

Conflict and Collaboration in Medieval Iberia

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Edited by

Kim Bergqvist, Kurt Villads Jensen
and Anthony John Lappin

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INTRODUCTION

The interdisciplinary conference *Historians of Medieval Iberia: Enemies and Friends* (A Marcus Wallenberg Symposium), held in Stockholm in March 2016, sought to continue and revitalise an international and multi-faceted discussion of medieval Iberia. It was very much a scholarly collaboration. Gathering medievalists within many different disciplines from Canada, the Czech Republic, Finland, France, Germany, Israel, Italy, Norway, Portugal, Russia, Spain, the United Kingdom, and the United States, it brought different methodologies and source materials to bear, and, not least importantly, shed light on the three religions of the Peninsula in the middle ages. It thus focused on their internal and external collaboration and conflicts throughout the long period between the eighth and the fifteenth centuries.

Studies of conflict in medieval history and related disciplines have lately come to focus on wars, feuds, rebellions, and other violent matters. Those are present here, to form a backdrop, but other forms of conflict are also brought to the fore. With these assembled essays on conflict and collaboration in the Iberian Peninsula, we wish to give an insight into key aspects of the historical experience of the Iberian kingdoms during the middle ages. Beginning from the fall of the Visigothic kingdom and the arrival of significant numbers of Berber settlers to the functioning of the Spanish Inquisition right at the end of the middle ages, the articles gathered here look both at cross-ethnic and interreligious meetings in hostility or fruitful cohabitation; yet intra-communal relations are not forgotten, and consideration is given to the mechanisms within religious and ethnic groupings by which conflict was channelled and, occasionally, collaboration could ensue, or the status quo be re-asserted.

Thus, to take one example of fruitful collaboration within an Islamic commonwealth, María Marcos Cobaleda examines the criss-crossing of the Strait of Gibraltar under Almoravid domination during the twelfth century, exploring how the Maghrebi rulers often used al-Andalus as a technical and artisanal resource for expertise and works of art to be used in North Africa. The traffic was not all one way, however, and the Almoravids' impact on al-Andalus can also be traced, primarily through their innovations regarding military architecture and hydraulic systems. As a means of pin-pointing this mutually-reinforcing traffic of ideas and people, Marcos Cobaleda focuses

upon the intertwining features of decorative and ornamental patterns, which see a growing deployment of Andalusí elements in Morocco and the adoption of Maghrebi features in al-Andalus.

Conflict – and the possibility of resolution, and at times reconciliation – is examined in two articles which look closely at the functioning of institutions within Christendom. Susana Guijarro offers a view from within the cathedral chapter of Burgos Cathedral during the fifteenth century, looking at the competing norms of spiritual harmony based on the horizontal sociability of the canons as fellow ecclesiastics, and of worldly expectations based upon their continuing membership of kin-groups, networks of patronage, and their maintenance of positions within various forms of hierarchy. Here, she concentrates on how – once the ideal of harmony had been shattered by various forms of scandalous or sinful behaviour – the bishop and his chapter sought to re-establish the *pax* between the canons necessary for the functioning of the institution itself. Much effort was expended, through synodal resolutions and self-authored statutes, in order to define and limit unacceptable behaviour, and to provide recourse and restoration if limits were then transgressed. However, one of the important mechanisms for resolving conflicts brought about by unacceptable behaviour were through symbolic means: formal reconciliation ceremonies, for example, provided a public theatre through which the tensions created by conflict could be assuaged and redefined. Another involved mediation between arguing parties, carried out within a legal framework, as well as the more simple levying of fines.

Some conflicts were explosive; others were slow-burn. One of the characteristic medieval examples of such dilated confrontations over centuries is the long-running institutional struggles that entwined a monastery with its local bishopric. Leticia Agúndez San Miguel provides an analysis of just such a conflict, which focused on questions of legitimate jurisdiction: a four-century long confrontation between the Cathedral of León and the august, historic and resource-rich abbey of Sahagún. Traditionally such disputes are understood through the legal witnesses of confirmation privileges; Agúndez San Miguel widens her scope to look at a range of manuscript-production from both sides in the dispute, stretching from historical works to compilations of donations, thus showing how what became a traditional confrontation could influence many aspects of both monastery's and bishopric's intellectual and cultural production.

Assertions of jurisdiction also played a large part in the manner in which the Umayyad ruler of al-Andalus treated those deemed “apostates,” thereby defining their religious allegiance as illegitimate and enforcing an authoritative interpretation of their actions which emphasised the ruler's

own adherence to (and interpretation of) Islam. Adriano Duque thus explores how the theatrical and performative elements of the post-mortem display of apostates' bodily remains differed from simple "traitors." Public execution of those taken alive, or the exposition of the corpse in symbolically humiliating postures (such as crucifixion, or decapitation followed by long exposure above one of the gates of the city) expressed the ability of the ruler to determine the spiritual state and supernatural punishments of those he had defeated.

Ideological concerns are also witnessed within the Christian arena, and assertions of legitimacy could also be produced as part of a national – rather than strictly religious – project. Historical lineage might be the focus, rather than the imposition of doctrinal purity. Rodrigo Furtado offers a sustained analysis of an important manuscript of histories and chronicles which was copied in a Riojan monastery during the tenth century. Furtado argues that, although the copyists used textual materials already assembled in the neighbouring kingdom of Oviedo and which served to emphasise the latter's primacy amongst the Christian kingdoms, the Riojan scribes were anything but subservient to this ideological message: on the contrary, they re-shaped the legendary material to show that their own kingdom, that of Pamplona, was in fact the legitimate heir to the Visigothic *imperium* and therefore represented both an effective link with the past and the culmination of the historical process of the formation of Christian kingdoms after the Arab conquests. The codex (Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, *Aemilianensis* 78), then, was an instrument by which the Pamplonese kings might assert their own pre-eminence against increasing Astur-Leonese competition.

Familial lineage was also the explicit concern of the mid-fourteenth-century *Livro de Linhagens do Conde D. Pedro*, or Count Peter's Lineages Book; Tiago João Queimada e Silva looks at how this work depicted Muslim-Christian interaction as a means of providing aristocratic legitimation. And, in line with the noble ethos that permeates the work, religious allegiances came a very distant second to nobility, valour and prestige for families when they recalled their ancestors' glories (and thereby their own).

Actual, rather than legendary, collaboration, indeed friendship, between members of different faiths is brought into focus by Harald Endre Tafford, who looks to the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* for its account of the long-standing political relationship between the majestic Alfonso VII of León and Sayaf al-Dawla (or, to Christians, Zafadola), son of the last emir of Zaragoza before the Almoravids' expansion removed the town from their control. Tafford places the cross-religious friendship within an anthropological frame much used by historians of medieval society. Such a friendship was

political, pragmatic, and strategic, in that Sayaf's remaining territories allowed Alfonso a means of projecting his influence; and proximity to Alfonso allowed Sayaf a means of protecting his possessions from the pressure of the Almoravid invaders, on the one hand, and from the Aragonese on the other. Zafadola became, for a while, a trusted counsellor and military leader for Alfonso in his conflict with the Almoravids, as an important link between the king-emperor and Andalusi elements dissatisfied with Almoravid rule, and, before his death, as a trusted free-agent in campaigning in the south of the Peninsula.

The early development of a Muslim presence in the Peninsula is – despite the later accretions of legendary and mostly fanciful material – difficult to reconstruct. No records such as the *Chronica Adefonsi* were written in that early period to detail individual relationships across ethnic and perhaps religious divides, and thus other, more impersonal material has to be used. Placenames have thus become a new frontier in the study of post-conquest settlement patterns. David Peterson uses toponymic data from the province of Burgos to establish where Arab/Muslim/Berber settlement may have taken place; here he seeks to identify hybrid toponyms, place-names which contain both an Arabic and a Romance element (such as *Villa Mahomat*). In order to give a firmer base to the analysis, Peterson brings in a contemporary comparison: hybrid place-names found in the east of England, which show the presence of rapid Danish settlement in their newly conquered territories. A crucial part of this analysis is to establish the reality of early Berber/Muslim settlement on prestige sites, and therefore to highlight the lack of any evidence for later, supposedly massive, Mozarabic migration to these areas.

Multiple levels of co-operation across religious divides may be found in Herbert González Zyma's article, whose examination of a perhaps archetypal late-medieval devotional structure points to a depth of collaboration within the Christian kingdom of Aragón. His focus is the altar-piece which also functioned as a reliquary whose purpose was to enshrine a host which, ten years earlier, had miraculously bled after transubstantiation. This took place in a village near to the Cistercian monastery of Santa María de la Piedra, to which it was donated by King Martín I on his accession to the throne of Aragón. As González Zyma points out, the late fourteenth-century reliquary/altar-piece is one of the best examples of *mudéjar* style in the kingdom, offering a balance between Gothic and Islamic styles of ornamentation and display, using artisanal techniques from the two religious communities. Furthermore, four painters worked on the triptich, whose central elements, designed to frame the relic, were painted by two Jewish brothers, Juan and Guillén Levi.

Francisco García-Serrano uses conceptions of friendship and their elaboration by Christian thinkers over the middle ages to focus upon the actions of the mendicant friars in acting on behalf of patrons and facing opposition from Christians —often their local ordinary— and in their dealing with those of other faiths, with an emphasis upon the virtue of pragmatism in negotiating outcomes.

Jewish collaboration within a Christian project is also outlined by Francisco Peña, who makes an illuminating argument in his consideration of the thirteenth-century “Alfonsine scriptorium”, and in particular one of its most ambitious works, the *General estoria*, a form of universal chronicle, intended as a world history, from Creation to the present of Alfonso X, but unfinished. Taking up a suggestion by Pedro Sánchez-Prieto, Peña pursues the imprint which Jewish intellectuals made upon the text, in particular through the reflexion of traditional Jewish (rather than specifically Christian) commentary on the book of Genesis, and, specifically, the expulsion from Paradise and the sin of Cain. Similarly, David Navarro shows how key rabbinic sources are woven together with the dominant university-textbook, Petrus Comestor’s *Historia ecclesiastica*, in the discussion of the Flood, thereby providing a departure from the dominant modes of Christian interpretation and exegesis of the late thirteenth century.

Not all of Christian relations with Jews were marked with the ornate motifs of María Rosa Menocal’s *convivencia*, however.¹ Madera Allan explores the tragic figure of Juan de Chinchilla, who was the first to be dragged into the Spanish Inquisition’s widening net as its investigations began to focus on otherwise loyal supporters of the Catholic Monarchs as well as making examples of those who had opposed them in the civil war. In the Inquisition’s attempts to separate pious Christians from those who maintained Jewish customs, the issue of kosher food was often to the forefront. In Juan de Chinchilla’s case, however, familial relationships implicated him in a continued Judaism which eventually, when combined with his own evasions, led to his condemnation.

In contrast, however, Susan L. Aguilar explores local history to present a nuanced view of the attitude and treatment of Jews in the previous century. The urban riots against the presence of (unconverted) Jews in the major cities of the eastern Iberian peninsula in 1391 forms the starting-point to Aguilar’s excavation of the after-effects of this mob-violence in the south of the Kingdom of Aragón. Whilst acknowledging that traditional historiography has tended to describe Jewish life post-1391 as being in

¹ María Rosa Menocal, *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 2002).

inexorable decline, she uses a comparison between the events in Valencia and Teruel as a means of teasing apart very different responses on the part of the local authorities to the threat of, or actual, breakdown of law-and-order within the cities: on the one hand, inaction in the case of Valencia, followed by contradictory attempts at self-exculpation; on the other, robust deployment of paid officers to attempt to ensure the Jews' safety throughout the territory of Teruel. In Valencia, a third of Jews were killed, a third forced to convert, and a third fled; in the city of Teruel, there seems to have been neither murders nor forced conversions, and prominent Jewish families continued to be significant lenders to the town council right to the end of that final decade of the fourteenth century.

Such thematic strands might be presented in other ways, from stressing the importance of art-historical methodology or the materiality of texts, to explorations of the *imaginaire* and evocations of difference, either to enrich or to condemn. Nevertheless, in presenting the material, we have preferred to follow a chronological sequence to the articles. We should also record our thanks to those who have assisted us in putting this volume together for their dedication and care: Emmy Atterving, Stephen Pink and Kirsi Salonen, who did an immense job in finishing the manuscript.

The editors
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CHAPTER 1

HYBRID PLACE-NAMES AS EVIDENCE OF MILITARY SETTLEMENT IN THE DANELAW AND IN CASTILE¹

DAVID PETERSON

In the Danelaw hybrid place-names combining a Old Norse personal name and an Old English habitative element, generically referred to as Grimston hybrids, have traditionally been regarded as indicators of in-comers taking over (and renaming) existing settlements, plausibly within a context of Viking conquest in the ninth century. In this paper, I will explore whether equivalent Islamo-Romance hybrids in Castile might similarly be a direct legacy of the Islamic conquest and partition of the region in the early eighth century. Certain characteristics of the Castilian hybrids, such as their apparent antiquity and concentration in prime sites, seem to support the hypothesis, however this should only be regarded as a first tentative approach to the subject. What is clear is that the tradition and quality of place-name analysis in Britain are clearly superior to the Spanish situation where such methodology has been largely ignored in recent years, and I suggest that much can be learnt by studying the British bibliography on toponymy and settlement.

¹ This paper has been developed as part of the research project “Escribir el espacio en la alta Edad Media: una aproximación comparada a la relación entre escritura y acceso a la tierra” (HAR2013-44576-P), funded by the Spanish Ministry of Culture and Innovation (MICINN). I would furthermore like to thank Lesley Abrams, Wendy Davies and Simon Doubleday for their reading and perceptive comments on an early draft of this paper, although of course the finished project with all its deficiencies is very much my own responsibility.

Introduction

Some thirty kilometres south of the city of Burgos, in the heartland of Castile, there is a village nowadays called simply *Mahamud*. In the documentation of the Cathedral of Burgos (in 1075), however, it appears as *Villa Mahomat*, a name comprising two elements: a habitative designator (*villa*) and a personal name (*Muḥammad*). Thus, although it has survived in an elliptical form, it is clearly a habitative place-name, and as such one of the standard typologies², though with the particularity of being a hybrid, combining as it does a Romance element (*villa*) with an Arabo-Islamic one (*Muḥammad*). Henceforth, we will term such compounds Islamo-Romance hybrids.³

Scattered around the modern province of Burgos (which as a reasonable approximation to the primitive Castile we will henceforth employ as our geographical reference) there are a number of similarly named villages, although in some cases the passage of time and the influence of Castilian phonetics have combined to obscure the anthroponymic element: *Villahizán*, *Villalmanzo*, *Villalval*, *Villambrán*, *Villamiel*, *Villatoro*, *Villayuda*, *Villajón* ...⁴ We also encounter Islamo-Romance hybrids with different habitative elements (*Tordomar*, *Castrillo de Murcia*, *Quintanayús*)⁵, and further possibly elliptical cases (*Agés*, *Zumel*)⁶, but we will concentrate here on the *villa*- forms. There are also, of course, many habitative toponyms without

² Generally, place-names are classified as either topographical, habitative or folk-names, cf. Kenneth Cameron, *English Place Names* (London: Batsford, 1996), 25.

³ It would be more symmetrically satisfying to term such hybrids as Arab-Romance, both sides of the formula referring to languages, and indeed other authors discussing this anthroponymic stratum designate it as Arab, but here I feel that the socio-religious context behind such names is more significant than their (often obscure) linguistic origins; cf. Elías Terés, “Antroponimia hispanoárabe (reflejada por las fuentes latino-romances),” *Anaquel de estudios árabes* 1–3 (1990–1992); Victoria Aguilar Sebastián and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, “Antroponimia de origen árabe en la documentación leonesa (siglos VIII–XIII),” in *El reino de León en la Alta Edad Media* 6 (León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación San Isidoro, 1994), 497–633.

⁴ A full list of these hybrids and their putative etymologies is provided at the end of the article.

⁵ The tower, fort and *Quintana* (?) of, respectively, *Umar* (Terés, no. 310), *Musa* (Terés, no. 393) and *Yusuf* (Terés, no. 443). All three place-names are included in G. Martínez Díez’s 2011 overview of this stratum (“Emigración mozárabe,” 106), and we note that the *villa*- forms constitute barely half of the twenty such hybrid habitative toponyms that he lists.

⁶ *Agés* < *Ḥajjāj* (Terés, no. 68); *Zumel* < *Ṣumayl* (Terés, no. 230).

an Arabic second element (*Villadiego*, *Villagonzalo*, *Villarramiro*) and others with anthroponymic components of uncertain origin (*Villassur* < *Assur*, *Villaquirán* < *Qirām*); however, the number of plausibly Islamo-Romance hybrids seems disproportionately high when compared to the volume of Islamic personal-names in active use in the region. This is the case if we take into account that the average date for the first appearance of all the *villa*+anthroponym toponyms is 1106, by which time Arabo-Islamic personal-names had long fallen into disuse in Castile, virtually disappearing from circulation at all levels by the year 1000. This indicates that our hybrids originate in an earlier anthroponymic stratum. However, during the first half of the tenth century, the earliest period for which we have detailed documentation, the proportion of Arabo-Islamic anthroponyms in use in Castile is still only approximately 10% among the peasantry and much lower amongst the elites, the latter being more likely to have lent their names to villages.⁷ In our toponymic register, by contrast, the Arabo-Islamic names represent almost 30% of *all* personal names (in the 124 such compounds analysed in central and southern Burgos province) and 44% of *identifiable* names.⁸ In other words, these place-names conserve the personal-names of an earlier period, seemingly significantly pre-dating the tenth century by when such names comprise only 10% of the nomenclator. Although clearly further work needs to be done analysing all these

⁷ The precise figures depend on the methodology of each study (for example, which sources are mined, the dates set, and the names regarded as being Arabic), but around Burgos I have observed a proportion of 15% amongst the peasantry, while Reglero (with a more restrictive definition of what constitutes an Arabic name and incorporating the nobility) calculates approximately 6%. Further in east, in León province, the figures are generally higher: over 10% for Reglero, 15% for Martínez Sopena. David Peterson, “Aculturación, inmigración o invasión: sobre los orígenes de la onomástica árabe en el noroeste peninsular,” in *Arabes in patria Asturiensium*, ed. Clara Elena Prieto Entrialgo (Oviedo: Asturiensis regni territorium, 2011), 150; Carlos Reglero, “Onomástica arabizante y migraciones en el Reino de León (siglos IX–X),” in *Anthroponymie et migrations dans la chrétienté médiévale*, ed. Monique Bourin and Pascual Martínez Sopena (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez 2010), 89–104; Pascual Martínez Sopena, “La antroponimia leonesa. Un estudio del Archivo Catedral de León (876–1200),” in *Antroponimia y Sociedad. Sistemas de identificación hispano-cristianos del siglo IX al XIII* (Valladolid: Universidades de Valladolid y Santiago de Compostela, 1995), 159.

⁸ Only 35% of such compounds contain clearly identifiable non-Arabic personal-names; the final 35%, while seemingly incorporating anthroponyms, are of obscure etymology, and among this last group we suspect Arabo-Islamic names will be over-represented given their greater tendency to be distorted over time.

toponyms and the anthroponyms fossilized in them (which we present in an Appendix), it seems clear that they represent an early stratum.

Table 1.1. The origins of the personal names found in the villa + anthroponym compounds of central and southern burgos province.

Origin of name	Number of names	%
Islamic	35	28,2
Clearly non-Islamic	45	36,3
Unclear	44	35,5
Total	124	100,0

The typology is particularly concentrated south and west of the city of Burgos, although a small cluster was also identified in the extreme north of the homonymous province by Oliver.⁹ Such hybrids are not limited to Burgos province, the area that I will here concentrate on, however, and indeed are even more common further west in León province¹⁰, an area worthy of future research along these lines. Habitative hybrids are, moreover, also to be found outside the Iberian Peninsula.

Justifying the Castile-Danelaw Comparison

I have previously examined the phenomenon of Arabic toponymy of north-western Iberia from a purely peninsular perspective¹¹, but what I propose to do here is compare the toponymy of Castile with that of the Danelaw area of England. This might at first glance seem rather an eccentric comparison, but alongside a series of similarities between the two medieval contexts that I will outline shortly, the main justification for such an approach is that the

⁹ Villavés, cf. *Abbas* (Terés, no. 279); *Villamezán*, cf. *Jamis* (Terés, no. 122); *Villacián*, cf. *Zayyān* (Terés, no. 171); *Villalázara*, cf. *al-Aysar* (Terés, no. 435); *Villamor*, cf. *Amur* (Terés, no. 306); *Villamar*, cf. *Ammar* (Terés, no. 31). Jaime Oliver Asín, *En torno a los orígenes de Castilla. Su toponimia en relación con los árabes y los beréberes* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1974); Terés, *Antroponimia*.

¹⁰ Victoria Aguilar Sebastián and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, “Antroponimia de origen árabe en la documentación leonesa (siglos VIII–XIII),” in *El reino de León en la Alta Edad Media* 6 (León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación San Isidoro, 1994), 545.

¹¹ David Peterson, “The men of wavering faith: on the origins of Arabic personal and place names in the Duero basin,” *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 3 (2011): 219–46.

dynamics and socio-linguistic logic behind the naming of places are comparable across different regions and periods, and all the more so in equivalent (or at least comparable) historical contexts, as Trafford has argued:

it is not unreasonable that migrants in various early medieval societies might behave in similar ways in tackling the problems implicit in relocation and in establishing and maintaining their position amidst native society, or that the indigenous inhabitants of different conquered or colonized cultures might employ similar tactics to each other in constructing a *modus vivendi* with the strangers in their midst.¹²

The Danelaw (essentially northern and eastern England) is an area that has a significant concentration of the type of habitative hybrid place-names that occupy us, known in the English context as *Grimston hybrids*. It is, moreover, a region that has been particularly well studied from a toponymical perspective, and above all in reference to the interface between existing Anglo-Saxon communities and Scandinavian in-comers in the ninth century. The Grimston hybrids are similar, at least superficially, to the hybrids observed in Castile: an anthroponymic element that seemingly identifies an alien individual (in the Danelaw, Scandinavians); and a habitative affix in the native tongue, in this case the Anglo-Saxon *-tun*. This, then, will be the basis for our comparison: the Islamo-Romance hybrids of Castile and the Grimston hybrids of the Danelaw.

Another reason for undertaking this comparison is that the study of place-names is a much more established discipline in England than in Spain. In the former, generations of philologists, working to a standardised methodology under the auspices of the *English Place Name Society* (EPNS), have since 1923 created a hugely detailed and relatively homogenous *corpus*: the EPNS county studies.¹³ As a result, and concentrating now on the Viking period, thousands of Scandinavian influenced place-names have been identified and a lively debate has ensued as to the historical implications of such a profusion, a discussion that for decades was at the centre of early-medieval English historiography.¹⁴ The fact that such a

¹² Simon Trafford, "Ethnicity, Migration Theory, and the Historiography of the Scandinavian Settlement of England," in *Cultures in Contact. Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth centuries*, ed. Dawn M. Hadley and Julian D. Richards (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 22.

¹³ Based at Nottingham University, c. 90 volumes of county studies have been published: <http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/research/groups/epns/survey.aspx>.

¹⁴ The debate centred mainly around the question of the number of immigrants necessary to explain such an impressive toponymic legacy. Traditionally, the

debate raged for so long is indicative that there is little approaching a consensus on how to interpret these names in historical contexts,¹⁵ but ironically the very lack of consensus has also meant that the toponymic evidence has been analysed in fine detail. Hopefully, some of the resulting observations and suggestions can help us to understand or at least re-frame what was happening in Castile in the eighth century. Certainly, the contrast with the situation in Spain is stark: fragmentary sources that have been published piecemeal and have been subject to no systematic toponymical analysis. As a result, toponymic evidence has been largely marginalised in recent early-medieval historiography on Spain.

One specific and important lesson learnt from the English experience is the importance of concentrating on toponymic generics – their spatial distribution, the relative quality of sites and the socio-linguistic dynamics behind them – rather than becoming distracted by the etymologies of individual place-names.¹⁶ Accordingly, I will here analyse the type of generic already introduced: hybrid habitative place-names.

As well as the two areas to be compared sharing concentrations of such hybrids, there are other significant similarities between early-medieval Castile and the Danelaw that further justify this exercise. For example, it seems likely that in both scenarios the languages of the in-comers and the natives would have been mutually intelligible, thus providing a sociolinguistic

‘maximalists’ such as Ekwall and Stenton affirmed that only massive immigration could explain such a plethora of Scandinavian place-names, but in 1958 Sawyer challenged this orthodoxy, suggesting that the disproportionate effect of a military elite could explain them and sits better with the lack of archaeological evidence (Gillian Fellows-Jensen, “The Vikings in England: a review,” *Anglo-Saxon England* 4 (1975): 181–206). The debate has now rather fizzled out into a stalemate, with entrenched maximalists and minimalists refusing to engage (Trafford, “Ethnicity, Migration Theory, and the Historiography of the Scandinavian Settlement of England”).

¹⁵ “the evidence of place-names is plentiful, but its application to historical questions that it can plausibly hope to illuminate has proved challenging. It seems clear that the PN distribution map is not a straightforward index of Scandinavian settlement” (Dawn Hadley, *The Vikings in England. Settlement, Society and Culture* (Manchester: University Press, 2006), 103). Indeed, ‘challenging’ is perhaps something of an understatement: “the breakdown of communication between those working on the historical evidence – and we might add, the archaeological evidence – and those working on the linguistic evidence for Scandinavian settlement is a serious problem” (*Cultures in Contact. Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. Dawn M. Hadley and Julian D. Richards (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 7).

¹⁶ Matthew Townend, “Scandinavian Place-Names in England,” in *Perceptions of Place: twenty-first-century interpretations of English place-name studies*, ed. David N. Parsons and Jayne Carroll (Nottingham: English Placename Society, 2013), 121.

context in which hybrids seem to flourish. In the case of Castile, recent work by Roger Wright suggests that we can reject the idea of monolingual Arab or Berber-speaking invaders, and instead points towards the immigrants being Romance-Berber bilinguals who would naturally favour the former language when interacting with the similarly Romance-speaking indigenous population.¹⁷ Similarly, in England there seems to have been high degree of intelligibility between Old English (OE) and Old Norse (ON).¹⁸

The geopolitical context for this sociolinguistic situation is detailed in the narrative sources for the two regions (specifically, the early-eighth century in Castile, and the mid-ninth in the Danelaw), both suffering invasion by armies a few thousand strong who proceed to share out the conquered lands and settle on them. The main source for the Norse invasion and partition of specific parts of what would subsequently become known as the Danelaw is the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*:

And that year [876] Halfdan shared out the land of the Northumbrians, and they proceeded to plough and to support themselves ... Then in the harvest season [877] the army went away into Mercia and shared out some of it, and gave some to Ceolwulf ... In this year [880] the army went from Cirencester into East Anglia, and settled there and shared out the land.¹⁹

The equivalent source for the Islamic conquest and partition of north-western Iberia is the *Risala* of Al-Gassani:

After the conquest by the Muslims, Musa b. Nusayr al-Bakri *al-tābiʿ* divided it up between the conquering troops, in the same way as he shared out captives, livestock and other booty. He then set aside one fifth of the agricultural and grazing lands, and did likewise with the captives and livestock. Of the regions conquered by the sword and expropriated by the Muslims in al-Andalus, no land was left unshared amongst the conquerors by Musa b. Nusayr, except for Santarem and Coimbra in the West and Ejea

¹⁷ Roger Wright, "Late and Vulgar Latin in Muslim Spain: the African Connection," in *Latin vulgaire, latin tardif IX: Actes du IX^e Colloque International sur le Latin Vulgaire et Tardif*, ed. Frédérique Biville, Marie-Karine Lhommé and Daniel Vallat (Lyon: Collection de la Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée, 2012), 35–54.

¹⁸ Matthew Townend, "Viking Age England as a Bilingual Society," in *Cultures in Contact. Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth centuries*, ed. Dawn M. Hadley and Julian D. Richards (Turhout: Brepols, 2000), 89–106, offers as evidence the substitution of cognate words and also the lack of explicit references in sources to interpreters.

¹⁹ *Anglo Saxon Chronicle*, published in *English Historical Documents* 1, ed. Whitelock, quoted by Hadley, *The Vikings in England*, 1.

in the East. All the rest was split up into fifths and shared out in the presence of Musa b. Nusayr and the *tābi* 'īs [Companions] who accompanied him.²⁰

In both cases it is precisely in these partitioned regions that the hybrids are concentrated; exactly where and on what type of site I will examine subsequently. There is also a further similarity between the two regions that might have contributed to their toponymic singularity when compared to neighboring regions: after some 30–40 years the conquerors lost control of the settled areas after counter-offensives by their erstwhile Christian controllers, Alfonso I of Asturias around 750 and Alfred of Wessex around 910. In neither case is it clear what happened to the alien colonists afterwards, but the obvious question is whether one or two generations is sufficient time to have bequeathed such a toponymic heritage. In England the answer has been a confident 'yes', but in Castile it has been a muted 'surely not', leading to the prosperity of the highly improbable theory of a subsequent (and largely unrecorded) Mozarab migration.²¹

The Grimston Hybrids and their Castilian Equivalents

Despite the lively debate surrounding their historical significance, what nobody queries is that there are indeed hundreds of Scandinavian place-names in northern England. These take many forms, topographical and habitative, pure Old Norse and hybrids or Old Norse phonetic influence on Old English names (e.g., OE Shipton-> ON Skipton). Concentrating on the habitative place-names, there are 880 with the suffix *-by*, and another 570

²⁰ "Terminada la conquista por los musulmanes, Musa b. Nusayr al-Bakri *al-tabi* 'i lo dividió entre las tropas conquistadoras, tal como les repartiera cautivos, géneros y demás botín. Entonces dedujo el quinto de las tierras y pastizales, tal como hiciera con los cautivos y géneros. En al-Andalus, de las comarcas conquistadas por los musulmanes a punta de espada y que hicieron propiedad suya, no quedó tierras por repartir entre los conquistadores por Musa b. Nusayr, a excepción de Santarem y Coimbra al Poniente y Ejea al Levante. Todo el territorio restante fue quinateado y repartido en presencia de los *tabi* 'ies que acompañaban a Musa b. Nusayr ...," *Risala* of Al-Gassani, 112, quoted by Pedro Chalmeta, *Invasión e islamización* (Madrid: Mapfre, 1994), 204, and re-translated into English by the author.

²¹ As well as such a process being almost entirely unsubstantiated by the sources, it seems highly improbable that, as postulated since the work of Simonet, Christian émigrés escaping the processes of Arabisation and Islamisation in al-Andalus should choose to introduce and perpetuate the use of Arabic onomastics in their refuges in the North, above all when Christian communities in the South do not seem to have used such names. See Peterson, "The men of wavering faith."

ending in *-thorp*.²² But what is interesting here, above all, are the Grimston hybrids²³: can studying them – their distribution, their possible origin, their social significance – help to understand the origins of the hybrids we observe in Castile?

Firstly, we will contemplate their spatial distribution and compare it to that of purely Old Norse habitative compounds with the suffix *-by*. The latter are more common in general, but what stands out is the concentration of Grimston hybrids in certain areas, such as East Anglia or in the Five Boroughs region on the Mercia-Danelaw border (i.e. the counties of Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire) where, relative to the *-by* compounds, they are five times more common than in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire (see Table 1.2). We see then that within the mass of Scandinavian place-names in north-eastern England, the Grimston hybrids are concentrated in the very areas that the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle tells us were conquered and partitioned by the Danish *Great Army* between 876 and 880.

Table 1.2. Relative distributions of different types of Norse place-name in Northern England, indicating a particularly high concentration of Grimston hybrids in the Five Boroughs region.

Shires	-by compounds	Grimston hybrids
Lincs and Yorks	430	55
Derbs, Leics and Notts	85	50

Source: Richards, *Viking Age England*, 58–9.

The hybrids we contemplate in Castile, and which are apparently replicated in even greater numbers in León (although we have not yet studied these in detail),²⁴ similarly fall into the broad area of north-western Iberia lying between Ejea and Coimbra that is singled out in the *Risala* as having been conquered and divided up amongst the victorious troops.

²² Gillian Fellows-Jensen, “Vikings in the British Isles: The Place-name evidence,” *Acta Archaeologica* 71 (2000): 139–40.

²³ It transpires that *Grimston* is not in fact the most apposite name for the typology it denotes, since the actual settlements called *Grimston* tend not to be on prime sites. Accordingly, in the 1970s, Cameron suggested adopting *Toton-hybrid* as a more appropriate name. However, although this was in principle accepted by other scholars such as Fellows-Jensen, inertia has meant that *Grimston* stays in use and the proposed change has withered away.

²⁴ cf. Aguilar and Rodríguez, “Antroponimia de origen árabe en la documentación leonesa (siglos VIII–XIII).”

Another common way of evaluating place-names is qualitatively, i.e. through analysis of their status, either in geological terms (on clay or on sandy soils²⁵) or according to a range of other objective parameters (such as current population, current status, surface area and altitude) as well as more subjective evaluations.

This type of analysis has been applied to the Danelaw, where the Grimston hybrids tend to occupy prime agricultural spots, while the *-by* suffixed PNs are in more marginal areas and *-thorp* ones even more so.²⁶ As a result, the Grimston “sites and situations are closely similar to adjacent English-named villages”.²⁷ We have then a topographical hierarchy of PNs: OE + *-tun* = ON + *-tun* > *-by* > *-thorp*.

The traditional interpretation of all this is that the Grimstons represent the take-over and renaming of existing Anglo-Saxon settlements by elite groups; i.e. the named person was not the founder,²⁸ whereas the *-by* and *-thorp* names record farmer colonists founding settlements *ex novo* in underexploited areas.

More specifically, in the context of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle testimony cited earlier and the spatial distribution of the hybrids, this Grimston elite is widely held to have been the Danish armies of the 870s campaigns. According to Cameron, for example, in the context of Nottinghamshire such estates were “acquired by a Danish owner when the Great Army of the Danes divided out the land which it had chosen for settlement”²⁹. Clearly

²⁵ cf. Margaret Gelling, “The Evidence of Place-Names I,” in *English Medieval Settlement*, ed. Peter H. Sawyer (Norwich: Edward Arnold, 1979), 119.

²⁶ Lesley Abrams and David Parsons, “Place-names and the history of Scandinavian settlement in England,” in *Land, Sea and Home. Settlement in the Viking Period*, ed. John Hines, Alan Lane and Mark Redknap (Leeds: Maney, 2004), 386. Where we see a *-by* settlement on prime land it is often semantically distinct. The case, for example, with 47 Kir(k)bys (= ‘church+by’), whereas the mainly marginal *-by* settlements tend to have a personal-name as the first element. The conclusion is that the Kir(k)bys are a case of renaming existing AS settlements (Gelling, “The Evidence of Place-Names I,” 119; Gillian Fellows-Jensen, “Vikings in the British Isles: The Place-name evidence,” *Acta Archaeologica* 71 (2000): 139).

²⁷ Cameron, *English Place Names*, 75; J.E.B. Gover, Allen Mawer and F.M. Stenton, *The Place-names of Nottinghamshire* (Nottingham: English Place Name Society, 1979), 18; Hadley, *The Vikings in England*, 97.

²⁸ Della Hooke, “The Anglo-Saxons in England in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries. Aspects of Location in Space...,” in *The Anglo-Saxons from the Migration Period to the Eighth Century: An Ethnographic Perspective*, ed. John Hines (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1997), 78.

²⁹ Cameron, *English Place Names*, 74. Also, more recently: Julian Richards, *Viking Age England* (Stroud: History Press, 2007), 49; Peter Heather, *Empires and Barbarians* (Oxford: University Press, 2010), 485. Even though the latter is not a

not all the Grimston hybrids were the result of the listed conquests of the 870s, as their presence in Lincolnshire, Yorkshire and even further afield indicates, and furthermore, it has been suggested that at least some of the hybrids might in fact be later coinages, particularly in Scottish contexts.³⁰ However, by and large, the hybrids are indeed concentrated in the areas named in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.

Of the possible forms of qualitative analysis, in Castile we have tentatively explored current status and relative altitude. In the first regard, none of the Castilian hybrids consolidated into a significant urban centre, and a number of them were subsequently abandoned, implying poor quality sites.

On the other hand, we find that the hybrids exclusively occupy prime lowland sites, particularly the plains around the city of Burgos itself, and with a second cluster in the northern Merindades also on good sites in the valley floors³¹. In between these two clusters there is a large space without any hybrids, this being generally more difficult and poorer terrain (the Ebro canyons and the Páramo moors). However, the rich agricultural basin known as the Bureba is also hybrid free. The absence of hybrids from such a prime area is certainly puzzling, but again is not overly problematical if compared to the English distribution where many such gaps have been observed and many different (and sometimes seemingly contradictory) explanations have been proposed.³² For example, Rutland is regarded as having escaped partition on account of being the dower lands of the Anglo-Saxon queens.³³

Further in consonance with the Danelaw model, the Castilian hybrids completely avoid the highlands of the Sierra de la Demanda and the Montes

specialist in British history, his acceptance of the hypothesis is illustrative of the theory's historiographical influence and actuality.

³⁰ Fellows-Jensen, "Vikings in the British Isles," 144.

³¹ It should be borne in mind that the orography of Castile is much more dramatic than that of England, with significant differences in altitude over small horizontal distances. The significant factor is relative rather than absolute altitude as 900m, for example, might be a marginal site in the Merindades (where valley floors are at +/- 700m), but a prime location on the Meseta.

³² Abrams and Parsons, "Place-names and the history of Scandinavian settlement in England," 391–2.

³³ Barrie Cox, "Rutland and the Scandinavian settlements: the place-name evidence," *Anglo-Saxon England* 18 (1989): 135.

de Oca that, by way of contrast, were subsequently occupied by waves of Basque immigrants.³⁴

Between the Bureba basin and the Montes de Oca, two quite different landscapes (the former low, the latter highland) but both relatively free of hybrids, there is an anomalous cluster of villages with suggestive names in the Oca valley: *Villalmondar*, *Villanasur*, *Villalbos*. If pre-Conquest land-holding dynamics are contemplated as having influenced the density of Grimstons in Rutland, perhaps we can see here an equivalent phenomenon, although in this case the lands surrounding the primitive episcopal seat of Oca would appear to have been partitioned among the conquerors. It is of course no more than a hypothesis, but the Rutland case serves as an example that anomalies do not necessarily disprove the overall hypothesis of a conquering army appropriating and sharing out most of the prime sites.

In this context, Ibn Muzayn sheds some interesting light on qualitative aspects of the land shared among the conquerors:

Muza divided the territory of the Peninsula between the troops who had taken part in the conquest, deducting a fifth [*quinto*] of the cultivated lands, left the captives of those lands tied to them, especially the children and the peasants, in order that they should cultivate them and pay a third of their produce to the public treasury. These were the people of the lowlands, and they were referred to as the *Quinteros*, and their children as the children of the *Quinteros*.³⁵

What is being described here is cultivated and low-lying lands being partitioned among the conquerors and the autochthonous population being retained to work them, the precise sociolinguistic context which would explain a proliferation of Islamo-Romance hybrids in prime Castilian farmland.³⁶

³⁴ David Peterson, *Frontera y lengua en el Alto Ebro (siglos VIII–XI). Las consecuencias e implicaciones de la invasión musulmana* (Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2009).

³⁵ “[Muza]dividió el territorio de la península entre los militares que vinieron a la conquista ... entonces dedujo también el quinto de las tierras y de los campos cultivados ... dejó los otros cautivos que estaban en el quinto, especialmente campesinos y niños, adscritos a las tierras del quinto, a fin de que las cultivasen y diesen el tercio de sus productos al tesoro público. Eran estos la gente de las llanuras y se les llamó los quinteros, y a sus hijos los hijos de los quinteros,” Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, 172 (Appendix, trans. Ribera).

³⁶ The insistence on the term *Quinteros* inevitably makes us think of another generic toponym that similarly abounds in northwestern Iberia: the *Quintanas* (David Peterson, *Frontera y lengua en el Alto Ebro (siglos VIII–XI). Las consecuencias e implicaciones de la invasión musulmana* (Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos,

Much work remains to be done on these hybrids: extending our analysis into León, down to microtoponymic level, and further developing the qualitative analysis by looking at soil types. Nor should we expect that toponomastics will provide easy solutions, as Hadley warns us (see note 16). Nonetheless, while admitting all these caveats and limitations, I believe that the principle of comparison as outlined by Trafford is valid, that the two scenarios contemplated have sufficient similarities to warrant such an approach, and more specifically that in some respects the two sets of hybrids seem to be distributed similarly in terms of occupation of prestige sites. In conclusion, I suggest that in general terms a number of interesting lines of research can be usefully opened up in Spain by exploring English methodologies applied to toponymical analysis, and more specifically that further study of the Islamo-Romance hybrids of north-western Iberia will benefit from such an approach.

2009)). A systematic study of the distribution of the *Quintanas* and their relation with our habitative hybrids is long overdue, although clearly it is beyond the scope of this paper.

Appendix: *Villa* + anthroponym compounds in Burgos province

The following lists are based on the southern two-thirds of modern-day Burgos province, the area covered by Gonzalo Martínez Díez (GMD) in his *Pueblos y alfores* (1987), although with some additions and some divergence with regard to putative etymologies. In this latter respect, for Arab etymologies we have used Terés (1990) and Aguilar and Rodríguez (1994), the latter abbreviated to ASRM.

Etymologically or semantically Arabo-Berber anthroponymic element

Nº	Place-name	earliest form (source, date)	Arab name (authority)	GMD
1.	Mahamud	<i>Villa Mahomat</i> (Burgos27, 1075)	<i>Muhammad</i> (Terés92c)	301
2.	Mazariegos	<i>Villa de Mazarefos</i> (Arlanza5, 929)	<i>Mazaref</i> (ASRM541)	189
3.	Villa Obtumán	<i>Villa de Obtuman</i> (Cardena26, 935–39)	<i>‘Uthmān</i> (Terés281)	-
4.	Villa Odoth	<i>Villa Odoth</i> (AlfonsoVI-24, 1074)	<i>Abu Dawd</i> (Terés131)	-
5.	Villaboyaya	<i>Villavoyaya</i> (AlfonsoVI-24, 1074)	<i>Abu Yahyā</i> (Terés108)	287
6.	Villahán	<i>Villa Fan</i> (AlfonsoVI-24, 1074)	<i>Hāni’</i> (Terés425)	278
7.	Villahizán Muño	<i>Villa Iszane</i> (Burgos25, 1074)	<i>‘Iṣām</i> (Terés295)	315
8.	Villahizán Treviño	<i>Villa Iszane</i> (Burgos25, 1074); <i>Villaizzan</i> (Moral26, 1184)	<i>‘Iṣām</i> (Terés295)	368
9.	Villahoz	<i>Villa de Fabze</i> (Burgos25, 1074)	<i>Ḥaṣṣ</i> (Terés82)	272
10.	Villajón	<i>Villa Exon, Essoc, Sioco, Sioche</i> (BuF7, 1103)	<i>‘Aysūn</i> (ASRM531)	43
11.	Villaleta	<i>Villalheta</i> (Behetrias, 1352)	<i>Fidā’</i> (Terés345)	275
12.	Villalgamar	<i>Villa Algamera</i> (BuF7, 1103)	<i>Ammar</i> (Terés314)	44
13.	Villalmanzo	<i>Villamanço</i> (BuF19, 1148)	<i>al-Manṣūr</i> (Terés405)	262
14.	Villalmondar	<i>Villa Almundar</i> (Rioja54, 1117)	<i>al-Mundīr</i> (Terés398)	143
15.	Villalval	<i>Villa de Ualle</i> (Cardena340, 1073)	<i>al-Walīd</i> (Terés433)	30
16.	Villamar	<i>Villamar</i> (Aguilar25, 1164)	<i>Ammar</i> (Terés31)	361
17.	Villambrán	<i>Villambram/Villanbran</i> (BuF19, 1148)	<i>‘Ibrāhīm</i> (Terés2)	267
18.	Villamiel Muño	<i>Villaimielle, Villaiemiel</i> (Burgos51, 1094)	<i>Jamīl</i> (Terés55)	303
19.	Villamórico	<i>Villa Moricho</i> (Rioseco152, 1168)	<i>Mórico</i> (ASRM604)	133

20.	Villamorón	<i>Villamoro</i> (ES.XXVI p.486, c. 1250)	<i>Mauronta</i> (ASRM604)	330
21.	Villamoronta	[oral tradition]	<i>Mauronta</i> (ASRM604)	69
22.	Villaqueja	<i>Villa de Keia</i> (Burgos26, 1075)	<i>Ḥayāt</i> [<i>Keia</i>] (Terés107)	275
23.	Villaquirán infantes	<i>Villaquiram</i> (Covarrubias7, 978)	<i>Karīm/Qirām</i> (Terés369)	292
24.	Villaquirán Puebla	<i>Villa Quiram</i> (Burgos9, 978); <i>Villaquirine</i> (Arlanza111, 1154)	<i>Karīm/Qirām</i> (Terés369)	338
25.	Villasarracín Barb.	<i>Villam don Sarracín</i> (Arlanza121, 1174)	<i>Sarracino</i> (ASRM600)	199
26.	Villasarracín Burgos	<i>Villa de Sarrazino</i> (Cardena108, 963)	<i>Sarracino</i> (ASRM600)	29
27.	Villatón	<i>Villaton</i> (AlfonsoVI-24, 1074); <i>Villahato</i> (Moral5, 1124)	<i>Fathūn</i> (Terés343)	288
28.	Villatoro	<i>Villaabtoro</i> (Cardena229, 1030)	<i>ab + Tawr</i> (Terés44)	30
29.	Villavesza	<i>Villa Avesza</i> (BuF7, 1103)	<i>abu + 'Isā</i> (Terés321)	42
30.	Villayuda	<i>Villa Aiuta</i> (Cardena20, 931)	<i>Ayyūb</i> (Terés15)	31
31.	Villazate	<i>Villa de Zate</i> (Peña54, c. 1030)	<i>Ṣad</i> (Terés178)	237
32.	Villimar Rezmondo	<i>Villa Vimara</i> (Cardena134, 968)	<i>Quimara</i> (ASRM541)	374
33.	Villimar Burgos	<i>Villa Guimara</i> (Cardena117, 964)	<i>Quimara</i> (ASRM541)	31
34.	Villimar Castro	<i>Villa Guimara</i> (Moral27, 1194)	<i>Quimara</i> (ASRM541)	349
35.	Vizmallo	<i>Villam Ezmal</i> (Moral8, 1139)	<i>Ismā'īl</i> (Terés8)	338

Clearly non-Arabic names

Nº	Place-name	earliest form (source, date)	Anthroponym	GMD
1.	Villarmentero	<i>Villa Armentero</i> (Burgos41, 1085)	Armentero	30
2.	Villa de Aurbaldo	<i>Villa de Aurbaldo</i> (Cardena40, 943)	Aurbaldo?	42
3.	Villalómez	<i>Villa Beila Gomiz</i> (BGD359, 1007)	Beila	143
4.	Villacisla	<i>Villacisla</i> (Huelgas35, 1193)	Cisla/Cixila	315
5.	Villadiego	<i>Villa Didaco</i> (Cardena318, 1065)	Diego	378
6.	Villandiego	<i>Villa Ondrago</i> (ES.XXVI p.487, c. 1250)	Diego, don?	338
7.	Villa Doña Eilo	<i>Villa de Domna Eilo</i> (Cardena340, 1073)	Eilo, doña	
8.	Villaldemiro Clunia	<i>Villar de Miro</i> (San Pedro Gumiel, 1219)	Aldemiro	236
9.	Villaldemiro Muñó	<i>Villa de Eldemiro</i> (Arlanza63, 1062)	Aldemiro	303

10.	Villaesteban	<i>Villaestevan</i> (ES.XXVI p.487, c. 1250)	Stephanus	315
11.	Villarmiro	<i>Villa Ramiro</i> (AlfonsoVI-24, 1074)	Felmiro	288
12.	Villarmero	<i>Villafelmiro</i> (HospitalRey 27, 1214)	Felmiro	30
13.	Villambistia Palenzuela	<i>Villaflaymbistia</i> (AlfonsoVI-24, 1074)	Fláin	143
14.	Villambistia Oca	Villambistia [<i>Libro de Apeos</i> , 1515]	Fláin	143
15.	Villafuertes Mansilla	<i>Villa de Fortes</i> (Arlanza63, 1062)	Fortes	303
16.	Villafuertes Muño	<i>Villa de Fortes</i> (ES.XXVI.p.487, c. 1250)	Fortes	328
17.	Villafruela Clunia	<i>Villa de Froila</i> (Cardaña137, 968)	Fruela	236
18.	Villafruela Escuderos	<i>Villafruela</i> (Cerrato295, 1206)	Fruela	272
19.	Villangómez	<i>Villa don Gemez</i> (Burgos258, 1185)	Gómez, don	303
20.	Villagonzalo-Arenas	<i>Villagonzaluo</i> (BuF7, 1103)	Gonzalo	30
21.	Villagonzalo-Pedernales	<i>Villa Gundissalbo Telliz</i> (Cardaña151, 972)	Gonzalo	30
22.	Villagutmer	<i>villam Gutmer</i> (Arlanza90, 1119)	Gudmer	192
23.	Villandrando	<i>Villa de Gonnando</i> (Arlanza54, 1052); <i>Villa Gundrando</i> (AlfonsoVI-24, 1074)	Gundrando	288
24.	Villagutiérrez	<i>Villagutier</i> (Burgos7, 975)	Gutier	303
25.	Villahernando	<i>Villa Fernando</i> (Valcarcel4, 1192)	Fernando	378
26.	Villasidro	<i>Villa Isidori</i> (Cardaña134, 968)	Isidro	368
27.	Villajimeno	<i>Villa de Scemeno</i> (Arlanza63 n.23, 1062)	Jimeno	236
28.	Villalonquéjar	<i>Villa Nunu Kescar</i> (Cardaña360, 1080)	Nuño	30
29.	Villamartín	<i>Villamartin</i> (<i>Behetrias</i> , 1352)	Martín	364
30.	Villanuño	<i>Villa de Nuño</i> (San Pedro Gumiel, 1232)	Nuño	237
31.	Villanoño	<i>Vila de Nonno</i> (Peña49, 1029)	Nuño	368
32.	Villariolo	<i>Villa Oriolo, Auriolo</i> (BuF7, 1103)	Oriol	44
33.	Villorobe	<i>Villa de Orovi</i> (BGD360, 863)	Orobio	144
34.	Villoruebo	<i>Villa Oruevo</i> (first ref. in 16th C)	Orobio?	177
35.	Villapadierna	<i>Villa Paterna</i> (BGD359, 1007)	Paterna	149
36.	Villavelayo	[<i>Villa de Belayo</i> (first ref. in 16th C)]	Pelayo	203