

\* THE MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN IBERIAN WORLD \*

# The Morisco Diaspora and the Morisco Networks across the Mediterranean

*Edited by*

*Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegers*



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# The Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World

*Edited by*

Larry J. Simon (*Western Michigan University*)

Gerard Wiegers (*University of Amsterdam*)

Isidro J. Rivera (*University of Kansas*)

Mercedes García-Arenal (*cchs/csic*)

Montserrat Piera (*Temple University*)

Sabine Panzram (*Universität Hamburg*)

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Gerard Wiegers



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Cover illustration: Testour, street of the Great Mosque. ©Photo: Gerard Wiegers, 2022.

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Dicen que nos hemos de yr  
nosotros de aquesta tierra,  
y que nos hemos de andar  
a aquella buena tierra  
do el oro y la fina plata  
se hallan de sierra en sierra.  
Con la yda nos dan guerra  
vámonos allá todos,  
donde están los muchos moros  
donde todo bien se encierra.  
Dicen que han de hacer pregón  
porque nos hemos de andar,  
no nos hagan sinrazón  
ni nos quieran maltratar.  
Den nos franca la mar  
y fustas muy bien seguras  
no estemos a las oscuras  
do podamos peligrar.  
Y saquemos de poder  
lo que de ellos sacaremos,  
y si algo es que habemos  
alguna cosa perder,  
piérdase todo el haber  
y con nuestra ley quedemos.

(AHN, Leg 196, 4  
Inquisitorial process of Antonio Moreno, Morisco, 1609–10)

“... O todos vosotros que avéis creído en la fe de Mahoma, tened  
paciencia y haced que los otros la tengan: y tened miedo de Dios porque  
por ventura seáis dichosos.”  
“Dios es uno, Dios es incomparable,  
no engendra ni fue engendrado, ni ay cosa semejante.”  
“No ay dios sino Dios, solo es él en la deydad sin tener participantes.”  
“Mahoma embajador de Dios lo embió para mostrar su fe sobre todas las  
otras fees.”

(AHN, Leg 197, 13)

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# Abbreviations

ACA	Archivo de la Corona de Aragón
AGS	Archivo General de Simancas
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid
AHPZ	Archivo Histórico Provincial de Zaragoza
ANA	Archives nationales d'Alger
ANF	Archives nationales de France
ANT	Archives nationales de Tunisie
APC	Archivo Parroquial de Calanda
ARCG	Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Granada
ASVe	Archivio di Stato di Venezia
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
BL	British Library
BNA	Bibliothèque Nationale d'Alger
BNE	Biblioteca Nacional de España
BnF	Bibliothèque national de France
BuB	Biblioteca universitaria di Bologna
ONB	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
SIHM	Sources inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc
SK	Süleymaniye Library
SNL	Sofia National Library
TSMA	Istambul, Archive of Topkapi Palace
UBL	Leiden University Library

## Notes on Contributors

### *Luis F. Bernabé Pons*

Luis F. Bernabé Pons is Professor of Arabic and Islamic Studies in the Department of Modern Philologies at the University of Alicante. His main lines of research focus on the influence of the Arab-Islamic element in Spanish literature and the history and culture of Mudejares and Moriscos. Currently he is director of the Arab and Islamic Studies Research Group “Sharq Al-Andalus” (University of Alicante), and is chair of the journal *Sharq Al-Andalus. Estudios Mudéjares y Moriscos*. His last work, written with Elisa Ruiz, is *Joan Martí de Figuerola. Works. Disputaciones. Lumbre de fe contra el Alcorán (1519–1521)*, (Leiden, 2024).

### *Hossain Bouzineb*

Hossain Bouzineb is emeritus professor of Spanish at the Faculty of Arts and Letters of the University of Mohammed V in Rabat and, since 2000, Spanish Translator in the Cabinet of his Majesty, King Mohamed VI. Among his publications are: *Recopilación de los refranes andalusíes de Alonso del Castillo* (with Federico Corriente Córdoba (Zaragoza, 1994), *Literatura de castigos o adoctrinamientos* (Madrid, 1999), and *La Alcazaba del Buregreg, hornacheros, andaluces y medio siglo de designios españoles frustrados* (Rabat, 2006).

### *Housseem Eddine Chachia*

Housseem Eddine Chachia is Assistant Professor in early modern history at the University of Sfax (Tunisia). He mainly works on minorities in the Mediterranean, particularly the expulsion of the Moriscos. He is interested in the processes and complexities of identity formation, and the relationship between the West and the Arab-Muslim world (especially the Maghreb) in modern era. His publications include: *The Sephardim and the Moriscos: The Journey of Expulsion and Installation in the Maghreb (1492–1756)*, *Stories and Itineraries* (Beirut, 2015); *Entre las orillas de dos mundos. El itinerario del jerife morisco Muḥamed ibn Abd Al-Raḥī: de Murcia a Túnez* (Murcia, 2017); *The Moment of Choice: The Moriscos on the Border of Christianity and Islam* (London, 2017).

### *Mercedes García-Arenal*

Honorary Degree of Doctor of Humane Letters (University of Chicago, 2022) and Spanish National Research Award (Ministerio de Cultura, 2019), Mercedes is a Research Professor at the CSIC (Spanish National Research Council) in Madrid. PI Coordinator of the ERC-Synergy “EuQu” project, was also PI of a

previous ERC Advanced Grant, “CORPI”. She is a cultural and religious historian specialised in religious minorities on which she has many publications, such as *Ahmad al-Mansur (1578–1603): The Beginnings of Modern Morocco* (Oxford, 2009); with Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain. Converted Muslims, The Forged Lead Books of Granada and the Rise of Orientalism* (Leiden, 2013); and with Rafael Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, *The Inquisition Trial of Jeronimo de Rojas, a Morisco of Toledo (1601–1603)*, (Leiden, 2022); she also edited other books with Gerard Wiegers.

*Catherine Infante*

She is an Associate Professor of Spanish at Amherst College. Her research and publications center on the encounters of Christian and Muslim cultures in the early modern Mediterranean and visual and material culture studies. She is the author of *The Arts of Encounter: Christians, Muslims, and the Power of Images in Early Modern Spain* (University of Toronto Press, 2022). Her current work extends this investigation on Christian-Muslim relations to focus on women and the circulation of material culture in the early modern world.

*Tijana Krstić*

Tijana is Professor at the Department of Historical Studies at Central European University in Vienna. She specializes in religious and intellectual history of the early modern Ottoman Empire as well as inter-confessional relations in the Mediterranean and Eurasian contexts. She is the author of *Contested Conversions to Islam* (Stanford, 2011), and co-editor with Derin Terzioğlu of *Historicizing Sunni Islam in the Ottoman Empire, c. 1450–c. 1750* (Leiden, 2020) and *Entangled Confessionalizations?* (Piscataway, 2022).

*Amine Oulad Lmaroudia*

Amine Oulad is a PhD candidate at the University of Amsterdam where he researches the Moroccan scholar Ibn ‘Āshir’s didactical primer the *Murshid al-Muʿīn*. His research focuses on tracing the historical evolution of Ibn ‘Āshir’s authority through the analysis of *fahāris* and *tarājim* literature and the contemporary perspectives that Dutch Moroccan preachers have towards the *Murshid*. Amine Oulad Lmaroudia is also an English teacher at the Applied University of Fontys, a politician and a student of Islamic theology under the mentorship of traditional scholars from Morocco.

*Bruno Pomara*

Bruno Pomara is Associate Professor at Universitat de València. In 2011 he was awarded with the *Young Researcher Prize* by the FEHM (Fundación Española de Historia Moderna) and in 2016 with the *Prize for the Religious History*

by the Istituto Sangalli. Among his main publications are: *Bandolerismo, violencia y justicia en la Sicilia barroca* (Madrid, 2011); *Rifugiati. I moriscos e l'Italia* (Firenze, 2017) (Spanish trans. Granada, 2022); *Impresiones diplomáticas. La revuelta de las Alpujarras vista por los embajadores venecianos* (Valencia, 2022).

*Bárbara Ruiz-Bejarano*

She is honorary professor at the UNESCO-University of Alicante Chair “Islam, Culture and Society” and the Director of Fundación Las Fuentes. She holds a PhD in Islamic Studies and her main research is focused on Muslim communities in non-Islamic societies. She currently works mainly in cultural and economic relations with the Islamic world, and the status of Muslim minorities in Europe.

*Ana Struillou*

Ana is a Past and Present Fellow at the Institute of Historical Research (London). Her doctorate, conducted at the European University Institute in Florence, explored the material culture of travel across the western Mediterranean. Her previous research project, at Exeter College (Oxford) focused on the material culture of Morisco diplomacy across early modern France and Spain. Her research interests include, amongst others, material culture, mobility, and cross-religious relations in the early modern Mediterranean.

*Gerard Wiegers*

He is Full Professor of History of Religions and the Comparative Study of Religion in the Department of History at the University of Amsterdam. His research concentrates on the relations between Islam and other religions in Europe and the Muslim West, and the history of Islamic and Jewish minorities. Some of his recent publications include (with Gülnaz Sibgatullina, eds.), *European Muslims and the Qur'an: Practices of Translation, Interpretation, and Commodification* (Berlin, 2023); (with Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld), *The Sacromonte Lead Books and the Parchment of the Torre Turpiana: Granada 1588–1606: General Introduction, Critical Edition, and Translation* (Leiden, 2024). He has edited many books and journal articles with Mercedes García-Arenal, such as *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain: A Mediterranean Diaspora* (Leiden, 2014); *Polemical Encounters: Polemics between Christians, Jews and Muslims in Iberia and beyond* (University Park, 2019); and *The Iberian Qur'an: From the Middle Ages to the Modern Time* (Berlin, 2022).

# After the Expulsion: Morisco Networks and Agency between the Iberian Peninsula and the Mediterranean—An Introduction

*Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegers*

Between 1609 and 1614 about 300,000 Moriscos were forcibly expelled from Spain, chiefly through the Mediterranean ports, and sent to North Africa. This mass deportation was accomplished with the help of galleys and ships of the royal navy, and was strictly organized by the bureaucracy of the Crown. With it the monarchy hoped to end more than a century of what was called “the Morisco question.”

The seeds were planted in the years that followed the conquest of Granada in 1492. The capitulations or terms of surrender signed with the Muslim authorities after Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile took the city guaranteed that residents of Granada who remained in the Peninsula could continue to follow Islam, although the Christian leadership encouraged the elites, the most prominent families, to emigrate to the Maghrib. Therefore, for a short time, Granadans were ruled by a statute very similar to the one that had governed the Mudejars (Muslims living in Christian territory) throughout the Middle Ages. But this situation held for only about ten years. Campaigns of conversion and evangelization, repopulation of the kingdom with Christians from the north of Castile, and the subsequent revolts of the Muslim population against those policies ended with the cancelling of the capitulations that the Catholic Monarchs had decreed. It was a time when new powers and new structures were appearing, and in the eyes of the authorities the medieval agreements were no longer viable. In 1502 it was ordered that all Muslims living under the Crown of Castile must convert to Christianity; the Muslims of the Crown of Aragon were forced to convert a little later, in 1526.

The “Morisco question” brought with it a whole range of social and political issues. In 1567 the Moriscos of Granada protested against the policies that sought to suppress their cultural and religious practices, including use of the Arabic language; their views were expressed in a famous petition (*Memorial*) that the Morisco Don Francisco Núñez Muley addressed to the Chancellery in Granada, but to no avail. In 1569 the Granadan Moriscos rose up in revolt in the Alpujarras Mountains, and for two years the former kingdom was ravaged

by a ferocious conflict, fought with great cruelty on both sides, that needed Don John of Austria and Spanish troops imported from Flanders to quell it. In fact, it was thought of as a second conquest of the kingdom, and created a fear of Moriscos that would never be entirely overcome. When it ended the entire Morisco population of Granada was deported to Castile (1570), deliberately divided into small groups that, however, only increased their resistance. Beginning with the Junta of Lisbon in 1582, and in later sessions of the Cortes, the possibility of expelling all the Moriscos from the Peninsula began to be debated. But such a measure would cause enormous religious, moral, and economic problems.

In 2013 the editors of this volume published a book that can be considered its predecessor: *Los moriscos: expulsión y diáspora. Una perspectiva internacional*,<sup>1</sup> later translated into English as *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain: A Mediterranean Diaspora*.<sup>2</sup> It was planned so that the first half covered the debates about the Expulsion, the preparations for it, and how it was carried out, while the second half dealt with the areas and countries where the expelled Moriscos settled. While proposing it as a book with its chapters assigned to scholars who were doing original research at that time, we also held a conference at which their contributions were discussed and coordinated. That event was financed within the framework of the Fourth Centenary of the Expulsion of 1609–1610.

The present volume is a kind of continuation of the former one, though from very different perspectives. It was conceived starting with a workshop financed by IS-LE COST Action (CA18129) and the ERC Synergy Project “The European Qur’an,”<sup>3</sup> held at the University of Amsterdam on 16–17 September 2021, titled *The Morisco Diaspora and Morisco Networks across the Western and Eastern Mediterranean*. The workshop conformed to the IS-LE project, whose

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1 Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegers (eds.), *Los moriscos: expulsión y diáspora, una perspectiva internacional* (Valencia, Granada, Zaragoza: Universitat de València, Universidad de Granada, Universidad de Zaragoza, 2013).

2 Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegers (eds.), *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain: A Mediterranean Diaspora* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

3 “The Morisco Diaspora and Morisco Networks across the Western and Eastern Mediterranean,” a conference held at the University of Amsterdam, September 2021, by IS-LE COST Action (CA18129) “Islamic Legacy: Narratives East, West, South, North of the Mediterranean (1350–1750),” PI Antonio Urquizar Herrera, and the ERC Synergy Project EuQu “The European Qur’an: Islamic Scripture in European Culture and Religion, 1150–1850,” Grant Agreement 810141-EuQu, PI-c Mercedes García-Arenal. This introduction falls within the framework of both projects.

aims included producing new, multidisciplinary research about the networks that connected the different areas of the Mediterranean in the Early Modern era, as well as bringing specialists from its different regions into dialogue. The present collection reflects that project and that effort: its contributions are multidisciplinary, and through its exploration of those networks it illuminates to a great and novel degree aspects of cultural history and the transmission of knowledge, products, and beliefs. We decided from the outset to concentrate on the aspects of the Morisco diaspora that in recent years have proved the most productive: on the one hand, the fact that the diaspora had begun even before the official Expulsion; and on the other, the construction of internal and external networks that allowed the exiled Moriscos to settle in other lands.

Since that Fourth Centenary of the Expulsion, or because of the enthusiasm and financing that it generated (with many conferences and exhibits, for example), historical studies that appeared almost simultaneously or in parallel with our first book have opened up new and significant vistas. In any event, publications about the Expulsion as a process initiated by the Crown have been so numerous that in this new volume, in contrast to the earlier one, we prefer to concentrate on the Moriscos' displacement and diaspora and, once again, on the networks and contacts among them; also on the activities and resolve of the Morisco elites. There have been great changes in our perception of this minority group both inside and outside the Iberian Peninsula.

## 1      **Around the Centenary of 2009: Scholarship on the Expulsion and Diaspora**

Historical scholarship of the Expulsion since the beginning of this century has been so abundant that we cannot evaluate it here as fully as it deserves. We will attempt only a brief and non-exhaustive survey of those studies, many of which have not been accessed or assimilated by speakers of English. It is a wide-ranging and extraordinarily rich bibliography that has altered profoundly our knowledge of the Morisco minority, and therefore our understanding of the structures of power of the Hispanic Monarchy. This is perhaps the area of Spain's Early Modern history that has been most fully developed in recent years.

First of all, we must mention the essential book by Rafael Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, *Heroicas decisiones*, although it appeared before the Fourth Centenary commemorations. Its subject is the debates about expulsion in Valencia, and the role played by Archbishop Ribera both in that city and before

the monarchs and the Cortes.<sup>4</sup> This work opened many new perspectives because it covered, beside the political decisions, the theological and legal debates as well as the rivalries among various centers of power.<sup>5</sup> Along the same line, but covering the entire Peninsula, is the important work by Manuel Lomas Cortés about the actual process of expulsion.<sup>6</sup> Lomas made a careful review of all the documentation on which Lapeyre had based his famous book, together with much more.<sup>7</sup> He dismantled the view of the Expulsion generally held up to that time, that it had been a bureaucratic and organizational success accomplished by a well-oiled state machine. Lomas's careful analysis revealed all its improvisation, its errors, the inconsistency of the measures it adopted for different regions and groups, the varying actions of persons in charge, and the significance of their different attitudes toward their task. Other monographic studies have followed the same lines, for instance that of Manuel Fernández Chaves and Rafael Pérez García on the internal debates of Seville's city council about the Expulsion: some officials argued for the measure and others against it, while their decrees contradicted each other and were full of exceptions.<sup>8</sup> Lomas's study also provides materials for a topic of particular interest to us here: the agency of these groups of Moriscos in even the most adverse circumstances, especially the Moriscos of Granada, who had been conditioned (and had learned from the experience of) by their deportation after the War of the Alpujarras. For example, groups of Granadans decided to charter their own ships in 1609 rather than sail in those that the Crown had readied.<sup>9</sup> Moriscos also took up collections to help the travels of the poorest among them. Among Lomas's rich documentation we find proof that some exiled Moriscos returned to Spain. Fernández Chaves and Pérez García as well have unearthed in Seville a floating population of Morisco day laborers and small tradesmen who cast

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4 On Ribera see also Emilio Callado Estela and Miguel Navarro Comí (eds.), *El patriarca Ribera y su tiempo: religión, cultura y política en la Edad Moderna* (Valencia: Institució Alfons el Magnànim, 2012); Giovanna Fiume, *La cacciata dei moriscos e la beatificazione di Juan de Ribera* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2014).

5 Rafael Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, *Heroicas decisiones. La monarquía católica y los moriscos valencianos* (Valencia: Institució Alfons el Magnànim, Diputació de València, 2001). By the same author, *Tríptico de la expulsión de los moriscos. El triunfo de la razón de estado* (Montpellier: Presses Universitaires de la Méditerranée, 2012).

6 Manuel Lomas Cortés, *El proceso de expulsión de los moriscos de España (1609–1614)* (Valencia: PUV, 2011).

7 Henri Lapeyre, *Géographie de l'Espagne morisque* (Paris: SEVPEN, 1960). The Spanish translation appeared much later (Valencia: PUV, 2010).

8 Manuel Fernández Chaves and Rafael Pérez García, *En los márgenes de la ciudad de Dios. Moriscos en Sevilla* (Valencia: PUV, 2009), 366 ff.

9 Lomas, *El proceso de expulsión*, 498 ff.

their lot with North African slaves and gypsies. A number of recent studies have focused on the links between Moriscos and slavery,<sup>10</sup> as well as on the phenomenon of captivity on the southern shore of the Mediterranean.<sup>11</sup> Interest in the presence of Muslims in Europe at Early Modern times has produced several volumes that, while focused on captives, slaves, and rowers in the galleys, bear important implications for the study of the Moriscos.<sup>12</sup>

The number of collective volumes published during and after the Fourth Centenary of the Expulsion has been overwhelming.<sup>13</sup> Aside from new research, there have been reissues of fundamental texts for the study of the Expulsion, particularly by the presses of the University of Valencia and the University of Granada: the works of Bleda and Danvila y Collado with excellent new introductions, and translations of classic works such as those of Lapeyre (mentioned above) and Henry Charles Lea.<sup>14</sup> At the same time, leading Spanish academic journals have devoted a variety of special issues to the Expulsion.<sup>15</sup> Other

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- 10 Giovanna Fiume, *Schiavitù mediterranea. Corsari, rinnegati e santi di età moderna* (Milano: Bruno Mondadori, 2009).
- 11 Daniel Hershenzon, *The Captive Sea: Slavery, Communication, and Commerce in Early Modern Spain and the Mediterranean* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018). And above all Thomas Glesener and Daniel Hershenzon, “Dans les rues on ne voit que des musulmans! Esclavage délié et appartenance urbaine en Méditerranée espagnole aux xvii<sup>e</sup> et xviii<sup>e</sup> siècles,” *Annales* 78, no. 4 (2023): 761–95.
- 12 Jocelyne Dakhlia and Bernard Vincent (eds.), *Les musulmans dans l'histoire de l'Europe. Vol. 1, Une intégration invisible*; and Dakhlia and Wolfgang Kaiser (eds.), *Vol. 2, Passages et contacts en Méditerranée* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2011). Eloy Martín Corrales, *Muslims in Spain, 1492–1814: Living and Negotiating in the Land of the Infidel* (Leiden: Brill, 2021). Natividad Planas, *Koukou, le royaume enfoui: Enquête sur les relations entre Europe et islam (xvii<sup>e</sup>–xviii<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Paris: Fayard, 2023).
- 13 Only a few of them assume a combative stance: e.g., Raphaël Carrasco, *Deportados en nombre de Dios. La expulsión de los moriscos: cuarto centenario de una ignominia* (Barcelona: Destino, 2009).
- 14 Henry Charles Lea, *Los moriscos españoles. Su conversión y expulsión*, ed. and intro by Rafael Benítez Sánchez-Blanco (Alicante: Publicacions Universitat d'Alacant, 2007). On Lea's work and on his interpretation of the Expulsion of the Moriscos see Richard L. Kagan, *The Inquisition's Inquisitor. Henry Charles Lea of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2024).
- 15 Among others, “La expulsión de los moriscos,” *Alborayque. Revista de la Biblioteca de Extremadura* 3 (2009); “Els moriscos i la seua expulsió,” *Afers, fulls de recerca i pensament* 62/63 (2009); “Los Moriscos. Una minoría en la España Moderna” *Estudis, revista de Historia social* 35 (2009); “Los Moriscos. Una nueva mirada sobre la Expulsión en el iv centenario” *Chronica Nova* 36 (2010). Special issues also in homage of leading Morisco historians such as *Sharq al-Andalus*, 20 (2011–13) and 23 (2019–21), dedicated to respectively Mikel de Epalza and Bernard Vincent; and Raquel Suárez García *et al* (eds.), *Aljamías. In Memoriam Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes y Iacob M. Hassán* (Gijón: Trea, 2012). Years before some conferences had been held on the subject, as *L'expulsió dels moriscos*.

compendia coordinated by specialists have appeared as stand-alone volumes, including those published in connection with exhibits held in those years.<sup>16</sup> A notable example is Bernard Vincent (ed.), *Comprender la expulsión de los moriscos de España (1609–1614)*.<sup>17</sup> Noteworthy is also a recent book of historical studies about the Moriscos dedicated to Rafael Benítez Sánchez-Blanco.<sup>18</sup>

## 2 Recent Historiography, New Approaches

This flood of historical studies on the Expulsion has continued uninterrupted, and has proved especially rich in the last five years. Diverse and coming from many points of view, it is based on a wide variety of sources, most of them local or regional, that have not only filled gaps in our knowledge but have painted a more complex picture in which local variations have come to the fore. The new historiography has highlighted not only the range and diversity of reactions among the civil and religious authorities, but the sharp differences among Morisco groups, among families, and almost among individuals. We suggest that this deeper study and analysis of the Expulsion has also produced a more complicated and nuanced view of the supposed “absolute” power of the Spanish Monarchy, or rather of the limitations of that power, and its endeavor to achieve religious homogeneity among its vassals. It has uncovered the plethora of agents—cathedral chapters, city councils, the Inquisition, bishops, institutions of all kinds, individual acts by persons in positions of power—that weighed in on every decision or intervention, as well as the interests that motivated those different actors in society. We have also, and more subtly, discovered that certain attitudes in the society at large were less unanimous than previously thought. One of the most painful and guilt-producing issues of the Expulsion was whether to apply it to children and mixed marriages; there too

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*Conseqüencies en el món islàmic i el món cristià (Sant Carles de la Ràpita, 5–9 dic 1990)* (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1994).

- 16 *La Expulsión de los moriscos*, exhibition held from 12 December 2018 to 31 July 2019 at the Fundación Bancaja in Valencia; Alfredo Mateos Paramio and Juan Carlos Villaverde Amieva (eds.), *Memoria de los moriscos: escritos y relatos de una diáspora cultural* (Madrid: SECC, 2010), issued for an exhibition at the Biblioteca Nacional de España in Madrid.
- 17 Bernard Vincent (ed.), *Comprender la expulsión de los moriscos de España (1609–1614)* (Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo, 2020). Our list is not exhaustive and there are many other collective volumes, but see also Youssef ElAlaoui, *Morisques, 1501–1614: une histoire si familière* (Mont-Saint-Aignan: Presses universitaires de Rouen et du Havre, 2017).
- 18 Fernando Andrés Robres, Juan Francisco Pardo Molero and Manuel Lomas Cortés (eds.), *Poderosos, marginados y gente común: una historia de todos. Homenaje a Rafael Benítez Sánchez-Blanco* (Valencia: Albatros, 2023).

we have found ambiguities, doubts, and a range of attitudes and solutions. We conclude that we can no longer maintain a unitary image of “the Morisco,” that notion that earlier historians had assimilated after inheriting it from apologists of the Expulsion and Inquisition sources.<sup>19</sup>

Fresh attention has also been paid to the continuity between Mudejars and Moriscos, especially in Castile and Aragon.<sup>20</sup> We now have significant texts that show how both groups circulated and traveled, including on the pilgrimage to Mecca; this little-known aspect of the life of the Mudejar minority helps to explain the development of later networks and itineraries.<sup>21</sup> Tunis was a central hub in many of these movements. We have also fresh knowledge on the emigration of the Granadan Muslims after the Christians conquest of 1492 and the efforts of many to return to the Peninsula, as well as the reactions of the legal authorities of the Maghreb faced to those movements.<sup>22</sup>

The complexity of the Moriscos is now so clear as to be beyond all doubt; so is the fact that they shared many social and cultural characteristics with their Christian contemporaries.<sup>23</sup> In the bibliography described here we no longer find language about the “clash of civilizations.”

We need to stress that this deepening of our knowledge through an abundance of publications has not led to any “whitewashing” of the Expulsion. There has been no attempt to legitimize the measure or to reduce its significance, its radical nature, the consequences it produced, or its enormous cost in human suffering. The chaos and human misery produced by the implementation of the Expulsion have only been further documented. What has been called into question is its efficacy and its “total” character, the image that the

19 Grace Magnier, *Pedro de Valencia and the Catholic Apologists of the Expulsion of the Moriscos: Visions of Christianity and Kingship* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

20 For example Alice Kadri, Yolanda Moreno Moreno and Ana Echevarría (eds.), *Circulaciones mudéjares y moriscas: redes de contacto y representaciones* (Madrid: CSIC, 2018). Ana Echevarría (ed.), *Biografías mudéjares o la experiencia de ser minoría: biografías islámicas en la España cristiana* (Madrid: CSIC, 2008).

21 On Mudejar authors of the fifteenth century see Pablo Roza Candás, *Memorial de ida i venida hasta Maka: La peregrinación de Omar Patón* (Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo, 2018). Al-Ḥājj ‘Abd Allāh Ibn-Al Ṣabbāḥ al-Asbahī al-Andalusī composed a *rihla* (travel journal) edited by Antonio Constán Nava, *Libro del origen de los sucesos y recuerdo de los virtuosos. Estudio general y traducción anotada al español del manuscrito Unicum núm. 2295 de la Biblioteca Nacional de Túnez* (Madrid: CSIC, 2021).

22 Jocelyne Hendrickson, *Leaving Iberia. Islamic Law and Christian Conquest in North West Africa* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2021).

23 Borja Franco Llopis et al. (eds.), *Identidades cuestionadas. Coexistencia y conflictos interreligiosos en el Mediterráneo (ss. XIV–XVIII)* (Valencia: PUV, 2016). Rogers Brubaker, “Categories of Analysis and Categories of Practice: A Note on the Study of Muslims in European Countries of Immigration,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 36, no. 1 (2013): 1–8.

Crown and many authorities tried to convey.<sup>24</sup> This is because another innovation of recent historiography on the Expulsion has been its focus on the Moriscos who were not expelled. Trevor Dadson's book on the Moriscos of Villarrubia de los Ojos<sup>25</sup> first revealed a whole reality previously unsuspected by scholars: the minority of Moriscos, in numbers difficult to determine, who in some areas managed either to avoid the Expulsion altogether or to return after it, with the connivance or complicity of local residents and authorities. These events tell of the high degree of assimilation and integration enjoyed by some Morisco groups, and of the existence of networks both inside and outside Spain that made different outcomes possible: never leaving, settling in other lands, or returning to the Peninsula. Aside from specialized studies in the volumes and journals we have mentioned, another book has marked a point of departure: Enrique Soria Mesa's *Los últimos moriscos* is devoted to the families, especially from Granada, who avoided both the internal expulsion after the War of the Alpujarras and the external one of 1610 by assimilating to the nobility.<sup>26</sup> On elites, noble families, and their continuity or survival we also have new valuable books on Murcia and Seville,<sup>27</sup> which shows how the economic, social, and political interests of Morisco elites were deeply intertwined with their collective effort to preserve their way of life and cultural identity. Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano also illuminated those connections in the affair of the forged Lead Books of the Sacromonte,<sup>28</sup> whose texts, and that of the Torre Turpiana Parchment, have now been edited, studied and translated for the first time by Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld and Gerard Wiegers.<sup>29</sup>

24 Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegers, "La expulsión de los moriscos," *Al-Andalus y la Historia*, 23 April 2021.

25 Trevor J. Dadson, *Los moriscos de Villarrubia de los Ojos (siglos XV–XVIII): historia de una minoría asimilada, expulsada y reintegrada* (Madrid-Frankfurt am Main: Iberoamericana Vervuert, 2007).

26 Enrique Soria Mesa, *Los últimos moriscos: pervivencias de la población de origen islámico en el reino de Granada (siglos XVII–XVIII)* (Valencia etc.: Universitat de València, de Granada, de Zaragoza, 2014).

27 Rafael M. Pérez García and Manuel Fernández Chaves, *Las élites moriscas entre Granada y el Reino de Sevilla: rebelión, castigo y supervivencias* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 2015). José Pascual Martínez, *Los moriscos antiguos murcianos: expulsión, vuelta y permanencia (1609–1634)* (Valencia: PUV, 2022).

28 Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

29 Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld and Gerard Wiegers, *The Lead Books of the Sacromonte and the Parchment of the Torre Turpiana: Granada, 1588–1606: General Introduction, Critical Edition, and Translation* (Leiden: Brill, 2024).



FIGURE 1.1 *Mihrāb* of the great mosque in the Tunisian Morisco village of Testour  
PHOTO: G. WIEGERS.

Bibliography on the expelled Moriscos, and those who earlier had emigrated voluntarily, has also increased greatly. Their travels to Italy and settlement there have been studied, for example, in a special issue of *Quaderni Storici* in 2013, coordinated by Giovanna Fiume and Stefania Pastore.<sup>30</sup> A more recent exploration of that theme is Bruno Pomara Severino's book *Refugiados. Los moriscos e Italia*.<sup>31</sup> Hossain Bouzineb has published a fascinating collection of documents about the Moriscos in Salé.<sup>32</sup> Beside Salé in Morocco, Tunis is the best-known destination for Moriscos expelled to North Africa, and contributions to its history have come from Luis Bernabé Pons, Abdel-Hakim Slama-Gafsi, and Houssein Eddine Chachia, especially through articles in the collective volumes and journals mentioned above. A book by Mikel de Epalza and Slama-Gafsi, *El español hablado en Túnez por los moriscos (siglos XVII–XVIII)*,<sup>33</sup> represents another important tendency of the last few years: the fusing of the Moriscos' cultural history with their role in society.<sup>34</sup> This effort is of the first importance and is one to which we hope to contribute with the present volume.

But before developing such premises as they appear in recent publications, we should recall once more how Morisco historiography has been divided between social history on the one hand, and literary and Aljamiado studies on the other. In volume 19 (2008–10) of the journal *Sharq al-Andalus* cited several times above, an interesting interchange took place between Francisco Márquez Villanueva and Bernard Vincent in the form of strongly polemical "Cartas abiertas" (open letters).<sup>35</sup> The first, by Márquez Villanueva, was provoked by his annoyance with comments about his work that Vincent had made in *El río morisco*.<sup>36</sup> Their argument, although pained and antagonistic, was expressed in respectful and measured terms. It illustrated two different visions

30 Giovanna Fiume and Stefania Pastore, "Premessa, Monographic Issue Diaspora Morisca," *Quaderni Storici* 48, no. 144 (3) (2013): 663–87.

31 Bruno Pomara Severino, *Refugiados. Los moriscos e Italia* (Granada: Comares, 2022). Reviewed by Bernard Vincent: "Pomara, B. (2022), *Refugiados, Los moriscos e Italia*," *Studia Historica: Historia Moderna* 45, no. 1 (2023): 398–400.

32 Hossain Bouzineb, *La Alcazaba del Buregreg: hornacheros, andaluces y medio siglo de designios españoles frustrados* (Rabat: Publicaciones del Ministerio de Cultura, 2006).

33 Mikel de Epalza and Abdel-Hakim Slama-Gafsi, *El español hablado en Túnez por los moriscos o andalusíes y sus descendientes (siglos XVII–XVIII): material léxico y onomástico documentado* (Valencia: PUV, 2010).

34 Sadok Boubaker and Clara Ilham Álvarez Dopico (eds.), *Empreintes espagnoles dans l'histoire tunisienne* (Gijón: Trea, 2011).

35 Francisco Márquez Villanueva, "Carta abierta a Bernard Vincent," *Sharq al-Andalus* 19 (2008): 279–93; Bernard Vincent, "Carta abierta a Márquez Villanueva," *Sharq al-Andalus* 19 (2008): 295–304.

36 Bernard Vincent, *El río morisco* (Valencia: PUV, 2006).

of the Morisco minority that were hard to reconcile, in spite of Vincent's effort to do so in his reply, which focused on Márquez's accusation that Vincent saw a "clash of civilizations" along the lines of Fernand Braudel. These two scholars fell into profoundly different theoretical and methodological camps: Vincent relied on his own archival research in social and political history, while Márquez based his views on literary sources, treatises, and contemporary writings, including Aljamiado literature, which he maintained that Vincent had dismissed. Márquez was arguing that the contemporary Christian attitude toward the Expulsion was more nuanced and complex, and less unanimous, and that there were both Morisco and Christian individuals who were deeply and mutually acculturated.<sup>37</sup> Their confrontation bore some resemblance to an earlier one between L.P. Harvey and Trevor Dadson that arose from Dadson's review of Harvey's 1990 book *Islamic Spain, 1250–1500*. The review, and Harvey's reply, appeared in the *Times Literary Supplement (TLS)* in 2006.<sup>38</sup> The breach between these two pairs of scholars arose largely from the sources that they relied on, as well as from their respective methodologies. Márquez and Harvey saw an "Islamic Spain" and a profoundly Islamic, irredentist minority of Moriscos fully under the sway of their crypto-religion; what attracted their attention (and their sympathy) was the group's spirit of resistance. In fact, neither of them stopped to consider what being Muslim meant to the Moriscos (something that Luis Bernabé Pons, for instance, has recently elaborated upon),<sup>39</sup> what were the features of that underground religion,<sup>40</sup> or to what extent the group actually practised Islam. Nor did they reflect that past and present historians could be selecting and prioritizing cultural traits that might not have been so important to those who actually lived them.<sup>41</sup> However, the

37 See an assessment of their polemic in Ricardo García Cárcel, "De las laderas de la montaña al río morisco: entre Francisco Márquez Villanueva y Bernard Vincent," *Sharq al-Andalus* 23 (2019): 61–72.

38 Leonard P. Harvey, "Fatwas in Early Modern Spain," *The Times Literary Supplement*, 26 February 2006, replying to Trevor J. Dadson, "The Moors of La Mancha," *The Times Literary Supplement*, 10 February 2006.

39 Luis F. Bernabé Pons, "¿Es el otro uno mismo? Algunas reflexiones sobre la identidad de los moriscos," in *Identidades cuestionadas: Coexistencia y conflictos interreligiosos en el Mediterráneo (ss. XIV–XVIII)*, ed. Borja Franco et al., 205–24 (Valencia: PUV, 2016). Also Max Deardorff, "¿Quién es morisco? Desde cristiano nuevo a cristiano viejo de moros: Categorías de diferenciación en el Reino de Granada (siglo XVI)," *Forum historiae iuris* (2018): 1–40.

40 See the special section coordinated by Mercedes García-Arenal in *Al-Qanṭara* 34, no. 2 (2013) on *taqīyya* or licit concealment.

41 Joel Robbins, "Crypto-Religion and the Study of Cultural Mixtures: Anthropology, Value, and the Nature of Syncretism," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 79, no. 2 (2011): 408–24.

debate between Harvey and Dadson also had to do with the representativity of the sources for historical conclusions about the Expulsion. For Dadson, the fact that Moriscos returned to Villarrubia de los Ojos called for a revision of the Expulsion's significance; Harvey insisted on its effectiveness as a measure of persecution and European intolerance toward Muslims.<sup>42</sup> Márquez rejected theories about Morisco conspiracies, as well as the supposed unanimity of Old Christian society: he pointed to authors of treatises such as Pedro de Valencia and Pedro de León, who wrote against the Expulsion.<sup>43</sup> Dadson was, in general, closer to Márquez than to Harvey when he foregrounded cases of "tolerance,"<sup>44</sup> but the split between their sources and points of departure still held. Bernard Vincent was the exception, but the other three scholars seemed to be trying to convert history into an example or a model for the present always a slippery slope for a historian.

As we have described in this introduction, many aspects of that polemic have been rendered moot by the new publications we have cited and by new methodological approaches.<sup>45</sup> When we reread the exchange today it seems somewhat stale; in fact it was out of date almost since its publication, in the same period that saw the appearance of Rafael Benítez's *Heroicas decisiones*. Two important books on the apologists of the Expulsion also contributed to consider and combine new sources.<sup>46</sup> But it is still relevant to consider the problem of different sets of sources and different methodologies, even if more interdisciplinary and collaborative views have come to the fore in recent years. For instance, Mercedes García-Arenal and Rafael Benítez Sánchez-Blanco have recently published an edition and close reading of an Inquisition trial from 1603, studying it from the perspectives of social, religious, legal, and cultural history and highlighting contacts between Moriscos living in the Peninsula

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42 Later studies on Morisco villages and cities again took up the issue of return. For example, O'Banion's study about the Moriscos of Deza found that none of the expellees returned: Patrick J. O'Banion, *Deza and Its Moriscos: Religion and Community in Early Modern Spain* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2020).

43 Mercedes García-Arenal, "Mi padre moro, yo moro: The Inheritance of Belief in Early Modern Iberia," in *After Conversion: Iberia and the Emergence of Modernity* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 304–35.

44 Trevor J. Dadson, *Tolerancia y convivencia en la España de los Austrias: cristianos y moriscos en El Campo de Calatrava* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2017).

45 Simona Cerutti, "Histoire pragmatique, ou de la rencontré entre histoire sociale et histoire culturelle," *Traces*, 15 (2008): 147–68.

46 Grace Magnier, *Pedro de Valencia and the Catholic Apologists of the Expulsion of the Moriscos*; Mohamed Saadan, *Entre la opinión pública y el cetro: la imagen del morisco antes de la Expulsión* (Granada: EUG, 2017).

and those who had left for Morocco.<sup>47</sup> Some of the most interesting recent works of Morisco history have drawn on different disciplines and stressed the cross-cultural movement of texts and ideas. An excellent example is Mayte Green-Mercado's *Visions of Deliverance: Moriscos and the Politics of Prophecy in the Early Modern Mediterranean*,<sup>48</sup> which analyzes the significance of the prophetic and apocalyptic ideas that circulated both before and after the Morisco diaspora and led to a variety of social movements. Along the same lines is Oumelbanine Zhiri's *Beyond Orientalism. Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajarī between Europe and North Africa*,<sup>49</sup> which appeared just as we finished our present book. Zhiri followed the trail of perhaps the most famous Morisco, Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥaḡarī, through his places of exile and his travels beyond the Peninsula and Morocco; she focuses on his writings, his experiences, his translations, his dialogues with other Moriscos, the networks that supported him, and his debates with European "Orientalists." Zhiri maintains that al-Ḥaḡarī, together with other Moriscos of the diaspora, should be considered a member of the "Arab republic of letters" of the seventeenth century. Her work was made possible by, among other sources, the full edition of al-Ḥaḡarī's *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn 'Alā 'l-Qawm al-Kāfirīn* edited by Van Koningsveld, al-Samarrai, and Wiegiers in 2015.

Historians' attention has turned in recent years to texts written by Moriscos in Latin letters. Muhamad Rabadán, a Morisco from Rueda de Jalón, wrote a *Discurso de la luz* which has recently been the object of study; like al-Ḥaḡarī's work, it made an immediate impact in Orientalist circles in Early Modern Europe.<sup>50</sup> Other very late texts are now available, such as *El compendio islámico de Mohanmad de Vera* edited by Raquel Suárez García, and especially the important study by Consuelo López-Morillas of the *Corán de Toledo*.<sup>51</sup>

47 Mercedes García-Arenal and Rafael Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, *The Inquisition Trial of Jerónimo de Rojas, a Morisco of Toledo (1601–1603)* (Leiden: Brill, 2022); Spanish translation, *El proceso inquisitorial de Jerónimo de Rojas, morisco de Toledo (1601–1603)* (Valencia: PUV, 2024).

48 Mayte Green-Mercado, *Visions of Deliverance: Moriscos and the Politics of Prophecy in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2019).

49 Oumelbanine Zhiri, *Beyond Orientalism: Aḥmad Ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajarī between Europe and North Africa* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2023).

50 Teresa Soto, *A sombraluz. Lecturas de El discurso de la luz de Muhamad Rabadán* (Madrid: CSIC, 2025). Nezha Norri, *Edición y estudio sociolingüístico del Manuscrito D. 565 de la Biblioteca Universitaria de Bolonia* (Cordova: UCO, 2017).

51 Raquel Suárez García ed., *El compendio islámico de Mohanmad de Vera: un tratado morisco tardío* (Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo, 2016). Although earlier than our period, we must not forget the important manuscript edited by Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes, Luce López-Baralt, and Juan Carlos Villaverde Amieva, *Tratado de los dos caminos por un morisco*

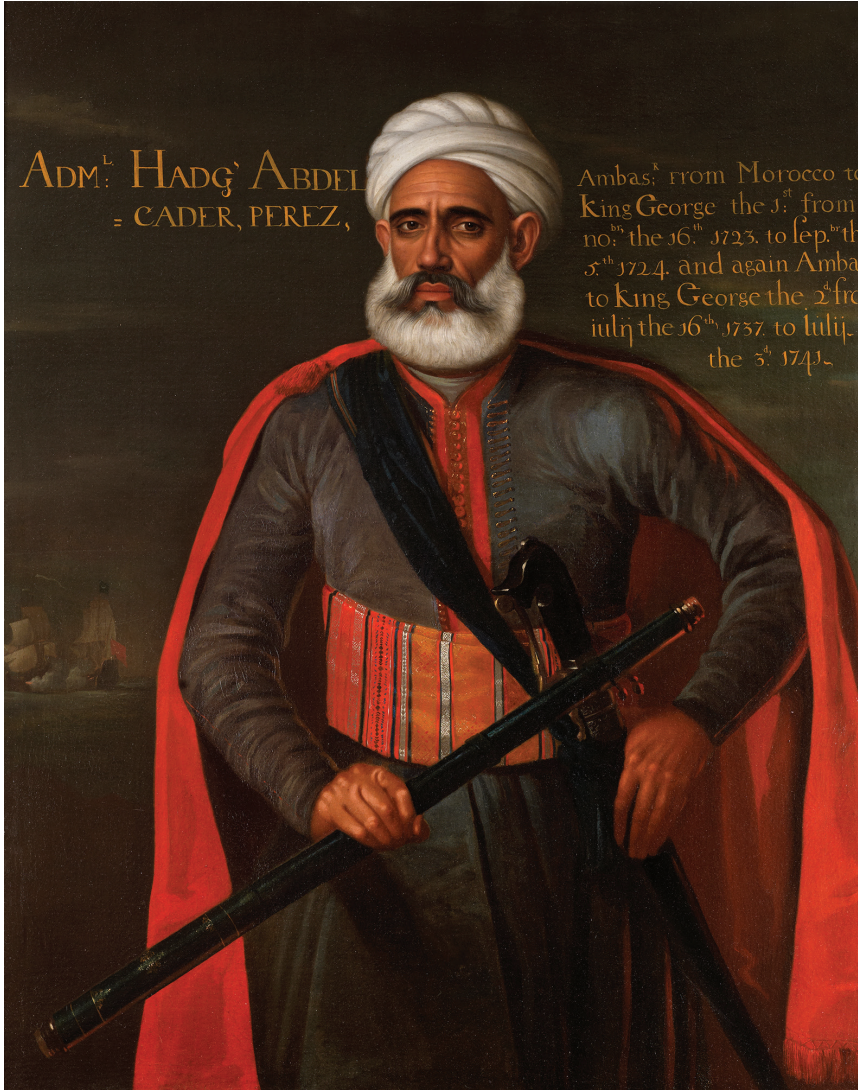


FIGURE 1.2 Moriscos were relevant in the 18th-century Maghrib

PORTRAIT OF ADMIRAL ABDELKADER PEREZ, MOROCCAN AMBASSADOR TO ENGLAND. OIL ON CANVAS, (152 × 101 CM), FROM THE STUDIO OF MICHAEL DAHL (CA. 1724). PRIVATE COLLECTION.

We still need, however, to highlight the dialogue between social and cultural factors in the history of the Moriscos. Careful reading of the texts written by the Moriscos themselves allows us to hear their voices and to explore a set of problems that flesh out what we can learn from archival documents, including those of the Inquisition. Works of anti-Christian polemic written in Spanish by Moriscos in the diaspora, like that of Muhamad Alguazir, show the exiles' insistence on drawing clear boundaries between Christianity and Islam—boundaries that had become blurred for many of them. They also sought to erase the barriers between Andalusī Muslims and other ethnic groups in the lands that had welcomed them. Finally, there are the Arabic texts written by Moriscos in the diaspora, like those of Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Rafī' and those studied by Housseem Eddine Chachia. Attention to Arabic and Ottoman-Turkish sources, including diplomatic ones, and to the role of intermediaries has marked an increasing interest in the position of the Moriscos in the Maghrib and the Ottoman Empire, as we see in the contribution by Tijana Krstić in this volume. Theoretically speaking, we see a growing interest in the phenomenon of Diaspora studies, and the wider interest in forced displacement and European persecutions of minorities and refugee studies (for example, by Nicholas Terpstra)<sup>52</sup> also in comparative perspective (e.g. Housseem Eddine Chachia, Isabelle Poutrin, Gerard Wieggers, and Mònica Colominas).<sup>53</sup>

The expulsion of the Moriscos has never ceased to leave traces in the memories of people in Europe or the Middle East, especially the Maghrib until this very day as one of the largest cases of forced displacement in Europe. Even if we do not have the space here to go into these memories and their place

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*refugiado en Túnez (Ms S2 de la Colección Gayangos, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia)*, (Madrid: Fundación Menéndez Pidal, 2005); Rīdha Mami(ed.), *El manuscrito morisco 9653 de La Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid* (Madrid: Fundación Ramón Menéndez Pidal, 2002); Consuelo López-Morillas, *El Corán de Toledo: edición y estudio del manuscrito 235 de la Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha* (Gijón: Trea, 2011).

52 Nicholas Terpstra, *Religious Refugees in the Early Modern World: An Alternative History of the Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

53 Isabelle Poutrin, "Theorizing Coercion and Consent in Conversion, Apostasy, Ordination, and Marriage (16th and 17th Centuries)," in *Forced Conversion in Christianity, Judaism and Islam*, 86–109 (Leiden: Brill, 2019). Poutrin, "The Jewish Precedent in the Spanish Politics of Conversion of Muslims and Moriscos", *Journal of Levantine Studies* 6 (2016), 71–87. Gerard Wieggers and Mònica Colominas Aparicio, "Iberian Minorities 'Side by Side' and 'Face to Face': An Analysis of Recent Comparative Studies in Muslim-Jewish Relations," *Hamsa* 9 (2023): 1–12. Housseem Eddine Chachia, *The Sephardim and the Moriscos: The Journey of Expulsion and Installation in the Maghreb (1492–1756)*, 2 Vols. [In Arabic: *Al-Safārdīm wa-l-Muriskīyyūn: Riḥlat al-tahḡūr wa-al-tawṭīn fī bilād al-Maḡrib (1492–1756)*, 2 Vols.] (Beirut: al-Mu'assasa al-'Arabiyya li-l-Dirāsāt wa-l-Naṣṣ, 2015).

in present-day societies we want to finish with two examples of interesting publications that study the memories of al-Andalus in general and the history of the Moriscos in particular. Firstly a work which focuses on the present-day descendants of Iberian Jews and Muslims in Morocco, entitled *Children of Al-Andalus*. This study offers beautiful portraits of a number of them including interviews conducted by the authors, and (translated) recent publications on them accompanied by editorial introductions by the Dutch editors, Hicham Ghalbane and Rick Leeuwestein.<sup>54</sup> Ghalbane is a photographer, Leeuwestein has a background in tourism studies. While they are not professional historians, the work includes articles by important scholars both from Islamic and Jewish studies.<sup>55</sup> Interestingly the perspective in this work is very much that of present-day Moroccan society (it starts with a quotation of the passage in the Moroccan constitution about the Andalusian ethnic component as one of Morocco's recognized identities) and how it looks at diversity and the history of Iberian immigrations, here again against the background of medieval al-Andalus (hence the title), and the increasingly intolerant policies in medieval Christian Iberia. The second example is a recent study by Marta Domínguez on the present date identity formations of the descendants of the Andalusians in Tunis.<sup>56</sup> On all these aspects the present volume provides food for thought.

### 3 The Present Volume

The present volume takes a fresh look at the Moriscos between the Iberian Peninsula and the Diaspora. In his contribution, Bruno Pomara discusses groups of Moriscos who from the sixteenth century onward travelled clandestinely to the Ottoman territories, especially Istanbul, by way of Italy. In these journeys, thanks to travel guides *avant la lettre*, the Moriscos crossed northern Italy on foot, carefully avoiding the Duchy of Milan (a Spanish territory), until they reached Venice, which they considered “the gateway to the East.” Venice and its dominions in the Adriatic and Aegean Seas were lands where the Moriscos felt relatively safe, by virtue of special conditions negotiated between the government of the Most Serene Republic and the Ottoman Sultan, which

54 Hicham Ghalbane and Rick Leeuwestein, *Children of Al-Andalus. A Lost Paradise in Morocco* (Hoorn: Bridge2Connect, 2021).

55 The following passage is based on Wiegiers and Colominas Aparicio, “Iberian Minorities,” 15.

56 Marta Domínguez, “¿Lo fueron o lo son? Apuntes sobre la construcción identitaria andalusí en el Túnez contemporáneo,” in *Túnez, el Mediterráneo y los Moriscos. Homenaje a Slimane Mostafa Zbiss y Mikel de Epalza*, ed. Houssem Eddine Chechia, 181–208 (Tunis: Centre de Publication Universitaire, 2023).

provided for their protection. Pomara sheds new light on the silent presence of spies and go-betweens, as well as ordinary Moriscos, who from the second half of the sixteenth to the first quarter of the seventeenth century were arriving in the domains of the *Serenissima* and setting up networks there, causing tension among the Hispanic Monarchy, Venice, and the Ottoman Empire. The contribution by Bárbara Ruiz-Bejarano continues to delve on pre-expulsion exiles, its networks and routes. Based on evidence found in the Inquisition trial of Joan Zambriel, *faqih* of Plasencia de Jalón, she discusses well-organized networks in France in which Moriscos assisted their Aragonese counterparts on their way to the Ottoman regencies in the Maghreb, including Tunis, or to Istanbul. Diplomatic correspondence by the French ambassador to the Ottoman sultan reveals further details of this organized network, showing how prominent Moriscos had dealings with the Sublime Porte to ensure that their fellows would be well received and settled in the Ottoman provinces of North Africa. Ruiz-Bejarano further argues that these groups of exiles were accepted in exchange for their skills and knowledge. They also seem to have dissipated tensions between local and Ottoman populations in both Algeria and Tunisia.

Ana Struillou's piece deals also with diplomatic contacts and with France, but she shifts attention from the Ottoman Empire to Imperial Spain itself. In her contribution, she discusses one of the petitions that Moriscos sent to the authorities with whom they sought to establish contact in order to improve their position. She focuses on a Morisco petition to the French king in 1602, seven years before the general Expulsion. In it, we see the ambiguous stance of the Moriscos, who are justifying their past behavior as decent, loyal subjects of the Spanish Crown. It is interesting to see how their petition made use of a forged history of al-Andalus, the *Verdadera Historia del Rey Don Rodrigo*, written by the Morisco Miguel de Luna, in support of their claim that they had been unjustly oppressed. They used that text to ask for assistance, while simultaneously countering the allegation that they were rebellious, unruly subjects. Disobedience to a ruler, let alone sedition and rebellion against the government, were serious offenses in the Early Modern world. It is well known that the Moriscos were accused of this particular behavior many times, both before and after the Expulsion. They were never considered loyal subjects no matter what they did to be considered so.

These three contributions point to the agency of important and even wealthy individual Moriscos. This aspect is further considered in the next two contributions, those of Luis Bernabé Pons and Housseem Eddine Chachia. Turning to Tunis and Algiers, Bernabé Pons questions the often-heard statement regarding the Moriscos in the Diaspora that their insertion in the host societies depended largely on the role that the authorities offered to them. While

not denying the general validity of this assertion, Bernabé Pons, basing himself chiefly on documents preserved in the National Archives in Algiers and Tunis that shed light on the Moriscos' economic and other activities, shows how the Moriscos, through economic transactions and movements of money, tried to create spaces of autonomy and reinforce a social and ethnic identity that allowed them to escape, to some degree, the control of the authorities. As for Houssein Eddine Chachia, in his contribution about the Tunisian Morisco communities, the focus is on less-studied aspects of their settlement and Diaspora, especially the role of the "powerful Moriscos": the community leaders, nobles, descendants of the Prophet Muḥammad (*ṣurafā'*), Sufis, politicians, and merchants. On the basis of Tunisian sources (some of them hitherto unknown or unpublished) and Spanish and other European sources, he sheds new light on, among others, the figures of Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Rafī', the Sufis Maṣṣūr al-Naḡār, Muḥammad bin 'Āšūr and 'Alī al-Ḥadhar, and the politician and merchant Mustafá de Cárdenas.

Turning to the Moroccan Diaspora, the next two chapters show the troubled political scenery of seventeenth century Morocco, troubles to which Moriscos participated and were also victims of internecine struggles. Hossain Bouzineb deals with the dominant social and political panorama of Morocco during a time span of about three decades, analyzing the actors involved and the germination of the final outcome, which consisted of the establishment and acceptance of the new Alawi dynasty. The focus in this contribution, which is based on the author's own research in Moroccan and Spanish archives, is on the Morisco immigrants, particularly in Rabat and Tetouan, who were affected by the prevailing situation and had to adapt to the vicissitudes of each moment, making use of their social, religious, and political capital to influence their position.

In another contribution about Morocco, Amine Lmaroudia examines the position of the Hornacheros in Rabat-Salé on the basis of a case study: the historical evidence about a (lost) fatwa of Ibn 'Āšir, a Moroccan scholar from Fez who, himself very likely of Andalusí descent, responded to the question of whether the *muḡāhid* Muḥammad al-'Ayyāšī could wage a legitimate war against the Hornacheros. He decided in the affirmative. In addition to the fatwa, Lmaroudia also studies, for the first time, the person of the mufti.

Taking as a starting point the religious symbol of the Virgin Mary (*Maryam* in the Qur'ān), Catherine Infante studies how the politics surrounding sacred images of the Virgin could still be a point of tension for those Moriscos who rejected figural representations. Given these tensions, some Early Modern authors used their writings to negotiate the representation of the Moriscos' relation to Marian icons, including after their departure from Spain as they

began to make a living throughout their Mediterranean diaspora. Infante examines a selection of *relaciones de sucesos* published in the years surrounding the Expulsion, in addition to other literary and archival sources, to consider some of the ways in which Moriscos may have brought their beliefs and practices surrounding Mary/*Maryam* with them to North Africa. For example, in a *relación de suceso* published in 1612, a Morisca cultivated a strong devotion to an image of the Virgin of la Caridad, despite having to conceal her affection for Marian icons from her husband and family. She clandestinely purchased a print of the Virgin of la Caridad while in Seville to take with her to North Africa. Curiously, the same *relación* also describes how Mawlāy Muḥammad al-Šaiḥ al-Ma'mūn, one of the sons of the Moroccan sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr, relied on the same image of the Virgin Mary when he fell ill, further emphasizing a connection between Spain and North Africa. These texts reveal as well how tensions around image worship followed Moriscos throughout their Mediterranean diaspora. And it connects with the two following chapters, that demonstrate the long shadow of the Plomos del Sacromonte, in which the figure of the Virgin Mary has a leading role. In his contribution, Gerard Wiegiers focuses on the reception of the Parchment of the Turpiana Tower and the Lead Books of the Sacromonte in Granada, continuing his research into these documents on the basis of the original documents preserved in the Sacromonte Abbey. The critical edition of these sources, co-authored by the late Sjoerd van Koningsveld and himself, now allows for a critical study of what Moriscos in the Diaspora knew about these documents and how they viewed and used them. Wiegiers shows that some of those individuals had firsthand knowledge of some of the texts: one was the famous Morisco from Hornachos Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥaḡarī, because of his own involvement with their translation into Spanish in Granada in 1599, and because he knew one of their creators, Alonso del Castillo/al-Ukayḥil. He and other Moriscos attached great value to them as allegedly ancient prophetic texts that confirmed the salvational role of the prophet Muḥammad and the Qur'ān. Some Moriscos knew those documents through oral transmission only, and Wiegiers shows how they held mythical views about them. None of those Moriscos considered the Parchment and Lead Books to be Christian documents.

Mercedes García-Arenal examines, on the basis of a new study of Inquisition sources, a group of descendants of Moriscos in Granada who had escaped the Expulsion from Spain. More than 250 persons were tried at the beginning of the eighteenth century for their alleged Islamic convictions. Those beliefs, discussed in different documents, show the influence of the Lead Books, in whose Islamic message these Moriscos clearly believed. García-Arenal sheds new light on two of the dominant families involved, the Aranda-Sotomayors

and the Figueroas; banished from Granada, they migrated to Istanbul and to Tunis, where some of them settled in the Andalusí quarter. García-Arenal suggests that rather than believing in a crypto-religion, they were actually practicing a form of syncretism. As we discussed when analyzing the current bibliography earlier in this introduction, we sometimes adopt the Inquisition's hermeneutics of suspicion, and our conviction that the Moriscos were systematic crypto-Muslims has prevented us in the past from appreciating the hybrid situation in which they were immersed. Conditioned by our written sources, we prioritize cultural features that may not have been so salient for those who practiced them; or we suppose that the accused were more homogeneous in belief and practice than the documents can show. This view is connected, as we have also said before, to the Moriscos' particular version of Islam; for them, what it meant to be a Muslim must inevitably have varied over time.

Finally, Tijana Krstić deals with the translation into Ottoman Turkish of 'Abdallāh b. 'Abdallāh al-Tarğumān's polemical text entitled *Tuhfat al-Adīb fī al-radd 'alā ahl al-ṣalīb* (1420), by Abū'l- Ġayṭ al-Qaššāš (whom we have met in Chachia's essay) in 1603. This Tunisian *šeiḥ*, who a few years later would also play an important role in the settlement of the Moriscos in Tunis, did so with the intention of presenting it to the Ottoman Sultan Ahmed I. Soon after, this text became one of the most widely known and disseminated anti-Christian polemical texts in the Islamic world, and, by the late nineteenth century, in Europe as well. The article examines the circumstances of *Tuhfa's* translation from Arabic into Ottoman Turkish, the actors involved, the narrative's trajectory from Tunis to Istanbul, its reception by the Ottoman reading public, as well as impact on the development of an Ottoman polemical genre of self-narrative of conversion to Islam. It also demonstrates how Moriscos through their networks between Tunis and Istanbul promoted anti-Christian polemics. A transcription and translation of such an Ottoman narrative, which appears to have been directly influenced by *Tuhfa*, is featured in the article's appendix.

#### 4 Conclusion

In this volume we meet specialists on Morisco studies of different origins and different disciplines conversing with one another through their writings. In so doing and through this conversation the contributors have produced a book full of new insights that complements existing work not only on the Morisco Diaspora but also on the long Morisco century in Habsburg Spain. By shifting the focus to the fate of the expelled Moriscos and the networks they built and

maintained between the Peninsula and the places where they settled, we have reinforced and enriched our knowledge of the way the Expulsion was implemented. The different chapters show that for all its reputation as a display of monarchical power, the Expulsion was far from total. Moriscos remained in or returned to Spain, in addition to those who traveled to Italy, France, and the other European countries which the contributors to this volume examine, eventually settling for the most part in Morocco, Tunis, Algiers, and Istanbul.

The book also demonstrates the existence of Morisco networks and Morisco exiles well before the Expulsion. We see here that through economic transactions, money, movement of commodities, and personal ties they tried to create spaces of autonomy and reinforce a social and ethnic identity that allowed them to protect themselves, to some degree, from the control of the authorities, as they had also tried to do with some success while in Spain. This autonomy sometimes brought upon them the enmity of local populations or local authorities. Their ethnic and cultural identity was also maintained by community leaders such as wealthy and powerful merchants, noblemen, descendants of the Prophet, or Sufi figures in rivalry to the ones that had existed previously in the territories of their exile. While they maintained an ethnic and cultural identity reinforced by their networks, we witness also something important throughout the volume: the hybrid situation and the hybrid culture to which they belonged, well represented by the illustration here included, the *mihrāb* of the great mosque in the Tunisian Morisco village of Testour, with its broken receding pediment. The Moriscos' hybrid cultural and religious identity is also manifested by their promotion, while in Diaspora, of anti-Christian polemics, considered here as an effort to draw clear boundaries between what belongs to Christianity and what to Islam, what to their previous land and what to their present location. These polemics were encouraged by their elites and also by local political powers faced with the need to instruct the exiles in the tenets of Islam.

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## Air of Freedom: the Discreet Morisco Presence in Venetian Lands

*Bruno Pomara*

The Republic of Venice, like other sovereign Italian states, was assailed by the wave of Morisco exiles who left the Iberian Peninsula after the expulsion decrees issued by King Philip III.<sup>1</sup> In the Venetian case historiography has emphasized that there was less a stable Morisco presence than a temporary passage, which had begun even before the formal exile.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps for that reason the matter has not been studied in great depth, through only brief references by Spanish ambassadors in Venice or Venetian *baili* in Istanbul. There is no doubt, however, that observing Ottoman political authorities' interest in protecting the Morisco diaspora is crucial to understand the Venetians' care and concern for these refugees.

In recent years the fortunes of the Moriscos in Venice have been placed in a more detailed context.<sup>3</sup> In this chapter, drawing on a wider range of sources (diplomatic, chancelleresque, administrative, epistolary, investigative, criminal), as well as on other observers and fresh points of view, I shall attempt to flesh out the overall picture of this fairly obscure period in the exile of that crypto-Muslim minority. I shall follow the trails that wind through the urban space itself and Venetian possessions on the Dalmatian and Greek coasts, and as far as Istanbul—a capital sought for its reputation for religious tolerance, and for having granted privileges to the expelled Sephardim, welcomed Protestant and Armenian merchants, allowed spaces and freedoms to Orthodox Greeks, and, in particular, offered support and shelter to Moriscos.

1 Bruno Pomara, *Refugiados. Los moriscos e Italia* (Granada: Comares, 2022 [1st ed. 2017]).

2 Abdeljelil Temimi, “La politique ottomane face à l’expulsion des Morisques et leur passage en France et à Venise 1609–1610,” *Revue d’Histoire Maghrébine* 79–80 (1995), 397–420; Mikel de Epalza, *Los moriscos antes y después de la expulsión* (Madrid: Mapfre, 1992): 291–92.

3 Andrea Pelizza, “Quei mori di Granata, che capitano nel nostro dominio ...’: Venezia e il passaggio dei moriscos,” *Quaderni Storici* 48, no. 3 (2013): 779–812.

## 1 Venice, a Mediterranean Crossroads between East and West

The Moriscos' passage through Venice and its dominions is attested by "guide-books" *avant la lettre* that were already circulating in the first half of the sixteenth century: they described the secret routes the Moriscos should follow in order to reach the former Constantinople.<sup>4</sup> Moriscos, though they were baptized Christians, were forbidden to leave the Iberian Peninsula without written permission; that was how the Spanish authorities sought to avoid the implicit danger of apostasy and political treachery. Sailing from Iberian ports was doubly risky because the authorities would assume that a Morisco was escaping to North Africa so as to return to Islam; still, some Moriscos did leave by sea, since the whole coastline could not be guarded all the time. But leaving through a Catholic country like France, though technically not allowed, was a way of avoiding a possible accusation of apostasy by the Inquisition. Therefore, the anonymous authors of the travel guides recommended following, as discreetly as possible, longer and less direct itineraries by land, usually across southern France and the northern Italian states, before reaching the hub that was Venice.

Two main routes are known. The first crossed the south of France and northern Italy; then, as the traveler approached Milan, he was advised to leave it to his right and take the long way around the mountain to avoid "the lands of the [Habsburg] emperor."<sup>5</sup> From there he should ask the locals for the best way to Brescia, the first city on the route that was ruled by the Venetian Republic. There is specific advice for a smoother journey: avoid Verona, because they charge a highway tax there; head for Padua to embark on its river (the Brenta) for the price of half a *real* per person; sail around Venice so as to enter through the Grand Canal and land at St. Mark's Square. Once in the capital of the Most Serene Republic the Moriscos should find an inn, negotiating the price in advance; they should buy their food from itinerant sellers in the market, because vendors on the square charged outsiders three times what natives had to pay. To continue to Istanbul, Morisco travelers had to seek out Jews, whom they would recognize by their yellow turbans. It was they who traded with the Turks and could convey them to other Venetian possessions along the coasts

4 Joseph Lincoln, "An Itinerary for Morisco Refugees from Sixteenth Century Spain," *Geographical Review* 29, no. 3 (1939): 483–87; Luce López-Baralt and Awilda Irizarry, "Dos itinerarios secretos de los moriscos del siglo XVI (Los manuscritos aljamiados 774 de la Biblioteca Nacional de París y T-16 de la Real Academia de la Historia)," in *Homenaje a Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes* (Oviedo, Madrid: Universidad de Oviedo, Gredos, 1985), 2: 547–82.

5 This detail allows us to date the itinerary between the annexation of the Duchy of Milan by the Habsburgs (1535) and the abdication of Emperor Charles V (1556).

of Dalmatia and Albania, stopping at the ports of Durrës, Vlorë, Lezhë, and Herceg Novi.

The second route, which may go back to the late sixteenth century, goes in the opposite direction from East to West. This shows how important it was for some Moriscos to return to Spain, whether temporarily, permanently, or with the aim of maintaining secret family, commercial, or political ties with their homeland. This route had more intermediate stops but no practical suggestions. Once again, the portal to the Christian world was Venice, and it called for crossing the north of Italy before traversing the south of France.<sup>6</sup>

Spanish authorities were aware of these continuous streams of clandestine migrants. Iberian ambassadors kept their monarch informed about their movements from Venice: they decried the frequent contacts between Moriscos and Turks, which complacent Venetian ministers chose to ignore. In late 1560 the diplomatic Íñigo de Espinosa wrote to Gonzalo Fernández, Duke of Sessa and governor of Milan, to report on “the Moriscos who have fled from Spain (of whom there are a great number in Constantinople) ..., who have passed through Venice recently and are there in order to cross to the Levant, many of them recently arrived from Spain, mostly from Aragon.”<sup>7</sup> The Spanish agent noted that he had tried to discover their plans, placing among them two “men of their own kind” as spies.<sup>8</sup> It is clear that the Moriscos’ flight was motivated by the persecution they suffered in Spain; Espinosa believes that as a result, “not a man of them will fail to end up as a vassal to the Turk.” His letter recommends cutting off their emigration, because as vassals of the Sublime Porte the Moriscos could take up arms against Spain for the sake of “their religion.” It would be wise to guard the frontier towns of Salses and Canfranc in the Pyrenees, through which Moriscos often crossed into France; if they were caught there all their money should be seized and they should be sent directly to the galleys.

6 The stops in Italy were: Venice, Padua, Vicenza, Peschiera del Garda, Verona, Brescia, Bergamo, Osio, Canonica d’Adda, Milan, Boffalora del Ticino, Novara, Casal Monferrato, Vercelli, Salasco, Livorno Ferraris, Torrassa, Chivasso, Brandizzo, Settimo Torino, Abbadia di Stura, Turin, Rivoli, Avigliana, Sant’ Ambrogio, San Giorgio di Susa, Bussoleno. I have been unable to identify the towns called Fukay, Carbonel, Sodara, Sakonera, and Chalas.

7 “Los moriscos huidos de España (de los cuales en Constantinopoli hay un gran número) ... que han pasado estos días por Venetia y están en ella para pasar en Levante muchos dellos venidos nuevamente de España, la mayor parte de Aragón.” Letter from Íñigo de Espinosa to Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba. Venice, 26 December 1560. The letter specifies that the Moriscos were from Pedrola, a village near Zaragoza, and that their guide was named Gonzalo Barragán: Archivo General de Simancas [AGS], *Estado, Venecia*, leg. 1324, exp. 49.

8 “Yo les he puesto dos espías tan suficientes que teniéndoles por hombres de su jaez se han fiado dellos y descubierto libremente su intención”; AGS, *Estado, Venecia*, leg. 1324, exp. 49.

In 1559 the secretary García Hernández, who was the acting Spanish ambassador, told Philip II what he had heard from an informant in Venice. “After [becoming] Christians,” that is, after the forced baptisms, many Moriscos from Granada “have gone there [to Istanbul] in flight from the Inquisition.”<sup>9</sup> There they joined the Ottoman militias, and had “a reputation as good soldiers.” Five years earlier some of them had appeared before the Grand Vizier, Rustam Pasha, to request a shipment of arms to Granada: “they offered to inflict great harm on that kingdom and other parts of Spain.”<sup>10</sup> These details were of special concern to the Catholic Monarchy, which kept a close watch on events and conflicts in the Ottoman Empire; Sultan Suleiman was ill at the time, and there was uncertainty about his successor Selim. About one year later, the same secretary reported that a large number of Morisco families from Aragon and Valencia passed through Venice every day; even as he wrote there were more than thirty individuals around the lagoon, “some with wives and children, waiting for passage.”<sup>11</sup> He warned that “more will come every day,” and that “others from Granada are expected”; that meant that the Moriscos with “the worst reputation,” those most persecuted by the Inquisition, would be leaving the Iberian Peninsula in the coming years. Their passage to Turkey was organized by a Venetian merchant hired by Hernando Talavera, alias Abrayn, a Granadan resident in Istanbul. Talavera managed the whole business through bills of exchange that the Spanish diplomat claimed to have seen with his own eyes.

## 2 Inconvenient and Troublesome Characters

Although it was mostly Morisco families that emigrated, rather than individuals, Spanish diplomats in Venice reduced them all to the stereotype of future soldiers, spies, and interpreters in the service of the Ottoman Empire:

Every day, many Moriscos from Aragon and Valencia have passed and continue to pass through here on their way to the Levant, in order to become Muslims; and people who have come from there say that they are well treated by the Turk’s ministers, because they use them as soldiers,

9 Letter from the secretary and acting ambassador García Hernández to Philip II. Venice, 21 December 1559. AGS, *Estado, Venecia*, leg. 1323, exp. 246.

10 AGS, *Estado, Venecia*, leg. 1323, exp. 246. This argument would be repeated: see, e.g., note 11.

11 Letter from secretary and acting ambassador García Hernández to Philip II. Venice, 14 April 1561. AGS, *Estado, Venecia*, leg. 1324, exp. 38, f. 69r-v.

spies, and [for the] language. About a year and a half ago, a secretary of Mos de la Vigna told me that they have the same dealings with those who have fled the kingdom of Granada, and that in his hearing some of them had told Rustam Pasha that if the Turk sent his armada to the coast of that kingdom, well-armed, he would find men and equipment who could do great damage there, about which I warned Your Majesty.<sup>12</sup>

On some occasions during the massive expulsions from Spain (1609–14), *çavuş* of Morisco origin—diplomatic envoys from the sultan before the Venetian Senate—appeared in the city of St. Mark. They regularly declined the services of the dragoman, the Venetian government’s official translator from Turkish to Italian, since they were able to make themselves understood in Spanish.<sup>13</sup> Such men aroused distrust in the Spanish authorities.

In 1593 the Spanish ambassador to Venice, Francisco de Vera, learned of two Moriscos who were about to embark in a hired ship, first to Split and then to Istanbul;<sup>14</sup> he asked the *capi* of the Council of Ten to arrest them.<sup>15</sup> These were the years in which all Moriscos were ordered disarmed, and the Aragonese were still seen as potential fifth columnists and saboteurs. The actual reason for their embarkation was unclear to both the ambassador and the Venetian authorities, but the latter immediately complied with the Spanish request. It was soon, however, extended to a demand for their extradition to Spain so that

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12 “Por aquí han pasado y pasan cada día en Levante muchos moriscos de Aragón y de Valencia a tornarse moros y dize personas que han venido de allá que son bien tratados de los ministros del Turco porque se sirven dellos de soldados, espías y lengua. Un secretario de Mos de la Vigna me dixo haurá año y medio que la misma quenta tenían con los que se han huydo del reino de Granada y que en su presencia había dicho algunos dellos a Rusten Baxa que si el turco embiase su armada a aquel reyno y costa, bien proveyda de armas, hallaría gente y aparejo para hazer gran daño en él, de que di aviso a Vuestra Magestad.” Letter from secretary and acting ambassador García Hernández to Philip II. Venice, 2 February 1561 (received 25 March). AGS, *Estado, Venecia*, leg. 1324, exp. 85.

13 Pelizza, “Quei mori,” 791–95, 797–803; Maria Pia Pedani and Alessio Bombaci (eds.), *I “documenti turchi” dell’Archivio di Stato di Venezia, parte prima* (Rome: Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali, 1994), 176–78.

14 Letter in cipher from Francisco de Vera, ambassador in Venice, to Philip II. Venice, 29 May 1593. AGS, *Estado, Venecia*, leg. 1345, exp. 32, f. 79v.

15 A year earlier, on 28 September 1592, three other Aragonese travelers who were about to sail for Dalmatia had met the same fate. Their compatriots in Istanbul defended them before the *bailo* there and called for their release, asserting that they had not conspired against the Republic in any way. Archivio di Stato di Venezia [ASVe], *Senato, Dispacci, Ambasciatori, Costantinopoli*, D4, c. 220r.

they might be tried by the Inquisition.<sup>16</sup> The ambassador insisted that if they had only wanted to live as Muslims, they would have gone to nearby North Africa.<sup>17</sup> It was not only a matter of principle for him; earlier he had known of *Marranos* who were passing through Venice, but had made no complaint about them.<sup>18</sup> He assumed that many other Moriscos, about whom he was not concerned, would come; these two, however, were assumed to be “rebels against the king,”<sup>19</sup> leaders, and dangerous spies.<sup>20</sup> “Great ... might have been the harm that could arise from the work of these two men.”<sup>21</sup> De Vera asserted that the two had assumed false identities (one claiming to be from Cuenca, the other a Catalan), but he doubted them because “in their dress and many other things they seem to be from the kingdom of Aragon.”<sup>22</sup> They were carrying only a few Castilian *reales* but did not appear to be of humble origin, and De Vera was not convinced by their statement about their native regions or their accounts of several journeys to Naples and Zara. “A thousand nonsensical statements” came from their mouths, and all of it aroused suspicion. The Ten wondered

16 Report by the ambassador's secretary before the *Collegio* and the Doge, Leonardo Donà. Venice, 21 May 1593. ASVe, *Collegio, Esposizioni principi*, reg. 10, c. 81v.

17 “Questi huomini sono di quei moreschi che christiani antichi et volontari, perché del 1492 furono battegiati tutti, lasciando andar via quelli che non volessero restar. Vivono nondimeno nella Spagna secretamente et nelle lor case private alla mahometana, essendo così per il più, né è credibile perciò che questi volessero andar de qui in Constantinopoli con fine di viver liberamente, perché se a tal effetto si fossero partiti di casa, potevano passar in una notte in Barbaria dove sarebbono vivuti sicuri a modo loro, con che venivano a fuggir si longo viaggio et la tirannide del Turco in Constantinopoli. Andavano dunque in Levante per altra causa, et è, come mi è stato prima che hora et già circa dui anni da Sua Maestà significato, che dovevano esser mandati in Constantinopoli per procurari mover il Turco a danni della Maestà del re verso le rive di Valenza, con disegno di far qualche gran solevatione et rebellione in quelle parti.” Report by Ambassador De Vera before the *Collegio* and Leonardo Donà. Venice, 24 May 1593. ASVe, *Collegio, Esposizioni principi*, reg. 10, cc. 84r–85r.

18 “Si potrebbe dir assai delli molti portughesi che per di qua passano giornalmente in Constantinopoli per viver in quelle parti a lor modo sicuri, et sono assicurati con una parte publica, come hebrei levantini et ponentini. Il ché si supe senza dir mai parola, ma di questi due moreschi per le cause et ragioni importantissime che ho detto, ho convenuto hor supplicarla”; ASVe, *Collegio, Esposizioni principi*, reg. 10.

19 “Essi non potevano partir di Spagna per le leggi del regno senza licentia, questo solo oltre il resto li condanna, come rebelli del Re”; ASVe, *Collegio, Esposizioni principi*, reg. 10, c. 81v.

20 “Oltre questi dui, hanno da venir molti altri di questi moreschi et in gran squadra, de' quali però non se n'ha da dir altro: ma questi dui ch'erano capitani di quelli et spie, per questo importava molto haverli.” Report by Ambassador De Vera to the *Collegio* and Donà. Venice, 28 May 1593. ASVe, *Collegio, Esposizioni principi*, reg. 10, c. 86v.

21 ASVe, *Collegio, Esposizioni principi*, reg. 10.

22 Letter in cipher from Francisco de Vera to Philip II. Venice, 23 June 1593. AGS, *Estado, Venecia*, leg. 1343, exp. 36, f. 91.

whether to free them, since the Moriscos seemed like “men of little substance,” but the ambassador insisted that they remain under arrest.

As the case grew more complicated it was transferred to the Venetian Senate, the *Prega* or *Pregadi*; that institution was best placed to resolve cases of international politics. The ambassador’s strategy consisted of pressuring the Senate, “persuading them the best I could of how suspicious these people are.”<sup>23</sup> Not these two in particular, but all Moriscos in general; their true faith was that of Mohammed, in spite of all efforts by His Majesty and the Inquisition to instruct them. De Vera also stressed the danger of their contacts with North Africa and with the Turk, whom the Granadans were petitioning to send an armada to attack the Monarchy by sea; at the same time the Valencians and Aragonese would rise up, causing chaos. Although these two Moriscos did not look capable of negotiating with the sultan, they might have revealed important details to counteract the disarming of their coreligionists in Aragon and Valencia.

Francisco de Vera’s efforts might have been in vain, “because this state [the Republic of Venice] is most inclined to preserve the liberty professed within it for all those who enter, leave, and reside in these dominions—Moors, heretics, and all the nations of the world—without being disturbed. That is how [the Venetians] have preserved and attained the greatness they enjoy.”<sup>24</sup> The statement reflected a long tradition of liberality that the Holy See had not been able to combat, even less in the period of Paul v’s Interdict (1606–1607) and in the following years, during which many more Moriscos would pass through.

In the end, the Spanish ambassador’s pressure bore fruit: the Senate decreed that the two Moriscos, on condition of their being well treated and released if found innocent,<sup>25</sup> were to be handed over to the authorities on the frontier with the Duchy of Milan at Bergamo,<sup>26</sup> leading to “a result of friendship

23 AGS, *Estado, Venecia*, leg. 1345, exp. 32, f. 79v.

24 “por ser esta señoría muy inclinada a conservar la libertad que en ella se professa de que entren, salgan y residan en este dominio moros, hereges y todas las naciones del mundo sin ningún disturbio, porque con eso han conservado y llegado a la grandeza que tienen”; AGS, *Estado, Venecia*, leg. 1345, exp. 32, f. 80r.

25 “Si manderanno dunque a Milano in poter dell’Illustrissimo signor Contestabile, il quale ritrovandosi essi colpevoli nel modo che si è detto, sarà fatto quello che conviene, se anco altramente et che si trovasse che essi si fossero partiti dal paese per viver liberamente sarà un’altra cosa. Et io in ogni caso li raccomanderò di cuore, perché non son crudele. Questa gratia è stata certo una grande dimostrazione dell’amorevolezza et ottima disposizione di Vostra Serenità”; ASVe, *Collegio, Esposizioni principi*, reg. 10, c. 86v.

26 Letter from Juan Fernández de Velasco y Tovar, constable of Castile and governor of Milan, to Francisco de Vera. Milan, 16 June 1593 (received 18 June). AGS, *Estado, Milán*, leg. 1543, exp. 30, f. 61v.

and good will” between the two powers.<sup>27</sup> De Vera did not really believe in the guilt of these Moriscos, who seemed “poorly prepared to foment such an uprising”;<sup>28</sup> he did not even know their names. He was simply obeying an order that Philip II had given him two years before, in July 1591: to discover the intentions of Moriscos who passed through Venice on their way to the Levant, and to determine who was sending them. As late as the 1590s, after years of negotiations and signed agreements, Philip the Prudent was still harshly forbidding the Moriscos to bear arms.<sup>29</sup> The two “poor” arrested men, De Vera suggested, even if they were not plotters, could be offered immunity and some degree of mercy in exchange for their collaboration—if they “declared openly what is happening, because in this journey they may easily have discovered many secrets.”<sup>30</sup>

In any case, even though they did not fit the usual profile, these men could be employed as spies; any tale they told might turn up other individuals of interest to the security of the State. Here Spain was imitating an expedient much used by the Republic: by offering bribes, pardons, and reprieves, it could persuade people to denounce the innocent. Philip II expressed this political pragmatism to the governor of Milan, the constable of Castile Juan Fernández de Velasco y Tovar, as follows: “Though they may be persons of small importance, it will matter that others know that they were caught in Venice; let those who saw them go also see them brought back.”<sup>31</sup> The governor of Milan wanted to study the situation for himself before sending the men on to Spain, “to learn from them more particularly the purpose of their journey, whose aim is not to be trusted; for we know their desires of old, and how they now want

27 Venice, 23 September 1593. ASVe, *Collegio, Esposizioni principi*, reg. 10, c. 99r–v.

28 AGS, *Estado, Venecia*, leg. 1345, exp. 32, f. 80v.

29 “Mostrano li sudetti moreschi sudditi del re in quei regni da certo tempo in qua malissima volontà verso Sua Maestà et è dall’anno 1590 in poi che ha lei convenuto incominciar a far fare in quelle parti delle essecutioni contra di loro, onde che finalmente per più assicurarli la Maestà sua è stata anco costretta levar a tutti li moreschi di Aragon et di Valenza le armi si offensive, come difensive”; ASVe, *Collegio, Esposizioni principi*, reg. 10, cc. 84r–85r.

30 ASVe, *Collegio, Esposizioni principi*, reg. 10, cc. 84r–85r.

31 Letter from Philip II to the constable of Castile: “Acerca los dos moriscos que se os remi-tieron de Venecia, me ha parecido ordenaros que aviéndolos interrogado como allí os dije, y sacado dellos lo que huviere, los embiéys a muy buen recaudo a Cartagena con alguna ocasión de nave que en Génova se offrecerá para allí, o Alicante, y que allí se entreguen al corregidor para que sean interrogados conforme a la orden con que se hallará para quando lleguen, pues aunque podrian ser personas de poca importancia, todavía será de mucha que los demás sepan que los han entregado en Venecia y que los que vieron yr los vean volver y los avisaréys de la orden que en esto huviéredes dado.” San Lorenzo, 21 August 1593. AGS, *Estado, Milán*, leg. 1273, exp. 50.

to stir up dissent in the kingdom of Aragon, and other matters.”<sup>32</sup> After having the men imprisoned in the castle of Milan<sup>33</sup> the constable did not really know what to do with them or what questions to ask them,<sup>34</sup> although Philip ordered that they be offered the impunity and mercy that Ambassador de Vera had suggested.<sup>35</sup> The governor’s inexperienced efforts, uncertain as he was about Morisco affairs, did not help him to discover much from the prisoners. They were not tortured and were allowed to speak freely, and “the substance of what they say is that they were going to serve His Majesty in the kingdom of Naples.”<sup>36</sup>

Velasco y Tovar’s involvement in the affair led him to contact a Franciscan friar, a “man of secrets” to the Duke of Savoy, who confirmed the existence of a dark web of “heretics, infidels, and some Republics and Catholic princes”—in other words, Huguenots, Moriscos, Venice, and France—that worked to “send persons to different provinces of a great king to foment rebellions, and in particular had urged New Christian vassals of his to rise up against him.”<sup>37</sup> Unable to learn anything from the two Aragonese Moriscos, the governor sent them on a Ragusan ship from Genoa to Alicante.<sup>38</sup>

Spanish diplomacy in general seemed more concerned with the activities of these few select individuals than with the larger, more consistent groups

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32 Letter from the constable of Castile and governor of Milan to Francisco de Vera: “Yo he dado orden para que los reciban al confín y las traygan aquí, para entenderse dellos, más particularmente el designio de su viage de cuyo fin, ninguna cosa fiaría pues sabemos sus pretensiones viejas y o que incitarán agora naturalmente sus ánimos, las inquietudes del reyno de Aragón, y otras occassiones.” Milan, 2 June 1593 (received 5 June). AGS, *Estado, Venecia*, leg. 1543, exp. 28.

33 A search for their interrogation in the castle of Milan, mentioned in documents from the Archivo de Simancas, has been unsuccessful. Volume 325, covering October–December 1593 and including the Moriscos’ incarceration, cannot be consulted: Archivo di Stato di Milano, *Carteggio delle cancellerie dello Stato*.

34 Letter from the constable of Castile to Francisco De Vera: “Será bien que Vuestra Señoría me diga, si sabe algo que se les pueda preguntar demás de la generalidad, porque sin esta luz o la de su Majestad, yo no los he querido hasta agora, y en caminarlos después la vuelta de Génova para que de allí los remitirá a España como me lo manda su Majestad.” Milan, 8 September 1593 (received 10 September). AGS, *Estado, Venecia*, leg. 1543, exp. 40.

35 Letter from Philip II to the constable of Castile. San Lorenzo, 21 August 1593. AGS, *Estado, Milán*, leg. 1273, exp. 51.

36 Letter from the constable of Castile to Philip II. Milan, 2 November 1593 (received 21 November). AGS, *Estado, Venecia*, leg. 1543, exp. 214.

37 Letter in cipher from the constable of Castile to Philip II. Milan, 9 September 1593 (received 1 October). AGS, *Estado, Milán*, leg. 1272, exp. 194.

38 Letter from the Count of Viñasa, Spanish ambassador in Genoa, to Philip II. Genoa, 3 November 1593. AGS, *Estado, Génova*, leg. 1425, exp. 53.

of exiles.<sup>39</sup> In the critical year of 1567, on the eve of the Alpujarras revolt and the formation of the Holy League, word came of the presence of seven spies from Valencia and Granada who were passing through Venice. The warning originated in the Levant and was sent on from Vienna by Thomas Perrenot de Granvelle, lord of Chantonnay, Spain's ambassador to the Holy Roman Empire. The men were sent by Mehmet Pasha, disguised as merchants, and sheltered in the home of a renegade from Granada; they were to study "in greatest secrecy" everything that went on between Sicily, Spain, Germany, and the provinces ruled by the emperor, and to pass on the information to the Turk.<sup>40</sup>

A few years later, in 1608, the movements of another Aragonese Morisco drew mistrust. Finding him in Split with two companions, wearing Christian clothing and a gold chain and with "his crowns in his pocket," the local *rettore* let him go without confiscating the 112 *reales* he carried, since Spanish money was forbidden in Venetian territory.<sup>41</sup>

In 1610 Ambassador Bedmar asked the Republic for its immediate help in halting the flow of refugees; children should be separated from their parents and placed in appropriate situations. The true aim was to detain and punish "the principal Moriscos."<sup>42</sup> Bedmar was especially alarmed by the presence of two individuals who were pursuing acts of doubtful legality in Venice. The first was Gaspar de Raya, a merchant resident in Madrid<sup>43</sup> who had lived by the Guadalajara Gate (in the present Calle Mayor).<sup>44</sup> He was accompanied by his wife, who, the ambassador noted, was an Old Christian—a malicious detail meant to arouse suspicion, because if the authorities were disinclined to act, a Christian woman in danger of apostasy might make them take notice. Bedmar's first letter declared that they were about to embark for Istanbul, but in time that prediction proved false.

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39 There was a significant exception in 1557: in that year Sultan Suleiman I complained to the Doge Priuli on behalf of about one hundred Moriscos bound for Istanbul who had been imprisoned by the Venetian authorities at the request of the Spanish ambassador. But the Republic assured the Porte that it had never detained that group nor felt any pressure from the Spanish envoy. See Pelizza, "Quei mori," 787.

40 AGS, *Estado, Alemania*, leg. 657, f. 21. Avisos de Levante, 1567. I thank Gennaro Varriale for allowing me access to the document.

41 Letters from General Zangiaco Zane in Dalmatia to the *bailo* in Constantinople, Ottaviano Bon. Zadar, 5 and 26 July 1608. ASVe, *Bailo a Costantinopoli, Lettere*, 108 II, fasc. X, n.n.

42 Cited in Pelizza, "Quei mori," 795.

43 His surname suggests that he was originally from the Morisco town of La Raya (Murcia).

44 Letter in cipher from Ambassador Alonso de la Cueva to Philip III. Venice, 9 January 1610 (received 17 February). AGS, *Estado, Venecia*, leg. 1354, exp. 22.

De Raya carried his money in the form of letters of credit, issued by a Genoese<sup>45</sup> in Madrid. The same man helped him to transfer his savings to Turkey; since the Moriscos could not carry large sums out of Spain, the letters of credit were a subterfuge that the Crown promised to look into. Further, the Morisco met frequently with a Portuguese Jew,<sup>46</sup> who had come from Dalmatia to recover 50,000 dinars left by his brother, who had died in Madrid. The ambassador made much of this friendship in which a Sephardi treated a Morisco “with familiarity.”<sup>47</sup> He turned his attention to De Raya’s relatives and contacts in Madrid. Thanks to a careful account that some Morisco spies gave to the Council of State, we find that De Raya belonged to an extensive international network that was pressuring the Grand Turk to remedy “Spain’s offenses,” that is, the persecution of its Muslims.<sup>48</sup> The informers also claimed that many Moriscos returned to their country by buying, for inflated sums, licenses bearing the forged signature of the Count of Salazar. (Salazar was the king’s customs officer in Burgos, charged with confiscating goods that the Moriscos were trying to export illegally).<sup>49</sup> The network linked Madrid with Saint Jean de Luz, Marseille, Venice, and Istanbul, creating a secure corridor that protected the expelled Moriscos’ assets, private correspondence, and personal safety.

The second person that Bedmar had in his sights was Mehmet Çelebi,<sup>50</sup> who also used the Christian name Manuel Henríquez. A longtime and multivalent resident of Venice, he was a go-between for the affairs of Spanish renegades in Bosnia. He also served as an agent for Castilian and Aragonese Moriscos in Venice, where he received their Spanish letters of credit worth at least 200,000

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45 A certain Giovanni Filippo Passalviro.

46 Abraham Abenun, from Vila do Conde.

47 Letter in cipher from Ambassador Alonso de la Cueva to Philip III. Venice, 1 February 1610 (received 15 March). AGS, *Estado, Venecia*, leg. 1354, exp. 29.

48 Appended document in Jorge Gil Herrera, and Luis F. Bernabé Pons, “Los moriscos fuera de España: rutas y financiación,” in *Los moriscos, expulsión y diáspora. Una perspectiva internacional*, ed. Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegers (Valencia, Granada, Zaragoza: Universitat de València, Universidad de Granada, Universidad de Zaragoza, 2013), 228–30.

49 Jesús Carrasco Vázquez, “Moriscos y marranos. Colaboración interesada de dos colectivos marginados en tiempos del Quijote,” in *La Orden de San Juan en tiempos del Quijote*, ed. Francisco Ruiz Gómez and Jesús Molero García (Cuenca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2010), 198.

50 His surname is an honorific title, used in the Ottoman world after the given name by distinguished persons: Pedani, *In nome del Gran Signore. Inviati ottomani a Venezia dalla caduta di Costantinopoli alla Guerra di Candia* (Venice: Deputazione editrice, 1994).

ducats, to be cashed in the city of St. Mark.<sup>51</sup> Çelebi, whom Ambassador Bedmar considered a spy, tried to convince Moriscos who arrived in Italy to go on to Turkey and enlist in the armies of Ahmed I, but most of them refused, preferring to remain in Venice.

Bedmar proposed, the Council of State countenanced, and Philip III authorized Çelebi's secret assassination. Luis Aliaga, a councilor of State and the king's personal confessor (and a future Grand Inquisitor), often soothed the king's doubts about the legality of certain extreme measures; he opined that his monarch "would not sin in punishing this vassal, because of his offenses of treason and apostasy in the faith." Çelebi had left Spain without authorization, though before the decrees of expulsion were issued. Aliaga asserted that the king would not have this homicide on his conscience, and that with so many Moriscos present in Venice it would scarcely be noticed.<sup>52</sup> We do not know the outcome of the plan.

Aside from these supposed spies for the Turk, and against Iberian interests, in 1620 the State Inquisitors, heads of the Venetian secret services, began to keep an eye on a Morisco named Don Alonso who maintained a close relationship with the new Spanish ambassador, Luis Bravo de Acuña, and was often seen in his company.<sup>53</sup> These were the years immediately following the famous "conspiracy" against the Republic by the previous ambassador, the Marquis of Bedmar (1618).<sup>54</sup> This supposed *congiura del Bedmar*, probably the result of a paranoid fantasy by the leaders of the Republic, reflected a popular and political psychosis that led the State Inquisitors to search for more possible Spanish plots; an expanded intelligence service extended even into the new

51 Letter in cipher from Ambassador Alonso de la Cueva to Philip III. Venice, 15 September 1610 (received 16 November). AGS, *Estado, Pequeños Estados italianos*, leg. 1494, exp. 15, 16, 17. *Actas of the Council of State*, Madrid, 9 December 1610. AGS, *Estado, Venecia*, leg. 1929, exp. 11–12. These documents are cited in Gil Herrera and Bernabé Pons, "Los moriscos," 226, 230–31 (appendix). The Venetian ambassador to Madrid, Pietro Priuli, had intercepted the contents of one of these letters to the king, dated 18 December 1610 and directed to Alonso de la Cueva, and revealed them to the secret services in Venice: ASVe, *Inquisitori di Stato*, b. 483, n.n.

52 Opinions of Father Luis Aliaga about Mehmet Çelebi. Madrid, 4 February and 13 March 1611. AGS, *Estado, Venecia*, leg. 1929, respectively exp. 41 and exp. 52.

53 Venice, 13 May 1620. ASVe, *Inquisitori di Stato*, b. 638, n.n.

54 Giorgio Spini, "La congiura degli Spagnoli contro Venezia del 1618," *Archivio Storico Italiano* 107, no. 1 (1949): 17–53; 108 (1950): 159–74; Carlos Seco Serrano, "El Marqués de Bedmar y la conjuración de Venecia de 1618," *Revista de la Universidad de Madrid* 4, no. 15 (1955): 299–342.

ambassador's palace.<sup>55</sup> The obsessive surveillance of Alonso reveals fascinating details about the everyday life, habits, and movements of this prominent Morisco in the city on the lagoon.

Alonso was distinguished by his "Spanish-style" clothing: a long cape of an expensive material, a black cap without ties, black stockings, slippers on his feet and a sword at his waist.<sup>56</sup> He was described as a man of normal height, with dark skin, black eyes, and a black beard. He ate and slept daily at the Ostaria a la Campana, which still exists in the Calle dei Fabbri, near the Rialto Bridge; he heard mass at San Geremia; he frequented the home of the Spanish ambassador; he moved around by day and night from inn to tavern, eating roast meat and drinking red wine.<sup>57</sup> He had also been seen buying several types of axes on Saint Mark's Square, just below the palace of the constables (*alguaciles*).<sup>58</sup> On the Riva degli Schiavoni along the Grand Canal, Alonso had asked a Slavonian about his ship but was rebuffed.<sup>59</sup> Where did he want to go? His actions must have awakened doubts in the State Inquisitor's secret informer.

This time, however, a Morisco was spying for the Spanish Monarchy and not against it.<sup>60</sup> The anonymous informant reported that Alonso, under the ambassador's orders, was preparing to travel to Istanbul (a city he already knew) "to discover what the Turk and the *bailo* intend to do."<sup>61</sup> Traveling there to advance Spanish interests carried an enormous risk, and sending him under cover of French diplomacy caused "great fear" to the Spanish ambassador, the head of this secret mission.<sup>62</sup> At this point Alonso disappeared, probably kidnapped by the Venetian intelligence services.

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55 Paolo Preto, *I servizi segreti di Venezia. Spionaggio e controspionaggio ai tempi della Serenissima* (Milan: Il Saggiatore, 2016 [1st ed. 1994]), 128–35. On the construction of Venetian counterintelligence networks in this period see Filippo De Vivo, *Patrizi, informatori, barbieri: politica e comunicazione a Venezia nella prima età moderna* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 2012), 194–98.

56 Venice, 19 May 1620. ASVe, *Inquisitori di Stato*, b. 638, n.n.

57 ASVe, *Inquisitori di Stato*, b. 638, n.n.

58 Venice, 16 May 1620. ASVe, *Inquisitori di Stato*, b. 638, n.n.

59 ASVe, *Inquisitori di Stato*, b. 638, n.n.

60 "Intenso e sistematico è per tutto il Seicento lo spionaggio spagnolo in Venezia dove non rifugge da nessuno dei tradizionali mezzi: corruzione di nobili, arruolamento di confidenti nelle varie categorie professionali (segretari, gondolieri di personaggi politici, speciali, riportisti e novellisti, ecclesiastici), il tutto con la regolare supervisione dell'ambasciatore"; Preto, *I servizi segreti*, 122.

61 Venice, 13 May 1620. ASVe, *Inquisitori di Stato*, b. 638, n.n.

62 ASVe, *Inquisitori di Stato*, b. 638, n.n.

Ambassador Luis Bravo, in despair (“Alas, poor me! All my affairs and those of my king are going to the devil”),<sup>63</sup> searched for Alonso everywhere by paying informants and ruffians. He feared that if the Venetian authorities had detained Alonso, they would have discovered a secret anti-Ottoman and anti-Venetian treaty among Spain, the Holy Roman Empire, and the Duchy of Milan. In that case Bravo would have appeared in person before the Collegio, the executive arm of the Republic of Venice, to request Alonso’s release.<sup>64</sup> But he preferred to believe that Alonso “had escaped, and he did not care if he turned Turk so long as he is not arrested; and if he were in jail, may they not find the coded document in his possession; the rest does not matter, only that the Most Serene Republic not discover it.”<sup>65</sup> In an apparently casual fashion the Spanish diplomat’s son, Francisco, revealed the Morisco’s plans to a supposed friend, the shipowner Domenico, who was actually a Venetian informer. “He was supposed to do two things,” Francisco admitted, “to set fire to the Arsenal and then Saint Mark’s Square,” and to burn the old city of Constantinople. He did not know the order of these acts, but in any case, Alonso lacked both time and trusted helpers.<sup>66</sup>

### 3 Ottoman Protection

We have already noted how for decades, up to the middle years of the expulsions from Spain, the Venetian Republic had to manage an ever-increasing flow of Morisco refugees through its territory. Caught between the demands of the Ottomans on one side and the Spaniards on the other, Venice tried to satisfy both parties. As Andrea Pelizza states:

The flight or passage of the “Moors” through Venetian territory, seen as a whole, became an extremely delicate matter whose handling required a prudent balancing act. The Republic could not afford to irritate Spain, which was always quick to exploit any embarrassment or false step by the

63 Venice, n.d. ASVe, *Inquisitori di Stato*, b. 638, n.n.

64 Venice, 22 May 1620. ASVe, *Inquisitori di Stato*, b. 638, n.n.

65 Venice, 24 May 1620. ASVe, *Inquisitori di Stato*, b. 638, n.n.

66 Venice, 1 June 1620. ASVe, *Inquisitori di Stato*, b. 638, n.n. The Venetians had a genuine phobia about fires and their possible effects on the city, to the extent that they disbelieved “natural events” and always suspected “malice and vile treachery”; Paolo Preto, “Le ‘paure’ della società veneziana: le calamità, le sconfitte, i nemici esterni e interni,” in *Storia di Venezia*, vol. 4, ed. Gaetano Cozzi and Paolo Prodi (Rome: Istituto Enciclopédico Italiano, 1994), 215–38.

Venetian government; but neither could it depart too far from the orders of the Holy See by giving shelter and protection within its borders to suspicious groups of “infidels.” Much less could it undermine its ongoing strategic accommodation with the Porte, achieved through continuous efforts.<sup>67</sup>

With the expulsions recently begun, Philip III asked the Venetian Collegio through diplomatic channels to arrest and punish any refugees found in the city, and to separate them from their children.<sup>68</sup> The Collegio protested its ignorance of the matter, but promised to inform itself;<sup>69</sup> in fact, it was fully aware of the large Morisco presence in the city and their comings and goings through its dominions. In 1608 Moriscos residing in Istanbul<sup>70</sup> had complained to the *bailo* that voluntary exiles who passed through Venice felt badly treated by officials of the Republic; they had also presented their grievances to all the pashas and aghas. Now they were prepared to finance a mission by a Bosnian çavuş, costing more than 1,000 *cecchini*, to demand fair and respectful treatment for Moriscos who passed through Venice and its domains.<sup>71</sup> For the moment the *bailo* had managed to discourage them, promising that the Collegio would look into the matter as a private petition and not one of State.<sup>72</sup>

In the following years at least three messengers were sent from Istanbul to the Collegio of Venice on the subject of Morisco refugees in transit: they declared that the sultan and the grand vizier still showed a special concern for

67 Pelizza, “Quei mori,” 788–89.

68 Report by the Spanish ambassador’s secretary to the Collegio. Venice, 20 October 1609. ASVe, *Collegio, Esposizioni principi*, reg. 21, c. 100r.

69 Reply by Andrea Gussoni, senior councilor in the Doge’s absence, to the Spanish ambassador. ASVe, *Collegio, Esposizioni principi*, reg. 21.

70 Tijana Krstić has studied most closely Morisco settlement in the Galata quarter after 1609: Tijana Krstić, “Los moriscos en Estambul,” in *Los moriscos, expulsión y diáspora: una perspectiva internacional*, ed. Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegers (Valencia: UV-UGR-UNIZAR, 2013), 257–73; and “Contesting Subjecthood and Sovereignty in Ottoman Galata in the Age of Confessionalization: The Carazzo Affair, 1613–1617,” *Oriente Moderno* 93, no. 2 (2013): 422–53. But there is little information about their presence in Istanbul before the expulsion.

71 Letter from the *bailo* Ottaviano Bon to the Doge. Istanbul, 11 June 1608, first letter. ASVe, *Senato, Dispacci, Ambasciatori, Bailo a Costantinopoli*, fz. 66, doc. 15, cc. 156r–159r (see also summary in D9, c. 106v).

72 Letter from the *bailo* Ottaviano Bon to the Doge. Istanbul, 26 June 1608, first letter. ASVe, *Senato, Dispacci, Ambasciatori, Bailo a Costantinopoli*, fz. 66, doc. 17, cc. 170r–171r (summary of document in D9, c. 109v).

them and expected them to be treated well, as in earlier years.<sup>73</sup> Those envoys then continued on to France with the same mission.<sup>74</sup>

As other historians have noted, Venice enjoyed many more years of peace with the Ottoman Empire than years of war.<sup>75</sup> The Republic, together with France, was the European sovereign power with the longest continuous diplomatic presence in the former Constantinople,<sup>76</sup> and it admired certain aspects of Ottoman governance and culture.<sup>77</sup> Viziers and sultans often exchanged representatives with Venice's Collegio, in numbers far exceeding those they sent to other Christian principalities. Although the Venetian state formed part of *Dār al-Ḥarb* (the lands governed by non-Muslims), merchants from the Ottoman Empire regularly disembarked and stayed there, rarely with women; some even lived freely until they died, though without ever forming a true community or organizing as a nation.<sup>78</sup> In 1621 Venice could even boast a stable *fondaco*, an inn and warehouse where goods were bargained for, as a safe place for Muslim merchants from the Ottoman Empire; while it segregated them as a minority, it nonetheless showed “a certain tolerance in the city of the Doges toward the Islamic world.”<sup>79</sup> Up until then they had stayed in the parish of San Matteo in Rialto, especially in the Osteria dell' Angelo; many others were dispersed

73 See Pedani, *In nome del Gran Signore*, 176–78.

74 Temimi, “La politique ottomane”; Pomara, *Refugiados*, 123 n. 296.

75 Maria Pia Pedani, *Inventory of the Lettere e Scritture Turchesche in the Venetian State Archives* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 171.

76 Eric Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople. Nation, Identity, and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006).

77 Lucette Valensi, *Venise et la Sublime Porte: La naissance du despote* (Paris: Hachette, 2005).

78 Maria Pia Pedani, “Turchi in Canal Grande,” *Annali di Ca' Foscari* 46, no. 2 (2007): 44–49; Giuliano Lucchetta, “Note intorno a un elenco di turchi morti a Venezia,” *Veneziani in Levante, Musulmani a Venezia*. Special issue. *Quaderni di studi arabi* 15 (1997): 191–217. In the death registries for 1610 (ASVe, *Provveditori e sopraprovveditori alla Sanità, Atti, Necrologio*, reg. 841, n.n.) we find two Moriscos among the non-Christians: Ángela Cortés, “una delle granatine,” aged 40, ill with a “flux” for 20 days; and Miguel Serrano, Aragonese, aged 18, who suffered from a “fever for a long time.” Both died in October 1610 in the quarter of St. Mark, she in the Ostaria della Luna in the San Moisè parish, he in the San Luca parish. While anecdotal, these details are a clue to the Morisco geography of the city, of which we possess little information.

79 Mathieu Grenet, “Institution de la coexistence et pratiques de la différence: le *fondaco dei Turchi* de Venise (xvi<sup>e</sup>–xviii<sup>e</sup> siècles),” *Revue d'histoire maritime* 17, no. 1 (2013): 276–79. In the building, once an occasional residence for the Duke of Ferrara, different groups of Muslims separated themselves: Albanians and Bosnians on one side and Easterners on the other. Persians and Armenians found spaces elsewhere in the city.

in many parts of the city, in private homes of Christian men and women, who do not charge high rents; rather, to gain the most money, they are loose women who commit many obscene offenses against God, causing scandal to the neighborhood and lowering its property values.<sup>80</sup>

For all these reasons the Venetian Senate had to satisfy the Ottomans—as in the case of the Moriscos—and attend to the demands of the Porte, which it was prudent not to offend. Turkish complaints invoked the “love and affection” that the Republic had long shown toward the “imperial house and the whole Muslim nation” (a sign of “sincere friendship”), while naming the harassment and obstacles met by fugitive Moriscos who dressed as Spaniards when crossing Venetian territory, “lacking the opportunity and comfort of wearing Turkish dress.”<sup>81</sup> Perhaps in Old Christian clothes they were taken for renegades who were traveling East to embrace Islam. The Ottomans wanted Moriscos to be able to dress as they liked and not to be harassed, expelled, or returned to Spain while in Venetian lands, “offended or secretly persecuted in their private lives.” The Turks would be grateful for a preferential treatment of Moriscos that would ensure “peace and concord” between the *Serenissima* and the Sublime Porte.

Venice was still a Catholic city in its way, though unusually open. The problem of clothing was not easily overcome. The refugees could not afford to buy new garments, and the potpourri of styles they wore stood out even in Istanbul, as the *bailo* Simone Contarini noted: they offended the Turks and made the Europeans laugh.<sup>82</sup> Local authorities in Venice suggested that they violate the Christian rules about dress, since only as Muslims could they pass borders and customs posts freely, and be “welcomed and favored” by the leaders of even the remotest areas.<sup>83</sup>

80 Venice, 11 December 1620. ASVe, *Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia*, 11 serie, b. 187, fasc. 1 and 2, n.n.

81 Venice, 1 September 1609. ASVe, *Collegio, Esposizioni principi*, reg. 21, c. 89r–v. These words, spoken in *lingua franca* by the çavuş Haci Ibrahim Mutafaragâ from Cairo, reflect the sealed letters that he presented to the Collegio in Venice, sent from Istanbul by Sultan Ahmed I and Grand Vizier Murad and dated in April 1609. See their *regesta* by Pedani, *Inventory*, 154; on the incident see also Pelizza, “Quei mori,” 793. Ahmed I sent similar formal protests to the Doge Marcantonio Memmi in late June 1614; Maria Pia Pedani and Alessio Bombaci (eds.), *I “documenti turchi” dell’Archivio di Stato di Venezia, parte prima* (Rome: Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali, 1994), 309.

82 “Arriva qui continuamente gran quantità di moreschi discacciati di Spagna. Se ne veggono alcuni vestiti mezi alla spagnuola et mezi alla turchesca, con il feraruolo, le latuche al collo, et la toca in capo; muovono isdegno a’ turchi, et riso agl’altri.” Cited in Pelizza, “Quei mori,” 793.

83 Letter from the Doge Donà to the sultan and the grand vizier. Venice, 1 September 1609. ASVe, *Senato, Deliberazioni, Constantinopoli*, reg. 10, cc. 168v–170r.

In 1615 in Istanbul, a Granadan named Süleyman or Diego de Córdoba visited the *bailo* Almori Nani; he tried to blackmail him by threatening to reveal the content of a supposed letter in cipher he possessed that would compromise the dignity of Venice. During the meeting Süleyman also told the envoy that while he was in Venice, a gentleman had tried to seize him by the beard; he had sued in court but had not received satisfaction. Nani promised to try to pursue the case, and was certain that the guilty man could not have been a true gentleman: “for in Venice each one has the freedom to dress as he wishes, and in the great cities there are benign and pernicious people, among whom are those who do not wish to do good.”<sup>84</sup>

#### 4 Silent Presences. The Refugees between the Adriatic and the Aegean

Meanwhile, diplomatic correspondence to and from Venice described travel routes and settlement attempts between Venetian territory and the Ottoman Empire that were unknown until now. In early 1610 Don Alonso de la Cueva wrote about a group of Moriscos who passed through Venice on their way to Bosnia “and other lands subject to the Turk.”<sup>85</sup> Their presence there is confirmed by reports three years later about an epidemic in Sarajevo: one of the

84 “Mi disse poi che a Venetia era stato malissimo trattato da uno gentilhuomo, havendolo preso per la barba pubblicamente. Et essendo de questo querellato non gli era stata fatta altra giustizia che da parole che mostrava dispiacer di ciò ch'era seguito et laudava Idio che l'aveva ricondotto in quiete [...]. Risposi che non credevo certo che alcun gentilhuomo havesse potuto usar verso di lui questo termine che sarebbe stato indiscreto quando poi non gliene havesse dato occasione, et che forse deve argomentar dall'habito che quel tale [non] fosse nobile, che senza dubbio non sarà stato, poiché in Venetia ogn'uno era in libertà di vestire come meglio gli pareva, che nelle città grandi vi sono delli buoni et delli tristi et di quelli ch'hanno poca voglia di far bene et che mi assicuravo che se le Signorie Vostre havessero potuto haver nelle mani quel tale che gli usò quella discortesia, che l'haverebbero castigato come convenia.” Letter in cipher from the *bailo* Almori Nani to the Doge Memmi. Istanbul, 25 July 1615 (second letter). ASVe, *Senato, Dispacci, Ambasciatori, Costantinopoli*, fz. 79, cc. 364r–369r (summary in reg. D12, c. 73r). On Süleyman's mission in Venice see Pelizza, “Quei mori,” 798–99; Pedani, *In nome del Gran Signore*, 178; Pomara, *Refugiados*, 127.

85 Letter from the Spanish ambassador in Venice to Philip III. Venice, 9 January 1610. AGS, *Estado, Venecia*, leg. 1354, exp. 21, f. 44v. The pressure from Aragonese and Valencian Moriscos who were already in Istanbul to be assigned “places where they, and those of their nation who went to those parts, might live” led the Ottomans to direct them to Morea. Notices from Constantinople, 12 and 13 June 1610. AGS, *Estado, Venecia*, leg. 1354, exp. 157.

dead was a porter, “a white Moor ... of those who had come from Spain.”<sup>86</sup> Some Moriscos described as “very rich” were despoiled in Dalmatia in November 1610 by Turks from Klis and other Ottoman fortresses.<sup>87</sup> Another report of the same year described 150 Moriscos who, after eight days in Venice, left carrying their bundles and intending to settle in some empty part of Istria,<sup>88</sup> an area where the Venetians encouraged colonization by poor foreigners. Such persons were not welcome in the city itself, which had strict laws against beggars and vagabonds.<sup>89</sup>

Poor refugees were considered a danger to public order in the city on the lagoon. A few families from Toledo who had been reduced to beggary were finally given permission to return home.<sup>90</sup> The Spanish ambassador, Alonso de la Cueva (marquis of Bedmar), also touched on the subject of the refugees’ return: he reported that for several months Moriscos who had abandoned the “lands of the Turks” were passing through Venice once more. They all told him that

they wanted to be regular Christians, and it is very credible; especially for those who were born outside the kingdom of Granada in places where they had no contact with those who could teach them and keep them from forgetting the sect of their ancestors; they were better versed in our holy Catholic faith than their elders.<sup>91</sup>

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86 Split, 11 October 1613. ASVe, *Senato, Dispacci dei Rettori, Dalmazia*, filza 12, n.n.

87 Report from Venice, 27 November 1610. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana [BAV], *Barb. Lat.*, vol. 6344, c. 305r.

88 Report from Venice, 2 October 1610. BAV, *Barb. Lat.*, vol. 6344, c. 288v. It seems that this was a rumour without foundation. From research I have carried out both in the archival collections ‘Dispacci dei Rettori, Istria’ of the Archivio di Stato di Venezia, and ‘Capitano di Raspo’—a magistrate that dealt with the colonisation of new settlers in Istria—stored by the Società Istriana di Archeologia e Storia Patria, there is no documentary track of them.

89 Pelizza, “Stranieri nella Venezia medievale,” *Archivio Veneto* 6, no. 18 (2019): 13.

90 “Sono capitate qua alcune famiglie de moreschi che furono cacciate di Spagna, quali essendo de regno di Toledo e non colpevoli della congiura fatta da quei di Valenza, hanno havuto gratia di ritornar alle lor case ma sono mendichi, è malissimo all’ordine.” Report from Venice, 16 June 1612. BAV, *Barb. Lat.*, vol. 6348, c. 44v.

91 “De algunos meses a esta parte vienen aquí muchos moriscos de los que pasaron a tierra de turcos, quando la expulsión general. Y habiendo procurado saber dellos la causa que les mueve a volverse, me dizen todos que el querer ser christianos sin otro respecto, y es cosa muy creíble, especialmente de los que habiendo nacido fuera del Reyno de Granada en partes donde no tenían comunicación con quien los enseñasse o no dexasse olvidar la secta de sus antepassados, estaban mejor instruidos que los viejos en nuestra santa fee catholica; y assí les digo que busquen asiento adonde puedan vivir christianamente. Y ellos lo ofrecen assí y estoy informado que no faltan a la promessa, a lo menos la mayor

Therefore, Bedmar merely encouraged them to find a place where they could live a Christian life.

The Venetian superintendent of the island of Zakynthos rescued five families from Granada—thirty individuals, most of them children—from capture by the Turks; he felt he was preventing them from converting to Islam. The escapees set about to work the land and practice their other crafts, with dignity and good will, while many others waited out the quarantine in the *lazzaretto* “with the intention of moving to some safe place where they need not become Turks.” The local people had accepted them and some employed them on their lands.<sup>92</sup>

In 1612 one hundred Moriscos had populated the countryside of Ottoman Epirus, only six miles from the citadel of Parga, a Venetian protectorate that enjoyed a certain degree of liberty. The Ottoman authorities wished to use this opportunity to encourage settlement in a village called Koroni, in an area of fertile hills inhabited and worked by Turks, three miles from the streams of Fanari and from a forest “from which each year much wood is harvested for the gun-carriages of these fortresses [especially Parga] and the kingdom of Candia.”<sup>93</sup> The project must have failed thanks to the actions of the *bailo* in Constantinople, who sought to defend Venetian interests in the area: at risk were its production and free passage of peoples, “the quiet and security of the poor subjects of Parga,” and “the interest of the fortress of Corfu” (which apparently had already received a significant number of Moriscos).<sup>94</sup>

These were not the only Moriscos whom the Venetians worried about. According to information given by a mole of the Ottoman admiral Alil to a rebel Candiotte (who in turn told the *bailo*), in 1614 about one hundred Moriscos

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parte dellos.” Letter from Ambassador De la Cueva to Philip III. Venice, 15 March 1613 (received 18 April). AGS, *Estado, Venecia*, leg. 1357, exp. 56.

92 Report from the *provveditore* Francesco Donado to the Doge. Zakynthos, 16 December 1611. ASVe, *Senato, Dispacci, Dispacci dei Rettori, Zante*, filza 4, n.n. When plague struck the island the next year a group of Moriscos fled from Zakynthos to Ancona, claiming that the Venetian authorities had expelled them: Pomara, *Refugiados*, 79–80.

93 Letter from the *bailo* Almorì Bragadin to the Doge. Corfu, 28 April 1612. ASVe, *Senato, Dispacci, Rettori, Corfù*, filza 7, n.n. The sender mistakenly calls the Moriscos “marrani cacciati già di Spagna” (as does the document cited in the next note). I have located the village of Koroni near Parga (not to be confused with the Koroni in the Peloponnese) thanks to the help of Olga Katsiardi.

94 Letter in cipher from the *bailo* Cristoforo Valier to the Doge. Istanbul, 24 August 1612. ASVe, *Senato, Dispacci, Ambasciatori, Costantinopoli*, filza 73, ff. 368r–369v. The document is accompanied by its translation by order of the sultan, dated 15 August, addressed to the sanjak of Delvino and the qadi of Aidonat. They were to dissuade the qadi’s brother-in-law, Husain of Aidonat, from organizing the colonization of Koroni.

enlisted under false names in the Venetian militias that would be sent to Candia. The local Jews, for a sum of money, allowed them to exchange letters and reports with Granadans living in Istanbul; the papers were hidden in fishnets on the boats that carried sponges from Samos.<sup>95</sup> It was feared that these Moriscos were undercover agents bent on establishing a link between the easternmost Christian lands of the Mediterranean and the Ottoman Empire.

Also worthy of mention are shipwrecks that occurred during the expulsion years on the coasts of Venetian Crete. The relevant documents not only relate the dramatic events but list the numbers of persons embarked, the merchandise and equipment they carried, the ships' home ports, and their intended destinations. From them we learn of previously unsuspected sites of the Morisco diaspora. But of special interest is how the authorities of Candia rescued the survivors and recovered the goods and assets of both survivors and those who perished, all to maintain good relations between the Venetian Republic and the Sublime Porte.

In 1611 the French ship *Sainte Anne Bonaventure* had sailed for twenty-six days from Sousse in Tunis toward Alexandria, carrying about 200 men, women, and children. There was a crew of fourteen men from France, Candia, and Patmos, and about fifty Turks, merchants, and Arab pilgrims on their way to Mecca, plus more than 120 Moriscos. The latter group had been promised a landing in the Peloponnesian town of Methoni, or at least in one of the first ports controlled by the Ottomans. The group decided to shorten the voyage by disembarking in Milos, a former Venetian colony then under Ottoman rule, and there pay the owner the five thalers they owed him. It was a lucky choice: the ship with its remaining sixty-seven passengers then sank off *Standia*, an uninhabited islet a few miles from Crete.<sup>96</sup>

A few months later and not many miles away, a ship from Algiers headed for Constantinople landed at the port of Marathi, near the fortress of Souda. Its passengers included several Aragonese families who said they were bound for Chios, an island under Turkish rule but settled mainly by Greeks and Genoese—it had been a Genoese colony until the mid-sixteenth century. During the night a furious north wind dashed the ship against the rocks. Many of its 120 passengers drowned (about eighty Aragonese, fifteen Turks, and six French, as well as slaves and sailors), and only thirty-three survived, causing “a

95 Letter from the *bailo* Cristoforo Valier to the Doge. Istanbul, 17 April 1614. ASVe, *Senato, Dispacci, Ambasciatori, Costantinopoli*, filza 77, f. 91r-v (summary in reg. D12, c. 14v).

96 Letter from the duke and captain of Candia Antonio Grimani to the Doge. Candia, 14 October 1611. ASVe, *Senato, Dispacci, Rettori, Candia*, filza 6, n.n.

most lamentable spectacle.”<sup>97</sup> In this tragic event, which even resulted in the loss of the Turkish shipowner, the local Venetian ministers made every effort to rescue and preserve the goods of the survivors.<sup>98</sup> These included oil and soap bought in Methoni and a few hides belonging to a Spaniard.<sup>99</sup>

The third shipwreck affected twenty-five Granadans, including fifteen women and three small girls, eleven Turks, and sixty-one raiding soldiers (*ghāzī*) on the pilgrimage to Mecca. Some of them were traveling with weapons, empty vessels, and a considerable sum of money: Spanish *reales* and gold *sultani* equal to about 2,000 Venetian ducats.<sup>100</sup> The ship had sailed from Tunis and was wrecked on the northern coast of Crete on 19 November 1613. Though understandably fearful that the main passengers might be corsairs, the local authorities decided to return all the goods and money promptly. The Moriscos, “very satisfied,” were able to embark for Chios.<sup>101</sup>

## 5 Conclusions

In light of the current state of research, we cannot confirm that the lands of the *Serenissima Repubblica* were places of passage or permanent settlement for Spanish Moriscos. Whether they were temporary or long-term sites of migration, we can ask this question: Why did the Moriscos choose Venice and its dominions? We can review a few outstanding points. Venice was the gateway between East and West, a place where the Moriscos felt especially protected by the agreements between the Republic and the Sublime Porte. It was the city of espionage *par excellence* in the whole European Mediterranean, a

97 Letters from the *rettore* of Canea, Stefano Tiepolo, and from the *provveditore* of the fortress of Souda, Anzolo Cabriel, to the duke and captain of Candia. Canea and Souda, 7 January 1612. ASVe, *Senato, Dispacci, Rettori, Candia*, filza 6, n.n. News of the shipwreck is reported in the letter from the duke and captain of Candia Antonio Grimani to the Doge. Candia, 26 January 1612. ASVe, *Senato, Dispacci, Rettori, Candia*, filza 6, n.n.

98 Letter from the *provveditore* of the fortress of Souda, Anzolo Cabriel, to the duke and captain of Candia. Souda, 5 March 1612. ASVe, *Senato, Dispacci, Rettori, Candia*, filza 6, n.n. Only few survivors were able to continue on to Alexandria in a Candiote ship.

99 Letter in cipher from the *bailo* Almori Nani to the Doge. Istanbul, 29 March 1617. ASVe, *Senato, Dispacci, Ambasciatori, Costantinopoli*, filza 83, cc. 29r–31r (summary of the document in D12, c. 200). However, a Moorish survivor, favorite of the head of the eunuchs (*kizlar ağasi*), sued for 2,000 *cechini*. He went to “protest vigorously” in front of the *diwan* and demanded justice from the pasha. On this affair see also ASVe, *Senato, Dispacci, Rettori, Candia*, filza 83, cc. 81v–82r. Istanbul, 15 April 1617.

100 Letter from the officer of the Rethymno regiment, Marco Antonio Menio, to the Doge. Rethymno, 24 November 1613. ASVe, *Senato, Dispacci, Rettori, Candia*, filza 7, n.n.

101 Letter from the *rettore* of Rethymno, Lodovico Baffo, to the Doge. Rethymno, 14 December 1613. ASVe, *Senato, Dispacci, Rettori, Candia*, filza 7, n.n.

place where go-betweens, trans-imperial subjects, and enigmatic strangers could pass largely undetected.<sup>102</sup> Finally, Venice was the most multicultural of Mediterranean cities: it saw the comings and goings of thousands of Jews (Ashkenazis, Levantines, and Sephardim), Marranos from Iberia, Orthodox Greeks, Armenians, Albanians, Dalmatians, German Protestants, Frenchmen, Persians, Turks.<sup>103</sup> All these individuals, depending on their origins, experienced the Orient or the Occident in a syncretic atmosphere of cultural contact.

A significant metaphor for all this is found in a passage from the trial of Antonio Bermejo (Italianized into Vermecco), a baptized Morisco. He was charged in 1627 for Islamism by the *Savi all'Eresia*, the Venetian ministers who pursued crimes against Catholic orthodoxy.<sup>104</sup> Bermejo had lived in Pisa for ten years with his Spanish wife, and had maintained a façade of religious orthodoxy, confessing and taking communion in spite of his hidden Muslim faith. With three Italians<sup>105</sup> (all, like him, in their thirties) he traveled to Venice, and there refused to attend church despite the pleas of his companions. Once they were installed at an inn, he confessed to them that he wished to travel to Turkey, and they denounced him at once. His willingness to confess to them was inspired by Venice's reputation as a tolerant city: "there is no Inquisition" there, he argued, and everyone could behave openly, "say what he thinks and live in his own way." Declaring himself a direct descendant of the Great Khan, Bermejo had more contact in Venice with Jews than with Turks. "Venice is the land of liberty," he insisted. Bermejo's perception reflected a widespread reputation and explains why the Moriscos chose the city and its dominions as destinations where they could at least pause and rest, while deciding where to settle permanently and in peace. Last but not least, the "friendship" between the *Serenissima* and the Sublime Porte offered them full confidence and security for facing more calmly the challenges of their diaspora.

102 On the wider meaning of "go-betweens" employed here see Bruno Pomara, "Go-betweens, Revisited: A Historiographical Proposal through the Trial of an Indefinable Man (Sixteenth Century)," *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies* 24 (2018): 27–36. On their role between Venice and Istanbul cf. Natalie Rothman, *Brokering Empire: Trans-Imperial Subjects between Venice and Istanbul* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012).

103 On these aspects see Donatella Calabi, "Gli stranieri e la città," in *Storia di Venezia*, 5, *Il Rinascimento. Società ed economia*, ed. Alberto Tenenti and Ugo Tucci (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1996) 913–46; Alessandro Zannini, *Venezia città aperta. Gli stranieri e la Serenissima, XIV–XVIII sec.* (Venice: Marcianum Press, 2009); Benjamin Ravid, "Venice and its Minorities," in *A Companion to Venetian History, 1400–1797*, ed. Eric R. Dursteler (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 449–85.

104 Venice, 12 August 1627. ASVe, *Savi all'Eresia*, b. 85, unnumbered fascicle.

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## The *Caudillo* of the Moriscos in France: a Case Revealing the Exile Networks under the Morisco-Ottoman Alliance

*Bárbara Ruiz-Bejarano*

The loss of Andalusí territories had several consequences for the population living within them. The changes in rulers and frontiers caused some of the population to seek exile in other territories, while a large part of the population remained, but with changes in their status. The progression of territorial losses was quite uneven in the Peninsula: while the northern *taifa* of Saraqusta was lost in the early twelfth century, the Nasrid kingdom of Granada remained under a Muslim ruler until almost the beginning of the sixteenth. Well before the fall of Granada, we see regular Andalusí settlements<sup>1</sup> in two of the Ottoman regencies in North Africa: Algiers and Tunisia. How did the Andalusí/Morisco communities negotiate this relocation with the Sublime Porte? What was the organization behind the escape routes that allowed groups of Moriscos to settle in different locations in these two regencies? What was given in exchange for the assistance of the Ottoman sultans? This paper explores the exile of Spanish Muslims during the Morisco period, before the mass expulsions of 1609 to 1614, as well as the negotiations and strategies the Morisco leaders implemented to

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1 For the case of Ibn al-Abbār after the fall of Valencia, see Ramzi Rouighi, *The Making of a Mediterranean Emirate: Ifriqiyā and its Andalusis, 1200–1400* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011). For the relocations after the fall of Granada see Chakib Benafri, “La posición de la sublime puerta y de la regencia de Argel ante la rebelión de los moriscos granadinos (1568–1570): entre esperanza y decepción,” *AREAS: Revista Internacional de Ciencias Sociales* 30 (2011): 141–46. In 1570 the Morisco *xerife* Hernando el Habaquí negotiated the exile of 25,000 to 30,000 Moriscos from Granada to Algiers; Haedo, who lived in Algiers between 1578 and 1581, states that “mudéjares y tagarinos” occupied 1,000 houses (Diego de Haedo, *Topographía e historia general de Argel* (Valladolid: Diego Fernández de Córdova y Oviedo, 1612). See also Sakina Missoum, “Andalusí Immigration and Urban Development in Algiers (Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries),” in *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain: A Mediterranean Diaspora*, ed. Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegers (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 329–56; Samia Chergui, “Les morisques et l’effort de construction d’Alger aux xvii<sup>e</sup> et xviii<sup>e</sup> siècles,” *Cahiers de la Méditerranée* 79 (2009): 303–17; and John Derek Latham, “Towards a Study of Andalusian Immigration and its Place in Tunisian History,” *Cahiers de la Tunisie* 5 (1957): 203–52.

secure the passage of their communities to their lands of destination under the patronage of the Ottoman sultans. The case against Zambriel, an Inquisition trial from Aragon, reveals how the exile networks were organized under Morisco leaders (referred to as *caudillos* or *xerifes*) and the organization of the routes from Aragon to France, where these groups embarked towards the Ottoman regencies in Barbary.

The Archivo Histórico Provincial of Zaragoza preserves the transcripts of several Inquisition trials related to Jews and Muslims in the 1500s. One of these trials is the one against Joan Zambriel the Younger (AHPZ 27/5). It deserves our attention not only because it is far more voluminous than other trials (more than 400 folios), but especially because of the information it contains on the escape routes of the Aragonese Moriscos and their organization. The document reveals the existence of a well-organized network in France led by a Morisco, and a consolidated structure able to aid Aragonese Moriscos in their escape to the Ottoman regencies in the Maghreb.

This extensive document contains the Inquisition case against Joan Zambriel, an *alfaquí* (*faqīh*), and his son, together with other relatives who, to prevent the arrest of Zambriel, assassinated three officers (*familiares*) of the Inquisition, the local priest, and his young servant. They then fled to France, pursued by a spy who gave relevant details of their escape route, their provision of horses, the passes they used, and the support organization that the escapees found on the other side of the Pyrenees.

The document also provides information on the organization of Morisco communities in Aragon and on how the leaders of such communities were interconnected. The spies also informed on other groups and notable leaders who were *en route* to join the *caudillo* beyond the Pyrenees. Their names include the Zafar family of Ambel, the Compañeros of Huesca, and the Yzquierdos of Segorbe.<sup>2</sup>

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2 Two members of the Yzquierdo family were already established in Marseille: see Jorge Gil Herrera and Luis F. Bernabé Pons, "The Moriscos Outside Spain: Routes and Financing," in *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain: A Mediterranean Diaspora*, ed. Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegers (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 219–38. Jacqueline Fournel-Guérin, "Les morisques aragonais et l'Inquisition de Saragosse (1540–1620)" (PhD diss., Université Paul Valéry, 1980), 82, also mentions the connection between the Zambriels and the Yzquierdos: Luis Zambriel of Rueda de Jalón (near Plasencia) was arrested because he performed the Islamic prayer together with Jaime Yzquierdo, who read the Qur'an for the occasion, and prayed for the freedom of Juan Compañero, another *xerife*, who was in jail at the time. His son, Juan Compañero menor, was arrested on his return from Algiers, and executed in 1582: "Juan Compañero murió como moro públicamente ... Se ha conocido claramente el ánimo con que vino de Argel"; Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional [AHN], Inq., Libro 989,

Comparing the information of the trial with other Inquisition documents, we are able to trace connections with the frequent *cuadrillas*, groups of Moriscos who were detained during their attempt to cross the Spanish border en route to France, where *passadores*<sup>3</sup> awaited to assemble them on the French side of the Pyrenees. From different locations controlled by the network leader, Hernando Calderero (also known as Hernando del Castillo), who had houses in several locations between Saint Jean de Luz and Carcassonne, these exiles would reach the ports of Agde, Marseille, or Toulon. From these ports they travelled on to different Ottoman destinations, including Algiers, Tunis and Istanbul.

The diplomatic correspondence of the Ottoman sultans reveals further details of this organized network, describing how notable Moriscos had dealings with the Sublime Porte to ensure that their co-religionaries would be well received and settled in the Ottoman regencies in North Africa. Recent research<sup>4</sup> has proven that the reception of these groups of exiles came in exchange for their knowhow and might also have acted to dissipate tensions<sup>5</sup> between locals and Ottoman populations in both regencies.

## 1 The Case Against Joan Menor Zambriel

Joan Menor Zambriel (the Younger) and his father, later identified in the document as “Joan el Mayor” (the Elder), were the *fuqahā’* of a small village southeast of Zaragoza, Plasencia de Jalón. The document describes how, in

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6r. See also Carmen Barceló and Ana Labarta, *Archivos moriscos. Textos árabes de la minoría islámica valenciana 1401–1608* (Valencia: PUV, 2009).

- 3 The *passadores* were hired to accompany groups across the Pyrenees: they knew the passes through the mountains and frequently also provided the escapees with horses.
- 4 See Lotfi Aïssa, Mohamed Aouini and Houssein Eddine Chachia, *Entre las orillas de dos mundos: el itinerario del jerife morisco Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥī’, de Murcia a Túnez* (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 2017); Haedo, *Topographia*; Chergui, *Effort de construction*; Luis F. Bernabé Pons, “La nación en lugar seguro: los moriscos hacia Túnez,” in *Actas del Coloquio Internacional “Los moriscos y Túnez” Cartas de la Goleta*, 2 (Tunis: Embajada de España, 2009), 107–18; Bernabé Pons, “Notas sobre la cohesión de la comunidad morisca más allá de su expulsión de España,” *Al-Qanṭara* 29, no. 2 (2008): 307–32; Missoum, *Andalusi immigration*; Melchor Zúñiga, *Descripción y República de la ciudad de Argel*. BNE, Ms 3227, n.d.; Nizar Sayari, and Hichem Rejeb, “Origine du paysage Andalou dans le nord-ouest tunisien,” *Cahiers de la Méditerranée* 79 (2009): 1–21; Mohammed Tayeb Bara, “La cultura morisca y su importancia en el desarrollo de Argelia en el siglo XVII,” *Revista Argelina* 9 (2019): 25–39.
- 5 Mikel de Epalza, “Les Ottomans et l’insertion au Maghreb des Andalous expulsés d’Espagne au XVII siècle,” *Revue d’Histoire Maghrébine* 31–32 (1983): 165–73.

early July 1559, Joan Zambriel Menor, together with four other men from the village, killed three officers of the Inquisition when they arrived in the village to arrest him. The village priest and his young servant were also killed, and all five bodies were dismembered and tossed into a well.<sup>6</sup>

The first set of documents in the volume is a series of letters from the Inquisition, stating that an exemplary punishment must be imposed or else New Christians would not respect the authority of the Holy Office in Aragon.<sup>7</sup> Together with this request, sent to the king and other authorities, the Inquisition demanded that all Moriscos be disarmed.<sup>8</sup> Frequent reports of arms manufactured, traded, or hidden by Moriscos appear in the literature.<sup>9</sup>

6 “Los mataron y hizieron pedaços ... y echaron a todos cinco en un pozo”; Archivo Histórico Provincial de Zaragoza [AHPZ], Inq. 27/5, 2r.

7 On 7 August 1559, the Inquisitors of Zaragoza sent letters to their *familiares* (spies and officers) and to the king, reporting on the incident and requesting a severe and exemplary punishment, so that the Moriscos would not feel entitled to take similar action in the future: “let everything be done in such a way that—since the ministers of the Holy Office might fear, after this grave and dreadful crime, to carry out their work with the freedom they need that is so necessary in these times—the delinquents and those of their nation, and others who hear of the matter, may understand that such a crime and offense will be punished publicly and with great force” (“que todo se haga de tal manera que pues del grave y atroz delicto que han cometido podrán quedar con algún temor los ministros del Sancto Officio para no poder exercer sus officios con la libertad que conbiene y es neçesaria principalmente en estos tiempos, los delinquentes y los de su nación y los demás que del negocio tubieron noticia entiendan que con toda demostraçion y rigor se castiga semejante delicto y afrentamiento”); AHPZ, Inq. 27/5, 1r.

8 “... you inform us of the act committed by the converted Moors in the village of Plasencia, and how they entered the lands of Monsr. De Vandoma, and how *now would be a good occasion to confiscate the arms of the newly converted* of that kingdom” (“nos dais aviso del caso que cometieron los Moros convertidos del lugar de Plasencia y cómo se passaron en tierras de Monsr. De Vandoma, y como *agora abría buena ocasión de quitar las armas a los nuevamente convertidos* desse reyno [my emphasis]”); AHPZ, Inq. 27/5, 4r.

9 “The said converts make it their business to convey arms, like arquebuses, pistols, shotguns, and crossbows, with their ammunition and equipment, to the Kingdom of Valencia, and from there they pass them on to Moorish lands ... They make gunpowder and we hear that they make it in quantity, never selling any to Old Christians ... They work as muleteers, placing loads of those weapons inside baskets of sardines” (“Dichos convertidos hazen officio de passar dichas armas, como son arcabuzes, pistoletes, escopetas y vallestas, con munitiones y aparejo para ellas, al Reyno de Valencia, y de allí las passan a tierra de moros ... hazen pólvora y teniéndose noticia que hazen mucha cantidad, jamás venden della a christianos viejos ... hazen officio de recueros con las cargas de las dichas armas puestas en cestos de sardinas”); AHN, Inq. 1213. “In 1559 ... that familiar and notary, having reached the village, seized one of the converts; and when they had him detained many women came out and attacked the familiar violently with their teeth and fists, yanking at his beard to make him release the prisoner ... Hearing their cries many converts emerged ... with swords and arquebuses and shotguns and crossbows ... The familiars and the notary had to flee the village” (“En 1559 ...

There are also mentions of the Moriscos' dealings with the Turks and other "heretics."<sup>10</sup>

los quales familiar y notario llegados al lugar prendieron uno de los dichos convertidos, y teniéndole presso salieron muchas mugeres y a bocados y puñadas y mesando las barbas del familiar le hizieron mucha fuerça para quitarle el presso ... a las bozes que daban salieron muchos convertidos ... con espadas, arcabuzes y escopetas y ballestas ... los dichos familiares y notario del Sancto Officio se hubieron de salir huyendo del lugar"); AHN, Inq. 1213. "In the past year of 1564, when a familiar of the Holy Office was in a village called La Muela ... many converts came out with shotguns and other weapons ... They wounded the familiar such that he died after four or six days" ("En el passado de 1564 estando un familiar del Sancto Officio en un lugar llamado la Muela ... salieron muchos convertidos con escopetas y otras armas ... hirieron dicho familiar, de suerte que dentro de quatro o seis días murió"); AHN, Inq. 1213. "On 14 April 1602, *Dominica in Albi[s]* in the morning, Gaspar Méndez, a judge in this town of Calanda, was found dead. He had twenty-nine wounds in his body, as follows: on his head, four contused and very penetrating blows [made by] a club or a hoe; on his face, three stab wounds and two contused blows like those on his head, also his eyeballs pierced with espadrille needles and burst; on his hands, three stab wounds; on his back, eight wounds from an espadrille needle and a dagger; ... on his neck, one dagger wound and fifteen from an espadrille needle ... and two stab wounds in his belly" ("A 14 de abril de 1602 *dominica in albi* por la mañana se halló muerto Gaspar Méndez, justicia desta villa de Calanda. Tenía veynte y nuebe heridas en su cuerpo, de la manera siguiente: en la cabeza quatro golpes contussos y muy penetrantes de palo o azada, en la cara, tres puñaladas y dos golpes contussos, como los de la cabeza, y más los ojos punchados con agujas de partinero y reventados, en las manos tres cuchilladas, en las espaldas ocho heridas de aguja de parteñero, y de puñal ... en el cuello una puñalada y quince heridas de aguja de parteñero ... y en la barriga dos puñaladas"); APC *Libro de los Difuntos de Calanda*, 245r. The deaths of several officers of the Inquisition in Aragon are documented: in 1556 the death of a vicar who was a commissioner of the Holy Office; in 1564, of an officer in La Muela; in 1567, an officer in Muel; in 1588, the death of the *familiar* Juan de Salcedo in Jarque, and of another *familiar* in Codo; in 1589, another in Gotor; in 1591, in Calatayud; in 1598, two *familiars* (father and son) were killed in Azón; in 1598, Dionís Pascual, a guard of the Holy Office, was murdered by Moriscos in Torrellas after arresting a convert; in 1602 in Calanda, besides Gaspar Méndez, the *familiar* Juan López was killed. Ruiz-Bejarano, "La resistencia identitaria morisca en Aragón: la palabra y las armas," in *Identidades cuestionadas. Coexistencia y conflictos interreligiosos en el Mediterráneo (ss. XIV–XVIII)* (Valencia: PUV, 2016).

- 10 "Considering the great number of Moriscos, the fact that they are so heavily armed and so enraged against the Old Christians, living in their mistaken and perverse sect without hope of their submission, [and] having dealings with Turks and heretics, and [we being] unable to expect from them anything but disturbance and rebellion ... it seems necessary and even required to proceed to disarm them" ("considerando el número grande de los moriscos, el estar tan armados y encorajados con los christianos viejos, vivir en su errada y perversa secta, sin esperança de reducirse, tener inteligencia con los Turcos y herejes, y no poderse esperar dellos sino una comoción y rebellión ... parece que es necessario y casi forçoso atender a desarmarlos"); Archivo de la Corona de Aragón [ACA], Consejo de Aragón, L. 221/9.

Two other questions were repeatedly raised in the documents regarding Morisco communities in Aragon: the exports of gold (“saca de oro”) and of horses (“saca de caballos”) to France. Numerous acts by the Courts of Aragon issued orders in the period, forbidding the taking of gold, even silver, outside the Kingdom;<sup>11</sup> the same applied to horses being taken to France.

The exports of horses involved the *passadores*, those who took not only horses but also people across the Pyrenees to France; most of these were Aragonese small landowners such as Antonio de Bardaxí. Due to the frequent conflicts<sup>12</sup> between the Inquisition and the Aragonese noblemen, these *passadores* were accused of having agreements with the Moriscos—were even accused of heresy—in an attempt to bypass the protection offered by the noblemen.<sup>13</sup>

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11 “Because much gold has been taken from the Kingdom of Aragon by foreigners and others from the Kingdom, much harm has come to its subjects. Because His Majesty, by will of the court, decrees and orders that any person of any status, native or foreign to this kingdom, may not take gold bars out of the kingdom through Béarn or through France, on pain of losing them. Regarding gold coins, the kingdom’s deputies are empowered ... to proceed legally ... so that gold not be removed from this kingdom” (“Por haverse sacado mucho oro del Reyno de Aragón, por personas estrangeras y otras del Reyno, ha venido mucho daño a los regnicolas de aquél. Porque su Alteza, de voluntad de la corte statuece y ordena, que persona alguna de cualquier preeminencia, natural o estrangero del dicho Reyno, no pueda sacar riele de oro del Reyno por Bearne, o por Francia, so pena de perderlos. Y quanto a la moneda de oro, se da facultad a los Diputados del Reyno ... puedan proveer por capítulo y condición ... a fin que oro del presente Reyno no se saque”); Domingo Portonaris y Ursino, *Actos de Cortes del Reino de Aragón*, 1584, unpag. Decades after the Zambriel trial, after the expulsion of the Moriscos, the consequences of gold coin exports were felt in the kingdoms of the Aragonese Crown: “Experience has shown its pernicious effects in the kingdom of Valencia, finding themselves without silver or gold after the expulsion of the Moriscos, and with many counterfeit coins” (“La experiencia muestra su perdición del reino de Valencia, hallándose perdidos sin plata ni oro después de la expulsión de los moriscos, y con gran número de moneda de vellón falsa”); “The state of poverty that has resulted in all parts of this kingdom from the expulsion of the Moriscos, all the population and pensioners throughout it left in a diminished state, as is well known” (“El miserable estado en que han quedado todos los estados de este reino con la expulsión de los moriscos, quedando todos los censos y juros que están repartidos en todos los estados y tan disminuidos quanto es notorio”); José María Sánchez Molledo, “El pensamiento arbitrista en el Reino de Aragón en los siglos XVI y XVII” (PhD diss, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1986), 970. See also: Bernabé Pons, “Cohesión de la comunidad morisca”; Gil Herrera and Bernabé Pons, “The Moriscos Outside Spain.”

12 Soledad Carrasco Urgoiti, *El problema morisco en Aragón al comienzo del reinado de Felipe II* (Zaragoza: Centro de Estudios Mudéjares, 2010).

13 Antonio de Bardaxí had a considerable business. He bought, sold, exchanged, and was an intermediary and trafficker of horses. These operations took place in the fairs of Huesca, Barbastro, Monzón, and Sariñena, and at his house in Benasque. The operations of taking horses, gold, and fugitives to France were carried out by himself or members of his

These escape routes for the Moriscos across the Pyrenees offered a good opportunity to leave the Peninsula with some money and goods and had as their destination the region of Béarn. This, however, was only the first stage of a longer trip that often involved travelling to a further Mediterranean port (Agde, Toulon, Marseille, even Venice) with the purpose of reaching the Ottoman provinces or Istanbul itself.

Manuscript AHPZ Inq. 27/5 describes the incident that triggered a broad investigation of the Moriscos' escape routes, their leaders, and their alleged agreement with the Ottoman sultans.

In July 1559 Joan Zambriel Menor from Plasencia de Jalón,<sup>14</sup> together with four other persons,<sup>15</sup> killed three officers of the Inquisition, the local priest, and his servant, when these tried to arrest Joan Zambriel. After disposing of the bodies, the five Moriscos from Plasencia began their escape toward France with horses they had quickly readied.

This group of five fugitives is referred to as the *matadores* (assassins) in the manuscript. The Inquisition immediately called some of its spies to try to locate them and intercept the group before they crossed the border with France. One of the spies, a certain Covarrubias, was most explicit in giving information about the passes across the Pyrenees. He feared that the objective of the fugitives, as for many other Moriscos, was to reach Béarn: "many new

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family: "On the other side of the frontier, the most common destinations for the horses he exported or helped to do so were Bagnères-de-Luchon and Toulouse" ("Al otro lado de la frontera, los destinos más corrientes de los caballos que pasaba o ayudaban a hacerlo eran Bagnères-de-Luchon y Toulouse"); see Pilar Sánchez Núñez, "Ribagorza a finales del siglo xvi. Notas sobre Antonio de Bardaxí y Rodrigo de Mur," *Cuadernos de Historia Jerónimo Zurita*, 65–66 (1992): 37–52; William Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 86–87; Bernabé Pons, "Cohesión de la comunidad morisca"; Gil Herrera and Bernabé Pons, "The Moriscos Outside Spain."

14 Plasencia can refer to two different locations, Plasencia de Jalón (Zaragoza) or Plasencia del Monte (Huesca). The latter had been suggested by Carrasco (*El problema morisco*, 56). However, according to AHPZ Inq. 27/5, the location mentioned must be Plasencia de Jalón, near the villages of Bardallur and Bárboles. The document expressly mentions that the horses prepared for the escape of the Morisco fugitives were in the "camino de Plasencia a Bardallur, a dos leguas y media." The arrest of a relative of the *alfaquí*, Luis Zambriel, of Bardallur, who escaped when about to be arrested, is also mentioned, as is the raid on the village from the neighbouring villages of Alagón and Grisén.

15 The five fugitives were Joan Zambriel the elder, Joan Zambriel the younger (his son), Alexandre Monferriz, Monferriz's brother-in-law Joan Albengalí, and a Castilian Morisco named Martín Oçén, a servant of Adrián Albengalí.

converts who were gathered in the lands of Vendôme<sup>16</sup> have taken the road to Venice in order to embark for Turkish lands.”<sup>17</sup>

The Inquisition, once having agreed that this event called for severe retaliation to reaffirm its power in Aragon, planned its action in secret. On the night of 20th July 1559, a group of three hundred armed horsemen surrounded the small village of Plasencia de Jalón. Their orders were to prevent any person from escaping the village and to arrest anyone who attempted to leave. At dawn, several officers of the Inquisition arrived, with the objective of arresting and questioning the members of the most prominent families of the village: those bearing the surnames Albengalí, Abenrabí, and Zambriel.

The Moriscos of the village, after the killings, were aware that the Inquisition intended to impose an exemplary punishment to prevent them from feeling entitled to challenge its authority. The numerous statements (*deposiciones*) collected in the manuscript prove this. Lope de Bellito, a wagoner, hid his daughter Gracia Bellito, married to Ferrer de Abenrabí, in his house. Questioned about her flight from Plasencia, she stated that “it was said they were going to destroy the village.”<sup>18</sup>

The local Moriscos had already sent envoys to the magistrate of Zaragoza, owner of Plasencia, and approached him as he was leaving mass to state that:

this crime by Zambriel and his sons had them so full of feeling and sorrow that there was no room left in their minds for thinking good thoughts. And they hoped that, as God knew they were innocent, the world would know it too; for in all their lives there had been no shadow of guilt upon them in this case, and they would like to act so as to show that they would pursue these bad Christian converts. And that I might see what they could and should do: for they would go to France, Castile, Valencia, or anywhere with orders to do whatever they are told, so that these men might not escape punishment.<sup>19</sup>

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16 This character (“Bandoma” in the ms.) may be Antoine de Bourbon-Vendôme, viscount of Béarn, duke of Vendôme, also king of Navarre (*jure uxoris*) through his marriage to Jeanne d’Albret (1555–62). The text clearly refers to the county of Béarn, where some of the villages mentioned in the document are located.

17 AHPZ, Inq. 27/5, 6r.

18 “se debía habían de yr a solar el lugar”; AHPZ, Inq. 27/5, 22v.

19 “esta bellaquería de Çambriel y sus hijos los tenía tan llenos de sentimiento y tristeza que no les había quedado el entendimiento libre para pensar cosa buena y que dessean que, como dios sabe su limpieza, el mundo la entienda, que en toda la vida se hallara en ellos sombra de culpa en este caso, pero que querrian hazer obras por donde se vea que son

To restore the image of the community, the Moriscos offered the authorities “their persons, children, and properties,” and sent their representatives to present the terms: “in the name of them all, their city council<sup>20</sup> agrees and promises to fulfill it, and with such anguish and tears that it seemed they themselves were to suffer the penalty for such an infernal crime.”<sup>21</sup>

This public display of worry and concern did not prevent the raid against the village, nor the Inquisition’s placing of several spies<sup>22</sup> in Plasencia to monitor the people’s movements. All were under suspicion.

More than twenty people were arrested in the raid. The prominent families were included, plus their servants. The Albengalís arrested included: Adrián and his wife, Ferrer and his wife, Manuel and his wife, another Ferrer with his wife and two daughters, Pascual and his wife Leonor, and a certain Felipe. The Abenrrabís suffered the same fate with the arrests of Luis and his wife, Ferrer and his wife, and Hierónimo with his wife and daughter. Others arrested were Joan Ferrer, Zambriel’s uncle; his son-in-law and his wife, and all the servants of the two Zambriel fugitives (father and son).

At the same time the Inquisition ordered the arrest of the five fugitives, with controls on all the borders. Despite these arrangements, however, Zambriel the younger and his party managed to reach France, save for his father, who was wounded, arrested, and died later in the Inquisition prison of Zaragoza.

The third action sparked by the incident was the campaign for disarming the Moriscos in Aragon, instigated by the Inquisition. For the Aragonese noblemen, owners of many Morisco villages, these were their subjects, and they wanted to limit the power of the Inquisition, arguing that the call for disarmament was against their law and customs.<sup>23</sup>

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perseguidores destes mal cristianados y que yo viesse lo que podían y devían hazer que a Francia, Castilla, Valencia y a qualquiere parte yrán con diligencias a hazer quanto se les mandare para que estos no se salven”; AHPZ, Inq. 27/5, 49r.

20 Note that the *aljama* continued functioning as usual, with their council and *adelantados* or representatives.

21 “lo dan por bueno y prometen de cumplillo, y en esto tanta tribulación y lágrimas que pareció que eran los que hubieran de padecer la culpa de tan infernal maldad”; AHPZ, Inq. 27/5, 50r.

22 “the least suspicious [persons] that can be found, so that they keep an eye on whether some leave, and where they go; that they may then alert the familiars, who can go where they are to arrest them” (“las menos sospechosas que se puedan haber para que tengan ojo si se salen algunos y adonde van para que después den aviso a los familiares que yrian para que los vayan a prender a donde se hubiesen ydo”); AHPZ, Inq. 27/5, 19r.

23 Carrasco Urgoiti, *El problema morisco*, 49–60.

There are several communications from the Inquisition to different authorities presenting their arguments for a speedy disarmament of the New Christians:

[Disarming the Moriscos] should begin in the most suspicious villages, that is, Ricla, Villafeliche, Sestrica, Almonacid, Torrellas, Los Fayos, Ejea, Calanda, and others like them.<sup>24</sup>

In the village of Torrellas ... he knows that some of the said converts have gone to the principality of Arné in France and to the kingdom of Valencia ... He knows that those who leave do so unarmed and very secretly, and he knows this because some of his vassals have departed in this way, which they could not do if they bore arms.<sup>25</sup>

The ability of the Moriscos to move across the kingdom, transport merchandise, arms, and gunpowder, and the fruitless attempts of the Inquisition to arrest them or prevent communication or trade between the Morisco villages, are also evident in the sources:<sup>26</sup>

In the year 1538 ... a convert who was said to be very wealthy left the Kingdom of Aragon with his wife, children, and family, and with him went other Moriscos from the same kingdom, and they reached the Kingdom of Valencia ... A nuncio of this Holy Office was sent to arrest him, and he,

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24 “[El desarme] se comenzase a hacer en los lugares más sospechosos, como son Ricla, Villafeliche, Sestrica, Almonacid, Torrellas, los Fayos, Ejea, Calanda y otros semejantes”; ACA, Consejo de Aragón, L. 221, 81.

25 “en el lugar de Torrellas ... sabe que se han ydo algunos de los dichos convertidos al principado de Arnés en Francia y a Valencia y su reino ... sabe que los que se van, se van sin armas y muy disimuladamente, y que lo sabe esto porque se le an ydo algunos vasallos suyos desta manera, que si llevaran armas no lo pudieran hazer”; AHN, *Letter from the Supreme Council to the Inquisitors of Zaragoza*, 12 October 1559, 24v–27v.

26 “El año de 1538 ... se fue del Reyno de Aragón con su muger, hijos y familia un convertido de quien se hazía mucho caudal, y con él se fueron también otros moriscos del mesmo Reyno y aportaron al Reyno de Valencia ... imbiaron a un nuncio desde Sancto Officio a prenderlo, el qual nuncio con otro de la Inquisición de Valencia lo prendieron, y trayéndole presso, salieron al camino real muchos de los mesmos convertidos que deste mesmo Reyno se habían passado al de Valencia y mataron al nuntio desde Santo Officio y al otro de la Inquisición de Valentia lo hirieron muy mal, y les quitaron el presso y se lo llebaron ... “teniendo este Santo Officio por comissario al vicario de un lugar de convertidos ... los dichos convertidos le concivieron tanto odio que buscaron un morisco estrangero y, hallado, le dieron cierta cantidad porque matasse dicho comissario ... en noviembre de 1556 el dicho morisco, conduzido por los dichos convertidos, mató dicho comissario”; AHN, Inq. L. 1213, ff. 212r–214v.

with another nuncio from Valencia, seized him. And as they were escorting him, many of the converts from this same kingdom who had crossed to Valencia came out to the highway, and they killed the nuncio of the Holy Office and wounded the one from the Inquisition in Valencia very badly, and they took the prisoner from them and bore him away.

This Holy Office had, in a village of converts, a commissioner who was the vicar ... Those converts conceived such hatred of him that they looked for a Morisco from elsewhere and, on finding him, gave him a sum of money to kill that commissioner ... In November 1556 that Morisco, guided by those converts, killed the commissioner.

In the same year of 1559 ... the said *familiar* seized him [a new convert] ... Many converts from that village came out with arquebuses and shotguns, and by force ... took the prisoner back ... They killed the three officers ... and a youth who was the servant of one of them ... After they were dead the struck them with so many blows, slashes, and stab wounds that they tore them to pieces ... They slit the throat of the local vicar, who was a commissioner of the Holy Office, and after that every one of them cut and sliced him as much as they could, leaving no part of his body untouched ... The criminals, with the prisoner, went to a village of converts who took them in and gave them what they needed, and set them on the road to France, where in fact they went, and from there to the lands of the Moors.<sup>27</sup>

The inquisitors promoted the removal of arms from the Moriscos to protect their commissioners and informants, due to the violence against them when they attempted to carry out their arrests. Their efforts, however, were not entirely successful. Between 1599 and 1605 eleven moriscos were executed by the Inquisition for having stabbed informers (*malsines*), which means that

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27 "En el mesmo año de 1559 ... el dicho familiar lo prendió ... salieron muchos de los convertidos del dicho lugar con arcabuzes y escopetas, y por fuerza ... les quitaron el presso ... mataron los tres familiares ... y un muchacho criado de uno dellos ... después de muertos les dieron tantos golpes, cuchilladas y estocadas, que los hizieron pedaços ... Al vicario del mesmo lugar, que era comissario del Sancto Officio ... lo degollaron, y después de degollado cada qual que más podía le dieron tantas cuchilladas y estocadas, que no dexaron cosa sana en su cuerpo ... los dichos malhechores con el presso se fueron a un lugar de convertidos, y allí los recogieron y dieron provissión de lo que habían menester y los encaminaron para que se fuessen, como de hecho se fueron, a Francia, y de ay a tierra de moros." This description matches the attempted arrest of Joan Zambriel; see ACA, Consejo de Aragón, Legajo 221, 81.

even without firearms, the Moriscos were still able to defend themselves from persecution.

## 2 The *Caudillo* of the Moriscos in France

When the Inquisitors received news of the deaths in Plasencia de Jalón, they set in motion a network of spies. One of them, Covarrubias, informed them from Jaca about the whereabouts of Joan Zambriel's party: they had crossed the Pyrenees on their way to Oloron, where they were to meet a most intriguing character, the *caudillo* (leader) of the Moriscos beyond the Pyrenees: "Hernando del Castillo, who is their *caudillo*<sup>28</sup> in this region, emptied out the village last night at midnight with all his household, his family and companions who were with him; it happened so quickly that I do not know where [they went]." According to the spy it was necessary to close all the borders, from Bayonne to Perpignan, "from sea to sea," because the Moriscos constantly crossed to France: "for by now they know all the passes well, and they have very good guides and great friends on one side and the other."<sup>29</sup>

Hernando Calderero, or del Castillo, considered the leader of the Moriscos in France, had two sons: Gonzalo (who lived in Aragon, "on the border with Navarre") and Lope (who lived in France). He and his sons controlled all the passes through the mountains, and had "more than 500 converts" in France. He traveled with his entourage using a series of houses he had rented in Oloron and Carcassone. The reports on the leader added that "all those who cross do so by order of Castillo. And he and his sons come here to show the way through the passes, and to wait for those who wish to cross. And he has more than 500 converts there, and they must be supplied from here, because they are always very well equipped."<sup>30</sup>

The connections of Hernando Calderero/del Castillo with the Aragonese elites are not yet known, but he seems to have been an affluent Morisco, well settled and well connected in both Spain and France.

28 "Hernando del Castillo, que es el caudillo dellos hazia este lugar, anoche a medianoche, él y toda su casa y familia y allegados que en ella tenía, se han ido; el adonde no lo puedo saber por la brevedad."

29 "porque ellos saben ya muy bien todos los pasos, y tienen muy buenos guías y grandes amigos así de un lado como del otro"; AHPZ Inq. 27/5, 138v.

30 "todos los que pasan, se pasan por orden del dicho Castillo. Y que él y sus hijos vienen acá a enseñar los puertos y esperar a los que se quieren pasar. Y que tiene ya allá más de quinientos convertidos, y que los deben proveer de acá, porque de continuo van muy bien ataviados"; AHPZ, Inq. 27/5, 84v.

Covarrubias adds that Zambriel, “before reaching Oloron, went to a place called Pontacq where he found more ... Moorish converts ... both men and women ... And they have rented houses there ... and this village is in Béarn.”<sup>31</sup>

The document identifies other fugitive Moriscos from well-known families: “Diego the Elder from Torrellas, and the son of Zafar, the one from Ambel, who will also go in a few days to join the *caudillo*.”<sup>32</sup>

31 “antes que llegasse a Oloron fue a un lugar que se llama Pontacq donde halló más ... convertidos de moros ... hombres y mugeres ... y tienen alquiladas unas casas ... y este lugar está en Bearne”; AHPZ, Inq. 27/5, 84r. This part of the document is not entirely legible.

32 “Diego el Viejo, de Torrellas, y el hijo de Zafar, el de Ambel, que se irán también dentro de pocos días donde el Caudillo”; AHPZ, Inq. 27/5, 138v. Covarrubias’s report is full of details: “The son of Zambriel, as you must have heard there, reached this place very badly wounded. With him was the eldest son of Hernando del Castillo, nicknamed El Calderero, and one or two others, I do not know their names or where they come from, and they stayed here only a short time ... [I do not know] how they guard the passes, because eight days ago a son of the Elder came from Torrellas (so you will know which of the two, I mean the older in years), with two others ... from that kingdom and from Castile. Your Majesty should know that if they do not close completely all the passes from Bayonne to Perpignan, that is from sea to sea, they will not stop coming regularly, because they already know all the passes very well and have very good guides and great friends on both sides. Take note that Hernando del Castillo, who is their *caudillo* in this region, emptied out the village last night at midnight with all his household, his family and companions who were with him; it happened so quickly that I do not know where [they went] ... They would not be safe here because of what had happened there, and even if they were, since friends from our side are so close to Spain, others would have them killed. Of all those who were here, only Diego the Elder from Torrellas and the son of Çafar from Ambel still remain, but I think that within a few days they too will go to join the Caudillo. And if they do not do it, it will be because they are expecting some others from over there. On all this I will report ... when there is something to tell, and Our Lord, etc. In Oloron, Friday [?] July 1559.” (“Su hijo de Çambriel, como allá habrán sabido, llegó a este lugar harto mal herido y juntamente con él su hijo el mayor de Hernando del Castillo, que llaman el Calderero, y otro o otros dos, que no sé cómo se llaman ni de dónde son, y pararon aquí muy poco ... Ni cómo cierran los puertos, porque de ocho días acá a benido de Torrellas un hijo del Viejo, y por q sepan de qual de los dos, del más viejo en hedad, y otros dos ... dese reyno y del de Castilla, sepa V Mg que mientras no cerraren muy bien todos los puertos desde Bayona hasta Perpignan, qes de mar a mar, que no cesarán de venir hordinariamente, por q ellos saben ya muy bien todos los pasos y tienen muy buenas guías y grandes amigos así de un lado como del otro. Por abiso Hernando del Castillo, que es el Caudillo dellos, bazió este lugar anoche a media noche, porqél y toda su casa y familia y allegados q en ella tenía se an ydo; el adónde no lo puedo saber por la brevedad ... Que aquí no estarían seguros por lo q ay abía acaezido y que quando lo estubiesen que estando tan cerca de España amigos de los nuestros, otros los harían matar. Solamente an quedado aquí de todos los que aquí abía Diego el Viejo de Torrellas y el hijo de Çafar el de Ambel, pero creo que se yrán también dentro de pocos días donde el Caudillo. Y q si no se hará presto que es por aguardar algunos de los de allá. De todo abisaré como ... quando aya de qué, y ntro señor etc, Olorón, viernes [?] de julio de 1559”).

The Moriscos aided by the *caudillo* included notable leaders of the Aragonese new converts such as Gaspar Zaydejos,<sup>33</sup> and connections of families such as the Zafars, the Compañeros, and the Yzquierdos<sup>34</sup> of Segorbe. By this date, Jaime Yzquierdo's brother, Martín,<sup>35</sup> was already living in Marseille, another of the ports used by the Moriscos to travel to the Ottoman regencies.

The escape routes mentioned in the manuscript include Pamplona and Jaca, from which the Pyrenees were crossed in order to reach the seaports of Agde, Toulon, or Marseille.

In the case of Zambriel's escape, two other pieces of information of particular relevance are mentioned in the Inquisition reports. First, the escape was planned in advance. Apparently Zambriel had the money (thirty escudos) ready to pay the *caudillo* for the passage through the Pyrenees or to Venice, having already sold part of his properties ("quería pasar allá<sup>36</sup> y tenía ya vendida la mayor parte de la hacienda"<sup>37</sup>). It is to be noted that the Zambriels and their relatives, the Albengalís and Abenrrabís, were affluent: note the number of servants arrested in their households during the raid against Plasencia. We

33 See M<sup>a</sup> Carmen Ansón Calvo, "La actividad inquisitorial aragonesa en el reinado de Felipe II y su repercusión en los súbditos moriscos," in *Felipe II (1598–1998), Europa dividida, la monarquía católica de Felipe II*, coord. José Martínez Millán (Madrid: Parteluz, 1998), 3: 11–36. Ansón Calvo, *Torrellas. Del esplendor morisco a la decadencia y la tendencia a su recuperación* (Torrellas: Ayuntamiento, 2014).

34 Jaime Yzquierdo was also a Morisco leader: "Parece que con haber relajado a este [Jayme Izquierdo], que era tenido por caudillo de los moriscos ..."; Fournel-Guérin, "Les morisques aragonais," 83.

35 See Ansón Calvo, *Torrellas*, 224: "Zaydejos travelled to Valencia, visited Segorbe, and remained for some time in Valencian lands, where he made contact with some prominent Moriscos, returning furtively and briefly to Aragon in July 1577. Then he left his wife there and, after paying a hundred ducats to a guide, he left via Roncesvalles, arriving at Pau, where he dealt with some matters with a Lutheran captain, as reported by an Inquisition spy. Then he traveled to Marseille to seek Martín Izquierdo, a leader of the Morisco plots ... ("Zaydejos viajó a Valencia, estuvo en Segorbe y permaneció un tiempo en tierras valencianas, donde conectó con otros destacados moriscos, regresando furtiva y brevemente a Aragón en julio de 1577. Después, dejó a su mujer en tierras aragonesas y, tras pagar cien ducados a quién le sirvió de guía, salió por Roncesvalles, llegó a Pau, donde según un espía de la Inquisición trató determinados negocios con un capitán de luteranos, después fue a Marsella para conocer si estaba ya allí Martín Izquierdo, un líder de los complots moriscos ...").

36 The so-called Morisco "ruta de Venecia" included two main destinations: Ottoman territory and its regencies. Luce López-Baralt and Awilda Irizarry, "Dos itinerarios secretos de los moriscos del siglo XVI (los manuscritos aljamiados 774 de la Biblioteca Nacional de París y T-16 de la Real Academia de la Historia)," in *Homenaje a D. Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes* (Madrid: Gredos, 1985), 547–82.

37 AHPZ Inq. 27/5, 84v.

do not know the details of the services rendered for the payment to the *caudillo*. It seems that some fugitives, once in France, had to wait for the funds to reach them in order to continue their travel:

those who are in Carcassonne and two others, and Zambriel, left last Sunday, and two young men from Alcalá have stayed behind.<sup>38</sup> waiting for the money I wrote you about ... These two from Alcalá, I have heard, left their homes through Vizcaya, and in San Sebastián, in Fuenterrabía, they embarked by sea, since there is only a narrow bay; they went to Bayonne and from Bayonne came here in search of Castillo, and not finding him they sought out Zambriel, as I have written. I continue to believe that they are going to Venice, through the passes and lands I have written about.<sup>39</sup>

The second piece of information concerns their intended destination, in this case Venice. What remains to be discovered is their ultimate destination, perhaps Salonica or Istanbul; the main ports used to reach the Ottoman regencies in North Africa were those mentioned in the south of France.

The places named in the different sources, whether Inquisition records or Aljamiado manuscripts, include several routes for reaching the Pyrenees and a network of locations that run parallel to the mountain range: Saint Jean de Luz, Bayonne, Oloron, Pontacq, Carcassonne, Agde, Marseille. The route to Venice passed through Marseille, where there was already a Morisco colony comprising some familiar surnames: Dr. Calavera (¿Musa from Calatayud?), Gaspar Yzquierdo, and Martín Yzquierdo.<sup>40</sup>

Hernando del Castillo/Calderero seems to have been an Islamic scholar from Castile. In AHPZ Inq. 5/27 he is described as the *caudillo de los moriscos* in France. Although we do not have all the information about this character, he

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38 "los que están en Carcasón y dos y el Zambriel se fueron el domingo passado y han quedado los dos jóvenes que son de Alcalá"; These two Castilians mentioned had followed a different route, but eventually joined Zambriel's party.

39 "... que aguardan el dinero que os escribí ... Estos dos de Alcalá tengo indicios que se fueron de sus casas por Vizcaya, y en San Sebastián, en Fontarrabia, se embarcaron por mar, que no hay sino un pequeño estrecho de agua, se fueron a Bayona, y de Bayona aquí, en busca de Castillo, y como no lo han hallado, fueron a Zambriel, como ya tengo escrito. Siempre estoy en que llevan el camino de Venecia, por los pasos y tierras que tengo escrito"; AHPZ Inq. 27/5, 200r.

40 Gil Herrera and Bernabé Pons, "The Moriscos Outside Spain," 216.

could be Hernando Calderero from Valladolid, burned in effigy in 1561,<sup>41</sup> when he was already a fugitive (“fugitivo destos reinos”).

The organization of the *aljamas* continued to serve the Morisco communities despite the persecutions of the Morisco elite, especially between 1575 and 1585. Although the great Aragonese Morisco families were decimated,<sup>42</sup> the *aljamas* seem to have continued to rely on certain organizations and the leadership of a few individuals, named *cabezas* (heads) or *caudillos*. During the 1610 expulsion, the Aragonese communities traveling into exile by crossing through Provence were aided by one Gabriel Yzquierdo.<sup>43</sup> Could he have been a member of the Yzquierdo family, already settled in Marseille in the 1560s? If so, the influence of the notable houses of Aragonese *xerifes* would continue in the diaspora, as in the cases of Zapata and Cárdenas, who arranged deals for the Morisco exiles either in Provence or in the Ottoman regency of Tunis.<sup>44</sup>

### 3 Escape and Settlement in Ottoman Lands: the Pattern

There is a precedent for the escape routes of the Aragonese Moriscos to Islamic lands beyond Europe: that of the Andalusis from Valencia.<sup>45</sup> Apparently, Andalusis were not only welcome in the Hafsîd kingdom of Tunis, but were also offered relevant positions in the administration: “The majority of teachers

41 Elías Amézaga, *Auto de fe en Valladolid* (Bilbao: Gráficas Ellacuría, 1966), 506: “relaxado en estatua por hereje apóstata y profesor de la secta mahometana.”

42 “All in all, the five cited tribunals of the Secretariat of Aragon [Barcelona, Logroño, Sicily, Valencia, and Zaragoza] in the period from 1540 to 1700 charged 7,003 Moriscos ... of whom the Zaragoza tribunal charged 16.57% of the cases per year” (“En conjunto, los cinco tribunales citados de la Secretaría de Aragón, en el periodo temporal de 1540 a 1700, encausaron a 7.003 moriscos ... de los que el Tribunal de Zaragoza lo hizo sobre 16,57% de casos por año”): Ansón Calvo, “Actividad inquisitorial aragonesa,” 14. See also M<sup>a</sup> Pilar Sánchez López, “Organización y jurisdicción inquisitorial: el Tribunal de Zaragoza: 1568–1646,” (PhD diss., Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona, 1989).

43 The Franco-Ottoman alliance seems to have played a role in the Moriscos’ passage through Provence. The king of France appointed Honoré Aymar to organize the movements of the expelled Moriscos, who were led by Gabriel Yzquierdo and Luis Zapata. In September 1610 they collected funds to help their poorer Muslim coreligionists to embark, and chartered three ships bound for Tunis. In a similar episode in Toulon, more prosperous Moriscos also helped those less fortunate. Ships were prepared to transfer about 300 Moriscos, 172 of whose passages were paid for by wealthy Moriscos in Toulon: Pierre Santoni, “Le passage des morisques en Provence,” *Provence Historique* 46, no. 185 (1996): 333–83.

44 Bernabé Pons, “La nación en lugar seguro,” 116.

45 Rouighi, *Mediterranean Emirate*.

cited in the *‘Unwān al-dirāya*, the biographical dictionary of notable intellectuals in Bijāya in the thirteenth century, were either Andalusi or immigrants of Andalusi origin ... The famous Andalusi litterateur Ibn ‘Uṣfūr (d. 1271), who had migrated to Ifrīqiyā from Seville, was one of the most celebrated of these teachers. He taught the Hafsid emir Yaḥyā ibn Biḡāya, and when he moved to Tunis had among his students the future caliph al-Mustaṣir (r. 1249–77).<sup>46</sup> In some cases, the positions were closely connected to political power: “The Great Mosque and the Kasbah Mosque were clearly the most important mosques. A teaching position in either of them was very prestigious, but teaching at the Kasbah Mosque was more obviously political because of its proximity to the ruler’s residence. Ibn Khaldūn lectured there when he was *ḥāḡib* ... As a rule, the position was held by a member of the old Bijāyan elite ... or by Hafsid-sponsored Andalusis such as al-Laftanī (thirteenth century), the famous Ibn Burtula (d. 1263), and Ibn Sayyid al-Nās (d. 1261). In addition to the teacher, the Great Mosque’s most important figure was the *imām* who led prayer and delivered the Friday sermon. In Bijāya, Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Kinānī (d. 1297), an Andalusi from Játiva, held the position for thirty years. Another Andalusi from Valencia led the five daily prayers there while a judge in Bijāya.”<sup>47</sup> There were connections to judicial power, too: “Judges tended to come from the ‘old’ urban elite who were landowners. Under the Hafsids, those who were appointed to the judgeship in Bijāya tended to come from nearby cities. Beyond the urban elite, the Hafsids chose their judges from among the Andalusis such as Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥazraḡī al-Šāṭibī (d. 1292).”<sup>48</sup> The treatment of the Andalusi elite under Hafsid rule would find a parallel in the later reception of the Morisco elites in Ottoman-ruled Algiers and Tunisia.

The Franco-Ottoman alliance between Francis I and Suleyman I<sup>49</sup> was to prove essential for Spanish Muslims between the forced conversions of the 1500s and the expulsions of the 1600s (see below Ibn ‘Abd-al-Rafī’s statement on these negotiations, and how the Sultan’s letters guaranteed the passage of the Moriscos through France under his protection).

The case of Zambiel sheds light on a phenomenon that occurred regularly during the sixteenth century, particularly after the forced conversion of the Moriscos. When we look at the interactions between the Spanish Mudejars/Moriscos and the Ottoman Empire, we find a pattern: several groups leave the

46 Rouighi, *Mediterranean Emirate*, 127–28.

47 Rouighi, *Mediterranean Emirate*, 127–28.

48 Rouighi, *Mediterranean Emirate*, 136.

49 Édith Garnier, *L’alliance impie*. Éditions du Felin, 2008.

Peninsula and relocate in the North African Muslim kingdoms.<sup>50</sup> This pattern becomes even clearer in the case of Algiers in the period when Barbarossa was the regent of the territory: there are records of frequent embarkations of the newly converted, the Moriscos, bound for the African coast; also, of the positions given to the Andalusis (the name used in the Ottoman literature for Mudejars/Moriscos) in the new regency by instruction of the Ottoman sultan, much in the fashion of Ibn al-‘Abbār and his contemporaries in Hafsid Tunis.

To offer but a summary of the embarkations of Moriscos<sup>51</sup> in the feared corsair ships manned by Ottomans and Andalusis, we will mention some cases, just to present the proposed pattern: May 1527, 1,400 Moriscos from Nules, Mascarell, and Vall de Uxó. October 1529, 500 Moriscos from Pacent and Murla. July 1538, 1,200 Moriscos from Villajoyosa. 1562, twenty-three Moriscos from Níjar, forty-eight from Huebro. 1566, eighty-five Moriscos from Tabernas, thirteen *monfies*, fifty Moriscos from Lucainena. 1569, 2,700 Moriscos are arrested at Inox while waiting to embark. 1582, 2,000 Moriscos from Alicante, all the Moriscos from Callosa de Ensarrià, some Moriscos from Polop, Orba, Laguar, Gallinera, Altea.

This information relates to the pattern of exiles who flee across the Pyrenees in the *cuadrillas*: groups, comprising fifteen to thirty Moriscos, that took to the roads of Aragon and Navarre in order to travel to France. All of these groups had a destination in common: *tierra de moros* (land of the Moors, or Muslim lands). Several of these *cuadrillas* were detained and we know of their members and guides, even the price they paid, through the corresponding *Autos de fe*. Juan Fierro, from Naval, was a *passador*; he was arrested in 1607 near Jaca. The Moriscos in his *cuadrilla* had paid between eight and ten escudos for his services: “This criminal escorted and guided others to France, and said in the presence of witnesses that he had escorted and guided other new converts to France, and that he would guide as many as he could; he earned his living with what they paid him.”<sup>52</sup>

50 Gerard Wiegers, “Managing Disaster: Networks of the Moriscos during the Process of the Expulsion from the Iberian Peninsula,” *Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures* 36, no. 2 (2010): 141–68; Bernabé Pons, “Notas sobre la cohesión”; Houssein Eddine Chachia, “La instalación de los moriscos en el Maghreb: entre el relato oficial y el relato morisco,” in *Actas del 11 Congreso Internacional de Descendientes de Andalusíes Moriscos* (Ojós: Ayuntamiento, 2015), 125–42.

51 Francisco Velasco Hernández, *Corsarismo, piratería y guerra costera en el sureste español* (Cartagena: Nova Spartaria, 2019), 131 (table).

52 “Este reo pasaba y guiaba a los demás a Francia, y que dijo en presencia de los testigos, había pasado y guiado a Francia otros nuevos convertidos, y que guiaría a todos los que pudiese, pagándosele por ganar su vida”; Fournel-Guérin, “Les morisques aragonais,” 120.

The Inquisition had been warning of the need to control specific crossing points where there was movement of Moriscos:

it is necessary to have a commissioner in Aranda ... because it is a place on the frontier with Castile through which some converts go ... Montalbán is the district on the border of Valencia where the converts who go from this kingdom to that of Valencia cross, to continue from there to Moorish lands ... Calpe is ... entirely empty and below it are Maella, Fabara, and many other villages that border on Catalonia, and many converts pass through this district from this kingdom to Valencia and Catalonia, and from there to Moorish territory ... [There are] two towns in particular, inhabited only by Moorish converts, one called Calanda of about five hundred residents and the other Foz, which must have one hundred fifty; and since they are remote and far from the other districts that have commissioners, it is essential to have one in Alcañiz ... That is where nearly all the groups of Moriscos who are leaving this kingdom assemble, and where those who come from Moorish lands to escort them welcome and receive them.<sup>53</sup>

A Morisco was condemned to the stake in 1567 because between 1551 and 1567 "his job had been to convey converted Moors from these kingdoms to Turkey." Two brothers from Belchite, Gerónimo and Juan Fénix,<sup>54</sup> had the same occupation, taking *cuadrillas* to Perpignan. In Plasencia de Jalón, Alexandre Pariente charged twenty escudos per person to take New Christians to Marseille. Juan de Fuentes, of Béarn, arrested in Villafranca, stated that he had taken nineteen Moriscos in seven trips, and that they had left Spain to avoid persecution.<sup>55</sup>

53 "es necesario tener un comissario en Aranda ... por ser lugar de frontera de Castilla por donde se suelen yr algunos convertidos ... En Montalbán ... está esta partida en la raya de Valencia y por donde hazen su camino los convertidos que van deste Reyno al de Valencia para de allí yrse a tierra de moros ... Calpe está ... todo despoblado y por la parte baxa tiene a Maella, Fabara y otros muchos lugares que confrontan con Cathaluña, y por esta partida se passan muchos convertidos deste Reyno a Valencia y Cathaluña, y de allí a tierra de moros ... [Hay] señaladamente dos pueblos, todos de convertidos de moros, que el uno se dize Calanda, que es cerca de quinientos vezinos, y el otro Foz, que tendrá ciento y cinquenta, y como están remotos y apartados de las otras partidas donde ay comissarios, es muy necessario haberle en Alcañiz ... y ser la parte donde acuden casi todas las cuadrillas de moriscos que desde Reyno se van, y donde se receptan y recogen todos los que de tierra de moros bienen a llevarlos"; Carrasco Urgoiti, *El problema morisco*, 160–64.

54 Gerónimo Fénix and Juan de Fénix appeared in the 1567 *Auto de fe* for this crime.

55 Fournel-Guérin, "Les morisques aragonais," 95–96.

Moriscos trusted their brethren for guidance across the mountains. Such is the case of Juan Aznar, arrested in 1578. He had been taken to Salonica as a child, but since then had returned to Aragon on three occasions, taking some Moriscos back to Salonica on each trip.<sup>56</sup> Pedro el Rojo, from Torrellas, executed in 1578, had been transporting Moriscos to Turkey since 1551; in five trips he had taken more than forty people. The *relaciones* (summaries) of several *Autos de fe* allow us to see the scope of this phenomenon:

Pedro el Corto (the Short), a Morisco from Puybolea, Huesca, escorted three other groups of converts who were going to France and from there to Moorish lands, [in exchange] for money they gave him ... Joan Serrano, from Plasencia ... because they crossed to France with other Moriscos and from there to Moorish lands to live as Moors ... Miguel Caxal, from Urrea de Jalón, who was leaving this kingdom with his parents and others against the edicts of the Holy Office, and they were seized in Navarre, beyond Pamplona; he confessed that he was going to France and from there to join the Moors ... Jerónimo Burguera, from Plasencia, because he had conveyed a group of male and female converts in his cart, crossing from this kingdom to Navarre, and he was arrested in Pamplona and claimed that he did not know they were going anywhere but Pamplona, because they hired him to go that far ... Lorente Montero Mayor, from Urrea de Jalón, is among those who were crossing to France ... Pedro de Cortes, from Urrea de Jalón, head and caudillo of one of the groups of converts who were going to France and were arrested beyond Pamplona, confessed that he was going to Moorish lands and that he had lived as a Moor ... Amador Abijuesque was arrested, and confessed that he was going among Moors to renounce the faith of Christ ... Jerónimo Benamir, from Rueda de Xalón ... Francisco Elmideo, from Urrea de Xalón, was in the group with two young children of his, confessed that he was going to Moorish lands and that he had practiced as a Moor ... Isabel de Ceuta, wife of the said Pedro de Cortes, who was going with her husband to Moorish lands ... Maria la Albengala, a widow, a convert from that village of Urrea, was going with the group [to live] among Moors; Candida la Ceutina, the daughter of that widow, the same ... Lorente Montero the

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56 There is still little information on the Morisco communities established in Turkey. For those established in Istanbul and Salonica see Tijana Krstić, "Moriscos in Ottoman Galata, 1609–1620s," in *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain: A Mediterranean Diaspora*, ed. M. García-Arenal and G. Wieggers (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 269–87.

Younger, the son of converts, from the same village, was going with the group to France; he was arrested in Navarre before reaching Pamplona; Miguel de Granada, stepbrother of the said Montero, arrested with the same group; Jerónimo Granada, brother of the said Miguel, the same; Anna de Abenragua, wife of Lorente Montero the Elder ... Francisco Coscollar, of Cadret, was arrested while going to France ... he confessed that he was going to Moorish lands, was found to be circumcised, then revoked what he had confessed and continued to insist on revoking it without giving any legitimate reason ... [he was] transferred to the secular authorities.<sup>57</sup>

The *cuadrillas* each included about fifteen to thirty people, all of whom declared that they were fleeing to Muslim lands. When we read the Inquisitorial

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57 "Pedro el corto, morisco de Puybolea, Huesca, acompañó otras tres cuadrillas de convertidos que se passaban en Francia y de ay a tierra de moros por dineros que le dieron ... Joan Serrano, de Plasencia ... porque con otros moriscos se passaban en Francia y de allí a tierra de moros a vivir como moro ... Miguel Caxal, de Urrea de Xalón, que se iba con sus padres y otros deste reyno contra los edictos del Santo Officio y fueron presos en Navarra, más allá de Pamplona, confesó que se iba a Francia y de allí a morisma ... Jerónimo Burguera, de Plasenzia, por haber llebado en su carro una quadrilla de convertidos hombres y mugeres, y passado desste reyno al de Navarra, y fue preso en Pamplona y dixo que no sabía que fuessen a otra parte sino a Pamplona, porque para allí lo alquilaron ... Lorente Montero Mayor, de Urrea de Xalón, es de los que se passavan en Francia ... Pedro de Cortes, de Urrea de Xalón, cabeza y caudillo de una de las quadrillas de convertidos que se iban a Francia y fueron presos más allá de Pamplona. confeso que iba a tierra de moros y haver vivido como moro ... Amador Abijuesque, estando culpado en dicho caso de haver traydo un quartago de Urrea para uno de los matadores se yba en la dicha quadrilla, fue preso y confeso lo dicho que se iba a morisma a renegar la fe de Xto ... Jerónimo Benamir, de Rueda de Xalón ... Francisco Elmideo, de Urrea de Xalón, iban en la quadrilla y llevando consigo dos hijos suyos pequeños, confesó que se iba a tierra de moros y haver hecho obras de moro ... Isabel de Ceuta, mujer del dicho Pedro de Cortes, que se iba con su marido a tierra de moros ... Maria la Albengala, viuda, convertida del dicho lugar de Urrea, iba en la quadrilla a morisma; Candida la Ceutina, hija de la dicha viuda, ídem ... Lorente Montero, menor, hijo de convertidos, de dicho lugar, iba en la quadrilla a Francia; fue preso en Navarra antes de llegar a Pamplona; Miguel de Granada, hermanastro de dicho Montero, preso con la dicha quadrilla, Jerónimo Granada, hermano de dicho Miguel, ídem; Anna de Abenragua, mujer de Lorente Montero mayor ... Francisco Coscollar, de Cadret, yendose a Francia fue preso ... confesó iba a tierra de moros, hallóse estar retajado, después revocó lo que tenía confesado y persistió siempre en su revocado sin dar causa legitima dello ... relaxado al braço seglar"; AHN, Inquisición, L.988: *Memoria de las personas que salieron en el acto de fe que se hizo en Çaragoça en el séptimo dia del mes de junio anyo mil quinientos quarenta y nueve*, ff. 30v-106r.

information, we find that the money paid by Moriscos to flee Spain was no inconsiderable amount:<sup>58</sup>

A few days ago we wrote in another [report] to the gentlemen of the council that a great number of Moorish converts from this kingdom, men and women, were crossing to France intending to go from there to Moorish lands to renounce [?] the Faith ... Two groups were apprehended, one of them two or three leagues on this side of Pamplona and the other beyond Pamplona ... the group was of about thirty persons ... [They had paid], they say, up to nine hundred escudos.<sup>59</sup>

This exodus of vanquished Andalusis toward Ottoman lands is documented in the years of the first edicts of forced baptism. Serafín de Tapia offers information about the Castilian families who left the Peninsula, the *passadores*, and their destinations:

Immediately after the baptism there were fifteen Morisco families from Arévalo who left the town; some settled in Barbary (specifically in Tetouan and Fez), others in Granada ... The merchant Gabriel Cordero, who was executed by the Holy Office in that year for having taken part in a clandestine network of Moriscos who were taking people to Algiers or Salonica ... Gaspar Andado ... participate[d] very actively in the secret organization of Moriscos in Valladolid in 1565; he was in charge of helping those who were escaping the Inquisition, offering them temporary hiding places and then money and other resources for their escape ... It is known that they came and went from Arévalo to Valencia and took

58 AHN, Inq, L. 962, 98r (29 October 1560).

59 "Pocos días ha que en otra que escribimos a los señores del consejo dimos cuenta cómo gran número de conbertidos de moros deste reyno hombres y mugeres se pasavan en Francia para dende allí yrse en tierra de moros a renegar [?] la Fe ... Fueron alcançadas dos quadrillas. Dellos la una desta parte de Pamplona dos o tres leguas y la otra pasada Pamplona ... q serán asta treinta personas la quadrilla ... A lo que se dize asta nobecientos escudos o más." Note the reference to the removal of gold coins from the kingdom. The escudo was a Castilian coin, for in this period Aragonese currency was beginning its decline. See Javier Santiago Fernández, "Moneda y fiscalidad en Castilla durante el siglo xvi," in *iv Jornadas Científicas sobre Documentación de Castilla e Indias en el siglo xvi*, ed. J.C. Galende Díaz (Madrid: UCM, 2005). The approximate value of one escudo was today's €80 (hence, 900 escudos would be about €72,000): Bárbara Ruiz-Bejarano, "Praxis islámica de los musulmanes aragoneses a partir del corpus aljamiado-morisco y su confrontación con otras fuentes contemporáneas" (PhD diss., Universidad de Alicante, 2015), 589. See also Gil Herrera and Bernabé Pons, "The Moriscos Outside Spain."

letters for Algiers, and a Morisco called Miguel Bori from there always guided them, and that a brother of his who lives there goes and comes from Valencia with the letters for Algiers and he even goes over there with messages ... In recent years some Moriscos with their wives from Valladolid, Palencia, and Burgos traveled to Salonica from Valencia, since they could not cross to Algiers.<sup>60</sup>

From the first quarter of the sixteenth century to 1610, tens of thousands of Mudejars/Moriscos fled Spain toward Ottoman lands. These were not random individuals but large groups, sometimes entire communities, that left Spain and arrived in the Ottoman regencies.<sup>61</sup> How were they settled in their new destination? Was this resettlement a one-time occasion, a regular series of waves, or a continuum?

Ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥī explains the negotiations behind these migratory waves:<sup>62</sup> the envoys of the Moriscos, including their *xerifes*, were sent to broker a deal with the Ottoman sultan.

Some of our people went secretly to the Maghreb and others to the Middle East ... some of our coreligionists went to Belgrade, in the province of the

60 “Inmediatamente después del bautizo, hubo quince familias de moriscos arevalenses que se marcharon de la villa; unas se asentaron en Berbería (concretamente en Tetuán y en Fez) y otras en Granada ... el mercader Gabriel Cordero, que fue relajado por el Santo Oficio en ese año por participar en una red clandestina de moriscos que llevaba gente a Argel o Salónica ... Gaspar Andado ... participa muy activamente en la estructura clandestina de los moriscos de Valladolid en 1565: era el encargado de facilitar la huida de los que escapaban de la Inquisición, ofreciéndoles un lugar provisional donde esconderse y después dinero y otros recursos para escapar”; Serafín Tapia Sánchez, “Las élites de la comunidad morisca de Arévalo. Redes sociales y formación de liderazgos,” in *De la alquería a la aljama*, ed. A. Echevarría and A. Fábregas (Madrid: UNED, 2016), 457; “... saben que de Arévalo iban y venían a Valencia y llevaban cartas para Argel y siempre les encaminaba un morisco de allí que se llama Miguel Bori y que un hermano suyo que allí reside va y viene a Valencia con las cartas para Argel y aún pasa allá con avisos ... los años pasados se pasaron a Salónica por Venecia algunos moriscos con sus mujeres de Valladolid, Palencia y Burgos, por no poderse pasar a Argel”; Tapia, “Las élites,” 464.

61 There are some pioneering works on the matter, such as Epalza, “Les Ottomans”; Benafri, “La posición de la sublime puerta.”

62 Chakib Benafri, “Endülüs’te son müslüman kalintisi morisko’larin cezayirè göçü ve OsmanlıYardimi (1492–1624)” (PhD diss., Hacettepe Üniversitesi Ankara, 1989), 213. Besides Benafri, other authors have contributed with data on the Andalusí settlements in the Ottoman regencies of Africa: see Nacereddine As-Saidouni, *Le waqf en Algérie à l’époque ottomane. Recueil de recherches sur le waqf* (Kwait: Awqaf Public Foundation of Kuwait, 2009), chapter “Les waqfs des Andalous en Algérie d’après les documents des archives algériennes,” 192–210.

great Constantinople. The *alfaquí* Abū al-‘Abbās met the eminent minister, the late Murād Pacha, one of the ministers of his highness the Sultan [Suleyman] the Magnificent and the Great Khan, who is of Ottoman lineage ... and he informed him of the lamentable and urgent situation of our Andalusí coreligionists in France and other countries. The minister ... wrote with the Sultan’s permission—may God make him prevail over his enemies—to the king of France—may God destroy him—giving him orders to take the Andalusis and the Ottoman subjects who were there in his own ships to Muslim lands.<sup>63</sup>

It seems that the *xerifes* formed an alliance with the Ottoman sultans which also involved passing through France, and reaching ports where the Ottoman fleet would transport them.

All these questions led to the Ottoman plan to settle and employ thousands of Moriscos who left Spain and reached the regencies in the course of a century. What could the Moriscos offer in exchange for such a generous invitation? When we look at the data, we see that Moriscos were not treated as pariahs or exiles, but rather as skilled people who could contribute with their knowledge of different technologies, trades, and sciences to the Ottoman regencies. They exchanged their knowhow in these varied fields for the sultans’ protection. Note that during al-Ḥaḡarī Bejarano’s efforts in France to resolve an incident in which some Moriscos had been robbed, he had already secured the support of the sultan: “the Moriscos’ goods should be rendered to me, and in the letters from the king [of France] it says and ordains that what is done is to honor the Great Ruler [the sultan].”<sup>64</sup>

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63 “Algunos de los nuestros fueron a escondidas al Magreb y otros a Oriente medio ... ; algunos de nuestros correligionarios fueron a Belgrado, en la provincia de la gran Constantinopla, el alfaquí Abū al-‘Abbās se reunió con el magnífico ministro, el difunto Murād Pacha, uno de los ministros de su alteza Sultán el magnífico y el Khan mayor, el difunto Sultán Aḡmed Khan que procede del linaje de los Otomanos ... y le informó de la situación lamentable y crítica de nuestros correligionarios andalusíes en Francia y en otros países. El ministro ... escribió con la autorización del Sultán—que Dios le hace prevalecer sobre sus enemigos—al rey de Francia—que Dios lo destruya—dándole órdenes para llevar a los andalusíes y a los súbditos otomanos que estaban allí en barcos suyos hacia los países musulmanes”; Aïssa, Aouini and Chachia, *Entre las orillas de dos mundos*, 109–39.

64 “Que los bienes de los moriscos se me entreguen, y en las cartas del rey dice y manda que lo que haze es a honra del Gran Señor”; Ms D 565 Bologna, 168r, quoted in Juan Penella, “Los moriscos españoles emigrados al norte de África después de la expulsión” (PhD diss., Universidad de Barcelona, 1975).

#### 4 Employment of Moriscos in the Ottoman Regencies

When we observe the distribution of Moriscos in the Ottoman regencies we find the following pattern: Moriscos leave the Iberian Peninsula, as individuals or in groups. They reach a port or are embarked on Spanish shores by Ottoman corsairs. Then they land in a location under Ottoman rule (if some Moriscos had to travel to Salonica because they “couldn’t” go to Algiers, does this mean that they had to be “assigned” a specific location for resettlement?). According to the letter of the Andalusis to Sultan Suleyman I (see below), they were settled in specific areas “to be developed.” There the Andalusis (as they are referred to in the Ottoman documents) were employed in a variety of trades.

#### 5 Construction

Exiled Moriscos (*Andalusis* in the Arabic sources) are employed in different building enterprises. Some refer to shipbuilding, others to urban development. These quotations suggest that the Moriscos did not land in the Ottoman regencies merely as refugees, but that their knowledge was actually sought after and they were relocated in specific areas for specific purposes. The following quotations related to Cherchell in Algiers<sup>65</sup> indicate that the Moriscos were given specific lands and jobs, as suited the Ottoman rulers (in this case, Hayreddin Barbarossa):

[Ca. 1580] Cherchell is famous for the rich wood of its forests, and there was a numerous community of Spanish Moriscos installed there, who were in charge of building [the ships] as well as piloting them.<sup>66</sup>

... this place called Cherchell ... its inhabitants and residents (who all were, as they continue to be today, Moriscos escaped from Granada, Valencia, and Aragon, and who also were employed as corsairs, with frigates and brigantines, as they continue today, and being good navigators

65 Gilbert Meynier, “Vers l’heure ottoman,” in *L’Algérie, coeur du Maghreb classique. De l’ouverture islamo-arabe au repli (698–1518)* (Paris: La Découverte, 2010), 313: “Cherchell, ville antique quelque peu à l’abandon, est conquise par les frères [Barberousse, ca. 1516] ... [elle] sera en grande partie repeuplée par des Andalous.”

66 “Sargel era famosa por la rica madera de sus bosques, y en ella se hallaba instalada una nutrida colonia de moriscos españoles, encargados tanto de construirlos [los barcos] como de manejarlos.” Velasco, *Corsarismo*, 254.

and having been born in Spain, caused great damage and thefts in all its coasts and seas).<sup>67</sup>

By order of our Sultan, they [the Andalusis] were able to migrate to Islamic countries. They were placed in the areas of Berchek, Cherchel, and Tlemcen, in order to develop these areas.<sup>68</sup>

Andalusi names connected to building in the regency of Algiers prove that their knowhow was appreciated, as they were commissioned to erect landmarks and complex infrastructures:

Grâce aux deux firmans émanant de l'autorité suprême ottomane respectivement datés du 28 juillet 1571 et du 14 novembre 1573, leur insertion dans la vie économique d'Alger est ainsi rapidement concrétisée par l'offre de postes de travail à la mesure de leur qualification.<sup>69</sup>

Ga'far, born in Murcia, was “el maestro mayor de las obras de Argel”; he worked as an architect, with a builder from Almería. Other Morisco “master builders” were “Musa al-Andalusí, Ali al-Taghrí, al-Qaštulí, Musa al-Yasrí al-Andalusí al-Himyarí.” Many of the buildings by these *alarifes* were later donated to a welfare fund dedicated to new Morisco arrivals, the “Šarikat Al-Andalus.”<sup>70</sup> The status of these Moriscos was noted by Fray Melchor de Zúñiga, who stated that Musa al-Yasrí was a “Moor, while being Spanish; they have raised him to the status of a Turk.”<sup>71</sup>

67 Haedo, *Topographia*, 51r: “este lugar de Sargell ... los vecinos y habitadores dél (los cuales eran todos, como son hoy día, moriscos huidos de Granada, Valencia y Aragón, y que también se daban mucho al corso con fragatas y bergantines, como ahora también hacen; y siendo pláticos y nacidos en España, hacían grandísimos robos y daños en toda su costa y marina).”

68 Ottoman Archives, Ms 3154/1: “Endülüs'deki Araplarn Kanuni Sultan Süleyman'a gönderdikleri arzuhal; Endülüs'ün Gırnata vesair beldelerinde bulunan müslümanları spanyolların zulmünden kurtarmak için Cezayir'e nakledilmesini rica ettikleri” (Letter from the Andalusis to Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent, requesting the relocation of the Muslims from Granada and other places in Andalusia to Algiers in order to escape the persecution of the Spanish). I have to thank Mr. Jassim Salem Al Ansari (QASD Foundation) and Dr. Ersin Adigüzel (Yunus Emre Enstitüsü) for their help in locating, scanning, and translating some of the Ottoman Archives, particularly the collections containing the decrees of the Ottoman sultans.

69 Chergui, *Effort de construction*, 304.

70 Chergui, *Effort de construction*, 311.

71 “... moro siendo español como lo es que le han dado preminencia de turco”; Zúñiga, *Descripción y República*, 128r.

Another important manufacture imported by the Moriscos was ceramics, including its application to construction: “only people who make tiles are lacking, so they bring them from the Levant, although the Moriscos have begun to manufacture them”; “the exiles from al-Andalus had contributed largely to the growth of the ceramics industry, which was installed around their quarter of al-Qallālin.”<sup>72</sup>

Civil engineering was also developed in Algiers by two Moriscos: “los dos moriscos, españoles de los expulsos.” Zúñiga mentions how the Moriscos were also employed in hydraulic improvements in the city (“with his skill he has adorned the city with so many fountains that there is scarcely a street without water”),<sup>73</sup> as well as in building the defenses “in the fortifications and the pier, where everything is under his direction.”<sup>74</sup>

Morisco workers also mastered metalworking: “the foundryman, who is also one of the expelled Spaniards, has produced some steel cannons, not as perfect as one would wish, but the trouble they take with this is so great that soon they will have the skills they need for this product; for beyond the respect they give them ... all those who engage in a craft are called masters, to do them that honor.”<sup>75</sup> Note again the deference paid to the Moriscos because of their skill and knowledge.

The manufacture of weapons was also supervised by Moriscos: “they also make ... shotguns, as well as cutlasses, arrows, bows; others make quivers and the strings for firing the bows.”<sup>76</sup> Note also by Haedo: “They practice all these trades, because all of them master some craft. Some make arquebuses, others

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72 Chergui, *Effort de construction*, 313: “il manque seulement celui qui fasse les azulejos qu'ils ramènent du Levant,” quoique les morisques aient tenté d'introduire cette fabrication”; “les exilés d'al-Andalus avaient amplement contribué à l'essor de l'industrie de la céramique qui s'était établie au voisinage de leur quartier d'al-Qallālin.”

73 “con su oficio ha ilustrado la ciudad con tantas fuentes que apenas ay calle donde no ay agua”; Zúñiga, *Descripción y República*, 127v.

74 “en las fortificaciones y muelle, que todo está a su cargo”; Zúñiga, *Descripción y República*, 127v.

75 “el fundidor, que es asimismo español de los expulsos, ha sacado algunos cañones de acero, no con la perfección que los deseara, mas es el cuidado que en esto ponen tan grande, que a poco tendrán los oficios que hayan menester para éste género, porque de más de las honras que les hacen ... todos los que son de algún oficio se llaman maestros, por darles aquella honra”; Zúñiga, *Descripción y República*, 127v.

76 “hazen también ... así de escopetas, como de alfanjes, flexas, arcos, otros que hazen los carcaxes y sus tiras para tirar los arcos”; Zúñiga, *Descripción y República*, 127v.

gunpowder, others saltpeter, others are smiths ... and other similar trades and crafts.”<sup>77</sup>

## 6 Agriculture

Beside the cultivation of the mulberry tree, which went hand in hand with the silk trade, the Moriscos imported a number of other agricultural species in the areas they developed, both in Algiers and in Tunis. These new crops also meant the introduction of agricultural techniques and irrigation systems, and also changes in the diet. New developments included areas that benefited from the new economy based on agricultural innovation,<sup>78</sup> including fruit orchards, rice, and vineyards:<sup>79</sup>

There are many grapevines, of the same type and yield; and vines that climb up and entwine in the tallest trees ... Those vines were planted by the Moors expelled from Granada; because before that not only did they not plant them, but they pulled up the ones planted by Christians, using those fields for other crops.<sup>80</sup>

## 7 Trade

There are also records of Morisco traders, in both Algiers and Tunis, who were wealthy enough to buy slaves.<sup>81</sup> Trade among the Mediterranean ports was constant and the Moriscos had an important role in it, whether as manufacturers, traders, transporters, or agents on both shores.<sup>82</sup> The silk trade was firmly

77 “Ejercitan estos muchos y diversos oficios, porque todos saben algún arte. Unos hacen arcabuces, otros pólvora, otros salitres, otros son herreros ... y otros semejantes oficios y artes”; Haedo, *Topographia*, 9r.

78 Sayari and Rejeb, “Origine du paysage andalou.”

79 Tayeb Bara, “Cultura morisca.”

80 “Ay muchas viñas de una naturaleza y fertilidad; i vides que trepan y enlazan los mas empinados árboles ... An sido dichas viñas plantadas por los Moros expulsados de Granada; porque antes no solo no las plantaran, sino que desceparan las que avían plantado los Christianos, haciendo servir a los campos para otras cosechas”; Míkel de Epalza, *Los moriscos antes y después de la expulsión* (Madrid: Mapfre, 1992), 150.

81 Onofre Vaquer Bennasar, *Captius i renegats al segle XVII. Mallorquins captius entre musulmans, renegats davant la Inquisició de Mallorca* (Palma: El Tall, 2014), 167–68.

82 Such was the case of the Zafar family, with brothers who lived in Aragon and Algiers: Ángel Conte Cazacarro, “La inquisición y los moriscos de la ciudad de Huesca,” in *Homenaje a Don Antonio Durán Gudiol* (Zaragoza: Instituto de Estudios Altoaragoneses, 1995), 217.

in Morisco hands, and represented a valuable product:<sup>83</sup> “silk production created a monopoly of Morisco silk-weavers (*ḥarrārīn*) ... who provided the State with one of its chief sources of income. The textile industry (manufacture of caps, *šwāšī*) was also in the hands of this diaspora; it had developed notably during the seventeenth century. The trades of dressmaker or tailor (*ḥayyāt*), maker of slippers (*bābūšī*), and perfumer (*ʿattār*) were three other professions usually followed by these, who also found a rich source of income in the ransoming of Christian captives.”<sup>84</sup>

## 8 The Military

Moriscos were also employed as soldiers, as recounted by Haedo in the case of Algiers:

Leaving his second brother Cheredin ... in Algiers to keep watch ... he set out with no less than a thousand Turkish shotgunners and five hundred Andalusí Moriscos from Granada, Aragon, and Valencia, who were coming every day from all over Barbary to live in the city of Algiers, because they got along well with the Turks, from whom they received soldiers' combat pay, those Moriscos being also arquebusiers.<sup>85</sup>

83 “The silk industry in sixteenth-century Granada was not just a source of royal taxation, or a luxury good for the rich elite of Spain. It was a part of the everyday life of Moriscos throughout the kingdom of Granada who worked hard to harvest mulberry leaves, cultivate silkworms, spin and dye raw silk thread, and weave silk cloth. Silk was produced in Morisco homes, where silk production was one of a variety of activities”; Elizabeth Woodhead Nutting, “Vivir por la seda. Morisca Women, Household Economies, and the Silk Industry in the Kingdom of Granada, 1400–1570” (MA diss., University of Texas, 2010), 49–50.

84 “La production de soie relevait du monopole des tisserands morisques (*harrārīn*), lesquels fournissaient à l'État l'une des plus importantes recettes fiscales. L'industrie textile (fabrication de bonnets: *shwāshī*) se trouvait, elle aussi, aux mains de cette *diaspora*; elle s'était considérablement développée pendant le XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Les professions de couturier ou de tailleur (*khayyāt*), celle de fabricant de babouche (*bābūjī*) et celle de parfumeur (*ʿattār*) formaient trois autres métiers couramment exercés par ces derniers, qui trouvaient, par ailleurs, dans le rachat de captifs chrétiens une source de recette fructueuse”; Chergui, *Effort de construction*, 306.

85 “Dexando a su hermano segundo Cheredin ... en Argel ... se puso en camino con no más que hasta mil turcos escopeteros y quinientos moriscos andaluces de Granada, Aragón, Valencia, que de toda Berbaría se iban cada día recogiendo a vivir en la ciudad de Argel, por hallarse bien con los turcos, de los cuales recibían paga de soldados para la guerra, los cuales moriscos están también todos arcabuceros”; Haedo, *Topographia*, 53v.

In the case of Tunis, we find this account by the French ambassador to the Sublime Porte, Monsieur François Savary de Brèves: “The chief force of the Kingdom consists of ten thousand soldiers billeted in this city, both in peace and in war, to wit, six thousand Janissaries ... and one thousand Granadan or Tagarino Moriscos.”<sup>86</sup> Other sources quote different figures: “Grâberg, for instance, states that the Regency [Algiers] could, if needed, call on the services of at least 100,000 soldiers, and estimates that on the eve of the French expedition the city garrisons counted 4,000 to 5,000 Turks and 10,000 ‘Coloulis’ and Moriscos.”<sup>87</sup>

## 9 The Corso

The most lucrative business in which the Moriscos were involved was the *corso*: “From 1618 to 1626, about 6,000 Christians were captured, and the prize money amounted to more than fifteen million pounds. In ten years, from 1629 to 1639, Morisco customs registered the figure of twenty-five or twenty-six million ducats.”<sup>88</sup> At an individual level, the income was more than attractive: “The booty of Morato [Arraez] was more than 200 captives and 15,000 ducats, paid by the Marquis of Lanzarote to ransom his family, plus a galleon.”<sup>89</sup>

Moriscos associated with the corsair enterprise were assigned very specific activities: building ships, providing information about the enclaves on the Spanish coasts, raiding the coasts to obtain prisoners and booty, transporting Morisco communities from Spanish shores to the Regency of Algiers, translating and negotiating the ransom of captives, and commanding ships of the corsair fleet as *arraeces* (captains):

The principal captains with him were Sala Raez (who later was King of Algiers) and Xaban Raez, Tabaca Raez, Haradin Raex, Isuf Raez; who, after having seized some people and ships around those islands and along the coast of Spain, having been told of some Moriscos from the

86 “La principale force du Royaume consiste en dix mil soldats, entretenus en ceste ville, tant en pai qu’en guerre, sçavoir, six mil Ianissaires ... & mil Morisques Grenadins ou Tagarins”; Brèves, *Relation des voyages*, 359.

87 Salma Khadra Jayyusi, Renata Holod, Antillio Petruccioli and André Raymond, *The City in the Islamic World* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 435.

88 Khadra, Holod, Petruccioli and Raymond, *The city*, 652.

89 Luis Alberto Anaya Hernández, “La invasión de 1618 en Lanzarote y sus repercusiones socioeconómicas,” in *IV Coloquio de Historia Canario Americana (1984)*, (Las Palmas: Cabildo Insular, 1987), 191–224.

Kingdom of Valencia and the estate of the Count of Oliva who wished to cross to Barbary to live under the Moorish religion, with their children and wives—and who would pay a large sum of money if they wished to escort them—the said corsairs were pleased with that. And one night they embarked more than two hundred of these Moriscos near Oliva, and put out to sea with them around the island of Formentera.<sup>90</sup>

Their knowledge of the territory made them particularly valuable to the Ottoman corsair fleet:

Furthermore, having operated in these waters for years, and relying on the exiled Moors' knowledge of the Iberian coasts, the corsairs' expertise of the western Mediterranean was crucial for the Ottomans. The *Gazavat* itself records that the reason why the Ottomans called Hayreddin was because they were in need of 'experts in naval affairs who knew the Spanish lands.'<sup>91</sup>

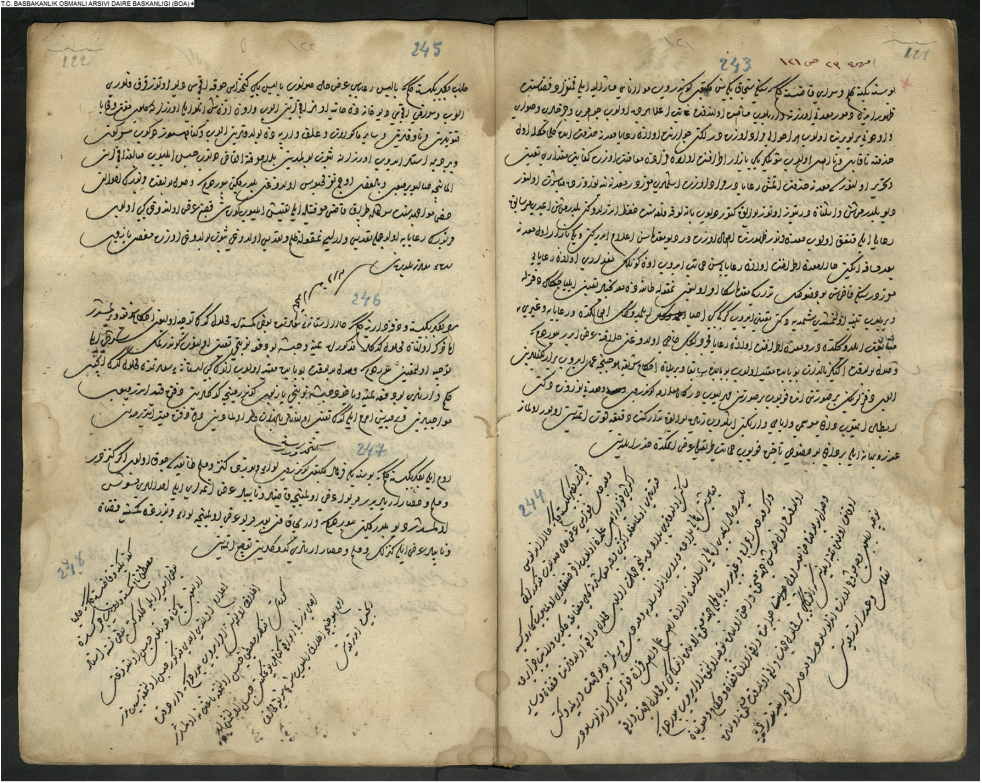
## 10 Religious Sciences

As mentioned above, in Hafsid Tunis there were several Islamic scholars of Andalusí origin. The same trend seems to have been continued, for in the Ottoman Archives we find the following instructions to the governor of Algiers dated 19 Rağab 981/14 November 1573: "to assign available jobs to the Andalusí Islamic scholars and Qur'an memorizers."<sup>92</sup>

90 "Los principales Arraezes que iban con él, eran Sala Raez (que después fué Rey de Argel) y Xaban Raez, Tabaca Raez, Haradin Raez, Isuf Raez; los cuales, después de haber tomado alguna gente y navíos por aquellas Islas y por la costa de España, siendo avisados de ciertos moriscos del Reino de Valencia, y del estado del Conde de Oliva, que se querían pasar en Barbaría a vivir en la ley de moros, con sus hijos y mujeres, y que si los querían pasar, que pagarían una suma grande de dineros, fueron los dichos cosarios dello contentos. Y una noche embarcaron junto a Oliva, más de doscientos destes moriscos, y luego se hicieron a la mar con ellos y a la vuelta de la Isla de Formentera"; Haedo, *Topographia*, 56r-v.

91 Emrah Safa Gürkan, "The centre and the frontier: Ottoman cooperation with the North African corsairs in the sixteenth century," *Turkish Historical Review* 1 (2010): 134.

92 Ottoman Archives – Osmanlı Arşivleri, A-DVNSMHH.d.23-19-244: "Cezayir'de bulunan Endülüslü ve Medceli ulema ve hafız-ı Kuran olanlara da mahlul olunca cihet tevcih olunmasına dair Cezayir beylerbeyisine hüküm." (Note the coding system for the Ottoman Archives: book number, page number, and decree number).



A. (DVNSMHH.d.00023

FIGURE 3.1 Topkapi, Ottoman Archives, Ms A-DVNSMHH.d.23-19-244, which mentions the assignment of religious posts to ‘Andalusians and Mudejars’.

11 Conclusions

The settlement of the Andalusis in the Ottoman regencies of North Africa may have responded to an alliance between this community and the sultans of Istanbul (who were also in league with France). The negotiation might have gained them access to specific settlements in the regencies of Algiers and Tunis in exchange for their knowledge of different trades and sciences.

The case of Joan Zambriel proves that the continuous exodus from the Peninsula during the Mudejar and Morisco periods resulted from an alliance with the Ottoman sultans, whereby the Moriscos deployed a series of networks, led by their *xerifes*, in order to facilitate their escape and settlement, access to jobs, and positions. There seems to have been constant communication among groups of Moriscos in North Africa and in the Peninsula. There are also letters

indicating that the authorities in France would coordinate the escape of the Moriscos.<sup>93</sup>

There seems to have been a first stage, with several settlements of Mudejars (*tagarinos*) in Algiers. The documents also mention a large group of Moriscos from Granada. Later on, more *tagarinos* or Andalusis appear to have settled in Tunis, after it became a regency under Ottoman rule. Finally, during the expulsion, tens of thousands also settled in these in these Ottoman regencies, particularly in Tunis.

There are no definitive figures, but we are not dealing here with small, isolated groups. There were large contingents of exiles (tens of thousands relocated in a span of about 100 years), and an elaborate plan to employ the Andalusis in order to transfer knowledge of certain trades to the regencies: metalworking, woodworking, construction, irrigation, silk manufacture, agriculture, geography, navigation, etc.

For Algiers, Missoum has collected data on 70,000 Mudejars who settled in the region before 1529;<sup>94</sup> then, “a quarter-century later, at the end of the War of the Alpujarras (1568–70), more than 30,000 of the 50,000 Moriscos who arrived on the North African coasts in the resulting deportations were transported in the ships of ‘Alğ ‘Alī.”<sup>95</sup> Benafri quotes Spanish and Ottoman sources indicating that between 1545 and 1551 several groups of about 15,000 and 20,000 Moriscos were settled in Algiers, so that that the city required an extension (possibly the current neighborhood of *Tagarinos*).<sup>96</sup> An Ottoman *firman* of 1571, sent from the sultan to the governor of Algiers, states that the newly arrived must be given employment. The instructions to facilitate the settlement of the exiles had, no doubt, an effect on the numbers arriving in Algiers.

For Tunis, Penella quotes Captain Ellyat, a captive in Tunis, who stated that “Muhamad Rubio, from Villafeliche, ‘established in Tunis with those of his faction or his people,” was settled in Tunisia before the expulsion, and that between “1609 and 1613 some 7,000 to 8,000 families of Moriscos had settled

93 Dimitris Kastritsis, “Ferīdūn Beg’s Münşe’ātū’s-Selāḫīn (‘Correspondence of Sultans’) and Late Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Views of the Political World,” in *Imperial Geographies in Byzantine and Ottoman Space*, edited by Sahar Bazzaz, Yota Batsaki, and Dimiter Angelov (Harvard: Center for Hellenic Studies, 2013).

94 Missoum, *Andalusi immigration*, 334.

95 Missoum, *Andalusi immigration*, 337.

96 Benafri, “La posición de la sublime puerta.”

in Tunis, that is, at least 40,000 individuals.”<sup>97</sup> Ravillard calculates that 80,000 Moriscos arrived in Tunisia after the expulsion.<sup>98</sup>

To gain a more accurate view of this alliance and the networks deployed to resettle and employ tens of thousands of Andalusi Mudejars and Moriscos, particular attention should be paid to French and Ottoman sources, only partly explored so far, including the Ottoman Archives, the Topkapi Archives, ms. KK888 and the diplomatic collections Mühimme Defterleri (MD) and Mühimme Zeyli Defterleri (MZD), which include correspondence between Istanbul and the regencies in North Africa. Also, the “Gazavat-ı Hayreddin Paşa,” “Tuhfetü'l-Kibar fi Esfari'l-Bihar,” and the correspondence of Feridün Beg.

## Appendix

### *Letter from the Andalusis to Suleyman the Magnificent*<sup>99</sup>

We are fifty noble families, living in Granada and other cities of al-Andalus, where there are 364,000 poor Muslims. We lament our pain and difficulties which are inflicted upon us. Due to our faith, and the rejection of our enemy's religion, we are subject to all kinds of tortures and oppression. They burn us. The enemies have surrounded us and intend to destroy us. They became united and attacked as swiftly as arrows. We have been subjected to ill treatment for years, and constantly they have tried to force us to deviate from the right path, to bring disaster upon us. Our neighbors and friends, the Moroccans, however, did not come to our aid. Although they are our coreligionists, they did not even respond to our cries for help. But your famous vizir Khairuddin, who recently fought in the path of Allah and caused great defeat upon the unbelievers, was always with us and the Maghrebi people. While he was in Algiers, he knew of our defenseless and impoverished situation. And we have assured him that we will accept his protection, and all the Muslims are ready to show our good faith and prove our obedience. Besides, thanks to him, justice, šari'a and trust prevail in all cities and places. So we asked Khairuddin for help, and he came and saved us. And thanks to him, many Andalusis who were in the hands of the infidels [were saved]. And by order of the Sultan, many of them were able to

97 “Se habían instalado en Túnez unas 7,000–8,000 familias de moriscos, es decir, por lo menos unos 40,000 individuos”; Penella, “Los moriscos españoles emigrados.”

98 Martine Ravillard, “Los moriscos en Berbería,” *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* 30, no. 2 (1981): 617–29.

99 Istanbul, Archive of Topkapi Palace [TSMa] Ms 3154/1. 10 Shaaban 948/December 1541.

emigrate to Islamic countries. They settled in the areas of Bercheck, ChercHELL and Tlemcen, in order to develop these areas. When the infidels knew of this, they tried to prevent us from leaving al-Andalus, whether with policies or by force. But they understood we were ready to sacrifice our lives and properties for our faith. So we left our properties [and] our country and emigrated to Islamic lands. Then they planned to attack us by forming an alliance against us. Because when Algiers was conquered, none of the states in the Maghreb was there to help us. However, when they arrived in Algiers, our Almighty God punished them. A great storm came from the sea, and many were drowned or injured. Few escaped with their lives. This defeat angered them greatly. And they had in mind to attack Algiers again. But we believe that Algiers is victorious under your domain, the Sultan of the Two Continents, Emperor of the Two Seas.<sup>100</sup> This country was always a safe place for Muslims and a torment and strong rival for the unbelievers. This country became united thanks to Khairuddin. The weak ones have now become the strong ones. It is on account of Khairuddin, who is respectful [and] rules Algiers with order and according to the šari'a. So, if he helps us, he would be helping not only us but the whole of the Islamic world. Besides, we had a council amongst us and took some decisions. And we considered it appropriate to present these decisions to your sublime presence. We decided that if there is ever one person able to help, that is Khairuddin Pasha, the muğāhid of Islam. And so we requested that he be sent to us from Algiers. He will save us from the infidels and [will] triumph. May the Peace of Allah be with You.

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100 "Sultan of the Two Continents, Emperor of the Two Seas" was the title adopted by Mehmed II in 1478 and used by his successors, Bayezid II (1481–1512), Selim I (1512–20), and Suleyman I (1520–66).

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## From Segorbe to Pau: Morisco Diplomacy in France Before the Expulsion

*Ana Struillou*

Since the publication of Henri Lapeyre's demographical inquiry into Morisco exile in France, Morisco contacts with French authorities and Morisco emigration across the Pyrenees after 1609 have been scrutinized in detail.<sup>1</sup> Thanks to the classic studies of Louis Cardaillac and Pierre Santoni, among others, the trajectories of expelled Moriscos across southern France are now better known, despite the paucity of records.<sup>2</sup> From early 1610, no less than 50,000 to 60,000 Moriscos arrived in France. Most of them transited through the southern regions of Languedoc and Provence to reach French ports. Vessels loaded with Moriscos then departed from Marseille, Toulon, and Agde, most of them sailing toward North African ports. Despite the harsher stance taken toward the Moriscos by the French monarchy from mid-1610 onward, small groups of Moriscos also chose to settle permanently in France. After the 1630s, traces of Morisco presence seem to disappear altogether from local French records.<sup>3</sup>

On the other hand, the early history of interactions between Moriscos and Frenchmen in the years preceding the expulsion remains more obscure. The secrecy that characterized Morisco contacts across the Pyrenees makes it particularly challenging to study their relationship to French authorities before the expulsion. Using both Spanish and French documents, scholars have devised a tentative chronology of Franco-Morisco interactions. It is now known that Morisco contacts with the French monarchy intensified in the mid-1580s, when Aragonese Moriscos established connections with the French King Henry IV, pushing for his military support against the Spanish monarchy.<sup>4</sup>

1 Henri Lapeyre, *Géographie de l'Espagne morisque* (Paris: SEVPEN, 1959), 100–03, 186–87, 208, 287.

2 Louis Cardaillac, "Le passage des morisques en Languedoc," *Annales du Midi* 83, no. 103 (1971): 259–98; Pierre Santoni, "Le Passage des morisques en Provence (1610–1613)," *Provence Historique* 46 (1996): 333–83.

3 Youssef El Alaoui, "The Moriscos in France after the Expulsion: Notes for the History of a Minority," in *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain: A Mediterranean Diaspora*, ed. Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegers (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 250.

4 El Alaoui, "The Moriscos in France," 250.

Connections forged in the 1580s, however, were not the first. Both Louis Cardaillac and Werner Thomas concur in pushing the date of the first Franco-Morisco communications back to the mid-1570s.<sup>5</sup> Amid the French Wars of Religion (1562–1598), Protestants living in the southern French region of Béarn attempted to negotiate an alliance with Aragonese Moriscos. Going back even further, Morisco emigration to Béarn can be attested as early as the 1550s.

Seeking to shed new light on Morisco contacts with French authorities before the expulsion, this chapter focuses on a particular episode of cross-regional interactions in the early seventeenth century. This episode mobilized both Morisco and French agents between Valencia, Segorbe, and Pau from 1602 to 1605. In 1602, Pascal Saint-Estève, a French agent who was secretly travelling across the Kingdom of Valencia, came into contact with a group of Moriscos.<sup>6</sup> Saint-Estève offered the Valencian Moriscos to forward a message on their behalf to King Henry IV, whose enmity toward King Philip III of Spain was well known. Through Saint-Estève's mediation, the Moriscos could convince Henry IV to send men and weapons to assist them in conquering the city of Valencia. Sometime during the summer of 1604, two representatives of this Morisco group travelled from the Valencian kingdom to Pau (southwestern France) to meet Henry IV's trusted advisor Jacques Nompars de Caumont, the governor of French Béarn and Navarre. In 1605, however, the projected uprising was stopped dead in its tracks. Betrayed to Spanish authorities, Saint-Estève and several Morisco leaders were apprehended by the men of Valencia's viceroy and put to death in September of the same year.<sup>7</sup>

Most Morisco specialists are familiar with this failed uprising. Louis Cardaillac, Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, Bernard Vincent, and, more recently, Mayte Green-Mercado have all studied more or less extensively the set of letters and chronicles attesting that a group of Moriscos attempted to seize the city of Valencia, relying on the logistical support of the French.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, this episode

5 Louis Cardaillac, *Morisques et chrétiens: un affrontement polémique* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1977), 139; Werner Thomas, *La represión del protestantismo en España, 1517–1648* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2001), 106.

6 Alain Hugon, *Au service du roi catholique: "honorables ambassadeurs" et "divins espions"* (Madrid: Casa de Velazquez, 2004), 626.

7 Jaime Bleda, *Corónica de los moros de España* (Valencia: Felipe Mey, 1618), 929.

8 Cardaillac, *Morisques et chrétiens*, 138–40; Antonio Domínguez Ortiz and Bernard Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos: vida y tragedia de una minoría* (Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1978), 173; Mayte Green-Mercado, "Morisco Prophecies at the French Court (1602–1607)," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 61, no. 1–2 (2018): 91–123; Mayte Green-Mercado, *Visions of Deliverance: Moriscos and the Politics of Prophecy in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2019), 214–36.

left substantial traces in archival records on both sides of the Pyrenees. Prolific correspondence was exchanged among different actors at different levels of the French and Spanish administrations, between Pau, Paris, Valencia, and Madrid. In parallel, various Spanish chroniclers and polemicists wrote about the event. The famous Valencian-based clergymen Gaspar Escolano, Damián Fonseca, Marcos de Guadalajara, and Jaime Bleda, and also, but to a lesser extent, the chronicler Luis Cabrera de Córdoba and the clergyman Pere Joan Porcar, mentioned the uprising, and sometimes used it to justify the Spanish monarchy's decision to expel the Moriscos.<sup>9</sup>

The examination of original documents, however, sheds new light on this episode. While the present chapter makes full use of the correspondence and the chronicles mentioned above, it focuses on the original versions of two letters sent to Henry IV and his council by a leader of the uprising. Signed by a Valencian Morisco named Hamete Musrif, these two letters are kept today in the personal collection of Jacques Nomparr de Caumont at the French Archives Nationales (Pierrefitte-sur-Seine).<sup>10</sup> Only the truncated and translated version of Hamete Musrif's first letter, published in 1843, has been known to historians. The original version of the first letter (See Figure 4.1, Appendix) and the entire second letter (Figure 4.2, Appendix), both composed in Castilian, remain completely unexplored. This chapter argues that a careful analysis of the original versions of the two letters gives unprecedented insights into the attempt of a marginalized group to advance its interests by practicing diplomacy on a regional scale.<sup>11</sup> Of course, neither Henry IV, nor the Valencian Moriscos, nor any of those involved in the failed uprising used the term "diplomacy" to describe Franco-Morisco mediation.<sup>12</sup> Here, my entirely etic use of this term aims at restoring this group of Moriscos as full-fledged actors in a system of

9 Gaspar Escolano, *Década primera de la historia de la insigne y coronada ciudad y reyno de Valencia* (Valencia: Pedro Patricio Mey, 1610), 181–17; Damián Fonseca, *Justa expulsión de los moriscos de España* (Rome: Iacomo Mascardo, 1612), 146–49; Marcos de Guadalajara y Xavier, *Prodición y destierro de los moriscos de Castilla* (Pamplona: Nicolás de Assiayn, 1614), 5–6; Bleda, *Corónica de los moros de España*, 924–29; Pere Joan Porcar, *Pere Joan Porcar: coses evengudes en la ciutat y regne de València. Dietari (1585–1629)*, ed. Josep Lozano (Valencia: Universidad de Valencia, 2012), 80; Luis Cabrera de Córdoba, *Relaciones de las cosas sucedidas en la corte de España, desde 1599 hasta 1614* (Madrid: J. Martín Alegría, 1857), 240.

10 Archives Nationales de France (hereafter ANF), Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, 353AP/20, 14–16.

11 Jean de Caumont La Force, *Mémoires Authentiques de Jacques-Nomparr de Caumont, Duc de La Force et de ses deux fils (Éd. 1843)* (Paris: Hachette, 2017), 341–45.

12 Christian Windler, "Afterword: From Social Status to Sovereignty—Practices of Foreign Relations from the Renaissance to the Sattelzeit," in *Practices of Diplomacy in the Early Modern World c. 1410–1800* (London: Routledge, 2017), 255.

interregional relations which has too often been exclusively conceived as a mediation between princes, exerted through the actions of officially instituted agents.

Recent studies, notably Tijana Krstić's, have provided new elements concerning Morisco contacts with foreign powers, whether with the Porte, the Ottoman provinces of Algiers and Tunis, or Sa'dian Morocco.<sup>13</sup> These investigations into the Moriscos' cross-Mediterranean networks focused mainly on the Ottoman and North African perceptions of Morisco pleas and the Moriscos' failure to convince their allies to send large-scale military support to the Peninsula. In examining Hamete Musrif's letters to Henry IV, this chapter studies instead the diplomatic practices of the Valencian Moriscos themselves, rather than how they were perceived by others. How did the Valencian group manage to initiate a years-long negotiation with Henry IV? What were the tools of this group's diplomatic action? Through the study of this episode, I do not aim to define a monolithic Morisco way of "doing diplomacy": the mediation of the Moriscos of Valencia was profoundly shaped by a specific regional context. Rather, I shed light on the construction of a diplomatic action carried out by a particular marginalized group, by studying the dialogue that it built with its interlocutors, its transregional networks, and the practicalities of its legation to Henry IV.

This chapter's goal is to analyze the Valencian Moriscos' legation in order to broaden our current understanding of intra-European diplomatic dialogue in the early modern period.<sup>14</sup> Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a myriad of non-official groups maintained, just like the Valencian Moriscos, cross-regional diplomatic ties in early modern Europe. Throughout the French Wars of Religion, the French Catholic League enjoyed abundant contacts with the Spaniards, pushing for King Philip II's help against Protestants and moderate Catholics. Active Spanish support to the League lasted until 1597, when Philip II fully recognized the legitimacy of Henry IV's claim to the French crown.<sup>15</sup> Beyond continental Europe, Spain also supported various foreign groups and provided asylum. From the early 1520s onwards, the Irish

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- 13 Tijana Krstić, "Moriscos in Ottoman Galata, 1609–1620s," in *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain: A Mediterranean Diaspora*, ed. Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegers (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 269–87; Krstić, "The Elusive Intermediaries: Moriscos in Ottoman and Western European Diplomatic Sources from Constantinople, 1560s–1630s," *Journal of Early Modern History* 19, no. 2–3 (2015): 129–51.
- 14 Diana Carrió-Invernizzi, "A New Diplomatic History and the Networks of Spanish Diplomacy in the Baroque Era," *The International History Review* 36, no. 4 (2013): 1–16.
- 15 Robert Descimon and José Javier Ruiz Ibáñez, *Les Ligueurs de l'exil. Le Refuge catholique français après 1594* (Seysssel: Champ Vallon, 2005), 146.

nobility that opposed Tudor rule actively sought the help of the Spanish monarchy. The Irish lobby's dynamic petitioning resulted in their being granted Spanish military help during both the Nine Years' War (1593–1603) and the Eleven Years' War (1641–53).<sup>16</sup>

This chapter argues that Morisco diplomacy with France needs to be recontextualized within the wider framework of such diplomatic practices: Morisco communication with France was nothing exceptional in early modern Europe. In other words, the diversity of European diplomacy invites us to examine the Valencian Moriscos' legation in a comparative perspective in order to isolate its potential specificities. In this framework, the traces left by the Moriscos of Valencia represent an unprecedented opportunity: to understand, through the Moriscos' own voice, the elaboration of a diplomatic mediation by a group that was previously kept on the margins of studies on seventeenth-century European diplomacy. In other words, even though this projected uprising did not lead to any concrete achievements, Morisco diplomatic practices in France encourage us to further reassess the nature of the actors, the rhetoric, and the networks that constituted intra-European diplomatic dialogue in the early modern period.

## 1 The Rhetoric of Rebellion: Justifying and Planning the Uprising

In his letters to Henry IV and his council, Hamete Musrif used an array of arguments to both justify the uprising and convince the French king of its feasibility on the ground. In the framework of renewed interest for apocalyptic discourse across the early modern Mediterranean, the messianic language used by Hamete Musrif in specific sections of his appeal to Henry IV has drawn the attention of the historians who have studied these letters. Indeed, his first letter makes several brief mentions of a Morisco prophecy according to which the French king would rescue the Moriscos and conquer Valencia without bloodshed: "We find in our prophecies that the city [Valencia] will surrender without resistance and without being rescued [by the Spanish authorities]."<sup>17</sup>

The creation and circulation of prophecies announcing the advent of a providential savior (sometimes conflated with the Islamic figure of the *mahdī*), was by no means exclusive to the Moriscos. Rather, Hamete Musrif's messianic rhetoric needs to be recontextualized within a regional, if not global, trend. As

16 Igor Pérez Tostado, *Irish Influence at the Court of Spain in the Seventeenth Century* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008).

17 ANF, 353AP/20, 16.

the works of Mercedes García-Arenal and Mayte Green-Mercado have shown, messianic and eschatological movements were flourishing at the time across the western Mediterranean.<sup>18</sup> However, as Green-Mercado rightly points out, Hamete Musrif's writings are peculiar in that he identifies Henry IV, a Christian king, as the Moriscos' *mahdī*. They show that messianic rhetoric was deemed a valid mode of communication in a diplomatic context in which the religious loyalties of at least one of the participants remained ambiguous, since Hamete Musrif continuously used his Arabic name in the letters.

Although the "mahdization" of King Henry IV and the exploitation of messianic ideas in a dialogue with the French monarchy is perhaps the most surprising aspect of Hamete Musrif's letters to twenty-first-century readers, the use of such rhetoric remains very limited in the original version of the letters. I argue here that too strong a focus on messianism obscures the variety of the arguments used by Hamete Musrif, most of which follow the classic forms of a request for military support addressed to a foreign power. Alluding to prophecies was just one argument among the many used by Hamete Musrif to convince Henry IV to participate in the uprising. Indeed, Hamete Musrif insists much more on the legitimacy of the recourse to force against Philip III, by using arguments that would have been familiar and intelligible to French officials.

In his appeal to Henry IV and his council, Hamete Musrif seems to have aimed to better the reputation of the Moriscos, which was clearly suffering from a credibility deficit at the French court. Indeed, while showing interest in the project, Henry IV expressed, in his correspondence with Jacques Nompar de Caumont, his fear of being duped by the Valencian group.<sup>19</sup> Using a rhetoric of honor and integrity, Hamete Musrif argued that the Moriscos of Valencia were a respectable and loyal "nation" facing an unjust situation. The Valencian Moriscos were honorable, first, because they were of illustrious ancestry: Hamete Musrif pointed out that the "nation" descended in direct line from the Almohad ruler Abū Yūsuf al-Manṣūr (d. 1299). The reference to al-Manṣūr seems to hint that he drew on the second part of Miguel de Luna's *Historia verdadera del Rey Don Rodrigo*, which had just been published in Granada (1600) and Zaragoza (1603).<sup>20</sup> This chronicle of the Muslim conquest of Iberia, which

18 Cardaillac, *Morisques et chrétiens*, 49; Mercedes García-Arenal, *Messianism and Puritanical Reform: Mahdis of the Muslim West* (Leiden: Brill, 2006); Mayte Green-Mercado, "The Mahdi in Valencia: Messianism, Apocalypticism and Morisco Rebellions in Late Sixteenth-Century Spain," *Medieval Encounters* 19, no. 1–2 (2013): 193–220.

19 Caumont La Force, *Mémoires Authentiques*, 339–40.

20 On Miguel de Luna's *Historia Verdadera*, see Luis Fernando Bernabé Pons's introduction in Miguel de Luna, *Historia verdadera del Rey don Rodrigo*, ed. Luis Fernando Bernabé

described al-Manşūr as a particularly virtuous sovereign, enjoyed wide popularity within Spain and later throughout Europe, as Luis Fernando Bernabé Pons and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano have pointed out. The implicit reference to the *Historia Verdadera* in the letters sent to Henry IV could further push back the chronology of its reception in France, where the first translation of Miguel de Luna's work was published in 1638. Beyond the case of the *Historia verdadera*, this allusion to prestigious and noble (Islamic) ancestry can be read as an attempt to improve both the reputation and the credibility of the group through the use of a common language of lineage on the regional scale.

Second, and most importantly, Hamete Musrif argued that the Moriscos of Valencia had fallen victim to the deceitfulness of the Spanish monarchy. He recounted at length how the Catholic Monarchs and Philip II had betrayed their trust, reneging on the pact concluded after the fall of Granada, and then on the agreement negotiated after the War of the Alpujarras (1568–71). To Hamete Musrif, the Spanish monarchs were serial oath breakers: "The kings kept nothing of their words."<sup>21</sup> Such insistence on the disloyalty of the Spanish monarchs was a common trope in Morisco appeals to foreign powers. In their letters to the Ottoman and Mamluk sultans at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Moriscos of Granada had also referred to the agreement violated by Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon, insisting on the religious oppression imposed by the latter.<sup>22</sup>

Rather than emphasizing at length the repression of Morisco religious beliefs, however, Hamete Musrif devoted a section of his appeal to stressing the dire economic situation in which the Moriscos found themselves as a result of local policies. Such an argument was unprecedented: mentions of economic conditions did not loom large in previous Morisco appeals to foreign powers. Did Hamete Musrif believe that proof of economic oppression would have a greater sway over Henry IV and his council than complaints regarding

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Pons (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2001); Francisco Márquez Villanueva, *El problema morisco, desde otras laderas* (Madrid: Libertarias, 1991); Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, "Seeing Oneself through the Eyes of a Morisco: The European Translations of Miguel de Luna's *Historia Verdadera del Rey d. Rodrigo*," in *Through Your Eyes: Religious Alterity and the Early Modern Western Imagination* (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 63–102. As Bernabé Pons points out, the *Historia Verdadera* was referred to in subsequent appeals of the Moriscos to foreign powers, particularly to Constantinople in 1612.

21 ANF, 353AP/20, 16.

22 James T. Monroe, "A Curious Morisco Appeal to the Ottoman Empire," *Al-Andalus* 31, no. 1 (1966): 281–303; Pieter Sjoerd Van Koningsveld and Gerard Wiegers, "An appeal of the Moriscos to the Mamluk sultan and its counterpart to the Ottoman court: Textual analysis, context, and wider historical background," *Al-Qanṭara* 20, no. 1 (1999): 161–89.

religious repression? In any case, he lamented that the Valencian Inquisition imposed a heavy financial burden on the Moriscos of the kingdom. The taxes they owed to the tribunal, to which Philip III had agreed, reached “two reals per household, or 152,000 reals per year.”<sup>23</sup> Hamete Musrif was probably referring to the agreement signed between the Inquisition of Valencia and Morisco communities in 1571, which stipulated that the Inquisition would refrain from seizing the estates of accused Moriscos in exchange for an annual tax.<sup>24</sup> As victims of unjust religious and economic oppression, the Valencian Moriscos had no choice but to revolt, and because the Spanish monarchs had betrayed their trust in the first place, the Moriscos’ decision to rise against them was justified. In other words, their revolt was rightful because it served to redress an injustice. Whether or not Hamete Musrif was familiar with the intricacies of the theory of “just war,” he clearly mobilized this concept which would have been readily recognized and understood by his French interlocutors.<sup>25</sup>

Having established the legitimacy of the Moriscos’ rebellion against the Spanish monarchy, Hamete Musrif then drew up a complete plan of action for the projected uprising. His second letter, in particular, was devoted almost entirely to such practical considerations. It highlighted the tactical knowledge and strengths of the Valencian Moriscos, alluding to the key places at which to launch the offensive, the financing of the uprising, and, above all, the number of men and the stock of weapons available in the region of Valencia, but also in Aragon, Catalonia, and Castile. In stark contradiction to messianic rhetoric, in which the Moriscos were cast into an essentially passive role awaiting their savior, Hamete Musrif continuously insisted on the agency of the Morisco “nation.”

Highlighting his extensive knowledge of the local terrain, Hamete Musrif first posed as an advisor to French forces. According to him, Spanish defenses along the Valencian coast, built to alert against and hold off North African land raids, were weak and antiquated. This would enable French vessels to disembark safely at the Cape of Oropesa, in the north of the kingdom. Hamete Musrif took care to indicate that Oropesa stood opposite to the Columbretes archipelago, probably to help French forces navigate this unfamiliar environment.

23 Stephen Haliczer, *Inquisition and Society in the Kingdom of Valencia, 1478–1834* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 265.

24 Tulio Halperin Donghi, *Un conflicto nacional. Moriscos y cristianos viejos en Valencia* (Valencia: PUV, 2008), 153.

25 Peter Haggemacher, “Guerre Juste et guerre régulière dans la doctrine espagnole du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle,” *Revue Internationale de la Croix-Rouge* 74, no. 797 (1992): 450–62; Johan Olsthoorn, “Grotius and the Early Modern Tradition,” in *The Cambridge Handbook of the Just War*, ed. Larry May (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 33–56.

Surprisingly, Hamete Musrif did not mention the Torre del Rey, a tower erected in the mid-fifteenth century and reinforced in 1534.<sup>26</sup> However, as the successful 1619 corsair raid on Oropesa demonstrated, the efficacy of the Torre del Rey to withstand attacks had perhaps been lessened since the early sixteenth century. In addition, Hamete Musrif noted that an alternative landing site further south, near the towns of Cullera or Denia, could also be considered.<sup>27</sup>

In the remainder of the letter, Hamete Musrif did everything to minimize the projected French involvement. Boasting about the importance of the Morisco army that was ready to participate in the uprising, he greatly exaggerated the number of available fighting forces. In his first letter, for instance, Hamete Musrif estimated the number of Moriscos in the kingdom at 76,000 households, when the census carried out in 1609 by the Spanish authorities recorded only 32,000 households.<sup>28</sup> Hamete Musrif also promised that huge numbers of Moriscos from other kingdoms, Castile and Aragon in particular, would join the uprising. He added that the Valencian Moriscos were fully capable of financing the insurrection themselves and even proposed to lend money to Henry IV: “for when the need comes, we will be able to produce 60 thousand men without depleting our households, and without any costs to the King that will support us. Rather, we will give him money if needed because we certainly do not need anything, save for weapons.”<sup>29</sup>

All in all, the Moriscos would only need a few French soldiers, cannons, and arquebuses to succeed in seizing Valencia. Indeed, since the decree (*pragmática*) issued by King Philip II in 1563, the Valencian Moriscos had been forbidden to bear arms and had had to surrender their weapons.<sup>30</sup> While this decree was unevenly abided by in the kingdom, it probably reduced the number of weapons available to supporters of the uprising, hence the insistence on weapons in the letters. Thus, if Hamete Musrif punctuated his appeal to King Henry IV with messianic language, he also laid out a commensurate way of legitimizing the insurrection and a detailed military strategy, showing off his organizational skills and thorough knowledge of the Valencian terrain. Above all, he insisted on the agency and autonomy of the Morisco “nation” and its capacity to organize the uprising with little support from the French monarchy.

26 Sebastián García Martínez, “Bandolerismo, piratería y control de moriscos en Valencia durante el reinado de Felipe II,” *Estudis. Revista de Historia Moderna* 1 (1972): 85–168, at 101.

27 ANF, 353AP/20, 14.

28 Lapeyre, *Géographie de l'Espagne morisque*, 30.

29 ANF, 353AP/20, 16.

30 García Martínez, “Bandolerismo, piratería y control,” 108.

## 2 Constructing a Diplomatic Network between Segorbe and Pau

Hamete Musrif's writings provide information on the rhetoric employed by Valencian Moriscos to convince Henry IV of the legitimacy and feasibility of their rebellion against King Philip III. Moving beyond diplomatic rhetoric, an extensive analysis of the letters also gives precious insights into how the Valencian group managed to set up a mixed diplomatic network between the Kingdom of Valencia and southern France. In a context of heightened distrust by the Spanish central and regional authorities toward recent converts, to which we shall come back below, choosing a trustworthy interlocutor was no easy task for the Moriscos involved in the uprising. One episode allows us to assess the delicate situation in which the group found itself: the minutes of an interview held in September 1582 between members of the King's council, Diego Fernández de Cabrera y Bobadilla, Count of Chinchón, the secretary Mateo Vázquez, and Don Fadrique, Duke of Alba. The transcripts of this interview show that they planned to send undercover agents, wearing "Turkish garments" and speaking Arabic, to the Kingdom of Valencia to infiltrate local Morisco networks.<sup>31</sup> In this context, it is clear that the instigators of the uprising might not have considered all Moriscos living in the kingdom (or people looking like Moriscos) to be trustworthy partners.

The record of previous Morisco attempts at insurrection in the Kingdom of Valencia was also telling. In 1570, in the midst of the War of the Alpujarras, which rocked the Kingdom of Granada, a group of Valencian Moriscos plotted to seize Ayora, a town located between Valencia and Albacete. After a few months of planning, the organizers were betrayed to Spanish authorities by local *alfaquis*. These were Moriscos who held important religious authority over their local communities, and were presumably anxious to preserve them from the bloodshed unfolding in the Alpujarras.<sup>32</sup> A decade later, in January 1582, the Valencian Morisco Gil Pérez also informed the Valencian Inquisition of a vast Morisco plot to take the city with the help of the Ottomans, the North Africans, the French Huguenots, and the rebellious Portuguese who were resisting the recent union of the Spanish and Portuguese monarchies.<sup>33</sup> For years afterward the Holy Office investigated, imprisoned, and tortured those denounced by Pérez, before releasing them all when it turned out that the plot

31 Rodrigo de Zayas, *Les Morisques et le racisme d'État* (Paris: Éditions de la Différence, 2017), 283–85.

32 Jorge Antonio Catalá Sanz and Sergio Urzainqui Sánchez, *La conjura morisca de 1570. La tentativa de alzamiento en Valencia* (Valencia: Generalitat valenciana, 2009), 19.

33 Green-Mercado, *Visions of Deliverance*, 167.

existed only in Pérez's imagination. The memory of this traumatic episode, still vivid across the region, presumably enticed the organizers of the new uprising not to divulge their enterprise to just any Morisco of the kingdom.

The construction of trust within intra- and extra-community networks has attracted the attention of specialists of early modern religious minorities and diasporas. Historians of intercultural trade, especially Francesca Trivellato and Sebouh Aslanian, have examined the establishment of commercial partnerships, both endogenous to the Jews of Livorno and to the Armenians of New Julfa, as well as between members and outsiders of these two groups.<sup>34</sup> Granted, the existence of repeated interactions oriented toward the quest for financial profit within these mixed networks provides a framework for thinking about trust between individuals that can only uneasily be applied to the Valencian group, which was planning a one-off military operation. Nevertheless, as with Jewish or Armenian commercial enterprises, reputation and personal honor were critical criteria in how the Valencian Moriscos selected their interlocutors among the Moriscos of the kingdom.

In this perilous environment, where appearances might be deceitful, personal reputation was of prime importance in selecting trustworthy Moriscos across the region to participate in the uprising. In his second letter Hamete Musrif introduced himself as a member of the *Mosarifes*. The surname he adopted in both letters, Musrif, was also presumably a mark of membership in this group. Derived from the Arabic *šharīf* (noble, leader), this word certainly alluded to the honorable character of its bearer as a distinguished member of the Morisco "nation," and to Hamete's role as a leader and commander. Not only does the use of this Hispanicized Arabic word hint that Hamete Musrif (or his entourage) possessed some notions of Arabic, but it also demonstrates that Arabicized titles were deemed both vectors of prestige and suitable for communicating beyond the frontiers of the Kingdom of Valencia, even with a Christian king. Above all, the use of this term demonstrates that only those who held sufficient reputation and sway over the Moriscos of the kingdom were put in charge of the uprising.

Hamete Musrif's insistence on the renown and importance of other participants comports with this idea. In his second letter he noted that all the Moriscos who took part in the project could be considered "the most important

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34 Francesca Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers: The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven-London: Yale University Press, 2009); Sebouh David Aslanian, *From the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean: The Global Trade Networks of Armenian Merchants from New Julfa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

Moriscos in the Kingdom of Valencia,” and further, “the most prominent (*principales*) of our nation.”<sup>35</sup> In the same document Musrif produced a long list of all the families who supported the initiative. The listing of these names, along with their place of origin, demonstrates the importance of family prestige in building intra-community trust among this group of Moriscos. For instance, the Abenamirs (“Benamires”) mentioned in the letter were an old and powerful Morisco family dwelling in the town of Benaguasil.<sup>36</sup> According to this list, all the Moriscos involved came from seventeen different localities scattered across the Valencian hinterland: Segorbe, Betxí (in the letter, “Vechin”), Millars (“Ribera de Mijares”), Toga (“Tuega”), Eslida (“Aslida”), Chelva, Bétera (“Betia”), Benaguasil (“Benaguazir”), Benissanó (“Benazanon”), La Pobla del Duc and Vall de Segó (“Valles del Duque y de Segon”), Alberic (“Alberique”), Gandía, Vall-digna (“Valle de Alfandeque”), Xàtiva (“Sativa”), Cocentaina (“Cosentayna”), Elda, and Crevillent (“Chevillente”).<sup>37</sup> These towns and villages were all located on a straight line ranging from Castelló de la Plana in the north to Elche in the south, parallel to the Valencian coast.

All these localities shared similar characteristics. As mentioned by Hamete Musrif in his letter, most were located in particularly mountainous areas remote from the sea, with the exception of Gandía. Most were also important Morisco settlements. According to the fiscal census of 1602, the Morisco population of Segorbe, Hamete Musrif’s native town, consisted of 262 households. Xàtiva and Chelva numbered 130 and 169 Morisco households respectively.<sup>38</sup> Besides, some of these localities were significant nodes of Morisco banditry (*bandolerismo*), which plagued the kingdom until the expulsion. Some of these villages served as a base for bandits, who had been particularly active in the kingdom toward the end of the sixteenth century. Benissanó, Chelva, Segorbe, Alberic, Bétera, and Benaguasil were regularly cited as the places of origin of Morisco robbers in contemporary trials and reports.<sup>39</sup>

35 ANF, 353AP/20, 14.

36 Halperín Donghi, *Un conflicto nacional*, 99; Raphaël Carrasco, *Deportados en nombre de Dios. La expulsión de los moriscos, cuarto centenario de una ignominia* (Barcelona: Ediciones Destino, 2009), 179.

37 This list differs from the list given by Jaime Bleda in his *Corónica*. According to Bleda, Moriscos who participated in the uprising originated mainly from Alacuàs, Betxí, Segorbe, Toga, and Alberic. See Bleda, *Corónica de los Moros de España*, 924–29.

38 Lapeyre, *Géographie de l’Espagne morisque*, 217–27.

39 Jorge Antonio Catalá Sanz and Sergio Urzainqui Sánchez, “Perfiles básicos del bandolerismo morisco valenciano: del desarme a la expulsión (1563–1609),” *Revista de Historia Moderna. Anales de la Universidad de Alicante* 27 (2009): 57–108, 66.

In addition, many of these localities had witnessed previous acts of Morisco rebellion. The revolts of 1525–26 and 1568–70 were also concentrated around the Serra d'Espadà, and some of their leaders originated from the localities listed by Hamete Musrif. As mentioned above, Moriscos from Millars and Alberic had been involved in the attempted attack on the neighboring town of Ayora in 1570.<sup>40</sup> Thus, it is possible to postulate not only that the network of Moriscos involved in the 1602–1605 uprising relied on influential Morisco families within a region of strong Morisco presence, but also that it built on preexisting networks of opposition to local authorities. In any case, the efforts of Hamete Musrif and his companions to establish secure and secret communications among Moriscos of the kingdom failed. It is very likely that it was a Morisco from Segorbe, Francisco Ribera, who betrayed them to the Valencian clergy, leading to their execution and that of Saint-Estève.<sup>41</sup>

In the absence of information regarding the reputation of non-Moriscos, other criteria governed the selection of reliable partners across the Pyrenees. Undoubtedly, religious affiliation played an important role in the trust that the leaders of the uprising placed in Jacques Nomparr de Caumont. A fervent Huguenot and survivor of the Saint Barthélémy massacre (24 August 1572), this governor of Béarn and Navarre had supported Henry of Bourbon, the future Henry IV, during the French Wars of Religion. By the early seventeenth century he had become a trusted advisor to the French king. As hinted above, contacts between the Moriscos of Valencia and Caumont fell within a long tradition of Morisco-Protestant contacts. As Louis Cardaillac and Thomas Werner demonstrated, during the sixteenth century Moriscos and Huguenot polemicists maintained some intellectual connections, united in their opposition to Catholicism. Even if few attempts at full syncretism and doctrinal alliance can be charted, Moriscos did make use of Protestant writings to refute Catholic doctrine.<sup>42</sup>

In turn, dissident Moriscos, especially in the Kingdom of Aragon, saw the Béarn Huguenots as potential allies in escaping and opposing the Spanish monarchy.<sup>43</sup> During the reign of King Philip II, Inquisitors expressed their worries over Morisco emigration to Béarn and their possible conversion to

40 Catalá Sanz and Urzainqui Sánchez, *La conjura morisca de 1570*, 20.

41 Guadalajara y Xavier, *Prodición y destierro*, 5. Other later chronicles and the correspondence of Jacques Nomparr de Caumont indicate, on the contrary, that it was Olivier Brachan (or Bracan), an English agent close to Saint-Estève, who denounced the Moriscos to the Spanish authorities. See in particular Hugon, *Au service du roi catholique*, 589.

42 Cardaillac, *Morisques et chrétiens*, 126; Thomas, *La represión del protestantismo en España*, 105.

43 Cardaillac, *Morisques et chrétiens*, 138.

Protestantism. In addition, since 1575 at least, negotiations for armed help between the governor of Béarn and Moriscos of Aragon are attested.<sup>44</sup> While Aragonese Moriscos travelled to Béarn, an agent of the governor of Béarn also travelled to Aragon to discuss a possible uprising. Although this planned uprising did not take place, other documents attest that Moriscos considered Protestant territory a safe haven. Indeed, a mid-sixteenth-century Aljamiado manuscript recommended that Moriscos fleeing from Spain to Constantinople transit through French territory. Repeated references to Louis I of Bourbon, Prince of Condé and head of the Huguenot party, throughout the manuscript seem to indicate that its anonymous author trusted the Protestants to protect the Moriscos during their passage.<sup>45</sup>

However, the religious affinities of the Moriscos with French Protestants were not the sole factor in shaping the contours of the cross-regional network built by the Valencian group. First, a marginal note added to the first letter demonstrates that the leaders of the uprising benefited from the mediation of Morisco emigrants settled in southern France. In this note, the Morisco envoy who was carrying the letters informed Henry IV and his council that he had arrived in France and was now residing within the domains of a certain “Lord of the Hautière,” whom it is difficult to identify with certainty. This lord, he explained, knew the Moriscos in exile who resided in Toulouse and Marseille very well. Just as in the case of the Irish or the French in Spain, the intervention of settled individuals abroad seems to have helped structure and foster the diplomatic mediation conducted by the Valencian group beyond the Kingdom of Valencia.<sup>46</sup>

The Valencian Moriscos also relied on members of preestablished intelligence networks spanning the Pyrenees, which were presumably chosen for their knowledge of southern France and northern Spain. The two French agents involved in the project, Jean de Panissault and Pascal Saint-Estève, had particular expertise in negotiating and gathering intelligence across the blurred zone which separated the French from the Spanish monarchy. This was something which the Moriscos of the Kingdom of Valencia, who lived approximately 400 kilometers from the Pyrenees, desperately needed. Jean de Panissault originated in Gascony (in today’s southwestern France), which bordered the Kingdom of Aragon, while Saint-Estève was born in the town of Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Port sometime between 1564 and 1566. Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Port was

44 Cardaillac, *Morisques et chrétiens*, 139.

45 Pascual de Gayangos, “Language and Literature of the Moriscos,” *The British and Foreign Review* 8 (1839): 63–95, at 81; Cardaillac, *Morisques et chrétiens*, 140.

46 ANF, 353AP/20, 16.

located in Basse-Navarre, which formed part of Henry IV's dominions. French Navarre bordered both the Kingdom of Castile and the Kingdom of Aragon. Saint-Estève's ability to transit across both France and Spain was evident: educated in Zaragoza, he possessed a good knowledge of both Castilian and French.

Saint-Estève's linguistic abilities made him a partner of choice for the Moriscos of Valencia. As aforementioned, his command of Castilian and French seems to have been particularly good, since he is sometimes referred to as a notary in letters exchanged between the Spanish ambassador to France, Juan Bautista de Tassis, and King Philip III in early September 1602.<sup>47</sup> In fact, one could hypothesize that Saint-Estève participated in the redaction of the letters sent to Henry IV and his council on behalf of Hamete Musrif. That Saint-Estève wrote the letters, under the Morisco's dictation, may explain the few Gallicisms that punctuate the first letter.<sup>48</sup> For instance, the expression used in the letter to mean "give a signal" (*dar el mot*) (l. 30) strikingly resembles the French expression *se donner le mot*. The form of other words in the letter, erroneous in Castilian, also resembles French: *servitores* (l. 3) (instead of *servidores*) resembling the French *serviteur*, *secorro* (l. 70) (instead of *socorro*) looking like the French *secours*, or *batizar* (l. 52) (instead of *bautizar*) mirroring the French *baptiser*.

In the absence of any correspondence in the archives exchanged between the Morisco leaders of the uprising, it is difficult to determine with accuracy the mechanisms that presided over the formation of the small network which supported the initiative. Yet Hamete Musrif's letters demonstrate the importance of reputation and family prestige in the structuring of Morisco networks that supported the uprising across the Kingdom of Valencia. The fact that most French agents involved in the project were Protestants also testifies to the solidity of links between Moriscos and Huguenots in the early seventeenth century. In turn, the practical and linguistic expertise of specific French agents, like Pascal Saint-Estève, for negotiating across the Pyrenees was also critical. In any case, in choosing their interlocutors both inside and outside the Valencian Morisco population, the leaders of the uprising relied on preexisting networks of opposition to the Spanish monarchy, whether across the mountainous hinterland of the Kingdom of Valencia or in southern France.

47 Archivo General de Simancas (hereafter AGS), Estado, Leg. 620, f. 184. Also cited in Hugon, *Au service du roi catholique*.

48 ANF, 353AP/20, 16.

### 3 The Culture of Dissimulation of the Morisco Legation

In the summer of 1604 two representatives of the Valencian group, whose precise identity is difficult to ascertain, initiated their journey from Valencia to Pau accompanied by Pascal Saint-Estève. They presumably carried the letters addressed to Henry IV and his council by Hamete Musrif. The journey of several hundred kilometers was trying for the two delegates. In a letter dated 22 July 1604, Jacques Nompard de Caumont notified Henry IV that one of them had taken ill in the city of Teruel, about 140 kilometers north of Valencia.<sup>49</sup> But the real difficulty of such a journey lay in the imperative need to evade the surveillance system set in place by the Spanish monarchy across the Kingdoms of Valencia and Aragon. In the Kingdom of Valencia, stringent limitations and scrutiny over Morisco mobility had been in place since the mid-sixteenth century to prevent revolts, banditry, flight, and contact with the North African Ottoman provinces.<sup>50</sup> Closer to the Pyrenees and the border zone, the Spanish monarchy had established a wide-ranging system of espionage, relying on a web of professional spies.<sup>51</sup> This need for secrecy and dissimulation had a direct impact on the material conditions of the group's legation to Jacques Nompard de Caumont.

It is unlikely that Valencian Moriscos possessed any physical characteristics that would have rendered their travel incognito more difficult, in comparison to Old Christians'. As Bernard Vincent's study of Morisco bodies shows, the alleged existence of physical characteristics that would have readily allowed Spanish agents to spot the two delegates is improbable. Indeed, Vincent's examination of the census of Granadan Moriscos who were resettled in Cordoba after the War of the Alpujarras has established the absence of any apparent physical differences between Old Christians and Moriscos.<sup>52</sup> This made dissimulation and passing much easier for Moriscos who were seeking to evade local authorities while on the move.

Pilgrim "costumes" were a popular choice for Moriscos travelling incognito, like our two delegates. The strategy of dressing as pilgrims was well known to some Moriscos, but also to Spanish authorities, at least since the middle of

49 Caumont La Force, *Mémoires Authentiques*, 375.

50 García Martínez, "Bandolerismo, piratería y control," 117.

51 Alain Hugon, "Contrôle pyrénéen et maîtrise frontalière dans les conflits franco-hispaniques (1559–1659)," in *Del tractat dels Pirineus (1659) a l'Europa del segle XXI*, ed. O. Jané (Barcelona: Museu d'Història de Catalunya, 2010), 107.

52 Bernard Vincent, "Quel était l'aspect physique des Morisques?" in *Morisques (1501–1614). Une histoire si familière* (Mont-Saint-Aignan: Presses universitaires de Rouen et du Havre, 2017), 223.

the sixteenth century. Advice on how to dress to evade arrest circulated across Morisco communities. The Aljamiado manuscript mentioned above encouraged Moriscos who were fleeing to France to pass as pilgrims heading to the shrine of Our Lady of Loreto.<sup>53</sup> Tellingly, the second part of *Don Quixote*, published in 1615, narrates the encounter between Sancho Panza and his Morisco friend Ricote, who was returning to Spain after the expulsion, disguised as a German pilgrim. After revealing his identity to Sancho, Ricote declares: "If thou dost not betray me ... I am safe; for in this dress no one will recognize me."<sup>54</sup> While this well-known passage provides information about the Morisco presence in the Peninsula after the expulsion, it can also be considered a serious source for documenting Morisco undercover mobility, since Miguel de Cervantes, who was close to the royal chronicler Pedro de Valencia, was well informed about the Morisco situation.<sup>55</sup>

The Valencian delegates seem to have opted for another disguise, however. In 1607, the Spanish agent Martín de Bustamante provided a description of the Valencian delegates, whom he had seen crossing the frontier, to the Spanish council of state. In his letter Bustamante claimed that they had evaded Spanish surveillance by dressing as itinerant merchants. More precisely, the delegates had crossed Aragon, through the valleys of Ossau, Aspe, Benasque, and Navarre, via the towns of Vera, Roncesvalles, and Ochagavía, disguised as book or trinket merchants.<sup>56</sup> Passing as peddlers was a popular cover among spies who operated in the region. When he wrote the report, Bustamante himself was using his work as an itinerant book seller to disguise his intelligence activities in the service of the Spanish monarchy.

Besides, Morisco communities across the Peninsula maintained strong connections to itinerant merchants. Serafín de Tapia and Raphaël Carrasco, among others, have pointed out the high proportion of Moriscos working as *arrieros* (muleteers) and the use of these commercial networks to maintain contacts among various Morisco groups.<sup>57</sup> The existence of these networks

53 Gayangos, "Language and Literature of the Moriscos," 81; Cardaillac, "Le passage des Morisques en Languedoc."

54 Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Don Quixote*, trans. John Ormsby (Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2002), Part 2, Chapter XLIV.

55 Bernabé Pons, "De los moriscos a Cervantes," *eHumanista/Cervantes* 2 (2013): 156–82; Francisco Márquez Villanueva, *Moros, moriscos y turcos de Cervantes. Ensayos críticos* (Barcelona: Bellaterra, 2010), 244.

56 AGS, Estado Francia, Leg. 1608, B.90. On the contraband in prohibited books across the Pyrenean region, see Hugon, "Contrôle pyrénéen et maîtrise frontalière," 103.

57 Serafín de Tapia, "Las redes comerciales de los moriscos de Castilla la Vieja: un vehículo para sus 'Complicidades,'" *Studia Historica* 11 (1993): 231–43; Carrasco, *Deportados en nombre de Dios*, 110.

did not escape the notice of local authorities. In 1600, the Franciscan Antonio Sobrino and his secretary Gaspar Escolano warned Philip III of secret communications among Morisco groups in Valencia, Aragon, and Castile via Morisco muleteers.<sup>58</sup> Given the interlinkages between Morisco and peddler networks, it is therefore possible that the Valencian delegates already possessed sufficient knowhow to disguise themselves as itinerant merchants, by imitation of Morisco *arrieros* or because they themselves practiced (or had practiced) this occupation.

The Valencian agents who travelled to Pau also received external help to reach French territory both secretly and safely. The French agent Pascal Saint-Estève, who appears both in the correspondence of Jacques Nompar de Caumont and in the Spanish chronicles of the event, was the main agent who supported the uprising project and accompanied the Valencian group in the negotiations.<sup>59</sup> As mentioned above, this ambiguous character, sometimes accused of being a double agent by the French authorities, had a thorough knowledge of the border region, where he had been operating since at least 1592.<sup>60</sup> Jacques Nompar de Caumont's second envoy to Valencia, the Protestant knight (*chevalier*) Jean de Panissault, was also from Gascony, another border area. By getting involved in the Moriscos' legation, it is very likely that they played a role in the delicate operation of crossing both the Valencian and Aragonese kingdoms to French territories.

While both Hamete Musrif's appeal and the correspondence exchanged between Henry IV and Jacques Nompar de Caumont make no mention of third parties, the involvement of other Iberian minorities in the journey of the delegates cannot be ruled out. Martín de Bustamante's report supports his thesis of a collusion between the Valencian Moriscos and Jewish Conversos who dwelt around the Franco-Spanish border zone. In his report, Bustamante warned Philip III against the nefarious projects "of a Valencian, a Gascon, and two Moriscos," probably a confused description of Pascal Saint-Estève, Jean de Panissault, and the two Valencian agents. According to Bustamante, this heterogeneous group was helped by "Portuguese" Conversos who had fled to France.<sup>61</sup> While Bustamante may have invented a Morisco-Converso cooperation to add weight to his report, the hypothesis that Conversos helped Franco-Morisco negotiations is plausible. Throughout the sixteenth century, groups of exiled Spanish Conversos found refuge in the south of France, particularly in Bayonne.

58 Zayas, *Les Morisques et le racisme d'État*, 421.

59 Bleda, *Corónica de los Moros de España*, 926.

60 Hugon, *Au service du roi catholique*, 626.

61 AGS, Estado Francia, Leg. 1608, B.90.

Some of them had developed lucrative contraband networks, which were used during the expulsion to smuggle Morisco assets out of the Peninsula.<sup>62</sup>

An analysis of the Valencian Moriscos' efforts to preserve the confidentiality and secrecy of their project during their journey also requires exploring the conditions under which the two letters sent by Hamete Musrif to Henry IV and his council were transported from the Kingdom of Valencia to Pau. As it appears from the letters' layout, it was clearly not lost on their redactor that they could easily succumb to the dangers of a long clandestine journey. Not only could the letters be apprehended or destroyed, but malicious third parties could also alter their contents. To mitigate this risk, the redactor drew long continuous lines across both the top corners and at the bottom of the text, so that no further content could be added to the original letters (see Figure 4.1). Besides, the size of the letters might also hint at efforts made to preserve their confidential nature. Just like other secret correspondence stored in Jacques Nompars de Caumont's personal archive, the two letters were folded into twelve sections, reducing their size to less than a dozen centimeters, easily concealed in an internal pocket or in the lining of a garment.<sup>63</sup>

Thus, the vigilance of Spanish authorities in the Valencian and Aragonese kingdoms compelled the Morisco delegates to travel discreetly and under disguise—which had a direct effect on the materiality of their communication with the French monarchy. Paradoxically, however, the same delegates also had to carry irrefutable proofs of their identity and their project, to ensure the success of their legation across the Pyrenees. As mentioned above, in a region where impostors and undercover Spanish agents, such as Bustamante, were widespread, Valencian Moriscos needed to accredit their legation and prove their good faith to Jacques Nompars de Caumont and Henry IV—neither of whom was entirely convinced of their good faith and credibility. Despite the various legations sent by Moriscos to France during the late sixteenth century, the Moriscos lacked a history of sustained diplomatic representation at the French court. This made Henry IV and French officials wary of their activities.

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62 David Graizbord, *Souls in Dispute: Converso Identities in Iberia and the Jewish Diaspora* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 66–67; David Graizbord, “Becoming Jewish in Early Modern France: Documents on Jewish Community-Building in Seventeenth-Century Bayonne and Peyrehorade,” *Journal of Social History* 40, no. 1 (2006): 147–80, at 159; Luis Bernabé Pons, “Notas sobre la cohesión de la comunidad morisca más allá de su expulsión de España,” *Al-Qanṭara* 29, no. 2 (2008): 307–32, at 310; Olivier Caporossi, “Le crime de monnaie des Morisques au début du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle,” *Cahiers de La Méditerranée* 79 (2009): 223–40.

63 James Daybell, *The Material Letter in Early Modern England: Manuscript Letters and the Culture and Practices of Letter-Writing* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 170.

In early September 1602, King Henry IV wrote to Caumont that “he wished to ascertain the basis upon which they [the Moriscos] intend to elaborate and execute the project they propose, so that I may not be abused.”<sup>64</sup>

The need to provide strong credentials may explain why the letters sent by Hamete Musrif systematically bore a double signature. This signature was composed of two distinct elements: a written signature naming the sender (Hamete Musrif) and a symbol, which was not reproduced in the published French edition of the appeal. Measuring just a few centimeters, this symbol resembles two arrows linked together by a straight line (see Figure 4.3). In the absence of substantial research on the use of the epistolary genre by the Moriscos and the identification marks used by the Moriscos of the Kingdom of Valencia, it is difficult to propose a definitive interpretation of this sign. Nevertheless, in view of Hamete Musrif’s writings, it is likely that it served as an identification mark, similar to a seal, used by an influential Morisco family from Segorbe. In any case, the fact that it was added twice to the original first letter, and transcribed in seventeenth-century copies, testifies to the importance of this symbol as a mark of identification, in an environment where secrecy and dissimulation ruled. In other words, the items carried by the delegation both concealed (the disguises) and exposed (the letters) the Morisco delegates during their passage across the Kingdom of Valencia, Aragon, and southern France.

#### 4 Conclusion

From the end of 1605, when the news of the execution of Saint-Estève and the Morisco leaders of the uprising finally reached Pau and Paris, no further plans to support a large-scale Morisco insurrection were seriously considered by the French authorities.<sup>65</sup> The partial destruction of networks of Morisco resistance in Valencia, the reluctance of the French monarchy to embark on such a risky and hazardous undertaking, and finally the expulsion of the Moriscos, decreed in September 1609 in the Kingdom of Valencia, explain this slump in Franco-Morisco communication. Nevertheless, close ties between Moriscos and the French, especially in Languedoc and Provence, continued after 1609. Some of the networks formed before the expulsion were also exploited to guide

64 Caumont La Force, *Mémoires Authentiques*, 339.

65 See in particular ANF, 353AP/11.

the journeys of Moriscos in exile in France.<sup>66</sup> Still, the extent to which the specific connections forged by the Moriscos of Valencia across the Pyrenees endured and mattered at any point during the expulsion remains unknown.

In many ways, the legation of the Moriscos of Valencia to France resembled the actions of other groups in the early modern period. Just like the Irish or the French in Spain, the Valencian Moriscos travelled abroad, sent letters to foreign monarchs, and built a mixed network in support of their initiative. However, their legation was also profoundly shaped by the specificities of the Morisco presence in the Valencian kingdom, be it in demographic, cultural, religious, or economic terms. While their networks drew on family prestige and some measure of transreligious solidarity, they relied on preestablished patterns of opposition to the Spanish monarchy, both in the Valencian region and in southern France. In turn, the practicalities of their legation were deeply affected by the surveillance put in place by Spanish authorities, which forced the Morisco envoys to draw on a culture of dissimulation that was already well in place across the Franco-Spanish border zone. Thus, while the Moriscos seem unlikely participants in European diplomacy in the seventeenth century, they did draw on local and regional practices, networks, and knowledge to forge a dialogue from one “nation” to another—across seemingly impenetrable political boundaries.

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66 Marc Terrisse, “La diaspora morisque : une histoire globale méconnue,” *Hommes & migrations* 1315 (2016): 124–29.

Appendix

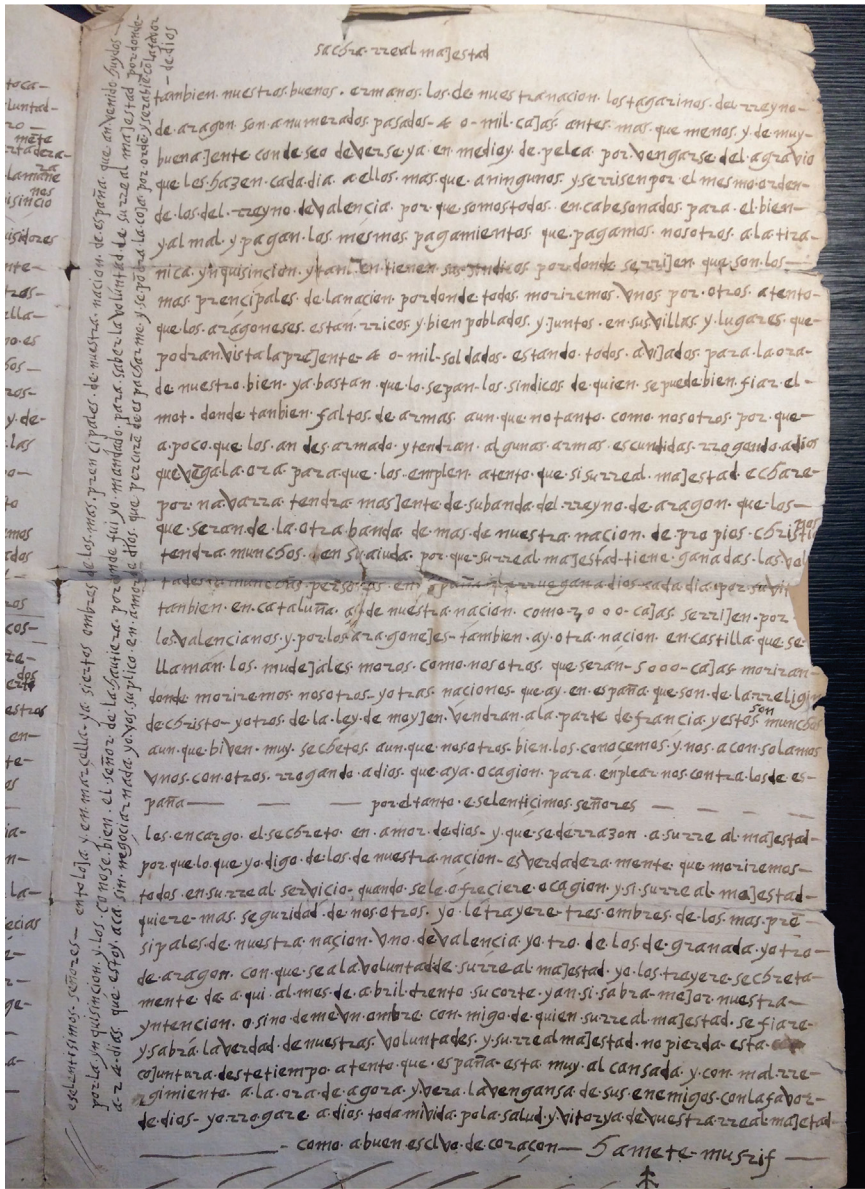


FIGURE 4.1 Archives Nationales de France (Pierrefitte-sur-Seine), 353AP/20, 16. First page of the first letter of Hamete Musrif to Henry IV and his council.

PHOTO: STRULLOU

Sacra real Magestad

Nosotros los moriscos de granada vuestros esclavos le escribimos a Dios  
 nuestros señores por vuestra salud y victoria y nos podemos tener por vuestros leales  
 servidores, en vuestra real merced divina, y grandes en vuestro real servicio  
 Excelentissimos señores

Nosotros nunca hemos sido tan honros a vuestra ley ni a vuestro rey en la ocasion  
 atenta que nosotros somos moros de vuestro reino, de los mas antiguos que vive en el mundo  
 por donde quedamos en España del tiempo que el Rey paderose al paderose la paz  
 y estuvo largo tiempo el y sus hijos poseiendo el Reyno de España desde muchos dellos  
 les pareca tomar en berreria viendo que los christianos comenzaban de conquistar España  
 viendo los Reyes christianos que se les iban todo los moros en berreria y quedaba la  
 tierra despoblada, prometieron por toda la tierra que los que querian quedar en España  
 que los Reyes christianos les prometian la fe y palabra que les dexarian con firmes leyes  
 y privilegios segun en vuestra ley, por donde no han mantenido los Reyes nada de sus pala-  
 bras donde los del Reyno de granada ~~esta un muy poco antes~~ fueron conquistados la  
 posesion ves ni entendiendo que los hizieron christianos por fuerza, sino que antes les querian  
 vedar la habla en frutias y los nombres y el traje de vestir y asi no quisieron,  
 por donde se vieron de levantar los del Reyno de granada ~~esta un muy poco antes~~  
 porque ya estaban desarmados y hizieron la guerra al Rey Felipe que moria, que nunca  
 pudo dezir que tuvo en dia victoria con ellos y asi a el Rey Felipe como en padre  
 de las cantelas viendo que le dan mucho que hazer les ordena en tanto falgos mandan-  
 doles rogadores que les perdonava y que tornasen en sus casas y que viviesen como  
 quisieron tomando les afirmar los privilegios, asi acabaron la guerra y asi como  
 los vio acregados en sus casas y lugares muy descurridos, los iba mandando de la  
 con mucho exercito y los hermano por toda Castilla haciendo a los mas de ellos christianos por  
 fuerza y sin razon por donde son muchos hermanos por España passar de 1300 mil  
 casas antes mas que moros guardando la razon para vengarse de la tirania de España  
 lo qual viendo a nosotros comenzar ellos no se admiran atenta que si se les pueden dar  
 el mot tan seguro como atenta que estan muy desarmados y no de otro una que tambien  
 tienen sus vendos gente muy principales y de quien se puede muy bien fear  
 Excelentissimos señores

Nosotros los del Reyno de valencia somos 76 mil casas antes mas que moros todos para los  
 en vuestras villas y lugares rios y valerosa gente para quando sera merced  
 poderemos hazer 80 mil hombres sin despollar vuestras casas ni con que  
 al Rey que sea nuestro ampar le este nada antes que nosotros le devamos decir si otra

FIGURE 4.2 Archives Nationales de France (Pierrefitte-sur-Seine), 353AP/14. First page of the second letter of Hamete Musrif to Henry IV and his council

PHOTOGRAPH: STRUILLLOU

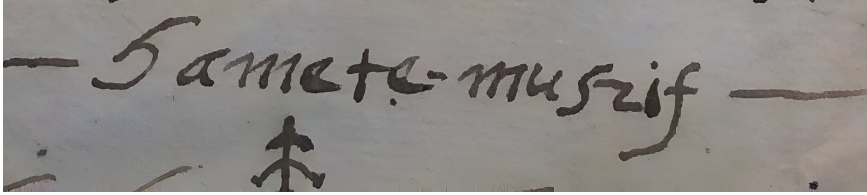


FIGURE 4.3 Archives Nationales de France (Pierrefitte-sur-Seine), 353AP/20, 16 (detail).  
Hamete Musrif's signature.  
PHOTO: STRUILLOU

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## Money that Binds: Some Internal Ties of the Moriscos in their Diaspora

*Luis F. Bernabé Pons*

The Spanish Trinitarian friar Francisco Ximénez makes references in his *Diaries of Algiers*, written between 1718 and 1719, to the descendants of Moriscos with whom he met in the capital of the regency. Ximénez also collects references to the Moriscos that he meets or hears about, though these are fewer in number than those he would find later in Tunisia. A striking point of these references is that the wealthy Moriscos of Algiers are called *Tagarinos* almost without exception, that is, descendants of Moriscos coming from the Kingdoms of Valencia and Aragon.<sup>1</sup> On 23 May 1719, Ximénez notes in his diary the death of Benamar el Topal, a Morisco who was “one of the richest in the kingdom,” and on 1 September he records the haughty comment of another member of the Benamar family, Ḥağğ Muştafâ Benamar, to some Spanish captives:

When the Ḥağğ Muştafâ Benamar asked some Spanish captives what estate would a Grandee of Spain have, they answered that six or seven million. To this he said, “Well, I too could be a Grandee of Spain, as my wealth is still more than that.”<sup>2</sup>

Ximénez was referring to one of the families of Morisco descendants that had prospered the most since their ancestors had arrived in the Regency of Algiers, possibly in the sixteenth century. Devoted to trade of all kinds of goods and to the possession of agricultural estates, the Benamar family stood out in the

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- 1 As early as 1631, Francis Knight, who was a captive in Algiers for seven years, stated that the *Tagarinos* were the true owners of lands and ships in Algiers: Knight, *A Relation of Seven Years of Slaverie Under the Turkes of Argeire suffered by an English captive merchant Wherein is also contened all memorable passages, fights, and accidents, which happined in that citie, and at sea with their shippes and gallies during that time* (London: T. Cotes, 1640), 34–35.
  - 2 “[P]reguntando Achi Mostafa Benamar a unos cautivos españoles, qué hacienda tendría un Grande de España, le respondieron que seis o siete millones. A esto dijo: pues, yo también pudiera ser Grande de España, que mi caudal aún es más que eso”; *Diario de Argel* 136 (1 September 1719). See Hedi Oueslati, “Argel, según el diario inédito de Francisco Ximénez (1718–1720),” *Sharq al-Andalus* 3 (1986): 169–81, at 179.

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for their wealth, along with other families of Morisco origin such as the Šwihad or the Nigro, also enormously wealthy although much less well known.

The wellbeing and integration of many Moriscos in their exile of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, especially in North Africa, is one of the issues that have most occupied specialists in the Morisco diasporas. Their various fates in Morocco and the Ottoman territories, their (sometimes) difficult relationships with the authorities, and their numerous contributions to Maghrebi societies have been identified and analyzed. At the same time few attempts have been made, especially in Arabic historiography, to separate what was a complex sociohistorical process from what can be called a mystifying vision of a possible late Andalusí contribution to the development of Maghrebi societies.<sup>3</sup>

One of the most repeated points in those analyses is the prosperity of some Moriscos in exile, especially in the Ottoman territories. Some families, as well as some individuals, have been singled out as especially wealthy—in some cases even enormously so—in the decades after their arrival. From a certain moment, well after their beginnings in the Maghreb, we are aware of the economic activities in which some of them were engaged. However, we are still poorly informed about the earliest stages of that economic life within the Maghrebi societies. For instance, we do not know how they started some businesses, how they managed to safeguard the wealth that they might have brought from Spain, or even how they could progress economically in such a short time in societies such as the Ottoman. In these societies, although opportunities for minorities to settle and prosper existed, those who were highly successful in their activities were also closely watched by the authorities. It is also worth asking whether the self-identification of Moriscos as a separate social group in a society of Turks, Arabs, renegades, and Jews also had its economic aspect.

I would like to offer some first impressions about the accumulation and use of wealth by the Moriscos in the Ottoman lands of North Africa from both primary and secondary sources. The subject is of course broad and varied, and there still remain quite a few enigmas to solve, but I want to propose here some

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3 As stated by Houssein Eddine Chachia, *Al-safaradīm wa-l-mūriskīyyūn. Riḥlat taḥḡīr wa-tawtīn fī bilād al-Maḡrib (1492–1756)* (Beirut: Al-Muʿassasa al-ʿarabiyya li-l-dirāsāt wa-al-našr, 2015), I: 118–20. Also Chachia, “Los moriscos y la rebelión de las Alpujarras en el pensamiento árabe,” in *De nación morisca*, ed. M. Birriel Salcedo and R. Ruiz Álvarez (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2020), 115–20.

possible answers about the handling of money by some exiled Moriscos as a source of both social insertion and the reinforcement of a collective identity.

## 1 Moriscos' Arrival, Moriscos' Wealth

The arrival and settlement of the Moriscos in Tunisia and Algeria, despite having obvious similarities—since both areas were under Ottoman government—of course have some differences to consider. For the matter we are dealing with, there are especially two:

First, as is known, the Moriscos were arriving in Algiers and other ports throughout the sixteenth century, especially in its first half. The political action of the Barbarossa brothers, in displacing thousands of Moriscos from the Spanish Mediterranean area to Algeria, managed to create an important alien minority faithful to the authorities.<sup>4</sup> When the general expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain took place in 1609–1615, there were already generations of Moriscos settled in Algeria. These occupied a wide range of trades in cities, and some families that had made progress in this area, such as the Valencian Bonateros, can already be identified. We also know of some Morisco families dedicated to the trade derived from privateering (as intermediaries, slave traders, financiers of the expeditions, etc.). The Moriscos who arrived after 1609 do not seem to outweigh, generally speaking, those who were established there, and in general they accommodated themselves to the tasks and rhythms that their predecessors had set.<sup>5</sup> For its part, Tunisia, devastated by the wars of the sixteenth century, received tens of thousands of Moriscos from France or Algiers exclusively around the expulsion of the early seventeenth century. The Moriscos who would progress economically there would be from this group, without strong connections with Moriscos who previously lived there.

Second, although both regencies were under Ottoman control, with the Turks forming the political and military elite of those countries, in the second echelons of the administration there was a substantial difference. While in Tunisia the Ottomans relied on a Hafsīd intellectual elite who continued their life under the power of the deys, enjoying great social and political influence,

4 Mikel de Epalza, "Papel político de los moriscos en el nacimiento de la Argelia moderna en tiempos de Carlos V," in *Carlos V, los moriscos y el islam*, coord. M.J. Rubiera (Alicante, Madrid: Universidad de Alicante, Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 2001), 203–5.

5 Beatriz Alonso Acero, "El exilio norteafricano de los valencianos, 1609–1621," *Laberintos. Revista de estudios sobre los exilios culturales españoles* 13 (2011): 12–20.

in Algeria the Ottomans lacked the complicity of any social elite, beyond a few people of alleged *šarīfī* origin and the presence of some *‘ulamā’*. The social elite of Tlemcen, for example, escaped to Morocco in open opposition to Ottoman rule. This generated a deep distrust among the Ottomans towards the *Baldis* or natives of the country, which extended even to the class of the *kouloughlis* or descendants of mixed marriages between Turks and native women. Likewise, this situation favored the progress and expansion of minorities such as converts or renegades as well as the Moriscos, who in a way replaced a high social stratum of the country.

These two structural elements conditioned various aspects of the economic activities of the Moriscos in their Ottoman exile. On the one hand, the number of wealthy Moriscos was always higher in Algeria, as a consequence of the favorable social and political situation that was granted to them from the beginning of the sixteenth century. In the trade in captives and slaves, for example, renegades and Moriscos had for a long time no real competition from native merchants, until the *kouloughlis* began to grow demographically and become socially stronger. According to Brahimi, it was the Moriscos who changed the mentality toward captivity derived from privateering, turning the captives from a labor force into valuable merchandise.<sup>6</sup> In Tunisia, on the other hand, the Moriscos always had to have both the approval of the Ottoman authorities and an alliance with the Tunisian social elite. It is not by chance that Muṣṭafā de Cárdenas, the *šeyḥ* of the Moriscos for thirty years in Tunisia, appears frequently associated in his activities with ‘Alī Tābit, Yūsuf Dey’s right-hand man, a rich merchant who was also in charge of the regency’s finances.<sup>7</sup>

All this may help to explain why, in the first half of the seventeenth century, of the forty-two richest inventories of goods in Algiers sixteen belonged to converts to Islam (*‘ulūǧ*) and fifteen to Moriscos (usually called “Andalusis”). Of these last fifteen we know that two were possessed by a Morisco *raʿīs* while the others belonged to merchants.<sup>8</sup> As time went by, the converts lost economic importance in the Regency, while the Moriscos, who gradually mixed with the *baldis*, increased their presence. Thus, between 1630 and 1680, according to the data provided by Merouche, out of the fourteen largest fortunes in Algiers for which data are available, seven belonged to Moriscos and their descendants, although this calculation does not include the *awqāf*. The situation in Tunisia

6 Denise Brahimi, “Quelques jugements sur les maures andalous dans les régences turques au xviii<sup>e</sup> siècle,” *Revue d’Histoire et de Civilisation du Maghreb* 9 (1979): 39–51.

7 Ibn Abi Dinār, *Al-Muʿnis fī aḥbār Ifriqiya wa-Tūnis*, ed. M. Shammām (Tunis: al-Maktaba al-ʿatīqa, 1967), 196–97.

8 Lemnouar Merouche, *Recherches sur l’Algérie à l’époque ottomane. Monnaies, prix et revenus 1520–1830* (Paris: Bouchène, 2002), 202.

was different, since of the rich Moriscos who arrived at the Tunisian port between 1601 and 1615, often with a large amount of cash, after the capture of Luis Zapata only Muṣṭafā de Cárdenas seems to have maintained his economic success, while the renegades first, and the social elite of Hafsid origin later, always rivaled their economic preponderance.

It is worth saying now some words about the money that several of these Moriscos were able to carry into their exile in Spain. It is an issue about which little is known, but which is important because it determines both the ease that some enjoyed for their economic activities in exile, and their social integration into certain levels of society. We have no data about the long period of clandestine journeys to Algiers in the sixteenth century, especially from the Spanish Mediterranean coast. It is likely that some wealthier Morisco families chose to flee, taking with them goods, jewelry, and money, but for the moment this is only a supposition. Regarding the expulsions from Castile and Aragon, in some previous works I have tried to present how between the eve of the expulsion of the Castilian Moriscos until around 1620 several wealthy Morisco merchants were involved in the transit of Moriscos to France. Some of them were especially active in safeguarding the monetary patrimony of the Moriscos, which was sometimes smuggled out of Spain with the help of *converso* (formerly Jewish) merchants. Huge amounts of money from the heritage of the Moriscos seem to have passed through men like Francisco de Valencia or the famous Jerónimo Enríquez, money that reappeared in France and that surely travelled to Islamic countries. It is impossible to offer even an approximate figure of the amounts taken from Spain by Moriscos through this and other routes, but it is not a fantasy to speak of millions of ducats.<sup>9</sup> The passage of the Moriscos through France gives us the opportunity to see how the commercial networks of the Moriscos abroad, especially in France, were very active. The reports of Spanish spies speak of Morisco merchants who were based in Saint-Jean de Luz, Marseille, Bayonne, and Agde acting as a safeguard for the escaped and expelled Moriscos and their capital, on many occasions in collusion with *converso*, Jewish, and Genoese merchants.<sup>10</sup> According to the viceroy of Sicily the Granada-born Luis Zapata, supervisor of the Moriscos in France and official

9 Jesús Carrasco Vázquez, "Contrabando, moneda y espionaje (el negocio del vellón: 1606–1620)," *Hispania* 57, no. 197 (1997): 1081–1105; Luis F. Bernabé Pons, "Notas sobre la cohesión de la comunidad morisca más allá de su expulsión de España," *Al-Qanṭara* 29, no. 2 (2008): 307–32; Jorge Gil Herrera and Bernabé Pons, "The Moriscos outside Spain. Routes and Financing," in *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain: A Mediterranean Diaspora*, ed. M. García-Arenal and G. Wiegers (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 217–38.

10 Pierre Santoni, "Le passage des morisques en Provence (1610–1613)," *Provence Historique* 185 (1996): 339–43; Bernabé Pons, "El paso de los moriscos por Francia, una vez más," *Hespéris-Tamuda* 53, no. 2 (2018): 230–34.

representative of the same community in Tunisia, when arrested and imprisoned in Sicily was travelling to France to recover his remaining properties in Marseille.<sup>11</sup> On the other hand, the case of the Moriscos of Granadan origin deceived by the French Captain Estienne on his ship is well known. Robbed before being disembarked, the Moriscos would claim from the French consulate in Tunis the enormous sum of one hundred thousand gold ducats.<sup>12</sup> Also in France, Diego de Cárdenas (Cárdena according to French documentation), later Muṣṭafā de Cárdenas, was among the wealthy Moriscos who appeared before the French authorities to denounce the assault. He undoubtedly went to Tunisia with a good part of his patrimony.<sup>13</sup> Others traveled on to Turkey, the center of the empire, where until now we have lost track of them. From this point of view, perhaps a part of the Morisco itinerary preserved in the Aljamiado manuscript 774 of the National Library of Paris can be better understood: "In Jaca you will show [your] gold."<sup>14</sup> It is an itinerary not simply for fleeing from Spain, but for leaving it clandestinely with one's wealth safe from harm.<sup>15</sup>

## 2 Into the Economic Circuits

Undoubtedly, in the past as well as today, to arrive in a country provided with a large amount of money, or with the possibility of keeping it safe and ready to be brought in later, is a great advantage. This allows one, for example, to acquire properties and assets. It also allows a quick entry into the commercial circuits through which money circulates. This early introduction of money

11 Mikel de Epalza, "Moriscos y andalusíes en Túnez durante el siglo XVII," *Al-Andalus* 34, no. 2 (1969): 275–77; Luis F. Bernabé Pons, "Notas sobre la cohesión de la comunidad morisca más allá de su expulsión de España," *Al-Qanṭara* 29, no. 2 (2008): 317–20.

12 Louis Cardaillac, "Procès pour abus contre les morisques en Languedoc," in *Études sur les moriscos andalous en Tunis*, ed. M. de Epalza and R. Petit (Madrid, Tunis: Dirección General de Relaciones Culturales, 1973), 103–13.

13 John D. Latham, "Muṣṭafā de Cardenas et l'apport des 'morisques' à la société tunisienne du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle," in *Études sur les Morisques andalous en Tunisie*, ed. S.M. Zbiss, A.H. Slama-Gafsi, M. Boughanmi and M. de Epalza (Tunis: Institut National d'Archéologie et d'Art, 1983), 157–77. Cárdenas was likely a member of the homonymous rich Granadan family of silk merchants: Bernard Vincent, "Les élites morisques grenadines," in *Siglos Dorados. Homenaje a Augustín Redondo*, ed. Pierre Civil (Madrid: Castalia, 2004), 2:1467–79.

14 Luce López-Baralt and Awilda Irizarry, "Dos itinerarios secretos de los moriscos del siglo XVI," in *Homenaje a Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes* (Oviedo, Madrid: Universidad de Oviedo, Gredos, 1985), 2:547–82.

15 Ángel Galán Sánchez, *Los mudéjares del Reino de Granada* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, Diputación Provincial, 1991), 194.

may partially explain why certain Moriscos and their families have been present in the economic circuits of Algiers and Tunis since the beginning of the sixteenth century. That is the case, for example, of the Morisco family of al-Qazzāz, whose first three members in Algiers were *riyās* and who later became a large family of silk merchants. The same is true of the Šuwayhid or Šwihad family, whose first known member in Algiers, Saʿīd, was a famous *raʿīs* and later devoted himself to commerce.<sup>16</sup> On his death he left an enormous fortune and only one son, Sulaymān al-Šwihad, who quickly became one of the greatest and richest merchants in the city of Algiers, and one of its most prominent experts in the real-estate and property field. Furthermore, the documents of the Algiers Archive record his presence at the head of the Council of Merchants: it was formed in the city of Algiers with five members, three of whom were Moriscos, and was headed by a Mālikī judge. Sulaymān Saʿīd al-Šwihad died in 1659 and left an inheritance consisting of parcels of agricultural land estimated at a minimum of 175 hectares, with all their agricultural equipment, large herds of cattle, homes, and businesses, as well as money owed to him by officials and twenty-two slaves.<sup>17</sup> The success and rise of the al-Šwihad family in the city of Algiers did not stop with the death of Sulaymān; after him his son Yūsuf concentrated in his person the very important positions of *amīn al-umanāʾ* (syndic of all syndics of the guilds) and *muḥtasib* (head of the markets).<sup>18</sup> Finally, after Yūsuf, his son Muḥammad is mentioned in the documents of the Algiers Archive as the author of one of the most important *ḥisba* treaties in Algeria, ruling the activities of the merchants and markets that were managed in the city of Algiers. A handwritten copy of it is kept in the National Library of Algiers and has been edited by Saidouni.<sup>19</sup>

### 3 Seeking Richness, Getting Cohesion

All the sources available for the Morisco diaspora in the Ottoman provinces of the Maghreb, and also in Morocco, consistently describe the Andalusians/Moriscos as a differentiated group within society. Due to their origin, their family ties, their language, their customs, and their knowledge and techniques, the

16 Farid Khiari, *Vivre et mourir en Alger: L'Algérie ottomane aux XVII<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles: un destin confisqué* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2002), 145–46.

17 Khiari, *Vivre et mourir en Alger*, 147.

18 Archives Nationales d'Alger [ANA], Baylik, Box 246–279, exp. 252/348.

19 ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Šwihad, *Aswāq madīnat al-Ġazāʾir: 1107–1117 H., 1695–1705, taḥqīq wa-taqdīm wa-taʿlīq Nāṣir al-Dīn Saʿīdūnī* (Beirut: Dār al-ġarb al-islāmī, 2006).

Moriscos formed a social group that, while not completely homogeneous, was distinguishable from *Baldis*, Turks, Jews, renegades, and other social groups. The well-known Ottoman policy of political support for separate minorities also reinforced the minority's internal identity ties *vis-à-vis* other external groups. Finally, the very social dynamics of any immigrant group and their descendants, who seek prosperity in places that do not correspond to their origin, create internal bonds of cohesion and mutual help. Specialists also often point to traits such as endogamous marriages, language maintenance, and specialization in certain trades as elements that contribute to the maintenance of these internal ties.

Money undoubtedly also helped to build those bonds of cohesion in the Morisco community. Very early in the sixteenth century we begin to read in the documentation about the activities not of any individual of Morisco origin, but of the "group of Andalusians" (*ǧamāʿat al-andalusīyyīn*) who undertake actions of a social and economic type that, among other possible interpretations, can be seen as manifestations of group solidarity. One of these actions is their specialization in trades and the employment of Morisco individuals within them. In the silk industry, in bonnet manufacture, and in jewelry making, it can be detected how in a few decades the Morisco emigrants take over the entire universe of these trades, from manufacturing to selling. Of course, this means greater wealth for business owners, but also job opportunities for Moriscos, who were recruited in preference to the *baldis*. Authentic dynasties of Morisco artisans ensured this way of working, which benefited them but also benefited their community. A prototypical case is that of construction, with the dynasty started by the Morisco *šarīf* Mūsā al-Anṣārī al-Andalusī al-Ḥimyarī shortly after his arrival in Algiers around 1610–11.<sup>20</sup> He was very likely an Aragonese *ʿarif* (Spanish *alarife*); his sons ʿAlī and Ibrāhīm are surnamed al-Ṭaǧrī.<sup>21</sup> He soon controlled the sphere of private and, above all, public construction in the Algerian territories, to the point that many of the Ottoman forts of the time bear his signature. He remained a leading figure in the economic life of the Moriscos in Algiers in the 1620s and 1630s, and his sons and grandsons would continue this dominance for decades. Very likely, the "association of Andalusians" (*šarīkat al-andalusīyyīn*) which bought construction materials

20 Samia Chergui, "Les morisques et l'effort de construction d'Alger aux XVIII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles," *Cahiers de la Méditerranée* 79 (2009): 303–17, at 309–10.

21 Samia Chergui, "La Nouvelle Mosquée d'Alger. Le déroulement d'une procédure constructive au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Les mosquées. Espaces, institutions et pratiques – Revue du Monde Musulman et de la Méditerranée* 125 (2009): 235–36.

and engaged in the repair of private and public buildings in 1032/1622 can be seen as part of this enterprise.<sup>22</sup>

Another action in favor of the community was the creation of a *ṣundūq al-andalusiyyīn* (Coffer of the Andalusian People), a monetary fund increased by the contributions of the wealthiest Moriscos and intended to help less-favored Moriscos or to finance ransoms of Morisco captives. It was probably an institution that the Moriscos brought with them from Spain, since similar institutions can be traced back to the sixteenth century in Morisco towns in Aragon<sup>23</sup> and Valencia. This institution, created in the first decades of the sixteenth century, prevented Moriscos from living in poverty or experiencing difficulties at a time when the political stability of the regency was still being forged.

But beyond any doubt, the most widespread and sustained action over time taken by the Morisco community in Algeria (and possibly also in Tunisia) to manage their assets and assist their community was the very extensive use of the *awqāf* or *aḥbās* from at least the middle of sixteenth century to the beginning of the eighteenth century.<sup>24</sup> The Algerian Morisco community, whether the most powerful among them or simply owners of real estate, maintained a huge array of pious foundations for decades. In the period mentioned above, between 1630 and 1680, taking now into account the investment in *aḥbās*, Merouche shows how among the 313 fortunes that he studies, the first place is logically occupied by the Turks, with forty-three percent; the second place is for the Moriscos, with twenty-eight percent; seventeen percent of fortunes belong to an undetermined owner, eight percent to *baldis*, and finally only four percent to *ʿulūġ* or converts.<sup>25</sup> This means that approximately one-third of the *aḥbās* assets of Algiers and its surroundings belonged to the Morisco community in the seventeenth century. Such a quantity of donations implies, first, a sustained effort starting in the sixteenth century: the first Morisco *aḥbās* are documented in 1574, but without doubt there were quite a few before. Second, it reveals an enormous economic effort: the houses, rooms, *ḥammāms*, or plots placed under the *waqf* system were all logically private property that had been acquired previously: Third, these donations also imply a public effort of

22 ANA, Section *Silsilat Bayt al-Baylik*, Reg. 262. Cf. Sakina Missoum, "La vivienda tradicional de la medina de Argel en la época otomana (siglos XVI–XIX) y sus antecedentes hispano-magrebies" (PhD. Diss, Madrid 1997), 1:405–6.

23 Carmen Ansón, *Torrellas, del esplendor morisco a la decadencia y la tendencia a la recuperación* (Torrellas: Ayuntamiento, 2014), 149, 153, 182–83.

24 Albert Devoult, *Notices sur les corporations religieuses d'Alger* (Algiers: Typographie et Lithographie Bastide, 1862), 30–31.

25 Merouche, *Recherches sur l'Algérie*, 206–7.

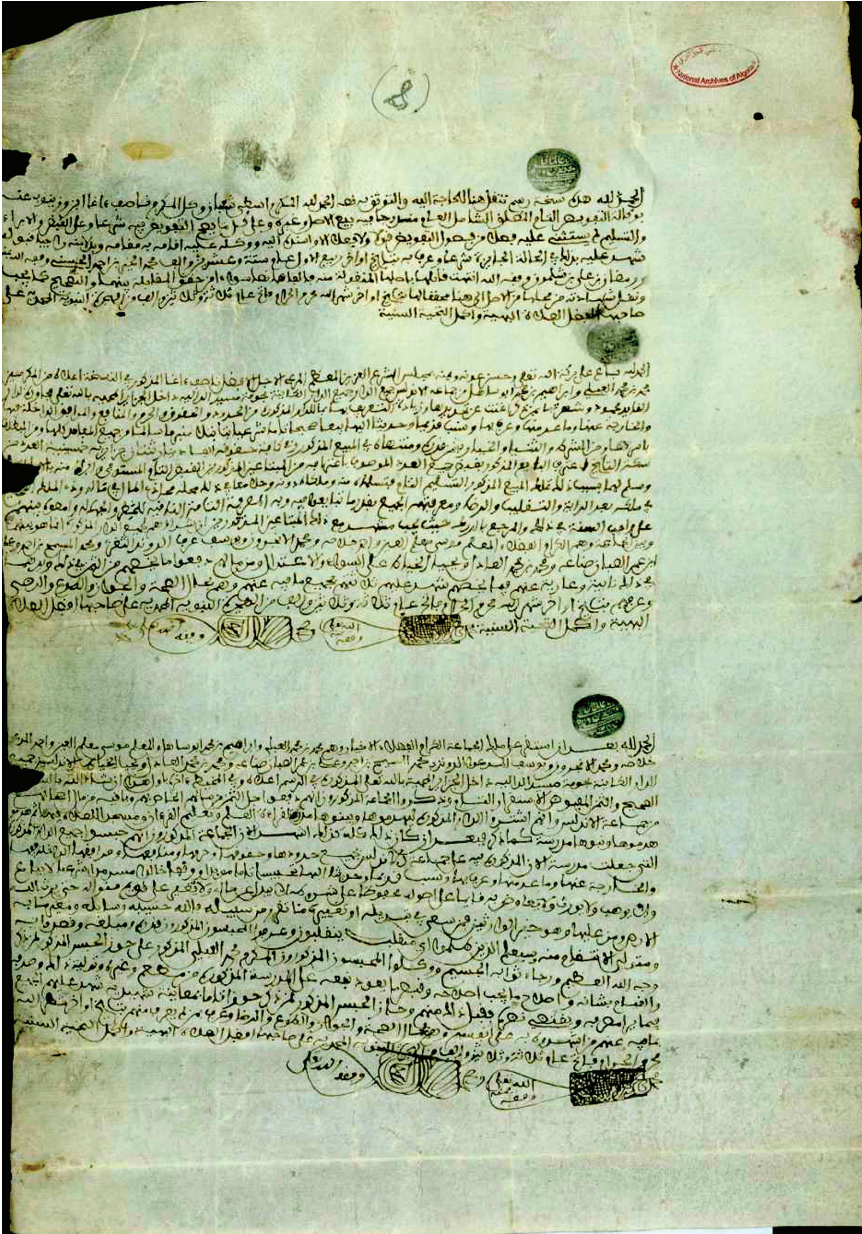


FIGURE 5.1 Founding document of the *zāwiya al-andalusīyīn*  
 COURTESY OF THE ARCHIVES NATIONALES D'ALGER.

solidarity: the proceeds of many goods donated as *aḥbās* were officially destined to help the poor (*fuqarāʾ*) of the Morisco community, or, on occasion, were distributed among the poor of the Morisco community and those of the holy places of al-Ḥarāmayn (Mecca and Medina), which is another large traditional group of *aḥbās* goods in Islamic areas.<sup>26</sup>

Surely one of the most spectacular acts of *aḥbās* donations in Algiers was the creation in 1623 of the *madrasa* and the *zāwiya al-andalusīyyīn*, in a house that a group of notables from the Morisco community had previously purchased. The matter is especially interesting because, as in the *madrasa* of the Andalusians in Tunisia, founded two years later,<sup>27</sup> the group making the *aḥbās* donation that appears in the foundation document is a perfect representation of the Moriscos who had prospered in Algiers:

Praise God, after the constitution of a group formed by the honorable and distinguished Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Abīlī, Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad Abū Sahl, the *muʿallim* Mūsā, in charge of the management of water and water sources; Aḥmad, known by the name Kalasa; Muḥammad Anḡidūn; Youssef, known by the name of Udūd; Muḥammad Samīḥ ibn Aḥmad; ʿAlī ibn ʿUmar, seller of soap; Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ʿĀdil; Yaḥyā al-Ḥayyāt, all of Andalusian origin, owners of the house located in the neighborhood Masīd al-Dālīya within the compound of the city of Algiers (may God protect it), it has been mentioned in the act of sale and purchase that it has been paid. The names mentioned have paid a large part of the value of the house with their own funds; the remaining sum was paid by their friends and acquaintances from the Andalusian community. They have all bought this house, which has been demolished, to build a Madrasa for teaching science, the Qurʾān, and a mosque for praying.

The founding group of this madrasa and mosque declare that it has been constituted as a *waqf* for the benefit of the Andalusians with their interior and exterior compartments, old or new. This *waqf* is eternal and legal, it cannot be sold or transferred or exchanged or be an inheritance. All these measures will be observed and no modification can be made to

26 Miriam Hoexter, *Endowments, Rulers and Community: Waqf al-Ḥarāmayn in Ottoman Algiers* (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

27 Abdel-Hakim Slama-Gafsi, "La Médersa des moriscos andalous a Tunis," *Sharq al-Andalus* 5 (1988): 169–82.

them until God inherits the earth and what is on it. Anyone who tries to violate or harm this *waqf*, God will hold him to account and he will be punished by the Almighty. The aforementioned group has chosen and appointed Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Abīlī as the person in charge of this institution to provide the works and supervise this *waqf* and everything that the college needs for supplies for the students of the school, as well as raising funds for this *waqf*.

End of the month of Muḥarram 1033 H.<sup>28</sup>

In this way the Morisco community gave itself its own nucleus of devotion and teaching, linked to the Ḥanafī *madḥab* preferred by the Ottoman authorities, since the document of the foundation in the *maḥākīm al-šarʿiyya* bears the stamp of the Ḥanafī *qāḍī* of Algiers. It is one of the very few examples in the Maghreb of raising religious buildings through collective action and not as a private initiative. Similarly, the Moriscos and their descendants controlled the *aḥbās* of the al-Qaššāš mosque, which owed its name to a rich Morisco who helped to rebuild it around 1579; the *awqāf* of the al-Šātibī oratory, in the upper part of the city, and of the al-Nigro oratory, named for another Morisco family. All these actions reinforced the collective pious character of the Morisco community and, at the same time, provided geographic coordinates for the community's centers of influence. It is surely no coincidence that since the *zāwiya al-andalusīyyīn* was built in 1623, a certain displacement of the houses of the Andalusians toward that area can be observed, as if the social center of the community had pivoted toward that neighborhood.<sup>29</sup> It would be interesting to analyze if such displacement happened similarly in Tunis, where the madrasa was constructed in the *ḥāra* or quarter of the Jews. At the height of its growth and prosperity, the properties of this institution in Algiers reached fifty-six houses and thirty-nine shops, as well as parcels of real-estate land converted into *awqāf* by the Moriscos, again according to the documents of the *maḥākīm al-šarʿiyya*.

The fact that the constitution of the *aḥbās* of the *zāwiya* of the Moriscos was made under the Ḥanafī interpretation and not under the Mālikī *madḥab*, preferred among both Algerian *baldis* and Moriscos, is not any coincidence. As

28 Approximately 14–23 November 1623. Bibliothèque Nationale d'Alger [BNA], Box 78/54.  
29 Sakina Missoum, "Andalusi Immigration and Urban Development in Algiers (Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries)," in *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain: A Mediterranean Diaspora*, ed. M. García-Arenal and G. Wiegers (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 339–42.

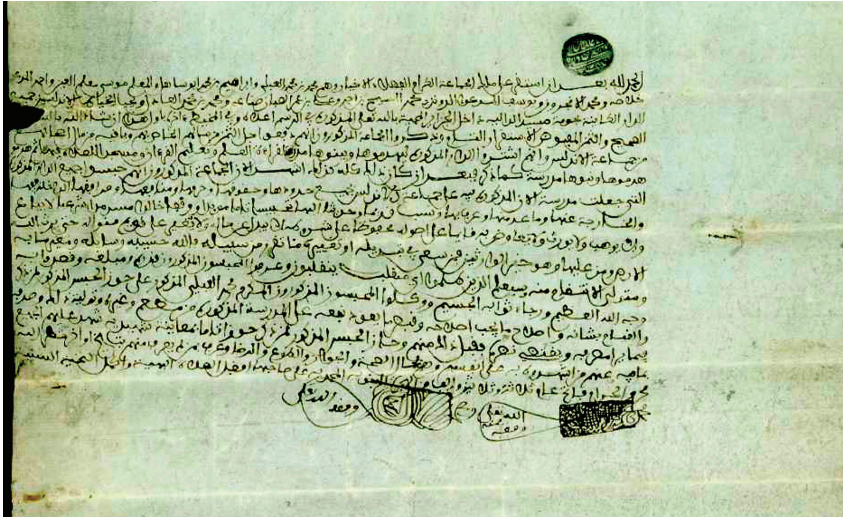


FIGURE 5.2 Specific paragraph on the foundation of the *zāwīya al-andalusīyyīn*  
 COURTESY OF THE ARCHIVES NATIONALES D'ALGER.

has been highlighted by specialists such as Nacereddine Saidouni<sup>30</sup> and Sakina Missoum,<sup>31</sup> the Ḥanafī school is favorable to *hubus* constitutions intended for individuals or private families as well as those intended for groups such as the poor and needy of different origins. The Mālikī school, on the other hand, favors donations for the public interest, being much more restrictive with the private use of *aḥbās*. Needless to say, private donations promote greater control of the capital invested by a family, since the beneficiaries of this donation are specifically indicated in the document, being usually the family members and their descendants. It is also a way to protect one's capital against the voracity of the authorities that, apart from imposing taxes, might have an appetite for the wealth of a prosperous citizen. It is therefore a way of protecting the interests of the group, which might resist full integration into the social body headed by the Ottomans. As Saidouni points out, the expansion of the *waqf* contributed greatly to the disintegration of collective property and the weakening

30 Nacereddine Saidouni, "Les morisques dans la province d'Alger 'Dar-es-Soltan' pendant les xv<sup>e</sup> et xvii<sup>e</sup> siècles. L'apport économique et social," in *L'Expulsió dels Moriscos. Conseqüències el món islàmic i en el món cristià. Congrés Internacional 380è Aniversari de l'Expulsió dels Moriscos* (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1994), 140–46.

31 Missoum, "La vivienda tradicional," 2:408–9.

of traditional tribal structures, which were replaced by population groups of diverse ethnic and social origins.<sup>32</sup>

#### 4 Control of Positions, Control of Money

The *awqāf* thus identify and unify not ethnic groups, but particular social groups that make up the new Maghrebi societies. Within these social groups, families with their *awqāf* manage to protect their assets by avoiding abuses by the rulers and reinforcing the cohesion of families. Of course, in addition, they manage to keep the economic status of families thanks to relationships of power and influence among the different social groups; while they are committed to spiritual healing, their patrimonial protection is also sought. The lists of Morisco *aḥbās* offered by Merouche, Saidouni,<sup>33</sup> and Devoulx show an astonishing advance in the movable possessions of the Moriscos in Algiers, radiating to all areas of the city. The insistence, almost the obsession of the Morisco community with accumulating positions of control of *aḥbās* assets was continuous during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Not only did they capitalize on the position of *wakīl al-Andalus*, but in certain periods they even held the position that controlled the profits of the *ḥubus* goods of the holy places of Mecca and Medina (*nāẓir awqāf al-ḥarāmayn al-šarīfayn*):<sup>34</sup> for instance, the families of Ibn ‘Amrū and Ibn Fad. To give just a few examples, Ḥāğğ Brāḥim ibn Ḥāğğ Ḥamida al-Andalusī assumed the leadership of the *aḥbās* foundation of the Ḥanafī *maḏhab*, even though it was theoretically a private institution for the Ottomans. Some members of the al-Šwīhad family also managed it, while others even led the state treasury (*bayt al-māl*).

Among these positions were, as agents of *aḥbās* and mosques from the 1630s, the merchants Ḥāğğ ‘Alī Kīlātū ibn Mūsā al-Andalusī and Ḥāğğ ibn Muḥammad ibn Fātīḥ al-Andalusī, members of the agency of *awqāf al-ḥarāmayn al-šarīfayn*, as well as Muḥammad ibn Faḍl al-Andalusī, Ḥāğğ Ḥammūda al-Šarīf al-Andalusī, Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Šwīhad, and ‘Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn Sa’d al-Andalusī, who were figures appointed to the agency by the

32 Nacereddine Saidouni, *Le waqf en Algérie à l'époque ottomane* (Kuwait: Fondation Publique des Awqaf, 2009), 46.

33 Nacereddine Saidouni, "Awqāf al-andalusīyyīn bi-madīnat al-Ġazā'ir min waṭā'iḳ al-aršīf al-ġazā'irī," in *Actes du II Symposium International du C.I.E.M.: Religion, Identité et Sources Documentaires sur les Morisques Andalous*, ed. by A. Temimi (Tunis: Institut Supérieur de Documentation, 1984), 2:43–63.

34 Albert Devoulx, "Notes historiques sur les mosquées et autres édifices religieux d'Alger," *Revue Africaine* 25 (1861): 60–61.

Pasha himself. For his part, Yūsuf al-Andalusī in 1659 assumed the agency of the sanctuary and the *zāwiya* of Sīdī ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ta‘ālibī outside the city walls, and Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī al-Andalusī assumed control over the tomb of Sīdī ‘Amār in 1632.<sup>35</sup> This insistence on occupying key positions in the management of the capital of the pious foundations is complemented by another will of the Moriscos to occupy the key positions in the distribution of work, such as *amīn al-umanā’* (coordinator of the guilds) of Algiers, a position held for decades by a member of the Šwihad family, or head of public buildings in the capital, a position held by Usta Mūsā and his sons and grandsons for many years. In this way a good share of the economic currents of the capital of the regency were in the hands of Moriscos, who, in addition, were assured that their own assets were safeguarded. It is nothing new that those who held power used the *hubus* not only as a protective element but as one that could be used in case of need. If one has power, legal procedures are manageable and interpretable according to political circumstances, even in the case of something with a sacred character like the *hubus*. Thus, the aforementioned Yūsuf al-Šwihad, once he held the posts of *amīn al-umanā’* (almost a minister of finance in Algiers) and *muḥtasib* (virtually a minister of commerce), sold a part of the goods that his father had left in *hubus* twenty-five years earlier. These assets were in theory inalienable, but, as Merouche says, when one controls the commercial assets of the city, the founding acts can always be reinterpreted.<sup>36</sup>

Similarly, Merouche identifies another way by which non-Ottoman groups such as the Moriscos could avoid the voracity of the authorities: the underestimation of the value of one’s goods put up for sale.<sup>37</sup> The case that he expounds is very interesting. The merchant Aḥmad Yahyā al-Bonatero left among his properties in 1594 a small *funduq*, half of a large *funduq*, a part of the “*funduq* of gold,” the *funduq* of the animals, four stores and half of a fifth store, a garden, various orchards, and houses, as well as precious objects. The whole was valued at 4,889 *zianī* dinars (2,500 piastres from Seville), an incredibly low amount. The half of the large *funduq* and two large stores were valued at 1,000 dinars, something very difficult to believe just at the time of the great urban growth of Algiers, with a huge rise in property prices.<sup>38</sup> As this case of underestimating

35 Yacine Boudria, “Awqāf al-aḍriḥa wa-al-zawāyā fi madīnat al-Ġazā’ir ḥilāl al-‘ahd al-‘uṭmānī min ḥilāl al-maḥākīm al-šar’iyya wa-siġillāt bayt al-māl” (MA thesis, Université de Sidi Bel Abbès, 2006), 161–63.

36 Merouche, *Recherches sur l’Algérie*, 196.

37 Merouche, *Recherches sur l’Algérie*, 198–99.

38 It should be remembered that in spite of the common image of Algiers as a metropolis, some studies have shown that the city was not an enormous one during its rise to power. Overcrowded as it was, the number of inhabitants given by most sources should be

the values sold is not isolated, with many more cases between the end of the sixteenth and the first third of the seventeenth century, it can rightly be considered a deliberate underestimate meant to deceive the authorities. Prudence and discretion in the management of assets and one's capital is always a good strategy when your group may be scrutinized by another.

The configuration of both administration and society under Ottoman rule allowed foreign groups to prosper by taking advantage of the resources offered by the country. Although the *'ulūğ*, for example, would also benefit from this system, they surely lacked the ability to infiltrate the systems of economic influence and dominance of an Islamic society. This fact caused the influence of these converts to diminish even before the middle of the seventeenth century, while the economic and social weight of the Moriscos/Andalusians lasted much longer.

The only limit to this system was the distrust of the Ottoman authorities toward the possible political power of communities or individuals protected by the Bey. It was hard for Usta Mūsā al-Andalusī himself to learn this lesson: he apparently supported some of the periodic complaints and revolts of the *kouloughlis* against the Ottomans, and both he and his son paid with their heads in 1639, an episode still not very well known.<sup>39</sup> Similarly, Muṣṭafā de Cárdenas had to flee Tunisia and his palace in Grombalia hastily when in 1654 he learned of Aḥmad Bey's intention to arrest him and confiscate his possessions. The French traveler Jean-André Peyssonnel, who visited the area sixty-six years after these events, attributed them to the Bey's greed for the Morisco's possessions. However, J.D. Latham attributes the conflict to political reasons: after all, Muṣṭafā de Cárdenas, already of advanced age, no longer had the political protection of the powerful 'Alī Tābit, who had died twenty years earlier, and the different view of power held by the wealthy and influential Morisco could have upset the authorities. In any case, the wealth accumulated by the Morisco in a life of business conducted in the shadow of the Ottoman government allowed him to settle in comfort on his Annaba estate in Algeria.

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assessed carefully. The city overtook its old limits only around 1630. In this context, available houses and lands were scarce and much in demand, so their price always reached great heights. See Federico Cresti, "La population d'Alger et son évolution durant l'époque ottomane: un état des connaissances controversé," *Arabica* 52, no. 4 (2005): 457–95; Samia Chergui, "Le *waqf* et l'urbanisation d'Alger à l'époque ottomane," *Insaniyat / إنسانيات* 44–45 (2009): 21–32.

39 ANA, DNA 56/765.

## 5 Conclusion

In this way, the Morisco communities in Algeria and Tunisia found ways to maintain ties of internal cohesion through the flow of work and the accumulation of properties. Faced with tribal differences or clan rivalries, the Moriscos found a favorable terrain for prospering as a community, each family within its own possibilities. Their Spanish/Andalusian origin, their family ties, certain ways of exercising their trades, and the vision that the Ottomans had of them as a separate group, were traits that favored a certain internal cohesion. But undoubtedly money also acted as a powerful bond for the community, or at least for a good part of it. It was the maintenance of that money, of those properties, and of those key positions in the administration, together with the consciousness of belonging to a group, which caused the Andalusian identity to persist in Algeria and Tunisia much longer than that of the converts or that of the Ottomans themselves.

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## ‘Powerful Moriscos’ in Tunisia during the Seventeenth Century

*Housseem Eddine Chachia*

The presence of Moriscos in Tunisia has been well studied, especially when compared with diasporas in other regions and countries. Between 1917 and 2017, 200 studies appeared in different fields and languages.<sup>1</sup> However, despite this abundant bibliography, there are many gaps in the history of the Moriscos in Tunisia, due to the lack of documents and sources. A limited number of documents from the seventeenth century can be found in the Tunisian National Archive. Very few records exist from the beginning of that century, the period of the arrival of the Moriscos in the country. Even though documentation from the eighteenth century is more available, it is still minimal. Moreover, local sources about the Morisco presence are usually too abbreviated when some specific aspects of it are discussed.

Although the lack of local “raw materials” is less than ideal, European sources and archives offer information/background/context for the topic of this paper. I will be focusing on the roles of those that I call “the powerful Moriscos,” meaning the leaders of the Morisco community in Tunisia, especially the Ašrāf, the Sufis, and the wealthy. I will explore how this lobby of “powerful Moriscos” worked through their networks with local Ottoman authorities inside and with other communities outside Tunisia.

An analysis of these Morisco individuals reveals the roles played by this group in the settlement of Moriscos in Tunisia shortly after 1609, and how they protected the wealth and privileges of their community during the seventeenth century. The Morisco leaders negotiated directly with the local Tunisian authority, or indirectly through Constantinople (with the Ottomans), regarding the reception of the exiles or refugees and Morisco settlement in Tunisia.

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1 Housseem Eddine Chachia, “Al-Mūrīskiyūn fī Tūnis: I‘ādat qirā‘a li-riwāyāt al-intimā’,” in *Mas‘alat al-‘intimā’ min manzūr al-mabāḥiṭ al-ta’rīḥīyya al-tūnisīyya*, ed. Lotfi Aissa (Tunis: Kalima, 2021), 151–97.

## 1 The Ašrāf Moriscos: the Power of *Nasab* (the Prophetic Lineage)

Regarding the reception of the exiles, most of the Tunisian, Morisco, and Spanish sources mention only the governor 'Uṭmān Dāy and the Walī<sup>2</sup> Sīdī 'Abū al-Ġayṭ al-Qaššāš,<sup>3</sup> and how the two men facilitated the arrival and settlement of the displaced Moriscos in Tunisia.<sup>4</sup> In contrast, we do not find any mention of the role or the influence of the Morisco leaders in this "open-door policy."

Considering the highest spiritual Tunisian leader, the saint Sīdī 'Abū al-Ġayṭ al-Qaššāš, we think that the Ašrāf community of Moriscos was established in the country before 1609, or at least since the early seventeenth century, had a strong influence on al-Qaššāš's policy of welcoming the Moriscos after the expulsion. We can mention especially Šarīf Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Rafī' ibn Muḥammad al-Šarīf al-Ḥusaynī al-Ġāfarī al-Mursī al-Andalusī and his group.<sup>5</sup>

2 We will use the terms "Sufi," "Saint," and "Walī" interchangeably.

3 For more details about the roles played by these two figures in the settlement of Moriscos in Tunisia, see Mikel de Epalza, "Sīdī Bulgayz, protector de los moriscos exiliados en Túnez (s. xvii). Nuevos documentos traducidos y estudiados," *Sharq al-Andalus* 16–17 (1999–2002): 141–72; Oltaz Villanueva Zubizarreta, "The Moriscos in Tunisia," in *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain: A Mediterranean Diaspora*, ed. Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegers (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 357–88; Housseem Eddine Chachia, "El auge y la decadencia de la comunidad morisca en Túnez (desde el siglo xvii hasta mediados del siglo xviii)," *eHumanista* 53 (2022): 194–212.

4 For the Tunisian sources, see: al-Muntašir ibn al-Murābiṭ ibn 'Abi Luḥya al-Qafšī, *Nūr al-'armaš fi manāqib al-qaššāš*, ed. Lotfi Aissa and Houcine Boujarra (Tunis: al-'Atīqa, 1998), 138–42; Muḥammad ibn Abī al-Qāsim Ibn 'Abi Dīnār, *Al-munis fi 'aḥbār ifrīqīyya wa-tūnis* (Beirut: Dār al-Masyra, 1993), 228; Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Wazīr al-Sarrāġ, *Al-ḥulal al-sundusiyya fi al-'aḥbār al-tūnisīyya*, ed. Habib Alhila (Beirut: Dār al-Ġarb al-Islāmī, 1984), 157–58; 'Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Bāġī al-Mas'ūdī, *Al-ḥulāša al-naqīyya fi 'umarā' ifrīqīyya*, ed. Muḥammad Zaynahum (Cairo: Dār al-Āfāq al-' al-'Arabiyya, 2013), 210; Aḥmad Ibn Abī al-Ḍiyāf, *Ithāf 'ahl al-zamān bi-'aḥbār mulūk tūnis wa-'ahd al-amān* (Tunis: al-Dār al-'Arabiyya lil-Kitāb, 1999), 2, 30–31. For Morisco texts, see *Tratado de los dos caminos por un morisco refugiado en Túnez (Ms S2 de la Colección Gayangos, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia)*, ed. Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes, Juan Carlos Villaverde Amieva, and Luce López-Baralt (Madrid: Fundación Menéndez Pidal, 2005), 203–6; Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥaġārī, *Kitāb Nāšir al-dīn 'alā al-qawm al-kāfirīn (The supporter of religion against the infidels)*, ed. P.S. van Koningsveld, Qāsim al-Sāmarrā'ī and Gerard A. Wiegers (Madrid: CSIC, 2015). For the Spanish sources: Francisco Ximénez, *Discurso de Túnez*, ms.9/6008 to 6014 (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia); Francisco Ximénez, *Colonia trinitaria de Túnez*, ed. Ignacio Bauer (Tetouan: Tip. Gomariz, 1934), 45–49.

5 For the biography of Ibn 'Abd al-Rafī' and the group that escaped from Spain around 1604–5, see Housseem Eddine Chachia, "Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Al-Rafī' Al-Mursī Al-Andalusī and his work Al-Anwar al-Nabawiyya fi Aba' Khayr al-Barriyya," in *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History 1500–1900*, ed. David Thomas and John Chesworth (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 189–94; Housseem Eddine Chachia (coord.), *Entre las orillas de dos mundos. El itinerario del*

Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Rafi‘ is not presented in contemporary studies as a leader of the Tunisian Moriscos, but rather as a *faqih* and author of the book *Al-‘anwār al-nabawiyya fī ābā’ ḥayr al-bariyya* (*The book of prophetic lights on the fathers of the best creature [the prophet]*). However, about two years ago I discovered through two manuscripts preserved in the National Library of Tunisia that Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Rafi‘ is not the main writer of *Al-‘anwār al-nabawiyya*. He was instead a copyist who added an introduction and a conclusion; he also shortened the book and deleted many paragraphs.<sup>6</sup> The Mufti of Kairouan, Šayḥ (šeiḥ) Ğamāl al-Dīn al-Musrātī, is the real author of this book, which was originally titled *Al-riyād al-anīqa fī ābā’ ḥayr al-ḥaliqa* (*The elegant gardens on the fathers of the best creature [the prophet]*).<sup>7</sup> Therefore, as he confirms in the introduction, Ibn ‘Abd al-Rafi‘ asked al-Musrātī to write a book about the lineage of the prophet Muḥammad to be proven with the pedigree of the Ašrāf chief in Tunis, ‘Alī al-Nawālī:

I was asked by al-Šarīf ‘Alī al-Nawālī, the one nicknamed “al-Sarrāj,” to prepare for him the family tree of our prophet, and I quote in it the men belonging to this *Šarīfian* lineage to correspond to what he has in his family tree, copied from my original manuscript ... I replied, after consulting God, and naming him in blessing, as our master Ğamāl al-Dīn did and commanded him from Kairouan between 1019 and 1020 [H, 1610–12 BCE], *Al-riyād al-anīqa fī ābā’ ḥayr al-ḥaliqa*, and I titled it the following: *Al-‘anwār al-nabawiyya fī ābā’ ḥayr al-bariyya*.<sup>8</sup>

Although Ğamāl al-Dīn al-Musrātī did not clearly state that he wrote the book for Ibn ‘Abd al-Rafi‘, he mentions in the introduction that the book was in

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*jerife morisco Mūḥamed Ibn ‘Abd Al-Rafi‘: de Murcia a Túnez* (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, Servicio de Publicaciones, 2017).

6 I am in the process of completing a study on this topic.

7 Ğamāl al-Dīn ibn Muḥammad ibn Ğamāl al-Dīn ibn Abī ‘l-Qāsim ibn Ḥalf al-Musrātī al-Taḡībī al-Qayrawānī (d. 1626) was a Sufi jurist “from a house of knowledge and *šalāḥ*.” He undertook the fatwa in Kairouan and the imamate and rhetoric (*al-ḥuṭba*) in its great mosque. He wrote many books regarding law, biography, virtues, and mysticism. For more details about the biography of al-Musrātī, see Ahmed El-Bahi, “Ğamāl al-Dīn ibn Muḥammad ibn Ğamāl al-īn ibn Abī Qāsim ibn Ḥalf al-Musrātī,” in *Mawsū‘at al-Qayrawān*, ed. Monji Kaabi (Tunis: Dār al-‘Arabiyya lil-Kitāb, 2009), 320–22; Ğamāl al-Dīn ibn Muḥammad al-Musrātī, *Manāqib Abī al-Qāsim al-Musrātī, al-ma‘rūf bi-šāḥib al-dīrbāla*, ed. Ahmed El-Bahi (Sousse: Contraste Éditions, 2009), 20–29.

8 Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Rafi‘, *Al-‘anwār al-nabawiyya fī ābā’ ḥayr al-bariyya* (Rabat: National Library of the Moroccan Kingdom), Ms K 1238, ff. 2v–3r.

response to the demand of a "brotherhood": "A brotherhood asked me ... to write about the forefathers of the master of messenger [the prophet] ... I answered his [i.e., 'Abd al-Rafi'] request ... and I titled it *Al-ḥadā'iq al-anīqa fī ābā' ḥayr al-ḥalīqa*." As we can see, al-Musrātī used first the plural pronoun, then on two occasions the singular pronoun, which means in our opinion that he was referring to Ibn 'Abd al-Rafi'. Thus, we can confidently conclude that in addition to the two known copies of *Al-'anwār al-nabawīyya fī ābā' ḥayr al-barīyya*, or *Al-ḥadā'iq al-anīqa fī ābā' ḥayr al-ḥalīqa*, preserved in the al-'Āšūriyya library<sup>9</sup> in Tunisia and the National Library of the Kingdom of Morocco,<sup>10</sup> there are two additional copies in the National Library of Tunisia.<sup>11</sup> Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Rafi' and the Ašrāf community played an important role in the reception of the Moriscos in Tunisia. This group established a very large and efficient network that assisted in the settlement of the Moriscos exiles. Although Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Rafi' escaped with other Murcians and Granadans to Tunisia around 1604–5, he was able to create in a short time a very strong relationship with the saint Sīdī 'Abū al-Ġayṭ al-Qaššāš, the most important spiritual authority in Tunisia at the time, according to the local chronicler al-Muntaṣir al-Qafašī: "... and he [Sīdī 'Abū al-Ġayṭ] was close to Sīdī Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Rafi' al-Andalusī." He adds that Ibn 'Abd al-Rafi' was one of four "lucky ones" who were disciples of al-Qaššāš,<sup>12</sup> who taught him *Risālat ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī*<sup>13</sup> and another book titled *Fī al-ṣalāt 'alā sayyid al-mursalīn*.<sup>14</sup>

Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Rafi' was influential as a Morisco leader not only due to his lineage as a Šarīf, but probably because he represented the Morisco leaders in Tunisia. Thus, through his biography and the rebuilding of his network, we can see his importance in the community. Ibn 'Abd al-Rafi' escaped from Spain along with a group of Moriscos headed for France. We do not know how long he stayed there, or whether he went directly to Tunisia from France or transited through Constantinople, as Aḥmad al-Šarīf al-Ḥanafī did; either itinerary would have given Ibn 'Abd al-Rafi' the opportunity to build relations

9 Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Rafi', *Al-'anwār al-nabawīyya fī ābā' ḥayr al-barīyya* (Tunis: al-'Āšūriyya library), [uncatalogued].

10 I am grateful to Mr. Abdelaziz Essaouri for sending me a full digital copy of the manuscript preserved in the National Library of the Kingdom of Morocco.

11 Ġamāl al-Dīn ibn Muḥammad al-Musrātī, *Al-ḥadā'iq al-anīqa fī ābā' ḥayr al-ḥalīqa* (Tunis: National Library of Tunisia), A-MSS-14430 and A-MSS-23471.

12 Al-Qafašī, *Nūr al-'armaš*, 140, 311.

13 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī, *Risālat ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī*, ed. Muḥammad 'Izz al-Dīn (Malta: Manshūrāt ELGA, 1996).

14 We have not found any trace of this book or its author.

with the Moriscos established in France or with the agents of the Moriscos in the Ottoman capital.<sup>15</sup>

In a report by a Spanish spy dated May 1609, preserved in the documents of the General Archive of Simancas, we find that the Moriscos had been trying to escape through France.<sup>16</sup> To achieve this aim they sent a Morisco ambassador to the ruler of Tunis, ‘Uṭmān Dāy, and asked him to send a letter to the king of France to give permission for the Moriscos in his country to go to Tunisia. The report tells us that this mission was successful. Even though the Dey asked the Moriscos for a guarantee for approximately 1,500 to 2,000 wealthy Morisco families as hostegos, he wrote to King Henry IV (1589–1610), who agreed to the Dey’s demand, treated the Moriscos well, and allowed them to sail from French ports to Tunisia.

While we lack written proof, we may suppose that the group of Moriscos established in Tunisia before 1609, especially their leaders like Ibn ‘Abd al-Rafi‘, facilitated the ambassador’s mission and contributed strongly to persuading ‘Uṭmān Dāy to receive the Moriscos immediately before and after the expulsion.

The famous letter of Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥaḡarī, written from France to the Moriscos in Constantinople and dated 12 May 1612, shows that Ibn ‘Abd al-Rafi‘ was in the capital of the Ottoman Empire to negotiate with the leaders of the Moriscos there and with the Ottoman authorities about matters relating to the expulsion. al-Ḥaḡarī says:

I wrote the letter many years ago, from the court in Paris to the Andalusis who were then in Constantinople or lived there. It was dated at the beginning of the month of Rabī‘ al-‘Awwal of the year 1021 H., 12 May 1612 of the Christian calendar. After it had been received and read in Constantinople, Imām Muḥammad Ibn ‘Abd al-Rafi‘, an Andalusī Šarīf, took it to Tunis ...”<sup>17</sup>

15 On the Morisco network in France see Jorge Gil Herrera and Luis Bernabe Pons, “The Moriscos Outside Spain: Routes and Financing,” in *The Expulsion of the Moriscos of Spain: A Mediterranean Diaspora*, ed. Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegers (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 219–38.

16 Legajo E2639, in Hossain Bouzineb, *Al-mūriskīyyūn wa-qaṣbat al-ribāt: waṭā’iq takšif ḡawānīb tāriḥīyya maḡhūla* (Rabat: Dār ‘Abī al-Rīqrāq, 2011), 93.

17 BuV, Ms 565, translated by Gerard Wiegers, *A Learned Muslim Acquaintance of Erpenius and Golius: Aḥmad b. Kasim al Andalusī and Arabic Studies in The Netherlands* (Leiden: Faculteit der Godgeleerdheid, Rijksuniversiteit, 1988), 33.

Moreover, al-Ḥaḡarī mentions in a later comment (1637–41?) that accompanies the letter that he received the answer in France, from Pérez or Muḥammad Bolhaç and “alfaqú [faqīh] ymen Muhhemed ben Hebdurrafeh [Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Rafī].”<sup>18</sup> The presence of Ibn ‘Abd al-Rafī in Constantinople perhaps encouraged the Ottomans to send the exiles or refugees who were there, or in France, to Tunisia, “the best place for the Nation,” according to al-Ḥaḡarī.<sup>19</sup>

Additionally, we can assume that Ibn ‘Abd al-Rafī’s travel to Constantinople was undertaken to defend the Morisco cause in Tunisia after the death of ‘Uṭmān Dāy in 1610. The new governor, Yūsaf Dāy, was not as tolerant of the Moriscos as his predecessor. In a firman sent by the Ottoman Sultan to the Dey of Tunisia, dated later than the mission of Ibn ‘Abd al-Rafī, on 9 September 1615, we find that the Dey had canceled the tax advantages that the Moriscos had been granted<sup>20</sup> and had imposed new taxes on them. In addition, the Dey prevented a group of Morisco leaders from reaching Constantinople to complain about the new laws. Despite this restriction, the Moriscos, due to their vast networks, were able to make their voices heard by the highest Ottoman authority. Sultan Aḥmad I (1603–1617) sent a firman to the Dey ordering him to cancel all new taxes and take just one-tenth (*al-‘Uşur*), the legitimate tax in Islam:

A group of the *Mudaḡal* [Moriscos] arrived in Tunisia. They are from the people of Islam and followers of the true religion asking for protection ... and they were content to be our citizens ... They agreed to pay the taxes paid by the residents. Still, the situation of this group has worsened, due to the large number of taxes imposed on them, as they are forced to pay more than what the native people pay, which made their condition worse than it was under the rule of the polytheists [the Christians]. They have been prevented from traveling to us; we have also been notified of the robbery and looting of the property of the *Mudaḡal* group ... We do not accept that they be subjected to any injustice and infringement of their rights, contrary to Sharia [Islamic law]. This firman orders that you

18 BuV, Ms 565, in Jaime Oliver Asín, “Carta de Bejarano a los moriscos de Constantinopla,” in *Conferencias y apuntes inéditos*, ed. Dolores Oliver (Madrid: AECL, 1996), 149.

19 BuV, Ms 565, in Wieggers, *Learned Muslim Acquaintance*, 38.

20 Many sources confirm that the ruler ‘Uṭmān Dāy exempted the exiles from paying taxes. For example, Ximénez—certainly according to the Moriscos that he met—said: “He freed these Moriscos from taxation, [and] granted them lands on which to build new towns.” Villanueva Zubizarreta, “The Moriscos in Tunisia,” 365.

demand from them only the legal tenth, and what is required of the rest of the population from plowing and planting.<sup>21</sup>

The firman ends with a threatening tone: “And be sure of punishment and blame, if it reaches our ears that you inflicted any harm or violence on this community.”<sup>22</sup>

In addition to Ibn ‘Abd al-Rafi‘, another Šarīf who maintained a good relationship with powerful persons in the palace of the Ottoman Sultan was Aḥmad Šarīf al-Ḥanafī. He was invited by Šayḥ al-Islām and the Mufti of the Ottomans, Yaḥyā Afandī (Zekerīyyā-zāde Yaḥyā Afandī), to be the imam and teacher of Sultan Murād IV (1623–1640). It appears that Aḥmad al-Šarīf al-Ḥanafī built this network through the many years that he spent in the Balkans and Anatolia. Ibn ‘Abd al-Rafi‘ informs us that al-Ḥanafī accompanied his uncle and met the Grand Vizier of Sultan Aḥmad I Murād Bāšā (Pasha) in Belgrade around 1606–1607. Regarding the stay of al-Ḥanafī in the center of the Ottoman Empire, Ḥusayn Ḥūḡa says:

He [al-Ḥanafī] went toward Bilād al-Rūm [Turkey] and settled in Bilād al-Būšnāq [the land of the Bosnians], where he learned Fiqh [Islamic jurisprudence] from its scholars; then he went to Bursa and learned from the best scholars, and was the companion in *al-Qirā’āt* [the Quran readings] of al-Mawlā Yaḥyā Afandī, Šayḥ al-Islām at the time of Sultan Murād IV.<sup>23</sup>

We do not know the exact date of al-Ḥanafī’s arrival in Tunisia, but it is very likely that he was in the country at least from early 1625, as Yaḥyā Afandī sent him his famous firman when he was Šayḥ al-Islām and Mufti of the Ottomans between 1625 and 1632.<sup>24</sup>

21 The Ottomans used the term *Mudaḡal* to refer to the Moriscos. Muḥimmat daftarı, No.82. Firman No. 267, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri (The Prime Minister’s Ottoman Archives), in Abdeljelil Temimi, *Dirāsāt fī al-tārīḡ al-mūrisqī al-andalusī* (Zaghouan: Fondation Temimi, 1993), 41.

22 Temimi, *Dirāsāt fī al-tārīḡ*, 41.

23 Ḥusayn Ḥūḡa, *Ḍayl bašā’ir ahl al-īmān bi-futūḡāt ‘al ‘Utmān*, ed. Taher Maamouri (Tunis: al-Dār al-‘Arabiyya lil-Kitāb, 1975), 170–71.

24 For more details about the biography of Aḥmad al-Šarīf al-Ḥanafī see Housseem Eddine Chachia and Luis Bernabe Pons, “Aḥmad Šarīf Al-Hanafī Al-Andalusī: de la fuga a un gran Faḡīh morisco en Túnez en la primera mitad del siglo XVII,” in *Túnez, el Mediterráneo y los moriscos. Homenaje a Slimane Mostafa Zbiss y Mikel de Epalza*, ed. Housseem Eddine Chachia (Tunis: Publicación Universitaria, 2023), 143–79.

Thus, this firman and the mission of Ibn 'Abd al-Rafi', the biography of Aḥmad al-Šarīf al-Ḥanafī, and the activities of other Moriscos who were coming and going between Tunisia and Anatolia reveal the strong network that the leaders of the Moriscos built, which allowed them to lobby in Constantinople, the capital of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>25</sup>

Continuing the analysis of Ibn 'Abd al-Rafi's network, it seems that their contacts with al-Ḥaḡarī were not temporary but rather continuous. In addition to the first confirmed contact in 1612, in his Egyptian copy of *Kitāb Nāšir al-dīn 'alā al-qawm al-kāfirīn*, written in Cairo in 1637, al-Ḥaḡarī talks about meeting with Ibn 'Abd al-Rafi' in Tunis after leaving Morocco in 1635.<sup>26</sup> The continuous relationship between Ibn 'Abd al-Rafi' and al-Ḥaḡarī suggests the existence of a network linking Morisco leaders in Tunisia and Morocco.

The study of the network of the Morisco diaspora in the Maghreb is complicated because we lack sufficient information, but the communication between the two Morisco leaders, Ibn 'Abd al-Rafi' and al-Ḥaḡarī, the first in Tunisia and the second in Morocco,<sup>27</sup> is suggestive. Regarding this matter, al-Ḥaḡarī's decision to escape to Tunis in 1635 after the deterioration of the situation of the Moriscos in Morocco—I refer here to the case of the Hornachero Moriscos of Salé as well as their conflict with Muḥammad al-'Ayyāšī<sup>28</sup>—has many connotations and shows that the communication between the two communities never stopped.

It is not an exaggeration to say that what happened to the Moriscos of Salé, accused of being Christians rather than real Muslims, negatively affected the Moriscos of Tunisia. In the same period (1630s) in Tunisia, the Moriscos

25 For more details about the Moriscos in Anatolia see Tijana Krstić, "Moriscos in Ottoman Galata, 1609–1620s," in *The Expulsion of the Moriscos of Spain: A Mediterranean Diaspora*, ed. Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegers (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 269–87; Abdeljelil Temimi, *Le Gouvernement Ottoman et le Problème Morisque* (Zaghouan: Ceromdi, 1989); Temimi, "Politique Ottomane face l'implantation et à l'insertion des Morisques en Anatolie," in *Etudes d'histoire Morisque*, ed. A. Temimi (Zaghouan: Ceromdi, 1993), 9–24.

26 Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥaḡarī, *Nāšir al-Dīn 'alā Qawm al-Kāfirīn* [*The Triumph of Faith over the Nation of Unbelievers*], ed. Housseem Eddine Chachia (Beirut: al-Dār al-'Arabiyya lil-Dirāsāt wa-al-Našr, 2015), 63. For more details about the Egyptian copy see Housseem Eddine Chachia, "The morisco Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Ḥaḡarī and his Egyptian Manuscript of Nāšir al-Dīn 'alā Qawm al-Kāfirīn," *KODEX* 8 (2018): 57–70.

27 For details and complete biography, see al-Ḥaḡarī, *Kitāb Nāšir al-dīn*, ed. van Koningsveld, Sāmarrā'ī and Wiegers, 21–67.

28 For more details about this conflict, see Muḥammad al-Šaḡīr ibn Muḥammad al-Ifrānī, *Nuzhat al-ḥādī fī 'aḥbār mulūk al-qarn al-ḥādī* (Paris: Burdin et Compagnie, 1888), 267, and 270–71; Bouzineb, *Al-mūrīskīyūn*, 63–72.

were accused of not being real Muslims.<sup>29</sup> For example, in a Spanish report dated 1631 we find that the Moriscos of Salé who were trapped by the forces of al-‘Ayyāšī, and had negotiated the surrender of the fortress to the Spanish authorities,<sup>30</sup> told the negotiator that this operation would have an effect on their families: “this is due to the potential danger to their relatives living in Tunisia and other parts of Morocco, and with whom they correspond.”<sup>31</sup>

Another example that might demonstrate the communication and coordination between the Morisco leaders in Morocco and Tunisia is the path of the Sufi Sidī Muḥammad ibn ‘Āšūr, who left Salé for Tunisia in 1648. I will speak below about this Sufi family that had, and still has even today, an important position in Tunisian society.<sup>32</sup> But first it should be noted that this movement of Moriscos between Tunisia and Morocco was probably not unidirectional but occurred in two directions. Indeed, it is too difficult to prove the existence of Tunisian Moriscos who emigrated to Morocco in the period of our study, but at least we have the example of the son of al-Ḥaḡarī, who was the copyist of *al-‘Izz wa-l-manāfi‘ li-l- muḡāhidīn fī sabīl allāh bi-l-madāfi‘* and was with his father in Tunisia; there he signed the book in February 1641 with the name “Muḥammad ibn Ḥūḡa ibn Aḥmad the translator of the book ibn al-Faqīh Qāsim ibn al-Šayḥ al-Ḥaḡarī.”<sup>33</sup> We have discovered that in March 1658, he

29 Contrary to the direct accusations found in several Moroccan sources, we do not find clear accusations in Tunisian sources in the same period. Instead we find a few mentions, like the conclusion of Ibn ‘Abd al-Rafi‘ in *Al-‘anwār al-nabawīyya* in 1635. The author declared that the text is an answer to Tunisians who question the *šaraf* (prophetic lineage) of the Moriscos (probably they did not question just the *šaraf* but even the Islamic faith of the Moriscos). Also, the Islamic exegetical works written in Spanish by the Moriscos in the second third of the seventeenth century could have been a response to doubts about their Islamic faith. Further, the late accusations about the Moriscos not being real Muslims, made at the beginning of the eighteenth century, are an echo of the allegations of the seventeenth century. For the eighteenth century see Houssein Eddine Chachia, “The Moment of Choice: The Moriscos on the Border of Christianity and Islam,” in *Conversion and Islam in the Early Modern Mediterranean: The Lure of the Other*, ed. Claire Norton (London: Routledge, 2017), 132–35.

30 G.S. Colin, “Projet de traité entre les morisques de la Casba de Rabat et le roi d’Espagne en 1631,” *Hespéris-Tamuda* 52 (1955): 17–26.

31 Bouzineb, *Al-Mūriskīyyūn*, 166.

32 For more details about this family see Lamia Abidi, *Āl bin ‘Āšūr: riḥla fī al-fikr al-‘ālam al-Tūnisī* (Tunis: Perspectives Édition, 2015).

33 Ibrāhīm ibn Aḥmad ibn Ġānīm al-Riyāš, *Al-‘izz wa-al-manāfi‘ li-l-muḡāhidīn fī sabīl allāh bi-l- madāfi‘*, trans. Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥaḡarī al-Andalusī (Algiers: National Library of Algeria), Ms 1511, f.123.

signed a copy of *Risāla fī al-masā'il al-išrīn wa-ʿağwibatuhā*,<sup>34</sup> attributed to Ṣultān ibn Aḥmad al-Mazāḥī, with the name “Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥājj Aḥmad ibn Qāsim ibn al-Faqīh Qāsim ibn al-Ṣayḥ al-Ḥağarī al-Andalusī al-Marrakuṣī.” So, does the addition of this *nisba* “al-Marrakuṣī” to his name mean that al-Ḥağarī’s son returned to Morocco after the relative improvement of the political situation in the country and after the takeover of the Alawite dynasty?

Through the above, we have seen the complex and extensive network of Ṣarīf Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Rafī‘ (See Figure 6.5). His prophetic lineage and his membership in the Ašrāf Morisco group were important factors in his ability to quickly build strong and successful relationships with local actors. In only five years, from the date of his arrival in Tunis (1604–5) to the beginning of the expulsion (1609), Ibn ‘Abd al-Rafī‘ became very close to Sīdī ‘Abū al-Ġayṭ al-Qaššāš, the most influential man in Tunisia at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century. This relationship with Sīdī ‘Abū al-Ġayṭ, who called Ibn ‘Abd al-Rafī‘ “my Ṣayḥ” or “my professor,”<sup>35</sup> along with the contacts that he had with central Ottoman authorities in Constantinople, created a bridge to powerful political figures, especially Yūsaf Dāy, who had great respect for Sīdī ‘Abū al-Ġayṭ.<sup>36</sup> Although in the introduction and the conclusion of the book *Al-ʿanwār al-nabawīyya* Ibn ‘Abd al-Rafī‘ did not mention either man directly, he used the term “*al-ʿAskar al-manṣūr*” (the victorious soldiers) to refer to the Ottoman political authority in Tunisia and thanked them for everything they had provided to the exiled Moriscos.

## 2 The Morisco Sufis: the Power of *Ṣalāḥ* (Goodness or Virtue)

We cannot prove that the Morisco Sufis had the same networks and powerful connections as Ibn ‘Abd al-Rafī‘ or the Ašrāf group, but their biographies

34 Sultān ibn Muḥammad al-Mazāḥī, *Risāla fī al-masā'il al-išrīn wa-ʿağwibatuhā* (Riyadh: King Abdulaziz Public Library), Ms 774–3, f. 129. I am grateful to Mr. Ibrahim ibn Abdelaziz al-Yahia, head of the Manuscripts Department in the King Abdulaziz Public Library, for sending me a full digital copy of this manuscript.

35 Mouhamed Aouini, “Traducion del texto de Muḥamed Ibn ‘Abd Al-Rafī’,” in *Entre las orillas de dos mundos. El itinerario del jerife morisco Muḥamed Ibn ‘Abd Al-Rafī’: de Murcia a Túnez*, ed. Houssef Eddine Chachia (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 2017), 120.

36 According to al-Qafaṣī, the relationship between al-Qaššāš and ‘Uṭmān Dāy was tense most of the time, in contrast to his relationship with Yūsuf Dāy, who defended al-Qaššāš in the Diwān against accusations of collaborating with the Moriscos to turn against the Turks. al-Qafaṣī adds: “Yūsuf Dāy came to visit the Ṣayḥ [al-Qaššāš] who received him gladly and he [Yūsuf Dāy] told him: pray for my good, I am your servant”; al-Qafaṣī, *Nūr al-armaš*, 141 and 211–18.

show that they had a significant influence on their community, local groups (Tunisian and Turks), and the authorities.

Sufism, as has been demonstrated by many scholars, was one of the most prominent phenomena in the Maghreb in the late medieval<sup>37</sup> and early modern periods.<sup>38</sup> It is not easy to explain the reasons for its spread, but the disintegration and weakness of the Tunisian state in the sixteenth century allowed the *zāwiya* to play many social and even economic roles, which strengthened the position of *ṣalāḥ* (virtue) among the public at large.<sup>39</sup>

If the Šarīf inherited the prophetic lineage, the status of Sufi had to be gained. Lotfi Aissa suggests that there are typically three stages that must be passed before obtaining the legitimacy of *al-Wilāyah*, being acknowledged as a Sufi or saint. The first is *al-Šuḥba* (companionship), in the sense of accompanying one of the Sufis. The second is *al-Ḥidmah* (service), working for the Sufi and his *zāwiya*. The third is clinging to poverty or asceticism. The most important thing is that becoming a Sufi in early modern Tunisia was open to all social classes, regardless of their origins, wealth, and education. In addition, Aissa notes that in a number of cases the three stages were not followed, and many proclaimed or declared themselves Sufis overnight.<sup>40</sup>

In light of this, the fact that several Moriscos reached Sufi status was not remarkable; perhaps it was easier to gain recognition for *ṣalāḥ* than recognition of *šaraf*. The Tunisian sources mention at least three Morisco Sufis in the seventeenth century: the first is Sīdī ‘Alī al-Ḥaḍār al-Andalusī, who was one of the first Morisco Sufis. Through his nickname, we can assume that his original profession was a vegetable seller. The sources give us very few details about his biography, though al-Wazīr al-Sarrāğ, in his book *Al-ḥulal al-sundusīyya*, mentions that he was a “great sage” and a “Sufi,” and that “he died in late Dū al-Qa’dah 1065 [1655] while he was praying the afternoon prayer in Al-Zaytūnah Mosque.”<sup>41</sup>

In The National Archives of Tunisia we have found the documents of *waqf* (endowment) of the *zāwiya* of Sīdī ‘Alī al-Ḥaḍār. The multiplicity and

37 About this period see Nelly Salama Amri, *Al-wilāya wa-al-muğtama’: musāhama fi al-tārīḥ al-dīnī wa-al-iğtimā’ li-iftiḥiyya fi al-‘ahd al-ḥaḥṣī* (Beirut: Dār al-Fārābī, 2006).

38 See Lotfi Aissa, *Mağrib al-mutašawwifa: al-in’ikāsāt al-siyāsīyya wa-al-ḥarāk al-iğtimā’ī: min al-qarn al-‘āšir ilā al-qarn al-sābi’ ‘ašar* (Tunis: Centre de Publication Universitaire, 2005).

39 For more details about Sufism in general see L. Massington *et. al.*, “Tašawwuf,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam New Edition Online*, ed. P. Bearman (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

40 Lotfi Aissa, *Madḥāl li-dirāsāt mumayyizāt al-dihniyya al-mağāribīyya ḥilāl al-qarn al-sābi’ ‘ašar* (Tunis: Cérés, 1994), 122–27.

41 Al-Wazīr al-Sarrāğ, *Al-ḥulal al-sundusīyya*, 2: 416.

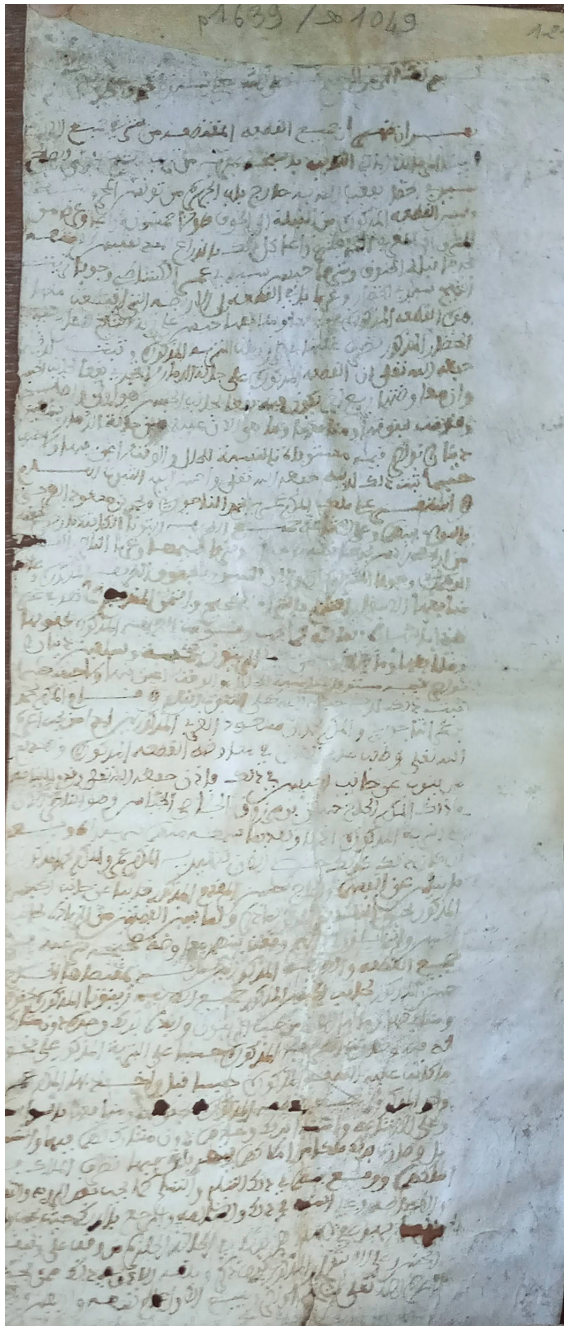


FIGURE 6.1 The first waqf document of the zāwiya of Sidi 'Alī al-Ḥaḍār. 1049 H./1639. National Archives of Tunisia, C2, 1, ff. 69, 125. ©CHACHIA

continuity of the acts of *waqf* reveal the important position of this Sufi, who was esteemed by the ordinary people and the rulers. Among the long list of donors we find the Muradid prince Muḥammad Bey (r. 1686–1696), who in 1680 donated to the *zāwiya* the annual revenue of a shop located in *Bāb Mnāra* (the Medina of Tunis).<sup>42</sup> In addition, in 1707 ‘Ā’iša bint ‘Abd al-Ġalīl al-Šarfi donated her house, which is located next to the *zāwiya*.<sup>43</sup>

Through those *waqf* documents we have learned that the location of the *zāwiya* was in “the *al-Sabḥa*, outside *Bāb al-Ġazīra*.”<sup>44</sup> We can also confirm that the *zāwiya* had been in existence at least since 1639, meaning that it was built during the lifetime of the Sufi Sidī ‘Alī al-Ḥaḍār.<sup>45</sup>

Having a *zāwiya* was not the only determinant of stature. Many esteemed saints refused to have a *zāwiya* built in their name, like our second example, the Sufi Sidī Maṣṣūr al-Naššār, who was a Sufi and Šarīf, as confirmed by Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Rafi’:

... among them [the Ašrāf] [were] the grandparents of our brother al-Šarīf al-Barakah [the blessed], the wise man of his time in Tunisia, known by the nickname of Sidī al-Naššār, who went to Cordova. Later there were some who returned, and others stayed.<sup>46</sup>

According to Ḥusayn Ḥūḡa, who was al-Naššār’s contemporary and attended some of his Sufi *ḥalaqāt* (sessions), he was born before the expulsion from Spain, perhaps in Cordova, the city of his grandparents. His name is al-Naššār (or al-Naḡḡār according to Ibn ‘Abd al-Rafi’) because he was working as a carpenter when he arrived in Tunis.<sup>47</sup>

If Ḥusayn Ḥūḡh asserts that he was illiterate, al-Wazīr al-Sarrāḡ informs us that his teacher before the expulsion was Muḥammad al-‘Usayrī, and that in Tunisia he studied with Sidī ‘Abū al-Ġayṭ al-Qaššāš.<sup>48</sup> As mentioned previously, being illiterate does not prevent reaching the level of Sufi. Al-Naššār passed through the three stages necessary to reach this status; for *al-Šuḥba* (companionship) and *al-Ḥidma* (service), he accompanied and worked for the

42 National Archives of Tunisia, C2, 1, ff. 69, 84.

43 ANT, C2, 1, f. 69.

44 See the area in Google Maps (Consulted online 22 July 2022): <https://www.google.com/maps/place/Bab+El+Jazira,+Tunis/@36.7907062,10.1739289,629m/data=!3m1!1e3!4m5!3m4!1sox12fd340eb38d6fe3:ox7f3dad6ac8369fc9!8m2!3d36.7902625!4d10.1766289>.

45 ANT, C2, 1, ff. 69, 125.

46 Aouini, “Traducción del texto,” 133.

47 Ḥūḡa, *Ḍayl bašā’ir ahl al-īmān*, 275.

48 al-Wazīr al-Sarrāḡ, *Al-ḥulal al-sundusiyya*, 475.

Sufis Muḥammad al-‘Usaīrī and Sīdī ‘Abū al-Ġayt al-Qaššāš. And regarding poverty, Ḥusayn Ḥūġa says: “He [al-Naššār] was short, thin, with thick hair, and wore coarse clothes, and the wool *ġebba* (Jubba)—he did not care about worldly life and its pleasures.”<sup>49</sup>

Almost all sources confirm that our second Morisco Sufi had great prestige among the common public, the *fuqahā’*, the men of power, and the rulers. Therefore, Ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥī’s description of him as the “wise man of his time in Tunisia” was not an exaggeration. Ḥusayn Ḥūġa confirms:

He was considered one of the greatest Sufis ... All the scholars of the time would go to his house, talk to him about the details of the jurisprudential rulings, and hear from him answers that boggled their minds and silenced them with argument. He was called the Muḥyī al-dīn ibn ‘Arabī of his time ... All the inhabitants of our city [Tunis] agree that he is a holy man. And they used to learn from him the most valuable things in Sufism,<sup>50</sup> he has extensive knowledge, and all those eminent scholars of the time who sat and saw him testified to this.<sup>51</sup>

In addition to his Sufism and religious knowledge, the secret to al-Naššār’s popularity was his tolerance. Ḥusayn Ḥūġa mentions at least three examples. The first: When someone told him that a man had been talking to a woman alone in one of the alleys of the Medina of Tunis, his answer was, “Perhaps she is his wife, sister, or one of his relatives.” The second: One day he was passing by a bar, and he heard drunks singing at the top of their voices. His comment was, “Oh God, as you made them happy in this world, make them happy in the hereafter.” The third: On the first night of the month of Ramadan, he was passing by shops dedicated to smoking and drugs when he heard the people singing and playing, and he said: “Congratulations to you.” He looked at those with him and added: “Look at this Muḥammadan nation [Muslims], how they are receiving this great month with joy, happiness, and pleasure, congratulations to them.”<sup>52</sup>

Regarding al-Naššār’s position and his relationship with power, our main source Ḥusayn Ḥūġa tells us that “the rulers believed in him” and that “they sent him money, but he never accepted it.” He refused to build a *zāwiya* in his name and “he received his followers in his home until his death on Friday 11

49 Ḥūġa, *Ḍayl bašā’ir ahl al-īmān*, 275–76.

50 One of his disciples was the famous Morisco faqih Muḥammad al-Ḥajjī al-Andalusī. Ḥūġa, *Ḍayl bašā’ir ahl al-īmān*, 199–201.

51 Ḥūġa, *Ḍayl bašā’ir ahl al-īmān*, 277.

52 Ḥūġa, *Ḍayl bašā’ir ahl al-īmān*, 275–76.

Rajab 1088 [September 1677], and he was buried in his house, his tomb is there, and people still visit it and bless it.”<sup>53</sup>

The last reference means that his house was transformed into a *zāwiya*, and until 1724–25, the date of the writing of the book *Dayl bašā'ir ahl al-īmān* (around forty-eight years after his death), the Sufi Sīdī Maṣṣūr al-Naššār still held an important spiritual position among the inhabitants of the city of Tunis.

Through all the foregoing, we see that Sīdī Maṣṣūr al-Naššār held a significant position over a period of at least forty years, between the 1630s and his death in 1677. It also appears that he was a Sufi recognized not only by the ordinary people but also by the religious and civic authorities. This recognition or consensus—which was not automatic or permanent—reflects the extensive network of relations of this Morisco Sufi. Certainly, his status and symbolism contributed directly or indirectly to the process of integrating the Morisco community into the fabric of Tunisian society.

The third and the most important Morisco Sufi in seventeenth-century Tunisia is the founder of *al-Zāwiya al-Āšūrīyya*, Sīdī 'Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn Sīdī Muḥammad ibn 'Āšūr.<sup>54</sup> He was born in Morocco, in the fortress of the Hornacheros in Salé, in 1621. Ḥusayn Ḥūḡa says that he settled in Tunisia in 1648 after performing the Ḥaḡḡ ritual when he was twenty-seven years old. We can observe that Sīdī Muḥammad ibn 'Āšūr followed the same itinerary as Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥaḡarī, who also departed from Salé in 1635 for the Ḥaḡḡ, but stayed in Tunis after 1636. Both al-Ḥaḡarī and Muḥammad ibn 'Āšūr moved to Tunis and did not return to Salé after finishing the Ḥaḡḡ, due to the volatile political situation, the wars, and the siege that the Moriscos experienced in Salé during their long confrontation with the local forces, such as al-'Ayyāšī and *al-Zāwiya al-Dilā'iyya*. The young Muḥammad ibn 'Āšūr who spent the early years of his youth in the midst of these events seems to have grown tired of the situation and chosen to start a new life in Tunisia, described by al-Ḥaḡarī as “the best place for the Nation [the Moriscos].”

Sīdī Muḥammad ibn 'Āšūr began his “new life” in Tunis by learning the craft of the *chechia* (the typical headgear), the primary Morisco craft in Tunisia.<sup>55</sup>

53 Ḥūḡa, *Dayl bašā'ir ahl al-īmān*, 277.

54 Ḥūḡa, *Dayl bašā'ir ahl al-īmān*, 281; al-Wazīr al-Sarrāḡ, *Al-ḥulal al-sundusīyya*, 475.

55 For more details about the craft of chechia, see Lucette Valensi, “Islam et capitalisme: production et commerce des chéchias en Tunisie et en France aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles,” *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 3 (1969): 376–400; Sophie Ferchiou, *Techniques et sociétés: exemple de la fabrication des chéchias en Tunisie* (Paris: Muséum national d'histoire naturelle, 1971); Muḥammad al-Annabi, “La chéchia tunisienne,” *Recueil d'études sur les Moriscos Andalous en Tunisie*, ed. Mikel de Epalza and Ramón Petit (Madrid: Dirección general de relaciones culturales, 1973), 304–7; Abdel-Hakim Slama-Gafsi, “La familia

He started as a *ṣānī'* (apprentice), then he developed his skill until became a *mu'allim* (master). According to Ḥusayn Ḥūḡa and al-Wazīr al-Sarrāḡ, he kept practicing this craft even after becoming a famous Sufi, and until his death (1698).<sup>56</sup>

About his path as a Sufi, we know that in Morocco he was a disciple of "his great master the Ṣayḥ Sīdī Muḥammad al-Quḡayrī,"<sup>57</sup> and in Tunisia the Ṭarīqa al-Ṣādīliyya<sup>58</sup> and Sīdī 'Alī al-Zawāwī,<sup>59</sup> who inherited his *zāwiya* from him. Ḥusayn Ḥūḡa says:

... and then he [Sīdī Muḥammad ibn 'Āšūr] believed in the Ṣayḥ 'Alī al-Zawāwī. And this was the reason for the reconstruction of his *zāwiya* after his death, and he was always staying there ....People came to him, and the number of his followers increased ....None doubt that he was one of the greatest saints ....He was devout, good, and pious, never leaving the lessons ... [He] tends to solitude ....He follows the way of his master al-Quḡayrī, and he became famous, and many people from Tunisia and elsewhere came to him ....He was the master of many people, such as the Sufi Ṣayḥ Sīdī 'Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Mullāḥ ... and the Sufi Ṣayḥ Sīdī Muṣṭafā al-Bāylī.<sup>60</sup>

Also, our Morisco Sufi was the teacher of his son Sīdī 'Abd al-Qādir ibn 'Āšūr, who inherited the *zāwiya*, preserved its reputation, and became one of the most important Sufis in Tunisia in the first half of the eighteenth century.<sup>61</sup>

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Lakhoua, descendientes tunecinos de moriscos granadinos de los siglos XVII–XVIII, y sus actividades en la industria del bonete chechía," *Sharq Al-Andalus* 14–15 (1997–98): 219–44; Youssef Ben Ismail, "A History of the Ottoman Fez before Mahmud II (ca. 1600–1800)," *Muqarnas* 38, no. 1 (2021): 155–83.

56 Ḥūḡa, *Ḍayl baṣā'ir ahl al-īmān*, 281; al-Wazīr al-Sarrāḡ, *Al-ḥulal al-sundusiyya*, 475.

57 There is not much information about al-Quḡayrī but we know that he was born in the city of al-Qaṣr al-Kabīr in the sixteenth century, and that he was a student of Muḥammad al-Habṭī and Sīdī Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn Ḥasūn. He immigrated to Salé and Rabat, where he had a *zāwiya*. He died around 1635 in the city of al-Qaṣr al-Kabīr. See "Sīdī Muḥammad al-Qaṣarī al-Quḡayrī," Fatimid Muḥammadi Institute, <https://www.fatimimohamadi.com/السیدی-محمد-التجیري-القصری>. [accessed 12 July 2021].

58 Founded by Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Ṣādīlī in the thirteenth century. For details see Lory, P., "al-Shādīhīlī," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. P. Bearman and al (Leiden: Brill, 2012, [http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912\\_islam\\_SIM\\_6735](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_6735)).

59 It seems that this was a respected Sufi in Tunis in the seventeenth century, but there is no biography of him in Tunisian sources.

60 Ḥūḡa, *Ḍayl baṣā'ir ahl al-īmān*, 282.

61 For the biography of Sīdī 'Abd al-Qādir ibn 'Āšūr see Ḥūḡa, *Ḍayl baṣā'ir ahl al-īmān*, 285–87.

Thus, Sīdī Muḥammad ibn ‘Āšūr occupied a prestigious position in popular circles, as his fame went beyond the borders of Tunisia. This high status and fame made the authorities respect him. The rulers tried to win his friendship with money and gifts, but he always refused them. Ḥusayn Ḥūḡa mentioned at least four examples: about the first he said, “And some of the princes of Tunisia had sent him a great part of the world [money and gifts], but he always refused to accept it.”<sup>62</sup> The second case involved the ruler of Tunis, the Dey Māmī al-Ġamal (1675–78). One day the Sufi’s son, Sīdī ‘Abd al-Qādir ibn ‘Āšūr, asked the ruler for a favor. The Dey granted his request and gave him gifts: “slave women, slave men, a mare, and a mule.” But the father, Muḥammad ibn ‘Āšūr, got angry and ordered his son to return all the gifts, saying “I don’t need them.”<sup>63</sup> Third, Ibn ‘Āšūr was sitting in the mosque ... when he saw the ruler ‘Alī Rā’is (1689–95) and a group of officials coming to meet him, so he closed the door of the mosque and refused to meet them.<sup>64</sup> About the fourth case, Ḥusayn Ḥūḡa says: “the Bey Muḥammad ibn Murād (1675–78) sent him bags of dirhams, but he rejected them, and this was repeated many times with princes and those in power, and he never accepted anything.”<sup>65</sup>

Although Sīdī Muḥammad ibn ‘Āšūr refused to meet with rulers or accept their money and gifts, it does not mean that he was in conflict with authority; rather, his behavior was one of the basics of Sufism, as noted earlier: the clinging to poverty or asceticism. In contrast, he did accept the invitation of the ruler Māmī al-Ġamal to attend the inauguration of his *turba* (mausoleum).<sup>66</sup>

These Sufis had immense spiritual power that the authorities and the local communities (the Tunisians and Turks) respected. Thus, the position of Morisco Sufis certainly helped, whether directly or indirectly, in the settlement of the Moriscos in Tunisia.

If the powerful Moriscos discussed earlier derived their prestige and strength from a symbolic resource, such as their *Nasab* or the prophetic lineage of the Ašrāf, and the *ṣalāḥ* (virtue) of the Sufis, the capital of the wealthy people was formed by money, slaves, houses, lands, and goods.

62 Ḥūḡa, *Ḍayl bašā’ir ahl al-īmān*, 282.

63 Ḥūḡa, *Ḍayl bašā’ir ahl al-īmān*, 282.

64 Ḥūḡa, *Ḍayl bašā’ir ahl al-īmān*, 283–84.

65 Ḥūḡa, *Ḍayl bašā’ir ahl al-īmān*, 285.

66 Ḥūḡa, *Ḍayl bašā’ir ahl al-īmān*, 284–85.

### 3 The Wealthy Moriscos: the Power of Money

Despite the absence of a complete and well-documented study on the contribution of the Moriscos to the Tunisian economy at the beginning of the modern period, documents,<sup>67</sup> sources,<sup>68</sup> and some studies<sup>69</sup> show that their presence was very respectable and continuous since the first years of the Moriscos' arrival in the country, specifically from the second decade of the seventeenth century until at least the end of the eighteenth century.

Through the geographical distribution of the Moriscos in Tunisia,<sup>70</sup> it seems that the Morisco refugees focused on agricultural activities, since the regions of Morisco settlement (Cap Bon, Bizerte, and the Medjerda basin) are the most fertile areas in the country. In this regard, Ibn 'Abī Dīnār refers to the Moriscos buying many agricultural lands and planting vineyards and olive groves.<sup>71</sup> Both al-Sarrāġ in his book *Al-ḥulal al-sundusiyya*,<sup>72</sup> and Francisco Ximénez in the

67 We refer especially to the documents of the French consulate in Tunisia: see Pierre Grandchamp, *La France en Tunisie* (Tunis: Résidence Générale de France à Tunis, Impr. Générale J. Allocchio, 1925–33). Also, we think that the documents of *waqf* published recently could be very helpful in deepening our knowledge of the economy: see Ahmed Saadaoui, *Tūnis fi al-qarn al-sābi' 'ašar: waṭā'iḳ al-awqāf fi 'ahd al-dāyāt wa-al-bāyāt al-murādiyyīn* (Manouba: Faculté des Lettres, des Arts et des Humanités de La Manouba, 2011); Ahmed Saadaoui, *Tūnis: zamān Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī wa-'Alī Bāšā: waṭā'iḳ awqāf min al-'ahd al-ḥusaynī* (Manouba: Faculté des Lettres, des Arts et des Humanités de La Manouba, 2015).

68 Almost all the Tunisian sources cited in this article and several more by European travelers, clerics, and captives reveal the important role that the Moriscos played in the prosperity of the country in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For the European sources, in addition to the diary of Francisco Ximénez, we can mention Jean-André Peyssonnel, *Voyage dans les régences de Tunis et d'Alger*, ed. Lucette Valensi (Paris: La Découverte, 2001).

69 Mikel de Epalza, "Moriscos et Andalous en Tunisie au xvii<sup>e</sup> siècle," in *Recueil d'études sur les Moriscos Andalous en Tunisie*, ed. Mikel de Epalza and Ramón Petit (Madrid: Dirección General de Relaciones Culturales, 1973), 150–86; Epalza, "Moriscos y andalusíes en Túnez durante el siglo xvii," *Al-Andalus* 34 (1969): 247–327; Epalza, "Nouveaux documents sur les andalous en Tunisie au début du xviii<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Revue d'Histoire Maghrébine* 17–18 (1980): 79–108; Sadok Boubaker, "Activités économiques des morisques et conjoncture dans la régence de Tunis au xvii<sup>e</sup> siècle," in *Cartas de La Goleta, 2: Actas del Coloquio Internacional Los Moriscos y Túnez*, ed. Raja Yasine Bahri (Tunis: Embajada de España, 2009), 2009, 129–37.

70 See the map of the geographical distribution of the Moriscos in Tunisia in Chachia, "El auge y la decadencia," 200.

71 Ibn 'Abī Dīnār, *Al-Mu'nis*, 228.

72 Al-Wazīr al-Sarrāġ, *Al-ḥulal al-sundusiyya*, 2158.

Spanish copy of *Al-muʿnis*<sup>73</sup> and in his diary, noted that the refugees introduced new types of fruit and plantations. Ximénez says:

It is said that the vines and olive trees were planted by the Andalusian Moors [the Moriscos] when they came from Spain, and it must be said that they have the same shape as the vines and olive trees of Andalusia. Several species of olives are the same as those of Seville. In the rest of Africa and Barbary, the fields are not as cultivated as in this region [the Medjerda basin], thanks to the Moors who came from Spain.<sup>74</sup>

Contrary to local sources of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that only tell us about the dedication of the Moriscos to agricultural activities, Ximénez refers to their crafts, saying, “The Morisco artisans then began to exercise their arts, the wool and silk weavers, potters, silversmiths, and other trades that enriched the city in a short time.”<sup>75</sup>

While our sources marginalize, in general, the Moriscos’ commercial activities in Tunisia, the archival documents, in contrast, show that the Moriscos were very involved in trade in the Mediterranean Sea. Through the documents of the French consulate in Tunisia published and studied by Mikel de Epalza, we find that Morisco merchants had a large and complicated network that certainly helped in the success of their businesses and the prosperity of their community.

We can mention several Morisco merchants in seventeenth-century Tunisia, such as Gio Perez, Alonso de Cuevas, Diego Muhamat de Muhamat, Lorenzo Arighes, “[an] Andalusí who lives in Marseille” (1611), Mamet Coral, “[a] Moor from Tunisia who lives in Palermo” (1614), Cassem Belmeida, “[a] merchant from Tunisia who lives in Malta” (1623), and Agi Mamet Nigro, “[a] Turkish [Morisco] merchant from Tunisia.”<sup>76</sup>

As confirmed by the documents of the French consulate, the Moriscos were very involved in piracy. Further, the documents mention Mamet Gaia (1621) and Assan Fara (1652), Stamamet Ben Abdalla (1657), Mehmet Mancho Andalusí (1653), Luis Zapata (1615), Mahamet Jayar (1621), Assan, son of Salem Valentiano (1628), Abraim Musa, Agii Mamet Tagarino (1626), Baba Isuf (1655),

73 [Ibn ʿAbī Dīnār, Muḥammad ibn Abī al-Qāsim.] Budinar, *Historia de Túnez*, traducida del árabe al español por Mohamet el Tahager de Urrea, siendo su amanuense Fr. Francisco Ximénez (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia), ms.9/6015, f. 253v.

74 Ximénez, *Discurso de Túnez*, f. 144, 9 September 1720.

75 Budinar, *Historia de Túnez*, f. 255r.

76 Epalza, “Moriscos y Andalusíes,” 255, 263.

Mamet Rubio (1680), and Mustafa de Cardenas (1645) as mediators or traders of slaves.<sup>77</sup> Also, the Moriscos were active in the import and export trade between the two shores of the Mediterranean.<sup>78</sup> As an example, we can mention the case of "Isuf Sanmar and Sta Mammet l'Eschiado, who declare that they are very satisfied with the French patron of the ship San Giuseppe, who has brought to Genoa a shipment of soap and Arab hats [*chechias*]." (1655)<sup>79</sup>

Due to the absence of local Tunisian documents from the seventeenth century and the lack of sources, the role that the Moriscos played in the manufacture of the chechia during the seventeenth century is still ambiguous. What is certain is that they were masters of this craft, which was responsible for the wealth of many of them. Above, we mentioned Sīdī Muḥammad Ibn 'Āšūr as a chechia maker. Likewise, the famous chronicler Muḥammad al-Wazīr al-Sarrāğ says that he started his professional career by practicing this craft.<sup>80</sup> Moreover, among the "various merchants of chechia" cited in the documents of the French consulate, Epalza mentions Hamet (1697), Alli Cherif, and Mehemet Facar (1686).<sup>81</sup> Even though the eighteenth century is outside the period that we are treating in this paper, the Tunisian archival documents of the beginning of that century prove that the Moriscos monopolized the chechia industry in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In a document dated 1161 H./1748 about the chechia shops in the Medina of Tunis, we have determined that more than ninety-one percent of the owners were Moriscos.<sup>82</sup>

None of the wealthy Moriscos mentioned above achieved the position of the famous "Šayḥ of the Andalusis" (that is, president of the Moriscos), Mustafā [Muṣṭafā] de Cárdenas,<sup>83</sup> the most important Morisco personage in the first half of the seventeenth century. A short review of his biography explains how he reached strength that rivaled that of the ruler of Tunisia, Ḥamūda Bāšā Bey al-Mūrādī (1631–66).

77 Epalza, "Moriscos y Andalusies," 263–64.

78 For more details about the role of Moriscos in piracy and in commerce, especially with Italy, see Bruno Pomara Saverino, *Refugiados. Los moriscos e Italia* (Granada: Comares, 2022), 257–310.

79 See other examples in Epalza, "Moriscos y Andalusies," 271–75.

80 Al-Wazīr al-Sarrāğ, *Al-ḥulal al-sundusiyya*, 2: 625.

81 Epalza, "Moriscos y andalusies," 279.

82 National Archives of Tunisia, RAF 2249 bis.

83 "Mostafā de Cárdenas, Cárdena, Cardene, Cardines, Cardes, Carde" in the documents of the French consulate.



Despite the important article by John Derek Latham<sup>84</sup> and the work of Mikel de Epalza,<sup>85</sup> there are still many things we do not know about Mustafá de Cárdenas's biography. Although the origins of the Cárdenas family are unknown, the family seems to have Arabized their name after they arrived in Tunisia to 'Abd al-'Azīz, indicating a family belonging to the Ašrāf, who lived between Tunis and Zaghouan, as noted by Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥīf.<sup>86</sup> This prophetic lineage of the Cárdenas family is also confirmed by the mention of Mustafá's son named "Sidi Cierifo," which can be read as Šarīf, in a captive-rescue operation.<sup>87</sup>

The documents of the French consulate in Tunisia from the seventeenth century show that Cárdenas was a very rich and active merchant<sup>88</sup> who accumulated great wealth from commerce and through his agricultural investments in the town of Grombalia, of which he is considered the founder. Jean Le Vacher, Apostolic Vicar and Consul of France in Tunis between 1647 and 1666, writes in October 1654 about Mustafá de Cárdenas's agricultural activities in Grombalia, speaking about the poor condition of Christian slaves outside Tunis:

Last October I went to one of these *Maceries* [the dwellings of rural slaves], about twenty miles away, where Mustapha de Cude, chief of the Andalusians of these regions, keeps a large number of Christian slaves ... Their daily food is only one loaf, very black ... with a smell that certainly many dogs would not eat ... their guardians make them work extraordinarily [hard], especially during the rains, either to make them suffer more or to make the waters penetrate more abundantly into the land and make the gardens of their masters more fertile.<sup>89</sup>

Cárdenas was involved in almost all the Moriscos' economic activities cited above. He was one of the great owners and traders of slaves and one of the country's most important merchants in the first half of the seventeenth century. The documents mention that on 20 April 1624 he negotiated with sugar,

84 John Derek Latham, "Muṭṭafa de Cárdenas et l'apport des morisques à la société tunisienne du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Etudes sur les Morisques Andalous*, ed. Slimane Mostafa Zbiss (Tunis: Institut Nationale d'Archéologie et d'Art, 1983), 157–78.

85 Epalza, "Moriscos y andalusíes," 288–92. See Bernabé Pons' chapter in this volume.

86 Aouini, "Traducción del texto," 137.

87 Epalza, "Moriscos y andalusíes," 264.

88 He appears in 33 documents between 1622 and 1653.

89 Raymond Gleizes, *Jean Le Vacher Vicaire apostolique et Consul de France á Tunis et á Alger: (1619–1683). D'après les documents contemporains* (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1914), 50–51.

seeds, and spices, and in the same year with soap.<sup>90</sup> Further, his great wealth was mentioned even by travelers from the eighteenth century, such as the French physician and naturalist Jean-André Peyssonnel and the Spanish monk Francisco Ximénez. The latter spoke about his magnificent palace, and his fame as one of the great owners and merchants of slaves and one of the great farmers, saying:

The main house is that of Mahamet Bey [brother of the Bey Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī 1705–1735], which was built by Šayḥ Mustafá,<sup>91</sup> a wealthy Morisco, one of those who came from Spain. He planted an olive grove here which has nearly thirty thousand feet of olive trees, and almond trees between them. He brought water from the nearby mountains. He had over three hundred black and Christian slaves. He planted vineyards and other rural properties. The house has two gardens and very beautiful fountains with a pond.<sup>92</sup>

Mustafá de Cárdenas was close to the circle of decision makers, so he was a commercial agent of Yūsuf Dāy (document of 6 June 1623) and his favorite



FIGURE 6.3 Olive farm. Grombalia

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90 See his different activities in Epalza, “Moriscos y andalusíes,” 263–65, 268, 270, 273–78.

91 About the palace of Mustafá de Cárdenas in Grombalia see Abdel-Hakim Slama-Gafsi, “Aperçu sur l’ancien ‘Palais’ de Mustafa de Cardenas à Grombalia,” *Mélanges Louis Cardail-llac*, ed. Abdeljelil Temimi (Zaghouan: Fondation Temimi pour la recherche scientifique et l’information, 1995), 303–18.

92 Ximénez, *Discurso de Túnez*, f. 120v, 29 October 1724. Peyssonnel seems to have copied Ximénez’s description, but he added, “He had in his house thirty looms of silk”; Peyssonnel, *Voyage dans les régences de Tunis et d’Alger*, 114.

adviser 'Alī Tābit (document of 23 September 1626). It seems that, thanks to his good relations with the Deys of Tunisia and Algeria, he played a political role and was a member of the committee that negotiated peace between Tunisia and Algeria in 1627–28.<sup>93</sup> Ibn 'Abī Dīnār says:

... it was a group of chieftains [leaders] such as al-Šayḥ Tāğ al-'Ārifīn al-'Utmānī, the al-Šayḥ Ibrāhīm al-Ġiryānī, and al-Šayḥ Mušṭafā, Šayḥ of the Andalusis and others, and reconciliation was made between the two parties.<sup>94</sup>

The political calculations of Cárdenas were not always correct, and the degree of power and influence that he had reached probably made him believe that he could rival even the ruler Ḥamūda Bāšā Bey. Ibn 'Abī Dīnār says:

And among those who used to disdain his position, and refused to be in his service, the al-Šayḥ Mušṭafā, Šayḥ of the Andalusis, spent several years in his deviation and disagreement. Consequently, he [Ḥammūda Bāšā Bey] made him taste disgrace, and dressed him in colors of humiliation, confiscated all his possessions, and he died in exile, outside his homeland.<sup>95</sup>

Mustafá de Cárdenas escaped from Tunisia around 1654, traveling east to Constantinople and living for some time in Cairo, before he settled permanently in Annaba (Bône), in modern Algeria, where he rebuilt his wealth and power, as we can see from the remains of his palace in the Medina, known as *Sarāyā al-Kurdīnās* and *Sarāyā al-Qrumbālī*.<sup>96</sup> Peyssonnel says:

The Bey of Tunis expelled him [Mustafá de Cárdenas] because he was too rich and powerful, for it is a very serious crime here to be too rich. The possessions he had were those he had brought with him when he withdrew from Spain. With no other reason than that of his wealth, Achmet-Bey [i.e., Ḥamūda Bāšā Bey] wanted to put him to death [and] to confiscate his goods ... He fled to Constantinople, where, having

93 Roy Bernard, "Deux documents inédits sur l'expédition algérienne de 1628 (1037.hég.) contre les Tunisiens," *Revue tunisienne* 122 (1917): 183–204. See a copy of the border agreement between Tunisia and Algeria: The National Archives of Tunisia, *Daftar* 2847.

94 Ibn 'Abī Dīnār, *Al-Mu'nis*, 231–32.

95 Ibn 'Abī Dīnār, *Al-Mu'nis*, 261.

96 The palace is in Rue Dali Ali, the former rue Saint Nicolas.

shown some documents in writing which testified to the services that he had performed for the Sublime Porte, he was honored by the titles usually given to such persons. From there he went to Cairo and then came to Bône, where he planted almost all the olive trees that are there today, and which exceed the number of those he had left at Colombarie [i.e., Grombalia].<sup>97</sup>

In addition, Cárdenas was known in Annaba as a singer and the author of *Malouf* (Arab-Andalusian music). Many works are attributed to him, like this beautiful song in which he seems to express his nostalgia for his homeland: “I will not die like a stranger/ in the friendly earth/ Oh, roses of the Levant/ and carnations of Annaba!”<sup>98</sup>

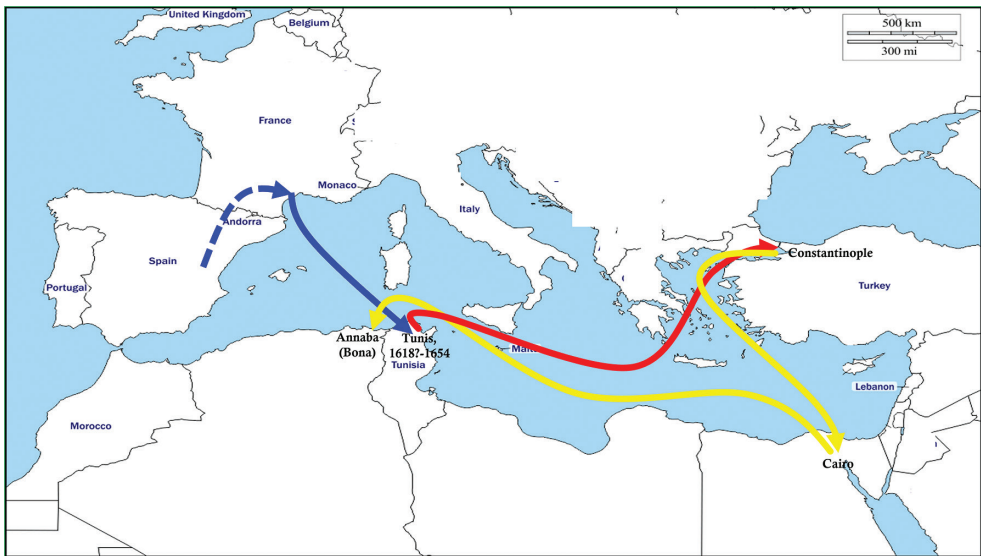


FIGURE 6.4 Mustafá de Cárdenas's itinerary

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97 Peyssonnel, *Voyage dans les régences de Tunis et d'Alger*, 114–15. Ximénez confirms this account: “This Morisco [Mustafá de Cárdenas] was so powerful that the Beys of Tunis, out of jealousy, tried to have him killed. Knowing this, he left for Constantinople where he was received with honors. He spent some time in Cairo and then came to Bône, where he planted olive trees and vines as he had done in Grombalia, until his death.” Ximénez, *Discurso de Túnez*, 6: f. 120v, 29 October 1724.

98 For the song attributed to Mustafá de Cárdenas, see <https://youtu.be/omChJazVAcI> [accessed 28 January 2022].

The analysis of Mustafá de Cárdenas's biography shows his immense power and the extension of his network inside Tunisia, and even more outside of it (see Figure 6.5). Yet we are unsure about his role in the reception of the Morisco refugees in Tunisia. The first appearance of his name, in the documents from the French consulate dated around 1618, reveals that his power and influence allowed him to protect and preserve the economic interests of his community against the authorities, the consuls, the local communities, and even abroad, given the extent of his relations in many Mediterranean ports.

The appearance of Mustafá de Cárdenas on the scene, approximately contemporary with the death of the protector of the Moriscos, Sīdī Abū al-Ġayṭ al-Qaššāš (1622), was decisive in preventing the group's collapse or at least its decline in status. With the death of this Sufi of great spiritual, political, and even economic power, the community lost its greatest supporter. Moreover, religious sympathy was depleted a decade after the arrival of the exiles. In the face of the decline in sympathy of fellow Muslims and fading spiritual and religious significance, the economic rise of many wealthy Moriscos, led by Mustafá de Cárdenas, played a major role in cementing the Morisco community within Tunisian society, as well as preserving its cohesion.

#### 4 By Way of Conclusion

"The powerful Moriscos," or the leaders of the Morisco community, a minority for more than a century before the expulsion, learned the importance of building networks to survive and protect their interests. Thus it is not surprising that they followed the same strategy after the expulsion, even though their place in society changed from that of a persecuted minority to a part of the Muslim majority. Therefore "the powerful Moriscos," on the one hand, maintained solidarity among the members of the community. On the other hand, they played a pivotal role in the conservation and the creation of networks in the diaspora. As shown above, and as demonstrated in the graph below, the Moriscos—whether Ašrāf, Sufis, or wealthy men—had immense power and an extensive network inside Tunisia and in the ports of the Mediterranean. *Nasab* (prophetic lineage) and *Ṣalāḥ* (goodness or virtue) were powerful keys to building strong relationships with Muslim communities and authorities in Tunisia, the Maghreb, the Levant, and Anatolia. Despite the cultural differences between the various Islamic groups in Tunisia and the rest of the regions mentioned, prophetic lineage and goodness were valued by all Muslims in the early modern period.

If those values such as virtue and goodness served only as local or Islamic reference, wealth always was valued in all communities, in both Islamic areas and Christian lands. In Tunisia, it was the third element—and perhaps the most important—in the prominent position occupied by the Moriscos. Also, wealth, especially in commercial affairs, led to intensive collaboration between the Moriscos and the Tunisian Jews, who made up the Sephardic community (in Tunisia called the “Grana,” the “Livornese,” or *la nation juive portugaise* [the Portuguese Jewish nation]), and the creation of a special relationship between the Moriscos and Sephardic Jews who had also been expelled from the Iberian Peninsula. This “Iberian network” was developed and sustained throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and went beyond Tunisia to the rest of the Mediterranean, especially the Italian ports.<sup>99</sup>

Moreover, despite all the problems affecting Tunisia during the second half of the seventeenth century, such as political instability, civil wars, and Algerian invasions, the “powerful Moriscos” were able to preserve their prestige and the privileges of their community at all levels: economic, social, and political. Perhaps the biggest proof of this is that, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Morisco Maḥmūd al-Sarā’irī could become the second man in the State, occupying the position of Khaznadar (finance minister and prime minister) under al- Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī Bey for almost twenty years. Also during this

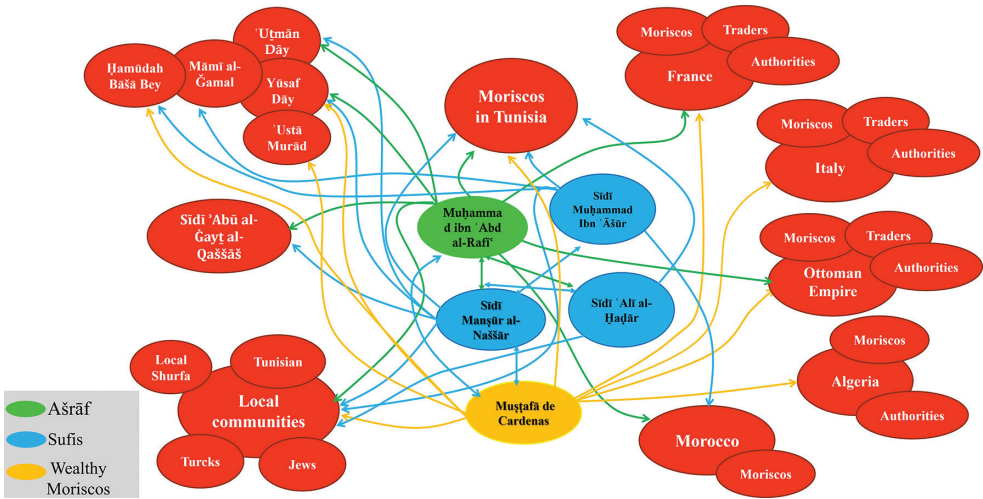


FIGURE 6.5 The networks of five “powerful Moriscos.”  
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99 Houssein Eddine Chachia, “La diáspora sefardí en Túnez, de finales del siglo xv a mediados del siglo xviii,” *Sefarad* 80 (2020): 137–72.

century we find several other powerful Moriscos, like the trader and politician al-Šarīf al-Qaṣṭālī, who lent money to the Bey to pay the soldiers' wages, or Mendes al-Andalusī who was an important chechia merchant and helped 'Alī Bāšā in his revolt against his uncle Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī.

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## The Moriscos and Dynastic Change in Morocco, 1666

*Hossain Bouzineb*

Half a century after the last Moriscos had settled in Morocco, after their successive waves of voluntary departures and forced expulsions, these Muslims of Spanish origin were living in a continuous give-and-take between the country's rulers and their own wish to pursue their destiny, beyond the aspirations and plans of those first immigrants. This lengthy period ended with a dynastic change and a new way of governing, with sovereigns who were much more powerful than those who had overseen the Moriscos' arrival in the early seventeenth century. We must recall that other Moriscos, especially from Granada, had taken refuge in Morocco, principally in the north, at the end of the fifteenth century, and they too were affected by the conditions that prevailed in the rest of the country.<sup>1</sup> The final stage of this era was marked by political upheavals that resulted in the rise of the new dynasty, which overcame the other regional powers.

In this contribution we hope to explain in simple and understandable terms the situation that prevailed in the country for about three decades, dominated to some degree from 1636 onward by the Dilaité Muḥammad al-Ḥāḡḡ; the principal actors in those events; and the final resolution consisting of the installation and acceptance of the new dynasty, which rules Morocco to this day.<sup>2</sup> Of course the Morisco population, especially in Rabat and Tetouan, felt the effects and was forced to adapt to the vicissitudes of each moment. Therefore we will begin by speaking of the Berber *al-Zāwiya al-Dilā'īyya*, which managed to take control of the country and can be considered the last bridge dynasty between the Saadians and the Alawites.

*Al-Zāwiya al-Dilā'īyya*, which arose in the Berber region of the Middle Atlas around 1566 and gained great strength there, attracting many followers,

1 Mercedes García-Arenal, "The Moriscos in Morocco: From Granadan Emigration to the Hornacheros in Salé," in *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain: A Mediterranean Diaspora*, ed. Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard A. Wiegers (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 286–326.

2 Transliterations of Arabic names may be inconsistent, as they follow the forms found in the original documents.

coincided with the general decline of the ruling Saadian dynasty.<sup>3</sup> It began with an exclusive dedication to the religion of Islam and its sciences. The *zāwiya*'s ascetic founder, Abū Bakr, disdained worldly pleasures and led the life of a mystic, encouraging his disciples to perform good works, and his son Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr followed the same ascetic path as his father. The son acknowledged the authority of the Saadian sovereigns in Marrakesh and never opposed them, in spite of many occasions to do so and his powerful position in the Middle Atlas; on the contrary, he called for obedience to legal authority and keeping the people united, while resisting the clear wish by some of his sons to pursue power and a worldly life. But the Saadians' weakness called for some authority that could guarantee public order as well as provide security for the caravans; that opened the way for the Berbers of Dila' to form a powerful army that included the tribes of Majjāt and Ait Ishāq and was led by three of Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr's sons: 'Abd al-Khāliq, 'Umar, and Muḥammad al-Ḥāḡḡ. This force soon extended its activity beyond the local Berber lands, reaching areas farther from Dila' such as Salé and Fez; there it aided the warrior al-'Ayyāši, especially in resolving some internal disputes. It also came to the aid of the Filālis of the town of Tabu'samt against the forces of Sūs. Muḥammad al-Ḥāḡḡ, after his father's death, would make use of this army from Dila' to establish his emirate independently of the Saadians. The Franciscan friar Julián Pastor said of him in 1661:

A few years later, when matters in Salé were still in a bad state, the marabout Layax [al-'Ayyāši] [...] was killed through the action of the marabout Benbucar (Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr- the author of the document uses various forms, e.g. Berbucar, Bucar) [...] the latter obtained dominion over all the land from the Azamor river to Tetouan, including the Algarve [west] of Barbary [which is almost opposite the Algarve of Portugal], Fez, Salé, Meknes, Alcázar, and Tetouan. The Andalusis of the Arrabal and Alcazaba [Morisco quarter and fortress] of Salé swore obedience to this Benbucar or Bucar (it's all the same), and once he took control of that town and port, so as to be safer and not fear any mutiny or uprising, he removed the Andalusis from the fortress and placed in it a son of his named Abdala, with local Moorish troops, to defend it and govern that port.<sup>4</sup>

3 Muḥammad Ḥāḡḡī, *Al-Zāwiya al-Dilā'iyya wa-dawruhā l-dīnī wa-l-'ilmī wa-l-siyāsī* (Rabat: Maṭba'at al-Naḡāḥ al-Ġadīda, 1988), 31.

4 Hossain Bouzineb, *La Alcazaba del Buregreg: hornacheros, andaluces y medio siglo de designios españoles frustrados* (Rabat: Publicaciones del Ministerio de Cultura, 2006), document no. 50.

The same historical period that saw the rise and expansion of the Dilaites also harbored other figures who were active at the same time in different parts of Morocco, such as the fairly short-lived Abū Maḥallī and Zakariya al-Ḥāḥī; we mention them only briefly so as not to depart from our central theme, and to focus on the most relevant actors of the time. Some of the extant documents, such as E(*Estado*) 495 from the Archivo General de Simancas [AGS] dated 1619,<sup>5</sup> refer to those tribal rivalries without naming their protagonists:

The chief cause that moved this Moor [ʿĪsā ibn al-Ṭālib], who had proposed ceding the Alcazaba of Salé to Spain in 1619] to commit such a great act as to hand over to Your Majesty the city of Salé and its Alcazaba, together with everything else I have said, is this: this Moor is a marabout and one of the rebels in Barbary against the Šarīfs of Morocco; he is a close relative of the other who has rebelled in the mountains of Morocco, and if the latter has taken no action it is because he has a very old and prudent father who advises him and has not permitted it until he has a basis and strong support in Your Majesty's favor and protection. All the marabouts of Barbary are convinced that if any of the Šarīfs should rule, he would cut off the heads of all the marabouts. And they know this for certain not only about the Šarīfs, but that any of the marabouts who might rule would cut the heads off all the rest. And so he [ʿĪsā ibn al-Ṭālib] tells me that in speaking with an elderly marabout, that man said to him: my son, if you were to reign, cut off my head and those of every member of our sect; because if I reigned I would cut off yours and all the rest. And if the Ayaxi [al-ʿAyyāšī] who wrote two letters to Your Majesty had the strength and opportunity that this man has, he would have done it already, but he is poor and has no wings to fly with.

Of course, Abū Ḥassūn did enjoy a longer and more effective rule. We should note the mediating role taken by the Dilaites, between Abū Ḥassūn, ruler of Sūs and supporter of Ibn ʿAlī (the founder of the current Alawite dynasty), and his bitter enemies from the town of Tabuʿšamt in Tafilalt, who had asked for Abū Ḥassūn's help. We recall this particular episode to offer perspective on the later conflicts between the Dilaites and the Filāli dynasty. In fact, in subsequent years the understanding between the Dilaites and the Filāli Alawites changed to enmity. Abū Ḥassūn, the Alawites' former friend, also turned

5 Bouzineb, *La Alcazaba del Buregreg*, document no. 13. See also Hossain Bouzineb and Gerard Wiegiers, "Tetuán y la expulsión de los moriscos," in *Tiṭwān ḥilāl Al-Qarnayn 16 Wa 17* (Tetouan: Faculty of Arts, 1995), passim.

against his former Filāli allies, resulting in the imprisonment of Ibn ‘Alī in Sūs, where he was confined for many years until his sons paid a significant ransom to free him. But before that the Dilaites had approached Abū Ḥassūn of Sūs to seek his release, without success.

The Dilaites, Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr in particular, would intervene again on the side of the Filālis, who around 1635–36 were under constant attack by the troops of Abū Ḥassūn. This came at a time when the Dilaites had assured the men of Sūs that they would not be their rivals for the power then held by the Saadians; this allayed the fears of Abū Ḥassūn’s men, and restored trust and friendship between the two factions. (Both *zawāyā* were Berber, the Dilaites from the Middle Atlas and the Sūsans from the Anti-Atlas.) But the situation changed with the death of Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr and the accession of his son Muḥammad al-Ḥāḡḡ to the leadership of the *zāwiya*, since the latter did seek to conquer the Saadian domains. At this point the old disputes and enmities between the men of Sūs and of Dila arose once more, and a series of adverse events to the former soon led to their decline and disappearance.

The Dilaites’ relationship with the warrior al-‘Ayyāšī followed a similar arc: an early stage of understanding and mutual aid turned into enmity, so that the Dilaite leader eliminated al-‘Ayyāšī. We shall see the same pattern later in the dealings of the Alawite Šarifs with the Dilaites, whom they would eventually destroy in turn.

To return to the first of these three relationships, the one between al-‘Ayyāšī and the Dilaites: it would have begun in the city of Salé in the circle of its leader and patron ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ḥassūn, where al-‘Ayyāšī and Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr met each other. There they formed a strong friendship, marked by their similar ideologies and an affection that led al-‘Ayyāšī to reveal all his plans for attacking Morocco’s Christian occupiers. The Dilaite, for his part, did all he could to build support for his friend and fellow student. After the death of Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr in 1636, the leadership of the *zāwiya* fell to his son Muḥammad al-Ḥāḡḡ, a man of very different temperament: he openly aspired to seize power from the Saadians, whom he perceived as seriously weakened and unable to defend their territory against the Christian threat. But he continued to support al-‘Ayyāšī, so long as the latter did not interfere with his plans. For example, at al-‘Ayyāšī’s request in 1638 he came to the aid of the people of Fez, who were being repeatedly attacked and pillaged by the tribes of Ḥyayna and Šraga.

The falling-out between Muḥammad al-Ḥāḡḡ and al-‘Ayyāšī began when the latter started to attack the Moriscos of the left bank of the Buregreg, claiming that they were conniving with the Spanish against his forces. He managed to obtain a fatwa from Muḥammad ibn al-‘Arbī al-Fāsī, later corroborated by

Sīdī Ibn ‘Āšir, the great holy man of Salé, that approved the assault on the Moriscos.<sup>6</sup> Al-‘Ayyāšī besieged the city until he gained control of Rabat, but the Alcazaba resisted him for a long time; its forces consisted of Moriscos and Saadian troops of the ruler of Marrakesh, supported from the sea by the Spaniards.<sup>7</sup> Al-Īfrānī describes the events as follows:

As we have related, the Andalusis of Salé had conspired against al-‘Ayyāšī and joined to attack him; he had heard of their treachery against Islam and the Muslims when they counseled them and encouraged them to doubt their faith. Therefore he consulted the religious authorities on whether it was legal to fight them, and they ruled that it was. Then Sīdī Muḥammad [al-‘Ayyāšī] fell upon them for many days, killing every one that he found. Most of them fled; a few went to Marrakesh, some to Algiers, and others sought refuge with the Christians. A number of them went to the Dilaites, who approached Sīdī Muḥammad al-‘Ayyāšī to request clemency for the Andalusis. But he refused, citing the accepted opinion that they should be exterminated. When the Dilaites saw their request for clemency denied, they were angered and decided to combat al-‘Ayyāšī.<sup>8</sup>

According to the historian Muḥammad Ḥağğī, the enmity between these two leaders must have arisen because Muḥammad al-Ḥağğ wanted to eliminate al-‘Ayyāšī, a rival who occupied strategic locations that stood in his way of conquering the whole of Morocco.<sup>9</sup> In fact the Dilaites managed to kill al-‘Ayyāšī in 1641, but without getting rid of his loyal supporters such as the *rais* al-Khādir Ġaylān, son of one of al-‘Ayyāšī’s comrades in arms, who would take up the struggle to avenge his leader’s death. In any event, Rabat and its Alcazaba would never yield to the Dalaites without a direct clash between two very different mentalities: one of them Berber and shaped by its indoctrination in Islam, and the other from a European milieu and culture and seeking to relieve the suffering of a forced exile.

6 Muḥammad al-Ṣağīr al-Īfrānī, *Nuzhat al-Ḥādī bi-aḥbār mulūk al-qarn al-ḥādī*, edited by Octave Houdas (Paris: Ernst Leroux, 1888), 267, and see the contribution by Amine Oulad Lmaroudia about him in this volume.

7 Gaspard de Rastin to Richelieu, 16 July 1639, in Henry de Castries (ed.), *Les Sources inédites de l’Histoire du Maroc* [hereinafter *SIHM*] *Archives et bibliothèques de France*, 1e serie-Saadiens, tome I (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1911), t. 3, 584–91, 584.

8 Al-Īfrānī, *Nuzhat al-ḥādī*, 270.

9 Ḥağğī, *Al-Zāwīya al-Dilā’īyya*, 168–69.

Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad al-Ḥadir ibn ‘Alī Ġaylān was the son of a man who, through his piety and his hatred of the Christians, had become famous in the tribe of Bānū Ġorfet, of which he was the hereditary leader. According to English sources, he led a troop of holy warriors under the well-known *šeih* Sidi Muḥammad al-‘Ayyāšī; he had made several raids on the Portuguese in Tangier, in one of which he was killed. But his son al-Khadir soon assumed leadership of the tribe; after al-‘Ayyāšī’s death ‘Abd Allāh ibn Abī Bakr seized the son for ransom, but later allowed him to return to the Bānū Ġorfet in order to marry. Al-Ḥadir Ġaylān was then twenty-three years old. The tribe bestowed on him the love and esteem they had felt for his father, and asked him to reassume the role of leader; neighboring tribes followed suit and swore fealty to him, so that Ġaylān soon headed a federation strong enough to declare independence and wage war on Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr, who had murdered his father’s friend and comrade al-‘Ayyāšī.<sup>10</sup> As soon as he was proclaimed chief of the Bānū Ġorfet, Ġaylān began to end his dependence on ‘Abd Allāh ibn Abī Bakr. In one of his first acts, he took advantage of a revolt against two of Ibn Abī Bakr’s brothers to start a campaign against Alcazarquivir; having heard that al-‘Ayyāšī’s murderer was there, he found him and killed him with his own hands. Thus he honored his father’s memory by avenging the death of his father’s teacher and friend.<sup>11</sup>

In the summer of 1651 Ġaylān began his campaign against the Portuguese in Tangier, managing to pitch his camp on (this side) of the Jews’ River, something the Muslims had never dared to do before.

We learn from the studies of Rais Ġaylān in *Les Archives Marocaines* and Menezes’s *Historia de Tânger* that Ġaylān often used Abdulcader Cerón, a Morisco from Hornachos, as a negotiator with the Portuguese who then occupied the city of Tangier. In one of his letters to them Ġaylān calls Cerón his trusted agent and says that they can deal with him as if he were Ġaylān himself. Cerón hoped to gain Tetouan and expel Sidi ‘Abd Allāh, son of Abū Bakr (*Benbucar*), from Salé, because the Dilaite had expelled him from that city. The Alcazaba of Buregreg was governed by was governed by Cerón’s father.<sup>12</sup>

At this period, while Ġaylān was carrying out operations against the Portuguese in Tangier, the latter were fighting the Spaniards on another front during their war of independence from Spain. That made it difficult for them to come

10 Péretié, “Le Raïs El-Khadir Ghailan,” in *Archives Marocaines*, vol. 18 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1912), 22–23.

11 Péretié, “Le Raïs,” 27.

12 Fernando de Menezes, *Historia de Tânger durante la dominación portuguesa* (Lisboa: Ferreriana, 1732), 244.

to the aid of Tangier while Ġaylān was besieging the city, even though he was fighting the Dalaite *zāwiya* at the same time. The city therefore had no support from elsewhere in Morocco, and the Turkish corsair fleet from Algiers, in the Strait of Gibraltar, kept supplies from arriving by sea and seized ships that were loaded with wheat. Under these circumstances Tangier had become a heavy burden to the Portuguese, who did not hesitate to give it to Princess Catherine of Braganza as part of her dowry when she married Charles II of England.

That was how Tangier changed from Portuguese to English hands in 1662, creating a new enemy for the Moroccans and for Ġaylān in particular; he now had to face these new occupiers, who inherited the hatred he had felt for their predecessors. He soon turned from his fight against the Dilaites to encamp an army of 10,000 men one league away from Tangier, on 22 March 1662.<sup>13</sup>

Ġaylān went off to besiege Tetouan and, while unable to conquer it, did keep it under his control. Its governor, ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Naqṣīs, feared he would receive no help from *Benbucar*, (Abū Bakr) so he offered to make peace with Ġaylān as a way of saving his city and its treasures. In June 1662 Ġaylān consented, on the condition that the governor supply him with troops and that one of his own men should govern alongside al-Naqṣīs.<sup>14</sup>

Meanwhile, in the other Morisco stronghold at the mouth of the Buregreg on the Atlantic, the inhabitants no longer tolerated their submission to the Dilaites and rose against the Dilaite Sīdī ‘Abd Allāh on 10 February 1660. They were encouraged by Rais Ġaylān, the sworn enemy of the Dilaites. His partisans, the residents of Old Salé, besieged the Alcazaba once again; Dilaite power was being threatened by a widespread revolt of the Algarbe tribes, and though Sīdī ‘Abd Allāh’s father Sīdī Muḥammad al-Ḥāḡḡ tried to assist him with an army said to consist of 80,000 men, it was decisively defeated near Wādī Bu Ḥrīra. In view of these events Sīdī ‘Abd Allāh, besieged in the Alcazaba, proposed to the the marquis of Los Arcos, governor of Ceuta, that that city be ceded to Philip IV. His only condition was that he and his household be safely conveyed to a place of his own choosing in Morocco. The Spanish authorities were now of a very different opinion about the advantages of occupying the Alcazaba than the duke of Medinasidonia had been when it was first proposed in the early decades of the seventeenth century. Now they could state:

[...] the port [...] is one of the most desirable on the coast of Barbary, because of the shelter that it and its surroundings can provide to the fleets of Your Majesty and your vassals, [because of] the large volume

13 Péretié, “Le Raïs,” 48.

14 Péretié, “Le Raïs,” 50.

of trade that will result, because it rids [us] of the enemies of our holy Catholic faith, and because this [port] protects and links with Ceuta. And from both shores of the Strait we can prevent everything that threatens the security of the Strait and the coasts of Spain [...]. And without comparison this port and site is of the greatest benefit, profit, usefulness, and consequence among all those of Your Majesty across the sea, including Larache.<sup>15</sup>

Ġaylān, however, knowing that the besieged Dilaite was hard pressed, wrote in June 1661 to the marquis of Los Arcos, with whom he had signed treaties in the past, asking him to reject Sidi ‘Abd Allāh’s proposals. Meanwhile his trusted adviser Cerón, whom he had put in command of the besiegers, was assassinated. The murder delayed the fall of the Alcazaba: the Hornacheros and Andalusis, stripped of their leader, let the siege drag on. Sidi ‘Abd Allāh, after handing over his command to Ajenui, slipped out of the Alcazaba and boarded an English ship that took him to Tamesna. Besieged and besiegers had still not reached any agreement. In April 1664 Rais Ġaylān, in an attempt to pacify the site, sent his brother Sidi Tagar with a troop of 300 horsemen to mediate; he achieved a signed pact among the three republics (Old Salé, the Alcazaba, and New Salé / Rabat / the Arrabal) that required them to share all income equally. On 3 May the Alcazaba, breaking all its ties with Dila, placed itself under Ġaylān’s protection. He took control on 8 October 1664 and was admitted by the governor of the fort, Ajenui. Routh relates that Ġaylān, who was besieging the English in Tangier, set aside his efforts in that city to deal with the problems of Salé:

Ghaïlān, in spite of defiant messages, had at length given up all hope of taking Tangier, and turned again to the easier task of besieging Salli. This time he was successful—the English were unable to intervene; and in October 1664 some men of Sûs in the Salli garrison let him in without need of a blow.<sup>16</sup>

We imagine that the “men of Sûs” to whom Routh refers were Ajenui’s troops; he remained in his post, but in March 1665 Rais Ġaylān sent another of his brothers, Sidi Sybi, to live in the Alcazaba. The soldiers of Sûs who had been

15 Bouzineb, *La Alcazaba del Buregreg*, doc. no. 49.

16 Enid M G Routh, *Tangier England's Lost Atlantic Outpost 1661–1684* (London: John Murray, 1912), 76.

there since 1638 were expelled together with Ajenui, who died in April 1665, possibly by poisoning.

To understand fully the context surrounding Tangier and Ġaylān, we must consider the tension caused by the looming war between Holland and England, which could affect England's recent acquisition of Tangier: "Throughout the year 1664 a good understanding with Spain became every day more necessary to English interests in the Mediterranean, for every day brought with it sure tokens of a coming war with the Dutch."<sup>17</sup>

In Appendix 2 we summarize Routh's interesting information about the final stage of Ġaylān's conflict with Mawlāy Rašīd and the nature of his relations with England. Routh's account includes revealing details and descriptions of the activities of those involved at that place and time: the English in Tangier, the Spaniards, the French, the Dutch, and the Moroccans.

In spite of these complications, Ġaylān was not discouraged: he continued to fight and to defend his possessions. For instance, his troops suffered a serious defeat near Alcázar in June 1666; on hearing of it he tried to repair the damage, but most of his fighters had deserted.

Ġaylān's swift consolidation of his rule in Morocco was seen with some alarm by the governors of the Christian garrisons on the North African coast. The English began trying to maintain a balance of power in the country, supporting Ġaylān against the Alawite dynasty that was on the rise. Tetouan was now in the hands of Mawlāy Rašīd, and Salé was inclining toward him. In August 1666 Ġaylān brought a large force to Arzila, where it remained until 1668. Month by month he starved off the city's surrender; when his hungry troops threatened mutiny he distracted them with successful raids against the enemy's herds, and with reserves of flour sent from Tangier. Aware that his influence was waning, he made secret plans to flee; in July 1668, when discontent in Arzila broke out into open revolt, he gained a brief respite from the timely arrival of his brother, who came to his aid and resupplied the fortress with two shiploads of stolen wheat and a crew of Turks. Before the mutineers could take revenge on him, he boarded ship with his wives and some three hundred faithful followers, and, it was rumored, three million pieces of eight. He sailed from Arzila to Tangier, and finally entered as a fugitive the city gates that he had hoped to pass through as a conqueror.

In the Alcazaba of Salé, leadership passed to Abd el-Kader Merino, who was chosen by the Hornacheros and Andalusis; in Salé itself, al-Ḥāġġ Muḥammad Fannīsh took command. That situation was short lived: in August 1665 Merino

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17 Routh, *Tangier England*, 76.

was deposed and replaced by Abd el-Kader Roxo and a son of the former governor Cerón. Ġaylān's influence was insufficient to prevent these popular revolts, and disappeared completely after his defeat by Mawlāy Rašīd in June 1666. The three republics of Buregreg hastened to accept the authority of the *Šarīf* of Tafilalt. The two governors whom Ġaylān had installed fled, and Mawlāy Rašīd reinstalled Abd el-Kader Merino and al-Ḥāğğ Muḥammad Fannīš in their posts. The new sovereign's authority restored the unity of the Moroccan empire, putting an end to the internal conflicts that had divided the three cities of Salé, the Alcazaba, and Rabat for so long.<sup>18</sup>

The events that took place at the mouth of the Buregreg after the half-century of independence and self-rule that followed its settling by Moriscos from Spain cannot be separated from what was happening elsewhere in Morocco, which affected the general political trends in the country. Mawlāy Rašīd was establishing himself as the ruler who could bring order out of the chaos we have been describing, both at the mouth of the Buregreg and elsewhere; with new forces and new followers, he felt empowered to advance on all fronts. He gained additional prestige by eliminating a powerful Jew, Ibn Mish'al, who had ruled as a despot in the region of Taza.

Mawlāy Rašīd, however, had his own rivals and opponents who shared his desire to rule the country; there were also the foreigners, whose ambitions he had to counter with skill and a clear head. These were the circumstances that conditioned the general atmosphere in Morocco amid the decline of the situation created at the mouth of the Buregreg by the arrival of the Moriscos expelled from Spain in 1610.

Among those ambitious foreigners were the French, who were pursuing commercial plans that might serve as a beachhead for future activity, still undefined. Along Morocco's Mediterranean coast, Spanish ships were keeping an eye on the movements of French forces that sought to establish a trading post at Alhucemas. The situation is clear in a letter from the duke of Medinaceli to Queen Mariana, dated 9 September 1667 (see Appendix 3). Later the prince of Montesarcho, also writing to the queen, stated that the Spaniards had already intended to take control of those areas. Thus he justifies his sudden occupation of the island of Alhucemas in 1673: "It brought to mind what had been proposed and discussed, in the matter of preventing other nations from using the port of Alhucemas in Africa as a haven for pirates and enemies."<sup>19</sup>

18 *Introduction. Les Trois Républiques*, in: Henry de Castries(ed.), *SIHM*, Pays-Bas, 1e serie-Saadiens, t. v, xxvii–xxviii.

19 AGS, Guerra Antigua, Legajo GA 2287.

The end of the Saadian era and the proclamation of the Alawite regime in 1666 coincided with the death of Philip IV and the twilight of Hapsburg rule in Spain. On Philip IV's death in September 1665 he left as his heir the sickly prince Charles II; Philip's widow and the new regent, Mariana of Austria, had little trust in the court that surrounded her. The new reign was not promising, the country was in the grip of disillusion, and the child monarch was in precarious health. Mariana soon showed that she understood neither the people of Spain nor the difficulties of governing.<sup>20</sup>

During this time the occupation of Alhucemas was in the planning stage. The French, potential rivals of the Spaniards, managed to take possession of the island of Alhucemas through Rolland Fréjus, who, as a merchant from Marseille, an adventurer, and a paid agent of King Louis XIV, tried to establish a trading post there. He had appeared in the area of Tamsaman between 1664 and 1672, with a poorly disguised company chartered in Albuzeira, to open trading relations in that port, on a spot on the bay near the site of the ancient town of Mezemma.<sup>21</sup> He presented this proposal to Sultan Mawlāy Rašid. The Spaniards, who did not want to see a French presence in the region, increased their vigilance to avoid unwelcome surprises. In 1667 the Moroccans had increased their attacks on Melilla and had even managed to seize one of its four fortresses on 26 September with French assistance. Melilla, left unprotected, sent repeated petitions for aid, which arrived late or not at all. Its governor, in a desperate move, promised freedom to the prisoners confined there once the fight against the Moroccans had been won.

With the rise of the new Sharifian dynasty, Morocco ended the tense situation that had dominated the mouth of the Buregreg since the immigration of the Spanish Moriscos. It began to recover the Atlantic ports occupied by Spain (except for Tangier at the point where the Atlantic met the Mediterranean, held by England); it brought under central control the territories that had eluded royal sovereignty for half a century. But at the same time, in Alhucemas, a new Spanish occupation began in the Mediterranean, as that port was added to the Spanish possessions of Melilla and Vélez de la Gomera; all three still belong to Spain today. The occupation of Alhucemas began at about the time that the Alawite dynasty began its rule, though it was not consolidated for another seven years. That series of occupations ended with the taking of the Chafarinas Islands in 1848.

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20 José Luis Comellas, *Historia de España moderna y contemporánea* (Madrid: Rialp, 1980), 263.

21 Enrique Arques, *Las adelantadas de España* (Madrid: CSIC, 1966), 121.

## Appendix

### *Treatise between Ġaylān and the English*

AGS E2684

Portada: + Su Mg<sup>d</sup>. M(adri)d mayo 1666

Al Duque de M(edi)na Zeli

/P.1/ Artículos de paçes concluidos y confirmados por su Ex<sup>a</sup> D<sup>n</sup> Ju<sup>o</sup> Bellaír Conde de Berlabý, Cap<sup>n</sup> G<sup>l</sup> de todas las Armas de Su Mg<sup>d</sup>. el Rey de la Gran Bretaña, en África, vizalmirante de su Arm(a)da R<sup>l</sup> en la mar de la costa de Berbería, y Gov(ernad)or desta ciudad de Tánxar, y sus distritos, de parte de su Sacara Mg<sup>d</sup>. D<sup>n</sup>. Carlos Seg(un)do Rey de la Gran Bretaña, França y Irlanda ett<sup>a</sup>. con el muy Ex<sup>mo</sup>. S<sup>r</sup>. Çid Hamet el Hader Benali Gaylan, Príncipe de la Bervería, el Poniente, Arzila, Alcázar, Tetuán, Zalé, y su Arraval, Almocad del Habet, y S<sup>or</sup>. del Algarve y todas sus cávilas y distritos ett<sup>a</sup>. las dhas. paçes han de correr para siempre con todos sus Dominios, y vassallos, y corren desde oy día de la f(ec)ha desta que es en 2 de Abril del a(ñ)<sup>o</sup>. de 1666.

Capítulo 1<sup>o</sup>. Que desde oy día de la f(ec)ha y para siempre ha de haver una paz firme y verdadera, y no se ha de pedir satisfacción alguna de una, ni otra parte por ningún agravio antiguo, ni sucesos que ayan pasado hasta oy entre ambas partes.

2<sup>o</sup>. Se conçede de ambas partes que los de Tanjar han de tener todo el campo que empieça desde el Río de los Judíos, corriendo por donde está la línea señalada, hasta el Río de los Leacecos en Tanjar la viexa, en lo qual podrán sembrar todos los géneros que quisieren de la línea para adentro, menos plantar árboles ni viñas, ni haciendo fosos, ô, vallados, ni cosa que parezca chica, ni grande.

3<sup>o</sup>. Que en faltando leña â la Plaça de Tanjar, y mandando Su Ex<sup>a</sup>. S<sup>r</sup>. G<sup>l</sup>. persona â avisar â Su Ex<sup>a</sup>. el Çid Jamet Gaylan será obligado de embiar guardas mientras la estén cortando, y cargando hasta entrarla en Tanjar, y las personas que asistieren en ello hasta tener efecto es obligado Su Ex<sup>a</sup>. el S<sup>r</sup>. Gl. De Tanjar a pagarles su asist(enci)a.

4<sup>o</sup>. Que todo género de embarcaciones de ambas partes puedan entrar y salir, tratar, y contratar en los puertos de ambas partes, entrando y saliendo sin pasaportes cada quando que sea su voluntad.

5<sup>o</sup>. Que todas las veçes que el Su Ex<sup>a</sup>. el S<sup>r</sup>. Gen<sup>l</sup>. de Tanjar neçesitare de algún género de refresco, vacas, gallinas, carneros, ô, otro género, avisando a Su Ex<sup>a</sup>. el Çid Hader, ô a quien estubiese governando en su lugar, será /p.2/ (será) obligado de mandárselos dar pagando los precios acostumbrados demás de los gastos de conduçirlos â Tanjar.

6º. Que desde oy día de la f(ec)ha no se ha de fabricar cosa alguna nueva de fortificación, con distinción que esto no impide el reparar las fortificaciones que están echas, y acavarlas, limpiando la línea, y teniéndola en pie como oy está.

7º. Que todos los que se huyeren, fueren ô vinieren de una y otra parte siendo ladrones, serán obligados, ambas partes, a ponerlos en buen recado, y entregarlos para que sean castigados con lo que traxeren, bolviéndolo a sus dueños.

8º. Que todas las veçes que vengan cáfilas â la çiu(da)d de Tanxar pasando de diez camellos, se han de parar en las partes a donde les señalaren hasta que vayan entrando de diez en diez, y descargando sus cargas p(ar)a bolver a salir fuera, y que ninguno ha de entrar con Armas si no fueren los cavalleros, y si qualquiera persona de una parte â otra se agraviaren el uno al otro han de ser castigados conforme las leyes, y mereçimiento de la causa a que son obligados.

9º. Que está conçedido por parte del Ex<sup>mo</sup>. Sor. Çid Hamet el Hader que los varcos de Tanxar pueden tomar en la lengua del Agua todas las piedras que les pareçiere para la obra del muelle, que ay entre el cavo Espartel y el cavo al leste de la Vahía de Tanxar.

10º. Que Su Ex<sup>a</sup>. el Çid Hader Gaylan será obligado de asistir con las fuerças que tiene â la çiu(dad) de Tanxar contra qualquier ex(érci)to xptiano que salte en tierra o puesto â la çiu(da)d.

11º. Y por quanto Su Mg<sup>d</sup>. Dios le g(uar)de el Rey de la Gran Bretaña se alla agradeçido de la amistad y buena voluntad de Su Ex<sup>a</sup>. Cid Hader Gaylan conçediéndole el pedaço de campo nombrado en los Artículos arriba, da por bien se le conçeda a Su Ex<sup>a</sup>. dho. Cid Hader Gaylan duçientos Barriles de pólvora fina, y han de ser en la forma siguiente; cinqüenta Barriles luego que traigan los Artículos firmados, y otros cinqüenta Barriles al cavo de tres meses, y de tres meses en tres meses cinqüenta Barriles de pólvora durante estas paçes.

12º. Y porque ay muchos varcos extranjeros que van y vienen â esta plaza de Tanxar, en que por la mayor parte los s<sup>ers</sup>. Ingleses son interesados /p.3/ se conzede que no han de ser apresados por las embarcaçiones vasallas al dicho s<sup>or</sup>. Cid Gaylan estando dentro de la punta llamada Fehad Sefe, y por los ingleses el punto más acá del Río de los Judíos, y por el levante hasta la Punta grande que haçe la Vahía de Tanjar llamado en Arávigo Carfe Almenar.

13º. Es conçedido por parte de Su Ex<sup>a</sup>. S<sup>or</sup>. Gen<sup>l</sup>. de Tanxar que en las ocasiones que se ofrescan haver men(este)r, Su Ex<sup>a</sup>. el Cid Hader Gaylan, algunos navíos p(ar)a contra enemigos suyos (no siendo amigos de los ingleses) se le darán los navíos que se allaren promptos en la Vahía de Tánjar, y siendo los suso dichos amigos de los s<sup>es</sup>. Ingleses, son obligados de no asistirles, no favoreçerles en cosa alguna por mar, ni por tierra.

14°. Que todos los mercaderes vasallos de Zid Hader Gaylan han de tener igual justicia con los Ingleses en cobrar sus devítos, y esto se entiende de ambas partes.

Todos estos Artículos arriba dhos. confirmados, y ajustados por ambas partes en Tanjar â 2 de abril de 1666.

*Selected Passages from: Routh, E. M. G. Tangier England's Lost Atlantic Outpost 1661–84 (81–91)*

“During the time of the Dutch war intercourse with Ghailán was limited to a series of more or less friendly negotiations (...). The fact was that Ghailán’s power was already half-eclipsed by the shadow of the “Great Taffiletta,” the Emperor Mulai Er Rasheed II., whose star was rapidly rising over the plains of Morocco. News of Moorish affairs travelled very slowly to Europe, and the Spanish and Dutch diplomatists who promised help to Ghailán if he would attack Tangier had little idea that the Moor, who answered their proposals with so much arrogance, was being ousted by a new power from his hard-won dominions, and was forced to delay by sheer necessity. An inkling of the truth filtered into Tangier, whence it was reported that “the Saint was upon the back of Guylan with a considerable army” (...).

Ghailán was indeed hard pressed by his old enemy Ben Boukir, and by the renowned warrior Er Rasheed. The Shereef Mohammed, whose claim to the throne he had, nominally at least, supported, had been killed in 1664, and Ghailán was now fighting openly for his own hand against the sacred Shereefian dynasty. Day by day he felt his hold on Morocco loosening, as his adherents one after another deserted him and went over to his victorious enemy, and Alcazar and Tetouan, Salli and Azila, threatened to slip from his grasp.

As Ghailán’s power waned, his friendship for the English grew apace, and in May 1665 he began to treat for peace, though he still made a show of offering it as a favour, and couched his letters in terms of unabated pride. He asserted that he had never broken peace with the English, and that hostilities had always been begun by them, and still demanded the demolition of all forts built since the beginning of 1664 (...). The Governor seems to have found it hard to realise that the once redoubtable enemy of Tangier was now little better than an outlawed fugitive, whose treaties were worth just so much as the paper on which they were written.

Early in 1666 Ghailán made a final attempt to regain prestige among his followers by attacking the Spanish garrison of Laraiche. This attempt failed, and in April of the same year he at last made a treaty of peace and alliance with the English.”

*Extracts from a Letter by the Duke of Medinaceli to Queen Mariana,  
Dated 9 September 1667.*

AGS, Guerra Antigua. Legajo GA 2287

“Señora: En cumplimiento de la Real orden de V. Mgd. de 5 del pasado, envié al capitán Manuel de Castro, persona de mi satisfacción, con un piloto práctico de aquellas costas a reconocer el puerto de las Alhucemas y saber qué intentos avía manifestado el francés por medio de las personas que imbió, de qué utilidad le puede ser, y de qué daño nos puede ser a nosotros (...).

El intento que tubo el francés fue querer que el Rey de Fez le permitiese hacer una fortificación entre la Alcazava, y el puerto, lo qual no se lo consintió aquel moro, pero quedando amigos le permitió que un francés viniese en la Alcazava para cónsul de los franceses que quisiesen comerciar.

Permitíale también que hiciese el fuerte en uno de los tres escollos, pero no aviendo agua en ninguno dellos, no lo admitió el francés, y oy no ha quedado allí sino éste que se tiene por cónsul, y juzgan que los moros están tan advertidos de que no les conviene la vecindad del francés, como lo podemos estar nosotros (...).

Y en fin (Señora) lo que alcanzo de la materia es que ni el estado de la Monarchía, ni las conveniencias que este puerto nos ofrece son para tomar empeño para ocuparle, ni para mantenerle; Nro. Sr. Gde. la C.R.P. de V. Mgd. al bien de la xptiandad como es menester, Pto. de Sta. M<sup>a</sup>. 9 de S(eptiemb)re de 1667.

(Sigue el documento en letra diferente): Sra. Las llaves de España son Gibraltar y Cádiz. Estas están por cerrar de sus primeras murallas, no sé quién puede aconsejar a V.M: que divierta a otros fines los efectos R(eale)s primero que a la seguridad de estas plazas. (Firma del Duque)”.

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# A Fasi Scholar's Response to the Hornacheros in Salé: Ibn 'Āšir's *fatwa* Contextualised

*Amine Oulad Lmaroudia*

## 1 Introduction: Revisiting Razzouq's Chronology

In his seminal study of Andalusī migration to Morocco during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Moroccan historian Muḥammad Razzouq has meticulously researched the military, economic, political, cultural and religious effect of this migration. First published in Arabic in 1987, the work remains relatively unfamiliar to a wider academic audience. In 2018, the work was translated into English, but obtaining a copy, even from university libraries, remains challenging. Nevertheless, the study remains one of the earliest and best academic attempts of this genre in which primary Arabic and European sources have been utilised, compared and synthesised. One group that has attracted Razzouq's attention is the Hornacheros and their subsequent settlement in Salé from Spain and the effects of their settlement.<sup>1</sup> The Hornacheros are a distinctive group of Moriscos who managed to settle in Salé and become important political players in seventeenth-century Morocco.<sup>2</sup> This contribution discusses the role of Ibn 'Āšir (1582–1631), an influential religious scholar in Sa'did Morocco, in the chaotic political context of early-seventeenth-century Salé and his condemnation of the recently arrived Hornacheros. Their presence in Morocco has attracted the attention of influential religious scholars such as Ibn 'Āšir (d. 1631), Ibrāhīm al-Kallālī (d. 1637),<sup>3</sup> Muḥammad al-'Arabī

1 Muḥammad Razzūq, *Al-Andalusīyyūn wa Ḥiğratuhum ilā al-Mağrib* (Casablanca: Ifriqiya al-Šarq, 1998), 195.

2 For the most comprehensive account of their settlement in Salé, see Hossain Bouzineb, *La Alcazaba del Buregreg. Hornacheros, andaluces y medio siglo de designos españoles frustrados* (Rabat: Publicaciones del Ministerio de Cultura, 2007), 39–70.

3 For his biography, see Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Ḥuḍaykī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥuḍaykī* (Casablanca: al-Najāh al-Ġadida, 2006), 1: 133–34; Muḥammad al-Ifrānī, *Šafwat man Intašar min Aḥbār Šulahā' al-Qarn al-Ḥādī 'Ašar* (Casablanca: Markaz al-Turāt al-Ṭaqāfi fi al-Mağrib, 2004), 223–24; Muḥammad ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Qādirī, *Al-Iklīl wa al-Tāğ fi Tadḥīl Kifāyat al-Muḥtāğ* (Rabat: al-Jāmi'a al-Mağribiyya, 2009), 195–96; and al-Qādirī, *Našr al-Maṭānī* (Rabat: Dār al-Mağrib), 1: 364–66.

al-Fāsī (d. 1642)<sup>4</sup> and ʿIsā al-Suktānī (d. 1651).<sup>5</sup> Only the latter came out in favour of the Hornacheros in their struggle with Muḥammad al-ʿAyyāšī (d. 1641), while the first four sided firmly with Muḥammad al-ʿAyyāšī. Regrettably, no extant written *fatāwā* are available in historical records regarding this episode save for al-Suktānī's *fatwa* which was penned by his student, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ziyyātī (d. 1646), in his collection of *fatāwā* called *Al-Ġawāhir al-Muḥtāra*. The earliest reference for Ibn ʿAšīr's, Ibrāhīm al-Kallālī's and Muḥammad al-ʿArabī al-Fāsī's engagement with the Hornacheros is al-Ifrānī's (d. 1747) *Nuzhat al-Hādī*. The *Nuzha*, or for that matter any other subsequent primary source, does not present any textual content of the *fatwa*, but rather suggests that the aforementioned scholars likely conveyed their legal opinions orally (*aftaw*). Moreover, as will be discussed later, there is also a political aspect that should not be overlooked in the confrontation between the Hornacheros and the popular political contender Muḥammad al-ʿAyyāšī.

Whether the aforementioned scholars sided with the Hornacheros or Muḥammad al-ʿAyyāšī became an indirect articulation of political preference *vis-à-vis* the ruling Saʿadian dynasty. As suggested by Razzouq, al-Suktānī was the chief judge of Marrakech and Taroudant, the Saʿadian dynasty's power base, and his siding with the Hornacheros and therefore against Muḥammad al-ʿAyyāšī, a threat to the Saʿadian dynasty, can also be interpreted as a political expression. In 1614, Imam al-Suktānī moved from Taroudant to Marrakech, where he had served as the main judge in both cities under Mawlāy Zaydān and his three sons Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Malik (d. 1631), Mawlāy al-Walīd (d. 1636) and Muḥammad al-Šayḡ al-Ašḡar (d. 1655). His move from Taroudant to Marrakech came after his refusal to endorse the conquest of the Taroudant region by the Sufi rebel Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā al-Ḥāḥī (d. 1626). According to Imam al-Suktānī, it was not permitted to rebel against the sultan without a justifiable reason. In a letter addressed to Abū Zakariyyā, Imam al-Suktānī writes;

4 See his autobiography in Muḥammad al-ʿArabī al-Fāsī, *Mirʾat al-Maḥāsīn min Aḥbār al-Šayḡ Abī al-Maḥāsīn* (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 2008), 330–36.

5 For his biography, see al-Qādirī, *Našr al-Maṭānī*, 2: 59–60; Muḥammad al-Rawdānī, *Šilat al-Ḥalaf* (Tunis: Dār al-Ġarb al-Islāmī, 2007), 1: 59–60; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Tamanārtī, *Al-Fawāʿid al-Ġumma fī Isnād ʿUlūm al-Umma* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 2007), 139–42; al-Ḥasan al-Yūsī, *Fahrāsa* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya), 57–58; and Abū al-ʿAbbās ibn Ibrāhīm al-Samlālī al-Marrākušī, *Al-Iʿlām bi man Ḥalla Marrākuš wa Aġmāt min al-Aʿlām* (Rabat: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Malakiyya, 1993), 9: 413–16. For al-Suktānī's *fatwa* in support of the Hornacheros, see ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ziyyātī, *Al-Ġawāhir al-Muḥtāra* (Constantine: University of Constantine, 2013), 2: 92–94; and al-Mahdī al-Wazzānī, *Al-Miʿyār al-Ġadīd* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 2014), 3: 16–21.

The prohibition of rebelling against the leaders by the imams of the righteous is sufficient evidence. It is an obligation for those who witness objectionable acts from the leaders, to endure this oppression as this is far less harmful than the consequences of rebellion, which lead to the destruction of lives, wealth, honour, and religion. This is why the scholars among the companions and the followers practiced patience until they met Allāh, safe and sound in their faith, having utilized their time for His worship.<sup>6</sup>

This angered Abū Zakariyyā and he, subsequently, ordered his assassination.<sup>7</sup> Similar criticism by Imam al-Suktānī was also directed towards Abū Maḥallī (d. 1613), another Sufi rebel trying to establish political power in the south of Morocco. Another Sufi rebel by the name of Abū Ḥassūn (d. 1659) also sought his legal advice concerning the building of a synagogue by the Jews of Īlīg and if this was permitted or not.<sup>8</sup>

In his discussion of the confrontation in Salé between the Andalusis and Moroccans, Razzouq mentions that a number of Moroccan scholars, among whom was Ibn 'Āšir, were asked to provide their legal opinion, as both sides were locked in a state of civil war trying to kill each other.<sup>9</sup> Both the Andalusis and the Moroccans requested *fatāwā* from various scholars in order to strengthen their particular case. Razzouq's primary focus in his study of this entire episode, however, has been al-Suktānī's *fatwa* in support of the Hornacheros, which he briefly analyses. In contrast, Ibn 'Āšir's engagement has been left unstudied and a critical analysis has hitherto been lacking. Ibn 'Āšir's involvement in the political landscape of early-seventeenth-century Salé is, as this contribution will show, a vibrant illustration of how the religious establishment approached the question of the Hornacheros' betrayal of Muḥammad al-'Ayyāšī. Moreover, Ibn 'Āšir's strained relationship with the Sa'adian dynasty will be highlighted and his siding with Muḥammad al-'Ayyāšī, whose father was a student of his, provides a wider context for his political views. Furthermore, upon looking at the primary source material more closely, Razzouq has dated Ibn 'Āšir's involvement in this conflict much earlier and does not explicitly link his *fatwa* to the Hornacheros.<sup>10</sup> Despite the fact that the Arabic primary sources

6 Aḥmad al-Nāširī, *Al-Istiqṣā li-Aḥbār Duwal al-Maḡrib al-Aqṣā* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 2015), 2: 417.

7 Al-Nāširī, *Al-Istiqṣā*, 2: 414–23.

8 Muḥammad al-Muḥtār al-Sūsī, *Īlīg Qadīman wa Ḥadītan* (Rabat: The Royal Printing Press, 1966), 62.

9 Razzūq, *Al-Andalusīyyūn wa Ḥiḡratuhum*, 166.

10 Razzūq, *Al-Andalusīyyūn wa Ḥiḡratuhum*, 166.

are indiscriminate in their use of the ethnic term “Andalusi”, it is possible, upon careful examination of the sources, to argue that the Andalusis with whom Ibn ‘Āšir engaged are in fact the Hornacheros. Therefore, Razzouq’s account of Ibn ‘Āšir’s engagement with the Hornacheros needs to be critically revisited, as a number of aspects have hitherto remained unexamined.

This contribution will first look at the arrival of the Hornacheros in Morocco and how they established themselves in the Rabat-Salé estuary. Then, a brief history of Ibn ‘Āšir’s intellectual profile will be provided in order to contextualise his importance vis-à-vis the Hornacheros. Moreover, we will briefly analyse Ibn ‘Āšir’s wider religio-political significance, and then discuss his opposition to the selling of Larache. Finally, Ibn ‘Āšir’s engagement with the Hornacheros will be contextualised and juxtaposed to Razzouq’s chronology.

## 2 The Hornacheros in Salé

The expulsion of the Moriscos between 1609 and 1614 was the final chapter of the Muslim presence on the Iberian Peninsula. For Morocco, however, it was another iteration of Andalusí migration to cities such as Fez, Ceuta, Tetouan, Tangier, Marrakech and Salé, which started in the eighth century. The Hornacheros are a fascinating group of Moriscos from the village of Hornachos in Extremadura.<sup>11</sup> The village had been taken by Pedro González (d. 1237), the twelfth Grand Master of the Order of Santiago, in 1234. Apart from Granada in 1495, they formed the single largest concentration of Muslims in the lands of the Crown of Castile, numbering 432 households.<sup>12</sup> In December 1609, the number of families was approximately 1500.<sup>13</sup> The Spanish crown accused the Hornacheros of being crypto-Muslims and continuously suspected them of sedition and “complicities”.<sup>14</sup> Indeed, anyone hailing from the village was

11 See also Gerard Wiegers, “Managing Disaster: Networks of the Moriscos during the Process of the Expulsion from the Iberian Peninsula around 1609,” *Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures* 36, no. 2 (2010): 141–68.

12 Leonard P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain, 1250 to 1500* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990), 71.

13 Bouzineb, *La Alcazaba del Buregreg*, 30–31.

14 García-Arenal and Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, *The Inquisition Trial of Jerónimo de Rojas. A Morisco of Toledo (1601–1603)* (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 99–101. In 1494, the Order of Santiago complained about the lack of churches in the village and how all its inhabitants were Muslims. In 1604, Alonso Contreras laments that *todos son moros salvo un capillejo*, see Leonard P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain, 1500 to 1614* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press 2005), 370–77. A local monk also declared that the Hornacheros regarded “the sermon as a humiliation, the confession as a rack, and communion as a gallows,” and that “taking

deemed a devout Muslim.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, the Arabic language was still widely spoken by the Hornacheros, prompting the warden of the Inquisition's jail in Llerena in 1542 to search for interpreters because all of his prisoners, mostly Hornacheros, were speaking Arabic.<sup>16</sup> Their lucrative lifestyle as *arrieros*, organisers of transport by pack animal, made them famous. In 1608, the *alcalde de corte*<sup>17</sup> Gregorio López Madera was charged with investigating numerous alleged crimes in Hornachos, after Juan de Chaves Xaramilla had denounced its inhabitants to the king. He ordered hundreds of Hornacheros to be flogged, and sentenced 170 of them to 'service' in the galleys.<sup>18</sup> The *alcalde de corte* also ended their right to bear arms and to freely move goods from town to town. He also forbade any manifestations of Islam such as possessing Arabic books, which he found hidden in nearby caves, or speaking Arabic. Many Hornacheros had departed to Morocco before the first Morisco expulsion was decreed.<sup>19</sup> The group numbered approximately three thousand people and they were financially wealthy, which allowed them to buy the right to take arms with them to Morocco to defend themselves.<sup>20</sup> Their journey to Morocco led them first to

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them to church was like taking them to the galleys," see Antonio Domínguez Ortiz and Bernard Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos. Vida y tragedia de una minoría* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2003), 193.

- 15 García-Arenal and Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, *The Inquisition Trial*, 97.
- 16 The inquisition banned the use of Arabic in the village of Hornachos in 1539, see García-Arenal and Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, *The Inquisition Trial*, 97. See also Aḥmad Ibn Qāsim al-Ḥaḡarī, *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn 'alā 'l-Qawm al-Kāfirīn (The supporter of religion against the infidel). General introduction, critical edition and annotated translation* (Madrid: CSIC, 2015), 20.
- 17 An official of the Judicial Administration who had the authority to judge cases in the places where the king's court was located at any given time.
- 18 Henry Charles Lea, *The Moriscos of Spain: Their Conversion and Expulsion* (London: Forgotten Books, 2017), 182.
- 19 On 9 December, the order for the expulsion for the Moriscos of Granada, Murcia and Andalucía was issued, see *Cédula Real y pregón ordenando y anunciando la expulsión de los cristianos nuevos moriscos de los reinos de Granada, Murcia y Andalucía* (Madrid, 9 December 1609), in Ana Isabel Carrasco Manchado, *De la convivencia a la exclusión. Imágenes legislativas de mudéjares y moriscos, siglos XIII–XVII* (Madrid: Sílex, 2012), 350–54. In January 1610, the ban was repeated, and this time included the village of Hornachos, see *Bando de expulsión de los moriscos de los reynos de Granada y Murcia, y Andalucía, y de la villa de Hornachos, 1609–1610* (Seville, 10 January 1610), in Carrasco Manchado, *De la convivencia a la exclusión*, 356–59.
- 20 This right was bought for 30,000 ducats, see Lea, *The Moriscos of Spain*, 182, and Guillermo Gozalbes Busto, *La república andaluza de Rabat en el siglo XVII* (Tetouan: Imprenta Minerva, 1974), 14. Estimates of how wealthy these Hornacheros were can be deduced from documents available from the Simancas archive, see Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, 376. See also Pascual Boronat y Barrachina, *Los Moriscos españoles y su expulsión*

Seville, Ceuta and Tetouan.<sup>21</sup> The Hornacheros then travelled to Salé, where they finally settled in the ruined Kasbah of the two Rivers (*Qaşbat al-Awdāya*) on the opposite side from present-day Salé.<sup>22</sup> Here, emulating the rebuilding of Tetouan by Andalusis from Granada and Valencia in the fifteenth century, they rebuilt the Kasbah and enjoyed relative independence from the Sa'adian dynasty as a result of a dynastic civil war and became "the most notable self-governing Morisco community" in Morocco.<sup>23</sup>

It is important to note that there were three distinct communities in early-seventeenth-century Salé along the Bou Regreg River, which is a distinction not found in many European and Arabic sources.<sup>24</sup> The first was the native community in Old Salé on the north bank of the river, who would become known to the Europeans as the 'Sallee Rovers'.<sup>25</sup> The Hornacheros in their Kasbah were the second of these communities and this settlement would become known as 'New Sallee'. Finally, there is the community between Chellah and the Kasbah which today is called Rabat and was settled by Moriscos who arrived after the official expulsion decree in 1609. This final group was looked down upon "because of their non-Muslim ways, Spanish dress, language, and manners."<sup>26</sup> All three communities were governed by a *dīwān* and significant contention existed among these three communities.<sup>27</sup> The Hornacheros made

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(Valencia: Imprenta de Francisco Vives y Mora, 1901), 2: 283. In April 1502, Ferdinand and Isabella signed a decree in Talavera which allowed the Hornacheros to travel freely in the territories of the crown and to bear arms, see García-Arenal and Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, *The Inquisition Trial*, 98.

- 21 For the most comprehensive account of their expulsion, see also Henri Lapeyre, *Géographie de l'Espagne morisque* (Paris: SEVPEN, 1959), 51–113, 147–71 and 203–07. See also al-Ḥaġarī, *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn*, 90.
- 22 Gozalbes Busto, *La república andaluza*, 50.
- 23 García-Arenal, "The Moriscos in Morocco: From Granadan Emigration to the Hornacheros of Salé," in *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain: A Mediterranean Diaspora* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 286–328.
- 24 Kenneth L. Brown, "An Urban View of Moroccan History. Salé, 1000–1800," *Hespéris-Tamuda* 12 (1977): 5–106. One of the earliest Moroccan historians to make this distinction is Ġa'far al-Nāṣirī (d. 1980), see *Salā wa Ribāṭ al-Faṭḥ* (Rabat: Akādīmiyat al-Mamlaka al-Maġribiyya, 2006), 2: 203.
- 25 The Dutch used the term 'de rovers van Sallee' in 1654, see *SIHM, Pays-Bas*, 5: 389. The term 'Sallee Rover' was also in circulation in English in the early eighteenth century. For example, the term appears in Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*.
- 26 Jacques Caillé, *La ville de Rabat jusqu'au protectorat français* (Paris: Vanoest, 1949), 248. Translation is from Peter L. Wilson, *Pirate Utopias. Moorish Corsairs & European Renegades* (New York: Autonomedia, 2003), 79.
- 27 Adriana Valencia, *Migration and the City. Urban Effects of the Morisco Expulsion* (Berkeley: University of California, 2011), 110; and De Castries, "Introduction: Les trois républiques du Bou-Regreg: Salé, la Kasba et Rabat," in *SIHM, Pays-Bas*, 6: Si, ix.

their money through piracy and selling captives, from which Mawlāy Zaydān demanded a flat tax of ten percent.<sup>28</sup> In 1627, after the death of Mawlāy Zaydān, the Kasbah (New Sallee) and Old Salé (Sallee Rovers) would proclaim itself an independent republic, becoming known collectively as the Salé Corsairs, the Corsair Republic of Salé or the Bou Regreg Republic, and proving a magnet for European adventurers.<sup>29</sup> The Hornacheros closely guarded their distinct identity until the late seventeenth century. As can be deduced from Juan Luis Rojas's *Chronicle of Barbary* and Don Alonso de Noronha's letters to the Duke of Medina Sidonia, the Hornacheros, who settled in Morocco at the beginning of the seventeenth century, even though they felt superior to other Moriscos, were also perceived by the local population as a liability.<sup>30</sup> The Hornacheros also attracted the critical attention of an influential religious scholar from Fez by the name of 'Abd al-Wāḥid ibn 'Āšir, whose family originally descended from a fourteenth-century Andalusī migrant.

### 3 Profile of a Seventeenth-Century Moroccan Scholar

Ibn 'Āšir's full name is Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Wāḥid ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Āšir ibn Sa'd al-Anṣārī al-Andalusī al-Fāsī.<sup>31</sup> Ibn 'Āšir (1582–1631) was born in Fez, the centre of religious learning *par excellence* in the sixteenth-century Maghreb. Ibn 'Āšir's educational formation occurred at local mosques, Islamic colleges and later on at *al-Zāwiya al-Dilā'iyya*, which was a spiritual retreat founded in 1566 by Abū Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn Sa'īd al-Dilā'ī (d. 1612) in Khenifra, located in the Middle Atlas region. Ibn 'Āšir spent his youth studying works of jurisprudence, exegesis, theology, ethics, grammar, logic, prosody and

28 Kenneth R. Andrews, *Ships, Money and Politics. Seafaring and Naval Enterprise in the Reign of Charles I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 167.

29 According to some estimates, the population of the independent city state was 10,000, see Zysberg, "Preface," in Leïla Maziane, *Salé et ses Corsaires, (1666–1727): un port de course marocain au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Caen: Presses universitaires de Caen, 2017), 10. See also Mouline, "Holy Cities of the Two Banks," in Jayyusi, Holod, Antillio and Raymond (eds.), *The City in the Islamic World* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 1: 652; and Caillé, *La ville de Rabat*, 4: 205–81.

30 García-Arenal, "The Moriscos in Morocco."

31 In his extensive biography of Mālikī luminaries, Muḥammad Maḥlūf (d. 1941) provides Abū Mālik as his *kunya*, see Maḥlūf, *Šağarat al-Nūr al-Zakiyya fī Ṭabaqāt al-Mālikiyya* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 2010), 1: 434. The biographer and reformist Muḥammad al-Ḥağwī (d. 1956) provides an additional grandfather by the name of Aḥmad, see al-Ḥağwī, *Al-Fikr al-Sāmī fī Tārīḥ al-Fiḥ al-Islāmī* (Beirut: al-Maktaba al-'Ašriyya, 2017), 1: 607.

even medicine<sup>32</sup> under the tutelage of eminent Moroccan legal scholars, muftis, judges (*quḍāt*) and chief scholars (*Šuyūḥ al-Ġamāʿa*). Ibn ʿĀšir's teachers were as follows: Aḥmad al-Lamṭī (b. after 1533), Aḥmad al-Kaffif (d. 1596–1597), Muḥammad al-Qaṣṣār (d. 1604), Muḥammad al-Šarīf al-Murrī al-Tlamsānī (d. 1609), ʿAlī ibn ʿImrān (d. 1608),<sup>33</sup> Muḥammad al-Hawwārī (d. 1613), Qāsim ibn al-Qāḍī (d. 1613), Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAzīz al-Tajībī (d. 1613), Aḥmad ibn al-Qāḍī (d. 1616), Muḥammad Šaqrūn (d. 1619), Qāsim al-Ġassānī (d. 1622), ʿAlī al-Baṭṭūī (d. 1629), Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr al-Dilāī (d. 1636–37) and Muḥammad al-Ġinān (d. 1640).<sup>34</sup> Most of these men of learning were students of the prime sage of the sixteenth century, the erudite legalist Aḥmad al-Manġūr (d. 1587).<sup>35</sup> In his *fahrasa* and *Al-Durr al-Ṭamīn*, Ibn ʿĀšir's principal student Mḥammad ibn Aḥmad Mayyāra (d. 1662) provides a brief educational biography of what his master had studied with the aforementioned scholars.<sup>36</sup> One teacher who had a momentous effect on Ibn ʿĀšir's spiritual development was Ibn ʿAzīz al-Tajībī (d. 1613).<sup>37</sup> According to all biographers, the Tajībī family traced their roots to the rebel Mundhir ibn Yaḥyā (d. 1039) from Zaragoza, in

32 In his *fahrasa*, Muḥammad al-Marġīū relates a medicinal recipe written by Ibn ʿĀšir; see al-Marġīū, *Al-ʿAwāʿid al-Mazriyya* (Rabat: Wizārat al-Awqāf, 2007), 1: 169.

33 He died due to poisoning when he was imprisoned by Mawlāy Zaydān, see al-Qādirī, *Našr al-Maṭāni*, 1: 149.

34 Their biographies can be found in al-Qādirī's *Našr al-Maṭāni*, al-Ifrānī's *Šafwa*, Aḥmad Ibn al-Qāḍī's *Durrat al-Ḥiġāl* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 2002), and Ibn al-Qāḍī *Ġaḍwat al-Iqtibās fi man Ḥalla min al-Aʿlām Madīnat al-Fās* (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 2014).

35 In Maḥlūf's *Šaġarat al-Nūr*, a quarter of the scholars mentioned after the cohort (*ṭabaqa*) of al-Manġūr studied with him, see *Šaġarat al-Nūr*, 1: 425–38. Aḥmad al-Manġūr, and also Muḥammad al-Qaṣṣār, were responsible for the education of “the major Moroccan scholars of the early seventeenth century”; see Khaled El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century. Scholarly Currents in the Ottoman Empire and the Maghreb* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 149. Moreover, even in the nineteenth century, chains of narration would invariably go through al-Manġūr, indicating his eminence in Moroccan scholarship, see Aḥmad Skiriġ, *Qadam al-Rusūḥ fīmā li-Muʿallafihī min al-Šuyūḥ* (Rabat: Dār al-Amān, 2011), 197–98; Muḥammad Ibn Suwda, *al-Fahrasa al-Šuġrā wa-al-Kubrā* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 2002), 78; and al-Kāttānī, *Iʿlām Aʿimmat al-Aʿlām* (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 2004), 218. See also Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Ġaḍwat al-Iqtibās*, 117–18; Ibn ʿAskar, *Dawḥat al-Nāšir li-Maḥāsīn man Kāna bi-al-Maġrib min Mašāyih al-Qarn al-ʿĀšir* (Markaz al-Turāṭ al-Ṭaqāfi al-Maġribī, n.d.), 57; ʿAbd al-Wāhid al-Siġilmāsi, *al-ʿIlmām* (Rabat: Imprimerie Rabat Net, 2008), 106 and Aḥmad Bābā, *Kifāyat al-Muḥtaġ li-Maʿrifa man laysa fi al-Dibyāġ* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Ṭaqāfiya wa-al-Dīniya, 2004), 1: 77–8.

36 Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Mayyāra, *Fahrasa* (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 2009), 27–30; and Mayyāra, *Al-Durr al-Ṭamīn* (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 2011), 1: 12–15.

37 For his biography, see Ibn ʿAyšūn, *al-Rawḍ al-ʿAṭir al-Anfās bi-Aḥbār al-Šāliḥīn min Ahl Fās* (Rabat: Faculty of Literature, 1997), 264; Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat al-Ḥiġāl*, 250; al-Fāsi, *al-Iʿlām*, 106–07; Maḥlūf, *Šaġarat al-Nūr al-Zakiyya*, 1: 430; Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ġaʿfar ibn Idrīs al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-Anfās wa Muḥādaṭ al-Akyās bi-man Aqbara min al-ʿUlamāʾ*

al-Andalus.<sup>38</sup> Ibn 'Azīz al-Tajībī would become Ibn 'Āšir's master in *taṣawwuf* and have a lasting influence on him. Mayyāra recounts that Ibn 'Azīz al-Tajībī was the scholar that Ibn 'Āšir spoke most about during his lessons, and Ibn 'Āšir would relate to Mayyāra "many of his [al-Tajībī's] prodigious and thaumaturgic qualities [*karamāt*]."<sup>39</sup> The chronicler al-Qādirī, who visited al-Tajībī's grave, states that regarding his *karamāt* "it is sufficient [to say] that Ibn 'Āšir was his student."<sup>40</sup> In other words, Ibn 'Āšir is a miracle from the hands of Ibn 'Azīz al-Tajībī. The chronicler al-Qādirī also states that Ibn 'Azīz al-Tajībī's grave is a bustling place where "supplications are accepted."<sup>41</sup>

#### 4 Ibn 'Āšir and the Selling of Larache

In 1600, at the age of eighteen, Ibn 'Āšir undertook the lengthy and risky pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina in order to fulfil one of Islam's religious obligations.<sup>42</sup> Leaving behind a strong, stable and wealthy kingdom under the effective rule of Aḥmad al-Manṣūr (d. 1603), Ibn 'Āšir returned to a Morocco that was in a state of *bellum omnium contra omnes*. Immediately after Aḥmad al-Manṣūr's death, his sons Abū Fāris (d. 1608), Muḥammad al-Šayḥ al-Ma'mūn (d. 1613) and Mawlāy Zaydān (d. 1627) started vying for the throne.<sup>43</sup> The resulting internecine dynastic feud utterly shattered the country's earlier period of

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*wa al-Šulahā' bi Fās* (Rabat: Dār al-Amān, 2014), 1: 206–08; and al-Qādirī, *Našr al-Maṭānī*, 1: 177–78.

38 Ibn al-Qādirī, *Durrat al-Hiǧāl*, 250 and Muḥammad 'Abd al-Kabīr ibn Hāšim al-Kattānī, *Zahr al-Ās fi Buyūtāt Ahl Fās* (Casablanca, al-Najāh, 2002), 1: 240.

39 Al-Ifrānī, *Šafwa*, 113; and Mayyāra, *Al-Durr al-Tamīn*, 1: 13.

40 Al-Qādirī, *Našr al-Maṭānī*, 1: 178, n.5.

41 Al-Qādirī, *Našr al-Maṭānī*, 1: 178.

42 The pilgrimage had always been a risky and perilous undertaking for Moroccans and Andalusis, leading influential scholars such as Aḥmad Zarrūq (d. 1493) to rebut earlier pronouncements that argued for the abjuring of this obligation because of the inherent dangers during the voyage, see Zarrūq, *Šarḥ Zarrūq 'alā al-Waǧlisīya* (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 2010), 37. The date provided by Mayyāra is 1008 *hiǧrī* (July 1599–June 1600), see *al-Durr al-Tamīn*, 1: 13. Ibn 'Āšir must have arrived in Mecca shortly before June 1600, as this correlates with the month in which the pilgrimage must take place *i.e.* *Dhū al-Hiǧǧa*. A journey from Morocco to Egypt would take on average three months, as this was the time needed for Aḥmad al-Manṣūr's letters, which were taken along with the pilgrimage caravans, to arrive in Cairo. Ibn 'Āšir stayed in Cairo for an unspecified amount of time; from Cairo to Mecca could not have been more than one month, meaning that he probably left Morocco in January 1600.

43 See also Gerard Wiegens, "De complexe relatie tussen religie en geweld. De Marokkaanse Sultan Zaydan en de djihad (1608–1614)," *Leidschrift: Religieus Geweld Vanaf De Oudheid Tot In De Nieuwe Tijd* 20 (2005): 123–40.

relative stability.<sup>44</sup> Two of Ibn 'Āšir's teachers, the chief judge of Fez (*Qāḍī al-Ġamā'a*) al-Ġassānī and the mufti of Fez, al-Qaṣṣār, sided with Mawlāy Zaydān and composed the *bay'a*, the ever-important Oath of Allegiance, on 24 August 1603.<sup>45</sup> When the news started spreading that the citizens of Marrakech would pledge allegiance to Mawlāy Zaydān's brother Abū Fāris, al-Ġassānī and al-Qaṣṣār composed a *fatwa* in September of that year permitting the killing of Abū Fāris.<sup>46</sup> Ibn 'Āšir had returned to a country filled with civil strife and royal fratricide resembling a Shakespearean tragedy, and two of his teachers assumed a pivotal role in all of this.

If we try to establish a *terminus ante quem* from the primary source material, Ibn 'Āšir's return to his native Morocco must have been before the Cession of Larache in November 1610, as he was recorded to have fled Fez for a period of time because he was unwilling to co-sign a *fatwa* requested by Muḥammad al-Šayḥ al-Ma'mūn permitting him to sell the Moroccan coastal town of Larache to the Spanish.<sup>47</sup> In an attempt to defeat his main rival and brother Mawlāy Zaydān, Muḥammad al-Šayḥ al-Ma'mūn entered into an agreement with Philip III, King of Spain, promising him Larache in return for military support.<sup>48</sup> These negotiations were already taking place in 1605 through the Pallache family, Jewish middlemen in service to the Moroccan sultan, who acted as negotiators.<sup>49</sup> In Mawlāy 'Abd Allāh al-Šarīf al-Wazzānī's (d. 1678) *fahrasa* it is stated that he had met Ibn 'Āšir on at least one occasion. The *fahrasa* also relates that Ibn 'Āšir fled Fez for a period of time with two of his teachers, al-Baṭṭū'i and al-Ġassānī, because they were unwilling to put their names on the aforementioned *fatwa*.<sup>50</sup> Indeed they were wise to flee, as

44 Chantal de La Véronne, "Sa'dids," in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, 8: 724.

45 Al-Nāširī, *al-Istiḡṣā*, 2: 374–75.

46 Al-Nāširī, *al-Istiḡṣā*, 2: 374–75. According to 'Abd Allāh al-Fāsi (d. 1719), al-Qaṣṣār initially avoided Mawlāy Zaydān and subsequently fled to Marrakech and died *en route*, see al-Fāsi, *Mir'āt al-Maḥāsin*.

47 See also Miguel Ángel de Bunes Ibarra, "The Expulsion of the Moriscos in the Context of Philip III's Mediterranean Policy," in *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain: A Mediterranean Diaspora*, ed. Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegers (Leiden: Brill 2014), 37–59.

48 Bunes Ibarra, "The Expulsion of the Moriscos." To strengthen his grip on al-Ma'mūn, Philip III held his family to ransom in Spain.

49 Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegers, *A Man of Three Worlds. Samuel Pallache, a Moroccan Jew in Catholic and Protestant Europe* (Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins University Press, 2003), 5–9.

50 'Abd al-Salām ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥayyāṭ al-Qādirī, *Fahrasa Mawlāy 'Abd Allāh al-Wazzānī* (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 2017) 377–78. Al-Ġassānī would eventually return to Fez and be reinstated as the chief judge (*Qāḍī al-Ġamā'a*) and subsequently be killed by the

Muḥammad ibn Qāsim ibn al-Qādī (d. 1631) was falsely accused of supporting Muḥammad al-Ṣayḥ al-Ma'mūn's plan to sell Larache and was consequently murdered by the *hoi polloi* of Fez.<sup>51</sup> The significance of Ibn 'Āšir's unwillingness to co-sign the *fatwa* is only appreciated when we take into account that "Larache had by then become a shelter for Moroccan and Morisco pirates" who endangered the southern Spanish coast and, more importantly, the trade routes to the Indies.<sup>52</sup> This particular episode underscores the significant political and religious influence wielded by Moroccan scholars in general and Ibn 'Āšir in particular. In the eyes of the sultan, Ibn 'Āšir's religious endorsement and that of his peers was paramount, and their unwillingness to sign the *fatwa* underscored Ibn 'Āšir's prominent position as a renowned scholar during his era.<sup>53</sup> This was, however, not the first time that Ibn 'Āšir's endorsement was sought by important political actors in Morocco.

## 5 Ibn 'Āšir's Engagement with the Hornacheros of Salé

The anarchy between the Andalusis and Moroccans in Salé was centred on Muḥammad al-'Ayyāšī, who was manifesting himself as the *de facto* leader of the region. After having left Salé in 1604, Muḥammad al-'Ayyāšī arrived in Salé from Azzemour, where he had acted as Mawlāy Zaydān's governor fighting the Portuguese, after the capture of La Mamora by the Spanish in 1614. The historian al-Ifrānī relates that after al-'Ayyāšī's arrival in Salé, he had successfully fought the Spanish in La Mamora and unified the people of Salé behind him.<sup>54</sup> Upon learning of this, Mawlāy Zaydān was outraged and instructed his governor of the Kasbah of the Hornacheros, al-Za'rūrī, to assassinate al-'Ayyāšī. Accordingly, the Hornacheros sent a group from among them to join al-'Ayyāšī, "keeping a close eye on him and acting as a vanguard to anticipate his intentions and gather intelligence on his plans and desires."<sup>55</sup> According to al-Ifrānī, al-'Ayyāšī sensed this and stayed in his house, not engaging in any battles. Then, a rift occurred between the Hornacheros and Mawlāy Zaydān, who wanted

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Lamṭīyyūn, see al-Qādirī, *Fahrāsa Mulay 'Abd Allāh*, 385–86. See also al-Fāsī, *Mir'āt al-Maḥāsīn*, 322.

51 Al-Qādirī, *Našr al-Maṭānī*, 1: 288.

52 García-Arenal, "The Moriscos in Morocco."

53 See also Etty Terem, "Redefining Islamic Tradition: Legal Interpretation as a Medium for Innovation in the Making of Modern Morocco," *Islamic Law and Society* 20, no. 4 (2013): 425–75.

54 Al-Ifrānī, *Nuzhat al-Ḥādī* (Casablanca: al-Najāh, 1998), 381–82.

55 Al-Ifrānī, *Nuzhat al-Ḥādī*, 382.

the latter to aid him in a campaign in the south of Morocco which the former refused.<sup>56</sup> This rift between the sultan and the Hornacheros caused significant unrest and “chaos engulfed the people of Salé, with no governor overseeing them. Plundering increased, and the hands of thieves extended to both wealth and women. All the while, al-‘Ayyāšī did not get involved and the complaints of merchants and travellers increased. Until the people gathered around al-‘Ayyāšī” and “they formalized their alignment behind him in a document, declaring their satisfaction and pledging loyalty to him.”<sup>57</sup> There is no mention of any Andalusis fighting with him during this “first battle after he arrived from Azzemour.”<sup>58</sup>

Muḥammad al-‘Ayyāšī had thus made a name for himself as a *Muḡāhid* (a holy warrior), as he was a fervent warrior against foreign occupation.<sup>59</sup> He had fought the Spanish at Larache and La Mamora, the former being taken by Spanish in 1610 and the latter in 1614. According to the Moroccan historian and minister Muḥammad Akansūs (d. 1877), the name *Muḡāhid* was given to al-‘Ayyāšī by, among others, Ibn ‘Āšir himself.<sup>60</sup> Muḡāhid al-‘Ayyāšī was encouraged by his spiritual master ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ḥassūn (d. 1604), who was harbouring messianic political ambitions of his own, to fight not only the Spanish but also the Sa‘adian, whom he perceived as being lax in their fight against Christian incursions on the Moroccan coast.<sup>61</sup> According to the Moroccan historian from Salé Ibn ‘Alī (d. 1945), the people of Old Salé welcomed him because Mawlāy Zaydān was unable to defend Salé from the recent Portuguese occupation of Mahdiyya.<sup>62</sup> When the three communities proclaimed independence,

56 Mawlāy Muḥammad al-Šayḥ al-Ma‘mūn made similar attempts to conscript Moriscos into his army, see Gerard Wiegers and Hossain Bouzineb, “Tetuán y la expulsión de los moriscos,” in *Tūpwān Ḥilāl al-Qarnayn 16 wa 17* (Tetouan: Université Abd al-Malik al-Sa‘di, 1996), 82.

57 Al-Ifrānī, *Nuzhat al-Ḥādī*, 382.

58 Al-Ifrānī, *Nuzhat al-Ḥādī*, 382.

59 See also Evariste Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des Chorfa; essai sur la littérature historique et biographique au Maroc du xvie au xxe siècle* (Paris: Paris E. Larose, 1922), 347.

60 To my knowledge, Akansūs is the first to mention this and no reference is made to any earlier primary sources about this fact, see Muḥammad Akansūs, *Al-Ġayš al-Aramram* (Marrakech: Aḥmad al-Kansūs, n.d.), 1: 83.

61 Al-Nāširī, *Al-Istiqṣā*, 2: 389–95. The eventual capture of Larache in 1610 would lead Ibn Abī Maḥallī to compose a poem of lamentation criticising the sultan, see Muḥammad Ḥaḡḡī, *Al-Ḥaraka al-Fikriyya bi al-Maḡrib fi ‘Ahd al-Sa‘diyyīn* (Rabat: Dār al-Maḡrib, 1976), 1: 206–8. He would also lament the fraternal strife resulting in “hunger and plague [causing] the death of multitudes” of people, see Nabil Matar, “The English Merchant and the Moroccan Sufi,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 65, no. 1 (2014): 47–65.

62 Muḥammad Ibn ‘Alī, *Al-Ithāf al-Wajīz* (Rabat: al-Ma‘ārif al-Ġadīda, 1996), 30. After a number of battles, the Portuguese garrison was severely weakened and did not represent a threat anymore to the people of Old Salé.

they all recognised Muğāhid al-‘Ayyāšī as their leader, with a base in Old Salé where his most fanatical supporters lived.<sup>63</sup>

According to al-Nāṣirī, one of the leading reasons that people rallied behind Muğāhid al-‘Ayyāšī was a treatise written by, among others, Ibn ‘Āšir.<sup>64</sup> Relations among the three communities were initially good and Muğāhid al-‘Ayyāšī's political influence extended as far north as Tetouan. In 1625, John Harrison landed in Tetouan and found his way to Muğāhid al-‘Ayyāšī, who received him “verie kindlie.”<sup>65</sup> It is during this first meeting with Harrison that Muğāhid al-‘Ayyāšī requested fourteen “brass peeces of ordinance and a proportion of powder and shott” and for the English to repair a number of broken cannons.<sup>66</sup> However, in the period 1627 to 1641, the Hornacheros and the Moriscos of Rabat were continuously in a state of civil strife and Muğāhid al-‘Ayyāšī tried to intervene numerous times.<sup>67</sup> The Hornacheros in the Kasbah and the Moriscos of Rabat, valuing their freedom more than anything else, also schemed and plotted numerous times against Muğāhid al-‘Ayyāšī and subsequently the people of Old Salé.<sup>68</sup> The Moriscos of Rabat were the first to betray Muğāhid al-‘Ayyāšī when they refused to help him with any further expeditions. In April 1630, another conflict occurred between the Hornacheros in the Kasbah and the Moriscos of Rabat, this time about customs revenues.<sup>69</sup> Muğāhid al-‘Ayyāšī, and therefore Old Salé, sided with the Hornacheros and a peace was brokered by John Harrison in May 1630.<sup>70</sup> The peace treaty had three points: (1) the Andalusis were to elect their own governor who would reside in the Kasbah, (2), the *dīwān* would consist of sixteen notables, eight from the Kasbah and eight from New Salé, and (3) the revenues would be equally divided between the Kasbah and New Salé.<sup>71</sup> Nevertheless, even after this peace treaty, Muğāhid al-‘Ayyāšī remained suspicious about the Hornacheros' true allegiance.<sup>72</sup>

63 Al-Nāṣirī, *Al-Istiḳṣā*, 2: 427–28. He also established a *madrassa* in Aḥmad ibn ‘Āšir's (d. 1369) old home, see Aḥmad al-Ḥāfi, *Tuḥfat al-Zā'ir* (Salé: al-Ṣabīḥiya, 1988), 41. See also al-Nāṣirī, *Al-Istiḳṣā*, 2: 427–28.

64 Al-Nāṣirī, *Al-Istiḳṣā*, 2: 427.

65 SIHM, *Angleterre*, 3: 32. See also Philip George Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900* (London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 1993) 24–30.

66 SIHM, *Angleterre*, 3: 33 and 44. See also SIHM, *Pays-Bas*, 6: S1, 283–90.

67 In 1627 the Hornacheros elicited the help of John Harrison, who had previously aided al-‘Ayyāšī, see SIHM, *Angleterre*, 3: 31.

68 Al-Nāṣirī, *Al-Istiḳṣā*, 2: 428.

69 SIHM, *Pays-Bas*, 6: S1, 250.

70 SIHM, *Angleterre*, 3: 107.

71 SIHM, *Angleterre*, 3: 107. See also Bouzineb, *La Alcazaba del Buregreg*, 55, and Roger Coindreau, *Les corsaires de Salé* (Paris: Société d'éditions géographiques, maritimes et coloniales, 1948), 108.

72 See document 26 in Bouzineb, *La Alcazaba del Buregreg*, 126.

Moreover, the Hornacheros were “negotiating a separate peace” with the Spanish, which would have surrendered the Kasbah to Spain in exchange for clemency, allowing the Hornacheros to return to their beloved homeland.<sup>73</sup> In 1636, while Muğāhid al-‘Ayyāšī was out of town, the Moriscos of Rabat had taken over the Kasbah from the Hornacheros and constructed a bridge to Old Salé in order to block the town. In 1637, with the aid of the English Admiral Rainsborough, the blockade was lifted and the bridge destroyed.<sup>74</sup> Admiral Rainsborough was originally sent to bombard Old Salé, but feared an attack might unite the three communities. Consequently, he sided with Muğāhid al-‘Ayyāšī who, he believed, would set free the English prisoners held by the rebel leader al-Qaṣrī. The Moriscos of Rabat capitulated and agreed to let the Hornacheros retake the Kasbah. At this point, the Hornacheros and the Moriscos of Rabat successfully formed an alliance against the Sa‘adian who were trying to retake the Kasbah and Rabat and reimpose the hated ten-percent flat tax. Now, Muğāhid al-‘Ayyāšī took on both the Hornacheros and the Moriscos of Rabat who had elicited the help of the Dilā’īs under the leadership of Muḥammad al-Ḥāğğ al-Dilā’ī (d. 1671). Initially, the Dilā’īs had a friendly relationship with Muğāhid al-‘Ayyāšī, but the Dilā’īs were harbouring political ambitions of their own. In 1641, the two sides met at the Sbou River and Muğāhid al-‘Ayyāšī was finally defeated and killed.

Ibn ‘Āšir was no stranger to the ‘Ayyāšī family, as Muḥammad al-‘Ayyāšī’s son, ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Ayyāšī (d. 1663), had studied with Ibn ‘Āšir and was so impressed by his master that he composed a panegyric poem to him.<sup>75</sup> In 1638, he also asked Mayyāra (d. 1662), another student of Ibn ‘Āšir’s who had visited ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Ayyāšī and his father in 1638, to abridge his long commentary on Ibn ‘Āšir’s most famous work, *Al-Muršid al-Mu‘īn*. ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Ayyāšī also fought alongside his father in one of the many episodes in which the Hornacheros were suspected of betrayal.<sup>76</sup> Mayyāra relates that Ibn ‘Āšir was also involved in *ġihād*. Unfortunately, no further details are provided by Mayyāra or any of the primary sources. However, when analysing all of the primary material, a plausible suggestion can be made regarding the geography of his *ġihād*. The primary sources provide four distinct locations that Ibn ‘Āšir traversed

73 Cory, “Sharīfian rule in Morocco (tenth – twelfth/ sixteenth – eighteenth centuries),” in Maribel Fierro, ed. *The New Cambridge History of Islam*, 2: 462–63.

74 Brown, “An Urban View.” For an account of the siege, see Dunton, *A True Journall of the Sally Fleet with the Proceedings of the Voyage* (London, 1637), and George Carteret, *The Barbary Voyage of 1638* (Philadelphia: Boies Penrose, 1929).

75 Al-Qādirī, *Našr al-Maṭānī*, 2: 133.

76 De Castries, “Introduction: Les trois républiques du Bou-Regrag: Salé, la Kasba et Rabat,” in *SIHM, Pays-Bas*, serie 1, vol. 6, XIX.

throughout his life; Fez, the *Zāwīya al-Dilā'īyya*, the area around Tetouan and Salé. Taking into account his connections with the 'Ayyāšīs and the European presence in Larache and La Mamora, it seems likely that Ibn 'Āšir fought the Christians at these locations, as most of the European incursions were made on the northern Moroccan Atlantic coast.

As discussed earlier, Ibn 'Āšir had been an ardent opponent of the selling of Larache to the Spanish. In fact, it was the primary reason for him to leave his hometown of Fez for a while. The Moroccan primary sources relate that Ibn 'Āšir concerned himself twice with the affairs of early-seventeenth-century Salé. The earliest source to mention Ibn 'Āšir's involvement in the complex dynamics of early-seventeenth-century Salé is al-Ifrānī's (d. 1742) *Nuzhat al-Ḥādī*. When Muğāhid al-'Ayyāšī was first elected leader, it is clear from the source that it was after the capture of La Mamora in 1614, he received a complaint from some religious students that it was impermissible to fight the Spanish without the consent of the sultan. However, Ibrāhīm al-Kallālī (d. 1637), Muḥammad al-'Arabī al-Fāsī (d. 1642) and Ibn 'Āšir issued a *fatwa* stating that fighting the enemy was not conditioned by the presence of a sultan and that the presence of a community (*ġamā'a*) was sufficient.<sup>77</sup> This powerful endorsement from the religious establishment certainly bolstered Muğāhid al-'Ayyāšī's prestige, not just within the three complex communities of Salé, but also in the entire country. The second time Ibn 'Āšir concerned himself with the affairs of the three communities in Salé was during a battle the Arabic sources call *Ġazwat al-Ḥalq al-Kubrā*, when Muğāhid al-'Ayyāšī asked for a *fatwa* to kill the 'Andalusis'. Ibn 'Āšir heard of this and set out to Salé and "witnessed with his own eyes the Andalusis' betrayal" and how they "carried food to the unbelievers ... and notified them of the Muslim's vulnerabilities (*ġurra*)."<sup>78</sup> In the tenth point of the treaty proposal that the Hornacheros transmitted via the Duke of Medina Sidonia in 1631, it becomes clear that they were harbouring Christian captives to serve as potential soldiers, which would have included feeding them.<sup>79</sup> In April 1631, the fragile peace was broken again when the Moriscos refused aid to Muğāhid al-'Ayyāšī in the form of scaling ladders that he needed for the third siege in La Mamora, which is called *Ġazwat al-Ḥalq al-Kubrā* in Arabic

77 Al-Ifrānī, *Nuzhat al-Ḥādī*, 383.

78 Al-Ifrānī, *Nuzhat al-Ḥādī*, 385–86. According to al-Ḥuḍaykī (d. 1775), the Andalusis were providing the Christians with wheat, see al-Ḥuḍaykī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2: 348.

79 George S. Colin, "Projet de traité entre les morisques de la Casba de Rabat et le roi d'Espagne en 1631," *Hespéris-Tamuda* 52 (1955): 17–26 ("que están en la dicha alcasava sirvan de soldados").

sources.<sup>80</sup> This would date Ibn ‘Āšir’s second *fatwa* much later than Razzouq’s chronology, in which different events and different *fatāwā* from various scholars are merged into one overall piece of historical information. Even though the Arabic primary sources do not relate a specific date for *Ġazwat al-Ḥalq al-Kubrā*, it is possible to establish a chronology by analysing the primary sources.<sup>81</sup> There is a letter written by Muḡāhid al-‘Ayyāšī dated 17 April 1631 in which he congratulates al-Walīd ibn Zaydān for receiving the ever-important *bay‘a*.<sup>82</sup> As related by al-Ifrānī, Sultan al-Walīd ibn Zaydān (d. 1636) received the *bay‘a* after the death of his brother Abū Marwān ‘Abd al-Malik in March 1631.<sup>83</sup> The letter then refers to a battle taking place at La Mamora in 9 April 1631, meaning that the letter was composed only eight days after the battle. Moreover, the letter cross-references an important detail which allows us to connect the date of the letter with the third siege of La Mamora known as *Ġazwat al-Ḥalq al-Kubrā*. The letter refers to a contingent from Fez on its way to join forces with Muḡāhid al-‘Ayyāšī. This contingent is explicitly mentioned by al-Ifrānī as aiding during the third siege of La Mamora. All of this indicates that Ibn ‘Āšir’s involvement with the Hornacheros was in 1631 and not earlier.<sup>84</sup>

It is also not completely clear to whom al-Ifrānī is referring when employing the term ‘Andalusi’, as the Arabic sources are indiscriminate and do not necessarily differentiate between Hornacheros and other Moriscos. Both groups are invariably termed together as ‘Andalusis’. For example, al-Ifrānī states that Mawlāy Zaydān sent two governors to ‘the Andalusis’ to draft them into the army and send them to Dar‘ā.<sup>85</sup> From European sources, as discussed earlier, it is known that the Hornacheros were selected by Mawlāy Zaydān to be sent south. Therefore, al-Ifrānī’s use of the term ‘Andalusi’, in this case, specifically refers to the Hornacheros. In another instance, al-Ifrānī mentions that ‘the Andalusis from Salé’ were deliberately stalling the construction of siege ladders that were requested by Muḡāhid al-‘Ayyāšī for *Ġazwat al-Ḥalq al-Kubrā* at

80 Al-Nāširī, *Al-Istiḡsā*, 2: 428 and al-Ifrānī, *Nuzhat al-Ḥādī*, 385. Muḡāhid al-‘Ayyāšī did not participate in the battle initially, but joined later. See also ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Šādhilī, *al-Muḡāhid al-Salāwī* (Rabat: Kulliyat al-Ādāb wa al-‘Ulūm, 2012), 268.

81 There is an undated letter written by Muḡammad ibn Abī Bakr al-Dilā’ī congratulating Muḡāhid al-‘Ayyāšī on his third successful siege of La Mamora, see al-Nāširī, *Salā wa Ribāṭ al-Faṭḥ*, 2: 248.

82 Al-Šādhilī, *Al-Muḡāhid al-Salāwī*, 271–275.

83 Al-Ifrānī, *Nuzhat al-Ḥādī*, 353.

84 The Moroccan historian Ġa‘far al-Nāširī (d. 1980) provides the date of 1630. However, it is unclear how he arrives at this date, see *Salā wa Ribāṭ al-Faṭḥ*, 2: 231.

85 Al-Ifrānī, *Nuzhat al-Ḥādī*, 385.

La Mamora.<sup>86</sup> The term 'Salé' could possibly indicate the Hornacheros in the Kasbah and not the Andalusis in the hinterland. This is in fact backed by the letter the Hornacheros wrote in which they specifically refer to their unwillingness to aid Muğāhid al-'Ayyāšī.<sup>87</sup> Additionally, al-Ifrānī remarks that from this moment "the hatred between him and the people of Andalus took hold."<sup>88</sup> The people of Andalus then passed on critical information to the Spanish about Muğāhid al-'Ayyāšī's base of operations, and provided arms and food to the Christians. Again, it is not entirely clear to which Andalusis al-Ifrānī is referring. It is safe to suggest that these are the Hornacheros, as it is known that they were in secret negotiations with the Spanish in 1631 planning a potential return to Spain.<sup>89</sup>

## 6 Conclusion

By the early seventeenth century in Morocco, Ibn 'Āšir had become one of the leading Moroccan scholars of his time. He had studied with the prime teachers of his age and taught most of the subsequent Moroccan scholars of the seventeenth century, such as 'Abd al-Qādir al-Fāsī (d. 1680), Mayyāra (d. 1662) and al-Margīṭī (1678).<sup>90</sup> Testimonies of contemporary chroniclers such as al-Ifrānī, but also of subsequent chroniclers such as al-Qādirī, al-Ḥudaykī and al-Kattānī, testify to his influential position in Moroccan society and the respect he enjoyed. Ibn 'Āšir's potential endorsement was of key concern to both the Sa'adian and Muğāhid al-'Ayyāšī. In February 1603, the 'Āšir family was also one of the families in Fez that was gifted valuable commodities by Mawlāy 'Abd Allāh (d. 1623), Muḥammad al-Šayḥ al-Ma'mūn's son. Perhaps this gesture was undertaken in an attempt to induce prominent families in Fez to support his father's claim to the throne.<sup>91</sup> The family prestige enjoyed by Ibn 'Āšir was part of a historical precedence spanning centuries and dynasties, as his distant relatives included a judge in Almohad Andalus, a husband to the Almohad caliph's

86 Al-Ifrānī, *Nuzhat al-Ḥādī*, 385.

87 Colin, "Projet de traité." The document specifically mentions Muğāhid al-'Ayyāšī (*sit Mahamel el ayxe*).

88 Al-Ifrānī, *Nuzhat al-Ḥādī*, 385.

89 Jerome Bruce Weiner, "Fitna, Corsairs, and Diplomacy: Morocco and the Maritime States of Western Europe, 1603–1672" (Ph.Diss. Columbia University, 1976), 210–28. See also Bouzineb and Wiegiers, "Tetuán y la expulsión de los moriscos"; and Colin, "Projet de traité."

90 For this period, see also Justin Stearns, *Revealed Sciences: The Natural Sciences in Islam in Seventeenth-Century Morocco* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021).

91 Anonymous, *Tārīḥ al-Dawla al-Sa'diyya* (Marrakech: Dār Tinmal, 1994), 70 and ff.

daughter, a respected scholar who advised the Marinid sultan and a governor of Tetouan during the subsequent 'Alawī dynasty.

The analysis conducted in this contribution has tried to construct a timeline for both of Ibn 'Āšir's *fatwas* and to argue that the Andalusis mentioned in the primary Arabic sources are indeed the Hornacheros. Ibn 'Āšir's attitude toward Andalusis is not predicated on their ethnic origin, as he himself was of Andalusī descent. However, as has been shown, his attitudes were based upon their actions, i.e., their betrayal of Muğāhid al-'Ayyāšī and their willingness to aid the Christians. If it were the Moriscos of Rabat who had betrayed Muğāhid al-'Ayyāšī, the verdict would have been in all likelihood the same. Likewise, this episode once again emphasises the regular historical *topos* of Morisco betrayal in Morocco and how the Moroccan religious establishment reacted to this.<sup>92</sup>

Ibn 'Āšir's initial reluctance to believe that the Hornacheros were aiding the Christians could be attributed to his own Andalusī origins, an epithet that is mentioned by all of the biographers, commentators and chroniclers. His first ancestor to settle in Morocco is buried in Salé, and Ibn 'Āšir's visit to the city might have included a visit to his grave as was customary for numerous previous and later visitors.<sup>93</sup> It is a form of tragic irony that the 'Āšir family, who had been driven out of al-Andalus by the Reconquista three hundred years earlier, were persecuting newly arrived Andalusis in Morocco. This episode clearly shows that the Andalusī community in early-seventeenth-century Morocco was not a monolith. There were different types of Andalusis in Morocco. Some

92 García-Arenal, "The Moriscos in Morocco." See also Mary B. Quinn, *The Moor and the Novel: Narrating Absence in Early Modern Spain* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 79; Green-Mercado, "The Mahdī in Valencia: Messianism, Apocalypticism, and Morisco Rebellions in Late Sixteenth-Century Spain," *Medieval Encounters* 19 (2013): 193–220; and Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld and Gerard Wiegers, "An Appeal of the Moriscos to the Mamluk Sultan and its Counterpart to the Ottoman Court: Textual Analysis, Context, and Wider Historical Background," *Al-Qanṭara* 20, no. 1 (1999): 172–76. In 1461–62, al-'Aṭṭār (d. 1459), a Sufi Ṣayḥ in Fez, encouraged anti-Andalusī sentiment and the great scholar Aḥmad Zarrūq (d. 1493) was also accused of being an Andalusī and therefore a traitor, see Scott A. Kugle, *Rebel between the Spirit and the Law: Ahmad Zarruq, Sainthood, and Authority in Islam* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), 82, 106. Kugle cites from Zarrūq's *Kunnāš*, which can be found as a manuscript in the Rabat Royal Library, manuscript خ 1385.

93 See, for example, Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Ḥaṭīb *Nuḫḍat al-Ġirāb* (Casablanca: Dār al-Našr al-Mağribiyya, n.d) and al-Ḥāfi's *Tuḥfat al-Zā'ir*. See also Alexander Elinson, "Lisan al-Din Ibn al-Khatib (d. 1374 CE) and the Definition of the Fourteenth-Century Muslim West," in *Grounded Identities: Territory and Belonging in the Medieval and Early Modern Middle East and Mediterranean* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 72–93. Aḥmad ibn 'Āšir also received other visitors such as Ibn Sa'd al-Tlimsānī (d. 1495). The current tomb was erected by Sultan 'Abd Allāh ibn Ismā'īl (d. 1757) in 1733.

of them had been in the country for centuries and still maintained the memory of this shared past. Others were new arrivals who were trying to find their place in their new country.

This contribution has tried to establish that for the religious scholar Ibn 'Āšir, the Hornacheros were scorned for their betrayal of Muğāhid al-'Ayyāšī and for aiding the Christian invaders. This was, however, not because of their regional background, but because of their political alliance with Spain for which the only suitable punishment was death. Unquestionably, such an act of political betrayal also encompasses an important religious dimension that should not be overlooked. In 1631, the year of Ibn 'Āšir's final *fatwa* and his death, the Hornacheros complained to the Spanish that "great hatred [was] felt towards them by the Arabic Moors, who call them Christians."<sup>94</sup> Conversely, John Harrison relates that the Hornacheros "know not what to believe" and are possibly "Christians in heart", indicating perhaps that the Hornacheros were relating different stories to different people.<sup>95</sup> The *fatwa* promulgated by Ibn 'Āšir definitely exacerbated the Hornacheros' worsening political conditions in Salé and potentially served as a catalyst for their eventual engagement in this act of betrayal.

### Appendix: Al-Suktānī's *Fatwa*

#### *Abd al-'Azīz ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ziyyātī (d. 1646)*

Unfortunately, no manuscript penned by al-Ziyyātī himself is available. The National Library in Rabat contains a manuscript (D/3832) which was penned by Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-'Arabī Zubayr al-Salāwī in 1845. The National Library in Rabat also contains another manuscript (1698), but it is unknown who penned it and when. Moreover, the Emir Abdelkader University in Constantine, Algeria, contains a manuscript (217/7/3) penned by Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Hannāš in 1895. Finally, the *fatwa* can also be found in al-Wazzānī's (d. 1923) collection of *fatāwā* called *Al-Mi'yār al-Ġadīd*.<sup>96</sup> The rendition found in the *Mi'yār al-Ġadīd* shortens, rephrases and omits a number of sentences both in the question and in the answer.

The topics dealt with in the *Ġawāhir al-Muḥtāra* closely follow the chapter headings found in Ḥalīl ibn Ishāq's legal compendium (*Al-Muḥtaṣar*). In total,

94 Colin, "Projet de traité."

95 SIHM, *Angleterre*, 3: 42, 52.

96 See Ety Terem *Old Texts, New Practices: Islamic Reform in Modern Morocco* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014) for an analysis of al-Wazzānī and his *fatāwā*.

al-Ziyyātī's collection consists of two volumes encompassing twenty-two chapters. Volume one contains fourteen chapters and volume two eight chapters. In its arrangement, the *Ġawāhir al-Muḥtāra* contains the legal opinions from earlier *fatāwā* collections such as those composed by Andalusi and North African scholars such as Ibn Sahl (d. 1093), Ibn Rušd al-Ġadd (d. 1126), al-Burzulī (d. 1438), Ibn Ṭarkāz (d. after 1450), Ibn Hilāl (d. 1498) and al-Wanšarīsī (d. 1508). Additionally, upon careful examination of the questions in the *Ġawāhir al-Muḥtāra*, there is an abundance of societal, geographical, economic and political information. The *fatwa* composed by al-Suktānī can be found in the section relating to matters of *ġihād*. The *fatwa* itself does not explicitly state that it is the Hornacheros who are asking the questions. However, taking the historical analysis into account from the Arabic and European primary sources, it can be firmly concluded that petitioners are indeed the Hornacheros.

Al-Ziyyātī's biography can be found in al-Ifrānī *Šafwa*, al-Ḥudaykī *Ṭabaqāt*, and al-Qādirī *Našr al-Maṭānī*.<sup>97</sup> The biographical dictionaries do not provide a date of birth for al-Ziyyātī. Moreover, his father, Abū al-Ṭayyib al-Ḥasan (d. 1614), an accomplished scholar in his own right, moved to Fez, befriended Abū al-Maḥāsīn (d. 1604), took him as a teacher and then married one of Abū al-Maḥāsīn's daughters.<sup>98</sup> His father was also one of the scholars who escaped from Fez because he was unwilling to endorse a *fatwa* allowing the selling of Larache by Muḥammad al-Šayḥ al-Ma'mūn in exchange for his children who were held captive in Portugal.<sup>99</sup> Al-Ziyyātī spent some time in Tetouan, where he studied with his maternal uncle Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-'Arabī al-Fāsī (d. 1604) and Abū Zayd 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qašrī (d. 1627). Afterwards, al-Ziyyātī moved to Marrakech where he studied the ten Quranic recitation styles with Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Tāmlī (d. 1638).<sup>100</sup> On his way to Mecca, he visited Egypt and studied with the erudite Egyptian Mālikī scholar 'Alī al-Uġhūrī (d. 1655). The Moroccan historian al-Rahūnī (d. 1953) relates that al-Ziyyātī was also the imam of the Kasba mosque in Tetouan, where he spent the remainder of his life.<sup>101</sup>

97 Al-Ifrānī, *Šafwa*, 157, al-Ḥudaykī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2: 513–14 and al-Qādirī, *Našr al-Maṭānī*, 2: 30.

98 For his father, see al-Fāsī, *Mir'āt al-Maḥāsīn*, 332–8 and al-Qādirī, *Našr al-Maṭānī*, 1: 198.

99 Al-Nāšīrī, *Al-Istiqṣā*, 2: 385–87.

100 For al-Tāmlī's biography, see Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat al-Ḥiġāl*, 214–26, al-Ifrānī, *Šafwa*, 235–36 and al-Qādirī, *Našr al-Maṭānī*, 1: 78.

101 Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Ruhūnī, *Umdat al-Rāwīn fī Tārīḫ Tiṭāwīn* (Tetouan: University Tetouan Asmīr, 2001), 4: 78. See also Dāwūd, *'Ā'ilāt Tiṭāwīn* (Tetouan: al-Ḥalīj al-'Arabī, 2017), 1: 336–39.

*Abū Mahdī 'Īsā ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Īsā al-Suktānī (d. 1651)*

Imam al-Suktānī was born in a village called Ifkrān in the Suktāna region, which lies to the east of present-day Taroudant. Again, the biographical dictionaries do not provide a date of birth, but all agree that he was over a hundred years old when he died. He started his religious education with his father, who was a local imam and functioned as the village notary. Imam al-Suktānī then moved to Fez, where he studied with the prime scholars of his age such as Aḥmad al-Manḡūr (d. 1587), al-Ḥumaydī (d. 1594), al-Qaṣṣār (d. 1604) and al-Ġassānī (d. 1622). In Marrakech, Imam al-Suktānī served as its main judge for forty years and spent the remainder of his life teaching the next generation of scholars.<sup>102</sup> He was particularly famous for teaching exegesis in the winter. One of his most notable students was one of the most influential scholars of seventeenth-century Morocco, al-Ḥasan al-Yūsī (d. 1691). Other famous students of his were al-Tamanārtī (d. 1659/60), al-Rawdānī (d. 1683), al-Marḡītī (d. 1678) and 'Abd Allāh ibn Ḥassūn. His popularity was enormous. People would flock to him while he was mounting his horse in order to kiss his feet.<sup>103</sup> In Marrakech, Imam al-Suktānī also met important political figures such as al-Ḥaḡarī (d. 1640), a Hornachero.<sup>104</sup>

Having spent most of his life teaching and serving as a judge, Imam al-Suktānī was not a prolific scholar, having penned only five works: (1) a gloss on al-Sanūsī's *Umm al-Barāhīn*, (2) a commentary on al-Sanūsī's *al-Ḥafīda* called *al-Tuḥfa al-Muḥīda*, which was requested by Mawlāy Walīd, (3) a collection of *fatāwā* dealing with acts of worship and social transactions, (4) *Buḡyat al-Tamān*, which is a commentary on Abū Hayyān's *Nabjāt al-Tamān* and (5) a treatise on the trustworthiness of the companions of the prophet.

102 Ḥaḡḡī, *Al-Ḥaraka al-Fikriyya*, 2: 91.

103 Al-Marrākuṣī, *Al-I'lām*, 9: 415–416.

104 Van Koningsveld, al-Samarrai and Wiegers, *Aḥmad Ibn Qāsim al-Ḥaḡarī*, 45–49, 189, 244–45.

## رجل يدعو لنصرته وامثال أوامره

سئل الفقيه العالم أبو مهدي عيسى بن عبد الرحمن السكّاني قاضي الجماعة بمراكش حفظه الله عن نازلة وقعت باهل الثغر المذكور أيضا بما نصه سادتنا أعلام الاعلام ومصباح الاسلام وحسنات الليالي والايام والسادات الفقهاء الجهادة العلماء تفضلوا أبقاكم الله بالجواب عن رجل كان أول أمره مشغولا بجهاد النصارى دمرهم الله مظهرها النسك والصلاح مدة حتى أقبل الناس عليه بقلوبهم لما يظهر لهم من القصد الجميل في فعله ذلك فصار يدعوهم لنصرته ولزوم طاعته

وامثال أوامره ويعاقبهم على مخالفة ذلك، ويستعين ببعضهم على بعض، فيقاتل من لم يمثل أمره من المسلمين وينهب أموالهم لأن يدخلوا طاعته، فتغلب بذلك على جماعة وافدة ثم استدعى أهل ثغر سلا آمنه الله وكان هذا الثغر قبل دخول هذه الجماعة له وسكناها فيه، في غاية الإهمال فبالغوا في تشييده، وتحصينه، وبناء مساجده وأسواقه حتى صار حاضرة من الحواضر، وصار الناس يأتون إليهم من كل ناحية، وكانوا ببحر الكفرة مبلغا لا يكيف لما يقع من هذه الجماعة من الإغارات على الكفرة في البحر وفي جزائرهم، وكانوا يغزونهم في قعر دورهم، يغيرون عليهم في كل زمان، ويسبون دراريمهم ويأسرونهم، حتى كانت النصارى بسبب ذلك تباع بالبخس، حتى استعبدتهم الغني الفقير وأذلهم العزيز والحقير

وهم مع ذلك قائمون بحدود الشريعة مظهرون شرائع الإسلام تحت أياالة ملك المغرب - أيده الله - استدعاهم لنصرته والدخول في حربه في غير الجهاد، وتمكينه من البلاد. والسمع والطاعة له فامتنعوا من ذلك، ومن خلع ربه البيعة من أعناقهم لكونهم تحت أياالة أزموها أنفسهم ومع ذلك إذا طلبهم للجهاد أعانوه بالرماة والبارود والأنفاظ، فلم يقبل منهم إلا إسلام البلاد وتحكمه فيهم، فصار يقاتلهم على ذلك أزيمة متطاولة وحصرهم ومنعهم من إدخال ما يقتاتون به، وتوعد كل من يأتي إليهم بشيء من (الميرة)<sup>105</sup> أن يبألغ في عقوبته بالقتل وغيره

105 This word is omitted in all the manuscripts. However, in al-Wazzāni's rendition of the *fatwa*, the missing word is (الميرة), see al-Wazzāni, *Al-Mi'yār al-Gadīd*, 3: 17.

### A Man Who Calls for his Support and Compliance with his Orders

The scholarly jurist Abū Mahdī ʿĪsā ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suktānī, the head judge of Marrakech, may Allāh protect him, was asked about an incident that occurred among the people of the aforementioned frontier [Salé]. The question was as follows: our leaders, the flags of flags, the lamps of Islam, the virtues of nights and days, the noble jurists, the great scholars, we beseech you, may Allāh preserve you, to provide an answer regarding a man whose initial endeavour was focused on the *ġihād* against the Christians, may Allāh destroy them, manifesting devotion and righteousness for a period of time. Until people's hearts inclined towards him due to the noble intention apparent in his actions. Thus, he started calling them to support him and to adhere to his obedience.

He enforces compliance with regards to his orders, punishing those who disobey. He seeks assistance from some of them against others, and he fights against those Muslims who do not comply with his commands, confiscating their wealth so that they enter into his obedience. In this way, he overpowered an incoming group [the Hornacheros], then he summoned the people of the outpost of Salé, may Allāh protect them. Prior to the arrival of this group [Hornacheros] and their settlement of it [Salé], this outpost [the Kasbah] was in a state of extreme neglect, but they went to great lengths to rebuild it, fortify it, and construct its mosques and markets until it became a prominent city among the cities. People would flock to them from all directions. They were known for their relentless campaigns against the unbelievers, launching raids against them at sea and in their territories. They would attack them in the heart of their lands, constantly changing their tactics, capturing their goods, and taking them captive. As a result, the Christians were being sold at a low price, and the rich enslaved the poor, humiliating them regardless of their status.

With this, they adhere to the boundaries of sharia, manifesting the laws of Islam under the protection of the King of Morocco – may Allāh support him. He [al-ʿAyyāšī] called upon them to support him and participate in his war, which is not a *ġihād*, and to grant him control over the lands. They were obligated to listen and obey him. However, they refused to comply with his request and rejected removing their allegiance from their leaders because they considered themselves under the protection they had committed to. Nevertheless, when he asked them to join the *ġihād*, they supported him with archers, gunpowder, and spears. He only accepted their submission to Islam and his rule over them. He fought against them for extended periods, besieged them, and prevented them in what they needed to sustain themselves. He promised that anyone who provided them with food will be met with excessive punishment, including death and more.

وعاقب كثيرا من الناس على ذلك، فلها ضاق بهم الأمر، صاروا يركبون البحر ويأتون بأقواتهم من بلاد المسلمين فتكلم بذلك مع النصارى واستعان بهم عليهم وصاروا يرسون لهم بالمرسى، فلا يتركون لهم شادة ولا فادة ولا يجدون سبيلا إلى الخروج وضاق بهم الجبل وبلغ السيل الزبا، وأكلوا الجيفة، فاستعانوا بالملك - أيده الله ونصره - ولما رأى - أيده الله - أن (الميرة)<sup>106</sup> لا تصل إليهم إلا من طريق البحر لتعذر وصولها إليهم من طريق البر ورأى - نصره الله - أن إحياء نفوسهم من الأمر الواجب عليه هادن الكفرة لتصل إليهم أقواتهم من طريق البحر لإحياء نفوس أولئك المجاهدين المحصورين

فلما بدا للرجل أن هذا الأمر الذي قصده من التضييق بهم لا يتم له ما داموا يستمرون مع بقاء المهادنة، عمد إلى الكفرة المعاهدين بقدرهم وصار يفسد عقول الناس ويحيل إليهم من أجل هذه المهادنة، أن المسلمين اتفقوا مع النصارى ويوهمهم أنهم يد واحدة، وفي ذلك تشوش للمسلمين وإفساد عقائد المسلمين، وإغرائهم على نبد طاعة الملك والخروج من بيعته، والمراد أن نفضل سيادتكم بالجواب عن مقاتلته المسلمين أهي جائزة أم لا؟ وما حكمه في عدم اكرائه بدمائهم؟ وما حكمه إذا اعتقد حليتها أو صرح بذلك؟ وما حكم محاصرته لهؤلاء القوم الذين هم على هذه الصفة، وما يلزمه في إفساد هذه البلاد التي كانت في نحر العدو، وتضرب بها الأمثال في المصانة والعمارة، وإخلائها من عمارتها الذين كانت صفتهم ما تقدم، وما حكم فعل الملك - الله - في إعانتهم بالطعام، هل من الأمر الواجب المتعين عليه أم لا؟ وما حكم المهادنة التي صدرت منه لهذا الغرض، هل هي جائزة أم لا؟ أجيئونا ساداتنا حفظكم الله - عن كل فصل من هذه الفصول بما تقتضيه الشريعة المحمدية، ويزول عنها كل لبس فالله يديم النفع بكم ويعلمكم ويعينكم والسلام.

106 Al-Wazzānī, *Al-Mi'yār al-Ġadīd*.

And he punished many people for that. When the situation became unbearable for them, they started sailing the sea and providing for themselves from Muslim lands. He [al-‘Ayyāšī] negotiated with the Christians and sought their assistance against them [the Hornacheros], and they [the Christians] allowed him to dock at their ports, denying them any escape route. The mountains closed in on them, and the flood reached its peak. They resorted to eating carrion. They sought the help of the king – may Allāh support and aid him. Then the king realized that the food provisions would only be reached by sea, as their land route was inaccessible. He concluded that reviving their spirits was obligatory upon him, and therefore made a truce with the unbelievers to allow his forces to reach them by sea, in order to support and revive the spirits of those besieged fighters.

When it became clear to the man that his intention of pressuring them was not being fulfilled as long as they continued with the truce, he resorted to the unbelievers who had made an agreement with him according to their capabilities. He started corrupting people's minds and deceiving them for the sake of this truce, claiming that Muslims and Christians were united as one hand. This caused confusion among the Muslims, corrupted their beliefs, and enticed them to abandon their obedience to the king and break their allegiance. The purpose of this inquiry is for Your Eminence to provide an answer regarding his fighting against Muslims, whether it is permissible or not. What is the ruling concerning his indifference to their lives? And what is the ruling if he believes their blood is permissible or openly declares so? What is the ruling on besieging those people who are in this state, and what is required of him to undermine these lands that were previously in the grip of the enemy, known for their resilience and construction skills, but now evacuated by their skilled builders? What is the ruling on the king's support, may Allāh grant him victory, in providing them with food? Is it an obligatory matter for him or not? And what is the ruling on the truce he issued for this purpose? Is it permissible or not? Please enlighten us, Your Eminence, may Allāh protect you, regarding each aspect of these matters according to the requirements of the Muḥammadan Sharia, removing any ambiguity. May Allāh continue to grant us benefit through you and your knowledge, and may He assist and guide you. Peace be upon you.

فأجاب اعلّموا رحمكم الله وسددنا وإياكم لما فيه رضاه أن حاصل أمر هذا الرجل المسؤول عنه أنه خلط عملا صالحا وآخر سيئا عسى الله ربي يتوب عليهم، إن الله غفور رحيم. أما جهاده ورباطه وحراسته ونكسه فنعمما هي وأما مقاتلته للمسلمين وعدم اكتراثه بدمائهم واعتقاد حليتها، ومحاصرته لسكان الثغر وإفساده لبلادهم التي هي في نحر العدو وحل نظامها والسعي في ضعفها وإخلائها من عمارتها، فعن الشرع والدين والصواب فيها بمعزل، والتوفيق بيد الله ولا حول ولا قوة إلا بالله

He answered: Know, may Allāh have mercy upon you, that the essence of this man's actions, for which he is responsible, is a mixture of good and evil. We hope that Allāh, our Lord, will guide them to repentance, for Allāh is forgiving and merciful. As for his engagement in *ġihād*, his perseverance, his vigilance, and his commitment, these are indeed commendable. However, his fighting against Muslims, his indifference to their lives, his belief in their permissibility, his besieging of the people of the outpost [Salé], and his destruction of their lands, which were previously in the grip of the enemy, dismantling their system and striving to weaken them and evacuate their structures – separate from the perspective of the sharia, religion, and righteousness – these are undoubtedly wrong. Success lies in the hands of Allāh, and there is no power or strength except in Allāh.

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## Images of Mary in the Moriscos' Mediterranean Diaspora

*Catherine Infante*

In the years immediately following the expulsion of the Moriscos, the Spanish moralist Fray Juan de Salazar relates in his *Política española* (1619) how King Philip III participated in a procession in Madrid to visit the shrine of the Virgin of Atocha. On 25 March 1610, the king thanks the Virgin for what he believes is her divine intervention in the expulsion of the Moriscos, especially for

the singular favor that God granted him, revealing to him so early the betrayal that the Moriscos, Turks and confederates had hatched against his royal person, and against his kingdoms and vassals, recognizing that this favor with many others had come from his powerful hand.<sup>1</sup>

Various early modern historians, including Luis Cabrera de Córdoba, Diego de Guzmán, and Antonio de León Pinelo, record another procession later, the following March of 1611, along this same route from the church of Santa María to the Descalzas Reales convent. Philip III participates, dressed in white and accompanied by the Court and his councilors, to once again celebrate the expulsion of the Moriscos.<sup>2</sup> These accounts initially suggest that the image of

1 Juan de Salazar, *Política española* (Logroño: Diego Mares, 1619), 182: “la singular merced, que Dios le hizo, revelándole tan con tiempo la traición, que los Moriscos, Turcos i confederados tenían urdida contra su Real persona, i contra sus Reinos i vassallos: reconociendo que este favor con otros muchos le había venido de su poderosa mano.” All translations into English are my own unless otherwise indicated.

2 On the chronicles, see Luis Cabrera de Córdoba, *Relaciones, de las cosas sucedidas en la Corte de España desde 1599 hasta 1614* (Madrid: Martín Alegría, 1857), 435; Diego de Guzmán, *Reyna católica: vida y muerte de D. Margarita de Austria Reyna de España* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1617), 195r; and Antonio de León Pinelo, *Anales de Madrid, de León Pinelo. Reinado de Felipe III, años 1598 a 1621*, ed. Ricardo Martorell Téllez-Girón (Madrid: Estanislao Maestre, 1931), 92. It is possible that the event described by Juan de Salazar is in effect the same described by these other chroniclers, since León Pinelo notes that another author has erroneously attributed this procession to the prior year, but he does not specify the source. For more on these processions, see Trevor J. Dadson, *Los moriscos de Villarrubia de los Ojos (Siglos XV–XVIII): historia de una minoría asimilada, expulsada y reintegrada* (Madrid-Frankfurt am

the Virgin of Atocha is closely linked to expulsion and to Old Christian identity. The Marian icon is defined, in effect, precisely vis-à-vis its association to a religious “other,” in this case the Moriscos just as they are being forcibly uprooted from their homes and neighbors.

In stark contrast to these official accounts that connect the Virgin of Atocha to expulsion, a curious letter written by a Morisco exiled in Algiers paints quite a different picture of the Marian icon’s connection to some members of the Morisco community who once lived in Madrid and now found themselves exiled to the other shore of the Mediterranean Sea. In 1618, a Morisco by the name of Antonio de Ocaña wrote from Algiers to a friend still in Madrid to tell him about his life post-expulsion. As he begins to describe some of the tragic events, he pauses to ask the Virgin of Atocha to watch over and protect him as he endures life as a covert Christian in Muslim lands. He pleads, “Blessed Virgin of Atocha, my intermediary and lady, help us all and intercede for us; use the wonders *here* that you use *there* with your devotees.”<sup>3</sup> The Virgin of Atocha in Antonio de Ocaña’s letter is far from the one described in the official accounts of the expulsion. In fact, the Morisco’s use of spatial deixis, with adverbs of place “here” and “there,” instead connects the image of the Virgin to Moriscos all the way from Madrid to Algiers, creating a continuity of devotion and suggesting that some Moriscos may have taken their ideas and even visual and material culture surrounding the Virgin with them into their diaspora.

This essay delves into this question by examining a selection of *relaciones de sucesos* (news pamphlets) similar to Antonio de Ocaña’s letter published in the years surrounding the expulsion to consider some of the ways in which Moriscos may have brought their beliefs and practices surrounding Mary with them to North Africa. In contrast to the official literature that sought to justify the expulsion, these short, printed news pieces reflect a wider variety of public opinion, even if they too could be manipulated for certain outcomes or be

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Main: Iberoamericana, Vervuert, 2015), 365; Antonio Domínguez Ortiz and Bernard Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos. Vida y tragedia de una minoría* (Madrid: Biblioteca de la Revista de Occidente, 1978), 198; Juan Francisco Pardo Molero, “Desdichados e imprudentes. Los moriscos y su expulsión en la memoria escrita del siglo xvii,” *Tiempos modernos* 31 (2015): 329; and Jeffrey Schrader, *La Virgen de Atocha. Los Austrias y las imágenes milagrosas*, trans. Teresa Sans and Fabián Chueca (Madrid: Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 2006), 94.

3 Antonio de Ocaña, *Carta que Antonio de Ocaña, Morisco de los desterrados de España, natural de la villa de Madrid, embió desde Argel a un su amigo a la dicha villa, dándole cuenta del estado de sus cosas* (Seville: por Juan Serrano de Vargas, 1618), 2v: “Virgen santíssima de Atocha, abogada y señora mía, ayudadnos a todos, y interceded por nosotros, usad las maravillas *aquí*, que usáis *allá* con vuestros devotos” [emphasis added].

used as a tool to spread ideological and political ideals.<sup>4</sup> *Relaciones de sucesos* provide a unique perspective for approaching the question of how Moriscos carried their ideas about the Virgin Mary with them to other places in the Mediterranean, particularly because these texts offer a view of public opinion that, at times, deviated from the official literature of the expulsion and the polemical texts related to this tragic event.

As Henry Ettinghausen notes, “the *relaciones* did much more than just inform. They helped form, and they reflect, their readers’ world view and self-image.”<sup>5</sup> This meant that they could reinforce dominant attitudes about Moriscos, but they could also reflect other popular beliefs that their readership held about this minority. Agustín Redondo is among the scholars who have dedicated the most attention to what these texts have to say about the Morisco expulsion.<sup>6</sup> His research has demonstrated that while a large majority of *relaciones* do echo the ideas espoused by the apologists of the expulsion, other news pamphlets display a certain sympathy toward Moriscos, sometimes even explicitly questioning the inhumane measures adopted to uproot these individuals from their homes and communities.<sup>7</sup> As his work has shown, the variety and profusion of *relaciones* published in the years following the expulsion offer a rich source for exploring how Moriscos were represented by the early modern public. Yet a specific focus on how the authors of these *relaciones* imagined Moriscos’ connection to the Virgin Mary, and Marian images in particular, remains mostly unexplored in these writings. By investigating these texts we can glean important details about how Moriscos held onto their ideas

4 Agustín Redondo, “La doble visión en España de los moriscos expulsados, a través de unas cuantas relaciones de sucesos de los años 1609–1624,” in *España y el mundo mediterráneo a través de las relaciones de sucesos (1500–1750)*, ed. Pierre Civil et al. (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2008), 286. María Carmen Carriazo Rubio, “La imagen del morisco en las relaciones de sucesos del siglo XVII,” in *El saber en al-Andalus. Textos y estudios*, ed. Fátima Roldán Castro and Isabel Hervás Jávega (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 2001), 3126.

5 Henry Ettinghausen, “The News in Spain: *Relaciones de sucesos* in the Reigns of Philip III and IV,” *European History Quarterly* 14 (1984): 15.

6 See Redondo, “La doble visión,” 271–86, and Agustín Redondo, “L’image du morisque (1570–1620), notamment à travers les *pliegos sueltos*. Les variations d’une altérité,” in *Les représentations de l’autre dans l’espace ibérique et ibéro-américain*, ed. Agustín Redondo (Paris: Presses de la Sorbonne Nouvelle, 1993), 217–31. Carriazo Rubio, “La imagen del morisco,” 3119–34, has also focused on the representation of Moriscos in a variety of similar *relaciones de sucesos* in Spain, while Valentina Nider, “Ecos de la expulsión de los moriscos en Italia entre relaciones de sucesos y literatura,” in *La invención de las noticias. Las relaciones de sucesos entre la literatura y la información (siglos XVI–XVIII)*, ed. Giovanni Ciappelli and Valentina Nider (Trento: Collana Labirinti, 2017), 725–46, has examined mentions of the Morisco expulsion in the news pamphlets printed in Italy.

7 Redondo, “La doble visión,” 273.

about Mary, or at least how the early modern public understood Moriscos' role in the circulation of Marian beliefs and material culture between Spain and North Africa. Furthermore, reading these *relaciones* alongside other sources also helps to illuminate how tensions around image worship followed Moriscos into their diaspora.

## 1 The Virgin Mary in Morisco Culture

Before delving into the content of the *relaciones* that I examine in this essay, a brief discussion is necessary about the place of the Virgin Mary, or Maryam as she is known in the Qur'an, within Morisco culture.<sup>8</sup> Both Christians and Muslims living in the Iberian Peninsula were keenly aware of Mary's revered place between Christianity and Islam. Even authors like Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón who wrote texts dedicated to refuting Islamic doctrine and practice recognized Mary as a common denominator between Christian and Muslim cultures. In his *Antialcorano* (1532)—a collection of twenty-six sermons reputedly preached to Moriscos in Valencia—he devotes the penultimate sermon to the Virgin Mary. In this address he stresses how Mary is a shared element between them, showing how the Qur'an and Christian doctrine are both correct to honor and serve this holy woman.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, Morisco authors also took note of the shared cult of the Virgin Mary, praising her in a variety of their writings. The Mancebo de Arévalo, for example, includes a chapter on the excellence of Mary in his *Tafsira* (ca. 1532–33), a work he composed in Aljamiado to comment on different elements of Islamic doctrine. He first exalts her above all women for her purity and ability to not succumb to earthly pleasures, and he later admires her spirituality.<sup>10</sup>

8 The Qur'an dedicates its nineteenth sura (chapter) to Maryam, and other verses also celebrate her above all women. For more on the place of the Virgin Mary between Christian and Muslim cultures within the specific context of the Iberian Peninsula, see Mikel de Epalza, *Jesús entre judíos, cristianos y musulmanes hispanos (siglos VI–XVII)* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1999), 161–90.

9 Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón, *Antialcorano. Diálogos cristianos. Conversión y evangelización de moriscos*, ed. Francisco Pons Fuster (Alicante: Universidad de Alicante, 2000), 363.

10 Mancebo de Arévalo, *Tratado [tafsira]*, ed. María Teresa Narváez Córdova (Madrid: Trotta, 2003), 265–66. Another significant example is that of the Lead Books of the Sacromonte in which Mary figures prominently. See Amy G. Remensnyder, "Beyond Muslim and Christian: The Moriscos' Marian Scriptures," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 41, no. 3 (2011): 545–76. For a broader summary of Mary/Maryam in Morisco literature, see Aliah Schleifer, "Maryam in Morisco Literature: A Factor in the Preservation of their

Even though the Virgin Mary is an important figure in both Christianity and Islam, the politics around sacred images representing her could still be a point of tension for those Moriscos who rejected figural representations. As Felipe Pereda explains, “this apparent contradiction, which placed worship of the Virgin on one side of the coin and rejection of her image on the other, set the terms for the complex interplay between the Moriscos and Christian authorities.”<sup>11</sup> Cognizant of Mary’s revered place in Islam, Queen Isabella I and her confessor, Archbishop of Granada Hernando de Talavera, incorporated Marian images into their evangelization campaigns in an attempt to convert and assimilate Muslims in Granada.<sup>12</sup> Efforts to convert Moriscos unfolded in different ways in other areas of the Peninsula, and even specific iconographic typologies of the Virgin could be more acceptable than others to Moriscos.<sup>13</sup> Yet, as Felipe Pereda and Borja Franco Llopis reveal through their respective studies of Inquisition records and other historical documents, Moriscos tended to react in an iconoclastic manner toward images of Mary—although to a lesser extent than toward those of the cross or crucifixion—in an attempt to defend their identity.<sup>14</sup> Still other sources amplify this question and show a different angle of Moriscos’ relationship with Marian icons. A number of last wills, for instance, illuminate how Moriscos managed to take on important positions in their brotherhoods, including serving as religious administrators to confraternities dedicated to the Virgin of la Caridad, the Virgin of la Soledad, and the Virgin of el Rosario, among others.<sup>15</sup>

Given these tensions, a variety of early modern authors used their writing as a tool to negotiate how to represent Moriscos’ relation to Marian icons. Lope de Vega is one of the authors who explored these issues in his plays and he approaches the topic from various angles. While at times he portrays Muslims as inclined to reject images of Mary, at others he suggests that Moriscos participated alongside Old Christians in festivities related to Marian icons. In his

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Muslim Identity,” in *Actes du Ve Symposium International d’Études morisques sur: Le V Centenaire de la chute de Grenade, 1492–1992*, ed. Abdeljelil Temimi (Zaghouan: CEROMDI, 1993), 2:679–94.

11 Felipe Pereda, *Images of Discord: Poetics and Politics of the Sacred Image in Fifteenth-Century Spain*, trans. Consuelo López-Morillas (London: Harvey Miller, 2019), 172.

12 Pereda, *Images of Discord*, 121–89.

13 Borja Franco Llopis, “Aproximación al carácter polisémico e intercultural de las representaciones marianas en el imaginario valenciano del siglo XVI,” in *Imatge, devoció i identitat a l’època moderna (segles XVI–XVIII)*, ed. Silvia Canalda and Cristina Fontcuberta (Barcelona: Edicions Universitat Barcelona, 2014), 101–15.

14 Pereda, *Images of Discord*, 172–74. Borja Franco Llopis, “Los moriscos y la Inquisición. Cuestiones artísticas,” *Manuscrits* 28 (2010): 96–99.

15 Dadson, *Los moriscos de Villarrubia de los Ojos*, 688.

*Tragedia del rey don Sebastián y bautismo del príncipe de Marruecos* (ca. 1593–1603)—a play that represents the Moroccan prince Mawlāy al-Šayḥ's conversion to Christianity prompted by an image of Mary—Lope includes a scene of Granadan Moriscos gathered in Andújar to celebrate the Virgin of la Cabeza.<sup>16</sup> In this particular episode, Moriscos and Old Christians join together to sing popular songs to the Virgin as she passes by them. Unlike other examples in the drama, these Morisco characters give no indication of their particular motives for attending the pilgrimage, but the scene still allows us to glean a unique perspective on how early modern writers imagined Moriscos' participation in the popular culture surrounding the Virgin.<sup>17</sup> Authors, like the one just discussed, that incorporate this theme into their writing tend to focus on Moriscos living in Spain before the expulsion takes effect. For this reason, the *relaciones* that I study in this essay are appealing because they show how this issue was considered beyond Spain's borders, especially as Moriscos began to make a living in other Mediterranean locales after the expulsion.

## 2 Marian Beliefs and Material Culture between Two Shores

A fascinating *relación* published in Málaga in 1612 provides an excellent starting point for examining Moriscos' role in the circulation of Marian beliefs and material culture between the shores of the Mediterranean Sea (Figure 9.1).<sup>18</sup> The author of this text, a resident of Sanlúcar de Barrameda named Gaspar Serato, claims to relay some miracles that an image of the Virgin of la Caridad performed, linking the martyrdom of a young Morisco couple with an account of miraculous healing in Morocco. The pamphlet begins with the impending expulsion of the Moriscos mandated by King Philip III and follows the life events of a Morisca named Mencía from Extremadura to Andalusia and finally to Morocco. Despite the author's approval of the Morisco expulsion, Mencía is characterized as an "honorable Morisca" and a "true Catholic."<sup>19</sup> She was raised in Trujillo by Doña Juana de Bera, her Christian governess, who instructed her

16 Lope de Vega, *El bautismo del Príncipe de Marruecos. Comedias, Parte XI*, ed. Laura Fernández and Gonzalo Pontón (Madrid: Gredos, 2012), 2:895–906.

17 For a discussion on the image of the Virgin of la Cabeza between Christian and Muslim characters in this play, see Catherine Infante, *The Arts of Encounter: Christians, Muslims, and the Power of Images in Early Modern Spain* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2022), 89–114.

18 Gaspar Serato, *Relación verdadera que se sacó del libro donde están escritos los milagros de Nuestra Señora de La Caridad de Sanlúcar de Barrameda* (Málaga: Juan René, 1612).

19 Serato, *Relación verdadera*, 1r.

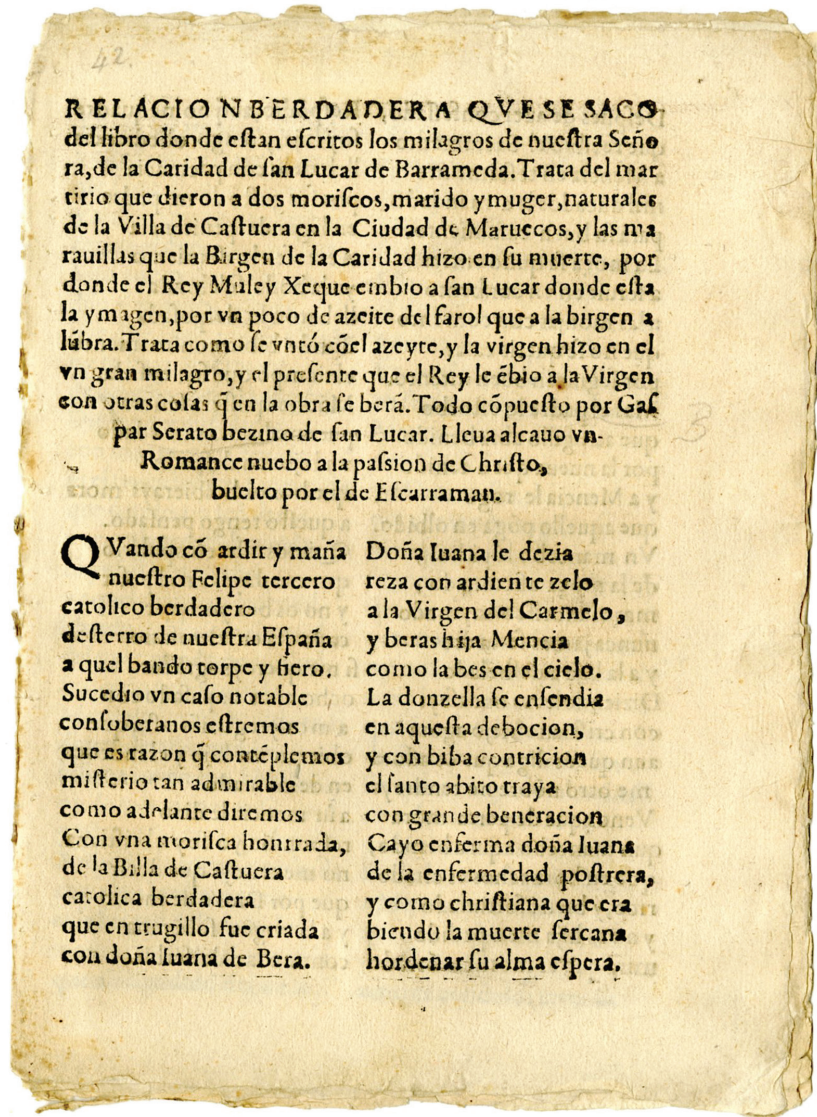


FIGURE 9.1 Gaspar Serato, *Relación verdadera que se sacó del libro donde están escritos los milagros de nuestra Señora de la Caridad de Sanlúcar de Barrameda* (1612), f. 1r  
 COURTESY OF THE HISPANIC SOCIETY MUSEUM & LIBRARY, NEW YORK.

in Marian iconography and taught her how to pray to the Virgin Mary. Although Mencía hoped to enter a convent or marry an Old Christian, Mencía's father urged her to wed a Morisco from Hornachos and she reluctantly followed his command.

It is through Mencía's relationship with her husband Solimán that her religious practices surrounding the Virgin Mary become more visible. Solimán insists that his wife forget about her devotion to the Virgin, and in particular demands that she stop wearing a scapular, which she believes keeps her from harm and connects her to Mary. In the midst of their violent debate over Marian worship, the expulsion of the Moriscos begins and the married couple is directed towards Seville. It is there that Mencía develops an interest in the Virgin of la Caridad, concealing this devotion from her husband and family. Yet before setting sail to North Africa, she covertly purchases a print of this Virgin to accompany her on the journey. Once in Morocco, she takes out the print of the Marian image to worship clandestinely until her husband finds her kneeling down praying to the Virgin, at which point he confiscates her image and throws it into a fire. When the image doesn't burn, Solimán converts to Christianity and the two Moriscos are finally martyred on African soil.<sup>20</sup>

This *relación* is revealing because it suggests that Mencía's belief and cultural practices surrounding the Virgin Mary are closely tied to material culture, thus illuminating popular opinions about how some devotional images crossed the Mediterranean Sea with Moriscos and ended up in North Africa. Before her exile from Spain, Mencía externalizes her beliefs materially by wearing a scapular that functions as a talisman with protective properties linked to the Virgin. Even when coerced by her husband to remove the sacred garment, she tucks it away and remembers it when praying to Mary. After her forced journey to Morocco, her material practices become more discreet. She only takes out the image of the Virgin of La Caridad to worship when alone, and in the absence of a rosary she substitutes her own fingers to pray to Mary. Approaching this *relación* of Morisco expulsion and Mediterranean diaspora through the lens of materiality is productive in that it not only highlights different ideas about some Moriscos' relationship to devotional objects, but it also shows how these objects may have allowed these individuals to act out their beliefs. As David Morgan contends, "materiality *mediates* belief ... material objects and practices both enable it and enact it."<sup>21</sup> In this sense, the devotional materials allow Mencía to embody her beliefs surrounding the Virgin Mary and take both objects and ideas about the Madonna to North Africa, since her beliefs are predicated on the Marian material culture that she holds closely. However, these same objects are also used by her husband to enact his beliefs as a Muslim. When Solimán exhorts his wife to convert to Islam, the first thing he

20 Serato, *Relación verdadera*, 11–31.

21 David Morgan, "Introduction: The Matter of Belief," in *Religion and Material Culture: The Matter of Belief*, ed. David Morgan (London: Routledge, 2010), 8, emphasis in original.

insists that Mencía do is to rid herself of the physical expressions of her dedication to Mary, leading her to later covertly depend on the print of the Virgin of La Caridad to protect her from harm during the expulsion. In other words, the Morisco protagonists in this *relación* rely on devotional objects to perform their identities and position themselves with either Christianity or Islam. The print of the Virgin allows Mencía to feel a sense of affinity with Mary and, as the last item purchased right before her departure, it also strengthens her connection to Spain.

Despite Gaspar Serato's claims to having written down a "true" account of these events, it is difficult to gauge the extent to which this *relación* has any basis in Morisco lived experiences and beliefs. Mercedes García-Arenal's research on the Moriscos in Morocco illuminates some important connections between these individuals and the protagonists of Serato's *relación*.<sup>22</sup> Among those expelled, roughly 80,000 Moriscos from Andalusia, Extremadura, and Castile went to Morocco. Like Mencía and her husband Solimán who were originally from Extremadura, many of these Moriscos were martyred in Morocco for publicly proclaiming their Catholic faith.<sup>23</sup> It is also worth noting that in the years before their expulsion, some of these Moriscos had been candidly displaying their religious devotion, especially the women who wore white tunics and carried heavy crosses among other images.<sup>24</sup> These details call to mind Mencía's public devotion and the ways in which she materially externalized her Catholic faith. Furthermore, some historical documents do suggest that a few Moriscos may have had a connection to the Virgin of La Caridad. In 1609, shortly after the Marian image began to arouse more attention and veneration, the Duke of Medina Sidonia decided to establish the Brotherhood of Our Lady of La Caridad (*Hermandad de Nuestra Señora de la Caridad*) to worship this Virgin. Since its establishment, the brotherhood's book of rules allowed members of all ranks of society to join without the need to provide "proof of blood purity" or declare whether or not they were Old Christians.<sup>25</sup> On 19 August 1613, for example, a Morisco was among those recorded in the brotherhood's minute book (*libro de actas*) as associating himself with this organization, even if this

22 Mercedes García-Arenal, "The Moriscos in Morocco: From Granadan Emigration to the Hornacheros of Salé," in *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain: A Mediterranean Diaspora*, ed. Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegers (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 286–328.

23 García-Arenal, "The Moriscos in Morocco," 316–18.

24 García-Arenal, "The Moriscos in Morocco," 318–19.

25 Fernando Cruz Isidoro, *El Santuario de Nuestra Señora de La Caridad de Sanlúcar de Barrameda. Estudio histórico-artístico* (Cordova: Publicaciones Obra Social y Cultural CajaSur, 1997), 157: "pruebas de sangre."

affiliation was likely connected to his labor in the hospital which housed the image of the Virgin.<sup>26</sup>

In addition to these details, the name given to the Morisca protagonist in Serato's *relación* doesn't seem to be an arbitrary choice, as it bears some interesting connections to the image of the Virgin of La Caridad worshiped in Sanlúcar de Barrameda. Although few documents survive about the origin of this image, they all point to a woman named Mencía as the one who ordered a Marian image to be sculpted in Seville. According to various accounts, she was not pleased with the result and brought the image back to the artist. This castoff image was later purchased by a certain Pedro de Ribera Sarmiento, who took it with him to Sanlúcar and donated it to the hospital to be venerated as the Virgin of La Caridad.<sup>27</sup> In the hospital, another woman named Mencía is also connected to the image, although it is unclear if she is the same person who initially ordered the image. Between 1609 and 1612 this Mencía sold silk ribbons that were cut to the height of the Virgin of La Caridad and stamped with her image to raise money for the sanctuary.<sup>28</sup> While some of the details in Gaspar Serato's *relación* are likely elaborations of the events, the origin of the image and the brotherhood's tolerance of a more diverse membership seem to suggest that Serato was at least somewhat inspired by the popular culture and beliefs surrounding the Virgin of La Caridad as he penned the *relación*.

Mencía's life story and eventual martyrdom is curiously linked in the second half of Serato's *relación* to another account related to the image of the Virgin of La Caridad, this time beginning in Morocco and later circling back up to Spain. Upon Mencía's death, some officials alerted Mawlāy Muḥammad al-Shaikh al-Ma'mūn, son of Aḥmad al-Manṣūr, to this occurrence, and the story then turns to the king's personal circumstances. Due to an illness that caused his legs to swell, he sends a messenger to Sanlúcar de Barrameda to fetch some oil in a lamp burning in front of the same image to which Mencía was devoted. The Duke of Medina Sidonia sends some of the Virgin's healing oil with an emissary to Morocco, and as soon as Mawlāy Muḥammad al-Shaikh applies it he is said to be healed. In appreciation of the miracle, the king sends an offering back to the Virgin of La Caridad in Spain.<sup>29</sup>

26 Cruz Isidoro, *El Santuario de Nuestra Señora*, 121.

27 Cruz Isidoro, *El Santuario de Nuestra Señora*, 249–52.

28 Cruz Isidoro, *El Santuario de Nuestra Señora*, 78–80.

29 In Pedro Beltrán, *La charidad guzmanera*, Biblioteca Nacional de España [BNE] ms. 188, 98r, the author attributes the gift to Muley Muḥammad al-Shaikh's son, Muley 'Abd Allāh, who sent a lamp imprinted with a crescent moon to the Virgin of La Caridad. In Cruz Isidoro, *El Santuario de Nuestra Señora de La Caridad*, 323, 336, his research at the Archivo Ducal

In Serato's *relación*, especially this last half of the account, the expulsion of the Moriscos is intimately connected to their Mediterranean diaspora. This aspect is further emphasized in other contemporary sources that show how the Virgin of La Caridad was understood as an intermediary between Christian and Muslim cultures in the early modern Mediterranean. In *La charidad guzmanana*, the Dominican priest Pedro Beltrán dedicates a substantial part of Chapter Three to Mawlāy Muḥammad al-Shaikh's miraculous healing and to the circulation of people and objects between Morocco and Spain.<sup>30</sup> Beltrán introduces this episode by first depicting the Virgin of La Caridad in relation to the Virgins of Montserrat and Loreto, noting how the one in Sanlúcar performs more miracles for both Muslims and Christians.<sup>31</sup> What Beltrán elaborates on in his account that is absent in Serato's *relación* is this discussion of how the Virgin heals others regardless of their religious beliefs in both Spain and North Africa. First, the author comments on how the Duke of Medina Sidonia doubts whether he should send oil to a Muslim in Morocco, but after some deliberation with his spiritual advisors he decides to do so.<sup>32</sup> Later, Beltrán paints a picture of Muley standing on a Turkish rug, giving thanks to "Allah and Lela Marién" for the healing powers of the oil, including a note in the margin to clarify that Lela Marién is the name used by Muslims for the Virgin Mary.<sup>33</sup> But when the author wonders why someone of another faith would be healed with the sacred oil—he is especially irritated that Mawlāy never converted to Christianity or asked to be baptized—he presumes that the Virgin of La Caridad must have interceded on his behalf.<sup>34</sup> Finally, Beltrán concludes that the image in Sanlúcar is superior since it will cure people of other beliefs.<sup>35</sup> These details in Beltrán's narrative of the Virgin of La Caridad's place between Christian and Muslim cultures help to provide some insight on how this image was understood by the early modern public, and they give some clues as to why Serato juxtaposed the episode of the Morisca Mencía in Spain and her expulsion to

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de Medina Sidona also notes a record showing that a lamp was sent from Morocco to the Virgin's temple.

30 Beltrán, *La charidad guzmanana*, 92v–98r.

31 Beltrán, *La charidad guzmanana*, 91v. The Virgin of Montserrat that Beltrán refers to was, at times, also portrayed as a mediator between Christian and Muslim cultures in early modern Spain. See Catherine Infante, "La Virgen de Montserrat entre cristianos y musulmanes: el caso de 'El esclavo de su esclavo' de Mariana de Carvajal," *Sharq Al-Andalus: Estudios Mudéjares y Moriscos* 22 (2017–18): 185–99.

32 Beltrán, *La charidad guzmanana*, 93v.

33 Beltrán, *La charidad guzmanana*, 94r.

34 Beltrán, *La charidad guzmanana*, 95v.

35 Beltrán, *La charidad guzmanana*, 97r.

Morocco alongside Mawlāy's miraculous healing with oil from the same image of the Virgin.

Leaving aside what are certainly some fabricated details in Serato's *relación*, it is still important to consider this account because it suggests that debates about Marian icons traversed cultural and imperial boundaries, linking ideas about Moriscos and their reception of Marian iconography in Spain to broader implications throughout their Mediterranean diaspora. As Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegers have argued, issues concerning Moriscos go far beyond being a question of only local or national interest in Spain, and as such they must be examined through a wider Mediterranean lens.<sup>36</sup> Other scholars such as Mayte Green-Mercado have also recently drawn attention to this point, showing how "studying the Moriscos within their Mediterranean setting brings forward connections and continuities that would otherwise be obscured by an exclusively Iberian perspective."<sup>37</sup> Serato's *relación* makes this point clear, as it highlights how Moriscos' reception of Marian icons and ideas about Mary was not isolated as a merely local issue in Spain, but rather how these ideas traveled with Moriscos and were transformed for different purposes into their diaspora. Furthermore, when this pamphlet is read alongside other sources, it offers some insight into public opinion and how it attempted to shape debates about the ways in which Moriscos cultivated devotion to Marian icons and carried it with them to North Africa post-expulsion.

### 3 Marian Advocations and Local Belonging

Turning now to another pamphlet published in Seville just two years earlier, we find that the anonymous author of *Relación del sentimiento de los moriscos* (1610) also relates the emotions of Moriscos expelled from the same port as Mencía.<sup>38</sup> This *relación* shows how particular advocations of the Virgin Mary

36 Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegers, "Introduction," in *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain: A Mediterranean Diaspora*, ed. Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegers (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 4.

37 Mayte Green-Mercado, *Visions of Deliverance: Moriscos and the Politics of Prophecy in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2019), 16.

38 There is no extant copy of the original publication, so I cite from *Relación del sentimiento de los moriscos por su justo destierro de España, y el número y cantidad que se han embarcados dellos, así hombres como mujeres, y niños de todas edades hasta ahora. Y de las mandas que dexan hechas a iglesias y lugares píos, y otras cosas dignas de memoria. Lleva dos romances al fin muy gustosos* (Seville: Fernando de Lara, 1610), in *Romancero general o colección de romances castellanos anteriores al siglo XVIII recogidos, ordenados,*

could create linkages to help Moriscos recall their everyday life in Spain. Even though the author blames Moriscos for a whole series of supposed offences, he still describes in great detail the emotional impact of the expulsion on this Morisco community, noting how Morisca voices cried out "Oh, Seville, my homeland!"<sup>39</sup> The author continues to poignantly describe how "Others called loudly to the Virgin of El Rosario and to the Virgin of Belén: 'Be our protection.' Their emotions are so strong that the children in their arms who were being nursed at their breasts received tears for milk."<sup>40</sup> In the last half of the *relación*, this Morisco lament is intimately linked to the religious visual and material culture of the city of Seville. All of the Moriscas dress in "Christian" fashion with white mantillas, carrying their rosaries.<sup>41</sup> The pamphlet continues to describe the offerings that Moriscos left to specific images of the Virgin before they were forcibly embarked for other lands. One Morisco merchant in particular is said to have visited the church of San Julián to leave 4,000 ducats for the Virgin of La Hiniesta before embarking at the port.<sup>42</sup>

Since the author is anonymous, it is difficult to know the extent to which he may be relating firsthand knowledge of these emotional encounters or in what ways they reflect his own inventiveness. Furthermore, the author's personal opinions about Morisco religiosity are also apparent throughout the pamphlet, amplifying the complexities in approaching this material. In one case, for example, he faults the Moriscos for going to church "dressed in gold and silk, in fabrics and brocades; not for devotion but rather to be looked at."<sup>43</sup> Yet a close reading of this account suggests that Moriscos' public manifestations of Marian devotion are tied to questions of their local belonging in Seville. While the author recalls how Moriscos responded as they were being expelled, it becomes evident that the emotions associated with leaving the city are closely linked to their specific places of participation within this urban center. Moriscos not only cried out the names of their communities' parishes, including those of San Pablo, San Andrés, Santa Marina, San Julián, and San Marcos, but also their

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*clasificados y anotados*, ed. Agustín Durán (Madrid: Editorial Hernando, 1926), 2:190–92. See also the notes included in Manuel Ruiz Lagos (ed.), *Moriscos: de los romances del gozo al exilio* (Alcalá de Guadaíra: Guadalmena, 2001), 215–24.

39 *Relación del sentimiento*, 191b: "¡Ay Sevilla, patria mía!"

40 *Relación del sentimiento*, 191b: "Otros llamaban a voces / a la Virgen del Rosario / y a la Virgen de Belén: / ella sea en nuestro amparo. / Tanto es su sentimiento / que a los niños en los brazos, / que criaban a sus pechos, / por leche les daban llanto."

41 *Relación del sentimiento*, 191b.

42 *Relación del sentimiento*, 191b.

43 *Relación del sentimiento*, 191a: "vestidos de oro y seda, / de telas y de brocados; / mas no por la devoción / sino para ser mirados."

local places of business and trade. And, significantly, Morisco laments to the Virgin Mary are all associated with particular Marian advocations centered in their distinct neighborhoods. In other words, the text implies that Moriscos are distraught about leaving Seville because their exile would sever the roots they have put down in their local communities, part of which included carrying out their everyday life surrounded by specific advocations of the Virgin Mary.

The fact that the author of this *relación* notes specific advocations of the Virgin in reference to Moriscos is compelling if we take into consideration their religious indoctrination in Seville in the years leading up to the expulsion. In the *Constituciones del Arçobispado de Sevilla* (1609), for example, the chapters that focus on how priests should instruct Moriscos and keep particular watch over them require that all Moriscos be registered at a particular parish under the surveillance of a dedicated priest.<sup>44</sup> Each of these priests, in turn, was made to keep an updated census of all the Moriscos in his parish so that he could “know how they live.”<sup>45</sup> Moriscos could be fined and punished for not regularly attending mass on Sundays and feast days, and they could not switch to another parish without the written permission of their assigned priest. These requirements were evidently created with the intention of maintaining control over the Morisco population, but another consequence of this condition was that Moriscos would become familiar with the particular iconography and Marian avocation associated with their local parish. Despite being forced to attend mass, some Moriscos may have developed a certain affinity for specific advocations of the Virgin Mary, whether or not they accepted the meaning behind them. It is also possible, of course, that these cries and offerings to the different Marian advocations in the city were also a last attempt on the part of Moriscos to avoid expulsion, but this *relación* does not propose that this was the case here. On the contrary, the author suggests that to a certain degree the Morisco merchant has a sense of local belonging and participation within the neighborhood that is connected to the Virgin of la Hiniesta, since he leaves an offering for her before his departure. It is worth mentioning that the advocations of the Marian icons described in this *relación* were located in some of the neighborhoods most heavily populated by Moriscos. In a census conducted shortly before the expulsion, San Julián was one of these neighborhoods, suggesting that some Moriscos might have identified the commonplace

44 *Constituciones del Arçobispado de Sevilla hechas i ordenadas por Don Fernando Niño de Guevara, Cardenal i Arçobispo de la S. Iglesia de Sevilla, en la Synodo que celebró en su Cathedral año d[e] 1604; i mandadas imprimir por el deán i cabildo, canónigos in sacris sede vacante* (Seville: Alonso Rodríguez Gamarra, 1609), 19r–21v.

45 *Constituciones del Arçobispado de Sevilla*, 20r: “saber cómo viven.”

Marian visual and material culture displayed in their neighborhoods as one more element associated with their daily lives, alongside their normal business and trade dealings, as this *relación* proposes.<sup>46</sup>

While the *Relación del sentimiento de los moriscos* leaves open the possibility that Moriscos may have taken this sense of local belonging related to the Virgin Mary with them to North Africa, the *relación* about Antonio de Ocaña to which I referred at the beginning of this essay makes this connection more explicit. As I have mentioned, Antonio de Ocaña was a Morisco from Madrid who wrote to his friend back in Spain after the expulsion, begging him to turn to the Virgin of Atocha and the Virgin of Los Remedios in his prayers for Ocaña.<sup>47</sup> More notably, Antonio himself relies on the first of these Marian advocations and calls out to her, trusting that the same Virgin that interceded for him in Madrid would now come to his rescue in Algiers.<sup>48</sup> In the seventeenth century the Virgin of Atocha was seen as a symbol that one belonged to Madrid, forming a significant part of public rituals on the streets of the Spanish capital, and it is this feeling of a shared affinity towards Mary that Antonio seems to have taken with him to North Africa.<sup>49</sup> Alongside these pleas, Antonio also pauses to remember his local priest, Father Juan Bautista de Madrigal, who instructed him in Catholic doctrine and practice.<sup>50</sup> Curiously, this priest advocated for the use of images while giving sermons, claiming that it was especially effective to hold up an image at the end of a sermon causing “many tears to be shed.”<sup>51</sup> As we have already seen, some Moriscos forced into exile may have brought their interest in Marian images and other material vestiges of their life in Spain with them to North Africa. The last two *relaciones* discussed in this section contribute to this idea, but they also show how a regard for particular Marian advocations was tied in many ways to Moriscos' everyday life in Spain whether or not this enthusiasm was rooted in religious beliefs.

46 *Expediente sobre la expulsión de los moriscos de Andalucía, en 1610, reunido por comisión de D. Juan de Mendoza, Marqués de San Germán*, BNE ms. 9577, 17r. For a comparative analysis of where Moriscos lived in Seville, see Michel Boeglin, “Demografía y sociedad moriscas en Sevilla. El padrón de 1589,” *Chronica Nova* 33 (2007): 218.

47 Ocaña, *Carta que Antonio de Ocaña*, 1r.

48 Ocaña, *Carta que Antonio de Ocaña*, 2v.

49 Schrader, *La Virgen de Atocha*, 96–99.

50 Ocaña, *Carta que Antonio de Ocaña*, 2r–v.

51 Juan Bautista de Madrigal, *Homiliario evangélico, en que se tratan diversas materias espirituales, y lugares notables de Escritura, en grande beneficio de las almas, y reformation de costumbres depravadas, y abusos introducidos en el mundo* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1602), prologue: “se derraman muchas lágrimas.”

#### 4 Concerns Over Moriscos' Circulation of Marian Images and Ideologies

The texts examined thus far serve as a springboard for thinking about the role that Moriscos had in the circulation of Marian beliefs and objects of devotion, at least as imagined by the early modern public. The authors of these *relaciones* also describe how this circulation aroused some preoccupation about the motives and implications behind this movement. As we will see, these concerns that Moriscos would bring images and ideas, even those related to the Virgin Mary, with them to North Africa emanated from both shores of the Mediterranean. In 1610 a certain Thomás de los Ángeles wrote a *relación* that deals with the Moriscos expelled from Andalusia.<sup>52</sup> The author claims to give an account of those Moriscos who abandoned their Christian beliefs upon their arrival in North Africa, and juxtaposes these individuals with five Moriscos who were martyred for not giving up their Christian religious practices. Although the narrative is fairly uninspired and follows that of many other similar *relaciones*, one aspect that is worth paying close attention to is the concern that Moriscos might bring religious material culture with them to the other shore of the Mediterranean Sea. The author claims that the king of Fez and Morocco enacted a set of rules that forbade Moriscos to bring any religious images with them, unless they represented the Prophet Muḥammad: "None of them may pray any Ave Maria, nor Salve Regina and they must not bring rosaries, nor have any image, unless it is of Muḥammad, our prophet."<sup>53</sup> Here, perhaps, more than in any of the other cases, the author is carried away by his inability to comprehend any religion that would not make use of religious images, imagining that if Moriscos cannot bring rosaries or other prayers and images related to Mary, then they must have some figures of Muḥammad that could accompany them to North Africa.<sup>54</sup> At the same time, this preoccupation that Moriscos would take images out of Spain subtly implies that some of them had cultivated a certain attachment to Marian prayers and objects of

52 Thomás de los Ángeles, *Verdadera relación en la qual se declara el gran número de moriscos que renegaron de la fe católica, en la ciudad de Alarache, que confina con Berbería. Y del martyrio de cinco que no quisieron renegar, naturales de la ciudad de Córdoba* (Zaragoza: Lorenço de Robles, 1610).

53 De los Ángeles, *Verdadera relación*, 2v: "No reze ninguno / Ave María, ni Salve / y que no traygan Rosarios, / ni tengan ninguna Imagen, / si no fuere de Mahoma / nuestro Profeta."

54 It is worth noting that on at least three separate occasions Moriscos in Valencia and Zaragoza, precisely the publication location of this *relación*, were accused by the Inquisition of possessing an image of the Prophet in their homes, although this was not a common practice. See Franco Llopis, "Los moriscos y la Inquisición," 97–99.

devotion. Nevertheless, nearly all of the Moriscos in his account decided to convert to Islam, even if the only reason they do so is to spare them from martyrdom and receive better treatment.

Other *relaciones* show different concerns originating in Iberia about why Moriscos might take images or ideas about the Virgin Mary to North Africa. In the anonymous *Carta de Barcelona a esta Corte* (1625), the author writes out of “forced obligation” to share the account of a freed Morisca slave named Juana Errada, noting that her last name points to the fact that she was branded (“[h]errada”) on her face.<sup>55</sup> After her master passed away, she was freed and continued living in northern Spain years after the expulsion of the Moriscos was put into effect. She tried her best to give the impression that she was a Christian by confessing, taking communion, and praying every few days. The author, however, specifies how she was secretly a Muslim and in a long-term relationship with a Muslim *faqih* who went back and forth clandestinely between Spain and North Africa. The two were involved in a number of thefts, one of which involved breaking into a church and stealing an image of Our Lady of Peace, among other devotional objects. According to the author, their goal in doing this was to put these images “in the hands of our enemies in Algiers, to make a mockery of our faith.”<sup>56</sup> When Juana was finally accused, she tried to burn down her house with all the evidence in it, including the image of the Virgin Mary, but the room where it was tucked away and the Virgin itself were left unscathed. Juana was finally sentenced to be burned to death, and the Virgin went on to perform many miracles. Unlike many of the other *relaciones* examined in this essay that imply that Moriscos had an affinity for the Virgin, this one in particular exposes the concern that Moriscos would take images out of Spain as a way to disdain Catholics and ally themselves with the Muslims of North Africa.

55 *Carta de Barcelona a esta Corte, en que se da aviso de uno de los más estraños casos que se han visto, y es, que una muger esclava de treinta años, con fingidas apariencias de Christiana metida en un saco como hermitaño, confessando y comulgando cada quinze días; descerrajó una Iglesia, y robó el Santísimo, y la custodia, y una Imagen de nuestra Señora de la Paz, con más de tres mil ducados de joyas, y dos lámparas de plata, en la villa de Colibre. Declarasse cómo fue escondido, y cómo fue descubierto por una gitana, y el fin que tuvo ella, y un turco amigo suyo, en 30 de mayo de 1624* (Madrid: Bernardino de Guzmán, 1625), British Library [BL] ms. 593h22(9), in *Noticias del siglo XVII: Relaciones españolas de sucesos naturales y sobrenaturales*, ed. Henry Ettinghausen (Barcelona: Puvill Libros, 1995), 1r.

56 *Carta de Barcelona*, 1v: “en manos de nuestros enemigos en Argel, para hazer burla de nuestra Fe.”

## 5 The Question of Genre

It is important to consider the genre of the *relaciones de sucesos*, as a focus on certain sources has tended to influence our understanding of Morisco religious practices. As Francisco Márquez Villanueva has stressed, “the historiographical problem of the Moriscos is reduced, in no small part, to an aporetic situation in terms of sources.”<sup>57</sup> Evidence that is focused on official sources, like those of the apologists of the expulsion or Inquisition cases, naturally has a propensity to emphasize how Moriscos diverged from Christian beliefs and practices, frequently grouping all Moriscos together as if they were one and the same. To complicate this issue, writings by the Moriscos themselves, either in Aljamiado or those penned by Moriscos exiled to North Africa, are also likely to corroborate these characterizations, as their texts are often polemical in nature and exist precisely to accentuate Morisco adherence to Islam.<sup>58</sup> On the other hand, evidence that sheds light on Moriscos who were living their lives more fully as a part of Old Christian communities is recorded less frequently, since individuals on both sides had more reason to conceal these details than to proclaim them. Various scholars, such as Amalia García Pedraza, have drawn attention to additional sources like last wills and other notarial records that present different perspectives on Morisco religiosity, charting how some Moriscos actively participated in Catholic brotherhoods as well as other Christian customs.<sup>59</sup> However, more details are still necessary to flesh out other facets of how some Moriscos expressed their Christian lives, and how some of these practices may have followed them after the expulsion.<sup>60</sup>

57 Francisco Márquez Villanueva, *El problema morisco (desde otras laderas)* (Madrid: Ediciones Libertarias, 1998), 168: “el problema historiográfico de los moriscos se reduce, en no pequeña parte, a una situación aporética en materia de fuentes.”

58 On how the question of genre and sources influences analyses of Morisco religiosity, see Luis Bernabé Pons, “The Moriscos and the Christian Spirituality of Their Era,” in *Resistance and Reform*, ed. Kevin Ingram, vol. 4, *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond* (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 236–37; Leonard P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain, 1500–1614* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 250–52; Patrick J. O’Banion, “‘They Will Know Our Hearts’: Practicing the Art of Dissimulation on the Islamic Periphery,” *Journal of Early Modern History* 20 (2016): 195–96; Remensnyder, “Beyond Muslim and Christian,” 559; and Bernard Vincent, *El río morisco* (Valencia: PUV, 2006), 131–43.

59 Amalia García Pedraza, *Actitudes ante la muerte en la Granada del siglo XVI: los moriscos que quisieron sabrarse*, 2 vols. (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2002); García Pedraza, “El otro morisco: algunas reflexiones sobre el estudio de la religiosidad morisca a través de fuentes notariales,” *Sharq al-Andalus* 12 (1995): 223–34.

60 For a helpful summary of some areas that deserve more attention to better appreciate how some Moriscos lived out their Christian lives, see Bernabé Pons, “The Moriscos and the Christian Spirituality,” 238–40.

This complicated issue with the sources leads us to the genre of the *relaciones de sucesos* because they add another interpretive layer in considering Moriscos' religiosity. The *relaciones* examined in this essay have shown diverse aspects of how the early modern public understood Moriscos' reception of Mary and how those expelled might have carried these ideas and related material culture with them to their new homes in North Africa. In cases like that of the Morisca Mencía, we saw how religious beliefs and cultural practices surrounding the Virgin Mary could be closely tied to material culture, thus illuminating popular opinions about how some devotional images ended up in North Africa alongside expelled Moriscos. Other news pamphlets have shown how specific advocations of the Virgin Mary helped Moriscos connect to their heritage in the Iberian Peninsula during and after their expulsion. And, in the last *relaciones* considered in this essay, we observed some of the popular concerns about how Moriscos might take ideas and images related to Mary with them to North Africa, sometimes for very different uses than those for which they were initially intended.

Motivations for writing these *relaciones*, coupled with the public's demand for consuming this news, contribute to the complexities in approaching this genre. While these pieces were not commissioned by the Crown, they generally reflected the established power structure and presented news that would be favorable to the monarchy, the Catholic Church, and the military.<sup>61</sup> This tendency means that *relaciones* were prone to advancing a "consistently reassuring interpretation of reality" that did not necessarily always coincide with the real world around them.<sup>62</sup> Despite these limitations, the texts offer us a view of public opinion that would appeal to a wide readership, which helps shed light on readers' anxieties and interests. This does not mean, of course, that the genre as a whole would display a unified vision of the Moriscos. As Agustín Redondo has shown, the pamphlets written in the years during and after the expulsion present a double view of Moriscos in the Mediterranean, with some upholding the anti-Morisco sentiments of the official discourse and others showing more sympathy for Moriscos and questioning the decision to expel these individuals.<sup>63</sup> The same divergence is also true of the perspectives expounded about Moriscos' reception of the Virgin Mary and material culture surrounding her cult. Even though many of the cases that I have discussed in this essay have suggested that Moriscos brought their beliefs and practices encompassing the Virgin with them into their diaspora, we cannot dismiss the

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61 Ettinghausen, "The News in Spain," 14.

62 Ettinghausen, "The News in Spain," 15.

63 Redondo, "La doble visión," 271–86.

fact that other *relaciones* depict contrasting views.<sup>64</sup> Thus, this genre requires us to read these sources carefully. When we examine them alongside other contemporary sources, they provide valuable details about how Moriscos cleaved to certain ideas about Mary after the expulsion, and in particular, they offer a window into the public opinions that circulated about Moriscos' reception of Marian beliefs and material culture beyond Spain's borders.

## 6 Concluding Remarks

One thread that remains constant throughout the majority of these examples is that when we look at how Moriscos may have brought their beliefs and practices with them as they settled in new locales in the Mediterranean, it becomes clear that Marian beliefs and material culture hold a special place. As we have seen, this is not a coincidence given the importance of Mary/Maryam in both Christian and Muslim cultures. The *relaciones* discussed here show how the politics surrounding the use of Marian icons, to a certain extent, appears to have followed expelled Moriscos to North Africa. Despite some of the challenges of approaching the genre of the *relaciones* or knowing with certainty which elements might be fabricated to fit the particular purposes of each author and audience, some additional textual and material evidence points to the fact that Moriscos did indeed take their beliefs, practices, and material culture related to the Madonna with them to North Africa, just as some of the news pamphlets imply. A suggestive case is that of a Morisco prayer that invokes the Virgin Mary as "our lady" and was written down in Maghrebi Arabic in the years surrounding the expulsion. The text reveals how some exiled Moriscos persevered in their devotion to the Mary of the Sacromonte and took this affection with them to North Africa. Now exiled to the other side

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64 For instance, in *Segunda relación de la vitoria y alcance que las galeras de España y Portugal tuvieron de los Moriscos y Turcos cosarios, que andando a robar por el mar, saltaron sobre Cangas y Domato y Pontevedra: sabido por relación certíssima y carta de los mismos que en ella se hallaron. Lleva al fin una Letrilla exemplar, Compuesto por Diego Ossorio de Bassurto* (Valladolid: en casa de Francisco Abarca de Angulo, 1618), 2r, the author presumes that Don Juan de Austria was successful in defeating Moriscos and other corsairs in a battle because he confided in the Virgin whereas they put their trust in the Prophet Muḥammad. Instead of depicting the Virgin as a point of union, the pamphlet paints her as an ally of the Christian forces.

of the Strait of Gibraltar, Moriscos continued to turn to the Mary of the Lead Books for fortitude in their trials.<sup>65</sup>

A similar interest in Mary seems to have persisted well into the eighteenth century among the families of expelled Moriscos living in North Africa. Cherite Castelli, a descendant of Moriscos in Tunis, continued to value a statue of Mary over a hundred years after the expulsion of the Moriscos was put into effect. According to Fray Francisco Ximénez's diaries, penned in the first half of the eighteenth century, Castelli kept a Marian icon close to his storefront, not necessarily because it had any religious meaning for him, but rather because of its talismanic properties that he believed protected his merchandise. Ximénez documents how this descendant of Moriscos safeguarded the image of Mary, refusing various offers from others to buy the statue, and finally decided to donate it to a hospital in Tunis. Curiously, the same image that Castelli willfully conserved in North Africa was later printed on stamps which circulated back to Spain, where this image of the Virgin in Tunis was known for her miraculous favors of healing and protection.<sup>66</sup>

The *relaciones* examined in this essay also contribute to a growing interest in how Moriscos practiced Christian customs and beliefs. In an illuminating study on Moriscos and the Christian spirituality of early modern Spain, Luis F. Bernabé Pons has recently called attention to the need for more work on how some Moriscos articulated their Christian lives, noting how a focus on the "persistence of Islamic faith and religious practice has to some extent obscured the fact that, in the historical and social context of long-term pressure toward acculturation, it became normal for many Moriscos to adapt themselves to the majority faith that engulfed them."<sup>67</sup> In turn, he considers the conditions present in Spain that could foment a certain level of shared devotional culture

65 Ron Barkai, "Une invocation musulmane au nom de Jésus et de Marie," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 200, no. 3 (1983): 257–58. On this Morisco prayer, see also Harvey, "A New Sacromonte Text? Critical Notes," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 21, no. 4 (1984): 421–25; Harvey delves deeper into the origin of this text, drawing more connections with the Mary of the Lead Books of the Sacromonte.

66 Francisco Ximénez, *Colonia trinitaria de Túnez*, ed. Ignacio Bauer y Landauer (Tetouan: Tipografía de Gomariz, 1934), 190–91. For more on this Marian icon in Tunis, see María Cruz de Carlos Varona, "'Imágenes rescatadas' en la Europa Moderna: el caso de Jesús de Medinaceli," *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 12, no. 3 (2011): 329–30, who studies it in relation to other Catholic devotional objects that circulated in North Africa. Also Mikel de Epalza, "Nuevos documentos sobre descendientes de moriscos en Túnez en el siglo XVIII," in *Studia historica et philologica in honorem M. Batllori* (Rome: Publicaciones del Instituto Español de Cultura, 1984), 203, who mentions it within the larger context of descendants of Moriscos in Tunis.

67 Bernabé Pons, "The Moriscos and the Christian Spirituality," 236–37.

between Old Christians and Moriscos, a culture that did not just facilitate the transmission of beliefs from one religion to another but rather one that could be embraced equally by both.<sup>68</sup> In this sense, the figure of the Virgin Mary, or Maryam, is especially interesting to acknowledge within these shared spaces of devotion because of her proximity to both Christianity and Islam. Due to the nature of the sources available, studies have tended to focus on how the politics surrounding Moriscos' reception of Marian beliefs and material culture unfolded in Spain before the expulsion went into effect. By studying the *relaciones* examined in this essay, we can begin to appreciate how Moriscos may have in fact brought these ideas about Mary with them to North Africa, in addition to considering how tensions around image worship followed Moriscos into their diaspora.

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68 Bernabé Pons, "The Moriscos and the Christian Spirituality," 253–56.

- de Christiana metida en un saco como hermitaño, confessando y comulgando cada quince días; descerrajó una Iglesia, y robó el Santíssimo, y la custodia, y una Imagen de nuestra Señora de la Paz, con más de tres mil ducados de joyas, y dos lámparas de plata, en la villa de Colibre. Declarasse cómo fue escondido, y cómo fue descubierto por una gitana, y el fin que tuvo ella, y un turco amigo suyo, en 30 de mayo de 1624.* Madrid: Bernardino de Guzmán, 1625. London, British Library, Ms 593h22(9). In *Noticias del siglo XVII: Relaciones españolas de sucesos naturales y sobrenaturales*, edited by Henry Ettinghausen. Barcelona: Puvill Libros, 1995.
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# Transmission, Interpretation, and Use of the Parchment of the Torre Turpiana and Sacromonte Lead Books by Moriscos in Exile

*Gerard Wiegers*

To the memory of my dear parents



Between 1588 and 1606 a parchment and twenty-one Lead Books were found in Granada. Defended as first-century CE Christian texts from the moment the first books appeared in 1595, they were soon suspected of being Morisco inventions. Moriscos were associated with these discoveries from the outset: as persons involved in the search for and discoveries of Lead Books on the slopes of the Valparaiso Hillock (later called the Sacromonte), and as translators of the Parchment and Lead Books.

It has become clear that Alonso del Castillo, and above all Miguel de Luna, played a crucial role in the early interpretation process, especially of the Parchment. Luna, unlike Castillo, was able to present a convincing interpretation of the often fantastic forms of both the Arabic script of the Parchment and the secret codes contained in the Arabic commentary to the Spanish eschatological prophecy. Very likely Luna was one of the main authors of both the Parchment and the Lead Books, which continued to appear until 1606.<sup>1</sup>

Castillo, the older of the two, and Luna lived on in Granada until their respective deaths in 1607 and 1615. They were not included in the expulsion to Castile after the suppression of the revolt of the Alpujarras in 1571, nor was Luna included in the general expulsion of the Granadan Moriscos. It is known

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1 See Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld and Gerard Albert Wiegers, *The Lead Books of the Sacromonte and the Parchment of the Torre Turpiana. Granada, 1588–1606. Introduction, critical edition, and translation* (Leiden: Brill, 2023); see also: Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain. Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

that Luna attempted to obtain an *hidalguía*. However, other Muslims, including Moriscos who had been involved in the affair, did leave Spain, and, as I will show below, it was largely (but not exclusively) thanks to them that we know about the reception and vicissitudes of transcripts, translations and interpretations of the Parchment and Lead Books among Moriscos in exile.

Our recent edition and study of the Lead Books shows that we are indeed dealing with Islamic texts, which propose both a forged history and a prophetic future of Arabic proto-Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula. The narrative of the Parchment and the Lead Books is organized around Jesus, the Virgin Mary and James/Santiago as main figures, while two Arab brothers, Tis'ūn ibn 'Aṭṭār and Cecilio ibn al-Riḏā, act as secretaries. The Virgin Mary appears as a sinless prophetess to whom a sacred scripture, the *Essence of the Gospel*, is revealed on the Mount of Olives. One of the books tells us about her spiritual journey to the Heavens. James and his companions took a copy of that Scripture and accompanying written texts, the Lead Books, to a Holy Mountain in Spain, where they concealed the texts from the Romans and were martyred. The books predicted that the mountain, later called the Sacromonte, would be a site of pilgrimage. James (Santiago in Spanish) died a martyr's death. The books tell us that the true meaning of the writings, especially of the *Essence of the Gospel*, will be explained at the end of time, by a modest young Arab during a Council which will take place in a place called 'Subbar,' (Cyprus) to be presided over by a non-Arabic king who lives in the East. Thereupon all the world will convert to the true religion and "religion will be one."<sup>2</sup> The end of times is presented as imminent, and the Moriscos are pictured as a vanguard of Islam. The narrative is supported by Islamic notions, including literal quotations of Qur'ān and Ḥadīṭ, and is colored by mystic ideas about the Unity of being which are inspired by Ibn al-'Arabī's thought. Of course these sources are not mentioned by name, but a Morisco public would probably have had little difficulty in identifying them. On all these grounds we surmise that the Lead Books, even though they meant to draw the attention of the Christians, were also meant for a Muslim Morisco readership.

The characteristics of the *Essence of the Gospel* point very clearly to the Qur'ān. The one religion is Islam. These texts, while firmly imbedded in the Andalusī Arabic and Aljamiado text corpus, also present idiosyncrasies. Some of these can be connected to the influence of the Christian missionary campaigns and pressure on the Moriscos, to which the Parchment and the Lead

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2 Gerard Wiegers, "History and the Study of Religion: a Reconsideration based on the Shifting Uses of *religio* in the Fifteenth Century CE. Prophecy, Imagination and Religion in the Granadan Lead Books, Nicholas of Cusa, and Jacobus Palaeologus," *Journal of Religious History* 46, no. 4 (2022): 675–90.

Books offer a response. The notion of a holy book revealed to the Virgin Mary may be such an element, and the same holds true for references to Trinitarian notions, which are connected to dissensions about the true message of Jesus within the early Christian world of the Lead Books. The idea of proto-Muslims as early Christians was not unique in an Iberian context. We also encounter these ideas in other Andalusí sources, such as the autobiographical *Key of Religion* written by the fourteenth-century captive Muḥammad al-Qaysī, and in the *Gospel of Barnabas*; both of these texts thematize differences within the early Christian community and blame the Apostle Paul for having deviated from Jesus's message and led the Christian community astray.<sup>3</sup> Not all Moriscos who wrote about the Lead Books were in agreement about these texts; some understood them well, others less. This seems to indicate that it was a limited group of Moriscos who were initiated in firsthand knowledge about them. It may also explain some other religious idiosyncrasies that may have a background in Granadan Islam.

In this contribution I am interested in how the Parchment and Lead Books were received among Moriscos in exile, how and why their contents were transmitted, and whether that transmission, in the light of their original contents, took place in a faithful way. I also ask who played a role in those events, what the role was, and why. Were these Moriscos, in their new environment, interpreting the Lead Books in new ways? How did they use them, and how did they see them?

Let us start with the Morisco who wrote most about the Lead Books, and whose views on Christianity, Judaism, and Islam were profoundly influenced by them: Diego Bejarano or Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Ḥaḡarī, the Morisco from HORNACHOS whose life and work has attracted much attention in recent years.<sup>4</sup> It

3 Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld, "The Islamic Image of Paul and the Origin of the Gospel of Barnabas," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 20 (1996): 200–28; Van Koningsveld and Gerard Wieggers, "The Polemical Works of Muḥammad al-Qaysī (fl. 1309) and Their Circulation in Arabic and Aljamiado among the Mudejars in the fourteenth century," *Al-Qanṭara* 15 (1994): 163–99; Wieggers, "Muḥammad as the Messiah: A Comparison of the Polemical Works of Juan Alonso with the Gospel of Barnabas," *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 52 (1995): 245–91; Luis F. Bernabé Pons, *El texto morisco del Evangelio de San Bernabé* (Granada: Universidad, Instituto de cultura Juan Gil-Albert, 1998), 57.

4 See, most recently, Oumelbanine Zhiri, *Beyond Orientalism. Ahmad ibn Qāsim al-Hajarī between Europe and North Africa* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2023). See also by the same author, "Early Modern Imperial Philologies: Ahmad al-Hajarī and the Lead Books of Granada," *Religions* 15, no. 4 (2024): 428. This article reached me too late to use it here. In an article published in 2018, "The Morisco Aḥmad Ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajarī and the Egyptian Manuscript of His Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn 'alā 'l-Qawm al-Kāfirīn (*The Triumph of Faith over the Nation of Unbelievers*)," in *Book Studies and Islamic Studies in Conversation*, ed. Marta Domínguez

may even be the case that he took the title of his work from the Lead Books, which also speak about a *Nāṣir al-Dīn*, a defender of (the) religion. Writing in Marrakesh, Cairo and Tunis, al-Ḥaḡarī connected the discovery of the first Lead Books in 1595 with reports from captives who were either in Morocco or were from Morocco—the Arabic is ambiguous here—and with treasure hunting.<sup>5</sup> Al-Ḥaḡarī, who had been studying Arabic in Granada with Alonso del Castillo, was at a certain moment approached by members of the circle around Archbishop Pedro de Castro to translate the Parchment and the Lead Books. As Isabel Boyano demonstrated, he produced a Spanish interpretation of the Parchment which is dated 3 June 1598, and which is preserved in his own handwriting.<sup>6</sup>

Very shortly afterward he fled from Spain to Morocco, and established connections with the court of Sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr in Marrakesh.<sup>7</sup> The sultan, it will be remembered, died of the plague in 1603. In his travelogue al-Ḥaḡarī mentions the names of several Moriscos who were involved in the Lead Book affair, and who have been identified in the Spanish sources as well. Some of

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(Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2018), 57–70, at 58, Houssein Eddine Chachia suggests we cannot be certain about his birthplace. That *al-Ḥaḡarī* was born in Hornachos, as the present author argued in an article published in 1993 (“A Life between Europe and the Maghrib”) on the basis of his *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn*, was proven, however, by Isabel Boyano “Al-Ḥaḡarī y su traducción del pergamino la Torre Turpiana,” in *¿La Historia inventada? Los libros plúmbeos y el legado sacromontano*, ed. Manuel Barrios Aguilera and Mercedes García-Arenal (Granada: Fundación El Legado Andalusi, Universidad de Granada, 2008), 146–47, 151: she identified the autograph translation of the Parchment, in which it is said that the translator was called Diego Vexarano, “natural de la villa de Hornachos.” In the said article, Chachia does not mention the second, new edition of *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn* by Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld, Qasim al-Samarrai and Gerard Wiegers published in 2015: *Aḥmad Ibn Qāsim al-Ḥaḡarī, Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn ‘alā ‘l-Qawm al-Kāfirīn (The supporter of religion against the infidel). General introduction, critical edition and annotated translation by Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld, Qasim al-Samarrai and Gerard Albert Wiegers. Reedited, revised, and updated in the light of recent publications and the primitive version found in the hitherto unknown manuscript preserved in Al-Azhar* (Madrid: CSIC, 2015). In it, we studied, edited and translated the text on the basis of four manuscripts, the Azhar manuscript (copied under the supervision of the author in Cairo), the Dār al-Kutub manuscript (written by the author in Tunis), a fragment preserved in the National Library of France, also written, as we argue, in Tunis, and the fragments in Spanish in Ms BuB 565 (see for an edition of the Bologna manuscript *Edición y estudio sociolingüístico del manuscrito D.565 de la Biblioteca Universitaria de Bolonia*, ed. Nezha Norri (Cordova: Editorial Universidad de Córdoba, 2017).

5 Al-Ḥaḡarī, *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn ‘Alā ‘l-Qawm al-Kāfirīn*, ed. Van Koningsveld, al-Samarrai, and Wiegers, 85; Patrick O’Banion, *Deza and Its Moriscos: Religion and Community in Early Modern Spain* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2020), 231–32.

6 Boyano Guerra, “Al-Ḥaḡarī y su traducción,” *passim*.

7 See on him: Mercedes García-Arenal, *Aḥmad al-Mansur. The Beginnings of Modern Morocco* (London: Oneworld, 2009).

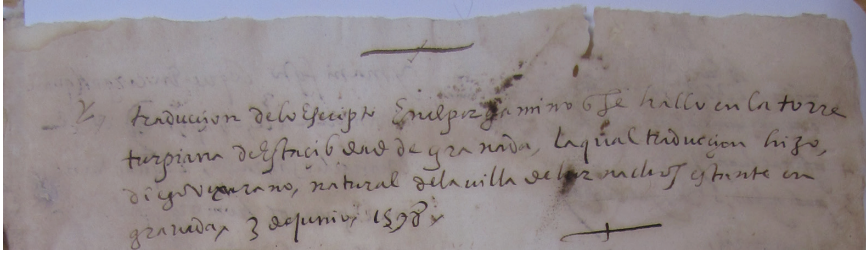


FIGURE 10.1 Autograph of al-Ḥaḡarī's note to his translation of the parchment, the author indicating that he is "Diego Vexarano, natural de la villa de Hornachos."  
COURTESY OF THE ARCHIVO DE LA REAL CHANCILLERÍA DE GRANADA.  
ARCG, LEG. 2432, 4.

them remained in Spain, such as Alonso del Castillo, whom al-Ḥaḡarī calls al-Ukayḥil, and so probably did Lorenzo Hernández el Chapiz (called al-Ġabbis by al-Ḥaḡarī). Others left or were forced to emigrate, such as El Chapiz's grandson, the physician Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī l-Āṣ, who first went to Constantinople and then moved to Cairo, where he owned a shop.<sup>8</sup>

Al-Ḥaḡarī started to study the Parchment and Lead Books while still in Spain around 1598, but as we will see, he continued his studies of them in all phases of his life. After Granada he did so in Marrakesh at the court of Aḥmad al-Manṣūr and later during his years as secretary to sultan Mawlāy Zaydān and his sons. On his travels to France and the Netherlands which he made in order to retrieve goods stolen from Moriscos he also copied some Arabic manuscripts and made notes for Arabists such as the Dutch Arabist, Thomas Erpenius (1584–1624) and the French physician, diplomat, and Orientalist, Etienne Hubert (1576–1614). In one of them, nowadays preserved in the National Library of France and dated in Paris in about 1612 for Hubert, he briefly discusses the Parchment and Lead Books, telling his reader that they prove that the Arabic language was spoken at the time of Jesus.<sup>9</sup> After his return to Morocco he took up his position at the court again, until he went on the Ḥaġġ in about 1634, then returned and stayed for some time in Cairo, where he composed in 1637 his larger, but unfortunately lost travelogue, and the summary based on it, *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn*. Finally in 1637 he returned to Tunis, where he continued to work on the Lead Books. But before we discuss him further, we will turn to Tetouan.

8 Al-Ḥaḡarī, *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn*, ed. Van Koningsveld, al-Samarrai, and Wiegiers, 87; Jaime Coullaut Cordero, "Vida y obra de un médico morisco en el exilio: Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī l-Āṣ (ss. XVI–XVII)," *Al-Qanṭara* 40, no. 1 (2019): 73–102; Van Koningsveld and Wiegiers, *The Lead Books of the Sacromonte*, 43.

9 Bibliothèque nationale de France [BnF], Or. Ar. Ms 4119, ff. 28b–29r.

## 1 Tetouan

Tetouan was a place to which many Moriscos had emigrated, and before them other Muslims including Mudejars and other Andalusis, as well as Jews. Contacts had existed already before the expulsion between Tetouan and Moriscos in Spain.<sup>10</sup> Moriscos in Tetouan discussed the Lead Books. Zhiri mentions a passage in a report sent by the English merchant John Harrison to the States General of the Dutch Republic, offering his services after the conclusion of the peace treaty between England and Spain. The treaty would also mean the end of his services to the English crown.<sup>11</sup> In this memorandum Harrison tells the States General about all his experiences over the years. Here we read how, upon arrival, very likely around 1610, he had heard a story from expelled Moriscos living there about an ancient prophecy written on a lead plate (Dutch: “een plaet van loot”).<sup>12</sup> They recounted how their predecessors (meaning the Moriscos of Granada before the expulsion) had found it in a place called Sacro Monte, not far from Granada, and it had predicted their expulsion but also a future return to Spain on Christian ships. According to Harrison, the Moriscos and other Muslim inhabitants of Tetouan had been very excited to hear about the preparation of an English fleet, seeing it as a sign of the fulfilment of the prophecy; they offered their help to Harrison and the English, claiming that they could mobilize between 40,000 and 50,000 men (Moriscos and native Moroccans) for a return to Spain. Nothing had come of this plan, to Harrison’s regret.<sup>13</sup> The report is interesting, though Harrison may not have understood

10 Hossain Bouzineb and Gerard Wiegiers, “Tetuán y la expulsión de los moriscos,” in *Tiṭwān ḥilāl al-qarnayn 16 wa 17* (Tetouan: Université ‘Abd al-Mālik al-Sa’dī, 1996), 73–108; see also Mercedes García-Arenal, “The Moriscos in Morocco: from Granadan Emigration to the Hornacheros of Salé,” in *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain: A Mediterranean Diaspora*, ed. Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegiers (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 286–328.

11 Zhiri, *Beyond Orientalism*, 105. See on Harrison: Nabil Matar, “The English Merchant and the Moroccan Sufi. Messianism and Mahdism in the Early Seventeenth Century,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 65, no. 1 (2014), 47–65; García-Arenal, “The Moriscos in Morocco,” 313–15 and 324–25.

12 See Henry de Castries, ed. *Les Sources inédites de l’Histoire du Maroc. Archives et bibliothèques des Pays-Bas*, 1e serie-Saadiens, tome II (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1906), 320, 326, 506, idem, Angleterre, serie I (Paris: Ernest Leroux, London: Luzac, 1918), 1610, 1614, 1625, 1627, 1628, 1630, 1631, 1632 (see also note 1 in *SIHM*, Pays-Bas, série I, II, 283). The editors of the *Sources inédites* date this to 1625, but Harrison’s overview suggests that he is speaking about the earliest phase of his missions.

13 “Arriverende tot Tetuan, vond ick niet alleen de Moriscos, die daer in grote menichte waren residerende, maer in’t generael alle de Mooren willich ende gereet, om so daer eenige occasie sich presenteerde ende ick maer wilde, my te helpen ende dienen wel met 40 of 50 duysent man, so te voet als te paert. Ende voonementlyck so waren de

his Morisco interlocutors in all respects. Perhaps he conflated the Parchment and the Lead Books, which consist in reality not of one single plate but of hundreds of them. Harrison puts their desire to return to Spain in the context of other moments in which the Morisco had spoken to him about that desire. And indeed we know of numerous points at which Moriscos negotiated a return to Spain or actually returned, not only after the general expulsion but also during the sixteenth century: for example, when Granadan Moriscos who had fled to Morocco during the revolt in the Alpujarras returned to Spain because they had not been well received in North Africa.<sup>14</sup> The memorandum seems to indicate that the Moriscos indeed saw in the prophecy a very desired perspective. Their expected return on Christian ships almost appears here as a messianic dream, reminiscent of nineteenth-century cargo cults in Polynesia in which the subdued populations expected ships to save them, bringing them the material riches which the Europeans had introduced. Another interesting point is that these Moriscos identified very strongly with their forefathers, who had discovered this ancient prophecy, which they apparently considered to be very old and genuine.

Another view on the Lead Books that circulated in seventeenth-century Tetouan was recorded by José Tamayo y Velarde (1601–1685), a Jesuit who lived as a captive in Algiers and Tetouan between 2 May 1644 and 23 May 1645, when he was liberated. Tamayo tells us that the inhabitants of Tetouan saw all saints as Muslim prophets, including the Biblical figures and Christian saints venerated by the Spanish. This would have applied to all those who lived pious lives, as well as those whom the Inquisition burned. A person in high authority

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Moriscos verblyt, als synde gegrondeert op een oude prophetie, dewelcke (als sy seyden) heur predecesseurs gevonden hadden, geschreven op een plaet van loot, in een plaets genaemt Monte Santo, niet verre van Granada, propheterende heur banissement uyt Spagnien in Barbarie, dan dat sy wederom soudén gebracht werden, ende dat in schepen van Christenen. Ende hoorende van alsulcken grote preparatie van schepen toegerust te syn in Engelant, meenden sy vastelyck, dat die armada nu quam tot de eyndelycke volderinge ende uytvoeringe van de voorschreven prophetie. Oversulx maecten sy henluyden gereet ende versagen haer van alle nootdruft ende geweer dat sy van doen hadden, alleenlyk met een groten yver aldaer verwachende die grote armada (als sy die noemden) om henluyden te transporterén. Maar dat groot voornemen gemist synde ende geen effect sorteerende correspondabel tot sulcken groten entreprinse gingh de schoone gelegenheyt verlooren, tot grote schande van onse natie ende myn ongeluck in 't particulier, als synde in dese occasie geëmployeert." (Dutch original on 291, French translation on 284–85.)

14 Henry de Castries, ed. *Les Sources inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc de 1530 à 1845. Archives et bibliothèques de France*, 1e serie-Saadiens, tome I (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1905), 318–19, letter by Fourquevaux to Charles I, 15 April 1572.

among them had even told him that this was entirely true, because Pedro de Castro y Quiñones, archbishop first of Granada and then of Seville, had been a Muslim (*moro*) and had had died a Muslim. When Tamayo asked what the basis of this untrue allegation was, his interlocutor responded that this had happened when the said archbishop had made a discovery on the holy mountain of Granada: namely, that he had found the Qur'ān written on sheets of metal, and, recognizing the truth, had become a Muslim. He also told him that the corpses that had been found with the sheets were bodies of saintly Muslims. The author replied that if that were the case, how was it possible that the archbishop, together with many learned persons who mastered Arabic, had made sure that the tablets (Sp. *láminas*) were read, and having made a corrected version, had learned that these were the bones of martyrs whom Muslims had martyred through hatred of the holy Catholic faith, and that a collegiate church had been built and a flourishing and economically thriving cult had been established? His informant replied that Castro had done all this to hide (dissimulate) that he was a convinced Muslim. And that he (Castro) had told all this to a Morisca, a very intimate acquaintance of his, to whom he, at the time of the expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain, had given a ring with the words "Le ley la Aygua. Mahamet suralla," which were "the words Muslims recite during the salat."<sup>15</sup> Tamayo sees all these things as untrue and out-

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15 "Y esto lo tienen [the inhabitants of Tetouan] tan creído, que piensan que en España la gente más docta y más exemplar profesan la falsa ley de los moros, y que los que el Tribunal de la Santa Inquisición quema son moros finos. Y esto es en tanto grado que vna persona de autoridad en esta ciudad [Tetouan, gw] me dixo que entendiése que esto era mucha verdad. Porque el señor don Pedro de Castro y Quiñones arzobispo que fue primero de Granada y después de Seuilla, era moro y auía viuido y muerto como tal. Y con mucha rissa quanto pedía semejante desatino, le pregunté me dixese qué fundamento tenía para decir este tan manifesto engaño. Respondióme que quando el dicho señor arzobispo descubrió el santo monte de Granada halló el Alcorán escrito en lengua arábica en láminas de metal, y conociendo la verdad se auía vuelto moro, y que los cuerpos que halló sepultados con aquellas láminas eran cuerpos de moros santos. Si eso es así, le dixé yo, cómo el señor arzobispo, auiendo juntado muchos hombres doctos en la lengua arábica, auía hecho leer aquellas láminas y auiendo sacado dellas en limpio que aquellos huesos eran de algunos christianos a quien auían martirizado los moros por odio de la santa fee católica, auía hecho vn templo y fundado vna iglesia collegial en el mismo monte santo para culto y veneración de aquellos santos mártires, dejando muchas rentas así para los canónigos como para la fábrica de la dicha iglesia, en que se celebran los oficios diuinos al modo de los christianos y no a la usanza de los moros. Respondióme que todo esto auía hecho para dissimular que él era moro, pero lo era con toda certeza. Porque esto lo auía él dicho a vna morisca muy íntima conocida suya y, quando auían desterrado a los moriscos de España, le auía dado vna sortija en la qual estaban escritas

rageous. That the archbishop was a crypto-Muslim is of course an unfounded claim, but that the Lead Books are Islamic texts has been proven quite correct; that idea was also defended by all those who opposed a Christian interpretation, including translators with a Morisco background such as Ignacio de las Casas.<sup>16</sup> In addition, the statement that Castro had found the Qurʾān on sheets of lead is of course factually wrong, but the claim is consistent with the closeness that actually exists between the Qurʾān and the *Essence of the Gospel*, the key Lead Book text.<sup>17</sup> The seemingly paradoxical situation that the defenders of the authentic Christian character of the Lead Books maintained—that an Islamic reading was incorrect—is apparently solved by these Moriscos living in the Diaspora who assumed that Castro must have secretly been a Muslim. While there are no grounds to assume this either, Castro did actually believe that the Lead Books had miraculously healed people.<sup>18</sup> We are dealing here, it seems to me, with largely orally transmitted information about the Lead Books, which served to strengthen the expelled Moriscos in their Islamic beliefs.

## 2 Marrakesh

A much more precise type of information about the Lead Books in Morocco is provided by al-Ḥaḡarī in his *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn*, both in the Azhar copy of the work and the Dār al-Kutub copy, though with some differences between them, as we will see below; that information is not always factually correct either. The differences between the manuscripts can be explained by the fact that the author continued to expand his work and to work on both versions while gathering new information. As we have seen above, al-Ḥaḡarī started by telling us about his experiences in Granada before his flight. He speaks about the material aspects of the Lead Books that puzzled the archbishop and his entourage. He relates that the lead seemed to be different from normal lead, so that

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aquellas palabras: *Le ley la Aygua. Mahamet suralla*, que es la oración que ellos hacen quando hacen la zalá.” José de Tamayo y Velarde, *Memorias del cautiverio y costumbres, ritos y gobiernos de Berbería según el relato de un jesuita del siglo xvii*. Edición, introducción y notas de Felipe Maíllo Salgado (Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo, 2017), 137–38.

16 Van Koningsveld and Wiegers, *The Lead Books of the Sacromonte*, 59.

17 Van Koningsveld and Wiegers, *The Lead Books of the Sacromonte*, 139–41.

18 García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, 269; Van Koningsveld and Wiegers, *The Lead Books of the Sacromonte*, 45.

they assumed it had been mixed with another substance. However, as a recent study of the lead indicates, this is not the case; we are dealing with pure lead.<sup>19</sup>

Then, in Marrakesh, he showed a copy of the Parchment to Sultan Mawlāy Aḥmad al-Manṣūr, the earliest instance of how Moriscos in the Diaspora dealt with the Lead Books.<sup>20</sup> Here again it was the prophetic and eschatological meaning that attracted attention. Al-Ḥaḡarī speaks about the passages in the Parchment that refer to the conquest of the city of the sea by an easterner (Ar. *al-šarqī*) and their significance. Some of the commanders suggested that he should perhaps change the qāf for a fā' and read "the noble one," or šarīf, i.e., the Sa'did sultan, who indeed was a *šarīf*, so that the text would mean that the Moroccan Sultan would conquer Spain. This was information, they assured him, that the Sultan would be very pleased with. Al-Ḥaḡarī dryly tells us that he refused to change the wording in this way.

The author also tells us in the first chapter about a commander (Ar. *qā'id*) in Marrakesh called Fāris ibn al-'Ilǧ, who had been a (Muslim) captive in Granada and had also read some of the Lead Books at the request of Archbishop Pedro de Castro.<sup>21</sup> This man told al-Ḥaḡarī personally about their contents in Marrakesh. According to al-Ḥaḡarī, Fāris ibn al-'Ilǧ spoke with him about Lead Book 14, *Book of Religious Wise Sayings*, a book that had come to light on 4 September 1597.<sup>22</sup> From Lead Book 14, he quotes the third wise saying.<sup>23</sup> This saying, one of three about the true faith (see f. 3a), deals with the promised savior, and with the names of that figure who will come to the world after Jesus's demise. Here al-Ḥaḡarī's renderings of the Arabic are faithful to the original Lead Book. Moreover, we can say on the basis of our overall present understandings of the Lead Books that these Moriscos correctly understood these passages as Signs of the Prophethood (Ar. *dalā'il al-nubuwwa*), and that they functioned as (Islamic) references to the future coming of the Prophet Muḥammad in the

19 Al-Ḥaḡarī, *Kitāb Nāšir al-Dīn*, ed. Van Koningsveld, al-Samarrai, and Wiegiers, 98; María Turégano Botija, José Puy, and Azucena Ortega Fernández, *Informe de Conservación de varios discos plúmbeos de la Abadía de Sacromonte, Granada*. Informe de Conservación. Área de Intervenciones en Bienes Muebles-Servicio de CROAPAE-Departamento de Conservación y Restauración de Arqueología (Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte, October 2023).

20 Al-Ḥaḡarī, *Kitāb Nāšir al-Dīn*, ed. Van Koningsveld, al-Samarrai, and Wiegiers, 97; Mohamed Razzouk, *The Andalusians and their Migrations to Morocco during the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Casablanca: n.p., 2018), 309.

21 Al-Ḥaḡarī, *Kitāb Nāšir al-Dīn*, ed. Van Koningsveld, al-Samarrai, and Wiegiers, 97.

22 1597 is a *terminus post quem* for the stay of this captive in the city of Granada.

23 Van Koningsveld and Wiegiers, *The Lead Books of the Sacromonte*, Lead Book 14, *Book of Religious Wise Sayings*, ff. 3b–4a.

original sacred sources of the Christians and Jews. Al-Ḥaḡarī also tells us that he was able to compare this report to a copy of the same text by al-Ukayḥil. Although we cannot entirely exclude that he means that he saw al-Ukayḥil's version already in Marrakesh, it is more likely that he saw it on his way to the Ḥaḡḡ in Tunis around 1634.<sup>24</sup>

Al-Ḥaḡarī adds here that later, in Tunis, he discussed these interpretations with the Morisco Ibn 'Abd al-Rafi', who commented that the passages in question contained seven of the names of the Prophet.<sup>25</sup> This passage about Ibn 'Abd al-Rafi' occurs in both the Azhar and the Dār al-Kutub manuscripts, making it clear that the two Moriscos must have met in Tunis before al-Ḥaḡarī went on Ḥaḡḡ.<sup>26</sup> We will return below to this figure, with whom al-Ḥaḡarī was already in contact from at least 1612 onwards.

Furthermore, following this passage about the captive commander, al-Ḥaḡarī cites a wise saying from Lead Book no. 14, the *Book of Religious Wise Sayings*, from the transcripts of al-Ukayḥil (Alonso del Castillo) about the Day of Judgement. He also discusses the key diagram in the form of a Seal of Solomon in Arabic from Lead Book 17, the *Essence of the Gospel*.<sup>27</sup> However, he does so in a more simple form in the Azhar manuscript, which was copied under his supervision in Cairo, than in the Tunisian Dār al-Kutub manuscript (see Figure 10.2).<sup>28</sup> Finally, he quotes a long passage from Lead Book 2, *Book of Tis'ūn ibn 'Aṭṭār on the Venerable Essence*. Here, he omits in both manuscripts the Trinitarian passages, which the transcript by al-Ukayḥil/Alonso del Castillo must have contained. However, the same passages occur in the original Lead Book as well.<sup>29</sup>

24 In al-Ḥaḡarī, *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn 'Alā 'l-Qawm al-Kāfirīn*, ed. Van Koningsveld, al-Samarrai, and Wiegiers, translation, 99, we did not consider the possibility that this was in Tunis, not Marrakesh.

25 See Lotfi Aïssa, Mouhamed Aouini, and Housseem Eddine Chachia (eds.), *Entre las orillas de dos mundos. El itinerario del jerife morisco Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Rafi': de Murcia a Túnez* (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 2017).

26 Chachia, "The Morisco *Aḥmad Ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajarī*," 68–69. See also Chachia's contribution to the present volume.

27 Van Koningsveld and Wiegiers, *The Lead Books of the Sacromonte*, 517ff.

28 See the photo of the original Azhar manuscript, f. 253v, in al-Ḥaḡarī, *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn*, ed. Van Koningsveld, al-Samarrai, and Wiegiers.

29 Al-Ḥaḡarī, *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn*, ed. Van Koningsveld, al-Samarrai, and Wiegiers, 103–4, and compare the edition of the Lead Book in Van Koningsveld and Wiegiers, *The Lead Books of the Sacromonte*, p. 237ff.



FIGURE 10.2 Seal of Solomon in the essence of the Gospel, in al-Ḥaḡarī, *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn*, Azhar manuscript, f. 253v

3 Rome

We also know that Moriscos were involved in discussions about the Lead Books in Rome.<sup>30</sup> Luna’s son went there in about 1610 to mediate between possible translators of the Lead Books and the Spanish religious and political authorities.<sup>31</sup> Miguel de Luna himself also considered moving to Rome.

4 Cairo and Tunis

The first Moroccan author in Tunis who mentioned the Lead Books seems to have been the Toledan Morisco Ibrahim Taybili who briefly refers to them in a marginal note in his *Corisco*, which was written in the Morisco village of Testour in 1037/1628 (see Figure 10.3).<sup>32</sup> Here he merely mentions their name

30 Van Koningsveld and Wiegiers, *The Lead Books of the Sacromonte*, 71.  
 31 Bruno Pomara Saverino, *Refugiados. Los moriscos e Italia* (Granada: Comares, 2022) discusses Moriscos in Rome, but does not connect their presence with the Lead Books affair.  
 32 He remarks about the evangelists and their successors: “Que prebalicaron los apóstoles, y haçiendo conçilio hordenaron la missa, libros del Monte Santo de Granada, que



FIGURE 10.3 The Great of Mosque of Testour  
PHOTO G. WIEGERS

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prebación fue como bieron el criçificado creyendo ser Cristo"; Luis Bernabé Pons, *El cántico islámico del morisco hispanotunecino Taybili* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1988), 189 and note 3; Teresa Soto González, "Poetics and Polemics: Ibrahim Taybili's Anti-Christian Polemical Treatise in Verse," in *Polemical Encounters: Christians, Jews, and Muslims in Iberia and Beyond*, ed. Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wieggers (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2019), 332–56.

in the context of a polemical discussion about how the Christians altered the rituals and doctrines lacking the fundamentals to base themselves on.

The Azhar copy of *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn* contains in its first chapters references to copies of the Lead Books that we have discussed above, but not yet the entire transcript of Lead Book 18, *Book of the Gifts of Reward to the Servants of God who Believe in the Essence of the Gospel*, that al-Ḥaḡarī included in the appendix, nor the detailed key diagram/Seal of Solomon of in Lead Book 17, the *Essence of the Gospel*, and its interpretation. These last texts he probably found in Tunis upon arriving there from Cairo, after the pilgrimage. He quotes them in the Dār al-Kutub manuscript in Chapter 13 on the basis of “a book” by al-Ukayḥil, Alonso del Castillo, brought to Tunis by Yūsuf Qalbu al-Andalusī, whom we have identified as the scribe Juan Calvo Navarro.<sup>33</sup> Calvo Navarro had drawn up the last will of Alonso del Castillo and was among those who had discovered the Lead Books on the slopes of the Valparaíso Hillock.<sup>34</sup> In a passage in Chapter One of the Dār al-Kutub copy of *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn*, which is lacking in the Azhar version, al-Ḥaḡarī may be referring to Calvo when he says that a man brought to Tunis two copies of Lead Book 18, *Book of the Gifts of Reward to the Servants of God who Believe in the Essence of the Gospel*, one in Arabic and one in Spanish, and he also tells us that this man was one of those who “used to translate,” suggesting that he was an Arabic translator.<sup>35</sup> Al-Ḥaḡarī confirms that the Arabic text of Lead Book 18 was reliable but the Spanish was nonsensical. Interestingly, Lead Book P 18, *Book of the Gifts of Reward to the Servants of God who Believe in the Essence of the Gospel* as rendered here starts with an (Islamic) *basmala* that is not found in the original Lead Book. This indicates that it was a Christianizing translation, perhaps the one done by Adán Centurión, marquis of Estepa, who was a staunch supporter of their Christian authenticity; but far more probably it was a Spanish translation done by Castillo himself, who in all the extant translations had rendered the texts in a Christianizing way. These interpretations were rejected emphatically by al-Ḥaḡarī. Here, al-Ḥaḡarī

33 Van Koningsveld and Wiegiers, *The Lead Books of the Sacromonte*, 154 ff.

34 See also Amalia García Pedraza, *Actitudes ante la muerte en la Granada del siglo XVI. Los moriscos que quisieron salvarse*, 2 vols. (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2002), 1: 321, note 125, where she says that Juan Calvo was not only a scribe but also acted as an (Arabic?) interpreter. It is not entirely certain that this is the same Juan Calvo who is mentioned on 1: 474 note 66, and 476 (Calvo is mentioned in a list of interpreters in the Granada in 1564).

35 Al-Ḥaḡarī, *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn*, ed. Van Koningsveld, Samarrai and Wiegiers, Arabic text, f. 16r. Claire M. Gilbert, *In Good Faith. Arabic Translation and Translators in Early Modern Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2020), does not mention Calvo as an interpreter.

coincides with such interpreters as the Eastern Christian translator Marcos Dobelio and other opponents of a Christianizing interpretation of the Arabic texts of the Lead Books, including, ironically, the members of the Vatican commission. Al-Ḥaḡarī's closeness to Alonso del Castillo may be explained by the fact that he had studied Arabic with him while in Granada, as he mentions in *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn* in the thirteenth chapter.<sup>36</sup>

In Chapter Thirteen he relates that it was Calvo Navarro who apparently had kept Castillo's book, which included Lead Book 18, *Book of the Gifts of Reward to the Servants of God who Believe in the Essence of the Gospel*, in Arabic and Spanish as well as other texts, and brought it to Tunis. There, the "book" (as al-Ḥaḡarī calls it) remained in the possession of some Moriscos who concealed it, according to al-Ḥaḡarī, because "some learned Andalusians were searching for it." Al-Ḥaḡarī tells us that when he returned to Tunis after the Ḥaḡḡ, Calvo Navarro had already died. It is not clear why the book was concealed, but in any case, al-Ḥaḡarī was given access to it. It must have helped that he was a former student of its author. One reason that he added this Lead Book was that Archbishop Pedro de Castro, in a conversation in Granada, had told him that this particular book explained why the true contents of the Lead Books would not be made clear until the end of time—the time of the Fatimi, al-Ḥaḡarī adds. In other words: at the time of the coming of the messiah, the *mahdī*, and not before.

Another source which testifies to al-Ḥaḡarī's continued interest in the Lead Books in Tunis can be found in the multiple-text manuscript Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria 565, which in addition to the former writings includes another interesting text which deals with the Lead Books.<sup>37</sup>

First, I will discuss the long passage written by al-Ḥaḡarī himself, in his own hand. We are dealing here with the translation of a very enlightening letter (the original is lost) which he originally wrote in Arabic and sent from Paris to a group of Moriscos in Istanbul in 1612, whence it was taken to Tunis by one of the Moriscos to whom he had originally sent the letter, Ibn 'Abd al-Rafī'.<sup>38</sup> In it he deals with the situation in which the Moriscos find themselves now that they have been expelled from Spain. The Bologna manuscript includes

36 Al-Ḥaḡarī, *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn*, ed. Van Koningsveld, Samarrai and Wieggers, Arabic text, ff. 118v-119r; translation, 278-79.

37 The transcriptions are my own. I thank Gerdien Evertse for drawing my attention to this passage.

38 Edited in Gerard Wieggers, *A Learned Muslim Acquaintance of Erpenius and Golius: Ahmad b. Kāsim al-Andalusī and Arabic Studies in the Netherlands* (Leiden: Documentatiebureau Islam Christendom 1988), 33-44; translation into Arabic in al-Ḥaḡarī, *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn*, ed. Chachia, 154-65.

al-Ḥaḡarī's own Spanish translation of the letter, made at the instigation of Ḥaḡḡ Muhamad Rubio, a wealthy Morisco from Villafeliche who had paid him for this translation. In the Bologna manuscript the translated letter is followed by some reflections, also by al-Ḥaḡarī, about the Parchment and the Lead Books. These passages more or less paraphrase the Arabic passages about the Parchment and Lead Books in *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn*, but there are some differences as well. For example, in one passage we find criticism of the Spanish translation of Lead Book 18, *Book of the Gifts of Reward to the Servants of God who Believe in the Essence of the Gospel*, done by Granadan interpreters (possibly again Castillo), in which the city of the sea was translated as Cyprus. According to al-Ḥaḡarī this was wrong, and he thinks that the translation was made in this way to relieve the archbishop, since Cyprus had already been conquered at the time.<sup>39</sup> He himself hoped that it was Venice or Malta, both places with many Muslim slaves, who would thus be liberated by the Muslims.

Al-Ḥaḡarī translated a number of religious texts included in the Bologna manuscript from Arabic into Spanish for the benefit of older Moriscos who were unable to read Arabic; the passages about the Parchment and Lead Books included in it were apparently seen as significant by the Andalusī community in Tunis. As we have seen, he tells us that while in Tunisia he also discussed Lead Book 4, the *Book of Religious Wise Sayings*, with the said Ibn 'Abd al-Rafi'. The dialogue with him must have taken place when al-Ḥaḡarī passed through Tunis on his way to the Ḥaḡḡ, for he mentions it already in the Azhar manuscript of *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn*, copied before he went to Tunis, but he would meet him later again, after returning from the Ḥaḡḡ.

The second passage occurs in a treatise in the manuscript called *Fardes, Çunas y Fadilas del Guado y Çala del Madhab del Çayd Abu Hanifa* (Obligatory, Voluntary and Noble aspects of the Wudū' and Şalāt according to the Law school of the Honorable Abū Ḥanīfa), written, and perhaps also translated, in Tunis, at the instigation of Ḥaḡḡi Muhamad Rubio, who at the time of writing this treatise was an inhabitant (*vezino*) of Istanbul. The treatise probably served to familiarize the Maliki Moriscos with the ritual forms of the Hanafi *madhhab* that was dominant under Ottoman rule.<sup>40</sup> Here, in the context of a

39 See al-Ḥaḡarī, *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn*, ed. Van Koningsveld, al-Samarrai and Wiegiers, 305; Van Koningsveld and Wiegiers, *The Lead Books of the Sacromonte*, 491. Here the name is rendered as Subbar.

40 Rubio is mentioned on f. 228v: "Y anssi mismo se me a pedido por el Señor mi amigo Muhamad Rruvio vezino de Aztambor, que lo mejor que pueda en castellano, le ponga alguna cosa de las açalaeas boluntarias ..." That he was in "this city" of Tunis appears on folio 293r. On this manuscript see Nezha Norri, "Fardes, Çunas y Fadilas del Guado y Çala del Madhab del Çayd Abu Hanifa (ms D 565 de la B.U.B.). Un tratado aljamiado-morisco

long discussion of the religious merits of Ashura, the author also discusses the religious merits of the Prophet Solomon, and the power given to the prophet by his seal to make the winds, clouds, birds and animals obey him, and to dominate the demons, *ġinn* and *afarit* (sing. *ifrit*), and lock them in prisons on sea and land. The author tells us that Solomon was a beloved of God, in stark contrast with how the “cursed” Christians treated him, who, without fearing God, lied about him, as “they have done with other prophets and beloveds of God [i.e., the saints].” In this context he gives two examples, the first being that of the Lead Books. The author confirms that they are 1600 years old, and that they have been approved as genuine texts worthy of praise that honor Solomon as a prophet, as can be seen from the fact that “they are sealed with Solomon’s seal, with four of five seals.” Here the author refers to the seals that indeed appear at the beginning and the end of each of the books, meaning to serve as a sign of reliability and authenticity. In fact, sometimes various seals appear on a number of lead sheets. This indicates that the author had detailed knowledge of the books. However, the Christians lie about their contents, thereby dishonoring Solomon. The second example concerns how the Christian deals with the “dog Villegas, who has lied numerous times, and was forced to correct them. All these lies will become apparent in the course of time, and all those who believed them will be undeceived.”<sup>41</sup>

The Villegas referred to here may be the Toledan theologian Alonso de Villegas (1534–1615), the author of the *Flos Sanctorum*, a work that was also

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con fines didáctico-religiosos y novedosos rasgos lingüísticos,” *Anaquel de Estudios Árabes* 29 (2018): 195–216, and by the same autor: *Edición y estudio sociolingüístico del Manuscrito D,565 de la Biblioteca Universitaria de Bolonia*. In neither of the two studies do we find a discussion or analysis about authorship and contents offered in the present study.

- 41 “Y el día de asora, Alah açá guachala, le dio gran potestad a su querido profeta Çulayman alayhi al çalam, [234r] le hiço merçed de que le obedeciesen los ayres y nubes y aves y animales y los espíritus y Grandes afrites de los chines y demonios, y le dio el sello con que los sujetó y echava aprisionados en la mar y tierra y fue grande Señor y querido de Alah, no como los malditos cristianos an dicho, pues, después de aber escripto sin temor de Dios las mentiras que les pareció como lo an hecho con otros profetas y queridos de Dios cuando fue servido y quiso descubrilles la verdad, y como an mentido en los libros que se descubrieron en el monte santo de Granada, se an hallado sellados con su sello para su firmeza, y algunos con cuatro o çinco sellos de que se an quedado [234v] atónitos y espantados por aver sido tan antiguos, pues estuvieron debaxo de tierra mil y seisçientos años, y los an dado por buenos y verdaderos, y anssi luego mandaron que en todos los libros que el perro de Villegas avía escripto la mentira que le levantaron se quitase y borrarse, y anssi cuando sea llegado el tiempo en que se descubran los demás hierros en questán, se acabarán de desengañar.”

read by Jewish Conversos.<sup>42</sup> The passage echoes Luna's remarks in the presence of other Moriscos during the trial of Jerónimo de Rojas. Luna also predicted that the Christians would be undeceived if they knew the true contents of the Lead Books.<sup>43</sup> The style of the said treatise does not immediately remind us of al-Ḥaḡarī. Perhaps Ibrahim Taybili was the author, or else Aḥmad al-Ḥanafī, whose anti-Christian polemical treatise preserved in the Vatican Library also mentions Villegas in a polemical context.<sup>44</sup> In any case, the translator does not see himself as an interpreter.<sup>45</sup>

While we have no further information about the reception of the Lead Books in Tunis in the seventeenth century, we are aware of descendants of the Moriscos who came to Tunis at the beginning of the eighteenth century and who believed in their message. This group, discussed earlier in our edition of the Lead Books and the subject of a detailed discussion by Mercedes García-Arenal in her contribution to this volume, was tried by the Granadan Inquisition in the 1720s.<sup>46</sup> The group migrated to Istanbul, and from there, as Abdel-Hakim Slama-Gafsi points out, some of the families went to Tunis, where they settled in the Andalusī quarter.<sup>47</sup> We would very much like to know

42 Villegas's *Flos Sanctorum* was also read by Jewish converts, and frequently cited in Inquisition records as a text being used by the accused to learn about Judaism: see Mercedes García-Arenal, "Reading against the Grain, Readings as Substitution. Catholic Books as Inspiration for Judaism in Early Modern Iberia," *Jewish Studies in Early Modern Iberia* 35 (2021): 254–55.

43 Mercedes García-Arenal and Rafael Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, *The Inquisition Trial of Jerónimo de Rojas, A Morisco of Toledo (1601–1603)* (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 160.

44 On Morisco polemics against him see Louis Cardaillac, *Morisques et Chrétiens. Un affrontement polémique* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1977), 188, referring to Rome, Ms Vatican Lat. 14009, f. 41r, and a note on the flyleaves on f. 1r The note testifies about a correspondence between Moriscos in Tunis, Constantinople, and Bursa, see Gerard Wiegiers, "The Expulsion of 1609–1614 and the Polemical writings of the Moriscos living in the Diaspora," in *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain: A Mediterranean Diaspora*, ed. Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegiers (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 389–412. See on al-Ḥanafī: Houssein Eddine Chachia and Luis Fernando Bernabé Pons, "Aḥmad Šarīf al-Ḥanafī al-Andalusī. De la Fuga a [sic] un gran faqīh morisco en Túnez en la primera mitad del siglo xvii," in *Túnez, el Mediterráneo y los Moriscos. Homenaje a Slimane Mostafa Zbiss y Mikel de Epalza*, ed. Houssein Eddine Chachia (Tunis: Centre de Publication Universitaire, Laboratoire Histoire, Societé et Patrimoine, Tunisie, Maghreb, Méditerranée 2023), 143–79.

45 Bologna, BuB, Ms 565, f. 228r, "pues yo no soy intérprete."

46 Van Koningsveld and Wiegiers, *The Lead Books of the Sacromonte*, 150–51.

47 Abdel-Hakim Slama-Gafsi, "La familia Lakhoua, descendientes tunecinos de moriscos granadinos de los siglos xvii–xviii, y sus actividades en la industria del bonete chechía," *Sharq al-Andalus* 14–15 (1997–1998): 219–44; I am are grateful to Dr. Houssein Eddine Chachia for drawing my attention to this article.

what these immigrant families believed about the Lead Books, but no research has been done about these families in Tunis.

## 5 Istanbul

Another place where the Lead Books must have been discussed was Istanbul, where we find not only the aforesaid Muhamad Rubio, who lived there at the time when our translator was writing in Tunis about the Lead Books, but also other Moriscos whom we can connect to the Lead Books, such as the grandson of Lorenzo Hernández el Chapiz (al-Ġabbis), Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abi l-Āṣ.<sup>48</sup> El Chapiz was also mentioned by al-Ḥaḡarī in *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn* as being involved in the interpretation of the Lead Books as a member of a committee that had been appointed by Castro in 1598.<sup>49</sup>

In Istanbul we find a very active Granadan Morisco community, with strong and outspoken polemical attitudes towards Christians and Jews.<sup>50</sup> But while we know of their interest in polemical writings, and their networks with Moriscos in the Diaspora in Bursa, Tunis, and Testour, we do not have explicit evidence of discussions about the Lead Books among Moriscos in Istanbul. What is clear, however, is that they discussed various themes and topics connected with polemical writings. One of these must have been the famous *Gospel of Barnabas* of which both the Italian (the most original version, as I have argued elsewhere) and the Spanish version were copied.<sup>51</sup> The Spanish version mentions a “Muslim” from Ambel in Aragon called Muṣṭafa de Aranda, as the translator of the text from Italian into Spanish.<sup>52</sup> Muṣṭafa was in Istanbul (“estante en Estambor”) at the time, as we are told in the introduction to the Spanish manuscript.<sup>53</sup> That introduction also famously tells us that the book had been discovered by one Fra Marino in the library of Pope Sixtus v. The

48 Coullaut Cordero, “Vida y obra de un médico morisco.”

49 Van Koningsveld and Wiegiers, *The Lead Books of the Sacromonte*, 43; see also Isabel Boyano Guerra and Patricia Sánchez García, “Una biblioteca en los márgenes. Pedro de Castro aprende árabe,” *Al-Qanṭara* 41, no. 2 (2020), passim.

50 Tijana Krstić, “Moriscos in Ottoman Galata, 1609–1620s,” in *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain: A Mediterranean Diaspora*, ed. Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegiers (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 269–87; Krstić, “The Elusive Intermediaries: Moriscos in Ottoman and Western European Diplomatic Sources from Constantinople, 1560s–1630s,” *Journal of Early Modern History* 19, nos. 2–3 (2015): 129–51.

51 Wiegiers, “Muḥammad as the Messiah.”

52 The Italian manuscript lacks the introduction.

53 Bernabé Pons, *El texto Morisco*, 57–58; Van Koningsveld, “The Islamic Image of Paul”; Wiegiers, “Muḥammad as the Messiah.”

latter, as the Church was wont to do, had concealed it from the public. What is most important here, however, is that it is Tunis where the *Gospel of Barnabas* was mentioned in a Morisco text (BNE, Ms 9653) as a text in which “the light can be found,” and as a result of which “many had seen the light,” i.e., converted to Islam. The *Gospel of Barnabas* is an Islamic Gospel text, which as a genre and in its contents comes very near to Lead Book no. 7, the *Life of Jesus and Mary*. There are similarities and differences between this text and the *Gospel of Barnabas*. For example, while both deny the Crucifixion, the identity of the person who replaces Jesus on the cross is not mentioned by name in the *Life of Jesus and Mary*, while in the *Gospel of Barnabas* it is Judas who substitutes for him. The identity of the eyewitness “author” is Barnabas in the case of the Gospel text; in the Lead Books, including no. 7, that role is assigned to James’s secretaries, Tis‘ūn ibn ‘Aṭṭār and Cecilio ibn al-Riḍā. Furthermore, while the Lead Books largely seem to rely on Islamic sources for their underlying narrative model, the *Gospel of Barnabas* seems to follow a (Christian) Diatessaron model.<sup>54</sup> Luis Bernabé Pons believes that al-Ḥaḡarī refers to the *Gospel of Barnabas* when the Morisco author writes about a Gospel that will appear at the Council.<sup>55</sup> While this cannot be entirely excluded, it is far more likely that here, as in other places, al-Ḥaḡarī appears not to have an entirely sound and complete understanding of the Parchment and Lead Books. Furthermore, the original Lead Book texts make it clear that that the books hidden at the

54 For this see Gerard Wiegiers, “Ludovico Marracci’s Use of *Tafsīr* and His Interpretation of Jesus’s Demise in the Sacromonte Lead Books” (forthcoming).

55 Luis Fernando Bernabé Pons, “Los mecanismos de una resistencia. Los libros plúmbeos del Sacromonte y el Evangelio de Bernabé.” *Al-Qanṭara* 23, no. 2 (2002), 491, referring to al-Ḥaḡarī ed. Van Koningsveld e.a., *Nāṣir al-dīn*, appendix (Bologna manuscript), Spanish text, 299, English translation, 304. “Y lo que contenía el libro arábigo de las dádivas del gualardón diré dello alguna cosa. Este livro dize en él que se escribió por mandado de la virgen María en arábigo en láminas de plomo y dize que se hallaron con ella doze discípulos de çeyidne Hiçe y entre ellos Sant Pedro y le preguntaron ocho preguntas açerca del livro que se alló, que en la primera hoja de plomo dezia que aquel livro se yntitula حقيقة الانجيل, que quiere dezir la *Verificación del Evanjelio* y lo demás del livro escrito con letras diferentes de todas las que se hallan oy en el mundo y no uvo remedio de que nadie lo pudiese leer y dixo la virgen María que se avia de hazer una junta en la ysula de Chipre, y que alli depararia Dios en el tiempo final del mundo un ombre en aquella junta, flaco y humilde, y lo leerá y declarará lo que contiene, y será rreçevido de todos y harán con lo que dize y dexarán los herrores que de antes tenían y herejias. Y está claro que aquel evanjelio será diferente del que oy tienen porque si fuera como él, fuera sobrado, yntil y de ningun efecto, y ansi se a de entender que no avrá en él nombre de padre y del hijo y del espiritu sancto sino solamente de un Dios”, and compare his remark in *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn*, Arabic text at 333–34, translation, 293, which is the basis of his remark in Spanish in the Bologna manuscript.

Sacromonte were “the *Essence of the Gospel* and the books, or, perhaps, book—the Arabic of Lead Books makes both readings possible—found with it”, and that makes it more far more likely that the Gospel referred to with regard to the Council is the Gospel revealed to Jesus, which the *Essence of the Gospel* (the message of the Qur’an) will confirm. In fact, as I already mentioned, a sort of Gospel text similar to the *Gospel of Barnabas* is found among them, namely, Lead Book no. 7, *Book of the Outstanding Qualities and Miracles of Our Lord Jesus and of His Mother the Holy Virgin Mary*, a book al-Ḥaḡarī does not seem to be aware about and in this context he is clearly referring to Lead Book 17, *The Essence of the Gospel*. In conclusion, the original Arabic texts of the Lead Books do not suggest that a new Gospel will appear at the Council but refer back to the Gospel revealed to Jesus. This is not say that the *Gospel of Barnabas* and the Lead Books were not connected.<sup>56</sup> They were, but they seem to reflect different circumstances. Written in the Peninsula and aiming at the integration of Moriscos in Spanish society, the Lead Books did not reach their goal. The *Gospel of Barnabas*, written later and very likely outside the peninsula, represents a different approach.

But there were other Morisco texts written in Spanish about Christianity. Among the first written in exile were those composed in Tetouan, BNE Ms 9655 and 9067, by a converted priest, Juan Alonso Aragonés;<sup>57</sup> the *Apology against the Christian Faith* written in Marrakesh by Muhamad Alguazir;<sup>58</sup> and in Tunis, the manuscripts Real Academia de la Historia (RAH) S 2, Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE) Ms 9653 and BNE 9654,<sup>59</sup> the aforesaid poem based on the work of Alguazir by Ibrahim Taybili,<sup>60</sup> and the writings in Arabic by Ibn ‘Abd al-Rafi‘ and Aḥmad al-Ḥanafi.<sup>61</sup>

56 See for this Wiegers, “Muḥammad as the Messiah,” passim.

57 See on him Wiegers, “Muḥammad as the Messiah,” passim.

58 See Gerard Wiegers and Mercedes García-Arenal, “Polemical comparisons in the *Apology against the Christian Religion* by Muhamad Alguazir (c. 1610),” *Entangled Religions* 11, no. 4 (2020): 1–28.”

59 On Biblioteca Nacional de España [BNE] 9653 see Ridha Mami, *El manuscrito Morisco 9653 de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid* (Madrid: Fundación Menéndez Pidal, 2002); on S2 see *Tratado de los dos caminos por un morisco refugiado en Túnez (Ms S 2 de la Colección Gayangos, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia)*, ed. Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes, Juan Carlos Villaverde Amieva, and Luce López-Baralt (Madrid: Fundación Menéndez Pidal, 2005).

60 Wiegers and García-Arenal, “Polemical comparisons.”

61 On Ibn ‘Abd al-Rafi‘ see Aïssa *et al.* (eds.), *Entre las orillas de dos mundos*. On these Tunisian texts in general see Wiegers, “The Expulsion of 1609–1614 and the Polemical writings of the Moriscos living in the Diaspora,” and the contribution by Chachia in this volume.

The Lead Books had their own place within these discussions. Here we have studied the texts which explicitly mention and discuss them. Their influence was wider, however, and with the help of the now-available first critical edition of the original texts, it may be possible to make further steps in our study of the Morisco Diaspora in future research.

## 6 Conclusions

From the evidence about the exiled Morisco communities presented here we can see that different types of information about the Lead Books circulated. First of all, we have found information which seems to be based on oral transmission and memory. This information is not precise and has mythical aspects. The second type is much more factual, precise information based on eyewitness accounts, and is based on transcripts and translations brought from Spain. The first type circulated among the Moriscos in Tetouan and Tunis. With regard to the second type, we have al-Ḥaḡarī as a main source of information: first in Granada itself, subsequently when he was a courtier and Arabic interpreter at the Moroccan court of Mawlāy Aḥmad al-Manṣūr, Zaydān and his sons; then in Tunis when he arrived from Marrakesh in about 1634. Leaving Tunis again to go on the Ḥaḡḡ, during his return he wrote about them in Cairo; and finally, he did so again after returning to Tunis/Testour at the age of around seventy. The Moriscos we have encountered believed that the Lead Books dated to the first century of the Christian area, but they all saw them as proto-Muslim, containing authentic prophecies about the spiritual and territorial victory of Muslims and Islam in Spain. However, we can see that the contents of the Lead Books presented some difficulties of interpretation to them as well. As Van Koningsveld and the present author have shown, al-Ḥaḡarī's reading of the Parchment was not entirely correct. He did not understand the intricacies of the texts included in it, nor the secret codes, as Miguel de Luna did. Al-Ḥaḡarī never refers to Miguel de Luna, which is remarkable, since Luna's work, especially his *Verdadera Historia del Rey Don Rodrigo*, was widely read, including by Moriscos in exile.<sup>62</sup> Al-Ḥaḡarī renders and interprets the maxims in Lead Book, *Book of Religious Wise Sayings*, and the key Seal of Solomon in Lead Book 17, the *Essence of the Gospel*, correctly as Islamic, but he subscribes

62 See Gerard Wiegers, "The Refugee Discourse of the Moriscos. Petitioning and Diplomacy after the Expulsion Decree of 1609," in *Refugee Politics in Early Modern Europe*, ed. David de Boer and Geert H. Janssen (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2024), 64–88, and see the contribution by Ana Struillou in this volume.

to the early dating of the Lead Books in the first century CE. In the case of Lead Book 2, *Book on the Venerable Essence*, he offers a reliable Arabic transcript up to the Trinitarian passages, but omits those entirely and asserts the purely monotheist nature of the Lead Books. The fact that he included Lead Book 18, *Book of the Gifts of Reward to the Servants of God who Believe in the Essence of the Gospel*, in the appendix of the Dār al-Kutub manuscript may have stemmed from his interest in prophecy.

We may also conclude that al-Ḥaḡarī was not entirely certain about the way the Lead Books were transmitted, and it is highly likely that he had not studied them in great detail in Granada in 1598. This is why he found it important to tell his readers about Fāris b. al-ʿIḡ's transcript in comparison with Castillo's, and to say that he had submitted the results to a Morisco he considered learned Ibn 'Abd al-Rafī', whom he calls a mystic and a *faqīh*. Mentioning al-Ukayḡil/Alonso del Castillo several times, he seems to follow the latter's transcripts but not his Spanish translations, and, as we have just seen, he also agrees with al-Ukayḡil/Castillo's dating of the Parchment and the Lead Books to the first century CE. Unlike Miguel de Luna, however, the latter was not initiated into the Lead Books' secrets. Al-Ḥaḡarī could thus not accept the Trinitarian passages as genuine; either he believed the transcripts to be wrong, assuming that the readings of the original texts had been faulty, or he was simply being dishonest about the nature of his source of information. In this way he seems to "Islamize" the Lead Books, stripping from them in his writing the hard-to-interpret passages about the Trinity and making them conform to the Islamic doctrine prevalent in the Maghrib.

Our study indicates that three elements above all seem to have mattered to the Moriscos in exile: the Islamic light which the Lead Books shed on the Prophets, countering the Christian treatment of them; the value of the Prophecies about the end of time and the victories of Muslims and Islam, including the idea of Muḡammad as a Messiah, even leading to the return of the Moriscos to Spain; and the expectation that the revelation of their true contents would mean that the Christian interpretations would prove to be misguided.

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## A Muslim Past Remembered: an Eighteenth-Century ‘Mohammedan Heresy’ between Granada, Tunis and Istanbul

*Mercedes García-Arenal*

Between 1728 and 1731 a series of *autos de fe* was held in Granada that involved some 250 individuals who were accused of Islamizing. The relevant Inquisition documents call these people not “Moriscos” but rather *herejes mahometizantes*, “heretics with Mohammedan tendencies.” Many of the accused were economically comfortable, some were wealthy, and held important posts in city government. They included families who claimed descent from the old Nasrid aristocracy that had converted even before the city’s fall to the Christians. All were sentenced to confiscation of their goods, and properties, prison terms of one or two years, and expulsion from Granada for about four years—light sentences by the Inquisition’s standards, even if personally catastrophic for the condemned. These *autos de fe* stirred up strong feelings in Granada and produced copious documentation. This essay will review those written sources, following threads that have been woven throughout the present volume: the existence of Morisco elites and how they gained their wealth, the survival of groups of Islamic origin in the Peninsula after the expulsion and their contacts in the diaspora, the networks that allowed some of them (the Figueroa and Aranda families in particular) to escape from Spain and settle in Ottoman lands, and, in the background of it all, the belief in the Lead Books of the Sacromonte.

These Granadan *autos de fe*, eleven in all, are not unknown. Henry Charles Lea mentions them in *The Moriscos of Spain: Their Conversion and Expulsion* (1901),<sup>1</sup> as does Julio Caro Baroja in *Los moriscos del Reino de Granada* (1957).<sup>2</sup> Later, Soledad Carrasco Urgoiti and Mikel de Epalza published the lengthy and fascinating text called *Errores*

1 Henry Charles Lea, *The Moriscos of Spain: Their Conversion and Expulsion* (Philadelphia: Lea Bross, 1901); I have used the New York edition (Greenwood Press, 1968), 390–93.

2 Julio Caro Baroja, *Los moriscos del reino de Granada: ensayo de historia social* (Madrid: Istmo, 1976), 246–48.

*de los moriscos de Granada*<sup>3</sup> (one of the few sources that calls the accused “Moriscos”), a 32-page manuscript that is anonymous and undated. Their work failed to attract the attention it deserved, whether because the text was hard to interpret, or because it appeared in a little-known journal, or because the subject itself contradicted our belief, well established at the time, that the Morisco presence in the Peninsula had ceased with the expulsion of 1609–1614.<sup>4</sup> We know now more about this presence, as well as of the presence of Muslims or *Moros* of different origins, many based on the reports of the *autos de fe* which they (like Caro Baroja) knew a printed account extant in Spain’s Biblioteca Nacional. Several individuals sentenced in the 1728 *auto* were named in both the printed text and the manuscript *Errores de los moriscos de Granada*,<sup>5</sup> but Carrasco and Epalza were not aware of the abundant Inquisition sources from the *auto* preserved in the Archivo Histórico Nacional. It was Rafael de Lera García who first drew on those systematically in a long article in 1984,<sup>6</sup> followed by Enrique Soria Mesa with his splendid 2014 book, *Los últimos moriscos*.<sup>7</sup> Lera carefully established the whole list of those who were tried, with their names and professions; the dates and places of the *autos de fe*, and the participants in each one; the sentences imposed on the condemned; the procedures of the Inquisition, which had to increase its personnel in Granada in the face of so much work; the goods confiscated from the condemned, and their value; how some of those same persons recovered economically and socially, and how a few of them relapsed in the 1740s. Soria analyzed and clarified their (invented) genealogies and their origins, the profound endogamy of the accused group, the agency of its members, and the social prominence of some of the condemned individuals and families; he also explored the connections they had forged with friends and creditors from the upper levels of Old Christian society. Lera presents, and Soria reproduces, a table of the names and professions of the accused: it reveals how some of them held fairly important public posts

3 Soledad Carrasco Urgoiti and Mikel de Epalza, “El manuscrito *Errores de los moriscos de Granada* (un núcleo criptomusulmán en el primer tercio del siglo XVIII),” *Fontes Rerum Balearum* 2 (1979–80): 235–47.

4 The study that changed our minds on this point was Trevor Dadson, *Los moriscos de Villarrubia de los Ojos (siglos XV–XVIII)*. *Historia de una minoría asimilada, expulsada y reintegrada* (Madrid, Frankfurt am Main: Iberoamericana Vervuert, 2007).

5 *Relación de los autos de fe que se han celebrado en las inquisiciones de Granada [...] en este presente año de 1728* (Granada: Andrés Sánchez, 1728).

6 Rafael de Lera García, “Cripto-musulmanes ante la Inquisición granadina en el s. XVIII,” *Hispania Sacra* 36, no. 74 (1984): 521–75.

7 Enrique Soria Mesa, *Los últimos moriscos: pervivencias de la población de origen islámico en el Reino de Granada (siglos XVII–XVIII)* (Valencia, etc.: Universitat de València, de Granada, de Zaragoza, 2014).

(e.g., as scribes and town councilmen) as well as serving as physicians, pharmacists, silversmiths, military men, the occasional priest, and above all in various roles as artisans or merchants in the silk trade. In fact, it seems that the silk industry was the main source of wealth of many of those individuals, the wealth that allowed them aspire to official positions and status. Some of those arrested administered royal rents, served as *veinticuatro*s (members of the council of twenty-four that governed the city of Granada), commanded parts of the Alhambra complex, and so on.

But Soria Mesa shows in particular how these Granadan families strove to create false genealogies that would connect them to the old Nasrid aristocracy. That earned them prestige and esteem in Granada, and further allowed them to apply to public posts and professions that otherwise would have required purity of blood. They even sought to be named “familiares” of the Inquisition (lay persons with permanent jobs in the Holy Office) or members of the religious/military Orders, and sometimes they succeeded.<sup>8</sup> Above all, they tried to distinguish and separate themselves from the Morisco minority that had been expelled over a century before; their false genealogies were intended to prove, among other things, that they were not Moriscos.<sup>9</sup> Therefore the term *herejes mahometizantes* applied to them in the sources reflects the success of their efforts and strategies.<sup>10</sup> Lera García reveals the impoverished state of Granada’s Tribunal in the 1720s and proposes that the broad confiscation of these victims’ goods had an economic motive. I will try to suggest other causes, not incompatible with Lera’s proposal, mainly the possibility that rivalries between important families of Muslim descent were in the base of the denunciation.

Both Lera and Soria Mesa stress the group’s intense endogamy, which was similar to that of their contemporaries the Xuetes (or Chuetas) of Mallorca, who were converts from Judaism and were accused of Judaizing, and the “Dönme” of Salonica and Istanbul, Jewish followers of the false messiah Sab-batai Zvi who converted to Islam and were also suspected of Jewish practices. All of them aroused a suspicion in the overall society that they were practicing

8 Soria Mesa, *Los últimos moriscos*, and Soria Mesa, *Linajes granadinos* (Granada: Diputación de Granada, 2008).

9 Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada and the Rise of Orientalism* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 66 ff.; Soria Mesa, *Los últimos moriscos*, 148 ff.

10 It is also possible that the term “Morisco” was not so much common anymore in the eighteenth century, but we have documents in which the term appears, not only in the text alluded *Errores de los moriscos de Granada*, but also in some of the documents consulted for the present essay, such as Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid [AHN], Inquisición, 2675, 39.

another religion in secret, and in all of them this cryptoreligion turned those groups into quasi-ethnic communities.<sup>11</sup>

These three studies by Carrasco and Epalza, Lera, and Soria form the basis for the present article, and I will refer to them repeatedly. The number of years that they span shows how long it has taken for this line of research to have an impact, and the reason is that the events they deal with are still difficult to place and interpret. Not only because they happened in the eighteenth century (one that we students of the Moriscos have largely overlooked), but also because the overwhelming volume of documents consists only of the papers sent from the Granada Tribunal to the Supreme Council and consists solely of progress reports and summaries (*relaciones de causa*), letters, and petitions. There are no trial transcripts, even when the records include the folded leaves that should contain them and are labeled “Contains the trial of So-and-so (*Contiene el proceso de [fulano de tal]*), *hereje mahometizante*,” but they prove to be empty. Were the trial transcripts lost, or were they destroyed? The *relaciones de causa*, contrary to the common practice, do not contain summaries of the actual accusations; they merely repeat the phrase *hereje mahometizante*, something not only frustrating for the researcher but highly unusual. The sources, in any case, still require much interpretation: they are confusing and contradictory in many respects, and were probably culled at some stage of their history. The anonymous author of the *Errores de los moriscos de Granada* manuscript actually confirms that when he mentions that the documents he handled had already been censored.<sup>12</sup> The silences of the texts—unintentional or intentional or deliberate omission—all constitute significant clues to be explored, as I will try to do here.

We do not really know what led to this outburst of activity by the Inquisition, which contrasts strangely with the relatively light penalties it imposed. I will develop my hypothesis about rivalries between important families as a cause for the denunciation at the end of this essay. I say light penalties with caution, in fact, light only if we compare them to others handed down by the same tribunal at that time, against Judaizers<sup>13</sup> and even against Old Christians who

11 Enric Porqueres i Gené, *Lourde alliance: mariage et identité chez les descendantes de juifs convertis à Majorque (1435–1750)* (Paris: Kimé, 1995); Marc David Baer, *The Dönme: Jewish Converts, Muslim Revolutionaries, and Secular Turks* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010).

12 Carrasco Urgoiti and Epalza, “El manuscrito *Errores de los moriscos*,” 237, 247.

13 Rafael de Lera García, “Gran ofensiva antijudía de la Inquisición de Granada, 1715–1727,” *Chronica Nova* 19 (1989): 147–69. In that period more than 350 Judaizers were tried and many were condemned to the stake.

were tried for blasphemy or for being followers of Luis de Molina.<sup>14</sup> I believe that both these factors—the Inquisition’s frenetic activity and its fairly lenient sentences—arose from the rapid responses and strategies of the accused. A fundamental role was played by the enormous number of self-accusations, of which I will speak later on. The rapid recovery of many of the accused, and the fact that we soon find some of them back in Granada or holding public office in other places, suggests a reliance on their own networks and strategies as well as their collaboration with, and acceptance by, a good many Old Christians, implying that the “heretics” were well integrated into the community.<sup>15</sup>

## 1 The Events: an Overview

While trying not to repeat too much of the earlier scholars’ works, I need to establish a factual framework as well as do my own revision of the documents. In March 1727 the inquisitors of Granada informed the Supreme Council that a silversmith from the city, Diego Díaz, together with his wife Lucía Chamizo, had appeared before them to denounce Diego’s father Nicolás Díaz, together with Diego’s siblings, aunts and uncles, nephews and nieces, other relatives, and friends. Nicolás Díaz was a master dyer, sixty-eight years old and literate. He was the apparent role model and leader of the group being denounced: he owned a Qur’an, administered the last rites to the dying, and often exhorted his community to stay loyal to their “sect.”<sup>16</sup> The Supreme Council sprang into action, and the arrests began in October of that year. A silversmith named Carlos de Mendoza, who took it on himself to prevent dissent within the “sect” and betrayals to the Inquisition, had warned the community at once: “with great diligence he visited each of the accused and those who practiced the sect, telling them to prepare for a great blow.”<sup>17</sup> Diego Díaz, having become a denouncer, was removed from his job as a silversmith, since now he was the son of heretics who had been reconciled; the Inquisition gave him a new position and a pension in Seville.<sup>18</sup>

14 For the many trials of *molinistas* in these same years see Archivo Histórico Nacional [AHN], Inquisición, 2677.

15 Soria Mesa, *Los últimos moriscos*, 159 ff.

16 In the *auto de fe* of 1728 Nicolás Díaz would be charged together with his son-in-law Lorenzo Felipe de Mendoza, an administrador of royal rents; Lorenzo’s wife Gabriela Díaz; and María, Beatriz and Tomasa Díaz, sisters of Diego Díaz.

17 Carrasco Urgoiti and Epalza, “El manuscrito *Errores de los moriscos*,” 247.

18 AHN, Inquisición, 2675, 162. Diego Díaz and his wife asked not to be expelled from the silversmiths’ guild, since they had told the Inquisition of the complicity, but the guild refused their request.

During the sixteenth century the Inquisition had been especially concerned with discovering and eliminating what it called “complicities”: groups of Moriscos joined by ties of family or friendship who practiced Islamic rites together, often gathering in a house to pray or receive religious instruction, or even (it was suspected) to engage in conspiracy.<sup>19</sup> When one of these complicities was suppressed, its members—sometimes as many as eighty—would be severely punished and the whole community destroyed, as happened in Daimiel in 1538 and Llerena in 1600.<sup>20</sup> But none of those incidents involved as many individuals as the Granadan case we are now exploring. A unique feature of the Granadan “complicity” was that, as soon as the first arrests were made, a large number of other individuals were either denounced or surrendered themselves. The Tribunal was swamped by all the people who arrived daily to declare that they had Islamized (*mahometizado*), or to name relatives and neighbors who had done so. Those self-accusers seem to have consulted “serious and learned persons” (*personas graves y doctas*) who advised them on how best to attain the indulgence of the Tribunal. Among the first to accuse themselves were the Aranda and Figueroa families, socially prominent in Granada and extremely wealthy, whom Diego Díaz had not mentioned and who did not belong to Nicolás Díaz’s circle; I shall return to them below. There is no doubt that this rush to denounce others and accuse oneself was well planned and orchestrated.<sup>21</sup>

19 Mercedes García-Arenal and Rafael Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, *The Inquisition Trial of Jerónimo de Rojas, a Morisco of Toledo (1601–1603)* (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 99.

20 García-Arenal and Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, *The Inquisition Trial*, 98–105.

21 “We continue with the greatest care and diligence to process those arrested by day, and by night to receive the declarations of those who come to denounce themselves. Aside from those about whom we have informed Your Highness, many more have come and continue to come. And as far as we can tell, they have consulted serious and learned persons after the first imprisonments, who have advised them to come and confess so as to gain the mercy of the Holy Office; and they come confident of that, in the hope of being treated with all mercy in their persons and belongings. And perhaps without that hope they would not have come, especially the Arandas and Figueroas, who are the principal members of the conspiracy” (“Continuamos con el mayor cuidado y aplicación de día la audiencia de los reos y de noche en recibir sus declaraciones a los que vienen a delatarse que además de los que avisamos a Vuestra Alteza son muchos los que han venido y van viniendo, y parece según hemos podido traslucir que éstos han consultado con personas graves y doctas después del suceso de las prisiones y les han aconsejado les convenía venir a delatarse para conseguir la misericordia del Santo Oficio y en esa confianza vienen, esperanzadas de que se usará con ellos toda piedad en sus personas y bienes y acaso sin esperanza no hubieran venido, especialmente Arandas y Figueroas, que son los principales de la conspiración”): AHN, Inquisición, 2674, 127. Quoted also in Soria Mesa,

The tribunal was overwhelmed by the number of important people who came to accuse themselves: “the number of prisoners being so great ... and because of the status of some of them who enjoy the dignity of the priesthood, others employed as *veinticuatro*s of this city and many others with responsibilities and authority therein, and in the administration of royal rents”;<sup>22</sup> it sent to Madrid a “Report on the persons who have come to denounce themselves.”<sup>23</sup> There were so many betraying themselves and others that Granada’s Inquisition complained of having to work day and night;<sup>24</sup> it asked for reinforcements, for permission to hire more secretaries and for funds in order to pay them.<sup>25</sup> The request was granted in December 1727 “in view of the extraordinary labor involved in this Mohammedan complicity,” and a new inquisitor, Manuel Queipo de Llano, was sent from Toledo to assist the three from the Granada Tribunal.<sup>26</sup> But between October and December 1727 the *mahometizantes* had gained precious time for maneuvering—not only because, on making their denunciations, they had negotiated the tribunal’s indulgence, but also because they were able to liquidate or conceal some of their assets before the Inquisition could confiscate them. They even foresaw their possible exile by asking to be sent to specific locations.<sup>27</sup> Who might be the “serious and learned” persons who had recommended this strategy, which allowed the accused not only to bargain with the Tribunal and gain time but actually to impede its work? We do not know. But the accused included some individuals who might have played that role: for instance the attorney Jerónimo Sierra, who was reconciled after an accusation of Mohammedanism and exiled to Málaga, and who later (in 1731) petitioned to be readmitted to the practice of law.<sup>28</sup> Miguel Sierra, possibly Jerónimo’s brother and a representative to the Chancellery in Granada, was reconciled in the same *auto* and would also have had sufficient legal knowledge for assisting his fellows. Jerónimo had relations

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*Los últimos moriscos*, 175, and Lera García, “Cripto-musulmanes,” 524. In this case and throughout I rely on my own transcriptions.

22 AHN, Inquisición, 2676, 23.

23 AHN, Inquisición, 2674, 52.

24 AHN, Inquisición, 2674, 52.

25 AHN, Inquisición, 2676, 19.

26 AHN, Inquisición, 2676, 6. AHN, Inquisición, Libro 622.

27 “Denouncers of complicity with Mohammedanism ask to be sent to live in the cities of Valencia, Murcia, Cordova, or Seville, where there is an Inquisition and where they can live without fear of being assailed by the persons they had betrayed”; AHN, Inquisición, 2674, 128.

28 AHN, Inquisición, 2675, 104.

with the Figueroas, and with the Arandas.<sup>29</sup> And many of the accused had connections among well-placed Old Christians in the city who owed favors and money to these prominent “Mohammedan” families. A famous case was that of Pedro de Marchena, a magistrate (*alcalde del crimen*) of Granada’s Royal Chancellery, who had had a significant debt forgiven by the wealthy merchant Isidro de Chaves—the Chaves name recurs frequently in these *autos*.<sup>30</sup>

Nonetheless, many complaints arose even from the first *auto* in May 1728. Some of those sentenced alleged that they could not be exiled because they had no money left for the journey, and that their families would be left behind in Granada in poverty. Inquisitor Eulate wrote to the Supreme Council requesting financial help for granting them clothes and household goods, and added:

The laments of those reconciled in the current complicity are so many and so often repeated that I must appeal to Your Excellency for your permission and authorization to help them with some household and kitchen goods, a little clothing, or what Your Excellency may prefer; these people, most of whom were well off and esteemed residents of this city, will die of hunger, because their pride will not allow them to ask for alms. I am surrounded by them at all times as they moan, weep, beg, and fall to the ground, and no heart could resist their pleas.<sup>31</sup>

“People,” “persons,” “reconciled *herejes mahometizantes*”: these are the terms used by the Tribunal and by the accused themselves in their petitions and requests. The word “Morisco” almost never appears. This terminology probably formed part of a defensive strategy as well, to separate themselves from the name “Morisco” used in earlier centuries. That implied forced conversion to Christianity by decree, a condition that these families wished to deny for several reasons: they insisted that they had converted voluntarily, had collaborated with

29 He had been in 1717 testamentary tutor of Angela de Aranda Sotomayor. Soria Mesa, *Últimos moriscos*, 224.

30 AHN, Inquisición, 2675, 74. These and other cases are cited in Soria Mesa, *Los últimos moriscos*, 160 ff.

31 “Son tales y tan repetidos los clamores de los reconciliados de la presente complicitad que me veo precisado de recurrir a Vuestra Excelencia a solicitar su licencia y orden para poderlos socorrer con algunos trastos de casa, cocina, alguna ropa o con lo que Vra Excelencia fuese servido: la gente que por lo general se vieron acomodados y muchos con estimación y como todos son de esta ciudad, se morirán de hambre por no permitirles su vergüenza el pedir limosna. Yo a todas horas me veo rodeados de ellos, gimen, lloran, piden y se echan por los suelos y no ay corazón para resistir sus clamores”; AHN, Inquisición, 2674, 158, 19 October 1728.

the Catholic Monarchs, and had been exempted from the general expulsion of the Moriscos in 1609. Above all they dissociated themselves from the Morisco revolt of the Alpujarras. We may recall that the Moriscos whom the Duke of Pastrana brought to that town to work in the silk industry, before the expulsion of 1570, asked the local authorities not to call them “Moriscos” but “natives of the Kingdom of Granada” (*naturales del Reino de Granada*).<sup>32</sup>

At this point a series of petitions began that would continue during the *autos de fe* and through the 1730s. These were detailed and well argued requests and pleas written in respectful terms, that asked to end someone’s exile or commute it for a different punishment, to be exiled to a different place in Spain than the one assigned, to take one’s family along or conversely to remain together in Granada.<sup>33</sup> There are also many pleas by wives of those sentenced who have small children and no means of supporting them; they ask that their husbands’ exiles be commuted.<sup>34</sup> Some of these requests seem to have been granted; others that were not were later repeated. But the documentation is incomplete, as I have noted, and we usually have the petition but not the reply.

Some petitions list the confiscated goods and ask for a loan: for instance, in the cases of Josefa Figueroa, the Enríquez de Lara sisters (who had an apothecary shop in the Plaza de Bibarrambla), María Álvarez, and many others.<sup>35</sup> And finally there are several petitions by tenants who had paid for the rental or usufruct of properties that were now confiscated by the Inquisition, and who ask the Inquisition to recognize and continue their contracts. This is how we learn about some of the possessions of Melchor de Figueroa, to whose family I will devote the next section of this essay. In 1735 three residents of the villages of Chite and Talavera, in the Lecrín valley, had properties rented from Melchor de Figueroa, a presbyter reconciled in 1728 whose goods had been confiscated. Among them were “irrigated and dry-farmed fields, olive groves, mulberry trees, vegetable gardens, storehouses, and an olive-oil press.”<sup>36</sup> His brother

32 Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, “Los libros de los moriscos y los eruditos orientales,” *Al-Qanṭara* 31, no. 2 (2010): 611–46. Aurelio García López, *Señores, seda y marginados: la comunidad morisca en Pastrana* (Guadalajara: Bornova, 2009).

33 The files AHN Inquisición 2674 to 2677 are full of these petitions.

34 AHN, Inquisición, 2675, 105, 108.

35 AHN, Inquisición, 2674, 27. Josefa de Figueroa had “an inherited property, several fields, a chest full of silk clothing and material, many pieces of gold and silver jewelry, and pieces of furniture.” AHN, Inquisición, 2674, 126, “The Enríquez de Lara sisters had an apothecary shop [*botica*] in the Plaza de Bibarrambla and several houses on whose rents they lived, as well as silk clothing, earrings, bracelets, and other jewelry.” AHN, Inquisición, 2674, 125, María Álvarez had “a house in town, a country house, a field, lengths of silk cloth, many pieces of furniture, and gold and silver jewelry.”

36 AHN, Inquisición, 2677, 89.

Gabriel de Figueroa requested help for his own family also: he had a wife and five children, three of them under the age of ten.<sup>37</sup> Among his confiscated property was “the post of chief accountant in the administration of this city.”<sup>38</sup>

As for the Arandas, an eighteenth-century nobleman and writer, Juan Pérez de Herrasti,<sup>39</sup> mentions that he bought a large house in El Boquerón del Darro that the Inquisition had confiscated in 1727 from some rich silk merchants named Aranda, “descendants of the New Christians of the Kingdom of Granada, who had relapsed into their false Mohammedan sect and been discovered; they began their prison sentences on 1 October 1727.” On the staircase wall of the house the residents had placed an image of the Immaculate Conception.<sup>40</sup>

## 2 Figueroas and Arandas

As I mentioned above, the Figueroas and Arandas,<sup>41</sup> two principal and interrelated families, were among the first to appear voluntarily before the Tribunal to denounce themselves and others. Melchor de Figueroa was a presbyter and his brother Gabriel a *veinticuatro* of Granada. We do not know the terms of their self-accusation, but they probably also denounced their deceased parents; that was a long-standing strategy, to accuse persons who had already died or fled to North Africa.<sup>42</sup> Melchor and Gabriel’s late parents, Felipe de Figueroa and Beatriz Álvarez, are named in the *auto* of March 1731 as condemned to be “relaxed *en estatua*”: i.e., symbolically, their disinterred bones burned and the ashes scattered. The same happened to the deceased Pedro de Chaves, a silversmith, and his wife Baltasara de Benavides. These were the only sentences of relaxation in the entire “complicity,” and they were carried out only in effigy.<sup>43</sup>

Melchor and Gabriel de Figueroa and the latter’s wife, Isabel de Aranda, on the basis of their self-denunciations, requested successfully to be exiled to Barcelona; that, in addition to the confiscation of their goods, was their

37 AHN, Inquisición, 2674, 158.

38 AHN, Inquisición, 2677, 77.

39 Soria Mesa, “La familia Pérez de Herrasti. Un acercamiento al estudio de la élite local granadina en los siglos xv al xvii,” *Chronica Nova* 19 (1991): 383–404.

40 Juan F. Pérez de Herrasti, *Historia de la Casa de Herrasti* (Granada: Imprenta de la ss. Trinidad, 1750), 284. Cited in Antonio Domínguez Ortiz and Bernard Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos: vida y tragedia de una minoría* (Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1978), 263.

41 On these families and their lineage see Soria Mesa, *Los últimos moriscos*, 151 ff.

42 García-Arenal and Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, *The Inquisition Trial*, 162–63.

43 AHN, Inquisición, 2675, 8.

sentence for participating in the “Mohammedan complicity.”<sup>44</sup> Gabriel argued that in that city it would be easier to find work and a means of supporting his family.<sup>45</sup>

In January 1729 the Inquisition in Granada received a letter from Melchor with the following news: as the family was traveling overland to Valencia their carriage had overturned, injuring their heads and faces and seriously frightening their womenfolk; they had therefore decided to turn toward Alicante and continue their journey by sea. But bad weather forced them into port in Ibiza for two days, and then a violent storm kept their ship away from the Spanish coast and swept them to Genoa, where they claimed to be. They asked permission to fulfill their exile in Genoa, or else be granted funds for returning to Barcelona.<sup>46</sup> But it soon became known that, contrary to what the letter said, the Figueroas had fled. They had traveled to Leghorn and Messina and then to Smyrna, where the city’s apostolic vicar had reported their arrival through the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. There were eight family members: Melchor, his brother Gabriel, Gabriel’s wife Isabel de Aranda and their five children (two girls and three boys), together with two maids and a “tutor or pedagogue.” Isabel’s family, the Arandas, were also making their way to Constantinople.<sup>47</sup> A little later we learn that the Arandas had arrived safely, to the great satisfaction of the Figueroas. The next notice is a letter written on 28 May 1729 (in a translated copy dated 11 September) by the French ambassador in Istanbul, addressed to the keeper of the royal seal. It reports on a Spanish family from Granada “that has crossed to Constantinople to profess Mohammedanism publicly.”<sup>48</sup> The ambassador notes that a family of eight members had arrived ten days before, claiming to belong to one of the leading families of the Kingdom of Granada and to descend from its former Muslim monarchs:

The Grand Vizier, who pays little attention to those who abandon their religion to become Turks, sent them to me yesterday at the palace with great discretion, with the Dragomen guard at the gate, to determine if I knew anything about the House from which they claim to descend; or if I could by questioning discover their deceit. Since he anticipated that I might know nothing about them, he instructed me to inquire at the

44 AHN, Inquisición, 2674, 168. AHN, Inquisición, Libro 622, f. 169 ff.

45 AHN, Inquisición 2674, 297.

46 AHN, Inquisición, 2674, 168.

47 AHN, Inquisición, Libro 662, ff. 280v–290r.

48 AHN, Inquisición, 2674, 251.

same time to Spain to inform myself and also to learn the reason for their flight.<sup>49</sup>

Indeed, as Enrique Soria Mesa has shown, the Figueroas had forged a genealogy that had them descend from the Abencerrajes (See Figure 11.1).<sup>50</sup> From Granada came the reply that, contrary to the Figueroas' claim,

This family are considered in Granada descendants of poor, humble Moriscos, not of nobles. They bought their positions as *veinticuatro* and city accountant through the silk trade [...] In Granada no other noble families except the Granadas and Zegrías are known to descend from Moors and might be related to those monarchs.<sup>51</sup>

An attached brief (*memoria*) offers their itinerary in greater detail, including their conversion and the protection of the Grand Vizier, and quotes them as claiming that

There is an infinity of other households in the Kingdom of Granada that, like them, observe the religion of Mohammed, and have the same ambition to travel to this country when circumstances permit. They have brought with them considerable quantities of silver and jewels, and have left more in Genoa and Leghorn.<sup>52</sup>

49 "El Gran Visir, que hace poco caso de los que dejan su religión por hacerse turcos, me los embió ayer a palacio con gran misterio con la guarda del Dragomen a la puerta para averiguar si sabía yo algo de la Casa de donde dicen que descienden o si podía con las preguntas que les hiciese descubrir su engaño. Como previó que era posible que yo no tuviese noticia, encargó me pidiesen al mismo tiempo a España para informarme y también para saber la causa de su fuga"; AHN, Inquisición, 2674, 251. The Grand Vizier was then Nevsehirlí Damat Ibrahim Pasha. He was not of convert origin.

50 Soria Mesa, *Los últimos moriscos*, 155. Their genealogy is included in the dossier with which they sought the habit of the Order of Santiago, to which I will refer below: AHN, Inquisición, 1449, 3.

51 AHN, Inquisición, 2674, 297. Here yes, the term "Morisco" is used.

52 "Report on the Spaniards who have come to Constantinople to embrace Mohammedanism. Gabriel de Figueroa, *veinticuatro* of the Council, hereditary accountant of the Kingdom of Granada with his brother Melchor de Figueroa, his wife Isabel de Aranda, and five children, three male and two female, left Granada on 12 October 1729 by land, [traveling] for ten days to Alicante. From there they embarked in a French ship commanded by a captain named Rombat, who took them to Leghorn, from where in March they came to Smyrna in an English ship; from there they came in this month of May to Constantinople. They say that they belong to the first families of Moorish aristocrats who



FIGURE 11.1 Jerónimo de Aranda-Sotomayor genealogy. Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Inquisición, 1449, 3  
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remain in Spain after the victory of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, that they boast of descent from the old Moorish kings, that they have kept the Mohammedan religion in secret, [and] that they have come to Turkey for no other reason than to observe it publicly under the protection of the Grand Vizier. And that there is an infinity of other households in the Kingdom of Granada that, like them, observe the religion of Mohammed, and have the same ambition to travel to this country when circumstances permit. They have brought with them considerable amounts of silver and jewels and have left more in Genoa and Leghorn. They donned the turban in the presence of the Grand Vizier, and the Great Lord has given them a fine house with 10 thousand *escudos* and has assigned them two and a half *pesos* a day besides. There is a report that they have said that they wish to return to Spain so as not to follow the sect, but we suspect that they are here to induce and help others to follow them, and to contact those who remain here and the fugitives who live in Constantinople, to the detriment of the Christian faith. We request that you look for their possible arrival in a [Spanish] Mediterranean port, that you inspect the ships that arrive from Smyrna but also those from Genoa and Leghorn. Let those who have been reconciled and sentenced by the Inquisition of Granada be moved inland"; AHN, Inquisición, 2674, 301.

In 1733 the *hereje mahometizante* Felipe de Aranda, a captain in the cavalry, appeared voluntarily before the Inquisition in Barcelona. He had enlisted in a company in Barcelona under the name of Francisco García.<sup>53</sup> He confessed that he had not served his sentence of exile but had fled to Smyrna and Constantinople in search of his rich relatives the Figueroas, who were in the latter city. He was poor, and hoped that the Figueroas might welcome and support him. On arriving in Smyrna he had taken on the “outward” appearance of a Turk, adopting Turkish dress and the turban, before continuing on to Constantinople where he met Melchor de Figueroa, who had married there. Melchor warmly welcomed him. He had faked his conversion in Smyrna only in order to obtain safe passage to Constantinople. But he claimed to maintain his Catholic faith inwardly, and had returned to Spain as soon as he could after passing through several cities. He asked to complete his exile in the fortress of Barcelona. The Holy Office absolved him *ad cautelam*.<sup>54</sup> The Barcelona Inquisition supplied more details in a letter to the Supreme Council in December 1733: Felipe de Aranda had confessed and been absolved by a missionary in Smyrna, and then had abjured formally before the Inquisition in Genoa.<sup>55</sup> In Barcelona he was allowed into the fortress, and the inquisitors add that “it seems to us that by having him under our eye in this fortress he may not have so much freedom to correspond with his relatives the Figueroas in Constantinople, nor with his siblings who are in Tunis following the Mohammedan sect.”

There is another relevant notice from the *Diario* of Father Francisco Jiménez, director of the captives’ hospital in Tunis, dated 27 July 1731:

From Smyrna a certain Moza la Joha has written to Cherife Castelli claiming to be a descendant of the Abencerrajes, a native of Granada, commander of the Aceitunero [meaning Aceituno] Tower and the Faxalauza Gate. He was sentenced by the Inquisition in Granada to four years’ exile for being a Morisco, and has traveled with his brothers and sisters to Smyrna. From there they seek to come and live in this city. He was condemned four years ago.<sup>56</sup>

53 AHN, Inquisición, 2163, November 1732.

54 AHN, Inquisición, 2677, 28.

55 AHN, Inquisición, 2163.

56 “Ha escrito desde Esmirna a Cherife Castelli un cierto Moza la Joha que dice ser descendiente de los Abencerrajes, natural de Granada, alcaide de la torre del Aceitunero (por Aceituno) y Puerta de Faxalauza, el cual fue por la Inquisición de Granada castigado por morisco a cuatro años de destierro y se ha pasado con sus hermanos y hermanas a Esmirna. De allí pretenden venir a vivir a esta ciudad. Habrá cuatro años que fue castigado”; cited in Mikel de Epalza, “Nuevos documentos sobre descendientes de moriscos en



FIGURE 11.2 Detail of the genealogy of Jerónimo de Aranda-Sotomayor with the origin of the family. Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Inquisición, 1449, 3  
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Joha was the surname of the Aranda family before their conversion in Granada in the sixteenth century, as Enrique Soria Mesa has shown,<sup>57</sup> and as demonstrated below by the illustration with his genealogy (See Figure 11.2). Now the Arandas had recovered it after their fresh conversion in the Ottoman Empire.

Jerónimo de Aranda had, in fact, become commander of Fajalauza and the fortresses of Aceituno in 1705, and had been tried in the *auto* of 1728 together with his siblings.<sup>58</sup> In the mid-eighteenth century there were still Moriscos in Tunis who spoke Spanish, making it an easier and more welcoming destination for exiles; or perhaps other family members had settled there earlier, in the seventeenth century.<sup>59</sup> Two years after this notice from Tunis, where some of the Arandas had probably joined the local community of Moriscos

Túnez en el siglo XVIII," in *Studia historica et philologica in honorem M. Batllori*, 195–228, at 213 (Rome: Instituto Español de Cultura, 1984).

57 Soria Mesa, *Los últimos moriscos*, 151 ff.

58 Lera García, "Cripto-musulmanes," 532. In the *auto de fe* of October 1728 the accused had included Felipe Aranda Sotomayor, his brothers Leonardo, Juan Pedro, Manuel, and Sebastián, and his sisters Jacinta, Antonia, and Ángela.

59 As suggested by Abdel-Hakim Slama-Gafsi, "La familia Lakhoua, descendientes tunecinos de moriscos granadinos de los siglos XVII–XVIII, y sus actividades en la industria del bonete chechía," *Sharq al-Andalus* 14–15 (1997–98): 219–44.

and Andalusians, is the date in which Felipe de Aranda y Sotomayor turned up in Barcelona, where the Figueroas had also arrived. That city might have been more convenient for merchants and for contacts with Italy, and therefore for escape in cases of need. Both the Figueroas' abovementioned letter from Genoa asking to return to spend their exile in Barcelona,<sup>60</sup> and Aranda's movements, suggest that both families hoped to leave a door open for a possible return to Spain or at least, to have a part of the family established in a sea port in the Peninsula.

Felipe de Aranda is known to us from before his Inquisition trial: in 1722 he had petitioned to enter the Order of Santiago, presenting proofs of *hidalgo* status and of Old Christian descent. In a thick folder that contains evidence, family trees, and supposed privileges from the Catholic Monarchs, he alleged a brilliant military career in which he had fought in the war with Portugal in 1704 and at the siege of Gibraltar.<sup>61</sup> He even had his genealogy, deeds and list of military services to the Crown printed, as attested by the copy kept at the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid. The printing of his genealogy and military services was an expensive endeavour and shows the will of widely difussing his deeds and merits, a way of self-promotion. A bold, self-assertive enterprise.<sup>62</sup> He also claimed that his family were *hidalgos*, not merchants (which would have been a serious bar to a military career), and that his paternal grandfather Jerónimo de Aranda Sotomayor

dealt in silks in the following way: he bought quantities of silk and had it made into clothing which, once woven, he sent to Madrid, Portugal, Cadiz, and other places, even to the Indies; and in this city this is not known as being a merchant, because a merchant is only someone who has a store in a specific place.

It is a subtle distinction. He added that "other people" who also traded in silk had been admitted to the Order of Santiago. Felipe's thick dossier of proofs

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60 AHN, Inquisición, 2675, 5. "They report that they have stated that they wish to return to Spain so as not to follow the sect, but we suspect that they are here to induce and help others to follow them, and to contact those who remain here and the fugitives who live in Constantinople, to the detriment of the Christian faith." The same report appears in AHN, Inquisición, 2676, 301.

61 AHN, Inquisición, 1449, 3.

62 RAH, 9/209, ff. 86–87. "Genealogía de D. Felipe de Aranda Sotomayor, natural de Granada, capitán de Caballos del regimiento del coronel D. Joseph Pastor, que está en actual servicio, pretendiente del ábito de Santiago." I am grateful to Teresa Madrid Álvarez-Piñer for giving me this reference.

included testaments, certificates of faith and baptism, and military records of his ancestors; the latter recorded service in the Christian conquest of Granada and again on the Christian side in the Morisco rebellion of the Alpujarras. They demonstrated that his forebears were exempted from the expulsions of 1570 and 1611; they had been knighted, could be addressed as *Don*, and therefore could display their family coat of arms on their houses in the Albaicín.<sup>63</sup> The properties, posts, and service records of the Aranda-Sotomayor family are impressive, as well as the amount of their riches as described in testaments, and allow us to feel the magnitude of their fall from grace under the Inquisition.

We hear no more about the lives of the Figueroas and Arandas in Smyrna, Istanbul, Tunis, or Barcelona. The former family must have stayed in Istanbul. We know about them, and some other details of their escape, through the misfortunes of the “tutor or pedagogue” who went with them to instruct their children: he was Carlos de Urrieta, a captain of infantry.

The same apostolic vicar of Smyrna whom we met above reported in 1730 that the Figueroa family’s tutor was then in Smyrna, about to set sail for Spain.<sup>64</sup> He planned to contact other families of reconciled persons in order to help them escape, and he carried letters from the Figueroas for collecting debts that were owed them since before their sentencing, and for recovering goods that they had concealed in Spain.<sup>65</sup> The Supreme Council wrote to its tribunals in Granada, Murcia, Seville, Valladolid, Santiago, Valencia, and Barcelona, ordering the arrest of this “tutor to the children of Gabriel de Figueroa, who helped and accompanied them and is now known to be returning.”<sup>66</sup> The Inquisition was convinced that the tutor had sheltered the Figueroas in his home before their flight, helped them hide their goods from confiscation, and exchanged those goods for funds to pay for their voyage.<sup>67</sup> He was arrested after landing in Málaga in June 1730, and letters that the Figueroas had given him for Spain were found with him. On arriving in Málaga he had immediately asked if there were reconciled persons from Granada there, and had gone to visit one of them, the attorney named Jerónimo de Sierra whom was mentioned at the beginning of this essay. Records have survived of several interrogations of Carlos Urrieta. At the outset, accused of being an “abetter and helper of

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63 “My grandfather Jerónimo obtained permission to place his coats of arms on the houses that he had bought on Darro Street in the Albaicín, across from [the church of] Saints Peter and Paul; and on that basis he presented the warrant showing his descent from Juan Joha and the governorships [of fortresses]”; AHN, Inquisición, 1449, 3.

64 AHN, Inquisición, 2674, 4.

65 AHN, Inquisición, 2675, 5.

66 AHN, Inquisición, Libro 622, 247.

67 AHN, Inquisición, Libro 622, 288.

Mohammedan heretics and an accomplice in concealment,” he claimed that he had gone with the Figueroas as far as Murcia out of friendship and gratitude, but that they had deceived him when they asked him to continue on to Barcelona; there the storm had sent them to Genoa. Once there he knew nothing of their plans because he was ignorant of the language—something the inquisitors did not believe, because Urrieta had been a soldier in Naples and besides, Genoa was full of people who spoke Spanish and nearly everyone understood it. They guessed that the Figueroas had, in fact, taken Urrieta that far precisely because he knew Italian; they also knew that the party had embarked in Alicante in Genoese ships, which rarely touched in Barcelona. Urrieta declared that he had returned to Spain because he was a Christian and did not want to renounce his faith, and that he had left for Spain on 19 August, while the Figueroas did not undergo circumcision until the 22nd. Therefore he was neither an accomplice nor an abettor. The inquisitors note that this reply was false, because Urrieta knew the Figueroas’ new Muslim names (which unfortunately are not recorded); if he was not actually a witness to their conversion, he must still have been in Constantinople at the time. Urrieta then changed his account slightly, saying that while in Genoa the Figueroas had led him to believe that they were going to the papal port of Civitavecchia. They traveled in an English ship that docked in Messina. There Melchor, through his contacts, had obtained a letter of transit or passport that allowed them to pass freely into Ottoman territory:

After arriving in Smyrna he showed the governor a letter in Turkish that said that the family were Mohammedans and were crossing to Constantinople to profess their sect in public. And that it had been sent to him by El Trombusi, a renegade pasha resident in Constantinople. Therefore before leaving Spain they had this correspondence, and had requested the letter so as to enter the Turk’s dominions in safety.<sup>68</sup>

This Trombusi might be Humbaraci (or Kumbaraci) Osman Ahmet Pasha, a French nobleman, Claude Alexandre de Bonneval who converted to Islam and passed over to the Ottomans in 1727 after falling into problems with his

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68 “[L]uego que llegó a Esmirna le mostró al gobernador una carta turquesca por la cual constaba que dicha familia era mahometana y que pasaba a Constantinopla para profesar públicamente su secta y que esta se la había enviado el Trombusi, bajá renegado habitante de Constantinopla, de que resulta que antes de salir de España tenían esta correspondencia y habían solicitado la carta para poder entrar en los dominios del Turco sin riesgo”; AHN, Inquisición, 2675, 5 and 4.

commanding general and spending a year in prison. His previous, Christian military carrier had taken him to Cadiz and Genoa.<sup>69</sup>

Several documents are devoted to Carlos de Urrieta: how he helped the Figueroas to hide their possessions and to travel, and how he later returned to find their hidden goods and establish contact with other families.<sup>70</sup> Through these records we can assume that the Figueroas had other contacts and sources of aid while they were still in Spain. In Alicante there was an administrator of the tobacco trade named Lorenzo Felipe de Mendoza, an *hereje mahometizante* reconciled in the *auto* of May 1728; in Valencia there was another of the same profession, Enríquez de Lara.<sup>71</sup> Moreover, in Valencia there was an important silk industry: a Granadan silk merchant, Pedro de Aranda (no evidence that he belongs to the same family), was active in the city from the end of the seventeenth century, and in 1730 another Granadan silk master, Antonio Arias, opened an important silk workshop active until the 1760's. The *Casa de la seda* was instituted in the 1730's in Barcelona.<sup>72</sup>

In other words, the Figueroa family had based their itinerary on a search for other reconciled *mahometizantes* from Granada, but also in places where a silk industry was flourishing. But how could Mendoza and Enríquez de Lara have risen to important administrative posts outside Granada so soon after being reconciled? Perhaps they had guarantors. For example, another of those reconciled was Luis Fernández de Aybar, who was supported by Lorenzo Fernández Zepillo,

who is in charge of collecting the rents from mercury and its evaporate<sup>73</sup> in these kingdoms; he states that for this type of activity he needs Luis Fernández de Aybar, one of those who was exiled by the Inquisition in Granada ... [because] he is a singular and much-needed individual, so [Fernández Zapillo] asks that his exile be lifted now that he has served the first two years.<sup>74</sup>

69 I thank Sinem Eryilmaz for this reference, that remains speculative and in need of further research.

70 AHN, Inquisición, 2674, 301.

71 AHN, Inquisición, 2674, 301.

72 See the catalogue of the exhibition *Els temps de la seda* (Valencia: Secretaría General Técnica, Subdirección General de Atención al Ciudadano, Documentación y Publicaciones, 2018), specially Ricardo Franch, "La sedería valenciana de finales del siglo XVI a principios del XIX," 18–29, and Josep Sabater "Mestres velluters," 306.

73 "Azogues y solimán"; once mercury (*azogue*) is extracted from ore, it can produce an evaporate (*solimán*) through sublimation.

74 AHN, Inquisición, 2675, 39.

These guarantors show, I believe, that the families from Granada had achieved a high level of integration into their society.

The Figueroas' networks must have been extensive, as they included Old Christians as well as other Moriscos. It was no small feat to convey a group of eleven people (a family of eight plus two maids and a tutor), with their baggage and "seven coffers," across Spain and then through Italy.

We can connect the journey of these false "Abencerrajes" to an anecdote told by the Moroccan ambassador Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Ġassānī al-Andalusī. On a mission to Spain in 1691, as he relates in his travel account *Riḥlat al-wazīr fi iftikāk al-asīr* (The Journey of the Minister to Ransom the Captive), a man approached him to say, "We are Muslims by origin, descendants of the Serraj family." The ambassador recalls,

I inquired about him afterwards and was told that he was one of the scribes of the court and oversaw petitions, depositions and similar things ... There was also another group of Granadians living in Madrid who had authority and power and came to visit us. They were friends of Don Alonso [Venegas?], who was a descendant of the King of Granada.<sup>75</sup>

By this account, families from Granada who claimed noble origins held positions of influence not only in Granada but in Madrid. Al-Ġassānī relates that these descendants of the Serrajs or Abencerrajes visited him repeatedly during his stay in the capital, treating him with great respect and asking him questions about various points of Islam.

The connection between the Figueroas and the Abencerrajes appears also in a long *pleito de hidalguía* started in 1590 by Fernando Suárez de Figueroa, who went to court and started a long litigation to be declared a nobleman, a *hidalgo* by proving his aristocratic lineage. The lawsuit took thirty years and was resolved favourably in the times of Fernando's son, Juan Suárez de Figueroa. This lawsuit, kept at the Archivo de la Real Chancillería in Granada, contains an Arabic letter, a forged document supposedly written by the Nasrid sultan Mawlāy Abū-l-Ḥasan, translated (and undoubtedly forged) by the famous Moriscos Miguel de Luna and Alonso del Castillo who in those same years were working on the Lead Books of the Sacromonte.<sup>76</sup>

75 I quote the translation by Nabil Matar, *In the Lands of the Christians: Arabic Travel Writing in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Routledge, 2003), 132.

76 The letter was a forgery, and said of Fernando de Figueroa that he was "christiano virtuoso, nombrado, charitativo, de buenos respetos y aprobada vida y costumbres, de noble, limpio y generoso nacimiento"; see David Torres Ibáñez "Los documentos de

### 3 The Lead Books of the Sacromonte

At the end of the sixteenth century a miraculous and providential discovery was made in Granada: numerous small, circular leaves of lead inscribed in a strange, archaic Arabic script like that used in epigraphic inscriptions, talismans, and magical writings. They proved to contain supposed early Christians texts in which the Virgin Mary played a leading role as a vehicle of revelation, and they told of Arab disciples of Jesus who had come to the Iberian Peninsula with James the Apostle and had been martyred in Granada. These texts engraved on lead complemented, and explained, a discovery made a few years earlier during the demolition of the minaret of Granada's grand mosque, the so-called Torre Turpiana. A parchment containing a prophecy attributed to Saint John, written in Arabic, Latin, and Spanish, had been found there in a leaden casket, together with a kerchief supposed to have belonged to the Virgin and a relic of Saint Stephen. We call the appearance of all these articles "miraculous and providential" because Granada, at the end of the sixteenth century, was in dire need of relics and a sacred Christian past: unlike many other Spanish cities, it was shaped profoundly by its Islamic history. The Lead Books testified that Saint James had traveled to Spain, and confirmed the belief—not yet an official Church dogma—in the Immaculate Conception of Mary. Granada's archbishop interpreted the relics as a sign that his city, its cathedral, and the Spanish monarchy all enjoyed divine favor. The whole incident came to be known as the affair of the Lead Books of the Sacromonte (this is how the hill of Valparaiso, where they had been found came to be named); when the Vatican eventually obtained the Books it dubbed them the *Láminas Granatenses*, and after long study declared them false and anathema in 1682, a century after their discovery. The Church in Granada under its Archbishop Pedro de Castro, as well as the Spanish Crown, mounted a fierce defense of the Lead Books, leading to a wide-ranging debate and a long and protean task of translation and linguistic study.<sup>77</sup> It has been amply demonstrated that the entire forgery was the work of Moriscos (some of whom not only created the

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archivo: pervivencia de sus valores y reivindicación de las pruebas documentales," in *Alāmas nazaries, los autógrafos de los sultanes (1454–1492). Catálogo de la exposición en la Real Chancillería de Granada (12 Feb–18 March 2022)* (Granada: Consejería de Cultura y Patrimonio Histórico, 2022), 18 ff. I thank Gerard Wiegers for this reference.

77 Studied in García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*. The latest publication on the subject is the edition by Gerard Wiegers and Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld, *The Lead Books of the Sacromonte and the Parchment of the Torre Turpiana: Granada, 1588–1606: General Introduction, Critical Edition, and Translation* (Leiden: Brill, 2024).

texts but took part in translating them) and was backed by some of the most prominent Muslim families of Granada, the old linages of Nasrid origin. Among Moriscos themselves the texts circulated widely and were read differently, as I am about to show, and persisted for generations in time and space throughout the Morisco diaspora. Our *herejes mahometizantes* of eighteenth-century Granada were only one of their manifestations.

As I have mentioned, the Inquisition documents known to us, at least so far, offer little information about the beliefs held, or the rituals practised, by the people dubbed *herejes mahometizantes*. What we know of them comes almost entirely from the manuscript edited by Carrasco Urgoiti and Epalza, *Errores de los moriscos de Granada*. It tells us that those Moriscos did not believe in the Trinity, but rather that Jesus was “the spirit of God” (the term that defines him in the Lead Books as well); that the one crucified on the cross had been not Jesus but a man named Chachas, who took his place; that they refused to worship images; and that they held Mary to be a virgin and immaculate. They believed not only in the saints:

They say that the only ones who are in heaven are Abraham, Isaac, and certain saints that they worship in four churches in this city [Granada], who are believed to be the saints of the Holy Mountain; and these, and no others carved or painted, should be venerated, because their descendants followed the sect of Mohammed, for which reason they suffered martyrdom on the Sacromonte. And that on a stone located in that Church in which we Christians piously believe there is a buried volume that deals with the most pure conception of Most Holy Mary; they say that it is in the said [stone] and that it contains the true explication of the Qur’an and that the book will not be revealed until a certain year that is cited in the accounts. At which time a council will be called in Cyprus to which all the Arabs will be summoned, and then by the lofty providence of their Prophet the stone will be opened, rendering up the book which had been enclosed in it for so many years, so as to undeceive the Christians and that they may realize that only their [the Muslims’] sect is the true one.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> “Dicen que sólo están en el cielo Habraham, Isaac y algunos santos que se veneran en quatro templos de esta ciudad (Granada) los cuales se cree ser los Santos del Montesanto y a éstos y no a otros ni a sus imágenes y pinturas se deben dar adoración por haver sido observantes de la secta de Mahoma sus descendientes, y que por el padecieron martirio en dicho Sacromonte y que en una piedra que está en dicha Iglesia en la qual los christianos creemos piadosamente, está enterrado un libro que trata de la purissima concepción de María Santissima, dicen ellos que en dicha está y contiene la verdadera explicación del Alcorán y que en este dicho libro no se manifestará hasta cierto año que

Mark the reference to a council to be called in Cyprus. All this is clearly related to the Moriscos' reading of the texts contained in the Lead Books of the Sacromonte,<sup>79</sup> and goes even further in affirming that those contain "the true explication of the Qur'an." More concretely, Inquisition documents from the *autos de fe* of 1728–1731 prove that Carlos de Mendoza, who had warned Moriscos that Diego Díaz was denouncing them to the Inquisition (he was tried in the *auto de fe* of May 1728), had been found to possess "books that are called 'of the Sacromonte':"<sup>80</sup>

It has been agreed that the books and papers found in the possession of this prisoner should be brought together in this tribunal ... They also said that the books called "of the Sacromonte" held by this prisoner should be given to the examining fathers so that they can study and censor them, [and] that all books of this type should be collected and closely held here.<sup>81</sup>

And no more is said. We know that some Morisco families kept a few of the lead sheets in their homes for some time.<sup>82</sup> Further, Epalza<sup>83</sup> explains that, in the same group of manuscripts owned by the Duke of Gor that contains the *Errores de los moriscos de Granada*, all of them originating in that city, there is a manuscript of some 200 pages titled "Translation of the books written on leaves of Lead that, together with the relics of Saints Caecilius, Hiscius, and another were found on the Sacromonte in Granada; a copy made by Adán Centurión, Marquis of Estepa" (*Traducción de los libros escritos en láminas de Plomo que con las reliquias de los Santos Cecilio, Hiscio y otro se hallaron en el Sacromonte*

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en las causas se cita, en el qual se juntaría un concilio en Chipre al qual serán convocados todos los árabes; entonces por alta providencia de su Profeta se abrirá la dicha piedra, entregando el dicho libro que tantos años ha tiene encerrado para desengaño de los christianos y que reconozcan que sola su secta es la verdadera"; Carrasco Urgoiti and Epalza, "El manuscrito *Errores de los moriscos*," 240.

79 All now translated into English by Wieggers and van Koningsveld, *The Lead Books*.

80 AHN, Inquisición, 2674, 114 and 115.

81 "Se ha acordado que se recoja en este tribunal los libros y papeles que a este reo se le hallaron ... Dijeron así mismo que los libros que llaman del Sacro Monte y se hallaron en poder de este reo se entreguen a los padres calificadores para que los reconozcan y pongan sus censuras que todos los libros que se hallaren de esta especie se recojan y pongan en este secreto"; AHN, Inquisición, Libro 622, 188v–189r.

82 García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, 91.

83 Mikel de Epalza, "Deux récits bilingues (arabe et espagnol) de voyageurs vers l'Orient qui passent par Tunis (xve et xvi siècles)," *Les Cahiers de Tunisie* 36 (1978): 35–52.

*de Granada, copia hecha por Adán Centurión, Marqués de Estepa*).<sup>84</sup> Perhaps this was the manuscript possessed by Carlos de Mendoza. Adán Centurión, Marquis of Estepa, had made a translation of the Lead Books (of which he was a passionate defender) and had it printed in Granada in 1632. In May 1633 the grand inquisitor banned it, ordering the immediate confiscation of all its printed and handwritten copies, in spite of which many continued to circulate in Granada.<sup>85</sup> That translation affirms: “That Truth shall be made known by the king of the Arabs, in a general council,” which will be held “in lands of the Greeks, on an island in the sea called Cyprus.” That king, who would rule over the Arabs and the Arab kings, would not be an Arab himself—presumably an allusion to the Ottoman sultan.<sup>86</sup> But it is also true that Adán Centurión’s version was not the one that the Moriscos were interpreting. Theirs displayed a Christianity that had been purged and brought closer to Islam; it was a text of anti-Christian polemic, a prophetic text.<sup>87</sup>

All this shows, in my opinion, that the *herejes mahometizantes* of eighteenth-century Granada believed in a version of Islam built on the Lead Books of the Sacromonte, which from the moment of their “discovery” were held to be transmitters of a true Islamic message. The Books were the “Vulgate” of Morisco Islam; for the people of Granada, both in Spain and in the diaspora, they became a sacred text, perhaps to be considered a sort of Holy Scripture. We must bear in mind that the text of the Books—and its many translations that circulated widely in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—is the only Islamic text to which the Moriscos had access; and it is unquestionably Islamic, as van Koningsveld’s and Wiegiers’s recent translation has proved. It had special resonance for the Moriscos because of its prophetic nature, and because it predicted the eventual triumph of Islam before the End of Days, including the belief that Muḥammad was the Messiah.<sup>88</sup> The cases of ‘Abd al-Karīm Ibn Tūda (Abentute) in the late sixteenth century, and of Jerónimo de Rojas, a Morisco from Toledo, clearly prove that to be the case. In Rojas’s Inquisition trial in 1601–3, he maintained that Jesus did not die on the cross but was replaced by another man named Cheche (or Chachas); this was a Morisco elaboration and

84 Epalza, “Deux récits,” 45.

85 Miguel José Hagerty, *Los libros plúmbeos del Sacromonte* (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1980), 46.

86 Hagerty published Centurión’s translation in *Los libros plúmbeos*, 125–26.

87 See Gerard Wiegiers contribution in this volume.

88 Gerard Wiegiers, “Muḥammad as the Messiah: A Comparison of the Polemical Works of Juan Alonso with the Gospel of Barnabas,” *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 52, no. 3/4 (1995): 245–91.

reinterpretation of a Qur'anic text, also frequent in Aljamiado literature.<sup>89</sup> And still according to Rojas, the Sacromonte Lead Books contained the truth:

Let them look at the pages in Arabic that have been found in Granada, in the books that the archbishop discovered there on the Sacromonte, where it says that God had no son, for that is a lie; and [let them know] that the archbishop there is learning Arabic because he has understood that he is in error.<sup>90</sup>

According to Rojas, it was through Ibn Tūda and the Lead Books that he had seen the light. Ibn Tūda or Abentute was a Moroccan official of Morisco origin who had come to Spain escorting two “Moorish princes” protected by the Spanish Crown, who had sought refuge in Spain from the civil wars of succession in Morocco. While in Spain, where he spent many years (1578–99),<sup>91</sup> staying in Talavera and in Carabanchel (near Madrid), Ibn Tūda had welcomed and instructed many Moriscos who sought him out for Islamic teachings, much as happened to the Moroccan ambassador al-Ġassānī, mentioned above. He was fluent in Spanish. Through the Inquisition trials of some Moriscos who consulted him, as well as other sources, we know that Ibn Tūda himself claimed that the books found on the Sacromonte contained the True Word and the true message of Islam, and prophesied its eventual universal triumph and the reconquest of Spain.<sup>92</sup>

Also cited in Jerónimo de Rojas's Inquisition trial in Toledo was Miguel de Luna, the Granadan Morisco who was the chief author of the Lead Books.<sup>93</sup> Both he and another prominent Morisco from the city already mentioned, Alonso del Castillo, had been entrusted with the translation of the Lead Books and gave them a Christian slant that, as Wieggers and van Koningsveld have

89 Louis Cardaillac, *Morisques et chrétiens: un affrontement polémique, 1492–1640* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1977), 280–81.

90 “[E]n confirmación de su error y herejía dice que mirasen las hojas que se habían hallado en arábigo en los libros que el arzobispo de Granada había descubierto en el Monte Santo donde dice Dios que él no tuvo hijo, porque es engaño, y que así el dicho arzobispo se va enseñando el arábigo, porque ha entendido esta verdad”; García-Arenal and Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, *The Inquisition Trial*, Accusation no. 8, 313.

91 García-Arenal and Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, *The Inquisition Trial*, 131 ff.

92 García-Arenal and Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, *The Inquisition Trial*, 136 ff.

93 As we demonstrated in García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, 155 ff; see also García-Arenal, “Miguel de Luna y los moriscos de Toledo: ‘no hay en España mejor moro,’” *Chronica Nova* 36 (2010): 253–62.

shown, falsified their original Arabic Islamic text.<sup>94</sup> At Rojas's trial one witness claimed that Luna met with Moriscos in Toledo, most of whom were of Granadan origin: "And the licenciado Luna told them how, on the lead sheets that have been found on the Sacromonte in Granada, it is written in Jesus Christ's hand how he himself said that he was neither God nor the son of God, for God had no son, let no one be deceived ... and Jesus Christ said only that he was a prophet."<sup>95</sup>

Ibn Tūda, the Moroccan official, also played an important role facilitating the flight to Morocco of Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥaḡarī, one of the most famous Moriscos of the diaspora, whose life and activity outside of Spain are well known to us.<sup>96</sup> Ibn Tūda is a relevant example of how Morisco networks operated before the Expulsion. But still in the Peninsula, in the last years of the sixteenth century, al-Ḥaḡarī had been gaining prominence in Morisco circles: he knew important Granadan Moriscos (such as, again, Alonso del Castillo) who were close to the archbishop of Granada, Pedro de Castro. That led him to be chosen to translate the Parchment from the Torre Turpiana unearthed in 1588, as well as the first Lead Books. He became an ardent defender and propagandist of the message contained in the Parchment and Lead Books, and continued to be so after settling in North Africa.<sup>97</sup> A long chapter of his *Kitāb Nāṣir al-dīn 'alā al-qawm al-kāfirīn* is devoted to the Parchment and to his problems in translating it. In the book he offers a detailed account of his relationship with Archbishop Pedro de Castro as well as his role in the translation of the Parchment.<sup>98</sup> Al-Ḥaḡarī interprets the Parchment and the first Lead Books as genuine documents, not falsifications, and believes that they contain a version of a "pure" Christianity, before its corruption by the Fathers and councils of the Church—therefore, a faith in accordance with the principal

94 Mercedes García-Arenal, "Alonso del Castillo, Miguel de Luna y otros moriscos: una propuesta para la autoría de los Plomos," in *Nuevas aportaciones al conocimiento y estudios del Sacro Monte IV Centenario fundacional (1610–2010)*, coords. M.J. Vega García-Ferrer, M.L. García Valverde, A López Carmona (Granada: Fundación Euroárabe, 2011), 145–69.

95 García-Arenal and Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, *The Inquisition Trial*, 160.

96 See the recent study by Oumelbanine Zhiri, *Beyond Orientalism: Ahmad Ibn Qāsim al-Haḡarī between Europe and North Africa* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2023).

97 Isabel Boyano Guerra, "Al-Hayari y su traducción del pergamino de la Torre Turpiana," in *¿La historia inventada? Los libros plúmbeos y el legado sacromontano* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2008), 137–58.

98 The translated text is preserved in an autograph manuscript in the Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Granada, and has recently been studied by Boyano Guerra, "Al-Hayari y su traducción."

dogmas of Islam.<sup>99</sup> In the course of his exile he supported and spread his belief in the message of the Lead Books, as we read in letters attributed to him written from Tunis.<sup>100</sup> Gerard Wiegiers's contribution to this volume paints the full picture. The Jesuit José Tamayo Velarde (d. 1685), who suffered a long captivity in Algiers and Tetouan, wrote about his experience during a time of plague in 1645: *Compendiosa relación de las costumbres, ritos y gobiernos de Berbería* (A full account of the customs, rituals, and governments of Barbary). He describes beliefs held by the Muslims of Tetouan that were connected to the Lead Books of the Sacromonte:

A person of authority in this city told me ... that Don Pedro de Castro y Quiñones, who was archbishop of Granada and later of Seville, was a Muslim and had lived as such ... [And] that the said archbishop, when he explored the holy mountain of Granada, found the Qur'an written in the Arabic language on leaves of lead, and recognizing its truth he had become a Muslim; and that the corpses he found buried with those leaves were the bodies of saintly Muslims.<sup>101</sup>

In the foregoing section we spoke about the Figueroas and Arandas, supposed Abencerrajes and Nasrid nobles of royal origin. The issue of ancestry in Granada had been a central concern ever since the mass conversions of 1502, and from the moment of the conquest the leading families of the former Nasrid kingdom had made every effort to join the city's oligarchy.<sup>102</sup> They shared an

99 Gerard Wiegiers, "Moriscos and Arabic Studies in Europe," *Al-Qanṭara* 31, no. 2 (2010): 587–610; and Wiegiers, "Nueva luz sobre Alonso de Luna, alias Muḥammad b. Abi- l'Asi, y su proceso inquisitorial (1618)," in *Los plomos del Sacromonte: invención y tesoro*, ed. Manuel Barrios Aguilera and Mercedes García-Arenal (Valencia: PUV, 2006), 403–18.

100 Nezha Norri, *Edición y estudio sociolingüístico del Manuscrito D.565 de la Biblioteca Universitaria de Bolonia* (Cordova, Cadiz: Universidad de Córdoba, de Cádiz, 2018), 243.

101 "Una persona de autoridad de esta ciudad me dixo ... que el señor don Pedro de Castro y Quiñones, arzobispo que fue primero de Granada y después de Sevilla era moro y había vivido como tal ... Que quando el dicho señor arzobispo descubrió el santo monte de Granada halló el Alcorán escrito en lengua arábica en láminas de metal y conociendo la verdad se auía vuelto moro y que los cuerpos que halló sepultados en aquellas láminas eran cuerpos de moros santos." Felipe Maíllo Salgado (ed), *Memorias del cautiverio y costumbres, ritos y gobiernos de Berbería según el relato de un jesuita del siglo XVII: un tratado morisco tardío* (Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo, 2017); see also the contribution by Gerard Wiegiers in this volume.

102 Enrique Soria Mesa, "De la conquista a la asimilación: la integración de la aristocracia nazarí en la oligarquía granadina, siglos XV–XVII," *Áreas: revista internacional de ciencias sociales* 14 (1992): 49–64; Soria Mesa, *Los últimos moriscos*; García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, 65 ff.

aristocratic ethos with Spanish noblemen and they wanted to become a part of this elite. Soria Mesa has studied in detail the dozens of documents they submitted in support of their claims to be “Old Christians,” legally as well as ethnically and religiously. They had purportedly converted not only before the decree of 1502 but in some cases before the conquest of 1492.<sup>103</sup> Certification as an “Old Christian” was essential because the purity-of-blood statutes, then in full force, formed a serious barrier to obtaining privileges, prebends, and influential posts; measures that restricted or forbade cultural practices like the use of Arabic had the same effect. We recall the words of the renowned Morisco aristocrat Núñez Muley in his *Memorial* to the royal tribunal (*Audiencia*) of Granada in 1567, which protested those measures:

Must [the Granadans of Muslim origin] be all alike? [...] The ancient surnames that we bear are needed for people to recognize one another, for without them, persons and lineages would be lost. What good would it do to lose the memory of these? For in truth, they increase the glory and exaltedness of the Catholic Monarchs who conquered this kingdom.<sup>104</sup>

Should their origin, their memory, their fame, all be erased?

The forgery known as the Lead Books of the Sacromonte had been closely connected from the outset to the chief Muslim families of Granada; we know, in fact, that some of them were involved in planning it and probably patronized and financed it as well.<sup>105</sup> There is a very plausible link between their lineages and the Lead Books: fabricating documents and false proofs requires an imaginary refashioning of family history, which in both cases means recreating or inventing the past. A past remembered, a past invented.<sup>106</sup> And the falsification fulfilled two aims at once: it provided a legitimate “Christian Arab” origin

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<sup>103</sup> Soria Mesa, *Los últimos moriscos*, 138 ff.

<sup>104</sup> “Han de ser todos iguales? Los sobrenombres antiguos que tenemos son para que se conozcan las gentes, que de otra manera han de perderse las personas y los linajes. ¿De qué sirven que se pierdan las memorias? Que, bien considerado, aumentan la gloria y el ensalzamiento de los Católicos Reyes que conquistaron este reino. Esta intención y voluntad fue la de sus altezas y la del Emperador, que está en gloria; para estos se sustentan los ricos alcázares de la Alhambra y otros menores de la misma forma que estaban en tiempos de los reyes moros, porque siempre manifestasen su poder y por memoria y trofeo de los conquistadores”; García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, 65.

<sup>105</sup> Mercedes García-Arenal, “El entorno de los plomos: historiografía y linaje,” *Al-Qanṭara* 24, no. 2 (2003): 295–325.

<sup>106</sup> García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, 66 ff.

to replace the Morisco one, and protected those families from association with the rebels of the War of the Alpujarras (1569–70).

To return to the *herejes mahometizantes* of eighteenth-century Granada: apart from their defense of their ancestry and their belief in the “Vulgate” of the Sacromonte, they do not exhibit a well-defined belief or a set of shared observances. Some practiced certain rituals and some practiced others, often of no clearly religious import,

without any consistency in their sect, about which the women were the usual teachers: they were in charge of instructing their children, relatives, and servants, from about eight to about twelve or fourteen years of age. They chose to tell them that they descended from Moors who had stayed behind after the conquest of this kingdom, and that they and their forebears had followed the sect of Mohammed, which was the surest way to salvation. And since this teaching came at such a young age and by influence of their mothers, they believed it; and on reaching the age of discretion, although many realized that they were following genuine errors, they clung to them so as not to betray their parents and relations.<sup>107</sup>

A fundamental element of their belief, then, was the conviction that they “descended from Moors.” The text goes on:

Noticing that they observed such a jumble of falsehoods so chaotically, and that not one of the prisoners could explain the fasts, prayers, and other ceremonies, we have found that no two believe the same thing; some observe certain rituals and others entirely opposite ones, without consistency in any aspect of their sect.

Here religion appears transformed into what Nathan Wachtel termed *la foi du souvenir*: the faith of memory. We can also say that they shared an *imaginaire* as used by Maurice Godelier: a concept that encompasses images,

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<sup>107</sup> “sin tener uniformidad alguna de su secta, de la qual regularmente eran los maestros las mujeres, quienes tenían el cuidado de instruir a sus hijos, parientes o criados, desde la edad de ocho años hasta la de doce o catorce, valiéndose del medio de decirles que eran descendientes de moros de los que se quedaron en la conquista deste reyno y que ellos y sus mayores habían seguido la secta de Mahoma que era la más segura para salvarse, y como era esta enseñanza en tan tierna edad y a persuasión de las madres, la admitían, y cuando llegaban a tener discreción, aunque muchos conocían ser verdaderamente errores los que seguían, por no descubrir a sus padres y parientes, se mantenían en ellos”; Carrasco Urgoiti and Epalza, “El manuscrito *Errores de los moriscos*,” 247.

representations, narratives and myths shared by a group or society.<sup>108</sup> Different words, different gestures maybe ...<sup>109</sup>

Sometimes their fasts and ceremonies were identitarian rather than religious, and were clearly connected to memories of the conquest. On New Year's Day they fasted because it was the eve of January 2nd, when Christian Granada celebrated (and still celebrates) the conquest of the city.<sup>110</sup> The next morning they ate special food, apparently containing sweets and other ingredients that were traditionally Granadan but no longer common in the eighteenth century;<sup>111</sup> these are very similar to those described by Julio Caro Baroja for the Moriscos of the 16th century.<sup>112</sup> They also had fruit, pomegranates (*granadas* in Spanish) that they, symbolically, broke in pieces. Foods played an important role in children's naming ceremonies and in funerals: there were sweets made of anise, almond paste, raisins, prunes, figs, and dates. On fast days people abstained from some of the usual things "that they liked to do, such as going to plays or dances, listening to music, smoking, smelling flowers, or any other pleasant activity."<sup>113</sup> We can imagine these people in their comfortable country estates, abstaining from pleasures such as smelling orange blossom, going to the theater, going dancing dressed in silk, or indulging in tobacco. All these were customs that they shared with the wider society and that point to cultural mixtures of which we can scarcely be aware, because our written sources show so little interest in the details of everyday life.

Family rituals and traditional foods played an important part in the religious life of these *herejes mahometizantes*. It all makes them strikingly similar to the converts whom Wachtel studied in Brazil, the Xuetes whom Porques analyzed in Mallorca, and Bauer's Dönme in Salonica and Istanbul; other

108 Maurice Godelier, *L'imaginaire, l'imaginé et le symbolique* (Paris: CNRS, 2015).

109 Natalia Muchnik, *De paroles et de gestes. Constructions marranes en terre d'Inquisition* (Paris: Éditions de l'EHESS, 2014).

110 Carrasco Urgoiti and Epalza, "El manuscrito *Errores de los moriscos*," 245.

111 "They cook wheat, undrained fava beans, peeled acorns, dried chestnuts, raisins, prunes, walnuts, apples studded with cloves, figs, jujubes, pieces of sugarcane, licorice sticks ... delicate spices and honey ... pomegranate peels and pieces of nougat" ("tienen guisado trigo, habas sin desegotar, vellotas sin cáscara, castañas pilongas, pasas, ciruelas, nueces, camuesas clavados en ellas clavos de comer, higos, azofayfas, pedazos de caña dulce, palo de orozuz [regaliz] ... especia fina y miel blanca ... cascós de granada, pedazos de turrón"); Carrasco Urgoiti and Epalza, "El manuscrito *Errores de los moriscos*."

112 Caro Baroja, *Los moriscos del Reino de Granada*, 69 ff.

113 "que fuese de gusto, como es ver comedias, bayles, oyr músicas, tomar tabaco, oler flores ni otra cosa alguna que fuera de diversión"; Carrasco Urgoiti and Epalza, "El manuscrito *Errores de los moriscos*," 243.

parallel elements were naming ceremonies (in which a child received his or her Muslim name) and funeral rites.

All are characteristic of followers of a crypto-religion. In these minority groups religious adherence takes place within the family, while endogamy creates and maintains the feeling of belonging and community.<sup>114</sup> Even when beliefs, rites and rules, and their significance are lost, they can still be transmitted as family traditions. In the interplay between continuity and forgetting, what persists is “the obscure sentiment of a duty and the halo of a secret.”<sup>115</sup>

#### 4 Crypto-Religion and Syncretism

A secret Islamic faith—that was, somehow, what the “heretics” from Granada believed in. The Arandas’ house in Darro Street had an Immaculate Conception painted on its staircase wall. Was this image of the Immaculate Conception in the Aranda household a dissimulation, or a sign of the intense devotion to that attribute of the Virgin that the Lead Books inspired in Granada?<sup>116</sup> The manuscript of *Errores de los moriscos* affirms that the Moriscos believed in the virginity of Mary and describes how the conception came about: “In heaven, God gave the Archangel Gabriel a bouquet of flowers and lilies into which He infused His spirit; and when the angel descended to announce this mystery to Mary, he had her smell the lilies, and on smelling them she took into her nostrils the spirit that came from God.”<sup>117</sup> This description, which has no equivalent in any Islamic belief, is strikingly reminiscent of many paintings of the Annunciation in which Mary is portrayed with lilies that symbolize purity and virginity. Lilies whose smell is powerful.

Some of these leading citizens were buried in a typical white Muslim shroud, but with the habit of their Christian brotherhood on top of it. Surviving testaments from the Aranda-Sotomayor family show that both men and women, on seeking acceptance into the Order of Santiago, had asked to wear its habit to their graves.<sup>118</sup> They left money to have both Muslim prayers and Christian masses said in their names after death, and we have to wonder once

114 Porqueres, *Lourde alliance*, 138–40.

115 Nathan Wachtel, *La foi du souvenir: labyrinthes marranes* (Paris: Seuil, 2001), 330–31.

116 See Catherine Infante contribution to this volumen.

117 “Dios entregó en el cielo al arcángel Gabriel un ramo de flores y azucenas en las cuales incluyó su espíritu y el angel le dio a María a oler las azucenas cuando bajó a anunciar a María este misterio, y oliéndolas sorbió por las narices el dicho espíritu que venía de Dios”; Carrasco Urgoiti and Epalza, “El manuscrito *Errores de los moriscos*,” 239.

118 AHN, Inquisición, 1449, 3.

more if they were pretending or combining, as the Spanish saying goes, “lighting one candle to God and another to the Devil,” not being sure, maybe, in which faith salvation lays.<sup>119</sup> We can perceive syncretism in addition to, or perhaps instead of, crypto-religion. We have adopted the Inquisition’s hermeneutics of suspicion, and our conviction that these “heretics” were crypto-Muslims may prevent us from appreciating the syncretic situation in which they were immersed. Conditioned by our written sources, we prioritize cultural features that may not have been so salient for those who practiced them; or we suppose that the accused were more homogeneous in belief and practice than the documents can show.<sup>120</sup>

Let us return to the rituals that accompanied the conferral of a child’s name. We are told that the newborn was placed on the floor on a white sheet, surrounded by the foods we have mentioned above, and that a date dipped in rosewater was brought to its lips. This could be in accordance to the Islamic ritual of *Tahnik* a ritual recommended by ḥadīṭ to be performed the day of birth, when the newborn is given a name and either their parents or respected persons put a date on his mouth which has been previously softened sometimes by the sucking of the date by the person performing the ritual.<sup>121</sup> In the case of the Granadans, other rituals were added: if the baby was a boy a sword was laid at his side so that he would learn to handle arms; and if a girl it is gold, pearls, silk, a thimble, and some thread.” The child was then given a Moorish name: Ahmad (Jamete) for a first son and Muza (Musa) for a second, or Fátima for a first daughter and María or Marién for a second. Then the sweets and fruits were shared with the family and friends. No canonical Islamic text, or compendium of Aljamiado Morisco literature, speaks of rituals including swords

119 Mercedes García-Arenal, “What Faith to Believe? Vacillation, Comparativism and Doubt,” in *From Doubt to Unbelief: Forms of Scepticism in the Iberian World*, ed. Mercedes García-Arenal and Stefania Pastore (Oxford: Legenda, 2019), 53–72.

120 Joel Robbins, “Crypto-Religion and the Study of Cultural Mixtures: Anthropology, Value, and the Nature of Syncretism,” *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 79, no. 2 (2011): 408–24.

121 See for example *Kitāb al-Adab*, ḥadīṭ 5340 and 5736. “It is recommended to perform *tahnik* (to put something sweet such as honey or a date in the mouth of the newborn) on the day of birth; to take the newborn to a righteous person or for parents to perform *tahnik* on them. It is permissible to name the newborn on the day of birth and it is recommended to use ‘Abd Allāh, Ibrāhīm or the names of all other prophets,” Avner Giladi, *Children of Islam. Concepts of Childhood in Medieval Muslim Society* (Oxford: Palgrave Macmillan, 1992), specially chapter 3 “On Tahnik – an Early Islam Childhood Rite”, 35–41. I am grateful to Caterina Bori for these references.

or jewels.<sup>122</sup> To classify these rituals as folklore would be too easy; that runs the risk of reducing to mere folklore certain practices whose meaning we have lost or no longer understand, but which may have served to stake a claim<sup>123</sup>—in this case, I believe, a claim to the right to bear arms, and to wear luxurious clothing and jewels. These were the outward signs of membership in the upper classes, of status and privilege. In support of this notion we can return to some cases of individuals who, having been tried as *mahometizantes* in the 1740s, were accused of having relapsed precisely for this kind of ostentation, considered a serious offense. Álvaro Vicente de Mendoza, who was living in the town of Orce after having been exiled from the city of Granada, was denounced for wearing a silk doublet and hose, gold and silver braid trim, velvet breeches, a cape of fine red cloth, and a wig, for carrying a silver-headed cane and a sword, and for riding his own horse—all forbidden to anyone who had been tried by the Holy Office.<sup>124</sup> In 1754 he was accused of having taken part in the ritual murder of a child, an accusation often made against Jews and Judaizers but not against Moriscos. The charge of course could not be proved, but its extreme nature betrays profound enmity toward the victim and a thirst for his total destruction. Álvaro, as a relapsed *mahometizante*, was sentenced to five years' hard labor in the mercury mines.<sup>125</sup>

The abovementioned Father Ximénez, in Tunis, the one who mentions the Arandas, also describes the exiled Moriscos' love of ostentatious dress—that their women displayed too much jewelry and even the men wore rich clothing. He cites the *Tratado de los dos caminos* (Treatise of the two paths), a work written by a Morisco he knew and which he had had copied:

Listen to what an anonymous Moorish author says in a book in the Spanish language: "It would have been best, once [the Moriscos] had come to the lands of Islam, to show humility. But Lucifer, appetite, the world, and vanity did not permit such a good result: rather they induced them to display the finery and ornaments that did not exist when they came, nor did they know them. And today they are in such a high estate that they can match the greatest of the great, especially in the women's adornments, for every one of them wears more gold than can be found

122 Fernando González Muñoz, "Un testimonio de la Hispania medieval sobre el rito de las Fadas," *Collectanea Christiana Orientalis* 8 (2022): 207–15.

123 Simona Cerutti, "Histoire pragmatique, ou de la rencontre entre histoire sociale et histoire culturelle," *Tracés* 15 (2008): 147–68, esp. 151.

124 AHN, Inquisición, 3736, f. 105

125 Rafael de Lera García, "Cripto-musulmanes," 548.

in the richest of shops. And it happens that even the least of them deck themselves with items that the queens of this land never wore before we came.<sup>126</sup>

We do not know if the residents of Granada who descended from the conquered population thought of themselves as “Muslims”; we cannot even establish the nature of their particular version of Islam, aside from their devotion to the Lead Books which they believed, enclosed the true version of Christianity. What it meant to be a Muslim must have varied over time.<sup>127</sup> The Figueroas and Arandas, when they were tried by the Inquisition in *autos de fe* and reconciled, experienced economic and social ruin; could that have moved them to identify as Muslims in their exile or think that in Ottoman lands they could maintain their status, even while they tried to leave open the possibility of return? Probably they thought that their lineage and credentials would give them the opportunity, in Ottoman lands, to move up the social ladder again. Their petition for acceptance into the Order of Santiago might not have guaranteed an intimate religious belief, but it did show a strong desire to form part of Christian society with all its honors and privileges. The documents they presented for acceptance in 1722 illuminate how catastrophic and humiliating the collapse of their fortunes and reputation must have been when the Inquisition eventually came for them; that, I believe, motivated the flight of the Figueroa and Aranda-Sotomayor families to the Ottoman Empire, as had been the case of Claude Alexandre de Bonneval. Similar losses of wealth and standing had moved nobles and *hidalgos* of Muslim origin to join the rebels in the Alpujarras War of 1569–70. As one of the leaders of that uprising, Hernando el Habaquí, wrote to Pedro de Deza:

as for all those people who say that I erred in renouncing the faith of Jesus Christ, I swear to God that if what was done to me had been done to any gentleman, even if he had the purest Old Christian descent, he would

126 “Óigase lo que dice un autor moro anónimo en un libro en lengua española: De mucha importancia hubiera sido, después de haber venido al islam, que se usase la humildad. Pero Luzbel, apetito, mundo y vanidad no dieron lugar a tanto bien, antes invitaron a que se mostrasen las galas y bizarrías que cuando se vino no había, ni las conocían. Y están hoy en tan alto estado que se pueden comparar a las grandezas de los grandes, particularmente en los adornos de las mujeres, pues cada una lleva más oro que las otras tienen de caudal en las tiendas más ricas. Y es de suerte que las más mínimas se adornan con cosas que las reinas de esta tierra no llevaron antes de nuestra venida.” *Discurso de Túnez*, RAH mss 9/6011, ff. 117–18, 22 October 1724.

127 Caro Baroja, *Los moriscos del Reino de Granada*, 141 ff.

have not stayed in the Kingdom of Granada but would have crossed to Turkey and renounced his faith.<sup>128</sup>

## 5 Granada Venegas versus Aranda Sotomayor?

There is yet another hypothesis to suggest: that rivalries among these families of Muslim descent might lie behind the denunciations and Inquisition trials of 1728–31. Thanks to the work of Enrique Soria, we know that those rivalries had existed ever since the sixteenth century (as they also existed within the Xuetes and the Dönme); Soria draws a distinction between clans that admitted mixed marriages and those that married only among themselves.<sup>129</sup> And from the splendid book by Jaime Contreras, *Sotos contra Riquelmes*, we have also learned how local elites who were in competition for power used the Inquisition to destroy their rivals—in that case, with accusations of Judaizing.<sup>130</sup> We know about the intense competition that the post of *veinticuatro* of Granada provoked among the city's elites from the time when Christian institutions began to enter its government. Don Fernando de Córdoba y Valor, who led the Alpujarras rebels under the name of Aben Humeya, had been a principal silk merchant in Granada but took to the hills after being stripped of his *veinticuatro* status. Members of the Granada Venegas clan had been *veinticuatro*s for several generations and had belonged to the Order of Santiago since 1588. To repeat the judgment cited above about the Figueroas and Arandas,

This family is considered in Granada descendants of poor, humble Moriscos, not of nobles. They have bought their positions as *veinticuatro* and city accountant through the silk trade [...] In Granada no other noble families except for the Granadas and Zegrías, are known to descend from Moors and might be related to those monarchs.<sup>131</sup>

128 “En los que tienen por allá entendido que yo he hecho mal en renegar de la fe de Jesús Christo, juro por Dios que si con cualquier caballero se hubiera hecho lo que conmigo, aunque fuera christiano viejo de todos cuatro costados, no hubiera parado en el reino de Granada sino pasado a Turquía y renegado de su fe”; García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, 84.

129 See references in García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, chapter 3. Soria Mesa, “De la conquista a la asimilación.”

130 Jaime Contreras, *Sotos contra Riquelmes: regidores, inquisidores y criptojudíos* (Madrid: Anaya, M. Muchnik, 1992).

131 AHN, Inquisición, 2674, 297.

This remark may reflect a rivalry that classified the Figueroas and Arandas as upstarts. The documentary dossier of the Aranda-Sotomayor family,<sup>132</sup> is strikingly similar to the *Orígenes de la Casa de Granada* that traces the trajectory of the Granada Venegas clan.<sup>133</sup> There are many parallels in these genealogical sources, even in their illustrations. Both insist that their members fought on the Christian side even before the conquest of Granada, that they were aristocrats and of royal blood under the Nasrids, and that their famous ancestors performed feats of arms. And the Arandas presented their petition for the Order of Santiago in 1722, and even printed their genealogy and deeds for applying to the habit of the Order of Santiago very few years before being accused by the Inquisition. Could it have provoked a betrayal by another prominent rival family who did not want them to rise to the same level?<sup>134</sup> The Arandas-Sotomayor had become extremely rich too quickly, perhaps, or too socially ambitious. The Granada Venegas, who had worn the habit of Santiago for generations may have wanted to destroy their competitors in the silk trade, in the council of *veinticuatro*s, and in the most important of the military Orders. While this hypothesis is still speculative and requires more research, already some other extant small details seem to point in this direction. The dossier with which Felipe de Aranda asked to enter the Order of Santiago<sup>135</sup> includes two documents that do not appear to fit in the general genealogical compendium (See Figure 11.3). One is a copy of a document of 1556 in which Luis Maza, a member of the Order married to a daughter of Alonso Venegas and without children, asks that his father-in-law be allowed to “inherit” the post of *veinticuatro* as well as the habit.<sup>136</sup> And in another, Felipe de Aranda asks to be informed if “the favors given to the Granadas were considered, or if there is doubt about the matter.”<sup>137</sup> It is as if the Arandas were insinuating or trying to raise doubts about the Granadas’ ancestry. If that was the case, it cost them dearly.

132 AHN, Inquisición, 1449, 3.

133 RAH, Colección Salazar y Castro, B-86. Enrique Soria Mesa, “Una versión genealógica del ansia integradora de la élite morisca: el origen de la Casa de Granada,” *Sharq Al-Andalus* 12 (1995): 213–21. García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, 86 ff.

134 This question is developed further in García-Arenal, “‘Herejes mahometizantes’ en la Granada del siglo XVIII: linajes, diáspora y Plomos del Sacromonte,” *Revista del CEHGR* 36 (2024): 49–75.

135 AHN, Inquisición, 1449, 3.

136 Inmaculada Arias de Saavedra Alías, “Las mujeres del linaje Granada Venegas. Notas para su historia,” in *Comunidad e identidad en el mundo ibérico* (Valencia, Granada, Murcia: Universidad de Valencia, Granada, Murcia, 2013), 121–48.

137 “Lo que me falta es saber si en la Sala de los Hijosdalgo se tomaron razón de las mercedes que se hicieron a los Granadas y si se consta que se duda”. Both documents are transcribed in the Appendix of Soria Mesa *Últimos moriscos*, 244 and 246.

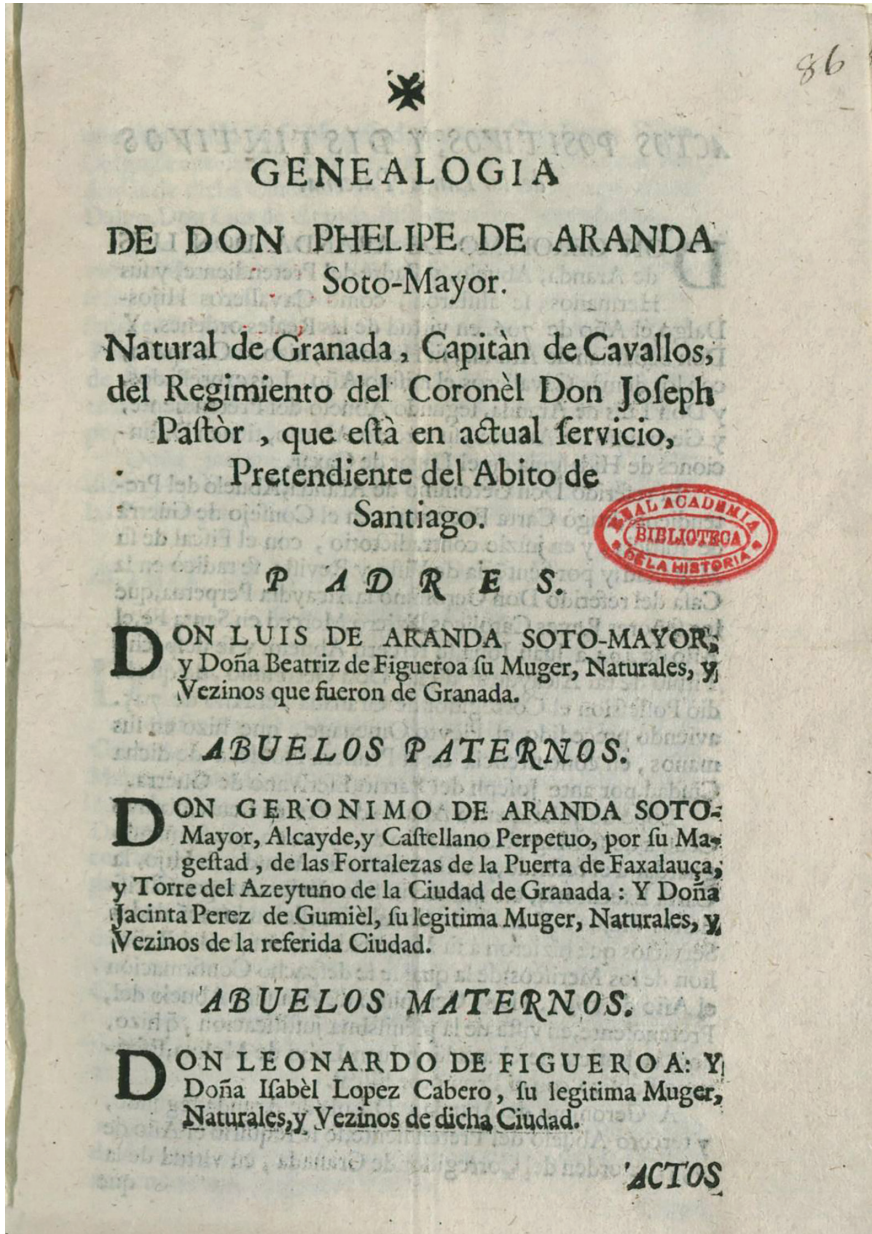


FIGURE 11.3 Printed genealogy of Jerónimo de Aranda-Sotomayor. Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, 9/209, ff. 86–87

We cannot be sure either about the motives of the Holy Office; like those of any other institution, they were subject to their particular context. No doubt the tribunal's financial difficulties inspired some of their actions, as Lera García has suggested. Further, the Inquisition might have been in urgent need of heretics at a time, near the end of the Old Regime, when its status as an institution was increasingly in question. Many years later, at the constitutional Cortes of Cadiz in 1812, a conservative deputy named Hermida would argue against its abolition:

It is not possible to eliminate entirely all the traces of an ancient people like the Jews, who still speak the Spanish language and are easily taken for Spaniards. Their Spanish synagogue counts among the most famous in Europe; I hesitate to elaborate on this any further; but the almost daily offenses of delinquent Hebrews are sufficient proof of their existence, and there are still some by Moors as well. There is the famous case of the Mendozas that occurred in the middle of the last century in Granada: there were *veinticuatro*s of the city and other gentlemen distinguished by their great wealth, notably the priest of Las Angustias. I was an eyewitness to the bitterness and regret of an old and dying rector who, having been baptized by that priest, feared that his baptism was null and void. The archbishop had to intervene and rebaptize him secretly *sub conditione*.<sup>138</sup>

The memory of the events of 1729–31 in Granada allowed Hermida to defend the need for the Inquisition. That institution needed to survive economically and to legitimize its own existence, and its motivation was compatible with the existence of a community in eighteenth-century Granada based on endogamy and noble origins and split by internal rivalries. The fact that the families'

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138 "No es posible desarraigar del todo las reliquias de un antiguo pueblo, como el judío, que conserva aún la lengua española y se confunde fácilmente con los españoles. Su sinagoga española se distingue entre las más célebres de Europa: es delicado extenderme más en este punto; pero los castigos que cada día nos descubren hebreos delinquentes, bastan para prueba de su existencia y no faltan aún algunas de los moros. Es célebre la causa de los Mendozas, seguida a la mitad de siglo pasado en Granada: había veinte y cuatros de la ciudad y otros caballeros distinguidos por sus muchas riquezas; era notable el cura de las Angustias. Yo soy testigo de la amargura y escrúpulo de un moribundo rector anciano, que bautizado por dicho cura temió la nulidad de su bautismo y fue menester que el arzobispo arbitrarse, rebautizarlo en secreto *sub coinditione*"; *Discusión del proyecto de decreto sobre el Tribunal de la Inquisición de Cádiz* (Madrid: Impresora Nacional, 1813), 105, cited in Julio Caro Baroja, *Los judíos en la España moderna y contemporánea* (Madrid: Istmo, 1986), III: 181; and Lera García, "Gran ofensiva antijudía," 550.



FIGURE 11.4 Current view of the former family house of Aranda-Sotomayor family, Calle de Arandas in Granada.

PHOTO: ADRIÁN RODRÍGUEZ IGLESIAS, 2025

ancestry was fictitious did not keep them from believing in it and trying to turn it to good account. That community practiced its own version of Islam and preserved its memory, sustained by its lineages and by the texts of the Lead Books of the Sacromonte.

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## Reading ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abdallāh al-Tarğumān’s *Tuhfa* (1420) in the Ottoman Empire

*Muslim-Christian Polemics and Intertextuality in the Age of ‘Confessionalization’*

*Tijana Krstić*

In 1420 a convert to Islam named ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abdallāh al-Tarğumān completed the polemical text in Arabic entitled *Tuhfat al-Adīb fi al-radd ‘alā ahl al-ṣalīb* (*Gift of the Lettered One for the Refutation of the People of the Cross*).<sup>1</sup> In the first part of this account, he tells the story of how he, a native of Mallorca, who was educated in theology in Lleida and in Bologna to become a Franciscan priest, discovered the truth of Islam in the Gospel of John and travelled to Tunis where he converted in the presence of the Hafsīd sultan Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad around 1387. In the second part of the *Tuhfa*, al-Tarğumān speaks about his career as the customs official and interpreter in the service of the sultan, as well as about the biography of his patron and political situation in Tunis at the time. Finally, in the third and longest part that consists of nine chapters, ‘Abdallāh al-Tarğumān turns to the polemic against Christianity based mostly on the quotations from the scriptures, with some references to the Qur’an, *ḥadīth* and works of the well-known Muslim polemicists against Christianity, such as al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Hašīmī, al-Ṭabarī, al-Ġazālī, Ibn Ḥazm, and Ibn Taymiyyah. The overall polemical argument of the *Tuhfa* is in line with the traditional Muslim polemical concept of *tahrīf*, which maintains that the Christian (and Jewish) scriptures originally faithfully transmitted the word of God and teachings of the prophets but were corrupted over time, which led to Christianity’s supersession by Islam.<sup>2</sup>

Only towards the end of the nineteenth century was it established that ‘Abdallāh al-Tarğumān was in fact the Muslim name of Fra Anselm Turmeda,

- 1 Names and titles in Arabic and Persian are transcribed according to the system of the Brill’s simple Arabic transliteration system. Names in Ottoman Turkish are given according to modern Turkish orthography. This orthography is modified to indicate long vowels, as well as letters ‘*ayn* (‘) and *hamze* (‘) when transcribing special Ottoman terms and quotations from the text given in the appendix.
- 2 On the argument of the *Tuhfa* see Mikel de Epalza, *Fray Anselm Turmeda (‘Abdallāh al-Taryumān) y su polémica islamo-cristiana. Edición, traducción y estudio de la Tuhfa* (Madrid: Hiperión, 1994), 85–91.

an author well known in the late medieval Catalan-speaking world for several of his other works in Catalan, which he apparently wrote after his conversion to Islam but without referring to his Muslim identity.<sup>3</sup> This authorial bifurcation has been inciting a lively debate among scholars for more than a century now.<sup>4</sup> However, although this paper will be concerned with the issues of authorship, it will not focus on Anselm Turmeda / 'Abdallāh al-Tarġumān but on the history of the *Tuhfa*'s reception by and impact on the Muslim literary audience in the Ottoman Empire. It will ask the question of how this account, which seems to have gone unnoticed by Muslim literati for almost two centuries after being written, reached the status of one of the most popular and readily recognizable anti-Christian polemical texts both in the Middle East and in Europe, seeing many printings and translations into various languages already in the nineteenth century and maintaining its appeal to this day.<sup>5</sup> Building on the work of the Spanish Arabist Mikel de Epalza and his landmark study of the *Tuhfa*, I will argue that the key to understanding this development is the account's translation into Ottoman Turkish in 1604 which, however, had consequences beyond those that Epalza could discern without being acquainted with the Ottoman literary and religio-political scene of the seventeenth century.

The ensuing discussion will first focus on the circumstances of the *Tuhfa*'s arrival in the Ottoman Empire, the historical context in which it transpired, and the people who were instrumental in this textual transfer, as a window

3 His other works include *Llibre de bons amonestaments* [Book of good admonishments] (ca. 1396–98), *Cobles de la divisió del regne de Mallorca* [Popular songs of the division of the Majorcan Kingdom] (1398), four short, rhymed *Profecies* (ca. 1405 and after), and *Disputa de l'ase* [Dispute of the mule] (ca. 1417–18).

4 For recent discussions on this issue and overview of the scholarly debates see Lourdes María Álvarez, "Anselm Turmeda: The Visionary Humanism of a Muslim Convert and Catalan Prophet," in *Meeting the Foreign in the Middle Ages*, ed. A. Classen (New York, London: Routledge, 2002), 172–79; Ryan Szpiech, "The Original is Unfaithful to the Translation: Conversion and Authenticity in Abner of Burgos and Anselm Turmeda," *eHumanista* 14 (2010): 146–77; and Szpiech, *Conversion and Narrative. Reading and Religious Authority in Medieval Polemic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 200–13.

5 A French translation by J. Spiro appeared in 1886. It was preceded by two translations into Ottoman Turkish published in 1874 and 1876, which are discussed later in the article. Spanish translation was undertaken by Epalza in 1971, in the first edition of his *Fray Anselm Turmeda*. Recently, three translations into English of the introductory, self-narrative part of the *Tuhfa* were published. See Roger Boase, "Autobiography of a Muslim Convert: Anselm Turmeda (c. 1353–c. 1430)," *Al-Masaq* 9 (1996–97): 45–98; Mercedes García-Arenal, "Dreams and Reason: Autobiographies of Converts in Religious Polemics," in *Conversions islamiques: identités religieuses en Islam méditerranéen*, ed. M. García-Arenal (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 2002), 89–118; and Dwight Reynolds (ed.), *Interpreting the Self: Autobiography in the Arabic Literary Tradition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 194–201.

into the social and textual networks as well as religio-political developments that spanned the Mediterranean at the turn of the seventeenth century. In particular, I am interested in bridging the traditionally disconnected academic discussions pertaining to the early modern Iberian, North African and Ottoman history by focusing on a single text whose intriguing trajectory cannot be understood without the insights from all three fields and realization of their inherent connectivity. In the second part of the article, the discussion will take up the issue of the *Tuhfa*'s impact on the Ottoman literary public by examining in detail an unknown Ottoman text from the early seventeenth century that bears a striking resemblance to it. The critical edition and translation into English of this text, ostensibly authored by a former Orthodox Christian priest from Athens c. 1625, is given in the appendix to the article. As it will be argued, a close reading of this text helps to chart out *Tuhfa*'s trajectory from Tunis to Istanbul, raising issues about the appeal of polemical texts of autobiographical nature across confessional boundaries in the age of intense religious debates that gripped both Christian and Muslim communities around the Mediterranean (and beyond) between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Finally, the last part of the paper will be dedicated to the discussion of various Ottoman narratives whose manuscript traditions intersect with that of the *Tuhfa*. I will suggest that, starting in the early seventeenth century, the *Tuhfa* likely became *the* blueprint for the Ottoman polemical self-narratives of conversion. This section will also address the issues of genre and authorship in a broader early modern comparative perspective to examine the reasons behind the *Tuhfa*'s successful transplantation to the Ottoman milieu and its eventual fame as one of the most recognizable Muslim polemics against Christianity.

## 1 Part I—'Abdallāh b. 'Abdallāh al-Tarğumān's *Tuhfa* Travels to the Ottoman Empire

On *zi l-hicce* 20, 1012/May 9, 1604, only a few months after Ottoman Sultan Ahmed I (1603–17) acceded to the throne in Istanbul, a charismatic *šeiḥ* (Sufi elder) from Tunis by the name of Abū'l-Ġayṭ b. Muḥammad al-Qaššāš (d. 1621) dedicated to the young sovereign a copy of 'Abdallāh al-Tarğumān's work whose translation into Ottoman Turkish he commissioned from a certain Muḥammad b. Ša'ban (Tr. Mehmed b. Şa'ban).<sup>6</sup> In his dedication, the *šeiḥ* praises the

<sup>6</sup> Leiden University Library [UBL], Levinus Warner collection, ms Or. 432. For the sheikh's dedication see verso side of the fourth and recto side of the fifth leaf, and for the mention of translator Muḥammad b. Ša'ban's name see folio 2b. For the full description of the manuscript see

sultan, whom he addresses as the “shadow of God on earth” and the “caliph of all Muslims,” for restoring the Muslim community to the path of righteousness (*hidāya*) at the time when adherence to the precepts of Islam was seriously imperiled. Al-Qaššāš also recommends the sultan 'Abdallāh al-Tarġumān's account as an excellent and insightful collection of answers to the infidels and an example of everything that is virtuous.<sup>7</sup>

At this early stage of Sultan Ahmed's reign, it was certainly hard to predict what the young ruler's guiding principles and impact would be. Ahmed I acceded to the throne in the middle of the Thirteen Years War that pitted the Ottomans against the Habsburgs between 1593 and 1606, which was probably perceived by al-Qaššāš and other Muslims in North Africa as a highly meritorious act. Ahmed I was also a sultan who built his image and legitimacy by projecting an aura of piety and religious orthodoxy in the era when the prerogative to define and defend the correct belief and practice became increasingly politicized and contested not only in Europe but in the Ottoman Empire as well.<sup>8</sup> Even if the *šeih's* praise about the sultan's returning the Muslim community to the path of righteousness may have been premature in 1604, he would have approved of Ahmed I's later actions, such as his active diplomatic involvement on behalf of the Morisco refugees from Spain beginning in 1608, and his efforts to facilitate their post-expulsion settlement in North Africa and

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Jan Schmidt, *Catalogue of Turkish Manuscripts in the Library of Leiden University and Other Collections in the Netherlands* (Leiden: Leiden University Library, 2000), 1: 107–10.

7 In the introduction to his translation, which follows the sheikh's dedication, Muḥammad b. Ša'ban also discusses the utility of having a work on the basic principles of faith (of the so-called *aqā'id* genre) accessible in simple Turkish language due to its potential to keep infidelity in check and correct the practices of Muslims who cannot access the works of highly learned men. Furthermore, he reflects on the dangers of distorting the meaning of the original text in Arabic through translation, indicating that the method he would employ will be to give both the original text and its paraphrase in Turkish. See UBL Or. 432, 2a. I thank Rashed Daher for translating this section of the introduction for me.

8 On the process of fashioning of a Sunni religious orthodoxy and its politicization in the Ottoman Empire, which could be related to the debate on “confessionalization” in early modern Europe, see Tijana Krstić, “Illuminated by the Light of Islam and the Glory of the Ottoman Sultanate: Self-Narratives of Conversion to Islam in the Age of Confessionalization,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51, no. 1 (2009): 54–58; and Derin Terzioğlu, “How to Conceptualize Ottoman Sunnitization: A Historiographical Discussion,” *Turcica* 44 (2012–13): 301–38. For developments specifically in Ahmed I's reign see Baki Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire. Political and Social Transformation in the Early Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 46–78; and Krstić, “Contesting Subjecthood and Sovereignty in Ottoman Galata in the Age of Confessionalization: The Carazo Afair, 1613–1617,” *Oriente Moderno* 93 (2013): 422–53.

throughout the Ottoman territories, including Istanbul.<sup>9</sup> According to contemporary accounts, al-Qaššāš was the greatest patron of the Morisco refugees in Tunis, they were central to his social and political projects, and numerous in his circle of disciples.<sup>10</sup> It is possible that by choosing al-Tarġumān's narrative as an appropriate gift for Ahmed I, al-Qaššāš sought to highlight, in addition to his own commitment to faith and the sultan as the caliph of all Muslims, the role of Tunis, its many converts to Islam, and those who, like al-Tarġumān, chose exile and Islam over Christianity (i.e. Moriscos) in upholding the greatness of religion.

According to Mikel de Epalza's study of the manuscript traditions and dispersion of 'Abdallāh al-Tarġumān's work, al-Qaššāš's 1604 commission of its translation into Ottoman Turkish, and the text's subsequent arrival (at an unknown date) in the Ottoman Empire marked the onset of its spread and fame in the Islamic world, where it appears to have been unknown previously.<sup>11</sup> The earliest surviving manuscript of the *Tuhfa* is in fact the one from 1604 containing the dedication to the Ottoman sultan in al-Qaššāš's own hand, which makes the story of this manuscript as well as of the actors involved in its production and their motivation particularly interesting.

We are fortunate to have considerable information about al-Qaššāš's life and activities thanks to abundant contemporary primary sources about him, particularly of Tunisian provenance.<sup>12</sup> However, it is interesting to examine how his Ottoman contemporaries viewed him. According to one of the most detailed sources on his life and deeds, the biographical dictionary of the Ottoman Halveti sheikh and poet Nev'izade Atai (1583–1635), al-Qaššāš belonged to the

9 On Ottoman sultans' including Ahmed I's, involvement with the Morisco issue see Abdeljelil Temimi, *Le Gouvernement Ottoman et le Problème Morisque* (Zaghouan: Centre d'études et de recherches ottomanes, morisques, de documentation et d'information, 1989). See also his "Politique ottomane face à l'expulsion des Morisques and leur passage en France et Venise 1609–10," *Revue d'histoire maghrébine* 79–80 (1995): 397–420 and "Politique Ottomane face à l'implantation et à l'insertion des Morisques en Anatolie," in *L'expulsió dels moriscos*, ed. M. de Epalza (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1994), 164–70.

10 See, for instance, Abdelmajid Turki, "Documents sur le dernier exode des Andalous vers la Tunisie," in *Recueil d'études sur les Moriscos andalous en Tunisie*, ed. M. de Epalza and R. Petit (Madrid: Instituto hispano-árabe de Cultura, 1973), 114–27; and Henri Peri, "L'accueil par des Tunisiens aux Morisques expulsés d'Espagne: un témoignage morisque," in *Recueil d'études*, 128–34.

11 Epalza, *Fray Anselm Turmeda*, 43.

12 For the background see Ahmed Abdesselam, *Les historiens tunisiens des XVIIe, XVIIIe et XIXe siècles* (Tunis: Klincksieck, 1973), 25–6; and Mikel de Epalza, "Sidi Bulgayz, protector de los Moriscos exiliados en Túnez, (s. XVII)," *Sharq al-Andalus* 16–17 (1999–2002): 141–72 and the literature on al-Qaššāš cited there.

Kadiri Sufi order. He enchanted his followers with his miraculous deeds and claims that he was the messianic figure of the Islamic apocalyptic tradition (*mahdī*) whose authority bridged political and spiritual spheres. He used his considerable wealth to set up pious endowments, build schools and bridges, and redeem Muslim slaves traded along the coast of North Africa.<sup>13</sup> From other contemporary sources we learn of al-Qaššāš's intimate involvement with the local political powers like Osman (or *Uṭmān*) *dey*, whose control over the regency between 1598 and 1610 witnessed the reduction of the Ottoman influence in Tunis from a more direct rule by an Istanbul-appointed *paša* to a nominal one. According to the sources, Osman *dey* married al-Qaššāš's daughter, which legitimated his claim to power in Tunis.<sup>14</sup> Osman *dey* also recruited Morisco refugees into his military ranks and like al-Qaššāš aided their integration into Tunisian society.<sup>15</sup> Not only were Moriscos numerous in al-Qaššāš's network of disciples but one aspect of this cooperation was also financing of the corsair expeditions against Christians in the Mediterranean in which Moriscos participated and from which they profited.<sup>16</sup> He was in direct contact with Ottoman authorities in Istanbul where, as Atai's biographical dictionary testifies, he was well known and respected by the highest dignitaries like the chief jurisprudent (*šeyḫülislām*) Yahya Efendi (1622; 1625–32, 1634) even after his death.<sup>17</sup>

Epalza speculates that prior to commissioning the translation of 'Abdallāh al-Tarġumān's work al-Qaššāš may have drawn on the help of a prominent Morisco intellectual and author of other polemical texts, Aḥmad al-Ḥanafī (d. 1650?), who was familiar with the *Tuḥfa* and who may have worked over

13 Nev'izāde Atâi, *Hadâyiku'l-hakâik fi tekmileti's-şakâik*, ed. A. Özcan (İstanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 1989), 652–54.

14 On this relationship see Epalza, "Sidi Bulgayz," 145–48. For general background on Tunisia under the Ottomans in this period see Jamil M. Abun-Nasr, *A History of the Maghrib in the Islamic Period* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 170–71.

15 On this issue see Abdeljelil Temimi, "Evolution d'attitude des autorités de la regence de Tunis face à l'acceptation des Morisques, à la lumière d'un nouveau firman du sultan ottoman," *Revue d'histoire maghrébine* 69–70 (1993), 171–72.

16 On participation of the Moriscos in Tunis in piracy and slave trade in the first half of the seventeenth century see Mikel de Epalza, "Moriscos y andalusíes en Túnez durante el siglo XVII," *Al-Andalus* 34, no. 2 (1969): 247–327; Luis F. Bernabé Pons, "Notas sobre la cohesión de la comunidad morisca más allá su expulsión de España," *Al-Qanṭara* 29, no. 2 (2008): 307–32; Sadok Boubaker, "Activités économiques des morisques et conjuncture dans la régence de Tunis au XVIIe siècle," *Cartas de La Goleta* 2 (2009): 129–38.

17 Atâi, *Hadâyiku'l-hakâik*, 654.

the third section of the treatise.<sup>18</sup> The authenticity of this section of ‘Abdallāh al-Tarğumān’s work has been cast in doubt due to misrepresentations of the Christian dogma that would be surprising coming from a former cleric but more understandable if the section had been composed by someone with a less active knowledge of Christianity.<sup>19</sup> The section also seems to make references to the topics such as indulgences that would suggest a post-Tridentine sensibility of the author.<sup>20</sup> These details led Epalza to speculate that a Morisco author, possibly al-Ḥanafī, was involved in the reworking of the *Tuhfa*. However, given the details that can be reconstructed of al-Ḥanafī’s career, he may not have been the most accessible collaborator for al-Qaššāš in 1604, although he was certainly aware of and used the *Tuhfa* in his polemical works.<sup>21</sup> He departed from the Iberian Peninsula sometime in the early 1600s, resided for an extended time in the Ottoman Empire, where he is said to have studied in Sarajevo and Bursa, and arrived in Tunis only around 1620 where he became a key figure in the local Morisco community and later served as a Hanafi judge of Tunis (1635–38)—a major representative of the Ottoman government’s tenuous influence and sovereignty in Tunisian society that otherwise adhered mostly to Maliki law. Significantly, while in the Ottoman Empire, he seems to have made an acquaintance with the future *ṣeyhülislām* Yahya Efendi who at some point allegedly invited Aḥmad al-Ḥanafī to become the palace imam of sultan Murad IV (1623–40), the honor which he refused on account of preferring to stay in Tunis.<sup>22</sup> However, returning to al-Ḥanafī’s possible role in editing the *Tuhfa*, manuscripts could evidently travel and be jointly commented upon

18 Epalza, *Fray Anselm Turmeda*, 48–49; 166–68. See also his “Nota sobre un nuevo ‘falso’ en árabe, de moriscos en el exilio, antes de la expulsión general (¿Túnez, 1603?): la pseudo-Tuhfa de Turmeda (3a parte),” *Sharq al-Andalus* 18 (2003–7): 133–44. On Aḥmad al-Ḥanafī’s career see Epalza, “Moriscos en Túnez,” 293–97. On his polemical writings see Epalza, “Arabismos en el manuscrito castellano del morisco tunecino Ahmad al-Hanafi,” in *Homenaje a Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes* (Oviedo, Madrid: Universidad de Oviedo, Gredos, 1987), 2: 515–28, and Gerard Wiegers, “European converts to Islam in the Maghrib and the polemical writings of the Moriscos,” in *Conversions islamiques*, 213–18.

19 On the issue of authenticity of this section of the *Tuhfa* see also Alvarez, “Anselm Turmeda,” 184–85, Szpiech, “The Original is Unfaithful to the Translation,” 165; and Szpiech, *Conversion and Narrative*, 204–5.

20 Epalza, *Fray Anselm Turmeda*, 360.

21 Epalza, *Fray Anselm Turmeda*, 49.

22 The main source on al-Ḥanafī’s sojourn in the Ottoman Empire and his connections to the Ottoman intellectuals is the biographical work by an eighteenth-century Tunisian author, a Hanefite of Turkish origin named Husayn Khuḡa (d. 1754), who relied on a variety of sources in Arabic, Persian and Ottoman Turkish. Unfortunately, it is unclear who exactly his source is on al-Ḥanafī’s career. See Ḥusayn Khuḡa, *Dhayl bashā’ir ahl al-īmān bī futūḡāt āl ‘Uthmān*, ed. al-Tahīr al-Mamurī (Tunis/Libya, 1395/1975), 170–71.

by scholars based as far apart as Tunis, Istanbul and Bursa, which does not entirely exclude the possibility of his involvement in the edition that emerged in the early 1600s.<sup>23</sup>

As to the translator of the *Tuḥfa* into Ottoman Turkish, Muḥammad b. Ša'ban, the only concrete biographical detail we learn from his introduction to the work is that he was from Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, a city today in northwestern Syria.<sup>24</sup> Without mentioning this fact, Epalza suggests that the translator could have been a relative of a Muḥammad b. Ša'ban, who was the Hanafi imam of Tunis much later in 1097/1685.<sup>25</sup> Ottoman sources, however, point to another probable candidate by the name of Muḥammad b. Ša'ban. Nev'izade Atai gives a detailed biographical entry on a Muḥammad b. Ša'ban from Trablus in Maghreb (Tripoli, Libya), a learned jurist who came to Istanbul in 1016 AH (1607/8) and became a protégé of the chief jurisprudent Sun'ullah Efendi, reaching the rank of a senior judge (*mollā*). He died in 1020 AH (1611/12) leaving behind many works, among which a compilation of the deeds (*manāqib*) of Abū'l-Ġayt b. Muḥammad al-Qaššāš.<sup>26</sup> While it is true that this biographical entry does not make a reference to Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, other details of the career and timing suggest that this may be the person familiar with al-Qaššāš and accessible to him in 1604 in Maghreb to produce the translation of the *Tuḥfa*. His orientation towards Istanbul and its intellectual and scholarly circles also fits well with the overall circumstances of the manuscript's production and the translator's elaborate dedication of the work to Sultan Ahmed I.

Today, the copy of this manuscript is in the University Library of Leiden where it arrived sometime after the death of Levinus Warner (1619–65), the famous Dutch Orientalist, diplomat, and manuscript collector who seems to have acquired it in Istanbul during his residence there in the 1640s and 50s.<sup>27</sup> Questions abound as to how this copy containing a dedication to the Ottoman sultan ended up in the hands of the Dutch Orientalist. As Jan Schmidt points out, the manuscript does not seem to have entered the imperial library because it does not bear a sultanic cipher (*tuğrā*) or any other marks that would suggest its being processed by the Ottoman palace or a pious endowment (*vakyf*). On the other hand, the dedication in al-Qaššāš's own hand in a characteristic

23 See Wiegiers, "European Converts," 215–18, and Giorgio Levi Della Vida, "Manoscritti Arabi di Origine Spagnola nella Biblioteca Vaticana," *Studi e Testi* 219–220 (1962), 181–84.

24 UBL, ms Or. 432, 2 b.

25 Epalza, *Fray Anselm Turmeda*, 50.

26 Atâi, *Hadâyiku'l-hakâik*, 552.

27 On the history of Warner's collection see Schmidt, *Catalogue of Turkish Manuscripts*, 1: 43–44.

Maghrebi (kufic) script and an ornamental plate suggest that it was intended as a present for the sultan himself.

This manuscript is one among about thousand Arabic, Hebrew, Turkish and Persian manuscripts Warner obtained through various intermediaries in Istanbul and Aleppo. His collection contains several other copies previously owned by intellectuals like Katip Çelebi and Nev'izade Atai, the historian Hasan Beyzade, as well as high Ottoman dignitaries ranging from *şeyhülislām* Sadeddin Efendi and the chief white eunuch Gazanfer Ağa to possibly Sultan Murad IV himself.<sup>28</sup> By looking at Warner's manuscript collection we begin to discern a network of European, Ottoman and North African intellectuals (Muslim, Christian and Jewish) as well as various intermediaries who facilitated the exchange of information, manuscripts, translations, etc. during early to mid seventeenth century<sup>29</sup> Some manuscripts and translations that were copied in and exchanged among Istanbul, North Africa and various European intellectual centers are traceable to the Morisco diaspora. For instance, a Maliki legal manual by Abū Sa'īd Jalaf b. Abī'l-Qāsim al-Azdī al-Qayrawānī al-Barādi'ī (mid-5th/11th century), today found in the Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid, was translated into Spanish and written in Arabic script in Constantinople in 1606 by a certain 'Ali b. Muḥammad b. Hader.<sup>30</sup> More famously, the Spanish version of the *Gospel of Barnabas*, a text purporting to be the long-lost authentic version of the Gospel in which Muḥammad's coming was prophesied by Jesus, was apparently translated from Italian into Spanish in Istanbul by a Morisco named Muṣṭafa de Aranda some time in the first half of the seventeenth century, after which it began to circulate among Moriscos in Tunis as well as various Dutch and English antitrinitarians in Europe.<sup>31</sup> Prior to a copy of it being purchased by Warner, 'Abdallāh al-Tarġumān's *Tuḥfa* was mentioned in the 1630s in the polemical works of the North African-based Moriscos like Aḥmad al-Ḥanafī and Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥaġarī,<sup>32</sup> both of whom had Istanbul connections. These examples shed

28 Schmidt, *Catalogue of Turkish Manuscripts*, 1: 44.

29 On this issue see also Jan Schmidt, "An Ostrich Egg for Goliath; the John Rylands Library Ms Persian 913 and the History of Early Modern Contacts between the Dutch Republic and the Islamic World," in *The Joys of Philology*, ed. J. Schmidt (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2002), 2: 9–74.

30 See Maribel Fierro, "El Tahḏīb de al-Barādi'ī en al-Andalus. A propósito de un manuscrito aljamiado de la Real Academia de la Historia," *Al-Qanṭara* 21, no. 1 (2000): 227–36.

31 Luis F. Bernabé Pons, *El evangelio de San Bernabé, un evangelio islámico español* (Alicante: Universidad de Alicante, 1995), 67: 21–32.

32 Epalza, *Fray Anselm Turmeda*, 49; Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajarī, *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn 'alā'l-qawm al-kāfirīn*, ed. and trans. P. S. Van Koningsveld, Q. al-Samarrai, G. A. Wieggers (Madrid: CSIC, 1997), 216.

light on the broader dynamic of manuscript exchange and circulation, which seems to have affected the destiny of the 1604 copy of ‘Abdallāh al-Tarġumān’s account on its way to and out of Istanbul.

## 2 Part II—‘Abdallāh al-Tarġumān “Meets” Mehmed b. Abdullah of Athens

Epalza’s research suggests that after al-Qaššāš commissioned the translation of the *Tuḥfa* into Ottoman Turkish in 1604, two manuscript families of the text containing the translation appeared in the seventeenth century: the Tunisian (Maghrebi) and the Ottoman one. Other groups of manuscripts containing only the Arabic text begin to appear later, in the eighteenth and especially nineteenth centuries, throughout the Arab-speaking world.<sup>33</sup> The second-oldest surviving manuscript of the translation is the copy today housed at the Süleymaniye Library, dated to AH 1106/1694.<sup>34</sup> This copy, which was commissioned by the treasurer (*hazīnedār*) Şahin Ahmed Ağa as a gift for Sultan Mustafa II (1695–1703), exhibits the characteristic features of Ottoman manuscript illumination.<sup>35</sup> The question is what this manuscript was based on: were there copies of the *Tuḥfa* translation other than the autograph purchased by Warner in the 1640s or 50s circulating in the city, or did another copy arrive from North Africa at some point during the seventeenth century and serve as the basis for the 1694 manuscript? If other manuscripts were in circulation in Istanbul soon after 1604, what was the nature of the Ottoman reception of the *Tuḥfa* before 1694? Do we have any evidence that the text made an impact on the Ottoman audience?

What can be said with certainty is that a copy of the text was available to the Ottoman polymath Katip Çelebi, since he mentions the *Tuḥfa* several times in his bibliographical dictionary written in Arabic, *Kašf az-zunūn ‘an asāmī*

33 For an overview of the manuscript provenances and dates see Epalza, *Fray Anselm Turmeda*, 178.

34 According to Epalza, the second-oldest surviving manuscript of the *Tuḥfa*’s translation into Ottoman Turkish should be the copy located in the library of the Uppsala University that dates to 1059/1649 (Epalza, *Fray Anselm Turmeda*, 175). From the relevant catalogue entry, however, it appears that this manuscript does not actually contain the Turkish translation but only the text in Arabic. Other texts of the miscellany in which the *Tuḥfa* is found are also all in Arabic. See C. Tornberg, *Codices Arabici, Persici et Turcici Bibliothecae Regiae Universitatis Upsaliensis* (Uppsala: Universitas Upsaliensis, 1849), 265–66.

35 Süleymaniye Library [SK], ms Hamidiye 719, 142 a. The manuscript later became part of the endowment (*vakf*) of Sultan Abdülhamid I (1774–89).

*l-kutub wa l-funūn*. It is known that Katip Çelebi's work on the dictionary progressed to the letter *hā* by AH 1063/1652,<sup>36</sup> which would mean that he would have completed his entry on the *Tuhfa* prior to this time. In his entry Katip Çelebi does not mention that the *Tuhfa* had been translated into Turkish, so it is unclear whether he had access to a copy with or without the translation. Regardless, the work was evidently known at least to some members of the Ottoman reading public by the early 1650s, although we can only speculate about the number of circulating manuscripts.

However, I would suggest that the evidence of the *Tuhfa*'s impact on the Ottoman audience soon after 1604 and prior to the 1650s can be discerned not only by following the trace of the surviving copies of the work itself but by expanding our investigation trans-textually and even trans-communally. I therefore contend that the evidence of the *Tuhfa*'s appeal and circulation can be found in an untitled conversion narrative-cum-polemical treatise in Ottoman Turkish, written at the latest in the month of Ramadan 1034 (June–July, 1625)—the date borne by the oldest surviving manuscript found to date. Ostensibly it was authored by a certain Mehmed b. Abdullah, a former Orthodox Christian priest originally from Athens who converted to Islam in the presence of Sultan Ahmed I, presumably sometime between 1603 and 1608.<sup>37</sup> The authorship of this account is a particularly intriguing question to which we must return. However, for the sake of convenience, in the ensuing discussion I will refer to the author as “Mehmed b. Abdullah,” a Christian convert to Islam from Athens, as the narrator introduces himself in the opening sentence.

Unknown until recently and heretofore unpublished, this narrative figures as one of the key texts for understanding the social, textual and linguistic dimensions of conversion to Islam in the Ottoman Empire in general, and in the seventeenth century in particular.<sup>38</sup> Despite significant differences

36 See Gottfried Hagen, “Katib Çelebi,” in *Historians of the Ottoman Empire* (accessible at <http://ottomanhistorians.uchicago.edu/en/historian/katib-celebi> [accessed on 25/10/2024]).

37 I have been able to consult four copies of the narrative, the oldest of which is Ms Reisülküt-tab 800, 153b–159b, housed at Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul and dated to the month of Ramadan 1034/June–July 1625. Other manuscripts include a copy from the month of Ramadan 1035/May–June 1626 also located in Süleymaniye Library, Ali Nihat Tarlan 144, 57b–60a; an eighteenth-century copy located in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek under the call number N. F. 380, 227b–231a, and (most likely) a nineteenth-century copy located in Süleymaniye Library under the call number of Giresun Yazmaları 171/3, 46b–51b.

38 I introduced and briefly analyzed this narrative in Krstić, “Illuminated by the Light of Islam.” See also Krstić, *Contested Conversions to Islam: Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2011), 110–12.

between the *Tuḥfa* and Mehmed b. Abdullah's narrative, especially in terms of length, style, and specific polemical arguments used to bolster the case of Islam's superiority over Christianity, similarities in the basic narrative framing of the authors' conversion stories are striking and hard to dismiss as a mere coincidence. As it will be argued below, Mehmed b. Abdullah's account appears inspired by the first, autobiographical part of 'Abdallāh b. 'Abdallāh al-Tarġumān's narrative, and possibly by some aspects of the Chapters III and IX of the polemical third part.

Like 'Abdallāh b. 'Abdallāh al-Tarġumān, Mehmed b. Abdullah opens his account with a sentence about his place of origin—in his case Athens—which is described as “the source of philosophical sciences” (*menba‘-i ‘ulūm-i hikemīye*). Just like the *Tuḥfa*'s author, he also begins the story with his education: he states that in this city he was raised and educated as a Christian in theological and philosophical, Greek sciences (*fünūn-i Yūnāniyye*).<sup>39</sup> Incidentally, we know that at the turn of the seventeenth century Athens became something of a hub for neo-Aristotelian teachings thanks to Theophilos Corydalleus (1563–1646) who studied with Cesare Cremonini in Padua and established an academy in Athens sometime in the early 1600s, before becoming the Director of the Academy of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople in 1624.<sup>40</sup> Both authors therefore seem to have shared the exposure to the Aristotelian approach to the theological curriculum.<sup>41</sup>

In a further parallel to al-Tarġumān's account, Mehmed states that early on into his education he became aware of certain contradictions and forebodings in the scriptures, which he nevertheless ignored at first. However, with God's guidance he immersed himself in the study of the Old and New Testaments as well as the Psalms only to discover that many of the verses offered definite proof of the prophecy of “that pearl of the sea of existence, the spiritual teacher of the lovers of God, that brightly shining moon, Muḥammad Muṣṭafa (peace be upon him) and confirm[ed] the eternity of his religion and sacred law.” Hereafter Mehmed begins to introduce and interpret the “true” meaning of those verses from the scriptures that, according to him, announced the prophecy of Muḥammad. In order to display his expert knowledge, he cites those verses in Greek but transcribes them in Arabic script with vowel

39 Ali Nihat Tarlan 144, 57 b; Reisülküttab 800, 153 b.

40 See Steven Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 222, and Gerhard Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie in der Zeit der Türken-schaft (1481–1821)* (München: C. H. Beck Verlag, 1987), 194–95.

41 For Abdullah al-Tarġumān's educational trajectory see Epalza, *Fray Anselm Turmeda*, 204–6, and Boase, “Autobiography,” 47–49.

signs. Following the quotations in Greek, Mehmed interprets their meaning in Turkish and argues that the traditional Christian interpretation of these verses is incorrect. While his choice of representative verses overlaps in some cases with al-Tarğumān's in the article IX of the third part of the *Tuhfa* that is devoted to proofs of Muḥammad's prophetic character found in the scriptures, it also diverges significantly enough in both presentation and interpretation to suggest that, in this respect, Mehmed could have been influenced by another polemical source as well. All in all, he addresses far fewer Old Testament passages than al-Tarğumān and his discussion of the New Testament has a different emphasis.

For instance, the first verse that he discusses is Genesis 49:10, not mentioned by al-Tarğumān, stating that "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and unto him shall the gathering of the people be." Mehmed comments:

The meaning of this passage is that Jacob addresses his noble sons and says "Oh my sons, the line of prophecy and political dominion will not be cut off from you until he comes. After he arrives, they will be cut off. The whole world is awaiting his arrival."

The Christian teachers of the Torah claim falsely that when Jacob says "he will come," he is in fact referring to the promised arrival of Jesus.

Mehmed explains that "the divers in the sea of meanings" understand that Jacob could not have had Jesus's arrival in mind because, even after his arrival Israel continued to exist and be prosperous, so it is obvious that its political dominion was not cut off. Mehmed then explains that this happened only after the coming of Muḥammad.<sup>42</sup>

Next Mehmed turns to the interpretation of the verse he says he found in the Torah. He is apparently referring to Deuteronomy 18: 18–19, which is also cited by al-Tarğumān. However, what Mehmed is in fact citing is Acts 3:22–23 that paraphrase these verses, which suggests his greater familiarity with the New than with the Old Testament: "... A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren, like unto me ... And it shall come to pass, that every soul, which will not hear that prophet, shall be destroyed from among the people."<sup>43</sup> Here he explains that Moses, to whom the verses are ascribed in Deuteronomy, promised the arrival of a prophet who would not be of Israelite

42 Ali Nihat Tarlan 144, 58 a-b; Reisülküttab 800, 155 a.

43 Ali Nihat Tarlan 144, 58 b; Reisülküttab 800, 155 b–156 a.

lineage but would come “from the branch of a tree of a different garden” and would be born “of a father and a mother,” unlike Jesus.

As the proof of Muḥammad's coming he next cites the verses from Psalm 72, which is also used by al-Tarġumān, although the latter's selection of precise lines to include is slightly different.<sup>44</sup> These verses state:

In his days shall the righteous flourish; and abundance of peace so long as the moon endureth. He shall have dominion also from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth. They that dwell in the wilderness shall bow before him; and his enemies shall lick the dust ... Yea, all kings shall fall down before him.

Mehmed comments on this as follows:

In other words, God says to David (peace be upon him): “After you I shall send a prophet bearing a sacred law, the lights of whose seal of prophecy will scatter rays to the east and west. The first of his community who will follow him will be of the Arab people. Those obstinate ones who oppose him will be overcome and abased. The rulers of the world will make his law a collar on the neck of obedience. His religion and law will last until the Day of Judgment.” As before, the band of opponents engages in nonsensical interpretation and once again say that it refers to Jesus. Since the reply to them is very apparent, there is no need to go into particulars.<sup>45</sup>

Then Mehmed switches to the discussion of the Gospels:

Let it be known that the writers of the Gospels were four of the apostles who were falcons fettered by unbreakable bonds to the company of Jesus (peace be upon him) and whose inspired words they registered in the pages of the Gospels. Consequently the Gospels consist of four parts known after their authors as the Gospels of John, Matthew, Luke and Mark.<sup>46</sup>

Unlike al-Tarġumān, Mehmed does not immediately dismiss the validity of the Gospels. In fact, unlike al-Tarġumān and other Muslim polemicists, he does not engage in attack on any particular aspect of Christian dogma, such as

44 Epalza, *Fray Anselm Turmeda*, 486.

45 Ali Nihat Tarlan 144, 58 b–59 a; Reisülküttab 800, 156 b.

46 Ali Nihat Tarlan 144, 59 a; Reisülküttab 800, 156 b–157 a.

the concept of Trinity or Jesus's divinity. Perhaps most surprisingly, given the importance of the notion of *paraclete* (Gr. "helper," "comforter," "advocate") in both al-Tarğumān's and Muslim anti-Christian polemical tradition, Mehmed does not discuss this issue at all. He makes only a passing reference to the Gospel of John where *paraclete*—the term interpreted by Muslim polemicists as a code word for Muḥammad—is mentioned.<sup>47</sup> He comments:

The Gospel of John contains the verbal description of Muḥammad, but since deviant Christians followed an interpretation of these words that was unacceptable, they fell into the pit of rebellion and were unable to save their necks from the deception of rebellion.<sup>48</sup>

Rather, he chooses to bolster his argument that Jesus announced Muḥammad's arrival in the Gospel by relying on what he introduces as a passage from the Gospel of Matthew. However, what he is in fact citing is a combination of John 1:15 and Luke 3:16, both of which paraphrase Matthew 3:11. This, along with other previously mentioned substitutions of the verses he is making, suggests that the author may not have had the actual text of the Bible in front of him while composing the text but rather wrote from memory. This is how he argues his case:

The meaning is that Jesus says: "The one who will come after, who was created before me, I am not worthy to untie the strap of his sandal." It is well known that in explaining these passages the nonsensical Christians and the envious Jews make claims that identify the bearer of the prophetic mission spoken of in these verses either [for the Christians] as Jesus or [for the Jews] as the awaited Messiah, citing numerous untenable premises to support their deficient opinions ... Advocating their claims in this way, they say that these devotion-causing words about the acceptance of

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47 The sections of the Gospel of John (Chapters 14–16) where Jesus foretells the coming of Paraclete to his disciples were some of the earliest parts of the New Testament to be "translated" into Arabic. Ibn Ishaq (d. c. 767), for instance, refers to John 15:26: "But when the Comforter (παράκλητος) is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of truth, which proceedeth from the Father, he shall testify of me." Muslim polemicists claimed that this word should be read as *periclytos*, which translates as "the praised one," or *Aḥmad* in Arabic, which is one of the names of Muḥammad. See Sidney H. Griffith, "The Gospel in Arabic: An Inquiry into its Appearance in the First Abbasid Century," *Oriens Christianus* 69 (1985), 137–43. On *paraclete* in Turmeda's account see Epalza, *Fray Anselm Turmeda*, 212–14, 480–84.

48 Ali Nihat Tarlan 144, 59 a; Reisülküttab 800, 157 a.

servitude and bonds of submission that are implied in the untying of the strap of the sandal were uttered by John (the Baptist) about Jesus. However, it is not concealed from those who wear [lit. cover themselves] with the cloak of veracity and justice that the apostles' stream of belief was free from the rubbish of polytheism and obstinacy. The above-mentioned passage, being the words of Jesus, was recorded in the pages of the Gospel and has circulated among them from that time until now. So it is obvious that their recourse to such nonsensical interpretation is simply the lack of anything to lean on.<sup>49</sup>

This is a significant departure from the traditional line of argumentation by Muslim polemicists with Christianity, since it suggests that the Gospels and the evangelists were free of polytheism and that it was the interpretation of the text rather than the text of the Gospels themselves that was faulty.

Seeking to relate to the reader the process by which his spiritual and intellectual feverishness was increasing over time and how troubled he was becoming by the gradual realization of the truth of Muḥammad's prophecy contained in the Scriptures, before every next verse Mehmed describes the increasingly troubled state of his consciousness. These introspective sections are enhanced by Persian verses composed specially for the account or drawn from such classics of Persian poetry as Ġalāl ad-Dīn Rūmī's *Maṭnawī*, Hilālī Chaġatāyī's *Šāh u Darwīš* and Nizāmī Ganġavī's *Husraw u Šīrīn*.<sup>50</sup> All verses contain imagery of an intense spiritual struggle, conjuring up the notion of the truth that is hidden behind a sequence of veils, and gradual illumination of Mehmed's soul by the light of Islam. The poetic vocabulary of the Persian Sufi tradition in fact pervades the entire text: the central figure of the truth seeker, i.e. the future convert Mehmed, is represented as a diver for the pearls in the sea of truth, while the verses that he sees as implicit announcements of Muḥammad's prophecy are described as a pearl necklace and Muḥammad himself as the largest, most valuable pearl of creation. By weaving in the imagery of light central to Sufi tradition, as well as various animal- and garden-related metaphors typical of the Ottoman divan poetry, the text aims to build up the author's credentials as a cultural broker versed in both non-Muslim scriptural tradition and the high register of the Ottoman literary idiom.

Although in the text Mehmed's agitation caused by understanding the scriptural verses' deeper meaning seems to reach the crescendo after his discussion of Mathew 3:11, and his realization that Islam is the true confession

49 Ali Nihat Tarlan 144, 59 a; Reisülküttab 800, 157 a.

50 I thank my colleague Ferenc Csirkés for identifying the provenance of these verses.

begins to haunt him unbearably, he writes that he still could not summon the courage to break with the customs and rites of his ancestors and reject “the gir-dle of unbelief.” He therefore sets out on a journey around the “lands of Rum” (which could denote Ottoman European domains but possibly also Anatolia) with the plan of seeking out the most knowledgeable priests who could resolve his dilemmas and settle the matter of the verses’ meaning once and for all. He describes his journey as going from town to town and village to village and participating in debates with various clergymen but without a desired outcome. Finally, he decides to go to Rome:

While I was in this state of bewilderment it occurred to me that all the learned men from the ranks of the infidels are in great Rome, that is also known as the Red Apple, the place of abode of the Pope who resolves all doubts. So I went there with the purpose of resolving the matter. I resided there for four years and diligently inquired into the thoughts of the erring sects. I was amazed to see all of them wandering in the wilderness of error.

The fact that an Orthodox Christian from Athens would seek clarification on religious issues in Rome should not surprise us. As it was mentioned above, in the early seventeenth century a neo-Aristotelian and a graduate of the university in Padua, Corydalleus, founded the academy of Athens. Already beginning in the 1570s Greek-speaking youths from the Ottoman Empire had the option of studying at the Greek College in Rome established by Pope Gregory XIII with the expressed purpose of promoting Catholicism among the Orthodox. The presence of Franciscan and Jesuit missionaries (the latter since the late sixteenth century) in the Ottoman lands, particularly in Rumeli, Constantinople, and along the Aegean coast, also led to an increased exposure of the Ottoman Orthodox Christians to the teachings of the post-Tridentine Catholic church. Moreover, since the second half of the sixteenth century and well into the seventeenth, the Orthodox Patriarchs in Constantinople themselves continuously wavered among professing allegiance to the Pope, embracing one of the Protestant denominations, or keeping to the Orthodoxy that was itself being redefined at this time as a consequence of the polemical dialogue with Islam, Calvinism, Lutheranism and post-Tridentine Catholicism.<sup>51</sup>

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51 On this issue see Krstić, *Contested Conversions to Islam*, 121–42.

One of the cornerstones of the Tridentine reforms—the sacrament of penance and its main protagonist, the confessor—in fact features prominently in the text. Mehmed writes:

One of the current practices of the infidels is that they choose from among themselves a knowledgeable and experienced priest who is advanced in years and appoint him to a certain place. Whoever has doubts, whether religious or worldly, reveals them to him and gets his reply. He in turn does not disclose the questions he is asked, even if the matter is a capital offense; and if he does, he is removed from that office. This priest who can be trusted for advice is called in Greek *pneumatikos* and in Latin *confessor*.

Interestingly, in Part III, Chapter III of the *Tuḥfa* we also find a discussion of the sacrament of penance and the role of confessors in Latin Christendom, particularly in the city of Rome, that prompted scholars to speculate that this section was a later addition to the text. After giving a similar explanation of the confessors' function like Mehmed, 'Abdallāh al-Tarḡumān dismisses them as sinful and no more worthy of absolving one of sins than an average person, and confession as no more than a way for the priests to enrich themselves.<sup>52</sup> While Mehmed does not voice this exact criticism, his dismissal of the confessors and their competence is implicit in his final critique of the Christian priestly establishment's blind clinging to error.

Mehmed says that he considered the fact that talking about Islam openly could be dangerous and therefore decided to seek out a confessor to share his concerns privately. Interestingly, the notion that the truth seeker might face danger and even death for bringing up the fact that the scriptural verses point to Islam as a religion that guarantees salvation figure in both accounts.<sup>53</sup> The episode of the conversation with the priest/confessor is the culmination of both al-Tarḡumān's and Mehmed's narrative, serving as a direct prelude to their respective conversions to Islam. Mehmed writes:

I went to that priest's place of seclusion, showed him the above-mentioned texts, and began to expound the heart-burning secret that was fixed in my nature. When he saw the deep trouble and confusion in me, he heaved a throat-burning and house-melting sigh, drew his head into the shirt-neck of perplexity and stood there for a while. Then gazing at

52 Epalza, *Fray Anselm Turmeda*, 360–67.

53 Epalza, *Fray Anselm Turmeda*, 218–21.

me with the eye of longing he said: "Oh sorrowful one of the community of Jesus! If you remain constant in showing respect to the Christian rite with its ancestral rituals, the interpretation of the ancients, constantly repeated, is well known. Otherwise, if you turn in the direction of error and follow the siren call of personal interpretation (*ictihād*) ... the plain meaning of these letters and words is manifest and there is no possibility of other meanings. Accordingly, it is known and supported by scriptural authority, without regard to defects [in the argument?], who is referred to in these passages. For the preservation of the ancestors, refuge was sought in the margin of interpretation. If your desire is to respect the ancestral cloak, which is required by the human sense of honor, then stay with that. Otherwise, removing the curtain of custom in the lands of the Franks and unfurling the banner of the religion of Islam will condemn you to sacrificing your head. Do what you think is right!"

Upon hearing that, Mehmed concludes that the entire Christian ecclesiastical establishment is guilty of leading the people into heresy and confusion.<sup>54</sup>

In the final act of this spiritual drama, which again parallels al-Tarḡumān's account, the author writes:

I immediately turned the reins of intention in the direction of Islam. Passing over hill and dale, rolling up the stages of my journey, I arrived at the center of the circle of the pillar of Islam, the seat of the caliphs, Constantinople. Through the intercession of the teacher of the late Sultan Ahmed Han (may God grant him mercy and forgiveness) I entered the imperial council. That is to say, under the watchful imperial gaze of the late Sultan Ahmed Han himself, I received instruction in Islam in the glorious divan and my name became Mehemmed [Muḥammad] by the sultan's own designation. After that, I exchanged my priestly garment for the splendid sultanic robe of honor and my Christian locks were shaved by the Ahmadian razor. I became a torch kindled by the light of religion and a slave in the court of the sultanic state. Finally, I did not know how to write Turkish language; my utmost desire was to withdraw into a corner of the imperial harem and occupy myself with learning the Qur'an and Muslim worship, so that eventually I would become laden with presents appropriate to my status.<sup>55</sup>

54 Ali Nihat Tarlan 144, 59 b–60 a; Reisülküttab 800, 159 a–159 b.

55 Ali Nihat Tarlan 144, 60a; Reisülküttab 800, 159 b.

Like al-Tarġumān, who benefitted from the intercession of the court doctor Yusuf al-Tabib, Mehmed claims that he relied on the mediation of the sultan's teacher (*hoca*), most likely the powerful Mustafa Efendi (d.ca. 1608) who was not only the royal tutor but early on in the young sovereign's reign his co-regent as well.<sup>56</sup> The date of Mustafa Efendi's death would then figure as the *terminus ante quem* for the dating of Mehmed's conversion. It is important that both authors claim to have converted in the presence of the sultan and with the sovereign's active participation in the ceremony, ending their accounts with the description of the beneficence bestowed upon them as a result.

I have argued elsewhere that this triangulation among the convert, the Sultan and God in Ottoman self-narratives of conversion since the mid sixteenth century is a reflection of the Ottoman participation in a broader early modern age of "confessionalization," usually described as a simultaneous building of early modern state and religious identity.<sup>57</sup> As the sixteenth century progressed and with it the political and religious rivalry of the Ottomans with the Catholic Habsburgs on the one hand and Shi'a Safavids on the other, the Ottomans moved towards a stricter definition of and enforcement of a Sunni orthodoxy that became central to their state and dynastic legitimacy.<sup>58</sup> With religion and politics intertwined in this new way, conversion to Islam ceased to be an event of local importance and became tantamount to an act of pledging political allegiance to the Ottoman sultan.

As recent research suggests, the ritual of conversion in the imperial palace as well as circumcision by surgeon on the premises and dispensation of the new clothes and sometimes governmental positions to the converts became formalized precisely during Ahmed I's time.<sup>59</sup> This new visibility of the conversion ritual was part and parcel of the overall imperial policy that was increasingly emphasizing sultanic piety and religious orthodoxy as the key aspect of the

56 On Yusuf al-Tabib see Epalza, *Fray Anselm Turmeda*, 224–26. On Mustafa Efendi, Sultan Ahmed I's tutor, see Günhan Börekci, "Factions and Favorites at the Court of Sultan Ahmed I (r. 1603–1617) and His Immediate Predecessors" (PhD Thesis, The Ohio State University, 2010), 95–108.

57 See Krstić, *Contested Conversions to Islam*, 12–16, 98–120. The question of whether or not "confessionalization" necessarily had to involve the state has been much debated since the concept was first suggested in the context of early modern Habsburg history, in the late 1970s/ early 1980s. On this issue see Ute Lotz-Heumann, "The Concept of 'Confessionalization'—A Historiographical Paradigm in Dispute," *Memoria y Civilización* 4 (2001): 93–114.

58 On this issue see Terzioğlu, "How to Conceptualize," and Guy Burak, "Faith, law and empire in the Ottoman 'age of confessionalization' (fifteenth – seventeenth centuries): the case of 'renewal of faith,'" *Mediterranean Historical Review* 28, no.1 (2013): 1–23.

59 Krstić, "Illuminated by the Light of Islam," 58.

Ottoman dynastic legitimacy at the time when it was challenged by a variety of internal and external actors—a trend that would intensify towards the middle of the seventeenth century and take on various forms of social disciplining previously unseen in the Ottoman context.<sup>60</sup> One could argue that, in light of the fact that ‘Abdallāh al-Tarğumān’s conversion narrative highlights the relationship among the convert, his new religion/God, and the sultan/patron, it is perhaps not accidental that it attracted particular attention and began to be disseminated only in the early seventeenth century, in the new atmosphere in which self narratives of conversion become weapons in the multi-directional religio-political struggle within and between Christendom and Islamdom.

While, as it was shown above, Mehmed’s narrative was not a close copy of al-Tarğumān’s *Tuhfa*, it nevertheless displays three crucial parallels to it: (1) it opens with an auto-biographical section discussing the place of origin and theological education leading to doubts about the convert’s ancestral religion that strikingly resembles al-Tarğumān’s introduction; (2) it continues with a polemical part that displays the convert’s knowledge of the scriptures in the language spoken by his Christian community (in this case Greek); (3) it ends with the scene of conversion to Islam in the presence of the Muslim ruler (in this case, the Ottoman sultan) and with references to the imperial patronage that followed upon conversion. Furthermore, like al-Tarğumān’s account, it features the scene of encounter with a knowledgeable priest whose interpretation of the scriptural verses causing the future convert’s confusion unequivocally points to the true religion and constitutes the decisive moment in the latter’s intention to embrace Islam. The existence of this scene and its identical function in both accounts by itself strongly suggests a close intertextual relationship.

Although there is no conclusive proof that Mehmed (or another possible editor of this work) read the *Tuhfa*, circumstantial evidence strongly suggests that this was the case. This evidence is based primarily on the study of medieval and early modern self-narratives of conversion to Islam among which al-Tarğumān’s account stands out for its novel characteristics. Most notably, in the *Tuhfa* the narrative of conversion moves, in Ryan Szpiech’s words, “from its position as an afterthought to its prominence as the opening frame of the entire discussion to follow.”<sup>61</sup> Rather than constituting an appendix to the polemical

60 Marc Baer, *Honored by the Glory of Islam* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008); Derin Terzioğlu, “Where İlm-i hal Meets Catechism: Islamic Manuals of Religious Instruction in the Ottoman Empire in the Age of Confessionalization,” *Past & Present* 220 (2013): 79–114.

61 Szpiech, *Conversion and Narrative*, 207. Szpiech has argued that al-Tarğumān’s account resembles the medieval Christian models of conversion narrative by Augustine and

work that precedes it, which was the case with earlier known self-narratives of conversion to Islam, in al-Tarġumān's text the author's personal background is directly connected to the polemical content. This notion that conversion to Islam is the culmination of one's personal experience of search for the truth is structurally even more perfected in Mehmed b. Abdullah's account. Here the polemical section is not elaborated separately, as in the *Tuḥfa*, but integrated into the narrative that culminates in the scene of conversion to Islam. Compared with the only earlier Ottoman self-narrative of conversion to Islam, the polemical treatise of Murad b. Abdullah written in 1556/7 (to which an autobiographical section is added ten years later and can be described as an "afterthought"),<sup>62</sup> Mehmed b. Abdullah's as well as subsequent Ottoman self-narratives of conversion (to be discussed below) closely follow in terms of narrative structure and polemical images and tropes the model set by the *Tuḥfa*, which was re-discovered in the early seventeenth century. Based on this, it would appear that the *Tuḥfa*, whether in Arabic or with its translation into Turkish, was familiar to some readers in the Ottoman Empire already by 1625 and made a considerable impact on the developing Ottoman polemical genre of self-narratives of conversion to Islam.

### 3 Part III—The Questions of Authorship and Genre in the Formation of an Ottoman Corpus of Polemical Texts

The final comment in Mehmed's account on his lack of facility with "Turkish language" together with the fact that the two oldest manuscript copies located so far give the name of a certain *kadı* (judge) Mahmud bin Hasan as the text's *müellif* raises questions about the account's authorship. In modern Turkish, the term *müellif* denotes the "author, writer, editor or compiler" and thus implies some sort of authorship of the text. What was meant by the same term in seventeenth-century Ottoman Turkish is more equivocal and some scholars have recently argued that it does not necessarily imply originality but may stand for a "creative mediation" or arrangement of the text's sections.<sup>63</sup> It is certainly pos-

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Petrus Alfonsi much more than other, earlier narratives of conversion to Islam; see Szpiech, *Conversion and Narrative*, 201, 208.

62 For a detailed analysis of this narrative and its relationship to other Muslim self-narratives of conversion see Krstić, "Illuminated," and Krstić, *Contested Conversions*, 79–80, 98–120.

63 On this issue see Saliha Paker, "Translation, the Pursuit of Inventiveness and Ottoman Poetics: A Systemic Approach," in *Culture Contacts and the Making of Cultures*, ed. R. Sela-Sheffy and G. Toury (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 2011), 459–74.

sible that in the more than ten years that passed between his conversion and writing of the account sometimes after 1617, Mehmed the convert—assuming he is a real person—mastered the Persianate sociolect of the elite Ottoman literary culture and authored this account himself. However, one could also allow for a possibility that Mehmed the convert shared his expertise in Greek language and Christian scriptures with a Muslim author versed in Ottoman literary style to coproduce an elaborately ornate and learned account that was not easily accessible in its full linguistic scope to many of his contemporaries. Like al-Tarğumān's account, this narrative may therefore also be the work of multiple editors who nevertheless maintained the fiction of a personal conversion story in a cultural and religious climate in which such a genre was increasingly becoming meaningful. Such partnerships between the convert insufficiently experienced in the sacral language and/or literary idiom of the new religious group he joined and a cultural impresario willing to promote his cause with the new audience are evident in other contemporary conversion narratives from non-Ottoman contexts as well.<sup>64</sup>

Given Mehmed b. Abdullah's/ Mahmud b. Hasan's highly ornate literary and multi-lingual style, it is perhaps surprising that this polemical conversion narrative was popular enough to be copied in the centuries after its composition. One indication of who the audience for this account may have been is the textual context in which it is found in the existing copies. For instance, the copy from 1035/1626 is found in a miscellany (*mecmū'a*) with twelve other works of poetry by well-known, mostly Istanbul-based poets of the early seventeenth century.<sup>65</sup> The copy from 1034/1625, on the other hand, is in a *mecmū'a* with a work on the deeds of the Prophet and another work of religious nature.<sup>66</sup> [Interestingly, another copy that came to my attention only after completing the original version of this article, found in a *mecmū'a* dating from ca. 1680

64 See, for instance, the narrative of "Don Juan of Persia" in Guy Le Strange (ed.), *Don Juan of Persia: A Shi'ah Catholic, 1560–1604* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1926), 299. See also Peter Mazur and Abigail Shinn, "Introduction: Conversion Narratives in the Early Modern World," *Journal of Early Modern History* 17 (2013): 427–36, especially 429.

65 These are Nev'i Mehmed Efendi Ma'alkaravi (d. 1598)'s *Netā'icū'l-Fünūn*, Veysi Üveys b. Mehmed Alaşehir (d. 1628)'s *Vak'ā-nāme* (or *Hāb-nāme*) and *Dīvān*, Nef'i Ömer b. Muhammed Erzurumi (d. 1635)'s *Dīvān* and *Kasā'id*, Riyazi Mehmed b. Mustafa Birgili (d. 1645)'s *Kasā'id* and *Sākī-nāme*, Kara Çelebi-zade Abd el-Aziz b. Hüsam ed-dīn (d. 1657)'s *Gülşen-i Niyāz*, Hakanī Mehmed Bey (d. 1606)'s *Hilyetü'n-Nebī*, Ruhi Osman Bagdadi (d. 1605)'s *Terkīb-i Bend*, and Fa'izi Kaf-zade Abd el-Hayy (d. 1621)'s *Leylā ve Mecnūn*. See Ali Nihat Tarlan 144, Süleymaniye Library.

66 See Reisülkuttab 800, Süleymaniye Library. The *mecmū'a* contains another two works entitled *Menākīb-ı Seyyidül-Mürselīn* and *Tirāz-ı zeyl-i sühan*. The names of the authors are not given.

and containing various works by the famous Ottoman poet, writer and judge Veysi (Üveys b. Mehmed Alaşehir) who died in 1628, explicitly states that he was, in fact, the author of this conversion narrative, which he wrote based on the story told by the priest from Athens.<sup>67</sup> Other circumstantial evidence suggests that this is a plausible attribution: for instance, as Ercan Akyol has pointed out, there is a certificate (*tezkiye*) that Veysi recorded in one of his miscellanies, most probably during his service as a *kadi* (judge) in one of the various locations in Rumeli and Anatolia, given to two European (*efrenc*) Jews who converted to Islam, which suggests that he was interested in instances of non-Muslims embracing Islam.<sup>68</sup> Although he is best known for his mirror-for-princes work entitled *Habnâme*, dedicated to Sultan Ahmed I, Veysi's other works point to an author deeply interested in piety, devotion to the Prophet, and sincerity in faith, whose high-voluted, ornate prose very much resembles that of our conversion narrative and is contemporary to it.<sup>69</sup> Furthermore, Veysi belonged to the intellectual circle around *şeyhülislām* Yahya Efendi, who, as we saw above, was directly involved in the communication with al-Qaššāš—the man who had commissioned the Ottoman translation of al-Tarġumān's narrative in 1604.<sup>70</sup> It is, thus, highly likely that Veysi was privy to this text and/or its translation at the very moment or shortly after its arrival in the Ottoman capital, and could use it as a model for our priest's conversion narrative.

By the eighteenth century, however, the text seems to have become disconnected from the collections of poetry and prose by literati from Veysi's circle and inserted into a different context]. The account begins to appear together with other Ottoman polemical narratives that boasted translation of the scriptures, their transliteration into Arabic script, and a personal conversion story. In fact, one could argue that by the early eighteenth century a "corpus"<sup>71</sup> of Ottoman self-narratives of conversion emerged showcasing their authors' ability to

67 [Nurosmaniye 3292, 323b. I am very grateful to İsmail Emre Pamuk and Günhan Börekçi, who brought this manuscript to my attention].

68 ["İki Nefer Efrenc Yahudi Müselman Oldukda Viridiği Tezkiredir," Münşeat Mecmuası, T 1526, 250b, İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi. I am very grateful to Ercan Akyol for this personal communication.]

69 [For instance, he authored a work on the profession of Muslim faith entitled *Şehadet-nâme* (also sometimes known as *Fezâil-i Kelime-i Tevhîd* (On the Excellence of the Words Proclaiming Oneness of God), as well as a very popular work on the life of the Prophet, entitled *Dürretü't-Tâc fî-Sireti Sâhibi'l-Mî'râc*].

70 [See Aslı Niyazioğlu, *Dreams and Lives in Ottoman Istanbul: A Seventeenth-Century Biographer's Perspective* (London, New York: Routledge, 2017), 26–8. The circle also included the biographer Nev'izade Atai, who left us the key details about Yahya Efendi's relationship with al-Qaššāš.]

71 See note 81 below.

argue the case of Islam by refuting Jewish and Christian scriptures in their original languages, making this issue central to their authenticity and “value” as converts.

In addition to the translation of al-Tarğumān’s account into Ottoman Turkish and Mehmed b. Abdullah’s account, this “corpus” included a text in Ottoman Turkish entitled *Keşfü’l-esrār fi ilzāmī’l-Yehūd v’el-ahbār* [Unveiling the Secrets of Compelling the Jews and the Rabbis (to accept the proofs of Islam)], ostensibly by a Jewish convert named Yusuf ibn Ebi Abdi’d-Deyyan, that can be dated to 1651 and of which seven copies have been identified so far.<sup>72</sup> This text begins with a first-person conversion narrative that bears interesting parallels to Mehmed’s and al-Tarğumān’s accounts in that it emphasizes the author’s education in traditional rabbinical learning, his growing doubts from his childhood to his mature age about the truth of the Jewish scriptures, the evidence of Muḥammad’s prophecy that he eventually finds in the verses of the Torah that leads to his rejection of his ancestral religion and conversion to Islam. While we can certainly find the same tropes of the converts’ education and portrayal of their conversion as a rational decision based on scriptural proofs in other earlier Jewish narratives of conversion to both Islam and Christianity, it is the preeminence of this motive in both contemporary European and Ottoman conversion narratives that is of particular concern here. The polemical part of the account is a translation into Ottoman Turkish of Ahmed Taşköprüzade’s anti-Jewish polemical tract written in Arabic in the sixteenth century, although the author does not acknowledge this fact in the text.<sup>73</sup>

Furthermore, in a move similar to Mehmed’s, the author transcribes the verses from the Hebrew Bible in Arabic script and translates them into Ottoman Turkish, which, as Judith Pfeiffer points out in her study of this narrative, may be the earliest translations of the Torah into Ottoman Turkish. Given that the narrative also features references to intra-Jewish polemics and authors not cited in Ottoman anti-Jewish polemical narratives before, it seems that in this case we are also dealing with a creative author/editor who drew on his

72 For a detailed discussion of this text and translation into English of its autobiographical part see Judith Pfeiffer, “Confessional Polarization in the 17th-Century Ottoman Empire and Yusuf İbn Ebi ‘Abdū’d-Deyyan’s *Keşfü’l-esrār fi ilzāmī’l-Yehūd ve’l-ahbār*,” in *Contacts and Controversies between Muslims, Jews and Christians in the Ottoman Empire and Pre-Modern Iran*, ed. C. Adang and S. Schmidtke (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2010), 15–56. See also Krstić, *Contested Conversions to Islam*, 114–16.

73 Pfeiffer, “Confessional Polarization,” 25. For the edition of Taşköprüzade’s text with an English translation see Sabine Schmidtke and Camilla Adang, “Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā Ṭashkubrīzāde’s (d. 968/1561) Polemical Tract Against Judaism,” *Al-Qanṭara* 29, no.1 (2008): 79–113.

own experiences (or of that of another convert) in addition to other texts. For instance, in the oldest surviving manuscript from AH 1088 (1677/78) the name of the supposed author of the text, Yusuf ibn Ebi Abdi'd-Deyyan, is embedded into the beginning of a story reported by a third person, a certain Kepenkizade (or Kepenekizade) Sinan, a Jew who is said to have converted to Islam on the basis of the proofs he found in the Hebrew Torah.<sup>74</sup> Pfeiffer suggests that the editor(s) may have experimented with a variety of available texts. It is possible that these texts included al-Tarḡumān's and Mehmed's narratives that were already known to the Ottoman reading public by the mid seventeenth century and began to figure as models for writing a self-narrative of conversion cum religious polemics.

Significantly, in another important parallel, the author of this account also refers, albeit somewhat obliquely, to his conversion in the presence of the sultan and to the latter's subsequent patronage. He states: "I made it my responsibility and special duty to pray for the prolongation of the bounteous patronage of the shadow of God on earth under whose wings I was sheltered. I was assiduous in making known that my conversion was based on virtue and sincerity." He also specifies "that 'gate to the refuge of happiness' (i.e., the Sultan) elevated me to the might and loftiness of the right course."<sup>75</sup> The relationship between sultanic legitimacy and conversion to Islam in the seventeenth century has already been discussed above; however, it is important to emphasize that in the context of a general "turn to piety" that affected not only the sultan and members of his family and government but also 'religious specialists' of different social and educational backgrounds,<sup>76</sup> non-Muslims and Jews in particular became targets of various initiatives to correct the morals of the society and purge it of elements of unbelief.<sup>77</sup> Yusuf's insistence on the "sincerity" of his conversion appears particularly important in light of other contemporary instances of conversion for reasons of fear or opportunity, like in the case of the famous Jewish messiah Sabbatai Zvi who converted to Islam undress duress in 1666.

The final text belonging to this "corpus" of Ottoman self-narratives of conversion cum polemical treatise is the so-called *Risāle-i Islāmīyye* [Treatise on

74 See Sofia National Library, ms Or. 2050/2. On this issue also see Pfeiffer, "Confessional Polarization," 27–29.

75 Pfeiffer, "Confessional Polarization," 43.

76 This 'turn to piety' and suggestions on how Muslim community should be disciplined affected various Sufi authors as well. On this issue see Terzioğlu, "Where İlm-i hal Meets Catechism."

77 On the impact of the Kadizadeli movement on the Jewish community see Baer, *Honored by the Glory of Islam*.

Islam] by the celebrated founder of the first Ottoman printing press in Arabic script, İbrahim Müteferrika (ca. 1670–1745), which was completed in 1710. Although it has been believed that this narrative survives in a single autograph copy, new research suggests that there are at least five manuscripts of it in various libraries in Turkey, some of them misidentified and mis-catalogued, which raises the possibility that further examples might surface.<sup>78</sup> Although he does not explicitly refer to either al-Tarğumān's or Mehmed's accounts, Müteferrika's indebtedness to them in terms of narrative framing and inspiration for his polemical text is undeniable. His account opens with the story of his education in theology in the Transylvanian city of Kolozsvár (today Cluj-Napoca in Romania) where he became licensed as a priest (most likely of Calvinist denomination). Unlike his predecessors, however, who are satisfied with referring to the well-known verses from the scriptures as the basis for their discovery of Muḥammad's prophecy and eventual conversion, Müteferrika goes a step further and credits his conversion to the verse from the Old Testament that was supposedly forbidden to the uninitiated seminary students but to which he gained access and which contained conclusive proofs of Muḥammad's prophecy. He cites both this verse that was supposedly removed from the canonical version of the Christian scriptures as well as other commonly known verses from the Bible in Latin, transcribing them in Arabic script and paraphrasing their meaning, like Mehmed. In this way, Müteferrika not only takes the traditional Muslim polemical argument about the alteration and corruption of Christian and Jewish scriptures (*tahrif*) a step further by claiming insight into the verses that were removed from the Bible but also completes the corpus of the Ottoman polemical texts cum conversion narratives by contributing a text with transliterations and translations into Ottoman Turkish from Latin, along with Mehmed's from Greek and Yusuf's from Hebrew.<sup>79</sup>

78 So far only the autograph copy housed in Süleymaniye Library, Esad Efendi 1187, has been known. Further copies I was able to identify include Süleymaniye Library, Bağdatlı Vehbi 2022, from 1175/ 1761–2 and another undated copy that is misidentified as “Terceme bazı âyeti'z-Zebûr ve't-Tevrât ve'l-İncil” in the same library under the call number of Esad Efendi 7. Necdet Yılmaz, the editor of a new edition of M. Esad Coşan's study and transliteration of *Risâle-i Islâmîyye (Risâle-i Islâmîyye—Matbaacı İbrahim-i Müteferrika ve Risâle-i Islâmîyye Adlı Eserinin Tenkitli Metni*, ed. N. Yılmaz, 2nd ed. İstanbul: Server İletişim, 2010), identified two further copies of the manuscript and published sample facsimile pages from them in the appendix to the book (348–56): one is located in Türk Tasavvuf MüsİKisi Vakfı Ö. Tuğrul İnançer Kütüphanesi (YK-İ), no. 1, and yet another one is in Süleymaniye Library, in the collection of Esad Efendi, number 3442. I thank Baki Tezcan for bringing this new edition to my attention.

79 Baki Tezcan recently established that Müteferrika was using the translation of the Torah and the Psalms by Immanuel Tremellius and Franciscus Junius, and of the New Testament

Although in terms of framing and polemical goals it corresponds with other Ottoman conversion-cum-polemical narratives, Müteferrika's account should also be studied in depth for its own merits, not least of all for its interesting eschatological view of the international religio-political developments and the Ottoman Sultan's messianic role in them. The narrative is dedicated to Sultan Ahmed III and we again have to keep in mind the issue of patronage as a motivation for producing the text.

That these texts were related to each other seems to have been recognized by the readers and copyists who in some cases copied them back-to-back in their scrapbooks (*mecmū'as*).<sup>80</sup> However, it is striking that from this corpus of Ottoman narratives the one that won the day as the most popular, and that was published on several occasions, was none other than 'Abdallāh al-Tarġumān's account. In terms of surviving manuscripts in Turkish libraries, there are at least fourteen copies of the *Tuḥfa* with Ottoman translation and another six in Arabic only.<sup>81</sup> These numbers are supplemented by the availability in the Turkish libraries of the copies of three published editions in Arabic, from 1873 (London), 1895 (Cairo), and 1904 (Cairo), and the two editions published in Ottoman Turkish in Istanbul, in 1874 and 1886. Interestingly, however, instead of being based on Muḥammad b. Ša'ban's translation from 1604 that was available in the manuscript collections throughout the capital, the first Ottoman Turkish edition from 1874 is a translation of the Arabic edition from 1873 that was published in London at the height of a global Muslim-Christian debate raging among scholars and missionaries from the British Isles to India, with a significant participation of the Ottoman intellectuals.<sup>82</sup> This new Ottoman

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by Theodore Beza, which means that he probably availed himself of the 1648 Amsterdam edition of the *Biblia Sacra*. See Baki Tezcan, "İbrâhîm Müteferrika ve Risâle-i İslâmîyye," in *Kitaplara Vakfedilen Bir Ömre Tuḥfe: İsmail E. Erünsal'a Armağan*, ed. H. Aynur, B. Aydın, M. Birol Ülker (İstanbul: Ülke Yayınları, 2014), 1: 515–56.

80 At least three *mecmū'as* combining these texts survive. For instance, in one scrapbook from the eighteenth century (Süleymaniye Library, Bağdatlı Vehbi 2022) we find al-Tarġumān's *Tuḥfa* in Arabic (copied in 1787/8), Müteferrika's *Risâle-i İslâmîyye* (copied in 1761/2) and Yusuf İbn Ebi 'Abdü'd-Deyyan's account (copied in 1763/4). Another nineteenth-century scrapbook (Süleymaniye Library, Giresun Yazmaları 171) contains the *Tuḥfa* with the translation in Ottoman Turkish, Yusuf b. Ebi Abdüdeyyan's account and Mehmed b. Abdullah's account. Yet another one (Süleymaniye Library, Giresun Yazmaları 102) contains the *Tuḥfa* with the Ottoman translation and Yusuf İbn Ebi 'Abdü'd-Deyyan's account, among other texts.

81 Epalza had counted eleven manuscripts, in both Ottoman Turkish and Arabic, housed in Turkey (see his *Fray Anselm Turmeda, 173–74*) but modern databases allow for a more comprehensive search that yields a higher number.

82 Johann Strauss suggests that the editor behind this London edition, who signs himself as "Murad İstanlı," was possibly the third baron Stanley of Alderley, Henry Edward

translation was prepared by the two professors at the *Mekteb-i Mülkiyye* (The Imperial Civil School that later became Imperial School of Political Science), Emiroğlu Mehmed Said (d. 1918) and Mehmed Hacı Zihni (d. 1911), the latter being particularly wellknown in the contemporary European Orientalist circles for his work on Arabic grammar and literature.<sup>83</sup> The publication dates of the two Ottoman editions, from 1874 and 1886, coincide with the boom in the production of anti-Christian polemical tracts, especially during the era of Sultan Abdülhamid II (1876–1909), by Ottoman Muslim authors from throughout the empire, both in reaction to the increased presence of various Christian missionaries (both Protestant and Catholic) and the changing position of the non-Muslims in the social life of the Ottoman realm.<sup>84</sup>

The possibility that ‘Abdallāh al-Tarğumān’s text was brought to the attention of the two Ottoman translators because it was published in Arabic in London and made available at booksellers’ stands in Istanbul,<sup>85</sup> rather than because of its long-term popularity within the Ottoman Empire itself, is intriguing and meaningful. It would point to the unpredictable patterns of textual transmission and dissemination that are not necessarily “intra-cultural” or vertical, as we might often expect, but also lateral and cross-confessional. Muslim literati could obviously sometimes be equally if not more estranged from their Muslim predecessors than from their non-Muslim contemporaries. If we allow for the fact that the age of confessionalization was a much broader phenomenon than the European and Middle Eastern historiographies of the early modern era would have us think, this should not surprise us. However, while the transmission of texts and compatibility of narrative strategies points to common conceptual frameworks and translatability of religio-political sensibilities in parts of early modern Christendom and Islamdom, it is important to keep in mind that these texts were used precisely to draw and redraw new confessional boundaries and delineate difference rather than underscore sameness.

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John Stanley (d. 1903), who converted to Islam and was famously pro-Ottoman. He was also familiar with both Arabic and Turkish. See Johann Strauss, “*Müdafaa’ya Mukabele* et *Mukabele’ye Müdafaa*: une controverse islamo-chrétienne dans la presse d’Istanbul (1883),” in *Querelles privées et contestations publiques—Le rôle de la presse dans la formation de l’opinion publique au proche orient*, ed. C. Herzog, R. Motika and M. Ursinus (Istanbul: Isis, 2002), 68, n.5.

83 See Strauss, “*Müdafaa’ya Mukabele*,” 67, n. 4. On this translation also see Epalza, *Fray Anselm Turmeda*, 52–53, where the translator is identified as “Abdallah Bey.”

84 Strauss, “*Müdafaa’ya Mukabele*.”

85 Strauss, “*Müdafaa’ya Mukabele*,” 67, n.9.

### Acknowledgements

This article is a revised version of “Leyendo la *Tuḥfa* de 'Abdallāh b. 'Abdallāh al-Tarḡumān (1420) en el Imperio Otomano: polémica cristiano-musulmana e intertextualidad en la época de la Confesionalización,” *Al-Qanṭara*, 36 no. 2 (2015): 341–401. Revised sections, which introduce new information on the authorship of the conversion narrative of Mehmed b. Abdullah from Athens, are marked by square brackets. Since the publication of this essay in 2015, another detailed study of the narrative by Mehmed b. Abdullah as well as its critical transcription has been published by Irfan İnce and Fuat Aydın (“Bir 17. Yüzyıl İhtida Anlatısı: Bir Atinalı Mühtedi, Bir Osmanlı Kadısı” [A 17th-Century Conversion Narrative: An Athenian Convert, An Ottoman Judge] in *Sahn-ı Semân'dan Dârülfünûn'a Osmanlı'da İlim ve Fikir Dünyası Âlimler, Müesseseler ve Fikrî Eserler*, XVII. Yüzyıl, ed. H. Aydar and A. Fikri Yavuz, Istanbul, 2017), 507–78). The authors were not aware of my study while working on theirs, but managed to include various references to this essay in their discussion and offer some alternative viewpoints. The revised version of my essay does not engage with their publication.

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## Appendix. Mehmed B. Abdullah's Narrative

### Transliteration

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Risâle-i garîbedir ki ahbâr-i Nasrâ'dan biri İslâm şerefi ile müşerref olup Incil ve Tevrât ve Zebûr'da hazret-i risâletin hakkında vâki' olan nusûsi cem' idüp tercüme itmişdir.<sup>87</sup>

Bu 'abd-ı sâdikü'l-i'tikâdün maskat-ı re'si ve menşe'-i vücudı menba'-i 'ulûm-i hikemiye olan şehir-i Atina olup, merâsim-i meslûk-dâşte-i kudemâ-yı Yünâniyye henüz meskûk-geşte-i nakd-i kabul-i<sup>88</sup> rahâbîni olup, bu bende-i nâçizlerinün dahi şi'âr-ı vücûd-i 'adîmü't-temyîzleri<sup>89</sup> tirâz-i dîn-i Nasrâniyye ile mutarraz bulunup nuhle-i Nasrâniyye ile intihâl ve pây-i şu'ûr ve tedeyyunum şikâl-beste-i millet-i 'İseviyye olmağla cânib-i âhara harekete mecâl olmayup hasb-i i'tibârü'd-deyyâr bidâyet-i 'ahd-i lazimü'l-cehd-i tufûliyyetimden gâyet-i eyyam'ul-beyz-i kühûlete varınca nakd-i himmet-i kâmilü'l-'iyârımı masârıf-i 'ulûm-i mesîhiyye tahsiline sarf ve zimâm-i kesb-i hâizü'l-i'tibâr-ı ihtiyârımı cânib-i tekmil-i fûnûn-i Yünâniyye'ye 'atf idüp resîde-i 'ahd olan evrâk-i kühne[de]<sup>90</sup> batâ[rı]k<sup>91</sup> felâsifenin dahi hilâl-i sutûr-i sa'bû'l-'usûrında niçe akvâl-i acîbe ve emsâl-i pür 'iber-i garîbe'ye<sup>92</sup> nazar-ı şu'ûr ve ittulâ'ım ki<sup>93</sup> ta'alluk itdi.<sup>94</sup> Defe'âtle rehâbîn-i şöhet-şi'âr-i diyâr ve esâkife-i<sup>95</sup> intihâ-disâr<sup>96</sup> ile

86 Note on transliteration: the text is transcribed according to the rules of modified Modern Turkish, which means that only long vowels are marked, as well as letters 'ayn (') and hamza (').

Sigla for the manuscripts used: A=Ali Nihat Tarlan 144, 57b-60a, Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul; R=Reisülküttab 800, 153b-159b, Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul; V= N. F. 380, 227b-231a, Österreichischer National Bibliothek, Vienna; G=Giresun Yazmaları 171, 46b-51b, Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul. The basis of the critical edition are the two oldest manuscripts, R and A, dated to Ramadan 1034/ June-July 1625 and Ramadan 1035/May-June 1626, respectively, although A is privileged for its more complete text (see the facsimile). Important differences with other manuscripts are indicated in the footnotes.

87 The introductory sentence in R says: "Atnalı kapuçı Habîbü'llâh evsâfın Tevrât ve Incil ve Zebûr'(d)a görüp imâna geldüğüdür." V and G do not have an introduction.

88 R: "nakd-i rahâbîni"

89 R: "temeyyîzleri"

90 R: "kühnede"

91 R: "batârık"

92 V, R: "acîbe" and "garîbe" are transposed

93 V: does not have "ki" here

94 V, G: "itmişdür ki"

95 R: "esâfike"

96 V: "ve esâkife-i intihâ-disâr" is missing.

tarh-endāz-i<sup>97</sup> meclis-i mübāhase olup hila’-i fāhire-püş pesend ve imtiyāz olmuşumdur.

Fe-li’llāh al-hamd ki kā’id-i ahkām-i kazā ve kader, ‘ālem-i ‘ibdā’ ve fitret’de rakabe-i vücūd-i selāmet-i mev’ūdimi rıbka-i kabūl-i İslām ile mutavvak itmek ile hüsn-i kabūl-i tevfiḳ virüp *wa’llāhu yahdī man yashā’u*<sup>98</sup> delāletiyile asl-ı asil-i matālib-i ‘āliye olan ahkām-i dīn ve tarīkati ve ā’māl-i lāzimetü’l-ımtisāl-i şerī’atı muhteviye olan kütüb-i semāviyye ve nusah-i dīniyye tetebbu’ına<sup>99</sup> sevk-i taleb-i hātır<sup>100</sup> erzānı kıldı. Bu i’tibār ile gitdikçe mutezāyidü’ş-şuġl ve’l-tetebbu’ olup ‘amme-i Yehūd ve Nasārā sohbetinde müteffikü’l-ārā’ oldukları Tevrāt ve Zebūr ve İncil’de ki tā’ife-i Firenc beyninde lisāni-i Latin’de mut-edāvel ve gürüh-i Nasārā miyānında zebān-ı Yūnān’a tercüme ile müsta’meldür, ol dürr-i deryā-yı hestī, bedraka-i hüdā-perestī, mäh-i sipihr-i safā hazret-i Muḥammadu’l-Mustafā ‘aleyhi’s-selām’ın sıdk-i nübuvtetini nātık ve bakā-yı dīn ve şerī’atini musaddık niçe nusūs-i kātī’atü’l-işkāl ve nukūl-i sādikatü’l-me’āle musārif olup

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girān hāb-i zulmet-i cehāletden bī-dār ve sermest-i sahbā-yı zalālet iken huşyār oldum. Bu mukaddime zikr-i nusūsdan mukaddem lāzimü’z-zikr olmaġın bast olunur ki aksām dahi zāhirden vesātat-i lisān-i melek ile ve emāret-i melik ile ki hātır-i melik denilur dahi zāhirun bu iki kısmı esnāf-i<sup>101</sup> keferenin müsellemleri olmayup ancak ilhām-i rabbāni ile

kalb-i cāzimü’l-beyān-ı nebīye tebeddī iden kısmına kā’illerdür ve ra’y-i icthād-ı nebī ile sādır olan dahi bātına mā’illerdür. Meġer ki nefis-i nebīye mahsūs maslahat için melek tevassut ide hazret-i Cibra’ıl ‘aleyhi’s-selām’un Zekeriyā ‘aleyhi ezkā’t-tahāyā hazretlerine tebşir-i veled-i sālih için nuzūli gibi Tevrāt’da bulunan nusūsdur ki zikr olunur: *ippon kai anabaten erripsen eis thalassan*<sup>102</sup> manzūm-i rişte-i sutūr-ı Tevrāt olan ‘ukud-i leāli-i Musevi-

97 V: “ve esab’iyyeyi ile”

98 The complete verse from Qur’an 2, 213; 24, 46 (cf. 10, 25; 6, 39) is “*wa-[A]llāhu yahdī man yashā’u ilā sirātin mustaqīmin*” (“For God guides whom He will [to a straight path]”). I thank Prof. István Ormos for identifying the verse.

99 End of 153 b in R

100 End of 46 b in G

101 End of 227 b in V

102 Exodus 15:1: “...ἵππον καὶ ἀναβάτην ἔρριψεν εἰς θάλασσαν”, accessible at: <http://biblehub.com/sepd/exodus/15.htm> [accessed on 25/10/2024]. I thank Prof. Robert Dankoff for identifying this verse.

yye'dendür ki şukka-güşa-yı 'alem-i sabr ve isâr olan<sup>103</sup> Hazret-i Eyyüb (Job) 'aleyhi's-selâm nigezbân-ı genc-i nübüvvet iken bu durer-i girân-bahâyı

'alâ tarîki'l-isâ[1]<sup>104</sup> ihdâ-yı ümmet buyurup Hazret-i Mûsâ 'aleyhi's-selâm dahi tekye- zede-i 'asâ-yı nübüvvet iken lâyiha-i nebeviyyesinden sudür idüp muhâki-i ümmet olmuştur. Ma'ânası bizüm hefevât [ve cerâyim] ile güzêrân iden ömrümüz<sup>105</sup> şiddet-i tûfân-ı şitâda endâhte-i bahr-i cûşân nâ-peydâ kenâr olan şahs-i nâ-tuvâna benzer ki keştî ve keştibân-ı meded-res necât olmazsa garka-i girdâb-ı helâk olması mukarrerdür. Pes bizi dahi lücce-i hefevât-ı<sup>106</sup> mahâlik-i mecâziden ve varta-i mehâvif-i<sup>107</sup> tûfân-ı ma'âsiden tahlise keştî-i şerî'at ve keştibân-ı bahr-i hakikat-şinâsdan lâbüd'dür ki selâmet-resan-ı sâhil-i necât ola. Muhakkikân-i Nasârâ ve Yehüd sefine-i Nûh 'aleyhi's-selâm zâhirde numûdâr-i hakikat mefhûm olmak üzere temsilen irâd itmişlerdür. Bu bendeleri dahi çün bu kelimât-i hikmet-âmîzin dürer-i ma'ânisini rişte-i [fehm ve]<sup>108</sup> kabüle çekdüm âb-i hidâyet rihthe-i rüy-i hâb-âlüd olup rakde-i<sup>109</sup> gafletden uyandım ve keştî ve keştibân teccessüs<sup>110</sup> lâzime-i zimmet-i himmet bilüp gavta-hâr-i lücce-i taleb ve tafakkud olup serâpâ-yı tayy-i sahâ'if-i<sup>111</sup> Tevrât için semend-i sebuk-seyr-i tab'ime irhâ-yı 'inân-ı tetebbu' idüp mahall-i âhârda bu nakli dahi buldum ki zikr olunur: *ouk ekleipsei archôn eks iouda kai egoumenos ek tōn mērōn autou eōs an elthē ta apokeimena*<sup>112</sup> *autō kai autos prosdokia ethnōn*.<sup>113</sup> Bu nakl dahi sahâ'if-i Tevrât'da mersûme-i yera'a-i Mûsâ 'aleyhi's-selâm'dur ki hazret-i Ya'küb 'aleyhi's-selâm evlâd-i emcâdına<sup>114</sup> şîrâze-i bend-i mecmû'a-i vasiyyet oldukda nigâşte-i safha-i hâtıraları ve gümâşte-i 'uhde-i tezkîrleri kılınup Hazret-i Musa 'aleyhi's-selâm dahi hikmet-efşân-ı<sup>115</sup> resâlet iken mülheme-i gaybiyyesinden kudüm-ı behcet-lüzüm-i seyyid-i 'âlemden mujde-resân-ı ümmet olmuştur. Ma'nâsı budur ki Hazret-i Ya'küb

103 End of 154 a in R

104 V, R: "isâl"

105 V, G: "hefevât ve cerâyim ile güzêrân iden ömrümüz"; R: "hefevât ve cerâyim ile güzêrân iden ömrümüz"; end of 47 a in G

106 R: "lücce-i mahalik-i hefevât ve mehâziden"

107 V: "ve garımdan ve vartana"

108 V; R: "rişte-yi fehm ve kabule"

109 V: "zühde-yi gafletden"

110 R: "tahassusini"

111 R: "safhât"

112 End of 154 b in R

113 Genesis 49: 10: "οὐκ ἐκλείψει ἀρχων ἐξ ἰουδα καὶ ἡγούμενος ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ καὶ αὐτὸς προσ-δοκία ἐθνῶν," accessible at: <http://sept.biblos.com/genesis/49.htm> [accessed on 25/10/2024].

114 R: "kiramine"

115 R: "ifşâ-i"

'aleyhi's-selām evlad-i kirāmına hitāb ider ki: "Ey benüm oğullarım, sizden nübüvvet ve saltanat munkati' olmaz mādāmki ol<sup>116</sup> gelecek gelmeye, ol geldikten sonra sizden nübüvvet ve saltanat<sup>117</sup> munkati' olur. Cümle 'ālem anun kudūmına muntazarlardur." Esākife-i<sup>118</sup> Tevrāt-hvān-ı Nasārā bu kelāmin tahkikinde Ya'küb 'aleyhi's-selām'ın "gelecek" didügi

58 b

mev'ūd (promised) ü'l-kudūm Hazret-i<sup>119</sup> 'İsa 'aleyhi's-selām'dır diyü iddi'ā-yı bātıl iderler. Lākin gavvāsān-ı bahr-i ma'āni bu dürrü berāverde-i nutk itmişlerdir ki Hazret-i Ya'küb 'aleyhi's-selām'ın "ol geldikte sizden nübüvvet ve saltanat munkati' olur" kaydı vişāh-i gerden-i kelām-ı sadākat-nizāmı olan<sup>120</sup> mudde'aları sıhr-pezīr-i butlān olup beste-zebān olurlar. Hazret-i 'İsa 'aleyhi's-selām'ın zamān-ı nübüvvetinde henüz devletmendān-ı İsrā'īlī huşāre-çin-i mā'ide-i saltanat<sup>121</sup> ve tütü-i sebz-minkār-ı zīnet-serāy<sup>122</sup> şeker-hvāy-ı hükümet olup peyvend-i feysal-yāfte-i nübüvvetleri bāz-i beste-i 'ahd idi. Berīn takdīr vukū'-i inkitā'-ı nübüvvet ve saltanat mukarrer ve müyesser olmaduğı zāhirdür. Bergeştegān-ı tih-i zalāl 'anede-i Yehūd dahi bu sevādın tebyizinde Hazret-i Muḥammad 'aleyhi's-selām ancak kavmına meb'ūs olup muntazarü'l-kudūm-ı 'amme-i 'ālem olan sāhib-i devlet henüz kadem-nihāde-i 'ālem-i şehādet olmadı, intizār-i 'ālem kemākān ber-karārdır diyü da'vā-yı bātıl iderler. Lākin tevcih-i müdde'ada mutārāha-i efkār tahkik iden hakk-guyān rikāb-i devlet-i İsrā'īliyye munhali'ü'l-vişāh-i 'izzet kılınup nihāl-i ser-sebz-i İsmā'īlī nişānde-i bāg-i risālet olıcak kayd-ı sābık mefhūmi üzre İsrā'īliyye'den rişte-i nübüvvet ve saltanatın takarrur-ı inkitā'ı müstelzem tahakkuk-i nübüvvet-i Hazret-i Muhammed 'aleyhi's-selām olduğı zāhirdir. Anların henüz intizārları kemāl-i inkār ve fesād-ı kārlarına şahiddür. *Beyt: Kasd-i tšān ğüz siyeh-rüyī nebūd/ Ğayr-i dīn key ğüst tersā ve Yehūd.* Pes bu naklın mefhūmi hayāle bend-i suver-i ğaribe olup tahakkuk-ı risālet-i Muhammediyye gitdikçe bu 'abd-i vāhilerine irās-i hulecān itmekle tazā'if-i tettebu'a bādi olup<sup>123</sup> sevk-i ilāhī ile bu nakl dahi Tevrāt'de buldum ki zikr olunur: ...*prophētēn umin anastēsei kurios o theos ek tōn adelphōn umōn ōs eme autou estai de pasa psuchē*<sup>124</sup> *ētis ean mē akousē tou*

116 V: "Resül"

117 End of 47 b in G

118 R: "esafike"

119 End of 228 a in V

120 R: "olıcak"

121 End of 155 a in R

122 R: "zīnet-serāları"

123 End of 48 a in G

124 End of 155 b in R

*prophētou ekeinou exolethreuthēsetai ek tou laou.*<sup>125</sup> Bu nass dahī çemen-pîrâ-yı riyâz-i saha'if-i Tevrât'dur ki Hazret-i Mûsâ 'aleyhi's-selâm Benî İsrâ'il'e hitâb ider ki Hakk te'âla hazretleri buyurdi ki "karındaşlarınızdan<sup>126</sup> bencileyin bir peygamber ba's itse gerekdür, her kim anun emrine muhâlefet iderse anun istisâli ve intikâmi bana lâzım olur" diyü buyurmuşdur. İddi'â-yı Tevrât dahi iden dâlle-i Nasârâ ol mev'üdü'l-ba's olan sâhib-i şevket Hazret-i İsa 'aleyhi's-selâm'dır diyü da'vâ-yı bâtl iderler. Lâkin mü-şikâfân-i tedkik bu vech üzre makâmı tahkik itmişlerdür ki Hazret-i Musa 'aleyhi's-selâm'ın kelâm-i mu'ciz-nizâmında vâki' olan "karındaşlarınızdan" 'ibâreti ol mev'üdü'l-ba's olan nebî-i 'âlî-mikdâr İsrâ'il'i tebâr olmayup<sup>127</sup> sınıv-i devha-i bâğ-ı dîger olmağı iktizâ<sup>128</sup> ve "bencileyin" luğatiyle işâreti kendi gibi peder u mâderden tevelludini imâ ider. Ve nass-i mezkûrın "her kim emrine muhâlefet iderse istisâli bana lâzım olur" ziveri ile tahallîsi muktezâ-yı nesh-i âyîn-i me'lûfları olmağla zamm-i tahakkuk-ı muhâlefetde va'id-i şerîr-i gâyetü'l-istisâl ile mev'üd olmuşlardır. Bu takdîrce hazret-i İsa olmaduğı müte'ayyin ve butlân-ı müdde'âları mütebeyy-indür. Ba'd ez-ân sevdâ-yı 'akl-fersâ-yı Muhammedi beni aşufte-dil ve muncezi-bül'l-hâtır idüp. **Beit:** *ser-i sevdâ-yi tu ender ser-i mâ mî-gerded/ tu bi-bîn der ser-i şūrîde çihâ mî-gerded*<sup>129</sup> kemîngâh-i nazarda dil-i gil-beste-i cünün ile gavgâ-yı ıztırâb-i derün dâ'îye-hîz-i tettebu-ı Zebûr olup bu nakl-i kâti'ül-işkâli dahî anda buldum ki zikr olunur:<sup>130</sup> *anateleï en tais ēmerais autou dikaiosunē kai plēthos eirēnēs eōs ou antanairethē ē selēnē kai katakurieusei apo thalassēs eōs thalassēs kai apo potamou eōs peratōn tēs oikoumenēs enōpion autou prope-sountai aithiopes kai oi echthroï autou*

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*choun leixousin...kai proskunēsousin auto pantes oi basileis panta ta ethnē.*<sup>131</sup> Ya'ni Hakk te'âla hazretleri dahi tarîkiyle Hazret-i Dâvûd 'aleyhi's-selâm'a

125 Despite indicating that he is about to cite from the Old Testament, the citation is actually from Acts 3:22-23: "...προφήτην ὑμῖν ἀναστήσει Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ὑμῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν ὡς ἐμέ· αὐτοῦ ...("ἀκούσεσθε κατὰ πάντα ὅσα ἂν λαλήσῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς" of Acts 3:22 is missing)... ἔσται δὲ πᾶσα ψυχὴ, ἥτις ἐὰν μὴ ἀκούσῃ τοῦ προφήτου ἐκείνου, ἐξολοθρευθήσεται ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ." New Testament of the Greek Orthodox Church, accessible at: <http://goc.biblos.com/acts/3.htm> [accessed on 25/10/2024]. What the author has in mind when he says that the verse is from the Old Testament is the analogous passage from Deuteronomy 18:18-19.

126 V: "karındaşlarınızdan"

127 V: "olmağın"

128 End of 228 b in V

129 End of 156 a in R

130 End of 48 b in G

131 Psalms 72: 6-10: "(6) ἀνατελεῖ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτοῦ δικαιοσύνη καὶ πλήθος εἰρήνης ἕως οὗ ἀνταναιρεθῆῃ ἡ σεληνὴ (7) καὶ κατακυριεύσει ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἕως θαλάσσης καὶ ἀπὸ ποταμοῦ

buyurur ki: “Senden sonra bir peygamber-ı sâhib-şerī‘at ba’s itsem gerek ki envār-i mühr-i nübüvveti pertev-endāz-ı şark ve ğarb olup evvel ittibā‘ iden ümmeti kavm-i ‘Arab’dan olup semt-i ‘ināda sülük iden ‘anede ve muhālifin makhūr ve zelīl ola ve padişāhān-i cihān şerī‘atını rıbka-i rakabe-i gerden-i itā‘at idüp ila yevmi‘l-kıyām dīn ve şerī‘ati bāki ola.” Zümre-yi muhālifin ke-l-evvel herze-yi te‘vīle i‘tinā idüp yine murād-i hazret-i ‘İsa ‘aleyhi’s-selām’dır dirler. Cevābları katı zāhir olmağın tafsīle hācet yokdur. Ma‘lūm ola ki ketebe-i İncīl havāriyūndan dört kimesnedir ki lā-yenkati‘ peyvend rasīnū‘l-‘akd-i mulāzemetleri bāz-ı beste-i meclis-i hazret-i ‘İsa ‘aleyhi’s-selām olmağile sudūr<sup>132</sup> iden kelimāt-i mülhemesini sebt-i sahāif-i İncīl itmişlerdür. Binā‘en ‘aleyh İncīl dört kıt‘a olup her kıt‘anın kātibi kendiye nisbet ile ma‘lūm ola ki biri Yuhannā, biri Mattā, biri Luka, biri Markos’dur. Pes kit‘a-i Yuhannā hilye-i fāhire-i Muhammedīyi muhtevī olup kec-tab‘ān-ı Nasārā hāric-i hadd-i kabūl fahvā-yı fesād-şumūle zāhib olmağla fütāde-i çāh-ı tугyān olup gerdenlerin<sup>133</sup> gill-i gā‘ile-i ‘isyāndan tahlise mecālleri yokdur. Kıt‘a-yi Mattā dahi kudūm-ı ‘izzet-lüzūm-ı hazret-i Muḥammad ‘aleyhi’s-selām ve ‘azim-i şān seyyīd-i ‘ālemi mufsih bu nakl-i kātī‘ül-‘urūk-ı muhālifini muhtevīdir ki zikr olunur: *o opisō mou erchomenos emprosthen mou gegonen oti prōtos mou ēn...ou ouk eimi axios lusai ton imanta tōn upodēmatōn autou.*<sup>134</sup> Ma‘nāsı hazret-i ‘İsā ‘aleyhi’s-selām buyurur ki “Ol ki benden sonra gelse gerek<sup>135</sup> ki benden evvel halk olunmuşdır, ol kimesnenin ben kabkabı bāğini çözmek hidmetine lāyik degilim” dimekdir. Pes ma‘lūmdur ki nusūs-i sābıka tahkikinde jāy-hāyān-ı Nasārā ile hased-verzān-ı Yehūd tevcīh-i müdde‘ā itdikce mansūsū‘l-ba’s ve mevzū‘l-bahs olan vucūd-ı nübüvvet-şī‘ari kimi hazret-i ‘İsa ‘aleyhi’s-selām’dır, kimi henüz muntazar-ül-kudūm’dur diyü tervīc-i ra’y-i kāsır içün niçe mukaddemat-i fāsīde tertīb

ἕως περάτων τῆς οἰκουμένης (8) ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ προπεσοῦνται αἰθίορες καὶ οἱ ἐχθροὶ αὐτοῦ χοῦν λείξουσιν (9) βασιλεῖς θαρσις καὶ αἱ νῆσοι δῶρα προσοίσουσιν βασιλεῖς ἀράβων καὶ σαβα δῶρα προσάξουσιν (10) καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν αὐτῷ πάντες οἱ βασιλεῖς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη,” accessible at <http://www.blbclassic.org/Bible.cfm?b=Psa&c=72&t=LXX> [accessed on 25/10/2024].

132 End of 156 b in R

133 R: “gerdenlerini”

134 Although the author implies that he is referring to Matthew 3:11, in line 13 he is actually citing John 1:15: “Ὁ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος ἔμπροσθέν μου γέγονεν, ὅτι πρῶτός μου ἦν” (accessible at: <http://biblos.com/john/1-15.htm> [accessed on 25/10/2024]). However, in line 14 he switches to Luke 3:16: “οὗ οὐκ εἰμι ἱκανὸς λῦσαι τὸν ἰμάντα τῶν ὑποδημάτων αὐτοῦ” (accessible at: <http://biblos.com/luke/3-16.htm> [accessed on 25/10/2024].) but replaces Luke’s “ἱκανός” (fit) with “ἄξιος” (worthy) from the parallel places in John 1:27 or Acts 13:25. I am grateful to Professor István Ormos for helping me resolve the confusion over the author’s mixed citations.

135 End of 229 a in V.

itmişler idi. Hâla hazret-i 'Îsâ 'aleyhi's-selâm çün<sup>136</sup> bu ferîde-i manzûmetü's-sıdkı gevher-hâne-i kudsiyyesinden berâverde-i tabakçe-i nutk olup<sup>137</sup> silk-i beyâne çekdi, güruh-i muhâlifine *Al-âna haşâsa al-haqq*<sup>138</sup> dağdağası gâlib olup her biri kelb-i me'bûr gibi harâşîde-i gülü olup bāng-ı tevcîhe mecâlleri kalmayup ancak inkâr ve fikirlerinde<sup>139</sup> ısrâr idüp tervîc-i müdde'âda bu vechle tehyîc-i kadem tevcîh iderler ki bu kelâm-i sadâkat-fercâm ki ribka-i rakabe-i hidmetkâri kabûliyle hidmet-i hall-i şîrâk-i na'leyni mutezammandır Hazret-i Yahyâ'dan hazret-i 'Îsâ 'aleyhi's-selâm hakkında sâdir olmuşdur dirler. Lâkin durrâ'a-püşân-ı sıdk u insâfa hafî degildür ki havâriyyûnun cüybâr-ı i'tikâdları hâşâk-i şîrk ve 'inâddan 'ârî olup, nass-ı merkûmı kelâm-i hazret-i 'Îsâ olmak üzere sebt-i sahâif-i İncil idüp ilâ'l-ân beynlerinde dâhil-i hadd-i tevâtürdür. Pes anların bu makûle herze-i te'vîle ta'vîlleri mahz 'adem-i itkâ<sup>140</sup> olduğu zâhirdür.<sup>141</sup> *Beyt: Yekî sad gešt sevdâyî ki bûdem/ zi hadd bûgzešt gavgâyî ki bûdem.* Bu hârhâr-i ıztırâb-ı azürdesi bu nusûs-i müctema'ayı vird-i zebân-ı cân idüp im'ân-ı nazar ile tasavvur-ı hâl itdikce gördüm ki suver-nümâ-yı<sup>142</sup> mutahayyilede cilveger olan ebkâr-i me'ânîsi cümleten nâmzed-i nübüvvet-i hazret-i Ahmedi 'aleyhi's-salât ve's-selâm ve hacle-i hafâ-yı sûtürndan minassa-nişin zuhûr olân 'arâyis-i netâici mu'ânîk-i gerden-i risâlet-i<sup>143</sup> (Hazret-i) Muhammadi 'aleyhi's-salât ve's-selâm olup nihân-dâşte-i kelimât-i râzdâri olan cevâhir-i esrâri süfte-i evsâf-ı Mustafaviyye olmağla gitdikce izdiyâd-i teyakkun peydâ idüp şâhid-i mahabbet-i İslâm mir'ât-i mucellâ-yı tab'imde cilve-nümâ olmağa başladı. Lâkin bi'l-küllîye âyîn-i dirîn-i me'lûfî terk ve ferâğ ve zünnâr-güsül-i<sup>144</sup>

59 b

küfr olmağla yeksere nûr-i İslâm'la efrûhte-çerâğ olmağa cesâret idemeyüp bu kârin husûl-ı fercâmın diyâr-i Rum'un meşâhîr-i rehâbini ile istişâre'ye havâle itdüm. *Beyt: Çü âyed müşkilî pîş-i hîredmend / ki z'ân müşkil şevêd der kâr-i ũ bend / küned 'akl-i digêr bâ 'akl-i hod yâr / ki tâ der hall-i ân gerded meded-kâr / zi yek şem'-eş negîred nûr hâne / fûrû zed şem'-i digêr der miyâne.* Egerçe hâmil-i şerr olan delil-i hayr olmaz, lâkin esnâ-yı munâzarada zuhûr-i hakk

136 End of 157 a in R.

137 R: idüp; V: "olunup"

138 Qur'an 12:51

139 V, R: "küfrlerinde"

140 R: "inkâr"

141 Here only A has "ba'd za (zilkade?)"

142 V: "suret-nümâ"

143 End of 49 b in G; end of 157 b in R

144 V: "zünâr-i küfr güsiste"

gālibü'l-ihimāl olup sited-i<sup>145</sup> ittihāz itdükleri herze-yi te'vile ta'vıl ve i'tinā iderler ise bihüde inkārlarına istidlāl müyesserdür. Hâtırasıyla sāmān-ı 'azîmeti devr-i memālik-i Rum'a tevcih itdüm. Ve şehir be-şehir karye be-karye gezüp her kanda 'ilm u fenn ile meşhür ve müte'ayyin pāpās ve ruhbāna ki mulākī oldum tarh-endāz-ı meclis-i munāzara olup nice kıl ve kâldan sonra bil'āhara keşf-i mācerā ve izhār-i mā-fi'l-azmār itdüm. Kimi "Peder ber peder ülfet-i āyîn-i dîrneyi terk-i rehîn su'übetdir" diyüp, kimi tavāhir-i<sup>146</sup> nusūs ile mülzem<sup>147</sup> olup müte'arrız-ı redd ve kabül olmayup,<sup>148</sup> kimi "Risālet-i Muhammediyye bu nusūs-ı kâti'atü'l-işkāl ile fi'l-hakika mustedille ve meczümedür, nihāyet hetk-i perde-i hafā mütevakıf-i hüdā-yi Hudā'dır" diyüp her biri hayret-zede-i esrār-i hafıyye olmağıle<sup>149</sup> fūrū beste-dem görülmekle<sup>150</sup> mezîd-i teşviş-i bāle bādı olup<sup>151</sup> perde-i ber-endāz-ı küfr olmağa ikdām idemedüm. **Beit:** *Gitmedi jeng-i keder-i āyîne tab'ımdan / ölmedi gitdi hayf çeşre-nümāyi dildār / bağ-i ma'nide açılmadı gül-i maksüdüm / sa'y ile nahl-i fezā-yi emelim virmedi bār / hayf pervāza gelüp bāz-i sepîd-i himmet / itmedi kebk-i merām-i dil-i sad derdi şikār / kaldı mestür-ı 'aceb hacle-i istiğnā'da / bîkr-i ma'nî-i murād itmedi 'arz-i didār.* Bu hayret istilâsiyle medhüş ve mütefekkir iken esnâf-i keferenün mecma'-ı dānişverānı ve müşkil-küşā-yı küll olan pāpānün makarr ve mekāni olan Rumiyye-i kubrā ki Kızıl Elma demekile ma'rûf ve meşhür'dur hâtıra-i hutür idüp anda dahi istikşāf-ı hāl için vardım ve dört yıl mîkdārî sâkin olup teccüs-i zamā'ir-i firak-i dâlle itdüm, cümlesin ser-geşte-i tih-i zalâl görüp mütehayyir oldum. 'Ākibet āyîn-i kefereden bu vaz' cārîdir ki mabeynelerinden bir mu'temidü'l-kavl ve mu'takidü'l-'amel rāhib-i sāl-horde ve mezheb-şinās ihtiyār idüp bir mahalle nasb ve ta'yîn iderler ki her kimin dînî ve dünyevî müşkili var ise ana keşf idüp cevābin ala. Ve ol dahi kendüye su'âl itdükleri husūs-ı katl ve siyāseti dahi mücib ise kimseye keşf itmeyüp saklıya, keşf itdüğü takdirce<sup>152</sup> merdudları olmak ma'hüdleridir. Pes eyle olsa ol rāhib-i mü'temenü'l-istişāreye zebān-i Rūmî'de *pnemātikos*<sup>153</sup> ve lisāni-i Frengî'de *konfesar* dirler. Bu bende-i şūrîde-dil'in dahi hâtır-dāşti egerçe hâtıra-i ha'ile-i İslām olup hafv ve hatari muhtemel idi. Ve-likin **mısrā'**: *güzeştem ez sır-i hod herçe der dil dāştem güftem.* Ol rāhibün halvetgāhına vardum nusūs-i mezkûreyi ibrāz ve

145 R: "sened-i ittihāz;" end of 229 b in V

146 R: "zavāhir"

147 V: "zāhir-i nusūs ile mukerrem olup"

148 End of 158 a in R

149 V: "idüp"

150 V: "beste-i dem görölmege"

151 V has added: "İslām'umuz rehn-i vakt olmağla;" end of 50 a in G

152 End of 158 b in R

153 V and G: "pnematikos"

merküz'ü't-tab'olan rāz-i derūn-ı ciğersüz<sup>154</sup> şerhine āgāz itdüm. Çünki bende bu şūr ve şağb-i tabi'ile derd-i derūm gördi bir āh-i gülū-süz ve hāne-güdāz çeküp<sup>155</sup> ser be-ceyb-i hayret idüp bir zamān<sup>156</sup> durdı. Ba'adehu çeşm-i hasret ile nigerān olup,<sup>157</sup> didi ki "Ey ümmet-i 'İsā'nın derdnāki, eger āyīn-i pederān ile mezheb-i Hırsiyāni murā'ātında rāsih-dem isen ol ki zebān-zede-i te'vīl-i pīşinegāndur ma'lūmdur, rāh-i tasvībde sābit-kadem ol, ve ger-ne ta'arruz-ı<sup>158</sup> bend-i habt u halel tevcih olup tahti'e-i sāz-ı ictihād isen **Beyt: müstem' bāş ü gūş bā men dār.** Zāhir bu hurūf u elfāzın ma'ānī-i mevzū'ası müte'ayyindir. Ma'nī-i āhar tahammüline<sup>159</sup> imkān yokdur. Pes bu takdīrce mā-sadak-ı nusūs ma'a kat'īn-nazar 'anı'l-'avāriız kim idügi ma'lūm ve mansūsdır. Sıyānet-i<sup>160</sup> pederān için kenef-i te'vīle ilticā olunmuşdur. Egerçe<sup>161</sup> sūre-i<sup>162</sup> ziyi-i pederī ki muktezā-yı hamıyyet-i beşerīdir murādın ise fi-hā ve-illā diyār-ı Frenciyye'de perde ber-endaz-i āyīn olup 'alem-efrāz-i dīn-i İslām olmak fedā-yı ser itmege mevküfdır. Sen bilursin" deyicek ma'lūm oldu ki<sup>163</sup> bu tā'ife-i zāllenin cümlesi herze-kerd-i berzah-ı cehālet olup birisi

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hāric-i dā'ire-i tezebzüb<sup>164</sup> kadem-nihāde olmamışdur. Hemandem dil ve cāna **beyt: Der ateş māndī ey nefs-i belākeş**<sup>165</sup> / *Müselmān šev müselleme gerd ez ateş*<sup>166</sup> hitābiyle çünki dergāh-ı kuds-penāh-ı ilāhīden ğayrı merce' ve multecā kalmaduğı mute'ayyin ve mü[te]beyyin oldu rū bi-dergāh olup **beyt: hudā-yā tu't benderā destgīr / büved benderā ez hudā nāgüzīr / bibahşāyīş-i hīş yārīm dih / zi-ğavğā-yı hod destgīrīm dih / tu-rā hāhem ez her murādī ki hest / ki āyed be-tu her murādī be-dest / ne men çāre-i hīş dānem ne kes / tu dānī çünān kün ki dānī ve bes / safāyī dih in hāk-i tārīkrā / ki bīnend ez-īn**<sup>167</sup> rāh-i bārīkrā. Çün bu tazzaru'ı

154 End of 50 b in G

155 The section from "ciğersuz" to "çeküp" is missing in V. G skips to "ve hāne-gedāz..."

156 "Bir zaman" is only in A.

157 End of 230 a in V

158 R: "ta'rīz-i"

159 R: "tahmiline"

160 V: "āyīn-i pederān"

161 R: "eger"

162 R: "süver"

163 End of 159 a in R

164 V: "tezvir'den"

165 This is based on R; A gives a metrically incorrect first hemistich: "der ateş mande-ı v-īn hest hoş yārīyem deh." Cf. V: "der ateş mande-ı v-īn hest nā-hveş"

166 V: "müsülmān šod müselleme kerd ateş"

167 R: "ki bīnend in"

āhir itdüm bu hitāb-ı ğaybī<sup>168</sup> güş-zed-i hüş-ı revānim olup **kt'a**: *ey ki pey-i hurs u hevā mīrevī / rāh ne īnest kücā mīrevī / rāh-revān z-ān sū-i dīger šüded / pes tü der in rāh hatā mīrevī*. Hemāndem cānib-i İslām'a 'atf-i 'inān-ı 'azīmet itdüm ve çāyiren ve bāyiren tayy-i merāhil idüp merkez-i dāire-i kutb-i İslām olan dārū'l-hulefa-i Kostantiniyye'ye dāhil oldum ve merhüm Sultān Ahmed Hān 'aleyhi'r-rahmetü ve'l-gufrān hvācesi vāsitasıyla dāhil-i meclis-i sultānī oldum, ya'ni merhüm ve mağfūr Sultān Ahmed Hān hazretlerinin manzūr-i nazr-i husrevānisi olup meclis-i şeriflerinde telakkun-ı İslām olup ta'yin-i pādīşāhī ile ismimiz Mehemmed olduktan sonra libās-i ruhbāniyi hil'at-i fāhire-i sultanīye tebdil ve gīsū-yı mesihimiz terāşide-i tīg-i Ahmedī<sup>169</sup> olup çirāg-i efrūhte-i nūr-i dīnleri ve bende-i dergāh-ı devlet-endühteleri oldum. Nihāyetü'l-emr zebān-ı Türkī tahririne<sup>170</sup> iktidārım yoĝidi ki aksa'l-minā olan köşe-i harem-i saltanatlarında inzivā ile ta'allüm-i Kur'an ve 'ibādet-i İslām'a iştigāl<sup>171</sup> idem, ba'dehu hālime münāsib en'am ile muĝtenim olam.<sup>172</sup> Harrartuh bi'l-ibrām fi şehri's-siyām min şuhūri sene hams ve selāsın ve elf ve ena'l-fakīr Mahmūd bin Hasan al-kādī mü'ellifuh.

### *Translation*

57 b

This is a curious treatise by a learned Christian who, having been honored by the glory of Islam, collected the verses from the Gospel and the Torah and the Psalms about the holy mission of prophethood and translated them.

This true-believing slave's [i.e. worshipper of God] place of birth is the city of Athens, the source of the philosophical sciences. The established practices that were observed by the ancient Greeks being the currency accepted by the Christian monks, this insignificant slave's undistinguished character was decorated with the ornament of the Christian religion. I was endowed with the marriage-gift of the Christians, and the foot of my conscience and religiosity was shackled to the Christian community so that movement elsewhere was impossible. Because of my monastic promise, from the earliest effort of my childhood to the peak of the bright days of maturity I expended the coin of my

168 This is based on R; A has only "hitāb"

169 R: "Ahmed hāni"

170 V, R: "tahrīkine"

171 V: "iştifām itdüm"

172 End of 230 b in V: "temmetü'l-kitāb bi 'avn allāh al-melik al-vehhāb sene selāse ve 'işrin," which most likely refers to 1123/ 1711-12). End of 51 a in G is not dated. End of 159 b in R: "Harrartuh bi'l-ibrām fi şehri as-siyām min şuhūr sene erba' ve salāsın ve elf min al-hicretü'l-nebeviyye 'aleyhu efzāl at-tahiyye v ena'l-fakīr Mahmūd bin Hasan al-kādī mü'ellifuh."

refined ambition on acquiring the Christian sciences and turned the reins of gaining credit towards perfecting the Greek sciences.

In the ancient writings of the olden times and among verses difficult to fathom of the patriarchal philosophers<sup>97</sup> I became aware of many wondrous words and parables full of strange clues admonitions. Having engaged in extensive discussions with the celebrated monks of the country and the bishops clothed in the mantle of prohibition, I was favored with robes of honor and distinction. Praise be to God Who is the commander of the ordinances of destiny, and Who graciously bestowed divine guidance in the realm of creation and natural religion by furnishing the neck of my body, to which safety was promised, with the collar of acceptance of Islam. With the motto of “God guides whom He will” he urged me to study the celestial books and scriptures containing the ordinances of religion and righteousness and the deeds of the sacred law that must be followed. With this consideration in mind I gradually increased my occupation and study. In the Torah and Psalms and Gospel—upon which all the Jews and Christians agree and which circulate among the Franks (Western Christians) in Latin and among the Eastern Christians in Greek—I turned my attention to the many doubt-resolving verses and authentic narratives that express the truth of the prophecy of that pearl of the sea of existence, the spiritual teacher of the lovers of God, that brightly shining moon, Muḥammad Mustafa (peace be upon him) and confirm the eternity of his religion and sacred law.

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I woke up from the heavy sleep of the darkness of ignorance and sobered up from the drunkenness of the wine of error.

This prologue was necessary before discussing those verses. Now I will expand on the topic. They [verses] are of two types: exoteric, inspired by the tongue of angels and given by command of the King—these are also referred to as thoughts inspired by the King (*hâṭır-i melik*).<sup>174</sup> These two types of exoteric verses are not acknowledged by the various infidels who only assent to the type that becomes manifest to the heart of the prophet, decisive in its eloquence, by divine inspiration, and who are also inclined to the esoteric verses that issue from independent judgment of the prophet. Unless an angel mediates the affair relating to the person of the prophet himself, just as Gabriel (peace be upon him) revealed [lit. descended] to Zechariah (the purest greetings be upon him) the good news of the birth of a virtuous child, as mentioned

173 Since A here has the word *batak* meaning “false,” this phrase could also mean “false philosophers.”

174 Equivalent of “*hâṭır-ı rabbānī*” (“A thought inspired by God”).

in the Torah: "The horse and its rider he has hurled into the sea."<sup>175</sup> This verse is one the pearls of the Mosaic scriptures threaded on the lines of the Torah. Job (peace be upon him), who unfurled the banner of patience and honor while he was the custodian of the treasury of prophecy, took these priceless pearls and bequeathed them as guidance to the community. And when Moses (peace be upon him) held the staff of prophecy he related them to the community as issuing from his prophetic manifesto. The meaning of this verse is that our life that is passing with our errors and crimes resembles a helpless person in a violent winter storm flung into the roiling sea with a shore nowhere in sight who is certain to drown without a boat and boatman to rescue him. We too need the boat of the sacred law and the boatman who knows the sea of truth in order to save us from the dangerous sea of error and from the perilous abyss of sin.

The spiritual leaders of the Christians and Jews understand Noah's ark (peace be upon him) exoterically as the exemplar of truth. I too, having drawn the pearls of meaning of these words of wisdom on the string of understanding and acceptance, the water of guidance having been sprinkled on the face of drowsiness, awoke from the sleep of neglect. Realizing that it was my duty to search out the boat and the boatman, I became a diver in the sea of investigation. Giving the steed of my nature free rein in order to study the whole contents of the Torah I found in another place the following passage: "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and unto him shall the gathering of the people be."<sup>176</sup> This passage is also in the pages of the Torah from the pen of Moses (peace be upon him). It is the headband of the verses comprising the testament of Jacob (peace be upon him) to his noble sons, drawing on the pages of their minds and delegating the duty of remembrance. And Moses (peace be upon him) as well, during his wisdom-scattering prophetic mission, by divine inspiration heralded to his community the glorious arrival of the lord of the world [i.e., the Prophet Muḥammad]. The meaning of this passage is that Jacob addresses his noble sons and says: "Oh my sons, the line of prophecy and political dominion will not be cut off from you until he arrives. After he arrives, they will be cut off. The whole world is awaiting his coming."

The Christian teachers of the Torah claim falsely that Jacob

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is referring to the promised arrival of Jesus. But the divers in the sea of meanings interpret this pearl [i.e. eloquent saying] to mean that when Jacob says, "When he arrives, the line of prophecy and political dominion will be cut off

<sup>175</sup> Exodus 15:1. I thank Prof. Robert Dankoff for identifying this verse.

<sup>176</sup> Genesis 49:10

from you," this is a link in the necklace of the truly-ordered words, so their assertions are rendered void by admission of magic [or being under a spell [?]] and they become tongue-tied. Because in the time of Jesus's prophethood the Israelite leaders were still picking crumbs at the table of political power and the ornamental singing green-beaked parrot was still feeding on the sugar of government. And so the decisive bond of his prophetic mission was a falcon fettered to that era.<sup>177</sup> Obviously, therefore, the cutting off of prophecy and political dominion could not occur [at that time].

The obstinate Jews as well, wandering in the wilderness of error, when they interpret this passage [lit. when they make a fair copy of this rough draft] make the false claim that Muḥammad (peace be upon him) was sent only to his own people and that the owner of the divine right to rule whose arrival is awaited by everyone has not yet placed his foot into the visible world, and that the universal expectation remains unchanged. But the interpretation of the speakers of truth regarding this claim is that when the necklace of the reign of the Israelites is removed from their neck and the young sapling of the Ishmaelites is planted in the garden of prophecy, according to the sense of what was recorded above, it is obvious that the thread of prophecy and political dominion will certainly be cut off from the Israelites and the truth of the prophecy of Muḥammad will necessarily appear. Their futile expectation testifies to their great denial of truth and to the corruption of their deeds.

*Verse: Their purpose was nothing but disgrace. / How could Christians or Jews seek the goodness of religion?<sup>178</sup>*

Then the meaning of this passage took wondrous forms in my imagination and the truth of Muḥammad's prophecy excited me more and more and caused me to increase my studies. With the divine urging I also found this passage in the Torah: "A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren, like unto me... And it shall come to pass, that every soul, which will not hear that prophet, shall be destroyed from among the people."<sup>179</sup> This verse

177 This idea of the falcon as image of the prophet comes out of Rumi's *Mathnawī*. On this issue see John Renard, *All the King's Falcons—Rumi on Prophets and Revelation* (New York, State University of New York Press, 1994). I thank Gottfried Hagen for this reference.

178 Reynold A. Nicholson (ed./ trans.), *The Mathnawī of Jalālu'ddīn Rūmī* (London, Trustees of the "E. J. W. Gibb memorial", 1925-1940), vol. II, v. 2860. I thank Ferenc Csirkés for this reference.

179 Acts 3:22-23. What the author has in mind when he says that he is citing from the Torah is likely the analogous passage from Deuteronomy 18: 18-19: "I will raise them up a Prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee, and will put my words in his mouth; and he

that adorns the meadows of the pages of the Torah is the one in which Moses (peace be upon him) declares to the Israelites: “God has commanded that from among your brothers He will send a prophet like me and that He will destroy and seek vengeance upon everyone who opposes His command.” Interpreting the claims of the Torah, the straying Christians, who also lay claim to the Torah, make the false claim that this promised messenger is the glorious Jesus (peace be upon him). But those strict critics who minutely examined this passage have established that the promised messenger of high rank “from among your brothers” featuring in the miraculously ordered words of Moses will not be of the Israelite lineage but must come from the branch of a tree of a different garden; and the words “like me” signify that like himself [Moses, and unlike Jesus] he will be born of a father and a mother. And the verse saying that “He will destroy whoever opposes his command” implies that the established rituals will be abolished and the wicked threat of opposition will be extirpated. Clearly, therefore, it is not Jesus [that Moses referred to] and their assertion is manifestly false.

Afterwards the mind-consuming love of Muḥammad made my heart agitated and stirred my thoughts:

*Verse: Passion for you enters our head. / Look what things there are rolling in a perplexed head!*

An internal struggle with the deceitful heart of madness in the ambush of investigation incited a strong desire to study the Psalms of David. There I found this doubt-resolving passage: “In his days shall the righteous flourish; and abundance of peace so long as the moon endureth. He shall have dominion also from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth. They that dwell in the wilderness shall bow before him; and his enemies shall lick the dust...

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Yea, all kings shall fall down before him.”<sup>180</sup> In other words, God says to David (peace be upon him): “After you I shall send a prophet bearing a sacred law

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shall speak unto them all that I shall command him. And it shall come to pass, that whosoever will not hearken unto my words which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him.”

(accessible at: <http://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Deuteronomy+18&version=KJV> [accessed on 25/10/2024]).

180 Psalms 72: 6-10.

the lights of whose seal of prophecy will scatter rays to the east and west. The first of his community who will follow him will be of the Arab people. Those obstinate ones who oppose him will be overcome and abased. The rulers of the world will make his law a collar on the neck of obedience. His religion and law will last until the Day of Judgment." As before, the band of opponents engages in nonsensical interpretation and once again say that it refers to Jesus. Since the reply to them is very apparent, there is no need to go into particulars.

Let it be known that the writers of the Gospels were four of the apostles who were falcons fettered by unbreakable bonds to the company of Jesus (peace be upon him) and whose inspired words they registered in the pages of the Gospels. Consequently the Gospels consist of four parts known after their authors as the Gospels of John, Matthew, Luke and Mark. The Gospel of John contains the verbal description of Muḥammad, but since deviant Christians followed an interpretation of these words that was unacceptable, they fell into the pit of rebellion and were unable to save their necks from the deception of rebellion.

The Gospel of Matthew as well contains the following passage which cuts the veins of opponents and eloquently attests to the necessity of the glorious arrival of Muḥammad, lord of the world (peace and great honor be upon him): "He that cometh after me is preferred before me: for he was before me ... the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose."<sup>181</sup> The meaning is that Jesus says: "The one who will come after, who was created before me, I am not worthy to untie the strap of his sandal." It is well known that in explaining these passages, the nonsensical Christians and the envious Jews make claims that identify the bearer of the prophetic mission spoken of in these verses either [for the Christians] as Jesus or [for the Jews] as the awaited Messiah, citing numerous untenable premises to support their deficient opinions. Now when Jesus brought forth the platter of speech from the gem shop of holiness he strung this pearl of truth on the cord of eloquence and defeated the band of opponents with the tumult of "Now the truth is out."<sup>182</sup> They were like so many dogs who swallowed pins and with wounded throats no longer able to scream could only persist in denial and infidelity. Advocating their claims in this way, they say that these devotion-causing words about the acceptance of servitude and bonds of submission that are

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181 This quotation is actually a mix of John 1:15 and Luke 3:16, rather than of a verse from Matthew (3:11). I am grateful to Professor István Ormos for helping me resolve the confusion over the author's mixed citations.

182 Qur'an 12:51 (*The Meaning of the Glorious Qur'ân*, Mohammad M. Pickthall, Hyderabad-Deccan, Government Central Press, 1938, accessible at: <http://www.sacred-texts.com/isl/pick/012.htm> [accessed on 25/10/2024]).

implied in the untying of the strap of the sandal were uttered by John [the Baptist] about Jesus. However, it is not concealed from those who wear [lit. cover themselves] with the cloak of veracity and justice that the apostles' stream of belief was free from the rubbish of polytheism and obstinacy. The above-mentioned passage, being the words of Jesus, was recorded in the pages of the Gospel and has circulated among them from that time until now. So it is obvious that their recourse to such nonsensical interpretation is simply the lack of anything to lean on.

*Verse: The pain I had became a hundred-fold stronger. / The confusion I was in went beyond the limit.*

My affliction of suffering made these collected passages the repeated litany of the tongue of my soul. The more I examined them the more I saw that their virgin meanings, taking shape in my imagination, were all betrothed to the prophethood of Muḥammad (prayers and peace be upon him) and their implications that emerged from the nuptial chamber of these lines as if seated on the bridal throne embraced the prophetic neck of Muḥammad. As the jewels of their secrets that comprised their hidden words were pierced with the attributes of Muḥammad Mustafa, gradually my certainty increased and the witness of the love of Islam began to appear in the polished mirror of my nature. But not having the courage to abandon completely the old established rituals, to untie the girdle of unbelief

59 b

and to be completely illumined by the light of Islam, I had recourse in the resolution of this matter to consultation with famous monks of the lands of Rum.

*Verses: When the sage faces a problem / that hinders him in his dealings / he adds another wise mind to his own / to have help in solving it. / As his house cannot be lit by a single candle / he puts another candle in the middle.<sup>183</sup>*

Although the bearer of evil cannot be the guide to good, there was a possibility that in the course of discussion the truth would emerge. If they could realize that the interpretation they held was nonsensical, it would facilitate proving

183 Ġāmī, *Yūsuf va Zaliḥā*, in *Maṭnavī-yi Haft awrang* (Tehran, Kitābfurūšī-yi Sa'dī, 1337 [1958]), 636. These are the first two lines of the part where Joseph's brothers are debating how to distance him from his father. I thank Ferenc Csirkés for identifying this verse and translating it into English.

their vain denials. With this in mind, I embarked on a journey around the lands of Rum. I visited town after town, village after village, and everywhere I met with the priests and monks distinguished and famous for their learning and science. After many discussions and debates I discovered what was in their minds. Some said, "It is difficult to abandon old and familiar customs blessed by our ancestors." Some, silenced by the irrefutable verses [that I brought forth], did not try to refute them but nor did they accept them. And some said: "These doubt-resolving verses incontrovertibly demonstrate the truth about Muḥammad's prophetic mission. In the end, tearing the curtain of secrecy depends on divine guidance." All of them were struck by amazement at the hidden secrets and appeared downcast and dumbstruck. This only increased the confusion in my mind and I did not yet dare to remove the curtain of unbelief.

*Verse: The rust of sorrow has not left the mirror of my disposition. / Alas, the beloved who reveals his face has not died but he is gone. / The rose of my purpose has not blossomed in the garden of inner meaning. / Despite my efforts the palm-tree of the plain of my hopes has not given fruit. / Alas, the white falcon of aspiration soared up / but did not catch the partridge of my heart's desire afflicted by a hundred pains. / In the bridal chamber of renunciation remained concealed with wonder / The virgin meaning of desire and did not present the beloved's face.*

While I was in this state of bewilderment it occurred to me that all the learned men from the ranks of the infidels are in great Rome, that is also known as the Red Apple, the place of abode of the Pope who resolves all doubts. So I went there with the purpose of resolving the matter. I resided there for four years and diligently inquired into the thoughts of the erring sects. I was amazed to see all of them wandering in the wilderness of error. One of the current practices of the infidels is that they choose from among themselves a knowledgeable and experienced priest who is advanced in years and appoint him to a certain place. Whoever has doubts, whether religious or worldly, reveals them to him and gets his reply. He in turn does not disclose the questions he is asked, even if the matter is a capital offense; and if he does, he is removed from that office. This priest who can be trusted for advice is called in Greek *pneumatikos* and in Latin *confessor*. I well knew that if I brought up the dreaded topic of Islam, that was troubling my mind, it could prove dangerous. Nevertheless,

*Verse: I gave up my secret and told everything that was in my heart.*

I went to that priest's place of seclusion, showed him the above-mentioned verses, and began to expound the heart-burning secret that was fixed in my nature. When he saw the deep trouble and confusion in me, he heaved a throat-burning and house-melting sigh, drew his head into the shirt-neck of perplexity and stood there for a while. Then gazing at me with the eye of longing he said: "Oh sorrowful one of the community of Jesus! If you remain constant in showing respect to the Christian rite with its ancestral rituals, the interpretation of the ancients, constantly repeated, is well-known. Persevere in the way of approbation. Otherwise, if you turn in the direction of error and follow the siren call of personal interpretation—*Listen and give me your ear*<sup>184</sup>—the plain meaning of these letters and words is manifest and there is no possibility of other meanings. Accordingly, it is known and supported by scriptural authority, without regard to defects [in the argument?], who is referred to in these passages. For the preservation of the ancestors, refuge was sought in the margin of interpretation. If your desire is to respect the ancestral cloak, which is required by the human sense of honor, then stay with that. Otherwise, removing the curtain of custom in the lands of the Franks and unfurling the banner of the religion of Islam will condemn you to sacrificing your head. Do what you think is right!"

I realized that all this tribe of error were fomenting nonsense in the purgatory of ignorance. Not one

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stepped outside the circle of confusion. As soon as according to the verse: *You have remained in the fire, o suffering soul. / Be a Muslim, become free from the fire*<sup>185</sup> it became clear no refuge remained for me but the sacred convent of God's protection.

*Verse: O, God, you are the one that helps this slave. / You are indispensable for this slave. / Give me your mercy as company. / Help me out of my own tumult. / Of all my wishes I want You, / for with You every desire is obtained. / Neither I nor anyone else knows a solution, / but You know, so act accord-*

184 Hilālī Chaġatāyī, Šāh u Darviš. Cf. Edward G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1959), 4: 234-5. I thank Ferenc Csirkés for identifying the provenance of this verse.

185 Nizāmī Ganġavī, *Ḥusraw va Šērīn*, ed. Bihrūz Sarvatiyān (Tehran, Mu'assasa-yi Intišārāt-i Amīr Kabīr, 1386 [2007/8]), 497, line 32. This quotation is taken from part 97, which is the Prophet's letter to Khusraw. I thank Ferenc Csirkés for identifying this verse and translating it into English.

*ingly, that is enough. / Give purity to this dark earth / so that they can see this narrow road.*

When I had finished this humble prayer, a voice from the unseen world addressed the ear of my soul as follows.

*Verse: Oh you who follow cupidity and desire! / This is not the (right) road. Where are you going? / The travelers of the path have gone in another direction. / So you are going the wrong way.*

I immediately turned the reins of intention in the direction of Islam. Passing over hill and dale, rolling up the stages of my journey, I arrived at the center of the circle of the pillar of Islam, the seat of the caliphs, Constantinople. Through the intercession of the teacher of the late Sultan Ahmed Han (may God grant him mercy and forgiveness) I entered the imperial council. That is to say, under the watchful imperial gaze of the late Sultan Ahmed Han himself, I received instruction in Islam in the glorious divan and my name became Mehemmed [Muḥammad] by the sultan's own designation. After that, I exchanged my priestly garment for the splendid sultanic robe of honor and my Christian locks were shaved by the Ahmedian razor. I became a torch kindled by the light of religion and a slave in the court of the sultanic state. Finally, I did not know how to write Turkish language; my utmost desire was to withdraw into a corner of the imperial harem and occupy myself with learning the Qur'an and Muslim worship, so that eventually I would become laden with presents appropriate to my status.

I, the writer of this document, the poor Mahmud bin Hasan, the judge, wrote this in the month of Ramadan in the year 1035.

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**Mercedes García-Arenal**, Ph.D. (1976), Universidad Complutense Madrid, Research Professor at the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid, Doctor HC, University of Chicago, 2022, and Spanish National Research Award of the Spanish Ministry of Culture (2019), and **Gerard Wiegers**, Ph.D. (1991), Leiden University, Full Professor of Religious Studies at the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Amsterdam, have collaborated for more than thirty years, and amongst the books they have co-authored and edited are *A Man of Three Worlds. Samuel Pallache. A Moroccan Jew in Catholic and Protestant Europe* (2003, and many translations), *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain: A Mediterranean Diaspora* (2014) (co-edited), and *Polemical Encounters: Polemics between Christians, Jews and Muslims in Iberia and beyond* (2019) (co-edited). From 2019 to 2025 they collaborated on the ERC-Synergy project, *The European Qur'an* of which Mercedes García-Arenal is PI, as part of which they co-edited *The Iberian Qur'an: From the Middle Ages to the Modern Time* (2022).

The expulsion of the Moriscos from Habsburg Spain between 1609 and 1614 represents the largest expulsion of a minority in Europe in the early modern period, an important episode of ethnic, political and religious cleansing which affected about 300,000 forced migrants.

This book studies for the first time how this group, which was affected by discrimination, religious persecution, and repression, displayed physical and spiritual resilience and prepared themselves for imminent radical measures by forming networks which helped them before, during, and after the expulsion to contact authorities in France, Italy, Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, Egypt and the Ottoman Empire in order to ask for help and to establish themselves in the new lands and form Diaspora communities which in many places have remained visible until today.

Contributors are Luis F. Bernabé Pons, Hossain Bouzineb, Houssein Eddine Chachia, Mercedes García-Arenal, Catherine Infante, Tijana Krstić, Amine Oulad Lmaroudia, Bruno Pomara, Barbara Ruiz-Bejarano, Ana Struillou, and Gerard Wiegers.

