and early medieval construction, is preserved and, in general, larger and more regular blocks were selected for these earlier walls, providing greater stability.

Sufficient information is available from ten of these rectangular structures to determine that they consisted of only a single room and one story. Average interior dimensions were 2.8 by 4.0m, or 11.2 square meters. This is a small living space, even for a nuclear family,<sup>258</sup> and compares poorly with the 20 square meters we reconstructed for the core of rudimentary seventeenth- to eighteenth-century Christian houses in Artana and Xiquer. In area K5 (fig. 5) a fire area was identified in the center of the home; this particular house also had an attached, walled but unfloored stable area (with goat feces) on one side and in front, and a terraced surface (1.5 to 2m wide) that is rich in kitchen debris. The animal stall had interior measurements of 1.8 by 2.1m, or 3.8m<sup>2</sup>. In another house structure, somewhat larger (C, over 14m<sup>2</sup>), a rock-floored surface led down onto the living floor, in much the same way as the doorways of groundfloor stables in Ahín were traditionally lined with cobbles to protect the surface from destruction by mule hooves. This suggests the possibility that animals shared the living space with people in some of the Benialí houses.

Doors were mounted on wooden beams, judging by ground-down sandstone door-jambs found in four different areas. The extensive use of wood is verified by 43 iron nails of different sizes found during the excavations; 3 iron hinges were also found, too small for a door, but appropriate to fasten a wooden window to a frame.<sup>259</sup> Rooms were relatively low, judging by the amount of rock preserved from collapsed walls sealed in subsequent sediment—in one case allowing little more than 1.7m clearance. Charred beams preserved in one structure belong to two size categories, the larger 8 to 15cm in diameter, the smaller 2 to 5cm, suggesting primary beams and thin cross-poles.<sup>260</sup> There is no evidence of mortar impressions once attached to a plastered “pole and cane”-type roof, but fragments of roof tiles were found in

<sup>258</sup>An Aragonese observation on Muslim life-style immediately prior to the expulsion notes that families ate seated on the floor around the hearth and slept on matting in the same room; furniture was limited to a backed bench (see 1612 report of Aznar Cardona in Janer [n. 20 above] 177–178).

<sup>259</sup>An early sixteenth-century document from a Muslim community in Aragón notes the use of 29 tin-plated nails, 6 iron spikes, 4 hinges, and 2 handles to craft a door; see W. Hoehnerbach, *Spanisch-islamische Urkunden aus der Zeit der Nasriden und Moriscos* (Berkeley 1965) doc. 15.

<sup>260</sup>An Aragonese record of 1510 specifies 5 primary beams, 24 cross-poles, 2 loads of mortar, and 60 roof tiles for construction of the roof of a small house; *ibid* doc. 16.

the debris from only one structure (D), making it probable that most roofs were thatched<sup>261</sup> and, in view of the small house size, tilted or flat. Interior walls were commonly plastered, judging by fragments of molded cement from wall corners.

On the higher slope, the better exposed structures indicate that houses either stood alone, or were attached in sets of two or three (fig. 6), apparently without linking doors. In the center of the site, houses were probably attached, one wall to the next, but at different levels and, more unambiguously, with only external doors. This may imply multiple one-room dwellings belonging to an extended family.

### Pottery

House floors were kept clean, judging by the limited archaeological materials, and covering sediment generally consists of externally-derived soil wash. Most of the cultural waste instead comes from garbage middens that accumulated immediately next to the house wall or even in front of the door. The organic nature of these middens can be inferred from the abundance of land snails that burrowed within them. The bulk of the cultural inventory consists of over 8600 potsherds, derived from eating-bowls and plates, water jugs and pitchers, bowls, large earthenware storage containers, and fire-resistant cooking vessels. The last, verified from 15 of the 22 structures with mortared floors, serve to indicate dwellings, rather than storage or stabling areas, and have a median frequency of 11.6% for the site complex as a whole. The schematic distribution of the various excavation areas and their pottery is shown in figure 7, which distinguishes several groups of luxury wares as well as fire-resistant "kitchen" pottery.

Although reconstruction of those vessels represented by multiple sherds has not yet been possible, the reassembled pieces in hand are remarkably similar to many types still made in "traditional" workshops of the region. A major concern was identification of the provenance of the Benialí pottery; so, "traditional" pottery clays were sampled in Paterna, Vall d'Uxó, Onda, Altura-Segorbe, Teruel, and other centers. Subsequently 97 sherd fabrics from 20 collections or workshops in 14 towns were compared with 134 sherds from Benialí under low-power magnification.<sup>262</sup>

<sup>261</sup>Christian settlers reoccupying Muslim houses in Vall d'Uxó during 1613 complained that these lacked roof tiles (ADM 62-5, no. 2473) and, by implication, were thatched or covered with stone slabs and soil. Such is the case for many "traditional" *barracas* and *rafals* of Valencia; see J. M. Casas Torres, "La Barraca de la Huerta de Valencia," *Estudios geográficos* 4 (1943) 113-178; M. García Lisón and A. Zaragoza Catalán, "Arquitectura rural primitiva en secà," in J. F. Mira, ed., *Temes d'etnografia valencià* (Valencia 1983) 1.119-179. The extreme scarcity of tile fragments at Benialí might be explained by the common practice of scavenging tile from abandoned buildings because of the high manufacturing and transport costs. Nonetheless, broken tiles would not have been taken, so the essentially negative record from Benialí, compared with that of the castle of Ahín, must be considered significant. The absence of rock slabs on the house floors further precludes "dry" stone roofs.

<sup>262</sup>See Butzer (n. 156 above) and other references of n. 156 in regard to the pottery chronology adopted here. The Benialí pottery has substantial background similarities with that of the castillo of Ahín, not surprising in view of the continuity of pottery traditions in eastern Spain from the eleventh century to the present. But the Benialí materials represent a substantial evolution beyond the Islamic pottery from the castillo, in terms of forms and glazes, not to mention the presence of diagnostic, stannous wares from Paterna, Manises, and Teruel. In the castle, porous water containers were predominantly made with pink

Pending completion of the thin-section study and more refined analyses, the inferences drawn from the Benialí pottery can be summarized as follows:

(1) The oldest sherds (Paterna *verde y morado*), very rare and mainly found on the surface, date from the first half of the fourteenth century. Those few pieces found *in situ* in a midden of the second occupation presumably reflect older debris or heirlooms.<sup>263</sup> The presence of some, relatively non-descript Manises blue-on-white material in the first occupation horizons is compatible with but not diagnostic of a fourteenth-century date. Lusterware is limited to five structures pertaining to the second occupation and, in view of the rural nature of the site, suggests that these levels are no older than the fifteenth century. The final settlement at Benialí can be no later than the first third of the sixteenth century, since only one sherd of blue-and-red on white Manises ware was found in reworked debris above the ruins of the site; the use of dark red colors in Manises decorations probably reflects Italian influence after about 1500. This ceramic chronology appears to place the first occupation in the fourteenth century, the second occupation in the fifteenth, and no later than the early sixteenth century.

(2) The luxury pottery at Benialí documents persistent direct or indirect trade contacts with Teruel (125 km by road), Paterna, and Manises (80 km). Such external contacts are perhaps not surprising because the critical copper, cobalt, and manganese used for decoration by the key pottery centers primarily came from metalliferous rocks of the Sierra de Espadán, and there also is the 1451 document that a part-time merchant of Ahín posted bail for a Muslim of Paterna.<sup>264</sup> The presence of luxury pottery in 14 of 22 structures nonetheless argues for an astonishing degree of affluence and sophistication in the context of such simple rural dwellings. Almost all of the luxury ware pertains to the second occupation, but its distribution among the contemporaneous structures does not, at this point, indicate a concentration of expensive material goods in any one house or group of houses.

(3) Domestic pottery for everyday use was obtained from nearby ceramic centers at distances of 15 to 30 km, probably by more direct market exchange in Segorbe, Onda, Artana, Bechí, or Vall d'Uxó.<sup>265</sup> Only a single sherd of poor quality, hand-made ware of possibly local origin, was found in a collection of 8600 pieces.

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rather than beige slips, but at Benialí pink slips are rare; red, ferric decoration is absent at Benialí and the impressed marks on storage vessels are quite different. In the castle only 12.4% of the kitchen and cooking wares were glazed (generally on the insides) whereas at Benialí 83.2% are glazed (Annex 6), and "reduced" wares are quite rare. Overall there is a substantial hiatus between the two, a pottery stage that has not yet been recovered anywhere in the Valencia area, but appears to be emerging in recent excavations at Denia.

<sup>263</sup>There also are two sherds of Islamic *cuerda seca*, found on the surface. One of these has stamp marks consisting of a double-lined cross with circles in each of the four corners, identical to those found on sherds in the late Marinid levels of Qasr es-Seghir, Morocco, and dated ca. 1350 to 1458; see C. L. Redman and J. E. Myers, "Interpretation, Classification, and Ceramic Production: A Medieval North African Case Study," in H. Howard and E. L. Morris, eds., *Production and Distribution: A Ceramic Viewpoint* (Oxford 1981) 295-307, especially pl. 20.1 for photos of the stamp and the impressions. These sherds represent Moroccan or Granadine imports.

<sup>264</sup>See n. 194 above.

<sup>265</sup>The larger towns have traditionally had a weekly market on a specific day. In addition, royal privileges were granted during the thirteenth and fourteen centuries for special regional fairs (*ferias*), held once or several times a year (see L. G. de Valdeavellano, "Seis documentos sobre mercados y ferias medievales en la Corona de Aragón," *Anuario de historia del derecho español* 26 [1956] 647-657; M. Gual Camarena, "La feria de Cervera y sus privilegios (Siglo XIV)," *Miscelánea de estudios dedicados a la memoria*

## Glass, Metal Objects, and Metallurgy

Fragments of six different glass vessels were uncovered at Benialí, five of which represent small and thin-walled blown glass. Four analyzed samples show a similar peak of plant-derived soda ash, identical to the composition of Islamic glasses.<sup>266</sup> The blown glass belonged to three vessels of very pale aqua, colorless, and amber yellow color, but there also is a piece of thick, black "bottle" glass from a vessel 14cm in diameter. They may have been manufactured by traditional Muslim craftsmen in Sagunto, Valencia, or Elche,<sup>267</sup> but they may equally well have been imported from North Africa.<sup>268</sup>

Several of the metal objects are of good to excellent craftsmanship. A tunic clasp of beaten copper has rosettes on a filigrain background, and the front of the clasp is gilded.<sup>269</sup> A bracelet fragment of beaten copper is decorated with crypto-Arabic letters, unfortunately not decipherable. It too argues for a sophisticated Muslim metal-working center such as Valencia, Játiva, or Murcia. A simple circular copper earring was found in Benialí, and two similar ones were found next to the skull of a young woman in our brief salvage excavation of a Muslim cemetery in Alcudia de Veo. Another, more elaborate copper ornament with an internal stud may also come from an earring. Other objects include a piece of bronze arrowhead, similar to that in the castle, as well as a forged bronze pin and a piece of cast bronze, probably the rim of a bell.

A coin of copper-silver alloy (*vellón*), pertaining to the earlier half of the second occupation in structure K, shows the coat of arms of Castile and is inscribed +IO (hane secund)VS:REX:C(astell)E + (front) and CASTELLE: ELEGIONIS (obverse). This is a coin of Juan II of Castile, who reigned (as an adult) 1419–1454. Castilian, Aragonese, Granadine, and even Portuguese coins circulated widely during the fifteenth century, and this specimen bears the "T" of the Toledo mint.<sup>270</sup> The image is that of an aging king, and the style of the "helmet" crown, with alternating leaves and spikes above a gem-studded band, is more typical of that shown for his successor, Enrique IV. A very late date in the reign of Juan II is also supported by the low silver content, since monetary debasement was rampant after 1442.<sup>271</sup> The coin has a mean diameter of 19.8mm and a weight of 1.04gm. It represents a *quinto* or fifth of a *real*. There is also an eight-sided "clipped" copper coin without inscription. It

de Martínez Ferrando [Barcelona 1968] 181–196; C. Batlle Gallart, "Notizie sul mercato e la fiera di Barcellona nel secolo XIII," *Medioevo: Saggi e rassegne* 3 [1977] 53–74). Both instructions were important for commercial exchange and presumably encouraged long-distance distribution of industrial products such as pottery. In the case of Segorbe in 1265, a market was held in the *moreña* adjacent to the Teruel gate every Thursday "since ancient times" (Miret [n. 141 above] 378, 380, 527), while Onda was granted the privilege of a two-weeks' annual fair in 1267 (ibid. 399–400).

<sup>266</sup>Courtesy of R. H. Brill, Corning Museum of Glass.

<sup>267</sup>See A. W. Frothingham, *Hispanic Glass* (New York 1941) 23–24. Also, J. Ainaud de Lasarte, "Cerámica y vidrio," *Ars Hispaniae* 10 (1952) 345–351.

<sup>268</sup>R. H. Brill, pers. comm.

<sup>269</sup>The decoration has similarities to a gilded copper pendant from the Portuguese levels (A.D. 1458–1550) at Qasr es-Seghir; see Redman and Boone (n. 263 above) fig. 24B.

<sup>270</sup>See F. Alvarez Burgos, *Catálogo general de la moneda medieval hispano-cristiana* (Madrid 1980) 74–75.

<sup>271</sup>See A. Heiss, *Descripción general de las monedas hispano-cristianas desde la invasión de los árabes* (Zaragoza 1962) 95–96; O. Gil Farrés, *Historia de la moneda española* (Madrid 1959) 218.

has a mean diameter of 14.8mm and a weight of 1.00gm. The coins show that Benialí was, to some degree, part of a cash rather than a simple subsistence or barter economy. At the same time, the coin of Juan II, in conjunction with the pottery, fixes the first half of the second occupation at Benialí within the second quarter of the fifteenth century.

The iron objects include a wide range of short and long nails produced on different gauges of iron strips, together with a number of hooks, hinges, clamps, bowl or pan fragments, a knife point, and an eyed belt-clasp, as well as two horseshoes and two muleshoes. Bubbly iron slag or glassy ferruginous scoriae were found in 11 areas or levels. At one location a small "bowl furnace" was found with "bloomery" slag under a complex of oxidation horizons, embedding a fragment of roof tile and potsherds. The presence of lime, combined with magnetite,<sup>272</sup> suggests the ore was embedded in calcareous rock formations. The ubiquitous slag, the furnace, and the wide range of iron objects argues for local metallurgy, and iron ore can be found today in several parts of the Sierra, including a hillside northeast of Ahín.<sup>273</sup>

### Native Biota

During the 1981 excavations a plum pit, a wheat grain, snails, and considerable charcoal were recovered. This prompted more systematic retrieval in 1982, with subsequent specialist study.

Some 750 charcoal fragments were identified,<sup>274</sup> the majority representing charred timbers or fuel such as black pine, Scot's pine, Aleppo pine, and cork oak. Particularly common is the debris of almond wood, most of it recovered from hearths and a subcontinuous fire horizon, especially in the stabling area of K (fig. 5). The impression obtains that branches of almond trees as well as cork slabs were used in thatching, whereas pine and cork oak saplings provided the supporting poles. If these inferences are correct, native wood was at a premium, and tree cuttings or dead branches from orchard plantings were the key wood source, with more sparing use of immature pines and cork oak. Since olive wood, which also provides access to cuttings and dead branches, is rare, most of the cultivated trees appear to have been almonds. This would suggest a very degraded vegetation, compatible with the Italian report of about 1570.<sup>275</sup>

The charcoal remains from the first occupation at Benialí are represented by fragments of olive wood and poplar. The culturally sterile horizon between the first and second occupations at K includes the only finds of elm and further fragments of olive wood, cork oak, and almond wood. No poplar, elm, or olive wood was found

<sup>272</sup>Identified by P. B. Moore, University of Chicago.

<sup>273</sup>Minor ferruginous seams are found in the local dolomitic Muschelkalk (Triassic) formations. Cavanilles (n. 71 above) 109–111 already noted the impressive evidence of iron, copper, and mercury mining, as well as iron-smelting in the Sierra. At Artana P. Guichard has found a major slag accumulation at La Ferrería with associated Manises blue-on-white pottery; the site was kindly shown to us by J. Herrero Cabanes of Artana.

<sup>274</sup>Courtesy of the Swiss Federal Institute for Forestry Research, Zürich-Birmensdorf.

<sup>275</sup>Courtesy of R. C. Preece, Cambridge University.



in any of the later occupation deposits, suggesting an impoverishment of the vegetation and perhaps even of the orchard crops during the more intensive second occupation.

Pollen and opal phytolith samples await study.

The land snails<sup>276</sup> are dominated by *Rumina* and several large *Helix* species, *Oxychilus*, and *Helicidae*, all indicative of a dry, open, and heavily disturbed habitat. But there also are unique specimens of small aquatic species—*Bythinella* sp., *Lymnaea peregra*, and *Hypnophila* sp.—as well as *Ostracoda*, probably derived from muddy water from the nearby spring.

Despite the mass of mammalian bone recovered, only a very few isolated bones pertain to wild rather than domesticated animals: a small carnivore (possibly fox) and a rabbit or hare in the first occupation levels, another small carnivore (?mongoose), possibly a small deer, and an undetermined larger bird in the second occupation.<sup>277</sup> Collectively these bones represent only 0.4% of the faunal remains, supporting the impression of a landscape dominated by human intervention.

### Agriculture, Livestock, and Soil Erosion

The domesticated plants represented by the macrobotanical remains from Benialí are diverse. There are abundant seeds of wheat (including the "hard" or *durum* and "breadwheat" varieties), as well as *durra* sorghum, a small-seeded green bean (*Vicia flava*), and an oil seed (*Camelina sativa*).<sup>278</sup> The last was found baked inside a very large storage jar and, since this plant invariably grows alongside flax,<sup>279</sup> which is totally absent, it shows that flax was also grown but apparently sold as a "cash" crop. Dehydrated olives and almond shells were also found; comparison with aged modern counterparts showed that the medieval olives were as much as 30% smaller, the medieval almonds 70% larger and, in terms of shell thickness, more productive. The charcoals indicate that almond trees were particularly important. Peach pits are also present, together with remains of fig, walnut wood, and possibly pear tree wood. At Alcudia de Veo the burial inclusions also contain grape seeds and a sunflower seed hull in original context.<sup>280</sup> Woven knots or strings of hemp (*esparto*) fiber were found in two different structures and their forms suggest woven baskets.

*Durum* wheat and flax/*Camelina* are exclusively winter crops in Mediterranean Spain, and are most economically grown on unirrigated *secano*. Sorghum and green beans are characteristic summer crops of the irrigated valley bottoms (*regadio*). Bread wheat can be grown in either situation but, in seasonal rotation with winter grazing on field stubble, it makes better sense as an irrigated summer crop. Olives and almonds are generally grown on *secano* hillsides, usually in association with drought-resistant winter wheat, while plums and apricots are most productive in *regadio*.

<sup>276</sup>Courtesy of R. G. Klein, University of Chicago.

<sup>277</sup>Kindly identified by J. R. Harlan and D. Bedigian, University of Illinois.

<sup>278</sup>J. Schultze-Motel, "Die Anbaugeschichte des Leindotters, *Camelina sativa*," *Archaeo-Physika* 8 (1979) 267–281.

<sup>279</sup>See n. 277 above.

<sup>280</sup>See n. 277 above.

The Benialí economic plants consequently point to different seasons and sites, namely winter rainfall versus summer irrigation crops. The former pertain to the hill-sides, the latter to the valley bottoms. Although no threshing floors were encountered in the excavations, two flints of the type used in threshing sleds were found.

Our modern land-use map (fig. 3) shows cultivated areas and potential irrigation, and the available arable land of modest to better quality upstream of the Caritat mill (Molí de Guinsa) amounts to a total of 24 ha. Our information on Muslim landholdings for the sixteenth century suggests that a minimum of one hectare of mixed *secano* and *regadío* were necessary to support even the poorest families. Considering the low fertility of the Benialí soils, 24 ha. of arable land could barely support 20 families, and that only with considerable effort. This is consonant with the maximum size of the settlement archaeologically recorded.

However, livestock raising appears to have substantially supplemented crop cultivation. Animal bone is well preserved, and an unusually large collection has been studied. Of a total of 2250 bone fragments identified, 95% belong to goat, with a minimum of 138 individuals verified.<sup>281</sup> The other bones of domesticated animals belong to cattle (at least 12 individuals), chickens, probably a water buffalo, and possibly sheep. The theoretical goat "herd" sample was large enough to reconstruct the age profile and, to some extent, the sex. The male animals were mainly killed at about 12–24 months of age, the females during the first three years of potential fertility. Ideally, to provide an optimal number of offspring the females should have been slaughtered at a higher age. Earlier butchering suggests a population living close to the breadline and heavily dependent on meat during repeated times of food shortage.<sup>282</sup> Both the goat and cattle bones were heavily fragmented by butchery practices, primarily sawing, although cut and chop marks are also abundant,<sup>283</sup> all providing indirect evidence of iron tools.

The pattern of livestock raising, dominated by goat, with some ancillary cattle and chickens, is consistent through all sectors and both settlement phases of Benialí. Presumably the chickens were kept around the household, and the cattle down in the valley, while the goats would have been grazed in the grass, thorn, and scrub vegetation upslope. Both mules and horses were kept at Benialí for transport and labor, judging by the iron inventory. The water buffalo is of great interest, because *Bubalus* now is unknown in Spain but common in Islamic North Africa.<sup>284</sup>

Wild boar, today still active in the Sierra where they exploit the acorns, are absent from the Benialí fauna, presumably because of the Quranic interdictions. This may

<sup>281</sup>See n. 276 above.

<sup>282</sup>See n. 93 above. J. E. Buikstra, who is studying the skeletal materials from the Alcudia de Veo Muslim cemetery, informs us that the teeth of a young woman show well-developed dental hypoplasia, evidence of severe disease or nutritional stress prior to eruption of the permanent incisors. Concerning hypoplasia, see J. E. Buikstra and D. C. Cook, "Palaeopathology: An American Account," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 9 (1980) 433–470.

<sup>283</sup>A total of 224 goat bones and 17 of the dentitions show saw and cut marks, i.e. 11.2% (R. G. Klein, pers. comm.).

<sup>284</sup>Implausible at first sight, water buffaloes were present in fifteenth-century Valencia, where in the years 1439–1461 two keepers were employed to maintain and guard the king's herd at a cost of 478 to 498 sueldos per year (ARV-MR 55, fol. 295; 56, fols. 272v, 279; 70, fol. 280; and 71, fol. 307). On the economics of buffaloes as draught animals, see *The Water Buffalo: New Prospects for an Underutilized Animal*, National Research Council (Washington 1982).

also explain why there are masses of shells from large, edible snails, yet none show evidence of charring or removal attempts.<sup>285</sup> It therefore appears that food proscriptions prevented use of two potentially valuable sources of wild food.

Several marine shells were recovered. One is a *Dosinia*, and a neat circular perforation indicates ornamental use. However, two cockle shells (*Cerastoderma edule*) from the K midden and a *Venus* shell from the Alcudia de Veo cemetery lack any such marks and instead suggest a *sopa de marisco*. Whichever interpretation is preferred, coastal contacts are indicated.<sup>286</sup>

According to a widespread assumption, Muslim farmers greatly extended artificial terraces in Spain, but the evidence from Benialí is negative. None of the structures were built on platforms cut back into the slope, a feature normally associated with terracing. Instead, many of the first houses in any one position were built directly on the intact original soil, although others were built on surfaces supported by low retaining walls, apparently of limited extension. In only two cases were artificial fills found behind such retaining walls and these are associated only with reutilization of an older site, not with true constructional surfaces. It appears that the technology of terrace construction was familiar, but there is no evidence for more than minor remodeling of the existing topography during the course of house building. Possibly the twelve- to twenty-five-degree slopes around Benialí were reduced and shortened by low and widely-spaced ramparts of rock and soil.

On the other hand, accelerated soil erosion was active around and above the site through the span of occupation, but not before nor after the slopes had stabilized again following site abandonment. Such soil wash separates mortared floors of the first occupation and, after temporary abandonment during the fourteenth century, similar materials periodically intermingled with the midden deposits of the second occupation and subsequently were also interbedded with collapse debris.<sup>287</sup> Such soil washes include a range of rock rubble sizes as well as variable proportions of mortar fragments, but they basically represent eroded, clayey soils. They ceased to form once the site was finally abandoned and buried, and are sharply demarcated from the conspicuous artificial terrace fills constructed by Christian farmers during the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries, when the present agricultural landscape was created. The excavations reveal that some of the standing but ruined walls of Benialí were deliberately razed when the existing terraces were built. This explains how the name continued to be associated with the site after 1609, and why the inhabitants of Ahín were able to point out the location of this *despoblado* in 1980. The Christian terrace system made use of some standing walls of medieval Benialí and, in this sense, the location of the retaining walls was influenced by some of the site features. But the modern field terraces are primarily related to preexisting slope topography and soil thickness.

<sup>285</sup>The Quran is actually ambiguous in regard to the status of land snails, but they are not eaten in North Africa.

<sup>286</sup>Only in 1560 were Moriscos forbidden to fish or go to the sea under any pretext; see A. M. González Asensi, "Disposiciones sobre control de Moriscos al comienzo del virreinato del duque de Segorbe (1559-1560)," *Actas: Primer Congreso de historia del país valenciano* (Valencia 1983) 3.181-187.

<sup>287</sup>The distinction of sediments due to soil erosion and to settlement deterioration or destruction is explained in K. W. Butzer, "Rise and Fall of Axum, Ethiopia: A Geo-archaeological Interpretation," *American Antiquity* 46 (1981) 471-495; see also Butzer et al. (n. 17 above).

A reasonable explanation for the waves of soil erosion that stripped the slopes and led to repeated accumulation among the houses of medieval Benialí is human intervention. Goat grazing tends to be almost indiscriminate and, if unchecked, will destroy the tree or bush foliage that breaks raindrop impact, as well as the ground cover that protects and binds the soil. The field evidence indicates that upslope soil erosion was indeed severe.

During the early twentieth century the relative economic productivity of the 142 parcels of the Benialí area was weighted as follows:<sup>288</sup> cork oak 29%, olives 26%, irrigated cereals and potatoes 21%, pine forest 18%, a combination of almonds, fruit orchards, figs, and vines 4.4%, and mountain pastures only 0.7%. Although most of the same basic elements were available to medieval Benialí, there was no economical way to transport pine lumber, although charcoaling would have been a valuable pursuit and presumably was responsible for the degradation of the forests. There also was no significant market for cork. It appears that the middle slopes were probably used for almond and olive groves, with interspersed fruit trees, flax, and winter wheat, while the valley bottom and any irrigated slopes could best have been used for sorghum and vegetables in summer, with a second winter crop of bread-wheat possible on the better soils.

Until about 1950 water in the drainage line running through Benialí was adequate to lead to a cistern on its southern margin (fig. 3) via a small canal; from here it was distributed over 0.215 ha.<sup>289</sup> Another spring seep at a lower level potentially provided water to a further 0.262 ha. A comparable medieval cistern was unearthed in a symmetrical position on the northern side, directly above Benialí; it appears to have been fed by a similar canal, now destroyed, and had a capacity of as much as 83m<sup>3</sup>; the potsherds of the infilling indicate an age identical with Benialí, so that this cistern could have provided drinking and irrigation water to the settlement and its adjacent gardens. Two smaller cisterns within the site were linked with individual houses. This demonstrates an optimization of water resources as well as a sophisticated irrigation technology. To some degree this helped compensate for the low soil fertility, the limited amount of available land, and the dangers of reduced productivity resulting from soil degradation.

The final matter of archaeological resolution concerns the abandonment of Benialí. The end was abrupt and violent. In two houses there is extensive evidence of burnt beams,<sup>290</sup> semicontinuous charcoal horizons, fire-reddened (oxidized) lenses,

<sup>288</sup>The land rents assessed in 1950, reflecting a final surge of "traditional" agricultural exploitation during the hunger years of the 1940s, provide a reasonable index of economic productivity. This assessment includes parcel number, size, quality coefficient, crop type, tax amount, and name of proprietor for 3400 units. It was kindly placed at our disposal by M. Miravet Castelló, *alcalde* of Ahín.

<sup>289</sup>Butzer et al. (n. 19 above).

<sup>290</sup>Five dates from hearths are presently available, courtesy of R. Stuckenrath, Smithsonian Institution. Calibrated to calendar dates by the most recent conversion method (J. Klein et al. "Calibration of Radiocarbon Dates," *Radiocarbon* 24 [1982] 103-150), three Benialí dates from the 1981 season for the first occupation give the following ranges: A.D. 775-1030 (SI-5138), A.D. 1320-1565 (SI-5139), and A.D. 655-1355 (SI-5140); the two available date ranges for the second occupation are A.D. 860-1040 (SI-5141) and A.D. 1325-1425 (SI-5142). The time period in question is not ideal for radiocarbon controls because of strong atmospheric background anomalies, and there is a possibility that some "old" wood was used for fuel or that older timbers were reused in construction. Only identified pine samples will be used in future dating because pine has a very limited longevity compared with olive wood.

and collapsed walls. In four structures there are masses of fire-blackened and intensely charred potsherds. This destruction horizon forms a distinct marker, and there is no evidence of subsequent attempts at resettlement.

This body of archaeological evidence can be synthesized as follows:

- (a) Benialí was initially constructed on an untterraced virgin hillside, no earlier than the fourteenth century, judging by the absence of distinctive earlier pottery.
- (b) The first settlement phase allows identification of several generations of houses, none of which preserve rich occupation residues.
- (c) A long settlement break followed, during which thick soil wash accumulated, and the Sierra woodland regenerated to some measure.
- (d) A second occupation focused on the eastern half of the site, was laid out with no relation to the previous house foundation or walls, and expanded to a new area on the higher slope. Occupation was more intensive and continuous, and included more houses, as well as an elaborate slope irrigation network, with at least one large cistern. Houses were small and consisted of one room. Animals were sometimes stalled in separate structures, at other times probably kept directly inside the home. There is evidence of low rock-and-fill ramparts in front of some houses, or of higher retaining walls, serving as foundations, but there is no indication that the hillside was systematically terraced. Houses were built of mortared, trimmed local rock, the insides of which were often plastered; doors and windows consisted of wood, fastened to door-posts or, with iron hinges, to wooden frames. Roofs were flat or tilted, constructed of primary and cross-beams, and mainly thatched. House floors were coated with mortar and kept clean during occupation; the garbage was thrown out next to the door.
- (e) The settlement arrangement was loose and irregular, with houses tending to be placed roughly parallel to the contours, and clustered in groups with attached walls but separate doors. This suggests the multiple but independent households of extended families. Some 25 house sites can now be directly or indirectly verified, but at least 5 of these were exclusively used during the first occupation; some 15 to 20 houses were certainly in use during the second.
- (f) The pottery and coins associated with the second settlement date it to the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.
- (g) Domestic kitchen, table, and storage pottery was obtained from production centers such as Vall d'Uxó, possibly by direct market exchange. Luxury pottery made in distant ceramic centers such as Teruel, Paterna, and Manises indicates a measure of wealth and sophistication; these wares were probably obtained through middlemen, perhaps in the markets of Eslida and Segorbe.
- (h) Both summer and winter crops were cultivated on irrigated and dry-farming plots. The major crops appear to have been hard wheat and breadwheat, sorghum, olives, almonds, oil seeds, green beans, and various orchard fruits. During poor harvest years, extensive use was made of the goats herded on the higher slopes. Some chickens and cows were also kept, and both horses and mules were used as work animals. Pine wood and cork oak were exploited, to a limited extent, although the Sierra was largely deforested during the second occupation phase.
- (i) Copper ornaments were worn, in part of fine quality, including a decorated and gilded tunic clasp. Belt buckles and a wide range of household goods were made of iron, smelted and forged on the spot. However, most of the copper items, as well

as the delicate blown glass vessels, would have been obtained via local market centers from Valencian or more distant Islamic manufacturing centers.

(j) The wide range of goods imported from beyond the confines of the Sierra, the disposal of the entire flax crop, and the presence of coins all indicate some degree of participation in a cash economy. At the same time these features also show that the inhabitants of Benialí had perspectives that transcended the Sierra.

(k) Benialí was abruptly destroyed by fire, and many walls collapsed or were overthrown. Completely abandoned, the ruins were filled with soil wash and the slope was no longer cultivated.

(l) Many of the deteriorating walls of Benialí were still standing during the late eighteenth century when the Christian farmers of Ahín began to construct the elaborate terrace system still in evidence. During the course of grading and wall construction, the remaining ruins of Benialí were leveled and their foundations covered with soil.

Comparison of the archival and archaeological records shows that historical archaeology can and should combine the two. The composite picture is one of a community living in an inaccessible valley but nonetheless participating actively in the cultural world of the substantial Muslim minority. The economy was a typical Mediterranean one in essence, but with some details reminiscent of the North African littoral and mountains, namely, the emphasis on sorghum and goats and the tendency to nonnucleated settlement.<sup>291</sup> Less speculative is the ecological complementarity of orchard crops versus grains, winter versus summer crops, and *regadío* versus *secano*. This picture does not contradict the archival documentation for a market economy in which the sierra farmers appear to have sold certain cash crops (? flax, almonds, olive oil) to purchase supplementary grains.

#### PERSPECTIVES ON THE FINAL YEARS

The scale of the cataclysm of 1526 can best be appreciated from the numbers involved. There were about 1600 Muslim families in the area affected by the sierra revolt, about 7500 people.<sup>292</sup> Christian reports suggest 4000 were involved in the last desperate resistance on the crests of the high Espadán.<sup>293</sup> Even assuming that several hundred of the combatants came from the original center of rebellion, around Benaquacil, it is apparent that almost all the adult males of the region were involved and that perhaps half of these were killed. On the Christian side there were 7000 soldiers, as many as the total regional population. Small wonder that they could not "live off the countryside" and were on the brink of starvation. The ecological pressures must have been immense, and it is probable that even seed stocks were requisitioned and consumed, and 1527 will have been a year of severe hunger for the Muslim inhabitants, with further high mortality.

The demographic data unfortunately are inadequate to quantify the population

<sup>291</sup>See Annex 4 in regard to settlement morphology of the other *despoblados*.

<sup>292</sup>Annex 2, plus 386 families in Vall d'Uxó, ARV-Real 514 bis.

<sup>293</sup>García Carcel (n. 244 above); some accounts go as high as 7000 rebels; see Peñarroja (n. 40 above) 67-68.

loss of 1526–1527, although Annex 2 shows that demographic recovery in the Sierra took seventy years, until 1596. We know that Benialí, Xóvar, and Bellota were destroyed or abandoned in 1526, while Xinquar, Lloret, Benalbux, Alfeig, and Ampadars seem to have disappeared at the same time (Annex 4). The permanent loss of as many as eight communities in 1526 represents a surrogate quantitative index for this demographic and social disaster.

Even the subsequent period of recovery was a troubled one, judging by the progressive disappearance of four further settlements—Alfara and Castro de Suera about 1570, Almaxaraca about 1590, and Alcudia de Fanzara about 1600 (Annex 4). Furthermore, Artana and Benitandús, which both belonged to a smaller feudal domain, never recovered their pre-1526 population levels. Since we know that the overall population was increasing and that epidemics were not a serious problem, insecurity and local economic depression appear to have been responsible. Nonetheless, compared with the small Christian settlements during the century after 1609 (Annex 2), Muslim population density remained comparatively high and it is improbable that irrigated land was allowed to revert to fallow.

The family names of Ahín (Annex 5)<sup>294</sup> show that population composition had changed after 1526. Only 17 of 36 identifiable names in 1563 belong to traditional families. One of the new Catalan names, Lizo, is carried by 4 families, of which Salim Lizo was a *jurat*, suggesting an older, prestigious family that had changed its surname, possibly the al-Faqihs. Even if we assume that two surnames were changed, we are still left with 14 new families, of which 5 were refugees from Benialí (Annex 8). In other words, 39% of the population of Ahín represented new residents. It is probable that new Muslim families such as the Saguntis had fled to the sierra from the lowland *moreñas*, perhaps joined by some of the surviving rebels from outside. Whatever the explanation, this pattern is repeated in all the other Sierra communities, pointing to perhaps the most significant impact of the 1526 revolt: the old community fabrics had been weakened.

The interdigitated nature of the traditional Sierra family network can also be argued on the basis of Annex 5, which arranges the data in generational groups of 25 years from 1383 to 1563. Although incomplete and essentially limited to male heads of households, the list covers the majority of the families in Ahín over a span of 180 years, an unusual socio-historical resource for the period. There are 150 legible surnames, and another 8 were romanized so that they cannot be integrated within the traditional family context. Of the remaining 142 names, 105 belong to 23 families present in Ahín before the year 1500 and verified at least twice. Although there is

<sup>294</sup>The key sources are property holders who signed or are listed in rent documents in 1383–1390 (n. 59 above), 1401 (ARV-Real Justicia 801, fols. 321–322v), 1418 (ARV-Fondos en depósitos [Pergaminos] caja 16, no. 20), and 1445 (ARV-Real 668, fol. 6v); the people receiving *franquicias* during the fifteenth century (n. 63 above); the signatories to the document of 1500 (n. 55 above); the names in property transactions 1527–1530 (Peñarroja [n. 40 above] 566–567); the owners of weapons in 1563 (ARV-Real 562, fols. 556–559v); as well as individuals listed in miscellaneous court cases. There is some bias toward landed families, but not an excessive one. A problem after 1525 is that names were carelessly transliterated into Romance and poorly written, while new, Catalan surnames were gradually adopted. This should not, however, be interpreted as a matter of linguistic acculturation because the rural Muslims of Valencia remained Arabic speakers—even if many of the men were bilingual during the late sixteenth century (Barceló [n. 12 above] 142–151).

some use of Ben (Ibn) or Abu in the earlier part of the period, the repetitiveness of the second names and the patterning of the first-second name combinations over the generations indicate that we are dealing with patronymic surnames. Our compilation of similar lists for the other sierra communities shows that second names tend to be clustered in one or two places and that, as in Ahín, they are rarely used as first names. This is, then, a powerful tool to assess the degree of exogamy and to establish intermarriage spheres between settlements. In effect, name lists such as Annex 5 provide significant information on family continuity within communities and, by comparison with those of neighboring towns, they serve to delineate the social boundaries created by community identity.

The most common surnames in Ahín 1383–1563 are Maimūn (16 individuals), Ḥaytūn and Ṣalīḥ (11 each), al-Adīb (9), al-Faqīh (7), and Saʿd (4). Other common but less persistent surnames are ʿAbu'l-ʿAysh (5), Shilanshī and ʿĪsā (4 each and relative late-comers), and Ṭāhir, al-Bardī, and al-Raḥmān (3 each). Another 10 surnames appear before 1500, each represented by 2 individuals: al-Amīn, al-Gaybālī (?), al-Ḥājī, Ḥazm, Hiyālī, Khalāf, al-Numayy, al-Raḥḥā, and Sūnī. Of the 15 *alamīs* and *jurats* documented, only the al-Ḥājīs, the Ḥazms, and the Ṣalīḥs could claim two appointments, and three had surnames only present once in our lists. This argues that public office was not the preserve of a few leading families, suggesting that the nomination lists presented to the Bailiff General were based on personal prestige or experience, rather than wealth. More cursory examination of the lists from the other settlements indicates the same pattern, implying a strong flavor of egalitarianism in the running of community affairs.

A second, equally striking inference that can be drawn is that there was considerable movement of families between communities, or exogamy, or both. Of the seven oldest and largest families of Ahín, all shared surnames with families in Eslida and with at least one other neighboring *aljama*.<sup>295</sup> Of the remaining sixteen names, solely ʿAbu'l-ʿAysh, Shilanshī, and al-Gaybālī are not found in other sierra settlements, and the last two names suggest immigrants from Jalance<sup>296</sup> and Gaibiel.<sup>297</sup> Overall, the most common affinities are with Eslida (13 of 23 surnames), Vall de Almonacid (9), Veo (7), Vall d'Uxó (6), and Fanzara (5). Comparison of modern surnames in Ahín and its surrounding villages, in combination with our study of the parish registers of Veo, Alcudia de Veo, and Benitandús after 1624, shows a well-defined marriage pool between Ahín, Veo, and Benitandús, but negligible interrelationships with Eslida, Vall de Almonacid, Fanzara, or Vall d'Uxó. The invisible social boundaries that exist today, in part related to the linguistic border between Valencian-Catalan and Castilian, but more compellingly a result of intercommunity rivalry, evidently were less prominent in the Muslim sierra. Beyond that, family networks were much larger, encompassing most settlements within a 10 km radius<sup>298</sup> and many at distances of 20 km and more. We must conclude that traditional Muslim blood relationships continued to be powerful integrative forces, and that they facili-

<sup>295</sup>For sources in addition to n. 294 above (adjacent pages), see ARV-Real 625, fols. 22–23.

<sup>296</sup>See n. 193 above.

<sup>297</sup>Families originally from other parts of Spain are indicated in the various Sierra communities by names such as Catalán (Lloret, Eslida), Bunyoli (Eslida), Burriani (Ahín), ʿĪsā (?BanūʿĪsā, southern Valencia), Mallorquí (Fanzara), and Alvalenci (Veo).

<sup>298</sup>There is, in fact, a document of 1451 showing that a woman from Vall d'Uxó was married to a man from Eslida (ARV-Bailía 1151, fol. 297r–v).



tated family relocation as well as intercommunity cooperation. The impression obtains that the fifteenth-century sierra was a far more tightly-knit community than its nineteenth-century Christian counterpart.

The social relationships of Benialí can also be examined, on the basis of Annex 8.<sup>299</sup> The largest families were the Khalils and Maṣūrs (6 individuals each), followed by the Maṣūds (3), the Quraysh and Ṣalīḥ (2 each). Significantly, of the eight Muslim surnames, only Ṣalīḥ is found in Ahín prior to 1414, suggesting that the new settlement drew very few of its colonists from Ahín. Khalil and Maṣūd are names from Vall de Almonacid and Fanzara or Lleuxa, while Maṣūr is found in the former, al-Qāsr in the latter. The Quraysh appear to have been from Eslida, the Yazīds from Alcudia and Veo, and Ṣalīḥs are also documented in Eslida and Vall d'Uxó. This suggests that the second group of settlers in Benialí about 1400 came from more distant villages, lending some credence to the implication that the first settlers in 1342 came from Eslida and, again, not from Ahín.<sup>300</sup> Until 1526, the surnames of Benialí and Ahín remain discrete (Annexes 5 and 8), suggesting little intermarriage, in part because of older, external relationships, in part as a result of intercommunity competition, as suggested by the 1459 dispute between a Ḥaytūn of Ahín and a Ṣalīḥ of Benialí.<sup>301</sup> After 1526, five Benialí families relocated to Ahín and none can be traced in any other of the surrounding settlements. Unless Benialí was already in decline after 1451, this suggests that as many as fifteen families disappeared in the aftermath of 1526.<sup>302</sup>

The subsequent history of the Sierra communities can be summarized briefly. The nominal baptism of Muslims 1525–1526 had no positive impact because the first evangelizing teams spoke no Arabic, and a basic catechism in that language was first available in 1566.<sup>303</sup> The disarmament of the Sierra in 1563, the most thorough of several, led to confiscation of thirty-three swords, six crossbows, and three muskets in Ahín.<sup>304</sup> That there was passive resistance is apparent from Alfara-Benitandús, where on 8 February the *justicia* and his son sat it out next to their beehives, one man and his brother were said to be in Aragón, yet another was away for two or three days to parts unknown, and two young men “had gone out.”<sup>305</sup> A renewed wave of preaching, by better trained but equally insensitive friars,<sup>306</sup> led to a minor Muslim religious revival, with public meetings reported in Alcudia de Veo, Fanzara, and

<sup>299</sup>See n. 294 above.

<sup>300</sup>See n. 170 above.

<sup>301</sup>See n. 187 above. The rowdy competitiveness between Fanzara and Lleuxa (see Annex 4) provides another such example.

<sup>302</sup>Peñarroja (n. 40 above) 70–71 shows that at least 58 families from Vall d'Uxó emigrated by sea 1527–1534, a sizable proportion of the original number, 386, in 1512 (n. 292 above). In the case of Benialí it is probable that most would have been casualties of the assault. There is, however, need for caution since structure K at Benialí was damaged by flooding that swept masses of soil wash onto the floor, debris that was not cleared out prior to destruction of the roof by fire, perhaps a few years later.

<sup>303</sup>R. Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, “Felipe II y los Moriscos: El intento decisivo de asimilación, 1559–1568,” *Estudios de historia de Valencia* (Valencia 1978) 183–201; R. I. Burns, *Jaume I i els Valencians del Segle XIII* (1981) 307.

<sup>304</sup>ARV-Real 562, fol. 294. The unimpressive totals for the Sierra were 315 swords, 67 daggers, 66 crossbows, 21 muskets, 29 shields, 23 helmets, and 2 spearpoints, the highest concentration of which was in Fanzara.

<sup>305</sup>ARV-Real 562, fol. 552.

<sup>306</sup>In 1568 one missionizing campaign to the Sierra, held in Benitandús, netted 185 baptisms and 6 refusals; see Boronat (n. 11 above) 1.262.

Vall d'Uxó in 1565–1568, and further inquisitional proceedings are recorded in Vall d'Uxó in 1582 and 1602.<sup>307</sup> In 1580 there is another glimpse of the new Christian and Catalan names current in Ahín. The *jurats* in that year were Juan Pons and Juan Lizo; Juan Segunti and his brother had robbed a Juana Niron on September 11, and a Juan Respo had murdered his sister Angela,<sup>308</sup> again, one must presume, as a matter of “family honor.” In 1596 the priest of Eslida read mass every second Sunday in the church of Saint Michael in Ahín, where he instructed the inhabitants in the Catholic faith and taught Christian doctrine, for which he received a (partial) salary of 540 sueldos yearly, plus 2765 sueldos in lieu of a tenth on agricultural produce and rights to “first fruits” on crops and young animals.<sup>309</sup> It was a stiff fee of 66 sueldos per household for unwanted religious attention.

The physical components of the Sierra villages in the twilight of the Muslim minority can be identified on general lines. Ahín had two grain mills in 1569, in addition to a bread oven, butchery, and shop. Further tangible evidence on the layout of Ahín is provided by the 1500 document: “All the Sarracen inhabitants of Ahín . . . signed in the portico of the square of said place.”<sup>310</sup> In other words, the two dozen signatories assembled at the portal, implying a gateway opening on the traditional plaza next to the present church. It is probable that the external ring of houses and corrals formed a closed perimeter, much like the layout of the early nineteenth-century village. By contrast, Eslida was surrounded by an impressive wall, shown on a mid-sixteenth-century woodcut<sup>311</sup> and still traceable in the modern street layout. Fanzara did not have more to offer by way of facilities than Eslida: a grain mill, a butchery, a shop, and three ovens. Vall d'Uxó, on the other hand, had two mills, two shops, six ovens, a hostel, a tavern, and a bakery.<sup>312</sup> The 1500 document does not mention a mosque for Ahín, but sixteenth-century tax records leave no doubt that there was one,<sup>313</sup> and the lower part of the present church tower of Ahín almost certainly is from the minaret. If tax levies were proportional to the size of the mosque

<sup>307</sup>Halperin Donghi (n. 114 above) 107, 170; A. Labarta, “Inventario de los documentos árabes contenidos en procesos inquisitoriales contra Moriscos valencianos,” *Al-Qanṭara* 1 (1980) 115–164; Peñarroja (n. 40 above) 103–123. In 1565 Muslim *faqīhs* were also active in Suera, Vall de Almonacid, and Almedíxar (Boronat [n. 11 above] 1.540–541). Particularly unfortunate was the fanatic search for and destruction of Arabic writings, all of them suspect as heretical; see A. Labarta, “Los libros de los Moriscos valencianos,” *Aurāq* 2 (1979) 73–79.

<sup>308</sup>ARV-MR 10.190, fol. 19, and 9729, fol. 19.

<sup>309</sup>Clement VIII (n. 22 above) 433. The latter figure includes the ecclesiastical share of the old mosque tax. In 1596 the “new Christians” of the Sierra were shepherded by two priests, the rector of Eslida serving Ahín, Alcudia, Vco, and Benitandús, while the rector of Fanzara was responsible for Suera. Although it was claimed that these parishes were established in 1535, the Italian document of ca. 1570 emphasizes that “e che per tutti quei Luoghi al pie della Montagna non si vede una croce, ne si odono campane, ne si vede alcun segno di cristianesimo” (n. 36 above). The actual organization of parishes can therefore have been no earlier than the 1570s.

<sup>310</sup>The abbreviated (and not always correct) Latin is “firma: omni: sarraceno: vicino: de Ayn in dicta die vicesime quinta predictoris menses et firma: in portico platei dicti loci” (sic) (n. 55 above). *Platea* should be read as an equivalent for *plaza*. The archaeological evidence from Benialf and Lleuxa (Annex 4) suggests a mix of modest one- and two-story stone houses with flat or tilted roofs, not unlike the impression obtained today in the Alpujarras district of Granada.

<sup>311</sup>M. Gómez Modragón, *Eslida y su historia* (Segorbe 1982).

<sup>312</sup>ARV-MR 9732, fols. 10v, 18 (1584).

<sup>313</sup>See n. 93 above.

rather than its congregation, then that of Ahín was quite small, perhaps too small or simple to hold both the signatories and the royal party.<sup>314</sup>

Behind this stable facade of timeless villages, the social problems of the Sierra Muslims were severe and complex. Disarmed, the unprotected villagers were ready prey to the depredations of Christian outlaws. Having forfeited their original privileges, the communities were subject to humiliating forced conversion and regimentation. No longer protected by the crown, they were liable to the maximum possible demands of both state and church. Deprived of their mercantile opportunities, they were reduced to a rural proletariat. Deprived of their spiritual leadership, they were demoralized and survived merely through dogged recalcitrance. The revolt of 1526 had created a different social environment, less closely bound by family and community ties, due to the loss of old families and the acceptance of new refugees from outside. It is probable that the shattering of the centuries-old social fabric of the Sierra was as damaging as were the unrelenting policies of legal repression and ecclesiastical oppression. Under these conditions the socio-psychological strains will have been doubly trying, because they could no longer be confronted in the context of tightly integrated, mutually supportive family networks that cemented communities together and extended to neighboring towns and villages.

The ultimate catastrophe was yet to come. On 11 September 1609, Felipe III signed the document of expulsion which was read to the "new Christians" of the Sierra eleven days later.<sup>315</sup> The 106 families of Alcudia and Veo, numbering 183 men, 210 women, and 41 children, were embarked on small French and English ships at Denia, 180 km distant, on 16, 20, and 28 November.<sup>316</sup> The inhabitants of Ahín and other Sierra villages were force-marched some 125 km to the port of Vinaroz, near the Ebro Delta, where they embarked on Genoese, Castilian, and Catalan galleys between 4 and 14 November; these reassembled at Cartagena on 27 November, after several shipwrecks in stormy weather.<sup>317</sup> A day later the Sierra Muslims were put ashore at three points around Oran (Algeria), namely, Cap Falcon, Mers-el-

<sup>314</sup>The tax for Fanzara's religious institutions was 616 sueldos, for Eslida 183s, for Alcudia and Veo 160s, for Ahín, Alfondeguilla, and Castro de Alfondeguilla 45s each, and for Suera 25s (ARV-MR 9723 [1576]) Ironically, although the mosques had been closed since 1526, the tax continued to be collected by the duke of Segorbe and the church until the end of the century.

<sup>315</sup>Boronat (n. 11 above) 2.199–201.

<sup>316</sup>Udina and Belenguer (n. 7 above). The deficit of men (only 42.2%) may be significant, and the small ratio of children (9.4%) is striking in comparison to the 27.5% overall figure for 28,934 classified departures from Denia. The sex ratio is balanced for all but the last sailings from Denia and for the survivors of the revolt in the Sierra de Laguar (Alicante), suggesting that a fraction of the men had escaped into the hills. A loss of over half the children from Alcudia and Veo (65 or so) implies either a frightful mortality en route or, more likely, the withholding of children for subsequent adoption into Christian homes or institutions, or perhaps a combination of both. The ratio of 434 people to 106 families (4.0 to 1) is consequently too low for Alcudia and Veo; the original population was at least 477 and is more likely to have been near 540 (5.1 to 1).

<sup>317</sup>Lapeyre (n. 5 above) 59–60, 83–84. Of the 4947 embarkations at Viñaroz for which we have details for 4–9 November 1609, 1582 were men, 1754 women, and 1611 children (33%, of whom 826 were boys, 785 girls). The excess of adult women over men, and the slight deficit of girls with respect to boys, are again provocative. Considering that individuals over 15 would probably have been classified as adults, the numbers from Denia and Viñaroz suggest that almost 40% of the sample was under 21, characterizing a youthful, "growing" population. An average of 220 people were squeezed into each ship, most being armed galleys.

Kébir, and Arzeu. They were met with artillery fire at Arzeu and generally were maltreated, often robbed or killed, and their wives taken.<sup>318</sup> Eventually many of them arrived in Algiers, where some subsequently joined the Barbary corsairs that terrorized the Spanish coasts.<sup>319</sup>

The Expulsion violently uprooted a biological population overwhelmingly derived from Iberian and Hispano-Roman stock, from lands it had tended for many centuries. Decimated by overexertion, exposure, shipwreck, and the retention of many of their children, the traumatized survivors were scattered in the casbahs of Algeria and their social integrity lost. The biocultural break between ancient and modern Spain was complete.

In final evaluation, the pluriethnic course embarked upon by Aragón in the thirteenth century<sup>320</sup> was ultimately unsuccessful. This initial policy of tolerance followed the impetus of tradition but was also eminently practical, to maintain the labor force and so to guarantee the continuity of revenues. The comprehensive but inconsistent legal apparatus devised to regulate the activities of Muslims during the fourteenth century<sup>321</sup>—surprisingly—failed to halt demographic expansion and agricultural intensification in the Sierra despite the setbacks of the Black Death and the war with Castile. But as in other European countries, the early 1400s signaled a new policy of unmitigated economic exploitation that by mid-century had contributed substantially to population decline, retraction of settlement, increasing social unrest, and banditry. Yet despite the negative socio-economic balance, the community fabric remained intact and a lower equilibrium level was maintained until the crown, in the sixteenth-century European spirit of religious intolerance, decided upon enforced baptism in 1525. The revolt of 1526 crushed in blood and their community cohesion broken, the Sierra Muslims were confined to marginal “reservations,” in analogy to the Euroamerican encroachment on the repeatedly guaranteed lands of the American Indian. Its spirit broken, the Muslim minority grudgingly accepted the externalities of the new faith and did not actively protest the confiscation of its paltry arms of self-defense in 1563. Their last “reservations” abolished in 1609, the Sierra Muslims meekly trudged into exile under the eyes of five companies of Italian cavalymen.<sup>322</sup>

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<sup>318</sup>Lapeyre (n. 5 above) 60. Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent (n. 11 above) 237–239.

<sup>319</sup>The significant cultural impact of the Moriscos in Tunisia is outlined by M. de Epalza and R. Petit, eds., *Recueil d'études sur les Moriscos andalous en Tunisie* (Madrid 1973).

<sup>320</sup>Burns 1984 (n. 6 above), esp. chap. 1.

<sup>321</sup>Boswell (n. 6 above).

<sup>322</sup>Peñarroja (n. 40 above) 287.

## ANNEX 1

## Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Settlements of the Sierra de Espadán

	Class	Year First Mentioned <sup>a</sup>	Special Taxes <sup>b</sup>			Names Recorded 1386-1390 <sup>c</sup>
			1255	1257	1278	
A. Alcadiazgo de Eslida (Royal Domain)						
Eslida	Aljama	1242	1000s	1050s	500s	115
Lloret (Lauret)	Alquería	1238				
Benalbux (Vilambuch)	Alquería	1337				
Ahín	Aljama	1238	500s		200s	24
Benialí	Alquería	1342				
Veó	Aljama	1238				
Alcudia de Veó	Alquería	1365				25
Suera	Aljama	1242			200s	33
Fanzara	Aljama	1258			150s	32
Alcudia de Fanzara	Alquería	1248				
Lleuxa	Alquería	1345				1
B. Other, Feudal Domains						
Tales	Alquería	1237				
Artana	Aljama	1238			300s	
Alfara	Alquería	1365				
Benitandús	Alquería	1365				
Xinquer	Alquería	1238			150s	
Almonacid	Aljama	1238			200s	
Algimia de Almonacid	Alquería	1280				
Castelnou	Aljama	1238			300s	
Almedíxar	Aljama	1238			200s	
Mosquera & Pellinos	Alquerías	1238			50s	
Bellota	Alquería	1238			50s	
Xóvar	Alquería	1250				
Alfondegulla	Aljama	1238			500s	
Castro de A.	Alquería	1238				

<sup>a</sup>See n. 20 above; brackets group places not distinguished in the special taxes. <sup>b</sup>Burns 1973 (n. 6 above) 99-100; Burns 1983 (n. 145 above). <sup>c</sup>Property holders signing land tax documents; see n. 55 above.

## ANNEX 2

Fifteenth- to Seventeenth-Century Population Data for the Sierra de Espadán  
(*Aljamas* underlined; dashes indicate abandoned settlements, asterisks no data)

	Casas 1415 <sup>a</sup>	Casas 1427 <sup>b</sup>	Casas 1451 <sup>c</sup>	Casas 1512/24 <sup>d</sup>	Names 1563 <sup>e</sup>	Casas 1572 <sup>f</sup>	Casas 1596 <sup>g</sup>	Casas 1602 <sup>h</sup>	Casas 1646 <sup>i</sup>
A. Alcadiazgo de Eslida									
<i>Eslida</i>	83	94	59 }	86	38 }	80	84	84	38
Almaxaraca	45	48	40 }		14 }		-	-	-
Benalbux	14	9	12	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lloret	11	10	9	-	-	-	-	-	-
Benisada	11	9	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Silim	10	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ampadars	12	15	13	-	-	-	-	-	-
Alfeig	17	16	9	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Abín</i>	41	37	44	47	39	35	50	60	22
Benialí	23	20	27	-	-	-	-	-	-
Almaxaraquella	7	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Veo</i>	45	32	38 }	86	34 }	80	40	41	13
Alcudia de V.	58	47	43 }		47 }		65	65	30
<i>Sueraí</i>	44	38	37 }	38	25 }	40	44	42	18
Castro de Suera	33	26	16 }		6 }		-	-	-
<i>Fanzara</i>	91	79	70 }	180	82 }	150	110	114	71
Alcudia de F.	49	32	30 }		29 }		13	-	-
Lleuxa	25	21	17 }		15 }		18	22	-
Totals	619	544	466	437 <sup>k</sup>	329	385 <sup>j</sup>	424	428	192
B. Other Administrative Units									
<i>Tales</i>	*	72 <sup>m</sup>	*	66	59	*	60	71	22
Benitandús	*	*	*	31	19 }	20	18	18	9
Alfara	*	*	*		3 }		-	-	-
<i>Artana</i>	*	*	*	132	65 }	92	110	93	64
Algimia de Artana <sup>n</sup>	*	*	*		19 }		-	15	-
<i>Almonacid</i> District	341 <sup>p</sup>	*	*	322	180	187	*	248	172
<i>Almedixar</i> with Xóvar	*	*	*	53	48	45	*	75	25
<i>Alfondeguilla</i>	39	29	28	20	26 }	80	34	27	13
Castro de A.	20	20 }	38	42	19 }		45	32	-
Benisabdon	30	31 }		*	14 }		-	-	-
Maurell	7	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

<sup>a</sup>Morabatí records in ARV-MR 10.870. <sup>b</sup>Morabatí records in ARV-MR 10.871. <sup>c</sup>Morabatí records in ARV-MR 10.874. <sup>d</sup>Based on fixed *morabatís* of 1569-85 (see ARV-MR 9723) which compare with the 433 total in ARV-Real 514 bis. <sup>e</sup>ARV-Real 562. <sup>f</sup>See (n. 69 above). <sup>g</sup>See (n. 22 above). <sup>h</sup>ARV-MR 10.009. <sup>i</sup>ARV-Generalidad 4825-4829. <sup>j</sup>Includes the two nuclei of Benisuleymen and Sanden. <sup>k</sup>The number of proprietors listed in 1500 (ACS-Pergamino 32) is 191. <sup>l</sup>Approximations only. <sup>m</sup>Data for 1421; see ARV-Varia 161, fol. 26v. <sup>n</sup>Also referred to as Mezquita. <sup>p</sup>Includes Vall de Almonacid, Algimia, Xinquar, Gaibiel, and Matet. 1563 data for Vall de Almonacid interpolated.

ANNEX 3  
Fifteenth Century Exemptions (*Franquicias*) for Communities of the Alcadiazgo de Eslida<sup>a</sup>

<i>Eslida</i>	Almax- araca	Benal- bux	<i>Abín</i>	Benialí	<i>Veo</i>	Alcudia de Veo	<i>Suera</i>	Castro	<i>Fanzara</i>	<i>Lleuxa</i>	Alcudia de <i>Fanzara</i>
1414-21	75	2	6	26	6	23	17	12	17	46	3
1422-30	23	2	3	3	14	6	7	6	18	1	1
1431-40	30		12	3	11	14	8		27		
1441-50	18		8	1	2	5	2		17		
1451-75	24		7	3	3	4	1		32	2	1
Totals	170	2	8	56	13	53	46	30	23	140	6
Ratio: Families per exemption	1.1	22.5	2.3	1.8	3.8	2.0	3.4	3.7	1.9	2.0	8.3
											49 +

<sup>a</sup>*Aljamas* in italics; source: ARV-Real 624.

## ANNEX 4

Archival and Archaeological Documentation of *Despoblados* in the  
Sierra de Espadán<sup>323</sup>A. Settlements first verified during the thirteenth century and certainly or probably existing  
at the time of the Reconquista

*Alcudia de Fanzara*. Early documentation is limited to an indirect reference, to its municipal boundary (*cum termino Castri de ffanзара*), in a 1248 concession to repopulate Onda and Tales with Christians.<sup>324</sup> The town is next mentioned in a 1382 court case in regard to grazing rights.<sup>325</sup> In 1415 a Mahomat Albayreni of Alcudia de Fanzara was accused of a murder in Onda, and in 1418 an Azmet Çeel al-Bouden and an Abdulla al-Dufach were in the court dock.<sup>326</sup> Alcudia de Fanzara had 49 families in 1415, obviously a large town, but the number declined rapidly to 32 in 1427 and 30 in 1451 (Annex 2); the last included 4 that were too poor to pay the head tax. Only two *franquicias* were deeded to its citizens during the fifteenth century (Annex 3), implying a decidedly rural character. In 1526 at least 5 residents of Alcudia de Fanzara died in the fighting in the high sierra: Juçef Ayup and his sister Axa, the aunt of Pere Blanquo, Çahat Maymon, and a certain Xaxet; their estates (*eretats*) were sold in 1527–1531.<sup>327</sup> In 1563 a total of 29 families had 46 weapons of various types.<sup>328</sup> The population shrank to 13 families in 1596 and in 1602 the place had been abandoned. Alcudia de Fanzara was an Islamic fortress, with *tapial* walls built on a platform of mortared stone, much like the pattern in the castle of Ahín. The settlement was located on the eastern side of the fortress, where the mortared remains of at least six clustered houses were identified behind three stone *corrales* in various states of disrepair. South of the highway, further old walls are incorporated into another corral, next to a *balsa* (water tank) fed by an *acequia* coming down from a small tributary to the Mijares River; the former trajectory of this canal appears to have run just below the town site. This is confirmed by a bill of sale in 1531 involving a terrace in front of the *acequia* to the *aljama* and a vineyard along its path.<sup>329</sup> The pottery (Annex 7) includes good fifteenth-century materials, as well as an Islamic sherd with red (iron oxide) designs and a pre-fifteenth-century light red sherd with black (manganese) lines. There is no *buerta* adjacent to the site, so that some ownership in the valley-floor *buerta* across the river must be assumed.

*Xinquer*. The *alquería* of Xinquer<sup>330</sup> was the last sierra settlement granted to the retainers of King Jaime: in May 1239 title to the *alquería* “iuxtà Almonezir” called Chinquer (but now in the *termino* of Alcudia de Veo), with oven and mill, was deeded to Eximinus Almoravit.<sup>331</sup> Rendered as Sentqueir<sup>332</sup> or Xentquer,<sup>333</sup> the name is suggestive of the arabized version of a

<sup>323</sup>For pottery types, see Annex 6.

<sup>324</sup>*Documentos* 475.

<sup>325</sup>ARV-Real 611, fols. 207–209v.

<sup>326</sup>ARV-MR 35, fol. 45; MR 37, fol. 69.

<sup>327</sup>Peñarroja (n. 20 above) 571–572.

<sup>328</sup>ACA-Real 562, fol. 299.

<sup>329</sup>Peñarroja (n. 20 above) 572.

<sup>330</sup>There are several references to Cinqueros or Cinquayros in *Libre* but these pertain to another *despoblado* near Benisanó (Liria).

<sup>331</sup>*Libre* 1.1450, 2.0099.

<sup>332</sup>ARV-Real 611, fol. 238 (1242).

<sup>333</sup>ARV-Real 611, fols. 119v–120 (1330).



saint's name (*Shant*), perhaps Quirino, a bishop and martyr of A.D. 305.<sup>334</sup> If this is correct, Xinquér may have been a pre-Islamic church or monastery. The present village site has been intensively disturbed by construction of a new, Christian settlement during the 1690s (according to the parish registers of Vall de Almonacid); this village grew from 10 to 20 families (excluding widows living alone) during the nineteenth century, before being progressively abandoned; the last permanent resident died in the early 1930s. There is a good spring downstream that irrigates 2 ha of valley floor. The nearby castle is archaeologically more promising and, with its round corner towers, is similar in style and construction to the pre-1233 Islamic castle of Alcatén, at Alcora. Pottery is abundant around the outer base and there are thick deposits inside, indicating good excavation potential. In addition to fourteenth/fifteenth-century materials (Annex 7), there are two fragments of "reduced" Islamic ware (gray both inside and out), with a "rubbed," wheel-made surface. In 1330 Xinquér was under the jurisdiction of Peregrino de Monteacuto (Montagut).<sup>335</sup> Although included in a new *carta puebla* for the dependencies of Eslida in 1365,<sup>336</sup> in 1409 it belonged to Ludovico de Vilarasa,<sup>337</sup> and in 1448–1449 to Elionor de Valterra.<sup>338</sup> In 1430 the Muslim inhabitants were obliged to contribute substantially toward building a projected church in Eslida, money subsequently returned because of older privileges invoked.<sup>339</sup> The last records, of 1448–1449, relate to a fugitive debtor, Abrafim Farag with his wife Mahin. Judging by the special tax levy of 150s in 1278 (Annex 2), Muslim Xinquér initially was an important place. But it appears to have been abandoned during the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.

*Lloret.* This *alquería* was originally granted in September 1238, without ovens or mills but with 18 ha of *secano*, to Guillem López de Peracelz, one of the conquistadors of the Sierra.<sup>340</sup> The Eslida Charter of 1276 attached Lauret to Eslida,<sup>341</sup> a point reaffirmed in 1365.<sup>342</sup> The name suggests a pre-Arabic origin<sup>343</sup> and implies early medieval continuity, perhaps by virtue of a 5.5 ha irrigated *huerta*, watered by 4 springs. The site was located near the strongest of these springs (whose water is now piped to Eslida) and below the ruins of an archaic *balsa*. Segments of old mortared walls are abundant among the terrace retainers along the slope; three such segments are incorporated at different angles into the wall of an eighteenth-century corral, and another of 15m length is found across the stream. A nucleated village of 10, and possibly 12, houses is indicated. Medieval potsherds are few because the original soil is mantled by thick soil wash as well as nineteenth-century rubbish from Eslida. According to the censuses of 1415, 1427, and 1451 (Annex 2), the population fluctuated between 9 and 11 families. In 1391 an Azmet Catala of Lauret and an Azmet Abrafim of Castro de Alfondeguilla were involved in a legal tangle,<sup>344</sup> and in 1412 a Çaat Alcatala paid a fine for stealing a goat.<sup>345</sup> The site appears to have been abandoned during the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.

<sup>334</sup>It was not unusual in southern France for late Roman villas to have been converted into monasteries; see Percival (n. 23 above) chap. 9.

<sup>335</sup>ARV-Real 611, fol. 81.

<sup>336</sup>ACA-Cancillería 1209, fol. 44v.

<sup>337</sup>ARV-Real 611, fol. 221v.

<sup>338</sup>ARV-Bailía 1150, fols. 280r–v, 345v–346.

<sup>339</sup>ARV-Bailía 1147, fol. 222.

<sup>340</sup>*Libre* 1.820.

<sup>341</sup>ACA-Cancillería 38, fol. 3v.

<sup>342</sup>ACA-Cancillería 1205, fol. 45.

<sup>343</sup>Barceló 1983 (n. 21 above) 165.

<sup>344</sup>ARV-Real 611, fol. 150.

<sup>345</sup>ARV-MR 35, fol. 44v.

*Mosquera and Pellinos.* In August 1238, the *alquerías* Mosquera and Belinos in the *termino* of Azuébar were granted to Blaschus Petri de Tarazona,<sup>346</sup> and a 1321 document reconfirmed an original privilege of 1256 that the herds of Segorbe could graze free in this area.<sup>347</sup> From 1347 to 1360 the ecclesiastical revenues of Mosquera, Pellinos, and Bellota were in dispute between the bishops of Valencia and Segorbe, the conflict being settled in favor of the latter.<sup>348</sup> In 1278 the twin communities had to pay a special tax of 50s<sup>349</sup> and in 1365 the king demanded conscripts from Mosquera among other Sierra settlements,<sup>350</sup> indicating a reasonable measure of importance. Later references are not available. Mosquera was located in the uppermost Rio de Azuébar/Falaguera drainage, and was used as a cork-exploitation estate from the mid-nineteenth century until 1936. A few mortared foundations, some medieval pottery, and possibly the inner original part of the estate oven survive from the fifteenth century. The Falaguera spring above the estate once watered up to 1 ha of gardens but has long dried up, although a second spring, far below, continues to irrigate another hectare of fruit trees and former wheat fields. A 1713 document<sup>351</sup> mentions that the *partidas* of "Carrascal, Pelluns o Perluns y Mosquera" once had small settlements but were now totally abandoned. The Perluns area lies east of Mosquera in the rough upper Partunes drainage, where there is an old copper mine (fig. 2); the site has not yet been found. A joint reference to Pardines and Xóvar in 1331, transferring jurisdiction to Gilaberto Zanoguera,<sup>352</sup> probably refers to the same hamlet. Both Mosquera and Pellinos/Perluns are pre-Arabic names.<sup>353</sup> Other than inaccessibility and possibly the copper mine, there is no explanation for early medieval settlement continuity in this mountainous area.

*Bellota.* This hamlet in the *termino* of Xóvar, with its ovens but without its mills, was granted to Gartia Petri de Rivo de Oroga (Ribarroja) in August 1238.<sup>354</sup> It probably belonged to Eslida in 1276,<sup>355</sup> because in 1452–1457 the *alami* of Eslida was reprimanded for not tending to an unspecified dispute in Bellota,<sup>356</sup> although the domain then belonged to the Centelles family. Another jurisdictional problem had arisen in 1385 when Matheo de Mompalau, lord of Xóvar and Bellota, disputed with a prince of Aragón as to two mules collected as part of the household tax in Xóvar.<sup>357</sup> In 1560 Francisco Ferragut de Pujades, lord of Xóvar and Bellota, applied for royal permission to resettle these two places with Moriscos, because they had been completely ruined and depopulated by the Sierra revolt of 1526; travelers through this rough terrain were subject to robberies and murders.<sup>358</sup> Bellota was identified on the terraced slopes below the Fuente de Bellota and appears to have consisted of a half-dozen dispersed houses with some fifteenth-century potsherds in the adjacent fields (Annex 7). Remains of a Muslim cemetery were located 500m to the east. There are two *balsas* below the site, one of archaic construction and similar to the original storage dam of Xóvar.<sup>359</sup> The total area of the two ir-

<sup>346</sup>*Libre* 2.0087.

<sup>347</sup>ARV-Fondos en Depósitos (Pergaminos) caja 17, no. 16.

<sup>348</sup>Anonymous (n. 27 above) 1.113, 121.

<sup>349</sup>Burns 1983 (n. 20 above).

<sup>350</sup>Boswell (n. 6 above) 189.

<sup>351</sup>ARV-Escribanía de Camera, Expedimentos 89, fol. 37v.

<sup>352</sup>ARV-Real Justicia 806, fols. 142–143v.

<sup>353</sup>Barceló (n. 21 above) 182, 270.

<sup>354</sup>*Libre* 2.0086.

<sup>355</sup>"Beata" in Burns 1984 (n. 6 above) 290.

<sup>356</sup>ARV-Bailía 1151, fol. 599v, and Real 60, fols. 44v–47v.

<sup>357</sup>ARV-Real Justicia 806, fols. 108, 124.

<sup>358</sup>ARV-Real Justicia 806, fols. 127–128v. That the license was granted and the settlements were rebuilt can be deduced from Escolano (n. 11 above) 305 who mentions that "Jova y Bellot" were inhabited by several households of Moriscos, just prior to the Expulsion.

<sup>359</sup>Butzer et al. 1985 (n. 19 above).

rigated sectors pertaining to Bellota is about one hectare. The Arabic name Balluta refers to acorns,<sup>360</sup> still abundant in the great cork oak forest extending from Bellota to Mosquera. Xóvar and presumably also Bellota were free grazing country for the herds from Vall d'Uxó and the coastal plain, as indicated by the 1250 reconfirmation of traditional rights.<sup>361</sup>

*Castro de Alfondeguilla.* A settlement below the ancient and forbidding castle of Castro, which still played a critical role during the Civil War in 1938, is implicit in 1238<sup>362</sup> and unambiguously verified since at least 1277. In that year Jaime I conferred a separate charter on what was patently an *aljama*,<sup>363</sup> privileges reconfirmed in 1283<sup>364</sup> and again in 1354 and 1365.<sup>365</sup> Agricultural products liable to taxation were fruits, livestock, and beehives, whereas the charter guaranteed free access for the purchase of wheat in Burriana. This suggests a shortage of arable land, now limited to 2.5 ha of *huerta*. The inhabitants of Castro were under the jurisdiction of Eslida in 1380<sup>366</sup> and they also provided a support base for the castle: in 1411–1412 the residents were assessed 1200s for repair work and supplies, and in 1424 they were responsible for relining the cistern and, later the same year, the *alami* of Castro was given the keys and asked to make an inventory of the castle, because the sub-*alcayt* Bernat Lorenc had resigned in a dispute over salary and expenses.<sup>367</sup> The site was readily located, with the help of local informants, and consisted of a tight nucleus with at least 21 houses. A vaulted stone cistern is still well preserved, and fifteenth-century pottery is abundant (Annex 7). In 1417 and 1427 Castro had 20 families and, in combination with Benisabdon, 38 in 1451 (Annex 2); in 1563, 22 weapons were confiscated from the 19 families in Castro.<sup>368</sup> In 1596 the combined communities of Castro and Benisabdon had 45 families of "New Christians," with a church in Castro dedicated to St. Augustine in which the priest of Alfondeguilla read masses on Sundays and holy days; the ecclesiastical dues amounted to about 31s per family per year.<sup>369</sup> This compares favorably with 66s in Ahín, although agricultural tithes were higher, an eighth rather than a tenth on produce. Castro had 32 families in 1602 and remained inhabited until 1609.

B. Settlements first verified during the fourteenth century, and probably founded during the internal colonization of the 1330s and 1340s

*Lleuxa.* This dependency of Fanzara was explicitly laid out as a new settlement on the basis of a charter dated March 1345 that created the new community within what had been part of the *termino* of Suera. Exemption from community taxes and forced labor was granted for three years and livestock could be grazed on the lands of both Fanzara and Suera.<sup>370</sup> The name is Arabic.<sup>371</sup> In 1390 the *jurat* of Lleuxa was an Abrafim Maçohot,<sup>372</sup> in 1401 a Çahet Algazy, with three notables listed as Mohamat Ayup, Ali Alcatalan, and Mohamat Abençambre.<sup>373</sup> In

<sup>360</sup>Barceló 1983 (n. 21 above) 105.

<sup>361</sup>*Documentos* 547.

<sup>362</sup>See n. 22 above; Soldevilla (n. 20 above).

<sup>363</sup>Barceló 1980 (n. 34 above).

<sup>364</sup>*Catálogo* (n. 20 above) 1807.

<sup>365</sup>ARV-Real 611, fol. 218v; Boswell (n. 6 above) 494–496.

<sup>366</sup>ARV-Real 611, fols. 206v–209v.

<sup>367</sup>ARV-MR 9654, fols. 7, 79; ARV-Bailía 1146, fols. 114r–v, 127r–v.

<sup>368</sup>ARV-Real 562, fols. 613–614.

<sup>369</sup>See Clement VIII (n. 22 above).

<sup>370</sup>ARV-Real 611, fol. 218.

<sup>371</sup>Barceló 1983 (n. 21 above) 168.

<sup>372</sup>ARV-Real 667, fols. 150v–151.

<sup>373</sup>ARV-Real Justicia 801, fol. 322.

1415 Çaāt Maçot refused to pay a fine assessed by the *jurat*, and was consequently served a court order by the *alcadi* for Eslida, Ali de Bellvis.<sup>374</sup> The behavior of the men from Lleuxa visiting in Fanzara was so scandalous in 1417 that they were henceforth ordered not to set foot in town again; however, another brawl with citizens of Fanzara in the summer of 1418 led to energetic imposition of a 440s fine on the *alquería* of Lleuxa.<sup>375</sup> In 1475 we learn that Lleuxa nominated its own Ali ben Maçot Aziz to the list of 4 candidates submitted to the Bailiff General for selection of a new *alamí* for Fanzara and its dependencies.<sup>376</sup> Several demands for payments due in 1499 are of interest; they included Azmet and Çaāt Alfaqui, Galip and Hamet Helell (the latter surnamed *al-ğabater*, the shoemaker), and another Maçot, Juçeff; one claim was in regard to the final payments for 360s worth of olive oil.<sup>377</sup> The population declined from 25 families in 1415, to 21 in 1427, and 17 in 1451, and 3 of the last were too poor to pay (Annex 2). However, Lleuxa still received 2 *franquicias* 1451–1475, suggesting persistence of some measure of mercantile activity. In 1528, the *eretats* of Amat Gayçon, who had died in the 1526 rebellion, were sold.<sup>378</sup> In 1563, 15 families had 29 weapons,<sup>379</sup> and on the eve of the Expulsion the population had risen to 22 families and construction of a church was planned.<sup>380</sup>

The charter of Lleuxa clearly identifies the site near the Mijares River, on the old road to Onda, where there are impressive standing ruins known as “Las Casales.” The location is a level mountain spur above a tributary confluence, near which there is a *balsa*; the 4.8 ha *buerta* stretches downstream along both sides of the river. There are remains of at least 16 old structures, of which 4 appear to be eighteenth-century *corrales*. Two of the original houses had two stories, and at the northern end, facing the river, there appear to be traces of a wall. Pottery was scarce due to deep mechanical plowing prior to our visit, but it suffices to verify fifteenth-century settlement.

*Castro de Suera.* Specific references to Castro (Castres) de Suera (or Benisuleymen) begin only with 1415, when the settlement had 33 families, sufficiently important to qualify for 17 *franquicias* 1414–1421, compared with only 12 for Suera (Annexes 2 and 3). Since Castro was larger than either Benisuleymen or Sanden at this point, it is highly improbable that it was a “new” settlement, and a support village below the important castillo is logical. In 1382 the *alcayt* of that castle, Narnau de Montagut, adjudicated a grazing conflict in Fanzara,<sup>381</sup> and in 1398, 1412, 1417, and 1429, Tomàs Ballester de Barbegal was *alcayt* of the castle and *vallis* of Suera;<sup>382</sup> in 1412 his salary, including maintenance costs, was 1000s per annum, and in 1417 an Azmet Benguahep of Eslida attempted to stab him with a dagger. Barbegal was incapacitated by illness in 1429 and his wife and other persons embezzled artillery and arms from the castle, with the result that Johan Romeo of Onda was appointed as custodian to put a stop to the illegal practices and to get the *vehins* of Suera, Lleuxa, and Fanzara to make necessary repairs on the castle. A new *alcayt*, Francesch Sanxes, was in place in 1431, when he was appointed assistant Bailiff General for the Vall de Suera, a position he held until after 1474.<sup>383</sup> In 1475 the castles of Uxó, Eslida, Suera, and Castro, together with their artillery, arms, and munitions, were promised to Prince Enrique de Aragón, duke of Segorbe,<sup>384</sup> as the Alcadiazgo changed its status from crown land to feudal domain. The castle was attacked by the Sierra

<sup>374</sup>ARV-MR 36, fol. 48v.

<sup>375</sup>ARV-MR 36, fol. 48v; MR 37, fol. 60.

<sup>376</sup>ARV-Bailía 1155, fols. 364v–365v.

<sup>377</sup>ARV-Bailía 1325, fols. 2v–3, 4v, 36, 48v.

<sup>378</sup>Peñarroja (n. 40 above) 572.

<sup>379</sup>ARV-Real 562, fol. 305.

<sup>380</sup>Clement VIII (n. 22 above).

<sup>381</sup>ARV-Real 611, fol. 207v–209v.

<sup>382</sup>ARV-Real 24, fol. 29v; Bailía Appendice 61, fol. 321v; MR 37, fol. 72v; Bailía 1147, fol. 62v.

<sup>383</sup>ARV-Bailía 1147, fol. 321; ARV-Bailía 1152, fol. 1008v; 1155, fol. 199.

<sup>384</sup>ARV-Bailía 1155, fol. 564v–565v.

Muslims in August 1526, but help from the Christian army broke the siege and led to some rebuilding.<sup>385</sup> Activity is last recorded in 1576 when castle repairs were ordered by the *alcayt* Benedit, to be paid for by the inhabitants of Suera.<sup>386</sup>

The population of Castro de Suera declined from 33 families in 1415 to 26 in 1427 (here mislabeled Cuera instead of Castres de Suera) and 16 in 1451 (Annex 2), with 2 of these indigent. Limited economic resources may have been responsible for this rapid decline, as suggested by litigation against a Mahomat Azit in 1417 and against Ali and Maimo Galip and Mohamet Obequer in 1500, in regard to unpaid food bills.<sup>387</sup> The sierra revolt claimed the lives of Ačan Galego, Abdulaziz Galip, and the *al-faqih* Azan, whose *eretats* were sold in 1528–1531.<sup>388</sup> In 1563 there were 6 families (Annex 2), but ca. 1570 the site had been abandoned and in 1596 the castle was “derelict.”<sup>389</sup> The settlement of Castro de Suera was located 375m northeast of the castle and today has access to four strips of *huerta* along the valley bottom, with a total area of only 1.6 ha. Under the name Suera Alta, it was reoccupied from 1611 until the late nineteenth century. All of the 16 visible structures, still used by vagabonds early in the present century, pertain to this Christian settlement, and at least 4 were *corrales*. However, a sherd of fourteenth-century Teruel ware was found embedded in one of these walls.

*Alfara and Benitandús.* These two communities of the *termino* of Alcudia de Veo are first mentioned in a new concordat between the king and the *aljamas* of the Alcadiazgo de Eslida prior to the final offensive of the war against Castile in March 1365.<sup>390</sup> They were probably founded at about the same time as Lleuxa, and both toponyms are Arabic in origin.<sup>391</sup> In 1385 Alfara and Benitandús belonged to the jurisdiction of Matheo de Mompalau of Xóvar,<sup>392</sup> and in 1409 to that of the Vilarasa family.<sup>393</sup> In 1430, like Xinquet, Alfara and Benitandús were obliged to raise money to build a church in Eslida.<sup>394</sup> For the years 1499–1501 there is an interesting set of summonses by the bailiff of Onda demanding payment of debts owed by local farmers, presumably to merchants in Onda.<sup>395</sup> The debtors included Hamet Ayet and his wife Marien, Mahomat Xinquet and his wife Jamila, Ali, Juçeff, and Çale Almeden, Hamet Alhaig, Hamet Abdulhach, Abdulaziz Ismil and Mahomat Najar, many of whom were cited twice. The documents suggest that Alfara had an *alamí*, but their main interest, in conjunction with similar cases involving Lleuxa and Castro de Suera, lies in the fact that the purchases had evidently been made on credit, and that they primarily consisted of substantial quantities of wheat, barley, sorghum, and millet. This implies that these communities were not self-sufficient in cereal production. In 1510 the 31 families of Alfara and Benitandús owned only 150 goats or sheep,<sup>396</sup> a ratio of 4.8 animals per household, a low figure compared with the ratio of 15.6 for the Alcadiazgo.<sup>397</sup> This suggests a major concentration of agricultural activity on fruit crops and grain from the 12 ha of irrigated land. In 1526 the *al-faqih* Granati of Benitandús died in the revolt, while a Seran of Alfara escaped by sea.<sup>398</sup> The population in 1563 was down to 22 families in Benitandús and 3 in Alfara (Annex 2). By comparison, 17 families in

<sup>385</sup> Escolano (n. 11 above) 727.

<sup>386</sup> ARV-MR 9723, fol. 27v.

<sup>387</sup> ARV-Bailía 1335, fol. 18; 1325, fol. 163.

<sup>388</sup> Peñarroja (n. 40 above) 569–570.

<sup>389</sup> See n. 36 above, and Clement VIII (n. 22 above).

<sup>390</sup> ACA-Cancillería 1209, fol. 44v.

<sup>391</sup> Barceló 1983 (n. 21 above) 125, 237.

<sup>392</sup> ARV-Real Justicia 806, fol. 108.

<sup>393</sup> ARV-Real 611, fols. 81, 221v.

<sup>394</sup> ARV-Bailía 1147, fol. 222.

<sup>395</sup> ARV-Bailía 1325, fols. 9, 14v, 19, 143, 183.

<sup>396</sup> ARV-Real 514 tres.

<sup>397</sup> ARV-Real 514 bis.

<sup>398</sup> Peñarroja (n. 40 above) 565, 568.

Benitandús had access to 7 ha of *huerta* about the year 1915, a time of great impoverishment, so that the bad debts of 1500 probably reflected inadequate resources to sustain such a large population. In 1596–1602 Benitandús had 18 families, whereas Alfara was abandoned and not resettled in 1611; its 5 ha of *huerta* were ultimately incorporated into Veo.

Benitandús was finally abandoned in the early 1950s and the later settlement overburden precludes any medieval archaeology. We located Alfara directly east of the village margin of Veo (consonant with its etymology, “the outlying *barrio*”), and the *huerta* and *balsa* preserve its name. The site has suffered from encroachment by an adjacent chalet as well as the dumping of construction debris and recent pottery from Veo. But one long medieval wall is preserved and there are diagnostic fifteenth-century sherds (Annex 7). Alfara evidently shared both its drinking and irrigation water with Veo, the former from a spring near the border between the two, the latter brought in by canal from Alcudia and used on a 6-day cycle—2 for Alcudia, 3 for Veo, and 1 for Alfara. A Muslim cemetery 75m east of Alfara was exposed by road-building in 1934; there still are 8 visible burials.

*Almaxaraca.* This town possibly is the garbled “Guairaga,” a dependency of Eslida in 1276,<sup>399</sup> but its existence in the fourteenth century is more certain since the *alamí* of Benalbutx in 1401 was a Hamet Almoxaraqui.<sup>400</sup> It is included in lists of Sierra communities in 1414, 1417, and 1424.<sup>401</sup> Also in 1424 Abdolaziz, son of Azmet Hixem of Almaxaraca, was accused of a theft in Valencia.<sup>402</sup> In 1415 there were 45 families, in 1427 48, and in 1451 40 (Annex 2), of whom 5 were indigent. It was a large place, yet with only two *franquicias* (Annex 3), suggesting very little commercial activity. In 1527–1528, the lands of Usmen Axaham and Mahomat Ezbatle, who had apparently died in the revolt, were sold off.<sup>403</sup> In 1563 there still were 14 families from whom 17 weapons were confiscated<sup>404</sup> and in 1579–1585 taxes from the bread oven of Almaxaraca averaged 112s a year, 8% of that of Eslida.<sup>405</sup> The site is no longer mentioned in 1596.<sup>406</sup> Almaxaraca has not yet been located but there are two clues. One is the large size of the settlement despite low economic status, facts best reconciled with a more agricultural quarter, or even a twin settlement of Eslida proper. The other is the etymology of the toponym,<sup>407</sup> *al-Mashraqa*, which literally means the counterpart to “east,” i.e., west, but it is used in the sense of *la Solana*, i.e., the sunny slope of the valley. In analogy with *partidas* named La Solana in other *terminos*, the site should be across the river from Eslida. Here there is a large cluster of transhumant *corrales* on the slope, with farm out-buildings below—exactly where a major *acequia* crosses from south to north along an ancient aqueduct (Arc de la Rambla), before running into the 6.5 ha Horta del Bany (old baths?). Significantly, the site continues to be called “Baxarracà.” Although there are some old wall foundations among the *corrales*, no medieval sherds were found.

*Benalbutx.* The *alquería* of Benalbutx (Benalbutg or Vilambuch) was taken from Pedro de Jérica in 1337 and given to Bernat Font de Vilareal.<sup>408</sup> In 1383 the *alamí* was Ffat Alatruf and in 1390 Mahomat Almoxerei;<sup>409</sup> in 1401 and 1418 the *alamí* was a Hamet Almoxaraqui, while the

<sup>399</sup>Burns 1985 (n. 6 above) 289.

<sup>400</sup>ARV-Real Justicia 801, fol. 322.

<sup>401</sup>See n. 20 above; ARV-Real 611, fol. 217 r-v; Bailía 1146, fol. 81v.

<sup>402</sup>ARV-MR 44, fol. 122.

<sup>403</sup>Peñarroja (n. 40 above) 566.

<sup>404</sup>ARV-Real 562, fol. 295.

<sup>405</sup>ARV-MR 9726, 9728, 9729, 9734.

<sup>406</sup>Clement VIII (n. 22 above).

<sup>407</sup>Escolano (n. 11 above) 314.

<sup>408</sup>ARV-Real 614, fol. 141v.

<sup>409</sup>ARV-Real 667, fols. 67, 151.

*jurats* were Çahat Galip and Hamet Fat respectively.<sup>410</sup> In 1413 an Azmet Bunyoli of Benalbux (Benialpuig) committed an infraction against the *alamí* and some of his property was ordered confiscated by the *alcadi* of Eslida, Ali de Bellvis.<sup>411</sup> Inhabitants of the *alqueria* received 8 *franquicias* 1414–1426. The number of families fluctuated between 9 and 14 in 1415–1451 (Annex 2), with 2 poor families in the third of these years, and Benalbux is last verified in 1477.<sup>412</sup> It was presumably abandoned no later than 1526. Vilambuch today designates a *partida* of Eslida near the Barranco de les Hortetes, a valley opening towards the castle of Artana. The 3.7 ha Horta de Vilambuch is watered from a large *balsa* of the same name. Old wall segments were found built into one of the *corrales* here; there also are remains of one house as well as potsherds of the fifteenth century (Annex 7) scattered along the old *camino vecinal* from Artana, following the southern edge of the *huerta*. A linear hamlet is indicated.

- C. Settlements first verified during the early fifteenth century, and probably founded during the 1380s or 1390s. All are included in the *morabatí* lists of 1415, 1427, and 1451 (Annex 2), and all but Benisabdon and Maurell are listed in 1417 as places that had not received earlier royal privileges.<sup>413</sup>

*Benisuleymen and Sanden.* The *aljama* of Suera is first mentioned in the 1242 Eslida Charter and was later, in 1259, granted with its castle to Jaime I's common-law wife.<sup>414</sup> Subsequent documentation through 1409<sup>415</sup> mentions no other communities than Suera within that *termino*. Thereafter, Suera evidently has become a double community, the details of which are spelled out in 1596:<sup>416</sup> Sanden (Çaudent) was a dependency of Benisuleymen (Beniguleime) that formerly had a mosque; its 18 families attended mass in Benisuleymen, whose 26 families had the parish church of St. Bartholomew, itself a transformed mosque. The contemporary morphology is that of a "double" town, two long east-west streets aligned on parallel ridges, with the church on the higher southern one, and a block of rectangular streets and houses spanning part of the lower area in between. Since the *huerta* is linear and uncomplicated, with no large outlying *balsas*, we are inclined to believe that Sanden was a new, autonomous exurb resulting from settlement expansion by Suera onto the northern ridge. Significantly, the *franquicias* granted during the fifteenth century were given to residents of either Castro or Suera (or the Vall de Suera), without further specification. Finally, the Italian report of ca. 1570 notes "Zuera, che sono due luoghi".<sup>417</sup> The relative size of Benisuleymen and Sanden remained similar during the fifteenth century: 23/21 (1415), 20/18 (1427), and 19/18 (1451).

*Almaxaraquella de Ahín.* This minor site had 7 families in 1415 and 5 in 1427, but had disappeared by 1451. The site was tentatively located west of Ahín in the *partida* of La Teuleria, on the sun slope just above the old Balsa de Canyaret, now used as a garbage dump. Another possibility, suggested by the name (see Almaxaraca above), are the eighteenth/twentieth-century *corrales* opposite Ahín and just west of the *partida* La Solana, where there are some older foundations. La Teuleria seems more likely because it was at least twice used as a roof tile factory, the last time during the eighteenth or nineteenth century, when an *acequia* brought water in from the Barranco de Canyaret. Below the oven, the foundation of two mortared walls

<sup>410</sup>ARV-Real Justicia 801, fol. 322; Fondos en Depósitos (Pergaminos) caja 16, no. 2.

<sup>411</sup>ARV-MR 34, fol. 52v.

<sup>412</sup>ARV-MR 9694, fol. 59.

<sup>413</sup>ARV-Real 611, fol. 217-v.

<sup>414</sup>ACA-Cancillería 11, fol. 159; Burns 1985 (n. 6 above) 280.

<sup>415</sup>ARV-611, fol. 202v.

<sup>416</sup>Clement VIII (n. 22 above).

<sup>417</sup>See n. 36 above.

are found above even earlier tile debris; another house foundation is visible at the same level nearby and a third old house was built against the abandoned *acequia*. Although no medieval sherds were found, primarily because the refuse of Ahín has been spread over the local terraces for a century or so, two episodes of tile-making as well as a meter of tile rubble (exposed along the old road from La Teuleria to the cemetery) amply verify a traditional center of economic activity. Excavation appears warranted at this site.

*Benisada.* Documentation for Benisada (Beniçada) of Eslida is limited to the period 1415–1451, and we know that the population declined from 11 to 2 families during that time. It was presumably abandoned before the end of the century. The site was identified on the slope directly above the Balsa de Benisanda. Remains of at least 11 houses were found in among a tight cluster of terraces, and recent removal of one retaining wall has exposed 1.5m of soil wash that is rich in occupation debris (animal bone, coarse domestic pottery, roof tile). Fine fifteenth-century sherds were retrieved from the terrace surfaces and their “dry” walls (Annex 7). The Horta de Benisanda has 4.8 ha of irrigated land, half of it lying directly below the site, and half of it lying across the river to the west.

*Alfeig.* Another *despoblado* of Eslida, Alfeig or Alfayg, is also known from 1415–1451 and its population declined from 17 to 9 families during the period. The settlement appears to have been abandoned no later than 1526. Alfeig was located behind the water reservoir of the same name which taps the Fuente de Matilde to irrigate the 11 ha Horta d’Alfeig. The surface here is littered with nineteenth/twentieth-century pottery, derived from Eslida’s fertilizing garbage over the decades. But good fifteenth-century sherds were found next to the remains of an old mortared wall (Annex 7). In all, 3 such structures were identified at long intervals among 12 terraces. Informants indicated that a Muslim cemetery had formerly been turned up nearby. The field evidence suggests a dispersed village that, like Benisada, was located at the apex of an autonomous irrigation system.

*Silim and Ampadars.* The *alquería* of Silim (Selim, Çilin, or Çilins) appears in the records in 1412 when an Ali Izbatla of that place was assessed a severe fine of 330s in Eslida for unspecified crimes.<sup>418</sup> In 1415 Silim had 10 families, 6 in 1427, and none in 1451. García<sup>419</sup> suggests a location near the Barranco de les Hortetes, a good possibility because there is almost a hectare of *huerta* below the Fuente del Rey, near the abandoned Molí de Pitarch. This site has not been located. Ampadars or Ampadares, unlike Benisada, Alfeig, or Silim, has a non-Arabic name, but is only verified 1415–1451, when the population fluctuated between 12 and 15 families. Although not yet located, we believe Ampadars may have been situated near the large reservoir in the southeastern part of the Eslida embayment that provides water to irrigate the 4.8 ha Horta d’Albir.

*Benisabdon and Maurell.* Castro de Alfondegulla had two dependencies, namely, Maurell, mentioned only in 1415 and 1427 with 7 families, and an important *alquería*, Benisabdon (Benizatdon, Beniçadon). The latter was larger than Castro in 1415–1427 (30 or 31 families), and a little smaller in 1563, when 14 families lost 14 weapons. Benisabdon still existed in 1596 (see Castro de Alfondegulla above). Two potential sites were located near Castro. The first was on a ridge 100m downvalley, where we found remains of at least 5 old houses around a nineteenth-century corral. However, the massive lines of piled stone indicate that a large, partly-standing cluster of houses has been dismantled here. Yet there are unusually few medieval

<sup>418</sup>ARV-MR 35, fol. 45.

<sup>419</sup>See n. 139 above.



surface sherds. The second site is located 300m upvalley, where remains of 5 old mortared structures were found scattered along a south-facing rocky terraced slope. Again, sherds were strikingly rare. We are inclined to believe that the first is Benisabdon, the second Maurell, but there is no apparent way to secure these tentative identifications. A string of *balsas* along the stream continues to regulate the water supply of the several *huerta* segments of this once densely settled valley.

## ANNEX 5

## Inhabitants of Ahín 1383–1563

(*Alamís* and *jurats* in italics, *franquicias* indicated by asterisks)

## A. 1383–1405 (29 names)

Maçot Abecallaff	(Mas'ūd Ibn Khalāf)
Ffat Abendehuyt	(Fath Ibn Dā'ūd)
Abdalla Aben Fayton	(ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Ḥaytūn)
Hamet Aydon	(Aḥmad Ḥaytūn)
Çahat Abenjaffar	(Sa'd Ibn Ja'far)
Ali Aberday	(ʿAli al-Bardī)
Jafiel Albardey	(Yahyā al-Bardī)
Jayhie Abiceyre	(Yahyā Abī Zayd)
Momi Abifali	(Mu'mīn . . .)
Mahomet Abolaig	(Muḥammad ʿAbu'l-ʿAysh)
Çilim Alami	(Salīm al-Amīn)
Abdalla Aladip	(ʿAbd Allāh al-Adīb)
Mahomat Aladip	(Muḥammad al-Adīb)
Maymo Alfaqui	(Maymūn al-Faqīh)
<i>Ali Alhaig</i>	(ʿAli al-Ḥājj)
Mahomat Alhaig	(Muḥammad al-Ḥājj)
Yuçeff Algayberi	(Yūsuf al-Gaybalī?)
Mahoni Alburriani	(Mu'mīn al-Burriani)
<i>Mahomet Almordī</i>	(Muḥammad al-Murdi)
<i>Abduçalem Arraffia</i>	(ʿAbd al-Salām al-Raff'a)
Abdolla Çahet	(ʿAbd Allāh Sa'd)
Çilim Çahet	(Salīm Sa'd)
Çahet Çale	(Sa'd Şalīḥ)
Hamet Çilim	(Aḥmad Salīm)
Famet Fiança	(Ḥāmid ?)
Yayhahie Hazem	(Yahyā Ḥazm)
Ffat Maymon	(Fath Maimūn)
Ali Nadir	(ʿAli Nadir)
<i>Ali Obeyt</i>	(ʿAli ʿUbayd)

## B. 1406–1430 (28 names, 24 new)

Hamet Abecalaf*	(Aḥmad Ibn Khalāf)
Çilim Abdurramon	(Salīm al-Raḥmān)
<i>Yahye Abdurramon*</i>	(Yahyā al-Raḥmān)
Abdalla Aladip*	(ʿAbd Allāh al-Adīb)

<i>Mahomat Aladib*</i>	(Muḥammad al-Adib)
Yuçef Aladip*	(Yūsuf al-Adib)
Ali Albarday*	(ʿAli al-Bardī)
Yahie Albardey*	(Yaḥyā al-Bardī)
Mahomat Alberragi*	(Muḥammad al-Barakī)
Çuleymen Alfaig*	(Sulaimān al-Ḥājj)
Çilim Alfaqui*	(Salīm al-Faqīh)
Çuleymen Alfaqui*	(Sulaimān al-Faqīh)
Hamet Alfaqui*	(Aḥmad al-Faqīh)
Mahomat Alfaqui*	(Muḥammad al-Faqīh)
Ffat Algayberi*	(Faṭḥ al-Gaybalī?)
Çilim Alelenxi*	(Salīm al-Shilanshī)
Taher Almahadi*	(Ṭāhir al-Māhdi)
Hamet Anumey*	(Aḥmad al-Numayy)
Mahomat Benmaymo Benzubey*	(Muḥammad b. Maimūn b. Zubayr)
Yahie Benrahamon	(Yaḥyā b. Raḥmān)
Maçot Çuleymen*	(Masʿūd Sulaymān)
Jucef Dehuyt*	(Yūsuf Dāʿūd)
Abdalla Hayton*	(ʿAbd Allāh Ḥaytūn)
Mahomat Haytun*	(Muḥammad Ḥaytūn)
Ali Maymo*	(ʿAli Maimūn)
Çilim Maymon	(Salīm Maimūn)
Muni Sunillull*	(Muʾmīn Sūnī?)
Çilim Tahe*	(Salīm Ṭāhīr)

## C. 1431–1455 (26 names, 24 new)

Ali Abolaix	(ʿAli ʿAbuʾl- ʿAysh)
Ffat Adehuyt*	(Faṭḥ al-Dāʿūd)
Hamet Dehuyt*	(Aḥmad al-Dāʿūd)
Abdalla Aladip*	(ʿAbd Allāh al-Adib)
Azmet Aladip*	(Aḥmad al-Adib)
Ffat Aladip*	(Faṭḥ al-Adib)
Mumi Ladip*	(Muʾmīn al-Adib)
Juceff Alborday*	(Jūsuf al-Bardī)
Çilim Alhaig	(Salīm al-Ḥājj)
Mahomat Alhaig*	(Muḥammad al-Ḥājj)
Juçeff Almuezen*	(Yūsuf al-Muezzīn)
Ali Arroig*	(ʿAli Ḥurayz)
Hiaye Axelenci*	(Yaḥyā al-Shilanshī)
<i>Taber Çale*</i>	(Ṭāhir Ṣalīḥ)
Ali Hayton*	(ʿAli Ḥaytūn)
Ffat Ayton*	(Faṭḥ Ḥaytūn)
Yuçef Hayton*	(Yūsuf Ḥaytūn)
Çaat Maymon*	(Saʿd Maimūn)
Çilim Maymo*	(Salīm Maimūn)
Hamet Maymon Benmahomat	(Aḥmad Maimūn b. Muḥammad)
Juçef Maymon*	(Yūsuf Maimūn)
Abdolziz Numell*	(ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Numayy)
Juçef Porocull*	(Yūsuf ?)
Hamet de Sante Fe	(Aḥmad the Christian)
<i>Yuçef Yahuda</i>	(Yūsuf al-Yahūda, the Jew)
Ffat . . . *	(Faṭḥ . . . )

## D. 1456–1480 (10 names, 9 new)

Çilim Abolaix	(Salīm ‘Abu’l-‘Aysh)
Amet Aladip	(Aḥmad al-Adīb)
Azmet Alfaqui	(Aḥmad al-Faḥḥ)
Mahomat Arcayt	(Muḥammad al-Qaīd)
Mahomat Arrafe	(Muḥammad al-Rafī‘a)
Ali Bencahat e Hihale*	(‘Ali b. Sa‘d Hiyālī)
Amet Faytoni*	(Aḥmad Ḥaytūn)
Juḡef Fayton	(Yūsuf Ḥaytūn)
Ali Maymo*	(‘Ali Maimūn)
Salamo Zalmari	(Shlomo Zalmārī, Jew)

## E. 1481–1505 (23 names, 22 new)

Famet Abizeyt	(Ḥamid Abī Zayd)
Famet Alacif	(Ḥamid al-Adīb)
Himin Alanuerdem	(?)
<i>Çahat Almalaced</i>	(Sa‘d al-Milsad)
Ali Ayton	(‘Ali Ḥaytūn)
Fat Çahat	(Fath Sa‘d)
Ali Çale	(‘Ali Şalīḥ)
Çahat Çale	(Sa‘d Şalīḥ)
Ali Çalema	(Ali Salāma)
Maḡot Dihuyt	(Mas‘ūd Dā‘ūd)
Ali Eça	(‘Ali ‘Isā)
Çahat Eça	(Sa‘d ‘Isā)
. . . Galip	(. . . Galīb)
Çuleyme Hyale	(Sulaymān Hiyālī)
Ali Lopo	
Ali Loxe	(?)
Ali Maymon	(‘Ali Maimūn)
Fat Munedin	(Fath Mu‘īn al-Dīn)
Famet Muney	(Ḥamid Mu‘nis?)
<i>Famet Ozme</i>	(Ḥamid Ḥazm)
Ali Taher	(‘Ali Ṭahīr)
<i>Ali Xilenxi</i>	(‘Ali Shilanshī)
Çahat Xilenxi	(Sa‘d Shilanshī)

## F. 1525–1530 (17 names, all new)

Çahat Ali	(Sa‘d ‘Ali)
Johan Ali	(. . . ‘Ali)
Johan Ponz Alfaqui	
(widow) Algoi (?)	
Ali Aufi (?)	
(widow) Ayton	(‘Ali? Ḥaytūn)
Bernat Çale	(‘Ubayda Şalīḥ)
Mahomat Çale	(Muḥammad Şalīḥ)
Ali Cher (?)	(?)
Fotaya Ellel	(Fatīya Khalīl)
Abdulagiz Galip	(‘Abd al-‘Azīz Galīb)
Francesc Manzor	(Yūsuf Manşūr)

Mahomat Maymun	(Muḥammad Maimūn)
Miquel Maymun	( . . . Maimūn)
Miquel Migo	
Moquetdem	( . . . Mukḥadam)
Johan Junqui (?)	(?)

## G. 1563 (38 names, 35 new)

Ali Franco Açe	(Ali ʿĪsā)
Onayda Jayme Eça	(ʿUbayda ʿĪsā)
. . . Fessaya Aladi	(Faşaya al-Adīb)
Futaya Joan Alim	(Fatīya al-Amīn?)
Juceff Joan Ayton	(Yūsuf Ḥayrūn)
Sahat Miquel Çale	(Saʿd Şalīḥ)
Fataya Juan Defis	(Fatīya Dāʿūd)
Pere Aziz Ellel	(ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Khalīl)
Joana (widow) Fusayma	
Amet Antoni Giconi (?)	
Mahomat Jaime Lancati	
Abdulaziz Hieroni Lizo	
Abdulaziz Joan Lizo	
Jusafa Hieroni Lizo	
<i>Silim Pedro Lizo</i>	
Ali Franco Mançor	(ʿAli Manşūr)
Juffa Frances Mançor	(Yūsuf Manşūr)
Afsem Joan Maymo	( . . Maimūn)
Ali Hieroni Maymo	(ʿAli Maimūn)
Ali Pedro Maymon	(ʿAli Maimūn)
Futaya Pedro Maymo	(Fatīya Maimūn)
Hieronī Massot	(. . . Masʿūd)
Yayel Juan Massot	(Yaḥyā Masʿūd)
Asunis Joan Respo	
Abdulaziz Joan Sagonti	(ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Sagonti)
<i>Ali Joan Sabat</i>	(ʿAli Saʿd)
Obeyda Bernat Sale	(ʿUbayda Şalīḥ)
<i>Sabat Frances Sale</i>	(Saʿd Şalīḥ)
Mahomat Jayme Sale	(Muḥammad Şalīḥ)
(widow of [? the] al-Faqīh) Sile	(. . . Şalīḥ)
Moni Fordi Sondo	
Jussa Joan Soni	(Yūsuf Sūnī)
Essa Domingo Taer	(ʿĪsā Ṭāhir)
Joan Xenim	(?)
Amet Pere Ymin	(Aḥmad Yamīn)
Yaye Pere Ymin	(Yaḥyā Yamīn)
Ali Jayme . . .	
Joan . . .	

## ANNEX 6

## Castillo de Ahín: Pottery Stratigraphy and Comparison with Fifteenth-Century Benialí

Pottery Types (abbreviated)	Pre-tapial Castle, Islamic	Tapial Occupation, Islamic	Post-tapial Debris, Islamic	All Islamic Levels	Christian & Mixed Levels	Benialí, Muslim Village
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Slip (Water)	30.2	30.6	41.4	34.1	26.1	30.1
All beige	12.6	6.8	14.3	11.6	11.1	26.2
All pink	16.0	18.8	25.0	19.8	12.4	3.5
Fe designs	0.14	2.0	1.8	1.2	1.3	—
Green lines	1.4	3.0	0.3	1.5	0.65	0.4
Glazed (Table, Storage)	7.9	13.8	8.8	9.8	7.8	6.0
Green	3.1	3.9	1.7	2.8	1.3	0.3
Speckled	2.0	5.0	5.2	3.9	0.65	—
Yellow green	2.5	0.6	1.3	1.6	—	0.4
Turquoise	0.28	4.4	0.7	1.5	—	0.8 <sup>a</sup>
Manises/Teruel	—	—	—	—	4.6	4.5
Glazed (Kitchen)	4.3	4.4	2.0	3.6	3.9	24.8
Green/Brown	2.0	2.8	1.7	2.1	2.6	13.2
Red/Brown	2.2	1.4	0.2	1.3	—	10.9
Melado	0.14	0.2	0.1	0.17	1.3	0.7
Unglazed (Kitchen)	29.5	25.2	20.6	25.4	10.5	5.0
Black exterior	28.5	22.8	15.5	22.6	7.2	4.6
Reduced	0.98	2.4	5.2	2.8	3.3	0.4
Other (Storage, Transport, Tiles)	28.5	25.9	27.1	27.2	51.6	33.9
Impressed	2.4	0.6	1.5	1.6	0.0	2.3
Miscellaneous	25.1	22.0	25.5	24.5	42.5	31.5
Roof tiles	0.7	3.0	0.1	1.6	9.2	0.1
Total number of sherds	713	499	601	1813	153	2950

<sup>a</sup>Deep blue green



## ANNEX 8

Inhabitants of Benialí 1414–1500  
(*Jurats* in italics)

## A. 1406–1430

Jucef Bar Robe	(Yūsuf bar-Robi)
Mahomat Ben Hamet Çale	(Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Şalıḥ)
Çaat Ben Maçot	(Sa'd b. Mas'ūd)
Mahomat Coraix	(Muḥammad Quraysh)
Abdolaziz Elcaçer	(ʿAbd al-ʿAziz al-Qasr)
Ffat Ben Felill	(Faṭḥ b. Khalīl)
Momi Halil	(Mu'mīn Khalīl)
Mahomat Mañcor	(Muḥammad Mañşūr)

## B. 1431–1455

Abdulaziz Aben Real	(ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Ibn Riyāl)
Ali Coraix	(Ali Quraysh)
Çilim Halil	(Salīm Khalīl)
Mahomat Halil	(Muḥammad Khalīl)
Mahomat Mañcor	(Muḥammad Mañşūr)

## C. 1456–1480

Aboccale	(. . . Abū Şalıḥ)
Ben Mahomat Mañcor	(b. Muḥammad Mañşūr)
Mohamat Yazit	(Muḥammad Yazid)

## D. 1481–1505

<i>Çilim Alil</i>	(Salīm Khalīl)
Famet Alil	(Ḥamid Khalīl)
Famet Monser	(Ḥamid Mañşūr)
Hamet Mañcor	(Aḥmad Mañşūr)

## E. Benialí names subsequently in Ahín

Pere or Aziz Ellel	(ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Khalīl)	1563
Fataya Ellel	(Fatīya Khalīl)	1530
Franco or Ali Mañcor	(ʿAli Mañşūr)	1563
Francesc or Jussa Mañcor	(Yūsuf Mañşūr)	1530, 1563
Hieroní Massot	(. . . Mas'ūd)	1563
Juan or Yayel Massot	(Yaḥyā Mas'ūd)	1563

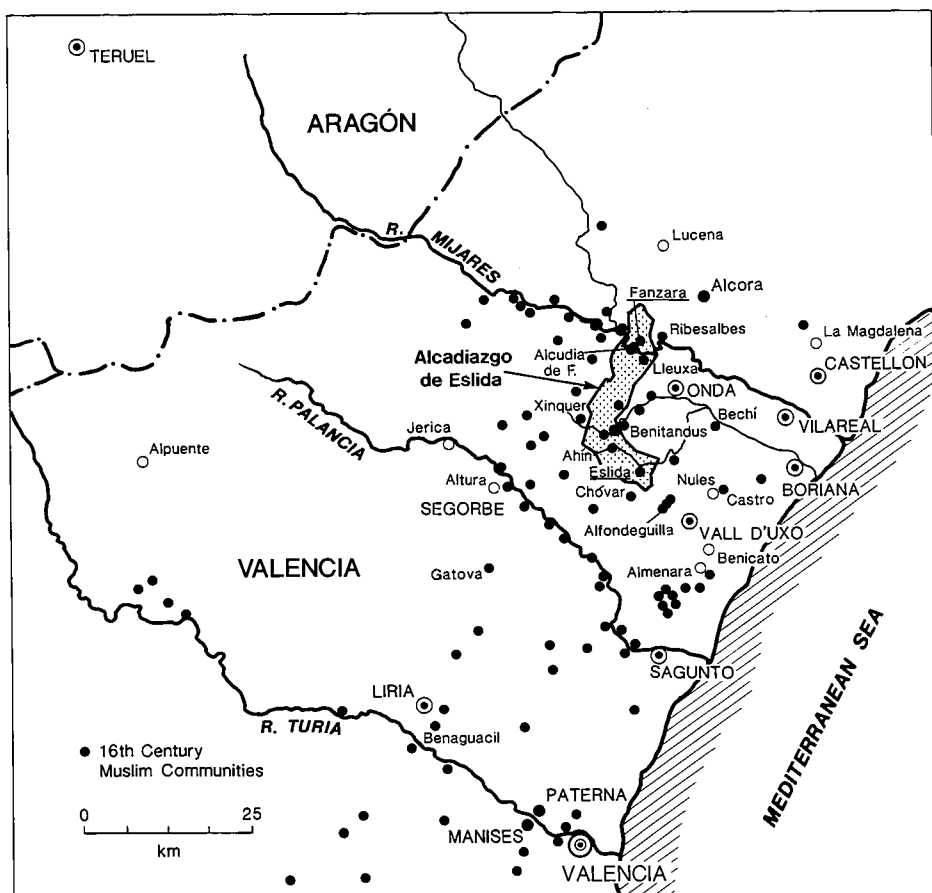


FIG. 1. Situation of the Alcadiazgo de Eslida in eastern Spain.





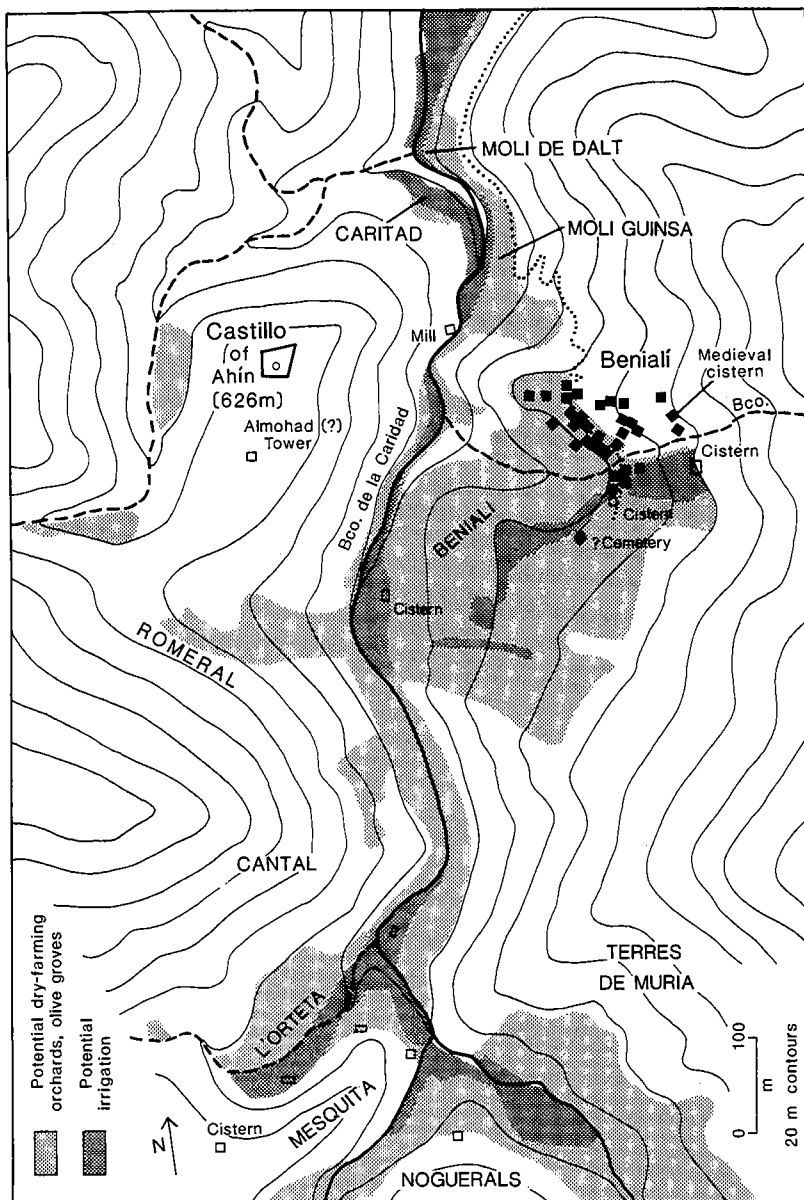


FIG. 3. The potential resource sphere of Benialí and location of the castle of Ahín.

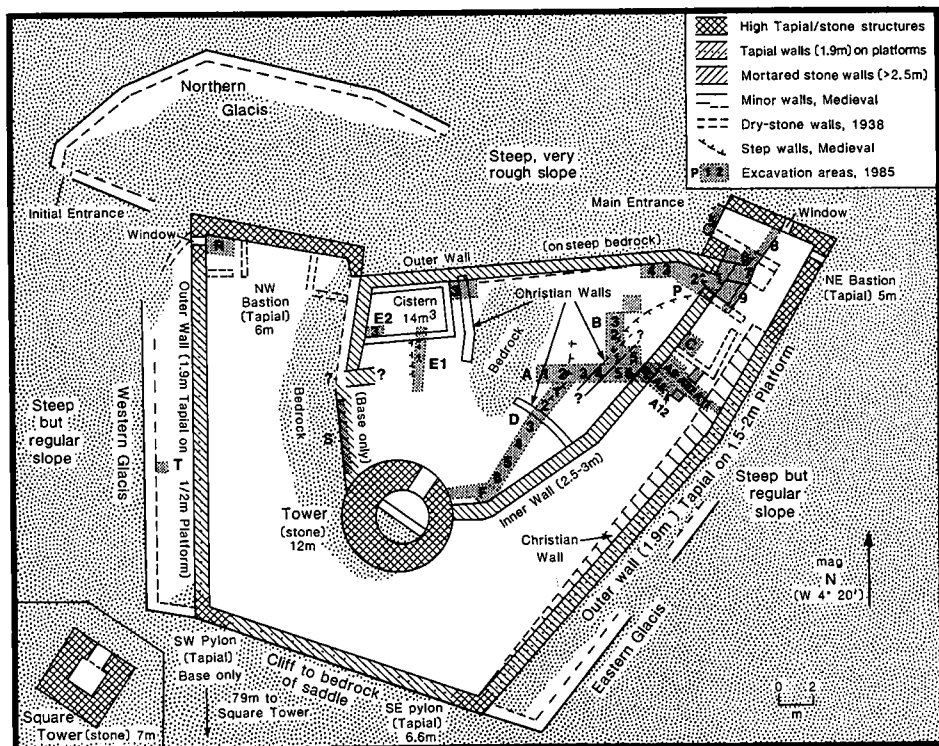
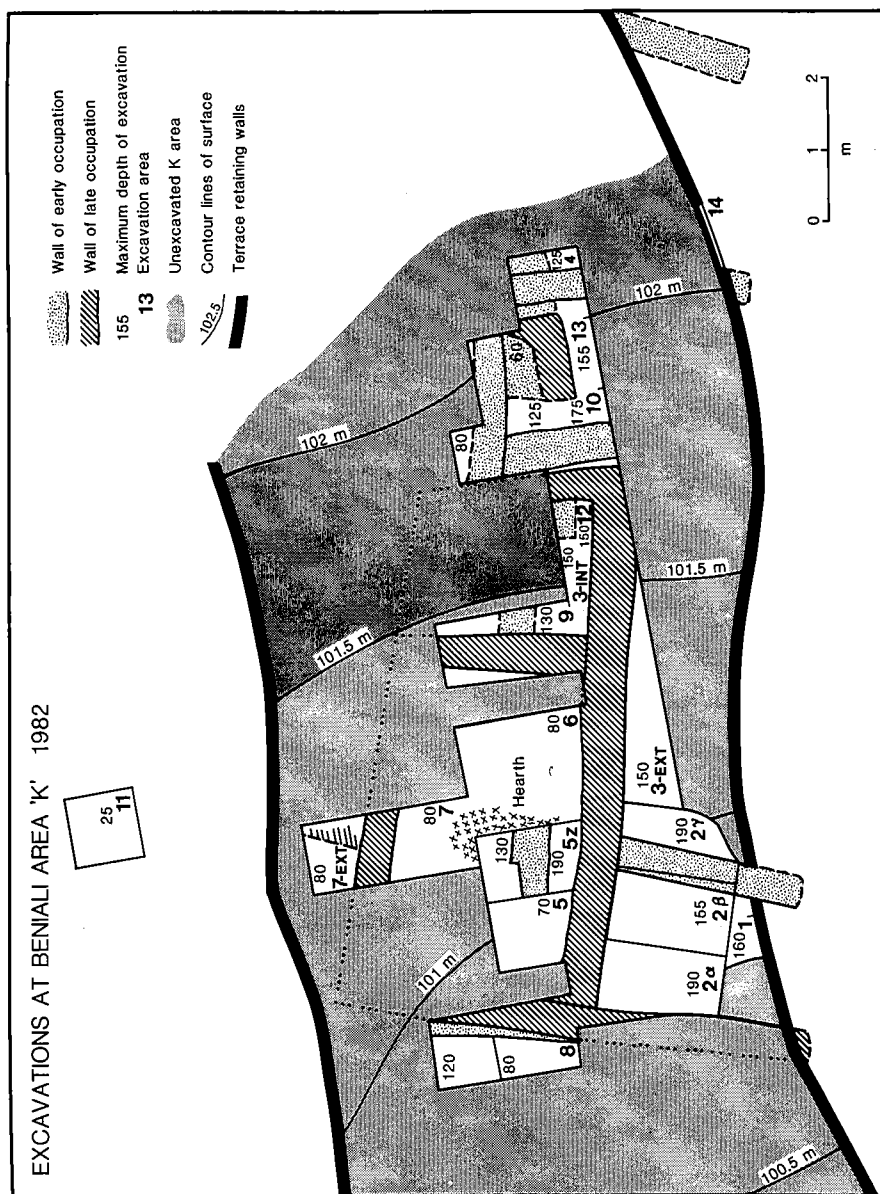


FIG. 4. Plan of the castle of Ahin showing the areas excavated in 1985.



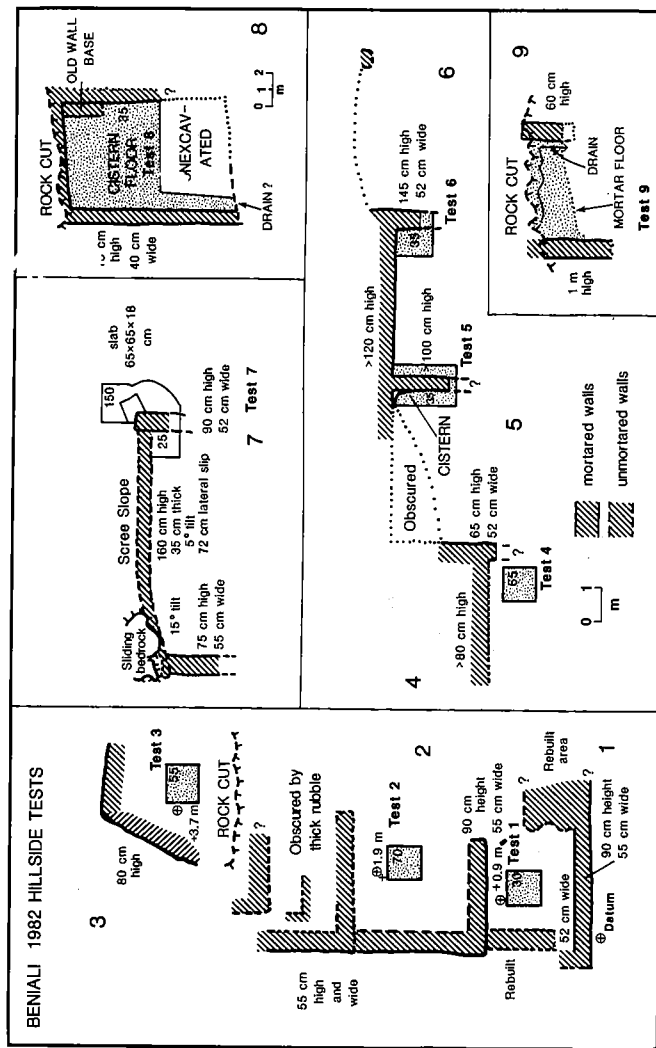


FIG. 6. Hillside tests, houses, and cisterns at Beniali, 1982.

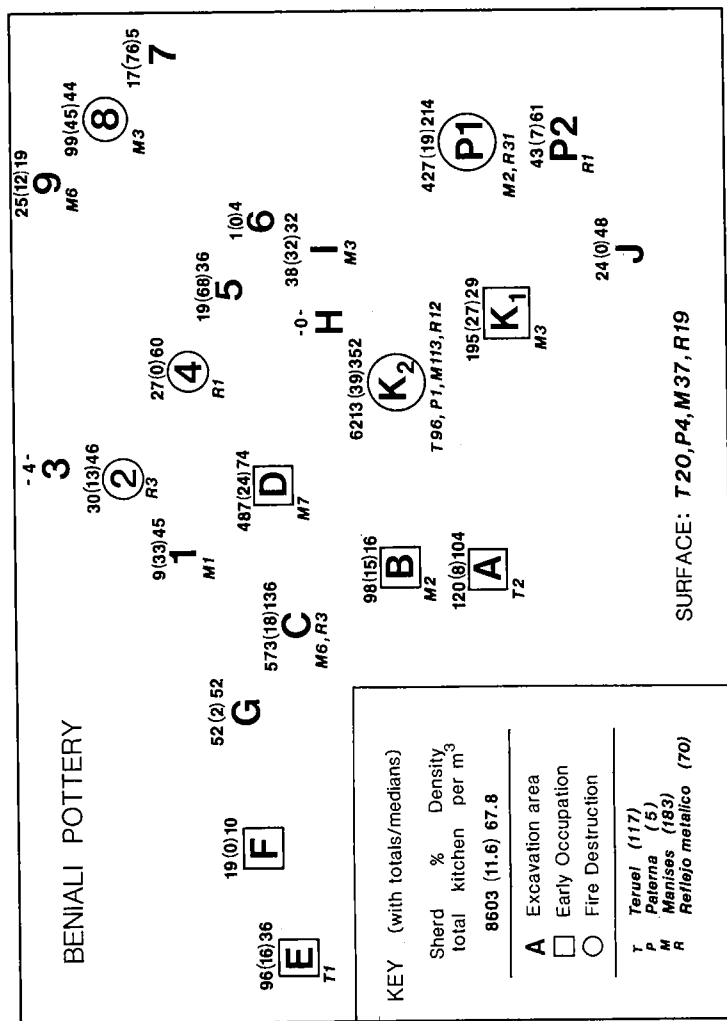


FIG. 7. The pottery inventory of Beniali plotted according to excavation areas that approximate their spatial distribution.