From Guadalete to the Valle de Ricote

The Islamic Conquest of Hispania, the Asturian Resistance, and the Reconquista, 711–1492, with the Expulsion of the Moriscos, 1609–1614

A Research Paper
Prepared for Bocharmer, Independent Scholar
September 2026

Abstract

This paper traces the history of Christian–Muslim conflict in the Iberian Peninsula from the Umayyad invasion of 711 to the final expulsion of Spain's Morisco population in 1614. It situates the conquest within the seventh-century Arab expansion across North Africa; examines the collapse of the Visigothic kingdom; follows the survival of the Asturian polity after Covadonga and its evolution into the Kingdom of León; and analyses the successive phases of the conflict: the Caliphate of Córdoba and the campaigns of Almanzor, the taifa period and the capture of Toledo, the Almoravid and Almohad interventions, the great Christian conquests after Las Navas de Tolosa (1212), the struggle for the Strait of Gibraltar, and the War of Granada (1482–1492). A final part examines the forced conversions after 1499, the Alpujarras revolts, and the expulsion of 1609–1614. Appendix A provides a chronological register of approximately 160 battles, sieges, and captures across the period. The paper engages the principal historiographical debates, including the validity of the term 'Reconquista', the historicity of Covadonga, the crusading character of the wars, and the convivencia debate, drawing on the work of Roger Collins, Hugh Kennedy, Joseph F. O'Callaghan, Bernard Reilly, Derek Lomax, Francisco García Fitz, L. P. Harvey, Brian Catlos, and others.

Contents

Prefatory Notes
Part I. The Background: Visigothic Hispania and the Islamic Expansion
Part II. The Conquest of Hispania (710–732)
Part III. The Resistance in Asturias and the Early Christian Kingdoms (718–910)
Part IV. The Caliphate of Córdoba and the Age of Almanzor (912–1031)
Part V. The Taifa Kingdoms, Toledo, and the Almoravids (1031–1147)
Part VI. The Almohads and the Great Christian Advance (1147–1252)
Part VII. The 'Battle of the Strait' (1252–1350)
Part VIII. Nasrid Granada and the Final War (1350–1492)
Part IX. The Ousting of the Last Muslims (1492–1614)
Part X. Analysis and Historiographical Assessment
Appendix A. Chronological Register of Battles, Sieges, and Captures
Appendix B. Glossary
Bibliography

Prefatory Notes

A Note on Chronology: Seventh or Eighth Century?

The request that prompted this paper placed the Islamic conquest of Spain in the seventh century. The conquest itself began in 711, which falls in the eighth century (the 700s). The seventh century is nevertheless the indispensable prelude: Islam emerged in Arabia in the 610s–630s; Arab armies conquered Egypt (639–642) and advanced across North Africa over the following decades, taking Carthage in 698 and reaching the Atlantic coast of Morocco by about 709. The conquest of Iberia was the final western step of a seventh-century expansion, and Part I therefore opens there.

A second chronological issue concerns the end point. The last independent Muslim state in Iberia, the Nasrid Emirate of Granada, surrendered on 2 January 1492. But the 'ousting of the last Muslim', read literally, did not occur in 1492. The capitulations of Granada guaranteed Muslims their religion; those guarantees were revoked within a decade, Muslims were forcibly converted (becoming *Moriscos*), and the descendants of those converts were expelled between 1609 and 1614. The paper therefore treats 1492 as the end of the Reconquista proper and 1609–1614 as the end of the Muslim presence in Spain.

A Note on the Term 'Reconquista'

The word *Reconquista* is a modern historiographical label. Medieval Christian writers did speak of the 'restoration' of Spain (*restauratio Hispaniae*) and of recovering what the Goths had lost, an idea first articulated in the Asturian chronicles of the 880s. However, the notion of a single, continuous, eight-century national crusade was largely constructed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The Spanish-Mexican historian Martín Ríos Saloma traced this construction in detail, and scholars such as Francisco García Fitz, Eduardo Manzano Moreno, and Brian Catlos emphasize that the conflict was intermittent, frequently interrupted by long truces, and crossed by alliances between Christian and Muslim rulers. At the other pole, Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz saw the Reconquista as the defining process of Spanish history, and Joseph F. O'Callaghan has argued that from the late eleventh century the papacy genuinely transformed the Iberian wars into crusades. This paper uses the conventional term while noting where the evidence complicates it.

A Note on the Scope of 'All Battles'

Nearly eight centuries of frontier warfare produced thousands of engagements: annual raids (*aceifas* on the Muslim side, *cabalgadas* on the Christian), sieges of individual castles, naval clashes, and skirmishes known from a single line of a

chronicle. No historian has compiled a truly exhaustive list, and many early engagements are attested only in late or legendary sources. Appendix A therefore presents a comprehensive chronological register of every battle, siege, and capture that is treated as significant in the standard scholarly surveys (Collins, Kennedy, O'Callaghan, Reilly, Lomax, García Fitz, Harvey), roughly 160 entries, with belligerents, outcome, and significance. Engagements whose historicity is doubted, such as Clavijo (c. 844) and Calatañazor (1002), are included but marked as legendary.

Sources and Method

The principal narrative sources are, on the Christian side, the *Chronicle of 754* (a Latin text written by a Christian living under Muslim rule, and the earliest account of the conquest), the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* and the *Chronicle of Albelda* (Asturian texts of the 880s), the *Historia Silense*, the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada's *De rebus Hispaniae* (1243), the *Primera Crónica General* of Alfonso X, and the chronicles of Fernando del Pulgar and Andrés Bernáldez for the War of Granada. On the Muslim side, the key texts include the anonymous *Akhbar Majmu'a* (compiled tenth–eleventh centuries), Ibn al-Qutiyya, Ibn Hayyan's *Muqtabis*, Ibn 'Idhari's *al-Bayan al-Mughrib* (c. 1312), Ibn Khaldun, and al-Maqqari's *Nafh al-Tib* (seventeenth century). Nicola Clarke has shown that the Arabic conquest narratives were shaped by later political and legal concerns, and Kenneth Baxter Wolf has translated and analyzed the early Latin chronicles. Where Arabic and Latin sources disagree on numbers, dates, or outcomes, this paper follows the modern consensus and notes significant disputes.

> In plain terms: the Muslim invasion of Spain began in 711, not in the 600s, though it grew out of the rapid Arab expansion of the 600s. The Christian 'reconquest' was not one continuous war but a long series of campaigns, truces, and shifting alliances. The last Muslim kingdom fell in 1492, but Spain's Muslim population, forcibly converted to Christianity, was not finally expelled until 1614.

Part I. The Background: Visigothic Hispania and the Islamic Expansion

1. The Visigothic Kingdom

After the collapse of Roman authority in the West, the Visigoths established a kingdom centred first on Toulouse and, after their defeat by the Franks at Vouillé in 507, on Toledo in central Spain. Under Leovigild (568–586) the kingdom unified almost the whole peninsula, and his son Reccared's conversion from Arian to Catholic Christianity at the Third Council of Toledo (589) fused Gothic monarchy with the Hispano-Roman church. The kingdom produced a sophisticated legal code (the *Liber Iudiciorum*, 654) and a notable intellectual culture, of which Isidore of Seville (d. 636) is the best-known representative.

The kingdom had structural weaknesses. The monarchy was elective, which produced recurrent civil wars and usurpations; Roger Collins counts few peaceful successions in the seventh century. The nobility was factional, and repeated royal and conciliar legislation against Jews (culminating in the enslavement decree of the Seventeenth Council of Toledo in 694) alienated a significant minority. Collins has cautioned, however, against the older view of a decadent kingdom waiting to fall; in his reading, the collapse of 711 was primarily a military accident, the destruction of the king and his army in one battle, rather than the inevitable result of moral or social decay.

When King Wittiza died around 710, the throne passed to Roderic (Rodrigo), apparently over the claims of Wittiza's family. Coins and a regnal list suggest that a rival, Achila, ruled in the northeast (Tarraconensis and Narbonensis) at the same time. The kingdom thus faced the invasion divided.

2. The Islamic Expansion Across North Africa (640s–709)

Arab armies entered Byzantine Africa in 647 and founded Kairouan (in modern Tunisia) around 670. Resistance by Berber leaders, notably Kusayla and the figure the Arabic sources call al-Kahina, delayed the conquest for decades, but Carthage fell in 698. Musa ibn Nusayr, appointed governor of Ifriqiya around 698–705, completed the subjugation of the western Maghreb, and his Berber client Tariq ibn Ziyad was installed at Tangier. Large numbers of Berbers converted and were enrolled in the Arab armies, and it was predominantly Berber troops who first crossed into Spain.

The only significant Christian outpost remaining on the African side was Ceuta, governed by a figure the sources call Count Julian (Yulyan). Later legend attributes the invasion to Julian's desire to avenge Roderic's seduction of his daughter; modern

historians regard this as a moralizing tale, but Julian's cooperation, and the ships he supplied, are plausible.

> In plain terms: Visigothic Spain was a genuine, functioning kingdom, but it suffered from disputed royal successions and was split between rival claimants in 710. Across the strait, Arab armies had spent some sixty years conquering North Africa and had recruited many Berbers into their forces. Spain was the next logical target.

Part II. The Conquest of Hispania (710–732)

3. Reconnaissance and Invasion

In 710 a small force under Tarif ibn Malik raided the coast at the site now called Tarifa. In the spring of 711 Tariq ibn Ziyad crossed with about 7,000 men, landing at the rock that still bears his name, Jabal Tariq (Gibraltar). Roderic, who was campaigning against the Basques in the north, marched south; Tariq received reinforcements that brought his force to about 12,000.

4. The Battle of Guadalete (July 711)

The decisive battle took place in July 711, traditionally on the Guadalete river or possibly at the Barbate lagoon (the Arabic *Wadi Lakku*). The Latin *Chronicle of 754* says that the Gothic army fled in the fighting because of rivalry among the nobles who had come with Roderic; later Arabic accounts claim that the sons of Wittiza deserted their wings of the army. Roderic was killed or disappeared; his body was never identified. The battle destroyed not only the royal army but much of the Visigothic ruling class.

5. The Collapse of the Kingdom (711–716)

Tariq exploited the victory with speed. A detachment under Mughith al-Rumi took Córdoba, where the last defenders held out in the church of San Acisclo; Tariq himself reached Toledo, the capital, which most of its nobility had abandoned. In 712 Musa ibn Nusayr crossed with a second, largely Arab, army of about 18,000, took Medina Sidonia, Carmona, and Seville, and besieged Mérida, the old Roman capital of Lusitania, which surrendered on terms on 30 June 713 after the most determined resistance of the conquest.

Much of the peninsula submitted by treaty rather than conquest. The best-known example is the Treaty of Tudmir (April 713), in which the Gothic noble Theodemir retained authority over seven towns in the region of Murcia in return for an annual tribute in coin and kind. The treaty's text survives in later Arabic sources and is the model example of the *dhimma* arrangement by which Christians and Jews became protected, tribute-paying subjects. In 714 Musa and Tariq pressed north, took Zaragoza, and campaigned toward Galicia and Asturias before both were recalled to Damascus by the caliph al-Walid I, where both fell from favour. Musa's son Abd al-Aziz, left as governor, married Roderic's widow Egilona and was assassinated in 716, reportedly on suspicion of aspiring to kingship. The capital of the new province, which the Arabs called *al-Andalus*, was soon fixed at Córdoba.

6. Beyond the Pyrenees (717–759)

The Muslim governors pressed into Gaul. Al-Samh ibn Malik took Narbonne in 719 or 720 but was defeated and killed by Duke Odo of Aquitaine before Toulouse on 9 June 721, a defeat that has attracted less attention than it deserves. Anbasa ibn Suhaym raided as far as Autun in Burgundy in 725. In 732 the governor Abd al-Rahman al-Ghafiqi defeated Odo and advanced toward Tours, but was defeated and killed by Charles Martel in October 732 at the battle known as Tours or Poitiers. Modern historians generally see this battle as the end of large-scale northern expeditions rather than as the salvation of Christendom that nineteenth-century writers described; Muslim raids into Provence continued, and the Franks did not retake Narbonne until 759.

> In plain terms: within about five years (711–716) a relatively small Arab and Berber force took almost all of Spain. One battle, Guadalete, destroyed the Visigothic king and army; after that most cities surrendered in exchange for keeping their property and religion in return for paying tribute. The conquerors pushed into France until defeats at Toulouse (721) and Tours (732) stopped them.

Part III. The Resistance in Asturias and the Early Christian Kingdoms (718–910)

7. Pelayo and Covadonga

The Muslim conquest reached the Cantabrian mountains, and a Berber governor named Munuza was installed at Gijón. According to the Asturian chronicles of the 880s, a Gothic noble named Pelayo (Pelagius), described in one version as a former sword-bearer of King Roderic, refused submission and was chosen as leader by the Asturians. A punitive expedition under a commander named Alqama was defeated in the narrow valley of Covadonga below Mount Auseva, where Pelayo's men sheltered in a cave dedicated to the Virgin. Munuza was killed shortly afterwards as he fled.

The date is disputed. Pelayo's rebellion is usually placed around 718, and the battle between 718 and 722. Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz argued for 722, basing his date on an Arabic reference to the death in jihad of one Nu'aym ibn Abd al-Rahman, which he connected with Covadonga. The scale is also disputed. The Asturian chronicles give the Muslim army an impossible 187,000 men and describe a miraculous rebounding of arrows; the Muslim sources, when they mention the episode at all, speak dismissively of a band of about thirty men 'on a rock' who were left alone as not worth the effort. The *Chronicle of 754*, written only three decades later, does not mention the battle at all. Roger Collins treats Covadonga as a minor engagement that acquired immense significance only in retrospect; nevertheless, its practical consequence was real: a Christian polity survived in the north and never again came under Muslim rule.

8. The Asturian Kingdom Expands (739–910)

The decisive opportunity came not from Christian arms but from Muslim discord. The Great Berber Revolt of 740–742, which began in North Africa as a protest against discriminatory Arab rule, spread to al-Andalus, where Berber garrisons rose against the Arab governors. The revolt was suppressed with the help of a Syrian army under Balj ibn Bishr, but many Berbers abandoned their garrisons in the northwest. Alfonso I of Asturias (739–757), Pelayo's son-in-law, raided the depleted towns of Galicia and the Duero valley, including Lugo, Braga, Astorga, and León, and withdrew their Christian populations to the mountains. The result was a broad, thinly settled zone along the Duero basin that separated the two worlds for the next century. Whether this zone was truly 'depopulated', as the chronicles and Sánchez-Albornoz claimed, or merely left without organized authority, remains one of the classic debates of Spanish medieval history.

Meanwhile, in 756 Abd al-Rahman I, a refugee prince of the Umayyad dynasty that had been overthrown in the East by the Abbasids in 750, defeated the governor Yusuf al-Fihri at al-Musara near Córdoba and founded an independent emirate. His dynasty would rule al-Andalus until 1031 and provided the Muslim south with a strong central state.

In the northeast, the Franks became a factor. Charlemagne's expedition of 778, undertaken at the invitation of rebel Muslim governors, failed before Zaragoza, and his rearguard was destroyed by Basques in the pass of Roncesvalles on 15 August 778, the historical kernel of the *Chanson de Roland*. Nevertheless, Frankish forces took Girona (785) and Barcelona (801, after a siege led by Charlemagne's son Louis the Pious), creating the Spanish March, from which the counties of Catalonia later emerged. Attempts to take Tortosa (804–809) failed, fixing the frontier for three centuries.

Alfonso II (791–842) survived repeated Umayyad attacks, including the sack of his capital Oviedo in 794, after which his forces ambushed the retreating army at Lutos. His reign saw the 'discovery' of the supposed tomb of the apostle James at Compostela (c. 820–830), which became the spiritual centre of Christian Spain and a pilgrimage destination for all of Europe. The legendary Battle of Clavijo (dated to 844), in which Saint James was said to have appeared on a white horse to slay the Muslims, is not attested in contemporary sources; most historians regard it as a later reworking of the genuine Leonese victory at Albelda (859), where Ordoño I defeated Musa ibn Musa of the Banu Qasi, a Muslim family of Visigothic descent that dominated the Ebro valley.

Alfonso III 'the Great' (866–910) presided over a major advance. His vassals took Porto (868) and Coimbra (878), and his victories at Polvoraria (878) and Zamora (901) secured the Duero as the frontier. It was at his court that the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* and the *Chronicle of Albelda* were composed, articulating for the first time the ideology that the Asturian kings were the heirs of the Visigoths and that their mission was to restore the Gothic kingdom. In 910 the royal seat moved south to León, and the kingdom became the Kingdom of León. On its eastern flank, the frontier county of Castile, a land of castles, developed its own identity, while the Basque Kingdom of Pamplona (later Navarre) emerged around 824.

> In plain terms: a small Christian rebellion in the Asturian mountains, led by Pelayo, beat a Muslim force at Covadonga around 718–722. It was probably a small fight, but it allowed a Christian kingdom to survive. That kingdom grew mainly because the Muslims were busy fighting each other in the 740s. By 910 the Christians controlled roughly the northern quarter of the peninsula and had moved their capital south to León, and they had developed the idea that they were the rightful heirs of the old Gothic kingdom.

Part IV. The Caliphate of Córdoba and the Age of Almanzor (912–1031)

9. Abd al-Rahman III and the Caliphate

Abd al-Rahman III (912–961) suppressed the long rebellion of Umar ibn Hafsun and other regional lords, and in 929 proclaimed himself caliph, a direct challenge to both the Abbasids of Baghdad and the new Fatimid caliphate in North Africa. Under his rule Córdoba became the largest and most sophisticated city in western Europe, and the palace-city of Madinat al-Zahra was built outside it. He also campaigned against the Christians: at Valdejunquera (920) he defeated the combined armies of León and Navarre, and in 924 he sacked Pamplona.

In 939, however, Abd al-Rahman led a great expedition, the 'Campaign of Omnipotence', against León and was decisively defeated at Simancas on the Duero by Ramiro II of León, Count Fernán González of Castile, and forces sent by Queen Toda of Navarre. The retreating army was mauled again at a ravine the Arabic sources call al-Khandaq (Alhandega). The caliph narrowly escaped and never again led an army in person. The victory allowed Christian settlement to advance south of the Duero toward the Tormes and Sepúlveda.

10. Almanzor

After the reign of al-Hakam II (961–976), a patron of learning whose library was legendary, power passed to the chamberlain Muhammad ibn Abi Amir, known in Arabic as al-Mansur ('the Victorious') and in Spanish as Almanzor. He sidelined the child caliph Hisham II, defeated his rival general Ghalib at Torrevicente (981), and conducted some fifty-six campaigns against the Christian north. He sacked Barcelona (985), Coimbra (987), León (988), and in 997 Santiago de Compostela itself, where he destroyed the basilica but reportedly spared the apostle's tomb, carrying the church bells to Córdoba to be used as lamps in the Great Mosque. At Cervera (1000) he defeated a Christian coalition only with difficulty. He died at Medinaceli in August 1002 while returning from a campaign; the Christian tradition that he was mortally defeated at Calatañazor that year first appears in thirteenth-century sources and is regarded as legendary.

Almanzor's campaigns were raids, not conquests. They devastated the north and demonstrated Córdoba's military superiority, but they did not add territory. Historians such as Hugh Kennedy note that his reliance on Berber and Slavic mercenary armies, rather than on the Andalusi population, weakened the political foundations of the state.

11. The Fitna and the End of the Caliphate (1009–1031)

Almanzor's son Abd al-Malik continued his policy until his death in 1008, but his second son, Abd al-Rahman 'Sanchuelo', overreached by having himself named heir to the caliphate. His overthrow in 1009 triggered the *Fitna*, a civil war in which Umayyad pretenders, Berber troops, and Slavic generals fought over Córdoba. Christian rulers were drawn in as paid allies: Castilian troops fought for one side, and in 1010 a Catalan army under Count Ramon Borrell of Barcelona marched to Córdoba in support of another. Madinat al-Zahra was sacked, and in 1031 the caliphate was formally abolished.

> In plain terms: in the 900s Muslim Córdoba was at its peak and was the dominant power in Spain. The Christians won an important victory at Simancas in 939, but from about 980 to 1002 the Muslim strongman Almanzor raided every major Christian city, including Santiago de Compostela. His raids did not take land, though, and soon after his death the Muslim state tore itself apart in civil war and broke up in 1031.

Part V. The Taifa Kingdoms, Toledo, and the Almoravids (1031–1147)

12. The Taifas and the Parias System

Al-Andalus fragmented into as many as two to three dozen successor states known as *taifas* (from Arabic *muluk al-tawa'if*, 'kings of the factions'), the most important being Seville, Badajoz, Toledo, Zaragoza, Granada, and Valencia. Culturally brilliant but militarily weak, the taifas could not match the Christian kingdoms, which had grown in population and military organization. The Christians discovered that it was often more profitable to extract annual tribute, called *parias*, than to conquer. Bernard Reilly and Richard Fletcher have shown that parias transferred large amounts of gold northward, funding churches (including contributions to the abbey of Cluny) and the growth of royal power.

Fernando I of León-Castile (1035–1065) combined tribute extraction with conquest, taking Lamego and Viseu (1057–1058) and Coimbra (1064). In 1064 a force of French, Norman, and Italian knights, with papal encouragement, took Barbastro in the Ebro valley; the city was retaken a year later, but the episode is often called a 'crusade before the Crusades'. The career of Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, El Cid (c. 1043–1099), illustrates the fluid politics of the era: exiled by Alfonso VI, he served the Muslim ruler of Zaragoza for several years, defeating the Christian Count of Barcelona at Almenar (1082) and the King of Aragón at Morella (1084), before conquering Valencia for himself in 1094.

13. The Fall of Toledo (1085)

Alfonso VI of León-Castile (1065–1109) intervened in the internal politics of the Taifa of Toledo and, after years of pressure, received the city's surrender on 25 May 1085. The capture of the old Visigothic capital had enormous symbolic importance and moved the frontier from the Duero to the Tagus. Alfonso styled himself 'emperor of all Spain' and, in some documents, 'emperor of the two religions'. The Muslim population was guaranteed its property and the use of its mosque, although the Great Mosque was soon converted into a cathedral.

14. The Almoravid Intervention

Alarmed, the taifa kings, led by al-Mu'tamid of Seville, invited the Almoravids, a Berber religious-military movement from the Sahara that had conquered Morocco under Yusuf ibn Tashfin. Al-Mu'tamid reportedly said he would rather herd camels in Africa than swine in Castile. On 23 October 1086 the Almoravids and their Andalusi allies decisively defeated Alfonso VI at Sagrajas (al-Zallaqa) near Badajoz. The victory halted Castilian expansion but did not recover Toledo. Disillusioned by the

taifa kings' disunity and their payment of tribute to Christians, which Almoravid jurists regarded as contrary to Islamic law, Yusuf returned in 1090 and deposed them one by one, uniting al-Andalus with Morocco.

The Almoravids inflicted a series of defeats on Castile: Consuegra (1097), where the Cid's son Diego was killed, and above all Uclés (29 May 1108), where Alfonso VI's only son and heir, the Infante Sancho, was killed. The Cid, however, defeated the Almoravids at Cuarte (1094) and Bairén (1097), and held Valencia until his death in 1099; his widow Jimena abandoned and burned the city in 1102.

15. Aragón and the Ebro Valley

While Castile was on the defensive, the Kingdom of Aragón advanced. Pedro I took Huesca after the battle of Alcoraz (1096) and Barbastro (1100). His brother Alfonso I 'the Battler' (1104–1134), with the help of French crusaders under papal indulgence, took Zaragoza on 18 December 1118, followed by Tudela, Tarazona, Calatayud, and Daroca, and defeated an Almoravid army at Cutanda (1120). In 1125–1126 he led a spectacular raid deep into Andalusia, won a victory at Arnisol near Lucena, and brought back thousands of Mozarabic (Arabized Christian) families to settle his new lands. He was defeated at Fraga on 17 July 1134 and died soon after; his extraordinary will leaving his kingdom to the military orders was set aside, and Aragón was united dynastically with the County of Barcelona in 1137, creating the Crown of Aragón.

16. The Birth of Portugal

In the west, the County of Portugal became independent under Afonso Henriques (1128–1185), who won a victory over Almoravid governors at Ourique on 25 July 1139 and thereafter styled himself king, a title recognized by Castile in 1143 and by the papacy in 1179. Ourique became Portugal's foundation legend, later embellished with a vision of Christ before the battle.

> In plain terms: after 1031 Muslim Spain split into many small kingdoms that paid protection money to the Christians. Castile took the great city of Toledo in 1085. The frightened Muslim kings called in the Almoravids, a strict Islamic movement from Morocco, who beat the Christians in several big battles but also took over Muslim Spain themselves. Meanwhile, Aragón captured Zaragoza in 1118, and Portugal emerged as an independent kingdom after 1139.

Part VI. The Almohads and the Great Christian Advance (1147–1252)

17. The Second Crusade in Iberia (1147–1149)

The Almoravid empire collapsed in the 1140s under pressure from a new Berber reform movement, the Almohads, who took Marrakesh in 1147. The Christian kingdoms exploited the chaos. Afonso Henriques took Santarém by surprise in March 1147 and, with the help of an Anglo-Norman, Flemish, and Rhineland fleet on its way to the Second Crusade, besieged and took Lisbon after a siege lasting from July to 24 October 1147. An eyewitness account, the *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, survives. Alfonso VII of Castile-León, with Catalan, Genoese, and Pisan support, took Almería in October 1147. Ramon Berenguer IV of Barcelona took Tortosa (1148) and Lleida and Fraga (1149). These campaigns were explicitly framed as part of the crusade proclaimed by Pope Eugenius III.

18. The Military Orders

A distinctive feature of the Iberian frontier was the emergence of military orders: religious brotherhoods of knights living under monastic vows. The international Templars and Hospitallers received extensive Iberian holdings, and native orders were founded: Calatrava (1158), Santiago (1170), Alcántara (c. 1176), and Avis in Portugal. They garrisoned frontier castles, provided a standing military force, and received vast lordships in conquered lands. Their role is central to the arguments of Derek Lomax and O'Callaghan.

19. Alarcos and Las Navas de Tolosa

The Almohads, under caliphs Abu Ya'qub Yusuf (1163–1184) and Abu Yusuf Ya'qub al-Mansur (1184–1199), reunited al-Andalus and counterattacked. Abu Ya'qub was mortally wounded besieging Santarém in 1184. On 18 July 1195 al-Mansur crushed Alfonso VIII of Castile at Alarcos, near modern Ciudad Real, a defeat that exposed the Tagus valley and was aggravated by the fact that León and Navarre stood aside or allied with the Almohads.

Alfonso VIII spent the next decade preparing revenge. Pope Innocent III proclaimed a crusade, and in 1212 an army gathered at Toledo that included Alfonso, Pedro II of Aragón, Sancho VII of Navarre, the military orders, and, briefly, a large contingent of French crusaders (most of whom went home before the battle). On 16 July 1212 at Las Navas de Tolosa, in the passes of the Sierra Morena, this army defeated the Almohad caliph Muhammad al-Nasir. Francisco García Fitz's monograph remains the standard study of the campaign. The battle did not immediately yield much territory, but it shattered Almohad military power in Iberia, and the caliph's death in

1213 was followed by succession crises that led to the dissolution of the Almohad state in al-Andalus.

20. The Great Conquests (1212–1252)

The following four decades saw the most rapid Christian advance of the entire period. In León, Alfonso IX took Cáceres (1229), defeated the local ruler Ibn Hud at Alange (1230), and took Mérida and Badajoz. Fernando III, who united Castile and León permanently in 1230, took Úbeda (1233), Córdoba (29 June 1236), Jaén (1246, when the new Nasrid ruler of Granada, Muhammad I, became his vassal), and finally Seville on 23 November 1248, after a fifteen-month siege in which the Castilian fleet under Admiral Ramón Bonifaz broke the pontoon bridge linking the city with Triana. Fernando's son Alfonso secured the submission of Murcia by the Treaty of Alcaraz (1243).

In the east, Jaume I 'the Conqueror' of Aragón (1213–1276) took Mallorca (landing in September 1229, winning the battle of Portopí, and taking the city on 31 December 1229), Ibiza (1235), and Valencia (28 September 1238), after the victory of El Puig (1237). The Treaty of Almizra (1244) fixed the boundary between Castilian and Aragonese conquests. In Portugal, the conquest of the Alentejo and the Algarve culminated with Afonso III's capture of Faro in 1249, completing the Portuguese reconquest two and a half centuries before Castile's.

By Fernando III's death in 1252, all that remained of al-Andalus was the Nasrid Emirate of Granada, a mountainous state stretching from Gibraltar to Almería, which survived as a tributary vassal of Castile. Most Muslims in the conquered cities emigrated or were expelled; those who remained under Christian rule in the countryside, particularly in Valencia and Aragón, became known as *Mudéjars*.

> In plain terms: the Almohads, another Moroccan movement, won a major victory at Alarcos in 1195, but in 1212 a united Christian army crushed them at Las Navas de Tolosa. That victory broke the back of Muslim power in Spain. In the next forty years the Christians took Córdoba, Valencia, Seville, and almost everything else. Only Granada remained, and it survived by paying tribute to Castile.

Part VII. The 'Battle of the Strait' (1252–1350)

21. The Marinid Threat

The final phase of the medieval conflict was fought over control of the Strait of Gibraltar. The Marinid dynasty, which replaced the Almohads in Morocco, intervened repeatedly in Iberia at the invitation of Granada. After the great Mudéjar revolt of 1264–1266, which was suppressed with Aragonese help and followed by mass expulsions from Andalusia, the Marinids won victories at Écija and Martos (1275), killing both a leading Castilian magnate and the Archbishop of Toledo. Alfonso X's attempt to take Algeciras (1278–1279) ended with the destruction of his fleet.

Sancho IV took Tarifa in 1292. In 1294 its defender, Alonso Pérez de Guzmán, is said to have thrown his own knife from the walls when the besiegers, led by the renegade Infante Juan, threatened to kill his captive son unless he surrendered, earning him the epithet 'el Bueno'. Fernando IV took Gibraltar in 1309, but a joint crusade with Aragón failed before Algeciras and Almería. In 1319 the regents of Castile, the Infantes Pedro and Juan, were both killed in a rout in the Vega of Granada. Gibraltar was lost again in 1333.

22. The Battle of the Río Salado (1340)

In 1339–1340 the Marinid sultan Abu al-Hasan, allied with Yusuf I of Granada, launched the last great North African invasion of Iberia. He destroyed the Castilian fleet off Gibraltar and besieged Tarifa. On 30 October 1340, Alfonso XI of Castile and Afonso IV of Portugal routed the combined Marinid-Nasrid army at the Río Salado near Tarifa. The victory ended the threat of North African intervention for good. Alfonso XI followed it by taking Alcalá la Real and, after a twenty-month siege attended by crusaders from England, France, and Navarre, Algeciras (March 1344). The chronicles of the siege of Algeciras contain early European references to the use of gunpowder weapons, employed by the defenders. Alfonso died of the Black Death in March 1350 while besieging Gibraltar, often described as the only reigning European monarch to die of the Black Death.

> In plain terms: from about 1250 to 1350 the fighting centred on the ports around Gibraltar, because whoever held them controlled whether Moroccan armies could cross into Spain. The Christian victory at the Río Salado in 1340 ended that danger permanently.

Part VIII. Nasrid Granada and the Final War (1350–1492)

23. The Long Truce

For more than a century after 1350, Castile was absorbed by civil war (Pedro I against Enrique of Trastámara, 1366–1369), the Hundred Years' War, and noble factionalism. Granada survived by paying tribute, by skilful diplomacy, and by the defensive strength of its mountainous frontier. This was also the period of the Alhambra's greatest embellishment. Frontier warfare nonetheless continued in raids and sieges, and a distinctive frontier culture developed, reflected in the Spanish *romances fronterizos* (frontier ballads) and in institutions for ransoming captives. The regent Fernando 'de Antequera' took Antequera in 1410; Juan II's favourite Álvaro de Luna won the Battle of La Higueruela in 1431 without lasting gains; and forces of the Duke of Medina Sidonia took Gibraltar in 1462.

24. The War of Granada (1482–1492)

The marriage of Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragón (1469) and Isabella's victory in the Castilian succession war (1475–1479) united the resources of the two principal Christian crowns. Granada, meanwhile, was riven by feuds between the Nasrid sultan Abu al-Hasan Ali (Muley Hacén), his brother Muhammad al-Zaghal, and his son Muhammad XII, known to the Christians as Boabdil.

The war began when Abu al-Hasan took the Castilian town of Zahara in December 1481. The Marquis of Cádiz retaliated by seizing Alhama, deep in Nasrid territory, on 28 February 1482. The early campaigns went poorly for the Christians: Ferdinand was repulsed at Loja (1482), and a force of Andalusian nobles was destroyed in the mountains of the Ajarquía near Málaga (March 1483). But at Lucena (April 1483) Boabdil was captured; released as a Castilian vassal, he became an instrument for dividing Granada.

Ferdinand and Isabella then fought a war of methodical sieges, supported by a large artillery train, taxation approved by the Castilian Cortes, papal crusade bulls (the *bula de cruzada*), and the logistics of a permanent army. Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada's studies of the war's finances show how much the outcome depended on these resources. Álora and Setenil fell in 1484, Ronda in 1485, Loja in 1486, Vélez-Málaga and, after a brutal siege, Málaga in 1487, whose population was enslaved. Baza fell in December 1489 after a six-month siege, and al-Zaghal surrendered Almería and Guadix.

Boabdil, now the last Nasrid ruler, broke with the Catholic Monarchs in 1490. In April 1491 they began the siege of Granada, building the fortified camp-town of

Santa Fe. The Capitulations of Granada were signed on 25 November 1491, guaranteeing Muslims their religion, law, mosques, property, and freedom to emigrate. On 2 January 1492 Boabdil handed over the keys of the Alhambra. Tradition says that as he left, he looked back from a pass still called 'the Moor's Last Sigh' (*el Suspiro del Moro*) and was rebuked by his mother. The Muslim political presence in Iberia, which had begun at Guadalete in 711, had ended after 781 years.

> In plain terms: Granada survived for 250 years by paying tribute and playing its enemies off against each other. Once Ferdinand and Isabella united Spain's two main kingdoms, they fought a ten-year war (1482–1492), taking Granada's towns one by one with cannon and patient sieges. Granada surrendered on 2 January 1492, ending Muslim rule in Spain.

Part IX. The Ousting of the Last Muslims (1492–1614)

25. From Mudéjar to Morisco

The terms of 1491 did not last. Portugal's Manuel I ordered his Muslim subjects to leave or convert in 1496–1497. In Granada, the tolerant approach of Archbishop Hernando de Talavera was replaced by the aggressive mass-conversion campaign of Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, which provoked a revolt in the Albaicín quarter in December 1499 and then in the Alpujarras mountains (1499–1501), during which the rebels killed the Christian commander Alonso de Aguilar at Sierra Bermeja (March 1501). The Crown declared that the revolt voided the Capitulations, and a decree of 1502 ordered all Muslims in Castile to convert or leave. Navarre followed in 1516, and in the Crown of Aragón, after Muslims had been forcibly baptized by rebels during the Germanías revolt, Charles V decreed conversion in 1525–1526, provoking a revolt in the Sierra de Espadán. From this point there were officially no Muslims in Spain, only *Moriscos*, 'little Moors': baptized Christians, many of whom continued to practise Islam in secret.

L. P. Harvey's *Muslims in Spain, 1500 to 1614* documents how this clandestine community sustained its faith, writing Spanish in Arabic script (*aljamiado*) and relying on a fatwa issued by a North African mufti in 1504 (the 'Oran fatwa') that permitted outward conformity under duress. Mercedes García-Arenal has studied the Inquisition's pursuit of Morisco religious practice.

26. The Second War of the Alpujarras (1568–1571)

A royal edict of 1567 banning the Arabic language, Morisco dress, and customs provoked a large rebellion in the Kingdom of Granada at Christmas 1568. The rebels proclaimed Aben Humeya (Fernando de Válor) as king, and received some volunteers and supplies from North Africa. The war was fought with great cruelty on both sides. Philip II gave command to his half-brother Don John of Austria, whose siege of Galera (1570) ended with the destruction of the town. By 1571 the revolt was crushed, and roughly 80,000 Granadan Moriscos were forcibly dispersed across Castile, which only spread the 'Morisco problem' to the rest of the kingdom.

27. The Expulsion (1609–1614)

Fear that the Moriscos were a fifth column for the Ottomans and the Barbary corsairs, the failure of assimilation, and religious pressure led Philip III and his favourite, the Duke of Lerma, to order their expulsion. The decree for Valencia, which had the largest Morisco population, was published on 22 September 1609; some Valencian Moriscos resisted in the mountains of the Muela de Cortes and the

Vall de Laguar, the last armed Muslim resistance in Spain, and were suppressed within weeks. Expulsions from Aragón, Catalonia, Castile, Extremadura, and Andalusia followed in 1610–1611. The Moriscos of the Valle de Ricote in Murcia, who had been considered well assimilated and were initially exempted, were expelled last, between late 1613 and early 1614; the expulsion was declared complete in 1614.

Estimates of the number expelled range around 300,000, a figure associated with Henri Lapeyre's demographic study (which calculated roughly 270,000–275,000 on the basis of embarkation and census records). Most went to North Africa, where many were robbed or killed on arrival, although communities of Andalusi descent survived in Tunisia, Morocco (notably Rabat-Salé), and Algeria. The economic consequences were severe in Valencia and Aragón, where Moriscos had formed a large share of the agricultural workforce.

Was this truly the ousting of the last Muslim? Recent research qualifies the traditional picture. Trevor Dadson's study of Villarrubia de los Ojos in La Mancha shows that some assimilated Morisco communities evaded expulsion with the support of their Christian neighbours and local lords, and that others returned clandestinely. Nevertheless, as an organized religious community, Islam had been eliminated from Spain by 1614, and it did not return in any significant form until migration in the twentieth century.

> In plain terms: the 1492 surrender promised Muslims freedom of religion, but within ten years they were forced to convert to Christianity. Many kept practising Islam in secret. After a bloody revolt in 1568–1571, the government decided they could never be assimilated, and between 1609 and 1614 it deported about 300,000 of them, mostly to North Africa. The last group, from the Ricote valley in Murcia, left in 1614. A few assimilated families stayed or quietly came back, but Islam as a community had been removed from Spain.

Part X. Analysis and Historiographical Assessment

28. Why Did the Christian Kingdoms Prevail?

Historians have identified several interacting factors. First, *demography and settlement*: the Christian kingdoms advanced by repopulation (*repoblación*), granting charters (*fueros*) that attracted free settlers to frontier towns, which in turn provided militias. Reilly and Angus MacKay stress that Christian Iberia's population grew steadily from the tenth century, while al-Andalus depended increasingly on North African military manpower.

Second, *political fragmentation on the Muslim side*: al-Andalus collapsed into taifas three times (after 1031, after the Almoravid collapse in the 1140s, and after the Almohad collapse in the 1220s), and each collapse coincided with a major Christian advance. Hugh Kennedy emphasizes that the North African empires that intervened were effective in battle but never integrated al-Andalus into durable states.

Third, *ideology and external support*: from the late eleventh century the papacy extended crusade indulgences to the Iberian wars, the military orders provided a permanent frontier force, and foreign crusaders were decisive at Lisbon, Almería, Tortosa, Alcácer do Sal, and Algeciras. O'Callaghan's thesis that the Reconquista became a genuine crusade is widely accepted in its institutional dimension, although reviewers have questioned how far crusading ideology, rather than territorial and material ambition, motivated kings and nobles.

Fourth, *resources and military technology*: the final war against Granada was won by the combined fiscal resources of Castile and Aragón, by siege artillery, and by sustained logistics rather than by pitched battles.

29. Competing Interpretations

The classic debate pitted Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, who saw the Reconquista as the forge of Spanish identity, against Américo Castro, who argued that Spanish identity was formed by the *coexistence* (*convivencia*) of Christians, Muslims, and Jews. Later scholars moved beyond both positions: Thomas Glick and others examined social and economic interaction; David Nirenberg showed that violence and coexistence were interdependent rather than opposites; and Brian Catlos has proposed the principle of *conveniencia*, pragmatic cooperation driven by mutual advantage, as a better description than either crusade or harmony. A parallel debate concerns the degree of Arab and Berber settlement in the eighth century and the pace of conversion to Islam; Richard Bulliet's statistical study of Muslim naming patterns, applied to al-Andalus, suggested that the population became majority Muslim only in the tenth century.

Finally, historians have stressed that the term 'Reconquista' has carried political weight in modern Spain, especially under the Franco regime, and that careful scholarship requires distinguishing medieval ideas of restoration from later nationalist uses. That caution does not diminish the historical reality this paper has traced: a territorial and religious contest lasting from 711 to 1492, followed by the removal of the Muslim population by 1614.

30. Conclusion

The story that begins with Tariq ibn Ziyad's landing in 711 and ends with the departure of the last Moriscos from the Ricote valley in 1614 spans more than nine centuries. It was not a continuous war. It was a sequence of distinct phases: a rapid conquest; the survival and slow growth of small northern kingdoms; the dominance of the Caliphate of Córdoba; the fragmentation of al-Andalus and three waves of North African intervention; the great Christian breakthroughs of 1085, 1118, 1147, 1212, and 1236–1248; a century-long struggle for the Strait; the final siege war against Granada; and the forced conversion and expulsion of Spain's Muslims. Each phase was shaped as much by the internal politics of both sides as by their conflict with each other. The battles listed in Appendix A mark the turning points, but the outcome was decided equally by settlement, taxation, diplomacy, and the relative capacity of each society to sustain war.

Appendix A. Chronological Register of Battles, Sieges, and Captures

The register lists, in chronological order, the engagements treated as significant in the standard scholarly surveys cited in the Bibliography. Dates follow the modern consensus; where sources disagree, the most widely accepted date is given. Entries marked 'Legendary' are traditional episodes whose historicity is doubted. Engagements fought outside the peninsula (Toulouse, Tours, the Berre, Narbonne) are included where they bear directly on the Iberian conflict.

Date	Engagement	Belligerents / Commanders	Outcome	Significance
I. The Conquest and the First Resistance (710–756)				
710	Raid of Tarif ibn Malik	Umayyad (Tarif) vs. Visigoths	Muslim success	Reconnaissance landing at Tarifa; demonstrated Visigothic weakness.
Apr–May 711	Landing at Gibraltar (Jabal Tariq)	Tariq ibn Ziyad	Unopposed landing	c. 7,000 mostly Berber troops, later reinforced to c. 12,000; Gibraltar takes Tariq's name.
July 711	Battle of Guadalete (Wadi Lakku)	Tariq ibn Ziyad vs. King Roderic	Decisive Muslim victory	Roderic killed or vanished; Visigothic royal army destroyed; kingdom collapses.
711	Battle of Écija	Tariq vs. Visigothic survivors	Muslim victory	Opened the Guadalquivir valley.
711	Siege of Córdoba	Mughith al-Rumi vs. city garrison	Muslim capture	Garrison's last stand in the church of San Acisclo; Córdoba later becomes capital.
Late 711	Occupation of Toledo	Tariq ibn Ziyad	Muslim capture	Visigothic capital found largely abandoned by its nobility.
712	Sieges of Medina Sidonia, Carmona, Seville	Musa ibn Nusayr	Muslim captures	Musa's second army (c. 18,000, largely Arab) secures the southwest.
712–30 Jun 713	Siege of Mérida	Musa ibn Nusayr vs. city	Muslim capture by treaty	Longest resistance of the conquest; surrender on terms.
Apr 713	Treaty of Tudmir (Orihuela)	Abd al-Aziz ibn Musa & Theodemir	Negotiated submission	Earliest surviving capitulation text; model of conquest by pact.
714	Capture of Zaragoza; northern campaigns	Musa & Tariq	Muslim captures	Ebro valley secured; campaigns reach Galicia and Asturias; Musa and Tariq recalled to Damascus.
719/720	Capture of Narbonne	Al-Samh ibn Malik	Muslim capture	Septimania annexed; base for raids into Gaul.
9 Jun 721	Battle of Toulouse	Odo of Aquitaine vs. al-Samh	Decisive Frankish-Aquitanian victory	Al-Samh killed; first major check on the Muslim advance in Europe.

Date	Engagement	Belligerents / Commanders	Outcome	Significance
718 or 722	Battle of Covadonga	Pelayo vs. Alqama (for governor Munuza)	Asturian victory	Survival of an independent Christian polity; traditional start of the Reconquista.
c. 722	Engagement at Olalíes / death of Munuza	Asturians vs. Munuza	Asturian victory	Muslim authority removed from central Asturias.
725	Raid on Autun	Anbasa ibn Suhaym	Muslim raid	Deepest Umayyad penetration of Burgundy.
Oct 732	Battle of Tours–Poitiers	Charles Martel vs. Abd al-Rahman al-Ghafiqi	Frankish victory	Governor killed; ended large-scale expeditions north of the Pyrenees.
737	Battle of the River Berre	Charles Martel vs. Umayyad relief force	Frankish victory	Muslim hold on Septimania weakened.
740–742	Great Berber Revolt (in al-Andalus)	Berber garrisons vs. Arab governors; Syrian army of Balj	Arab-Syrian victory	Berber garrisons abandon the northwest, opening the Duero basin to Asturian expansion.
739–757	Campaigns of Alfonso I of Asturias	Alfonso I vs. depleted Muslim garrisons	Asturian successes	Raids on Lugo, Braga, Astorga, León, and others; the Duero basin becomes a thinly settled frontier.
747	Battle of Secunda	Qaysi vs. Yemeni Arab factions	Qaysi victory	Intra-Muslim war that weakened al-Andalus.
14 May 756	Battle of al-Musara	Abd al-Rahman I vs. Yusuf al-Fihri	Umayyad victory	Independent Umayyad emirate of Córdoba founded.
759	Fall of Narbonne	Pepin the Short vs. Muslim garrison	Frankish capture	Muslims expelled from Septimania.
II. The Asturian-Leonese Kingdom and the Umayyad Emirate (756–929)				
778	Siege of Zaragoza	Charlemagne vs. Husayn al-Ansari	Frankish failure	Charlemagne's Spanish expedition collapses.
15 Aug 778	Battle of Roncesvalles	Basques vs. Frankish rearguard	Basque victory	Roland killed; later mythologized in the Chanson de Roland.
785	Submission of Girona	Franks	Frankish acquisition	Beginning of the Spanish March.
791	Battle of Burbia	Umayyad army vs. Bermudo I	Muslim victory	Asturian setback.
793	Battle of the Orbieu	Abd al-Malik ibn Mughith vs. William of Gellone	Muslim tactical victory	Great Umayyad raid on Narbonne region.
794	Sack of Oviedo; Battle of Lutos	Alfonso II vs. Umayyad raiders	Asturian victory at Lutos	Retreating Muslim army ambushed in the mountains.
795	Battle of the River Anceo	Umayyad army vs. Alfonso II	Muslim victory	Oviedo raided again; Alfonso escapes.
800–801	Siege of Barcelona	Louis the Pious vs. Sa'dun al-Ru'ayni	Frankish capture	Barcelona becomes core of the Catalan counties.
804–809	Sieges of Tortosa	Louis the Pious	Frankish failure	Carolingian advance halted at the Ebro.

Date	Engagement	Belligerents / Commanders	Outcome	Significance
c. 844	Battle of Clavijo	Ramiro I (tradition)	Legendary	Probably a later legend (Santiago Matamoros) reflecting Albelda 859.
854	Battle of Guadacelete	Muhammad I vs. Toledan rebels and Leonese allies	Umayyad victory	Leonese intervention in Toledo defeated.
859	Battle of Albelda (Monte Laturce)	Ordoño I vs. Musa ibn Musa (Banu Qasi)	Leonese victory	Destroyed Banu Qasi power temporarily; Albelda razed.
865	Battle of Morcuera	Muhammad I vs. Count Rodrigo of Castile	Umayyad victory	Castilian frontier raided.
868	Capture of Porto	Vímara Peres	Christian capture	Birth of the County of Portugal.
878	Battles of Polvoraria and Valdemora	Alfonso III vs. Umayyad armies	Leonese victories	Secured the Duero line; truce followed.
878	Capture of Coimbra	Hermenegildo Guterres	Christian capture	Frontier extended to the Mondego.
882–883	Sieges of Pancorbo and Castrojeriz	Umayyad armies vs. Castilian fortresses	Christian defense holds	Castile's fortified frontier proves its value.
901	Battle of Zamora ('Day of Zamora')	Alfonso III vs. Ahmad ibn Mu'awiya	Leonese victory	Messianic jihad army destroyed.
917	Battle of San Esteban de Gormaz	Ordoño II vs. Umayyad army	Leonese victory	Provoked Abd al-Rahman III's personal campaigns.
920	Battle of Valdejunquera	Abd al-Rahman III vs. Ordoño II & Sancho Garcés I	Umayyad victory	Major Christian defeat; bishops captured.
924	Campaign of Pamplona	Abd al-Rahman III	Umayyad victory	Pamplona sacked.
III. The Caliphate of Córdoba and Almanzor (929–1031)				
Aug 939	Battle of Simancas–Alhandega	Ramiro II, Fernán González, Toda of Navarre vs. Abd al-Rahman III	Decisive Christian victory	The caliph nearly captured; never again campaigned in person; Duero settlement resumed.
950	Battle of Talavera	Ramiro II vs. caliphal army	Leonese victory	Last great victory of Ramiro II.
981	Battle of Torrevicente	Almanzor vs. Ghalib (with Castilian & Navarrese allies)	Almanzor victory	Almanzor becomes unchallenged ruler of al-Andalus.
981	Battle of Rueda	Almanzor vs. Ramiro III	Muslim victory	Leonese weakness exposed.
6 Jul 985	Sack of Barcelona	Almanzor vs. Borrell II	Muslim victory	City burned; Catalonia turns from Frankish protection to self-reliance.
987–988	Sacks of Coimbra and León	Almanzor	Muslim victories	Coimbra depopulated; León's walls breached.

Date	Engagement	Belligerents / Commanders	Outcome	Significance
Aug 997	Sack of Santiago de Compostela	Almanzor	Muslim victory	Basilica destroyed (tomb spared); bells carried to Córdoba.
1000	Battle of Cervera	Almanzor vs. Sancho García of Castile & allies	Hard-won Muslim victory	Almanzor's closest brush with defeat.
1002	Battle of Calatañazor	Tradition: Christian coalition vs. Almanzor	Legendary	Almanzor died at Medinaceli in Aug 1002; the battle is likely a later legend.
1007	Battle of Clunia	Abd al-Malik al-Muzaffar vs. Castile	Muslim victory	Last major Amirid success.
1010	Catalan expedition to Córdoba	Ramon Borrell & Ermengol of Urgell (for Muhammad II)	Mixed; Córdoba entered	Christians intervene in the Fitna as paid allies.
IV. The Taifa Kingdoms and the Almoravids (1031–1147)				
1057–1058	Captures of Lamego and Viseu	Fernando I	Christian captures	Portuguese frontier advances.
1063	Battle of Graus	Zaragoza (with Castilian contingent incl. Rodrigo Díaz) vs. Ramiro I of Aragón	Zaragozan victory	Ramiro I killed.
9 Jul 1064	Capture of Coimbra	Fernando I	Christian capture	Mondego line permanently secured.
1064	Siege of Barbastro	Franco-Norman-Italian force	Christian capture	Often called a 'crusade before the Crusades'; retaken by al-Muqtadir 1065.
1065	Battle of Paterna	Fernando I vs. Valencia	Christian victory	Valencia forced into tribute (parias).
1079	Battle of Cabra	Rodrigo Díaz (El Cid) for Seville vs. Granada & García Ordóñez	Cid victory	Illustrates cross-confessional alliances of the taifa era.
1082	Battle of Almenar	El Cid (for Zaragoza) vs. Berenguer Ramon II & al-Mundhir	Cid victory	Count of Barcelona captured.
1084	Battle of Morella	El Cid (for Zaragoza) vs. Sancho Ramírez of Aragón	Cid victory	Enhanced the Cid's reputation.
25 May 1085	Capture of Toledo	Alfonso VI	Christian capture by surrender	First former capital regained; alarm across al-Andalus; Almoravids invited.
23 Oct 1086	Battle of Sagrajas (al-Zallaqa)	Yusuf ibn Tashfin & taifa kings vs. Alfonso VI	Decisive Almoravid victory	Halted Castilian expansion; Almoravids later annex the taifas.
1088–1089	Siege of Aledo	Almoravids vs. Castilian garrison	Christian defense holds	Almoravid failure; Yusuf resolves to depose the taifa kings.

Date	Engagement	Belligerents / Commanders	Outcome	Significance
1090	Battle of Tévar	El Cid vs. Berenguer Ramon II	Cid victory	Count again captured.
1093–Jun 1094	Siege of Valencia	El Cid	Christian capture	Cid rules Valencia until his death in 1099.
Oct 1094	Battle of Cuarte	El Cid vs. Almoravids	Cid victory	First major defeat of an Almoravid field army.
1096	Battle of Alcoraz; capture of Huesca	Pedro I of Aragón vs. Zaragoza & Castilian allies	Aragonese victory	Aragón expands into the Ebro basin.
Jan 1097	Battle of Bairén	El Cid & Pedro I vs. Almoravids	Christian victory	Protected Valencia.
Aug 1097	Battle of Consuegra	Almoravids vs. Alfonso VI	Almoravid victory	Diego, the Cid's son, killed.
1100	Capture of Barbastro	Pedro I	Christian capture	Permanent Aragonese gain.
1102	Evacuation of Valencia	Jimena Díaz & Alfonso VI	Christian withdrawal	City burned and abandoned to the Almoravids.
29 May 1108	Battle of Uclés	Almoravids vs. Castilians under Infante Sancho	Decisive Almoravid victory	Alfonso VI's only son killed; succession crisis in Castile.
1110	Battle of Valtierra	Alfonso I of Aragón vs. al-Musta'in II	Aragonese victory	Last Hudid ruler of Zaragoza killed.
1109–1114	Almoravid sieges of Toledo and Talavera; Siege of Coimbra (1116–17)	Almoravids	Mixed; Toledo holds	Tagus line holds despite pressure.
18 Dec 1118	Capture of Zaragoza	Alfonso I 'the Battler'	Christian capture	Largest Muslim city yet taken; Ebro valley opened.
1119–1120	Captures of Tudela, Tarazona, Calatayud, Daroca	Alfonso I	Christian captures	Consolidation of the middle Ebro.
1120	Battle of Cutanda	Alfonso I vs. Almoravids	Aragonese victory	Secured the Zaragoza conquest.
1125–1126	Great Andalusian raid; Battle of Arnisol (Anzur)	Alfonso I vs. Almoravids	Aragonese victory	Thousands of Mozarabs resettled in Aragón.
17 Jul 1134	Battle of Fraga	Almoravids vs. Alfonso I	Almoravid victory	Alfonso I dies soon after; Aragón-Navarre split.
1139	Capture of Oreja	Alfonso VII	Castilian capture	Protected Toledo.
25 Jul 1139	Battle of Ourique	Afonso Henriques vs. Almoravid governors	Portuguese victory	Afonso proclaimed king; later foundation legend of Portugal.
1142	Capture of Coria	Alfonso VII	Castilian capture	Extremadura frontier advances.
V. The Almohad Era and the Great Christian Advance (1147–1252)				
15 Mar 1147	Capture of Santarém	Afonso Henriques	Portuguese capture (surprise assault)	Tagus opened to Portugal.

Date	Engagement	Belligerents / Commanders	Outcome	Significance
Jul–24 Oct 1147	Siege of Lisbon	Afonso Henriques & Second Crusade fleet	Christian capture	Only notable success of the Second Crusade.
Oct 1147	Siege of Almería	Alfonso VII, Ramon Berenguer IV, Genoa, Pisa	Christian capture	Major Mediterranean port taken (lost 1157).
Dec 1148	Siege of Tortosa	Ramon Berenguer IV & Genoese	Christian capture	Lower Ebro secured.
1149	Captures of Lleida, Fraga, Mequinenza	Ramon Berenguer IV & Ermengol VI	Christian captures	Catalonia reaches its medieval frontier.
1157	Loss of Almería	Almohads vs. Castilian garrison	Almohad recapture	Alfonso VII dies returning from relief attempt.
1158	First capture of Alcácer do Sal	Afonso Henriques	Portuguese capture	Lost to the Almohads in 1191.
1165–1166	Captures of Évora, Trujillo, Cáceres	Geraldo Sem Pavor ('the Fearless')	Christian captures	Independent frontier warlord seizes key towns.
1169	Siege of Badajoz	Afonso Henriques vs. Almohads & Fernando II of León	Portuguese failure	Afonso crippled and captured.
1172	Siege of Huete	Almohad caliph Abu Ya'qub Yusuf	Almohad failure	Castilian stronghold holds.
1177	Siege and capture of Cuenca	Alfonso VIII & Alfonso II of Aragón	Christian capture	Advance onto the southern Meseta.
1184	Siege of Santarém	Abu Ya'qub Yusuf vs. Portuguese	Almohad defeat	Caliph mortally wounded.
1189	Capture of Silves	Sancho I & Third Crusade contingent	Christian capture	Lost again in 1191.
1190	Siege of Tomar	Almohads vs. Templars	Christian defense holds	Military orders anchor the frontier.
18 Jul 1195	Battle of Alarcos	Almohad al-Mansur vs. Alfonso VIII	Decisive Almohad victory	Castile's southern frontier collapses; Calatrava lost.
1196–1197	Almohad counteroffensive	Al-Mansur	Almohad successes	Raids on Talavera, Madrid, Plasencia; truce follows.
16 Jul 1212	Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa	Alfonso VIII, Pedro II of Aragón, Sancho VII of Navarre vs. Muhammad al-Nasir	Decisive Christian victory	Almohad military power broken; turning point of the Reconquista.
1213	Captures of Úbeda (raid) and Alcaraz	Alfonso VIII	Castilian successes	Exploitation of Las Navas.
1217	Siege of Alcácer do Sal	Portuguese & Fifth Crusade fleet	Christian capture	Permanent Portuguese gain.
1229–1230	Captures of Cáceres (1229), Mérida, Badajoz (1230)	Alfonso IX of León	Leonese captures	Extremadura largely conquered.
1230	Battle of Alange	Alfonso IX vs. Ibn Hud	Leonese victory	Opened the Guadiana valley.

Date	Engagement	Belligerents / Commanders	Outcome	Significance
12 Sep 1229	Battle of Portopí; siege of Madîna Mayûrqa	Jaume I of Aragón	Christian victory; city falls 31 Dec 1229	Conquest of Mallorca.
1231	Battle of Jerez	Infante Alfonso & Álvaro Pérez de Castro vs. Ibn Hud	Castilian victory	Ibn Hud's power broken.
1232–1238	Captures of Moura, Serpa, Mértola	Sancho II of Portugal & Order of Santiago	Portuguese captures	Alentejo conquered.
1233	Capture of Úbeda	Fernando III	Castilian capture	Upper Guadalquivir opened.
29 Jun 1236	Capture of Córdoba	Fernando III	Castilian capture	Umayyad capital becomes Christian; Great Mosque consecrated as cathedral.
1235	Conquest of Ibiza	Archbishop of Tarragona & allies	Christian capture	Balearic conquest nearly complete (Menorca tributary to 1287).
Aug 1237	Battle of El Puig	Aragonese vs. Zayyan of Valencia	Aragonese victory	Prepared the siege of Valencia.
28 Sep 1238	Capture of Valencia	Jaume I	Christian capture	Kingdom of Valencia created.
1242–1249	Captures of Tavira, Silves, Faro	Order of Santiago; Afonso III of Portugal	Portuguese captures	Faro (1249) completes the Portuguese Reconquista.
1243–1245	Submission of Murcia; capture of Cartagena	Infante Alfonso (Treaty of Alcaraz)	Castilian protectorate	Murcia becomes a Castilian vassal state.
1245–1246	Siege of Jaén	Fernando III vs. Muhammad I of Granada	Negotiated surrender (Pact of Jaén)	Nasrid Granada becomes a Castilian vassal.
1245	Capture of Biar; Valencian frontier fixed (Treaty of Almizra, 1244)	Jaume I	Aragonese capture	Aragón's southern limit fixed.
Aug 1247–23 Nov 1248	Siege of Seville	Fernando III & Admiral Ramón Bonifaz	Castilian capture	Almohad capital of al-Andalus taken; mass Muslim emigration.
VI. The 'Battle of the Strait' (1252–1350)				
1260	Raid on Salé	Alfonso X	Castilian raid	First Castilian strike into Morocco.
1262	Capture of Niebla	Alfonso X	Castilian capture	Last taifa of the Algarve region absorbed.
1264–1266	Mudéjar Revolt; reconquest of Murcia	Andalusian & Murcian Mudéjars with Granada vs. Alfonso X & Jaume I	Christian victory	Mass Mudéjar expulsions from Andalusia.
1275	Battle of Écija	Marinids (Abu Yusuf) vs. Nuño González de Lara	Marinid victory	Castilian commander killed.
1275	Battle of Martos	Granadan-Marinid forces vs. Archbishop Sancho of Toledo	Muslim victory	Archbishop killed.

Date	Engagement	Belligerents / Commanders	Outcome	Significance
1278–1279	Siege of Algeciras	Alfonso X vs. Marinids	Castilian failure	Castilian fleet destroyed.
1292	Capture of Tarifa	Sancho IV with Aragonese & Genoese naval help	Castilian capture	Key Strait port.
1294	Defense of Tarifa	Alonso Pérez de Guzmán ('el Bueno') vs. Marinids & Infante Juan	Christian defense holds	Guzmán's sacrifice of his son becomes legend.
1309	Capture of Gibraltar	Fernando IV	Castilian capture	First Christian tenure of Gibraltar.
1309–1310	Sieges of Algeciras and Almería	Fernando IV; Jaime II of Aragón	Christian failures	Joint Castilian-Aragonese crusade falls short.
26 Jun 1319	Disaster of the Vega de Granada	Granada vs. Infantes Pedro and Juan	Decisive Nasrid victory	Both regents of Castile killed.
1330	Battle of Teba	Alfonso XI (with Sir James Douglas) vs. Granada	Castilian victory	Douglas killed carrying Robert the Bruce's heart.
1333	Loss of Gibraltar	Marinids & Granada	Muslim recapture	Gibraltar lost until 1462.
1340	Naval battle off Gibraltar	Marinid fleet vs. Castilian fleet	Marinid victory	Castilian admiral Jofre Tenorio killed; Tarifa besieged.
30 Oct 1340	Battle of the Río Salado	Alfonso XI & Afonso IV of Portugal vs. Abu al-Hasan & Yusuf I	Decisive Christian victory	Last major North African invasion of Iberia defeated.
1341	Captures of Alcalá la Real, Priego	Alfonso XI	Castilian captures	Granada's northern frontier pushed back.
Aug 1342–Mar 1344	Siege of Algeciras	Alfonso XI with international crusaders	Castilian capture	Marinid bridgehead eliminated; early use of gunpowder recorded.
1349–1350	Siege of Gibraltar	Alfonso XI	Abandoned	King dies of the Black Death in camp (Mar 1350).
VII. Nasrid Granada and the Final War (1350–1492)				
1406	Battle of Los Collejares	Castilian frontier forces vs. Granada	Castilian victory	Renewed frontier war after long truces.
1407	Siege of Setenil	Infante Fernando	Castilian failure	Artillery insufficient.
Apr–Sep 1410	Siege of Antequera	Infante Fernando ('de Antequera')	Castilian capture	Major Granadan fortress taken.
1 Jul 1431	Battle of La Higueruela	Juan II & Álvaro de Luna vs. Muhammad IX	Castilian victory	Tactical victory without lasting gains.
1452	Battle of Los Alporchones	Murcian forces vs. Granadan raiders	Castilian victory	Ended a major Granadan raid.
20 Aug 1462	Capture of Gibraltar	Forces of the Duke of Medina Sidonia	Castilian capture	Gibraltar permanently Christian (Spanish until 1704).

Date	Engagement	Belligerents / Commanders	Outcome	Significance
1462	Capture of Archidona	Pedro Girón	Castilian capture	Frontier advance.
Dec 1481	Capture of Zahara	Abu al-Hasan Ali (Muley Hacén)	Nasrid capture	Casus belli of the War of Granada.
28 Feb 1482	Capture of Alhama	Rodrigo Ponce de León, Marquis of Cádiz	Castilian capture	Deep strike into the Nasrid heartland; war begins.
Jul 1482	First Siege of Loja	Ferdinand II vs. Ali al-Attar	Castilian defeat	Royal army forced to retreat.
Mar 1483	Disaster of the Ajarquía (Axarquía)	Granadan forces vs. Andalusian nobles	Nasrid victory	Hundreds of Castilian knights killed or captured.
21 Apr 1483	Battle of Lucena	Count of Cabra & Diego Fernández de Córdoba vs. Boabdil	Castilian victory	Boabdil captured; Nasrid civil war exploited.
Sep 1483	Battle of Lopera	Castilian forces vs. Granadan raiders	Castilian victory	Loss of the Ajarquía avenged.
1484	Captures of Álora and Setenil	Ferdinand II	Castilian captures	Siege artillery proves decisive.
May 1485	Siege of Ronda	Ferdinand II	Castilian capture	Western Granada collapses.
May 1486	Second Siege of Loja	Ferdinand II	Castilian capture	Boabdil captured again; Íllora and Moclín follow.
Apr 1487	Capture of Vélez-Málaga	Ferdinand II	Castilian capture	Relief army of al-Zaghal defeated.
May–18 Aug 1487	Siege of Málaga	Ferdinand II & Isabella I vs. Hamet el Zegrí	Castilian capture	Population enslaved; Granada loses its main port.
Jun–Dec 1489	Siege of Baza	Ferdinand & Isabella vs. Cidi Yahya	Castilian capture	Leads to the surrender of Almería and Guadix by al-Zaghal (Dec 1489).
1490	Nasrid counteroffensive; Siege of Salobreña	Boabdil	Nasrid failure	Boabdil breaks with Castile; final phase.
Apr 1491–2 Jan 1492	Siege of Granada	Ferdinand & Isabella vs. Boabdil (Muhammad XII)	Castilian capture by capitulation	Capitulations of 25 Nov 1491; last Muslim state in Iberia ends 2 Jan 1492.
VIII. Epilogue: From Mudéjar to Morisco (1492–1614)				
1496–1497	Expulsion from Portugal	Manuel I	Expulsion/ conversion decree	End of the Muslim community in Portugal.
1499–1501	First Revolt of the Alpujarras	Granadan Muslims vs. Crown	Crown victory	Leads to forced conversion in Castile (1502).
Mar 1501	Battle of Sierra Bermeja	Rebels vs. Alonso de Aguilar	Rebel victory	Aguilar killed; revolt ends by negotiation and conversion.
1526	Revolt of the Sierra de Espadán	Valencian Muslims vs. Crown & German troops	Crown victory	Follows forced conversions in the Crown of Aragón (1525–26).

Date	Engagement	Belligerents / Commanders	Outcome	Significance
Dec 1568–1571	Second Revolt of the Alpujarras (War of Granada)	Moriscos under Aben Humeya & Aben Aboo vs. Don John of Austria	Crown victory	Siege of Galera (1570); c. 80,000 Granadan Moriscos deported across Castile.
1609	Revolts of the Muela de Cortes and Vall de Laguar	Valencian Moriscos vs. royal troops	Crown victory	Last armed Muslim resistance in Spain.
1609–1614	Expulsion of the Moriscos	Philip III & Duke of Lerma	Expulsion completed	c. 300,000 expelled; the Valle de Ricote (Murcia) community is expelled last, in early 1614.

Appendix B. Glossary

Aceifa / Cabalgada: Seasonal raiding expedition; aceifa (Arabic sa'ifa, 'summer campaign') on the Muslim side, cabalgada on the Christian side.

Al-Andalus: The Arabic name for the Muslim-ruled parts of the Iberian Peninsula, whose extent shrank over time.

Aljamiado: Spanish or other Romance language written in Arabic script, used especially by Mudéjars and Moriscos.

Convivencia: 'Coexistence'; Américo Castro's term for the interaction of Christians, Muslims, and Jews in medieval Spain.

Dhimmi: A protected non-Muslim (Christian or Jew) under Islamic rule, subject to a poll tax (jizya).

Fuero: A charter of privileges granted to a town or community, often to attract settlers to the frontier.

Military Orders: Religious brotherhoods of knights under monastic vows, e.g. Templars, Hospitallers, Calatrava, Santiago, Alcántara, Avis.

Morisco: A Muslim forcibly converted to Christianity (after 1499–1526), or a descendant of such converts.

Mozarab: An Arabized Christian living under Muslim rule in al-Andalus.

Mudéjar: A Muslim living, with legal toleration, under Christian rule.

Parias: Tribute paid by Muslim taifa rulers to Christian kings in exchange for protection or peace.

Repoblación: The organized resettlement of conquered or frontier lands by Christian populations.

Taifa: One of the successor kingdoms of al-Andalus after the collapse of a central power (from Arabic ta'ifa, 'faction').

Bibliography

Links marked with a publisher, DOI, or Project MUSE address were verified directly. Where a stable publisher page could not be confirmed, a WorldCat library search link is supplied so the work can be located in the nearest academic library.

Primary Sources in Translation

Wolf, Kenneth Baxter, trans. *Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain*. 2nd ed. Translated Texts for Historians 9. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999. (Contains the *Chronicle of 754* and the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*.) https://search.worldcat.org/search?q=Wolf%20Conquerors%20and%20Chroniclers%20of%20Early%20Medieval%20Spain

Barton, Simon, and Richard Fletcher, trans. *The World of El Cid: Chronicles of the Spanish Reconquest*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000. https://search.worldcat.org/search?q=Barton%20Fletcher%20The%20World%20of%20El%20Cid%20Chronicles%20of%20the%20Spanish%20Reconquest

David, Charles Wendell, ed. and trans. *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi: The Conquest of Lisbon*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1936; repr. with foreword by Jonathan Phillips, 2001. https://search.worldcat.org/search?q=De%20expugnatione%20Lyxbonensi%20Conquest%20of%20Lisbon%20David%20Phillips

Constable, Olivia Remie, ed. *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Sources*. 2nd ed. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012. https://search.worldcat.org/search?q=Constable%20Medieval%20Iberia%20Readings%20from%20Christian%20Muslim%20and%20Jewish%20Sources

Secondary Works

Barton, Simon. *A History of Spain*. 2nd ed. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009. https://search.worldcat.org/search?q=Simon%20Barton%20A%20History%20of%20Spain

Bennison, Amira K. *The Almoravid and Almohad Empires*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016. https://search.worldcat.org/search?q=Bennison%20The%20Almoravid%20and%20Almohad%20Empires

Catlos, Brian A. *Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendom, c. 1050–1614*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014. https://search.worldcat.org/search?q=Catlos%20Muslims%20of%20Medieval%20Latin%20Christendom%201050-1614

Catlos, Brian A. *Kingdoms of Faith: A New History of Islamic Spain*. New York: Basic Books, 2018. https://search.worldcat.org/search?q=Catlos%20Kingdoms%20of%20Faith%20A%20New%20History%20of%20Islamic%20Spain

Clarke, Nicola. *The Muslim Conquest of Iberia: Medieval Arabic Narratives*. London: Routledge, 2012. https://search.worldcat.org/search?q=Nicola%20Clarke%20The%20Muslim%20Conquest%20of%20Iberia%20Medieval%20Arabic%20Narratives

Collins, Roger. *The Arab Conquest of Spain, 710–797*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1989. https://search.worldcat.org/oclc/18816884

Collins, Roger. *Caliphs and Kings: Spain, 796–1031*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012. https://search.worldcat.org/search?q=Roger%20Collins%20Caliphs%20and%20Kings%20Spain%20796-1031

Dadson, Trevor J. *Tolerance and Coexistence in Early Modern Spain: Old Christians and Moriscos in the Campo de Calatrava*. Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2014. https://search.worldcat.org/search?q=Dadson%20Tolerance%20and%20Coexistence%20in%20Early%20Modern%20Spain%20Moriscos%20Campo%20de%20Calatrava

Fletcher, Richard. *The Quest for El Cid*. London: Hutchinson, 1989; Oxford University Press, 1991. https://search.worldcat.org/search?q=Richard%20Fletcher%20The%20Quest%20for%20El%20Cid

Fletcher, Richard. *Moorish Spain*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1992. https://search.worldcat.org/search?q=Richard%20Fletcher%20Moorish%20Spain

García-Arenal, Mercedes, and Gerard Wiegers, eds. *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain: A Mediterranean Diaspora*. Leiden: Brill, 2014. https://search.worldcat.org/search?q=Garcia-Arenal%20Wiegers%20The%20Expulsion%20of%20the%20Moriscos%20from%20Spain%20Mediterranean%20Diaspora

García Fitz, Francisco. *Las Navas de Tolosa*. Barcelona: Ariel, 2005. https://search.worldcat.org/search?q=Garcia%20Fitz%20Las%20Navas%20de%20Tolosa%20Ariel%202005

García Fitz, Francisco. *Castilla y León frente al Islam: Estrategias de expansión y tácticas militares (siglos XI–XIII)*. Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 1998. https://search.worldcat.org/search?q=Garcia%20Fitz%20Castilla%20y%20Leon%20frente%20al%20Islam%20estrategias%20de%20expansion

Harvey, L. P. *Islamic Spain, 1250 to 1500*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990. https://search.worldcat.org/search?q=L.%20P.%20Harvey%20Islamic%20Spain%201250%20to%201500

Harvey, L. P. *Muslims in Spain, 1500 to 1614*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005. DOI: 10.7208/9780226319650. https://www.degruyterbrill.com/document/doi/10.7208/9780226319650/html

Kennedy, Hugh. *Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of al-Andalus*. London: Longman, 1996. https://search.worldcat.org/search?q=Hugh%20Kennedy%20Muslim%20Spain%20and%20Portugal%20Political%20History%20of%20al-Andalus

Ladero Quesada, Miguel Ángel. *Castilla y la conquista del reino de Granada*. 2nd ed. Granada: Diputación Provincial, 1987. https://search.worldcat.org/search?q=Ladero%20Quesada%20Castilla%20y%20la%20conquista%20del%20reino%20de%20Granada

Lapeyre, Henri. *Géographie de l'Espagne morisque*. Paris: SEVPEN, 1959. https://search.worldcat.org/search?q=Lapeyre%20Geographie%20de%20l'Espagne%20morisque

Lay, Stephen. *The Reconquest Kings of Portugal: Political and Cultural Reorientation on the Medieval Frontier*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009. https://search.worldcat.org/search?q=Stephen%20Lay%20The%20Reconquest%20Kings%20of%20Portugal

Lomax, Derek W. *The Reconquest of Spain*. London: Longman, 1978. https://search.worldcat.org/search?q=Derek%20Lomax%20The%20Reconquest%20of%20Spain%201978

MacKay, Angus. *Spain in the Middle Ages: From Frontier to Empire, 1000–1500*. London: Macmillan, 1977. https://search.worldcat.org/search?q=Angus%20MacKay%20Spain%20in%20the%20Middle%20Ages%20From%20Frontier%20to%20Empire

Manzano Moreno, Eduardo. *Conquistadores, emires y califas: Los omeyas y la formación de al-Andalus*. Barcelona: Crítica, 2006. https://search.worldcat.org/search?q=Manzano%20Moreno%20Conquistadores%20emires%20y%20califas

Nirenberg, David. *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996. https://search.worldcat.org/search?q=Nirenberg%20Communities%20of%20Violence%20Persecution%20of%20Minorities

O'Callaghan, Joseph F. *A History of Medieval Spain*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975. https://search.worldcat.org/search?q=O'Callaghan%20A%20History%20of%20Medieval%20Spain%20Cornell

O'Callaghan, Joseph F. *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003. Reviewed by James F. Powers, *Journal of Military History* 67.3 (2003): 927, Project MUSE: https://muse.jhu.edu/article/44286

O'Callaghan, Joseph F. *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*, further scholarly review on the crusade-versus-secular debate, Project MUSE: https://muse.jhu.edu/article/49130

O'Callaghan, Joseph F. *The Gibraltar Crusade: Castile and the Battle for the Strait*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011. https://search.worldcat.org/search?q=O'Callaghan%20The%20Gibraltar%20Crusade%20Castile%20and%20the%20Battle%20for%20the%20Strait

O'Callaghan, Joseph F. *The Last Crusade in the West: Castile and the Conquest of Granada*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014. https://search.worldcat.org/search?q=O'Callaghan%20The%20Last%20Crusade%20in%20the%20West%20Castile%20Conquest%20of%20Granada

Reilly, Bernard F. *The Contest of Christian and Muslim Spain, 1031–1157*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1992. https://search.worldcat.org/search?q=Reilly%20The%20Contest%20of%20Christian%20and%20Muslim%20Spain%201031-1157

Ríos Saloma, Martín F. *La Reconquista: Una construcción historiográfica (siglos XVI–XIX)*. Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2011. https://search.worldcat.org/search?q=Rios%20Saloma%20La%20Reconquista%20una%20construccion%20historiografica

Sánchez-Albornoz, Claudio. *Despoblación y repoblación del valle del Duero*. Buenos Aires: Instituto de Historia de España, 1966. https://search.worldcat.org/search?q=Sanchez-Albornoz%20Despoblacion%20y%20repoblacion%20del%20valle%20del%20Duero